

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ATHENS LIBRARY No. 140

ALEXANDER PAPAGEORGIOU - VENETAS

# ATHENS

THE ANCIENT HERITAGE AND THE HISTORIC CITYSCAPE  
IN A MODERN METROPOLIS



ATHENS 1994



The problem of integrating the urban heritage in the complex townscape and the variety of functions of today's city life has not up until now been sufficiently investigated. There has been little interdisciplinary research in this field; the connexions and interdependent relations among the study of ancient settlements, archaeological investigations, the tasks of contemporary town planning and dealing with tourism, as well as the cultural reevaluation of the ancient heritage are very rarely examined.

The lack of interdisciplinary communication and attempts to formulate a suitable policy of integrated conservation is particularly obvious in the case of Athens, a city with almost four million inhabitants today. The central area, where the architectural and urban heritage of Athens is to be found and where features of ancient topography are still recognizable, is described in this work as the cultural-historic area of Athens, a crescent-shaped zone including from west to east: the ancient Academy area, the Kerameikos Excavations, the hills of the Pnyx range and the Areopagus, the classical Agora and the Roman Agora, the Akropolis and its slopes, the old town district of Plaka, the area around the Temple of Zeus Olympios, the rebuilt Panathenaic Stadium, the inner-city parks and the replanted hill of Lykabettos.

The present study endeavours to present a comprehensive overview of the problems related to the ancient heritage of Athens. This means examining among other things the possibility of effectively including historic buildings and ruins in the living fabric of a developing modern city. It is the aim of the Author to examine the historical conditions governing the gradual evolution of the cultural-historical area of the city. The social and ideological forces acting as determining factors are accounted for and the functional conflicts and social difficulties which attended its formation are described. Furthermore the advantages and disadvantages for the inhabitants created by the presence of this historical landscape in the midst of a frenetically active city will be set forth. The question is also discussed as to whether a basic consensus on the town planning and cultural goals to be set for the integration of the ancient heritage into the city of Athens can be defined. Finally an attempt is made to outline a suitable policy for future archaeological investigations in Athens.



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AMORE PATRIAE  
MEMORIAE PATRIS

Every autumn the terrain around the ancient monuments excavated so far should be planted with trees and shrubs, grouped together at fitting intervals so that the old town, restored to the light of day, neither displays too bare a surface nor turns into a wood. One could easily lay out a walkway through shady trees on the uppermost natural terrace, below the bare rock crown, from the grotto of Pan to the Theatre of Dionysos. The shining tawny Akropolis cliffs and their bright yellow-gold coloured walls with their irregular picturesque crenallations will rise up in splendour out of the dark green foliage, the imposing massed columns of the Parthenon high above. And what an enchanting view will be opened up as one wanders along this tree-shaded walk with the old and new town at one's feet, and over yonder the open plain with the deep dark olive groves and the distant blue peaks of Kithairon, Parnes and Pentelikon. Athens will possess a park which will be, unlike any other park in the world, richly instructive and worthy of reverence by virtue of the ancient ruins, and rich in the beauties of nature as few others are.

Ludwig Ross

(*Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, Berlin 1863, p. 156)



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Carl Rottmann: "The Akropolis and the Olympieion seen from the Ilissos". Watercolor in the "Staatliche Graphische Sammlung", Munich.



## PREFACE

This book by Prof. Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas about the history of Athens in modern times belongs to a field of research to which the Archaeological Society has turned its attention in recent years, namely the study of modern Greece in relation to antiquity. An early harbinger of this new interest was the book on *Lord Elgin* by John Gennadios (1930). A few other works of equal importance — *The Cretan Museum* by Joseph Chatzidakis (1931), *Historical Documents* by Emmanuel Protopsaltis (1967) and the *Index to the Archaïologike Ephemeris* by Athina Kalogeropoulou and Maria Prouni Philip (1973) — represent the results of a sporadic continuation of research on certain aspects of scholarship in Modern Greece. *The History of the Archaeological Society at Athens* (1987), a summary of the activities of this venerable institution, fortunately had a more consistent sequel, for it was followed almost immediately by the launch of the periodical *Mentor* (1988-) and soon afterwards by the compilation of the *Archive of the Monuments of Athens and Attica*. *Mentor* concentrates on the history of Greek archaeology, with particular reference to the Greek Archaeological Service and the Archaeological Society, while the purpose of the *Archive* is to reconstruct the shape of ancient Athens by collecting, classifying and publishing the ancient monuments discovered in Athens and Attica in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This volume gives a composite view of the remains of ancient Athens in relation to the changing shape of the modern city as it has evolved over the years in accordance with the thinking of classical scholars and of the political, social and economic forces prevailing in Greece from 1832 to the present day. By setting out the facts from the viewpoint of an architect and city-planner who also applies the methods of the archaeologist and historian, Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas presents us with a broad interpretation of Athens past and present, and of the many transformations it has undergone. We finish the book with a better understanding of the integral relationship between the ancient monuments on the one hand and, on the other, the life and pursuits of contemporary people and the evolution of the small town of 1832 into a modern metropolis.

The study of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with reference to the role of the monuments in modern life, their influence on contemporary living and, conversely, the detrimental influence of human beings on the monuments, will benefit considerably from this new work by Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas. It is the intention of the Archaeological Society that research in this direction should be continued.

BASIL PETRAKOS  
*Secretary General*  
*of the Archaeological Society at Athens*



## INTRODUCTION

The historic architectural heritage constitutes an essential part of the urban structure of many medium-sized towns and large cities all over Europe and includes archaeological excavation sites within the city, important groups of monuments, historic buildings some in use and others abandoned, individual monuments relatively intact or in a ruinous state, city walls and gates as well as unbuilt areas where the main features of historic topography are still recognizable.

The problem of integrating the urban heritage in the complex townscape and the variety of functions of today's city life has not up until now been sufficiently investigated. There has been little interdisciplinary research in this field; the connexions and interdependent relations among the study of ancient settlements, archaeological investigations, the tasks of contemporary town planning and dealing with tourism, as well as the cultural reevaluation of the ancient heritage are very rarely examined.

The lack of interdisciplinary communication and attempts to formulate a suitable policy of integrated conservation is particularly obvious in the case of Athens, a city with almost four million inhabitants today. In Athens there have been attempts to document the historical development of the archaeological areas, and to emphasize their role in the present city structure. In addition, programmatic suggestions have been put forward for the aims of excavations, the preservation of historical monuments or for the treatment of historic open spaces. However, neither the official authorities (town-planning or antiquities department) nor individual specialists on town-planning have attempted, so far, to tackle the problem as a whole in order to produce some sort of general concept of preservation, reevaluation and appropriation of the antiquities by the population.

The present study endeavours to present a comprehensive overview of the problems related to the ancient heritage. This means examining among other things the possibility of effectively including historic buildings and ruins in the living fabric of a developing modern city. In contrast to the historical buildings of the middle ages or modern times which still perform a function, the preservation and revaluation of the ancient architectural heritage confronts town planners with a difficult task: the older layers of urban, architectural and cultural development of the city must be safeguarded by exposing the evidence of the ancient world and keeping it open to view without, however, questioning or breaking up the architectural, visual or social coherence of the living city. Using Athens as an example, it is also our aim to present a picture of a spatially integrated inner-city cultural area as it came into being, followed by an account of the current state of development and future perspectives. This will include in the first place a discussion of town-planning, landscaping and socio-cultural issues.



The central area, where the architectural and urban heritage of Athens is to be found and where features of ancient topography are still recognizable, will be described in this work as the cultural-historic area of Athens, a crescent-shaped zone including from west to east: the ancient Academy area, the Kerameikos Excavations, the hills of the Pnyx range and the Areopagus, the classical Agora and the Roman Agora, the Akropolis and its slopes, the old town district of Plaka, the area around the Temple of Zeus Olympios, the rebuilt Panathenaic Stadium, the inner-city parks and the replanted hill of Lykabettos.

This study builds up on the findings of previous research: as far as the historical description of the protection of historical monuments and archaeological research in Athens are concerned, the work of A. Kaloyeropoulou and M. Philip (*AE Index*, vol. 1, 1837-1874, introduction) is a valuable reference work. Important aspects of the subject are discussed by Hans-Hermann Rüssack (*Deutsche bauen in Athen*, 1942) and by Margarete Kühn ("Als die Akropolis aufhörte Festung zu sein", *Festschrift M. Sperlich*, 1979). Further background information on the fate of archaeological research in Athens can be gained from the eyewitness accounts of the first Athens town-planning officer F. Stauffert ("Die Anlage in Athen und der jetzige Zustand der Baukunst in Griechenland", *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1844) and of the first professor for Classical Archaeology at Athens University Ludwig Ross (*Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, 1863). The notable Memorandum to the Regency by S. Kleanthes and E. Schaubert (see Appendix A1) still plays a very important role in understanding how the Athenian cultural-historic area came into being. By means of this text the originators of the city plan of modern Athens, S. Kleanthes and E. Schaubert—both students of K.-F. Schinkel—presented their urban development plan with strong concern for the archaeological sites.

The most recent work on the history of the protection of historic monuments and museums in Greece which extensively considers the measures taken in Athens is by A. Kokkou (*Ἡ Μέριμνα...*, 1977). The older book by Lya and Raymond Matton (*Athènes et ses monuments...*, 1963) is informative about the fate of individual monuments and the historical Athenian topography. The work by John Travlos on Athenian monuments (*Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, 1971) provides the most recent survey of archaeological knowledge about ancient buildings and historical topography based on a large collection of drawings and photographs.

The urban development of modern Athens during the course of the 19th and 20th centuries is described in great detail in the two volume work by Kosta Biris (*Αἱ Ἀθηναίαι...*, 1966) and in the dissertation by Johannes Michael (*Entwicklungsüberlegungen...*, 1969). Both works have important references to the problems of Plaka (Athens' old town), the social questions linked to the expropriation of urban land for archaeological purposes as well as the open-space planning of the cultural-historic area of Athens. John Travlos has provided a good, well-documented overview of the development of the Athens city plan from the prehistoric era until the beginning of the 19th century A.D. (J. Travlos, 1960).

During the course of the past twenty years reports have been published on the contribution of Dimitri Pikionis which has proved seminal for the open-space planning and the landscaping of the hills west of the Akropolis.

The report by D. Zivas (*Plaka...*, 1977) concerns the policy of integrated conservation in the old town district, Plaka.

The Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments is constantly issuing reports on its large-scale projects. The first eight years of the Committee's work is summarized in *The Acropolis at Athens, Conservation Restoration and Research 1975-1983*. They have issued extensive monographs on the Erechtheion in 1977 and the Parthenon in 1983.

A considerable number of scholarly works mentioned in the bibliography were an additional useful help for the present investigation.

As regards the problems of tourism, educational programs, visitors' flow in archaeological sites, cultural and art activities as well as the appropriation of the historical space and its monuments, research is almost non-existent. For the purpose of this work, therefore, our own investigations and collection of material have been undertaken. Within the far-ranging scope of this work, two distinguished archaeologists have made special contributions on various aspects: Judith Binder and Gerhild Hübner.

Extracts from some previously published key texts relevant to our subject have been incorporated verbatim; they were written by: Charalambos Bouras, Maria Casanaki, Nikolaus Himmelmann, Manolis Korres, Fany Malouchou and Dionysis Zivas.

An index has not been included in this study. This is due to the fact that a relatively small number of names of persons and places appears repeatedly throughout the text. An index would therefore offer no additional orientation to the reader. On the other hand, selective consultation is facilitated by a clear and detailed division of the work into thematic units (Chapters) and special issues (Sub-Chapters).

A generous three-year grant from the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk at Hanover has supported the research for this work, carried out under the auspices of the Centre for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Buildings, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. The author thanks the President of the Centre; Professor Raymond Lemaire, for his moral and practical support.

The author expresses his gratitude to Dr. Judith Binder who offered most valuable, substantial advice during the elaboration of this study and took over the correction of the text; this made the publication of this work possible.

The author also gratefully acknowledges his debt to the directors and staff of the following institutions who advanced his research by allowing him to consult the archives and collections in their care: State Archives of Greece, Athens; Benaki Museum, Athens; National Gallery, Athens; Gennadius Library, Athens; Agora Excavation Archives, The American School of Classical Studies, Athens; German Archaeological Institute, Athens; Bavarian State Library, Munich; Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

This work has received the honour of being published by the Archaeological Society at Athens. It is my fervent hope that the present study will prove worthy of that venerable institution and in some measure contribute to its noble efforts, spanning one and a half centuries, to preserve the cultural heritage of Greece.

It is the aim of this book to examine the historical conditions governing the gradual evolution of the cultural-historical area of Athens. The social and ideological forces acting as determining factors are accounted for and the functional conflicts and social difficulties which attended its formation are described. Furthermore the advantages and disadvantages for the inhabitants created by the presence of this historical landscape in the midst of a frenetically active city will be set forth. The question will also be discussed as to whether a basic consensus on the town-planning and cultural goals to be set for the integration of the ancient heritage into the city of Athens can be defined. Finally an attempt is made to outline a suitable policy for future archaeological investigations in Athens.

Munich/Athens, July 1994

ALEXANDER PAPAGEORGIOU-VENETAS

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE ABOUT GREECE

## Recent sociopolitical developments: A survey of trends in economy and planning with special emphasis on housing, industrial settlement and the preservation of the cultural heritage

During the past forty-five years Greece was subject to a deep social and economic change. Despite political turbulence (the Civil War of 1945-1949 and the authoritarian regime of the colonels in 1967-1974) it was possible not only to remedy the enormous war damages but also to embark on a spectacular economic expansion. Based on an annual increase of national income, varying between 6% and 9% in the 1960s, the per capita annual income increased more than fifteen times within the period of one generation. In terms of U.S. dollars it rose from 300 to more than 5000 per annum while population growth remained relatively small, i.e. increasing from 7.6 to 9.7 million inhabitants within forty years. A flourishing tourist trade (10 million annual visitors equalling the number of indigenous population), income from overseas produced by 150,000 people serving in the merchant marine fleet (the third largest in the world) and savings sent by 200,000 Greek workers abroad, all of these taken together produced a satisfactory balance of payments for a long time, absence of unemployment and a fair social stability.<sup>1</sup>

These specific positive aspects, based on the Greek flair for mobility, open-mindedness and trade, cannot, nevertheless, eliminate inherent weaknesses in the social and economic structure of the country. Agrarian reform had been made at a remarkably early date, 1910-1925, in favour of the farmers without land and such reforms went as far as breaking up all large land properties (which western European reforms never quite did). In spite of this and in spite of important land improvements, such as irrigation systems, it was not possible to achieve a breakthrough in the modernization of agriculture and the standardization of its products. This was mainly due to the division of the territory into small units, to the poor soil and to the continual break-up of farming units into smaller and smaller patches due to the way in which dowry settlements and inheritances were done. Nevertheless, employment on the primary sector diminished during the last decades by 50% due to a certain rationalisation of working methods.

The industrialization of the country progressed slowly. Heavy industry's share is rather limited —three refineries covering the inland market, a few cement plants, one exporting aluminium plant, two steel mills and three important shipyards. The manufacturing industry is successful in the fields of foods, pharmaceutical products and textiles. Cars, railway, sophisticated building materials and luxury goods are being imported.

It should be asserted, however, that the technical infrastructure, the prerequisite for any and all industrialization, sprang up from nothing within forty years' time. Today the country is fully supplied with electricity, has an efficiently planned network of national roads, a well-functioning air and ferry traffic, and a satisfactory telecommunication system.

The accelerated unlimited development of the service sector, linked to the mercantile character of the Greek economy, gives the impression that the country slipped into the post-industrial era without yet having really reached full industrialization! It is obvious that such a development may have its drawbacks.

<sup>1</sup> Lately, however, there has been a period of stagnation, caused partly by the permanent crisis in the shipping business and also by the latent and often open political tension between Greece and Turkey, imposing increased expenditure for armaments. Unemployment reached a rate of 10%.



The exodus caused by the hard life in rural areas and emigration very often create social problems. In addition, there is a growing and alarming pollution in the overcrowded regions of Athens and Thessaloniki threatening not only the architectural heritage but also —and this is much more important— the health of half of the population of Greece. Fifteen thousand kilometres of coastal areas, thousands of islands in the Archipelago and numerous small and as yet unharmed spots on the mainland still remain as untouched capital, but for how long?

The last question brings the sociopolitical status quo of the country into the foreground. This means organisation, democratic understanding, civic spirit and the operational approach to problems. It is within this realm that critical minds see the greatest problems for the real integration of the country into the European Community —and rightly so. History-linked developments create conflicts. On the one hand the deep-rooted love of freedom and the individual initiative was, in the 1860s, responsible for the creation of a parliamentary system similar to the British one, while Central Europe at this time was under authoritarian regimes. On the other hand these same qualities have often produced a non-acceptance of state authority and lack of interest in organisational systems on various levels. The Greek citizen, under a foreign rule for centuries, had become accustomed to improvising and the so-called ingenious muddling through. Even 160 years of independence have not yet brought about a change in attitude; the power of the state, formerly embodied in the oppressor, is strangely enough still linked to the image of an enemy.

Thus we are confronted with a kind of hybrid situation: on the one hand a nation relying mainly on its creative skills and to a lesser degree on institutions, and on the other hand an executive power that considered it necessary to exercise a policy of government interventions in the economy and of administrative centralism.

Two main features of this contradictory situation are as follows:

1. In a system of free economy —often marked by the alarming consequences of 19th century *laissez faire* policies, e.g. intense speculation in building and real estate— the state participates in all important economic undertakings. This is due to the private investors' unwillingness to participate in such enterprises. As a result 80% of the banks are government owned; the big public service institutions, electricity, tele-communications, railways and airlines, are nationalized; important industries such as refineries, aluminium plants and the mining industry are partly or entirely in the hands of the state. But it is also typical of the government not to interfere with the housing and real estate market <sup>2</sup> which for a long time has been left to individuals as a hunting ground for their private investments; these, however, have always been under pressure from the fiscal authorities for allegedly being 'non-productive investments'!

2. Administrative centralism, along the lines of the most unfortunate French model, is a caricature of the French system. Greece, with an area one-fourth the size of France, has fifty small administrative districts! The local communities, although enjoying a long tradition of autonomy, cannot take much action because of their institutionalized financial dependence upon the state. Community taxes do not even cover the administrative costs; the city budget of Athens compared to that of Munich is 1:20 in terms of expenditure per capita and taking living standards into account.

The resulting long-lasting apathy of the citizens accounts for the fact that citizen participation, as it is known in Central Europe, appeared only in recent years. It is, however, clumsy and unfocussed and consists mainly of protests. Effective citizen participation does not yet exist in Greece.

Town-planning in Greece took a nearly unchanged course from the time during the 19th century when new classicizing towns were founded (New Athens, New Patras, Sparta, Hermoupolis etc.) to the end of the 1950s. Again and again town-planners had to deal with the expansion of cities at best based on an alignment plan and a local zoning ordinance and, in the worst case, with chaotic barrack settlements of the refugees from Asia Minor and of the immigrants from rural areas who came into the two big cities. The building code as well as exactly defined standards of form are contained in the General Building Regulation responsible for the rather monotonous design and the high densities (floor space ratio up to 7!). Both results were implicitly aimed at from the beginning:

2 The housing market being the only secure investment opportunity, rapid urbanization and the speciously liberal non-intervention policy of the state have produced a desolate atmosphere of alienation in the two large Greek cities leading to unforeseeable consequences. What a triumph for narrow-minded commercialism, comparable in the European scene only to Brussels which has undergone a similar evolution!



1. Strict, although often absurd, stipulations concerning design, so that in case of an inadequate sense of responsibility on the part of the local authorities or in the absence of city ordinances monstrosities would be avoided. The price to be paid: the well known impersonal architecture of Greek towns with no character of its own, but uniform and unobtrusive in style.

2. High densities as a thoughtless way of stimulating private initiative in order to make up for the enormous housing shortage: in 1950 two million new dwellings were to be built, with close to one million good housing units remaining in old buildings. This goal was achieved during the past forty years (and Greece can be proud of today's occupancy rate of one person to a room) —but at what a price! The destruction of the classicistic architectural heritage and the uninviting appearance of the two metropolitan cities.

Modern town planning was not anchored into legislation until the beginning of the 1960s. Emergency laws about the compensation for damages caused by natural catastrophes formed the exception, i.e. measures passed concerning the Ionian islands in 1953 and Santorini in 1956. There followed relatively early legislation concerning the setting up of industrial zones in 1961, and the foundation of the Centre for Planning and Economic Research which in 1964 was attached to the Ministry for Coordination. Its work in the field of long-term economic and spatial planning is exemplary.

In the early 1970s two important laws concerning planning were introduced. The first, with the somewhat peculiar title *Creation of Development Zones for Active Town-Planning* finally provides the possibility of global planning for new building areas, either by the public authorities alone or by the private sector with the public authorities' participation; the French example of the *Sociétés d'économie mixte* serves as the model. The second, entitled *Establishment of Regulating Plans for Urban Regions* at last introduces land use planning, infrastructure and social planning. The new constitution, set up in 1975 after the return to democracy is one of the youngest European constitutions and contains far-reaching provisions. They concern preventive and controlling measures to secure conservation of nature and monuments, the compulsory involvement (participation) of land owners in the implementation of development schemes and the provision that spatial and economic regional planning is a major responsibility of the state.

A very low density (i.e. about 70 inhabitants per square kilometre, one third of the one in western Germany), and the lack of any industrial over-concentration have spared Greece the hardships of a mass society until late in the 1950s. The only mass problems were the one caused by the influx of people expelled from Asia Minor in 1922 and of the refugees during the Civil War in 1946-1949. Both groups were helped as well as possible with the financial resources available at that time; they were provided with social housing planned and built by the state.

This resulted in the emergence of a considerable number of new suburban quarters during the time between the two world wars. Their cores represented early examples of neighbourhood units with 2-4 storey apartment houses, state or privately owned. These new quarters were later developed further by private, uncoordinated building, which followed the pattern of the existing close-meshed alignment plans. The buildings for social housing as well as school buildings of the 1930s (along the lines of the Bauhaus style) are, in spite of being badly neglected today, still witnesses of a purposeful planning activity on the part of the state at that time. However, only one tenth of the 1.2 million refugees were housed at that time by the state in a dignified manner and this housing shortage came to an end only during the 1960s!

Government participation in the housing programs remained insufficient even after the Second World War. Although several thousand apartments were built under the special programs for workers' settlements, for refugees and the victims of earthquakes, government housing after 1958 never exceeded 2 to 4% of the 80,000 to 120,000 new homes built annually!

In the Greater Athens area an informed observer can detect about twenty subsidized housing projects of the post-war period in the midst of the patchwork architecture. These projects are well organized, contain about 500 to 2000 apartments each, distributed over 2-5 storey rows of buildings and clearly reflect the planners' intention to create a spatial unity. The scarcity of land led to relatively dense but differentiated structures not excessive in their dimensions.<sup>3</sup> Yet, the average Greek city dweller looks down on these units, these 'low-class' homes, and prefers to move into the inhospitable middleclass apartments, expensive as they are, which flood the

3 These were well integrated neighbourhood units of reasonable scale, by comparison with the huge expansion of cities in post-war central Europe with their depressingly monotonous urban 'dormitories'.

market as desirable investment possibilities. It is difficult to convey the overtones of the Greek word for apartment house, *polykatoikia* (literally translated 'multihousing'). Within a span of thirty years the 2-storey buildings on a given site were gradually replaced by 6-10 storey buildings on the tiny traditional plots, buildings without inner courtyards and with a floor-space ratio of up to 7 and a site coverage of up to 87.5%! <sup>4</sup>

As for the design, a belated fictitious classicism or poor imitations of what was supposed to be the 'international style' were supposed to bestow a respectable look upon the city image of Athens which, however, is suffocating in air pollution and the visual anarchy of advertisements.

Another very interesting aspect is the existence of unauthorized housing in the outskirts which house about one-fifth of the population of Athens (three and a half millions in the Greater Athens area). These illegal quarters differ from the slums of the Middle East and South America. Although here, too, there is no technical infrastructure (which is gradually being developed), the rural immigrants come with healthy and traditional settler practices and efficiency enabling them to build their own modest houses of weather-proof materials. But the continuity of the proven spatial patterns and the social solidarity of rural life is even more important. Although these spontaneous settlements with their shortcomings in regard to hygienic facilities are far from being an acceptable solution, most experts agree that the Greek illegal quarters are viable communities in the present tight situation.

In order to achieve a certain decentralization, a policy of settling industry at the periphery has prevailed, a policy that was uninterrupted for the past few decades. Thus, there are provisions for tax advantages to industries settling in the border areas in the north and there was the early development of about eight industry parks on the outskirts of the more important provincial capitals, equipped by the state with infrastructure and traffic routes, so that private industry investments could be geared rationally to the right locations. The state itself furthered the building of heavy industry plants in scattered locations as for instance the big aluminium plant near Delphi, the various power plants throughout the country and refineries and chemical plants near Kavalla in Macedonia.

In spite of these consistent efforts the industrial overcrowding in the Greater Athens area could not be overcome. Early industrial plants appeared near the Peiraeus. Cheap land and abundant manpower were the reasons for building modern industrial plants (steel mills, refineries, cement works, shipyards) on the nearby coastal plain of Eleusis. A mountain range separates the big city from this important industrial zone. Unfortunately, special local conditions had disastrous consequences: the narrow gulf of Eleusis soon turned into a dead bay, west winds blew the waste gases towards the city. It is here that a great part of the country's industrial potential settled down. Another typical adverse development, not to be overlooked, is the linear development of industry along the new national highway linking Athens with northern Greece. Here fields and woods were crudely converted into industrial sites with no zoning or planning for industrial parks. The question arises: what remained of the initiative for correctly planned industry zones? Was it valid for provinces only? Was it necessary to spoil the vistas of the access roads to the capital to such an extent, only to put cheap land at the disposal of investors? The readiness with which the government is willing, at times, to make concessions in order to attract investors causes real concern. <sup>5</sup>

In Greece the care and study of ancient monuments has a long and successful tradition. The Archaeological Service provides a civil service career endowed with great prestige. The staff's scientific qualifications are very high; a doctorate is required for the post of Regional Superintendent of Antiquities (Ephor). But the number of staff is wholly inadequate for the tremendous manifold tasks involved. Out of a potential pool of at least 2500 qualified archaeologists, the state service employs only 300. The function of the Archaeological Service is to carry out rescue

4 As far as the quality of the urban environment is concerned, the 19th century workers' *Mietkasernen* at Kreuzberg in Berlin are a blessing compared to these new urban structures in Greece.

5 The willingness of the government to neglect the much praised principles of physical planning with regard to preserving the environment is astonishing. Professionals look with alarm at government plans to permit large-scale industrial building on the Corinthian Gulf south of Delphi and at Pylos, two places worth protecting for their historical significance and natural beauty.



operations in the whole country (more than 100 per year in Athens alone) and to administer the museums and sites. Archaeological campaigns are conducted by the Archaeological Society and by the fourteen foreign archaeological institutions permitted by the State to work in Greece.

As far as laboratory research into conservation techniques and their applications are concerned, the Restoration Department with its small scientific staff, assisted by scientists and technicians working under contract, endeavours to cope with conservation and restoration work only for some major monuments and a limited number of finds.

Historic settlements in Greece fall into three main groups. The first group, mainly in mountain areas, is suffering severely from depopulation, hastened by progressive decay as the population abandons places of difficult access in order to move to large towns or to emigrate abroad. A second group, island and coastal towns and villages, is flourishing economically due to the impact of the tourist trade, although the quality of life and the consistency of urban fabric are gravely threatened by the resultant social and physical changes. The third group is made up of a few medium-sized and small provincial towns which are stagnating demographically and economically, e.g. Nauplia, Hermoupolis, Corfu, but which have more or less succeeded in preserving their traditional structure and rhythm of life. There are some special cases outside of these three categories. Some historic villages and small towns, particularly on islands such as Skyros, Patmos, Rhodes, Hydra etc., have urban patterns carefully preserved by the efforts of well-to-do summer visitors, Greeks and foreigners, who buy houses and convert them into second homes. Their social composition is, however, clearly altered by this trend.

The dangers threatening the survival of the traditional architectural and social structure of Greece's historic urban centres are entirely different from those threatening town centres in western Europe. Whereas the main danger to the latter resides in congestion of mediaeval centres and the proliferation of tertiary functions in 19th century residential districts, historic centres in Greece are threatened mainly by the two extremes of depopulation and deformation by the tourist trade.

Greece does not have any legislation, either in force or projected, to control abrupt social changes in historic urban areas or to check land or property speculation in the historic districts of towns, and the population has no role in the drawing up of conservation schemes. The Greek people have a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards conservation efforts; they are more and more convinced of the rightness of such efforts, but seem unprepared to meet the heavy financial burden imposed on private property by a restrictive conservation policy.

Since most historic urban areas in Greece are villages with vernacular architecture or small provincial towns with neoclassic architecture and static populations and economies, the dangers to their environment do not arise primarily from motor traffic and other similar nuisances. The main danger is the desire of the inhabitants for what they conceive to be modernization. They favour superficial imitations of contemporary forms of architecture without having either the requisite knowledge or the materials and the results are deplorable. This trend can be explained in terms of social psychology by a desire for being up-to-date at any price, the hallmark of social status. The only way of fighting this trend in the initial phase is by special restrictive town planning regulations prescribing architectural volumes and forms with a view to educating and persuading the local population to follow the guidelines voluntarily.<sup>6</sup>

In recent years there have been some significant developments in the field of cultural policy. As a result of persistent efforts made by Constantine Trypanis, former Minister of Culture, two important decisions have been implemented since 1976:

The Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments was set up at the Ministry of Culture. For the first time in Greece matters of conservation are handled not by archaeologists alone but by an interdisciplinary team of civil engineers, architects, archaeologists, specialists in conservation, chemists and geologists.

Another event of importance was the exhibition of Aegean art in the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1980. This was the first time that a major display of artworks from museums and collections in Greece was allowed to go on show outside the country. Legislation repealing the laws forbidding artworks to leave the country made this exhibition possible, al-

<sup>6</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that a large number of island villages with fine vernacular architecture, in particular those settlements with 500 to 5000 inhabitants in the Aegean, have been able to preserve the characteristic townscapes and pre-industrial tempo of life which constitute their charm, despite a considerable influx of tourists and the islanders' traditional openness to the world at large. This cannot be explained solely on the basis of restrictive legislation for their protection, but is due rather to the existence of special climatic, geographical and social conditions governing the life of these relatively isolated small communities.

though public opinion in Greece is strongly polarized for or against sending antiquities to exhibitions abroad.

In January 1977 the Secretary General of Unesco launched an international campaign to save the Akropolis Monuments. This joint action program was not acted upon because of a strong feeling of national pride on the part of the Greek government which later decided to pick up the whole cost of the long term program estimated at \$20,000,000. In the meanwhile the European Community bears about one-third of the expenditure. The Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments has, under the guidance of Charalambos Bouras, set up teams engaged in making exact measured drawings of the Akropolis monuments and plans of the Akropolis rock floor and is inventorying the tens of thousands of fragments of architecture and sculpture scattered on the plateau and on the Akropolis south slope. The Erechtheion project has already been completed and won the Europa Nostra prize for the best restoration project in Europe. The Parthenon conservation project, the Propylaia conservation project and the Temple of Athena Nike project are well under way.

In the case of the Plaka, the picturesque old town of Athens, for a long time no definite decision was taken whether to take steps to preserve this 19th century district or to demolish houses in order to make way for widespread excavations around the Akropolis. These decades of uncertainty led to the Plaka becoming a night-life centre with abominations of pseudo-vernacular pastiche architecture, culminating in the period 1965-1975. Since then a coherent conservation policy has at last been implemented resulting in the urban regeneration of the Plaka.

The Ministry of Culture is actually promoting preliminary studies on linking the archaeological sites of Athens and creating a 'cultural-archaeological park' in the capital. This clearly demonstrates a new attitude in cultural life and has to do with a renaissance of involvement with the nation's cultural heritage which could prove extremely beneficial towards integrating Athens' wealth of ancient monuments into contemporary life.





CHAPTER ONE  
THE HISTORIC SETTING



## GREEN SPACES, ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION AREAS AND THE HISTORIC SITE IN THE TOWN-PLANNING SCHEMES FOR THE CITY OF ATHENS: A RETROSPECTIVE

### ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS DURING THE FIRST DECADE (1832-1842)

During the latest period of Turkish rule (i.e. ca 1750-1821) Athens had recovered from earlier decay and was a flourishing provincial town of about twelve thousand inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> A great number of ancient and mediaeval monuments survived within the dense conglomeration of Greek, Turkish and Albanian houses with courtyards and small private gardens; some of these old monuments were still in use, others lay in ruins (fig. 1).

Both the Akropolis, the fortified settlement of the upper town, and the lower town on the Akropolis east and north slopes (a total area of about 110 ha) were densely built up areas covered with low rise/high density urban fabric. No public parks or groves existed inside the walls of the town.

The two main urban features were the predominance of bare rock in the townscape and the intermingling, if not fusion, of ancient remains with the living town fabric. About two kilometres to the west of the town, the famous olive grove of Athens with more than two hundred thousand olive trees provided a green belt for several kilometres on the open Kephissos river plain, in contrast to the compact walled city (figs. 2-3).

Athens was almost totally destroyed in the course of the Greek War of Independence, especially during the second siege of the Akropolis in 1826-1827. Many visitors —among them Ludwig Ross— give a gloomy description of the state of the town just before Athens was declared the national capital of the new Greek state.<sup>2</sup> In his letters Ross vividly describes his disappointing encounter with the ruined town in 1832 “a monotonous grey mass of rubble and dust”, stating that only the Akropolis fort and the “Theseus” temple bore witness to the historic city. Historic sites like the Academy and Kolonos Hippios were totally abandoned and the Akropolis was deformed by the military installations and fortifications at the Propylaia. A hut on the Areopagus rock was occupied by a Dervish who summoned the Moslems to prayer.

Ross reports on his daily walks through the ruined town and on his “antiquity hunting”, i.e. collecting inscriptions and spolia built into later structures. As a typical representative of the archaeomania of his time, Ross is happy to find most of the 110 Byzantine and Post-Byzantine churches of the town in a ruinous state, “because they yield the best results” in his search for antiquities!

Although the first signs of the Hellenes identifying with their glorious past are noticeable, yet “the work of destruction goes on in front of us”: the people use inscribed stones to make staircases and sarcophagi for wash basins.<sup>3</sup>

1 John Travlos describes the town in those days as follows:

“Athens on the eve of the Greek revolution of 1821 displayed a three-dimensional record of the city’s historical development; it was also a remarkably picturesque place. Monuments of antiquity and of the Roman period, elegant Byzantine churches, remains of the Frankish conquest, mosques with tall minarets, and secular buildings were still preserved almost intact, while the houses, all built of stone, with their ever present courtyards and verdant gardens, completed the picture. The wall of Haseki, built in 1778, surrounded the city, and the Acropolis, ‘the Castle’, with its successive fortifications constituted an invulnerable fortress. On its summit an entire quarter for the Turkish garrison and their families had been created, and a small mosque had been constructed within the Parthenon after its destruction by Morosini in 1687.” J. Travlos, 1981, 391-407.

2 The memoirs of Ludwig Ross (1806-1859) show that he was a thorough expert in Greek affairs, with insight into the cultural, political and social conditions prevailing at this time in the country. His memoirs written in 1853 are supplemented by a collection of original letters from Athens. Ludwig Ross was born in Schleswig - Holstein and trained as a classical philologist. In 1832 he received a Danish state fellowship and came to Greece with the intention of studying the cultural heritage of the country on the spot. He was appointed custodian of the antiquities of the Peloponnesus and in 1834 —at the age of only twenty-eight— he was appointed general director (‘Generalconservator’) of the antiquities of Greece. In 1836, after a dispute with the Greek Ministry of Culture over the right to publish his archaeological investigations on the Akropolis, Ross was relieved of his post, but in the following year he was named the first Professor of Classical Archaeology at the newly founded University of Athens. He left Greece in 1845. Ludwig Ross was a scholar with great knowledge and also a man of action; he spoke ancient and modern Greek fluently and was closely acquainted with the architects Stamatis Kleanthes and Eduard Schaubert who initiated the plan for the new city, and played a key role among the small group of foreign scholars in Athens.

3 “Wahrlich, wenn man sieht, wie hier mit den Alterthümern umgegangen worden ist und noch umgegangen wird, so möchte man sich wundern, daß nur das Geringste vorhanden ist. Obgleich selbst die untern Classen des Volkes in der neuern Zeit durch den häufigen Verkehr mit Franken und durch die in der Revolution geweckte Erinnerung an ihre Vorfahren mehr Achtung vor der Hinterlassenschaft der “Hellenen” bekommen haben, geht die Zerstörung doch unter unsern Augen gelegentlich ihren Gang fort (...) Alle gradseitigen Marmorreste, also auch die meisten Inschriften, sind durch den Häuserbau und besonders durch die Treppen, die gewöhnlich von Aussen ins erste Stockwerk führen, mit dem Untergange bedroht. Aus den Sarkophagen werden Waschröge oder Viehtränken”. L. Ross, 1863, 171-172.





Fig. 1 Central section of the big panorama of Athens from the NE, painted in 1785 by Louis-François Cassas. In the foreground the City Wall of 1776, the so-called Haseki wall. The first fairly accurate pictorial documentation of Athens drawn on the spot. (Private collection, Athens).



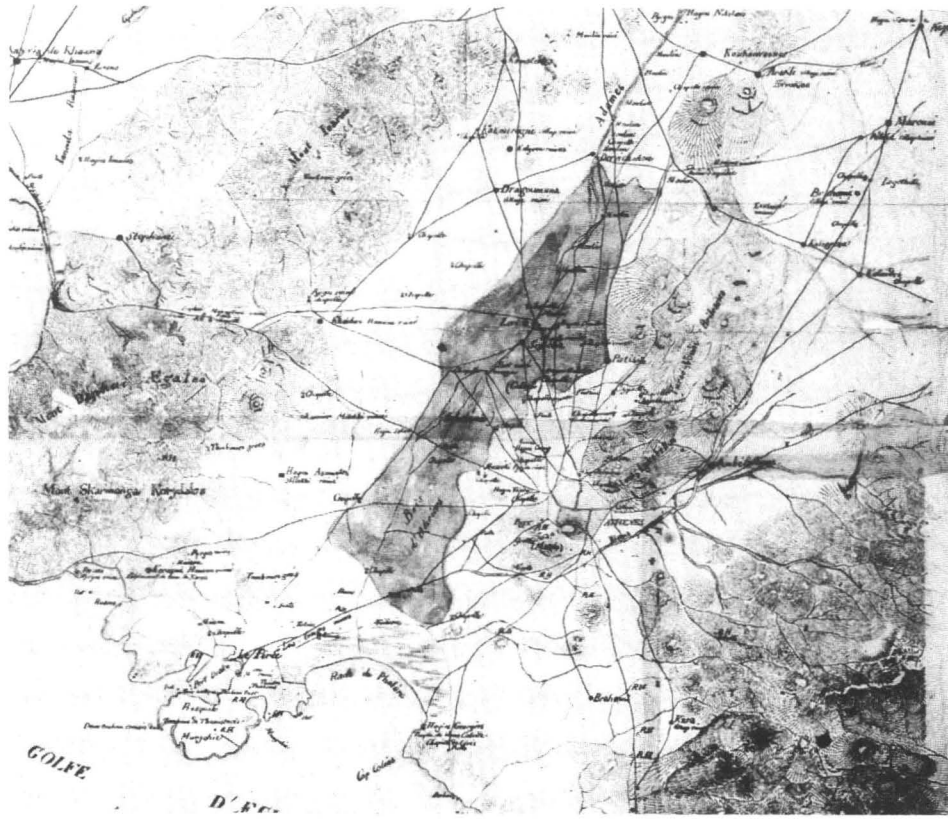


Fig. 2 Area occupied by the large olive grove to the west of Athens around 1830. (F. von Gärtner Archives in the Architekturmuseum of the Technical University of Munich).



Fig. 3 The eastern olive grove at the Petraki Monastery in 1819. (Lithograph by Joseph Thürmer).



Fig. 4 Detail of the central part of F. Stademann's panorama. In the background, the newly built Royal Stables (to the right) and the temporary residence of King Otto (to the left). (Stademann, 1841).



But in a spirit of fairness Ross also testified to the acts of vandalism committed by the first foreign 'tourists' mutilating the ancient ruins on the Akropolis in order to bring home genuine souvenirs.

This depressing period did not last long: following a heated controversy as to the choice of location for the capital of the new state, Athens was declared capital city and royal residence in 1833.<sup>4</sup> Two of Schinkel's students, Stamatios Kleanthes (1802-1862) and Eduard Schaubert (1804-1860) had in 1831-1832 already worked out a complete topographical survey of Athens on which the design for the new layout of the town could be based. The two friends and colleagues devoted particular care to mapping the old town, the Turkish wall surrounding it, and a considerable area outside the wall on which they marked the main rural roads.

In the summer of 1833 their plan for the new city of Athens was approved by King Otto. Their exact, brilliant work shows that they drew up the future plan of Athens with great care for the remains of antiquity. Due to the sound ideas set forth in the extensive memorandum they attached to the plan, asking for a provision specifying that a large area around the Akropolis was to be left free for excavations, their plan is of lasting value.

During the first decade of King Otto's reign several town planning concepts for Athens were considered; some of them were partially implemented, others remained in the realm of pure theory. These concepts not only differed in regard to the basic layout of the new town but also treated the problem of the spatial relation between new and old, between built and unbuilt areas, in various ways. It seems, therefore, of paramount importance for the understanding of the later evolution of the cultural-historic area of Athens to present and compare these initial concepts here.

The Kleanthes-Schaubert plan may be considered as the creation of a neoclassical early garden city *sui generis* adapted to a southern climate, and attempting to combine sophisticated central European geometric town patterns, vistas and street alignments with traditional southern dwelling forms, like the free-standing individual family houses with gardens and covered market porticos around commercial gathering places (*agoras*). The basic option of this plan was the direct juxtaposition of the new city with the old town, as the town extended towards the north.

The new town (with a built up area of around 215 ha) would be in the form of a crescent around the existing old town, which was to be remodelled with break-throughs of new street axes linking the old town to the new (fig. 5).

The following features are to be found in this scheme (fig. 7):

1) The typical triangular star pattern of the 18th century capitals belonging to absolutist rulers (e.g. Versailles, Karlsruhe) with the main street axes radiating from the seat of royal power, the palace.

2) Attention paid to direct visual connexions —both symbolic and practical— between the main focal points in the town and the monumental ensemble of the Akropolis (e.g. the axis from the Palace southward: Athena street leading visually to the Propylaia).

3) The very ingenious design of the triangular main street pattern forming a system of partial orthogonal grids diagonally disposed. This scheme unlike other triangular patterns with sharp angles permits the creation of different sections with a gridiron street pattern, while avoiding the monotony of a simple gridiron layout: the different sectors follow the different orientations of the diagonal main arteries.

4) The diagonal arrangement of the two main arteries (Stadiou st. and Peiraioi st.) is not only the result of a formal option; the lines of these two streets are virtually identical with the main connections through the valleys among the hills of the Attic basin.

This early Mediterranean 'garden city' on flat land was designed with several small public parks or planted squares (totalling about 15 ha) and an imposing royal garden at the royal palace on the northern limits of the town (25 ha plus 9 ha of green spaces around the nearby ministries) (fig. 10). The relatively small percentage of green areas in regard to the total area of the new town was compensated for by the fact that every free-standing house had a spacious private garden and the avenues were meant to be lined with trees.

Although the initial plan for the royal garden (and also for the palace) at the northern site were never executed, yet it greatly resembled the layout for the royal garden later created by

4 Ferdinand Gregorovius, the famous German historian, defended this choice with convincing arguments:

"Die Wahl hatte auch zwischen Nauplia und Korinth geschwankt. Man hat die Entscheidung für Athen getadelt, sogar als antiquarische Laune gespottet; jedoch sie war so wenig ein Zufall, als dies in unserer Zeit die Wahl Roms zur Hauptstadt des ersten Königs der Italiener gewesen ist. Der geheiligte Name und Begriff Athens machte sie notwendig, trotzdem daß sich die alte hellenische Welt vollkommen ausgelebt hatte. Die Erinnerungen, die Ruinen, die antike Götterburg der Akropolis forderten sie selbst von dem neuen Geschlecht. Man darf sagen: Pallas Athene hat ihre Stadt zur Metropole des neuen Griechenlands gemacht. Nur weil ihr Parthenon erhalten war, weil hier so viele andere und mehr Denkmäler als in jeder andern Stadt Griechenlands noch als Zeugen der großen Vergangenheit die Jahrhunderte überdauerten, konnte sie zu neuer geschichtlicher Bedeutung auferstehen. Es ist das Verdienst des letzten großen Philhellenen Ludwigs von Bayern, eines neuen Hadrian, daß er die Stimme des Genius Athens verstanden hat.

Sechs Jahrhunderte waren hingegangen, seit der erste Frankenherzog seinen Einzug in Athen gehalten hatte; jetzt hielt, am 1. Januar 1835, den seinen ein deutscher Fürst, welcher denselben Namen Otto trug. Er kam nicht als Eroberer, sondern als erwählter erster König der Hellenen". F. Gregorovius, 1889, Book 4, Chapter 8.





Fig. 5 Model of Athens in 1842, central section. Constructed in 1980 under the supervision of John Travlos. (Museum of the Town of Athens, Athens).

Queen Amalia at the eastern edge of the town. In both cases a compact version of the English landscape garden was proposed, combining a picturesque design with the creation of a microcosm of dense greenery in the midst of a southern city. Had the Kleanthes-Schaubert plan been fully implemented, however, the main green area of the town proper would have been cut off from the archaeological park to the south.

In intentional contrast to this geometrically conceived capital city sited on almost flat land, the southern district comprising the Akropolis, the nearby historic hills and the banks of the Ilissos river were left empty on the plan in order to form a large archaeological zone (about 150 ha) comparable in size to the projected city.

Thus Kleanthes and Schaubert's basic idea was harmonious coexistence and interdependence between the new city developing in the north and a huge excavation area to the south. The old town on the Akropolis north slope was either to be demolished (higher part) or remodelled (lower part) in order to allow for the unearthing of the ancient city centre.



- 5 We quote here their recommendations made in the *Explanatory Memorandum concerning the plan for the new town of Athens* (1832) because of their importance:

“Der Platz, der die meiste Ausbeute bei Ausgrabungen erhoffen läßt, ist auf der Karte durch eine besondere Farbe angezeigt, und da, wo die letzten Häuser aufhören sollen, ist ein breites Trottoir mit herabführenden Stufen gedacht. Ein ansehnlicher Teil dieses Platzes ist als zu Kirchen, Moscheen, türkischen Schulen usw. gehörig bereits Nationaleigentum. Wenn aber mit den Ausgrabungen nicht bald der Anfang gemacht oder wenigstens der Boden, auf dem sie stattfinden sollen, nicht gleich vom Staate als Eigentum erworben wird, so steht zu fürchten, daß später sowohl die Schwierigkeiten als die Kosten beträchtlich größer sein werden, wie dies die Erfahrung in Rom gezeigt hat. In dem andern Teile der Stadt ist weniger zu hoffen, und das Vorhandene könnte man leicht auffinden, wenn alle Häuser Keller erhielten, die für dieses Klima so nötig und bei dem tiefen Baugrund gut anwendbar wären. Das, was man etwa fände, könnte man ausgraben und mit Mauern einfassen so wie die Altertümer in Rom”.

- 6 “Entschliesst sich der Staat einmal zu diesem Ankaufe (und wer möchte daran zweifeln?), so müssen die Ausgrabungen nach dem grössten Maßstabe betrieben werden. Man darf sich nicht darauf beschränken wollen, nur die bekannten Monumente von dem sie umgebenden Schutt zu reinigen, sondern es gilt nichts Geringeres, als die ganze Masse von Erde und Steinen bis auf den Boden der alten Stadt herauszuschaffen, und zwar nicht bloß auf der Nordseite, sondern auch auf der Südseite der Burg, aus den Theatern des Dionysos und des Herodes Atticus, die ganz mit Erde gefüllt sind, sodaß jenes als Getreideacker dient”. L. Ross, 1863, 155.
- 7 Leo von Klenze (1784-1864) was born near Hildesheim and trained as an architect in Berlin and Paris, where he worked with Percier and Fontaine. In 1808 King Jerome Bonaparte named him court architect in Kassel. During the Congress of Vienna in 1815 von Klenze was introduced to the crown prince of Bavaria, later Ludwig I. He became his protégé and as the official court architect in Munich he made a decisive contribution to the neoclassical extension of the Bavarian capital, to the remodelling of the vast complex of the royal palace and to the creation of such important public spaces as the Ludwigstraße and the Königsplatz. Up until the end of his life von Klenze enjoyed the confidence of the philhellenic king and even after Ludwig abdicated in 1848 he continued working on the extensive architectural program financed by royal funds (Ruhmeshalle 1843-1853, Propyläen 1846-1862).

In 1834 von Klenze was sent to Greece on a highly confidential political mission: King Ludwig I had instructed him to alter the composition of the Regency Council in Nauplia. At the same time he accepted an invitation from the Greek government to revise the initial city plan for Athens. At the age of fifty von Klenze undertook the tiring three months' trip to Greece (July-September 1834) during which he developed an impressive initiative in many fields. A detailed report of his activities in Greece is given in his *Aphoristische Bemerkungen, gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland*, published only four years later (1838) in Berlin.

This comprehensive work of seven hundred pages bears witness to the wide scope of von Klenze's humanistic culture, his lively interest in the political future of the new state and his deep commitment to architecture and archaeology on Greek soil. Using the form of a travel journal von Klenze sets forth his political initiatives, his role as an official town-planning consultant and his counter-proposals for the Athens city plan, his project for a royal palace on the slopes of the Pnyx and his proposals for preserving Athenian monuments. His account is enriched by many personal remarks on the leading figures of Greek public life and by important digressions on ancient culture and architecture.

At the end of the War of Independence only 80 houses of the approximately 1200 which had made up the old town remained with their roofs intact; the Athens settlement was virtually demolished. This allowed the young architects to develop the grandiose plan for vast excavations at the foot of the Akropolis.

The initiators of this plan not only argued with great perseverance for large-scale excavations in the lower town, but also proposed landscaping the areas after the archaeological excavations had been completed, although they did not present any definite layout for an archaeological park on their plan, which would, indeed, have been premature. They also asked that the state immediately acquire the land needed for archaeological excavations, “in order to preclude the subsequent increase of difficulties and costs, as this had already been the case in Rome”.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the idea of a cultural-historic area was present from the beginning, although no detailed design concepts were formulated at the time. The idea continued to survive for one and a half centuries and repeatedly received fresh stimuli from various initiatives discussed in the following section.

In 1833 Ross surely thought that the entire upper part of the old town would eventually be demolished to make way for archaeological investigations as envisaged in Kleanthes' and Schaubert's initial plan. Ross wrote that if the State were to come to a decision to acquire the whole area around the Akropolis, large scale excavations should be carried out on the Akropolis north and south slopes. The enterprise should not be limited to clearing away the debris from famous monuments.<sup>6</sup>

Ross realized that such a large-scale campaign would require considerable funds. He proposed that learned societies be established abroad for the purpose of promoting excavations in Athens. He believed that a considerable sum could be collected in this way and that the Greek government could not reject such a proposal. The establishment of foreign archaeological institutes in Athens have confirmed Ross' foresighted considerations which also included the wish for cooperation between Greek and foreign scholars that from the beginning led to fruitful results but also some friction.

At that time the expansion of the modern town seemed not to pose a threat to the eastern section of the ancient city —the Hadrianic town, the Olympieion and the Ilissos area. Ross considered this section to be sufficiently far away from the centre of the modern town, so that excavations would be easily possible in the future. Ross' assessment was confirmed by subsequent evolution of town-planning in Athens.

Unfortunately the fine Kleanthes-Schaubert plan was revised in 1834, because of serious expropriation problems concerning the excavation areas and the remodelling of the old parts of the city which had to be integrated into the new concept, and also because of the siting of the palace, controversial right from the beginning.

These animosities brought town-planning in Athens to a standstill for about a year (1833-1834). On the initiative of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, and in accordance with the wishes of the Greek regency, expert advice for revising the plan was sought. Thus Leo von Klenze<sup>7</sup>, architectural advisor of Ludwig (father of King Otto), visited Athens for three months in the summer of 1834, endowed with extensive powers to act in Greek affairs. His revised plan for Athens (fig. 12) is an abortive modification of the fine initial plan to adjust to the political and financial realia of the young state. Von Klenze took over the main lines of the plan (described above) and decreased the size of the public spaces and of the whole built-up area. He also altered the building densities: instead of a 'garden city', he envisaged continuous lines of buildings along the streets in the major part of the new town. This was von Klenze's conception of a Mediterranean town as he knew it from traditional Italian prototypes.

Von Klenze, like K. F. Schinkel in the same period, was a typical representative of romantic classicism in central Europe. His thorough knowledge of ancient Greek building techniques and architectural styles was combined with a free poetic interpretation of the Greek ideal. This allowed him in the composition of his schemes certain variations away from a sterile Greek Revival style and rigid architectural symmetry. Von Klenze showed his aversion for pompous axial compositions in town-planning schemes particularly in his work on Athens. He believed that an urban setting on classical ground should follow the free composition of ancient layouts (sanctu-





Fig. 7 The Kleanthes-Schaubert plan (1833). Scale 1:30,000. (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).



Fig. 8 E. Schaubert drawing the plan of Athens. Oil painting 36 × 43 cm. Museum of Hillerød, Denmark.

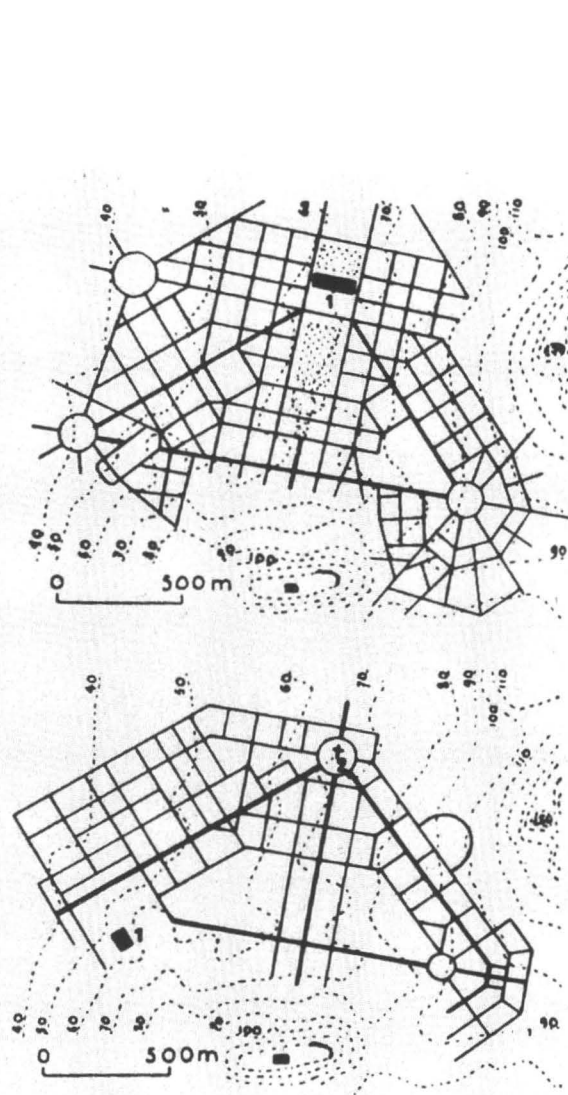


Fig. 6 Sketches of the Kleanthes-Schaubert plan (above) and the von Klenze plan (below) drawn to the same scale for purposes of comparison. (Egli, 1967).



Fig. 9 The area of the initial Kleanthes-Schaubert plan in relation to the present town pattern. Scale 1:30,000. (Plan by the author).



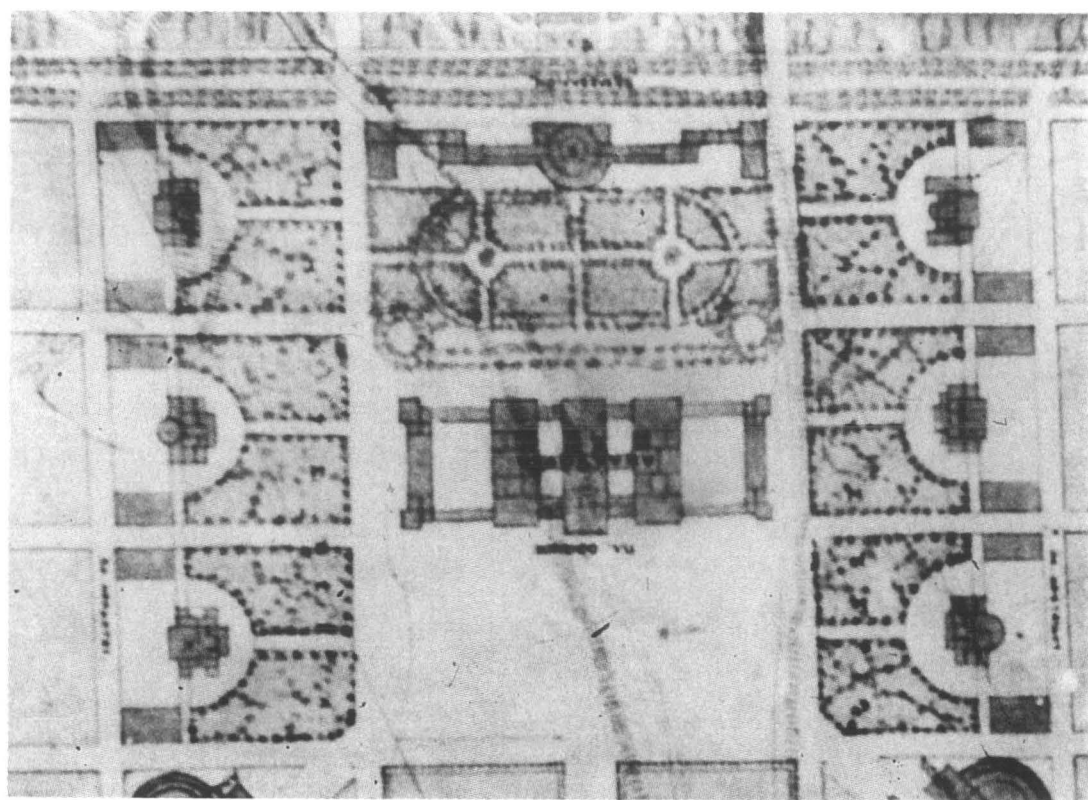


Fig. 10 The Royal Palace and the adjacent ministries. Detail of the Kleanthes-Schaubert plan. Scale 1:5000. (DAI, Athens).

aries and town patterns) and that integration of the built volumes into the given topography should be the paramount goal.

Von Klenze favoured 'picturesque' effects and condemned the rigid monumentality of central European classicism, foreign —as he thought— to the Greek spirit. Thus he states that his personal vision for the new town of Athens would be a hill-town of densely built volumes, with a street pattern adapted to the topography and avoiding any monumental vistas, such as those to be found in the initial plan.

His fundamental disagreement with the Kleanthes-Schaubert plan is obvious and in fact he criticizes it in extenso in his writings. One may easily imagine that his preferred proposal — which was never been drawn up— would have been quite similar to the one formulated by von Quast at the same time.

The initial plan had already been adopted the previous year and the main streets had been traced on the ground. Von Klenze as an experienced tactician knew that redesigning the plan at that stage was virtually impossible. Thus he proceeded to revise the initial concept; this was actually the frustrated reaction of a great master in the face of necessity. It would be unjust to judge von Klenze's talent by this plan!

Other aspects of von Klenze's contribution in Athens are more valuable: his belief in picturesque effects led him to make daring proposals for the location of new monumental buildings in direct contact with historic-archaeological sites. Thus he created a design for the palace on various levels on the northwestern slopes of the Pnyx, with large gardens extending far to the east on the hilly terrain including the Theseion as an authentic ancient *objet trouvé* in his overall garden layout.<sup>8</sup>

The Royal Garden as designed by Klenze had an area comparable to the one of the initial plan (about 27 ha), but was designed as a typical romantic landscape garden on uneven ground, with spacious lawns and some few large units (only about 12 in comparison to the 80 parterres in the Royal Garden in the initial Kleanthes-Schaubert plan).

The romantic appeal of nature, the desire to build in a picturesque context and the wish to present continuity of ancient and modern Greek (19th century) architecture lie behind this concept. The same holds true for his proposals concerning a museum with open porticoes on the Akropolis and the concept of embellishing the Akropolis plateau by planting suitable trees; neither were followed.

As in the case of Schinkel's project for a royal palace on the Akropolis, Klenze's visions of new buildings in a historic setting contradict every notion of today's conservation ethics. This attitude in favour of an open and direct confrontation between ancient ruins and historical sites on the one hand with neoclassical 'modern' achievements on the other shows little academic respect for the creations of the past, but at the same time is animated by a sense of continuity in respect to the cultural heritage which no longer exists today.

It is worth noting that von Klenze proposed to build the palace and administrative centre in an area already known to have archaeological interest (the Kerameikos area). In spite of his strong interest in archaeological issues, the attractiveness of the site on the west slopes of the Pnyx moved him to make this decision.

Had they been realized these 19th century projects would have proved very detrimental to archaeological investigations and, happily enough, none of these projects were implemented. Von Klenze's designs, however, have lasting artistic value.

In respect to the creation of a vast archaeological zone, von Klenze's revised plan not only kept the initial idea of leaving the Akropolis surroundings and nearby hills free for excavations, but he also shows increased interest in recording the exact site and in preserving all of the monuments: ancient, Byzantine and Turkish.

Von Klenze had a flair for diplomacy. He praised the efforts of the devoted Greek conservationist K. Pittakis but at the same time he considered that the existing measures for protecting the monuments were absolutely inadequate. He wrote that the more Pittakis, Ross and he himself complained about the situation, the less it appeared to trouble the foreigners who were in control —meaning his German fellow-countrymen!<sup>9</sup>

8 "Der Platz für dieses Schloss ist, wie es der Stadtplan zeigt, so gewählt, daß dem Gebäude schöne Aussicht und Ansicht von und nach allen Seiten gewährt wird (...) Auch der doppelte Vortheil, dass dem Gebäude von zwei Seiten die Lage der Stadt, von zwei anderen aber die Annehmlichkeit einer Gartenumgebung gewährt ist, möchte nicht günstiger gefunden werden können. (...) Dem ausdrücklichen Willen Seiner Majestät des Königs von Griechenland gemäß sind die drei Hügelabsätze, über welche sich diese ganze Anlage erstreckt, als Terrassen gestaltet worden, wie dieses auch im Geiste des klassischen Alterthums begründet ist". Leo von Klenze, 1838, 481.

9 "Die Spuren dieses Zustandes waren leider nur zu deutlich und in beängstigender Progression an diesen herrlichen Denkmälern zu sehen, so daß dieselben gewiß dadurch einem baldigen völligen Verschwinden aller ihrer plastischen Form zugeführt worden wären. Aber so sehr H. Pittakis, Roß und ich diesen Zustand beklagten, so wenig schien er mehrere der eingewanderten Machthaber zu beunruhigen". Leo von Klenze, 1838, 300.



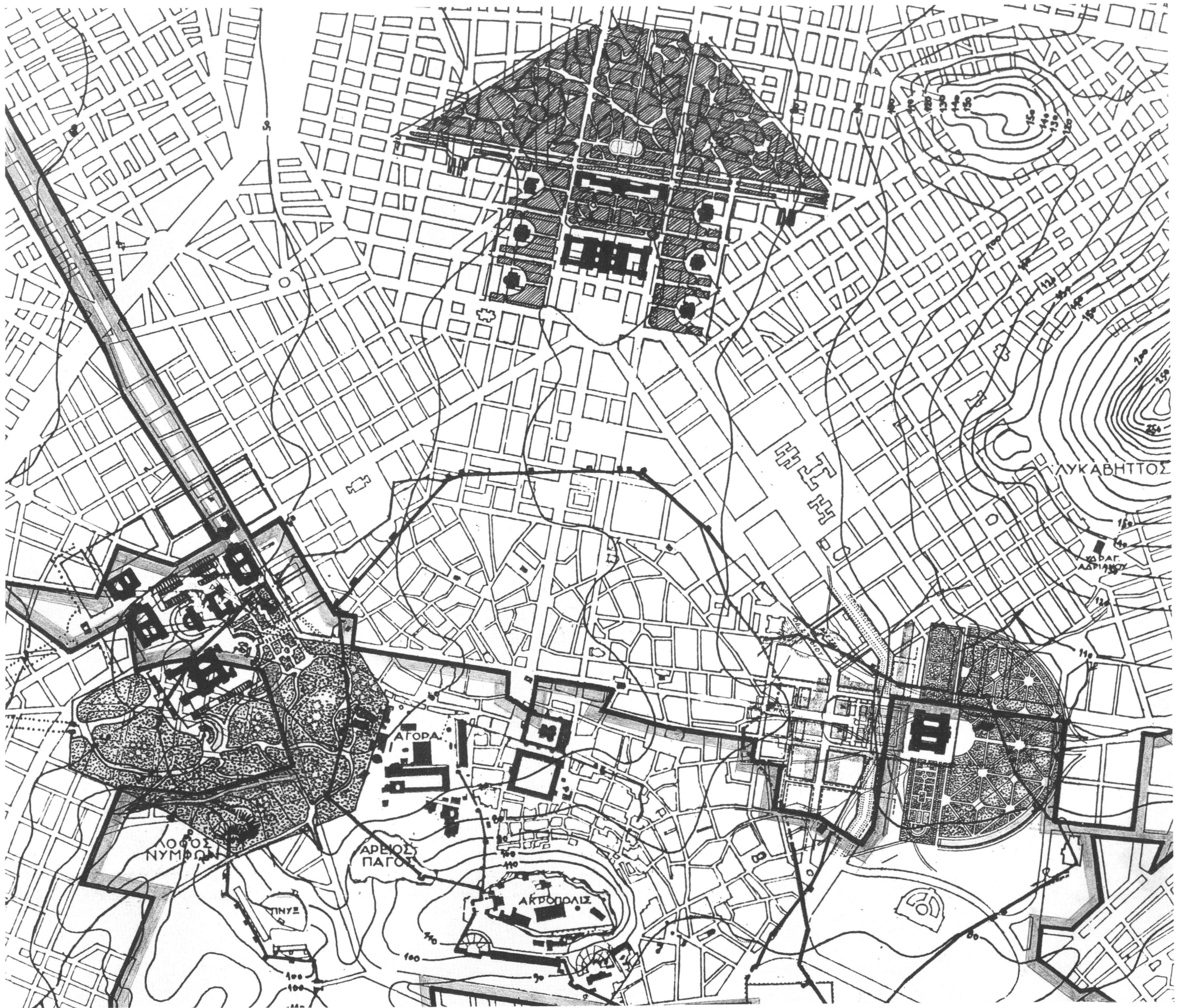


Fig. 11 Plan of present-day central Athens. The cultural-historic area is heavily outlined. Three alternatives for the Royal Garden which were not implemented are shown: The Kleanthes-Schaubert proposal at the top; the von Klenze proposal at the left; Gaertner's proposal at the right. Scale 1:10,000. (Plan by the author).



Von Klenze recommended clearing the Akropolis plateau of houses of later periods (a proposal which, incidentally, was not included in the Kleanthes-Schaubert memorandum) and insisted on the necessity of defining archaeological zones protected by law and to create a staff of archaeological custodians and guards; he also promoted the implementation of the first law on antiquities of 1834 (see Appendix A, no. 3), even before the law concerning *les monuments historiques* was issued in France.

Von Klenze's proposal for organizing an antiquities service was, in fact, adopted and funds for a four-year program for restoring the Parthenon were granted immediately. On September 10, 1834, von Klenze addressed King Otto on the Akropolis during the solemn inauguration of the Parthenon restoration project. He describes this moment as one of the two happiest events in his life.<sup>10</sup>

Von Klenze believed that the measures taken to preserve and restore the Akropolis buildings were of decisive importance for the planning and growth of the new capital. He hoped that the projects for care of the monuments would stimulate the interest of civilized Europe in the future of Athens —and the actual developments bore out his hopes. Finally he believed that the destruction of monuments "which was the rule in the past will be an exception in the future" and that the Greek nation would find a set of values in ancient art with which it can identify, thus obtaining a stimulus for new artistic achievements.

Von Klenze's ideas about town-planning and architecture were not followed at the time and had no significant influence on future developments. But the energetic measures he took to assure the creation of a strictly archaeological area on the Akropolis plateau was the first manifestation of a purist approach which has prevailed ever since in regard to this site: Conservation of post-classical remains or the erection of new buildings on the Akropolis (with the exception of the very inconspicuous museum) were systematically ruled out in the following years and down to the present day.

Some months before von Klenze visited Athens, the other famous master of Greek revival architecture in Germany, Karl-Friedrich Schinkel<sup>11</sup> accepted an invitation from Maximilian, the crown prince of Bavaria (and brother of King Otto of Greece) to design a royal palace to be erected on the Akropolis of Athens.

Like Goethe, Schinkel never went to Greece; he practiced what has been ironically called 'abstention-from-Greece', avoiding confrontation with actuality in order to preserve his idealized vision. His proposal does not concern itself with the future development of the entire new city of Athens, but is limited to a design for a monumental royal palace on the Akropolis plateau. Schinkel's project is, however, of great interest insofar as:

a) it represents the extreme position of a romantic-creative approach aiming at a dialectic symbiosis of neoclassical architecture with the ancient heritage, diametrically opposed to the purist, academic conservationist approach which has prevailed in Athens ever since.<sup>12</sup>

b) it must be considered as the origin of an alternative plan for development in Athens, i.e. the 'hill-town pattern' as opposed to the 'town in the plain'.

Schinkel's proposal in fact implied something that Leo von Klenze cherished as a principle but did not dare to promote for tactical reasons: a town on hilly ground with the Akropolis itself as an historic but also revitalized modern centre of the town.<sup>13</sup>

Schinkel did not go as far as formulating clearly such a comprehensive town-planning proposal, but his pupil and first state conservator in Prussia, Ferdinand von Quast (he too never visited Athens) published an enthusiastic article praising Schinkel's design in the art review *Museum* for July 1834.<sup>14</sup> At the same time he wrote a fairly concise proposal (although without drawings), envisaging Athens as a hill town around the Akropolis as the seat of the sovereign.

Von Quast proposed developing the city on the hills to the SW of the Akropolis, the creation of a new civic centre in the saddle between Philopappos and Pnyx hill (i.e. approximately the site of the church of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiariis) and the erection of the new metropolitan church on the Areopagus, where the Apostle Paul converted Dionysios the Areopagite!

The new city center was planned on the intersection of two main street axes: one leading from the old town in the north to Peiraeus in the south, the other linking the Sacred Way to

10 "[Ich] darf ihnen gestehen, dass ich in einem bis jetzt glücklichen und erfolgreichen Leben als Künstler doch nur zwei Momente wahrer hoher Zufriedenheit und Freude erlebte: diesen Moment des Beginns einer wirksamen Erhaltung, ja Wiederherstellung, des schönsten Denkmals der Welt, und die Grundsteinlegung der Walhalla, wobei es mir gestattet war, der Erbauer des Parthenon nachzueifern!". Leo von Klenze, 1838, 387.

11 Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) was born in Neu Ruppin in Brandenburg and was trained as an architect and painter (1798-1802) at the famous Bauakademie in Berlin under David and Friedrich Gilly. After a stay in Italy he worked first as a theatre scenery painter and landscape painter before starting his career as state architect in 1810. Schinkel was elected professor in the Bauakademie in 1820. At the end of a life devoted to large-scale embellishment of Berlin and to the coordination of the official building policy of the Prussian state, Schinkel was nominated superintendent of public buildings (Oberlandbaudirektor) in 1839. His most famous buildings are the Schauspielhaus in Berlin (1818-1821), the Altes Museum, the first museum building in Europe (1822-1828), and the Bauakademie (1831-1835).

12 The most convinced and influential purist was Ludwig I of Bavaria. He was the first to reject Schinkel's idea, even before he had seen the plans. In a letter to his son Otto he urges him to choose Athens as his place of residence, but also insists on ruling the Akropolis out as a site for the royal palace.

"Daß Du das ungesunde Nauplia vor der kalten Jahreszeit verlassen, Athen zu Deiner Residenzstadt wählen möchtest, darum beschwöre ich Dich. Aber nicht auf der Akropolis erbaue Deinen Palast, auf ihr soll meines Dafürhaltens nichts Neues gebaut, wie denn überhaupt der Vorzeit ehrwürdige Denkmale nicht vermisch mit neuen Gebäuden werden, was für diese wie für jene nur von Nachteil sein kann". Geheimes Hausarchiv, München: *Nachlaß König Otto von Griechenland*, 43/1/29e.

13 In a letter to Maximilian (see Appendix A no. 2) Schinkel speaks of revitalizing the Akropolis, a shining point in the history of the world, by building the new royal palace on it.

"Die Acropolis bildet einen leuchtenden Punkt in der Weltgeschichte an welchen sich unendliche Gedanken Reihen knüpfen die dem ganzen Geschlecht fortwährend wichtig seyn und theuer bleiben werden. Schon deshalb verdient dieser Ort die Wiederbelebung für die Geschichte der folgenden Zeit und wie könnte dies beim jetzigen Zustande Griechenlands besser geschehen als durch die Einrichtung der neuen Residenz auf demselben".

14 Von Quast's article was published again in 1834 under the title *Mittheilungen über Alt-und Neu-Athen: Neubau der Stadt Athen und des Königlichen Schloßes auf seiner Burg*.



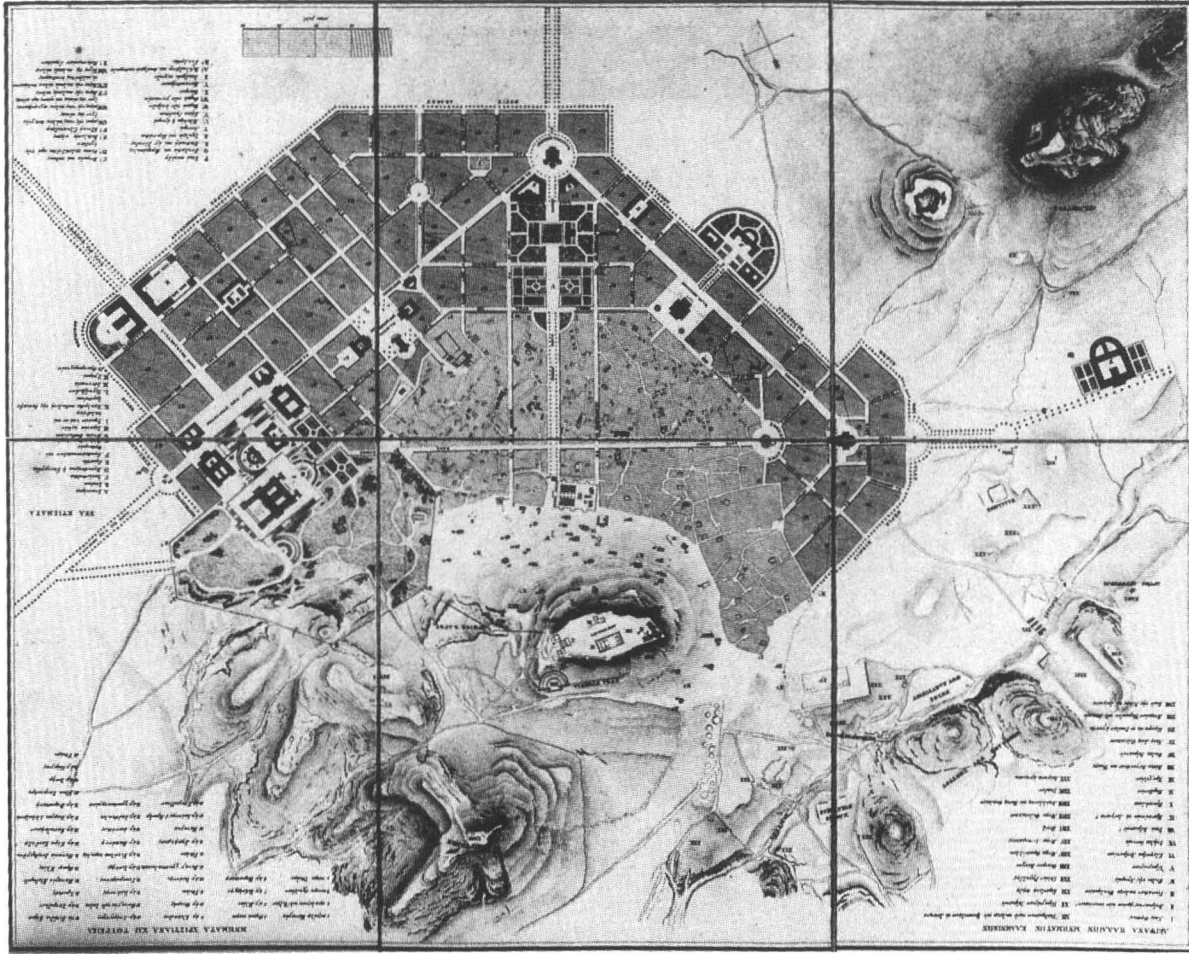


Fig. 12 Von Klenze's plan (1834). Scale 1:30,000. (von Klenze, 1838).

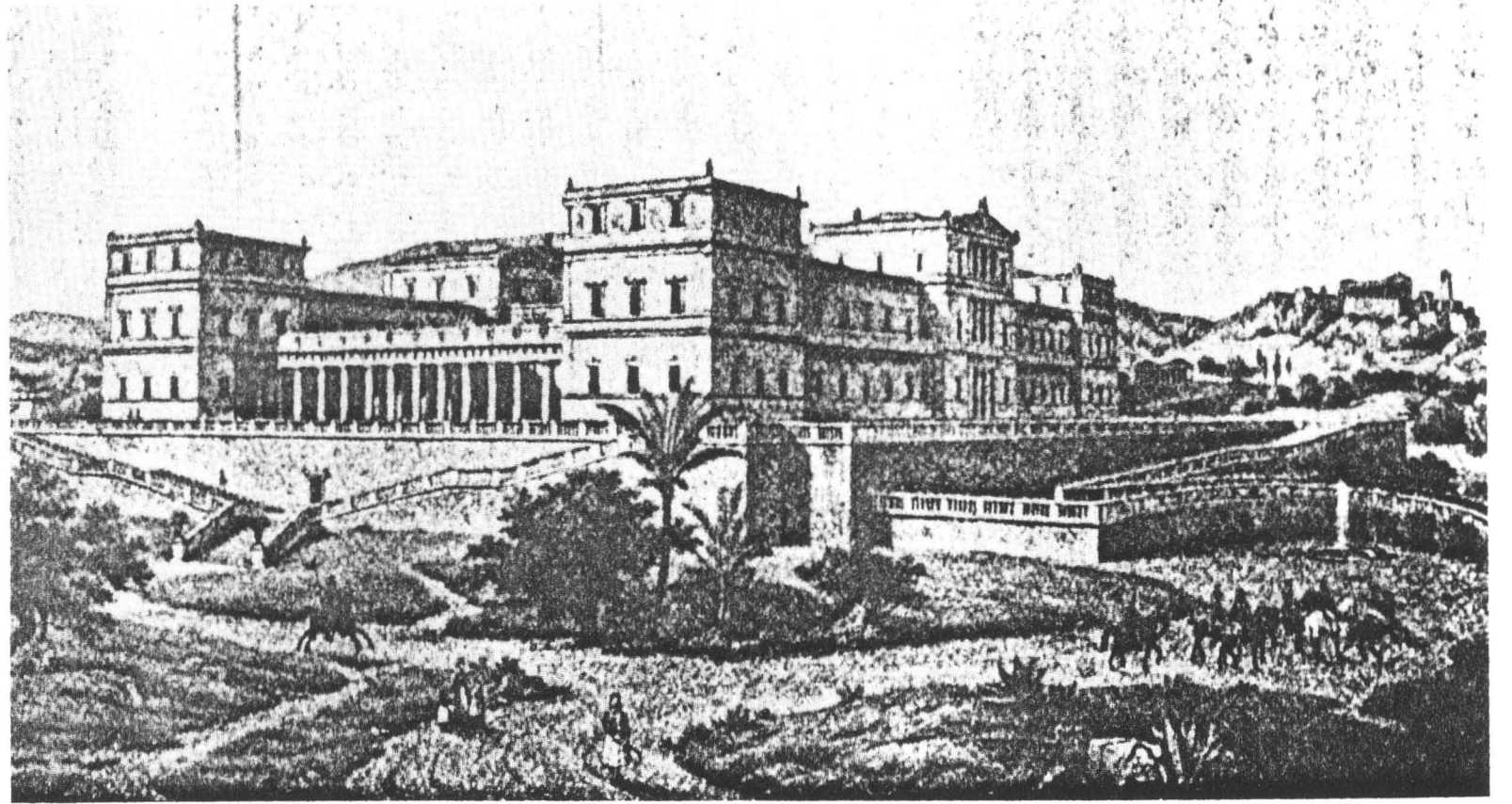


Fig. 13 Perspective drawing of the Royal Palace from the SW, as designed by von Klenze on the hill of Haghios Athanasios between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Kerameikos. (von Klenze, 1838).

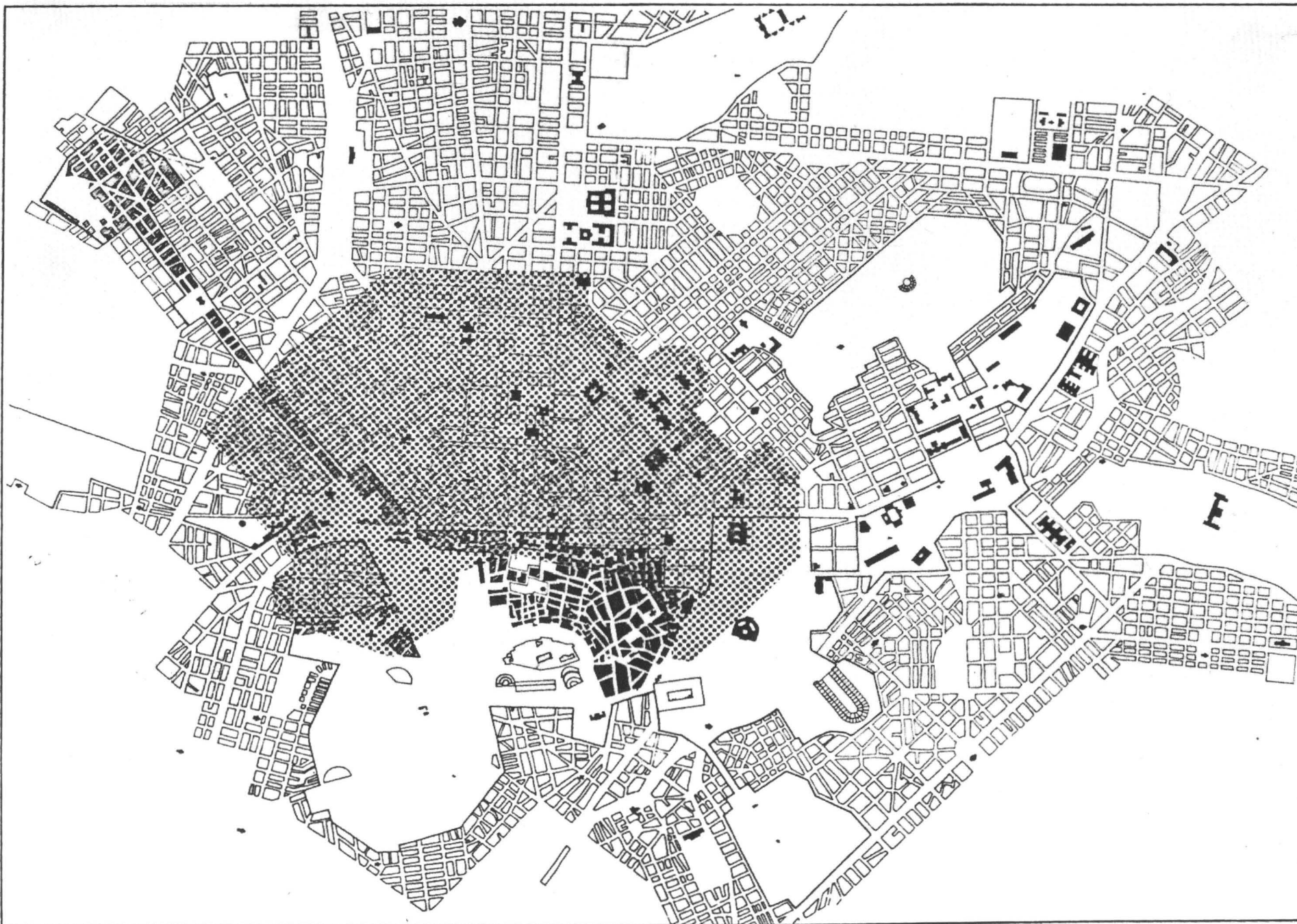


Fig. 14 The area of the von Klenze plan in relation to the present town pattern. Scale 1:30,000. (Plan by the author).



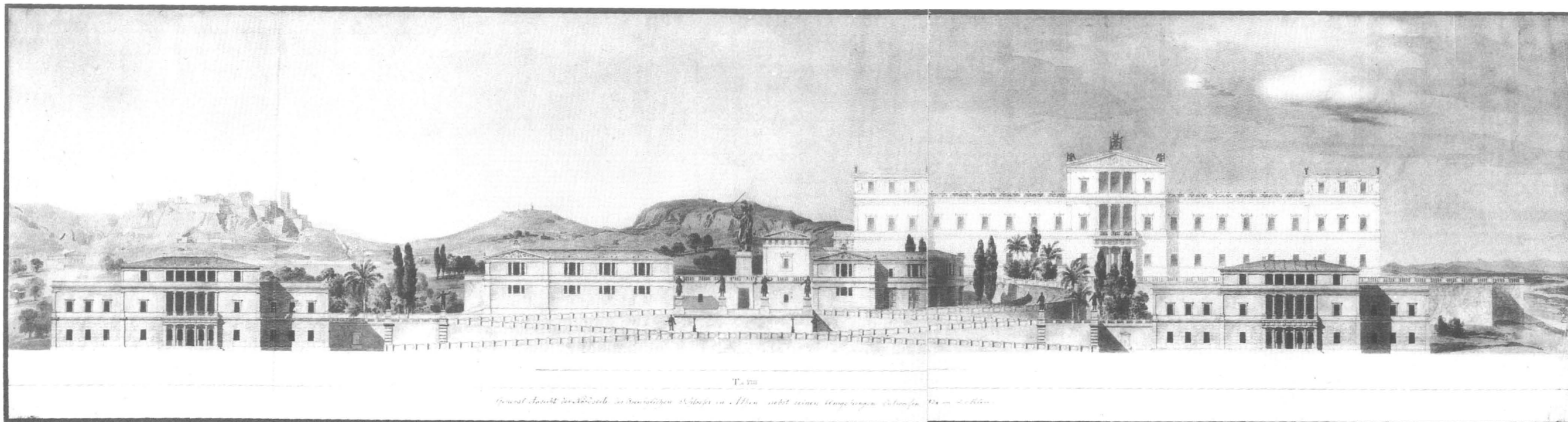


Fig. 15 The palace and the ministries on the hill of Haghios Athanasios, as proposed by L. von Klenze in 1834. View from the NW. Scale ca 1:1600. (Water colour in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).



Fig. 16 Tentative sketch of the planning concept for Athens formulated by Ferdinand v. Quast in 1834. Scale 1:30,000. (Drawn by the author).



Fig. 17 Von Quast's town planning concept in relation to the present town-plan. Scale 1:30,000. (Plan by the author).



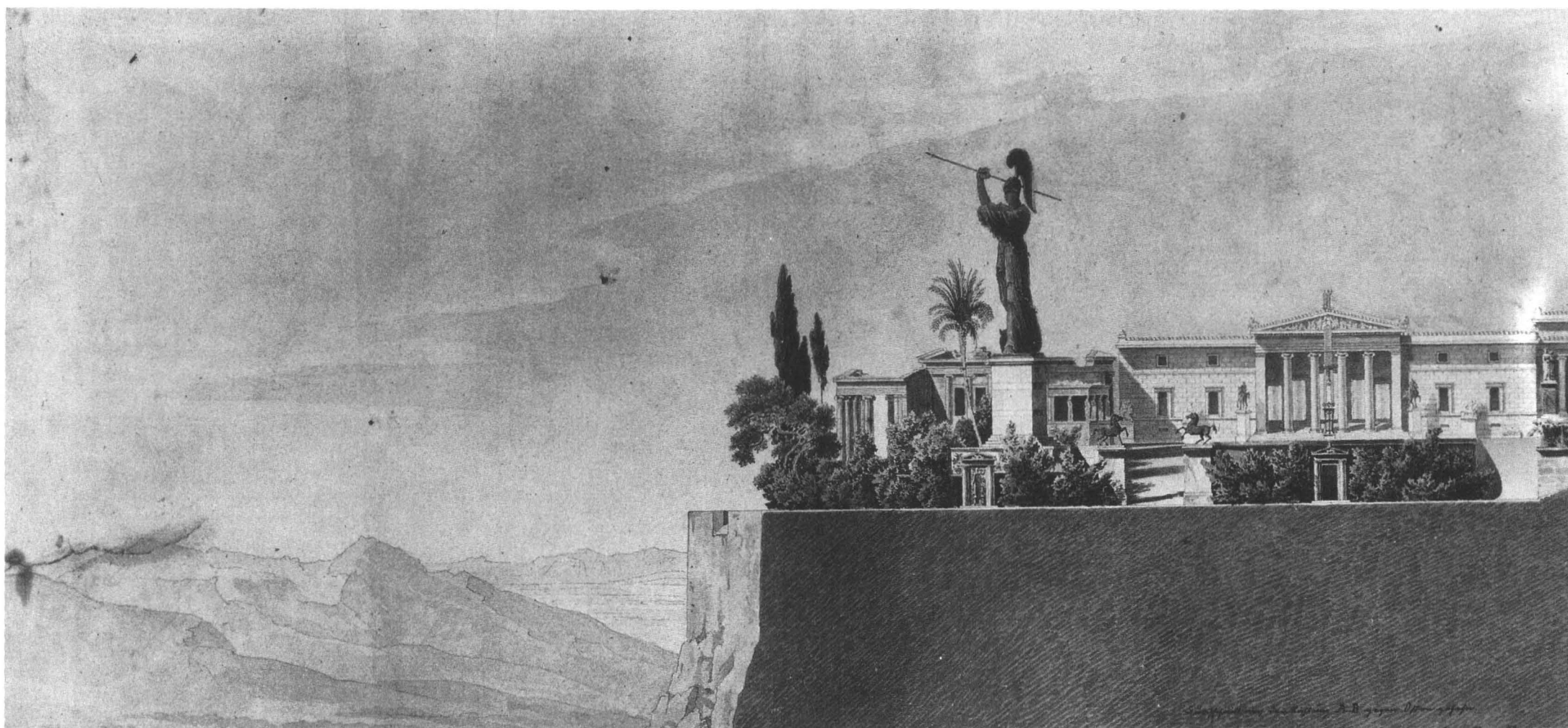


Fig. 18 K. F. Schinkel's project for a royal palace on the Akropolis in 1834; the northern part of the west façade. Scale ca 1:750. (Water colour in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).

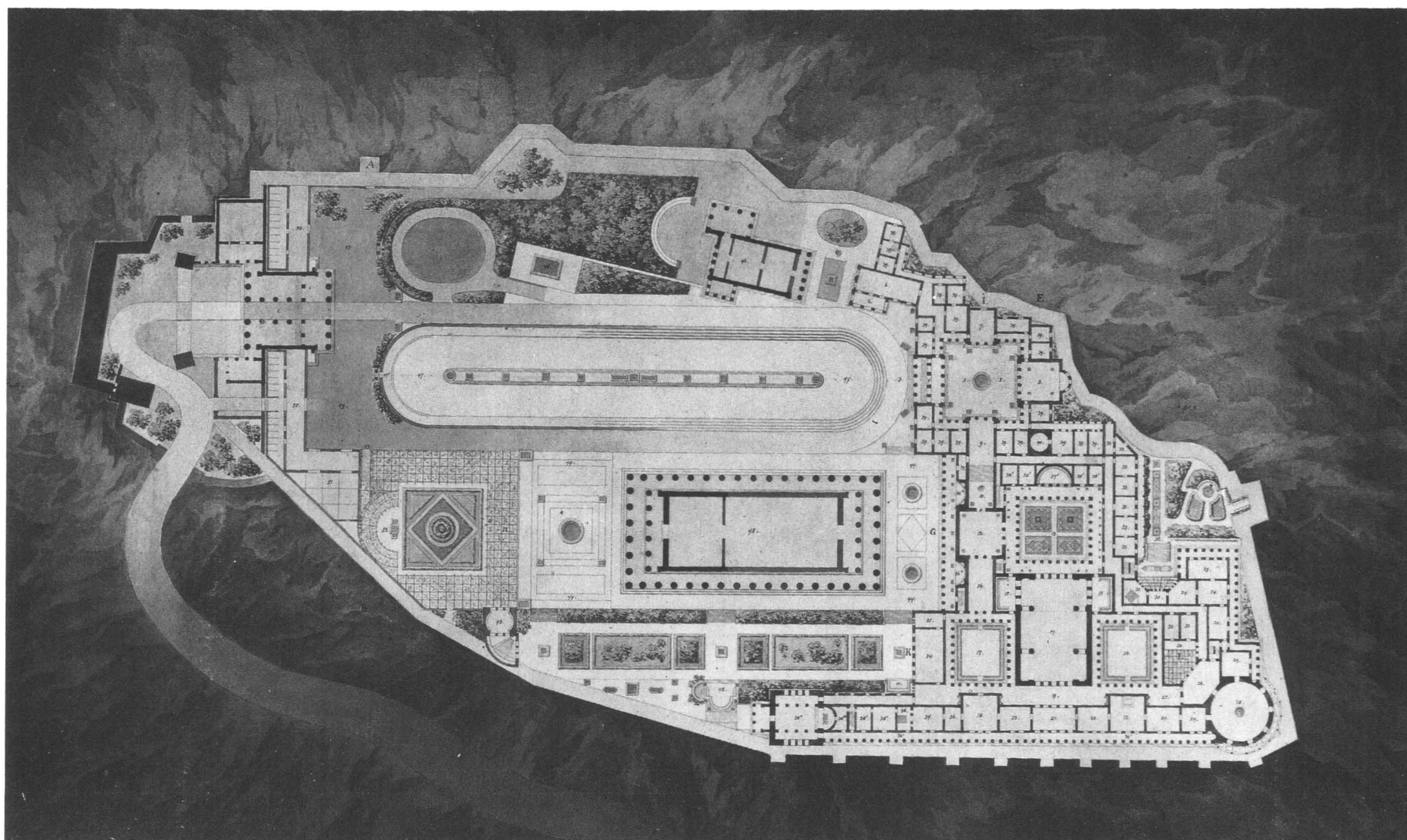


Fig. 19 K. F. Schinkel's project for a royal palace on the Akropolis in 1834; general layout. Scale ca 1:2000. (Water colour in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).



Eleusis in the west to the Ilissos area and the road to Mesogeia in the east. Von Quast even proposed a viaduct linking the Metropolitan church on the Areopagus with the Propylaia, thus creating a unified symbolic and functional centre of temporal and religious power. The main north-south axis leading from the existing old city to the new civic centre was to pass below this viaduct!

A first attempt to visualize this planning concept with a schematic sketch is presented here (fig. 16).

It is interesting to note that, in connexion with the town's future development, no provisions were made for excavating the ancient city center or for protecting the landscape of the historic hills. The leading idea is that the existing old and projected new city are to be closely linked: in addition to the preexisting city on the north side of the Akropolis (kept untouched) a new city is to be developed on the western and southern slopes, the whole crowned by the 'revitalized' Akropolis.

Returning to Schinkel's proposal: as an architectural composition his design is one of rare sensitivity and beauty. It is the only one of the designs for the royal palace (by comparison with those by Kleanthes-Schaubert, Klenze, Lange and Gaertner) which breaks with the pompous central European tradition of voluminous, many-storeyed, symmetrical buildings and aims to reintroduce a low-rise, assymetric, pavilion-like structure, with courtyards and open porticoes (in the tradition of Pompeiian villas) adapted to the climate and living conditions of the south.<sup>15</sup>

The palace planned by Schinkel was not only designed to convey the effect of royal magnificence on this prominent height but was also meant to function as an effective frame for the existing ancient monuments. Schinkel therefore placed his extensive neoclassical palace on the unoccupied eastern part of the plateau with a hippodrome as a ceremonial forecourt in front of the main palace entrance between the Parthenon and Erechtheion. The most surprising feature of Schinkel's scheme is the reconstruction of the colossal statue of Athena Promachos. This was intended both as an adornment for the site and a symbol of Athenian glory. The master allowed himself only this one out-of-scale feature; otherwise he was careful not to have any part of the modern palace rise above the ruins of the Parthenon (fig. 20).

The entire project was limited to one storey with a basement in the southern part. Luxuriant landscaping softened the contrast between the sections and helped to unify the whole complex. However sensitive Schinkel was to the historic setting, his practical sense was also on the alert: whereas he argued that the advantages of the site more than outweighed its disadvantages, he nevertheless discussed the difficulties involved in placing a residential complex on top of the Akropolis. The water supply was to be taken care of by underground conduits bringing the water from nearby mountains; at the worst, steam engines could pump water up from below. Convenient access could be provided by means of a gently ascending paved road planted with shade trees.<sup>16</sup>

Technical reasons and the additional costs involved were the practical reasons for dismissing the project as the "midsummer night's dream of a great architect" as von Klenze condescendingly remarked later on.<sup>17</sup> But in addition to these reservations, other considerations were decisive in rejecting Schinkel's idea, namely the current Greek Revival mentality which maintained a respectful distance from the ancient heritage in accordance with the vision of its splendid isolation.

Although the realisation of such a project, combined with the 'hill-town' idea of von Quast, would have been a fatal blow to the preservation of antiquities and the promotion of archaeological research (and therefore from our point of view now one should be glad that the project was not implemented), Schinkel's concept deserves nevertheless high praise for presenting a solution, not only romantic but also continuity-conscious in response to the challenging problem of new buildings in an historic setting.

The hill-town idea for Athens was an interesting but purely theoretical option; it remained in the realm of artistic speculation. The town developed in the plain between the Akropolis and Lykabettos to the north, and thus a real opportunity for the creation of an archaeological zone—sooner or later—was provided.

15 In another letter to Maximilian written in 1834 Schinkel states his ideas about the desiderata for the site and the architecture of the palace:

"Übrigens ist eine große Hülfe und ein ganz wesentliches Mittel, zum Zwecke zu gelangen: das Entwerfen einer auf die Sitte und das Bedürfnis des Landes basierten Lebensweise des Fürsten und dann die Auswahl einer recht charakteristischen und schönen Localität für einen Bau dieser Art, und meiner Ansicht zufolge würde dies der erste Schritt zu diesem Werke werden müssen, und der Architect würde sich in die Natur dieser Localität vertiefen und ihr mannigfach Gegebenes schön für sein Werk benutzen müssen. Schwerlich dürfte dann ein Werk nach den lang abgenutzten neuitalienischen und neu-französischen Maximen hervorgehen, worin besonders ein Mißverstand in dem Begriff von Symmetrie soviel Heuchelei und Langeweile erzeugt hat und eine ertödtende Herrschaft errang". K. F. Schinkel, 1922, 181.

16 Schinkel's original drawings for the project are in the Graphische Staatssammlung München. The project was published in a folio entitled: *Werke der Höheren Baukunst, für die Ausführung bestimmt*, 1841-1849.

17 Leo von Klenze paid tribute to Schinkel as follows:

"Ein vollendetes Muster geistreicher Behandlung dieses Gegenstandes im ächtgriechischen Sinne hatte mein trefflicher Freund Schinkel in einem Entwurfe zu einem Schlosse aufgestellt, welchen derselbe Sr. Majestät dem Könige von Griechenland übersendete.

Wenn dieser Entwurf nicht ohne erhaltene Angabe der Bedürfnisse und ohne Anschauung der Örtlichkeit, bloß nach allgemeinen Begriffen der Schönheit und althellenischer Lebensverhältnisse gemacht werden wäre, so würde ich es wohl nie unternommen haben, einen anderen Plan zu entwerfen.

Aber leider konnte die ganz antike Auffassung des Planes den Bedürfnissen eines nur nach neu-europäischen Begriffen eingerichteten Hofes nicht genügen, und man wollte wohl auch nicht ohne Grund den auf dem Felsen der Akropolis gewählten Bauplatz unzulänglich finden, und so sah sich Seine Majestät der König Otto gezwungen, diesen an sich unübertrefflichen Entwurf unausgeführt zu lassen.

Möge es mir vergönnt sein, bei dieser Veranlassung dem großen Künstler, welcher jenen Entwurf machte, den Tribut unbeschränkter Bewunderung zu zollen". L. von Klenze, 1838, 484-485.

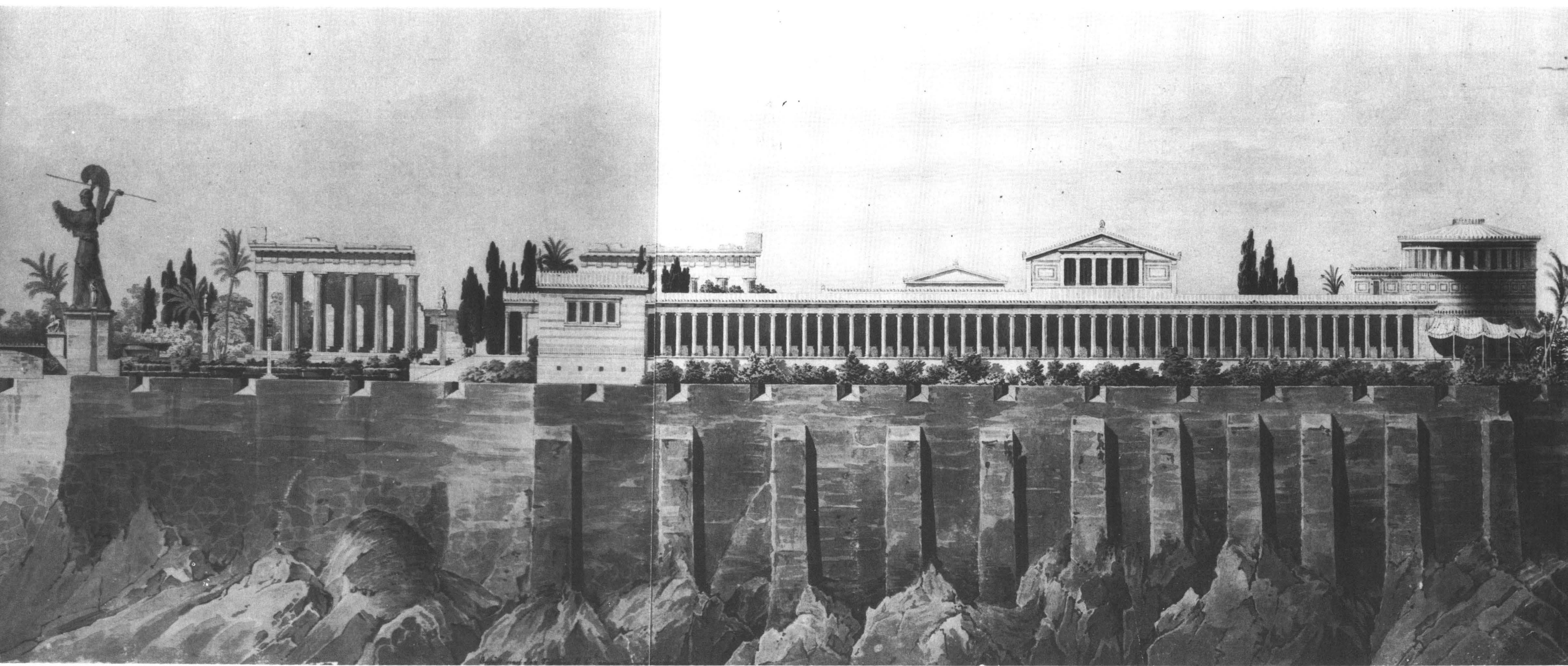


Fig. 20 K. F. Schinkel's project for a royal palace on the Akropolis in 1834; eastern part of the south façade. Scale ca. 1:750. (Water colour in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).



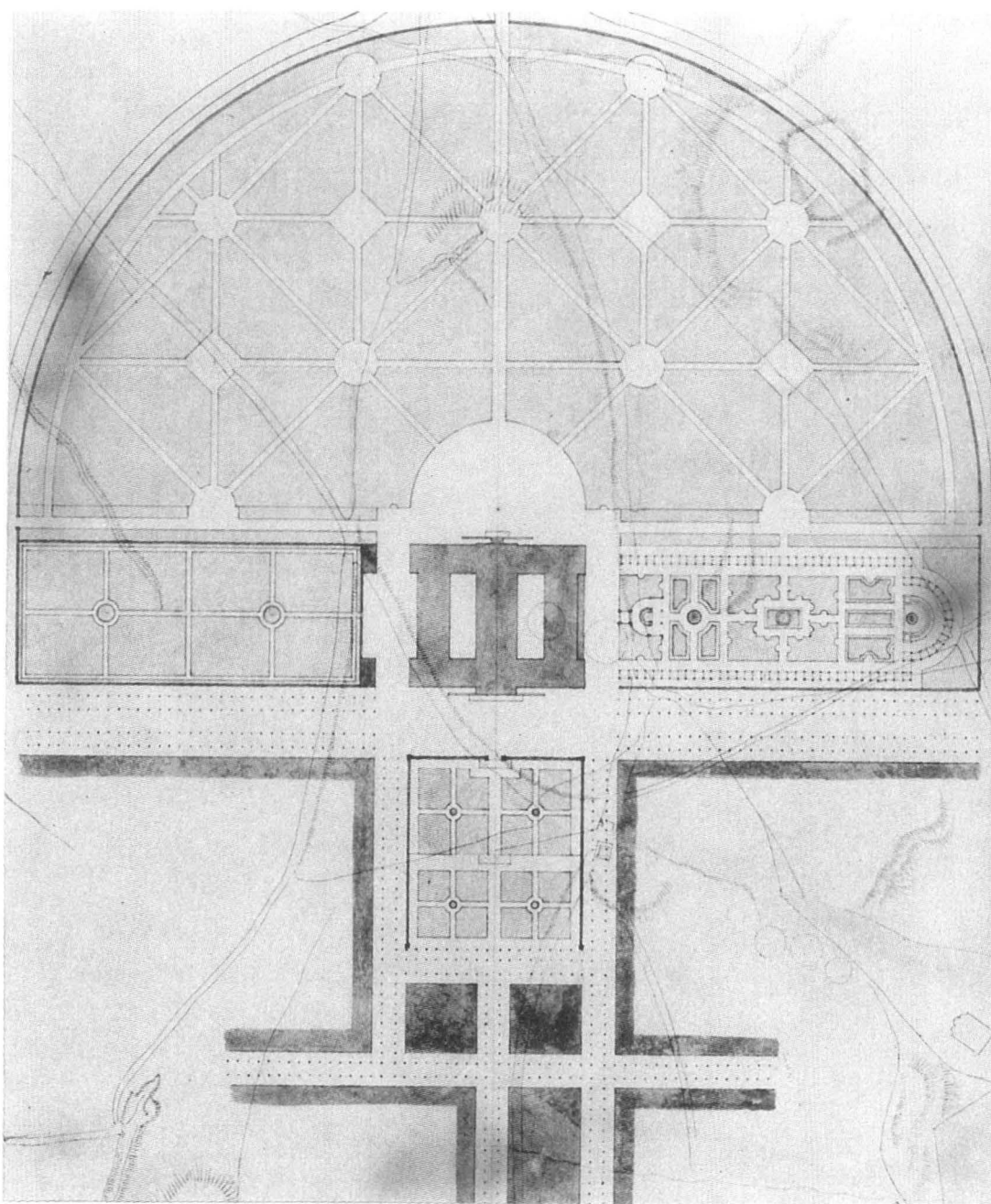


Fig. 21 Initial layout (not executed) for the Royal Garden designed by F. von Gärtner in 1836. Scale ca 1:5000. (Architekturmuseum, Technical University of Munich).

18 F. von Gärtner (1792-1847) was born in Koblenz. He studied at the Royal Academy of Arts in Munich from 1809-1812 and worked with Weinbrenner in Karlsruhe and Percier and Fontaine in Paris. He was appointed professor of architecture at the Royal Academy of Munich in 1820 and director in 1841. After von Klenze he was the most famous protégé of Ludwig I for whom he designed the buildings of the second phase of the monumental Ludwigstraße, i.e. Ludwigskirche (1829-1840), Staatsbibliothek (1835-1840). Von Gärtner was in Athens in 1835-1836 and again in 1840 to supervise construction of the royal palace.

19 On December 6, 1836, von Gärtner wrote from Athens to his wife Lambertine: "Die ernste Form des dorischen Tempels an und für sich ist nicht geeignet Heiterkeit zu verbreiten, besonders wo eine Umgebung wie hier sich vorfindet. Die unerwartete Zerstörung, der Mangel an Vegetation, welche diesen Monumenten das Trübe einigermaßen zu benehmen und sie in ein heiteres Bild einzufassen geeignet wäre, wie dies der Fall der römischen Ruinen ist, stimmt den Beschauer eher wehmütig und düster, als freudig. Die Erhabenheit des Denkmals und seine Geschichte (...) sind auch zu bedeutungsvoll, um bloß den Reiz des Auges zu fesseln".

20 Lysandros Kaftantzoglou (1811-1885) was born in Thessaloniki, studied in the Academia of San Luca in Rome and at the École Supérieure des Beaux Arts in Paris. In 1843 he returned to Greece and was the director of the Polytechnion in Athens from 1844-1862. Along with S. Kleanthes and P. Kalkos he is to be considered as one of the most important Greek architects during the reign of King Otto. Some of his major buildings in Athens: the Arsakeion School, the Polytechnion, the Church of Hagios Konstantinos.

21 For the text of this memorandum, see Appendix A no.13.

The actual development of the town-plan followed, however, its own unpredictable ways—as is often the case. Neither the original plan by Kleanthes and Schaubert, nor von Klenze's revised scheme were finally carried out exactly as conceived. The following features of the initial plan were kept: the basic triangular pattern of the main street axes, the direct juxtaposition of the new and the old town, and the idea of some main breakthroughs of new axes in the old town (i.e. Ermou, Athenas and Aiolou streets). Von Klenze's reworking gave the plan its hybrid character, the much more modest overall dimensions, narrow streets, continuous alignment of built volumes (abandoning the garden city idea) and the almost unchanged survival of the upper and lower old town; to this we owe the existence of the Plaka and Psiri districts today, but also the labyrinthine maze of the urban fabric in central Athens.

The plan was decisively altered in regard to the siting of the palace and the Royal Garden. Both the initial building site on present-day Omonia Square and the site on the slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs proposed by von Klenze were abandoned; these sites were thought to be unhealthy (fig. 11).

Ludwig I was in Athens from December 1835 to March 1836 and during his stay he overruled his vacillating son, King Otto, and chose the definitive site for the royal residence at the eastern tip of the basic city-street triangle. The choice was in many respects a happy one: the palace would enjoy a privileged location, situated as it was on a low prominence with a panoramic view towards Lykabettos, the Akropolis, the Olympieion and the Saronic Gulf. Building it in fairly close proximity to the Olympieion and the Stadium set the stage for the later evolution of the cultural-archaeological park of Athens, not thought of at the time. With the gradual development of the Royal Garden and later of the Zappeion Gardens in this part of the town, the nucleus of the eastern half of the Athenian green belt was created.

Friedrich von Gaertner<sup>18</sup> who designed the final version of the palace had followed Ludwig I to Athens and was commissioned to draw up the plans on the spot. Bound by the limited financial means of the young state, von Gaertner designed the austere, compact building with good overall proportions and no superfluous decor which still rises above the city centre. Von Gaertner, a realist, was not only aware of the practical limitations and the lack of trained workmen in Athens, but also stood in awe of the ancient heritage. For him a severe neoclassical structure, built at a proper distance from the ancient remains, was the only acceptable solution for the new palace. His remarks in his letters about the remote, serene and sublime character of the Akropolis monuments are proof that he was thinking along the purist lines of his patron Ludwig I.<sup>19</sup>

The original layout for the Royal Garden proposed by Gaertner was to the east of the palace, a semi-circular park, with a diameter of 500 metres and a total area of about 13 ha, designed in a late baroque tradition with a rigidly geometric pattern. Two smaller rectangular orchards (200 × 80 m each) were planned on either sides of the building (fig. 21).

Happily enough, this original conventional palace park, laid out in the French tradition and entirely alien to the type of landscape park appropriate to the Athenian site, was never realized. A totally different royal garden developed during the years of Otto's reign, through the personal initiative of Queen Amalia (fig. 25). Starting from the small southern orchard (1.6 ha) around 1837, Amalia took the practical course of creating her royal garden step by step by means of one expropriation after another. This park was freely designed in a special way as a dense urban grove with no rigid patterns, and with interesting vantage points providing views of the Akropolis, Olympieion and the Stadium. Between the Royal Garden and the Olympieion to the south, a large unbuilt area was kept in reserve for future development of the park; this area is now occupied by the Zappeion Gardens.

Another theoretically formulated plan for Athens, even though it had no influence whatever on what was actually carried out, should be mentioned here because it represents a much improved proposal for the harmonious coexistence of the new city and the ancient heritage.

