



SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS & BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

POSTGRADUATE PROGRAM IN TOURISM ADMINISTRATION OF
BUSINESSES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Master's Thesis

**TOURISM AND UNIDENTIFIED CULTURAL HERITAGE IN
THESSALONIKI.**

BULGARIANS, SERBS, RUSSIANS, ROMANIANS.

of

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Supervisor
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Submitted as required to obtain a master's degree in tourism management of
businesses & organizations

Thessaloniki, 04, 2020





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Υπεύθυνη Δήλωση

Με ατομική μου ευθύνη και γνωρίζοντας τις κυρώσεις που προβλέπονται από τον Κανονισμό Σπουδών του Μεταπτυχιακού Προγράμματος στη Διοίκηση Τουριστικών Επιχειρήσεων & Οργανισμών του Διεθνούς Πανεπιστημίου Ελλάδας, δηλώνω υπεύθυνα ότι:

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Περίληψη.

Ο πρώτος στόχος αυτής της εργασίας ήταν να διερευνηθεί η ύπαρξη μνημείων υλικής και άυλης κληρονομιάς που σχετίζονται με τη Βουλγάρους, Σέρβους, Ρώσους και Ρουμάνους στην Θεσσαλονίκη, από την ανασκόπηση της βιβλιογραφίας, αλλά και κατά την άποψη των λαών αυτών. Αυτό έχει ως σκοπό να αναδείξει τα παραπάνω μνημεία, στον πολιτιστικό τουρισμό της Θεσσαλονίκης, ή τουλάχιστον στα πλαίσια του θεματικού τουρισμού στο μέλλον.

Κατά τη διάρκεια της εργασίας, φάνηκε πως υπάρχουν μνημεία υλικής και άυλης κληρονομιάς συνδεδεμένα με τον κάθε πληθυσμό-στόχο, ενώ η πρωτογενής ερευνά έδειξε ότι τουλάχιστον τρία μνημεία είναι ήδη γνωστά και τα έχει επισκεφθεί ο κάθε πληθυσμός, με εξαίρεση τους Ρουμάνους. Ακόμα, πως υπάρχουν πιθανότητες περαιτέρω ανάπτυξης του πολιτιστικού και θρησκευτικού του τουρισμού στην Θεσσαλονίκη. Κατά τη διάρκεια της επιτόπιας έρευνας παρατηρήθηκε ότι τα περισσότερα από τα μνημεία που βρέθηκαν δεν υπήρχαν πλέον ή ήταν κλειστά και μη προσβάσιμα στο κοινό. Επιπροσθέτως, πως υπάρχει αδιαφορία σχετικά με το θέμα της έκθεσης των μνημείων που αφήσαν αυτοί οι άνθρωποι όταν έφυγαν από την Θεσσαλονίκη.

Τέλος σύμφωνα με τα δεδομένα που συλλέχθηκαν και αφού εξατομικευθήκαν στους πληθυσμούς, καταγράφηκαν πέντε διαδρομές - πιθανές προτάσεις και δημιουργήθηκαν δυο διαδραστικοί χάρτες. Υπάρχει η δυνατότητα, για τα μνημεία που έχουν εντοπιστεί να ενσωματωθούν ομαλά στην ιστορία της πόλης και να ξαναδώσουν την ιστορία τους εάν γίνουν γνωστά και πιο επισκέψιμα.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Τουρισμός ειδικού ενδιαφέροντος, Θεσσαλονίκη, πολιτιστικός τουρισμός, θρησκευτικός τουρισμός, Βαλκανικές χώρες.



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Abstract.

The first objective of this work was to investigate the existence of material and intangible heritage monuments related to Bulgarians, Serbs, Russians and Romanians in Thessaloniki, from a literature review, but also from the perspective of these populations. This is intended to highlight the above monuments, in the context of Thessaloniki's cultural tourism, or at least in the context of special interest tourism.

During the study, it appeared that there are material and intangible heritage monuments associated with each target-population, while primary research showed that at least three monuments are already known and visited by each population, with the exception of Romanians. Furthermore, there is potential for further development of their cultural and religious tourism in Thessaloniki. During the on-site investigation it was observed that most of the monuments found, were no longer available or were closed and inaccessible to the public. In addition, there is indifference over the issue of the exhibition of the monuments that these people left when they left Thessaloniki.

Finally, according to the data collected and customized to the populations, five possible routes-proposals were registered and two interactive maps were created. There is potential for the monuments, that have been spotted, to be incorporated smoothly in the history of the city and to re-tell their history if they become known and more visited.

The present study begins with a brief analysis of the cultural situation that prevailed in the city of Thessaloniki in the late 19th-early 20th century, and delves a little further into the lives of Bulgarians first and Serbs', Russians' and Romanians' while, it is analyzed the cultural and religious monuments found during the bibliographic review belonging to the above populations in the firsts five chapters. In the first one, some monuments answer to more than one population. In the sixth chapter the results of the on-site investigation were registered, and in the next one is the survey's results, with the respondents' answers. Then, there are the conclusions and discussion of the survey and finally the proposals.

Keywords: Special interest tourism, Thessaloniki, cultural tourism, religious tourism, Balkans' countries.

Report Outline.

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Introduction.

Based on the history of past centuries, Thessaloniki has been since ancient times, to this day, a passage among people and a great node between countries, often making the apple of contention, and sometimes changing the course of history. Taking into account both the conflicts in which it has been involved and the people who for years have passed or settled in the city, it is certain that there are left behind the pieces of their history and heritage. These pieces, in some cases, are probably relatively unknown and still untapped in the city. This study deals with the finding and incorporation of them into the tourist map of the city, highlighting the city's multicultural character.

Despite the multitude of monuments, known and unknown, which exist in the city of Thessaloniki and are associated with different cultures of other countries, it seems that none to some effort has been made to become distinct historical units for every population, and they remain as the sanctuary of some books, unnoticed even by the city's inhabitants. Examples of these cultures that still remain unknown in the city are the Bulgarians', Serbs', Russians' and Romanians' cultures. All of these populations lived in Thessaloniki for less or more time, with a lot or little populations, around the late 19th century and later. They had their own communities, schools, churches, and cemeteries.

However, there is the possibility for their monuments to be spotted and incorporated smoothly in the history of the city and to re-tell their history if they become known and more visited. Consequently, it is possible for the historical and the religious reflections of the previous layer of the city, to bring these spaces to the surface and become part of the identity of the city today. These said, the city's tourist strategy has potential for further development if it focuses on special interest tourism, giving basis by showing its existing historical resources.

The objective of this research is to investigate the existence of monuments of material and intangible heritage associated with the cultures of Bulgarians, Serbs, Russians, and Romanians in Thessaloniki, into the literature review and in their view. This is intended to highlight the above monuments, in the context of Thessaloniki's cultural tourism, or at least in the context of special interest tourism. The aims of this research are to search for, identify and inventory the monuments belonging to the cultural religious heritage of the city of Thessaloniki and related to these cultures. Also, the separation of the

monuments with particular importance to the culture of the above countries, and determination of their appeal, as tourist attractions in case they are included as such. Furthermore, the examination of their countries' interest in Thessaloniki monuments, and for the city, and identification of the places to be promoted. Lastly the investigation of the interest the possibility for cultural and religious tourism for the under-study populations in Thessaloniki and examination of the possibility of developing packages cultural tourism for the under-study populations in Thessaloniki.

In order to achieve the objectives of this work, the existing literature was researched firstly. As far as secondary research is concerned, it was based on the widespread response to the qualitative research, collection and deposition of research-related data that already exists. The data relate to tourism, the history of Thessaloniki, the livelihoods of the populations under study in Thessaloniki, and any other relevant term was deemed necessary for the conduct of the research. The internet review was used both to extract information about the monuments that this research deals with, and to recognize the monuments' presence there, as well as the tourist development and the flow of tourists in the city.

The internet review was necessary to be the first in the row of research, as it appears to be the first to be visited by someone who wants to organize holidays. Furthermore, it shapes the first impressions. For the internet review about the presence or not of the temples of the center of Thessaloniki, the following key words were used: tourism, Thessaloniki, religious tourism, monuments, Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Romanian, cultural tourism and history. The keywords in the search engine were put individually and combined, and the results of each search fitting the subject of this research were investigated in depth. Many of the results referred to e-libraries and library cataloging, so the analogous procedure was followed to read the books.

Limitations of the research concern restricted access to the full text of some articles. Another limitation observed, was the difficulty of finding primary sources. When found, weakness in the reading observed because of the unknown, to the researcher languages, in which they were written. Lastly, there was difficulty in matching the streets names before and after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and to the present street names.

1 Slavs and Romanians in Thessaloniki (religious and cultural heritage).

During the period from the late 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, many books, statistics and maps were published that did not agree, with the ethnic composition of the Macedonian population, and to a great extent many times. Behind this discrepancy lies the conviction of both the Great Powers and the Balkan Countries that the Ottoman Empire is now Europe's great patient and the dissolution or dismemberment of its European territories is imminent. These belonged primarily to the Macedonian region, which was inhabited by populations of different religions, languages, and national consciousness. Accordingly, to the aspirations of each side, the corresponding statistics and maps are also issued. Statistics were considered the most effective weapon to prove beyond all doubt the demographic superiority of the stakeholders.

Due to the deficiencies presented by both the authorities and the institutions of the Ottoman Empire, it was not possible to obtain the precise or even a relatively accurate number of the population.¹ Thus, seems that in 1870 there were about 100,000 inhabitants in Thessaloniki,² and seven permanent consulates are recorded in the same year.³ Around 1890 from the 98,930 inhabitants, the 15,013 were Greeks, 43,322 Jews, 31,703 Muslims, and the rest 3799 Bulgarians. In lack of tangible evidence and official census, the figures cited are not totally acceptable.⁴ In 1903 the total population was recorded as 50,000, of which 4,000 were Bulgarians, and the rest Israelis, Ottomans and Greeks, according to a Greek newspaper,⁵ while according to orally data from Austria's consulate which Chekíoglou quotes, there were 124.523 people from which 80.299 were residents.⁶

¹ E. Chekíoglou, *Thessaloniki: Tourkokratía kai Mesopólemos*. [Ottoman Occupation and Interwar.], Thessaloníki, Ekdósis Ékphrasi, 1996, p 331.

² P. Enepekídís, *Thessaloníki sta khrónia 1875-1912*. [Thessaloniki in the years 1875-1912.], Thessaloníki, Ekdotikós Íkos Adelphón Kiriakídi, 1988, p. 89.

³ M. Anastasiádou, «I ditíki tis periokhís" Thessaloníkis, 1850-1918. ["The westerners of the area" Thessaloniki.], Sto: *Thessaloniki 1850-1918. I "póli ton evraion" kai i aphípnisi ton Valkanion.*, *Thessaloniki*, Ekdósis Ekáti, 1994, p. 310.

⁴ E. Chekíoglou, *Thessaloniki: Tourkokratía kai...* p 337.

⁵ I. Notáris, *Ta yegonóta tis Thessaloníkis ton Apríliou tou 1903. Me vási énggrapha tou istorikou árkhiou tou Ellinikou Ipourýiou Exoterikón*. [The events of Thessaloniki in April 1903. Based on documents from the historical archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry], *Makedoniká*, Issue 1, pp. 35-96, 2019, p. 86.

⁶ E. Chekíoglou, *Thessaloniki: Tourkokratía kai ... p. 339*.

There were reported 6,000 Bulgarians in 1904 without the primary source cited,⁷ while three years later, in 1907 out of the 10,000 foreign nationals, the 5,000 appeared as Greeks, 3,000 as Italians, 800 as Austrians, 340 as Spaniards, 300 as Germans, 300 as French, 150 as British. Among the years 1911-1912, the Greek Federation compiled a statistical survey that showed that Thessaloniki's population was 205,061 people, of which 27,100 were Greeks, 93,338 Jews, 54,718 Muslims, 8,194 Bulgarians, 1,108 Armenians, 2,353 Italians, 1,800 Gypsies, and 16,450 other nationalities. However, the author examines statistics and quotes his view. This is that even Jews have increased twice as many as they counted themselves, and that differences in consular statistics are due to differences in perception of the authorities, as also Raktiván noted.⁸ The French Figaro cites that in November of 1912 there were 200,000 inhabitants, the majority of which were Israeli, and 15,000 Greeks, 15,000 Bulgarians, 5,000 Vlachs, 5,000 Serbs and 50,000 Muslims.⁹ But Karatzóglou, who quotes it, stresses in the epilogue that the newspapers of the international press are not uniform, and that their viewpoint creates stereotypes, while at the same time there is not cited the source from which the published numbers came from.¹⁰

The vast majority of statistics available at the beginning of the 20th century is more of a birth-based assessment rather than a proper census. They present their data by region (Vilayet) and not by village. Exceptions are the detailed statistics prepared by Vasil Kancov in 1900, and the official census of 1905 by Hilmi Pasha, presented below. According to Kanchov, in 1900 the population of Vilayet in Thessaloniki was 156,956. 27164 of them were Bulgarians, 31978 Turks, 30761 Greeks, 55000 Jews, 3553 Gypsies and 8500 others. In the city of Thessaloniki, in the narrow sense of the term, there are 10,000 Bulgarians, 26,000 Turks, 16,000 Greeks, 55,000 Jews, 2,500 Gypsies, and 8500 others.¹¹ According to Hilmi Pasha, whose statistics are given in Chalkiopoulos's work, Muslims were 754,000, Greeks 577,000, Bulgarians 400,000,

⁷ G. Mégas, *I "Varkárides" tis Thessaloníkis. I anarkhikí Voulgarikí omáda kai i vomvistikés enéryies tou 1903.* [The "Boaters" of Thessaloniki. The anarchist Bulgarian group and the bombings of 1903.], Athína: Ekdósis Trokhalía. , 1994, p. 225.

⁸ E. Chekímoglou, *Thessaloníki: Tourkokratía kai ...p. 340.*

⁹ G. Karatzóglou, *I Thessaloníki mésa apó to diethní típo, 1872-1912.* [Thessaloniki through the international press, 1872-1912.]. Sto: Praktiká tou diepistimonikoú simposíou I Thessaloníki stis paramonés tou 1912., Thessaloníki: Evraikó Mousío Thessaloníkis, 2015, pp. 19-36. p. 32.

¹⁰ G. Karatzóglou, op. cit, p.34.

¹¹ V. Кънчовъ, *Makedonija. Etnografija i statistika.*, I izd. Bălg. Knižovno D-vo, Sofija, 1900; II fototipno izd. "Prof. M. Drinov", Sofija, 1996. Available at: <http://www.promacedonia.org/vk/index.html>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

Vlachs 43,400, Serbs 12,200, Jews 54,000, and others 2,000. The above are related to both the Thessaloniki Vilayet and the Monastery Vilayet. For the Vilayet of Thessaloniki different number is given only to the Muslims that recorded as 482,414, Greeks as 287,092 and Bulgarians as 223,537.¹²

The Greek official census of 1913, lists: 39,956 Greeks, 61.439 Israelis, 45.867 Ottomans, 6.263 Bulgarians, 4.364, other foreigners,¹³ of 157.889 inhabitants.¹⁴ In the official census of the Greek state in 1920, the municipality of Thessaloniki recorded 10,124 foreigners, including 2,829 Yugoslavs,¹⁵ 1,899 Russians, 202 Bulgarians, and 154 Romanians. There are 10,124 foreigners in the Prefecture of Thessaloniki, including 2,809 Yugoslavs, 1,989 Russians, 202 Bulgarians, and 159 Romanians.¹⁶ In the official census of the Greek state in 1928, the municipality of Thessaloniki recorded 9,951 foreigners, including 2,654 Yugoslavs, 399 Russians, 112 Bulgarians, and 183 Romanians. There are 9,920 foreigners in the Prefecture of Thessaloniki, including 2,724 Yugoslavs, 401 Russians, 116 Bulgarians, and 198 Romanians.¹⁷

In the area of education, in the mid-19th century and in the context of progressive reforms, were founded in the city several schools by foreign delegations, Ottoman administrations and Balkan nationalities.¹⁸ The capital of the Ottoman Balkans, Thessaloniki, had to have schools of various Balkan nationalities, both to serve the local communities and their unanimous in the surrounding areas, as because of its geographical location it was considered as the Balkans capital, and its commercial and spiritual center, which made it the apple of Discord.¹⁹ In addition to the Ottoman and

¹² A. Chalkiopoulos, *I Makedonia. Ethnoloyiki statistiki ton Vilaetion Thessalonikis kai Monastiriou.*, Athina 1910, ss. e' - st'.

¹³ E. Chekímoglou, *Thessaloníki: Tourkokratía kai ... p. 341.*

¹⁴ V. Dimitriádis, "O plithismós tis Thessaloníkis kai i elliníki kinótítá tis katá to 1913". ["The population of Thessaloniki and its Greek community in 1913".] *Makedoniká*, Issue 23, 2006. pp. 88-115.

¹⁵ Towards the end of 1918, Serbia participated with the newly formed State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in the creation of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) under the ongoing reign of the Serbian dynasty of the Karadjordjevic dynasty. Thus, at this time the Serbs were recorded as Yugoslavs.

¹⁶ Anon., *Statistika apotelesmata tis apografis toy plithysmou tis Ellados tis 15-16 Maiou 1928. IV Topos Genniseos-Thriskaia kai Glossa-Ipikootis.* [Statistical results of the census of Greece on 15-16 May 1928. IV Place of Birth-Religion and Language-Nationality] Ypoyrgion Ethnikis Ikonomias-Geniki Statistiki Ipiesia tis Ellados. Ek toy Ethnikou Tupografeiou., En Athines., 1935. Available at: http://dlib.statistics.gr/Book/GRESYE_02_0101_00022.pdf, p.πιδ'

¹⁷ Anon., *Statistika...*loc. cit. p.πιδ'.

¹⁸ M. Kavala, *H katastrofi ton Evraion tis Elladas (1941-1944)* [The destruction of the Jews of Greece (1941-1944).], Athina: Ethniko Metsovio Polytechnio, 2015., p.27., Available at: <https://repository.kallipos.gr/handle/11419/4437>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁹ K. Kiliará, *Ídrisi kai orgánosi ton Vivliothikón tis Elliníkis Kinótitas Thessaloníkis katá tin período 1856-1912.* [Establishment and organization of the Libraries of the Greek Community of Thessaloniki

Jewish schools in the suburbs of Thessaloniki, there were 521 Greek, 319 Bulgarian, 10 Romanian and 21 Serbian schools.²⁰ Official statistics related to education at the beginning of the 20th century show that in 1908 there were 32 Greek educational institutions, 26 Ottoman, 8 Jewish, 7 French, 6 Italian, 6 Bulgarian, 4 Serbian, 2 German, 2 Romanian, 1 Armenian. and the American Farm School,²¹ while from 1852 (when the second Greek printing press was founded), among others at least one Bulgarian book was printed.²²

When Thessaloniki joined the Greek state in 1913, by the Treaty of Bucharest, despite the assurances from the Greek state for protection, a number of Jews, big merchants (about 800) and craftsmen (about 500), as well as 15,000 Muslims, fled to other areas. Two years later, in 1915, a large number of soldiers, including 150,000 English, 112,000 Serbs and 5,000 Russians, were disembarked by the Entente forces and camped in the city,²³ for the Macedonian front.²⁴ The first refugees of Thessaloniki, in 1917, came from Caucasus after the Russian Revolution, in 1919 from Bulgaria after the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine and from Asia Minor, before 1922. It is estimated that 20,000 refugees came to Thessaloniki until the population exchange in 1922, when the new wave of refugees came to the country.²⁵

during the period 1856-1912.] Thessaloníki: Aristotélio Panepistímio Thessaloníkis-Theoloyikí Shholí-Tmíma Theoloyías, 2011. p. 17.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 14.

²¹ Ch. Zaphíris & A. Papatzíkias, *En Thessaloníki* 1900-1960. In *Thessaloniki 1900-1960.*], Athína: Ekdósis Exántas. 1994, p. 20.

²² K. Kliará, op. cit. p. 36.

²³ With the permission of Prime Minister V. Venizelos.

²⁴ M. Kavala, op. cit, p.22.

²⁵ A. Makhairá "I Thessaloníki tou mesopolémou" ["The Thessaloniki of Interwar".], Sto: Istoríai tis Elládas tou 20ou aíóna, 1922-1940. Epiméλια: Christos Khatziiosíph, t. v1. Athína: Ekdósis Vivliórama. 2002., p. 118.

1.1 Allied cemeteries.

1.1.1 Zeitenlik.



Figure 1. Zeitenlik Allied Cemeteries from Google Maps.

Source: Excerpt from Google Maps

At the boundaries of the municipality of Ampelókipi, on Langadá and Akritón streets intersection, is the site of the Allied Cemetery of Zeitenlik.²⁶ The site was selected, possible because of its border with the Catholic cemeteries, and the first burials took place there during World War I. After the end of the war, the Allies' administrations immediately expressed their desire to create permanent cemeteries for their dead soldiers in Greece. The Greek government accepted their request and bought the indicated land by giving the Allies' usufruct, with the term that the costs for the maintenance of the cemeteries would be borne only by the Allied governments. The agreement was signed in November 1918, creating the Allied Necropolis of Zeitenlik, which is Greece's largest military cemetery.²⁷ The conversion of the neighboring Lazarist buildings to a hospital also played a significant role to its location.

Two inscriptions at the entrance of the cemeteries say that "The land on which this cemetery is located is the gift of the Greeks to the eternal shelter of those from the Allied Troops who invaded the Great War of 1914-1918 and are buried here".

²⁶ Previous the area of Zeitenlik was named Lempet.

²⁷ G. Bréntas, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

Cemeteries are well maintained,²⁸ and contain the piles of about 21,000 dead soldiers.²⁹ Of these there are 8,000 thousand Serbs, 9000 French, 1,700 English, 400 Russian soldiers and 58 Bulgarian prisoners of war³⁰.

1.1.2 **British Commonwealth Cemetery of Mikra.**

It was built in a landmark outside the residential areas of the city, which today corresponds to the area of Kalamariá, right next to the Kalamariá Municipal Cemetery. Its operation lasted from April 1917 until 1920, when the last burials are dated. There are buried 1810 soldiers from the then British Commonwealth states and 149 soldiers of other nationalities, including 34 Russians, 4 Serbs and 98 Bulgarians.³¹

1.2 **Cyril and Methodius Temple.**

The Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Panteleimon II (Chrysofakis), as soon as he was enthroned, wished to erect a splendid Temple in honor of Saints Cyril and Methodius, as these two Saints were born in Thessaloniki. In 863 AD Patriarch Fotios sent Cyril and Methodius to Moravia to take over the Christianity of the Slavs. The Saints used an alphabet based on the Greek, the so-called Glagolitic, translating the entire Bible and the functional books. They formed a written Slavic language which they established as a functional language and at the same time staffed the local Church with new clergymen, knowledgeable of the functional Paleo-Slavic language. To honor the extraordinary offering of these great saints, a church was built in 1983 in the area of the new beach of Thessaloniki, officially started functioning on 10 May 1985. It is in 33 Alexander the Great Avenue. Both Serbian and Russian people, as much as the

²⁸ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis katá tin epokhí tis Tourkokratías 1430-1912*. [Topography of Thessaloniki during the "era" of "Ottoman Period" 1430-1912]. Thessaloníki: Etairía Makedonikón Spoudón. 1983., p.400.

²⁹ F. Athanasiou, *I ektós ton tikhón Thessaloníki. Limáni kai paliés viomikhaníes sti Ditíki Thessaloníki. I Anatolíki Thessaloníki. I periokhí ton Pírgon*. [The outside of the walls Thessaloniki. Port and old industries in West Thessaloniki. East Thessaloniki. The area of Towers.] Sto: *Peripati klironomiás sti Thessaloníki. Thessaloníki: Dímos Thessaloníkis, Kéntro Istorías Thessaloníkis, Elliníki Etairía Perivállontos kai Politismou, Parártima Thessaloníkis*, 2009. pp. 170-186. p. 174.

³⁰Anon., *Thessaloníki*. Ellinikós Organismós Tourismou. visitgreece.gr. 2015. [Online] Available at: http://www.visitgreece.gr/el/downloads/guides/thessaloniki_travel_guide [Access: 25 March 2020]. p. 61.

³¹ V. Vlasídis, *Metaxí mnímis kai lithis. Mnimía kai kimitíria tou Megáλου Polémou*. [Between memory and forgetfulness. Monuments and cemeteries of the Great War.], ekdósis Mousío Makedonikoú Agóna., 2016, p. 53.

Bulgarians, use Cyril and Methodius Alphabet.³² That is why probably, all three of them could be interested in the temple devoted to them, or maybe the Monument in front of the temple.



Figure 2. The Cyril and Methodius Temple.

Source: Personal file.

1.2.1 Cyril and Methodius Monument.

It is a monumental mosaic column in the shape of an open book, set in a circular pedestal, on the new beach of Thessaloniki opposite the sacred Temple dedicated to the two saints. It is dedicated to the road of knowledge and horizons opened by saints and on the other side we read letters from the Cyrillic alphabet. It can be found in front of the Cyril and Methodius Temple.

³² 30 έτι από τα εγκαίνια του Ι. Ν. Αγίων Κιρίλλου και Μεθοδίου Θεσσαλονίκης. [30 years since the inauguration of IN Saints Cyril and Methodius of Thessaloniki.], Romvea. gr, 29 June 2015. Available at: <https://www.romfea.gr/afieromata/1502-30-eti-apo-ta-egkainia-tou-in-agion-kurillou-kai-methodiou->, [Access: 25 March 2020].



Figure 3. The Cyril and Methodius Monument and part of their Temple behind.

Source: Personal file.

2 Bulgarians in Thessaloniki (religious and cultural heritage).

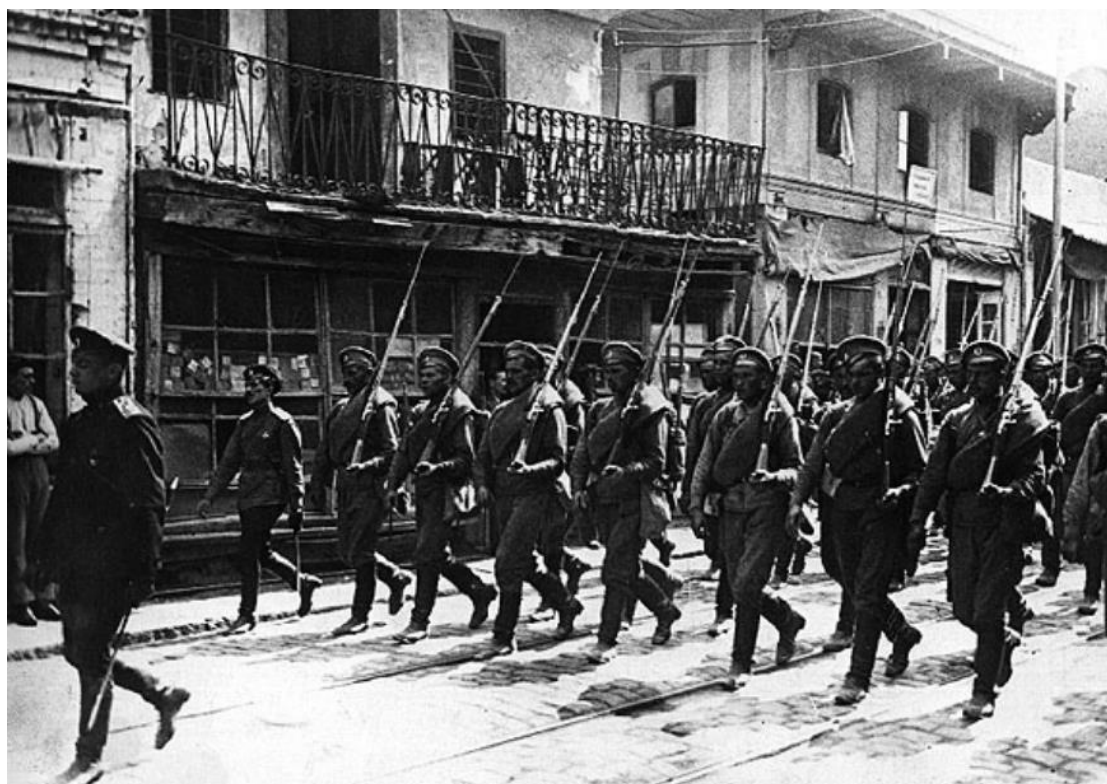


Figure 4. Bulgarian soldiers entering Salonika, Greece, 1912.

Source: Beth Hatefutoth Photo Archive, Salonika Collection, 10163, [online photograph], Available at: <https://dbs.bh.org.il/image/bulgarian-soldiers-entering-salonika-1912>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

It is proved that there was a Slavic community in Thessaloniki in 1817, as the same year, the regulation of the guild of tailors was written in Slavic, albeit in Greek characters. From 1838 to 1841, a Slavic printing house operated in Thessaloniki, publishing four religious books and two textbooks. At this time, the Slavs of Macedonia called themselves Bulgarians and were generally characterized as Bulgarians.³³ After 1878 the term "Exarchic" was abandoned and the term "Bulgarian" was adopted.³⁴

The Bulgarians were never numerous in Thessaloniki and their community experienced a significant increase in the late 19th century as the city developed economically.³⁵ Their community began to form in the 1860.³⁶ In 1968 the Bulgarian community was founded by representatives of the construction and sewing guilds. However, the

³³L. Bernard, Soloún, slavikí póli. [Solun, a Slavic town.], Sto: *Thessaloniki, 1850-1918. I "póli ton Evraíon" kai i afhínisi ton Valkaníon.* s. l.: Ekdósis Ekati, pp. 141-150., 1994., p. 141..

³⁴K. Kiliará, op. cit., pp.41-42.

