

ACTORS OF CHANGE: RAILWAY PROJECTS AND URBAN ARCHITECTURE
OF BALKAN CITIES IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

ACTORS OF CHANGE: RAILWAY PROJECTS AND URBAN ARCHITECTURE OF BALKAN CITIES IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD

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This dissertation examines the catalyst and inducer role of the Ottoman Balkan railways network in the urban architecture of the four selected cities in the late Ottoman period. These are Dedeoğlu, Edirne-Karaağaç, Selanik and Manastır of the Ottoman Balkans which are explored in the context of railway actorship. On the basis of a comprehensive archival research, the study focuses on three actor positions to explain the themes of change in the architectural and urban sphere; and they are the state, the international entrepreneurs and the locals. Within this framework, the cities are considered as the stage where these actors play their roles in the transformation of their urban architecture with the arrival of the railways. Although each case presents specific ways of change, there are also some common topics in a cross-cultural perspective.

Keywords: 19th Century architectural and urban history, Ottoman Balkan Cities, railway projects in Ottoman Empire, actors in architectural and urban history.

ÖZ

DEĞİŞİMİN AKTÖRLERİ: GEÇ OSMANLI DÖNEMİ BALKAN ŞEHİRLERİNDE DEMİRYOLU PROJELERİ VE KENTSEL MİMARLIK

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Bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminde Rumeli'de kurulan demiryolu ağının incelenen örneklerde kentsel mimarlığın değişimindeki başlatıcı ve hızlandırıcı rolünü incelemektedir. Çalışma kapsamında incelenen Dedeoğlu, Edirne, Selanik ve Manastır şehirleri demiryolu projeleri ile ilişkili olarak tanımlanan aktörlük ilişkileri üzerinden ele alınmaktadır. Kapsamlı bir arşiv araştırmasına dayalı olarak, değişim olgusunu anlamak için devlet, uluslararası yatırımcılar ve yereller olmak üzere üç aktör tanımı getirmektedir. Bunlar devlet,, uluslar arası yatırımcılar ve yerel aktörler olup incelenen kentler bu aktörlerin işbirlikleri ve çatışmaları yoluyla mekansal değişimin sahnesi olarak yorumlanmaktadır.her bir örnek spesifik bir değişim yolunu örneklese d, örnekler arasında coğrafyalar üstü benzerlikler de bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: On dokuzuncu yüzyıl mimarlık ve kent tarihi, Osmanlı Balkan kentleri, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda demiryolu projeleri, kent ve mimarlık tarihinde aktörler.

To my soul mate Yasemin

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in İstanbul
CO	Oriental Railways
JSC	Selanik – İstanbul Junction Railways
h.	Hijri (Islamic Lunar) Year

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*Cihet-i erbaaya berk nakil-i ahbar
Buhar bahr ü ber üstünde Hızır-ı nakliyyat
Tefahür eylesin mi bu asr âsâra
Kısalttı bu'd ü mekân ü zamanı muhtereat*

Sadullah Paşa, *Ondokuzuncu Asır*¹

1.1 Main Argument and Approach

The period between 2012 and 2013, when this dissertation comes to a conclusion, coincides with the centennial commemoration of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), which marked a significant rupture in the socio-political history of Turkey and the other Balkan countries. To the Ottoman Empire, the Balkan Wars meant the loss of more than 170,000 km² of territory where a large Muslim population had lived for centuries, namely the area stretching from the current Albania, Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo and the northern Greece to the eastern Thrace where many prosperous cities such as Selanik, Manastır, Üsküb, Florina, Serez, Drama and Prilepe were located. Looking from the side of these Balkan countries, however, the

¹*Elektrik dört bir tarafa haberler taşıyor,
Buhar kuvveti karada ve denizde Hızır gibi naklediyor,
Bu asır, evvelki asırlardan üstün olmakla övünse yeri değil midir?
(bu asırda) Zaman ve mekân boyutlarını kısalttı icatlar.*

*Electricity carries messages to the four winds,
Steam power abruptly transports on land and sea,
This century may boast itself over its processors,
(since)The inventions diminish the time and space dimensions.*

Mehmet Kaplan. *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kadar Şiir Tahlilleri*. (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1988), 68-72.

Balkan Wars indicated their independence from the Ottoman rule of many centuries or the expansion of their territories.

Recently, a number of academic events have been organized in Turkey and other Balkan countries with the aim of understanding the pre and post war conditions of the peninsula within an economic, political and military context. The academic and popular books on the Balkan Wars have also flourished, such as some conference books reflecting the current historiographical approaches² and some memoirs of eyewitnesses.³ Moreover, some secondary sources collecting, analyzing and criticizing the existing knowledge to a certain extent have been published as well.⁴ However, although the number of multifaceted publications has increased, the prevailing tendency still depends on the formal histories of each country, promoted and motivated mainly by nationalist outlooks. Besides, the number of studies approaching the Balkan Wars from a perspective other than a military or a political one is still limited.

Within the scope of this study, the Balkan Wars do not have any ideological connotations. Accordingly, while trying to understand the transformation of urban architecture in relation to some important railway projects in the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities through certain actor roles, the study views the Balkan Wars as a phase that ended those roles as symbolized in the change of city names in railway stations (**fig. 1.1**). In other words, without falling into a nostalgic trap and/or subscribing to the conventional “decline and dissolution” paradigm in the historiography on the late Ottoman period, this study views these technological,

² For instance, see “The Centenary of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913): Contested Stances International Conference” organized by METU Department of International Relations, 23-24 May 2013 Ankara /Turkey; or “Balkan Wars at their Centenary International Symposium” organized by IRCICA, 20-21 October 2012 İstanbul /Turkey.

³ For instance, see Lev Davidoviç Troçki. *Balkan Savaşları*. (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013); Gustav Von Hochwachter. *Balkan Savaşları Günlüğü*. (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013); Aram Andonyan. *Balkan Savaşı*. (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2012); Mahmud Muhtar. *Balkan Harbi* (İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2011); and Ömer Seyfettin. *Balkan Harbi Hatıraları*. (İstanbul: DBY Yayınları, 2011)

⁴ For an influential discussion of the destiny of minorities in Balkan states throughout the twentieth century, see Stefanos Yerasimos, *Milliyetler ve Sınırlar: Balkanlar, Kafkasya ve Orta-Doğu*. İstanbul: İletişim yayınları, 2000. For the general history of the Balkan Wars, see Richard C. Hall. *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913: Prelude to the First World War*. (London and New York: Routledge: 2000)

economic, social, cultural, architectural and urban changes as part of a modernization process..



Figure 1.1 Naming is power: capturing the city gate and renaming Üsküb as Skopje at the railway station, photograph, 1912.

Source: Mustafa Özer. "Osmanlı Dönemi Balkan Şehirlerinde İmar Faaliyetleri ve Fiziki Yapı: Üsküb Örneği." *Osmanlı*, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları; 1999), v.9, 314.

1.1.1 Geographical Framework

The geographical framework of the dissertation is drawn by the Ottoman Balkan railway network. Starting from the mid-1850s, the idea of connecting İstanbul with major European capitals by a backbone line and establishing minor lines to connect Aegean and Black Sea coasts had remained in the agenda of Ottoman bureaucracy. As will be introduced in the following chapters, the realization of this grand project took place in three phases: first, the construction of point-to-point lines in the period of 1856-64 (Varna – Rusçuk and Çernovoda - Köstence); then, the unsuccessful attempt at establishing a network scheme in 1870-74 period (Oriental Railways by Baron Hirsch); and finally, the establishment of a network in 1889-96 period (by opening Selanik – Manastır and İstanbul Selanik routes). The cities on the route are the inherent areas of study in this research, but the cases are designated after making a basic research on the existing literature and evaluating the significance of their histories in terms of railway actor relations.

Nineteenth century witnessed a gradual pullback of Ottoman frontiers in the Balkan Peninsula depending on either defeats in battles or resolution of nationalist revolts resulted in the independence of Balkan nations. Considering perennial territorial changes throughout the century the most practical way of investigating the influence of railway projects in the transformation of Balkan cities is to focus on the railway cities where the Ottoman reign had survived longest: these are the territories remained under Ottoman reign until Balkan Wars of 1912-13; namely Ottoman Macedonia⁵ and Thrace cities. In the late nineteenth century, this geographical area was divided into six vilayets⁶ (provinces): Edirne, Selanik, Manastır, Kosova, İşkodra and Yanya. The status and borders of these administrative units changed a number of times, and the final form was constituted after a number of administrative regulations.

In the present study, the railway actors will be examined in two port and two inland cities, namely Edirne and Manastır (inland), and Selanik and Dedeağaç (port) respectively. Except Dedeağaç, which was relatively smaller in size, Edirne, Manastır and Selanik were the social, economic and cultural centers of their surrounding regions and administrative centers of their namesake vilayets. (Map 1.1)

This study foregrounds the built environment of Ottoman Balkan cities of the late nineteenth century where various actors vied to shape spatial policies and practices, and asserted or defended their positions of influence when rapid changes were shaking the cityscapes. These cities offer proper mediums to examine the complex

⁵ Throughout the text, the term of “Macedonia” refers to a historic geographical region in southern Balkans mostly occupied by Selanik, Manastır and Kosova *vilayets* of Ottoman Empire rather than its contemporary political connotations. In the nineteenth century, the term Macedonia was mostly used by European counterparts but the Ottomans generally used the term “Rumeli” instead. Accordingly, the term of *Rumeli* was preferred in Ottoman official and secondary sources in Turkish to refer to this geographic region.

⁶ The term *vilayet* refers to the largest provincial administrative unit, which was constituted after the abolishment of *eyalet* (state) administration in the first half of the nineteenth century as an outcome of a number of reforms. The *Vilayet Law* or “Law of Provinces” brought about a new administrative hierarchy in the Ottoman government system. Based on French experiences, the Ottoman territories were divided into twenty seven *vilayets* (provinces), each governed by a *vali* (governor-general). The *vilayets* were divided into *sancaks* (sub-provinces or departments) in the hierarchy, each one was governed by a *mutasarrıf* (governor). The smaller administrative units are *kazas* (districts or arrondissements) governed by *kaymakams* (undergovernors), and the *karye* or *köys* (villages) governed by *müdür* (manager). In the present study, the term *vilayet* will be used to define the administrative unit. For a detailed information about the nineteenth century administrative system see, İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri 1840 – 1880*, (Ankara: TTK, 2000)

interrelations of urban space and actor practices. A short account of these cities would be useful in order to demonstrate their significance in the activities of railway related actor positions.



Map 1.1 Map showing the location of Edirne, Dedeağaç, Selanik and Manastır in Ottoman Balkans, c.1900s.

Dedeağaç (Alexandroupolis) was a small town in Edirne *vilayet* at the turn of the twentieth century. It was founded as a railway company town in the 1870s to facilitate the provision of construction materials, operational management and accommodation of the workers of Oriental Railways Company. An extremely crucial aspect of the city is that it showed the characteristics of founding a planned city in Ottoman Balkans. Accordingly, it was one of the significant examples in terms of the creation of a railway company town. Therefore, being a unique case in Ottoman Balkans as a company town, the present study aims to explore it in terms of establishment and development mechanisms of a new town through the coexistence of different railway actors.

Although it lost the majority of its population and was seeking its prosperous days due to 1829 and 1878 Russian invasions, Edirne (Adrianople / Adrianopol) could remain one of the prominent cities of Ottoman Empire in the Balkan territories. Despite the fact that those military invasions irreversibly destroyed the city, the

construction of many public buildings and infrastructure amenities were carried under the supervision of the central and local government until Balkan Wars. Instead of the city center, the railway station was located in Karaağaç village of Edirne. Since the seventeenth century, European consuls and rich inhabitants of the city had preferred to stay in Karaağaç, so Karaağaç had been an old resort place at the southwest of the city. After the construction of railway facilities, it turned into a regular residential quarter and was inhabited mostly by railway employees. After the arrival of the railway; many social facilities including restaurants, cafes, modern shops, clubs and cultural associations were established in Karaağaç. In this study, the aim is to assess the development of Karaağaç town as a new development zone by considering the social and spatial changes in Edirne after the arrival of railways. In this context, Edirne introduces the issue of how the railway actors created a suburban area at the vicinity of a traditional –and shrinking as well- town.

To write on Selanik is, ironically, the easiest and also the most difficult part of this text: it is easy, since there are many archival materials, images, maps and drawings stored in many public and private collections and this fact relieves the researchers during exploration; on the other hand, this large corpus on the city's urban history and architecture makes it sometimes too difficult to find authentic or original materials and issues to dwell on, or to present new approaches or criticisms with regard to the existing works. Being the most populous and prosperous city of Ottoman Balkans, Selanik (Thessaloniki, Salonica, Salonique) became the cardinal commercial port of southern Balkans and the transportation hub of the region as well.⁷ Starting from the seafront, the demolition of the city walls stimulated the economic development of the city and its physical expansion through the eastern and western corridors. The railway yards were located at the west end of the city and constituted an archetypal industrial zone around them. Unlike the new neighborhoods

⁷ In the nineteenth century, as it was exemplified in the case of Selanik, the port cities in the Balkans dominated the others and it can be said that the prominent factors bringing port cities forward in the nineteenth century were the proliferation at the trade volume and diversity of the trade goods ever than before and the increasing frequency of interaction and, therefore, in the final analysis, the accumulation of knowledge and culture. As will be demonstrated in the examples of Dedeğaç and Selanik, another positive stimulus on the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan port cities was the provision of railway infrastructure, enabling the easier and cheaper transfer of commercial items among ports and inland towns. The railways expanded the economic influence zone of the ports by forcing many inner towns to be dependent upon their supplies.

of the high income groups located on the east, the new neighborhood around the station became the shelter for the immigrants, factory workers and poor fire victims and exiled Jews. Within the scope of this discussion, Selanik exemplifies how the railway actors influenced the physical expansion of the city by creating new neighborhoods around the stations and also attraction of industrial enterprises around the station.

The decision to accommodate the main military base of the third Ottoman Balkan Army made Manastır (Bitola) a garrison town in the nineteenth century. Manastır was one of the most active cities of Balkans in the final years of Ottoman Empire after Ottoman Balkan Army bases had settled in the city. Concurrently, it was the second city after Selanik in Ottoman Balkans in population and moreover, it was the center and the battlefield of both Balkan nationalists and *Jeune Turc* ideals spreading initially among the intellectual circles of the city. Indebted to its strategic location, many European countries inaugurated their consulates in the city since the mid nineteenth century and therefore, it was known as “city of consuls” in Ottoman Balkans. It was connected to Selanik by railway in 1894. Then, the location of the railway station defined the physical expansion axis of the city. In relation to its multicultural character, the city witnessed a rapid social and spatial change at the turn of the twentieth century. The arrival of the railways can also be interpreted as the consolidation of Manastır’s role of being a garrison town by the state authority. The railway infrastructure facilitated the rapid transport of troops and ammunition from the military barracks to the uprising regions. Furthermore, located at the southern end of the city, the railway yard demonstrated the development of a station street formation whose surroundings were designated as recreational areas.

1.1.2 Chronological Framework

The chronological framework of the dissertation consists of three intersecting periods. Starting at different times, they all end with the outbreak of Balkan Wars in 1912, which terminated the political power of Ottoman Empire in the region.

The first and shortest period between 1870 and 1912 corresponds to the main time limit of the study. This was the period when Ottomans undertook and managed Ottoman Balkan Railway network in a comprehensive approach by granting the

required railway concession to Baron Maurice de Hirsch. It was also the time when new international actors, more specifically, French and German capitalists also entered into the economic scene due to the Ottoman grant of new concessions to them. In other words, it was a time when the railway actors appeared and entered into conflict with each other.

The second and wider period begins in the mid-1850s and overlaps with the time when architectural and urban transformation of Ottoman Balkan cities reached its peak. This was a unique time when architectural and urban reforms were carried out by the *Tanzimat* statesmen in the Empire, in general, through several official adjustments and regulations that were issued to reshape cities by improving their urban qualities in the “Western” way. Moreover, what defined the beginning of this period was the *Tanzimat* statesmen visualization of the establishment of a main railway line from İstanbul to central Europe with minor branches to other Ottoman Balkan cities. The close alliance of the Empire with Britain and France during Crimean War (1853-1855) enabled a suitable medium to bring forward that project within European capitalist circles, and accordingly, the earliest short and local railways in Ottoman Balkans (Çernovoda-Köstence and Varna-Ruşçuk) were realized shortly after the war. However, the implementation of an integrated network took decades to accomplish. Therefore, the beginning of the second period is marked by the construction of the first piecemeal railways in Ottoman Balkans.

Finally, the last and the widest period starting in the 1830s can be drawn by the earliest petitions sent to Sublime Porte for railway projects in Ottoman territories as well as the proclamation of *Tanzimat* Decree⁸ (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) (1839),

⁸ Although reform attempts systematically started in Selim III era (1789-1808), they had spatial reflections in the urban realm and architecture by the interaction with Europe especially after the proclamation of *Tanzimat* decree (1839), and it is aimed to apply them in urban and architecture spheres by many regulations and laws. It can be said that, *Tanzimat* period is a unique time when several adjustments and regulations were issued to improve the urban quality and reshape them in the Western way that *Tanzimat* statesmen inspired from. Some of the examples of these regulations are; Foundation of Ebniye-i Hassa (Royal Buildings) Directorate (1831); Legislation on roads (Turuk İlmuhaberi; 1839); First regulation of Building Codes (1848); Proclamation of Islahat (Reform) Edict (1856); The Regulations on Expropriation (İstamlak Nizamnamesi; 1856); Regulation of General Building Codes (1857); The Law on Land Property (Arazi Kanunnamesi; 1858); Law of Provinces (Vilayetler Nizamnamesi; 1864); Regulation on Government of the Municipalities in İstanbul (1868); The Law on Foreign Real Estate Ownership (1869); Law on the Provinces (1871); Provincial Municipality Code (Vilayet Belediye Kanunu; 1877); Law of Building Codes (1882). For a detailed historic account of these regulations, see Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*. (İstanbul:1922); Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu. *Tanzimat Döneminde Modern Belediyeciliğin Doğuşu*.

which marked the beginning of systematic reforms in Ottoman administrative, economic and social system. The *Tanzimat* Decree is a milestone in Ottoman political history, and new reforms after its issue were crucial for Ottoman rejuvenation programs, marked not a sharp break with the past, but a critical moment in an ongoing process that had started at the end of the eighteenth century.⁹ It was also a period when the figure of *Tanzimat* statesman, who received western education, appeared. This figure turned into an actor who played a leading role in the reformation of the Ottoman society and institutions.¹⁰ It was also an influential actor in the restructuring and reshaping of cities and their architecture some of the most important examples of which were in Balkan *vilayets* of Ottoman Empire.

Within this general chronological framework, while the second and the third chapters cover the second and third periods, the fourth chapter fits into the first one.

1.1.3 Conceptual Framework:

Following the footsteps of the contemporary architectural historiography, this study approaches the issue of architectural production not simply by circling around the architect/master builder and the client, but by exploring it as a multi-partnered process or a complex set of relations among many actors which both affect and are affected by the outcome in different ways. Accordingly, it defines these actors beyond single individuals or institutions and it conceptualizes them as an entity enacting a certain spatial policy into an action in the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities. This description implies a conditional situation: the actor positions can be either temporary or permanent, or their interpositions can be easily shifted due to the changing context.

(İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010) and Stefanos Yerasimos. “Tanzimat’ın Kentsel Reformları Üzerine.” in Paul Dumont & François Georgeon (eds.). *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*. (İstanbul: TarihVakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1992), 1-18 and İlhan Tekeli. “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü” in Paul Dumont & François Georgeon (eds.). *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*. (İstanbul: TarihVakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1992), 19-30.

⁹ Zeynep Çelik. *Empire, Architecture and the City: French- Ottoman Encounters; 1830-1914*. (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2008), 15

¹⁰ For detailed information about the conditions of Tanzimat period and its founding fathers, the Tanzimat bureaucrats, see İlber Ortaylı, “Tanzimat Adamı ve Tanzimat Toplumu.” In *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*. (İstanbul: Alkım, 2005)

This study will examine the interplay of actors within the scene of the arrival of the railways in the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities where the railways stimulated significant spatial changes, and then, it will discuss in what ways these actors got involved in the mechanisms of change. Without doubt, there could be many contingent actor positions directly intervening in the process or benefiting from the railways' transformative roles of the cities. Based on the distinctive aspects of the four cases under investigation, this study specifies three actor positions to explain the practices of urban and architectural change. These are the state, the international entrepreneurs and the locals. Rather than forming rigid groups with rigid titles, these positions draw a general and flexible conceptual framework in which different titles can be suggested for the defined actor positions when appropriate.

Focusing on the pre-1912 period of Balkan Peninsula, this study investigates the network of actor relationships¹¹ generated by Ottoman Balkan railway network and their spatial, social, economic and cultural results in the urban scene. Metaphorically, the railway network became the creator of relation-network among actors. Needless to say, the relation network defined here is much more intricate, complex and dynamic than the physical railway network. Therefore, this study aims to shed light on nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities and provide a fresh approach by allocating the railway actors as a catalyst of change. By doing this, this study examines a number of basic questions, such as: how was the location of railway facilities decided together with the timing of their provision in a town? Who owned the land on which the railways were built, what did it cost? How critical was the rivalry or monopoly prevailing between railway companies serving a town? What direct influence did railway building have upon the old central core of the city? To what extent did the railways, on the one hand, demolish, on the other hand, preserve but lead to its decay the existing urban fabric? Was the railways' role in stimulating suburban extension as powerful as is usually assumed; and how, precisely, did the provision of services by profit-making companies link up with the promotion of suburban building? How was the nature of interrelation between railway operations

¹¹ The use of "actor network" in this study can remind one of Michel Callon and Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT). However, it should not be considered as a case study of ANT, though it appreciates the contribution of the theory to social sciences. On ANT, see Bruno Latour. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor Network Theory*. (Oxford, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005)

and harbor agencies? What supports the examination of these questions is a historiographical approach: what would be the possible ways of narrating the architectural history of the actors in the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities concerning their localness, subjective positions by using unconventional sources and non-canonic tools of inquiry?

As will be discussed in detail later in the study, the theme of actor corresponded to active authorities, institutions or individuals which had the ability of changing or transforming the cityscape or social life by using their abilities of manipulation or by calling out certain official devices. After the arrival of railways, the existing actors relocated themselves according to their benefits and expectations about railways and therefore they became railway actors as well. Apart from the existing actors, there were other groups which either temporarily or permanently came into existence after the establishment of railways and which immediately turned into a party and opened up their territories within the existing field of conflicts. In this regard, rather than forming the subject of inquiry, the cities in the dissertation present a tool to understand the complexity of relationships between cities and actors that railway projects generated.

At this point, it should be emphasized that the conceptualization of railways as the generator and conveyor of new relations among actors has not been a topic of interest in the existing related literature. In this literature, railway projects have been studied mainly in terms of their economic and military¹² importance for Ottoman Empire to see how they were used for economic and military appropriation of the peripheries. However, their roles in the transformation of social and cultural life and urban form have largely remained as an unexplored topic. heralding modern life, it was through railways that distant cities could become closer, and different cultures could easily

¹² For instance see, Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme: 1820-1913*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994); Meropi Anastassiadou, *Selanik: 1830-1912*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 125; Bülent Can Bilmez, *Demiryolundan Petrole Chester Projesi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000); Bülent Can Bilmez, "European Investments in the Ottoman Railways". In Ralf Roth and Günter Dinshöhl (eds.) *Across the Borders: Financing the World's Railways in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. (London: Ashgate, 2008), 183-206; Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu*. (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1994); Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000)

interact. In the late nineteenth century, travel from İstanbul, Selanik, Edirne or Üsküb to Vienna, Paris or London took not more than three or four days by trains. Therefore, many Ottoman citizens could go to prominent European cities while many Europeans could travel at the opposite direction. Therefore, arrival of railways in Ottoman Balkan cities provided them with the opportunity of encountering with new customs, styles and habits of modern life. In relation to the transformation of social and cultural life, railway projects played a significant role as an actor of change in shaping the built environment as well. Allocation of railway stations shifted the growth axes of these cities. The new streets leading directly to the stations became popular social spaces of inhabitants with the existence of cafes, restaurants, hotels and shops on them. In this sense, the emergence of new building types of modern urban life in these cities was directly related to railway projects.

The first and the founder actor to be studied in the dissertation is the state and the way it intended, determined, scheduled, implemented and manipulated the railway projects. Detached from its authority, the state is elaborated here as the individuals who had the ability of representing the administrative tools. Therefore, in the nineteenth century Ottoman administrative hierarchy, this actor corresponded to the sultan himself and the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*) performing as the executive force of the state authority headed by the grand *vezir* (sadrazam) in İstanbul. Throughout the nineteenth century, the administrative reforms necessitated the emergence of a professional bureaucracy class in the capital and the provinces which resulted in the specialization of different state organs and ministries within certain areas. Furthermore, the actor of the state also covered the governors who were the extensions of the state device in the peripheries and whose operations can be interpreted as the representation of the state in the localities. In a more general sense, the state's strategic priorities and aims, and territorialization¹³ policies in which the railways were used as active tools of operation can be also cited in this actor group.

¹³ Here, the theme of territorialization is borrowed from poststructuralist philosophers Deleuze and Guattari to explain the state's policies of power by means of appropriation of space and place. In their seminal work *Anti – Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Deleuze and Guattari bring about the themes of *territorialization*, *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* in order to explain the phases of appropriation of place or land and these themes correspond consecutive steps of space politics of the state authority. See Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

Territorialization policies of the state can be associated with the consecutive reform movements to restore the order of the regime all around the empire. From the seventeenth century onwards, the deteriorations in the land regime, the losses in battlefields after the long lasting consecutive wars, the outbreak of insurgencies and social subversions occurred during the suppression of them made the idea of reforms a current issue in the agenda of İstanbul. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the reforms had remained limited only in the military area: they were aimed to reorganization and modernization of the existing structure of the Ottoman army and accordingly, apart from the foundation of military ateliers and factories, the military academies were inaugurated in İstanbul for the education of military officials according to the knowledge of the recent war strategies and techniques imported from Europe by means of the foreign experts.

As will be introduced in the second chapter, from a relatively early period, the Ottoman high bureaucracy discovered the railways potential in the use of economic, military and political territorialization of the peripheries and the zeal of the Sublime Porte for the establishment of railway lines in the Ottoman Balkans was mostly inspired by instrumental capacity of railways in the territorialization. Therefore, in the study, the theme of using the railways for territorialization of Ottoman Balkans dominates the other themes explaining the state's activities as an actor of change. In addition to the territorialization of Ottoman Balkans, planning attempts in the cities and operational interventions in the railway operating companies will be cited as well.

Finally, it is possible to ask to what extent the municipalities can be considered as a state actor and how they can be differentiated from the governors (*mutasarrıf or vali*) in the peripheries. In the Ottoman administration system, the governors were mostly staying with the locals for a short time –in many cases even shorter than a year- and their frequent relocations after appointing to a certain position would take them away from diffusing into local dynamics. Their operations, mostly aiming to consolidate the control of the state in the region, were under the rigorous supervision of the central authorities. On the other hand, the municipal councils and the mayors were elected among the inhabitants paying a certain annual tax and the distribution of the members of the councils reflected the demographic variety of the community to

some extent –though the mayor was always among the Muslims. So, rooted on the local dynamics, the municipal organization – though not as strong as the government in many cases- can be considered as a local actor of change.

Apart from the state, the other founder actor is the international railway entrepreneurs. As will be discussed in the second chapter, the interest of foreign capitalists in establishing railway routes in the Ottoman Empire emerged in an early period and concurrently with other European counterparts; and accordingly, they sent the Sublime Porte petitions about their intentions. After getting the imperial permission to build up railways in Ottoman Balkans, they set up construction and exploitation companies and hired specialists to send for the technical and administrative duties. These specialists imported know-how in many areas and they educated domestic technical staff during their official duties. The concessions granted the entrepreneurs a number of rights about the appropriation of the territories that they commanded. Apart from building railway yards and tracks, they made speculations on the lands in order to maximize their profit and it frequently ended up in struggles between the state and the international entrepreneurs.

The last actor is the locals settled in the cities. Considering the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities, it is a complicated issue to draw the exact boundaries of the realm of local actors. The multi-ethnic and polyglot nature of the societies, their conflict - based interrelations, the pre-industrial economic conditions, the presence of foreigners and foreign enterprises, and the application of new regulations in the locality have emerged during the research process as forerunning aspects revealing the inner mechanisms of the local actor position in the Ottoman Balkan cities. [As it was the case in most of the empires of the nineteenth century, the presence of social mechanisms preventing chaos was based on unwritten rules recognized by all actors. Despite this difficulty, the study aims to understand who those local actors were and what their roles were in the spatial change of the cities.

As a result of the British-Ottoman Trade Treaty of 1838, the Tanzimat Decree of 1839 and the Islahat Decree of 1855, Levantines and non-Muslim subjects of the Empire received some economic privileges. Setting close affairs with the foreign enterprisers and being under their protection, those subjects considerably ameliorated their economic conditions especially in the port cities of Ottoman Balkans. The

increasing prosperity of these communities – through the legal opportunities that provided equality among the Ottoman subjects- enabled them to make investments in the urban space for their behalf as individuals and also for the welfare of their community. Moreover, the new political condition, characterized mainly by nationalist motives, led the communities to develop their self-identity. Accordingly, religious and social circles became one of the prominent actors shaping the cities: they commissioned churches/synagogues, schools, hospitals, hospices and they entered into a competition to increase their areas of influence in the cities. The Greek and Jewish communities were the forerunners, but Bulgarian, Vlach and Serbian communities were also active in the cities having a considerable number of their subjects. Therefore, religious communities and their churches/synagogues were among the local actors. In addition to them, there were local entrepreneurs, as figures appeared due to increasing welfare and known by their ability of being at the right time in the right place to invest.

If they had social support and economic capability, the mayors sometimes became an influential local actor in the shaping of the cities. The social circles independent from nationalist affiliations, the local newspapers, and the consuls of foreign states and the representatives of foreign companies in the cities were the other influential actors to consider. Although they did not have a direct impact on the built environment, they had the power of triggering the existence and construction pace of many projects by using their influences. Therefore, in terms of definition and content, the group of “local actors” seems to have the least rigid boundaries surrounding individuals as well as communities with different motives in the spatial shaping of the cities in relation to the railways. It is a weak tie, but still, what connects them together is their indigenous character together with their reflexes stimulated by the local conditions.

1.2 On Methodology and Primary Sources:

The research process of this dissertation has revealed the fact that the literature on railway projects as an inducer of change in Ottoman Balkan cities was very limited and also that except for a few sources, it fell short of providing a methodological basis. For this reason, this dissertation has heavily depended on the analytical and critical use of primary sources in shaping its methodology by developing a new

approach or, in other words, by drawing a new conceptual framework, as explained above.

The first group of primary sources is formed by maps, plans and other genres of drawings in any scale. They are precious documents, especially if they are rare and/or difficult to reach. To examine their potential of showing not only what was existed or projected, directly, but also of what was absent, indirectly, has been an immensely useful way of learning about the spatial changes in built environments in different periods. For instance, the close examination of some maps has indicated how the railway yards shaped their surroundings and defined the development of the existing city forms. Moreover, when some plans have been studied comparatively, it has become clear, for example, how a single building spatially changed its surrounding; how planning attempts of officials after great fires resulted in success or failure; or how provision of public works affected expansion axes of the cities. The drawings could also shed light on certain minor issues: a signature, a date or a stamp on the corner of a plate could reveal hidden details about its authenticity; or some notes, brief or long, inserted on it could present information on the justification of the project progression in time or on the implementation of the project. The wide range of these documents especially on Selanik and Edirne has enabled to develop a comprehensive discussion; however, it has not been the case for the other cities due to only a single copy of a city plan for Manastır and a few for Dedeoğlu.

This group of primary sources has been examined in a number of archives. The National Map Library of Greece, Thessaloniki branch is the primary place of many drawings of Selanik including general maps, city plans, watercolor plans. Moreover, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning Archive collects many historical drawings of many northern Greece cities in different scales. Regarding the case of Manastır, National Archives of Republic of Macedonia, Bitola branch keeps the oldest existing plan of the city, probably dating the end of the nineteenth century. In addition to the archives abroad, Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in İstanbul (BOA) has some remarkable plates of Edirne, Selanik and Dedeoğlu. In addition to them, numerous drawings (mostly maps), produced by official engineers and entrepreneur companies for many public works in Ottoman Balkans, give invaluable details about the implementations of railway projects in the

region. Finally, Istanbul University Rare Materials Collection owns a number of drawings in its archive, and the ones on Dedeoğlu are indispensable documents in writing the history of the city.

In the following chapters, these documents have been used in a number of ways: firstly, to be able to understand the components of built environment at a certain time and to emphasize their certain aspects, single buildings or groups of buildings are marked on the drawings and annotations are inserted on the plates. In most cases, they are presented along with postcards or photographs, as well. Secondly, to be able to make comparative analysis of built environments, drawings are juxtaposed with the preceding and following examples. Lastly, as stated before, by tracing details, a number of details about authorship, reason(s) of drawing, and/or implementation progress are exposed.

Being invented at the first half of the nineteenth century, photography has been an indispensable tool in presenting transformations in cityscape. It was immediately imported and internalized by Ottoman individual photographers and the state authority since it was a crucial instrument to communicate with a wide domestic and international audience and it also witnessed the changes and documented them in urban fabrics. Sultan Abdülhamid II was well known for his curiosity in photography, and he ordered official photographic expeditions all over the empire to capture images of significant events, commemoration ceremonies or realization of public works. Parallel to the development of photography, printing of images turned into a fruitful enterprise and postcards depicting cities, built environments, streets, public buildings, steam engines or locomotives were posted and delivered all around the Ottoman Empire, this fashion scattered rapidly and sending postcards at every stop to hometown turned into a regular habit of travelers, businessmen, officials during their long trips. Apart from private collections, there are two significant archives in Turkey that are visited for a number of times throughout the research: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection which was formed as a section of central library in Beyazıt Campus and accommodating Sultan Abdülhamid II's albums and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Atatürk Library located at Taksim district has remarkable visual materials collection. İstanbul University Library Rare Materials Collection accommodates thousands of original visual materials including

photographs, maps, drawings, engravings and postcards. Similarly, Taksim Atatürk Library is another invaluable source for rare visual materials.

Accordingly, in Thessaloniki, Municipality History Center owes its fame very much to its visual collection. In Bitola, Maniki Brothers Photography and Cinematography Museum commemorates famous Maniki Brothers of the city who were documenting every event of the city from 1890s to 1960s and along with national archives local branch houses numerous images of the city shot by Maniki Brothers.

Similar to drawings, these materials have been studied in a number of ways by transforming them into appropriate layouts for discussion. Firstly, some items have been marked or annotated in order to highlight some significant aspects of the image. Secondly, by juxtaposing some images of a single building or a built environment with each other, spatial changes that took place in a certain period have been highlighted. Finally, details about photographs, such as photographers, senders, receivers, dates, and albums in which they are placed; and/or about postcards, such as senders, receivers, dates of posting, stamps and inserted notes have led the study to new paths of research.

Apart from these visual documents, travelogues are significant primary sources as well. Stimulated by the increasing interest in the Levant and in the image of the “Orient” among the Europeans, the literary genre of travelogue proliferated among travelers who visited Ottoman territories throughout the nineteenth century. They captured instances of daily life, customs, and individuals and reflected general images of Ottoman cities. Without overlooking their tone of narration -generally misconceptualized or stereotypical- many travelogues have been investigated throughout the research. Among them, Adolphus Slade’s *Records of Travels in Turkey and Greece, and of a Cruise in the Black Sea, with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831* (1833) have been used for its depictions of Edirne and Dedeağaç region. Famous British archeologist Charles Thomas Newton’s first volume of *Travels & Discoveries in the Levant* (1865) includes not only invaluable notes about the archeological findings in Selanik but also physical depiction of the city in brief. Captain Townsend’s *A Military Consul in Turkey; the Experiences and Impressions of a British Representative in Asia Minor* (1910) presents physical descriptions of Edirne cityscape and George Frederick Abbott’s *The Tale of a Tour*

in Macedonia (1903) depicts Selanik and its vivid public life in detail. John Foster Fraser's *Pictures from the Balkans* (1906) covers valuable information on Edirne, Selanik as well as on Manastir. Furthermore, for views on Selanik and Manastir, Heinrich Barth's *Reise durch das Innere der Europäischen Türkei von Rustchuk über Philippopel, Rilo (Monastir), Bitolia und den Thessalischen Olymp nach Saloniki im Herbst* (1862) has been used as a general reference.¹⁴

Related to travelogues, tourist guide books form another group of primary sources. Written as handbooks for European travelers, they cover details about means of transportation, including train or steamship timetables, custom regulations, and hotels to stay, cafes or restaurants to dine, or major stores to shop for authentic goods. As prominent examples used by curious travelers, John Murray's *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople* (1845 and later) and Meyer's *Reisebücher Türkei, Rumänien, Serbien, Bulgarien* -both had numerous editions published throughout the century, starting in 1898 and then 1902 respectively- are among the guide books used in the study. Lesser known but equally informative Èmile Isambert's two volume *Itinéraire Descriptif, Historique et Archéologique de l'Orient* (1881) and Sir R. Lambert's two volume *Handbook to the Mediterranean Its Cities, Coasts and Islands for the Use of General Travellers and Yachtsmen* (1892) are the other guide books used in the related chapters.

Memoirs or autobiographies were among the developing literary genres in the nineteenth century and many Ottoman notables as well as many foreign experts working for Ottoman Empire had memoirs either published in book form or issued in popular magazines. As valuable primary sources, the memoirs of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), Falih Rıfkı (Atay), Kazım Karabekir, Fazlı Necip, Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı), Ebubekir Hazım (Tepeyran), Abdülmecid Fehmi, Necati Cumalı, Reşad Tesal, Ferdinand Hochstetter, Colmar von der Goltz are the noticeable individuals have been used in this study.¹⁵

¹⁴ For the other travelogues also researched, see the bibliography.

¹⁵ See the bibliography part for the bibliographical details of their memoirs.

Reporting on the public works in Ottoman Balkans, Ottoman periodicals constitute another group of primary sources. They were embellished by photographs and some other graphical illustrations to increase their sense of reality. *Şehbal*, *İctihad*, *Servet-i Fünun*, *Resimli Kitab*, *Ulum-u İktisadiye ve İctimaiyye* are the foremost examples covering news and many images about Balkan *vilayets* and cities and public works undertaken in the region. *Salnames* (almanacs or yearbooks of Ottoman *vilayets*), the official periodicals published by the *vilayet* authorities, present systematic archival data to a certain extent. Published periodically, they can be considered as a platform through which local governments documented their efforts and expressed them to the central authority. They conveyed detailed information about *vilayets* including civil and military servants, projected and realized infrastructures, census results, administrative hierarchy, institutions, construction of public buildings. Thus *salnames* testify to the late-nineteenth century Ottoman penchant for orderly documentation and classification to facilitate gathering and storing knowledge on all aspects of the Empire.¹⁶

Beyond periodicals, local newspapers are sources of first hand information about Ottoman Balkan cities. The polyglot nature of Ottoman society can be traced in the variety of the newspapers. Some of them are monolingual; Turkish, Sephardic Hebrew, Greek or Bulgarian and other major European languages; and the others are bilingual with the combination of any of them. *The Levant Herald* of Istanbul is a bilingual one (French and English) published for decades, and by issuing news from its correspondents located in Balkan towns, it regularly reported public works undertaken in Edirne, Selanik, Dedeğaç and/or Manastır.¹⁷ *The Times* and *Manchester Guardian* are among foreign newspapers which have provided additional information on these topics.¹⁸ Regarding the Turkish newspapers explored throughout the research, *Selanik*, *Zaman* and *Malumat* of Selanik together with *Ziya*, *Senin* and *Tanin* have been the ones most frequently referred to.

¹⁶ Zeynep Çelik. *Empire, Architecture and the City: French- Ottoman Encounters; 1830-1914*. (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2008), 19

¹⁷ During the research process in National Library (Ankara), the Levant Herald's entire collection of 1869-1878 was completely examined, and the issues published between 1878- 1894 were partially explored for specific dates and events to receive first hand information.

¹⁸ These newspapers were digitally accessed via digital academic databases.

As final remarks on primary sources, the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul should be mentioned specifically as the place which guided this study. In addition to numerous visual materials, more than a hundred files were examined by covering a period of nearly a century from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century material during research visits.

However, a research on histories of Balkan cities would have remained incomplete without studying at local research centers and archives of Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, a research in Greece and Republic of Macedonia¹⁹ was conducted in fall 2010 semester. In the research trip, studies were mostly based in Aristotle University of Thessaloniki School of Urban Planning and Architecture, a well-known center of urban history of Ottoman Balkan cities, under the guidance of Professor Alexandra Yerolympos. In addition to the Faculty's archive, the Institute of Balkan Studies, Macedonia Historical Archives of Greece in Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki Municipality History Center and National Map Library of Greece, Thessaloniki branch were the places of research where many primary and secondary sources on the Balkan cities of the nineteenth century could be reached. Besides, a number of scholars, amateur historians and professional architects generously opened their private collections without which the research would have remained incomplete. Moreover, short research trips to Skopje, Bitola and Alexandroupolis were carried on as well. In Skopje, National Library and National History archive collections; and in Bitola, National History Archives local branch and Manaki Brothers Cinema and Photography Museum collection were the archives of invaluable material. In both cities, many scholars and professionals contributed generously to the research process as well.²⁰

¹⁹Officially, the state is recognized as the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia in the United Nations and the name is one of the current political conflicts between Greece and Republic of Macedonia (or FYROM). Being historically united regions throughout the ages, the region of Macedonia is mostly divided into the territories of these counties. Embraced and claimed by both parties, the name of Macedonia stands at the center of the political conflict.

²⁰ This research was mainly sponsored by ARIT's W.D.E Coulson & Toni Cross Aegean Exchange Fellowship and partially by High Education Council of Turkey's research fellowships which I had received before.

1.3 On Secondary Sources

While the examination of primary sources has constructed the main body of the dissertation, secondary sources have made significant contributions to the evaluation and assessment of primary sources in developing strategies for the methodological framework.

The first group of secondary sources enables to draw an outline to place the nineteenth century political, military, social and cultural histories of Europe and rest of the world within the context of industrial revolution. As examples, it is possible to cite T.C.W. Blanning (ed.) *The Nineteenth Century : Europe, 1789-1914* (2000) and Robin W. Winks' *Europe and the Making of Modernity: 1815-1914* (2006) and Hannu Salmi's *Nineteenth-Century Europe : A Cultural History* (2008) and Eric Hobsbawm's well-known triplet *The Age of Empire* (1987), *The Age of Capital* (1996) and *The Age of Revolution* (1997) are among the primary sources to refer in terms of general outline of the nineteenth century Europe. With a special emphasis on industrialization, edited by Richard Eugene Sylla and Gianni Toniolo, *Patterns of European Industrialization: The Nineteenth Century* (1991); Clive Trebilcock's *The Industrialization of the Continental Powers, 1780-1914* (1991) and Margaret C. Jacob's *Scientific Culture and the Making of the Industrial West* (1997) are influential sources to understand the historical context of the nineteenth century.

The second group covers the vast literature in Turkey on the history of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert's second volume of *An Economic and Social History of Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (1994) and Donald Quataert's *Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* (2000) have been among the primary readings at the beginning of the research process. For the nineteenth century reforms after *Tanzimat* decree, Tanıl Bora's, *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi (The Intellectual Legacy of Turkish Republic: Accumulation of Tanzimat and Constitutional Monarchy Periods)* (2002) has been especially helpful. Similarly, with its various thematic articles by well-known scholars, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi (The Encyclopedia of Turkey from Tanzimat to Republic)* (1985) has offered both specific and general outlooks on the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. For social aspects of the

nineteenth century reforms, Fatma Müge Göçek's *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Modernization and Social Change* (1996) and Elizabeth Özdalga's *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (2004) have been stimulating texts to read. In addition to them, Ali Akyıldız's *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme (Ottoman Bureaucracy and Modernization)* (2009), Onur Kınılı's *Osmanlı'da Modernleşme ve Diplomasi (Modernization and Diplomacy in Ottoman Empire)* (2006) and Roderic Davidson's *Reform in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1876* (1963) have provided the opportunity to elaborate on how the reforms reshaped the state device. Moreover, İlber Ortaylı's *Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri, 1840-1880 (Local Administration in Tanzimat Period, 1840-1880)* has been a basic source to understand the changes in local administrative organization and foundation of municipalities.

For the nineteenth century Ottoman economy, as another group, Reşat Kasaba's *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Ekonomisi: 19. Yüzyıl (Ottoman Empire and World Economy: the Nineteenth Century)* (1993) and Huri İslamoğlu-İnan's *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy* (1992) have been among the basic readings presenting the topic comparatively within the context of the nineteenth century world economy. Additionally, Şevket Pamuk's *Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Dünya Kapitalizmi, 1820-1913 (Ottoman Economy and World Capitalism, 1820-1913)* (1985) and *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme: 1820-1913 (Dependancy and Growth in Ottoman Economy: 1820-1913)* (1994) and Rıfat Önsoy's *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Sanayi ve Sanayileşme Politikası (Ottoman Industry and Industrialization Politics in Tanzimat Period)* (1994) have been the other sources enabling to allocate the interrelation between Ottoman and European economies and economic mechanisms in the nineteenth century in terms of center-periphery relations. Donald Quataert's *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (1992) has provided a different view to understand Ottoman economy, and more specifically, Ottoman industrialization as an indigenous adjustment effort. Necla Geyikdağı's *Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire: International Trade and Relations; 1854-1914* (2011) has been helpful to figure out the establishment of companies mostly financed by international entrepreneurs to facilitate many public works all around the Empire.

What should be noted here is that in comparison to the literature on the political and economic history of nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, the one on cultural and social history is still limited, despite some important developments in recent years.²¹

The fifth group is formed by the increasing number of sources on nineteenth century Ottoman architecture. The architectural history survey books of Doğan Kuban and Godfrey Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture* (2007) and *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (1971), respectively, with their chapters on nineteenth century, have been preliminary readings, covering general information. Yıldırım Yavuz and Süha Özkan's chapter titled "Final Years of Ottoman Empire" in *Modern Turkish Architecture* (edited by R. Holod, A.Evin and S. Özkan) (1984) and Zeynep Çelik's chapter "Architectural Pluralism and the Search for a Style" in *The Remaking of Istanbul* (1986) have provided further knowledge for the general background of the study. In addition to them, Zeynep Çelik's *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fairs* (1992) and Ahmet Ersoy's article "Architecture in the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period" (2007) have been helpful to see how Ottomans perceived their architecture and architectural legacy and tried to express them through their World Fair installations and printed booklets. On the other hand, Maurice Cerasi's article "Late Ottoman Architects and Master Builders" (1988) has enabled to relate the context of the study to the issue of architectural design and application mechanisms.

²¹For instance, see Roderic Davidson, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1876*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Basil Gounaris, "Social and Economic Change in Macedonia, 1871-1912: The Role of the Railways". (PhD Diss. Oxford University, 1988); Rifat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire from the 16th to 18th Centuries*. (Albany: State University of New York University Press, 1991); Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991); Ali Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform* (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1993); Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Modernization and Social Change*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarih Vakfı, 1998); François Georgeon and Paul Dumont, eds., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yaşamak: Toplumsallık Biçimleri ve Cemaatler Arası İlişkiler, 18.-20. Yüzyıllar*. Çev. M. Selen. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000); İsa Blumi, *Rethinking the Late Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Social and Political History of Albania and Yemen, 1878-1918* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2003); Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder, eds., *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

The limited but quite useful sources on the nineteenth century Balkan (Rumeli) lands of Ottoman Empire constitute another group. Frederick Anscombe's *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750-1830* (2006), Rossitsa Gradeva's *Rumeli under the Ottomans, 15th-18th Centuries: Institutions and Communities* (2004), Nikolai Todorov's *Society, the City and Industry in the Balkans: 15th-19th Centuries* (1998) and Maria Todorova's *Imagining the Balkans* (2009) have been the preliminary readings to understand the historical context before reform movements started. For a general account of the influences of nationalism on Ottoman Balkans and Ottoman politics to counterbalance it, Sacit Kutlu's *Milliyetçilik ve Emperyalizm Yüzyılında Balkanlar ve Osmanlı Devleti (Balkans and Ottoman Empire in the Age of Nationalism and Imperialism)* (2004) and Kemal Karpat's *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk (Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans and Nationalism)* (2004) have been used as basic sources. For the application of Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Balkans, Mehmet Çelik's *Balkanlarda Tanzimat ve Midhat Paşa'nın Tuna Vilayeti Valiliği, 1864-68 (Tanzimat in Balkans and Midhat Paşa's Tuna Vilayet Governorship, 1864-68)* (2010) has been an inspirational source on the preliminary operations of the reform in local administrative system. Michael Palairret's *The Balkan Economies c.1800-1914: Evolution without Development* (2004) has introduced the existing demographic and economic conditions in Ottoman Empire and other new Balkan States and the results of reforms in the economic realm by making comparisons among states; therefore, this book has been used to evaluate the existing and new economic activities of Ottoman Balkans in relation to its neighbor countries. Similarly, Nikolai Todorov's *The First Factories in the Balkan Provinces of the Ottoman Empire* (1971) has been used to understand the volume of industrial production in Ottoman Balkans and its variety due to the locations and goods. Here, it should be noted that there is a significant problem about the secondary sources on the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkans published in the Balkan countries, and this is the problem of the tone of the narration. Especially in the earlier sources, the nationalist and negative tone against the Ottoman past of Balkans becomes prominent. However, the number of works on nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan history crediting the Ottoman era has increased recently. Besides, scholars from different disciplines have also contributed to the field from their perspectives by enriching the framework of this study.

Accordingly, the last group of secondary sources covers the ones on urban and architectural histories of Selanik, Edirne, Manastır and Dedeâğaç. There are numerous sources on these cities, especially on Selanik and Edirne, and the most distinctive ones used to explore the issue of the nineteenth century architectural histories of Selanik, Edirne, Manastır and Edirne are the following ones: For Selanik, Meropi Anastassiadou's *Salonique, 1830-1912: Une Ville Ottomane á l'Age des Réformes* (1997) has illuminated many aspects of the nineteenth century city.²² Vassilis Dimitriades' *Topografia tis Thessalonikis kata tin Epohi tis Tourkokratias, 1430-1912 (Topography of Salonica During the Ottoman Occupation 1430-1912)* (1983) has been among the general references, used to understand the social and spatial aspects of the old town neighborhoods and new districts existed around railway yard. Alexandra Yerolympos' article on modernization and urbanization of northern Greece during *Tanzimat* period, published in *Villes Ottomanes a la Fin de l'Empire* (1992), edited by Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, has introduced the dynamics of the physical expansion of Selanik in the end of the nineteenth century. Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic's article, published in the same book, has depicted physical and social aspects of Manastır at the turn of the twentieth century. Basil Gounaris' article on Selanik, published in *Port Cities of Eastern Mediterranean, 1800-1914* (1993), edited by Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren and Donald Quataert has presented economic aspects of the development of the city after the establishment of the port and railway facilities. *Salonique, 1850-1918: La Ville des Juifs et le Réveil des Balkans*²³ (1992), edited by Gilles Veinstein, has brought up many distinguished articles on the modernization of the city starting from the second half of the nineteenth century. Among these articles, the one written by Alexandra Yerolympos and Vassilis Colonas has introduced physical transformation of the city after the great fire of 1890. Bülent Özdemir's *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life: Reflections from Salonica, 1830-1850* (2010) has depicted Selanik cityscape and social life at the dawn of numerous spatial operations which would take place in the second half of the nineteenth century. Similarly, Alexandra Yerolympos' *Urban*

²² The book was translated into Turkish under the title of *Selanik: Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri, 1830-1912*. This Turkish edition has been used in the related chapters of the study.

²³ The Turkish edition was published under the title of *Selanik, 1850-1918: Yahudilerin Kenti ve Balkanların Uyanışı* in 1999.

Transformation in the Balkans, 1820-1920 (1996) has been informative on Selanik as well as on Dedeğaç. Finally, the two volume reference book, *Queen of the Worthy: Thessaloniki, History and Culture* (1997), edited by Yannis K. Hassiotis, has presented a variety of articles on economic, cultural, political and social life in the nineteenth century Selanik.²⁴

For Edirne, not only the transformation of urban form but also the development of Karaağaç as a railway suburban town has been the topic of discussion. Accordingly, Rabia Erdoğu's master thesis, "Karaağaç Monografisi" ("Monography of Karaağaç") (1994) and her article on Karaağaç published in *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht* (Edirne: Capital at Border) (1998), edited by Emin Nedret İşli, have presented a productive start and a reliable path of research on Karaağaç. For Edirne, monograph writers such as Tosyavizade Rifat Osman, Osman Nuri Peremeci and Ahmed Badi have provided some preliminary readings. *Edirne: Edirne'nin 600. Fetih Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı* (Edirne: The Giftbook for the 600th Anniversary of Edirne's Conquest) (1965), edited by Turkish Historical Society, has been another general source with many articles on many different aspects of the city after its conquest by Ottomans. Among these articles, Besim Darkot's "Edirne: Coğrafi Giriş" (Edirne: A Geographical Introduction) has been valuable especially for including one of the nineteenth century city plans of the city. Alexandra Yerolympos' article "A Contribution to the Topography of the Nineteenth Century Adrianople" (1993) has introduced the spatial development of the city by tracing the physical change in the city plans of different dates and, therefore, has become an inspirational source in the construction of the methodological framework. Ratip Kazancıgil's *Edirne Şehir Tarihi Kronolojisi: 1300-1994* (*The Chronology of Edirne Urban History*) (1994) and *Edirne Mahalleleri* (*Edirne Neighborhoods*) (1992) has uncovered details about the nineteenth century history and neighborhoods of the city.

For Manastır, Mehmet Tevfik's *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi* (*The History of Manastır Vilayet*) (1910) and Mucize Ünlü's master thesis, "Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapısı, 1873-1912" (Administrative and Social Structure of Manastır Vilayet, 1873-1912) (1996) have provided basic information about the nineteenth century

²⁴ Apart from these books, there are numerous articles focusing on architectural and urban histories of Selanik. See the bibliography for a larger list of entries.

developments. In addition to them, Safet Alimoski's master thesis, "Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez Kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu" ("The Socio-economic Condition of Manastır City as Recorded in Tax Registries") (2005) has depicted the physical and social image of the city by referring to Ottoman official record books. As stated above, Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic's article on Manastır and Lale Gökman's photographic book *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards* (2011) have illustrated the dynamics affecting the spatial change of Manastır in the nineteenth century. Finally, Mark Cohen's *Last Century of a Sephardic Community; Jews of Monastir* (2003) has provided valuable knowledge not only about the culture and activities of less-known Manastır Jewry, but also about the changes in the urban fabric.

Dedeğaç is the one on which the least has been published so far. Alexandra Yerolympos' *Between East and West: Northern Greek Cities during the Period of the Ottoman Reforms* (in Greek) (1997) and *Urban Transformations in the Balkans, 1820-1920* (1996) have been guiding sources on the emergence and development of Dedeğaç as a railway company town. To these academic publications, some articles by amateur historians can also be added. Anastanos Manias' and Antoni Terzi's articles on the history of the town, published in a popular regional periodical, *Ενδοχώρα* (Hinterland), can be mentioned here as particularly helpful examples.

1.4 Structure of the Discussion

The main topic designating the conceptual framework of this dissertation explores in what ways the railways changed the Ottoman Balkan cities of Dedeğaç, Edirne and Karaağaç, Selanik and Manastır, in the second half of the nineteenth century. Within this perspective, the dissertation approaches the railways as the founder or binder agent of some actor positions shaping or reforming the cityscapes. More specifically, it discusses how three actor groups of state, international entrepreneurs and locals were in conflict or collaboration in shaping these cities and changing the spatial, economic, social and cultural conditions of the built environs with the arrival of the railways in the cities.

Accordingly, the body of the dissertation is composed of five chapters and each one focuses on different aspects of the main topic. After the introduction chapter

constituting the first chapter; the second chapter, titled “Empires in Change: Formation of the Ottoman Balkan Railway Network,” discusses the rapid expansion of railways throughout Europe and the rest of the world in the nineteenth century by interpreting the historical developments within the general political and economic context of the period. In this chapter, a group of earliest unrealized railway projects, initiated by British subjects and offered to build in Ottoman territories, are presented by considering the economic and political engagements of Ottoman Empire with European states and European colonies in the remaining world. Then, starting from the 1850s and ending in the 1910s, a group of realized railway projects spreading all around the Empire are introduced briefly by grouping them according to their geographic location: Balkan Peninsula, Anatolia and Middle East. Drawing the historical context of the following chapters, the last part of the second chapter discusses the emergence and development of the Ottoman Balkan Railway network as part of European-Ottoman economic and political relations in the late nineteenth century by referring to various primary and secondary sources.

The third chapter, titled “Cities in Change: Railways Transforming the Ottoman Balkan Cities,” examines Dedeğaç, Edirne and Karağaç, Selanik and Manastır within a larger historical context and by covering earlier periods, and demonstrates their social, economic and spatial transformation throughout the nineteenth century. Accordingly, it draws attention to these cities as the focus of many public works since the early years of Ottoman era. Furthermore, it shows how the religious structure, polyglot and multicultural nature of these cities. The social structure of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Balkan cities is an intricate issue to comment on due to the population in and ethnic division of these cities. Although the Ottomans kept census records, they were not so much reliable, since Ottomans mostly used them to define tax payers and amount of tax to collect. However, in comparison to the estimations of foreigners or claims of bandit groups fighting to get independence, and records of Bulgarian and Greek sources prepared in accordance with their national claims, Ottoman census records were relatively more reliable. Thus, it should be noted that the numbers provided from various sources should be considered within a doubt margin. During this discussion, the chapter refers to a variety of sources collected from domestic and foreign archives and libraries as much as possible.

The fourth chapter, titled “Actors of Change: State, International Entrepreneurs and Local Actors,” concentrates on the actors of state, international entrepreneurs and locals and explores their roles in the transformation of urban architecture of Dedeağaç, Edirne and Karaağaç, Selanik and Manastır after the arrival of the railways. On the basis of rich archival materials, it shows how these actors acted in a unique way in each city; how they were involved in intricate relations; and how they performed intertwined and flexible roles.

The last chapter is a general conclusion of the dissertation. After evaluating the results of discussion in the preceding chapters, it presents an overview of the research process and brings to the fore a number of open-ended questions about related topics to stimulate further researches in this field of study. While doing this, the conclusion brings about the significant aspects of this research in order to explain why the urban architecture of the Ottoman Balkan cities requires further studies. The two salient visual materials (Halil Bey’s relief map and an old brick block from Skopje) are used to enable the readers to imagine the cross-geographical references of Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century. They are useful to understand the imperial consideration of the interconnection of major cities in economic and strategic frames and help us to evaluate the role of the railways in the realization of imperial implementations.

CHAPTER 2

EMPIRES IN CHANGE: FORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN BALKAN RAILWAY NETWORK

2.1 Europe in Change: Railways in Europe and Other Parts of the World

The iron rails become a nerve system, which, on the one hand, strengthens public opinion, and, on the other hand, strengthens the power of the state for police and governmental purposes.

Frederick List, 1841²⁵

Being one of the leading nineteenth century enthusiastic economic theorists, Frederick List was among the intellectuals who foresaw the economic, political and social functions of railway infrastructure as well as its economic benefits at an early date.²⁶ As the progress had shown throughout the nineteenth century, -as will be introduced below- the railway technology did not remain merely as a transportation innovation like steamships, rather it was a revolutionary machine which changed the time, space and place conception of humanity and was also a versatile tool used by the governments for their countries' social, political and financial control and integration. In America, the popular literary magazine *New Englander* in 1851 was typically breathless in its assessment of the effects of railways, telegraphs and

²⁵John J. Lalor (ed.) *Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and the Political History of the United States*, (New York, Merrill, and Co, 1899), vol.3, 118.35.

²⁶List was a forefather of the German historical school of economics, and generally accepted as the original European unity theorist whose ideas were the basis for the European Economic Community in the twentieth century.

steamships and predicted that technological progress would end slavery and seal the Union forever and noted that “Every rail laid along our mountain ridges, every steamboat wheel which disturbs our mighty streams, is adding a rivet to the union of these States, which the intrigues and bluster of neither Northern nor Southern demagogues can sever.”²⁷

In the first half of the nineteenth century, when the first phase of the industrial revolution had emerged, steam engines were the most influential invention of the time. Its prolific spread all over Europe and its use by means of transportation in terms of steam-engine locomotives casted the old continent into a new economic model. As many observers confirmed it, pulling the wagons by steam-hauled locomotives on rail tracks was the most revolutionary phenomenon of the nineteenth century. The new invention not only provided the opportunity of carrying incredible amounts of passengers and good in a short time between stations, but also enabled European countries to complete internal political, economic and military territorialization and standardization processes and set up new economic affairs with their surroundings and with overseas.

By means of railways, more commercial items could be shipped at a time with less transportation cost and this was the fresh blood what nineteenth century European industrialists expected during the industrial revolution. Being mostly higher than the commodities’ costs before the introduction of railways; along with the steamships, the transportation fees vastly diminished in the nineteenth century with the expansion of the railway network throughout the continent. Besides, commodities could be traded not only in the closer markets, but they could be conveyed to further distances to a larger economic hinterland so that burdens of economic geography stretched considerably to a larger extent. In a parallel process, construction of high-capacity harbors and availability of steam-engine freight ships increased maritime traffic volume higher than ever before. It can be argued that if the low-cost transportation provided by railways had not spread in the continent, the economic boom triggered by the industrial revolution could appear late or could remain in a limited extent for a

²⁷ William G. Thomas. *The Iron Way: Railroads, Civil War and Making of Modern America*. (Yale University Press, 2011), 3.

long time. Railways were the catalyst of the proliferation of new technologies, ideals and fashions as well.²⁸

On the other hand, railway journey overthrew the experience of the journey that a traveler had been accustomed to having before: the unimaginable high speeds that the locomotives surpassed significantly influenced the image and meaning of making a journey for any traveler. Ordinary journeys taking several days by conventional means of transportation could be done within a few hours by railways. The new experience made the passengers passive viewers of the surrounding while the wagons were passing among the picturesque natural scenes. Therefore this new experience was essentially different from how they had perceived before.

In this section, history of the appearance of steam-hauled locomotives in Europe and its rapid spread throughout the continent will be introduced. Then, based on David Harvey's conception of "compression of time and space", it will be discussed how the experience of travel changed in the eye of the nineteenth century traveler by means of railways.

2.1.1 Railways before the Industrial Revolution

Use of metal tracks as a transportation infrastructure goes back earlier than what most people think. The earliest existing line was found in mainland Greece at Diolkos wagon road dated to the sixth century B.C and it was used to transport boats across the Corinth isthmus and in this short travel, the wagons were pulled by the slaves. This method was used for centuries.²⁹ During the middle ages, there were many narrow gauge lines installed to transport raw materials from mines to the nearest towns. In these cases, the tracks were usually made of either iron or timber. By the eighteenth century, the use of iron for tracks became common for mining operations and there have been examples of this kind in Britain still surviving until now. In the eighteenth century Europe, it was a common phenomenon to see that

²⁸Christian Wolmar. *Kan, Altın, Demir* .(İstanbul: April Yayıncılık, 2012), 27.

²⁹ M. J. T. Lewis, "Railways in the Greek and Roman world", in A. Guy and J. Rees, eds., *Early Railways: A Selection of Papers from the First International Early Railways Conference* (2001), 8–19, <http://www.sciencenews.gr/docs/diolkos.pdf> (accessed on October 21, 2012)

there were wagons hauled by animals which were placed on iron or timber tracks to carry commodities and raw materials for short distances.³⁰

2.1.2 Invention of the Locomotive and the First Projects in Britain

Although the history of the use of metal tracks goes back earlier, owing to a number of British men, the steam engines were first introduced in the eighteenth century. Probably the earliest working prototype was developed by Thomas Newcomen who was a blacksmith of Devon. However, in the end of the eighteenth century, the idea of developing models suitable for marketing can be attributed to the well-known name James Watt. The archetypal model of a locomotive was designed by Nicholas Cugnot of Paris, who aimed to draw artillery by means of steam power: his design called *Fandieri* reached the speed of four kilometers per hour but it ran out of control in the practice phase.³¹

In Britain, the commercial use of railways brought about shortly after the first successful attempts. The first line that could be used by anyone willing to pay the toll was the Surrey iron railway opened in July 1803, between Wandsworth and Croydon (14,4 km) in Britain and therefore it became the first public railway. This project was realized by William Jessop. In 1806, another early model was built to connect Swensea with the mines and quarries in Mumbles (eight kilometers away) which also carried passengers on the wagons.³² However, in these early attempts, the wagons were mostly pulled by horsepower.

It was the early nineteenth century that the attempts to draw wagons by a locomotive on a railway line were experimented. While James Watt was the inventor of the modern steam engine (in 1769 and revised in 1782), the idea of using a steam engine to pull wagons on an iron track is attributed to Richard Trevithick depending on his

³⁰Christian Wolmar. *Kan, Altın, Demir*, 30.

³¹Robert Kirkby, Richard Shelton et al. *Engineering in History*. (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1990), 274–276 and Thomas Crump. *A Brief History of the Age of Steam*. (Running Press, 2007), 8–10.

³²Hamilton Ellis. *The Pictorial Encyclopedia of Railways*. (The Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1968), 18–20

railway journey with his unnamed steam locomotive in 1803.³³ Although his name did not shine out in popular history, his most significant contribution was bringing the idea of putting a steam engine on iron tracks. In 1801, he invented his first successful machine and placed on tracks a year later. This engine pulled nine ton-weight wagons with a speed of eight kilometers per hour. However, his invention could not arouse public interest of that time.³⁴

After Trevithick, George Stephenson designed his steam-locomotive in 1814 but mistakably, he was known as the inventor of the steam-locomotive. It can be argued that, although he was not the inventor, he can be named as the father of railways since the railway projects could be realized because of his motivation and everlasting effort to use the existing technological knowledge and even improving it in order to develop railways.³⁵

At the beginning of the 1820s, as an engineer, Stephenson started consulting Stockton- Darlington railway line which aimed to transport coal rather than passengers on a single track. Most of the wagons on line were pulled by horses and only one of the Stephenson's machines engaged in service in 1825.³⁶ **(fig. 2.1)**

³³Christian Wolmar. *Fire and Stream*, 4.

³⁴Christian Wolmar. *Kan, Altın, Demir*,32.

³⁵Frank Ferneyhough. *The History of Railways in Britain*. (Osprey Publishing, 1975).

³⁶Michael Robbins. *Railway Age*. (London: Routledge & Paul Kegan,1962).

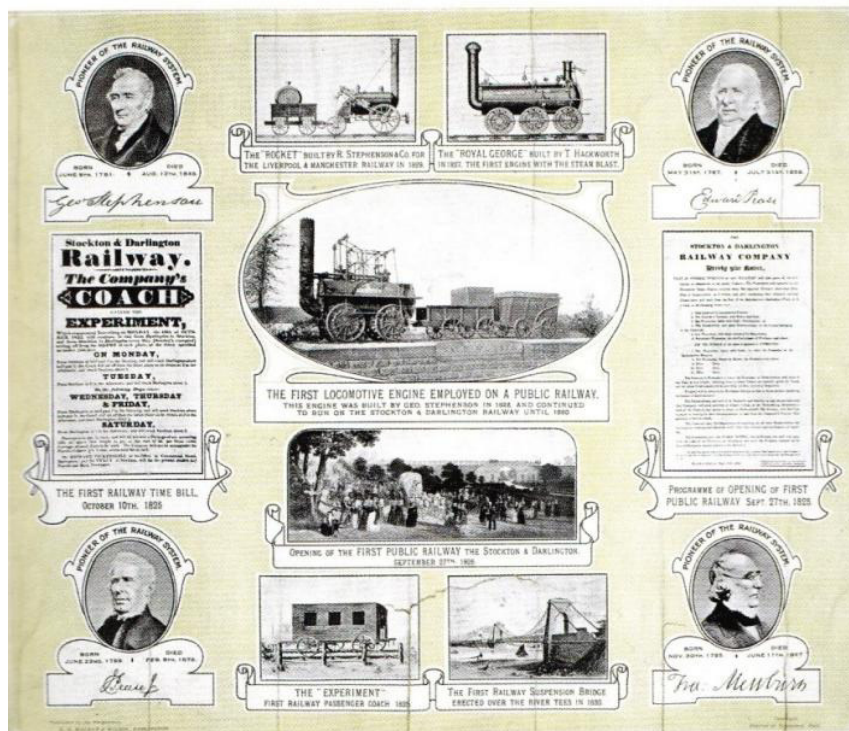


Figure 2.1 Commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of the opening of the Stockton & Darlington Railway with images of Stephenson and his locomotive engine, c. 1840, lithograph.

Source: Christian Wolmar, *Fire & Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain* (2007), 77.

Concurrently, a capitalist group was in search for a locomotive design for their proposal of Liverpool-Manchester line. They set up a competition to race locomotive designs to determine which option was the best for their project. The locomotive called *Rocket* designed by Stephenson reached the average speed of 22 kilometers per hour and maximum speed of 48 kilometers in the race and by its unexpected success, it attracted the public interest and won the competition and 500 British Pound price.³⁷ Thus, Stephenson became the consultant of the new line. The line was inaugurated in 1830 and initially aimed to transport property between two cities: Liverpool was the embarkment point of the cotton coming all around the world and it had to be fabricated in Manchester. (**fig. 2.2**) However, when the construction works were completed, the freight wagons were not prepared for operation so the company decided to carry passengers instead and only within a year 500,000

³⁷ The speed of 48 kilometers per hour is higher than any speed that a driver could reach by traditional means of transport of that time.

passengers were carried on the line.³⁸ All the elements which made up a proper railway were found for the first time between Liverpool and Manchester: locomotives hauled passenger and property and trains were running on a double-tracked railway linking two main towns.³⁹



Figure 2.2 Inauguration ceremony for the Liverpool & Manchester Railway, 1830.

Source: Christian Wolmar, *Fire & Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain*. (2007), 77.

The unprecedented success of the line as a profitable business stimulated many capitalists to get into railway construction and operation business, when there was money abundance in Britain after the industrial revolution. Only within a decade, while railways were rapidly spreading in Britain, a main line connecting London to Liverpool and Manchester through Birmingham could be established. On the other hand, London was also connected to Bristol at southwest and Southampton at south. So, it can be argued that advanced industrialization of Britain put it forward comparing to other European counterparts in terms of railways and therefore it was the first country to use the unlimited potential of the new technology. The success of Stephenson's locomotive and his broad sense of engineering and business caught the public's attention and curiosity and the so-called "railway mania" took place in the

³⁸Frank Ferneyhough. *Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 1830-1980*. (Robert Hale: 1980), 24-30

³⁹Ibid, 30.

middle of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Railways were considered as a way of earning a fortune. Between 1825 and 1835, the British Parliament agreed to give the concessions of building of 54 new rail lines. From 1836 to 1837, 39 new lines were agreed so that in 1853 there were only three cities in Britain where railways had not arrived yet.⁴¹ In a short time, as will be introduced later, railway transportation expanded in continental Europe and by 1850, the total length of railway lines was about 38,600 km; it reached 108,000 km in 1860, 209,000 km in 1870, 372,500 km in 1880, and 616.200 km in 1890.⁴² In 1900, Britain solely had more than 55,000 kilometers of rail track in the British island.

Considering the relations between railways and the British cities, it can be argued that it was the impact of railways, more than any other single agent, which gave the British city its compact shape, which influenced the topography and character of its central and inner districts, the disposal of its dilapidated and waste areas, and of its suburbs, the direction and character of its growth; and which probably acted as the most potent new factor upon the urban land market in the nineteenth century.⁴³

After the 1840s, starting from Britain, the railway stations became the objective of competition among railway companies and they were especially noticeable in Victorian cities. By 1890 the principal railway companies expended over 100 million British pounds, more than eight of all railway capital, on the provision of terminals, bought thousands of acres of central land, and undertook the direct work of urban demolition and reconstruction on a large scale.⁴⁴ In the early years, the typical stations of this period were all on the outskirts of the built-up areas. The main

⁴⁰ *Railway Mania* refers to the period of the 1840s when many capital holders entered into railway business in Britain. Like other stock market bubbles, the Railway Mania became a self-promoting cycle based purely on over-optimistic speculation. As the dozens of companies formed began to operate and the simple unviability of many of them became clear, investors began to realize that railways were not as lucrative and as easy to build as they had been led to believe. See, John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 3-11.

⁴¹ Phyllis Deane. *İlk Sanayi İnkılabı*. Çev.Tevfik Duran. (Ankara: TTK, 1988), 151-152 quoted in Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*. (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993), 17.

⁴² "Demiryolu" *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 13, 9: quoted in Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 18.

⁴³ John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), xv.

⁴⁴ John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 2.

consideration in their allocation was to achieve the cheapest and simplest approach and terminus, with the minimum disruption of property and the termini themselves were mere departure sheds with clumsy roofing covering only the track and leaving passenger platform exposed. Even at the finest and most impressive of the London termini, Euston's splendid arch led only to the ramshackle collection of one-storey brick ticket offices.⁴⁵

2.1.3 Spread into Europe: Railways, States and Entrepreneurs

In the meantime, the inauguration of Liverpool-Manchester line and its accomplishment as a business stimulated European enterprises to build lines in many European countries. The role of British experience was the determining factor in many cases: the British technology was imported to establish the basic infrastructure of the first lines and British capital was the sole financial source for many cases. Eventually, British railway standards became internationally accepted for the railway tracking: for instance even still today, George Stephenson's gauge measure of 4 Ft 8 1/2 inch (143.5 cm) used in Liverpool-Manchester line is an international standard and has been used by around 60% of the world's railways.⁴⁶

Starting from the earliest attempts, there was a significant difference between the continental Europe's railways and the British ones and it was the responsibility of the state. For instance, Belgium applied the opposite approach what Britain had done so far; while the railway routes in Britain were determined in relation to the expectations and speculations of individual enterprisers, Belgium became the most suitable example of state financing and involvement of the railway projects in terms of planning. Actually, state authority was directly involving in the railway business in the other European countries. In continental Europe, the railway proposals were presented to the governments or monarchies by entrepreneurs and then they would decide either to support or to reject the proposed projects. The intervention of the state authority within this process also brought about the concept of commercial and military planning. Therefore, European countries could avoid from the construction of duplicating lines between two cities based on the financial competition of

⁴⁵ John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 4-5.

⁴⁶ Christian Wolmar. *Kan, Altın, Demir*, 29.

enterprisers as it had appeared in Britain.⁴⁷ Another aspect of state intervention in railway construction was the extension and development of railways according to political and financial expectations of the states. It was soon realized that railways could be an invaluable tool to secure up the political, military and economic unity and integrity of the states. In this context, to examine briefly the properties of railway construction in European countries such as France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Russia would be essential to understand the unique tendencies peculiar to countries.

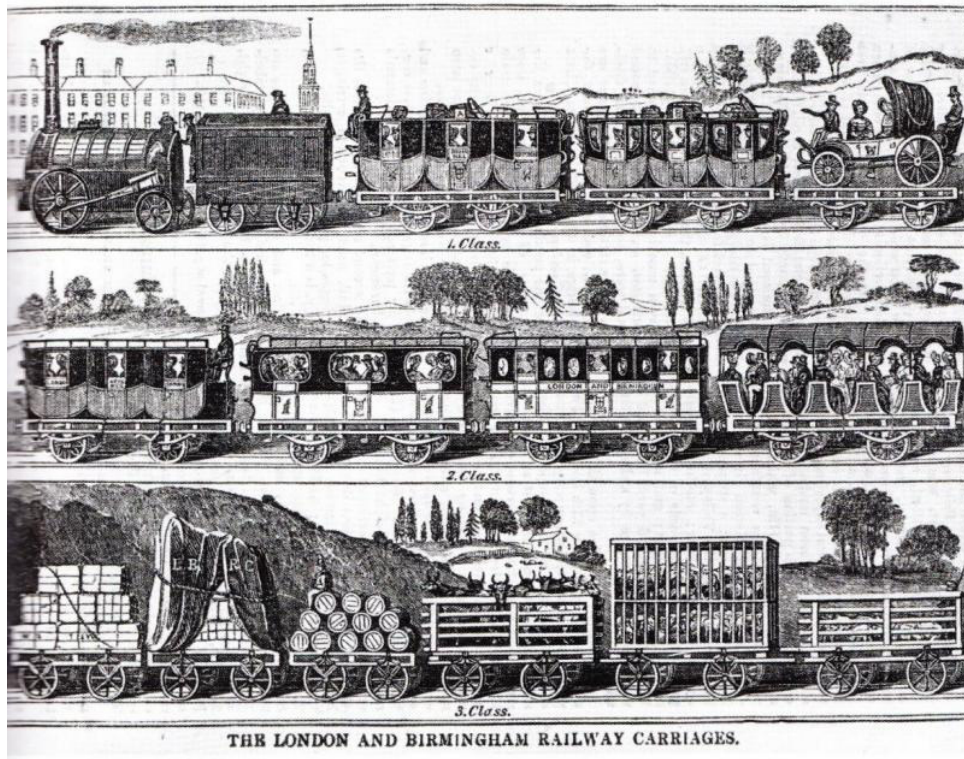


Figure 2.3 Illustration of the class division in passenger carriages on the London & Birmingham Railway, not dated, lithograph.

Source: Christian Wolmar, *Fire & Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain*. (2007), 77.

In France, it was Marc Seguin who was of France's George Stephenson. The first railway line between Ste Etienne and Andrézieux (17,7 km) was constructed to carry coal. Then, in 1832, not long after the first line had opened in Britain, St. Etienne – Lyon railway connection of 58 kilometers was established. As the first example in railway history, the passenger wagons were divided into compartments and this

⁴⁷Michael Robbins. *Railway Age*. (London: Routledge & Paul Kegan,1962),116-118.

design became widespread in time all over the world.⁴⁸ Although the first lines opened immediately after Britain, French progress in railway race failed to keep pace over the next decade and fell behind the other European countries. With the exception of some few short lines, there was no development of the integrated railway network in France until about 1842, when nine great lines were established - which subsequently were amalgamated into six-. The names of these six great lines were *Chemin de fer du Nord*, *De l'Ouest*, *de l'Est*, *d' Orleans*, *Paris-Lyons*, *Mediterranée* and *du-Midi*.⁴⁹ It can be argued that the growth in the United States and Britain seriously outdistanced that in France and besides, France also suffered the disadvantage of the destruction and turbulence of the early nineteenth century after the Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent process of rebuilding, which also hindered the development of railways. Therefore, it took a full decade to begin railway construction on a national scale and until 1860s, the railways projects remained fragmented within the national territories.⁵⁰

Apart from France, in the 1830s, some other European countries started their railway campaigns: Belgium and Germany in 1835, Austria in 1838, and Holland and Italy in 1839.⁵¹

Belgium was not only a case not only of showing the state intervention in railway enterprises as mentioned before, but also of demonstrating how the railways were used for construction of a nation state. Belgium started railway constructions immediately after its separation from the Netherlands in 1830 with the aim of binding Fleming towns of the north and Walloon towns of the south by railways. The first line was 248 kilometers in length and was proposed to follow a route starting from Antwerp through Brussels then to pass to Prussia from Aachen to Cologne.⁵² The first trains were hauled by Stephenson's engines imported from Britain. By

⁴⁸Allan Mitchell. *The Great Train Race: Railways and the Franco-German Rivalry, 1815-1914*. (Berghahn Books: 2006), 8-18.

⁴⁹John J.Lalor ed., *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and the Political History of the United States*, (New York: Merrill, and Co, 1899), Vol. III.118.13.

⁵⁰ Jim Harter, *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century*. (John Hopkins Univ. Press, 2005), 137-141

⁵¹Christian Wolmar. *Kan, Altın, Demir*, 47.

⁵²Jim Harter. *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century*, 142.

1840, while Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Antwerp, Mechelen, Brussels and Leuven were connected by railways, the lines that had to reach Liège, Mons and Kortrijk were partially completed. In 1843, when the major East-West/North-South axes were completed, private companies were allowed to construct and use their own railway systems. These were crucial in the industrialization of the country.⁵³

The northern neighbor of Belgium, the Netherlands established the first line in 1839, between Amsterdam and Harlem. However, by a slow pace, in the 1860s, the total length of the railways in the country was only around 340 kilometers which was half of the length that Belgium had in 1848. One of the main reasons behind it was the compelling topographical conditions of the country.⁵⁴

In Germany, the first railway line was laid between Nurnberg and Furth and started operation in 1835. Like Belgium, the railways became the backbone of the national unity on the way to the unification of German principalities in the nineteenth century. The small states were economically and physiologically bound each other and in 1871 they were merged with Prussia, resulting in the creation of the German Empire so that 39 principalities formed a unity by the physical presence of railways.⁵⁵ Although in the early years, Prussia state financed the railways on the lands under its dominations, in time a binary system developed and private enterprises for railways were officially allowed. The state's responsibility either as financier or the planner was the dominating force in Prussia. At the commencement of its system of railways, Prussia consciously renounced, as to this service, all the benefits that are supposed to flow from competition. The laws of 1838 enacted that no second railway could run in the direction of the first one, and similarly, no second railway could be constructed by any promoters or corporations, other than the promoters and corporations of the first railway, within a period of thirty years from the opening of such railway. Furthermore, the state, by the exact law, reserved the right to purchase the property of all the railways and appurtenances organized under that law, after the lapse of

⁵³Jim Harter, *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century*. (John Hopkins Univ. Press, 2005), 140.

⁵⁴Jim Harter. *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century*, 187-188.

⁵⁵*Ibid*, 156-158.

thirty years.⁵⁶ Lacking a technological infrastructure at first, Germany / Prussia imported its engineering and hardware from Britain, but quickly they learned the skills needed to operate and expand the railways so that by 1850, it was self-sufficient in meeting the demands of railway construction, and railways were a vital impetus for the growth of the new steel industry.⁵⁷

In Russia, the Tsarist government was struggling with the problem of insufficient funds to establish railways within the opportunities of the empire. Therefore there was a necessity to provide capital from European capitalist circles in order to build railway infrastructure of the country. In order to promote the foreign enterprisers, large fields around the railway lines were offered them for exploitation. The first railway project in Russia was a large one comparing to European counterparts: and it started with Austrian engineer Anton von Gestner's persuasion of the Tsar to construct a line between St. Petersburg and Moscow. The construction lasted for years and could be inaugurated in 1851. Based on military reasons, Russia determined to use its own gauge distance dimension different from the European standards: it was five feet (152,4 cm), slightly larger than the general standard. By the early 1880s, all railways were operated by private companies. But then as private railways got into financial difficulty, the government took over some of them, resulting in a mixed system of private and government railways. However, the government guaranteed payment of interest and dividends on the securities of the private railways resulting in a strong incentive for government takeover of failing railways.⁵⁸

It can be suggested that the success of the Stockton & Darlington experience produced in the United States a greater impact than it did in Britain. Before the Liverpool & Manchester line was built, in 1830, many lines of railways were already projected in the United States, and as early as 1825, the New York Central system

⁵⁶ In 1870 there were in Prussia 3,204 miles of rail which belonged to the state, and 3,595 miles of rail which belonged to private lines, see, John J. Lalor (ed.) *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and the Political History of the United States*, vol. III.118.66 and 68.

⁵⁷ Jim Harter. *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century*, 157.

⁵⁸ Christian Wolmar. *Kan, Altın, Demir*, 75-76 and Jim Harter. *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century*, 172-174.

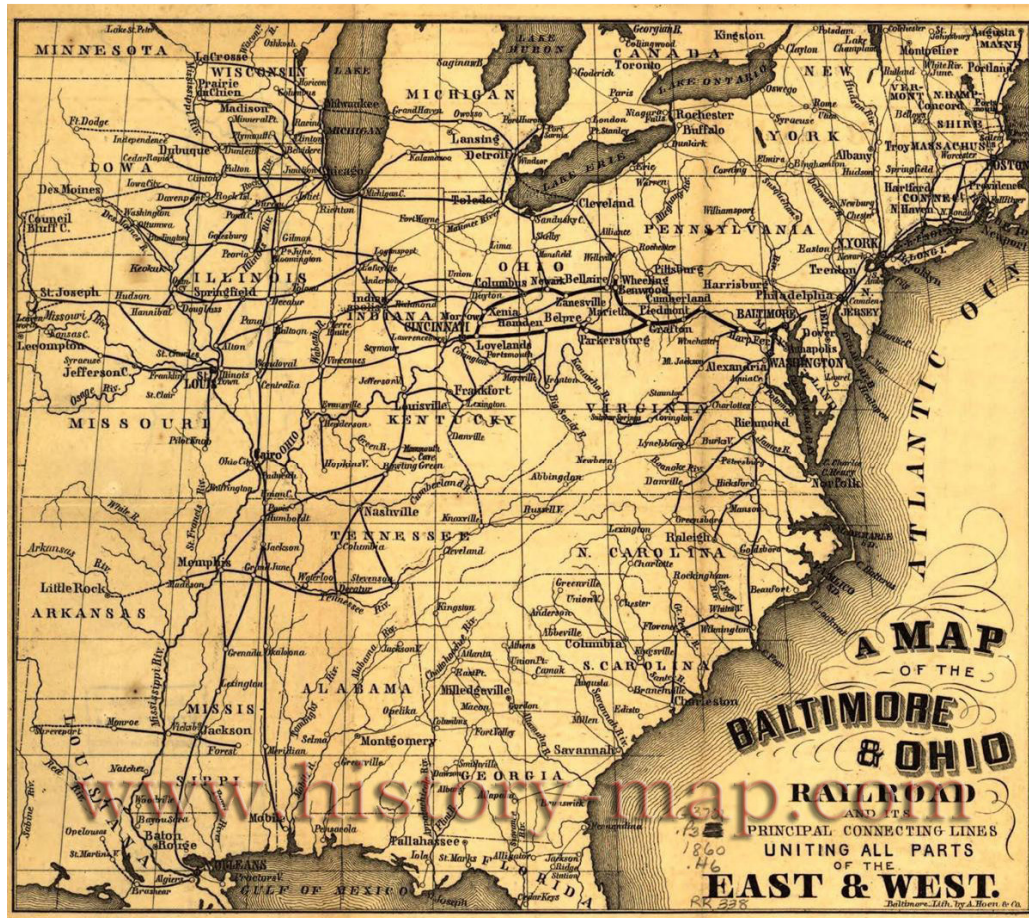
was begun to be built. In 1827, Massachusetts authorized the appointment of a board of commissioners, and initiated surveys for the most practicable routes for a railway from Boston to the Hudson River at or near Albany. Two reports were made by these commissioners in the winter of 1829, accompanied by the recommendation to make the commencement of the railway on both the routes at the charge of the commonwealth. In 1830 and 1831 the Boston & Worcester railway and the Boston & Providence railway companies were chartered, and in 1832 work was already under way to connect Boston with New York. Pennsylvania started its railway network in 1827, and Maryland and South Carolina in 1828. The Baltimore & Ohio railway system was commenced in 1828. Technically, the first common carrier (public) railway was the Baltimore & Ohio, but this line did not commit to steam power for some time. The railway was conceived as a way of helping the city of Baltimore out of its geographical bind – since unlike its rivals New York and Philadelphia, it did not have a river running to its door.⁵⁹ In 1830, almost simultaneously with the opening of the first railway line in England, railways were being opened in the United States in every direction.⁶⁰

The growth of the railway system in the United States is best indicated by the statistical facts that in 1830, there was only 65 kilometers of railways; in 1840 around 3500 kilometers; in 1850 around 12,000 kilometers; in 1860 around 48,000 kilometers; in 1870 around 80,000 kilometers and finally in 1880, it exceeded 150,000 kilometers of railways.⁶¹ **(Map 2.1)**

⁵⁹ Derek Hayes. *Historical Atlas of the North American Railroad*. (University of California Press, 2010), 20.

⁶⁰ John J. Lalor (ed.) *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and the Political History of the United States*, vol.III.118.9.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 118.9.



Map 2.1 Map of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway and its principal connecting lines uniting all parts of the East & West America, 1860.

Source: “A Map of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad”. *World of Historic Maps*, accessed May 22, 2013, <http://www.history-map.com/picture/000/map-the-of-A.htm>.

In the meantime, many Americans saw great potential in railway and telegraph infrastructures to determine progress, promote civilization, and enhance democracy by opening up communication. In other words, in the United States, railways emerged not only the leading industry of the period but also the most obvious indicator of modernity.⁶²

Finally, in India, railways were proposed, constructed and exploited by British capital until her independence. The military engineers of the East India Company, later of the British Indian Army, contributed to the birth and growth of the railways which gradually became the responsibility of civilian technocrats and engineers. The

⁶² William G. Thomas. *The Iron Way: Railroads, Civil War and Making of Modern America*. (Yale University Press: 2011), 2.

first project in India was offered by Rowland McDonald Stephenson in 1844 and the first line was opened in 1853. A British engineer, Robert Maitland Brereton, was responsible for the expansion of the railways from 1857 onwards. The Calcutta-Allahabad-Delhi line was completed by 1864. The Allahabad-Jabalpur branch line of the East Indian Railway opened in June 1867. Brereton was responsible for linking this with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, resulting in a combined network of 6,400 km. Hence, it became possible to travel directly from Bombay to Calcutta via Allahabad.⁶³ By 1875, about 95 million British pounds were invested by British companies in Indian guaranteed railways and railway projects were introduced as symbols of civilization granted to the Indians. During the construction phase of the railways, thousands of Indians had to work in extremely poor conditions and thousands of them died in the construction sites.⁶⁴

It can be argued that England used the railways as a tool to exploit Indian sources in a more effective way therefore tried to expand it as much as possible. Besides, in order to secure up the connection and shorten the journey duration between the England and India, the British capitalists developed a number of projects as well, to build a railway line spanning from Mediterranean coasts to Basra Gulf as a short cut by supporting the opening of the Suez Canal controlling the maritime route between Mediterranean Sea through Red Sea to Indian Ocean. Remarkably, it was for this reason that the first railway proposals in Ottoman territories were offered by the British capitalists in order to provide a shorter and more secure connection between Britain and India, as will be examined later in a broader perspective.

2.1.4 Railway Journey: Experiences and the Concept of Time-Space Compression

When railways were crossing British landscape in 1844, Joseph Mallord William Turner completed his painting called *Rain, Steam and Speed* which perfectly depicted the image of the train approaching the observer from the midst of the fog. **(Fig. 2.4)** The artist caught the image of the speed of the train as experienced in

⁶³Aruna Awatashi. *History and Development of Railways in India*. (New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1994), 14.

⁶⁴Jim Harter. *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century*, 219.

reality by the passengers in the open carriages behind the locomotive. The fuzzy view of the sky, the bridge behind and the surrounding agricultural fields were blurred by representing a running image so that much of it was unreadable. The only clear image in the depiction was the chimney of the locomotive as perhaps a clear symbol of the industrialization of the new mode of travel.



Figure 2.4. *Rain, Steam and Speed* by Joseph Mallord William Turner, 1844, oil on canvas.

Source: *National Gallery Online*, “Rain, Speed and Train”, accessed May 20, 2013, <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/joseph-mallord-william-turner-rain-steam-and-speed-the-great-western-railway>.

The emergence and rapid spread of railway technology put the European societies into a cultural shock. The size and power of the locomotive, its thundering sound, and the boundless trace of the steams and kilometers of metal lines presented a totally unusual experience not only for people who watched this new means of transportation in motion but perhaps more excitingly, for passengers. As a witness of how it felt like traveling on a train, Victor Hugo wrote in 1841, after having made the journey from Antwerp to Brussels: “It takes a lot of effort not to imagine that the iron horse is a real beast.”⁶⁵ the steam engine running restlessly on the rails could not be

⁶⁵ Quoted in Graham Bobb. *Victor Hugo: A Biography*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 46.

depicted with the terms and thoughts of the early nineteenth century societies. Hugo also added:⁶⁶

The motion is magnificent. You have to have felt it to know what it is like. The speed is unbelievable. The flowers at the track-side are not flowers anymore; they turn into blotches or red and white stripes. There are no points, only stripes. The corn is a huge mass of yellow hair; Lucerne, long green tresses. Towns, steeples and trees dance about in a crazy jumble on the horizon. Now and then, a shadow, a shape, the upright figure of a ghost appears and disappears in a flash beside the door... inside the carriage, peoples say “it is three leagues from here; we will be there in ten minutes.

As can be exemplified in Hugo’s memoirs, the railway journey produced novel experiences of self, of fellow-travelers, of the landscape (now seen as swiftly passing panorama) of space and time.⁶⁷ During the travel, the landscape became a swiftly passing panorama, or in Erwin Strauss’ words, a ‘geographical space’.⁶⁸ Straus describes this effect as a change from the experience of travel through the landscape in which “each location is determined [mediated] by its relation to the neighboring space within the circle of visibility. But geographical space is closed, and is therefore in its entire structure transparent. Every place as such a space is determined by its position with respect to the whole and ultimately by its relation to the null point of the coordinate system by which this space obtains its order. Geographical space is systematized.”⁶⁹ In other words, beyond the new environs of track and tunnel required for the railway, the traveler perceived the landscape as it was filtered through the machine ensemble. **(fig. 2.5)**The track and steam power combined to produce a new-found- speed at which locomotives could travel over the land and thereby shrink time and space.⁷⁰ In this sense, the ‘annihilation of space and time’ was the nineteenth century characterization of the effect of the railway travel.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Quoted in Graham Bobb, *Victor Hugo: A Biography*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 47.

⁶⁷ Alan Trachtenberg, “Foreword” in Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: California University Press, 1986), 33.

⁶⁸ Edwin Straus, *The Primary World of The Senses*. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 319.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 53.

⁷⁰ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 24.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 33.

Similarly, Asa Whitney wrote off excitedly after his first ride on train: “Time and space are annihilated by steam and we pass through a city a town, yea a country, like an arrow from Jupiter’s bow.”⁷² Actually, after that railway experience, Whitney, as a New England merchant, turned into a zealous railway promoter and Whitney became convinced that America needed to build a transcontinental railway for military reasons as well as for redirecting the flow of world’s commerce into its shores and across the inland. Consequently, he became the pioneering figure of the railway project from Atlantic to Pacific.⁷³



Figure 2.5 Train cuts through the landscape.

Source: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: California University Press, 1986), 36.

The theory of ‘time-space compression’ which can be traced back to Marx’s ‘annihilation of space and time’ is developed by David Harvey in his well-known book, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (1989). Besides, Paul Virilio’s *Speed and Politics* (1986) contributed significantly to the analysis of the revolutionary time-space understanding in the

⁷² William G. Thomas. *The Iron Way*, 1.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 1.

nineteenth century. As these theorists explain, the diminution of transport distances seemed to create a new, reduced geography, yet it did not alter the size of the spaces between the points connected by the new mode of transport.⁷⁴ Furthermore, railway not only opened up new spaces that were not as easily accessible before, but also diminished space namely the space between distant points.⁷⁵ So, mechanical power created its own new spatiality. (fig. 2.6)

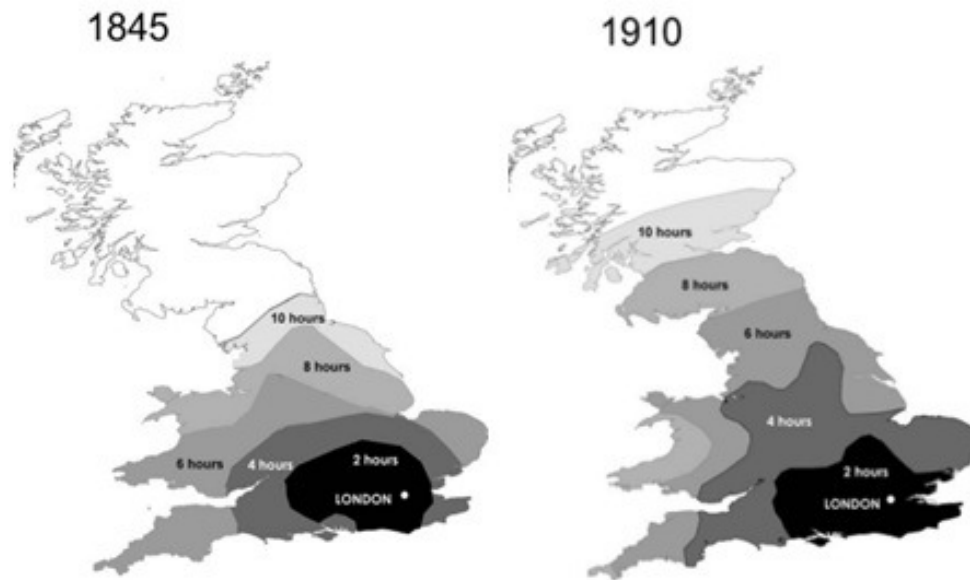


Figure 2.6 Graphical comparison of accessibility in Britain by railways from London in 1845 and 1910.

Source: Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression; Historical Geographies* (New York: Routledge; 2008), 93.

The alteration of spatial relationships by the speed of the train was not simply a process that diminished space; it was a process that expanded space as well. The dialectic of this process reveals that the diminution of space, meaning shrinking of transport time, caused an expansion of transport space by incorporating new areas to transport network.⁷⁶ As Tim Cresswell observes, “Just as the railway was

⁷⁴Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 35.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 37.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 35.

instrumental in ordering modern life through the production of abstract time and abstract space, so it was the source of new anxieties.”⁷⁷



Figure 2.7 Railway journey as panorama, produced after the opening of Paris-Orleans line, 1843.

Source: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Industrialization of Time and Space in the nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: California University Press, 1986), 50.

What should also be noted here is that railways reshaped the natural landscape and brought alienation from immediate living nature.⁷⁸ As stated elsewhere, nature turned into a frozen image from a living entity. Slow, careful views of nearby objects were replaced by rapid, superficial scans of distant ones in the background, making passengers feel disembodied from the places through which they flew, leaving them with a fleeting, impressionistic understanding of their surroundings.⁷⁹ (fig. 2.7)

⁷⁷ Tim Creswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Western World*. (New York: Routledge: 2006), 20 quoted in Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression*, 92.

⁷⁸ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 23.

⁷⁹ Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression*, 94.

Railway station became the traveler's first destination in travel. Thus a railway journey appeared in no way different from a visit to a theater or library- the purchase of a train ticket was equivalent to that of a theater ticket.⁸⁰



Figure 2.8 *Railway Station* by William Powell Frith, 1862, oil on canvas.

Source: Steven Parissien. *From Station to Station*. (New York: Phaidon, 1997), 66.

The nineteenth century station, where this experience started and ended, was a source of fascination for contemporary artists. They depicted station scenes with full of people enabling the interaction of different social classes, as William Powell Frith did at London Paddington Station. (**fig. 2.8**) Adjusting the speed of the trains and their scheduled movements, all of the individual figures were illustrated in motion, in a rush of catching the departing trains.

In addition, railway station buildings became a particular issue of design starting from the 1850s and most of the old temporary platform sheds of central stations were removed and by using cast iron as a new structural element large spans could be covered and the length of a single span and the height of the structure became a competition issue among architects and engineers in the design of terminal stations. Among them, as it was depicted in William Powell Frith's painting, London Paddington Station (completed in 1854) was among the forerunners of the lightweight, bright and broad platform sheds exposing their structural systems.

⁸⁰Wolfgang Schivelbusch. *The Railway Journey*, 39.

2.2 Ottoman Empire in Change: Railway Projects in the Balkans and Other Territories

*Önde buhar arabası olmak üzere beş on kadar araba birbirine bağlı
bir şekilde bir vasıta vardı. Bizi en gerideki vagona yerleştirdiler.
Herkes bindikten sonra koyuverdikleri gibi araç rüzgar gibi bir
vızıltıyla dönmeye ve yürümeye başladı ki tarif edilemez. Görünen
yerler sanki su gibi akıyor da biz olduğumuz yerde duruyoruz gibi uçuyoruz.*

An anonymous Ottoman Journalist, 1851⁸¹

The passage above explicitly depicted the curiosity and wonder of an Ottoman intellectual when he suddenly came across a European innovation, the wagons pulled by locomotives. These confused feelings were the usual characteristic for Ottoman travelers in European cities from the age of *Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi* of the eighteenth century. However, it should be noted that a century after *Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi*, Ottoman intellectuals became much more engaged with the recent developments in Europe by the increasing opportunities of communication between the discreet societies of Ottoman Empire and Europe.

More than a decade before the curious account of Ottoman journalist, as early as 1839, the issue of railway advance was a table talk topic in a dinner in Istanbul among Sir William Fairbairn, a well-known British engineer, who was visiting the city at the time, and some officers of the warfare and ordinance departments of Ottoman Empire. As Fairbairn narrates:⁸²

⁸¹ *There was a vehicle headed by a steam car which was hauling a number of wagons. We were put into the last wagon. After everyone got on, the vehicle departed instantly and moved like the wind that no one can depict the scene well. It seemed to me that images flow in front of us while we are flying as we stand on.*

Excerpted from *Seyahatname-i Londra* (Travelbook of London) written by an anonymous Ottoman journalist depicting the scene in his travel from Southampton to London by train in 1851, translated and edited by Fikret Turan. See, Fikret Turan. *Seyahatname-i Londra; Tanzimat Bürokratının Modern Sanayi Toplumuna Bakışı*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 41.

⁸² William Pole. *The Life of Sir William Fairbairn, Bart.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1877), 170-171. I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci to introduce me the biography of William Fairbairn. Her master thesis examines the activities of Fairbairn in İstanbul. See, Sevil Enginsoy, “Use of Iron as a New Building Material in Nineteenth Century Western and Ottoman Architecture” (Master thesis, METU, 1990).

This conversation was chiefly made up of queries as to the improved state of practical science in England, and the introduction of railways, which appeared to them inexplicable, if not entirely beyond their comprehension. They could not realize the idea of travelling- at the rate of forty miles an hour, and doubted the correctness of the descriptions that had reached them. I could not object to this reserve, as railways had not extended beyond England and Belgium, and the results came so unexpectedly upon the public as to astonish those who had never seen a railway train.

The curiosity of Ottoman intelligentsia in railway technology was interwoven with their desire to develop new tools of control for the Ottoman state in its reform attempts. Therefore, while the unnamed journalist was anxious about his journey on a train, Ottoman bureaucracy had been accustomed to the benefits of railways for around two decades, while the first railway construction was about to begin in Ottoman Egypt.

Decades after the Ottoman journalist's railway experience in Britain; a British traveler could have the opportunity to make a railway journey in Ottoman Balkans. In 1900, George Frederick Abbott wrote about his first impressions about railway journey in Ottoman Balkans as follows:⁸³

The journey from Zebevtche (at Serbian border) to Salonica is one of the most cheering. The speed of the train, such as it is, seems to decrease in direct ratio to the kilometers covered, as though the rusty old engine were getting gradually tired and wanted a rest... the train like a lazy Turkish pony, stops instinctively, as it were, at every wretched shed dignified by the name of station.

While the train passes along the valleys and plains he noted the scene surrounding the railway tracks as follows: ⁸⁴

As the train crawls wearily on, it allows the passenger ample time to study the scenery, and, if he has been clever enough to rescue his camera from confiscation, he can even take snapshot views from the windows. A series of such views might form sometimes a picturesque, often an interesting, but hardly ever an exhilarating collection.

As will be discussed below, Ottoman bureaucracy and intellectuals tried to understand the reasons of development in Europe and tried to make reforms in

⁸³ George Frederick Abbott. *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*. (London : E. Arnold, 1903), 4. The expression in parenthesis is inserted by the author.

⁸⁴ George Frederick Abbott. *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*, 5.

Ottoman lands and appreciated the railway network as an important tool for the sake of the reforms.

The subjects of the empire shared this enthusiasm for having railway connection between cities. Except some minor conservative fundamentalist groups, the arrival of trains to their cities was a festive event for most of the inhabitants. When the first train departing from Vienna was approaching Selanik station on May 1888, a journalist, Paul Lindau could not hide his astonishment when he came across with the enthusiasm of the crowds around the station:⁸⁵

The arrival in Salonica made an almost overwhelming effect on us. Even a half-mile before the station, both sides of railway line was covered with dense crowd of people. It was a scream and gesturing as I have never experienced. And so it went in the roaring crescendo until our train finally stopped at the station, where it raised almost deafening fortissimo. A voice, a confusion which defied all description: The number of sightseers, who had gathered at the station and around the station, was given to thirty to forty thousand and I do not think this number is exaggerated.

These passages reflect the fragments of understanding and appropriate the issue of railways in the minds of Ottoman intellectuals and ordinary people. Accordingly, it can be argued that within a period of less than a half century, the idea of railway turned from an unknown phenomenon to a daily life event.

In this section, it is aimed to discuss the early railway projects in Ottoman territories in relation to world political and economic system, and then, the emergence of the idea and realization of Ottoman Balkan network in a chronological order.

2.2.1 Birth of the Idea: European Capitalists in Charge

As explained in the previous section, the nineteenth century witnessed the widespread use of technologies such as steamships, trains and telegram that all made the long distances shorter and more accessible. In 1831, a Russian steamship was an item of curiosity in İstanbul whose top speed was only six kilometers per hour. Two years later, a steamship line between Liverpool and the Mediterranean Sea was introduced by a British shipping company. By 1843, the trip from England through either the Mediterranean Sea or Rhine and Danube Rivers took less than four

⁸⁵ Paul Lindau. *Aus Dem Orient*. (Breslau: Druck und Verlag von S. Schottlich, 1890), 69.

weeks.⁸⁶ The ease at accessibility not only enabled European countries to fulfill their domestic political and economic integration, it also provided the nineteenth century travelers with the chance of having long voyages over the continent and beyond to develop their vision on other cultures and societies. The reciprocal mass travels paved the way for denser interaction of different societies, so that new thoughts, currents and fashions entered into an instant circulation in places where the railway tracks had arrived so far. Accordingly, it is possible to talk about the emergence of cultural and social synchronism through the level of communication achieved or, in other words, through the standard of communication as a means of “civilization” measurement.⁸⁷ In this regard, for some nineteenth century authors, the established communication infrastructure became the indicator separating the “modern” world from the “non-modern” one. For instance, promoting railways and telegraph lines from the Ottoman Empire to India, William P. Andrew wrote in 1857: “The railway and telegraph are not only of incalculable value as political instruments, but they are the pioneers of enlightenment and advancement: it is theirs to span the gulf which separated barbarism from civilization.”⁸⁸ The *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX Siècle* (beginning in 1865) reiterated this sentiment: “the freest and most civilized nations ... are also those that possess the best means of communication.”⁸⁹ Here, maps were at the heart of the operation as “a projection of a rational system in which everything should communicate.” The railways could serve as a prominent strategic tool for the development of hitherto backward areas and they helped to penetrate into regions far away from the political and commercial centers and to open them up to the achievements of the ‘civilized world’: “Because railways can change spatial

⁸⁶ Philip Ernest Schoenberg, “The Evolution of Transport in Turkey -Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor-under Ottoman Rule, 1856-1918”. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 13,no.3, (Oct., 1977), 360.

⁸⁷ Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914* (University of Washington Press: 2008) ,7

⁸⁸ W. P. Andrew, *Memoir on the Euphrates Valley Route to India* (London, 1857): quoted in Yılmaz Bektaş “The Sultan’s Messenger: Cultural Constructions of Ottoman Telegraphy, 1847-1880” *Technology and Culture* , 41, no.4 (October 2000), 669

⁸⁹ A. Mattelard, *The Invention of Communication*, trans. Susan Emanuel. (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press:1996), 52: quoted in Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City*,7

⁸⁹ Armand Mattelard, *The Invention of Communication*, 11: quoted in Zeynep Çelik. *Empire, Architecture, and the City*, 7

realities, they have been a favored tool of empire builders.”⁹⁰ The idea of establishing railways in Ottoman lands emerged at particularly early phases of the expansion of railway lines in Europe. The first attempts and projects for the establishment of the railways in Ottoman Empire go back to 1830s.

The earliest railway proposals were offered to the Sublime Porte by British capitalists who were aiming to provide a shortcut on the long way from Britain to her principal colony, India. To realize the idea, the shortest, the most economical and convenient way was to build up a railway from an eastern-Mediterranean port to the banks of the *Fırat* (Euphrates) river and sailing merchandises and passengers on the river to Persian Gulf by ferries. A group of investors pioneered by the British colonel Chesney developed a railway project between İskenderun near Mediterranean Sea and Birecik near Fırat (Euphrates) River in 1830. By this project, it was aimed to transport goods and raw materials to İskenderun by ships from European ports. Then, they could be transferred to the railway to arrive Birecik, and then, transported via the Fırat River by ferries to arrive to Persian Gulf so that the travel time from Britain to India could be reduced sharply. Chesney and the other investors came to investigate in the area in June 1830.⁹¹ Related to this project, London Consul of Ottoman Empire, Mehmet Namık Paşa wrote a report to the Sublime Porte indicating the reason of the project, its benefits for the empire and its political results in the future.⁹² Following the suggestions of Namık Paşa, The Sublime Porte granted the necessary concessions to Colonel Chesney in 1834 but the project could not be realized due to the unsuccessful attempts of Chesney to float ferries on Fırat River.⁹³ This project revived in 1850s, probably by the stimulation of Lord Palmerstone, who opposed the idea of opening Suez Canal in Egypt and believed the actual

⁹⁰ Robert Lee. “Railways, Space and Imperialism”, in: G. Dinohob, *Eisenbahn/Kultur: Railway/Culture*. (Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Sonderband, 7) (Wien: 2004), 91; and Peter Hertner, “The Balkan Railways: International Capital and Banking from the End of the Nineteenth Century until the Outbreak of the First World War.” Paper presented at the EABH Annual Conference ‘Finance and Modernisation’, Wien, 20–21 May 2005

⁹¹ Cengiz Orhonlu and Turgut Işıksal. “Dicle ve Fırat Nehirlerinde Nakliyat” *Tarih Dergisi*, (1963) no.17-19, 100-101.

⁹² BOA, H.H no.37503 quoted in Vahdettin Engin, Rumeli Demiryolları, 35.

⁹³ Mübahat. S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisadi Münasebetleri*. (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1976), 78: quoted in Vahdettin Engin, Rumeli Demiryolları, 35.

communication with India must be provided by a railway to İstanbul and from there through Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf.⁹⁴ A group of investors chaired by William P. Andrew of Britain founded a company called The Euphrates Valley Route to India to establish railway and telegram connection with India and asked the Sublime Porte to get concession to connect the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf by a railway starting from the ancient port of Seleucia (near Antakya) to Caber (Ja'ber) Castle on the Fırat River of eighty miles (approx. 130 kilometers) in length, and afterwards from thence via Bağdat (Bagdad) to Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf. They appointed major-general Chesney as consulting engineer who knew the surrounding well during his former attempts.⁹⁵ However, this proposal remained intact again without having any material development since the British capital turned its face to build a railway line in Egypt and managed to accomplish the project.

In 1851, British Government agreed to establish a railway line between İskenderiye (Alexandria) and Kahire (Cairo) to connect Mediterranean Sea with Red Sea under the provision and approval of Egypt Governor (*Hidiv*) Abbas Paşa. The governor neither informed İstanbul about the story nor got the approval of the Sublime Porte. Although the central government initially rejected an agreement developing out of its control, after British government's official application and continuing negotiations, the Sublime Porte finally agreed to grant the concession for the project. The 211-kilometer line between İskenderiye and Kahire completed in 1856 and became the first line established in Ottoman territories.⁹⁶ However, soon after, the opening of Suez Canal in 1869 made the line partially obsolete.

It can be argued that there is actually a common feature in two early British railway proposals in Ottoman territories: to reduce the length and duration of travel to India.

⁹⁴ Kurt Grunwald. *Türkenhirsch. A Study of Baron Maurice de Hirsch, Entrepreneur and Philanthropist*. (Jerusalem, 1966), 29. Lord Palmerstone was a nineteenth century famous statesman who served twice as a prime minister in Britain and was best known for his direction of British foreign affairs. The main themes of British politics on Ottoman Empire were mainly formed by his ideas.

⁹⁵ W. P. Andrew was also the chairman of the *Scinde Railway Company* which was concurrently enterprising railway business in India. The investor group sent a prospectus and a number of letters in 1856 to the The Sublime Porte via London Consulate explaining their proposals. The railway and telegram correspondences were collected in BOA, HR.SFR.3 19-8 and BOA, HR.SFR.3 27/6.

⁹⁶ Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 37.

The mid-nineteenth century British foreign policy meant to protect and respect the sovereignty of Ottoman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean in order to keep French and Russian influence out of the region. In this regard, the railway proposals strengthening the alliance of the British and Ottomans could fit into the general policy of the British foreign office within the conflict game of the great powers. However, these earliest railway projects meant to allow the existence of autonomous British economic territories within the Ottoman territories and this aspect was probably the primary concern that the Sublime Porte tried to overcome. In addition to this, the existence of an idea of establishing railways in Ottoman territories at a relatively early date, in the 1830s, also revealed that the Ottoman bureaucracy was fully aware of the advantages of railway technology and tried to find out how a major project could be handled. In practice, throughout the century, the high bureaucracy placed emphasis on this issue and was constantly in search of finding opportunities of establishing railways within the Ottoman borders to appropriate military and economic benefits of the state.

2.2.2 Internalization of the Idea: Tanzimat Statesmen and the Realization of Railway Projects

The ambitious sultans and the Ottoman statesmen of the nineteenth century were seeking to understand and to follow the developments in Europe. They were the main motive behind the innovations and reforms existed in the nineteenth century setting and the railway projects were the stage on which this leadership was clearly manifested. On the one hand, there was a continuous information flow to the Sublime Porte from the consulates established in European capitals about the benefits and importance of the railways; on the other hand, the prolific and industrious grand *viziers* like Mustafa Reşid, Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa and Keçecizade Fuad Paşa were enthusiastic about the developments. The sultans of the period, Mahmud II, Abdülmecid, Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid II did not lag behind their grand *viziers* and other leading statesmen. It is often argued that Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861) collected Manchester-Liverpool train's drawings in his private room and also that he revealed his desire to establish similar lines in his country to his officials.⁹⁷ Among

⁹⁷ M. Sertoğlu, "Türkiye'de ilk tren" *Demiryol*, no.456-457,(1964), 6.

the statesmen, Vienna consul Sadık Rıfat Paşa reported in 1847, at a relatively early date, the importance of railways to develop agriculture and to transport raw materials to markets and he explained how the concession process was held in Europe.⁹⁸ There were reports to Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876) by the two most distinguished statesmen of the mid-nineteenth century, Fuad Paşa and Ali Paşa that are often presented in the related publications for their enthusiasm about the railways as a means of development in Ottoman Empire.⁹⁹ For *Tanzimat* reformers, railways charted the future of the empire, not only in terms of unifying the land but also for strategic and economic reasons. Easy transfer of troops would help combat the ever-increasing uprisings and production would benefit from fast transportation.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, especially for the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals, railway represented an indispensable tool for the ‘civilization’ of a developing and modernizing state. Therefore, while the function of the Ottoman railways was thought to be related to the improvement of the financial, agricultural and commercial systems of the empire, it was very clear that development of railways would also empower the hands of central government through greater cultural, administrative and political integration of the periphery.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ The reports of Sadık Rıfat Paşa were published in İstanbul (not dated) with the title of *Müntehabât-i Âsâr* by Ali Bey Matbaası. It was transliterated and edited by Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu. For railway technology, Sadık Rıfat stated that “*Ve teshî-i umûr-i ticâret ve sanâyi’ (ticareti ve sanayiye kolaylaştırmak) zımında eşyâ kârhânelerinde buhar ile idâre ve i’ mâl olunur makineler icâd olunmuş olduğundan başka takrîb-i muhârebe ve teshîl-i turûk-ı seferiyye (yollarda ulaşımın kolaylaştırılması) için denizde vapur gemileri ve karada vapur arabaları ihdâs ile mesela, on- on iki saatlik mesâfeyi bir saatte kat’ iderler. Ve bir cesîm (büyük) fabrika veyahud demüryolları vesâ’ir umûr-i mülkiyyece enfâ (yararlı) olub da masarîfât-ı külliyyeye muhtâc olacak şe’ yleri dahî asıl devletin hazînesine tahmîl itmeyüb aksiyon dedikleri usûl üzere meselâ bir iki mu’teber sarraf taahhüdüyle eshâm-ı müştereke olarak ahaliden akça alub hissedâr iderek icâd idüb hissedârlarına sene be sene menâfi-i hissesine göre fâ’iz edâ olunur ve devlet tarafından menâfie müdahale olunmaz.*” See, Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu. “Sadık Rıfat Paşa ve Avrupa’nın Ahvaline Dair Risalesi”, *Liberal Düşünce*, 3, (Summer 1996).

⁹⁹ Bülent Can Bilmez. “European Investments in the Ottoman Railways”. In R. Roth and G. Dinhoff, eds., *Across the Borders: Financing the World’s Railways in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 184.

¹⁰⁰ Engin Deniz Akarlı ed., *Belgelerle Tanzimat: Osmanlı Sadrazamlarından Ali ve Fuad Paşaların Siyasi Vasiyetnameleri*. (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1978), 25; quoted in Z. Çelik, (2008), 28-29.

¹⁰¹ Bülent Can Bilmez, “European Investments”, 185.

The key role of the railway transportation during the wartime was one of the predominant factor motivating Ottoman statesmen to have railway lines along unstable regions of the empire. This strategic importance of the railways had been realized as early as Crimean War (1853-55) by the initiative of British army, the ally of Ottomans, when it shipped out 900 navies to build the Balaklava Railway, which ultimately played a crucial role in the fall of Sivastopol by providing a supply line and by proving that it was far more efficient than ordinary roads.¹⁰² After the Paris Treaty of 1855 ending the war, Ottoman Empire declared *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Decree) and in this decree, Ottoman government was pledged to improve the quality of transportation between coastal and inland cities.

By entering the European League after the Treaty of Paris in 1855, as the principal ally of Ottomans, the British capital launched a new set of railway investments in Ottoman territories. In 1855, the Sublime Porte issued her desire to grant concessions for the railway projects to be built in Ottoman lands and prepared a brochure to inform European capitalists,¹⁰³ and the British enterprisers rushed into the Ottoman consulates to submit their proposals. The second group of proposals, different from the earlier ones, were geographically distributed in the Ottoman territories – namely the Balkans and the west cost of Asia Minor- and aimed to establish iron tracks to connect inland fertile lands to the port cities and to transport agricultural products, raw materials and minerals.

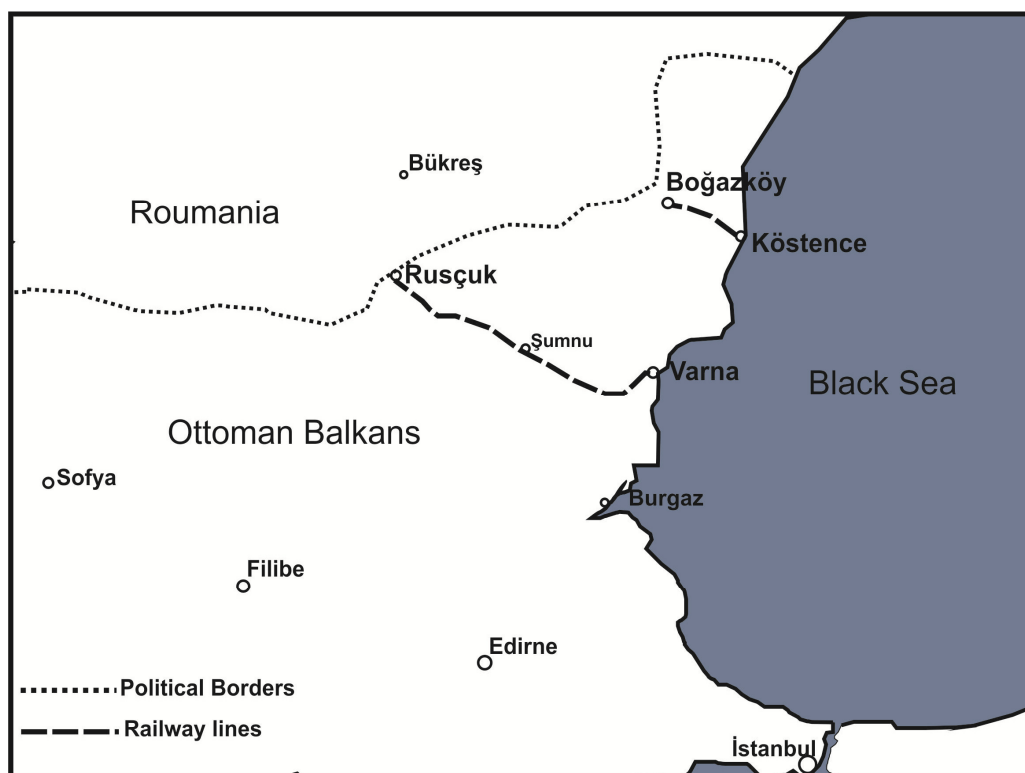
Eventually, in a short time, İzmir - Aydın railway concession was given in 1856 and İzmir - Kasaba (Turgutlu) railway concession was given in 1863 to British investor groups. Therefore, İzmir-Aydın line was the first one established in Ottoman Anatolia.¹⁰⁴ During the same period, in Balkan Peninsula, Köstence (Constanta) –

¹⁰² Christian Wolmar, *Fire and Steam*, 206.

¹⁰³ BOA, HR.SFR.3 24/1, 1855

¹⁰⁴For works on İzmir-Aydın railways, see Ali Akyıldız, *İzmir-Aydın Demiryolu* (Master thesis, Marmara University, 1987); Ali Akyıldız, “Osmanlı Anadolu’sunda İlk Demiryolu: İzmir-Aydın Hattı ;1855-1856” in Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and M. Kaçar, eds., *Çağını Yakalayan Osmanlı: Osmanlı Devleti’nde Modern Haberleşme ve Ulaştırma Teknikleri*.(İstanbul:IRCICA, 1995), 249-270; Şevket Pamuk. “Türkiye’de İlk Demiryolu: İzmir-Aydın” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.5,(1994); Orhan. Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye’ye Girişi*.(İstanbul: Varlık, 1982); Bülent Varlık. *19. Yüzyılda Emperyalizmin Batı Anadolu’da Yayılması*. (Ankara: TİB Yayınları, 1976); Nedim Atilla. *İzmir Demiryolları*. (İzmir, 2002) and Charles Issawi ed., *The Economic History of Middle East, 1800-1914*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 183-185.

