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From Christians to Members of an Ethnic Community: Creating Borders in the City of Thessaloniki (1800-1912)

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ABSTRACT

The chapter focuses on the division of the Christian millet of the city of Thessaloniki into different and ambivalent ethnic groups during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The formation and operation of the Greek and Bulgarian communities of the city, the relations between them and the policy of the Ottoman authorities are some of the related subjects analyzed. As a result of this ethnic clash, the Bulgarian community of the city declined gradually until eventually it disappeared. This was a general phenomenon, a by-product of the policy of national homogenization followed by almost all the Balkan nation states at the beginning of the 20th century.

Το άρθρο εστιάζει στις σταδιακή διαίρεση του ορθόδοξου χριστιανικού μιλίετ της πόλης της Θεσσαλονίκης σε αντιμαχόμενα εθνικά στρατόπεδα κατά τη διάρκεια του 19ου αιώνα και στα αρχές του 20ου αιώνα. Ειδικότερα, εξετάζεται η συγκρότηση και η λειτουργία της ελληνικής και της βουλγαρικής κοινότητας της πόλης, οι μεταξύ τους σχέσεις και οι αντιπαραθέσεις καθώς και η στάση που τήρησαν οι οθωμανικές αρχές. Αποτέλεσμα της σύγκρουσης των δύο εθνικών στρατοπέδων υπήρξε η σταδιακή παρακμή και η εξαφάνιση της βουλγαρικής κοινότητας της πόλης, φαινόμενο που όμως δεν αποτελεί εξαίρεση, αλλά χαρακτηρίζει εν πολλοίς την πολιτική της εθνικής ομογενοποίησης που ακολούθησαν όλα τα βαλκανικά κράτη στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα.

BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTE

The city of Thessaloniki, also known as Salonica in English, was founded by the King of Macedonia, Kassandros in 316 BC, and got its name from his wife, who was Alexander the Great's sister. During the years after its foundation, Thessaloniki acquired great reputation, mainly due to its strategic location, and developed into an important political and economical hub in southeastern Europe. Galerius, who was the ruler of one

of the two provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire, chose Thessaloniki in 300 AD to become the seat of his empire. During the Byzantine era the city developed into '*Symvasilevousa*' [co-reigning], a term suggesting that at that period it was ranked second following Constantinople. Thessaloniki was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1430. It remained under Ottoman rule for about five centuries, until 1912, when the Greek army entered the city. During these centuries the city managed to maintain its reputation, although it was hit by severe natural disasters, such as destructive earthquakes and epidemic diseases. At the same time, it became a center of attraction for thousands of new inhabitants from its hinterland, but mostly for thousands of Sephardic Jews who arrived at the city during the 15th and 16th centuries, mainly from the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, fleeing the Inquisition's persecutions.

THE YEARS OF MISLEADING COSMOPOLITANISM

On 22 February 1908 Theodoros Askitis, an interpreter of the Greek Consulate in Thessaloniki, was assassinated while walking along one of the city's busy main roads. Askitis' assassination shocked the Greek community of Thessaloniki and his funeral turned into a protest demonstration. The results of the investigation carried out by the Ottoman authorities of the city revealed that Askitis was assassinated by Bulgarians¹. In retaliation the Greeks killed three Bulgarians and injured another one².

Askitis' assassination was just one incident in the dispute between the Greeks and Bulgarians of Thessaloniki at a time when the conflict between the two countries over the acquisition of the geographic region of Macedonia had reached its peak. However, only a few decades earlier, these groups along with other ethnic groups in Thessaloniki coexisted more or less peacefully.

In the winter of 1812, the English traveller Henry Holland had made a stop in Thessaloniki as a part of his tour through Macedonia and Thessaly. According to his testimony, at the time the city's inhabitants amounted to 70,000 and it was the Ottoman Empire's third largest city in the Balkans after Constantinople and Adrianople. Holland was impressed by the busy life of the city, as well as by the commercial activities of its port. The English traveller distinguished four notable population groups, the Greeks, the Turks, the Jews and the Franks (i.e. Westerners), who lived together in harmony. The characteristic scene in a Turkish café in the city described by Holland in which "Turks, Greeks and Albanians slept, while others smoked, sang or spoke loudly", is indicative of a multinational and tolerant city. The Greeks amounted to approximately 2,000 families and most of them were involved in commerce³. Holland made no reference to other Christian communities in the city, which is justifiable since in the early 19th century the population in the Ottoman Empire was distinguished according to religion. Thus, the Ecumenical Patriarchate was the protector of the subjugated Orthodox Christians, regardless of ethnicity and language. Holland's report was confirmed a few decades