³⁵L. Bernard, op. cit., p. 145.

³⁶ K. Moskóf, *Thessaloníki-tomí tis metapratikís pólis.* [Thessaloniki - intersection of the transactional city.] Athína: Ekdósis Stokhastís., 1978., p. 142.

community had no power for some years yet. Due to the Bulgarian schism, there was a fear of prominent representatives of the community, who evidently wavered between the Patriarchate and the Exarchate. A striking example is the Hadjilazarou family, of Bulgarian origin, with Russian nationality, who remained faithful to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, maintaining its social status and attracting the most economically advantaged. The situation reversed a few years later, when the community began to receive support from families settling in Thessaloniki from other areas.³⁷ Examples of such families were, Hadjimitseff from Velessa, Yamamuzoff from Ahrid and Zlataroff, Shakululof, Fournara, Gyunjara.³⁸ Hadjimitseff was an honorary interpreter of the Consulate of Russia, and the richest man of the Bulgarian community,³⁹ although he is also mentioned as Serbian with Bulgarian nationality.⁴⁰ Together with the Armenians, Serbs and Vlachs, they mainly invested in small businesses,⁴¹ although in 1875 it appears that coffins, were made only by one Bulgarian carpenter in Egnatia for the whole city.⁴² Goúnaris reports no more than 500 families in 1863,⁴³ but another source, citing a Bulgarian letter to the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry, reports only 200 families, almost 20 years later, in 1882.⁴⁴ The few Bulgarian families living in the city of Thessaloniki were not indigenous. They came from a province of northwestern Macedonia called Dibra and were originally incorporated into the Greek Community. With the onset of the Ottoman–Russian War in 1877-1878⁴⁵ begins the history of the Bulgarian Community.⁴⁶ In 1904 they constituted the majority in three districts of the

³⁷ Y. Konstantinova., *I Thessaloníki me ti matiá ton Voulgáron.*, sto: *Thessaloníki, Mia póli se metávasi, 1912-2012.*, Silloyikó., Ekdósis Epikentro., 2015., p. 88-90.

³⁸ K. Moskóf, loc. cit.

³⁹ I. Notáris, op. cit., p.80

⁴⁰ K. Tzímou, “10 ipérokha diatiritéa skholía tis Thessaloníkis”, [“10 beautifully preserved schools in Thessaloniki”], parallaxi. Available at: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/ta-iperocha-diatiriteascholia-tis-thessalonikis>, 2016. [Access: 25 March 2020].

⁴¹ D. Quataert, *Próti kapní apó ta ergostásia*. [First smokes from the factories.], Sto: *Thessaloníki, 1850-1918. I "póli ton Evraíon" kai i aphípnisi ton Valkaníon*. Athína: Ekdósis Ekáti, 1994. p. 204

⁴² G. Bréntas, “Éna odiporikó sta monopátia tis istorías tis Ditíkis Thessaloníkis”, [“A trek along the paths of the history of Western Thessaloniki.”] Dímos Ampelokípon-Meneménis p. 10. Available at: http://www.ampelokipi-menemeni.gr/Portals/2/files/images/istoria/ODOIPORIKO_KIATH.pdf, [Access: 25 March 2020]. p.2.

⁴³ V. Goúnaris, «Thessaloníki, 1830-1912: Istoría, Ikonómia kai Kinonía.» [“Thessaloniki, 1830-1912: History, Economics and Society.”]. Sto: *Tis agathis Vasilévousa Thessaloníki, Istoría kai Politismós*. Thessaloníki: Ekdósis Paratiritís. 1997, pp. 117-133. p. 126.

⁴⁴ Y. Konstantinova., *I Thessaloníki*... p. 89.

⁴⁵ This is the time when Great Bulgaria was created under the Treaty of Saint Stephen.

⁴⁶ K. Kliará, op. cit., p.25.

city⁴⁷ while their "Muhtarıs"⁴⁸ participated in the community councils.⁴⁹ In the 1908 elections, which were held under the majority system, was elected a Bulgarian Member.⁵⁰ There were reported 6,000 Bulgarians in 1904 without the primary source cited.⁵¹ In 1911, according to the secretary of the Bulgarian consulate, there were 6,2% (10,500) of the total population (128,000),⁵² but two years later, in the official Greek statistics of 1913, the recorded Bulgarians were 6,263.⁵³ Their population was likely to be around 6,000 permanent. It is equally likely that increased and then decreased. In 1913 the statistics are official, and the population recorded is considered accurate.

Information on Bulgarian-language newspapers is scarce.⁵⁴ However, their names have been preserved, and sometimes even some more information. The most frequently recorded is at the Ottoman newspaper *Selanik*, originally published in 1869, published also in Bulgarian as *Solun* (1869),⁵⁵ a sheet of which is preserved in the Greek Literary and Historical Archive.⁵⁶ In chronological order (by first printed) are recorded *Vastanik* (1894), *Borpa* (1898), *Snop* (1899), *Konstitucionia Zaria*, *Rabotnickeski Vestnik*, *Edinstvo* (1908), *Otsetstvo*, *Naronda Volia Rontina* (1909), *Pravo*, *Naumof* (1910), *Svetlina* (1912),⁵⁷ while "Nova Bulgaria" is the last one printed in Thessaloniki in 1912.⁵⁸ Some of them were propagandistic, but some were concerned with ecclesiastical, labor and other issues.⁵⁹

⁴⁷G. Mégas, loc. cit.

⁴⁸ Muhtarıs was called the local ruler of a neighborhood or village.

⁴⁹L. Bernard, loc.cit.

⁵⁰ E. Chekımoglou, *I Thessalonıki prin apó to 1912. İkonomıa kai kinonıa*. [Thessaloniki before 1912. Economy and society.], Sto: *Thessalonıki. 100 khrónia apó tin Apelefthérosi*. s. l. : ékdosi Tıπου tis Kiriakıs, pp. 87-123. , 2012. , p. 112.

⁵¹ G. Mégas, op. cit., p. 225.

⁵² L. Bernard, loc.cit.

⁵³ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographıa [kai periodiká] tis Makedonıas kai tis Thrákis. Katáloyi ton entıpon pou ekdóthikan. Simvolı stin İstoria tou Tıπου tis Vorıou Elládos*. [Journalism (and magazines) of Macedonia and Thrace. Catalogs of published forms. Contribution to the History of the Press of Northern Greece.] s. l.: University Studio Press - Ékphrasi, 2006, p. 414.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ch. Zaphırıs, *I Thessalonıki ton Othomanón. İstoria-Kinonıa-Mousıa*. [Thessaloniki of the Ottomans. History-Society-Museums.] A' epim. Athına: Epıkentro., 2019., p. 52.

⁵⁶ M. Kandilákis, op. cit. p. 414-417.

⁵⁷ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographıa tis Thessalonıkis. Simvolı stin İstoria tou Tıπου*. A' [Journalism of Thessaloniki. Contribution to Press History.] epim. Thessalonıki: University Studio Press / Έκφραση., 1998., p. 417.

⁵⁸ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographıa tis Thessalonıkis. Simvolı stin İstoria tou Tıπου*. B' [Journalism of Thessaloniki. Contribution to Press History.] epim. Thessalonıki: University Studio Press / Έκφραση., 1998., p. 618.

⁵⁹ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographıa tis Thessalonıkis...A'*, p. 450.

From 1879 onwards they celebrated Cyril and Methodius every May 11th,⁶⁰ during which a feast was held, with hagiography circulating in the districts of Άγιος Athanásios, Panagóúda, Ipapantí, Άγιος Nikólaos. The event was attended by all members of the Bulgarian community. In the afternoon they rented the Bekhtsinár Center, where they were gathering.⁶¹

In the autumn of 1893, some students from the Bulgarian high school in Thessaloniki laid the foundations of the "Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization" (VMRO),⁶² and in 1908 some Bulgarians alongside with some Jewish intellectuals were led to form a major labor movement that led to the founding of the Federation in 1909.⁶³ In Egnatia street, in the ground floor of Grand Hotel, which was in Bulgarian interests, there was the Bulgarian Bank and their Post Office. Near this hotel there were also two printing houses and traders' offices.⁶⁴ When the Macedonian struggle began most of their bourgeois families lived, among the multitude of Greek families, in the parish of their Cyril and Methodius church. Also, at the west end of the city, there was an almost entire schismatic district, with a church and a school, the "Kilkis Mahalle", on which Bulgarian villagers from Kilkis had settled.⁶⁵ Another schismatic neighborhood was in the eastern district near the Greek church of the Agia Triáda (Holy Trinity).⁶⁶ Also, they kept a small priestly shrine outside the walls in Zeitenlik.⁶⁷ In the districts of Tranvaál and Píryi, were living lot of the Bulgarian workers of Allatíni. In 1881 were established the Bulgarian Gymnasiums for Men and Girls, that continued to function for thirty-three years. More Bulgarian schools of all grades operated during these years, and Bulgarians also attended foreign schools, such as the Lazarist Monastery, the American Farm School, and the Law School, for which further information is given below. Additionally, in 1911 it was recorded that they had four churches,⁶⁸ while from 1882 they had their first cemetery in the city.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ G. Mégas, op. cit., p. 218-219.

⁶¹ G. Stampoúlis, I zí ton Thessalonikéon prin kai metá to 1912. Aphiéroma sta 2300 khrónia tis Thessaloníkis. [Live of the Thessaloniki's residents bevore and after 1912. Tribute to the 2300 years of Thessaloniki.], Thessaloníki: Ekdósis Dióskouri, 1984. p. 205.

⁶² L. Bernard, op. cit., p. 146.

⁶³ M. Kavala, op. cit., p.18.

⁶⁴ traders

⁶⁵ K. Moskóf, loc. cit., V. Dimitriádis, Topographía tis Thessaloníkis... p.94.

⁶⁶ Kliará, K., loc. cit.

⁶⁷ L. Bernard, loc.cit.

⁶⁸ L. Bernard, op. cit., p. 145.

⁶⁹ Y. Konstantinova., I Thessaloníki...p. 94-95.

2.1 Consulate.



Figure 5. The Bulgarian Commercial Agency with the role of consulate.

Source: G. Manios, *The Bulgarian Commercial Agency with the role of consulate...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 10 December 2013, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10151800892649599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

The Bulgarian Trade Agency (consulate analogue), opened in 1893.⁷⁰ The building which housed the diplomatic mission of the Bulgarian delegation was located at Hamidiye Avenue,⁷¹ where almost all the Consulates were located. According to written testimony on the same page where the above photo was posted, its position was at the corner of Manousogiannaki Str., on its lower side, where the Hellenic Postbank building is today.⁷² After that, the Bulgarian consulate was housed in a three-floor building, according to Nikos Kamonas, as Tomanas mentions, at the intersection of Voulgaroktonou and Himaras streets, which in 1916 converted to a hotel.⁷³ In Agias Sophias Str., where is currently confectionery Terkenlis, although not the consulate, the building served as Bulgarian garrison headquarters, the 1913 season.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ G. Mégas, op. cit., p. 223.

⁷¹ Renamed to Ethnikis Aminis Avenue, then Vasilissis Sofia Str. and today is Ethnikis Amynis Str. (National Defense).

⁷² G. Manios, *The Bulgarian Commercial Agency with the role of consulate...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 10 December 2013, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10151800892649599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

⁷³ K. Tomanás, *I tavérnes tis paliás Thessalonikis.*, [The taverns of old Thessaloniki.], Thessaloniki, ekd. Exántas, 1991, p. 118.

⁷⁴ K. Tomanás, *I platies tis Thessalonikis mékhri to 1944.*, [The squares of Thessaloniki until 1944.], Thessaloniki, Ekdotikés Nisídes, 1997, p. 42..

2.1.1 Orphanage «Melissa» – Villa Osman Bey.

It was built in 1896 as a residence of a Ottoman merchant and in 1908 it was purchased by the Bulgarian state.⁷⁵ In 1913 King Ferdinand of Bulgaria stayed there and in 1914 it was converted into a Bulgarian Consulate.⁷⁶ In 1915, it was occupied by the French, and housed the French Headquarters. After the destruction of Smyrna, the «Melissa» Orphanage was moved here. The building was occupied during the German occupation period (1941-1944) and reopened as an orphanage after the liberation and until 1977.⁷⁷ It has intense neoclassical and Renaissance elements, and the surroundings are particularly interesting.⁷⁸ Today it is housing the Byzantine Research Center of Thessaloniki,⁷⁹ and it is in 36 Vasilissis Olgas.⁸⁰



Figure 6. King Ferdinand of Bulgaria at the entrance of the Osman Ali Bey Villa, former orphanage "Melissa", during a visit to Thessaloniki in December 1912.

Source: Stefanos Pasvatis, *King Ferdinand of Bulgaria at the entrance...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 29 January 2018, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10155208699509599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

⁷⁵ Anon., *Thessaloniki*, Ellinikós Organismós Tourismoú ...p.56.

⁷⁶ V. Vlasídis, *Metaxí mnímis*... p. 68.

⁷⁷ Anon., *Thessaloniki*, *Dimos Thessalonikis*. 2013.thessaloniki.gr. [Online] Available at: <https://thessaloniki.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Thessaloniki-Monuments-Map-GR-Web.pdf> [Access: 25 March 2020], p. 16., G. Mégas, op. cit., p. 223.

⁷⁸ Anon., *Thessaloniki*, Ellinikós Organismós Tourismoú

⁷⁹ Anon., *Thessaloniki*, *Dimos Thessalonikis* p. 19.

⁸⁰ Tsaktsíras, L., Papaefthimíou, K., Mántzios, G. & Kaloyírou, N., *I neóteri kai sínkhroni Thessaloniki*. [The latest and most modern Thessaloniki.] Thessaloniki: Ekdósis Paidía. 2003. p. 171.



Figure 7. The Osman Ali Bey Villa, former orphanage "Melissa", today Byzantine Research Center of Thessaloniki.

Source: Personal file.

2.2 Schools.

In 1869 according to one source,⁸¹ and in 1871 according to another, the first Bulgarian school, operated with difficulties at the house of I. Pepa, next to the Greek church of Saint Athanasios.⁸² It's operation started from Salántziev, who also opened in the same area a Bulgarian bookshop.⁸³ Mégas records it near the church, rather next to it. Next to the school, he places a Bulgarian bookstore, that Díngas opened to serve the school.⁸⁴ In 1880, a high school and a teaching school were established along with a community boarding house and became the focal point of the Bulgarian national propaganda throughout Macedonia. In 1900, Abbott, visiting Thessaloniki, described how Bulgarians had few schools, providing the strong lure of free education and housing, but without significant success, while their aims appear to be more political than purely

⁸¹ G. Mégas, op. cit., p.215.

⁸² K. Moskóf, loc. cit.

⁸³ G. Stampoúlis, I zoí... p. 204.

⁸⁴ G. Mégas, op. cit., p.215-216.

educational.⁸⁵ Shortly thereafter, in 1904, a trade school opened, and in 1907, a girls' school and two elementary schools, one in Vardari district, that was attended by the children of the "Kilkis Mahalle", and another in the district of Agia Triada.⁸⁶ Agia Triada district's school had 65 pupils and infants.⁸⁷ From the leaflet of the newspaper "New Truth" of 1/1/1912 is known the Bulgarian Teaching Conference, which took place in Thessaloniki, with about 40 Bulgarian representatives attending.⁸⁸

2.2.1 Lazarist Monastery.

In 1858 the Bulgarians made their first formal attempt to unite with Rome, when a group of Bulgarians from Kilkis sent a memorandum to the Pope's representative asking the Catholics to turn their attention to the education of their children. The Lazarists' of Thessaloniki happily took over this mission, and the school operated the same year at Catholic buildings in the city. The following year, the Lazarists purchased 270 acres of land on the west side of Lagada Street. In 1861 Heleou's (Mercy) nuns settled in Zeitenlik and founded the first children's asylum in 1862.⁸⁹ The services offered are not accurate, as the sources are divided, with some claiming to be a school, others orphanage etc.⁹⁰ In 1864 Bulgarian interns of Lazarist moved from the Catholic Parish buildings of the city center to the new facilities of the Helleou's nun's in Zeitenlik.⁹¹ It is in 25-27 Kolokotroni Street, at Stauroupoli.

⁸⁵ F. Ábot, *Énas Ánglos stin Makedonía tou 1900*. [An Englishman in Macedonia in 1900.], Athína: ekdósis "Stokhastís". 2004-5. p. 40

⁸⁶ Ch. Papastáthis, "I pnevmatikí zi stin tourkokratoúmeni Thessaloníki". ["Spiritual life in the Turkish-occupied Thessaloniki"]., Sto: *Tis agathís Vasilévousa Thessaloniki, Istoría kai Politismós*. Thessaloníki: Ekdósis Paratiritís., 1997, pp. 344-361. p. 354.

⁸⁷ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis* p. 402.

⁸⁸ Th. Exárkhou, *I Thessaloníki to 1912. I kathimeríní zoi kai ta istoriká stikhía.*, [Thessaloniki in 1912. Everyday life and historical facts.], Xánthi: s. n. 2012. p. 13

⁸⁹ G. Bréntas, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

⁹⁰ S. Lazarídis, *Apo to Vardári os to Dervéni - Istorikí Katagrophí mékhri to 1920*. [From Vardar to Derveni - Historical Record until 1920.], Thessaloníki: Ekdósis Zítros. 1997. p. 48.

⁹¹ G. Bréntas, loc.cit.



Figure 8. Lazarists' Monastery in 1916.

Source: Akis Vidiniotis, Year?, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 9 June 2017, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10154605040594599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].



Figure 9. Lazarists' Monastery today.

Source: Personal file.

2.2.2 Catholic Seminary of Zeitenlik.



Figure 10. Bulgarian Catholic Seminary of Zeitenlik, in 1917.

Source: E. Chatzilari, *Lazarist Monastery 1917.*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 9 November 2013, [online photograph],

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=609538429107253&set=gm.10151755519634599&type=3>
[Access: 25 March 2020].

In 1883, additional 76 acres of land were purchased opposite the nun's monastery, part of which was built in 1886 by the name "Bulgarian Catholic Seminary of Zeitenlik", under the designs of the architect monk Aubauer. This was a Seminary of the monk's battalion, and it was intended for the education of Catholic priests, mainly Bulgarians. In addition to the Seminary, it also had a boarding school, a school and an organized garden.

The lessons in the new building started in 1886 with 68 children and 8 teachers. The establishment in 1880 of a Bulgarian Mens' High School in Thessaloniki resulted in the Lazarist 'ambitions to unite the Bulgarians with Rome to fade. In 1909 the boarding school fed 27 orphan Bulgarian children and a few Catholics. At this time, it was converted into a farm school for deprived children.⁹² In 1910 Hatzikyriakou recorded that there was still a school and boarding house.⁹³ In 1912 the Unite Seminary and High

⁹² G. Bréntas, loc.cit.

⁹³ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis.... p. 400.*

School in Zeitenlik were closed, and this was among the first events recorded after the liberation of Thessaloniki.⁹⁴ It is also in 25-27 Kolokotroni Street, at Stauroupoli.

2.2.3 Girls' School "Annunciation".

It is the first Bulgarian female high school in Macedonia. The school was founded in the city in the fall of 1880, with a preparatory class. The school was called "Annunciation", and was supported by the Bulgarian Exarchate and the Bulgarian inhabitants of Thessaloniki. It maintained until 1913 and was not far from the Bulgarian high school⁹⁵. In 1904, it moved to a separate three-store building, with light rooms, in the men's high school, that was located where today is the 36th primary school (66 Agia Sofia).⁹⁶

According to another source, In the autumn of 1882, the school opened in was housed in a rented building near the men's high school, while it also had a boarding school.⁹⁷ In 1894, it was moved to a purchased building to the north, bordering the Bulgarian municipality building, to the south by Philippou Street, east to the house of Christos Nestorov and Dr. Christovi and west with Agias Sophia Str. In 1904/1905 another building was offered to the Gymnasium and so, together with the elementary school building, the whole complex formed around the girls' high school. Since 1908 the buildings used by the girls' high school have been four.⁹⁸ The Thessaloniki Girls 'Gymnasium was the only fully-fledged Exarchate girls' school in the Ottoman Empire. By special order of the Exarchate a pedagogical school was proclaimed, which during this period was the highest professional occupation of the Bulgarian girls in the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ S. Lazaridis, loc. cit.

⁹⁵ It was housed on a plot formerly owned by Michael Bei, a wealthy Greek from Serres.

⁹⁶ D. Váīs *Ta skholía tis Thessaloníkis katá ton 19o aióna, arkhés 20^{ou}.*, [The schools of Thessaloniki in the 19th century, early 20th.], Ágnosti Thessaloníki, Facebook., 24 February 2017, Available at: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=789300381227108&set=gm.10155047326997760&type=3&fref=gs&dti=242899912759&hc_location=group. [Access: 25 March 2020].

⁹⁷ Y. Konstantinova., The „St. Annunciation” Bulgarian Girls’ High School in Thessaloniki. In: Yura Konstantinova (ed.), *Thessaloniki and the Bulgarians, Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*, 2019, pp. 197-226., p. 199

⁹⁸ Y. Konstantinova., The „St. Annunciation” ... p. 205-207.

⁹⁹ Y. Konstantinova., The „St. Annunciation” ... p. 222.



Figure 11. The Bulgarian Female Gymnasium "The Annunciation".

Source: D. Vais, *The schools of Thessaloniki... Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 24 February 2017, [online photograph],

https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=789300381227108&set=gm.10155047326997760&type=3&fref=gs&dti=242899912759&hc_location=group, [Access: 25 March 2020].

2.2.4 High School (Gymnasium of Saints Cyril and Methodius).

The Bulgarian Male and Female Gymnasium operated in the parish of St. Athanasius,^{100,101} from 1881-1882, in a large plot of land.^{102, 103} Previously it operated in a quadruple house, with five children.¹⁰⁴ Sponsored by Sofia,¹⁰⁵ it was a major center of cultivation of the Bulgarian Idea and had a boarding house, a physics and a chemistry lab, and library.¹⁰⁶ In 1899 his pupils published the Bulgarian newspaper "Snop",¹⁰⁷ and in June 1913, when the Greek-Bulgarian war broke out, the students of this school fought fanatically out of their building.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰ For a while it operated near the church of Saint Nikolaos, along with a teaching and a boarding school.

¹⁰¹ K. Moskóf, loc. cit.,

¹⁰² This plot, was the former house of Anastasios Giannoulis, who sold it to the Bulgarians.

¹⁰³ P. Kontoyiánnis, "Scholía allóphilon en Thessaloníki", ["Schools of Foreigners in Thessaloniki"], *Makedonikó Imerolóyion-Epetírís ton Makedónon*, Pammakedonikós Síllogos, Athínai, 1910, p. 180.

¹⁰⁴ E. Vachároglou, op. cit., p.185.

¹⁰⁵ L. Bernard, op. cit., p. 145.

¹⁰⁶ P. Kontoyiánnis, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁷ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographía tis Thessaloníkis*.... p. 419.

¹⁰⁸ E. Vachároglou, *Ekpaideftiká Idrímata kai skholía tis Thessaloníkis (1850-1912). I órganosi kai litouryía tis protováthmias ekpaídefsis*. [Educational Institutions and Schools of Thessaloniki (1850-



It was located at the junction of present-day Philip 155 and St. Sofia,¹⁰⁹ while according to Zafiris, it was at the intersection of present-day Olympus and Agia Sophia streets opposite the Experimental School¹¹⁰ and according to Vachároglou, it was the present Experimental School of ATh.¹¹¹ In 2014, a memorial board for the Gymnasium was placed in the Gymnasium area, where it was located, at the intersection of present-day Olympus and Agia Sophia streets.¹¹²

Figure 12. The sign indicating the location of the old Bulgarian high school, located at the school that currently stands in its place.

Source: Personal file.



Figure 13. Bulgarian Gymnasium of Saints Cyril and Methodius, unknown year.

Source: G. Manios, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 1 September 2014, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=287474868124506&set=p.287474868124506&type=3&theater>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

1912). The organization and operation of primary education.] Thessaloniki: *Aristotélio Panepistímio Thessalonikis - Theoloyiki Skholí*. 1997., pp.81-82.

¹⁰⁹ P. Agraphiótou-Zakhopóulu, *Ta scholia tis Thessalonikis*. [The schools of Thessaloniki.] Thessaloniki: Ianós., 1997., p. 91.

¹¹⁰ Ch. Zaphíris, *I mnímis tis pólis*. *Kimena kai spánies photographíes yia ti Thessaloniki*. [The memory of the city. Texts and rare photos for Thessaloniki] *Angeliophóros tis Kiriakís*. (éntheto) p. 12.

¹¹¹ E. Vachároglou, op. cit., p.82., P. Kontoyiánnis, loc. cit.

¹¹² Anon., Boutáris: Ótan den xéris to parelthón sou, den borís na khtísis to méllon., *voría.gr*, 05 March 2014., Available at: <https://www.voria.gr/article/mpoutaris-otan-den-xereis-to-parelthon-sou-den-mporeis-na-xtiseis-to-mellon>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

2.2.5 Trade School.

It was founded in 1907-1908 in the Kazandizlar district and was for males.¹¹³ According to another source it started operating in 1904/5 near the port.¹¹⁴ In the heat of the German occupation, the Bulgarian Club of Thessaloniki had repeatedly attempted to reopen the old Bulgarian School on Monastiriou Street, but in the end it failed.¹¹⁵ That is how we know the street it was on.

2.2.6 Elementary Schools.

There was a Bulgarian elementary school in Vardari district, which is depicted in the figure 13 below. There were also elementary schools in Saint Athanasios, and the Hamidiye districts.¹¹⁶ They were male and female schools.¹¹⁷ There was an elementary school, according to Konstantinova in Agias Sofias street, near Egnatia street with the name Saint Klimis. This has to be the one in the Agios Athanasios District, the building of which bought in 1897 by Sopof George. One more elementary school, was probably in today's Aetorahis 43, the one in Hamidiye district. The one in Vardari district is the one that was beside their Saint Dimitrios Church.¹¹⁸

2.2.7 American Farm School.



Figure 14. American Farm School in Sedes Region. Interwar period.

Source: Th. Metallinos, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 9 June 2012, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10150853753924599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹¹³ E. Vachároglou, op. cit., p.186., P. Kontoyiánnis, op. cit., p.181.

¹¹⁴ Y. Konstantinova., I Thessaloníki...p. 94-95.

¹¹⁵ Ch. Kardarás., op. cit, p. 76-77.

¹¹⁶ P. Kontoyiánnis, loc. cit.

¹¹⁷ E. Vachároglou, loc. cit.

¹¹⁸ Y. Konstantinova., I Thessaloníki... p. 93.

In 1905, American Protestants began the operation of the "American Farm School", in which they educated children from Bulgarian-speaking villages in Macedonia.¹¹⁹ According to Stampoúlis, it was founded in 1904, by John Henri House, and they educated children, without distinction as to their origin.¹²⁰ The same year is mentioned in the school's own website, where it is further stated that the area of two hundred acres had been purchased since 1902, where were planted the first trees, dug a well and hired a gardener as its first employee. In 1902 Dr. John Henry House and his wife, Susan Adeline, after living as missionaries for thirty years, found themselves in Thessaloniki, initially establishing the Agricultural and Industrial Institute of Thessaloniki, which was later renamed as it is known today. The foundation's survival in the early years is based on humble donations of capital and equipment from a small circle of supporters in the US. Its founder believed in the value of manual labor, believed that work was a prayer, and never left it unattended. After the establishment of the school, he focused on the ten children who had been saved from the slaughter at the Monastery. He found volunteer teachers, a builder, a carpenter, a tailor and a shoemaker, in return for teaching them the priesthood. He died at an early age in 1936, leaving behind a huge stockpile and permanently "sealing" the course of the American Farm School. The school, on the other hand, has witnessed the two Balkan wars, World War I and the mass movements of people and refugees from Asia Minor to Greece, and many more.¹²¹

2.2.8 Law School.

A University for Law Studies (Hukuk Mektebi) was founded in Thessaloniki, in 1907. During the first year of its foundation, fifteen Bulgarians took a scholarship, from the 120 that were granted. Their number increased the following years, and they were active in public city's life.¹²² The building that hosted the Ottoman Law School is the

¹¹⁹ Ch. Papastáthis, loc. cit.

¹²⁰ G. Stampoúlis, *I zoí*.. p. 243.