In 1839 the Greek architect Lysandros Kaftantzoglou,<sup>20</sup> later director of the Athens Polytechnic School, presented a memorandum (with a plan) to the King, proposing a fundamentally new orientation for the new city.<sup>21</sup> Kaftantzoglou was an early proponent of rational metropolitan planning schemes as conceived in central Europe in about the mid-19th century. Breaking



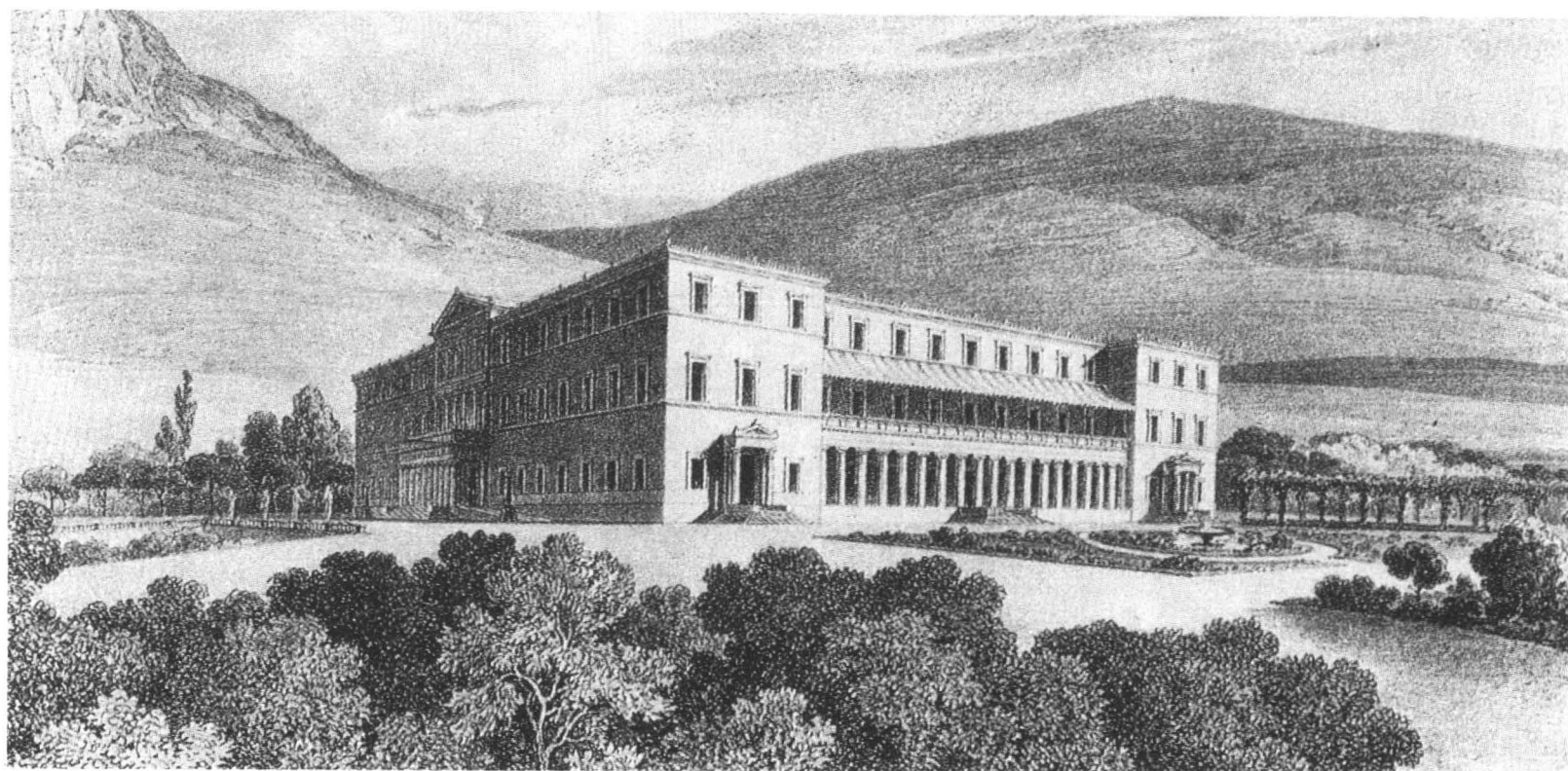


Fig. 22 Perspective view of the Royal Palace as designed and executed by F. von Gärtner, seen from the SW. (Drawing by L. Lange. (Stademann, 1841).

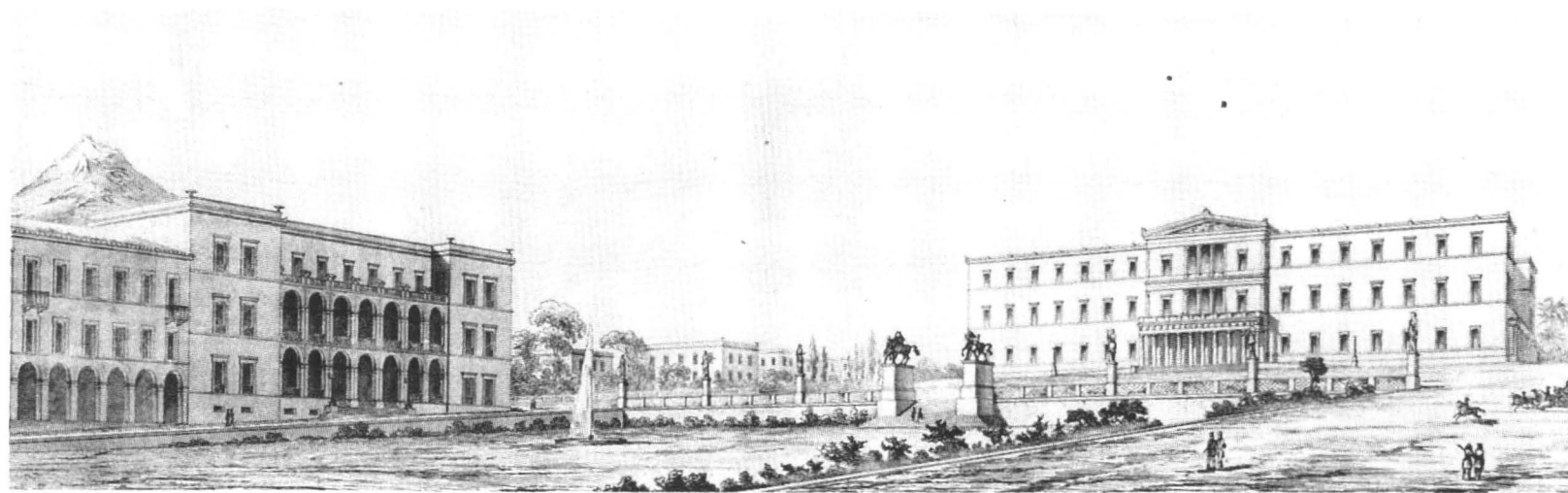


Fig. 23 Syntagma Square from the SW. Right, main façade of the Royal Palace; left, the Dimitriou Mansion later Hotel Grande Bretagne. (Drawing by Theophilus Hansen, published in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1846).

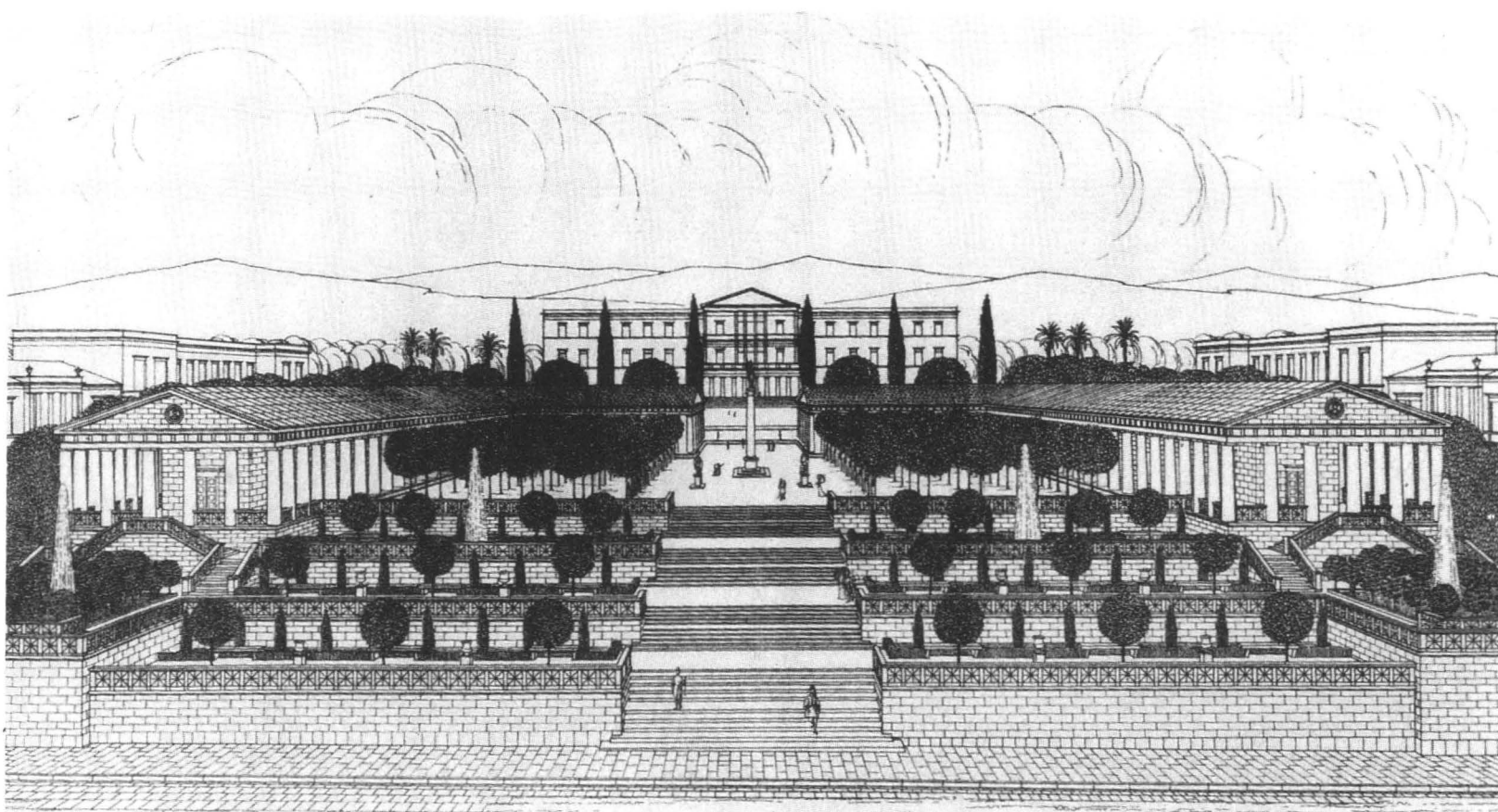


Fig. 24 L. Hoffmann's proposal for redesigning Syntagma Square with added L-shaped porticoes and terracing. View from the west. (Hoffmann, 1911).



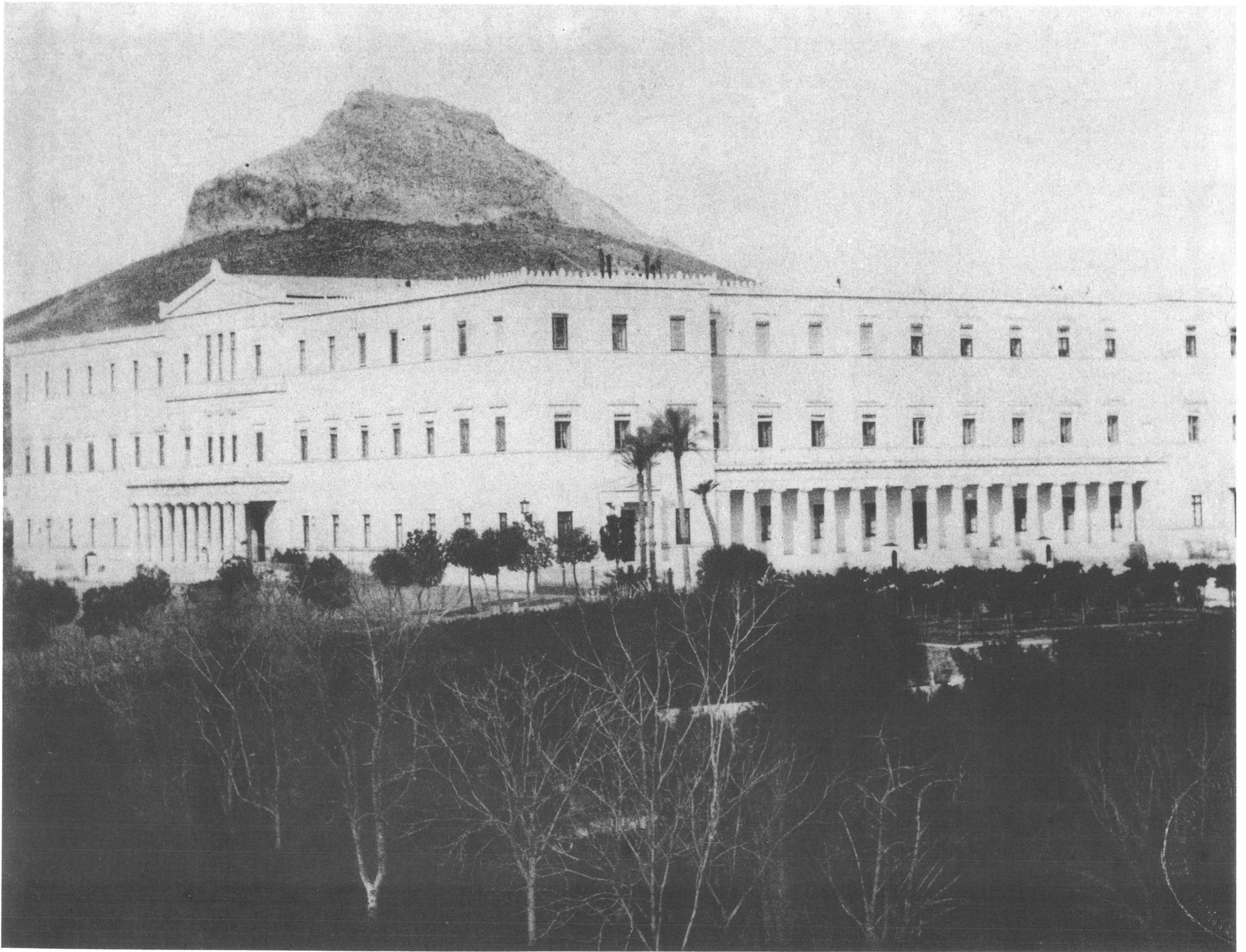


Fig. 25 The Royal Palace and newly planted Royal Garden; a very early photograph made in the 1850s. (Architekturmuseum, Technical University of Munich).



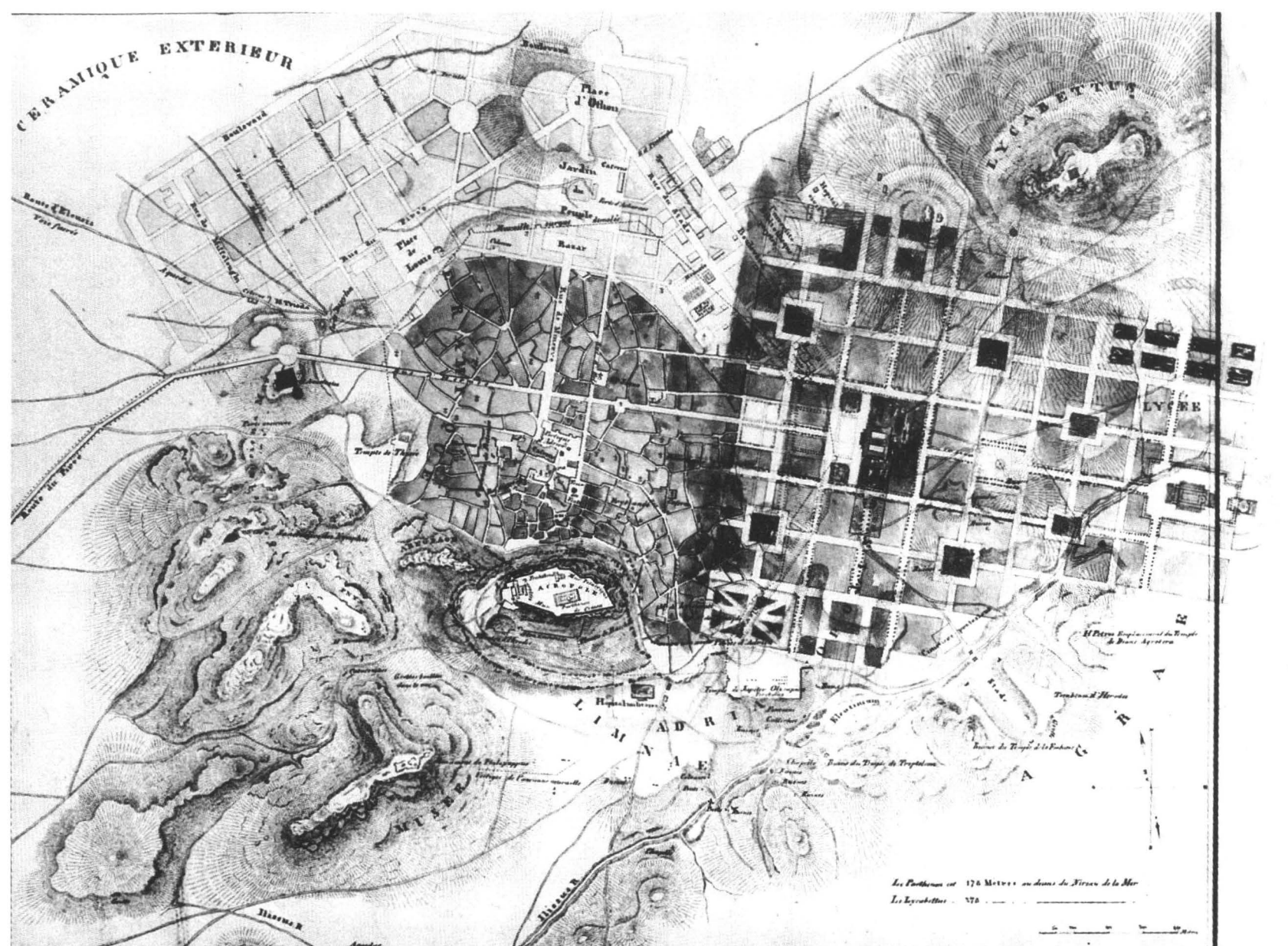


Fig. 26 Planning concept for Athens formulated by Lysandros Kaftanzoglou in 1839. Scale 1:20,000. (Athens, First Ephorate for byzantine antiquities).

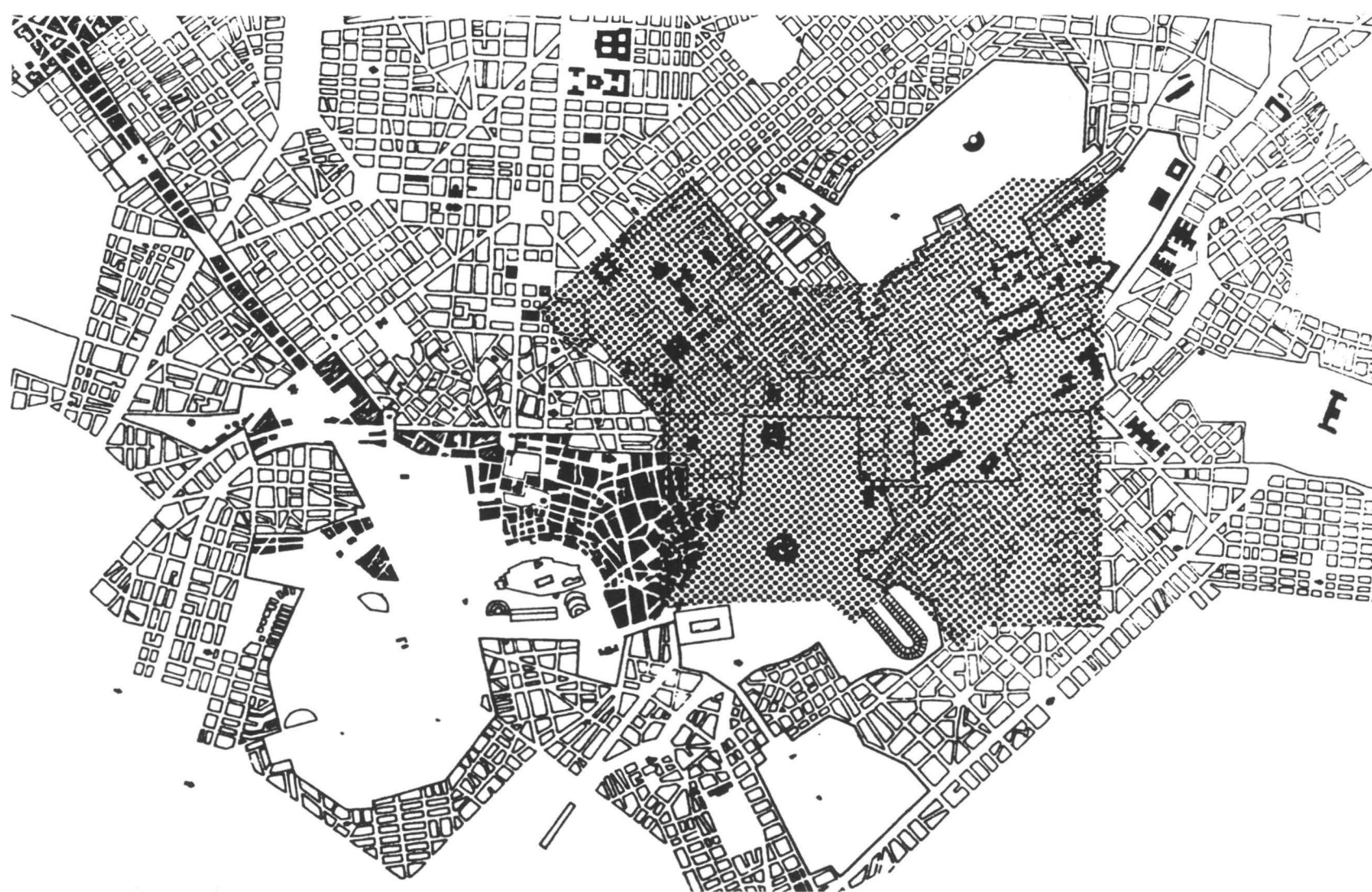


Fig. 27 The area of Kaftanzoglou's town-planning concept in relation to the present town pattern. Scale 1:30,000. (Plan by the author).

22 In 1844 Friedrich Stauffert presented a gloomy report on the failure to implement the plan:

“Als die Regentschaft im Jahre 1834 es beschliessen musste, daß Athen die Residenz Hellas’ sein sollte, wurde mit der Gemeinde ein Vertrag geschlossen, nach welchem der eben bezeichnete Raum ungerührt bleiben sollte, und es machte die Regierung sich anheischig, sämtliche darauf befindlichen Grundstücke anzukaufen, und zwar so, daß binnen drei Monaten sie gemessen und binnen sechs Monaten abbezahlt sein sollten. Indeß verstrichen die sechs Monate und darüber, ohne daß auch nur die Anstalt zur versprochenen Vermessung (an Geometern fehlte es nicht, sie waren in Menge vorhanden) gemacht worden war. Da glaubte die Gemeinde Athen nicht mehr an den Kontrakt gebunden zu sein; und da die dreizehn Mitglieder der sogenannten Verschönerungs-Kommission, mit Ausnahme von dreien oder vierten, Athenienser waren, die auf dem in Rede stehenden Theil des alten Athens auch Grundstücke besaßen, sämtlichen Häuser, Ruinen oder Bauplätze besitzenden Atheniensern aber überhaupt gelegen war auf ihren Grundstücken, die inzwischen größtentheils bebaut worden, die neue Residenz erstehen zu sehen, so begann hier mit einem Male ein Bauen, das an Schnelligkeit seines Gleichen suchte.

Die Regierung tat nichts, der Erforschung des alten Athens, den Todesstreich versetzenden Unfug zu steuern; der Häuser entanden immer mehrere, meistens auf den frühern Fundamenten oder wenigstens nach denselben Baulinien und in den winklichsten und engsten 2-4 Met. breiten, Straßen erbaut, so daß dieser Theil Athens ein wahres Labyrinth darbietet. Und doch bestand eine Verschönerungs-Kommission” F. Stauffert, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1844.

with the tradition of the absolutist city patterns, he envisaged a gridiron scheme for the new city to be developed to the east of the palace (under construction at that time) on the gentle slope between Lykabettos and the Ilissos. His main point was the complete abandonment of the old town, while the new town would develop freely to the east.

Kaftanzoglou’s proposal to the King involved expropriating cheap agricultural land (mainly church property at that time) for the new town and offering the building sites at reasonable prices to the newcomers but also to the old inhabitants who would gradually abandon their inherited old-fashioned houses and move to the new ‘European’ town. Urban property would thus be depreciated in the area of the old town within the walls and expropriations for excavating the ancient city —a European dream— would be within the reach of public finances.

This sound strategy did not receive any attention at that time. Land speculation and uncontrolled building continued in the old city and in the area reserved for the town’s future expansion in von Klenze’s plan.<sup>22</sup> Although a rigid gridiron street pattern is not appropriate for that particular terrain, nevertheless Kaftanzoglou’s proposal was far-sighted and consistent in its radical approach. This strategy aimed not only at securing the hilly area to the south and the banks of the Ilissos as areas where no building was permitted, but also at achieving the abandonment of the entire old town in order to free the area for future excavations. His vision and the proposed *modus operandi* were ahead of his time. He is the first one to try to introduce the idea of a vast, centrally located archaeological park as the monumental nucleus of later town planning developments. Fig. 26 shows the only drawing of Kaftanzoglou’s concept discovered by the author in 1989.

A last —entirely hypothetical— layout for Athens has been elaborated for the purposes of the present study. It tries to picture a sound development (comparable to Kaftanzoglou’s proposal) which could have worked well if the location (not the basic pattern) of the initial Kleanthes-Schaubert plan had been shifted at that time.

In this retrospective Utopia, so to speak, the initial triangular town pattern is applied to a location south of the Ilissos river, in the plain, thus orienting the city towards the sea and leaving the entire central hilly area around the Akropolis free, as a monumental focal area of a centrally located unified archaeological park. The city could have evolved around this green nucleus, following the diagonally disposed main axes in the valleys (corridors) between the hills. Fig. 30 pictures a possible evolution of such a city around the beginning of the 20th century, with a total area of about 2000 ha and a population of about 200,000 inhabitants. In contrast to this hypothetical well-ordered situation, the actual state of affairs and the tentacle-like extensions of Athens at around 1920 may be seen in fig. 28.

Leaving this ideal concept of a development which never took place and also the last chances for the city of Athens, let us return to the actual situation at the end of the first decade of Athens’ life as a modern town (1843).

What were the advantages and the inherent deficiencies of the actual town-planning development with regard to the preservation of the ancient monuments and their integration in the fabric of the new town?

The first positive aspect is to be seen in the decision to develop the new city in the plain towards the north, leaving the entire area of the Akropolis south slope and the nearby western hills free of every type of building, thus creating the basic preconditions for the further development of the archaeological park in central Athens.

A second advantage is that perspective vistas leading from focal points of the new town to the monumental ensemble of the Akropolis were designed when the street pattern was laid out.

A third happy trend is the early development of the nucleus of an eastern green belt around the Royal Garden, the Olympieion and the Stadium, also affording magnificent views towards the Akropolis.

The later slow increase in population during the 19th century was also a favourable factor. The slow demographic development kept the hilly areas free from abrupt building pressures and allowed the timely reafforestation of the hills around 1900, which protected them from urbanization during the 20th century.





Fig. 28 Green spaces and street pattern of central Athens today. Sketchy plan at 1:30,000. (Plan by the author).

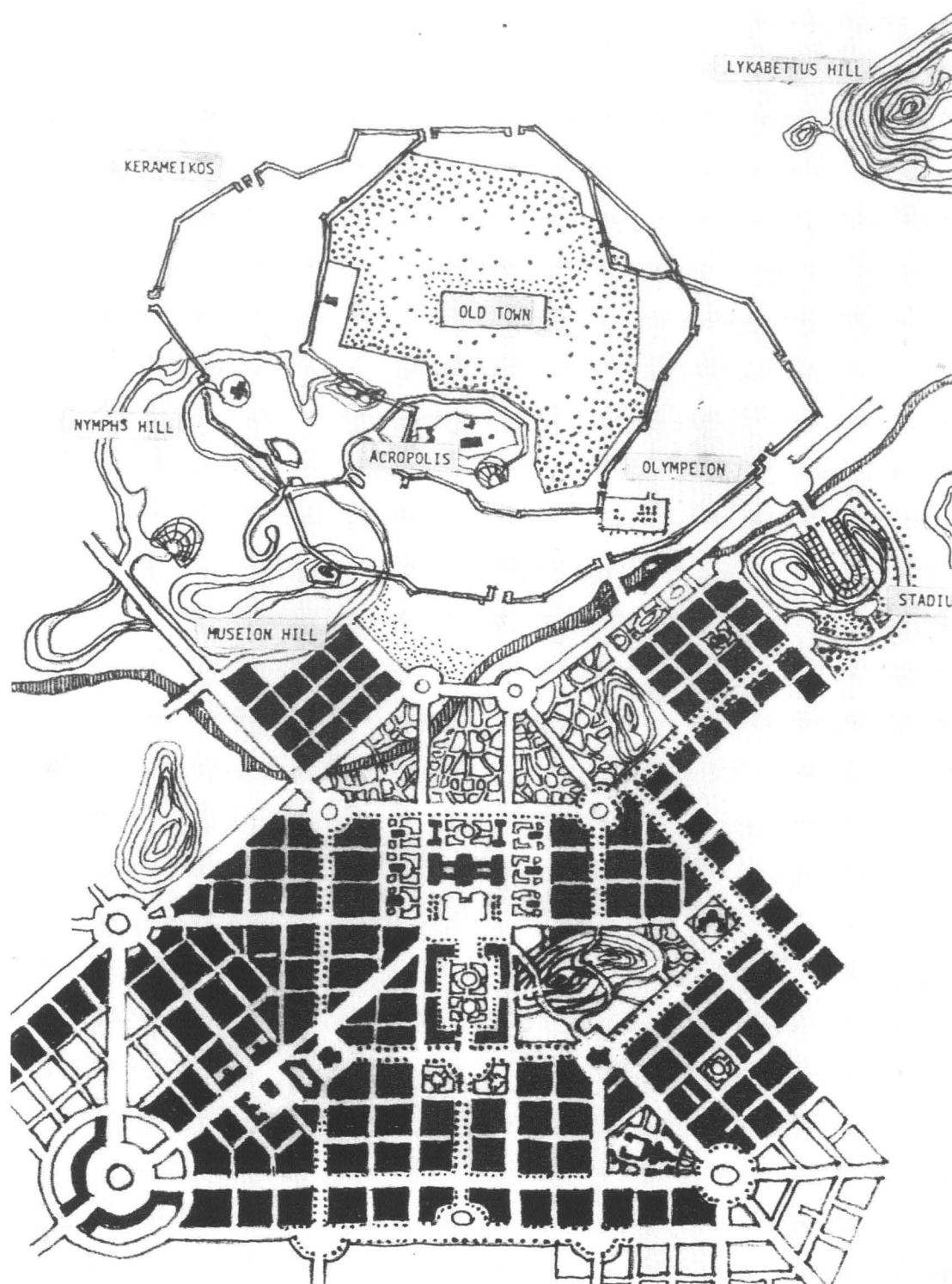


Fig. 29 A hypothetical alternative location, south of the Akropolis, for the initial Kleanthes-Schaubert city plan. Scale 1:30,000. (Plan by the author).

On the negative side the possibility of exploring the ancient city centre, the Agora and the so-called Roman Agora, on the Akropolis north slope was lost for a long time due to uncontrolled early rebuilding in the Plaka during the 19th century and excessive land speculation in Athens. The same holds true to a great extent for the Kerameikos area, the Academy and the Road to the Academy which are still up to the present time only partially uncovered.

The possibility of creating a continuous green belt (i.e. excavation area) around the Akropolis was also lost; this was to have been effected by eliminating the old town, a dream cherished up to the 1960s by many archaeologists and also laymen; in the meantime the attachment to this vision has faded away.

Thus in the course of the first decade of Athens' life in the new Greek state the basic preconditions for its later development were set by a happy combination of sound planning measures and spontaneous initiatives, even though there was not yet any recognition of the need for a large unified central cultural-historic area for the future metropolis.

Today, even though there are still many questions as to the street plan of ancient Athens and the locations of monuments known from the written sources there is a general consensus in favour of maintaining the living old town, the Plaka, both as a place to which the Athenians are emotionally attached and as a visual and functional transition from the modern city centre to the Akropolis area.

To round out this description of early town-planning schemes and how the ancient monuments were taken into account, it should be mentioned that the remains of the past were not invariably seen as a desirable challenge.

In the spring of 1833, Gutensohn, the court architect, was the first to argue in favour of locating the new capital in the Peiraeus, near Athens but at a distance from the historic site. He stressed the strategic and commercial advantages of a port town and pointed out that there would be considerable transportation costs for building material brought to Athens from abroad and that property was privately owned and expensive in Athens, while mostly state-owned in the Peiraeus.

Aside from these practical considerations Gutensohn thought that the ancient ruins of Athens would fit in much better with a royal country house surrounded by some villas of the well-to-do—to be built nearby—than with a modern city which would be a constant threat to them.<sup>23</sup> He accused the “learned fanatics” of wanting everything to be subordinated to blind adoration of antiquity and of being indifferent to the “regeneration” of Athens and its future destiny.<sup>24</sup>

In 1838 the French archaeologist Raoul Rochette sent a lengthy letter from Athens to M. de Pouqueville (formerly the French consul to Ali Pasha in Ioannina). In this letter Rochette, too, demonstrated a deep reserve towards the idea of mingling ancient remains with the town fabric of a modern city. Rochette believed that a unique chance had been lost forever, i.e. the complete

23 “Außerdem würde der Piraeus einen angenehmen Wechsel des Stadt-, See - und Land-Lebens darbieten, wenn Ihre K. Majestät in den Umgebungen Athens, sich einen schönen Landsitz bauen ließen, welchem schönen Beispiel andere bemittelte gerne folgen werden; welchen Reiz giebt dieser nicht der Stadt und den Umgebungen von Genua, Florenz, Neapel, Palermo, Marseille pp. Diese neue Anlagen würden, mit den Überresten des Alterthums eher harmonisieren, als eine neue Stadt mit ihren Pallästen, Bürgerhäusern, Kirchen u.s.w.” Letter written by J. G. Gutensohn to King Otto, dated Nauplia 14.4. 1833, (Greek State Archives, Athens).

24 “Der nahe Vergleich von dem alten und neuen Athen, wird sowohl in individueller, wie örtlicher Beziehung immer nachtheilig für das letztere sein, wie dies bei Rom und den Römern der Fall ist; eine andere Religion, andere Bedürfnisse und Lebensformen begünstigen die Künste nicht in dem Maße, wie im Alterthum, und entstünden auch je Werke der Art, so fehlt ihnen der Werth einer 2000-jährigen Dauer und Alters.

Nach dem Sinn und Willen jener gelehrten Fanatiker, sollte alles bloß in ein kontemplatives Staunen über die Denkmäler des Alterthums und ihre Gründer versinken, und in ein einziges Halleluja hierüber einstimmen; was die Regeneration, was der königliche Gründer entstehen läßt, wird in ihren Augen in Athen keine Beachtung finden, wie es denn auch wirklich ohne enorme Kosten nicht möglich ist, dorten etwas gediegen auszuführen (...)

Der Name und die großen Erinnerungen Athens verdienen gewiß alle Würdigung, doch müsste wohl dessen Erhebung zur Hauptstadt keine zu großen Opfer in Anspruch nehmen, und jede für den großen Zweck unwürdige Gewinnsucht beseitigt werden” Letter written by J. G. Gutensohn to King Otto, dated Nauplia 12.5.1833 (Greek State Archives, Athens).



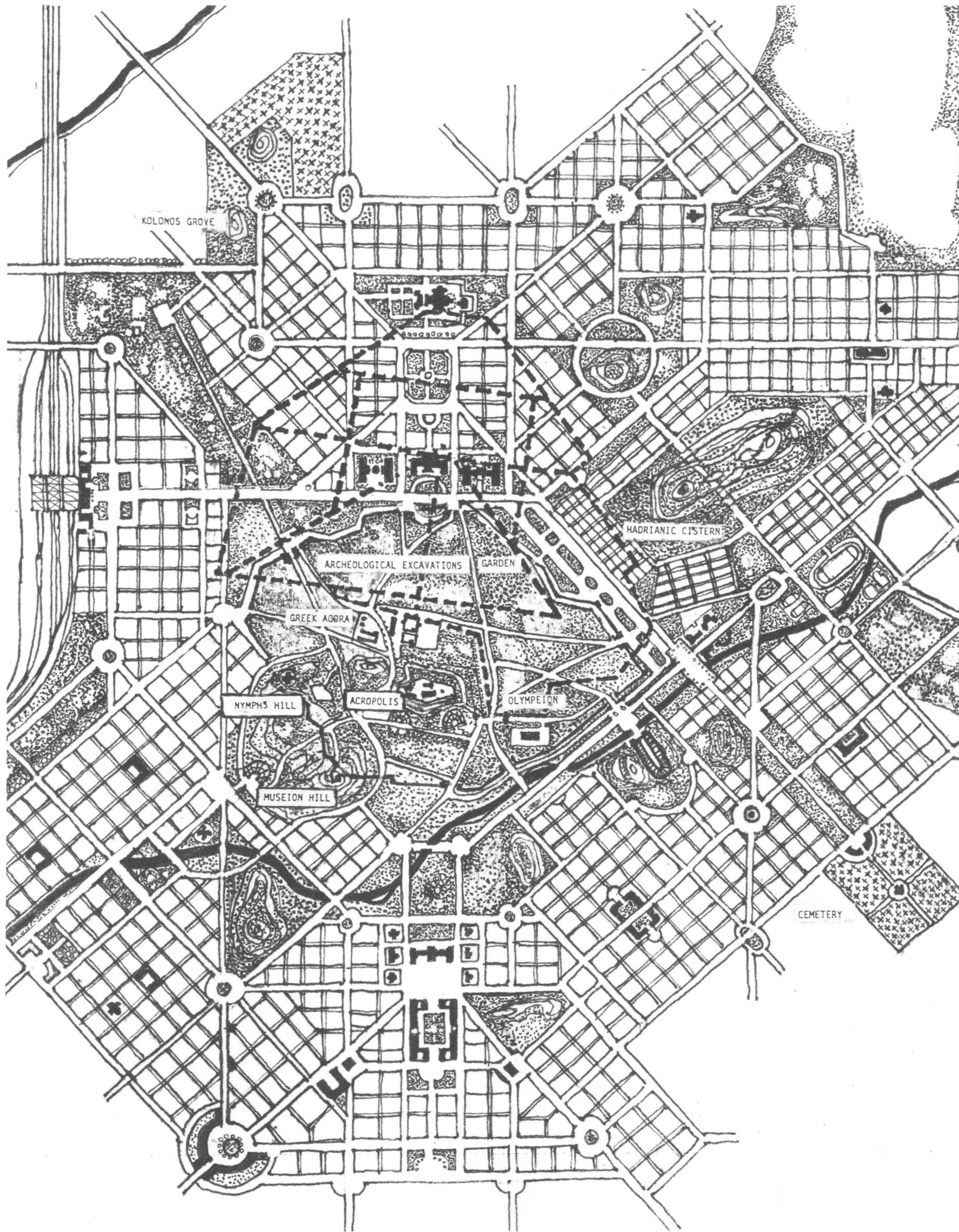


Fig. 30 Tentative sketch of a possible development of the Athens city plan by 1900, presupposing that the initial nucleus of the town had been located south of the Akropolis. Compare this orderly though differentiated town pattern with the present aimless state of affairs shown in fig. 28. (Plan by the author).



recovery of ancient Athens, and that building the new city on the historic site would in the future subject the ancient remains to even more destruction. Rochette also argued in favour of the Peiraeus location for the modern city stating that “Ancient Athens and New Athens, so close and yet so different from each other, would offer, on the same ground, under the same sky, a uniquely instructive sight”.<sup>25</sup>

In this context it is interesting to note that very early on there were arguments for strictly separating the new city from the ancient remains. The architect Gutensohn was mostly concerned for the future of the new town with the royal palace, whereas Rochette was saddened by the lost opportunity for general excavations, following the decision to build the new town in direct contact with the old site.

All of these critics, however, appear to have overlooked the fact that historic continuity could be demonstrated and the choice of Athens as the capital city justified only by having the remains of the ancient city directly facing the fabric of the new town. In any event the later expansion of Athens and the merging of Peiraeus, Athens and a great number of suburbs into a single agglomeration has proven that such a bifocal city would not have been viable (fig. 31).

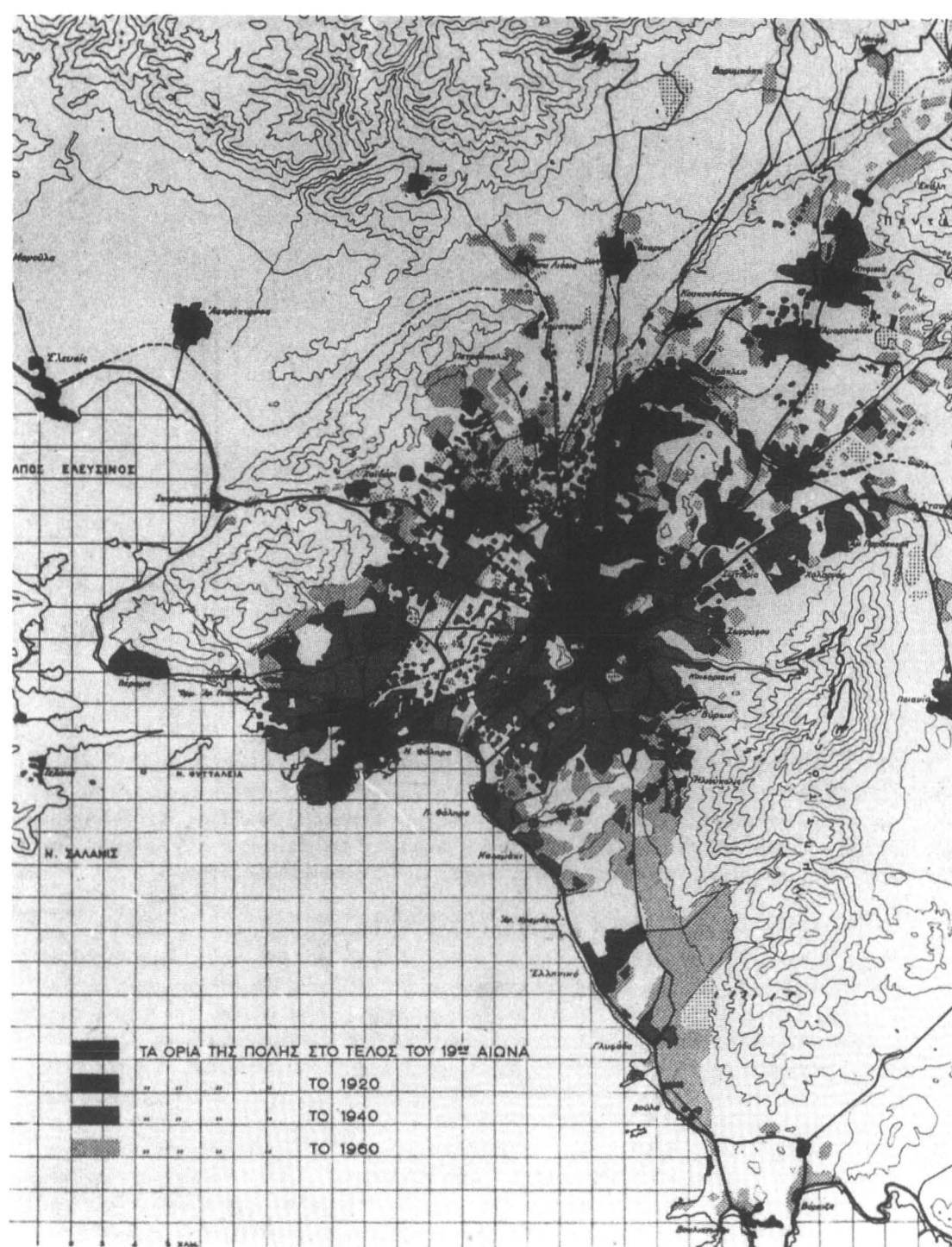


Fig. 31 Greater Athens with Peiraeus and the suburbs in 1960. Scale 1:280,000. (Doxiadis, 1960b).

25 Part of the letter is cited here as follows:

“Mais ce qui est pour moi un devoir et un besoin, c’est de proclamer aussi haut, aussi loin qu’il m’est possible, ce qui est ici dans la conscience de tout le monde; oui, il est trop vrai que ce fut une pensée fautive et funeste que celle qui plaça sur le site de l’antique Athènes le siège du nouveau royaume de la Grèce (...)

Partout on eût pu construire une capitale à une place célèbre et sur un sol libre; partout on eût pu asseoir un trône moderne sur des souvenirs de patriotisme et de gloire antiques, sans avoir à heurter des ruines ou à enfouir des édifices. Athènes seule possède encore des monuments qui n’appartiennent pas uniquement à la Grèce, mais à la civilisation tout entière, des monuments qui sont ce que le génie de l’homme produisit jamais de plus accompli qui forment le plus beau patrimoine de l’humanité. Par une merveille presque aussi rare que celle là, ces monuments sont ce que le temps et la barbarie même ont le plus respecté. Fallait-il donc adosser ce siège d’un nouvel empire à ces impérissables monuments, au risque d’élever des palais sur des ruines, ou de laisser enfouir des chefs d’œuvre pour épargner des bicoques? (...)

Vous conviendriez que le Pirée, avec ses trois ports, sans compter ceux de Munychie et du Phalère, qui s’ouvrent à la gauche, pour le commerce de la Grèce; avec la rade de Salamine, suffisante pour les escadres de l’Europe; avec cette belle et fertile plaine d’Attique, qui s’étend sur un espace de plus de trois lieues jusqu’au pied du Pentélique et de l’Hymette; enfin, avec cette chaîne de ravissantes collines qui forment, appuyées au Parnès, la ceinture de l’Attique du côté de la Mégaride et de la Béotie, offrirait, pour une ville où l’on voudrait faire revivre les destinées de la Grèce antique, à l’aide des ressources de l’Europe moderne, l’emplacement le plus favorable; tandis qu’à deux lieues de là, on eût conservé intact tout un trésor d’antiquités, qui eût été, pour l’homme éclairé de tous les pays et de tous les âges, un champ inépuisable de méditations et d’études. On eût donc du bâtir, pour nos goûts actuels, pour nos habitudes modernes, une ville toute nouvelle au Pirée, une ville où l’on eût trouvé les ressources et les jouissances de Naples et de Berlin, de Munich et de Paris; mais en même temps on eût exhumé la ville de Périclès et d’Euripide, pour montrer, dans le moindre fragment que en subsiste, ce qu’était la civilisation d’une autre Grèce et le génie d’une autre époque. L’ancienne et la nouvelle Athènes, si voisines et si dissemblables l’une de l’autre, auraient offert, sur le même terrain, sous le même ciel, le spectacle le plus intéressant et le plus instructif qu’il y eût au monde. Athènes antique eût conservé tout ce qui reste d’elle; Athènes nouvelle n’eût rien perdu de ce qu’elle peut produire, et les deux capitales de la Grèce, à vingt-cinq siècles de distance, se seraient trouvées rapprochées sous un même sceptre, sans que la ville d’Othon nuisit à celle de Périclès. Mais cette illusion d’une antiquaire, qui pouvait devenir la pensée d’un homme d’état, n’est plus qu’un rêve à jamais évanoui. Une occasion, peut-être unique dans l’histoire du genre humain, est perdue, irréparablement perdue. On ne découvrira pas l’antique Athènes; loin de là, on continuera d’abattre ou d’enfouir ce qui en reste” Letter written by Raoul Rochette to M. de Pouqueville in 1838.





Fig. 32 Model of Athens in 1842. General view from the north. Scale ca 1:10.000. (Museum of the Town of Athens).

## LATER SCHEMES AND INITIATIVES: THE GRADUAL CREATION OF THE CULTURAL-HISTORIC AREA OF ATHENS

Whereas a very clear formal and functional pattern had been planned for the new city of Athens, the building that was actually carried out was subject to vicissitudes hindering a correct implementation of the initial town-planning scheme. It would, therefore, be wrong to take it for granted that the idea of creating a unified cultural-historic area has been consistently pursued ever since. But, on the other hand, uncoordinated and gradually implemented planning initiatives and also happy coincidences did contribute, over a period of about 150 years, to the promotion and partial realization of this aim.

Two complementary basic trends have been the driving forces in the right direction. On the one hand the utopian aim of restoring ancient splendour, and on the other hand the ever-present longing for green spaces to relieve the rocky landscape of Athens. Both trends have an equivocal character. They represent genuine desires on the part of the Athenians who, however, were not ready to overcome their petty material interests in order to pursue these idealistic goals consistently. Thus the good cause has received quite a lot of lip service over a century and a half.

Some negative factors were inherently calamitous: Speculation on urban land and, as a corollary, extreme building densities; the lack of abundant water supply (until the 1950's!) and a low standard of education for the vast majority of the urban population. These are the main factors standing in the way of creating a cultural-historic area.

Other factors, however, played a positive role as catalysts: the gradual support for excavations and the large-scale expropriations carried out for this purpose (i.e. Pnyx, Kerameikos, Agora, Plato's Academy); the persistent desire on the part of the Greek sovereigns to develop a green zone next to the palace extending south as far as the Stadium and the Olympieion; the relatively early tree-planting on the historic hills (starting around 1890); and the existence of a large strip along the Ilissos river (occupied by military barracks in earlier times and gradually freed) have repeatedly stimulated the development of the Athenian cultural-historic area (fig. 35).

From the beginning the main thoroughfares of the modern city, i.e. Peiraioi st., Apostolou Pavlou st., Amalias Avenue and Olgas Avenue, have chopped up the entire cultural-historic area into separate parts. This disadvantage, inevitably arising from locating the new city centre to the north of the Akropolis, was not a serious threat to developing the cultural-recreational zone as a unit, as long as motorized traffic stayed within moderate bounds (i.e. until World War II). In the meantime these thoroughfares have completely lost their character as boulevards (for promenading) and are now major obstacles to be overcome in the future by introducing underground pedestrian passages.

The present appearance of the twelve sectors of the cultural-historic area is described in detail in Chapter Two. Related problems are discussed in Chapter Four. Yet in order fully to understand the present state of the cultural-historic area, some insight into the main phases of the historic development is required.

Thus the history of the gradual creation of the cultural-historic area is surveyed here, ending with the present (temporary) situation and focussing mainly on two complementary (although disparate) types of phenomena: planning initiatives which have been implemented and planning schemes and proposals which have not been carried out. Each has equal importance for the understanding of the ideological and social driving forces that conditioned the development of the inner city green belt.

This account is by no means exhaustive. It should rather be considered as a presentation of some critical developments. The various planning issues discussed here involve areas of different sizes; in one way or another these issues have been seminal to the further development of the Athenian cultural-historic area and cover a wide range of questions related to this planning procedure over a long period of time.



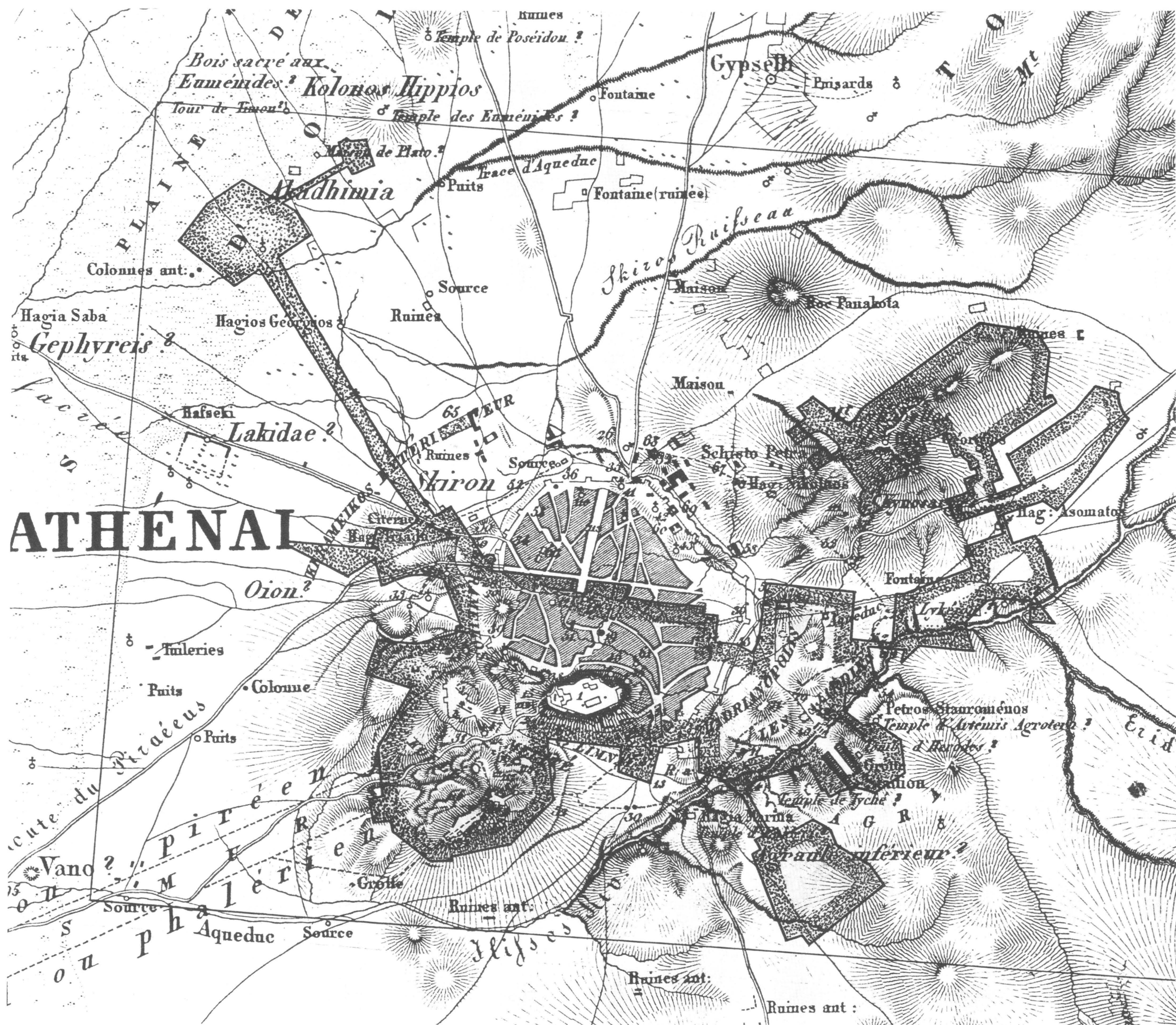


Fig. 33 The cultural-historic area of Athens superimposed on Adolf Sommer's plan of Athens in 1840. Scale ca 1:20,000. (Plan by A. Sommer with additions by the author).

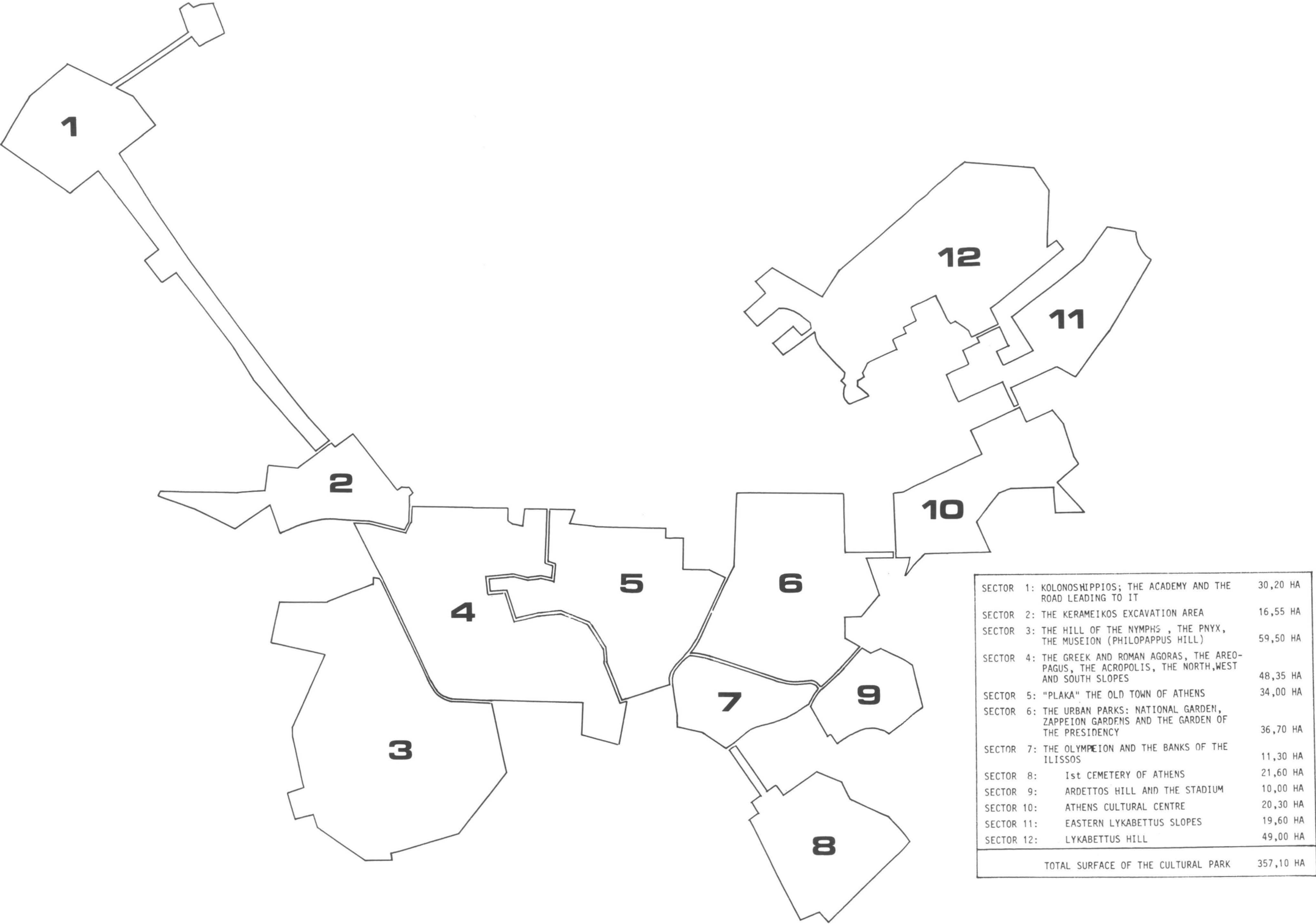


Fig. 34 The twelve sectors of the cultural-historic area of Athens. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).



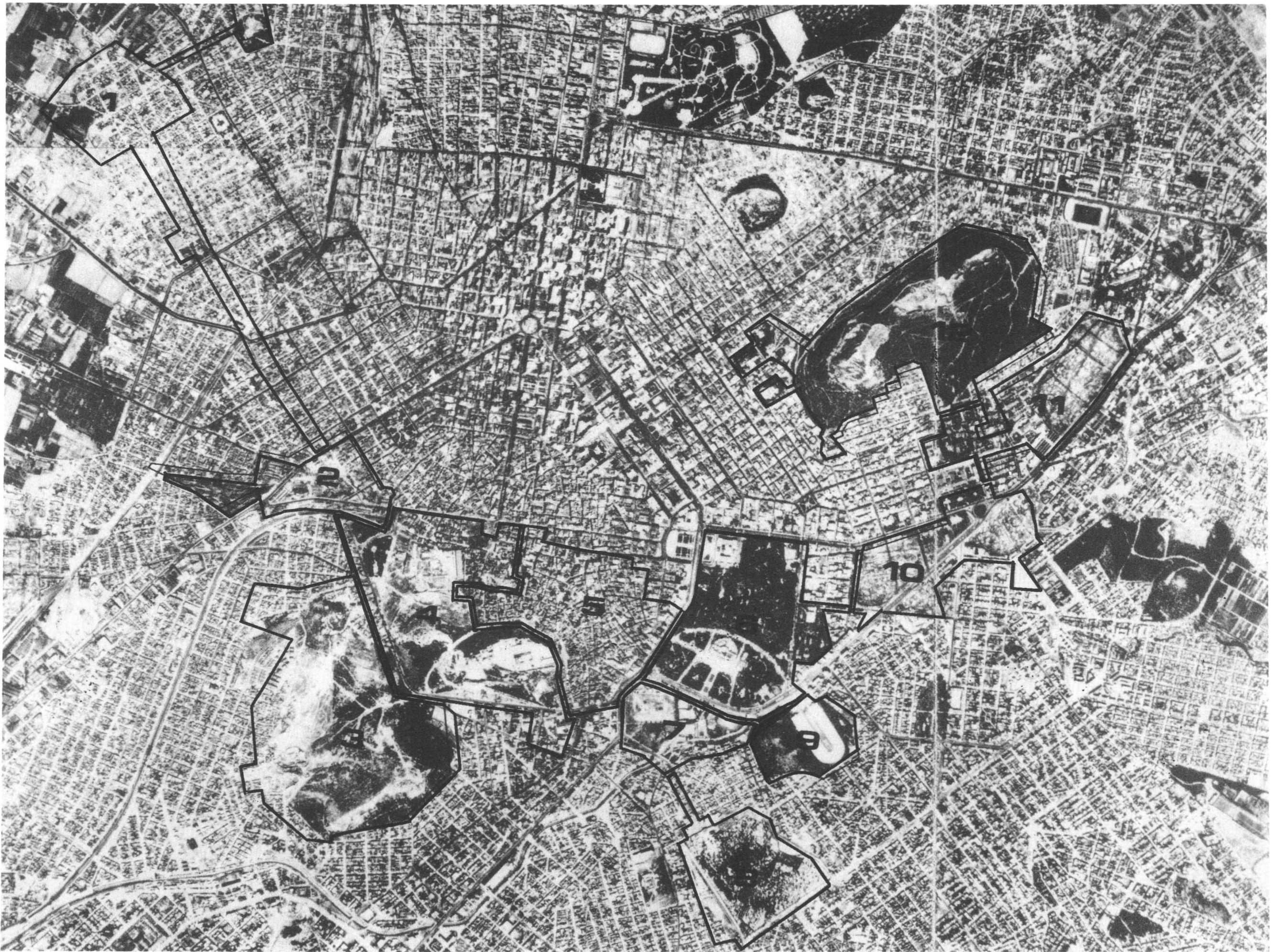
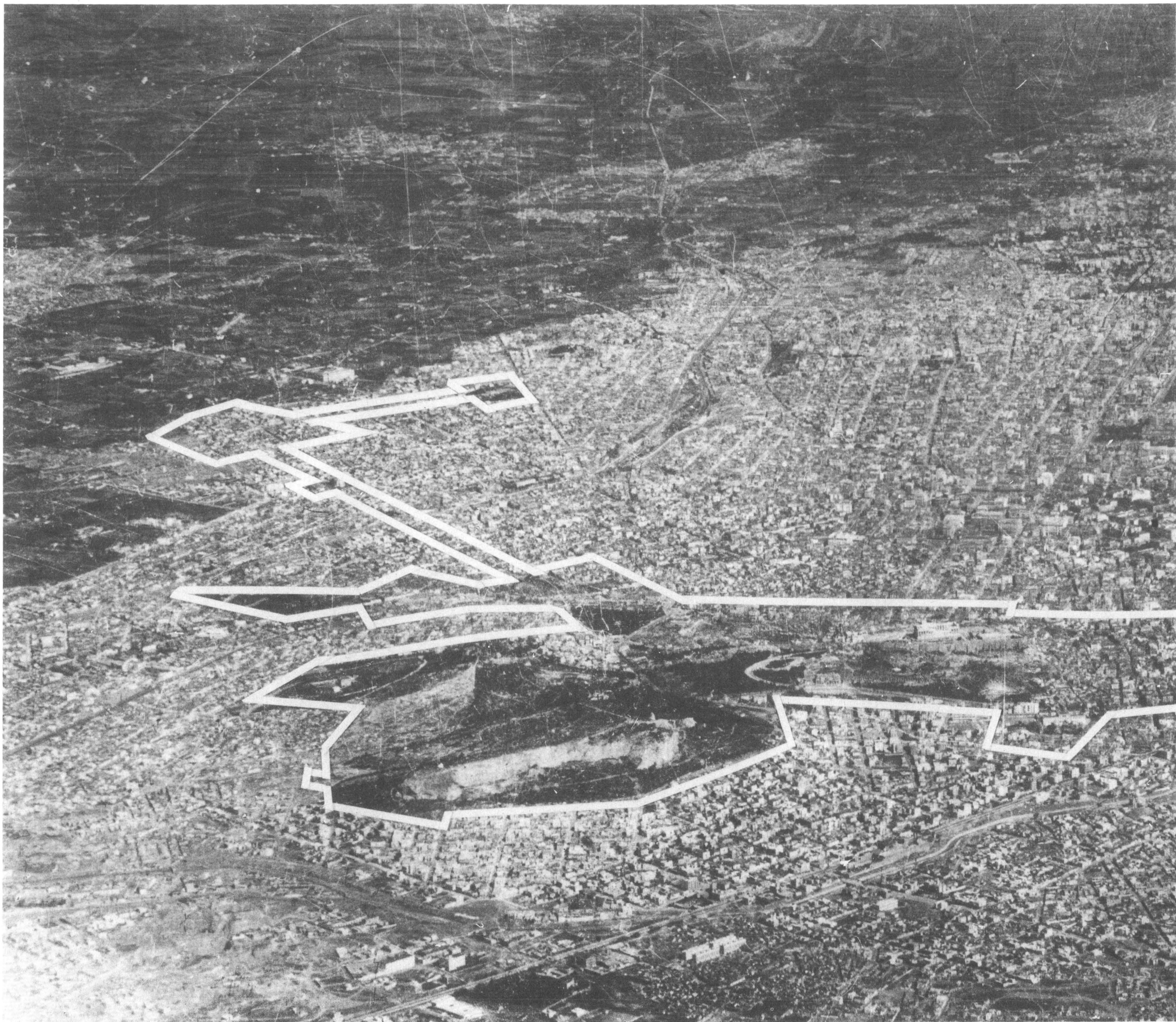


Fig. 35 Air view of central Athens on which the twelve sectors of the cultural-historic area have been outlined. Scale 1:20,000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).







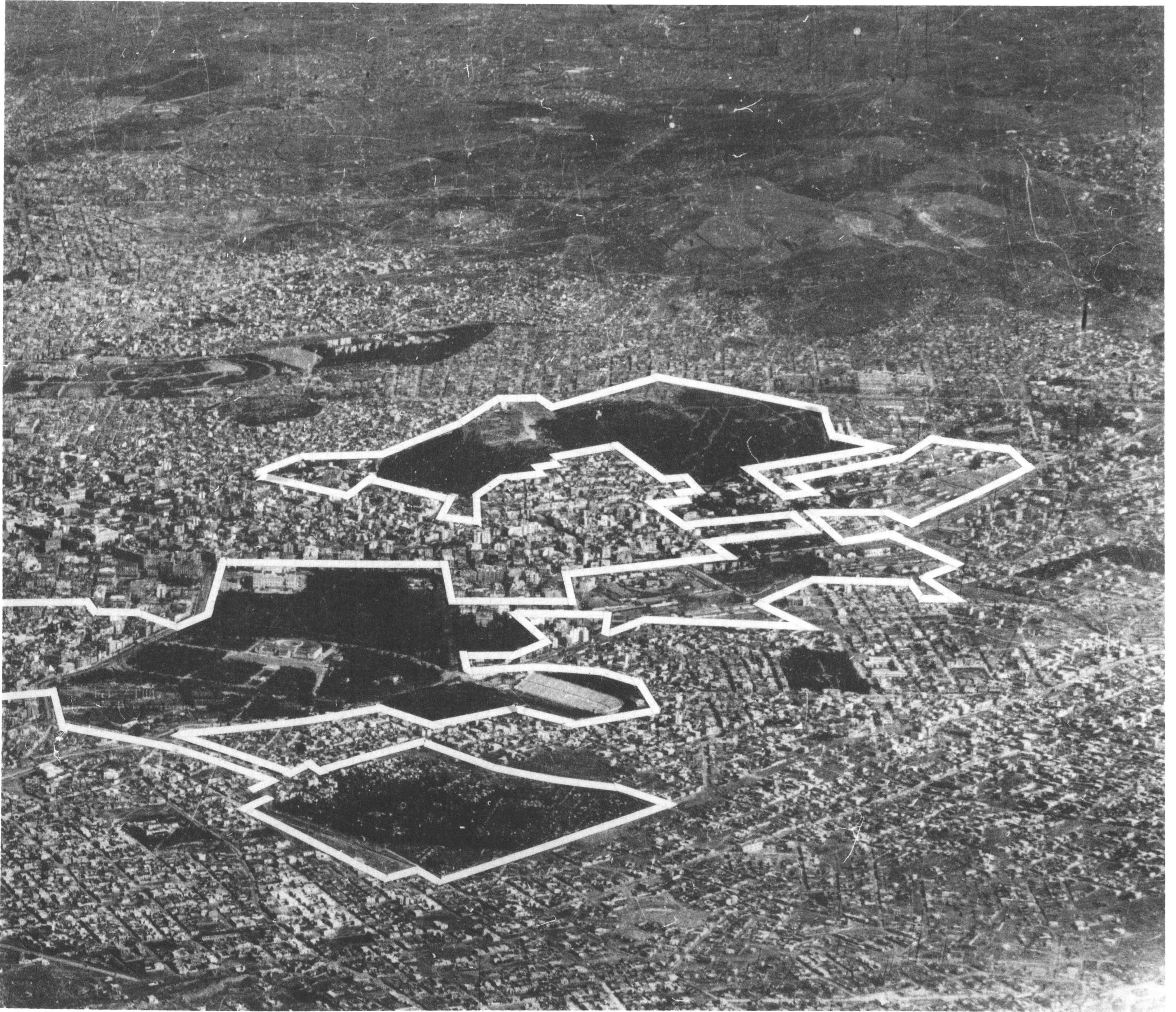


Fig. 36 Panoramic perspective air view taken south of central Athens in 1932. The cultural-historic area is outlined in white. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



## The National Observatory on the Hill of the Nymphs: an early intrusion on an archaeological site

In studying the planning concepts for Athens developed by Leo von Klenze it becomes obvious that the famous architect was torn by two conflicting impulses: a deep respect for the historical site demanding that it be kept free of modern architecture and his desire to make his mark with a creation of his own in the glorious setting. This latent but persistent ambition natural to architects has, in general, been kept under good control in Athens over the last 150 years. Apart from some controversial restorations of ancient buildings and some offensive architectural volumes (e.g. the Athens Hilton Hotel) on the periphery of the cultural-historic area, no other modern building has been put up on a prominent site in the vicinity of the Akropolis ensemble.

There is, however, an early exception, unique of its kind: the National Observatory built in the years 1842-1846 on the top of the Hill of the Nymphs.<sup>26</sup> The first site chosen for this building was the summit of Lykabettos, 277 m above sea level, the highest point in the central part of Athens. This was the site proposed by Lysandros Kaftantzoglou (for his memorandum, see Appendix A no. 13) and accepted by King Otto.

In 1842 the King commissioned Schaubert to work up a project for the building, financed by the Greek Maecenas, George Sinas from Vienna. Schaubert's project, a cross-like plan in mediaeval style, was not successful; he suggested, however, to the King that a more accessible site should be chosen for the Observatory, the Hill of the Nymphs. This site was finally chosen although the Bavarian Academy expressed strong reservations about a scheme disturbing the character of the archaeological zone.<sup>27</sup> Theophil Hansen (1813-1891) worked out the final plan for the observatory, using neoclassical vocabulary (figs. 37, 38); this was the first project executed by the young architect who later became the leading academic classicizing architect of public buildings in Athens and Vienna.<sup>28</sup> The relatively small size (25 × 17 m) of the cruciform building, the graceful dome (with its functional purpose) and the extreme simplicity of the repertoire of ancient forms lent the Observatory the serene character of an ancient hilltop temple. Although the Observatory stands on the site of an ancient shrine of the Nymphs and Demos (as attested by a rock-cut inscription near the entrance to the building) and is in the immediate vicinity of the Assembly Place of the Pnyx, it has been successfully incorporated into the landscape as a discreet crowning element that has never provoked criticism for being a visual offence to the site.<sup>29</sup> This early example of a satisfactory new classicizing building sited opposite to the Akropolis monuments could have played a decisive role in paving the way for further modern intrusions on the historic site. In fact, the bulky modern church of Haghia Marina built on the eastern slope of the hill in the 20th century was a further rather unhappy addition. In general, however, such intrusions have been rare exceptions, due to the purist conservationist approach unchallenged in Greece.

## The Royal Garden: an urban park *sui generis*

The various initial proposals for the layout and siting of the Royal Garden have already been discussed as alternative solutions linked to the basic town-planning options for Athens. None of the schemes was carried out. The present garden reached its final extent (about 16 ha) and layout after a development lasting about 25 years (1837-1862). It should be seen as the spontaneous creation of a strong personality, Queen Amalia, aided by expert advice, rather than the result of a preconceived landscaping scheme (which never existed). Today the Royal Garden is still an unsurpassed creation, a vision arising out of northern European traditions and transplanted to Athenian soil. All the later creations, such as the Zappeion Gardens, Theseion park, and Pedion Tou Areos park in northern Athens, lack the ingenious originality of the layout of the Royal Garden and the variety of its plants. They are formalist-geometric designs, characterized by pronounced symmetry and rigid axes, abortive miniature versions of French style parks in the

26 For the founding and design of the National Observatory, see H.H. Russack, 1942, 109-114; M. Plakidis, 1969.

27 See Uta Kron, *AM* 94 (1979) 64.

28 In the first publication of the building Theophil Hansen describes it as follows:

“Die Sternwarte wurde auf der geebneten Fläche oben auf dem Nymphenhügel genau nach dem Meridian orientiert. Der Aufbau zeigt auf hohem Quaderfundament vier eingeschossige kreuzförmig angeordnete Flügelbauten mit flachgeneigten Giebeldächern um einen kubischen Mittelbau, der eine kleine elegante Kuppel auf fensterlosem Tambour trägt. Alle Ecken, Sockel, Pilaster und Architrave sind von dem bläulichen Marmor des Berges Hymettos, Kapitäle aber, Gesimse, Akroterien, der ganze obere Rand, worauf die Kuppel ruht, die auf den Ecken als Schornsteine aufgestellten Vasen, die auf der Freitreppe vor dem Eingang aufgestellten, von dem bildhauer Siegel angefertigten zwei Kandelaber sowie endlich das Wappen des Stifters der Sternwarte sind von dem schönem weißen pentelischen Marmor hergestellt. Alles Bruchsteinmauerwerk des Gebäudes - aus dem Kalkstein des Nymphenhügels - ist mit Ausnahme der Sockel sowohl im Äußeren wie im Inneren mit Marmorstuck überzogen, der aus einem Teil Kalk und drei Teilen Marmorstaub zusammengesetzt wurde”. Theophil Hansen, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1846, 126-131.

29 The French archaeologist, Gustave Fougères, who spent many years in Athens, was one of the specialists attracted to the idea of a modern city coexisting with the sublime remains of antiquity. Thus he states in his description of Athens:

“Cette renaissance rapide n’a rien d’injurieux pour le passé. Si les amateurs d’archéologie funèbre peuvent regretter que le Parthénon ne règne plus sur une solitude mélancolique, les philhellènes aiment à retrouver l’hellenisme fidèle à ses traditions de vie expansive. L’antiquité à Athènes n’est pas un narcotique, comme à Karnak et à Paestum, ni, comme à Sienne ou à Florence, un decor théâtral ou l’homme d’aujourd’hui promène une âme de figurant. On ne respire pas à Athènes, l’atmosphère léthargique des villes mortes; on n’y est pas non plus choqué par la discordance des ruines avec les réalités actuelles. Passé et présent s’y composent des survivances de l’antiquité; celles-ci aident l’observateur attentif à mieux comprendre les choses d’autrefois et l’inclinent à la bienveillance pour celles d’aujourd’hui (...)

Il faut donc aborder Athènes avec un enthousiasme nécessaire, mais non pas exclusif. Le culte de l’antiquité doit savoir ici s’accomoder de ce qui, au premier contact, semble fait pour l’irriter. Tout n’est pas beau dans le neuf, mais ce serait faire preuve d’une intransigeance pédantesque que de lui dénier le droit à la vie. L’Athènes moderne a bien son charme, ne serait-ce que celui d’avoir su ressusciter en gaieté, et d’apparaître aimable et blanche comme il convenait à la cité de Phidias.” G. Fougères, 1914, 163-164.



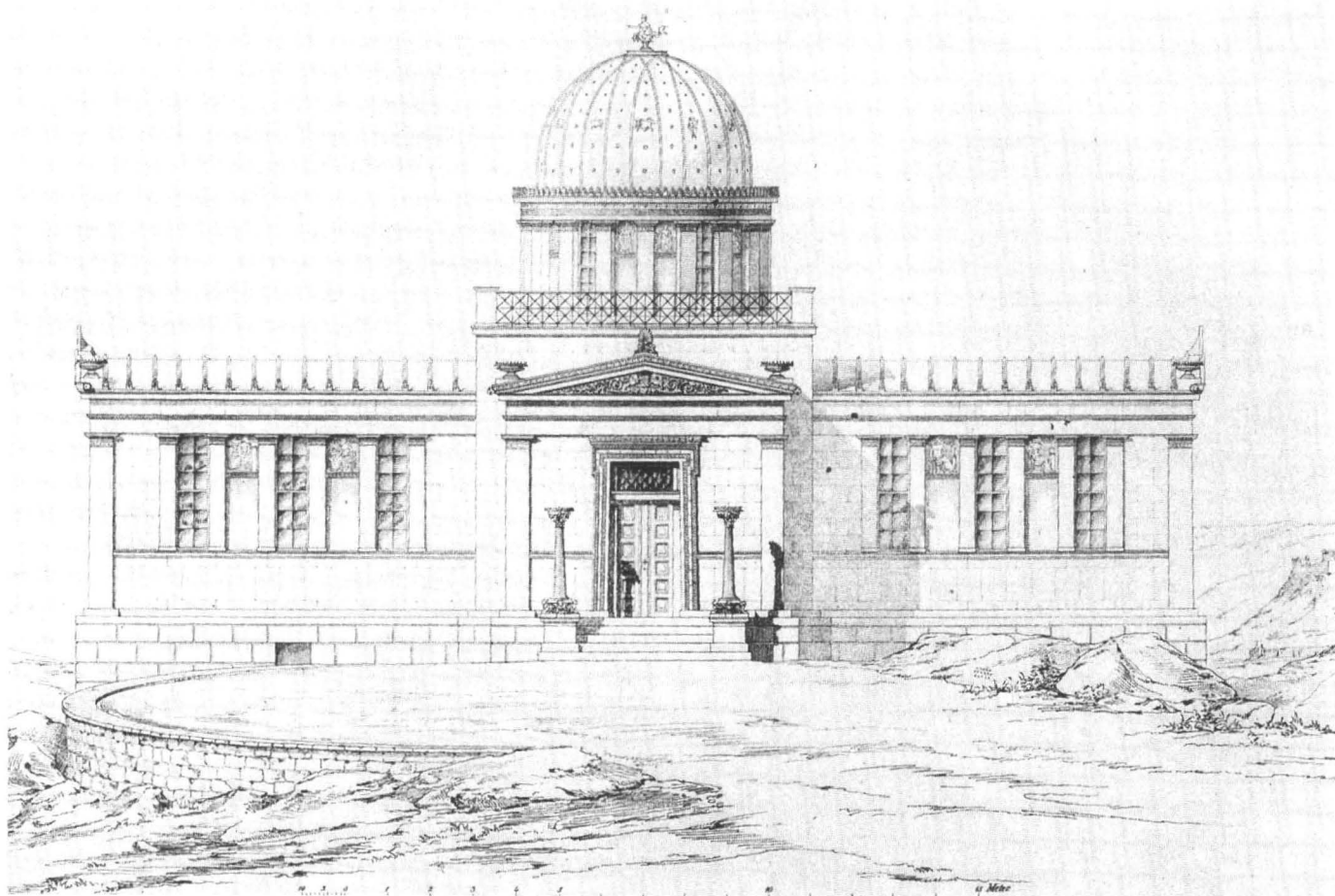


Fig. 37 The Observatory on the Hill of the Nymphs; main façade. Scale ca 1:250. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1846).

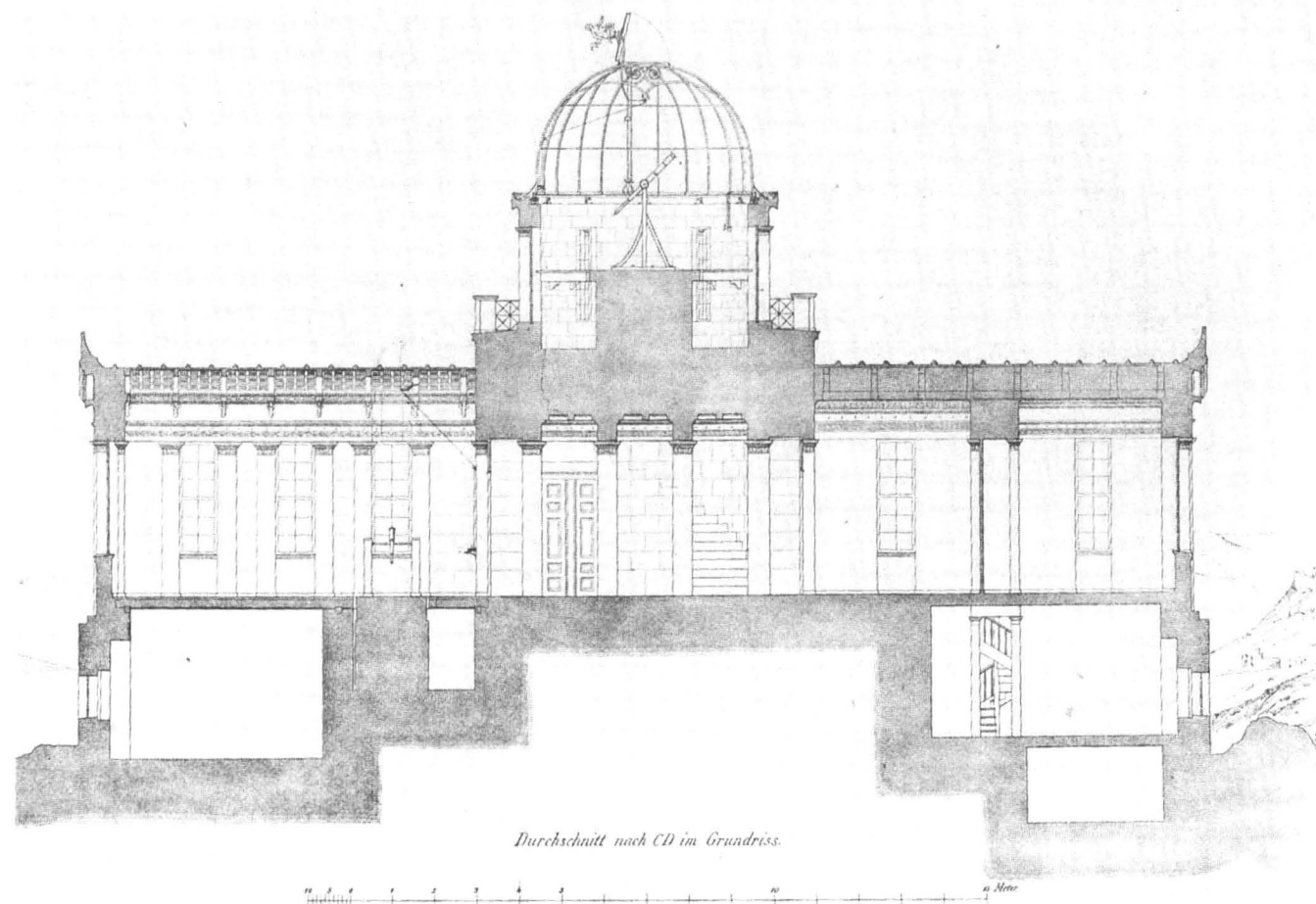


Fig. 38 The Observatory; longitudinal section. Scale ca 1:250. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1846).



Fig. 39 Contour map of the Hill of the Nymphs, the Pnyx and the Areopagus in 1860. Scale ca 1:6000. (Plan by Burnouf and Tuckermann).



Fig. 40 The Pnyx (at the left) and the Hill of the Nymphs with the Observatory around 1890. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 41 The Royal Garden, the Zappeion Exhibition Hall and the Zappeion Gardens around 1896. In back of the Zappeion, the huge rotunda of the Athens Panorama Building (demolished later). At upper right, the reconstruction of the Stadium in progress. Foreground, the eastern section of the Plaka, the old town. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 42 Children playing in the idyllic setting of the Royal Garden around the turn of the century. (Benaki Museum, Athens).



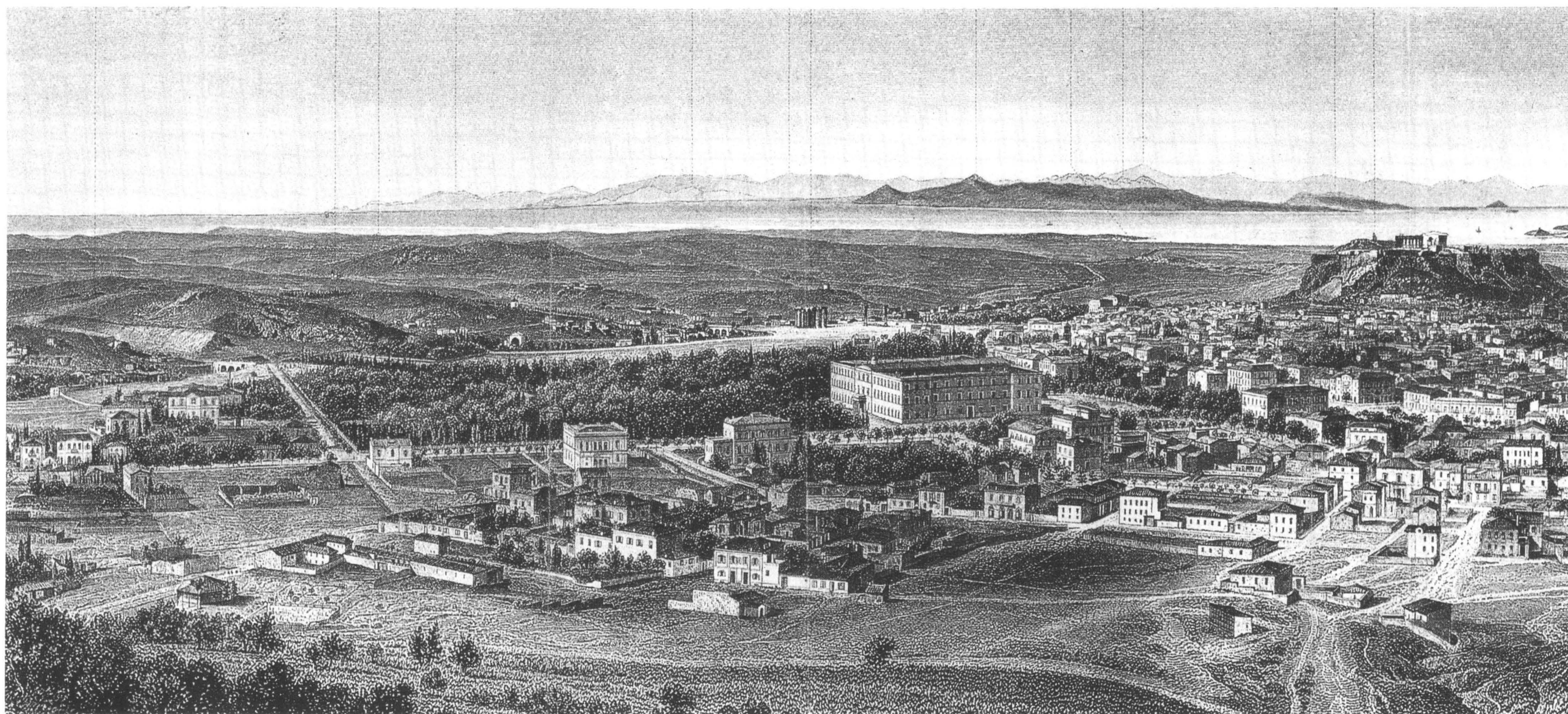


Fig. 43 Panorama showing the Royal Palace and the Royal Garden. Detail of the great panorama published in Baedeker's *Griechenland* (1908).





Fig. 44 The Royal Garden on Altenhoven's plan (1837).

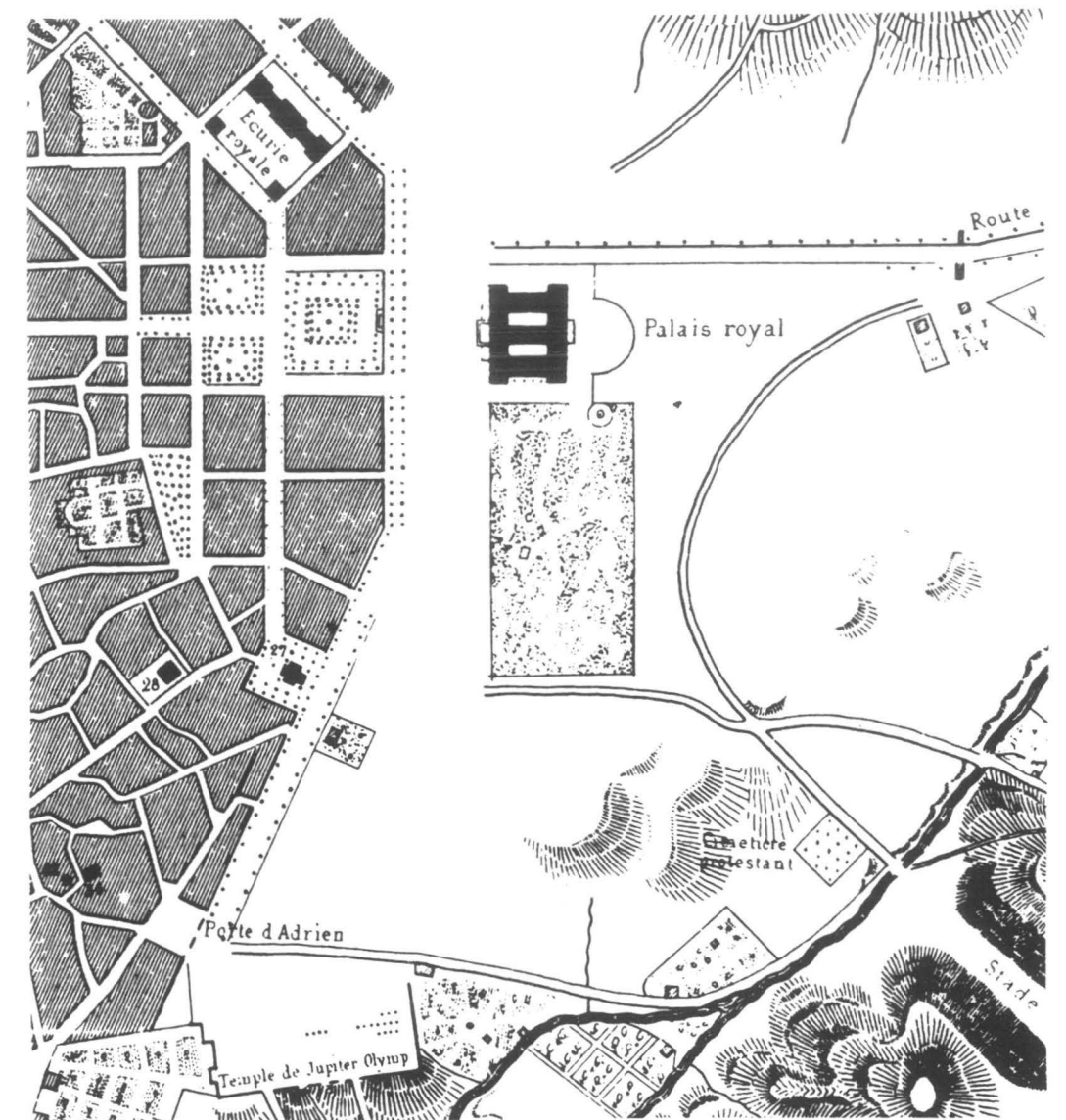


Fig. 45 The Royal Garden on Chenavard's plan (1843).

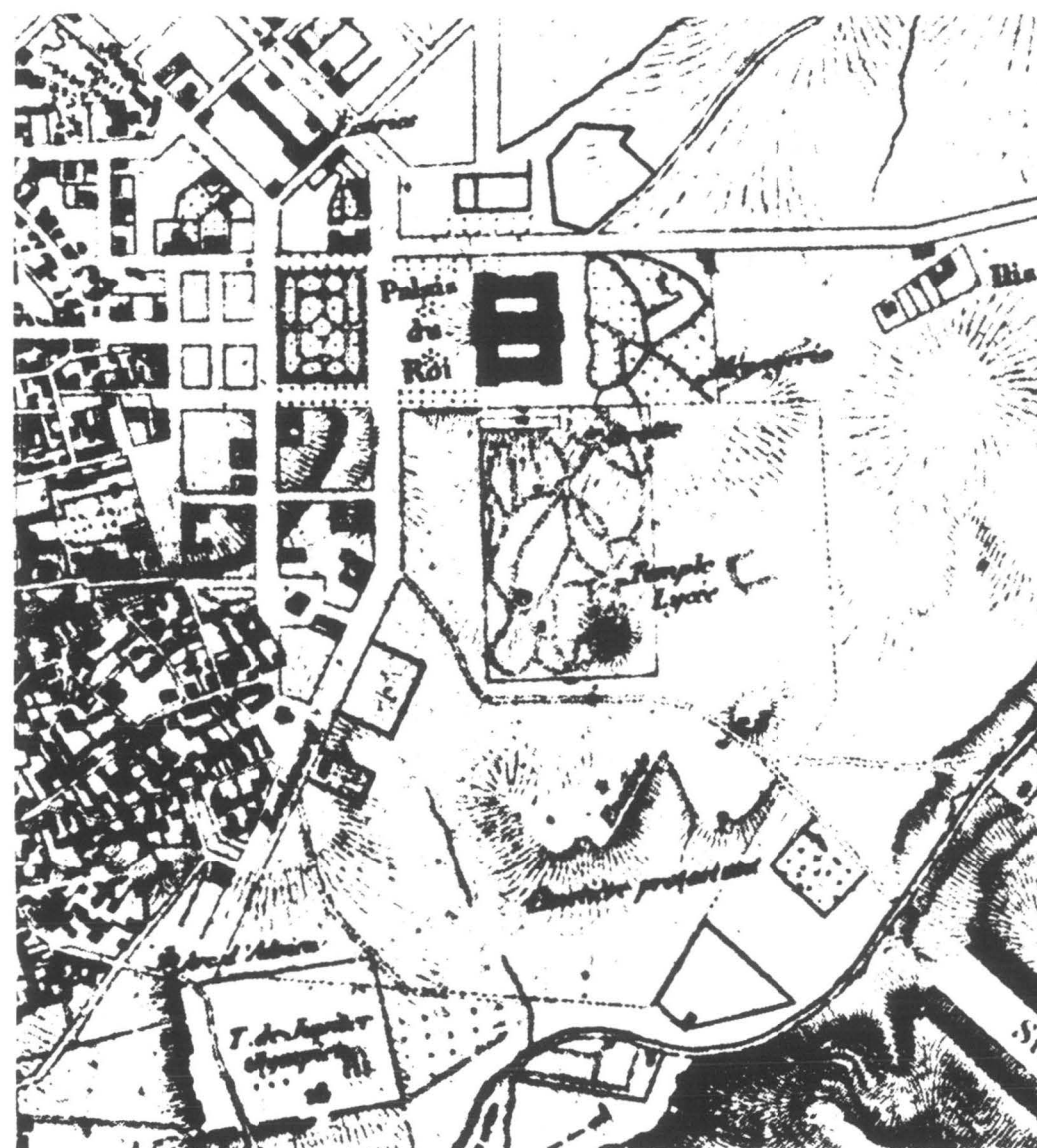


Fig. 46 The Royal Garden in the plan published in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1846).



Fig. 47 The Royal Garden on the plan made by the town-planning commission (1847).





Fig. 48 The Royal Garden on the plan of the Dépôt de la Guerre (1854).

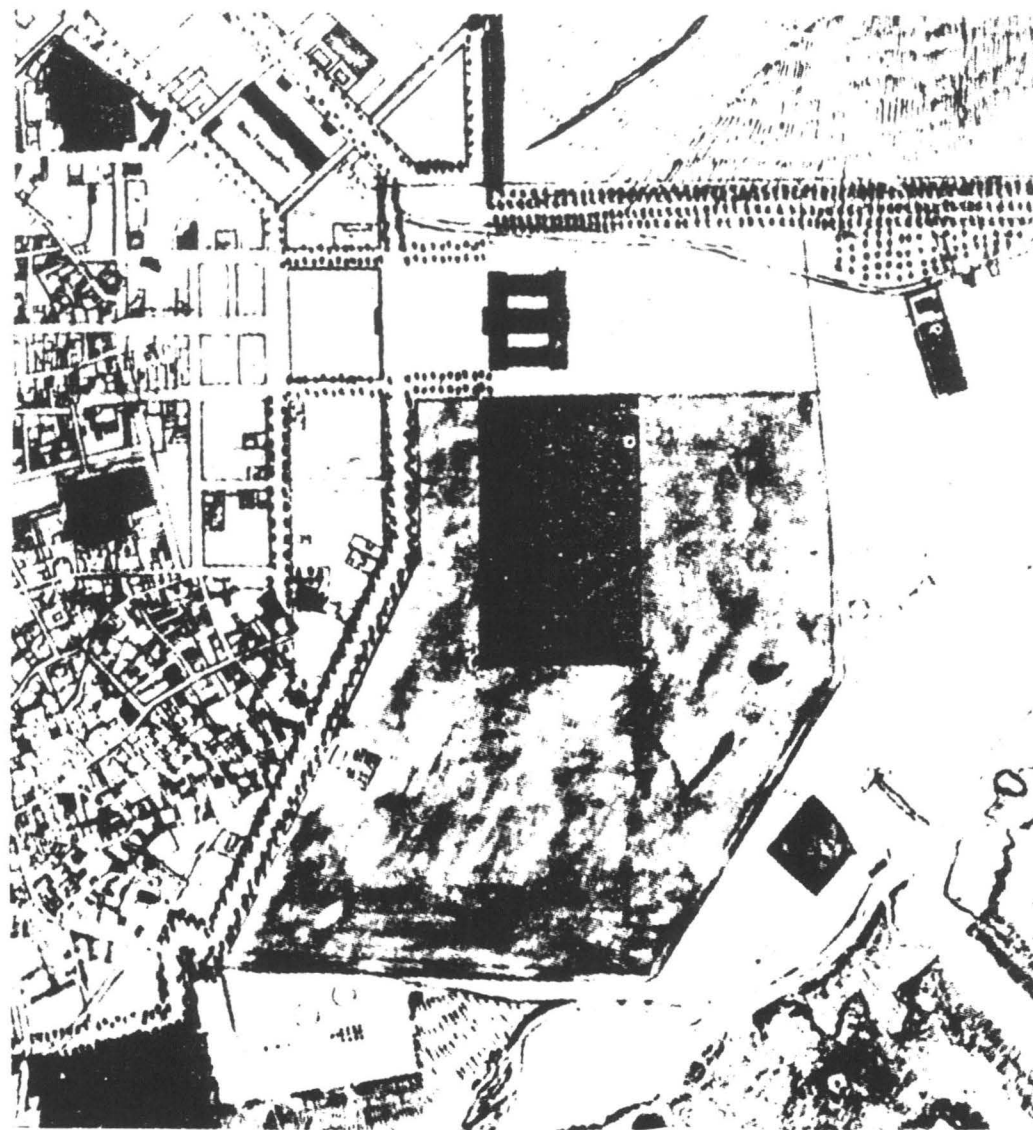


Fig. 49 The Royal Garden on Stranz's plan (1862).



Fig. 50 The Royal Garden on Curtius and Kaupert's plan (1876).

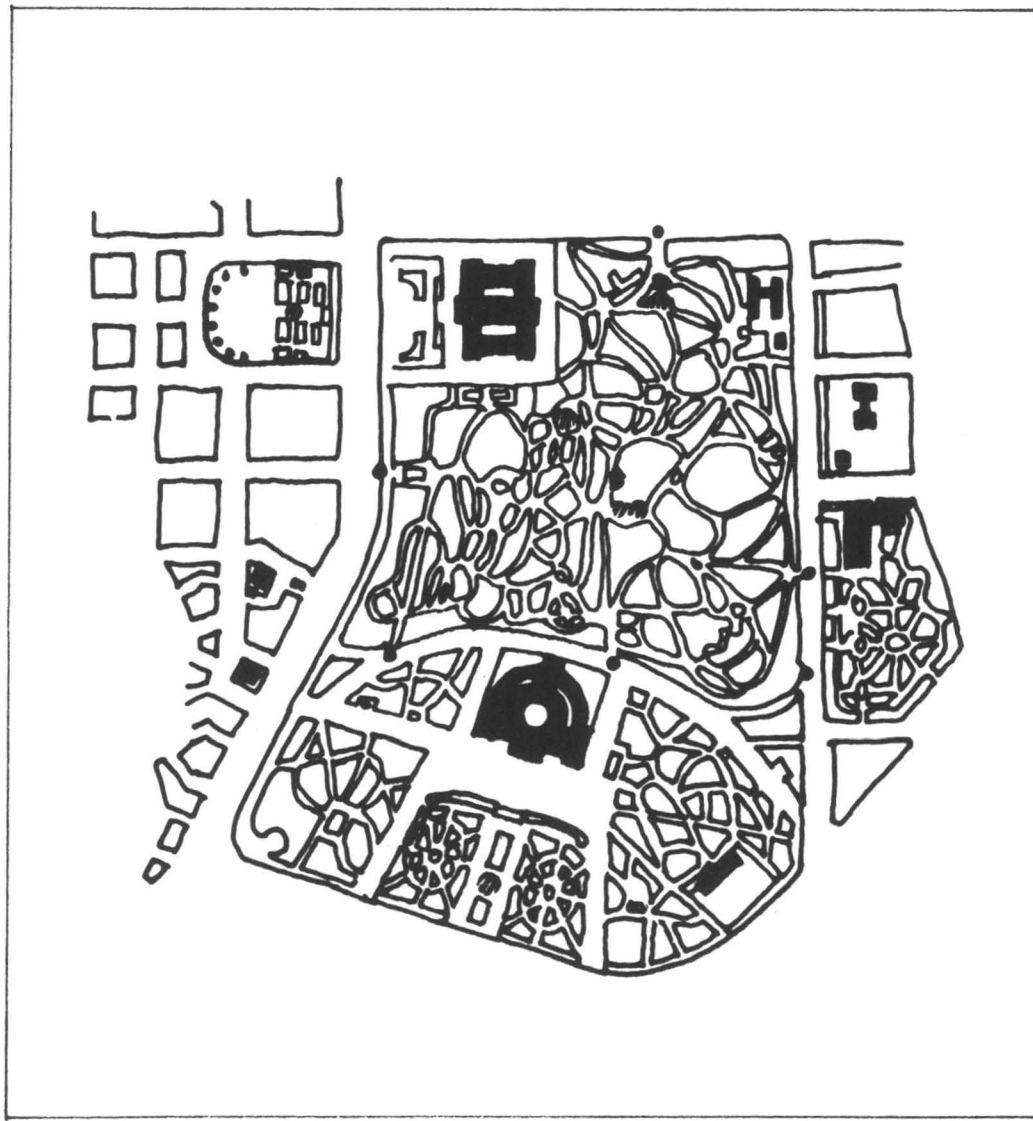


Fig. 51 The layout of the National Garden (formerly Royal Garden) today. (Plan by the author).

Fig. 44-51 The development of the plan of the Royal Garden, documented on eight consecutive city plans. Scale 1:10,000.



- 30 Edmond About, the French archaeologist, gives us an ironical description of the Royal Garden as early as 1854:

“S’il y a quelque chose à envier dans la petite royauté de Grèce, c’est la possession de ce grand jardin. Je dis grand par l’étendue, et non par le plan: c’est un jardin anglais, plein d’allées tournantes, sans une avenue de grands arbres. Un jardinier du temps Louis XIV en serait scandalisé et s’écrierait que la majesté royale se compromet dans les allées de cette sorte. N’en déplaise au bon Le Nôtre, le jardin de la reine et une jolie chose, et M. Bareaud, qui l’a créée, un habile homme”. E. About, 1855, 133-134.

- 31 In 1881 another Frenchman, Henri Belle, gave an enthusiastic description of the garden that still holds good today:

“Et pourtant, quel endroit plus favorable pour cheminer doucement et agréablement que ce jardin, merveilleuse conquête sur l’aridité de l’Attique.

Ce fut, on le sait, une création de la reine Amélie. On la voyait circuler sans cesse, à cheval ou dans une légère voiture attelé de deux poneys qu’elle menait elle-même, surveillant les ouvriers, donnant des ordres aux jardiniers. Vingt fois le terrible vent du nord bouleversa les plantations, renversa les arbres. Mais dès que les racines reconstrurent une couche plus fraîche, ils grandirent; ils sont devenus superbes. Par le soleil le plus intense, on peut se promener partout à l’ombre. Des milliers de rosiers grimpants, couverts de fleurs, s’élancent jusque dans les hautes branches des arbres rares. Une fraîcheur délicate s’élève de la terre constamment humide, grâce aux canaux d’arrosage qui sillonnent le parc. Des parterres de fleurs, d’un coloris puissant, s’abritent sous les bouquets d’orangers.

A force d’eau, on parvient à garder vertes quelques pelouses au-dessus desquelles des dattiers balancent leur longues palmes (...)

A travers le feuillage, on aperçoit, éblouissante de lumière, la blanche et élégante colonnade de marbre du palais, qui n’a pas sur cette façade l’aspect de prison qu’on lui a donné du côté de la ville. La loi des contrastes donne un charme indicible à cette oasis. Dans ce pays desséché, on entend le murmure des ruisseaux, on respire un air rafraîchi et embaumé; dans ce pays aride et dénudé, les yeux peuvent se reposer sur des massifs de verdure. Là on peut s’étendre à l’ombre quand, à dix lieues à la ronde, on ne rencontrerait pas un abri contre un soleil qui tue. Il faut vraiment bien peu de goût, ou un grand besoin d’ostentation, pour préférer au Jardin royal la route Patissia et les rues de la ville”. H. Belle, 1881.

- 32 The difficulties connected with irrigating the garden during the 19th century are well known. E. About records that Queen Amalia diverted part of the public water supply in order to water the garden, thus depriving the Athenians of a large portion of their scarce water supply:

“La reine a un petit bois d’orangers qui sont des arbres et non des joujoux. Elle a des palmiers plus grands que ceux du jardin des Plantes, qui poussent au milieu d’une pelouse verte. Ce qui coûte le plus cher, c’est la pelouse, ce ne sont pas les palmiers. On ne saura jamais ce qu’il faut de soins, de travaux et d’eau fraîche pour entretenir un gazon dans Athènes au mois de juillet. C’est un luxe vraiment royal. Pour arroser ses herbages, la reine a confisqué un certain nombre d’aqueducs qui s’en allaient tout bourgeoisement porter l’eau à la ville et donner à boire aux citoyens. Sa Majesté les a pris à son service. Les Athéniens s’en trouvent mal, mais le gazon s’en trouve bien”. E. About, 1855, 135.

- 33 “Sans doute il eût peut-être été mieux de laisser le terrain comme il était, nu, inculte, brûlé et herissé cà et là de quelques plantes sauvages. Théophile Gautier s’indignait qu’on eût semé des légumes dans un endroit si pittoresque, et gâté de si beaux rochers. Mais la reine voulait amasser autour d’elle des ombrages, des parfums, des couleurs, des chants d’oiseau: on lui a donné ce qu’elle demandait”. E. About, 1855, 134.

- 34 E. About recorded that the maintenance of the garden costed 50,000 drachmas (= 2000 gold sovereigns) a year and that these expenses amounted to 1/20 of the royal budget.

“La reine a, sans comparaison, le plus beau jardin du royaume. On y dépense, bon an mal an, cinquante mille drachmes, un vingtième de la liste civile”. E. About, 1855, 133.

absolutist era. The Royal Garden occupies a nearly rectangular area between the palace and the Olympieion. From the beginning it was conceived as an urban park *sui generis*, a freely designed miniature landscape garden, densely planted with a variety of plants from both northern and southern Europe, giving it something of the character of an arboretum.<sup>30</sup>

The rich flora is arranged according to the English style, adapted to the warm climate by an ingenious scheme of densely planted sections, thus creating an agreeable microclimate in the midst of the dry city. Residents and visitors find coolness and relaxation throughout the daytime in the maze of paths, the evergreen alleys, clusters of shrubs, green lawns and flower beds, small artificial lakes and fountains, shady arbours and comfortable benches.<sup>31</sup>

By comparison with urban parks in other European capitals, the Royal Garden (now the National Garden) is relatively small (about 400 × 450 m) but it is truly a delightful microcosm, due to its compactness and seclusion. Today the whole park is irrigated by means of a network of open channels, guiding the water in a complex system of compartments which can be watered as required. This ingenious design made it possible to develop Athenian parks on flat ground fairly quickly.<sup>32</sup> In 1837 the Royal Garden Committee, under the chairmanship of Nikolaus Fraas, Professor of Botany, began acquiring different types of plants from the Botanikos tree nursery and other parts of the country, especially Euboea. The garden was additionally enriched with plants from foreign countries. In 1839 15,000 ornamental trees were imported from Genoa; from that time on the garden was more systematically laid out, planted and developed under the direction of the Queen and the French landscape architect, Bareaud. During the excavations of 1839, fragments of statuary and inscriptions turned up and also foundations probably belonging to one or more Roman villas.

After the king and queen had moved into the palace, in 1843, and the garden had been enlarged, Amalia employed other specialists in horticulture and arboriculture, such as Friedrich Schmidt, a horticulturalist from Dessau in Prussia and Matthaeus Bayer, a German arboriculturalist. We owe this exemplary enterprise to Queen Amalia’s tenacity, by means of which the new town was provided with public amenities and aesthetic pleasures hitherto unknown in those latitudes. There was not, however, immediate unanimous acceptance of central European urban landscaping schemes applied to Athenian terrain. The controversy about the extent to which ‘greenery’ should be introduced into the Athenian setting is still alive today. Edmond About mentions that Theophile Gautier was indignant at greeneries planted on such a picturesque site, hiding the rock formations.<sup>33</sup>

The land for the Royal Garden (and the adjacent Zappeion Gardens), bought gradually from 1836 to 1859, extends from Vasilissis Sophias Avenue down to the Arch of Hadrian and from there to the ancient Stadium in the east. The first owners were the municipality of Athens, the Petrakis monastery and more than thirty private owners. The expense for planting and maintenance was met by the Royal Fund<sup>34</sup>, and the land itself was largely purchased with public funds. The plans shown on figures 44 to 51 document successive phases of the Royal/National Garden from 1837 to the present.

In spite of all the controversies about the desirability of imposing ‘western’ landscape designs on classical soil, the fact remains that the green nucleus of what would later become the eastern half of the historic area of Athens was established by the first sovereigns of Greece who saw to it that the royal garden was planted and that the adjacent land as far south as the Olympieion was safeguarded by leaving it unbuilt for a later extension of the park (fig. 52, 53).

## Excavating and rebuilding the Panathenaic Stadium: the largest restoration project on classical ground

In 1832 when Kleanthes and Schaubert planned the new city of Athens, the Stadium was still unexcavated and nothing of it could be seen although the site had been identified in the gully







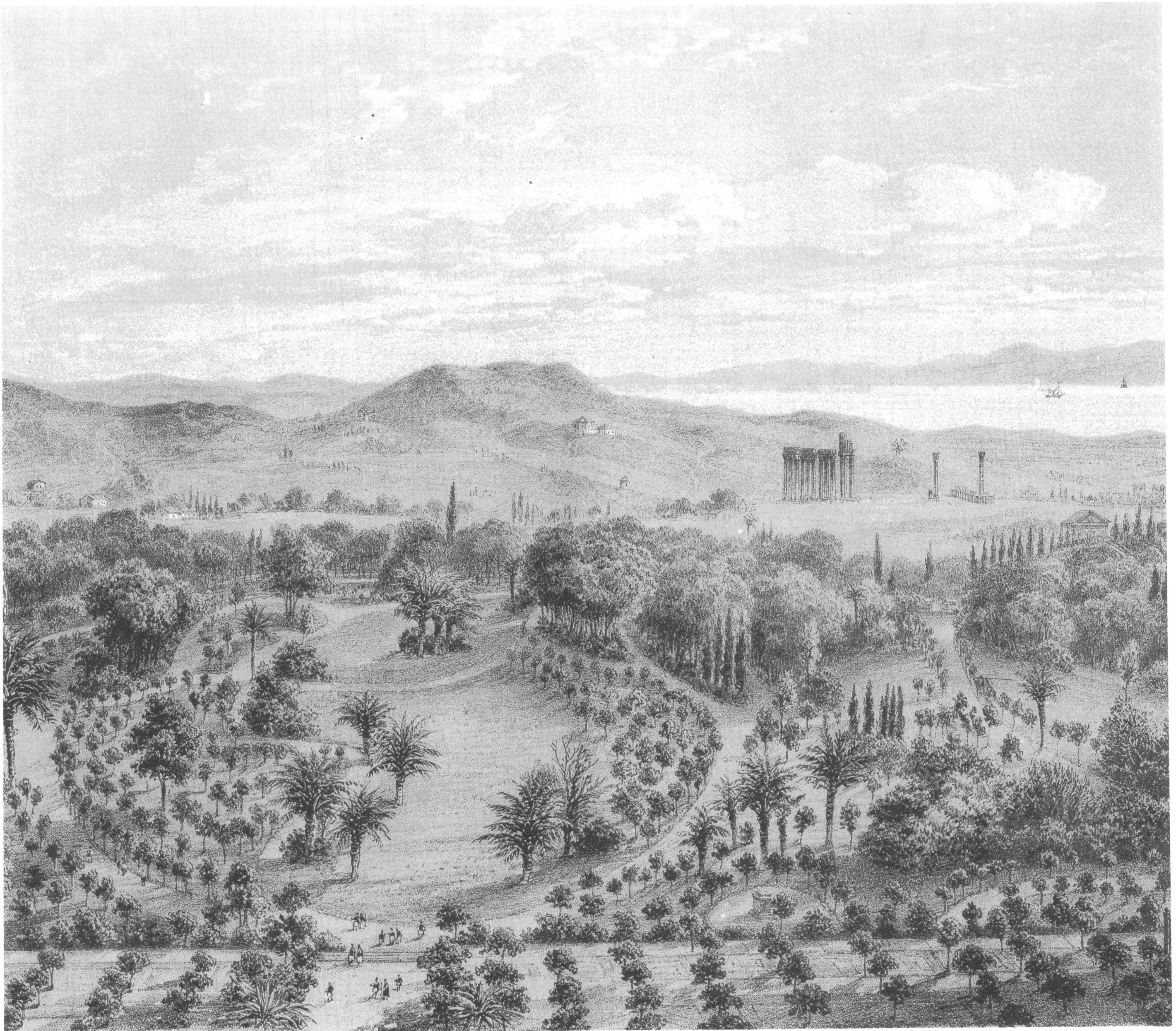


Fig. 53 The Royal Garden around 1860, as seen from the Royal Palace. (Vretos, 1861).