Boğazköy (Cernavodă) railway line's concession (66 kilometers) was given in 1857 and Varna - Rusçuk (Ruse) line's concession (224 kilometers) was given to British investors in 1858.¹⁰⁵ (**Map 2.2**) Therefore, Köstence – Boğazköy line was the first one established in Ottoman Balkan territories. Accordingly, these initial projects were expected to increase the agricultural potential of inland cities of both Anatolia and Balkan Peninsula and also to increase the amount of exports to European ports.



Map 2.2 Varna – Rusçuk (Rusen) and Boğazköy (Cernavodă) – Köstence (Constanza) railway lines.

Here, a brief introduction about the other railway projects would illuminate the historical context of the construction and exploitation of Ottoman railways. From the 1850s to the World War I, the Ottoman government granted concessions to the European capitalists to construct railway lines in different parts of the empire. The major projects were İzmir-Aydın and İzmir- Kasaba railways and their extensions and then Anatolian Railway, Bağdat (Baghdad) Railway and Hicaz (Hejaz) Railway.

¹⁰⁵ BOA, İ, MM, no:410 and BOA, İ,MM, no:578: quoted in Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*,40-41.

In Anatolia, it was not a coincidence that the first line was established between İzmir - Aydın and İzmir - Kasaba (Turgutlu). Considering the agricultural potential of the Western Anatolia's fertile plains and high population of İzmir and easy transportation via port, these lines played a crucial role in increasing export trade, or in other words, in transporting raw materials from Anatolia to European markets. The first concession was given to a group of British investors, including Joseph Paxton, George Whytes, William and Augustus Rixon.¹⁰⁶ They founded a construction and operation company, *Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to Aidin*. The concession was valid for ninety-four years and carried a government guarantee of 6% profit per kilometer.¹⁰⁷ Then in July 1863, the concession of İzmir - Kasaba line was given to another British entrepreneur Edward Price and he founded *Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company*.¹⁰⁸ Similar to the previous one, the concession carried a government guarantee of 6% profit per kilometer.¹⁰⁹ In time, some prolongements were made to these lines: İzmir- Aydın line extended to Tire and Ödemiş in 1883 and 1884 respectively; Söke (1890), Denizli and Çivril (1889) and finally to Eğirdir (1912). **(Map 2.3)**

On the other hand, İzmir-Kasaba railway was extended to Uşak (1887) and Afyon (1890) to the east. Then, Afyon became a junction station used also by Anatolian Railways. Besides, a new trunk shifted from Manisa extended to the north and arrived Soma and Balıkesir (1900) and finally terminated at Bandırma (1912). **(Map 2.4)** Accordingly, the extension of railways in the Aegean region can be regarded as a “tree model” with branches, which was a typical one among the railway systems of the period.¹¹⁰

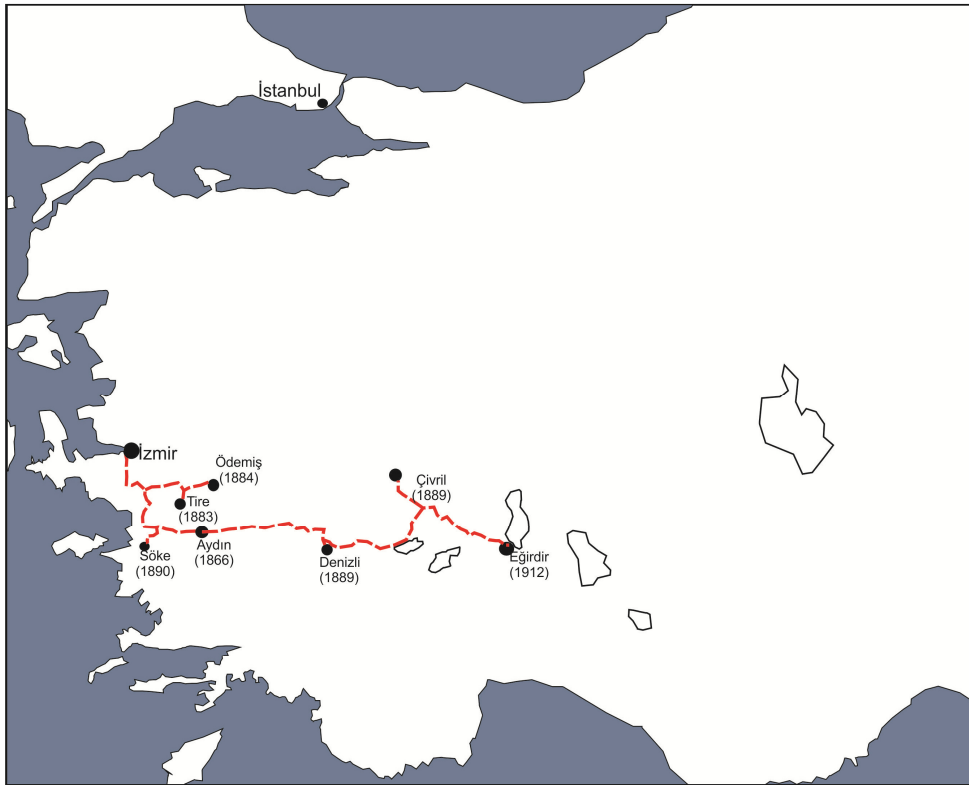
¹⁰⁶Ali Akyıldız, *İzmir-Aydın Demiryolu*, 17 and Cana Bilsel “Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru”, in Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, ed. *İzmir 1830-1930: Unutulmuş Bir Kent mi?* (İletişim Yayınları, 2009).

¹⁰⁷Murat Özyüksel. *Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*. (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1988), 10.

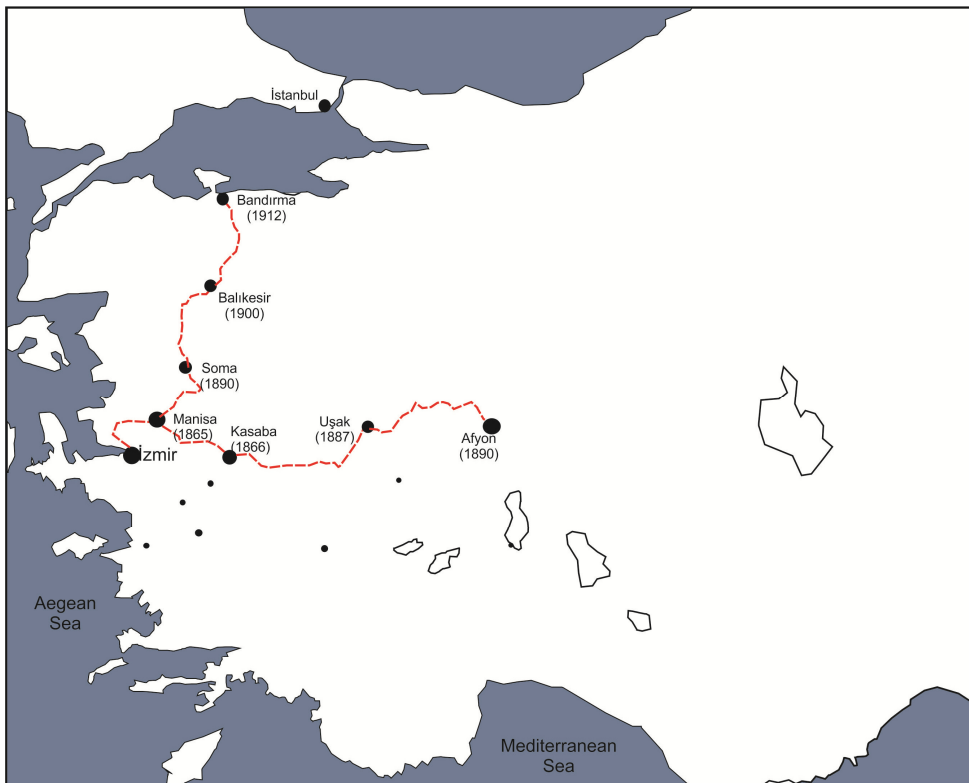
¹⁰⁸Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 39.

¹⁰⁹Murat Özyüksel, *Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, 13.

¹¹⁰İlber Ortaylı. *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), 210.



Map 2.3 İzmir – Aydın railway line & extensions.



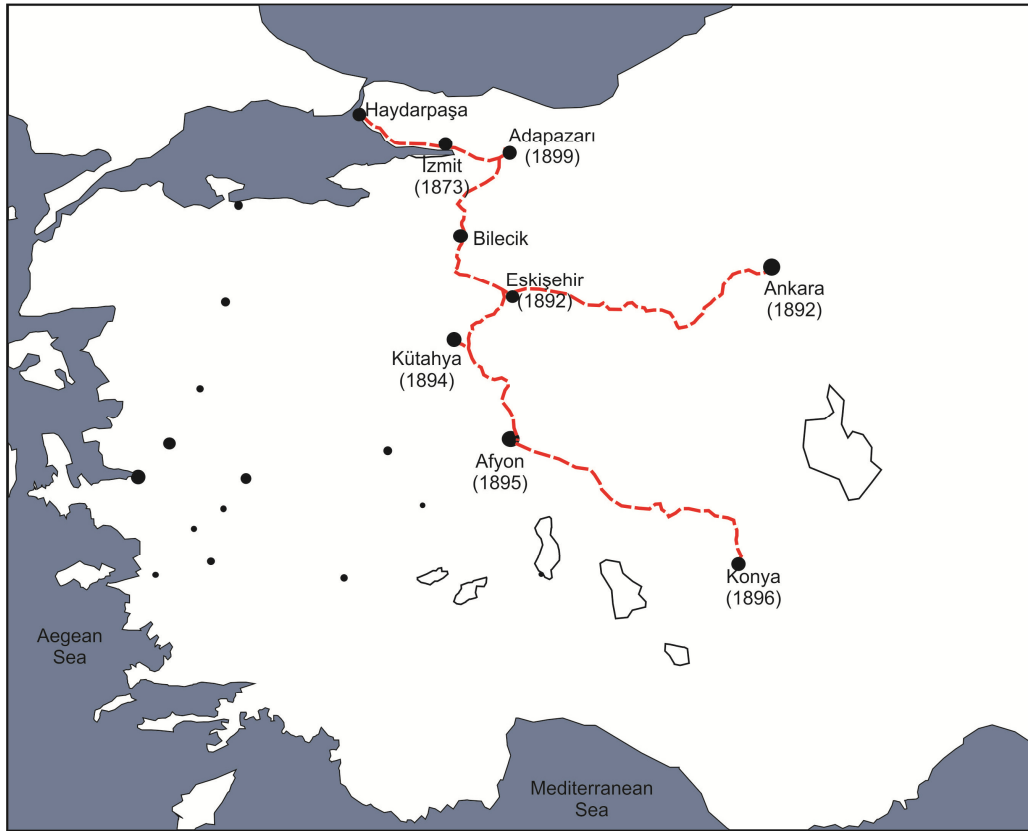
Map 2.4 İzmir- Kasaba (Turgutlu) railway line & extensions.

Apart from Balkans and western coast of Anatolia, the Sublime Porte aimed to build up a railway line starting from Anatolian side of İstanbul (Haydarpaşa) and extending the inlands of Anatolia to provide the economic and political integration of the vast lands of Anatolian plains. In 1871, Sultan Abdülaziz issued a royal edict expressing his desire to cover Anatolia with railway lines. The main line could be between İstanbul and Baghdad and with extensions connected to Black Sea and Mediterranean.¹¹¹ For a long time, no entrepreneur dealt with such non-profitable project, and therefore, the Sublime Porte decided to launch the task by itself and funded the expenditures from its own treasury. The government immediately hired Prussian consultants and engineers headed by Wilhelm von Pressel. In the same year, the Ottoman Government started to build a line from Kadıköy to Pendik. This line was completed in 1872, and then extended to İzmid in 1873. Because of financial deficit, the Ottoman government realized that it would not be possible to complete the construction with its own financial sources, having declared bankruptcy in 1875. Therefore, in 1880, 60% of the ownership of the line was sold to a private company. In order to revive the project, later the Deutsche Bank was granted the concession to build a line from İzmid to Ankara. The concession was to last 99 years but was extended to 114 years later. The Deutsche Bank formed a subsidiary company, *Société du Chemin de fer Ottoman d'Anatolie* (CFOA), headquartered in Switzerland. This company would also (?) manage the railway. The railway was constructed to reach Arifiye in 1890 and then to Ankara in 1892. In 1893, the company got a concession to build a line from Eskişehir to Konya through Afyon with a branch to Kütahya.¹¹² The construction was completed in Alayunt in 1894, in Afyon in 1895, and in Konya in 1896 with the branch to Kütahya in 1894. A branch line to Adapazarı was completed in 1899 as part of a concession to build the line to Bolu,

¹¹¹ Ali Akyıldız, *İzmir-Aydın Demiryolu*, 102

¹¹² For studies on the Anatolian Railways, see Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı Alman İlişkileri'nin Gelişiminde Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1988); Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of the Middle East*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1966) ,188-191; İlber Ortaylı, “19. Yüzyıl Ankara'sına Demiryolu'nun Gelişi ve Bölgedeki Üretim Eğlmlerinin Değişimi” in İlber Ortaylı ed., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim*.(Ankara: Turhan Yayınevi, 2000), 109-120; Murat Özyüksel, “Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları” in Güler Eren, (ed.) *Osmanlı*, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), vol 3.-İktisat-; 663-677

and then to İsmetpaşa. However, this part of the project was never realized.¹¹³ (Map 2.5)



Map 2.5 Anatolian Railways & extensions.

In July 1878, British Empire's ambassador in İstanbul, Henry Layard sent a proposal to the Sublime Porte stating the importance of a railway line connecting İstanbul to Bağdat and Basra. He emphasized that if the line would be constructed by British investors, the security of the line could be provided by the British troops so that the Russian influence in the region could be reduced.¹¹⁴ Later, in 1880, the Minister of Public Works Hasan Fehmi Paşa defended the necessity of the lines passing through Anatolia and arriving at Bağdat and Hicaz.¹¹⁵ Despite the initial British attempt, the funding and engineering of the project were mainly provided by German banks and

¹¹³ Murat Özyüksel. *Osmanlı Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişiminde Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1988), 39.

¹¹⁴ Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı Alman İlişkileri*, 20.

¹¹⁵ Ufuk Gülsoy. *Hicaz Demiryolu*. (İstanbul: Eren, 1994), 32

companies, which in the 1890s built the Anatolian Railway (Anatolische Eisenbahn) connecting İstanbul, Ankara and Konya. This was probably because of the increasing collaboration between Ottoman and German Empires at the end of the nineteenth century during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign. It was the Treaty of Berlin which marked the beginning of the strong politic and economic coalition between these two countries. From the 1880s and after, the German influence in railway projects remarkably increased. German capitalists entered Ottoman railway market either by building new lines (Anatolian, Selanik - Manastır or Bağdat) or by buying the concession rights of the existing railway companies (Oriental Railways) and became the second railway capital in order according to invested capital.¹¹⁶

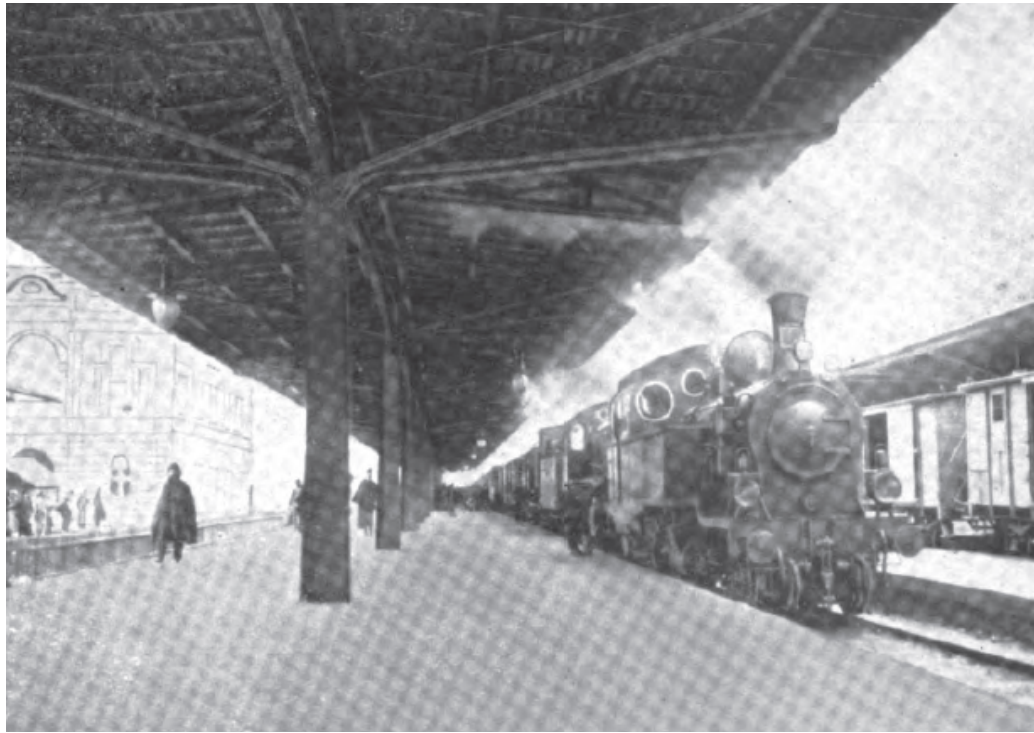


Figure 2.9 İstanbul, Train approaching Haydarpaşa terminal, c.1912.

Source: *Resimli Kitap*, 8, no.44, 562.

The completion of the Bağdat railway would connect Berlin to Bağdat, and ultimately to the Persian Gulf, where Germans attempted to establish a

¹¹⁶ The interest of German Empire in the East at the turn of the twentieth century is conceptualized as “Drang nach Osten”, which literally means “drive towards the East”.

port.¹¹⁷ The Ottoman Empire desired to maintain its control of Arabia and expand its influence across the Red Sea into Egypt, which was controlled by British Empire. Therefore, Germans gained access to and ownership of oil fields in Iraq, and with a line to the port of Basra they would gain better access to the eastern parts of German colonial empire in Africa, bypassing the Suez Canal.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the proposed line would serve both German and Ottoman political and economic interests.



Figure 2.10 A German Locomotive used in Ottoman Railways.

Source: İstanbul University Rare materials Collection, album # 90523.

The construction began in 1888 when Alfred von Kaulla, from *Württembergische Vereinsbank* (Württemberg Union Bank) of Germany, and Georg von Siemens, managing director of Deutsche Bank created a syndicate and obtained a concession from the Sublime Porte to extend the Haydarpaşa - İzmid Railway to Ankara which was realized by the Anatolian Railway Company.¹¹⁹

After the section to Ankara was completed in December 1892, railway workshops were built in Eskişehir and permission was obtained to construct a railway line from Eskişehir to Konya, and that line was completed in July 1896.¹²⁰ The two lines were

¹¹⁷Jonathan S. McMurray. *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad Railway*. (Santa Barbara: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 2.

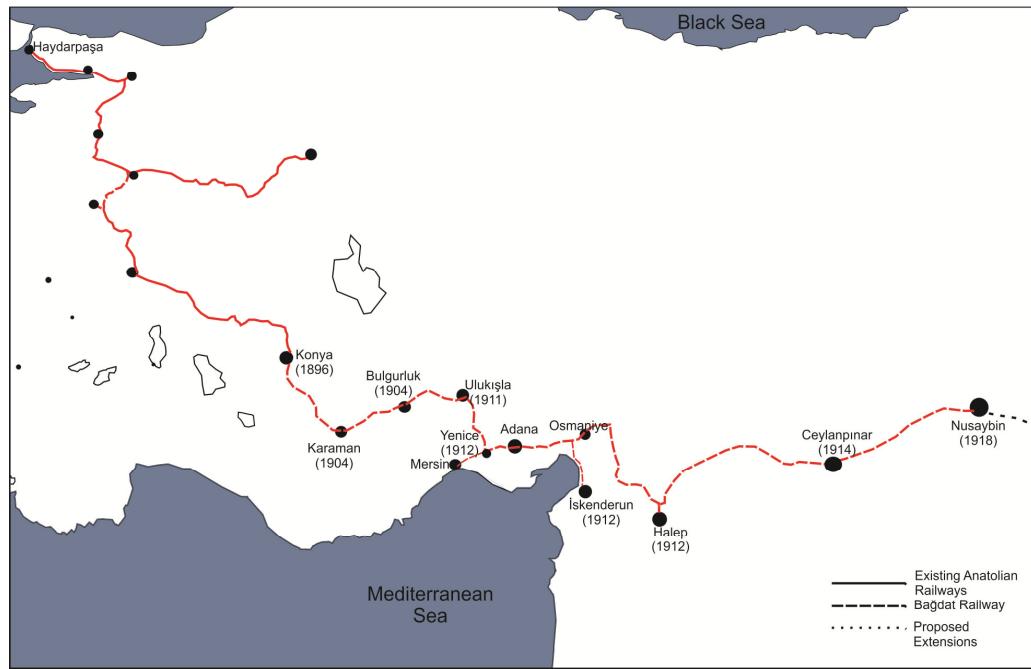
¹¹⁸Murat Özyüksel, *Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, 59-60.

¹¹⁹E.M. Earle. *Turkey, The Great Powers, and the Baghdad Railway*. (New York: Russel and Russel, 1923), 31. Note that Alfred von Kaulla would become the concessionaire of the Selanik-Manastır railway project soon.

¹²⁰J.S. McMurray, (2001), 29.

the first two sections of the Bağdat Railway. Another railway built at the same time by the German engineers was the Hicaz railway, commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II. Between 1898 and 1899, the Ottoman Ministry of Public Works received many applications for permission to construct a railway to Bağdat, so it was not because of lack of competition that the Deutsche Bank was finally awarded the concession.

According to the concession, the investor had to construct a line between Konya and Bağdat and Basra in eight years.¹²¹ Despite some obstructions at the diplomatic level, the work began on the railway, but slowly. Ultimately, both geographical and political obstacles prevented the completion of the Bağdat Railway before World War I commenced in 1914.¹²² (Map 2.6)



Map 2.6 Completed parts of Bağdat railway around 1918.

¹²¹ Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı Alman İlişkileri*, 139.

¹²² On Baghdad Railways, see: Earle, E.M. (1923) *Turkey, The Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway*. New York: Russel and Russel; Jürgen Lodemann and Manfred Pohl, *Die Bagdadbahn*. (Mainz, 1988) Manfred Pohl, *Von Istanbul Nach Bagdad: Die Geschichte Einer Berühmten Eisenbahn*. (Munich and Zürich, 1999) L. Hartmann, *Berlin-Bagdad; Die Imperialistische Nahostpolitik des Kaiserlichen Deutschlands* (Berlin, 1972); Murat Özyüksel, *Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*; Shereen Khairallah, *Railways in the Middle East 1856-1948; Political and Economic Background*. (Beirut, Librarie du Liban, 1991).

The railway tracks reached Ceylanpınar in 1914 and Nusaybin in 1918. However, due to capture of Bağdat and Basra by the British army and defeat of Ottoman army in Irak (Iraq) frontier in the World War I; the further phases of the project in Mesopotamia could not be realized. Besides, when Syria stayed out of Ottoman territories after Armistice of Mudros in 1918, the 166 kilometer part of the line remained out of Turkey's borders.

The last major railway project in Ottoman territories was started and realized in the final years of the Ottoman reign in the Arabian Peninsula and eastern Mediterranean: the railway to sacred lands of Islam as an extension of existing ones; the Hicaz railway project. The background of the idea goes back to earlier decades. In 1874, major Ahmed Reşid in the Ottoman Army expressed the importance of a line from Şam (Damascus) to Medine (Medina) and to Cidde (Jeddah) by a report submitted to the Sublime Porte.¹²³ Later in 1884, Hicaz governor-general Osman Nuri Paşa sent the Sublime Porte a petition (*layiha*) indicating the importance of establishing telegram and railway lines from Damascus to Hicaz and Yemen.¹²⁴

The Hicaz railway ran from Şam (Damascus) to Medine (Medina), through Hicaz region of Arabia, with a branch line to Hayfa (Haifa), at Mediterranean coast. It was a part of the Ottoman railway network and was built in order to extend the already existing line between Istanbul and Şam (which began from the Haydarpaşa Terminal) all the way to Mekke (Mecca). In September 1900, the construction officially commenced. Connecting Şam to Mekke, Hicaz Railway was to be an exclusively Muslim organization: it would rely on Muslim funding, planned by Muslim engineers, to be built by Muslim workers by using local materials.¹²⁵ Non-Muslims and foreigners could not own or occupy the land alongside it.¹²⁶ Even the capital of the construction was collected mostly from domestic sources. To stimulate the Ottoman society, Sultan Abdülhamid II made a

¹²³Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, 52.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 33.

¹²⁵Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı Alman İlişkileri*, 41.

¹²⁶ BOA, MV 140/51 (1328/1910): quoted in Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture and the city*, 35.

large sum of donation¹²⁷ to the public charity founded to compensate the expenditures of the project. The main purpose of the Hicaz Railway was to establish a connection between İstanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire and the seat of the Islamic Caliphate, and Hicaz in Arabia, the site of the holiest shrines of Islam and the holy city of Mekke. Another crucial reason was to improve the economic and political integration of the distant Arabian provinces into Ottoman Empire and to facilitate the transportation of military forces in case of emergency.

The railway arrived Medine on September 1, 1908 at the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to throne. Certain compromises had to be made in order to finish by this date, with some sections of the track being laid on temporary embankments across valleys. In 1913, a new station, Hicaz Railway Station was opened at central Damascus as the starting point of the line.¹²⁸ However, in the end, the Hicaz Railway could not be finished. It could reach only Medine due to the interruption of the construction works with the outbreak of World War I, and therefore, three crucial connections, Maan - Akabe (Aqaba), Medine - Mekke and Mekke - Cidde, remained unrealized. The latter two would have been especially useful for pilgrimage without which the promise made for the Muslim world could not have been entirely fulfilled.¹²⁹

So, excluding the lines established in Egypt, there were more than 8,000 kilometers of railway established in the Ottoman borders until the World War I.¹³⁰

The table below briefly lists the basic information about the railway projects in Ottoman territories:

¹²⁷ Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, 65.

¹²⁸ Murat Özyüksel, *Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, 72

¹²⁹ Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture and the City*, 39.

¹³⁰ It should be noted that until 1918, some of these lines remained out of Ottoman control by the territorial changes after successive wars. Therefore, the 8,000 kilometers of railway line could not entirely stay within the Ottoman territories at a time.

Table 2.1 List of constructed lines and investors¹³¹

Line	Year of Concession	Length in km	Construct. period	First investor	Later investor
Köstence-Boğazköy	1856	66	1859-1860	UK	UK
İzmir-Aydın and extensions	1856	609	1856-1912	UK	UK
Varna- Rusçuk	1861	224	1863-1866	UK	FBSA*
İzmir-Kasaba and extensions	1863	702	1863-1912**	UK	F
Oriental Railway	1869	1364	1869-1913	FBSA	G
Anatolian Railway	1888	1013	1872-1899	G	G
Selanik-Manastır	1890	219	1891-1894	G	G
Dedeğaç-Selanik	1892	508	1892-1896	F	F
Syrian Railway	1890	779	1892-1911	F	F
Bağdat Railway	1898	1037	1904-1914	G	G
Hicaz Railway	1900	1564	1901-1908	O	O

Abbreviations: UK: United Kingdom, F: France, G: Germany, B: Belgium, S: Switzerland, A: Austria, O: Ottoman

* In the source, it is recorded as UK; however the line was then taken over by Oriental Railways Company.

**In the source, it is recorded as 1863-1896, however with the extensions, its construction continued until 1912

By examining the concession dates of the railways, it can be assumed that there were three waves of railway concessions: the first was the period until 1863 (the first projects); the second was the period between 1869 and 1873 (Oriental Railways); and the third was the one between 1888 and 1914 (final phase of the railway projects all around the country). Finally, the concession dates also revealed some certain facts

¹³¹ Bülent Can Bilmez, “*European Investments*”, 188.

about the foreign affairs of Ottoman Empire. As stated before, while the earlier projects were financed by British capital, later, the French and German influence outweighed considerably. Throughout this process, the technological advancement of the Ottomans increased considerably; for instance, while in the 1870s, the Ottoman expertise on railway construction was almost non-existent, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ottomans could achieve to build Hicaz railway with internal economic sources and technical capacity.

Table 2.2 Share of the European Countries in foreign investments in total investments the Ottoman railways, 1912-1913¹³²

Investors	Total investments in %
French Capital	41.78
German Capital	38.30
British Capital	12.70
Ottoman Capital	7.22

2.2.3 Realization of the Idea: Terms & Conditions of the Railway Concessions Granted in Balkan Peninsula in 1869-1912 Period

Although the history of the first realized railway project in Ottoman Balkans went back to 1856 (Köstence – Boğazköy line), the idea of a Balkan railway network had an older background. It was in April 1845 that the first railway proposal petition was sent to the Sublime Porte by a French engineer Mr. De Villeroi. In his letter, he wrote about the advantages of new technologies like steamboats and railways and he stated that Ottoman Empire had to keep the rapid pace of modern civilization for the benefits of all sectors of commerce, industry, agriculture, arts and administration. He proposed to establish a grand railway line from İstanbul to Belgrade, via Edirne, Çirmen (Chirmen), Sofya (Sofia) and Niş (Nish). However, the attempt remained intact. On the basis of archival material, it can be suggested that Mr. Villeroi's

¹³²Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında bir Tetkik*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1994), 103 and 105: quoted in Bülent Can Bilmez, "European Investments", 201.

attempt was the first one in Ottoman Balkan railway history, though it could not reach a concession grant level.

A decade later, in October 1855, the Ottoman government announced an invitation to European capital circles for the establishment of İstanbul-Belgrade line.¹³³ **(Fig.2.11)** The notification informed that for a period of six months dating from October 1, 1855 all offers would be received either directly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Istanbul, or by the embassies and legations of the Sublime Porte throughout Europe, and that the decision would be based on the evaluation of the offers submitted until the beginning of the April 1856.¹³⁴

Immediately after the circulation of the notification; a British investor dealt with the project and set affair with the consulate of Ottoman Empire in London: this was Edward Price. Edward Price, in his letter dated to December 13, 1855; suggested that until a survey of the rural country between İstanbul and Belgrade had been made and the exact course of the line decided upon, it would be impossible to predict the engineering difficulties that may present themselves and consequently equally impossible to arrive at an estimation of the cost of construction. For him, because of the poor conditions of the soil that the line proposed to pass on, a considerable time was required for the land surveys and it could only be done by a heavy immediate expenditure. Therefore, he suggested dividing the construction of the line into phases and offered immediately starting the work from the section between İstanbul and Edirne. For him, in a country where railways were as yet unknown, there could be doubts and prejudices among the settlers of the region so it became a major issue to persuade them for the benefits of the railways.¹³⁵

¹³³ BOA, HR.SFR.3 24/1

¹³⁴ Quoted directly from the notification stored in BOA, HR.SFR.3 24/1.

¹³⁵ Quoted from Edward Price's letter on December 13, 1855; stored in BOA, HR.SFR.3 25/37.

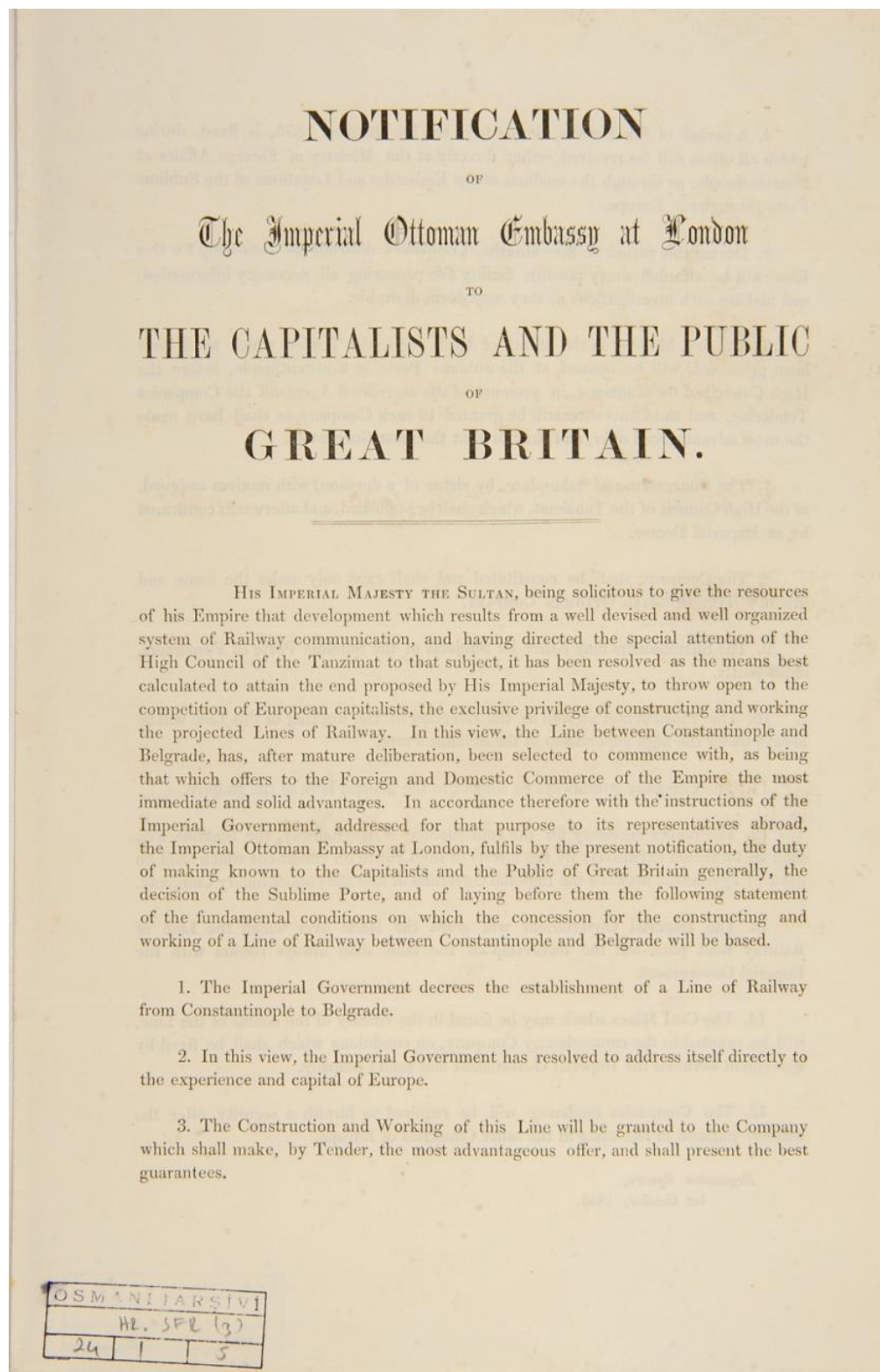


Figure 2.11 First page of the notification addressed to the capitalist of Great Britain distributed by the Ottoman Embassy at London, 1855.

Source: BOA, HR.SFR.3 24/1.

In another letter dated January 21, 1856; Price informed that he was also engaged with an extensive railway project in Brazil and had to leave London for two or three months to deal with that project, so that he was appointing John W. Larking as his representative with full responsibility in contact with the Sublime Porte.¹³⁶ In a letter dated June 16, 1856 Mr. Larking offered two options to Ottoman government about the process to follow: first, to found a construction and exploitation company for the duration of ninety years to run the necessary actions and secondly to ensure an annual interest of six per cent on the money spent in the construction of the railway and the purchase of wagons and locomotives. If the revenues coming from railway would not be sufficient to cover the amount of the stipulated interest percent, the government would commit a guarantee to fill the deficit, but in the event that revenues exceeded the total needed to pay the interest, then the surplus would be divided equally between the government and the concessionaires. In the second option, to build the line on behalf of the Ottoman government, as it had been done in Egypt, the concessionaires agreed to provide the necessary funds for the execution of work for a fixed term to be decided between them and the Ottoman government. They also agreed that the interest being paid on these advances would be 10% per year.¹³⁷ Despite this communication conveyed through J.W. Larking in that year by a number of letters, the correspondences could not come to a concession agreement.

Shortly after, a British parliamentarian, Labro was interested in constructing a railway network in Ottoman Balkans. In his petition letter sent to Mustafa Reşid Paşa in December 1856, he explained the benefits of a railway line connecting Danube River, Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the major towns of Ottoman Balkans in commercial, financial, politic and military terms. On the map attached to the letter, he proposed to build a line from İstanbul to Edirne, another one from İnöz (Ainos) on the Aegean coast through Edirne on its way to north ending at Silistre near Danube River. This line also had branches to Varna and Rusçuk (Rusen). Labro also proposed to have extensions to connect Aegean Sea with Adriatic Sea by means of a

¹³⁶ Edward Price was a real international railway entrepreneur and railway engineer. He was also granted the concession of Central railway Project of Brazil connecting Rio and Sao Paulo in February 1855. Later, in 1863, he would be the concessionaire of İzmir – Kasaba railway project and realized it in a few years.

¹³⁷ BOA, HR.SFR.3 24/1; John W. Larking's letter on June 16, 1856.

line passing through Selanik and ending at Avlonya. The Sublime Porte was interested in his ideas, and consequently, the concession agreement was signed with him in January 1857. However, in February 1857, the concession of Labro was cancelled since he could not accumulate the required capital until the deadline.¹³⁸ Although his attempt remained unaccomplished, Labro was considered as the first dealer who could reach the concession agreement phase in the history of Ottoman Balkan railway network.¹³⁹

The questions and ambiguities about the route, the content of the concession and the responsibilities of the contracting companies seemed to be the major obstacles that withheld the entrepreneurs to involve with the extensive project. Therefore, in order to open up the path for the European capital circles, a sample document of terms and conditions for companies wishing to get concession was prepared by the Sublime Porte in July 1858.¹⁴⁰ **(Fig.2.12)**

Among many details, the document defined the exact route of the proposed line which could be used as a basis for subsequent negotiations: it started at İstanbul, passing via Edirne, Filibe, Sofya, Niş and ended at Belgrade.

In April 1860, the second concession for Balkan railway network was granted to a group of British investors, including C. Liddell, L. Dunbar, B. Gordon, and T. Page.¹⁴¹ Although the correspondences between the parties lasted for more than a year, in December 1861, the concession agreement made with these British investors was cancelled because of their failures to meet the conditions of the concession.

¹³⁸ BOA, İ. MMS, 9/393

¹³⁹ Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 46-47.

¹⁴⁰ The document was published as a booklet and presently, it is in the Ottoman Archives HR.SFR.3 42/7.

¹⁴¹ BOA, *Mukavelename Defteri*, no:1, 138-140: quoted in Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 47

Empire d'Orient.
Ministère des Travaux Publics.
Cahier des Charges
de la Concession de la Ligne de Constantinople à Belgrade.

Durée des Travaux.

Art. 1^{er}

La Société s'engage à exécuter à ses frais, risques et périls dans le délai de Dix années, à dater du Firman de Concession, tous les travaux nécessaires à l'établissement et à la construction d'un Chemin de fer de Constantinople à Belgrade (Serbie).

1^o. Ce chemin partira de Constantinople, près des Sept Collines, longera la mer jusqu'à Silivria, Erekli, touchera autant que possible, Echourlou, Karistran, Loule-Bourgaze, Esikhaba, Andrinople, Mustapha-Pacha, Usungova, Papazli, Philippopoli, Eatarbazaragik, Novo-Celo, Ichman, Sophia, Schalkali, Blotto, Drogoman, Pirot, Nissa, Topola, Aleximtz, Parotchin, Morava, Sagodin, Axvan-Pacha, et Semendria sur le Danube, longeant ainsi la route actuelle jusqu'à Belgrade.

2^o. La Ligne sera divisée en Douze sections.

1 ^{ère}	Section	de Constantinople	à	Silivria.
2 ^e	"	de Silivria	à	Loule-Bourgaze.
3 ^e	"	de Loule-Bourgaze	à	Andrinople.
4 ^e	"	d' Andrinople	à	Usungova.
5 ^e	"	d' Usungova	à	Philippopoli.

OSMANLIARŞIVI
HR.SFR.33
421 7 1/1

Figure 2.12 First page of terms and conditions document for Ottoman Balkan railway network prepared by the Sublime Porte, 1858.

Source: BOA, HR.SFR.3 42/7.

It was the year of 1867 which had a particular importance in the realization of Ottoman Balkan railways network. In the summer months of the year, Sultan Abdülaziz started his grand European voyage with his entourage and visited many European capitals including Paris, London and Vienna, as a first example in Ottoman political history. During his travel, he had the opportunity to observe and to experience the advantages of railway infrastructure which had already installed in Europe. In August 1867, on his return from the grand voyage, Sultan Abdülaziz made another railway journey in Ottoman Balkans between Rusçuk and Varna.¹⁴² The observations in Europe stimulated the royal interest in Balkan railways and consequently, shortly after the completion of the Sultan's voyage, the Belgian company Van der Elst & Co., recommended by the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust, was granted a concession in 1868 to construct a railway through the Balkans to İstanbul. Van der Elst & Co was allying with Credit Foncier, a London consortium, and the investor groups which were represented by Laugrand Domunceau.¹⁴³ It has been argued that the Belgian financier Dumonceau tried to establish a Catholic financial group during the 1860s. He was engaged in the provision of Papal finance as well as in numerous railway speculations.¹⁴⁴ Dumonceau's group collapsed a few months later, since they had not been able to collect all the capital needed for this extensive undertaking. Therefore, in April 1869, Van Der Elst & Co.'s concession was cancelled and the third concession for the Ottoman Balkan railway network remained again as an unsuccessful attempt.

In 1868, when the third concession process tied itself up in knots, Ottoman Minister of Public Works Davut Paşa was sent to Europe to find other reliable investors for the railway project¹⁴⁵ and a few months later, in April 1869, the initial agreement for the concession was prepared between Davut Paşa and Baron Maurice De Hirsch who

¹⁴² Ali Akyıldız. "İzmir-Aydın Demiryolu", 101

¹⁴³ Basil Gounaris. *Steam over Macedonia, 1870-1912: Socio-Economic Change and the Railway Factor*. (Easern European Monographs, Boulder, 1993), 42

¹⁴⁴ Kurt Grünwald. *Türkenhirsch* (1966), 20-25. A copy of the concession agreement is in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. BOA, İ. MMS, no.1459; *Mukavele Defteri*, no:1, 354-359

¹⁴⁵ BOA, İ. DUİT, no:68 g.2-1 vr.3: quoted in Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 50.

was a banker in Brussels at that time.¹⁴⁶ (**Fig.2.13**) The preliminary convention signed with Baron Hirsch meant to be the last one after two decades of a search for a suitable entrepreneur for Ottoman Balkan railways.¹⁴⁷



Figure 2.13 Baron Maurice de Hirsch, portrait, not dated.

Source: *Wikipedia*, “Baron Maurice de Hirsch” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice_de_Hirsch, accessed February 24, 2013.

2.2.3.1 Oriental Railways

During the European exploration of Davut Paşa, in April 1869, two conventions were signed simultaneously; the first one was between the Ottoman government and Baron Maurice de Hirsch and the second was a contract according to which Baron de Hirsch would relinquish the exploitation of the proposed lines to “Société des

¹⁴⁶ BOA, DUIT, no:68 g.2-1 vr.35-40: quoted in Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 51.

¹⁴⁷ Baron Maurice De Hirsch (Moritz Freiherr von Hirsch; 1831–1896) was a German financier and philanthropist. He was born in Munich, and was the son of Baron Joseph von Hirsch auf Gereuth (1805–1885, from 1869 Baron) and grandson of Baron Jacob von Hirsch (1765–1840, from 1818 von Hirsch auf Gereuth), founder of the family fortune and the first Jewish estate owner in Bavaria. His mother, Karoline Wertheimer, ensured that Maurice de Hirsch received the best instruction in Hebrew and religion. In 1851 Hirsch joined the banking firm of Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidt in Brussels and four years later married Clara, daughter of Senator Jonathan Bischoffsheim, head of the firm. The railway project and pioneer enterprises in the sugar and copper industries brought Hirsch’s fortune to an estimated \$100,000,000 by 1890, and gained for him a reputation as an outstanding industrialist and financier. During this period Hirsch became acquainted with the plight of Oriental Jewry and gave the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* one million francs for the creation of schools. He provided additional sums for the establishment of trade schools and eventually consolidated his donations to the Alliance in a foundation yielding an annual income of 400,000 francs. For more information about his life and activities, see Kurt Grünwald. *Türkenhirsch: A Study of Baron Maurice de Hirsch, Entrepreneur and philanthropist*. (Israel Program for Scientific Translations, 1966) and Baron Maurice de Hirsch article written by Hans G. Reissner and Marcus Pyka in *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

Chemins de fer du Sud de l’Autriche” (the Southern Austrian Railway Company), headed by Baron Alphonso de Rothschild.¹⁴⁸ It can be argued that at the beginning, Baron Hirsch seemed to have desired a clear distinction between the construction of the network, a task he wanted to pick up for himself, and its operation for which he desired to engage with the Southern Austrian Railway Company.¹⁴⁹ Shortly after the signage of the preliminary convention, some of the terms and conditions of the agreement were revised and the final version of the concession was decided in accordance with the objections of Council of State (Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye).¹⁵⁰

The key terms and conditions of the April 1869 condition can be summarized as follows: The concessionaire would build a main line starting from İstanbul, through Edirne, Filibe (Plovdiv), Sofya (Sofia), Niş (Nish), Priştina (Pristina), Saraybosna (Sarajevo), leading to the Austrian border near the Sava River (connecting Austrian network at Doberlin). Secondly, four embranchments detaching themselves from the main line: the first from Edirne to Aegean Coasts (to İnöz or another suitable location), the second from Filibe to Burgaz (Bourgas) at Black Sea coast, the third of from Priştina (Pristina) to Selanik, the fourth of Niş to the Serbian border. The total length of the network was almost 2,500 kilometers. The period of construction was fixed for seven to ten years, except in cases of force majeure. For the construction and operational expenses, an annual payment of 22,000 francs per kilometer was fixed whose 14,000 francs would be provided by the Ottoman government and the remaining 8,000 francs by the exploitation company to act as a substitute to the operation of the technology Austrian Company. For the first ten years, the total amount (22,000 francs per kilometer) would be entirely met by the Ottoman government but during the second decade the contribution of the state was to be reduced to 16,000 francs. The duration of the concession was fixed to 99 years. Finally, the concessionaire company granted also the right of exploiting the mines

¹⁴⁸ Basil Gounaris. *Steam over Macedonia*, 42-43.

¹⁴⁹ Peter Hertner, “The Balkan Railways”, 6

¹⁵⁰ Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 53.

and trees located at both sides of the railway line to a certain distance during the construction period.

In the second half of 1869, an unexpected event awaited Baron Hirsch and Ottoman government. Although the general assembly of the Southern Railways of Austria approved the convention, it was never ratified because of the political differences within the administrative board of the Austrian company.¹⁵¹ Therefore, Baron Hirsch was practically forced to establish by himself an operating company, the Paris-based *Compagnie Générale pour l'Exploitation des Chemins de Fer de la Turquie d'Europe* (European Turkey Railway Operation Company) was founded in January 1870 with Austrian and French capital after the foundation of *Société Impériale des Chemins de fer de la Turquie d'Europe* (European Turkey Railways Imperial Company) as a construction company of the project.

In the meantime, there were remarkable interpretations published in the İstanbul newspapers criticizing the terms and conditions of the convention. In one of them, an anonymous specialist tried to explain how the acts and negotiations of Baron Hirsch concession were groundless, and the few proposed lines indicated that Ottoman government went into somewhat unfavorable business of this kind. Accordingly, it sought to illuminate the state and the public about the inevitable and unfortunate consequences of a serious unusual combination.¹⁵² Another author rumored and speculated about the numbers and calculations in order to show how it would be a corruptive investment for the Ottoman treasury.¹⁵³ In another article, the author depicted the public opinion about the project in the early days as: “the public has so often told that the Hirsch concession of the Roumelian railways was very sick

¹⁵¹ Basil Gounaris, *Steam over Macedonia*, 43 and “The Roumelian Railway Scheme” in *Levant Herald*, September 6, 1869. As it was written in the newspaper article, to explain the reason of refusal to the agents, they laid great stress on the vagueness of the whole railway scheme; neither was the Turkish railway company formed, nor were there any plans of the future railway, and under these circumstances they did not think they could advise the company to lend its credit to an enterprise in such an embryo state. The house which had got the concession was only bound to deposit as caution money of 200,000 Turkish liras, so they thought after having constructed the easier portion of the line, and after having made a good profit, they might forfeit the caution money, and the Austrian companies would have bits of railway lines which would rarely yield their working expenses.

¹⁵² “Les Chemins de fer en Turquie”, *Le Levant Herald*, November 12, 1869.

¹⁵³ “The Roumelian Railways” *Le Levant Herald*, December 13, 1869.

indeed- was defunct- was even definitively buried, that when the act announcing the final constitution of the Company formed for working the lines appeared, no confidence whatever was felt in the realization of the project.”¹⁵⁴

In July 1869, despite the general disapproval of the society, the land surveys started in certain locations and after the preparation of the partial route maps, the construction of the first phase, namely Yedi Kule- Küçük Çekmece started on June 4, 1870. With an extraordinarily intensive work, the first -and short as well- section of the project was officially inspected and approved with the presence of minister Davut Paşa and other bureaucrats along with Baron Hirsch and his engineers on December 30, 1870 and this section of the line (17 kilometers) was opened to public traffic on January 4, 1871.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, on February 9 of that year, the site works in Selanik - Priştina section of the line commenced in Selanik¹⁵⁶ and the site works at Edirne on the way to Filibe and Dedeğaç started on May 1, 1871.¹⁵⁷

According to the preliminary convention, the terminus of the railway, Yedi Kule station was outside the old city of İstanbul and in time, it became a serious problem for the passengers to access the station place. For a short term solution, an omnibus route was established to transfer passengers between the city center and the station,¹⁵⁸ and consequently, the contractor company and the Sublime Porte agreed upon extending the railway line into the city walls and build a station and a port at Bahçekapı or Yalıköşkü place located at the outskirts of Topkapı Palace. The official decree of the Sultan allowing the tearing down of the walls and construction of the railway was issued in March 1871.¹⁵⁹ A portion of the old city walls had to be demolished in order to open a passage for the railway. The proposed route of the

¹⁵⁴ *Le Levant Herald*, March 9, 1870

¹⁵⁵ “The Rumelian Railway” *Le Levant Herald*, January 4, 1871. The stations on this line were Yedi Kule, Makriköy (Bakırköy), Ayastefanos (Yeşilköy) and Küçük Çekmece.

¹⁵⁶ “Correspondence: Macedonia” *Le Levant Herald*, February 22, 1871.

¹⁵⁷ “Correspondence: Roumelia” *Le Levant Herald*, May 10, 1871.

¹⁵⁸ *Le Levant Herald*, February 1, 1871.

¹⁵⁹ *Le Levant Herald*, March 22, 1871.

extension line was a matter of endless debates in İstanbul since such an extension so close to Topkapı Palace meant to demolish many historical public buildings and to make a massive deal of expropriations for the existing buildings on the route. Another concern was the pollution, noise and smoke of the locomotives, considered as a further threat for life in the city center.¹⁶⁰ Finally, the proposed station area was in the property of Topkapı Palace and it was necessary to get royal approval for the location of the construction site. The excitement of the sultan for the realization of the railway dream surmounted the final obstacle before the construction of the Sirkeci station area. The extension to Sirkeci was completed on February 16, 1872. In order to facilitate staff rooms and passenger waiting lounges, a small masonry building was constructed and some of the existing expropriated houses were restored to use as railway buildings. Therefore, until a new terminus station was constructed in Sirkeci, the railway station functions were served in temporary buildings.¹⁶¹

In the meantime, despite the difficulties arising from the war between Prussia and France and a European revolt in Bosnia during the summer of 1871, in the period of 1871 - 1872, owing to the related easiness at the geographical conditions, the construction works on site progressed at a considerable pace. In this period, the line between Edirne and Dedeğaç was completed, the sections between İstanbul and Edirne, Edirne- Filibe, Selanik - Priştina and Banya Luka – Novi reached a significant level. The site works were commissioned to sub-contractors by Baron Hirsch; and among them, most notables were Bariola and Vitalis companies.

The death of the Grand Vezir Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa in 1871, who had enthusiastically supported this scheme and his succession by Mahmud Nedim Paşa dramatically affected the fate of the extensive project. Taking advantage of administrative change in the Sublime Porte, Baron Hirsch asked the government to revise the terms & conditions of the existing concession agreement. After negotiations the concession agreement was revised and signed on May 18, 1872.

¹⁶⁰ Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 69-70

¹⁶¹ Since the conflicts and negotiations continued for a long time about the financing of the new station; İstanbul had to wait nearly two decades to have a terminus station when August Jahmund's design was completed in 1890.

The convention of 1872 introduced some fundamental changes. First, the concession of 1869 was terminated. Having been the dealer of the construction and exploitation works since 1869, the Imperial Company of Baron Hirsch then was reduced to the role of an ordinary contractor, paid by the Ottoman government for the construction of certain lines, but without any relation with the operating company. The exploitation company could not be the tenant of Imperial Company, -as in 1869-, but afterwards became the tenant of Ottoman government. The duration of the concession was reduced from 99 to 50 years. The rent was fixed at 8,000 francs per kilometer per year. The construction company had to complete the sections under construction within the period of 20 months, but the responsibility of the construction for the uninitiated lines (around 1300 km) would be handled by Ottoman government. It meant that the construction company had no more to build, as in 1869, a network of around 2,500 kilometers, but only partial and unintegrated lines with a total length of 1,274 kilometers and it was the government's responsibility to complete complementary lines that would allow the connection and function with European networks. The company took over the exploitation of Varna - Rusçuk line and contracted to build a line starting from Harmanlı, via Yanbolu and connected to existing Varna – Ruscuk line at Şumnu. Finally, the Ottoman government was incumbent to pay 10,000,000 francs for the expansion of Selanik, Varna and Dedeğaç ports.¹⁶²

Routes to be completed by the company after the convention of 1872 were as follows: Edirne – İstanbul (319 km), Dedeğaç – Edirne (149 km), Selanik – Mitroviça (388 km), Edirne – Sarımbey (244 km) Tırnavo- Yambolu (70 km), and Banyaluka-Novı (104 km).¹⁶³ **(Fig.2.14)**

¹⁶² (1874) *Actes de la concession des Chemins de fer de la Turquie d'Europe*. İstanbul, 5-29

¹⁶³ George Young. *Corps de Droit Ottoman; Recueil des Codes, Lois, Règlements, Ordonnances et Actes les plus Importants du Droit Intérieur, et d'études sur le Droit Coutumier de l'Empire Ottoman* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1906), 4, 69

CHEMINS DE FER DE LA TURQUIE D'EUROPE. Service des Voyageurs.											
LIGNE—CONSTANTINOPLE—ANDRINOPE (319 kilomètres).											
DÉPART DE						DÉPART DE					
HEURES						HEURES					
mat.	mat.	mat.	mat.	soir.	soir.	mat.	mat.	mat.	soir.	soir.	mat.
Constantinople	6.15	7.30	9	11.30	4	6	Andrinople	—	—	—	6.10
Koum-Kapou	6.23	7.28	9.8	11.38	4.8	6.8	Koullé-Burgas	—	—	—	7.57
Yédi-Koulé	6.33	7.38	9.18	11.48	4.18	6.18	Lulé-Burgas	—	—	—	10.26
Makri-Keui	6.44	7.50	9.30	12	4.30	6.30	Tehorlu	—	—	—	1
San-Stefano	6.54	8	9.40	12.10	4.40	6.40	Tchataldjé	—	—	—	4.51
Kuchuk-Tehek.	7.03	8.8	9.48	12.18	4.48	6.48	Kuchuk-Tehek.	7.3	8.42	10.10	1.80
Tchataldjé	9.13	mat.	mat.	soir.	soir.	soir.	San-Stefano	7.12	8.51	10.19	1.39
Tehorlu	1.29	—	—	—	—	—	Makri-Keui	7.23	9.2	10.30	1.50
Lulé-Burgas	3.43	—	—	—	—	—	Yédi-Koulé	7.36	9.15	10.43	2.3
Koullé-Burgas	6.37	—	—	—	—	—	Koum-Kapou	7.44	9.23	10.51	2.11
Andrinople, arr.	7.54	—	—	—	—	—	Cons/ple arriv.	7.51	9.30	10.58	2.18
soir.	—	—	—	—	—	—	mat.	mat.	mat.	soir.	soir.
LIGNE ANDRINOPE-SEREMBEY (243 kilom.)						LIGNE KULÉLI-BURGAS-DÉDÉAGH (112 km)					
Trains s'éloignant de D'ANDRINOPE			Trains s'éloignant de SAREMBEY			Trains s'éloignant de KOULELI-BOURGAS.			Trains s'éloignant de DÉDÉAGH.		
DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE		
heures			heures			heures			heures		
Andrinople.....	8.27	matin	Sarembe.....	7	matin	Koullé-Burgas	7.45	matin	Dédéagh.....	soir.	1
Haskeul.....	1.11	matin	Tatar-Bazardjik.	7.51	matin	Démotica.....	8.25	matin	Ferré.....	soir.	2.21
Philippopol.....	5.1	matin	Philippopol.....	9.41	matin	Soufli.....	9.46	matin	Soufli.....	soir.	4.18
Tatar-Bazardjik.	6.41	matin	Haskeul.....	1.21	matin	Ferré.....	11.43	matin	Démotica.....	soir.	5.34
Sarembe arriv.	7.22	soir.	Andrinople, arriv.	5.55	soir.	Dédéagh...arriv.*	12.54	soir.	Kuléli burg. ar.**	soir.	6.9
LIGNE SALONIQUE-USKUB (244 kilom.)						LIGNE BANJALUKA-DOBERLIN (103 kilom.)					
Trains s'éloignant de SALONIQUE.			Trains s'éloignant de D'USKUB.			Trains s'éloignant de BANJALUKA.			Trains s'éloignant de DOBERLIN.		
DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE		
heures			heures			heures			heures		
Salonique.....	8.30	matin	Uskub.....	8	matin	Banjalu.....	7.30	matin	Dobertlin.....	soir.	2
Guevghili.....	12.5	matin	Keupruli.....	10.33	matin	Priedor.....	10.14	matin	Novi.....	soir.	2.45
Krivolak.....	3.24	matin	Krivolak.....	12.50	matin	Novi.....	11.29	matin	Priedor.....	soir.	4.7
Keupruli.....	5.57	matin	Guevghili.....	4.20	matin	Dobertlin (Fron- tière Austr.) arr.	12.9	matin	Banjalu arriv.	soir.	6.39
Uskub.....arriv.	8.10	soir.	Salonique...arriv.	7.40	soir.						
LIGNE ROUSTCHUK-VARNA (224 kilomètres)											
Trains s'éloignant de ROUSTCHUK.						Trains s'éloignant de VARNA.					
DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE			DÉPART DE		
HEURES			HEURES			HEURES			HEURES		
Roustchuk.....	11.	matin.	Varna.....	11	matin.	Schumla-Road.....	1.21	matin.	Schumla-Road.....	10.55	matin.
Sheitandjik.....	2.42	matin.	Sheitandjik.....	2.35	matin.	Roustchuk arr.	5.45	matin.	Roustchuk arr.	4.35	matin.
Schumla-Road.....	5.29	matin.									
Varna.....	5.44	soir.									
CORRESPONDANCE à Roustchouk avec les bateaux express du Danube arrivant à Roustchouk Mercredi et Dimanche matin.						CORRESPONDANCE à Varna avec les bateaux de la Mer Noire du Lloyd Autrichien partant de Constantinople Vendredi et Samedi soir. Arrivant à Varna Samedi et Mercredi matin.					
Départ de Vienne par bateau express, Dimanche matin.						CORRESPONDANCE à Roustchouk avec les bateaux express du Danube partant pour Bazias Samedi et Mercredi soir.					
Départ de Vienne par Chemin de Fer Autrichien, Lundi, Vendredi à 1 heure 35m. soir.						Arrivée à Vienne par bateau express Jeudi soir.					
CORRESPONDANCE à Varna avec les bateaux de la Mer Noire du Lloyd Autrichien partant de Varna, Mercredi et Dimanche soir. Arrivant à Constantinople Jeudi et Lundi matin.						" " " par Chemin de Fer Autrichien, Mardi et Samedi à 1 heure 28m. soir.					

Figure 2.14 Timetables of the completed sections of the Ottoman Balkan railway scheme, 1873, advertorial.

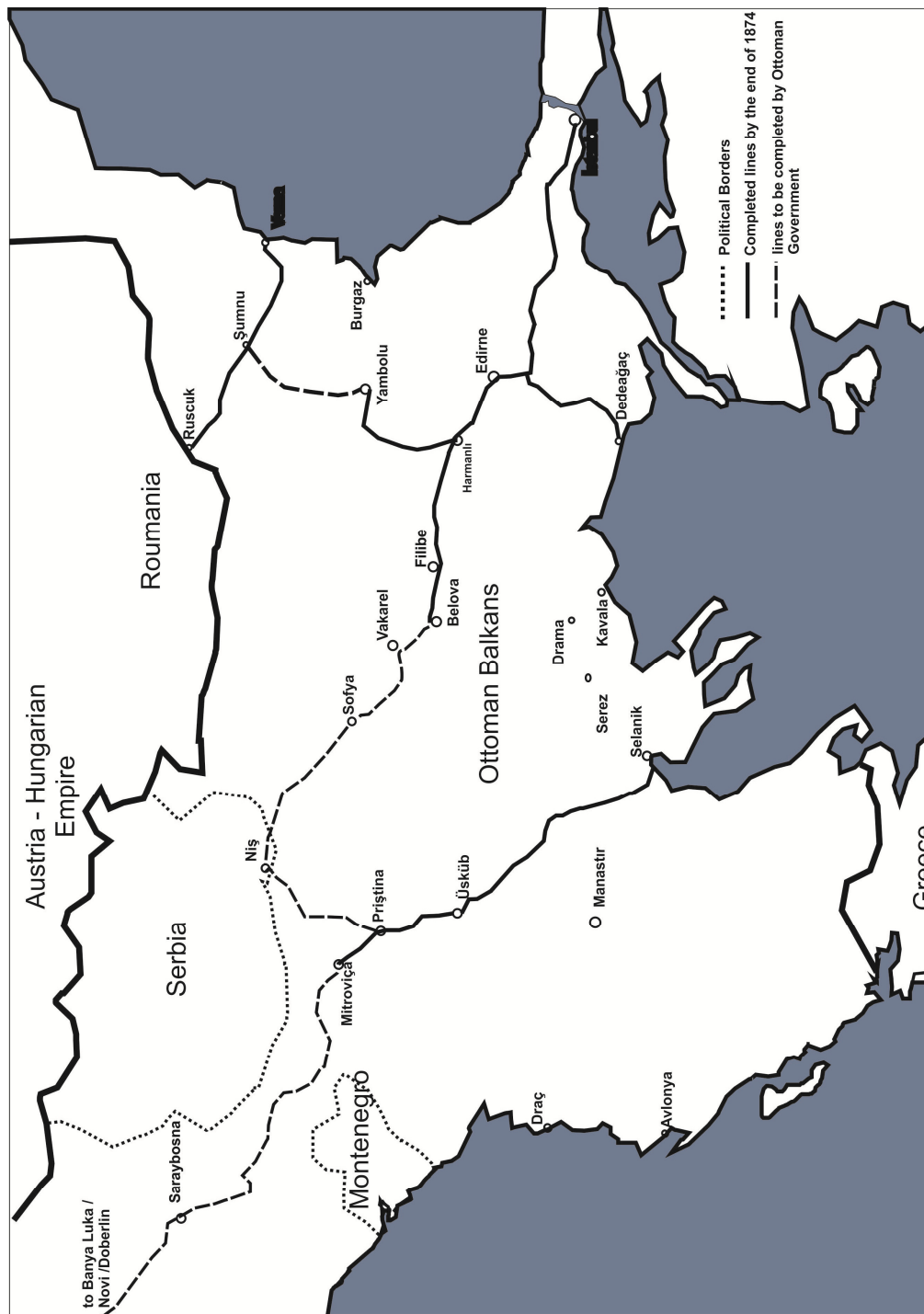
Source: Levant Herald, September 17, 1873.

For a long time, strategic and economic issues and policies prevented the Sublime Porte to undertake the construction of the incumbent lines and stations, and therefore, the network remained divided into four isolated sections. At the northeastern side, it was Varna - Rusçuk line heading to the Danube and Black Sea and it was not connected to İstanbul - Filibe main line. The second one was from Istanbul to Sarımbey with a branch from Kuleliburgaz to Dedeağaç, and on the western side, the line between Selanik and Mitroviça could be completed prior to the deadline without a direct link either with Bosnia or Serbia. Finally, at the Austrian border, there was a short and remote section extending from Banya Luka to Novi at the border. Therefore, the operation of this network could only give unprofitable results, and the expected political and commercial benefits would remain largely unrealized.¹⁶⁴ **(Map 2.7)**

For the completed sections of the lines, one of the main concerns was about the location of the stations. In most cases, the railway stations were located at some distance from the towns that they were supposed to serve. For instance, Edirne was 5 kilometers, Strumnitsa was 30 kilometers, İştîp was 22 kilometers away from their stations.¹⁶⁵ The reason for this distance was to avoid either the high expropriation costs of the town centers or the construction of extra tunnels or bridges due to the topographical conditions. In the final analysis, the distance between the stations and their towns reduced the capacity of the railway traffic within the network.

¹⁶⁴ George Young. *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, 4, 69. Connections to be built by the Ottoman Government were: Yambolu - Şumnu whose construction transferred to the Operating Company at a price of 175,000 francs per kilometer began in 1872 but abandoned in 1875 since the government could not pay the annual kilometric guarantee. On the other hand, for the integration of İstanbul - Sarımbey line with Selanik- Mitroviça line, the construction started in 1873 by the Government, but in 1874, the site-works were suspended permanently.

¹⁶⁵ Basil Gounaris. *Steam over Macedonia*, 45-46.



Map 2.7 Balkan railway network at the end of 1874.

Source: Based on the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives map #1832, redrawn and marked by the author.

During the Ottoman financial crisis of 1875, construction works slowed down by the government, where most of the Empire came across widespread famine. This situation led to several uprisings in the Balkans in the period of 1875-1876. The Turkish-Serbian War of 1876 and more importantly, Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 were milestones in the development of the line. During the Russo-Ottoman War, the network, though it was incomplete, made the greatest service to the Ottoman government by transferring troops and ammunition, but, as expected, it suffered considerable damage. Ruscuk- Varna line was initially occupied and partially destroyed by the Russian army. Later, during the winters of 1877 and 1878, Edirne Sarımbey and Tirnova Yanbolu lines were affected in turn. Several stations were buried, bridges and tunnels were destroyed, part of the rolling stock burned down.¹⁶⁶ The Congress of Berlin (1878) restored peace in the Balkans as the Ottoman Empire granted full independence to Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, while Bosnia and Herzegovina would be occupied by Austria-Hungary, and Bulgarian principality would become a self-governing vassal state of the Empire under Russian influence.¹⁶⁷

The results of the war changed the economic equilibrium in Balkan cities as well. Before the Great War, until the late 1870s, British textiles had almost a monopoly in Ottoman markets, and even after the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, British goods, imported via the Selanik - Mitroviça railway, could undercut Austrian products in the Bosnian markets. The Austrian eagerness to complete the European part of the Ottoman Balkan railway network could be easily understood. Later, Austrian designs were furthered by Serbia which, seemingly abandoned by Russia in the latter's creation of the Greater Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty of 1878, fell under the power of Austria-Hungary before the Congress of Berlin, and remained very much under the influence of Vienna.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ George Young, *Corps de Droit*, 4, 71

¹⁶⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Congress of Berlin," accessed June 1, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/62090/Congress-of-Berlin>.

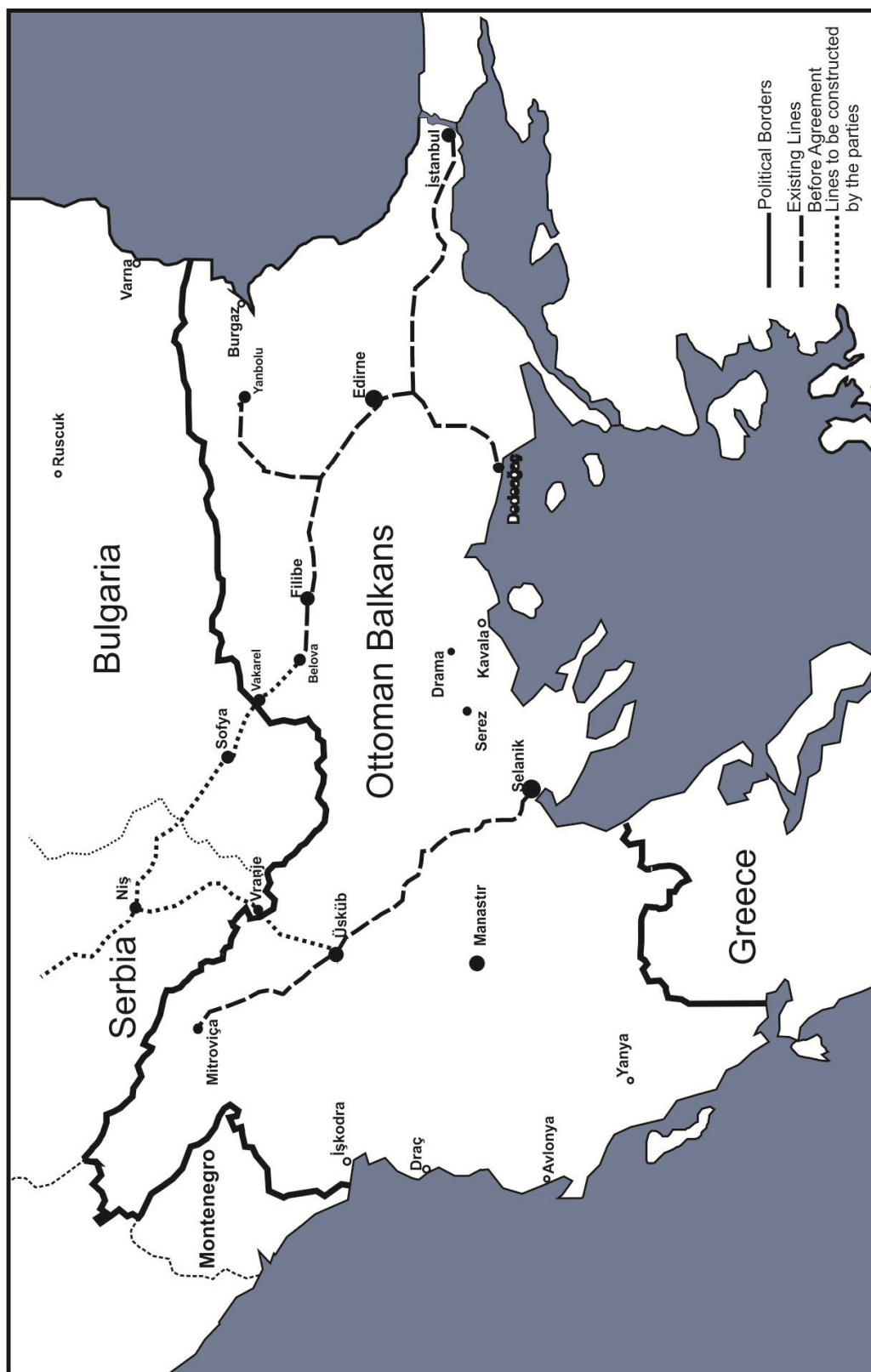
¹⁶⁸ S. H. Beaver, "Railways in the Balkan Peninsula" *The Geographical Journal*, 97, no. 5 (May, 1941), 279.

In the Berlin Congress, Bulgaria and Serbia became the substitute of Ottoman Empire for the duties and obligations of the lines within their recently acquired lands in relation to Railway Company. Also in 1878, in conformity with the developing story, Baron Hirsch transferred the headquarters of the exploitation company from Paris to Vienna and replaced its French directors with Austro-Hungarian members.¹⁶⁹ Besides, it was agreed that the railway between İstanbul and Vienna should be completed and in order to do that there created a special committee dubbed "*Conférence à Quatre*" (Austrian Empire, Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria, Serbia) to negotiate on the project. It was the Berlin Congress where the completion of the Balkan railway integration was issued as a matter of the obvious necessity; but Russians, who remained masters of Bulgaria for some years, were not eager to construct a line which they believed would be favorable to Austrian trade. On the other hand, Britain had also some drawbacks about the realization of direct railway connection between the central Europe and southern Balkans since there was a fierce economic competition between Austria and Britain about the division of economic influence zones.¹⁷⁰ So nothing was done until 1883. It was only in 1883 that the representatives of *Conférence à Quatre* signed a convention which fixed the deadlines (three years) for the construction and the opening dates for traffic on all the junction lines which would unify the Balkan network.¹⁷¹ Therefore, Ottoman Empire undertook the construction of a line which could connect Selanik – Mitroviça line to Serbian network at Vranje and after the completion of the junction line between Üsküb and Vranje at Serbian border (86 km). **(Map.2.8)**

¹⁶⁹ Peter Hertner , "The Balkan Railways", 12.

¹⁷⁰"The Servian and Turkish railway Junction" *The Manchester Guardian*, April 19, 1883; access provided by ProQuest Historical Newspapers. According to the article, the British ambassador in Belgrade, Mr. Baker argued that such a connection controversially would increase the British volume of trade in Serbia as well.

¹⁷¹"The Turkish Railway Junctions"*The Manchester Guardian* (1828-1900); Mar 13, 1885; access provided by ProQuest Historical Newspapers.The agreement text of the *Conférence à Quatre* was published in George Young, (1903) *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, IV, 76-83 .



Map 2.8 Routes to be constructed by the parties after *Conférence à Quatre* Convention of 1883.

However, due to delays at the construction phase of the junctions in each country, the connection could not be finished until its deadline in October 1886.¹⁷² In the end, the first train from Vienna entered Selanik station on May 19, 1888 and the whole journey took 35 hours. Regarding the other section, the Ottomans constructed the link between Belova and Vakarel (47 km) at Bulgarian border so that the Belgrade – Niş – Sofya – Belova route was nearly completed after a while and the first train departing from Vienna arrived in İstanbul on August 12, 1888.¹⁷³ The duration required for a journey from Vienna to İstanbul was around 42 hours without delay.¹⁷⁴ In the meantime, the construction of Sirkeci Railway Station inaugurated on November 3, 1890.¹⁷⁵

The inauguration of Sirkeci Station was a momentous event in terms of both nineteenth century architectural and social histories. Terminals buildings were not only notable, but as Kenneth Frampton describes, these “termini were effectively the new gates into the capital city.”¹⁷⁶ Similarly, in 1875, the *Building News* explained the meaning of railway terminals for the nineteenth century as follows:

... railway termini and hotels are to the nineteenth century what monasteries and cathedrals were to the thirteenth century. They are truly the only representative building we possess...¹⁷⁷

Shortly after the establishment of a direct connection between İstanbul and other European capitals, İstanbul became the last stop of famous Orient Express. On June 1, 1889, the first non-stop train to Istanbul left Paris.

¹⁷² “The Balkan Railway Junctions,” *The Manchester Guardian*, June 19, 1886; access provided by ProQuest Historical Newspapers

¹⁷³ “The Paris-Constantinople Railway: Speech by Prince Ferdinand” *The Manchester Guardian* (1828-1900); August 13, 1888. Along these lines, Belgrade – Semlin (at Austro – Hungarian border) and Niş – Vranje and Belgrade – Bulgarian border sections were constructed by Serbia and the Vakarel- Sofya to Serbian border section was completed by Bulgaria as well.

¹⁷⁴ “The Eastern Railways” *The Times*, May 2, 1888.

¹⁷⁵ The construction started on February 1888 and it was designed by August Jachmund .

¹⁷⁶ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) ,33.

¹⁷⁷ Charles Dellheim. *The Face of the Past: The Preservation of Medieval Inheritance in Victorian England*. (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.

The Orient Express was not only the fastest means of travel to İstanbul from Europe; it was the mythical *mise en scene* of many literary works since its opening to public service. (Fig.2.15 and 2.16)



Figure 2.15 İstanbul, passengers waiting on departure platform of Sirkeci terminal, c.1912.

Source: *Resimli Kitap*, 8, no.44, (1912), 570.

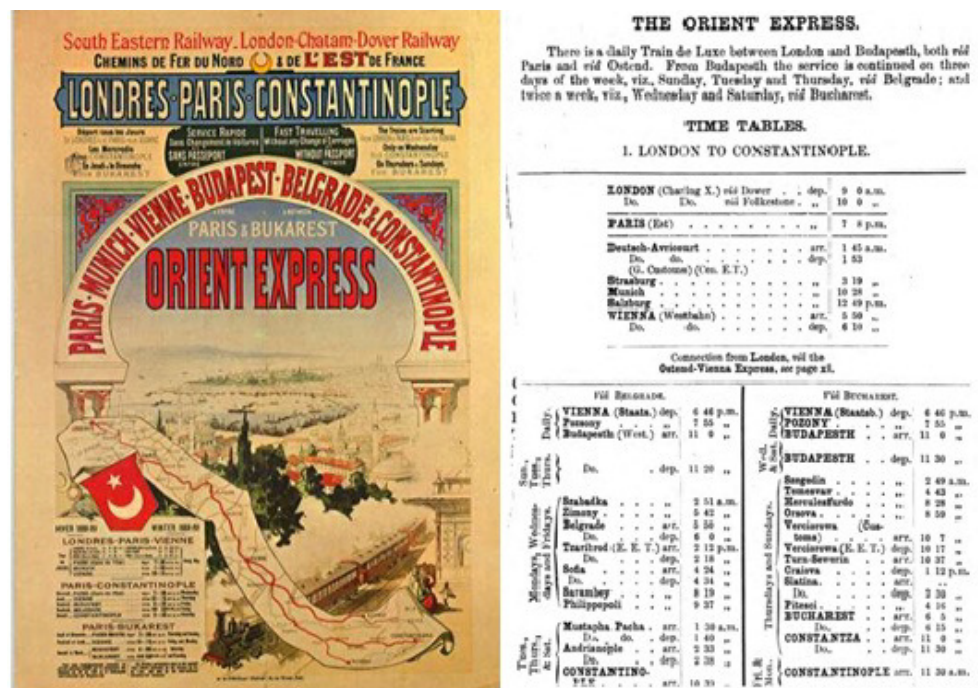
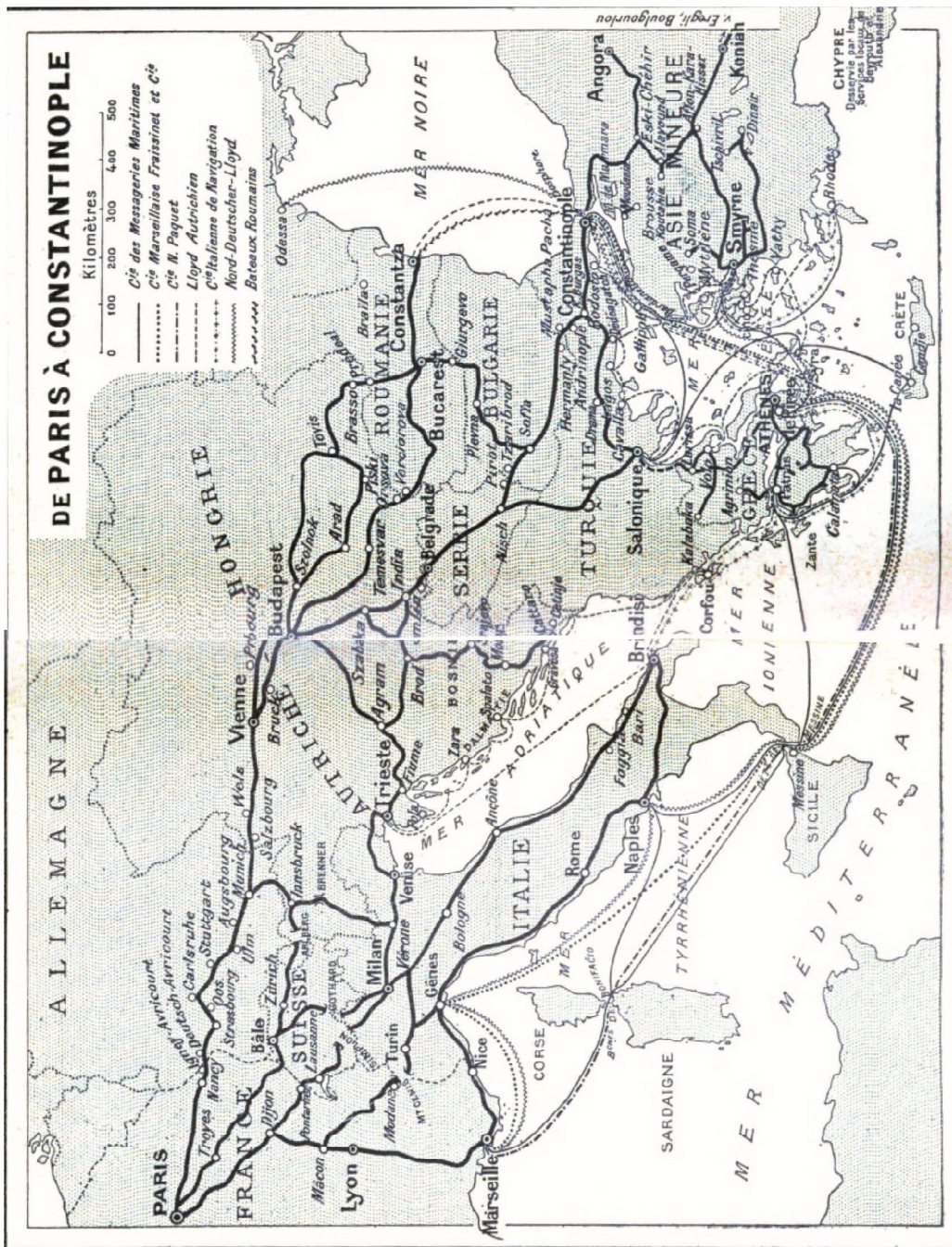


Figure 2.16 Poster advertising the Winter 1888–89 season (left), and(right) timetables for the Orient Express, 1907.

Source: left: *Wikipedia*, "Orient Express", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orient_Express, accessed October 25, 2012; right: John Murray, *Handbook for Travelers in Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad* (London: J.Murray, 1907), no page.



Map 2.9 Major railway and naval transportation routes between Paris and Istanbul, c.1900s
Source: *De Paris à Constantinople* (Paris : Hachette, 1912).

In the meantime, within the period from 1872 to 1889, a series of disagreements between the Ottoman Government and Baron de Hirsch about the quality of services and construction can be traced by investigating many technical reports and even judiciary trials.¹⁷⁸ Concurrently, during the 1880s, Baron Hirsch seemed to be

¹⁷⁸ For a detailed account of these conflicts and trials, see Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 169-

increasingly trying to get rid of his prodigious railway business. In the spring of 1882, he started to negotiate with the Imperial Ottoman Bank to sell his shares of the company. In the 1883–1884 period, there were negotiations, without tangible results, between Baron Hirsch and the Austrian State Railways, however, the Austrian State Railway eventually dropped out of this negotiation probably because of the opposition of Bulgarian government. Again in 1887, one could witness new talks between Baron Hirsch and the Imperial Ottoman Bank, resulted again in no avail. In 1889, within the last scene of the trials between Ottoman government and the exploitation company, the referee decided that the company had to pay Ottoman government a total compensation fee of 27,500,000 francs due to its liabilities on the conflict issues.¹⁷⁹

Accordingly, Deutsche Bank launched a new investment by obtaining a concession for the İzmid - Ankara line (the Anatolian Railway). Moreover, the Bank did not limit its initiatives to the Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire. Already in April 1888, the head of its executive board, Georg Siemens, asked the German Foreign Ministry if it had any politically motivated objections to make against their purchase of the shares of the Oriental Railways, and shortly after, the Bank received a positive respond. By the end of July, it started to be seriously interested in the company, and two months later, initiated negotiations with Baron Hirsch on such an eventual sale with the help of its old ally Wiener Bankverein. Finally, on April 17, 1890 a group of banks, led by Deutsche Bank and Wiener Bankverein signed a contract in Brussels with Baron Hirsch through which they bought the shares of the exploitation company of the Oriental Railways with a fee around 30,500,000 francs¹⁸⁰ and therefore, Baron Hirsch retired from Ottoman Balkan Railway network business after about twenty years of service. It can be suggested that the Deutsche Bank appropriated the Balkan railways as a strategic acquisition to realize its goal of Berlin - Bağdat railway connection to increase the German influence zone in the Middle East.

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¹⁷⁹Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 196.

¹⁸⁰ Peter Hertner "The Balkan Railways," 17-20. Parallel to its activities related to the Oriental Railways, it should be noted that Deutsche Bank managed to get a concession for another railway line from the Sublime Porte in October 1890. This one was for a 219 kilometer line running from Selanik to Manastır, together with the claim to extend it to an Ottoman port on the Adriatic Sea.

2.2.3.2 Selanik - Manastır Railway

Although the first proposals for a railway project reviving the old via Egnatia, starting from İstanbul and passing via Selanik and Manastır and ending at an Adriatic port, went back to an earlier period, it could be realized in the 1890s when the sections of İstanbul - Selanik and Selanik – Manastır routes were carried out by German and French entrepreneurs independently. For the experts, the construction of a line extending from Selanik through Manastır and reaching to Draç (Durrës) or Avlonya (Valona) could have various military and economic benefits. Being complementary to İstanbul-Selanik line, it could provide the opportunity of conveying troops and ammunition between the main bases of first (İstanbul), second (Edirne) and third (Manastır) armies and the proposed line would be the main supplier of Greece border during wartime conditions. Besides, a line extending to Adriatic coasts would secure up the conditions in western Macedonia as well.

In the early 1880s, the emergence of a new technology in Ottoman lands indirectly affected the trade of Manastır, shortly after the Selanik – Üsküb line began its operation. When the line to Üsküb completed in 1873, the benefits to Üsküb were enormous, especially after 1888 when it became the junction for a rail line to Vienna. A rail line connecting Manastır to Selanik had been proposed since 1859 and again in the 1860s, however, nothing came out of these suggestions.

In terms of economic aspects, the line passing through the fertile farmyards of Selanik and Manastır *vilayets* would remarkably increase the agricultural potential and diversity of the region and could accelerate the delivery of products to the internal and international markets. Moreover, this region was one of the densest parts of the empire in population and there were a number of towns exceeding 10,000 in census records.¹⁸¹ Within the official reports prepared by the specialists, there was a notable emphasis on to extend the project to Adriatic coasts in order to fulfill the military and economic expectations about the proposal.¹⁸² The delay of a direct connection to Balkan network cost much for Manastır economy. When the road from Manastır to the nearest station town was improved by the government, the road-rail

¹⁸¹ BOA, İ.MMS, 4962

¹⁸² BOA, İ.MMS 116-4962; 24 S 1308.

connection to Selanik became 20 to 25 percent cheaper than the transport over the Selanik – Manastır old road. Before the arrival of the railway, the nearest railway town was Koraçovo, which was eighteen hours away from Manastır and the distance restricted the use of railways for economic purposes.¹⁸³ The demand for a railway connection was an old phenomenon for the merchants of Manastır and the surrounding towns. The growth of the city was damaged by its long wait for a railway link to Selanik. Merchandises that once had passed through Manastır on their way to Albania or northern regions used alternative routes made possible by Selanik – Üsküb rail line, and without the railway, Manastır's merchants were forced to rely on the deteriorating road network.¹⁸⁴ Thus, the railway connection became an inevitable necessity for Manastır local economy. Accordingly, as will be discussed later, by the mid-1880s, Manastır became the commercial center of the Western Balkans¹⁸⁵ however, in any period, its commercial and industrial capacity could not compete with Selanik which used the advantage of a port facility. The railway service arrived in Manastır considerably later than Selanik and the city always remained in the economic hinterland of Selanik after the 1870s.

As stated before, after the Treaty of Berlin, the German Empire became immensely influential in Ottoman foreign affairs and economic aspects. The Deutsche Bank consortium which took over Baron Hirsch's shares in Oriental Railways Exploitation Company obtained a concession to extend Anatolian Railways from İzmid to Ankara with a branch to Afyon and Konya. Concurrently, the Deutsche Bank obtained the concession of Selanik – Manastır railway on October 1890 for the duration of 99 years. The convention was signed by Raif Paşa, the Minister of Commerce and Public Works and by Alfred Kaulla who was representing Deutsche Bank consortium.¹⁸⁶ The total length of the line was 219 kilometers and would be conducted in two sections: Selanik – Karaferiye and Karaferiye – Manastır. The

¹⁸³ *Manastır Vilayeti Salnamesi for the year of hicri 1308 (1890-91)*, 4

¹⁸⁴ Mark Cohen. *Last Century, of a Sephardic Community; Jews of Monastir*. (Advancement of Sephardic Studies and Culture; 2003), 57.

¹⁸⁵ Mark Cohen. *Last century*, 78

¹⁸⁶ Kaulla was also the manager of Vürttembergische Vereinsbank of Stuttgart and also acting on behalf of Deutsche Bank in Anatolian Railways project.

Ottoman government was incumbent to pay an annual guarantee fee of 14,300 francs per kilometer.¹⁸⁷

The Deutsche Bank founded a company for the construction and exploitation of the line and it was approved by the Sublime Porte on February 19, 1891. The total capital of the company was determined as 20,000,000 francs. The construction commenced on May 14, 1891 and the first phase of the line, Selanik- Vertekob was opened to traffic on October 9, 1892. In the meantime, Selanik – Manastır Railway Company reached to an agreement with Oriental Railways Company¹⁸⁸ for the common usage of the physical infrastructure of Oriental Railways Company in Selanik, including the station, repair and maintenance hangars, merchandise station and the railway quay. According to the convention, the agreement expired in 1900 and it secured the annual reimbursement of the exploitation expenses plus a 15% commission. The second phase of the route (Vertekob- Manastır) could be finished on June 13, 1894 due to the severe geographical conditions.¹⁸⁹ During the early negotiations between the parties, the issue of extending the line to Adriatic coasts was one of the main points of conflicts. **(Map 2.10)** In principle, Alfred Kaulla was against the extension of the line, since it required the digging and construction of total 15 kilometers of tunnels and viaducts so that the initial costs would surpass considerably the amount originally calculated value. On the other hand, the Sublime Porte insisted on the realization of extension of the line to Adriatic Sea and appointed experts to survey the alternative routes to analyze the cost of construction. The survey results came to a conclusion that the extra costs of the extension could be compensated by the profit gained from the lower costs of the topographically easy sections of the line running through vast plains. The disagreement could not be solved during the negotiations in route planning process, but an article about the extension proposal inserted in the final convention. It was the 32nd article which stated that in six months after the contract date, the contractor company would

¹⁸⁷ Mehmed Cavid. “Müessesat-ı Nafiamız: Selanik Manastır Demiryolu”. *Ulum-u İktisadiye ve İctimaiye Mecmuası*, (1908) , 1, no.3, 343-344

¹⁸⁸ As explained before, by 1890, the Oriental Railways was taken over by the Deutsche Bank consortium; therefore two lines were operated by the same owner.

¹⁸⁹ Mehmed Cavid. “Müessesat-ı Nafiamız”, 344-345.

survey both Manastır – Draç and Manastır – Avlonya routes, and the one that the Sublime Porte approved would be constructed later. However, in the final analysis, the extension line could not be built due to the resistance of the contractor company and unsafe conditions due to the insurgencies and riots in the rural areas.¹⁹⁰



Map 2.10 Selanik – Manastır railway and its proposed extensions.

Source: Based on Noel Buxton’s “Sketch Map of Balkan Peninsula” in 1908, drawn and marked by the author.

Finally, from the beginning of the twentieth century, a new project appeared to establish a direct connection between Üsküb and Manastır via Prilepe which aimed to connect Manastır directly to European network. However, the strong opposition of the Oriental Railways and of the commercial community at Selanik probably prevented such a proposal since they did not want to shrink their hinterland and lose some of their markets to Manastır.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰Salim Aydın, “Selanik – Manastır Demiryolu”, (Master thesis, Marmara University Institute of Social Sciences, 1999), 33-52

¹⁹¹*The Trade of Salonica Annual Report for the Year of 1909*, 27.

2.2.3.3 Selanik – İstanbul Junction Railway

After granting the railway concession for the line between Selanik and Manastır, in order to complete the ancient *via Egnatia* scheme by railways, it was a necessity to connect İstanbul with Selanik. In the beginning of the 1890s, a junction line was one of the main concerns in the agenda of Ottoman General Staff and the Sublime Porte. The concession of Selanik – İstanbul line was granted to René Baudouy, a French banker of İstanbul, on April 28, 1892.¹⁹² Baoudoy set up a construction and exploitation company, “*Compagnie de Chemin de fer Ottoman, Jonction Salonique – Constantinople*” (The Selanik- İstanbul Ottoman Junction Railway Company). The administrative board of the company consisted of the representatives of *Imperial Ottoman Bank*, *Vve Kinen & Co.* and *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas*.¹⁹³

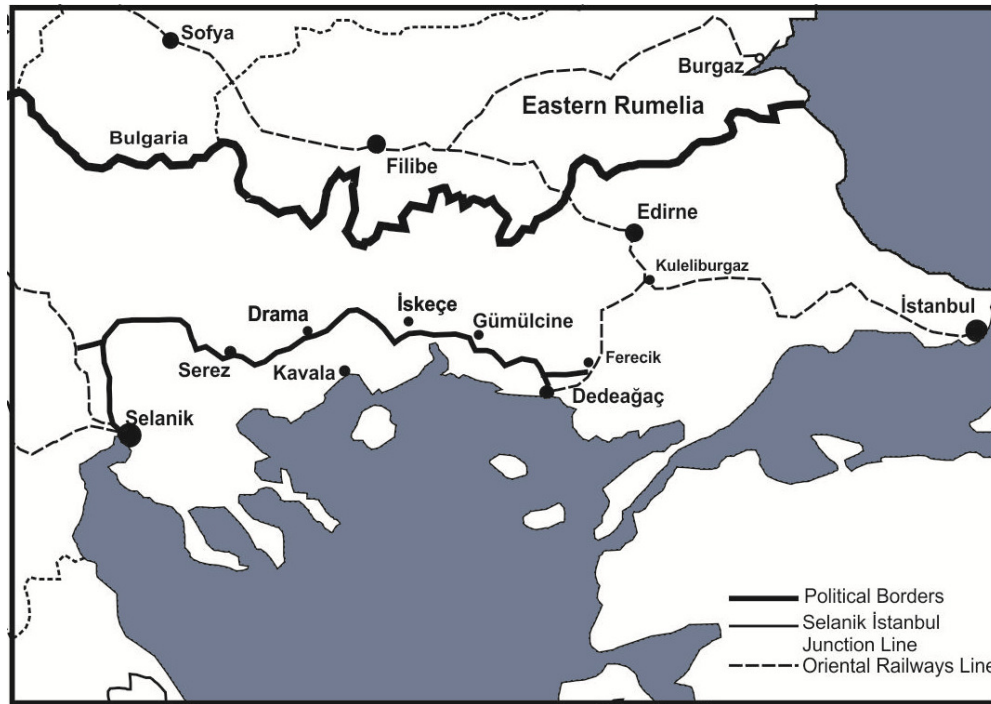
The survey brigades of René Baudouy immediately started land surveys along with the officers of Ottoman General Staff. Despite its geographical difficulties and higher construction costs comparing to a coastal route, the Ottoman General Staff was in favor of drawing a route passing at least 15 km inside of coastal line in order to protect the line from sea bombardments, and therefore, to secure up the running of the wagons during wartime conditions. Although it was expected that the line would have a positive effect on the economic development of the towns it passed through, the major concern about the realization of the line was its strategic and military importance for the integration of Ottoman army bases. Therefore, the route of the line was determined in accordance with the requirements and priorities of military officers.

The final convention, signed on October 8, 1892, stated that the company guaranteed an annual fee of 15,500 francs per kilometer for 99 years for a total of 508 kilometers of railway track. The starting point of the line was Ferecik, located on the Kuleliburgaz - Dedeğaç section of the Oriental Railways, then passing near Gümülcine (Komotini), İskeçe (Xanti), Drama, Serez (Serres), it would end up near Karacasulu on Selanik – Mitroviça line. The project also included the separate extensions to Dedeğaç and Selanik ports in the future. (**Map 2.11**) The company

¹⁹²BOA, Y.A.HUS. 258/116.

¹⁹³ Basil Gounaris. *Steam over Macedonia*, 57

was incumbent to start the construction within twelve months and would have to complete the works within four years. In the convention (article #3), it was also stated that the whole work would be conducted in three sections: first, from Ferecik and Dedeğaç to Gümölcine; second, from Gümölcine to Serez; and third, from Serez to Karasulu and Selanik. In another article, (#28), the company guaranteed the construction of military stations where implemented free of charge.¹⁹⁴



Map 2.11 Selanik – Dedeğaç Junction line.

Source: Based on Noel Buxton's "Sketch Map of Balkan Peninsula" in 1908, drawn and marked by the author.

The site works started in June 1893 and the last section of the line (Nusretli- Ferecik – Dedeğaç) was completed on April 10, 1896.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, it was the most rapid railway construction in Ottoman Balkans but needless to say, as it was the case in other railway projects, the local people had to deal with the problem of considerable distances between their towns and the stations. For instance, Serez station was built in the middle of the plain in order to reduce the expropriation costs and the Doyran

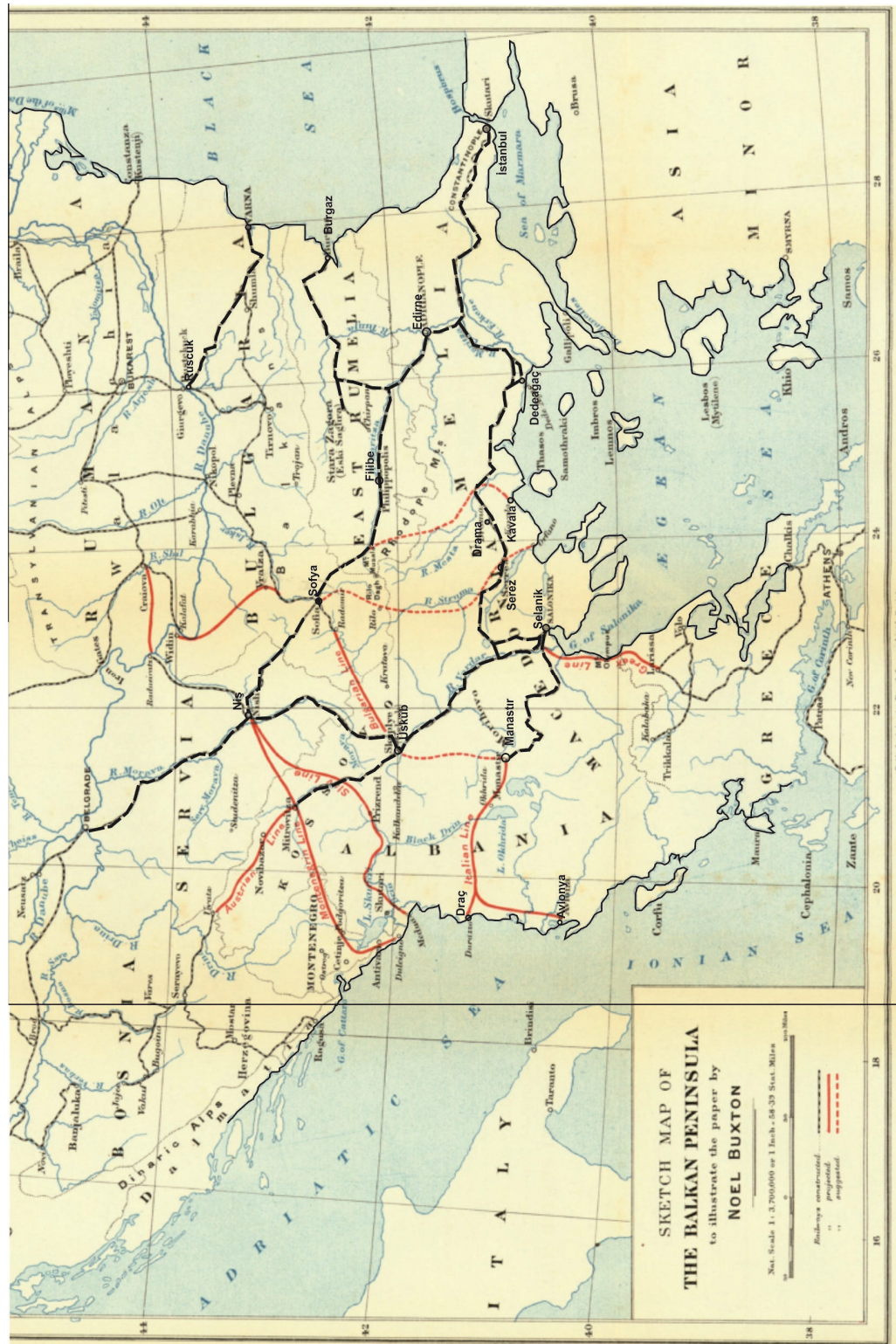
¹⁹⁴ The full text of the convention was published in George Young. *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, 4, 104-108.

¹⁹⁵ BOA, Y.MTV. 138/117.

(Doirani) town was a two hour journey by boat from the station or one hour by cart.¹⁹⁶

Owing to the recently inaugurated railway infrastructure, the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897 resulted in a clear victory of Ottoman army. The Selanik - Manastır and Selanik – İstanbul lines carried thousands of soldiers and tons of ammunition to between the army bases and to the stations close to the front line. (**Map 2.12**) Besides, in order to oppress the rural riots and uprisings, the Balkan railway network was used actively by the troops.

¹⁹⁶ Basil Gounaris. *Steam over Macedonia*, 58.



Map 2.12 Ottoman Balkan railway network at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Source: Buxton, Noel. "Balkan Geography and Balkan Railways" *The Geography Journal*, 32, No 3 (Sept. 1908), 234-235.

In the last part of this chapter, it can be useful to discuss briefly the question whether the Ottoman Balkan network was successful or not. There is not a single, short and/or simple answer to this question. As will be explored throughout this study, the railways irreversibly transformed the cities it arrived not only economically, but also culturally, socially, architecturally and urbanistically. The railways diminished the distance and time barriers between cities and cultures. One could visit Vienna, Paris or London in a few days after departing from İstanbul, Edirne or Selanik or vice versa. This was also a development in communication channels which paved the way for the easy and rapid circulation of western items, values and/or ideologies in the cultural lives of the Ottoman cities. Besides, the port cities, with their unique cosmopolitan nature, became the agent of cultural interaction between counterparts.

However, in some cases, Ottomans did not obtain many benefits expected from the railway projects for many reasons but basically; the Ottoman Empire had three main obstacles in building convenient railway infrastructure in her Balkan and Anatolian territories: geographic difficulties, financial deficit, and the lack of know-how and experience. There is not much to say about the severe geographic conditions. But for the financial aspects, it should be noted that similar to its non-European contemporaries like Russia, Brazil or Argentina, many of the reformers of the Tanzimat period considered transport infrastructure as a measure that would bring immediate economic benefits. Thus, it would pay for itself immediately in tangible terms as well as in less visible returns such as the social and intellectual impact. Above all, the military concerns of the Ottoman government were the most urgent issue. Due to an austere financial crisis, however, the government had to turn its face to Europe for private investors who would have not only the money but the technological expertise as well.¹⁹⁷

The Ottoman government mostly used the method of paying kilometric guarantees to encourage the construction of railways in its territories. If a foreign enterpriser would agree to build a railway in a designated area, he would receive a guaranteed income per kilometer to insure that stockholders and bondholders would make a profit. In other words, the government agreed to subsidize the railway lines built until such a

¹⁹⁷ Philip Ernest Schoenberg, (1977) "The Evolution of Transport in Turkey (Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor) under Ottoman Rule, 1856-1918". *Middle Eastern Studies*, 13, no. 3 (Oct., 1977), 359

time that private investors could get a fair return on the money invested. However, the problem with kilometric guarantees was how soon they would cease to be a burden on the Ottoman treasury. Most of the railways built in the Ottoman territories were in the areas that offered no immediate economic return because they were built to develop new markets or to serve military purpose.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the lack of domestic specialists on the construction and operation of railways was another reason for the need of the Ottoman government for foreign enterprisers. In the following decades, this condition changed remarkably so that the government could build the Hicaz railway to a certain extent by its own internal human sources and capital.

There were also internal failures depending on the railway policy of the government and the contractors mainly due to the lack of a coordinated policy for transport development. These failures were firstly, falling short of inter-connecting different routes in many sections of the network reduced the feasibility. Secondly, as discussed before, locating the stations mostly in remote areas at a considerable distance from the populated towns obstructed the regular use of the railways by the locals. Thirdly, the high tariffs for the transport of passengers and merchandises reduced the volume of traffic on the lines. Fourthly, the construction of new ports and expansion of existing ones could not be dealt simultaneously with railways since the ports were the stimulating agent boasting the volume of trade on railways. Finally, The Ottoman government often failed to build secondary roads which would have been of immense military and economic benefit that the railways were supposed to serve.

The following chapters will evaluate how these aspects affected the transformation of the case cities in the Ottoman Balkans.

¹⁹⁸ Philip Ernest Schoenberg, *The Evolution of Transport in Turkey*, 363

CHAPTER 3

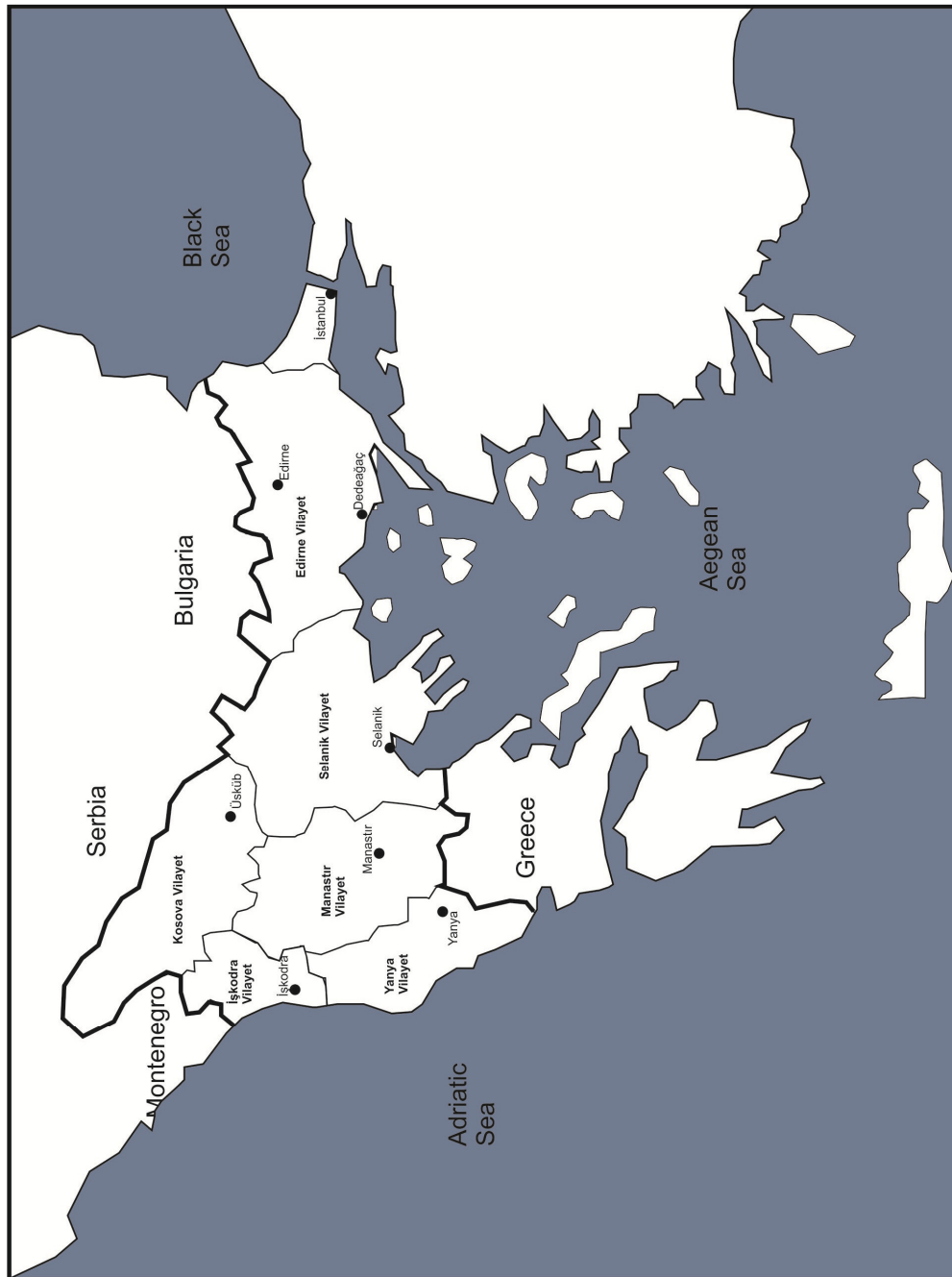
CITIES IN CHANGE: RAILWAYS TRANSFORMING OTTOMAN BALKAN CITIES

Within the scope of the dissertation, as they are briefly mentioned in the introduction part, there are four cities under investigation: Dedeağaç, Edirne-Karaağaç, Selanik and Manastır that all accommodate distinguishing and remarkable topics to explore and demonstrate how railway actors reshaped or changed the cities. **(Map 3.1)**

The phenomenon connecting these four cities is doubtlessly the railways: they were the major stops of the lines connecting İstanbul with the inner highlands of Ottoman Balkans at the turn of the twentieth century. They attained railways in different years and used its potential to different extents; but after all, they profoundly enable us to understand how railway actors changed the cities in different scales through intertwined relations among them. The four cities have certain unique aspects; however, they can be grouped according to themes. For instance; they are two port and to inland cities (Selanik – Dedeağaç vs. Edirne- Manastır) or Edirne and its port Dedeağaç versus Manastır and its port Selanik; or three major vilayet capital cities (Edirne- Selanik – Manastır) and a small town; or two relatively declining city (Manastır and Edirne) versus two developing city (Selanik and Dedeağaç). Without doubt, some other variations can be generated depending on new themes.

These cities were the subject of change: they enabled the other actors to use their spatial powers in all kinds of urban transformations. On the other hand, the cities were the object of change: they turned into stages on which the activities of the actors became visible in spatial terms.

In this chapter, the nineteenth century histories of the cities will be introduced in order; including their demographics, economy, social and cultural life, administration and public works.



Map 3.1 Edirne, Dedeağaç, Selanik and Manastir in Ottoman Balkans, c.1900s.

3.1 Dedeğaç: Emergence and Development of a Railway Company Town

In 1920, shortly after its annexation to Greece, the city of Dedeğaç was renamed as Alexandroupolis and became the capital of the Evros prefecture in East Macedonia and Thrace Regional Unit of Greece. It has been an important port and commercial center of northeastern Greece and it is located forty-five km away from the Greece-Turkey border gate and fifteen km west of Meriç (Maritza) River which defines the physical border between Turkey and Greece. **(Map 3.2)** Founded in the late nineteenth century, it was a port city and a railway hub connecting Ottoman Anatolia and Ottoman Balkans.

In this section, the less-known history of Dedeğaç region prior to 1870s will be elaborated firstly, and then, the development of the station and port facilities in the town will be introduced. Finally, the administration of the town, its demographics, economy and the major public works undertaken until the Balkan Wars will be evaluated in order.

Throughout the centuries, Meriç (Maritza) River had been the marker of the civil settlements in the Eastern Trace region where Dedeğaç was located. It provided the transportation of passengers, trade goods and irrigation for the fertile agricultural fields. Apart from Filibe and Edirne as the major settlements located on its bank, there are some minor towns and villages on its route to Aegean Sea. After Edirne, Meriç passes near Dimetoka, Sofulu, İpsala, Ferecik towns, and at the vicinity of İnöz port, it meets with the Aegean Sea. Having fertile soils irrigated by the generous river, these towns have been inhabited since the late antiquity.



Map 3.2 Dedeagaç / Alexandroupolis in Greece, political map after 1923.

Source: Wikipedia, “Alexandroupolis” <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandroupolis>, accessed January 12, 2012, reframed and marked by the author.

As accounted in the limited academic literature on the urban history of the Dedeagaç town,¹⁹⁹ the town was founded by the initiative of Oriental Railways Company as a company town of their own, and shortly after its foundation, it attracted the attention of the merchants and workers of the surrounding towns to set up new economic affairs, and became populous in a short time. The initial master plan of the town was drawn by Russian engineers during the military invasion at the time of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78. After retaking the town according to the Berlin Treaty of 1878, the Ottoman government adopted the Russian plan. With its orthogonal planning character avoiding cul-de-sacs, Dedeagaç was a unique case to be planned and developed starting from scratch. This study will contribute to this literature by showing how the creation, planning and development history of Dedeagaç might actually be more intricate and how the historical context of the town accommodated a complex web of interrelations between different actors.

¹⁹⁹ For instance, see Alexandra Yerolympos, “A New City for a New State. City Planning and the Formation of National Identity in the Balkans, 1820s-1920s” *Planning Perspectives*, 8, no.2, (1993), 233-257; Alexandra Yerolympos, “Urban transformations in the European Provinces of Ottoman Empire at the End of the Nineteenth Century”, in Lorans Tanatar Baruh and Vangelis Kechriotis, (eds.) *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean*. (Athens :Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2010); and Alexandra Yerolympos, “Urbanisme et Modernisation en Grèce du Nord à l’époque des Tanzimat (de 1839 à la fin du xix siècle) ” in Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, (eds.) *Villes Ottomanes à la fin de l’Empire*. (Paris : L’Harmattan, 1992)

- History of Dedeağaç Region Until the foundation of Railway Town

When the site-works of Oriental Railways started, the workers and the new settlers found many ancient tombs while digging out the foundations of the buildings and houses. Probably, these were some relics, not of the necropolis of the ancient zone, but of a monastic community of dervishes of the Bektaşî order, which had been established here in the fifteenth century, shortly after the conquest of the region by the Ottomans.²⁰⁰ As the Encyclopedia Britannica's article of "Dedeagatch" tells in a long partially mythical story of the region, once, the town was a remote spiritual center on the skirts of a hill, then in time, it became an abandoned settlement whose name was derived from its spiritual past; *Dede-ağaç*, literally meaning "the hermit's (dervish) tree" who once lived in the region.²⁰¹

Although when the workers of the Oriental Railways could not find anything more than the ruins of a monastic community, this confrontation implied a strong historical connection among the Dedeağaç region and the Bektaşî order of İslam.²⁰² Since the early years of the Ottoman reign, *Bektaşî* dervishes had served in their lodges and had been buried in the remote surrounding area.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ "Dedeagatch" *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, (11th edition, 1910), 7, 918

²⁰¹ A British journalist visited the town during the Bulgarian capture in 1913, met with Mr Badetti, - British vice-consul in the town- and wrote a similar story about the past of the town. For him, "the town dates from 1873 with the coming of railway. Before that there was nothing but the lonely tomb under the tree, one of the many nameless shrines, scattered through Islamic lands. The tree remains, but the tomb has been demolished by the Bulgarians." Published in "The Greeks at Dedeagatch: British Vice Consul's Adventures" *The Manchester Guardian*, August 7, 1913 (access provided by ProQuest Historical Newspapers).

²⁰² Therefore, one should go back to the earlier history of the region before the 1870s in order to understand the historical legacy of Dedeağaç. It was in the early fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that many dervishes were sent to Balkans to expand the influence of İslam parallel to the conquests of Ottoman commanders in the region. Before that, a follower of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli (the founder of Bektaşî order in Anatolia), Sarı Saltuk had been the prominent figure in the thirteenth century spreading Bektaşî interpretation of İslam throughout the Balkans and had become a miraculous figure in the local folklore by being partly associated with many mythical events. After Sarı Saltuk, Bektaşî dervishes' influence zone covered a vast area, and a large community of Albanians and Bosnians was converted to İslam and followed Bektaşî Sufism. According to Bektaşî belief system, a second symbolic and spiritual crossing to Balkans from Anatolia, after Sarı Saltuk, was by a group of forty dervishes led by Seyyid Ali Sultan (1310-1402). He founded his Bektaşî lodge in Dimetoka (Didymóteicho) in 1397 and attracted his adherents around himself. In time, the region marked by Dimetoka, İnöz and Ferecik became an important locality of Bektaşî order.

²⁰³ Among them, İbrahim Baba was buried on a hill near Ferecik, Nefes Sultan's tomb and lodge were located 7-8 kilometers away from Ferecik and Rüstem Baba's lodge was at the vicinity as well. The

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, after its conquer by the Ottomans, a considerably large area around Dedeğaç region was registered to the properties of Sultan Bayezid Pious Endowments (*Vakıf*)²⁰⁴ and there were also some agricultural fields in *mir'i* status²⁰⁵ owned by the state and rented temporarily to the demanding residents.²⁰⁶ **(Map 3.3)**

One of the earliest descriptions of Dedeğaç region was by Evliya Çelebi. By attending a military mission to capture Girit (Crete) in the end of 1667, Evliya Çelebi visited Ferecik town²⁰⁷ and its surrounding region, and depicted them in his peculiar narration style.²⁰⁸ After leaving Ferecik, Evliya Çelebi followed the route to the west, and arrived Nefes Sultan lodge complex on a high remote hill.²⁰⁹ As he narrated, there were summer and winter courts, guestrooms, kitchens, cellars, a small mosque and a tomb in the complex.²¹⁰ The complex was maintained and financed by

Bektaşî teaching tells that during a visit from Ferecik to Gümülcine, Seyyid Ali Sultan planted a plane tree en route (close to Nefes Sultan's lodge) and the tree was sacrificed by the local community in time. See, Belkıs Temren. "Bektaşî Geleneklerinde Avrupa'ya İkinci Geçiş: Seyyid Ali Sultan (Kızıl Deli) Söylencesi." *Gazi Üniversitesi Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Araştırma Dergisi*. (Ankara: 1998), no.6, 107-108

²⁰⁴ BOA, DH.MKT. 1791/2; h.28 R 1308, (December 12,1890)

²⁰⁵ Ottoman land classification system was constituted by both Islamic and traditional influences. According to the Land Law of 1858, the lands in Ottoman territories were classified in five groups and *mir'i* land was one of them. *Mir'i* land was property, directly belonged to the state but the usage right temporarily transferred to the users after state's approval, meaning that the state could hire them to demanding individuals. The users had to pay an annual rent to the state for the usage right. For the *mir'i* lands and their legal statue, see Halil Cin. "Osmanlı Toprak Hukukunda Miri Arazinin Hukuki Rejimi ve Bu Arazilerin Türk Medeni Hukukundaki Durumu." *A.Ü Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, no.22, 745-798. For the general history of Ottoman land and property regulations, see Osman Nuri Engin, *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş., 1996), 6 volumes

²⁰⁶ Ebubekir Hazım, "Memuriyet Hatıralar"ı. *İctihad* (İstanbul, 1926), 214, 4133-34

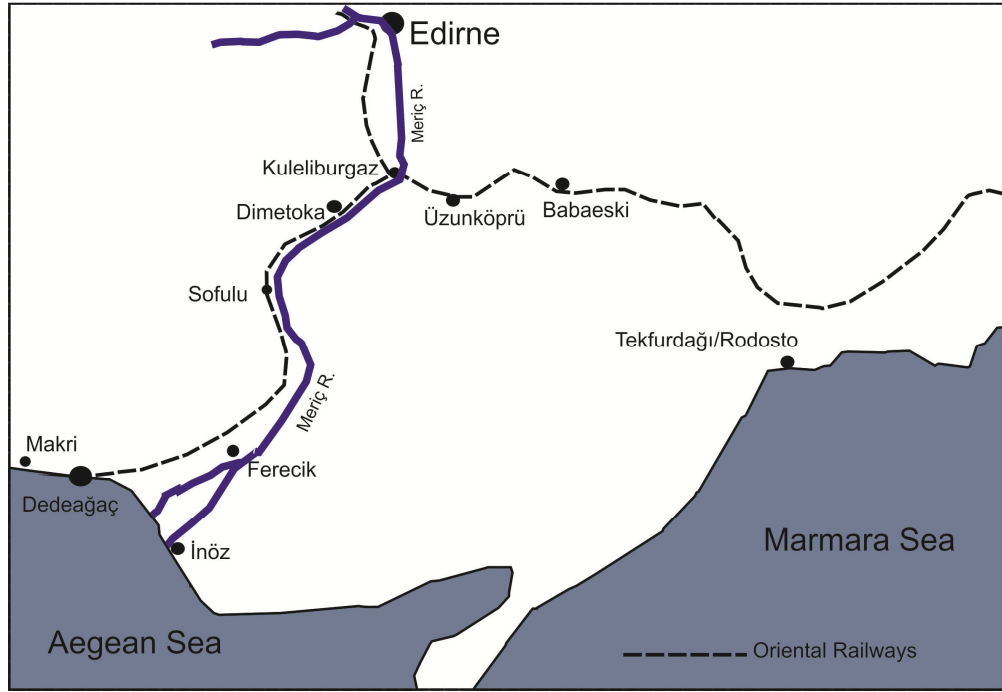
²⁰⁷ Ferecik (Ferres) is a small town located near Meriç River

²⁰⁸ For him, Ferecik was located on a steep area at the skirts of Tanrıverdi Mountain where the area was registered to Sultan Beyazıt II foundation. The water provided from a spring and brought to the town by aqueducts and distributed to public fountains and mosques. The air was mild and pleasant as well.

²⁰⁹ For Evliya Çelebi, the hill was so high that the İmroz Island on Aegean Sea, İnöz Castle on the east, İpsala Castle and surrounding planes on the northeast were all in sight while looking from the lodge.