later by Sir Henry Layard. In 1842 Layard visited the city in order to investigate the political movement that was developing among its Slav-speaking inhabitants, which some had considered to be Bulgarian, but found them stating that they were Greek⁴. Thus, by the end of the 1860s, the Christian inhabitants, Greek-, Slav- and Vlach-speaking, were loyal to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and when asked if they were Greek or Bulgarian, the educated replied that they were Greeks, while the rest said that they were Christians.

That was the cosmopolitanism era for the city of Thessaloniki, the 'golden' era of the 19th century, when the only discernible, but not particularly strong, frontiers were religious. These frontiers separated the Muslims from the Christians, the Jews and the Armenians. The city had evolved into an important trade hub, enjoying the prosperity of its economic growth. Tens of steamboats made sure that it had a regular connection to Constantinople, Piraeus, Corfu, and Trieste, while the European retailers and trade agents were taking care of the Macedonian inland product export, especially cotton, to the markets of the west⁵. Nevertheless, barriers to economic growth and social prosperity were still being created by pirates who ravaged the Thermaic Gulf. Thus, in June 1832, about seventy to eighty pirate ships seized the cargo of many of the ships of the western powers which stayed in the harbor. Only six years before, in 1826, a great fire had turned a large part of the city into ruins⁶.

CREATING ETHNIC CAMPS

The situation started to change gradually after 1850, especially during the last quarter of the 19th century. On the one hand, the outbreak of national liberation revolutions in the Balkans, with the Greeks in the lead, gradually poisoned the relations among the inhabitants, especially between the subjugated Christians and the ruling Moslems⁷. So, in 1853 Ottoman soldiers who were passing through the city's Greek quarter caused damage to many of the houses, including the Greek and Russian Consulates⁸. This was followed by the gradual deterioration of relations within the Christian community itself, particularly after the national disillusionment of the Bulgarians, which was indicated by the symbolic move of establishing the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870. This fact constituted the dividing line in the Macedonian Issue, since it split the Christian Orthodox millet. All Christians who followed the Bulgarian Exarchate were gradually incorporated into the Bulgarian national camp. To the contrary, all those who remained loyal to the Ecumenical Patriarchate identified themselves with the Greek side.

This gradual division of the Christian Orthodox millet of the Ottoman Macedonia into ethnic camps was the main feature of the last quarter of the 19th and early 20th century. It divided not only the different Christian language groups, but whole families too. Thus, it was a very common phenomenon that members of the same family would accede to different ethnic camps. Equally common was the phenomenon that

people, families, or even whole villages would change over from one religious camp to the other, either because of necessity or due to other pressures. The English journalist Henry Brailsford who traveled in Macedonia at the beginning of the 20th century asked a peasant: “Is your village Greek ... or Bulgarian?” “Well it is Bulgarian now but four years ago it was Greek” the peasant replied⁹. Language diversity and the difficulty of attributing ethnic identities on the basis of language are clear from Victor Berard’s travelling memoirs. Berard was a French traveler who visited Macedonia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Two peasants, faced with they replied to one of his questions on that subject replied: “‘We don’t speak Greek here. We are not Greeks. We are Bulgarians’, a reply given using the clearest Greek of the Greek world”¹⁰. Here is how one of the Greek representatives in Macedonia at the beginning of the 20th century describes the situation:

The other day, five peasants, whom we always thought of as being on our side, came to the consulate. But last year they rose up in arms on the side of the *comitadjis*¹¹. So I tell them, you are *comitadjis*. Of course not, they replied, but we want our freedom and so we are either on the Greek side or on the Bulgarian. This depends on which direction the wind of freedom blows from, the south or the north [...] The self serving notables were blackmailing the consulates. I remember a notable at Poroia¹², after not having succeeded in enrolling his older son as a scholar in the Greek High School, he enrolled him at the Romanian school and created a Romanian community at Ano Poroia. Next year, after not having succeeded in enrolling his second-born son as a scholar, he enrolled him at the Bulgarian School and created a Bulgarian community at Kato Poroia. This constitutes a sad example of self serving attitude and liquidity of views, which luckily did not happen very often¹³.