¹²¹ A. Angelídis., *O idritís tis Skholís: Dr. John Henry House*. [Founder: John Henry House.], *Amerikániki Skholí Thessaloníkis*. , 11 October 2018., Available at: <https://www.afs.edu.gr/newsd.php?id=2044&lg=1>, [Access: 25 March 2020]., Anon., *Yenikés Plirophories*. [General Information] *Amerikániki Yeoryikí Skholí*. Available at: <https://www.afs.edu.gr/σύντομες-πληροφορίες/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹²² Anon. *Thessaloniki and the Bulgarians*., *Education-Foreign schools*., *Institute of Balkan Studies and Centre of Tracology at the BAS*. Available at: <https://www.solunbg.org/en/solun-i-balgarite/history/prosveta.html>, [Access: 25 March 2020]

Administration Building. In addition, this building signed the Thessaloniki's surrender on October 26, 1912, and then housed the services of the General Administration.¹²³ After various names and attributes related to it is the Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace, from 2015 transformed into a Sub ministry, under the Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reconstruction.¹²⁴

2.3 Churches.

The first Bulgarian (with the term "Exarchic" at the time) church functioned in 1876.¹²⁵

2.3.1 Bulgarian Saint Demetrios.

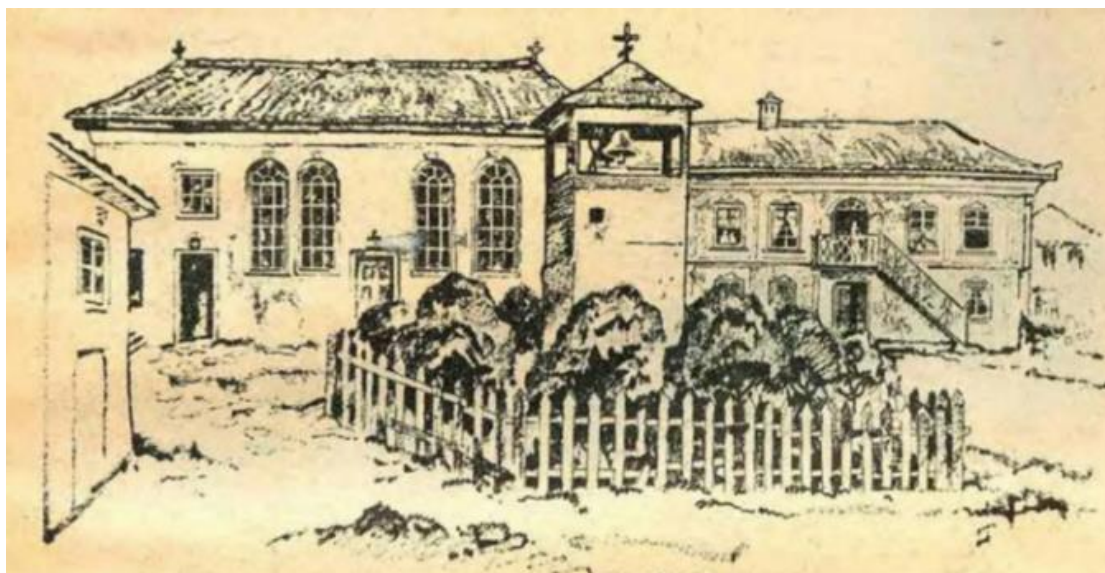


Figure 15. Bulgarian church of St. Demetrios along with their elementary school.

Source: G. Sidiropoulos, *Bulgarian church...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 04 February 2020, [online photograph], Available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2527699900850879&set=gm.10156884407399599&type=3&theater&ifg=1>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

It existed in 1906 in the district of Yanik Manastir, on Dikili Tas Str., then Seleukidon Str..¹²⁶ The Bulgarian church of Saint Dimitrios was northeast of Vardari Square, inside

¹²³ K. Tzímou., O Khártis tis pólis: To Diikitírio., [Map of the city: residency] parallaxi., 23 October 2013., Available at: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/chartis-tis-polis/o-chartis-tis-polis-to-diikitirio>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹²⁴ Ellinikí Kivérnisi, *Proedrikó Diátagma* [Presidential decree] 24/2015 – ΦΕΚ (FEK) 20/A/27-1-2015.

¹²⁵ Ch. Papastáthis, loc. cit.

¹²⁶ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessalonikis*.... p. 402.

the square of today's Karaolis and Dimitrios, Gladstone, Mavili and Pinios streets.¹²⁷ According to Megas, it started its operation in Kilkis Mahala area in 1892, without permission in a house converted to church.¹²⁸ It has been operating since 1890s and was confiscated in the summer of 1913 during the Second Balkan War along with all other assets of the Bulgarian community. It later ended up in the Public Property Directorate and was demolished in the late 1930s.¹²⁹

2.3.2 Saint Paul's Church- Bulgarian temple (today St Lazarus Chapel).



Figure 16. Saint Lazaros Church, old photo.

Source: G. Manios, *Bulgarian Church...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 10 August 2015, [online photograph], Available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=411956849009640&set=gm.10153019791499599&type=3&theater&ifg=1>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

During the last year of the Ottoman occupation, another church was established with unknown name outside the walls, on Idadiye Avenue, (then Vassilissis Sofias). It must have been the temple of the Bulgarian cemeteries, as in an Ottoman note this church is

¹²⁷ The previous streets' names were Mavili, Seleucidon and Antigonidon.

¹²⁸ G. Megas, op. cit., p. 221.

¹²⁹ G. Sidirópoulos, *I Voulgarikí exarkhikí ekklesía tou Ag. Dimítriou mazí me to ktírio tou skholíou (dímotikó) stin Thessaloníki*. [The Bulgarian "Exarhic" Church of Ag. Dimitriou with the school building (elementary) in Thessaloniki.], *Paliés photographíes tis Thessaloníkis - Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, Facebook, 4 February 2020, Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10156884407399599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

located inside the Evangelistria Cemetery.¹³⁰ According to another source, it was erected as a Bulgarian chapel in 1900, inside the area of their cemeteries, after getting permission from the Ottoman authorities, and was dedicated to St. Paul.¹³¹ Today, it still exist, with its Entrance at Panepistimiou Street, and is Dedicated to Saint Lazarus.



Figure 17. Saint Lazaros Church today.

Source: Personal file.

2.3.3 Church of Cyril and Methodius.



Figure 18. The Bulgarian Church of Cyril and Methodius in Thessaloniki after the conflicts of the Second Balkan War in June 1913.

Source: A. E. Nikopoulos, *The Bulgarian Church...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 18 July 2013, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10151516519834599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹³⁰ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis*.... p. 269.

¹³¹ G. Mégas, loc. cit.

The church of Cyril and Methodius according to Mantopoúlou-Panayiotopoúlou, it was in Frangomahala.¹³² Another source place it standing on the modern street Alexandrou Svolou opposite the cinema "Esperos",¹³³ as supported by comments in the link from the photo of the church. According to Tomanas it was in today's Al. Svolou and Kapetan Patriki streets corner until 1932.¹³⁴

According to Dimitriádis there was a small Bulgarian church, dedicated to the Savior, located in the Panagoudas district on Komurcu Str. (then Galeriou Str.). Its existence is not mentioned earlier because it was probably founded in the last year of the Ottoman occupation, according to the same source.¹³⁵ However, this is not supported in the rest of the literature as true. There is a possibility the other temple of Savior in the same area to be this Bulgarian church. Probably it was the church of Cyril and Methodius,

located in the same area and a little further down, on today's street Palaion Patron Germanou, at the junction with Alexandrou Svolou, as it seems in the plan on Figure 21.¹³⁶

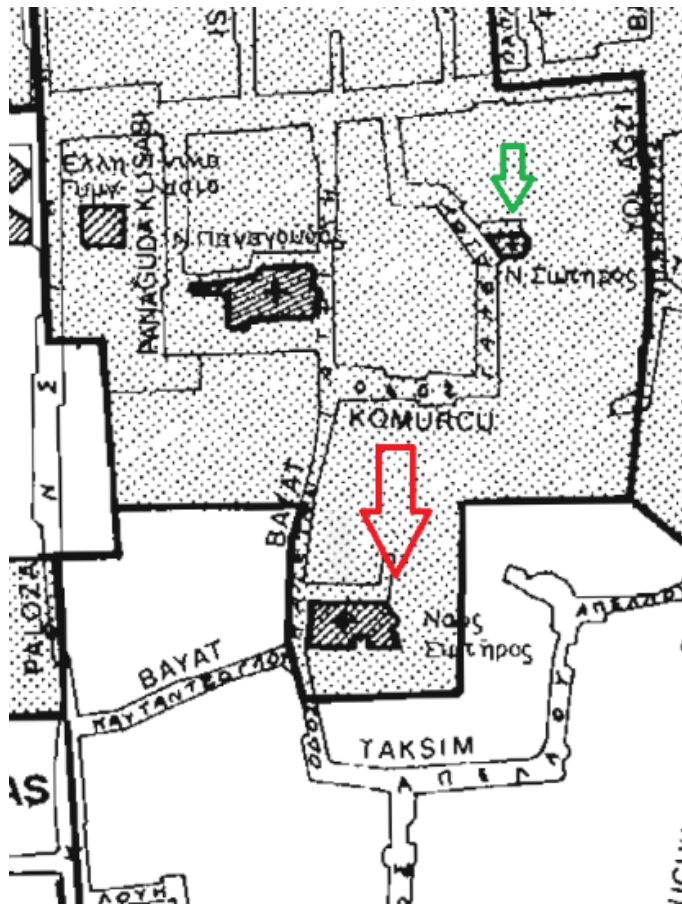


Figure 19. Savior's Churches.

Source: V. Dimitriádis, "Topography of Thessaloniki during the Ottoman Period" p. 59.

The red arrow depicts the temple of the Savior, which corresponds to the position given to the Temple of Cyril and Methodius from other sources, and Dimitriádis in p. 60. The green one is described from Dimitriádis as Bulgarian in p. 402.

¹³² Th. Mantopoúlou-Panayiotopoúlou, *To ktiriakó singrótima tis mitrópolis Thessaloníkis*. [The building complex of the metropolis of Thessaloniki.], Thessaloníki: Etairía Makedonikón Spoudón. pp. 551-557, 1985. p. 21.

¹³³ G. Stampoúlis, *I zoí ...*, p. 295.

¹³⁴ K. Tomanás, *I kátiki tis paliás Thessaloníkis* [The inhabitants of old Thessaloniki.], Thessaloniki, Ekdósís Exántas, 1992. , p. 163.

¹³⁵ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis.... p. 402*.

¹³⁶ V. Dimitriádis also claims that the church was on Capetan Patrick Street in *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis.... p. 60*.

2.3.4 Church of Saint George-today Church of John Chrysostom.



Figure 20. Aerial photograph of Saint John Chrysostom Church in the summer of 1917.

Source: A. E. Nikopoulos, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 8 December 20019, [online photograph],

Available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2702399773187064&set=p.2702399773187064&type=3&theater>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

The church was built by the Bulgarian community in 1907-1912 in the name of Saint George.¹³⁷ In 1907 they began to build the temple, which was intended to be a Metropolis. It was communicating with a house at the back that served as a metropolitan home. It was mainly aimed at patients, hospital visitors and the orphanages. There were no Bulgarian neighborhoods in the area, but the church was probably intended to be a polar attraction for the creation of a neighborhood. In 1912 it came to Greek authority, which overthrew it and introduced some modifications. Today the church is known as Saint John Chrysostom.¹³⁸ A small vestibule was added in 1975, while in 1978 it was damaged by earthquakes and repaired. It is located in the area of Papafio Orphanage (formerly the district of Hamidiye), in the southern part of the building block,

¹³⁷A.E. Nikopoulos, *ínai photographikí psefdaísthisi...[...photographic illusion...]* Paliés photographíes tis Thessaloníkis-Old Photos of Thessaloniki, Facebook, December 2019., Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2702399773187064&set=p.2702399773187064&type=3&theater>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹³⁸ Th. Mantopóulu-Panayiotopóulu, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

surrounded by Ioanninon, A. Simeonidis, Koritsas and Perdika streets¹³⁹ with its entrance in 51 Perdika Str. At the beginning of 1942, after constant pressure from the Bulgarian Club, they were granted, by the German authorities of Thessaloniki, the church of St. John Chrysostom in Thessaloniki. After the liberation of the city, in 1944 it became Greek again.¹⁴⁰

2.4 Cemeteries.

In 1875 the Bulgarians requested an extension of their already existing ones - in the Evangelistria and in Agia Paraskevi regions – cemeteries, according to Brendas,¹⁴¹ but the opinions differ, as described below.

2.4.1 Evangelistria.



Figure 21. St. Lazaros Church of the Bulgarian cemetery, and around this Bulgarian cemetery.

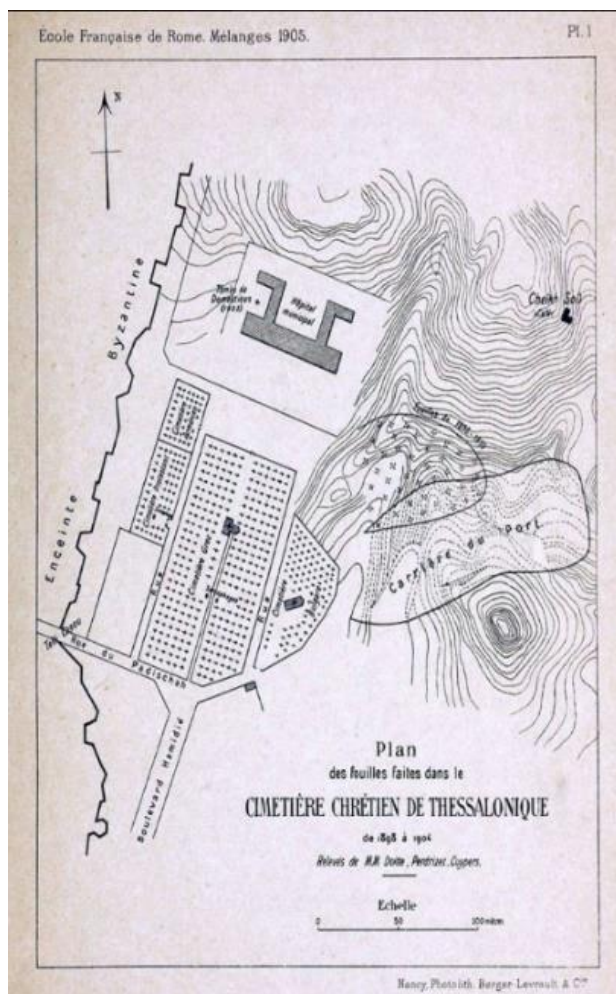
Source: M. Filippidou, ...from the east..., *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 2 July 2019, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10156323445794599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹³⁹ Th. Mantopoúlou-Panayiótópoulou, *Thriskeftikí arkhitektonikí sti Thessaloníki katá tin teleftaía phási tis tourkokratías (1839-1912)*. [Religious architecture in Thessaloniki during the last phase of the Turkish occupation (1839-1912).], Thessaloníki: *Aristotélio Panepistímio Thessaloníkis-Arkhitektonikí Skholí*. Didaktorikí Diatriví. 1989. pp. 551-557.

¹⁴⁰ Ch. Kardarás., *I vougárikí propagánda sti yermanokratoúmeni Makedonía, Vougárikí Léskhi Thessaloníkis (1941-1944)*, [Bulgarian propaganda in German-occupied Macedonia, Bulgarian Club of Thessaloniki (1941-1944)], *Ekdósis Epikairótita.*, 1997., p. 64-66.

¹⁴¹ G. Bréntas, op. cit., p. 9.

Part of the Evangelistria cemetery area claimed by the Greek Community was granted by the Ottoman authorities, among others, and to Bulgarian cemeteries.¹⁴² The



Bulgarian Orthodox community was given the right to bury in the east of the Greek Orthodox Cemeteries.¹⁴³ In fact, in 1900, they erected, with permission, in the area of their cemeteries and the chapel of St. Paul.¹⁴⁴ The Bulgarian cemetery at Evangelistria was abolished in 1912 after the liberation of Thessaloniki, with the area being incorporated in Evangelistria cemeteries.¹⁴⁵ The last buildings of the Bulgarian cemetery other than the Evangelistria Temple were destroyed in 1956.¹⁴⁶ It's entrance is at Panepistimiou str..

Figure 22. Topographic map where Bulgarian cemeteries are distinguished.

Source: J.-P. F. Saridaki, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 8 July 2019, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=911289559217404&set=p.911289559217404&type=3>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

2.4.2 Agia Paraskevi.

In 1875 is recorded a small Bulgarian cemetery of five tombs in Agia Paraskevi.¹⁴⁷ The Bulgarian community of Thessaloniki in 1886 requested the acquisition of its own

¹⁴² V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis*.... p. 447.

¹⁴³ E. Chekíoglou, *I Thessaloníki prin apó to 1912*.... p.86.

¹⁴⁴ G. Mégas, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁵ E. Kakkoulídou., *Ta elliniká orthódoxa nekrotaphía tis Thessaloníkis to 19o aióna*. [The Greek Orthodox cemeteries of Thessaloniki in the nineteenth century.] Anátipon ek tou KV' tóμου ton "Makedonikón", Etairía Makedonikón Spoudón., Thessaloníki, 1982., p. 403.

¹⁴⁶ K. Yerakarítou., *Pólos élxis ta istoriká stratiotiká kimitíria tis Thessaloníkis*. [An attraction the historic military cemeteries of Thessaloniki], Voria.gr., [Online] Available at: <https://www.voria.gr/article/chartis-me-ta-stratiotika-kimitiria-tis-thessalonikis>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁴⁷ P. Enepekídís, op. cit. p. 332.

cemetery, claiming the two Greek cemeteries, at Evangelistria and Agia Paraskevi. Although legally and by other means, the Greeks stifled these efforts, the Ottomans gave Bulgarians permission to establish a cemetery between the Zeitenlik and Agia Paraskevi cemeteries, with financial compensation. Nevertheless, the Bulgarians' efforts to acquire the church of Aghia Paraskevi continued in deceptive ways, albeit without result.¹⁴⁸

The cemetery in Agia Paraskevi, was next to the church of Saint Panteleimonas at Ampelokipoi,¹⁴⁹ as supported in more detail in Hekimoglu's book with the story of the crooks. Specifically, the oral opinion of the former mayor of the area is recorded, claiming that the old church of St. Panteleimon was surrounded by a Bulgarian cemetery, which was probably built before 1872. After 1912 the poor were buried there. The area was surrendered to the Municipality of Ampelokipi, although it was also claimed by the Exchange Office with the issue of ending it in 1977 with a delivery protocol. It is noted however that there is only a small bibliographical reference to this cemetery as a temporary cemetery.¹⁵⁰

2.4.2.1 German-Bulgarian cemetery.

In the same area, near the present church of Agios Panteleimon, was this cemetery, a few years later. The first action for the construction of the German-Bulgarian cemetery began in the summer of 1923, and during the interwar period the creation and operation of the cemetery remained unknown in the urban society of Thessaloniki. In 1944 it was abandoned, and in 1946, the Germans and Bulgarians were exhumed from the cemetery. In 1951, it was declared empty and transferred to Greek state ownership, while in 1985 it was granted by the Municipality of Ampelokipoi for the construction of a school.¹⁵¹

According to the bibliography, the plot is located between Eleutherias, Afxediou and Ethnikis Antistaasews streets, while according to research, in the archives of the municipal property office cited by Vlasidis, the land called the "German Mausoleum"

¹⁴⁸ G. Mégasop. cit., p. 220-221.

¹⁴⁹ E. Chekímoglou, *I Thessaloniki prin apó to 1912....* p.86.

¹⁵⁰ E. Chekímoglou., *I Ampelókípi ékhoun istoría. Istorikí proséngisi stin periokhí Ampelokípon Thessalonikis.*, [Ampelokipoi has a history. Historical approach in the area of Ampelokipoi Thessaloniki.] Ianós-Dímos Ampelokípon., 1998., p. 40-42., Lazarídis., op. cit., p. 51.

¹⁵¹ V. Vlasídis, "The German-Bulgarian military cemetery in Thessaloniki 1925-1946", in Yura Konstantinova, Nadia Danova, Jordan Zhelev (eds), *Thessaloniki and the Bulgarians: History, Memory, Present*, Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2019, pp. 520-542 [In bulgarian] p.526-527.

was bordered in the 1930s, on the east by a nursery, north with a private property, west and south with a river, (over that with a Street that no longer exists), and after that with the exchangeable property of the National Bank of Greece.¹⁵²

2.4.3 Zeitenlik.

It is a cemetery space which is still today organized in sectors by nationality. Some Bulgarian prisoners are buried in the British sector.¹⁵³ In fact 45 Bulgarian prisoners of war.¹⁵⁴ Bulgarian prisoners of war from camps in the Zeitenlik area were buried with the British in the Zeitenlik necropolis.¹⁵⁵

2.4.4 Exohi's Commonwealth Military Cemetery.



Figure 23. Exohi's Commonwealth Military Cemetery.

Source: Excerpt from Google Maps.

¹⁵² V. Vlasídis, *The German-Bulgarian...* p. 524.

¹⁵³ E. Roúka., *To Makedonikó Métopo: Meléti anádixis kai axiopísis enós istorikou tóπου.* [The Macedonian Front: A Study of the Promotion and Development of a Historic Site.], *Diplomatiki ergasia, Tmima Arkhitektónon Mikhanikón, Politekhniki Skholi, A.U. Th.*, Available at: <http://ikee.lib.auth.gr/record/134520/files/GRI-2014-12545.pdf>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁵⁴ Th. Karakioulákh., *Kimitiria Zeítenlik-I táphi tou Elaíona-I nekrópoli tis Thessalonikis.* [Zeitenlik Cemeteries-The Tombs of Eleonas-The Necropolis of Thessaloniki.], *ThessHistory.*, *thessnews.gr.*, Available at: <https://www.thessnews.gr/article/104858/thesshistory-koimitiria-zeitenlik-oi-tafoi-tou-elaiona-i-nekropoli-tis-thessalonikis>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁵⁵ V. Vlasídis, *I mními tou Megáλου Poléμου.* [The memory of the Great War. Cemeteries of the Macedonian Front in Thessaloniki.], *Kimitiria tou Makedonikou Metóπου sti Thessaloniki.*, University Studio Press., 2017., p.62.

Many hospitals from Great Britain and its colonies were based in the area from January 1916 to January 1919. Most tombs are for victims of the Spanish flu. The cemeteries host 588 tombs and among them, there are 58 Bulgarian prisoners of war, who were also buried with the British, as above.¹⁵⁶ It is at Agiou Stefanou Street, in Exohi.

2.5 KaravanSaray.

In 1888 Paul Lindau, in a description of Thessaloniki, records that the Karavan Saray building had become an inn, specifically for Bulgarians.¹⁵⁷ During the Ottoman occupation two Karavan Sarai were mentioned, the small and the big, where guests could stay overnight for free. The whereabouts of the small one remains unknown, while the big one, according to Dimitriádis, lies at the intersection of Venizelos and Egnatia streets. Both were built from 1489-1505 by Koca Mustafa Pasa.¹⁵⁸ The appearance and plan of the building in 1864, is the only evidence of its existence then, while on a map of Thessaloniki since the 1870s it is not imprinted, therefore it may not have existed anymore. A study for a new building was prepared before 1923 and approved by the Archaeological Service, with condition to be adapted the shape of a Karavan Sarai.¹⁵⁹ According to Tomanas, it was at Venizelou street, above Egnatia street¹⁶⁰ and it was demolished in the early 20th century, according to a source,¹⁶¹ while according to another in the middle of the 19th century.¹⁶² So the current building is not the original one, but it is in the same place. This point, is at the intersection of Venizelou and Vamvaka streets today.

2.6 The Melik Bay Coffee Shop.

It was at Vardaris district, at the junction of Egnatia with Eirini Street. It offered customers coffee, ales, brandy (with a piece of caramel sugar), raki and hookah. Apart

¹⁵⁶ V. Vlasídis, *I mními...* p. 64.

¹⁵⁷ P. Enepekídis, *op. cit.* p. 332.

¹⁵⁸ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis ...*p. 407.

¹⁵⁹ K. Tzímou., *O Khártis tis Pólis: Karaván Sarái -To palió Dimarkhío.* [City Map: Karavan Saray - The Old Town Hall] 26 November 2013., Source: parallaxi., Available at: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/o-chartis-tis-polis-karavan-sarai-to-pa>., [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁶⁰ K. Tomanás, *Drómi kai yitoniés tis Thessaloníkis mékhri to 1944.* [Roads and neighborhoods of Thessaloniki until 1944.], Thessaloníki, Ekdósis Politía, 2006, p. 122., For the plans see: E. Gavrá., *Khaniá kai karaván serávia apó ti Thessaloníki éos tin póli ton Serrón kai yíro ap' aftín apó to 1774 éos to 1913.* [Hania and Karavan Saraya from Thessaloniki to the city of Serres and around it, from 1774 to 1913.] *Makedoniká*, 25(1), 1986., 143-179., p. 159-160.

¹⁶¹ K. Tomanás, *I tavérnes...*p.104.

¹⁶² E. Gavrá., *op. cit.* p. 160.

from a café in the evening after the owner's concession, homeless people of various ethnicities, such as Ottomans, Romans, Bulgarians, Arvanites and Vlachs, stayed overnight.¹⁶³

2.7 **The Bosnak Hani.**

It was a Bosnian hotel frequented by Bulgarians. Bosniak Hani was the center for all the Bulgarians.¹⁶⁴ It was in the intersection of the today's streets Fragon and Sofou Leontos, and operated as the head office of EMEO, where all of the meetings of the Central Committee took place.¹⁶⁵

2.8 **Clinic.**

It should also be noted that during the German occupation, and in January 1943, a Bulgarian clinic started operating on 16 Agias Triadas Str., having as a goal to be developed into a hospital and an obstetrician,¹⁶⁶ and provided free health care to Bulgarians in Thessaloniki when opened.¹⁶⁷

2.9 **The Old Customs House.**

According to the interviewee (see Interview 1) who included it in the major tourist attractions for the Bulgarians, and related it to their tradition, its presentation in this research was considered legitimate, although it did not, in any way belong to the Bulgarian community.

Customs House, was a project by a contractor-engineer who donated some of the finest buildings in our city, Eli Modiano. Architectural drawings were attributed to the lavish architect Alexandre Vallauray. Operation of the port officially began on the 1st of February 1903. The buildings designed for the new port's facilities began to be constructed in 1904. One of these projects is the passenger station which was built along with the warehouses and was established in 1910. It is one of the most important

¹⁶³ K. Tomanás, *Ta kaphenia ...*, p. 18.

¹⁶⁴ I. Notáris, *op. cit.*, p.75.

¹⁶⁵ Y. Konstantinova., *I Thessaloníki...* p. 94.

¹⁶⁶ Polizídis, S., *Nosileftiká idrímata tis Thessaloníkis (Istorikí kai litouryikí parousíasi)*. [Nursing institutions of Thessaloniki (Historical and functional presentation).] Thessaloníki: ekd. Iatrikós Síllogos Thessaloníkis. 1998. p. 209.

¹⁶⁷ Ch. Kardarás., *op. cit.*, p. 82.

examples of Thessaloniki's eclectic architecture, imposing and impressive.¹⁶⁸ The "seal" of Eli Modiano bears the static development of the building, based on the pioneering method of Francois Hennebique (1842-1921).¹⁶⁹ It was the first building in the city to be made of reinforced concrete. It is 200 meters long and by 2002 it housed the second customs office. Its construction was completed in 1912. It was declared preserved in 1977, and has been experiencing for a lot of years static problems and a severe damage was made due to the '78 earthquake and adding the impact of the sea, it had to be evacuated for a long time.¹⁷⁰ The parts of the port that were operating during the Great War, almost all of them still exist today as Pier A, and function as a recreational area.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸G. Gkrosdánis., I ektelonistés tis Thessaloníkis yiortázoun 100 khrónia. Afí ínai i istoría tous. [The customs agents of Thessaloniki celebrate 100 years. This is their story.], parallaxi., 14 January 2019., Available at: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/oi-ektelonistes-tis-thessalonikis-giortazoun-ekato-chronia-afti-einai-istoria-tous>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁶⁹ Anon., To Mégaro tou Teloniou. Éna diakhronikó stolídi tis pólis. [The Customs House. A timeless ornament of the city.], thessgiatro.gr., Available at: <http://thessgiatro.gr/index.php/topics/thessaloniki-videos/item/6435-to-megaro-tou-teloneiou-ena-diakhroniko-stolidi-tis-polis>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁷⁰ G. Gkrosdánis., loc. cit.

¹⁷¹ V. Vlasídis, I mními... p. 72.

3 Serbs in Thessaloniki (religious and cultural heritage).



Figure 24. Serbian troops dance a traditional “Kolo” at their camp near Salonika in June 1916.

Source: Varges, Ariel, 1916-06, *IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUMS Q 32156*, Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205213326>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

According to a recorded visit by Berar, there were no Serbs in Thessaloniki except for the consul, the two interpreters and the three “kavasides”¹⁷² of the consulate, some merchants who came from Serbia, and about 200 indoor students.¹⁷³ Similar remarks to Berar are made by Bulgarian V.Kancev, who says that there were about 100 Serbs.¹⁷⁴ The lack of the presence of Serbian populations is also noted by the Serb Jovan Cvijic in 1904. According to the Greek ethnological statistics, there were 4,000 registered “Serbs”, that were Slav-speaking converted from the Serbian propaganda and formally obedient to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.¹⁷⁵ In 1908 the Serbian bank “Beogradska

¹⁷² Kavasis was the official title conferred by the authorized concierge or cleric to the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁷³ Á. Angelopoulou, *Ópsis tis servikís ethnikís drásis stous slavóphonous plithismούς tis Makedonías (téli tou 19ou aióna-arkhés tou 20ou aióna)*. [Aspects of Serbian national action in Macedonia's Slav-speaking populations (late 19th-early 20th century)]. *Fragmenta Hellenoslavica*, Issue Vol 2, 2015, p. 86.

¹⁷⁴ Á. Angelopoulou, *Ópsis tis servikís...*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁵ Á. Angelopoulou, *Ópsis tis servikís...*, p. 89.