²¹⁰ If we have a look at his travelogues, apart from the lodge and surrounding complex, Evliya also depicted a royal wood on the south which accommodated thousands of horses and was protected by keepers. After a short stay in the wood, Evliya drew a route to the southwest and arrived Makri fortress on the Aegean shore, dominated by Greek society. After depicting the town shortly, he noted that Makri and surrounding villages, composed of 400 houses in the registers and 10 villages, were

Ekmekçizade Ahmet Paşa pious endowment of Edirne. Evliya Çelebi counted fifty content and poor dervishes serving in the lodge. Besides, he noted a hot spring downwards of the lodge which he depicted as one of the bests of what he saw in the Balkans.²¹¹



Map 3.3 Dedeagaç and surrounding settlements around 1870s.

Source: Based on BOA map collection, item #2377; reproduced by the author.

More than a century after Evliya Çelebi, it was a British man who visited the same region, Adolphus Slade who traveled in Ottoman Balkans in the years of 1829-1830

registered to Sultan Bayezid-i Veli Foundation, Evliya Çelebi. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini*. (İstanbul: YKY, 2006), 8, 33-36.

²¹¹ In order to prove his comparison, he asserted that Sultan Mehmed IV, who stayed in most of his time in Edirne, visited the hot spring and physically benefited from the spring water, and then, also visited the tomb of Nefes Sultan and made a speech on the historical personality of Nefes Sultan. This speech made the story of Nefes Sultan more intricate than expected, if we believe in Evliya Çelebi, Sultan Mehmed IV introduced Nefes Sultan as *Düzmece* (Fake) Mustafa, the son of Bayezid I (Yıldırım) in the Ottoman dynasty. Combating for the throne against his brothers after Ankara War (1402), Mustafa decided to quit the challenge and left himself to the remoteness, sacrificed himself to God in this lodge. After a while, during the reign of Murad II, the army captured a man who looked like Mustafa and sentenced him to death by hanging in Edirne fortress as a punishment of his disorder. However, the real Mustafa was Nefes Sultan serving to this lodge at Dedeagaç. It can be suggested that depending on Sultan's speech, Evliya made a historical matching between *Düzmece* (Fake) Mustafa and Nefes Sultan. Thus, the mythical figure of Bektaşî order overlapped with an adversary figure in Ottoman royal history.

and 1831. According to his memoirs, after leaving Edirne on the way to Aegean costs by a boat via Meriç River, he made a short stay in Ferecik. In order to find the ruins of antiquity, he climbed the summit of the hill where some ruins of edifices were still visible. There, he found out five coffins in a shrine and came across an old Turkish man²¹² who advised him:²¹³

... to go five miles further where was the tomb of Nefes Baba (located), one of the most celebrated saints of the same order, who had come from Gallipoli with the *Osmanleys* when they conquered the country; and in commemoration, he, Nefes, being rich, *Padischah Oglou* (son of a prince), had founded a monastery. A similar spectacle awaited me, - a ruined village and a tomb. Two of the coffins were also enormous in size, made so to impose to vulgar... At the same time I was greatly pleased at finding myself among the tomb of Bektashes – as celebrated in the East as the Jesuits were in the West... .

As the quotation above implies, the physical conditions had changed remarkably throughout the centuries that Slade found only ruins of the lodge which Evliya praised about 150 years ago. Therefore, the only habitation among Makri, İnöz and Ferecik triangle had been abandoned and left to its destiny.²¹⁴ In this regard, the issue

²¹² The old man told Slade that it was the tomb of İbrahim Baba of Bektaşî order and the adjoining ruins were the houses for the accommodations of pilgrims. See Adolphus Slade. *Records of travels in Turkey, Greece and of a cruise in the Black Sea, with the capitan pasha, in the years 1829,1830, and 1831*. (Philadelphia, Baltimore, E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1833), 188-189

²¹³ The sentences are quoted as they appear in the original text.

²¹⁴ The association of Bektaşî order with Janissary Corps, and abolishment of the corps during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1826) resulted in the abrogation of Bektaşî sufism and local vandalisms against Bektaşî lodges and tombs in the Ottoman lands. That could be the case for Nefes Sultan tomb too which Slade found in ruins. For a recent study on the Ottoman State's policy against tarikats (mystic religious orders) after the abrogation of Bektaşî order which explains the fate of the tomb and the lodge at the end of the 1820s, see, Muharrem Varol, "Bektaşîliğin İlgası Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Tarikat Politikaları"(PhD Diss. Marmara University, 2011). According to Varol, Edirne was the second center, after Istanbul, in prevalence of the destruction against Bektaşî order institutions and buildings, and political banishing of the followers of Bektaşî order and exile of Bektaşî dervishes. Historical records stated that Sultan Mahmud II appointed officers in Edirne in order to deal with the recording of the properties and demolition of Bektaşî lodges The Nefes Sultan lodge building was demolished along with Gaziler Zaviye (small lodge), and the ruined materials were transferred to a mosque site to use in the vicinity and to a medrese (theology school) requiring repair. The registers of the lodge stated that, similar to the account of Evliya Çelebi, the lodge complex consisted of a tomb, a laundry house, a courtroom, a small mosque, a kitchen, a bakery, a cellar, a hayloft, a flour store. The lodge controlled a large agricultural area in the surrounding region including six vineyards of 17 dönüm and split farmlands of 652 dönüm which accommodating a şirahane (wine cellar), a kitchen, a bakery, a house, a detached room, a stable, a hayloft, and a detached shepherd's room. During the abrogation and demolition of the lodge, the revenues of the farmyards were decided to be transferred to state treasury (mukataa hazinesi) (396-399). In this detailed research, Muharrem Varol examined volumes of Ottoman accounting records classified as *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri* in BOA,MAD no. 9771

here is neither the historical validity of these accounts nor the narrator's points of perspective, but the need to open up a debate on the mystified and forgotten history of the region by pointing out how the fate the deserted and remote lands of a religious order changed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and turned into a railway company town of the nineteenth century.

- Urban Developments in Dedeğaç after Its Foundation

The railway concession of 1869 granted to Baron Maurice de Hirsch²¹⁵ implemented to build a branch to İstanbul - Vienna railway line starting from Kuleliburgaz²¹⁶ to the İnöz (Ainos) port located at the Aegean coast in order to carry and transfer the construction materials from the Aegean coast to inlands. The engineers of the contractor company inspected around İnöz port and reported that due to the shallow nature of the sea in İnöz port and the accumulation of alluvium by the Meriç (Maritza) River delta, the natural conditions would obstruct the development and exploitation of the railway and port investments. As an alternative, they proposed building up these facilities at Dedeğaç region around fifteen km west of the river delta. The proposal was approved by the Ottoman authorities after the submission of the report. Finally, with an imperial decree, the terminus point of the line was transferred to Dedeğaç instead of İnöz on June 30, 1870.²¹⁷ Although, at first glance, it seems weird to build the port and terminus station at Dedeğaç instead of İnöz, which had been the traditional port of Edirne and surrounding region until that time, it is clear that the technical obligations necessitated such a preference. After the issue of imperial decree, there existed counter arguments against the decision of Dedeğaç in İstanbul newspapers: all were criticizing the choice but their counter arguments varied. While some insisted on İnöz as a terminus point, some others offered Gelibolu (Gallipoli). For instance, in a long article printed in *the Levant Herald*, the anonymous author explained the advantages of Gelibolu in comparison to İnöz and stated that the only disadvantage of Gelibolu could be the distance to

²¹⁵ See chapter 2 for the details of the concession

²¹⁶ It is located around 35 kilometers southeast of Edirne.

²¹⁷ BOA, İ.DH. 42770, 1870

Edirne that was around 15 km farther away to Edirne than İnöz was.²¹⁸ In another article, Nicholas Hatzopoulos, a Greek teacher and journalist living in İnöz, depicted Dedeğaç region as a deserted or remote area (*yaban yeri*) during his visit to region,²¹⁹ and therefore, criticized the decision for the lack of a permanent settlement there.

A decade later, Emilie Isambert's guide book drew the readers' attention to the same issue and stated that once Dedeğaç region had been almost unknown and abandoned before the constructions began and that it was not clear why deserted beach of Dedeğaç was chosen for the construction of a new port instead of expanding the traditional port of İnöz. However, the book depicted pace of developments at Dedeğaç in excitement. They were all realized in a short time after the arrival of railways; a pier built for the railway service to disembark materials for construction and operation together with the house of the director of the company, shops, station buildings, and many other houses. Then, concluded that with the increasing popularity of the town, the population, which was mainly composed of workers at the time, would be replaced by sailors and traders in the future.²²⁰

For Oriental Railways Company the major task was to complete the construction of a port, a railway yard with its technical facilities, and most importantly, to integrate them physically in a short time. Comparing to other Mediterranean cities of Ottoman Empire, integration of the port and the railway facilities was realized in a relatively short time. Consequently, this connection enabled the economic expansion of the town.

The construction of the 149 km-long Edirne-Dedeğaç line started in May 1871²²¹ and completed in June 1872.²²² The arrival of the railway made the town as an attraction point for new settlers, workers and merchants. As a result of the increasing

²¹⁸*The Levant Herald*, June 15, 1870.

²¹⁹ Nicolas Hatzopoulos. "κατ' εντολήν και εν ονόματι των κατοίκων της Αίνου. *Νεολόγος* (*Neologos*), May 28, 1872. (available in George Alepakos private collection and translated by Selahattin Kesit)

²²⁰ Emilie Isambert. *Itinéraire Descriptif, Historique et Archéologique de l'Orient*, (1881), v.1, 653

²²¹ *The Levant Herald*, May 9, 1871

²²² *La Turquie*, September 3, 1872

population, Dedeağaç was made the chief town of namesake Dedeağaç *kaza* (borough) in 1873, in accordance with the new administrative hierarchy of Ottoman Empire, and a *kaymakam* (governor local) was appointed.²²³ In governmental hierarchy, Dedeağaç *kaza* was under Dimetoka *sancak* (district). The capture of the town by the Russian army at the beginning of February 1878²²⁴ caused a short-term disturbance in the region but after the restoration of the peace conditions, the development of Dedeağaç got back on the rails.

With the expanding trade capacity and increasing population, Dedeağaç developed as the main port of Eastern Thrace and Edirne *vilayet* (province) and in 1883, when a new *sancak* under Edirne *vilayet* was constituted, the town became the namesake center of it.²²⁵ **(Map 3.4)** In the late nineteenth century, Dedeağaç sancak had a total population of 66,290 which was composed of 28,427 Muslim; 34,097 Greeks; 12,899 Bulgarians and relatively small communities of Jews, Armenians and Gypsies. Under this new organization, its *kazas* (boroughs) were Dedeağaç, Sofulu and İnöz.²²⁶ According to the census of 1893, Dedeağaç sancak had the total population of 65,200.²²⁷ In this regard, the map shown below helps us to understand the geographical location of the Dedeağaç town and emphasizes its strategic position between the Ottoman Balkans, İstanbul and Anatolia.

²²³ “Dedeagatch” *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edition, 7, 917-18

²²⁴“Second Edition: Special Morning Express: The War in the East Advance” *The Manchester Guardian*; Feb 9, 1878; access provided by ProQuest Historical Newspapers. According to the article, the Russians occupied Dedeağaç on February 3, 1878 and taken possession of 163 guns and four locomotives which they found there.

²²⁵ In the late nineteenth century, there were six sancaks under Edirne vilayet: namely Edirne, Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ), Gelibolu, Kırkkilise (Kırklareli), Dedeağaç and Gümülcine (Komotini) sancaks

²²⁶Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus'ul Alam*, 3, 2223-2224.

²²⁷In this point it should be noted that the borders of *kazas*, *sancaks* and *vilayets* were frequently changing at the end of the nineteenth century. Besides, the continuous migrations of the Muslim communities were also one of the main factors affecting the composure of the population in nineteenth century. See, Kemal Karpas. *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).



Map 3.4 Edirne Vilayet and Dedeagaç Sancak, c.1900s.

Source: Based on Taksim Atatürk Library Collection map # 1309; reframed and reproduced by the author

After becoming a *sancak* center, a local governor (*mutasarrıf*) was appointed to the town and a municipality organization was established. Becoming an administrative center necessitated the transfer of the state organs from Dimetoka to Dedeagaç.²²⁸ In the early years, the state works were conveyed in the small temporarily rented buildings, and with the increase at the amount of official works, it became a necessity to build a government office in 1881.²²⁹ In two years the state organs, including justice, security and administration officers were transferred to the town and conveyed their duties in this building. In time, the necessity of physical separation of these functions emerged and the central authority proposed a plan to build a civic center.

²²⁸ BOA, Y.A.Res 19/51, h.27 Ca 1300 (April 5, 1883)

²²⁹ BOA ŞD. 1910/28; 28 Za 1298 (22 October 1881), the document also reveals that the government office was built according to a plan sent from Edirne.

As a local maritime trade point, the commercial potential of the town was quickly realized by European traders as well, thus many freight ship agencies opened their branches in the town. By the 1890s, annually 1300 freight ships from various countries visited the town and carried 255,922 tons of export and import materials.²³⁰ In order to boast maritime trade and transport, one of the earliest crucial steps was erecting a lighthouse at the port. General Administration of Ottoman Lighthouses (*Administration Generale des Phares de l'Empire Ottoman*) inaugurated the new lighthouse in 27 m height on June 1, 1880 in order to increase the capacity and to ease the navigation in the sea.²³¹ Since then, the lighthouse has become the symbol of the city. (Fig. 3.1)



Figure 3.1 Alexandroupolis, the lighthouse, 2010.
Source: Author's photo.

²³⁰ Ali Cevad. *Memalik- i Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı*, (Istanbul: 1895), 386. These freight ships were German, British, Austrian, Denmark, French, Greek, Italian, Swedish and Ottoman in origin. The majority of the trade materials were carried by Austrian trade companies. More than 66,000 tons of the materials were under the control of the Austrian companies. The major maritime agencies were Lloyd of Austria and Victoria Joly et Co. , P. Pantaleon, Hadji Daout and Co. at that time. For more information about the maritime companies in Dedeagaç, see Raphael Cervati and Freres Cervati. *Annuaire Oriental du Commerce de L'industrie de l'Administration et de la Magistrature*. (İstanbul, 1895), 855-856

²³¹ Kalemkeris, Christos et al. *Οι σιδηρόδρομοι στον Βορειοελλαδικό χώρο 1871 – 1965*. (The railways in Northern Greece 1871 – 1965) (Thessaloniki: Museum Cristos Kalemkeris, 2005), 186

In a few decades after its foundation, public works initiated by the central and local authorities transformed the town into a developing local center; the town center accommodated a government office, a military barrack, a gendarme office, an Agricultural Bank branch, a salt granary, a lighthouse, a large steam-engine flour mill, a high school for civil servants at the turn of the nineteenth century.²³²

One of the significant works was the opening of Hamidiye Street defining the east-west axis of the town starting from the Oriental Railways passenger station and ending at the civic center, and it worked as a station street as well. During the Ottoman period, it was about 1500 meters in length and around 39 meters in width at some sections. It should be noted here that considering the population of the town (around 4000-5000 at the turn of the nineteenth century), it was a significant street provision for a moderate Ottoman town. The local government planted rows of trees and constructed pavements on each side of the street as well. It was also called “*Grand Rue*” or “*Rue de Hotels*” emphasizing its significance for the daily life of the town. As a prestige axis, it accommodated Austrian and Greek consulates, Tobacco Monopoly (*regie*), hotels, many cafes, large stores of the merchants and many mansions as can be seen in the photos or postcards of the Ottoman period of Dedeğaç (**Fig. 3.2**)

²³² Ali Cevad, *Memalik-i Osmaniye*, 387



Figure 3.2 Dedeağaç, Austrian Consulate and Regie Building on Hamidiye Street, 1890s, photograph. **Source:** İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album #90581.

It was the period of the 1890s when Dedeağaç gained a momentum of physical expansion. The first stimulating force was the provision of an extension of Selanik-İstanbul Junction railway to Dedeağaç after the Selanik – İstanbul Junction Lines (JSC) Company persuaded Oriental Railways Company to use its port, customs and storage facilities near the port. However, the station of JSC Company was located at a remote place at the north of the town, as can be seen indicated on the earliest plan of Dedeağaç drawn after its annexation to Greece in 1929 (**Fig. 3.3**) Furthermore, a military station was also provided as a premise of Ottoman army and a small military barrack was constructed near the military station.

As will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, an important actor in the development of the town was the governor Hazım Bey, who was in official duty in the town for more than two years from 1896 to 1898. Under his guidance, many projects were begun or undertaken, such as the extension and enlargement of Hamidiye Street, the construction of the new courthouse in the civic center, the landscape design of the civic center and municipal garden, and the inauguration of the municipal hospital at the north end of the town. (**Fig. 3.4**)

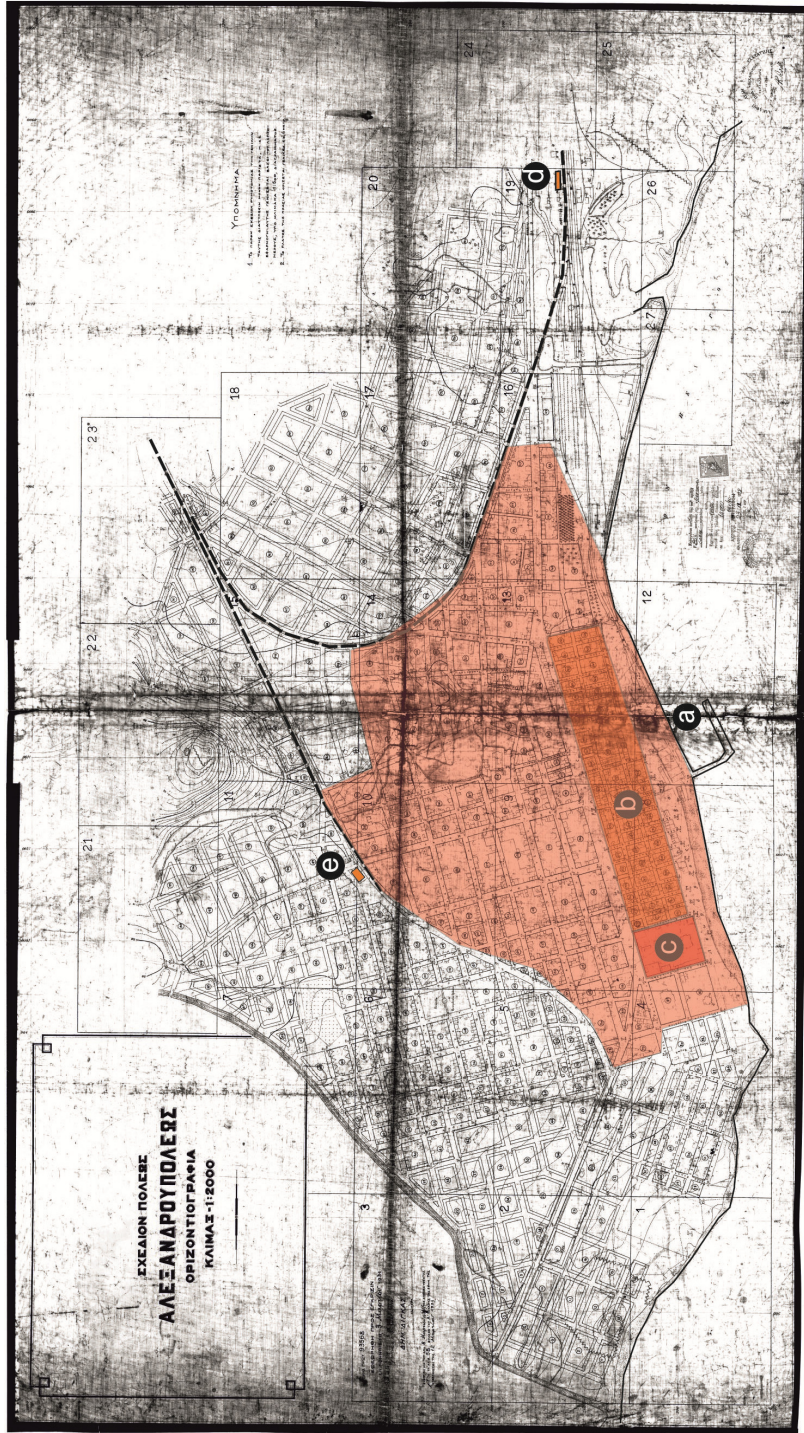


Figure 3.3: Dedeagaç, hypothetical physical limits of the city defined by the railways around 1910s.
Source: “Plan of Alexandroupolis” approved in 1931; reproduced, and indexed by the author.
Legend: a: Port, b: Port District, c: Civic Center, d: CO Station, e: JSC Station.



Figure 3.4 Dedeagaç, inauguration ceremony for municipality hospital, 1896, photograph.
Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album #90581.

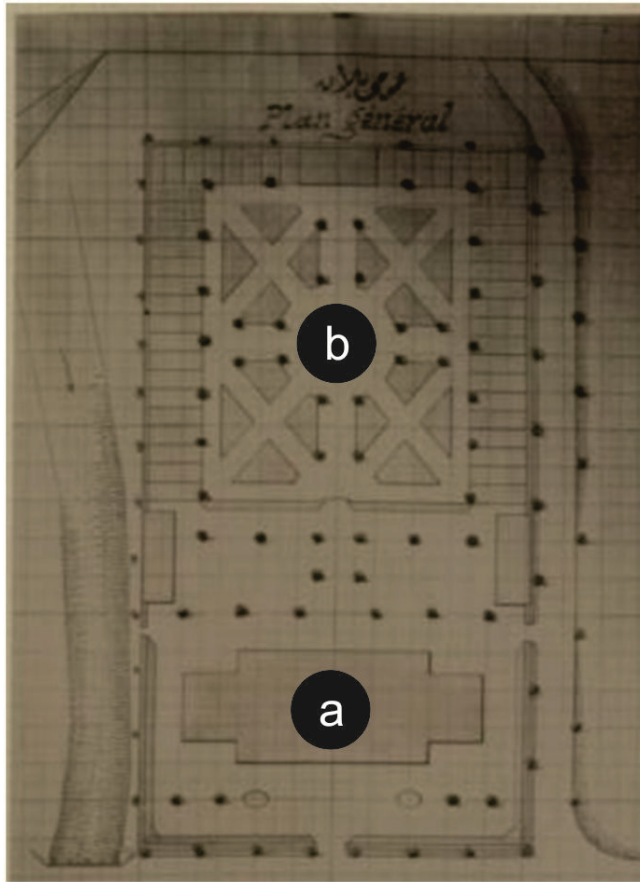


Figure 3.5 Dedeagaç, municipality hospital, site plan, c.1890s.
Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album #90581.
Legend: a: Hospital, b: garden.

Consequently, the old and new railway routes defined the physical development borders of the town. The roughly triangular area defined by the lines on the north of the Hamidiye Street to the city station was the next phase of development after the port district designed by the contractor company. Until the end of Ottoman domination, the physical borders of the town probably remained in this area. Around the turn of the century, there could be around 4,000-5,000 people living in the town.²³³ (Fig. 3.6)



Figure 3.6 Dedeğaç, general view of town, photograph, c.1890s.

Source: George Alepakos private collection.

Regarding the development of Dedeğaç, the Ottoman government proudly expressed the accomplishments of the state in the Edirne Salname (Yearbook) of h.1319 (1901-02) as follows:²³⁴

... Dedeğaç is a small and elegant town lying at 120 km southwest of Edirne on the coast of Aegean Sea and at the connection point of Oriental and Junction Railways. 25-30 years ago, it had not been more than a number of temporary poor shacks and huts, today it was improved to be a town of 944 houses, 276 shops, a government office complemented by various facilities, a barrack, two mosques, four schools (including one high school), three

²³³ The 11th edition of Encyclopedia Britannica recorded that the population was around 3000. (See Dedeagatch article, 7, 917-18) On the other hand, Edirne *salname* (yearbook) of h.1319 (1902-1903) gives clues about the population of the town by giving the number of houses in the town center as 944. Thus, it can be guessed that the population at the turn of the century could be around 5000 residents. Besides, a statistical report of 1922 found in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (HR.SYS, 2471/108) used the results of the census made by the French government authorities (*Les Statistiques De La Population En Thrace-Occidentale*) and reported that there were 1742 Turks, 2484 Greeks, 408 Bulgarians, 253 Jews and 449 Armenians, in total 5336 people living in the town. It should be noticed that the Bulgarian and Turkish population might have significantly decreased due to the territorial changes and war conditions after 1912 and onwards.

²³⁴ Edirne Salname (Yearbook) of h.1319 (1901-02), 1019

churches, a public hospital, a mole, a light house, twelve public fountains, numerous hotels and clubs and it has neat streets as well. It is improving day by day by the prosperity acts of the sultan his highness.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the British Naval Intelligence Division Reports depicted the city with wide streets, healthy conditions²³⁵ and noted that the water of the city supplied from a spring, from a reservoir at the northwest of the town as well as from wells.

However, the development story did not finalize as the contractor company expected because of the conflict between Ottoman authorities and Oriental Railways about the expansion costs of the port and the maritime capacity of Dedeagaç port (and railways as well). The company was in demand from Sublime Porte to finance the construction costs of expansion project since the volume of trade in Dedeagaç port could not reach the level that the company expected due to the size of the port.²³⁶ So it seems that Oriental Railways Company made an error in their appraisals about the future capacity of the port when they had commenced the project: they had expected to have a large port competing with the ones in Selanik and İstanbul. For this reason, the company asked to assign a vast area as much as possible on the seashore to build a great port facility. But for the Sublime Porte it was a risk to allow a port challenging İstanbul and Selanik ports therefore, the Sublime Porte wanted the company to construct a small mole and quay that only small tonnage ships could enter in.²³⁷ In this respect, it can be suggested that since the strategic benefits of İstanbul and Selanik Port companies would have been in conflict with a large port project in Dedeagaç, and these companies probably had lobbied against this project in the presence of Ottoman government. Eventually, it resulted in the favor of İstanbul and Selanik ports benefits. Therefore, facing the reality of its confinement within a small port,²³⁸ the Oriental Railways Company was in quest of new strategies to create extra revenues.

²³⁵ *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories* prepared by Naval Intelligence Division, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), 463-463

²³⁶ BOA, Y.PRK.OMZ, 2/69

²³⁷ Ebubekir Hazım, "Memuriyet Hatıraları", 4133

²³⁸ *Ibid*, 4133

- Balkan Wars and the Aftermath

The Ottoman reign in the town was terminated with the start of the Balkan Wars in 1912. Within a decade, the town was captured by different powers for a couple of times. First, the town was invaded by the Bulgarian army on November 8, 1912 with the help of the Greek army when it was an Ottoman territory at the beginning of the Balkan War I. Greece and Bulgaria were allies in the First War, but they were opponents in the Second. Thus, Dedeğaç was captured by the Greek forces on July 11, 1913. However, the Treaty of Bucharest (August 10, 1913) determined that Dedeğaç would be returned to Bulgaria along with the Western Thrace. The defeat of Bulgaria by the Allies in the World War I ensured another change of the hands of the town. During the WWI, Dedeğaç was under a massive bombardment. A foreign journalist depicted the war conditions in the town as follows:²³⁹

... fifteen hundred yards out to the sea lay a great grey cruiser and two torpedo-boat destroyers on the watch. Two miles out of Dedeagatch the party “creep like Indians along field paths into the dear, burnt-out town.” They entered “behind the smoking ruins of the station. A broad street running parallel with the seashore divides Dedeagatch into two halves. Everything on our left, all the valuable buildings and stores which bordered the sea, are smoldering rubbish-heap.

In 1918, when Western Thrace was withdrawn by Bulgaria under the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, Dedeğaç was remained under temporary management of the *Entente* led by French Authorities. In in San Remo Conference in April, 1920, Western Thrace including Dedeğaç was given to Greece by the main allies of the *Entente* powers. However, Bulgaria retained the right of transit to use the port of Dedeğaç to transport goods through the Aegean Sea. The change of guard between Bulgarian and Greek officials occurred on May 14, 1920. The city was soon visited by Alexander I of the Greece who was the first king of Greece visiting the town. Shortly after his visit, the king passed away and the town was renamed to commemorate his name, Alexandroupolis.

²³⁹ “Dedeagatch after Sea Bombardment: The Havoc about the Harbour”*The Manchester Guardian*; Nov 5, 1915 (access provided by ProQuest Historical Newspapers).

3.2 Edirne and Karaağaç: Development of a Suburban Area at the Vicinity of a Traditional City

*Edirne şehri mi bu yâ gülşen-i me'va mıdır?
Anda kasr-ı padişahî cennet-i âlâ mıdır?*

Nef'i h.1021 (1612)²⁴⁰

Edirne is located at the northwestern edge of Turkey and at the heart of the Thrace Peninsula. Once, it had been a multicultural city composed of Muslims, Bulgarians, Greek Orthodox Christians, Armenians and Sephardic Jews before the Turkish-Greek population exchange in the 1920s, and the exile of local Sephardic Jews in the 1930s took place. The polyglot and multicultural character of the city expressed itself in the city's naming among local communities: it is called Edirne (in Turkish), Adrianopoli /Αδριανούπολη (in Greek), Odrin / Одрин (in Bulgarian), Adrianople (in English and French) and Adrianopel (in German). The etymologic source of all of these variations was the Latin *Hadrianopolis* or *Hadrian's city*.²⁴¹ (Map 3.5)

Edirne is the city of rivers: there are three rivers passing around the city and defining its physical boundaries. While Tunca River runs within the city demarcating the old city from western suburbs; Arda and Meriç rivers join at the southwestern direction and join with the Tunca at the southeastern direction of the city. Therefore, while the nucleus of the city is composed of *intra* and *extra muros*, the city itself was enclosed by rivers from west, southwest and south directions.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ *Bu Edirne şehri midir yoksa Me'va cennetinin gül bahçesi midir? /Onda sultanın kasrı cennet-i a'lâ mıdır?*

Is it Edirne city or the rosary at heaven? / At there, does the sultan's palace like the sublime heaven?

²⁴¹ "Edirne" *Türk Ansiklopedisi*. (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), XIV, 336.

²⁴² "Edirne" *Görsel Genel Kültür Ansiklopedisi*. (Yazır Matbaacılık, 1999), 8, 2905.



Map 3.5 Edirne in northwestern Turkey, partial political map.

Source: Wikipedia, “Edirne”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edirne>, accessed July15, 2012.

- History of Edirne until the Nineteenth Century

The area of Edirne city has been permanently settled since ancient times. According to Greek mythology, Orestes, son of king Agamemnon, built this city as *Orestias*, at the confluence of the Tonsus (Toundja / Tunca) and the Ardiscus (Arda) with the Hebrus (Maritza/Meriç). The city was (re)founded eponymously by the Roman Emperor Hadrian (AD 76-138) on the site of a previous Thracian settlement known as Uskadama (*Uskodama* or *Uscudama* as well). Hadrian developed and adorned the city with monuments, changed its name to *Hadrianopolis*, and made it the capital of the local Roman province of Thrace.²⁴³

Edirne was conquered by Ottomans during the reign of Sultan Murad I in 1361. The city served Ottoman dynasty as the capital of the state for nearly 90 years, from 1365²⁴⁴ to the conquest of İstanbul in 1453. Especially during the fifteenth and

²⁴³ “Edirne”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 7, 425

²⁴⁴ According to some sources it was in 1362 or 1363

sixteenth centuries, Ottoman sultans ordered many public and pious endowment works in the city to develop it into a prosperous town. Throughout centuries, it was the major trade hub point for caravans between İstanbul and Ottoman Balkans and central Europe. From the opposite side, for the travelers coming from the west, it was the last major stop before arriving in İstanbul.

Still today, Edirne has many public buildings marking the development of Ottoman architecture throughout centuries. Among them, the prominent one is Sinan the Architect's masterpiece *Selimiye* Complex commissioned by Sultan Selim II (1524-74) constructed in 1569-1575 period. Predating classical Ottoman architecture represented by Sinan, there are some other significant religious monuments as well, such as Üç Şerefeli (three-tiered minaret) Mosque;²⁴⁵ Eski (Old) Mosque,²⁴⁶ Muradiye Mosque²⁴⁷ and Bayezid Complex.²⁴⁸ **(Fig. 3.6)** Sokullu Hamam (Bath) and Rüstem Paşa Caravanserai, Ali Paşa Covered Bazaar and old *bedesten* (covered-market) are the other major public buildings of Ottoman architecture in Edirne.²⁴⁹ Due to its characteristic of surrounded by the rivers, the city has many bridges built in different times. The five of the seven existing masonry bridges are over Tunca and the remaining two are over Meriç River.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Commissioned by Sultan Murad II (1404-51) between 1438-47

²⁴⁶ Initially commissioned by Emir Süleyman (son of Bayezid I) in 1403, continued by Musa Çelebi and finished during the reign of Sultan Mehmed I (?- 1421) in 1413

²⁴⁷ Commissioned by Sultan Murad II in 1434

²⁴⁸ Commissioned by Sultan Bayezid II (1447-1512) between 1484 and 1488

²⁴⁹“Edirne” *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 337-338

²⁵⁰ The first one is Mihal Bridge whose repair works were commissioned by Mihal Gazi after the conquest of the city and connecting the intra-muros city (kaleiçi) to Yıldırım district on the other side of Tunca River. The second one connects the Bayezid complex to the city and was commissioned by Sultan Bayezid II. The third one is Saraçhane Bridge commissioned by Sultan Mustafa III. The two others were laid between old palace complex and the city which were commissioned by Sultan Mehmed II. The two bridges on Meriç were called old and new bridges. The old one was commissioned by Akıncı Ahmed Paşa and the new one was commissioned by Sultan Abdülmecid, see Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ul Alam*, 808-811.

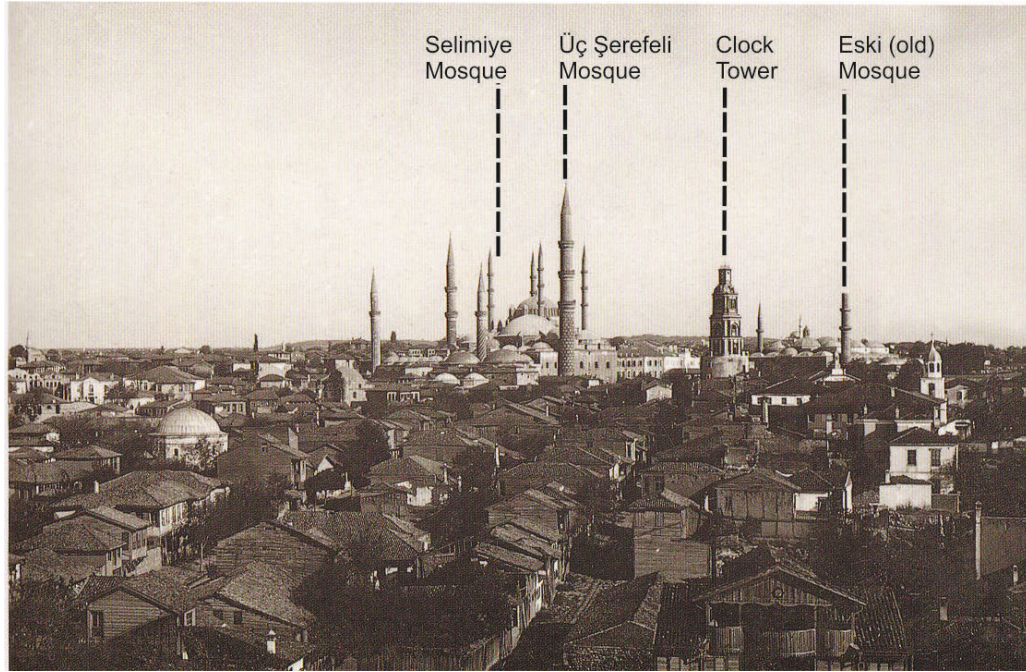


Figure 3.7 Edirne, general view of the city center, c.1920s, photograph.

Source: Engin Özendes. *Edirne; Second Ottoman Capital* (İstanbul: Yem Yayın), 55

In the seventeenth century, Edirne gained a considerable importance by being the temporary capital of the state due to the long stay of the Sultans in the city: Ahmed I (1590-1617), Osman II (1604-1622), Murad IV (1612-1640) and Mehmed IV (1642-1693) stayed in the city for long periods. It was especially during the reign of Mehmed IV when Edirne became the second seat of the throne in the Ottoman Empire.²⁵¹ In the mid-eighteenth century, two disasters left tragic traces in the memory of the city: while the 1745 great fire ruined nearly 60 neighborhoods (*mahalle*), a devastating earthquake in 1751 massively destroyed many buildings in the city.²⁵²

- **Development of Edirne in the Nineteenth Century**

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Edirne was the second largest populated city in Ottoman Balkans after İstanbul. However, the continuous invasions of the city and the growing popularity of the port cities caused shrinkage in its population

²⁵¹Rıdvan Canım, "Osmanlı Sultanlarının Gözdesi, Anadolu ve Rumeli'nin İncisi Edirne." in Güler Eren, ed., *Osmanlı*. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999) vol.9 –Kültür ve Sanat-, 242

²⁵²*Ibid*, 243.

throughout the century. The first invasion was during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1829, the second one was during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78; the third was Bulgarian invasion in Balkan War I in 1912 and the final invasion took place in Greece's Asia Minor Campaign after World War I and *Treaty of Sévres*.

As a result of its strategic importance, the headquarters of the second Ottoman army settled in Edirne since the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, and accordingly, many military buildings were constructed in the city, including the barracks, hospital, military schools and fortifications. In the late nineteenth century, the city was surrounded by several military fortifications to defend the city. As part of his military reforms, Sultan Mahmud II ordered to build a barrack complex and other related facilities for newly established *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* army.²⁵³

Later, a government office (*hükümet konağı*), a military office building, two high schools for military and civil servants, agriculture school, an arts and crafts school (*sanayi mektebi*) were erected by the state authorities.²⁵⁴ At the beginning of the twentieth century, a town hall (*belediye dairesi*) building in neo-classical style was also erected during the famous mayor Dilaver Bey's official duty.²⁵⁵

In the development of the city, official visits of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and Abdülmecid (1839-1861) played important roles. Sultan Mahmud II visited the city for two times, in 1831 and in 1837 during which the earliest known attempt to embellish the city was also undertaken by local authorities.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ The new army was established after the disbanding of long-standing janissary corps in 1826. *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* meant "the Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad (prophet)".

²⁵⁴ Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ul Alam*, 808-811

²⁵⁵ Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Edirne ve Yöresi Eski Eserleri Sevenler Kurumu, 1939), 348

²⁵⁶ According to Yerolympos, as a part of the precautions, the inhabitants were asked to contribute actively to this event and Greek community supplied the cost of famous Yıldız Köşk (kiosk). The kiosk was built on a hill outside the city so that the sultan could rest and enjoy the splendor of the scenery. Yerolympos notes the years of visit as 1830 and 1839, respectively in "A Contribution to the Topography of nineteenth Century Adrianople", as different from many Turkish sources which date these visits as 1829 and 1837. To compare see Abdülkadir Özcan, "II. Mahmud'un Yurt içi Gezileri" in *Milletlerarası XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (5-9 Eylül 1990 Ankara).

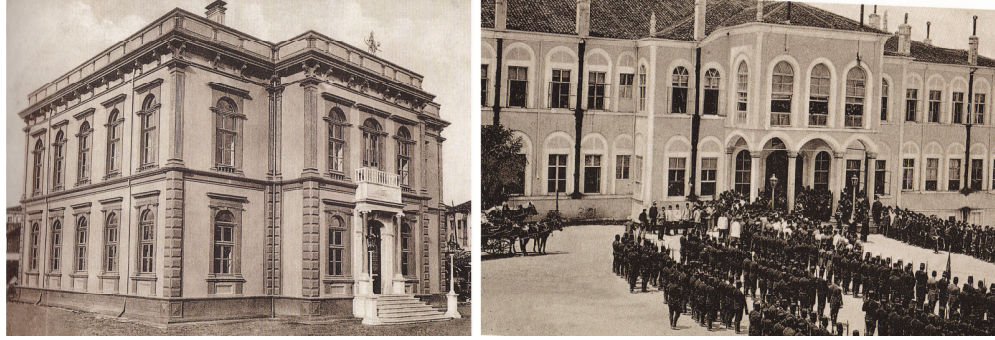
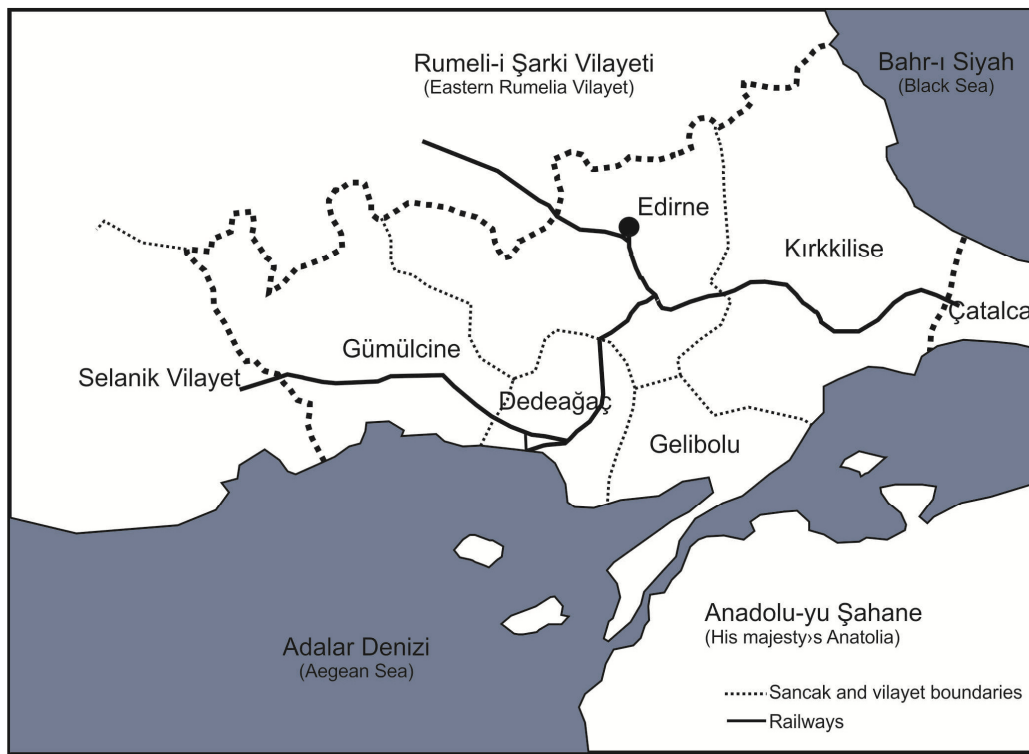


Figure 3.8 left: Edirne, the Municipality Building, c.1900s, photograph. **Right:** Edirne, the Government Office Building, c.1900s, photograph.

Source: Engin Özendes. *Edirne; Second Ottoman Capital* (İstanbul: Yem Yayın), 128



Map 3.6 Borders and administrative division of Edirne Vilayet, c.1890s.

Source: Based on Taksim Ataturk Library Collection map # 1309; reframed and reproduced by the author

A few years later, in 1846, Sultan Abdülmecid also announced his visit to the city. To commemorate it, the local authorities again changed the city's appearance: streets were enlarged and all trash was removed, public buildings were decorated and adorned with kiosks, (paid by Armenian merchants), army barracks were repaired, the bazaars were supplied with a great variety of European merchandise. The

religious leaders of the non-Muslim communities asked their subjects to whitewash all houses and shops.²⁵⁷

The Edirne *Salname* (yearbook or almanac) of h.1316 (1898-99) states that Edirne *vilayet* was divided into six sancaks (sub-provinces), and they were subdivided into 31 *kazas* (boroughs) and 109 *nahiyes* (villages). The sancaks in Edirne *vilayet* were Edirne, Kırkkilise (Kırklareli), Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ), Gelibolu, Dedeoğlu and Gümülçine from east to west, respectively. **(Map 3.6)** Geographically, the *vilayet* was surrounded by Rodop, Istranca and Korudağ mountains and large and fertile plains and forests between them.²⁵⁸

Within this political structure, the demographic characteristics of the city were an intricate issue, as in the case of other Ottoman Balkan cities. Although there were Ottoman census records for Edirne and various estimations were calculated by religious groups and consulates in the city, the results and their composure had significant differences. Therefore, none of them could be considered as giving the exact or real values. Besides, the census estimations were actively used and manipulated by non-Muslim nationalist circles in order to prove their theses for their land claims during national uprisings at the end of the nineteenth century. But still, some of these estimations and official census results might give a sense about the complex structure of the society in Edirne. Edirne *Vilayet salname* (yearbook) of h.1318 (1900-01) reported that in the city center there were 94,590 people; of which 44,491 were Muslim; 28,749 Greeks; 9524 Bulgarians, 2793 Armenians and 8033 were Sephardic Jews.

Parallel to the physical expansion of the city, the economic activities gained a considerable weight. Actually, since the fifteenth century Edirne had been one of the most important market places in Balkan Peninsula. In the sixteenth century, the pier called *İskelebaşı* close to the Meriç Bridge had a direct connection via Meriç River with İnöz port at the coast of Aegean Sea which was the natural harbor of Edirne at

²⁵⁷ Alexandra Yerolympos, “A Contribution to the Topography of nineteenth Century Adrianople”, 55.

²⁵⁸ For detailed information about the physical geography of Edirne Vilayet, see primary sources such as Şemseddin Sami’s *Kamus’ul Alam* (1889); Ahmed Cemal’s *Coğrafya-yı Osmani* (1893); and Ali Tevfik’s *Mufasssal Memalik-i Osmaniye Coğrafyası* (1913).

that time. The commercial products of Egypt, Aegean Islands and İzmir arrived to İnöz port and from there by the small carriage boats, they dispatched at Edirne İskelebaşı location. From the other side of the Meriç River, rice and other cereals were shipped from Filibe (Plovdiv) to Edirne. Meriç was navigable all year long for flat boats and from October to mid-June for frigates' launches.²⁵⁹ Especially during the harvest season, the trade traffic at İskelebaşı reached its peak. In the eighteenth century, Western merchants brought various kinds of textiles to Edirne and bought silk, leather, wax, and wool from there. Mostly demanded by French and Venetian merchants, wool was supplied from İnöz or Ereğli on Marmara Sea, and silk from Tırnova (*Tarnovo*). Moreover, Edirne kept its position of being a cereal market until the nineteenth century; and this fact was approved by the records of the travelers as well. For instance, around 1830, Adolphus Slade expressed his confusion about the crowd on Meriç Bridge and recorded that in order to pass the bridge an indefinite delay seemed inevitable, for about twenty wagons, besides men, camels, and horses were waiting at the ferry, as many were on the opposite bank, while only four punts were in the transport service. For him, being in the season of silk worms caused a great assemblage of wagons which were laden with mulberry leaves.²⁶⁰

In the nineteenth century, the political instability and repetitive invasions created disadvantageous conditions for Edirne local economy. Until the nineteenth century, Filibe was in Edirne's social and economic influence zone; however, it became an economic rival of Edirne when Edirne lost some of its economic advantage as a result of those severe conditions. Furthermore, when the Edirne - Dedeğaç railway connection aiming to develop Edirne's commerce and production was constructed in the 1870s; a new line connecting Filibe to Burgaz²⁶¹ was initiated in 1871 as well. Therefore, both Edirne and Filibe maintained the benefits of port and railway connection at the same time. However, the events after 1877-78 Ottoman – Russian War resulted in dramatic changes in the destiny of two rival cities. Berlin Treaty of 1878 put Filibe out of the Ottoman direct influence zone. Moreover, when Bulgaria

²⁵⁹ Adolphus Slade. *Records of travels in Turkey*, 190

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 173

²⁶¹ A port city on Black Sea coast

set up customs barrier to Ottoman Empire in 1885, the new condition shifted two thirds of Edirne's foreign trade to Filibe and Burgaz, and therefore, while the economic popularity of Filibe – Burgaz pair increased, Edirne – Dedeagaç pair decreased to a certain extent. In addition, the decline of the river traffic on the Meriç impaired the economic position of the city.²⁶² So, in the late nineteenth century, the major economic facilities of Edirne, like a century ago, were agriculture of the cereals, fruits and vegetables; silkworm raising, animal husbandry, production of cheese, cedar, butter, wool and leatherworks. The local industry was based on only small textile ateliers processing wool and silk cloths.²⁶³

Before the conquest of the city by the Ottomans, Edirne was a small town composed of *intra-muros* city that accommodated two or three churches and small neighborhoods. The only *extra-muros* settlement was *Aina* district on the other bank of Tunca River.²⁶⁴ As a result of its new position as the capital city of Ottoman Empire shortly after its conquest, its population increased and its physical boundaries expanded by the intensive Turkish migration from Anatolia. The city extended to its largest area during the sixteenth century which by covering nine main settlement regions. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were ten Muslims neighborhoods inside the city walls. In the sixteenth century, two travelers, Ogier Ghislain De Busbecq and Hans Dernschwam depicted the physical size and boundaries of the city.²⁶⁵ In the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi wrote that there

²⁶² *A Handbook of Turkey in Europe*, 180

²⁶³ Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ul Alam*, 808-811

²⁶⁴ "Edirne", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 7, 426

²⁶⁵ Ogier Ghislain De Busbecq. *Turkish Letters*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), 34. He was the ambassador of Austrian monarch in İstanbul in the mid-sixteenth century. During his stay in İstanbul, De Busbecq wrote his best known work, the Turkish Letters, a compendium of personal correspondence to his friend, and fellow Hungarian diplomat, Nicholas Michault. These letters describe his adventures in Ottoman politics and remain one of the principal primary sources for the 16th century Ottoman court. He also wrote in enormous detail about the plant and animal life he encountered in Turkey. For a short account on his biography see, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Augier Ghislain de Busbecq," accessed May 24, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/86041/Augier-Ghislain-de-Busbecq>. Dernschwam's memories on Turkey travel (1553-55) were published with the title of *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*. The text is translated into Turkish by Ministry of Culture: Hans Dernschwam. *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, (tran.by Yaşar Önen) Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları No: 885, Dünya Edebiyatı Dizisi No: 5, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları) and Dernschwam, 44-46, and 333.

were sixteen neighborhoods inside the walls; two were Muslim, four were Jewish and ten were Christian.²⁶⁶ In the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi wrote that there were sixteen neighborhoods inside the walls; two were Muslim, four were Jewish and ten were Christian.²⁶⁷

The urban nucleus of the city was defined by a square-like fortification walls as the legacy of Roman past of the city. Once, the *intra - muros* city had been laid on an orthogonal layout, but later, that strict settlement pattern disappeared. It seems that the fortification walls still existed in 1752 along with four towers on the walls.²⁶⁸ After the earthquake of 1752, the ruined walls were partially repaired and reinforced during the reign of Mahmud I. But in the nineteenth century, the walls were demolished to gain extra plots for new buildings, and finally, after the great fire of 1905, the last ruins of the walls were removed to apply new orthogonal layout, a reminiscent of ancient Roman spatial legacy, in accordance with new building regulations. The only remaining part of the city walls was one of the old corner towers on which a clock was attached at the end of the nineteenth century.²⁶⁹

As part of the physical expansion, an *extra-muros* settlement also emerged spreading over Tunca and Meriç Rivers. In the nineteenth century, there were five suburbs of Edirne, among them, Kireçhane and Yıldırım were on the left bank of Tunca River, Kıyık was on a hill overlooking the city, and Demirtaş hamlet and Karaağaç were located on the left bank of Meriç River. The heterogeneous social structure of the city mostly reflected itself on the allocation of different religious groups within different neighborhoods. However, it did not mean that there were clear demarcation lines among neighborhoods of the religious communities. Greeks inhabited both *intra* and *extra-muros* city, Karaağaç, Kireçhane and especially Yıldırım and Kıyık neighborhoods. A large population of Kireçhane and Demirtaş hamlet was recorded as Bulgarian.²⁷⁰ Armenians were living in *intra-muros* city and northern outskirts of

²⁶⁶“Edirne”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 7, 427

²⁶⁷“Edirne”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 7, 427

²⁶⁸ Great Tower / Büyük Kule, Yelli Burgaz, Cermekapı Kulesi/Tower, Zindan kulesi/Dungeon Tower

²⁶⁹“Edirne” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 7, 429

²⁷⁰“Adrianople” *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, (11th edition, 1910), 1, 217-218

the city walls and had two churches. Sephardic Jews had 13 synagogues and lived in six regions, two were *intra-muros*, two were southwestern and western *extra-muros*, and two in Tahtakale and Ayşe Kadın neighborhoods. Gypsies were located in their own neighborhoods. Muslims were living in Yeni İmare, Merkez Çarşısı, Ayşe Kadın, Muradiye, Paşa Kapısı, Kirişhane and Kıyık neighborhoods. Finally, Europeans of the city were living in the old town and in Karaağaç.²⁷¹

Except the wartime periods, the commercial life in the markets was lively and colorful and the monumental buildings always attracted the attention of the visitors. As the 11th edition of Britannica Encyclopedia (1911) depicted the city center:²⁷²

In appearance it is thoroughly Oriental - a mass of mean, irregular wooden buildings, threaded by narrow tortuous streets, with a few better buildings. Of these the most important are the Idadie School, the school of arts and crafts, the Jewish communal school; the Greek college, Zappeion; the Imperial Ottoman Bank and Tobacco Regie; a fire-tower; a theatre; palaces for the prefect of the city, the administrative staff of the second army corps and the defense works commission; a handsome row of barracks; a military hospital; and a French hospital. Of earlier buildings, the most distinguished are the *Eski Serai*, an ancient and half-ruined palace of the sultans; the bazaar of Ali Pasha; and the sixteenth century mosque of the sultan Selim II., a magnificent specimen of Turkish architecture.

Similarly, a report of the British consulate prepared at the beginning of twentieth century gave some details about some of the public buildings, houses and the built environment as:²⁷³

...Central town contains some 15,000 houses, most of which are two stories, built of wood and sun-dried bricks, often faced with planks. There are few stone or brick houses, except public buildings, some schools, a Greek college, a bank, a fire tower, a theatre, barracks, hospitals (like military hospital has 1000 beds), government and military offices. The streets are mostly narrow, tortuous, and badly paved, but a few have been lately improved.

²⁷¹ Evangelia Balta, "Edirne Rum Cemaati: XIX. Yüzyıl ortası- 1922", 232

²⁷² "Adrianople" *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, (11th edition, 1910), 1, 217.

²⁷³ *A Handbook of Turkey in Europe*, 179.

Among the travelers, John Foster Fraser wrote about the appearance of the city, its religious communities, social life, struggle among religious groups and daily life too, but sarcastically:²⁷⁴

...I was out in the narrow, crowded streets. Their meanness was saved by the dome of many a stately mosque, and the graceful and frail tapering of many a lofty minaret piercing the blue vault. The scenes were very Turkish in their grime and sloth. The people were just a mob in dishabille. All the men seemed-half dressed; all the women were shrouded as though to hide how negligent they had been before their mirrors... long, dimly-lit tunnels with shops on either side, called bazaars. It was all weird and garish and un-European. Then, a look at the wares: that crockery was from Austria; all these iron articles were German; the cheap jewelry was from France; the flaming cottons were from Lancashire...nothing was Turkish save the dirt.

- **Urban Developments in the Nineteenth Century**

Historical city plans are practical sources of information for architectural historians: they provide information about the original conditions of changed or disappeared built environs, they also demonstrate how the planners or local authorities intervened the built environment and to what extent their proposals were accomplished. Besides their informative value depending on its content, these drawings also have cultural values as well. They are the marks of the individuals, -architects, mayors or governors- scratched along the history and a document revealing how they perceived the built environment around them. Parallel to the issue of new legislations on building codes, the city plans were ordered by the governors or mayors for documenting the existing situation and, more importantly, for the planning of new settlements in the cities. Moreover, the Ottoman General Staff's military requirements necessitated the designation of many drawings as well. The nineteenth century developments in urban realm in Edirne can be traced by observing city plans which emerged after the 1850s. Fortunately, there are a number of plates dated between 1855 and 1912 revealing how the city remarkably transformed within decades. By examining these consecutive plates, the changes appeared on the drawings can be discussed while making spatial comparisons.

²⁷⁴John Foster Fraser. *Pictures from the Balkans*. (London& New York : Cassell and Company, 1906), 143-145.

Like many modern aspects of life in Ottoman Empire, it was a military officer who prepared the first plan of Edirne. During the Ottoman-Russian War of 1853-1856 (Crimean War), being allied with major European powers along with British Empire, France and Kingdom of Sardinia, Ottomans drove back Russian army in many battlefields and as part of this military alliance, many French and British army officers were occupied in İstanbul, Edirne and near battle frontline. The close communication of Ottomans with foreign experts provided Ottomans with the benefit of learning from their knowledge and experience in battlefield and in many technical areas as well. One of these technical provisions was the drawing of Edirne city plan when a French army battalion of 15,000 men under general *Bousquet* camped in the city. In order to prepare fortification, maneuver and defense plans of the military operations around the city, the necessity for a city plan emerged. Signed by a French *chef d'escadron* (squadron chief) Osmont, the plan was in 1:10,000 scale documenting Edirne with its immediate surroundings. **(Fig. 3.8)** As a valuable document for the topography of Edirne in the mid-nineteenth century, this plan also indexed 200 buildings in the city center.²⁷⁵ It can be claimed that the Edirne plan of 1854 revealed two distinct historical stages in the development of the city prior to the creation of the plan, which are *intra- muros* city, mainly inhabited by non-Muslims, and *extra-muros* city, which was founded outside the eastern walls by the Ottomans after they conquered the city in 1361.²⁷⁶

A third stage of the city's development after the Osmont's plan was the development of Karaağaç town, located on the farther bank of the Meriç River. It would turn into a regular residential quarter, and would be inhabited largely by railway employees after the 1870s.²⁷⁷ Osmont's plan demonstrated that in the middle of the nineteenth century, the city center covered an area of about 360 hectares and it appeared very compact, though it was known that only the inner city and the part outside the walls between the market place and *Üç Şerefeli* Mosque were densely built. In the

²⁷⁵ Alexandra Yerolympos, "A Contribution to the Topography of nineteenth Century Adrianople". *Balkan Studies*. (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1993), 49-78

²⁷⁶ Alexandra Yerolympos, "A Contribution", 51

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 53-54

remaining part of its residential quarters, the suburbs included, the houses were built amidst large gardens and the street pattern was informal.²⁷⁸



Figure 3.9 Edirne, plan by Osmont, 1854.

Source: Alexandra Yerolympos, “A Contribution to the Topography of Nineteenth Century Adrianople”. *Balkan Studies*.34 (1), 49-72. Partially reframed and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: Selimiye Mosque, b: Muradiye Mosque, c: Old Mosque, d: Üç şerefeli Mosque, e: Bayezid Complex f: Yıldırım neighborhood, g: *intra-muros* town.

²⁷⁸ Alexandra Yerolympos, “A Contribution”, 56

The Osmont's plan was the founder of a new tradition. After his, a number of plates were prepared which demonstrated every phases of the development of the city. Here, by investigating these plans consecutively, the change of urban form can be evaluated.



Figure 3.10 Edirne, plan by Mehmed Selami, 1885.

Source: Mehmet Besim Darkot. “Edirne : Coğrafi Giriş”.in *Edirne’nin Fethi’nin 600. Yılı Armağan Kitabı*.(Ankara: TTK., 19 65), 1-12, reproduced and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: Selimiye Mosque, b: Muradiye Mosque, c: Old Mosque, d: Üç şerefeli Mosque, e:Yıldırım neighborhood, f: intra-muros city, g: old Karaağaç, h: new Karaağaç, i: Railway station.

Another plan dating 1885, issued in a relatively recent image of the city by M. Besim Darkot,²⁷⁹ was signed by *Mehmed Selami*, a professor of drawing in the military school of Edirne. (**Fig. 3.9**) Today, the original plan is in İstanbul University Library.²⁸⁰ By comparing it with the previous plan, it can be stated that there seems

²⁷⁹ Besim Darkot issued the map by transliterating the texts in the map and constituting a legend of signs of map

²⁸⁰ The dimension of the plan was 100cm x 100 cm. The plan was originally drawn for military purposes in order to mark fortifications around the city as it is understood from its title. The title of the

to be very little change over the thirty years with the exception of Karaağaç town around which the railway station was developed after the 1870s.²⁸¹ The later plan marked a long and linear street connecting the city with Karaağaç, corresponding to the Karaağaç Road and the Station Street, respectively. In Karaağaç, the new neighborhood created after the railways can be clearly distinguished from the existing summer resort settlement through its rectangular plots fitting into an orthogonal layout.

Prior to the Balkan Wars, the final stage of development of the urban characteristics of the old town was determined by the great fire of Edirne in the summer of 1905. The fire destroyed the greatest part of the old town. A new plan for the burned area was immediately prepared by the municipal authorities. The new plan imposed square blocks and a continuous front on the street with houses constructed on building lines within the *intra-muros* city by ignoring old shapes of blocks and individual plots thus reconstructing the old orthogonal Roman plan of the *intra-muros* city.²⁸² In order to understand the damage of the great fire of 1905, it can be helpful to look at certain images after the fire, and also to compare the plans of the city drawn immediately before and after the fire. Luckily, there are plans of Edirne city center remained from the early 1900s which are useful to understand the urban form and planning attempts after the fire.

Accordingly, as the third one, a city plan dated to December 1903 came into scene. It was signed by Cesar Raymond, who was probably an engineer in Edirne. The plate exactly demonstrated the physical conditions of the old town before the fire. As the drawing revealed, that the ancient orthogonal layout had nearly disappeared in the *intra-muros* city. **(Fig. 3.11)**

plan was “*Edirne ve çevresi istihkamâtı haritası*” (The Fortification Plan of Edirne and Its Environs) with a note that “*Mülazım-ı evvel Selami tarafından h.1301’de (1885) el ile ahz ve tersim edilmiştir.*” (drawn by First Lieutenant Selami in 1885)

²⁸¹ Alexandra Yerolympos, “A Contribution”, 60

²⁸² Ibid, 60

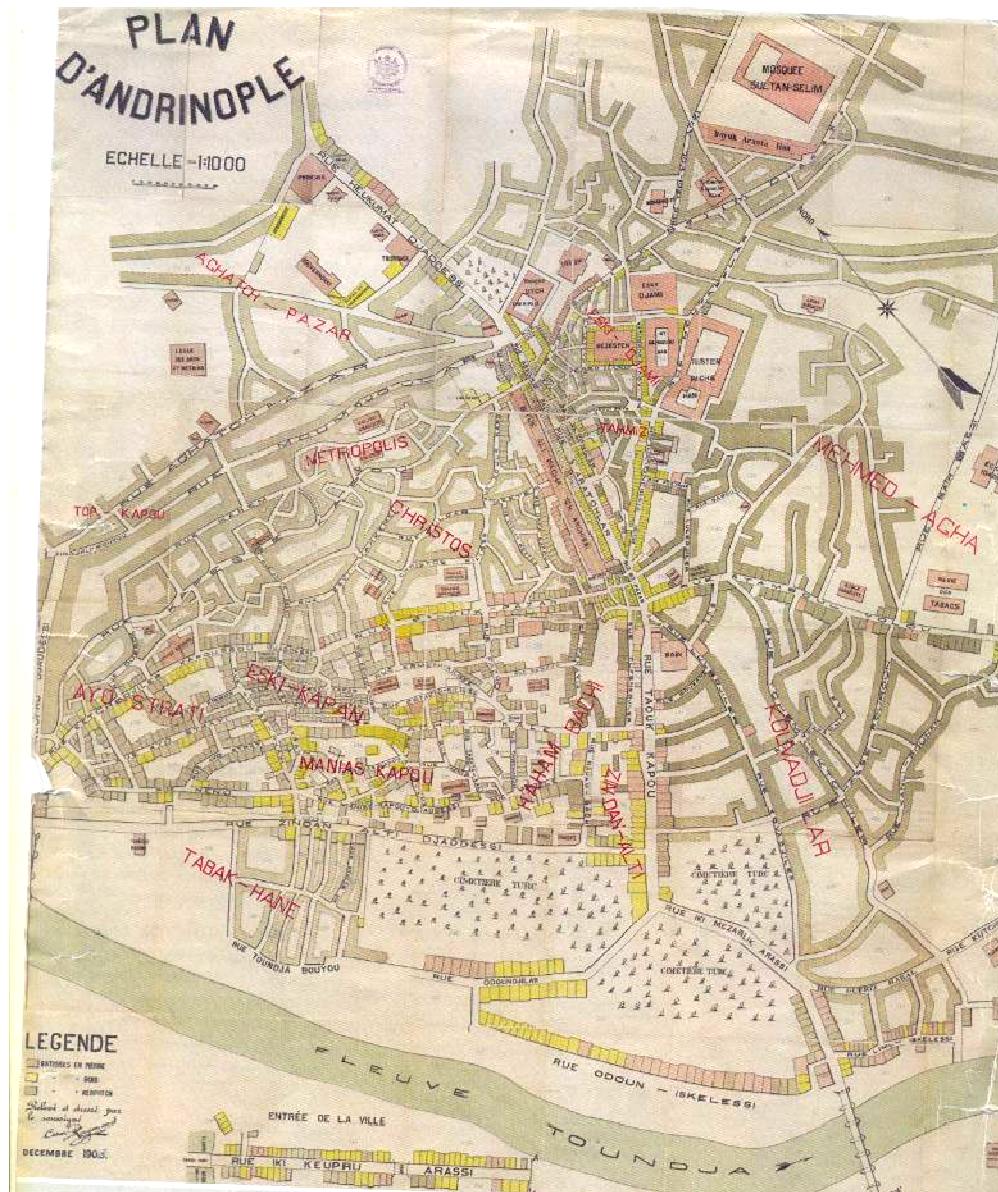


Figure 3.11 Edirne, plan by Cesar Raymond, 1903.
Source: Archive of Edirne Governorship, unclassified material.

The drawing legend of Raymond's plan implemented three types of construction techniques for buildings, and they were masonry, timber and mud-brick constructions. According to the drawing, in old town, the layout was mostly dominated by mud-brick buildings, timber construction buildings came second in amount, and there were very few masonry buildings. Therefore, it is easy to guess why the great fire of 1905 rapidly expanded and ruined most of the buildings in the old town. One can also suggest that the local authorities were uneasy about the

possible damages of another fire so that they ordered a city plan showing the buildings with their technique and materials.

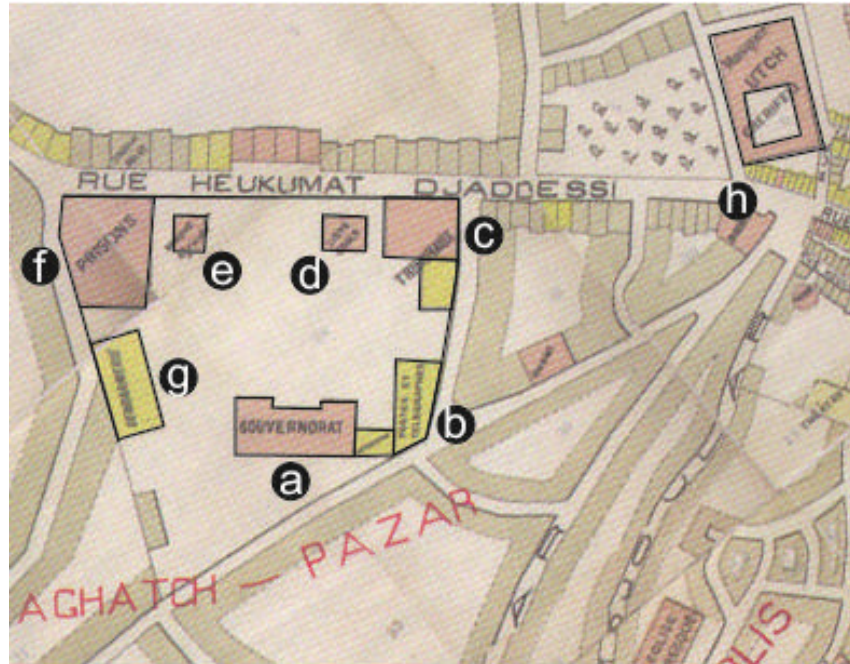


Figure 3.12 Edirne, civic center in Raymond's plan, 1903.

Source: Archive of Edirne Governorship, unclassified material.

Legend: a: Government Office, b: Post & telegram office, c: Military Office, d: civil list, e: Ottoman Bank, f: prison, g: unknown



Figure 3.13 Edirne, general image of civic center, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: Engin Özendes, *Edirne: Second Ottoman Capital* (İstanbul: YEM), 44; indexed by the author.

One can argue that the local authorities were uneasy about the possible damages of a great fire so that they ordered to draw a city plan showing the buildings according to their building technique and materials.

Raymond's plan reveals another significant topic about the cross-geographical spatial relations occurred in Ottoman Balkans in the late nineteenth century. Like other public buildings scattered around the city, the Raymond's plan marked Edirne administrative center in detail. In plan, the author annotated the buildings of government office (*hükümet konağı*), post & telegram office, military office, civil list administration, Ottoman Bank and the prison located around a large empty courtyard. **(Fig. 3.12)** The buildings were framed by a wall circumscribing the roughly rectangular plot and the main entrance to the center was provided by a public entrance opened towards the Hükümet (*Government*) Street. The aerial view images of the administrative center also help the readers to understand the spatial relations among the public buildings. In Edirne case, it seems that most of the public works provided by the state agents were gathered into a civic center body at the end of the nineteenth century. What is significant here is, when the engineers were asked to develop a design for Dedeğaç civic center, they used the same planning principles and layout which they had previously applied in Edirne. A comparison with Dedeğaç civic center site plan states that even the location and functions of the buildings are mostly the same. The only difference is the scale of the buildings. therefore, it can be argued that, based on the experiences benefited in the long-lasting emergence process of Edirne civic center, the engineers of Edirne government were keen on developing a planned civic center in Dedeğaç.²⁸³

When the devastating fire started on August 27, 1905 evening; it quickly surrounded the *intra-muros* city and most of the buildings were damaged mostly dwelled and used by Jewish and Greek inhabitants of the city.²⁸⁴ **(Fig. 3.14)**

²⁸³ See chapter 4.1 Dedeğaç section.

²⁸⁴ Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, 351.



Figure 3.14 Edirne, the intra-muros city after fire, 1905, photograph.

Source: Edirne Museum Collection.



Figure 3.15 Mayor of Edirne Dilaver Bey, not dated, portrait.

Source: *Edirne Tarihi*. "Dilaver Bey" accessed February 24, 2013
<http://www.edirnetarihi.com/dilaver-bey.html>

However, similar to other Ottoman cities of the nineteenth century, in Edirne, the fires provided the local governors with the chance of making cadastral surveys and developing new plans mostly in orthogonal layout. This was case of Dilaver Bey, mayor of Edirne²⁸⁵ who ordered a new plan for *intra-muros* district. Immediately

²⁸⁵ Dilaver Bey, (1865-1919) was the mayor of Edirne for two times (1898-1903 and 1907-1910) and one of the notable and wealthy figures of Edirne. After the great fire of 1905, he was a member of the group visiting Paris to make examinations for the new plan of intra-muros city. In order to realize the project as it was implemented, he made extensive expropriations in the city center.

after this order, the municipality engineer Nazif Bey prepared the plan.. (Fig. 3.15 and 3.16)



Figure 3.16 Edirne Plan by Nazif Bey drawn after Great fire of 1905.

Source: Emin Nedret İşli, ed., *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht*. (İstanbul: YKY, 1998), 519

Enabling us to make a comparison with the previous situation, there is another plan of Edirne produced after the great fire of 1905. Due to lack of any authorization, it is not clear whether it was the original plan of Nazif Bey or not. However, it explicitly demonstrates the planning decisions of Nazif Bey²⁸⁶ and can be attributed to him.

²⁸⁶ With a reference to Trakya Cemiyeti's initial publication, this plan was published in Emin Nedret
146

The plan was merged with a panoramic image of the city on the top and a long text inserted to the map. The *intra-muros* city was divided into three regions by means of three axes in east-west direction and each region was reserved for different ethno-religious group, for Jews, Armenians and Greeks. For each group, empty plots were left to build their own religious buildings.²⁸⁷ Most of the building plots fit into rectangles, and therefore, all streets crossed each other perpendicularly. The plan was immediately applied, and accordingly, the remaining city walls were demolished, new plots were acquired after the stones of the city walls swept away, and new buildings were erected in the new plots including one of the biggest synagogues of Europe, the Great Synagogue of Edirne in 1907.

Apart from Raymond's and Nazif Bey's plans, there is another plan of Edirne found in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives collection. Unlike the others, in this plan there was no detail about the date or author of the plan. The title of the drawing appeared in bold red capital characters as "*Plan de la Ville Adrinople*". However, one might easily realize that the text was written down after the publication of the drawing along with some other highlights and numbers marked on it. The whole city was divided into nine zones marked by red border lines. Besides, some of the monumental buildings were marked with capital letters from A to G. The plan presented a rough sketch covering the city center and Yıldırım suburb at the other side of Tunca, and Karaağaç suburb at the other side of Meriç. **(Figs. 3.17 and 3.18)** Considering the physical conditions of the drawing, there are a number of unclear issues about this plate: the date, the author, the reason of drawing and finally the remarks and signs on the drawing. It can be suggested that the plan might have been drawn before or concurrently with Raymond's plan, but it is not clear whether it was also drawn by him. While Raymond's plan marked the mass of each building in detail, this plan only showed the boundaries of building plots roughly without details.

İşli, *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht*. (İstanbul: YKY,1998), 519. Due to the size and low resolution of the print, I cannot read the legend and explanations on the printed map. Therefore I have to rely on the explanations in the reference text. According to these explanations, the colors in the map show the distribution of the religious groups in the city center.

²⁸⁷Yılmaz Büktel, *Edirne Büyük Sinagogu Sanat Tarihi Raporu*. (Edirne: 2005)

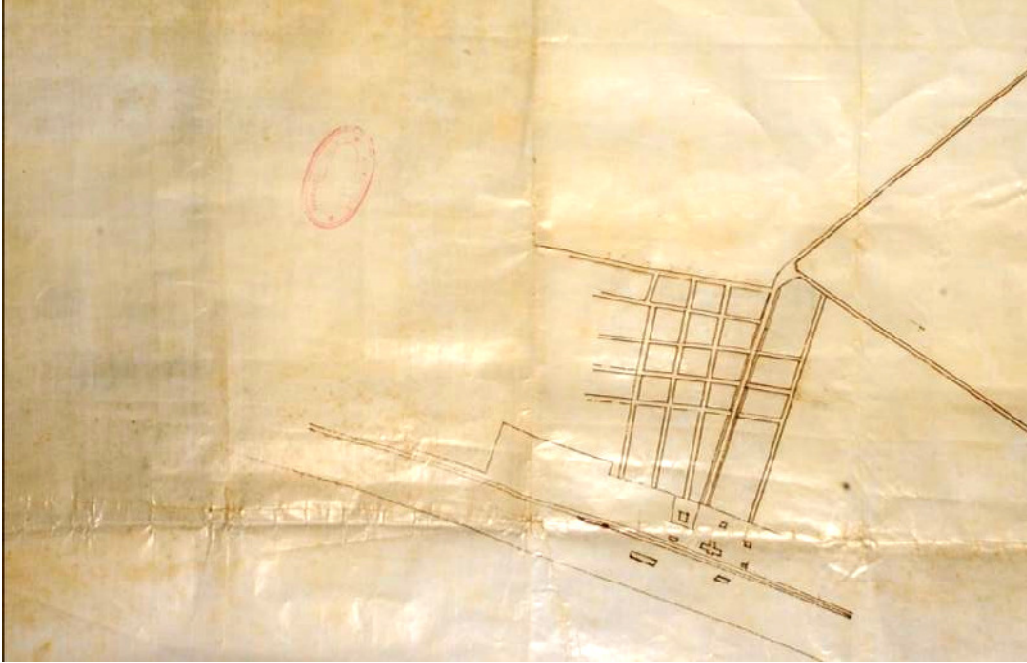


Figure 3.17 Edirne, Karaağaç in Edirne Plan, Unknown Date and Author.

Source: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives map collection; reframed by the author.

It is also the same for Karaağaç quarter. The railway yard and the residential area were shown in the simplest way by ignoring the spatial details of individual plots. What should also be noted is that the orthogonal character of the settlement is the most visible aspect of the drawing. But perhaps more importantly, the old Karaağaç village was omitted.

Finally, being the last one in chronological order, a military map remained from the beginning of the twentieth century and documented the spatial layout of the city during the Balkan Wars.²⁸⁸ (**Fig. 3.19**) The map was produced to mark the defense lines of the city along with the major fortifications, military barracks, roads and railways accessing to the city. On the left side of the map, there was a list of 54 single buildings and public spaces located in Edirne. The drawing clearly showed the result of Dilaver Bey's planning implementations and building construction operations in the old town, and pointed out how the housing developments in orthogonal layout developed in a short time. Furthermore, Karaağaç suburb and its similar orthogonal layout could also be observed as a distinct element. As a final

²⁸⁸ Presently, it is in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives collection. It is in 1:25000 scale and in 61x52 cm dimensions.

note, it should be added that the consecutive plans of Edirne from 1850s to the Balkan wars were confined to the ones prepared by military officers.

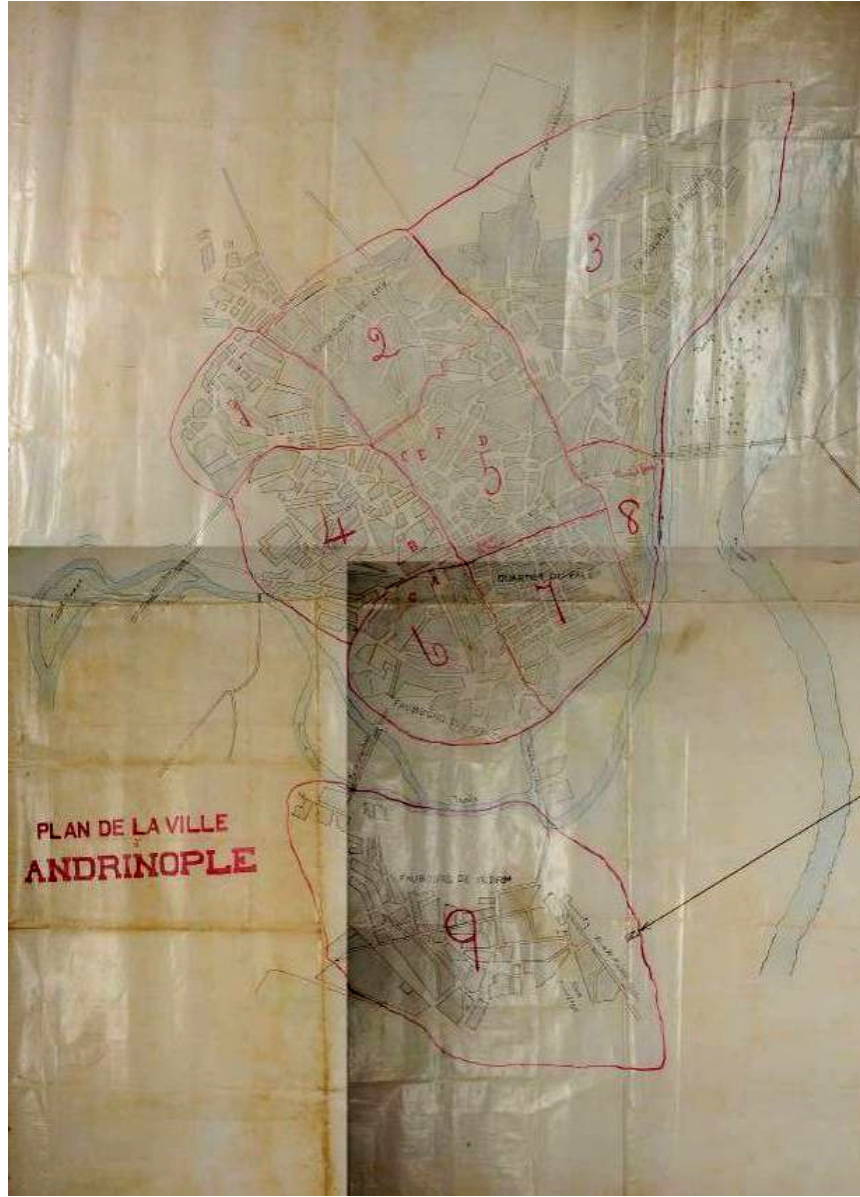


Figure 3.18 Edirne, Plan. No date or author.

Source: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives map collection. The image is reframed by the author.

Legend: 1- Kale Quarter, 2- Kıyık Neighborhood, 3- Kireçhane Quarter, 6- At Pazarı Quarter, 7- Kale Quarter, 9: Yıldırım Quarter.

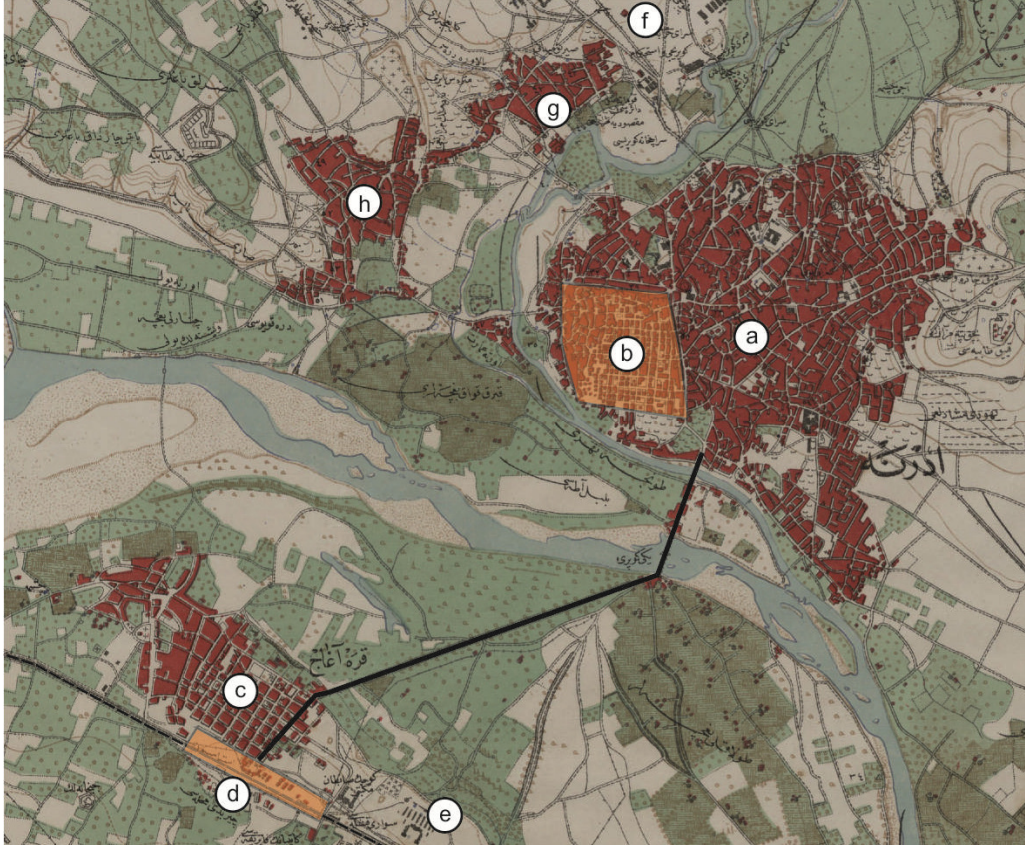


Figure 3.19 Edirne, plan of the city and its environs, detail, no date or author.

Source: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, map collection. Reframed and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: Edirne old town; b: planned area after the fire of 1905; c: Karaağaç; d: Railway Yard; e: Karaağaç Barrack; f: Yanık (burnt) Barrack; g:Eski İmaret neighborhood ; h: Yıldırım neighborhood

- Emergence of Karaağaç as a Suburban Settlement after the Railways

Comparing Comparing to the other neighborhoods and suburbs of Edirne, Karaağaç was the least known, most recently developed and one of the most severely damaged settlement by the disasters. It was a peculiar, a divergent suburb outside the old town which became flourished in the last quarter of the nineteenth century after the establishment of railway connection.²⁸⁹

Karaağaç is located four kilometers southwest of the city center on the left bank of Meriç River. In order to reach Karaağaç from city center, one should pass over Tunca and Meriç Rivers. Today, Karaağaç is the only land piece on the left bank of

²⁸⁹ Among these very few historical researches on Karaağaç, Rabia Erdoğan's studies are the best organized ones. See Rabia Erdoğan, *Karaağaç Monografisi*.(Master Thesis, İstanbul University Institute of Social Sciences, 1996); and Rabia Erdoğan, "Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi Karaağaç" in Emin Nedret İşli, ed., *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht*. (İstanbul: YKY, 1998), 193

Meriç River in Turkey's territories. As it was a century ago, Karaağaç is still a remote area away from the direct impulse and influence of the Edirne city center and a suburb with a low density settlement.

The information on the urban history of Karaağaç is very limited, that is no more than a number of articles, a few theses and a group of visual materials such as photos and postcards and maps. In light of these sources what is known about Karaağaç is that it was situated on the ruins of old *Orestida* town, named after the mythical hero of Troy War Agamemnon's son Orestes. As Rifat Osman states, when Edirne was conquered by Ottomans, a village called Maraş was founded and in 1543, due to a struggle among villagers, the village divided into two pieces called old and new Maraş villages. After a while, old Maraş name turned into Karaağaç. Therefore, it can be said that Karaağaç has been a continuous settlement area for a long time. It is also suggested that the name Karaağaç was borrowed from an *elm tree* forest once grown at the southwest of the village settlement.²⁹⁰

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The earliest physical depictions of Karaağaç were by a traveler John Covell who was a doctor travelling in the Levant in 1670-79 period.²⁹² During his stay in Edirne

²⁹⁰ Rabia Erdoğan, "Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi, Karaağaç", 193

²⁹¹ Rabia Erdoğan, "Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi, Karaağaç", 193.

²⁹² During his visits, John Covell depicted the people, customs, traditions and built environment in detail, thus provided researchers with valuable information on various issues. His diaries were compiled and edited by *Theodore Bent* and published in 1893 with *Thomas Dallam's* diaries.

under the protection of Mr. Parson, the plague spread in the city and they were suddenly forced to flee out of the city and went to his lord's summer house in Karaağaç. So he depicted the town during his obligatory stay there.²⁹³ According to these depictions, there were around fifty Greek families living in Karaağaç and there were around ten farmyards and summer houses owned by the Turks. In addition, there were two churches devoted to the saints, *Hagios Theodoros Stratilatis* and *Teodoros Tiron*. The major trade facility was wine production and merchandise within the town.²⁹⁴ In the nineteenth century, George Keppel, Adolphus Slade and Dr. Constantin Jireck visited Karaağaç and recorded that its population was composed of the summer houses of non-Muslim and Levantine families and the consuls of foreign states.²⁹⁵

Working for one of the land survey groups of Baron Hirsch's construction company, Ferdinand von Hochstetter²⁹⁶ explored partially the railway route to make surface analyses before the construction and to prepare local maps as well. His exploration took place in summer of 1869²⁹⁷ when he noted that there was a French (European) colony of 25 families in Edirne who had summer residences in Karaağaç. These were rich and rooted families, doing business and representing foreign countries as well, such as the Italian consul Vernazza family and the German consul Badetti family.²⁹⁸

The major factor of development for Karaağaç in the nineteenth century was the establishment of railway facilities. However, at first sight, it seems hard to

²⁹³ Thomas Dallam. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, (London : Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1893), 241-242

²⁹⁴ Thomas Dallam, 243-246

²⁹⁵ These depictions were in George Keppel. *Narrative of a Journey across the Balkans*. (London: 1831); Adolphus Slade. *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece in the Years 1829, 1830 and 1831*. Vol. II. (London: 1833); and Konstantin Jireck, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpaesse*. (Amsterdam: 1967). They are shortly mentioned in Rabia Erdoğan, "Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi Karaağaç.", 194

²⁹⁶ He was a German-Austrian geologist and was a professor in *Ecole Polytechnique* in Vienna,

²⁹⁷ He wrote his diaries during his visits in Ottoman Thrace and Balkans and depicted towns, geographical features and buildings that he came across. They were initially published in German in Austrian Geographical Society's official journal. Starting from April 5, 1872, The Levant Herald newspaper translated them into French and published in piecemeal in an irregular frequency.

²⁹⁸ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "L'Exploitation d'Roumelie" *Levant Herald*, September 2, 1872 and onwards and Rabia Erdoğan, "Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi Karaağaç.", 194

understand the logic of building a station at a remote place outside the city edge. The reason for such a selection of the site for the railway station and railway route was mainly to avoid expropriation expenditures which would significantly increase when the route extended into the old town. Besides, considering the physical size of the railway yard, there was another difficulty of finding empty areas large enough to build stations in the city center. Therefore, like most of the stations of Oriental Railways located outside the city centers, in Edirne, Karaağaç was chosen as the place of the railway yard.

Within the first phase of the construction, Istanbul- Edirne- Sarımbey railway line was inaugurated in June 17, 1873. In *The Times*, the correspondent from Edirne heralded with the title of “The Adrianople and Stamboul Railway” that:

There was a festival in Edirne on that day. The inaugural train from İstanbul, which left the day before morning with Grand Vezir and other ministers arrived Edirne in the following evening. The population along the course of the line displayed great enthusiasm. The Grand Vezir and the ministers were very well satisfied with the construction of railway.²⁹⁹

After the inauguration of the station, the population of the town increased,³⁰⁰ and the necessity for new houses and many public functions aroused such as religious buildings, schools, bank, post offices, cemeteries, cafes, brasseries and hotels along with religious buildings for the community, such as Armenian *St Gregor*, Greek *Agion Konstantinos and Eleni*, French *St Basil, St Antoine de Dodadoue* and Bulgarian *St Pierre and Paul* Chapels. Apart from these religious buildings, there were the Greek *Agion Theodoron* School dated to 1863 and *St Basil* School founded by Christian missionaries probably dated prior to 1889. There was also a French boys' commerce school, *Ecole Richard*, Armenian *Torkomyan* primary school, *St George* religious school and two Italian schools with unknown names in Karaağaç.³⁰¹ There

²⁹⁹ “The Adrianople and Stamboul Railway” *The Times*, June 19, 1873

³⁰⁰ Evangelia Balta, “Edirne Rum Cemaati”, 232

³⁰¹ Rabia Erdoğan, “Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi Karaağaç.”, 194

was another school built by German engineers for the children of railway workers and staff probably dated to 1883.³⁰²

The urban layout of the town developed into an orthogonal plan. With its large, spacious houses and mansions with gardens and straight streets parallel and perpendicular to each other, Karaağaç had distinct urban character and attracted attentions of foreign visitors. It was depicted as a western town, consisting of detached residences of modern European type in gardens.³⁰³

Like Edirne, Karaağaç was captured by Russians in 1828-29 and 1877-78 wars. During the First Balkan War, it was left to the Bulgarians after the defeat of Ottomans in March 1913. Shortly after, it was regained again in July 1913, in the Second Balkan War.³⁰⁴ During World War I, to join the central forces, Bulgarians demanded lands from Ottomans and by Sofia Agreement of September 1915, Ottoman lands in Western Thrace including Karaağaç were left again to Bulgarians. After the war, the administration of the Western Thrace was handled by Allied Forces and an administration governed by French military authorities was founded in Dimektoka, Gümülcine, İskeçe and Karaağaç. It was a short-lived foreign domination since following a plebiscite voting, the whole Western Thrace was annexed to Greece. After Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922) and Treaty of Lausanne, Karaağaç was left to Turkey as a war indemnity by Greece. Mainly because of the significant strategic position of the station and the town, Karaağaç, instead of Dimetoka or other border towns, was agreed to be paid as a war indemnity. In 1925, Greek population left the town after population exchange agreement and founded a new town on the Greece side of Meriç River, named *Nea Orestiada*. About the same time, Muslim immigrants coming from Greece settled into Karaağaç. Since then, the spatial properties of Karaağaç have remained almost untouched with its station left out of use due to the railway lines which partially passed into Greek territories.

³⁰² Karl Baedeker. *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*. (Leipzig:1914), 55.
It is Mustafa Necati Primary School in Karaağaç now.

³⁰³ "Adrianople" *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1, 219-220

³⁰⁴ Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, "Edirne'nin Uğramış Olduğu İstilalar."In *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*. (Ankara: TTK, 1993), 180

3.3 Selanik: Physical Expansion of a Port City as a Transportation Hub

*Salonique à tout prix!*³⁰⁵

E. Venizelos, 1912

*O güzel Selanik'i düşmana nasıl teslim ettiniz? Hele bu kadar ucuza!*³⁰⁶

Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), 1912

Shortly after the outbreak of the First Balkan War, when the small national Balkan states allied against Ottomans to wipe them out of the Balkans, a conflict took place between Greek Prime Minister Eleftheros Venizelos and Greek Crown Prince Constantine on the marching route of the army. While the Prince was in favor of attacking Manastır on the north and surrendering the city, Venizelos thought differently and insisted on the benefits of capturing Selanik as soon as possible. Eventually, Venizelos' military strategy was realized and Hellenic army captured Selanik a day before the Bulgarian troops on November 8, 1912 while the troops were at the outskirts of the city for the same purpose.³⁰⁷ Not only Greece, but also all new nation states of Balkan Peninsula were particularly interested in Selanik which was the only major city in an imprecisely delineated chunk of land overlaying parts of European Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. In the case of Selanik, it was not the city's population that needed redeeming so much as the city itself. To Greeks, it was unthinkable that Selanik would end up anything other than Greek: it was larger and wealthier than Athens, its geographic location was the key to both overland and sea trade, and all goods and commerce in the region had it as a hub for centuries.³⁰⁸ Concurrently, when the Balkan Wars started, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) was in

³⁰⁵“*Selanik, at all costs*”: the phrase summarizing the insistence of E. Venizelos for Selanik during the First Balkan War. In Samuel Beach Chester. *Life of Venizelos*. (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1921), 159.

³⁰⁶ Literally means: “*How did you surrender elegant Selanik to enemy so easily!*” in Falih R. Atay. *Çankaya*. (İstanbul : 1969) :81. It was Mustafa Kemal's (Atatürk) first reaction when he heard the surrender of Selanik and Tahsin Paşa's abandonment of the city without resistance. Abandoning Selanik caused an intellectual trauma among Ottoman army officers and bureaucracy. Selanik was one of pioneering the intellectual centers of the Empire and the homeland of many Ottoman army officers and bureaucrats who would take role in the foundation of Turkish Republic later.

³⁰⁷ Samuel Beach Chester, *Life of Venizelos*. 159-161

³⁰⁸ Katherine Elizabeth Fleming, *Greece: A Jewish History*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), 55

Trablus (*Tripolis*) to command Ottoman troops against Italians in their Libyan mission and desperately watching the bloody scene played in the Balkans. The contrast in feelings but parallelism between Venizelos' zeal and strong emotions for Selanik and Mustafa Kemal's reaction against the Greek occupation quoted above were not groundless. Besides the future leaders' emotional associations with Selanik, the city was the major commercial harbor of Southern Balkans and was an important railway transportation hub as well. Its population was more than a hundred and fifty thousand and had an active social and economic life. It was a polyglot city and rendered the mixture of all colors of cultures and religions: Muslims, Jews, Greek and Bulgarian Orthodoxies, Vlachs, Gypsies, Levantines and Muslims of Jewish origin. In this regard, it was especially in the nineteenth century that the city witnessed prolific economic development and physical expansion and it became the most populated and highest trade capacity city of the Ottoman Balkans after İstanbul.) Following Paul Risal's book on the history of Selanik, "*La Ville convoitée*" (*The Coveted City*),³⁰⁹ it is possible to ask what made Selanik coveted or, in other words, what were her distinct and exceptional characteristics that attracted foreign visitors? Here, a short introductory part will try to draw an outline to be able answer these questions by summarizing the milestones of the city until the mid-nineteenth century, and then, and from the 1870s to the end of the Ottoman sovereignty in the city in 1912.

Selanik is located at the west of the Halkidiki (Chalkidiki) Peninsula and on the head of the Gulf of Selanik on a fine bay whose southern edge is formed by Kalamarian Heights, while its north and western sides are the broad alluvial plain of the Vardar and Bistritza Rivers.³¹⁰

The city's name *Selanik* is derived from the original (and current) appellation in Greek: *Θεσσαλονίκη*/Thessaloniki (from *Θεσσαλός*/Thessalos, and *Νίκη*/Nike), that means "*Thessalian Victory*" and in origin the name of a princess, Thessalonike of Macedon, who was born on the day of the Macedonian victory at the Battle of Crocus Field. The alternative name Salonika or Salonica, derived from the variant

³⁰⁹ Paul Risal. *La Ville convoitée*. (Paris: Librerie Academique Perrin et Co, 1913)

³¹⁰ "Salonica" *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, (New York: The Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 11th Edition, 1910), 24, 85

form Σαλονίκη (Saloníki) in popular Greek speech, gives rise to the city's name in several languages name and is formerly the common name used in some western European languages. Names in other languages prominent in the city's history include Солоунь (Soloun) in Slavonic languages, Salonika in Ladino, Solun (Солун) in the local and neighboring South Slavic languages.³¹¹

- History of Selanik until the Nineteenth Century

Selanik was built on the site of the older Greek city of *Therma*, so called in allusion to the hot-springs of the neighborhood. It was founded in 315 B.C. by Cassander, who gave it the name of his wife, *Thesallos*, a sister of Alexander the Great, and as mentioned above, it became the root of all variations of the city's name in different languages. It was a military and commercial station on a main line of communication between Rome and the East, called *via Egnatia*, and reached its zenith before the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople.³¹² It became famous in connection with early history of Christianity through the two epistles addressed by St Paul to the community which he founded here, and in the later defense of the ancient civilization against the barbarian inroads where it played a considerable part.³¹³ The well-known walls of Selanik started to be built during the Roman Emperor Theodosius I and expanded and fortified in many times during Byzantine and Ottoman eras. The walls confined an area of 300 hectares in a perimeter of about 8 kilometers.³¹⁴ Throughout the Byzantine era, it was one of the important commerce and religious centers, and in 1430, it was conquered by Ottomans during the reign of Murad II. Soon after the end of the fifteenth century, a large group of Sephardic Jews emigrated to Selanik from Spain following their expulsion in Iberian Peninsula.

From the eighteenth century onwards, many travelers visited the city and noted their impressions about the city, and therefore, there is a remarkable literature about the

³¹¹*Allwords*, "Thessaloniki" accessed April 27, 2012, <http://www.allwords.com/word-Thessaloniki.html>;) and *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Thessaloníki," accessed June 24, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/591866/Thessaloniki>.

³¹²"Salonica" *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 24, 86

³¹³ *Ibid*, 86

³¹⁴ Alexandra Yerolympos. *Urban Transformations in the Balkans, 1820-1920*. (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996):61

image of Selanik until the 1870s, but only a small part of these records were remaining from the eighteenth century. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, commissioned by the Society of Dilettanti to survey and to draw the ruins of classical Greece, travelled to Selanik in 1751 and made one of the first depictions of the city.³¹⁵ (Fig. 3.20)



Figure 3.20 Selanik, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett in a Jewish family's garden to examine *Las Incandatas*, c.1750s, engraving.

Source: Mark Mazover. *Selanik, Hayaletler Şehri: Hristiyanlar, Müslümanlar ve Yahudiler; 1430-1950*. (İstanbul: YKY, 2006), 128.

Although Selanik was an important local center on Aegean shore, Mark Mazower argues that it was not an attractive destination in the nineteenth century for the European travelers coming to see Greece, Egypt and lands of the Bible.³¹⁶ In order to demonstrate its remoteness, E. D. Clarke's comment is worth to mention: in 1816, after Athens, he arrived in Selanik and noted that "as we viewed the mountains lying to the north of Thessalonica, and compared their appearance with the forlorn blank that characterizes all the maps of the country between the *Hebrus* and the *Axius*, we could but regret that they have been so rarely visited by travelers."³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Mark Mazover. "Travelers and the Oriental City, c. 1840-1920". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Sixth Series, Vol. 12 (2002): 59

³¹⁶ Mark Mazower. "Travelers and the Oriental City, c. 1840-1920", 60

³¹⁷ Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe Asia and Africa*. (New York: Jacob

Until the end of the nineteenth century when the railway travel became a usual way of arriving in Selanik for European travelers, the easiest and most convenient way to reach the city was provided by sea transportation. Especially the provision of steam navigation significantly reduced the costs and duration of travels. The first steam cruise in the Levant took place in 1833; the first steam boat ran down the Danube in the following year. By 1840, organized schedules connected the main ports of the Mediterranean on British, French and Austrian lines were realized and journey time between the Austrian and Ottoman capitals was reduced from three weeks to one.³¹⁸

When archeology became an area of scientific examination, the treasures of *Mount Athos*, and Roman and Byzantine ruins and monuments of the city were favorite sites to visit. Accounts of the treasures of Mount Athos had been circulating since Robert Curzon's trip in 1837,³¹⁹ published to great acclaim in 1849; a few years later, Antonin Proust published a popular account complete with illustrations in an early issue of *Le tour du monde*. For those making the trip to *Athos*, Selanik was a natural jumping-off point, or a place to recuperate.³²⁰ On the other hand, for the remains of antiquity, Charles Newton, the British Museum's officer in the Levant, came for a cursory inspection in 1853, and noted *the Incantadas* and the *Arch of Constantine* (Galerius) in Selanik.³²¹ For the remains of antiquity, James Baker did not hide his excitement and noted that there were many remains of antiquity in Selanik and would offer an admirable field of archeological campaign. With enthusiasm, he exclaimed that some of the riches of Perseus might have been hidden among these remnants of antiquity.³²²

Gillet, 1816), 338

³¹⁸ Mark Mazover. "Travelers and the Oriental City", 62

³¹⁹ As an early account on the Month Athos and its monasteries, Webber Smith published his article in Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1837. See, Webber Smith. On Mount Athos and Its Monasteries; With Notes on the Route from Constantinople to Saloniki, in June, 1836. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 7, (1837), 61-74

³²⁰ Mark Mazover. "Travelers and the Oriental City", 91

³²¹ Mark Mazover. "Travelers and the Oriental City", 82

³²² James Baker. *Turkey*. (New York: H. Holt and Co, 1879), 352

However, some of the historical records were not as assertive as others. For instance, a French guidebook asserted in 1873 that Selanik and its surroundings could not compete with the riches of Greece itself: “Few monuments to visit, no great ruins.” Nevertheless, the city's ancient remains had attracted visitors since the early eighteenth century, and continued to do so: the Arch of Constantine (Galerius), the remarkable caryatids known as *Las Incantadas* (The Enchanted Ones) and the other standing classical monuments and early churches formed the main attractions of the city according to all the guidebooks.³²³

Another stimulus to visit Selanik in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was its historical and cultural association with early Christianity as explained before. For most of the visitors, Selanik's overwhelming significance to the majority of Christian travelers lay not, however, in its ecclesiastical architecture, nor in its Byzantine art, but in the fact that it was figured in the Bible and had been visited by Paul the Apostle. Following in his steps, Bible in their hands, the visitors walked down the streets where the saint had preached.³²⁴ Ernest De Witt Burton, in his article published in 1896 stated that from many points of view *Thessalonica* was a city of peculiar interest to the student of the history of Christianity and in order to prove his arguments, he emphasized that it was one of the few cities which received Christianity in the apostolic age and had maintained a continuous existence to that day. For him, from Thessalonica, in the days of the apostle Paul “sounded forth the word of the Lord; not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place.” Other important figures in eastern Christianity, Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century carried the gospel from this city into central Europe, planting Christianity among the Bulgarians and Moravians, and thus becoming indirectly the founders of the remarkable Moravian missionaries of modern times.³²⁵

³²³ Mark Mazover. “Travelers and the Oriental City”, 80

³²⁴ Mark Mazover. “Travelers and the Oriental City”, 93

³²⁵ Ernest De Witt Burton. “Salonica” *The Biblical World*, 8, No. 1, (The University of Chicago Press: July, 1896), 10-19.

- Development of Selanik in the Nineteenth Century

At the end of the nineteenth century, Selanik *vilayet* was subdivided into Selanik, Siroz (Serres) and Drama *sancaks*.³²⁶ Among them, Selanik *sancak* was subdivided into fourteen, Siroz was subdivided into eight and finally Drama was subdivided into three *kazas*.³²⁷ **(Map 3.7)** Şemseddin Sami drew the *vilayet*'s boundaries as surrounded by Edirne *vilayet* from the east; by *Rumeli-i Şarki* (Eastern Rumeli), Bulgaria and Kosova Vilayet from the north; by Manastır Vilayet from west and southwest and by *Adalar Denizi* (Aegean Sea) from the south (yeterli). It covered an area of 51,649 square kilometers.³²⁸ The *salname* of h.1324 (1906-1907) indicated an increase at the total population of the *vilayet* and recorded that there were 1,133,730 inhabitants composed of 484,334 Muslims, 289,684 Greek Orthodox, 220,366 Bulgarian Orthodox, 19,344 Vlach, and 50,825 Jews.³²⁹

Until the end of Ottoman rule, Selanik was considered as the Babel of races and religions. Although there was not a peculiar settlement areas or ghettos inside the old town for religious groups, the neighborhoods dominated by Jews, Christians or Muslims could easily be differentiated.³³⁰ In the middle of the nineteenth century, Sephardic Jews of Selanik were located in the neighborhoods at the south of the Vardar Street. It was an area defined by Aya Sofya Mosque on the east and Tophane Tower on the west. Therefore, a visitor approaching the city from the sea firstly came across Jewish quarters.³³¹ Until the demolition of the seaside walls of the city, the

³²⁶*Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1315, (15th edition), 91

³²⁷ Ibid, 91-94. *Salnames* (Yearbooks) of vilayets give detailed information about the administrative division of each vilayet.

³²⁸Şemseddin Sami. *Kamus-ul Alam*. (İstanbul: 1889), 4, 2592. Note: *Memalik-i Osmaniye* of Ali Cavid (1895), recorded the total area of the *vilayet* as 41,000 square kilometers; on the other hand, Encyclopedia of Britannica's 1910 edition recorded the total area as 13510 square miles, which is equal to 35000 square kilometers. The significant difference among the records might be resulted from the change of borders of the *vilayet*.

³²⁹*Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h. 1324, 619

³³⁰ Meropi Anastasiadou. *Selanik*, 70

³³¹With an exception of Frenkish quarter. It should be noted that the neighborhood close to the port area is known as Frenkish quarter which was mostly accommodated by Levantine and European merchants of Selanik.

Jewish neighborhoods were known as places lacking air fresh ventilation and hygiene conditions. (Fig. 3.21)



Map 3.7 Selanik Vilayet, c.1900s.

Source: National Map Library of Thessaloniki, item # 2686; redrawn by the author. In the caption: "Vilayet of Selanik is constituted by four *sancaks* which are called Selanik, Siroz, Drama and Taşoz. Scale: 1:3.000.000"³³²

Being smaller in population, Christians of Selanik were mostly Orthodox. They were mostly located at the east of the old town, in the neighborhoods around Kalamariye gate. Apart from these settlements, there were also Christian settlements surrounded by Jewish and Muslim ones. Finally, Muslim community of Selanik was mostly located at the north of the Vardar Street in the neighborhoods located on the raising hills towards the Yedikule (Seven Towers) citadel crowning the city. Due to their location, the Muslim quarters, in comparison to the others, were specious and benefited from the fresh air and a nice sea scene.³³³ In addition, Selanik

³³²"Selanik Vilayeti, Selanik, Siroz, Drama, Taşoz namlarında dört sancağa havidir. Kilometre 1:3.000.000 nisbetindedir." It should be noted that Taşoz Island could be a *sancak* center for a short period, except from this map, in any sources, it was a *kaza* center bounded to Drama sancak of Selanik Vilayet. Later the administrative status of Taşoz Island was decreased to *kaza*.

³³³ Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik*, 55-69

accommodated a colony of Muslims of Jewish origin, known as *dönmes/ma'mins* (converts)³³⁴ and they lived mostly in Muslim neighborhoods but not in very friendly terms.³³⁵ According to h.1324 (1906-07) *salname* of Selanik Vilayet, the total population was 98,930 in the urban area that was 31,703 Muslims; 47,312 Jews; 15,012 Greeks; and 3697 Bulgarians.³³⁶

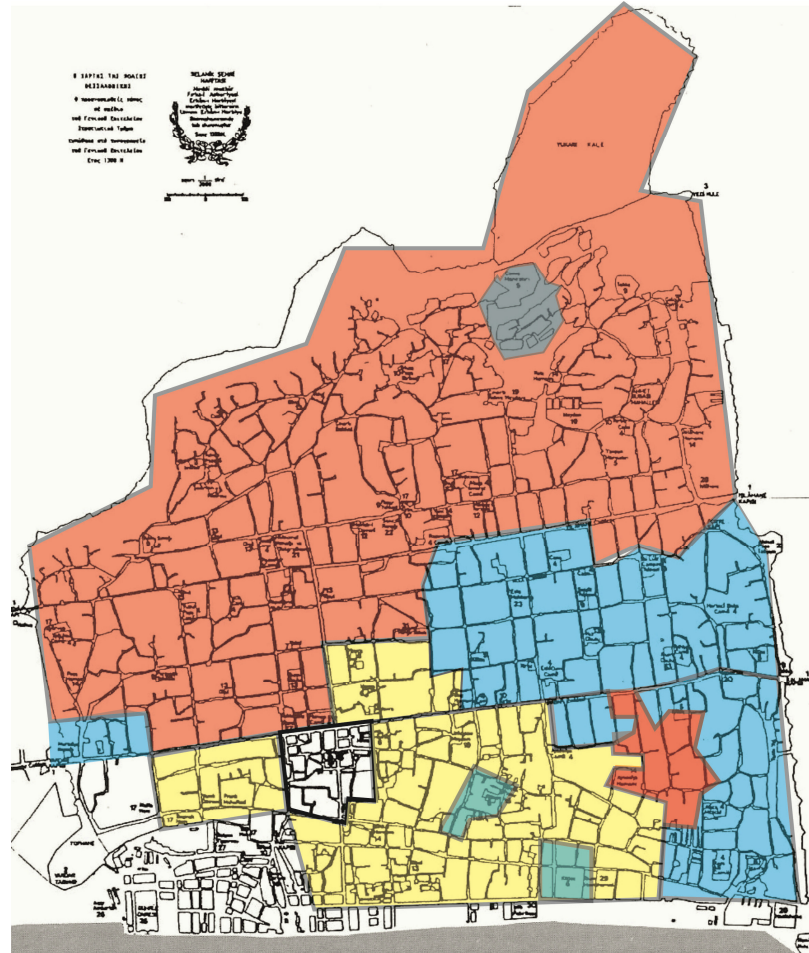


Figure 3.21 Selanik, old town neighborhoods and their dominant religious distribution among the communities, plan, c. 1880s.

Source: Based on Semavi Eyice's map of Selanik old town and Dimitriadis (1983) produced by the author.

Legend: red: Muslim neighborhoods, blue: Greek neighborhoods; yellow: Jewish neighborhoods.

³³⁴ The Dönmes had converted to Islam after Sabetay Sevi since the seventeenth century. They were subjected to Islamic law and principles and considered as Muslim in the official works. However, they formed a introverted community.

³³⁵ For the life of *Dönmes* in Selanik, see especially Mark David Baer. *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries and Secular Turks*. The book was recently translated into Turkish as well.

³³⁶ *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324, nineteenth edition, 619

- Rapid Urbanization of Selanik After 1869

Demolition of city walls was one of the common patterns of nineteenth century cities which were under the pressure of a rapid urban expansion. Having lived in *intra-muros* cities for centuries, the inhabitants of the nineteenth century booming cities had the opportunity of making new investments outside the old city walls. Emancipating from their chains promoted the increase at population and stimulated the flow of entrepreneurs to the cityscape.

For centuries, the city walls of Selanik were the prominent elements of the image of the city. Most of the visitors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries arrived in Selanik by the sea so that the visitors possessed the advantage of observing the city from the seaside. With its continuous walls surrounding the city from four sides, the white painted minarets, the houses ascending to the hill crowned by *Yedikule* (Seven Towers citadel), cypress and poplars were the main figures of the instant image of the city. A traveler wrote to her sister in 1839 that it was one of the most picturesque cities from the water that he ever saw. The picturesque was, according to its acolytes, a view which offered a different kind of beauty to the sublime - more romantic, inspiring in the beholder not terror or a sense of human insignificance but rather reverie, fancy and dreams.³³⁷

Henry Holland was impressed by the picturesque view of the city from the gulf, and expressed his pleasure as:³³⁸

...coming by sea, one entered the gulf at whose head the city lay; but before it came into view, there to the right was the mysterious realm of Mount Athos, a mountainous presence falling away to the sea, and on the left, towering above the wooded coastline, the inescapable grandeur of the home of the gods, Olympus itself. Nor did the first glimpse of Salonica ever fail to live up to this remarkable setting. "The approach to this city from the sea is very imposing.

Being a useful source of information for a nineteenth century traveler in the Levant, famous publisher John Murray's guide book of 1845 signified the distinguishing role

³³⁷ Anon., *Letters to my Sister: Letter III: Turkey-Salonica*, (1839), 551; quoted in Mark Mazover. "Travellers and the Oriental City", 70

³³⁸ Henry Holland *.Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia ect. during the Years 1812-1813.* (1815), 310.

of the city walls and the hill the city settled on for the initial appearance of the city. It noted that the walls gave the town a very remarkable appearance, and caused it to be seen at a great distance, as they were white-washed and painted. The wretchedness of the city contrasted with the external beauty, rising in a theatrical form upon the side of the hill, surrounded with plantations of cypress and other evergreens and shrubs.³³⁹

The picturesque view of Selanik dramatically changed after the realization of some major urban projects. At the end of the 1860s, the appointment of Sabri Paşa as governor general of Selanik marked the start of a number of important public works. He was the former governor general of İzmir before he arrived in Selanik in 1869. During his official stay in Selanik, as he did in İzmir, he immediately projected the demolition of the city walls at the seaside, then opening up the city to the sea, expanding the port facilities and building up quay on the place of the city wall foundations. In order to realize his grand project, he appointed Polycarpe Vitali, an Italian-origin engineer with whom he had previously collaborated in İzmir. He was granted permission from the Sublime Porte and an imperial decree allowed tearing down the city walls at the seaside and constructing pier and quay in the place of the walls.³⁴⁰ However, he could not provide a financial support from the Sublime Porte and had to compensate the expenditures of demolition and construction from inner sources. According to his plan, a strip of 10-meters wide quay would be constructed through the seaside around 1500 meters in length.³⁴¹ At the western side of this strip (around 500 meters in length) pier, depots, customs and quarantine houses would be erected. The quay will be constructed by the stones acquired by tearing down city walls. On the remaining portion through the eastern direction, the area between the quay and the existing buildings will be divided into pieces and would be sold in auctions to gain revenue for the running of the project that was estimated to cost 2,300,000 francs.³⁴² In the project, it was estimated to fill six hectares of sea ground

³³⁹ John Murray. *A hand-book for travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: including a description of Malta*. (London: John Murray, 1845):265

³⁴⁰BOA, I.MMS. 37/1554, 24 Ca 1286 (September 1, 1869)

³⁴¹ The record contained a mistake that the total length of the quay was around 1600 meters.

³⁴²*The Levant Herald*, November 6, 1869. The correspondent from Selanik also heralded that Sabri

with stones and thus gain a considerable number of plots to sell.³⁴³ It can be argued that the creation of the new quays after the demolition of the sea wall was the most important planning operation ever undertaken by the Ottoman administration in the city. Its principal aim was to open the medieval city to the sea, to organize modern port facilities providing also the necessary linking space between the harbor and the future railway connection, and to develop a new type of fabric juxtaposed to the medieval city, in order to offer appropriate space for administration buildings and commercial activities.

In order to understand the importance of his work to open up the city to the sea and later to expand the city outside the city walls, it would be useful to examine the medieval city's layout shortly before the operations of Sabri Paşa. The plan shown below was drawn by English surveyor Captain Thomas Graves, who visited Gulf of Selanik in 1850 and mapped the surrounding region. As can be seen clearly, the image of the city was not different from what was presented in earlier maps of the city shown above. **(Fig. 3.22)**

Paşa had received imperial permission for the quay project and informed that Mr. Vitalis had recently arrived in Selanik to go along with governor general in this project. The long article also recorded the disadvantages of current walls at the seaside in terms of their poor safety and hygiene conditions. The secondary sources are recorded the state of progress almost in the same way.

³⁴³ This development model was applied in İzmir quay project before Selanik. See, Vilma Hastaoglu-Martinidis, "The Cartography of Harbor Construction in Eastern Mediterranean Cities: Technical and Urban Modernization in the Late Nineteenth Century. In Biray Kolluoğlu & Meltem Toksöz eds., *Cities of the Mediterranean*. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 78-99

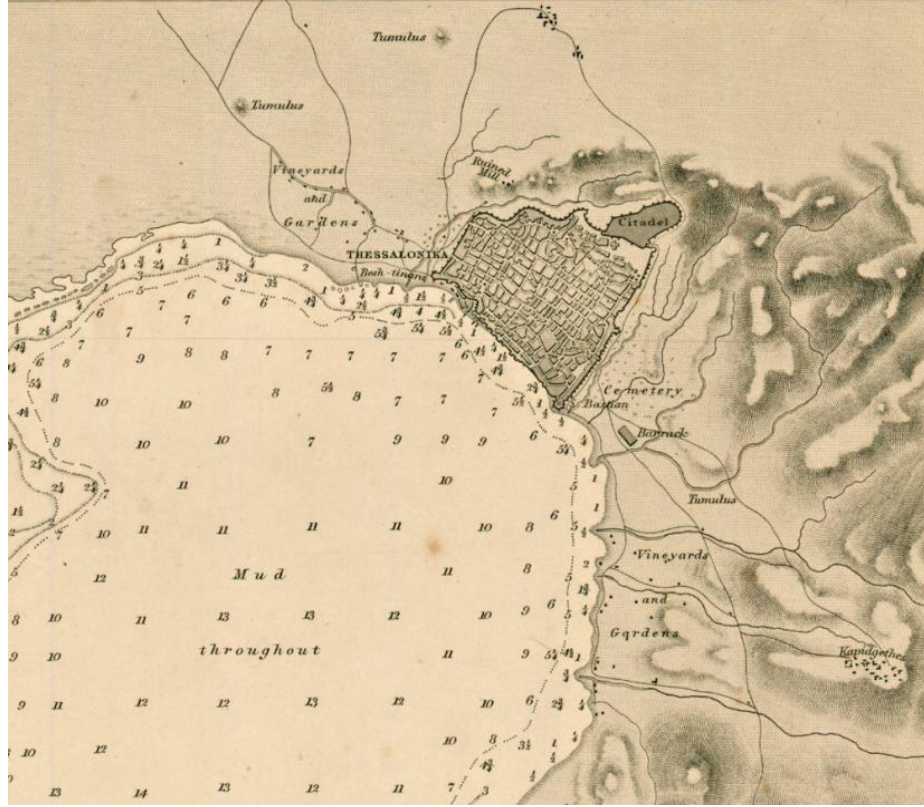


Figure 3.22 Selanik, the city and its environs, detail, 1850.

Source: Selanik Gulf was surveyed by Captain Thomas Graves and stored in National Map Library of Greece Thessaloniki branch, catalogue # 4367. The plate is reframed by the author.

Considering the major actors of the projects (Sabri Paşa and Vitali), the time period and the trade potential and topographical similarities, Selanik project has been frequently compared with the construction of İzmir quay (1867-75).³⁴⁴ It is true that there seemed to be a significant similarity between two projects; however, these aspects should not cast a shadow on the peculiar properties of each case.

³⁴⁴ For the case of İzmir, there are many sources to refer. Among them: Pierre Oberling, "The Quays of İzmir" in *L'Empire Ottoman, La Republique de Turquie et la France*. (İstanbul: Isis, 1986); Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Making of an Ottoman Port: the Quay of İzmir in the Nineteenth Century" *Journal of Transport History*. 22, no.1, (2001), 23-46; Cânâ Bilsel, "19. yüzyılın İkinci yarısında İzmir'de Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler ve Kent Mekânının Başkalaşımı." *Ege Mimarlık*, no.10, (2000): 34-37; Cânâ Bilsel, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Osmanlı Liman Kenti İzmir'de Kültürler, Mekân Üretim Biçimleri ve Kent Mekânının Dönüşümü" *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı "Uluslarüstü Bir Miras"* (2000): 213-220. Cana Bilsel, "Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru", in Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, ed. *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent mi? İletişim Yayınları*, 2009 and Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880*. (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2011)

In a short time, on November 29, 1869, an official ceremony took place at the seaside to initiate the demolition of the walls.³⁴⁵ A drawing prepared and signed by Polycarpe Vitali in April 1871 documented the quay project with its details. Drawn on a lengthy plate and framed by red and golden color foils, there are two distinct drawings on the plate: a site plan and a perspective drawing. The site plan demonstrates the trace of the city walls, the acquired lands by their demolition, the quay strip, the reserved public building plots and the plots to be sold in auctions. The explanations on the plate are bilingual, in Turkish and French. For the compensation of the construction costs, the plots to sell out are also specified on the site plan. The caption indicates three types of plots ranked according to their values; namely primary, secondary and third class plots³⁴⁶ located behind the quay. They are indicated by lines and dots in green red and yellow colors: the ones on the western side are primary class and the ones on the opposite site are third class. **(Fig. 3.23)**

³⁴⁵ *The Levant Herald*. December 4, 1869. The correspondent from Selanik depicted the details of the ceremony and his impressions about the project in detail. Another article dated to 155 February 1870 informed the readers about the remarkable pace of the demolition works and recorded that the height of the walls was decreased more than a yard and that the whole demolition work would be finished in three years.

³⁴⁶ “birinci, ikinci, üçüncü fiyat arazi” in original Turkish text.