There was virtually a form of civil war among the Christian Orthodox people of the Ottoman Empire, creating civic frontiers between them¹⁴. Indeed, according to some of the observers, the division at the same time constituted a form of political discrimination of employment¹⁵, since the rich and educated traders and bourgeois acceded to the Greek camp, while mainly the non educated and poor peasants constituted the Bulgarian group¹⁶.

This split was soon detected in the city of Thessaloniki where followers of the Patriarchate and the Exarchate forged their own paths, with the former being increasingly identified with the Greeks, and the latter with the Bulgarians. According to the available statistical data, in 1863 the Slav-speaking families were no more than 500, approximately 6,000 individuals who were mainly builders and shop owners (dairymen), and they lived together with the remaining Christian families. After 1870 the number of Slav-speaking families increased with labourers from Central and Western Macedonia streaming into the city due to urbanisation. Indeed, a distinct Exarchist community began to form, which also differed from the Greek one spatially. The population increase of the Exarchist community was also accompanied by spiritual progress. Thus, in 1871 the city’s first Bulgarian School was founded¹⁷, and in 1876 the first Exarchist church opened. This was preceded in 1862 by the opening of the first Bulgarian bookshop by

V. Mantsov¹⁸. Also, in 1869 a newspaper titled “Salonica” was published in four languages and circulated every Friday. In September 1880, the city’s renowned Bulgarian Gymnasium was founded and was attended in the following years by many great figures of the Bulgarian nationalist movement. Lastly, the founding of the Bulgarian Commercial Agency contributed to the developing conflict with the Greek element¹⁹.

In the early 20th century the population of Thessaloniki amounted to over 130,000 inhabitants. According to some estimates, of these, about 80,000 were Jews, 30,000 were Greeks, 20,000 were Moslems and only 1,000 were Bulgarians and generally members of the Exarchist community²⁰. On the other hand, the official Bulgarian statistical data of the same period gave 10,000 Bulgarians and only 16,000 Greeks²¹. The different population figures regarding the city’s Greek and Bulgarian communities are due to the different criteria used by the two statistical surveys for recording the Slav-speaking population. The Greeks used the inhabitants’ national conscience as a criterion, whereas the Bulgarians used language. In this way they both interpreted, according to their own judgements, the feelings of a significant population group, that of the Slav-speaking people, who in the early 20th century were distinguished much more by their religious faith than by their ethnic choice²². However, it is reasonable to suggest that in the early 20th century the Bulgarian community of Thessaloniki could claim over 5,000 members, who were retailers and labourers living in separate quarters in the area of the railway station, as well as in the western and south-eastern parts of the city. Also living in the city were approximately 10,000 Western and central Europeans who were gathered in a quarter near the port and the marketplace, whereas there was also a scanty Armenian community with 474 members²³. In the early 20th century, 86 schools of all levels, which represented 13 ethnic communities, operated in the city. Of the existing Orthodox Christian schools, 20 were Greek and had a total of 3,857 pupils, six were Bulgarian with 698 pupils, two were Romanian with 140 pupils and four were Serbian with 240 pupils²⁴.

Thessaloniki had a remarkable port with a mooring capacity of over 3,000 ships in 1904. It was the seat of the *vilayet* (administrative unit in the Ottoman Empire), whereas its railway links to Constantinople (Istanbul), Monastir (Bitola) and Belgrade gave the city a cosmopolitan air. In 1905 the Scottish journalist John Foster Fraser had made a stop in the city. He was impressed by the European atmosphere, the elegance of the women and the hotels along the waterfront that could be compared to those in Chamonix. The population lived in peace, they dressed in almost the same way and one had to pay particular attention to the people’s characteristics in order to distinguish the Turks, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Bulgarians or the Jews. “There are three Sundays a week in Salonika” noted Fraser, “Friday for the Moslems, Saturday for the Jews and Sunday itself for the Christians. Or rather there is no Sunday at all, for there is never a day when you notice any cessation in businesses”²⁵. The observations of Allen Upward, another traveller who visited Thessaloniki three years later, were more or less similar²⁶.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE NON GREEK CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS

The city of Thessaloniki constituted the conspiratorial centre for Bulgarian activity in Macedonia. Here the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) was formed in 1893. This was an armed organisation which aimed at the autonomy of Macedonia and its final union with Bulgaria²⁷. The Bulgarian revolutionary campaign reached its peak in April 1903 when Bulgarian anarchists blew up the French steamship *Guadalquivir* and planted a bomb in the Ottoman Bank. The Ottoman reaction was particularly harsh. Over 100 Bulgarians were killed during that same night, with many others tortured in the local prisons²⁸. Among them were distinguished members of the city's Bulgarian community²⁹. Both this and subsequent Bulgarian revolutionary movements was a source of discontent among the Greek community of Thessaloniki. In fact, in February 1904 the city's Greek inhabitants held a massive protest demonstration³⁰.