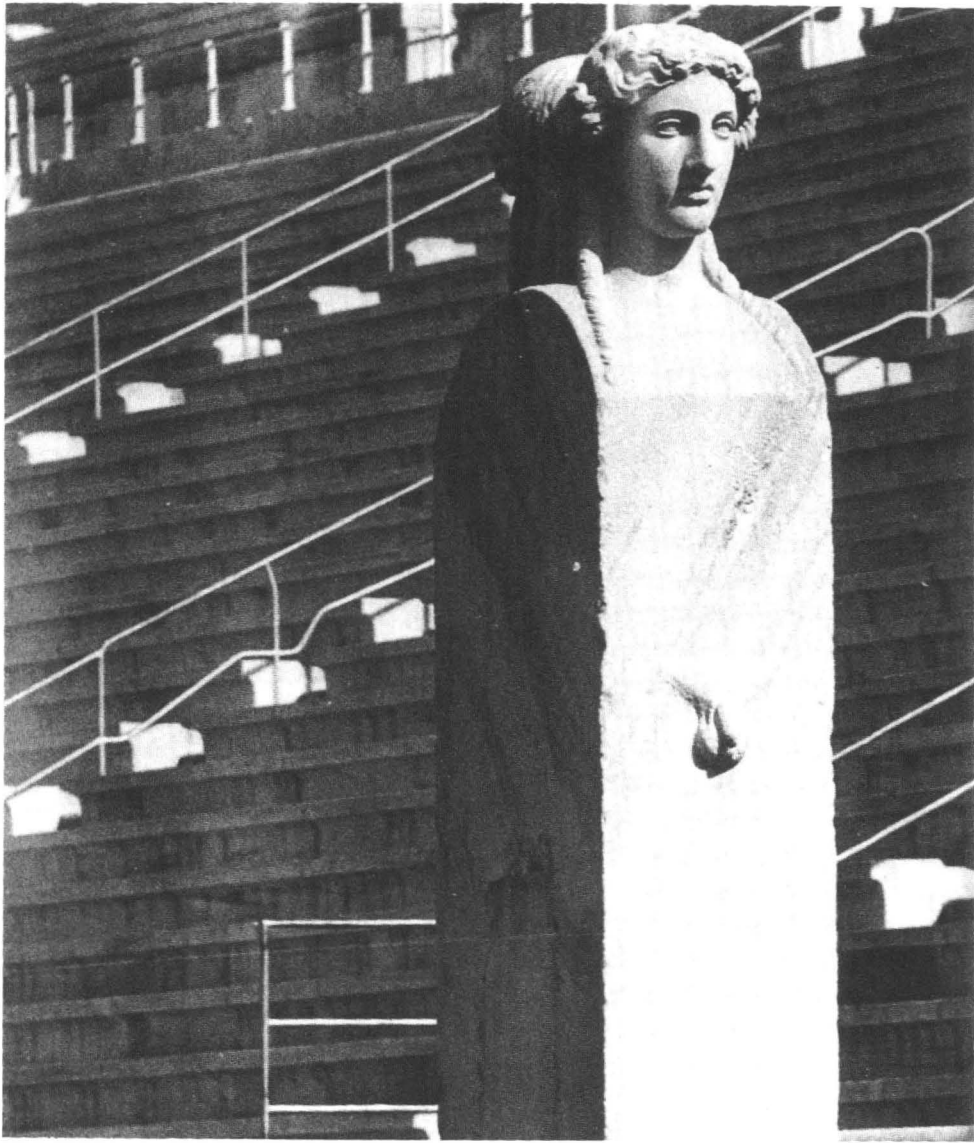


Fig. 54 Detail of the restored Stadium with one of the double herms in the sphendone. (DAI, Athens).

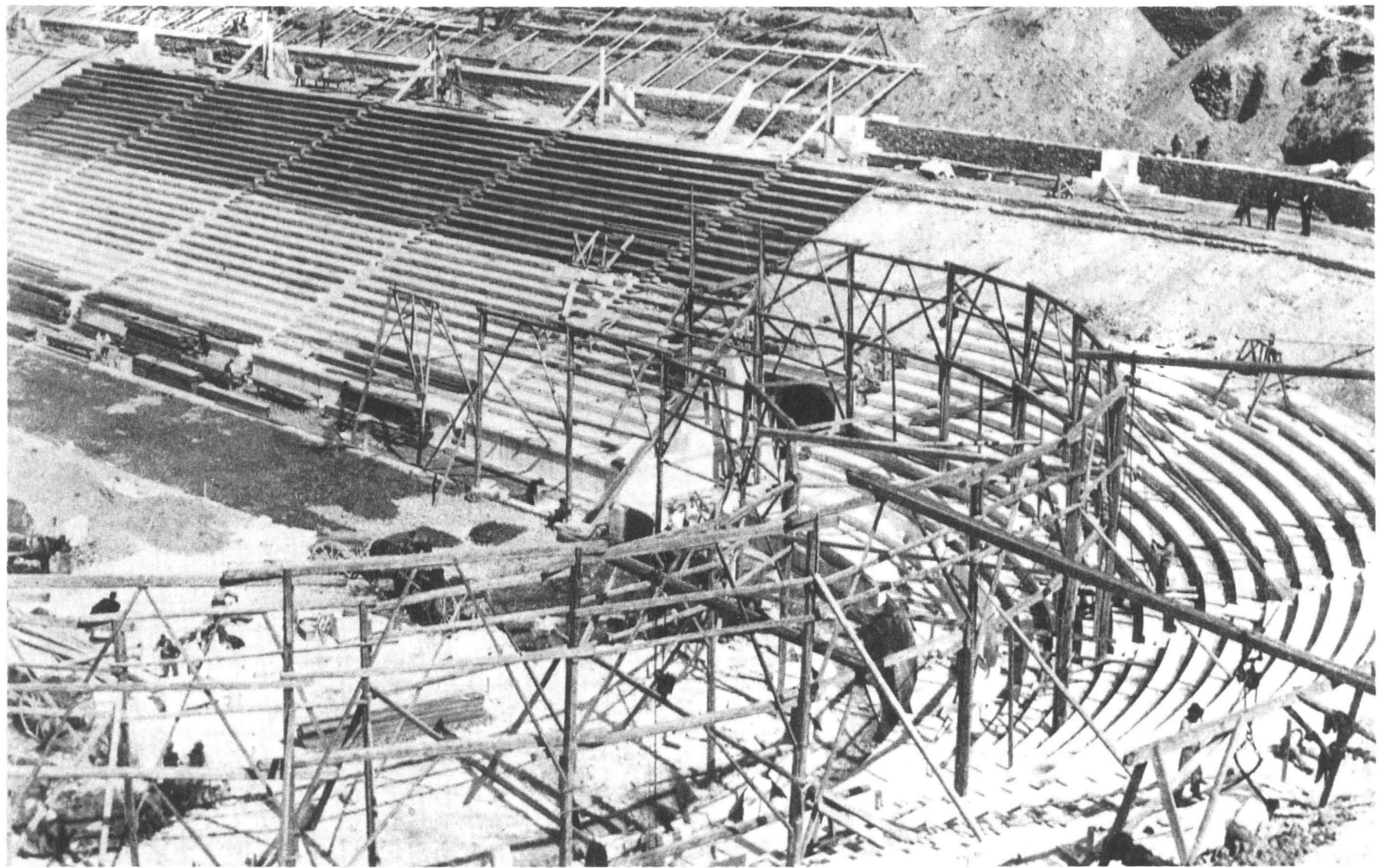


Fig. 55 The reconstruction of the Stadium sphendone in progress. (DAI, Athens).

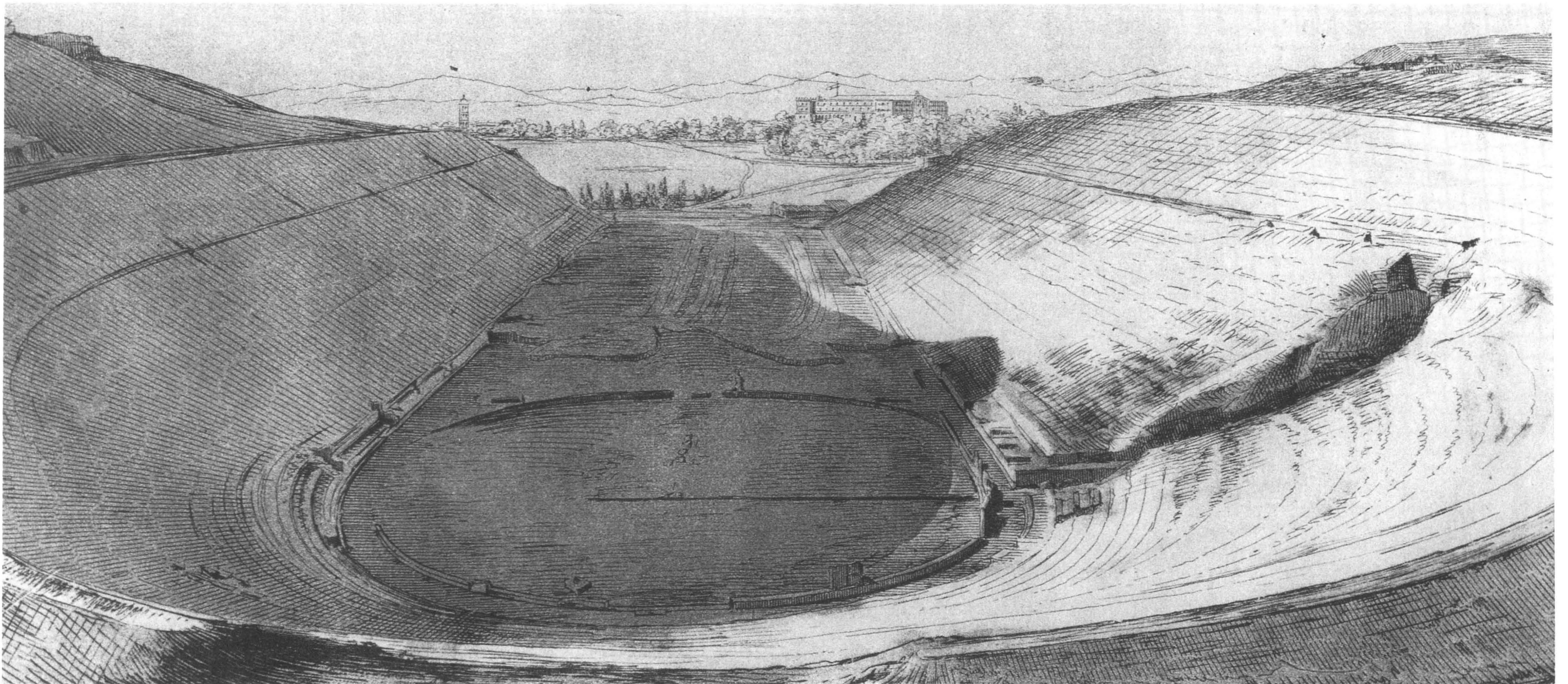


Fig. 56 The Stadium after the excavations. (Ziller, 1870).



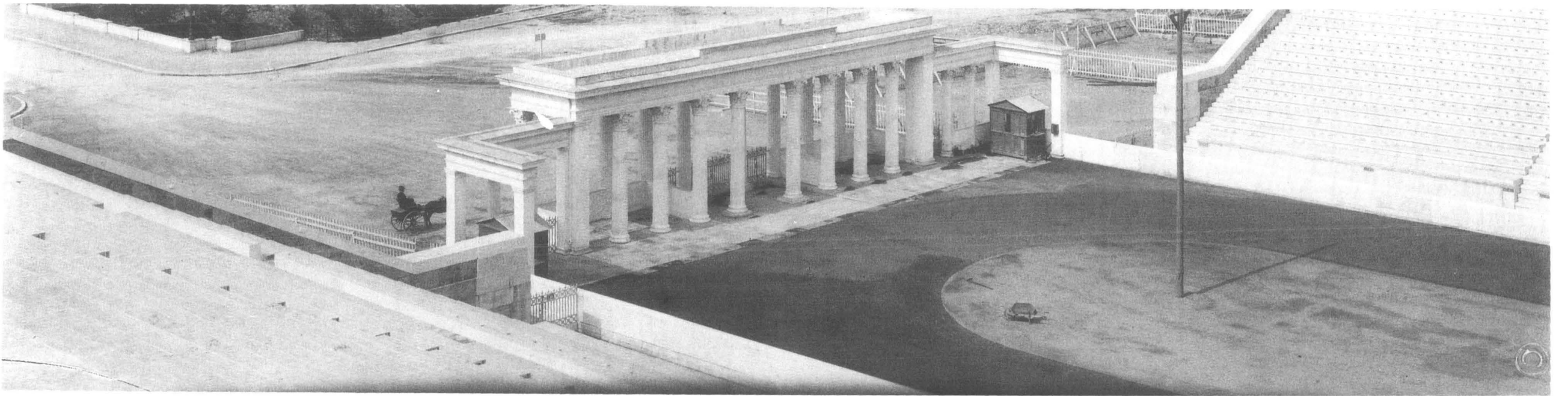


Fig. 57 The Propylaea of the Stadium. later demolished. (DAI, Athens).

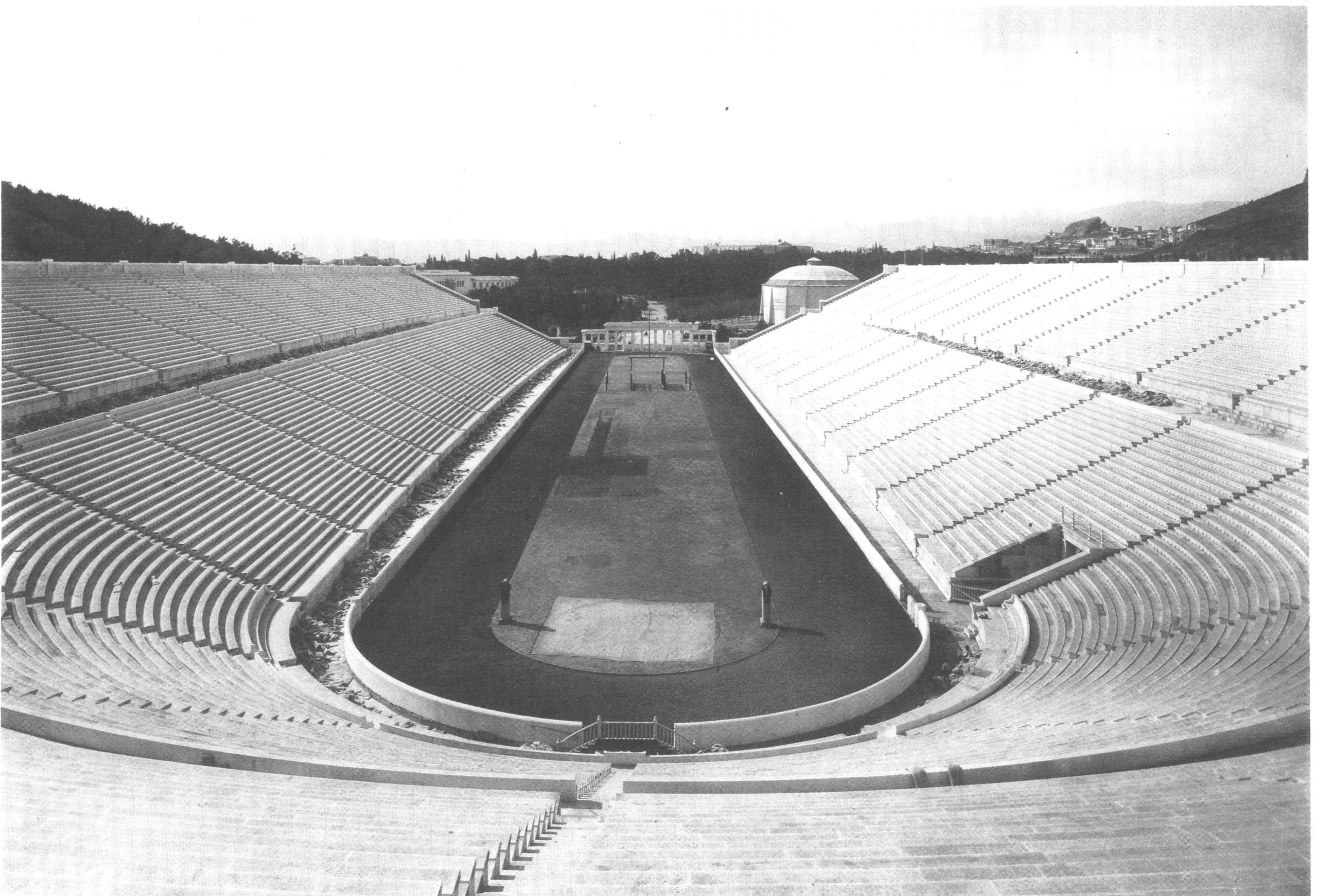


Fig. 58 The Stadium at the turn of the century. (DAI, Athens).



between two hills on the banks of the Ilissos. The architects, however, took the symbolic significance of the Stadium into consideration and oriented one of the three main avenues of their plan to its axis. This avenue (named Stadiou st.) which was supposed to connect the original site for the palace (present-day Omonia Square) with the entrance to the Stadium was interrupted at the half-way point by the construction of the palace at Syntagma Square and by planting the palace garden in the eastern part of town.

In 1864 Ernst Ziller bought part of the land on Ardettos hill, thought to be the site of the ancient Panathenaic Stadium, for 2000 drachmas (= 80 gold sovereigns).<sup>35</sup> In 1869 he began excavating at his own expense on the innermost part of the gully where he was successful in finding the sphendone (semi-circular end) of the track. Ziller finished his investigation of the Stadium in a six months' campaign, thanks to the generosity of King George I who donated funds for further expropriation and the continuation of the excavations. In 1870 he published a detailed report on his work, commenting on the technical, architectural and historic aspects of this monumental structure.<sup>36</sup>

In 1895, at the instigation of Baron Pierre de Coubertin, King George I proclaimed — against the will of his government — the first international Olympic Games of modern times, to be held in Athens in April 1896. By this time the Zappeion Exhibition Hall had been completed (in 1888) and the Zappeion public gardens extending as far as the Stadium on the east had been planted.

The Stadium was rebuilt for the first Olympic Games, an ambitious plan, far beyond the financial resources of the young state. Only the ancient substructure for the seating arrangements remained *in situ*; the entire cavea of white Pentelic marble had to be rebuilt, but scattered fragments of architectural material enabled the architect, A. Metaxas, to achieve an admirably accurate reconstruction, the largest one of all times on classical ground (fig. 57, 58). Metaxas, however, did introduce some features not present in the ancient Stadium: a broad aisle (diazoma) halfway up the cavea and bulky staircases at the front of the building in order to ensure rapid flow of the crowds out of the Stadium. He did not restore the ancient stoa (32 × 10 m) on top of the sphendone, discovered by Ziller and identified as the seats of honour for priests and judges of the games. Instead, the architect proposed a gigantic stoa around the top of the Stadium (more than 500 m long), to be used as a half-open exhibition gallery for sculptural works. This scheme was not carried out and thus the restored Stadium, although huge (with upper longitudinal axis of 250 m) exactly occupies its original site in the hollow between two hills and therefore gives the impression of fitting in to the natural contours rather than being superimposed. The Stadium took about ten years to build (1896-1906) and was financed by the Greek benefactor Georgios Averoff of Alexandria, who generously donated 120,000 gold pounds. With its completion a spatial frame of reference was created by three monumental landmarks: the Zappeion exhibition hall to the north and the Olympieion and Stadium to the south framing the Zappeion Gardens and the unbuilt area on the banks of the Ilissos extending as a continuation of the Royal Garden to the south.

The restored Stadium not only fulfilled practical functions as a place where large crowds could attend athletic and cultural events, it became an important symbolic landmark of the modern city, imbued with the aura of ancient times. The reconstruction also played a decisive role in keeping the surrounding hilly area unbuilt and thus made it possible to replant from the beginning of the 20th century onward.

### An early all-purpose building: The Zappeion exhibition hall and the Zappeion Gardens. The Theseion Garden

After George I became King of the Hellenes in 1864, a period of political stabilization set in and trade and industry gradually developed. On the initiative of Evangelos and Constantine Zappas, rich merchants belonging to the Greek community in Rumania, the so-called Olympia Festivals were organized between 1859 and 1888, periodic national exhibitions of commercial and industrial products.<sup>37</sup>

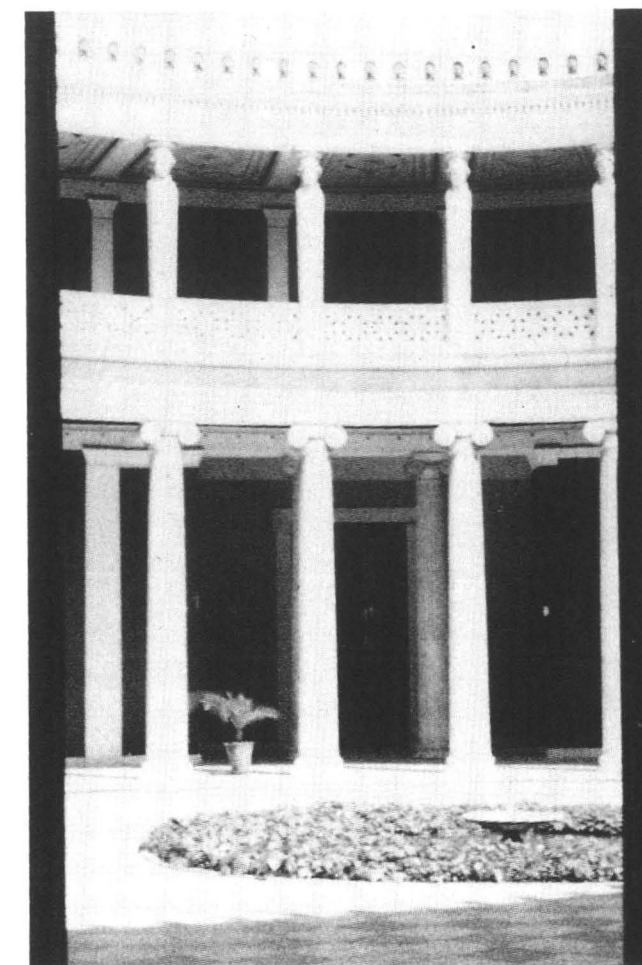


Fig. 59 The round inner courtyard of the Zappeion Exhibition Hall with its two-tiered Ionic colonnade. (Photograph by the author).

35 Ernst Ziller (1837-1923), born in Oberlössnitz, studied in Dresden under Gottfried Semper and first came to Greece in 1861, aged 24, as an assistant to Theophilus Hansen in order to supervise construction of the Academy and the National Library, designed by Hansen. After four years of further training in Italy (1864-1868) he settled down in Athens for the rest of his life where he became the leading architect of the second half of the 19th century and up until the first World War. He designed important public buildings, such as the palace for the crown prince (the New Palace, now the Presidential Mansion), the National Theatre in Athens, the town hall in Hermoupolis, and a great number of private residences, the most famous of which is the Iliou Melathron, Schliemann's house in Athens. He was professor at the Polytechnion in Athens and served as director in the Ministry of Public Works.

36 Ziller reported on his excavations as follows:

“Im August 1869 begannen wir an dem höchsten verschütteten Theile mit den Ausgrabungen, und waren bei den zwei Versuchsgräben, die wir machten, so glücklich, in einer Tiefe von 3 Meter auf die Sphendone zu stoßen. Nach mehreren Wochen wurde diesselbe zum Theil freigelegt. Weil jedoch das Unternehmen wegen der bedeutenden Höhe der Verschüttung (circa 13,000 Cubikmeter Erde waren abzutragen) zu groß erschien, um es aus eigenen Mitteln fortzusetzen, so waren wir im Begriff, die weiteren Nachgrabungen aufzugeben.

Seine Majestät der König Georg I, welcher die Ausgrabungen besuchte und sich dafür interessirte, geruhte, sowohl die nöthigen Gelder zur Weiterführung der Ausgrabungen, als auch zum Ankauf des Grundstückes zu bewilligen, welches sich in Privatbesitz befand. Nun konnten die Ausgrabungen in einem großen Maaßstabe fortgesetzt werden. Bis zum Februar 1870 wurde denn auch die Rennbahn mit dem sie umgebenden Corridor und dem sich an letzteren anschließenden Zuschauerraume vollständig freigelegt”. E. Ziller, 1870, 486-492.

37 The first Olympia exhibition was held in 1859 in a wooden barracks at the beginning of Peiraioi st. near Omonia Square, the second in 1870 was held in the half-finished building of the National Museum on Patisision Avenue, the third in 1875 in a temporary building on the west side of the present Zappeion Gardens, and the fourth Olympia in 1888 in the newly completed Zappeion Exhibition Hall.



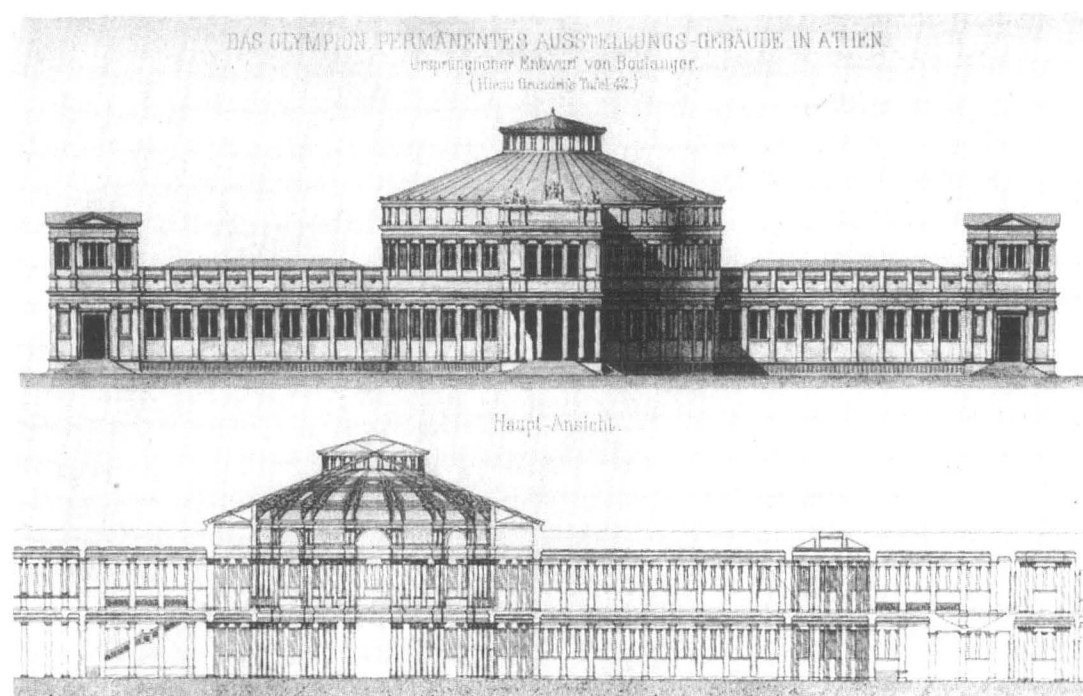


Fig. 60 Boulanger's original project for the Zappeion Exhibition Hall. Scale ca 1:1000. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1884).

- 38 Gaston Deschamps, who visited Athens during the 1890s gives the following description of the long drawn-out venture:

“Pourtant, les voyageurs constatent, lorsqu’ils arrivent à Athènes, que l’on bâtit, de toutes parts, des monuments publics. Qui paye les architectes, les entrepreneurs et les maçons? Le gouvernement en est bien empêché. Mais il y a en Grèce des bailleurs de fonds, que les autres pays ne connaissent pas assez, et dont la générosité est inépuisable: les bienfaiteurs publics, les évergètes”.

- 39 Theophilus Hansen published the plans of the revised design of the Zappeion Exhibition Hall with a short explanatory note as follows:

“Bei meiner Anwesenheit in Athen im Jahre 1880 wurde ich von dem Baucomité ersucht, den Bau in Augenschein zu nehmen, und zu begutachten. Das Gebäude war damals bis zur oberen Gesimshöhe gediehen, so dass nur noch die Erhöhung des Mittelbaues fehlte, um den eisernen Dachstuhl aufzunehmen.

Da es mir unmöglich erschien, diesen Dachstuhl, so wie er projektiert war, mit seiner enormen Spannweite von 27 Meter auf diese dünnen und durchbrochenen Bruchsteinmauer aufzusetzen, so machte ich den Vorschlag, denselben ganz entfallen zu lassen, da eine offene Rotunde dem Zwecke als Erholungsraum in diesem Klima viel besser entsprechen würde, als ein bedeckter Saal.

Ferner schienen mir die langen schmalen, weit vorspringenden Treppenhäuser an der Vorder- und namentlich an der Rückseite weder schön, noch zweckmäßig, so dass ich dieselben ganz wegzulassen vorschlug.(...)

Das obere Geschoß enthält nur noch einige Zimmer für eine Restauration in Verbindung mit der bedeckten Galerie um den Zentralhof, daher konnten die grossen Treppenanlagen entfallen und durch kleinere Wendeltreppen ersetzt werden.

Der offene Hof dürfte, in pompejanischer Weise dekoriert, an die antiken Peristile erinnern; im Zentrum wird die Statue des Stifters aufgestellt.

Der Bau ist jetzt nach diesen modifizierten Plänen unter der Leitung des Herrn Professor Ziller in der Vollendung begriffen”. Theophilus Hansen, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1884.

- 40 Gustave Fougères pointed out, however, that the foliage of the Zappeion Gardens might one day shut off the view of the landscape; he could hardly have foreseen the appearance of the multi-storey buildings in the centre of Athens, so much more offensive than the Zappeion foliage.

“Sur l’esplanade qui, du Zappeion, demi-rotunde construite par Zappas comme palais d’exposition, descend vers l’Olympieion et l’Ilissos, un jardin public remplace le désert d’autrefois. Peut-être ces gentilles bocagères risquent-elles de nuire un jour à la grandeur naturelle de cette vaste perspective dont la beauté est faite de plein air, d’espaces dégagés, de nobles contours et de teintes ocrées. La verdure, en Attique, n’est pas un ornement qui convienne partout”. G. Fougères, 1914, 176.

A magnificent exhibition hall was built in 1875-1888 with a sizable donation from the Zappas brothers; the site was a large esplanade south of the Royal Garden, facing the Stadium, the Olympieion and the Akropolis.<sup>38</sup>

As in the case of many 19th century buildings in Athens, the Zappeion venture depended on private donations; the main contribution from the state was a suitable building site. It is obvious that the most important state property on the border of the inner town was the southern extension of the Royal Garden, which had to be offered for the construction of the national exhibition hall.

Right from the beginning the public function of the new building and the open layout of its surrounding gardens were in sharp contrast to the secluded, tranquil atmosphere of the Royal Garden. This contrast between the two neighbouring recreation areas was perceived as a positive element, the two parks being compatible in their formal designs (fig. 61).

The original plans of the Zappeion building were drawn up by the French architect Boulanger (who also designed the Metropolitan Church of Athens). His design was strongly influenced by the contemporary European fashion for iron structures and had a central rotunda with a dome 27 meters in diameter! Pompous spacious staircases were planned in front of the main entrances to the building (fig. 60).

The Zappeion building is large, with about 6000 square metres of covered and 3000 square metres of uncovered floor space and it took a long time to build. Boulanger died in 1875 and in 1880 the building committee asked Theophilus Hansen for expert advice on how to continue this interminable project.<sup>39</sup> The great architect hit on the brilliant idea of converting the central roofed rotunda into a round patio with an Ionic colonnade, ideal for open-air concerts and solemn festivities (fig. 59). By eliminating the bulky staircases and adding a large central portico with eight Corinthian columns and also by giving the facades severely classicizing formal features, Hansen succeeded in creating a Greek Revival structure harmonizing with the two ancient monuments to the south: the Stadium and the Olympieion. For a hundred years the Zappeion building has served as the only public exhibition hall of some size in Athens; for some decades it also housed the temporary exhibits of the National Gallery and the biennial Panhellenic exhibitions of contemporary painting; during the last decade one part of the building was adapted to serve as the headquarters for the sessions of the European Community in Athens.

The Zappeion Gardens around the exhibition hall, extending from the Stadium at the east to the edge of the old town (Amalias Avenue) at the west, are fairly large at 11.4 ha i.e. two thirds of the surface of the Royal Garden. Here, too, Theophilus Hansen did the planning and his French colleague Desiré Matton designed and planted the parterres and emphasized two main axes. One is perpendicular to the main entrance of the exhibition hall, leading via wide steps to a large marble fountain in the centre of the flower beds. The other, parallel to the building, links Amalias Avenue to the great esplanade in front of the Zappeion. The esplanade, 200 × 60 m, was designed as a monumental setting in front of the building. During construction a Roman bath complex was found at the site; it is now covered over by the esplanade. The great Zappeion terrace gently sloping southwards is one of the most popular places of recreation for the general public in present-day Athens; the Athenians have bonded with it. Occasionally it is used for exhibitions, but more than that, it is a favourite place for promenading in a green environment. Except for the tops of the inner city hills, the Zappeion esplanade is the only place in the town affording magnificent views towards the ancient monuments nearby, the Akropolis and the mountains of Attica.

As mentioned above, the layout of the Zappeion Gardens is much more rigid and geometrically formal than that of the Royal Garden. Its main avenues are paved with asphalt, have a considerable width and lead directly to the neighbouring urban districts. Although from a purely aesthetic point of view the landscaping of the Royal Garden is more distinctively elaborated, yet the openness and the large-scale character of the Zappeion Gardens create a successful transition to the spacious esplanades around the Olympieion and in front of the Stadium.<sup>40</sup>

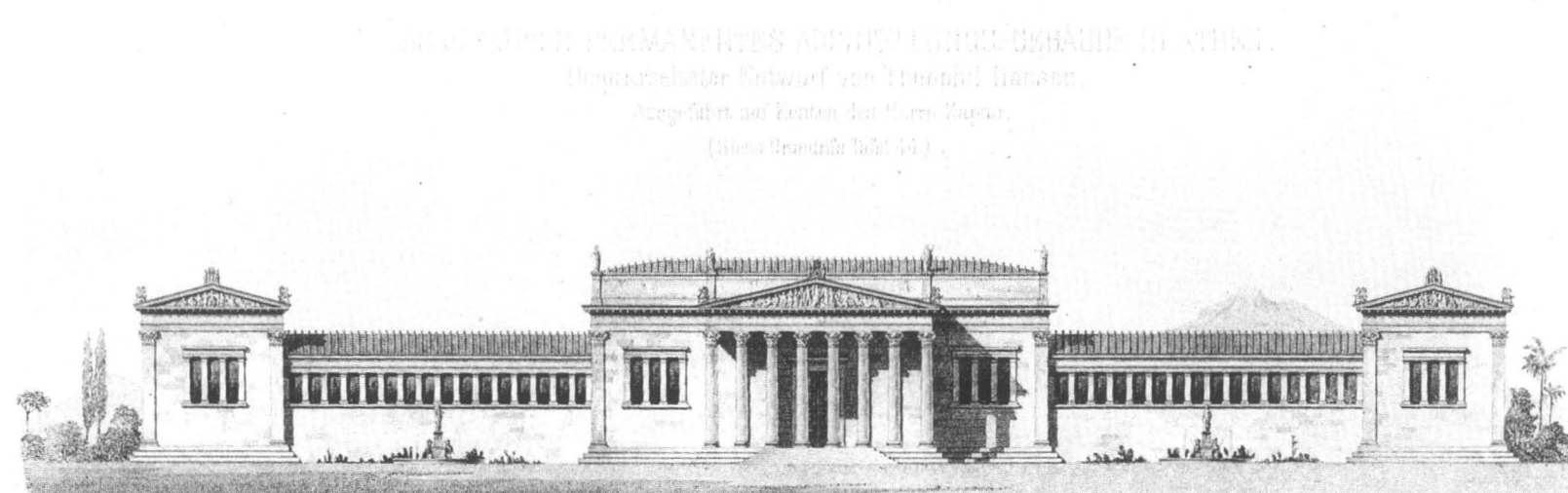
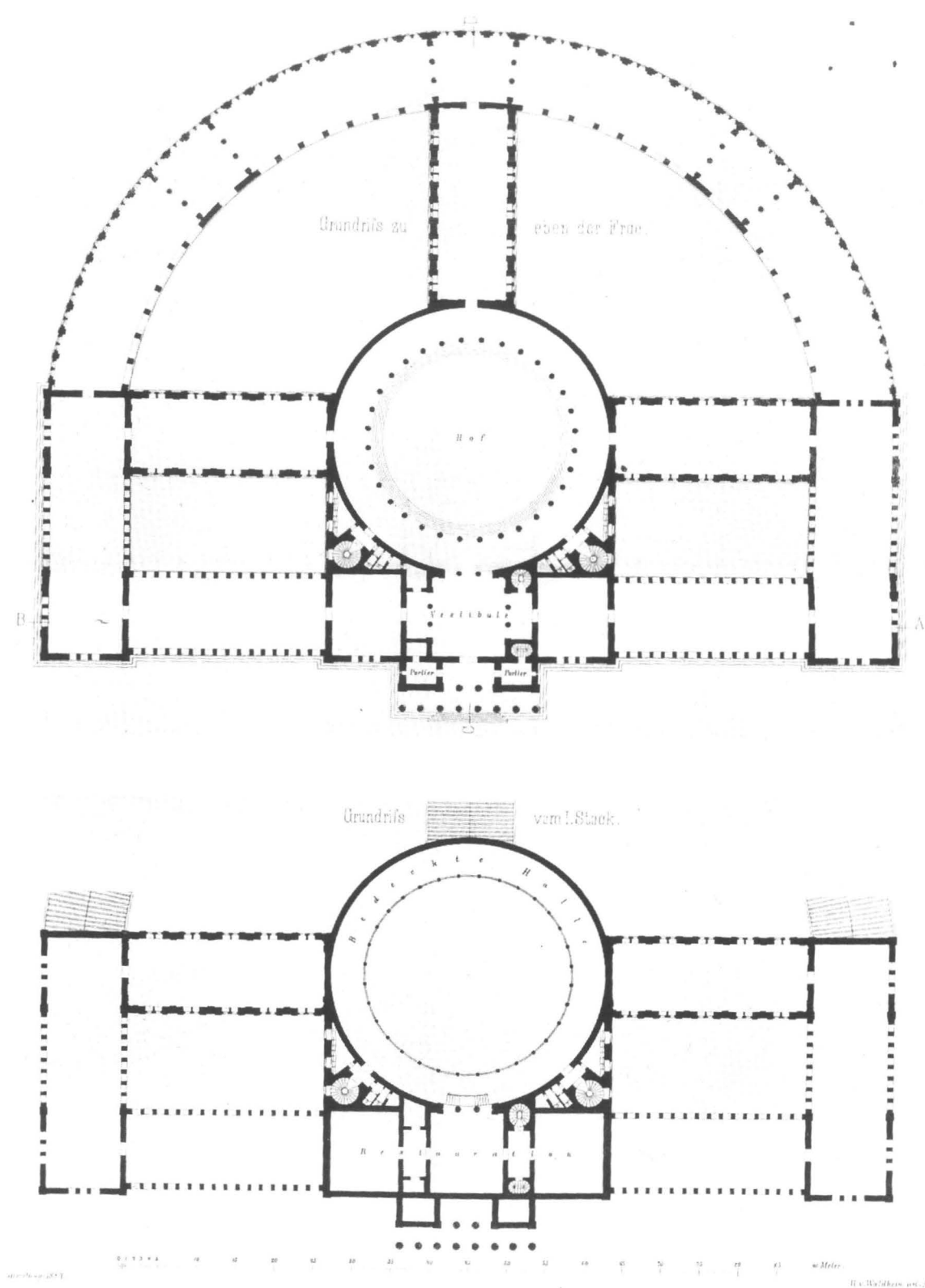
At the other end of the old town is the low hill of Kolonos Agoraios on which the Theseion (the popular name for the temple of Hephaistos later converted into the church of Hagios Georgios) stands in the midst of a large unbuilt area, traditionally a gathering place for popular



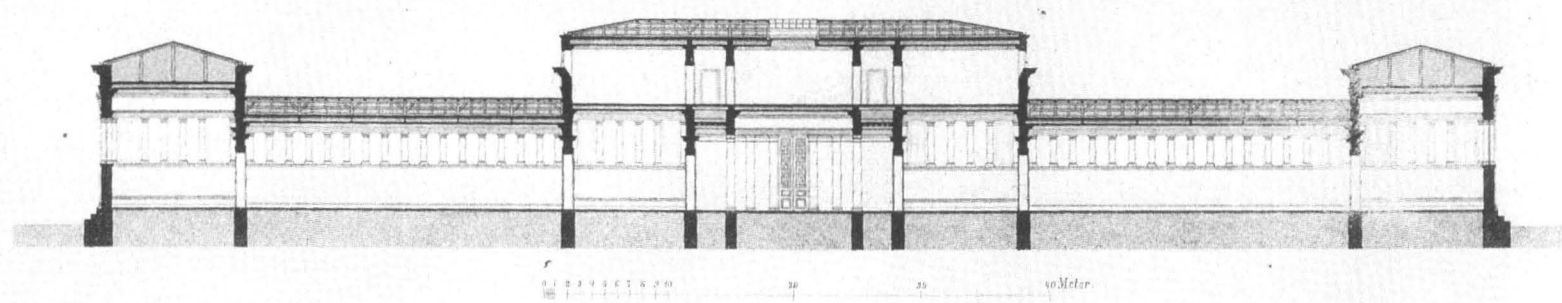


Fig. 61 The Zappeion Exhibition Hall and the Zappeion Gardens at the turn of the century. (DAI, Athens).





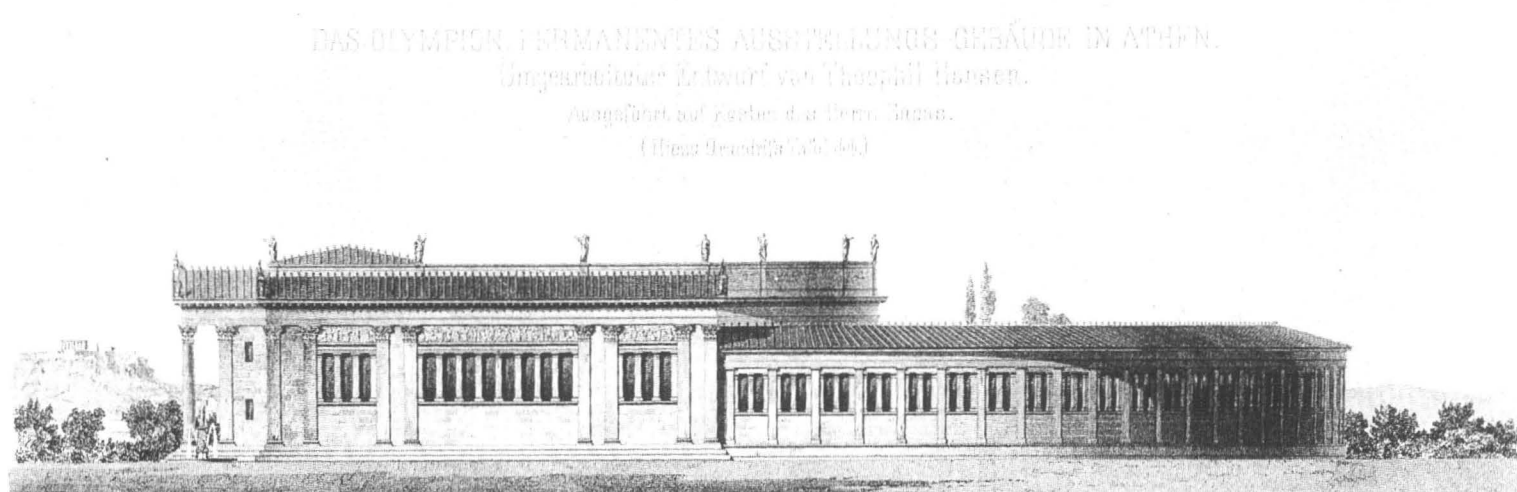
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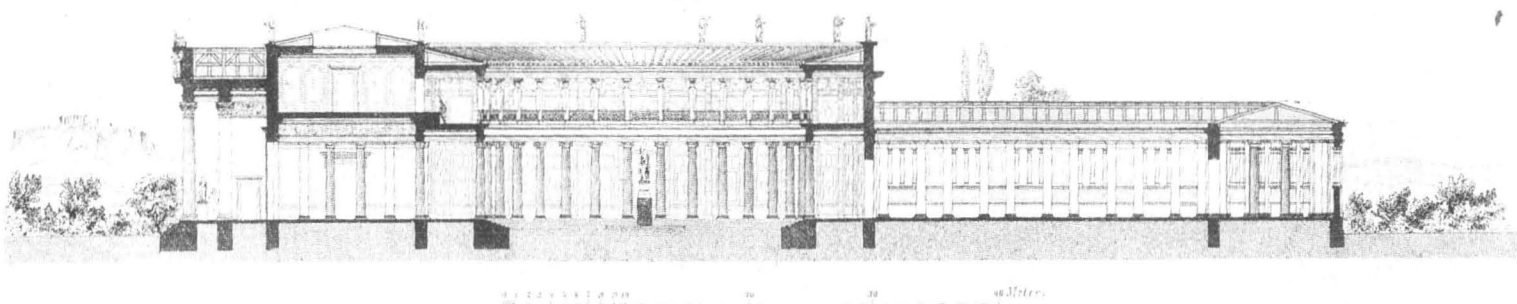
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Allgemeine Bauzeitung, 1884.

R. v. Waldheim arch. Anst.



Seitenansicht.



Durchschnitt nach C D

Allgemeine Bauzeitung, 1884.

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Fig. 62 Theophilus Hansen's project for the Zappeion Exhibition Hall: floor plans (scale at ca 1:1000), main elevations and sections (scale at ca 1:750). (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1884).



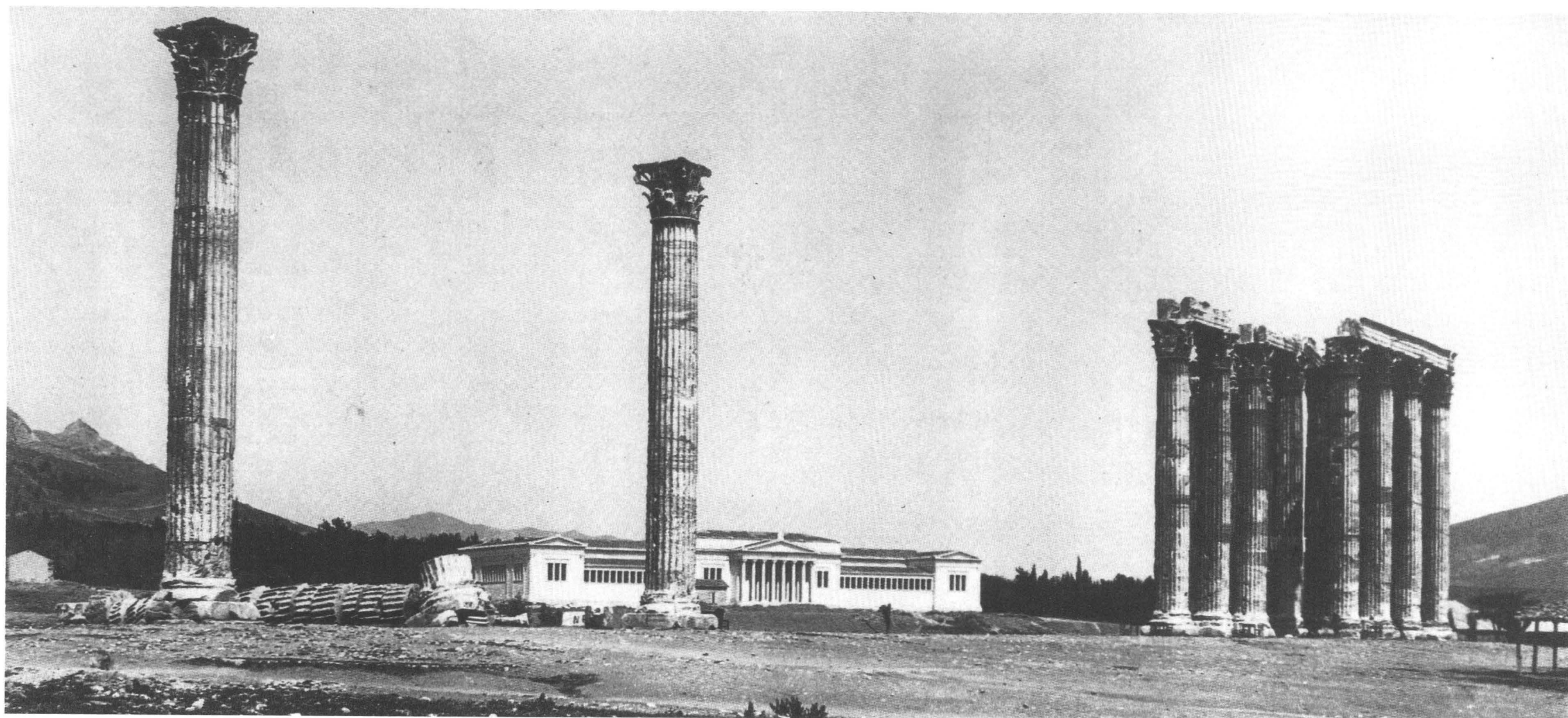


Fig. 63 The Zappeion Exhibition Hall just after completion in 1888. The Zappeion Gardens have just been planted. The direct juxtaposition of the Zappeion and the Olympieion shows how Hansen's brilliant design formally harmonizes with the ancient remains (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 64 The Zappeion Gardens in the first decade after planting, seen from Ardetos hill. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 65 The Theseion (Temple of Hephaistos) and the Theseion garden at the turn of the century. In the background: the large olive grove in the Kephissos valley, still unspoiled. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 66 Agora Excavations, the Theseion (Temple of Hephaistos) and the Theseion garden in the 1930s. Air view from the west. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



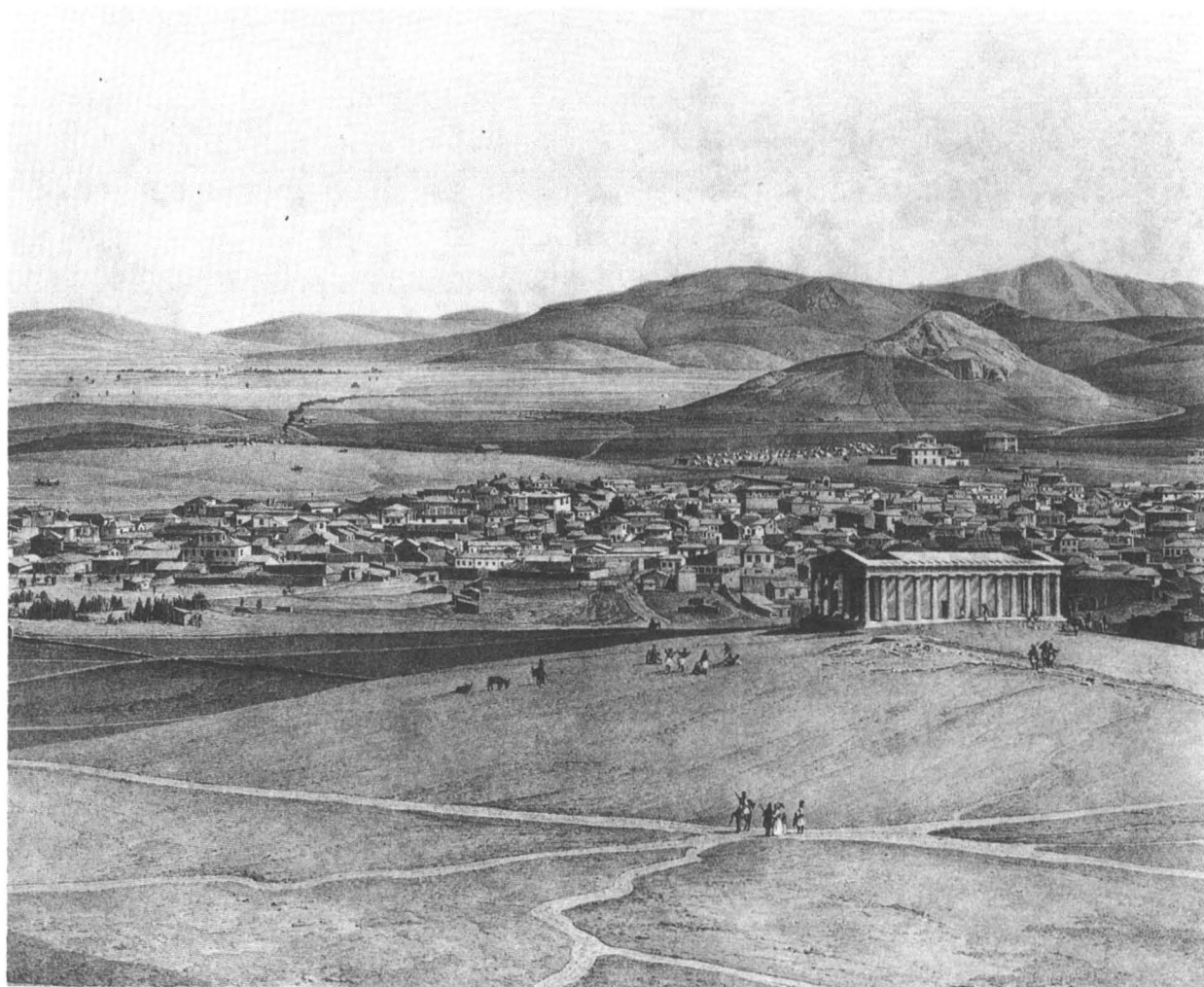


Fig. 67 The Temple of Hephaistos on the hill of Kolonos Agoraios, still unused land, in 1835. (Detail taken from Stademann, 1841).



Fig. 68 The Ilissos river bed almost dried out. To the right, the modest buildings of the open-air theatre "Paradise". (Old postcard).

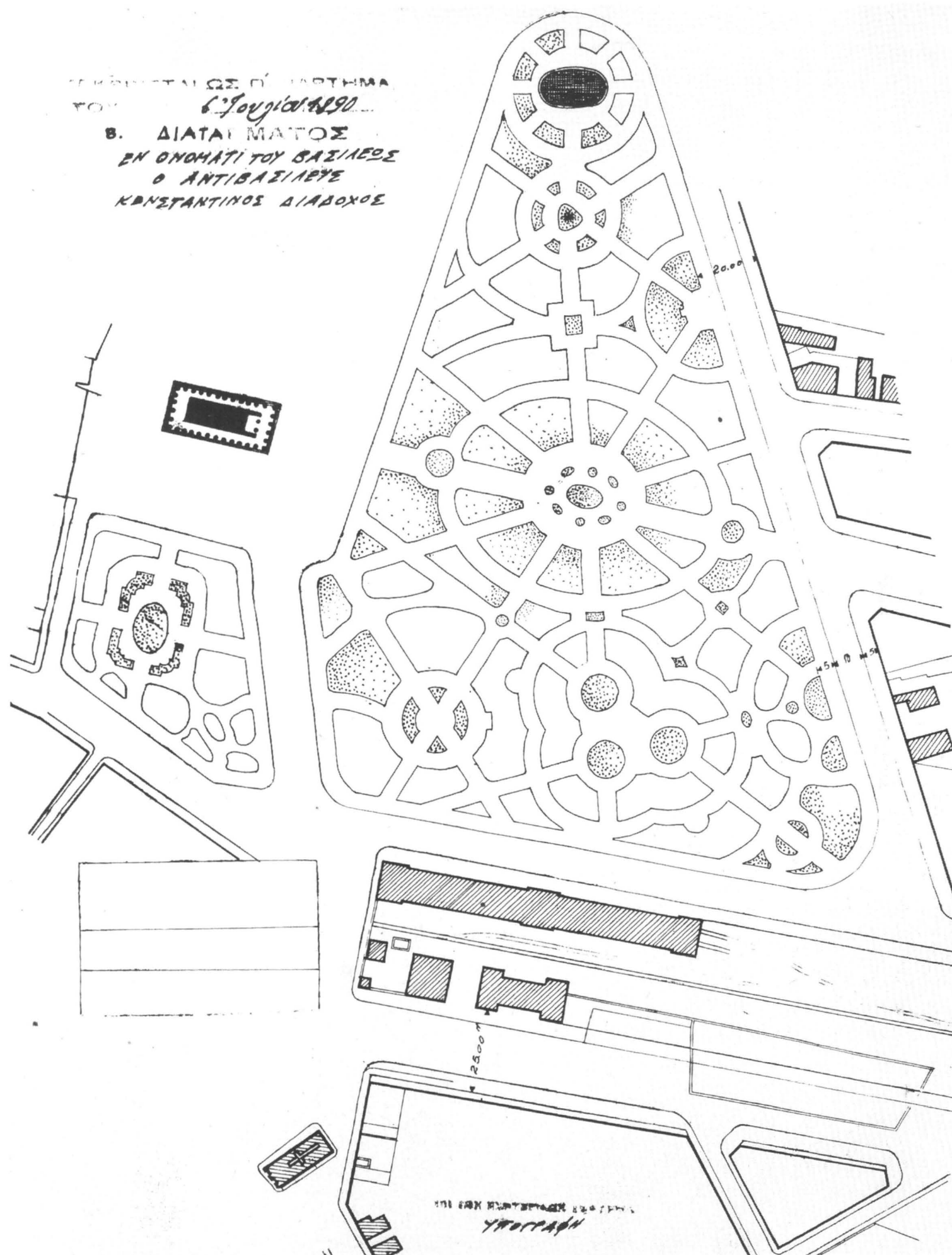


Fig. 69 The final layout of the Theseion garden as attached to the royal decree of July 6, 1890. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



- 41 In the *Phaedrus* Plato gives us a delightful description of the Ilissos valley:

"Socrates: let us turn aside here and go along the Ilissos; then we can sit down quietly wherever we please.

Phaedrus: I am fortunate, it seems, in being barefoot; you are so always. It is easiest then for us to go along the brook with our feet in the water, and it is not unpleasant, especially at this time of the year and the day.

Socrates: Lead on then, and look out for a good place where we may sit.

Phaedrus: do you see that very tall plane tree?

Socrates: what of it?

Phaedrus: There is a shade there and a moderate breeze and grass to sit on, or, if we like, to lie down on.

Socrates: Lead the way ...But, my friend, while we were talking, is not this the tree to which you were leading us?

Phaedrus: yes, this is it.

Socrates: By Hera, it is a charming resting place. For this plane tree is very spreading and lofty, and the tall and shady willow is very beautiful, and it is in full bloom, so as to make the place most fragrant: then, too, the spring is very pretty as it flows under the plane tree, and its water is very cool, to judge by my foot. And it seems to be a sacred place of some nymphs and Achelous, judging by the figurines and statues. Then again, if you please, how lovely and perfectly charming the breeziness of the place is! and it resounds with the shrill summer music of the chorus of cicadas, but the most delightful thing of all is the grass, as it grows on the gentle slope, thick enough to be just right when you lay your head on it. So you have guided the stranger most excellently, dear Phaedrus".

- 42 Thus for example the cultivated traveller and gifted landscape designer Hermann Fürst von Pückler Muskau vividly describing the picturesque but extremely arid Attic landscape in 1836:

"Die Aussicht von der Höhe neben dem Stadion, wo ein Tempel der Fortuna stand, auf die Akropolis und Umgebung, ist eine der vorteilhaftesten in der Nähe Athens, und die jungen keimenden Saaten in der Nähe gaben ihr jetzt auch, teilweise wenigstens, das sonst mangelnde Grün. Bäume sind leider, außer dem sich weit hinziehenden fahlgrauen Olivenwald und dem mageren Inhalt verschiedenen Obstgärten, keine von irgend einiger Bedeutung vorhanden, mit Ausnahme weniger Pappeln in der Ferne und drei kümmernder Palmen mit einigen Cypressen in der Stadt, die demungeachtet in ihrer Gesamtheit noch viel zu der malerischen Wirkung der Landschaft beitragen. Der Frische entbehren diese Gegenden überall".

On his return from Ardetos hill to town, von Pückler-Muskau describes the Ilissos as a mere trickle, practically dry:

"[Wir] setzten bald darauf unseren Weg, wieder der Stadt zu, nach den alten Bädern am Ilissos fort, wo jetzt eine Gruppe häßlicher Weiber ihre Wäsche wusch. Als ich diese kleine Gosse mit dem vornehmen Namen sah, wunderte ich mich nicht mehr, daß einst die Pferde des Xerxes den Ilissos austranken. Heute würden kaum ein Paar ermattete Maulesel ihren Durst damit löschen können". H. von Pückler-Muskau, 1840.

festivities. The hill was poorly planted as early as the Othonian era in an obvious attempt to create an appealing background for the temple which at the time served as a public museum for antiquities.

From 1869 onwards the Peiraeus-Athens railroad terminal was located next to this area and thus one felt the need to create a small garden for the general public at this western entrance to the town. The final layout of the garden (2.7 ha) as approved by royal decree is shown in fig. 69.

The Theseion Garden features the same formal characteristics as the Zappeion Gardens described above. Yet a very ambitious geometric layout is applied on a miniature scale, thus creating a maze rather than a garden! Although its rigid layout is in sharp contrast to the landscaping of the Agora carried out in the 1950s, no attempt has been made so far to revise the formal design of the Theseion garden to harmonize with the planting on the east slope of Kolonos Agoraios carried out by the landscape architect Ralph Griswold.

### The banks of the Ilissos as a recreational area in the 19th century

Although ancient authors have given us an idyllic vision of the Ilissos valley<sup>41</sup>, most of the 19th c. pictorial documents (fig. 68) and the accounts of visitors<sup>42</sup> present the Ilissos at the site of Kallirrhoe spring as a dried out, dusty river bed.

In the 19th century the most interesting part of the Ilissos valley was the short section between the Roman bridge at the Stadium and the Kallirrhoe spring south of the Olympieion. The maximum length of this area is 800 m, the maximum width 200 m. Here a flat island was formed between two arms of the almost dry brook; it was called Vatrachonisi (Frog Island). As Athens gradually expanded the need for a recreational area offering some coolness during the summer season was felt more and more. The dusty town with few paved streets and a permanent water shortage offered its citizens very little public entertainment, some horseback riding on the outskirts at Patissia and performances by a military band on the wooden platforms at Syntagma Square in the evenings.

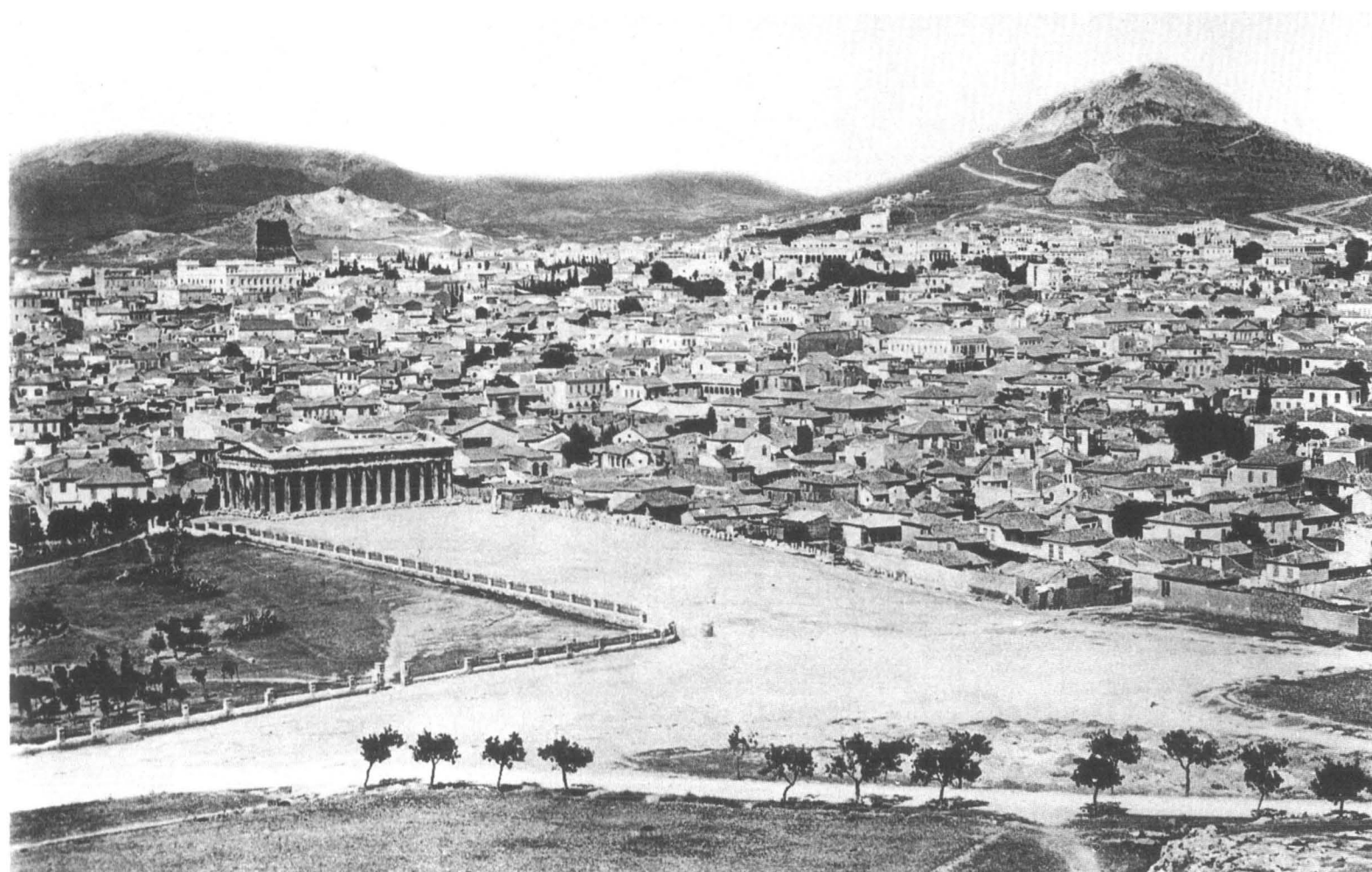


Fig. 70 The Theseion (Temple of Hephaistos) area in the 1880s. (DAI, Athens).



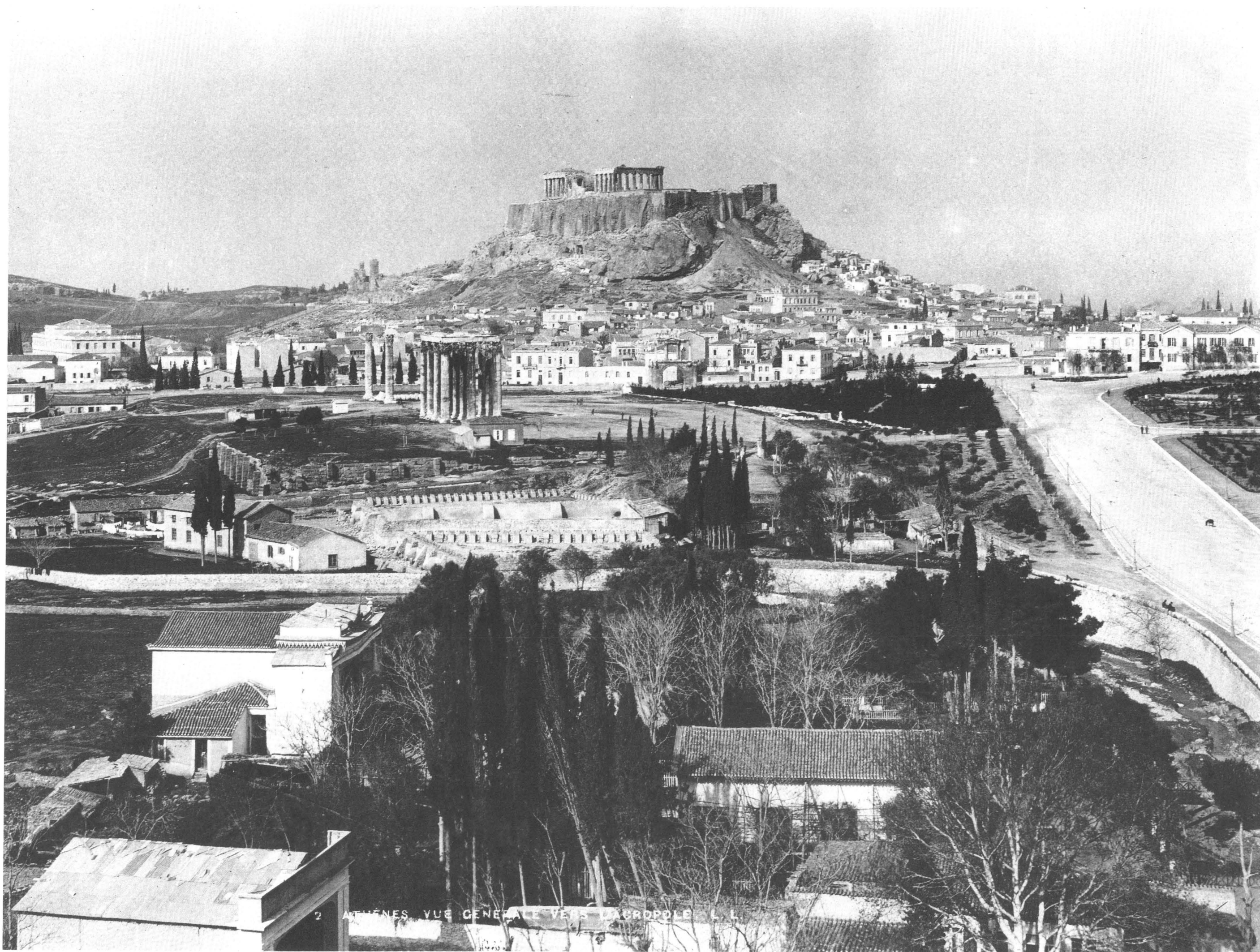


Fig. 71 A general view of Vatrachonisi (Frog Island) around 1890. In the foreground, the open-air theatres on the left bank of the Ilissos. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 72 The Olympieion and Zappeion area. At lower left: Vatrachonisi (Frog Island). Air view taken from the east in 1932. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



In the early 1870s, before the Zappeion gardens were planted and the Stadium was restored, Vatrachonisi became a centre for open-air amusements. In a rather haphazard way makeshift theatre facilities and *café dansants* establishments were installed one after another in this area (fig. 71). Within a very short time, 1871-1873, three open-air establishments were set up on Vatrachonisi; they had names with ancient associations: the *Cave of the Nymphs*, the *Theatre of the Ilissian Muses* and the *Paradise*. On the other side of the road leading from the Stadium to the Olympieion two other theatres were installed, the *Apollo* and the *Olympia*. The old photographs allow us to see the primitive character of these installations and the scattered vegetation in the area which, nevertheless attracted the cream of Athenian society of that time. In 1869 the barren land between the Royal Garden and the Olympieion was legally declared a 'green zone' and in 1886, shortly before the Zappeion Building was completed, expropriations made the whole area available for the Zappeion Gardens. Two theatres, the *Olympia* and the *Apollo* were abolished. In the following years the theatres on the other side of the road were also abolished and the lawn tennis club of Athens was founded on the site. Only one establishment in the area survived until the mid-20th century: the elegant *café Metz* with its terraces on the west slope of Ardetos, facing the Olympieion.

These early centres of entertainment near the Ilissos determined the future of the district as an area for recreational uses. The theatres and cafés were followed by gradual installation of athletic facilities: tennis courts, Olympic swimming pool, National Athletic League. Although this evolution did protect the right bank of the Ilissos from being built over with houses, it did not allow a park-like design along the river banks, which could have lent the Athenian townscape an especial charm, if even a small amount of running water would have been provided to revive the historic fame of the Ilissos.

#### Ernst Ziller's proposal for Lykabettos; the first scheme for replanting an athenian hill

Ernst Ziller, the most successful Athenian architect of the second half of the 19th century, was not only a brilliant designer in the late neo-classical eclectic style, he was also an impassioned archaeologist who investigated the Stadium, the Theatre of Dionysos and the optical refinements of the Parthenon. He was the first to study thoroughly the water supply system of ancient Athens, tracing the lines of the so-called Peisistratid and Hadrianic underground water supply channels<sup>43</sup>.

In the 1860s the Hadrianic aqueduct was excavated between Ampelokipi (then a village at the NE foot of Lykabettos) and the ancient reservoir on the SW slope of Lykabettos, and the municipality reactivated the water supply, allowing Ziller to develop an ambitious project for replanting and embellishing Lykabettos hill as a spacious recreational urban landscape.

In a first phase Ernst Ziller had envisaged building a monument (heroon) commemorating Greek Independence, an idea which Lysandros Kaftanzoglou had tackled with a design in 1835, the site not specified. Ziller's monument was to be on the summit of Lykabettos, a square building with a crowning cupola, the total height about 50 m, and a large square peristyle, the whole to be supported on large substructures as an artificial peak crowning the hill. Had this megalomaniac project been realized, it would have been wildly out of scale, ruining the natural skyline of the town, competing with the Akropolis ensemble to the south in a confusing way (fig. 74).

Ziller's landscaping proposals were far more realistic. By means of evocative water colours he proposed a general embellishment scheme for the slopes of Lykabettos. A general perspective view from the SE shows lofty clumps of trees (both coniferous and deciduous) scattered on the slope with airy pavilions and terraces at vantage points, enlivening the setting (fig. 77).

Detailed drawings show a round pavilion conceived as a belvedere, a café with watchtower, stairways and terraces, and a large vaulted pergola opening up a view towards the Hill of the Nymphs. All of these structures have a playful, light character; the architect clearly intended to

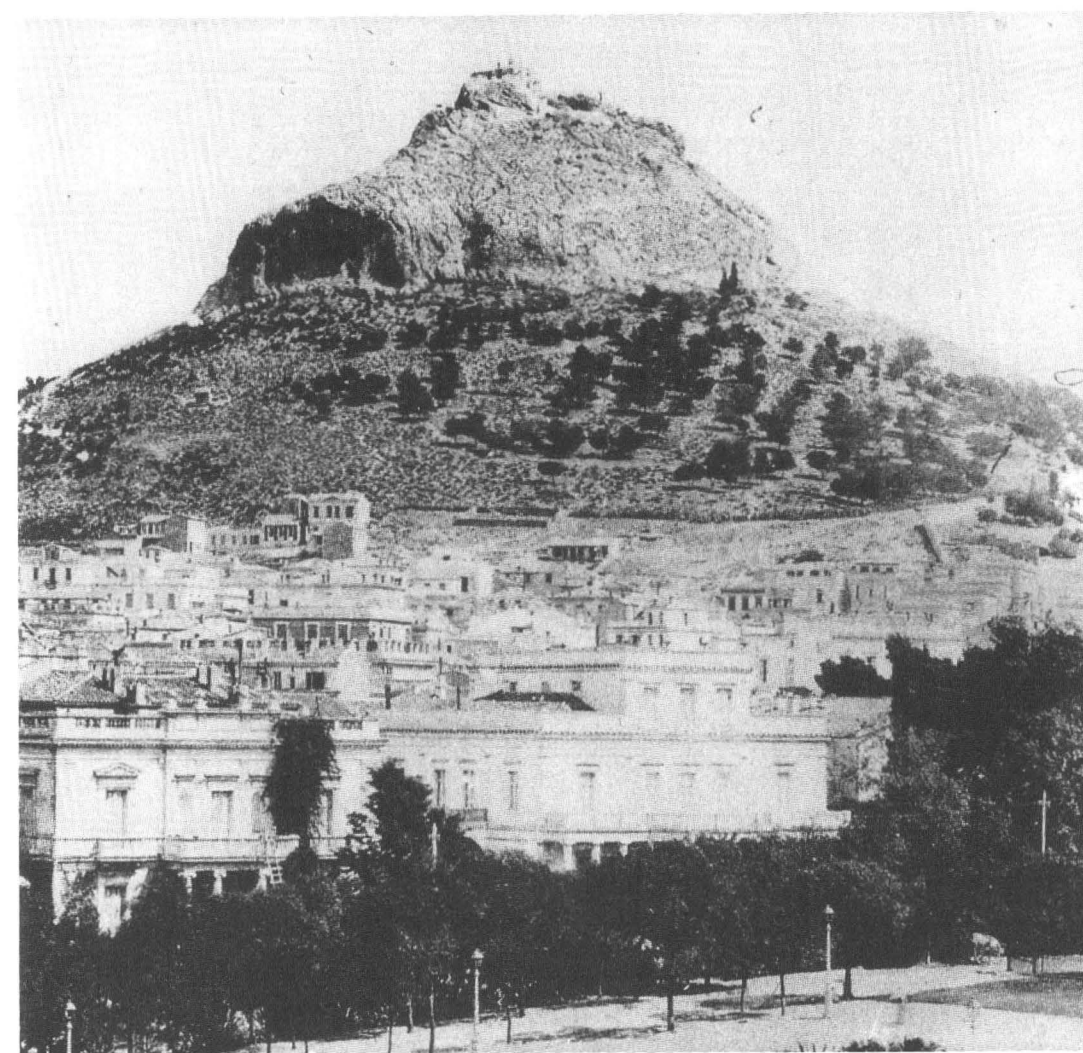


Fig. 73 Lykabettos hill with its sparse greenery as seen from Syntagma Square in the last quarter of the 19th century. (Old postcard).

43 E. Ziller, "Untersuchungen über die antiken Wasserleitungen Athens", *AM* 2 (1877) 107-131.



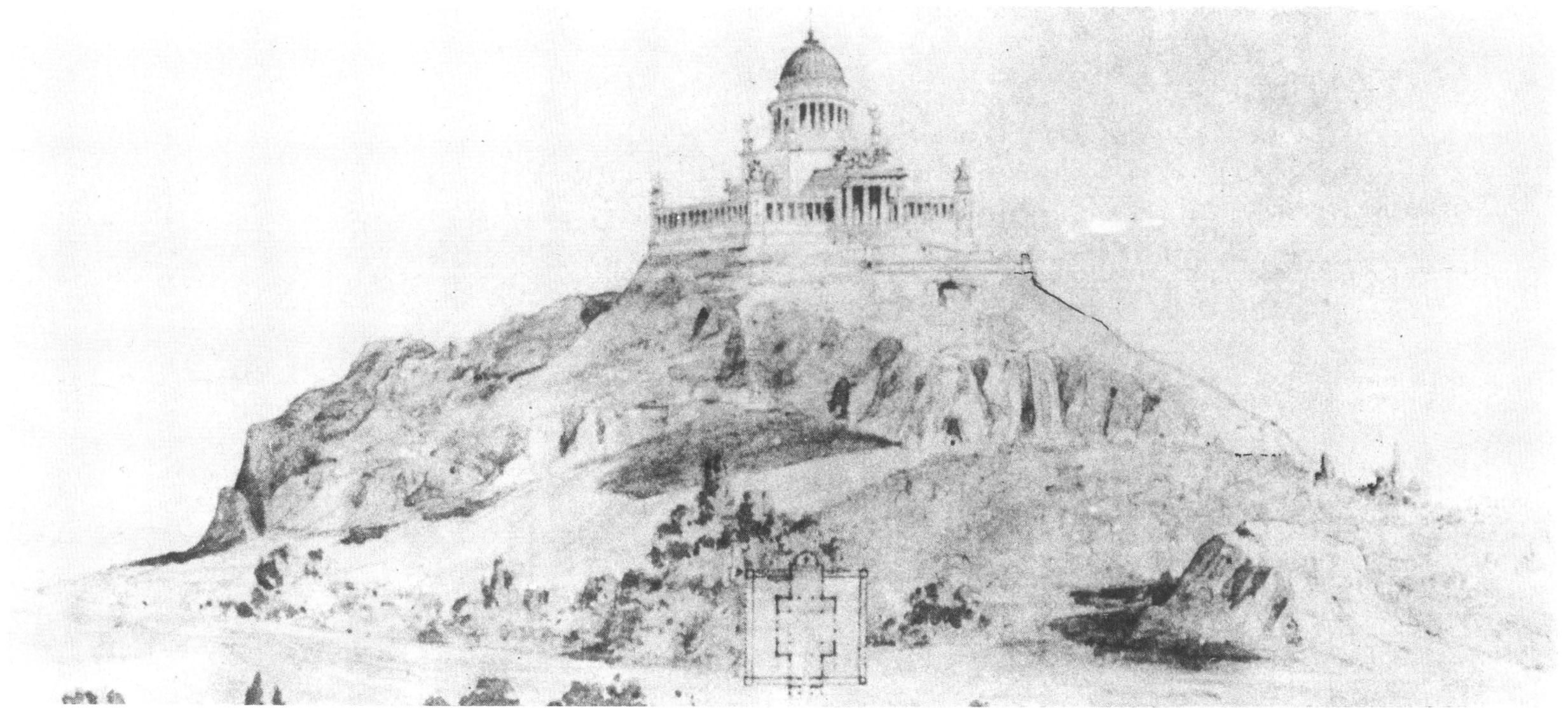


Fig. 74 Ziller's first project for the Heroon on top of Lykabettos hill. (Private collection, Athens).



Fig. 75 Syntagma Square and the Royal Palace at the end of King Otto's reign. Not a single tree is to be seen on Lykabettos. View from the Akropolis. (Photograph by Rumine. Author's Collection).



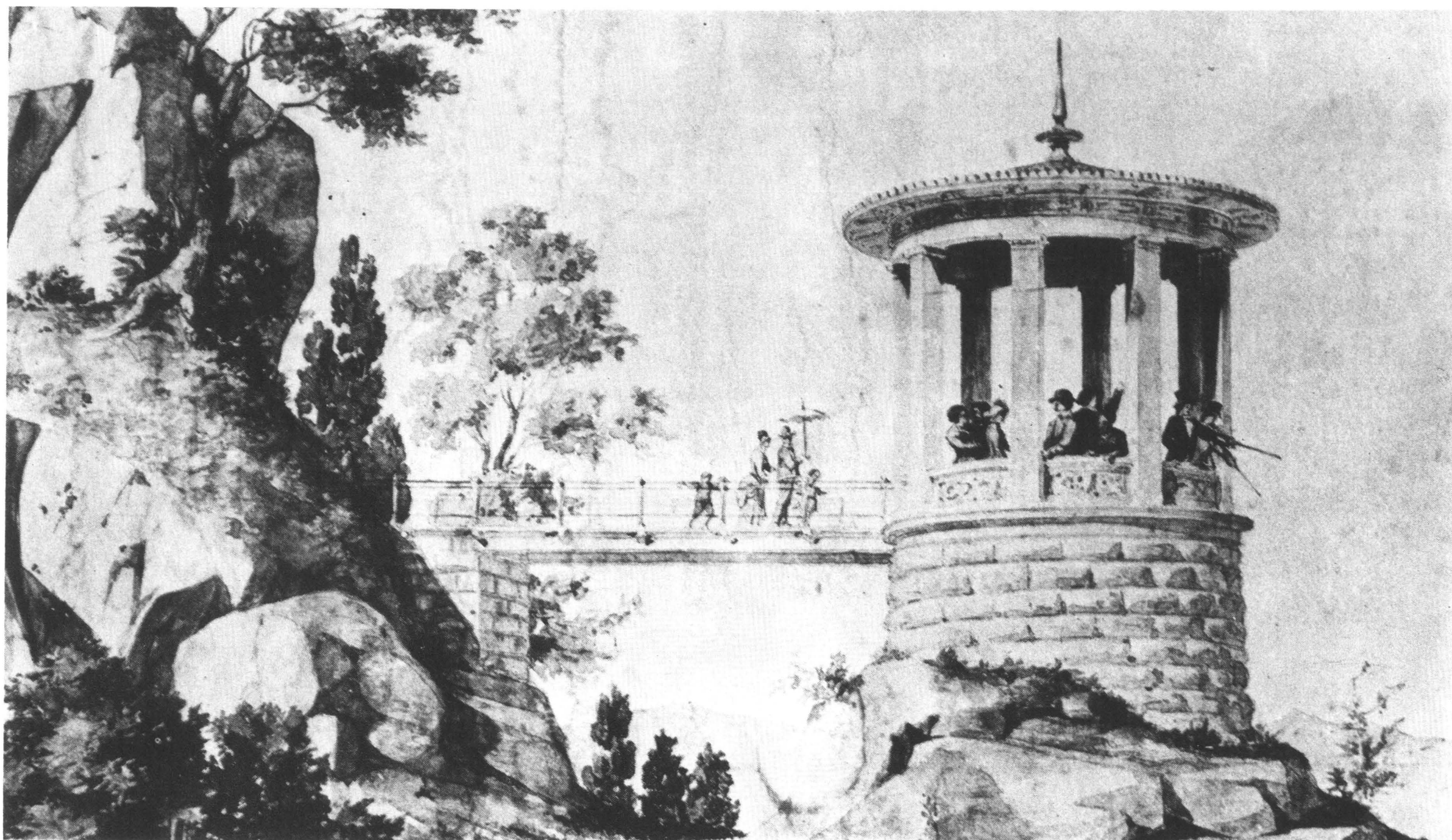


Fig. 76 Ernst Ziller's Lykabettos project: belvedere on the slopes of the hill, the form influenced by the Lysikrates Monument. (Private collection, Athens).

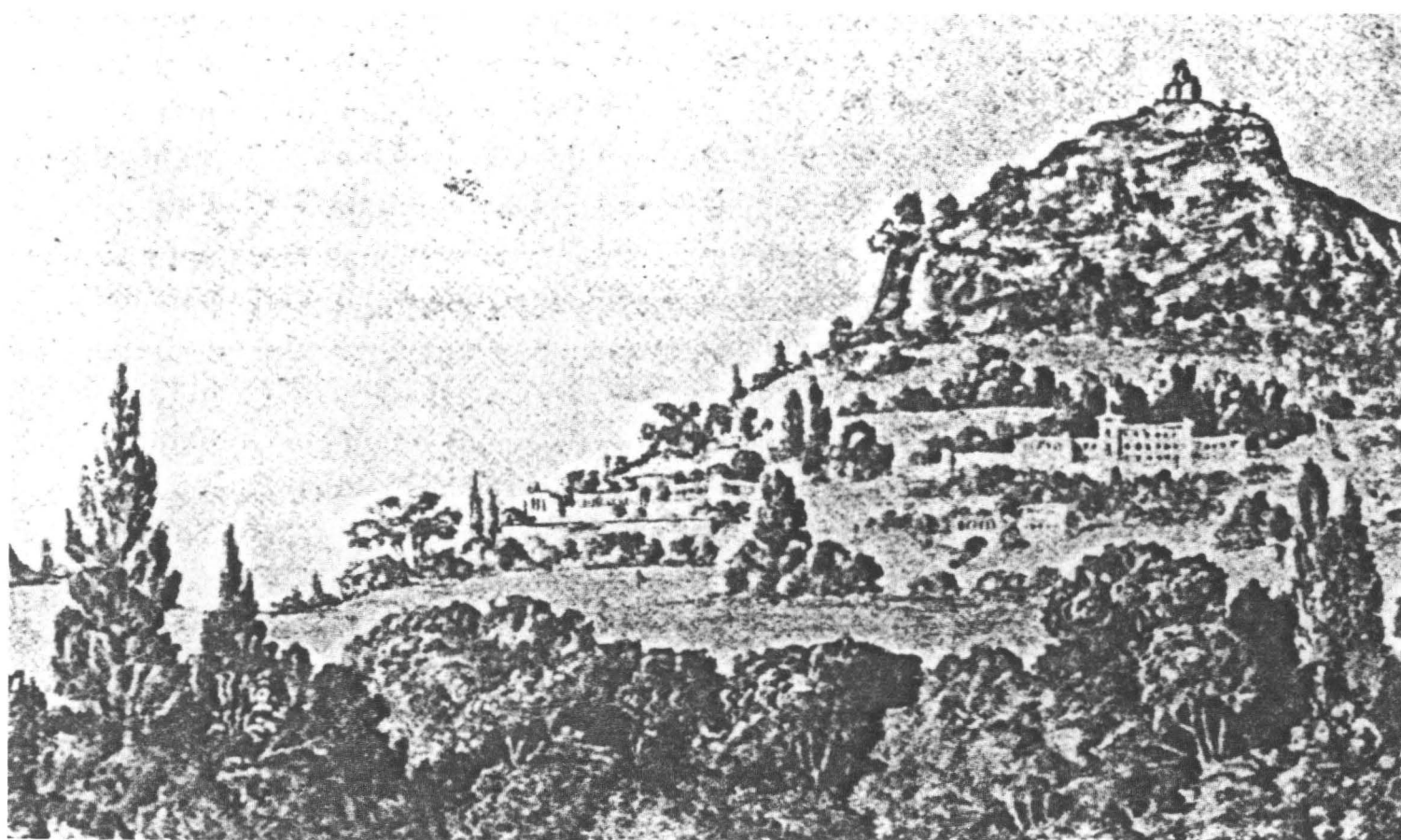


Fig. 77 Ernst Ziller's Lykabettos project: General view of the south slope with cafés, pavilions and landscaping with tall trees. (Private collection, Athens).



Fig. 78 The desolate appearance of the south slope of Lykabettos as it was at the time of Ziller's proposal. (DAI, Athens).



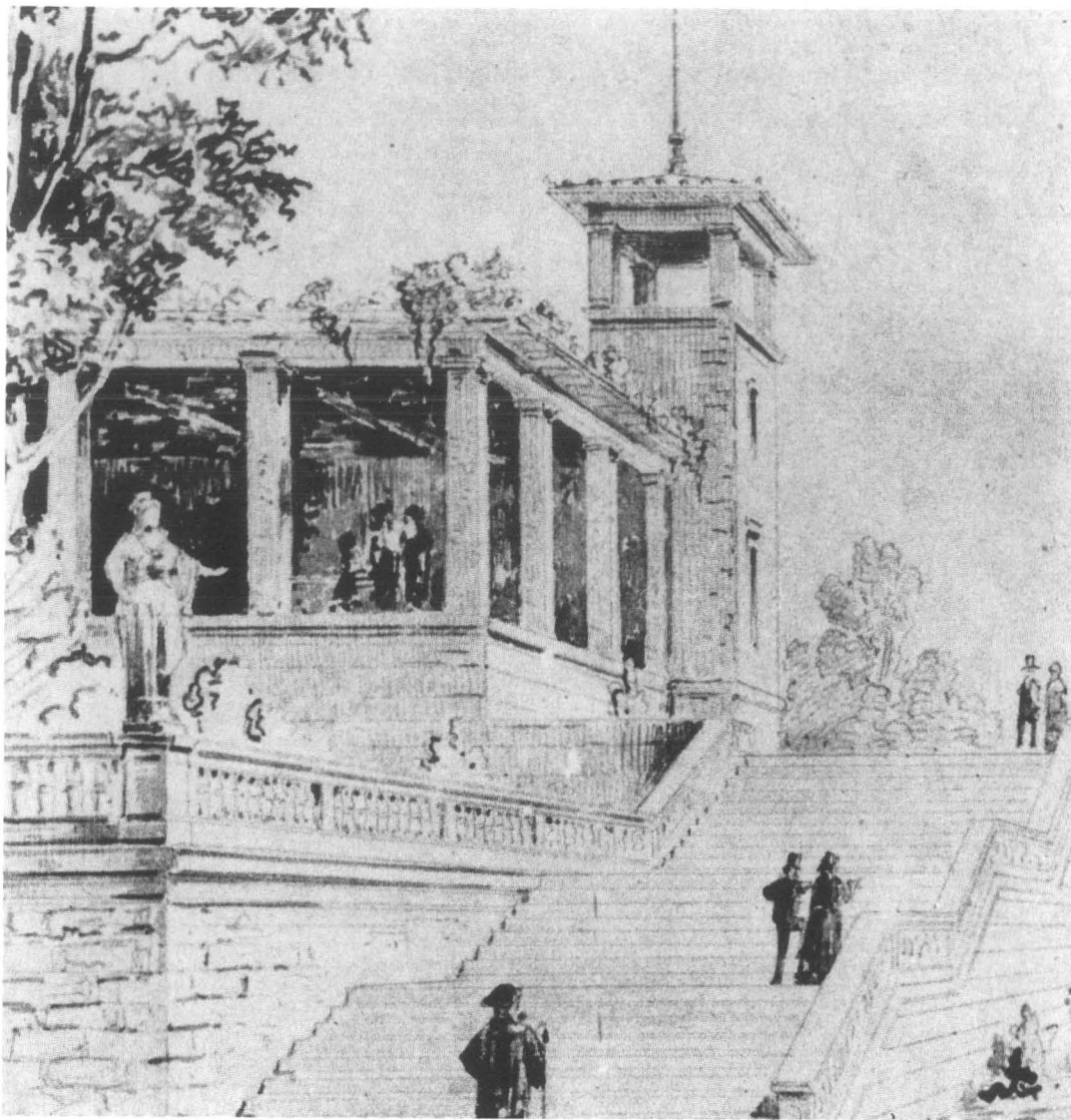


Fig. 79 Ernst Ziller's Lykabettos project: Café with portico, belvedere and terraces. (Private Collection, Athens).

44 In 1836 Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau mentions such a landscape "à la Poussin" in describing his visit to Lykabettos:

"[Wir] stiegen wieder in den Wagen und fuhren am Lykabettos hin, bis wir zwei laubreiche große Pappeln erreichten, welche Herr von Prokesch die Villa Poussin getauft hat, weil das korrekt schöne Landschaftsbild, dessen man von dort ansichtig wird, den geregelten, fast symmetrisch gruppierten und einer gewissen Naturkoketterie teilhaftigen Gemälden jenes Meisters auffallend entspricht". H. von Pückler-Muskau, 1840.

45 As early as 1914 Gustave Fougères foresaw the future urban sprawl and its encroachment on the hills of Athens:

"La ville moderne occupe une superficie double, au moins, du périmètre de l'Athènes de Thémistocle. Comme elle n'a pas d'enceinte militaire elle se développe librement, de préférence vers la plaine au nord, dans la direction de Patisia et d'Ambélokipi, et, à l'Est, sur les pentes du Lycabette(...)

Mais l'accroissement est tel que le lotissement municipal prévoit l'envahissement à bref délai des terrains vacants: déjà le flot montant des maisons enserre tous les flancs du Lycabette et de la Stréphis, et ne laisse plus émerger que les falaises à pic. Bientôt les roches de Koilé les coteaux d'Agrai et de l'Ardettos seront submergés à leur tour, puis Colone et l'Academie". G. Fougères, 1914, 167.

46 Thus for example in 1857 von Prokesch-Osten made the Greek government a present of the Pnyx and surrounding area which his father, the Austrian consul Anton Graf von Prokesch-Osten, had bought from a Turk in 1832; and the site of the Theatre of Dionysos (part of which belonged to General Makriyannis) was expropriated as early as the 1840s.

47 For a concise description of the history of archaeological excavations in Athens, see J. Travlos, "Athens after the liberation. Planning the new city and exploring the old", 1981, 392-400.

48 The most impressive representations made during the first decade following the liberation of Athens are the panoramas of Stademann in 1836, Bracebridge in 1839 and Du Moncel in 1843.

create a rustic continuation of the classicizing town, an airy garden on the hilly ground with various curiosities (i.e. small buildings acting as eye-catchers and offering various amenities). Landscaping of this type<sup>44</sup> would, however, require ample irrigation and considerable maintenance which was far beyond the technical and financial means of the municipality at the time.

Although the project was not implemented, Ziller's proposal had a decisive impact on the later treatment of Lykabettos and other Athenian hills. The extensive reafforestation program initiated by Princess Sophia around the turn of the century, with the aim of protecting the Athenian hills from being settled<sup>45</sup>, harks back to Ernst Ziller's ideas for embellishing Lykabettos.

### Areas excavated in the 19th century

A central section of the cultural-historic area has been formed by sites which have gradually increased by means of donations of property and expropriation measures.<sup>46</sup>

Due to von Klenze's decisive intervention as early as 1834 the Akropolis plateau was freed and preserved as a monumental ensemble and inviolable archaeological precinct ever since. As a consequence almost continuous investigations were carried out on the Akropolis throughout the 19th century down to the large-scale campaign of 1886-1890.

A detailed account of the history of archaeological excavations in Athens is given in Chapter 3. Excavations outside the Akropolis have not been pursued on any systematic plan<sup>47</sup>. At the turn of the century, however, a first inner archaeological zone was created after the following sites had been investigated: the Olympieion, Theatre of Dionysos, Stoa of Eumenes, Odeion of Herodes Atticus, the Areopagus-Pnyx Valley and the Pnyx terrace. Investigations here and there within the old town cleared the Stoa of Attalos and part of the Odeion of Agrippa (1859-1862); after the bazar of the old town burnt down the Library of Hadrian was partly cleared (1885) and also the Roman Agora (1890-1891). From 1863 on the Kerameikos site was continuously investigated by the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Thus archaeological research during the 19th century secured the status *non edificandi* of the immediate surroundings of the Akropolis, of the western hills, of the Olympieion and the Stadium, while the large scale campaigns for clearing the Agora, the Kerameikos and the Academy were still to come.

### Violation and disfiguration of the historic landscape. Reafforestation of the Athenian hills

At the beginning of the 19th century the aridity, desolation and neglect of the Attic landscape in the immediate vicinity of Athens after many centuries of slow decay and depopulation was a sad fact, to which many foreign visitors and precise pictorial documentation attest.<sup>48</sup>. There was scarcely any improvement during the entire 19th century. Except for the Royal Garden (a unique oasis of greenery on the eastern edge of the town) and the age-old olive grove in the Kephissos plain extending north to southwest of the town, no other afforestation existed in the capital of the new state. Old photographs, views and panoramas taken between 1860 and 1900 show the desolate and bare character of the landscape (i.e. the still unbuilt areas) around the modest town and the complete deforestation of the hills in the center of the Athenian basin (fig. 85-87).

This problematic state of the natural environment did not, however, diminish the immense attraction and charm exerted by the Attic setting. Over and over again, European visitors accustomed to much greener and more luxurious landscapes in their native countries were spellbound by the limpidity of the atmosphere, the sculptural qualities of the rock formations, the changing effects of light and shadow, the brilliance of the colors and the harmonious contours of the mountains. Western visitors discovered a new kind of natural beauty on classical ground. On the one hand there were ecological and climatic disadvantages caused by a number of factors including the drying up of underground water reserves, lack of recreational areas in the town, no





Fig. 80 Early excavations on the Akropolis plateau, east of the Parthenon. Watercolour by Ludwig Lange, 1834. (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).

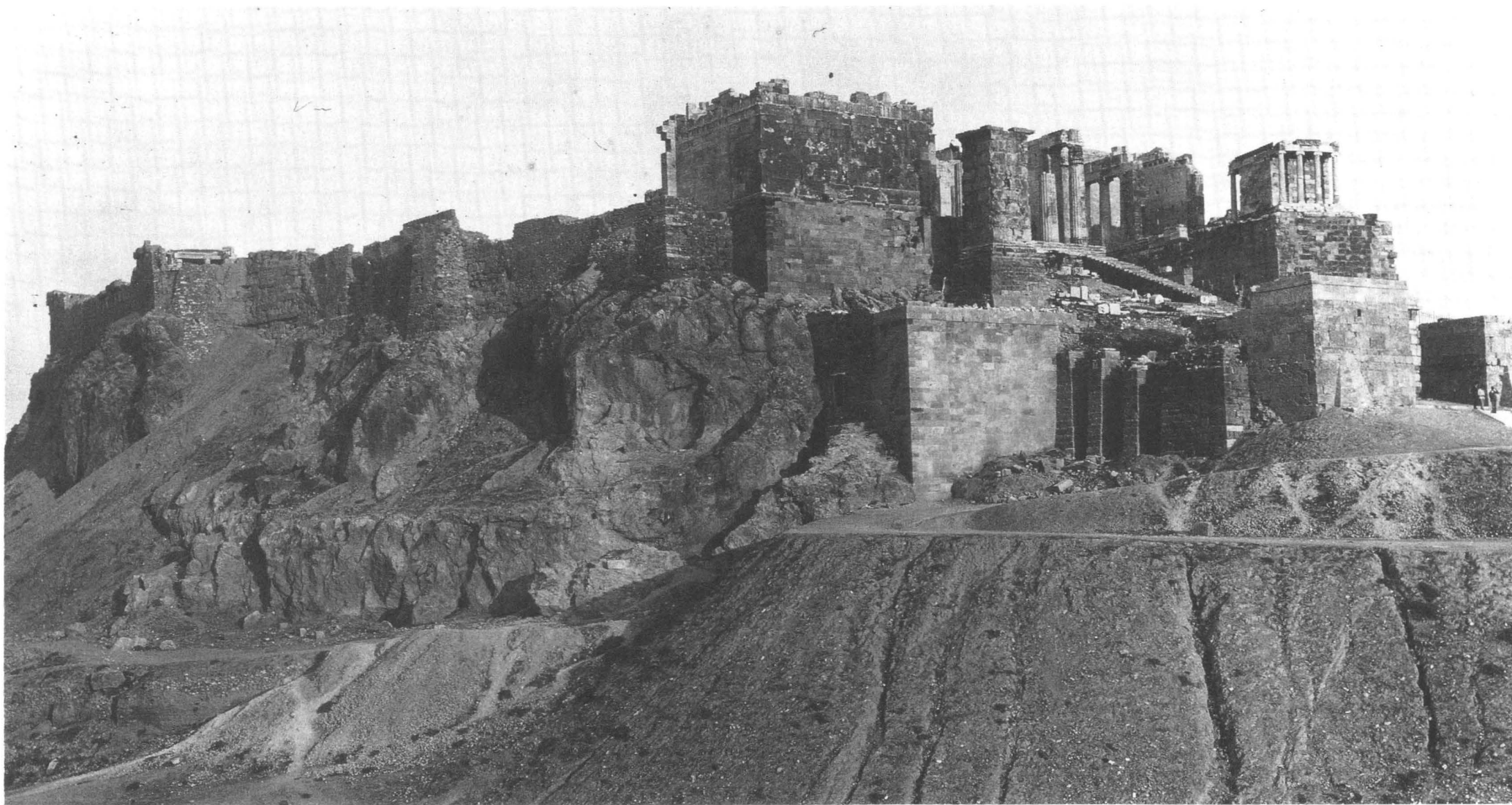


Fig. 81 The entrance to the Akropolis from the NW around 1880. Note the huge accumulations of dumped earth on the NW slope. (Photograph by A. Normand, French School at Athens).





Fig. 82 The Akropolis from the west. In the foreground, excavations of the ancient residential area on the Akropolis west slope around the turn of the century. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 83 The southeastern part of the Roman Agora around 1900 after the early excavations. Upper left: the Tower of the Winds with the arched façade of the so-called Agoranomeion to the right. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 84 The foundations of the Stoa of Attalos amidst the houses of the old town, before 1931 when the large-scale excavations of the Agora began. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 85 The Areopagus from the east. A very early photograph taken around 1860. Note that absolutely nothing is growing there. (Benaki Museum, Athens).





Fig. 86 View of the Akropolis from the church of Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris to the west. From left to right: Lykabettos, the Akropolis, the Akropolis south slope, Hadrian's Arch and the Olympieion. The Akropolis slopes, the Olympieion area and Lykabettos are entirely bare. Watercolour by Ludwig Lange, 1836. (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).

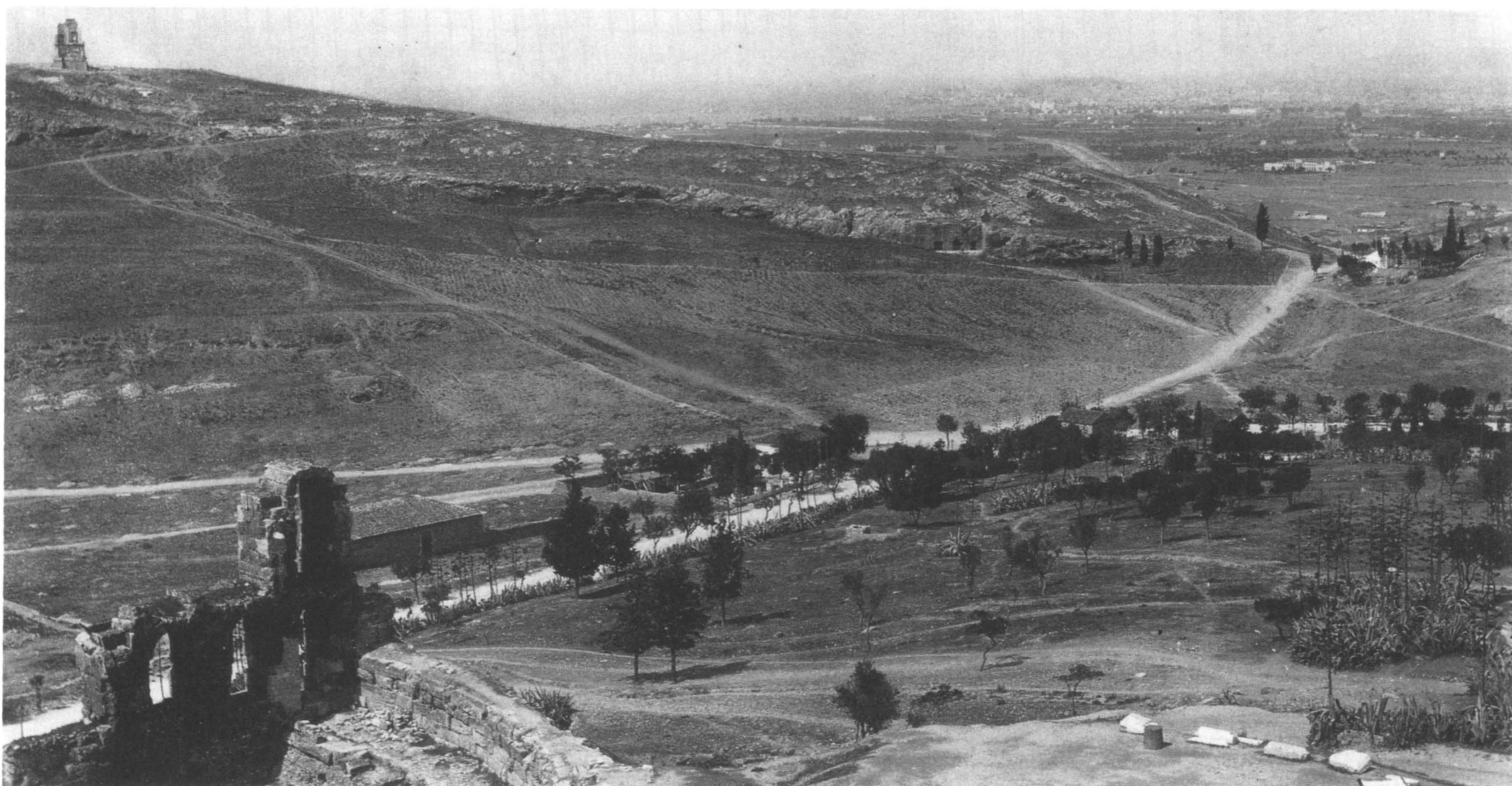


Fig. 87 Mouseion hill (Philopappos) in a completely bare state. Lower left: the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. Photograph taken from the Propylaia around 1895. (DAI, Athens).



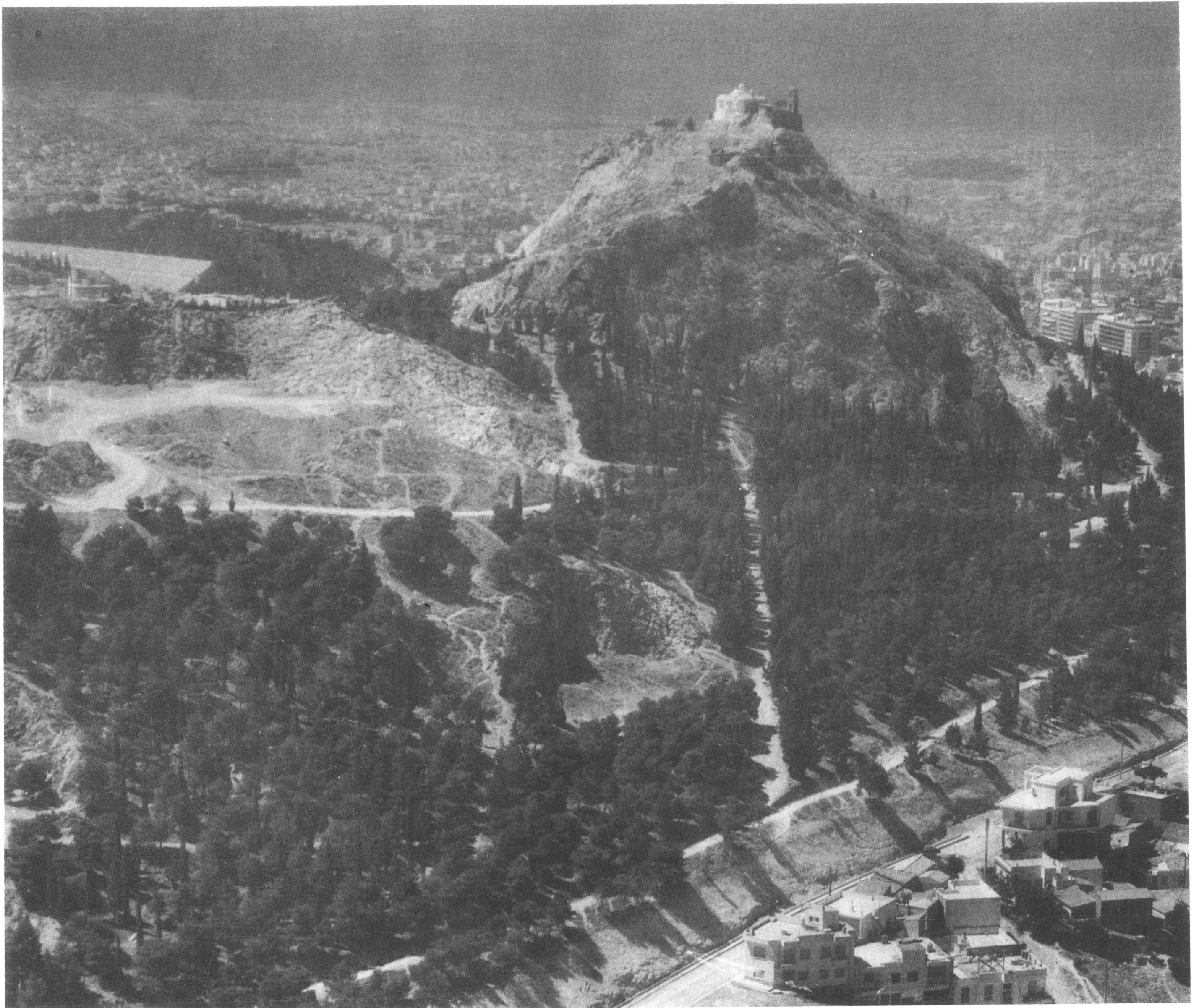


Fig. 88 Lykabettos NW slope. The reafforested slopes are covered with pine trees and cypresses; the deep wounds of earlier quarrying are still to be seen. In the foreground: the circular trench and the ring road around Lykabettos. Airview from the north, taken in 1962. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 89 The Akropolis from the southwest. The Akropolis south slope before replanting (1900). (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 90 The view in fig. 89 taken in 1986. (Photograph by the author).





Fig. 91 The typical planting pattern of the reforestation campaigns in Athens. A close-up aerial view of the upper part of Mouseion hill (1965). (Greek Ministry of Housing).



physical barriers against the winds. On the other hand, the aesthetic image of the Athenian landscape was not only accepted but even deeply admired by visiting architects, archaeologists and artists as a natural setting of great beauty further enhanced by the unique historical associations and ancient monuments.<sup>49</sup>

From the beginning, however, various dangers threatened the natural contours with their historic associations. Fortunately, the initial planning proposals for developing the new town on the western hills, i.e. the Areopagus, Philopappos hill and the Hill of the Nymphs, which would have involved obliterating these historic sites, were not carried out. During the 20th century need for housing caused uncontrolled rapid building, with the result that the lower slopes of Lykabettos were covered over, the same happened also at Strephi hill (Anchesmos) and at the hill of Kolonos; even the heights of Pankrati were completely urbanized. The main bulk of the historic hills (including Ardetos, Hill of the Nymphs, Philopappos, Areopagus) did, however, remain unsettled, mainly because they were planted with trees around the turn of the 19-20th century. The most destructive calamity afflicting the historic hills of the inner town during the 19th century was uncontrolled quarrying. The first Greek law concerning ancient monuments, promulgated as early as 1834, prohibited lime kilns within 2500 m of archaeological areas; no restrictions on quarrying were included. Quarrying began in 1835 on the northern slopes of Lykabettos, on Strephi, and the Pnyx range. The authorities reacted to these depredations by prohibiting them by law. These ordinances, however, had a very questionable validity, as a good part of the hilly terrain was thought to be private property liable to expropriation in order to protect the landscape.

By the end of 1836 the government gave instructions for the immediate stop of quarrying activities on the southern slopes of Lykabettos, not far from the new royal palace then under construction. About 15 ha belonging to the architect S. Kleanthes were expropriated for 1000 golden sovereigns by the state in order to protect this site.

During the first building boom in Athens, between 1835 and 1842, illegal and uncontrolled quarrying continued on all Athenian hills, carving deep wounds in the delicate natural contours of the landscape, still visible today. The main deformations are on the southern and central part of Lykabettos, on the peak of Strephi, and on the southwestern slopes of Philopappos. This last area was *legally* exploited until the end of the 19th century!

In 1842 a legal committee set up by King Otto came to the conclusion that the Athenian hills were public property from the time of Turkish rule and consequently there was no need to expropriate the slopes in order to protect them. Quarrying was then in abeyance up until 1861. In that year a law about quarrying freely permitted exploitation of all the areas 'outside the city plan'. Given that the town was of limited extent at that time, with all of the Athenian hills lying outside the town, the stealthy disfiguration continued until the end of the century when reafforestation put an end to this calamity.

It is worth mentioning that for many decades the intellectuals of the country repeatedly protested against this desecration of the Athenian landscape, in vain. With the rapid expansion of the town during the 20th century, the stone quarriers moved their attacks on the sculptural contours of the hills from the inner town to the slopes of Tourkovounia, Hymettos and the Aigaleos range. Once again enlightened public opinion reacted strongly to this catastrophe, but with no success.<sup>50</sup> In 1957 a prestigious special committee was created under the presidency of King Paul to deal with the problem, but even it was not able to exert effective control. The open wounds in quite conspicuous places in the Athenian landscape have not been healed up until now. Although the resources of modern technology would make it easy to fill up the gashes, no refilling has taken place and no attempt to restore the delicate contours of the Athenian hills has ever been considered so far. A partial remedy for this disfiguration was the random replanting of the inner city hills. This measure, although a palliative, was far from being a planned landscaping of the critical areas. Furthermore, a serious problem arises in connexion with large-scale replanting. Many unexcavated areas of considerable interest, for example the south and west slopes of the Akropolis, are covered today with trees, thus impeding future excavations.

Around 1880 the Forestry Department took the first step in replanting the southern slopes of Lykabettos near the Church of Moni Petraki. Soon afterwards the young plants were nibbled to extinction by freely grazing flocks of sheep.



Fig. 92 The NW slope of the Akropolis after completion of the landscaping scheme by D. Pikionis (1960). Note the deliberate avoidance of patterns in planting. (Greek Ministry of Housing).

49 For example Leo von Klenze wrote:

“Nein wahrlich keine Stadt der Welt bietet ein solches Schauspiel, wie diese Aussicht von dem Felsen der Athena dar, und sie scheint durch ihre Lage zu einer höheren geistigen Entwicklung des Volkes, welches hier seinen Wohnsitz aufschlägt, gleichsam berufen und bezeichnet worden zu sein. Diese Gruppe von Felsenhöhen der Akropolis, des Mouseion, Areiospagos, des Nymphenhügels und des doppelgipfligen Lykabettos, auf und um welche sich die Tempel und Wohnungen der alten Athenienser drängten, in einer fruchtbaren Ebene zerstreut, kamen mir oft als die Skene eines grossen Theaters vor, dessen erste Sitzreihen (die Protobathren der Reichen und Mächtigen) der Brillen, die daphnischen, korydalischen und ägialischen Hügel bilden”. Leo von Klenze, 1838, 389.

And an anonymous traveller enthusiastically stated:

“Mit wahrhafter Extase betrachtete ich die Schönheit der Gebirge, des Himmels, der Meeresufer und des Meeres. Alles ist hier Felsen, nicht ein einziger Baum ist in unserer Nähe, um in uns das Gefühl der Ruhe und der Erfrischung zu erwecken, und dennoch ist, diese Ansicht voller Anmuth und Reiz. Man kann sich von dem prachtvollen Kolorit der Gebirge, des Wassers, der Wolken und von der unendlichen Mannigfaltigkeit der verschiedenen Nebellichter keinen Begriff machen, wenn man die griechischen Gebirge nicht durchwandert, das griechische Meer nicht befahren hat”. Anonymous, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1854.