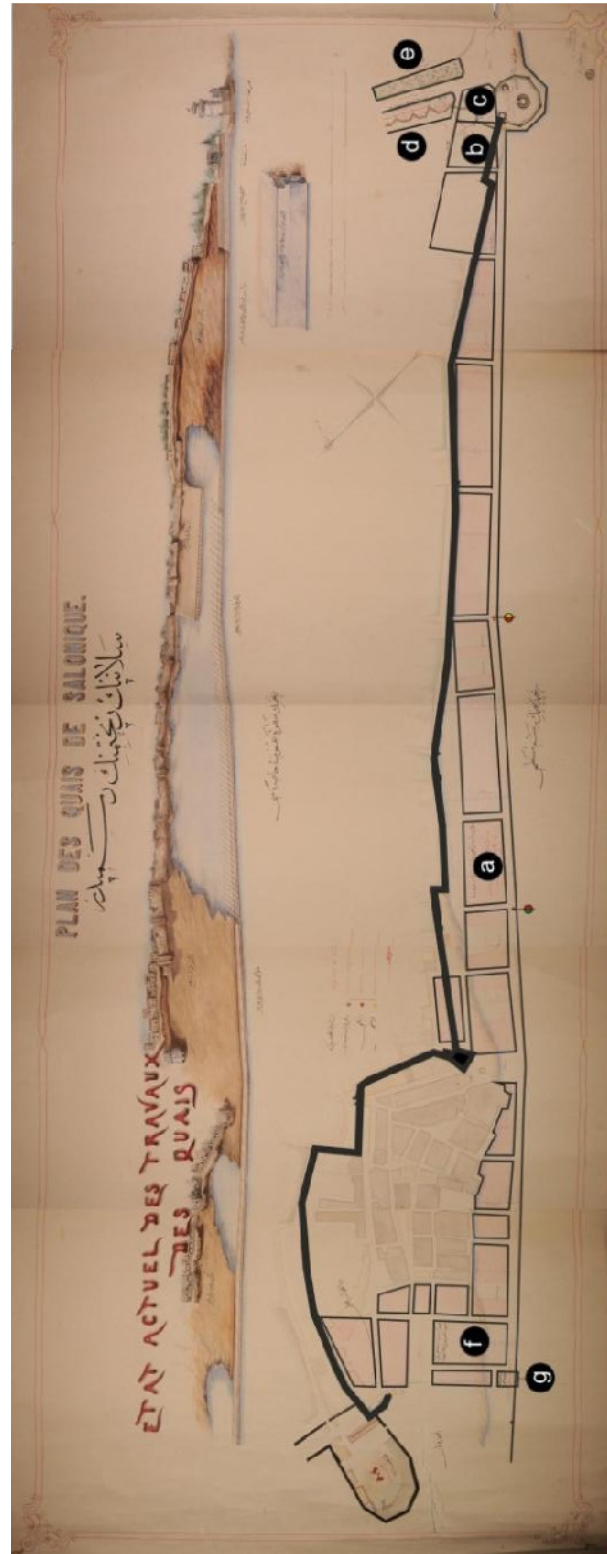


Figure 3.23 Selanik, Vitali's Quai Project, site plan and perspective view, 1871.

Source: BOA, catalogue # 797/1.

Legend: a: the plot reserved for the government office; b: Hospital; c: Islahhane (borstal), d: Stores and public club; e: public club's garden; f: new customs house, g: new quarantine house.

Vitali also proposed a direct railway connection for embarking and disembarking facilities of the trade goods, and accordingly, indicated a railway track sign on the plate close to *Tophane* Bastion location; however, the drawing does not give clue about in which way the connection would be established. Finally, a plot reserved for a new government office (*vilayet dairesi*) and another public building; a public hospital with an orphanage, are marked on the site plan. The Government office was not realized on the indicated plot. It can be assumed that, in order to compensate the heavy expenditure burden of the project, the reserved plots for these public amenities were also sold in auctions or the government could not afford to build a government office at that time.³⁴⁷ On the other hand, the public hospital (*Gureba Hastanesi*) was built as a military hospital without an orphanage. (Fig. 3.24)

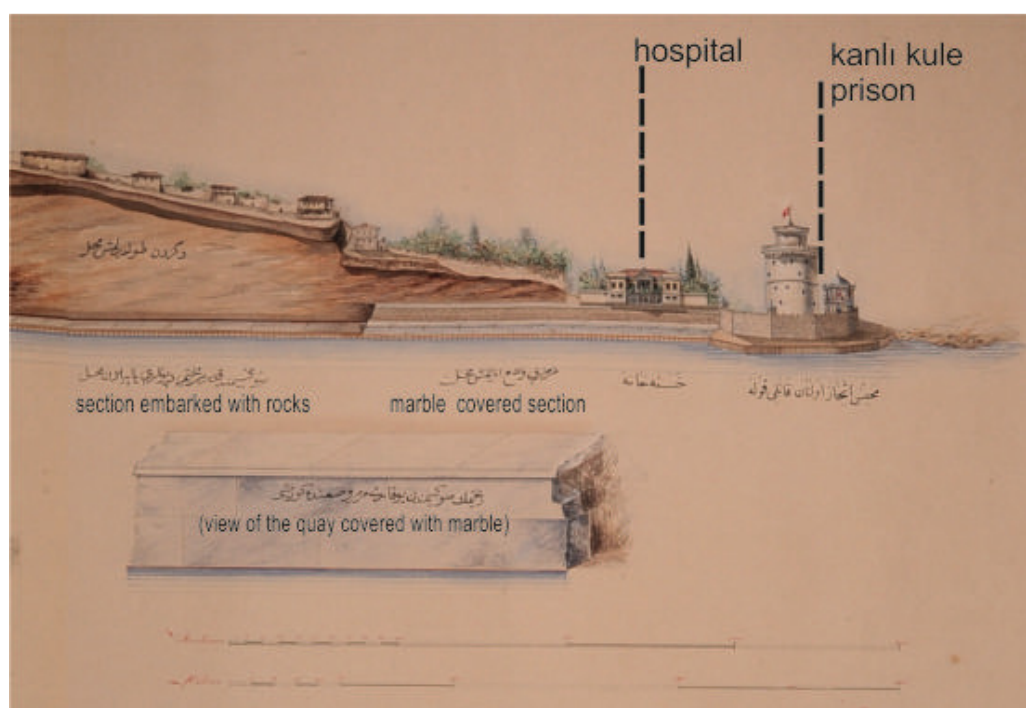


Figure 3.24 Selanik, Vitali's Quay Project, detail from the perspective view.

Source: BOA, catalogue # 797-1. Explanations on the plate are translated and inserted by the author.

The demolition and construction process took a long time, and it was in 1882 that the project was fully accomplished. The plan reached its essential aims, and local

³⁴⁷ A new governor house was constructed in 1891 in the place of old governor house.

entrepreneurs and many public institutions including Imperial Posts and Ottoman Bank bought plots to erect their buildings looking at the quay.³⁴⁸

In 1869, the start of the quay project was coincided with the start of another long term project. It was the branch of the Ottoman Balkan railway network connecting Selanik to Üsküb and via Mitroviça and Doberlin to Vienna. The field explorations of the contractor company to prepare the maps of the route started in the summer of 1869.³⁴⁹ Construction of the projected sections was divided to sub-constructors by Baron Hirsch's Oriental Railways Construction Company in order to accelerate the site-works. Therefore, the site works in Selanik - Üsküb section started at the beginning of 1871, and an official ceremony took place on February 9, 1871 in Selanik *Beşçınar* location where the construction materials were stored and the terminus station would be constructed later.³⁵⁰ Selanik - Üsküb connection (243 km) was completed in 1873, a year later; it was extended to Mitroviça by reaching 361 km in total.³⁵¹ After the reformulation of the terms and conditions of the railway concession, the Ottoman Government became responsible for the completion of the construction between Mitroviça and Austrian border. However, the Ottoman government could not construct the line between Bana Luka & Mitroviça and the direct connection to Vienna could not be provided for more than a decade. In the 1880s, the establishment of a 120 kilometers line from Üsküb to Serbian border provided a direct connection with European railway network.³⁵²

The area chosen for the station and other facilities was outside of the western gate of the city (Vardar Gate) located at the mouth of torrents. It was an area that was

³⁴⁸ Mark Mazover. *Selanik, Hayaletler Şehri*, 251

³⁴⁹ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "L'Exploration de la Roumelie". *The Levant Herald*, 5 April 1872. Due to the urgency order of the routes, the site works in Yedikule (İstanbul) – Çatalca and Edirne – Dedeâğaç lines started immediately

³⁵⁰ "Correspondence: Salonica". *The Levant Herald*, February 22, 1871.

³⁵¹ Vahdettin Engin. *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 108-110.

³⁵² On this route where 250 railway bridges in 4163 meters in total length and 12 tunnels in 488 meters in total length were constructed, see *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324 (1906-07), 607. For more detail about the establishment of the direct connection to European network see chapter two, Oriental Railways section.

affected frequently by floods and it also had some places with swampy ground carrying the risk of malaria and other diseases. (Fig. 3.25)

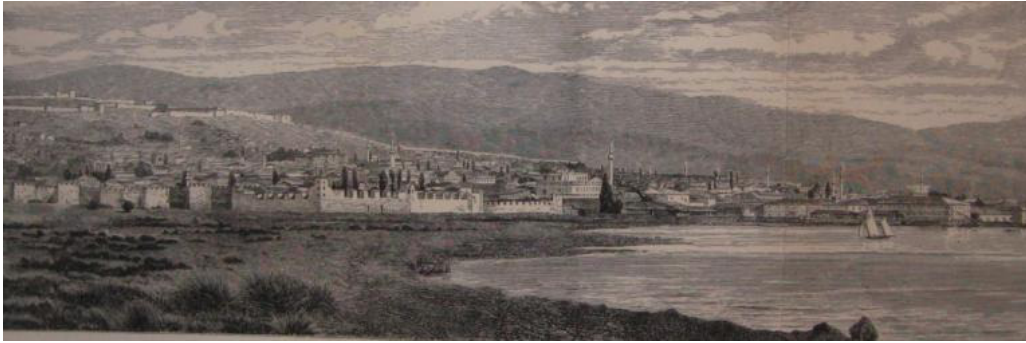


Figure 3.25 Selanik, panoramic view from western end of the city, 1877, engraving.

Source: G. Muir McKenzie. *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe*. (London:1877), 4.

Initiated by the quay and railway projects, many long term public work projects were realized in Selanik. This period from the 1870s to the Balkan Wars can be divided into two phases as 1870-1890 and 1890-1912: the first period corresponded to a preparatory phase in which the institutions and urban infrastructure were established or at least initiated. The following period, overlapped with the rapid urban expansion, provision of many public services and a remarkable increase at commerce in relation to its direct connection with European railway network as well as to Manastır and İstanbul, and accordingly, with its transformation into a regional transportation hub.



Figure 3.26 Selanik, Plan of intra-muros city and its main street axes: Sabri Paşa, Vardar and Mithad Paşa Streets, c.1882.

Source: The map is printed by Semavi Eyice in 1985 by using the plan of A. Wernieski (1882) as a template.

Legend: a: Sabri Paşa Street, b: Vardar Street, c: Midhat Paşa Street, d: Manastır Street, e: the area of Selanik quay project.

As stated before, the appointment of Sabri Paşa as the governor general of Selanik vilayet marked a milestone in urban history of the city. During his official duty, he initiated some other projects, such as the establishment of a municipality in the city

center, publishing of an official newspaper (*Selanik*), and creation of a new central district in the place of the old walls.³⁵³

Shortly before the realization of these projects, in 1867, Sabri Paşa initiated the expansion of the street, named after him, connecting the government office (*konak*) to the seaside in a length of 1.5 kilometers. In the same period, he also started the rehabilitation of the Beşçınar Public Garden as a public space. The governor-general Mithad Paşa, during his short-term governorship in the *vilayet* after Sabri Paşa, initiated the project of opening up a street starting from Government Office to *Mekteb-i Sanayi* (Arts and Crafts School), running parallel to Vardar Street and the seafront, and commemorated by his name. The street would be completed in 1875.³⁵⁴ Concurrently, Vardar Street between Vardar Gate and Kalamariye Gate was paved and widened.³⁵⁵ It was the main direction in the city center dividing the city into two parts in north and south. During the first appointment Galib Paşa as the governor general, the furnishing of important streets of the city with granite and *Bandırma taşı* (marble quarried from Bandırma) started and continued phase by phase for decades. **(Fig. 3.26)** In 1879, before the demolition of eastern city walls, the Hamidiye Boulevard -from Beyaz Kule (White Tower) to Kalamariye Gate- and the mansions around it was projected to found a new neighborhood in an area of 12 hectares.³⁵⁶ In 1886, the construction of Hamidiye Boulevard flanked by grown trees and European mansions was completed.³⁵⁷

Parallel to the provision of public amenities, and new settlements, a city plan was prepared by Antoine Wernieski who was the chief engineer of Selanik Municipality in 1880 (1882?). It was the first official plan of the city still existing in the archives. **(Fig. 3.27)**

³⁵³ Alexandra Yerolympos. *Urban Transformations in the Balkans*, 62.

³⁵⁴ *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324, 219

³⁵⁵ Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik, Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri*, 140

³⁵⁶ Alexandra Yerolympos. *Urban Transformations in the Balkans*, 68. Yerolympos published the drawing of the cadastral operation on Hamidiye Boulevard.

³⁵⁷ *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324 (1906-07), 220. It was recorded as in h.1304 (1886-1887).

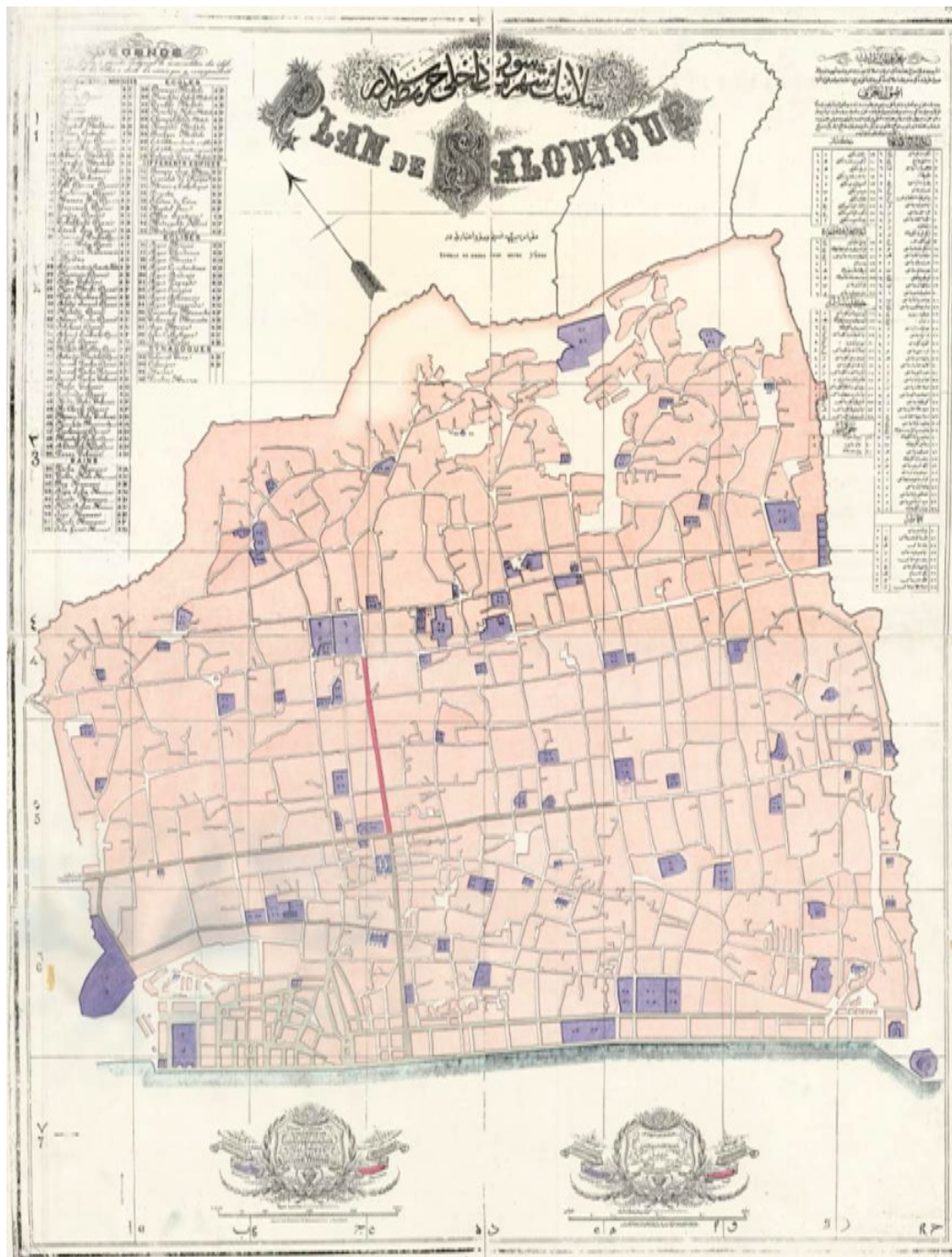


Figure 3.27 Selanik, intra-muros city plan by Antoine Wernieski.

Source: National Map Library of Thessaloniki, catalogue #E4671-E4672.

The plan rendered the medieval city shortly after the demolition of the city walls on the seaside. It indexed 92 public buildings including mosques, baths, churches, synagogues and schools.³⁵⁸ It was printed as bilingual, in Turkish and French and titled as “*Plan de Salonique /Selanik Şehri Haritasıdır*”. The drawing did not indicate any information about the date. However, it should have been before h. 1300 (1882-83), since in that year Ottoman General Staff Printing House published another map depending on Wernieski’s work.³⁵⁹

In the 1880s, the city expanded outside the city walls in both eastern and western directions. Initially, the western part of the city became popular as a new settlement area and new neighborhoods were constituted in a short time. However, unhealthy conditions grown out of the torrents and more importantly, the establishment of the complementary trade facilities around the railway station, oriented the settlers to the east outside the city walls for accommodation.³⁶⁰ The western exit of the city was initially settled by the workers of the railway company, after then; a number of hotels, inns, coffee houses, depots, sheds, magazines were opened up to use the advantage of physical proximity to the station. Therefore, it was not developed as a residential zone as it happened on the opposite side of the city. This part of the city was called as *Vardar* or *Çayır* neighborhood by the Turks and *Bara* (Mud) by the Sephardic Jews probably because of the physical appearance of the district.

The eastern housing developments through *Hamidiye* and *Yalılar* Streets (*Rue de Campagnes*) in Kalamariye / Hamidiye (*Campagnes*) district were mostly occupied by the mansions of the notables of Selanik society and high officers. As the name signified, the district was spacious, had clean and health air, and the famous Yalılar Street was flanked by great mansions of European style in large gardens. The provision of tramway at the end of the nineteenth century was an important factor affecting the expansion of the neighborhood and extension of the street. The

³⁵⁸ In order to find the location of indexed buildings a matrix of numbers and letters provided for the users.

³⁵⁹ Semavi Eyice transliterated and reproduced the map with İ.Birol Alpay and presented it in “Atatürk’ün Doğduğu Yıllarda Selanik.” *Doğumunun Yüziüncü Yılında Atatürk’e Armağan*. (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1981).

³⁶⁰ *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324 (1906-07), 217

municipality showed a great interest in the Yalılar Street. It made an agreement with Tramway Company to establish a second line for returns and covered the whole street with precious granites that was 3.5 kilometers in length and cost more than 10,000 Ottoman liras.³⁶¹

In order to regulate the expansion of the city along east and west directions, Selanik Municipality was obliged to take precautions. As a result of many planning regulations issued by the central authority, it developed cadastral plans and defined new street directions and public and private plots. In contrast to the old city center's urban fabric, the new development areas on both sides of the city demonstrated the application of an orthogonal layout. The plan of Selanik dated to h.1306 (1888-89) drawn by Achilles Kampanakis, the chief engineer of Selanik Municipality explicitly demonstrates the expansion of the city in the west direction. **(Fig. 3.28)** Similar to the previous plan, it was printed in French and Turkish. There is an index of many public buildings in old town and developing areas. The plan indicates that only some of the plots were settled both in Kalamariye (east) and Çayır (west) neighborhoods. Vardar neighborhood presents a relatively regular orthogonal layout with smaller rectangular plots. On the plate, the railway yard and rails and sidings can be easily perceivable. At the southwest of the station, there was a group of industrial buildings and Beşçınar Public Garden. The torrent demarcating the station from the Çayır neighborhood was crossed by a bridge. The continuity of the Vardar Street was provided outside the Vardar Gate.

³⁶¹*Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324 (1906-07), 220



Figure 3.28 Selanik, plan by Achille Kampanakis, 1888-89.

Source: British Archives; Foreign Office (FO) 925-3429.

In May 1888, after a couple of years of delay, the direct connection between Selanik, Belgrade and Vienna was established after the completion of Üsküb – Nish branch of the network and it remarkably expanded the economic and social hinterland of Selanik.

The great fire of September 3-4, 1890 partially ruined the old town and caused the demolition of more than 3000 houses, many churches and synagogues on the southern part of the old town which was mostly inhabited by Greeks and Jews.³⁶² After controlling the devastating disaster, Ottoman authorities had the chance to initiate a large scale planning operation for the ruined areas. For them, it was the opportunity to rehabilitate the neighborhoods of the old town in poor physical conditions.³⁶³ The negative effects of the fire were recovered by the solidarity of religious communities. After planning of the ruined region, the land value rose remarkably, therefore the old inhabitants could not afford to build their houses in the old town and had to move outside the old town.³⁶⁴ Here, the effort of *Alliance Israelite Universelle* and generous financial contribution of Baron Maurice de Hirsch should be mentioned, since they provided to accommodate a group of poor Jewish society in two neighborhoods created in Vardar and Kalamariye districts.³⁶⁵

The spatial results of the great fire of 1890 could be perceivable on the city plans produced after 1890. Accordingly, the plans not only indicated the physical expansion or the planning attempts in the ruined areas, they gave clues to trace the start, development and completion of many public works. For instance, the city plan of 1898, printed in Meyer's travel guide book, reflected the significant spatial changes happened in a decade. (**Fig. 3.29**) These were the planning and settlement of ruined area after the great fire, settlements in Vardar district, opening of Hamidiye Boulevard and the settlements around it, the establishment of tramline on Vardar Street, and finally the start of the new harbor.

³⁶² Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik*, 111.

³⁶³ Ibid, 116.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 116-117

³⁶⁵ Ibid, 113-115. The efforts of Baron Hirsch and local Jewry to establish a neighborhood at the vicinity of the passenger station are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.3 in relation to the local actors' activities.

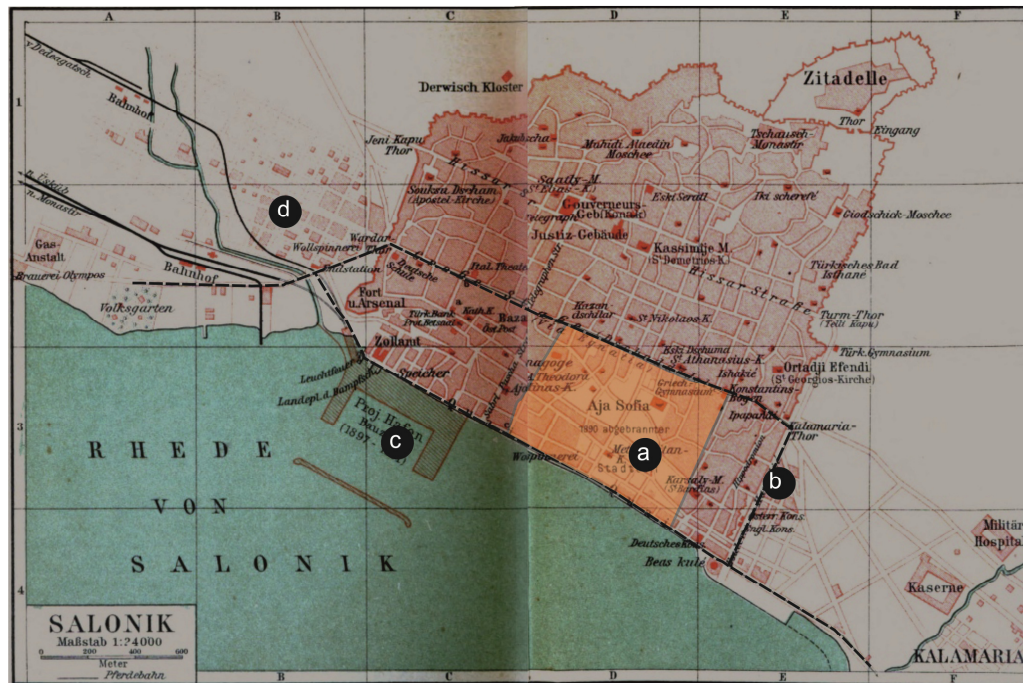


Figure 3.29 Selanik, Plan, c.1890s.

Source: *Reisebücher Türkei, Roumanien, Serbien, Bulgarien* by Meyers (1898); reproduced and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: New Planned Area after 1890 fire; b: Hamidiye Boulevard, c: New Harbor, d: Vardar Neighborhood. The route of the tramline is indicated by dashed lines.

The two decades between 1869 and 1888 were the initial preparatory period when many basic infrastructure projects were either completed or started so that in the second phase of the development, some major public works were realized consecutively in a short time. These projects marked the last two decades as the most intensive period in terms of urban operations. Therefore, in order to analyze the spatial changes in Selanik at the turn of the twentieth century, it becomes crucial to understand the public works realized in this period.

The expansion of the city, the rapid increase in population necessitated the provision of regular infrastructure services, such as waterworks, sewage, coal gas, tramway and electricity. In order to solve the water supply problem, the Sublime Porte was ready to grant a concession to an entrepreneur. At the beginning, it was granted to Hamdi Bey of Selanik to establish a company for the water supply from Vardar River and its distribution in the city in May 1888.³⁶⁶ (**Fig. 3.30**)

³⁶⁶ BOA İ.MMS 98/4147 , h.25 § 1305 (May 16, 1888) The file contains the concession text and the

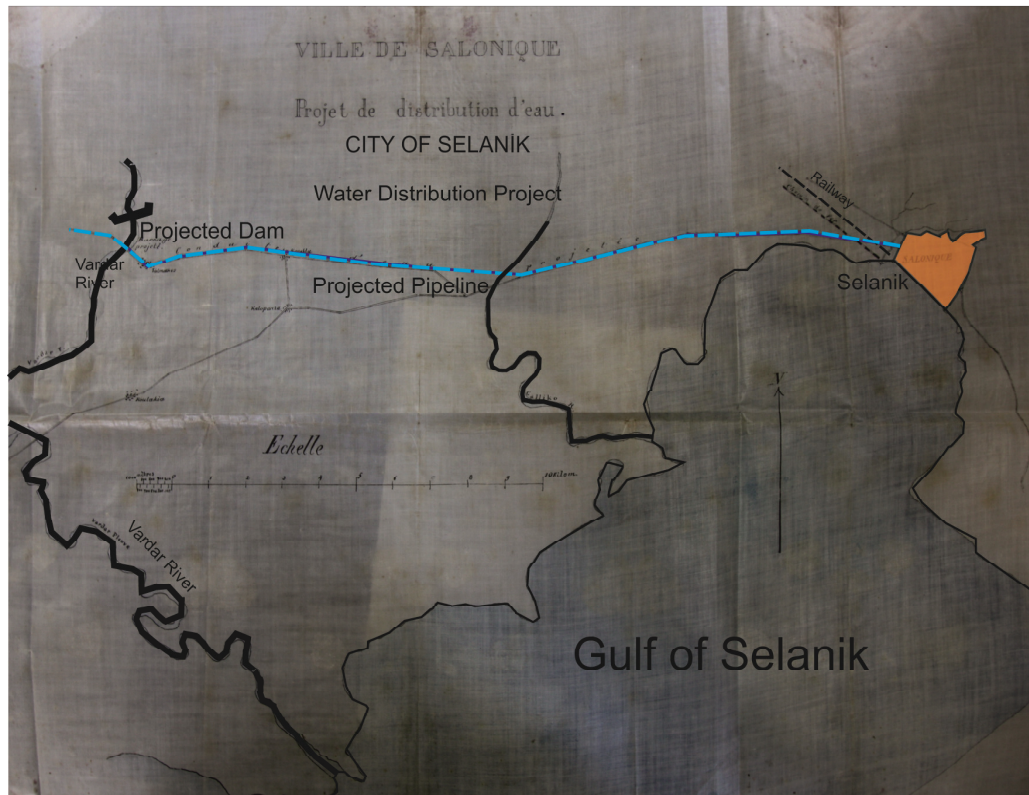


Figure 3.30 Selanik, map designated for water collection line by Selanik Waterworks Company.

Source: BOA ŞD. 1182-16 h.19 C 1309 (January 20, 1892), reproduced by the author.

To be able to finance the project, Hamdi Bey searched for entrepreneurs and shortly after, he found a Belgium based capital company. They set up an Ottoman company in 1891, named *Compagnie Ottomane des Eaux de Salonique* (Selanik Waterworks Company), with a capital of 5,000,000 francs and were granted the concession right for 51 years. Hamdi Bey was the name which appeared very often in the other public work projects of the time. As the initiator of many projects, he was one of the elites of the society and an important local entrepreneur. He would become the mayor of the city later as well. The initial works included drilling for six artesian wells near Vardar River, and when the waterworks company bought a large area outside the Vardar Gate to construct a pump station near Beşçınar Public Garden, a central reservoir was installed near the pump station. The project also consisted of constructing a small dam on Vardar River and installing a long pipe (more than twenty kilometers) from riverbed to the pump station and another pump station

map of the line and the surrounding as well

located at the upper town. The project was managed by the Belgian engineer Aime Cypers, who later became the general manager of the company.³⁶⁷ The company installed kilometers of water pipes in the city and had 2085 subscribers in 1902 and 7141 subscribers in 1911.³⁶⁸

In the same period, Selanik also met with coal gas and public lighting. More than aesthetical matters, the lightening of street and squares required for security reasons. Depending on an agreement between the Ottoman Government and English entrepreneur Kirby in 1887, the concession of Selanik Gas and Public Lighting was granted for 35 years. Kirby made over his rights to a French company and then they sold the concession rights to a group of Belgian entrepreneurs. They set up a company, called *Compagnie du Gaz* (Gas Company), and immediately installed a factory close to Beşçınar Public Garden.³⁶⁹ In a short time, the gas company installed lighting posts around public buildings and on major streets. Their primary customer was the municipality, but there were also a considerable number of private subscribers whose number increased from 350 in 1890 to 7200 at the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁷⁰

The history of trams in Selanik was another public accomplishment. Here, Hamdi Bey was the leading figure again. In 1889, he was granted the concession of establishing and running horse-drawn tram lines by the Sublime Porte for 35 years. In June 1892, he set up a company named *Compagnie Ottomane des Tramways de Salonique* (Selanik Tramways Ottoman Company) together with a group of Belgian entrepreneurs headed by Edouard Otlet with a capital of 1,250,000 francs.³⁷¹ In the beginning, the tracks were installed on two routes: the line started near Beşçınar Garden (terminus station) then divaricated into two lines around Tophane. The first line reached the *Hürriyet* Square (Olympos Square) passing through Frenkish

³⁶⁷Yannis Megas and Dimitris Takas. *Corporate Securities of Macedonia and Thessaloniki; 1870-1940*. (Athens: Kapon Editions), 16

³⁶⁸ Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik*, 147-148

³⁶⁹Vasilis Colonas and Olga Delignanni. *The Advent of Industry in Thessaloniki, 1870-1912*. Exhibition catalogue. (Thessaloniki : 1987):22

³⁷⁰ Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik*, 152-153

³⁷¹ Yannis Megas, Dimitris Takas. *Corporate Securities*,42

neighborhood and went towards *Kalamariye* District on Yahılar Street to the tram shed near Villa Allatini. The second route reached up to Vardar Gate from *Tophane*, then went along the Vardar Street, and then turned to *Hamidiye* Boulevard and intersected with the other line near *Kanlı Kule* (White Tower). There was also another switch around Tophane to bring the tram wagons to the railway station square. Therefore, the passengers arriving Selanik by trains could easily be carried to the city center. Finally, according to a plan of Selanik in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, it was proposed to construct a new tram line running parallel to the existing line and driving through the *Midhat Paşa* Street, turning towards the seafront around *Islahhane* Gate and driving through the Kalamariye district from the north. In August 1909, the Sublime Porte gave a permission to Selanik Municipality to make an extension to the existing tram line,³⁷² and the municipality engineers worked on the extension project and drew plans. However the grand project was never realized.

³⁷²BOA, DH. MUİ 15-1/40; 01 N 1327, (August 18, 1909).

The trams were popular means of transportation in the city. Besides being a rapid and timetabled vehicle, they also provided the passengers with the opportunity to publicize and offered moving picturesque views of the city as well. According to the statistics of the company, the daily carriage exceeded 10,000 passengers and while the total carriage in 1894 was 2,743,820, it reached 3,926,871 in 1900.³⁷³ In the period between March 1903 and March 1904, there were 30 first class and 30 second class wagons drawn by total 220 horses. The total revenue of the company was 1,104,324 *kuruş* (piaster) from second class, 901,481 *kuruş* from first class, 184,850 *kuruş* from season tickets, and 2,190,660 *kuruş* in total, nearly half of which was paid to the shareholders as a profit. Being a public service company, it employed 184 workers, administrative and technical staff.³⁷⁴ Parallel to the provision of the electricity in the city, the tramline was electrified in 1908. **(Fig. 3.31)**

As introduced in the second chapter, the concessions of the Selanik – Manastır and Selanik – İstanbul lines were granted consecutively at the end of 1880s. In the final years of the nineteenth century, there were three railway companies and three lines having terminus in Selanik. As part of their internal agreement (both companies were controlled by the German capital), Selanik- Manastır and Selanik – Üsküb - Belgrade lines shared the existing station. However, Selanik Dedeâğaç-İstanbul line had to build a small and new passenger station (*Station de Ville*) in the Çayır Neighborhood near Tophane Bastion. The idea of constructing a central station for the use of all companies aroused at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, it could not be realized. It is important to note that the economic success of Selanik was depending on the establishment of railway services, construction of the harbor and, most importantly, the provision of a direct connection between the stations and the harbor.

Throughout the nineteenth century, harbor construction processes showed many similarities among the cities like İstanbul, İzmir, Selanik, Beyrut and İskenderiye. In all cases, construction of harbors fostered the modernization of the old physical and

³⁷³ Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik*, 154-155

³⁷⁴ *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324 (1906-07), 603-605

social structure of port-cities.³⁷⁵ In Selanik, before the construction of the new harbor at the beginning of the twentieth century -until the demolition of the city walls-maritime trade was still carried out on a small wooden pier outside the sea gate, near the traditional markets, the Frankish quarter and the populous Jewish neighborhoods that supplied the port with a cheap labor force. The harbor was located on the site of the Byzantine port.³⁷⁶ The harbor construction started in 1869, by the demolition of the walls and the construction of the quay. To start the formal processes, a company was set up, *Société des Quais de Salonique* (Selanik Docks Company) managed by Polycarpe Vitali and worked until 1882. However, it became rapidly inadequate since the high tonnage vessels could not embark or disembark from the quay and there was a necessity of lighters to carry goods. The question of building a proper harbor was raised once more immediately after the opening of the first railway. According to the revised agreement between Oriental Railways and the Sublime Porte in 1872, the Sublime Porte granted the company the right to build up and expand ports in Varna, Dedeağaç and Selanik along with the financial support up to 10 million francs by the Sublime Porte. The railway company commissioned an engineer of Marseilles, Louis Barret to draw a plan for an artificial harbor along the quay. The drawing drafts were edited and changed for two years. Here, the major reason for a long delay at the realization of the harbor depended on the struggle between Ottoman authorities and Oriental Railways Company. Throughout this period, the company asked for financial support of the state in order to realize the project, however, Ottomans reacted against the company's claims and declared that the company could not provide its liabilities, and therefore, they expected the company to build harbors in three port cities on its own. As an important attempt for the realization of the harbor, the Sublime Porte decided to give a concession grant to an independent entrepreneur in 1888. Afterwards, the conflict between the Sublime Porte and Oriental Railways became more intricate and Austro-Hungarian Embassy entered into the scene to reinforce the theses of the Oriental Railways company.

³⁷⁵ For a comparative account of harbor projects realized in the Levant, see Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis. "The Cartography of Harbor Construction in Eastern Mediterranean Cities: Technical and Urban Modernization in the late nineteenth century." in Biral Kulluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz eds., *Cities of the Mediterranean; From the Ottomans to the Present Day*. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010):78-99

³⁷⁶ Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis. "The Cartography of Harbor Construction", 82

Despite a number of correspondences between 1888 and 1896, the conflict could not be resolved.³⁷⁷ The fear of rising costs delayed the start of the work until July 1896.³⁷⁸ Finally, after a delay of two decades, the construction of the harbor was granted to *Société de Construction du Port de Salonique*, established by a Frenchman Edmund Bartissol.³⁷⁹ The task included the construction of an 800 meter long and 130 meter wide docking area, as well as the construction of two 200 meter long moles, a 560 meter long water break, installation of 3000 meters of railway lines together with transit sheds, new customhouse, the central railway station and grain storage.³⁸⁰ The company's concession duration was fixed at 24 years, and it was granted permission to operate the harbor for a period of five years. Later, a second contract signed by Bartissol and Minister of Public Works Ohennes Serkisian Efendi in December 1904, re-established the company as *Société d'Exploitation* (Operation Company) and extended its rights up to 1944.³⁸¹ In 1904, based on the Levantine architect Alexandre Vallauray's plans, the construction of the buildings necessary for port operation began on the quays and other open spaces. Some other buildings like the warehouses, the silo, the customhouse, the Ottoman Public Department Administration Building were erected until 1912.³⁸² The investment made for the harbor facilities quickly returned as profit for the entrepreneurs. The volume of the unload in the 1870s was only 900,000 tons, exceeded one million tons in the 1880s, and reached over 1.5 million tons in 1890-1907 period and exceeded two million tons in 1908-1912 period.³⁸³ The railway infrastructure was the main factor behind the commercial potential of the Selanik harbor. The railway connection remarkably

³⁷⁷ Some of the documents related to the conflict can be found in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive; for instance, MV. 76-3, Y.PRK.HR. 19-61, Y.PRK.OMZ 2-69

³⁷⁸ Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, "The Harbor of Thessaloniki, 1896-1920." In A. Jarvis, & K. Smith, (eds.) *Albert Dock, Trade and Technology*. (Liverpool: National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside and the University of Liverpool, 1999) :134

³⁷⁹ BOA Y.PRK.BŞK. 45/29 26 Ş 1313.(February 10, 1896)

³⁸⁰ Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis. "The Cartography of Harbor Construction", 86

³⁸¹ Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, "The Harbor of Thessaloniki, 1896-1920", 134

³⁸² Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis. "The Cartography of Harbor Construction", 93

³⁸³ Basil Gounaris. "Salonica" in Çağlar Keyder, and Eyüp Özveren and Donald Quataert eds., *Port Cities of Eastern Mediterranean, 1800-1914*. (New York: Ferdinand Braudel Center, 1993): 108

counteracted against all the ports of Balkan Peninsula even the ones in Albania, and channelized the import and commerce traffic of Southern Balkans to Selanik harbor.³⁸⁴ Therefore, Selanik reached the third place in volume of traffic among the Ottoman ports.³⁸⁵ While İzmir's economic hinterland was confined to Western Anatolia with the trunk railways, Selanik's economic potential included the whole southern Balkans and with a direct connection with Vienna, Paris and all central Europe.³⁸⁶ This feature placed Selanik in the focus of many international interest groups and the city displayed a scene of rivalry between the Austro- Hungarian Empire and British Empire to control the Southern Balkan Influence economic influence zone.³⁸⁷

It can be said that direct connection between railway merchandise station and harbor delayed until the beginning of the twentieth century. Until that time, the trains stopped in front of the station and the commercial loads in the wagons were carried by the porters for about one kilometer path to harbor. In 1909, the conflict between the railway and harbor companies reached a resolution that the wagons of Oriental Railways were allowed to enter the harbor area and unload their carriages in the location.³⁸⁸

The development of the harbor project can easily be traced in the plans of the city. For instance, in Meyer's city plan of 1898, the proposed new harbor area was shaded in dark to show the exact location of the construction, later, in its 1904 edition, the construction project seemed to be developed remarkably, the two moles, the water break, the two light houses and some of the depots on the moles and around were completed. However, according to the plan, the continuous railway connection could not be established yet (compare the plans below). The completion of all facilities

³⁸⁴ Basil Gounaris. "Salonica", 107

³⁸⁵ Donald Quataert. "Fabrika Bacalarından Tüten İlk Dumanlar." in Gilles Venstein, (ed.) *Selanik, 1850-1918: Yahudilerin Kenti ve Balkanların Uyanışı*. (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999):186

³⁸⁶ Meropi Anastasiadou. *Selanik*, 9

³⁸⁷ For a detailed account of the struggle between the great powers before the Balkan Wars, see Stefanos Yerasimos, *Milliyetler ve Sınırlar: Balkanlar, Kafkaslar, Ortadoğu*. İstanbul, İletişim, 2000

³⁸⁸ Donald Quataert. "Fabrika Bacalarından Tüten İlk Dumanlar.", 186-187

including new customs house and railway connection can be seen in Baedeker's plan of Selanik published in 1914. (**Fig. 3.32**)



Figure 3.32 Left: Selanik, City Plan, c1900s. Right: Selanik, City Plan, c. early 1910s.

Source: left: Meyers, *Reisebücher das Mittelmeer*, (1904). Right: Karl Baedeker. *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*. (Leipzig: 1914).

The public works initiated by the demolition of city walls, opening up new streets, expansion of the city to the peripheries, provision of gas, waterworks, trams, and lighting of public places made Selanik and its quay a focal point of social and cultural life. In time, many cafes, theaters, hotels, banks and some other official buildings were located on the seafront. After the 1880s, Selanik quay was one of the distinct places to visit or stay for the foreign visitors. According to Meyers travel book of 1898, the distinguishing hotels to stay were Hotel Colombo near Ottoman Bank having a garden and a brasserie and Hotel Imperial on the seafront.³⁸⁹

Apart from them, Baedeker's guide book advised the travelers to stay in Splendid Palace at the east of the harbor, Olympos Palace located at the corner of Sabri Paşa Street and Hürriyet (Liberty) Square, whose waiters and waitresses could speak German; Hotel Angletterre, Hotel Bristol, Hotel Metropol and Hotel Parthenon.³⁹⁰ These hotels were the pearls on the quay and distinguished by their elegant buildings. There were also some other less popular hotels around the quay, such as Hotel Anatoli, Hotel Nea Hellas, Hotel Terpsithea, Hotel Alhambra, Hotel Eptanisos, Hotel

³⁸⁹ Meyers Reisebücher. *Türkei, Rumänien, Serbien, Bulgarien*, 390. Apart from these examples, the book advised Giron Guesthouse for a modest quality and Hotel Yıldız as an orderly place to stay near train station.

³⁹⁰ Karl Baedeker. *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien*, 99

Turquie.³⁹¹ For the travelers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the vivid colors of life on the quay, in the cafés and brasseries were common themes as reflected in their travel logs. **(Fig. 3.33)** In the year of 1905, British travel author John Foster Fraser visited Selanik and noted his impressions as:³⁹²

I shall ever think that at the Olympos Hotel in Salonika I had the best room. Perhaps every other wayfarer was assured he had the best room – just as at Chamonix it is understood that every room window looks upon Mont Blanc. Anyway at the break of the day, when the quay was awakened into life and color only to be seen in the East, it was pleasant to throw back the shutters, look across the way where the quaint *caïques* were bobbing on the burnished bosom of the sea, and then away, over a pat of mist resting on the waters, too the crest of Month Olympus flushed with rose by the young sun.

Then, Fraser depicted the breezy and colorful life around the cafes of the quay, and the people enjoying themselves by observing the scene from the balcony of his hotel room as:³⁹³

Beneath my balcony were modern Greeks, sitting at little tables on the pavement, sipping their five o'clock in the morning coffee, smoking, chattering, quarrelling, reading Greek papers, enjoying the *Graphic*, which is found in every Salonika restaurant – crowds of them, mostly podgy, wearing European clothes and the obligatory fez... Salonika has its distinctions. Near the quay, where big hotels and boulevards and the syrup-sipping and horse tramcars are, is a touch of Europe... At one part of Salonika you can get a nice French dinner. You can jump on a tramcar and in five minutes you are in another land, where there are no chairs and tables, nothing but mats and Turkish food and the heavy narcotic smoke of turbaned Moslems puffing narghiles.

For Fraser, in Selanik, much of the business was done at the cafes. Some of the cafes were busy in the mornings, some were in the afternoons, but all of them were busy in the evenings.³⁹⁴ Robert Howard Russell, another travel author, depicted his astonishment in front of the strange scene of the city and argued that, behind the waterfront, the modern tramway, with its busy cars running, did much to destroy the

³⁹¹ Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik*, 174

³⁹² John Foster Fraser. *Pictures From the Balkans*. (London and New York : Cassell and Company, 1906):183.

³⁹³ Ibid, 184-185.

³⁹⁴ John Foster Fraser. *Pictures From the Balkans*, 189

Eastern atmosphere of the place, forcing the viewer to close his/her eyes to this feature of the foreground and looked only at the tapering minarets of the mosques and the domes of the ancient Christian churches beyond, before one stepped onto a “really” Oriental port.³⁹⁵



Figure 3.33 Selanik, view of the waterfront, c.1900s, postcard.

Source: Yannis Megas Private Collection.

Apart from the quay and its colorful life around the cafes and hotels, Sabri Paşa Street, perpendicular to the quay leading up to the Government Office, was the heart of the economic life. George Frederick Abbott depicted Sabri Paşa Street as the most interesting of the thoroughfares leading from the quay into the center of the town which ran through the bazaar, crossed the main street (Vardar) at right angles and continued up to the Konak (Government Office). The first part of the street was roofed in, an arrangement no doubt highly agreeable for the Jewish tradesmen whose shops and booths flanked the sides. Abbott claimed that it created an artificial dusk which, by concealing imperfections and toning down all colors to dim uniformity and conduced optical delusion which was good for commerce.³⁹⁶

Considering the formal development of the urban fabric, architect Vitaliano Poselli was one of the pioneering actors of spatial change in Selanik scene at the turn of the

³⁹⁵ Robert Howard Russell. *The Edge of the Orient*, 191

³⁹⁶ George Frederick Abbott. *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*, 18

century. He designed many significant –mostly neo-classic and Orientalist in façade- public and private projects.³⁹⁷ Among his projects, there were Imperial İdadi School (1887-88), Government Office in the place of old one (1894), military headquarters (1903), New Mosque (1902), Ottoman Bank Selanik Branch (1904), Bank of Salonica (1906), Allatini Mill (1900), Villa Allatini (1898), Villa Ida (1890), Nesibe Hanım Apartment (1909), Armenian Church (1903), Synagogue of Beth Saul (1898) and Catholic Church of Immaculate Conception (1897).³⁹⁸

In addition to Poselli, Pierro Arrigoni, Lissandros Kaftandzoglou, Eli Modiano, Xenofondas Paionidis and Ernst Ziller were the other notable architects with their projects at the turn of the century, such as Villa Fernandez by Pierro Arigoni (1910), Villa Jakob Modiano by Eli Modiano (1906), New Customs House by Eli Modiano (1910), Villa Salem by Paionidis (1906), Villa of Hacı Agah (1911), Villa of Hasan Pρίstina (1907), Villa of Seyfullah Paşa (1905), Villa of Hasan Tahsin Paşa (1911). As the names of the mansions asserted, the owners of these houses were among the elites of the society by their business or official ranks in the government.

Moreover, Selanik housed relatively the most developed industrial production of southern Balkans since the 1880s, with the establishment of many industrial buildings for public amenities. The majority of these buildings were located outside the Vardar Gate, at the western development zone of the city. Gas factory of *Société Ottomane du Gaz* (1890), tram depot (1891), electricity factory (1911), water pump of *Compagnie des Eaux* (1893), *Régie de tabacs* (tobacco monopoly), Filature of *Torres et Cie*, cigar factory of *Frère Noussa et Cie*, Olympos Bravery of the

³⁹⁷ According to Vassilis Colonas, Vitaliano Poselli was born in Italy in 1838. He came to İstanbul for the erection of a church in San Stefano (Yeşilköy). After living a couple of years in İstanbul, he was sent to Selanik for the *Idadi* School in 1886. After this project, he continued collaborating with local authorities and designed many important public buildings. At the same time, foreign agencies and missions, as well as wealthy trades and bankers entrusted him with the design of several communal, commercial and private buildings. For a brief account of his works, see Vassilis Colonas. “Vitaliano Poselli: A Italian Architect in Thessaloniki.” *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* (1990): 162-171, and Alexandra Yerolympos and Vassilis Colonas. “Kozmopolit Bir Kentleşme.” In Gilles Venstein, (ed.) *Selanik, 1850-1918: Yahudilerin Kenti ve Balkanların Uyanışı*. (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999):167-185

³⁹⁸ Vassilis Colonas. “Vitaliano Poselli: An Italian Architect in Thessaloniki.” *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* (1990): 162-171.

Fernandez Family and Great Mill and Brick Factory of Allatini Brothers.³⁹⁹ (Fig. 3.34)

The long running process of establishing the infrastructure of Selanik yielded its benefits in the increasing capacity of the commerce of the city. Here, the diplomatic consular reports on trade and commerce presented valuable material to examine the development in graphics and numbers. The yearly reports of British Consulate in Selanik on the trade of the city, for instance, explained the economic expansion in detail.⁴⁰⁰ In addition to these reports, *salnames* (yearbooks) and the famous *Annuaire Oriental* of Cervati Brothers which listed the business branches, entrepreneurs, professionals, traders and the major craftsmen of each city were crucial sources.

In 1909, the agreement of the port and the railway companies enabled the goods to run directly into the quays for loading and unloading and the port company started the construction of a new and extensively large custom house in 1910 (inaugurated in 1912) which signified the completion of the proposals of Selanik harbor. After this phase, the course of the harbor's development was influenced by new factors. By 1910, the disproportion between the functional capacity of the harbor (its land and sea surface area and its technical facilities, notably the railway network and the mechanical and building equipment) and its vast hinterland (approximately 130,000 km² and three to four million inhabitants) was becoming glaringly obvious. In 1911, two things seemed to meet the new demands of the time: to build a central railway terminus station to unify all three lines ending in Selanik at a site on the west of the customs house and to extend the harbor according to the plan of the French company to eastwards by constructing new moles on the seafront.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹ Alexandra Yerolympos and Vassilis Colonas. "Kozmopolit bir Kentleşme." :177 and Meropi Anastassiadou. *Selanik*, 177. Also for a detailed presentation of industrial heritage of Selanik, see Vassilis Colonas and Olga Traganou – Deligianni. *Industrial Heritage of Thessaloniki 1870 -1912* (in Greek) (Thessaloniki, 1987)

⁴⁰⁰ The reports of British consulate in Selanik were printed annually by her majesty's stationary office in London. The copies I examined in Yannis Megas private collection started from 1886 and ended in 1912.

⁴⁰¹ Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, "The Harbor of Thessaloniki", 137-138

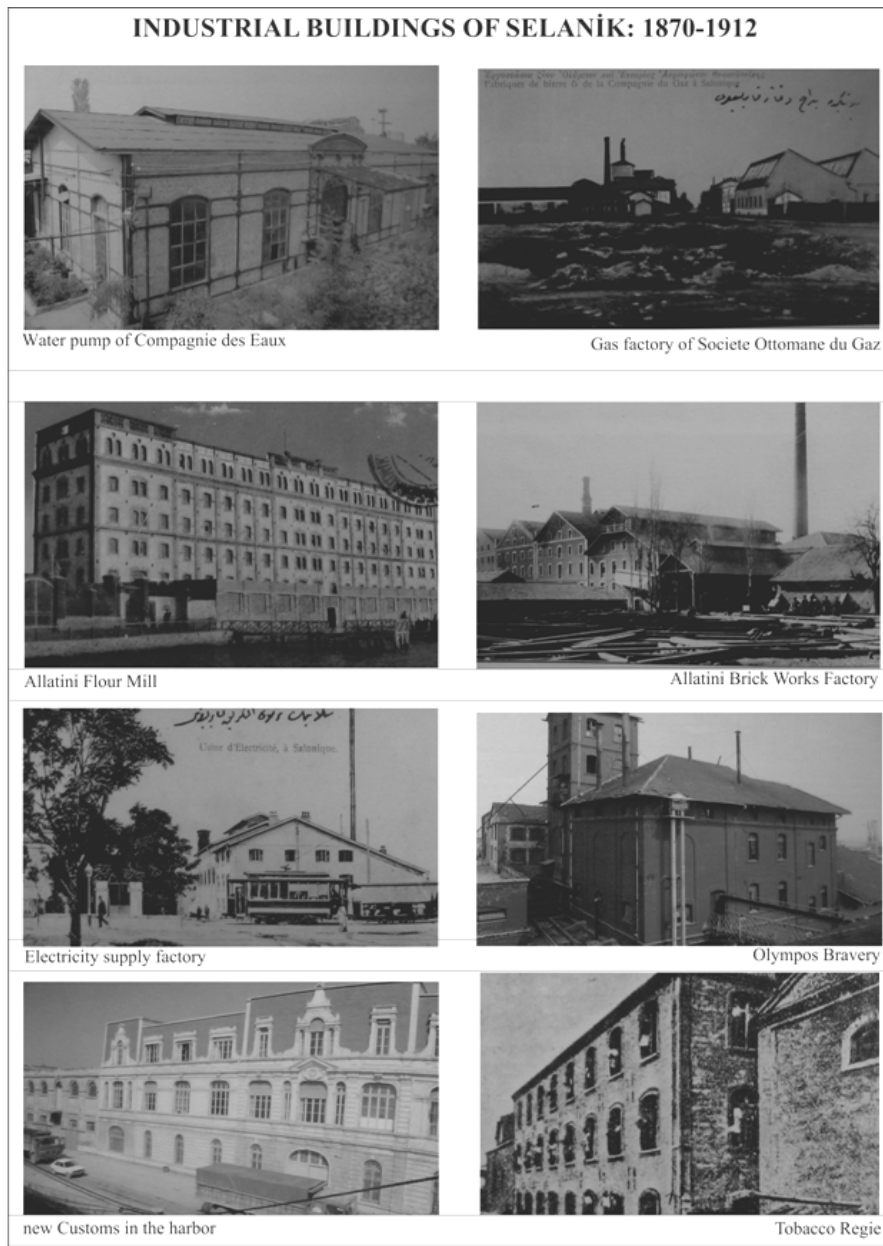


Figure 3.34 Selanik, some of the industrial buildings founded in 1870-1912 period.

Source: Olga Traganou – Deligianni & Vassilis Colonas. *Industrial Heritage of Thessaloniki* 1870 - 1912, the images are collaged by the author.

However, only a few of these projects were realized, due to the outbreak of the Balkan Wars. With the division of all Ottoman Balkans among Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece, the destiny of Selanik quay was determined by Greek government.

- Balkan Wars and the Aftermath

In October 1912, when the Ottomans were in war against Italia in Trablusgarb (Libya), Balkan League (Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece) declared war against Ottoman Empire to sweep her out of the Balkan Peninsula. The allied armies defeated the numerically inferior and strategically disadvantaged Ottoman armies and achieved rapid accomplishments. As a result of the war, almost all remaining European territories of the Ottoman Empire were captured and partitioned among the allies. With the declaration of war, the Greek Army of Thessaly under Crown Prince Constantine advanced to the north, overcoming Ottoman defenses. The Ottoman commander Hasan Tahsin Paşa surrendered Selanik and its garrison of 26,000 men to the Greeks on October 26, 1912 after the negotiations took place at Topsin railway station at the outskirts of Selanik.⁴⁰² (Fig. 3.35)



Figure 3.35 Selanik, Hasan Tahsin Paşa surrenders, c.1910s, postcard.

Source: Mark Mazower. *Salonica; City of Ghosts; 1430-1950*. (New York: Vintage Books), 128.

⁴⁰² Mustafa Balcı. *Selanik Düştü: Selanik'in Kaybediliş Öyküsü*. (İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2010), 28-51. For a general account of the combats that took place in various battle lines, see Edward J. Erickson, *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912-1913*

3.4 Manastir: Development of a Garrison Town

*Многу градови, села пројдов,
Како тебе Битола, нигде не најдов.*

*Many towns and villages I have seen,
Yet, you are the only precious to me⁴⁰³*

Throughout ages, Manastir (Bitola) has been a major crossing point connecting the south of the Adriatic Sea with the Aegean Sea and Central Europe. Although it has lost much of its popularity and remained as a forgotten border city under the shadow of Skopje of Republic of Macedonia, once it was the boiling cauldron of Ottoman Balkans at the turn of the twentieth century and accommodated an active intellectual circle and restless Ottomanist and rebel (*komitaci*) forces as well. Owing to its strategic position, it was the second city of Ottoman Balkans after Selanik and the center of the third Ottoman Army in the Balkans; the hotbed of the Unionist Ottomans (*ittihatçı*) and ideologically fatherland of the Ottoman constitution movement prior to and after 1908 events. Manastir was the capital of Manastir Vilayet (province) in the late nineteenth century which became one of the main targets of the Balkan League armies due to its strategic towns and whose lands were shared among Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Serbia after the Balkan Wars.

Manastir distinguishes her with its physical appearance and natural beauties, praised in hundreds of local songs. What was also praised was its intertwined history of diverse communities of Turks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, Vlachs and Gypsies throughout ages. In each language, the name of the city is spelled differently or is written in a different alphabet but its meaning is the same in origin: *obitel* in old Slav language means “monastery”. Therefore, it is Bitola (Битола) in Macedonian, Bitolj (БИТОЉ) in Serbian, Bitolya (БИТОЛЯ) in Bulgarian, Monastiri (Μοναστήρι) in

⁴⁰³Lyrics of a local song; *Битола, мој роден крај, Bitola my birthplace.*

Greek, and Manastır in Turkish.⁴⁰⁴ However, similar to many other Balkan cities, the multi-ethnic structure of Bitola eroded significantly after the Balkan Wars.⁴⁰⁵

The city has also been known especially in the nineteenth century as “the city of the consuls” since many European countries had consulates in the city.⁴⁰⁶ Manastır has a significant place in the history of Turkish Republic as well since most of the founding fathers of the new regime, including Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), Kazım (Karabekir), Enver Bey, Kazım (Dirik), Ali Fethi (Okyar), Kazım (Özalp), Nuri (Conker), were either educated in Manastır Military High School or served in the third Ottoman Army, and they all had active roles in the revolutionary Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) at the turn of the twentieth century.

Geographically, Manastır is located in the southern part of the Pelagonia valley, surrounded by the Baba and Nidzhe mountains⁴⁰⁷ at a height between 580 and 660 meters above the sea level. It is on the eastern versant of the richly wooded mountains which culminate in the Peristeri Peak of Baba Mountain (2600 m.) and severed from Prespa Lake from the valley of the *Karasu* or *Tzerna*. A tributary of this river, the Dragor or Drahor, traverses Manastır through a channel which is rarely filled except for the times after a thaw or heavy rain.⁴⁰⁸

Manastır was near the well-known Roman road *Via Egnatia*, which was connecting the towns of the Adriatic coast with those on the Aegean coast and with İstanbul. The city itself has been identified with the ancient *Heraclea Lyncestis* on the *Via Egnatia* and its modern name is derived from the monastery of Bukova ("the beeches") near the southern outskirts of the city. At the turn of the twentieth century, it was of considerable strategic importance, being situated at the intersection of routes from

⁴⁰⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Bitola," accessed May 15, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/67218/Bitola>.

⁴⁰⁵ Only a small Turkish, Albanian and Roman community remained in the city composing less than 10% of the city.

⁴⁰⁶ Pavle Kostadinov, et al, *The Manaki Brothers*. (Skopje: 1986), n.p

⁴⁰⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Bitola," accessed May 15, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/67218/Bitola>.

⁴⁰⁸ "Monastir". *The Encyclopedia Britannica; a dictionary of arts, sciences, literature and general information*. [Hugh Chisholm, editor], (New York, 11th edition: 1911), 18, 691-92

Veles via Prilepe, from Tetovo via Kreçova, from Yanya via Koritza, from Draç via Ohri, and from the Greek frontier to Kosova.⁴⁰⁹ In other words, since antiquity, Manastir's key assets had been its central location and rich countryside. Set halfway between the ports of Selanik on the Aegean and Draç (Dürres) on the Adriatic, the city's importance to overland travel long pre-dated the Ottoman period. It had been recognized since at least Roman times when the empire built the *Via Egnatia* to connect Byzantium (İstanbul) with the Adriatic Port city of Dyrrachium (Draç/Durres), from where the travelers set sail for Rome. Manastir's predecessor Heraclea was on that route.⁴¹⁰

- History of Manastir until the Nineteenth Century

*Heraclea Lyncestis*⁴¹¹ was an important settlement during the Hellenistic period till the early middle ages. It was founded by Philip II of Macedon by the middle of the fourth century BC, and named after the Greek demigod Heracles, whom Philip considered his ancestor. With its strategic location, it became a prosperous city. The Romans conquered this part of Macedon in 148 BC and destroyed the political power of the city. However, its prosperity continued mainly due to the Roman *Via Egnatia* road which passed near the city. Several monuments from the Roman times remain in Heraclea, including a portico, baths, an amphitheater and a number of basilicas. The theatre was once capable of housing an audience of around 3,000 people.⁴¹²

In the early Byzantine period (fourth to sixth centuries AD) Heraclea was an important Episcopal centre. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the region around Manastir experienced a demographic shift as more and more Slavic tribes settled in the area. In place of the deserted theater, several houses were built during that time. The Slavs also built a fortress around their settlement. Manastir became a part of the First Bulgarian Empire from the late eighth to early eleventh centuries. The spread of Christianity was assisted by St. Clement of Ohrid and Naum of Preslav in the ninth

⁴⁰⁹ *A handbook of Macedonia and surrounding territories*, 473

⁴¹⁰ Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community; Jews of Monastir*, 11.

⁴¹¹ Means the City of Hercules upon the Land of the Lynx.

⁴¹² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Bitola," accessed May 15, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/67218/Bitola>.

and early tenth centuries. Many monasteries and churches were built in the city. Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, the city was mostly part of Byzantine Empire but from time to time of Bulgaria or Serbia too.⁴¹³ Finally, the city was conquered by Ottomans in 1382 (h.784) during the reign of Sultan Murad I by the hands of Commander Timurtaş Paşa. After the conquest, Ottomans started to found a new city core on the either banks of Drahor stream rather than dwelling in the existing Christian settlement located around the area where the barracks and railway station would be built later. It was only after 1806 that the non-Muslims were allowed to settle in those neighborhoods around Drahor.⁴¹⁴ After the conquest, many Anatolian Turkic tribes were exiled to Manastır and surrounding area for both the Turkification and Islamization of the region as well as for minimizing the capability of rioting Turkic *beys* in Anatolia. During their European campaigns, many Ottoman sultans visited the town: Murad I in 1384, Bayezid I in 1395, Murad II in 1432, Mehmed II (the conqueror) in 1472, Bayezid II in 1502, Süleyman I (the magnificent) in 1542, and Mehmed IV (the hunter) in 1698.⁴¹⁵ Like Selanik, Manastır was one of the settlement areas of Sephardic Jews exiled from the Iberian Peninsula after 1492. By their arrival, the population of the town significantly increased⁴¹⁶ and in 1620 the number of houses exceeded 2,000.⁴¹⁷ In the mid-seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi depicted the physical appearance of the town as being located at the skirts of (Baba) mountain and on the right and left banks of Drahor (or Dragor) stream which had ten masonry and timber bridges over. The four sides and the city itself were embellished by high dense trees that one could not recognize the city from outside unless he entered. In 21 neighborhoods, the city

⁴¹³N. G. L Hammond. *A History of Macedonia*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1972), 59

⁴¹⁴ Mehmet Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti'nin Tarihçesi*. (Manastır: Beynelmîlî Ticaret Matbaası, 1910), 26

⁴¹⁵ Mehmet Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti'nin Tarihçesi*, 84-85

⁴¹⁶ According to 1468 records, the total number of families in the town was 470 including 295 Muslim and 175 Christian families with a total number of 2350 inhabitants. Half a century later, the population doubled and recorded as 4647. See Safet Alimoski. "Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez Kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu". (master thesis, Marmara University Turkish Culture Research Institute, 2005)

⁴¹⁷ Safet Alimoski. *Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu*. (master thesis; Marmara University Turkish Culture Research Institute, 2005), 2

possessed 3,000 pretty houses, mostly two-storey high and covered with red roof tiles, 900 shops and 70 mosques and *mescids* (small mosques).⁴¹⁸ Since the sixteenth century, the trade in Manastır had been one of the pillars of the economy of the region. However, this aspect of the city resulted in the plunder of the commercial center of the city for many times,⁴¹⁹ and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the insurgencies existed in the Ottoman Balkans had a negative affect on the prosperity of Manastır.

The mid-eighteenth century witnessed the rise of Manastır in the historical scene. With many Vlach refugees who fled to Manastır, the city benefited from their business expertise and contracts as well as their enthusiasm for education especially in the town of Moscopole, located in the mountains between Manastır and Draç and 50 miles southwest of Manastır.⁴²⁰ By the middle of the eighteenth century, Moscopole provided scholarships to students of Greek philosophy and theology, funded an institution that acted as an orphanage and hospital and operated its own printing enterprise. In 1769 and then again in 1788, this thriving town was sacked by Albanian bandits. It was finally destroyed in the early nineteenth century by Ali Paşa of Yanya⁴²¹. Moscopole's fall was a boon to Manastır since Vlachs presence in Manastır brought prosperity and wisdom. In 1844-45, Russian traveler V. I. Grigorovich reported that Manastır's Vlachs "are particularly distinguished by their education. Many of them familiar with German or Italian." It was also noted that

⁴¹⁸ Evliya Çelebi. *Seyahatname*. (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat:1966), 5, 394

⁴¹⁹ During Evliya Çelebi's visit to city, in 1677 a rebel named Babo raided Manastır bedesten (covered market) with his 500 fellows and plundered it. In 1805 Tepedelenli Ali Paşa and in 1819 two Albanian beys and in 1832 Mustafa Paşa of İşkodra (Scutari) with their fellows raided and plundered the town. See, Mehmet Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti'nin Tarihçesi*, 36; Mucize Ünlü. "Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapısı, 1873-1912". (Master thesis, 19 Mayıs University Institute of Social Sciences, 1996), 32; "Manastır". *Tarih Ansiklopedisi*. XXXIII, 250 and Evliya Çelebi. *Seyahatname*. (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat:1966), 5, 395

⁴²⁰ In the mid- eighteenth century, while the surrounding region was populated mainly by farmers and shepherds; Moscopole was its most important town mainly dealing with commerce. The people of the city were Vlachs, one of the many ethnic language groups found through the Balkans for centuries. They spoke a language derived from Latin and written in the Greek alphabet but maintained an identity distinct from Greeks. See, Mark Cohen. *Last Century of a Sephardic Community*, 12

⁴²¹ Katherine Elisabeth Flemming, "Ali Pasha of İonnia: a Study in Cultural Representation" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1995), 43

Manastır's Vlachs "rank highest for commercial enterprise, industry and intelligence."⁴²²

Two incidents in the early nineteenth century boasted Manastır's development after the arrival of Vlach community. First, in 1812, Sultan Mahmud II strengthened the power of his government in İstanbul and suppressed the notables of Ottoman Europe (*ayans*), whose feuds had left the region practically lawless during the eighteenth century; and only four years later, the Sultan bestowed upon Manastır a great gift and made Manastır the military center of Rumeli, the greatest eyelet in Ottoman Europe. Secondly, in 1826, Manastır was made the capital of Manastır eyalet, after the Rumeli Eyalet (state) was divided into Selanik, Manastır, Edirne and Yanya eyalets.⁴²³

- **Development of Manastır in the Nineteenth Century:**

In the nineteenth century, many travelers visited the town and noted their impressions for their readers. As in the case of many "oriental cities", the approach to the urbanscape was strikingly different among the authors: some were in favor of seeing a picturesque, untouched, distinctive character of exotic orient; on the other hand, the others scorned, marginalized or underestimated what they encountered. In the final analysis, both ways of narration displayed a certain sentimentality and an implicit effort to compare what they were accustomed to see in Western cities with what they imagined to see in the "orient."

In 1836, it was Ami Boué, an Austrian geologist, who visited the town in his long travel in the Balkans. In Manastır, he was surprised of the density of residential area and the existence of regular row houses on the banks of Drahor which he rarely came across in Ottoman cities. The commercial center was so large that it accommodated 2150 shops and stores at that time.⁴²⁴ Ami Boué's enthusiasm in 1836 echoed by the

⁴²²Viktor Ivanovich Grigorovich, *Essay on a Journey through European Turkey*. (Sofia:1978) quoted in Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community; Jews of Monastir*. (Advancement of Sephardic Studies and Culture, 2003), 13

⁴²³ See, Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographics and Social Characteristics*. (Madison: 1985), Appendix 1.1. The total population counted in 1831 census (only men were recorded) in Rumelia eyalet was slightly more than one million.

⁴²⁴Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. "Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır." In Poul Dumont and François Georgeon eds., *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt

English painter Edward Lear who in 1848 witnessed the beginning of spatial changes in the city and expressed his pleasure: grandeur public and government buildings and the huge barracks at the entrance of the city, wide streets paved with smooth stones, clean and maintained houses, and bazaars either fully covered or partially protected by straw canopies were joyful.⁴²⁵ In this regard, it was Lear who was one of the earliest visitors who depicted the infantry, cavalry and artillery barracks shortly after their construction. The famous barracks were erected during the Köse Ahmed Paşa's governorship in Manastır. In 1837 (h. 1253) the infantry barrack (known as red barrack) was constructed and a few years later in 1842 (h.1860), the barrack for artillery and cavalry troops were erected.⁴²⁶ (Fig. 3.36) The army's presence facilitated efforts to end banditry in the countryside and keep the roads secure for commercial traffic. This may have been the army's greatest contribution to Manastır economy.⁴²⁷

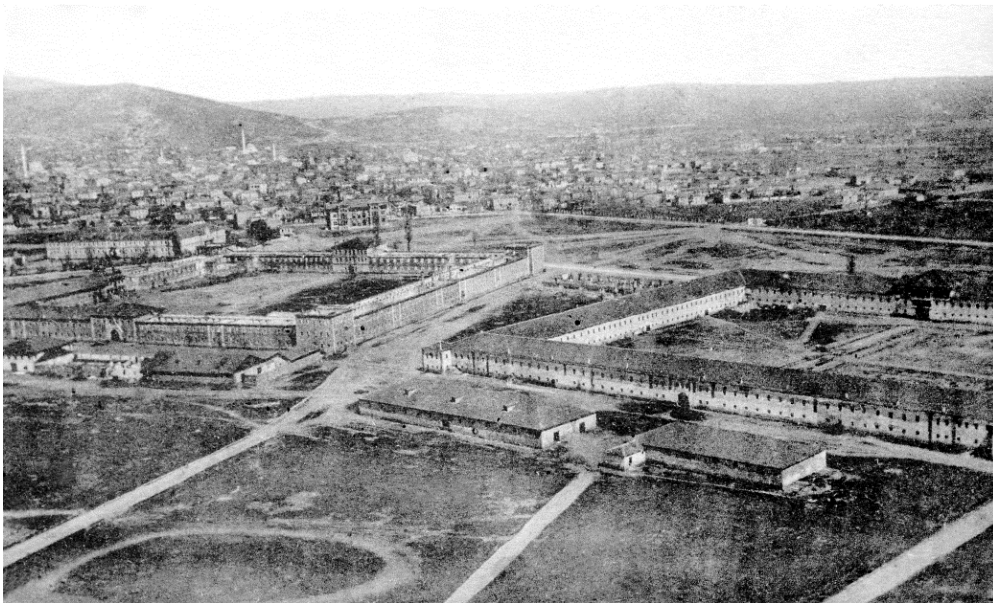


Figure 3.36 Manastır, the white (on the right) and the red (on the left) barracks, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov

Yayınları, 1996), 64

⁴²⁵ Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. "Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır", 64

⁴²⁶ Mehmed Tefik. *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*. 48

⁴²⁷ Mark Cohen. *Last Century of a Sephardic Community*, 14.

Similar to the ones constructed in Istanbul (such as Selimiye, Rami and Taksim Barracks) they were huge masonry buildings in rectangular form with large courtyards in the center. After their construction, the barracks became one of the most prominent visual elements of travelers to depict along with the natural scenes during their stay in Manastır.

In the spring of 1835, much of Manastır city center burned down. Although certainly a catastrophe, the inferno could not have come at a better time. It allowed Manastır's new leadership to rebuild the city along the European lines. So, after the fire, Manastır underwent a comprehensive urban transformation. By 1838, things changed dramatically. In that year German traveler Joseph Müller did not encounter a wall or did not mention narrow lanes but instead noted that Manastır's central district was graced by "four stately streets which run in a concentric fashion."⁴²⁸ Later in 1848, Edward Lear confirmed the changes when he noted "the width and good pavement of the streets" by adding that "the neatness and cleanness of the place is delightful."⁴²⁹

In 1850, Edmund Spencer noted that he visited the town for the second time in his life and stated that he found the town improved in comparison to his previous visit. He emphasized a visual contrast in the urban space and explained that the modern public buildings, consisting of the cavalry and infantry barracks, the hospital, the government house and some others brought Manastır a European view, whereas the enormous bazaar, the numerous mosques, narrow streets, and wooden houses were completely Turkish.⁴³⁰ A decade later, in 1862, Heinrich Barth visited Manastır and noted his impressions about the houses of English and Austrian consulates located at southwestern side of the city and expressed his joy about the beautiful sights of the nearby mountain and banks of Drahor stream. Especially, the open- air coffees lying on the southern edge of the city and "tremendously great barracks and the artillery buildings" located at the foothills of Baba Mountain attracted his attention. He also

⁴²⁸ Joseph Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien und die Oesterreichisch –Montenegrische Granze*. (Prague: 1844), 86; quoted in Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community*, 16

⁴²⁹ Edward Lear, *Journals of a landscape painter in Greece and Albania*. (London: 1988), 35-36 quoted in Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community; Jews of Monastir*, 16

⁴³⁰ Edmund Spencer. *Travels in European Turkey, in 1850; through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia*, v.2, 54

expressed his genuine astonishment when he saw the great structures of the barracks and the order and punctuality of the soldiers.⁴³¹ A few years later, Austrian traveler G.von Hahn reported from Manastır that the most beautiful part of the city was lying on the western part, at the both sides of the Drahor stream which flowed through in a walled-in channel through the city. The banks were marked with elegant handrails and behind the banks, a series of large, new houses, owned by military and civil officers and showing a mixture of oriental and occidental tastes with their façades decorated in vibrant colors and looking pretty.⁴³² In 1890, Victor Berard depicted the same location and noticed the necessity of the maintenance of the stones of the banks.⁴³³

In 1893, Colmar Van Der Goltz⁴³⁴ visited Manastır along with the Selanik - Manastır Railway Company's technical staff during the construction of the link and noted that the sight of the city from a distance was quite picturesque. It seemed to be nestled in the foothills of Baba Mountain with country houses, farms and gardens on the ascended hill or scattered in the plane. The houses were mostly built massively but only one-floor high and often surrounded by gardens; and in between them, there laid the very extensive, but miserable bazaar filled with the cheap products of European industry, which displaced the more beautiful local products. In the middle of the city, Drahor flowed through the city, which provided, by quays, very pleasant promenades.⁴³⁵

John Murray's handbook for the travelers dealt with the appearance of the city issue in a slightly different way. It stated that the glitter of outward appearance usually faded away upon entering Eastern towns due to squalor and wretchedness; and the

⁴³¹ Heinrich Barth. *Reise durch das Innere der Europäischen Türkei von Rustchuk über Philippopel, Rilo (Monastir), Bitolia und den Thessalischen Olym nach Saloniki im Herbst 1862*. (Berlin : D. Reimer, 1864), 141-143

⁴³² Colmar van der Goltz. *Ausflug nach dem Macedonien: Besuch den deutschen Eisenbahn von Salonik nach Monastir.* (Berlin: 1894), 98

⁴³³ Colmar van der Goltz. *Ausflug nach dem Macedonien*. 98

⁴³⁴ A Prussian soldier and writer who was appointed to reorganize Ottoman army and after serving Ottomans for years, he was granted by the rank of field marshal. He is commonly known as *Goltz Paşa* in military history of Turkey.

⁴³⁵ Colmar van der Goltz. *Ausflug nach dem Macedonien*. 96

traveler was, therefore, agreeably surprised at the quantity and quality of barracks and other public buildings at Manastir, at the width and good pavement of the principal streets, and at the general cleanness and neatness of the houses. The bazaars were handsome and crowded with buyers and sellers. Drahor ran through the town and was crossed by numerous bridges, mostly of wood, on some of which two rows of shops stood, forming a broad covered bazaar. The river, deep and narrow throughout the quarter of private houses and palaces, was crossed by two stone bridges too, and confined by strong walls. Moreover, the houses, clustered down to the water's edge, offered a surprising picturesqueness.⁴³⁶ At the turn of the twentieth century, an American visitor exclaimed that "to visit Monastir is worth it all its costs. Here is the pleasantest and cleanest Turkish city it has ever been my fortune to visit".⁴³⁷ Finally, nearly at the same time, two travelers visited Manastir in the first decade of the twentieth century. Henry Brailsford was in a "moral confusion" how to depict the scene he encountered. For him:⁴³⁸

There is something in the physical town which answers to this moral confusion... Under a brilliant sky, one meets with something more than the attraction of the bizarre... Crete, with its memorials of Venetian architecture, has a beauty to show which one encounters nowhere in Macedonia. But there is none the less charm in these houses of all periods, sinking into a kindly decay in supreme unconsciousness of their picturesqueness.

The other traveler Sir Thomas Comyn-Platt noted that:

There is little to recommend it (Manastir) from a European point of view. The streets narrow and dirty are paved with huge cobbles, with a variation of enormous holes where the stone have been removed...for building purposes. The houses are low, with jutting eaves, red-tiled roofs, and many creepers, so that in summer the narrow pavements are overhung with flowers... The most noticeable building is a huge barrack, at the gates of which are many ragged soldiers, who loll on the muzzles of their rifles half asleep, to be occasionally reminded of their duties by the approach of an officer or a too inquisitive beggar.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁶ John Murray. *Handbook for travellers in Greece*. (London: J. Murray, 1900), 862-63

⁴³⁷ Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community*, 84

⁴³⁸ Henry Brailsford. *Macedonia; its races and their future*. (London, Methuen, 1906) , 78.

⁴³⁹ Sir Thomas Comyn-Platt. *The Turk in the Balkans*. (London: Rivers, 1906), 94-95.

These accounts of the visitors could limit our vision to understand the city and its communities with all aspects. Being valuable as among the earliest narrations of the city, they also carried the risk of being products of subjective appraisal which in many cases, could possibly -implicitly or explicitly- contain bias and prejudices against what was encountered. To conclude, the travel logs suggested that the distinct features of the city, apart from the geographical ones, were its grandeur barracks. Some of the public buildings also looked familiar to European travelers as in the case of the Drahor River passing through the city and the banks formed as promenades confined by the row houses on each side.

Another intriguing issue for nineteenth and twentieth century sources was to make estimations about the populations and ethnic proportions of Ottoman Balkan cities. Based on religious belonging of individuals, the Ottoman census and tax registry results were useful only to a certain point. Therefore, there opened a large area of speculation for the authors which could be shaped by their ethnic or religious affiliations. So, similar to other cases examined, their population estimations are unreliable without comparing with some others.

For instance, in 1908, the population of the town is recorded as 40,461 the 39% of which was Muslims; 23% Greeks, 20% Bulgarians, 16%; Jews, Serbs, Vlachs, and the others were only 2%.

The elusiveness of the population and its divisions became dissolved when it came to the settlement areas of diverse ethnic and religious groups. To compare with nineteenth century, Evliya Çelebi, in the seventeenth century, mentioned 21 neighborhoods having around 3,000 houses in total. There were 900 shops in the commercial quarter and among them the winders' and tailors' bazaars were distinguishing. The *bedesten* (covered bazaar) was a pretty building embellished with domes having huge iron gates where wealthy merchants were carrying their business.⁴⁴⁰ Evliya Çelebi did not separately give clues about the neighborhoods and their inhabitants. A study on the tax registries of Manastır⁴⁴¹ for the period of 1844-

⁴⁴⁰ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 5, 394.

⁴⁴¹ Safet Alimoski. *Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez Kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu*. (Master thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2005) examines the *temettuat defterleri* (tax registry books) of Manastır city in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (BOA

45 shed light on the spatial distribution of religious communities in the neighborhoods, recorded as 33⁴⁴² While the Muslims community settled in thirteen neighborhoods,⁴⁴³ the Christians in eight⁴⁴⁴ and the Jews in six⁴⁴⁵ and the Gypsies in three neighborhoods, and in total 4668 house were counted in the city center.⁴⁴⁶ During Ottoman period, some of the neighborhoods were named to commemorate some early Ottoman conqueror commanders of the Balkans such as Kasım Çelebi Bey, Yahşi Bey, İne Bey, Hamza Bey, Sinan Bey, Azab Bey, Emir Çelebi Bey and Yakub Bey.⁴⁴⁷ (Fig. 3.37)

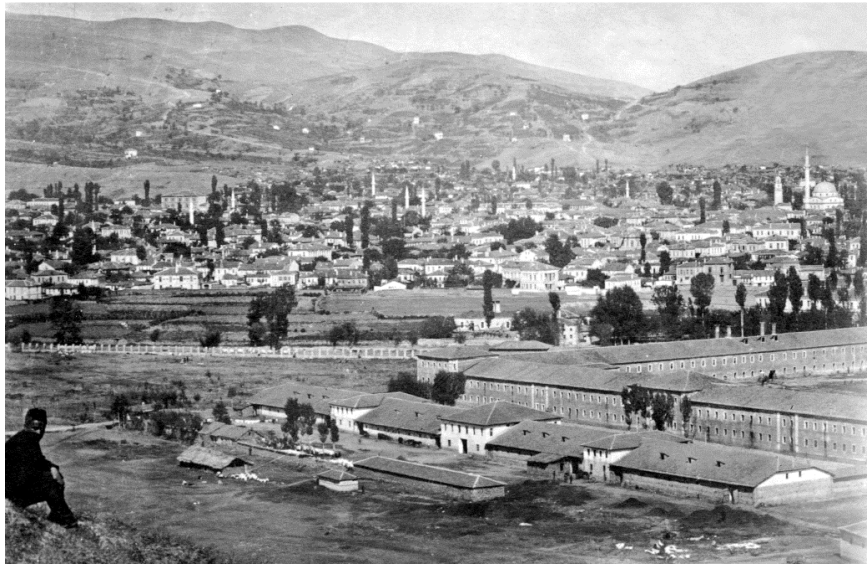


Figure 3.37 Manastir, general view, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.

ML.VRD.TMT # 11444), to draw the socio-economic picture of the city.

⁴⁴² Among them, only three neighborhoods (Kara Debbağ, Ali Çavuş, Kasabhane) showed a mixed settlement character. The others were inhabited by single community.

⁴⁴³ These were Eyne Bey, Emir Çelebi, Sinan Bey, Hamza Bey, Yakub Bey, Bali Voyvoda, Kasım Çelebi, Firuz Bey, Zindancı, Azab Bey, Oğul Paşa, Hüseyin Subaşı and Dımışki Bey neighborhoods. Emir çelebi was the most crowded one with 407 houses.

⁴⁴⁴ These were Kilise, Meçkar, Radička, Arniyot(?), Papa Hristo Dragor, Dört Göz (?), Ekşi (?) and Yeni Mahalle. Among them, the Meçkar was the most crowded one.

⁴⁴⁵ These were Yeni Havlu, Drahor Havlusu, Paşa Havlusu, Büyük havlu, Yeni Havra and Eski Havra. Among them, Yeni Havlu was the most crowded one.

⁴⁴⁶ Registered to 2006 Muslim, 2087 Christian and 370 Jewish 86 Muslim Gypsy and 119 Christian Gypsy owners.

⁴⁴⁷ Mehmed Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 86

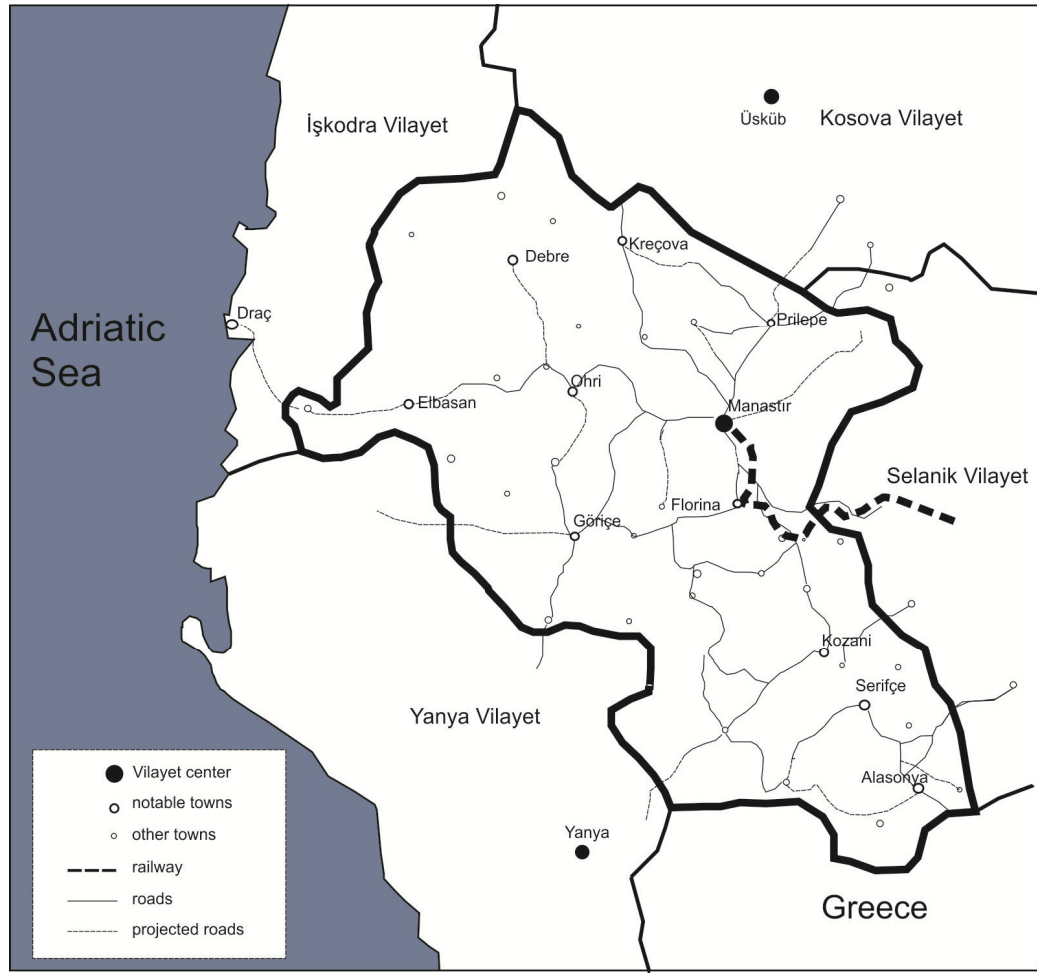
In another study, depending on archival materials dated to the end of the nineteenth century,⁴⁴⁸ there were 24 Muslim and 16 non-Muslim neighborhoods in the city center.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, it can be argued that the Muslim community covered the largest area within the whole population.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Manastır Vilayet composed of Manastır, Debre, Göriçe, Elbasan and Serifçe *sancaks*. Its borders were drawn by Kosova and İşkodra Vilayets to the north, Kosova and Selanik Vilayets to the east, Greece and Yanya vilayet to the southwest and İşkodra Vilayets to the northwest directions. Manastır Sancak was composed of Manastır, Prilepe, Ohri, Kreçova and Florina *kazas* (boroughs).⁴⁵⁰ **(Map 3.8)**

⁴⁴⁸ Mucize Ünlü. “Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapısı, 1873-1912”. (Master thesis, 19 Mayıs University Institute of Social Sciences, 1996)

⁴⁴⁹ Muslim neighborhoods (total 24) were Orta Mahalle, Kumaşlar, Kasım Beyli, Füzur Bey, Hüseyin Subaşı, Zindancı, Karadibağ, Köse, Aksaklu, Oğul Paşa, Yeni Sulu, Büyük Sulu, Yeni Civar, Eski Civar, Uzgurlar, Viranhor, Batı Voyvoda, Hanbu, Karabekir, Ali Çavuş, Kasab, Hacı Ahmed Bey, Arablar, Drahor. Non-muslim neighborhoods (16 in total) were Begayil Emilye, Papa Konstantin, Papa Nikola, Küçük Papa Sila, Küçük Papa Gorki, Küçük Papa Tarbu, Papa Gorki Aykutum, Papa İsteryo, Papa Nevsarı, Papa Dimitri, Papa Yanaki, Papa Nikola, Papa Naum karadibağ, Papa Eldaş Karadibağ, Papa Hacı Himetri Bair, Papa Gorki Bair. See Mucize Ünlü. *Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapısı*, 40

⁴⁵⁰ Mucize Ünlü. “Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapısı, 1873-1912”, 6



Map 3.8 Manastır Vilayet, c.1900.

Source: Based on the map of Manastır Vilayet stored in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives Map Collection #2134; reframed, reproduced and translated by the author.

Many governor-generals (*valis*) were appointed to Manastır by the Sublime Porte to regulate and control official duties. Among them, Ahmed Eyüb Paşa and Abdülkerim Paşa were the prominent figures at the end of the nineteenth century, known by their endless efforts to provide public works for the city and the vilayet.⁴⁵¹

Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities of Manastır constructed their religious buildings and until the erection of many public buildings in the nineteenth century, these were the modest landmarks of the city. In the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi noted 70 mosques and mescids (small mosques), and among them, İshak Efendi Mosque (İskahiye) and Gazi Haydar Paşa Cami (Haydar Kadı) were

⁴⁵¹ Mehmed Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 80

distinguishing with their artisanship in details. Besides mosques, there were also 47 soup-kitchens (*imaret*) and a covered-bazaar (*bedesten*) which were all firm buildings.⁴⁵² As a more accurate and reliable source, Mehmed Tevfik recorded, at the beginning of the twentieth century, 37 mosques and *mescids* in the city center; and İshakiye, Yeni (New) Mosque, Haydar Kadı, Koca Kadı, Hacı Bey and Eski (Old) Mosque were the ones worth to mention.⁴⁵³ There were also six churches and four synagogues. Being another primary source, the vilayet yearbook of h.1308 (1890-91) noted different numbers: 24 mosques, five churches (two Bulgarian, one catholic, one protestant and one Greek), nine synagogues, five lodges (*tekke*) and nine theological schools (*medreses*).⁴⁵⁴

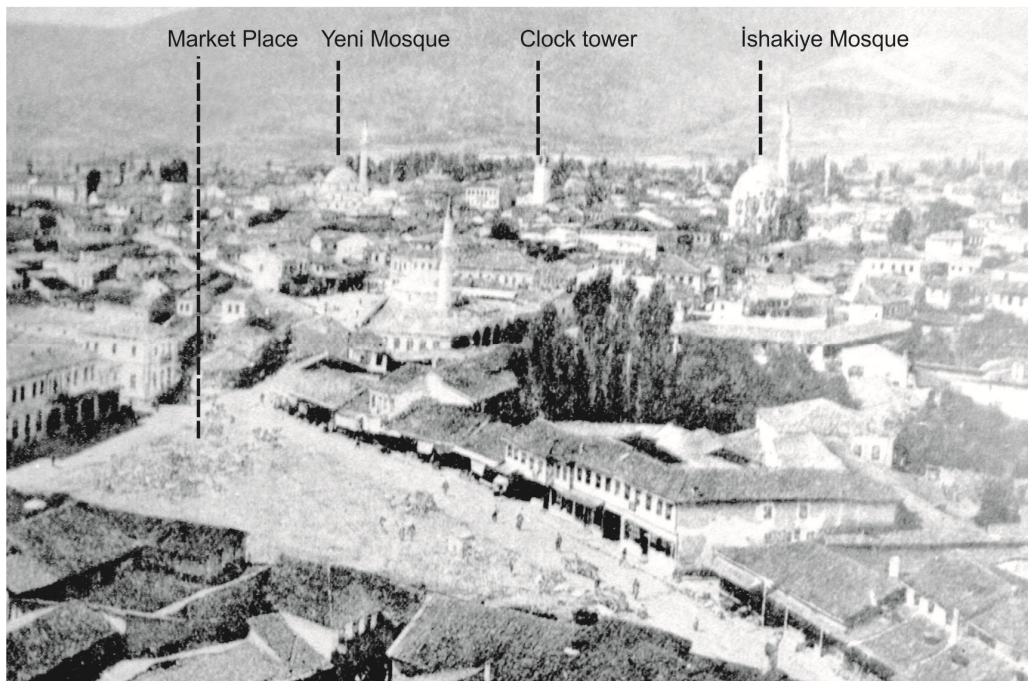


Figure 3.38 Manastır, general view, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov. (Marked by the author)

Local economy was an important asset of Manastır through centuries. Although the city was far from both Aegean and Adriatic Sea ports, it had been the local center of

⁴⁵² Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*,.5, 394-395

⁴⁵³ İshakiye dated to 1508(h.914), Yeni Mosque 1558(h.966), Koca Kadı 1539 (h.946), Haydar Kadı 1561(h.969), Hacı Bey 1521(h.928) and Eski Mosque 1434 (h.838)

⁴⁵⁴ *Manastır Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h. 1308 (1890-91), 39.

commercial activity in the surrounding region. The crowded bazaars, a variety of consumer goods and the vivid trade affairs were among the remarkable aspects attracting foreign visitors' attention.⁴⁵⁵ (Fig. 3.38 and 3.39). The commercial center of the city spreading on the northern bank of Drahor was organized as narrow streets of numerous bazaars in accordance with specialization branches of the merchants or artisans and this feature of the commercial center was noticed by Evliya Çelebi who praised them as elaborate places.⁴⁵⁶ In the mid-eighteenth century, there were 25 silver-wire working ateliers of the artisans who were the successors of Persian craftsmen in the silversmith's bazaar.⁴⁵⁷ In the mid-nineteenth century, half of the employed population was working in production, trade or service sectors and trade was the biggest branch comparing to other employment groups.⁴⁵⁸ In this period, a small group of local bourgeoisie was emerged with the thriving economic conditions. Among them, Robev Brothers company was a prominent example which also opened offices in Sarajevo, İstanbul, Beograd, Trieste and Leipzig; besides it set up economic relations with Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, Budapest, London, Marseille and Lyon.⁴⁵⁹

After the prosperous years extending nearly to a century, Manastır economy fell into decline after the great fires and droughts in consecutive years: in August 1863, much of the city burned, however the city's economy tried to reborn from the ashes of the demolished markets. In July 1867, Manastır had another fire and poverty and drought in the following years accompanied the fire damages and the local economy really collapsed. So, Manastır spent the decade between 1870 and 1880 in recession.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁵ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in order to introduce a new artisanship in the town, a group of metal craftsmen was sent to Manastır after capturing them during Ottoman - Persian wars in the Selim I's era. See, Mehmed Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 33.

⁴⁵⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol.5, 395

⁴⁵⁷ Mehmed Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 33

⁴⁵⁸ Safet Alimoski. *Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu*. (A Master thesis submitted to Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2005), 13

⁴⁵⁹ Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. "Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır", 65

⁴⁶⁰ Mark Cohen. *Last Century of a Sephardic Community; Jews of Monastir*; 43, 54 and 59.

In the early 1880s, the emergence of a new technology in Ottoman lands indirectly affected the trade of Manastır, shortly after the Selanik – Üsküb line began operation. When the line completed in 1873, its benefits to Üsküb were enormous, especially after 1888 when it became the junction for a rail line to Vienna. A rail line connecting Manastır to Selanik had been proposed since 1859 and again in the 1860s. Nothing came out of these discussions.

The road from Manastır to the nearest railway station town was improved by the government so that road-railway connection to Selanik became 20 to 25 percent cheaper than the transport over the old Selanik – Manastır road. The nearest railway town was Koraçovo, which was 18 hours away from Manastır and the distance restricted efficient use of railways for economic purposes.⁴⁶¹ So, by the mid-1880s, Manastır became the commercial center of western Macedonia.⁴⁶² However, in any period, its commercial and industrial capacity could not compete with Selanik in any period, since Selanik used the advantage of a port facility and the railway service arrived in the city considerably earlier than Manastır. Therefore, Manastır always remained in the economic hinterland of Selanik after the 1870s. Moreover, Manastır's growth was damaged by its long wait for a rail link to Selanik, and it lost its superior position against Üsküb. Goods that once passed through Manastır on their way to Albania or northern regions used alternative routes made possible by Selanik – Üsküb rail line, and without the railway, Manastır's merchants were forced to rely on the deteriorating road network.⁴⁶³

It was the arrival of railways which remarkably increased the economic capacity of the city in the 1890s. The shorter carriage durations and lower fees per item triggered the local production to a certain level. It also brought new businesses and European influences appeared once again in all aspects of town life⁴⁶⁴ and afterwards, the city entered into a rapid transformation period.⁴⁶⁵ Manastır benefited from the railways

⁴⁶¹ *Manastır Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h. 1308 (1890-91), 4

⁴⁶² Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community*, 78

⁴⁶³ *Ibid*, 57

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 82

⁴⁶⁵ Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. "Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır." 65

even before it was fully completed. Construction phase provided work for as many as 6,000 laborers and when the railway was finished, merchants from old market towns, such as Prilepe, moved to Manastir to conduct their affairs.⁴⁶⁶ Given the impact of the railway, it is no wonder that on May 10, 1894 the city organized a grand inaugural ceremony for the new train station. Nearly the whole population gathered at noon to see the locomotive decorated with streamers, a wreath of flowers and a banner that read “Progress. Long live the Sultan!”⁴⁶⁷

Despite the fact that the arrival of railway provided a certain increase in the commercial production, some other factors had adverse effects. They were unsteady weather conditions which significantly determined the yearly harvest, the emergence of rebels in the towns called *komitaci* who made the country as well as towns and villages insecure, and unfortunately, despite the initial intentions, the non-fulfillment of extending the lines to Draç (Durrës) on the Adriatic Sea coasts. Although the province approached the Aegean Sea on the south east and the Adriatic on the west, it had no coast and there were no navigable rivers. Therefore, from the commercial point of view, the whole province, except for the western highlands, was depending on Selanik both for exports and imports.⁴⁶⁸



Figure 3.39 Manastir, views from the traditional market places, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.

⁴⁶⁶ Mark Cohen. *Last Century of a Sephardic Community*, 83

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 84

⁴⁶⁸ As a remarkable anecdote, one of the two spinning and weaving factories running until 1907 was closed for personal reasons and the other was transferred to Selanik whose owner found it more profitable to set a business there. See, *Diplomatic and Consular reports for the year 1907 on the Trade of Monastir*. Edited by Foreign office and the board of trade. London.

The principal imports were cotton and cotton yarn, woolen yarn, textiles, skins, rice, flour, iron goods and the principal exports were cereals and other agricultural products and furs, cloth, hides and bones and as a part of agricultural production steam flour mill had been constructed at Manastır at the end of 1907,⁴⁶⁹ there were also a tannery and a ribbon factory; stocking and carpet making are home industries⁴⁷⁰. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the annual value of its trade is about £400,000.⁴⁷¹

- Urban Developments in Manastır in the Nineteenth Century:

The urban history of Manastır in the nineteenth century can be marked by two milestones: first; as a part of military reforms in Ottoman army, it became the major military base of Balkans in the first half of the century; and second, as a result of relatively suitable conditions, the start of many public work projects in the 1880s that was crowned by the arrival of railway to the city especially during the period of two governor-generals of the *vilayet*, Ahmed Eyüb Paşa and Abdülkerim Paşa, known as the *belle époque* of Manastır.⁴⁷²

The abrogation of Janissary Corps (known as the *Auspicious Incident* in Ottoman history) in 1826 and the establishment of a new army system made the construction of new barracks essential for the education, practice and accommodation of troops. Therefore, parallel to the new organization of Ottoman armies, new grandeur barracks were scattered in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷³ A number of crucial developments made Manastır the military base of Ottoman Balkans: Mahmud II (1808-1839) transferred the Rumeli *Eyalet*'s (state) military and administrative organs from Sofia to Manastır which terminated the dual administrative structure

⁴⁶⁹ *Diplomatic and Consular reports for the year 1907 on the Trade of Monastir*. Edited by Foreign Office and the Board of Trade. London.

⁴⁷⁰ *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*, 473.

⁴⁷¹ "Monastir" *The Encyclopedia Britannica; A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*. [Hugh Chisholm, editor], (New York: 11th edition, 1911), 18, 691-92.

⁴⁷² In Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. "Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır."

⁴⁷³ Among them, Selimiye, Taşkıışla, Taksim and Rami Barracks were in İstanbul, and Sarıkışla was in İzmir. Edirne Barracks were the largest ones. They were constructed during the reigns of Selim III, Mahmud II.

shared between two cities and shifted the density of operational capability from the eastern to the western Ottoman Balkans.⁴⁷⁴ Then, Mahmud II determined the location of the headquarters of the Balkan army corps as Manastir.⁴⁷⁵ After then, in 1837 and 1843, two great barracks for the new army were constructed at the southern outskirts of Manastir: the first one, the Red Barrack, was for the infantry troops and the second one, the White Barrack, was for the cavalry and artillery troops.⁴⁷⁶ (Fig. 3.40)



Figure 3.40 Left: Manastir, red barrack, not dated, postcard. Right: Manastir, white barrack, not dated, postcard.

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011)

Finally, in order to train the military officers for the new army, a military high school was opened near red barrack in 1847, the headquarters building of the army in 1848 and a military secondary school followed it in 1881.⁴⁷⁷ Being complementary to main buildings, the military hospital and military depots and hangars turned the southern outskirts of the city into a military zone with many facilities. The consecutive strategic steps made the city the base of prominent military troops. (Fig. 3.41)

⁴⁷⁴In Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. “Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır”, 63

⁴⁷⁵“Monastir” *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 18, 691-92

⁴⁷⁶ Mehmet Tevfik recorded that an economic and social mobilization was applied in Manastir in order to finish the barracks in the shortest time possible: the governor general Köse Ahmed Paşa appeared frequently in the construction site and the available citizens and artisans were forced into an obligatory service in the construction site, so the construction was completed in six months (?). The barracks were projected to have a capacity of accommodating eight battalions (*tabur*) at the same time.

⁴⁷⁷ Mehmed Tevfik. *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 39

The architect of the barracks was Stojan Verenkov⁴⁷⁸ who designed the buildings in rectangular plan with an open courtyard at the center. There was a wide open area in front of the barracks, which was mostly in the nature of marshland causing epidemics. The drainage of the marshland took a long time to which the traveler Edmund Spencer contributed with his suggestions to the governor general.⁴⁷⁹ Then, the large smooth area was used as the practice field for the troops. Trees were planted; later a public park was designed on the northern side of the large area called *Nüzhetiye* Garden. Later, on the skirts of the hills behind the barracks, another public space called Abdülkerim Paşa Garden was created which was mostly visited by army officers and high society of the city especially during the long summer days.⁴⁸⁰ Accordingly, the military zone partially integrated to the civic life in the following decades.



Figure 3.41 Manastır, military high school, 1890s, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.

⁴⁷⁸ Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the hearth of Monastir*;77

⁴⁷⁹ During Edmund Spencer's first visit to the town prior to 1850, he visited the barracks with the governor general Reşid Paşa and observed the marshland in front of the huge buildings and was surprised to see the number of soldiers swept off by intermittent fever, caused by the vapors arising from the pestilential marsh. He explained the governor how the marsh miasma produced the disease, exaggerated its effects. He then gently hinted at the possibility that he might have become a victim of the disease. He noted that: "this consideration was decisive, the terrified Osmanli, with all the energy of his race when once roused to action, immediately dispatched his aides-de-camp with orders that every able-bodied man in the town should immediately, and without delay, commence the important work of draining the marsh. " in Edmund Spencer. *Travels in European Turkey, in 1850; through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and Epirus; with a visit to Greece and the Ionian Isles*. (London, Colburn & Co, 1851.), 2, 59-60

⁴⁸⁰ Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. "Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır", 64

Before the relatively prosperous years of Manastır commenced, a great fire sparked in 1863 and swept one third of the Manastır city center. The fires started in a brasserie at the telegram house square located at the southern bank of Drahor. The devastating disaster could not put out for twelve hours.⁴⁸¹ Immediately after the fire, the citizens presented a petition to Sublime Porte to send experts for site survey, examination and consultation. The demand was approved by the Advisory Council in İstanbul (*Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*) which decided to send two expert officers to Manastır.⁴⁸² The experts made a list of ruined public and private buildings: there were ten religious buildings (three mosques, two *mescids*, two churches and three synagogues), three *medreses* (theology schools), two primary schools (Muslim and Jewish), seven public baths (Muslim and Jewish), two police stations, 539 houses (7 Muslims, 63 Christians, 469 Jews), 141 shops, 35 inns and the *bedesten* having 57 shops in. The list also contained 250 fire victims who remained helpless (50 Muslims, 21 Christians and 179 Jews). Most of the fire victims were allocated to remaining public and private buildings, the state reserved appropriate funds and sent to governor-general to pay rents of fire victims (10,000 Ottoman piaster) and to compensate the daily requirements of the fire victims (100,000 piaster).⁴⁸³ The Manastır Jewish community applied to Sublime Porte and a private commission of five officers to deal with the regulation of public works in the city after the fire,⁴⁸⁴ they also sent petitions to the Jewry organizations in Europe and demanded financial support: London Jews contributed 2,000 British Pound toward the relief of the Jews of Manastır.⁴⁸⁵

The governor general of Selanik⁴⁸⁶ issued an immediate notice that the buildings to be built after the fire had to be masonry structures and the newly opened streets had to follow the current regulations.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸¹ Mehmed Tefik. *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 39

⁴⁸² BOA. İ.MV. 22636 and 22510

⁴⁸³ BOA, İ.MV. 22510.

⁴⁸⁴ BOA, İ.MV. 22510.

⁴⁸⁵ Mark Cohen. *Last Century of a Sephardic Community*, 50.

⁴⁸⁶ Manastır was under Selanik vilayet at that time.

When Manastır became the local center of the namesake *vilayet* in 1879, a new age for the city started. Ahmed Eyüb Paşa was appointed as the new-governor general of the vilayet. During his official duty lasting more than four years (1879-1883), he completed or started many public works in the city.

In his early days of operation, the governor general realized that although a municipality was established as a formal institution, it was ineffectual for a long time. Therefore, he took the mayor position under his control and appointed Sadık Bey as the mayor who was known as a loyal and faithful man in the city.⁴⁸⁸ Being appointed to the governorship, Ahmed Eyüb Paşa immediately dealt with constructing masonry walls in the bed of Drahor stream, widened the banks of the stream and laying stones on the sidewalks. The major reason was the frequency of floods during the rainy seasons⁴⁸⁹ which necessitated to control the flow of the stream. It was proposed to construct three-meter high masonry walls and a 2100 meters-long and three meters-wide quay on either sides and behind them, a 12 meters-wide and 460 meters-long paved street and a 1500 meter path. (Fig. 3.42)



Figure 3.42 Manastır, Drahor River and its banks, 1911, postcard.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov

⁴⁸⁷ BOA, MVL. 1027-29, 28 B 1284 (November 24, 1867)

⁴⁸⁸ Mehmet Tevfik , *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 41

⁴⁸⁹ For instance, a flood in 1864 affected many houses and shops on the either banks of the Drahor and noted as the most destructive one. See Mehmet Tevfik , *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*

In order to embellish the walkways, hundreds of willow, rose and poplar trees were planted in a row and 192 gas lamp posts were installed along with the banks and the commercial center was connected to the riverside. Ahmed Eyüb Paşa also ordered to construct pavements on the major streets and to install more than 12 kilometers sewage line. Under his control, the number of the bridges over Drahor rose to twenty.⁴⁹⁰ The realization of promenades on the banks of Drahor provided the citizens a fresh pedestrian zone, a public space for meetings. In time, the promenade also influenced the quality of the existing buildings in the surrounding, and many prestigious mansions and specious shops, grandeur public buildings with European façades were constructed on the banks of the Drahor. Therefore, it became the heart of public life in Manastır.

When the project for Drahor was going on, the governor-general ordered the construction of a new government office on the northern bank of the river⁴⁹¹ (**Fig. 3.44**) along with the military secondary school (1881) and military hospital (1882). (**Fig. 3.43**)

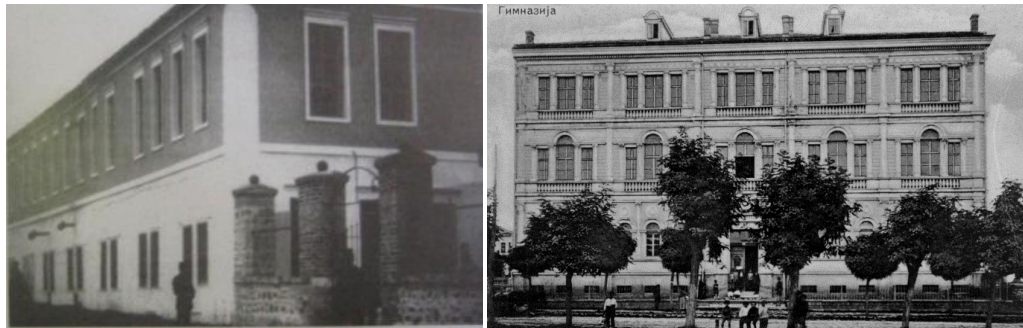


Figure 3.43 Left: Manastır, military secondary school, not dated, photograph. **Right:** Manastır, high school for civil servants, c.1900s, photograph.

Source: Left: *Sultan İkinci Abdülhamid Han Devri Osmanlı Mektepleri*, (Istanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2007) 285. **Right:** Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.

⁴⁹⁰ Mehmet Tefik *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 41-42. It can be argued that the numbers indicated could be suspicious or unreliable.

⁴⁹¹ It would be inaugurated during the reign of the successor governor-general Ali Kemali Paşa in 1883.



Figure 3.44 Manastir, The Government Office, 1905, postcard.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.

One of his visionary works was the construction of the road between Yanya and Manastir, shortening the arrival duration of the travelers and carts to the Adriatic Sea. It was also a beneficial route for the transfer of troops during the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897. The relatively long standing official duty of Ahmed Eyüb Paşa was the catalysis of many public works in Manastir. When he appointed to another duty in 1883, the successor governor generals, Ali Kemali Paşa and Halil Rıfat Paşa, took over many construction works to complete. Accordingly, the new government office and military hospital were completed in 1884 and 1885, respectively.⁴⁹²

The period between Ahmed Eyüb Paşa and Abdülkerim Paşa's governorship coincided with an incessant immigration of Muslim population from Serbia and Bulgaria to the Ottoman territories. Apart from finding temporary shelters for the immigrants, the government was in search for a permanent solution to accommodate at least the poorest of the victims. Governor General Halil Rıfat Paşa organized a charity among the leading figures of the city and collected a considerable amount of money, and at the same time, he wrote to the Sublime Porte for their financial support.⁴⁹³ The Council of State decided to allow the government to use the state-owned forest for the supply of timber required for the construction works. In the first phase, 174 houses were built to shelter the most pitiable immigrants in 1887.

⁴⁹² Mehmet Tevfik , *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, 41-42

⁴⁹³ BOA, DH.MKT 1420-109, 23 Ş 1304 (May 17, 1887) and DH.MKT 1623-12 (14 n 1306)

Although the new shelters ameliorated an important part of the immigrants, there was a constant demand for the new ones. It was the successor Governor General Faik Paşa who commenced the second phase of construction of 150 houses which was completed in 1889.⁴⁹⁴

The immigrant houses were located at the western end of the city, on the southern bank of Drahor and near *Hanlarönü* recreation area. The new neighborhood was designed in accordance with the new building codes. The houses were located on traverse rectangular plots which were framed by streets laid parallel and perpendicular to each other. Therefore, as in the case of other cities, the new settlement zones obeyed orthogonal plan layout (iptal). Similar to many public work projects realized during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the new neighborhood was named as *Hamidiye*. (Fig. 3.45)

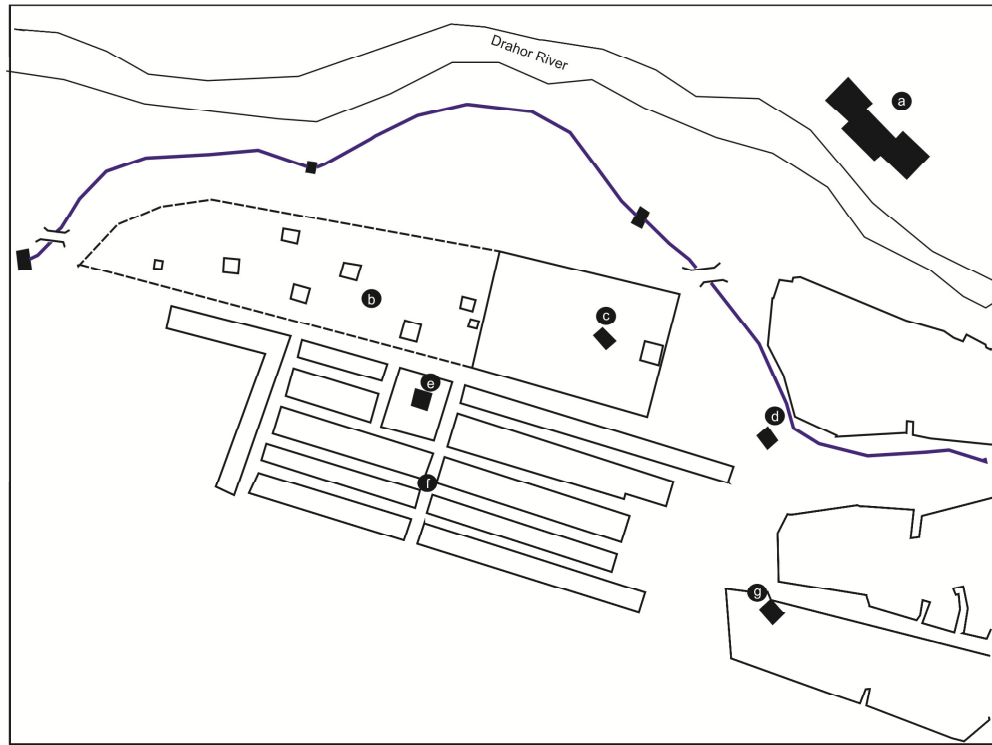


Figure 3.45 Manastir, *Muhacir Mahallesi* (Immigrants' neighborhood) and existing urban fabric around it, c.1890s, plan detail.

Source: Based on "Plan de la Ville Monastir", reproduced by the author.

Legend: *Gureba* (Municipal) hospital, b: *Deve Hami* Café, c: *Tekke* (dervish lodge), d: *Mescid* (small mosque), e: Mosque, f: *Muhacir* (immigrants') neighborhood, g: ? *Baba Mosque*.

⁴⁹⁴ *Manastir Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1308(1890-91), 40-41

The layout of the new neighborhood easily differentiated itself within the existing built environment. Apart from the houses, a mosque was also constructed on one of the plots.

The governorship of Faik Paşa witnessed another important public work: the start and completion of the construction of new Selanik - Manastır railway project (1890-94) which would be a turning point in the fate of Manastır. Therefore, when the famous governor general Abdülkerim Paşa was appointed to Manastır in 1895, there was a relatively good infrastructure to carry on new projects. The former Governor General of İşkodra Vilayet, Abdülkerim Paşa was appointed in April 1895⁴⁹⁵ and stayed in Manastır till the end of 1901.⁴⁹⁶ His diligence and determination at work and his relatively long official duty in the vilayet provided him with the chance of realizing many public works. However, first of all, he had to complete some of the public works commenced by the former governor general Faik Paşa.

⁴⁹⁵ BOA, BEO 597-44771, h.16 L 1312 (April 14, 1895)

⁴⁹⁶ BOA, İ.DH. 1392 – 1319/N-28; h.10 N 1319 (December 21, 1901)

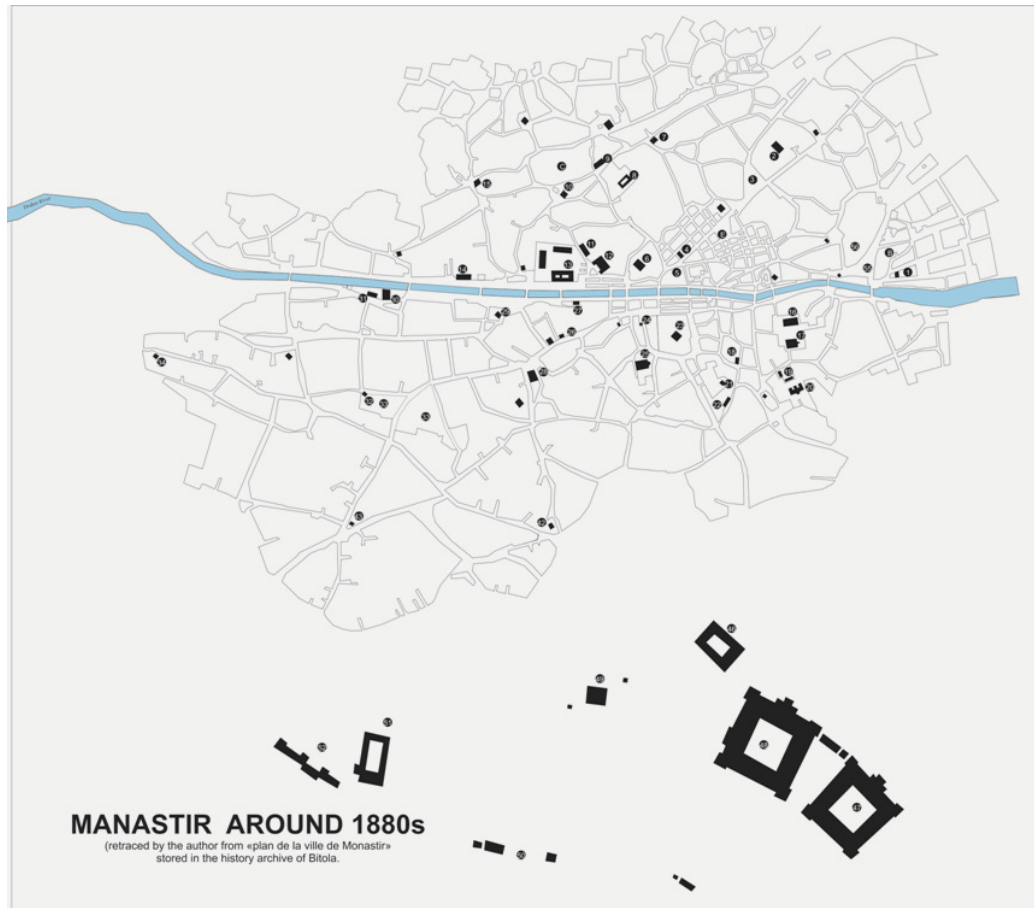


Figure 3.46 Manastir, Hypothetical City Plan proposing the physical limits of the city, around 1880s.

Source: Based on “Plan de la Ville Monastir” reproduced and indexed by the author.

So his first task was to finish the construction and widening of the street connecting the city center with the new railway station started during the Governorship of Faik Paşa which would later defined the new extension axis of the city. Then, Abdülkerim Paşa’s another comprehensive project was to construct a public hospital which was decided to be located on the west end of the city at the northern bank of Drahor. (**Fig. 3.47**) Like the station street, the public hospital’s groundbreaking ceremony was held during the reign of Faik Paşa in the last year of his duty.⁴⁹⁷ Then the constructions of an asylum and a borstal started in a short period.

⁴⁹⁷ BOA, DH.MKT 278-36 h.3 Ra 1312 (September 3, 1894)

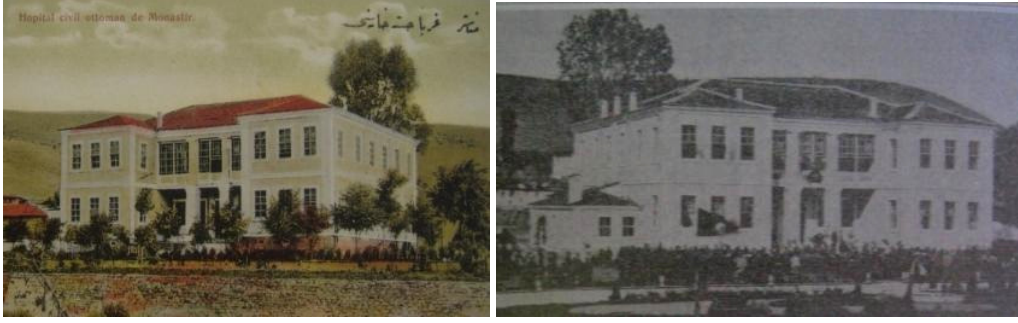


Figure 3.47 Left: Manastır, public hospital, not dated, postcard. **Right:** Manastır, public hospital, not dated, photograph.

Source: **Left:** Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011). **Right:** Ömer Faruk Yılmaz, ed. *Son Devir Osmanlı Hastaneleri*, (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basın Yayın, 2007), 181.

When the new street connecting the city center to the railway station was inaugurated, it was Abdülkerim Paşa who estimated the dense occupation and efficiency of station streets to make investments on. Therefore, he projected a number of buildings on the new street⁴⁹⁸; a hotel to be permanent revenue for the municipality and a shopping arcade to be the running revenue for the public hospital. The flanks of the new street were occupied in a short time and the popularity of the station street increased day by day. The Sublime Porte approved to name the new neighborhood develop on the southern side of the old town as Sultaniye; the shopping arcade and the station street as *Hamidiye* in 1898.⁴⁹⁹ (**Fig. 3.48**)

⁴⁹⁸ Until its name was converted to Hamidiye Street in 1898, the street was known as *Lokanta Street*, referring to the restaurants located on the street.

⁴⁹⁹ BOA, BEO 1186-88936, h.11 R 1316 (September 1, 1898)



Figure 3.48 Manastir, Hamidiye shopping arcade, not dated, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.