Zaduga” was founded in Thessaloniki for the sole purpose of facilitating the export of animals from Serbia to the Mediterranean.¹⁷⁶

According to Hekimoglu, in 1925, there were 50 Serbs, involved in the gastronomy field. There were 6 roasted chick-peas sellers staying at the Yeni Mosque of the Agia Triada district, at 36 Egnatia Str., 6 pastry cooks (for halva¹⁷⁷) staying at 34 Stratou Str. and Athens Str. (now Papanastasiou Str.). The 5 milk sellers were scattered between Panagouda and Ypapanti, the 13 cooks stayed or worked on 4 Egnatia Str. and the 19 pastry makers were at 2 Monastiriou Str., 47 Egnatia Str. (later Aristippos Liapis factory) and 58 Egnatia Str. (later Brothers Ligda pastry shop).¹⁷⁸ The above is in agreement with Quataert who claims that they mainly invested in small businesses.¹⁷⁹

From Serbian language newspapers, there was “*Pravda*” (1905), and it was daily,¹⁸⁰ while in Thessaloniki at 1891, opened the first Serbian bookstore, and it was the first in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸¹ Also in 1916 started “*Stripski Glasnik*” and “*Ratni dnevnik*”, and “*Pravda*”, while in 1917 “*Narrod*” started.¹⁸² It was released in February 1980 by the monk Mitrophanis and Hilandari monastery, written in Serbian, with texts about the life of the monastery, the Serbian Church, theological issues and more and the four-month magazine “*Hilandari*”, which was published in Thessaloniki. In July 1981, the appendix to the previous magazine, with similar content, “*Hilandarina Filla*”, was launched and discontinued in September 1983.¹⁸³ From 1897 there was a Serbian high school - boarding school, and in 1907-1908 they found a Higher Urban School and a Female School, two kindergartens,¹⁸⁴ and a church while Serbs animal suppliers used to go in a particular cafe.¹⁸⁵

During the Great War, Serbian troops, with 144,000 soldiers, arrived in Thessaloniki, from Corfu. When the Serbs arrived in Thessaloniki, they settled in the Vineyards of

¹⁷⁶ V. Goúnaris, op. cit., p.121.

¹⁷⁷ In Germany is known as "Turkish honey". It is a mixture of sugar and flour with nuts or almonds.

¹⁷⁸ E. Chekimoglou, *Thessaloniki: Tourkokratia kai...* p.282.

¹⁷⁹ D. Quataert, loc. cit.

¹⁸⁰ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographía tis Thessaloníkis τ. Α' ...*, p.462.

¹⁸¹ A. Novakov [A. Ж. Новаков], *Srednje Srpske Škole u Osmanskom Carstvu (1878 – 1912)*. [Secondary Serbian Schools in the Ottoman Empire (1878 - 1912)], *Univerzitet u Novom Sadu - Filozofski Fakultet*, 2014. p. 461.

¹⁸² M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographía tis Thessaloníkis τ. Β'* p. 620-636.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ E. Vachároglou... p. 187.

¹⁸⁵ K. Tomanás, *Ta kaphenia tis paliás Thessaloníkis*. [The cafes of old Thessaloniki.], Ekdósis Nisídes. 1997. p. 35.

Mikra and Zeitenlik. In the southeastern outskirts the Serbs had formed six Divisions (or three Armies). Many of them were congregating in the Serbian church of Saint Savva, above the Hippodromiou Square. The Serbian officers lived in brick-built ground-floor houses on Vassiliu Georgiou Str..¹⁸⁶ At the same period, the French established several French-Greek and French-Serbian schools in Thessaloniki and other Macedonian cities,¹⁸⁷ while the French-Serbian restaurant at Imperial Palace was one of the most famous during the Great War.¹⁸⁸

3.1 The Serbian Free Zone.

In order to continue the primary role of the port, which serves the inhabitants of the whole Balkans, the Greek Government established, in 1914, the Free Zone of the port of Thessaloniki.¹⁸⁹ Coming out of the Asia Minor Disaster crisis, the relationship between the two countries was strained, leading to Belgrade's unilateral, essentially, claims to weak Greece. It has sought to better serve its commercial needs, notably by trying to achieve financial facilities at the port of Thessaloniki, as well as wider control of the rail link with Serbia, with little consideration. However, what was willing to give in, was disproportionately small. Despite what has happened in the interim, and the postponements that have taken place, amid many developments on the political scene and relations between the two countries,¹⁹⁰ on October 11, 1928, a Greek-Serbian protocol was signed in Belgrade regulating the status of the zone's operation. The zone would be run by Serbian customs, without prejudice to the Greek sovereignty neither on the zone nor on the Gevgelij - Thessaloniki railway line. On March 27, 1929, a Greek-Serbian friendship pact was signed.¹⁹¹ The Free Zone was housed in a 94,000 sqm space that included pier 2 with a ladder 9 to serve the ships. It was abolished in

¹⁸⁶ P. Valási, *I kathimeriní zí sti Thessaloníki sta khrónia tou A' Pangosmíou Polémou. I kathimerinótita kai i kinonikí zí tis pólis sti diárkia tou Megáλου Polémou.* [Everyday life in Thessaloniki during the years of the First World War. The daily life and social life of the city during the Great War.]. Thessaloníki: *Panepistímio Makedonías.* 2019, p. 102.

¹⁸⁷ P. Valási, op. cit., p.110.

¹⁸⁸ P. Valási, op. cit., p.72.

¹⁸⁹ Anon., *Thessaloníki., Organismós Liménos Thessaloníkis A.E.* , Available at: <https://www.thpa.gr/index.php/el/explore/1-2>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

¹⁹⁰ A. Koulás., *I Ellinoyiungoslavikés skhésis apó to 1923 éos to 1928.*, [Greek-Yugoslav relations from 1923 to 1928], *Didaktorikí Diatriví., Aristotélio Panepistímio Thessaloníkis., Tmíma Istorias kai Arkhaioloyias.*, 2007.

¹⁹¹ S. Sfétas., *Valkaniká Símfhona Philías 1913-2011.* [Balkan Friendship Pact 1913-2011.], *Ekdílosi: Valkánia 1913-2011., Etairía Makedonikón Spoudón.*, Nov. -Dec. 2011., Available at: http://media.ems.gr/ekdiloseis/2011/event_sfetas_balkanika_symfona.pdf, [Access: 25 March 2020].

1975, and after expiry of the contract in 1995, moved to the Free Zone of Thessaloniki without specific provisions.¹⁹²

3.2 Serbian Consulate - Headquarters of the Serbian Army.

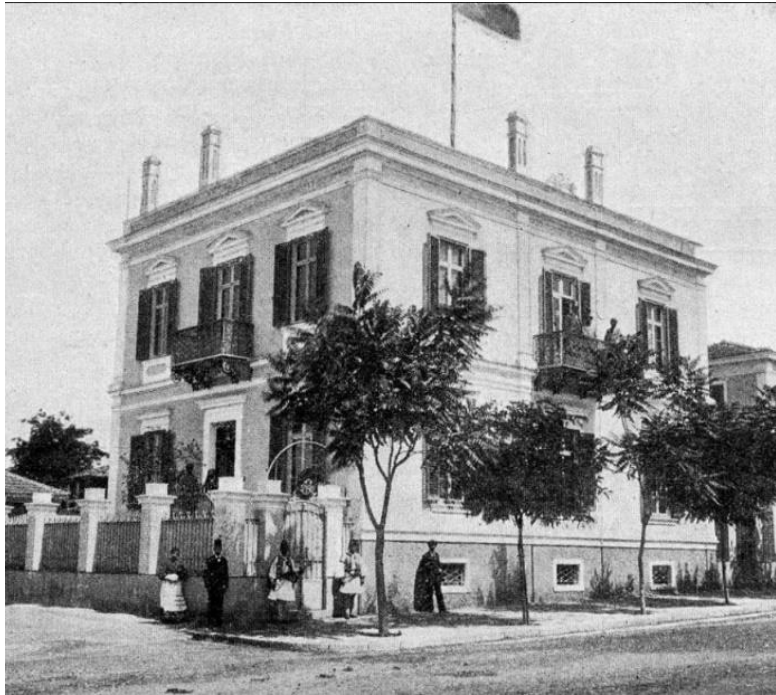


Figure 25. Serbian Consulate at Hamidiye Str., at its first location.

Source: Ch. Giannoulakis, *Serbian Consulate Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 25 February 2019, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10156055213749599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

The Serbian Consulate in Thessaloniki was founded in 1887.¹⁹³ The Italian Consulate building was known as the residence of Manuel Rafael (1859-1940), a renowned lawyer of international law at the Ottoman Empire. It was built in 1907 by Jewish French Jeborga and was eventually bought by lawyer Shamel. During the First World War it housed the Consulate of Austria and the headquarters of the Serbian Army. Salem, sold the house to the Italian state that used it until 1978 (when it was damaged by the earthquake) as a consulate of the Italian state in Thessaloniki.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Anon., *Thessaloniki, Organismós Liménos...*

¹⁹³ Á. Angelopoulou, *Ópsis tis servikís ...*, p. 71.

¹⁹⁴ Ch. Zaphiris, *Thessalonikis Engólpion*. [Gulf of Thessaloniki], Ekdósis Exántas, 1997, p. 240.

The previous information opposes to a comment in the photo above, which shows the entire course of the consulate in the city. Accordingly, the Serbian Consulate in Thessaloniki has moved several times in the past. Its original headquarters was at a building at Hamidiye Str. (on the corner of today's Ethnikis Amynis with 11 Manougiannaki Str.), which was built around 1889 and then rented. After 1913 the consulate was moved to a building on Exohon Avenue whose address was 26 Vassileos Georgiou Street (former numbering, today the address corresponds to the parks after the White Tower). In the interwar period, we find it located at 70 Vasilissis Olgas, at the Benroubi House. After that, it was housed at the corner 76 Vasilissis Olgas with Abbot Str., to the Saltiel house where it remained until nearly 2000. It finally settled in his current address, 4 Komnion Street with Kalapothaki, in the building of the Servo-Hellenic Chamber of Commerce.¹⁹⁵



Figure 26. School at Manousogiannaki with Ethnikis Amynis today.

Source: Personal file.

3.3 Schools.

In 1876, with the outbreak of the Serb-Ottoman war all Serbian schools were shut and all Serbian activities ceased. This situation lasted for about a decade, until 1887, when the Serbian national movement activated, establishing a Consulate in Thessaloniki, among other areas, and their Associates became active.¹⁹⁶ In Belgrade, in 1886, the

¹⁹⁵ K. Tomanás, *Drómi kai yitoniés ...p.107.*

¹⁹⁶ Terzís, N. & Ziógou-Karasteryíou, S., *I ekpaídefsi sti Makedonía katá tin Tourkokratía. Próti proséngisi kai apographí.* [Education in Macedonia during the Turkish occupation. First approach and inventory.] Thessaloniki: Ekdotikós Íkos Aphí Kiriakídi. 1997. p. 116.

National Patriotic Association "Saint Savvas" was established by private individuals, which came under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry's "Political Education Department" in 1889,¹⁹⁷ aiming to organize an educational activity in non-Serbian countries for pupils originating from these areas. After that, the consulate of Thessaloniki, constituted in 1888, took over the organization.¹⁹⁸

To be more specific, concerning the city of Thessaloniki, in the spring of 1887, teacher Elias Tisma, envoy of the Society of Saint Savvas, attempted to establish the first Serbian school in the city, but did not manage to get the approval of the Ottoman authorities. The following year, the Serb inhabitants of Thessaloniki again failed to establish a Serbian school as their request was rejected.¹⁹⁹ By the end of the 1890s, there had been no significant progress on the Serbian educational project in Thessaloniki, despite the strong activation of Serbian propaganda and the increase in the number of Serbian schools (in other districts). Time delay was a big disadvantage, due to the existence of a not securing autonomous church organization, a fact that had a significant role in the result, as they needed the consensus and support of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Greece for the establishment of schools and the placement of Serbian hierarchs in certain regions of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the approval of the Ottoman authorities.^{200,201} Until 1887, no Serbian school in Macedonia.²⁰²

In the early 1890s, they were made aware of the provision of the Public Education Act in force in 1869, according to which schools in Macedonia could be established having the title Private. The Serbian movement attempt to exploit the provisions of the law, fell to the reaction of the local Ottoman authorities, which rejected the request because of the non-existence of Serbs in the area, so the Serbian consular authorities again sought the cooperation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. At the instigation of a group of Serbs in the city, they submitted a request for the establishment of a Serbian church and

¹⁹⁷ In 1887 the Ministry of Education and the "department for Serbian schools and Serbian churches outside Serbia" were set up. However, in 1889 this service was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Political Education Department.

¹⁹⁸ Á. Angelopoulou, *Ópsis tis servikís...*, 71-72.

¹⁹⁹ Á. Angelopoulou, *O K.P. Misirkóph (1874-1926) kai i kínisi ton "Makedoniston"*. [The K.P. Misirkov (1874-1926) and the movement of the "Macedonians".], University Studio Press., 2004., p. 76-78.

²⁰⁰ Securing autonomous church organization would also lead to the official recognition of a Serbian "millet" with its own communities, schools and churches.

²⁰¹ Á. Angelopoulou, *Ópsis tis servikís...*, p. 84.

²⁰² Á. Angelopoulou, *Ópsis tis servikís...*, p. 86.

school in the Metropolis of Thessaloniki. However, the Ecumenical Patriarchate also rejected the request for a school in Thessaloniki because of the lack of a recognized Serb community.²⁰³ Subsequently, they submitted a new request to the Ottoman authorities on the basis of the provisions of the Public Education Act with positive results this time.²⁰⁴

The school started operating in 1892, with its results in the city encouraging the Serbian diplomacy, while in the spring of 1894 activities for the establishment of a high school in Thessaloniki began.²⁰⁵ In 1894, the first Serbian high school in Thessaloniki, as well as a second primary school in the Vardar area, began operating.²⁰⁶

In 1900 4 schools were maintained in Thessaloniki, a high school, a girls' school, a boys kindergarten and a females.²⁰⁷ Shortly before the union of Thessaloniki with Greece, according to Pantelis Kontogiannis,^{208,209} also four educational institutions maintained by Serbia in the city, a senior Urban School, a senior Urban Female School, a kindergarten in the district of Vardar and a kindergarten in the district of Hamidiye.²¹⁰ Higher Urban School and Female School (Serbian) operated on the central street Deyteros Molos.^{211,212}

3.3.1 Kindergartens.

There was a kindergarten in Vardar area with 32 children and one in Agia Triados district with 12 children,²¹³ while according to Kontogiannis, kindergartens were in the districts of Vardar and Hamidiye.²¹⁴

²⁰³ S. Mavroyéni, *Ta sérvika skholía tis Thessaloníkis*. [Serbian Schools of Thessaloniki.], Thessaloniki, *Israilitiki Kinótita Thessaloníkis*, pp. 239-252., 2012, p. 242.

²⁰⁴ S. Mavroyéni, *op. cit.*, p. 243

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ S. Mavroyéni, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ Pantelis Kontoyiánnis was the Greek men's high school director.

²⁰⁹ P. Kontoyiánnis, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

²¹⁰ Á. Angelopoúlou, *Ópsis tis servikís...*, p. 88

²¹¹ E. Vachároglou, *op. cit.*, p.187

²¹² It was commonly referred as Deuterios Molos from the residents. Until the 1917 fire, was the more prestigious street within the city walls, with the name Boulgaroktonou street. After the fire splited in the streets Hlia Oplopoioi, Kalapothaki and Proxenou Koromila. See more at: K. Tomanás, *Drómi kai yitoniés ...* p. 85-86.

²¹³ Ch. Papastáthis, *loc. cit.*

²¹⁴ P. Kontoyiánnis, *loc. cit.*

3.3.2 Elementary school /Dom Nauke- The house of science.

The school started operating informally on September, 1892, and in November of that year officially.²¹⁵ Serbia has long been concerned about Bulgarian aspirations in Macedonia, and since 1893 it has established a high-school showcase in Thessaloniki.²¹⁶ It was named Dom Nauke, meaning the House of Science and settled in the building of the former Grand Hotel d 'Angleterre.²¹⁷ Due to the death of the principal N.T. Popovic, Kostic²¹⁸ took charge of the city's Serbian school, and in 1894 filed a request to upgrade the school to a local high school, to which oral approval was granted immediately and in the autumn of 1894 the first Serbian high school began operating, while the written approval was given in 1896. In the school year 1897/8 the establishment of the Serbian high school in Thessaloniki was completed with the commencement of the operation of the Second Class. It was in the Saint Nicolas district, in the house of brothers Garic (Гарића), in the street of Agiou Nikolaou and according to Popovits statement in the street Carsi Kula in the number 23.²¹⁹ In Dimitriádis' book is visible an intercession between the streets with the names Kule Carsisi and Aya Nicola Klisasi.²²⁰



Figure 27. Hotel d 'Angleterre in late 1920, Located on the left.

Source: N. Ntalakoudis., *Ta xenodoxeia tis paralias. ...stin palia Thessaloniki*, 19 May 2019., [online photograph], Available at: http://paliathess.blogspot.com/2019/05/blog-post_19.html, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²¹⁵ S. Mavroyéni, op. cit. , p. 243.

²¹⁶L. Bernard, op. cit., p. 149.

²¹⁷ The hotel was probably were Benizelou with Nikis streets are today, based on photography and its comments at: V. Kolónas, *Ta próta xenodokhía sto: Palaiá Xenodokhía Tis Thessalonikis.* , Kathimeriní., 21 October 2001, p.10., Available at: http://thessaloniki.photos.vagk.gr/images/files/Old_Hotels_of_Thessaloniki.pdf, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²¹⁸ Petar Kostic was a former head of the Prizren Priest School, which had presented a rich educational project in the Kosovo area in the 1880s.

²¹⁹ A. Novakov... p. 353-354.

²²⁰ Aya Nicola Klisasi or Agiou Nikolaou street is today's Agiou Nikolaou street and Kule Carsisi or Carsi Kula street, then Aristotelous, is today's Oloubou street. See more at:V. Dimitriádis, op. cit. , pp. 69-70.

3.3.3 Serbian Gymnasium - Dom Nauke- The house of science.



Figure 28. The Serbian high school in Thessaloniki, before 1908.

Source: G. Sidiropoulos, *Ecole Serbe de Salonique... Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 27 December 2017, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10155131703884599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

The Serbian gymnasium school of the same name as the Primary School "Dom Nauke" was opened on October 2, 1894. The school had three houses under rent. In the school year 1897, the gymnasium was given a special building, it was moved to the most beautiful part of Thessaloniki called New Thessaloniki.²²¹ In 1898 the gymnasium was separated from the elementary school, with its premises being moved to another building, near the Greek consulate,²²² that was already equipped from 1896-97 by the Serbian Consulate.²²³ Then, the original four-grade gymnasium was gradually converted into a seven-class gymnasium, until 1902/3. The gymnasium remained seven-class for the rest of its operation in Thessaloniki.²²⁴ However, the overwhelming majority of pupils came from various Ottoman-occupied areas, and lived in the boarding house maintained by the Serbian State in Thessaloniki.²²⁵ In 1908 it was decided to abolish the last three classes of the Thessaloniki Gymnasium and transfer

²²¹ A. Novakov, op. cit., p.370.

²²² P. Valási, op. cit., p.110.

²²³ Á. Angelopoúlou, *Ópsis tis servikís...*, p. 86.

²²⁴ S. Mavroyéni, op. cit. , p. 244.

²²⁵ S. Mavroyéni, op. cit. , p. 245.

their pupils to the Skopje Gymnasium, and a year later it was also decided to full abolish the Thessaloniki Gymnasium and to transfer the total number of pupils to the Skopje Gymnasium, because of issues that the Serbian educational movement in Thessaloniki was facing, as well as the new law which was banning foreign nationals from working as teachers.²²⁶

3.3.4 Higher Urban Male and Female School.

The Serbs maintained also a Higher Urban School with twelve professors and 135 students of almost all boarding schools and an Urban Female School with 58 apprenticeships near the Helandarian metochi of Saint Savva on Kambouniwn Street in the upper part of Ipodromiou.²²⁷ Kontogiannis place it in Second Molos street.²²⁸

3.4 Churches.

At the beginning of the 14th century, the city of Thessaloniki flourished, both culturally and spiritually. This was also experienced by its Serbian visitors, who worshiped its sacred monuments with the first church of St. Demetrios. Influenced, they erected temples and monasteries in Serbia, honoring the name of St. Demetrios. During the same period, the Serbian king Milutin (1321-1331) built his palace and three temples in Thessaloniki. These were the church of Saint Nicholas of Orphan, Saint George and the Holy Trinity.²²⁹

3.4.1 Saint Nicholas of Orphan Church.

The church is a World Heritage Site and is an old Byzantine monastery of Thessaloniki. It was probably built in the decade 1310-1320, with Nikon Scouterios Kapandritis Orphanos or Serbia's Milutin as its founders. Milutin built a palace and three churches (1312-1317) in Thessaloniki, without information on their locations.²³⁰ The church of Saint Nikolaos Orfanos could be considered as one of these buildings, as it has the rare

²²⁶ S. Mavroyéni, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

²²⁷ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis.... pp. 401-402.*

²²⁸ P. Kontoyiánnis, *op. cit.*, p.182.

²²⁹ A. Takhiáos, *I Thessaloníki kai o kósmos ton Slávon. I pnevmatikí kai politistikí aktinovolia tis vizantinís pólis. Thessaloníki: Philóptokhos Adelphótis Andrón Thessaloníkis. 2013. pp. 90-94.*

²³⁰ K. Tomanás, *Drómi kai yitoniés ... p. 201-202.*

depiction of St. George of Gorgos, who was Milutin's personal patron. The holy church of Saint Nikolaos Orfanos is located in the Upper Town of Thessaloniki, near the eastern walls, between the streets of Apostle Paul and Herodotus, with entrance from 20 Herodotus Street.²³¹ Today's prevailing opinion is that the Serb ruler Milutin was the temple's owner.²³²



Figure 29. Saint Nicholas the Orphan Church, circa 1910.

Source: T. Solou., *History of Simonida., Hellas Special.*, 18 July 2018., [online photograph], Available at: <https://tetysolou.wordpress.com/2018/07/18/η-ιστορία-της-σιμωνίδας/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²³¹ Anon., Naός Αγίου Νικολάου Orphanού. [Saint Nikolas Church], Ιπουργίο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού., Μνιμία., Available at: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/gh251.jsp?obj_id=473, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²³² Anon., Ι. Ν. Αγίου Νικολάου του Orphanού., [Saint Nikolas Church], Ιερά Αρχιεπισκοπή Αθινόν., Available at: http://www.religiousgreece.gr/west-central-macedonia/-/asset_publisher/3qIw8hzBmYgG/content/i-n-agiou-nikolaou-tou-orphanou, [Access: 25 March 2020].

3.4.2 Saint Savvas Church.

The Hilandarian Serbian monastery had acquired a metochi in Thessaloniki since the time of Saint Savva,²³³ and later they acquired more. Their oldest metochi is still preserved at the intersection of Kamvounion (1) and Agapinou Streets. It was inhabited by the Hilandarian monks, who came as visitors to the city, as well as monks, clergy, and officials from Serbia with destination to Mount Athos.²³⁴ In the late 19th century, the Serbs in Thessaloniki did not have their own church, and they used the Agia Triada Greek Church. They realized then, that there was the Hilandarian Metochi in Thessaloniki, and that a Serbian chapel could be opened at that place. At that time Hilandar was in the hands of Bulgarian monks, so the permission to build the chapel was not easy to get, yet they succeeded in obtaining permission from Hilandar to open the chapel. In July 1895, the Ottoman authorities gave permission to the Serbian municipality of Thessaloniki to build a church.

The chapel was dedicated to Saint Sava, and first liturgy officiated in St. Sava's Day in 1896.²³⁵ In this little church, were also going the Russian community in the early 20th century.²³⁶ In the middle of 1942, the Serbian community of Saint Savva was given to



the Bulgarian community.²³⁷ About the church of St. Savvas today, four online records were found, one of which mentions a ceremony of St. Savvas Day, as well as a cognac above the church, which is a residence used by the monks and friends of the monastery.²³⁸

Figure 30. Saint Savvas' entrance today.

Source: Personal file.

²³³ According to Dimitriádis, it was the oldest of the Bulgarian-owned churches in the late 19th century at the beginning of Kesisler Meyhanesi Road, although it was donated by Serb residents of the town. See more at: V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessalonikis*.... p. 269.

²³⁴ A. Takhiáos, loc. cit.

²³⁵ A. Novakov... p. 352.

²³⁶ K. Moskóf, loc. cit..

²³⁷ Ch. Kardarás., op. cit, p. 64.

²³⁸ Fr. Gregory., *Celebrating St. Sava in Thessaloniki.*, edwardsingreece., Available at: <http://edwardsingreece.blogspot.com/2009/01/celebrating-st-sava-in-thessaloniki.html>, [Access: 25 March 2020].



Figure 31. The sanctuary of the small church of Saint Savvas, on Kamvouniwn Street.

Source: I. Antonopoulos, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, [online photograph], <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=659809200828876&set=p.659809200828876&type=3&theater>. [Access: 25 March 2020].

3.5 Cemeteries.

Despite the efforts of the Serbian community, it was not possible to obtain permission to establish its own cemetery and it was served either by the Greek Orthodox or by the Bulgarian Orthodox cemetery.²³⁹

3.5.1 Zeitenlik.

In 1931, after licensing, 6,000 soldiers' bones were removed from 213 temporary cemeteries between Florina and Thessaloniki, to Zeitenlik²⁴⁰ and their section was completed in 1936.²⁴¹ The impressive cenotaph of the Serbian cemetery was completed during the same year, and its upper part is a domed temple, when its basement is arranged with labyrinthine corridors in an ossuary where the bones of 5,500 Serbian soldiers are kept in sacristies.²⁴²

²³⁹ E. Chekímoglou, *I Thessaloniki prin apó to 1912....* pp. 86-87.

²⁴⁰ V. Vlasídis, *I mními...*, p.34.

²⁴¹ V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis....* p. 400.

²⁴² Ch. Zaphíris, *Thessaloníkis Engólpion ...* p. 293.

It is one of the most important pilgrimages for Serbs and attracts hundreds of tourists each year.²⁴³ Djordie Mihailovic is the grandson of Savo Mihailovic. The last originating from Montenegro, fought in World War I and was the first keeper of the monument, while his son and then his grandson took care of the graves and guided Serbian tourists, according to an interview given by Djordie Mihailovic in 2014.²⁴⁴

It is a sanctuary, a place of memory, and for Serbs a place of sacrifice, in which they show their gratitude. It is noteworthy that during Tito's first visit to Greece, he scheduled of all his events and contacts, the pilgrimage to Zeitenlik first.²⁴⁵ Their surviving comrades and their descendants lay wreaths every year,²⁴⁶ on the anniversary (November 11) of the end of the war.²⁴⁷ Its entrance is in Lagada Street.²⁴⁸

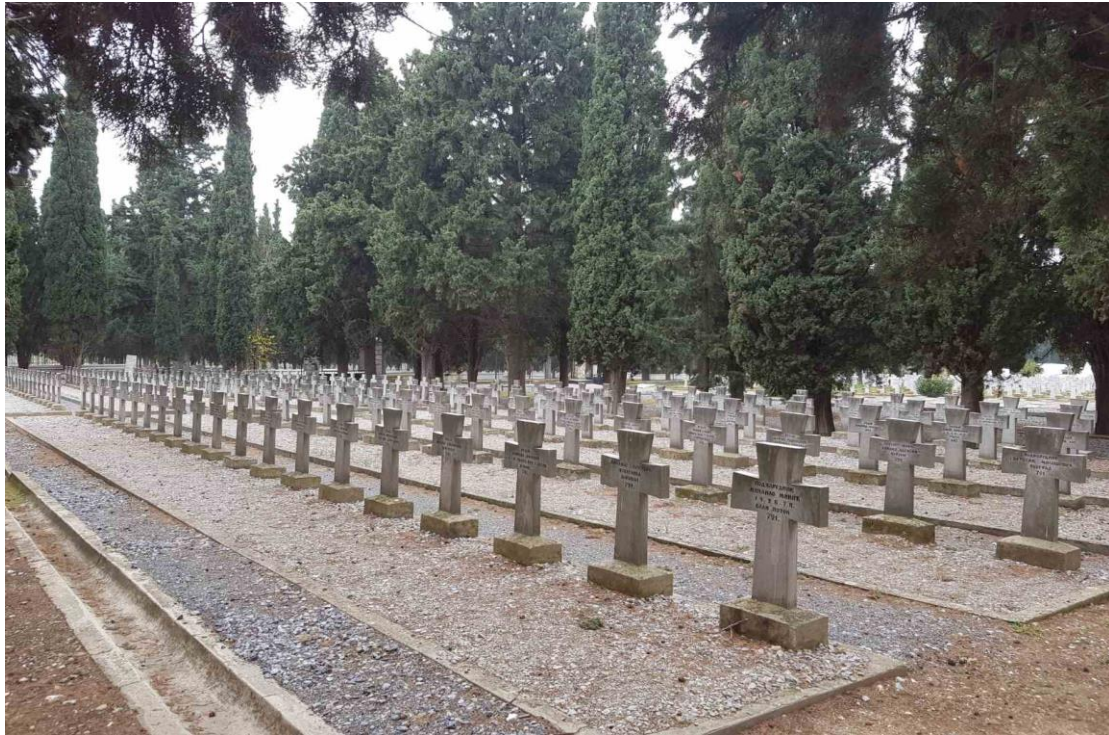


Figure 32. Part of the Serbian cemetery today.

Source: Personal file.

²⁴³ G. Tsitiridis, *O Khártis tis Pólis: Sti siopí tou Zéitenlik. Parallaxi*. 2016.. [Online] Available at: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/o-chartis-tis-polis-sti-siopi-tou-zeiten>. [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁴⁴ G. Tsitiridis, loc. cit.

²⁴⁵ G. Bréntas, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

²⁴⁶ Ch. Zaphíris, *Thessalonikis topiographía. [Thessalonikí's Topograpsy]*, Ekdósis epikentro. Thessaloniki., 2006. p.65.

²⁴⁷ Ch. Zaphíris, *Thessalonikis Engólpion ...* p. 293.

²⁴⁸ Anon., *Thessaloniki. Ellinikós Organismós Tourismou ...* p.61.

Temple-Mausoleum.



Figure 33. The Zeitenlik Mausoleum today.

Source: Personal file.