However, despite the noteworthy activities of the Bulgarian revolutionary organisations in the city, efforts to consolidate the Bulgarian community proved to be exceptionally difficult. The difference was not only in terms of numbers, it was also in relation to the financial strength of the city's Greek element. As a result, the Bulgarians remained in the shadow of the Greek community³¹. In fact, Bulgarian activities inevitably provoked the reaction of the Greek element. In early 1906 Athanasios Souliotis Nikolaidis, a young Greek army second lieutenant, settled in the city in order to coordinate the Greek defence. Very soon thereafter Souliotis formed the "Thessaloniki Organisation", an active, yet secret Greek network. In the beginning, the members of the Organisation changed the signs of their stores into Greek. Afterwards, members of the Organisation gathered information on the activities of their opponents and watched for suspicious activity. They often started economic struggles, mainly against the Bulgarians, since they forbade all Greeks to deal with them, resorting to violent actions such as threats, beatings and damaging property. Thus, for example, the activities of the Greek organisation led to the opening of Greek shops in Bulgarian quarters, whereas Greek construction workers from Epirus moved to the city, earning approximately the same wages as the Bulgarians. The number of Greek construction workers in the city soon quintupled. At the same time, the three sectarian grocery stores in the Greek quarter of Agia Triada were forced to close down, whereas a large building plot in the Bulgarian quarter known as Transvaal was purchased by Greeks with the financial help of the Organisation. Also, in April 1907, following the orders of the Greek Organisation, the city's Greeks attempted to cancel a festive show that was being prepared by the Bulgarian community. It is characteristic that the Greek employees of the neighbouring café went on strike on the day of the show, whereas the Ottoman owners were informed that the Greeks were displeased with the fact that the venue was offered to the Bulgarians and were threatening to boycott them³². Indeed, in certain cases the violation of the Organisation's orders brought about harsh punishment. For example, in June 1907 a well-known Greek real estate agent of the city was executed by the Organisation's

Execution Department for continuing to sell building plots and houses to Bulgarians. A well-known Bulgarian merchant had the same fate. He was executed by the Organisation's agents. The house of the priest of the schismatic church of Agia Triada was also burnt down and so he was forced to leave the area in the end. The Bulgarian population of Thessaloniki was practically the exclusive target of the Greek Organisation. It is indicative that during the same time the economic cooperation between the city's Greek and Jewish communities continued harmoniously³³. Summing up the work of the Thessaloniki Organisation, the instigator Athanasios Souliotis Nikolaidis mentions in his memoirs:

One of the main accomplishments of our Organisation was that it protected the Greek community of Macedonia from our great passion and frailty, political parties' disputes. The initiators were the ones who were setting the example. But above all, it was the participation of almost every person of the same descent that benefited the real anti-Bulgarian struggle. They were past words, they were no longer declaiming among themselves (Greek people of Thessaloniki) against the Bulgarians and the other enemies of the Nation. Instead, they were taking systematic, drastic action against them, each one according to his powers. Due to the fact that each day they were sensing the common danger and quite often they could see their struggle vindicated, they felt as if they were comrades-in-arms³⁴.

Political assassinations, such as those just described, became common practice throughout Macedonia and were of course also adopted in the city of Thessaloniki. "Terrorism was necessary", writes Konstantinos Mazarakis-Ainian, an officer of the Greek army, who was serving in the Greek Consulate of Thessaloniki³⁵. Summing up the purpose of political assassinations were serving, the officer of the Greek army Dimitrios Kakkavos observed:

... every assassination of political nature had to be specifically intended, and not just to saturate blood-thirsty instincts. Instead, it had to satisfy specific causes, such as to break off transportation, punish someone who had been corrupted by money and had turned into a traitor, punish a spiritless defector, to elevate our orders' status, and finally to eliminate personal reactions of a capable and courageous opponent... It was usual practice for each political assassination to place on every assassinated person's body a letter justifying the punishment, so as not to create any confusion that the death was a result of a random accident, but it constituted the fulfillment of a specific cause, for which the victim had been chosen³⁶.