Figure 3.49 Manastir, Abdülkerim Paşa and his projects: the Orient Hotel and school of arts and crafts (Hamidiye Sanayi Mektebi), not dated, postcard.

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

The municipality hotel was named as *Şark* (Orient) Hotel. The new investments made by the governor and the local private entrepreneurs led to the development of the Hamidiye Street axis forward and became the rival of the banks of Drahor in popularity. Thus, it can be argued that while the former Governor General Ahmed

Eyüb Paşa's promenade project emphasized an east-west axis parallel to Drahor, the efforts of Abdülkerim Paşa marked a new north-south direction, perpendicular to the existing one, and shifted the gravity of the old town to the newly established neighborhood in the southern direction. In the second step, the change in the spatial development was reinforced by two important recreational areas: the Nüzhetiye and Kerim Paşa Gardens, located on the large empty field between the barracks and the railway station. Abdülkerim Paşa's operations were not only limited to Hamidiye Street and its surroundings; concurrently with the construction of the shopping arcade in 1898, he proposed to extend and widen the promenades at Drahor. He expropriated some shops and houses to gain extra field and improved the former Governor General Ahmed Eyüb Paşa's project.⁵⁰⁰ (Fig. 3.50)

One of the important works accomplished during his period was the preparation of the plan of the city center at the end of in his final year for the Manastır Municipality by *Mirliva* (Brigadier) Hüseyin Paşa.⁵⁰¹ (Fig.3.50)



Figure 3.50 “Plan de la Ville de Monastir” (Manastır City Plan), c.1890s, drawing.
Source: Republic of Macodonia History Archives Bitola Section Collection

⁵⁰⁰ BOA, BEO 1102-82592 h.10 Za 1315 (April 1, 1898)

⁵⁰¹ BOA, DH.MKT 2553-36 h.25 B 1319 (April 7, 1901)

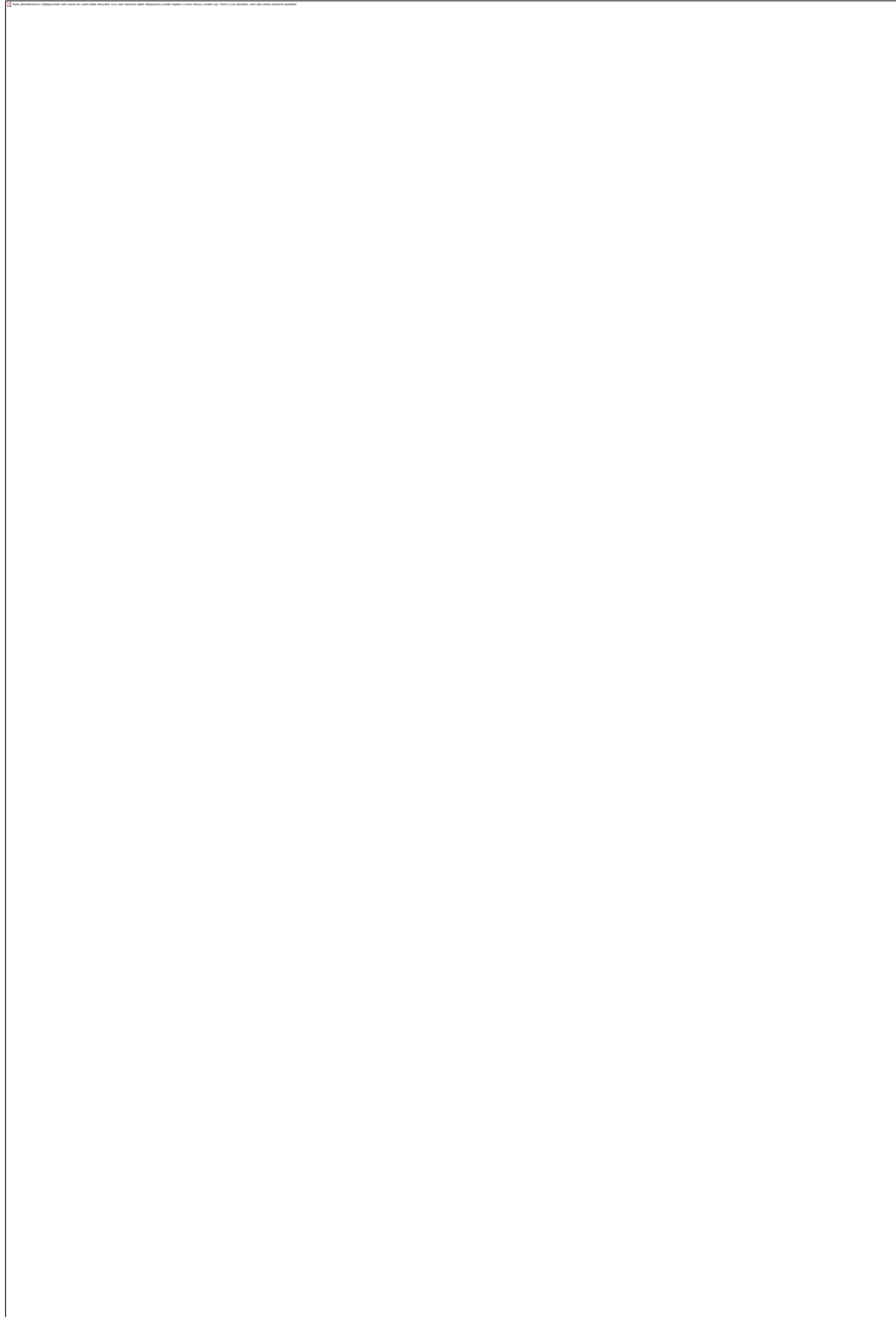


Figure 3.51 Manastir, city plan, c.1890s.

Source: Based on “Plan de la Ville Monastir”, reproduced and indexed by the author.

Notable Public Buildings Specified in City Plan		
Schools	Military Buildings	Military Buildings
1- Greek School	39- Military Headquarter	4- Jewish bath
11- Turkish Secondary School	46- Military High School	6- Faith Peas Bath
14- High School for civil servants	47- White Barrack	21- Dervish Lodge
16- Bulgarian School	48- Red Barrack	24- Clock Tower
18- Jewish School	49- Depot	28- Yeni (new) Bath
19- Greek School	50- Military Depots	30- Bath
26- Turkish Primary School	51- Barrack	33- Turkish Cemetery
41- Arts and Crafts School	52- Military Hospital	37- Dervish Lodge
Mosques	Administrative Buildings	44- Train Station
2- Hacılar Agha Mosque	8- Jail	Specified Neighborhoods
6- İhsanîye Mosque	13- Courthouse	A- Albanian Neighborhood
7- Kadim Bey Mosque	18- Governor House	B- [Heri] Neighborhood
10- Faah Pasha Mosque	27- Post Office	C- Begim (Bey) Neighborhood
13- Hacı Çelebi Mosque	Commercial	D- Kuchuk (Irregular) neighborhood
20- Yord (New) Mosque	3- Sheep Market	E- Commercial quarter
23- Kadim Bey Mosque	5- Bazaar (Covered Bazaar)	
32- Sinan Bey Mosque	55- Horse market	
34- ? Baba Mosque	56- tannery	
35- Small Mosque (mescid)	Hospitals	
36- Mosque	20- Greek Hospital	
42- Salatekke Mosque	54- Public (Gureba) Hospital	
43- Sehler Mosque	cafes	
Churches	31- Kavaklar Cafe	
17- Bulgarian Church	38- Deve Hanı Cafe	
22- Catholic Church and School	40- Nüzhetiye Cafe	
25- Greek Church	45- Station Hotel and Cafe	
	53- Hospital Cafe	

Figure 3.52 Manastır, City plan index, c.1890s.

Source: Based on “Plan de la Ville Monastir” listed by the author.



Figure 3.53 Manastir, Hamidiye Street, not dated, postcard.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.



Figure 3.54 Manastir, public buildings on the northern bank of Drahor, c.1900s, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.

The end of the duty of Abdülkerim Paşa in Manastir overlapped with the rise of insurgency and insecurity in the city and country that burst out with Ilinden Uprising of 1903, a revolt organized by the Bulgarians around IMRO.⁵⁰² However, the events

⁵⁰²Short for “International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization”.

leading to the uprising went around three decades back: In March 1870, the Ottoman government allowed of an independent Bulgarian church. Manastir was a city having Greek and Bulgarian church communities in a large number, and during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; it became a center of guerilla war between the two groups that fought over who would control the region after the Ottoman rule ended.⁵⁰³

Consecutively, it was Hazım Bey –whose governorship in Dedeağaç has been discussed previously- was appointed to Manastir as Governor General (1903-1906) to suppress the uprising and to restore security in the *vilayet*. Although the revolt was suppressed by the Ottoman Army, it opened up the way to the Balkan Wars. So, in the yerars between 1903 and 1912, the Manastir region endured an armed revolt against Ottoman rule, a coup that toppled the sultan’s government, years of deadly guerilla warfare between Greeks and Bulgarians, massive emigration to the United States and other countries, a decline in food production that led to extraordinary inflation. During this period, Macedonia was one of the world’s chief theaters of struggle and violence.⁵⁰⁴ The short-term peace of constitution in 1908, after the Young Turk revolution, became a source of hope for Ottomans about the future of the region; eventually, however, the determination of new national states and the international powers behind them forced the Ottoman Balkans to be divided according to ethnic borders in bloody wars.

⁵⁰³ Mark Cohen. *Last Century of a Sephardic Community*, 57

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, 97

CHAPTER 4

ACTORS OF CHANGE: STATE, INTERNATIONAL ENTREPRENEURS AND LOCAL ACTORS

4.1 State as an Actor in the Cities: Civic Center, Railway Station and Territorialization

As briefly introduced in the first chapter; the state as an actor of change does not correspond to an ambiguous and abstract entity covering the whole administrative institutions of the Ottoman Empire. Rather, it is basically composed of the individuals who were eager to sustain the reform attempts in their area of responsibility. Therefore, the backgrounds and motivations of individual actors defined the sake of the application of reforms in the urban sphere. Here, a number of prominent figures shined in the institutional formation of the new administrative system in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

In the nineteenth century, the consecutive eras of Selim III (1789-1808) and Mahmud II (1808-1839) laid the foundations of a continuous reform program. The annihilation of land proprietors (*ayans*) of Balkan Peninsula and disbandment of Janissary corps (1826) ruled the biggest obstacles out of the way of reformers. Apart from the efforts of the sultan and his close civil servants, the reforms could be realized by the group of middle and lower class bureaucrats educated in a modern system who would implement the reforms in the peripheries of the empire. Therefore, the reforms of the nineteenth century can be regarded as the background of emergence and activities of Tanzimat statesmen in the formation of the state device throughout the century.

By appointing Mustafa Reşid (1800-1857), a young civil servant, to the Ottoman Embassy in Paris in 1834, then in London, Sultan Mahmud II envisaged the potential and enthusiasm of the young official. After the death of Mahmud II, Mustafa Reşid persuaded the new young sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861) for a comprehensive reform. In the same year, he returned back to İstanbul and issued the *Tanzimat* Decree with the approval and support of Sultan Abdülmecid and was appointed as minister of foreign affairs and prime minister of Ottoman Empire for a number of times. Mustafa Reşid also led a number of promising statesmen; Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa (1815-71), Keçecizade Fuad Paşa (1815-68) and after them; Ahmed Mithad Paşa (1822-84) and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-95). The Tanzimat age initiated by Mustafa Reşid Paşa covered a number of reform steps that were inspired by the European administrative system (read as French in many cases) and planned to transform the state device according to the requirements of the new age. The operations undertaken in this period were proposed to restore the control of the state in the center and peripheries in economic, military, social and administrative terms. These attempts can be conceptualized as the territorialization of the peripheries in terms of the application of reforms in the Ottoman Balkan territories. For that purpose, the Tanzimat and Islahat Decrees were the texts regulating the rights and responsibilities of the state and its subjects; then, the foundation of modern ministries enabled the formation of a bureaucratic class in time and, through the establishment of the new armies after the disband of the Janissary Corps, allowed the organization of a new military official class, educated and trained in accordance with the modern warfare technologies and strategies.

A series of regulations and laws to increase the efficiency of the local administration and to regulate all kinds of planning and construction activities in the cities were also the results of the territorialization attempts of the central authority having material reflections in the peripheries. In this context, as will be frequently expressed in this chapter, the infrastructures like railways, chaussées and telegram lines can be considered invaluable tools of territorialization of the Ottoman Balkans by means of installing the state control and authority to the distant peripheries in the late nineteenth century.

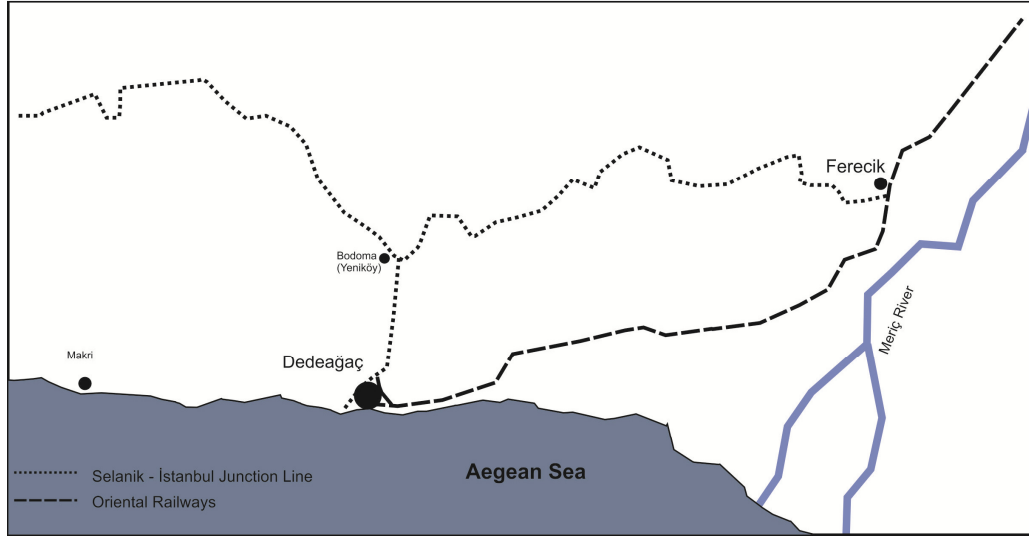
4.1.1 Dedeağaç

The benefits of setting up a branch of the main line to the Aegean coasts had been understood since the 1850s. For instance, a British parliamentary Labro applied to the Sublime Porte to get the concession right of the railways in Ottoman Balkans shortly after Crimean War and prepared a report to explain the advantages of realizing the project. For him, the extension of the Edirne to İnöz (Ainos/ Enez) or another suitable point on Aegean coast and construction of a port and a warehouse would provide great commercial benefits. This location would be a central transportation hub connecting other major Ottoman Balkan cities, therefore, instead of crossing the Gelibolu and İstanbul straits or using Danube River and Black Sea, cargo vessels could disembark their loads at this port to be carried via railways to İstanbul and other cities. Besides, there could be a considerable saving in embarking and insurance costs. Furthermore, such a project would reduce Russian threats over Black Sea by bypassing the trade traffic out of their control.⁵⁰⁵ Remarkably, Labro also proposed to found a new town close to İnöz or to another appropriate place in Aegean coast in order to accomplish maximum benefit. He suggested that, in a short time, this town would be the Liverpool or Marseille of Turkey and that a large population would settle in the area due to the trade capacity and availability of direct connection both with East and West.⁵⁰⁶ **(Map 4.1)**

Probably, with similar economic motives, Baron Maurice de Hirsch considered extending the main line to the Aegean coasts. In a mutual manner, Sublime Port was planning to carry the export items of Thrace to the major markets and also facilitating to carry troops and artilleries from Anatolia to the Balkan Peninsula by using the port and railway infrastructure constructed on the shores of Aegean Sea.

⁵⁰⁵ BOA, İ.MM. no 393, 1856

⁵⁰⁶ Labro's proposal was probably the earliest offer to set up a railway company town in Ottoman territories and it was only about 15 years later that Dedeagac was founded. For detailed information about the correspondence with Labro, see chapter 2, Oriental Railways section.



Map 4.1 Oriental railways and İstanbul- Selanik Junction line routes around Dedeağaç.

Source: Based on the map published in Kalemkeris. *Railways in Northern Greece, 1871-1965*, 258. Redrawn by the author.

In the nineteenth century, the territorialization of Ottoman Balkans could not be confined into military or economic objectives. Political reforms and many regulations and laws reinforced the efficiency of state device in the peripheries. During the nineteenth century, the Ottoman bureaucracy significantly expanded due to the establishment of new institutions and development of a new administrative system. Not only limited to the capital city, the new group of bureaucracy from different ranks spread all over the country in order to secure the state authority in peripheries, providing public works in local, and rising up tax revenues. Accordingly, these efforts can be read as economical and political territorialization projects.⁵⁰⁷ Especially the governorship experience of Mithad Paşa during the establishment of *Tuna vilayet* as a pilot area in the 1860s enabled the necessary skills, experience and abilities to be applied for the reforms in local administration. The state authority became visible in local centers by the construction of European (French) style new institutions of the territorialization such as government office, court house, police or gendarme office, telegram and post office, town hall and monopoly administrations. In other words, the political territorialization had spatial meanings; that was the

⁵⁰⁷ For the detailed information about the increasing operative activities of the Ottoman Bureaucracy, see Ali Akyıldız. *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme*. (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009)

emergence of new building types and construction of many buildings in public domains that had never been seen before.

In the second half of the 1880s, as an early and unique case in the Ottoman Balkans, an idea of designing and realization of a planned civic center for the provision of state facilities emerged in Dedeğaç and it overlapped chronologically with the period when the state authority came to the scene to develop the town as a local government center by organizing new tools of territorialization.

The construction process of the Dedeğaç civic center can be traced through the memoirs of Ebubekir Hazım Bey who was appointed as a local governor (*mutasarrıf*) to Dedeğaç in the mid 1890s. In his memoirs, he gave many details about his official duty in Dedeğaç. As he explained, decades after its foundation, Dedeğaç was unofficially divided into two zones and under the control of two sovereignties: it was half Ottoman and half Austrian. The vast area which had been once submitted to Oriental Railways Company became a private property of the company in which state or municipal authorities could not intervene and provide public works.⁵⁰⁸ The actual bipartite control over the urban space of Dedeğaç discomforted the local administration since formally it was considered as an autonomous land in Ottoman territories free from state control and taxation. Until the boundary correction agreement to reduce the total area of Oriental Railways influence zone made between the Sublime Porte and the operation company in July 1887, the vast area parallel to the coastline had been assigned to the railway construction company in order to build technical and administrative facilities of the port and railways. The misuse of the assigned areas by the company alerted the Ottoman bureaucracy at a very late time when most of the land was occupied by the tenants of the company settled in the town.⁵⁰⁹ The agreement of July 1887 enabled the transfer of a portion (50,000 m²) of the plots at Dedeğaç coastline to the local government.

During this process, the local bureaucrats asked the Sublime Porte how to deal with the regained plots⁵¹⁰ and they were advised to rent the unoccupied plots by auctions

⁵⁰⁸Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”, 4133

⁵⁰⁹ The misuse and illegal operations of the Oriental Railways Company will be discussed in the subchapter on the role of international entrepreneurs; see chapter 4.2 Dedeğaç

⁵¹⁰BOA; DH.MKT. 2212/98, 1899

and gain considerable revenue for the construction and running of the public amenities. The local government initially used a portion of this area in order to construct new buildings to serve various state organs. Therefore, at the western end of the residential settlement in Dedeğaç, the realization of a civic center was commenced at the end of the 1880s. The local government aimed to keep the acquired land at the seafront away from the speculative rushes of the private enterprisers, since it attracted the attentions of many interest groups. It was so valuable that per meter square of the land increased around a hundred times more than it was twenty years ago.⁵¹¹ Therefore, the local government decided to use the land mainly for public purposes: a portion of the total area at the seaside was reserved to found a civic center and a public garden (called Municipality Garden later) whose revenues were reserved to transfer to the construction of a municipality hospital. Next to the public garden, two schools for boys and girls were proposed to build. Besides, in order to bring revenue to these schools, eight rent houses were to be built and finally the remaining 15,000 m² area was proposed to be sold in auctions for the creation of a new neighborhood.⁵¹² **(Fig. 4.1)** Interestingly, during the privatization of these plots, the local authority aimed to maximize profit as revealed in its correspondence with the Sublime Porte.⁵¹³ Furthermore, it also attributed particular importance to the building of new houses according to a plan in order to constitute a regular (planned and orthogonal in layout) district.

⁵¹¹Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”, 4133

⁵¹² Ibid, 4133

⁵¹³ For instance, the Sublime Porte asked the local bureaucrats to take necessary actions to get the maximum profit as much as possible before the auction of the plots to get the revenue for the Municipal (*Gureba*) Hospital.



Figure 4.1 Dedeğaç, city plan indicating the transferred plots after the convention of July 1887 .

Source: Archive of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Faculty of Architecture Collection; based on “Plan of Alexandroupolis”, redrawn by the author.

The other major work conducted by the government was the design and construction of a civic center for various state organs. Accordingly, one of the large plots taken over from the Oriental Railways was chosen as the appropriate place to apply the project. It was a rectangular plot which was around 150 x 100 meters in dimension.⁵¹⁴

Inserted into a photography album in the İstanbul University Library rare materials collection, there is a site plan depicting the formal organization of the civic center.⁵¹⁵

In this site plan, there is a large public garden at the center of the civic center called Government Garden (*Hükümet Bahçesi*) and all the other major facilities surround the garden. At the sea side, the government office (*Hükümet Konağı*) is located at the center and gendarme office and telegram and post office are flanking it. On the opposite side of the rectangle, the mosque and the jail are located on each corner. Between the jail and gendarme house, there is a court house and a document archive building in a row. On the opposite side, between the mosque and telegram & post office, there is a greenhouse (*çiçeklik*), a shop (*dükkan*) and the branch of Agriculture Bank are allocated. Being at the heart of this civic center, the public garden could be accessible from three openings located at the middle of sidewalls of the rectangular plot. The walking paths and the pool at the geometrical center provided the local people with a social area that they could gather and stroll around. The public garden was designed and applied after the completion of all public buildings during the governorship of Hazım Bey. (**Fig. 4.2**)

⁵¹⁴ The dimensions are proximate numbers measured from the site plan drawing.

⁵¹⁵ Like the rest of the visual collection in the library, the images were transferred from the Yıldız Palace. In the album, the site drawing is folded with some other photos of the state buildings after the inauguration of the public park. The images are stick on a hard paper background and embellished with floral patterns. Apart from this one, there is not any other drawing or a sketch of single buildings in the album that would help us to examine the details of the project.

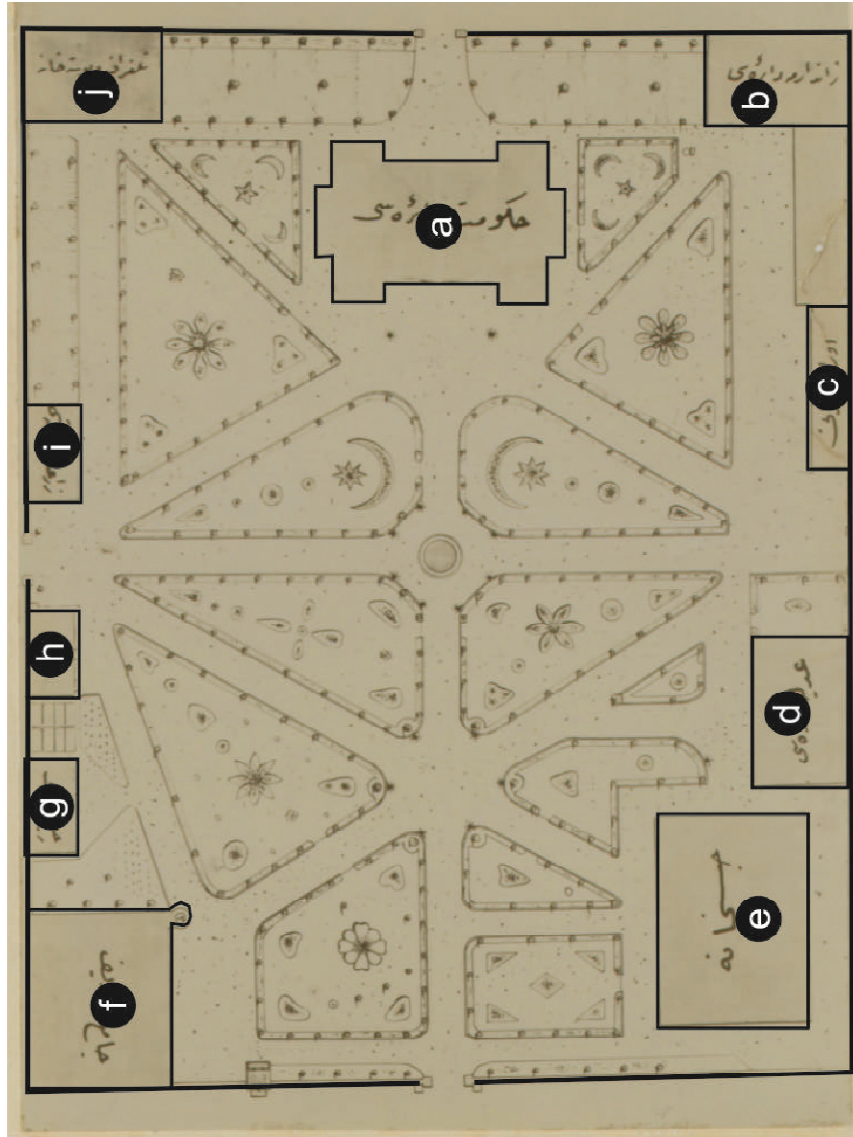


Figure 4.2 Dedeagaç, civic center, c.1890s, site plan drawing.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Library collection, album # 90581, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: Governor Office, b: Gendarme Office, c: Document Archive, d: Courthouse, e: Jail, f: Mosque, g: Greenhouse, h: Shop, i: Agriculture Bank, j: Post and Telegram Office.

It is crucial to figure out the exact construction period of all buildings to be able to understand whether they were applied according to a general project or realized in a haphazard manner. In this regard, the documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive about the construction and inauguration reports of the public buildings of

Dedeğaç are very helpful. Accordingly, it can be suggested that the boundary correction convention would be the milestone for the start of the site works in the civic center since most of the public buildings were completed after the convention: the gendarme office was inaugurated in July 1889,⁵¹⁶ the government office in April 1891,⁵¹⁷ the telegram and post office was mostly finished in September 1892⁵¹⁸ and opening of the courthouse was dated to December 1894.⁵¹⁹ Thus, until the end of 1894, the civic center was realized except for the landscape arrangements.

The site plan in the İstanbul University Library rare materials collection does not include any information about the author of the plan or its drawing date.⁵²⁰ Other images in the same album document the completion of the other public buildings in the civic center. The mystery about the album of buildings of Dedeğaç civic center and also about the site plan has been clarified after the publication of the memoirs of Hazım Bey (Tepeyran).⁵²¹

His memories reveal the whole process of the creation of the civic center and fill the gaps of the landscape design question of Dedeğaç civic center.⁵²² According to his

⁵¹⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 1639/82 ; 1889

⁵¹⁷ BOA, DH.MKT. 1826/47, 1891

⁵¹⁸ BOA, ŞD. 2580/1; 1892

⁵¹⁹ BOA, BEO; 534/40044; 1894

⁵²⁰ The only information exists outside the frame of the drawing, on the plate is a note saying; “the site plan of the public garden accommodating state offices in Dedeğaç”

⁵²¹ He was appointed to the town in September 1896. BOA, BEO 841/63068; h. 13/R/1314, September 21, 1896.

⁵²² Ebubekir Hazım Bey (Tepeyran) (1864-1947) was a statesman of Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey and also a man of letters. He started his official career in Konya *vilayet* in 1892. Being one of the ambitious statesmen of the late nineteenth century, he was assigned to Dedeğaç with the rank of *mutasarrıf* (local governor) at the age of 32, and to Musul *vilayet* as *vali* (governor general) at the age of 35. Thus, it can be suggested that his efforts were credited by the Sublime Porte, although there were minor interruptions in his duty due to the misleading intelligence journals sent to the Sublime Porte. He was an educated man; he knew French and was curious about astronomy. After Dedeğaç, he was appointed as the *vali* of Musul in 1899; and became a member of the Council of the State (*Şura-yı Devlet*), then *vali* of Manastır Vilayet in 1903, *vali* of Bağdad vilayet in 1906, then *vali* of Sivas and Ankara for shorter periods. In 1909, he was assigned to İstanbul as mayor (*İstanbul Şehremini*) for a short period. Later, he again visited many *vilayets* with different duties and in 1922 he was elected as Niğde Deputy in National Assembly. After more than 50 years of state duties in different ranks, he died in 1947 and buried in İstanbul.⁵²² Apart from his official career, he published many literary works including *Küçük Paşa* (1910), *Eski Şeyler* (1910), *Les Fleurs Dégénérés* (in French) vol.1 (1931), *Kar Çiçekleri* (1931). Initially, he published his memoirs in a series in 1926

memoirs; most of the public buildings in Dedeğaç civic center were completed years ago on the basis of the plan developed by the engineers coming from Edirne. For an efficient public service, they proposed to design a civic center which accommodated most of the public building within a single plot. As the visual materials clearly illustrate, the outline of this proposal might have been inspired by the actual civic center formation in Edirne. (Fig. 4.3)

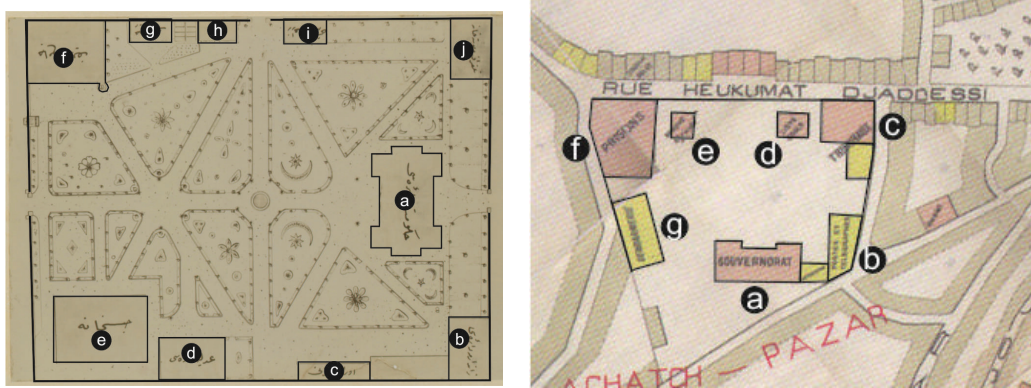


Figure 4.3 Dedeğaç(left) and Edirne (right) civic centers, site plans.

Source: **right:** *İstanbul University Rare Materials Library collection, album # 90581*, **right:** Edirne Governorship Archive.

When Hazım Bey was officially appointed to the town, the area surrounded by the public buildings were still idle in condition and covered with garbage. There was still a huge hollow close to the exterior staircases of the government office that remained open for eight years till the construction of the building was completed. One of the earliest of operations of Hazım Bey was to develop a site plan design idea for the civic center in order to give an order to the existing organization. He commissioned the preparation of the landscape design to a group of engineers composed by railway commissar Rıza Bey, engineer of the public works (*nafia*) Mehmed Ali Bey and one of the engineers of the Oriental Railways Mr. Hafner and asked them to work on alternative designs as well. For him, all of the submitted proposals were good in their own terms but not fitting into actual local conditions.⁵²³ He considered that a design

under the title of “Memuriyet Hatıraları” in *İctihad* journal. Later, in 1944, before his death, his memoirs were published again as six volume small booklets with some additions, removals and annotations of information made by him. See also, Ebubekir Hayber, *Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran*. (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988), 7

⁵²³ Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”. *İctihad*. (İstanbul, 1926), 4045

characterized by long walkways and landscape arrangements interrupting the pedestrian passages would have given damage to the plantation. According to the governor, a pedestrian could go to any of the buildings in the shortest way possible after entering from the gates of the civic center. Therefore, he left the design proposals aside and started to observe the walking patterns of visitors and tried to figure out which directions were used frequently to access the buildings. Then, he transferred these walking patterns to the blank sheet and designed his own landscape design alternative. In the design, he arranged the walk paths according to the visitors' feet traces and left the empty parts for plantation. He claimed that all of the three engineers appreciated his design approach and appraised his design better than theirs.⁵²⁴ Therefore, depending on his memoirs it can be suggested that the author of the landscape design shown above was the governor Hazım Bey. **(Fig. 4.4)**



Figure 4.4 Ebubekir Hazım (Tepeyran) as Second Term Niğde Deputy of in Grand National Assembly 1922-1927, c.1922, portrait.

Source: Sema Yıldırım, Behçet Kemal Zeynel. *TBMM Albümü, 1920-2010*, (Ankara: TBMM Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü Yayınları), 140.

One of the interests of Hazım Bey was photography. During his official duty in Dedeoğlu, he documented all of his public operations by taking their pictures. Owing to his interest in photography, these images were among the earliest and best preserved visual materials giving crucial information about the physical development of the town. Having resigned from the Dedeoğlu governorship because of manipulative intelligence reports, he had to return to İstanbul. In order to prove his

⁵²⁴Ebubekir Hazım, "Memuriyet Hatıraları", 4046

innocence in the eye of the sultan; he was encouraged to prepare a petition and a photo album to submit to Sultan Abdülhamid II by presenting his loyalty and diligence.⁵²⁵ Sultan was impressed by the album, appraised his hardworking character and appointed Hazım Bey immediately as the governor general of Musul vilayet.⁵²⁶



Figure 4.5 Dedeoğaç, earlier phase of the development of the civic center, not dated, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album # 90624.

Legend: a: Government Office, b: Gendarme Office, e: Jail, f: Mosque, f: Shop or Agriculture Bank j: Post & Telegram Office, x: Probably one of the old graves remained from Bektaşî dervishes.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran. *Hatıralar*. (İstanbul: Pera Yayıncılık, 1998), 319

⁵²⁶ Hazım Bey claims that according to the chief of the Royal Palace (*Dariüssaade Ağası*) Abdülgani Bey who introduced the album to the Sultan told him that the Sultan enjoyed greatly the images in the album by saying: “if he could make such beautiful photos, then I will order a machine and try to do the same.” Later, in 1909, being the mayor of İstanbul, Hazım Bey was the head of the commission to record and confiscate the properties of the former Sultan Abdulhamid II after his abdication of throne. For this duty, he visited the Yıldız Palace royal quarter (*harem dairesi*) with Abdülgani Ağa, the chief of the Royal Palace (*Dariüssaade Ağası*). During the visit, Abdülgani Bey showed him a small photography studio and explained that the studio was ordered by the Sultan and after seeing Hazım Bey’s album. (Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, 323) Today, the album of Hazım Bey is in İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection like the other parts of the Yıldız Collection. The claims of Hazım Bey about the Sultan’s growing a deep interest in the art of photography after his submission of the album to the Sultan require cross checking with other sources.

⁵²⁷ The grave under the tree in the image would possibly belong to one of the Bektaşî dervishes buried in the Dedeoğaç who possibly was the source of inspiration for Dedeoğaç name. For the detailed

Owing to visual materials in archives, there is an opportunity to compare the view of the civic center before and after Hazım Bey's operations.

The first image illustrated above was probably captured shortly after the completion of some of the public buildings of the civic center before Hazım Bey's landscape operations commenced. **(Fig. 4.5)** Behind the two houses under construction, government office, telegram & post office, gendarme office, jail, Agriculture Bank branch and mosque can be distinguished. When the image was shot, the construction of the courthouse, green house, small shop and document office had not begun yet.⁵²⁸ The image justifies the memoirs of Hazım Bey regarding the description of the condition of the empty area between public buildings when he started his official duty in the town.⁵²⁹ It is interesting to note that, behind the civic center, there exists a loose and irregular settlement pattern to the west of the city edge. The houses at the eastern side of the civic center were in one or two-storey height with small courtyards surrounded by high courtyard walls. **(Figs. 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8)**

The other images in Hazım Bey's album are help us to understand the spatial results of Hazım Bey's operation by documenting the final view of the civic center after the completion of landscape design. As Hazım Bey explains, the whole landscape construction work was carried out by the prisoners for a small daily salary. For the greenery, grown trees were planted so that the public garden created a pleasant atmosphere for the visitors and became popular immediately after the inauguration. Accordingly, it was called the miraculous garden (*le jardin miraculeux*) by the foreign visitors of the town.⁵³⁰

information about the relation between Bektaşî order and Dedeâğaç region see chapter 3, Dedeâğaç section.

⁵²⁸ The earliest document concerning the building of the new courthouse was dated to November 1894. BOA BEO 534/ 40044 h.16 Ca 1312 (November 16, 1894)

⁵²⁹ It can also be speculated that Hazım Bey ordered to take this photo in order to create a base for comparison to show the conditions before and after his operations. However, it should be noted that this image was not in the same album.

⁵³⁰ Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, 220



Figure 4.6 Dedeağaç, courthouse and one of the entrances of the public garden, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album # 90581.

Legend: b: Gendarme Office, c: Document Archive, d: Courthouse, e: Jail, x: Northern gate of the civic center.

The image above frames the northern entrance of the public garden, courthouse, and document archive and jail buildings. It demonstrates clearly how the governor's operation resulted as a remarkable accomplishment. In the foreground, it shows the northern entrance at the *Hamidiye* Street side and in the background it depicts the western side of the civic center as an empty area which enables us to suggest that nearly until the end of the century, the civic center marked the western end of the settlement of the town.

Another image from the same album illustrates the civic center from different angles of view.



Figure 4.7 Dedeğaç, landscape arrangements in the civic center, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album # 90581.

It is a general view of the public garden in its landscape arrangement with grown trees, walking paths and the pool at the center. The residents of the town are also visible in the image with their modern clothes of the time. There are lighting posts at the sides of the walking paths that imply the availability of gas lighting at that time. Behind the walls of the civic center, the straight streets and regular settlements of the town can be visible. It also reveals that the plots between the civic center and the port area were completely occupied by the residents' dwellings.

Another image depicts the view of the public garden and *Hamidiye* Street behind it. As can be easily seen, the public garden is surrounded by a masonry wall, crowned by a metal fence and *Hamidiye* Street is embellished through the planted grown trees. There is a two-storey mansion on the other side of the street and some other single and two- storey buildings can be seen on the background as well.



Figure 4.8 Dedeâğaç, garden of the civic center, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album # 90581.

The last image shows the courthouse from its entrance façade. The courthouse is a two-storey masonry building with a pitched roof. The access to interiors is provided from the middle with a high arched door which also marks the symmetry axis of the façade. Ground and first floors have different window organizations. There is an inscription over the entrance door with a date of h.1315 (1897-98) expressing the governor's gratitude to the Sultan for his generosity for the completion the building.⁵³¹ (**Fig. 4.9**)

⁵³¹ The stanza on the date inscription is written by the governor Hazım Bey, see figure 4.9

*Dar-ı adli oldu mahallin saye-i şahanede,
Söyledi tarihi tam Hazım da'yi hayr eyle
Çünkü her yerde yapıldı bin büyük asar-ı adli
Saye-i Sultan Hamid hana yapıldı dar-ı adli
1315 (1897-98)*



Figure 4.9 Dedeagaç, courthouse shortly after its inauguration, c.1890s, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, album # 9058. On the upper right side of the plate the inscription stanza is inserted by Hazım Bey.

To conclude, governor Hazım Bey can be considered one of the active actors of change in Dedeagaç and his memoirs enables us to fill in some blanks in Dedeagaç urban history. In a case on which there is not an abundance of primary and secondary sources, his memoirs are remarkable documents of inquiry. However, it should be noted that, like every document, the memoirs of Hazım bey might not tell the whole story about Dedeagaç, since, undoubtedly, there is always the possibility of misremembering and manipulating the past. Basically, his memoirs seem to be the voice of the state authority. Besides, his relatively short official stay in the city makes it difficult to understand the general framework of a historical phenomenon from a single viewpoint. Therefore, there is a necessity to find out new primary sources on Dedeagaç history to draw a comparative outline about the pre-1912 period of the town.

In light of these sources, Dedeagaç civic center seems to be a rare case in Ottoman public work projects in the sense that the whole public facilities were collected within a single center, erected in a short time and embellished by a landscape design. Besides, the story of the landscape design, the operation and documentation of public garden by governor Hazım Bey seems to be an exceptional case as well in terms of the active role of a governor in a public work project from its planning to documentation.

4.1.2 Karaagaç

In comparison to Dedeagaç, Karaagaç is a different example of the state's activities; an example of the operational interventions of the state in railway exploitation companies to build larger stations in some major cities such as Filibe, Selanik, Sofya and Edirne. As such, it presents the story of building a new station in Edirne as a part of a grand scale project at the beginning of the twentieth century.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, Oriental Railways Company proposed to expand the capacities of major terminals in the Ottoman Balkans. Such an impulse was related to some internal and external factors: on the one hand; the increase in the numbers of passengers and volume of freights and the inadequate capacity of the passenger stations; and on the other hand, the insistence and coercion implied by the state authorities for the expansion of the stations. However, Oriental Railways Company built ordinary small buildings in Edirne and İstanbul which were far away from the size of monumentality that Ottoman government had expected. The negotiations among the parties took a long time and when the control of the Oriental Railways was taken over by the German capital in 1887,⁵³² the parties reached a solution for the new and larger terminus station in İstanbul. The new station building in Sirkeci was commissioned to German architect August Jachmund. However, the agreement for a new station in Edirne delayed more than two decades.

In 1907, the Oriental Railways Company decided to expand the capacity of the passenger terminals in major cities such as Sofya, Filibe, Edirne and Selanik and proposed to offer this commission to architect Jachmund.⁵³³ His success at Sirkeci

⁵³² It was when Baron Hirsch sold his shares to a consortium headed by Deutsche Bank

⁵³³ August Carl Fredrich Jachmund; born in 1859 in Prussia. He was sent to Ottoman Empire by

Station could be the major factor in this proposal. Being under official service in İstanbul until 1908, Jachmund was probably not available at that time so that the company agreed to offer the project of Filibe Station to Kemalettin Bey who was one of Jachmund's favorite students and assistants in the Fine Arts Academy.⁵³⁴ The design of the Filibe Station started in 1907 and construction completed in 1909.⁵³⁵ It can be suggested that it was probably due to the result achieved in Filibe that Kemalettin Bey was commissioned to build Edirne and Selanik stations as well.⁵³⁶ Although the construction of new Selanik terminus station initiated probably in 1910, the site work had to break off due to war conditions and could not start again.⁵³⁷ For Edirne, the project was probably prepared in 1911,⁵³⁸ construction started in 1912 and completed in 1916.⁵³⁹ During the construction process, the wartime

German Government to examine Turkish architecture. Starting from 1888 and onwards, he designed many buildings in İstanbul. In 1890, he was invited to Faculty of Fine Arts (*Sanayi Nefise Mektebi*) as a professor and worked there as an instructor. He was especially known by his Sirkeci Railway station design (1888-1890), though he was the designer of many other buildings as well, such as Rumeli Han (1896), Ragıp Paşa Kiosk (1907), and Germania Han (beginning of the twentieth century). For more information about his life and works, see Mehmet Yavuz, "August Carl Frederich Jachmund ve Mimari Faaliyetleri". *Atatürk University Journal of Institute of Fine Arts*, no. 21 (2008) : 187-209

⁵³⁴Kemaleddin Bey was born in İstanbul in 1870, entered Faculty of Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi*) in 1887 and after meeting Professor Jachmund there, he changed his mind to be an architect. He graduated from the University in 1891 and was sent to Berlin with the influence and support of Jachmund and returned back in 1900. In 1909, he was appointed to the Construction and Amendment Office (*İnşaat ve Tamirat Heyet-i Fenniyesi*) in the Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf Vekaleti*) and worked there until 1919.

⁵³⁵YıldırımYavuz, "Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları" *Balkanlarda Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu*. Shumen- Bulgaristan; 17-19 Mayıs 2000 . "*Balkanlarda Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 2, (2001), 836

⁵³⁶ Ibid, 837

⁵³⁷YıldırımYavuz. "Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları", 837. By Referencing to Sedat Çetintaş, Yıldırım Yavuz alludes to a project in Selanik and refers only to the reports of the British consulate in Selanik about the proposal of a central station gathering the operations of three railway companies. In Mimar Kemalettin's projects' catalogue compiled by Yıldırım Yavuz, there is an irrelevant drawing depicting some of the plots around White Tower in Selanik drawn by Kemaleddin Bey. It was dated to 25 Kanunievvel 1325, (January 1, 1910). On the drawing, it was also noted that "the drawing was copied from an original one in municipality and the area was observed by him". This means that Kemaleddin Bey was in Selanik at the end of 1909 and at the beginning of 1910. This information presents a clue about the period that he was in Selanik and worked on station project. However, it is still an untouched case and requires further research. For the drawing mentioned above, see Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*, (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2009), 295

⁵³⁸Yıldırım Yavuz. "Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları", 837.

⁵³⁹ Although Yıldırım Yavuz writes that construction completed in 1914, there is an official journal sent to Ministry of Interior about the completion of construction: BOA DH.ŞFR. 532/108

conditions frequently slowed down the pace of construction, therefore, in order to accelerate the site-works, the need for extra engineers and workers became inevitable.⁵⁴⁰ As an unexpected development due to the Balkan Wars, however, the new station remained in Bulgarian territory when the construction was fully completed in 1916.⁵⁴¹ (Fig. 4.10)



Figure 4.10 Edirne, new passenger station at Karaağaç under construction, c.1910s, photograph.

Source: Edirne city museum collection.

The new Edirne passenger station is located parallel to the railway platform and on the place of the older one. Excluding the basement floor, it is a two-storey building in a rectangular shape which is about 80 meters at its longer side. Looking from the main entrances, the total mass is organized symmetrically on an axis passing through the middle of the main passenger lounge which is in two-storey height. The other facilities are organized symmetrically at right and left sides of this space. The vertical movement in façade is emphasized by two cylindrical stair towers flanking the main lounge's northern (city side) façade. These towers are topped by half

08/Ey/1332, (September 24, 1916).

⁵⁴⁰ BOA, DH.ŞFR. 519/112, 2 Mart 1332 (March 15, 1916) . Although 300 workers were ready in site in a short time, it took a longer time to appoint an engineer for the construction. BOA, DH.ŞFR 521/43, 16 March 1332 (March 29, 1916)

⁵⁴¹ Karaağaç was later annexed to Turkey after Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

spherical domes with console eaves borrowed from classical Ottoman architecture. Besides, the two-storey high pointed arches are placed on a rectangular frame that defines the entrance façade on both platform and city sides. (Fig. 4.11 and 4.12)



Figure 4.11 Edirne, northern (city side) façade of the new station, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

Both of the façades of the entrance hall is defined by large eaves with iron supports and a steel-trussed pitched roof over them. On the façades, there is a regular arched window pattern: the windows on the ground floor are larger than the first floor windows. Some of the windows on the ground floor are enlarged to be used as doors providing access from the platform side. It is a brick masonry construction, except for the stone door and window arches.



Figure 4.12 Edirne, southern (platform side) façade of the new station, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

Regarding its interior space articulation; there are separate waiting lounges for men and women passengers, luggage stores and rest rooms. On one edge, there is a restaurant and on the opposite edge, there are officers' rooms. The access to the upper floor is provided by the spiral staircase in the cylindrical towers and two stairs on the shorter side of the building. On the first floor, there are ten lodgings in different sizes.⁵⁴² (Figs. 4.13 and 4.14)

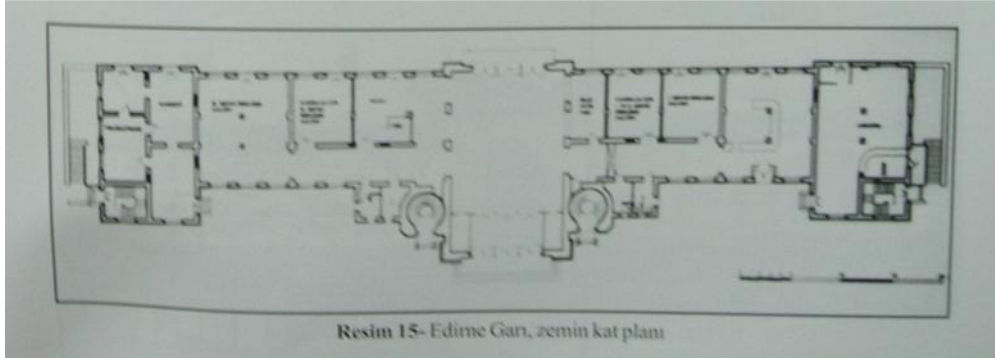


Figure 4.13 Edirne, passenger station ground floor plan.

Source: Yıldırım Yavuz, “Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları”, *Balkanlarda Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 2, (2001), 847.

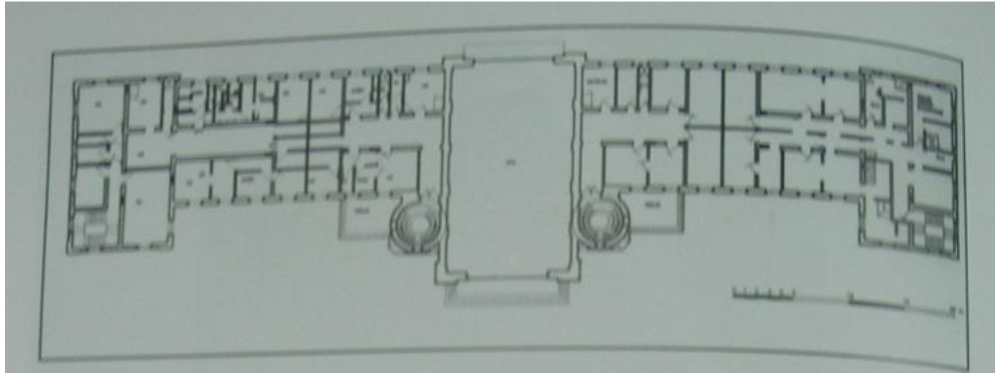


Figure 4.14 Edirne, passenger station first floor plan.

Source: Yıldırım Yavuz, “Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları”, *Balkanlarda Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 2, (2001), 848.

⁵⁴²Yıldırım Yavuz, “Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları”, 838. In 2007, a series of a symposium and exhibitions took place on Mimar Kemaleddin, his private life, projects and his place among contemporary architects. The articles were compiled into books published by Chamber of Architects of Turkey and General Directorate of Pious Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) and were edited by Yıldırım Yavuz, Ali Cengizkan and Afife Batur. These edited volumes provide the researches with invaluable information on various aspects of Mimar Kemalettin, his life, ideas and projects.

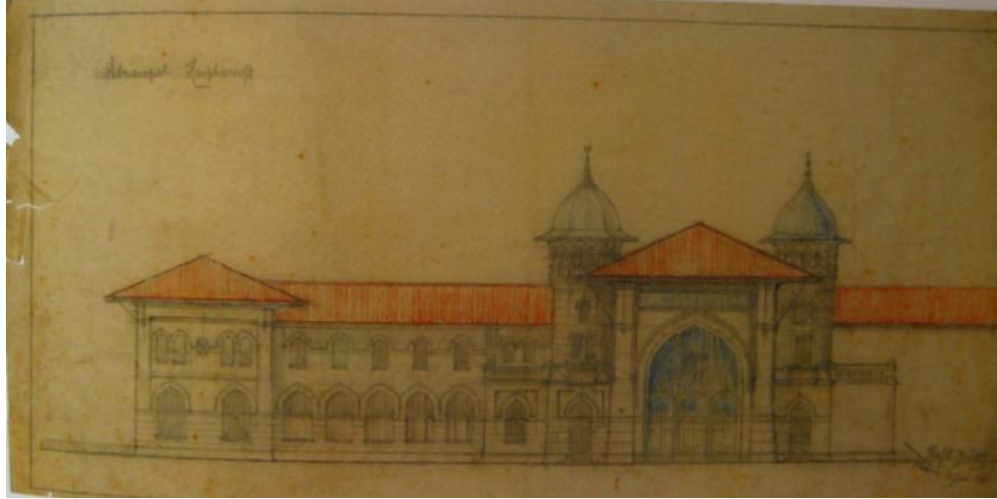


Figure 4.15 Edirne, front façade of new Edirne passenger station by Mimar Kemaleddin, c.1910s, sketch drawing.

Source: Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*, (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2009), 325.

In Karaağaç, Kemaleddin Bey's designs were not limited to the new passenger station. In the same period, he designed two schools as well: one was realized and the other one was abandoned because of the outbreak of the World War I and then ceding Karaağaç to Bulgaria.

The unrealized project of Karaağaç Primary School (*Karaağaç Mekteb-i İbtidai*)⁵⁴³ was from the period when Kemaleddin Bey worked in the Ministry between 1913 and 1916.⁵⁴⁴ (Fig. 4.16) The building was designed as a single storey masonry construction. On the ground floor plan, the main entrance is provided from the door on the symmetry axis. The building is elevated a few steps from the ground level, therefore, there is a staircase in the front façade. Inside, there is a rectangular hall and all the secondary spaces are opened into there. There are four classrooms and two administrative rooms. On each side of the symmetry axis, there are mirror image spaces. Similar to the station building, there are windows framed with pointed arches on the front façade and the ones on each end are narrower than the others.

⁵⁴³ *Mekteb-i ibtidai* was the reformed version of old *mekteb-i sıbyan* with a system of six year continuous education. The official regulations of these schools were done in 1913 after the issue of the law of *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Kanun-i Muvakkatı*. Probably the school in Karaağaç was designed during or shortly after the issue of the law.

⁵⁴⁴ Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*, 255

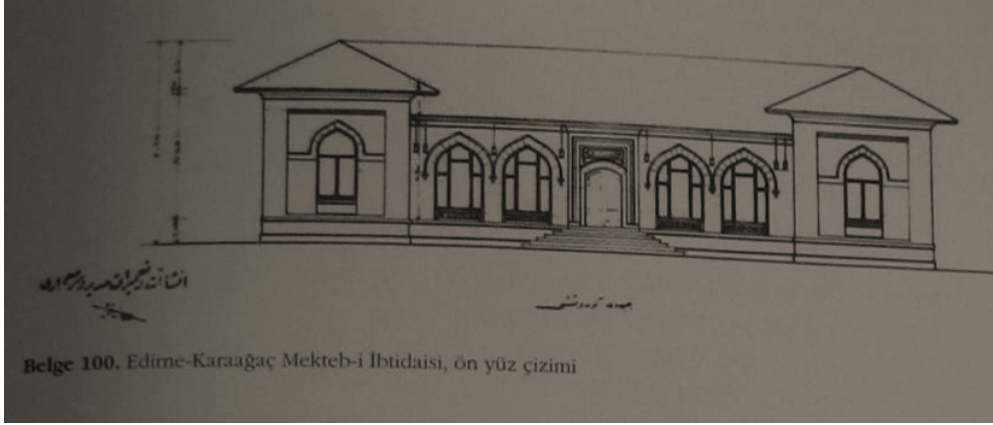


Figure 4.16 Edirne, front façade of Karaağaç primary school (*mekteb-i ibtidai*) by Mimar Kemaleddin, c.1910s, drawing.

Source: Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*, (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2009), 255.

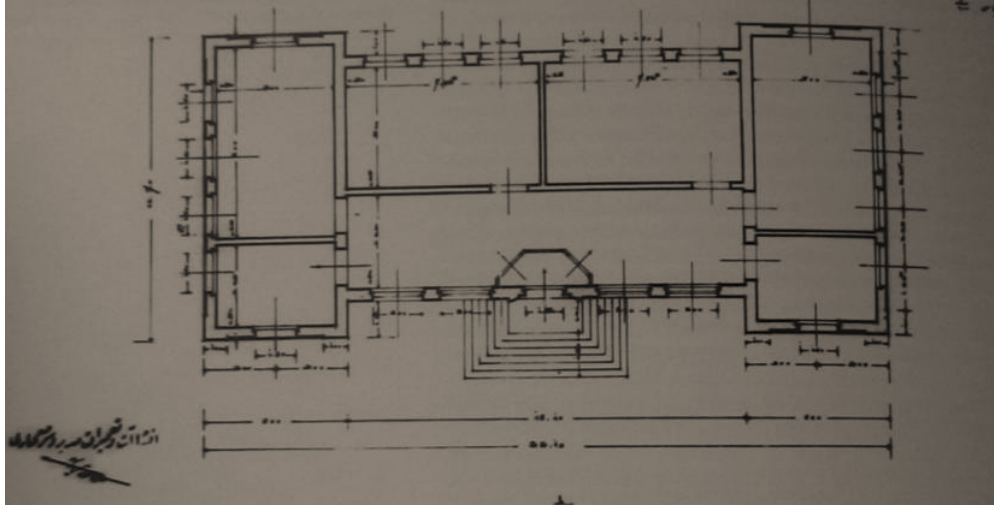


Figure 4.17 Edirne, ground floor plan of Karaağaç primary school (*mekteb-i ibtidai*) by Mimar Kemaleddin, c.1910s, drawing.

Source: Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*, (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2009), 255.

The other school building is Karaağaç Railway Station Primary School. It seems possible that this building was designed and constructed concurrently with the station building.⁵⁴⁵ It is located next to the station building and parallel to the railway

⁵⁴⁵ At first glance, it seems weird to build a school building in a railway yard next to the terminal building. Besides, the area where the building located was a private property assigned to Oriental Railways, therefore there should be an official permission given by the company in order to build a public building. In other words, it is hard to understand why Ministry of Education or Ministry of Pious Foundations proposed to build a school building in the railway yard rather than any place in the state-owned vast lands around. Therefore, it can be suggested that the original function of the building

platform. Although there is not a physical document about the building in Kemalettin Bey achieve, it fits into the Ministry of Pious Foundation's school plan typology.⁵⁴⁶



Figure 4.18 Edirne, front façade of Karaağaç Station Primary School, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

It is a typical Kemaleddin Bey design and has many similar aspects with station building. The total mass of the building is composed of three rectangular blocks. **(Figs. 4.18 and 4.19)** The main access is provided from the larger mass allocated in the middle. It is also higher and larger than the flanking ones. The building is crowned by large eaves diagonally supported by iron rods. The façades are composed by repetitive arched rectangular windows. Another characteristic of the façades is the horizontal bands dividing the exterior wall surfaces and the use of blue glazed tiles around arched windows.

might have been different from a school -during the site visit in 2010, I observed that the building was used as a dining hall for Trakya University staff. However, at a certain period, it was used as a school so that Yıldırım Yavuz defined it as a school building. So, as a final note, it should be added that the original function of this building requires further examination.

⁵⁴⁶YıldırımYavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*, 253



Figure 4.19 Edirne, rear façade of Karaağaç station primary school, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

After completing his mission in Karaağaç railway yard; Kemalettin Bey designed a number of buildings in other railway facilities in İstanbul and other cities including a guesthouse for Balkan refugees behind Haydarpaşa terminus station in İstanbul,⁵⁴⁷ headquarters of Hicaz Railways Company (1915)⁵⁴⁸ and headquarters of General Directorate of State Railways in Ankara (1927).⁵⁴⁹

After briefly summarizing the project and construction process of the station, one can still ask why the Sublime Porte and Oriental Railways Company agreed on the name of Kemalettin Bey for the commission of the new station building. It can be argued that the answer to this question could also be related to the political mainstream in İstanbul during the *post-Hamidian* period and ideological associations and professional affiliations of Kemalettin Bey.

⁵⁴⁷ According to Yıldırım Yavuz, the exact design and construction date is not clear, however, it should be around of shortly after the Balkan wars since it was aimed to serve the refugees temporarily before they were sent to permanent settlements in Anatolia.

⁵⁴⁸ This project could not be realized.

⁵⁴⁹ The detailed information and original drawings were published in Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*.

In Sedat Çetintaş's memoirs, Kemalettin Bey is described as a devout and conservative character among his colleagues whose zeal for Ottoman culture and history was publicly known.⁵⁵⁰ After the beginning of the second constitutional era in 1908, the ideals of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP: *İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası*) were dominating the intellectual circles. The collapse of *Ottomanizm* idea and the rise of Turkism, which can be formulated as a refinement in language and literature, --a revivalist approach depending on Turkic past - left its marks and traces on arts and architecture as well. Ömer Seyfettin, Abdullah Cevdet, Ziya Gökalp and İbrahim Temo were among the intellectual leaders of the new era.⁵⁵¹ In the period of 1908 - 1912, a new architectural style emerged symbolizing the cultural complexity and many ideological aspirations depending on the new intellectual conditions. The basic idea was the combination of decorative elements borrowed from classical Ottoman architecture (half spherical domes, large eaves, pointed arches and glazed tiles) with new construction techniques (reinforced concrete, iron and steel).⁵⁵² The new approach was then conceptualized as "*Renaissance of National Architecture*" and considered as purely Turkish by its contemporaries. The forms and motifs were explained through cultural associations with *Turkishness* rather than Islamic or imperial implications. It was the *Turkification* of Ottoman architecture.⁵⁵³ This ideologically loaded movement was called early "modern" in architectural historiography due to the ideologists' self conscious effort to understand and interpret the past.⁵⁵⁴ Among them, Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey (Tek) were the prominent figures in architecture who were the assistants of Jachmund and Vallaury, respectively.

⁵⁵⁰YıldırımYavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin; 1870-1927*, 27. In this book, many annotations about Kemalettin Bey reinforce this idea.

⁵⁵¹Enver, Talat and Cemal Paşas were the political and military leaders of the Union and Progress movement who left their mark on the final years of Ottoman Empire.

⁵⁵²Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2004), 31

⁵⁵³Ibid,34

⁵⁵⁴Ibid,,36. This period (from 1908 untill the end of 1920s) was also called First National Architecture Movement in architectural historiography.

Kemalettin Bey had close relations with the leaders of CUP and shared their ideology as well. He was appointed to the chief position in Construction and Amendment Office of the Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf Nezareti*) when Halil Hamdi Paşa was appointed as the minister in 1909. A year later, Ürgüplü Halil Efendi was appointed as the new minister. He decided to increase revenues of the ministry by constructing permanent rent buildings which heralded the opening of a productive era (1909-1919) for Kemalettin Bey.⁵⁵⁵ (Fig. 4.20) In other words, it means that the project development period for Selanik and Edirne stations coincided with the early years of Kemaleddin Bey in the ministry. During his official duty and in his later career until his death in 1927, he was always in favor of applying stylistic properties of the new “national architecture” in his designs. Considering the ruling class’ ideals throughout this period, his designs for the ministry were the stages demonstrating the ideological context and common taste. .



Figure 4.20 Mimar Kemaleddin, unknown date, portrait.

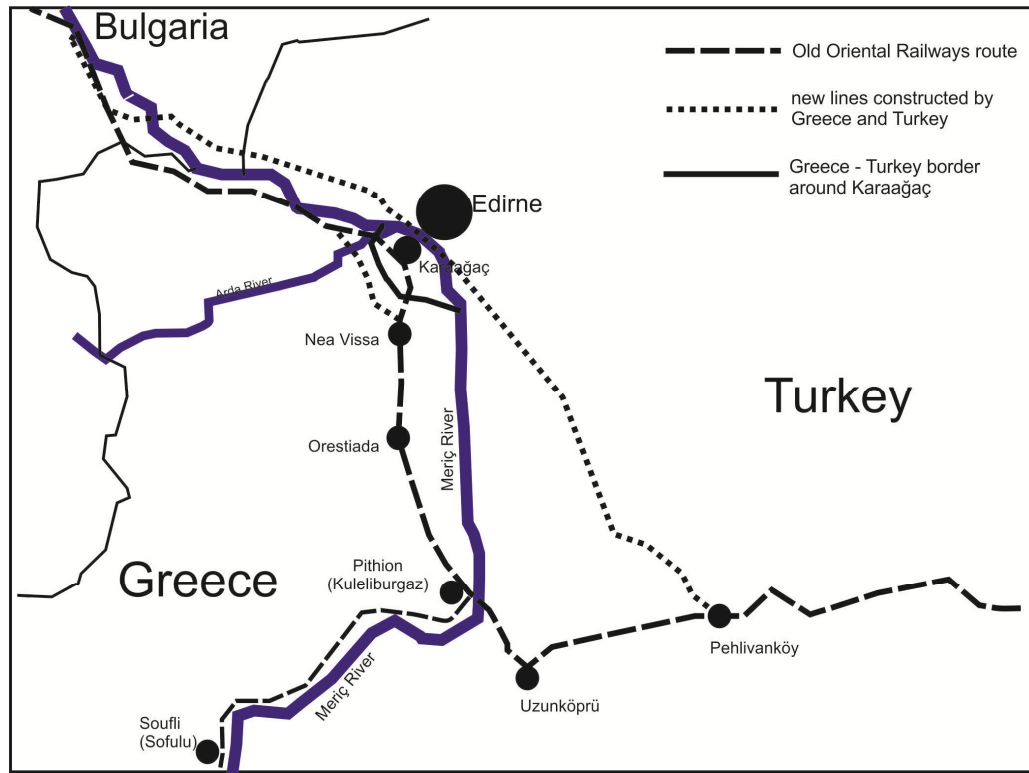
Source: Wikipedia, “Mimar Kemaleddin”, accessed February 24, 2013

http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mimar_Kemaleddin

It can be argued that the work of Kemalettin Bey in Karaağaç was not only to design a station building. It was also to insert the ideals and formal aspects of the new nationalist ideology into the building. While the building itself was a private investment made by Oriental Railways, the design attitude of Kemalettin Bey was

⁵⁵⁵Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet’e Mimar Kemalettin: 1870-1927*, 27-29.

quite possibly an implicit state intervention since the building spoke not only for itself. Thus, Kemalettin Bey was an agent of the state by contributing to the ideology of the rulers in the form of a building which was the grandest railway terminal on Oriental Railways in the early twentieth century.



Map 4.2 Redesign of the railway routes around Edirne after the collapse of Oriental Railways scheme

Source: *Trains of Turkey*, “Edirne Area”, accessed January 10, 2012;

http://www.trainsofturkey.com/w/uploads/Maps/edirne_v3.gif reproduced by the author.

The destiny of the new station in Karaağaç was determined by the consecutive wars, political conflicts and the changing borders. After the Balkan Wars and World War I, Ottomans had to cede a great portion of the territories in Thrace and Balkan Peninsula. Only 337 kilometers of Ottoman Balkan railways out of 2000 kilometers remained in the Turkish territory. Karaağaç was annexed to Turkey after Lausanne Treaty of 1923 as a war indemnity of Greece and therefore had a symbolical importance after Turkish War of Independence (1919-22). However, the border line drawn between Greece and Turkey in Lausanne raised another problem for railway carriage since, after passing Uzunköprü station, the railway tracks had to enter Greece border and again left it to arrive Karaağaç station. In a short time, it became

an issue between two countries and caused a considerable delay in travel time. In order to solve the problem, in 1929, a convention was signed between Oriental Railways Company and Republic of Turkey to install new lines passing only in the Turkish territory. The Oriental Railways Company was nationalized and taken over in 1937 by the government but the installation of the new lines delayed until 1971. **(Map 4.2)** When the project was undertaken, a new station was built on the eastern side of Edirne. Therefore, the station in Karaağaç was totally abandoned. After the conflict of Cyprus with Greece, Karaağaç station was temporarily used as a military outpost. In 1977, it was assigned to State Academy of Engineering and Architecture founded in Edirne, initially, it was used as a guesthouse and later as the presidency building by Trakya University.⁵⁵⁶

4.1.3 Selanik

Beginning from the earliest projects to connect İstanbul with Europe and other major cities in the Balkans, making Selanik a transportation hub was one of the vital issues emphasized for the sake of the railway proposals. The Sublime Porte was in favor of connecting Selanik to the inlands of Balkan Peninsula and İstanbul. However, it took a long time to accomplish this ideal as it was realized step by step: first Baron Hirsch constructed the railway line to connect Selanik to Üsküb and Mitroviça in Kosovo; then in 1888, the junction line between Üsküb and Niş (Nish) completed so that the continuous travel to Vienna became possible. By the increase in the frequency of uprisings in Ottoman Balkans, in order to provide a rapid means of transport for the artillery and military troops between Manastır and Selanik, they were connected by railways in 1893 and finally it was in 1896 that Selanik was connected to İstanbul so that the railway networks around Selanik and İstanbul were integrated. Therefore, Selanik became the terminus station located at the intersection of three different lines.

Selanik's urban space was also affected from the results of military territorialization. Although the main barracks of the third Ottoman army located in Manastır, its headquarters were located in Selanik, besides, an artillery battalion was established at the western outskirts of Selanik. One of the remarkable developments related to the

⁵⁵⁶Yıldırım Yavuz, "Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları", 837

military use of railways was the construction of a military station at the outskirts of Selanik.⁵⁵⁷ (Fig. 4.21)



Figure 4.21 Selanik, military station, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

Not more than a single-storey small structure, it was located around four kilometers west of the JSC (Selanik- İstanbul Junction Line) Selanik main station and had also a short connection line to Oriental Railways line so that the locomotives pulling the military equipments and troops could interchange between lines and meet in front of the military station.⁵⁵⁸ It had a long platform (about 500 meters in length) for loading and unloading facilities and several parallel sidings to serve as many wagon convoys as possible at the same time.⁵⁵⁹ It was built by the JSC Company as a military

⁵⁵⁷ It was restored in 2001 and assigned to the Friends of Railway Society. Presently, it is the railway museum of Thessaloniki

⁵⁵⁸ Apart from the military station, the only connection between the two lines was located at Karacasulu at the north.

⁵⁵⁹ *The Handbook of Macedonia and Its Surrounding Territories*, 433

premise of the concession requirements.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, the military station was designed to be the short term meeting point of military troops near Selanik before departing to target regions. It is interesting to note that another military station in the same spatial organization was constructed in Dedeağaç.

In Selanik, in addition to economic and political territorialization, Sultan Mehmet V's (Reşad) visit to the city in the summer of 1911 can be considered as an explicit example of political territorialization. During the royal visit, the railways and stations were actively used as the appropriate instruments of political propaganda, organized by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) to brush up the commitment of Muslim Albanians and other ethnic groups to Ottoman ideals and to affect the local communities by re-inculcating *Ottomanism* after the proclamation of the constitution in 1908. In the main destinations of the royal visit, namely Selanik, Üsküb and Manastır, the stations were the places where the official ceremonies took place when the Sultan arrived and departed. In the Sultan's itinerary, Selanik was the place where he began and finished his royal visit, and therefore, where a number of events took place.

Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad) (1909-1918) succeeded to the throne after the March 31 Incident⁵⁶¹ resulted by the abdication of the former Sultan Abdülhamid II after his uninterrupted 33 years of reign. Mehmed was largely considered as a figurehead with no real political power, as the Ottoman state affairs had mostly run by the famous triplet paşas: Enver, Cemal and Talat since the Young Turk Revolution in 1908.

The visits of the Ottoman sultans to Selanik were a rare occasion to witness. Probably after the winter stay of Sultan Mehmed IV in 1669, Sultan Abdulmecid's visit in 1859 was the second in Ottoman history.⁵⁶² This visit was a part of an

⁵⁶⁰ For the other military requirements of the JSC concession, see chapter 2

⁵⁶¹ The 1909 rebellion of reactionaries in İstanbul was against the restoration of constitutional monarchy in 1908. It took place on April 13, 1909 (31 March in the Rumi calendar which was in use at the time in Turkey for official timekeeping). The counter coup attempted to put an end to the nascent Second Constitutional Era in the Ottoman Empire and to the newly established influence of the Committee of Union and Progress, in order to re-affirm the position of the Sultan Abdülhamid II as absolute monarch.

⁵⁶² In the nineteenth century, Sultan Mahmud II started to visit provinces and his son Abdülmecid continued the tradition. Throughout his reign (1839-1861) he made a couple of travels in 1844, 1846, 1850 and 1859. In 1844, he visited İzmit, Bursa and Çanakkale, in 1846, he made a small Rumeli

imperial tour aimed to see the results of the application of the reforms of the *Tanzimat* Decree in *vilayets*.⁵⁶³ In order to herald the royal visit to the people, cannons were fired and war and trade ships were aligned in rows in the gulf to welcome his majesty in July 1859. A group of public works were also realized for a better welcome ceremony; and the most important ones were the widening and paving of the street connecting the pier to the Konak (government office) by the demolition of many miserable shops and houses en route. Those were among the earliest precautions to rehabilitate and bring an order to the city center in spatial terms⁵⁶⁴ in *Tanzimat* reform era. Along with his entourage, the Sultan greeted the people in enthusiasm. Later, representatives of the communities were admitted to the presence in *Beşçınar* Garden at the seaside.⁵⁶⁵ In the public garden, a grandiose tent was erected for the presence ceremony.

When considered within this tradition started with predecessor sultans, Mehmed Reşad's imperial visit to Balkan cities was a remarkable event. Before starting a long journey in the Balkans, Sultan Mehmed Reşad had already made two significant visits to Edirne and Bursa which had a symbolical meaning considering that these cities were the former capitals of Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶⁶ During these journeys, the Sultan preferred to have an active contact with the residents of these cities in order to strengthen the ties between the society and the ruling regime represented in his name. These visits were not as comprehensive and long as the one in the Balkans. The visit to the Ottoman Balkans took three weeks in June 1911: leaving İstanbul by seaway, arriving in Selanik, leaving Selanik by railways to arrive first in Üsküb and later to Priştine and Kosova War battlefield. Then, returning to Selanik in order to depart to

travel including Edirne, Rusçuk, Silistre, and Şumnu; in 1850 to Aegean Islands and Girit (Crete), and finally in 1859 to Selanik. For a summarized account of these travels, see Mehmet Mercan. "Sultan Abdülmecit'in Rumeli Gezisi Hakkında Bazı Tespitler". *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*. XXIV, no.1, (2009): 81-100

⁵⁶³ Alexandra Yerolympos and Vassilis Colonas. "Kozmopolit bir kentleşme". In Gilles Venstein ed., *Selanik, 1850-1918: Yahudilerin Kenti ve Balkanların Uyanışı*. (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999):168

⁵⁶⁴ Alexandra Yerolympos and Vassilis Colonas. "Kozmopolit bir Kentleşme", 168

⁵⁶⁵ Mark Mazover. *Selanik, Hayaletler Şehri*, 155-156.

⁵⁶⁶ Eric Jan Zürcher, Kosovo Revisited: Sultan Reşad's Macedonian Journey of June 1911. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 35, 4, Seventy-Five Years of the Turkish Republic (Oct., 1999), 35, no.4, 28

Manastır by railways and finally again returning to Selanik to board on the armored ship that took him to İstanbul. So, Selanik was the intersection point of the whole itinerary.⁵⁶⁷

To receive a royal visit more than fifty years after the Sultan Abdülmecid's visit of 1858, Selanik got prepared. Accordingly, a number of precautions were taken by the municipality: the furnishing of some rooms in government office (*konak*) was completed to host the sultan during his stay in Selanik; the pavements of major streets on which sultan's cortege would pass were renovated and temporary benches were fixed on the pavements for citizens greeting the sultan during the parade, and finally the major squares' lightening system was checked, amended and reorganized for evening celebrations. Moreover, a number of triumphal arches were erected by the local religious committees, leading entrepreneurs, institutions and companies⁵⁶⁸ which were expressing their commitment to the majesty and were wishing for a long life to the sultan. All of them were installed on the specified points of the parade route and had different and unique designs. The Sultan boarded on Selanik harbor on June 8, 1911 with an ostentatious ceremony of greeting and then he went to the government office prepared for his stay. During his stay in Selanik, he visited many places of interest and met with his people in these occasions. A plan of Selanik designated to mark the royal itinerary demonstrates clearly to what extent the Selanik urban space was the object of royal inspection. (Fig. 4.22)

⁵⁶⁷ In 1911, the lack of direct railway connection between Üsküb and Manastır necessitated to pass over Selanik which in order to follow the royal itinerary

⁵⁶⁸ The efforts of the municipality and governor general of Selanik can be traced from newspapers of the period such as *Rumeli*: April 5, 1911; *Senin*: June 3, 1911; *Rumeli*: May 22, 1911.

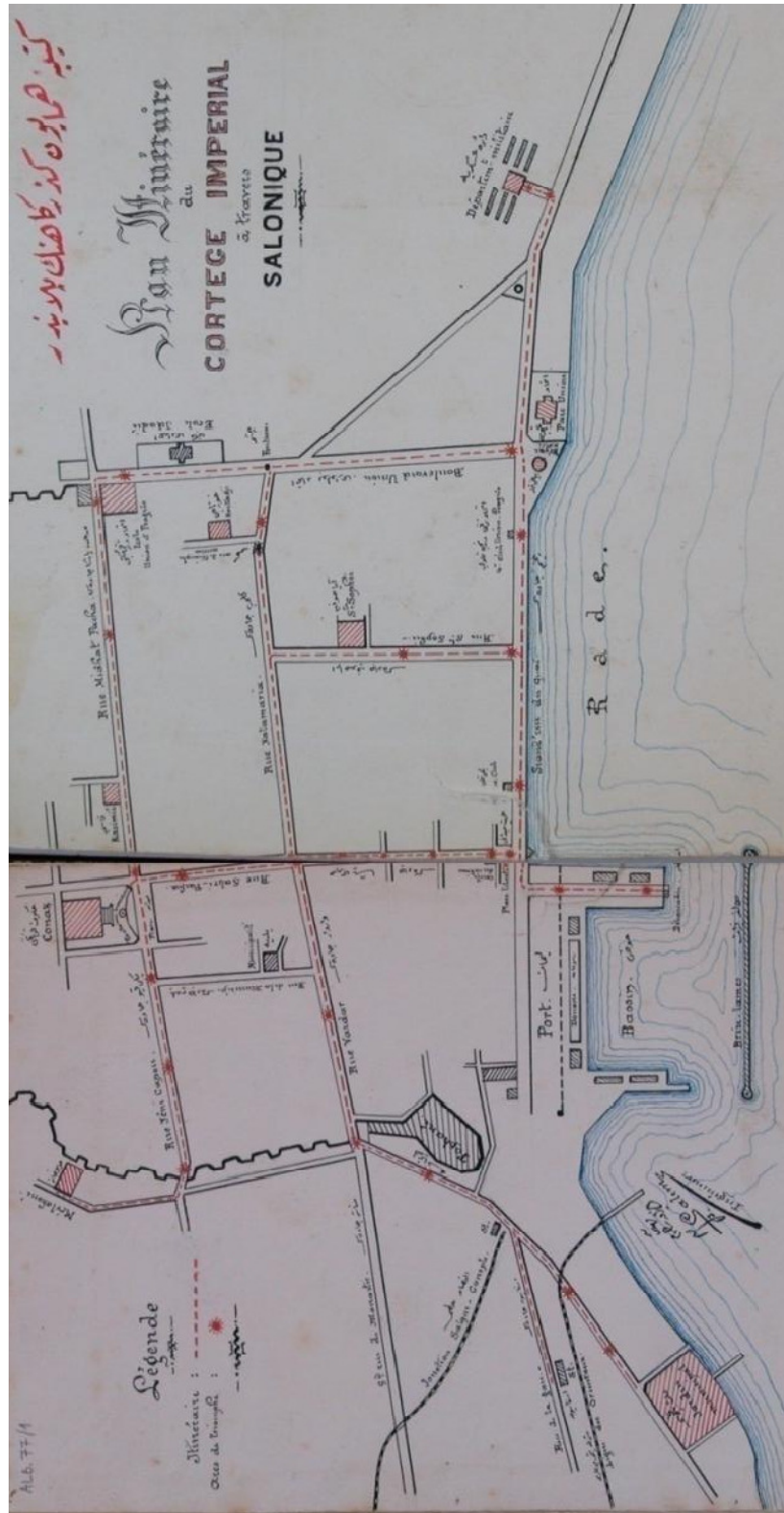


Figure 4.22 Selanik, plan by engineer J. Salem designating the royal itinerary.

Source: Taksim Atatürk Library visual materials collection, album # 77.

The newspapers also justified the program marked on the city plan: the Sultan launched a comprehensive visit not only limited to official institutions and mosques; but also including Mevlevi Lodge complex, Beşçınar Garden, and most importantly, the European style modernized streets of Selanik by approving the remarkable spatial changes of the cityscape. During the parades on the main streets, the people cheering the Sultan were the anonymous witnesses of the imperial inspection and approval staged on the streets. Actually, the public appearance of a sultan to such extent was a carefully planned act in the Ottoman history. Considering the long routes of the royal parades, the visibility of the sultan nearly took place in most of the Selanik urban area. In order to strengthen his image as the father of the empire, he endeavored to meet with his people in many occasions. He attended an exhibition and a public meeting in Beşçınar Garden, made generous grants to the religious communities of the city for the education of children and sheltering the poor after the Friday prayer.⁵⁶⁹ Furthermore, he invited the people into the garden of his residence and appeared on the balcony a number of times when the flood of students and groups carrying flags and placards passing in front of the residence.⁵⁷⁰ This conscious attempt to communicate with his subjects directly was an example of something “quite novel” directed towards promoting the ruler as a popular figure, highly visible and close to his people.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁹Eric Jan Zürcher, *Kosovo Revisited*, 32

⁵⁷⁰*Ibid*, 34

⁵⁷¹*Ibid*, 37

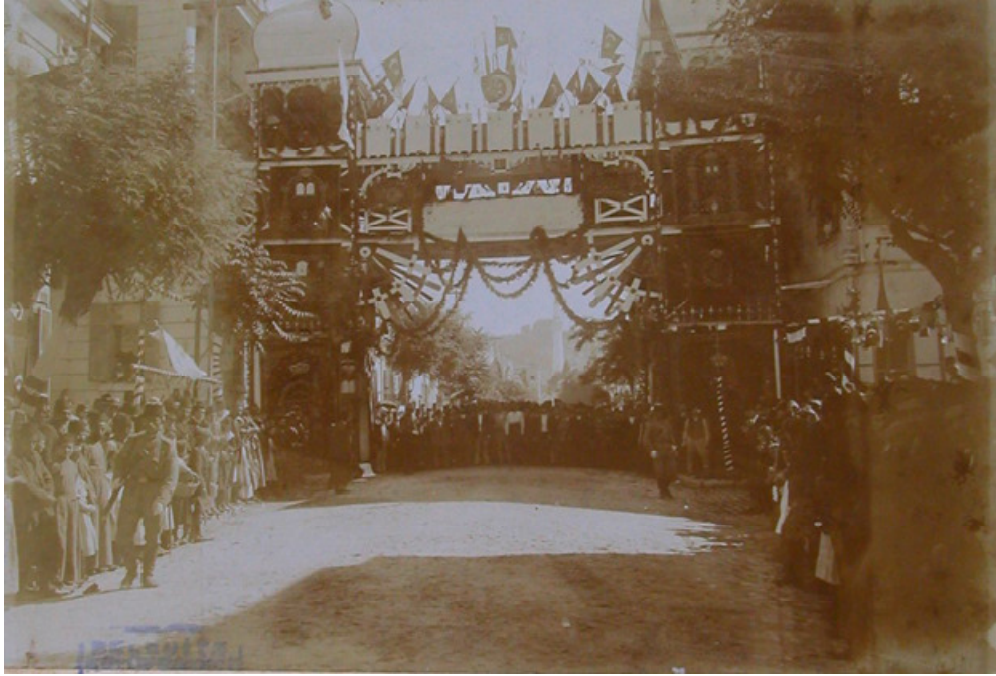


Figure 4.23 Selanik, crowds waiting for the imperial cortege on the visit to Aya Sofya Mosque, 1911, photograph.

Source: Taksim Atatürk Library visual materials collection, album # 77

There was another visual demonstration in the Selanik streets and squares: the triumphal arches. (Figs 4.23, 4.24 and 4.25) They were used by the people who erected them as a means of self-display (?) to the imperial entourage and to the public.⁵⁷² An interesting example was the one constructed by three railway operators in the Çayır / Vardar neighborhood in western Selanik. Moreover, while JSC (the Junction Railways) Company erected their arch in front of the City Station to embellish the moderate station building, the Oriental Railways and Selanik - Manastır Railways Companies installed their arches one after the other on the way to Beşçınar Garden.

⁵⁷² For the wider range use of triumphal arches and other installations in royal commemorations in the final years of the empire, see Alev Erkmen, *Geç Osmanlı Dünyasında Mimarlık ve Hafıza: Arşiv, Jübile Abide*. (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Kitapları, 2010)



Figure 4.24 Left: Selanik, triumphal arch erected by JSC Railways Company in front of the City Station, 1911, photograph. Right: Selanik, Oriental Railways Company Triumphal Arch erected on the way to Beşçınar Garden (*Memleket Bahçesi Caddesi*), 1911, photograph.

Source: Taksim Atatürk Library Visual Materials Collection, album # 77.



Figure 4.25 Selanik, Selanik – Manastır Railway Company triumphal arch erected on the way to Beşçınar Garden. (*Memleket Bahçesi Caddesi*), 1911, photograph.

Source: Taksim Atatürk Library Visual Materials Collection, album # 77

The Sultan moved to Üsküb on June 11, the royal wagon rested *en route* at Topçu, Gevgeli, Köprülü stations and the locals gathered at station platforms: in the midst of their cheer and applauses, small ceremonies took place at the presence of the Sultan. Therefore, these small stations turned into the display case of the towns and became the platform of setting a contact with the sultan and his entourage.⁵⁷³ Thanks to the imperial visit, these stations agglomerated the biggest crowds and accommodated the most rigorous ceremonies that they had ever seen. In this context, it can be argued that the stations were not only the gates for the towns but also the public spaces of gathering on the railway route.

In brief, Sultan visited Üsküb, Priştina and Kosova War Battlefield⁵⁷⁴ and turned back to Selanik on June 17. The next visit to Manastır started on June 20, with a crowded and cheerful ceremony taking place on Oriental Railways Station. Similar to the previous one, the royal wagon halted at Karaferiye and Vodina stations to attend the local ceremonies taking place on the station platforms.⁵⁷⁵ Finally, Sultan Mehmet V (Reşad) returned to Selanik again on June 24 and on the same day departed to İstanbul via sea route.

It is argued that Sultan Mehmed V's *Rumeli* journey served four distinct but interconnected political purposes. In the first place, it was meant to cement ties with the Albanian Muslim population, which was regarded by the CUP as a crucial factor in retaining its hold over the area. The second, more general political aim was to strengthen the policy of *İttihad-ı Anasır* (Unity of the Elements of Ottoman) by the organization of demonstrations of inter-ethnic solidarity in the most ethnically mixed area of the empire. Thirdly, the journey functioned to reinforce the political position of the CUP, which had been losing public support and political power over the past year, through the close and very visible association of the Sultan with leading committee members. Finally, the visit, and in particular the ceremonies on the

⁵⁷³ Mevlüt Çelebi, *Sultan Reşad'ın Rumeli Seyahati*. (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1999), 40-41

⁵⁷⁴ Especially, the sultan's visit to Kosova Battlefield and performing Friday Prayer on the battlefield with thousands of Albanians where his great ancestor Sultan Murad I was martyred possessed many symbolical expressions. The aim was to revive the Ottomanism ideals among the Albanians emphasizing Muslim brotherhood to them when they were rising against the state. See Mevlüt Çelebi, *Sultan Reşad'ın Rumeli Seyahati*, 53

⁵⁷⁵ Mevlüt Çelebi, *Sultan Reşad'ın Rumeli Seyahati*, 74

battlefield of Kosova War served the more general purpose of reviving the Ottoman and more specifically Ottoman-Muslim consciousness through reference to the historically significant symbols.⁵⁷⁶ However, the later incidents in the political history were not as glaring as the journey. Almost none the aims of the imperial travel could be realized due to the outbreak of Balkan wars only fifteen months after the journey and the structure of the Balkan Peninsula was damaged to such an extent that it could not be repaired thereafter.

4.1.4 Manastır:

Similar to other cases, in Manastır, the arrival of railway consolidated the military territorialization in the region by the central authority and it provided a new tool for the economic development of the country and political control of the western Ottoman Balkans.

Although Selanik-Manastır railway project mostly was considered for military purposes in the planning phase of the project, its economic benefits were frequently stressed as well. In the country between the two prominent centers of Ottoman Balkans, the vast plains accommodated many important towns and a considerable population which would be directly affected from the railways. A number of reports were prepared by Ottoman officers analyzing the costs and benefits of the new railway project.⁵⁷⁷ The fields and villages that the railway tracks passed were fertile lands mostly used for agricultural production. It was reported that the availability of railways would considerably reduce the transportation duration and costs of transferring agricultural products since most of the commercial activity of Manastır and its surrounding territories bounded to Selanik port. Additionally, the influence and economic hinterland of Selanik would be expanded to the inner Western Balkans and its strategic importance would increase as well.⁵⁷⁸ Another interesting point is that both economic and military bureaucrats emphasized the importance of extending the line from Manastır to the Adriatic coasts -either to Draç (Durrës) or Avlonya

⁵⁷⁶ Eric Jan Zürcher, *Kosovo Revisited*, 36

⁵⁷⁷ For instance at the end of the nineteenth century, Karefakiye had 19,000; Vodina had 14,000; Florina had 10,000 inhabitants. See, BOA, İ.MMS 116-4962, h. 24 S 1308 (October 9; 1890)

⁵⁷⁸ BOA, İ.MMS 116-4962; h.24 S 1308, (October 9; 1890)

(Vlore)- so that a continuous railway connection between Aegean and Adriatic Seas would be established.⁵⁷⁹

When the exact route of the line was approved by the Sublime Porte, the citizens of two towns – Florina and Ağustos- appealed to Sublime Porte to move the stations closer to their towns which were one and two hours away from the town centers. They stated that the railways would trigger the economic activity in their towns and they were ready to donate the lands to the company required for the change of the route and station place.⁵⁸⁰ The Sublime Porte analyzed the demands in petitions and approved the demands of Florina but rejected the Ağustos’ since being bigger in size and closer to the proposed station; the transfer of Florina station would be beneficial for both citizens and the state.⁵⁸¹

The first phase of the project between Selanik and Karaferiye was completed in 1892 and the total 218-kilometers long line was inaugurated two years later. Considering the duration and costs of transportation, the arrival of the railway to Manastır was a revolutionary attempt. Since, before then the greater part of all merchandises for Manastır were conveyed in the first place by rails from Selanik to Köprülü (Gratzko) on the Selanik -Üsküb- Belgrade line, a distance of some 167 kilometers, whence they were further transported by road to Manastır, the time of the journey varied from 8 days to 3 or even 4 weeks according to the season of the year. If the old carriage road via Vodina (Edessa)⁵⁸² was used, it would be only one day. So, the cost of transport under the previous system was expected to be considerably reduced to one third of its current value.⁵⁸³ In his official annual report, the English vice consul in Manastır applauded the project and invited foreign merchants to the city

⁵⁷⁹ BOA, İ.MMS 116-4962; h.24 S 1308, (October 9; 1890)

⁵⁸⁰ BOA, İ.DH.1264-99333, h.4 B 1309 and DH. MKT. 1857-104, h.05 M 1309 (August 11; 1891).

⁵⁸¹ For the Sublime Porte’s analysis, the transfer of Ağustos station would extend the route which could not be compensated by the economic size of the small Ağustos town considering the annual guarantee fee.

⁵⁸² Basil Gounaris. “Peasants, Brigands and Navvies: Railway Dreams and Realities in the Ottoman Balkans.” *The Journal of European Economic History*. 34, no.1 ,(2005), 235

⁵⁸³ *Trade of Salonica report for the years 1891-92*, 40 and P.P.A.P 1893-94, xcvi, 248-49 quoted in Basil Gounaris. “Peasants, Brigands and Navvies”, 236

and expressed his hope for the construction of a customs house in the railway yard.⁵⁸⁴ He stated that with the completion of the Selanik - Manastır line, it was hoped that the imperial government might be induced to consent to the establishment of a custom house at Manastır which would make possible to bring goods from abroad directly to Manastır without the usual stoppages at Selanik. Therefore, it would provide a saving of 1,5 % and in some cases as much as 3% in commission charges.⁵⁸⁵ It would also enable the traders to have direct relations with firms in Europe.⁵⁸⁶

At the beginning, the carriage tariffs of the Selanik – Manastır Railway Company was totally a disappointment for the Manastır merchants since in the first months the rates were so high that merchants could derive no advantage from the new railway. Under the new tariff which came into operation in November 1894, the rates were reduced around 25%. Nevertheless, even the new rates are very high, and no great effect on Manastır trade from the new line was yet apparent.⁵⁸⁷ On this line where military traffic was more substantial, the commercial traffic represented 60% of the total annual income.⁵⁸⁸

During and after the completion of the line, the extension of the line to Adriatic coast brought into the Sublime Porte's agenda some construction difficulties on the proposed route. The high cost of operation, and later, the increasing insurgency in the country made the project drop from the official agenda in economic terms.⁵⁸⁹ In the following years, the demand for the customs in Manastır came to fore again for a number of times, however, no progress could be achieved.

⁵⁸⁴ *Trade of Salonica report for the years 1893-94*, 18

⁵⁸⁵ *Trade of Salonica report for the years 1891-92*, 41

⁵⁸⁶ *Trade of Salonica report for the years 1893-94*, 17

⁵⁸⁷ According to the British consul in Manastır, a truck load of 10 tons of goods of whatever class was sent from Selanik to Manastır in 15 Turkish liras whereas it was 20,15 liras in the previous rate.

⁵⁸⁸ Basil Gounaris. "Peasants, Brigands and Navvies.", 236

⁵⁸⁹ For instance, BOA, Y.PRK.MYD 13-39, h.23 M 1311 (August 6, 1893)

From 1894 on, the commercial transport between Selanik and Manastır increased a couple of times, although it is not easy to decide to what extent the railways affected this increase. The table below shows the change in the volume of some items between 1894 and 1907.

Table 4.1 Volume of freight transported on Selanik – Manastır line in 1894 and 1907.⁵⁹⁰

The item	Tonnage in 1894	Tonnage in 1907
Cereals	9419	17717
Petrol	1579	3740
Sugar	1564	5473
Cotton	646	3057
flour	1002	7974
Iron ores	402	2224
Lime and cement	86	2308
Roof tile and brick	239	2390

Source: Mehmed Cavid. “Müessesatımız; Selanik – Manastır Demiryolu”. *Ulum-u İktisadiyye ve İctimaiyye Mecmuası*, (İstanbul: 1908),1, no.3, 356

When it comes to the passenger traffic, although the number of passengers increased in time, it did not reach a level compensating the annual guarantee fee and it is striking to observe that for a couple of years the highest passenger capacity in number was in 1897 when thousands of soldiers were carried by railways.

Generally speaking, the percentage of the first class passengers in number stayed around or less than 1%, the second class passengers remained less than 10%, and the majority of the passengers in number were composed by the third class ones.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁹⁰ According to Basil Gounaris, from the little data that we have for the period 1893-1900, it appears that public revenues increased in the vilayet of Manastır, but it is difficult to attribute this solely to the opening of the Selanik - Manastır line and after analyzing a number of commercial items he concluded that to the extent to which agriculture contributed to the rise in public revenues, this had little to do with improvements in infrastructure. For more information see, Basil. C. Gounaris. “National Claims, Conflicts and Developments in Macedonia, 1870-1912”.

⁵⁹¹ Basil Gounaris analyzes the numbers of passenger traffic in detail. It is interesting to note that it was in 1897, during Greco-Ottoman War, that the least annual guarantee fee paid to the company. Therefore, with the guarantee fee paid to the company, the Ottoman Army transferred more than one hundred thousand soldiers on the line.

Table 4.2 Passenger numbers and classes on Selanik- Manastır railway line.

Years	1st class	%	2nd Class	%	3rd Class	%	Total # of Passengers
1894	871	1,4	7528	12	54263	86,6	62663
1896	657	0,7	7897	8,6	82643	90,7	91197
1897	n/a		n/a		n/a		242923
1898	n/a		n/a		n/a		135480
1899	n/a		n/a		n/a		96210
1900	n/a		n/a		n/a		112309
1901	n/a		n/a		n/a		119256
1902	744	0,6	11013	9	105971	90,4	121328
1903	1047	0,6	13649	7,4	168927	92	183623
1904	1308	0,8	14189	9,3	137692	89,9	153189
1905	n/a		n/a		n/a		161383
1909	1644	0,7	22054	9,1	219187	90,2	242885
1910	2187	0,7	25517	8,2	279321	91,1	309025
1911	2498	0,9	27021	9,4	257296	89,7	286815
1912	3237	0,9	25204	6,7	345000	92,4	373441

Source: Basil Gounaris. *Steam over Macedonia*, (East European Monographs, 1993), 242 and 251.

Although the number of passengers and the freight carried increased in time, the gross kilometric income was substantially less than the guaranteed one. While the annual guarantee fixed to 14,300 francs per kilometer, the receipts were less than 10,000 francs until 1906 and only four times (1908; 1910-1912) they exceeded the amount guaranteed.⁵⁹²

From the beginning of the twentieth century, another project proposing a direct line between Üsküb and Manastır via Prilepe was introduced to connect Manastır directly

⁵⁹² Basil C. Gounaris. "Peasants, Brigands and Navvies:", 237

to European network. However, the Oriental Railways and the commercial community at Selanik were probably strong enough to prevent such proposal since they did not want to shrink their economic hinterland and leave some of their markets to Manastır.⁵⁹³ Even at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, there was very little direct trade between Manastır and European markets. Because Selanik was the port of entry and all goods had to be cleared there, as there was still no custom house at Manastır. Consequently, the Manastır importer was usually an agent or a sub agent of foreign firms and had to be represented at Selanik. The freight by rail was very onerous, as the line possesses a monopoly and the merchant was at its mercy.⁵⁹⁴

Finally, in 1911, a field survey led to the revival of the long standing extension project of Selanik – Manastır line. The survey would be finished until the end of 1912; however it would not be commenced because of the outbreak of Balkan War in 1912.⁵⁹⁵

Starting from the early years of the nineteenth century, the attempts of turning Manastır into a garrison town were crowned by the realization of Selanik- Manastır railway connection; so that – after the realization of Selanik- İstanbul Junction line- the first (in İstanbul), the second (in Edirne) and the third army (in Manastır) bases became interconnected by the railways. To a certain extent, this infrastructure increased the mobility capacity of troops and ammunition between the military bases. Considering the proximity of Manastır and Selanik to the Greece frontier, it was planned that if a military tension occurred there, this line would be one of the main suppliers of the army.⁵⁹⁶ However, during the planning and construction process, it was frequently reported that the highest benefit could be received through extension of the line to Adriatic Sea which would increase the revenues as well as the mobility of the army.⁵⁹⁷ Besides, such an extension project would bring the Yanya *vilayet*

⁵⁹³*The Trade of Salonica Annual Report for the Year of 1909*, 27

⁵⁹⁴*The Trade of Salonica Annual Report for the Year of 1910*, 25

⁵⁹⁵*The Trade of Salonica Annual Report for the Year of 1911*, 25

⁵⁹⁶Mehmed Cavid, “Müessesat-ı Nafiamız; Selanik – Manastır Demiryolu”, 341

⁵⁹⁷BOA, Y.MTV. 45/100

(southern Albania) into the territorialized zone, therefore, would revive the historical *Via Egnatia* of Romans at the turn of the twentieth century.⁵⁹⁸ From a strategic point of view, the continuous railway connection between Aegean and Adriatic coasts would reduce the risk of the marching of the Greece army to the north.⁵⁹⁹ However, as stated before, the extension could never be realized due to the historical context.

In every year many army officers were appointed to official duties in Manastır as a garrison town and many students were coming to the city to start a military career (at Manastır Military High School. During the *Hamidian* era (1876-1909), Manastır was both physically and spiritually away from the suppressing agents of the regime. This characteristic of the city made it a heaven for the Unionist (*İttihatçı*) army officers, constitutionalists and opponents of the regime from different circles. In these years, with its lively cultural life, Manastır was the homeland of the Unionists and source of inspiration for many other cities. Therefore, when the constitution was restored and initially proclaimed on July 23, 1908 in Manastır, no one was surprised about the timing and the location.⁶⁰⁰ (Fig. 4.26)

⁵⁹⁸ BOA; BEO 965-72328; h.15 M 1315, (June 16, 1897)

⁵⁹⁹ BOA, İ.MMS 116-4962; h.24 S 1308, (October 9, 1890)

⁶⁰⁰ As E. J. Zürcher puts it, within the empire, and especially within the army, the years from 1906 to 1908 seem to have witnessed increasing discontent, due to rising prices (inflation speeded up in the first years of the century) and to the fact that payment of salaries was even more in arrears than normal. Signs of discontent in the shape of strikes and small-scale rebellions, which were documented in many different parts of the empire, set the stage, but the Macedonian problem was the direct cause of the revolution of July 1908.

In a coordinated campaign, officers who were members of the Committee (among them Enver) (*arasiptal*) demanded the restoration of the constitution. The sultan tried to quell the revolt by sending first trusted officers and then Anatolian troops to Macedonia, but some of the officers were murdered and the troops, influenced by CUP agitators aboard their ships, refused to fight the insurgents. The sultan then gave in and on the night of July 23 1908 announced that the constitution would henceforth be applied in full and parliament reconvened after an interval of thirty years. See, Eric Jan Zürcher. *Turkey, a Modern History*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 90



Figure 4.26 **Left:** Manastır, parades on Hamidiye (Later 10 July) Street after the restoration of constitution, 1908, photograph. **Right:** Manastır, the crowds in front of the government house during the celebration of constitution, 1908, photograph.

Source: Left: Bitola History Archive, image collection I-165, right: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, a tale of an Ottoman city through postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011)

The association of many Unionist officers with Manastır made the city hotbed of the revolution with the name of the “fatherland of the liberty”(vatan-ı hürriyet). The famous principles and slogans rose during the revolution – namely liberty, justice and brotherhood- bounded the ethnically diverse groups together for a short time, and then Sultan Abdülhamid II was deposed by his younger brother Mehmed V (Reşad) in 1909 as a result of consequences of counter-coup attempt against CUP and constitution in Istanbul. During Mehmed V (Reşad)’s era, the CUP became the main authority within the state and the changing power balances caused conflicts in the bureaucracy, state and the ethnic communities as well. In 1910, it was finally Albanians who were involved in restless uprising communities of Ottoman Balkans.⁶⁰¹

By the blowing wind of the constitution and its heroes, many traces of *Hamidian* Era were erased in the cityscape of Manastır. Notably, the place names were the issue to start: Hamidiye Street, Hamidiye Shopping Arcade, Hamidiye Arts and Crafts School and these names were changed by the names suitable to the new conditions such as 10 July Street, Niyazi Bey Street, Atıf Bey Street, Hürriyet (Liberty) Square and *İnkılap* (Reform) School.

In historical context, the goodwill grand tour of Sultan Mehmed V to Selanik, Kosova and Manastır vilayets in June 1911 was the CUP’s attempt to regain the

⁶⁰¹ E.J. Zürcher. *Turkey, A Modern History*, 104

loyalty of Albanians⁶⁰² and particularly to restore the peace atmosphere in the Ottoman Balkans. As shown in the case of Selanik, the railways, stations, station streets and their surroundings were active places of political propaganda, expression of loyalty and meeting medium of the Sultan with his subjects.⁶⁰³ In the long itinerary of the travel, Manastır was a special stop for the CUP, since being the fatherland of the constitution, Manastır would welcome the first sultan of the freedom era. Months ago, the feverish preparations in the city for the royal visit had been started by the special committees and their tasks included the arrangements of the streets, painting of the buildings and erection of triumphal arches.⁶⁰⁴ Recently inaugurated municipality building was prepared as the residence of the Sultan during his stay, thus, its interior was refurbished, and its garden was rearranged and electrified for lighting in the evenings.⁶⁰⁵ The local communities and official institutions erected triumphal arches on the banks of Drahor, 10 July Street and Station Square.⁶⁰⁶ Special care was taken for the arrangement and embellishment of 10 July Street as the main street connecting the station to the royal residence.⁶⁰⁷ It was decided to initiate the welcome ceremony in the station, therefore the main waiting lounge's walls and the ceiling was embellished and elegant carpets were laid on the floors. Finally, to create visual amusements in the Dragor's bed, low walls were put up on appropriate places to create small waterfalls.⁶⁰⁸

The route between Selanik and Manastır witnessed enthusiastic celebrations for the royal visit: the train had to stop for short periods in Karaferiye, Vodina and Florina stations where hundreds of citizens gathered and the station platform was

⁶⁰²E.J. Zürcher. *Turkey, A Modern History*, 104

⁶⁰³ For a detailed account of the visit, see Mevlüt Çelebi. *Sultan Reşad'ın Rumeli Seyahati*. (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1999)

⁶⁰⁴*Rumeli*, April 17, 1911.

⁶⁰⁵*Rumeli*, June 19, 1911.

⁶⁰⁶*Rumeli*, April 10, 1911.

⁶⁰⁷*Cenin*, May 20, 1911. In Rumi Calendar, 10 Temmuz 1324 corresponds to June 23 1908 in Gregorian calendar and the name of the street commemorates the proclamation of constitution at that day.

⁶⁰⁸*Ziya*, June 20, 1911

embellished for the ceremony.⁶⁰⁹ In these intervals, the stations turned into a scene where the Sultan met with his subjects and the subjects' expressed their loyalty. It was in Manastir Station where the vehement and dynamic crowds were waiting the Sultan and his entourage. Among them, the deputies, consuls, high civil and military officers, ecclesiastics, and local notables were at the front rows. The firing of 21-gun salute heralded the arrival of the royal cortege; the Sultan rested in the station building for a while and accepted deputies, consuls and the other exclusive groups to his presence. **(Fig. 4.27)**



Figure 4.27 Manastir, Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad) getting on the horse coach in front of railway station, 1911, photograph.

Source: National Archives of Macedonia Bitola Section Image Collection.

In the three days when the Sultan stayed in Manastir, he visited schools, mosques, barracks, and public gardens in order to have the opportunity of meeting with the citizens. During these occasions, he tried to show the compassionate face of the royal house and granted remarkable amounts to religious, educational and health and social welfare institutions of the city without favoring one over another.⁶¹⁰ **(Fig. 4.28)**

Besides, the Sultan made a conscious and very visible effort to get in touch with the population by inviting the people into the garden of his residence and appearing on

⁶⁰⁹ *Senin*, June 23, 1911

⁶¹⁰ *Senin*, June 22, 1911

the window a number of times when the flood of students and groups carrying flags and placards passing in front of his residence.⁶¹¹ (**Fig. 4.30**) Thus, the public spaces of the city were actively used for official propaganda of the CUP in Manastir. Another interesting event was the reenactment of scenes from the constitutional revolution, notably the entry into town of the constitutional forces on July 10, 1908 represented by troops under the command of Niyazi Bey⁶¹² started in front of the residence and finalized in the Freedom Square. Finally, a groundbreaking ceremony was held in Freedom Square for a memorial monument (*Abide-i Hürriyet*) symbolizing the first artillery fire heralding the restoration of the constitution in 10 July (July 23, 1908).⁶¹³

To conclude, the royal visit to Manastir and its itinerary was full of symbolic meanings. The CUP tried to use the visit to consolidate his power in the region especially over the Albanians. In this sequence, the train, railway, and stations were the tools actively used for political propaganda.



Figure 4.28 **Left:** Manastir, triumphal arch erected by the military staff in front of the governor house, 1911, postcard. **right:** Manastir, triumphal arch in front of the municipality building, 1911, postcard.

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, a Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

⁶¹¹ Eric Jan Zürcher, *Kosovo Revisited*, 34

⁶¹² *Ibid*, 36

⁶¹³ *Senin*, June 23, 1911



Figure 4.29 Left: Manastir, “Gate of Freedom” (*Bab-ı Hürriyet*) at Hanlarönü location as a reminiscent of the entrance of Niyazi Bey and his troops to Manastir on July 10 (July 23), 1908, 1911, photograph. **Right:** Manastir, reception room in the royal residence, 1911, photograph.

Sources: left: Bitola History Archive, image collection I-433, **right:** Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).



Figure 4.30 left: Manastir, Sultan waving the parades from the window of the royal residence, 1911, photograph. **Right:** Manastir, students parading on the Liberty Square, 1911, postcard.

Sources: left: Konstantin Anastasov Private Collection. **Right:** Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

4.1.5 Concluding Remarks

Investigating the role of the state as an actor of change in the selected cases brings about three themes that explain the activities of the state, as illustrated in the framework of the dissertation. These are the territorialization of the Ottoman

geography through economic, military and political areas; the creation of civic centers; and finally, the operational interventions in railway companies.

Firstly, the appearance of the state authority as an actor of change in the context of railways was frequently a result of its politics of territorialization of the Ottoman Balkans. The objective of the territorialization was to retain the official control and provide security in Ottoman Balkans (can be read as Macedonia in historical perspective) which was open to the intervention of surrounding countries. The role of railways in the territorialization can be conceptualized in three areas: military, economic and political.

Although it was not as widespread as it was in central Europe, the railway infrastructure was an important tool used to oppress the uprisings in the towns and villages or to maneuver troops and ammunition during wartimes. Besides, the routes of the lines were mostly decided upon the military priorities and objectives of the Ottoman General Staff. One of the most significant benefits of railways emerged during the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897 when the Ottoman troops were carried to the battlefield in a relatively short time from İstanbul, Manastır and Anatolia to the Thessaly plains by means of railway infrastructure.

Furthermore, the railway infrastructure provided the rural areas with the opportunity of carrying the agricultural production to the other cities and ports in a significantly shorter time. As will be discussed later, although the carriage tariffs were higher than the expectations of the villagers, it was certain that the railways increased the agricultural production and the total area of agricultural lands in Ottoman Balkans, therefore, when the climatic conditions allowed, the tithe revenues of the state increased.

Finally, as exemplified in the visit of Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad), the railway travel in Ottoman Balkans was used as a tool of political propaganda and the en route railway stations and terminus stations became the stage of official demonstrations.

The second theme is an issue of administrative reforms of the nineteenth century which corresponded to both increase at the number of officers and the necessity of new spatial organizations for the effective work of these governing bodies. Therefore, in many cities, the local administrative buildings (governor offices) were

renewed / expanded, and new buildings were constructed to meet the spatial demands of the new governing organs. In some cases, if there was available urban space, the allocation of the government buildings would fit into a spatial pattern of civic centers. In Dedeğaç, a new civic center was designed by the Edirne *vilayet* engineers who applied the layout that they had previously implemented in Edirne city center. Although there were similar examples of creating civic centers all around the empire, Dedeğaç introduced the most appropriate one in spatial organization, due to the availability of required land. This theme revolves around the power struggles between the state and the railway entrepreneur over the territorial control of land at a company town and creation of a civic center as the territorial victory of the state.

Finally, the contingent interventions of the state were not limited to the local authorities; in some incidents, the state was against the international entrepreneurs holding the railway concessions and these incidents cause tension between the state and the entrepreneurs. In the nature of enterprising, there existed the objective of maximizing the profits and minimizing the expenditures. When this reality encountered with the state's barriers stimulated by economic and military interests and the public benefits; a new state of equilibrium had to be set along the arms of the balance during the crush of the interest of these parties. In the cases examined, the state had the power and ability to intervene in the railway business when required.

By taking into consideration the same themes introduced above, the case cities will be addressed in the following section by focusing on international entrepreneurs as actors of change in their transformation by railway projects.

4.2 International Entrepreneurs as Actors in the Cities: Company Towns and Railway Yards

The only place for the station is in the center of the city. It is the natural place for it, and there is no reason for putting it anywhere else. The railway station is the hub of the wheel.

Le Corbusier, 1929⁶¹⁴

The international entrepreneurs are the sort of actors easier to explain: the railway concessionaires and their representatives in Ottoman Balkans. As introduced in the second chapter, at the beginning, it was the British enterprisers rushing into the territories to get concessions and thereafter depending on the economic and political relations between the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Europe, French and German capital entered in for railway enterprises. Among them, Baron Maurice de Hirsch's Oriental Railways (CO) was set up mainly by French capital whose headquarters were founded in Paris, then after the Treaty of Berlin, transferred to Vienna. The Oriental Railways constitutes the backbone of the lines in the Ottoman Balkans. After the Treaty of Berlin, some of the sections of the line ceded to Bulgaria and Serbia. Upon the completion of the railways for a continuous travel to Vienna, Baron Hirsch decided to retire from railway business. Consecutively, two other entrepreneur groups entered into Balkan railway scheme by the concessions of Selanik – Manastır and Selanik İstanbul railway projects at the end of the 1880 and in the 1890s: the Selanik – Manastır Railway concession was granted to another German capitalist group represented by Alfred Kaulla and Selanik - İstanbul Junction concession was granted to French capital represented by René Baudouy. In their construction and service phases, the entrepreneurs instinctively in favor of raising the profit to maximum and reducing the expenditures as much as possible and this phenomenon had also affected the built environment

4.2.1 Dedeoğaç

As presented in the third chapter, prior to the 1870s, in the place where Dedeoğaç town was founded, there was not a significant permanent urban settlement. The physical condition of the region was depicted as there were no more than a few mere

⁶¹⁴ Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning*. (London: Architectural Press), 166.

huts and some timber shacks⁶¹⁵ and that the coast was a mere cluster of fishermen's huts⁶¹⁶ at the beginning of the 1870s. There were also ruins of a demolished *Bektaşî* lodge complex and a number of dervish tombs and graves on a vast surrounding area.

Both the Ottoman government and the contractor company realized the importance to build up a small port and its connection with the railway line in order to increase the efficiency of the railways; and the entrepreneur expected to use this port for the ease of the transportation of metal tracks and timber ballasts and required machinery to inner geographies. Therefore, the concessionaire company quickly started site-works and completed the connection between Dedeğaç and Kuleliburgaz in 1872.⁶¹⁷

On the basis of new evidence collected from archives in Istanbul, Selanik and Dedeğaç, this part will explain how the creation, planning and development history of Dedeğaç town can actually be complex from what is presented in the related literature; and also show how the historical framework accommodated a complex web of interrelations between different actors. To express it in the simplest way, this part proposes that the planning and development of Dedeğaç was a mutual collaborative project undertaken by the Ottoman authorities and the *Société Imperiale Chemins de Fer de la Turquie d'Europe* (CO or Oriental Railways) that usually contained inner struggles and challenges between these actors. In this respect, this part will demonstrate that the creation of the town stands as an important example of the Ottoman reform attempts in the realm of planning, public works as revealed in the collaboration/struggle with foreign entrepreneurship in the nineteenth century setting.

In order to understand the earliest development of the entrepreneur's investment, a set of drawings will be examined consecutively.

⁶¹⁵*Salname-i Vilayet-i Edirne*, h. 1319 (1902-03), 1069-1070

⁶¹⁶“Dedeagatch” *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Edition (1911),7, 918

⁶¹⁷*Salname-i Vilayet-i Edirne*, h.1319 (1902-03), 1069-1070

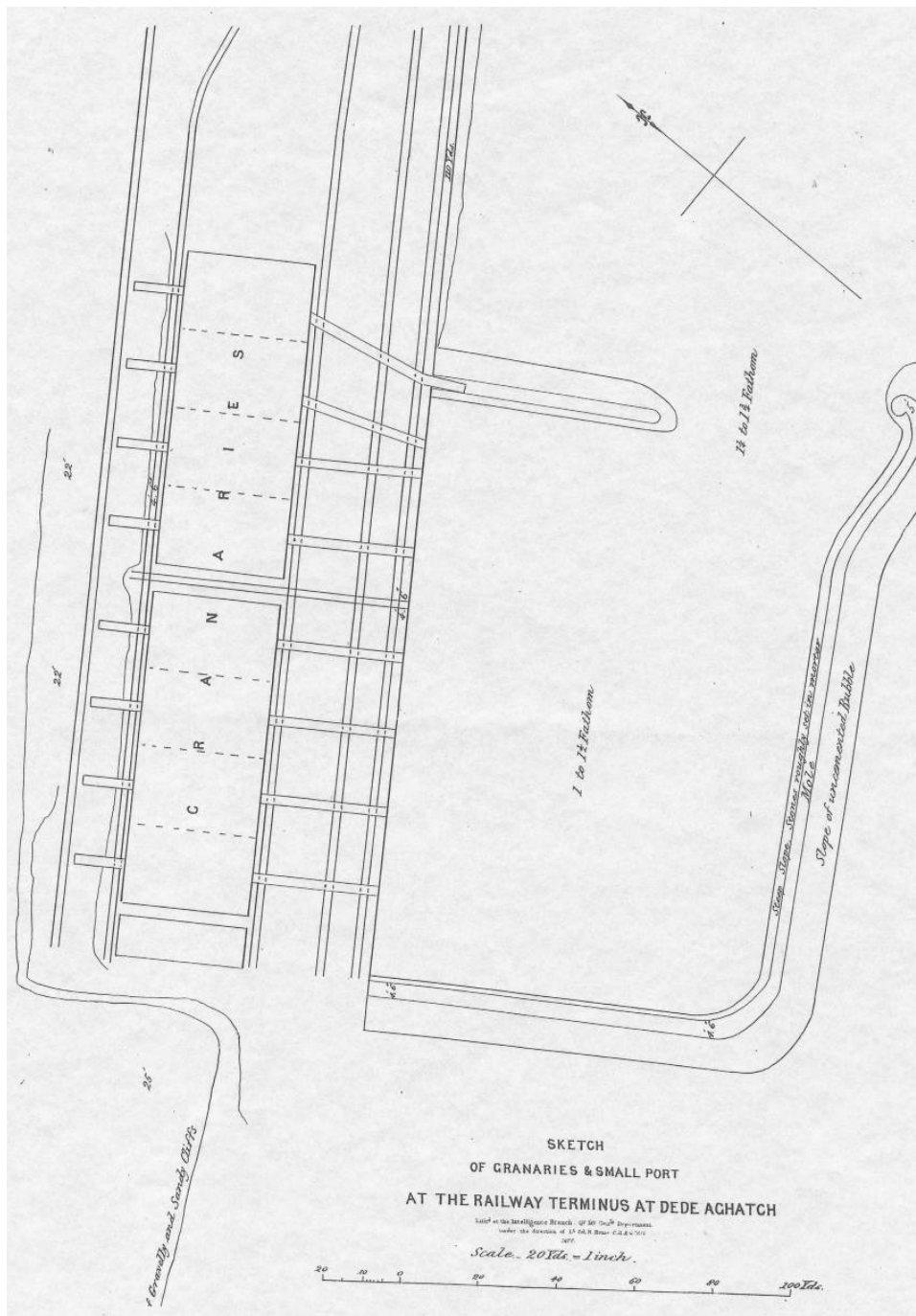


Figure 4.31 Dedeagaç, granaries & small port at the railway terminus, 1877, sketch drawing.

Source: British Archives, FO MFQ 1/875/56; 1877, the courtesy of Alexandra Yerolympos.

Among them, two sketch drawings of site plans and sections in different scales in the National Archives of Great Britain can be a good start. The first one illustrates the details of the initial Dedeğaç port project.⁶¹⁸ **(Fig. 4.31)**

It is interesting to note that these two consecutive drawings were the documents of intelligence activities. It can be argued that the construction of a new port on the Aegean Sea and a railway line was a significant strategic attempt and it was probably the British consulate officers who informed London about the developing story with some sketches. These sketches provide the physical depiction of the port and the station areas.⁶¹⁹ There are two large blocks of granaries that had four and five storage units in each one. Despite the availability of the detailed information about the preliminary port facilities, the plate indicates that the railway line had already extended to the port area before the preparation of intelligence sketches.

The next drawing frames a large area around the port and therefore it gives clues about the earliest settlement characteristics of the town. **(Fig. 4.32)** It seems that the first dwellings were located on both sides of a footpath starting from the port and arriving in a farmyard (*çiftlik*) at the skirts of a hill located at the north of the Dedeğaç settlement. The farmyard had existed there for a long time before the new settlement at Dedeğaç port. Around the farmyard, there was an oak wood. It also reveals information about the location of the railway station, port and granaries, the railway tracks between the port and the station. In the sketch, the railway coming from Kuleliburgaz (Pythion) approached the station from the eastern direction and by passing over a torrent bridge it arrived in the railway yard. The station is located around one kilometers east of the small port.

⁶¹⁸ British Archives, FO, MFQ 1/875/56; 1877

⁶¹⁹ In the first drawing, the depth of the water in the port is indicated around 1- 1, 5 fathom. (1,8 to 2,7 m). The mole of the port is L-shaped and it extends from the coast line around 100 yards (approximately 90 m). It is formed by pouring uncemented pebble stones into the sea. In the drawing, the shape and the location of the granaries are also shown.