50 It is interesting to compare various cries in the wilderness protesting against the violation of the historic landscape of Athens. In 1887 the archaeologist Kontopoulos wrote a report to the Prime Minister Ch. Trikoupis in which he indignantly asked in what other country in the whole world had a site having the historic and aesthetic value possessed by Athens been converted into an appalling landscape of quarries and lime kilns.

And echoing his crv. D. Pikionis wrote in 1954:

“The Attic soil is now like the beautiful body of a heavenly creature devoured by a disease.(...) I no longer see the altars of the gods on its hills and mountains; what I see instead are the offices and engines of your industrial corporations. Altars were for worship; for you (i.e. present-day Athenians) only a trivial form of a relation to nature remains: exploitation”. D. Pikionis, 1985, 127 ff. (Original text in Greek. Translation by the author).



Up to the end of the 19th century almost nothing was done to improve the image of the town by new planting. The actual program of replanting the Athenian hills started only about the turn of the century and was pursued tenaciously for three generations. The plants are very well chosen: cacti, pine trees, cypresses and wild olive trees, i.e. evergreens that can survive on rainwater alone; their sculptural forms go well with the contours of the landscape. The total surface of the inner city hills is about 119 ha, 100 of which have been replanted. This was the first constructive treatment of the historic areas, banishing forever the threat of building operations at those places.

In 1898 the Union of the Friends of the Trees was founded, a non-profit philanthropic organization under the active presidency of Princess Sophia (later the queen). An important tree nursery was established in the Pankrati district east of the Stadium, on the site which later became the little Pankrati Grove. In 1899 legislation about the reafforestation of the Attic landscape was ratified in parliament. During 1900-1910, 300,000 trees, mainly *pinus halepensis*, were planted by school children and benevolent associations on the inner city hills. Quarrying was finally stopped. This timely replanting is one of the most constructive planning measures taken for the city (especially if one considers the otherwise rather unhappy and uncoordinated evolution of the town), although genuine landscaping treatment maintained by an irrigation network developed only in the course of the last decades.

A final point is that up until today, apart from some provisional open-air theatres and tourist pavilions, no large modern structures have been inflicted on the historic hills to the detriment of nearby ancient monuments. Thus the hilltops have not been disfigured with any so-called crowning elements<sup>51</sup> and the crowning insult to the Attic landscape planned by the dictatorial regime of 1967-1974, i.e. a gigantic church, conceived as the Athenian answer to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, to be built on Tourkovounia in northern Athens, was never carried out to the great good fortune of the Athenian cityscape.

Recurrent plans for a monumental avenue linking the 'Athenian Trilogy' (i.e. the National library, the University and the Academy) with the Akropolis area

During the course of the 20th century a considerable number of master plans, aiming at both the rehabilitation of the central Athens area and at orderly expansion, have been elaborated by private experts, town-planning advisors appointed by the government, and also by municipal and state town-planning administrations. These plans, discussed elsewhere in specialized studies<sup>52</sup> will be considered here only in regard to their treatments of the inner city green belt.

By the turn of the century the population of Athens was over 120,000 and the congestion in the centre of the old city, i.e. the southern part of the triangle bounded by Ermou, Peiraioi and Stadiou streets, was considered as the unhappy legacy from the time before 1821. Starting with Paul Vakas' proposals for regulating traffic in central Athens in 1896, the basic idea of a new axis to be cut through the old town was repeatedly formulated by various professionals and government authorities during the following decades.

The solutions proposed were quite similar in their essentials: the common element was the breakthrough of a straight avenue, 400 m long, leading from the University building halfway down Panepistimiou st. to Monastiraki Square next to the Library of Hadrian on the northern edge of the archaeological zone.

The implicit, and in some cases explicit, motivation for this proposal can be found in:

a) the intention of creating a direct visual and functional link between the 'Athenian Trilogy' in the new part of the city, half way between Omonia and Syntagma Squares and the excavation area on the SW edge of the inner town. A symbolic axis was envisaged linking the cultural facilities of modern Athens with its ancient heritage.

b) the tardy attempt to excavate a substantial portion of the ancient residential area of the town situated in this large area (400 × 125 m, i.e. 5 ha), which could be excavated were the avenue to be constructed.

51 Ludwig Hoffmann, the leading town planning officer of the city of Berlin, who visited Athens in 1909 in order to give expert advice on the future development of the city, humorously criticized the existing plans for erecting a monument to the last Byzantine emperor Constantine Palaeologos on top of Ardetos hill as follows:

"Hierbei wurde mir eine Photographie eines Denkmals für Konstantin Palaiologos vorgelegt, welches auf der Höhe des Arditos nahe der Akropolis ausgeführt werden sollte. Man hatte dafür in Italien einen Wettbewerb ausgeschrieben, mit dem Preisgericht war auch der damalige Kronprinz nach Rom gereist, nun sollte ich über das preisgekrönte Kunstwerk mein Urteil sagen. Ich mußte an die vielen modernen Denkmäler in Italien denken, an die unglücklichen Victor Emanuels und Garibaldis, die in so manchen italienischen Städten einen argen Mißklang in die schönen alten Platzbilder bringen. Ich empfand es als ein Unglück für Athen, wenn zu den Antiken, die in ihrer großen und ruhigen Auffassung nicht eine Falte, nicht ein kleines Detail zu viel zeigen, ein solch flatterhaftes, sinn- und gefühllos zusammengearbeitetes Bildwerk gestellt würde. Ich erklärte dies den Herren an allen Einzelheiten im Vergleich mit ihren antiken Bildwerken und riet ihnen, falls es durchaus aufgestellt werden müsse, von den dafür zur Verfügung gestellten 100,000 Drachmen nur 90,000 zu verwenden, damit sie nicht finanziell in die Verlegenheit kämen, wenn sie es später wieder entfernen wollten. Ich empfahl, in allen solchen Fällen zunächst das Gipsmodell eines modernen Kunstwerks in natürlicher Größe ein Jahr lang in ihrem Nationalmuseum zu ihren antiken Statuen zu stellen, und nur, wenn sie noch Gefallen daran fänden, es in echtem Material auszuführen". L. Hoffmann, 1983, 204-206.

52 For detailed information about the various town planning schemes for modern Athens from 1832 to 1965, see the Bibliography under K. Biris, 1966 and J. Michael, 1969.



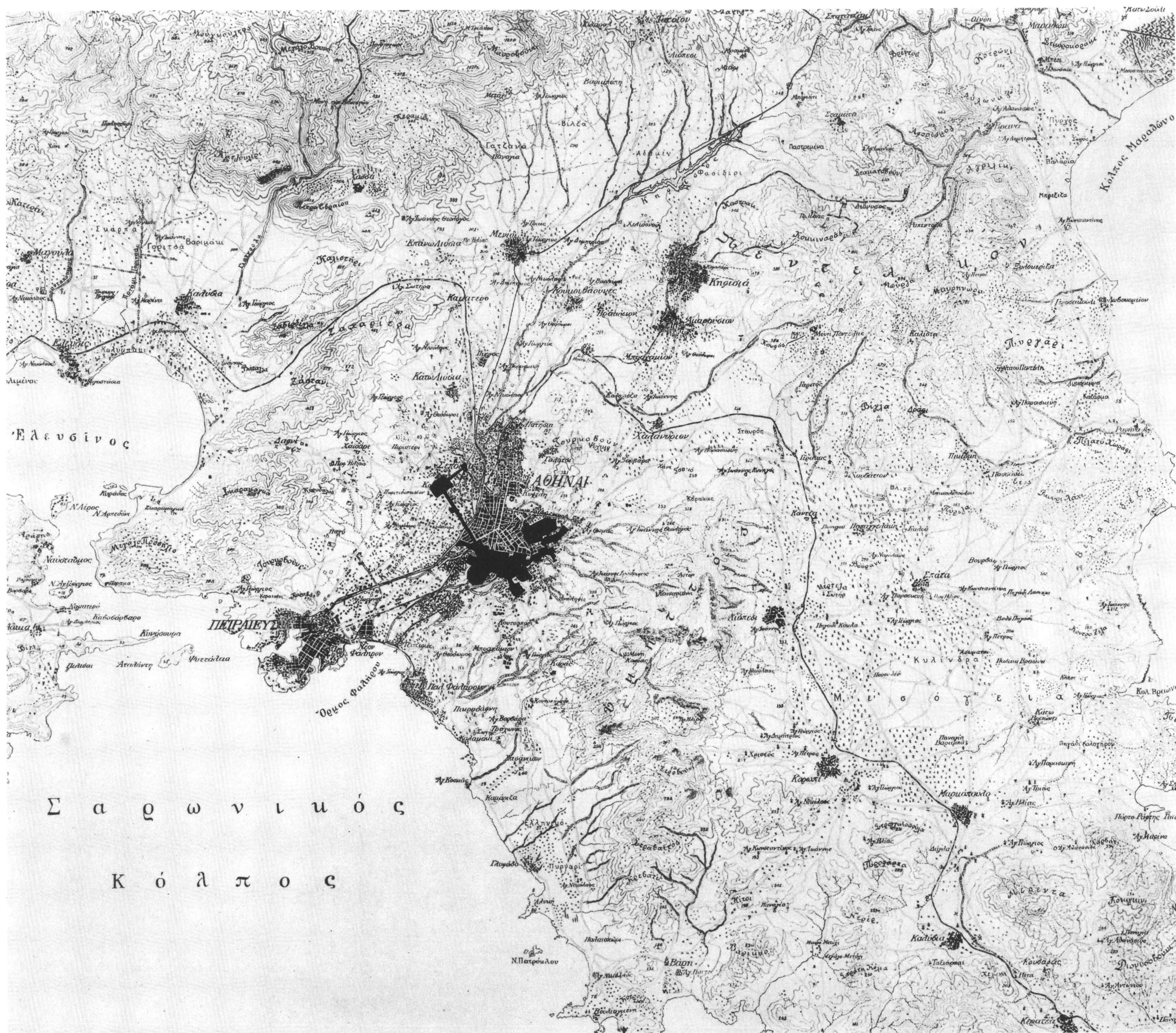


Fig. 93 The Greater Athens area in 1920. The total surface (357 ha) of the cultural-historic area (in black) equals about one tenth of the urbanized area of the city at that time. Scale ca 1:175,000.







This recurrent idea is to be found in the following master plan concepts for Athens:

1896 plan by the architect Paul Vakas

1908 plan by Athanasios Georgiadis

1911 town-planning expertise and a master plan of Athens by Ludwig Hoffmann

1914 town-planning expertise and master plan of Athens by Thomas Mawson

1918 plan by Stylianos Leloudas

1954 master plan of Athens worked out by the Ministry of Public Works

1959 study for the breakthrough of Korais st. worked out by the housing division of the Ministry of Public Works.

The Vakas plan was a rather schematic attempt proposing a radial-concentric traffic regulation scheme for central Athens; here the new axis was planned as only one of several avenues radiating from Monastiraki Square. The explicit aim of both the Georgiadis and Hoffmann proposals was the creation of a monumental urban promenade linking the centre of the new part of the city with the archaeological site. Georgiadis (fig. 94) conceived the new axis as a direct extension of Korais st. (which he dramatically named Perikles and Aspasia Avenue), linking the 'Athenian Trilogy' with Monastiraki Square. Here the avenue was to turn south, cutting through the Plaka and leading up to the Areopagus!

In 1909 the Athens municipality invited Ludwig Hoffmann, the leading town-planning officer of Berlin at that time, to visit Athens and to give expert advice on remodelling and embellishing the rapidly expanding town. Hoffmann not only worked out a master plan for the entire town, he also made detailed urban design proposals for critical areas. He produced an elegant design for a new S-shaped boulevard linking the monumental ensemble of the 'Athenian Trilogy' with the old town in an unostentatious manner.<sup>53</sup> This concept combined an approach to the antiquities from the centre of town with a revival of the ancient Peripatos, allowing for a visit around the edge of the Akropolis area and at the same time creating a protective ring around it (fig. 96).

Thomas Mawson worked out the first comprehensive master plan for the expanded city during World War I; he planned the same axis, grouping around it the new national administrative centre (an idea reintroduced in the proposal of 1959). In both the plans worked out by Leloudas (fig. 97) and by the Ministry of Public Works (fig. 100) the breakthrough of the new avenue is envisaged only as part of an overall traffic regulation scheme for central Athens.

The most recent attempt to realize this recurrent scheme was made as late as 1959. Under the aegis of K. Karamanlis, the Prime Minister, the housing division of the Ministry of Public Works produced an urban restructuring study (fig. 99) based on a detailed expropriation survey in order to make a breakthrough on the line of Korais st. and to create a state administrative district, 45 years after the first very similar proposal of Mawson and 130 years after the foundation of modern Athens.

All of these proposals remained in the realm of theory. The costs of expropriation and the hardships for commercial enterprises in the central area of town were insurmountable difficulties hindering the realization of this plan. The creation of a district for government offices in the heart of the town would have been a severe planning error, increasing traffic congestion and making a barrier of high-rise buildings in the immediate vicinity of the monumental heritage. But opening up a visual axis, as a pedestrian mall linking the 'Athenian Trilogy' and the central part of the cultural-historical area, remains a seminal idea valid for the future. In addition to this *idée fixe*, another astonishing feature of the plans for central Athens is the disrespectful treatment of the Plaka and the nearby historic hills evidenced in several studies. Thus the schemes proposed by Vakas, Mawson and the Ministry of Public Works involved an ill-considered enlargement of Adrianou st., disfiguring the main traditional curved backbone of the old district.

In 1906 the committee under the chairmanship of Crown Prince Constantine made sketchy recommendations for the central historic area, characterized by a lack of sensitivity to the contours of the historic hills:

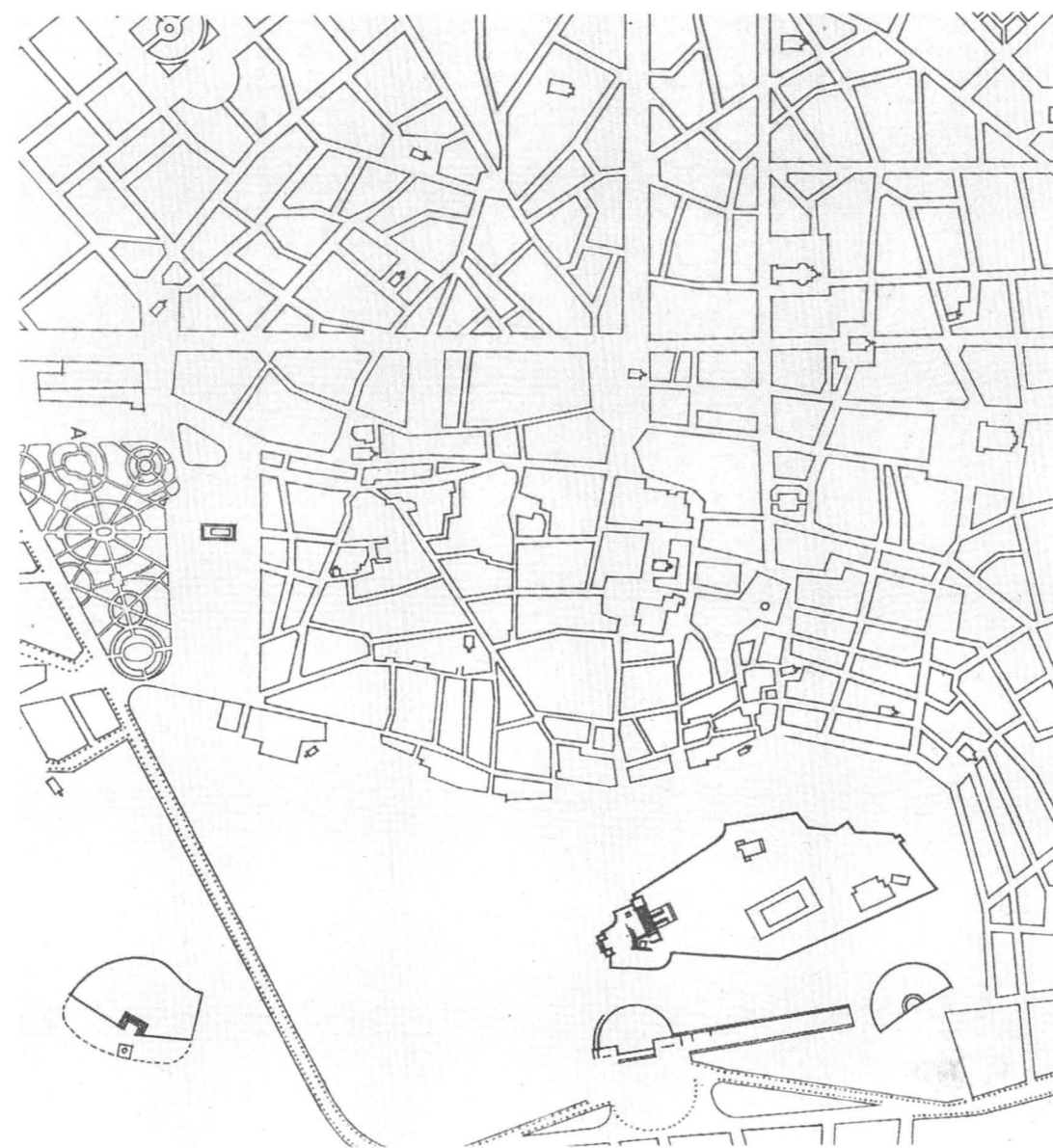


Fig. 95 The central Athens area and Akropolis surroundings as they were in 1911. Compare with the Ludwig Hoffmann proposal, fig. 96. Scale 1:10,000. (Hoffmann, 1911).

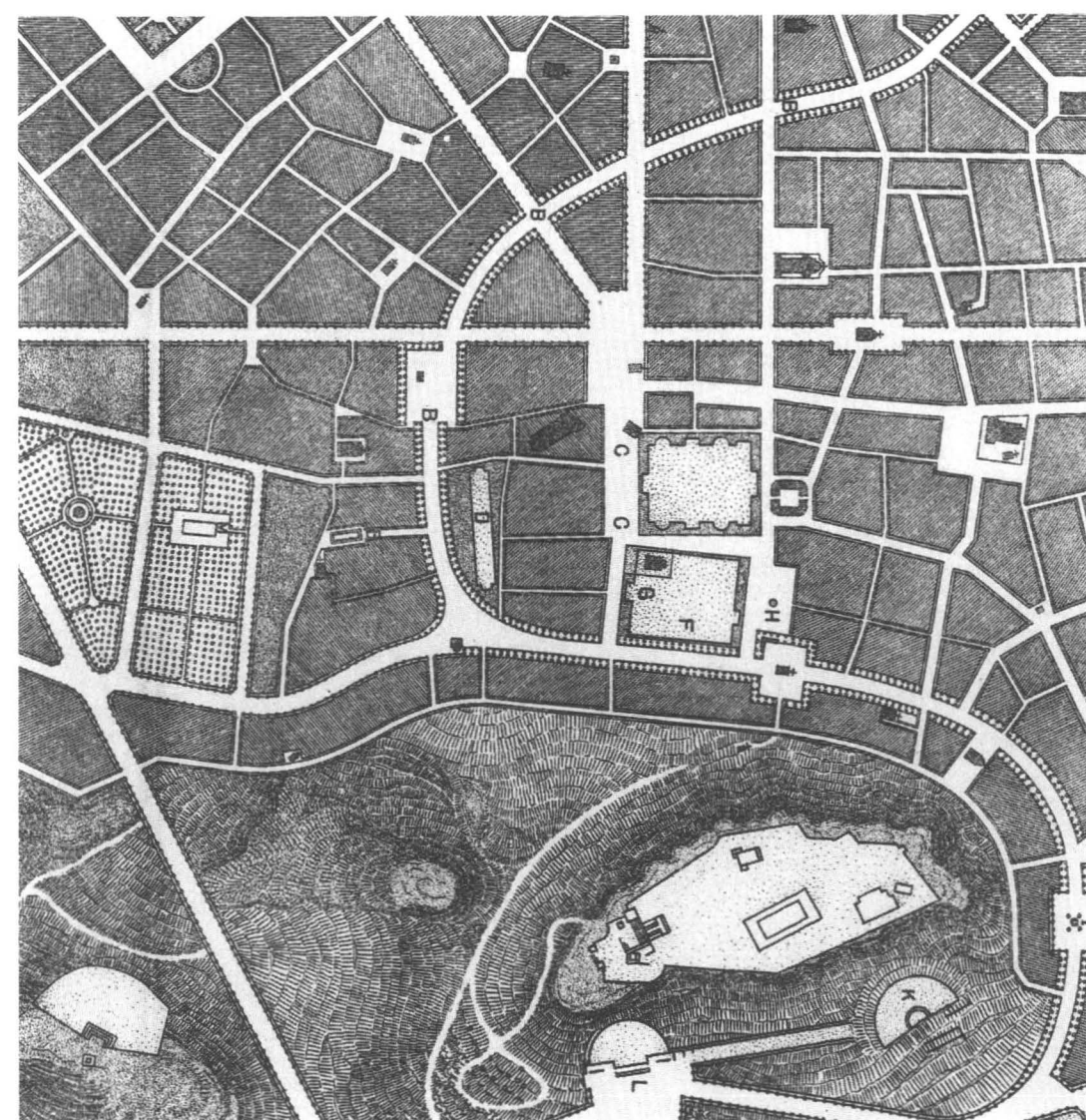


Fig. 96 The Ludwig Hoffmann proposal, 1911. The S-shaped boulevard is a new approach to the Akropolis. Scale 1:10,000. (Hoffmann, 1911).







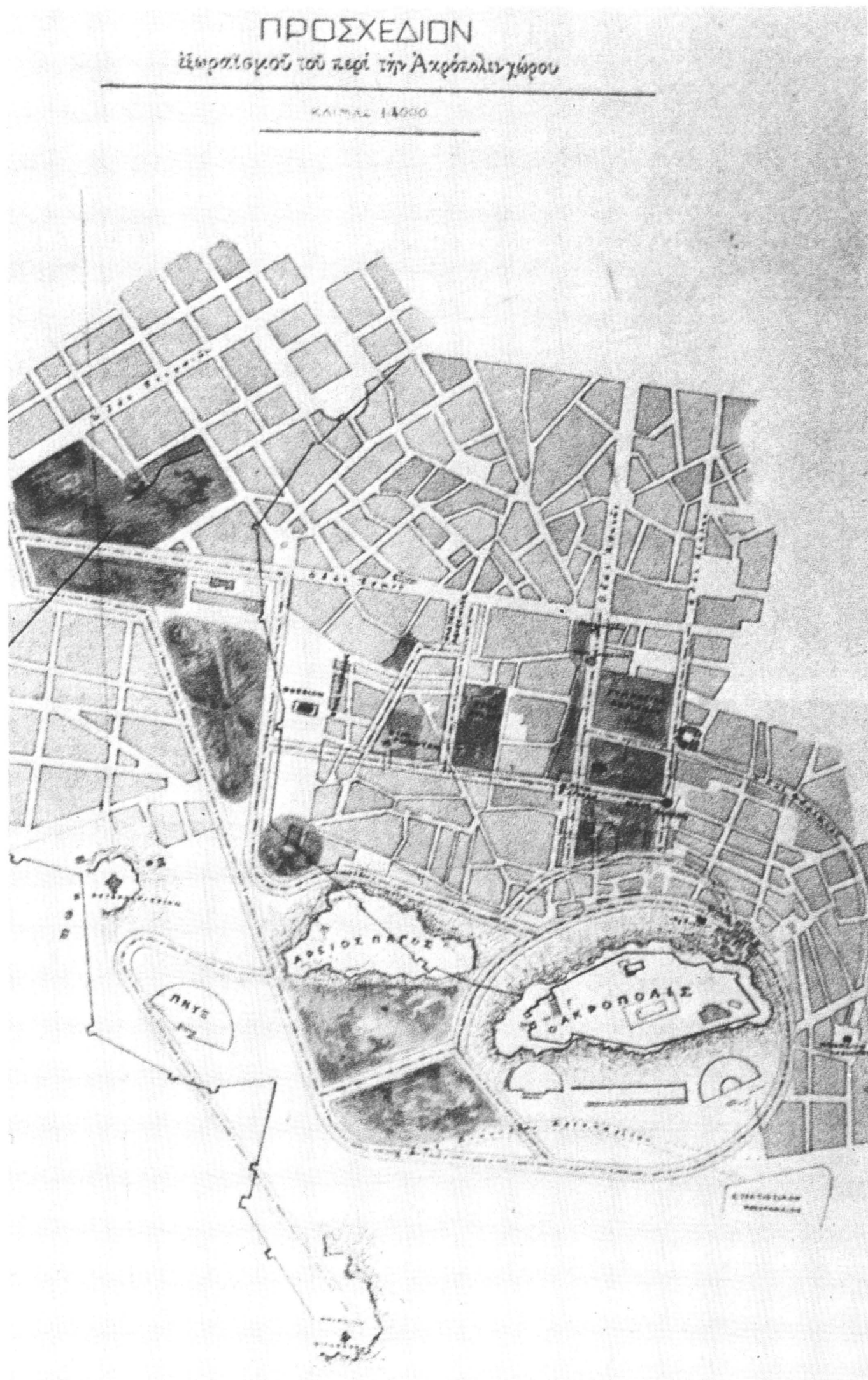


Fig. 98 Sketchy plan incorporating the recommendations of the 1906 Committee for 'the embellishment' of the area around the Akropolis. Scale 1:10,000. (Gennadius Library).

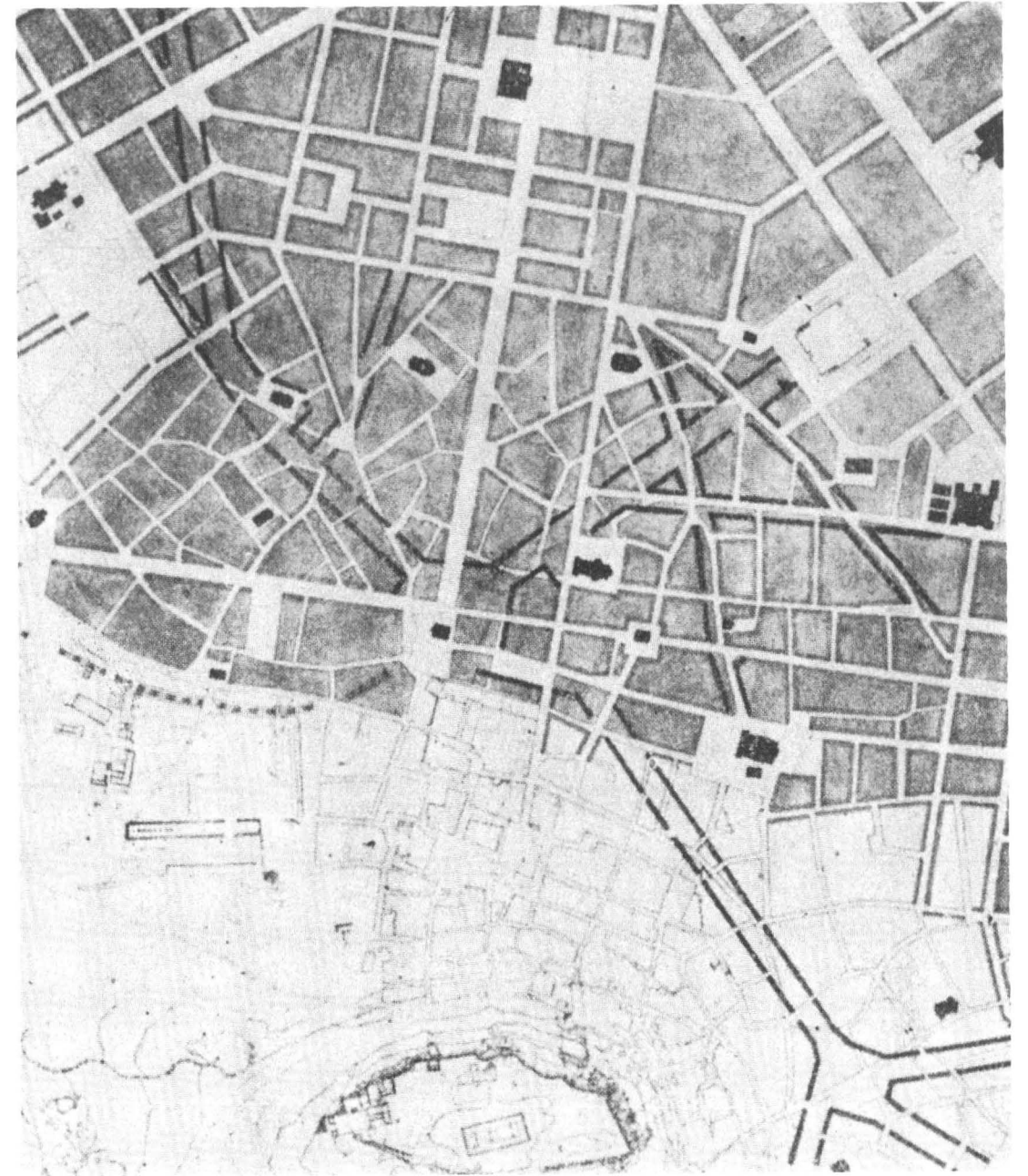


Fig. 99 Proposed breakthroughs in downtown Athens following the scheme worked out in 1959 by the Ministry of Housing. Scale 1:10,000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



Fig. 100 Master plan of Athens worked out by the Ministry of Housing in 1954. In black: The new avenues (breakthroughs) proposed for central Athens. Scale 1:30,000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



The following inadmissible traffic measures appear on a tentative plan<sup>54</sup> (fig. 98): (Note that the proposed new streets are all 20 m wide!)

- A distorted version of the ancient Peripatos around the Akropolis, designed as a circular traffic route at the foot of the rock, next to the cave sanctuaries.
- Six other streets cutting straight through the fabric of the old town.
- A new street leading from the Areopagus to the Pnyx and ending in an impasse next to the Philopappos Monument.
- Widening the semicircular Adrianou st. as far as the Lysikrates Monument.

Failure to connect any of the proposed, oversized arteries with the existing main street network of the town and the astonishing primitive clumsiness in laying out the routes of the new streets conveys a slight idea of the sad condition of planning practice in Athens of those days. By comparison, the unrealistic, almost megalomaniac proposals made by Mawson a decade later (see fig. 103) appear to be sensitive, thoughtful dispositions of the historic area.

### A large inner city green belt phase I: Mawson's plan (1914-1919)

Although the various proposals and planning interventions described so far are of considerable importance for the gradual emergence of the cultural-historic area, they are not essentially comprehensive. They are to be considered as substantial early contributions to an overall concept not yet explicitly formulated, as preliminary steps in the right direction.

The seminal concept of creating a large unified inner city green belt emerged for the first time during World War I (Mawson's *Replanning of Athens* scheme in 1914-1919). After World War II it was reintroduced in an expanded version (Biris' plan in 1946) and for a third time by a group of architects in 1980 (Photiadis' plan). It is worth noting that the authors of later proposals never referred to similar earlier ones; thus the idea seems to have been invented, or rather reinvented, each time anew. The Greek state and/or the municipality of Athens never ratified a plan for creating an integrated inner city green belt. The idea came into being via the studies mentioned above and survived as a latent principle influencing all later thinking. Thomas Mawson's master plan for the *Replanning of Athens* (i.e. remodelling the existing town fabric and planning the extension of the city) was worked out in 1914 and presented to the Greek and international public in 1919.<sup>55</sup> It was a vast urban redevelopment scheme far exceeding the limited financial and organisational means of the Greek state at that time. In addition to a large-scale restructuring of central Athens (including a new administrative district and a new representative railroad station as a gate to the town), the plan provided for a university campus at the Pedion tou Areos (Field of Ares), workers' living quarters on the edge of town, an industrial zone to the west and a vast system of curvilinear boulevards tangential to the centre.

The main concern of Mawson's plan was the functional reorganization of a modern metropolis of 400,000 people (planning target set by the study) rather than the extension and beautification of the archaeological zone. Yet his plan does contain the kernel of the idea for unifying, to a certain degree, the various recreational areas in the centre of Athens: "The internal life of the city needs consideration (...) an obvious necessity is a boulevard, park and playground system which shall add dignity to the metropolis and match its requirements".

The Mawson proposal does not take into consideration specific needs for expropriating land for archaeological investigations. His plan does not provide for the excavation of the Academy and the Demosion Sema, the clearing of the Agora and the unification of the Agora and Kerameikos areas. His scheme by no means abolishes the existing barriers of modern house blocks between the Kerameikos and the Temple of Hephaistos, nor those between the Akropolis and the Olympieion area.

Other features of Mawson's proposals do, however, underline the goal set for a large unified recreational area on the southern edge of the inner city. His plan clearly aims at creating a direct link between the Stadium/Zappeion area and the Akropolis with the western hills. Radiating out from the entrance to the Stadium two main axes are prolonged as tangential boulevards, leading around the Akropolis and converging in the Hephaisteion area. These streets, although not

54 This plan on a scale of 1:4000 is kept together with other material related to the Mawson proposals in a folio in the Gennadius Library in Athens. It seems that this plan was handed out to Mawson as representing the town planning considerations by the municipality of Athens in respect to the central archaeological area.

55 The Athens municipality gave the commission for the plan (and paid a considerable honorarium for it) to the internationally renowned town-planning firm 'Mawson et fils, architectes de villes. Londres, Lancaster, Vancouver et New York'. It is interesting that the Mawson plan considered not only an inner city park and boulevard system but also a reafforestation scheme for the immediate surroundings of the city:

"With regard to the replanning of Athens, the need for shade is everywhere apparent; and therefore, in addition to the park and boulevard system, a comprehensive scheme of reafforestation is taking place on the outskirts of the city. This extends over vast areas, especially on the higher ground behind the stadium(...) These parks will not be detached units left to the chance charities of the rich but will form an integral and coherent part of the city plan. Without this utility the noblest architecture oftentimes looks commonplace". T. Mawson, 1919, 51.





Fig. 101 Urban restructuring plan for central Athens and the breakthrough of Korais Avenue with provisions for a new administrative centre (1959). Scale 1:10,000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



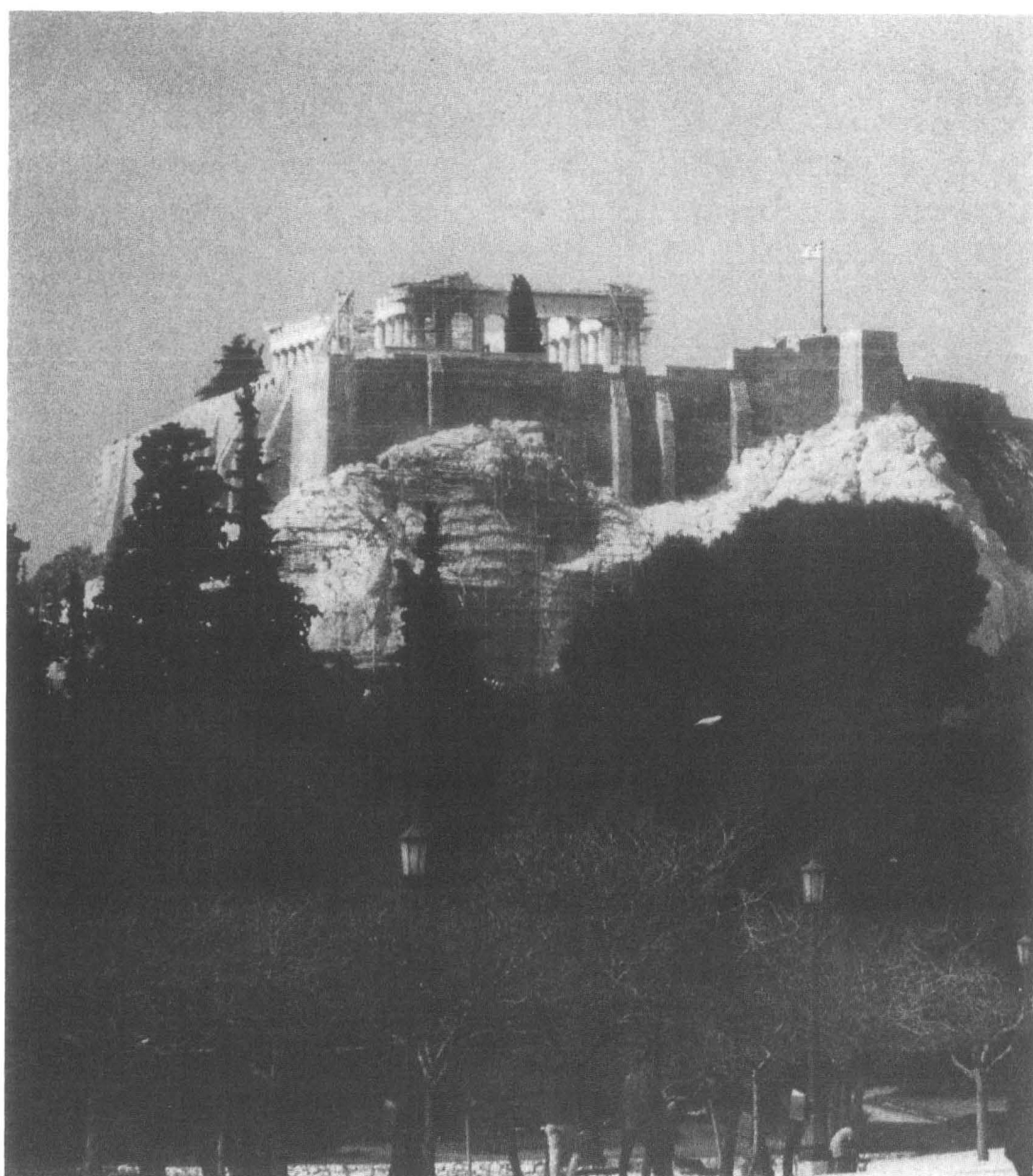


Fig. 102 The Akropolis as seen from the Zappeion esplanade (i.e. from the east) rising up in back of a green screen of vegetation. No visual conflicts with modern high-rise buildings occur. (Photograph by the author).

designed as pedestrian malls, are conceived as urban promenades linking the most attractive and prestigious sites of the inner city, (namely the Stadium, Zappeion, Olympieion, Theatre of Dionysos, Odeion of Herodes Atticus, Plaka, Hephaisteion) and as offering an overall visual experience of high quality. On the plan the heavy traffic routes acting as barriers, such as Amalias Avenue and Apostolou Pavlou streets, both of which present obstacles to unifying the area, have not been eliminated or at least pedestrianized nor even alleviated by underpasses; furthermore the fabric of the old town is largely destroyed by numerous unjustifiable breakthroughs of new secondary streets.

The ancient monuments on the lower north slopes of the Akropolis are treated in a very characteristic way. Whereas no general excavation of this focal area of ancient Athens was envisaged, the ancient sites were treated eclectically: the Hephaisteion, the Stoa of Attalos, the Library of Hadrian and the Roman Agora are considered as huge *objets trouvés*, as visual focal points surrounded by promenades and also by some blocks of the 19th century town which should be preserved.<sup>56</sup> Here again the antiquities function as representative elements adorning the modern metropolis.

Even though the Mawson plan (judged unrealistic at the time and never implemented) did not by any means aim at creating an archaeological excavation zone, it has the indisputable merit of being the first to introduce the concept of unifying the inner city green areas and remains the prototype of all later considerations relating to the inner city green belt.

### Modern architecture in conflict with the cultural-historical area

When modern buildings are erected in the vicinity of ancient monuments or historic sites, establishing and enforcing the right architectural scale poses a major aesthetic problem. Inappropriate and incompatible built volumes introduced on or near critical sites not only disturb and detract from the aesthetic effect of the monuments themselves, they also destroy the original harmonious relationship between the ancient monuments and the carefully chosen sites on which they were built. Thus a sound policy for the preservation of historic monuments has to cope not only with the technical and structural problems of conservation, but must also keep under control parameters of a more general nature such as:

- a) Preservation of the natural features of the historic landscape.
- b) Exclusion of incompatible modern functions from the vicinity of historic sites.
- c) Establishing and maintaining a suitable scale for modern architecture in the vicinity of historic sites.

The serious damage imposed upon the historic Athenian landscape by quarrying has already been discussed. Incompatible and environmentally harmful land uses in the vicinity of the cultural-historic area have been the exception rather than the rule in Athens.<sup>57</sup> In the past the only industrial pollution threatening the monumental heritage was the gas plant at the end of Ermou st.; this source of pollution has recently been removed and the gas plant is being converted into a park of industrial archaeology. Modern building activities are responsible for two different kinds of aesthetic offences against the historic monuments. A first, general threat is the upzoning of the central districts of the city which occurred during the last fifty years. The airy classicizing town of the 19th century, with its two-storey buildings disposed on the old layout of streets, evolved into an extremely dense urban fabric with maximal building heights of six to ten storeys. Thus a continuous wall of modern structures has been erected north of the Plaka (downtown area), along one side of Amalias Avenue to the east and along Syngrou Boulevard to the south. Although the Akropolis monuments can still be glimpsed from Syntagma Square and other locations of the inner city, the Akropolis and the western hills can no longer be seen as an ensemble. The monuments are cut off from their natural pedestal, floating in the air above the distracting scenery of the apartment houses.<sup>58</sup>

The visual conditions are, however, quite different for an observer either on the Zappeion esplanade (fig. 102) or in the as yet low-rise districts south and west of the Akropolis. From here

56 This concept of a patchwork coexistence of ancient and 19th century structures is very similar to the proposal made by Professor P. Michelis on the future of the old town, Plaka, during the public hearings held in February 1966 at the municipality of Athens.

57 Athens has been fortunate in that early industrial developments in the Attic basin in the 19th century were established mainly in the harbor town of Peiraeus or in the Kephissos valley to the west of the city. Thus the entire central part of the agglomeration situated between the inner city hills was left free from any industrial establishment.

58 In his comprehensive rehabilitation planning scheme for the Plaka district, Dionysis Zivas has proposed as a long term policy the drastic limitation of building heights on the west side of Amalias Avenue and the gradual implementation of an expropriation and compensation strategy in order to diminish the heights of the existing high-rise volumes on the eastern fringe of the old town with the ultimate aim of reestablishing the direct visual link between this major urban promenade (Amalias Avenue) and the Akropolis ensemble.



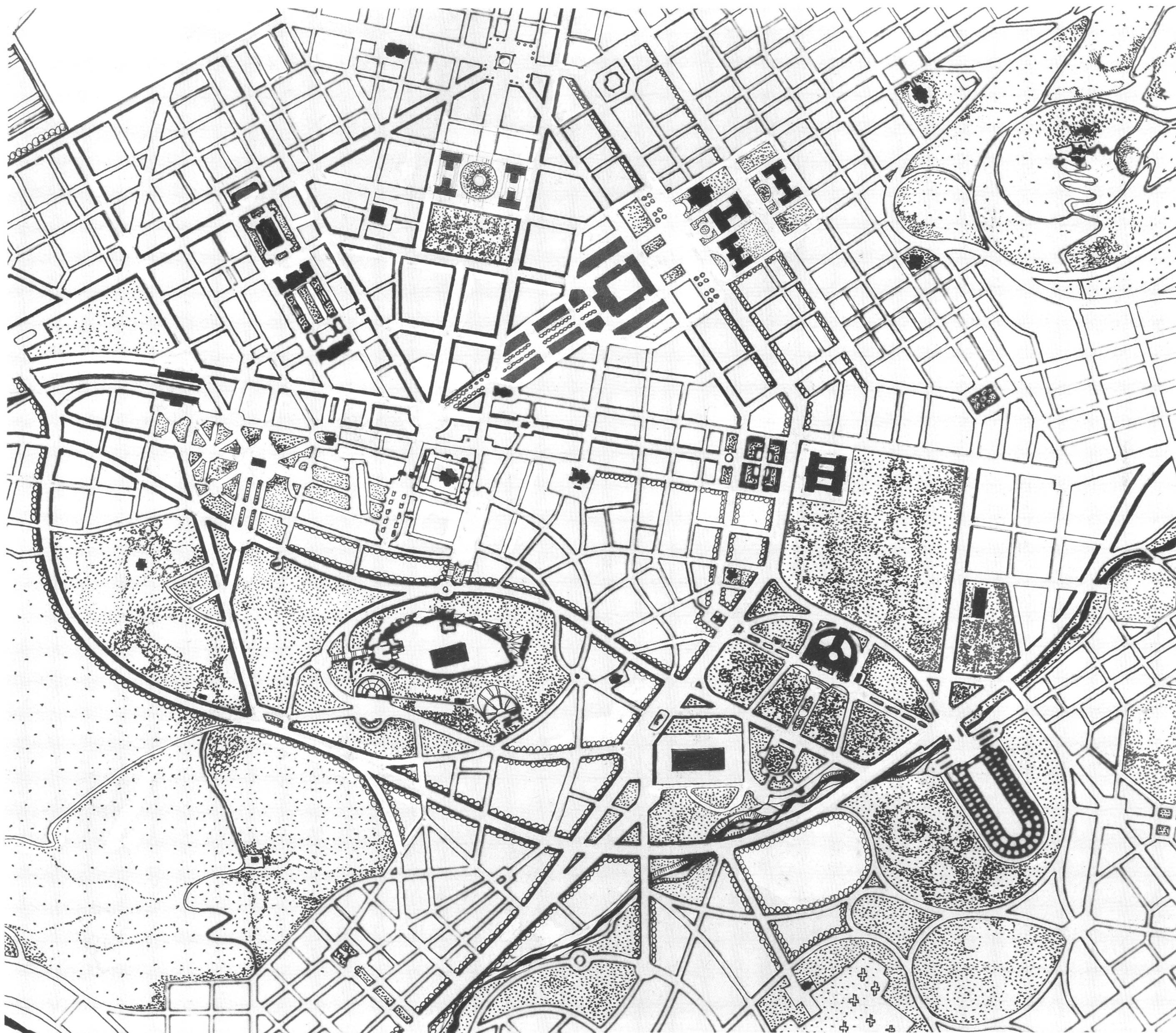


Fig. 103 Detail of the Mawson plan (1914-1919) showing his proposals for the creation of an inner city green belt.  
Redrawn by the author. Scale 1:10,000. (Mawson, 1914-1919).



59 In his first report on the conservation of Akropolis monuments (Unesco, 1970) R. Lemaire insisted on the absolute necessity of maintaining strict control over building heights in Athens. Here are some of his remarks:

“Depuis quelques décennies, Athènes s’étend à une allure foudroyante (...) En un mouvement mal dominé, celle-ci inonde comme une vaste nappe la cuvette entourée des principales hauteurs de l’Attique qui entourent la ville ancienne et monte à l’assaut des collines qu’elle avait épargnées au départ. Une pression toujours accrue est ainsi exercée sur le centre urbain qui tend à se densifier de plus en plus.

Cette évolution a des conséquences graves pour la préservation du site de l’Acropole. Dès à présent la ville ancienne est grignotée progressivement et sur ses franges s’élèvent des immeubles de plus en plus élevés. Un phénomène identique se produit dans le voisinage même de l’Acropole particulièrement au sud (quartier de la rue Leoforos Singrou). Certes, des mesures de protection ont été prises, et si on les maintient on peut présumer que la silhouette de l’Acropole dominant nettement les quartiers voisins de la ville sera préservée. Il est certain cependant que, vu leur situation centrale par rapport au cœur de la ville, les terrains voisins du rocher risquent de faire l’objet d’une spéculation foncière qui peut aboutir à l’abandon progressif des règles de protection. De nombreuses villes en croissance rapide ont connu ou subissent actuellement ce phénomène qui conduit sinon à la destruction irrévocable du centre historique tout entier, tout au moins à celle de sa cohérence et de son équilibre. Nous avons appris sur place que dès à présent des propositions étaient faites en vue d’autoriser la construction d’immeubles à dix étages dans une zone relativement proche de l’Acropole. Au sud-est s’élèvent déjà des constructions de six à sept niveaux. La généralisation de ce gabarit serait catastrophique pour l’Acropole, qui risque d’être emprisonnée progressivement par des immeubles élevés qui, s’ils ne cachent pas sa silhouette dans le paysage, l’arracheront cependant de son socle naturel et dévalueront son imposante monumentalité (...).”

60 The term *velum* designates the three-dimensional upper surface of the built volumes of a conurbation, i.e. the imaginary form which would be created by a gigantic veil thrown over the city.

61 Two offensive volumes, private apartment houses with many storeys, were expropriated and demolished during the 1960s for aesthetic and/or functional reasons; The one was next to the Theatre of Dionysos on Dion. Areopagitou Avenue and the other was south of the Byzantine Museum on Vas. Konstantinou Boulevard.

62 Ernest Hebrard protested vehemently against this project. He was the French architect and town planner who worked out the reconstruction scheme for Thessaloniki after the big fire of 1917. In an article published in the periodical *Architect and building News* Hebrard pointed out that the project entailed fatal consequences for the traffic conditions in this area and the architectural scale was out of all proportion in relation to the ancient monuments.

the inner city hills and their monuments are still preserved as an ensemble; the monuments are still perceived in the context of their natural setting with Lykabettos, Hymettos and Penteli in the background. The chain of the inner city hills and large unbuilt areas, as for example, the Olympieion and Zappeion terraces, still offer interesting vantage points from which the townscape and several parts of the cultural-historical area of Athens may still be seen as a whole.

The Greek Archaeological Service exercises control over building activities inside a radius of 500 m from any listed monument. This has been fairly although not invariably effective in keeping building heights near historic monuments extremely low, (i.e. 1-3 storeys).<sup>59</sup> In general it may be stated that the *velum*<sup>60</sup> of the Athenian urban fabric has been kept fairly even with no dramatic variations in height. About a dozen high-rise buildings of 12-30 storeys constructed during the last two decades are situated, happily enough, at a considerable distance from the core of the town.<sup>61</sup> There is, however, one exception to this favourable distribution: the Athens Hilton located on the eastern edge of the cultural-historic area.

There have been few megalomaniac architectural projects in modern Athens, all of them were never carried out. Two projects which directly threatened the Akropolis are singled out for mention here.

In 1888 Theophilus Hansen made a proposal for building the National Archaeological Museum on the south slope of the Akropolis. The drawings (ground floor, façades and a perspective view) show a large building about 150 m long, across from the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Stoa of Eumenes. The building was to have an oversized double portico with four round towers at the corners, inspired by the Lysikrates Monument (fig. 353). It is clear that the guiding impulse for this scheme was the desire to have the National Museum directly at the Akropolis in order to intensify the cultural experience offered to the visitor. Had it been realized, this option would have proved detrimental not only to the historic setting, the sheer bulk of the museum standing in the way of grasping the topography of the south slope, it would have also proved problematic for the smooth functioning of visits to the Akropolis. The congestion of crowds attracted both to the Akropolis and to the National Museum would have been unbearable. Fortunately the Hansen proposal was not approved and the Archaeological Museum was erected 2 km to the north of the Akropolis on Patisision Avenue.

In 1928-1929 an even more radical menace emerged:

In 1912 an international architectural competition was launched for a law court complex to be constructed west of the Byzantine Museum (formerly the Duchess of Piacenza’s mansion) in the eastern section of the cultural-historical area. Alexander Nikoloudis won the first prize but with the outbreak of World War I the project was postponed. In 1928 this site was no longer available, the Officers’ Club having been built there in the meantime. Prime Minister E. Venizelos asked Nikoloudis to work out a project for the law court complex on the site of the former Military Hospital at Makriyanni. The architect designed a towering eclectic monster covering almost all of the 2 ha block (ground floor dimensions 400 × 300 feet) crowned by a dome 60 m high, rising up to the level of the Akropolis plateau (fig. 104-105)!

The project provoked an international uproar. The French Academie des Beaux Arts and the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, the British Academy of Fine Arts and the German Union of Architects protested vehemently. The leading intellectuals and artistic personalities of Greece were up in arms against a project profaning the ancient site just below the Theatre of Dionysos.<sup>62</sup> After unanimous objections had defeated this project, the search for a suitable site continued until the 1970’s when at last construction of the law court building began on Alexandras Avenue.

## The Hilton

The unique blow to the setting of the Akropolis occurred as late as 1958-1962, when the Hilton Hotel, 14 storeys, 50 m high, was erected on the eastern edge of the cultural-historic area, at the juncture of Kephissias and Vas. Konstantinou Avenues, 2 km east of the Akropolis.





Fig. 104 The Nikoloudis project (1928) for a law court palace on the Makriyanni site south of the theatre of Dionysos. Photographic montage showing how brutally this proposed bulky architectural mass would have intruded on the historic landscape. (Private Collection, Athens).

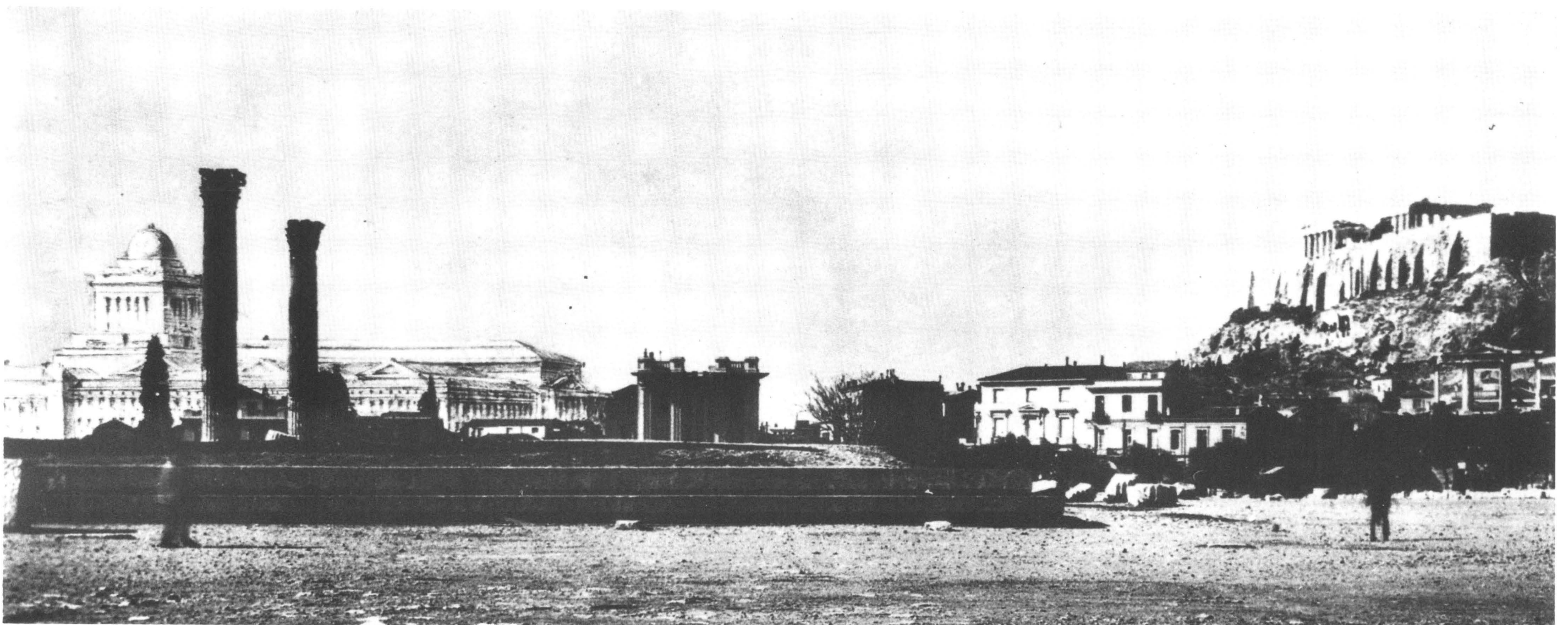


Fig. 105 The Nikoloudis project (1928). Another photographic montage showing the planned lawcourt building as seen from the Olympieion. (Private Collection, Athens).



63 Vincent Scully was the most articulate critic of the Athens Hilton; extracts from his scathing protest are as follows:

"Viewed from the hill of the Philopappos monument, the Parthenon and its sacred mountain, Hymettos, have always acted together as one architecture, creating a fundamental balance between man-made and natural forms. Together they have stated the facts of human life upon the earth and of the city on the land. They have managed to sustain that demonstration of ultimate reality throughout all the spectacular vicissitudes of approximately twenty-five hundred years, continuing to do so despite the bombing of one and deforestation of the other. Around that balance of opposites the best of western thought has in one way or another tended to revolve. In the normal course of functions and events, nothing was ever built in the plain between the two that was big enough to come between them—or so to distract the eye as to break into the calm splendour of their relationship.

Something doing just that has been built now, however. It is a new Hilton Hotel, the Athens Hilton (...) Both overscaled and arrogantly sited for its clients' bleary view (the architecture of the voyeur come into its own at last); it is at once too big, in too important a place, and indefensibly sited in that place (...)

The decisions regarding size and siting are those most relevant here, because it is they which are at once fundamentally destructive to the city and the place, and which might most have been controlled (...) The architect in charge of the Town-Planning Directorate, Mr. P. Vassiliadis—who also happened to be one of the associated architects who designed the building—managed, under existing laws relative to buildings of public utility and tourism, to procure a waiver from the Ministry of Public Works, permitting the violation of one critical provision of the Athenian building code: the provision relative to height. Hence the building has twelve storeys plus ground floor, as against the maximum of seven specified for its district; and, at fifty meters plus a penthouse of four, the hotel is well over twice the legal maximum of twenty-four meters in actual height. The Hilton was the first building in Athens to be so exempted (...) To make matters worse—according to a principle of zoning often invoked, but usually evil in effect—a higher building is expected to compensate for the extra height by leaving some of the cubage of its site empty. The Athens Hilton thus became a free object in space, released from the continuity of masses characteristic of street architecture. By this it was permitted, indeed encouraged, to turn ninety degrees away from the street in order to present its vast, long side to the Akropolis. In fact, if one takes a position in the Parthenon where Pheidias' ivory and gold statue of Athena once stood, it will be seen that the temple once oriented directly toward its appropriate sunrise over the mountain, is now oriented towards the sun and the Hilton, whose egg-crate façade leers up on axis between the two central columns. In a photograph this façade appears less obstructive than it actually is. The effect may be most accurately described as obscene (...)

The Hilton takes a major step forward making Athens just like anywhere else. It is a perfect example of that anonymous mass scale which is now depreciating the particular scale of specific places everywhere. This is the architecture of Noman, Nowhere, which can get as big as it can get away with for two obvious reasons: first, because it serves not primarily the local population but an international clientele (and in this case, very much a fly-by-night one at that); and, second, because its financial resources are not limited by those of the area but are also international. Such buildings tend, by their very natures, to be arbitrary impositions on places, on integral growths out of them; they must therefore be strictly controlled by competent local authority. In this case the building in question was inadequately controlled; and so it seriously injures its site, which happens to be Athens, whose Acropolis it rivals in size (...) There are many things more interesting to talk about than the Athens Hilton, and many pressing urban problems which would be infinitely more difficult to solve. (How much one would like to see them solved in Greece before they destroy her). Yet the Hilton is not entirely lacking in importance, being so conspicuous an example of what can happen when men build on the earth without intelligence, reverence or love". Vincent Scully, *Architectural Forum*, 1963.

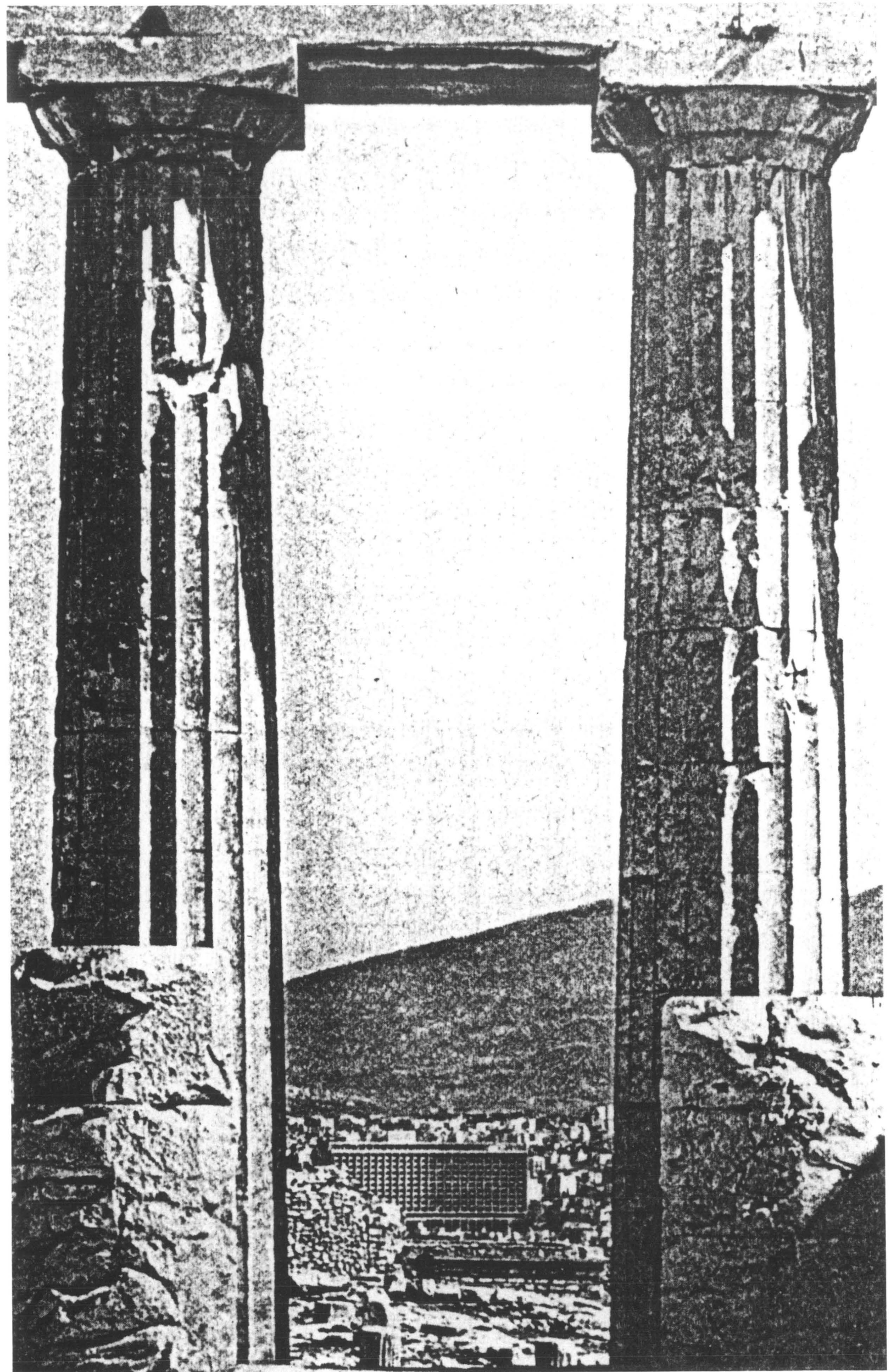
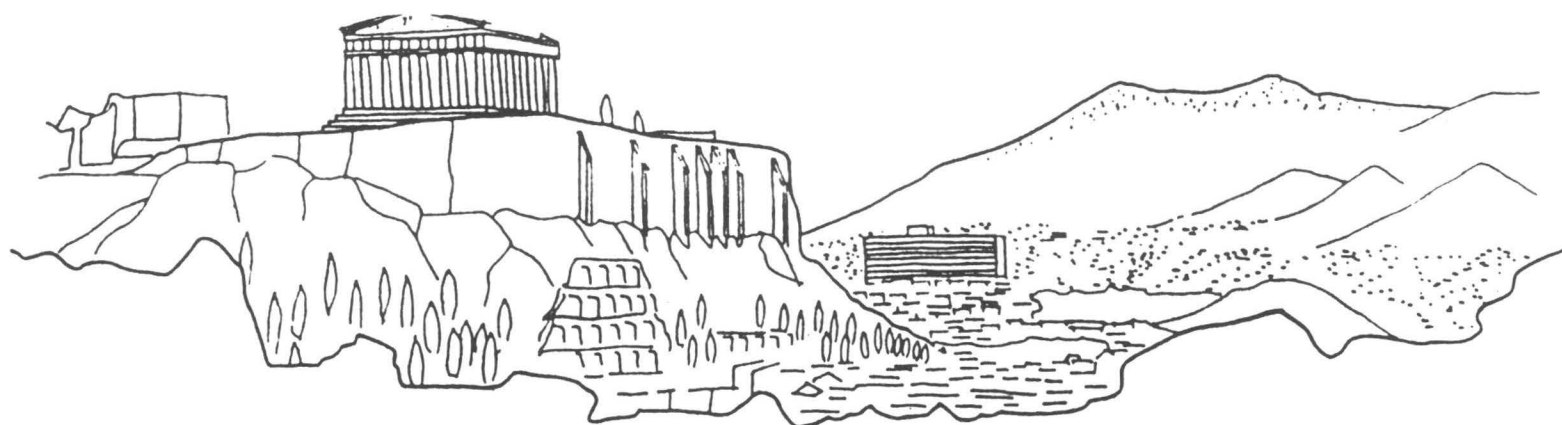


Fig. 106 The Hilton slab as seen between the columns of the Parthenon east colonnade. (Scully, 1963).





## HILTON: A STUDY IN VANDALISM

Fig. 107 The Akropolis and the Hilton. (Scully, 1963, sketch used as frontispiece).

The massive bulk of the Hilton contrasting sharply with the usual Athenian apartment houses looms over the town. The façades are, however, sheathed in white Pentelic marble and the stress is on the horizontals, not the verticals. The repetitive loggias on the main facade create an effect of tranquillity. A critical disadvantage for the townscape is, however, the orientation. The facade, 100 m long, faces the Akropolis, thereby creating a landmark competing with, although at a considerable distance from, the Parthenon.

The Hilton venture was severely criticized at first.<sup>63</sup> Nowadays, almost 30 years later, opinions are less unfavourable. The aesthetic disturbance caused by this building is fairly harmless compared to the intrusion that would have been caused by skyscrapers in central Athens. Fortunately this did not happen.

### An architectural competition for a plan uniting the Royal Garden, Zappeion and the Olympieion area

During World War II an architectural competition was launched with the obvious aim of unifying the area extending from Vasilissis Sophias Avenue on the north to the site of Kallirrhoe Spring and the Ilissos banks to the south in order to create an integrated recreational area for the capital. The competition was launched by the Steering Committee of the Zappeion Building and Gardens, an independent body administering the Zappas endowment.<sup>64</sup>

It is interesting to note that during such a depressing period many entries were presented; nine different projects were submitted. Although the texts are, unfortunately, missing, the designs themselves are self-explanatory. By analyzing these projects some general concepts, held in common, can be recognized as follows:

A common feature of all the projects was to do away with the Ilissos river bed between the Stadium and the Olympieion, filling it up and making a boulevard on top connecting the Stadium esplanade with the start of Syngrou Boulevard south of the Olympieion.<sup>65</sup>

Six of the projects include a large-scale remodelling of the Zappeion exhibition hall without enlarging its capacity; this was not really needed and obviously reflects the architectural ambitions of the participants.

All of the projects proposed an extension of the green areas around the Olympieion and the elimination of Vas. Olgas Avenue as an east-west traffic route.

The majority of the proposals treat the ancient terrace of the Olympieion with respect, keeping this area untouched and the columns of the temple as a gigantic landmark in the overall composition. Only two projects show a decorative landscape treatment of the terrace with parterres, a design depriving the ancient setting of its severe majesty.

In all projects the proposed planting compartments and parterres have a patchwork character. No clear decision is reached whether to have a more informal landscaping treatment as in

<sup>64</sup> We owe this information and the pertinent documents to the generous cooperation of architect Alexander Photiadis, Athens.

<sup>65</sup> One should take into consideration that this town-planning measure had already been decided and confirmed by legislation before the war, even though it was not carried out until the years 1947-1952.



Fig. 109-116 Eight other entries in the same competition. Scale ca 1:5000. (Collection of architect Alex. Photiadis, Athens).

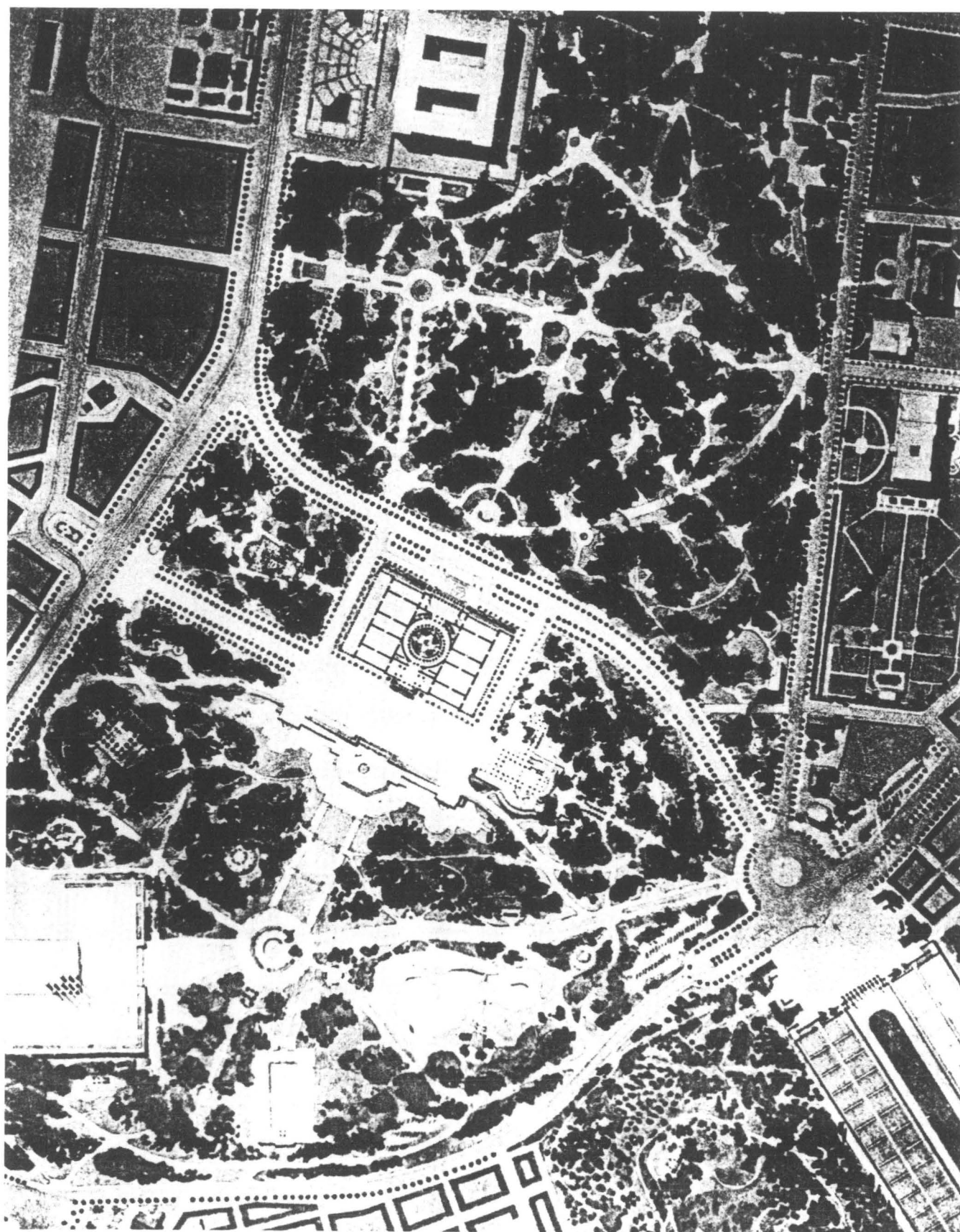


Fig. 108 First prize winning entry in the architectural competition for the unification of the Royal Garden, Zappeion and Olympieion areas (1943). Scale ca 1:5000. (Collection of architect Alex. Photiadis, Athens).

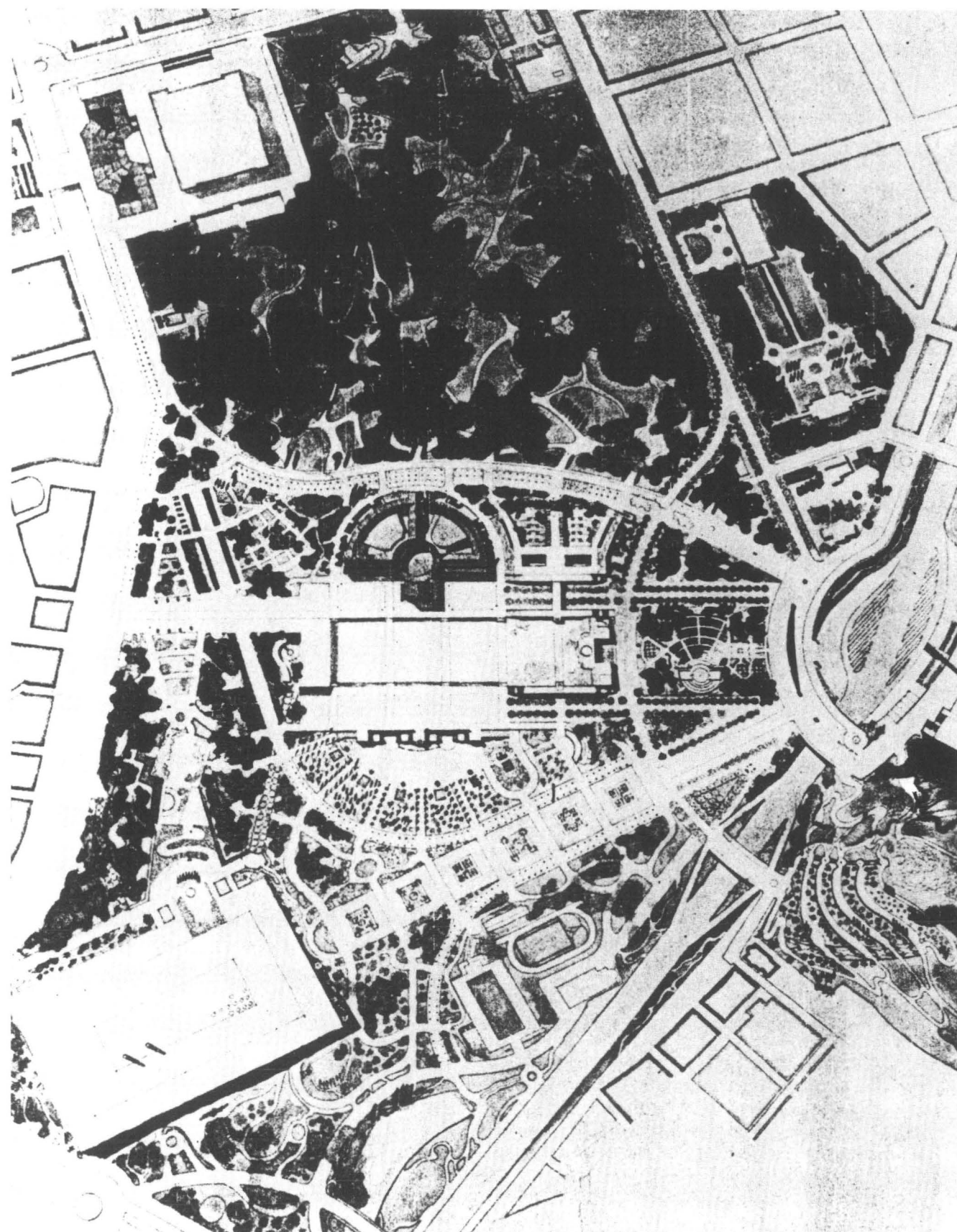


Fig. 109



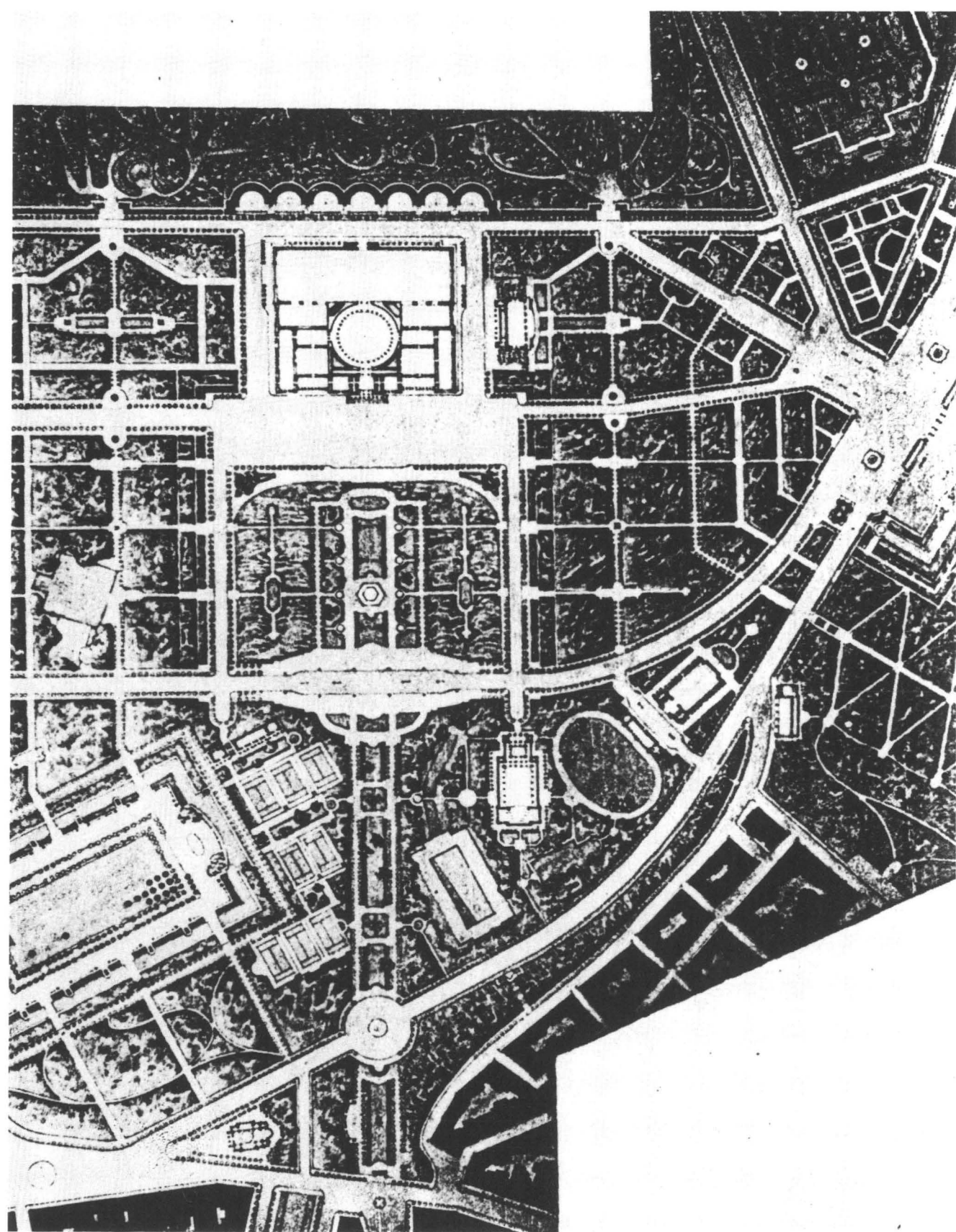


Fig. 110

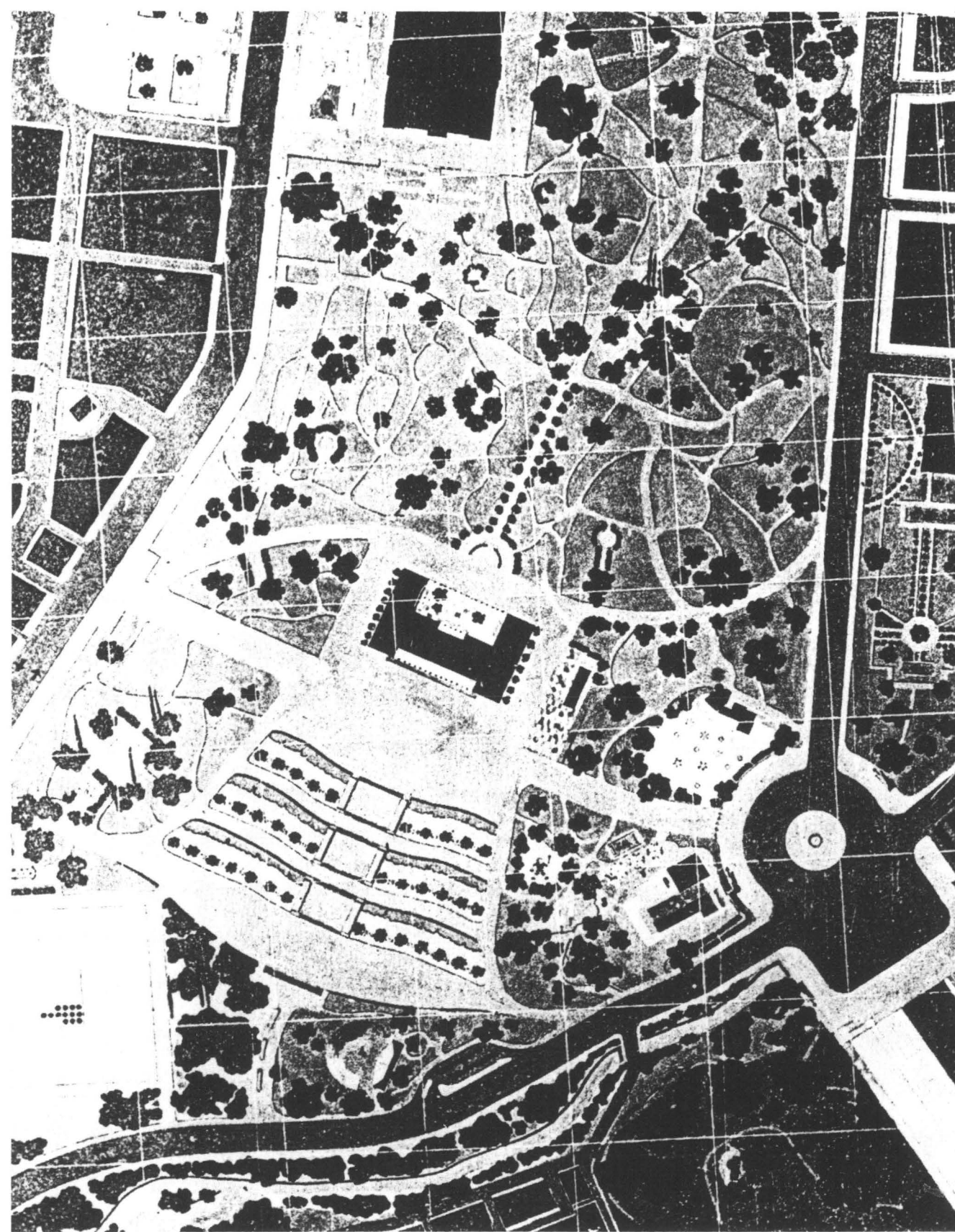


Fig. 111





Fig. 112



Fig. 113



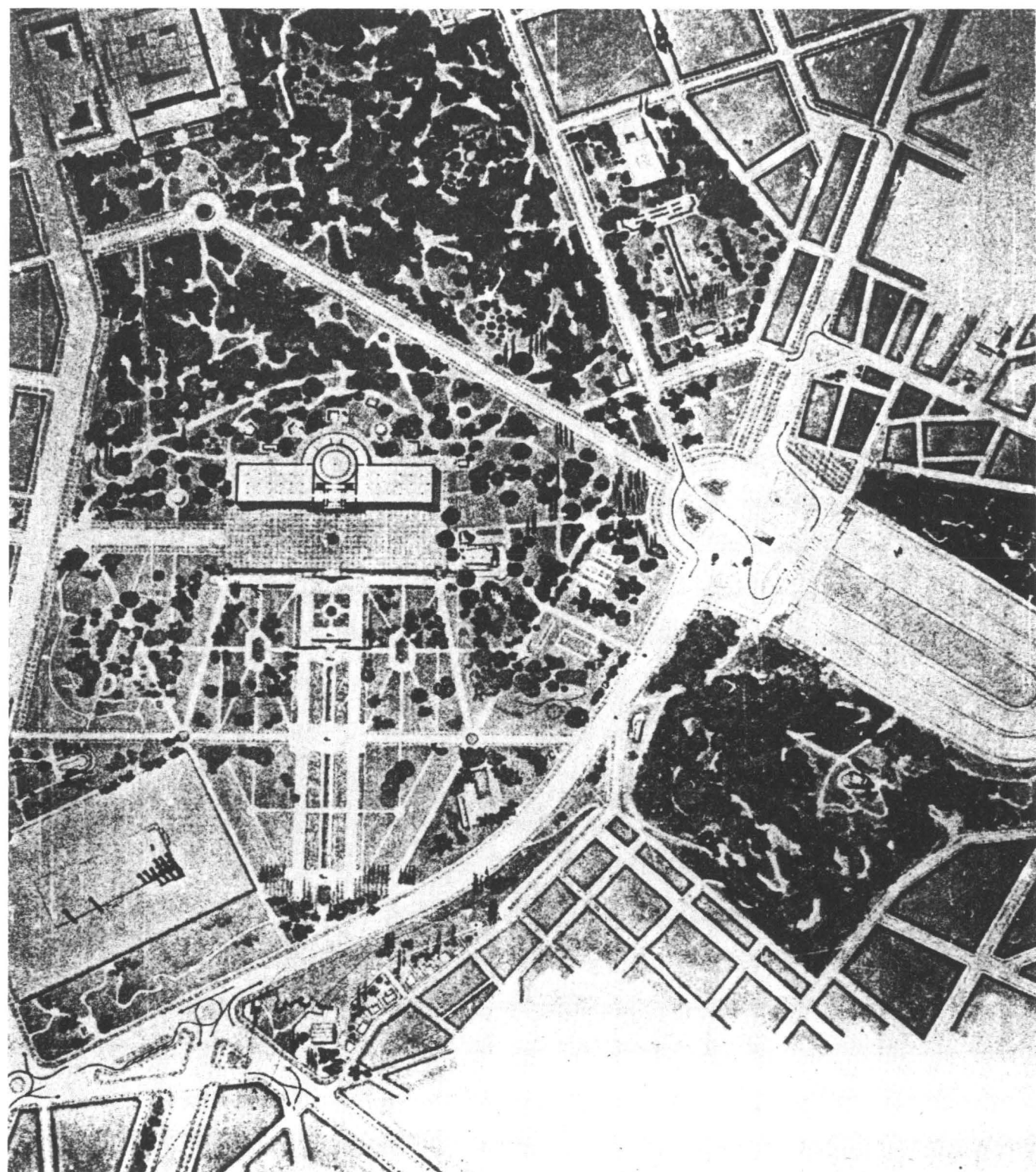


Fig. 114

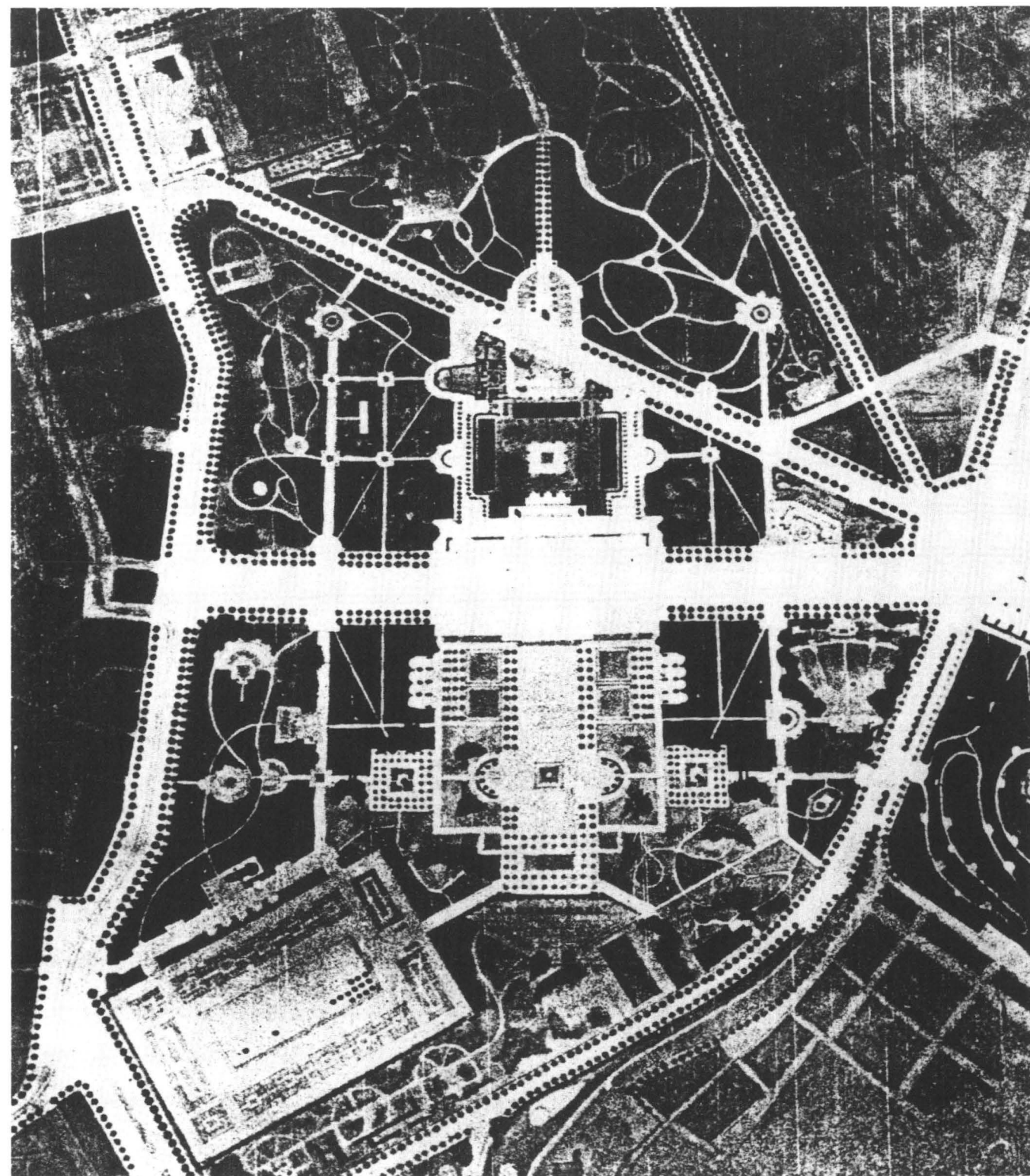


Fig. 115



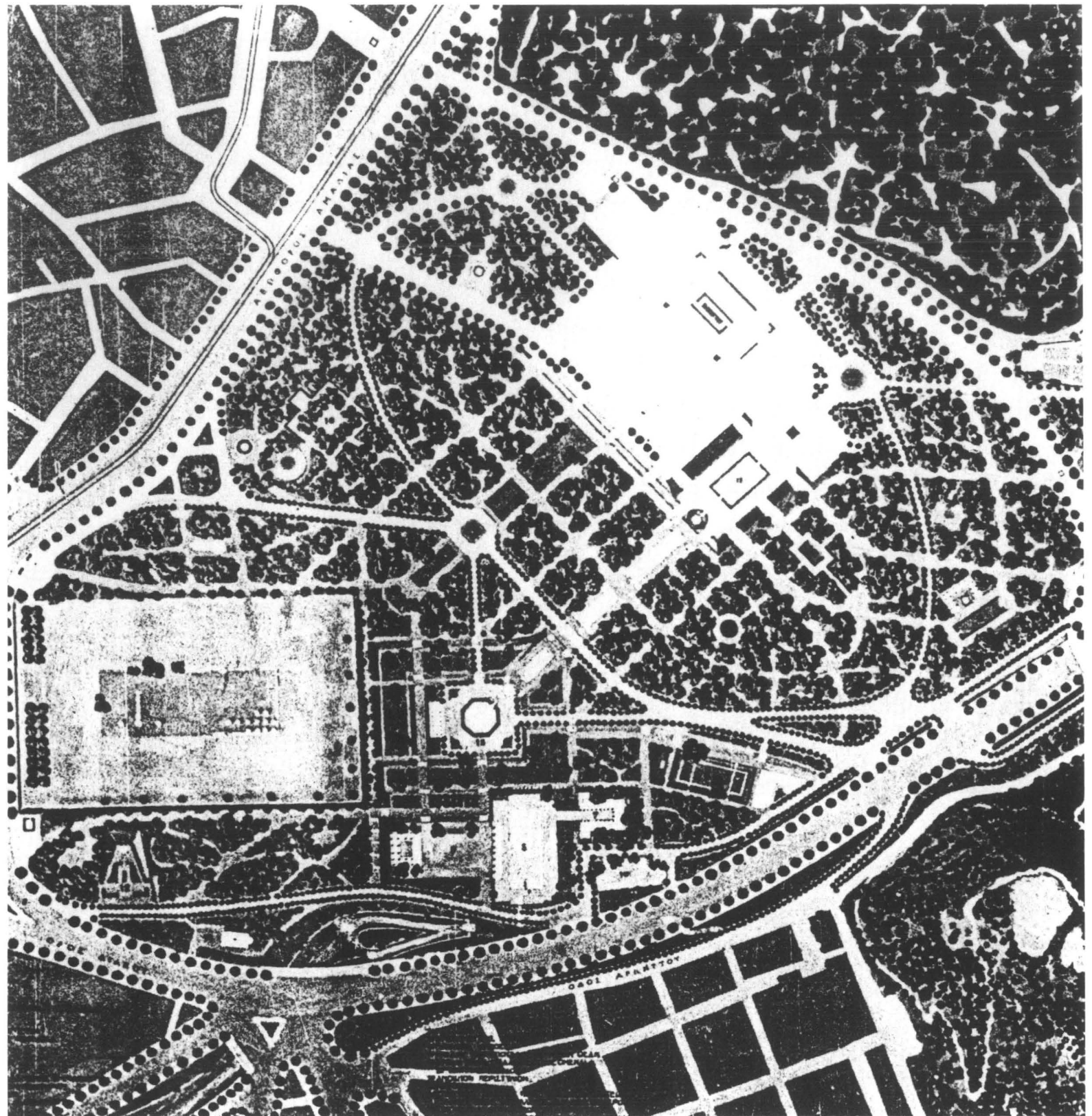


Fig. 116

the Royal Garden or geometric patterns as in the Zappeion Gardens. All projects try to reach an impossible compromise between the two types of design, with very poor results.

Three projects propose reviving the line of the original Stadium street planned by Kleanthes and Schaubert. A new axis was to be cut through to the detriment of the Royal Garden, leading from the entrance of the Stadium to the Palace; the traffic nexus created at the intersection of the new proposed boulevard with Amalias Avenue would be unworkable.

All of the designs are marked by a strongly formalist and almost embarrassed attitude. Whereas the constructive step of unifying the area was the aim of the competition, the proposals for fulfilling this aim display a remarkable poverty of ideas and downright uneasiness. The only reasonable solution, i.e. to incorporate the three units (Zappeion, Stadium, Olympieion) in a large-scale freely landscaped area while keeping the Royal Garden intact seems to have been overlooked by all the participants.







## An inner city green belt phase II: Biris' plan (1946)

During the years between the two world wars important urban projects were designed for the inner city; few of them, however, were carried out. As described above, the abominable out-of-scale project for a law court building near the Theatre of Dionysos was fortunately cancelled. Another constructive idea for a park on the site of the military barracks on the eastern edge of the inner city (Ilissos and Kephissias Avenue area) remained only a pious wish. Two main innovations were actually carried out, one at Syntagma Square and the other west of Philopappos hill:

In 1929-1930 Syntagma Square was remodelled on the occasion of the construction of the Monument to the Unknown Soldier, a rather unhappy design by E. Lazaridis including a retaining wall which ruined the original esplanade in front of the palace. An oversized open-air theatre was started to the west of Philopappos hill, left unfinished in 1940 and is now an unsightly blot marring the historic site with its important remains of ancient roads and houses.

By that time important excavations in the Agora, the Kerameikos and the Academy area had increased the amount of unbuilt areas in the inner city. But the idea of creating a unified recreational area by linking the urban parks, the replanted hills, the excavations areas and the ancient monuments in the centre of town seemed to have fallen into oblivion.

The architect and town-planner Constantine Biris deserves praise for reviving this idea directly after the war. But no concrete steps were taken and his proposals were ignored, just as in the case of the similar proposal first made by Mawson in 1919. For forty years, from the mid-1920s to the mid-1960s, Biris was the town-planning chief officer of the Athens municipality. He was constantly frustrated because his own department was not able to coordinate planning initiatives for Athens. At that time local self-government was a fiction and the decisions were actually taken by the central government (the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of the Athens Metropolitan area existing between 1936-1940). The impossibility of taking practical action pushed Biris more and more in the direction of historical studies about his home town. He thus became the leading expert in modern town-planning history of Athens; at the end of his career he published his monumental work *Athens from the 19th to the 20th century*.

In 1946 Biris still had hopes that his proposals would meet with a favourable response and published (in Greek and English) an outline of a master plan of Athens<sup>66</sup>, pleading for the creation of a parallel administrative capital to the west of Athens at Megara and for converting Athens into a residential and cultural national centre (fig. 117).

Biris insisted on the necessity of large-scale excavations in order to implement (even a century later) the initial proposal of Kleanthes and Schaubert: "Of chief importance in rehabilitating Athens is the question of uncovering and displaying the site of the ancient city. The entire civilized world is interested in this. The American people were the first to provide the financial means for a large operation; we refer to the uncovering of the ancient Agora with its archaeological finds of great scientific value. Shortly afterwards, the late Mr. P. Aristophron, a Greek, provided the funds which revealed the ruins of the Academy of Plato. At this moment we are at a turning point in the history of civilization. When the post-war turmoil ceases, the interest of the world will again be focussed on cultural and humanitarian ideals. The imperishable fame of ancient Athens will again attract the interest of the world. We should be prepared to take care of this future interest in Athens. We need to make a world-wide appeal for assistance to uncover the whole site of the ancient city. The modern buildings which cover the site and which approach too closely the Acropolis and the archaeological localities of the Academy, the Ceramicos and the Agora should be removed, and the site itself should be excavated".

Biris even showed some interest for later historical structures. He did not go so far as to propose the preservation of the entire Plaka area as this would have meant a departure from the strict principle of general excavations of ancient Athens, but he did argue for preserving some of the individual monuments of more recent periods: "The monuments of the Middle Ages and certain of the most significant structures, as well as certain typical crossroads of the periods of the first two kings of modern Greece (1833-1913) should be preserved to show the continuity of the life of the city".

<sup>66</sup> See the bibliography under K. Biris, 1946.



The unified cultural-historic area proposed by Biris was too grandiose and ambitious a scheme. While almost doubling the recreational area, a quite unrealistic proposal, Biris kept important traffic routes, such as the Sacred Way, Apostolou Pavlou st. and the prolongation of Alexandras Avenue as throughways cutting through the proposed archaeological park. He also wanted modern cultural and athletic facilities to be constructed next to the antiquities “in suitable places”, structures incompatible with the character of the historic landscape and the ancient monuments.<sup>67</sup> “In suitable places in the Park might well be erected a large stadium, an open-air theatre for performances of ancient drama, museums, schools of archaeology, an international university, a special library, and other institutions of international interest. All these might make up the center of a world-wide intellectual association”.

The basic argument of this scheme, i.e. the upgrading of the quality of life in central Athens, is still valid today and also is the basis of recent proposals for unifying the area. “The area should be well planted with trees and shrubs. The western part of the area should include the Academy and the hills of the Pnyx and the Philopappus, and the eastern part the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the Ardettus, the Stadium, the Zappeion, and the Royal Garden, the two portions together thus forming a large park in the center of Athens. If we attempt to find land for the park on the outskirts of the city, not only would we incur greater expense, but we would be benefitting the inhabitants of only that particular part of the city. A park in the center of Athens is practicable because the center is already occupied by the Acropolis and its adjoining hills and by the ancient city, around which the new city has been formed”.

### The Ilissos river bed

During the 19th-20th centuries the dried-out river bed of the Ilissos, about 30 m wide and 15 m deep, was gradually converted into an uncovered *cloaca maxima*. Instead of rehabilitating the area by planting the slopes of the river bed and by constructing underground drains, a simpler and more radical measure was adopted, i.e. filling in the river bed completely, thus eliminating this important element of the historic Athenian landscape.

This radical intervention was proposed by C. Biris (Technical Services of the Municipality) and adopted by the government in 1939. There was some discussion about the final line of the new avenue to be constructed over the course of the abolished river and a proposal was made to have a curving avenue thereby preserving the original line of the condemned river bed. Finally more practical traffic interests prevailed. The statutory plan for the new avenue was adopted by government decree on August 30, 1941. The plan provided for a 45 m wide straight avenue from the site later occupied by the Hilton to the site of Kallirrhoe spring south of the Olympieion, with a total length of about 1600 m and with three lanes in each direction divided by a green strip down the middle. The first step was to install two huge drain pipes (8 m in diameter) in that stretch of the river bed condemned to annihilation. This venture lasted for a long time (1942-1958), because of foreign occupation and civil war in Greece. The avenue was started in 1958 and opened to traffic in 1962.

The municipality showed a typical lack of interest in the traditional image of the city; not even the name of the famous river was kept alive in the memory of the Athenians. Instead of naming the new road Ilissos Avenue it was named after King Constantine! With the creation of the new avenue the eastern tangential approach to the centre was completed and a north-south bypass of central Athens carrying extremely heavy traffic was unhappily introduced into an area rich in cultural values (Olympieion, Stadium). At the same time, however, the large underdeveloped areas east and west of the new axis, which had been occupied earlier by military barracks, were at last freed, thus creating the preconditions for the gradual development of the Cultural Centre of Athens in this area.

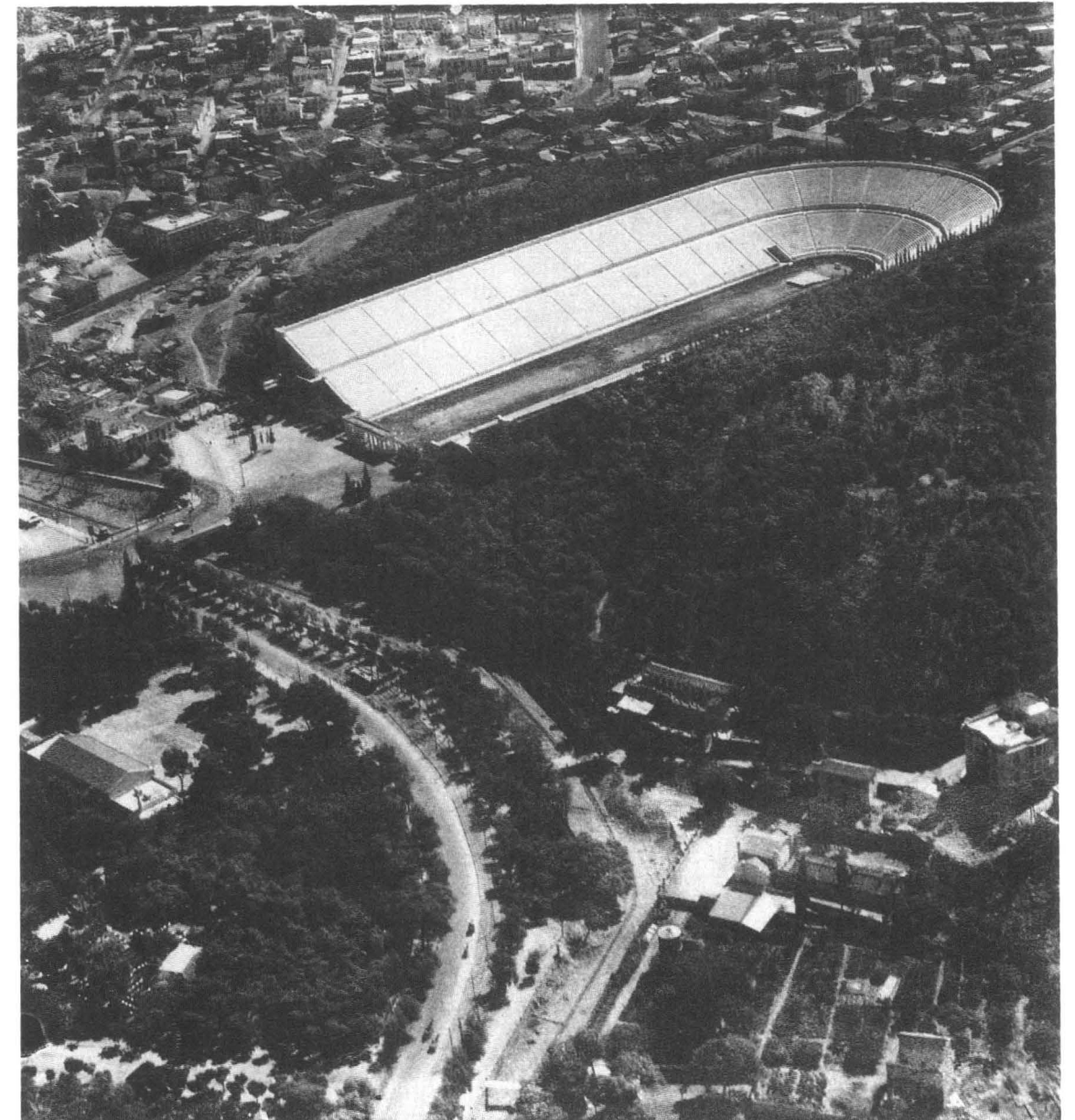


Fig. 118 The Stadium, Ardetto hill reafforested, and the Ilissos river. Air view taken in 1932. (Greek Ministry of Housing).

<sup>67</sup> There is an inner contradiction in Biris' proposal to juxtapose modern cultural and athletic facilities and ancient monuments and sites. When construction started on an open-air theatre on the SW slope of the Pnyx in 1939-1940 he reacted violently against this intrusion on the archaeological site. He shows a quite different attitude in his rehabilitation scheme for Athens in 1946.









Fig. 119 One of the first panoramic air views of Athens. In the foreground, the Syngros grove with the Ilissos river to the right; in the centre, the Royal Palace, Royal Garden and Zappeion; in the background the Akropolis and the western hills. Taken from the NE in 1932. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 120 The south slope of Lykabettos and the eastern districts of Kolonaki and the Crown Prince Palace, seen from the Ardetos hill around 1905. In the lower right corner: the Stadium building; in the foreground: the Ilissos river bridge and the Athens Panorama Building, later demolished. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 121 The view shown in fig. 120 eighty years later (1985), after the Ilissos river bed had been covered over by Vasileos Konstantinou Avenue. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 122 Air view of the Zappeion-Stadium-Olympieion area taken from the SW in 1952. The southern part of the Ilissos river bed is still above ground. The northern part has been filled up. Vasileos Konstantinou Avenue has not yet been laid out. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



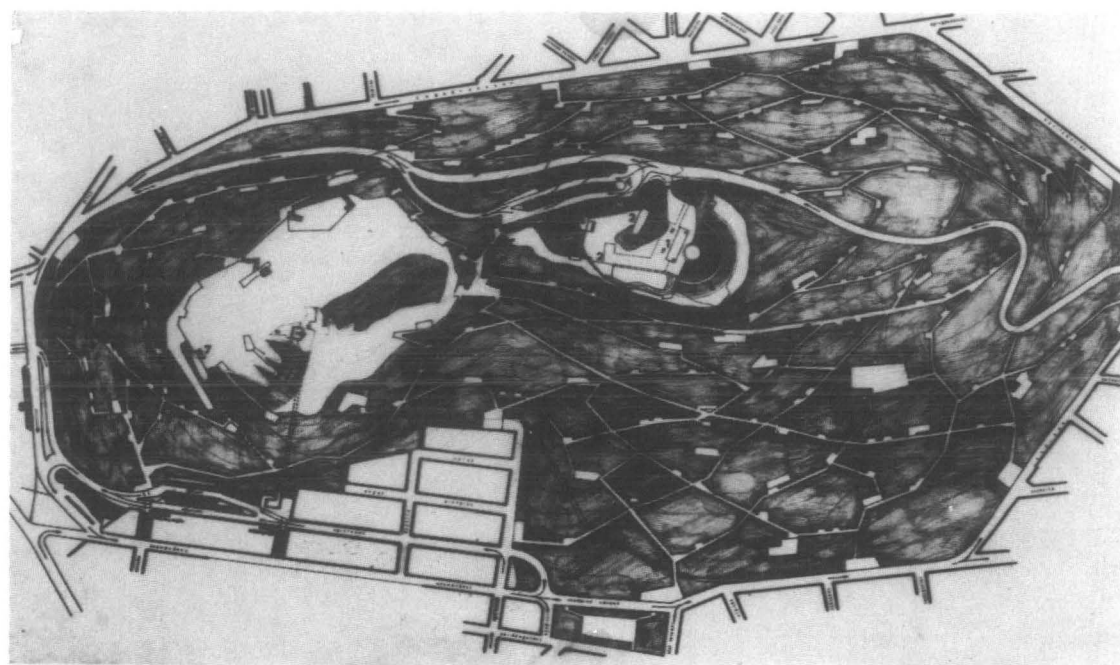


Fig. 123 The Lykabettos area. One of the entries in the 1967 landscaping competition.

Landscaping the archaeological areas, rehabilitation of the Plaka, turning Lykabettos into a recreation area

During the last forty years important measures have been taken in support of the further development of the cultural-historic area. Thus a considerable part of the archaeological sites have been landscaped, about 20 ha including the Agora, parts of the Pnyx and Mouseion hills and the Olympieion area. Other archaeological sites are still waiting to be treated in a comparable manner.

The urban rehabilitation of the old town of Athens was also given special attention. Important urban design measures and conversion of streets to pedestrian malls have contributed to an urban renaissance of the Plaka and its integration into the overall scheme of the cultural-historic area.

Another long lasting initiative was the gradual rehabilitation and upgrading of Lykabettos (44.30 ha) as a recreational asset for the city. As mentioned already, this extensive area was severely disfigured by quarrying in the 19th century, but was later planted with pine trees, cactus (agave) and cypresses in the early 20th century. The only building erected on the hill is the picturesque chapel of Hagios Georgios in the style of the white-washed island churches, built in 1885 (fig. 124).

Up until the 1960s the hill was an almost deserted, unsafe place with virtually no visitors. In 1964-1965 three main interventions opened up the hill to the life of the city:

1) The National Tourist Organization of Greece built a belvedere restaurant with terraces just below the chapel on top of the hill (277 m high). The new building is discreet and has been ingeniously concealed on the slope, so that the chapel and bell tower have been preserved as the crowning elements. At the same time an underground funicular has been installed, offering easy access to the restaurant and the vantage terrace on top of the hill.

2) In 1965 an open-air theatre accommodating 3000 people was erected below the northern peak of Lykabettos in the record time of 35 days! The architect T. Zenetos (1927-1978) created a light metal structure which he installed in the hollow of an abandoned quarry. Zenetos wanted an independent structure which could be dismantled, one that would contrast with the moon landscape of the quarry and he was opposed to any attempt at making a copy of an ancient Greek theatre in stone on a site where none had ever existed.<sup>68</sup> Although planned as a temporary structure, the theatre has proved most beneficial to the cultural life of the city and has been kept intact over the last three decades. A narrow access road and a good-sized parking area next to the theatre have been laid out with care so as not to disturb the contours of the hill. The same holds true for the theatre structure itself, which is not visible from the town (fig. 125-128).

3) In order to provide easy access by car from the city a ring road was constructed in the 1960s at the foot of the hill below a circular open trench catching the rainwater from the slopes of Lykabettos (built in 1938-1940).

As a result of these measures Lykabettos was integrated into the civic life of the town for the first time. The landscaping of the area was, however, still neglected. The architectural competition launched by the Tourist Organization in 1967 had no concrete results.

In recent years the Ministry of housing finally took the initiative: irrigation networks and lighting systems have been installed; shrubs have been planted; and new paths, stone benches and steps have made the slopes of the hill more attractive for promenaders. Two café pavilions were added and small retaining walls have been built where necessary. With a minimum of investment and also, happily enough, with a minimum of alterations to the natural contours<sup>69</sup> the replanted slopes have been turned into a handsome grove and have at last been made available to the Athenians as a variegated cultural and recreational area.

### An often frustrated hope: the excavation of the Demosion Sema

The partial excavation of the ancient Kerameikos *extra muros* and of the Academy area have

68 In a report to the Secretary General of the National Tourist Organisation—which financed this venture—Zenetos stated that:

“The incorporation of the theatre into the natural ground is from a topographic point of view impossible, given the fact that an alteration of the form and texture of the rocky formations is inadmissible (...) Although the solution of an independent structure has been chosen because of the topographic conditions, it has been proved to be also (...) the most interesting and suitable for the character of the environment: We are not confronted here with a smooth site with light curves like the one of Epidauros, but rather with a rocky site with isolated peaks. It is proposed that the theatre should be an additional such isolated element, expressing the spirit of our times”. (Original text in Greek. Translation by the author).

69 It is interesting to note that the landscaping approach applied to the slopes of Lykabettos has by no means adopted the very special formal vocabulary used by D. Pikionis for the Akropolis surroundings. Stone paving has been avoided on principle and a minimum of architectural elements have been added to the landscape.