According to the available archival records, out of the 4,000 assassinations with political motives that were recorded in the whole of Greek Macedonia in the period between 1901 and 1912, 13 took place in the city of Thessaloniki³⁷. Of these, only Askitis was Greek, whereas another one of the assassinated individuals was considered to be a Vlach traitor who was executed by the Greeks for being an instigator of the assassination of the Greek metropolitan bishop of Korytsa. The remaining eleven were Bulgarians and were probably executed in retaliation for the assassination of Askitis. They included a Bulgarian churchwarden, a doctor, a merchant and eight labourers who worked at the

Allatini brick factory. Apart from the aforementioned 13 executed individuals, there were also many unsuccessful attempted murders, such as those that took place in central parts of the city against the interpreter of the Bulgarian Commercial Agency and the inspector of the Romanian schools, as well as the injury of the Bulgarian interpreter of the Russian consulate. A regime of terror was being imposed, which the Ottoman authorities of the city could not or did not attempt to contain, considering that none of the perpetrators were ever arrested³⁸. The Ottomans had every reason to encourage disputes among the Christians, sometimes helping one side and then the other, in an attempt to protect themselves from losing power. An indication of the indifference which surrounded the way the Ottoman authorities were treating the Greek-Bulgarian conflict is the fact that Askitis' assassination took place right across the building where the Ottoman police had its headquarters, without the slightest reaction on the part of the Ottoman authorities.

This third period of the confrontation among Christians in the city of Thessaloniki is characterized by the distinct constitution of ethnic camps and identities, as well as the strict spatial entrenchment of the rival ethnic groups, mainly the Greeks and the Bulgarians. They were living in separate quarters, avoiding any kind of exchange and remained in a constant state of tension.

The economic retaliation and political assassinations finally brought results that were to the advantage of the Greek side. By 1908, both in the city of Thessaloniki and in south Macedonia, Bulgarian revolutionary activity had subsided significantly, whereas that on the Greek side had significantly increased. The Young Turk Revolution in 1908 in Thessaloniki temporarily interrupted the Greek-Bulgarian dispute regarding the future of the region, however it was unable to turn back the division between the two different communities that no longer communicated spatially or economically with each other³⁹. Eventually the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and the cession of Thessaloniki to Greece in October 1912, just a few hours before the arrival of the Bulgarian army, signalled the gradual decline of the city's non-Greek communities. Right after Thessaloniki's administrative incorporation into the Greek state there was a period of assimilation of the different ethnic and religious groups into the newly-acquired territories, which at some points was accompanied by pressures on minority populations in order to make them flee the country⁴⁰. As regards the Bulgarian community of the city, it rapidly declined since Greek-Bulgarian relations were particularly strained after 1910. Greece and Bulgaria found themselves on different sides during the Second Balkan War in 1913, and were also engaged into a harsh conflict during the First World War. This fact had very unpleasant consequences on both ethnic communities. According to the census data, in 1916 the population of Thessaloniki amounted to 165,704 inhabitants, out of which 68,205 were Greek, 61,400 were Jews, 30,000 were Moslems and only 1,800 were Bulgarians⁴¹. Thus, within a decade the city's Bulgarian population decreased from around 6,000 to 1,800 individuals. At the same time, the Bulgarian school closed and the build-

ing which housed it was destroyed in the following years. During the inter-war period nothing remained of the Exarchist tradition of the city.