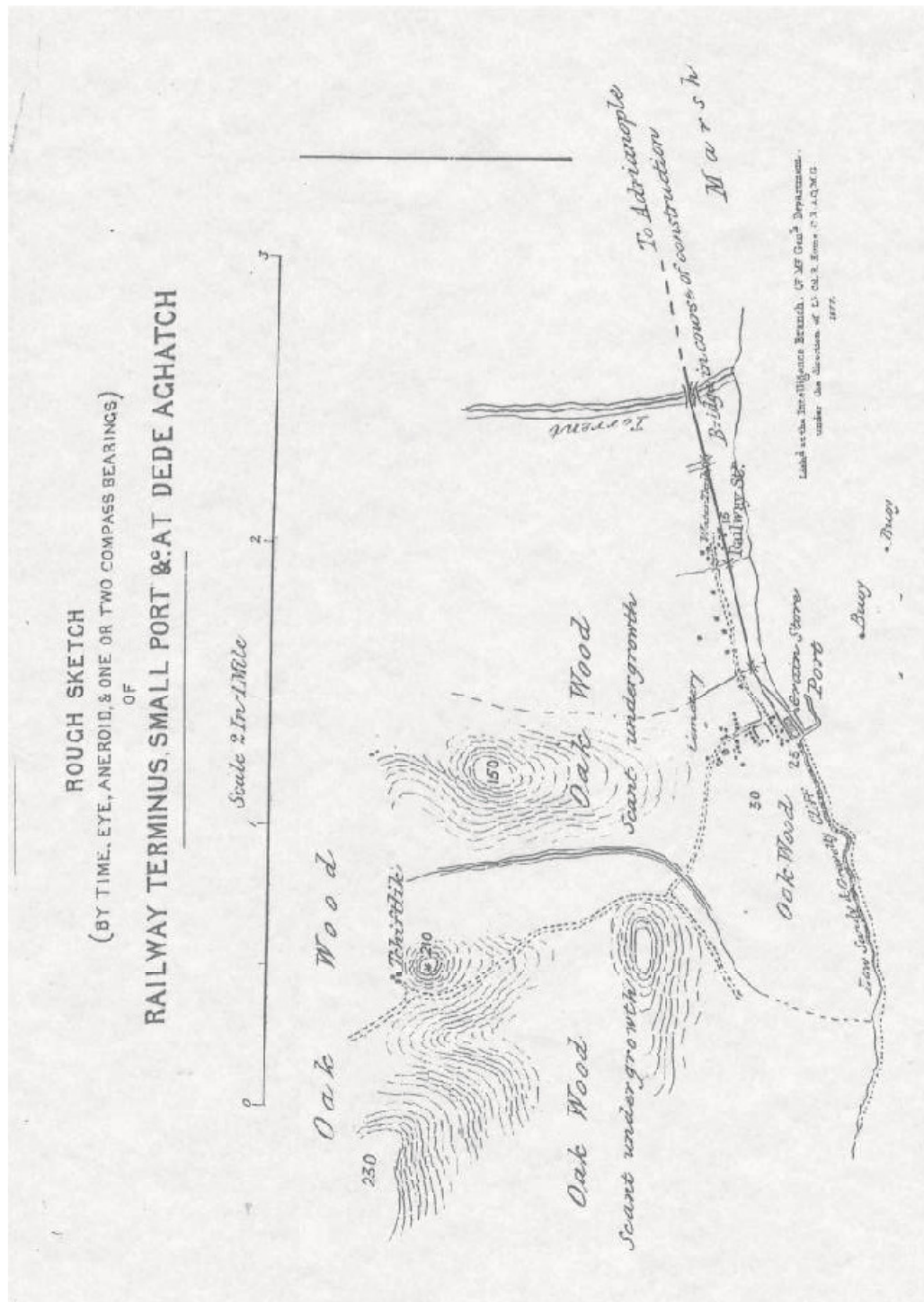


Figure 4.32 Dedeagaç, railway terminus and small port and surroundings, 1877, sketch drawing.
Source: FO, MFQ 1/875/58; 1877, the courtesy of Alexandra Yerolympos.

Rather than presenting a regular character, the organizational layout of these buildings seemed to be scattered on a vast deserted area.

It is interesting to note that the tracks between the port and the station had been installed before 1877 so that the aim of integration of the port and the railway facilities could be provided at a relatively early stage in comparison to many of the Ottoman Mediterranean port cities. Consequently, this connection enabled the economic expansion of the town.

The third drawing is another sketch revealing some other details about the initial development phase of Dedeagaç port and station areas. **(Fig. 4.33)** Found in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in İstanbul, the drawing does not indicate any details about date and the authorship. It displays Dedeagaç port, the station and the surrounding region.⁶²⁰ One can suggest that it might have been drawn by the engineers of the Oriental Railways Company and sent to the Sublime Porte in order to get approval of the routes of the lines around Dedeagaç, the locations of the port and station facilities.⁶²¹ The drawing reveals some extra details comparing to the previous sketches. For instance; between the station and port, shops and military depots are located on the each side of the railway line.⁶²² Parallel to the railway line, a linear torrent discharge canal is indicated in the drawing. It was probably offered by the contractor company as a precaution against the floods in rainy seasons. However, the canal project had never been realized.⁶²³ It can be argued that the canal also defined the boundary line of the area temporarily assigned to the Oriental Railways company for the construction of the railway yard.⁶²⁴

⁶²⁰ Printed in French, it is in the scale of 1:10000. As can be understood from the details, it might have been dated to the beginning of 1870s.

⁶²¹ Therefore, if the hypothetical approach is true, it can be dated to the early 1870s which makes it the oldest drawing depicting Dedeagaç settlement.

⁶²² Although shown in the drawing, these facilities could not be constructed.

⁶²³ The location of this line overlapped with Hamidiye Street of Ottoman period or Republic Avenue of the present Alexandroupolis

⁶²⁴ The canal indicated in the map overlapped with Hamidiye Street defining the east-west axis of the city. See section 4.1 and 4.3 about the boundary conflict between the parties.



Figure 4.33 Dedeağaç, site plan of the railway station and the port area, 1870s.

Source: BOA, map collection # 2083. The image is resized by the author.

Apart from these features, the drawing indicates a quarantine office on the east and shops and a customs house on the west side of the granaries. However, there is not any trace of residential or commercial settlement in the drawing. It also clarifies another detail about the surrounding region, the farmyard (*çiftlik*) pointed in sketch British intelligence drawing is also marked and it is called Ali Bey *Çiftliği* (*farmyard*)

In a short period, Dedeğaç developed into a relatively prosperous town and attracted the attention of travelers who also depicted the town in their writings shortly after its foundation. At the beginning of the 1880s, the travel guide book, published by Emilie Isambert, described the town as a formerly deserted and remote place and recorded that the construction of the port for the service of the railways, shops, the house of director, and the passenger station was completed during her visit and a few houses were near to completion.⁶²⁵ The initial core of the town consisted of a railway station, depots, customs office, lodges of the contractor company staff, contractor company offices and the district of the workers of the small port and railway station. The merchants of the surrounding region were pulled by the attraction of the new town and they settled in the town as a group.⁶²⁶

In order to figure out the initial settlement layout of the town, it is helpful to examine the well-known plan attributed to Russian army engineers. The drawing encloses the port area, customs, granaries, and in the north, the residential areas. (**Fig. 4.34**) The geometry of the houses cannot be classified in a typology but it seems that some of them had courtyards at their backsides.

⁶²⁵ Emilie Isambert, *Itinéraire Descriptif, Historique et Archéologique de l'Orient*. (Paris: Hachette, 1881), 1, 653

⁶²⁶ Alexandra Yerolympos, "Tanzimat Döneminde Kuzey Yunanistan'da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme" in Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, eds., *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 45

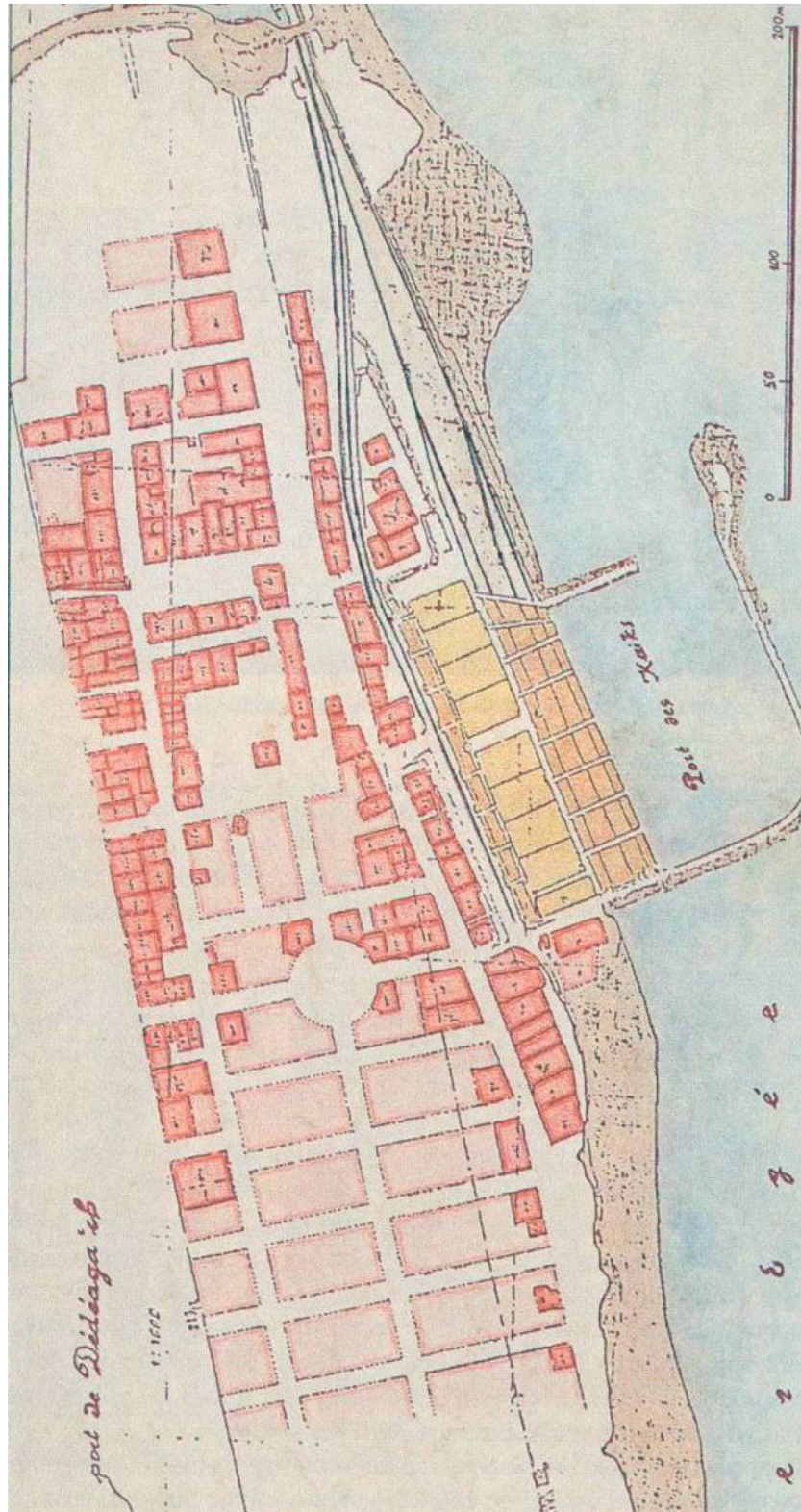


Figure 4.34 Dedeğaç, town plan attributed to Russians, c.1870s.

Source: Alexandra Yerolympos Private Collection.

Although they are mostly allocated on rectangular plots, the ones on the eastern side do not fit into regular shapes. There are some empty plots as well. From east to west, the density of the settlement reduces and at the western end of the actual settlement, there are empty rectangular plots. While there are irregularities in the allocation of houses, a sharp edge defines the northern edge of settlement and there is not any settlement indicated on the north side of the edge line. The plan also demonstrates railway lines approaching the port and the granaries, quarantine and customs offices. The drawing does not differentiate the function of the buildings, namely as shops, stores, ateliers or houses, but it seems that the row building blocks behind the granaries are probably shops and ateliers associated with port facilities. Most of the empty plots are on the western side of the planned area and it implies that the settlement developed from east of the port to the west in time. At the north of the granaries, between the four identical plots, it is implemented to create a round shaped small public square. On the upper left side of the drawing, it is titled as “Port of Dedeğaç” (*Port de Dedeagatch*) and on the small port it is noted as “Port of boats” (*port des kaiks*).

Were the Russian military officers the real authors of the town plan? This intricate question can be explored by recalling the terms and conditions of the concession granted to Baron Maurice de Hirsch. The concession convention gave the temporary usage right of the real estates of the treasury and public foundations 10 km on each side of the railway route to the contractor company free of charge during the construction process. The contractor company exploited the forests of these assigned lands, opened up mines and quarries for the infrastructure and built stations, ateliers, depots and lodgings for workers during and after the construction.

Before the concession, the vast area around Dedeğaç region had been registered for Sultan Bayezid Pious Endowment.⁶²⁷ By the approval of the route of Kuleliburgaz – Dedeğaç section of Oriental Railways, a large area close to Dedeğaç shoreline was assigned to the company to build up a railway station, a port, granaries and other facilities before the start of the site works. In practice, the assigned area in Dedeğaç was much more than the required space for the construction works and in addition,

⁶²⁷ BOA, DH.MKT. 1791/2, 1890

they were not reclaimed back by the Sublime Porte immediately after the site-works completed.

After the inauguration of port and station, the merchants from surrounding villages, such as İnöz (Ainos) and Makri moved to the town and demanded land to construct buildings for commercial and residential activities. The contractor company decided to use the assigned area to make extra profit and divide the large empty area into plots and sold or rented each one to the individuals.⁶²⁸ By this trade, the contractor company gained a considerable amount of revenue.

According to Hazım Bey, the governor of the town for more than two years, the Oriental Railways company made an error in their appraisals about the capacity of the town and the port facilities they had founded. He explains that although the company aimed to collect an area as large as possible on the seashore to build a great port facility for their commercial benefits, the Ottoman authorities considered such a port might challenge the one in İstanbul, and therefore, they allowed setting up a small mole that could be used only by small tonnage ships.⁶²⁹ If Hazım Bey's memoirs reflect the truth, the company should have been disappointed greatly,⁶³⁰ and therefore, it probably developed new strategies to create extra revenues, and consequently, they decided to divide the assigned land into small plots and to sell them to the new inhabitants of the town. However, they could not sell all of the assigned lands in a short time, and during the official inspections by the Ottoman authorities, many of the unoccupied plots were reclaimed back by the state in order to assign them to the municipality for running much public works.⁶³¹ The ceding of the land happened after the boundary correction agreement done between the Ottoman authorities and Oriental Railways Company in July 1887. With the boundary correction convention of 1887, a considerable portion of the assigned lands were returned back to the local authorities' control. **(Fig. 4.35)**

⁶²⁸ BOA, DH:MKT 2212/98, 1899

⁶²⁹ Ebubekir Hazım, "Memuriyet Hatıraları". *İctihad* (İstanbul: 1926), 214, 4133

⁶³⁰ Ebubekir Hazım, "Memuriyet Hatıraları.", 4133.

⁶³¹ BOA, DH.MKT.1183/90, 1907. See sub-chapter 4.3 for the operations of Dedeğaç municipality about the use of these lands.

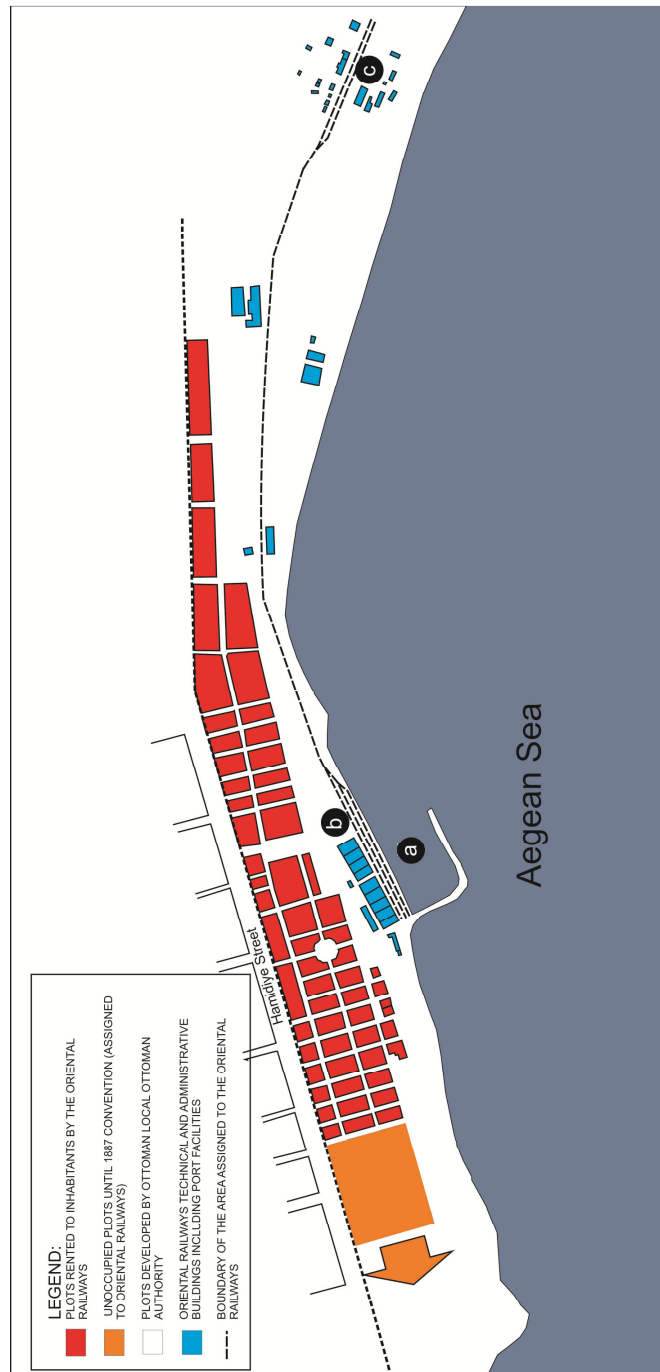


Figure 4.35 Dedeagaç, plan of port district indicating the development of the port area before the boundary correction convention of 1887.

Source: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Faculty of Architecture, based on “Plan of Alexandroupolis city”, redrawn and indexed by the author

Legend: a: mole, b: granaries, customs and quarantine office, c: railway yard

Therefore, the local government had the chance to build up public facilities on a plot close to the seashore after acquiring 50,000m² area from the company.⁶³²

It seems that until the middle of the 1880s, the plots in the area designed by the contractor company were mostly occupied by the residents of the town. That meant a significant increase in population in a short time.

The stories of the old residents also fit into this framework. In his memoirs, an old citizen of the town records that the empty parcels once assigned by Sublime Porte around Dedeğaç port were rented by the contractor company to the new settlers.⁶³³

As a proof, he explains that his family had once bought a store from an Armenian located at the port district and decades later it was levied by Franco-Greek Railway Company⁶³⁴ with claim that the plot of the shop had once been rented from the Oriental Railways Company and selling of the land was an illegal action between the parties. Furthermore, as a criticism of what has been said and written on Dedeğaç history, it is claimed in another article that there were two distinct phases of town planning at Dedeğaç. The first one covered the area between the seaside and Republic Avenue⁶³⁵ (*Hamidiye* Street) and it was done by the railway company. The second phase of the plan covered the northern side of the main street and it was projected by the Russian engineers. Accordingly, along with the 10 km-wide strip around the railway lines, new settlers rented plots from the contractor company and built houses and settled in the area.⁶³⁶ (Fig. 4.36)

⁶³² See the section 4.1 for the role of the State in Dedeğaç in the creation of the civic center

⁶³³ Anastanos Manias, “Αναδρομές και κριτική των όσωνεγράφησαν και ελέχθησαν για τηνιστορία του Ντεντέαγατς - Αλεξανδρούπολης”. *Ενδοχώρα*. (Alexandroupolis, 1998), no.59, 42 (translated by Selahattin Kesit)

⁶³⁴ The company was founded in 1927 in order to solve the problems occurred after territorial changes among the countries that Oriental Railways tracks passed. The line and stations left in Greece was run by this company until it was nationalized.

⁶³⁵ Republic Avenue is the northern edge of the settlement shown in the plan attributed to the Russians.

⁶³⁶ Alexandra Yerolympos , “Tanzimat Döneminde Kuzey Yunanistan’da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme”, 45



Figure 4.36 Dedeğaç, public fountain at the small circular square in the port district, unknown date, photograph.⁶³⁷

Source: George Alepakos private collection.



Figure 4.37 Alexandroupolis, the current view of the small round square, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

Considering the evidences shown above, one can suggest that there exist two alternative approaches to explain the history of the plan. First, the plan could have been drafted during the short invasion period of the Russian army in order to regulate the settlement as a result of new settler flux. It can also be added that the Russian

⁶³⁷ The round square still exists in Dedeğaç but the fountain was demolished in time.

officers prepared the site plan both for documenting the existing situation and for making settlement projections for the future.

The second approach devotes the existence of the plan to the operations of the railway company. Accordingly, it can be argued that the engineers of the contractor company parceled the large area into small plots to rent them to the new settlers of the town and developed a site plan to document their operations. The sharp northern edge of the plan supports this approach since it marked the boundary of the lands assigned to the contractor company. Besides, a similar design and construction process was held simultaneously by the engineers of the contractor company in Karaağaç / Edirne, so such an attitude was not peculiar to Dedeağaç.

Apart from the port facilities and the hiring of the plots to the new settlers, the major work done by the Oriental Railways was the establishment of a railway yard in Dedeağaç. As a terminus station near the Aegean Sea, the Oriental Railways Company had to build many facilities for the maintenance of the lines and vehicles. These buildings were allocated in a large area on the east of the town. The site plan of 1887⁶³⁸ prepared by the Oriental Railways Company and approved by the Ottoman authorities depicts the surroundings of the railway yard was merged with the floor plans of the passenger station, two staff lodgings, a hangar, and shop and atelier buildings. **(Fig. 4.38)** Showing the railway yard facilities in Dedeağaç, it is plotted in French but some Turkish remarks are inserted in it as well. As can be understood from the remarks on the edge of the plate, the drawing was produced by a special commission constituted in İstanbul in order to re-define the boundaries of the railway yard in Dedeağaç. It was prepared as an appendix of a report.⁶³⁹ The drawing can be a reproduction of the original site plan and floor plan drawings prepared by Railway Construction Company during the construction process at the beginning of the 1870s. There are also the signs of three individuals, namely Margessian, Cooper and Werren. It is stated that the red- hatched areas in the drawing had been originally registered to the civil list but they were assigned to the company after the agreement and finally they would be ceded to the civil list again.

⁶³⁸ BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7; 1887. It was drafted to show the boundary corrections of the Oriental Railways yard.

⁶³⁹ However, the report has not been found in the archive yet.

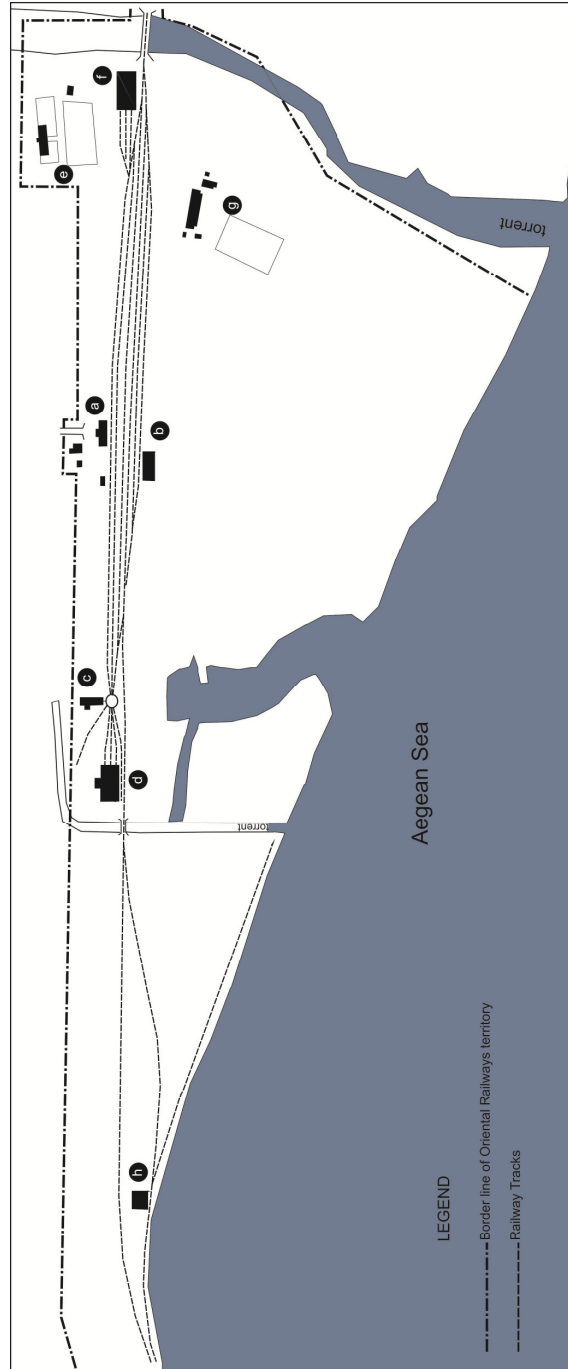


Figure 4.38 Dedeğaç, site plan for Oriental Railways (CO) yard, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7; July 14, 1887

Legend: a: Passenger Station, b: Merchandise Station, c: Atelier, d: Locomotive Maintenance Shed, e: Second Lodging Building and its facilities, f: Wagon maintenance shed, g: First Lodging building and its facilities, g: depot

As a rich source of information, the drawing depicts not only the allocation of buildings on the site, but the floor plans of single buildings as well. Therefore, it can be imagined how they appeared when they were initially built.

The plate not only introduces the site plan, but also accommodates the floor plans of many single buildings. Among them, the passenger station is at the core of the railway yard. The floor plans of the passenger station reveal its original layout at the time of its use. The floor plans are in 1:200 scale. In the ground floor plan, the functional spaces are allocated around a main lounge for the third class passengers waiting area which was in 6,65m x 8,45m dimensions. On each side of the main hall there are staff offices, keeper's room, waiting room for women passengers and waiting room for the first class passengers. (Fig. 4.39, 4.40 and 4.41) The station is a rectangle of 23,96 m x 7,40 m and the main hall have a projection of 1,8 meters at the street side façade.



Figure 4.39 Dedeağaç, view of the Oriental Railways passenger station, not dated, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials collection, album #90623.



Figure 4.40 Alexandroupolis, passenger station, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.



Figure 4.41 Alexandroupolis, front façade of the passenger station, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

At one corner of the building, there is a staircase. By which one can climb up the first floor of the station building. On the first floor, there are eleven rooms allocated on the two sides of the corridor. In the legend of the drawing, it is noted that one of

these rooms is reserved empty for future requirements; one large room is given to station staff and the other nine rooms are designed to be lodging for station master. There is also a cellar on the basement floor in 8,40m x 7,40m dimension accessed by the main staircase. There are three rooms in the cellar; however, their exact functions are not indicated on the plan. (Fig. 4.42) The building is a masonry construction coated with timber panels on the exterior surfaces. On the top of the building, there is a pitched roof. There are two entrance doors opening to the main waiting hall at the front façade. On the platform side, there are separate doors of telegram office, third and first class passenger lounges opening to the train platform.

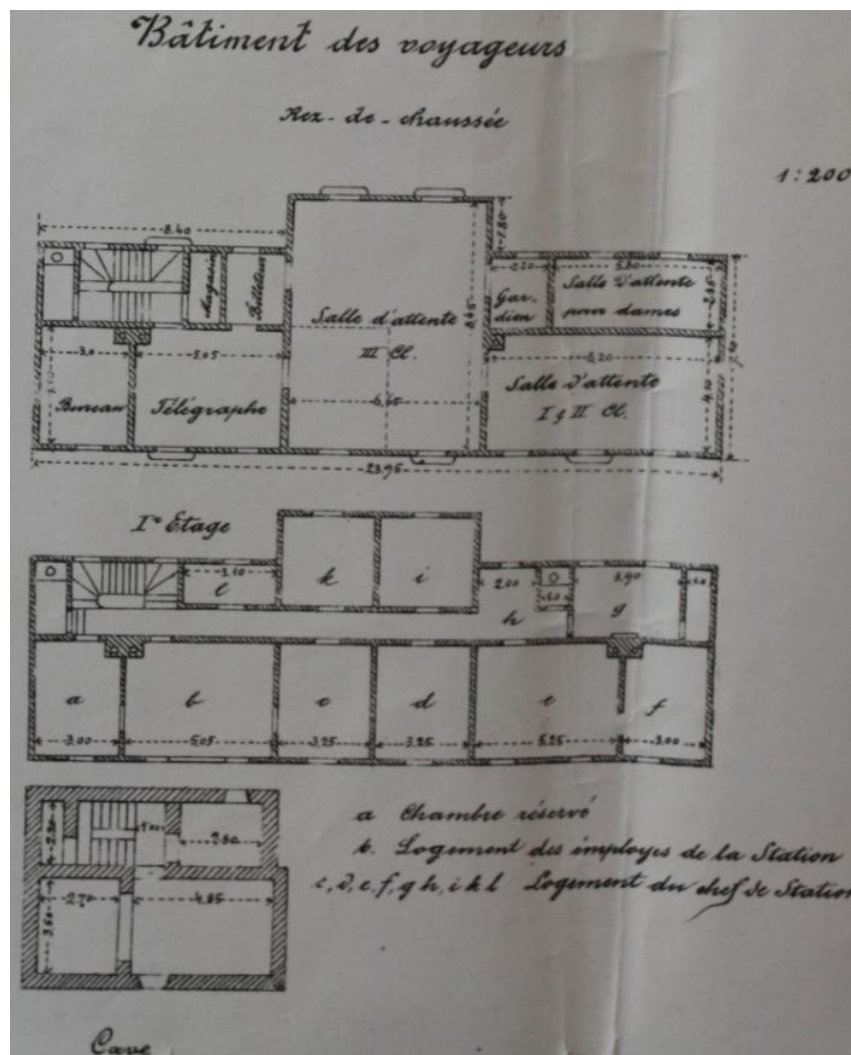


Figure 4.42 Dedeğaç, Oriental Railways passenger station floor plans, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA,Y.PRK.TNF 2/7 ; July 14, 1887.

There is a small square in front of the passenger station and it is connected to the town center by a paved road. Moreover, the site plan also shows a station restaurant and a police shed in front of the station around the small square, however, there is not any other drawing depicting their inner organization.

There are also two lodgings for the accommodation of the officials of the company. The first lodging building for the staff is a rectangular mass in 32,05 m x 7,90 m in dimension and at two-storey height. It is located at the south of the second lodging and around 600 m east of the station. (**Fig. 4.43**) Different from the other one, there are three stores on the ground floor and two rooms opening into one of these stores. There are three separate exterior stairs, two at the shorter façades and one at the large southern façade. On the upper floor, there were eight (?) lodgings; and two of them consisted of a single room and six of them have two rooms. The circulation on the upper floor takes place in an open corridor at the southern façade.

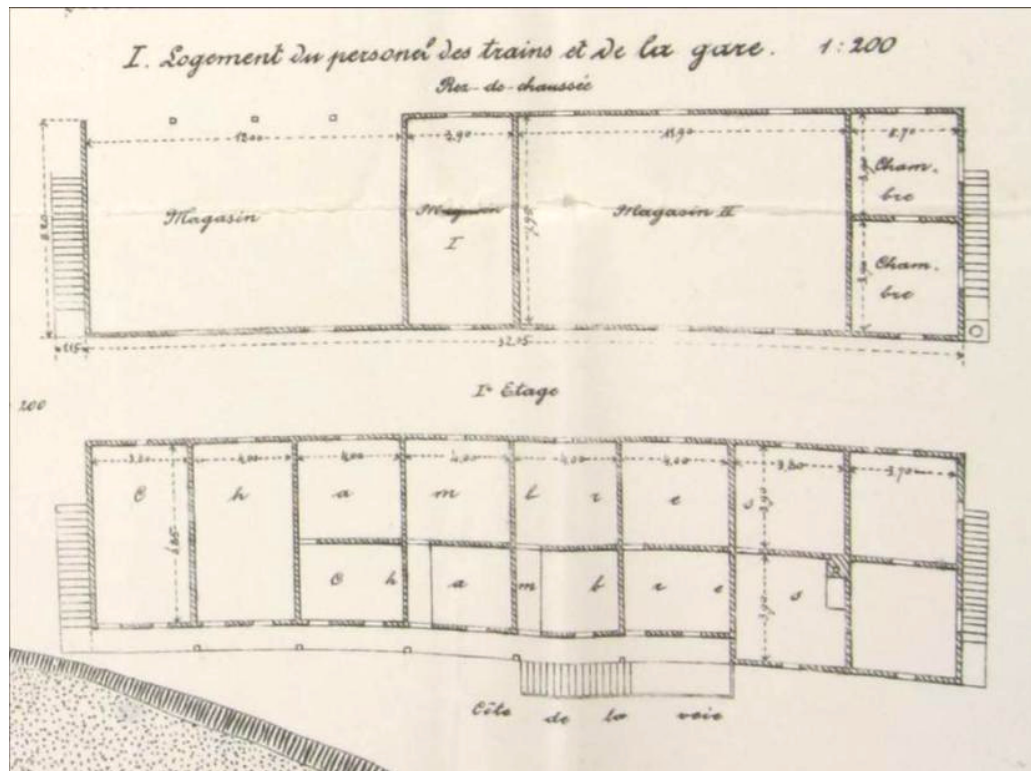


Figure 4.43 Dedeğaç, floor plans of the first lodging building, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7 ; July 14, 1887.

There are a number of buildings in the garden surrounding the first lodging building: they are a furnace, poultry, a maintenance store, and a detached toilet building.

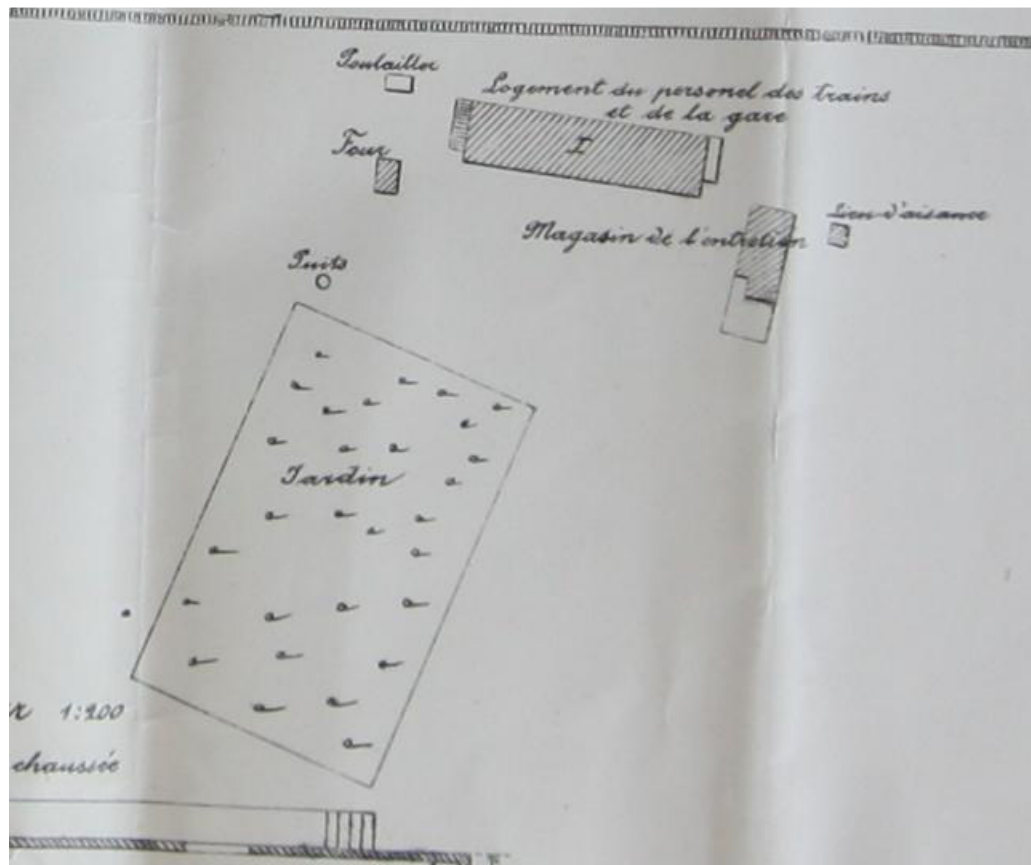


Figure 4.44 Dedeğaç, site plan of the first lodging building, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7 ; July 14, 1887.

In the site plan, the second lodging building is situated around 640 meters east of the station and surrounded by a large garden. (**Fig. 4.44**) Similar to the passenger station building, it is a rectangular building of two - storey high. The mass of the building is in 29,7 m x 7,6 m dimensions and composed of two blocks flanking a staircase block. Each block consists of several rooms of lodgings opened into a corridor. The entrance of the building is through a platform of a few steps. The floor plans show that across the entrance a staircase is placed and into the corridors flanking the entrance on its left and right sides ten rooms are opened. In the legend of the drawing, it is noted that one of these rooms is reserved for the train staff, three of them for line inspectors, one of them for the keeper and three of them for the line switch staff. On the middle landing of the staircase, there is a shared bathroom (?) for

the residents. On the upper floor, there are also ten rooms in different dimensions, and they are reserved for train chiefs and conductors, inspectors, keepers and atelier workers (?).(Fig. 4.45)

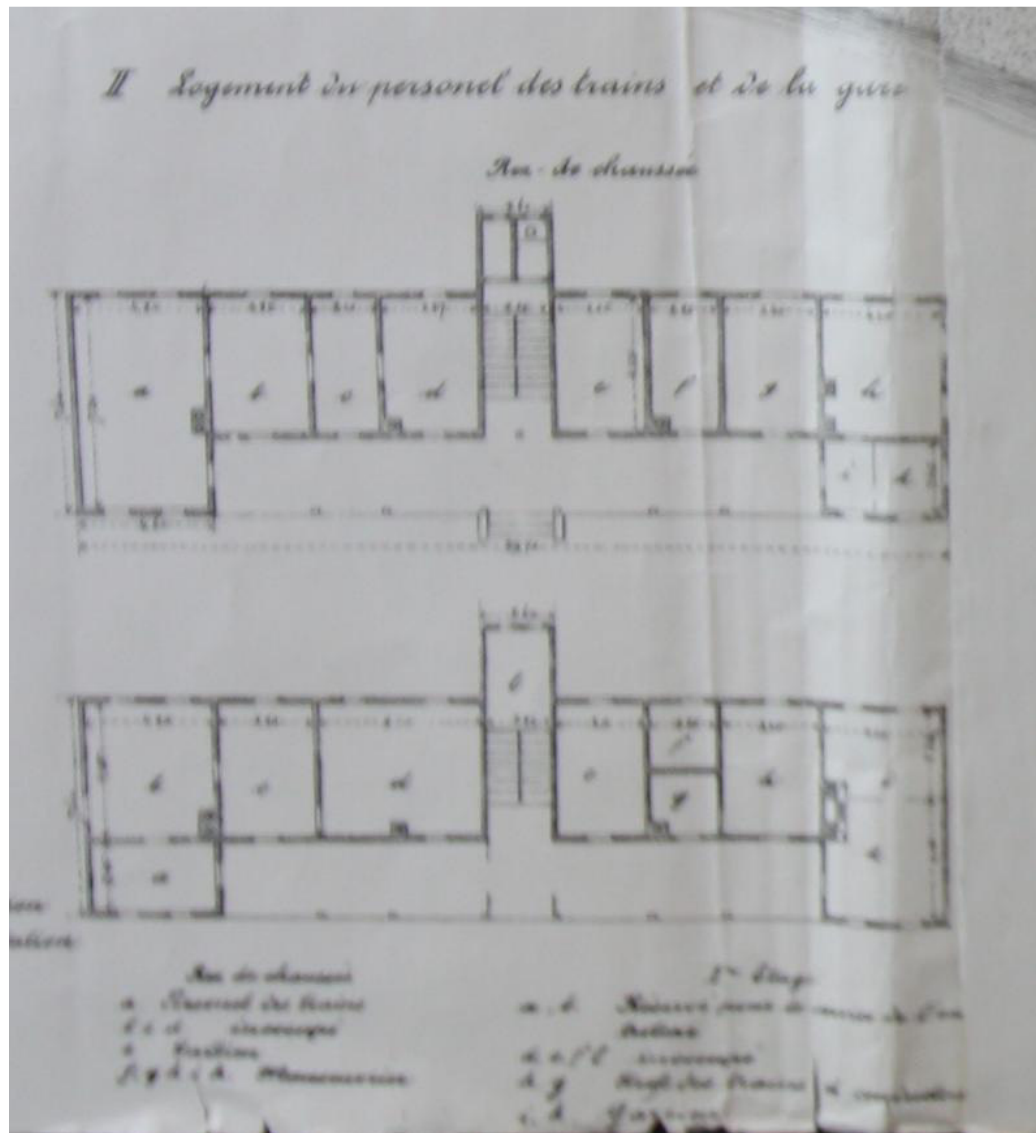


Figure 4.45 Dedeğaç, Floor Plans of the second Lodging building for staff ground, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7 ; July 14, 1887.

There are also two wells in the garden of the second lodging building and another whose function is not known (?). The plantation of the garden is indicated in the plan as well. (Fig. 4.46)

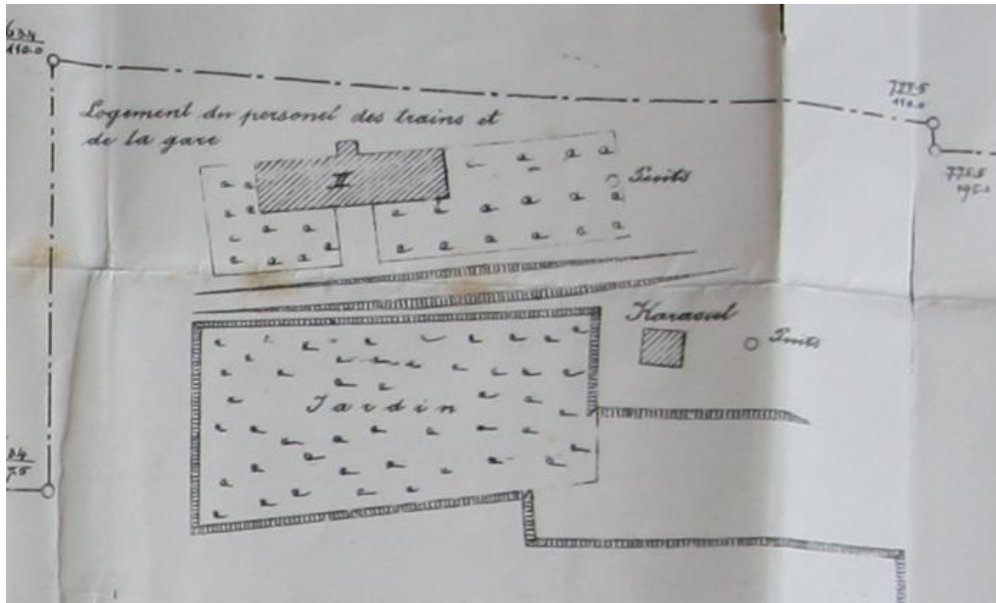


Figure 4.46 Dedeğaç, site plan of the second lodging building, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7 ; July 14, 1887.

By comparing the two lodging buildings and the sizes of the single spaces, it can be suggested that the first building was probably inhabited by the married staff and the second one by the single staff of the Oriental Railways Company.

As a part of maintenance facilities, there is also a wagon maintenance building in the railway yard. It is a rectangular building in 34,25 m x 17, 25 m in dimensions and have three parallel platforms for wagons. (**Fig. 4.47**)

The other building in the railway yard is the merchandize hangar. (**Fig. 4.48**) It has also a basement floor. It is located around 20 m south of the passenger station. It is a rectangular volume in 28,90m x 10,15m size. The ground floor is raised a few steps from the ground level for ease of the load and unload of the commercial items from the wagons. There are identical stairs attached to the front and back façades and there are two entrances at the front and two other at the backside façades. Inside of the building, there is a single array of timber or metal posts carrying the roof structure.

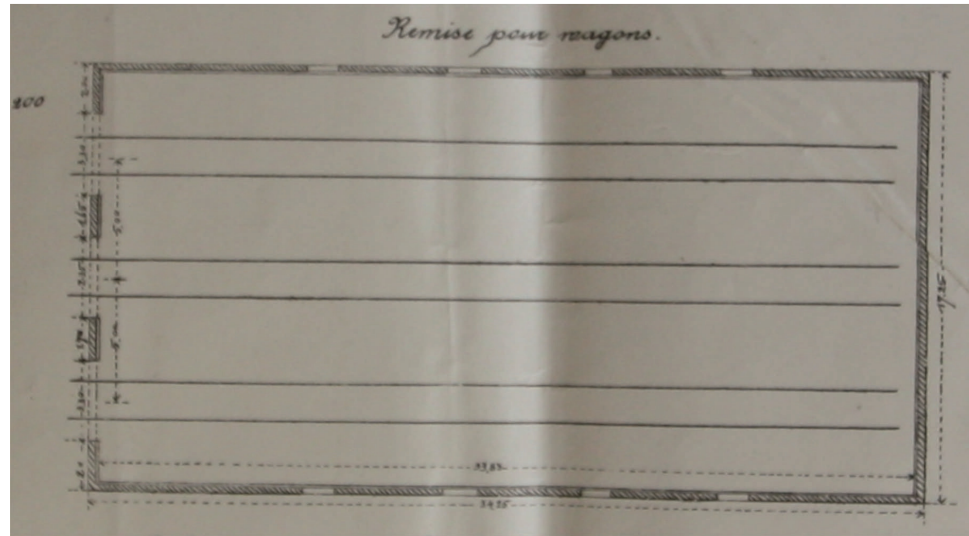


Figure 4.47 Dedeğaç, plan of wagon maintenance building, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7 ; July 14, 1887.

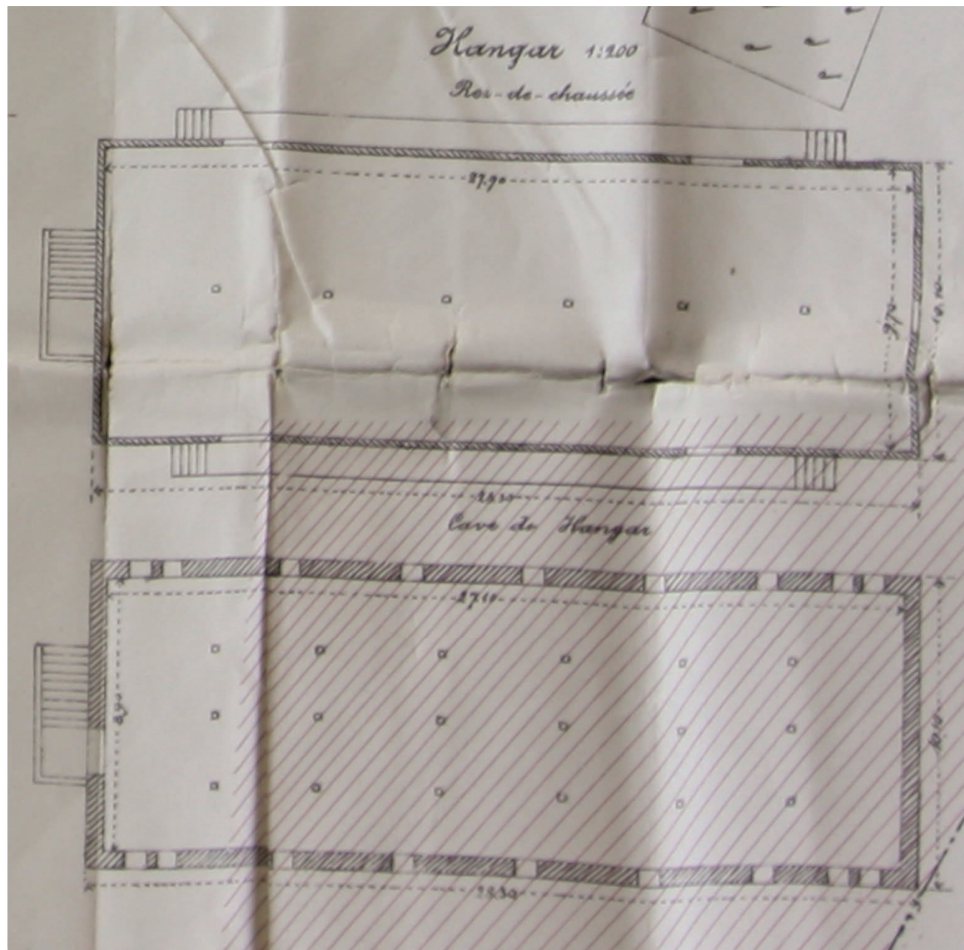


Figure 4.48 Dedeğaç, floor plans of merchandise hangar, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7 ; July 14, 1887.

Complementing the wagon maintenance building, the other building is for the maintenance of locomotives. Having multiple parallel platforms, it has the capacity of serving three engines consecutively and demonstrates similar properties with its counterpart located in Selanik railway yard. There is a small two - storey building annexed to the maintenance building and constructed for the technicians. **(Fig. 4.49)**

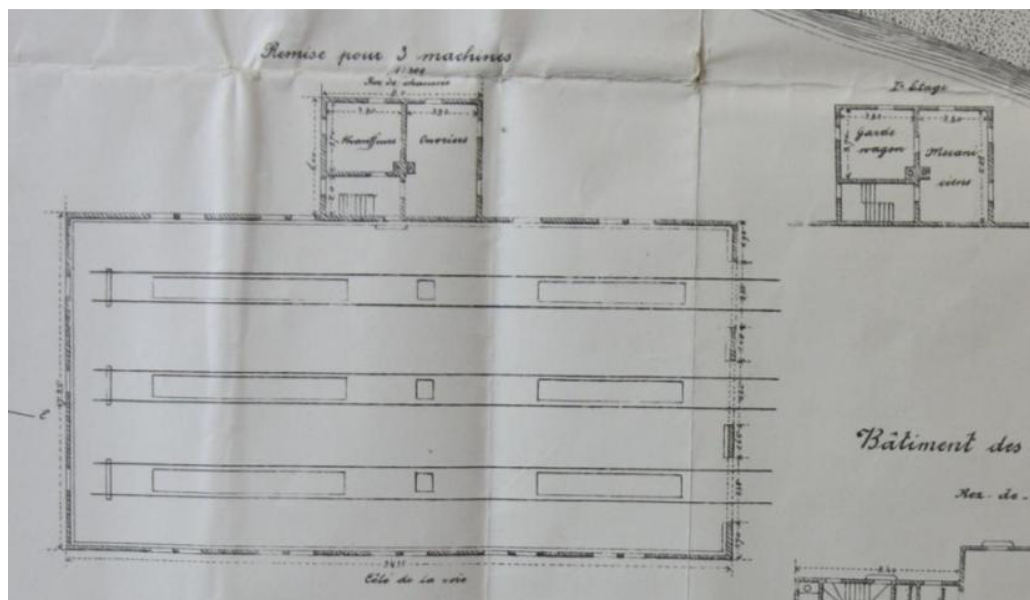


Figure 4.49 Dedeğaç, floor plans of locomotive maintenance building, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/7, July 14, 1887.

Most of the buildings shown in the site plan do not exist now. Apart from the buildings seen in the drawings, there is a director's office of the Oriental Railways located not inside the current railway yard but between the Oriental Railways station and the port area, and fortunately, it still exists on its original site and used by Greek National Railways Agency. **(Fig. 4.50)** It is a masonry building at two-storey height and having a basement floor. The date of construction is not clear but there is no evidence whether it was built with the other station facilities simultaneously or in a later period.



Figure 4.50 Alexandroupolis, old Oriental Railways Dedeğaç section administration office, 2010.
(Currently used by Greek National Railways)

Source: Author's photo.

In today's Alexandroupolis, there are some unidentified buildings that can be observed in the old Oriental Railways Yard. Two of these buildings are used for residential purposes. They are not shown in the site plan of 1887, so they might have been built later, though they fit into the construction and stylistic layouts of the Oriental Railways company. (**Fig. 4.51 and 4.52**)



Figure 4.51 Alexandroupolis, residential buildings in old Oriental Railways Yard, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.



Figure 4.52 Alexandroupolis, unspecified buildings in old Oriental Railways yard, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

There are also two neighboring small buildings parallel to the railway tracks. They might have functioned as supplementary buildings such as toilette and port & telegram office.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, an intelligence report revealed some other details about the facilities of railway yard after the site plan of 1887.⁶⁴⁰ It was reported that the Oriental Railways station carried the heaviest of the railway traffic in the Junction line. Besides, it had more than 3000m sidings and there were also a petroleum store on the west of the station along the concrete quay with a wall of 4 meters high. Moreover, on the west and east of the station, there were engine-houses having a pump-well. Another well was found on the northwest of the station building. There was also a coal depot in the railway yard.

Accordingly, there were a number of additions and changes in the physical appearance of the port and the railway yard. In decades, the shoreline and the railway yard were arranged, new additional buildings were made. **(Figs. 4.53 and 4.54)** At the beginning of the twentieth century, the small port and its surroundings were depicted as follows in the British Naval Intelligence reports:⁶⁴¹

...the port is an open roadsted; water is shallow inshore, and vessels have to anchor from ½ to 1 mile out, and discharge into lighters. Northerly gales are prevalent. The anchorage is unsheltered from southerly winds, which are

⁶⁴⁰ *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*, 302

⁶⁴¹ *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*. 184. The expressions in blankets are inserted by the author.

sometimes so violent as to prevent communication with the shore. The boat harbor is protected (except from SE) by a concrete wall 138 yards⁶⁴² long. (At the) west of the harbor, (there) is a lighthouse. On the quay are some iron sheds for storing grain [the chief export] ; railway sidings run to the sheds and along the quay, but the space is vey cramped. At the extreme east, along the beach, (there) are seven short jetties of trestles of iron rails with wood planking, used for loading lighters in fine weather; this part of the beach is protected from the sea by a wall of masonry 6 ft. height. The custom-house and another store, also five sidings, three of which are 280 yards long and two 130 yards long are found along the boat harbor and have lines on both sides connecting with the station.



Figure 4.53 Dedeğaç, port and granaries, c.1890s, postcard.

Source: George Alepakos private collection.



Figure 4.54 Dedeğaç, port and granaries, c.1900s, photograph.

Source: George Alepakos private collection.

⁶⁴² Approximately 126 meters.

Some visual material from the turn of the century supports this image of the port and its facilities. The postcards and photographs of the period clearly show the size of the port, the granaries, the custom and quarantine buildings and the railway lines in operation. Although the port was expanded in the following decades after its annexation to Greece, the initial core of the port still exists with some of its granary buildings that have recently renovated. (Fig. 4.55)



Figure 4.55 Alexandroupolis, old port and customs area, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

Apart from the Director's office and old passenger station, most of the other technical and social facilities do not exist in the railway yard anymore. After the Oriental and Junction Railway Companies nationalized by the Greek government, a new passenger station was constructed on a site very close to the port of the town, and therefore, the Oriental Railways yard was abandoned.

Similar to the case existed between the Oriental Railways and the Ottoman government, after the approval of the extension of the Junction line to Dedeğaç; a large area once had registered to Sultan Bayezid pious endowment was then assigned to the new contractor company in order to build its station and technical facilities. According to a concession article, the concessionaire company would build two stations in Dedeğaç: The first and the small one was for military station and it was at the northern outskirts of the town; and the second was the city station (*station de*

ville) at the northwestern edge of the settlement and close to the military barracks. **(Fig. 4.56)**

The distance between the military and passenger station was around 1700 meters. The Junction line station was located at the northwestern end of the town center and situated near the road along the coast leading to Makri village. The line coming from Yeniköy (Bodoma) direction approached the town from the north, and after passing military station, it switched into two lines: one of them stretched to the city station, and the other (loop) line went to the port area and met with the Oriental Railways. The second one was realized after the resolution of the conflict for the common use of the Dedeğaç Port.

Constructed and operated by different companies, the Oriental Railways and Junction Railways used different stations since the contractors could not come to a final resolution to use a joint-use station before the site-works of the second line started. Prior to the common use agreement of the port signed with Oriental Railways, the Junction Railways had to build a short line running to a temporary wooden pier that was around 100 m in length, to provide embankment and disembankment facilities.

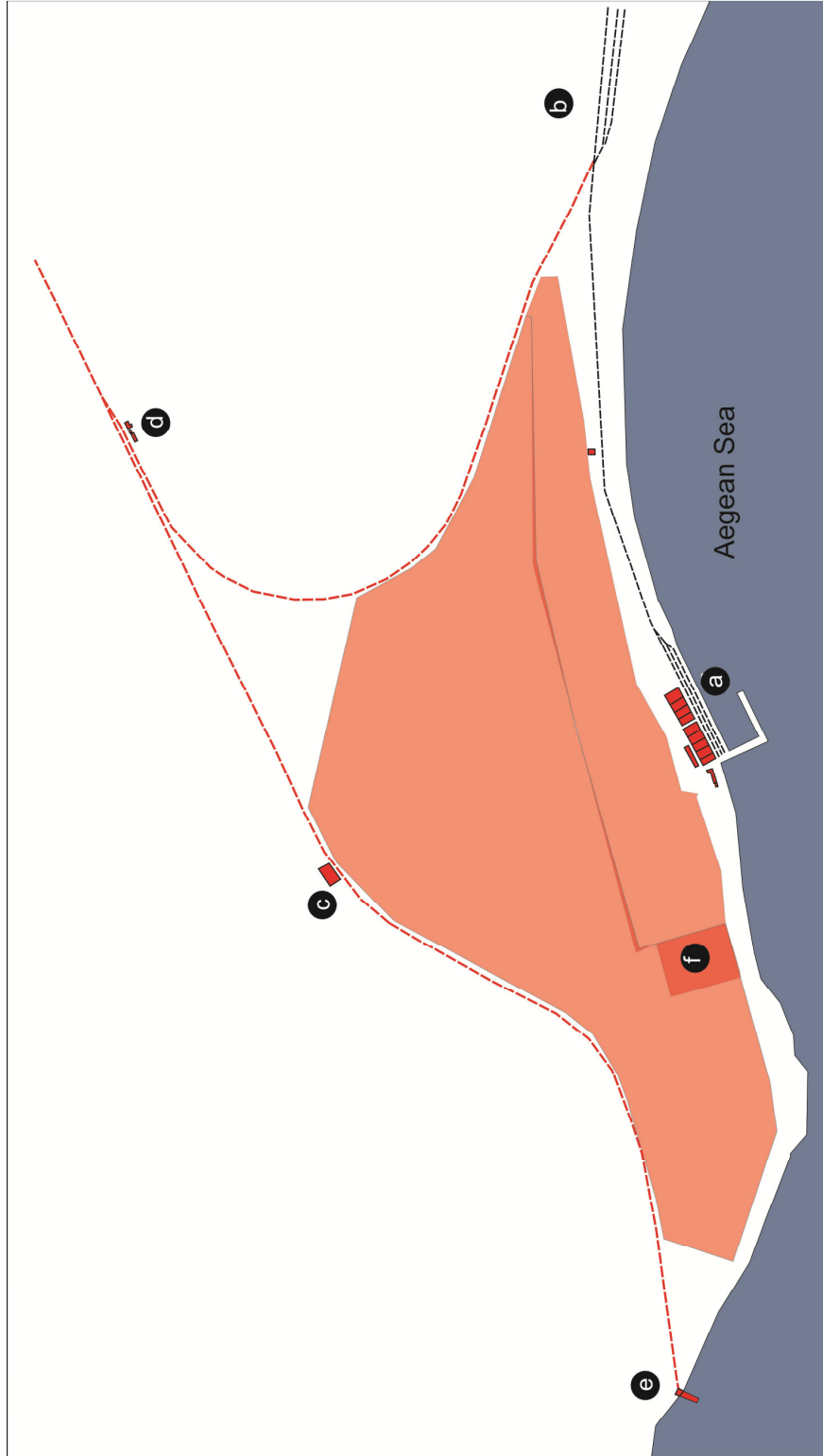


Figure 4.56 Dedeğaç, location of the railway stations and related facilities defining the expansion limits of the town.

Legend: a: Dedeğaç port and its facilities, b: Oriental Railways Yard, c: Selanik- İstanbul Junction Line (JSC) Yard, d: Dedeğaç Military Station, e: JSC Pier, f: Dedeğaç Civic Center

The figure above illustrates the exact location of the city station of junction line and its pier. After passing in front of the city station the tracks followed a curvelinear route to the southwest. As stated above, after two operator companies reached a resolution to use the port of the Oriental railways; a loop line was installed so that line trains of JSC could reach the port.⁶⁴³ This formal resolution was very similar to the spatial decision applied in Selanik.

The military station was a small single storey building and it was the twin of the military station of Selanik. **(Figs. 4.57 and 4.58)** The station was situated in a plain country dotted with large trees with some cultivation. The passenger platform was around 400 m long, 10 m broad and having a dead end for loading guns at either end of the platform. Apart from that, at the east end, there was another platform designed for loading ammunition. Many wagons could be loaded simultaneously at the main platform. There was a small officers' pavilion, a watchman's house at the end of the platform. However, there were no lamp-posts or lighting arrangements on the platform.⁶⁴⁴



Figure 4.57 Dedeağaç, military station, not dated, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials collection, album # 90498.

⁶⁴³ Today, curve-like *Konstantinopleos* Street passes along on this part of the line.

⁶⁴⁴ *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*, 302



Figure 4.58 Alexandroupolis, old military station, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

The physical description of the main passenger station of the old JSC line is limited to what some photographs and postcards show us. It seems that the building followed the station typology which was exemplified in the other en-route stations such as Drama, Serez (Serres), or Gümülcine (Komotini). So it can be suggested that the JSC Company applied the same building project to different cities. (**Figs. 4.59 and 4.60**)



Figure 4.59 Dedeğaç, JSC line main passenger station, not dated, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials collection, album # 90498.



Figure 4.60 Serez, Railway Station, not dated, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials collection, album #90498.

These images of the station depict some other buildings around the station too. They are probably the maintenance and storage buildings. What can also be added as another very basic remark is that the station looks smaller in size than the one of Oriental Railways. Apart from these photographs and postcards, since no technical information or drawings has been found in the archives, it is not possible to say anything further about the formal layouts of the station and the other facilities. However, it can still be suggested that, like the other stations, in Dedeğaç, there could be passenger waiting halls and staff rooms on the ground floor and lodgings on the upper floor. As a source giving a general idea about its facilities, the British intelligence report tells that the station also possessed goods shed to unload one wagon at a time. There was a water tank supplied by a steam-pump, also a small engine-house, a turnable, and a small stack of coal with a coal-loading stage. Outside the station, to the southeast, there was a block of infantry barracks which could accommodate 300 men.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁵ *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*, 301

During the World War I, in 1915, the German naval forces bombed the city from the sea and the Junction station was demolished. Then, the company built a new station but it could serve only until 1956 when the JSC Company was nationalized by the Greek government. As explained above, a new railway station very close to the port area was built. Thus, both Junction and Oriental Railways stations fell out of use, and finally, the new Junction Line station was demolished and a public building was erected on its place.

4.2.2 Karaağaç

Being a continuous settlement area for a long time, the mid-nineteenth century Karaağaç village at the southwest of Edirne was characterized as a summer resort for the Levantines, non-Muslim groups and vice-consulates. The summer residences surrounded by large gardens were located in a rough pattern at the northwestern direction of where the new railway yard would be constructed.

As the last major stop before arriving in İstanbul, the Sublime Porte paid particular importance to the passenger station building and its other facilities in Edirne. This interest revealed itself in the written documents and conventions as well. For instance, as part of the second convention signed with Baron Maurice de Hirsch in May 18, 1872; a supplementary text of the concession agreement, titled as “*Convention for the location of the stations and buildings held by Imperial Government*,”⁶⁴⁶ mainly dealt with the responsibilities and liabilities of the state and the concessionaire in terms of their allocation and construction. The sixth article of the agreement manifested clearly the aspiration of Sublime Porte to build exceptional stations at İstanbul and Edirne.⁶⁴⁷ The parties agreed that the Oriental Railways

⁶⁴⁶In *Actes de la Concession des Chemins de Fer de la Turquie d'Europe*. (Constantinople: typographie et lithographie centrales, 1874), 39-40. The original text was in French with the title of “*Convention Relative a l'Emplacement des Stations et des Constructions a Faire par le Gouvernement Imperiale*.” It had seven articles and one additional article.

⁶⁴⁷ The related paragraph of the original article is “*dans le cas ou le Gouvernement Ottoman manifesterait l'intention de vouloir donner aux gares de Constantinople et d'Adrianople une importance exceptionnelle, et la Société Impériale ayant voulu donner à cet égard des garanties, tout en limitant la charge qui la Société Impériale serait tenue de dépenser pour leur établissement une somme de un million de francs pour la gare de Constantinople et une somme de deux cinquante mille francs pour la gare d'Adrianople. Il a été bien entendu et convenu que la Société Impériale ne pourrait, quoi qu'il advienne et quelles que soient les demandes du Gouvernement Ottoman et de la Compagnie Exploitante, être entraînée, pour l'établissement des deux gares en question et de tous leurs aménagements et accessoires à une dépense dépassant les sommes ci-dessus fixées, l'Etat*”

would spend one million francs for the terminus station at İstanbul and two hundred and fifty thousand francs for the station at Edirne. It was also recorded that if the construction costs for the establishment of the two stations and all their amenities would exceed the amounts set above, the Ottoman Government, -when appropriate- had to defray the amount of the excess of expenditures.

However, the story developed in a different way than what was signed in the convention. In both cities, small station buildings were constructed by the company. It took a long time to build a great terminus station in İstanbul that could be inaugurated in 1890. Edirne had to use the old station building until the 1910s when a new series of negotiation between the parties started.⁶⁴⁸

Here, the first issue to be discussed is why Karaağaç was chosen for the construction of a large railway yard outside Edirne city center. It can be suggested that the appropriate place for the railway station was specified after the land surveys in the region were completed. - A member of the survey brigades commissioned by the Oriental Railways, Ferdinand Hochstetter⁶⁴⁹ noted that he was hosted by the Austrian vice-consulate and stayed in his summer residence located in Karaağaç for a time. However, he did not mention a station project to be constructed in Karaağaç.⁶⁵⁰ Therefore, it can be claimed that the decision of leaving the railway tracks out of Edirne old town and building a railway yard in Karaağaç was finalized at a later time after the completion of land surveys and detailed maps of the region.

The railway route maps were prepared by the engineers of the contractor company and they were sent to the Ministry of Public Works for the examination and approval. Finally, after minor technical corrections were done by the Ministry of Public Works, the site works began in June 4, 1870⁶⁵¹ in the section between Yedi Kule and Küçük

Ottoman devra, le cas echeant, prendre à sa charge le montant de l'excédent, si le Gouvernement desire qu'il soit fait des travaux pour des sommes plus considérables. » (translated by Özgür Yılmaz)

⁶⁴⁸ The construction of a new passenger station in Karaağaç is introduced in chapter 4.1 Edirne subtitle

⁶⁴⁹ He arrived in Edirne in August 1869 during his expedition in Thrace, in one of the land survey brigades.

⁶⁵⁰ Ferdinand Hochstetter, “L’exploration de la Roumelie” *The Levant Herald*., Sept. 6, 1872. (translated by Özgür Yılmaz)

⁶⁵¹ *The Levant Herald*, June 4, 1870

Çekmece from İstanbul side. Shortly after its formal inspection was approved in December 1870, the first and very short part of the line was officially inaugurated on January 4, 1871.⁶⁵² Although it had priority among other phases, the site works in Edirne – Filibe direction could be commenced in May 1871.⁶⁵³

It can be argued that the selection of the site for the railway station and railway route mainly depended on avoiding extra costs, such as expropriation expenditures, since the extension of the railway into the city center had the difficulty of finding large empty areas to build stations. It was the case for most of the stations of Oriental Railways that were located outside the city centers. Besides, as an alternative route, the line passing from the northern part of Edirne or from Yıldırım suburb would require an extra railway bridge crossing Tunca River. Thus, the route proposal passing from the southern outskirts of Edirne would be the cheapest and most reliable alternative for the Oriental Railways Company. Similar to the other cases, therefore, the whole area where the railway yard was located was assigned officially from *mir'i* status lands around Edirne.

Furthermore, it can also be assumed that the inhabitants of Karaağaç at that time, mostly composed of Levantines, non-Muslims and consulates, would influence the construction company to increase the importance and population of their suburb.

⁶⁵² *The Levant Herald*, December 14, 1870 and December 21, 1870, and January 4, 1871. It was reported that a special train for the inauguration ceremony was prepared in Vienna. It had a richly furnished carriage, designed by a Vienna draughtsman in the employment of Council of Works, for the use of the Sultan.

⁶⁵³ *The Levant Herald*, May 10, 1871. The correspondent in Edirne reported that the occasion took place in Karaağaç on May 1, 1871.

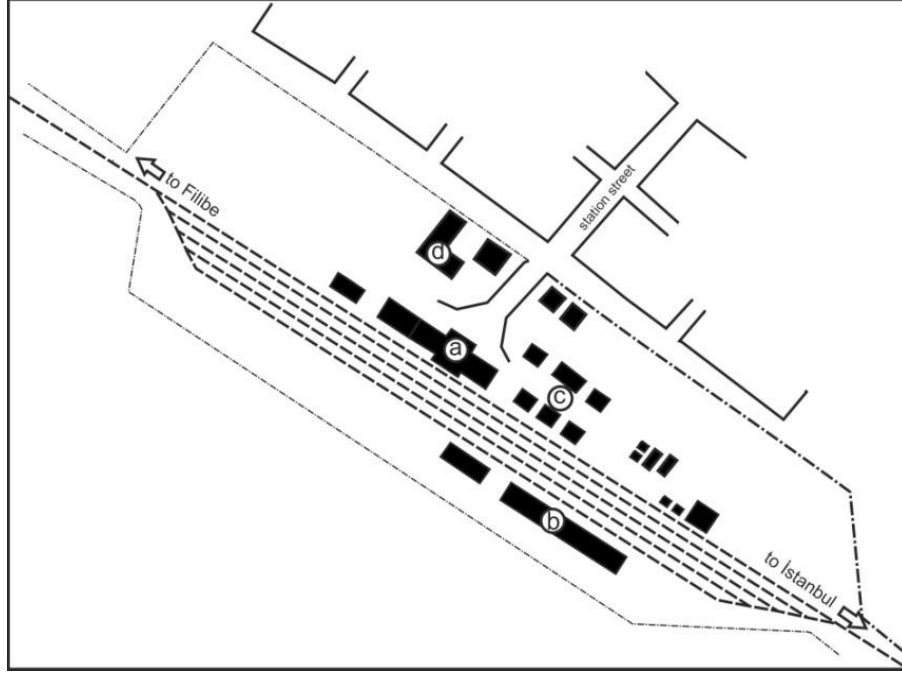


Figure 4.61 Edirne, site plan of railway yard at Karaağaç, hypothetical drawing.

Source: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives Map Collection, item # 0270; reproduced by the author

Legend: a: Passenger Station, b: Merchandise Hangar, c: Lodgings, d: Inspection Building.

The documents related to the old station in Karaağaç are very limited in number. There are a number of postcards depicting the passenger building from the rear façade side before its demolition and they provide us with some general information about its physical characteristics. By analyzing these visual materials, it can be suggested that Oriental Railways Company designed and applied a group of building layouts. Moreover, on the basis of these images, when Edirne old station is compared with Selanik, Filibe and Üsküb Oriental Railways Passenger stations, it can be observed that these buildings of the station have the similar mass proportions and façade organizations. **(Figs. 4.62 and 4.63)**

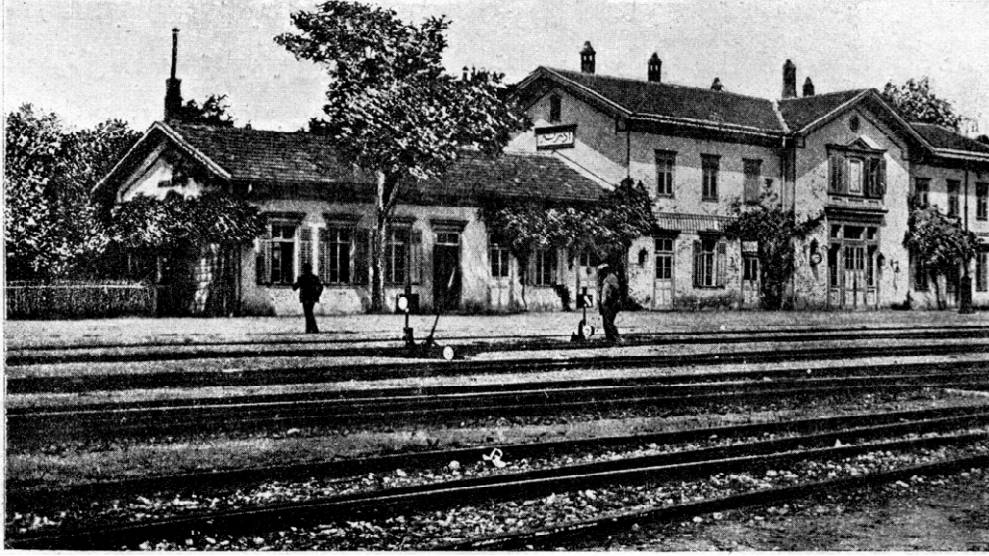


Figure 4.62 Edirne, old passenger station at Karaağaç, not dated, photograph.

Source: *Şehbal*, no.71, 447.



Figure 4.63 Selanik, Oriental Railways Station, not dated, postcard.

Source: Taksim Atatürk Library Visual Materials Collection.

The main building of the passenger station is a two-storey rectangular mass parallel to railway tracks. It is composed of three functional masses: the one in the middle facilitates the main entrances from the front and rear façades and it is the main waiting lounge. The volume is increased by making projections in the front and rear façades. The other two masses are connected to the middle one in a symmetrical manner. On the ground floor, these flanks are used as officers' rooms, telegram office, keepers' room, first class passengers' and women passengers' waiting lounge. Considering the plan organization of similar stations, the first floor might be reserved

for the lodging of some of the technicians and railway inspectors.⁶⁵⁴

Annexed to the passenger station, there is another single storey building which might have been a restaurant for the passengers.

Although the old passenger station and the restaurant were demolished to be replaced with a new and a larger building, most of the other facilities were kept functional.⁶⁵⁵

There are twelve buildings remained in the site which have been recently renovated to be used for new functions. (Fig. 4.64, 4.65 and 4.66)



Figure 4.64 Edirne, buildings in the railway yard, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.



Figure 4.65 Edirne, buildings in the railway yard, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

⁶⁵⁴ The allocations of these functions are assumptions depending on the floor plans of Dedeagaç Oriental Railways passenger station. It can be suggested that the plan organizations can be similar since they were probably designed concurrently by the same group of engineers.

⁶⁵⁵ After the foundation of Trakya University in Edirne, the buildings in railway yard including Kemaleddin Bey's new passenger building were assigned to the university. Today, the passenger station was used as the University Presidency buildings and the other buildings of maintenance, repair and storage were occupied by the branches of the University administration.

Although these buildings differ in function, mass proportions and building height, they have some formal similarities in details. They are all stone masonry buildings covered with pitched roofs. The windows and doors are framed by red bricks. These openings are topped with red brick arched lintels as well.



Figure 4.66 Edirne, old merchandise hangar in the railway yard, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

A researcher identified the original functions of ten buildings in the railway yard as a restaurant, a post and telegram building, six lodgings, a depot, a hangar. The functions of the other two buildings are still not known.⁶⁵⁶

After the inauguration of the Edirne – İstanbul line in 1873, and more significantly, after the establishment of a continuous railway connection with Vienna in 1888, Karaağaç witnessed a considerable increase in its population. Therefore, different from the older Karaağaç resort located on the northwestern side of the station, a new neighborhood based on an orthogonal layout emerged on the northern side of the passenger station and on the both sides of the station street (Karaağaç Road) connecting the city to the station.

The creation of Dedeğaç and development of Karaağaç had some similar formal properties and patterns. As has been shown in Dedeğaç, the vast area around the station was once registered as *mir'i* property and it was assigned to Oriental Railways Company to build up railway station and other facilities. In Karaağaç, in a similar fashion, the assigned area was much more than the required space for the

⁶⁵⁶Rabia Erdoğan, "Karaağaç Monografisi". (master thesis, Istanbul University, 1996), 37-51

construction works. In addition, the unused remaining parts were not reclaimed back by the state authorities immediately after the site works finished. With the increasing popularity of the area, new settlers moved to the town and demanded plots to construct buildings for commerce and accommodation facilities. The officers and workers of the Oriental Railways Company demanded new dwellings close to the station for themselves as well. Therefore, it seems that the company decided to use the assigned area to meet the demands and then divided the large area into plots and rented each of them to the individuals. It is interesting to note that the engineers of the Oriental Railways commissioned some private house projects for the new inhabitants and took an active role in the formation of the new neighborhood.

As in the case of Dedeğaç, the Ottoman authorities reacted against the illegal revenues of the company. For the State, the field of *mir'i* status was *de facto* occupied without official recognition and the State could not apply property tax for the occupied buildings and plots. A document in the Prime Ministry Archives clearly demonstrates the conflict in the local authorities' minds. They asked the official response of the Sublime Porte and stated their problem as "despite the fact that it is forbidden to build on *mir'i* property without obtaining an imperial decree, it is kindly asked how to act against the buildings erected or under construction on the *mir'i* properties around Edirne railway station and Karağaç village".⁶⁵⁷ The Sublime Porte found a resolution by offering the local governor to apply a building license fee (*ruhsat resmi*) for the existing building and also a field occupation rent in its response. So in a consecutive document, the local authorities asked the Sublime Porte the amount of the tax and the rent and how to deal with the buildings to be erected afterwards.⁶⁵⁸

A comparative examination of Edirne city plans of different dates, the ones prepared by Mehmed Selami, Karl Baedeker and General Staff, can present the rapid development of the new settlement in an orthogonal layout and the spatial differences

⁶⁵⁷BOA DH.MKT. 1447/11, h. 26 Z 1304 (September 15,1887). Translated by the author. The original text is "İrade-i seniyye alınmadan mir-i arazi üzerinde bina inşası yasak olduğu halde arazi-i emiriyeden olan Edirne Şimendifer istasyonu civarında ve Karağaç karyesi yakınında önceden yapılmış ve yapılmakta olup ruhsatı olmayan binalar için ne şekilde hareket ve muamele edileceğinin bildirilmesi."

⁶⁵⁸BOA DH.MKT. 1491/47, h. 20 C 1305 (March 4,1888)

between older and new Karaağaç settlements between the 1880s and the beginning of the twentieth century.

In Mehmed Selami's plan of 1885, the old Karaağaç settlement can be distinguished physically from the recently emerging buildings at the north of the station. (**Fig. 4.67**) There are many empty parcels in the new neighborhood. In the plan, there are two perpendicular streets defining the boundaries of Karaağaç: the station street and the one connecting the station street with old Karaağaç.

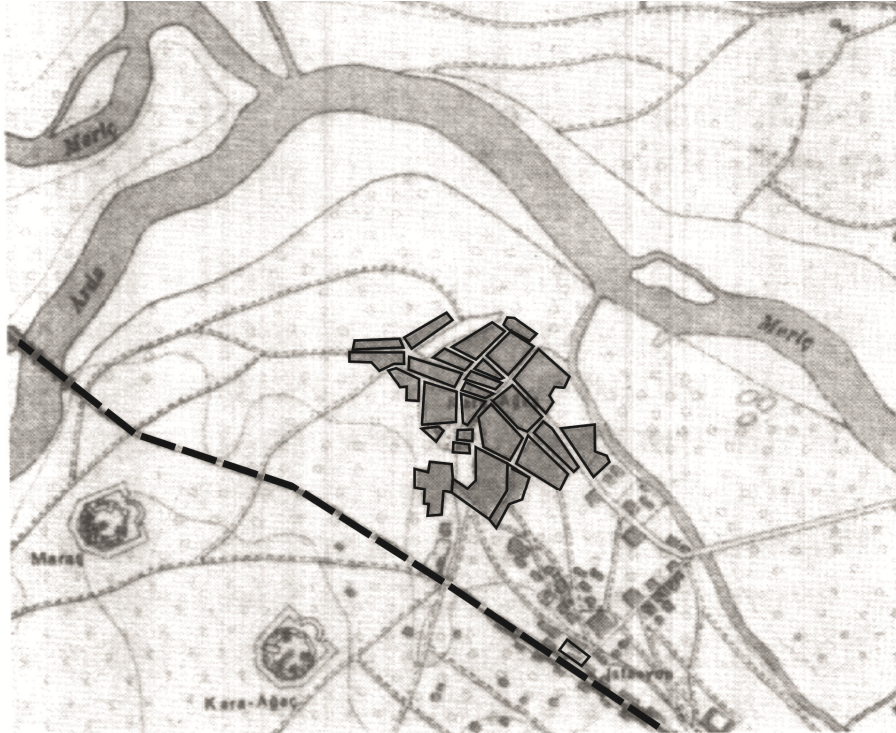


Figure 4.67 Edirne, Karaağaç and its surroundings in the city plan by Mehmet Selami, 1885.

Source: Besim Darkot, "Edirne; Coğrafi Giriş". In *Edirne'nin Fethi 600.Yılı Armağan Kitabı*. (Ankara: TTK, 1993), reframed and partially redrawn by the author.

Printed decades later, Karl Baedeker's Edirne plan demonstrates how Karaağaç developed in a short time: the uniform layout of the new settlement differentiates itself clearly from the old Karaağaç settlement. (**Fig. 4.68**) Probably dated to the beginning of the twentieth century, there are still empty plots existed in Baedeker's plan which are all in rectangular form and fitting into the existing layout. Probably a decade later, during the Balkan Wars, most of the empty building blocks were to be occupied by new buildings as shown in the plan of Edirne and its environs including the military fortifications prepared by General Staff. (**Fig. 4.69**)

Owing to its location, the layout of Karaağaç of the early twentieth century has still been preserved. The new neighborhood spans around 500m x 650m in dimension. The building plots are mostly in rectangular form, around 50m x 60 m in dimension and accommodated four to five houses with gardens for each one.

As a final note what should be added that the demands of the Oriental Railways Company workers, mainly in Austrian and German origin, were not limited only to dwellings. In time, they required a primary school for their children. This school was constructed by the Oriental Railways and inaugurated in 1883. Its location was marked in the city plans as well.⁶⁵⁹ (Fig. 4.70)

In addition, with the support of the railway company, the foreign residents of Karaağaç bought a land of around 2,000 m2 to found a protestant cemetery at the north of the Karaağaç in 1897 and a loyal decree was issued in 1899 allowing them to use the land as a cemetery.⁶⁶⁰



Figure 4.70 Edirne, German boarding school in Karaağaç: front and rear façades, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

4.2.3 Selanik

The arrival of the railways and establishment of an industrial zone thereafter profoundly created a new settlement at the outskirts of the western end of Selanik in an astoundingly short time. In this process, the role of the entrepreneurs is the decisive factor to take into consideration. Therefore, this section will deal with how the railway entrepreneurship affected the spatial organization of the city, more

⁶⁵⁹ Karl Baedeker *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten*, 55

⁶⁶⁰ BOA, BEO 973/72938, h. 05 S 1315 (July 6, 1897) ; BEO 1236/92674 h. 20 B 1316 (December 4, 1898); İ.AZN 34 /1317-R05 h. 12 R 1317 (August 20, 1899)

specifically, how the railway yards were created and became the core of the industrial zone at the end of the nineteenth century.

The fate of the vast area outside the western city walls changed after a number of actions started in the 1860s by the civil servants, but before their operations, it is useful to depict the conditions of the physical environment before the site works started.

For centuries when the city of Selanik was confined by the medieval city walls, voyagers coming either from the continental Greece, from the western, from the east in a route following *via Egnatia*, or from the north (inner Balkans) had to approach the city from the west direction and enter Selanik from Vardar Gate -ancient *Porte d'Or*- located at the western side of the ancient city walls. **(Fig. 4.71)** It was the place for the first sight of the city or the place of the last impression before leaving Selanik. Outside the walls, there were two major routes to follow: Siroz road to the north and Manastir road to the west. Coming in front of the Vardar Gate, the principal axis of the city in the east-west direction, Vardar Street (old *Cadde-i kebir* or *Egnatia Street* now) lied on the voyagers' way to invite them to the old town.

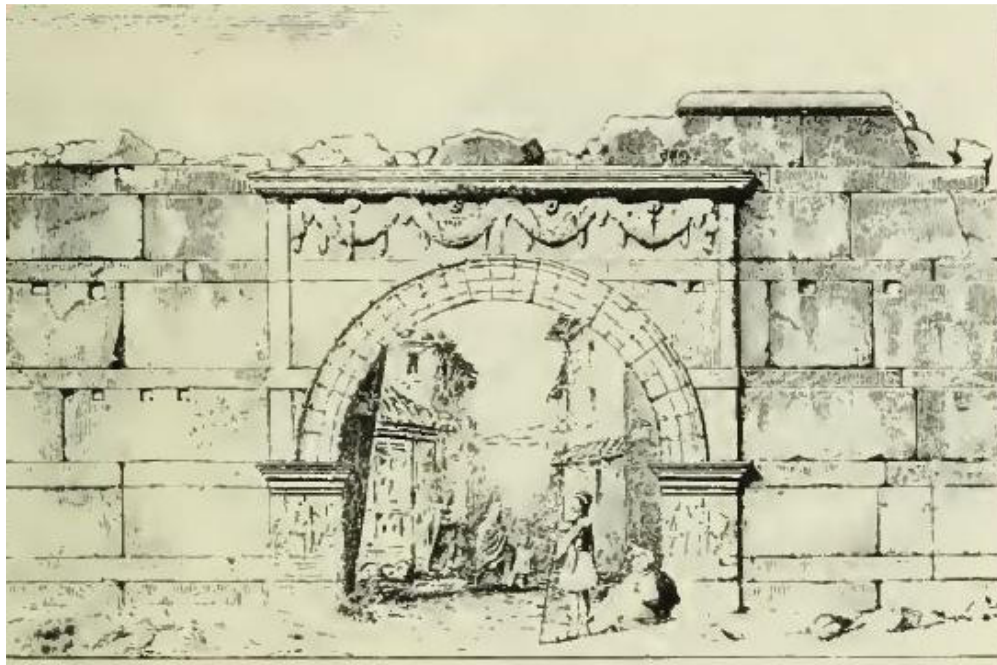


Figure 4.71 Selanik, Vardar Gate before the demolition, not dated, engraving.

Source: O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Salonique*, 105

The impermeability of the ancient walls on any side allowed a controlled transition at the gates and this fact made them significant places, more than passages or thresholds between in and out. The city gate provided a control mechanism of passage: it was closed at nights therefore implied a physical boundary or an edge of a security zone for the traveler; a meeting place to encounter with other cultures or a melting pot to share and exchange ideas. By reinforcing the authority in a symbolical way, the ancient arched structure of the Vardar Gate implied the pride of the locals about the long-standing (yeterli) history of the city as well. Apart from the Vardar Gate, a second gate was opened on western walls during the Ottoman period to meet exigencies and to give a proper name -considering the ancient Vardar gate, it was called *Yeni Kapı* (the new gate).

Having a dense and irregular pattern of settlement inside the city walls, the outer space meant bleak plains and hills composed of large farmlands, vineyards and unhealthy stream beds creating temporary swamplands. Apart from vineyards and olive and fig trees, the only physical entities interrupting the flatness were the mills or keeps as human-made structures. The locals called the region outside the Vardar Gate *Zeytinlik* (olive grove) or *Çayır* (prairie) implying its physical condition. Passing through the uninhabited fields while approaching the city walls, two points of sight could divert the travelers' attention: the natural green foliage on the coast where the locals called *Beşçınar* and second; the building complex located at the north of the Vardar Gate, close to the new gate, and had been used by *Mevlevi* dervishes for their rituals for centuries.

The lodge of the Mevlevi order (*Mevlevihane*), placed on a hill outside the city walls on the north, was founded by *Ekmekçizade Ahmet Paşa*, an Ottoman vizier born in Edirne, in 1617.⁶⁶¹ For centuries, Selanik *Mevlevi* lodge had been one of the prominent centers of Mevlevi Sufism. (Fig. 4.72) The lodge was part of a large complex of buildings including a mosque, an ablution fountain, kitchen, cellars, guest and dervish cells and a graveyard surrounding the main *sema* performance hall. It was on Tuesdays and Thursdays that *sema* ritual performed in the presence of a

⁶⁶¹ His name was inscribed on the public works provided and maintained by his foundation in Edirne (a bridge) and a Bektaşî lodge (in Dedeğaç region).

wide range of spectators including non-Muslim inhabitants and foreign travelers.⁶⁶² The earliest physical depiction of the Mevlevi lodge was by Evliya Çelebi. In his idiosyncratic humorous way, he portrayed the people he came across as well. The ritual hall, as Evliya Çelebi tells, was covered with a rather unique wooden dome whose workmanship could not be imitated. The dome was carried by wooden columns that were also ornamented with heavenly engravings. The main hall was lit by magnificent chandeliers which create a precious atmosphere for the spectators.⁶⁶³ For centuries, the Mevlevi lodge was the only human edifice that was visible to the eyes of the travelers within the remoteness of the western exit of the city.



Figure 4.72 Selanik, Mevlevi Lodge, not dated, postcard.

Source: Yannis Megas private collection. The image frames the ablution fountain, the mosque and portico surrounding the courtyard.

Furthermore, there was another node point to note as an interruption of the bareness of the prairies: it was *Beşçınar* (five plane trees) Garden on the seaside. As a natural

⁶⁶² The lodge foundation controlled a long list of properties which brought a remarkable annual income so that the chief dervish (postnişin) of the Mevlevi lodge in Selanik was not only responsible for the ethereal duties and rituals; but also had to control and manage a considerably important annual revenue and thousands acres of farms and vineyards. This possession made him, therefore, an important figure of commerce in the city. For more details, see Muharrem Varol. "Bektaşiliğin İlgası Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Tarikat Politikaları." (PhD Diss. Marmara University, 2011), 367-369

⁶⁶³ Evliya Çelebi. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*. (İstanbul: YKY., 2006), 8, 71

foliage covering a large area, there were historical accounts that this location was also used as a saltpan and as a property registered to the Mevlevi lodge.⁶⁶⁴ The old trees of the garden provided a mild atmosphere, and therefore, even before the expansion of the city to the west, the garden was used as a public space for the inhabitants of the city. The installation of the royal tent in Beşçınar Garden for Sultan Abdülmecid's reception of the audition during his visit to Selanik proved the popularity of the place in the 1850s. However, it was Sabri Paşa –famous governor general of Selanik- that ordered a landscape design for Beşçınar to turn it into a public garden, and then in 1867 the inauguration ceremony of the public garden took place.⁶⁶⁵ Among the citizens, it was either called *Memleket Bahçesi* or *Beşçınar Bahçesi*. Considering the physical density of the buildings and bad-tempered air of the intra-muros city, Beşçınar was the only place for citizens to refresh especially in summer days. Therefore from its outset, it was the only and most popular recreational area in Selanik; especially, when the city was very crowded on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. There were a restaurant, small kiosks, and taverns among the grown trees and a number of covered sea baths on the coast to provide the ladies with the opportunity of cooling down by swimming. Parallel to the development of the western side of the city, a terminus station of tramline was installed in front of Beşçınar Garden therefore, when a passenger got on the tram car from either intra-muros city or Hamidiye or Kalamariye neighborhoods at the opposite side of the city, one could easily arrive in Beşçınar in a short time. Yahya Kemal, whose father was an officer in Selanik, noted in his memoirs that his father met with his friends in Beşçınar Garden very frequently to debate about the political circumstances during the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897. Living in a house on Mithad Paşa Street, they walked down through the farms around the train station to arrive Beşçınar.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁴ Evliya Çelebi. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*. (İstanbul: YKY., 2006), 8., 71

⁶⁶⁵ *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324 , 219

⁶⁶⁶ Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) was born in Üsküb (Skopje) in 1884. His family was one of the oldest and well-known communities in Üsküb. In 1897, due to the official work of his father, his family had to move to Selanik and he continued his high school education in Selanik for a time. The information was extracted from Yahya Kemal, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasi ve Edebi Hatıralarım*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Fethi Cemiyeti, 1986).

In time, to improve its physical appearance, Beşçınar Garden was surrounded by masonry walls allowing access by grand arched entrance doors and it was illuminated regularly by lighting posts with the collaboration of Selanik Municipality and Selanik Gas Company.

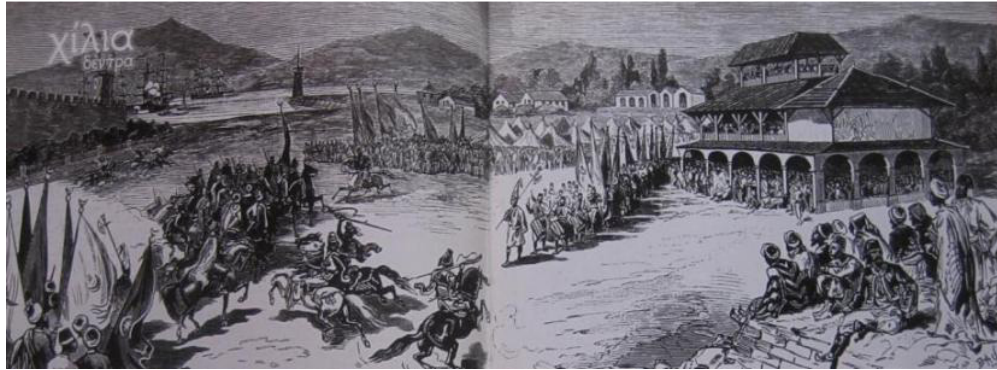


Figure 4.73 Selanik, Ottoman irregular military troops (*başlıbozuk*) at Beşçınar, 1876, engraving.

Source: Mihailis Tremepoulos. “Ο Θρύλος του Μπεστσινάρ”. *Χίλια δέντρα (chilia dentra)* no 5, (September 1999), 5-6. The original image published in *L’illustration* journal

It is interesting to note that the surrounding area of Beşçınar developed as the primeval industry zone of Selanik in the early twentieth century with its poor physical living conditions; but the garden kept its popularity and became the only public meeting place and sightseeing at the western side of the city. (**Fig. 4.74**) For instance; the founder of Selanik Socialist Workers’ federation, Avram Benaroya organized an international workers’ fair in August 1909 as the first of its kind in Ottoman Empire.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁷ Avram Benaroya was a Jewish journalist born in Edirne in 1888. Selanik was the first city that an organized worker movement emerged in Ottoman history. For his life and memoirs see, Rifat Bali. *Unutulmuş Bir Yahudi Gazeteci Avram Benaroya Hayatı ve Anıları*. (İstanbul: 47 Numara Yayıncılık) and also Mark Mazower. *Selanik: Hayaletler Şehri; Hristiyanlar, Müslümanlar ve Yahudiler (1430-1950)*. (İstanbul : YKY, 2007), 296

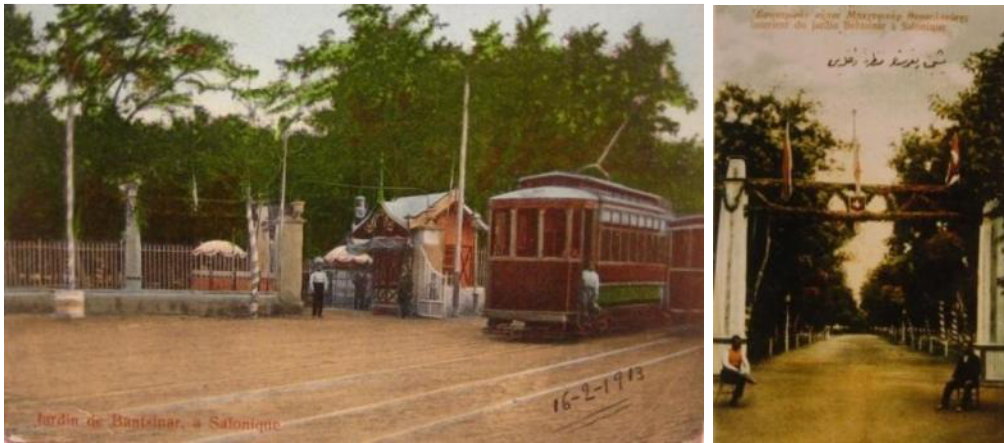


Figure 4.74 left: Selanik, The entrance gate of Beşçınar Garden, 1913, postcard. **Right:** Selanik, interior view of Beşçınar Garden, not dated, postcard.

Source: Yannis Megas private collection.

The inexorable physical change of the western end of Selanik started with the demolition of the grand arch of Vardar Gate in 1867. It might not be a significant event on its own, but it can be interpreted as the herald of the new age marked by an immense demolition and construction activities. The physical expansion of the city outside the city walls coincided with the realization of two important consecutive public works: the demolition of the walls at the seafront (1869) and the start of the site works of Oriental railways which would connect the city to the farthest distances that people could imagine in Selanik (1871).

Constructed outside the Vardar Gate at a proximate location, the railway station became the western exit of the city with the completion of the railway project; and it conveyed but formally transformed the Gate's long standing and primeval function: to be a city gate. Railway stations were the new city gates of the nineteenth century which took over the functions of ancient gates of the cities and they provided the visitors with the first and the last images of the city by performing as a node point to arrive in or to depart from the city in a rush traffic of movement. Therefore, Çayır region of Selanik was transformed into a base of the modern city gate corresponding to a railway hub, which in time offered the passengers the opportunity to travel to Belgrade or Vienna to the north, İstanbul or Edirne to the east or Manastır to the west. The construction of such an infrastructure, however, had to wait for the

development of transportation technology and its spread into the Balkan territory which took more than two decades.

By the approval of the concession granted to Baron Hirsch in 1869, engineers and surveyor brigades, contracted by him to prepare the maps required to define the route of the line, visited Selanik and surrounding area in the summer of 1869.⁶⁶⁸ In order to reduce the costs and duration of the construction, the company engineers drew a route following the plains and valleys overlapping with the Vardar River's bed to connect Selanik with Üsküb and Bosna. But before Vardar River reached Aegean Sea, the route of the line was oriented to east direction and approached Selanik from its west end. The Ottoman government approved the route and the location of the railway yard. The projected station would be located on a large area registered as *mir'i* lands and would be at the north of the Beşçınar Garden. The state assigned a large area to the construction company to build up necessary buildings to constitute a railway yard. After the completion of official inspection and approval processes, Baron Hirsch contracted the Selanik- Üsküb phase of the project to the *Cavaliere Bariola* as a sub-contractor. The site works in Selanik - Üsküb section started at the beginning of 1871 and an official ceremony took place on February 9, 1871 at *Beşçınar* where the construction materials were stored.⁶⁶⁹ In order to facilitate a rapid transfer of construction materials and machines, a small pier was constructed at Beşçınar location. With the advantage of topography, the site works progressed remarkably and the Selanik – Üsküb phase was completed in 1873, and a year later, it was extended to Mitroviça in Kosova.⁶⁷⁰

After a brief historical account of the *Çayır* or *Zeytinlik* region outside the Vardar Gate and of the initial steps to realize the first railway project, it is time to discuss the

⁶⁶⁸ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, “L'exploitation d'Roumelie”. *Levant Herald*, September 2, 1872 and onwards (translated by Özgür Yılmaz)

⁶⁶⁹ “Correspondence: Salonica”. *The Levant Herald*, February 22, 1871.

⁶⁷⁰ After the change of the concession agreement in 1872, the route partially shortened so that Hirsch's obligation was reduced to lay tracks up to Mitroviça city of Kosova vilayet. The proposed connection route to the European network was altered to Niş in Serbia instead of Bosnia as the primary agreement stated. On the other hand, the responsibility of the extension of the line to the Austrian and Serbian boarder was assigned to Ottoman government.

construction and expansion of the Oriental Railways' facilities by using a number of drawings and various images of the general views or single buildings of the area.⁶⁷¹ Here the first question is how the buildings in the railway yard were allocated. As a good starting point, a series of files containing the site plans of railway stations can be explored.⁶⁷² The reasons of conflict would be a later issue of discussion, but the important point here is the site plan in the file which is the earliest drawing of the Selanik railway yard in detail. Being a large transverse rectangular plate, the site plan drawing is a rare material open to physical threadbare. **(Fig. 4.75)**

⁶⁷¹ Today, making a short trip to the place of the Oriental Railways yard would not be a good starting point to explore the issue since most of the buildings were demolished before or significantly changed in time beyond recognition. Only a number of buildings has been preserved, however, they are not in good condition and they seem to be left to their destiny. Besides, some parts of the old railway yard are forbidden to public access which makes the survey condition worse. Thus, apart from observing the actual location, exploring the primary sources would be a better way to start

⁶⁷² Namely, Selanik, Çerkezköy and Dedeğaç station site plans drawn in 1887 found in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives . BOA Y.PRK.TNF 5-6 and 7 consecutively. Among them Dedeğaç railway yard site plan is presented in the related section

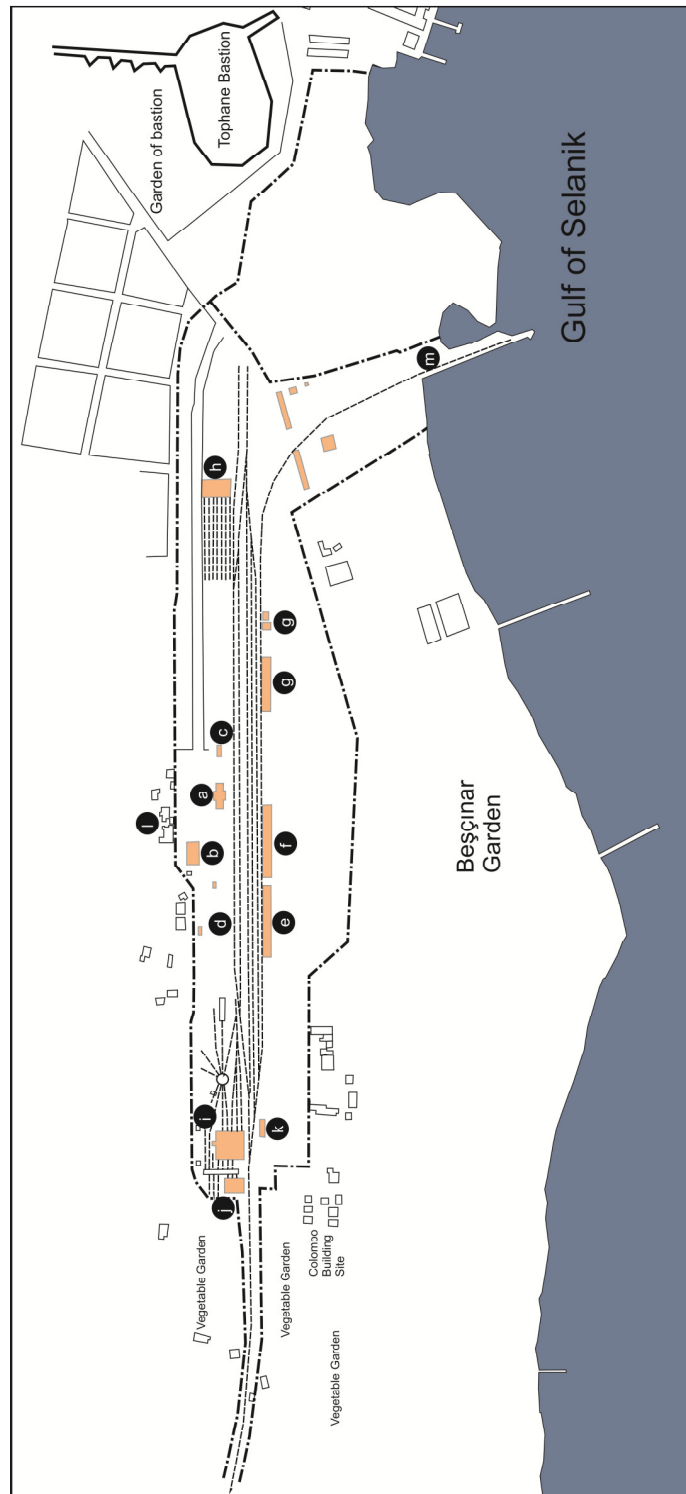


Figure 4.75 Selanik, site plan of Oriental Railways yard, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA Y.PRK.TNF 2/5, 1887, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: Passenger Station, b: Inspection building, c: Police office, d: Workers' shed, e: Operational magazine, f: Cereal hangar, g: Merchandise hangar, h: Wagon maintenance building, i: Locomotive maintenance building, j: Wagon depot, k: Magazine, l: Railway hotel, m: Oriental Railways pier.

The site plan is bilingual: in German and French and titled as “*Station Salonik*”. There are some notes in French and Turkish on the plate written probably after the preparation of the drawing. The plate demonstrates not only the railway buildings but also the surrounding territory: the French neighborhood, the quay, Beşçınar Garden and recently developing Çayır neighborhood. Unlike Dedeâğaç railway yard site plan, there are not any floor plans or sections of the buildings that would provide extra information.⁶⁷³

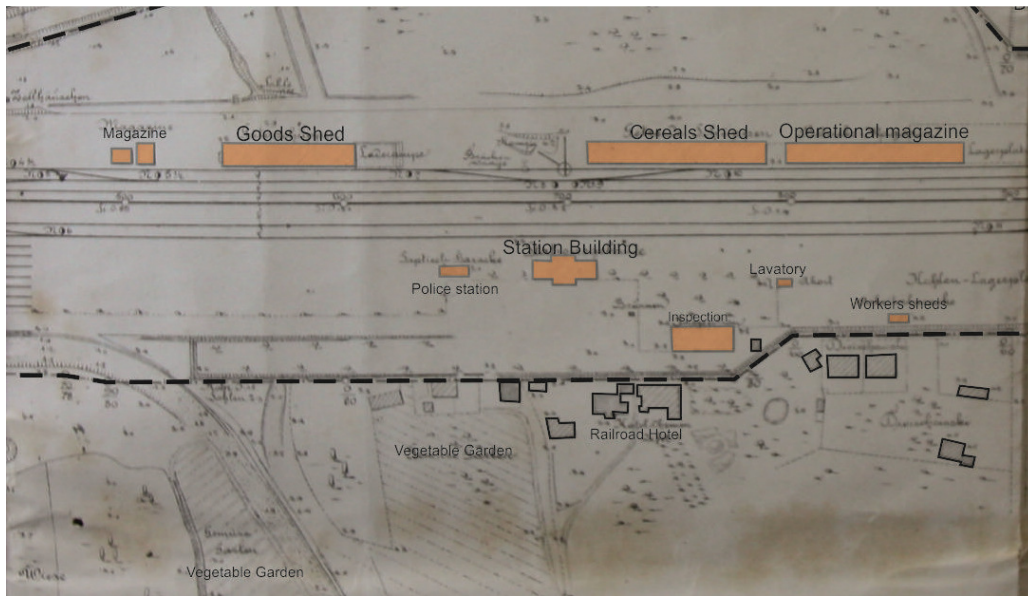


Figure 4.76 Selanik, site plan detail, passenger station building and surrounding facilities in Oriental Railways Selanik yard, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA Y.PRK.TNF 2/5.

The buildings are located on the both sides of the iron tracks. Among them, the most noteworthy one is the passenger station. Being a rectangular building which have projections at the front and rear façades, it is located parallel to the passenger platform. (**Fig. 4.76**)

⁶⁷³ The site plan showing the Dedeâğaç Railway Yard is examined in the sub-chapter on Dedeâğaç.



Figure 4.77 Selanik, Oriental Railways passenger station from platform side, not dated, postcard.

Source: Municipality of Thessaloniki History Center Visual Materials Collection.

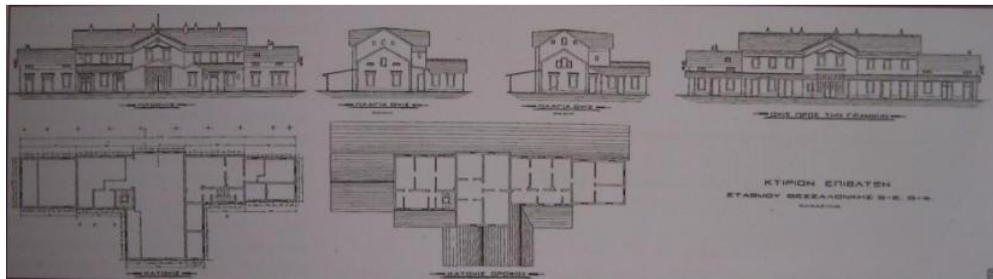


Figure 4.78 Selanik, plans and façades of Oriental Railways Selanik station, not dated, drawing.

Source: Christos Kalemkeris. *Οι σιδηρόδρομοι στον Βορειοελλαδικό χώρο 1871 – 1965*, (Thessaloniki: Museum Christos Kalemkeris, 2005), 154.

Like the other three examples of the same type, the main hall is in the middle of the rectangular mass and flanked by two symmetrical volumes. (**Fig. 4.77**) On the ground floor, the flanking volumes are reserved for the staff rooms and small waiting lounges for women and first class passengers. The first floor is probably arranged as a lodge for some of the staff. (**Fig. 4.78**) There is an empty square in front of the building which is surrounded by a police station for security and an administrative building for inspection department. (**Fig. 4.79**)

The station street was opened to connect the station to the city ending at the station square. In the early years of operation before tramlines arrived in the station square, horse drawn cars were waiting for the passengers in front of the station building.

Located on the opposite site of the station square, there was the railway hotel as the nearest means of accommodation for the visitors arriving in the city.



Figure 4.79 Left and right: Selanik, the square in front of the station, not dated, postcards.

Source: Yannis Megas Private Collection.

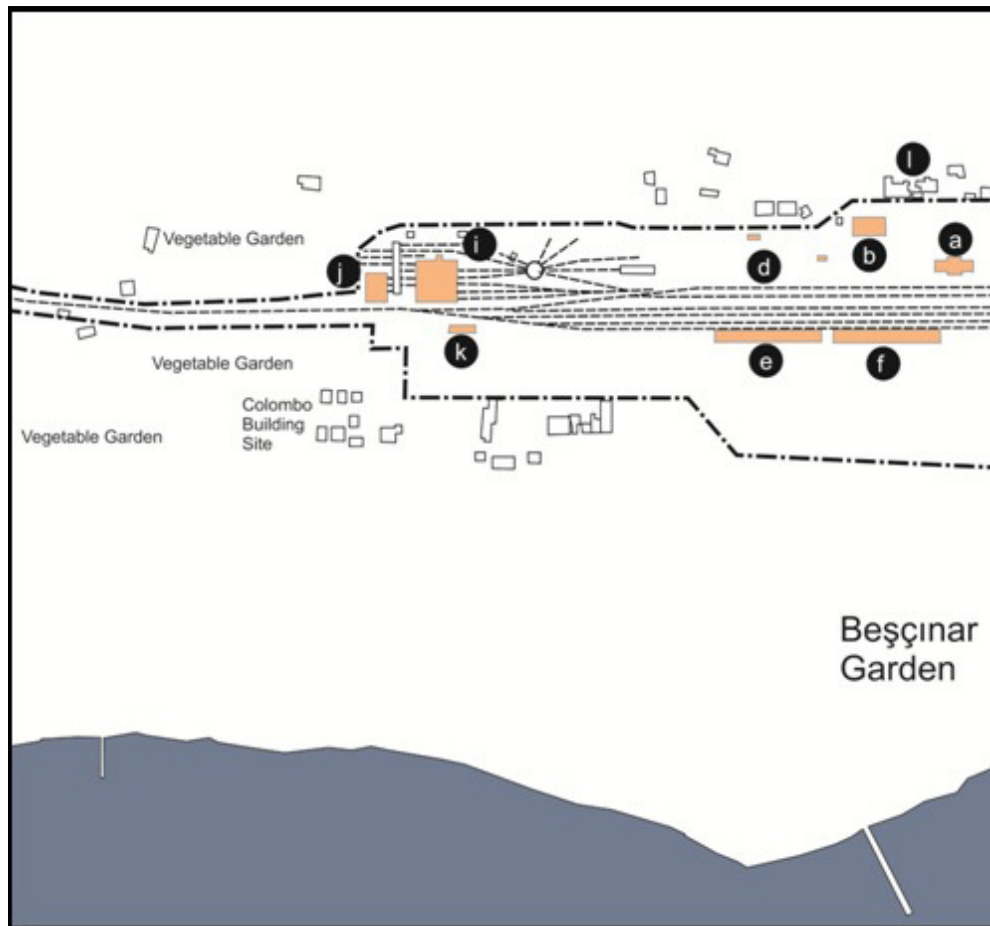


Figure 4.80 Selanik, site plan detail, Oriental Railways Selanik yard, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA Y.PRK.TNF 2/5, redrawn and indexed by the author.

In the plan, on the other side of the railway tracks, there are sheds and depots used for commercial purposes. **(Fig. 4.80)** The goods are embarked and disembarked by the platforms which are laid in front of one-storey, long rectangular storage units. For the ease of transfer, there are ramps and staircases around them. In the plan, three storage units are marked: one for operational items (probably the company reserved it for itself), another for cereals, and the last one for other means of goods. Besides, there are also a number of smaller storage units scattered all around the railway yard possibly for the operational use of the company.

At the western end of the railway yard **(Fig. 4.80)**, a group of technical buildings are allocated. There is a maintenance hangar for the regular repairs and control of the engines and locomotives and next to it, there is a wagon depot to keep unused ones. For the access of the locomotives and wagons there is a group of railway shifts and turntables to regulate the traffic around these technical buildings. At the opposite of these two buildings, there is another storage unit, probably for the equipments and spare parts of the engines. One of these buildings, the locomotive maintenance building, still exists today. **(Fig. 4.81)**



Figure 4.81 Thessaloniki, Oriental Railways locomotive maintenance hangar, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

At the other side of the railway yard (see the image below), there is another large building to repair the wagons. There is also another group of railway shifts around the building to control the traffic, and there are seven parallel railway platforms for the wagons giving clues about the capacity of the building.

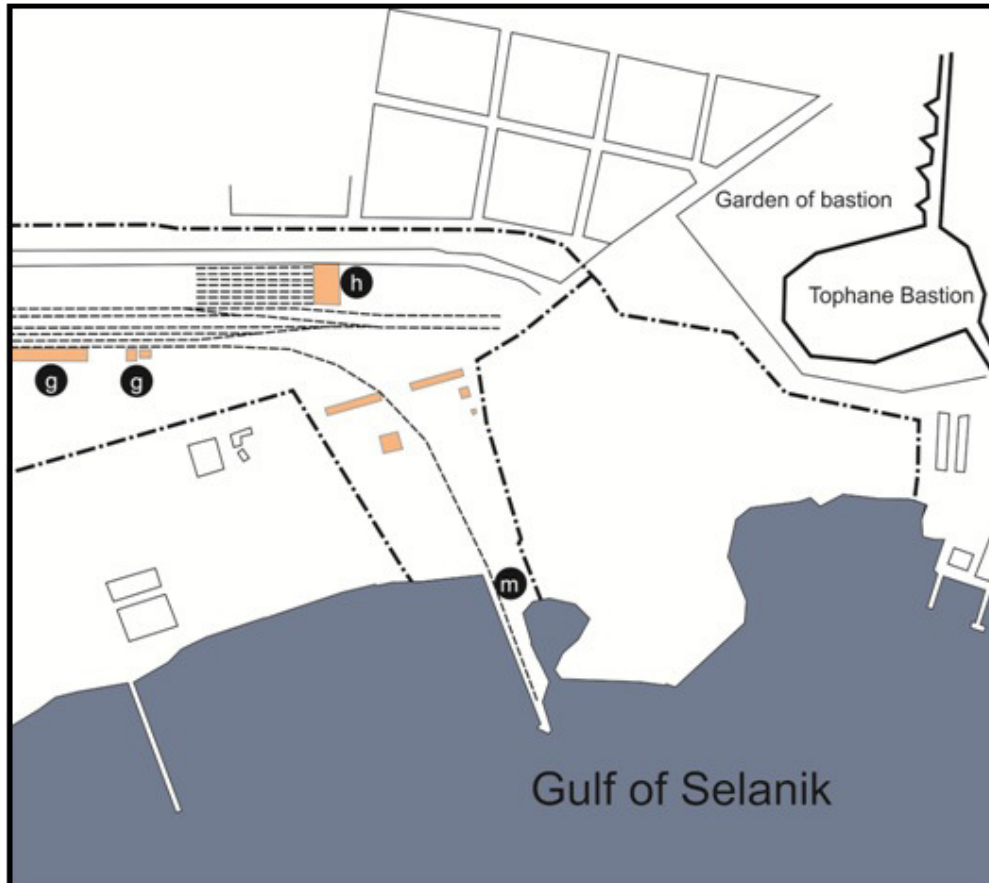


Figure 4.82 Selanik, site plan detail, Oriental Railways Selanik yard, 1887, drawing.

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.TNF 2/5, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Another important aspect of the railway yard site plan is that it shows the actual relations between the port and the station. In 1887 when the drawing was prepared, a direct railway line between the station and the harbor could not be provided yet, therefore, carts and porters had to be used to transfer goods around one kilometer distance. Remaining from the construction period of the railway line, there is a pier of the Oriental railways which might have been used to embark and disembark goods by the use of elevators and cranes at the seaside, and therefore, which might have also provided the access of wagons to the pier. **(Figs. 4.82 and 4.83)** Finally, contrary to the other sides of the railway yard, the traces of earliest permanent

settlements between Tophane bastion and passenger station become visible: the regular building blocks and streets among them. This was the Çayır / Vardar neighborhood which developed in an orthogonal layout as can be seen in the Municipality's plans of 1898-99, examined below. At the time when the plate was prepared, the density of settlement was not high and there were many empty slots in the plots.



Figure 4.83 Selanik, pier of the Oriental Railways, not dated, photograph.

Source: Cristos Kalemkeris. *Οι σιδηρόδρομοι στον Βορειοελλαδικό χώρο 1871 – 1965*, (Thessaloniki: Museum Christos Kalemkeris, 2005), 166.

The site plan examined above does not demonstrate the whole development process of the area, therefore some other drawings dated to later periods can reveal extra details about the railway yard. Since after 1887, especially during the construction of the other two railways, a group of new buildings was erected and the physical appearance of the built environment inherently changed. It is interesting to note that while Selanik- Manastır Railway Company negotiated with the Oriental Railways to use the existing lines and buildings in a common responsibility, Selanik- İstanbul Junction line had to build its own yard at the northwest of the existing railway yard.

Therefore, after the inauguration of the Selanik - İstanbul line in 1896, there were three railway operators in Selanik using two railway yards.⁶⁷⁴

In order to understand the binary system of operation in the late nineteenth century and its spatial reflections, a new set of information presented in the Selanik Municipality plans prepared in h. 1316 (1898-99) should be discussed. Drawn in 1:500 scale with many details about the built environment and nature, the plans (around 90 in number) demonstrate the actual circumstance of the Çayır / Vardar (western) and Kalemariye (eastern) districts of Selanik at the turn of the century. The remaining plans depicting the western end of Selanik are in two pieces: the area between Oriental Railways Station and the new harbor complex (*group a* on the drawing) and the area around Selanik – İstanbul Junction Line Company (JSC) railway yard (*group b* on the drawing). Unfortunately, a number of plans in the first group are missing including the ones showing a portion of the railway yard.



Figure 4.84 Selanik, city plan indicating the locations of the pieces of the Selanik municipality plans of 1899.

Source: Background plate: National Map Library Thessaloniki Branch Collection, item # 4257, “Map of Salonica and Surrounding Territory”; reproduced by the author.

⁶⁷⁴ It seems convincing that being run by the German capital, Oriental railways and Manastır - Selanik Railways Company was akin to each other and more ready for a negotiation than the Junction Railways Company controlled by French capital. Therefore, Selanik became the battle scene of German and French influence zones.

While examining the drawings, apart from the inauguration of two new railway operators, it should be kept in mind that the years 1898-1899 coincided with the start of the construction of a new harbor, a remarkable increase at the population and number of surrounding buildings finally running tramlines arriving to Beşçınar and Station Square. All of these public works were realized or started mostly within the last decade of the nineteenth century. Therefore with its detailed depictions, the municipality plans of 1899 became a laboratory to test the spatial results of many public works actions that held simultaneously at the turn of the century. **(Fig. 4.85)**

To be able to understand the developments at the Oriental Railways station area after 1887, it is helpful to start with the examination of the section depicted as “group a” in the the general plan. **(Fig. 4.84)** The major difference after 1887 was the remarkable increase in the number of buildings in the railway yard. Due to the incorporation with Selanik-Manastır Railways Company, and accordingly, the increasing capacity, some of the buildings in the railway yard were either expanded or rebuilt. In this regard, photographs and postcards are invaluable sources to understand how the two-dimensional abstract graphic expressions were experienced in the real world.



Figure 4.85 Selanik, municipality plan, detail indicating the area between the Oriental Railways station and the new harbor, 1898-99, watercolor drawing.

Source: National Map Library of Greece, Thessaloniki Branch Collection, reframed and indexed by the author.

The drawing above marks many buildings allocated in the railway yard. Among them, merchandise hangar (b), wagon repair hangar (l), carpenter atelier (f) and office building (g) are the only buildings depicted in the previous drawing. In time, the merchandise hangar's capacity was doubled by the addition of a new flank in the same size along with a two-storey office building in the middle of two storage areas. The two images below demonstrate the view of the merchandise hangar before and after the expansion process. (Compare the buildings marked by letter b in the images) (Figs. 4.86 and 4.87)

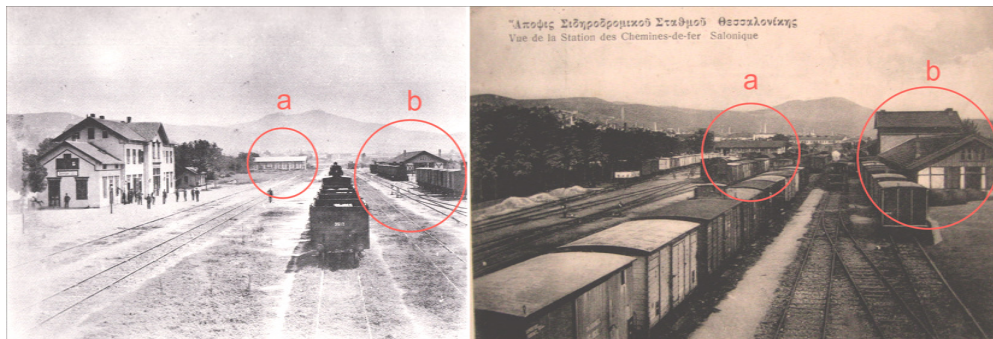


Figure 4.86 Selanik, Oriental Railways yard: merchandise hangar and wagon repair buildings.

Source: **Left:** İstanbul University Rare Materials Library Collection. **Right:** Yannis Megas Private Collection. The images are collaged, marked and reproduced by the author.

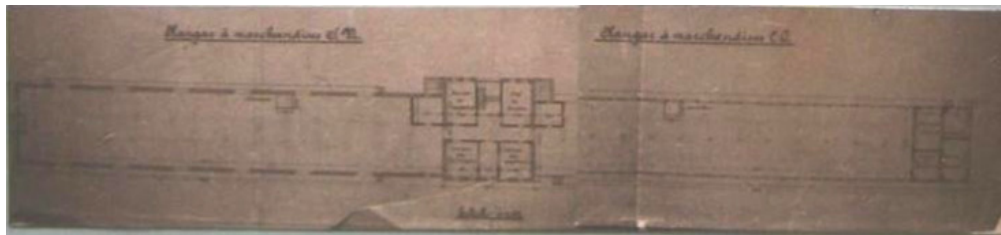


Figure 4.87 Selanik, ground floor plan of merchandise hangar, not dated, drawing.