3.6 Panhellenion Café.

It was at the junction of Egnatia with the street 26th of October and belonged to the Labrides Brothers. It was the center of smugglers who arranged their jobs with locals and Serbian animal suppliers there.²⁴⁹

3.7 The French Serbian hospital.

The hospital was housed both in buildings constructed at the Bank of Thérmi and in scenes that developed around it, mainly in its west and southwest. There, premature refugees were accommodated after 1918. The Bank's buildings no longer exist.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ K. Tomanás, *Ta kaphenia* ..., p. 35.

²⁵⁰A. Velkopoúlou, *To Galloservikó nosokomío stin Thérmi/Sédes to 1916*. [The French Serbian hospital in Thérmi / Sedes in 1916], Paliés photographíes tis Thessaloníkis - Old Photos of Thessaloniki, Facebook, Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10155248871009599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

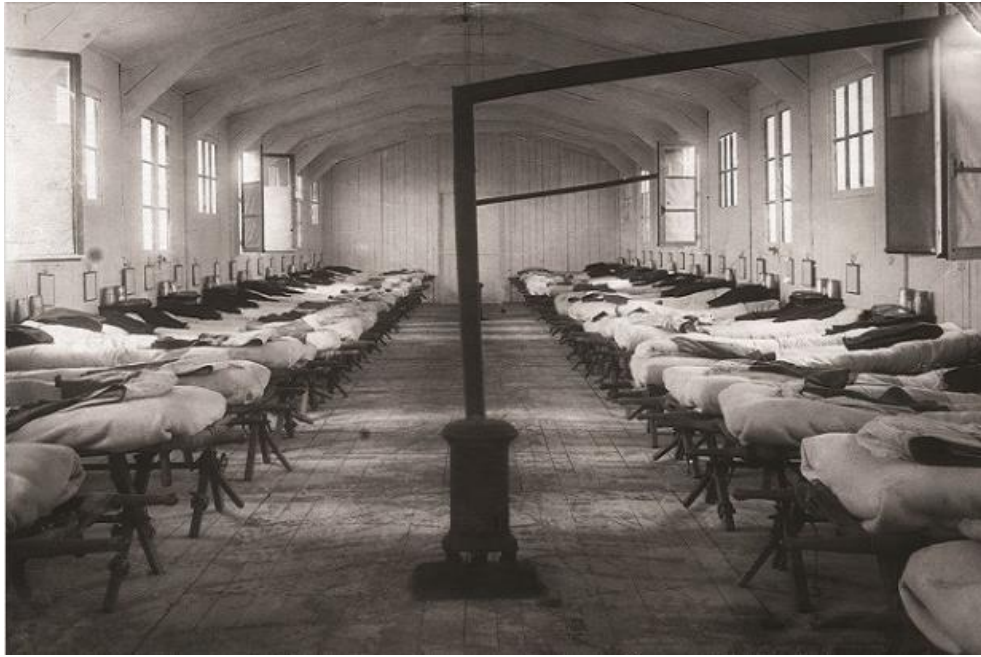


Figure 34. The French Serbian hospital in Thermi / Sedes in 1916.

Source: A. Velkopoulou, *The French Serbian...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 13 February 2018, [online photograph], Available at: https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/search/?query=γαλλοσέρβικό&epa=SEARCH_BOX, [Access: 25 March 2020].



Camp de Sedes (près Salonique) Hospital serbe où M. le Directeur de Dugui était infirmier - Décembre 1916

Figure 35. The French Serbian hospital in Thermi / Sedes in 1916.

Source: G. Koubotis, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 14 February 2018, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1829175927095223&set=p.1829175927095223&type=3>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

3.8 Hirsch Hospital or Temporary Hospital of French 14 (Prince Alexander of Serbia Hospital).



Figure 36. Prince Alexander of Serbia Hospital- Hirsch Hospital-1918.

Source: *Ministère de la Culture, Plateforme Ouverte du Patrimoine (P.O.P.)*, reference: APOR145972., Available at: <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/memoire/APOR145973>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

The above photograph shows the known as “Hirsch Hospital” in Thessaloniki, that today is Hippocrates Hospital. In the details is identified as Prince Alexander of Serbia Hospital, while in the same series of photographs (*Guerre 1914-1918; Salonique, ville refuge transformée en camp retranché: Le camp retranché en 1918*) there are two more, with the inside of the hospital named also as Prince Alexander of Serbia Hospital (APOR145974 & APOR145973).

It was built between 1904-1908 as hospital for the Jews community, initiated by Moise Mirzrahi, with main funder Clara de Hirsh, from which took the name Hirsch. During the Great War, was commandeered to take care of the soldiers, and operated as the 14th Provisional Hospital, which was renamed in 1918, in honor of the successor to the Serbian throne, as Prince Alexander of Serbia Hospital. Today it houses the administrative services of the hospital.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ V. Vlasidis, *I mními...* p. 69.

4 Russians in Thessaloniki (religious and cultural heritage).



Figure 37. Russian infantry marching along the waterfront after landing at Salonika, 30 July 1916.

Source: Varges, Ariel, 30 July 1916, *Imperial War Museums Q 32207*, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205213285>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

In 1833, a Russian monk founded a small school for the children of the Slavs of the city, but at this time, the Slavs of Macedonia called themselves and were generally described as Bulgarians.²⁵² In 1880, the Western Europeans lived in Thessaloniki were divided into two categories. The businessmen belonged to the first, and the members of the consular body and members of the religious mission to the second. Among the second there were 27 Russians.²⁵³

Donated by Baroness Hirsch, a new district was created, near the railway station, where Russian Jews found a shelter after the persecution in their country in 1891.²⁵⁴ At the time their street vendors, were gathering in that area. They were selling wheat and corn bread, baking pastries and halva, raisins, lemons, pastas and oranges, as well as chopped

²⁵² L. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

²⁵³ Anastasiádou, M., *op. cit.*, p. 157-158.

²⁵⁴ R. Mólkho, *I anayénnisi*. [The Renaissance] Sto: Thessaloníki 1850-1918. "I póli ton Evraíon" kai i afhípnisi ton Valkaníon. Athína: Ekdósis Ekáti, 1994. pp. 69-86. p. 73.

garlic, fried in oil, without missing the counterman, salepi seller and the lemonade seller.²⁵⁵ Many of those who were victims of the 1917 fire, then moved to Agia Paraskevi, Keramitsi and Karagac.^{256, 257}

As far as newspapers are concerned, it is mentioned that was existed during the First World War one, written in Russian,²⁵⁸ with the name “*Ruski Vestnik*”, while another one started in 1916, the “*Ruski Slava*”.²⁵⁹ In the summer of 1916 (July 30) the first echelons of the Russian unit arrived at the port of Thessaloniki, while it took more time for the remaining units to move from Archangelos port. Two Russian brigades arrived in the city by mid-October. They went through hard training for three months in the Zeitenlik camp, and then they camped in Kalamariá.²⁶⁰

4.1 Consulate.

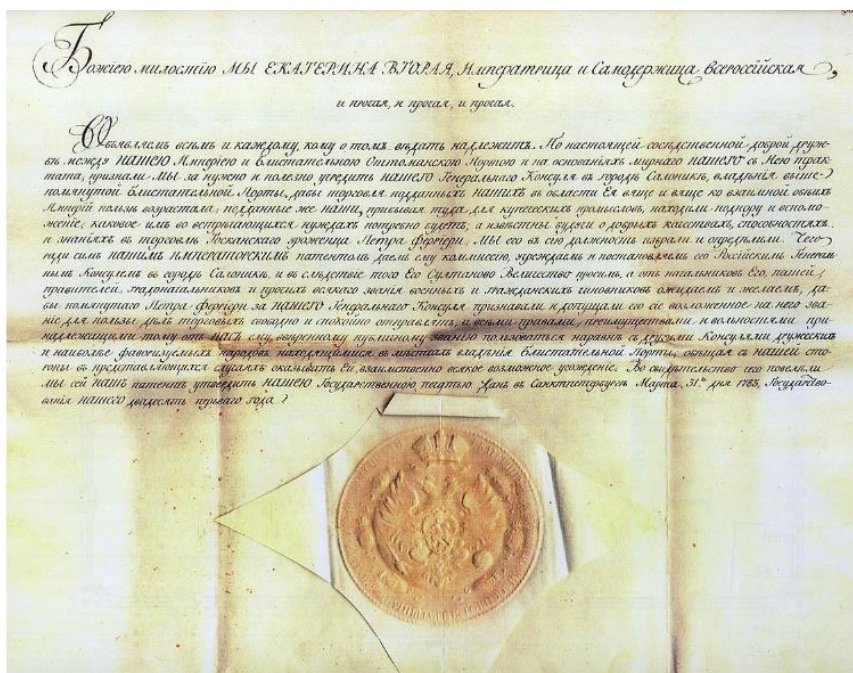


Figure 38. Catherine II of Russia Order Salonica Consulate.

Source: Wikimedia, Catherine II of Russia Order Salonica Consulate 31 March 1773., Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Catherine_II_of_Russia_Order_Salonica_Consulate_31_March_1773.jpg?fbclid=IwAR0cOOFY0urN2a7LCC1Eb5LXOFRS2wZ0dvkIAK5avnyETyLyFpkuzOzUIw, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁵⁵ P. Enepekídis, op. cit. p.113.

²⁵⁶ Karagac is the oldest name of the area of 'Ascension', mainly its eastern part. See: V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis...* p. 93).

²⁵⁷ R. Mólkho, loc. cit.

²⁵⁸ P. Valási, op. cit., p.77.

²⁵⁹ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographía tis Thessaloníkis τ. Β'* p. 647-657.

²⁶⁰ P. Valási, op. cit., p.102.

In the document depicted in the photograph August 31, 1783 is referred as the date of the consulate in Thessaloniki. According to a commentary on the photograph depicting the Russian consulate in the 1880s and perhaps for some time after 1890 its headquarters were the Baltadoros family's home, where today's corner of 45 Agia Sophia with Patriarch Dionysius II is, on the upper right side of the Macedonian Square, obliquely opposite the Aheiropointos Church.²⁶¹

Below, is pictured the building that housed the Russian consulate later. This was built in 1900. Its first owner is English national Jim Razis. He sold it to Isaac Salom in 1904, who probably immediately rented it to the Russians. After 1909, it became known as Karayiannis School. It was at No. 31 of Vasilissis Olgas Street.

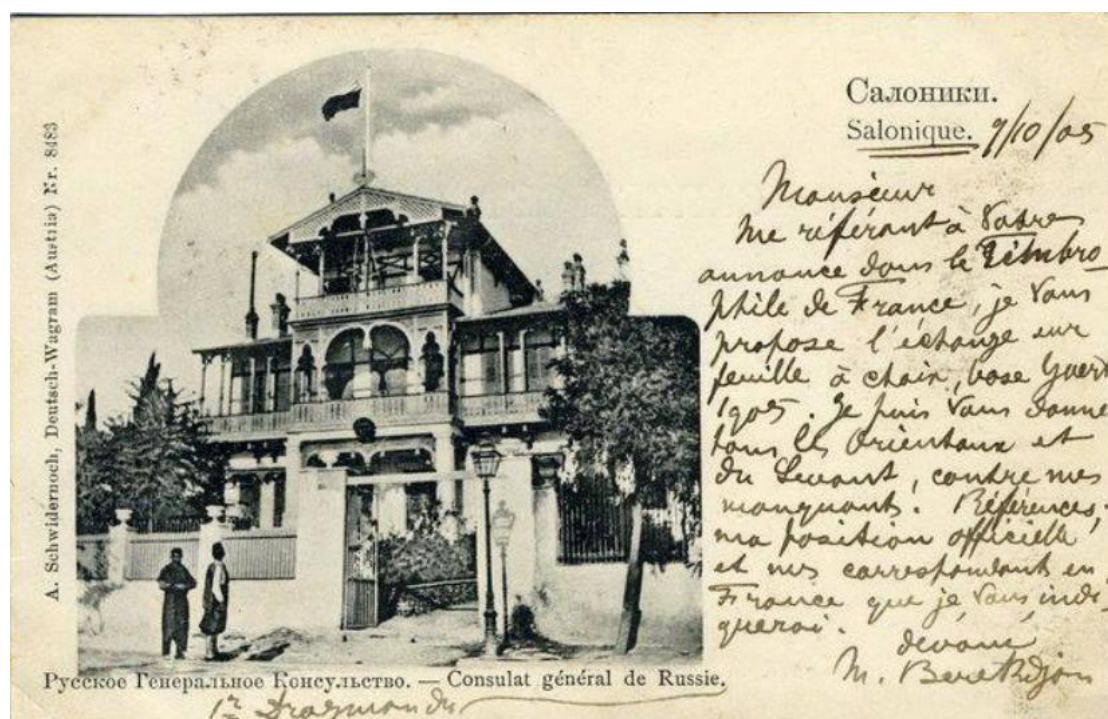


Figure 39. Consulate General of the Russian Empire in Thessaloniki, year 1905

Source: I. Zhalnina, *Consulate General of the Russian Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 27 March 2015, [online photograph], Available at: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=645291962266707&set=gm.10152733760269599&type=3&hc_location=ufi. [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁶¹ A. Athanatos, "...to rosikó proxenio..." [...the Russian Consulate...], Paliés photographies tis Thessalonikis - Old Photos of Thessaloniki, Facebook, 3 September 2018., Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10155695361174599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].



Figure 40. Russian Monastery-Headquarters.

Source: E. Stathopoulou, *Reminds of the...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 4 March 2015, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10152685936044599/>. [Access: 25 March 2020].

In the above photograph, is photographed St. Nicholas Street (at the time) from a window of the building that housed the New Israeli Club on the corner of Niki's Avenue. The caption "Russian monastery" was first on the beach but it was built at the back of a large garden that originally reached Nikis Street. At some point after 1900 a series of shops were built in this garden. Between this and the second in the corner house was the Voulgaroktonou Street - parts of which are now Kalapothaki and Proxenou Koromila Streets. Today the houses and the street are under the paving and the benches, on the west side of Aristotelous Square in front of the buildings 1 to 5. The building that remained so long without identity is not a Russian Monastery but a Consulate on Hippodrome Square (Agios Konstantinos district).²⁶²

²⁶²A. Vrefidis, "Yia na mi ménoun ekkremótites..." [Not to be left pending], Paliés photographiés tis Thessaloníkis - Old Photos of Thessaloniki, Facebook, Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10151500057344599/>. [Access: 25 March 2020].

4.2 Hospital.

The expansion of Thessaloniki, among others, also contributed to the establishment of hospitals, including the Russian one,²⁶³ which was built in 1907 as Russian Hospital.²⁶⁴ It was a small two-floor hospital with surgery placed at the back in a semicircular glass enclosure on the second floor and the only one with central heating at that time. The first director from 1909 to 1913 was Russian Ivan Dabovin.²⁶⁵ After the collapse of the Russian community in 1917, the building was abandoned and the Russian state subsidy was no longer in place and was used for a few years as a treatment facility for Greek refugees from Russia.²⁶⁶ From 1925 to 1975 it was the city's public maternity hospital, and then housed classes of neighbor schools. Since 1994 it has housed the Historical Archive of Macedonia.²⁶⁷ The building is located above the level of Papanastasiou Street and impresses with its unique façade.²⁶⁸ It is in the number 21 of Papanastasiou Str.).²⁶⁹

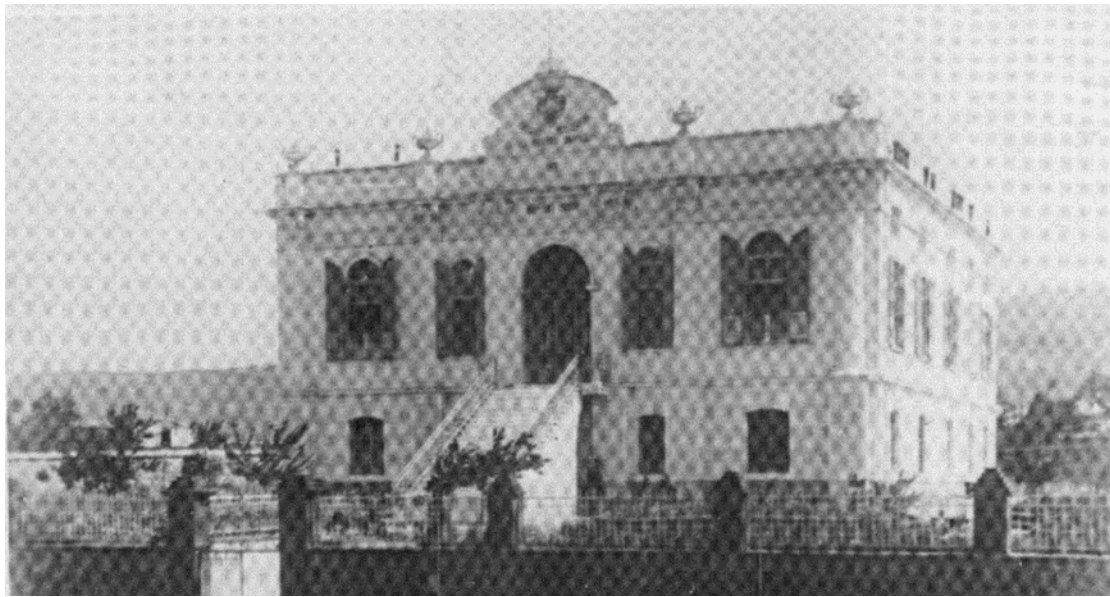


Figure 41. The Russian Hospital, unknown year.

Source: I. Zhalnina, *The Russian Hospital...*, *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 18 February 2015, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oldthessaloniki/permalink/10152655534294599/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁶³ E. Chekíoglou, *I Thessaloníki prin apó to 1912....* p. 91.

²⁶⁴ A. Yerolímpou, & V. Kolonás, *Mia kosmopolítiki poleodomía*. [A cosmopolitan city planning], *Sto: Thessaloníki, 1850-1918. I "póli ton evraíon" kai i aphípnisi ton Valkaníon. Thessaloníki: Ekdósis Ekáti*. 1994., pp. 171-189.

²⁶⁵ S. Polizoidis, *op. cit.*, p.65.

²⁶⁶ Ch. Zaphíris, *Thessaloníkis Engólpion ...*p. 268.

²⁶⁷ Ch. Zaphíris, *I Thessaloníki ton Othomanón* p.177.

²⁶⁸ Ch. Zaphíris, *Thessaloníkis Engólpion ...* p. 268.

²⁶⁹ F. Athanasióu, *loc. cit.*



Figure 42. Russian Hospital today.

Source: Personal file.

4.3 State Museum of Contemporary Art.

In 1997, the State Museum of Contemporary Art was founded, which is housed in the complex of the Lazarists Monastery in 21 Kolokotroni Str., Stavroupoli, Thessaloniki. At its core is the Kostaki Collection, with representative samples of the art of Russian Avant-garde, of the first three decades of the 20th century, with 1,277 pieces of art by prominent Russian artists, such as K. Malevich, V. Kandinsky, L. Popova, A. Rodchenko, I. Kliun, V. Stepanova, N. Udaltsova, etc. It is one of the richest of its one of a kind in the world. It also has rich material on the Russian Avant-garde.²⁷⁰



Figure 43. A view of the sites where the Costas Collection at the Lazarists Monastery in Thessaloniki is on permanent display.

Source: Pournara M., *I Syllogi Kostaki: Ena rosiko paramyithi me aisio telos sti Thessaloniki.*, *Eikastika* 30.06.2018, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.gr/972442/gallery/politismos/eikastika/h-syllogh-kwstakh-ena-rwsiko-paramy8i-me-aisio-telos-sth-8essalonikh>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁷⁰ Anon., Thessaloniki., *Ellinikós Organismós Tourismoú*.... p. 62,75,109.

4.4 Churches.

4.4.1 Zeitenlik Church.

Russian soldiers had built a small clerical temple inside the cemetery, which doesn't exist today.²⁷¹



Figure 44. Russian Church in Zeitenlik Cemetery 1920s.

Source: V. Vlasidis, *Russian burials in the Zeitenik and the small cemetery, 1920s., The memory of the Great War.*, 2017. p. 45.

4.4.2 Saint Nikolaos.



Figure 45. The entrance of Saint Nikolaos Church.

Source: Personal file.

²⁷¹ V. Vlasidis, *I mními...* p.44.

In the area of Harilaou, in the 1920s, part of the Allied warehouses was given to Russian immigrants, creating a Russian colony in a nice park, with its own church. The Russians, in addition to the monumental taverns, frequented a church in the town. Small but big enough for their religious needs. This is Saint Nikolaos, which is today located at 34 Gumnasiarhou Misirli Street and now it is called St. Nicholas & Dimitrios Church.²⁷²

4.4.3 Church of Saint George.



Figure 46. The Russian Church - Oreokastro of Thessaloniki.

Source: Sp. Tsoukias, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/chlomos/34484703964>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

Located in Oreokastro of Thessaloniki it is a rare architectural jewel of recent years. The beautiful Russian style temple was built by Prokopios Kessidis, who provided the money for its construction. Completed in 2005, it was made entirely of chipped timber logs imported specifically from Russia, and used an old timber construction technology that does not use a single nail. The church ceremonies were held in the Russian language, but unfortunately from 2010 the church has ceased to function and is no longer open to parishioners. In the future there may be a reopening of the Temple, which

²⁷²Anon., Ierá Mirópoli Thessaloníkis. [Holy Metropolis of Thessaloniki], [Online] Available at: <http://www.imth.gr/default.aspx?lang=el-GR&loc=1&&page=177&kwrđ=Nικόλα&vn=>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

is loved by the repatriates of the area.²⁷³ It is at Agiou Georgiou street at Oreokastro, but before Galini's district (40.704098, 22.932106).

4.4.4 Church of Saint Seraphim of Sharov.



Figure 47. Church of St. Seraphim of Sharov.

Source: Church of St. Seraphim of Sharov. Facebook, [online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Ιερός-Ναός-Αγίου-Σεραφείμ-Του-Σαρόφ/117895905067659?nr>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

The church was founded in 1998 in Nicopolis by expatriates who settled in the area in the 1990s, coming from countries of the former Soviet Union. Residents of the settlement, many of which were builders and craftsmen, volunteered to build the temple, while others donated money. Ivan Savvidis also covered part of the expenses. The gilded dome, with the characteristic bulbous shape that is called "lukovist glava" in Russian Orthodox style, was built to the church.²⁷⁴ This is following the Russian

²⁷³ Ch. Paraskevopoúlou, O Khártis tis pólis: I rosikí ekklisía. [City Map: Russian Church], *parallaxi*. 2014.[Online] Available at: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/o-chartis-tis-polis-i-rosiki-ekklisia>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁷⁴ Anon, Thessaloníki: Epikhrisos troúlos doreá tou Iván Savvídi stin ekklisía tou Avíou Seraphím tou Saróv. [Thessaloniki: Gold plated donation by Ivan Savvides at St. Seraphim Church of Sharov] *Orthodoxía*, *pronews*. 2018. [Online] Available at: https://www.pronews.gr/thriskeia/orthodoxia/675779_thessaloniki-epihrysos-troylos-dorea-toy-ivan-savvidi-stin-ekklisia-toy, [Access: 25 March 2020].

calendar (the old one, however, they are not old calendars and the parish belongs to the Metropolis of Naples). Since 2001 there is a relic of St. Seraphim donated to Archbishop Christodoulos by the Patriarch of Moscow Alexios. The ceremonies in the church of St. Seraphim are chanted in Greek, Russian and Slavic. The church continues to be built. At present, the ceremonies are being performed in the basement, while the works for the main temple are ongoing.²⁷⁵ It is at 2 Iasonidou, Efxinoupoli's district.

4.5 Cemeteries

4.5.1 Zeitenlik.

The Russian section of the Allied cemeteries is just behind the Serbian one. There are 496 isolated burials of Russian soldiers and officers in this section.²⁷⁶ The Russians failed to manage the memory of their dead very well. Zeitenlik was not taken care of by the Russian state, and the dead were taken care of by Serbian guards, to the extent that they cared for their corpses to be restored after the demise of the German dead in World War II.^{277,278} In 2000 a monument made of black granite was erected to commemorate all the dead of Russian origin of the Great War.²⁷⁹



Figure 48. Part of the Russian sector at Zeitenlik Cemeteries today.

Source: Personal file.

²⁷⁵ G. Daliáris, O xekhoristós naós ton Ellínon apó ti Rosía sti Ditikí Thessaloníki. [The separate temple of the Greeks from Russia in Western Thessaloniki], *life-events*. 2018. [Online] Available at: <https://www.life-events.gr/i-poli-mou/o-ksechoristos-naos-ton-ellinon-apo-ti-rosia-sti-dytiki-thessaloniki-vinteo-foto/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁷⁶ These Soldiers fought in the Macedonian Front of the Great War.

²⁷⁷ During 1941-44, the dead German soldiers were buried in Zitelnik, then occupying the site of the Russian cemeteries, transporting the Russian soldiers who were also buried there. After World War II, Russian troops returned to their positions. V. Vlasídis, *I mními ...* p.43.

²⁷⁸ V. Vlasídis, *I mními ...*, 44-46.

²⁷⁹ K. Yerakarítou., loc. cit.

4.5.2 **British Commonwealth Cemetery of Mikra.**

It is right next to the Kalamariá Municipal Cemetery. Its operation lasted from April 1917 until 1920. There are buried among others 34 Russians.

4.6 **Russian Navy Cross or Cyril and Methodius Cross.**

On the coast road at the height of Petros Syndika Street, facing the beach, right in front of the Memory Garden, stands the impressive cross that is a donation of the Russian Navy to the city of Thessaloniki. On one side of the cross are the figures of the two saints, on the other are their names in calligraphic form and below are the letters to the Thessalonians written by Apostle Paul.²⁸⁰



Figure 49. The Cyril and Methodius Cross.

Source: Personal file.

²⁸⁰ G. Tsitiridis., Anakálipse ta gliptá tis pólis: Stavros Rosikou Naftikou í Stavros Kiríllou kai Methodiou. [Discover the sculptures of the city: Cross of the Russian Navy or Cross of Cyril and Methodius], parallaxi., 28 Απριλίου 2019., [Online] Available at: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/anakalypse-ta-glypta-tis-polis-stavros-rosikou-naftikou-stavros-kyrillou-kai-methodiou> [Access: 25 March 2020].

4.7 Monument for the Russian army in W.W.I – Pentalofos.

This is a monument built to commemorate the dead of the Russian army in World War I, by the Russian army in 1918. The inauguration of the Monument took place on September 28, 1919.²⁸¹ By the end of February 1918, part of the Russian military refused to fight or work and insisted on returning home. Their allies saw them as captives and formed with them a task force. The surviving soldiers of this task force after the end of the war erected a monument to their comrades at war at their own expense near the village of Grandobor (now Pentalofos). It has been refurbished twice at the expense of the Soviet Embassy in Greece and the Consulate General of Russia in Thessaloniki.²⁸² Partial restoration took place in 1959 and new restoration, repair and restoration took place in 2011.²⁸³ Pentalofos is half an hour from Thessaloniki.



Figure 50. Monument for the Russian army in W.W.I.

Source: Wikimapia, [online photograph], Available at: <http://wikimapia.org/20358922/el/Μνημείο-Ρώσων-στρατιωτών#/photo/5266640>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁸¹ Anon., Μνιμίό Ρόσον στρατιωτών., [Russian soldiers' monument], wikimapia., [Online] Available at: <http://wikimapia.org/20358922/el/Μνημείο-Ρώσων-στρατιωτών>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁸² Anon., San símera., I Rósi sto métopo tis Thessaloníkis-A' Pangósmios Pólemos. [The Russians on the Thessaloniki front - World War I], onalert., 27 April 2014., [Online] Available at: <https://www.onalert.gr/san-shmera/oi-rosoi-sto-metopo-tis-thessalonikis/109602/>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁸³ Anon., Μνιμίό Ρόσον...

5 Romanians in Thessaloniki (religious and cultural heritage).

The Romanian consulate was founded and the community was formed in 1872. They consisted mainly of diplomats and educators.²⁸⁴ According to Kiliará, the Romanian community of Thessaloniki, the Macedonian-Romanian Association and the Romanian Consulate founded in 1879, following the appearance of the idea of pan-Slavism. At the same time, they raised the issue of "Koutsovlachs" as a national minority and the adoption of the Romanian language instead of the Kutsovlachic.²⁸⁵ Because of this goal, two Romanian schools were founded by the Romanian community at the end of the 19th century, a trade school and a Vlach kindergarten in Thessaloniki.²⁸⁶

During the diplomatic processes leading up to the Treaty of Saint Stephen,²⁸⁷ Romanian newspapers were published. The Romanian population in Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia, tried to take possession of the Vlachs in these areas. Following the above practice, the Romanian Consulate in Thessaloniki presented a survey for the existence of a Romanian population of 20,000 people living in Thessaloniki. The reactions that followed were intense, and were provoked by Greek students, with the participation of representatives of the Israeli community of the city,²⁸⁸ which resulted in a large silent parade of people ending to the Consulate of Romania. The result of all the above reactions was to be published by the Thessaloniki's "Vali",²⁸⁹ an official survey and the Romanian consul to be dismissed.²⁹⁰ The above events that took place at that time prove that it is unlikely that there were such a large number of Romanians in Thessaloniki.

According to the statistics of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1905, there were two Romanian educational institutions in the city. The proportion of students and teachers also shows the efforts that have been made. From 1903 until the German occupation, Romanian schools were operating in the new districts, on the east side of the city, on

²⁸⁴ They aimed at converting the Greek Vlachs due to the relevance of the Romanian language to the Vlach dialect.

²⁸⁵ Kiliará, K., op. cit., p.26.