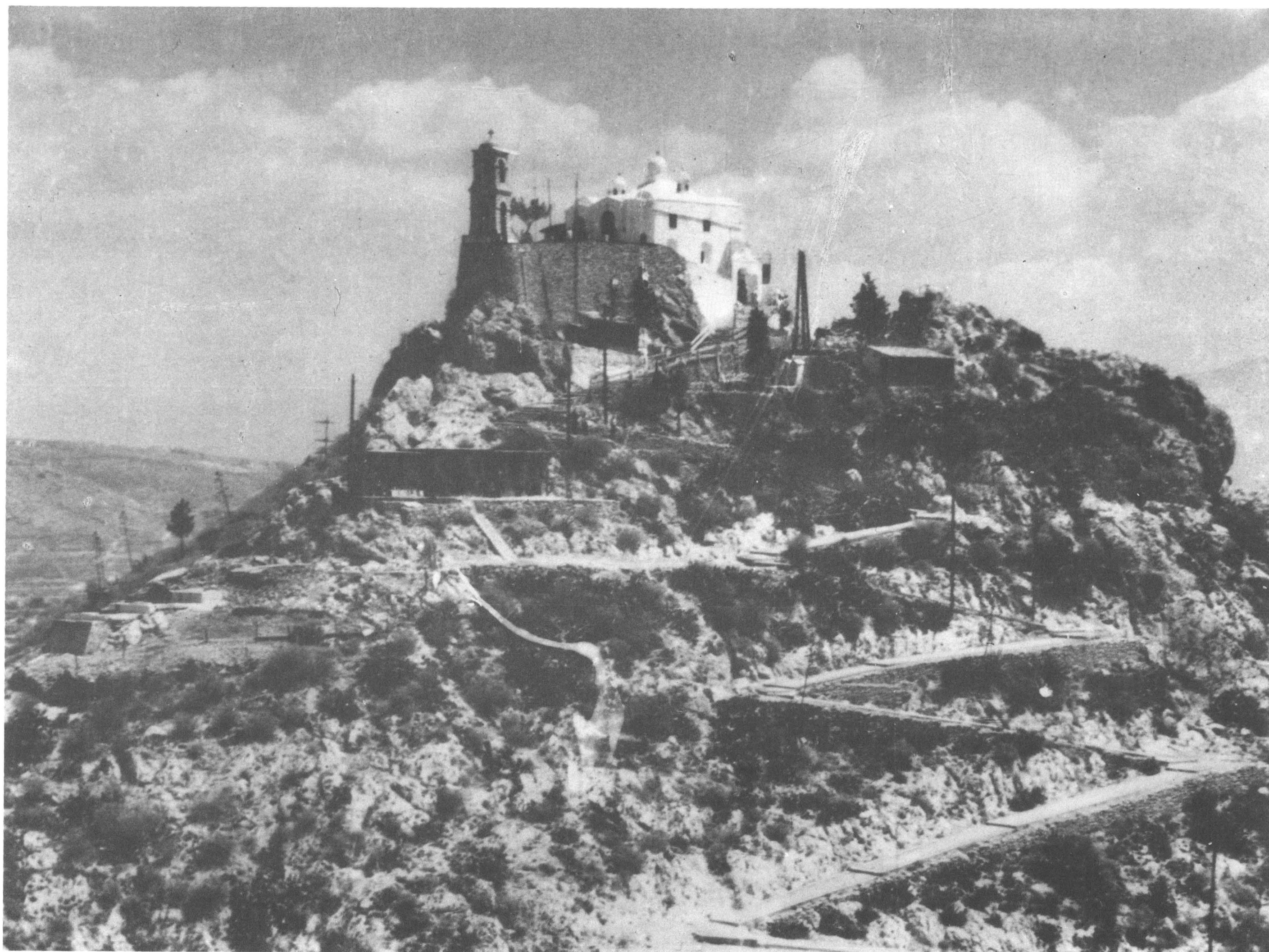


Fig. 124 The southern peak of Lykabettos (277 m) with the chapel of Haghios Georgios. 1962. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 125 Lykabettos. The central ridge seen from the NW. To the left, the large crater made by earlier quarrying operations where the Lykabettos theatre was constructed in 1965. Air view taken in 1962. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



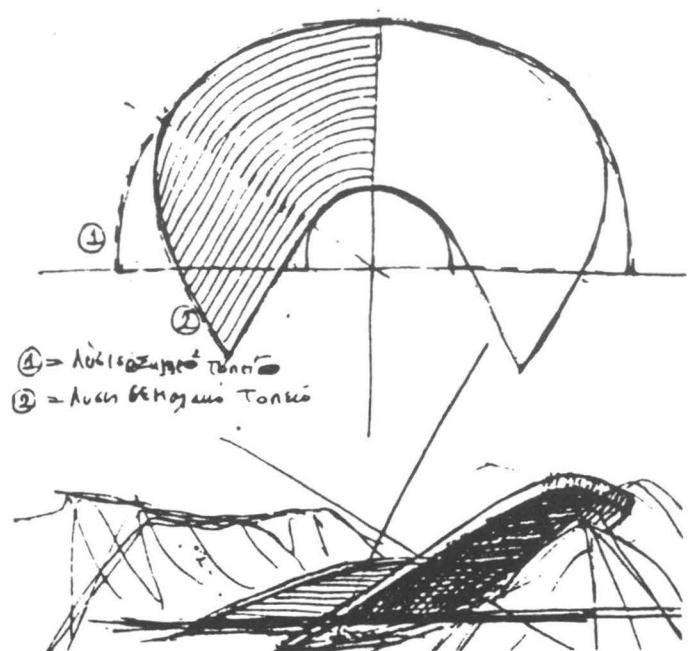


Fig. 126 Sketch for the Lykabettos theatre by the architect T. Zenetos.

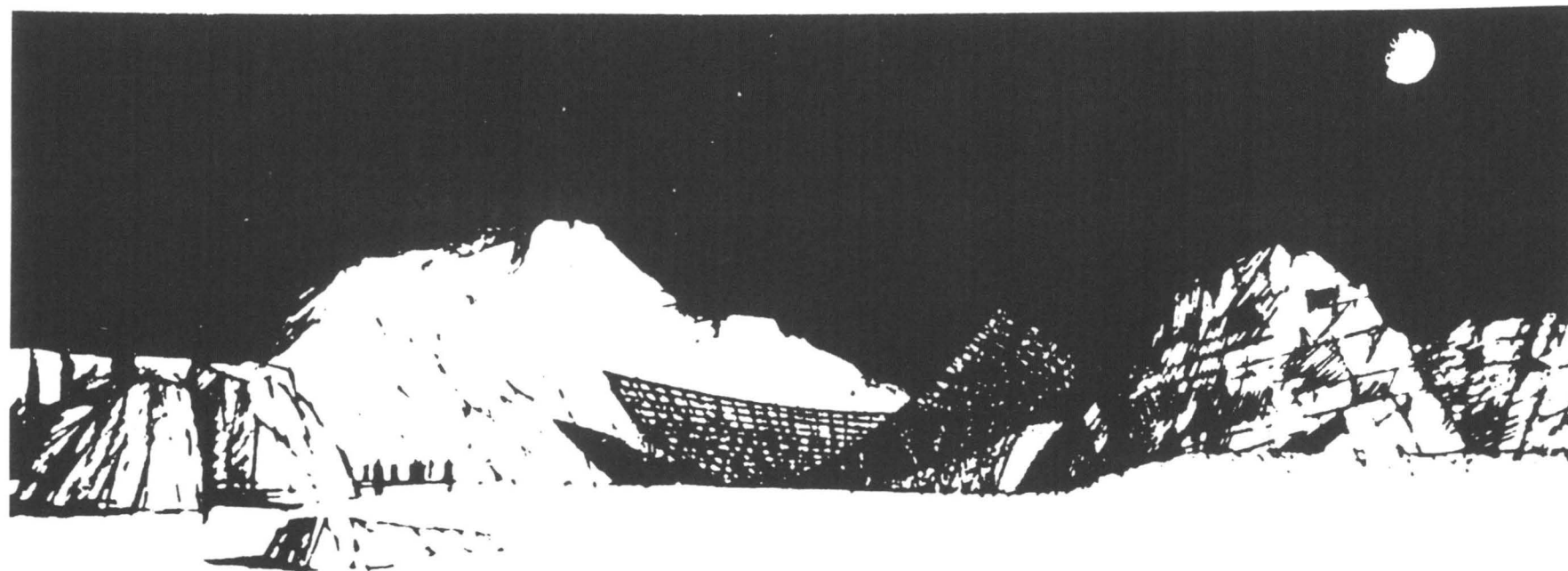


Fig. 127 Sketch for the Lykabettos theatre by the architect T. Zenetos.



Fig. 128 The Lykabettos theatre after completion (1966). (Photograph by the author).





Fig. 129 Section of the Kalligas plan (1924) with the proposed administrative centre to the right on the site now occupied by the Athens Cultural Complex Scale 1:20,000. (Benaki Museum, Athens).

yielded, among other things, some definite information about the location, if not the exact extent, of these two districts of the ancient town. The area between the Kerameikos Excavations and the Academy, about 1200 by 400 metres, with its ancient thoroughfares linking Athens to the Peiraeus, Eleusis, Academy and Kolonos Hippios, has so far been investigated only sporadically. Since the buildings in this northwestern part of the new town are low-rise houses and small businesses, timely gradual expropriation of this area would have offered both the opportunity of filling out topographic and archaeological investigations of ancient Athens and the advantage of increasing the planted surfaces so badly needed in this part of the town. Nevertheless no comprehensive measures have been taken in this direction.

In the 1920s the Leloudas plan proposed developing an administrative center in this area which would have extended from Koumoundourou Square (formerly Loudovikou Sq. named after Ludwig I of Bavaria) in a north-south direction; fortunately this scheme was not carried out. But during the last decades some buildings of important volume, such as the headquarters of the State Social Insurance Foundation, have been erected on Peiraios st. They present serious obstacles to future excavations.

In recent years there have been repeated calls for uncovering the Demosion Sema<sup>70</sup>, i.e. the State Ground for the Athenians (and also sometimes for their allies and slaves) who fell in battle on land or sea. The grave monuments in the Demosion Sema are known to have been set up in the area under consideration, but there is considerable controversy as to the exact location. Dieter Ohly and Ursula Knigge, past and present directors of the Kerameikos Excavations, have both concluded that the Demosion Sema lies to the east of the ancient road from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy. Others place the Demosion Sema to the west of the Dipylon-Academy road or in the road or on both sides of it. In any case the fact that not a single grave monument set up in the Demosion sema has ever been found *in situ*, necessarily leaving the location of the Demosion Sema a matter for controversy, does not facilitate expedient town-planning decisions. Consequently there is considerable risk of losing the existing opportunities of expropriating land in an undeveloped sector of the modern city, thus blocking development of the cultural-historical area in NW Athens.

### A controversial open-ended venture: the Athens Cultural Centre

Various master plans and urban remodelling schemes for Athens included a recurrent proposal for creating a monumental administrative centre involving the break-through of new street axes in the centre of town. This town-planning *idée fixe* was an attempt to carry out, after a considerable delay, a provision in the initial planning scheme of Kleanthes-Schaubert that had not been realized, i.e. grouping the ministries in the vicinity of the Royal Palace, a symbol for centralized 'enlightened' power. From time to time several locations in the inner city have been considered for the site of such an administrative centre, e.g. Korais st. on the axis of the University building or the area around Koumoundourou Square on the northwestern edge of the old town.

In 1924, following five years of deliberations, the government adopted an urban rehabilitation scheme for Athens, known as the Kalligas Plan, which was soon abandoned because of a massive protest by the landowners in Athens. This plan was the first to come forward with the idea for a new straight avenue to be created on the abolished Ilissos river bed, combined with a proposal for developing an administrative centre on the extensive grounds of military installations existing in this part of the city.

The idea of an administrative centre located in downtown Athens never got off the ground and has now been definitely abandoned because of extreme building congestion in the centre of the city. By the end of the 1950s Vasileos Konstantinou Avenue was at last laid out on the line of the eliminated Ilissos river bed and considerable grounds (about 14 ha) on both sides of the avenue were freed from the military installations, barracks and weapon depots (fig. 135). This privileged area situated on the eastern edge of the inner city, between the Royal Garden and Lykabetos and tangential to the main arteries of Kephissias Avenue and Vasileos Konstantinou

<sup>70</sup> On January 7, 1966 the Greek Society of Historic Studies held a solemn meeting in the presence of King Constantine. The lively debate on the desirability of discovering the ancient Demosion Sema was concluded by a manifesto in which the Society appealed to the Greek government to preserve the antiquities in the area by carrying out the necessary expropriations, organizing a national fund-raising drive to cover the costs. The emotional appeal recalled the fact that the Demosion Sema has remained covered over the centuries, has never been investigated and that the area runs the risk of being redeveloped which would mean the loss of ancient monuments and an eternal stain on the reputation of the Greek nation.





Fig. 130 The Zappeion-Stadium-Olympieion area with the newly finished avenue (Vasileos Konstantinou-Ardeitou-Kallirrois). In the upper centre, the area of the Athens Cultural Complex (still not developed) and the Hilton hotel. Air view taken in 1963. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



71 The architect Helen Fessa-Emanouil described the ideological background of this major state-sponsored venture:

"From the original inception of the idea by the conservative prime minister C. Caramanlis (...) this ambitious multi-use complex has been at the centre of a continuous moral and political debate. To the majority of well-informed and progressive professionals in this country, the Athens Cultural Centre epitomizes the fallacies of state patronage in the realms of culture, urban development and monumentality. It also reveals the futility of grandiose gestures uncritically committed to imported ideals (...) One of the main reasons for the errors of judgement characterising the Athens Cultural Centre is that it was conceived as a symbolic gesture by politicians and technocrats who were blindly committed to the cause of proving the impossible, that is of proving in the 1960s or early 1970s that Greek society could successfully assimilate Western experience and produce a monumental civic complex of international calibre. It is, however, a fact that the burgeoning of civic and cultural centres in the past two decades was a show case for civilizations at the peak of their economic and political power, expressing their accomplishment on a more abstract or artistic level. In the 1960s and early 70s Greek society, mesmerized by the political slogan of 'we belong to the West' and aware of its cultural lag in the pursuit of the Western technological dream could ill afford grandiose gestures exposing the products of the Neohellenic civilization. No wonder what this brainchild of state ideology eventually represented was the true schizoid character of Greek society, in its lack of integration of context, content and form." Fessa-Emanouil, Helen, 1981.

72 The proposals for this rigid layout went so far as to envisage moving the Byzantine Museum on rails to a new site 250 m to the east! The Byzantine Museum is a neorenaissance building, formerly the mansion of the duchess of Piacenza, built in 1840-1846 by the Greek architect S. Kleanthes.

73 In regard to the basic rationale of the 1959 competition and the Despotopoulos planning concept, H. Fessa-Emanouil delivered a categorically negative judgement:

"In comparison to the planning procedures adopted in developed countries for similar projects, the Athens cultural 'Mecca' or 'ghetto' appears awkwardly simplistic. To begin with, the 1959 competition brief with its lack of rigour, analytical clarity, rationality and sensitivity to context as well as users' needs, has been the harbinger of the scheme's failure (...)

J. Despotopoulos' interpretation of the client's brief, with its strongly spiritual, heroic and mystical overtones, reflects the unmodified assertions of the avant-garde of the 1920s. His architectural philosophy is totally committed to the Bauhaus and 'ville radieuse' legacies. Even the most incidental faults of the Despotopoulos proposals derive from two fundamental decisions; that the complex should be conceived as a modern version of the ancient Greek 'agora' and that a 'holistic' urban approach should define a fixed context (plan, system) for the monumental contribution to be made by architectural 'composition'. The first decision resulted in an extravagant, over-schematic design which ignores its surroundings and is unrelated to its social milieu (...) On the other hand, the designer's commitment to a large urban gesture and the specifically Western context of his experience (i.e. his education at the Bauhaus, his academic career in Germany and his professional experience in Sweden) resulted in over-schematic models which idealised the concept of 'urban fix', abstract symbolism, formal expressionism and advanced technology, to the exclusion of any idea of how these concepts would be translated into reality". Fessa-Emanouil, Helen, 1981.

74 In an interview given in 1959 the renowned writer George Theotokas gave his unvarnished opinion of the megalomaniac-technocratic approach adopted by the administration, pointing out that no really competent expert had been asked to give advice concerning the buildings devoted to music, the libraries, the museums which the plan provided for by the acre. He stated that nobody knew and nobody cared about the functions these buildings were supposed to fulfil and that the initiators of the building program had only the following in mind: what matters first is to demolish and second to build a lot of surfaces in concrete. After this has been achieved let the so-called cultural world fill the 'cultural centre' with 'culture'.

Avenue, was destined to fulfil some representative urban functions. Some important new buildings were already under construction or planned in the vicinity of this area: the American Embassy designed by Gropius and built in 1957-1958 at the north; the Athens Hilton designed by Vassiliadis, Vourekas and Staikos, built in 1958-1962, in the centre. Others were to follow in the east: the National Gallery, designed by Moutsopoulos, Fatouros and Mylonas, built in 1968-1973; the National Research Foundation, designed by Doxiadis Associates, built in 1965-1967; the Friends of Music Concert Hall designed by Keilholz and Vourekas, recently completed.

In 1959 the Housing Department of the Ministry of Public Works launched an architectural competition with an extremely overloaded building program. About a dozen different buildings serving public cultural functions and also educational purposes were to be erected on the 7.5 ha of the triangular site bounded by Kephissias Avenue, Vasileos Konstantinou Avenue and Rigillis st. By densely concentrating a variety of functions in one place a national cultural centre was to be created on the eastern edge of the traditional business and administrative district in central Athens. So-called 'enlightened centralism' was vaguely aiming at a new target.<sup>71</sup>

The very fact that the state took the initiative towards comprehensively developing at least a part of the extensive available land was a step in the right direction, banishing forever the threat that state-owned property would fall into private hands with subsequent dense building for private housing schemes. The initial idea was to create a monumental group of varied buildings; the centre was to include a wide range of facilities devoted to the arts: an academy of music, a theatre complex, a national gallery and museum complex etc. This concept, plus the fact that the authorities were committed to an over-intensive use of the site, was detrimental to the future development of the eastern half of the cultural-historic area and also involved worse traffic congestion and insoluble access problems. These fundamental flaws in the project were realized only later.

The 1959 competition was won by John Despotopoulos, a respected university teacher (Athens, Stockholm), one of the few Greek followers of the Bauhaus movement with an international reputation. Complying with the basic requirements of the program, Despotopoulos worked out a well-defined scheme characterized by monumental free-standing, clear-cut, differentiated volumes, dynamically interrelated, grouped around a large stone-paved plaza. The rigid axuality of the basic generating grid<sup>72</sup> plus the absence of any green area was meant to convey an explicitly urban character. The exaggeratedly large size and the schematic nature of the project were, however, evident<sup>73</sup> (fig. 131).

This grandiose concept was condemned to failure by the megalomaniac objectives set by the administration<sup>74</sup>, Despotopoulos' weaknesses, and the advent of the dictatorship (1967-1974). As early as 1966 the Archaeological Service had for the first time formulated a counter-proposal whereby (in a clumsy scheme) a large grove would be created in which the existing buildings of the Officers' Club and the Byzantine Museum (both listed buildings) would be kept.

After a long delay lasting until 1972 Despotopoulos adapted his plans to the western part of the area (5.5 ha) where the dictatorial regime had in the meantime erected the bulky structure of the Greek War Museum (1970-1972) next to the Byzantine Museum. Only one building designed by Despotopoulos was actually erected on the site: the Conservatory of Music. This extremely long structure, 120 × 16 m and only 10.5 m high, removed from its original context, today gives the impression of a cumbersome antediluvian fossil of the so-called modern classicizing style.

In 1973 the dictatorship made an attempt to put the cultural centre project on a commercial footing. From the beginning there were suspicions that the investments required for such an extensive project far exceeded the financial capacities of the state, which turned out to be the bitter truth. The plan was to offer the eastern part of the area, 2.2 ha east of Rizari st. belonging to the Rizarios Theological Seminary, for an international tourist development which would indirectly finance the entire program for the cultural centre. The historic Rizareion building on Kephissias Avenue was hastily demolished for this purpose. In 1974 the collapse of the dictatorship brought this fatal scheme to an end.

By 1975 plans for a National Opera following Despotopoulos' revised scheme were ready to be implemented and a huge pit more than 16 m. deep was dug out for the foundations; the pit is still there today. The 20 m high volume of the stage building of the Opera House would have



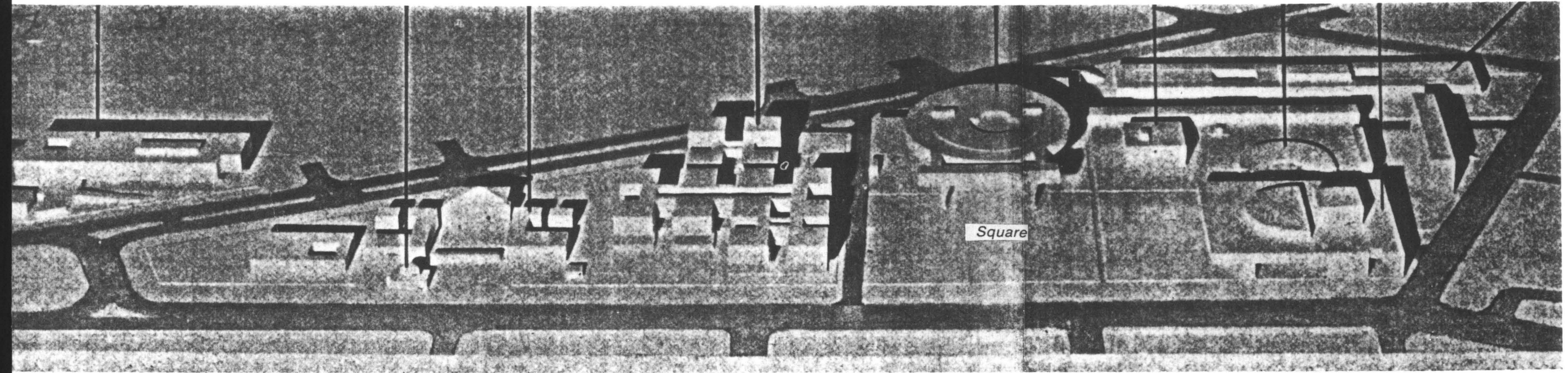


Fig. 131 Model for the Athens Cultural Centre seen from the NW. This entry by Prof. J. Despotopoulos won first prize in the 1959 competition for the Athens Cultural Centre. (*Design and Art in Greece*, no. 12, 1981).



Fig. 132 The Athens Cultural Centre. Entry winning first prize in the 1976 competition for the Athens Cultural Centre. Perspective view from the SE.



Fig. 133 The Athens Cultural Centre. General layout of the entry shown in fig. 132. Scale 1:2000.



annihilated the effect produced by the delicate architecture of the Byzantine Museum only 15 m to the north. But the era of big ventures and holistic approaches was over. The basic considerations changed. The first phase of the entire venture thus came to a close.

In 1976 the Housing Department launched a statewide architectural competition. The predominating aim was now to relieve the area of further traffic and building pressure. The leading idea was no longer the creation of a monumental urban complex, but rather a grove for cultural facilities which were to be set in the chain of green spaces belonging to the overall cultural park of Athens; the number of new cultural facilities were to be restricted to a minimum.

This new perspective was actually the diametrically opposed option to the initial premises in 1959; the first prize entry provided for a large open park in which only three of the existing buildings were to be preserved: the Conservatory of Music, Byzantine Museum and National Gallery. The Officer's Club and the Greek War Museum were to be demolished. The main novelty of this scheme from a town-planning point of view was that on the one hand Rizari st., dividing the whole area in two, was to be kept and, on the other hand, Vasileos Konstantinou Avenue was to be rerouted in order to incorporate the National Gallery in the eastern part of the grove. This proposal is to be considered as wishful thinking rather than a viable alternative, given that the extremely dense traffic on this avenue leaves no room for any kind of fantasies of rerouting.

This second competition did not yield any concrete results; its failure is certainly due both to its extremely one-sided objective of having a park, practically excluding any notion of a cultural centre, while the idea of a monumental urban complex was ever-present and firmly established in the minds of those promoting the scheme.

Thus in 1979 the idea of a cultural park was passed over as a result of various bureaucratic initiatives which revived the original idea of a monumental urban complex.

In 1980 George Kandilis, Director of the newly founded Public Real Estate Company, was appointed head of the Athens Cultural Centre project and commissioned to produce a new design according to an unreasonably extensive and ill-defined program and to set up a public office for the design development.

The first preliminary project carried out under the direction of G. Kandilis by a design team, (mainly the architects who executed the winning design in the second competition), was submitted in March 1980. It not only struck a blow at the original intentions of creating a park-like environment<sup>75</sup> but also under the guise of euphemistic labels such as "open design procedure" and "increased flexibility" sought to reintroduce an overwhelmingly pretentious architectural program, much more chaotic than the Despotopoulos proposals 20 years before!

This reemergence of an ambitious building program was treated as a chimera to which nobody felt really committed and in the same year, 1980, the newly founded Ministry of Planning and Environment sponsored and executed a simple, gracious landscaping scheme for the eastern part of the area (formerly the Rizari grounds), thus protecting the existing old trees and creating an attractive new grove for the city, ca 2.2 ha. There were no further interventions in this area.

In 1993 the whole area of the so-called cultural centre of Athens was still an uncertain conglomeration of various spaces and functions. However, two-thirds of the area is covered with greenery. The Conservatory of Music Building stands awkwardly isolated at its southern edge; the Byzantine Museum still awaits renovation and extension; and there is still hope that one day the bulky volumes of the Officers' Club and the War Museum will be removed. After more than thirty years of wavering deliberations and unsettled treatment the de facto creation of a park-like link between the Lykabettos area and the existing parks of central Athens is more probable than ever.

### An inner city green belt phase III: the Photiadis plan (1979)

By the end of the 1970s environmental pollution, traffic congestion and urban decay had reached an unprecedented peak in central Athens. In lively reaction against the deteriorating conditions

75 N. Chatzimichalis, one of the leading architects of the prize winning team for the 1976 competition, insisted once more on the importance of giving the cultural centre a park-like character and protested against bulky built volumes densely clustered together demanded by the 'client' (i.e. the administration):

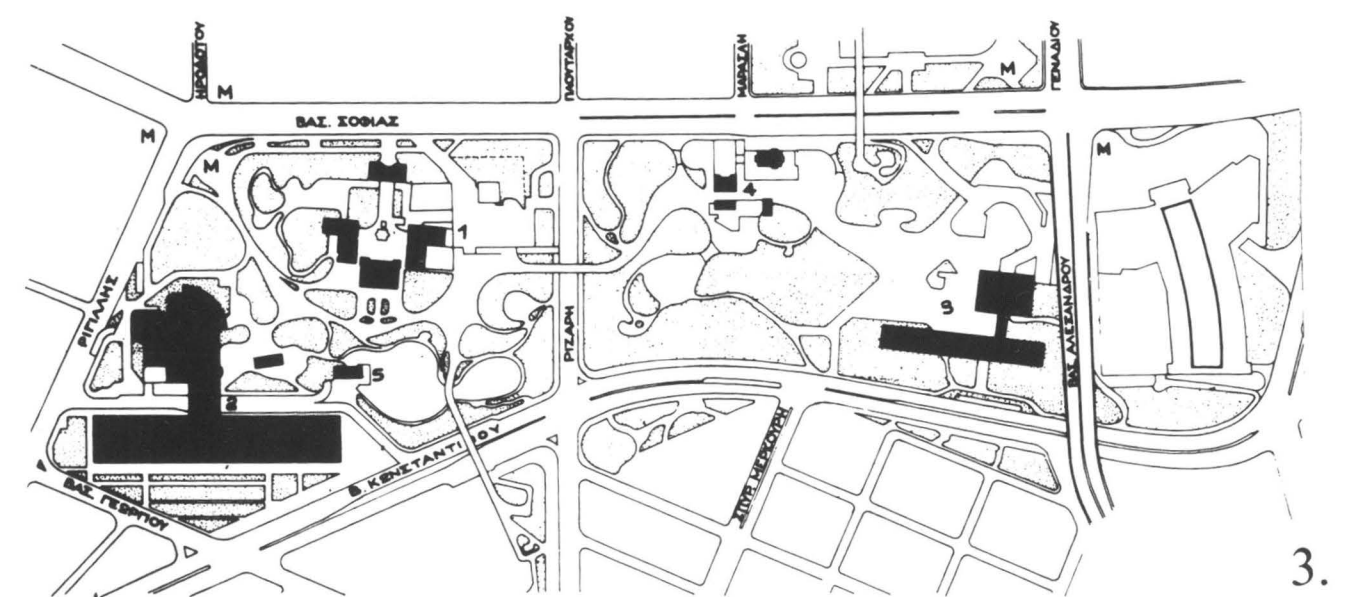
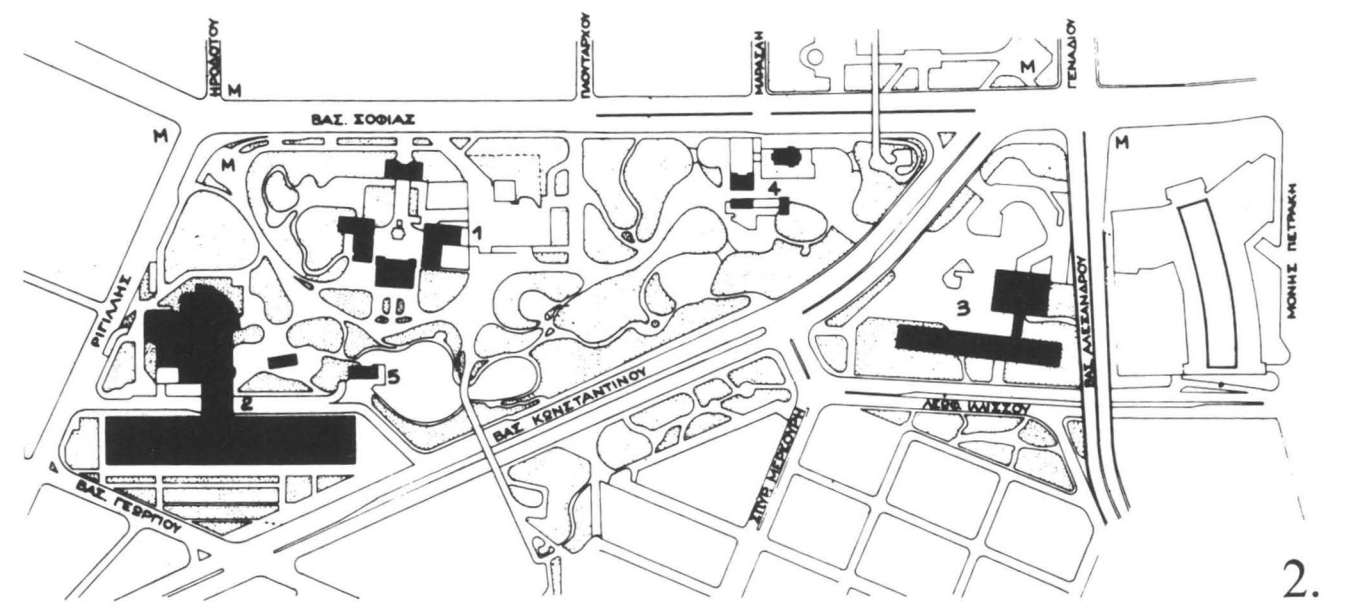
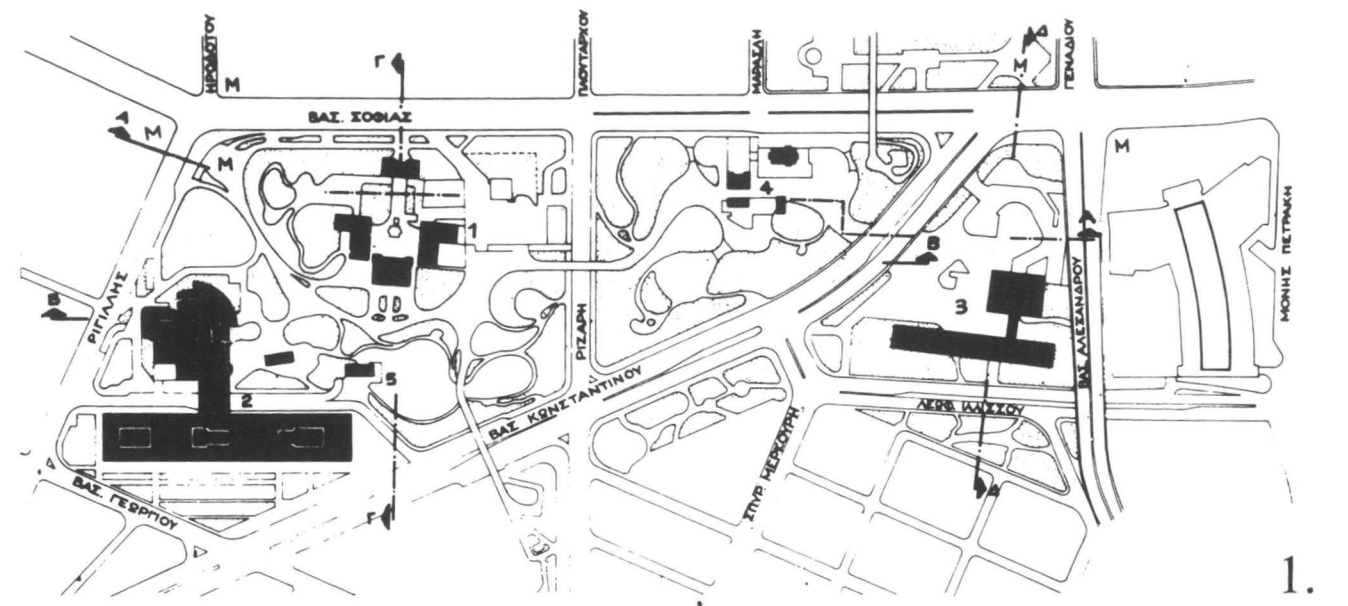
"A cultural centre, the way we understand it, does not only consist of a number of buildings housing certain preprogrammed cultural activities but it is a public place for people to meet and communicate. Our conception of the project therefore was that of a combination of closed, open and semiopen spaces where the dominant element would be ample vegetation. This approach is, we believe, called for in a city like Athens where the climate is particularly favourable to outdoor living and traffic conditions have turned all public squares into roundabouts (...) Changes in level were exploited to give the smallest possible volume of above ground constructions; buildings were inwards oriented facing enclosed courtyards that would ensure a certain insulation from traffic noise. The roofs of the sunken buildings were to be planted forming part of the pedestrian walk (...) From the end of 1977 the prize winning team, in collaboration with state officials, has been involved in modifying the project to meet the client's new demands. In the course of the last two years the program specifications have changed to include 50,000 square metres of built space as opposed to the original 10,000 sq. m. And there are indications that ambitious state officials are pressing for further increase. To this day the client has not decided to proceed with the revised scheme we submitted early in 1980 both as far as the brief is concerned and the change of the main circulation axis that will attach the National Gallery to the Cultural Centre. It is my belief, that if the Centre is to function even remotely like a park and a meeting place not only the addition of more buildings ought to be prevented but a decrease in built volume as it now stands in the submitted scheme would be necessary". N. Chatzimachalis, "The Athens Cultural Centre. The designers' point of view", *Design and Art in Greece*, 12 (1991).



Fig. 134 The Athens Cultural Centre. Plans for three alternatives presented in the 1976 competition entry shown in figs. 132-133. Scale 1:5000.



Fig. 135 Plan of the Ilissos river area in 1940 before the river bed was covered over. In the upper part of the plan the cross-hatched areas were, at the time, occupied by military installations (later removed). The area in the upper centre (ca 14 ha) is the present site of the Athens Cultural Complex and the Hilton hotel. Scale ca 1:12,500.





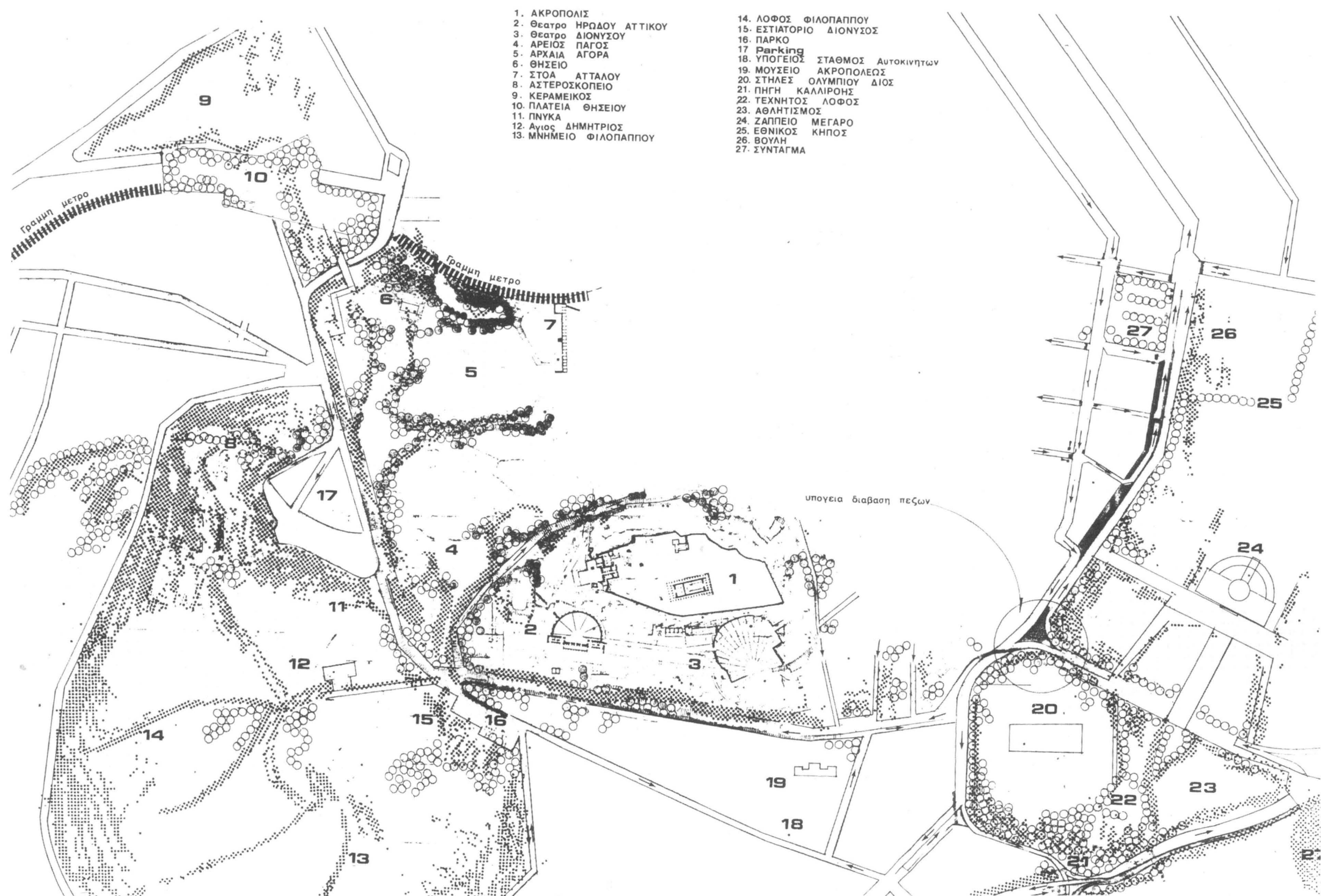
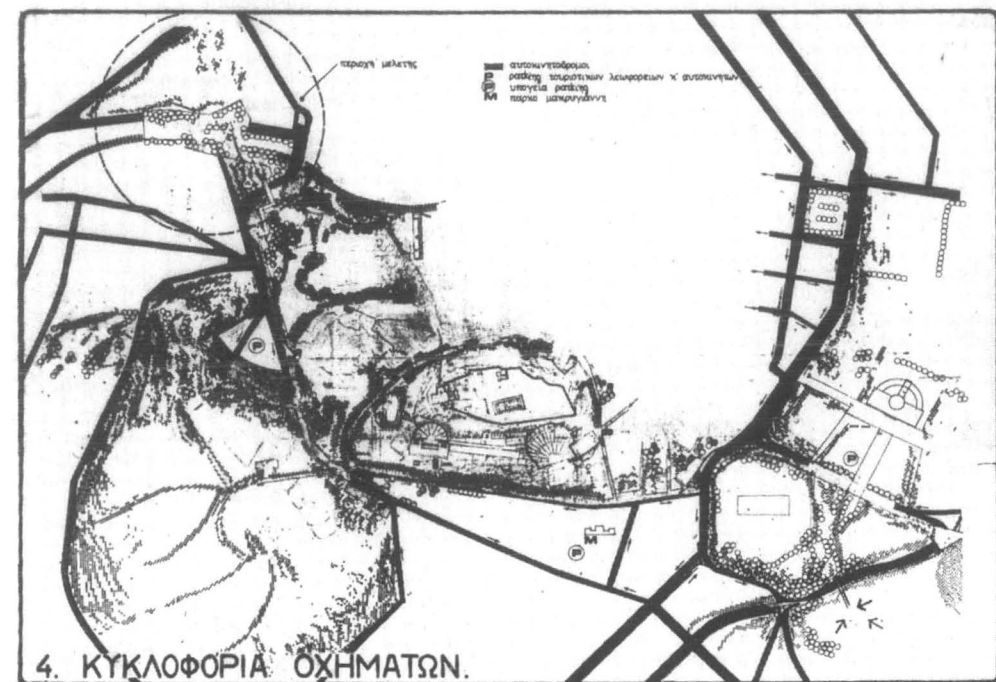
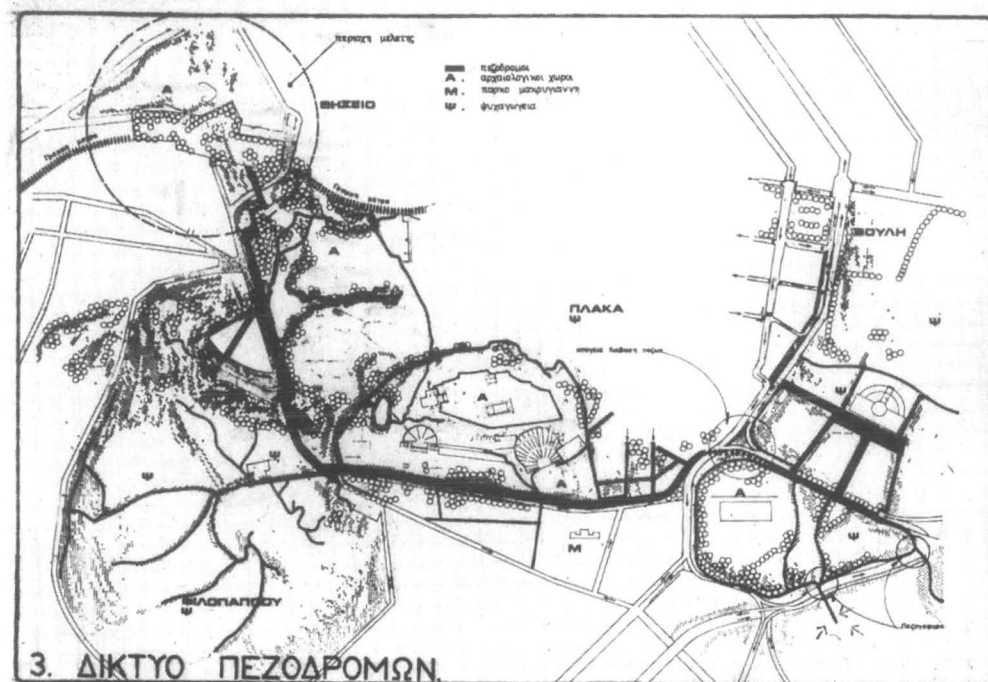


Fig. 136 Sketchy plans of the Photiadis proposal for a unified inner city green belt (1979). Above left: pedestrian walks. Above right: motorized traffic. Below: structural plan of the area. Scales at ca 1:20,000 and 1:10,000 (Private archives of architect Alex. Photiadis, Athens).



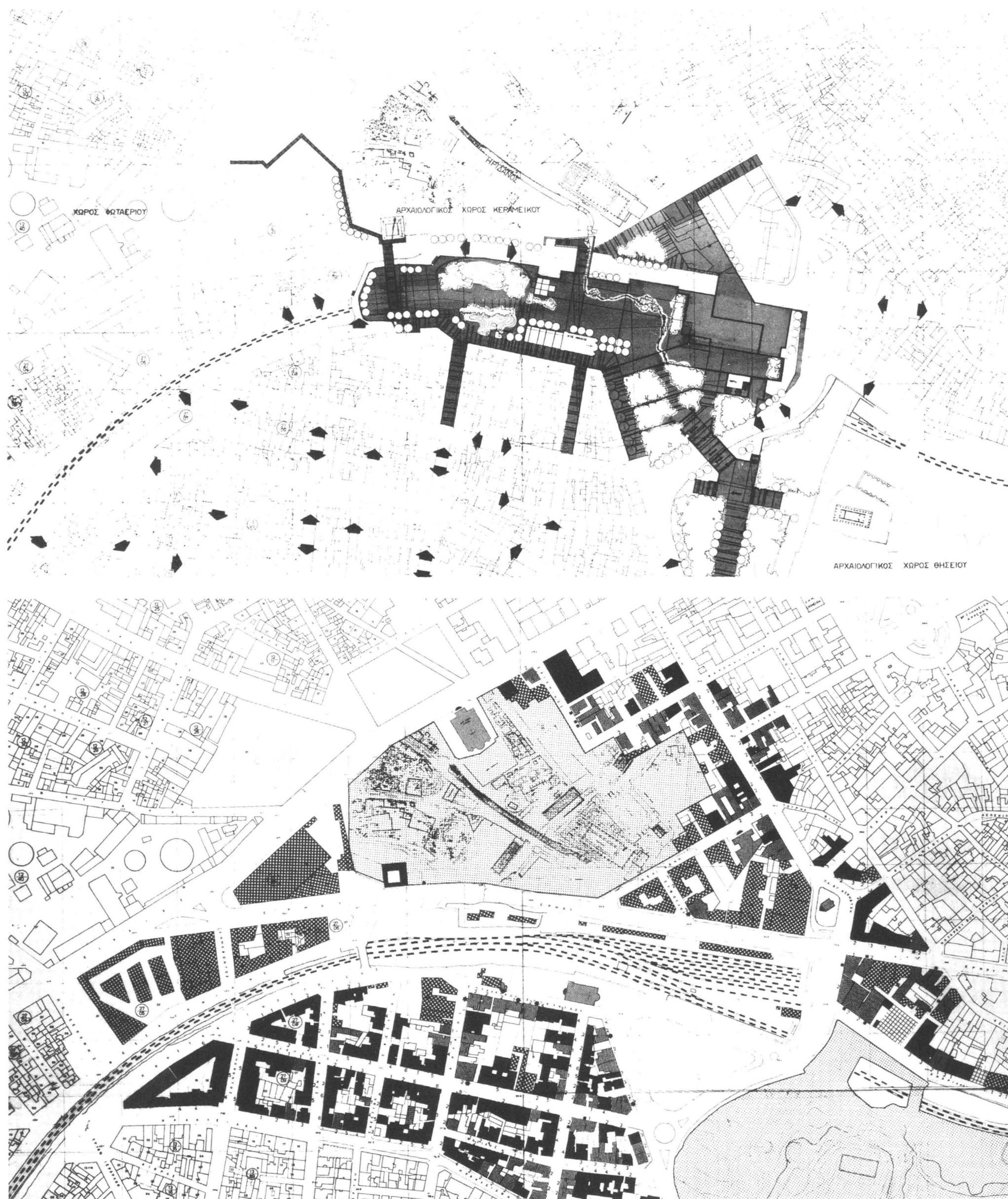


Fig. 137 Sketchy plans of the Photiadis proposal for a pedestrian overpass between the Kerameikos and the Agora excavations (1979). Above: the proposed overpass. Below: the existing situation. Scale ca 1:5000 (Private archives of architect Alex. Photiadis, Athens).



in downtown Athens, several planning initiatives of different kinds emerged, and a slow but steady upgrading of the urban environment in the course of the last decade followed.

The rehabilitation of the Plaka district, pedestrian zones created in the commercial central district, a campaign for planting shrubs and trees along the streets, and last but not least drastic measures for protecting and conserving the Akropolis monuments are mutually beneficial steps in the right direction.

After thirty years of an uncontrolled building boom promoted by private investors and of state interventions which did not address the essential problems<sup>76</sup>, a belated interest for public amenities and for humanizing the centre of town arose at last. An increased interest in developing recreational areas fits well into the picture of the above-mentioned reconsideration of values in urban life. As a direct consequence of this trend, the old idea of unifying the urban parks, replanted hills and archaeological areas, which had been forgotten for a long time, came to the fore once again and is increasingly gaining support in public opinion.

Once again the initiative came from a group of private architects and planners<sup>77</sup> as had been the case in the past proposals by Mawson in 1919 and Biris in 1946. In 1979 the spokesman of this group, the architect Alexander Photiadis, published a comprehensive proposal for the creation of a unified cultural park<sup>78</sup> and went public with several interviews and also with recommendations to the authorities. As consulting architect for the Zappeion endowment, Photiadis had long been acquainted with the complex problems of the centrally located recreational areas of Athens. His proposal is a general outline of a strategy aimed at creating what he called "a park in the centre of Athens, three kilometres long, from the Kerameikos to the Stadium" (fig. 136).

The authors of the proposal deserve praise for their crusading spirit and their practical plan for subsidizing the project by means of coordinated short and middle term policies of public investments. The proposed scheme tackles the main concrete planning issues for the first time, albeit rather superficially, and attempts to outline precise measures dealing with traffic, landscaping and pedestrian zones in order to achieve the overall objectives. Although a general preliminary concept could hardly be expected to present definite and workable solutions for all the different aspects of a large-scale project, yet some of the specific measures proposed are disappointing because they tend to oversimplify the complex problems involved.<sup>79</sup>

One of the proposals, for example, is for a pedestrian overpass more than 250 m in length to be constructed above the railroad north of the Hephaisteion in order to link the Kerameikos and Agora Excavations. But it is naive to imagine that archaeological sites may be significantly related to each other by means of elevated walkways!

The real issue has been overlooked, i.e. the desideratum of excavating the ancient Panathenaic Way from the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos Excavations as far as the previously excavated portion in the Agora Excavations (fig. 137).

Another one of the proposals involves opening up a large parking area just below the Pnyx on two blocks now occupied by low-rise buildings. Instead of abolishing the motorized traffic on Apostolou Pavlou st., expropriating the two blocks of houses and incorporating the property in the archaeological park, an unsightly display of cars parked in front of the Pnyx is planned.

In back of the Pnyx is the so-called Koile gully through which the rock-cut line of the ancient road is flanked by rock cuttings for houses and other ancient structures. The proposal for this area involves unsatisfactory cultural amenities; but this famous historic area should be kept free of any modern intervention. The authors of the scheme are undecided in regard to barring traffic from Dion. Areopagitou st. and Apostolou Pavlou st. now separating the Pnyx range from the Agora-Areopagus-Akropolis complex. They propose housing both the Akropolis Museum and capacious parking facilities on the Makriyanni property across the street from the Theatre of Dionysos; this combination is not workable. The scheme also includes creation of an artificial hill to the east of the Olympieion "in order to separate the archaeological site from the athletic installations to the east". This proposal reflects a painful lack of awareness of history: altering the historic contours in such a radical way is unthinkable. The *genius loci* would pack up and depart were an artificial hill to obliterate the ancient landscape in the vicinity of the Olympieion and the Ilissos valley...

76 Konstantinos Doxiadis, the renowned town-planner, had criticized the nature of work done in regard to public amenities in Athens as early as 1961:

"I believe that in a spirit of objectivity and responsibility we could assert that what is put forward today in Athens (i.e. by the authorities) are urban embellishment works (...) And thus we come to the conclusion that the administration devotes itself to urban cosmetics, while the private investors build the town". K. Doxiadis, 1960.

77 The members of the group were the architects C. Kyrtis, D. Kataropoulos and E. Dionysiadou. Consultant architect A. Photiadis.

78 The proposal was first published in the Athens weekly *Tachydromos* no. 44 Nov. 11, 1979 under the title "A park three kilometers long in the centre of Athens".

79 As an example of this tone, the text presenting the plan to the public explained that the area extending from the Stadium to the Kerameikos was a potential green zone in the centre of the city which now does not work as such because it is broken up and disorganized. "The archaeological sites, disconnected as they are and surrounded by heavy traffic, constitute enclosed areas addressing themselves almost exclusively to tourists. The cars which have invaded the area pollute the air and destroy the monuments. In this archaeological axis it is important that priority be given to pedestrians and landscaping over traffic". (Original text in Greek. Translation by the author).



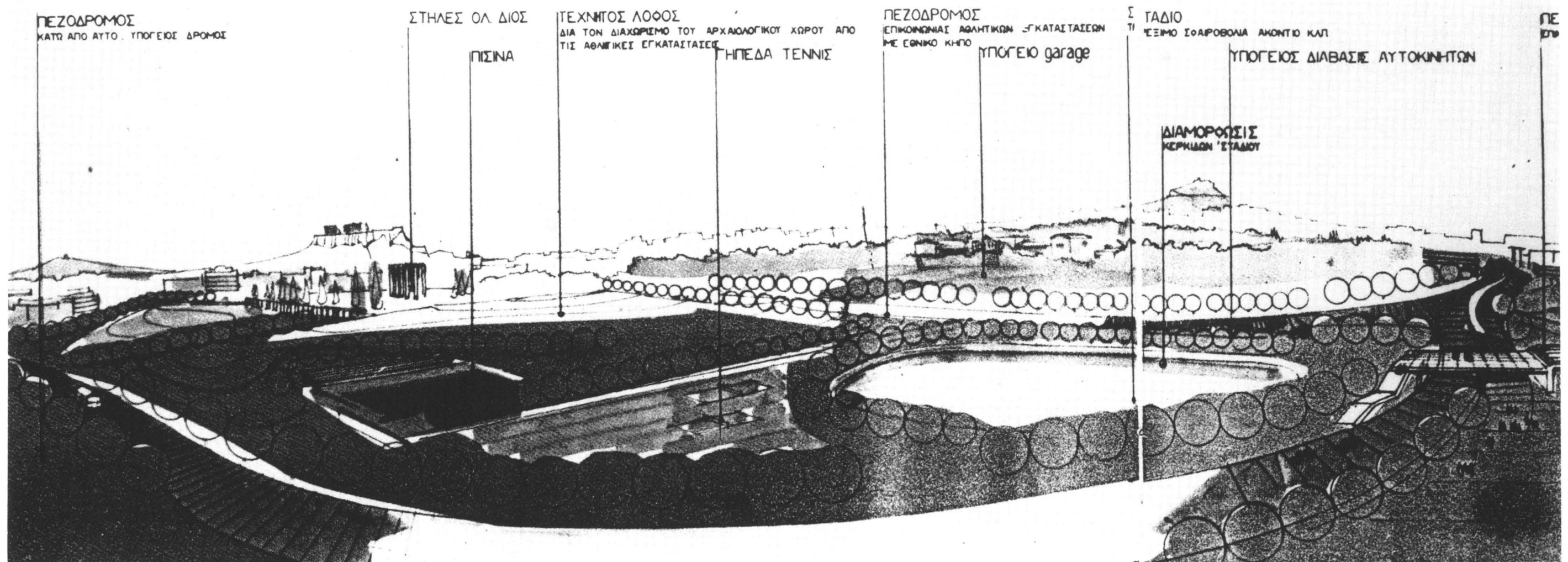


Fig. 138 Panoramic perspective of the Photiadis proposal. The unified green belt area as seen from Ardettos hill.  
(Private archives of architect Alex. Photiadis, Athens).

The planning measures mentioned above are typical of an architect's one-sided outlook, having in mind only the practical problems of accommodating the functions of a recreation area. But the goals set for a cultural-archaeological area include many other desiderata of paramount importance, such as: preservation of the ancient landscape, avoidance of showy modern structures, conditions promoting further archaeological investigation, and creation of a suitably tranquil environment. These goals seem to have been neglected by the authors of the proposal. Some other provisions of the plan are sound, especially those pertaining to regulating traffic and establishing pedestrian routes in the eastern part of the area. Even though the Photiadis plan does not cover the entire cultural-historical area treated in this study and in spite of the fact that its recommendations are not thought out in depth, the plan does have the merit of having reactivated the debate concerning a coordinated plan for the cultural-historical area. It is the first time that the objective of an integrated inner city green belt has entered into planning at municipal and state level independently of (yet in conjunction with) other main planning issues of the capital such as environmental protection, traffic regulation and urban renewal. The decades to come are likely to be decisive for the realization of this century and a half old civic dream.



## THE PICTURE IS THE MESSAGE; ATHENS OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES DOCUMENTED IN PHOTOGRAPHS

The term photography, universally understood and used in all languages, was coined in 1839.<sup>80</sup> The word combines the Greek words for light and painting/writing and characterizes the results of a process by means of which light and chemical substances produce a picture of reality true to the original but much reduced in size.

This 'painting with light' emerged after a series of time-consuming efforts, carried out with many different kinds of preliminaries and in many different places in Europe. In 1839 L.J.M. Daguerre in France and W.H. Fox Talbot in England announced their separate discoveries. By exposing silver-coated plates to iodine vapour, Daguerre succeeded in producing a mirror image that could be preserved and coloured: the daguerrotype. The picture was a small-scale singleton and could not be reduplicated. Fox Talbot developed a method of printing positives on paper from paper negatives, allowing reduplication: the Calotype. The effect of the image varied according to the substance on which the image was captured.

It is no accident that Daguerre started out as a painter, whereas Fox Talbot was a scholar who devoted himself to archaeological and botanical studies. Thus for Talbot structural details were just as interesting as the entire object. His subject matter was still lifes, genre pictures and isolated objects. Daguerre, on the other hand, composed his views in the same way that he organized them on his drawing paper or canvas, sometimes using a grid. He chose scenes with architecture, views and portraits. Even without added colour Daguerre's silver plates produced the effect of colouring, because one had to shift and turn them against the light in order to see the details. The silvery lustre and the iridescent outlines almost recalled the atmospheric landscapes of the miniature painters or the delicate views of the rococo period.

The filigree surface of the calotype negative and the reversed colour values seemed to have aroused irritation rather than awareness of their charm. In addition the subject matter seems not to have had much appeal for the viewers who felt that it did not conform to the aesthetic tastes of the time.

The awareness that it was now possible to capture ever-changing spatial relations and motion in a fixed form tended to arouse feelings of discomfort in the average beholder. But artists and scientists, each in his own way, were fascinated by the visual phenomenon. The Natural History Society of Athens reported on the daguerrotype method as early as 1840. The archaeologist K.O. Müller found it at least worth mentioning;<sup>81</sup> it is an open question if he considered how the new invention could be of use in his own field.

At that time students of ancient civilization by no means felt a need for photographic documentation in connexion with interpreting or analyzing objects. But the first attempts to do just that were done by Fox Talbot himself. In 1844 he brought out the first photograph album in history, *The Pencil of Nature*, which included a piece of ancient sculpture<sup>82</sup> which he had photographed from various angles. As a result of showing different aspects of the same object, the manifold possibilities of interpretation and different ways of observing were revealed.

Although both photography and painting use the same compositional patterns in the 19th

<sup>80</sup> The term was coined by the astronomer J. M. Mädler.

This text has been written especially for this study. It has been published already in a revised, somewhat altered version as "Bild als Botschaft. Das antike Erbe Athens in fotografischen Zeugnissen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts" by G. Hübner in *Fotogeschichte* 8 (1988), 3-32.

For the bibliographical abbreviations and basic information on the history of photography, see the Bibliography. Unpublished correspondence between W. Dörpfeld and the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin is the source for some of the information concerning the photo archives of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens. Information about the Alinari photo campaign is derived from the unpublished diary of a member of the team, owned by his son in Florence, the late G. Sansoni.

Unless otherwise noted, photographs cited are black and white.

<sup>81</sup> Letter dated May 7th, 1840, in H.A. Stoll, 1979.

<sup>82</sup> Plates V and XVII show the so-called Patroclus, formerly in the Landsdowne Collection, now British Museum no. 1860; see H. von Amelunxen, 1989, figs. on pages 44-45 and M. Gray in op. cit., figs. on page 148. It is a copy excerpted from the Odysseus-Polyphemus group which was famous in antiquity and has now been rediscovered; see B. Andreae and B. Conticello, "Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga", *Antike Plastik*, 14 (1974) figs. 4-14, pls. 55-58; J. Räder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana*, Frankfurt, 1983, 40.I.12.

Photographs of plaster casts taken in 1839-1848 by H. Bayard are, in contrast to Fox Talbot's pictures, merely composed still lifes with no specifically art historical statement about the objects displayed; see F. Heilbrun - Ph. Nèagu, 1987, 87.





Fig. 139 The Olympieion with the remains of the hermitage on top of two columns. In the foreground, the Ilissos valley. Hadrian's Gate in right center. Upper left, the Akropolis; the Akropolis wall still has the mediaeval crenellations. (Copper plate after a daguerrotype by P.G. Joly de Lotbiniere, 1839; Benaki Museum, Athens).

century, they differ in function; photography was tied to practical purposes. It is no coincidence that the invention of photography forms the indispensable requisite for the history of ancient art, by means of which the development of ancient culture may be made visible (apart from philological and historical studies). The first step in this direction was to reduce three dimensional landscapes and architecture to two dimensions.

This account is not concerned with the technical development of photography and its ever increasing practical applications in the field of archaeology in general. The focus here is on the way the new medium was adopted in the newly founded Greek state which, unlike Italy, had no specific pictorial tradition, and also when and how in subsequent years the new discipline of archaeology made use of photography.

Towards the end of the 18th century the more or less romantic Philhellenes in Europe could form a picture of Greece and its people by means of travellers' descriptions, engravings and drawings, but these could hardly satisfy the yearning for renewal and enrichment of one's own world through rebirth of the ancient heritage and its monuments. Such vague sentimental nostalgia had, as a rule, little to do with the political reality in Greece after the War of Independence. Since the educated public did not lose sight of the ideal of the classical landscape as it had



evolved in Italy, it turned its attention to the East with predetermined notions. For them a sublime ancient landscape had to have, above all, examples of monumental architecture and a resoundingly famous name.

In 1841 N.P. Lerebour's *Excursions daguerriennes* appeared, containing consistently stereotyped pictures of Athens as part of a world *panopticum*. He chose general views of well-known monuments —the Olympieion (fig. 139), the Propylaia and the Parthenon— ignoring the many charming picturesque aspects of modern Athens. In all three photographs the photographer stood east of the monument, probably because the early hours of the morning provided not only the best lighting but also because he did not want people around. Lerebour's daguerrotypes must have been planned and commissioned in advance in Paris and conscientiously carried out by P.G. Joly de Lotbinière.

In 1833 Athens became the capital of Greece. Shortly before that a number of ancient monuments, many of them incorporated in later structures, had been identified (only partly correctly, as we now know) with the aid of Pausanias.<sup>83</sup> Since that time a main concern of archaeologists working in Athens itself has been to build up knowledge about the topography of ancient sites on the basis of the ruins above ground or through excavation. Then as now, scholarly discussion is indispensable for this type of work. Then, too, such questions aroused interest only among educated people, either the Greeks or foreigners who were on the spot or among scholars in other countries who had decided to investigate the topography of ancient Athens. Such questions were irrelevant for the generally interested public in the rest of Europe; not only that, they detracted from the impression of authenticity conjured up by the photograph.

Those who made the Grand Tour consistently preferred Italy, but may have been put off because of the disturbances of the Risorgimento. Greece, on the other hand, was a transit station on the way to the East. The daguerreotype quickly became a popular means of crystallizing one's memories in the form of a picture. Publishers grasped the advantages of this mechanical mnemonic aid, all the more since the photographs could be converted into lithographs (necessarily mirror images) and printed. Some of the views and individual pictures made for this purpose reveal both artistic and technical understanding in the balancing of values and textures and in the structure of the composition. J.P. Girault de Prangey, architect and member of the École de Rome, by no means chose to record Athens as it was in 1842; he deliberately aimed for special subject-matter and impressions: e.g. the mighty rock slopes of the Akropolis looming above the scattered houses of the town, the ornamental masonry of a church wall, a view through the axis of a gate, or the block-shaped volumes of a church evenly disposed around the central mass. Over and beyond the specific aesthetic interpretation of the monument, the photographer unintentionally preserved information about its state of preservation and restoration work in progress. It is surely not by mere chance that as early as 1842 the Polytechnion in Athens, where the architects of the newly founded state were trained, had acquired a camera for daguerrotypes. The pictures themselves are lost; they probably will have followed Girault de Prangey's guidelines and choice of subject matter more or less skilfully. In spite of considerable technical advances in the other photographic methods, the daguerrotype was still preferred at this time.<sup>84</sup>

Although preferences in the choice of subjects in Athens can no longer be ascertained, it is clear that there was a certain demand, at least for portraits of the king and queen, which photographers must have soon hastened to satisfy. In Italy the desire for mementos had supported artists, lithographers and, lastly, daguerrotypists for centuries; in Greece, however, it appears that the sale of such mementos had not yet become profitable, although photographs were used for publications.

During the first decade of photography in Greece the only active photographers were travellers who came for the sake of the antiquities. From 1834 onwards there was a practical travel guide published by John Murray in London. At first the early 'tourists' came driven by a desire to deepen their education and by enthusiasm for the heritage of an heroic past; they soon began to search out new, hitherto unknown themes and ways of taking pictures. One drawback was the cumbersome weight of the equipment which could, however, be taken care of by hiring porters. There was another drawback which must have been even more bothersome especially in the south: the unavoidable collection of curious onlookers who endangered the long process of

<sup>83</sup> See Leake, 1821.

<sup>84</sup> For daguerrotypes of 1848, see G. Radet, 1901, 33, 43, 89; F. Heilbrun and Ph. Néagu, 1987, fig. 25.



setting up the apparatus and the photographs themselves. In addition the photographers had to cope with the problems of obtaining and storing supplies, and with light, damp and heat conditions. They could not judge the results of their efforts until reaching home.

British photographers, producing calotypes according to Fox Talbot's methods, proceeded to discover Greek landscape. In their pictures of architecture or townscapes they were no longer bound to a theory of balanced proportions based on a tradition of perspective painting or composed on a grid; the components of the composition are now unevenly distributed around a central point and open out beyond the edges of the picture. This central point by no means coincides with the thematic focus of interest. In this way the photograph produces the effect of gradually approaching an object, just as it is gradually revealed from all different angles to a person approaching on foot. Due to the technical limitations the sky is much too bright which increases the effect of light and air. Contemporary landscape painting in England, landscape gardening and the creation of parks reflect similar aims.

The phenomenon above is not a passing fad, it also emerges elsewhere under other conditions. The architects who made measured drawings on the Akropolis and who were thoroughly familiar with the ancient written sources found out that the Akropolis building ensemble had not been composed according to the laws of axial composition as they had expected, in conformity with current architectural theory based on Vitruvius, Alberti and Palladio. Thus a new understanding of architecture opened up for the graduates of the *École Supérieure des Beaux Arts*, Paris, who had been able to carry on advanced studies in *L'École Française d'Athènes* since 1846. They saw that although the individual building had, indeed, canonical symmetry, each building was sited in relation to the whole complex and to the Akropolis plateau in such a way that a variety of sight lines were offered.<sup>85</sup> Such observations effected the ideal approach to the conception of landscape as an experience.

Photography at this time mirrors the controversy throughout Europe over calculated and natural balance in representation. One should take into consideration that the photographers were architect-artists for whom such questions were one of the legitimate reasons for undertaking a trip to Greece. Although photography did not arise in order to demonstrate one point of view or another, it became an unconscious reflection of the current concepts. The area of agreement is self-evident; the differences are always particularly striking when it is a matter of an individual monument which is either shown in strictly frontal view, that is to say it exists only for itself, or is shown in its surroundings, in which a person may fittingly appear as a prop (fig. 140). Such a figure also serves as an indication of scale and illustrates, literally and figuratively, the ancient maxim: man is the measure of all things. The *pallikari* picturesquely draped beside the column will have satisfied not only the taste for exoticism but also the national pride of the Greeks. The time needed for exposure must already have been short enough to allow such posing. Although only a fraction of the photographs taken at that time are preserved, enough remains to document the two ways of presenting subject-matter. There is still hardly any re-touching and the prints are not cut. These compositions, at first chosen at random, gave rise to trends which would determine the taste of the general public in Europe in the second half of the 19th century up to World War I. The photographs of Greece made in the mid-19th century which we now use as historical records (concerning restoration of ancient buildings or local costume or changes in the townscape) were made by photographers absolutely indifferent to the coming movement of historical documentation. In 1851, however, the *Commission des Monuments* did commission artists to carry out photo campaigns to record historical monuments in France.

The gilded youth travelling in Greece did hardly any photography. Architects, on the other hand photographed for the sake of a concrete aid to memory which was more useful than a sketch or drawing because it was a) objective and b) like the original itself could be checked for details which the eye had overlooked in making a subjective drawing conditioned by momentary circumstances. These mementos often had a practical purpose since they were intended to be used in contemporary planning for buildings. A. Normand's photographs shot in the beginning of the 1850s are essentially due to his architect's eye.

The archaeologists of the time limited themselves in general to hunting for ancient written

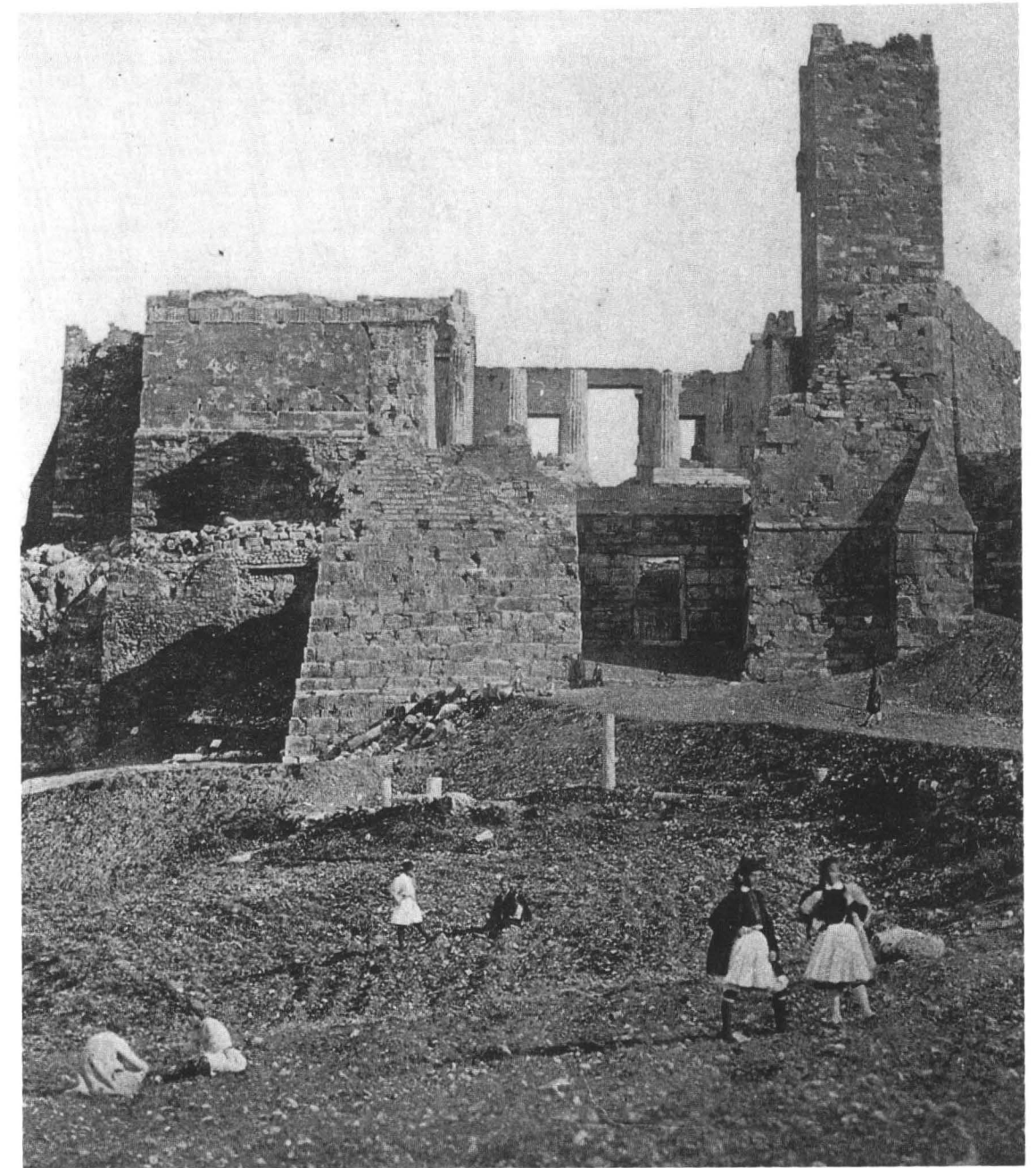


Fig. 140 The Propylaea from the west with the Frankish Tower on the right. The dumped fillings are from Beulé's excavations of 1852/53. (After a kalotype by J. Robertson, 1855; Benaki Museum, Athens).

85 Cf. R. A. Etlin, 1987, 269 with note 26; op. cit. 268 with note 24.





sources that would identify and explain what had been found in excavations. The finds were treasured for the sake of collections; the interests of private individuals and of the state existed *de facto* side by side; the so-called worthless small finds were sold by fly-by-night dealers. In the rare cases when, for example, the Parthenon or the Nike temple reliefs were photographed the stimulus for doing so came neither from the archeologists nor the curators.

Photographs did not become available to the wider circles of those interested until business interests and photography merged. The necessary conditions were created in the 1860s: improvements in the optical qualities, material and construction of cameras, advances in the process of developing and producing positives, innovations in printing and newspapers. As early as 1852 Athens had something of an infrastructure in this respect given that there existed ten machines for printing lithographs, fifteen daily newspapers and four monthlies.<sup>86</sup>

All over the world the people who practiced the new calling of photography were mainly drawn from the ranks of those who up until then had been involved in copying artworks and preparing them for printing, that is the lithographers, copper engravers, and draughtsmen. Symmetry and axuality, determined by measured fixed points, played an important role in their work. This schematization, conditioned by the technical procedures, predestined the photographers as purveyors of information which keeps its distance from the object by virtue of the mechanical method and freed photography from subjective colouring. It was this very quality which, in turn, permitted the beholder to project his own feelings and thoughts into the photograph. The reliance on craftsmanship, the cool virtuosity and the greater variety of applications

<sup>86</sup> About, 1855, 251.





Fig. 141 Panorama taken from the Pnyx; a photomontage by Bonfils, ca 1880. (Gennadius Library, Athens).

made photography very different from the concepts that had guided the study of ancient remains in Greece since the end of the 18th century.

Nevertheless the personality of each photographer naturally made its mark, producing pictures that were either unbendingly conservative or artistically progressive.

The Margaritis brothers from Smyrna occupied a middle ground. Philip Margaritis had studied painting in Rome, Giorgos had studied lithography and painting in Paris. Both of them taught at the Polytechnion in Athens, where Philip Margaritis was responsible for photography and enjoyed a reputation as a portraitist in Athenian society. As in the case of E. Piot, Philip Margaritis is known to archaeologists today as the owner of an excellent collection of ancient small finds which are scattered through the museums of central Europe. His love for artworks conditioned his photography. In 1855 he was awarded a prize for his photographs of Athenian antiquities in the World Exhibition in Paris. In his fine monograph on the history of Greek photography E. Xanthakis showed that Margaritis took photographs of the Parthenon reliefs. In 1865 Dimitris Konstantinou photographed the objects in the collection of the Archaeological Society in Athens (founded in 1837) and it is not a mere coincidence that he grew up in the circle around Margaritis.

Educated Europeans understood the ancient ruins and the photographic representations as valuable *per se*: the photographs were all the more valuable for those who had not been to Athens and who then created a demand for more precise information which had to be satisfied. In 1857 Antonio (or Felice) Beato put together a panorama of Athens out of a set of photo-





Fig. 142 Parthenon east frieze slab VI, Akr. Museum 856, found in 1836 on the east side of the Parthenon. From left to right: Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis with Aphrodite's arm on the far right. Part of north frieze slab II is visible on the left. After an albumin negative (?) by P. Margaritis (1853-1855). (Benaki Museum, Athens).

graphs<sup>87</sup> and chose the Pnyx as his standpoint; in doing this he was clearly following the example of the huge panorama which F. Stademann drew with the help of the camera obscura from the same standpoint in 1835, published in 1841. At the time Stademann was an official of the Greek government and his introductory dedication shows that he intended his work to incorporate documentation and information about antiquity and the contemporary situation. In making his panorama Beato continued along the lines of Stademann's work, but also cashed in on a very profitable idea, the effectiveness of which had long been exploited in his native town of Venice (Canaletto!). In any case Beato's panoramic photographs of townscapes are the earliest of their kind; it was not until about twenty years later that such extensive views of towns belonged to the usual repertory of photographers (fig. 141).

A. and F. Beato came to Greece together with James Robertson who was employed as

87 There were two brothers, Felice and Antonio Beato, brothers-in-law of J. D. Robertson (see note 89 below) working more or less directly with his atelier; cf. C. Osman, *History of Photography* 14 (1990), 101-111.



draughtsman at the imperial mint at the Sublime Porte. Robertson took the first pictures which consider a presentation of the situation as important as the consideration of balanced proportions. He had a flair for the extraordinary and strange and he surely would have been aware of the charm of his pictures whose special art lies in the choice of juxtaposition of curious objects. Robertson and the Beato brothers formed a team exchanging photos for the purpose of increasing sales.

In connexion with such a broad spectrum of wares even fragments (that is to say what they looked on as fragments) had some interest; for the single relief slabs from the Parthenon (fig. 142) or the Nike temple, which Robertson —as Margaritis before him— presents as compositions *per se*, functioned originally only as parts of a whole composition. These pieces were kept out-of-doors at the time and were easily accessible; the photographer chose an arrangement commonly used by Piranesi to fill up corners. It would be off the mark to attribute these compositions to the exigencies of the situation: for one thing the authorities would have readily permitted another placement of the reliefs in question and helping hands would gladly have done the moving around for a *pour boire*. This means that the photographer followed the dictates of his own taste. The slanting or three-quarter views show that the photographer intended to present an event in motion, to build up a scene as in a drama, to infuse the content with meaning. In the same way a *tableau vivant* could have been conceived, a society amusement popular ever since the rococo period.

At this time there were two ways of photographing sculpture: an axial view preferred by many Italian photographers, such as Alinari; and a view taken on the slant in order to bring out the three-dimensionality of the sculpture. Such pictures, like those of Robertson, had nothing relevant to offer to contemporary scholars of antiquity. These pictures did, however, initiate the slow process of training the investigator's eye with the result that later on in comparing the original and the ever-increasing photographic material the question concerning the original context and the aesthetic value of the monuments was formulated anew.

Robertson was probably acquainted with the work of Stuart and Revett.<sup>88</sup> He would also have been motivated by the desire to make the reliefs that had remained in Athens available to the antiquity-loving public in Europe. These and other photographs were only of marginal interest for contemporary archaeologists (fig. 143). As late as 1870 A. Michaelis decided not to use for his book the photographs of the Parthenon made by the Italian G. Aroza.<sup>89</sup> Michaelis did not reject the photographs because of their lack of precision —the drawings Michaelis published leave much to be desired— the important thing for him was the complex order of the representations for which he thought drawing was an adequate means of presentation. It seems more than doubtful if Michaelis was sufficiently well informed about the scattered daguerrotypes and calotypes of Parthenon sculpture or if he were even interested in them.

In the following period the trend towards creating photographic archives penetrated the entire study of the ancient world up until the end of the century, and today, in the edge of computer records, is even more strongly in the foreground. In 1874 a pragmatic, practical, open-minded outsider, Heinrich Schliemann, was one of the first to make use of photography as a means of publishing archaeological finds. He chose the form of an album with original prints in order to present his finds from Troy to the world. In the beginning an album like this was a rare luxury item with highly individual artistic content; the early calotypists chose the album as a way of presenting their works, similar to albums of drawings and engravings by artists. Schliemann, however, did not call his publication an album but rather an Atlas, preemptive nomenclature implying clarity, objectivity and reliability, distributed in a limited number of copies.

Although it was already possible to print photographs in various ways, the album was considered to be the appropriate presentation. The travellers who photographed the glorious past of Greece in 1860-1870 continued to choose the album of original prints and thus automatically limited the size of the edition. There are exceptions of books printed in folio format: *L'Acropole d'Athènes* by E. Piot printed in 1853; *Vues d'Athènes et de ses monuments* by H. Beck in 1868; *The Acropolis of Athens* by W.J. Stillman in 1870; *Les Paysages classiques* by P. des Granges printed in 1880; and *Ruinen Athens*, 1875, by A. Lorent. As in the case of F. Bonfils, F. Bedford and others, all these photographers touring the Near East were obsessed

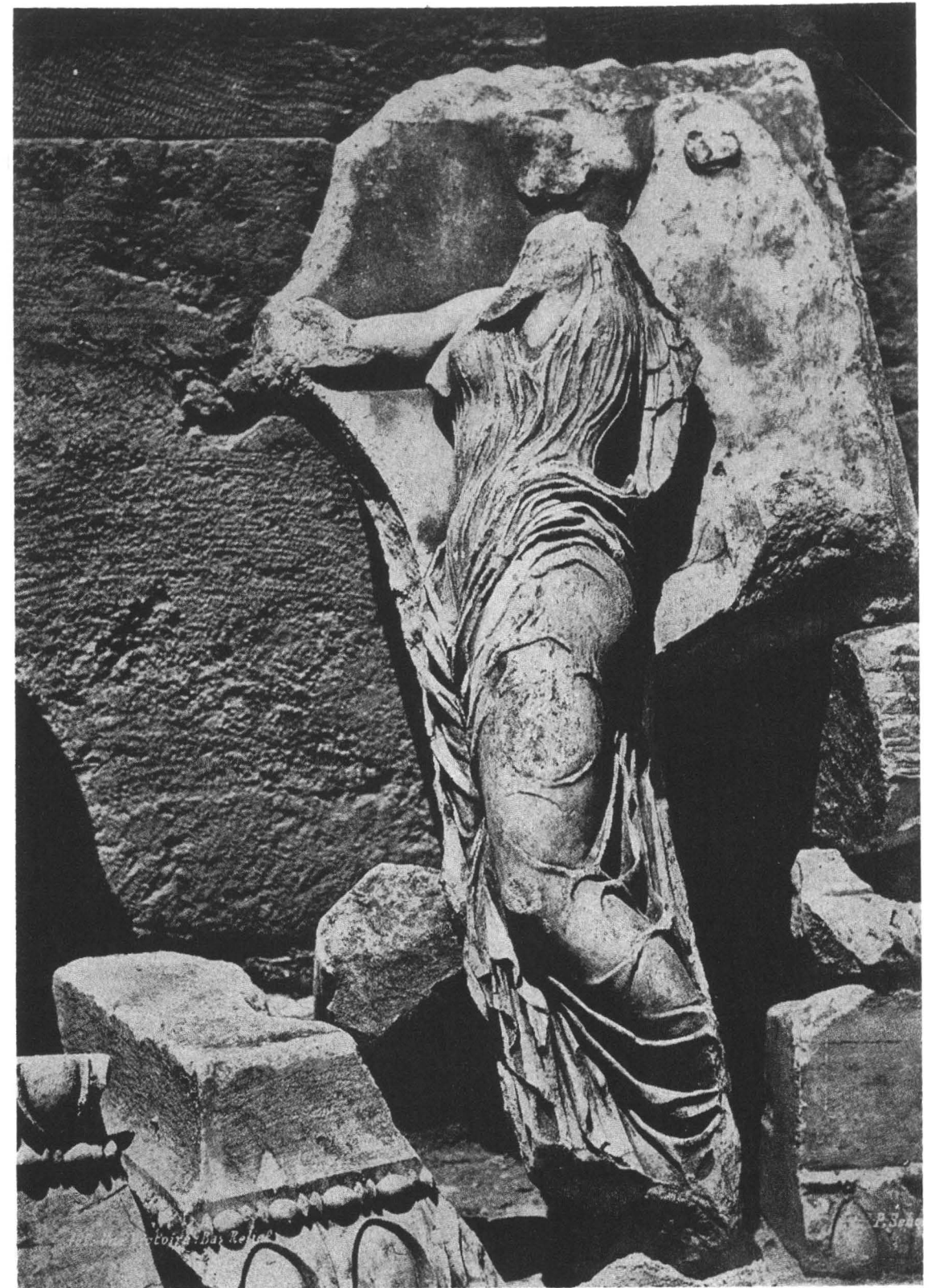


Fig. 143 Temple of Athena Nike, parapet relief, the Sandal-binder. From an albumin negative (?) by P. Sebah, taken before 1870. (Lechat, 1922).

<sup>88</sup> J. Stuart and N. Revett, 1762-1830.

<sup>89</sup> A. Michaelis, 1870, III-IV. Good daguerrotypes had long been available as, for example, those by J.-B. L. Gros, ca 1850, today in the Musée Orsay; see F. Heilbrun - Ph. Néagu, 1987, fig. 1; cf. J. Robertson, 1854 (calotypes).



with a mania for testing their skills in unknown territory with new subject matter and unfamiliar atmospheric conditions. These techniques and procedures were by no means uniform; the desire for fine artistic renderings and documentary records spurred them all on, —in the last analysis the same tendencies drew contemporary European artists towards naturalism.

Then as now certain views of ancient monuments in which the immediate or more distant surroundings could be included were considered worthy of photography: the Akropolis, the Arch of Hadrian, the Lysikrates Monument, the Olympieion, the Roman Agora, the so-called Theseion and the Philopappos monument which, only thirty years earlier, Prince Pückler-Muskau had proposed demolishing! (see his *Südöstlicher Bildersaal*, vol. 2, 281). The new buildings in the town are randomly introduced; it was mainly the local photographers who took up this subject matter: the royal palace completed in 1843; the Russian Orthodox church remodelled in 1847; the metropolitan cathedral finished in 1862; and the University completed in 1864. The fact that the American W.J. Stillman photographed the Theatre of Dionysos, uncovered in 1862, several times shows how free he was of set ideas and his readiness to photograph current events. In any case we may assume that he had seen photographs taken by contemporary Greek photographers such as Dimitris Konstantinou who photographed details of the stage front.

The carefully composed views, e.g. taken by P. Moraitis and H. Beck, followed the rules which academic training had made part of their flesh and blood; the guidelines they had followed were now often ignored. There was clearly no objection to showing the architecture of the Theseion abruptly interrupted by the edge of the picture or the Olympieion as an unintelligible forest of columns. Landscape pictures were provided with a definite foreground, but otherwise, freed from the maxims of aesthetics, they concentrate on sites felt to be sacred.

By the beginning of the 1860s the Areopagus, the Beulé Gate and the Pnyx had been conclusively identified. The scholars of that time were interested in obtaining an overall view, over and beyond individual discoveries, of the ancient world which they thought of as an ideal. E. Curtius, the classical archaeologist who initiated the excavations at Olympia and had investigated topographical problems in Athens since 1841, may serve as a typical example. He describes the purpose of the third volume of his projected Greek history as follows: "The present-day Greek nation and language forms the natural conclusion of this work, which began with the nationality and language of the ancient Hellenes". As a rule no photographs were planned for such histories of culture. Nevertheless in 1870 Curtius had the rocky ground south of Pnyx hill photographed, with the intention of using the photographs to produce drawings to be incorporated in a topographical study.<sup>90</sup> The world at large, however, took little notice of the efforts of specialists to acquire better understanding of both ancient and the modern Greece by comparing the customs and ways of life in each.

The invention of the stereoscope is one of the technical advances made in an age looking eagerly to the future. Stereoscopic photographs convey a perfect illusion of three-dimensional space. The two-eyed apparatus and its effects were still fascinating viewers in the early 20th century. In 1855 V. Karagopoulos from Constantinople was the first to make stereoscopic pictures in Athens (fig. 144). His views have a certain picturesque charm, but there is nothing new in the subject matter. Products like these were meant for tourists or for the delectation of those not able to come and see for themselves.

Athenian photographers had connexions both in the East and in the West. Perhaps the historical connexion with the eastern Mediterranean accounts for the fact that by no means all of the fads current in Italy or France were adopted. In those countries photographs were circulating, either in stereoscopic views or in visiting card format, having as subject matter plaster casts of famous statues or nudes posed in what was taken to be the classical manner to serve as models for artists; wealthy art patrons commissioned photographers to make pictures of paintings and sculptures. In Greece there was a noticeable lack of interest in artworks. The few photographs that have come down to us reveal that the taste of the general public was still clinging to the dramatic creations of the Roman period or the Renaissance as the artistic standard.

<sup>90</sup> E. Curtius, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 10. July 1861 (project for a book); idem, *Vortrag zum Winckelmannsfeste Berlin 1871*.



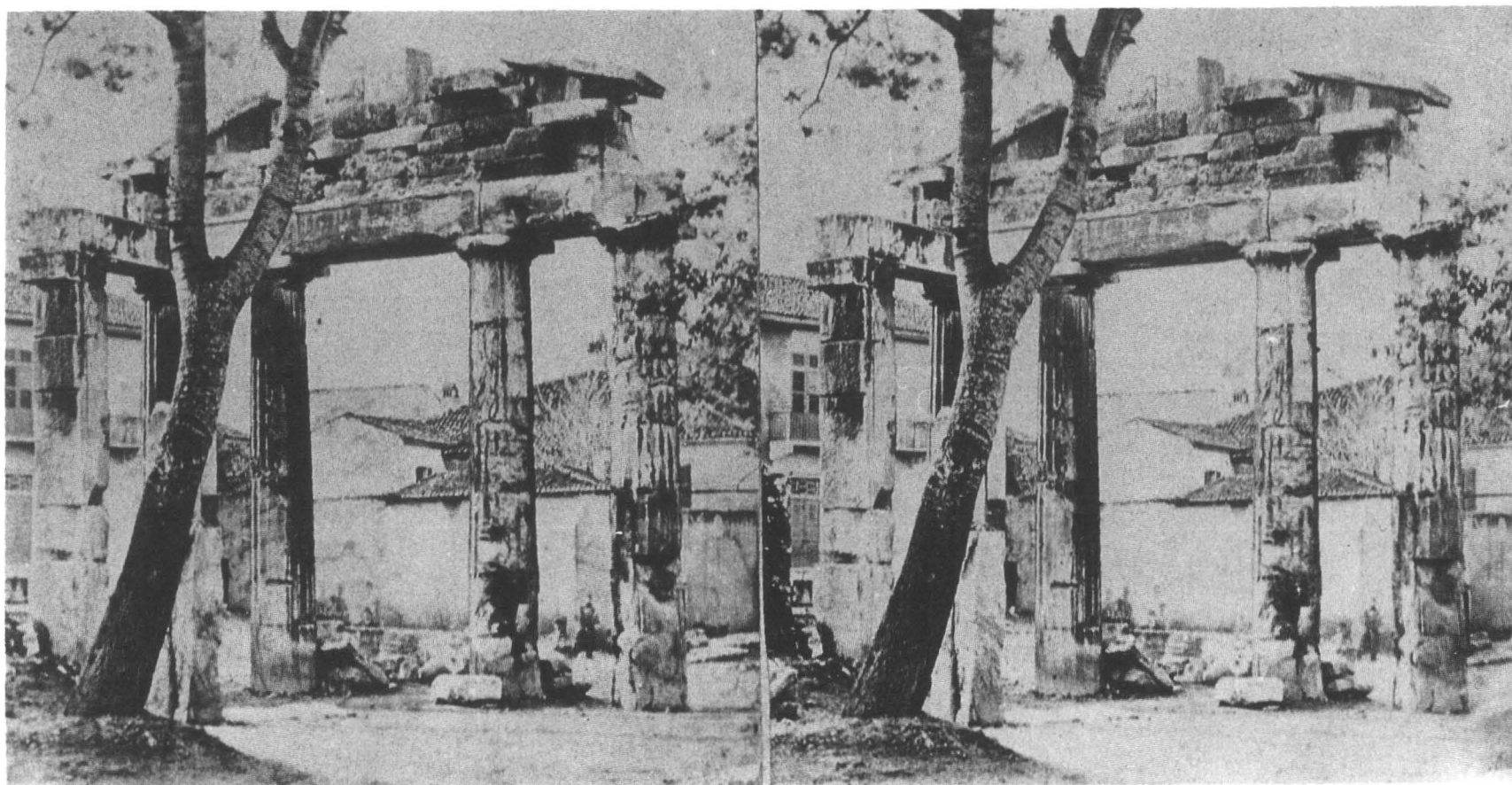


Fig. 144 Gate of Athena Archegetis from the east. Stereoscopic view from an albumin negative taken by P. Karagopoulos, ca 1860. (Benaki Museum, Athens).



Fig. 145 Inside the so-called Theseion (Temple of Hephaistos), along the south wall. The temple served as a museum. At the left, the Hermes of Andros found in 1833; to the right an Eros sarcophagus, behind which a torso of Asklepios. Votive reliefs in back. Albumin negative by P. Sebah, ca 1865 (?) (Benaki Museum, Athens).



K. Schiffer was an enterprising Athenian photographer who produced and sold stereoscopic pictures and from 1859 on rented apparatus to photography fanatics. This appealed equally to travellers and Athenians. He advertised his services to the latter with advertisements in the newspapers in which he offered to photograph houses, lots etc. In this case photography served the practical purpose of concrete documentation in a new town where it was not always clear who owned what.

On the other hand photographs reveal the pride of the citizens, whose town was equipped with gas lanterns and other modern technology. And the photographs of Athens taken after 1860 must also be considered from this point of view. It is no longer first and foremost a matter of more or less successful photographs of ancient monuments; it is a matter of bringing out the prestige of the new town with the ancient monuments as a background enhancing its significance. The past has become a kind of distinctive badge to be effectively stressed by means of photography. The picture of the town—in the true sense of the word—is no longer supposed to incorporate only foreign yearnings for “*edle Einfalt und stille Größe*” but also the realistic attitudes of its inhabitants living in the present. The popularity of classical architecture as an appealing background for portraits (fig. 146) is simply a result of this attitude. In Athens, however, photographing the remains of antiquity took precedence over every-day social events since these monuments of ancient times were valued as noble artistic creations and the obvious choice for entries in international and national exhibitions. Together with views of the town and panoramas these photographs circulated in European photo ateliers, eventually to find their way into large albums with various titles bought by connoisseurs.

From the end of the 1860s onwards it was possible to print photographs with the so-called phototype or collotype method. Archaeologists were slow to avail themselves of this discovery, even though the photographic recording done by Schliemann in Mycenae in 1874 and by Charles Newton much earlier in 1852-1857 during his Asia Minor explorations and the inventory photographs made for the Greek Archaeological Society in Athens (see above) meant that exact documentation of archaeological material had been vastly facilitated. But drawing continued to be the generally preferred means of recording, which seemed to be most suitable for the publication of archaeological finds. That partly depended on the working methods of the scholars who generally were good draughtsmen.

In 1863 large-scale excavations began in Athens when the Archaeological Society cleared the area of the Sacred Gate and the Street of the Tombs in what is now called the Kerameikos Excavations; in 1873 the École Archéologique d'Athènes began excavating in Delos; in 1876 the German Archaeological Institute started excavations in Olympia with tremendous expenditures for technical aids (the budget was drastically cut by Bismarck a few years later): the excavations are recorded both by drawing and photography. The innovation is in the treatment of the sculpture, which was photographed by the brothers Rhomaidis.<sup>91</sup> After moving from Patras to Athens, they became the leading art photographers of Athens who were commissioned by the Archaeological Society to photograph the Kerameikos Excavations and who also continued to work for the German Archaeological Institute.

Such photographs were used in publications from the 1880s onward. Along with the Rhomaidis brothers K. Athanasiou and P. Moraitis were commissioned to carry out photography for the foreign archaeological institutes. These photographs were meant to serve the purpose of providing evidence to support written and printed theses and results. That in turn meant that the archaeologist had to have finished his work of excavating and pulling his thoughts together before the work of the photographer had even begun.

As to works of sculpture, scholars in the universities of Europe studied them by means of plaster casts, if not the originals. It was not uncommon for contemporary sculptors to take part in discussion of the problems, especially since ancient sculpture had claims to a supreme artistic value. But photography was by no means satisfactory in this connexion because of its distortions and the arbitrary distribution of light and shadow.<sup>92</sup> Thanks, however, to large collections of plaster casts all over Europe, the archaeologists could be certain that the readers could follow their observations and see for themselves.

In the course of the 1880s photographs won acceptance as a means of illustrating sculpture,

91 Cf. the foreword by F. Adler in: E. Curtius and F. Adler (ed.), 1897, *Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung*, Textband I, Berlin.

92 This is the judgment of the leading expert H. Brunn written about photographs of a bronze head in Berlin: “it is not a question of random deficiency of a single photograph, but of more general deep-seated failings, which render this whole method of reproduction not just unsuitable for certain archaeological tasks, but downright harmful”. H. Brunn, “Archaischer Bronzekopf im Berliner Museum”, *AZ* 34 (1876), 21.

93 Cf. E. Gerhard, “Allgemeiner Jahresbericht”, *AZ* 22 (1864) Arch. Anz. 146-150; H. Brunn, “Scavi dell’Acropoli di Atene da lettere dei sigg. P. Decharme e P. Pervanoglu”, *BdI* 36 (1864), 83-89; A. Conze, “Denkmäler und Forschungen”, *AZ* 22 (1864), 170-173.

94 Letter by L. Ross cited in *AZ* 5 (1847), 9 note 5; Petrakos, 1987, 32; Fountoulaki, 1979, 16; cf. A. Rizos-Rangabé, 1888, 271.





Fig. 146 Spyros Louis, the Greek victor in the Marathon race held at the first modern Olympic Games in 1896. The painted background shows part of the Athens townscape with the Olympieion, Hadrian's Gate and Akropolis southeast slope. After a collodium negative (?) by I. Lambakis, 1896. (Benaki Museum, Athens).

not however as a means of documentation, but serving only as the *incunabulum* of the discussion itself. They are starkly hieratic pictures of the whole work, imposing a frontal, so-called ideal view on statues many of which were restored. Details were in general not photographed; occasionally there were strict side views; often there are no back views.

Under these circumstances the photographs of plaster casts and originals were interchangeable and treated as such. This concept harks back to a situation that existed since Renaissance times: plaster casts were incorporated in collections of originals; the casts were used as educational illustrative material.

Thanks to a stream of new finds Winckelmann's rediscovered image of ancient art in Greece was continuously reviewed and revised, although at first the reaction to finds from hitherto unknown periods, e.g. Mycenaean, geometric and archaic, was not all that enthusiastic. In order to promote understanding of the new finds and provide a basis for discussion, there had to be visual documentation which could be internationally communicated. From now on the description of the new finds, mostly preserved in fragments, was regularly accompanied by photographs in each publication. It is not by accident that the first archaic and early classical sculptures to be found in the Persian destruction fill on the Akropolis in 1864 were photographed as mere curiosities<sup>93</sup>; photographs were not used as documents until 1880.

Photographs permit a truer appreciation of the qualities that make up a given style. Then again, the archaeologist rarely had at his disposal a collection of plaster casts with which he could school his eye and train himself to observe sculpture. No plaster casts were made in Greece itself, even though plaster casts of Parthenon sculpture taken to England by Lord Elgin were sent to Athens and made accessible to the general public and although a decree concerning plaster casts of antiquities had been planned since 1845.<sup>94</sup> There was a small collection of casts





Fig. 147 Gallery for "The Alexandrian and Roman period" in the National Museum, Athens. Collodium negative, Photoarchive Alinari no. 24 501 (1896). Most of these negatives were made in 'small format' of  $25 \times 30$ ; they were copied into an  $18 \times 24$  format, probably in the 1930s.

for teaching purposes in the Polytechnic School, founded in 1837, at first a kind of vocational school (later the graduate school for Fine Arts). From the 1880s onward, the so-called classical masterpieces (mainly Roman copies which had entered the mainstream of European culture) began to appear in terracotta copies adorning the rooves of public and private buildings. Plaster casts of the archaic korai found on the Akropolis in 1886 were exhibited for the first time in the World Exhibition in Rome held in 1911 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the kingdom of Italy; the casts then remained in Rome as a gift from Greece.

The quantities of new finds from excavations necessitated building new museums. After various temporary exhibitions and abandoned museum projects, the ancient originals went on show in the Akropolis Museum finished in 1874 and in the National Museum under construction from 1866 to 1889. In accordance with the taste of the times fragments placed on show were not restored in any way; similar exhibitions were created in the newly built Italian museums in Florence and Bologna.

Museums were national temples of the Muses and thus they also attracted tourists who took home their cultural-educational values in the form of photographs. Interiors and photographs of entire galleries were considered just as interesting as photographs of individual pieces of sculpture (fig. 147). Not every object, however, was worthy of being photographed. The decisive





Fig. 148 The plaza around the Thesaeion (Temple of Hephaistos) from the southwest. Center right, the guard-house of wood. Collodium negative, Neue Photographische Gesellschaft, Berlin-Steglitz, no. 15301 (ca 1900).

criterion was selling power. Various Athenian photo establishments, including those run by foreigners who had settled in Athens, regularly provided their customers with photographic equipment; they also carried out private assignments or covered important events. Either on their own initiative or on commission they also sold original positives from negatives made by themselves or others; these positives were views of Athens, ancient and modern monuments, works of art or more or less picturesquely staged 'scenes of every day life' sold to both local inhabitants and to travellers.

Museum photography was in a class by itself because ancient sculpture was held in high esteem by the general public. The first museum catalogues, intended for both laymen and specialists, mainly supplied dry matter-of-fact inventory numbers and measurements with no illustrations at all. The introduction to the first catalogue of antiquities in the museums of Athens expressly refers to photographers' shops.<sup>95</sup> J.N.S. Svoronos' catalogue of sculpture in the National Museum was composed in the 1890s and published in 1908 in Greek and German editions. Following a system still valid today each object was given a brief description and a photograph. The by now standard negative format of  $18 \times 24$  cm was convenient for photographs of groups of small finds or fragments and the contact print was used for publication.

Plans for large-scale photographic documentation of famous museums were so-to-speak in

95 L. von Sybel, 1881, XXI.



the air. Some of these projects could be realized thanks to the especially well organized publishers in Germany and to state support for purely scholarly projects.<sup>96</sup> Similar enterprises elsewhere depended on private initiative and commercial competition. These enterprises involved extensive photo campaigns which had to be financed; they were as costly as an expedition. From ca 1894-1896 the team of photographers from the firm of Alinari in Florence did the classical tour; the northernmost point was Delphi. The team consisted of about eighteen people, some of whom were an advance group responsible for setting up the laboratory. The glass negatives were transported on donkey back. An archaeologist was not included in the team, but the pictures made in Greece reveal an intensive examination of the extant photographs of Greece, many of which were probably sold in the various branches of the Alinari firm. The team must certainly have been in contact with the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, as evidenced by the fact that some Alinari views of the Akropolis were taken from exactly the same spot as those taken by the Institute's photographer. Interestingly enough the huge mounds of earth removed from the current excavations on the Akropolis lower west slope<sup>97</sup> were included in the photographs, although as a rule photographers did not consider excavations to be promising subject matter.

Alinari photographs are, as a rule, distinguished by certain unmistakable characteristics of the composition. This is due to a grid imposed on the negative harking back to an unbroken artistic tradition in Florence: the criteria derived from Alberti's treatise on perspective correspond, to a certain degree, with the standards followed by Alinari and also by the photographer of the German Archaeological Institute who was trained according to other principles. This photographer, L. Rohrer, started out as the valet of the First Secretary of the Institute in Athens Wilhelm Dörpfeld who as the Director of the Institute had arranged to have him trained in photography at the Prussian State Survey Service; his training was financed by the Imperial German Institute of Archaeology in Berlin. Dörpfeld who had participated in Schliemann's excavations and in the excavations conducted in Olympia by Adler and Curtius had come to realize that photography was a necessity for any archaeological work. Beginning in 1892 Rohrer made photographs of monuments, finds and excavations in Greece and his photos are the core of the Photograph Collection of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens which is the oldest photo archive in Greece. Dörpfeld himself spent his summers in the bracing climate of the suburb of Kephissia personally inventorying the photographs and reorganized the way in which they were numbered.

Photo archives were now established all over the world. They required good organization and an easily comprehensible set-up in order to satisfy the needs of authors, printers, connoisseurs, specialists and tourists. The customers no longer made their choices from albums; they could consult the available photographs in special display rooms as one would books in a library. Booklets arranged according to subjects matter informed them about the contents of the inventory. Firms such as Alinari or the American Underwood and Underwood flourished. Although smaller businesses, as for example Roger Viollet or J. Levy and Cie in Paris or the Neue Photographische Gesellschaft in Berlin, could by no means afford to carry out expensive campaigns à la Alinari, still they had a stock of their own photographs of Greece on sale and also carried photos by Alinari and others. At a time when copyright laws were not yet in force such cooperation among the firms involved afforded legal protection from pirating.

In this period representative buildings and general views of the modern town of Athens were photographed. Ancient objects were photographed within the framework of the museum exhibitions. As in the past the Akropolis, the Lysikrates Monument, the Olympieion, Philopappos hill, the Roman Agora, the Theseion, the Tower of the Winds and their surroundings continued to be of interest; and the Theatre of Dionysos, the Kerameikos, Kolonos Hippios and the Pnyx were now added.

In 1912 M. Bieber's catalogue of the negatives in the German Archaeological Institute was printed and from then on the other archives supplied prints from those negatives on request. This catalogue had 2147 negative numbers listed under the heading: Athens; and the National Museum was a separate series. In contrast to the 100 Athens photos (not counting the museum photos) first listed by Alinari in 1908, the majority of the German Archaeological Institute photographs focussed on archaeological documentation. But not unlike Alinari, the German

<sup>96</sup> For example, the series of plates, H. Brunn and F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, Munich 1888-1947. The Archaeological Society at Athens planned a similar project of which only the first volume on Akropolis sculpture found in 1886 was published in 1906 under the title *Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 1906.

<sup>97</sup> These extensive excavations were begun in 1892 by W. Dörpfeld; see *AM* 17 (1892), 90-99.



# BILDERHEFTE DER KÖNIGLICHEN MESSBILDANSTALT

IM MINISTERIUM DER GEISTL. U. UNTERRICHTS-ANGELEGENHEITEN

## HEFT I

# GRIECHENLAND

ENTHALTEND EINE AUSWAHL VON 443 BILDERN AUS DEN RUND 680 NUMMERN DES ZUGEHÖRIGEN PLATTEN-VERZEICHNISSES

## ORTSVERZEICHNIS

AGINA . . . . .	SEITE 8	KORINTH . . . . .	SEITE 8—9
AKROKORINTH . . . . .	9	MERBAKA . . . . .	15
AMPHISSA (SALONA) . . . . .	17	MESSENE . . . . .	10
ANDRAVIDA . . . . .	10	METEORA . . . . .	19—20
ARGOS . . . . .	12	MISTRA . . . . .	10—11
ARTA . . . . .	18—19	MYKENA . . . . .	13—14
ATHEN . . . . .	1—7	NAUPLIA . . . . .	13
CHARONEA . . . . .	21	OLYMPIA . . . . .	9—10
CHALKIS . . . . .	21	ORCHOMENOS (SKRIPU) . . . . .	20—21
CHLEMUTZI . . . . .	10	PAROS . . . . .	21
DAPHNI . . . . .	8	PORTA PANHAGIA . . . . .	20
DELOS . . . . .	21—23	SANTORIN (THERA) . . . . .	23
DELPHI . . . . .	15—17	SPARTA . . . . .	10
ELEUSIS . . . . .	8	STRATOS . . . . .	17
EPIDAUROS, HIERON . . . . .	12—13	SUNION . . . . .	7—8
HOSIOS LUKAS . . . . .	17—18	TEGEA . . . . .	11—12
KALAMBAKA . . . . .	19	TIRYNS . . . . .	14—15
WURKANO . . . . . SEITE 10			

PREIS 1,60 M.

BERLIN W. 56 \* SCHINKELPLATZ 6 \* 1912  
UND IN COMMISSION BEI DEM VERLAGE FÜR KUNSTWISSENSCHAFT, G.M.B.H., BERLIN W. 50

## ATHEN



1270, 1—3

ATHEN, Gesamtansicht vom Philopappos aus.

3×D u. in Verkl.



1270, 1

D



1270, 5

D



1272, 1

D



1272, 2

D

ATHEN, Gesamtansichten

ATHEN, Akropolis



1272, 3

D



211, 1

C

ATHEN, Akropolis



211, 4

C



211, 7

C

ATHEN, Akropolismauer



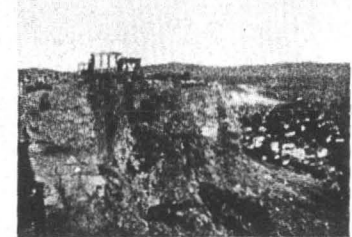
1272, 5

D



211, 18

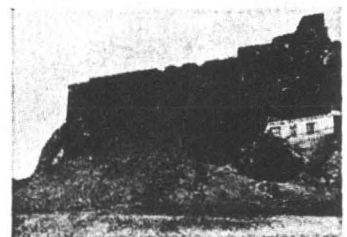
B



211, 167

C

ATHEN, Akropolismauer



211, 20

B



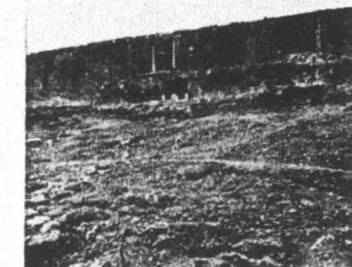
211, 28

B



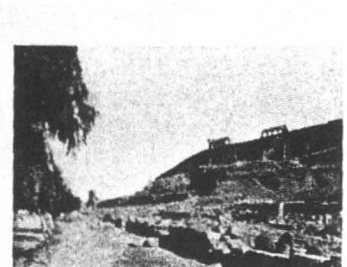
211, 23

C



211, 25

C



211, 29

B

Fig. 149 Title page and page 1 of *Griechenland*, 1912, used as an order catalogue.  
(DAI Athens, Inst. phot. 81/269).





Fig. 150 F. Boissonas taking a close-up picture of the Parthenon from the south-east, ca 1920 (H. Bouvier, 1983).

Archaeological Institute also intended to cater to the needs of a broader public within the framework of an international professional enterprise.

The photographic department of the German Archaeological Institute readily extended a helping hand to both specialists and visitors, partly as a matter of reciprocity among colleagues, partly also because the Institute was aware of playing the role of catalyst between the visitor and the host country: In 1908 the 5th edition of Baedeker's *Griechenland* lists the Photo Department of the German Archaeological Institute in its list of photographers' establishments. This throws light on the financial arrangements: the Institute photographer worked basically as a free-lance in order to earn his daily bread. The Institute photographer did not become a regular employee of the Institute until after the Second World War. In Meyer's *Mittelmeerführer* of 1904 the Minerva Hotel on Syntagma Square advertises its darkroom, but the only foreign enterprise advertised is the English Photographic Company. It was in no way an institution comparable to the German Archaeological Institute but was sponsored by the publishing firm of Beck and Barth in Athens. The visitors from different countries were grateful for these tips where to go in a country where it was still difficult to obtain photographic supplies. The French Archaeological School at Athens was of assistance to French travellers.

The Greek government commissioned the Prussian State Survey Service directed by Th. von Lüpcke to conduct a large-scale photo campaign. This institution had already proved itself in surveying the excavations at Olympia. The large glass plate negatives are still in the Commission for Conservation of Monuments in Berlin; it is not yet known how many of the original 680 glass plates survived the war. A small illustrated catalogue published in 1912 (the year in which the German Archaeological Institute catalogue was also published) lists 134 photos taken in Athens (fig. 149).

The travel guides of the early 20th century mentioned above give the names of photographers in Athens, such as Athanasiou, Rhomaidis, Boehringer etc., and also other names (such as Beck, Eleftheroudakis and, later, Kaufmann) which indicate the connexion with bookshops, reflecting contemporary trends which had elevated large printed picture books to the level of cultural status symbols. As photographs came to be used for these picture books, the way was paved for photographs to become the advertisement for the whole country. The forerunner of this development was the Swiss photographer Fred Boissonas (fig. 150). In 1910 he published a limited folio edition of his photographs of Greece under the title *En Grèce par monts et par vaux*. Between 1903 and 1923 he visited Greece thirteen times.

In 1913 the old established Paris publisher Morancé published two volumes with the title *Le Parthenon*, containing three different series preserving important details of the Parthenon in fine photographs. The short introduction was written by G. Fougères, formerly the director of the French School at Athens which had exploited the most advanced techniques of the time in order to study ancient architecture. At the same time the photographs taken by Boissonas began to be sold commercially. At that time virtually all of the publications that had anything to do with Greece used one or another of his photos.

Boissonas' pictures represent a high point in the history of photography in Greece which was never again attained. They preserve a dialogue between the artist and the object in which landscape, monuments, people and events become a reflection of 'immortal Greece'. The mood and drama of these pictures are not staged; they capture an eternal moment in the sense of the ancient *kairos*. Their classical timelessness is due to the way in which the fleeting moment is captured.

Boissonas did not only photograph landscapes (the best of which are of Mt Olympos); he also recorded subject matter having to do with agriculture and trade, such as vineyards, tobacco plantations, ships etc. In 1916-1917 he photographed the First World War on the Macedonian front, and he also photographed the Akropolis. His photographs were utilized in many different ways, as brochures for tourists, for books about art or landscapes. Although his documentary pictures were by no means intended for newspapers, they are, in their way, a kind of sublime photo reporting. His photographs were published mainly in book form. In the last analysis his



books are the predecessors of the photo picture-books sold as travel literature in the bookshops of Europe up until the World War II.

The Berlin publisher Wasmuth was, along with the Parisian publisher Morancé mentioned above, one of the pioneers in producing books of first-class photographs with a short distinctive text. In 1898 Wasmuth had made the excavations at Olympia accessible to a broader public by just such means. In the 1920s M. Hürlimann was co-partner with the young G. Wasmuth. In 1928 Hürlimann branched off on his own with the Atlantis publishing company and a cultural travel magazine of the same name; he founded the series *Orbis Terrarum*. The photography for these books was commissioned; H. Holt did the photography for the book on Greece in 1923; the introduction was written by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. The sharpness of the printed photos was achieved by means of graduated tones in a colour scale; the expense involved was made good by publishing in several languages.

Art historians and archaeologists also collaborated in producing such photo books. As early as 1910 the art historian D. Baud-Bovy wrote the text for the first of Boissonas' works, mentioned above. The picture book *Retour en Grèce*, brought out in 1938 in Paris by the photographer-publisher P. Hartmann, continued this tradition. The authors were both members of the French School at Athens, A. Bon who took the photographs and F. Chapoutier who wrote the text. In 1952 after the war the Athens publisher Kauffmann issued the book again. In 1930 W. Hege and G. Rodenwaldt brought out *Akropolis*, followed by similar publications into the 1940s.<sup>98</sup>

W. Hege worked as a free-lance together with H. Wagner, the photographer of the German Archaeological Institute. Hege was trained by H. Erfurth in the Bauhaus and became the German photographer of Greece *par excellence*. He photographed the Akropolis at various times of day, mostly using a telephoto lens; his pictures show the Akropolis, frail and delicate, above the far-flung cubical houses of the town, with the sea glittering in the distance and an infinite sky flecked with clouds. Occasionally lush vegetation obscures the foreground. Only a small part of Hege's pictures are in the archive of the German Archaeological Institute; most of them remained in his possession.

The German Archaeological Institute mainly commissioned photographs for study purposes, that is, strictly frontal views for the purposes of conventional study of the various 'styles'. But in the case of statues and architectural sculpture even illumination and rendering of plastic qualities were needed. Hege photographed wherever possible with the intention of capturing the effect originally experienced by the beholder. For him that meant deliberately aiming to give the original association of the sculpture with the building and the actual play of light and shadow. In 1924 the French archaeologist H. Lechat<sup>99</sup> had already formulated these aims as the ideal requirements for photography of Akropolis sculpture, bestowing highest praise on the photographs of the Nike balustrade taken by P. Sebah in 1870 which were by then long out of print (fig. 143). Apart from the Bauhaus dogma "*Ehrlichkeit von Form*" Hege's aims were in full accord with this new viewpoint of contemporary scholarship. These tendencies culminated in the official photo campaign carried out by German archaeologists in which H. Wagner photographed the archaic sculpture of the Akropolis Museum out-of-doors in bright sunlight.<sup>100</sup>

During the 1930s the Greek photographer Nelly (Ellie Soyoutzoglou-Seraidari), who had also studied under Erfurth and finished her training with H. Fiedler, shot Akropolis photos (fig. 152) which are akin to Hege's pictures of the same subject matter. This may be essentially due to their having trained in the same school of photography. But due to a different way of handling the technique Nelly's photos convey a softer more translucent impressioin of the ancient stones and their surroundings. In any case her photographs are marked by the same conviction and way of looking at things that inspired Hege's pictures. And as a result of working together with Nelly, F. Boissonas came around to the same point of view.

Herbert List photographed in Greece from 1936 to 1940. In his choice of subject matter he was comparable to Nelly; his pictures show naked bodies of youths as if they were statues or, the other way around, marble and bronze figures posed in the landscape as if they were alive. List consciously blurs reality and thus achieves surrealistic effects. His photos reveal unmistakably

98 W. Hege and G. Rodenwaldt, 1941. See also M. Hürlimann, *Ewiges Griechenland*, Berlin, 1944; H. H. Russack, 1942.

99 H. Lechat, 1924, 163-164, note 1.

100 E. Langlotz and W.-H. Schuchhardt, 1941, *Archaische Plastik auf der Akropolis*, Frankfurt; H. Wagner - W. Kraiker, 1955, *Griechenland, Landschaft und Architektur*, Frankfurt.