NOTES

- ¹ Museum of the Macedonian Struggle (ed.), *Η τελευταία φάση της ένοπλης αναμέτρησης στη Μακεδονία (1907-1908). 100 έγγραφα από το Αρχείο του Υπουργείου των Εξωτερικών της Ελλάδος* [The Last Phase of the Armed Conflict in Macedonia (1907-1908). 100 documents from the Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry], Thessaloniki 1998, pp. 202-215.
- ² D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897-1913*, Thessaloniki, 1966, p. 373, see also A. Zannas, *Αναμνήσεις* [Memoirs], in Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου Αίμου [Institute for Balkan Studies] (ed.), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας. Απομνημονεύματα* [The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs], Thessaloniki 1984, p. 117.
- ³ H. Holland, *Ταξίδι στη Μακεδονία και Θεσσαλία (1812-1813)* [Journey in Macedonia and Thessaly], Greek trans. Giorgos Karavitis, Athens 1989, pp. 181-211.
- ⁴ M. Mazower, *Salonica. City of Ghosts. Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*, London 2004, p. 258.
- ⁵ K. Vacalopoulos, *Οικονομική λειτουργία του μακεδονικού και θρακικού χώρου στα μέσα του 19ου αιώνα στα πλαίσια του διεθνούς εμπορίου* [Economic operation in Macedonia and Thrace in the middle of the 19th century], Thessaloniki 1980; see also Emile Themopoulou, *Salonique, 1800-1875: Conjoncture Economique et Mouvement Commercial*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Paris 1994.
- ⁶ K. Vacalopoulos, *Πως είδαν οι Ευρωπαίοι πρόξενοι στη Θεσσαλονίκη την κατάσταση στη Μακεδονία τον περασμένο αιώνα* [How the European consuls have described the situation in Thessaloniki in the last century], in "Μακεδονικά", 1980, 20, pp. 54, 59.
- ⁷ The only distinct difference up to 1850 in the city was the contrast between the Christians and the Moslems. In fact, both during the 1821 Greek Revolution and during every other Greek revolutionary movement, the Ottoman authorities punished the city's Christian element harshly. See A. Vacalopoulos, *A History of Salonica*, Thessaloniki 1993, pp. 99-120.
- ⁸ K. Vacalopoulos, *Πως είδαν οι Ευρωπαίοι πρόξενοι στη Θεσσαλονίκη την κατάσταση στη Μακεδονία τον περασμένο αιώνα* [How the European consuls have described the situation in Thessaloniki in the last century], in "Μακεδονικά", 1980, 20, p. 60.
- ⁹ H. Brailsford, *Macedonia. Its Races and their Future*, London 1906, p.102.
- ¹⁰ V. Berard, *Τουρκία και ελληνισμός. Οδοιπορικό στη Μακεδονία* [Turkey and Greece. Travelling in Macedonia], Greek trans., Athens 1987, p. 141.
- ¹¹ Bulgarian rebels at the beginning of the 20th century.
- ¹² A village in Greek Macedonia
- ¹³ P. Argyropoulos, *Απομνημονεύματα* [Memoirs], in Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου Αίμου [Institute for Balkan Studies] (ed.), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας. Απομνημονεύματα* [The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs], Thessaloniki 1984, pp. 27, 46.
- ¹⁴ V. Gounaris, *Εθνοτικές ομάδες και κομματικές παρατάξεις στη Μακεδονία των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων* [Ethnic Groups and Political Parties in Macedonia during the Balkan Wars], in *Η Ελλάδα των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων*, 1910-1914 [Greece in the Balkan Wars, 1910-1914], Athens 1993. pp. 189-202.
- ¹⁵ H. Vermeulen. *Greek Cultural Dominance among the Orthodox Population of Macedonia during the Last Period of Ottoman Rule*, in A. Block, H. Driessen (eds), *Cultural Dominance in the Mediterranean Area*, Nijmegen 1984, pp. 225-246.
- ¹⁶ J. K. Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politics in Northern Greece*, Princeton 1990, pp. 40-41.