²⁸⁶ Ch. Zaphíris, *Thessaloniki. I parousía ton apónton. I klironomiá Romaíon, Mousoulmánon, Evraíon, Donmédon, Phrángon, Arménion kai Slávon*. [Thessaloniki. The presence of the absentees. The inheritance of Romans, Muslims, Jews, Donmedes, Francs, Armenians and Slavs], Thessaloniki: Ekdósis Epí Kentro. , 2017. p. 228.

²⁸⁷ The Treaty of Saint Stephen took place in 1878.

²⁸⁸ In order to support the Greekness of the city's Christian population.

²⁸⁹ Valis was an administrative title of the Ottoman Empire. This title was brought by the Commander of a geographical area called Vilayet. It was similar to the current Prefect or District Governor.

²⁹⁰ G. Módis, *Agónes stin Makedonía*. [Fights in Macedonia], Thessaloniki: Ekdósis Barmponákis, 1975., p. 209-210., P. Valási, op. cit. , p. 54.

Misrachi Str. (today Fleming Str.). Shortly before 1908, efforts were made in order a Romanian church to be put into operation for the first time, by renting a room.²⁹¹

The effort to establish a "Vlach association", (which aimed to establish masterly a Romanian community) failed when the first Greek financial institutions came into operation in Thessaloniki.²⁹² After this, Thessaloniki's Vlach origin disarmed the targets of the Romanians in the city, and went on the counteroffensive, working with the Greek Consulate, and expanding their activity in the Macedonian interior.²⁹³ From Romanian-language newspapers, there was "*Decebetaria*" (1908) which was weekly, and "*Deprate*" (1911/12).²⁹⁴

According to the Bucharest Treaty,²⁹⁵ in 1913, the government of Eleftherios Venizelos recognized the existence of a Romanian ethnic minority and accepted Romania's request to grant the Vlachs school autonomy. Three years later, under the Treaty of Sevres, in 1920, and until the dictatorship of John Metaxas, Greece accepted under certain conditions to grant local autonomy to the Vlach communities in educational matters.

5.1 Consulate.

We know about its existence, among other things, from a survey presented by it, according to which there was a Romanian population of 20,000 people living in Thessaloniki.^{296,297} In the photo bellow, it is clear that in 1918 the Romanian consulate was located in 11 Marc Botsaris Str. . However, it was not possible to locate the previous and subsequent locations where it was housed, while the numbering is also probably changed.

²⁹¹ In a house owned by Vlach lawyer Christakis Kalaitzis.

²⁹² In 1899 the Bank of Mytilene, in 1905 the Bank of Industrial Credit and in 1906 the Bank of the East..

²⁹³ A. Koukoúdis, Loc. cit.

²⁹⁴ M. Kandilákis, *Ephimeridographía tis Thessalonikis...t. A'*, p.456-461.

²⁹⁵ *Ephimeris tis Kiverniseos., ar. Fillou 217/ 28.10.1913.,* [Online] Available at : http://www.et.gr/docs-nph/search/pdfViewerForm.html?args=5C7OrtC22wHVMdpBB7ctWXdtvSoClrL8EegH9xtRd-R5MXD0LzQTLWPU9yLzB8V68knBzLCmTXKaO6fpVZ6Lx3UnKl3nP8NxdnJ5r9cmWyJWeIDvWS_18kAEhATUkJb0x1LIdQ163nV9K--td6SIuVmyu2MsGPjCT52aALpaCjKGIYIWNXUBBiuRNr7lPuqO [Access: 25 March 2020].

²⁹⁶ Several thousands of protesters, including representatives of the Israeli community in the city, in support of Greek-speaking Greeks of the city. These events prove that it is unlikely that there were such a large number of Romanians in Thessaloniki.

²⁹⁷ G. Módis, loc. cit., P. Valási, op. cit. , p. 54.

ADRESSES DES CONSULATS			
Consulat	d'Amérique,	Avenue Georges I	No 67
»	d'Angleterre	» Reine Olga	» 89
»	de Belgique	Rue Bulgaroctonos	» 39
»	d'Espagne	Avenue Reine Olga	» 87
»	de France	» » »	» 9
»	d'Italie	» » »	» 65
»	de Serbie	» Roi Georges I	» 26
»	de Roumanie	Rue Marc Bostaris	» 11
»	de Russie	Avenue Reine Olga	» 18
»	de Suède	» » »	» 173

Figure 51. Consulates Addresses in Thessaloniki at 1918.

Source: V. Veris, (7th ed. Of the French-speaking Guide of Thessaloniki, 1918., 16 May 2014, [Online photograph], Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10201326635921798&set=p.10201326635921798&type=3>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

5.2 Romanian Schools.

Romanian propaganda had four schools, kindergarten, elementary, high school, and since 1899, a commercial school,²⁹⁸ serving mainly the 1000 Romanian Vlachs.²⁹⁹ From 1903 until the German occupation period, the Romanian schools of Thessaloniki were housed on Misrachi Street,^{300, 301} the side street of the Tower Road³⁰². Prior to the Balkan wars, there was also a Romanian elementary school and a corresponding commercial high school for the Romanian Vlach community, under the aegis of the Romanian Consulate.³⁰³ The right to establish secondary schools was granted by Venizelos at the Bucharest Congress on 13/7/1913.³⁰⁴ In 1917 two Romanian schools were operating in Thessaloniki, one in Vardaris district and one in Egnatia street,

²⁹⁸ Ch. Papastáthis, op. cit., 354-355.

²⁹⁹ Anon., *Diéftihisi Defterováthmias Ekpaidefsis Anatolikis Thessalonikis. [Management of Secondary Education of Eastern Thessaloniki]* 2009. [Online] Available at: <https://srv-dide-a.thess.sch.gr/portal2/index.php/docs/269-uncategorised/110-thess-history>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

³⁰⁰ Misrachi Street, is today named Fleming Street.

³⁰¹ A. Koukoúdis, loc. cit., E. Vachároglou, op. cit., p.186.

³⁰² K. Moskóf, loc. cit..

³⁰³ V. Goúnaris, op. cit., p.127.

³⁰⁴ Thessaloníki. Efdáimon Vavilón. Simvasilévousa Trión Aftokratorión. [Thessaloniki. Prosperous Vavilón. Coregent of Three Empires. 1996.] Dióskouri. 1996. pp. 2-3

housed in a small private house that did not meet the standards of school hygiene.³⁰⁵ After 1945, Romanian schools were closed by order of the Ministry of Education.³⁰⁶ One Romanian school was located at Egnatia intersection with Stefanou Tatti street (at number 15) and the other at P. Papageorgiou Street (behind Saint Athanasios).³⁰⁷ The second street wasn't found to be supported by any other source.

5.2.1 Kindergartens in Thessaloniki.

As said before, from 1903 until the German occupation period, the Romanian schools of Thessaloniki were housed on Misrachi Street.³⁰⁸ According to an oral testimony from a primary researcher, another school, and a kindergarten in particular, was located directly opposite the Romanian Commercial School. Based on this, as well as the above information from the sources that agree, it is safe to assume that there was another Romanian school next door.

5.2.2 The Romanian Elementary School.

The oldest elementary Romanian school was the one in Thessaloniki, which was founded on 1st September 1899 and was housed in a private building owned by the Romanian community. The building had six classes and was erected in 1916. It was made of brick and had two floors.³⁰⁹ While as already said, there was a Romanian school at Egnatia intersection with Stefanou Tatti Street (at number 15),³¹⁰ according to Christianopoulos, it was on Vasileos Karolou the Romanian Str., today 5 C. Charalambous Cyprus street, near Egnatia Street, where there was an old empty building with a staircase that was demolished by the concession and the first post-war apartment building in the neighborhood was built.³¹¹ Oral testimony supported by aerial photography below '78, places it where there is today a vacant plot of land that serves

³⁰⁵ K. Kiriazidis, *I Thessaloniki apo iyiinis apóψεos*. [Thessaloniki from a hygienic point of view] Athina: Ethnikó Tipographío. , 1917., p.86.

³⁰⁶ A. Andréou, S. Iliádou- Tákhou, & A. Tanampási, *Ta roumaniká skholía stin Elláda. Mia próti apotíposi (1939-1949)*. [Romanian schools in Greece. A first imprint (1939-1949)], Sta: *Praktiká LA Panelliniou Istorikou Sinedriou*. Thessaloníki : Ellinikí Istorikí Etairía, pp. 253-274. p. 262.

³⁰⁷ G. Stampoúlis, loc. cit.

³⁰⁸ A. Koukoúdis, loc. cit., E. Vachároglou, loc. cit., V. Dimitriádis, *Topographía tis Thessaloníkis...* p. 402

³⁰⁹ A. Andréou, et al, op. cit. , p. 264.

³¹⁰ G. Stampoúlis, loc. cit.

³¹¹ N. Christianópoulos., *Píso ap' tin Ayiá Sophiá*. [Behind Agia Sofia], Ianós., 1997., p. 10-12.



as a parking lot, in which aerial photography shows a small building. Taking into account that it was located in the historic center of Thessaloniki, and that the empty plot, although used as a parking lot, is essentially vacant, probably the school was located there rather than in another place.

Figure 52. The empty lot as a parking today.

Source: Personal file.



Figure 53. Excerpt from aerial photography of 1978.

Source: Γεωγραφική υπηρεσία Στρατού., [online photograph], Available at: http://web.gys.gr/GeoSearch/productQuick.jsp?ProductId=101733_1978_5000, [Access: 25 March 2020].

Romanian School of Commerce.



Figure 54. 1931 settlement act depicting, inter alia, the Romanian business school.

Source: A. E. Nikopoulos., *Old Photos of Thessaloniki*, 5 December 2016, [online photograph], Available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1194526797307710&set=p.1194526797307710&type=3&theater>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

The idea for its establishment was of the Romanian Minister of Education at the time, Takis Ionescu, and came after pressure from German diplomats on the Ottoman authorities. Founded in 1899 in Thessaloniki, Romanian School of Commerce, functioned with students from the Macedonian hinterland and not from the city's Vlach community. Romanian education was communal and the only secondary Romanian school of Thessaloniki, the Commercial School was registered, in 1923, as private Gymnasium. The supervision and administration of the Romanian schools was managed by the Management Committee of the Romanian Schools in Greece, which was based in Thessaloniki and was under the general supervision of the Romanian Consulate.³¹² In 1940 was registered as Commercial Lyceum.³¹³ The Romanian Commercial school from 1913 till the end of the German occupation operated on a large house on Miaouli Street, where the Sotiros Church is today.³¹⁴ During the German occupation period, in the old Romanian school on the street of Italy (today 28th October), was housed the 5th (E') Gymnasium^{315,316} for Males in Thessaloniki.³¹⁷ According to the map below, the school occupied the entire plot, to the old Italian street.

³¹² A. Andréou, et al, op. cit. , p. 263-266.

³¹³ The term Lyceum is used in Romanian archives instead of the term Gymnasium, without distinction.

³¹⁴ G. Stampoúlis, loc. cit.

³¹⁵ Gymnasium is the Greek word for the secondary school.

³¹⁶ A. Andréou, et al, op. cit. , p. 266.

³¹⁷ P. Agraphiótou-Zakhopóulou, op. cit. , p. 73.

Taking this into account, it may have been recorded in some cases in Italias Street, and



in others in Miaouli Street. Its location, however, is intersecting with several sources where the Savior's temple is today, at Miaouli, with Edmondou Rostan jurisdiction.

Figure 55. The building of Romanian School of Commerce in 1962.

Source: D. Vais, Schols of Thessaloniki..., Unknown Thessaloniki, [online photograph], Available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=793127940844352&set=gm.10155066341067760&type=3>
[Access: 25 March 2020].



Figure 56. Excerpt from the 1944 Survey Coy map. Number 112 corresponds to Romanian School of Commerce.

Source: 1944 Survey Coy map.



*Figure 57. Sotiros church that build on the block where the Romanian School of Commerce was, today.
Source: Personal file.*

5.2.3 Vocational School of Female of Thessaloniki.

In 1940 there was also the Females' Vocational School of Thessaloniki, which in the year 1942-1943 was renamed Thessaloniki Industrial High School and had 10 teachers, 60 students and 7 members of staff.³¹⁸ Further information was not recovered,

5.3 Romanian Cemeteries.

In the late 19th - early 20th century, the small Romanian Vlachs' community was licensed and built a small cemetery outside the western wall of the city, which afterwards was turned into a playground.³¹⁹ It was very close were the Greek Orthodox cemeteries of Agia Paraskevi as well as those of Saint Vincent and Paul of the Catholic community, and the Romanian soldiers of World War I were buried there. Its operation ceased around the beginning of 1941, with young pupils using its vacant lot ever since

³¹⁸ A. Andréou, et al, op. cit. , p. 266.

³¹⁹ E. Chekimoglou, I Thessaloniki prin apó to 1912.... p. 112.

to play football. Two decades later, on the first term that Alexandros Biniori's was serving as mayor in 1964, the site was transformed into an oasis park for citizens.³²⁰

5.3.1 The Romanian park.



Figure 58. Excerpt from the google map showing the Romanian park.

Source: Excerpt from Google Maps

The park was named after the old cemetery that existed in its place. The Romanian Park, between Venizelos, Karamanlis and Papandreou Streets and it is one of the largest open spaces with vegetation and many tall trees in Neapoli. Also, it is the second largest urban green lung in the area after the Strabenioti Sports Complex. As a communal area of, it began to function as a meeting point for residents in the 1960s but has lately been left untouched with ghostly buildings demolished and old equipment destroyed. Today, besides the green area, it includes a playground, an open but very small auditorium, and a complex of two abandoned buildings, the former refreshment bar and an addition to it. The park's redevelopment plan which is soon expected, has it as part of an NSRF funding program that will turn it into a multi-purpose theme park, which will renew its overall image.³²¹

³²⁰ K. Nigdélis, Dímos Neápolis-Sikeón. O megálos Kallikratikós Dímos. [Municipality of Neapoli-Sykes. The great Kallikratic Municipality.], Thessaloníki: Dímos Neápolis-Sikeón-Kinophelís Epikhírissi Ipiresión Neápolis Sikeón., 2016., p. 143.

³²¹ K. Nigdélis, loc. cit.

5.4 The Romanian Church.

Shortly before 1908, efforts were made to put into operation a Romanian church for the first time. For this purpose, they rented a room in a house owned by Vlach attorney Christakis Kalaitzis. An indication of this rudimentary form church is that the priest had already been hired by Romanian circles, but he did not know Romanian and probably was not even of Vlach origin.³²²

5.4.1 Romanian chapel.

The establishment of a Romanian chapel is placed in the late 19th century. According to a source, since 1903 the Romanian consulate has maintained a "high school", and a chapel, on Miraschi Street, the side street of Pyrgos street,³²³ while another supports this information.³²⁴ No further information was found.

³²² A. Koukoúdis, loc. cit.

³²³ E. Vachároglou, loc. cit.

³²⁴ Anon., *Diéfhinsi Defterováthmias...*

6 On-site research.

After the bibliographic review, and the listing of the monuments found therein, it was considered necessary to conduct an on-site research on the respective addresses. The purpose of the on-site research was to take photographs of these sites today, as well as to investigate their status today, and to identify whether or not they were likely to emerge.

It was observed that most of the monuments found in the bibliographic review were either no longer existing or were closed and inaccessible to the public. Moreover, because of the continuous rotation of buildings uses, as was customary at that time, many of those that still exist today, have remained in the common consciousness associated with other communities, although not universally belonged to them. More specifically their situation is analyzed below, while as in the literature review are divided five into categories, one for the common Slavic cultural heritage, and four per population.

The first category mentioned and the monuments recorded therein are the, the Zeitenlik Cemetery, the British Commonwealth Cemetery of Mikra, the Temple of Cyril and Methodius, the Monument and the Monument. All of the above are in good condition, accessible to their majority, and only at the British Commonwealth Cemetery in Micra an appointment is necessary prior to visiting.

Next category, are the monuments that belong to the heritage of the Bulgarians in Thessaloniki. Most of the monuments were found in this category, many of which do not exist, or, as has been said, are linked to other cultures. Of the buildings used as a Bulgarian consulate only what is known as the «Melissa» Orphanage still exists, although two more sites were identified as sites used in this way. As far as Bulgarian schools are concerned, these were Bulgarian Girls' School "Annunciation", Bulgarian Trade and Elementary Schools, and of which there is none left, although the addresses (at least at neighborhood level) in which they were located, identified. Exception is the Men's High School (Gymnasium of Saints Cyril and Methodius) location, where an informative sign is posted, although in this case there is also no building. Of the schools that Bulgarians attended, which were the Lazarist, the Catholic Seminary of Zeitenlik, the American Farm School, and the Law School, all are in good shape. Of the churches used in Thessaloniki, the Bulgarian Saint Demetrios and the Church of Cyril and

Methodius do not exist anymore, although their addresses have been precisely identified. Saint Paul's Church and Church of Saint John Chrysostom, still exist, in good condition and accessible. From their Cemeteries, those of Evangelistria and Agia Paraskevi have been completely destroyed, while some Bulgarian prisoners are buried in Zeitenlik, Exohi's Commonwealth Military Cemetery and British Commonwealth Cemetery of Mikra. Bulgarians were also found to be linked to Karavan Saray, Melik Bay Coffee Shop, Bosniak Hani and a clinic, none of which exists today. A building with the same name has been rebuilt in place of Karavan Saray.

In the third category are the monuments belonging to the heritage of the Serbs in Thessaloniki. In this category were found the Serbian Free Zone, whose buildings still exist, the Headquarters of the Serbian Army or the Consulate where the sites were identified, but none of the buildings anymore. From the schools, there were kindergarten, the elementary school "The house of science", the high school and the Higher Urban Male and Female School, all of which have been identified at neighborhood level and some with precise address, but none exists. As far as churches are concerned, both Saint Nicholas of Orphan Church and Saint Sava's Church still exist. The famous Zeitnikl Cemeter, with its Mausoleum, are in very good condition and accessible. Panhellenion Café, the French-Serbian hospital and the corresponding school name on the Areos were not identified with any address and there is no other, while the Hirsi Hospital building, or Alexander's Serbian King Hospital, is easy to see from outside at least, even if it is affiliated with another community, that of the Jews.

Next are the monuments that belong to the Russian heritage in Thessaloniki. Some of them are more recent, in good condition and accessible. These are the State Museum of Contemporary Art, the Church of Saint Seraphim of Sharov, and the Russian Navy Cross or Cyril and Methodius Cross, in contrast to the Saint George Church which, although new, is inaccessible. Of the older monuments, the Russian Hospital is still in good condition, but may need consulting to be visited in, while outwardly visible, though it is further up the road. The graves in Zeitenlik and Kalamariá are accessible. The first are in very good condition and the second in less good condition. The Russian Consulate was housed in various locations until it was installed in its current state, none of which houses the buildings that existed at the time, although some of them were identified. Their small church in Zeitenlik is not there anymore, while that of Saint

Nikolaos is well maintained and open to the public. Just outside the city is a Monument for the Russian army in W. W. I - Pentalofos, in good condition and accessible.

Finally, it is the monuments that belong to the Romanian heritage in Thessaloniki. It's the category with the fewest registrations and unfortunately none of them exist anymore. What was recorded, were their consulate, kindergarten, elementary school, the Vocational School of Female, the cemeteries they had in western Thessaloniki, and now it is an under-regeneration park, and a church.

7 Research results – Analysis.

In primary research was used a qualitative method of semi-structured interview with a specific questionnaire almost identical for all respondents, and freedom to discuss after completing the questionnaire. The participants were informed orally (although the accompanying declaration was ready to be used if needed-see annex 1) and their participation was solely voluntary without any form of pressure. The method of collecting the answers and using only notes by the researcher alone ensured the anonymity of the participants, while no tape recorders were used for the same reason. Limitations of the primary research concern the number of the participants in the research had to be small, due to the transportation cost, and the difficulty of finding a lot of people on time, to participate in the research. Another limitation, was the impossible of interviewing people who lived at the time that is mainly studied, as it has been more than a century since then. The study was conducted in the city of Thessaloniki, which is the subject of this study. The spaces used for the interviews were selected each time by the interviewers, so the process was not difficult at all, and without time pressure.

In terms of the target population for the interviews, the initial idea was to give the view of those managing the monuments as they should. Unfortunately, there is no shortage of people in the management of the monuments, as already mentioned in the chapter of on-site research, most are closed and accessible only externally. By extension, the target population was set at the 16.868 foreigners (from specific origin) living in the area of Central Macedonia according to the 2011 data from the census of the Greek Statistical Authority. The study population was the total of 10.428 Bulgarians, 891 Serbs, 3.118 Russians and 2.431 Romanians living specifically in Thessaloniki. It was not possible to find that number, so the original goal was set to interview two people about each people's cultural heritage, considering the type of researched method used, that was semi- structured interviews. A total of seven interviews were conducted. Regarding the method of selecting the study participants, combination of sampling techniques was performed to reach the target population. The population characteristic was to investigate their opinion about cultural and religious heritage in the city. Sampling Units were not specific. Sampling techniques used in this study, belonged to probability or crisis sampling. Snowball and judgmental sampling were used combined. Judgmental sampling was used as the research population consisted of four different

types of units; deliberate subjective selection was made when sampling was based on the formality of the participants and their ease of access. Snowball sampling was also used, as each participant indicated others to interview and participate in the research.

The questions used in the interview's questionnaire were aiming to collect information on whether there is interest for cultural and religious tourism for the under-study populations in Thessaloniki. The population of the survey was consisted of Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian, Romanian origin, or place of birth. In any case, all of them are concerned about their countries' relations with Greece, tourism, or culture, and critically qualified to participate in the research. The questionnaire was translated legally, and was used in a pilot study with a sample of three to assess its reliability and was deemed appropriate for its understanding.

The questions used in the interview were created inconsistent with the purpose and the questions of this research. The first and second questions relate to the policy of each country both to the city of Thessaloniki and to the monuments in their possession. They both aim to highlight countries' interest in Thessaloniki's monuments. The next two questions relate to the existence of monuments of intangible heritage related to each culture, whether or not held by their state. The purpose of these questions is to investigate the existence of monuments associated with these cultures in Thessaloniki, in their view, rather than the bibliography. The fifth and sixth questions concern the interference that may be made by individuals or the state of each person's origin with the monuments, as well as the political relations of the two countries. Their aim is to investigate the political climate and economic and trade relations either individually or between their countries and Greece. The seventh question concerns the role of Thessaloniki in the course of relations between Greece and other populations in order to investigate whether or not the city is important to them. The eighth question is intended to explore possible conflicts between populations of different nationalities within the city, and the problems something like that can cause. The ninth question is clearly about the possibility of co-operation in developing packages in cultural tourism for both sides. Finally, the tenth question was purely to facilitate the conduct of the survey, with the question of proposing more people for an interview. All questionnaires are in the annexes, both in English and in the language originally prepared, i.e. Greek. The interviews were conducted in either Greek or English.

7.1 Interview 1.

The first interview was with a person of Bulgarian origin living in Thessaloniki for more than 10 years. In the first question, about the Bulgarian politics in Thessaloniki, there were five different options for answer: military, religious, financial, cultural or social. The answer based in the opinion of the responder was that it is firstly economical, as there are commercial relations and secondary for cultural reasons. Thirdly, for social reasons, as there are people of Bulgarian origin who also need the necessary services from the consulate, as it was issuing a visa until 2007, when Bulgaria joined the European Union. In the second question about the Bulgarian state's policy towards monuments, there were four options for answer: not interested, interested, seeks restoration, seeks to emergence/promote them. The responder's opinion was that Bulgaria is interested and seeks to some extent the restoration of the existing monuments. An example is the memory events taking place in Zeitenlik, with no intention of doing anything further, such as for example claiming. Finally, it was said that the policy on monuments in Thessaloniki has changed since 2007 to promote them, as we can see with the Bulgarian high school, the position of which is made clear by a signpost at the place where it was located.

Next, the responder was asked to express an opinion about the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Bulgarian heritage, even if they do not belong to Bulgaria. The answer included the Bulgarian junior high with the note that it doesn't exist anymore, as it has a newer school building, and the customs office with the explanation that it is visited by many people, and even recorded in Bulgarian songs. After the person was asked if there is an intangible heritage of the Bulgarian culture in Thessaloniki, he/she responded that there is some, such as the remains of Samuel found by Moutsopoulos and are in the Byzantine Museum, where they were transferred from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, but they are not exhibited and consequently are not accessible to the public. The fifth question was if the state or some individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki and it was responded negatively. Next question was about the Greece-Bulgaria political relations developing, and three option were available, positive, negative or neutral. The response was that the political relations between the two countries are positive for many years now and there is no conflict, but the opposite, as commercial relations between the two countries have developed to a great extent through private initiatives.

In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was that the small distance from Bulgaria to Thessaloniki, opposed to Athens has a significant role, and that's why more things are taking place in Thessaloniki, than in Athens, such as conferences, meetings etc.. Also, Thessaloniki is considered from Bulgarians the capital of Balkans. Asked if there is already, or if there can be a cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays, the interviewee answered that there is already a tourist traffic between the two countries with the Greeks mainly climbing more into Bulgaria, looking for old homelands in terms of cultural context. At the same time, however, Bulgarians also visit Thessaloniki for both the customs and the Cyrillic Alphabet monument, which has been mentioned before. The ninth question was if there is any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki and it was answered negatively reasoned that the Slavic front has positive relations. Lastly, the question was to recommend, if possible other people for an interview and one person was named.

7.2 Interview 2.

The second interview was with a person of Serbian origin living in Thessaloniki for more than 10 years. In the first question, about the Serbian politics in Thessaloniki, there were five different options for answer: military, religious, financial, cultural or social. The answer based in the opinion of the responder, was said that it is for cultural and social reasons. Also said that the two countries share common religious beliefs and that there was never a conflict in any way between the two countries. In the second question about the Serbian state's policy towards monuments, there were four options for answer: not interested, interested, seeks restoration, seeks to emergence/promote them. The responder's opinion was that the Serbian state's policy is interested about the monuments in Thessaloniki. Next, the responder was asked to express opinion about the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Serbian heritage, even if they do not belong to the Serbia, and talked about the St. Dimitrios temple that is visited a lot from Serbian people. Also, about the Zeitenlik cemetery and memorial, which is a sacred place for them.

In relation with the possible intangible heritage of the Serbian culture in Thessaloniki the answer was yes and it is in memory of the great war and the Macedonia front where a large number of Serbs lost their lives. The fifth question was if the state or some

individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki the answer was positive and was mentioned that there are organizations, organizing cultural events taking place in the city. The next question was about the Greece- Serbia political relations developing, and three options were available, positive, negative or neutral. The response was that relations were positive and referred to the websites of the Serbian and Greek ministries, which officially stated that relations between the two countries have traditionally been very good and are based on a strong bilateral contractual framework, with various agreements between them and visits.

In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was also positive, because of the close distance. Asked if there is already, or if there can be a cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays, the interviewee answered that it already exists and that the Serbian people come to Thessaloniki for city breaks when they have vacations from May to October and holidays like Easter, first and second of May, New Year Eve and on the sixth of January. The ninth question was if there is there any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki and it was answered negatively. Lastly, the question was to recommend, if possible other people for an interview; three people were mentioned.

7.3 Interview 3.

The third interview was with a person of Serbian origin living in Thessaloniki for more than 10 years also. In the first question, about the Serbian politics in Thessaloniki, there were five different options for answer: military, religious, financial, cultural or social. The answer based in the opinion of the responder was that it is cultural and social. In the second question about the Serbian state's policy towards monuments, there were four options for answer: not interested, interested, seeks restoration, seeks to emergence/promote them. The responder's opinion was that Serbia is interested, seeks restoration and also promotes them in some cases, like Zeitenlik cemetery, in which there is a guardian and they are very well preserved. Next, the responder was asked to express opinion about the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Serbian heritage, even if they do not belong to Serbia, the first is considered to be St Dimitrios, and then St Savvas church, which is not open very frequently. After these they are visiting different cities for cultural heritage. Afterwards concerning the question about

an intangible heritage of the Serbian culture in Thessaloniki the answer was about the Zeitenlik memorial and the memories behind it. The fifth question was if the state or some individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki and responded that the state interferes with the interest and care for the monuments that are under its protection. Next question was about the Greek- Serbian political relations developing, and three options were available, positive, negative or neutral. The given answer was that the political relations between the two countries were always positive and that they have been allies since World War I and always supported each other. There never was a rivalry between them, as with other countries and in Serbia people say that the two countries are brothers forever.

In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was positive and supported by the fact that it is close, as well as by the fact that during WWI, the Serbs helped to prevent people from invading Thessaloniki first, and many of them were lost fighting for the city. Asked if there is already, or if there can be cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays, the answer was positive for both countries, as they both have cemeteries, among other things in each other's land. For instance, there is a Greek cemetery with 396 Greeks in Serbia, like theirs here. The ninth question was if there is there any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki and it was answered negatively. The last question was to recommend, if possible other people for an interview, but it wasn't necessary the answer, because it was the second person interviewed for Serbia, although a name was given.

7.4 Interview 4.

The fourth interview was with a person born in Romania and living in Thessaloniki for more than 10 years. In the first question, about the Romanian politics in Thessaloniki, there were five different options for answer: military, religious, financial, cultural or social. The answer based in the opinion of the responder was that it is social and deals with the community of Romanians in Thessaloniki. In the second question about the Romanian state's policy towards monuments, there were four options for answer: not interested, interested, seeks restoration, seeks to emergence/promote them. The responder's opinion was that it would be interested if there was any, but there is not any

left. Next, the responder was asked to express opinion about the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Romanian heritage, even if they do not belong to the Romania but the previous question's answer responds to that answer too. Afterwards concerning if there is intangible heritage of the Romanian culture in Thessaloniki the answer was negative, except maybe the Romanian books' section in the Central Library of Thessaloniki. Responding to this question and also the two previous, it was said that the active community living the last 20-30 years in Thessaloniki is establishing its culture in the present, through shops, economy and other actions. The fifth question was if the state or some individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki the answer was positive. The example given was the Romanian Association Karpatia. The participation of many Romanians in the ecclesiastical ceremony takes place once a month in the Romanian Association, as well as their large attendance at the large celebration for those taking place on 8th March.