Source: Vassilis Kolonas Private Collection.

The recently constructed part of the hangar was reserved for the Selanik - Manastır Railway Company and was projected as the mirror image of the existing one. (Examine the plan above)

On the other hand, the physical appearance of the wagon repair hangar did not change in this period. Apart from the expansion of the existing merchandise hangar, a new storage building was constructed at the south direction which was commissioned by Allatini Family of Selanik. It is marked as a salt storage on the plates.

Another new building was the lodging for the inspectors of the Oriental Railways company. Located on a corner of the station square, it provided accommodation for the inspectors. It was a two storey rectangular building in two-storey height. On the ground floor, there were three independent entrances for three row units of residence. For each of them, there was a staircase providing access to the first floor. (Fig. 4.88)

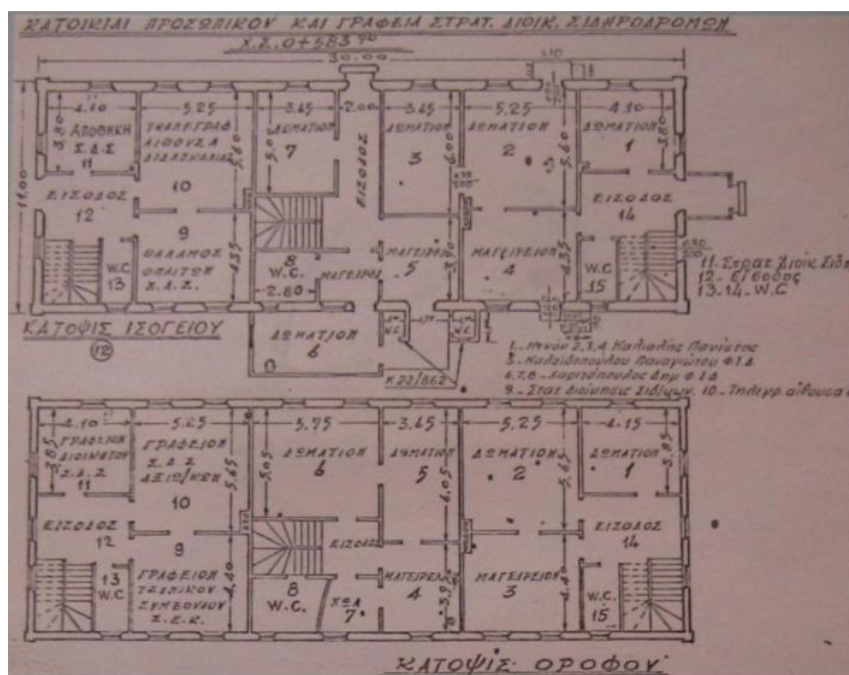


Figure 4.88 Selanik, floor plans for the inspectors' lodgings, not dated, drawing.

Source: Vassilis Colonas Private Collection.⁶⁷⁵



Figure 4.89 Thessaloniki, Oriental Railways inspector lodging building, c.1990, photograph.

Source: Vassilis Colonas Private Collection.

⁶⁷⁵ This image is used with the courtesy of Professor Vassilis Colonas who collected the drawings from the archive of OSE Thessaloniki Branch years ago. He translated, redrew and colored the images he acquired. During my research in Thessaloniki in 2010, I could not find the originals of the materials which were mostly stored in unsuitable conditions of preservation.

A few years later, a new lodging for the staff was erected by the company near to the existing one. The new building would either be the new lodging designed for the staff of the Selanik- Manastır Railways Company (similar to the merchandise hangar project), or the one built by the Oriental Railways to compensate inadequate number of residence for the staff. It is a symmetrical building crowned by a pitched roof. A landscape arrangement was proposed for the area between the two buildings too.

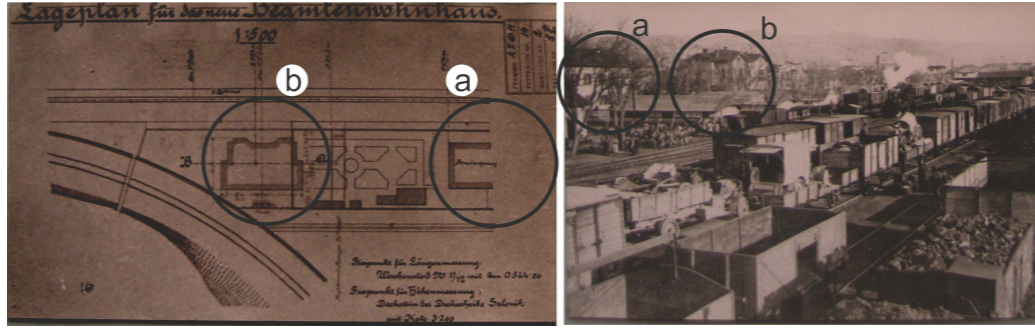


Figure 4.90 Left: Selanik site plan of the old and new lodgings, not dated, drawing. Right: Selanik, old and new lodgings, not dated, photograph.

Source: Vassilis Colonas Private Collection.

On the railway yard, there was also a timber depot and a blacksmith shop constructed close to the pier as new edifices. However, lack of visual materials prevents one from making further comments about them, but their presence can reinforce the claim that the railway yard became the core of the integrated industrial area at the turn of the century with more than two hundred engineers, technicians and workers directed by a chief engineer and his two deputies.⁶⁷⁶ (Fig. 4.91)

As stated before, Selanik Municipality drawings of 1899 depicted not only the Oriental Railways Yard, but also the remote yard of the Junction line.

⁶⁷⁶*Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324, 608

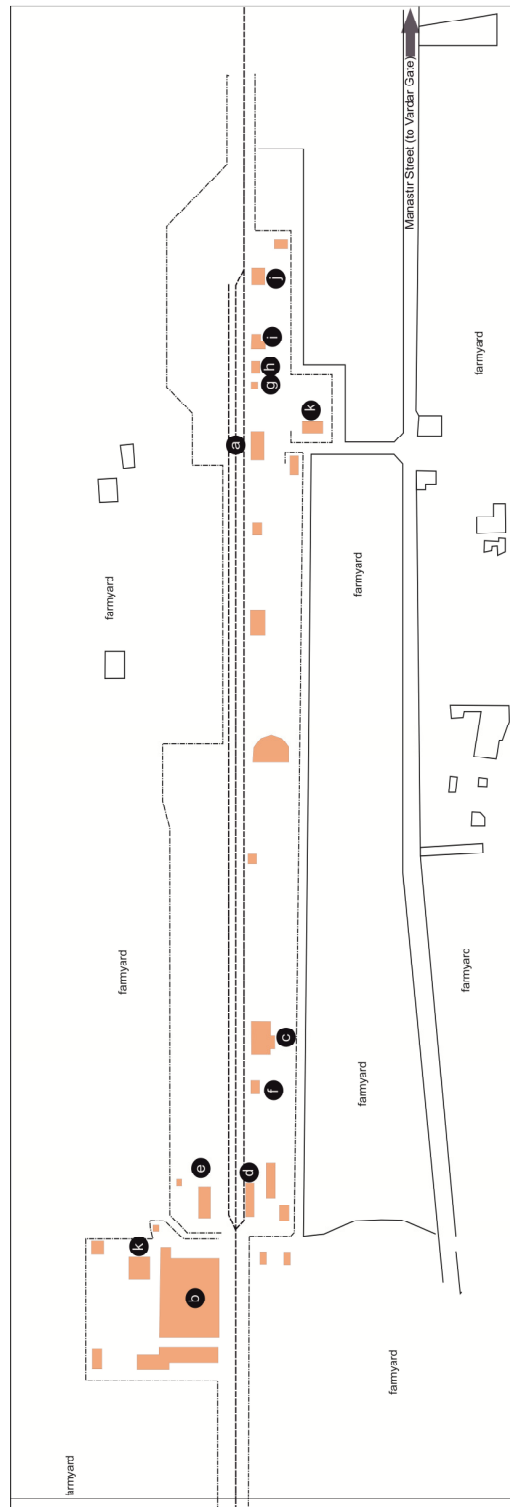


Figure 4.91 Selanik, site plan of JSC railway yard, 1899, drawing.

Source: National Map Library of Greece, Thessaloniki Branch Collection, Selanik Municipality Drawings, 1898-99, watercolor drawing, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: a- Passenger Station, b-factory, c- storage, d- storage e- office building, f- undefined, k- forge g- WC, h- Post Office and Police, i- undefined, j- storage, k-Administration building.

Except the small city station at Tophane (*station de ville*); the railway yard is allocated on one side of the Selanik Manastir main road and surrounded by the vineyards, olive groves and farms. The buildings in the railway yard are allocated on the either sides of the railway lines. They can be grouped into two parts, east and western yard. While the east side is dominated by the passenger station and the administrative building, the west one is reserved for the technical facilities amalgamated around factory building.

In the eastern group, the buildings are mostly aligned facing the railway lines. The JSC Selanik Passenger Station is a two-storey building and smaller in size in comparison to Oriental Railways station. **(Fig. 4.92)** It is located at one end of an axis starting by the Selanik – Manastir main road. This short passage is flanked by trees planted in a row. On the right side, there is the administrative building facing the passage. On the opposite side, there is another building used as a canteen and a bakery. On the other side of the station, there is a merchandise hangar as well. **(Figs. 4.93 and 4.94)**



Figure 4.92 Selanik, municipality plan detail indicating the eastern part of JSC railway yard, 1898-99, watercolor drawing.

Source: National Map Library of Greece, Thessaloniki Branch Collection, Selanik Municipality Drawings, 1898-99, watercolor drawing, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: a-passenger station, g- WC, h- post office and Police, i- undefined, j- storage, k- administration building.

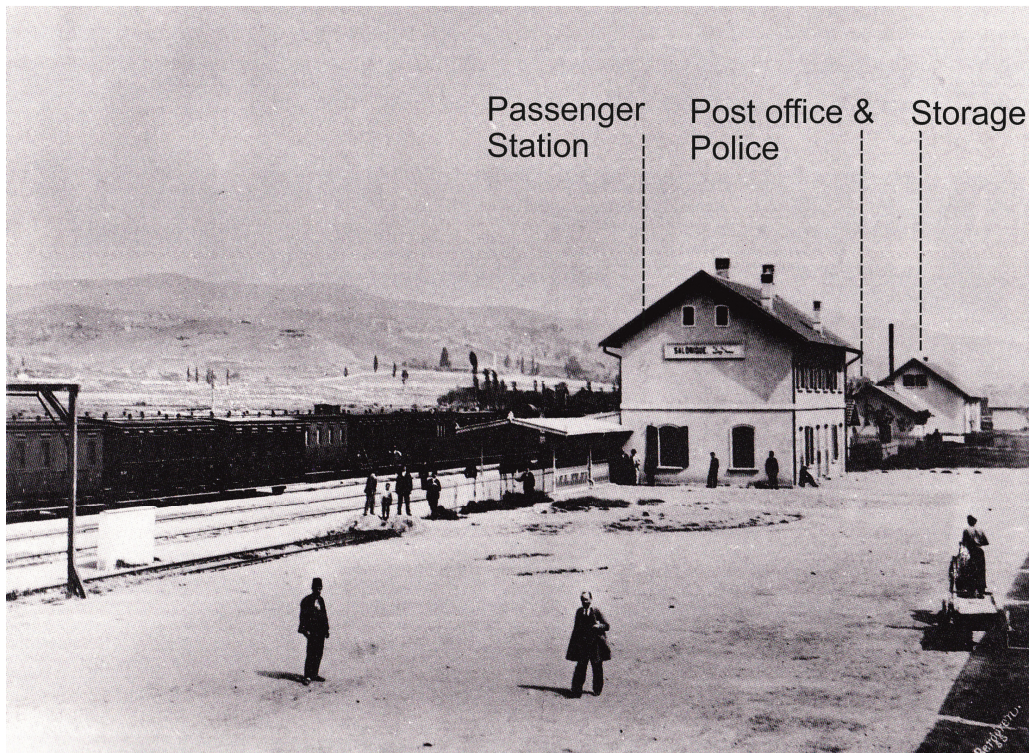


Figure 4.93 Selanik, JSC main passenger station, not dated, photograph.
Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection, reproduced by the author.

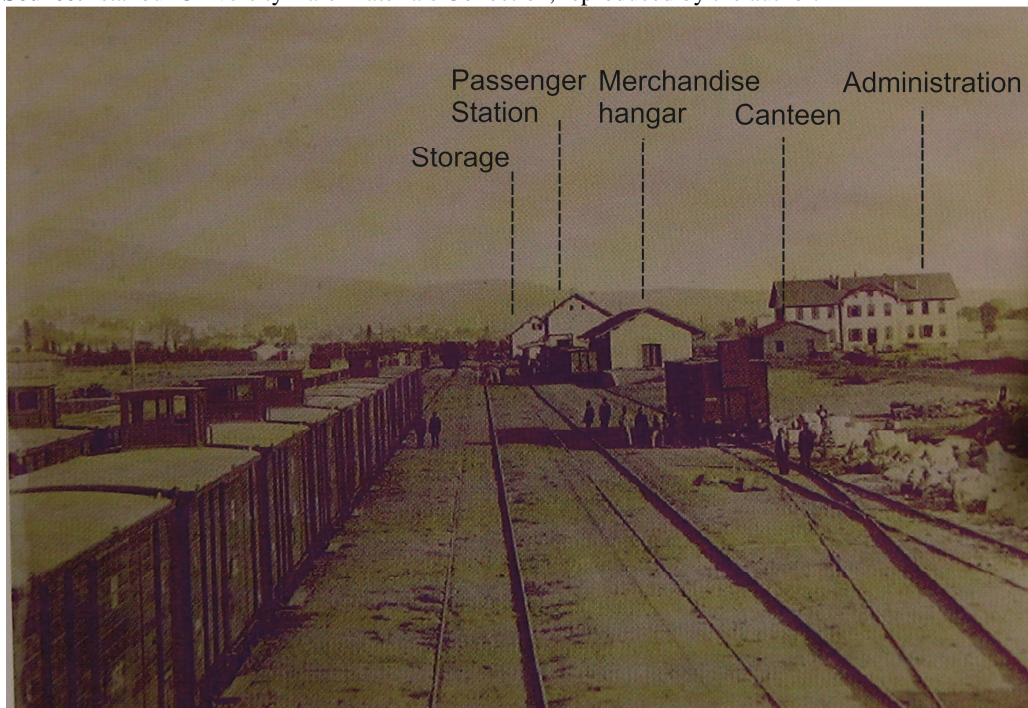


Figure 4.94 Selanik, The JSC Passenger Station and surrounding buildings, not dated, photograph.
Source: Cristos Kalemkeris. *Οι σιδηρόδρομοι στον Βορειοελλαδικό χώρο 1871 – 1965*, (Thessaloniki: Museum Christos Kalemkeris, 2005), 274; reproduced by the author.

The other group of buildings in the west is organized around a main factory used for the maintenance, control and repair of the locomotives and wagons.⁶⁷⁷ (Fig. 4.95) Despite the fact that JSC railway yard was the target of a massive bombardment during German occupation in 1944, some of the buildings in the railway yard survived including the office building near the factory. However, the factory building was demolished during the bombardment.⁶⁷⁸ (Fig. 4.96 and 4.97)



Figure 4.95 Selanik, municipality plan detail indicating the western part of JSC railway yard, watercolor drawing.

Source: National Map Library of Greece, Thessaloniki Branch Collection, Selanik Municipality Drawings, 1898-99, watercolor drawing, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: b-factory, c- storage, d- storage e- office building, f- undefined, k-forge.

⁶⁷⁷*Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h.1324, 621

⁶⁷⁸Christos Kalemkeris. *Οι σιδηρόδρομοι στον Βορειοελλαδικό χώρο 1871 – 1965*, 274-276

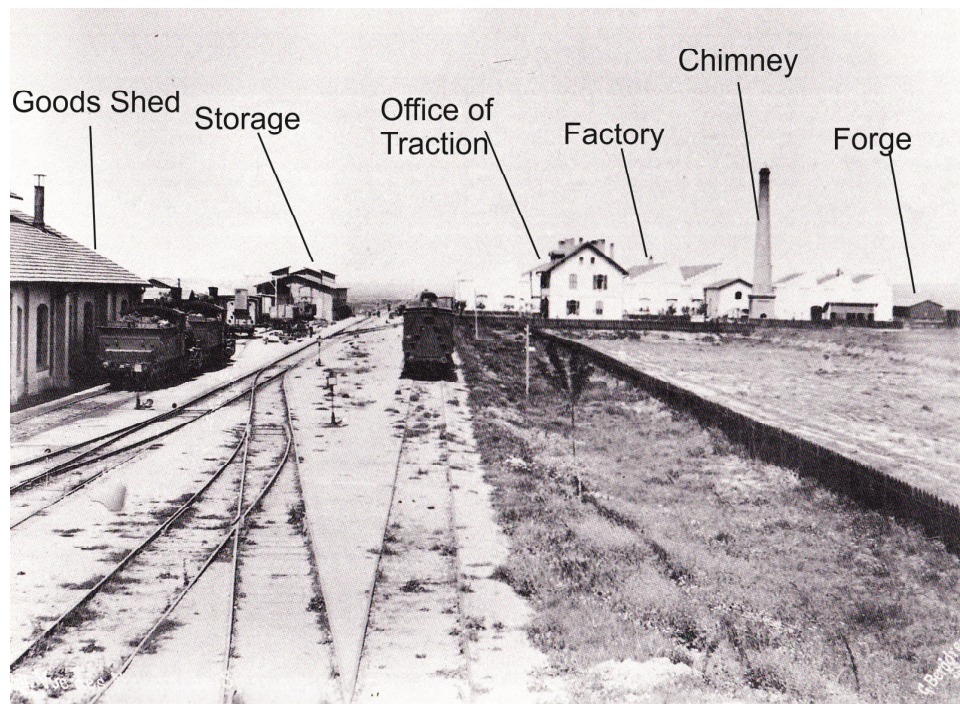


Figure 4.96 Selanik, Technical facilities of the JSC railway yard, not dated, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection.



Figure 4.97 Thessaloniki, Office of Traction Building in JSC yard, not dated, photograph.

Source: Christos Kalemkeris. *Οι σιδηρόδρομοι στον Βορειοελλαδικό χώρο 1871 – 1965*, (Thessaloniki: Museum Christos Kalemkeris, 2005), 276.

Apart from the principal passenger station in the railway yard, the JSC Company has another minor station at the west of the Tophane Bastion called city station or *station de ville*. When the company agreed with the harbor authority to set up a connection between the harbor and main station, the JSC Company granted permission to install an extension line from the principal station to the port. It can be assumed that, as part of the permission, a small area to construct a minor station could be a part of the discussion for the ease of the transportation of the passengers into the city. Being close to the new harbor and on the route of the trams, the new station would be a better alternative to reach for both arriving and departing passengers. (Fig. 4.98)

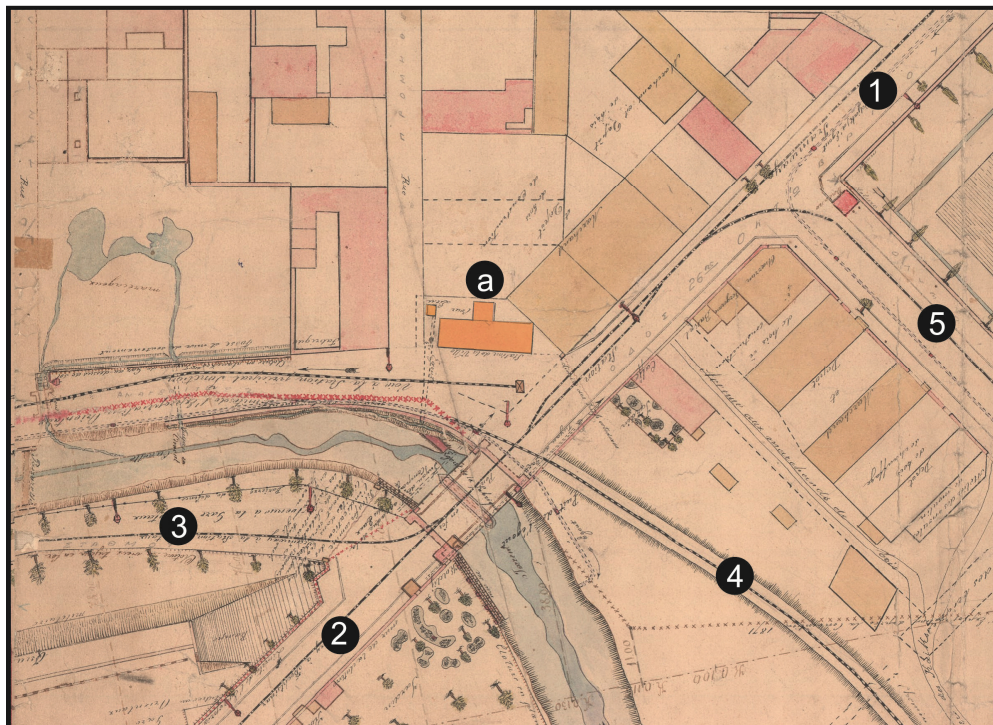


Figure 4.98 Selanik, Plan detail indicating JSC City Station and the surrounding area, 1898-99, drawing.

Source: National Map Library of Greece, Thessaloniki Branch Collection, Selanik Municipality Drawings, 1898-99, watercolor drawing, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: a- JSC City Station (Station de Ville), 1- tramline to Vardar Street 2- Tramline to Beşçınar, 3- tramline to Oriental Railways Station, 4- Railway extension to the harbor, 5- tramline to the quay

In order to reach the new harbor and city station, the trains coming from principal station had to follow a curvy route line following the stream nearby. (Fig. 4.99) Selanik city station is a single storey building located in a dense built environment surrounded by timber and construction materials depots and a small factory. The

Selanik Tramway Company installed a stop in front of the city station and therefore, the inter-city transportation was integrated with in-city transportation.

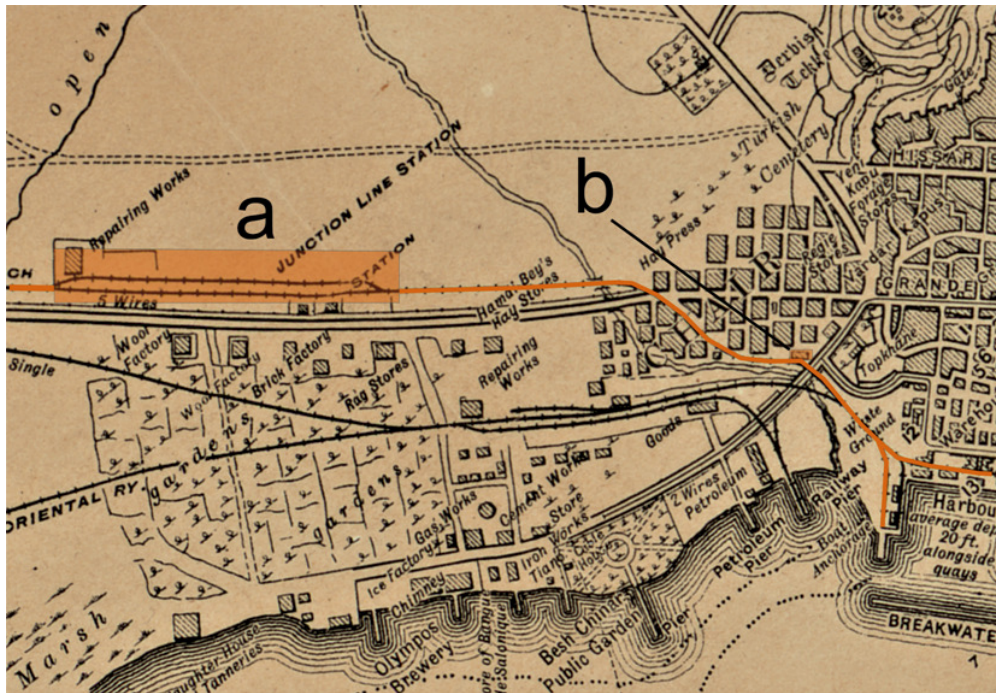


Figure 4.99 Selanik, plan detail indicating the route from JSC railway yard to the new harbor via city station, 1900s, drawing.

Source: National Map Library Archive in Thessaloniki.

Legend: a-JSC Selanik Railway Yard, b- City Station.



Figure 4.100 Left: Selanik, JSC city station, 1917, postcard. **Right:** Selanik, JSC city station, 1917, postcard.

Source: Yannis Megas Private Collection.

Dated to 1887 the site plan of Oriental Railways Selanik Station and 1899 Municipal plans partially marked the physical changes of the railway yards in a certain detail

level as it has examined so far. What about the final view of the district before Balkan Wars?

Regarding the final view of the district before Balkan Wars, a plate possibly drawn for intelligence purposes presents very helpful knowledge. It was prepared by British War Office dated to March 1909. **(Fig. 4.101)** The plate not only depicted the locations of the major buildings, but also the distances, infrastructure provisions, capacities of mechanical structures, etc. While it omits some buildings and detailed information, it marks the construction of new facilities. Suitable to its principal aim of preparation, the drawing demonstrates the railway track routes, harbor-station and piers-station connections in detail. Using the passenger station as a starting point to explore, the plate indicates the officials' houses on the west of the station, behind the inspectors' building. There are also three new sheds facing the railway tracks on the south of the station building. In addition to these recent buildings, the provision of electric tramway instead of old horse drawn power system, the integration of the two railway yard by the extension of iron tracks and the allocation of the new port facilities and the major public companies in Frenkish quarter are indicated on the plate as well.

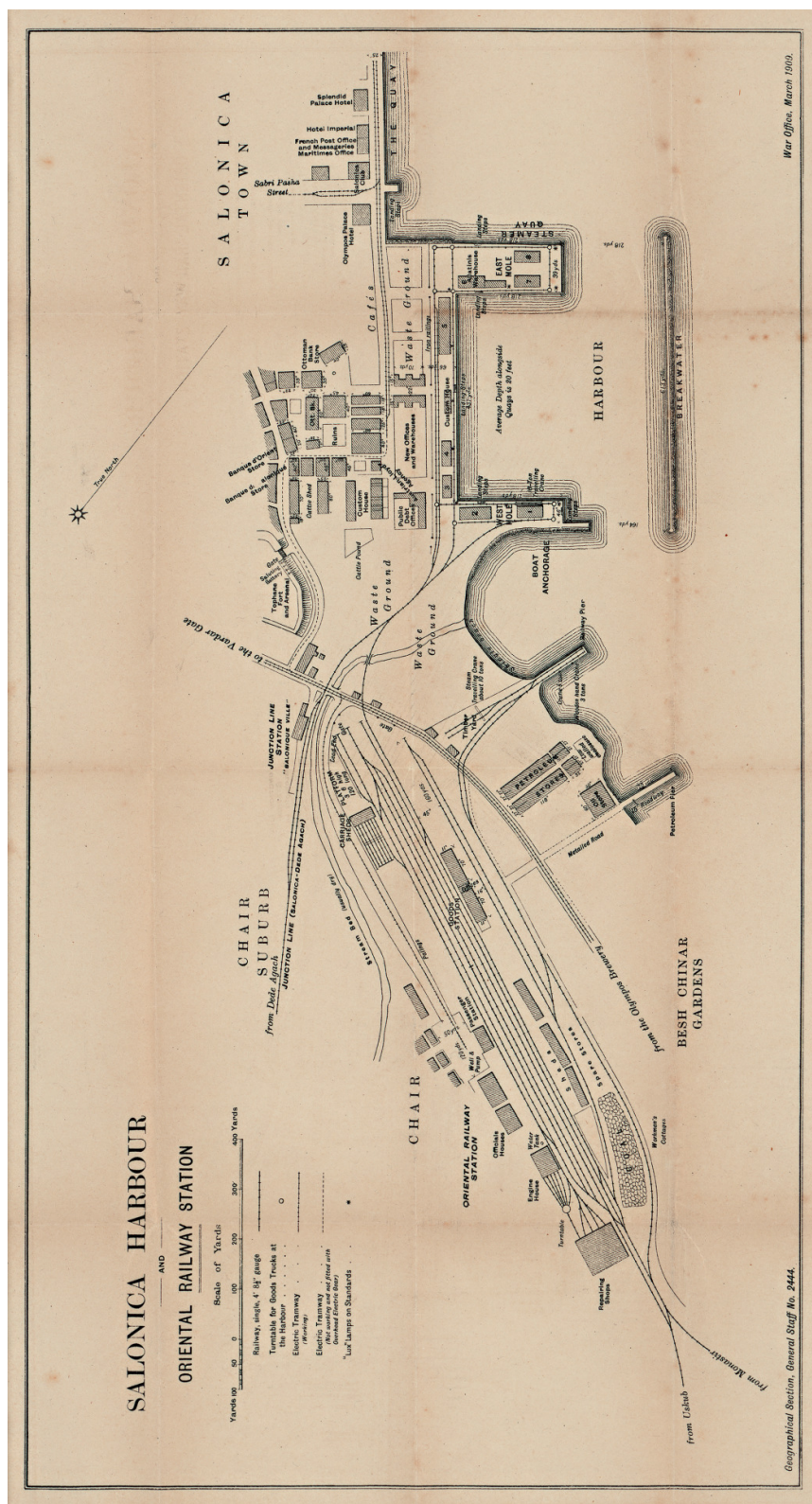


Figure 4.101 Selanik, plan of harbor and Oriental Railways station, 1909, drawing.

Source: National Map Library Archive in Thessaloniki, catalogue #4356.

4.2.3 Manastır

As it happened in other cases, one of the primary responsibilities of the Selanik-Manastır Railway Company was to construct a terminus station with some technical and commercial facilities at Manastır. Starting from 1893, a number of buildings were erected in the railway yards however some of them were demolished during the massive shelling of the city in the World War I.

This section addresses the formation of a small railway yard in Manastır through the international entrepreneurs' activities in Manastır. Comparing to the other railway concessionaires, however, it was the Selanik Manastır Railways which left the least information behind for the current examination: an imperial decree (of concession), a convention, specifications (*cahier des charges*) and a number of photos and postcards are the only sources. Although these materials are not enough to depict the railway yard in general, by overlapping and merging the information, some of the missing pieces of the puzzle can be reproduced to a certain extent. But still, this attempt cannot provide us with a complete outline of the built environment. So depending on the reveal of new materials and further studies on them, the mapping of the railway yard will be improved in the future.

The Manastır city plan dated to the end of the nineteenth century is the base to constitute a site plan for the railway yard. This drawing depicts the location of some buildings without indexing them. By matching the actual buildings with the building indications on the plan, a hypothetical site plan for the railway yard can be presented.⁶⁷⁹ (Fig. 4.102)

⁶⁷⁹ The buildings on the site plan may not be at the exact locations and in the actual proportions.

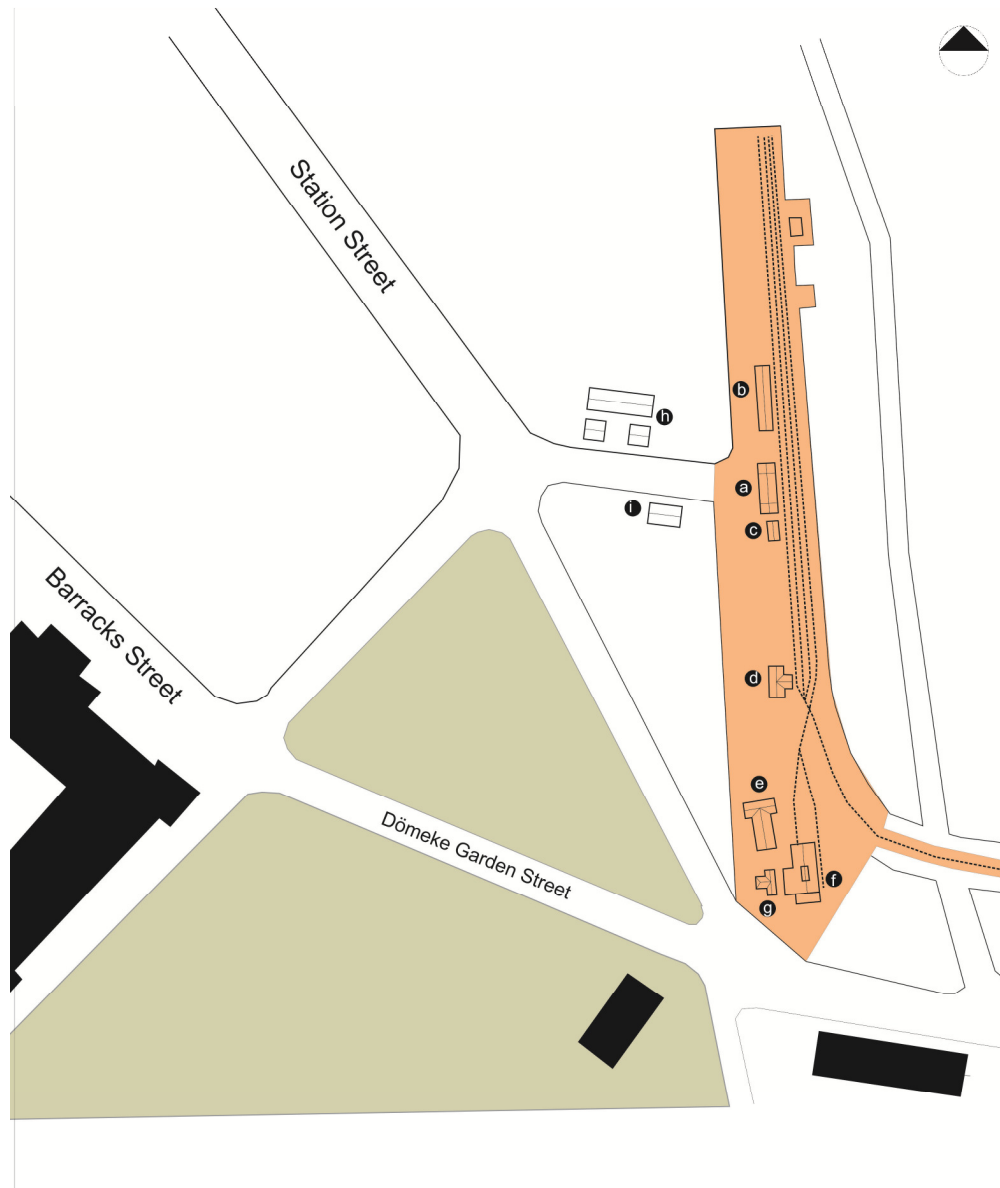


Figure 4.102 Manastir, city plan detail indicating the railway yard and the surrounding environs, 1890s, drawing.

Source: Based on the “Plan of Monastir” reproduced by the author.

The buildings in the railway yard are grouped into two sets. The northern one, directly connected to the station street, has an easy access and marks the places where the passengers and commercial items were in circulation. In this set, there is a passenger station (a), commercial storage (b), and an undefined building (c).

Located on the south of those buildings, there is the other set consisting of building d, building e, building f and building g.

Finally apart from these buildings, there is a number of others located on the side of the station street and circumscribing the station square: station hotel & café (h) and a number of shops (i).

When the construction was completed, Selanik - Manastır Railway Company came to terms with Oriental Railways for the common use of the Selanik Station of Oriental Railways until the year of 1900. The company had to share the general expenditures of the railway yard and had to pay 15% of annual incomes to the Oriental Railways. The agreement would be extended annually after the expiry date with mutual decision.⁶⁸⁰ This agreement not only saved the company from establishing a railway yard in Selanik with its commercial and technical facilities, but also provided the opportunity of using the technical infrastructure of the existing railway yard for the maintenance and repair of the locomotives and wagons with an estimated saving of around 500,000 francs.⁶⁸¹ The technical provisions in Selanik removed the necessity of constructing heavy industries in Manastır railway yard. Furthermore, the non-existence of customs in Manastır (although it was firmly desired by the local merchants) invalidated the necessity of building extra large hangars or storage buildings. Therefore, the railway yard in Manastır could not become a comprehensive and fully-functional one and the company contended with small capacity buildings for technical and commercial facilities.

Based on the collected information, the depiction of the single buildings in the railway yard can be done:

Based on the collected information, the buildings in the railway yard can be depicted as follows: Ironically, in a railway yard on which the least information is available, the station building still exists along with three other buildings rescued after the massive shelling during the WWI and it has been in use for more than 110 years. **(Figs. 4.103 and 4.104)**

⁶⁸⁰ George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman; Recueil des Codes, Lois, Règlements, Ordonnances et Actes les plus Importants du Droit Intérieur, et d'études sur le Droit Coutumier de l'Empire Ottoman*. (Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1905-06), 4, 113

⁶⁸¹ Mehmed Cavid, "Müessesat-ı Nafiamız; Selanik- Manastır Şimendiferi". *Ulum-i İktisadiyye ve İctimaiyye Mecmuası*. 1 (3), 345

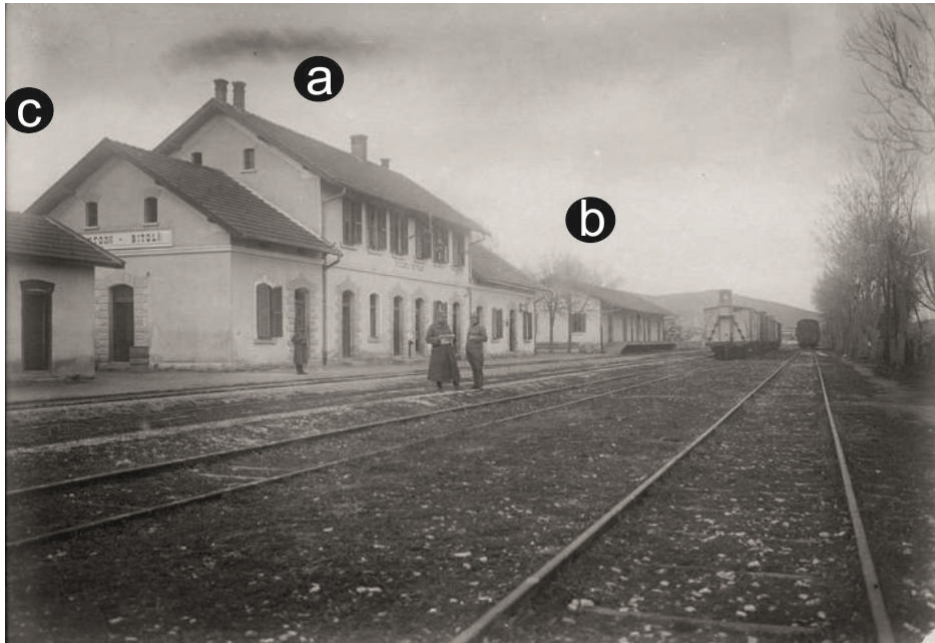


Figure 4.103 Manastir, Passenger Station and surrounding buildings, not dated, photograph.

Source: Ministry of Culture of France online visual materials archive.

Legend: a: Passenger station, b: Commercial storage, c: building c

The lack of drawings or interior images restricts the study from analyzing the original space articulation and use of the building. However, since the station is similar to the other examples in the Ottoman Balkans, its the functional diversity and space use can still be reproduced hypothetically: the ground floor of the two-storey building is reserved for the passengers and officer rooms. In the middle of the organization, there is a large waiting lounge for the third class passengers with openings into both platform side and the station square.



Figure 4.104 Manastir, passenger station from street (left) and platform (right) sides, not dated, photograph.

Source: right: Ministry of Culture of France online visual materials archive. **Left:** *Virtual Tourist*, “Bitola”, accessed August 6, 2012; <http://members.virtualltourist.com/m/p/m/212f88/>

This room is flanked by the ticket window, staff offices, first and second class waiting rooms and women lounge. The upper floor is reserved as lodging for the line inspectors or managers. There are two smaller masses attached to the main building. Looking from the station street, on the right hand side, there is a single storey building (including an attic) which might have been used by either conductors or keepers. On the opposite site, the annexing building is larger in size and might have been used as a restaurant. The mass proportions and façade organization of the station building fit into the typology with which the visitors come across frequently: the regular windows and doors framed with arches whose bricks extrude from the wall surface. The windows are protected by the timber shutters from the exterior.

Located on the northern side of the passenger station, commercial hangar is a single storey masonry building parallel to the railway lines. There is an elongated platform raised by a ramp to facilitate the ease of embanking and disembarking from the wagons. The elongated rectangular building is formed by a number of storage cells side by side. The pitched roof projects towards the platform and provides shading.

Building c is a small single storey building located on the southern side of the passenger station building. Along with the passenger station and commercial storage buildings, it is the last one surviving today. Originally, it could be either telegram office or public toilette building.

The only evidence about the building d is a photograph dated to the WWI which documents the building after its partial demolition due to the massive shelling. **(Fig. 4.105)** In the background of the image, white barracks and the skirts of the hill, where the *Abdülkerim Paşa* (later became *Tumbe Café*) Garden was located, were framed. Therefore, one can assume that the building was located closer to the south end of the railway yard compared to the station building. It was a T-shaped two-storey building and might have been used either as the residence of the manager of the station or the general directorate building of the railway company.



Figure 4.105 Manastır, building d in Manastır railway yard, 1910s, photograph.
Source: Ministry of Culture of France, online visual materials archive.

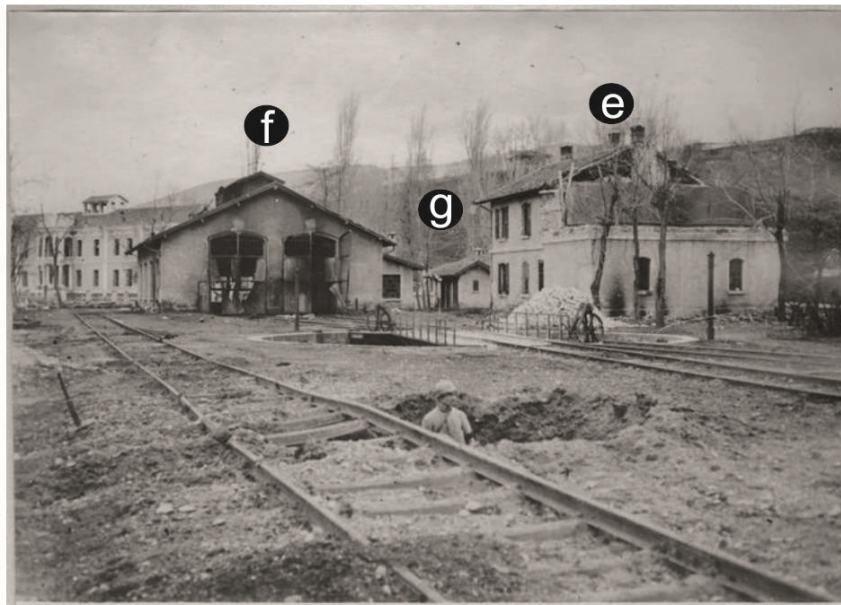


Figure 4.106 Manastır, buildings e-f and g in the railway yard, 1910s, photograph.
Source: Ministry of Culture of France online visual materials archive.

At the southern end of the railway yard, there are three buildings close to each other. They were damaged during the WWI and fully demolished afterwards. This set of buildings can be considered as the technical facilities of the railway yard. On the background of the image above, the Arts and Crafts school opened by the Abdülkerim Paşa can be discerned as well. **(Figs. 4.106 and 4.107)**



Figure 4.107 Manastir, buildings e-f and g in the railway yard, not dated, photograph.

Source: Istanbul University Library Rare Materials Collection.

Along with the other two buildings in the set, the building e was demolished in time. As a two-storey masonry building with a regular repetitive window arrangement, it might have been used as lodging for the technical staff or the inspectors.

The form of the building f depicted in the images reveals clearly the function of the building: it was a hangar for making the basic repair and maintenance works of the wagons. There are two railway lines extending into the hangar which means that there are two wagon platforms for the maintenance of the wagons. There is a skylight window located on the top of the roof providing the penetration of light into the building. Later, a single storey annex building was constructed at the back of the building which was probably used to store spare parts and the machine tools.

The exact function of the smallest member of the building group, the building g cannot be estimated. It can be a depot or keeper's shed. **(Fig. 4.107)**



Figure 4.108 Manastir, passenger station, station hotel and café at railway yard, not dated, postcard.

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the hearth of Monastir, a tale of an Ottoman city through postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

While approaching the passenger building from the station street, there were a number of buildings located on the sides. Disappeared in time, these were the station hotel, station café and small shops. **(Fig. 4.108)** They were initially built by the concessionaire company to increase revenues and rented out to the local businessmen⁶⁸² and provided the passengers with the opportunity of dining, resting and shopping in the vicinity of the station.

4.2.5 Concluding Remarks

The investigation of international entrepreneurs' activities in the urbanscape has revealed a number of similar and distinctive patterns of spatial politics. By observing the similarities, the practices can be grouped under these themes: firstly, the construction of railway stations and railway yards and their integration with the port facilities where it is suitable; secondly, maximizing the profit and its spatial

⁶⁸² In time these buildings became an issue of conflict between the company and the Ottoman government about taxation of these enterprises. BOA, TFR.I.MN 143/14269, 14 N 1325 (September 22, 1907)

results; and thirdly, the provision of some public amenities in and around railway yards.

The construction of large railway yards was one of the most obvious interventions of railways entrepreneurs in the spatial shaping of the cities. Although their building program included small single station buildings at small towns, the major cities accommodated larger railway yards including the functions of passenger and merchandise stations, depots, customs, restaurants, telegram & post offices, lodgings, administrative buildings, shops, stores and repair & maintenance hangars which spread on vast areas. There were also unique military stations used for a single purpose. In time, the number and the capacity of the buildings in railway yards increased as well.

In most of the cases, the stations and railway yards were mostly built at the outskirts of the urban fabric of Ottoman Balkan cities. The main consideration in their spatial setting was to achieve the cheapest and simplest approach to the stations by the minimum disturbance of private property. Therefore, both the railway companies and the Sublime Porte preferred to use the properties of the civil list as the construction site and abstained from expropriations as much as possible. The allocations of the railway stations seemed to be criticized by the locals as well as the visitors, due to their distances to the towns they served. But to a certain extent, it was the valid case for many European cities as well. In Europe, in the early years, the typical stations were all on the outskirts of the built-up areas, but in a short time, they became parts of rapidly extended urban landscapes. The approach routes of the wagons became longer, more expensive and more limited in choice.⁶⁸³ Therefore, in general, land costs ran at about a quarter of the amounts expended upon the actual construction of railways, and were half as large again as the cost of rolling stock, engines and plant in the mid-nineteenth century Britain.⁶⁸⁴

One might expect that the high expenses of construction and expropriation led the railway companies to use the railway facilities by joint-ownership. However in

⁶⁸³ John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 8.

⁶⁸⁴ John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 11.

Britain, the obvious solution to these difficulties, the sharing of terminal approaches and facilities, could not work without a measure of goodwill precluded by the competitive nature of company promotion. For instance, in London, the Great Western and the London and Birmingham companies wisely decided not to share Euston as had originally been planned: the long and bitter rivalry between the companies and their technical disagreements over gauges would have led to scenes of unimaginable friction and confusion.⁶⁸⁵ When it comes to Ottoman Balkan cases, the co-existence of different railway concessionaires in the same city caused instances of collaborations and conflicts. For instance; in Selanik, the Oriental Railways and Selanik - Manastır Railway Companies agreed on sharing the facilities of Oriental Railways yard but they excluded Junction Railways (JSC) from their operations. It was by the intervention of Sublime Porte that they agreed on renting their lines for the use of Junction Railways Company in Selanik. A similar incident happened in Dedeğaç as well.

As part of the establishment of technical infrastructure, the railway companies required to construct railway company towns⁶⁸⁶ where most of the administration, maintenance, loading and unloading of freight, storage and accommodation facilities took place. In Britain, towns like Crewe, Swindon, Wolverton or Redhill were examples of typical railway towns. All of them were created by the railway companies providing 25-30% of total employment, dominating both manufacturing and service industry, closely engaged in housing, and even taking over the management of the town. These railway towns are interesting and impressive examples if one wishes to work on the impact of railways upon urban development. In each town, the influence of the railways is so magnified that the need to isolate this factor from some others hardly arises.⁶⁸⁷

In Ottoman Balkan railway network, as it appeared in European counterparts, Dedeğaç emerged as a railway company town as a part of Baron Hirsch's Oriental

⁶⁸⁵ John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities.*, 6

⁶⁸⁶ Railway town is a settlement that originated or was greatly developed because of a railway station or junction at its site.

⁶⁸⁷ John R. Kellett. *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities.*, 3

railways project. The main objective behind the foundation of the town was to supply construction machines and materials to the inlands from a point located on the Aegean coast.

The buildings in railway yards implied a certain formal coding. They were mostly inspired by the station buildings of central European architecture, but were small in size and did not have any significant formal aspects. The only difference among the stations on a specific line was the size of the buildings: the passenger stations in major cities were relatively larger in size. For the ease of the construction and with the aim of reducing the initial costs, generation of building typologies became a necessity. Among them, passenger stations were the distinguishing ones comparing to the rest of the buildings. The examination of the visual materials depicting the passenger stations demonstrates a physical similarity between the major stations of the line -namely Edirne, Selanik, Filibe and Üsküb- which implied the generation and application of a design template.



Figure 4.109 Left: Edirne, old passenger station at Karaağaç. Right: Selanik, Oriental Railways passenger station.

Source: Left: *Şehbal*, no 71, 447 right: Taksim Atatürk Library Visual Materials Collection.



Figure 4.110 Left: Filibe, Old Station Right: Üsküb, Old Oriental Railways passenger station.

Source: Left: “Rumeli Demiryolları Küşad Resminden Birkaç Hatıra.” *Demiryolları*. right: Skyscrapercity, “Skopje”, accessed June 15, 2012, <http://www.skyscrapercity.com>

As demonstrated in this chapter, due to the inadequate capacity, Oriental Railways Company decided to rebuilt larger stations in İstanbul, Edirne, Filibe, Sofya and Selanik and except the last one, the other projects were realized. Apart from the major stations, the entrepreneurs built smaller station buildings for the minor towns. **(Figs. 4.109 and 4.110)**

The integration of the port and railway facilities was a necessity for the accomplishment of each on since the major indicators of the success or failure of the railway enterprises were the economic hinterland which they commanded. In order to expand their influence zones and increase their passenger and freight traffic, the railway operators tended to cooperate in cities and besides they tried to extend railway lines to the customs of the port cities and synchronized their carriage due to the requirements of naval agencies. Selanik and Dedeğaç were both hub points of different railway operators and were port cities as well.

Although Dedeğaç remained as a small port serving its surrounding towns and could not compete with the other Mediterranean ports, ironically, it was one of the earliest examples of the cities having an integrated railway- port connection. As shown in the beginning of the chapter, Oriental Railways immediately established the connection between the port and the railway yard. Two decades later, after the inauguration of Selanik – İstanbul Junction line, the two operators agreed on the extension of the junction line to Dedeğaç port and Oriental Railways yard by the installation of a curvilinear line. **(Fig. 4.111)**

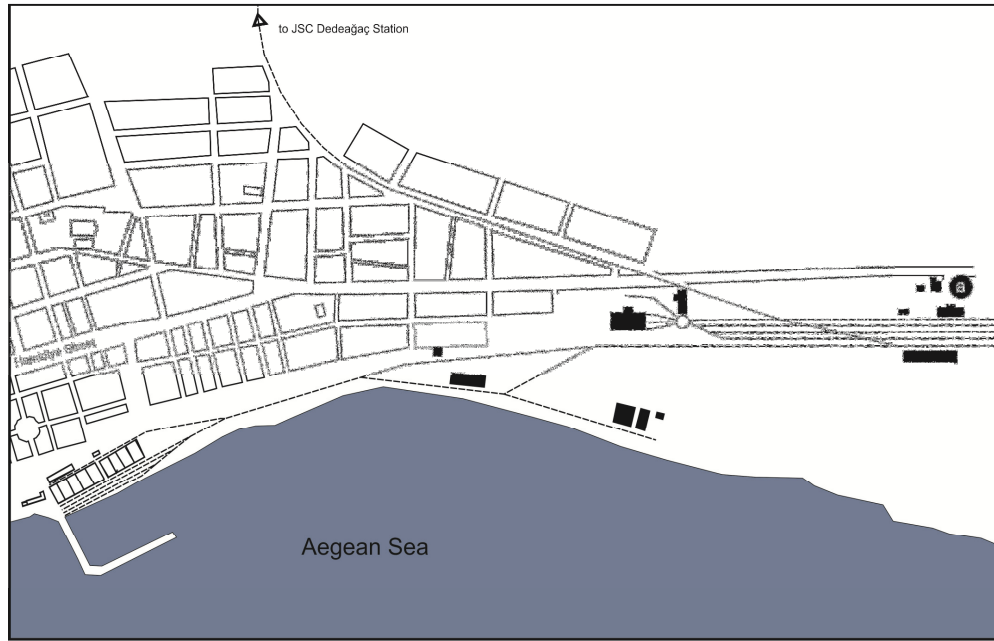


Figure 4.111 Dedeağaç, physical interconnection between the railway yard and port.

However, the conflict between the Ottoman government and Oriental Railways came to a deadlock for the project of expanding Dedeağaç port. Having a physically small and shallow port, the capacity of the maritime trade in Dedeağaç could not reach expected levels. Therefore, the establishment of an integrated transportation infrastructure was not the major issue of success for the Ottoman Balkan towns and it can be said that the destinies of these towns were mostly shaped by the conflicting interests and common benefits of the entrepreneurs and the Ottoman government.

Although Selanik provided the integration of railway and harbor facilities relatively at a later period (at the beginning of the twentieth century), it efficiently benefited from having these facilities since the 1870s and at the beginning of the twentieth century, it became the major harbor of southern Balkans. (**Fig. 4.112**)

provide public works there. Finally, the conflict among the parties was solved by ceding some of the assigned fields to civil list and excising and licensing the existing buildings by the local governments. Therefore, the emergence of new settlement areas under the control of entrepreneurs was another means of transforming the cities.

Finally, the third and the minor activity of railway entrepreneurs was the provision of some public amenities around and in railway yards. These were the construction of roads and bridges around the stations and the building of lodgings, bakeries, schools and wells for the employees and their families. Different from the other acts of entrepreneurs, the activities of this group demonstrated the efforts to meet the demands of the personnel rather than increasing the revenues.

4.3 Local Actors' Activities in the Cities: Urban and Suburban Expansions and Municipal Works

Considering the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities, it is a complicated issue to decide the exact boundaries of the realm of local actors. The multi-ethnic and polyglot nature of the societies, their conflict - based interrelations, the pre-industrial economic conditions, the presence of foreigners and foreign enterprises and the application of new regulations in the locality are the forerunning aspects that come across within the research process and motivated to understand the inner mechanisms of the local actorship in the Ottoman Balkan cities. As it was the case in most of the empires of the nineteenth century, the presence of social mechanisms interrupting chaos were based on unwritten rules recognized by all actors. The question rising here is who are the railway local actors referenced within the present study and in which way their acts are considered as the spatial change of cities?

The 1838 British-Ottoman Trade Treaty, the Tanzimat decree of 1839 and Islahat Decree of 1855 slowly turned the balance among the fragments of the society to the favor of the Levantines and non-Muslim subjects in the economic aspects. Setting close affairs with the foreign enterprisers and being under their protection, those subjects considerably ameliorated their economic conditions especially in the port cities of Ottoman Balkans. The increasing prosperity of these communities – by the legal opportunities provided the equality among the Ottoman subjects- led them to

make investments in the urban space for their behalf as individuals and for the welfare of their community as well. The new political condition mainly nationalist motives led the communities to develop their conscious of self-identity and the national churches and social circles became one of the prominent actors shaping the cities: they commissioned churches, schools, hospitals, hospices for the sake of their communities and they entered into a competition to increase their influence area in the city by using these artifacts a battlefield. The Greek and Jewish communities were the forerunners, but Bulgarian, Vlach and Serbian communities were also active in the towns where there were a considerable number of their subjects. Therefore the religious communities and their churches were among the local actors. On the other hand, the increasing welfare at the cities whetted some individuals as the local entrepreneurs who were commonly known as their ability of being at the right time in the right place to invest. Allatini or Fernandes families or Hamdi Bey as individual in Selanik, the Robev Brothers in Manastır, the Levantine families of Edirne were the most noticeable individual actors shone in the history.

If they had social support and economic capability, the mayors sometimes became an influential local actor in the shaping of the cities. Hamdi Bey of Selanik and Dilaver Bey of Edirne were the most popular figures as mayors in the examined period. The social circles independent from nationalist affiliations, the local newspapers, and the consuls of foreign states and the representatives of foreign companies in the cities were the other influential actors to consider: even they did not have a direct impact in the built environment; by using their influences they triggered the existence and construction pace of many projects. Therefore, it can be assumed that the theme of “local actors” is the one which has the loosest boundaries in definition and content; and accommodating the individuals or groups having different motives in the spatial shaping of the cities in relation to the existence of railways. The weak but common tie among them is their indigenous character and their reflexes stimulated by the local conditions.

4.3.1 Dedeagaç:

After becoming a local hub point between İstanbul and the rest of the Ottoman Balkans and being the major trade port of Edirne and Eastern Thrace; significant public work projects were initiated by the local government and municipality in

Dedeğaç. Especially, in the last two decades of the Ottoman sovereignty, the municipality, religious communities and the individual enterprisers gathered to collaborate on spatially shaping the town.

After the inauguration of port and railway services in Dedeğaç, the contractor company provided some of the public works for their staff in the railway yard and by selling out plots to the arriving settlers; it provided the necessary urban space for the development of the town. After the establishment of the municipal organization and becoming a sancak center in the administrative hierarchy, the local administrators took a role in the provision of various public works.

It can be argued that the remarkable public works activities of the local authorities initiated after the boundary correction agreement of 1887, signed between the Oriental Railways Company and the Ministry of Public Works. As it is previously introduced, by this agreement, the Oriental Railways company had to cede a considerable amount of land at the seafront to the local Ottoman government and the revenues collected from the acquired lands became the financier of the new projects in Dedeğaç. In this section, the developments before and after 1887 convention will be introduced in order to understand how the local government became an actor of spatial change in Dedeğaç by benefitting from the increasing land value in the port district.

Hazım Bey, in his memoirs, described the conditions in Dedeğaç before the convention from the eye of a local governor as follows:

The field on the sea side of Hamidiye Street which divides Dedeğaç into two parts once had expropriated by the government for a very low value but the accrued value had not paid to the old land owners so far.⁶⁸⁸ The expropriated lands were assigned to Oriental Railways Company, so that an important part of the town accommodating the markets, bazaars and hotels became excluded from municipal codes and official regulations and became an autonomous Austrian colony (4133).⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁸ According to Ebubekir Hazım, the appraised value at the beginning was 5-10 *paras* per *dönüm* (1000-2500m²). Note that 40 Ottoman *para* is equal to 1 Ottoman *kuruş* (piaster).

⁶⁸⁹ Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları” *İctihad* (İstanbul, 1926), 214, 4133.

This quotation not only expresses speculative surplus value created over the use of land in a short time but also explicitly expresses the sense of political threat raised by the foreign entrepreneurship operations. Staying in the borders of a *de facto* private property, a new neighborhood occurred around the port in time and the current regulations hindered the local authorities to apply taxes to the properties or even to provide public amenities in the area. Being created by permission and design of the Oriental Railways Company and mostly occupied by the foreign and non-Muslim residents of the town, the port district was considered as an autonomous region out of Ottoman sovereignty and thought as a potential source of threat at the northeastern Aegean coasts. The convention of 1887 partially resolved the problem according to Ottoman benefits: an important portion of unsettled area at the seafront was left to the local administration so that the influence of local authority finally reached at the seaside.⁶⁹⁰ During this process, the local bureaucrats asked the Sublime Porte how to deal with the regained plots.⁶⁹¹ As a response, it was advised to rent the plots by auctions and collect considerable revenue for the construction and running of the public amenities. To realize the order, the *mir'i* lands of Dedeğaç were registered to Dedeğaç Municipality and the municipality parceled the lands arranged auctions for the rent of the plots. As a result, the revenue collected in auctions provided the local government to complete many public works in Dedeğaç. For instance,⁶⁹² the Oriental Railways Company had to leave a portion of 50,000m² land to the local government after the boundary correction agreement. The large land at the seafront attracted the attentions of many interest groups since it was a valuable land to speculate on that per meter square of the land dealt 25 piaster in the end of the nineteenth century that meant around a hundred times increase at the value in two decades.⁶⁹³ The local government principally seemed to keep the land at the seaside away from the speculative rushes. Therefore, a portion of the total area at seaside was reserved to found a public garden (called Municipality Garden) with rent

⁶⁹⁰Ibid, 4133.

⁶⁹¹BOA, DH.MKT. 2212/98, h. 9 S 1317 (June 19, 1899).

⁶⁹²BOA, DH.MKT. 945/53, h. 4 S 1323 (April 10, 1905) and Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”, 4133-34.

⁶⁹³Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”, 4133.

buildings and the revenue of the garden was assigned to the running of the municipality hospital. Next to the public garden, two schools for boys and girls were proposed to build. Besides, in order to bring revenue to these schools, eight rent houses were built by the government and the remaining 15,000m² portion was proposed to be sold in auctions.⁶⁹⁴ During his governorship, Hazım Bey apprehended the importance of the project conveyed by the local government and the municipality and spent his effort for the accomplishment of the ongoing works. After leaving the town, he followed the official correspondences and aimed to be sure about the realization of his proposals.⁶⁹⁵

An official document found in the archives recorded the use and division of the acquired land in a slightly different way. The local government assigned a portion of the land to compensate the expenditures of municipality hospital construction at the north of the town, 6,000m² area to high school (*idadi*) and primary schools for boys and girls; besides 4,640 m² area for a mosque lacking permanent revenue and remaining 20,583m² of the land was reserved to the municipality to sell the plots to the residents of the town to build appropriate houses and it was proposed that an orthogonal plan was prepared for the new neighborhood emerged after the auctions.⁶⁹⁶ Although the official records listed the public works to provide after acquisition slightly different than old governor's memoirs; the general framework fitted the objectives of the project: to finance public works after collecting revenue by auctions and to create a planned neighborhood. It is interesting to see that during the privatization of these plots, the local authority aimed to maximize profit. In the reciprocal correspondences with the Sublime Porte, there was a particular emphasis on this issue.⁶⁹⁷ The stress on the issue of building the new houses according to a plan in order to constitute a planned neighborhood was another important aspect of

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid, 4133.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid, 4133.

⁶⁹⁶ BOA, Y.A. RES.87/731; h.7 S 1315 (July 8, 1897) and , Y.A. RES. 89/28, h. 20 Ca 1315 (November 16, 1897).

⁶⁹⁷ For instance, the Sublime Porte asked the local bureaucrats to take necessary actions to get the maximum profit as could as possible before the auction of the plots to get the revenue for the Innocents (*Gureba*) Hospital.

physical development of the town demonstrating how the building codes were applied as the precautions of the municipality.

The official documents listed the results of the auctions; from the renting of the 50,000 m² *mir'i* lands, 200,000 Ottoman *kuruş* revenue collected in total. It was distributed to complete the public works as; 40,000 *kuruş* for primary schools, 80,000 *kuruş* for the construction of the new barracks and the remaining revenue to a village which requires drinking water system installation.⁶⁹⁸ Thus, the plus value created on the land emerged the arrival of the railways enabled the completion of many public works in and around the town.

The auctions for the rent of the plots demonstrated that the construction of the railway and port facilities, the arrival of new settlers, increase at the trade raised the value of the land and after contractors, the Ottoman local government realized the speculative value of the land and like a capitalist, they tried to get the maximum revenue from the land by renting them to the locals.

One of the significant works of the municipality of Dedeğaç was the opening of *Hamidiye* Street (*Leoforos Dimokratias* now) defining the east-west axis of the town starting from the Oriental Railways passenger station and ending at the civic center of the town. *Hamidiye* Street was a distinct case considering its formal properties. First, unlike the other cases having station streets to connect the stations with the existing settlement, there was not an urban settlement before the arrival of the railways and the street was extended parallel to the physical expansion of the town. Second, the location of the station was not a remote place out of the urban settlement, so that the necessity of a station street pattern in usage had never emerged. The opening up of the *Hamidiye* Street was the attempt to diminish the border line defining the northern edge of the assigned area of the Oriental Railways Company and the Dedeğaç municipality & government zone and turning it into a traffic axis. During the Ottoman period, the street was around 1,500 meters in length and around 39 meters in width. It is necessary to notice that considering the population of the town (around 4,000-5,000 people at the turn of the century), it was a significant street

⁶⁹⁸BOA, Y.A.RES. 89/28, h. 20 Ca 1315.

provision for a moderate Ottoman town. Being an important axis in the east-west direction, Hazım Bey stated that during his governorship, he demonstrated an exceptional care for the construction of a large street and corresponded with the Roads and Bridges Directorate of Edirne *Vilayet* for their technical and financial support.⁶⁹⁹ Hazım Bey was ambitious and commenced the construction of a street in 39 meters wide flanked by pedestrian lanes and embellished with green foliage by collaborating with the householders located at both side of the street.⁷⁰⁰

Being a heavy project to handle, the street could not be opened up at a single time, Probably it was inaugurated phase by phase due to the pace of construction. Especially torrents necessitating bridge construction at the east side of the city slowed down the progress of the construction. Finally, in 1901, it was reported that the bridge constructions on *Hamidiye* Street were completed⁷⁰¹ and the continuity of the street could be provided.

In private archives, there are many photos or postcards of Ottoman period of Dedeoğlu, showing the *Hamidiye* Street and buildings on it. In some postcards, it was called as “*Grand Rue*” or “*Rue de Hotels*” emphasizing its significance for the daily life of the town. As a prestige axis, it accommodated Austrian and Greek consulates, tobacco monopoly, hotels, cafes, large stores of the merchants and many mansions. The name of the street changed after the 31 March incident (1909) as it was the other public works called as *Hamidiye*, however in the archival search, there was not an indication about the new name of the street. (Fig. 4.113 and 4.114)

⁶⁹⁹ However, the directorate refused to deal since they claimed that the construction of the streets in town centers were in the responsibility of the local municipalities, see Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”, 4133-4134.

⁷⁰⁰ Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”, 4133-4134. However, he could not see the completion of the project since being appointed to governor general of Musul *vilayet* until his short visit to the town during his travel to Manastır as the new governor general of the *vilayet*, see Ebubekir Hazım, “Memuriyet Hatıraları”, 4133-4134 and Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*. (İstanbul, Pera Yayıncılık, 1998), 301-302.

⁷⁰¹ BOA DH.MKT 2472-103 (April 15, 1901).



Figure 4.113 Dedeagaç, Austrian consulate and tobacco monopoly building on Hamidiye Street, 1890s, photograph.

Source: İstanbul University Rare Materials Collection album # 90581.



Figure 4.114 Dedeagaç, Austrian consulate on Hamidiye Street, not dated photograph.

Source: George Alepakos private collection.

Being frequently framed in visual materials, one of the prominent buildings located on *Hamidiye* Street was the Austrian consulate building. It was also one of the significant buildings of the town with its grandeur size and neo-classical façade. It

was two storey height and had a symmetric in façade organization. It was a masonry building and was topped by a pitched roof. On the top of the rectangular windows there were pediment details as well. There were two entrances with arched doors and there were projections in the second floor façade on the top of the doors.

As it is stated before, the initial settlement of Dedeagaç was limited by the lands assigned to the Baron Hirsch's contractor company. If the port district is the core of the settlement, *Hamidiye* Street is the marker of the northern edge of the core settlement. Being parallel to the *Hamidiye* Street, another important urban axis defined during the development of the town was the *Fener* Street named after the construction of a lighthouse at the west of the port.⁷⁰² (**Fig. 4.115**) Starting from the small port of Dedeagaç, it extended to the west, passed in front of the lighthouse, Russian Consulate, the civic center and governor's house and terminated in the western edge of the Municipality Garden.



Figure 4.115 Dedeagaç, Fener (lighthouse) Street, not dated, postcard.

Source: George Alepakos private collection.

⁷⁰² In some visual materials the street is called as *Belediye Bahçesi* (Municipal Garden) Street. Currently, it is the *Apollonias* Street on the seafont.



Figure 4.116 Dedeâğaç, The governor's mansion, not dated, photograph.

Source: George Alepakos private collection.

Built in 1906-08 period, the governor mansion (*mutasarıf konağı/paşalık*) on the street was an extraordinary house based on Ottoman timber house tradition. It was in three storey height and was located on the western edge of the civic center facing the Fener Street. It is recorded that the construction of this building made a financial deficit in municipal economy and Sublime Porte warned the local authorities to take precautions against it.⁷⁰³ **(Fig. 4.116)**

The visual materials give clues about the exact view of the street at the turn of the twentieth century. Postcards illustrate the *Fener* Street with some of the public buildings on and around it. **(Fig. 4.117)** On the one side, there is Municipality Garden which is framed by timber fences and it had entrances at certain points. On the other side of the street, the governor mansion is erected. Like *Hamidiye* Street, trees are planted in a repetitive single row order on each side of the street. At the end of the vista, the lighthouse and the small boats in the port could be visible.

⁷⁰³ BOA, DH.MKT 1261/82, June 10, 1908 and BEO, 3316/248631, h.17 R 1326 (April 19, 1908).



Figure 4.117 Dedeagaç, Fener (lighthouse) Street and its surroundings, not dated, postcard.

Source: George Alepakos Private collection.

The allocation of the Selanik –İstanbul Junction line (JSC) railway yard and the municipality hospital affected the physical expansion of the town to the north. The plots at the north of the port district were orthogonally designed parallel and perpendicular to the seafront. After the inauguration of the Selanik- İstanbul Junction Line station, the municipality opened up a street ending at the station.

It was one of the streets that were perpendicular to *Hamidiye* Street. Since the station was far away from the town center, the residential settlements became looser and irregular while approaching the city station. For a long time, the station defined the edge of the urban settlement that only after the mid-twentieth century the limits of urban space expanded behind the JSC station.



Figure 4.118 Dedeğaç, JSC Station Street, not dated, photograph.

Source: George Alepakos Private Collection.

By the increase of the population and provision of many public amenities, the streets in the port district became the hearth of the public life in Dedeğaç. At the turn of the twentieth century, locals of the Dedeğaç made investments in order to benefit from the economic growth of the town. These investments enabled the town turn to be a lively local center. Being a transport hub between Selanik, Edirne and İstanbul, the railways and the port enabled the town to be visited by many passengers and merchants every year and concurrently cafes, hotels, insurance companies were inaugurated after 1880s. Most of them were located on Hamidiye Street and post district. Published by Cervati Brothers, *Annuaire Oriental* series provide information about the economic life of Dedeğaç: in the middle of 1890s, there were two hotels in the town; *Hotel Constantinople* owned by *Hadji Margarita* and *Hotel Globe*, owned by *Barbayani*.⁷⁰⁴ On the other hand, in one of the postcards, the *Rumeli Hotel* name was indicated with *Hotel Barbayani*, but it is not clear whether Hotel Rumeli was a separate entity or another name of the Hotel Constantinople. (Fig. 4.119)

⁷⁰⁴Raphael Cervati, & Freres Cervati. *Annuaire Oriental du Commerce de L'industrie de l'Administration et de la Magistrature*. (İstanbul, 1895), 855-856.



Figure 4.119 Dedeagaç, Rumeli and Barbayani Hotels, 1904, postcard.

Source: George Alepakos private Collection.

Located next to each other, Rumeli and Barbayani Hotels are both two-storey height and had regular and symmetric façade organization. It is not exactly defined which part of the city they were located but probably they could be close to the port area or railway station. Apart from hotels, there were three active cafes in the center of the town; these were run by Capiodis, Clonaris and Stavri. There were also commissioners mostly from notable families, namely Ephremides, Fimerelli Brothers, Hampouris Brothers, Leonardi, Pappamihail and his sons.⁷⁰⁵

In 1909, an Ottoman Bank local branch was inaugurated in Hamidiye Street. A two storey masonry building with arched windows, it was one of the significant public buildings joined the silhouette of the street. **(Fig. 4.120)**

⁷⁰⁵Raphael Cervati. & Freres Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*. (Istanbul :1895), 855.



Figure 4.120 Dedeağaç, inauguration ceremony of Ottoman Bank, 1909, photograph.

Source: George Alepakos private collection.

Consulate buildings in Hamidiye Street were the other significant edifices. There were seven consular representatives located in the town. The leading figures of the town were in the role of vice-consuls of the foreign countries. It was recorded that in the middle of the 1890s, Jacques A. Missir was of Britain, Georges Vernazza was of France, B.G. Suhor was of Austria-Hungarian Empire, Tarsi was of Greece, A. Tacchella was of Italy, A. Hampouri was of Iran, and A.Critis was of Russia consuls in the town.⁷⁰⁶ Among them, Greek and Austria-Hungarian consulates were known to be located on Hamidiye Street.

4.3.2 Karaağaç

If someone visits Karaağaç in a summer afternoon, he or she will encounter with a great silence of empty streets, low density vehicle traffic and a farm-like atmosphere at all around. However, especially in summer evenings, the town shows to the visitor the other side of its face which is full of energy and life. The small cafes on the ground floors of the small buildings flanking on the road leading to the old station building⁷⁰⁷ become crowded, the tables and chairs spread over the street and it turns

⁷⁰⁶Raphael Cervati and Freres Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*.(İstanbul :1895), 855.

⁷⁰⁷Currently used as Trakya University Presidency Building.

into a busy pedestrian area occupied by people coming from Edirne for entertainment and amusement. About a century ago, it was the similar case to observe; or perhaps even more popular than depicted above. In this section, there are two themes to introduce: firstly, the making of Karaağaç as the focal point of public life by the investments of the local notables of Edirne, and secondly, the formation of a station street between the passenger station in Karaağaç and Edirne old town.

Until the 1870s, Karaağaç was a small summer resort, and after the arrival of the railways it slowly turned into a stage for entertainment and night shows businesses in Edirne. Not only the people residing in Edirne but also the travelers who were making train voyage stayed in Karaağaç hotels and enjoyed live performances before arriving in İstanbul. It was the regular social meeting point for the rich bachelors of Edirne and the surrounding area. Besides, the entertainment and music groups of Europe that staged in İstanbul, stayed for a few days and performed at Karaağaç during their return trip. Owing to its fancy and lively aura, Karaağaç was called “small Paris”⁷⁰⁸ by its visitors and inhabitants. Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) also spent a few days in Karaağaç during the Balkan Wars, and Şevket Süreyya Aydemir in his colossal book on Atatürk, *Tek Adam*, wrote that Karaağaç seemed to be a small European city in those days. For Mustafa Kemal, with the cypresses, clubs and restaurants similar to the ones around Beyaz Kule (White Tower) of Selanik; Karaağaç was a reminiscent of Selanik of his past and he was keen on spending time in those places alone as well as with his friends.⁷⁰⁹

There were Canik (Djanik), Atina, Europe, Londino, Konstantinapolis, Variete and Panhellenion and D’Europe hotels in Karaağaç.⁷¹⁰ Apart from them, there were also ballrooms, cinemas, cafes, taverns.⁷¹¹ The other entertainment places were Rosulato’s ballroom, Varietes and Pahellenion cinemas, *café Chantant* where the residents of Edirne frequently met in the summers. More than being an ordinary

⁷⁰⁸N.P.Nikolaidis, *H Αδριανου μασ* (Athens:1993), 166 in Rabia Erdoğu, “Karaağaç Monografisi “ (master thesis, İstanbul University, 1996), 98

⁷⁰⁹Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam*. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1999), 200-204

⁷¹⁰Raphael Cervati and Freres Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*.(İstanbul :1891), 768

⁷¹¹N.P.Nikolaidis, 166

hotel, Hotel Canik facilitated an open air cinema, a restaurant, a brasserie, a casino, a ballrooms, so it was a complete entertainment center.⁷¹² Being the most famous place in Karaağaç, it was located at the intersection of the street in front of the passenger station and the station street leading to Edirne. The exact foundation date of Hotel Canik was not clear but it can be assumed that it was founded shortly after the arrival of railways in Edirne, since it was recorded in an imperial decree that Canik Ağa (Dirkan Canik)⁷¹³ was granted a *mecidiye* medal in 1877 for his public responsibility by running a hotel close to the Edirne station.⁷¹⁴ It had 20 rooms which were all located on the first floor. On the ground floor, there were a restaurant, a tavern, a café and a summer cinema called *Orestia Park*. (Fig. 4.121) The brasserie was called as *Brasserie Bomonti* which brought beers from İstanbul *Bomonti Brewery*.⁷¹⁵ (Fig. 4.122)

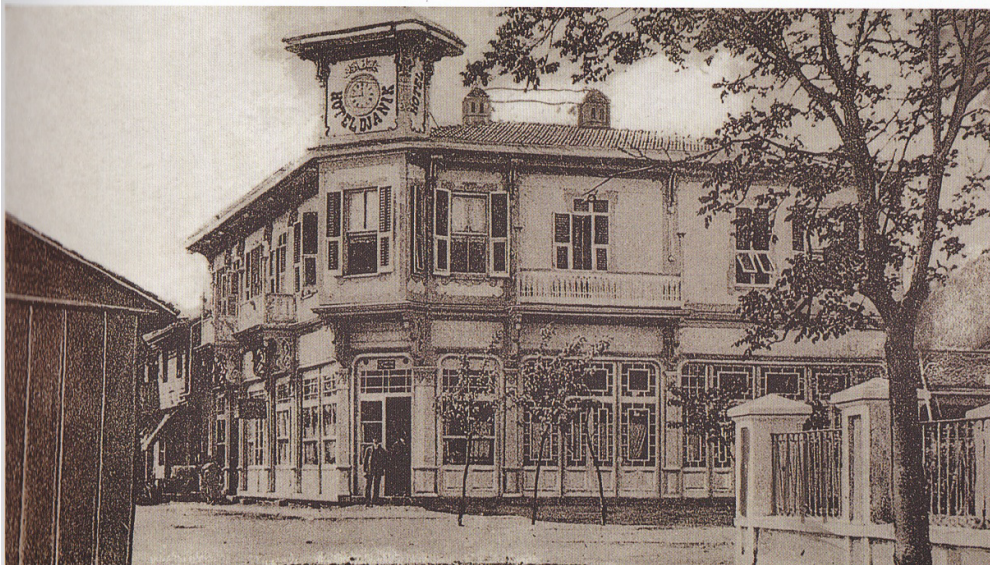


Figure 4.121 Edirne, Hotel Canik (Djanik) in Karaağaç, not dated, postcard.

Source: Engin Özendes. *Edirne; Second Ottoman Capital* (İstanbul: Yem Yayın), 66

⁷¹²N.P. Nikolaidis, 164, and Rabia Erdoğan's oral history interview with Alis Yakupyan in Rabia Erdoğan, "Karaağaç Monografisi", 98

⁷¹³Raphael Cervati and Freres Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*.(İstanbul :1893-94), 854

⁷¹⁴İ.DH. 754/61570 h.10 Ş 1294 (October 18, 1877)

⁷¹⁵N.P.Nikolaidis, 164 in Rabia Erdoğan."Karaağaç Monografisi". (master thesis, İstanbul University, 1996), 99



Figure 4.122 Edirne, Brasserie Bomonti on the ground floor of Hotel Canik (Djanik), not dated, postcard.

Source: Engin Özendes. *Edirne; Second Ottoman Capital* (İstanbul: Yem Yayın), 65.

The Hotel Canik could not resist the destructive effect of the passing decades. During the republican period when the railway station at Karaağaç was abandoned, the number of customers of Canik Hotel decreased and the building was demolished, then another building smaller in size was erected on its plot. When the images of old and new buildings are compared, it becomes clear that there is no similarity between them apart from the main entrance doors placed at the building corners. Hotel Canik was a larger building in size and it reflected the nineteenth century neo-classical details on its façade. The new building is an odd one, relatively small in size and lacking characteristic properties but as a reminiscent of the past, the ground floor is used as a cafe.



Figure 4.123 Edirne, building erected on the place of Hotel Canik, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

As listed elsewhere,⁷¹⁶ there were a German Boarding School, a French St Basil School, an Italian School serving the Levantines and other religious groups of Edirne. Among them, German School which was constructed by Oriental Railways Company in 1883 has been still in use (presently Mustafa Necati Primary School). It is located at the center of the new Karaağaç settlement. French St. Basil School was founded by *Assumptionist* Missioners. The exact building time is not clear. However, it can be assumed that the construction date is prior to 1895.⁷¹⁷ Furthermore, a document found in the Ottoman archives records the demand of the opening up of an unrecognized school founded by Italian priests under French control and protection,⁷¹⁸ though it is not clear whether the school mentioned in the document was the French St. Basil School or not. **(Fig. 4.124)** Today, there is no more than ruins remained from the school main building.⁷¹⁹ The other non-Muslim school was

⁷¹⁶Rabia Erdoğan, "Karaağaç Monografisi", 34-41

⁷¹⁷ In 1895, the school applied to the government to make an additional construction to the existing building, as appeared in BOA, BEO 578/43324, 30/Ş /1312 (Hicrî) (26 February 1895)

⁷¹⁸ BOA, MF.MKT 113/68, h. 29/S /1307 (October 25, 1889)

⁷¹⁹Rabia Erdoğan, "Karaağaç Monografisi", 40

the Greek Agion-Theodorion School located in the courtyards of Greek *Agion Theodorion Tiron and Stratilatu* Churches. Being demolished in time, it was the oldest school in Karaağaç founded in 1863. It was two- storey in height whose ground floor was reserved for girls and the first floor for boys. In 1892, the girls' school was moved to a new building. There was also a teachers' lodging in the courtyard.⁷²⁰



Figure 4.124 Edirne, St Basil French school in Karaağaç, not dated, postcard.

Source: Edirne city museum collection.

Apart from these churches, there were a number of churches in Karaağaç such as Greek Agion Theodorion, Agion Konstantinos and Eleni Churches; Armenian St Gregorie, Bulgarian St Pierre and Paul Chapels and they reflected the variety of religious and ethnic groups.⁷²¹

The arrival of the railways in Edirne enabled the residents to travel to İstanbul, other major Ottoman Balkan towns and Europe rapidly. However, being located around five kilometers outside the city center, it became a problem to access the station. It was the same problem for the passengers who arrived at the station and sought to

⁷²⁰RabiaErdoğu, “Karaağaç Monografisi”, 41

⁷²¹Ibid, 51-54.

find a proper way of transportation to go to the city center. The Tunca and Meriç (Yeni/New) Bridges on the namesake rivers were built to provide a continuous way of transportation with Karaağaç, but the quality of the road was not adequate for a long time and it was also narrow. Edirne municipality was in charge of constructing a station street in a better quality; however it took a long time to complete all the necessary infrastructure of Station Street. After crossing the Meriç Bridge, the street made a sharp turn to the southwest and had a straight route. This section of the street was passing through a wood and there was not any settlement around. At the crossroad of the entrance of Karaağaç, one way went to the west on the route to old Karaağaç and the other one to the south and became the popular route where the cafes and hotels were located and known as the station street. It was a strict linear road around 500 meters in length leading to the passenger station.

The floods of Tunca and Meriç rivers had deeply affected the daily life in Karaağaç throughout the history. Especially after the rainy seasons, the Karaağaç road and station street was badly damaged and required amendment, and these works had to start shortly after the inauguration of the station.⁷²² In order to provide uninterrupted service on Karaağaç road, construction of discharge canal at Meriç River against floods were completed in 1892.⁷²³ (Figs. 4.125 and 4.126)



Figure 4.125 Edirne, station street in Karaağaç, 1906, postcard.
Source: Edirne city museum collection

⁷²² For instance, a document in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive expressed such a necessity: İ.ŞD. 32/1598 h. 02M 1294 (January 17, 1877)

⁷²³ BOA, Y.MTV. 72/27; h.20 Ca 1310 (December 10, 1892)



Figure 4.126 Edirne, Karaağaç road between Edirne and the railway yard, not dated, photograph.

Source: *Şehbal*, no. 71, 447.

Karaağaç Road and Station Street were widened, smoothened and paved with stone after its increasing population and popularity. Especially during the governor general service of Hacı Adil Bey (Arda) sidewalks were constructed and trees were planted in an order on both sides of the roads. Besides, studs were erected on the sides in order to hang lightening bulbs. Therefore, a scenery landscape arrangement was realized at the turn of the twentieth century.



Figure 4.127 Edirne, general view of Karaağaç, not dated, postcard.

Source: *Edirne Tarihi*, “Karaağaç”, accessed January 12, 2012, www.edirnetarihi.com.

The public works of Edirne Municipality for Karaağaç was not only limited to the opening up of a station street. For a more convenient way of transportation, as it was realized in Selanik, a tramline project had been proposed since the 1870s but eventually remained unrealized. Here, to review the timeline of this unrealized tramline proposed between Karaağaç station and Edirne can provide us with further information on the transformation process of the town.

For the travelers arriving at Edirne station, there was only one means of transportation to the old town: there were hackneys ready outside the station taking the passengers to the city center. At the turn of the twentieth century, it cost 10 piaster for a single person, 15 piaster for two persons and 20 piaster for two persons plus luggage to the city center. These were all-inclusive costs including Bridge-tolls. Although the travelers did not have any other alternative, this was the recommended means of transport as well to arrive in the city in Baedeker's guide book.⁷²⁴ As stated above, for the local government, an alternative public transport system had to be installed to connect the city with the station. For them, the solution was establishing a tram line leading to the station.

An initial attempt was made at a relatively early date. Shortly after the inauguration of İstanbul – Edirne line in June 1873,⁷²⁵ during İzzet Paşa's initial governor-generalship period, an official report was sent by Edirne local government assembly (*Meclis-i İdare*) to the Sublime Porte to establish a construction and exploitation company for a tramline between Edirne and the railway station.⁷²⁶ In response, the Sublime Porte asked Edirne governor general to send the terms and conditions of the proposed company in order to examine.⁷²⁷ However, after a short examination, the Sublime Porte decided to postpone the project.⁷²⁸ To prevent the process from cooling down, Edirne governorship sent an official petition and a project of *Monsieur*

⁷²⁴ Karl Baedeker. *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten*, 50

⁷²⁵ Considering that the construction of the tramlines started in 1870, the proposal for Edirne seemed to be a very early attempt and it was before Selanik and İzmir in that period.

⁷²⁶ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 462/4, h.24 C 1290 (August 19, 1873)

⁷²⁷ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 462/77, h.08B 1290 (September 1, 1873)

⁷²⁸ BOA, A. MKT. MHM.463/69, h.18 B 1290 (September 11, 1873)

Eştol (?) who applied to the municipality to get the concession of establishing tramlines and running omnibuses in Edirne, Filibe and Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ) between their stations and the city centers.⁷²⁹ However, this proposal was refused by the Sublime Porte.

After a couple of years, when the continuous travel between İstanbul and major European cities provided, the demand for a tramline aroused again. After his official application, a tramline establishment concession was given to Monsieur Tokas by the Council of the State (*Şura-yı Devlet*)⁷³⁰ and a convention was signed to decide the guarantee fee and it was proposed to start construction in six months after the convention. However, he failed to meet the conditions, therefore his concession was cancelled and it was announced to find another candidate for the contract or to set up a company to take the necessary actions.⁷³¹ However, no temporary resolution could come to an end.

For the third time, starting from April 1907, an official report was sent from Edirne to the Sublime Porte about the lightening of the city with electricity and the establishment of electricity hauled tramline and to grant a concession in order to realize these projects together.⁷³² The Sublime Porte started to examine the report and responded both projects in a positive manner and emphasized the issue of having an eye on protecting the State's interest.⁷³³ The Council of the State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) decided to grant the concession to Edirne Municipality.⁷³⁴ In that period, Dilaver Bey, the famous mayor of Edirne, was on duty. He worked extremely hard to realize the project.

⁷²⁹BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 465/26, h.05 Ş 1290 (September 28, 1873)

⁷³⁰BOA, ŞD. 1191/17, h.19 C 1309 (January 20, 1892)

⁷³¹BOA, MV. 70/39, h.19 Z 1309 (July 15, 1892)

⁷³²BOA, BEO 3034/227497, h.02 Ra 1325 (April 15, 1907)

⁷³³BOA, BEO 3037/227733, h. 07Ra 1325 (April 20, 1907)

⁷³⁴BOA, BEO 3063/229687, h.13 R 1325 (April 26, 1907)

The correspondences between municipality, government general and İstanbul took a long time. The municipality reached to issue a tender for projects in 1911⁷³⁵ then, shortly before the World War I, the municipality reached a resolution for the longstanding projects and agreed with an Italian originated capital group. The capitalists set up a company called “*Le Société Commerciale d’Orient*” (Eastern Commercial Company) to electrify the city, to establish a tramline and to distribute water in the city center.⁷³⁶ The outbreak of World War I interrupted all of the ongoing project works and made them obsolete.

It can be concluded that for more than 40 years, it had been attempted to realize the tram project many times however it could not be established a connection by trams between the city center and station. The whole story expresses the the awareness of the local government of the importance of integrating in-city transportation with inter-cities transportation, however the historical context did not allow the realization of the project.

4.3.3 Selanik

Selanik is perhaps the most suitable platform to observe the activities of locals as railway actors in the spatial change of the city. Owing to its multi-layered society, its vivid and complex social interrelations and economic welfare, Selanik demonstrates a number of significant projects realized after the emergence of the railways.

This section aims to examine how the local railway actors of Selanik handled the operation of transforming the *Çayır/Vardar* neighborhood.⁷³⁷ More than anywhere else under examination, Selanik was the pioneering center to observe the intensive activities of shaping the cityscape. Here, the collaboration / conflict between the actors were staged depending on their position of interest. In a short time, although *Çayır* was not as popular and populous as Kalamariye neighborhood – the twin sister on the other side of the medieval city-, became a shelter for the poor of the society or

⁷³⁵BOA, DH. ID. 4-1/14 h.15Ra 1329 (March 16, 1911)

⁷³⁶BOA, DH. ID. 49/9, h.14 Ra 1332 (February 10, 1914)

⁷³⁷ In the historical records, the neighborhood allocated around the railway station is named either as *Çayır* or *Vardar*, therefore, when appropriate, both names are used throughout the chapter.

was the last stop for the coming immigrants. Besides, it was the backbone of fabricated production of Selanik.

It can be argued that while Vardar Gate was abandoning the legacy of being the city gate of Selanik to the railway stations, Çayır neighborhood provided the closest means of accommodation by a number of modest hotels or inns spread around the district and therefore it became an alternative to the glamorous, pearly hotels of the quay for the moderate visitors.

The examination on the activities of the local actors will be based on four pillars. First of all, the operations of the Selanik municipality will be investigated. Transforming the bare fields to an industrial and residential zone could only be initiated by the parceling of the land and the generation of a master plan, and as the authorized agency, it was the municipality that was to do the job. Beyond the planning operations, the municipality also regulated the installation provision of basic infrastructures like water supply, drainage and sewerage systems, lightening and paving of the streets, designing landscapes (Beşçınar Garden) ect. Therefore, the examination of the operations of the municipality can also help us to understand the physical expansion of the built environment. In order to do that, the plans produced by the municipality and the tax registries and their summaries (*hülasa*) will be examined. In certain cases, the visual materials such as postcards and photos will be used and sometimes in order to explain certain points of interest, the documents in the Ottoman archives will be referred to.

In the second part, the relocation of the poor of the Jewish society in Çayır neighborhood, which was realized with the collaboration of *Alliance Israelite Universelle* and local Jewish community after the great fire of 1890, will be introduced. For us, it is interesting to note that Baron Hirsch of Oriental Railways Company was also an active actor in the realization of the project. The Baron Hirsch neighborhood revealed the intricate relations among the local and international Jewry, and it resulted in a distinct community shelter showing unique physical characteristics located at the western part of the city.

In the third part, the operations of the local concession holders of some civic services in Çayır neighborhood will be the issue of concern. Among them, the Tram

Company established lines on the western end of the city to connect *Çayır* neighborhood and the railway station through the downtown to the eastern flank of the city and the gas and the water companies allocated their technical facilities at *Çayır* neighborhood. At first glance, their operations could be perceived irrelevant to the topic but the issue here is how their activities raised the level of the quality of the living conditions in *Çayır* neighborhood.

The fourth and the final part will concentrate on the private investments of the notables of the city (the Allatini Family, Hamdi Bey ect.) around the railway station. Although the notables of the city mostly resided on the east side of the city, they had some commercial and industrial enterprises in *Çayır* neighborhood in order to use the facilities of railway service.

Since 1869, when the city walls began to be torn down from the seaside and concurrently when the railways arrived in the city, the citizens had been formally allowed to settle outside the city walls of Selanik. For the local governors, this opportunity corresponded to the desire to change the steady silhouette of the medieval city by overflowing the settlements outside the city walls. Probably, the first settlements outside the Vardar gate were installed by the Oriental Railways Company in the early 1870s for their officers and workers. They were temporary shelters to accommodate the staff, but considering the number of workers in the construction site, it meant a remarkable number of residents. The newly established Selanik Municipality Being hardly had any influence or sanction on the settlement operation which was in the possession of concession holder and in the assigned lands to the company. However, it was the duty of the municipality to parcel the empty fields, make expropriations and making master plans for the demands of building on the municipal urban area. The first Ordinance on Buildings⁷³⁸ (1848), the Second Ordinance on Buildings (1849), The Ordinance on Expropriation⁷³⁹ (1856), the Ordinance on the Streets⁷⁴⁰ (1858), the Ordinance on Roads and Buildings⁷⁴¹ (1863),

⁷³⁸*Ebniye Nizamnamesi*

⁷³⁹*İstimlak Nizamnamesi*

⁷⁴⁰*Sokaklar Nizamnamesi*

⁷⁴¹*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*

and finally, the Buildings Law came to force in 1882 and paved the way for the local authorities to be the major actors in the controlling, planning and possessing of urban land by giving them some legal tools to command at parceling, expropriating and planning operations. Therefore, it became a necessity to order plans for the eastern and western suburbs of Selanik by the municipality. A plan was realized for a new neighborhood called Hamidiye at the eastern side of the city walls in 1879. In compliance with the building codes, it was proposed to have roads of 15, 12, 9 and 7,5 meters in width and building blocks whose sides were to be 60 and 100 meters. Concurrently or slightly earlier, a plan might have been developed for the western suburb of Selanik, but there is not any material evidence (a plan or a written statement) remained till now. However, the results of the earliest operation can be traced by examining the form of the built environment. It can be assumed that the plan was proposed to extend the Vardar Street (Egnatia Street now) to the west and made it as the backbone of the expansion axis. The planned building blocks were allocated on each side of the new street (Manastır Street) and the minor streets were arranged to be either perpendicular or parallel to Manastır Street. Therefore, an orthogonal layout was proposed for the establishment of a suburban area. The summary books of tax registry records of Çayır neighborhood (*hülasa defterleri*) of 1880 also enable us to draw the verbal map of the district, since these records give information about the basic properties of the buildings, their function, the ownership and location. For the year of 1880, there were 147 houses of different types (*hane ve konak*), 53 shops (*dükkan*), 21 stores (*mağaza*), 14 coffeehouses (*kahvehane*), two bars (*meyhane*) and six bakeries (*fırın*) registered in Çayır neighborhood. The buildings were allocated like scattered pebbles on the plots and there were many empty plots among them (*arsa*). The only regular settlement was the row building of Manastır Street. The names of the recorded streets were Manastır (Monastir), Siroz (Serres), Keresteciler (lumber houses), Tophane (arsenal), Köprü (bridge), Baru Beraha, Harap Bahçe (Ruinous Garden), Şimendifer (Railway) and Millet Bahçesi (Public Garden) Streets. Except Manastır, Siroz, Harap Bahçe and Baru Beraha Streets, there were only a few houses or shops registered on the other ones. Manastır and Siroz Streets were laid parallel and defined the expansion of the city in the western direction. They were the most populous ones as well. Harap Bahçe, Köprü and Baru Beraha Streets were not registered in following year's records therefore it

can be assumed that their names were changed after a certain time. It is not possible to mark their precise location on city plans but these two streets could be the ones perpendicular to Manastır and Siroz Streets. Insofar, one can question what is the written records' equivalent in spatial terms or how can these sources help us to understand the urban form?

In order to find appropriate responses, the first thing that comes to mind is to refer to the historical plans of the city. However, the drawings generally do not demonstrate the streets names except for the major ones; but it is crucial to find the old names of the existing streets. Herein, an indirect archival material comes to the fore: a document dated to 1929 listed the old (Ottoman) and the new (Greek) names of the streets of Selanik. **(Fig. 4.128)** This handwritten list documented all the street names of Selanik in the Ottoman period and by matching the current names with the old ones and marking them on the plans, one can redraw the street map of Ottoman Selanik and these are the steps to follow.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴² The problem here is the changes in names or the disappearance of some streets after 1929 record. These can be the reasons for the interruption of continuous information transfer.

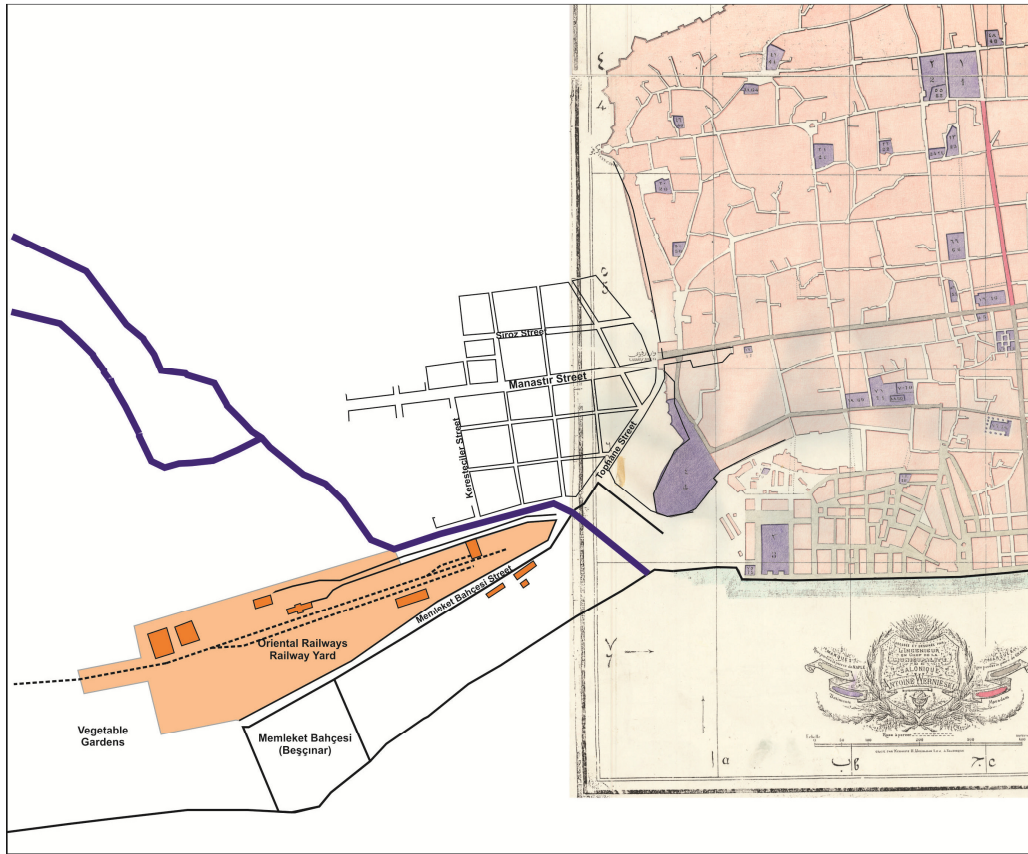


Figure 4.129 Selanik, Çayır Neighborhood at the beginning of 1880s.⁷⁴³

In the early years, as indicated in the registries, the building plots were mostly unoccupied. Around the 1880s, there were many empty slots waiting for the new inhabitants.

At the beginning, as discussed so far, there was a high demand for settling in the western suburb of Selanik. However, the natural conditions and physical obstacles were working against the permanent habitation. The Aron stream (*Çingene Deresi*) passing near the settlement zone and the railway yard were the sources of bed tempered air, swampy soil, flooding, stagnant water pools, malaria and other spreading diseases. The poor environmental conditions resulted in loss of attraction in the western suburb in time. Besides, the railway yard in the vicinity of the neighborhood enabled the development of industrial and commercial facilities rather

⁷⁴³ The drawing is attached to A.Wernieski's Selanik plan of 1882. All indications on the plate are produced by the author. The form of the new plots depended upon the earliest drawing depicting the western suburb by Kampanakis in 1889.

than permanent residential zones.⁷⁴⁴ As can be understood, although Çayır neighborhood was located close to the heart of the commercial area of the downtown (the French quarter), the port and the railway station; the poor physical conditions led the society to settle in the eastern suburbs instead. However, Çayır neighborhood always constituted an alternative to the eastern suburbs for the ones who cannot afford to live in mansions of Hamidiye or Kalamariye. Therefore, as a response to the social stratification, the western Selanik was the shelter of the working class, the poor and the immigrants while the East was accommodating the notables of the community.

When it comes to 1889 (h. 1306), the first drawing of Selanik Municipality showing the expansion at both flanks of the city should be examined. Stored in the British National Archives, the plan was signed by A. Kampanakis who was a former municipality engineer. The plate covers the new districts; and it is an area of 150 hectares to the east and 60 acres (24 hectares) to the west. Although the copy in the archive is dated to 1889, it is assumed to be prepared prior to 1889.⁷⁴⁵ (Fig. 4.130)

The plots are simple: on the west side of the town and at the north of the railway lines, the planned area covers over a length of 1200 meters and a width of 500 meters in the form of a perfect and regular orthogonal grid. The building plots are rectangles whose sides are about 60 and 100 meters. Being the continuation of Vardar Street, Manastır Street is the main axis in the east-west direction. The other minor streets are parallel or perpendicular to it. Following the traces of the earlier one and expanding its territories, the Kampanakis' plan demonstrates a perfect orthogonal scheme proposal for the Çayır neighborhood. The drawing of the plots implies that they can be stretched as much as possible to all direction ignoring the physical obstacles so that the Aron Stream (*Çingene Deresi*) is plotted as it neglects the physical obstacles. The only physical boundaries of the plan are Turkish cemetery and city walls on the east and Oriental Railways yard on the south. In this formation, the plan indicates the zeal of the author to apply a perfect orthogonal scheme with a celestial power. The

⁷⁴⁴*Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, h. 1324 (1906-7), 217

⁷⁴⁵Alexandra Yerolympos, "Formes Spatiales d'Expansion Urbaine et le Rôle des Communautés non Musulmanes à l'époque des Réformes". *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*. (Online)(September, 2005), 107-110

Kampanakis' plan not only expresses the implications about the future of the city, but also marks the occupied plots in the neighborhood: starting from the Vardar gate, both right and left banks of Manastir Street are mostly occupied, and by moving away from the main streets to the north and south, the settlement density decreases remarkably and many empty building plots in the blocks appear.



Figure 4.130 Selanik, city plan by A. Kampanakis, detail indicating Çayır neighborhood, 1889, drawing.

Source: British Archives, FO 925-3429, reframed by the author.⁷⁴⁶

In the chronological order, the second plan after the Kampanakis' one is Selanik Waterworks Company's city plan of 1895. (**Fig. 4.131**) It was signed by the engineer Mr. Cuypers of the company and was probably produced to be used in internal affairs

⁷⁴⁶ The full plate is presented in chapter 3, Selanik section.

of the company: the plan was drawn to show the main water pipe route from the water pump station near Beşçınar Garden to the water reservoir located at upper town but it also demonstrated the planning decisions and actual habitation in the Çayır neighborhood. .



Figure 4.131 Selanik, city plan by Selanik Waterworks Company, detail indicating Çayır neighborhood, 1895, drawing.

Source: Selanik Waterworks Museum. The plate shown here was a partial image of the original map framing the western part of Selanik.

A close examination of the plate clearly suggests that the company plan was developed by tracing the one by Kampanakis, since it did not indicate any change in the built environment after a few years. It can be also argued that the drawing became invalid, since the years between 1889 and 1895 brought Selanik's urban sphere a number of remarkable changes such as the partial re-planning of the intra-muros city after the fire of 1890 and the creation of a new Jewish neighborhood at the north of the railway station. These operations that took place in a short period would reveal how Selanik testified a remarkable change with a dazzling speed.

In the chronological drawing survey, the next step was the Selanik Municipality's watercolor large-scale drawings presenting the actual state of the eastern and western

Selanik in the years of 1898 and 1899. Unfortunately, the remaining plates of the drawings show only the areas around Oriental Railways and Selanik-İstanbul Junction Railway yards.⁷⁴⁷

At the turn of the century, the municipal urban area of Selanik was expanded to a certain point that nearly quadrupling the intra-muros city that brought out a large area of responsibility for the municipality authority. An undated plan of Selanik produced by the municipality revealed the boundary line of the municipal urban area at the turn of the century. **(Fig. 4.132)** As a base for confirming the milestones, many buildings' locations were indicated on the plate and probably the boundary of responsibility of the municipality was arranged to include many of them.

⁷⁴⁷ They are examined in the section on international entrepreneurs' activities. In the remaining plates, only a very small portion of *Çayır* neighborhood was indicated but it was falling short of depicting the general state of the district.



Figure 4.132 Selanik, city plan by Selanik Municipality, not dated, drawing.

Source: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives Collection item #1099, reproduced and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: Leather Factory, b: JSC Main Station, c: *Mevlevi* Lodge d: Municipality Hospital
e: Allatini Mansion



Figure 4.133 Selanik, city plan by Selanik Municipality, detail indicating Çayır neighborhood, not dated, drawing.

Source: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives Collection, item # 1099, reframed and reproduced by the author.

Legend: a: Oriental Railways Selanik Station, b: Selanik Water Works Company Premises, c: Selanik Gas Company Premises, d: Beşçınar Garden, e: Baron Hirsch Neighborhood, g: JSC Selanik Main Station, 1: Manastır Street, 2: Memleket Bahçesi Street.

For the next stage of the examination of municipal operations and urban expansion, the plan showing the borders of the municipal urban area can be suggestive. Dated to the beginning of the twentieth century, the drawing reveals the continuity of the planning decisions initially documented in Kampanakis' plan of 1889. It can be interpreted either as the confinement of the Çayır neighborhood in the suggested limits of the previous plan due to the lack of new plot demand; or as a demonstration of the determination of the local authorities not to taint the plan decisions. Additionally, a reserve area for the future expansion of the planned area is also indicated: the large rectangular space between the waterworks company premises

and the JSC main station stays outside the parceled area and gives the impression of a hereafter parceling reserve field by providing the municipality with a flexible land use politics. Another issue to highlight is the fact that the extension of JSC lines from the main station to the city station brought the necessity of dividing some of the building blocks into pieces to draw a route. Therefore, a number of expropriations had to take place for the sake of the extension operation along with a number of plan alterations.

Finally, the last step in chronological order, another municipality plan probably dated to the first decade of the twentieth century comes to the scene. It was principally drawn by the municipality to be a basis for the decision by the Sublime Porte to give the concession approval right of a tramline extension project to the Selanik Municipality. The demand of the municipality was approved by the Sublime Porte in August 1909,⁷⁴⁸ and therefore the plan showing the new routes would probably be the base of the approval of the decision. This plate provides us with the most recent information about the formation of Çayır Neighborhood before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars. **(Fig. 4.134)**

The plan indicated the lack of regularity of occupation in the plots defined by the municipality. The nature of the ongoing works required large empty fields mostly to be used for the production, storage and trade of items, therefore, it can be argued that many of the plots in the district was purchased by the enterprisers to use as an extra field for their existing commercial and industrial activities. That is why many of the plots were marked as storage areas of various materials (i.e. timber) in the drawing.

⁷⁴⁸ BOA, DH.MKT 2904/41; h.1 § 1327 (August 18, 1909)



Figure 4.134 Selanik, city plan, detail indicating Çayır Neighborhood, not dated, drawing.⁷⁴⁹

Source: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives Collection item #204, , reframed and reproduced by the author.

Legend: a: Oriental Railways Selanik Station, b: Baron Hirsch Neighborhood, c: Oriental Railways Ateliers, d: Selanik Gas Company Premises, e: Selanik Water Company Premises, f: Beer Factory, g: Beşçınar Garden, h: Petroleum Company Premises, i: Oriental Railways Company Pier, j: Turkish Cemetery.

⁷⁴⁹ The full plate image is presented in chapter 3 - Selanik section

To be able to conclude the spatial analysis of Çayır neighborhood prior to 1912, the visual materials shown above should be tested by the official records. The summary books of the tax registries (*hülasa*) for the year of 1906 and 1907 introduce a detailed overview of the property stock of the city. Comparing with the records of 1880, the first point is the remarkable increase in the volume of the summary book. In the 1906 registration, 1814 property was written down in Çayır neighborhood in total. In the long list, there are 681 dwellings, 244 shops, 116 stores, 25 inns, 15 bakeries, 33 coffeehouses, 28 brasseries, 7 mansions, 12 detached rooms, and 27 shelters and the remaining numbers are composed of mainly empty plots (*arsa*) and farmlands (*tarla*), and a small number of other functions. Compared to 1880 records, the number of dwellings increased and surpasses 700 (from 147); the number of shops rises from 53 to 244 and storages from 24 to 116. The properties are recorded in more than fifty streets of different lengths; and at no surprise, the most populous one is *Manastır* Street. On *Manastır* Street there are around 250 properties; most of them are recorded as residential and commercial purposes. Apart from that, *Siroz Demiryolu* (Serres Railway), *Soğuk Pınar* (Cold Spring), *Memleket Bahçesi* (Public Garden), *Keresteciler* (Lumber Houses) are the other major streets observed in the list.⁷⁵⁰

To make a comparison between the east and west flanks of the city, the chapters of the registry books on *Kalamariye* (Hamidiye) can be examined. For instance, the records on *Hamidiye* neighborhoods count 1491 dwellings, 232 shops and 18 stores; therefore, the numbers suggest a population more than twice the one recorded in Çayır neighborhood.⁷⁵¹ In *Hamidiye* neighborhood, the buildings are scattered to a larger urban area and resulted in a precious and low density built environment.

⁷⁵⁰ Vassilis Dimitriadis examines in detail Selanik's tax registry records in his work on the topography of Selanik during the Ottoman period and his work has been one of the original and pioneering sources to understand Ottoman Selanik. See, Vassilis Dimitriadis. *Topografia tis Thessalonikis kata tin epohi tis Tourkokratias, 1430-1912*. In Greek, (*Topography of Salonica During the Ottoman Occupation 1430-1912*) (Thessaloniki: 1983)

⁷⁵¹ To give a general sense and understand the size of the new neighborhoods within the whole city, in the Selanik Municipal Urban area, it was recorded 9763 houses, 2766 shops, 1397 stores in 1906. See Vassilis Dimitriadis. *Topografia tis Thessalonikis kata tin epohi tis Tourkokratias, 1430-1912*, 241-247

Considering the population settled in these regions on the basis of the census data of 1913;⁷⁵² the census results outlined the spatial distribution of ethno-sectarian constituency census at the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century. In a total population of 157,889 people, 73.27% lived in the historic center, 10.67% in the Çayır neighborhood and 16% in the eastern neighborhoods. In the western suburb which had a total population of 16,854 people, the Jews were the most numerous (32.87%), followed by Christians (27.7%), Muslims (12.2%) and others (Bulgarians and foreigners, 13.5%).⁷⁵³

The operations of the municipality was not only limited to the parceling, planning and its application and control, they also covered routine public services as well such as opening up new streets and widening the existing ones according to the plans; paving and smoothing the streets, provision of lightening, water and sanitary infrastructure and extension of tramlines into the neighborhood. However, these services did not necessarily mean that the basic living conditions were provided for everyone. These were always rumors and complaints by the unsatisfied residents. For instance, only Manastır, Memleket Bahçesi and Station Streets were smoothed and paved, but the rest of the streets were in such a poor condition that in the rainy days it became impossible to move around. However, the long uninterrupted streets defined by the orthogonal layout presented a pleasant view when the streets were aligned and paved. **(Fig. 4.135)**

⁷⁵²It was directed by the Greek administration and did not include Muslims and Bulgarians who left the city during the Balkan Wars.

⁷⁵³Vassilis Dimitriadis. *Topografia tis Thessalonikis*, 88-116

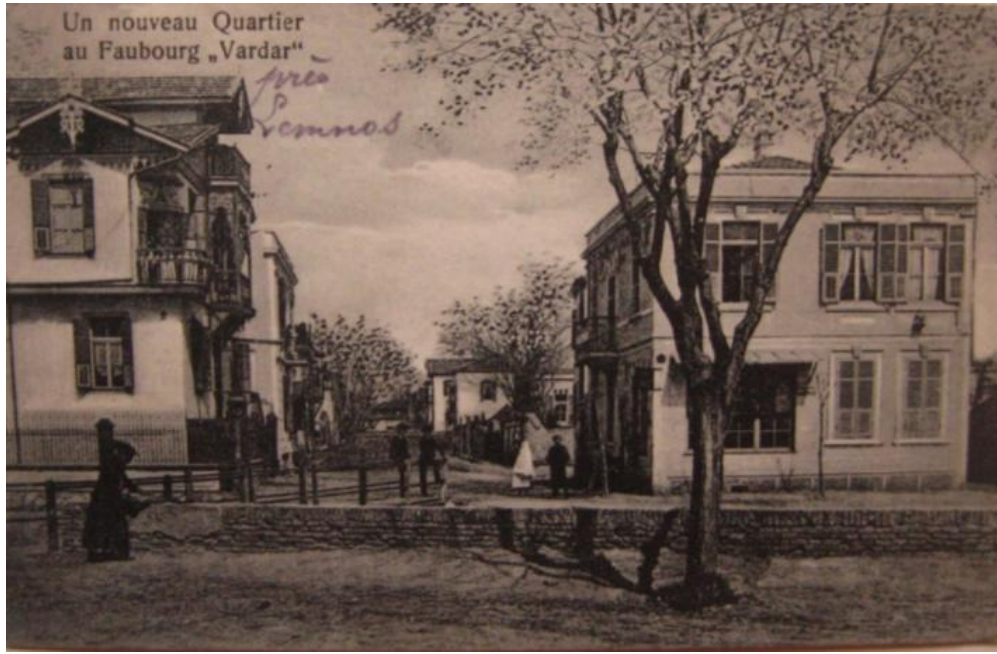


Figure 4.135 Selanik, Çayır (Vardar) neighborhood, not dated, postcard.

Source: Yannis Megas private collection.

Formation of a station street was one of the distinct characteristics of the Ottoman Balkan cities examined in the present study. However, in Selanik, there was not such a spatial formation connecting the station to the city center since the proximity of the station to the city center, its allocation and lack of feeding facilities on the axis prevented the realization of the concept. Hence, the Station Street in Selanik was a short lane parallel to the Aron Stream spanning from the station square to the Tophane Gardens. (**Fig. 4.136**)

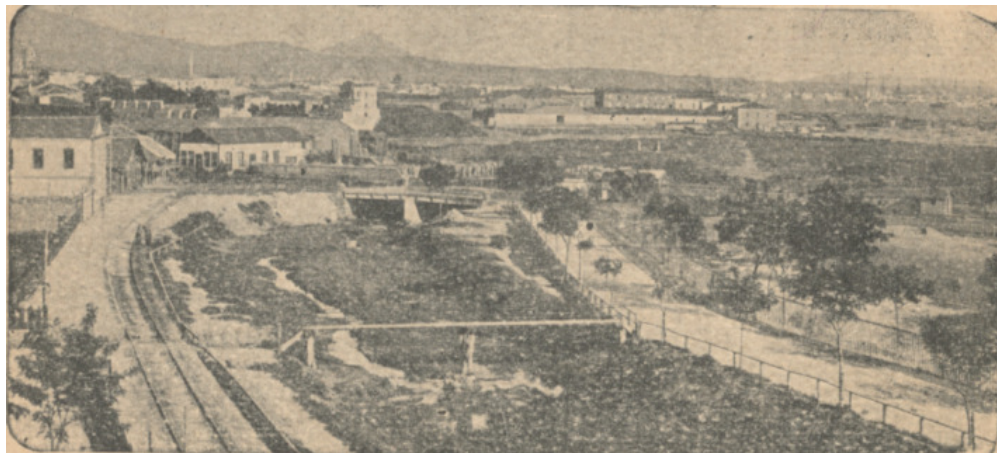


Figure 4.136 Selanik, Station Street and JSC line, not dated, postcard.

Source: Selanik Municipality History Center visual collection. JSC sidings to city station is on the left and Station Street on the right of the Aron Stream.

The station street and square were smoothed and paved by the municipality. With the collaboration of Selanik Gas Company, it was lightened in the evenings. The row of trees were planted on either sides of the street and around the square as well.

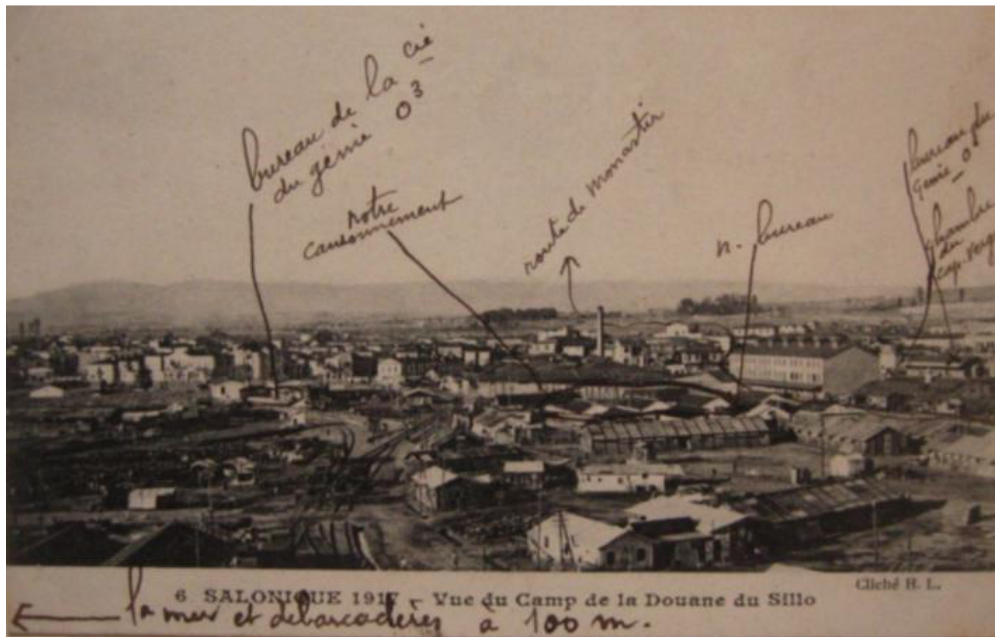


Figure 4.137 Selanik, Çayır neighborhood and the harbor area, not dated, postcard.

Source: Yannis Megas private collection.

Since its opening as the municipal park in 1867, Memleket Bahçesi (or Beşçınar Garden) had been the recreation area of the citizens. It became the most popular recreational area in Selanik; especially when it was very crowded on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. There was a restaurant, small kiosks, and taverns among the grown trees and a number of covered sea baths on the coast to provide the ladies with the the opportunity of cooling down by swimming. In time, to improve its physical appearance, Beşçınar Garden was surrounded by masonry walls, accessed by grand arched entrance doors and it was lightened regularly in the evenings by lighting posts. Therefore, the garden presented a completely different environment from its surrounding Çayır neighborhood.

As another issue to deal, the events happened after the devastating fire of 1890 in Selanik documented an interesting folder of relations among the local Jewish community, the international *Alliance Israelite Universelle* organization and Baron Hirsch of Oriental Railways and it resulted in a distinct habitation emerged in a short

time in the western suburbs of Selanik. This part aims to explore the intricate web of relations and tries to analyze its spatial results in the neighborhood.

One of the ravaging disasters in the urban history of Selanik took place in the neighborhoods of the city mostly inhabited by the Jewish and Greek population in the summer of 1890 and caused the destruction of 3500 houses, shops and religious buildings in the old town. The fire victims claimed that around twenty thousand people became homeless.⁷⁵⁴ In order to provide them a temporary shelter; hotels, inns, coffeehouses and religious buildings were brought into service and immediately a humane- aid organization was established to regulate the demands and aids. A couple months after the fires blew out; there were still a considerable number of uninhabited Jewish families so it became a necessity to build shelters for the rest of the people. The local Jewish community leaders immediately asked financial aid from notable Jews of Europe. The correspondence between the local and international Jewish communities revealed the decision making process of the shelters for the fire victims.⁷⁵⁵ The local Jewish community ran out of their internal funds during the immediate humane aids provision, therefore an international financial support was a precondition for the sake of the project and *Alliance Israelite* regulated the flow of international support. However, there were some obstacles to build shelters on the places of ruined ones: the building codes brought out the necessity of developing new plans and parceling in order to open them to habitation. This process might take a longer time than the fire victims could bear and in this process, the land value of the new plots multiplied their old values which the community could not meet; therefore it was agreed to find new plots outside the old town for the new shelters. The international funds were used to purchase two large fields for the fire victims' shelters. At this stage, Baron Hirsch, as a notable philanthropist, donated a considerable amount of money which was equal to one third of the total costs. In November 1890, outside the Kalamariye Gate of the city, more than twenty-eight thousand meter square land was purchased and after a short time, around thirty five thousand meter square land was purchased on the opposite side of the city, near the Oriental Railways Station at western suburbs of Selanik.

⁷⁵⁴Meropi Anastassiadou, *Selanik*, 112-118.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid, 112-118

Through these purchases, it can be argued that Baron Hirsch returned to Selanik as a generous philanthropist instead of an international entrepreneur, after selling his company to German capital circles.