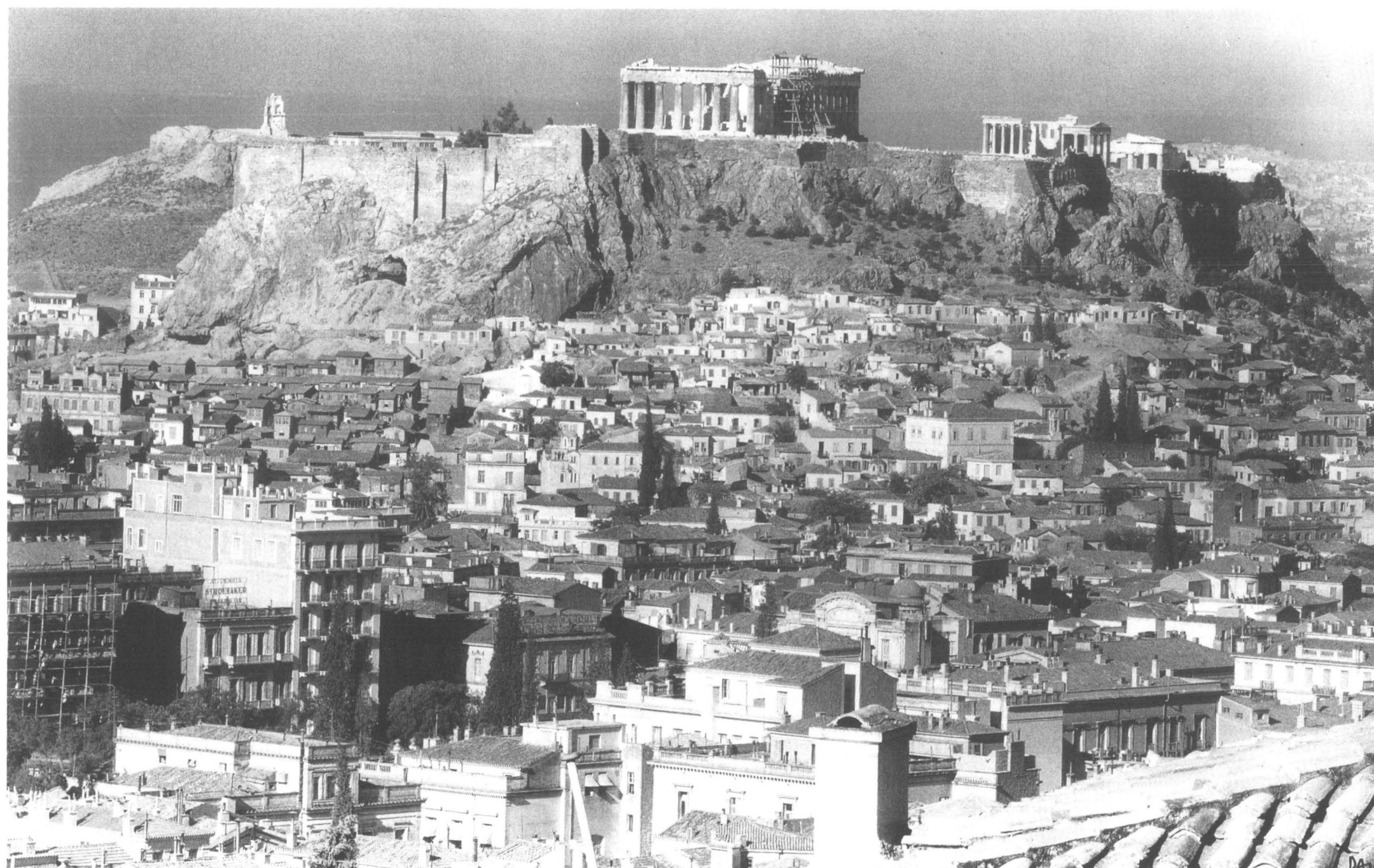


Fig. 151 The Akropolis taken with a telephoto lens from Lykabettos. By W. Hege, ca. 1930. (DAI Athens, Inst. phot. Hege 1814).

that the world captured in his lens is beautiful indeed but above all shattered.

Hege was concerned with picturing his experience of a separate world which had opened up for him via the past; Nelly on the other hand emphasized the present in which the ancient world is incorporated. Her dynamic photos (fig. 153) of dancers performing naked amidst Akropolis columns caused a scandal in the Greek press. But in fact such pictures, as in the case of her photomontages where people and artworks are interwoven, are meant to unite Then and Now. It is surely not by chance that the Greek Tourist Organization, founded in 1929, chose Nelly as their official photographer.

Today the Greek Tourist Organization publishes well-printed picture books based on the idea that photographs of each genre —mood, landscape, people, monuments— are an effective means of luring people to Greece and preserving memories of their trip. They are supplied by photographers working either as amateurs or professionals. The photographs are arranged somewhat in the manner of photo reporting with a minimum of explanatory text which is produced by a team. Beginning in 1974 the annual publication *Greece* is printed in an edition of 400,000 copies and distributed free of charge.

The idea of reducing the written commentary to essentials and letting the pictures speak for themselves had already been realized by the Boissonas brothers in 1920-1921 with their publications *L'Image de la Grèce*. The limited edition (100-500) made customers eager to buy and increased the value. Thus Edmond Boissonas produced a picture-book of modern Athens for the first time using photographs. A separate publication with photographs by Frederic dealt with the ancient town.

The flood of later travel picture-books, especially those from the 1950s onward, no longer





Fig. 152 The northeast corner of the Parthenon. In the foreground, an Erechtheion column capital; in back, the ridge of Hymettos. Taken with a telephoto lens by Nelly, ca 1930-1935. (Benaki Museum, Athens).

makes a strict division between ancient and modern. They postulate the contrast between distant magic and daily routine: The author and the traveller identify to a certain degree with a symbol called Greece. The publications that came out shortly after the war were still oriented towards the history of culture, e.g. the magazine *Atlantis*, no longer published.

These gave way to publications focussing on factual information on cultural subjects such as *Merian* (see fascicles 13/XI, 1959 and 8/XXVI, 1974) and presentations of special problems such as air pollution (GEO 5/1980). These examples from German language publications may serve to illustrate a general phenomenon. On the other hand, the slide series made by E. Lessing are eloquent witnesses to the fact that Greece still fascinates art photographers.

The ancient work of art per se was first systematically recorded during the large-scale photo campaigns at the turn of the century. Ancient artworks were used to illustrate publications which were meant to provide both the layman and the specialist with a survey of ancient art or culture.<sup>101</sup> Excavation photographs, however, aroused almost no interest at all; the exceptions were ancient walls nicely cleaned or crowds of workmen in the foreground of an excavation. There was no attempt to record various stages of excavation or stratigraphy. A. Brueckner was one of the first to recognise the need for photographic recording of excavations. He had worked in the Kerameikos Excavations before 1913 under the direction of the Archaeological Society at Athens and when the excavations were turned over to the German Archaeological Institute Brueckner became the first director. The Kerameikos excavation area preserved a complicated series of strata ranging over almost two thousand years and Brueckner saw that there would have to be some kind of control, because once the earth layers were removed the exact situation could never be recovered again. H. Brueckner, his wife, proved to be the rescuing angel who

101 G. Fougères, *Athènes*, Paris, 1914; the 168 illustrations were made by seventeen photographers including the author himself; most of the photographs are by Alinari and Rhomaidis. C. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, New York, 1913; the 139 photographs were taken by 13 people; the majority of the photographs were taken by the author himself; others come from the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, the Neue Photographische Gesellschaft in Berlin and the Greek photographer Simiriotis who probably did not live in Athens. Both Fougères and Weller were archaeologists working in Athens.



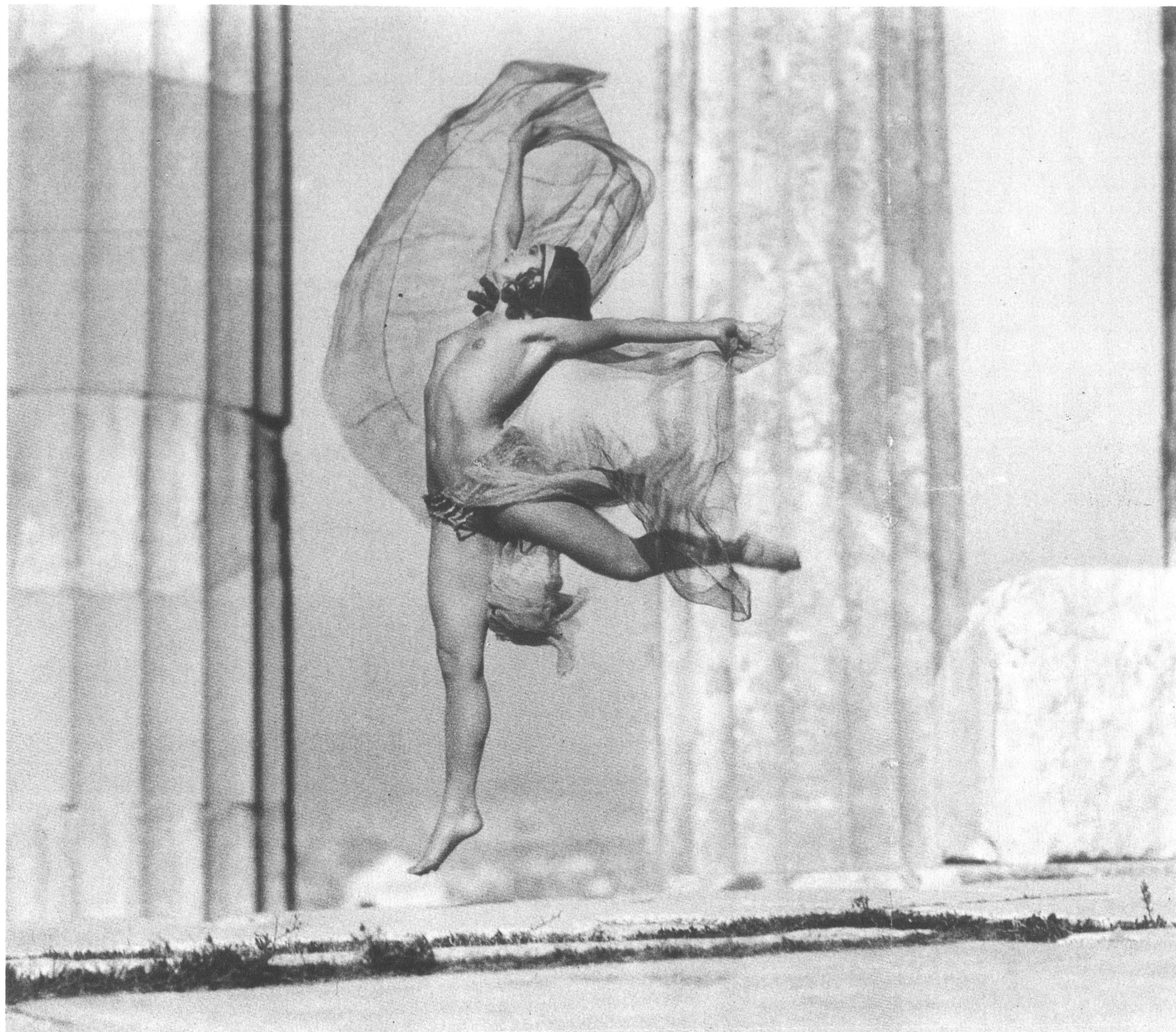


Fig. 153 Nicolska, the Hungarian dancer, in the north colonnade of the Parthenon. Taken from the cella by Nelly, 1929. (Benaki Museum, Athens).

took care of the photography. But only some of her negatives were considered worthy of inclusion in the catalogue of negatives in the German Archaeological Institute compiled by M. Bieber.

The information provided by photographs of details was also considered to have little relevance. The detail per se did not assume key importance until publications on ancient culture and art in the early 20th century began to introduce the reader to the subject by means of a step-by-step method borrowed from the natural scientists, whereby photography played an increasingly greater role. And yet, to quote one example, even in the 1950s excavation photographs in large format were not preserved in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute after publication because of the storage room and expense involved.

When the Agora Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies began in 1931 Lucy Talcott created a system of recording every stage of the excavation and subsequent



study of the finds in which the photographic documentation was linked up to the whole network in such a way that one could reach the numbers of the positives and the negatives through the field notebooks, through the inventory cards, through published material, and through the collection of mounted photographs and, of course, through the negative archives. This system is still in many respects a model nowadays. From 1935 to 1956 Alison Frantz, Byzantinist and photographer, worked selflessly and tirelessly to create the photo archive with photographs distinguished equally by high quality as documents and aesthetic purity as works of art<sup>102</sup>.

In the meantime the field archaeologists as well as the armchair archaeologists have become accustomed to photographing the material they need to work with themselves. The polaroid camera makes it possible to link up ad hoc photos with excavation notes in the field. In the near future it is well possible that the shelf life of negatives, positives and even printed matter will pose a problem. In the long run laser photography and computers are bound to have an effect on methods of recording which in turn will affect the usefulness of the archives.

A similar development may be noted in works of preservation and conservation.

Since 1976 the Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments has established teams of architects, archaeologists, engineers, draughtsmen, conservators and others who make extensive use of photography to document every phase of the project, before, during and after each program, thus recording the details and also affording a bird's eye view of the entire project. Here too the photos are taken with the intention of inventorying and storing them in an archive without which the photography itself would be useless.

The same principles hold true for finds. Whereas the National Museum and the Akropolis Museum have their own photographers, the Ministry of Culture usually commissions free-lance photographers to produce the pictures for their picture books and exhibition catalogues (fig. 156). Today technical advances such as X-ray photography, ultra-violet and infra-red photography, underwater photography etc. are of invaluable assistance in solving certain problems. They serve the aims of research.

The one technical advance which is more broadly applied and attracts general interest is aerial photography. Stonehenge was photographed from the air as early as 1907.<sup>103</sup> Th. Wiegand had aerial photographs made of the Sinai district in 1915 and of excavation sites in Turkey in 1917. Since 1932 the Ministry for Public Works in Greece has used stereoscopic air views for cartography. As a by-product of this activity a collection of around 400 bird's eye views in large format was produced (up until 1964) which for the first time shows the historical town of Athens in its surroundings.

Aerial views also proved to be commercially profitable; since the 1970s the kiosks have had a brisk trade in postcards with airviews of Athens shot from helicopters (fig. 155). Balloon photography, as developed by J.H. Whittlesey followed by D. Myers, is today invaluable in diagnosing and studying archaeological sites in Greece. Between 1975-1980 the Agora, Akropolis, Theatre of Dionysos and the Kerameikos Excavations were photographed with camera suspended from a tethered balloon and kept in vertical position by means of a gimbel. Whittlesey's experience with balloon photography gave him the idea of using mirrors to make it possible to photograph a grid superimposed on archaic sculpture which could be used for measuring proportions. The photographs done according to this method were made by G. Hellner, who was the German Institute photographer from 1962-1984.<sup>104</sup>

Nowadays pretty picture postcards stamp the image of Athens in the minds of visitors before they ever set foot in Greece. All kinds of commercial enterprises aim to present their wares in a form appealing to tourists, ranging from the lure of the so-called Greek heritage and its influence on western culture all the way to ways of spending leisure time, just as is done all over the world wherever there is sun and sea. In this connexion postcard views play no mean role in presenting highly manipulative images of Greece masquerading as reality.

From the 1920s onward picture postcards have been on sale in kiosks, hotel lobbies and museum entrances. The subject matter has remained the same over the years: view of towns, excavations, artworks and monuments. In the early days the postcards were still occasionally coloured by hand.

From the 1960s onwards the old black-and-white postcards gave way more and more to



Fig. 154 The northwest corner of the Parthenon. In the foreground, the apparatus of the speedy tourist photographer. (Colour slide by N. Dessylas, ca 1975).

102 See Meritt, 1984, 192-193.

103 See U. Leute, 1984, *Archaeometry. An Introduction to Physical Methods in Archaeology and the History of Art*, Wiesbaden.

104 Cf. I. Kleemann, *Frühe Bewegung*, Mainz, 1984, foreword. Myers, J. W. and Myers, E.E. "The Art of Flying: Balloon Archaeology" *Archaeology* 33 (1980), 35.



colour photography. In Athens the most important photographers for black-and-white pictures were A. Kontos and N. Stournaras.

Today's postcard series tend to focus on evocations of a pastoral paradise (peasant women, fishermen, girls, cats, donkeys) or picturesque motifs (chairs, doors, fishermen's nets, baskets). Or they contrive compositions such as, for example, a miniature alabaster copy of Michelangelo's David with a can of Coca-Cola set in front of a white island house wall and the deep blue Greek sky. The tourist will scarcely be aware of the unintentional irony implicit in such a picture. Colour and line are the only criteria of such products bordering on kitsch; such photographs no longer convey the content of an artwork, the image of a subjective truth, or any truly experienced facet of life. Nevertheless, there do exist photographs made in the spirit of H. Cartier-Bresson<sup>105</sup> whose poetry depends on capturing the fleeting moment.

In recent years traditional postcards of archaeological objects are mostly to be found only in museum gift shops. The photographers are only rarely named; they are without exception Greeks. Most of these photographs are made with some sensitivity and generations of students have made use of them to refresh their memories of the objects themselves. The official publication photographs are not always made by the same photographers. Both Photo Emile and the team of Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bratzioti have made names for themselves as specialists in archaeological photography; they have all worked extensively on excavations conducted by Greeks and foreigners.<sup>106</sup>

From the last decades of the 19th century onwards photography was the basic means of communication for both art historians and field archaeologists. The strict rules adopted by, for instance, Alinari remained in force in the field of history of art; specific questions of details or other problems would, in addition, need other types of photos. In the last analysis this approach to the artwork corresponds to the old system of copying which has made it possible to make copies of originals ever since ancient times. On the other hand photography which is effective according to the standards of contemporary taste makes use of the ancient world only for the sake of producing a personal artistic statement which always aims at an interpretation and thus in a way blocks access to an art which, though belonging to the past, is by no means lifeless. For in the words of the Greek poet Cavafy<sup>107</sup>:

“Because we have broken their statues,  
Because we have turned them out of their temples,  
They have not died, the gods, for that, at all”.



Fig. 155 Slanting airview of the Akropolis. Lower left, the flat roof of the museum; foreground, the Belvedere; centre, the Parthenon; right background, the Propylaea. (Colour postcard, 1985).

<sup>105</sup> e.g. H. Cartier-Bresson, *Sammlung Gruber*, Exhibition Catalogue, Cologne (Agfa Historama) 1985, 61.

<sup>106</sup> Photographs by Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bratzioti appear in E. Melas, *Athen*, Köln, 1975, 2nd ed., 1977. This travel guide realizes the concept of a book providing historical, cultural and practical information. There are predecessors to this type of book, e.g. R. and L. Matton, 1963.

<sup>107</sup> *Poems by Cavafy*, translated by John Mavrocordato, London, 1951; the lines cited come from *Ionic*.





Fig. 156 Detail of an archaic kore found SW of the Parthenon in 1888. (Colour slide from the series printed by Glaukos publishers, 1986).







CHAPTER TWO  
THE SITE







## THE TWELVE SECTORS OF THE CULTURAL-HISTORIC AREA OF ATHENS: MAIN HISTORIC REMAINS; URBAN FUNCTIONS AND LAND USE PATTERN; TRAFFIC AXES

The historic site of central Athens presents a great variety of land uses (fig. 157) due to differing natural features and differing development of the various areas.

In order to investigate the various town-planning aspects of the cultural-historic area and to reach an understanding of its overall structure, the entire area has been subdivided into twelve sectors shown in fig. 158. This methodological approach has been adopted for the purposes of this study; the twelve sectors are not derived from any existing administrative scheme.

The twelve sectors have been defined on the basis of the following criteria:

- a) Topographic homogeneity.
- b) Important ancient remains.
- c) The existence of main thoroughways and avenues, breaking up the area as a whole and thus creating an artificial framework for the various sectors.

The overall surface of the cultural-historic area (including the main peripheral roads, main thoroughways and built-up areas eligible for expropriation) is 357 ha, which amounts to about 10% of the surface of the Athens municipality, but to about 1% of the total urbanized area of the Athens basin. It may be roughly divided into a western part comprising sectors one through five and an eastern part comprising sectors six through twelve.

The five sectors of the western part are from west to east as follows:

- (1) Kolonos Hippios, the Academy area and the Dipylon-Academy road.
- (2) Kerameikos excavations and vicinity.
- (3) The three hills of the Pnyx range: Hill of the Nymphs, Pnyx hill and Mouseion hill (or Philopappos).
- (4) Agora excavations, the Roman Agora, the Areopagus, the Akropolis with upper slopes.
- (5) Plaka, the old town of Athens.

The eastern part (which is separated from the western part by the main axis of Amalias Avenue running north-south) has seven sectors from west to east as follows:

- (6) National Garden (formerly Royal Garden), Zappeion Gardens and the garden of the Presidential Mansion.
- (7) Olympieion area with the Ilissos river banks.
- (8) The First Cemetery of Athens.
- (9) Ardetos hill and the Stadium.
- (10) The Athens Cultural Complex.
- (11) Lykabettos lower east slope.
- (12) Lykabettos, the replanted area.

Sector 9, Ardetos hill and the Stadium, is the smallest with an area of 10 ha; Sector 3, Hill of the Nymphs, Pnyx hill and Mouseion hill (Philopappos), is the largest with an area of 59.5 ha. Fig. 158 includes a table giving the areas of the twelve sectors.



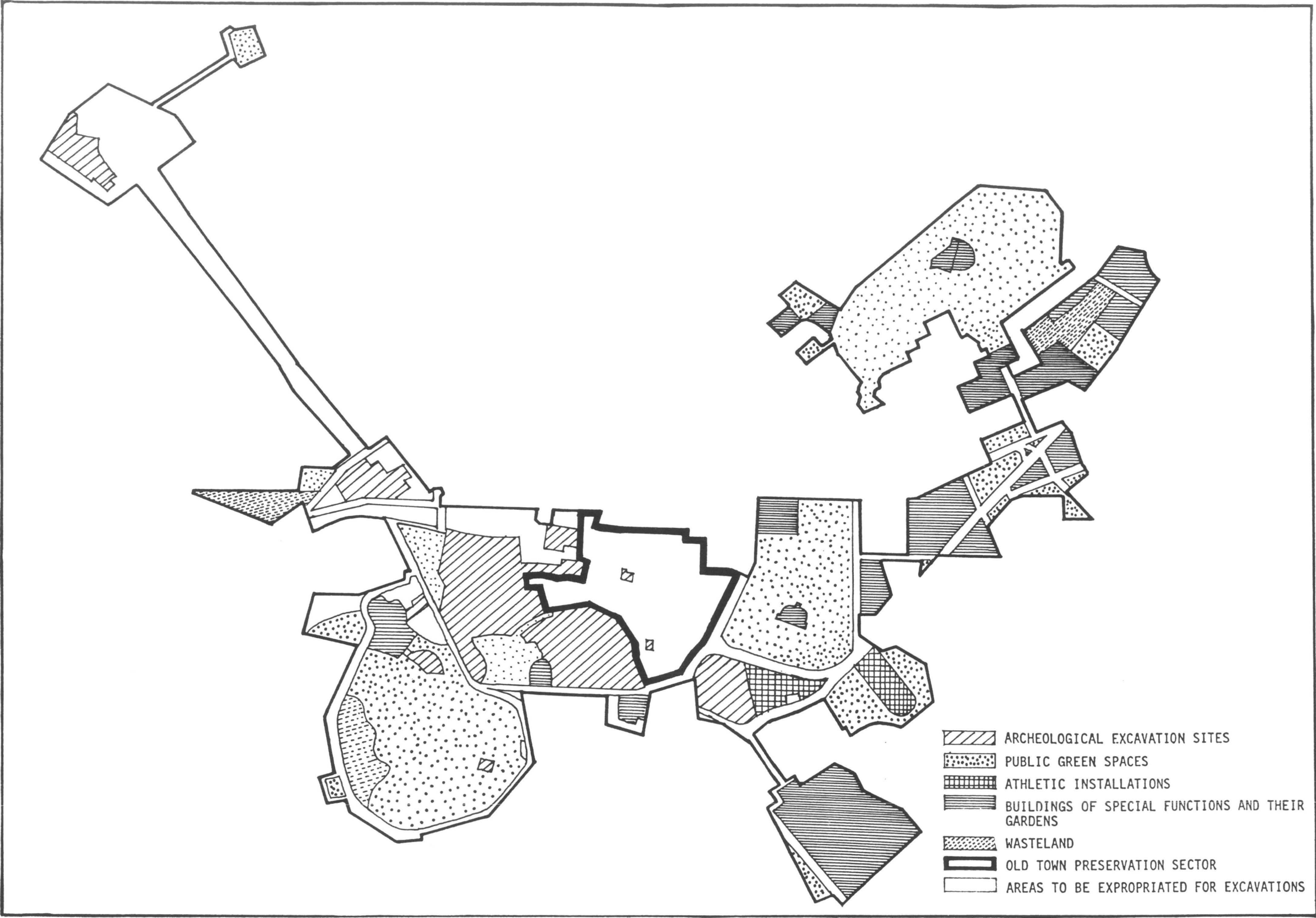


Fig. 157 Land-use pattern of the cultural-historical area. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).



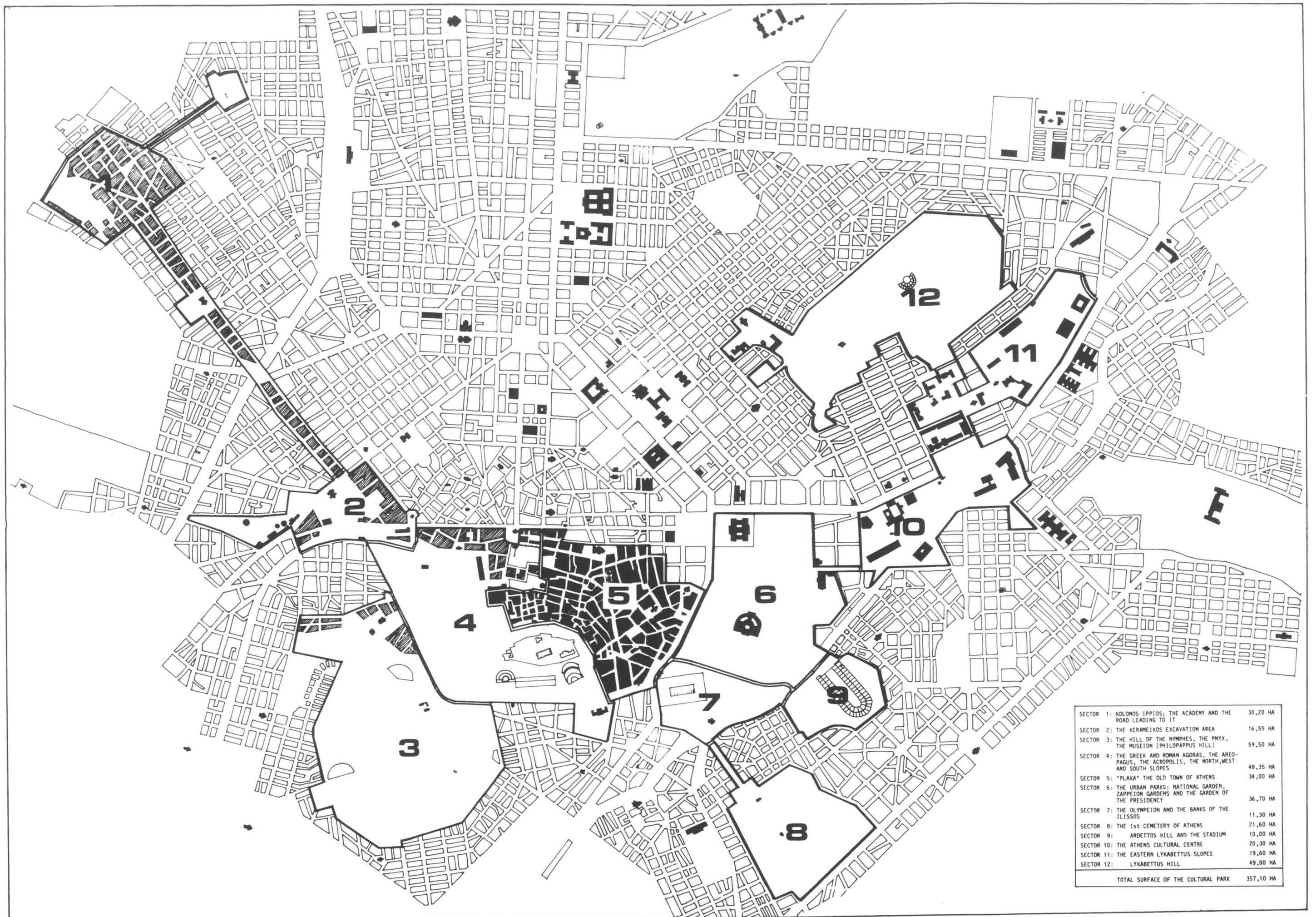


Fig. 158 Sectors of the cultural-historic area and central Athens town pattern. Isolated buildings in black are public buildings. Building blocks in black: the protected zone of Plaka. Building blocks in grey: to be expropriated. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).



THE TWELVE SECTORS OF THE CULTURAL-HISTORIC AREA; DENOMINATION AND EXTENT

Sector 1: Kolonos Hippios, Academy area, Dipylon-Academy road; Areas 1-4		
1	Areas to be expropriated	23.70 ha
2	Archaeological excavations	4.00 ha
3	Kolonos Grove	1.90 ha
4	Kolonos Hippios-Academy road	0.60 ha
		<hr/>
		30.20 ha
Sector 2: Kerameikos excavations and vicinity; Areas 5-9		
5	Area of the former gas plant	3.75 ha
6	Kerameikos excavations area	3.50 ha
7	Small park on Peiraios st.	0.90 ha
8	Areas to be expropriated	6.00 ha
9	Main roads	2.40 ha
		<hr/>
		16.55 ha
Sector 3: Hill of the Nymphs, Pnyx hill and Mouseion hill; Areas 10-17		
10	Ancient monuments and sites	1.60 ha
11	Planted, not landscaped area	22.60 ha
12	Not planted area	5.00 ha
13	Planted and landscaped area	18.40 ha
14	Hill of the Nymphs	1.60 ha
15	Small park in the Petralona district	0.70 ha
16	Areas to be expropriated	4.40 ha
17	Main roads	5.20 ha
		<hr/>
		59.50 ha
Sector 4: Agora excavations, the Roman Agora, the Areopagus, the Akropolis with upper slopes; Areas 18-31		
18	Theseion park	2.70 ha
19	Agora excavations	9.00 ha
20	Areopagus and the Areopagus-Pnyx valley	5.50 ha
21	Akropolis west slope, western section	1.70 ha
22	Akropolis west slope, eastern section	2.80 ha
23	Monastiraki area to be expropriated	7.00 ha
24	Roman Agora and Library of Hadrian	2.00 ha
25	Odeion of Herodes Atticus with approach	0.90 ha
26	Akropolis, plateau	3.00 ha
27	Akropolis upper slopes	7.00 ha
28	Odeion of Perikles area	0.75 ha
29	Makriyanni lot	1.25 ha
30	Makriyanni lot expropriation area	1.00 ha
31	Main roads	3.75 ha
		<hr/>
		48.35 ha



Sector 5: Plaka, the old town of Athens; Areas 32-34

32	The old town	31.60 ha
33	Small excavation areas	0.40 ha
34	Peripheral roads	2.00 ha
		<hr/>
		34.00 ha

Sector 6: National Garden, Zappeion Gardens, Presidential Mansion; Areas 35-39

35	Parliament Building (formerly Royal Palace)	2.70 ha
36	National Garden (formerly Royal Garden)	16.20 ha
37	Zappeion Gardens	11.40 ha
38	Presidential Mansion (formerly the New Palace) and garden	2.20 ha
39	Main roads	4.20 ha
		<hr/>
		36.70 ha

Sector 7: Olympieion area with the Ilissos river banks; Areas 40-44

40	Olympieion	2.40 ha
41	Excavation area S. of the Olympieion	2.20 ha
42	Excavation area N. of the Olympieion	1.00 ha
43	Athletic installations	3.70 ha
44	Peripheral roads	2.00 ha
		<hr/>
		11.30 ha

Sector 8: The First Cemetery of Athens; Areas 45-47

45	The First Cemetery	18.00 ha
46	Small park	1.40 ha
47	Main roads	2.20 ha
		<hr/>
		21.60 ha

Sector 9: Ardettos hill and the ancient Stadium; Areas 48-49

48	The ancient Stadium	3.50 ha
49	Ardettos hill and Northeastern hill	6.50 ha
		<hr/>
		10.00 ha

Sector 10: The Athens Cultural Complex; Areas 50-56

50	Cultural Centre, so-called	8.70 ha
51	Truman Memorial Grove	0.20 ha
52	National Research Centre	1.50 ha
53	National Gallery and nearby planted area	2.20 ha
54	Hilton area	1.40 ha
55	Evangelismos Hospital park	1.00 ha
56	Main roads	5.30 ha
		<hr/>
		20.30 ha

Sector 11: Lykabettos lower east slope; Areas 57-64

57	American School of Classical Studies, British School of Archaeology at Athens, Gennadius Library and their gardens	3.30 ha
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58	Petraki Monastery with garden	1.00 ha
59	Army Hospital and garden	2.40 ha
60	Navy Hospital and garden	1.00 ha
61	Venizelos Grove	1.80 ha
62	Concert Hall and vicinity	7.80 ha
63	American Embassy and garden	1.10 ha
64	Main roads	<u>1.20 ha</u>
		19.60 ha

Sector 12: Lykabettos, the replanted areas; Areas 65-70

65	Schisti Petra Rock Garden	0.75 ha
66	French School at Athens	0.80 ha
67	Pefkakia Grove	1.30 ha
68	Pikionis School	1.00 ha
69	Dexameni Reservoir and planted area	0.85 ha
70	Lykabettos, main replanted area	<u>44.30 ha</u>
		49.00 ha

Total surface of the cultural-historic area 357.10 ha

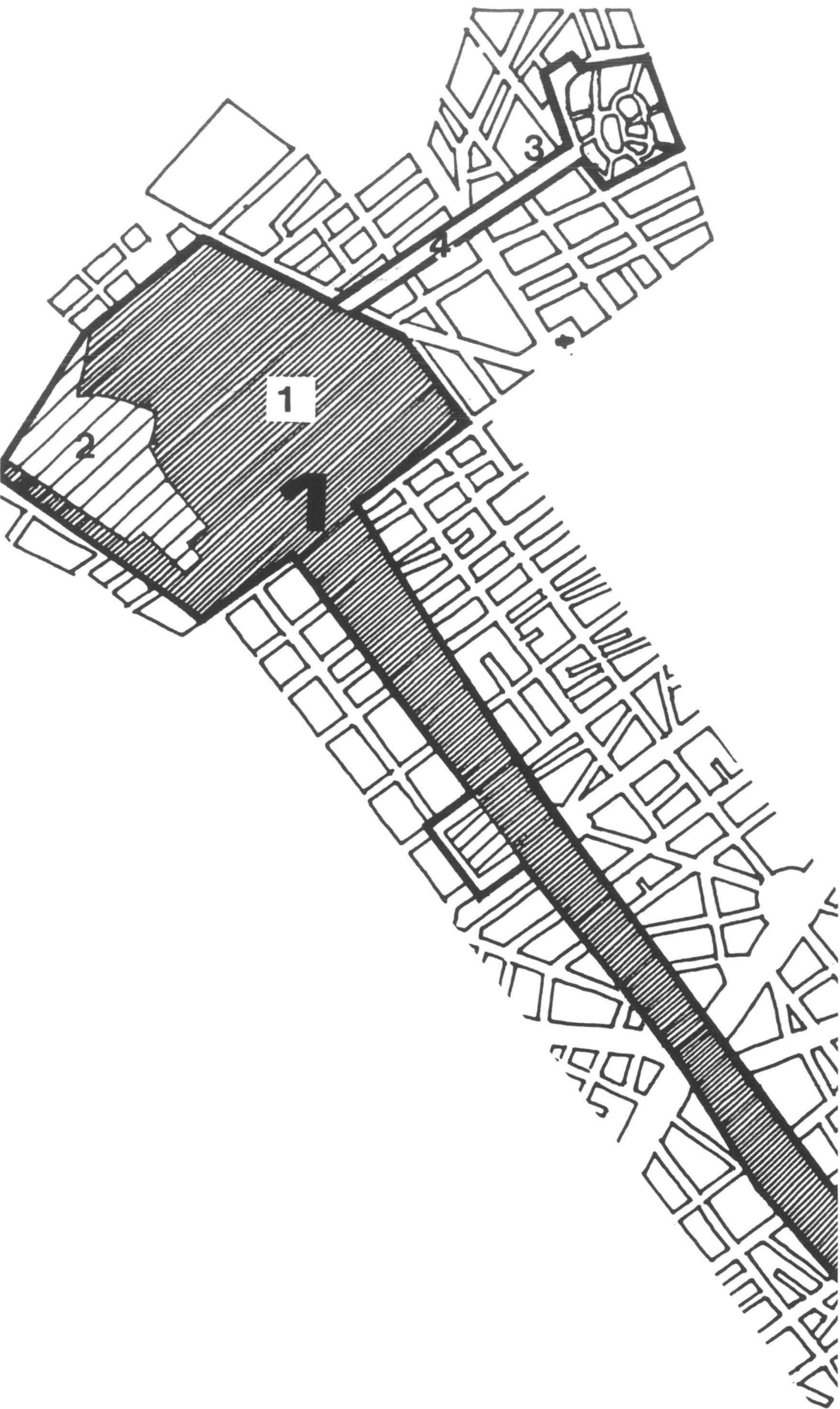
Before describing in chapter four the present utilization of the cultural-historic area, a description of the twelve sectors is given below, followed by some information about the ancient monuments and the main urban functions of each sector.





Fig. 159 Athens, Phaleron Bay and Peiraeus harbour. In the centre, Lykabettos. Air view taken in 1932. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





SECTOR 1: KOLONOS HIPPIOS, ACADEMY AREA AND THE DIPYLON-ACADEMY ROAD

1	Area to be expropriated	23.70 ha
2	Archaeological excavations	4.00 ha
3	Kolonos Grove	1.90 ha
4	Road connecting Kolonos Hippios with Academy area	0.60 ha

Total surface of sector 1 30.20 ha

Sector 1 extends from the low hill of Kolonos Hippios (1.9 ha) and the partially excavated area of the ancient Academy (4.0 ha) to the Kerameikos excavations via a long corridor of about 1400 metres which follows the line of the ancient road to the Academy, starting at the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos. This ancient road is below present-day Plataion st. continuing below present-day Platonos st. in a built-up area. Most of sector 1 has not been excavated (23.70 ha) and is covered by rather shabby low-rise buildings of one to three storeys. The total surface of sector 1 is 30.20 ha.

Kolonos Hippios is a rocky knoll associated with legendary history. Archaeologists have sought in vain for the monuments and sites of Kolonos Hippios described in Sophokles' *Oedipus at Colonus* and in other ancient sources: the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, the altar of Poseidon Hippios and Athena Hippia, the sanctuary of the Eumenides, the Ploutoneion and others. No trace of these has been found.

Sophokles was born in the Kolonos district and he immortalized its landscape in *Oedipus at Colonus*, describing a true paradise on earth with laurel, olive trees, vines and nightingales. But of all this wealth of beauty which made this district one of the most delightful places in Attica in ancient times nothing remains today. Visitors see a poorly planted, partly bare rocky hillock, their attention drawn to two grave monuments enclosed by railings at the top. These mark the tombs of two great Philhellenes, the learned Frenchman Charles Lenormant who died in Athens in 1859 and Karl Otfried Müller, the eminent German archaeologist, carried off by fever in Athens in 1840.

The name Academy was first applied to a gymnasium in NW Athens, that is an open space with various structures where the men of Athens, particularly the young men coming up for their military service, could practice various outdoor and indoor sports, most of them related to military skills. The Academy gymnasium was founded in the 6th c. B.C. and was a state-run institution. None of the installations for this gymnasium, such as the race-track, wrestling and boxing areas, have ever been found. Since the young men of Athens naturally congregated here, philosophers chose the Academy gymnasium as one of the likely places to find an interested group of listeners and/or students. The philosophers of Athens frequented all three of the great gymnasia. When Plato settled down on a privately-owned plot of land next to the Academy, the term then was extended to apply to a philosophical school: Plato's Academy. In the end Academy came to have an abstract meaning, referring to any educational or research institution.

The Academy gymnasium is known to have had a number of sanctuaries and altars and other monuments, such as statues. For example, the altar of Prometheus, the altar of Eros, a sanctuary of Athena with the sacred olive trees of this deity. It was well planted with trees watered by an irrigation system. Not a single one of the many things in the Academy recorded by the ancient literary sources has ever been found.

From 1929-1940 the private donor P. Aristophron sponsored excavations in NW Athens with the set purpose of locating and excavating the ancient Academy. The excavations were directed by K. Kourouniotis under the sponsorship of the Academy of Athens. The excavations





Fig. 160 Kolonos Hippios still covered with olive trees and cypresses at the end of the 19th century.



Fig. 161 Kolonos Hippios with the church of Haghia Eleousa at the right, at the end of the 19th century.



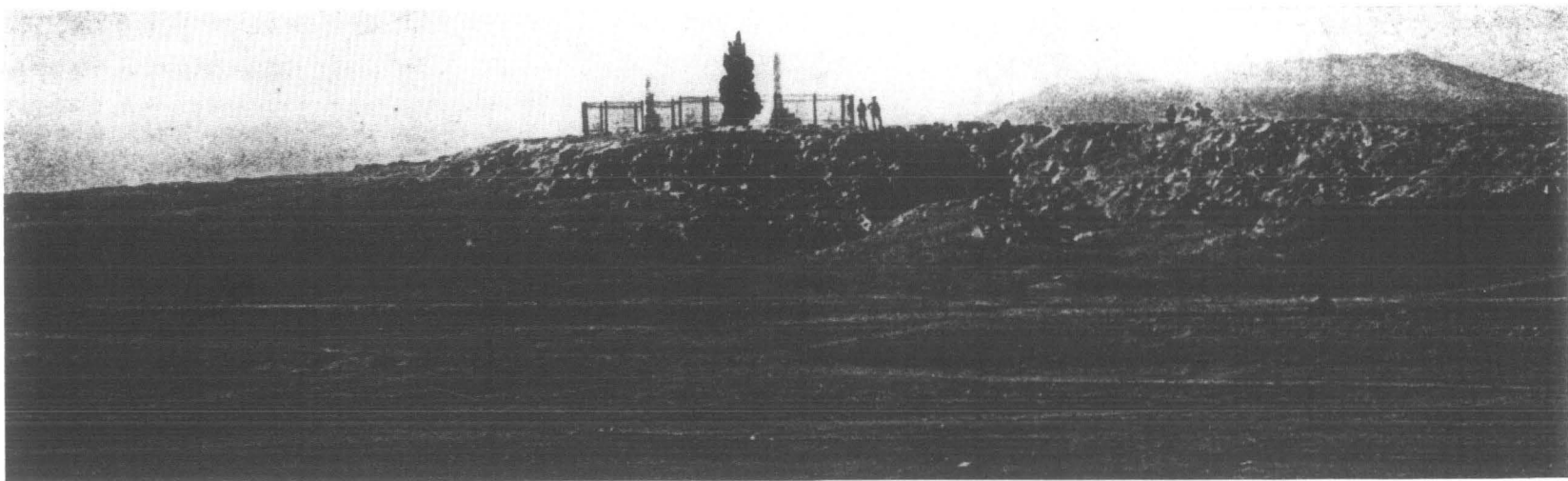


Fig. 163 The rocky hillock of Kolonos Hippios with the grave monuments of C. Lenormant and K. O. Müller, seen from the east at the turn of the century.



Fig. 162 Grave stele of Euphrosyne, Eubios and Bion of Potamos in the Kerameikos excavations.

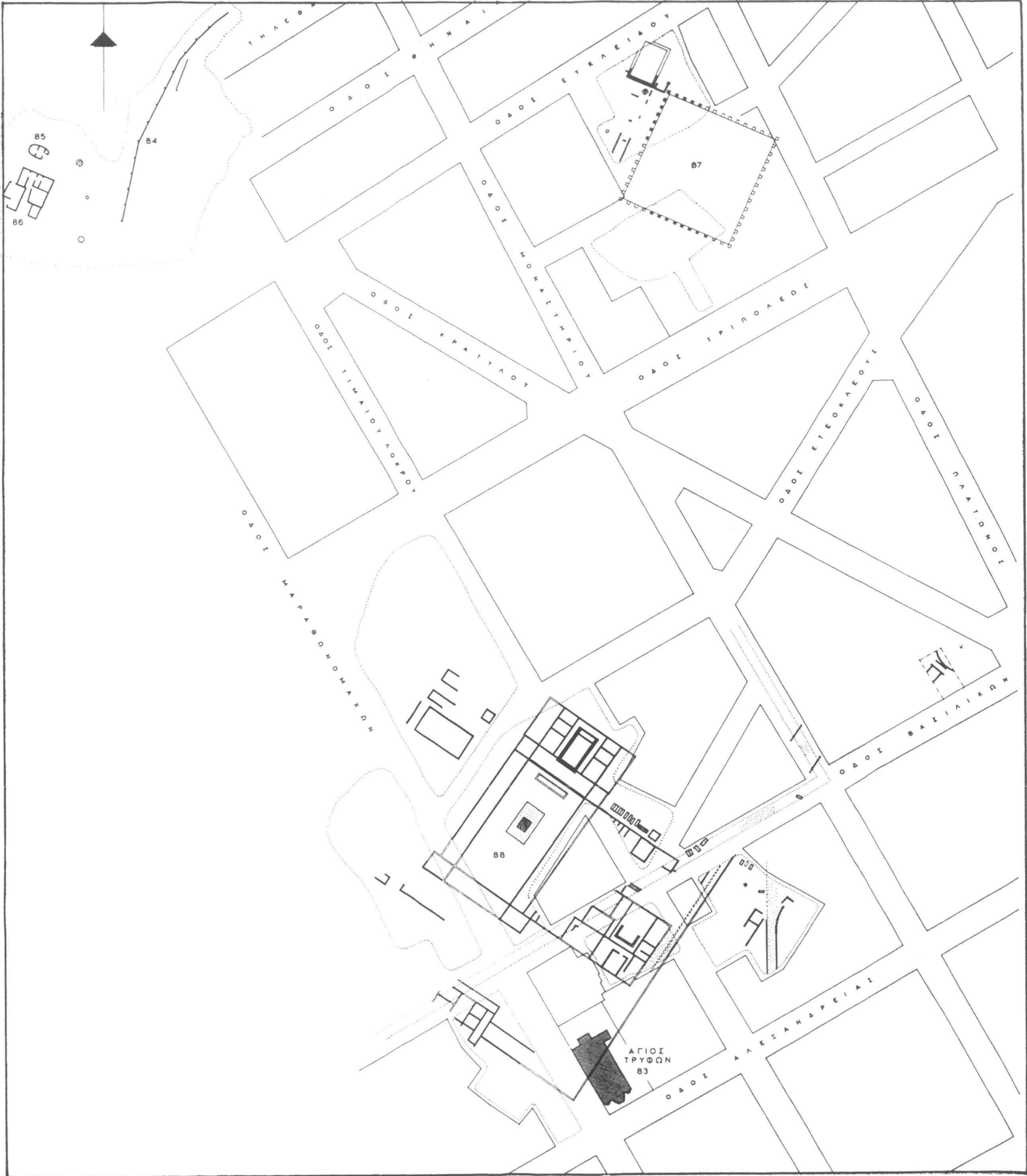


Fig. 164 Academy area. Excavation sectors. Scale 1:2200. (Travlos, 1971, fig. 62).



were resumed in 1955, directed by Ph. Stavropoulos and financed by the Archaeological Society at Athens. During all this time there was only one find indubitably associated with the Academy: the boundary stone of the Academy, dated to about 500 B.C., found *in situ*, the findspot shown on fig. 169, no. 180 on the plan.

Both Cicero and Livy tell us that the ancient road to the Academy started at the Dipylon Gate and Livy gives the length of the road as one thousand Roman paces, i.e. 1478 m. This ancient road lying under present-day Plataion st. and continuing under present-day Platonos street has been excavated in more than forty places by the Greek Archaeological Service; some of the excavations were on one side, some on the other side of the road and some cutting through its entire width. By means of careful recording procedures, the excavators have recovered much of the history of the ancient road to the Academy. In the 1920s A. Philadelphus found the sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste and Ariste, mentioned by Pausanias, along the ancient road to the Academy. The famous torch races of ancient Athens were run along this splendid avenue, 40 m wide.

The Demosion Sema, the State Burial Ground for casualties in war, has been generally thought to be in or on either side of the road to the Academy. This remains an open question, since none of the Demosion Sema inscriptions has ever been found in place on the ancient road to the Academy; two fragments have been found in late fillings along this road, whereas ninety percent of all the fragments of Demosion Sema gravestones have been found in the Agora excavations, reused in 19th and 20th century structures. D. Ohly and U. Knigge, past and present directors of the Kerameikos excavations, think that the Demosion Sema is to be sought on the east side of the road to the Academy; the likelihood is that the Demosion Sema indeed lies to the east, between the road to the Academy and the next ancient thoroughfare to the east, marked on fig. 169.

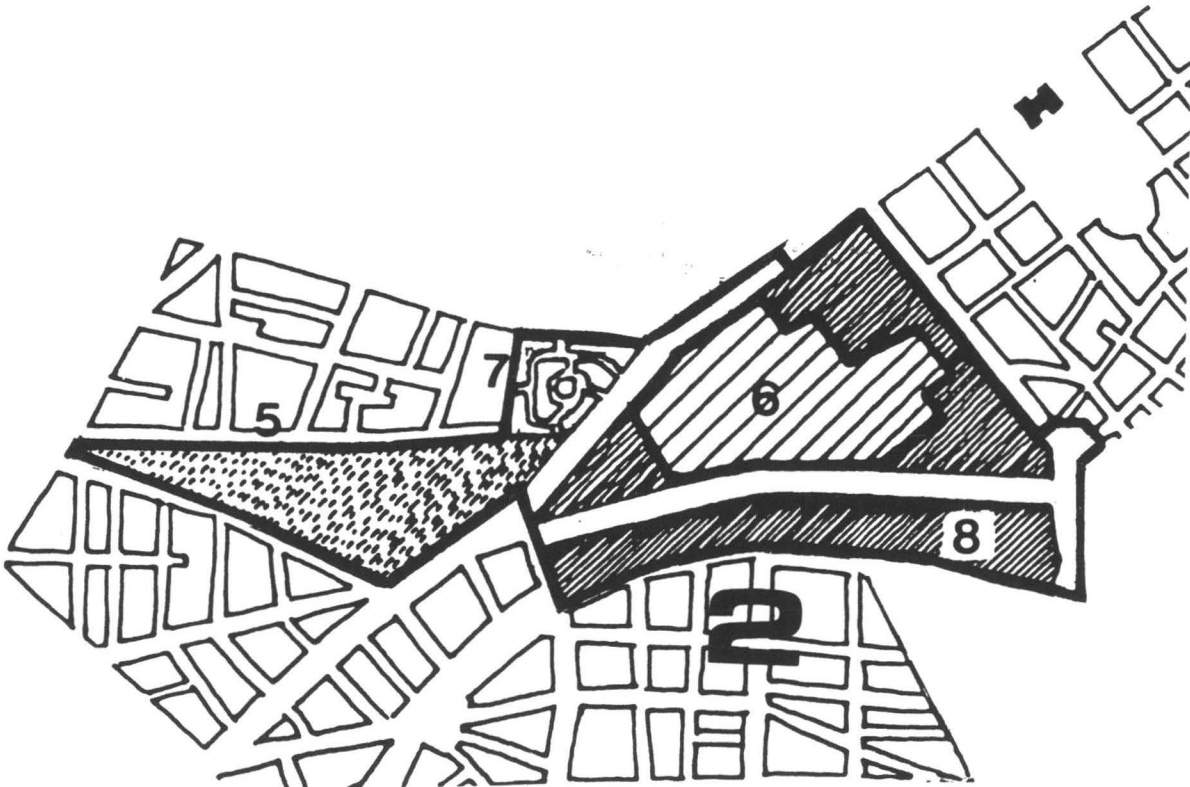
Given that most of sector 1 is still unexcavated and that at present there is no green strip linking the Kerameikos and Academy areas, it is only potentially a part of the cultural-historic area. There is, however, a growing consensus concerning the desirability, indeed necessity, of further excavation, protecting the excavated remains and establishing a green zone along the line of the ancient road linking the Academy-Kolonos area with the Kerameikos excavations.

Today the land use of the major part of sector 1 is rather shabby housing, small businesses and industrial establishments, with the exception of the rarely frequented little grove of Kolonos Hippios and the isolated abandoned excavation area of the Academy.

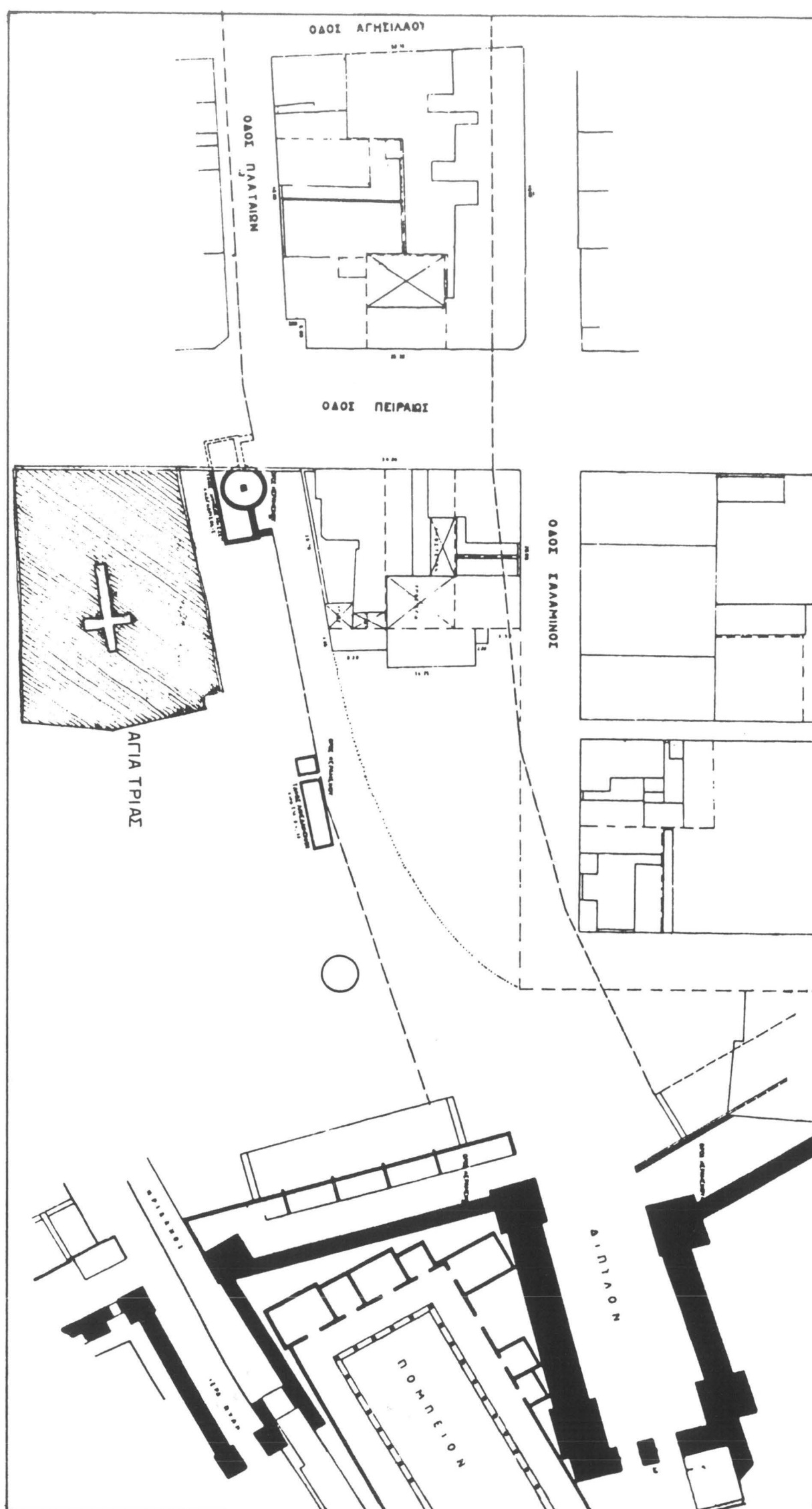
SECTOR 2: KERAMEIKOS EXCAVATIONS AND VICINITY

5	Area of the former gas plant	3.75 ha
6	Kerameikos excavations area	3.50 ha
7	Small park on Peiraios st.	0.90 ha
8	Areas to be expropriated	6.00 ha
9	Main roads	2.40 ha
Total surface of sector 2		16.55 ha

Sector 2 is divided by present-day Peiraios st., the smaller part comprising the area of the old municipal gas plant and a small public park. The larger part of this sector contains the







Kerameikos excavations and surroundings, only half of which has been excavated so far. To the north of Ermou st. the eastern part of the triangle formed by Peiraios, Ermou and Aghion Asomaton streets has yet to be expropriated. South of Ermou st. the strip, 500 m long, now occupied by the Athens-Peiraeus railroad and its old storehouses, also has to be expropriated in order to link the Kerameikos excavations up with the Agora area.

The Kerameikos was one of the districts of ancient Athens, probably public domain as in the case of the Academy and the Agora. The name, referring to ceramics, must have come from the many potters' establishments in the area. The Kerameikos excavation received its name when three Kerameikos boundary stones were found *in situ* along the west edge of the Dipylon-Academy road.

The excavations began in 1863 and were continued by the Greek Archaeological Society at intervals until 1913 when the Greek government entrusted the excavations to the German Archaeological Institute, directed in turn by A. Brueckner, K. Kübler, D. Ohly, F. Willemsen and currently by U. Knigge.

The best preserved section of the Themistoklean City Wall, built in 479 B.C., is in the Kerameikos excavations (fig. 166). Two of the City Wall gates are here: the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon Gate. When the Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated there was a procession from Athens to Eleusis, starting at the Eleusinion on the Akropolis north slope, proceeding through the Sacred Gate to Eleusis on the Sacred Way. Outside the Sacred Gate there was a fork in the Sacred Way with a main thoroughfare to Peiraeus striking off to the left; this ancient road is now called the Street of the Tombs because it is flanked on either side with grave precincts in which the grave monuments are still preserved *in situ*. The Dipylon Gate, also built in 479 B.C., takes care of the main arterial thoroughfare of ancient Athens which was called the Panathenaic Way from the Akropolis as far as the gate, and continued on as the famous Road to the Academy as well as serving travellers to and from northwest Greece. Inside the gate the Panathenaic procession started at the Pompeion and ended at the Akropolis. Outside the gate the famous torch races started at the altar of Eros in the Academy and ended at the Dipylon Gate. Like the Sacred Way and the road to the Peiraeus the road to the Academy was also flanked by grave monuments.

The Kerameikos excavations is the only place in Athens where one can recapture the feel of ancient times, walking along the Street of the Tombs on the ancient street level and seeing the ancient monuments still standing on their original places. The area was planted in the 1950s with trees, shrubs and vines by Judith Binder, following the example of Ralph Griswold's work in the Agora. The site can now be appreciated in full, thanks to the splendid guide to the excavations written by the present director, Ursula Knigge. The Kerameikos Museum has outstandingly fascinating, instructive displays, a unique continuous series of grave goods ranging from the eleventh century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. and remarkable archaic grave monuments destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C. and built into the Themistoklean City Wall.

Traffic, pollution, noise, inconvenient access, and the shabby urban surroundings create a negative image of this important cultural asset. Three busy through streets, Ermou st., Peiraios st. and Asomaton st. cut the excavations off and isolate them. Sector 2 is a neglected district of the modern town. Important disused municipal facilities, the abandoned gas plant, the big depots of the abolished tramway network (adjoining the excavation site) and the storehouses of the Athens-Peiraeus electrical railway to the south lie unused in a derelict state. Relatively few people visit the site, given the fact that pedestrian approach is difficult both from the centre of town and from the Agora excavations and that parking places are non-existent. The land use character of the total area is thus not easy to define, being neither a residential quarter, nor a recreational space nor an archaeological site; it is rather a 'grey zone' awaiting rehabilitation.

Fig. 165 Section of the Kerameikos excavations showing the beginning of the Road to the Academy starting at the Dipylon Gate and, leaving the excavation area, crossing present-day Peiraios street and continuing along built-up city blocks. Scale 1:1200.



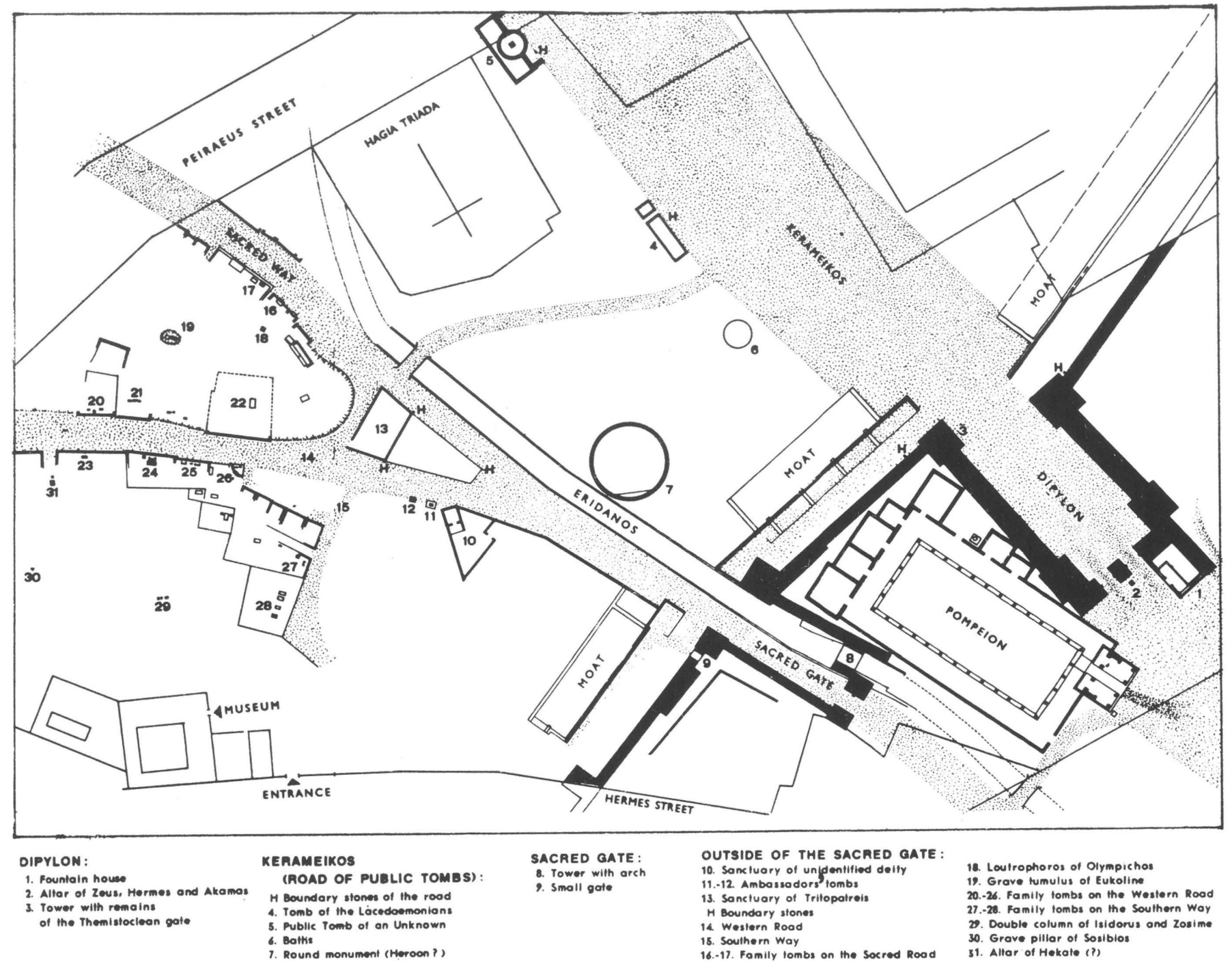


Fig. 166 Topographic sketch plan of the Kerameikos excavations. Scale 1:1600. (Philadelphus, 1973).



Fig. 167 Kerameikos excavations. Grave monuments on the north side of the Street of the Tombs, including the famous Hegeso relief (a cast; original in the National Museum). (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 168 Kerameikos excavations. The Street of the Tombs in a grove planted 1957-1965. (DAI, Athens).



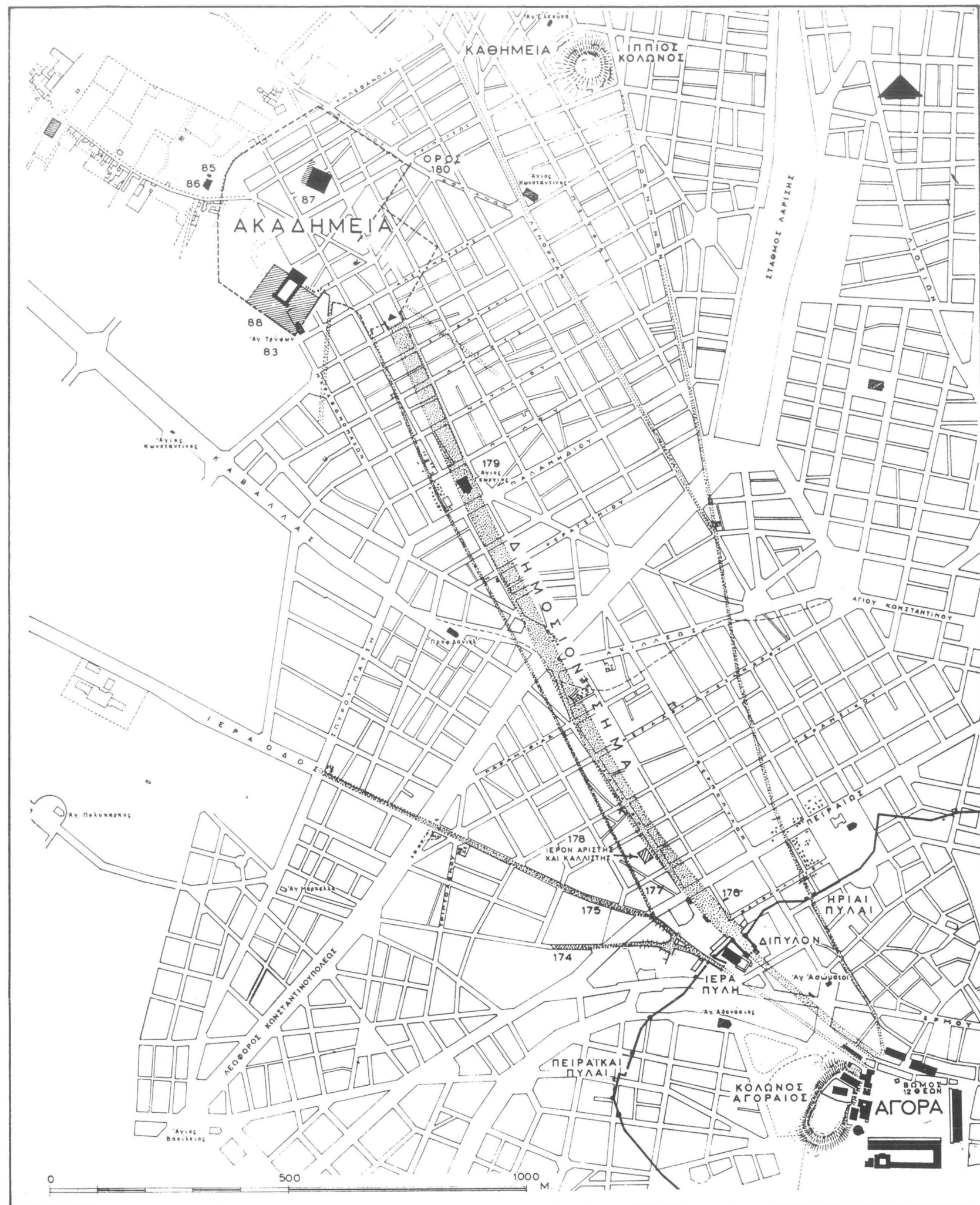


Fig. 169 Ancient roads leading to the Academy and Kolonos Hippios from the Sacred Gate, the Dipylon Gate and the so-called Eriai Gate. Scale 1:12,500. (Travlos, 1971, fig. 417).



### SECTOR 3: HILL OF THE NYMPHS, PNYX HILL AND MOUSEION HILL

10	Ancient monuments and sites	1.60 ha
11	Planted, not landscaped area	22.60 ha
12	Not planted area	5.00 ha
13	Planted and landscaped area	18.40 ha
14	Hill of the Nymphs	1.60 ha
15	Small park in Petralona district	0.70 ha
16	Areas to be expropriated	4.40 ha
17	Main roads	5.20 ha

---

Total surface of sector 3 59.50 ha

The Pnyx range, consisting of the Hill of the Nymphs, Pnyx hill and Mouseion hill, forms the southernmost group of inner city hills. This is sector 3, separated from sector 2, Kerameikos excavations and vicinity, by a 300 m wide zone of the so-called Theseion district of the modern town. Sector 3, the largest of the 12 sectors, has happily enough never been settled in modern times.

Sector 3 is bounded by a ring road with a total length of about 2400 m; this ring road, which changes names six times as it goes around, is commonly known as the Peripheriakos Philopappou. To the NE sector 3 is separated from sector 4, the Akropolis-Agora area, by Apostolou Pavlou st. which is a main thoroughfare with heavy traffic, a most unfortunate situation whereby the central part of the cultural-historic area is split in two parts with no walkway linking them.

The north-south length of sector 3 is 1 km within which there are three distinct areas: the lowest hill is to the north, the Hill of the Nymphs, 103 m high; then comes Pnyx hill with the ancient Assembly Place of the People, 110 m high; and to the south is Mouseion hill with the highest elevation of 147 m.

The Hill of the Nymphs to the north of Pnyx hill is crowned by the National Observatory, one of the earliest and finest neoclassic buildings of Athens; it was designed in 1842 by Theophilus Hansen. In 1905 a second dome with a more powerful telescope was erected on Pnyx hill to the south of the first observatory. The immediate surroundings of the Observatory are well landscaped; the garden is not open to the public. After the Observatory was transferred to Mt. Penteli, the building was neglected for many years. It has now been declared a National Monument, reconditioned, and is serving as a meteorological station, used to record daily dewfall, rainfall, hours of sunlight, temperature and some other data. Other suitable functions could easily be found for this handsome building in the future, for instance: a documentation centre for the topography of Athens and Attica.

The Hill of the Nymphs is so named because there was a sanctuary of the Nymphs at the summit, attested by a rock-cut inscription in the Observatory garden. The so-called Little Pnyx lay to the southwest of the Observatory, apparently an assembly place with a rock-cut speaker's platform and a natural auditorium; it was seen in the last century and has now vanished without a trace under modern building. In the last century traces of the Themistoklean City Wall and its junction with the Northern Long Wall were noted at the crest of the hill of the Nymphs.

East of the Observatory on the east slope of the hill of the Nymphs is the tiny old church of Haghia Marina (only its dome is now above ground level), dwarfed by its large modern successor. There are two rock-cut inscriptions marking a precinct of Zeus on the east slope of the hill of the Nymphs. Some blocks of 2-3 storey modern buildings west of Apostolou Pavlou st., that greatly detract from the historic sites because they block the streets and paths that linked the





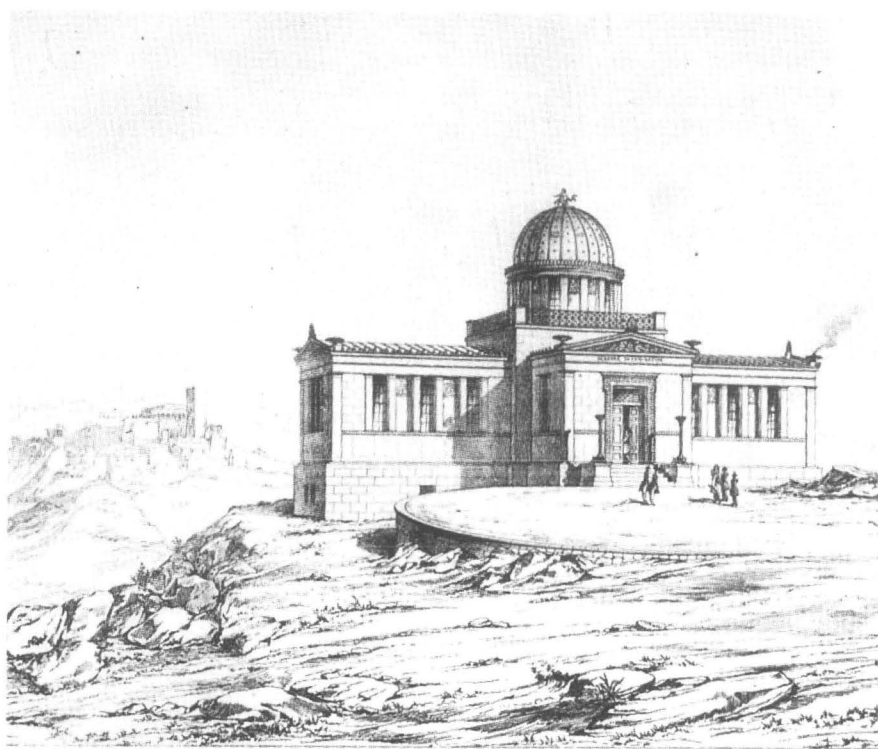


Fig. 170 The Observatory on the Hill of the Nymphs drawn by Theophilus Hansen. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1846).



Fig. 171 The Observatory and gardens in the 1930s. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



Fig. 172 Contour map of the Pnyx range from north to south: Hill of the Nymphs, Pnyx, Mouseion (Philopappos). Scale 1:5000. (Plan redrawn by the author).





Fig. 173 Panoramic air view of the centre of Athens in 1932. Right foreground: Philopappos hill with the western part still bare rock. Right centre: the Akropolis. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 174 The Pnyx Assembly Place with the Bema of the Third Period, seen from the west. Alinari photograph, 1898. (DAI, Athens).

Agora and the Pnyx in ancient times, are within the archaeological zone and should be expropriated and demolished.

The remains of ancient monuments at the top of Pnyx hill and to the north are shown in fig. 175. The Diateichisma was a fortification wall running right across the top of the Pnyx range from the Hill of the Nymphs to the top of Mouseion hill, built in the late 4th century B.C. in order to shorten the line of the Themistoklean City Wall which made a loop at the foot of the Pnyx range. The base of the Diateichisma and some of the towers have been preserved. Remains of one of the gates in the Diateichisma, just south of the church of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris, were almost completely obliterated when the new main road leading up toward the Philopappos Monument and a belvedere terrace with a pretty view of the Akropolis was constructed in 1956-1958.



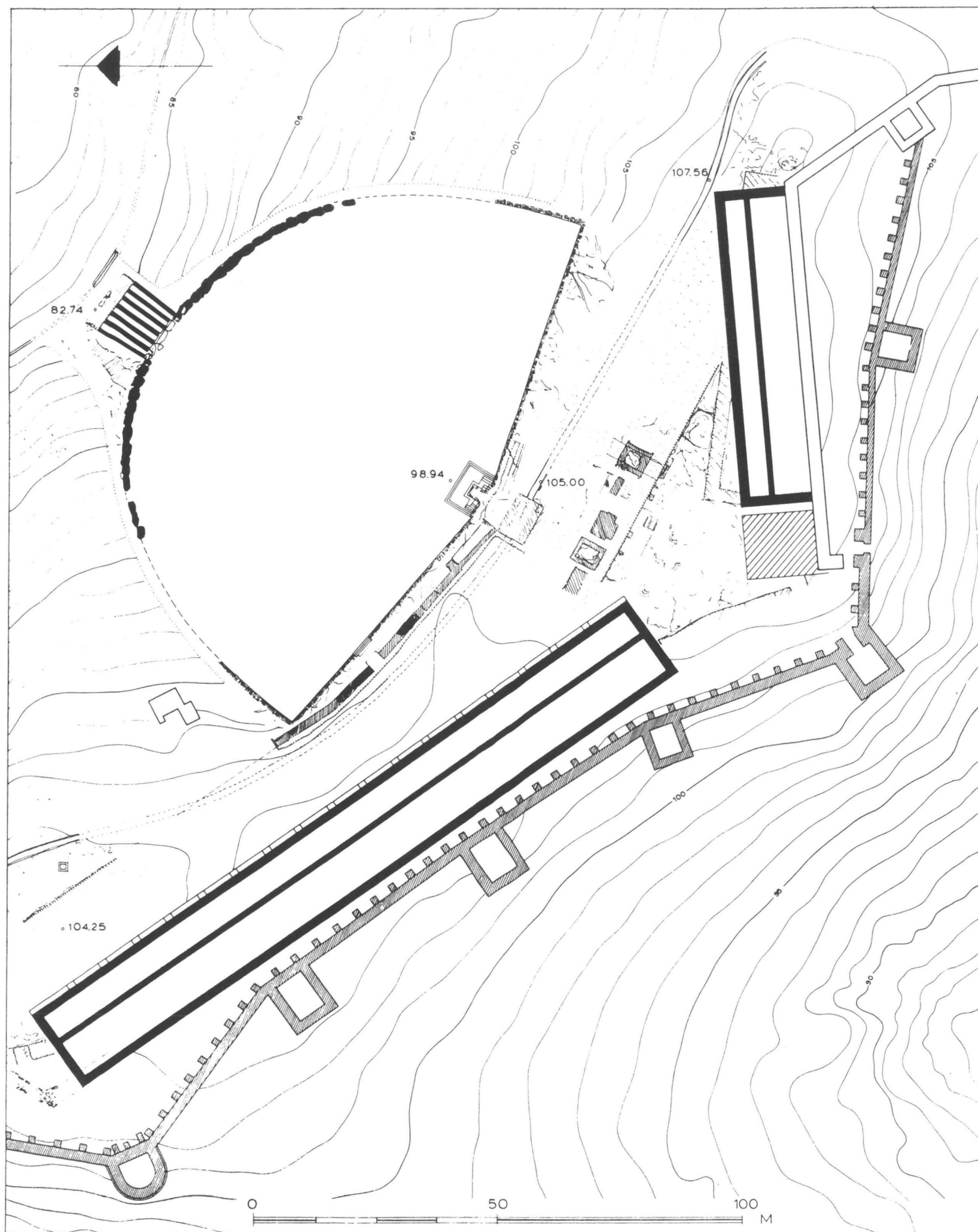


Fig. 175 Plan of the Third Period of the Pnyx Assembly Place (2nd c. A.D.) with the two unfinished stoas (late 4th c. B.C.). Scale 1:1250. (Travlos, 1971, fig. 590).

The line of the Diateichisma originally ran across the foundations of two unfinished stoas begun sometime in the 4th century B.C. and abandoned at the end of the century because of the necessity of shortening the line of defence. Enough of the stoa foundations are preserved to establish their lengths and widths.

To the north of the stoas is a rock-cut terrace containing cuttings and beddings for a number of ancient monuments and also the rock-cut line of an ancient street. The Assembly Place of the Pnyx is at a lower level to the north. Here the citizen body assembled to deliberate



Fig. 176 Church of Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris and complex embedded in the dense vegetation (1980). (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 177 Modern ruins of the unfinished open air theatre on the lower west slope of Philopappos hill in 1986. (Photograph by the author).



and vote on the agenda presented by the Senate, beginning with the first democratic constitution established shortly after 510 B.C. Some exiguous remains of the arrangements for the First Assembly Place are preserved. Part of the retaining wall for the Second Assembly Place (403 B.C.) is preserved. The plan, fig. 175, shows the considerable remains of the Third Assembly Place: the rock-cut speaker's platform, the bema, with rock-cut steps on either side leading to the terrace above; to the west of the bema, a few gigantic blocks of the terrace retaining wall still in place; further down the slope, a curving retaining wall, a remarkable piece of engineering with huge limestone blocks, each weighing many tons, perfectly fitted together. The Third Assembly Place of the Pnyx is dated by most scholars to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. A few scholars, displaying a stubborn predilection for archaeological evidence, prefer to see the Third Assembly Place as an unfinished project of the Emperor Hadrian in the 2nd century A.D.

During the warm weather in the last quarter century chairs have been set up in the auditorium of the Pnyx Assembly Place for audiences attending 'Sound and Light', i.e. evening performances presenting selected highlights of Athenian history by means of a kind of pageant involving illumination of the Akropolis and narrators. The manner of the performance will be discussed below. It may be noted here that the principle of using an ancient meeting place for contemporary gatherings (although with an entirely different function), while keeping the changes in the ancient setting to a minimum, may be considered as a positive step in adapting a historic setting for a new function.

To the south-west of Pnyx hill, just below the brow of the hill, is a plateau which has been left unplanted so that the numerous ancient rock cuttings and beddings are left visible: this is Curtius' "city on the heights". The rock cuttings are for houses, chambers, terraces, narrow streets with steps. Similar rock cuttings abound here and there all over the Pnyx range. The most striking rock cuttings are ruts in a road for wheeled traffic coming up hill in the saddle between Pnyx hill and Mouseion hill. These ruts were carved in the rock in order to keep the wheels in an even line.

The post-Byzantine church of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiariis on the south slope of Pnyx hill is beside the new road following the line of the ancient road in the saddle between Mouseion hill and Pnyx hill. The Greek architect D. Pikionis created a small separate landscaped area here which includes a café with a covered terrace formerly commanding a fine view of the Akropolis, now blocked off by unchecked foliage. About one third (6 ha) of the total landscaped area of sector 3 was designed by Pikionis in the years 1953-1958. His exemplary work in this area is discussed in detail below.

Mouseion hill, the highest and southernmost hill in the Pnyx range, lies SW of the Akropolis. The name is derived either from a sanctuary of the Muses or from the legendary poet-seer Mousaios whose tomb could be seen there, according to Pausanias, or perhaps from a blending of both traditions.

Today the hill is commonly called Philopappos after the tomb of Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos of Commagene on the summit, a philhellenic prince whose family had been the rulers of Commagene. Philopappos had occupied the highest offices both in Rome and Athens, consul and archon. The Athenians granted their benefactor Philopappos the outstanding honour of allowing his tomb to be built (ca 115 A.D.) inside the line of the City Wall on a prominent site visible from the Akropolis and much of Athens. The Philopappos Monument stands inside an ancient fort built around the top of the hill by Demetrios Poliorketes in 296 B.C. Just as in the case of the Themistoklean City Wall in this area, the Mouseion fort was pillaged for building material and now only a few blocks remain. Vestiges of two of its towers are preserved, one about 69 m north of the Philopappos Monument and the other on a lower level to the east.

On the lower SW slope of Mouseion hill a cave was found containing a spring house of the 4th century B.C. with a rock-cut for a votive relief. Another cave at the SW foot of the hill (*Spilia Polemou*) was annihilated by quarrying in 1920.

The following ancient monuments are preserved on the lower west slope of Mouseion hill: an ancient rock-cut inscription for the Mother of the Gods; seven ancient rock-cut thrones (the



Fig. 178 The Hill of the Nymphs and the Observatory from the east. (Photograph by the author).





Fig. 179 Mouseion (Philoppapos) hill replanted with trees (1978). In the foreground, the dense cluster of Athens apartment buildings. (DAI, Athens).

“*Siebensesselplatz*”); a rock-cut tomb, formerly called Kimon’s Tomb; rock-cuttings for tombs and houses.

On the lower north slope of Mouseion hill is the little chapel of Haghios Konstantinos in a wall of which a sanctuary boundary stone of the 5th c. B.C. was found.

In the 1960s the tourist pavillion Dionysos, a café-restaurant, was built at the north foot of the hill across from the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. The architecture is inconspicuous and it enjoys a magnificent view of the Akropolis. Next to it is the sole parking area near the Akropolis, carefully designed with a capacity of about 100 cars.

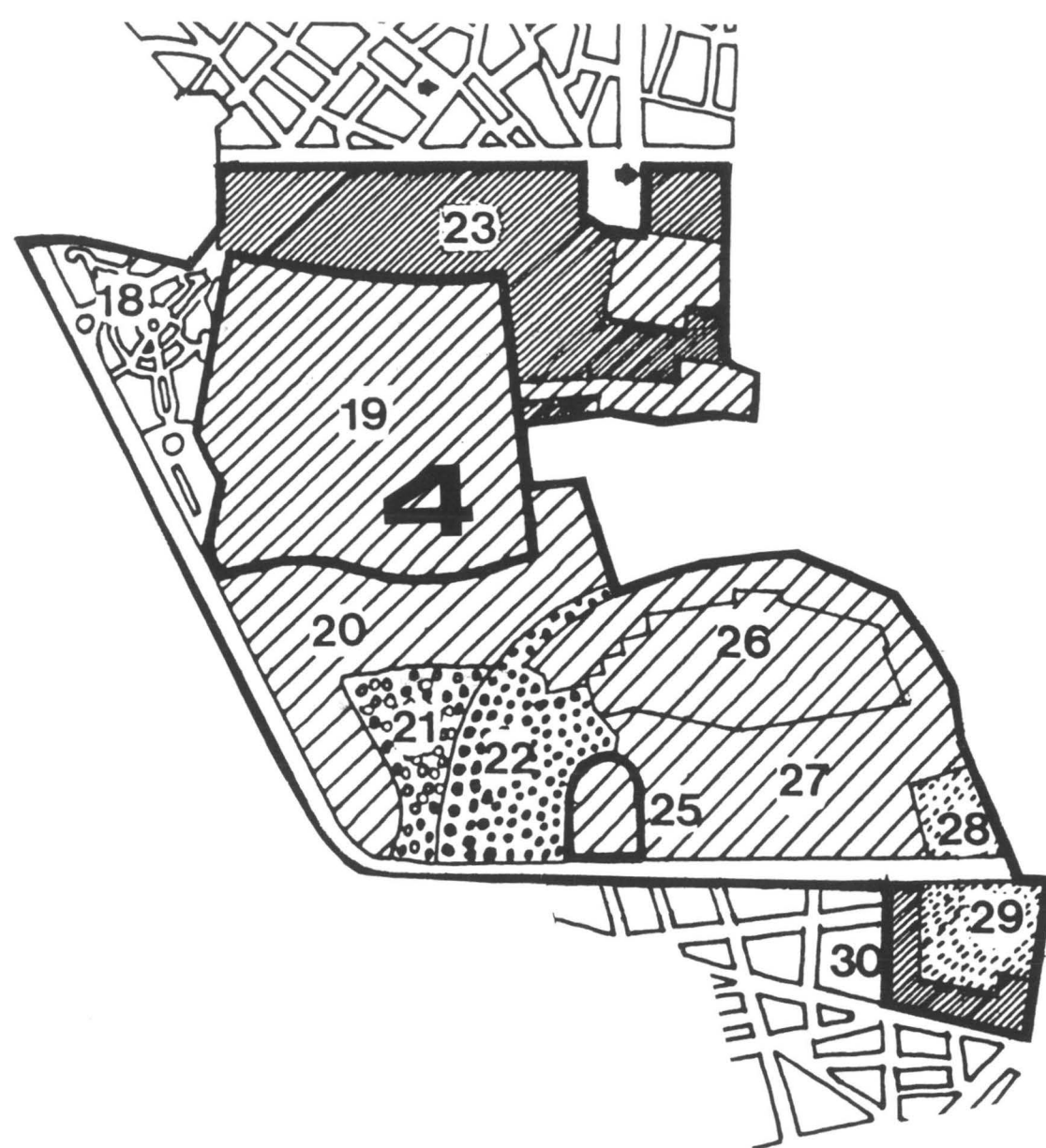
The southwestern lower slopes of Mouseion hill have been replanted but still have not been landscaped like the eastern part of the sector. At the western edge a stretch of wasteland still exists with a depressing modern ruin of an open-air theatre meant to imitate an ancient theatre, begun in the 1930s and abandoned as a result of massive protest on the part of the public and of the scholarly world. In the 1960s another open-air theatre, a light metal temporary construction, was installed in the same area and is now used for folk dance performances in the summer season.

The contours of the Pnyx range and the ancient monuments have been severely damaged by quarrying which, among other things, removed an entire gate in the City Wall just south of the



Observatory where the road lies far below ancient ground level between two high rock scarps created by the quarriers who also removed the so-called Little Pnyx, all of it. The ancient monuments have suffered extensive destruction by pillaging for building materials. There has been a lot of illegal digging on the Pnyx Range. Nevertheless most of the natural contours and significant ancient remains have been preserved. Because of a lack of a general landscaping scheme and policing for the whole area which is frequented by rough types, this historic site is at present a largely unappreciated asset.

Today the overall land-use character of the area may be described as a potential recreational area of historic interest occasionally used for cultural activities. The access routes are poor to non-existent and only one third of the area has already been landscaped.



#### SECTOR 4: AGORA EXCAVATIONS, THE ROMAN AGORA, THE AREOPAGUS, THE AKROPOLIS WITH UPPER SLOPES

18	Theseion Park	2.70 ha
19	Agora excavations	9.00 ha
20	Areopagus and the Areopagus-Pnyx valley	5.50 ha
21	Akropolis west slope, western section	1.70 ha
22	Akropolis west slope, eastern section	2.80 ha
23	Monastiraki area to be expropriated	7.00 ha
24	Roman Agora nad Library of Hadrian	2.00 ha
25	Odeion of Herodes Atticus with approach	0.90 ha
26	Akropolis plateau	3.00 ha
27	Akropolis upper slopes	7.00 ha
28	Odeion of Perikles area	0.75 ha
29	Makriyanni lot	1.25 ha
30	Makriyanni lot expropriation area	1.00 ha
31	Main roads	3.75 ha

Total surface of sector 4

48.35 ha

Sector 4 is centrally located in the crescent of the cultural-historic area, bounded on the west by the Kerameikos area (sector 2), and by the Pnyx range (sector 3), and on the east by Plaka, the old town (sector 5). This sector—one of the largest (48.35 ha) of the 12 sectors—may be considered the most prestigious part of the cultural-historic area, because it has the most valuable archaeological remains of ancient Athenian civilization.

Sector 4 is bounded by the main thoroughfares of Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue to the south (700 m), Apostolou Pavlou st. to the west (800 m) and the western part of Ermou st. (600 m) to the north. These three roads, although serving heavy through traffic, also have to function as access routes to the Akropolis and nearby archaeological sites. Whereas Ermou st. serves as a desirable boundary at the north, separating the archaeological sites from the modern town centre, Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue continuing as Apostolou Pavlou st. cuts the central archaeological area in two in a most unhappy way.

To the east sector 4 adjoins the Plaka, the old town (sector 5) with no major barrier separating the two sectors.





Fig. 180 Air view (1962) of the central part of the cultural-historic area of Athens, including, from west to east: Sector 4, the Akropolis area; Sector 5, Plaka; Sector 6, the urban parks; Sector 7, the Olympieion; and Sector 8, the First Cemetery of Athens. Scale ca 1:7000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



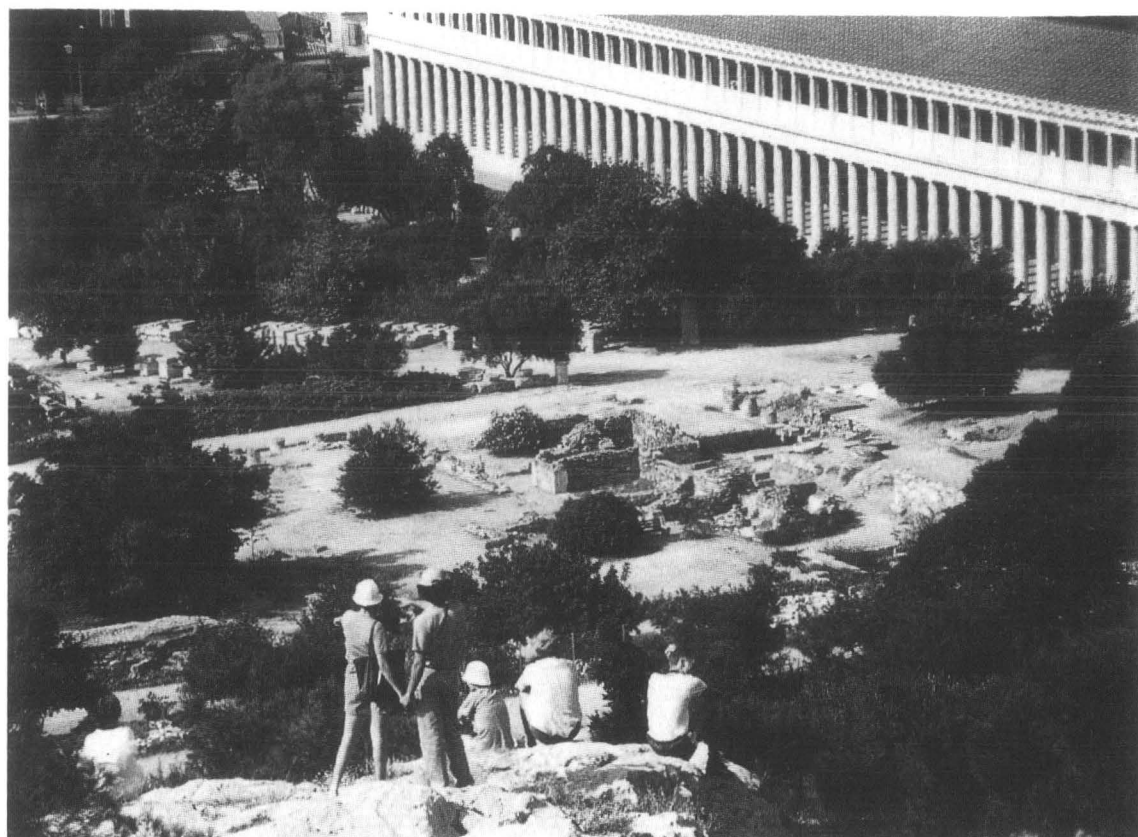


Fig. 181 The Agora excavations in 1985. Detail of eastern section as landscaped with the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos. (Photograph by the author).

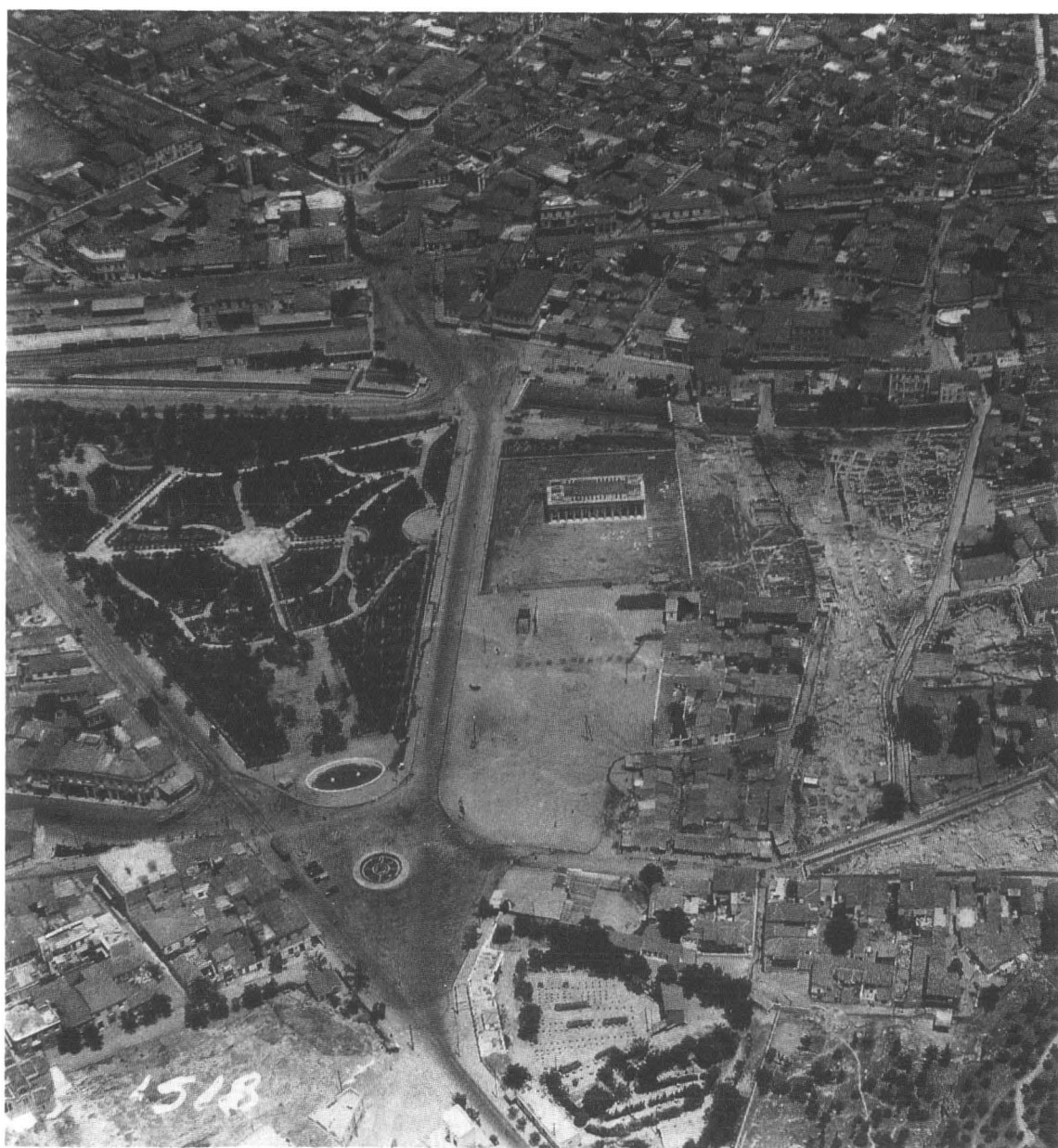


Fig. 182 The Theseion park, the Temple of Hephaistos and the western section of the Agora excavations two years after the excavations began. Air view from the south in 1933. (Greek Ministry of Housing).

The long complicated history of excavation and preservation measures carried out in sector 4 is discussed below. The presentation here is confined to an account of the various topographical features of the different areas within the sector, the wealth of monuments and a survey of their present functions and how they are treated today. The description begins with the NW corner of sector 4, the Theseion Park and proceeds clockwise, ending with the Akropolis precinct.

The Theseion Park is the second 19th century public park in the central Athens area. Created during the last quarter of the century, it repeats the main features of the Royal Garden (see sector 6) on a smaller scale. The park is adjacent to the Temple of Hephaistos (Theseion) and lies on the west slope of the hill of Kolonos Agoraios. It was designed on the spacious esplanade surrounding the Temple of Hephaistos in earlier years, an area which has never been excavated. Although it creates a very pleasant background for the Temple of Hephaistos, its landscape character now presents a stark contrast to the archaeological park of the Agora excavations to the east. The Theseion Park is open to the public on a permanent basis; at its south end is a large terrace with open-air café facilities and the western entrance to the Temple of Hephaistos and the Agora excavations.

The Agora excavations, containing the civic centre of ancient Athens (9 ha), was suitably planted and landscaped in the 1950s after extensive excavations carried out by the American School of Classical Studies. The Athens-Peiraeus railroad trench cuts through the excavations, chopping off the northern end of the Stoa of Zeus, the centre of the Altar of the Twelve Gods enclosure and other monuments, thus not only impeding further excavations, but also greatly detrimental to the visual perception of the Agora area and its accessibility from the modern city centre. The same holds true of several blocks of buildings on present-day Adrianou st., parallel to and north of the railroad trench.

The excavations of the Athenian Agora conducted by the American School of Classical Studies have recovered material and written evidence for 5000 years of Athenian history and the development of the city plan in an unbroken sequence from the late stone age in 3000 B.C. to the present. Thanks to the far-sighted system of recording worked out by Lucy Talcott in 1931 it will be possible for future architects, archaeologists, historians, specialists and students of ancient civilization in general to find answers to questions about Athens that have not yet been formulated and it will be feasible to test previously published results which may be queried by scholars not yet born.

The two buildings standing as landmarks on the site are the Temple of Hephaistos at the west and the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos to the east.

The Temple of Hephaistos, popularly known as the Theseion, crowns the hill of Kolonos Agoraios overlooking the Agora. The temple was clearly designed to be viewed from the Agora, as the unusual arrangement of the metopes shows: they are placed only where they could be seen from the civic centre below, i.e. on the east front facing the Agora with four metopes at the east ends of both the north and south sides, no metopes on the west side and none on the parts of the long sides invisible from below. Another feature of the temple design is the garden planted around it. This is the first time that the arrangement of an ancient garden has become known; the excavators found pits at regular intervals in rows and many of the pits still held fragments of the flower pots in which the shrubs had been planted. Although the plants themselves have not been identified, the pomegranate bushes and other planting around the temple are set on approximately the lines of the ancient garden rows.

The top of the hill of Kolonos Agoraios afforded an excellent view over the Agora where various festivals and gatherings were held. The greatest of the state religious festivals was the Panathenaia and the Athenians standing on Kolonos Agoraios would have had a magnificent view of the Panathenaic procession as it passed through the Agora on the Panathenaic Way up to the Akropolis. Pheidias may well have been inspired to design the Parthenon frieze as he stood here and saw its entire length before his eyes.

The Stoa of Attalos was a gift to the city of Athens by Attalos II, king of Pergamon in the 2nd century B.C. When it was first cleared by the Archaeological Society at Athens in the last century very little of the great two-storey building with its double colonnades and 21 rooms on





Fig. 183 The Agora excavations and the Akropolis. In the background: the Olympieion, the First Cemetery, and Ardettos. Air view, ca 1960. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).



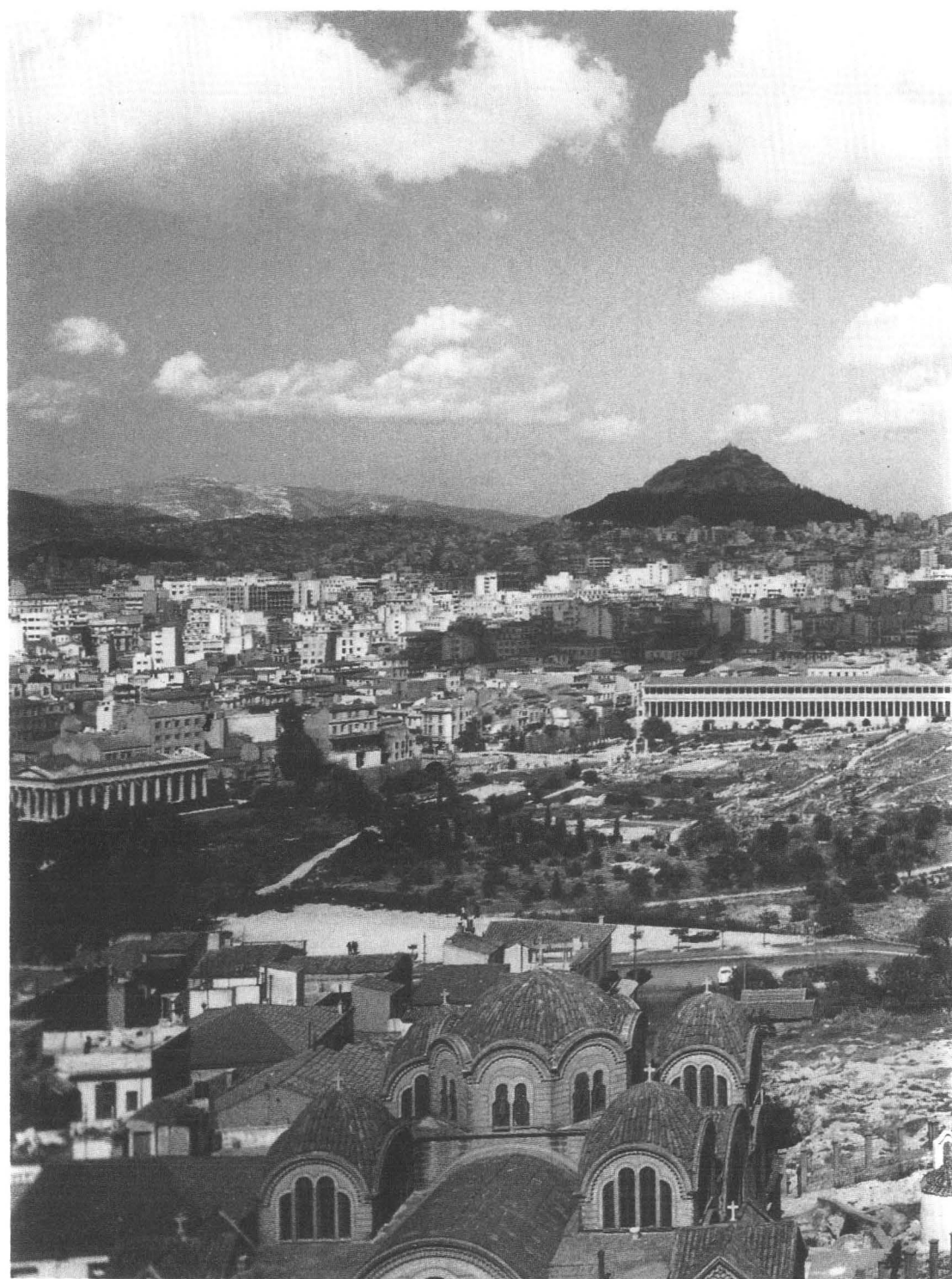


Fig. 184 The Agora excavations seen from above the church of Hagia Marina in the foreground. Around 1960 after the Stoa of Attalos was reconstructed. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).

both floors was still standing; the archaeologists found foundations, a few of the ground floor shop walls with the doorways and the NE corner of the back wall preserved almost to its full height. In 1949-1953 the American School of Classical Studies carried out full excavation and study preparatory to rebuilding the Stoa of Attalos to provide a museum for finds from the Agora excavations, storerooms and workrooms for mending, conserving, photography, inventorying and processing the finds. The Agora excavation architect, John Travlos, made the plans and drawings of the ancient remains which served as a basis for the reconstruction of the building done in 1953-1956 carried out by an American firm. The Stoa of Attalos as one sees it now contains less than 10% of the original material. This venture must be considered as a very controversial restoration measure.

In the last century the general location of the site of the Agora north of the Areopagus was known and partly excavated, but not a single one of the ancient monuments known to have stood in the ancient civic centre was correctly identified. The Archaeological Society at Athens conducted small-scale excavations in the area at various times between 1859 and 1912, and W. Dörpfeld, who had correctly figured out the site of the Royal Stoa, started excavating on the west side in 1896-1897 but abandoned the project. Chance finds also contributed information about the site; the most important of these came from the trench opened up for the Athens-Peiraeus railroad in 1891. The Agora Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens began in May 1931 and continue on at present.

In 267 A.D. the Herulian invaders destroyed the Agora, and towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. much of the material from the wrecked buildings were reused in the new fortifications, the Post-Herulian Wall protecting the Akropolis north slope. The area of the Agora, now outside the City Wall, lay desolate until the 5th century A.D. when a large Roman villa was built in the area formerly occupied by the Odeion of Agrippa and surroundings. In the mediaeval period the entire area was covered by private houses and small industrial establishments. Life went on without interruption in that part of the city and before the beginning of the excavations in 1931 the area was occupied by 365 houses built in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (fig. 187).

The setting of the Agora is fundamentally different from the setting of the other important civic centre of antiquity, i.e. the Forum Romanum. Whereas the irregular configuration of the Palatine and Capotoline and other hills and the presence of impressive remains of ancient buildings still standing give the Forum Romanum an intensely urban and almost dramatic character, the Athenian Agora is a serene space with no architectural volumes, providing an open foreground for the vista of the Akropolis and the western hills in back. This is one of the two modes for providing a visual transition from the modern city to the Akropolis, the other one being the low rise town fabric of the old town of Athens, the Plaka, surrounding the Akropolis on the northern and eastern sides.

From the point of view of town-planning the Agora is relatively isolated and difficult of access for visitors. The entrances on the north and east sides are both almost lost in the maze of streets of the old town. Only the western entrance near the Temple of Hephaistos is easily reached, although there are no parking facilities nearby. Formerly the fenced in Agora site was cut off from the Areopagus and the Akropolis. The Greek Archaeological Service has done a good deed in partially reestablishing the Panathenaic Way as a route from the Agora to the Akropolis, also allowing the visitors access to the ruins on the north side of the Areopagus.

To the north of the Agora and the Athens-Peiraeus railroad is the Monastiraki Area (7 ha), covered by plain low rise, high density fabric occupied by craftsmen, small shops and businesses. The Athens Flea Market is in this area.

There are still serious objections to expropriating this area for archaeological purposes because of its picturesque character and traditional functions. On the other hand it is clear that if the modern buildings were eliminated (and the Athens-Peiraeus railway put underground) the excavations of a very important part of ancient Athens could be completed and new visual and functional direct link between the modern town and the archaeological zone would be created.

The eastern part of this sector (east of the Stoa of Attalos) which is eligible for expropriation also comprises some blocks of the Plaka separating the Agora Excavations from the Roman



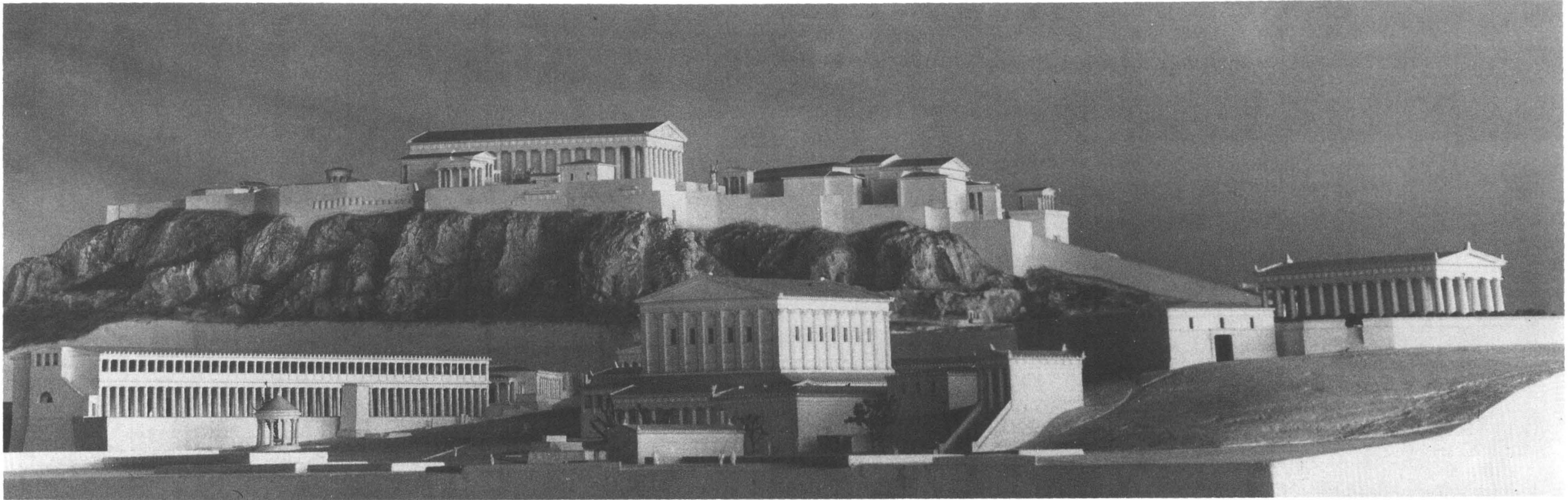


Fig. 185 Model of the Agora and the Akropolis in the 2nd c. A.D. seen from the NW. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).

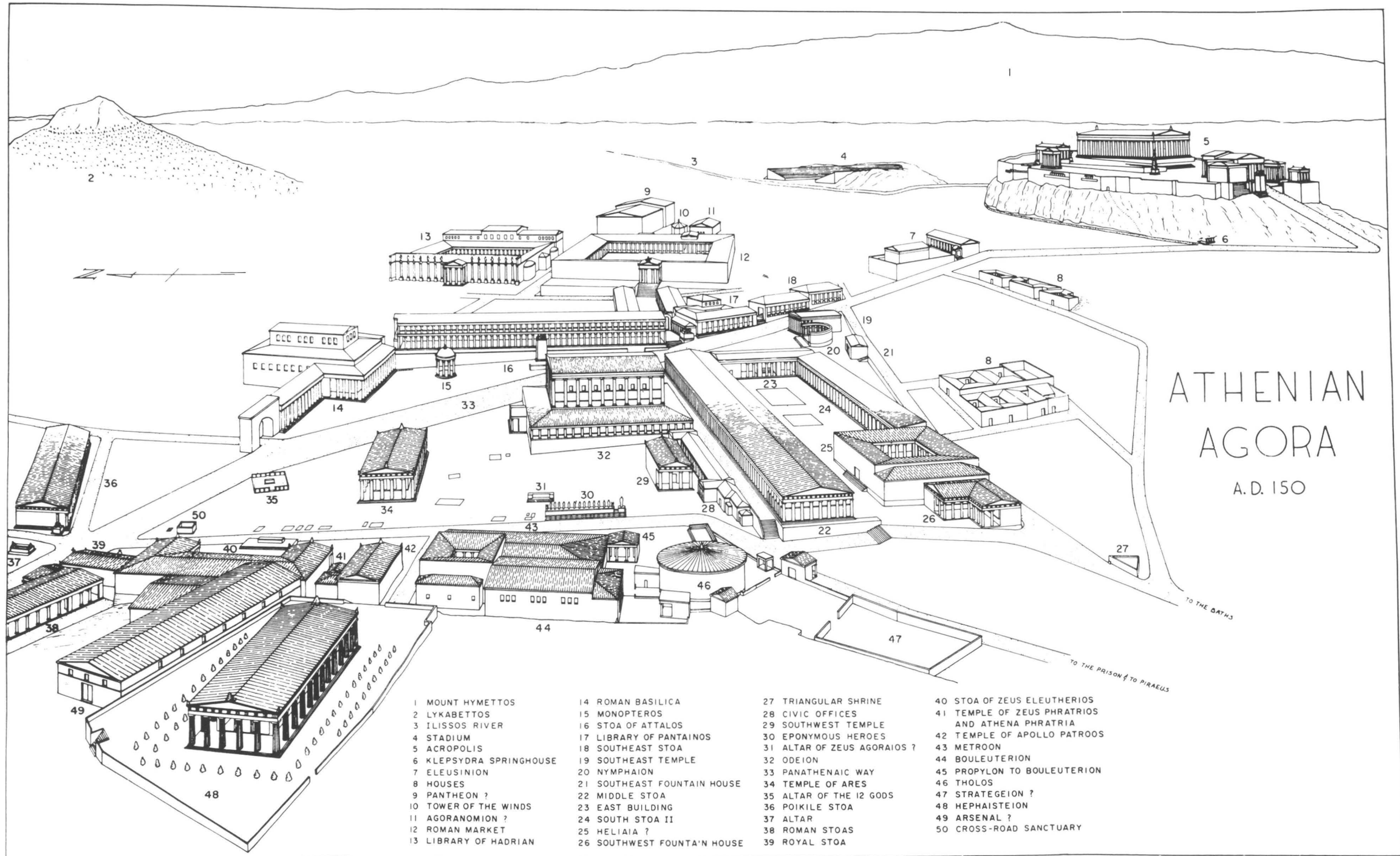


Fig. 186 The Athenian Agora around 150 A.D. seen from the west. Restored drawing by W.B. Dinsmoor, Jr. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).