Next question was about the Greece-Romanian political relations developing, and three options were available, positive, negative or neutral. The answer was exceptional relations, and also noted that there is help provided between the countries and mutual sympathy, with no problems on both sides. In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was that many Romanians come to the city for vacation and that it is sister-cities with Constanta. Asked if there is already, or if there can be a cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays, answered that this could be possible. In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was that there are no conflicts, but no cooperation either. The only time they are with other communities is at the gastronomy festival that takes place every May at Nea Krini, and all the communities gather together. Lastly, the question was to recommend, if possible other people for an interview and one person was indicated. There was even the suggestion to contact again for more people, if needed.

7.5 Interview 5.

The fifth interview was with a person of Romanian origin living in Thessaloniki for more than 5 years. In the first question, about the Romanian politics in Thessaloniki, there were five different options for answer: military, religious, financial, cultural or

social. The answer based in the opinion of the responder was that it is social, and helps the Romanian community that lives in Greece with Identities, during elections, etc.. In the second question about the Romanian state's policy towards monuments, there were four options for answer: not interested, interested, seeks restoration, seeks to emergence/promote them. The responder's opinion was that there are no monuments left in Thessaloniki linked to their cultural heritage, to their knowledge. The next question, about the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Romanian heritage, even if they do not belong to the Romania was ignored, because of the previous negative answer, which also covers this question. After was the question if there is intangible heritage of the Romanian culture in Thessaloniki, in which the response was also negative.

The fifth question was if the state or some individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki was also ignored, because of the third question's negative answer, which covers also this question. Next question was about the Greece-Romanian political relations developing, and three options were available, positive, negative or neutral, with the positive given as answer. In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was that there is, and that Romanians come in the city for vacation and for the experience of food. Asked if there is already, or if there can be cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays, the interviewee answered that it could be possible. The ninth question was if there is there any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki and the answer was sprightly negative. Lastly, the question was to recommend, if possible other people for an interview and one person was pointed.

7.6 Interview 6.

The first interview was with a person of Russian origin living in Thessaloniki for more than 10 years. In the first question, about the Russian politics in Thessaloniki, there were five different options for answer: military, religious, financial, cultural or social. The answer based in the opinion of the responder Economic, cultural. In the second question about the Russian State's policy towards monuments, there were four options for answer: not interested, interested, seeks restoration, seeks to emergence/promote them. The responder's opinion was that it is interested about them, restores them and

promotes them. Next, the responder was asked to express opinion about the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Russian heritage, even if they do not belong to Russia, the answer included Zeitenlik, Pentalofos and Kalamariá. After if there is intangible heritage of the Russian culture in Thessaloniki the answer given was about the Russian hospital that is now used by the Greek government. The fifth question was if the State or some individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki, and said that public and private donors help restore and maintain good standing of their cultural heritage.

Next question was about the Greek- Russian political relations developing, and three options were available, positive, negative or neutral. The answer was that the relationship between the two countries is developing positively. In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was that it does, and that the city is closely connected with the history of Russia. Also mentioned that in 1783 the Consulate General of Russia started its operation here. Asked if there is already, or if there can be a cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays, the answer was that already there are, in the context of bilateral agreements on cultural and scientific cooperation and the development of tourist exchanges. The ninth question was if there is any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki and no conflicts with other communities was the answer. Lastly, the question was to recommend, if possible other people for an interview and three different people and organizations were mentioned.

7.7 Interview 7.

The first interview was with a person of Russia origin living in Thessaloniki for more than 3 years. In the first question, about the Russian politics in Thessaloniki, there were five different options for answer: military, religious, financial, cultural or social. The answer based in the opinion of the responder was that it is primarily social, serving Russian nationals, second-year Russian nationals, those who are here with a visa, and helping them with what their passports, proxies, pensions and anything else they need related to the consulate. Secondary for cultural reasons, such as educational programs in Russia and student certifications; and why in Greece various film festivals, exhibitions, ballet shows, and theaters are held. Meetings with Russian writers are also

being held, while the Malliaris bookstore has a corner with Russian publications. Thirdly, the consulate is here for economic reasons, as it needs to issue visas for Greek tourists visiting Russia. In the second question about the Russian State's policy towards monuments, there were four options for answer: not interested, interested, seeks restoration, seeks to emergence/promote them. The responder's opinion was that that it is interested in, and is seeking to promote and refurbish them when needed as it sends money for Zeitenlik, and a cemetery in Kalamariá. Additional there is an effort for connection with Greece and Thessaloniki with examples of last year being the year of Greek-Russia friendship and finally on May 9th, which is the day against Fascism, there were various events from Thessaloniki to Kilkis with a display of photographs of the Second World War, concerts, exhibitions etc.

Next, the responder was asked to express opinion about the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Russian heritage, even if they do not belong to Russia. The answer included Pentalofos, Zeitenlik, and Kalamariá cemeteries, and the Russian hospital. Then, in the question if there is intangible heritage of the Russian culture in Thessaloniki, the answer included the Kwstakis collection, the pictures in the churches, as well as those about Cyril and Methodius. The fifth question was if the state or some individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki, and responded as follows: the state has said more about how it intervenes, but there are also private initiatives, such as the St. George wooden church in Oraiakastro, which does not function for obvious purposes, and the Sarov church, which is separate from the Russian state, it belongs to the Metropolis of Neapolis, which even granted permission to operate in Russian. Finally, there are associations that deal with Russian books, the language, culture and more, at least in three places in the city. Next question was about the Greek –Russian political relations developing, and three option were available, positive, negative or neutral. It was said that the relations between the two countries are positive and indeed in many areas. In the question if Thessaloniki has a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries, the given answer was that it is of particular importance, as can be seen from the actions in the city, such as the call of Russian artists and the corner with the Russian versions already mentioned, as well as from time to time the functions performed by the Russian monks, the monasteries of Russia, as happened in 2000 in Saint Catherine and most recently in 2017 in Rotunda.

Furthermore, the city of Thessaloniki has a friendship and cooperation pact with St. Petersburg, Russia.

Asked if there is already, or if there can be a cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays, a positive response was given by example and emphasis on religious tourism that already exists throughout the year. It was said that they are already coming to both Saint Dimitrios and Paisios, while Russians are buying real estate, and mixed marriages are taking place, further aiding the tourist movement of the two countries. Finally, during the conversation, special interest was given to the possibility of recognizing the location of the old consulate for tourism. The ninth question was if there is conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki it was said that there are positive relationships with everyone. Lastly, the question was to recommend, if possible other people for an interview there was a positive response, but the names weren't needed, as it was the second interview.

Conclusion-Summing up.

The first objective concerned the research, was the identification and inventory of monuments belonging to the cultural heritage of the city of Thessaloniki related to the countries of Russia, Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia. The answer to the above question was given through the literature review and what is found is separated by population, and has been thoroughly analyzed in the review, and mentioned briefly below. List of their addresses is given in Appendix 10. For start there are the Balkan War Military Museum, Zeitenlik Allied cemeteries, British Commonwealth Cemetery of Mikra, Cyril and Methodius Temple and Cyril and Methodius monument that are related to three out of four cultures this study deals with. These are Bulgarians, Serbs and Russians.

Monuments associated to Bulgarians were found to be the Consulate, from schools Lazarist, the Catholic Seminary of Zeitenlik, the girls' School "Annunciation", the Gymnasium of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Business School, Primary Schools and American Farm School and Law School. Concerning the churches, these of St. Dimitrios, Lazaros, Cyril and Methodius and the one of Saint John Chrysostom were found. In cemeteries recorded those of Evangelistria, Agia Paraskevi, Zeitenlik and Exohi. Finally, there were some other places that were Bulgarian or where Bulgarians were mostly visiting, such as Karavan Saray, Melik Bay Coffee Shop, a Bosniak Hani, The Old Customs House and Bulgarian Clinic. The monuments linked to Serbs were found to be Free Serbian Zone and the Headquarters of the Serbian Army. The schools were the kindergartens, the elementary school Dom Nauke and the unanimous Gymnasium, as well as the Higher Urban male and female School. The churches listed are Saint Nicholas of Orphan, Saint Savvas's, Zeitenlik Church and cemetery is the one of Zeitenlik. Panhellenion Café was registered as a gathering place for many Serbs and finally the French Serbian hospital, and Hirsch hospital were registered as well.

The Russians found themselves linked to the old Consulate, the old Russian Hospital, the State Museum of Contemporary Art, the Russian Navy Cross or Cyril and Methodius Cross, and to the Monument for the Russian army in W.W.I at Pentelofos. Finally, churches seem to coincide with the Zeitenlik Church, Saint Nikolaos, Saint George, and the Church of Saint Seraphim of Sharov. Lastly, Romanians found to be linked to the Consulate. Other than that, with kindergartens, Elementary School, School of Commerce and Vocational School of Female and Romanian Cemetery. A church and

a chapel were also registered. For a variety of reasons, with most notably the 1917 fire, many of the above monuments no longer exist, making it difficult to record their exact location or not even approximately. Also, most of those that still exist are in the possession of the Greek state or the Greeks, and some of them are left on their luck.

The second objective was the separation of monuments with particular importance to the culture of the above populations, and the determination of their appeal as tourist attractions in the event they were included. The answer was given by the situation in which the monuments were located and, most of all if they exist. So, from the above today exists the Zeitenlik Allied cemeteries, British Commonwealth Cemetery of Mikra, Cyril and Methodius Temple and Cyril and Methodius monument. For the Bulgarians there are the Consulate-Orphanage «Melissa», Lazarist, Catholic Seminary of Zeitenlik, Gymnasium of Saints Cyril and Methodius (only the relevant sign), Saint Lazaros and Saint John Chrysostom churches and cemeteries in the countryside. For the Serbs the churches of Nicholas of Orphan and St. Savva, as well as that of Zeitenlik with the cemeteries located there. Among those found to coincide with the Russians are Russian Hospital, State Museum of Contemporary Art, churches Saint Nikolaos, Saint George, Saint Seraphim of Sharov and the Russian Navy Cross and Monument to the Russian Army in W.W.I at Pentalofos. Lastly, no monuments left associated with the Romanians exist today.

The third objective was the examination of their countries' interest in Thessaloniki monuments, the city, and identification of the places to be promoted. The answer was given from the interviews, with the responses recorded below. Bulgarian Gymnasium, Cyrillic Alphabet Monument and Customs offices were noted for Bulgarians, while Zeitenlik cemetery, Saint Dimitrios Saint Savvas and Hirsch Hospital were noted for Serbs. For the Russians the Pentalofos, Zeitenlik, and Kalamariá cemeteries, and the Russian hospital were recorded. For the Romanians nothing was recorded except the Romanian books' section in the Central Library of Thessaloniki.

The fourth objective was to investigate the possibility of cultural and religious tourism growth or development for under-study populations in Thessaloniki. The answer was again given by the respondents who overall answered yes, with no exceptions. Concerning Bulgarians, Serbs and Russians, was said that there are already established relations of tourist interest, which can be further developed, while with regard to the

CONCLUSION.

Romanians it has been answered that there is the possibility for tourist movement of cultural interest to develop.

Some other conclusions were exported from the interviews such as that all countries have positive or very positive relations with Greece, and in many cases, examples have been given. Secondly it was noted that Thessaloniki was considered to be an important city, with the answers were related to tourism. It is then noted that all countries have a consulate in Thessaloniki mainly for social reasons and, secondarily, for cultural and economic reasons, but in all cases where a monument is in their possession, they take care of it. Finally, there were negative responses to any dispute with any community within Thessaloniki and everyone was eager to nominate someone else for an interview.

From the above it is understood that the purpose of this research, which was to investigate the existence of monuments and intangible heritage associated with these cultures in Thessaloniki, was made possible in the literature review and in their view. In addition, the potential for creation of cultural tourism routes which was also under investigation, was proved to be real. It is possible for these monuments to be incorporated in the history of the city.

Discussion.

In 2015 was said that "*because Thessaloniki does not have a specific and strong web identity, it cannot easily reach new audiences, new customers, resulting in the recycling" of its old visitors*" and a survey by the Thessaloniki Hoteliers Association appeared the problem of Thessaloniki hotels, is that the city has a lot of Greek visitors, contrary to public opinion,³²⁵ which continued until 2016, while in the period 2017 - 2018 there was a slight decrease, again reaching 48%.³²⁶

In 2016, Romania and Russia climbed two places on the scale of foreign countries visiting Thessaloniki, while Bulgaria and Serbia went down. In 2018, Israel, Turkey, Romania, Serbia, and Russia were the first countries to visit Thessaloniki.³²⁷ The majority of leisure travelers come from the US, Germany and Russia, while most travelers are from Romania, Serbia and Cyprus. At the same time, visitors from the neighboring markets of Bulgaria, Serbia, Turkey and Romania have visited Thessaloniki more than once. In 2018 the top 10 markets have assessed Thessaloniki's culture, behavior and entertainment choices very positively, with the Turks not being so satisfied, but they have very positively evaluated the information provided for special events.³²⁸

Kemal Ataturk's museum was renovated after 2012 and opened to the public as a museum, resulting three years later Turks to be second in overnight stays in the city of Thessaloniki, while in 2017 Israeli sleepovers increased by 87% because they were searching for their roots. The above happens because similar actions have been taking

³²⁵ Á. Karolidou., *Érevna Xenodókhon: Ta sín kai ta plín tis touristikís Thessaloníkis.*, [Hotel's Researcher: The Cons and Cons of Tourist Thessaloniki], voria. gr 28 June 2016. Available at: <https://www.voria.gr/article/i-touristiki-thessaloniki-parameni-aniparkti-sto-diadiktio>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

³²⁶ Anon., *Prophíl & Ikanopiísi Touristón & Apódosi Xenodokhíon tis Thessaloníkis*, [Profile and Satisfaction of Tourists & Hotel Performance of Thessaloniki], April 2017, Thessaloniki Hotel Association, Available at: <http://www.tha.gr/inst/tha/gallery/Ερευνη-Μελέτες/Tourist%20Satisfaction%20Survey%20and%20performance%202017.pdf>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

³²⁷ Anon., *Prophíl & Ikanopiísi Touristón & Apódosi Xenodokhíon tis Thessaloníkis*, [Profile and Satisfaction of Tourists & Hotel Performance of Thessaloniki], April 2016, Thessaloniki Hotel Association, Available at: <https://www.gbrconsulting.gr/greek/downloads/Tourist%20Satisfaction%20Survey%20&%20performance%202016.pdf>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

³²⁸ Anon., *Prophíl & Ikanopiísi Touristón & Apódosi Xenodokhíon tis Thessaloníkis*, [Profile and Satisfaction of Tourists & Hotel Performance of Thessaloniki], April 2019, Thessaloniki Hotel Association, Available at: <http://www.tha.gr/inst/tha/gallery/Ερευνη-Μελέτες/Tourist%20Satisfaction%20Survey%20and%20performance%202018.pdf>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

place and the cultural elements of Thessaloniki have been promoted by and to these populations, with impressive results.³²⁹ Something similar can happen to the populations that this research deals with. These populations are already visiting Thessaloniki because is close to them, although their cultural past in the city is not offer to them yet.

After all, actions are already taking place, such as the Greek-Serbian forum that is being held for the first time in 2018 and Greece's participation in the Expotravel International Regional Fair. A closer look at each country's monuments separately could bring more tourists, as it seems to have happened to other populations too, successfully. First it has to happen for the monuments that still exist today, as it is easier to promote them and then it is possible to use the sings in the places where these buildings, as was the case with the Bulgarian Gymnasium. It is then possible to use a similar to the Thessaloniki Unesco VR application,³³⁰ with which the user can browse 3D sights for monuments that no longer exist. Lastly, maybe it is also necessary, to link additional monuments to the routes, from the rest of Macedonia, further away from Pentalofos and Gefyra, as there are many of them belonging to the studied populations within the meaning of their cultural connection with them along the geographical area of Macedonia of Greece.

Such an effort is made in the present research, by mapping the monuments on maps, and in cultural routes. However, it is necessary to investigate further the issue of the integration of the monuments of these populations in Thessaloniki, to ascertain the location of monuments not already found, and the location of monuments not entirely certain, while additional monuments may be found. Furthermore, since the work actually reaches up to the First World War, and actually at the beginning of it, with a few exceptions, while the presence of these populations in the city is continued up until today, it is necessary to map and the periods after the 1st W.W. .

According to the above it is understood that there is still indifference and probably enough bureaucracy over the issue of displaying the monuments left by these peoples in the city of Thessaloniki. The communities themselves have not yet been organized

³²⁹ Kóstas Koukoumákas, To Megálo Proskínima ton Toúrkon sto Spíti tou Kemál sti Thessaloníki, [The great pilgrimage of the Turks to Kemal's house in Thessaloniki], Vice Diaskédasi, 10 November 2016, Available at: <https://www.vice.com/gr/article/pgyqx8/tourkoi-touristes-θεσσαλονίκη>, [Access: 25 March 2020].

³³⁰ This application already exists, and allows to the visitor to view the 15 World Heritage Sites in Thessaloniki. To see the application follow the link: <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=gr.vertoo.thessalonikivrunesco&hl=el> .

and the municipality of Thessaloniki has only been dealing with their cemeteries in the context of dark tourism, and not even intensely. If the municipality decides to with them would be especially helpful, but it would take a lot longer. Precious time, which in the age of very easy information and fast-moving information we live in, would probably allow groups that already exist with a sufficient number of members and exchange information already, to move the information at zero profit to the city.

Either the above is the result of indifference, or the result of the inability to manage and exploit existing monuments, it is up to the private initiative, either the communities themselves or operators, to take care of the heritage of these populations and highlight it. The cultural and religious heritage of the peoples listed above remains largely untapped and unrecognized, and thus to complete this effort as far as possible, some cultural walking paths are proposed in the following chapter.

Proposals - Suggested Routes.

As stated above, in the present thesis, there is an attempt to identify, record, and promote the monuments of the people it deals with. For this reason, the following paths-possible proposals were recorded. A route is recorded for each country separately with precise instructions for the route followed, as well as information for the estimated duration and distance. The routes are also depicted on maps via excerpts from Google Earth, while in the Appendices (11.1 - 11.5) the monuments are depicted via country, without the intermediate routes. For an even easier reading and understanding of the above, an interactive map has been created where each route can be selected separately. Also, a second map depicts the monuments alone.

Routes are available in: https://drive.google.com/open?id=1_IZC5kou5uhOY-wfwvJhqAOpIyNl1Rq&usp=sharing.

Monument Sites are available in:

https://drive.google.com/open?id=1u6SP9TKuLLyEe6l_uEMMtAqBVwu_5D1Z&usp=sharing.

Walking Tour 1- Walking along the Bulgarian trails of eastern Thessaloniki.

In the Bulgarian cultural and religious heritage were found most of the monuments. The fact that there is more recent literature about it, was especially helpful. So, it was necessary to create two different routes. Different ways of separating the routes were considered unnecessary, as they would have a particularly long duration, something which was initially attempted to be avoided, and thus created two routes. The first of these is described below and regards the east side of the center of Thessaloniki.

The starting point of the first route is the Evagelistrias cemetery, which is not well known, but is relatively close to other central points of the city and is easy to find. Inside the cemetery lies the chapel of St. Lazaros, and the former Bulgarian cemetery. Then the path continues with a right turn to St. Dimitrios street until Mirarchou Dimitriou Koufitsa Street, which descends until it turns right to Olympus Street, at the intersection of which is the next stop. It is the former Mens Bulgarian Gymnasium "Cyril and Methodius", where there is a relevant information sign. The path was estimated at five

hundred and fifty meters and about ten minutes. The former Girls Gymnasium "Annunciation" is located two minutes and eighty meters below at Agia Sofia Street. For the next stop, which is where the former Bulgarian Cyril and Methodius Church & School was, there is a need to descend all over Agia Sophia until a left turn to Kathigitou Antoniou Keramopoulou Street. Then a right turn and an immediate turn to the left on Alexandrou Svolou Street. On the intersection with the Paleon Patron Germanou lies the place where the monument used to be. This path was estimated at twelve minutes and six hundred meters. Next, on the same street and at the same direction it continues until a right turn to Hippodrome Square and then a left turn to Manousogiannaki Street. At the intersection with Ethnikis Aminis Street, where the Hellenic Postbank store is located, the Bulgarian consulate was once housed. The distance was measured at five hundred meters and ten minutes of walking. For the next stop, the route descends the last street, turns left to Tsimiski Street, and continues even when changes its name at a point to Leoforos Stratou, turns left to Papanastasiou and again left onto Aetorachis, and continues until Perdika Street, where the Church of St. John Chrysostom lies on the right hand. It is possible that a former Bulgarian elementary School was at Aetorachis street. The route was estimated at one kilometer and seven hundred meters, and forty minutes. For the next stop it follows the route backwards until Leoforou Stratou, where it turns left onto Agia Triados Street, where there was another monument, the Bulgarian Clinic, and continues until a left turn to Vassilissis. Olgas Street, up to number 36, where the Bulgarian consulate was once housed. This path was estimated at one kilometer and two hundred meters, and about half an hour. From this point it continues to Stratigou Kakavou Street, turning left to Megalou Alexandrou, on which the Temple as well as the Cyril and Methodius Monument are located. It takes fifteen minutes and eight hundred meters to meet them. At last an optional stop is the second monument of Cyril and Methodius, the cross dedicated to them at the beach, and is nine hundred meters away and almost fifteen minutes from the Temple.

The clinic was decided not to have a separate stop, as it belongs to a different time period and there are already enough monuments on this route. The total mileage of this route is about six kilometers and three hundred meters, and lasts two hours and a quarter. Taking into account the stops, the total duration is about three hours, that is why the last stop is optional. If removed from the route, it is estimated at five kilometers and four hundred meters and lasts approximately three hours. At the end of the walk it

PROPOSALS.

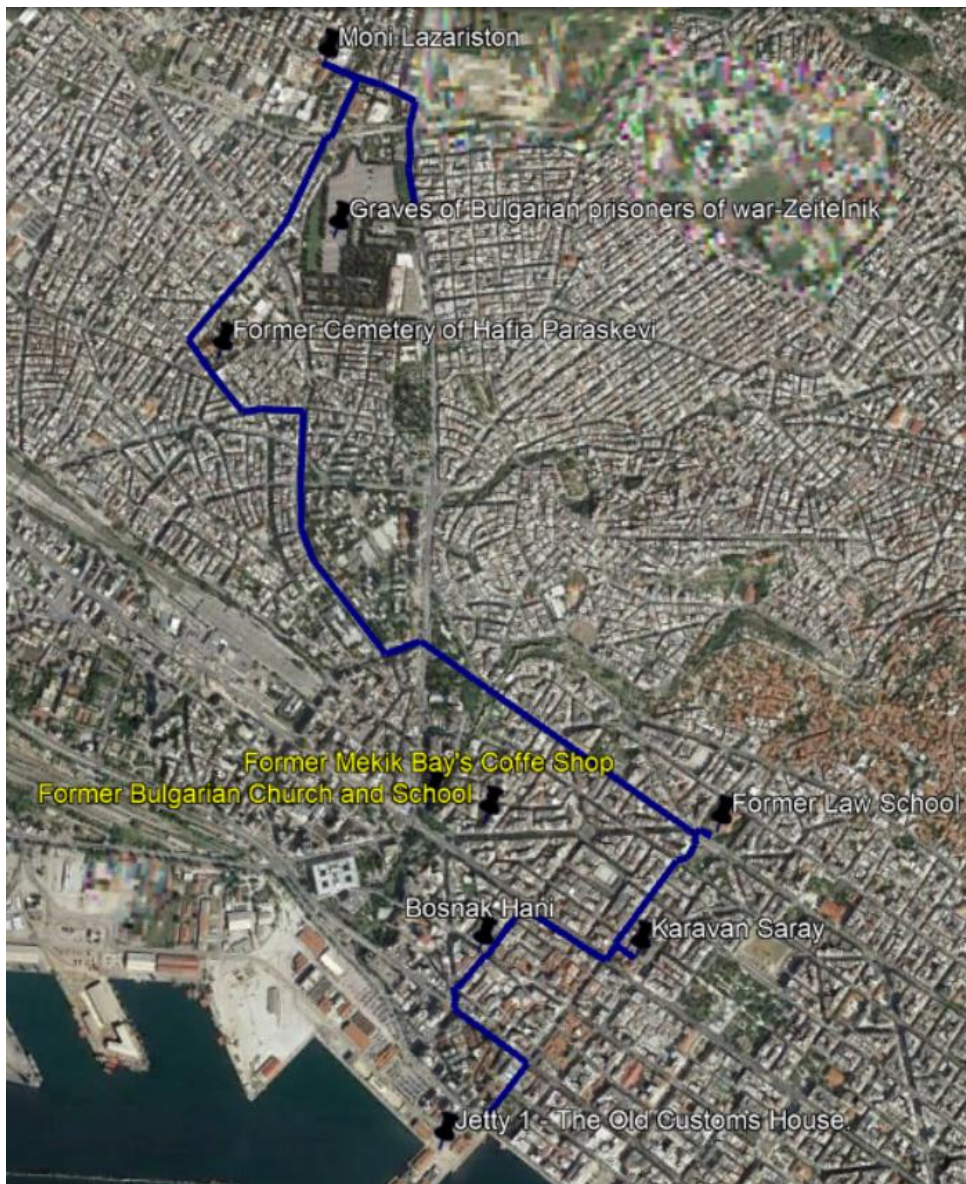
is desirable that a prearranged bus to wait at the last stop, which will serve as a transport to three additional long-distanced sights. The sights will be the Mikra Commonwealth Cemetery, then the Zeitenlik Cemetery and finally the Exohis' Cemetery. Since costs will necessarily go up, the bus route may be optional.



Map 1. First Bulgarian Walking Tour.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

Walking Tour 2- Walking along the Bulgarian trails of western Thessaloniki.



Map 2. Second Bulgarian Walking Tour.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

The second route for the Bulgarians has as starting point Dock 1 and the old customs office, which seemed to interest them as a monument, though it does not belong in their heritage, and was chosen as a central point of the city. From there, it follows the Ionos Dragoumi Street, turns left to Polutechniou Street, then right onto the Dodecanesou Street, turn right on Diamanti Olympou Street and immediately left onto Sofou Leontos Street. At the intersection with Frangon Street as the Bosnak Hani. The path was

measured around six hundred meters and about fifteen minutes. From there, it follows the same road and turns right to Egnatia Street. It continues until a left turn to Ionos Dragoumi Street and right to Vamvaka Street, where the new Karavan Saray building is located, after a total trip of about five hundred and twenty meters and fifteen minutes. Next, it follows Dragoumi Street and continues on to Agoniston Street, until it meets in Agiou Dimitriou the old Law School. The distance between the two points is almost four hundred and sixty meters and takes about ten minutes. Then it continues on Agiou Dimitriou Street against the flow of the road, until it crosses to Stefanou Dragoumanou Street. Then it turns right to Grigoriou Koloniari Street, left to Leoforos Kallitheas Street, and right to Filipoupoleos Street, where the site of the old Bulgarian cemeteries was. The distance between the stops is two kilometers and about forty-five minutes. From there it goes up to Eleutherias Street, until it crosses to Dionysios Solomos Street and turns left at the Kolokotroni Street where the Lazarist Monastery is located. This route lasts about half an hour and extends for one kilometer. The final stop is the Zeitenlik Allied Cemetery. in order to reach the cemetery, the path goes all the way to Kolokotroni Street and turns right to Lagada Street, from where there are optional entrances for the monument, after about five hundred and fifty meters and a quarter walk.

The cafe Melik Bey was excluded from the route as it is away from the path, and the route is already long. The total route was calculated at five kilometers and one hundred and fifty meters, with a walking time of two hours and ten minutes. Adding the stops the tour is estimated to last three hours and twenty minutes. The route can also work backwards with starting point the Zeitenlik Cemetery or the Monastery of Lazarus, taking into consideration that there is a downhill, and not an uphill as at the original proposal. The port could also be an optional choice as it is a sight which the individuals may have already visited by their own. At the end of the walk it is desirable that a prearranged bus to wait at the last stop, which will serve as a transport to two additional long-distanced sights. The sights will be the Mikra Commonwealth Cemetery, and Exohis' Cemetery. Since costs will necessarily go up, the bus route may be optional.

Walking Tour 3- The Serbian path on the limits of Thessaloniki walls.



Map 3. Serbian Walking Tour.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

As regards the Serbian route, the Evagelistria cemeteries was set to be the starting point. The route includes both monuments that exist and monuments that no longer exist, and extends into the boundaries of the historic center of Thessaloniki. So, it is easy, beyond their own history, to be informed along the way about the other communities as well, and to be able to sense find themselves in another era that the city lived about a century earlier.

The path from the starting point, leaves the cemetery behind, goes right and up Olimpiados Street, until it turns right at Agiou Pavlou Street, until a left turn to Athinas Street. On this street, it continues until it turns to Herodotus Street, at number 20 where the Temple of Saint Nicholas of Orphan is located. This route was estimated to last 15 minutes and to be five hundred meters. The same path then goes backwards until it reaches the church of Saint Savva. So as soon as it returns to the starting point, it continues downhill down the entire Ethnikis Amunis Street, and after crossing Egnatia Street, turns right until it meets Kamvounion Street, on which it turns and descends to No. 1, where the church is located. This route was estimated at one kilometer and three hundred meters, lasting twenty-five minutes. Then it continues downhill and a left turn to Alexandrou Svolou Street, then turns right to Filikis Eterias Street, which also goes downhill. At Manousogiannaki Street turns left to find the intersection where the Serbian Consulate was once hosted. This distance was about five minutes and two hundred meters. It then goes down to Ethnikis Aminis Street, to the White Tower, turning right and proceeding to Dock Two, where the Free Serbian Zone once stood.