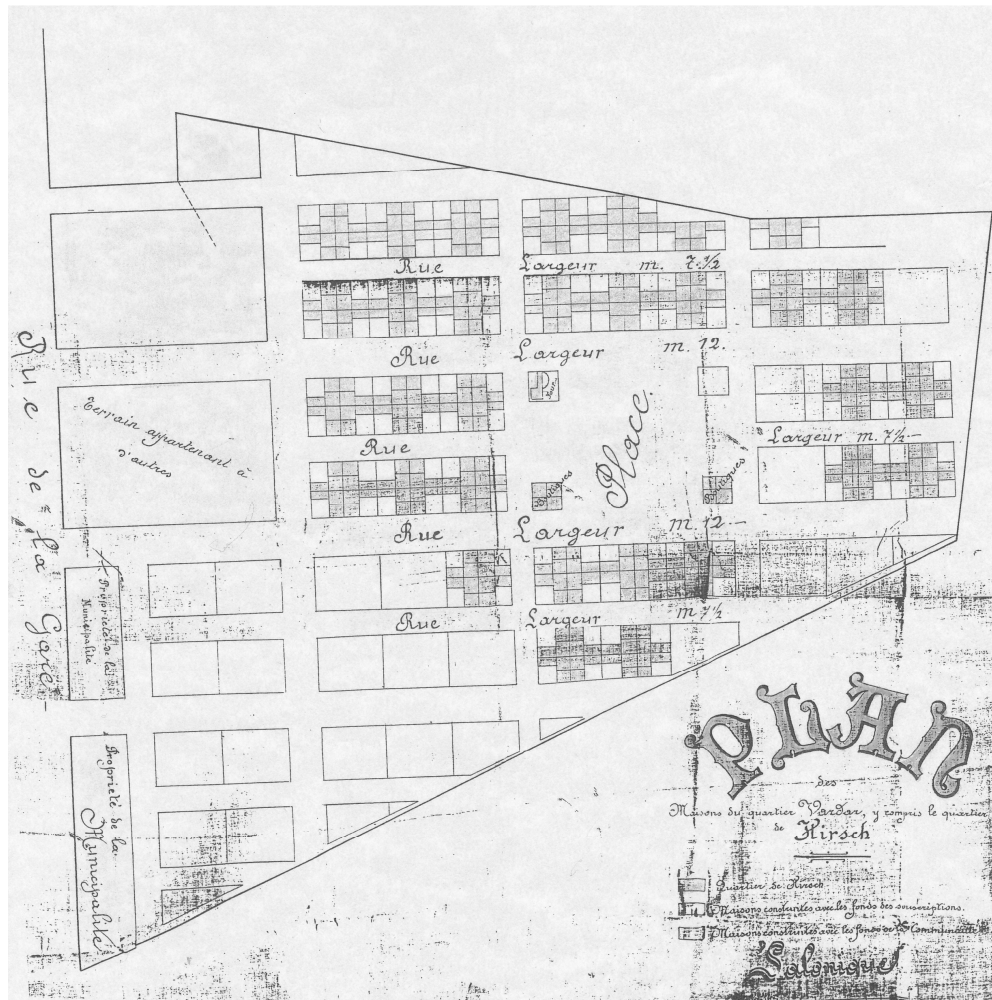


Figure 4.138 Selanik, site plan of Baron Hirsch neighborhood in Çayır (Vardar) district, 1890s, drawing.

Source: Alexandra Yerolympos private collection.

Plans of the two neighborhoods were prepared by the order of Alliance: 168 houses in Kalamariye and 120 houses in Çayır neighborhoods. **(Fig. 4.138)** The housing estate in Çayır neighborhood was developed in accordance with the current building codes. In the orthogonal layout, the roads were measured to 12 and 7,5 meters in width. Every single habitation unit was allocated adjacent and back to back to each other and in a building block it was planned to have twelve shelters. At the center of

the site, an urban square was proposed hosting some public amenities such as a synagogue, a school, bakery and other shops.

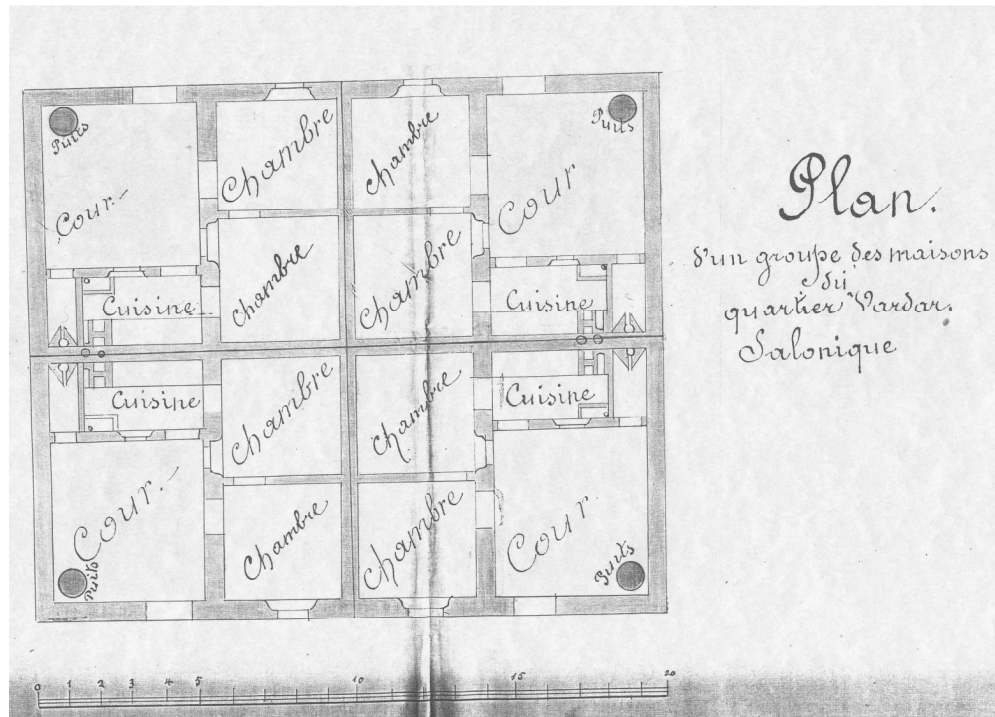


Figure 4.139 Selanik, a typical quadruplet living unit scheme for Baron Hirsch neighborhood, 1890s, drawing.

Source: Alexandra Yerolympos private collection.

For all the living units, a typical plan was applied: in each of them there was a modular unit in 10 x 8 meters dimension and composed of five spaces; an open courtyard to provide entrance, two rooms, a kitchen and a water closet. (**Fig. 4.139**) All units had direct access to the courtyard as well as inner passages among them. It was only the water closet which was isolated from the other units for hygiene reasons. The two adjacent living rooms were in the same dimension and a 16 meter square was reserved for each. The courts were covered with high walls on two sides and at the corner of each; a well was proposed to supply water to the living unit.

The sweeping pace of construction works resulted in the completion of the first phase of houses including 56 living units in March 1892 and at the end of the same year, the second phase of the project was concluded by submitting 64 units. The unit plans suggested the idea of providing basic living and hygiene conditions for the victims

and proposed a standardized living environment for hundreds of families which the society was not accustomed to until that time. However, the story did not develop as expected; in 1891, many *Ashkenazi* Jews, expelled because of the pogrom of Russia, arrived in Selanik and they also required immediate shelter. Thus, some of the shelters in both sites were assigned to the pogrom victims so that some of the living units had to be shared by two families: one room for each family along with a common kitchen and water closet. For the year of 1897, in 153 living units, there were 285 families.⁷⁵⁶

With a strict decision of the *Alliance*, Paris chief rabbi was registered as the owner of each unit in the neighborhood although the local Jewry did not like this decision so much. Thus, the inhabitants were the tenants and had to pay 1.5 Turkish liras rent. However, due to the widespread poverty, the rents could not be collected in a proper manner. Besides, two-third of the residents was composed of widows, disabled persons and Russian refugees who were unable to work either because they had poor command of the language, lacked a trade or skill, or even because they were accustomed to living on charity, thus all were cared for by the Community.⁷⁵⁷



Figure 4.140 Selanik, Baron Hirsch neighborhood, 1917, postcard.

Source: Yannis Megas Private Collection.

⁷⁵⁶ Rena Molho. "Jewish Working Class Neighborhoods Established in Salonica Following the 1890 and 1917 fires". In *Salonica and Istanbul: Social, Cultural and Political Aspects of Jewish life*. (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2005), 114

⁷⁵⁷ Rena Molho. "Jewish Working class neighborhoods", 114

The fire and then the housing estate for the victims dramatically changed the urban sphere of both intra and extra - muros cities: on the one hand, along the quay, new elegant buildings of cafes, hotels, and department stores were erected one by one on the place of ill-conditioned shacks; and on the other hand, the fire victims had to move away from the city center in order to find appropriate places to live and constituted their own neighborhoods in the peripheries. The unavoidable urban transformation concluded with a new social stratification in downtown, a new way of accumulation based on economic indicators rather than religious communities.



Figure 4.141 Selanik, city plan of Selanik by Selanik municipality, detail indicating Baron Hirsch neighborhood, 1898-99, watercolor drawing.

Source: National Map Library of Greece Thessaloniki Branch.

A couple of years after its completion, the Hirsch neighborhood was depicted in Selanik Municipality watercolor drawings as it was projected in the design phase. It also documented the collaboration of local actors with their international associations and Baron Hirsch as a philanthropist⁷⁵⁸ to develop a distinct housing project for the fire victims. **(Fig. 4.141)**

⁷⁵⁸ Another remarkable gift of Hirsch family to Selanik was a Jewish hospital inaugurated at the eastern suburb in 1907, see Meropi Anastassiadou, *Selanik, 1830-1912*, 99

The final note about this project deals with the actual life in the neighborhood: Vardar / Çayır quarter was vulnerable to widespread diseases than the other settlements of the town. The cause of the disease was the periodic flooding of the Vardar River, which left swamps and small pools of dirty stagnant water. Situated near the railway station, Hirsch quarter was right next to the disease-infested swamps, known in Selanik by the Judeo-Spanish name *Bara* (the mud).⁷⁵⁹ In order to raise the quality of living conditions of the neighborhoods, the Selanik municipality started to drain the stream and installed a system for the distribution of drinking water in 1893. A special donation from Baroness Hirsch was used to construct a dispensary. The Jewish community took the welfare community, *Matanot la-Evyonim*, founded in 1901, under its auspices and distributed food and hot meals for the poor.

After exploring the municipality and the religious communities' attempts to develop Çayır neighborhood, the operations of local concessionaire companies can be discussed as another actor of change: the tramway, gas, water and electric companies. Among them, Selanik Tram Company played a significant role by connecting physically opposite parts and socially different layers of the city so that when a passenger got on the tram car from either intra-muros city or Hamidiye or Kalamariye neighborhoods at the opposite side of the city, he or she could easily arrive in Beşçınar Garden or train station in a short time. Furthermore, the tram cars can be perceived as an extension of inter-city connection of railway wagons within the urban realm. The laying of tram lines up to the station square consolidated the station's mission of being the modern city gate, since the integration of railway with tramway enabled the travelers to reach a considerable part of the city with a single means of transportation. At the turn of the twentieth century, Selanik tramlines wrapped the urban area and were passing through most of the business and commercial quarters of the city. The realization of the project depended on the concession right granted to Hamdi Bey of Selanik by the Sultan in July 1889.⁷⁶⁰ A convention was signed in September 1889⁷⁶¹ and provided the establishment and

⁷⁵⁹ Rena Molho, "Jewish Working class neighborhoods", 116

⁷⁶⁰ BOA, İ.MMS 106-4553, h.22 Za 1306 (July 20, 1889)

⁷⁶¹ Christos Kalemkeris et al. *Οι τροχιοδρόμοι Θεσσαλονίκης, Βόλου και Καρλοβασίων Σάμου*. (The tramway of Thessaloniki, Volos and Karlovassi Samos) Thessaloniki: Christos Kalemkeris Museum; 2007, 30 (Translated by Selahattin Kesit)

operation of tramlines for 35 years. In 1892, Hamdi Bey delegated his rights to a Belgian capital group since he was unable to find the necessary amount of money to carry on the works. They set up an Ottoman company called *Tramways de Salonique* to convey construction and operation duties. The site-works initiated in May 1892 at the quay to complete the first phase between the customs house and the White Tower.⁷⁶² In April 1893, the portion between the Liberty Square on the quay and the last stop on *Yalılar* Street (in Hamidiye neighborhood) was commenced.⁷⁶³ A few months later, the line extended to Beşçınar on the opposite side of the route.⁷⁶⁴ In the early years, the wagons were drawn by horses, later in the year of 1899, two concession right agreements to generate electricity for lighting and for hauling tram wagons were granted to Sir Ellis Barlett of Britain. However, Barlett sold his concession to Belgian capital circle in 1904 without showing any effort for years. The Belgian consortium set up *Société Anonyme Ottomane d' Electricité de Salonique* (Selanik Electricity Ottoman Public Company) and their power plant started operation in March 1908⁷⁶⁵ and the electric – powered trams started to operate in Selanik in June 1908.⁷⁶⁶ In a few years, the electricity and tramway companies were merged into one body called *Compagnie des Tramways et d'Eclairage Electriques de Salonique* in April 1912 and the concession right of the tramway service was extended to September 1957.⁷⁶⁷ This condensed historical account not only explains the chronological sequence, but also demonstrates the major role of Hamdi Bey as a notable identity to initiate a public project.

Hamdi Bey was one of the well-known and wealthy persons of the community who had large farmyards around the city and had close relationships with the Belgian capitalists. He was the local entrepreneur who was granted the Selanik waterworks, gas and tramways concessions. In all these major projects he found Belgian partners

⁷⁶²Ibid, 31

⁷⁶³ BOA, Y.MTV 77-88; h.21 L 1310 (May 8, 1893)

⁷⁶⁴*Faros Tis Makedonias*, August 18, 1893

⁷⁶⁵Christos Kalemkeris et al. *Οι τροχιοδρόμοι Θεσσαλονίκης*, 54 (Translated by Selahattin Kesit)

⁷⁶⁶ Therefore Selanik acquired electricity-hauled trams before İstanbul

⁷⁶⁷Christos Kalemkeris et al. *Οι τροχιοδρόμοι Θεσσαλονίκης*, 59 (Translated by Selahattin Kesit)

to set up and operate the business. Moreover, he was elected as mayor of the city and worked as a businessman in the municipality order rather than a moderate officer.⁷⁶⁸

As the last topic to discuss, Selanik, similar to its counterparts located in the Mediterranean Basin such as İstanbul, İzmir and Beirut, witnessed the emergence of a small bourgeoisie class, in the nineteenth century, enriched by the increasing volume of maritime trade. This circle, on the one hand, strived to secure their possessions and interests and by making extra investments to expand their business, and on the other hand, they made considerable contributions to their affiliated religious or social groups to raise their prosperity or to meet the others' basic needs. Consequently, Selanik provided us with the most elaborated material to examine the roles of local notables and their social communities to observe their interventions in the urban space than the other cities examined in the dissertation.

Among them, Jewish and Greek communities and their notables were the most active and industrious ones. Jewish society built schools, orphanages, asylums, hospitals and dispensaries for their community. Especially, Allatini family was the patron of many charity works alone. After Selanik Jewry, it was the Greeks came in the second rank in the reflection of social solidarity. They also built schools, a large scale orphanage and hospital for the Greek society of Selanik. Beyond Jews and Greeks; Bulgarians and other small societies launched their efforts to establish social institutions. These establishments not only provide basic amenities for the religious communities, but also constructed a basis of internal conscious of national awakening. Therefore, these institutions were active agents of revolutionary attempts during the hazy days of Macedonian question.

It was in the Çayır neighborhood of Selanik where waterworks and gas companies set up their functional premises. Besides, tobacco monopoly covered a large area near Vardar Gate with its facilities. Torres & Co Spinning Factory, Naussa Brothers & Co tobacco factory, Olympos beer factory, Allatini Brick and Roof Tile Factory were among the investments of wealthy families of Selanik located in the Çayır neighborhood.

⁷⁶⁸Meropi Anastassiadou, *Selanik*, 148-150

4.3.4 Manastır

For Manastır, it was not a coincidence to have a station at the southern outskirts of the town: being essentially constructed for the military purposes the major concern was to provide the easiest and shortest access between the barracks and the station. As it happened in many cities, a station located outside the city limits was the generator of a new urban transformation stimulating the changes in the existing urban fabric. In this part, the development of a station street formation in Manastır - connecting the old town with the station- and its direct and indirect results in the change of urban space and socio-cultural life will be explored. The station street was not the sole catalytic of the change, in addition to it, the creation of new recreational areas around the barracks and the station were the other pioneering conscious efforts in this process. Therefore, the new patterns of recreational areas were the second emerging issue to discuss. Finally, the testimony of the Manaki Brothers' photography and cinematography studio to the rapid change process in terms of many social and political incidents that deeply affected the fate of the region -as well as the Ottoman history in general- will be examined by questioning the spatial background of their phases. The Manaki Brothers were the first cinematographers of the Ottoman Empire and we owe some very valuable visual material that witnessed many public life, individuals as well as buildings to them and to their sense of creativity. Accordingly, how the rapid changes in Manastır were documented through the objective of their cameras was also the question that will be discussed in this section.

After the railway carriage between Selanik and Manastır was commenced, it was not only the troops and ammunition to be transferred on the route; perhaps more than that the civil passengers and commercial freight entered into free circulation as well. When the first train approached Manastır Station in 1894, the urgent problem to solve was the completion of the ongoing construction works of the station street. Actually, the station street was not a linear or uninterrupted track which was completed at a limited time by connecting the station to the old town. From the early nineteenth century, it can be assumed that there was a path starting in front of the barracks, passing in front of the military high school and over the bridge of *Kurt Deresi* (Stream) and entering the town center. **(Fig. 4.142)**



Figure 4.142 Manastır, Kurt Deresi (Stream), no date, photograph.

Source: Ministry of Culture of France visual collection.

On this street, there were some restaurants (*lokanta*) serving on either flanks which were mostly owned and ran by the Greeks and therefore the street was initially called as *Lokanta* (Restaurant) Street. In this existing built environment, the *Lokanta* Street seemed to be the most appropriate one to fit into the station street formation since, within the organic layout the city, the wide street stretching from Drahor to Kurt Deresi was the easiest to handle for transformation. The implemented project suggested minimizing the costs; therefore it was aimed to reduce the expropriation fees as much as possible. The proposal composed of two phases; first widening, extending, smoothing and paving of the existing street up to the Military High School, then opening up two extensions: one to the station building and other to the front of barracks. However, the military office in Manastır tried to resist the completion of the project for a while since the area of new streets would be transferred from the garrison to the government and it was assumed that this would violate the integrity of the military zone by opening up the area to the public use.⁷⁶⁹ However, when the Sublime Porte stepped into the scene, the problem reached a

⁷⁶⁹ BOA, BEO 388/29066 ; h.15 L 1311. (April 21,1894)

resolution. The construction was commenced during the governorship of Faik Paşa and progressed to a certain level during his official duty. However, it was Abdülkerim Paşa, the successor governor general, who completed the site works and inaugurated the station street.

Until Abdülkerim Paşa's operations, the settlement border was probably defined and lined off by *Kurt Deresi* (Stream) and there were no more building on the other side of the bridge. With the completion of the smoothing, aligning and paving of the street, its riddled and slush days were mostly left behind.

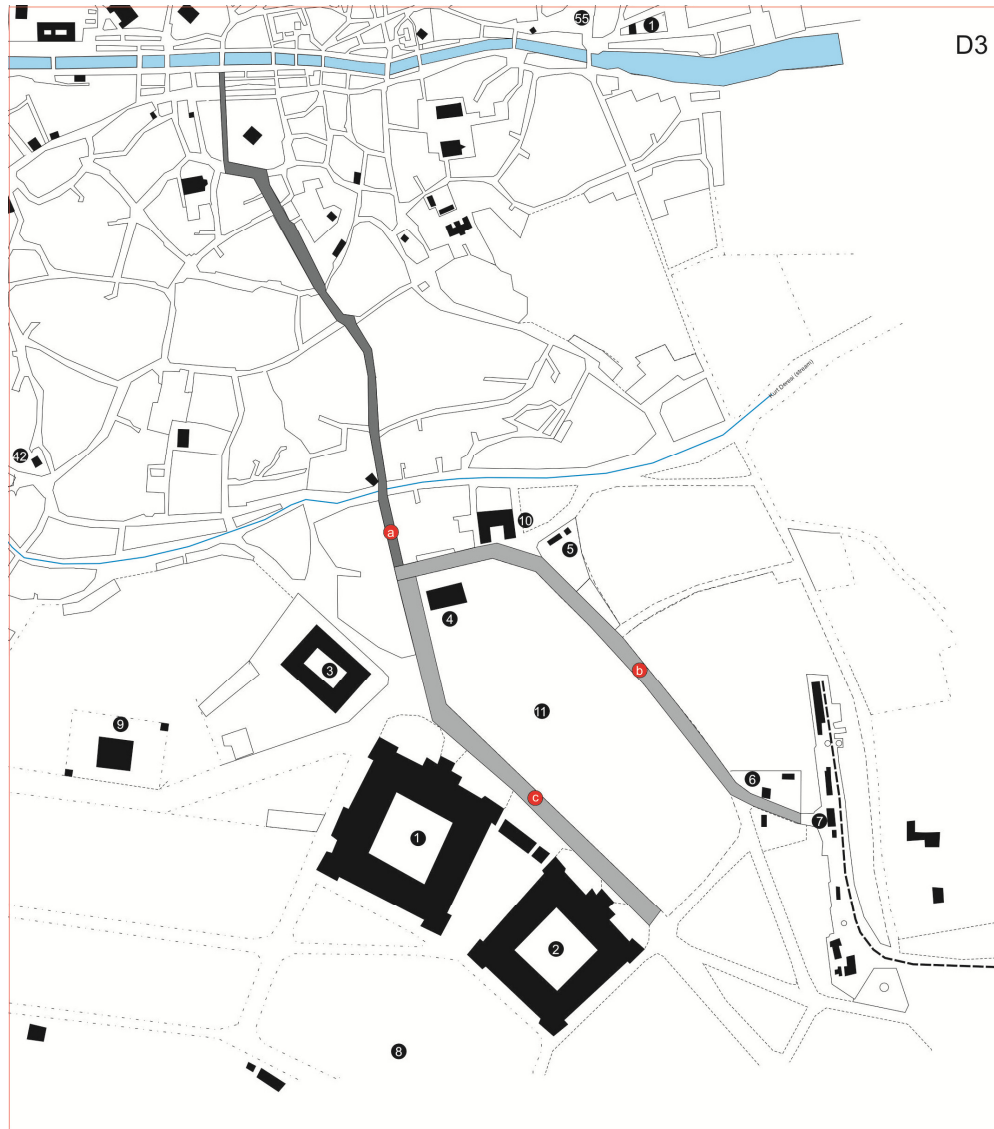


Figure 4.143 Manastır, city plan indicating the formation of the station street, c.1890s, drawing.

Source: Based on “Plan of Manastır”, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: existing *Lokanta* Street (later named as Hamidiye and 10 July streets), b: Station Street, c: Barracks (Kışlalar) Street; 1: Red Barrack, 2: White Barrack, 3: Military High School, 5: Nüzhetiye Garden and Kiosk, 6: Station Hotel and Café, 7: Railway Station, 8: Abdülkerim Paşa Garden, 9: Military Depot, 10: Military Headquarter, 11: Liberty Square.

Abdülkerim Paşa ordered to plant rows of trees on the either sides of the station street for a pleasant view and constructed *Nüzhetiye* café and garden on the northern tip of the vast empty area mainly used for military practices. (Fig. 4.144)



Figure 4.144 Manastır, Nüzhetiye kiosk in the Nüzhetiye Garden, 1909, postcard.

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

If we go back to the old *Lokanta* Street, Abdülkerim Paşa, with his foresight, was in the quest of providing permanent revenue for the recently constructed state hospital (*Gureba Hastanesi*) and decided to construct a shopping arcade whose revenues were transferred for running of the hospital on one of the empty lots of *Lokanta* Street. By doing this, he aimed supply financial support to a public work and at the same time to promote the merchants to found their businesses on the developing side of the street. To stimulate them, lighting posts were erected on the street and pavements for the pedestrians were constructed. In a short time, the street and its environs were occupied by the inhabitants. With an imperial decree, the name of the street and the surrounding neighborhood changed: implying the imperial connotation as *Hamidiye*

Street and *Sultaniye* neighborhood.⁷⁷⁰ The new buildings facing the street were masonry structures with European style façades whose interiors reflected a remarkable change in space use and furnishing. The ground floors were reserved for the shops with ostentatious and elaborate display windows. On the upper floors, a living room in the center flanked by two adjacent rooms on two sides was the general planning principle of the residences furnished by the central European style.⁷⁷¹ These elegant buildings were mostly owned by non-Muslim residents of the city who were also the pioneering figures of the commercial life of the city.



Figure 4.145 Portrait of Manastır governor- general Abdülkerim Paşa printed on a postcard, not dated

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

A notable Greek merchant of Manastır, *Spyros Doumas* wrote that after the arrival of the railways, business activity multiplied and “taverns and restaurants appeared on every corner like mushrooms.”⁷⁷² There were twice as many fashion shops, three new sweet shops, at least eight new distilleries, a pharmacy, a fez shop, and even a

⁷⁷⁰ BOA, BEO 1186-88936, h.11 R 1316 (September 1,1898)

⁷⁷¹ Bernard Lory, Alexander Popoviç. “Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır”, 65

⁷⁷² Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community; Jews of Monastir*, 84

new shop that repaired watches. Four wholesale, import trade stores were added to the five that had already existed. Hamidiye Street attracted European-style stores that sported display windows to merchandise goods. (Fig. 4.146)



Figure 4.146 Bitola, Şirok Sokak (old station street), 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

The buildings equipped with iron balconies allowed the residents to view the bustle of their newly re-organized city. The “products of civilization” included pieces of furniture, raincoats, egg-beaters, and even bicycles. Just as it was a half century ago, Manastır was again a city ready to compete with Selanik.⁷⁷³ While the Station rapidly became the focus of the major transformations; the station street was the dynamic axis reaching up to the old town.⁷⁷⁴

Within this historical context, it can be argued that while the urban operations of Ahmed Eyüb Paşa and his successors made the northern bank of Drahor River a district of government recovering partially from its commercial character; Abdülkerim Paşa's on schedule efforts at the station street transferred some of the commercial burden of the city to the new settlement created with a new face and fashion. In other words, while the former governor general Ahmed Eyüb Paşa's promenade project and the construction of governmental buildings along the Dragor emphasized an east-west axis parallel to the streambed, the efforts of Abdülkerim Paşa marked a new direction (north-south) perpendicular to the existing one and

⁷⁷³ Mark Cohen. *Last century of a Sephardic Community*, 84

⁷⁷⁴ Bernard Lory and Alexander Popovic. “Balkanların Kavşağındaki Manastır”, 65

shifted the gravity of the old town to the newly established neighborhood in the southern direction.



Figure 4.147 Left: Manastır, station street, not dated, postcard.

Source: Historical Archives of Republic of Macedonia Bitola Section visual collection, provided by Konstantin Anastasov.



Figure 4.148 Manastır, station street, not dated, postcard.

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, A Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

This attempt revived the old markets district which was squeezed to the northern bank of the river. The new commercial zone was the place where imported items, customs and habits were introduced to the city and the people became acquainted

with a wide range of goods from the West. However it should be noted that, while penetrating from Hamidiye Street to the inner streets, passages, cul-de-sacs and neighborhoods, one could observe the traditional settlements and the way of living lasting for centuries. Therefore, Hamidiye Street should be considered as a European mask placed on the face of an old body or as a mark of a hybrid way of living between old and modern.

At the turn of the twentieth century, there were a number of hotels in the city mostly located on the station street. These were *Belgrade*, *Selanik*, *Central*, *Kozani*, *İstanbul*, *Manastır*, *Royal*, *Sultaniye*, *Constitution* Hotels.⁷⁷⁵ In the commercial yearbooks, the Constitution Hotel was advertised as a ready, sunny, majestic and perfectly furnished hotel which was offering personal care, clean rooms and nonpareil environment to the guests. Similarly, *Selanik* and *Cental* hotels were introduced as aerial and bright hotels providing the guests with clean rooms.⁷⁷⁶ *Selanik*, *Central*, *Belgrade*, *İstanbul* and *Royal* hotels had fine and elaborate restaurants and cafes as well serving to the inhabitants of the city and there were also *Europe*, *Station* and *Delight* cafes serving as an independent business.⁷⁷⁷

As stated above, the urban operations of Abdülkerim Paşa had also a dimension of creating new recreation areas around the developing zone of the city. In Manastır, there were traditionally *Kavaklaraltı* and *Hanlarönü* cafes and gardens on the west of the city around Drahor which were the popular among the citizens. Especially in the nice weathers, the people were willing to go to these recreation areas. There were also a number of cafes in theme which were known as the meeting place of intellectuals and military officers. In Abdülkerim Paşa's long governorship, Manastır

⁷⁷⁵ Among them, the Hotel Constitution was the old Orient (Şark) Hotel which was owned by the municipality and rented by the Greek entrepreneurs. After 1908 revolution, its name was probably changed like many other symbolic places as a reminder of the past.

⁷⁷⁶ Nicholas G. Inglesi, *Οδηγός της Ελλάδος. Απάσης της Μακεδονίας, της Μικράς Ασίας μετά των νήσων του αρχιπελάγους και των νήσων Κρήτης - Κύπρου - Σάμου. Οικονομία, δημόσια έργα - εμπόριον, βιομηχανία, ναυτιλία, γεωργία, κτηνοτροφία, τοπογραφία, αρχαιολογία, γράμματα, τέχναι, στατιστική, μεταλλειολογία, χρηματιστήριον συγκοινωνία κ.τ.λ. μετά πολλών οδοιπορικών και τοπογραφικών χαρτών 1910-1911*; (Guide of Greece. Employ of Macedonia, Asia Minor, the Archipelago Islands and the islands of Crete - Cyprus - Samos); 89 and 93. (the copy of the document is provided by Basil C. Gounaris and translated by Selahattin Kesit)

⁷⁷⁷ Nicholas G. Inglesi, *Guide of Greece*, 92

acquired new recreation areas located on the south of the city around the station and barracks: these were Dömeke Garden near Arts and Crafts High school, Nüzhetiye Garden where the Army house would be constructed to its edge later and Abdülkerim Paşa Garden near the barracks.

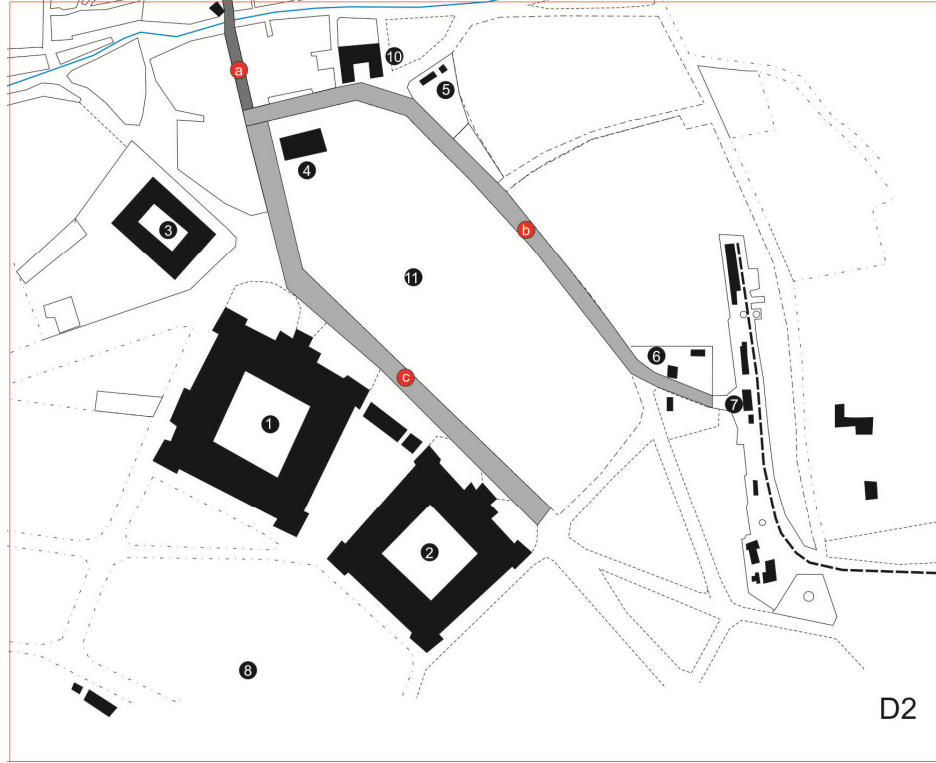


Figure 4.149 Manastır, city plan, detail indicating the new recreational areas between the barracks and the station, c.1910, drawing.

Source: Based on “Plan of Manastır”, redrawn and indexed by the author.

Legend: a: existing *Lokanta* Street (later named as Hamidiye and 10 July streets), b: Station Street, c: Barracks (Kışlalar) Street; 1: Red Barrack, 2: White Barrack, 3: Military High School, 4: Ittihad ve Terakki (CUP) House, 5: Nüzhetiye Garden and Kiosk, 6: Station Hotel and Café, 7: Railway Station, 8: Abdülkerim Paşa garden, 10: Military Headquarter, 11: Liberty Square.



Figure 4.150 Manastır, Abdülkerim Paşa Garden, not dated, postcard.

Source: Lale Gökman. *A Pool Lies at the Hearth of Monastir, a Tale of an Ottoman City through Postcards*. (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi; 2011).

These were Dömeke Garden near Arts and Crafts High school, Nüzhetiye Garden where the Army house would be constructed to its edge later and Abdülkerim Paşa Garden near the barracks. **(Figs. 4.149 and 4.150)**

After Abdülkerim Paşa's reign, the Ilinden Uprising of 1903 swept the city away into a disorder and unrest terminating the realization of some public works that were temporarily restored after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. In this period, although there was not a significant public works operation in the city, the intellectual activity and ideological movements accelerated feverishly and it was Manastır that inspired Unionists (*ittihatçı*) and some other intellectuals about the ideas of constitution, liberty and fraternity. A number of public works was proposed in a row after the restoration of security in the city.

For instance; in 1906, the electrical lighting concession for Manastır was initially granted to the Manastır Municipality to generate power from Drahor River.⁷⁷⁸ However, the municipality could not afford the necessary funds to realize the project and the Sublime Porte seek to transfer the concession to private entrepreneurs⁷⁷⁹ and

⁷⁷⁸ The concession also included the establishment of a tramline in the city and the transfer of the annual 10% of the revenues of the company to *Darülaceze* (almshouse). BOA, DH. MKT 1140-44; h.20 L 1324 (December 7,1906)

⁷⁷⁹ BOA, BEO 3253/245459; h.16 S 1326, (March 19, 1908)

offered it to an entrepreneur in İstanbul.⁷⁸⁰ In the end, basically being one of the primary responsibilities of the municipalities, the provision of electrical lighting was decided to be handled by the municipality.⁷⁸¹

As another case, the construction of the new municipality building and army house was commenced and completed in 1911 which were elegant buildings with neoclassical façades. (Fig. 4.151)

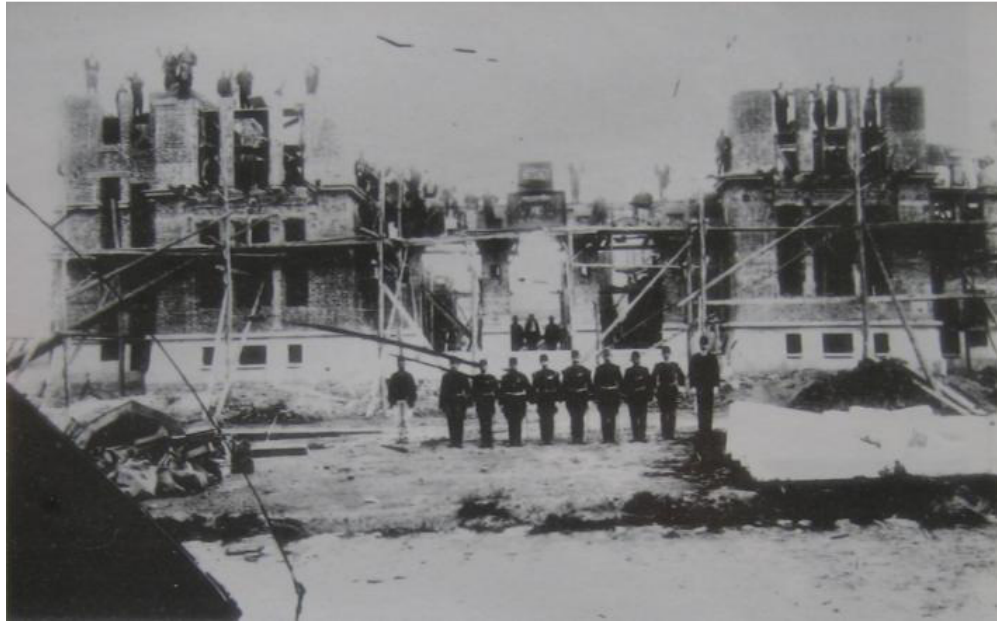


Figure 4.151 Manastır, Ittihat Terakki Club /Army House during the construction, 1909, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Macedonia Bitola Department, Maniki Brothers collection,item #293.

During the political and social disturbance, Manaki Brothers (Minton and Janaki) of Manastır were the eyewitnesses of many incidents. In 1905, they moved to Manastır and established Manaki Bros. Photo Studio. Their photos captured revolutionaries (*komitacı*), the events of Young Turks Revolution, the visit of Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad) to Manastır along with numerous individual and family photos, activities of the communities and institutions and single buildings, thus their 18513 negatives,

⁷⁸⁰ The candidate was Mustafa Efendi who was the vice president of the chamber of Commerce and Agriculture in İstanbul. BOA, BEO 3266/244918; h.6 S 1326 (March 9, 1908)

⁷⁸¹ BOA, DH.MKT 2736-30; 19 M 1327 (11 February 1909). During the research in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, I could not find any information about how the issue of electric lighting was concluded until the Balkan Wars.

17854 prints and 40 titles of documentary films and reports represented an irreplaceable and eternal authentic testimony of the time when they lived.⁷⁸² (Fig. 4.152)



Figure 4.152 Manastir, military high school students in Manakis' Studio, not dated, photograph.

Source: Historical Archives of Macedonia Bitola Department, Maniki Brothers collection, item #515

Within the field of photography and cinematography, the Manaki brothers achieved significant results of immense value for the culture and history of the city. Thanks to their sense for authentic record of the historical events, phenomena, individuals existed on that territory were saved from oblivion. By 1907, in a relatively short time, the brothers brought back from London the 300th Biscope cine-camera, which marked the birth of film-making in the Ottoman Balkans only twelve years after the invention of film-making by Lumiere brothers.⁷⁸³

⁷⁸² After the Balkan Wars, the visit of the Serbian king to Bitola, Bulgarian and German occupation, liberation of Bitola in 1944, Tito's visit to Bitola, etc. were the other significant events they witnessed. See, Kiro Dojchinovski. "Introduction". *The Creation of the Brothers Manaki*. (Skopje: Archive of Macedonia, 1996)

⁷⁸³ Their short film record "Grandmother Destina" of 1906 was considered as the archetype of cinematography in Ottoman Balkans. Alexandar Krstevski – Koska. "Milton Manaki". *The Creation*

Their popularity peaked during the incidents before and after the Young Turk Revolution in Manastır. They recorded public meetings, parades, proclamation of the constitution and celebrations: the regular scenes they used as background were the Liberty Square in front of the barracks, 10 July Street, Government Square in front of the Government office, Atıf Bey and Niyazi Bey Streets on the banks of Drahor.⁷⁸⁴ (Fig. 4.153)



Figure 4.153 Left and right: Parades and celebrations on Hamidiye Street after the restoration of constitution, 1908, photograph.

Source: Roni Marguiles. *Manastır'da İlan-ı Hürriyet 1908 – 1909*. (İstanbul: YKY; 1997)

When it comes to the visit of Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad) to Manastır, they recorded its every detail by cine- film and photography and their records were the only concrete sources documenting the incidents during the imperial visit. Especially, the welcome ceremony in front of the railway station and the parades on 10 July Street were among the most spectacular documentaries they recorded.⁷⁸⁵

4.3.5 Concluding Remarks

There are a number of themes introduced in the cases to demonstrate how the local actors changed the cities in relation to the arrival of the railways in these cities. Most of them, except for one case, represent particularly the acts of municipal

of the Brothers Manaki. (Skopje: Archive of Macedonia, 1996), 46

⁷⁸⁴ Another notable witness of the revolutionary days of Manastır in 1908 was Abdülmecid Fehmi whose diary was published as *Manastır'ın Unutulmaz Günleri*, (The Unforgettable Days of Manastır) by Ayşe Şen and Ali Bilici. (İstanbul: Akademi Kitabevi: 1993)

⁷⁸⁵ Their movie collection was stored and presented in Museum of Manaki Brothers in Bitola.

organizations. The common characteristics shown throughout this section can be concluded as follows:

First of all; the railway yards of the Ottoman Balkans were mostly located outside the city peripheries by the railway companies in order to avoid from the expropriation costs, making extra bridges or tunnels, or from extending the iron tracks into the old towns; and therefore, the civil list or state owned lands were chosen as the appropriate location. So, the necessity of the provision of a physical connection (a street) between the old towns and the stations emerged immediately after the inauguration of the stations. In some instances, they were positioned as a physical extension of the city they served (i.e Selanik, Manastır and Dedeoğlu) and defined the spatial expansion axis or as in the case of Edirne, the railway yard was in a remote place physically disjoint from the city by the rivers. Therefore, the existence of station streets depended on the necessity of establishing physical connection between the stations and the city centers.

Being more than a transportation axis, these streets were gradually transformed into a formation called “station street” which can be characterized as a space where the new spaces, values and customs were introduced to the local society after being imported from abroad. Replacing traditional modes of living, the new hotels, cafes, brasseries, patisseries, clubs, and European fashion retail shops emerged on the station streets which were all masonry buildings with neoclassical or eclectic façades. Hence, the station streets were the platforms where the western influences were explicitly materialized in the cityscape.

The station streets defined the physical development of the cities thereafter and became one of the major axes of a physical expansion. The local authorities provided public works on and around the new neighborhoods around the station streets such as construction of pavements, planting trees and provision of clean water, sewage infrastructure, the tramline and gas and electrical lighting. As if the spatial change was exemplified in and stimulated by the station streets, the municipalities gave priority to the amelioration of them. Karaoğlu Road in Karaoğlu, Hamidiye Streets both in Manastır and Dedeoğlu were the remarkable examples demonstrating the station street formation. **(fig. 154)**

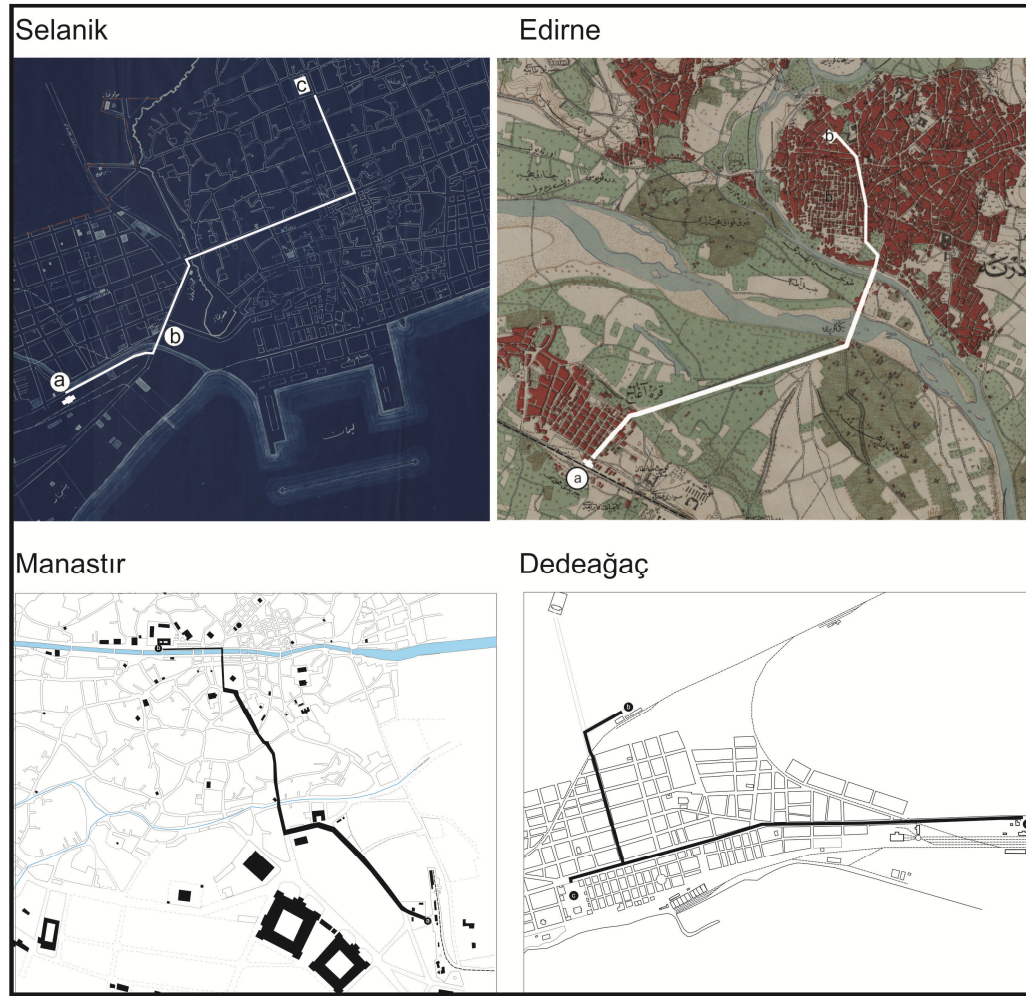


Figure 4.154 Station street formation in Selanik, Edirne, Manastır and Dedeoğlu.

As can be seen in the comparison above, because of the proximity of the stations to the existing urban fabric, the station street formation could not come into being in Selanik and Dedeoğlu: in Dedeoğlu, the main street of the town defining the east-west axis of the city was serving as the station street,⁷⁸⁶ and in Selanik the station street became too short and secondary urban element to be conceptualized as a station street.

On the other hand, Edirne and Manastır were the proper examples for the existence and use of the station streets. The reason for this difference among the cases is related to the scale of the railway yard and its physical proximity to the existing

⁷⁸⁶ On the contrary, one can assume that the station street became the main street of the town.

urban fabric. In Edirne, the Meriç and Tunca Rivers hampered the development of the city center to the railway yard direction; and in Manastır, the large military public grounds between the station and the city blocked the development of new neighborhoods around the stations.

Secondly, nearly concurrent with the emergence of railways, the Ottoman cities came across with the trams and the metropolitan railways. These innovations were first introduced in Istanbul then spread to other major cities all around the empire. The railway stations were among the main stops of tramlines in the cities and they provided the passengers with the opportunity of being transferred to the neighborhoods in a convenient way, therefore the integration of the railway with a tramline became a crucial issue for the municipalities. In the late nineteenth century, there were a number of local attempts in Selanik, Edirne and Manastır for the establishment of a tramline infrastructure, however it was only in Selanik that the major public work was realized and served a considerable part of the city: from the Oriental Railways station and the Beşçınar Garden on the west, by crossing the old town and extending to the new bourgeoisie neighborhoods at the east.

Thirdly; as discussed in all of the cases, one of the interventions of the municipalities in the surroundings of the stations and station streets was to make landscape arrangements. The new planning principles regulated by the new building codes charged the municipalities to develop green areas in the cities for the public benefit and publicly owned fields around the newly developing station streets and the surroundings of the stations were the best areas to create public gardens. **(Fig. 4.155)** These recreational areas became the popular public spaces of the local communities. The public gardens around the station in Manastır and Beşçınar Garden in Selanik were the most appropriate examples of this kind. Another aspect of landscape design was the plantations on the station streets. The broad station streets provided the opportunity of constructing pavements for pedestrians and plantation of foliage in the middle and at both sides of the streets. In this context, this theme examines not only the landscape designs, but also the new recreational habits of the communities after the realization of landscape projects in these areas.



Figure 4.155 Landscape arrangements in Selanik, Edirne, Manastır and Dedeğaç.

In the final analysis it can be said that being integrated to the creation of new railway neighborhoods and station streets, the landscape arrangements were the other major policies of the local authorities to develop the surroundings of railway yards as the new façades of their cities that they would like to present.

Finally, the new enterprise opportunities that emerged in the nineteenth century led to the presence of a small entrepreneur class in the cities. The provision of the railway connection increased their trade hinterland and the developing neighborhoods around the stations and the increasing popularity of the station streets attracted their attention and therefore, they made investments to establish new investments around them or transferred their existing works to these areas. The new investments were very profitable. Apart from the archetypal industrial zones around the stations, they run new businesses as hotels, inns, cafes, bars, restaurants, retail shops, brasseries or patisseries and in time these places became the focal points of the public life in the cities. Under this theme, the desire of local enterprisers to set their new commercial affairs on and around the station streets and its spatial results are elaborated.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

A glorious relief plate, ornamented with a golden color frame, embroidered by floral patterns, is currently displayed in the Museum for Turkish and Islamic Works in Istanbul. Dated to 1901 and drawn by Major Halil İbrahim, it shows the Ottoman territories in three continents. In smaller frames aligned around the general map, the plate depicts the larger scale maps of eight major cities located all around the empire. These are İstanbul, Edirne, Selanik, Manastır, Bağdat, San'a, Bursa and Şam. (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2)



Figure 5.1 Map of Ottoman Empire by Binbaşı (Major) Halil İbrahim, 1901, relief drawing.

Source: Museum for Turkish and Islamic Works in İstanbul.



Figure 5.2 Map of Ottoman Empire by Binbaşı (Major) Halil İbrahim, from left to right detail drawings of Edirne, Selanik and Manastır city centers, 1901.

Source: Turkish and Islamic Works Museum in İstanbul.

Among them, as demonstrated throughout this dissertation, Edirne, Selanik and Manastır were once interconnected by a railway network starting in İstanbul. This network enabled the territorialization of the Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia to a certain extent. Furthermore, as the maps above show, the arrival of these railways significantly affected the physical appearance of these cities. In other words, the railways were the primary factor in the transformation of the cities which can be physically discernable within the scale shown in the maps. Now, the scheme of the railways has been broken up and the cities remain under the domination of different countries not to mention the political conflicts among Turkey, Greece and Republic of Macedonia (or FYROM) and Bulgaria.

The intensive traffic among and economic interconnection of the Balkan cities at the turn of the twentieth century were physically reflected on the cities on the route. For instance, it is a confusing moment for an ordinary visitor to come across a massive brick in the walls labeled as “Fratelli Allatini, Salonicco” around the spiral staircase of the famous old clock tower near Muradiye Mosque in Skopje. (**Fig. 5.3**)



Figure 5.3 Right: General view of the clock tower near Muradiye Mosque in Skopje, 2010 **left:** a brick detail from the interior of the clock tower, 2010.

Source: Author's photo.

With a basic historical knowledge on the nineteenth century Balkan cities, one can recognize that *Allatini*s were the primary brick and tile manufacturer of the southern Balkans at the turn of the twentieth century, and their freights were carried by the railways through the inlands even by crossing the Ottoman borders. Therefore, it can be estimated that Allatini bricks were easy to obtain products in Üsküb in the late nineteenth century, and during the restoration of the clock tower, they could be conveniently used. As discussed in the previous chapter, parallel to the rapid increase in the number of passengers in time, the tonnage of construction materials carried from Selanik to the inner Balkans also accelerated in decades.

With its polyglot and multicultural nature gathering different ethnic and religious communities, the Ottoman Balkan city and society of the nineteenth century is an invaluable and outstanding research area for architectural historians as well. Accommodating different cultures, social groups and classes which were in conflict in both political sphere and urban space; this context unveils a distinctive dynamic society which could hardly be observed in any other place. The colorful and vibrant society was a blend of many agents: from imported customs to local dynamics; the influences of religious and political groups; the international investors and their local branches, reformist bureaucrats, religious resistance groups, Levantines, minorities and Muslims in all their diversities. In the nineteenth century setting, it can be argued that the religious, ethnic, national and linguistic differences were becoming extremely powerful as the administrative and legal reforms defined the existing

institutional categories in greater rigidity and uniformity and in mutually exclusive terms as never before.⁷⁸⁷

The existence of such intertwined actor relations necessitates the evaluation of the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan city and its architecture beyond general and oversimplifying narrations. Thus, it would be better to conduct a research under the guidance of certain themes and to use the perspectives they frame.

At the beginning of its research process, a number of questions stimulated the present study to launch an extensive inquiry on the actors of change in the Ottoman Balkan cities. The most basic one -by emphasizing the challenging character of micro histories- can be formulated as how the architectural history of the actors in selected the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities can be written. The initial readings to develop a methodological approach for this basic question brought about the necessity of interpreting the cities within a synchronous and multi-faceted network of actor relations and as the related primary and secondary sources have demonstrated, it was an extensive and intricate network. By adopting a flexible framework, this study is designed to allocate the Ottoman Balkan railways at the center of these actor relations. The basic research question about the intersections of the selected nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities, the railway projects and the actors is directed towards a number of objectives: First, it is aimed to observe the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities with a comprehensive insight from different viewpoints by exploring the related primary and secondary sources. Second, it is aimed to understand the role of the railways in the transformation of the selected nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities in comparison to the European context. Third, it is aimed to investigate the roles of the railway actors in the spatial, social and cultural transformation of the selected nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities when the railways became the catalyst of change by enabling rapid import of new customs, fashions and values.

While dealing with these basic aims of research, this study defines three specific actor roles and they are played by the state, the international entrepreneurs and the local actors. Accordingly, these roles have been investigated in order to understand

⁷⁸⁷Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port; 1840-1880*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; 2011), 7

to what extent they were in charge of the transformation of Ottoman Balkan cities in the 1870-1912 period.

In this context, it has been shown that throughout the nineteenth century, the state apparatus expanded its bureaucracy and tried to institutionalize it and materialized successive reforms to increase its effectiveness in the peripheries. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman reformers deployed the tools and technologies for the benefit of modern statecraft to bring the scattered state organs into unity and to increase the efficiency of the administration of peripheries. Therefore, the state's new faces of acting appeared one after another throughout the decades. In this regard, the increasing territorialization of state sovereignty is one of the most noticeable trends depicted in this dissertation. The state, as a mighty actor, claimed exclusive control over the rural areas and urban space by investing in it, making land reforms, redefining property rights and taxation regimes, conducting businesses by granting concessions. It was a kind of adaptation of these practices as standard that effectively establishes modern-state territoriality. Throughout this process; the cities under consideration provide significant case studies for understanding both the practices of the state and the resisting forces against its sovereignty. One of the most notable leitmotifs of the nineteenth century reforms was the issue of centralization, which constitute the formation of the relationship between the Sublime Porte and the peripheries. The material interventions of the Sublime Porte to increase the power of the central authority were regarded as territorialization, and there were several agents that the state called out; and railways were among the most active ones. However, in this study, it is also shown that the Ottoman state interventions in terms of territorialization were incomplete and underfunded in many cases. Depending on the outlooks of bureaucrats in İstanbul or the lack of sufficient practical officers in the peripheries, the effects of the interventions were mostly diffused and undercut by the resisting forces, existing laws and practices.

Although in many cases they were weak and vulnerable; the growing local entrepreneur groups joined their forces by founding social clubs, and therefore, became a center of gravity in the decision-making process of reshaping the urban landscape. A growing number of individuals from different religious and ethnic

roots were finding new ways of asserting themselves in Ottoman Balkan cities' socio-economic life and allegedly participating in leading decision-making processes as well as shaping of the built environment. In addition to local enterprisers, it would remain deficient without recalling the roles of the other local actors; the outspoken local newspapers, newly established municipal councils, foreign consuls, representatives of foreign agencies and landowners in the shaping of the cities at the turn of the nineteenth century. The emergence of a wide range of new players suggests that a growing number of individuals or communities as the new facets of modernization were attending the battle that was going on in the cityscape of the Ottoman Balkans.

The entrepreneurship was a common practice in most of Europe throughout the nineteenth century to obtain public services. Giving exceptional permissions and rights to the capitalists by granting royal or governmental concessions was the most eligible means of realizing large scale projects. The lack of capital accumulation and ingenuity, and belated industrialization forced the countries like the Ottoman Empire, Russia, Spain, Brazil or Argentina to use this method. When the international entrepreneurs holding concessions to accomplish extensive public works came to the city scene in the nineteenth century, they found themselves in the midst of intertwined actor relations, and shortly after they accomplished to position themselves as significant power groups by joining the network. By making investments in harbors, waterworks, gas lighting, tramlines and some other projects and realizing them, they became the transmitter actor of modernization. Among them, as demonstrated throughout the dissertation, the railway entrepreneurship was perhaps the most significant one in the Ottoman context in terms of its results in the economic, military, politic areas and its financial size and constructional supremacy.

After a general assessment of how the three actor themes influenced or stimulated the change in the Ottoman Balkan cities, by using the activity topics explaining the interventions of these actors in the urbanscape, changes in Dedeâğaç, Edirne, Selanik and Manastır are investigated in detail. These activity topics are grouped according to the actors.

As the principal railway actor, the state could realize economic, military and political territorialization of the city and the surrounding region or could apply partial urban

plans around railway neighborhoods and also could make operational interventions in the railway entrepreneurs.

Being mostly in conflict with the state, the international entrepreneurs constructed railway stations and created railway yards around the cities; and they also tried to maximize the profit by making land speculations, and eventually, they could provide public amenities for their staff in the railway neighborhoods.

As the third railway actor, the locals usually tried to use the advantage of railway connections as much as possible in the regional competition of neighboring cities. Therefore, the municipalities connected the stations to the city center by opening up station streets. In addition to station street configuration, the municipalities tried to incorporate the public transportation (in-city) with railway transportation (inter-city) by the establishment of tramlines. Moreover, they made landscape designs around the stations and on station streets. Finally, by opening up complementary services to the railway stations such as restaurants, hotels, cafes, brasseries; the local enterprises turned the surrounding areas of stations and stations streets into focal points of social life. These subthemes enable us to understand the impacts of railway projects in a systematical manner in four cities and unveiled a number of significant outcomes for the readers.

In this regard, this study has shown the foundation of Dedeagaç as a port and station city by the Oriental Railways company; its physical growth by the arrival of new settlers; its becoming a regional center by the special efforts of Ottoman government; and the arrival of a second railway line to the town to make it a regional transportation hub. These issues can simultaneously be examined by exposing the internal conflicts among the actors.

Different from Dedeagaç, Karaagaç illustrated the foundation of a suburban town at the outskirts of Edirne. Being initially inhabited by the railway workers and officers, it then expanded to a neighborhood where many services were offered to the railway passengers and locals of Edirne including cafes, brasseries, hotels, inns, theaters and clubs. Therefore, Karaagaç became a popular place to entertain the residents and passengers.

The results of this investigation show that in Selanik, the demolition of the city walls, the expansion of the city outside the old town and the start of the railway project took

place at the same time and in the western direction, the railway yard physically defined one of the spatial expansion axes of the city and the emergence of new neighborhoods. Unlike Edirne, the new neighborhood was not disjointed but was articulated to the existing streets defining the spatial growth of the town. The new neighborhood of Selanik was designed to fit into an orthogonal layout that reflected the planning approach of the local authorities of the time. Apart from that, Selanik illustrated a number of conflicts between the railway concessionaires, the harbor administration and the local authorities. Furthermore, the inauguration of two new railway routes in the 1890s fired up the existing conflicts, and each company tried to expand their spatial influence zone as much as possible and the urban space became the medium of the conflicting actors. Consequently, the parties could achieve resolutions and at the beginning of the twentieth century, Selanik could integrate three railway lines with the new harbor.

Finally, the evidences of this study indicate that Manastır was the most relevant example showing the political and military territorialization aspects of the railways in the Ottoman Balkans. As a garrison town located at the crossroads of the southern Balkans, the railways were efficiently used to transport troops and ammunition to the uprising locations to suppress the incidents. If the existing railway had extended to Adriatic coast as it was originally proposed, the railways would also have had some particular social and economic benefits for the region.

Regarding the outcomes of the study, it should be noted that the variety of the sources is an essential criterion in the academia about the legitimacy of an academic work. As a result of academic visits and collaborations provided so far, this study accommodates a variety of archival and secondary sources originated in different countries: the studies in İstanbul, Thessaloniki, Edirne, Alexandroupolis and Bitola have provided the present study with the opportunity of accessing a variety of sources. They have also enabled to present the topic with a variety of viewpoints and within a rich material base. Apart from the written documents, this study refers to many visual materials as well: drawings, photographs, posters, postcards, engravings and maps. To fit them into the contextual framework, most of the raw materials were edited, marked or redrawn by the author so that the readers would benefit from the visual material to understand the topic introduced in the related chapter. Accordingly,

this study has introduced a number of valuable archival material most of which has not been published before. As demonstrated throughout the chapters, some of them would be salient enough to trigger further investigation and also to open up new horizons for the researchers. In this sense, this study hopes to serve as a basis for future studies.

Depending on such material, the study presents the primary comprehensive discussion of the transformative role of the railways in the urbanscape by formulating actor positions around specific themes. Accordingly, there are a number of significant findings regarding each case city: First of all, founded as a railway company town, the history of the foundation of Dedeağaç town is much more complicated than what has been presented in the related literature and it accommodates a variety of actor relations. Secondly, the development of Karaağaç can be regarded as the emergence of a railway suburb out of Edirne. Thirdly, when the city walls started to be torn down in Selanik, the expansion of the city to the western direction was directly determined by the spatial politics of the railway agencies. Finally, if the allocation of military bases at the southern outskirts of Manastır was the key factor constituting the fate of the city in the nineteenth century, the secondary action was the arrival of the railways as a complementary agent of military bases.

As some final remarks, what should be added here is that the scope of the dissertation necessitates unavoidably the exclusion of some research topics from its discussion. When the study is examined as a whole, it can be seen that while dealing with certain questions related to its aim and scope, it has reserved some other important themes for future studies. Since the dissertation develops a comprehensive actorship model to fit specific themes into the body of the text, to be able to assess some actor positions in detail, further studies should be done. In other words, this research has thrown up many questions that are in need of further investigation.

It should also be reminded that this discussion is not aimed to be a compilation of urban monographs. Undoubtedly, the selected cities form its core but only within the framework of intertwined actor relations. In this regard, the study hopes that its findings make enlightening and inspiring contribution to the growing body of literature on the histories of Ottoman Balkan towns.

This study cannot be considered as a biographic study on a certain actor or certain actors in the Ottoman Balkan cities, either. In other words, this is not a compilation of the biographies of some figures but a framework constructed by three actor groups corresponding to three activities within the urbanscapes of the selected nineteenth century Ottoman Balkan cities.

In this regard, some suggestions can be made for further research. The interrelation of the state and the international railway entrepreneurs has unique aspects: while the joint collaboration realized the grand-scale projects, the conflicts among the parties undermined the development of the cities and efficient use of railways in terms of territorialization. Therefore, these conflicts and their spatial results should be investigated in an independent study on the basis of the findings presented in this study.

As examined in the previous chapters, the struggle between the port authorities and railway companies and its spatial results should be conducted in terms of the realization of railway – port integration in port cities. Related to this issue, another remarkable point to explore would be about the long-lasting negotiations of the railway companies and the Ottoman government about the expansion of the ports whose operational rights had been assigned to the railway companies.

When two or more railway routes were constructed in a town, it was inevitable to observe conflict of interests among these companies. The spatial results of such conflict between these agents and the resolution attempts can be the other topics worth to examine.

As repeatedly stressed throughout the chapters, the station streets were among the most significant axes defining the growth of the growing cities. Therefore, considerably more work needs to be done on the formation of the station streets in a comparative manner.

Finally, further research can explore the issue of documenting the railway buildings. The inclusion of these topics into the architectural history is a relatively recent development. What is now needed is to extend the contents of the existing researches by dealing with the railway building complexes in a series covering similar examples on the projected routes of the railways. A comparative study of such relations would make exceptional contributions to micro histories of the railway architecture.

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1911

Levand Herald

1869-1870-1871-1872-1873-1874-1875-1876-1877-1878

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Resimli Kitab:

Issues 1 – 48 (1908-1913)

Rumeli:

1911

Selanik:

1869-1870

Senin:

1911

Servet-i Fünun

1894-1895-1896-1897

Şehbal:

1908-1909-1910-1911-1912

The Manchester Guardian

“Second Edition: Special Morning Express: The War in the East Advance”
Feb 9, 1878

“The Servian and Turkish railway Junction” Apr 19, 1883

“The Turkish Railway Junctions” Mar 13, 1885

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13, 1888

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1913

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November 5, 1915

The Times

“The Adrianople and Stamboul Railway”, June 19, 1873

“The Eastern Railways”, May 2, 1888.

Ziya:

1911

Yearbooks/Almanacs (Salnames)

Manastır Vilayet:

h.1308 (1890-91), h.1312 (1894-95), h.1316 (1899-1900)

Selanik Vilayet:

h.1307 (1889-90), h.1312 (1894-95), h.1315 (1898-99), h.1320 (1902-03)

h.1324 (1906-07)

Edirne Vilayet:

h.1287 (1869-70), h.1300 (1882-83), h.1310 (1892-93), h.1316 (1898-99)

h.1319 (1902-03)

Encyclopedias:

Ana Britannica, Genel Kültür Ansiklopedisi. Ana Yayıncılık and Encyclopedia
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Görsel Genel Kültür Ansiklopedisi. Yazır Matbaacılık, 1999

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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin-Baghdad_Railway, accessed October 5,
2012

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Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, “History of Rail Transportation in India”

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October 5, 2012

Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, “Ottoman Railways of Anatolia”

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Railways_of_Anatolia accessed
December 24, 2009

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Curriculum Vitae

Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu

Date of Birth: 28/02/1983

Education:

Degree	Department / Program	University	Year
Undergraduate	Interior Architecture and Environmental Design	Bilkent University	2005
Master of Arts	Architectural History	Middle East Technical University	2007
PhD	Architectural History	Middle East Technical University	2013

Master Thesis and Advisor

Ahmet E. Tozoğlu. “Grand Hotels in Major Cities of Turkey, 1950-1980: An Evaluation of Modern Architecture and Tourism.” METU, 2007. Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan Ergut.

PhD Dissertation and Advisors

Ahmet E. Tozoğlu. “Actors of Change: Railway Projects and Urban Architecture of Balkan Cities in the Late Ottoman Period.” METU, 2013. Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinici, Co-Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Namık Erkal

Academic Employment:

Position	Affiliation	Year
Research Assistant	Erciyes University Department of Architecture	2007-
Visiting Scholar	Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning.	2010

Accomplishments, Grants and Awards:

- **Ranked 95th** at the High Schools Entrance Examination in 1998.
- **Honor Student** degree at all semesters, Bilkent University Interior Architecture and Environmental Design Department.
- **Full Scholarship** (tuition and expenses) granted by the board of treasury of Bilkent University.
- **Ranked 3rd with CGPA 3.14/4.00** among 120 students at graduation. Bilkent University Interior Architecture and Environmental Design Department.
- **Graduate Courses Performance Award**, METU Architectural History Graduate Program, CCPA: 3.93/4.00
- Granted **Tübitak BAP Project** merit throughout the research period of master thesis.
- Granted **Tübitak Doctorate Research Scholarship** in 2007-2012 period.
- Granted **Higher Education Council** in Turkey (YÖK) International Research Scholarship for September 2010- December 2010 Period
- Granted **ARIT** (American Research Institute in Turkey) Fellowship for the research conducted in Greece, September 2010- December 2010 Period.

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

B. Papers presented at international conferences and published in the proceedings.

B1. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “The Duality of Localism and Universalism: The Interpretation of Critical Regionalism at Istanbul Hilton and Izmir Efes Hotels at the Dawn of Tourism Architecture in Turkey”. *Livenarch III*, 2007. Vol 1, 163-176

B2. Hakan Hisarlıgil, Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Generating the Third Pole: A Phenomenological Approach to Basic Design Education”, *International Journal of Arts & Sciences Conference*, Harvard University, Boston, June 2010

B3. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Dedeagatch / Alexandroupolis: Rethinking on the Creation and Development of an Ottoman Company Town at the End of the Nineteenth Century”. 11th *EAUH International Conference*, Prague: September 2012.

C. National books and book chapters

C1. Burak Asiliskender, Burcu Ceylan and Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu (eds.) *Kayseri'nin Yirminci Yüzyılı: Mimarlık ve Kent Kültürü* (Abdullah Gül University Press, Kayseri: 2012)

C1. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Önsöz: Kayseri'nin Yirminci Yüzyılı”. In Burak Asiliskender, Burcu Ceylan and Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu (eds.) *Kayseri'nin Yirminci Yüzyılı: Mimarlık ve Kent Kültürü* (Abdullah Gül University Press, Kayseri: 2012), 7-11

D. Articles published in national refereed journals

D1. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu, Filiz Sönmez. “Bir Muhafazakâr Modernleşme

Laboratuvarı Olarak Kayseri: Orta Anadolu’da Kent Belleğinin Değişimi”. *Mimarlık*. (Ankara: December 2008)

D2. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Batı Dillerinde Türk Mimarlık tarihi Çalışmaları ve Yurt Dışındaki Türk Mimarlık Tarihçilerinin Üretimleri Üzerine.” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*. (İstanbul: BİSAV) v7, no. 13, 2009, p: 475-483

E. Papers presented at national conferences and published in proceedings

E1. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Mimarlık Yazını ve Turizm: Türkiye’de Turizm Mimarlığının Doğuşunda Mimari Tavrı: 1950-1980” A paper presented in *Turizm ve Mimarlık Sempozyumu; Turizmde Sosyal, Kültürel, Fiziksel Gelişmeler, Sorunlar, Öneriler*, 26-28 Nisan 2006, Antalya

E2. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Mimarlık Tarihi Yazımında Modernite Üzerinden Ulusal Kimliğin Yaratılışını Okumak: Bozdoğan’ın Ankara’sı ve Prakash’ın Chandigarh’ı. A paper presented in *METU Architectural History Program Doctorate Research Symposium V: Identity, Belonging and Architectural History*, 22-24 December 2007, Ankara.

E3. Filiz Sönmez and Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. . “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlık Tarihi Yazını Problemi Çerçevesinde Eldem Mimarlığının ve Yazınının Yorumlanması: Bir Modern Mimar Bireyin Yeniden Kurgulanması Denemesi” A paper presented in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Sedat Hakkı Eldem Symposium; 20- 21 Kasım 2008 İstanbul.

E4. Burcu Ceylan and Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “A Design-Integrated Architectural History Course Experience” A paper presented in *Architectural Education Forum IV: Flexibility in Architectural Education*, Erciyes University Faculty of Architecture. 26-29 May 2009, Kayseri

E5. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Actors of Change: Railway Projects and the Transformation of Ottoman Balkan Cities at the End of the Nineteenth Century” A paper presented in *METU Architectural History Program Doctorate Research Symposium*. January 2013, Ankara

F. Other publications

F1. Beyhan Bolak-Hisarlıgil, Hakan Hisarlıgil, Hale Kozlu, Burcu Salgın, Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. (Curators). “The In-between / Ara: "An International Exhibition of the Experimental Studio Works in the Faculty of Architecture at Erciyes University", *Architectural Education Forum IV*, Published in *Flexibility in Architectural Education* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2009), p:184-186

G. Poster Presentations

G1. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Yeşiltepe Konut Yapı Kooperatifi, Ankara (1955)” Docomomo_tr: Türkiye Mimarlığı’nda Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları Sempozyumu, November 2005 / İzmir

G2. Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu. “Emlak Kredi Bankası Ankara Yenimahalle Blok Apartmanları” Docomomo_tr: Türkiye Mimarlığı’nda Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları Sempozyumu, November 2007 / Kayseri

Participation to the organization of Academic and Professional Events:

- Organization secretariat membership, *IXth International Docomomo Conference: Other Modernisms*: Istanbul and Ankara, September 2006
- Organization secretariat membership, *IVth Architectural Education Forum: Flexibility in Architectural Education*: Kayseri, May 2009
- Organization secretariat membership, *Sinan and His Age International Conference*: Kayseri, April 2010.
- Organization committee membership, *Commemoration Events of Architect Sinan*: Kayseri, April 2011
- Organization committee membership, *Commemoration Events of Architect Sinan*: Kayseri, April 2012
- Jury Member, Public Furniture for Kayseri Student Project Competition organized by Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality and Chamber of Architects of Turkey Kayseri Branch, December 2012.
- Organization committee membership, *Commemoration Events of Architect Sinan*: Kayseri, April 2013

Language Skills:

- English (Fluent in reading, writing and speaking)
- German: (Basic in reading skill)
- French: (Basic in reading skill)

APPENDIX B

TURKISH SUMMARY

DEĞİŞİMİN AKTÖRLERİ: OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NUN SON DÖNEMİNDE BALKANLARDA DEMİRYOLU PROJELERİ VE KENTSEL MİMARİ

Bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminde Rumeli'de inşa edilen demiryollarının mimarlık ve kenti nasıl değiştirdiğini incelemektedir. Bu inceleme kronolojik olarak Rumeli Demiryolları imtiyazının verilmesinden (1869); 1912 yılı sonunda başlayıp 1913 yılında devam eden Birinci ve İkinci Balkan Savaşlarının sonuna kadar olan dönemi kapsamaktadır. Bu tez, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Osmanlı kentindeki değişimi çoklu aktörlük ilişkileri ağı üzerinden okumayı denemiştir. Demiryolu projeleri bu incelemede Osmanlı Balkan şehirlerinde kentsel, mimari kültürel ve toplumsal değişimin katalizörlerinden biri olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda demiryolu aktörleri kendi aralarındaki işbirlikleri ve çatışmalarla kent mekânını değişimin sahnesi kılmışlardır.

Bu tez beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde tezin ortaya koyduğu hipotezler ve sunduğu yaklaşım ele alınmış, ardından tezin inceleme alanına giren coğrafi, kronolojik ve tematik çerçeveler sunulmuştur. Ortaya koyulan hipotezlerin değerlendirilmesinde kullanılan başlıca birincil ve ikincil kaynaklar ve bunların bahsettiği olanaklar ve bunların ele alınış biçimi tartışılmıştır. Hali hazırdaki ikincil kaynaklar tezin odaklandığı çerçevede geniş bir tartışma alanına fırsat vermediğinden tez araştırması yaygın bir biçimde birincil kaynakların eleştirel bir mesafede incelenmesine ve bu kaynakların sunduğu verilerin ikincil kaynaklar üzerinden denetlenmesine dayanmaktadır.

Şüphesiz mimarlık tarihi alanındaki her araştırmada olduğu gibi harita, plan, kesit, görünüş gibi çizilmiş materyaller bu tezin faydalandığı temel kaynaklardır. Bunlar gerçekleştirilen veya en azından gerçekleştirilmesine niyetlenen çeşitli projelerin nasıl ele alındığını ortaya koymaktadır. Ancak tek başına bu çizimleri incelemek verimli sonuçlar ortaya koymayabilir. Bu nedenle çizimlerin üzerinden geçilmiş, açıklamalar eklenmiş, benzer çizimler bir arada sunularak karşılaştırmalar yapılabilmesine olanak sağlanmıştır. Kullanılan çizimler Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Taksim Atatürk Kitaplığı, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Koleksiyonu gibi yerel arşivlerin yanı sıra Selanik'teki Ulusal Harita Kütüphanesi, Aristo Üniversitesi Mimarlık ve Şehircilik Fakültesi Arşivi, Manastır'daki Ulusal Tarih Arşivi şubesi gibi yabancı arşivlerin yanı sıra pek çok akademisyen ve amatör araştırmacının koleksiyonları kullanılmıştır.

Çizimler yanında kullanılan bir diğer önemli görsel kaynak fotoğraf ve kartpostallardır. Bu malzemeler çizimler üzerinde tartışılan projelerin kent mekânında nasıl algılandığını ve deneyimlendiğini gözlemlemeye yardımcı olur. Bunun yanında çizimlerle birlikte ele alındığında çizilmiş materyalin üçüncü boyutta yapıli çevre içinde var oluş biçimlerini ortaya koyar. Fotoğraf ve kartpostallar da çizimlerde olduğu gibi yurt içi ve dışında bulunan bir dizi kurum ve kişi arşivinden derlenmiştir.

On dokuzuncu yüzyıl kentlerini anlamak için bir diğer önemli kaynak grubu gezi kitapları ve seyyah anılarıdır. Bu dönemde ulaşım olanaklarının çeşitlenmesi ve sürelerinin kısalması sonucu önemli bir yazın türü olmaya başlayan gezi kitapları, Osmanlı Balkan kentlerine ilişkin yabancıların bakış açısını anlamaya yönelik önemli veriler sunmaktadır. Öte yandan seyyah veya ünlü şahsiyetlerin tuttıkları günlükler ve yazdıkları özyaşam öyküleri de gene bu dönemde kentlerdeki değişimi anlamak için öznel bakış açılarını ortaya koymaktadır.

Son olarak döneme ait dergi, gazete, salname gibi süreli yayınlar da dikkat çekici birincil kaynaklardır. Osmanlı toplumunun çok dilli yapısının bir yansıması olarak kentlerde bir çok farklı dilde ya da çok dilli süreli yayınlar basılmıştır. Bunlar içerisinde Şehbal, İctihad, Servet-i Fünun, Resimli Kitab ve Ulum-u İktisadiyye ve İctimaiyye dergileri araştırma süresince faydalanılan dergilerdir. Bunların yanında İstanbul'da basılan Levant Herald ve Selanik'te basılan Selanik ve Zaman gazeteleri

de arşivlerde bulunan nüshaları üzerinden taranmıştır. Bunun dışında İngiltere’de yayımlanan The Times ve Manchester Guardian gazeteleri de akademik veri tabanları üzerinden taranmıştır.

Birinci bölümde birincil kaynakların tasnifi ve genel değerlendirilmesinin yanı sıra çeşitli konulara ilişkin olarak faydalanılan ikincil kaynakların da genel bir sunumu yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda Avrupa’nın on dokuzuncu yüzyıldaki ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi tarihi, ve buna bağlı olarak Osmanlı Devleti’nin on dokuzuncu yüzyıl tarihi modernizasyon perspektifinden sunan ve tez çalışmasında faydalı olan kaynaklar sunulmuştur. Ardından on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Osmanlı Balkanları’nın tarihi ve incelemelere konu olan Dedeağaç, Edirne, Selanik ve Manastır şehirlerinin ekonomik, sosyal, kent ve mimarlık tarihine ilişkin ikinci kaynaklar değerlendirilmiştir.

Birinci bölüm tezin genel kurgusunun sunulduğu ve farklı bölümler arasındaki ilişkinin nasıl kurulduğunun anlatıldığı bir alt bölümle birlikte sonlandırılmıştır.

Tezin ikinci bölümü Değişim Sürecinde İmparatorluklar: Osmanlı Balkan Demiryolu Ağı’nın Oluşumu başlığını taşımaktadır. İkinci bölümde tezin on dokuzuncu yüzyıl bağlamındaki arka planı değişim olgusu çerçevesinde ortaya konulmaktadır. Öncelikle, sanayi devrimi sonrası birbiri ardına açılan demiryolları hatlarının Avrupa’yı nasıl değiştirdiği üzerine durulmuş; daha sonra bu değişimin kaçınılmaz bir parçası olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda demiryolu inşa etmek için girişilen ilk denemelerden itibaren yirminci yüzyılın başına kadar inşa edilen hatların Osmanlı Devleti’nin Avrupa, Afrika ve Ortadoğu topraklarında jeostratejik ve ekonomik bağlantıları içindeki yeri ve önemi tartışılmıştır. Bunun yanında Balkanlarda inşa edilen ve tezin inceleme alanı içinde bulunan Rumeli Demiryolları, Selanik-Manastır Demiryolu ve İstanbul-Selanik İltisak Demiryolu Projelerinin imtiyazdan inşaat ve işletmeye gelişim süreci incelenmiştir. Son olarak bu bölüm, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda buhar makinelerinin ulaşım aracı olarak kullanılmasıyla insanlığın zaman ve mekân kavrayışının karşılaştığı devrimsel değişimi David Harvey’in “zaman – mekân sıkışması” kavramı üzerinden tartışmakta; bu yeni deneyimi Avrupa ve Osmanlı deneyimleri bağlamında dönemin yazarlarının seyahat izlenimlerinin tahlili ile karşılaştırmaktadır.

Avrupa’da on sekizinci yüzyılda başlayan sanayi devriminin bir uzantısı olarak buhar gücüyle yük ve yolcuları çekebilecek bir taşıt geliştirmeye yönelik çalışmaların tarihi daha öncelere dayansa da ticari anlamda yük ve yolcu taşımaya yönelik açılan ilk hat Manchester ve Liverpool arasında 1830 yılında açılan hattır. Bu hattın açılmasından çok kısa bir süre içinde İngiltere’de, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nde ve kıta Avrupa’sında birbiri ardına hatlar işletmeye açılmış ve birkaç on yıl içerisinde binlerce kilometre hat kıtada kentleri birbirine bağlamıştır. Sanayi devrimiyle biriken sermaye için verimli ve karlı bir yatırım aracına da dönüşen demiryolları bu sayede kurulan inşa ve işletme şirketlerinin hisse senetleri üstünden spekülasyonlar yapılmasıyla yeni bir mali portföy aracı da Avrupa finans çevrelerinde ihdas edilmiştir.

Demiryolu ulaşımının sağladığı yüksek hız ve yol koşullarının karayollarına göre sağladığı avantaj insanlığın yaşadığı seyahat deneyimini devrimsel bir biçimde değiştirmiştir. Demiryolları öncesinde günler hatta haftalar süren seyahatler birkaç saat veya birkaç gün içinde tamamlanabilir olmuştur. Demiryolları işletmelerinin tarifeli seferleri başlatmasıyla seyahat için gerekli zaman öngörülebilir hale gelmiş ve modern zamanların zaman kavramındaki çözünürlük hassasiyeti artmıştır. Öte yandan seyahat deneyiminde içinden geçilen doğal ve yapıli çevre yaşanan ve deneyimlenen bir öge olmaktan çıkmış, uzaktan bakılan, bir anlık gözlenen ve her an yenilenen bir panoramalar dizisi haline gelmiştir.

Sunulan bu tarihi bağlam içerisinde Osmanlı Devleti’nde demiryolu inşası fikri ve Osmanlı toplumunda bireylerin demiryolu seyahati deneyimi genel yargının aksine Avrupa ile neredeyse eş zamanlı gelişmiştir. 1830’lu yıllarda İstanbul’a gelen yabancı uzmanlarla ilk olarak Payitaht’a taşınan demiryolu fikri, gene bu yıllarda İngiliz yatırımcıların Fırat Nehri Üzerinden Akdeniz kıyılarına bağlanacak bir demiryolu hattıyla Hindistan ticaret yolunu kısaltmayı amaçlayan proje önerilerinin Bab-ı Ali’ye sunulmasıyla resmîyet kazanmıştır. Her ne kadar bu ilk deneme başarısızlıkla sonuçlansa da takip eden yıllarda verilecek yeni demiryolu imtiyaz taleplerinin öncüsü olmuştur.

1851 yılında Bab-ı Ali’nin izni ve bilgisi olmadan Mısır Hidiv’i Abbas Paşa’nın verdiği İskenderiye – Kahire demiryolu imtiyazı Osmanlı topraklarında gerçekleştirilen ilk demiryolu projesidir. Bu hat 1856 yılında tamamlandığında,

devletin diğer bölgelerinde yeni başlayacak hatların inşaatı için ilham kaynağı olmuştur. 1856'da İzmir – Aydın hattı, 1857'de ise Köstence – Boğazköy hattı imtiyazı gene İngiliz sermaye çevrelerine verişmiştir. Bu hatları 1858'de Varna – Rusçuk hattı, 1863'de de İzmir – Kasaba (Turgutlu) hatları imtiyazı izlemiştir.

Kurulan bu ilk hatların ortak özelliği kıyıdaki limanları tarım ve maden kaynakları açısından zengin iç bölgelere bağlayan tekil hatlar olup inşa ve işletmesinin İngiliz yatırımcılar tarafından kar garantisi sistemiyle verilen imtiyazlarla yürütülüyor olmasıdır.

Diğer yandan Osmanlı Devleti'nin İstanbul'dan başlayıp, Balkanlardaki önemli merkezlerden geçerek Viyana'ya kadar ulaşacak bir demiryolu inşasında dair niyetleri oldukça erken dönemlere kadar uzamaktadır. Köstence – Boğazköy hattının inşasından çok önce 1845'de Fransız mühendis Villerois Edirne, Sofya, Niş üzerinden Avrupa hatlarına bağlanacak bir demiryolu inşasının Osmanlı devleti'nin çıkarları açısından önemini vurgulayan bir arzuhal İstanbul'a göndermiştir. Bu girişim sonuçsuz kalsa da 1855 yılında Osmanlı Hükümeti Londra elçiliği üzerinden Avrupa finans çevrelerine İstanbul'dan başlayıp Belgrat üzerinden Avrupa'ya bağlanacak bir hattın inşası için davette bulunmuştur. Ardından 1858'de bu hattın inşasına ilişkin bir şartname de yayımlanmıştır. Bu davete ardı ardına gelen yanıtlara imtiyazlar verilmiş, ancak sermaye sahipleri gerekli koşulları sağlayamadığından verilen imtiyazlar iptal edilmiştir. Sonunda 1869'da Nafia Nazırı Davut Paşa Avrupa'ya sermaye çevreleriyle görüşüp uygun bir yatırımcı bulması için gönderilmiştir. Davut Paşa Brüksel'de Baron Maurice de Hirsch ile buluşmuş ve Rumeli Demiryolu projesi için ön mukavele imzalamıştır.

Verilen imtiyaz'a göre İstanbul'dan başlayıp Edirne Sofya Niş üzerinden geçecek hat Sava Nehri kenarında Doberlin'de Güney Avusturya demiryolları hattına bağlanacak, bunun dışında ana hattın Karadeniz ve Ege Denizi kıyılarına uzanan kollar inşa edilecek ve diğer bir kolla da Selanik limanı ana hatta bağlanacaktır. Toplamda iki bin kilometreyi aşan bir uzunluğa sahip olan bu hattın inşasını Baron Hirsch'in kuracağı inşa şirketi yapacak; işletmesi için de Güney Avusturya Demiryolu Şirketi ile anlaşma yoluna gidilecekti. Ancak Baron Hirsch bu şirketle kesin anlaşmaya varamamasından dolayı işletme şirketini de kendisi kurmak zorunda kalmıştır. 1870 yılı başında başlayan inşaat çalışmaları ilerlerken 1872 yılında Baron Hirsch anlaşma

koşullarında değişikliğe gidilmesi için başvuruda bulunmuş ve varılan anlaşmaya göre Hirsch hattın önemli bir bölümünün inşaat işlerini Osmanlı Devleti'ne devretmiştir. Bu koşullar altında demiryolu 1872'de Dedeağaç, 1873'de Edirne'ye ulaşmış, diğer kolda ise Üsküb'e 1873'de Mitroviça'ya ise 1874'te varmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti devraldığı hatlarda ekonomik sorunlar ve teknik ekipman ve personel yetersizliği nedeniyle ilerleme sağlayamadığından Rumeli demiryolları bir süre birbirine entegre olamamış parçalı hatlar olarak kalmıştır. Berlin Anlaşması sonrası kurulan dördü konferans görüşmeleri hatların bağlanmasına yönelik çalışmaları yürüttüyse de tarafların gecikmesinden dolayı kaynaklanan ertelemeler sebebiyle İstanbul'dan ve Selanik'ten Avrupa'ya kesintisiz tren seyahati ancak 1888 yılından itibaren mümkün olabilmektedir.

1890'lı yılların başında Osmanlı Avrupa'sında birbiri ardına iki hattın daha imtiyazı verilerek bir demiryolu ağının oluşturulmasına yönelik adımlar atılmıştır. 1890 yılında Selanik'ten başlayıp Manastır'a kadar uzanacak ve gerektiğinde Adriyatik Denizi kıyılarına kadar uzanacak hattın imtiyazı Anadolu Demiryolları Şirketi idarecisi Alfred Kaulla'ya verilmiştir. 1892 yılında ise Selanik ile İstanbul arasında bağlayacak olan iltisak hattı imtiyazı Rene Baudoy'a verilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak bakıldığında Osmanlı Balkan demiryolları projeleri bir bütün olarak düşünüldüğünde önemli yararlar sağlamalarına rağmen ortaya çıkan çeşitli engellerden dolayı istenen verimlilikte kullanılamadığı görülür. Bu engeller coğrafi ve ekonomik zorluklar nedeniyle yaygın bir ulaşım ağının oluşturulamaması, istasyon yapılarının çoğu zaman kent merkezlerinin uzağından geçiyor olması ve inşa ve işletme süreçlerinde yeterli yerli uzman yetiştirilememiş olması olarak sayılabilir. Diğer yandan özellikle Şark Demiryolları Şirketi örneğinde görüldüğü üzere verilen imtiyazlar ve bunların imtiyaz sahibi tarafından kimi durumlarda kötüye kullanılma ihtimali devleti ekonomik olarak sıkıntıya da sokmuştur.

Tezin üçüncü bölümü Değişimdeki Kentler: Demiryollarının Dönüştürdüğü Balkan Kentleri başlığını taşımaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm bu tez kapsamında incelenen dört Osmanlı Balkan kentinin on dokuzuncu yüzyıldan yirminci yüzyıl başına kadar yaşadığı kent mekânındaki değişimleri incelemektedir. Kent mekânının yanı sıra nüfus, ekonomik ve toplumsal yapı gibi etmenler de değişimi anlamak adına araştırma odağının içine katılmıştır. Her kentin yaşadığı süreç kendine özel olmakla

birlikte bazı ortak temalar da karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu kentlerden Dedeagaç dışında kalan Edirne, Selanik ve Manastır şehirleri aynı zamanda çevrelerinin kültürel ve ekonomik merkezleridir. Bu kentler aşağıda değinilen kendilerini bu araştırma kapsamında öne çıkaran çeşitli temaların varlığı nedeniyle araştırmaya konu olmuşlardır:

Dedeagaç, Rumeli Demiryolları imtiyazının bir parçası olarak hatların inşasında bir lojistik merkezi olarak Rumeli Demiryolları İnşaat Şirketi'nce kurulan bir yerleşimdir. Başlangıçta demiryolu teknik ve idari yapıları ve liman işlevleri şirket çalışanları için lojmanlardan oluşan yerleşim, kısa sürede çevre yerleşimlerden gelen tüccarların katkısıyla Edirne vilayetinin Ege Denizi'ndeki başlıca limanı haline geldi. Yüzyıl başında 4000-5000 nüfuslu bir kent haline gelen Dedeagaç, Rumeli Demiryolları Şirketi ve Osmanlı İdaresi'nin liman alanının genişletilmesi ve kontrolü üzerine çıkan itilafın sonucu olarak istenilen büyümeyi sağlayamamış olsa da var ediliş biçimi itibarıyla Osmanlı kent tarihi alanı içinde şirket kenti modelini en iyi yansıtabilecek başarılı örneklerden biri olarak dikkati çekmektedir.

On dokuzuncu yüzyıl başında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun en önemli ticari ve askeri merkezlerinden bir olan Edirne bu yüzyıl içinde savaşlar sırasında yaşadığı işgallerle birlikte önemli ölçüde gerilemiştir. Kentin yeniden büyüme ivmesi kazanmasının önemli unsurlarından biri İstanbul'u Avrupa merkezlerine bağlayan demiryolunun kentin kıyısında bulunan Karaagaç'tan geçmesidir. Demiryolu yerleşkesinin kurulduğu ve demiryolu personelinin yerleştiği Karaagaç ise Edirne'nin seçkinlerinin tercih ettiği yazlık bir sayfiye alanı olmaktan çıkıp demiryollarının ardından bir banliyö haline gelmiştir. Yirminci yüzyıl başında Karaagaç, Rumeli Demiryolları üzerinde yolcuların, konaklama, dinlenme, yemek yeme ve eğlenme ihtiyaçlarını karşılayabilmesine olanak verecek şekilde bir çekim merkezidir. Bu tez kapsamında Karaagaç, geleneksel bir kentin yanı başında bir demiryolu banliyösünün oluşmasını örneklemesi bakımından dikkati çekmektedir.

Selanik, Rumeli'de on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun en önemli ekonomik ve kültürel merkezi haline gelmiştir. Selanik limanı Balkanlarda geniş bir hinterlanda ekonomik olarak hizmet ederken, diğer yandan önemli bir çekim merkezi haline gelmiştir. 1870'lerin başında hemen hemen eş zamanlı meydana gelen iki önemli atılım Selanik'in bu momentumu yakalamasını

sağlamıştır. Birincisi kentin deniz kenarı tarafından başlanmak üzere sur duvarlarının yıkılmaya başlaması, ikincisi de Selanik’i Avrupa demiryolu ağına bağlayacak olan demiryolu inşaatının başlamasıdır. Bu etkenlerden birincisi Selanik rıhtım ve limanının büyümesine ve aynı zamanda kentin sur dışında yeni yerleşimlere açılmasına olanak sağlarken, ikincisi ise birkaç on yıl içinde Selanik’in askeri, ekonomik ve kültürel merkezi olma konumunu güçlendirecek katalizörlerinden biri olmasını sağlayacak altyapıyı oluşturacaktır. Bu süreçte 1890’lı yıllarda kent önce Manastır’a sonra da İstanbul’a kadar uzanacak demiryolu hatlarının da başlangıç istasyonu olmuştur. Bu araştırma kapsamında Selanik, kentin sur duvarlarının batısına demiryolunun varması sonucu bir demiryolu mahallesinin oluşması buna bağlı olarak kentin sanayi çekirdeğinin istasyon çevresinde gelişmesini incelemekte; ayrıca kent mekânının değişiminin bir parçası olarak liman ile demiryolu yerleşkeleri arasında fiziksel bağlantının kuruluşunu araştırmaktadır.

Son olarak Manastır ise Selanik’ten Adriyatik’e kadar olan tarihi *via Egnatia* üzerinde önemli yolların kavşak noktasında bulunmasından dolayı stratejik bir öneme sahiptir. Kent bu özelliğinden dolayı on dokuzuncu yüzyılda modernize edilen Osmanlı ordularından birinin merkezi haline gelmiş ve kente yüzyılın ilk yarısında iki büyük kışla inşa edilmiştir. Uzun süre doğrudan demiryolu hattına erişiminin olmamasından dolayı Üsküb ve Selanik gibi merkezlerin gerisinde kalan kente demiryolu yüzyılın sonlarına doğru ulaşmıştır. Kentin güneyindeki kışlaların karşısına yapılan istasyon, kışlalarla birlikte kentin büyüme ekseninin belirleyicisi olmuştur. Bu tez kapsamında Manastır şehri, demiryolunun bulunduğu konum itibarıyla yakınındaki kışlalarla birlikte kentin büyüme aksını nasıl belirleme potansiyeli bulunduğunu örneklemesi nedeniyle dikkat çekici bir örnektir.

Tezdeki karşılaştırmaların da ortaya koyduğu üzere henüz on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Osmanlı Balkan kentleri ile ilgili bildiklerimiz oldukça sınırlı durumdadır. Daha demokratik bir kent tarihi yazımında son yıllarda olumlu yönde gelişmeler olsa da son tahlilde farklı birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan yararlanan ve karşılaştırmalı eleştirel bir yaklaşımla bunları kullanan çalışmalara daha fazla ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Tezin dördüncü bölümü Değişimin Aktörleri: Devlet, Uluslararası Yatırımcılar ve Yerel Aktörler başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu bölüm bir önceki bölümde geç on

dokuzuncu yüzyıl bağlamında kentsel tarihleri sunulan dört kentte demiryolu aktörlüğünün ve aktör ağının var oluş biçimlerini ortaya koymaktadır. Her aktör için dört ayrı kent ayrı ayrı incelemeye tabi tutulmuştur.

Tanımlanan ilk aktör olan devlet; merkezinde *Bab-ı Ali* ve onun kurumları ve yereldeki uzantıları olan vali ve mutasarrıfları kapsamaktadır. Devlet aktör olarak kurucu roldedir. Son tahlilde demiryolu projelerinin gerçekleşmesi onun onay ve denetimine tabidir. Ancak bu ana rolünü hariç tutarak; devletin bir dizi eylem ve politikasını bu tez demiryolu aktörlüğü kapsamında tartışmaktadır.

Dedeagaç'ın bir şirket kenti olarak kurulmasından kısa süre sonra çevredeki yerleşim merkezlerinden ticaret ve çalışma için gelenler kendi ev ve işyerlerini inşa etmek için toprak talep ettiklerinde, kıyıda büyük bir liman inşa etmek için geniş bir arazinin tahsis edildiği Şark Demiryolları Şirketi demiryolları ve liman inşaatları için tahsis edilen bu alanlardan yeni kent sakinlerine arsa kiralamış ve satmıştır. Zaman içerisinde bu şekilde bir liman mahallesi oluşmuş, üstelik bu alan şirkete tahsis edilmiş olduğundan Osmanlı yerel idaresinin vergi tahsili yapamadığı ve bayındırlık ve belediye hizmetlerini sunamadığı özerk bir bölge oluşmuştur. 1880'li yıllarda Osmanlı idaresi bu duruma müdahale etmiş ve yapılan görüşmelerle ihtiyaçtan daha fazlası olan ve henüz işgal edilmemiş olan Dedeagaç kıyısında elli dönüm kadar arazi 1887 yılında yapılan bir anlaşmayla Osmanlı idaresine geri iade edilmiştir. İşte devralınan bu alan Osmanlı yönetimince Dedeagaç'ta bir kamusal merkez inşası ve bir dizi bayındırlık hizmetinin sürekliliği için çeşitli akar yapıların inşası için kullanılması kararlaştırılmıştır. Birkaç yıl içinde kamusal merkezde Edirne'den gelen mühendislerin hazırladığı projelere göre hükümet konağı, adliye, banka, cami, hapishane, çiçeklik gibi yapılar inşa edilmiş, bu alanın peyzaj düzenlemesi ise birkaç yıl Dedeagaç'ta mutasarrıflık yapan Hazım Bey tarafından hazırlanmış ve uygulanmıştır.

Edirne'nin demiryolu banliyösü Karaagaç'ta ise devletin aktör olarak etkinliği yeni bir yolcu istasyonu inşası konusunda olmuştur. Yapılan mukavelelerde Şark Demiryolları Şirketi İstanbul ve Edirne'de büyük ve gösterişli istasyonlar inşa etme yükümlülüğü olmasına rağmen bu konuda uzun yıllar somut bir girişim olmamış; İstanbul'daki istasyon 1890 yılında açılabilirken, Edirne'de ise ancak Birinci Dünya Savaşı yıllarında istasyon tamamlanabilmiştir. O dönemde Vakıflar'da çalışan Mimar

Kemaleddin'in tasarımı olan yeni Edirne istasyonu aynı zamanda mimarlık tarihi yazımında Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi olarak adlandırılan dönemin dikkat çekici yapılarından biridir. Kemaleddin Bey istasyon yapısının yanı sıra Karaağaç'ta biri proje halinde kalmış, biri ise istasyon yerleşkesinde uygulanmış iki ilkokul yapısı daha inşa etmiştir.

Selanik'te devlet daha çok askeri ve siyasi yurtlaştıma (territorializasyon) aracı olarak demiryollarını kullanmasıyla dikkati çeker. On dokuzuncu yüzyıl sonunda Osmanlı Balkanları'nda asayiş sorunları artarken, Bab-ı Ali'nin İstanbul ile Selanik arasında askeri amaçlı bir hat inşa etmesi ve bu hattın korunaklı bölgelerden geçirilip gerekli yerlerde askeri istasyonlar inşa ettirmesi dikkat çekici bir askeri yurtlaştırma örneğidir. Selanik'te şehrin dışında Manastır, Üsküb ve İstanbul hatlarına makasların olduğu bir konumda küçük bir askeri istasyon inşa edilmiş ve bu istasyon alanı ihtiyaç olduğunda askeri mühimmat yükleme ve boşatmasına ve çok sayıda askeri vagonların aynı anda ikmal ve bekleme yapmasına olanak verecek şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Kurulan bu alt yapı inşasından birkaç yıl sonra 1897 yılındaki Osmanlı – Yunanistan Savaşı'nda etkinliğini göstermiş ve binlerce asker Anadolu ve Balkanlar'dan Tesalya Ovası'na trenlerle aktarılmıştır. Selanik'te gözlenen bir diğer devlet aktörlüğü Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası'nın telkinleri ile çıktığı uzun Rumeli seyahatinde istasyonları birere politik yurtlaştırma sahnesi kılmasıdır. Sultan'ın bu ziyaretinde sadece şehirler ve caddeler değil, Sultan'ın Selanik, Üsküb, Manastır ve Kosova arasında hareket etmesini sağlayan demiryolu altyapısı da propaganda aracı olmuştur. Sadece kalınacak istasyonlarda değil, durulmayacak istasyonlarda da büyük kutlamalar düzenlenmiş, halk meşrutiyetin sultanına bağlılığını tazelemesini ifade eden gösteriler yapılmıştır. Ayrıca istasyonlardan şehir merkezlerine kadar olan güzergahtaki istasyon caddeleri de bu etkinliklerin başlıca alanlarından biri olmuştur.

Manastır'da devletin demiryolu aktörü olarak etkinliği Selanik'tekine benzer bir durum arz eder: demiryolları daha çok askeri ve siyasi bir yurtlaştırma aracı olarak belirir. Devlet bir yandan Manastır bölgesinin zengin tarım ve maden kaynaklarını Selanik limanına ulaştırmanın mali yararlarını gözetirken, diğer yandan bu iki önemli askeri merkez arasında kurulacak bağlantının savaş ve olağanüstü hal dönemlerinde sağlayacağı faydaların farkındaydı. Üstelik bu hattın Manastır'la sınırlı kalmayıp,

Avlonya veya Draç gibi Adriyatik Denizi sahillerinde bir limana ulaşması hattın stratejik anlamda etkinliğini bir kat daha arttırabilecekti. Her ne kadar hat çeşitli sebeplerle uzatılamasa da Selanik – Manastır hattı Manastır ve çevresinin ekonomik gelişimini olumlu yönde etkilemiştir. Bunun yanında savaş ve isyan dönemlerinde asker ve mühimmatın taşınabilmesi hattın bir ölçüde askeri yurtlaştırma çerçevesinde amaçlarına ulaşmasını sağlamıştır. Manastır’da, yine Selanik’tekine benzer bir biçimde, Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad’ın ziyareti sırasında istasyon, istasyon caddesi önemli bir siyasi yurtlaştırma sahnesi olmuştur. Meşrutiyet ateşinin yakıldığı önemli bir merkez olan Manastır’da sultanın ziyareti meşrutiyet mücadelesini anımsatan pek çok sembolik etkinliklerle kutlanmıştır.

Sonuç olarak devletin demiryolu aktörlüğü belirgin bir biçimde birkaç kavramla tezahür eder. Bunlardan ilki devletin askeri yurtlaştırma siyasetidir. Geç on dokuzuncu yüzyıl bağlamında askeri öncelik ve kaygılar diğer faktörlerin çoğu zaman önüne geçerek hatların inşasının gerekliliğinin ve rotanın geçeceği güzergahın belirleyicisi olmaktadır. İkincisi ekonomik yurtlaştırma siyasetidir: Osmanlı Devleti göreceli olarak ülkenin ekonomik koşulları iyi coğrafyasındaki tarım, madencilik, imalat ve ticaret kalemlerindeki üretimin demiryolu altyapısının kurulmasıyla önemli ölçüde artacağını düşünmüştür. İstatistikler göstermektedir ki , her ne kadar yıllara bağlı dalgalanmalar olsa da demiryolları ekonomik aktivitelerin artışında teşvik edici bir role sahiptir. Üçüncü ve son yurtlaştırma siyaset alanındadır. Açıklandığı üzere Sultan Mehmed Reşad’ın 1911 yazında gerçekleşen Rumeli seyahati kapsamı, süresi ve hazırlıklarıyla Balkanlar’da siyasi istikrarsızlık döneminde büyük bir siyasi yurtlaştırma projesidir. Yapıldığı dönemde Bab-ı Ali’yi ve sultanı umutlandırırsa da bir sene sonra başlayacak olan Balkan Savaşları ve onu izleyen büyük yıkımlar bu projenin başarısızlıkla sonuçlanacağını gösterecektir.

Uluslararası yatırımcılar demiryolu aktörlüğü çerçevesinde etkinlikleri tartışılan ikinci gruptur. Demiryolu ve diğer altyapı projelerini kendi kendine gerçekleştirmek için yeterli sermaye birikimini sağlayamayan diğer ülkelerde olduğu gibi demiryolu yatırımlar devlet tarafından yabancılara taahhüt edilen bazı imtiyazlarla gerçekleştirilmekteydi. Bunun en yaygın uygulaması imtiyaz sahiplerine verilen kar garantisi ve demiryolu hattı çevresindeki belli bir bölgedeki orman maden gibi kaynakların işletme hakkının bir süre için yatırımcılara devredilmesi şeklindedir. Bu

şekilde imtiyaz sahipleri demiryolu hattının çevresinde önemli bir kamu arazisinin kontrolünü eline geçirmektedir. Özellikle önemli merkezlerin çevresinde tahsis edilen alanlar demiryolları imtiyaz sahipleri tarafından kiraya verilerek veya satılarak arazi spekülasyonunun yaşandığı alanlar haline gelmiştir. Uluslararası yatırımcıların bir diğer etkinliği ise istasyonlar ve demiryolu yerleşkeleri inşasıdır. Kendi lojistik planlamaları ve hizmet edilen şehirlerin önemine bağlı olarak belirli demiryolu yapıları inşa edilmiştir. Bu temaların incelenmesinde dikkati çeken konu, uluslar arası yatırımcıların etkinlik alanı içine giren konularda sıklıkla devlet otoritesi ile itilaflar yaşamasıdır. Çoğunlukla yatırımcıların menfaatine olan mekânsal politikalar kamu ya da devlet erkinin menfaatlerine aykırıdır. Bu çatışma durumu zaman içerisinde farklı yönlerde uzlaşma alanlarının ortaya çıkmasına da zemin hazırlamıştır.

Dedeagaç'ta birbirine erken dönemde entegre olmuş liman ve demiryolu yerleşkeleri görülmektedir. Baron Hirsch'le yapılan mukavele öncesi imtiyaz görüşmelerinde de Ege Denizi'nde İnöz veya bir başka noktada demiryolu hattının inşası için gerekli bir lojistik merkezin varlığı gerekli görülmekteydi. Baron Hirsch'in mühendislerinin İnöz limanında yaptığı çalışmalar burada Meriç Nehri'nin biriktirdiği alüvyonlardan kıyı derinliğinin yetersiz olmasından dolayı başka bir yerde yeni bir liman inşa edilmesi gereğini ortaya çıkarmış, hükümetçe de uygun görülen bu talep karşısında birkaç balıkçı barakası dışında bir yerleşim olmayan Dedeagaç olarak adlandırılan bölgede limanın kurulması kararlaştırılmıştır. Liman ve demiryolu yerleşkesi için kıyıda geniş bir bant şeklindeki arazi Şark Demiryolları İnşaat Şirketi'ne tahsis edilmiş ve çalışmalar hızla başlamıştır. Şirket bir dalgakıran ve yan yana hangarlardan oluşan bir iskele inşa etmiş ve bunun bir kilometre kadar doğusunda da Kuleliburgaz'dan gelen hattın son istasyonunu ve diğer teknik ve idari binalarını yerleştirmiştir. Bu süreçte demiryolu hattı her türlü yükleme ve boşaltma için iskeleye kadar uzatılmıştır. Demiryolu yerleşkesinde yolcu istasyonundan başka personel için iki adet bağımsız lojman binası, ticari yük istasyonu, vagon ve lokomotif tamir ve bakım atölyeleri gibi yapılar bulunmaktaydı.

1890'lı yıllarda Selanik'ten İstanbul'a uzanan İltisak Demiryolu hattının Dedeagaç limanına da bağlanması gündeme geldiğinde İltisak Demiryolları Şirketi Şark Demiryolları Şirketi ile istasyon ve limanın kullanım hakları konusunda bir

anlaşmaya varamayınca, bu şirket de kendi istasyon ve iskelesini inşa etmek zorunda kalmıştır. İnşa edilen yeni istasyon şehrin yerleşim alanının kuzeyinde, iskele ise batısında yer almaktaydı. Dolayısıyla şehirde birbirinden kopuk iki istasyon ve iki iskele bulunmaktaydı. Zaman içerisinde iki imtiyaz sahibi şirket bir uzlaşmaya varması sonucu iki istasyon arasında kısa bir bağlantı hattı inşa edildi ve bu sayede Selanik ve İstanbul arasında yolcu ve yük taşımacılığı daha kolay bir biçimde yapılabilmesinin önü açıldı. Diğer yandan istasyonlar ve liman tarafından sınırlanan alan Dedeoğaç'ın mekânsal genişlemesinin de ana belirleyicisi olmuştur. İstasyon ve Fener Caddeleri başta olmak üzere kentin ana aksları bu nirengi noktalarına bağlı olarak konumlandırılmışlardır.

Edirne demiryolu yerleşkesini bulunduğu Karaoğaç'ta da Dedeoğaç'a benzer bir sürecin varlığı dikkati çeker. Eski bir sayfiye yeri olan Karaoğaç yakınlarından geçen demiryolu hattı çevresinde demiryolu yerleşkesi kurulmuştur. Edirne'nin İstanbul haricindeki önemli istasyonlardan biri olması dolayısıyla göreceli olarak büyük bir yolcu istasyonu yapısı inşa edilmiştir. Yerleşkede bunun yanı sıra ticari yük istasyonu, lokomotif ve vagon tamir hangarları, idari ve teknik personel için lojman yapıları bulunmaktaydı. İstasyon'un açılmasının ardından yerleşkeyi Edirne'ye bağlayan İstasyon Caddesi boyunca ve çevresinde parselasyonu Şark Demiryolları Şirketi mühendislerince yapılan ızgara planlı yeni bir yerleşim dokusu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu yerleşim de Dedeoğaç'ta olduğu gibi Şark Demiryolları Şirketi'ne tahsis edilen alanın parselasyonu ile elde edilmiştir.

Demiryolu ulaşımında bir bağlantı noktası haline gelen Selanik'te uluslar arası yatırımcılar kentin sur duvarları dışında gelişen Çayır / Vardar Mahallesi'nde iki ayrı demiryolu yerleşkesi vücuda getirmişlerdir. Bu yerleşkelerin ilki doğal bir sayfiye alanı olan Beşçınar Bahçesi'nin hemen kuzeyine yerleşmiştir. Rumeli Demiryolları'nın önemli istasyonlarından biri olan Selanik'te işletme ve bakım ve denetim faaliyetleri için pek çok bina inşa edilmiştir. Elde bulunan harita ve planlardan bu yapıların yerlerini ve işlevlerinin neler olduğunu anlayabilmek mümkündür. Önemli merkezlerdeki yerleşkelere benzer bir biçimde Selanik'te yolcu ve yük istasyonları, lokomotif ve vagon tamir ve bakım hangarları, teftiş binası, çeşitli amaçlara hizmet eden çok sayıda büyük ve küçük depo yapıları dikkati çeker. Bunun dışında, istasyon liman bağlantısı sağlanmadan önce vagonlardan gemilere

yük boşaltmaya olanak sağlayan küçük bir iskele ve buna bağlı depolar da bulunmaktadır. Selanik – Manastır Demiryolu Şirketi ile varılan gelir paylaşımı ve kira anlaşmasına bağlı olarak bu şirket de Selanik istasyonunu ortak olarak kullanmaya başlamıştır.

Selanik'te ikinci demiryolu yerleşkesi, Şark Demiryolları ve İltisak Demiryolları Şirketleri'nin anlaşmaya varamaması üzerine var olan yerleşkenin kuzeybatısında kurumuştur. Bu yerleşkede de yolcu ve yük istasyonları, restoran, polis karakolu gibi işlevlerin yanında fabrika, tamir ve bakım atölyeleri ile hat kontrol birimleri de bulunmaktaydı. Kentin oldukça dışında yer aldığından yolcuların İltisak Demiryolu istasyonuna ulaşması oldukça zor olmaktaydı. Bu nedenle şirket şehir surlarının dibinde küçük bir istasyon yapmış, Şehir İstasyonu denen bu mevkiye kadar hattı uzatmıştır.

Selanik'te yeni bir liman inşası imtiyazının verilmesi ile birlikte, limanın verimli bir şekilde kullanılabilmesi için demiryolu yerleşkeleri ile liman arasında ray döşenmesi zorunluluğu ortaya çıkmıştı. Ancak imtiyaz sahibi firmalar uzun süre aralarında gelir paylaşımı ve kira bedelleri konusunda itilaflar yaşadıklarından bu fiziksel bağlantı uzun bir süre sağlanamadı ve bu projenin gerçekleşmesi yirminci yüzyılın başında mümkün olabildi. Bu dönemde Osmanlı yönetimi üç demiryolu hattını bir araya getirecek daha büyük bir istasyonun inşasını hedeflese de Balkan Savaşları'nın başlaması bu projeyi de akamete uğratmıştır.

Son olarak Manastır'da da uluslar arası aktörlerin bir yerleşke inşasıyla kent mekanını değiştirdiği gözlemlenir. Yerleşke, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl başında inşa edilen kışla binalarının doğusunda yer alan büyük boş bir arazide kurulmuştur. İstasyon ve kışlaların kentin güneyine kurulmuş olması zaman içerisinde kentin genişleme ekseninin de bu yönde olmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Demiryolu yerleşkesinde yolcu ve ticari yük istasyonlarının yanı sıra, postane, bekçi binaları, lokomotif ve vagon tamir hangarları, yönetim binası ve lojmanlar yer almaktadır.

Görüldüğü üzere uluslar arası yatırımcıların demiryolu aktörü olarak en belirgin iki etkinliği kentlerin çevrelerinde çeşitli ticari, teknik ve idari işlevleri olan yapıları barından demiryolu yerleşkeleri inşa etmek ve kendilerine tahsis edilen alanlarda

gelen talebe bağılı olarak parselasyon ve arsa satış ve kiralaması yoluyla karlılıklarını en yüksek düzeye çıkarma çabası olarak görülebilir.

Bu araştırma kapsamında tanımlanan son aktör grubu olan yerel aktörler ise belediye reisleri ve meclislerinden kentin cemaat liderlerine; yerel yatırımcılardan gazeteler ve derneklere kadar geniş bir kesimi inceleme alanına almaktadır. Bu aktörler demiryolunun kente varışının ardından oluşan yeni durumda kamu ya da bireysel yararı en yüksek düzeye çıkarmaya yönelik mekânsal politikaları uygulamaya girişmişlerdir.

Dedağaç'ta yerel idare ve yerel yatırımcıların işbirliği görülür. İstasyon'u kentin merkezine bağlayacak ve kenti bir baştan diğer başa kat eden ve yer yer otuz metreden fazla bir genişliğe sahip olan Hamidiye Caddesi yerel idare tarafından açılmış, iki yanına ağaçlar dikilmiş ve kaldırım döşenmiştir. Yerel yatırımcılar ise, istasyon caddesi olarak hizmet veren bu aks üzerinde otel, pastane, kafeterya, birahane, konsolosluk gibi yapılar inşa ederek caddenin amacına uygun olarak bir prestij aksına dönüşmesine hizmet etmişlerdir.

Karağaç, Meriç ve Tunca Nehirleri'nin öte yanında bulunan bir yer olduğundan Edirne'den istasyona ulaşımın sağlanması önemli bir konu haline gelmiştir. Bu amaçla yerel idare Karağaç yolu ve istasyon caddelerini açmış, bu yolu sel baskınlarından korumaya yönelik tedbirler almış ve yolun iki yanına ağaçlar dikip yüzeyini taşla kaplamıştır. Zaman içinde aydınlatma için direkler de dikilmiştir. Yerel yatırımcılar ise İstanbul trenlerinin gecelediği bu mevkide yolcuların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için bir dizi yatırımı gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Bunlar içerisinde Oteller, birahaneler, kafeteryalar, yazlık sinemalar ve pastaneler dikkati çeker. Canik Oteli ve Brasserie Bomonti bunların en meşhurlarıdır. Ayrıca atlı arabalar istasyon mevkiinde Edirne'ye yolcu ve yük taşımak için hazır bulunmaktaydılar. Sunduğu bu olanaklarla Karağaç zaman içerisinde Edirne'nin dinlenme ve eğlence merkezi haline gelir ve dolayısıyla sadece tren yolcularına değil, Edirne sakinlerine de hizmet eder. İstanbul'daki tramvay altyapısı kurma teşebbüslerinin hemen ardından Edirne'de de Karağaç ile kent merkezi arasında bir tramvay hattı kurulması ve bu şekilde yolcuların daha konforlu bir şekilde taşınması amaçlanmıştır. İstasyonun hizmete açılışından kısa bir süre sonra ortaya çıkan bu fikir, geçen yıllar içinde birkaç defa ciddi denemelerde bulunulsa da bir türlü hayata geçirilememiştir.

Selanik sahip olduđu ekonomik olanaklar ve toplumsal yapısı sebebiyle yerel aktörlerin etkinliklerinin en belirgin bir biçimde görüldüğü kenttir. Yerel idare kentin demiryolu istasyonu çevresinde ızgara planlı bir mahalle dokusu oluşturulmasına yönelik planlama çalışmalarını yürütmüş ve Çayır ya da Vardar Mahallesi olarak adlandırılan bu bölge işçilerin, göçmenlerin ve yangın mağdurlarının yerleştirildiği bir yer haline gelmiştir. Bunlar içerisinde 1890 yangını sonrası evsiz kalan Yahudi nüfusu barındırmak için kurulan ve Hirsch ailesinin de cömert bağışları ile var edilen Baron Hirsch Mahallesi özgün konut planlaması ve oluşturulan dışa kapalı mahalle dokusuyla dikkat çekicidir. Selanik’te yerel idarenin önemli bir etkinliği de istasyon caddesinin açılması, cadde ve istasyon meydanının ağaçlandırılması ve aydınlatma altyapısının kurulmasına yönelik olarak gösterdiği çabadır. Bunun haricinde Selanik Belediyesi bir ucu istasyon meydanına ve Beşçınar Bahçesine, diğer ucu da kentin doğusunda yeni açılan mahallelere kadar uzanan bir tramvay hattının kurulması için imtiyaz vermiştir. Hattın açılması ile sur içi ve surun doğu ve batı yakasındaki mahallelerin entegrasyonu sağlanmış ve istasyon daha ulaşılabilir hale gelmiştir. Son olarak Selanik’te demiryolu altyapısının varlığını kendi imalat ve ticaret tesisleri için uygun bir kaynağa çevirmek isteyen yerel müteşebbislerin demiryolu yerleşkesi çevresinde kentin endüstriyel çekirdeğini oluşturma çabalarına şahit olunur.

Manastır’da da kentin güneyine yerleşen istasyona uzanan Hamidiye Caddesi’nin gelişiminde yerel idare ve müteşebbislerin işbirliği görülür. Bir yandan yerel idarece cadde zemini düzeltilip taşla kaplanıp, aydınlatma ve peyzaj çalışmaları yürütülürken, yerel yatırımcılar da Avrupalı tarzda yeni binalar caddenin her iki yanına inşa etmiş ve buralarda kentin konuklarına da hizmet verecek otel, mağaza, restoran, kafeterya gibi hizmetleri sunmuştur. Öte yandan yerel idarece inşa edilen Şark Oteli ve Hamidiye alışveriş pasajı da yerel yatırımcılara öncülük etme bakımından önemli bir kamu yatırımdır. Yerel idare bunlarla yetinmemiş, kışlalar ile istasyon arasında kalan büyük boşluğu kentsel bir rekreasyon alanı haline getirmek için çalışmalar yürütmüştür.

Görüldüğü üzere yerel aktörler bir dizi pratikle demiryolları üzerinden kent mekânını değişime uğratmaktadır. İncelenen kentlerde gözlemlenen bu mekânsal pratikler şu başlıklar altında birleştirilebilir: Birincisi, kent merkezlerinden istasyon mevkilerine uzanan istasyon caddeleri açılması ve bu caddelerin sunulan işlevlerle kentin yeni

seçkin yüzü haline getirilmesidir. İkincisi istasyon caddelerinde ve istasyonları çevrelerinde peyzaj projeleri uygulamak ve yeni rekreasyon alanları yaratmaktır. Üçüncüsü istasyonlara kadar uzanan tramvay hatları inşa ederek şehirlerarası demiryolu ulaşımını şehir içi ulaşım ile bütünleştirmeye yönelik çalışmalardır. Dördüncüsü demiryolu yerleşkeleri çevresinde yeni ızgara planlı mahalleler kurulmasıdır. Son olarak beşincisi yine istasyon yerleşkeleri çevresinde kentlerin imalat ve ticaret kurumlarının örgütlenmesi ve bu sayede bu tesislerin demiryolunun sağladığı taşımacılık avantajlarından faydalanma çabasıdır. Şurası kesin ki, yerel aktörlerin etkinliklerini açıklamak için kullanılan bu temalar, onlara atfedilebilecek etkinliklerin oldukça küçük bir kısmını kapsama iddiasındadır.

Sonuç olarak bu tezin inceleme alanının ışık tuttuğu tartışma kapsamında görüleceği üzere Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yıllarında Balkan şehirlerindeki çok yüzlü kentsel mimari değişimi anlamının en iyi yollarından biri bu değişimi aktör ağları üzerinden okumaktır. Bu okuma doğru bir zemin üzerinde yapıldığında çoğunlukla ihmal edilen pek çok ilişki on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Osmanlı kentini ve mimarlığını daha doğru bir biçimde anlamamıza yardımcı olacak yeni kavram demetleri araştırmacıların karşısına çıkacaktır. Bu araştırmanın ışık tuttuğu çerçeve içerisinde elde edilen yeni bilgi ve sentezlerin Osmanlı Balkan şehirleri özelinde kalmayıp, daha geniş bir çerçevede kent ve mimarlık tarihi araştırmalarında yeni kaynakların kullanımına yönelik bir itki oluşturma amaçlanmaktadır. Bu tez farklı bilgi alanlarından başvurduğu geniş yazılı kaynak ve görsel malzeme ile sosyal bilimler alanındaki pek çok disipline kaynak olarak hizmet etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

APPENDIX C

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

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TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

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Doktora

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1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
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