- ¹⁷ On the activities of the Bulgarian gymnasium in the city see B. Raionov, *Преди половин век. Обществена и просвета дейност на солунските Българи през 1881-1883 Г.* [Half a Century ago. The Civic and Educational activities of the Bulgarians of Thessaloniki], Sofia 1934.
- ¹⁸ A. Ilieva, *Парвата българска книжарница в Солун* [The first Bulgarian gymnasium in Thessaloniki], in Πολιτιστική Εταιρεία Επιχειρηματιών Βορείου Ελλάδος [Cultural Society of Businessmen in Northern Greece] (ed.), *Θεσσαλονίκη και Φιλιππούπολη σε παράλληλους δρόμους 18ος-20ός αιώνας* [Thessaloniki and Philipoupoli in parallel roads], Thessaloniki 2000, pp. 373-387.
- ¹⁹ On the establishment of the Bulgarian community in Thessaloniki, also see the article by B. Lory, *Soloun, ville slave?*, in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Salonique 1850-1918. La "ville des Juifs" et le reveil des Balkans*, Paris 1992, pp. 129-137.
- ²⁰ The data on the population composition of Macedonia comes from the Ottoman census that was carried out by the city's Ottoman governor Hilmi Pasha. See A. Chalkiopoulos, *Μακεδονία. Βιλαέτια Θεσσαλονίκης-Μοναστηρίου* [Macedonia. Vilaets of Thessaloniki and Monastir], Athens 1910, p. 1.
- ²¹ V. Kancov, *Избрани произведения* [Selection of Works], vol. 2, Sofia 1970, p. 440.
- ²² For a comprehensive analysis over the population variety in geographical Macedonia and the Balkan irredentist visions on it see I. Koliopoulos, *Η «πέραν Ελλάς» και οι «άλλοι» Έλληνες (1800-1912)* [‘Yonder’ Greece and the ‘Other’ Greeks], Thessaloniki 2003.
- ²³ I. K. Hassiotis (ed.), *The Armenian Community of Salonica. History, Present Situation and Prospects*, Thessaloniki 2005, p. 24.
- ²⁴ On education in the city of Thessaloniki, see S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, *Η εκπαίδευση στη Θεσσαλονίκη: Η περίοδος της Τουρκοκρατίας* [Education in the City of Thessaloniki: The Ottoman Period], in I. Hassiotis (ed.), *Τοις αγαθούς βασιλεύονσα. Θεσσαλονίκη. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός* [Thessaloniki. History and Civilization], vol. 2, Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 238-257.
- ²⁵ J. Foster Fraser, *Pictures from the Balkans*, London 1912, pp. 183-189.
- ²⁶ A. Upward, *The East End of Europe. The Report of an unofficial Mission to the European Provinces of Turkey on the Eve of the Revolution*, London 1908, pp. 160-162.
- ²⁷ For the establishment of IMRO see D. M. Perry, *The Politics of Terror. The Macedonian Revolutionary Movements, 1893-1903*, London 1988.
- ²⁸ Zannas, *Αναμνήσεις* cit, pp. 74-77.
- ²⁹ On the events of 1903 see Y. Megas, *Οι 'βαρκαρήδες' της Θεσσαλονίκης. Η αναρχική βουλγαρική ομάδα και οι βομβιστικές ενέργειες του 1903* [The anarchic Bulgarian group and the bomb explosions in 1903], Athens 1994.
- ³⁰ V. Georgiev, S. Trifonov, *Груцката и срубската пропаганда в Македонија, краишт на XIX – наизалото на XX век* [Greek and Serbian propaganda in Macedonia, late 19th - early 20th centuries], Sofia 1995, p. 17.
- ³¹ G. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*, London 1903, p.21.
- ³² Museum of the Macedonian Struggle (ed.), *Η τελευταία φάση της ένοπλης αναμέτρησης στη Μακεδονία (1907-1908)* cit., pp. 104-105.
- ³³ A. Souliotis-Nikolaidis, *Απομνημονεύματα* [Memoirs], in Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου Αίμου [Institute for Balkan Studies] (ed.), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας. Απομνημονεύματα* [The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs], Thessaloniki, 1984, pp. 326-330.
- ³⁴ Souliotis, Nikolaidis, *Απομνημονεύματα* cit., p. 330.
- ³⁵ K. Mazarakis-Ainian, *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών. Αναμνήσεις*, [The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs], in Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου Αίμου [Institute for Balkan Studies] (ed.), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας. Απομνημονεύματα* [The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs], Thessaloniki 1984, p. 206.

- ³⁶ D. Kakkavos, *Απομνημονεύματα* [Memoirs], Thessaloniki 1972, p. 87.
- ³⁷ These data come from British and Austrian diplomatic reports of the time, which have been entered into the electronic database of the Research Centre for Macedonian History and Documentation of the Thessaloniki Museum of the Macedonian Struggle.
- ³⁸ Kakkavos, *Απομνημονεύματα* cit., pp. 91-93.
- ³⁹ For a comprehensive analysis of the Young-Turk Revolution and for the situation that followed see D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897-1913*, Thessaloniki 1966, pp. 375-421.
- ⁴⁰ The policy of assimilation based on ethnic, religious and linguistic “purity” was not only a Greek paradox. It was followed by almost all the Balkan states at the beginning of the 20th century.
- ⁴¹ Sp. Loukatos, *Πολιτειογραφικά Θεσσαλονίκης, Νομού και πόλης, στα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1910*, in *Κέντρο Ιστορίας Θεσσαλονίκης* [Thessaloniki History Centre] (ed.), *Η Θεσσαλονίκη μετά το 1912. Συμπόσιο* [Thessaloniki after 1912. Symposium], Thessaloniki 1986, pp. 101-129.

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