At the last path that was estimated two kilometers and four hundred meters and forty minutes of walking, a stop can be optionally added to the present-day Serbian Consulate, which is the first building of the Serbian Chamber in Thessaloniki.

The Freedom Square, once home to a community school, was excluded from the route, as it has been remodeled and the Hippocrates Hospital (then Hirsch), which had been dedicated to Serbian King for some time cause is far from the rest. If more of their monuments are identified in the area, a second route is possible. Overall, the route was estimated four kilometers and four hundred meters, hour and a half long. If the stops are added, the optional route lasts two hours and twenty minutes. At the end of the walk it is desirable that a prearranged bus to wait at the last stop, which will serve as a transport to two additional long-distanced sights. The sights will be the Mikra Commonwealth Cemetery and then the Zeitenlik Cemetery. Since costs will necessarily go up, the bus route may be optional.

Walking Tour 4- In the footsteps of the Russians, in eastern Thessaloniki.

As for the Russian walking route, unlike the others, it was decided the bus route to take place first and then from a specific point to continue walking. This was considered necessary as the route stretches to the east side of downtown Thessaloniki, where there are clearly fewer popular points, and also because the route includes two points with great distance from each other and from the sea, so the route is not very flat. It contains a few points of interest, but they are all visible and accessible to the majority of them. Unfortunately, two of the five are relatively recent monuments of the city, belonging to a different time period, but are connected to their heritage. The one of them indeed has been created by Russians, although it more recent.

The starting point for their walking route will therefore be the church of Nicholas and Demetrios in the area of Harilaou. After stopping at the temple that once belonged to their community, the proposed route goes downhill from Epitheoritou Dimitriou Misirli Street until it turns right to Gumnasiarchou Vasiliou Mistakidou Street, and continues to turn left to Gumnasiarchou Mikrou Street, and then right to Agiou Vasiliou , then continues down to Papanastasiou Street, where it turns right. Then on Alexandrou Strayrou Street, turns left, and continues, although at some point it changes its name to Petrou Syndika, until it reaches the beach, where the Cyril and Methodius Cross is

located. This route was estimated at two kilometers and fifty meters, and lasts about fifty minutes. Next stop is the Temple of Cyril and Methodius, located on the coastal Megalou Alexandrou Avenue, returning to the center of Thessaloniki, almost nine hundred meters or eighteen minutes away. From the Temple, with the orientation to be looking towards the sea, it continues right until it turns to Stratigou Kakavou Street, which goes up and turns left on Basilissis Olgas Street and continues until No. 31, where the Russian consulate once housed in a building that no longer exists. This distance was measured to be five hundred meters and lasts ten minutes. Finally, from there turning to the right, it goes all the way up to Athanasiou Diakou Street, which changes to Valagianni Street, until a left turn to Papanastasiou Street, where lies the old Russian hospital. This distance was estimated at seven hundred and eighty meters, and lasts twenty-five minutes.

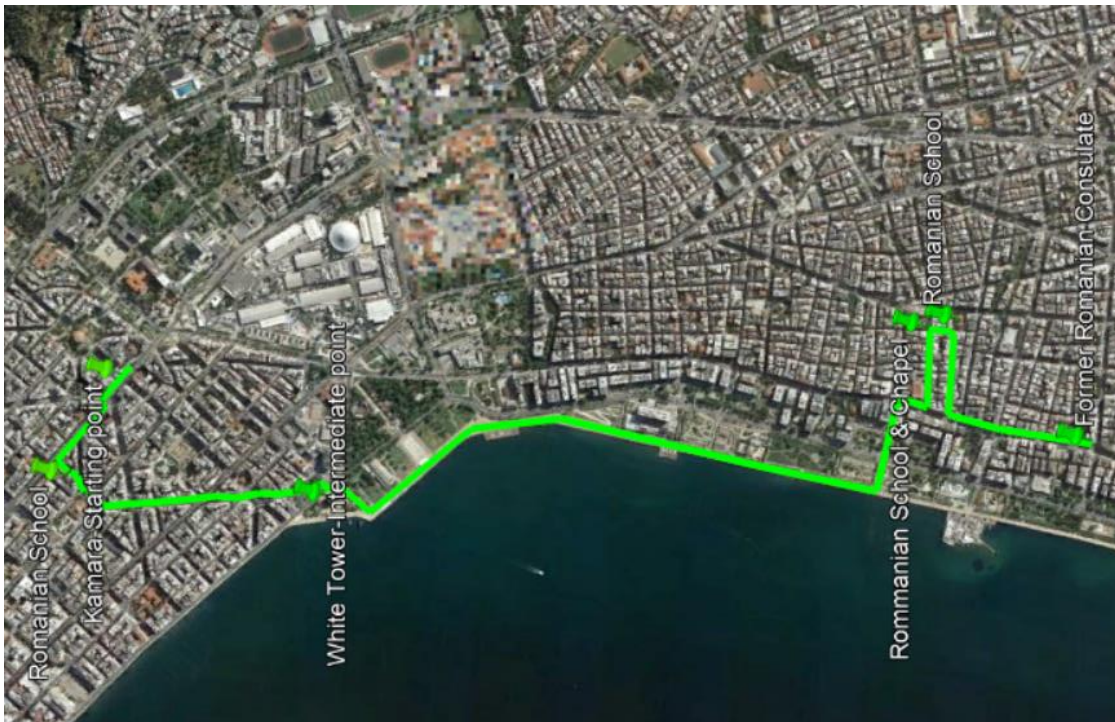
The above route was measured approximately four kilometers and two hundred and fifty meters, lasting one hour and forty-five minutes. Taking into consideration the stops between the points of interest, the route should take about two and a half hours. The sights for the bus trip in the start will be the Mikra Commonwealth Cemetery and then the Zeitenlik Cemetery and the Russian Monument to Pentalofos, while two churches were excluded as resent monuments. Since costs will necessarily go up, the bus route may be optional.



Map 4. Russian Walking Tour.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

Walking Tour 5- Searching for lost Romanian monuments in Thessaloniki.



Map 5. Romanian Walking Tour.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

The Romanian walking route is the one with the fewest monuments, and also the one where there are no longer any monuments standing. By extension, the whole route should be based on the driver's narrative, and his talent to travel visitors to another era of the city. It may still be necessary to create a booklet that includes some photos to help with the storytelling. Secondly, as mentioned before, it is possible to use technology to create three-dimensional models and access them through an application as soon as the person concerned, reaches the specific points.

The route created for the Romanians has a starting point in Kamara, as it is a well-known and central point of the city. From there the next stop is where a Romanian school was formerly located at number 5 Georgiou Charalambous Cyprous' street. The distance between the two points is approximately 350 meters and the estimated time between the two distances six minutes. The next point of interest is a location where there was once a Romanian school on Alexander Fleming Street. The proposed route follows the downhill to Patriarchou Ioakim Street, then a left turn to Pavlou Mela Street, until it reaches the White Tower. From there following the coastal road it turns to Kallidopoulou Street until a right turn to Vasilissis Olgas Street, and then turns right to

Alexander Fleming Street, until it meets Ermondoy Rostan Street, which is the point of interest where there was another Romanian school. This route was estimated at about three kilometers and two hundred and fifty meters, while it was estimated at about fifty minutes, or one hour with a stopover. Then it continues right on Miaouli Street to the Church of the Savior where there was also a school. This distance is two minutes, and less than one hundred meters away. Finally, it goes down to Miaouli Street, turns left to Vasilissis Olga Street, until Martiou Street, to the end point, where the Romanian Consulate was formerly located. This distance was measured to be approximately seven hundred meters and a fifteen-minute walk.

From the monuments included in the route the Romanian park was excluded, because currently is under the redevelopment scheme and is not accessible. When accessible, it may be necessary to use a bus to reach it, or to reconfigure the route. In total the route is about four kilometers and four hundred meters. In terms of its duration, it was estimated at almost an hour and a half of walking and in total, calculating the stops, two hours and a quarter.

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Appendices.

1. Accompanying Declaration.

You are asked to answer some questions based on a questionnaire, which is part of the Diploma thesis: “The religious and cultural heritage of Bulgarians, Serbs, Russians and Romanians in Thessaloniki: aiming to create new paths in special interest tourism.” of the Postgraduate Program in Tourism Administration of Businesses and Organizations, of the A.T.E.I. of Thessaloniki.

The purpose of this research is to investigate the existence and identification of the cultural heritage of Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians and Russians in Thessaloniki, and the interest in the creation of corresponding cultural tourism packages. This interview will be used strictly for academic purposes, and your personal information will not be disclosed. Your answers will remain confidential and will be used solely for the purpose of this study. Thank you in advance, for your time and cooperation.

Researcher

Panagiota Kefala.

2. Ερωτηματολόγιο 1.

1. Τι είδους είναι η ρουμανική πολιτική στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Στρατιωτική;
 - ii. Θρησκευτική;
 - iii. Οικονομική;
 - iv. Πολιτιστική;
 - v. Κοινωνική;
2. Ποια είναι η πολιτική του ρουμανικού κράτους απέναντι στα μνημεία;
 - i. Δεν Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - ii. Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - iii. Επιδιώκει την αναστήλωση τους;
 - iv. Επιδιώκει την ανάδειξη/προώθησή τους;
3. Ποια είναι τα μνημεία που θεωρείται πως συνδέονται απόλυτα με την ρουμανική κληρονομιά, ακόμα και αν δεν ανήκουν σε ρουμανική ιδιοκτησία;
4. Υπάρχει άυλη ρουμανική κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, ποια είναι;
5. Παρεμβαίνουν το κράτος ή ιδιώτες σχετικά με την κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες κινήσεις;
6. Πως αναπτύσσονται οι πολιτικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας- Ρουμανίας;
 - i. Θετικά
 - ii. Αρνητικά
 - iii. Ουδέτερα;
7. Παίζει κάποιον ιδιαίτερο ρόλο η Θεσσαλονίκη σχετικά με την πορεία των πολιτικών σχέσεων των δύο χωρών;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, πως;
8. Υπάρχει σύγκρουση με άλλες κοινότητες εντός της Θεσσαλονίκης;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες;
9. Υπάρχει/Δύναται να υπάρξει συνεργασία μεταξύ των δύο χωρών για τους τουρίστες πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, ακόμα και σε συνδυασμό με διακοπές;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, σε ποιο πλαίσιο;
10. Μπορείτε να προτείνετε άλλα άτομα για συνέντευξη;

3. Questionnaire 1.

1. What is the Romanian politics in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Military?
 - ii. Religious?
 - iii. Financial?
 - iv. Cultural?
 - v. Social?
2. What is the Romanian state's policy towards monuments?
 - i. Not interested.
 - ii. Is interested.
 - iii. It seeks restoration?
 - iv. It seeks to emergence/promote them?
3. What are the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Romanian heritage, even if they do not belong to the Romania?
4. Is there an intangible Romanian heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, what is it?
5. Does the state or individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, with what moves?
6. How are Greece-Romania political relations developing?
 - i. Positive?
 - ii. Negatively?
 - iii. Neutral?
7. Does Thessaloniki have a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, how?
8. Is there / Can there be cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, in what context?
9. Is there any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, with whom?
10. Can you recommend other people for an interview?

4. Ερωτηματολόγιο 2.

1. Τι είδους είναι η σερβική πολιτική στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Στρατιωτική;
 - ii. Θρησκευτική;
 - iii. Οικονομική;
 - iv. Πολιτιστική;
 - v. Κοινωνική;
2. Ποια είναι η πολιτική του σερβικού κράτους απέναντι στα μνημεία;
 - i. Δεν Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - ii. Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - iii. Επιδιώκει την αναστήλωση τους;
 - iv. Επιδιώκει την ανάδειξη/προώθησή τους;
3. Ποια είναι τα μνημεία που θεωρείται πως συνδέονται απόλυτα με την σερβική κληρονομιά, ακόμα και αν δεν ανήκουν σε σερβική ιδιοκτησία;
4. Υπάρχει άυλη σερβική κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, ποια είναι;
5. Παρεμβαίνουν το κράτος ή ιδιώτες σχετικά με την κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες κινήσεις;
6. Πως αναπτύσσονται οι πολιτικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας- Σερβίας;
 - i. Θετικά
 - ii. Αρνητικά
 - iii. Ουδέτερα;
7. Παίζει κάποιον ιδιαίτερο ρόλο η Θεσσαλονίκη σχετικά με την πορεία των πολιτικών σχέσεων των δύο χωρών;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, πως;
8. Υπάρχει σύγκρουση με άλλες κοινότητες εντός της Θεσσαλονίκης;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες;
9. Υπάρχει/Δύναται να υπάρξει συνεργασία μεταξύ των δύο χωρών για τους τουρίστες πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, ακόμα και σε συνδυασμό με διακοπές;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, σε ποιο πλαίσιο;
10. Μπορείτε να προτείνετε άλλα άτομα για συνέντευξη;

5. Questionnaire 2.

1. What is the Serbian politics in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Military?
 - ii. Religious?
 - iii. Financial?
 - iv. Cultural?
 - v. Social?
2. What is the Serbian state's policy towards monuments?
 - i. Not interested.
 - ii. Is interested.
 - iii. It seeks restoration?
 - iv. It seeks to emergence/promote them?
3. What are the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Serbian heritage, even if they do not belong to the Serbia?
4. Is there an intangible Serbian heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, what is it?
5. Does the state or individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, with what moves?
6. How are Greece- Serbia political relations developing?
 - i. Positive?
 - ii. Negatively?
 - iii. Neutral?
7. Does Thessaloniki have a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, how?
8. Is there / Can there be cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, in what context?
9. Is there any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, with whom?
10. Can you recommend other people for an interview?

6. Ερωτηματολόγιο 3.

1. Τι είδους είναι η ρωσική πολιτική στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Στρατιωτική;
 - ii. Θρησκευτική;
 - iii. Οικονομική;
 - iv. Πολιτιστική;
 - v. Κοινωνική;
2. Ποια είναι η πολιτική του ρωσικού κράτους απέναντι στα μνημεία;
 - i. Δεν Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - ii. Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - iii. Επιδιώκει την αναστήλωση τους;
 - iv. Επιδιώκει την ανάδειξη/προώθησή τους;
3. Ποια είναι τα μνημεία που θεωρείται πως συνδέονται απόλυτα με την ρωσική κληρονομιά, ακόμα και αν δεν ανήκουν σε ρωσική ιδιοκτησία;
4. Υπάρχει άυλη ρωσική κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, ποια είναι;
5. Παρεμβαίνουν το κράτος ή ιδιώτες σχετικά με την κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες κινήσεις;
6. Πως αναπτύσσονται οι πολιτικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας- Ρωσίας;
 - i. Θετικά
 - ii. Αρνητικά
 - iii. Ουδέτερα;
7. Παίζει κάποιον ιδιαίτερο ρόλο η Θεσσαλονίκη σχετικά με την πορεία των πολιτικών σχέσεων των δύο χωρών;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, πως;
8. Υπάρχει σύγκρουση με άλλες κοινότητες εντός της Θεσσαλονίκης;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες;
9. Υπάρχει/Δύναται να υπάρξει συνεργασία μεταξύ των δύο χωρών για τους τουρίστες πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, ακόμα και σε συνδυασμό με διακοπές;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, σε ποιο πλαίσιο;
10. Μπορείτε να προτείνετε άλλα άτομα για συνέντευξη;

7. Questionnaire 3.

1. What is the Russian politics in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Military?
 - ii. Religious?
 - iii. Financial?
 - iv. Cultural?
 - v. Social?
2. What is the Russian state's policy towards monuments?
 - i. Not interested.
 - ii. Is interested.
 - iii. It seeks restoration?
 - iv. It seeks to emergence/promote them?
3. What are the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Russian heritage, even if they do not belong to the Russian?
4. Is there an intangible Russian heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, what is it?
5. Does the state or individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, with what moves?
6. How are Greece-Russia political relations developing?
 - i. Positive?
 - ii. Negatively?
 - iii. Neutral?
7. Does Thessaloniki have a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, how?
8. Is there / Can there be cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, in what context?
9. Is there any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, with whom?
10. Can you recommend other people for an interview?

8. Ερωτηματολόγιο 4.

1. Τι είδους είναι η βουλγαρική πολιτική στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Στρατιωτική;
 - ii. Θρησκευτική;
 - iii. Οικονομική;
 - iv. Πολιτιστική;
 - v. Κοινωνική;
2. Ποια είναι η πολιτική του βουλγαρικού κράτους απέναντι στα μνημεία;
 - i. Δεν Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - ii. Ενδιαφέρεται.
 - iii. Επιδιώκει την αναστήλωση τους;
 - iv. Επιδιώκει την ανάδειξη/προώθησή τους;
3. Ποια είναι τα μνημεία που θεωρείται πως συνδέονται απόλυτα με την βουλγαρική κληρονομιά, ακόμα και αν δεν ανήκουν σε βουλγαρική ιδιοκτησία;
4. Υπάρχει άυλη βουλγαρική κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, ποια είναι;
5. Παρεμβαίνουν το κράτος ή ιδιώτες σχετικά με την κληρονομιά στην Θεσσαλονίκη;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες κινήσεις;
6. Πως αναπτύσσονται οι πολιτικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας- Βουλγαρίας;
 - i. Θετικά
 - ii. Αρνητικά
 - iii. Ουδέτερα;
7. Παίζει κάποιον ιδιαίτερο ρόλο η Θεσσαλονίκη σχετικά με την πορεία των πολιτικών σχέσεων των δύο χωρών;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, πως;
8. Υπάρχει σύγκρουση με άλλες κοινότητες εντός της Θεσσαλονίκης;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, με ποιες;
9. Υπάρχει/Δύναται να υπάρξει συνεργασία μεταξύ των δύο χωρών για τους τουρίστες πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, ακόμα και σε συνδυασμό με διακοπές;
 - i. Ναι/Όχι.
 - ii. Αν ναι, σε ποιο πλαίσιο;
10. Μπορείτε να προτείνετε άλλα άτομα για συνέντευξη;

9. Questionnaire 4.

1. What is the Bulgarian politics in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Military?
 - ii. Religious?
 - iii. Financial?
 - iv. Cultural?
 - v. Social?
2. What is the Bulgarian state's policy towards monuments?
 - i. Not interested.
 - ii. Is interested.
 - iii. It seeks restoration?
 - iv. It seeks to emergence/promote them?
3. What are the monuments considered to be completely linked to the Bulgarian heritage, even if they do not belong to the Bulgaria?
4. Is there an intangible Bulgarian heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - i. Yes/No.
 - ii. If so, what is it?
5. Does the state or individuals interfere in the cultural heritage in Thessaloniki?
 - iii. Yes/No.
 - iv. If so, with what moves?
6. How are Greece-Bulgaria political relations developing?
 - iv. Positive?
 - v. Negatively?
 - vi. Neutral?
7. Does Thessaloniki have a particular role in the development of political relations between the two countries?
 - iii. Yes/No.
 - iv. If so, how?
8. Is there / Can there be cooperation between the two countries for cultural heritage tourists, even in connection with holidays?
 - iii. Yes/No.
 - iv. If so, in what context?
9. Is there any conflict with other communities within Thessaloniki?
 - iii. Yes/No.
 - iv. If so, with whom?
10. Can you recommend other people for an interview?

10. The Slavic and Romanian religious and cultural heritage in Thessaloniki (tables).

10.1 The Slavic religious and cultural heritage in Thessaloniki.³³¹

Zeitenlik Allied cemeteries. British Commonwealth Cemetery of Mikra. Cyril and Methodius Temple.	Lagada and Akritwn streets intersection. Konstantinou Karamanlis, Kalamariá. 33 Alexander the Great Avenue.
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10.2 The Bulgarian religious and cultural heritage in Thessaloniki.

Consulate- Orphanage «Melissa».	36 Vasilissis Olgas.
Schools.	
Lazarist Monastery.	21 Kolokotroni Street, at Stauroupoli.
Bulgarian Catholic Seminary of Zeitenlik.	21 Kolokotroni Street, at Stauroupoli.
<u>Bulgarian Girls' School "Annunciation".</u>	66 Agia Sofias.
<u>Gymnasium of Saints Cyril and Methodius.</u>	Agias Sofias, Olumpou, Suntagmatarhou Abdela.
<u>Bulgarian Business School.</u>	Deuterou Molou.
<u>Bulgarian Primary School.</u>	64 Hafias Sofias.
<u>American Farm School.</u>	
<u>Former Law School</u>	Agiou Dimitriou 64.
Churches.	
<u>Bulgarian Saint Demetrios.</u>	Karolis Dimitrios, Gladstone, Mavili and Pinios
Saint Lazaros Church.	Panepistimiou.
<u>Church of Cyril and Methodius.</u>	Svolou with Palaiwn Patrwn Germanou.
Church of Saint John Chrysostom.	51 Perdika Str.
Cemeteries.	
<u>Evangelistria.</u>	Panepistimiou with Agiou Dimitriou.
<u>Hagia Paraskevi.</u>	Next to Saint Panteleimon, Lagada, Ampelokipoi.
Zeitenlik.	Lagada and Akritwn streets' intersection.
Exohi's Commonwealth Military.	Agiou Stefanou, Exohi.
<u>KaravanSaray.</u>	
<u>The Melik Bay Coffee Shop.</u>	Egnatia with Eirini Street, Vardaris.
<u>The Bosniak Hani.</u>	
<u>Bulgarian Clinic.</u>	16 Agias Triadas

³³¹ Everything underlined either does not exist anymore as a building, either it's address was not able to be found.

10.3 The Serbian religious and cultural heritage in Thessaloniki.

<u>Headquarters of the Serbian Army.</u>	Ethinkis Amunis str. with 11 Manougiannaki
The Old Customs House.	Pier 1, Port.
Schools.	
<u>Kindergartens.</u>	
<u>Elementary school /Dom Nauke.</u>	Agias Sofias.
<u>Serbian Gymnasium.</u>	Plateia Eleutherias,
<u>Higher Urban Male and Female School.</u>	Kambuniwn.
Serbian Churches.	
Saint Nicholas of Orphan Church.	20 Herodotou.
Saint Savvas Church.	1 Kambouniwn
Zeitenlik Church.	Lagada and Akritwn streets intersection.
Cemeteries.	
Zeitenlik.	Lagada and Akritwn streets intersection.
<u>Panhellenion Café.</u>	
<u>The French Serbian hospital.</u>	
Prince Alexander of Serbia Hospital	49 Konstantinoupolews.

10.4 The Russian religious and cultural heritage in Thessaloniki.

<u>Russian Consulate.</u>	45 Aghia Sophia with Patriarch Dionysius II. 31 Queen Olgas
Russian Hospital.	21 Papanastasiou.
State Museum of Contemporary Art.	21 Kolokotroni Str. Stauroupoli.
Churches.	
Zeitenlik Churches.	
Saint Nikolaos.	34 Gumnasiarhou Musirli.
Church of Saint George.	Agiou Georgiou, Oreokastro.
Church of Saint Seraphim of Sharov.	2 Iasonidou, Euxinoupoli.
<u>Zeitenlik Church.</u>	Lagada and Akritwn streets intersection.
Russian Navy Cross.	
Monument for the Russian army in W.W.I – Pentalofos.	Coast road at the height of Petros Syndikas. Pentalofos.

10.5 The Romanian religious and cultural heritage in Thessaloniki.

Romanian Consulate.

Romanian Schools.

Romanian kindergarten.

Romanian Elementary School.

Romanian School of Commerce.

Vocational School of Female of Thessaloniki.

Romanian Cemetery.

The Romanian Church.

Romanian chapel.

11 Marcou Botsaris.

Fleming Street.

5 C. Charalambous Cyprus.

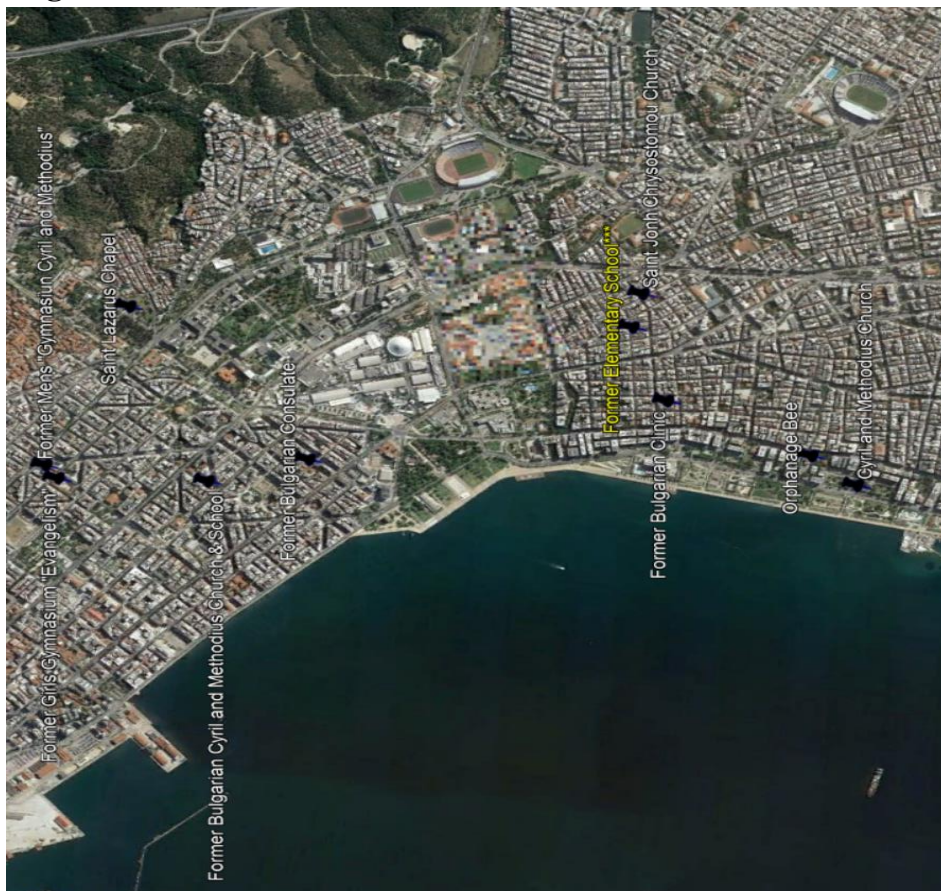
Miaouli, with Edmondou Rostan.

Venizelos, Karamanlis and Papandreou Streets,
Neapoli.

Fleming Street

11. Monument Sites.

11.1 Bulgarians' Monuments.



Map 6. Bulgarian Monuments of eastern Thessaloniki.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.



Map 7. Bulgarian Monuments of western Thessaloniki.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

11.2 Serbs' Monuments.



Map 8. Serbian Monuments in Thessaloniki.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

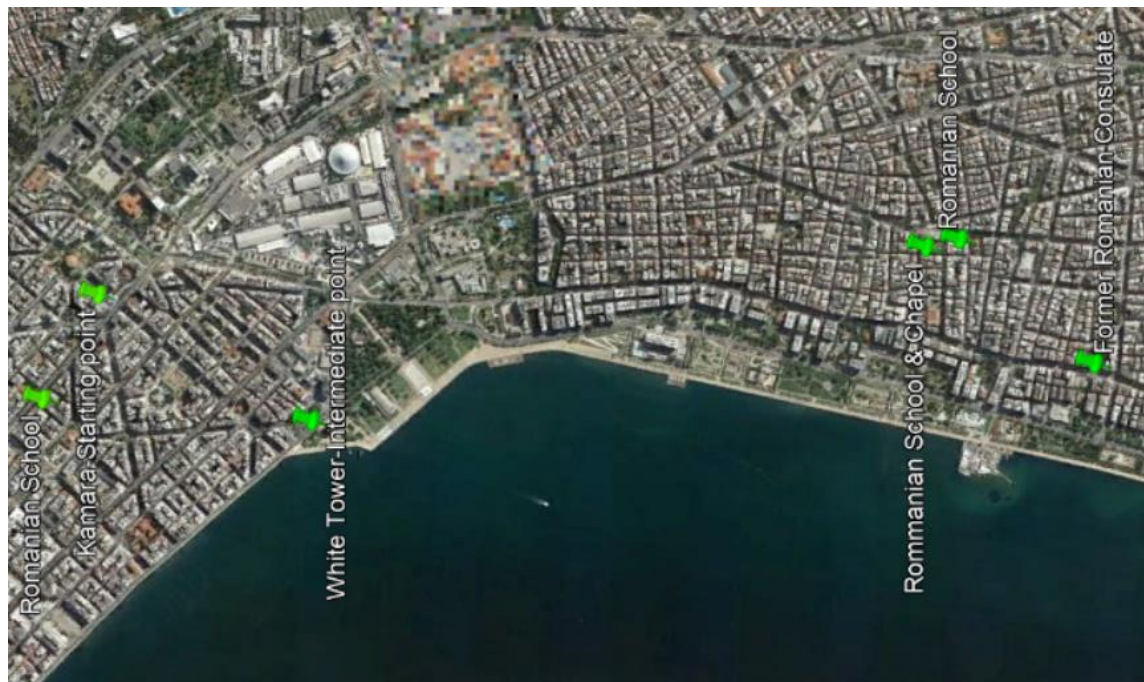
11.3 Russians' Monuments.



Map 9. Russian Monuments in Thessaloniki.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

11.4 Romanians' Monuments.



Map 10. Romanian Monuments in Thessaloniki.

Source: Excerpt from Google Earth.