Fig. 187 The urban fabric of the western part of Plaka, demolished to make way for the excavations of the ancient Agora. Scale ca 1:2000. (ASCS, Athens).

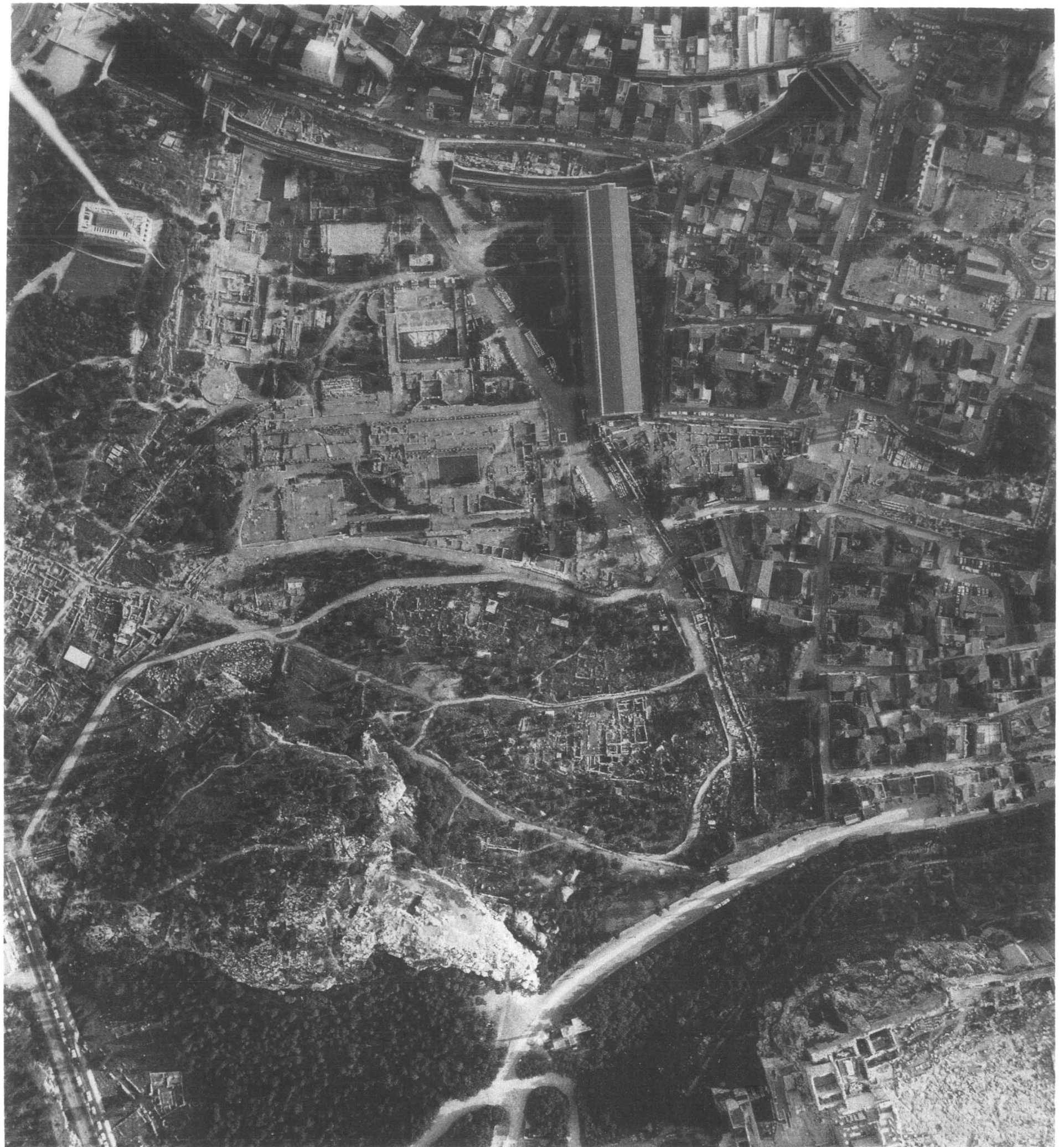


Fig. 188 A rare document: the Agora excavations, Areopagus (left foreground) and the western part of Plaka. Balloon photograph taken in 1964 at an altitude of about 250 m (ASCS, Athens).

Agora. In ancient times the old civic centre, the Agora, was linked to the nearby Roman Agora by a short marble-paved street leading from an arch south of the Stoa of Attalos to the Gate of Athena Archegetis. This marble-paved street was a cross-street linking two ancient arterial roads both radiating out from the Akropolis: the Panathenaic Way and a street descending from the Akropolis north slope, past the Gate of Athena Archegetis and north to a gate in the City Wall.





Fig. 189 The Agora excavations from the west and in back, the old town of Athens, the Plaka (1967). (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 190 The Agora excavations from the south. In the centre, the restored Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles (1967). (Photograph by the author).





Fig. 191 The Roman Agora with the east and south sides of the peristyle. (Taken from a postcard).



Fig. 192 The Roman Agora, Tower of the Winds and the Tzisdaraki Mosque, seen from the west. (Taken from a postcard).

Fig. 193 Western part of the Library of Hadrian enclosed by the dense cluster of 19th century houses in the Plaka. (Photograph by the author).

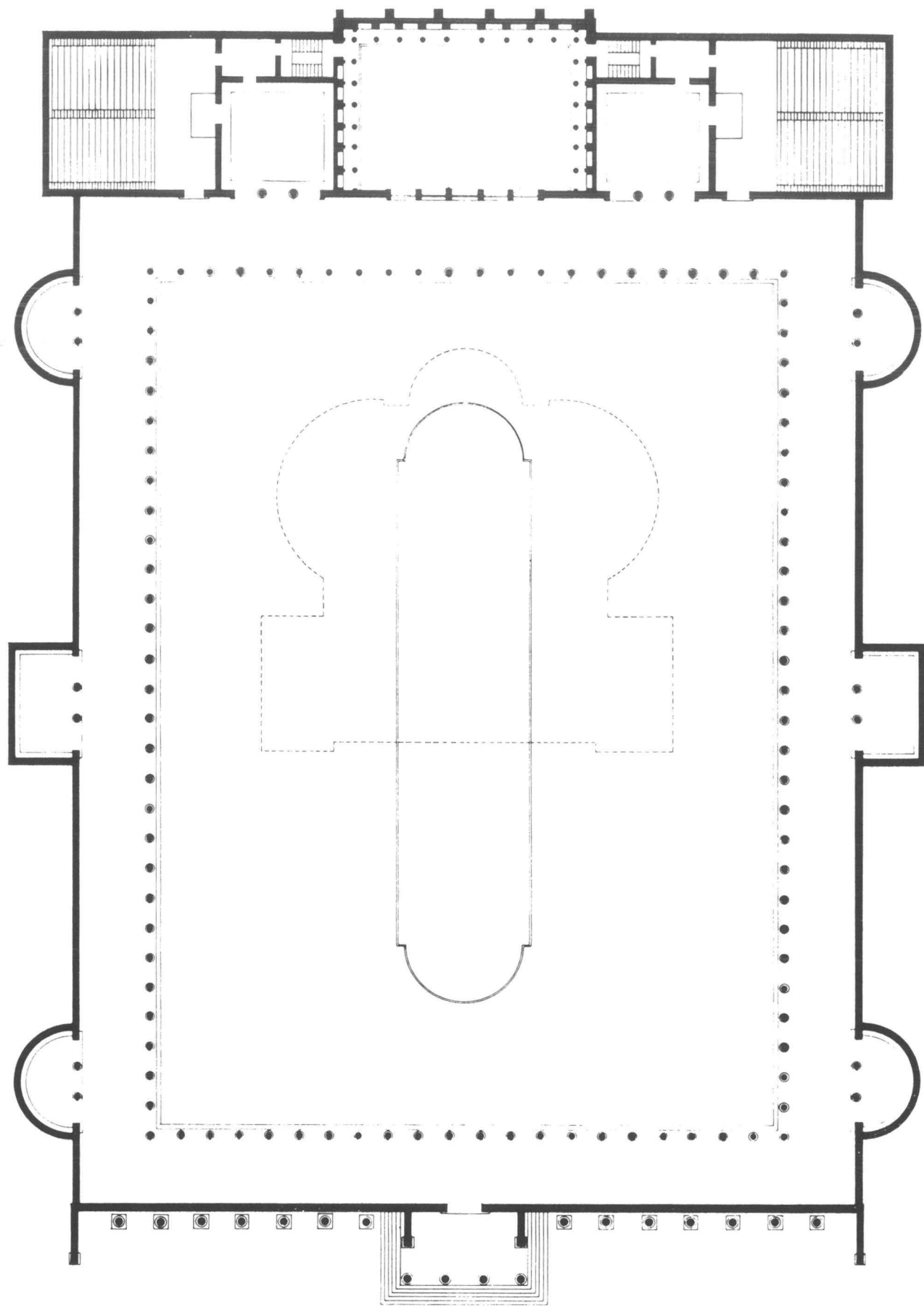


Fig. 194 Library of Hadrian, restored plan. Scale 1:700. (Travlos, 1971, fig. 316).





In spite of the fact that the south edge of the marble-paved cross street has been excavated and is visible, nothing has been done in order to enable the visitor to walk back and forth the short distance between the ancient city centre and the Roman Agora.

The excavation areas of the Roman Agora and the Library of Hadrian are on the western edge of the living old town, the Plaka. Both complexes have been only partially excavated and, although energetic cleaning up campaigns have been carried out at intervals, there is no systematic maintenance schedule and both are rather neglected.

The Library of Hadrian, of paramount interest for its own sake, encloses the not inconsiderable remains of the earliest Christian church in Athens with mosaic floors and also remains of two later churches. The Library of Hadrian is not accessible to the public.

The Roman Agora also encloses highly interesting structures from later periods in Athenian history: the remains of a three-aisled Christian basilica and a 16th century mosque in splendid condition. During the last five years or so theatre performances have been given in the peristyle court of the Roman Agora, although the space is not at all suitable for such activities and the ancient remains inevitably suffer.

To the east of the Roman Agora and inside its zone the octagonal Tower of the Winds (Water Clock of Andronikos Kyrrethes) is preserved in admirable condition. Here is an ancient building of the 2nd century B.C. preserved complete with the original roof, the original sun dials, and the arrangements for the water clock preserved almost intact. At the top is a frieze of the eight winds, each wind symbolized by a male figure with appropriate attributes placed on one of the eight sides of the tower oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. Yet it is used as a storeroom and kept permanently closed, so that no visitor can admire the perfectly preserved ceiling, the inside mouldings, the remains of the early Christian baptistery and the Islamic *mihrab*. The twenty-six drawings of ships and the other fascinating *dipinti* from past centuries on the inside walls, plainly visible in 1953, have now vanished and were not recorded. It would cost little to restore the Triton weather vane pointer so that the reliefs of the eight winds would again be functional and to clean out the inside and make it accessible.

The Library of Hadrian and the Roman Agora were separated from each other by an ancient street, which, although fairly narrow, was one of the most important thoroughfares in ancient Athens. The Library of Hadrian, built in the 2nd century A.D., was most certainly oriented in relation to the earlier Roman Agora and they have the same plan: a huge rectangle with colonnades facing into a central open courtyard. Since the unexcavated north side of the Roman Agora and the unexcavated south side of the Library of Hadrian are lying under modern streets and buildings, one is kept from appreciating the great scope of the ancient buildings themselves and the achievement of the ancient city planners who designed them in relation to their surroundings.

The remains of the two monumental ensembles of the Library of Hadrian and the Roman Agora are still embedded in the western fringe of the very dense cluster of the Plaka district. This offers an interesting juxtaposition of ancient, Byzantine, mediaeval, neoclassic and vernacular features. The townscape in this area has a unique flavour; it conveys a message of urban permanence and continuity in the built environment. The aesthetic and psychological value of this remarkable townscape on the lower north slope of the Akropolis calls for a cautious handling of any future archaeological investigations in the area.

On the northern and eastern sides of the Akropolis the living old town creeps up very high, leaving only a narrow strip with no settlement at the base of the rock. This is where the line of the ancient Peripatos was, a pedestrian ring road going right around the Akropolis, about 1100 m long, passing just below the Klepsydra Spring House, the sanctuary of Apollo Hypoakraios, the Cave of Pan, the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, around the east side of the Akropolis, and high up on the south slope. For the past twenty years there have been plans to reestablish the entire circle of the Peripatos, conceived as a promenade with unique views of the lower town. The main hinderance was the little ramshackle houses of the Anaphiotika settlement high on the northeast slope. After many controversies, about ten of these little houses were expropriated in the early 1980s. The opening of the Peripatos has, however, once more been postponed and the narrow strip of the north slope although replanted is not accessible to the

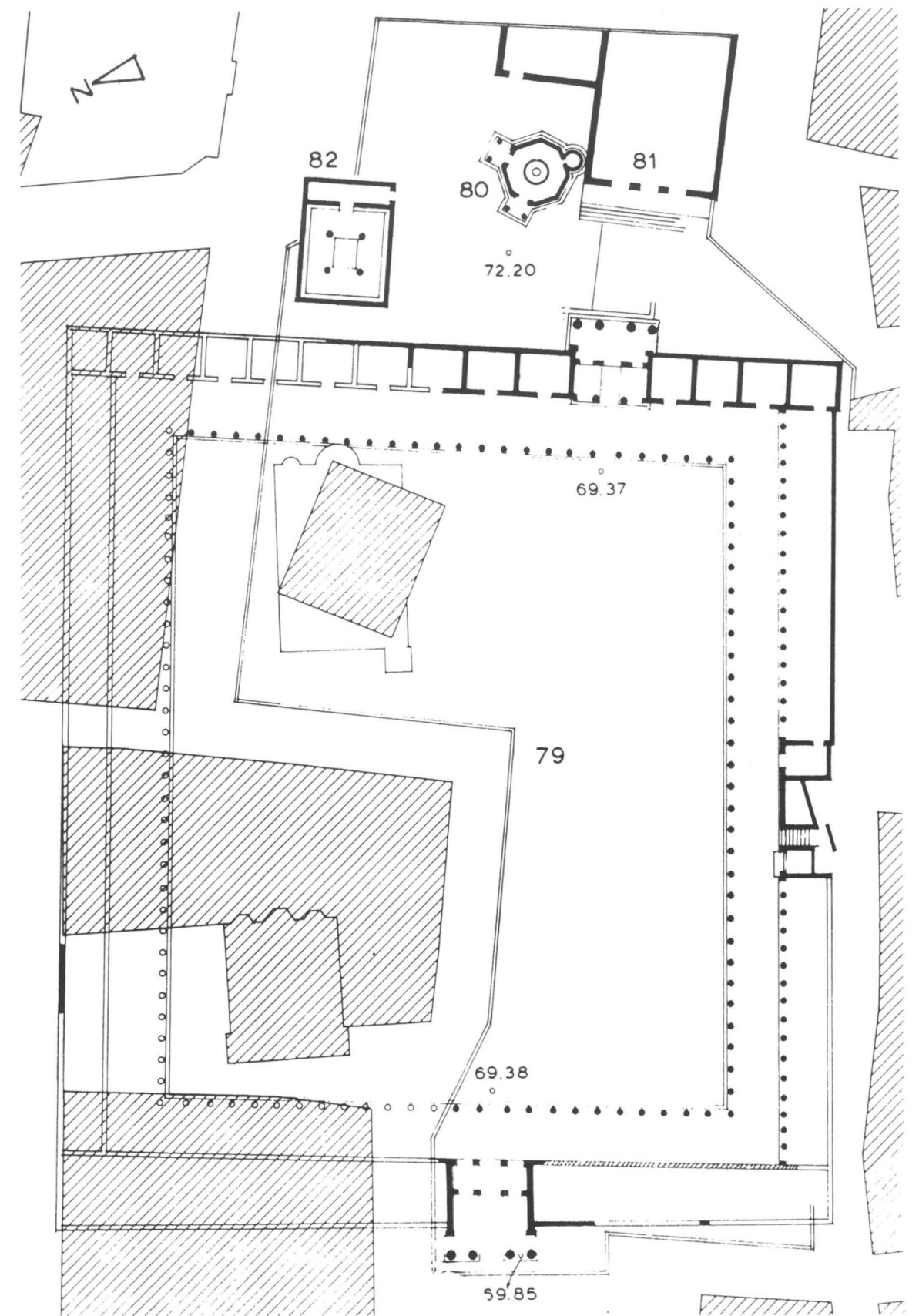


Fig. 195 Plan of the Roman Agora. Scale 1:1000. (Travlos, 1971, fig. 39).

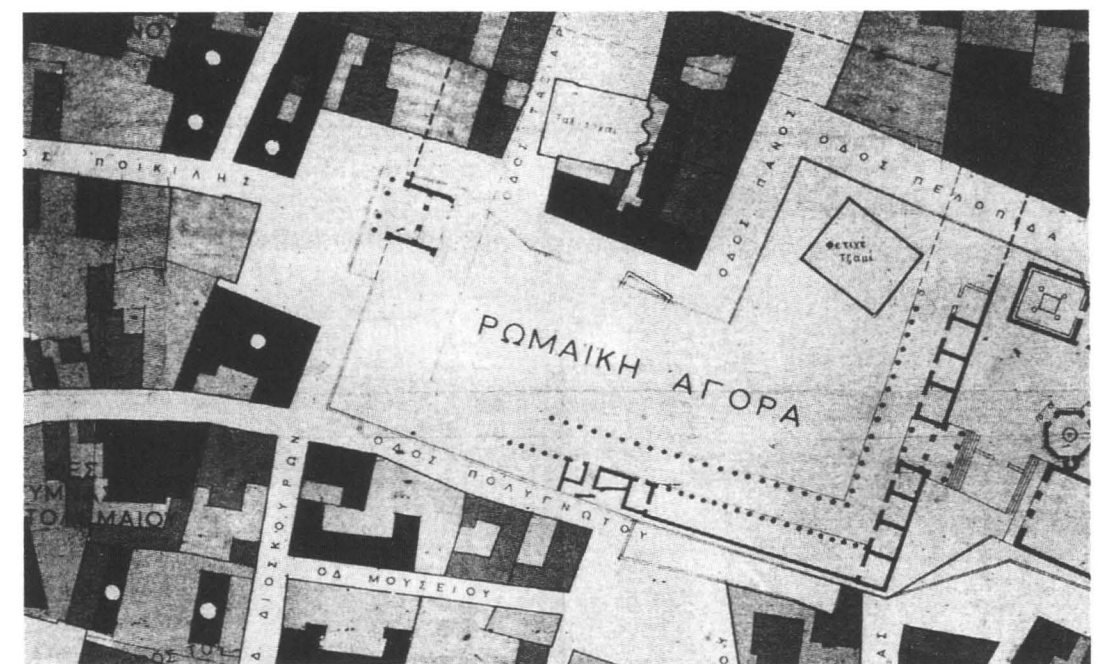


Fig. 196 Plan of the typical urban fabric of the Plaka in the vicinity of the Roman Agora. Scale 1:2000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 197 The Akropolis and the north slope. Scaffolding around the Erechtheion with restoration in progress. On the north slope note the horizontal line of the ring walk around the Akropolis (roughly corresponding to the ancient Peripatos) and the simple houses of the Anaphiotika settlement. View from the NE, 1980. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 198 The Akropolis and the replanted west slope around 1970. (Taken from a postcard).

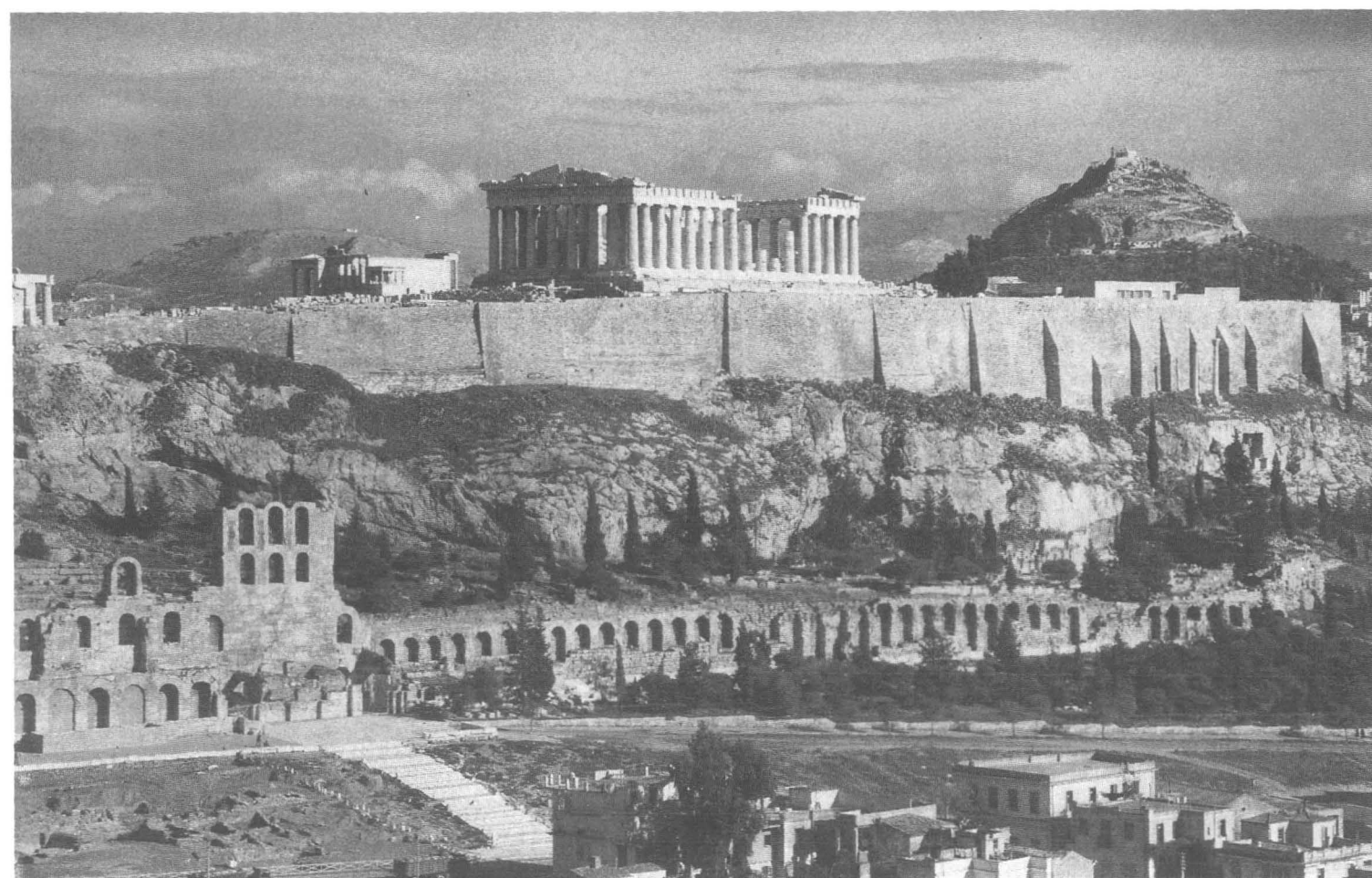


Fig. 199 The Akropolis and the south slope in 1960. (Taken from a postcard).



public. Promenaders coming from the Plaka area and heading for the Akropolis are not allowed to visit this particularly picturesque site.

During the last ten years measures have been taken to consolidate the Akropolis rock slopes at the points where landslides are likely to occur, part of the program undertaken by the Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments.

The Akropolis south slope, replanted but not landscaped, is accessible to the general public. Although a path leads from the entrance on Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue, past the Theatre of Dionysos, up the slope to the Asklepieion and to the Propylaia, few visitors choose to take a stroll in this lovely setting. Only the Theatre itself receives a considerable number of visitors.

The Odeion of Perikles on the SE slope of the Akropolis adjoined the Theatre of Dionysos. Only the NW corner and parts of the north and west walls of this huge building have been excavated. Over twenty years ago about 1 hectare of the area occupied by the Odeion was freed of modern houses and is now available for excavation. Future excavations will not only provide information about the plan and perhaps even the architecture of the Odeion but also one may expect to recover from the upper levels reused architectural members from the nearby structures in the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus.

Apart from the theatre itself, the main structures in the precinct of Dionysos Eleuthereus were the late archaic temple of Dionysos, housing the cult statue of the god; the later temple of Dionysos housing the gold and ivory statue by Alkamenes; a stoa; altars, and many remains of choregic monuments, i.e. elaborate monuments erected to show off the prizes won in choral lyric contests.

In the 1970s there was a proposal to restore the Theatre of Dionysos in order to stage performances of ancient drama. The Theatre has a history of a thousand years of architectural transformations and innovations from the 6th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. Restoring (in fact reconstructing) the Theatre would be unacceptable not only for reasons of conservation 'ethics' but also because in this special case it would be impossible arbitrarily to reconstitute any given historic phase to the detriment of the accumulated forms from other periods.

In the 2nd century B.C. the builders of the Stoa of Eumenes made a vertical cut in the slope and built up a flat terrace in order to create a level site for their building. What one sees now is the retaining wall they built to hold back the earth fill of the slope above, a wall with a series of arches to buttress the retaining wall and create air spaces to keep out the damp, and the back wall of the stoa itself. Considering that little else of the architecture of the Stoa of Eumenes (closely similar to the Stoa of Attalos) has been recovered, the authorities have done well to clear and build up the exact area and level of the terrace so that one can visualize the dimensions and volume of this great building about which it is now known that the marble columns were prefabricated in Pergamon.

The sanctuary of Asklepios, high up on the South Slope of the Akropolis is the sole ancient cult site in Athens which has been spontaneously adopted as a place of religious worship today, where the deeply cherished beliefs of simple uneducated folk won out over the scientific priorities of archaeologists, leading to the only example in Athens where an ancient site was appropriated by the people out of a deeply felt need. The sanctuary of the healer god Asklepios in Athens was founded in the late 5th century B.C. after the Great Plague had killed Perikles and so many other Athenians. The patients who came to the sanctuary performed certain purificatory rites before putting themselves into the hands of the god. The water for these rites came from a spring in a round cave with a narrow entrance. For the purposes of the cult of Asklepios the cave was fitted out with a pebble mosaic floor, a reservoir with a beautifully carved semicircular marble parapet to catch the water trickling out of the rock and a doorway connecting the cave to a Doric stoa where the patients spent the night. In the 5th century A.D. the neo-Platonic philosopher Proklos was still worshipping in the Asklepieion. In the 6th century a large three-aisled Christian basilica was built in the Asklepieion and the round cave with the spring was converted into a baptistery. There is a gap in our information between the 7th and the 19th centuries when the Asklepieion was excavated and the round cave spring-house was rediscovered. At some point a little wayside chapel dedicated to the Virgin of the Life-giving Spring was established in the round cave spring house. In 1952 the chapel contained a single icon and an oil



Fig. 200 The Akropolis south slope in 1958 when the excavations in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus were in progress. (Photograph by the author).

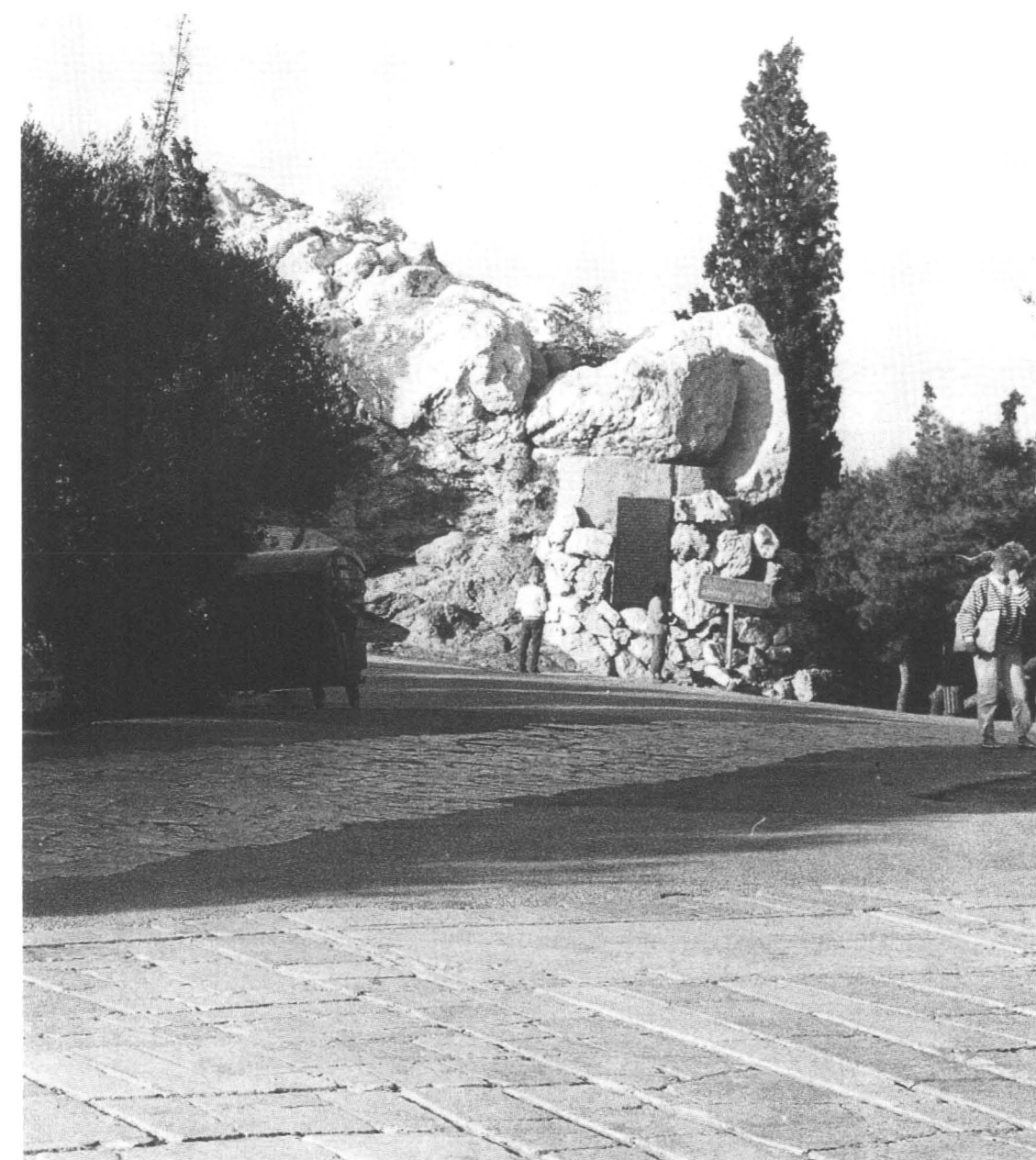


Fig. 201 The Areopagus. The eastern spur with the plaque giving the text of the speech made by the Apostle Paul to the Council of the Areopagus (*Acts* 17.22) (Photograph by the author).





Fig. 202 The Theatre of Dionysos on the Akropolis south slope. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 203 The Akropolis from the SW. On the south slope, the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Stoa of Eumenes. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 204 Ruins of the Stoa of Eumenes on the Akropolis south slope. (Photograph by the author).

lantern. The chapel rapidly became known for possessing water with miraculously healing properties. Over the years an altar was built right over the reservoir, the icons multiplied, rugs covered the floor and valuable appurtenances were added. Tourists passing by removed icons and whatever they could lay their hands on. The Archaeological Service had to install a strong door with a sturdy lock. The Spring House is permanently closed to visitors, and the only ones to have unrestricted access are the faithful of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The topmost row of the Theatre of Dionysos seats is at the base of a cave in the Akropolis cliff. In the 4th century B.C. a façade was built across the mouth of the cave designed to create the effect of a temple-like structure supporting the prize tripod won by Thrasyllus in 325 B.C. The Thrasyllus Monument survived almost intact until the Greek War of Independence when it was destroyed by bombardment.

The Odeion of Herodes Atticus at the western end of the Akropolis South Slope has been restored in the 1950s to serve as a theatre for the Festival of Athens held annually from July to September. The Odeion was a roofed concert hall seating 5000 spectators, built in the 2nd century A.D., for performances of solo singers accompanied by lyre or flute, and for solo lyre or flute performances. It has been restored as an open-air theatre for performances of plays, concerts, opera, ballet and other types of dance, and public events. The restoration has been done with care and discretion, with remarkably little damage to the original material, and it works. It is sad that the Odeion was not measured, drawn up, photographed and recorded, stone by stone, before the restoration sealed off the information forever.

In connection with the restoration of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus the line of Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue had to be moved to the south. This avenue originally ran right past the façade of the Odeion, so that any noise on the street, for instance loud talking, would have been a disturbance during performances. Moving the street added a broad strip of land between the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Theatre of Dionysos to the archaeological zone of the Akropolis South Slope. Before creating the stepped approach to the Odeion and landscaping the area, part of this strip was excavated, uncovering houses and remains of all periods from prehistoric times through the Byzantine period. The most striking find was the sanctuary of Nymphe, the only sanctuary excavated in Athens where an unbroken history of five hundred years from the 7th to the 2nd century B.C. has been recovered.

Across the street from the Theatre of Dionysos, on the south side of Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue is a kind of exclave of sector 4, comprising areas 29 and 30. The old Military Hospital built by von Weiler on this site in 1836 has recently been renovated and now houses the Centre for Akropolis Studies which has on show models of the Akropolis from 3000 B.C. to the 17th century A.D.; plaster casts of the Parthenon metopes, frieze and pediments and exhibitions designed to inform the public about the different aspects of the work of the Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments.

The upper west slope of the Akropolis (area 22) was carefully landscaped by D. Pikionis in 1953-1958 along with the neighbouring area of the Mouseion and Pnyx hills. A new paved main access road and a system of pathways leading to the entrance of the Akropolis was projected and the area was replanted.

The lower Akropolis west slope (area 21) is a replanted but rather neglected area which forms an entity with the ancient residential area in the valley between the Areopagus and Pnyx and the rocky hill of the Areopagus.

Areopagus hill is traditionally the site where the Apostle Paul explained his creed to the Council of the Areopagus (*Acts* 17.22) and converted a member of the Council, Dionysios the Areopagite, who is the patron saint of Athens in both the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches. Pilgrims naturally come to pay their respects and set foot on the hill with its sacred associations. Ancient rock-cut steps on the south side of the hill lead to the summit 114 m above sea level.

The valley between the Areopagus and the Pnyx was excavated by Dörpfeld 1892-1897. The excavations brought to light an ancient street, 4.00 m wide and 250 m long, bordered by private houses and sanctuaries. The authorities have allowed this precious part of the ancient town to go to ruin: mosaic floors destroyed by vandals; inscriptions left on the site removed; house plans





Fig. 205 The Akropolis from the SW. On the left, the restored auditorium of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and in the foreground the area excavated in the 1950s. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



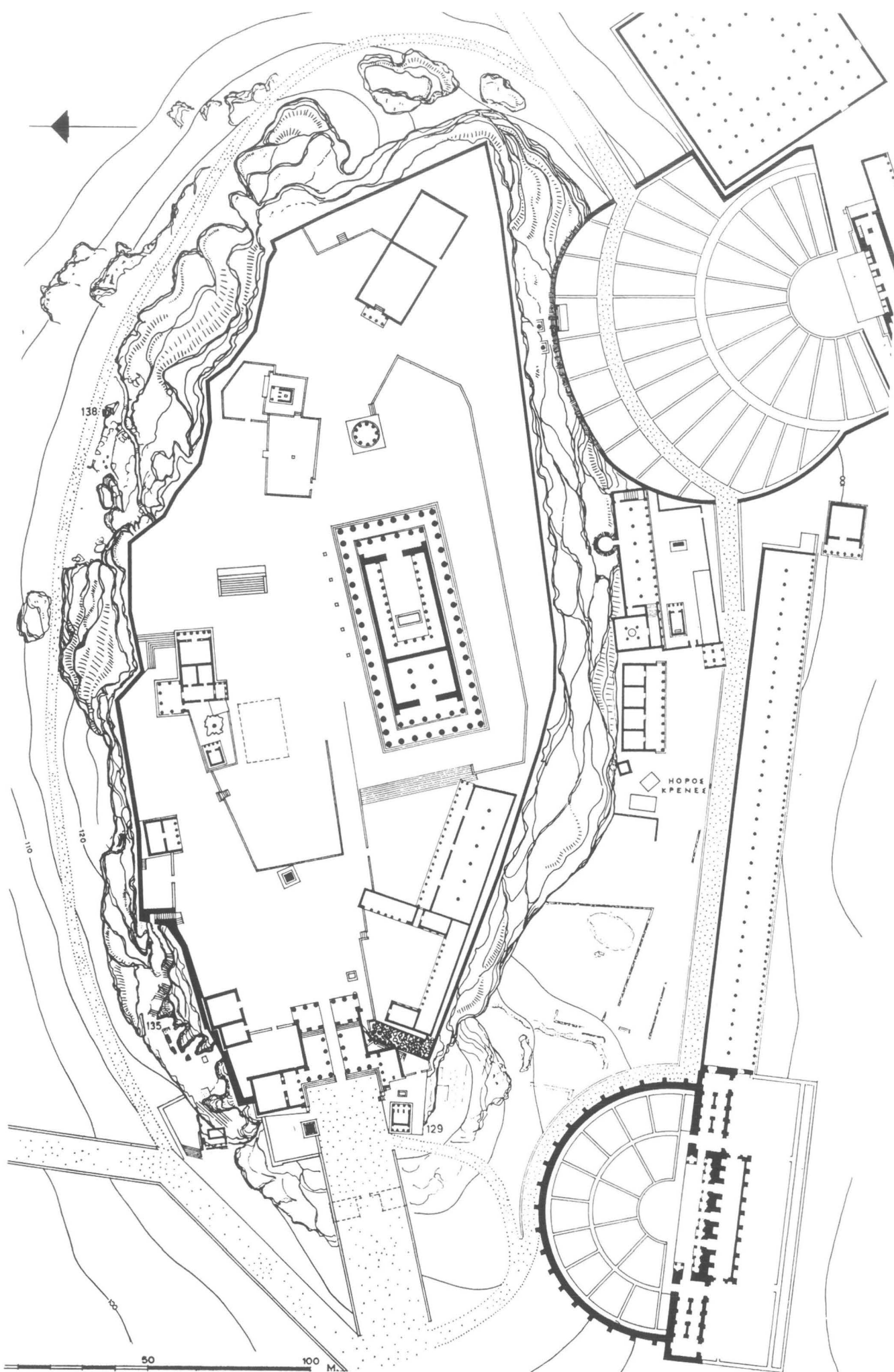


Fig. 206 Restored plan of the Akropolis in the 2nd century A.D. Scale ca 1:2200. (Travlos, 1971).

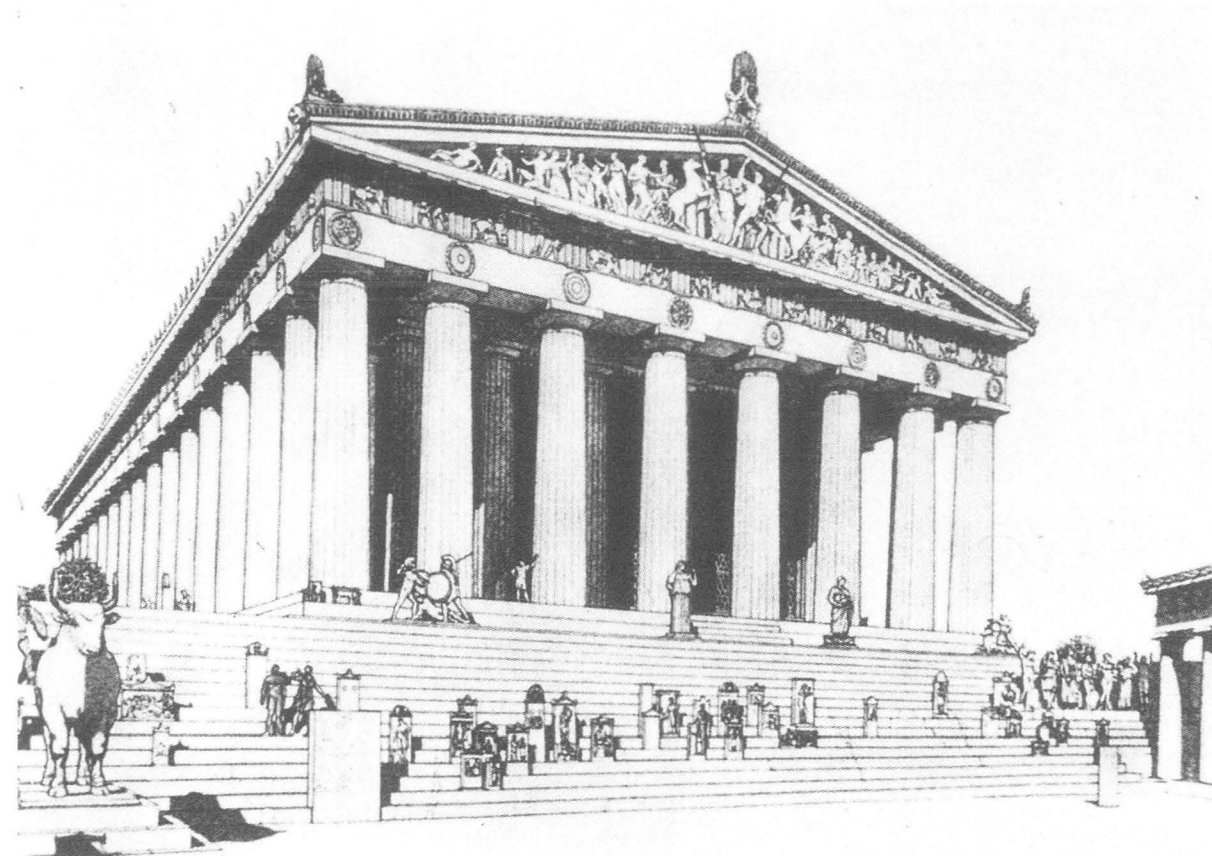


Fig. 207 Parthenon west front, restored drawing by G. P. Stevens.

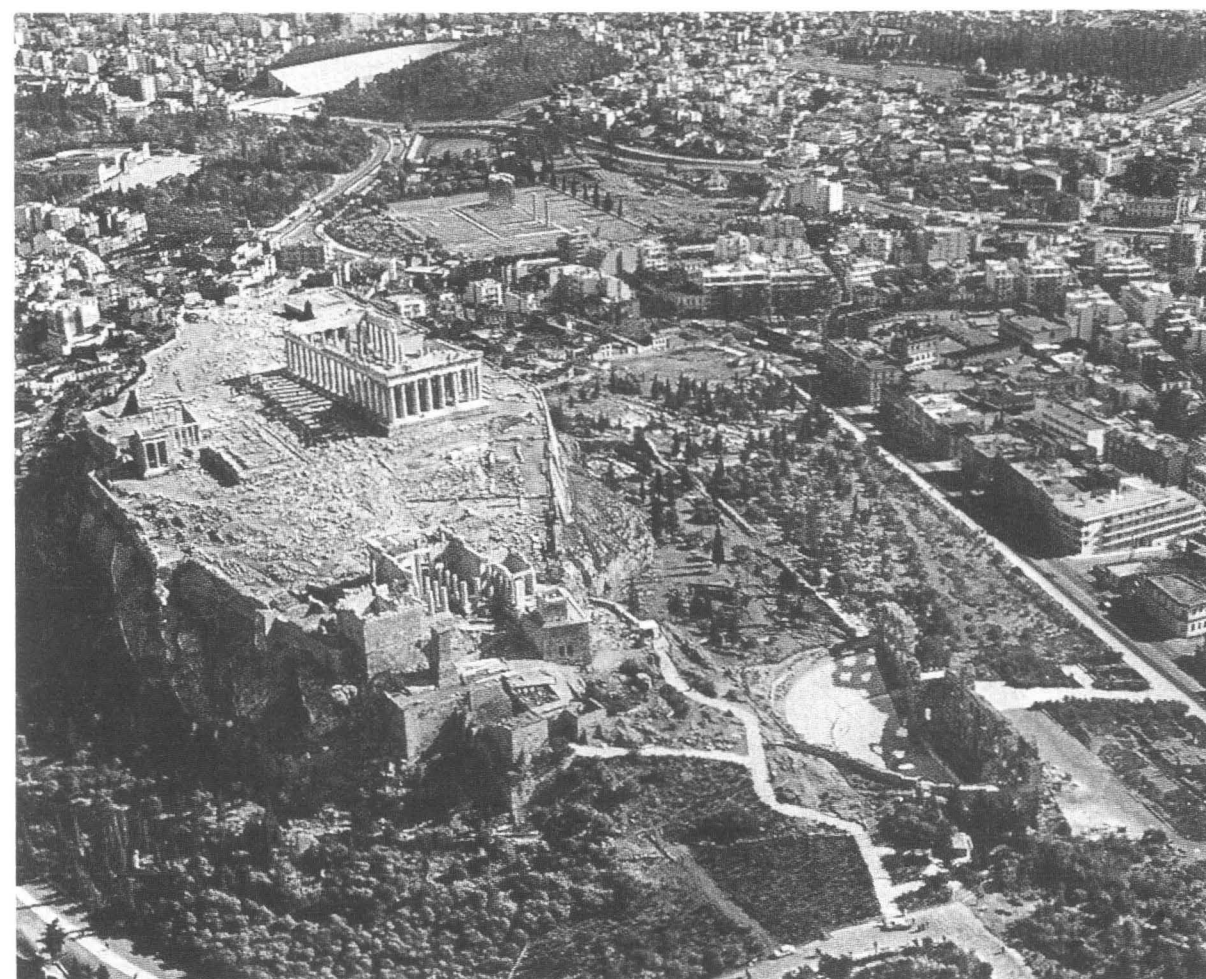


Fig. 208 Air view of the Akropolis and surroundings from the NW. (Taken from a postcard).



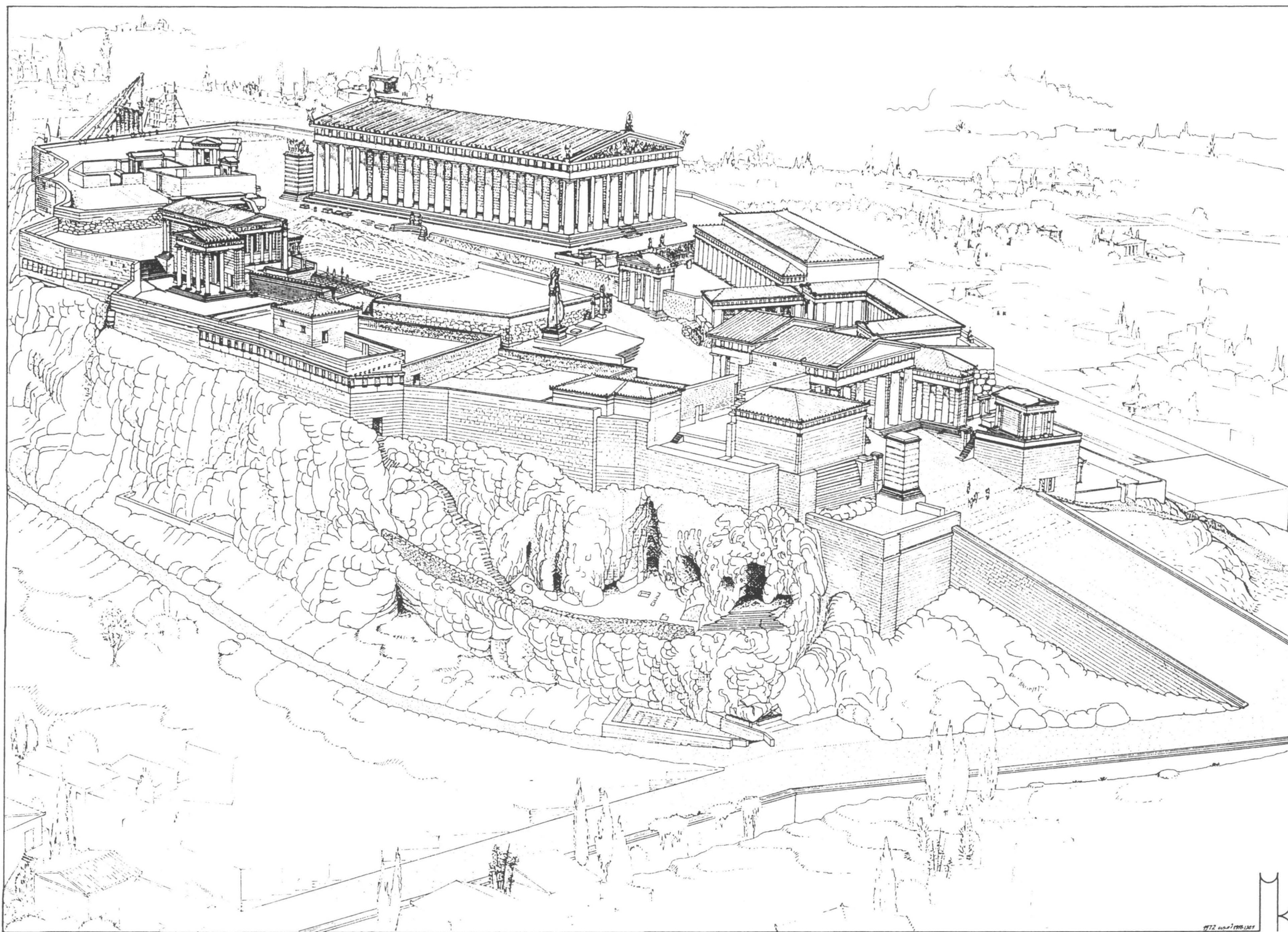


Fig. 209 Perspective drawing of the Akropolis by M. Korres, 1972.





Fig. 210 Erechtheion South Porch. Detail of the head of a Caryatid. (Photograph by W. Hege, 1928; DAI, Athens).

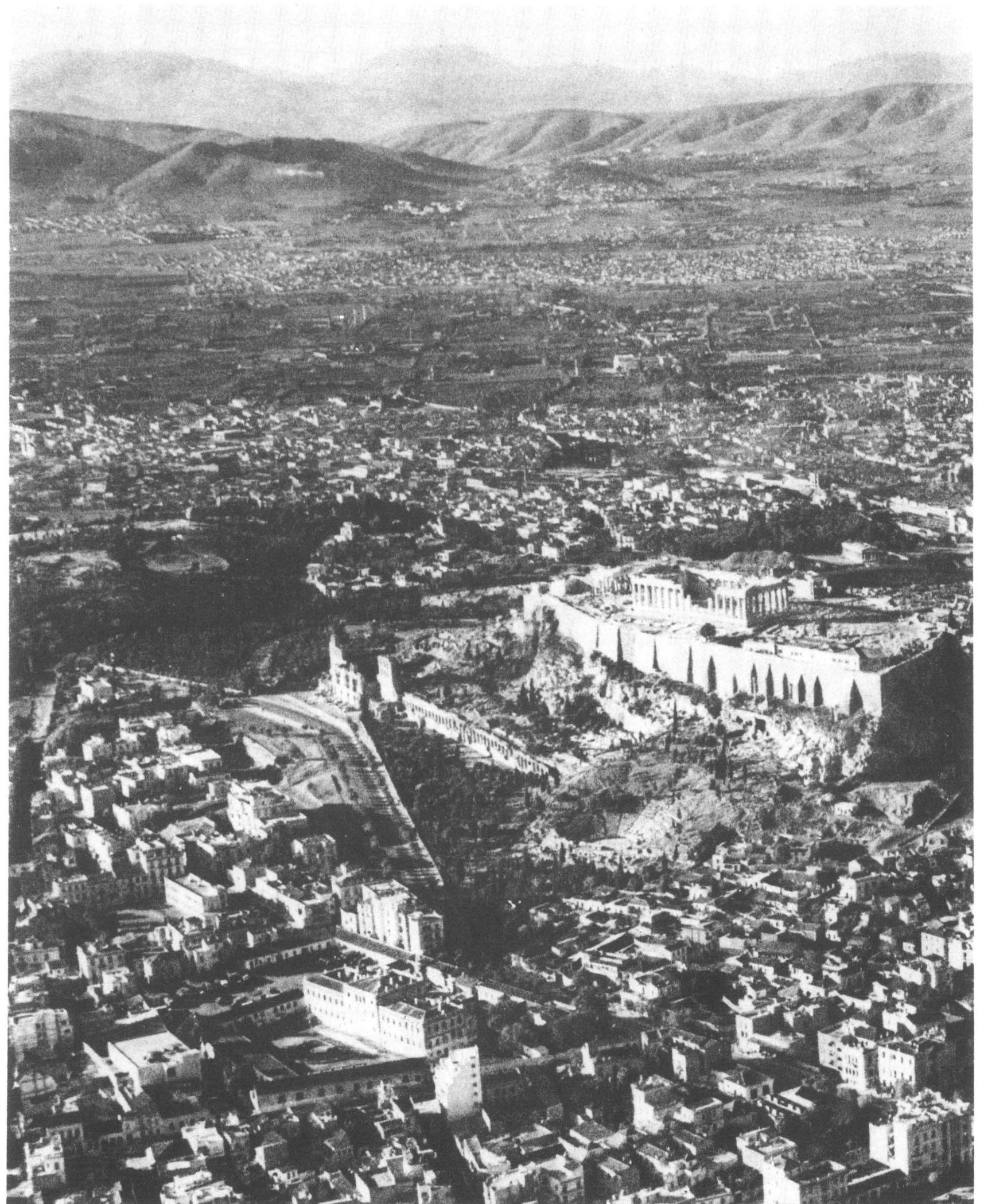


Fig. 211 The Akropolis, the south slope and the Pnyx in the 1950s. (Merian, 1959).

and sanctuaries obliterated by vegetation; roots of shrubs and trees left to crack open and overturn walls. It is not safe to enter alone. The entire triangle bounded by Apostolou Pavlou st. to the west, the Agora Excavations to the north and the Akropolis access road to the east is a rather indefinite area, permanently open to the public, but the state of neglect, the lack of supervision, the lack of pathways and easily recognizable entrances make a visit to this archaeological no-man's land quite difficult.

The Akropolis hill rises 156 m above sea level and 70 m above the center of the town, with



its summit forming an uneven plateau, roughly oval in shape with a maximum breadth of 152 m and maximum length of 350 m. The plateau is the result of artificial levelling, mainly in the 5th century B.C. When the first settlers came at about 3000 B.C. in the late Neolithic period, the Akropolis was a nubby hill like the other hills in what is now Athens and one has to ask oneself why the first settlers chose the Akropolis as a nucleus in preference to the similar surrounding hills. The answer is water. The other hills lack water. The Akropolis is a limestone cap, here and there imperceptibly shading off into a fairly soft conglomerate, on top of a layer of soft crumbling marl. Rain seeps down through the pores and crevices in the rock until it reaches the impervious clay layer of marl. Right round the Akropolis water trickles out at the seam dividing the limestone cap from the marl. In addition, the early settlers found that all they had to do was to dig very shallow wells in the marl layer to tap an underground vein of water. The action of the wind and rain hollowed out the marl from under the limestone cap, thus creating the caves and grottoes on the Akropolis slopes which must have become sanctuaries at a very early time indeed.

The Akropolis has been continuously inhabited since 3000 B.C. Some towns in the Near East go back to a much earlier period but none has a record of continuous habitation for well nigh five thousand years. There is no gap of even a half a century where the Akropolis was deserted. From earliest times continuing on into the twentieth century the Akropolis has functioned as a settlement site, as a fortress, as a sanctuary, as a burial ground and nowadays as an outdoor museum, with each successive generation dealing with the earlier structures according to the practical demands and religious and artistic aims of the moment: creating new buildings, cannibalizing old buildings, demolishing, adapting, repairing, renovating, cleaning up after enemy action, not to forget the depredations caused by vandals. Knowledge of Akropolis history is the key to understanding the overwhelming problems confronting the Greek authorities who began taking thought for the future welfare of the Akropolis while the War of Independence was still being fought.

Then and now the questions are: what is the function of the Akropolis, what kind of order is desirable, what does one wish to preserve, what kind of rebuilding and how much restoration is to be done, what kind of excavations are to be undertaken; how are the finds to be preserved, studied, stored and displayed; and, given the fact that there are now twelve thousand visitors a day on the Akropolis in August, how is one to set up a *modus vivendi* whereby the visitors are benefited without harming the monuments.

A brief survey of the main elements that have to be taken into account by the administrators of the Akropolis will give an idea of the magnitude and the intricacies of their task.

— The Akropolis rock floor preserving the following features: the cuttings for the Panathenaic Way and for a second street leading from the gateway to the Erechtheion; the beddings for the colossal statue of Athena Promachos; the beddings for the colossal statue of the Trojan Horse; beddings giving the plan and dimensions of buildings and structures some of them otherwise unknown; cuttings for votive monuments, and rock-cut inscriptions.

— The Akropolis fortification wall and gates. The Akropolis fortification wall has been constantly in use and constantly repaired from the 13th century B.C. to the 19th century A.D. This great historical monument still stands and has never been published *in extenso*.

— Slight remains of a Mycenaean palace. Slight but definite remains of a temple of the 8th or 7th century B.C. Considerable remains of architecture and sculpture of a mid-6th century B.C. temple of Athena, nothing *in situ*. Foundations, architecture and sculpture of a late archaic temple of Athena, around 500 B.C. Foundations, steps, floor and lower column drums of the Older Parthenon destroyed by the Persians while under construction. The Parthenon. The temple of Athena Polias, known as the Erechtheion.

— A mid-5th B.C. century sanctuary of Athena Nike with a 6th century B.C. altar underneath the temple of Athena Nike. The Propylaia and remains of an earlier gateway, the Old Propylon.

— Remains of minor structures of the classical period, including several stoas.

— The major remains of the hellenistic period are two towering bases for chariot groups of the 2nd century B.C.: one is the Agrippa Monument, still in place; the other stood at the north-



Fig. 212 The Propylaia East Porch. (Photograph by the author).

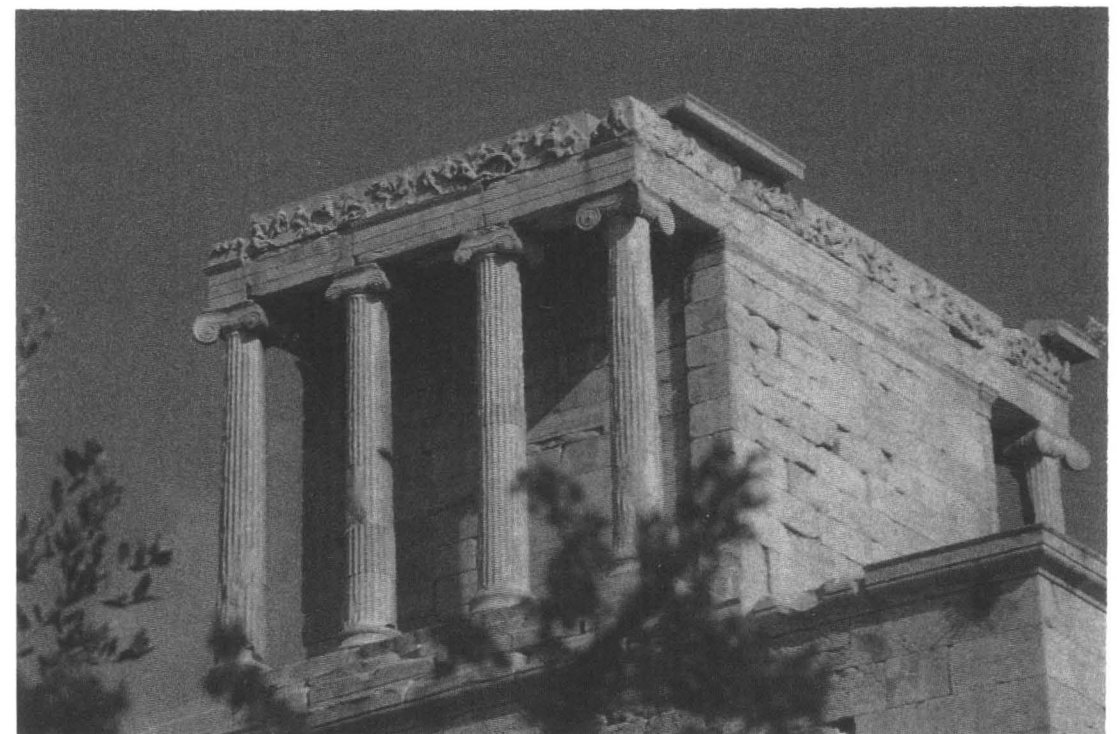


Fig. 213 The Temple of Athena Nike from the SW. (Photograph by the author).

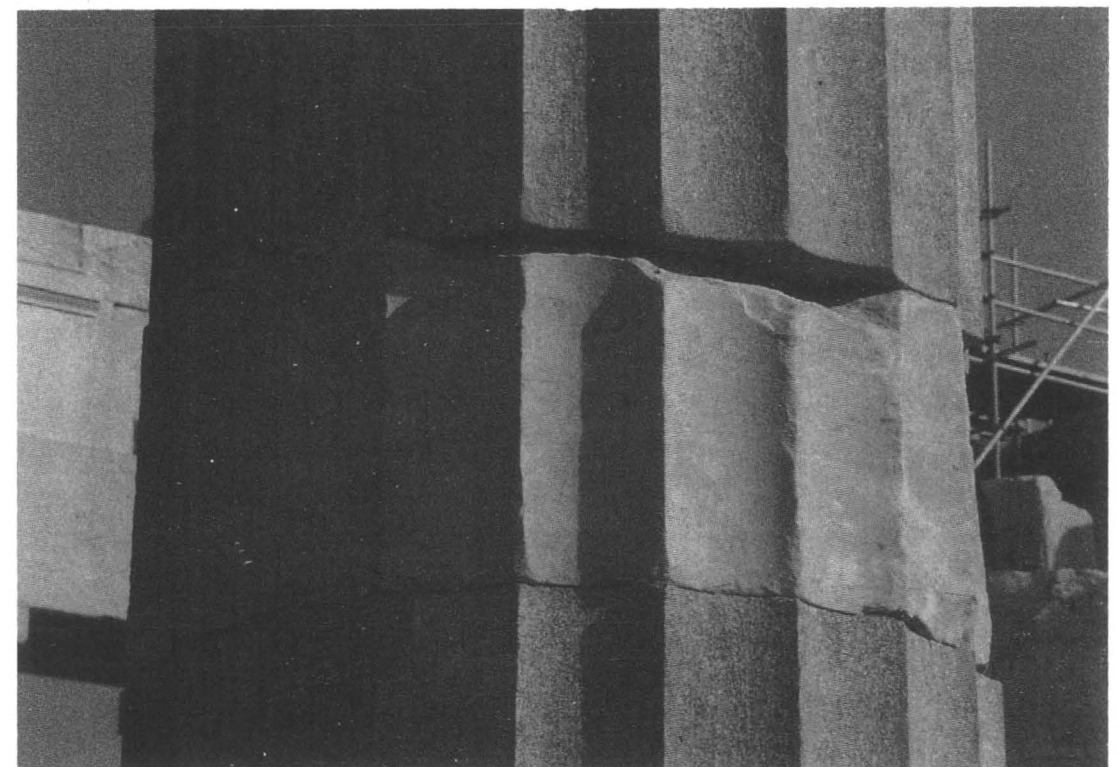


Fig. 214 Parthenon column, detail of a restoration by Balanos. (Photograph by the author).





Fig. 215 Air view of the Akropolis from the south in 1970 (Greek Ministry of Housing).

east corner of the Parthenon and has been recovered from *disiecta membra*.

— The architectural material of the monopteros of Roma and Augustus with the dedicatory inscription.

— Important remains of the early Christian churches in the Parthenon and the Erechtheion.

— Carved marble architectural fragments of Byzantine churches.

— Traces of a mediaeval tower of the 13th century, demolished in 1875. Traces of other mediaeval installations and structures in the Propylaia.

— Remains and traces of houses and cisterns of the Ottoman period, partly recorded in pictures.

— Retaining walls built in the 19th and 20th centuries. Museum, storerooms, offices and workrooms built in the 19th and 20th centuries with new constructions continuing up until the time of writing.

— The finds: inscriptions, sculpture, pottery, bronzes, terracotta figurines, lamps, rooftiles.

The Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments, founded in 1975 under the auspices of the Greek Ministry of Culture, is an interdisciplinary group composed of architects, engineers, archaeologists, geologists, chemists, physicists, conservators. Separate programs, each with its own working group, were set up for the four great classical monuments: the Erechtheion, the Parthenon, the Propylaia and the temple of Athena Nike. Years of preparation and planning preceded each intervention. The work on the Erechtheion has been completed, an amazing piece of work that righted the many wrongs perpetrated by previous restorations and healed the old wounds. To cite just one of the many technological achievements: whereas in former rebuilding Erechtheion blocks lying around on the ground were reset without regard to their original positions, now the architects have determined the exact original position for each block, to which side it belongs, north, east, south or west, to which course it belongs, and to which position within the course.

The Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments is also coping with many other aspects of Akropolis caretaking. Thousands of fragments of architecture lying around in the marble dumps for over a century are being inventoried. An accurate plan of the rock floor has been made.

During a great part of every year the visit to the Akropolis plateau begins and ends with a bottleneck at the two gates near each other at the western approach, each with a small inadequately manned ticket office. Once on the Akropolis plateau the sole entrance and exit is through the Propylaia. This functional accessibility pattern allows for a dramatic spatial experience but also involves congestion as incoming groups and individuals have to wangle their way through outgoing groups and individuals. Alternative solutions have not been envisaged so far.

Although sector 4 is to be considered as an urban area of profound cultural richness in this world, this site is far from being carefully maintained and landscaped in its entirety and it also lacks the indispensable unification of its several parts which would allow the creation of a real open-air museum of unique value.

An additional drawback is the heavy traffic and uncontrolled parking on Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue and Apostolou Pavlou street bordering this most important archaeological sector of Athens. A lack of well-laid out, well-marked walks for pedestrians between the Akropolis Area and the Plaka isolates sector 4 from the urban fabric of the modern city.

The functional role of this sector in the pattern of modern city life is a problematic mixture of archaeological research activity, sightseeing (i.e. tourism) and recreation (promenading, cultural events). The integration of these somewhat mutually incompatible functions into an harmonic and viable synthesis is a most difficult task, still unsolved.





Fig. 216 Akropolis and the Plaka district on the east and north slopes. (Photograph by W. Hege, 1928; DAI, Athens).





SECTOR 5: PLAKA, THE OLD TOWN OF ATHENS

32	The old town	31.60 ha
33	Small excavation areas	0.40 ha
34	Peripheral roads	2.00 ha
Total area of sector 5		34.00 ha

Sector 5 comprises the part of the old town nearest to the Akropolis, commonly known as the Plaka (although it would be more correct to speak of the Rizokastro area). The sector today is governed by strict regulations for urban preservation, following several decrees promulgated one at a time during the last decade imposing restrictions on land use, vehicular traffic and architectural style.

To the east sector 5 is separated from sector 6 (National Garden, Zappeion Gardens and the garden of the Presidential Mansion) and sector 7 (Olympieion and Ilissos area) by Amalias Avenue which, as the main access to the centre of town from the south, carries heavy traffic.

On the northeastern side of the Akropolis, the Plaka crescent is a strip about 350 m wide, and about 800 m long. The ground is steepest near the base of the Akropolis rock and levels out as one draws away to the north.

The background information about the lively debates on the future of this sector and on its vicissitudes are presented elsewhere in this study. Today the Plaka has been rehabilitated and its survival as a traditional living city quarter is a given fact, although there is still controversy as to the extent of additional archaeological investigations at various points.

Of the 80 ha of the badly damaged old town of Athens in 1832, as shown on the Kleanthes-Schaubert plan, only about 16 ha are still to be considered as part of the Plaka area today, while about 10 ha have already been demolished to make way for the excavations of the ancient civic centre and of the Roman Agora. The remaining 54 ha have undergone drastic changes and been absorbed in redevelopment of central down-town Athens in the 20th century.

Today the total surface of the Plaka area is 32 ha, of which 16 ha (mentioned above) are what remains of the original old town, plus another 16 ha mainly on the upper part of the Akropolis north slope and to the south and east of the Lysikrates Monument. This second half of the sector is to be considered as a later development of the 19th century on previously unoccupied land.

The architectural quality of the buildings in the area, private dwellings of one to three storeys, is by no means exceptional. About 50% of the houses were built between 1865 and 1925, while only 8.5% were built between 1834 and 1864. All the others belong to the post-world war I period. There are only two houses known beyond any doubt to have been constructed during the period of Ottoman rule (i.e. before the Greek War of Independence which started in 1821) and both have been declared monuments to be preserved. There are probably a few more buildings belonging to that period.

Although there has been a serious effort at rehabilitating individual buildings in Plaka during the last decade, as well as merely cosmetic efforts, such as repairs on the façades, many buildings suffer from considerable disfigurement. This is due not only to poor quality of the initial construction but also to drastic changes in use, from their original purpose as residences into tavernas and other places of entertainment. By the 1970s before the rehabilitation campaign had started, 23% of the buildings in Plaka had been altered to a moderate degree and 15% had been badly disfigured.

The Plaka area owes its special importance to the position it occupies as a buffer-zone between the modern city centre and the monumental ensemble of the Akropolis. The old town,

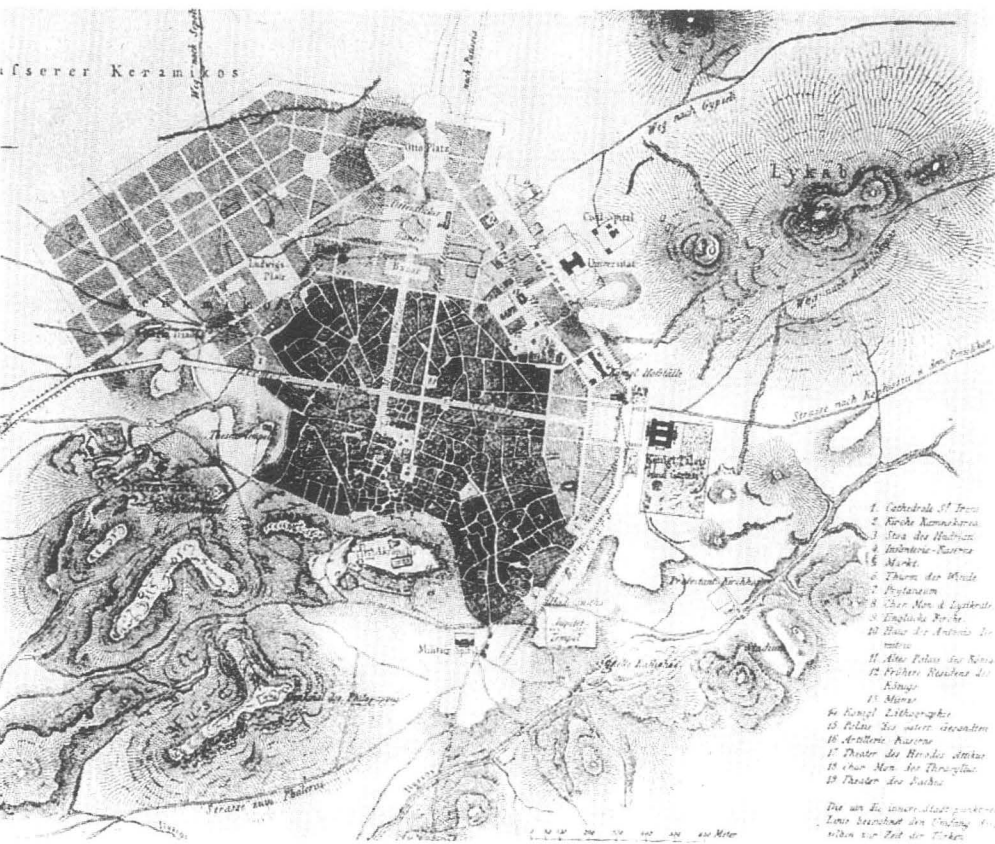


Fig. 217 Plan of Athens in 1846. Scale ca 1:33,000. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1846).





Fig. 218 Akropolis north slope. Typical narrow street with steps in the upper Plaka. In the background, the Erechtheion North Porch and the Akropolis fortification wall. (Photograph by the author).



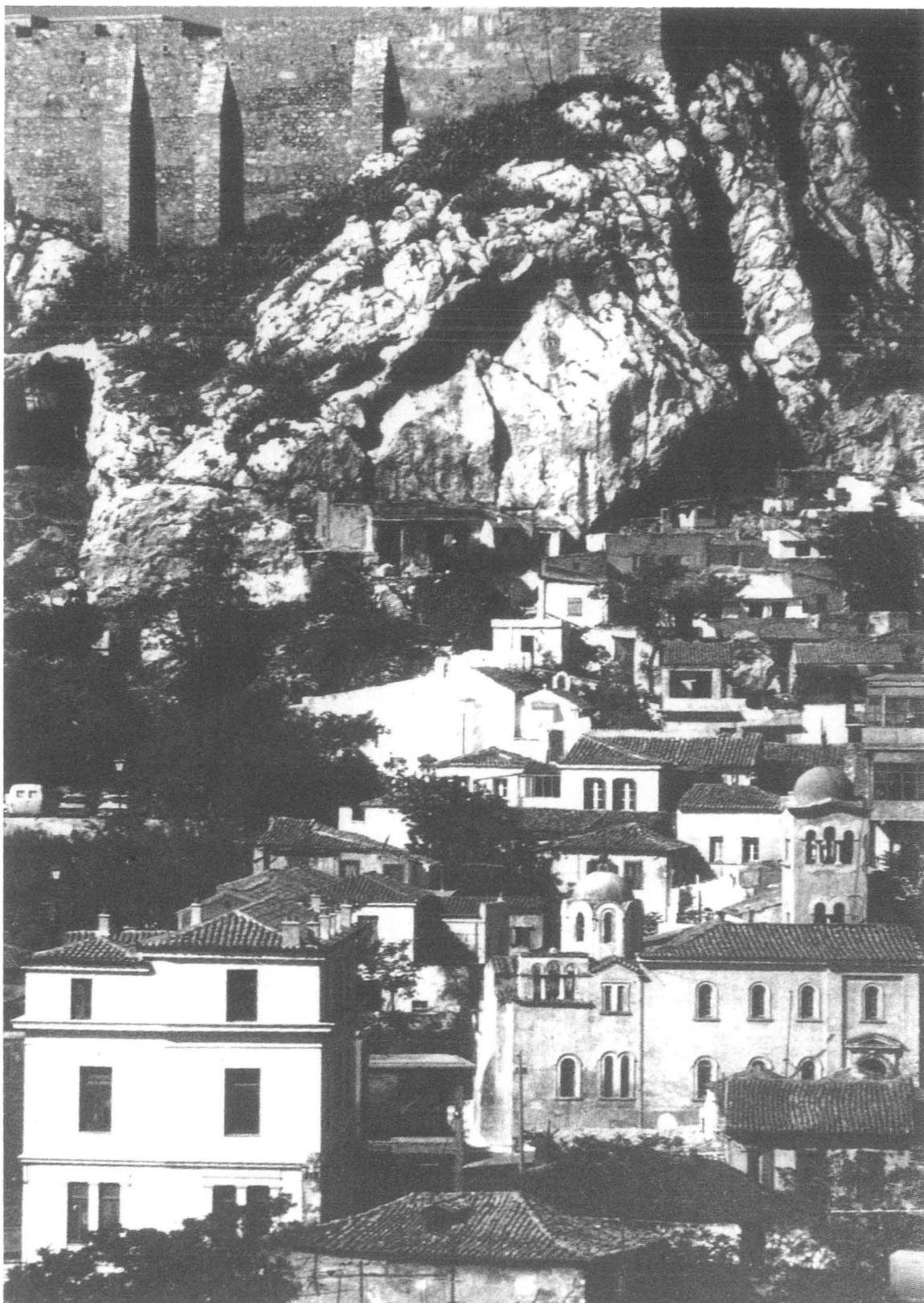


Fig. 219 The Plaka. Detail of the urban cluster in the central part of the district. In the background the Anaphiotika settlement. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 220 The Plaka. Detail of the central part of the district. (Photograph by the author).

furthermore, forms an historical record of the cultural efforts of the people who lived here during the last centuries. Living monuments and archaeological remains are the evidence of uninterrupted life in this area.

The presence of monuments belonging to various periods (ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and recent) some of which—for example churches—continue to be functional, while others—the majority—belong to the archaeological sites of the district, gives the image of the Plaka a special flair.

Apart from the monuments and other buildings of architectural interest, the overall layout of the town plan is also decisive for the image of the district. In Plaka the traditional street network has been preserved in regard to both the layout (radial-convergent pattern) and the scale. This is what gives the area the atmosphere of the old city, the historic core of Athens. The street pattern adapted to the topography of the area served the same communication needs for centuries and has remained basically unchanged from ancient times to the present day.

The traditional town pattern of Plaka is most faithfully preserved in the part between the semi-circular Adrianou st. and the Akropolis rock, whereas the nearer Plaka is to the modern city the greater is the alienation from the original style of the quarter.

Today the Plaka is in a process of regeneration. It represents not only a correctly preserved historic urban district but also a visual transition area and preliminary approach to the Akropolis from the centre of town. Low volume of traffic, pedestrian zones, the architectural scale kept appropriately small and compatible uses, such as dwellings and small businesses, create a living environment around the archaeological remains.

After the Peripatos (the ancient ring walk around the upper Akropolis slopes) has been opened, the pedestrianized street network of Plaka will provide a smooth flow of promenaders and visitors approaching the excavation areas and the Akropolis on foot from the centre of the metropolis.



Fig. 221 Detail of the Plaka in the 1980s with restored neoclassical buildings (Photograph by the author).





Fig. 222 The central section of Ferdinand Stademann's panorama of Athens drawn in 1835. (Stademann, 1841).



Fig. 223 The old town of Athens, the Plaka, from the west. In the foreground, the Roman Agora and Hadrian's Library. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).





## SECTOR 6: NATIONAL GARDEN, ZAPPEION GARDENS, PRESIDENTIAL MANSION

35	Parliament Building (formerly Royal Palace)	2.70 ha
36	National Garden (formerly Royal Garden)	16.20 ha
37	Zappeion Gardens	11.40 ha
38	Presidential Mansion (formerly the New Palace) and garden	2.20 ha
39	Main roads	4.20 ha

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Total area of sector 6 36.70 ha

Sector 6 lies in the centre of the cultural-historic area and groups together the oldest and most extensive recreational green areas of the modern city, namely the National Garden (formerly the Royal Garden), 16.2 ha, and the Zappeion Gardens, 11.4 ha. East of these two public parks are smaller gardens, 2.2 ha, belonging to the Presidential Mansion (formerly the New Palace), not open to the public.

Whereas both the garden of the Presidential Mansion and the National Garden are densely planted, fenced in areas, the Zappeion Gardens have a much more open character with a large esplanade (200 × 60 m) in front of the Zappeion Exhibition Hall, spacious promenades and vistas opening up to the Stadium, the temple of Zeus Olympios and the Akropolis.

The National Garden (formerly the Royal Garden) lies to the east and south of the Parliament Building (formerly the Royal Palace), designed by Friedrich von Gärtner and built in 1836-1843. From the beginning it was open to the public although on a tight time schedule during the rule of King Otto. In the early years of the 20th century, before the Royal Palace was converted in the Parliament building, the garden was made public.

Queen Amalia, married to Otto, the first king of Greece, was the first to campaign vigorously for planting the desolate Athenian landscape. During the 25 years of her residence in Athens from 1837-1862, she created the Royal Garden, now the National Garden, an urban park *sui generis*.

The Royal Garden, conceived from the start as a densely planted landscape garden, was gradually enlarged between 1837 and 1862 until it reached its present size. During the 19th century the garden was not enclosed by a fence, a feature added later in order to preserve the secluded character of the place. Although there have been some alterations in the configuration of the parterres during the last 120 years the basic characteristics of the layout remained the same.

Fig. 232 A shows the present layout of the garden with its more than 80 compartments. The smallest parterre is 150 m<sup>2</sup> and the largest ones at the periphery measure about 7500 m<sup>2</sup>; the average size of the parterres is 2000 m<sup>2</sup>. These figures convey an idea of the miniature scale of the entire garden, which, by means of ingenious subdivisions, conveys an impression of being much larger than it actually is. Lawns are rare because of the water shortage but they are intelligently planned to create visual corridors. The garden has small ponds here and there, an aviary, an enclosure for animals found wild in Greece, and several pavilions as shelters against the rain. Beside two of the seven entrances are two long walks covered with arbours.

The great variety of plants both from continental Europe and from the Mediterranean area, the intermingling of deciduous and coniferous trees and the tortuous maze of the rather narrow alleys (3 to 5 m) impart a flavour of exoticism and mystery. Although the layout gives the impression of a labyrinth at first glance, a system of main alleys criss-crossing the garden may be distinguished (fig. 232 B).



Fig. 224 Detail of the National Garden (formerly the Royal Garden) and the southern façade of the Parliament Building (formerly the Royal Palace). (Photograph by the author).



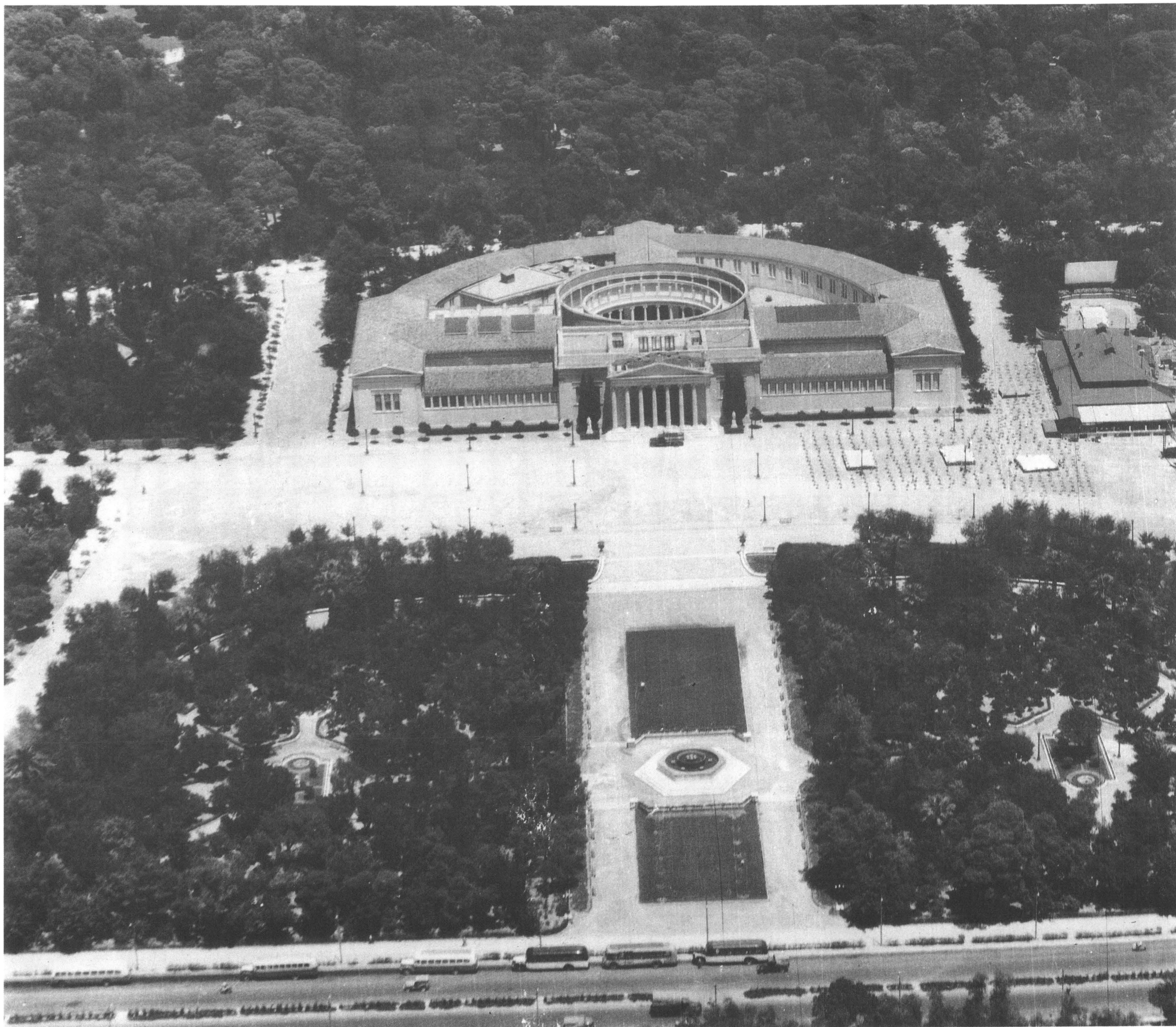


Fig. 225 The Zappeion Exhibition Hall and Zappeion Gardens with part of the National Garden in back. Air view, 1958. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



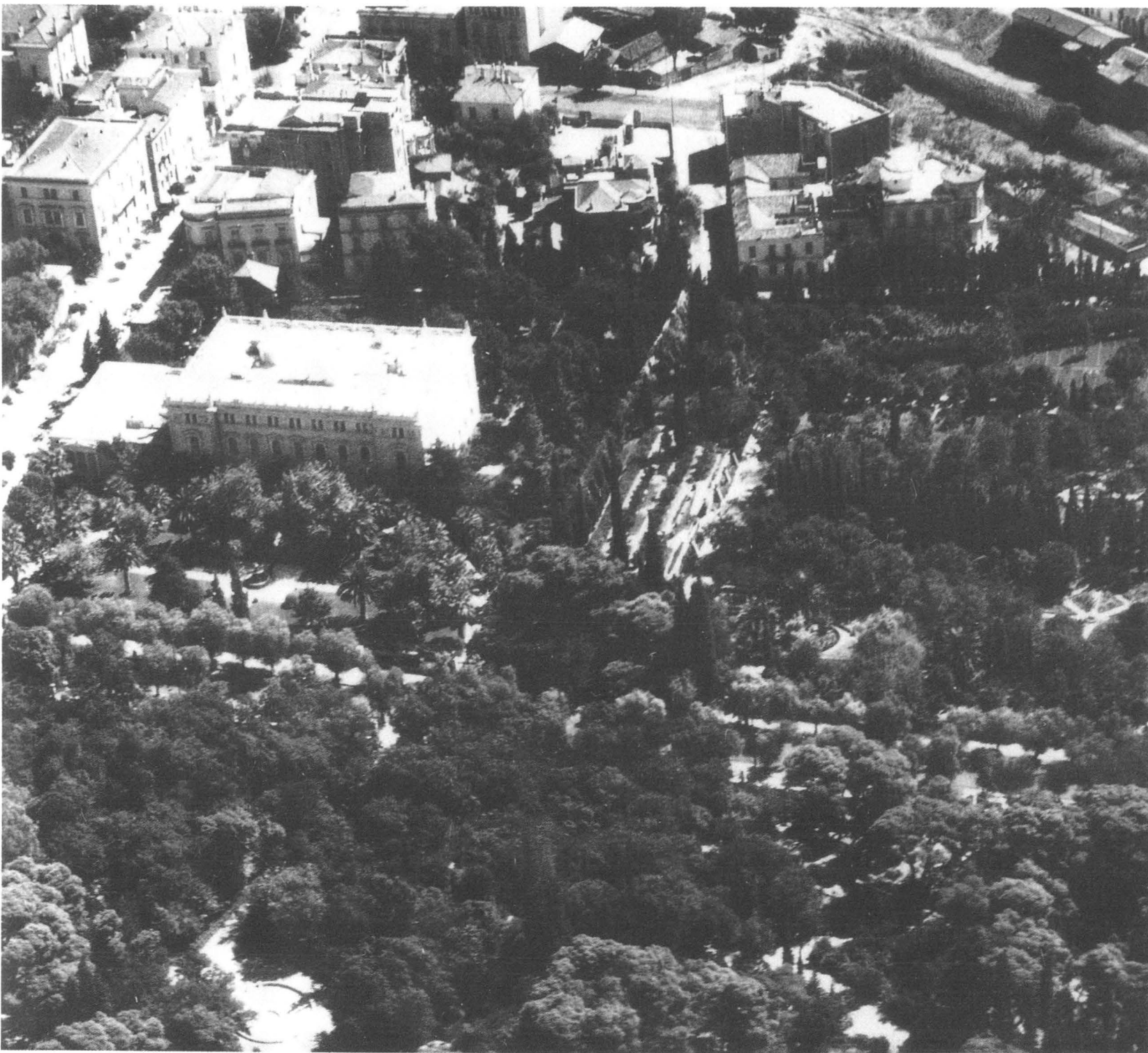


Fig. 227 Presidential Mansion (formerly the New Palace) and its garden fronting on Herodes Atticus st. and part of the National Garden (formerly the Royal Garden). (Greek Ministry of Housing).

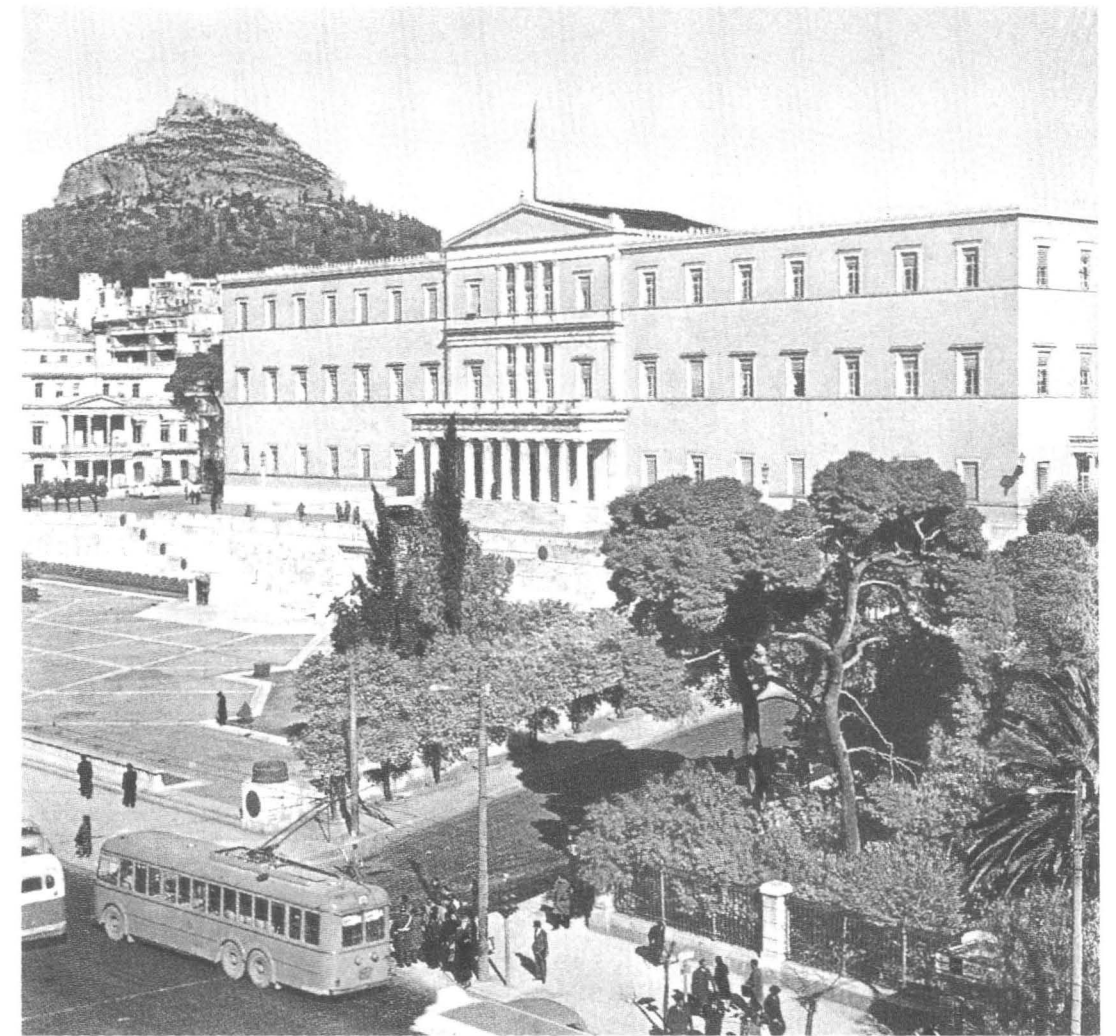


Fig. 228 Parliament Building (formerly the Royal Palace), the main (western) façade. In front of it, the Monument of the Unknown Soldier. (Postcard).





Fig. 226 A 180 degree photomontage of the central part of the cultural-historical area in 1956 seen from Metz to the west of Ardetos hill. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 229 The Royal Garden (now the National Garden): Portrait bust of the Swiss Philhellene Jean Gabriel Eynard. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 230 The Royal Garden (now the National Garden): Grotto and exotic plants in the centre of the garden. (Photograph by the author).



The Zappeion Gardens adjoining the National Garden to the south is the second largest park in the city centre. They surround the imposing neoclassic Zappeion Exhibition Hall, inaugurated in 1888, nowadays the seat of the European Community sessions in Athens. Up until 1888 this site was barren land and from the National Garden one could enjoy splendid views towards the temple of Zeus Olympios and the sea.

The rather formal layout of the Zappeion Gardens with its spacious esplanades and axial promanades allow a great number of people to stroll around and has the character of a southern folk park. Cultural events take place in the Zappeion Exhibition Hall and a large café nearby with open air music continues this European tradition of public entertainment. In the past open air theatres were set up in both parks, but were eliminated later as being incompatible with the tranquil character of the area.

The Presidential Mansion built on spacious grounds lies to the east of the National Garden on the far side of Irodou Attikou st., the loveliest tree-lined street in Athens. The neoclassic mansion was originally designed by Ernst Ziller in 1890 as a palace for the Crown Prince. With its attractive park the mansion is a unique example of late 19th century Athenian architecture and landscape art.

The gently sloping esplanade in front of the Parliament Building (formerly the Royal Palace) was initially planted with rows of orange trees, thus creating an ideal foreground to the main façade of the palace. In the 1920s the esplanade was converted into a flat somewhat pompous terrace with a heavy retaining wall into which the Monument to the Unknown Soldier was built. The retaining wall incorporates modern replicas of ancient column drums, a direct allusion to the ancient column drums from temples destroyed by the Persians built into the north wall of the Akropolis in the mid-5th century B.C. as an eternal memorial to the impiety of the barbarians.

Sector 6 as the important green space of central Athens is mainly devoted to recreational use. It is also an area in which buildings representing the nation (i.e. the Parliament building, the Monument to the Unknown Soldier and the Presidential Mansion) are located.



Fig. 231 Zappeion Exhibition Hall and Zappeion Gardens from the west. In back, the Stadium and Ardetto hill. (Taken from a postcard).



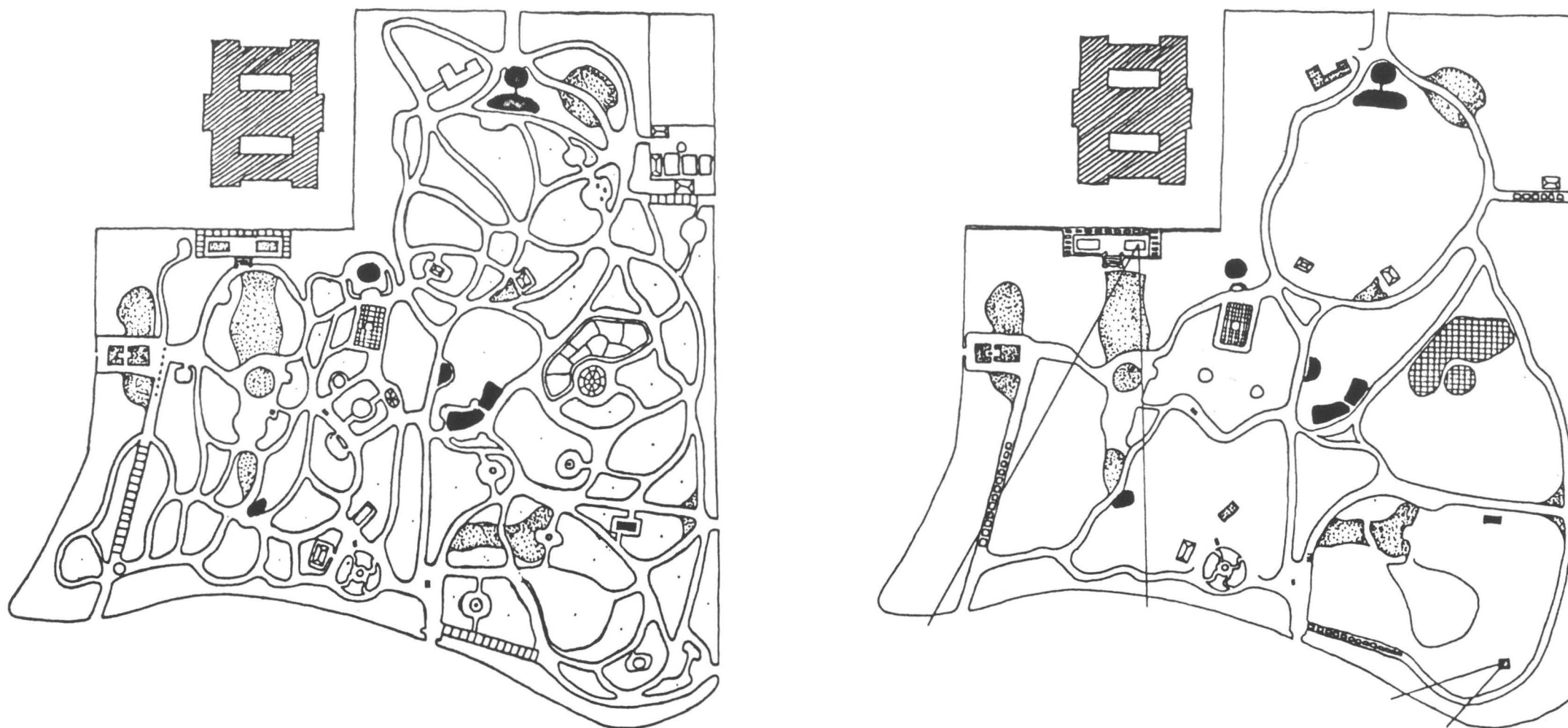


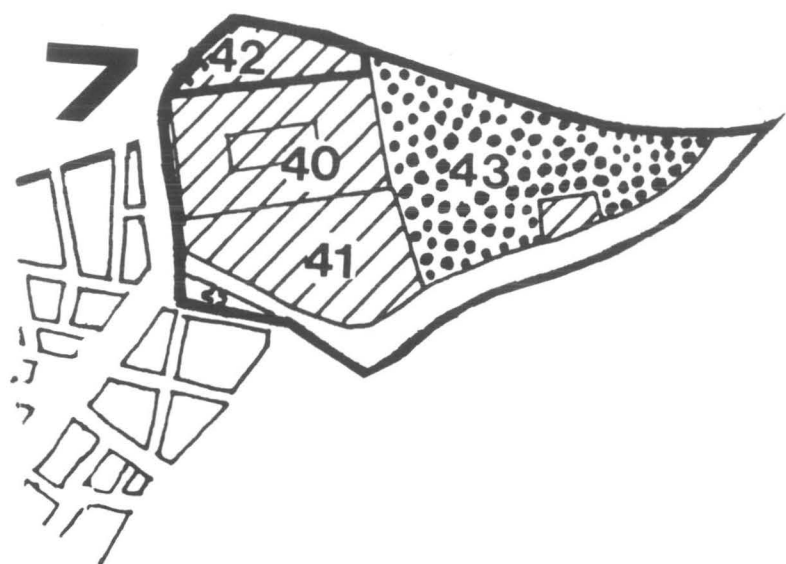
Fig. 232 The Royal Garden (now the National Garden). Scale 1:5000. (Plans by the author).  
 A. The maze of the 80 units of the Royal Garden.  
 B. The main paths, lawns (dotted) and ponds (in black).



Fig. 233 The Royal Garden (now the National Garden): 'Queen Amalia's bench' on a rock outcrop at the southern end of the garden. (Photograph by the author).



SECTOR 7: OLYMPIEION AREA WITH THE ILISSOS RIVER BANKS



40	Olympieion	2.40 ha
41	Excavation area S. of the Olympieion	2.20 ha
42	Excavation area N. of the Olympieion	1.00 ha
43	Athletic installations	3.70 ha
44	Peripheral roads	2.00 ha

Total area of sector 7 11.30 ha

Sector 7 lies in the central part of the cultural-historic area, to the east of sector 5 and the south of sector 6. It comprises the huge temple of Zeus Olympios with its monumental terrace; the excavated area to the north with the Arch of Hadrian; and the excavated area to the south extending down to the river bed of the Ilissos and Kallirrhoe spring.

Sector 7, although one of the smallest sectors, is especially important because of its strategic location as a pivotal area at the southern entrance of the city centre and also because of the far-reaching symbolic significance of the columns of the temple of Zeus Olympios, known as an Athenian landmark *par excellence* at the gate to the inner city.

The Arch of Hadrian, still in a good state of preservation, stands at the NW edge of sector 7 opposite to the old town. In the 2nd century A.D., the Arch of Hadrian was put up to mark the boundary between the old town of Athens founded by Theseus and the new town extension on the eastern fringe of ancient Athens started under the reign of the Philhellenic emperor. The inscription on the NW side facing the Akropolis reads: ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΗΠΙΡΙΝΠΙΟΛΙΣ (this is Athens the former City of Theseus); the inscription on the SE facing the Temple of Zeus Olympios reads: ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚΟΥΧΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΠΙΟΛΙΣ (this is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus). In 1778 the Arch of Hadrian was incorporated as a gate into the Ali Haseki Wall, the last fortification wall built by the Turks around Athens.

Today heavy traffic on Amalias Avenue rumbles past the Arch of Hadrian at a distance of less than 2 m so that the monument stands meaningless and disconnected from its surroundings. The Arch of Hadrian straddles the ancient processional way leading from the eastern slope of the Akropolis to the temple of Zeus Olympios and stood directly in front of the ancient main entrance to the precinct of Zeus Olympios. The whole effect of the ancient planning is lost because the Arch is separated from the precinct by a fence and from the Akropolis by the traffic on Amalias Avenue. The Arch is also isolated from its modern surroundings because the three large and difficult to negotiate traffic intersections below and above the Arch discourage all but the hardest pedestrians to brave the fumes, the noise and the anarchical motorcyclists from crossing over to the monument. An underpass for the traffic in this critical area has been repeatedly discussed and is still under consideration, although the technical feasibility of such a solution is quite problematic because of the dense urbanisation around this sector.

Area 42 is the excavated area (maximum length ca 200 m) bounded by the north wall of the precinct of Zeus Olympios, and by Vasilissis Olgas and Amalias Avenues. Excavations have uncovered the propylon to the precinct of Zeus Olympios, remains of a gate in the Themistoklean City Wall in which column drums from the Peisistratid temple of Zeus had been incorporated, remains of a one-aisled Early Christian basilica, the ground plan of a Roman Bath, the foundations of a 4th c. B.C. house, sculpture and reliefs including a relief dedicated to Demeter and Kore by a Hierophant of the Eleusinian Mysteries that has the only representation of a hierophant ever found.

The precinct wall around the great terrace (200 m × 125 m) on which the temple of Zeus Olympios stands was restored in the 19th century, and the site itself was open to the public until



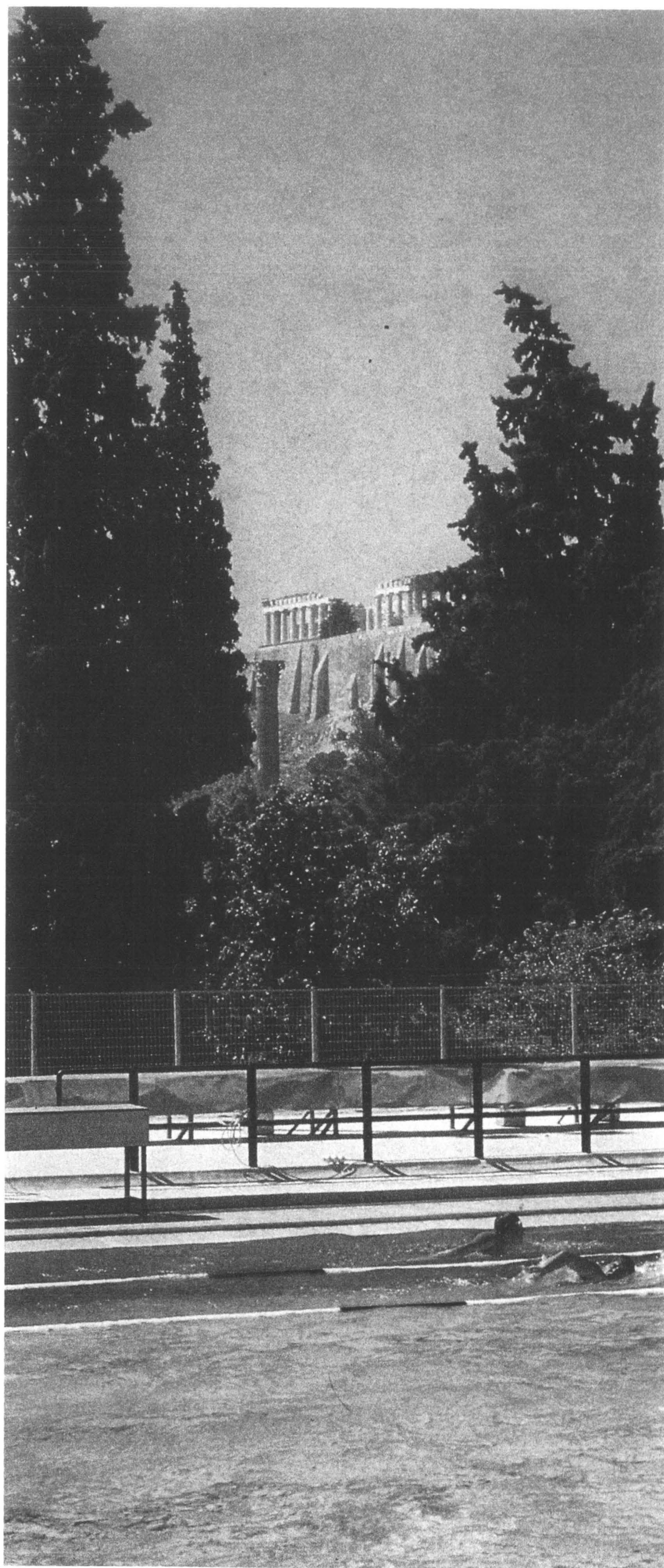
Fig. 234 Arch of Hadrian and the Olympieion in the background. A very early photograph taken in the 1860s. (Benaki Museum, Athens).





Fig. 235 Olympieion, Stadium, Ardetos and the First Cemetery of Athens, seen from the Akropolis at the turn of the century. (DAI, Athens).





the 1960s. Traditional festivities were celebrated on the temple terrace, with folk dancing and music on Easter Monday. Now the temple terrace and the northern excavation area have been fenced in as an archaeological area to which the public is admitted at set times on a strict schedule. Although centrally located the area is almost deserted because it stands like an island in a sea of arterial traffic. Lack of parking facilities mean that the tourist busses do not make stops there so that most visitors do not have a chance to become acquainted with the place where the flood waters receded and Deukalion, the Greek version of Noah, founded a sanctuary of Zeus in the 15th century B.C. Apart from the imposing architectural remains, the site offers magnificent panoramic views towards the monumental surroundings and is badly in need of ordering and rehabilitation.

South of the Olympieion terrace, a partly excavated archaeological zone extends down to the dried up bed of the Ilissos river, the only part of the river bed which has not been covered over by modern road-building.

The most important remains found in this area are as follows: the foundations of a mid-5th century B.C. temple and some fragments of the superstructure; the foundations of a temple of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.; remains of a fortification wall built in the 3rd century A.D.; slight remains of a large peristyle court inclosing a naiskos; a Byzantine industrial establishment. The site of the most famous spring in ancient Athens, Kallirrhoe spring, was in the Ilissos river bed below the terrace of the 19th century church of Haghia Photini. Kallirrhoe spring provided the water for the most famous spring house in ancient Athens, the Enneakrounos, built by Peisistratos in the 6th century B.C. Even though not a trace of the Enneakrounos has been found and even though there is no spring far or near, the accounts and drawings of eighteenth and nineteenth century travellers who saw and drew a copious spring called Kallirrhoe right below the present site of Haghia Photini taken in combination with the ancient testimonia leave no doubt as to the location of Kallirrhoe and the Enneakrounos. It would not be too difficult to install a water outlet to commemorate the site. The whole area is in a bad state of neglect, not to mention that a ramshackle tool shed conceals the most interesting part of the classical temple foundations where unfinished column capitals were reused.

Beside the church of Haghia Photini is an ancient rock-cut sanctuary carved out of the rocky hillside rising sharply from the Ilissos river valley. The remains consist of two high vertical walls meeting at a right angle, both carved out of the native rock, and some stepped beddings above. On one of these walls is a rock-cut outline of Pan dancing and playing the Pan pipes. The Greek Archaeological Service won a last ditch fight to save the sanctuary; the road planning commission was forced to spend the extra money to put in a curve sparing the sanctuary. Dynamiting the rock had already begun and beside the church one sees a characteristic semi-circular drill channel where a dynamite charge has been set off.

Up until the 1930s there was an island in the Ilissos about 200 m long between the Stadium and Kallirrhoe. It was known as Vatrachonisi (i.e. Frog Island). Both branches of the Ilissos have been covered over and the area is occupied by athletic installations: the Athens Lawn Tennis Club, the Olympic open-air swimming pool and the National Athletic league. These athletic installations adjoin a fenced off archaeological zone, not open to the public, enclosing important remains of an early Christian basilica, known as the Basilica on the Ilissos.

Sector 7 may be considered as one of the least well-integrated and most problematic sectors of the cultural-historic area. Surrounded by heavy traffic with no decent pedestrian approach on all four sides, the fortuitous aggregation of important archaeological sites and athletic facilities creates a confusing mixture of incompatible uses. A certain awareness of the need for far-reaching urban design measures does exist. Radical changes in order to improve the accessibility and landscaping of the area are, however, not likely to be carried out in the near future because of the very expensive infrastructure works which would have to precede any readjustment in this sector.

Fig. 236 The open-air Olympic swimming pool and behind it the garden of the Athens Lawn Tennis Club. In the background, the Akropolis. (National Tourist Organization).



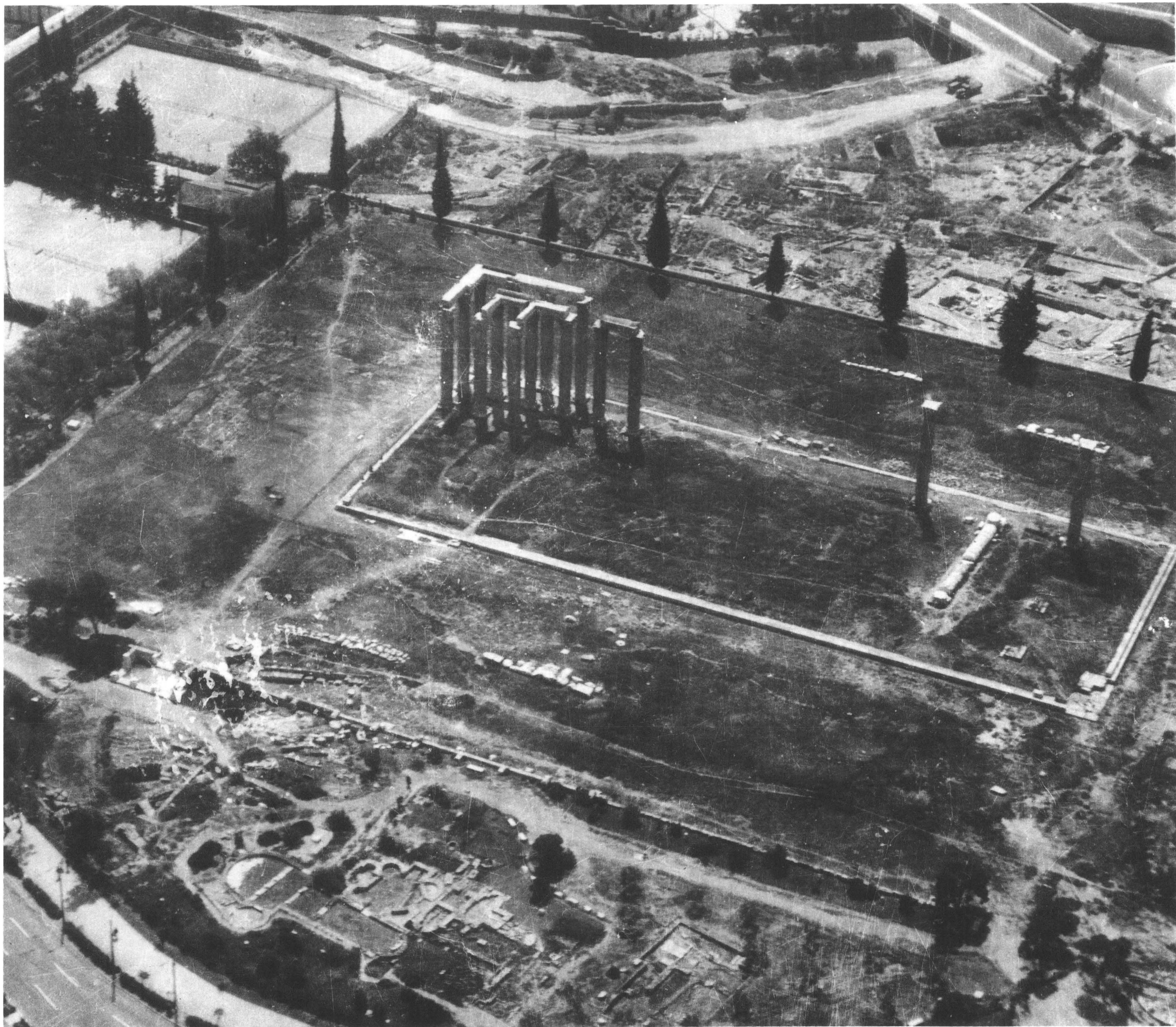


Fig. 237 Air view of the Olympieion and the excavated areas to the north (in the foreground) and to the south (upper right). Air view taken in 1963. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





## SECTOR 8: THE FIRST CEMETERY OF ATHENS

45	The First Cemetery	18.00 ha
46	Small park	1.40 ha
47	Main roads	2.20 ha

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Total area of sector 8	21.60 ha
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Sector 8 lies at the far south of the cultural-historic area. It comprises the First Cemetery of Athens, a small park and the main access roads at the west and north.

In the initial town planning scheme for the new city of Athens, drawn in 1832 by Kleanthes and Schaubert, a site for a new public cemetery, 2 ha in extent, was proposed south of the Akropolis between Mouseion hill and the Ilissos river. This plan was never realized and the first cemetery in Athens (during the 19th century the only one) developed in its present location south of Ardetto hill.

Throughout Byzantine times and the period of Ottoman rule Christians and Moslems were buried next to their parochial churches and mosques. In 1834 this century old custom was abolished by royal decree and the public community cemeteries were introduced in Greece. As early as 1837 a public document about fencing in the area provides the earliest evidence for the creation of the First Cemetery of Athens.

The cemetery was at first about 2 ha, the size kept unchanged until the end of the 19th century. This oldest part of the cemetery was given a rectangular grid pattern and was planted in the 1850s with a great number of trees, mainly cypresses, pines and palm trees, giving the place an evergreen serene character.

During the 19th century a separate cemetery for Protestants developed in the SE corner of the Zappeion Gardens, opposite the Stadium. It was abolished in the last quarter of the 19th century and the gravestones were removed to a separate division of the First Cemetery.

Today the First Cemetery occupies 18 ha, with the maximum dimensions 500 × 400 m, an area comparable to the National Garden in sector 6, and it is only one among several cemeteries in the greater Athens area. The main part of the First Cemetery is for the Greek Orthodox faith, with separate areas set apart for the Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths.

The First Cemetery is enclosed by a massive wall. The initial grid has been extended in all directions with some irregularities but on the whole the initial strict pattern has been kept. The whole area is planted with dense groups of trees; the rather narrow straight paths (2-4 m wide) are paved with asphalt or covered with gravel.

As in most Mediterranean cemeteries, particularly in Italy, a great many grave monuments are erected in rows, one next to the other, thus depriving the place of a potential park-like character (as in the German *Waldfriedhöfe*), creating rather an atmosphere of a serene 'grove of the dead'.

The central area of the First Cemetery is also the most important open-air collection of 19th century Greek sculpture. When the neoclassic town of Athens was under construction, the same principles of an unpretentious Greek Revival style were adopted for grave monuments.

There was an old tradition of stone masons and sculptors in marble on the Aegean island of Tenos. During the 19th century three generations of these marble workers adapted their skills to the newly imported classicizing models and worked in Athens. The First Cemetery has a great variety of funeral monuments: aedicula, small amphistyle temples, e.g. the monument to Heinrich Schliemann (fig. 239), marble baldachins with portrait sculptures of the dead, and there is even a version of the 4th century B.C. Lysikrates Monument.

Many of the gravestones are more simple but of equally high artistic standards: stelai



Fig. 238 First Cemetery of Athens. Classicizing family grave monuments in the form of temples, surrounded by cypresses and palm trees. (DAI, Athens).



crowned by palmettes or loutrophoroi, inspired by the ancient Attic grave stelai of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Some exquisite sculptural compositions, e.g. the Sleeping Girl by Jannoulis Halepas (fig. 240), add their charm to the ensemble.

Although the First Cemetery is not a public park, it is visited daily by a great number of Athenians, not only because of the many funeral services and burials, but also because of its peaceful character conducive to contemplative walks in the midst of the hectic, polluted inner city of Athens. Unfortunately this important green space is relatively isolated at the southern edge of the cultural-historic area. Anapavseos Avenue, 200 m long, goes in a straight line from the entrance to the First Cemetery to Ardetiou Boulevard on the edge of the Ilissos area. This axis if pedestrianized and adequately planted could offer an attractive link between the Olympieion area and the banks of the Ilissos (sector 7) and the First Cemetery (sector 8).

The area on sector 8, although essentially devoted to a single function today, has the potentiality for a more diversified use in the future, e.g. public green space, open-air museum for sculpture, feasible if strict fencing-in were to be abolished and a lighting system installed.



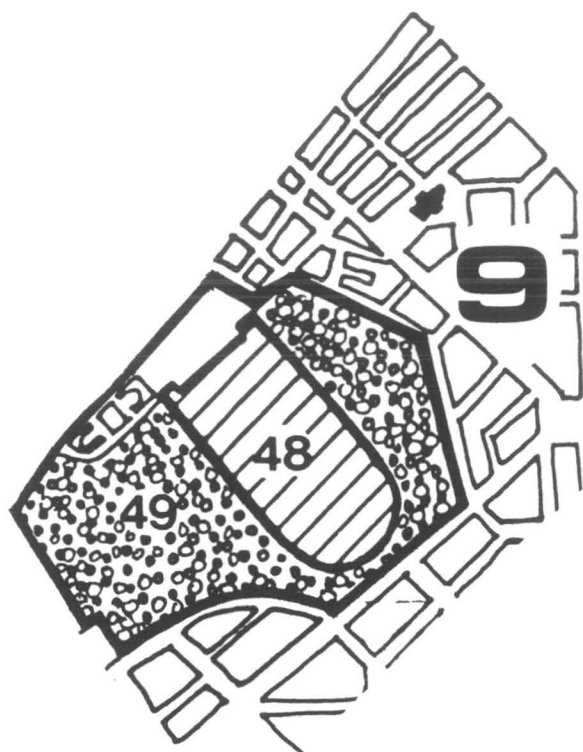
Fig. 239 Heinrich Schliemann's tomb in the form of a temple in the First Cemetery of Athens. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 240 The Sleeping Maiden by Jannoulis Halepas in the Aphendakis family tomb in the First Cemetery of Athens. (DAI, Athens).



SECTOR 9: ARDETTOS HILL AND THE ANCIENT STADIUM



48	The ancient Stadium	3.50 ha
49	Ardettos hill and Northeastern hill	6.50 ha

Total area of sector 9		10.00 ha
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Sector 9, the smallest of the twelve sectors, lies to the east of the Zappeion Gardens in sector 6 and the Olympieion and Ilissos areas in sector 7. It comprises the reconstructed Panathenaic Stadium built in a partly natural, partly man-made hollow between two low hills, the higher of which (altitude 133 m.) is known as Ardettos hill. Vasileos Konstantinou Boulevard running past the Stadium is the main eastern traffic axis at the edge of the city centre. This boulevard was built over the Ilissos river bed in the 1950s when huge drain pipes were installed along the line of the old river bed.

Vasileos Konstantinou Boulevard with its heavy load of cars, trucks and busses separates the Ardettos area from the urban parks to the west, thus isolating this attractive hill to a great extent. The hills in which the Stadium is set were replanted at the beginning of this century. A network of paths has been opened lately, but the area is still closed to the public without any obvious reason. Remains of the foundations of the 2nd century A.D. temple of Tyche are on the top of Ardettos hill and the remains of a shipshed for the Panathenaic Ship (formerly thought to be the grave of Herodes Atticus) are preserved on the northern hill.

The Stadium today is an accurate reconstruction of the ancient Panathenaic Stadium after it had been redone in marble by Herodes Atticus in the 2nd century A.D. during the reign of Antoninus Pius. The exact restoration was done on the basis of E. Ziller's plans under the supervision of A. Metaxas, subsidized by the great benefactor Georgios Averoff. The Stadium was inaugurated in 1896 on the occasion of the first international Olympic Games of modern times.

In the 1950s the unhappy idea of enlarging the Stadium track in order to adapt it to the requirements of modern athletics was launched but was never realized. Another proposal for transferring the memorial to the Unknown Soldier to the corner of the Zappeion Gardens opposite to the entrance to the Stadium was also abandoned.

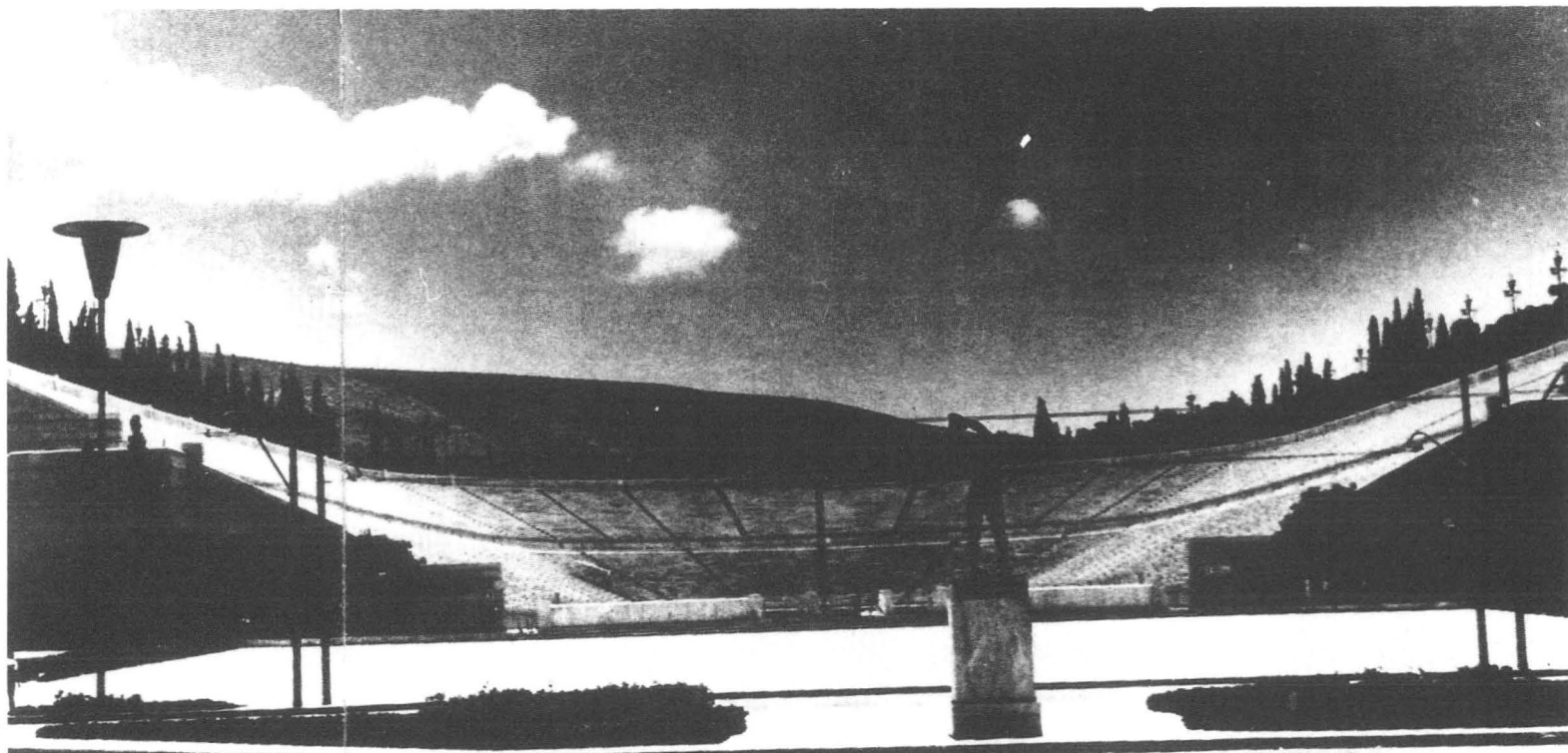


Fig. 241 The Stadium seen from in front. (Postcard).



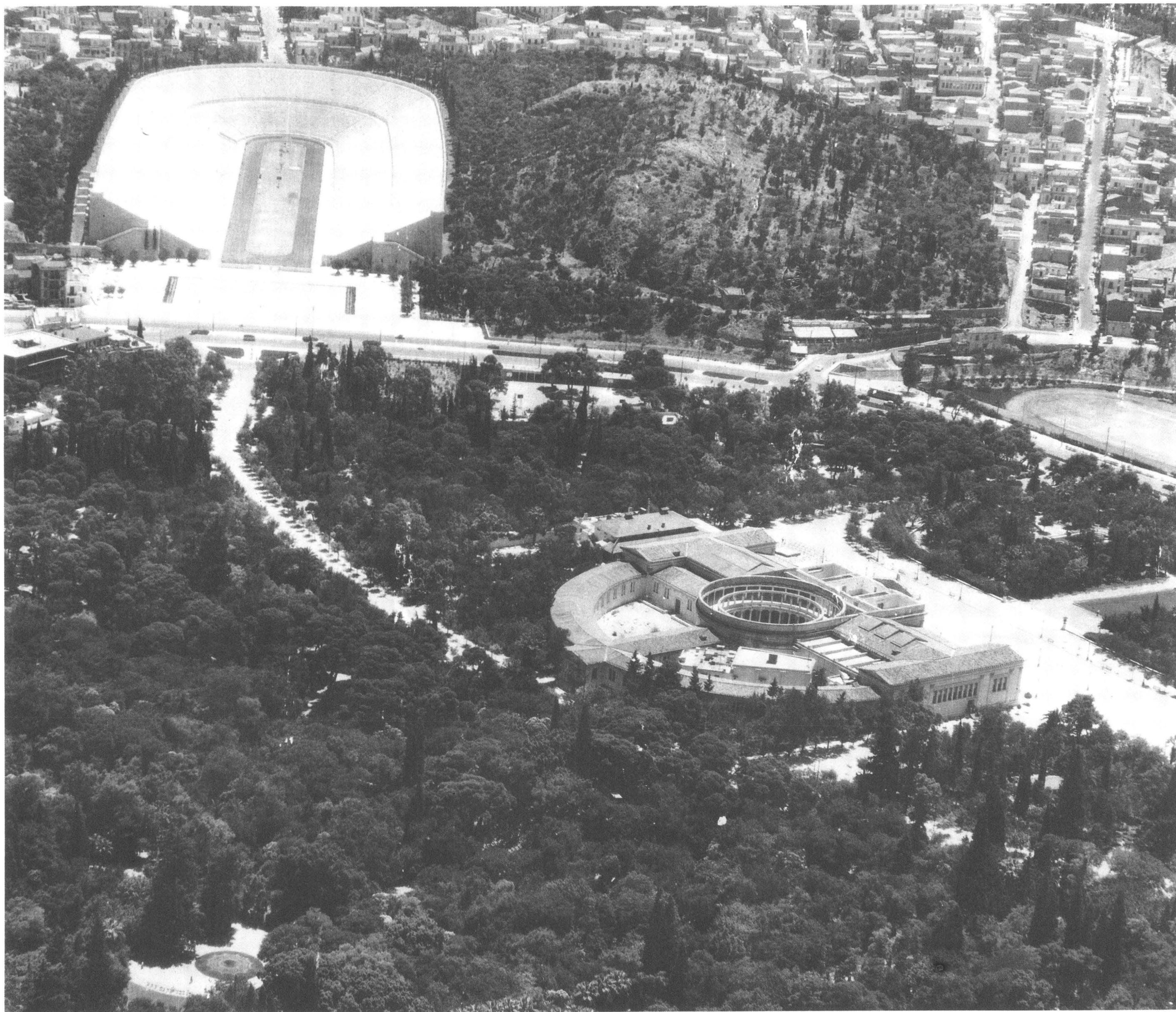


Fig. 242 The National Garden (southern part), Zappeion Exhibition Hall (during repair work on the central rotunda) with Zappeion Gardens. In the background the Stadium and Ardetos. Air view from the NW in 1958. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



During recent decades the Stadium has been used less and less for athletic events (especially after 1982 when the new Olympic Stadium in northern Athens was completed) and more and more for popular cultural performances, dance groups and rallies. It remains, however, an important landmark for the image of the city.

Today sector 9 is devoted exclusively to athletic and cultural functions. The value of the area for recreational purposes is not promoted because of the isolation and physical neglect of Ardettos hill; this area, however, offers unique possibilities for development in the future.



SECTOR 10: THE ATHENS CULTURAL COMPLEX

50	Cultural Centre, so-called	8.70 ha
51	Truman Memorial Grove	0.20 ha
52	National Research Centre	1.50 ha
53	National Gallery and nearby planted area	2.20 ha
54	Hilton area	1.40 ha
55	Evangelismos Hospital park	1.00 ha
56	Main roads	5.30 ha

Total area of sector 10 20.30 ha

Sector 10 (here designated as the Athens Cultural Complex, a term not hitherto used) has a maximum length of ca 900 m, extends towards the centre as far as NE of the National Garden (in sector 6) and spreads out on both sides of the relatively new axis of Vasileos Konstantinou Boulevard constructed over the line of the Ilissos river bed in the 1950s.

Thirty years after replanning and urban rehabilitation were started in this sector, the whole area is still in a fluid and unsettled state as far as urban design and public amenities are concerned. The complicated story of the gradual transformation of the area is presented in detail elsewhere in this study.

Even though the Vasileos Konstantinou Boulevard with its heavy traffic cuts right through the sector, dividing it in two, the large area of the cultural complex (200-300 m wide and ca 900 m long) occupied today mainly by urban green spaces and some important freestanding civic buildings, creates the corridor needed to link up the several parts of the cultural-historic area at its eastern end: Sector 10 and also sector 11 consitute the link between the replanted slopes of Lykabettos hill and the inner city urban parks (the National Garden and the Zappeion Gardens).

Sector 10 lies to the east of the Hadrianic extension of ancient Athens. The only archaeological site found so far in the sector is the sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates found in 1952 not far from the H.S. Truman Memorial. With the exception of the mansion of the Duchess of Piacenza and the Officers' Club, which are listed monuments of modern times, no other building of historic value (ancient, mediaeval or modern) is to be found in this sector.

Northwest of Vasileos Konstantinou Boulevard in the area of the so-called Cultural Centre, the following freestanding buildings are located in a rather haphazard manner, surrounded by recently planted green spaces:

— At the southern end is the only building of the cultural centre designed by J. Despotopoulos and finally executed, i.e. the Conservatory of Music. This extremely long, low structure



Fig. 243 The Stadium and Ardettos hill. Air view (1934). (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 244 The central part of what later became the Athens Cultural Complex site. Air view taken in 1932 from the south. In the centre from left to right: the bulky volume of the Officers' Club, the Mansion of the Duchess of Piacenza "Ilissia" (now the Byzantine Museum) and the Rizarios Theological Seminary (later demolished except for the hospital). At that time the whole area was still occupied by army barracks. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 245 The eastern part of the cultural-historic area as it was around the turn of the century. Lower left, the Athens Panorama Building (later demolished) and in back of it the New Palace (now the Presidential Mansion). Taken from the entrance to the Stadium looking north. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 246 Eastern part of the cultural-historic area after the Ilissos river bed had been covered over by Kallirrois Boulevard (lower right) continuing as Vasileos Konstantinou Avenue (center) and on up to the Hilton. Air view from the SW taken in 1960. (Taken from a postcard).





Fig. 247 The eastern (triangular) area of the Athens Cultural Complex in a fairly chaotic state in 1962. In the background, the newly built Hilton Hotel facing an empty site later occupied by the National Gallery. In the lower right centre, the bulky mass of apartment buildings for army officers, pulled down some years later. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



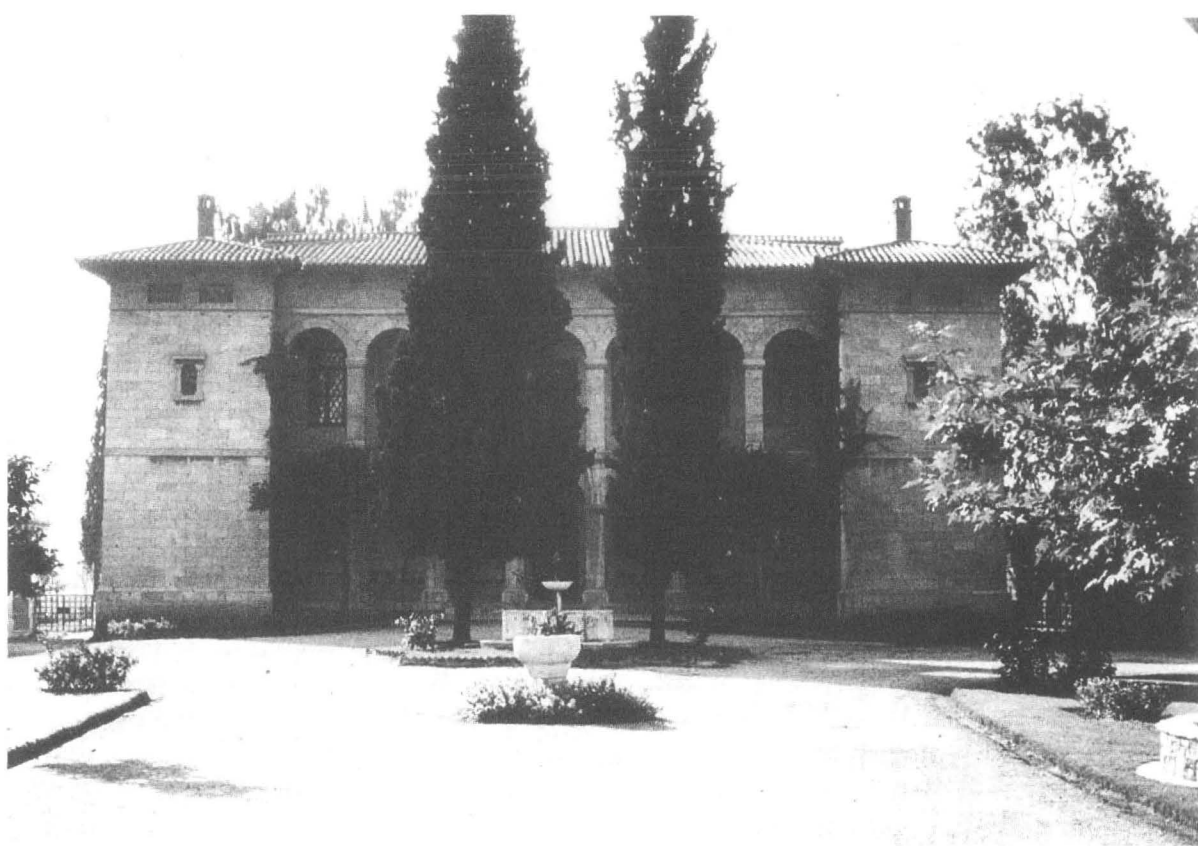
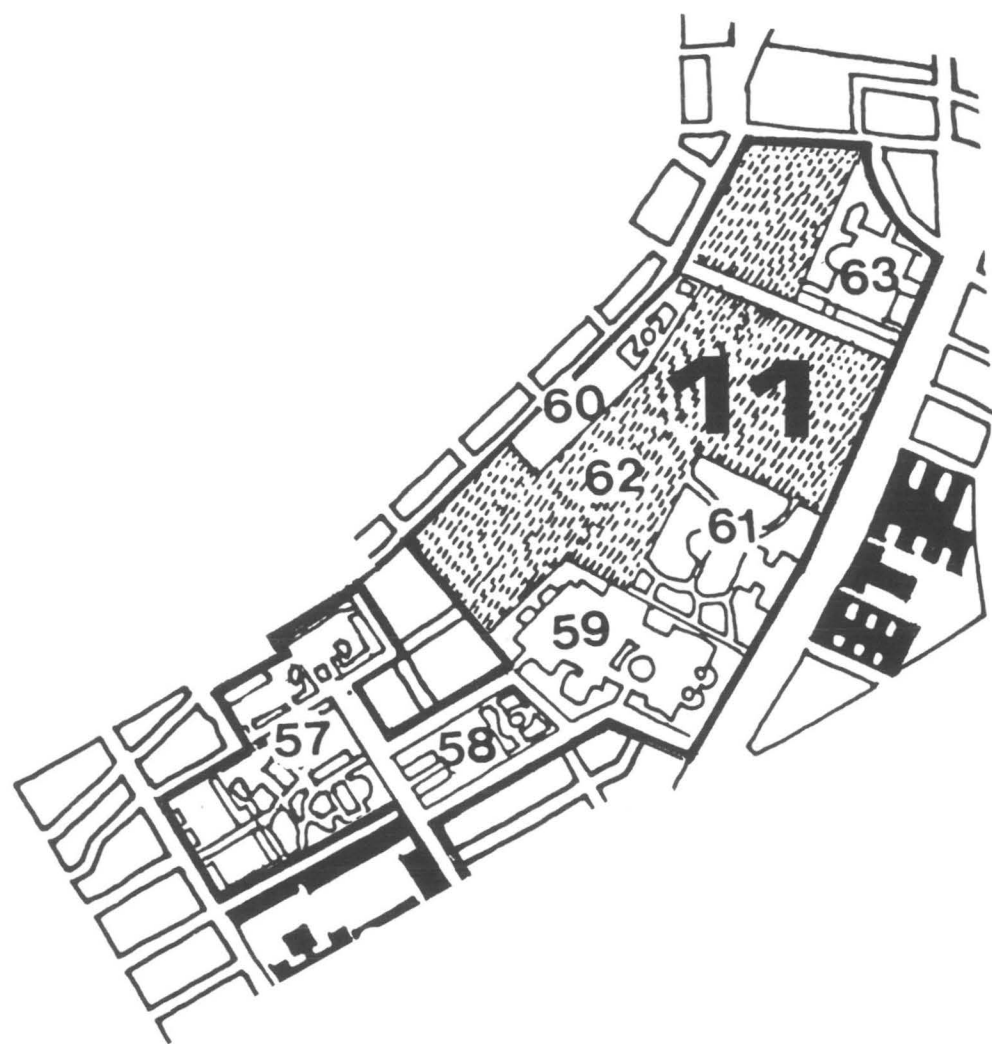


Fig. 248 The main façade of the mansion of the Duchess of Piacenza, “Ilissia”, now part of the Byzantine Museum. (Photograph by the author).



(120 m by 16 m and only 10.5 m high), taken out of its originally planned context looks today like an awkward built volume of the modern classicizing school.

— The eclectic and somewhat pompous building of the Officers’ Club facing on Plateia Rigillis was built by the architect A. Nikoloudis in 1924 with monumental neobaroque façades on street alignment and presenting a deceptive blind front to the park in back.

— Ilissia, the town house of the Duchess of Piacenza, is a neo-Renaissance mansion built by S. Kleanthes in 1840-1846, still standing in the middle of the area, now the Byzantine Museum. Ilissia is sited almost directly below the conical peak of Lykabettos, so that the mansion and the hill can be seen together from the little park which extends as far as Vasileos Konstantinou Boulevard on the south side of the mansion. The northern entrance façade is set behind a noble *cour d’honneur* with annexes symmetrically arranged on either side. The progression is made impressive by the axial arrangement of gate house and main block, especially appropriate here because the peak of Lykabettos is on the same axis.<sup>108</sup>

— The Hellenic War Museum to the east built in 1972 during the dictatorship of the colonels (1967-1974); this bulky structure is a severe offence to the nearby Byzantine Museum and to the site.

In 1980 the Ministry of Planning and Environment promoted and carried out a simple, gracious landscaping scheme on the grounds formerly belonging to the Rizarios Theological Seminary, thus protecting old trees and offering to the city an attractive new grove, 2.5 ha. No further interventions have since followed in the area. At the northern edge of sector 10 a small public garden fronts the Evangelismos Hospital, founded in 1881 on the initiative of Queen Olga, consort of George I, who first subsidized it.

SE of Vasileos Konstantinou Boulevard are three other important buildings embedded in green zones and linked to the Boulevard visually and functionally:

— The seven-storey National Research Foundation, built in 1965-1967, designed by Doxiadis Associates.

— Further to the north, the new National Gallery, designed by N. Moutsopoulos, D. Fattouros and P. Mylonas, built in 1968-1973.

— The imposing thirteen-storey slab of the Hilton Hotel is across the street from the National Gallery and faces the Akropolis. It was designed by P. Vassiliades, E. Vourekas and S. Staikos and built in 1958-1962. The Hilton constitutes an extremely controversial modern landmark in the Athenian townscape.

Today the whole area of the so-called Cultural Centre of Athens is still an urban puzzle of various kinds of spaces and functions. Green surfaces, however, prevail: two-thirds of the entire area. The Conservatory of Music stands awkwardly isolated at the southern edge; the Byzantine Museum still awaits its structural rehabilitation and extension and there is hope that the bulky volumes of the Officer’s Club and the Hellenic War Museum will one day disappear, in order to enhance the park-like character of the area.

SECTOR 11: LYKABETTOS LOWER EAST SLOPE

57	American School of Classical Studies, British School of Archaeology at Athens, Gennadius Library and their gardens	3.30 ha
58	Petraki Monastery with garden	1.00 ha
59	Army Hospital with garden	2.40 ha
60	Navy Hospital with garden	1.00 ha
61	Venizelos Grove	1.80 ha



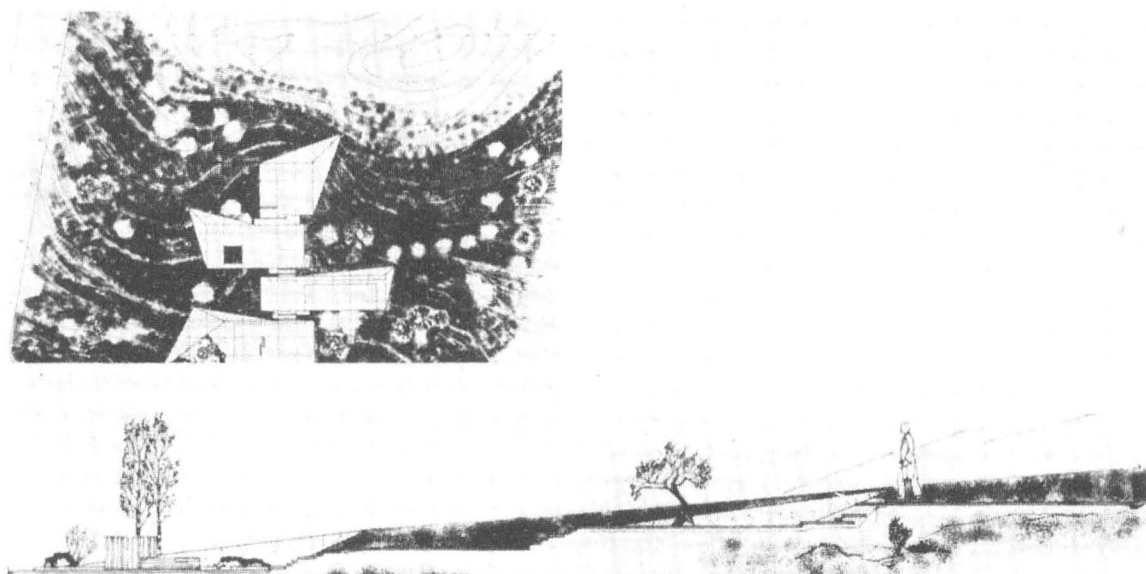
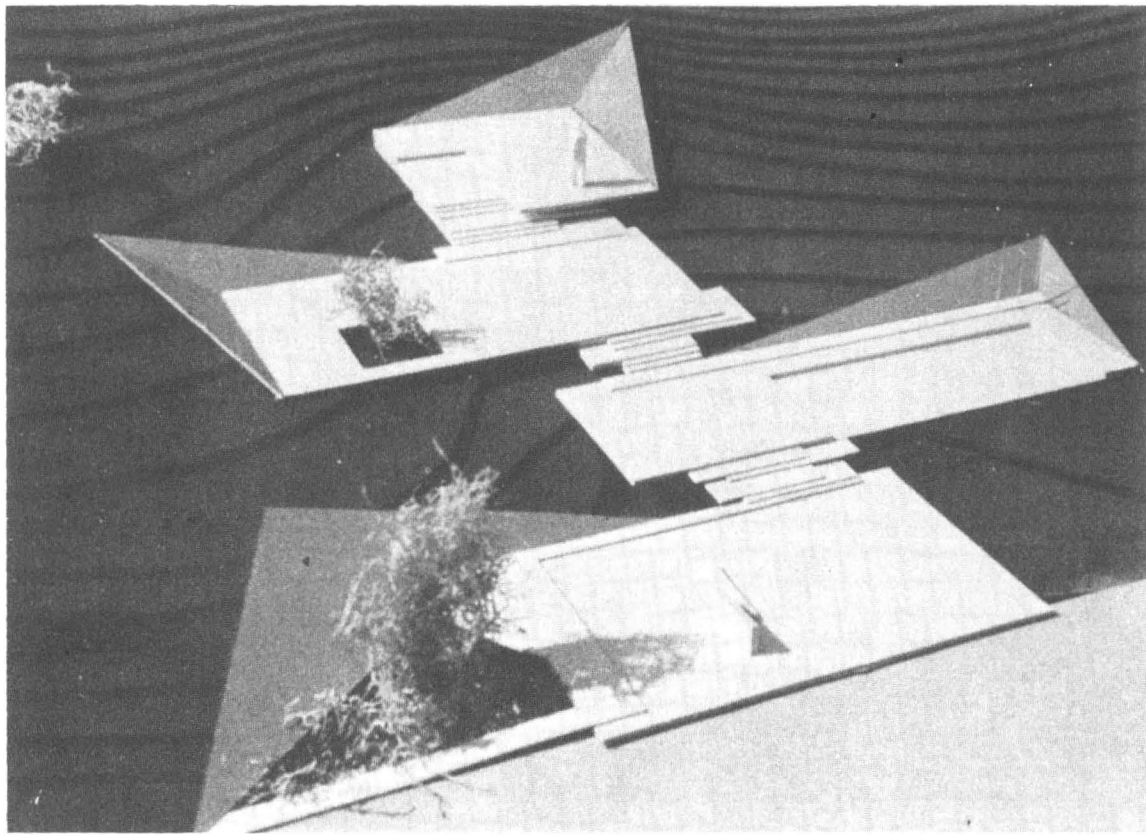


Fig. 249 Model of the Venizelos Memorial (1969). (From *Architecture in Greece*).

108 The unique setting of this elegant building and the harm done to it by later interventions in the area has been eloquently described by Vincent Scully:

"Ahead stands, if one may seem guilty of paradox, the rural urbanity of Tuscany, the villa, almost a palazzo, as befitting a country house at the edge of town. Though somewhat dry in detail, the building thus stands most welcome in Greece: a habitable volume, a hollow mass walled and colonnaded, creating an exterior and interior spatial order at dignified domestic scale (...) Yet Ilissia is lovingly set in Greece, since its interlocked spaces give finally on the southern arcade flooded with winter sun (...) West and east a long lateral axis of view is released by the arcade of the second storey: westward, toward the Acropolis itself, the Temple of Olympian Zeus, and the sea; eastward towards the horns of Hymettos and beyond them to the distant pyramid, dark green with forests, blinding white naked marble, of Pentelikon. This eastward view is now blocked by the bulk of the new Hilton Hotel, which also does an unpleasant job on the relationship between the Parthenon and its sacred mountain, Hymettos, when the two are seen together from Mouseion hill, the hill of Philopappos. Obviously enough, Kleanthes and the Duchess knew exactly what they were doing, since the Hilton has purposefully seized the best viewing site between the Acropolis and Hymettos. Unlike Ilissia, however, it has severely injured the place as a whole by inserting its own vapid mass into it". Vincent Scully, 1963b.



Fig. 250 The American Embassy on Vas. Sophias Blvd. by W. Gropius and associates (1957-1958).

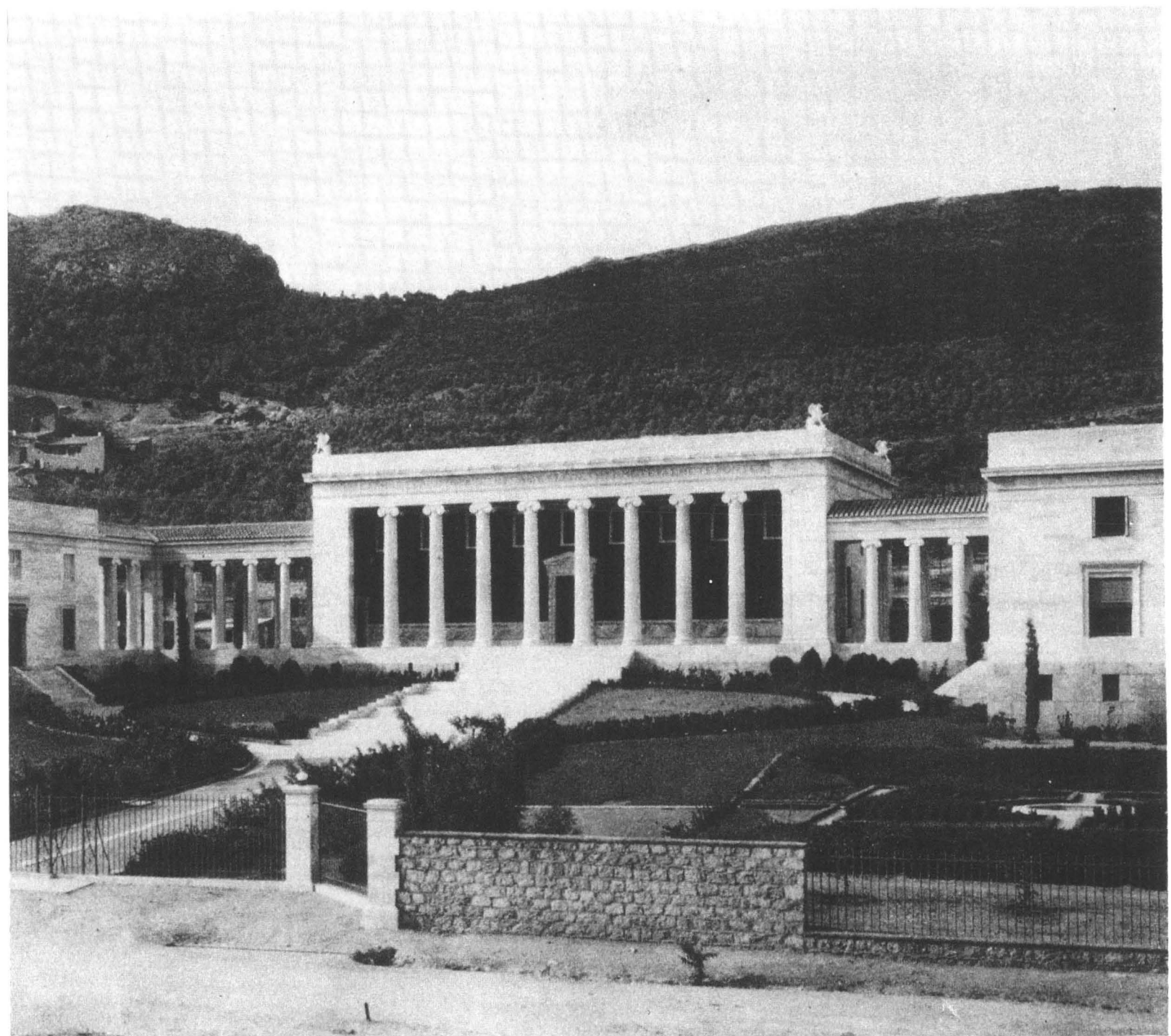


Fig. 251 The Gennadius Library, the last neoclassical building in Athens, completed in April 1926.



109 The Gennadios Library is a creation of John Gennadios (1844-1932) born in Athens as the sixth child of George Gennadios (1786-1854), a leading figure in the War of Independence, a high school teacher, an organizer of the National Library, the Numismatic Museum and the University of Athens, who gave his son an enduring love of books. In 1870 Gennadios entered the diplomatic service and spent much of his career in England.

Gennadios' position in London, his love of his country and respect for the printed word combined to provide him with the motive and the opportunity to begin a collection of books and other memorabilia relating to the history of Greece. By 1922 Gennadios' collection consisted of some twenty-four thousand books and hundreds of other memorabilia. Some of the books are extremely rare, others unique.

Gennadios had begun to collect books early in life and by about 1880 he had formed the grand design which was to motivate his collection henceforth: "to form a library that represents the creative genius of Greece at all periods, the influence of her arts and sciences upon the western world, and the impression created by her natural beauty upon the traveller". By the time Gennadios retired in 1918 at the age of 74, he realized that arrangement would have to be made for the ultimate disposition of his collection. He had always planned that it should come to Athens "to supplement and ornament the National Library of Greece, which my father founded in Athens, on the very morrow of her liberation". He changed his mind, however, because of the way that this institution treated a gift of some prints and drawings he made in 1905.

Late in 1921, Gennadios was called back to the service of his country as its representative at the Disarmament Conference to be held in Washington the following year. There Gennadios came into contact with members of the American School of Classical Studies and discussions with them led to his formal offer of the collection on March 29, 1922. This was greeted with much enthusiasm in America and considerable recognition for Gennadios of both an institutional and a private nature followed. The American School of Classical Studies, however, had to ensure its ability to live up to the conditions of Gennadios' gift, especially the first condition "that the said Library and collections be kept permanently and entirely separate from all other books and collections, in a special building". By May 1922 the School had received assurances from support from the Greek government and Gennadios' gift was formally accepted. The Carnegie Corporation ultimately contributed \$ 275,000 for the construction of the Library and adjoining houses, and the Greek state undertook the expropriation of the necessary property from the Petraki Monastery. Moreover, the City of Athens ceded its right to the two streets which had been projected through the property. Gennadios' Deed of Gift was formalized on October 18, 1922

62	Concert Hall and vicinity	7.80 ha
63	American Embassy and garden	1.10 ha
64	Main roads	1.20 ha

Total area of sector 11	19.60 ha
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Sector 11, with a maximum length of ca 900 m and maximum width of ca 300 m, lies on the SE slope of Lykabettos, between the pine groves of the hill and the main traffic artery of Kephissias Avenue. Up until the 1950s the northern, major part of the sector was occupied by military installations. As early as the 1930s the government had decided to convert these extensive grounds into an eastern public park (comparable in size to the National Garden), but this plan could not be realised because of World War II.

Later on a quite different, uncoordinated planning development occurred, unfortunately, in this sector. During the last three decades the prevailing trend in this privileged area was the installation of important official and/or public buildings as free standing volumes on spacious grounds. There is, however, a lack of compatibility in the uses of these buildings and no overall planning scheme has ever been elaborated for this prestigious site. Thus we are confronted today with a piecemeal urban structure, i.e. an accumulation of different uses among which culturally oriented institutions are in the majority.

At the western end of the sector there are older institutions on grounds that were expropriated by the State from the nearby Petraki Monastery, as follows:

- The Maraslion School with its athletic grounds.
- The British School of Archaeology at Athens and the American School of Classical Studies founded in the 1880s. Their buildings, each with extensive archaeological libraries, are sited in adjoining gardens separated from each other by a narrow path.
- The Gennadius Library is an institution specializing in documents and publications concerning Greece from the early Byzantine period to the present. The library, built between 1923 and 1926, belongs to the American School of Classical Studies. The dynamic *raison d'être* of this exemplary institution is declared by the inscription over the Ionic entrance portico:

ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ  
(They are called Greeks who share our culture)

Isocrates, Panegyricus III

Today one can only marvel at the farsightedness of the donor, John Gennadios, the American School of Classical Studies and the government of Greece in establishing the Gennadius Library in 1926 on a site far removed from the center of Athens in those days. Their combined efforts have resulted not only in the establishment of a major centre of research into the history and culture of Greece after the Late Roman period, but also in an oasis of greenery in the middle of the modern city.<sup>109</sup>

The post-Byzantine Petraki Monastery lies next to these institutions; it occupies an entire city block. The Byzantine monastery church is flanked by low one-storey buildings containing rows of cells, the monastery bookstore and other facilities, all within a lovely garden with olive trees and fruit trees. In back of the church to the east is a bulky four-storey building, the meeting place of the Holy Synod of Greece (conference of bishops) built in the 1930s, striking a discordant note in this harmonious setting.

The Gennadius Library, the American School of Classical Studies and the Petraki Monastery are all on Gennadiou st. about 300 m long, attractively lined with trees and oleander bushes, connecting the Gennadion and the upper slopes of Lykabettos behind it to Kephissias Avenue and the Hilton area.

The central part of sector 11 contains two important hospitals, the Army Hospital and the Navy Hospital, both sited in spacious gardens, and also the Venizelos Monument in the Venize-



los Memorial Grove. The bronze statue of Venizelos, 4 m high, and the Venizelos Memorial Grove were designed in 1969 by the sculptor J. Pappas and the architect P. Vokotopoulos. The landscape design of the grove keeps most of the natural contours intact; a succession of stepped terraces create the necessary setting for the statue, so that the visitor can see it from many different angles. The layout of the terraces is coordinated with the ascending steps acting as a sight line for the monument.

The Venizelos Memorial Grove faces on Kephissias Avenue as do two architecturally important buildings to the northeast. Both are in the classicistic manner with a simple cubic shape and colonnades on their façades. The Concert Hall, designed by Keilholz and Vourekas, was completed in 1991, it is a multi-purpose building with two auditoriums equipped with facilities for performances of opera, symphony orchestra, chamber music and drama. Across a side street from the Concert Hall is the American Embassy designed by Gropius and his associates, built in 1957-1958, the prototype of contemporary Greek Revival architecture in Athens.

In back of the Concert Hall and the American Embassy is ample unbuilt land still being used for car parking lots and depots for the American Embassy and some Greek military units. These surfaces totalling about 7 ha would, if properly landscaped in the near future, create a miniature version of the park planned long ago in the 1930s and would provide an appropriate setting for the representative buildings on Kephissias Avenue.

SECTOR 12: LYKABETTOS, THE REPLANTED AREAS

65	Schisti Petra Rock Garden	0.75 ha
66	French School at Athens	0.80 ha
67	Pefkakia Grove	1.30 ha
68	Pikionis School	1.00 ha
69	Dexameni Reservoir and planted area	0.85 ha
70	Lykabettos, main replanted area	44.30 ha

Total surface of sector 12 49.00 ha

Lykabettos hill lies at the eastern end of the six kilometre long crescent of the cultural-his-toric area. The peak of the hill crowned with the chapel of Haghios Georgios and the slopes densely replanted mainly with pine trees form the visual counterpoint to the Akropolis and the Pnyx range at a distance of ca 1500 m to the southwest. In between lies downtown Athens, the heart of the modern city.

For the earlier vicissitudes of the treatment of Lykabettos hill (including the destruction by quarrying, early landscape proposals by Ziller, replanting at the turn of the century and recent landscaping measures), see pp. 55-58, 65-66 and 92.

Today the upper slopes of Lykabettos (ca 45 ha, maximum dimensions 1100 m by 600 m) serve recreational purposes exclusively and also have a focal importance as the highest central vantage point offering a 360 degree panoramic view of the whole of modern Athens and the entire Athens plain enclosed by Hymettos, Mt. Penteli, Parnes and the Aigaleos range.

Main access to the steep upper slopes of Lykabettos is on foot. A dense network of walks covers the hill, entered from various points on the ring road at its base (Peripheriakos Lykavit-tou) and leading up to the higher southern and lower northern peak.

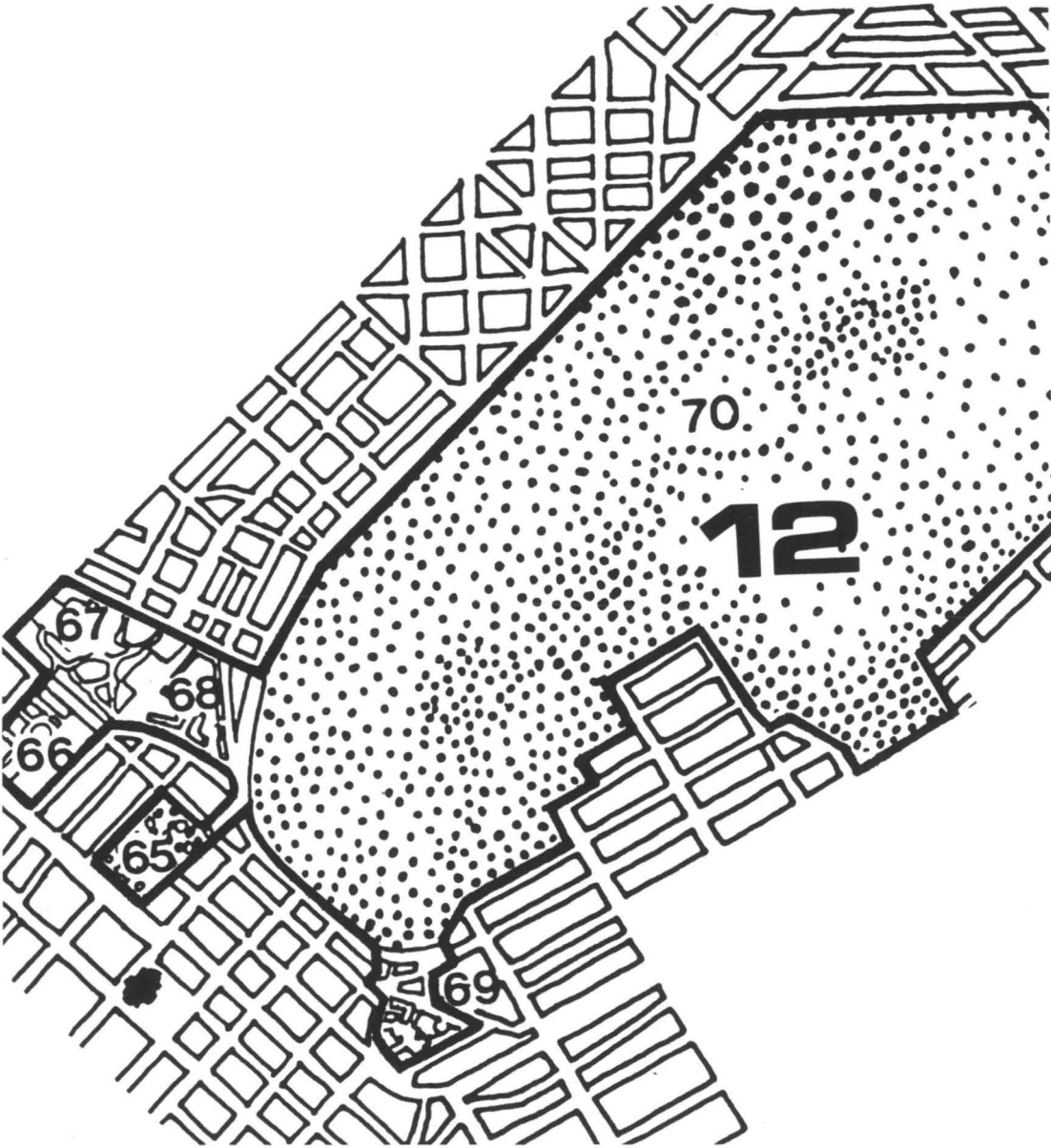






Fig. 252 The open-air theatre on Lykabettos. (Photograph by the author).

A narrow serpentine asphalt road discreetly hidden amidst the trees provides access to the Lykabettos open-air theatre. This one-way road starting at the southwest and ending at the northeast side is the only motor route on the hill.

Direct access to the main peak (277 m) with the chapel of Haghios Georgios on top and the Belvedere Restaurant just below is provided by a funicular railway in a tunnel.

The main pedestrian access to the replanted upper slopes of Lykabettos from the inner city is from the top of Loukianou st. not far from Dexameni. From here a zigzag path leads to the top of the hill. The replanted upper slopes have never been fenced in, but the hill is ringed by an open trench catching the rain water from the slopes. Entrances to the upper slopes have been designed at eight different points along the ring road (Peripheriakos Lykavittou). Due to recent efforts undertaken by the Ministry of Housing, irrigation and lighting networks have been installed, shrubs have been planted, the system of paths has been improved, stone benches and steps make the slopes of the hill more attractive for promenaders. Two café pavilions were added and low retaining walls have been built where necessary.

Although this important recreational area of the inner city has been made attractive to the general public through the improvements described above, nevertheless the Lykabettos park is still somehow cut off from the life of the city and poorly visited. From a town-planning point of view there is an explanation for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. The hill is surrounded by buildings on all sides. On the side of the hill facing the city centre a dense high-rise cluster of buildings has been erected on the relatively steep slopes. Steep narrow streets, often ending in a steep flight of steps, are visually and functionally uninviting as far as a visit to the park is concerned.

At the southwestern foot of the hill, several small independent green areas form extensions of the Lykabettos park:

— The Schisti Petra (split rock) is a rocky spur of Lykabettos at the SW, on the lower side of the Lykabettos Ring Road (Peripheriakos Lykavittou). The picturesque rock is surrounded by some pine trees and, unfortunately, by a large number of tall apartment houses.

— Next to it to the west, the so-called Pefkakia School, a fine work of D. Pikionis built in the Bauhaus tradition in the 1930s, develops its split-level volume on several planted terraces.

— Further down the French School at Athens (French archaeological institute)<sup>110</sup> is situated in a lavishly planted private garden.

— The Pefkakia Grove (meaning a grove of little pine trees), NW of the Pikionis School, surrounds the imposing church of Haghios Nikolaos.

— The Dexameni Reservoir at the southernmost extremity of Lykabettos is the ancient Hadrianic reservoir at the end of the Acharnian aqueduct, which was restored in the 1870s and is still used for irrigation purposes. Below the reservoir is Dexameni Square, a planted terrace with a small café that has been the meeting place for men of letters and artists for the last three generations. The ancient aqueduct and the Hadrianic reservoir with its great propylon are virtually the only ancient remains found so far on the upper slopes of Lykabettos which are far outside the ancient city walls.

If the small green areas bordering the upper slopes of Lykabettos were to be connected to the centre of town by means of planted pedestrianized streets (e.g. Sina st.), then there would be hope for the Lykabettos area to develop into an attractive recreational site, a centre for leisure time activities of the general public.

110 Michelle Averoff gives the following account of the final choice for the location of the French School at Athens:

“Le 1er Janvier 1856, [l'école] quitta la maison Ghennadios pour la maison Lemnienne, l'actuel hôtel de la Grande Bretagne. L'Ecole l'occupa dix-huit ans, de 1856 à 1873. Bâti au lendemain de la guerre de l'Indépendance par des ouvriers et avec des matériaux venus d'Italie, l'édifice était, suivant le mot d'Albert Dumont, “dans une des grandes situations du monde”. Ceux qui eurent le bonheur d'y vivre ont toujours regretté qu'on en fût sorti. Mais le second directeur de l'Ecole n'avait aucun des goûts du premier. Il lui fallait une belle maison de ville au perron de marbre devant lequel vint se ranger le timon d'une voiture de maître. Mr. Burnouf errait dépaycé, entre les murs des salles sonores, et les hautes galeries tapissées de plantes grimpantes. Il fit des rapports, rue de Grenelle, pour demander qu'on bâtît “un lieu de travail et rien de plus”. Jules Simon finit par se laisser convaincre et, en mars 1872, l'Assemblée nationale vota cent cinquante mille francs de crédit. Ceci fait, Mr. Burnouf chercha à acheter un terrain. Il convoita successivement la colline de l'Aréopage, l'immeuble inachevé de la Duchesse à Ilissos, puis un terrain en pente au-dessus de l'Observatoire. Le Pirée même ne lui aurait guère déplu. Sur ces entrefaites, le premier ministre, Zaimis, considérant qu'il était du devoir de la Grèce de céder gratuitement un terrain à la France, fit don au pied du Lycabette, d'un talus rocheux et désert, tout planté de pins. C'est la que, sur le sol offert par la Grèce en témoignage de l'amitié qui unit les deux nations, Jules Ferry, en Novembre 1872, posa la première pierre de l'Ecole française (...).” Michelle Averoff, 1961, 141-144.





Fig. 253 Lykabetos and vicinity. Note the ring road around the hill and the open-air theatre built in 1966 in the old quarry on the eastern end of the ridge. Air view taken in 1968. Scale 1:5000. (Ministry of Housing).







CHAPTER THREE  
PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS IN  
GREECE AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH  
IN ATHENS







## PRESERVATION EFFORTS

### THE LEGISLATIVE AND ORGANISATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE GREEK ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

The nature of the architectural heritage of Greece and the extent of protective legislation. The system of protective inventories

The great wealth of Greece's architectural heritage is justly famous and is characterized by an impressive diversity of historical origins and morphology. Apart from the archaeological remains of a number of major civilizations which flourished over some four millennia (Aegean, Minoan, Mycenaean, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Frankish) there is a 'living' architectural heritage in post-Byzantine and vernacular historic towns, Byzantine and post-Byzantine religious architecture, religious and civil architecture of foreign origin (Ottoman, Venetian and Frankish) and nineteenth-century neoclassical buildings.

Protective legislation is highly developed and has a long tradition; the first law on antiquities dates back to 1834, barely five years after the country became independent. The present shortcomings in the protective system lie more in operational and administrative imperfections than in legislative omissions. It should be noted, however, that the system of protective legislation is distinctly passive and restrictive and is not founded on principles of interdisciplinary cooperation and positive measures characteristic of the European doctrine of "integrated conservation". In Greece, historic towns and groups of buildings were protected through legislation for the protection of historic sites. The concept of the "conservation area" has only recently been introduced.

Imperfections in the legislative system were recognized about twenty years ago by conservation specialists, and on the occasion of the European Architectural Heritage Year a positive step was taken by research workers of the Elliniki Etairia (the Greek equivalent of the British National Trust) to bring legislation for the protection and rehabilitation of the architectural heritage up to date. A draft law accompanied by an introductory report on the national cultural heritage was prepared in 1975. It is still hoped that careful consideration of the draft law will stimulate the government to update current legislation. The main legislation in force to protect the architectural heritage is listed in Table A.



## Table A. Selective list (main texts and provisions) of legislation to protect the architectural heritage in Greece

### Greek Constitution of 1975

Article 17 (1) introduces obligations arising from the right of property.

Article 24 (1) requires the state to protect the natural and cultural environment.

Article 24 (6) places monuments and historic areas and structures under state protection.

Article 25 (4) defines the state's right to require of Greek citizens their duty of "social and national solidarity".

### Implementation of architectural heritage protection

Decree of 30.12.1927

On methods for carrying out archaeological excavations.

Consolidating Act No. 5351/1932

On antiquities.

Decree No. 476/1943

On the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Decree No. 1469/1950

On the protection of special buildings and works of art subsequent to 1830.

### Organization of administrative services

Decree No. 634/1960

Sets up an Antiquities and Restoration Department in the Ministry of Education.

Legislative Decree No. 4177/1961

Amends legislation governing the Antiquities and Restoration Department and the Archaeology and Expropriations Fund.

Legislative Decree No. 4280/1962

Relates to the scientific staff of the Antiquities and Restoration Department.

Decree No. 687/1963

On the regional branches of the Antiquities and Restoration Department.

Ministerial Order No. 31050/30.6.1963

Institutes an Antiquities Conservation Centre under the Ministry of Education.

Decree No. 505/1975

Defines the composition of the Archaeological Council of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Restoration.

In Greece, the interest of research workers (both Greek and foreign) during the nineteenth century was concentrated solely on archaeological excavations of ancient sites, and it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that scholars such as Diehl, Sotiriou and later Orlandos brought about a renewed interest in Byzantine antiquities. On the other hand, the 'living' architectural heritage of the last three centuries (comprising the few remaining post-Byzantine towns, vernacular village architecture and the neoclassic urban architecture of the nineteenth century) only began to arouse interest among a few specialized research workers (architects and students of folk traditions) during the 1930s, and became a more conscious concern of the State and public opinion after 1950. This state of affairs is clearly reflected in the wholly disproportionate distribution of manpower and resources to the services responsible for antiquities and 'living' monuments respectively.



The legislative provisions noted in Table A protect antiquities (i.e. isolated remains of the prehistoric, classical, hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Frankish periods), historic monuments dating before 1830 (the year of Greek independence), historic monuments subsequent to 1830, excavation sites (i.e. designated archaeological areas and all their remains), natural sites and buildings situated within their perimeters, historic sites, and also, by implication, groups of buildings and historic districts, and historic towns and villages.

The number of objects currently protected can be obtained from the cumulative list of classifications effected by the Antiquities Service which contains approximately 4000 items. As there is not yet a complete national inventory in Greece, the number of objects in all categories meriting protection can only be assessed roughly, using as a basis an initial inventory of isolated monuments produced by the Department of Architectural History at Thessaloniki University and from the Ministry of the Interior’s 1973-1974 survey of areas of national historic or artistic interest.

Table B presents a list of categories of protected immovable cultural assets, together with the number of items currently protected and the number likely to be protected in the future. The Thessaloniki University survey recognizes four categories of importance and places 325 isolated monuments in the top category (international importance).

Table B. Categories of immovable cultural assets protected by current legislation with number of items currently protected and likely to be protected in the future

- Antiquities and historic monuments pre- and post- 1830:  
3700 currently protected; projected number 7000.
- Archaeological excavation sites:  
100 currently protected; projected number not assessable.
- Natural and historic sites:  
90 currently protected; projected number not listed.
- Groups of buildings and historic districts:  
60 currently protected; projected number not listed.
- Historic towns and villages:  
400 currently protected; projected number 2000.

Up to now, one of the major shortcomings in the organization of protection of the architectural heritage in Greece has been the absence of a national inventory. The only national inventory system is a card-index, classifying ministerial orders relating to the listing of an immovable asset. Needless to say, this index has little scientific or operational value. In addition, a number of ephorates (offices of regional superintendents of antiquities) and foreign archaeological institutes possess independent archaeological inventories and photographic collections for particular areas or excavation sites. This serious deficiency was anoted by the country’s scientific circles many years ago and there is now every hope that it will be filled in the near future by the establishment of a National Inventory Directorate under the Ministry of Culture.

Table C. Recent inventories of monuments in Greece

1. As part of the master plan for the Greater Athens area a study identifying all the monuments in the region (Attica, Megaris, Salamis and Aigina) has been compiled by a team led by the eminent architect and archaeologist John Travlos. A card-index of 2000 monuments and archaeological sites of all historical periods has been made, and these have been plotted on a



- 1:20,000 map of the Athens area (twenty sheets).
2. The work of the chair of the History of Architecture of Thessaloniki University includes a scientific inventory of 7000 monuments of all historic periods, based mainly on an analysis of available bibliographical data.
3. In 1973, on the initiative of the Ministry of the Interior, ten teams of architects carried out investigations in the country's regions with a view to identifying areas of historical or artistic interest. All 11,615 towns and villages of Greece (of which 5331 have under 200 inhabitants!) were examined and a complete card-index compiled for each of them. About two thousand were judged to be of historical or artistic interest and for these, cards conforming to the Council of Europe prototypes were established and the areas classified into three categories according to the same directives.
4. On the initiative of the late C. Doxiadis and the Athens Centre for Ekistics, a thorough study of the network of ancient cities on Hellenic territory was carried out between 1968 and 1974. Its twenty-three volumes, covering twenty-one Greek provinces, constitute a major survey, (although not all provinces are represented) of the possible distribution of ancient towns known from archaeological field research and literary evidence.
5. On the initiative of the Association of Greek Architects, an inventory of monuments of all historic periods on the island of Euboea, totalling 2000, has been drawn up.
6. The Benaki Museum in Athens has recently compiled a fairly comprehensive photographic collection of the city's Byzantine, post-Byzantine and recent monuments.
- On the other hand, moves have been made in recent years to draw up regional inventories. Although all this inventory work is very valuable for familiarizing architects and archaeologists with the architectural heritage, it cannot take the place of a national operational inventory.

Table D. Private institutions for the study and preservation of the architectural heritage in Greece

Archaeological Society; founded in 1837; headquarters in Athens.  
Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece; founded in 1882; headquarters in Athens.  
Society for Byzantine Studies; founded in 1919; headquarters in Athens.  
Venice Institute for Byzantine Studies; founded in 1949; headquarters in Venice.  
Zante Society for Folk Studies; founded in 1966; headquarters in Zante.  
Historical and Archaeological Society of Western Crete; founded in 1968; headquarters in Chanea.  
Ethnological and Folk Museum of Macedonia; founded in 1970; headquarters in Thessaloniki.  
Hellenic Society; founded in 1971; headquarters in Athens.  
Committee for Sites and Towns; headquarters in Athens.

A growing awareness of the value of conservation.  
Administrative problems

In addition to recent legislation and studies on a number of historic Greek towns, a new element in favor of efforts at integrated conservation has been added in the last few years: this is a



growing awareness among urban populations of the value of historic architecture, over and above archaeological remains. Country-dwellers continue, unfortunately, to consider any change as desirable and are very suspicious of any measure to safeguard old structures. Over the past few years, the press has given considerable support to a campaign to draw public attention to the value of the nation's 'living' architectural heritage and the dangers which threaten it. As well as specialist professional bodies such as the Committee on Monuments and Sites of the Association of Greek Architects, the Greek National Committee for ICOMOS and the National Committee for European Architectural Heritage Year, a large number of private institutions have also been active in providing publicity. Table D lists the main organizations.

Despite all the publicity, the doctrine of integrated conservation is only just beginning to be applied in Greece. There seem to be three main reasons for this state of affairs. First, the exclusive interest shown for so long to antiquities to the detriment of 'living' monuments; second, the relative shortage of resources (above all, of qualified staff); and third, the absence of operational coordination between the various state bodies involved and the exclusion of local authorities from the decision-making process and from the application of conservation strategy.

Three central government bodies have responsibility for various aspects of conservation but there is little coordination between them. The Ministry of Culture is responsible for antiquities and other monuments of all periods, for sites, and for restrictions on operations within the perimeters of listed sites. The Ministry of Planning is responsible for preparing studies and regulation on the conservation of groups of buildings, and can also classify historic urban areas independently of the Ministry of Culture. Last, the National Tourist Organization works independently in paying for studies and the implementation of conservation plans for historic sites and groups of buildings. The only State agencies for conservation at regional level are the twenty-seven ephorates (inspectors). Local authorities and resident populations are rarely consulted and play absolutely no part in conservation decision-making.

The relatively recent improvements made to the conservation system described above center on the establishment of Inspectorates of Monuments of Modern Times (in addition to those already existing for ancient and medieval monuments) under the Ministry of Culture and on the coordination, through legislation, of the listing procedures of the Ministries of Culture on the one hand and Planning on the other.

During 1979, the Ministry of Planning laid down special building regulations for 400 historic towns and villages (out of a total of 2000). This can be considered as a first step toward the introduction of a policy of integrated conservation at a city planning level in Greece.

Of the three State authorities responsible for conservation policy in Greece, i.e. the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Planning and the National Tourist Organization, only the first-named has specialized services for the purpose. These are the Directorates of Antiquities, Restoration, Medieval and Modern Monuments with central and regional offices and the Archaeology and Expropriations Fund.

The Ministry of Planning carries out a listing of historic towns on its own, but has only a very small operational staff for the protection of this important category of listed assets.

Legislation governing town and regional planning in Greece is fairly comprehensive, although quite recent. For decades, the only instruments for implementing town-planning policy were general building regulations valid for the whole country and containing highly detailed morphological regulations for buildings (hence the relative sterility of Greek postwar architecture and its oppressive uniformity). There were also urban alignment plans which set down building lines and intensities of land use, but did not specify the type of use. The following pieces of legislation have at long last introduced a modern strategy for town and regional planning: Legislative Decree No. 1262/1972 on the procedure for drawing up, applying and implementing master plans for urban areas, and Act No. 360/1976 on regional planning and environmental protection.

The provisions of the legislation relating to protection of the architectural heritage are of critical importance. Specific Articles of the general building regulations provide the possibility of establishing protected groups of buildings or urban areas by a decree issued on the initiative of the Minister of Planning. These suspend all building within the areas concerned pending the



drawing up of an urban conservation plan and/or special building regulations. It gives the Ministry the right to control the appearance of new buildings (whether or not situated in protected areas) and provides for strict control of volumes, forms, colors, advertisements, functions and traffic. The decree on master plans also specifies that proposals on environmental protection cover not only the conservation of nature and its ecosystems but also the man-made environment and its historic structures. The Act further specifies the actual content of regional development plans which must make provision for, inter alia, the general nature of restrictions desirable for protecting the environment.

Independently of this legislation, about one hundred and twenty urban development and protection studies have been prepared over the last thirty-five years. These studies have helped arouse awareness of the problems of development planning and protection of the man-made environment and have provided valuable experience for the architects, planners and economists who worked on them. Almost all of these are good, scholarly studies which makes it all the more regrettable that, because of legislative shortcomings and administrative failures, their findings have had little chance of being applied up to now. Studies devoted exclusively to urban conservation exist for the town of Kastoria in Macedonia, the old town of Rethymnon in Crete, the old Plaka district in Athens, and the old town of Chanea in Crete. Studies with a section on urban conservation include Mykonos-Delos-Rheneia, the Delphi region (conservation of the towns of Arachova, Delphi, Chryso, Galaxidi and Amfissa), Corfu, Zante, Patmos, the Mani region, Skyros and Chios. Only twenty of the total number of these studies were elaborated by public services or university teams; the remainder are the work of some forty private study agencies.

A selected chronological list of legislative texts governing the antiquities, preservation of monuments, excavations (and related main expropriations), specific cultural facilities and the organisation of the related services

1834 N.10/22 Μαΐου 1834 (ΦΕΚ 22, 16.6. 1834)

Περὶ τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν καὶ τεχνολογικῶν συλλογῶν, περὶ ἀνακαλύψεως καὶ διατηρήσεως τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ τῆς χρήσεως αὐτῶν.

1837 Β.Δ. 15/27 Ἰανουαρίου 1837

Περὶ συστάσεως Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.

1837 Β.Δ. 7/19 Δεκεμβρίου 1837

Περὶ τῆς διατηρήσεως τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις λειψάνων τοῦ Μεσαίωνα.

1840 13 Μαΐου 1840

Περὶ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Μουσείου. (Ἡ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 1046 σύσταση τοῦ Ὑπουργοῦ Παιδείας πρὸς τὸν Διοικητὴ Ἀττικῆς, γιὰ τὴν ἰδρυση Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Μουσείου στὴν Πρωτεύουσα τῆς Διοίκησης).

1863 Β.Δ. 14 Αὐγούστου 1863 (ΦΕΚ 31, 23.8.1863)

Θέσπισμα περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ Μουσείου (ἐγκριση τῶν σχεδίων τοῦ Μουσείου Ἀκροπόλεως, τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος Παν. Κάλκου).

1865 Β.Δ. 24 Φεβρουαρίου 1865 (ΦΕΚ 17, 8.3.1863)

Περὶ ἀνεγέρσεως Ἐθνικοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Μουσείου.

1874 Β.Δ. 18 Νοεμβρίου 1874 (ΦΕΚ 44, 15.13.1874)

Περὶ προκηρύξεως λαχείου ἐκ δραχμῶν νέων ἢ φράγκων ἐνὸς ἑκατομμυρίου ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιολογικῶν ἐργασιῶν.

1893 Β.Δ. 3 Ἰουνίου 1893 (ΦΕΚ 106, 8.6.1893, τ. Α')

Περὶ ἀναγκαστικῆς ἀπαλλοτριώσεως λόγῳ δημοσίας ἀνάγκης τοῦ παρὰ τῷ μνημείῳ τοῦ Φιλοπάππου κτήματος Π. Σκαλίθηρα.

1895 Υ.Ἀπ. 28 Αὐγούστου 1895 (ΦΕΚ 77 31.8.1895 τ. Γ')



- Περὶ ἐκτελέσεως τῶν πρὸς ὑποστήριξιν τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἔργων.
- 1898 Β.Δ. 27 Μαΐου 1898 (ΦΕΚ 138, 25.8.1898 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ ἐκτελέσεως τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων ἔργων πρὸς στερέωσιν τοῦ Παρθενῶνος.
- 1899 Ν. ΒΧΜΣΤ 24 Ἰουλίου 1899 (ΦΕΚ 158, 27.7.1899)  
Περὶ ἀρχαιοτήτων.
- 1899 Β.Δ. 5 Αὐγούστου 1899 (ΦΕΚ 172, 7.8.1899, τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ ἀναγκαστικῆς ἀπαλλοτριώσεως ἀγροῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις κατὰ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου.
- 1900 Υ.Ἀπ. 21 Ὀκτωβρίου 1900 (ΦΕΚ 250, 24.10.1900 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ καθορισμοῦ τῶν μελῶν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκτελέσεως τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Παρθενῶνος.
- 1902 Υ.Ἀπ. 4 Ἀπριλίου 1902 (ΦΕΚ 69, 9.4.1902 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ ἀναστηλώσεως τοῦ Ἑρεχθείου.
- 1908 Β.Δ. 16 Σεπτεμβρίου 1908 (ΦΕΚ 243, 24.9.1908 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ διεξαγωγῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Ὑπουργεῖῳ τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κλπ. ἀπεσπασμένου νομομηχανικοῦ τῶν ἐργασιῶν πρὸς ἀνέγερσιν καὶ συντήρησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν μνημείων κλπ.
- 1910 Ν. 3729 31 Μαρτίου 1910 (ΦΕΚ 178, 24.5.1910)  
Περὶ ιδρύσεως εἰδικοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ ταμείου.
- 1910 Ν. 3730 31 Μαρτίου 1910 (ΦΕΚ 178, 24.5.1910)  
Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ κράτους.
- 1918 Ν. 1288 10 Ἀπριλίου 1918 (ΦΕΚ 82, 16.4.1918)  
Περὶ ἀναγκαστικῆς ἀπαλλοτριώσεως ἐκτάσεως ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀρχαιολογικῶν σχολῶν Ἀμερικανικῆς καὶ Ἀγγλικῆς.
- 1920 Ν. 2448 24 Ἰουνίου 1920 (ΦΕΚ 169, 29.7.1920 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.
- 1929 Ν. 4041/1929 (ΦΕΚ 92, 8.3.1929 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ ἐγκαταστάσεως τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ καὶ Χριστιανικοῦ Μουσείου εἰς τὸ μέγαρον τῆς Δουκίσσης τῆς Πλακεντίας.
- 1929 Ν.Δ. 23 Μαρτίου 1929 (ΦΕΚ 113, 23.3.1929, τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ χαρακτηρισμοῦ ὡς ἀρχαιολογικοῦ χώρου τμήματος τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν.
- 1929 Ν. 4212/1929 (ΦΕΚ 240, 23.7.1929 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ κυρώσεως τοῦ ἀπὸ 23 Μαρτίου 1929 Ν.Δ. «περὶ χαρακτηρισμοῦ ὡς ἀρχαιολογικοῦ χώρου τμήματος τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν».
- 1929 Π.Δ. 27 Αὐγούστου 1929 (ΦΕΚ 329, 4.9.1929 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ ἀλλοτριώσεως τμήματος ὑπὸ τὴν πλατεῖαν Θησείου συνοικίας πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν.
- 1929 Π.Δ. 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1929 (ΦΕΚ 346, 14.9.1929 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ ἀλλοτριώσεως χώρου παρὰ τὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν ἀγορὰν τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν.
- 1929 Π.Δ. 2 Ὀκτωβρίου 1929 (ΦΕΚ 365, 4.10.1929 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ τοῦ Ταμείου ἀρχαιολογικῶν ἀπαλλοτριώσεων.
- 1929 Π.Δ. 23 Νοεμβρίου 1929 (ΦΕΚ 418, 26.11.1929 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ κανονισμοῦ τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον 4212 ἐπιτροπῶν ἐκτιμήσεων τῶν ἀπαλλοτριώσεων τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ χώρου Ἀθηνῶν.
- 1930 Ν. 4574/1930 (ΦΕΚ 127, 28.4.1930 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ συμπληρώσεως καὶ τροποποιήσεως τοῦ νόμου 4212 «περὶ χαρακτηρισμοῦ ὡς ἀρχαιολογικοῦ χώρου τμήματος τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν».
- 1932 Π.Δ. 5351 9 Αὐγούστου 1932 (ΦΕΚ 275, 24.8.1932 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ κωδικοποιήσεως τῶν διατάξεων τοῦ Νόμου 5351/32, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἰσχύει σχετικῶν διατάξεων τῶν Νόμων ΒΧΜΣΤ/1899, 491/1914, 2447/1920, 4823/1930 καὶ τοῦ Ν.Δ. τῆς 12/16 Ἰουνίου 1926 εἰς ἓν ἐνιαῖον κείμενον Νόμου φέρον τὸν ἀριθμὸν 5351 καὶ τὸν τίτλον «περὶ ἀρχαιοτήτων».
- 1937 Α.Ν. 809/1937 (ΦΕΚ 325, 17.8.1937 τ. Α΄)  
Περὶ ἀρχαιολογικῶν ἀνασκαφῶν πρὸς ὁλοσχερῇ ἀποκάλυψιν τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἀκαδημίας καὶ περὶ διαθέσεως τοῦ χώρου πρὸς ἴδρυσιν τοῦ διεθνοῦς κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀκαδημιῶν.
- 1940 Α.Ν. 2266/1940 (ΦΕΚ 108, 30.3.1940 τ. Α΄)



- Περὶ τροποποιήσεως τοῦ ἄρθρου 1 τοῦ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 809/1937 Α.Ν. «περὶ ἀρχαιολογικῶν ἀνασκαφῶν πρὸς ὅλοσχερῇ ἀποκάλυψιν τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἀκαδημίας (Πλάτωνος) κλπ.».
- 1950 Ν. 1469/1950 (ΦΕΚ 169, 7.8.1950 τ. Α')
- Περὶ προστασίας, εἰδικῆς κατηγορίας οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ ἔργων τέχνης μεταγενεστέρων τοῦ 1830.
- 1955 Β.Δ. 30 Αὐγούστου 1955 (ΦΕΚ 249Α', 9.9.1955)
- Περὶ ὄρων δομήσεως ἐν Ἀθήναις.
- 1972 Ν.Δ. 1122/1972
- Περὶ τροποποιήσεως, συμπληρώσεως καὶ κωδικοποιήσεως τῶν περὶ Πνευματικοῦ Κέντρου Ἀθηνῶν διατάξεων.
- 1975 Π.Δ. 12 Φεβρουαρίου 1975 (ΦΕΚ 53Δ', 5.3.1975)
- Περὶ καταργήσεως τοῦ ἀπὸ 10.11.1971 Β.Δ. «περὶ τροποποιήσεως τοῦ ἀπὸ 30.8.1855 Β.Δ./περὶ ὄρων δομήσεως ἐν Ἀθήναις».
- 1976 Π.Δ. 25 Ἰουνίου 1976 (ΦΕΚ 186 Δ', 26.6.1976)
- Περὶ καθορισμοῦ τῆς χρήσεως τῶν οἰκοδομῶν ἐνὸς τμήματος τῆς ὁδοῦ Διονυσίου Ἀρεοπαγίτου καὶ τῶν παρόδων αὐτῶν, τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν.
- 1977 Ν. 667/1977 (ΦΕΚ 233Α', 25.8.1977)
- Περὶ ἀντικαταστάσεως τοῦ ἄρθρου 1 τοῦ Ν.Δ. 1122/1972 «περὶ τροποποιήσεως, συμπληρώσεως καὶ κωδικοποιήσεως τῶν περὶ Πνευματικοῦ Κέντρου Ἀθηνῶν διατάξεων».
- 1977 Π.Δ. 941/1977 (ΦΕΚ 320, 17.10.1977 τ. Α')
- Περὶ ὀργανισμοῦ τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Πολιτισμοῦ καὶ Ἐπιστημῶν.
- 1979 Π.Δ. 7 Ἰουνίου 1979 (ΦΕΚ 323, 9.7.1979)
- Περὶ συμπληρώσεως διατάξεων τινῶν ἀφορῶσιν εἰς παραδοσιακοὺς οἰκισμοὺς ἢ διατηρητέα μνημεῖα.
- 1979 Π.Δ. 18 Αὐγούστου 1979 (ΦΕΚ 445Δ', 30.8.1979)
- Περὶ τροποποιήσεως τοῦ ρυμοτομικοῦ σχεδίου Ἀθηνῶν διὰ χαρακτηρισμοῦ ὁδῶν ὡς πεζοδρόμων κλπ.
- 1979 Π.Δ. 21 Σεπτεμβρίου 1979 (ΦΕΚ 567 Δ', 13.10.1979)
- Περὶ χαρακτηρισμοῦ ὡς παραδοσιακοῦ τμήματος τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (ἱστορικὸν κέντρον).
- 1979 Π.Δ. 15 Νοεμβρίου 1979 (ΦΕΚ 667 Δ', 22.11.1979)
- ΑΠΟΦ. Γ 34303/1783/79 «Περὶ ἀντικαταστάσεως κανονισμῶν λειτουργίας πεζοδρόμων περιοχῶν ἐμπορικοῦ κέντρου καὶ Πλάκας Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐγκρίσεως ἐφαρμογῆς νέων τοιούτων».
- 1980 Π.Δ. 24 Ὀκτωβρίου 1980 (ΦΕΚ 617 Δ', 8.11.1980)
- Περὶ χαρακτηρισμοῦ ὡς διατηρητέων, κτιρίων, κειμένων ἐντὸς τῆς περιοχῆς Πλάκας, τοῦ ρυμοτομικοῦ σχεδίου Ἀθηνῶν.
- 1981 Π.Δ. 13 Ἀπριλίου 1981 (ΦΕΚ 227 Δ', 20.4.1981)
- Περὶ πολεοδομικῆς διαρθρώσεως τῆς περιοχῆς τοῦ Πνευματικοῦ Κέντρου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ καθορισμοῦ τῶν ὄρων δομήσεως αὐτοῦ.
- 1982 Π.Δ. 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1982 (ΦΕΚ 561 Δ', 23.11.1982)
- Καθορισμὸς εἰδικῶν χρήσεων γῆς στὴν περιοχή τῆς Πλάκας τοῦ ρυμοτομικοῦ σχεδίου Ἀθηνῶν.



## THE CURRENT CONSENSUS CONCERNING PRESERVATION PHILOSOPHY

### General evolution of ideas

The most important features of historic buildings are their original form and substance. Unfortunately, these cannot be preserved unchanged forever and, in point of fact, we find that they are affected by many factors:

- a) Natural aging due to unavoidable wear and tear brought about by variations of temperature, biochemical changes, weathering, air pollution, corrosion;
- b) Mechanical forces, which disrupt the static equilibrium of a building and may lead to its partial or complete destruction. The principal causes of this kind of damage are earthquakes, floods, fires, and acts of war;
- c) Human intervention over the course of the centuries, leading to alterations in the functional arrangement of a building (the organization and use of its internal space) and in its morphological character (the style of the façades and the interior decoration).

In order to counter these perennial dangers, in order to protect the original form and substance of important works of architecture and so prolong their lease on life, we have to apply special techniques to protect and preserve them.

The legal and administrative measures which have been evolved are intended to protect buildings against alteration and destruction as a result of human initiative. But these protective measures, important though they are, do not help with the aesthetic problems posed by interventions, and do not define guidelines for artistic action.

On the other hand, the natural aging of buildings and the damage done to them by mechanical forces are being countered by contemporary techniques of preservation (i.e. conservation, restoration and reconstruction). But the ethical questions raised by these techniques—a particular technique and a particular method of intervention has to be decided on in almost every individual case—are still among the most difficult and controversial.

Today problems of preservation are undoubtedly approached in a scientific manner and the greatest care is taken to ensure that the original form and substance of architectural monuments are preserved as far as is humanly possible. Over the last sixty years, a wide consensus on the scientific doctrine of the discipline has been reached, proclaimed in the Athens (1931) and the Venice Charter (1964). Following this modern understanding of the task, conservation and restoration are needed rather than rebuilding, which should be done only when absolutely necessary; new additions should be limited to a minimum, added new material must be clearly distinguished from the ancient fabric; every phase of a preservation campaign should be recorded; minute measured drawings and a scholarly publication should document the work; the reversibility of the intervention should be guaranteed.

And yet conservationists, architects, archaeologists and art historians are as divided as ever over the basic philosophy of essential interventions. This divergence of opinion is chiefly due to the fact that specialists tend to lay the main emphasis on one or other of the two fundamental aims of architectural preservation. The majority gives first priority to the conservation of the original or accumulated substance of buildings, while a minority considers that the real importance of architectural monuments lies in their function as urban and historic symbols. This second group is even prepared to some extent to accept reconstructions, which are really no more than copies or falsifications of original structures.

There is a further conflict between the more or less purist approach, requiring that the monument be restored to its supposed initial form, and the historical approach with its awareness that the successive alterations to a monument document its historical development.

Conservation is the first stage of architectural preservation and may be applied both to



living architectural monuments and to those which have fallen into disuse, i.e. archaeological ruins. It is widely assumed that conservation work, which is the first step to be taken in prolonging the life of a building, is not only necessary but also legitimate. But this first intervention also constitutes the first attack on the original substance of the building. Consequently, even if the formal identity of the building is preserved by careful planning and workmanship —and unfortunately this is not something that has always been guaranteed— this loss of substance is a serious matter.

Simply structured buildings made of costly materials (e.g. marble) have the best chance of survival. Although, for instance, the Temple of Hephaistos in Athens was neglected for centuries, the loss of original substance was relatively slight.

During the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, arbitrary alterations were made while conserving historic buildings. This regrettable practice was extended from the decorative to the structural sphere, where it led to the use of metal constructions as supports for stone vaults and of concrete for the repair of stone columns (as for example in the Parthenon). Entirely new elements, such as retaining walls and buttresses radically altered the original appearance of the monuments.

But, even if conservationists are completely conscientious in their approach, we are still left with the problem of how to introduce new components into a structure, where they clash with the older patinated members and so create a disturbing visual contrast. This aesthetic problem is very difficult to solve.

The process of 'artificial aging' in which new members used for the renovation of buildings are specially treated to make them look old, is quite absurd, for it is diametrically opposed to the whole purpose of conservation, which is to 'renovate' or replace defective parts of a monument.

However, there is another solution to this problem, which is entirely consistent with the aims of conservation. Using matt tones and avoiding all bright or shiny surfaces, the materials for such repairs are carefully matched with the original building and, where possible, the stone blocks for patching walls are obtained from the quarry used for the original work. By matching materials in this way, contemporary conservation work is able to achieve maximum fidelity, for although the new members are not strictly authentic, their texture is identical with the texture of the original parts. Having established this essential similarity, however, it is imperative that a distinction is made between the new and the original elements of the building in order to preclude all possibility of confusion as to the origin of its different components. This can be done in a variety of ways. For example, by giving the new blocks sharp edges, the architect-conservationist can create an effective contrast to the original stone blocks, whose edges will have been worn away by the weather. Rebuilt sections or members are provided with an inscription giving the dates of the replacement.

'Natural aging' of buildings is accompanied by a parallel process of 'aging with grace', by which a 'film' of fine surface alterations emerges on the façades, thus producing what is known as patina. These two aging processes constantly modify the original form and substance of buildings, albeit in completely different ways, for while the aesthetic value is decreased by natural aging, it is increased by the patina. In actual fact, of course, 'natural aging' and 'aging with grace' are so closely interconnected that they really form a single process.

Patina helps to integrate buildings into their natural setting, eliminating the visual contrast between man-made structures and the natural environment. But there are also negative sides to the aging process. Single monuments or groups of buildings begin to look neglected, then desolate, and finally ruinous. Ruins, of course, can be suggestive. And when we admire the patina of archaeological ruins, we do not for one moment think of cleaning their façades or renovating their structure. It would be, however, desirable to establish an easily recognizable frontier, a sort of demarcation line between these two types of aging, i.e. 'aging with grace', which is the vehicle of historical memory, and 'natural aging', which is the cause of decay, in order to define an optimum degree of deformations acceptable for a monument.

Unfortunately, this seems scarcely possible, since two disparate preservation approaches, justified in themselves but in fact mutually conflicting would have to be reconciled. The first



approach, which appeals to the scientific mind, insists on regular conservation in order to preserve as much as possible of the original architectural form of a monument — a procedure which would, of course, eliminate its patina; the second is more concerned with the preservation of the patina and the polished appearance of historic buildings and consequently less interested in their regular conservation. In fact, the respect for patina has lost ground during the last decades, due to an exaggerated interest in factual data and a gradual decay of pictorial —and picturesque— values.

The most fragile part of monuments is their sculptural décor. This frequently requires renovation, which can be carried out in accordance with one of three tested methods:

a) The replacement of a damaged or missing part by an exact copy executed in a different material (example: the cement casts of the Caryatids on the Erechtheion, which replaced the marble originals).

b) The introduction of a new sculptural composition executed in the same format and materials and illustrating a similar theme as the missing original but conceived as a contemporary work of art.

c) The replacement of a damaged or missing part by a relief executed in the same material as the original, but which merely indicates the general outlines of the sculpture.

The first method —in which the choice of a different material differentiates the replica from the original— is fairly suitable for ancient sculptural works, while the other two —in which the material is the same, but the design is different— are usually applied for the sculptural décor of ‘living’ monuments. The replacement, however, of missing sculptures by exact replicas executed in the same material —a solution often tried in the nineteenth century— is quite unacceptable since it aims to create a false impression.

The intervention techniques outlined above are applied to ‘living’ architectural monuments in order to prolong their life. But there is another form of preservation which is concerned with the conservation of archaeological ruins. Instead of trying to preserve an original functional role, which has long since been lost, archaeological conservation merely tries to preserve what is left of the original architectural substance and form of the monuments, as documents of historical and artistic value.

The most enduring threats to archaeological ruins and monuments have been posed by weather and by soil subsidence. In more recent years, these have been augmented by mechanical vibrations (set up by motorized traffic and supersonic aircraft) and corrosion due to air pollution. The conservation techniques employed for archaeological remains have been so far essentially the same as those used for ‘living’ architectural monuments already described. Recently, however, entirely new methods are being considered. One of these —the idea of erecting large sheets of synthetic material on light metal scaffolding to form a roof that would protect particularly sensitive archaeological finds against the weather— has already been tried out in Pylos, where the Mycenaean palace of King Nestor has been protected in this way. But this solution is not an entirely happy one, for it inevitably distorts the architecture and isolates the archaeological site from its natural setting.

Another suggestion is to cover the surface of archaeological monuments by a clinging transparent coating made of synthetic resins, which would give permanent protection against the effects of weather and air pollution. But this, too, has its disadvantages, for the membrane would inevitably change the original texture of the building materials and even increase the risks of mechanical deterioration of the monument’s ‘skin’.

Restoration is the second stage in the preservation of architectural monuments. Unlike conservation, which is primarily concerned with the protection of existing buildings whose authentic form and substance are both largely intact, restoration is devoted to the re-erection of buildings which have been partly or completely destroyed but whose original members have been saved to some extent.

The legitimacy and desirability of conservation are axiomatic. But this is not the case with restoration. Indeed, the aesthetic quality of much of the restoration work carried out during the past two hundred years is extremely doubtful. It is all the more necessary therefore to establish precise, objective criteria for interventions of this kind.



The first attempts at restoration were prompted by archaeological monuments. In the course of excavations, important, original members were discovered near architectural ruins. The wish to reconstruct parts of the buildings, using original materials so far as these were available is a legitimate one. This idea has remained the basis of all restoration projects. It follows, therefore, that restoration should be restricted to the re-erection on their original site of original parts of historic monuments. New building materials may be introduced if absolutely essential, in other words, if they are needed to ensure structural stability. Where they are introduced, however, techniques similar to those used in conservation work must be adopted in order to distinguish between the old and new parts of the structure.

Because of their great age, archaeological monuments are highly evocative, even when they are in ruins. Consequently, it is not necessary to reconstitute a whole building in order to bring out its symbolic and historical significance. The theory that the symbolic power and psychological appeal of archaeological ruins would be enhanced by comprehensive restoration is completely false and merely testifies to a dearth of historical imagination. This kind of approach inevitably leads to the reconstruction of pseudo-antiquities, a practice which is totally unacceptable since it constitutes a conscious falsification of the archaeological remains. It could, of course, be countered that there is no such thing as complete authenticity in respect of the material composition of a monument. But this argument is essentially specious for, although it is unavoidable that some part of the original substance of a building should be lost as a result of the conservation and renovation of 'living' architectural monuments, this loss is fully justified by the obvious need to prolong the life of such monuments. This does not apply, however, to the large scale restoration of archaeological ruins, which is based on a purely arbitrary decision.

But, quite apart from archaeological monuments, we also have to consider the question of the restoration of 'living' buildings which performed a function and formed an integral part of the urban image before they were destroyed. In this sphere, there are further cogent reasons why restoration of the initial form should be undertaken. These are:

- a) the fact that these buildings were inhabited and fulfilled specific functions prior to their destruction;
- b) the importance of such buildings as part of the urban cluster and their contribution to the homogeneity of the townscape;
- c) the symbolic function of such buildings in urban space (this applies primarily to churches, architectural monuments, etc.);
- d) the emotional attachment of the population to such buildings (which had always formed part of the urban scene).

These were the principal reasons underlying the restoration of so many buildings of aesthetic and historical value, even badly damaged during the two World Wars.

Where buildings have been only partially destroyed, another approach to restoration is possible: new wings or storeys designed in a contemporary style to the surviving section of the original structure can be added. This method does, of course, imply a tremendous stylistic contrast. But there are many precedents in the history of architecture, including the Doge's Palace in Venice, whose façade is a perfect example of the harmonic integration of three different styles, namely Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance. Morphological diversity in a building testifies in a clear way to its historical evolution. If this method of restoration is, however, to be successful, there must be an organic link between the old and new sections of the building. The best way of achieving this is by designing the extension or completion in the form of a wing. This gives a horizontal layout which, if successful, will create an impression of harmonic contrast between the different parts of the ensemble. A congenial project of this kind was Schinkel's proposal for a royal palace on the Akropolis of Athens (1834).

In certain instances, the symbolic importance of a 'living' monument may be so great that after being destroyed, it is immediately restored, even though only a small percentage of the original architectural members have survived. A striking example of such restoration or, to be more precise, reconstruction is afforded by the Campanile of St. Mark's in Venice which was totally destroyed in the early years of the century and immediately rebuilt in its present form. But even in such special cases, it would be preferable to find other more genuine ways of preserv-



ing the historical and symbolic value of a destroyed building by just consolidating, for example, the ruined parts of it. Complete reconstruction is, after all, a falsification.

If, on the other hand, an archaeological monument is completely destroyed, it happens often —provided the foundations and the original architectural plans have been preserved— that the original building is replaced by an exact copy, a counterfeit. Such reconstruction projects serve no purpose. The reproductive processes employed in other spheres of the fine arts —namely painting and sculpture— may appear dubious when considered in ethical terms, but they do at least serve a positive purpose by providing wider access to works of art and thus educating the general public. This is not the case with ‘architectural reproductions’. Consequently there is no justification for a counterfeit ancient building, which can only possibly appeal to people who have no real understanding of art and for the meaning of history.

## Preservation trends in Greece

The historic Athenian monuments and especially the Akropolis ensemble have been the object of a great number of various interventions in the course of the last 150 years: demolitions of parts of the old town fabric, elimination of medieval churches, conservation and restoration measures for the ancient and to some extent also for the medieval remnants, even reconstruction of ancient monuments have been undertaken.

The question as to what extent the living old town of Athens ought to be sacrificed for archaeological excavations has remained a controversial issue for quite a long time; in the meanwhile it seems that a kind of constructive compromise has been reached during the last twenty years allowing the ancient remains and the traditional town fabric to coexist in the lower town.

Thus on a general town-planning level, the principle of assigning equal importance to the documents of all historic periods in the city has been widely accepted.

The same, however, has certainly not been the case with the policy followed on the Akropolis: one has to keep in mind that what we see today on the plateau is a restoration carried about by purist, archaeomaniac scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who tried to establish an idealized classical space freed from the additions of later times. In this approach, they could be sure of the moral support of the majority of the Athenian population. This is to be explained by the patriotic cult of antiquities long supported by public opinion in Greece.

Opinions and attitudes on this fundamental problem have not been, however, unanimous from the beginning:

For K. F. Schinkel (1834) the sacred character of the Akropolis did not involve the restoration of the monuments. On the contrary, although giving the visual primacy to the Parthenon and preserving all the ancient features on the plateau, he dared to confront the ancient monuments with the contemporary classicist architecture of his time and proposed a congenial scheme of historic continuity with his project for a royal palace on the Akropolis.<sup>111</sup>

The initiators of the plan for the new city of Athens, S. Kleanthes and E. Schaubert, omitted any recommendation in respect to the future of the Akropolis. This has been criticized by Leo von Klenze, who in the same year (1834) was categorical in his admonitions to free the Akropolis immediately “of all ruinous and ugly buildings of the barbaric ages” and to proceed to conservation and restoration works to the benefit of the classical remains.

But although Klenze has to be considered as the spiritual father of the puristic restoration plans for the Akropolis, his purism did not go so far as to purpose an elimination of all medieval structures on it. “The picturesque part of more recent fortifications such as the Tower of the Acciajuoli and the Venetian Bastion next to the Propylaia” should have been preserved according to his opinion.<sup>112</sup>

A very early critic of the purist approach to preservation was General Heydeck, a member of the regency council, a gifted painter, who complained to the first conservationist Ludwig Ross

111 In a letter to Maximilian, the crown prince of Bavaria, Schinkel made a passionate plea for maintaining historic continuity and having new buildings on the Akropolis (see Appendix A, no. 2); he recommended that the Akropolis be brought back to life for the sake of future history:

“Die Akropolis bildet einen leuchtenden Punkt in der Weltgeschichte an welchen sich unendliche Gedanken Reihen knüpfen die dem ganzen Geschlecht fortwährend wichtig seyn und theuer bleiben werden. Schon deshalb verdient dieser Ort die Wiederbelebung für die Geschichte der folgenden Zeit und wie könnte dies beim jetzigen Zustande Griechenlands besser geschehen als durch die Einrichtung der neuen Residenz auf demselben”.

112 Von Klenze in his own words as follows:

“In den Vorschlägen der Herren Kleanthes und Schaubert, so weit sie mir mitgeteilt worden sind, kommt nichts über die Behandlung dieser Hochstadt vor; jedoch ist nicht wohl in Zweifel zu stellen, daß die Aufdeckung der antiken Denkmale und des antiken Bodens hier noch wünschenswerter ist, als in der unteren Stadt, und daß diese auch wohl in ihrer Absicht lag.

Mein unmaßgeblicher Gedanke hierüber wäre folgender: Dieser Berg sollte, nachdem die offizielle Erklärung, daß er nie mehr als Festung behandelt und betrachtet werden soll, vorliegt, sobald als möglich von den ruinirten und schlechten Bauwerken der barbarischen Zeiten befreit werden. Alle antiken Mauren blieben dabei verschont und vielleicht auch einige malerische Theile der neuen Festungswerke, z.B. der Thurm der Florentiner Acciajuoli, eine venetianische Bastion neben den Propyläen usw”. Leo von Klenze, 1838, 422-423.



113 "Den Restaurationsarbeitn auf der Akropolis war der General (Heydeck) nicht hold; 'die Archäologen' meinte er, 'würden in ihrem Eifer, die alten Monumente wieder blosszulegen und rein hinzustellen, alle malerischen Zuthaten des Mittelalters zerstören wie in Rom'. Und darin hatte er gewiss vom künstlerischen Standpunkte nicht Unrecht; aber was war vorzuziehen?" L. Ross, 1863, 84.

114 For Burnouf, there seemed to be a consensus in Greek society to eliminate "all the structures on the Acropolis not originating from Greek times"; he considered the later additions as "having no artistic interest" (sic!), but he deplored the loss of the historic testimonia. He writes as follows:

"Enfin la tour des Acciajuoli vient de tomber sous le marteau des démolisseurs. C'est la Société archéologique d'Athènes qui exécute cette oeuvre avec des fonds que M. le docteur Schliemann a fournis. A mesure que les années s'écoulent, les chances de subsister vont en diminuant pour toutes les constructions qui ne sont pas helléniques, car (...) un nombre de plus en plus grand de personnes s'intéressent en ce genre de travaux et sont prêtes à y contribuer de leur argent (...) On peut donc estimer, que dans un petit nombre d'années toutes les constructions de l'Acropole autres que les constructions helléniques auront disparu et que l'on en cherchera vainement la trace. Au point de vue de l'art elles n'offrent certainement aucun intérêt: tout invite à les démolir. Mais les historiens auront de la peine à comprendre les récits des guerres qui en eu lieu depuis Sylla jusqu'à nos jours, quant il ne restera plus dans Athènes et notamment sur sa citadelle et autour d'elle que les monuments antérieurs à Sylla". E. Burnouf, 1877, 75.

In his classical work *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, Gregorovius refers to a "crude tower-colossus", but recognizes, however, its landmark role for the Akropolis. He shows understanding for the "modern purism of Athenians", but is also worried by the loss of historic continuity caused by these interventions:

"Der plumpe Turmcolloß, von dessen Plattform der Blick des Wächters das Meer und die Straßen Attikas umfassen konnte, blieb Jahrhunderte lang das fernhin sichtbare Wahrzeichen der mittelalterlichen Stadt Athen, deren barbarisches Zeitalter er darstellte, wie ehemals der eherne Athenecolloß des Phidias die classische Zeit dargestellt hatte. Er wurde im Jahre 1874 abgetragen und fiel so als Opfer des modernen Purismus der Athener, wie im Jahre 1887 der schöne Turm Pauls III auf dem Capitoile Roms gefallen ist, um dem Nationaldenkmal des Gründers der italienischen Einheit Platz zu machen. Wenn jenes Prinzip der Reinigung von den als barbarisch angesehenen Zutaten des Mittelalters, welches in unseren Augen auch in Rom zur Anwendung kommt, irgendwo entschuldigt werden kann, so darf dies in Hinsicht auf die Akropolis Athens der Fall sein. Freilich ist ein solches Verfahren an sich stets mit Verlusten für die historische Kenntnis verbunden; denn die Denkmäler einer geschichtlichen Epoche werden dadurch zu Gunsten einer anderen vernichtet und die Verbindung der Zeiten und Schicksale, welche Städte ehrwürdig macht, die Geschichte aber erst zum Bewußtsein des Weltzusammenhanges erhebt, wird für immer zerstört".

115 This one-sided, purist preservationist approach is still condoned today by the majority of the archaeologists, who argue that classical monuments have a unique aesthetic value. This is also the opinion of young scholars such as T. Tanoulas, who in his recent paper "The Propylaia of the Acropolis at Athens since the seventeenth century; their decay and restoration", *Jahrbuch 102* (1987) regrets only the lack of documentation for later additions demolished during the last 150 years:

"(...) Could one expect a nation, just liberated from a slavery that lasted four centuries, to respect the reminders of this slavery which enveloped what seemed to be the symbols of his glorious past and of a promising future? In the minutes of the first sessions of the Archaeological Society we can see the fervent veneration of these symbols and the contempt for the later constructions that altered their form. But the Greeks were not alone in this way of confronting the remains of antiquity. The Europeans shared the same point of view; we have only to read Beulé's thoughts on the future of the monuments of the Acropolis. Also it is significant that the French architects of the École des Beaux-Arts made drawings of the Propylaea ignoring the later additions.

about the large-scale demolitions on the Akropolis during the 1830s and stated that "archaeologists in their zeal to uncover and restore the ancient monuments would destroy the picturesque additions of the medieval times, as happened already in Rome".<sup>113</sup>

Characteristically enough, a royal decree of King Otto issued on the 7th of December, 1837, (see Appendix A, No 11) called for safeguarding the medieval antiquities during the implementation of the town-plan for the new capital. The area of the Akropolis, however, seems not to have fallen under this jurisdiction!

The systematic clearing of the Akropolis was pursued during the entire nineteenth century. It started with the demolition of all the dwellings on the plateau and continued with the elimination of the Frankish and Venetian batteries at the entrance, and the remains of the medieval palace at the Propylaia, in the 1830s and 1840s.

The last remaining medieval monument, the Watch-Tower in the southwest wing of the Propylaia, was demolished in 1875 with funds made available by Heinrich Schliemann. Scholars of high competence, e.g. the Director of the French Archaeological School at Athens, Emil Burnouf, or the great German historian Ferdinand Gregorovius expressed strong reservations toward such an arbitrary treatment of monuments furnishing evidence for later historical periods<sup>114</sup>; it was, however, too late.

As a working tool for this one-sided preservation philosophy<sup>115</sup>, biased in favour of ancient monuments, a quite sophisticated and clearly formulated body of knowledge has been built up in Greece in order to handle the practical implementation measures concerning conservation and restoration works on ancient monuments.

These rules developed gradually in the Greek Archaeological Service, mainly on the initiative of field archaeologists and in some extent of specialized architect-conservationists during the last decades. The restoration works of N. Balanos on the Akropolis (1898-1938) and later on those of A. Orlandos at the Propylaia, in Sounion and at the temple of Aphaia in Aigina, played a decisive role in the formulation of these rules.

The prevailing preservation attitude in Greece has always considered ancient monuments as archaeological documents. Consequently, additions have been, with rare exceptions, systematically avoided unless necessary for consolidating buildings in a precarious condition.

In some special cases, a sufficient quantity of available *disiecta membra* allow for a well thought out restoration, a so-called 'anastylosis' (the literal sense of the word in Greek being 'raising fallen columns'). In fact, anastylosis, in the specifically Greek meaning of the word, is appropriate for monuments which consist in part or in whole, of independent and self-sustained architectural members, fully carved in marble or other stone and built without use of mortar. These architectural members precisely reveal the aesthetic and historical value of the monument, whether they are still in situ on the monument itself, or scattered on the ground. Anastylosis therefore is desirable for ancient Greek buildings, if a considerable amount of original material is available on the ground and as long as a large-scale use of new material is excluded.

After the large-scale excavations on the Akropolis plateau, carried out between 1885 and 1890, had been concluded, P. Cavvadias, the excavation director, made an emotional statement formulating the *ultima ratio* of this venture: "Thus Hellas renders to the civilized world the Akropolis, as a noble monument of Greek genius, cleansed of every barbaric<sup>116</sup> addition, as a venerable and unique treasure-house of the sublime creations of ancient art". The prejudiced purist preservation approach was at this time established as the rule and has prevailed ever since.

During recent years, however, a totally different approach to the cultural heritage has developed —expressed in the articles of the International Venice Charter for Conservation (1964)— which insists on the equal value of all historic periods represented in any given monument and calls for all the various architectural forms subsequently added over the centuries to be the objects of equal consideration. It is therefore questionable if the demolition of the Frankish tower would have been easily accepted today.

Now that a comprehensive preservation philosophy in regard to the ancient Greek cultural heritage has, after a lengthy period, clearly crystallized out, the main guidelines for intervention, introduced by the Greek experience, seem to be internationally accepted; they enjoy a wide consensus in the opinion of scholars and practitioners.



In September, 1983, the Akropolis Committee invited international experts to Athens to discuss with their Greek colleagues the proposed conservation work on the Parthenon. Charalambos Bouras, president of the Committee from 1986 onward, formulated on this occasion the guiding principles—in accordance with the International Venice Charter—which are to be taken under consideration during the restoration works on the Akropolis. Because of the importance of this text—as a basic orientation document (valid not only in the case of the Parthenon)—we reproduce here the main passages:<sup>117</sup>

“Today the restoration of architectural monuments had advanced beyond the era of dogma: the principles form a fairly broad framework, within which the proposals made should respect the particular features of each individual case. The drafters of the Charter of Venice in 1964 provided that each country should be responsible for applying the principles within the framework of its own culture and traditions (...)

In addition to the internationally agreed principles laid down in the Charter of Venice which are discussed first below, a further five will be enunciated, which have general application to most of the non-living classical buildings in Greece. These new principles derive indirectly from an interpretation of the precedents, and from the particular experience gained (both good and bad) in Greece, as a result of many years of practical efforts to restore ancient monuments.

I. The principles of the Charter of Venice as related to proposals for the restoration of the Parthenon:

Article 2: The conservation and restoration of monuments must have recourse to all the sciences and techniques which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of the architectural heritage.

In the case of the Parthenon, the requirements of this article are met by the wide range of specialized skills represented amongst those responsible for the restoration study and also amongst those who will be evaluating that study.

Article 3: The intention of conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.

The proposals for improving the value of the Parthenon, both as a scientific-historical document and as a building of great artistic value, obviously cover the requirements of the article.

Article 5: The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the layout or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted.

The proposals do not include any changes in the layout or the decoration of the temple, for obvious reasons.

Article 6: The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relation of mass and color must be allowed.

The question of the setting of the monuments has been much studied in recent years. In the case of the Parthenon there is no question of changing the general environment, but only the immediately surrounding space; for the last two centuries this has been filled with the dispersed architectural material that it is now intended to organize and classify or to set in position on the building. The quantity of this material in proportion to that still in situ is minute, and in no case will the relations of mass and color be altered.

Article 8: Items of sculpture, painting or decoration which form an integral part of a monument may only be removed from it if this is the sole means of ensuring their preservation.

The principle is of decisive importance for the Parthenon, since its sculptural decoration is unique, not only for its quality but also for its importance as an integral part of the architectural form of the monument. Although the sculptures by Pheidias and his work-

Boitte was the first to depict the Propylaea with all the remains of later structures, and this fact corresponds with a changing taste in Europe, where, by this time, neo-classicism had given place to various and more picturesque styles.

Having in mind the significance of the Acropolis for the history of human culture, one cannot blame the demolition of the later roughly built masonry, in order to reconstitute as much as possible of its original dignity; what one regrets and criticizes is the lack of regular official documentation which could permit the definition of the history of the buildings themselves and of Athens during the obscure long period of the Middle Ages and the Turkish occupation. Even the last excavators of the Acropolis were not particularly concerned with the documentation of what they were demolishing”.

116 Note here again the key word “barbaric” in its double sense of “not Greek” and “uncivilized”. Quotation taken from P. Cavvadias and G. Kawerau, 1906.

117 Ch. Bouras, *Study for the Restoration of the Parthenon*, Ministry of Culture and Sciences, Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments, Athens, 1983, 698-707.



shop have been admired to the point of excess over the last 200 years, they have been treated in a way that can hardly be described as meeting with general acceptance. The majority of them were removed from the temple during an age of innocence, when the problem of the conservation of monuments had not yet been appreciated. And even today the possibility is discussed of removing the few sculptures that have remained in situ, in the light of the emergence of a serious new danger —the pollution of the atmosphere.

Whether or not the principle enshrined in the article is being observed, depends basically on an assessment as to how far the removal of the sculptures is 'the sole means of ensuring their preservation'. And this assessment is related to a changing situation and to actions that may or may not be implemented. Moreover, any course of action that proved to be misguided would not be especially damaging to the sculptures. Over the last five years, after it was judged that the only way to preserve them was to transfer them to the museum, the last sculptures have already been removed from the west pediment. This course of action is readily reversible. The problem is more acute in the case of the metopes and the west frieze: it would be very difficult both to remove these and to restore them to their original position at some future date.

Article 9: The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.

The requirements of this article have already been emphasized in the discussion of the improvement of the values of the monument. Respect for the original form of the temple is supported by the knowledge resulting from long research in the past and from recent investigation. In fact, a thorough archaeological study has already taken place and each restoration proposed will accord with its findings. Respect for the authentic features — the architectural members of the temple— is of a paramount importance in the case of the Parthenon, and is guaranteed by avoiding as far as possible any new work on them. For the Parthenon, as for the Erechtheion, the ancient cuttings will be used for the necessary modern clamps; wherever any broken piece has to be completed, use will be made of a device for transferring points, so that its break surfaces will remain intact.

The requirements in the Charter that restoration should bear a contemporary stamp clearly refers to work that goes beyond the bounds of certain restoration —that is, to work based on inference and comparative data. No such work is proposed for the Parthenon.

Article 10: Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.

It has been demonstrated that the traditional technique of using architectural members cut from single blocks and perfectly dressed guarantees, under natural environmental conditions, a very long life to works of Greek classical architecture. The various cements used as substitutes for marble (mainly in order to differentiate clearly between the new and ancient parts) deteriorated in less than half a century. Artificial stone and mortars should accordingly be ruled out, not only because they are in fact cheap materials in themselves, but because they are much less enduring than marble.

In accordance with the principles of Article 10 we preclude, as in the case of the Erechtheion, the use of a number of modern materials, such as plastics, polymers and epoxide resins, precisely because they have not been tested over a long enough period to guarantee their efficacy. By contrast, titanium will be used for all the connecting elements, since data derived from experiments in artificial aging have demonstrated that the metal is highly resistant to corrosion and effectively has an infinite life.



Article 11: The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological and aesthetic value and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.

The requirements of this article are of limited significance for the Parthenon, since earlier, drastic operations (the demolition of the early Christian apse and the mosque) have already created a specific state. The views of earlier archaeologists, moreover, usually leaned towards 'purism' and a desire to reveal the original parts of the temple.

In the new proposals, the requirements of Article 11 are observed in that the Christian staircase in the southwest corner of the building, and the Roman phases of the large west thyroma are to be preserved. The dispersed pieces of the later cella colonnade are to be reassembled and separately exhibited. Only the pieces added by Balanos (column drums of Peiraeus limestone and concrete, metal components, and so on) are to be removed, since they clearly fall within the category of items 'of little interest' and not 'of value' alluded to in the Charter.

Article 12: Replacements of missing parts must fit in harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historical evidence.

The harmonious integration of the ancient marble pieces with the modern replacements, that will inevitably have to be set in position on the Parthenon, is guaranteed by their formal and structural fidelity to the original form. In this context, the proportion of new to original material, both in the monument as a whole and in individual sections of the monument, is a factor of decisive importance. In the proposals set out below, the proportion of new material overall is negligible, and in the individual sections of the monument, it is invariably low (it is perhaps highest in the projected completion of the roofing of the west section of the peristasis); no part of the temple will give the impression that it has been rebuilt. In any event, no limits are set by the Charter of Venice to the proportion of new material that can be added.

The need to distinguish between original and replacement parts laid down by Article 12, poses a particular problem for the Parthenon. A deliberate distinction in terms of form or color would disturb the superb harmony of the temple. The fact that the new parts, and the additional restoration work, will show no signs of deterioration will differentiate them clearly enough and cover the requirements of the Charter adequately in the short term. So, too, will the appreciable difference in the texture of the new surfaces. In the long term, however, when these parts begin to deteriorate or acquire a patina, the problem of 'falsifying the evidence' will genuinely arise.

The solution adopted by Balanos, and now being applied to the Erechtheion, which was to carve informative inscriptions on nonvisible surfaces of the new parts is perhaps the most suitable for the Parthenon. It will be an effective device for the specialists of the future, at least, (as will the publication of the details of the operation) and will avert the fear that the temple will be 'falsified'.

Article 15: Ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features and of objects discovered must be taken. Furthermore, every means must be taken to facilitate the understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning. All reconstruction work should however be ruled out a priori. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts, can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of



a monument and the reinstatement of its form.

The Parthenon constitutes a typical case of anastylosis in the international sense of the word i.e. the reassembling and repositioning of dismembered parts. The questions of the 'legible' nature of the monument, and the minimum use of additional material were discussed in connection with Article 12.

Article 16: In all works of preservation, restoration or excavation, there should always be precise documentation in the form of analytical and critical reports, illustrated with drawings and photographs.

Every stage of the work, clearing, consolidation, rearrangement and integration, as well as technical and formal features identified during the course of the work, should be included. This record should be placed in the archives of a public institution and made available to research workers. It is recommended that the report should be published.

An extensive general documentation of the Parthenon has already been published, including descriptions, drawings and photographs, and also special measurements for the analysis of specific problems, such as the question of optical refinements. This documentation could indeed be considered adequate for those parts of the temple in which no work is planned.

The study for the restoration of the Parthenon includes a system of codification by means of which the documentation was set on a unified basis. New drawings will be made methodically both of those parts of the temple that will be dismantled and of the dispersed architectural material. In the case of the former, the drawings for each of the twelve programmes will record the details in the precise spirit of the Charter, and in a manner similar to that deployed in the Erechtheion. For the dispersed material, work commenced long ago with a re-examination of all the architectural members lying on the ground, and the drawing up of an exhaustive archive, particularly of the pieces belonging to the Parthenon.

II. Principles deriving indirectly from the Charter of Venice relating to Greek classical architecture.

Article 1: Reversibility: the work must be done in such a way that the monument can be returned to the state in which it was before the operation began.

The principle stems from the view that a monument is a source of scientific evidence and from the premise that mistakes may occur during the preliminary study or the execution of the work. It takes as its starting point, the intention to preserve the monument as a source of evidence after the work is completed and also to ensure that any mistake is rectifiable.

This principle was applied to classical monuments some time ago and has been carefully observed in the restoration of the Erechtheion. It is guaranteed by two safeguards: (a) the reduction to a minimum of interference with ancient material; and (b) exhaustive documentation before any change is made.

Both of these points are virtually covered by what has been said already. The use of an instrument for transferring points produces surfaces that fit perfectly with the break surfaces of original material and makes it unnecessary to dress the latter. One difference from the proposals made for the Erechtheion is due to the experience gained in mortars in joining together fragments (or additional restored material) of the same member: in the preliminary study for the Erechtheion it was agreed that such mortars should not be used, in order to observe the principle of reversibility. Today, however, it is agreed that they can be used without hesitation. Finally, exhaustive documentation should include a statement of the position in which the dispersed material is lying, even though in most cases this is certainly not the position in which each piece fell after it broke away from the temple.

Article 2: Preservation of the autonomy of architectural members and their static functions.

The above derives from an interpretation and extrapolation of the provisions of Article 9



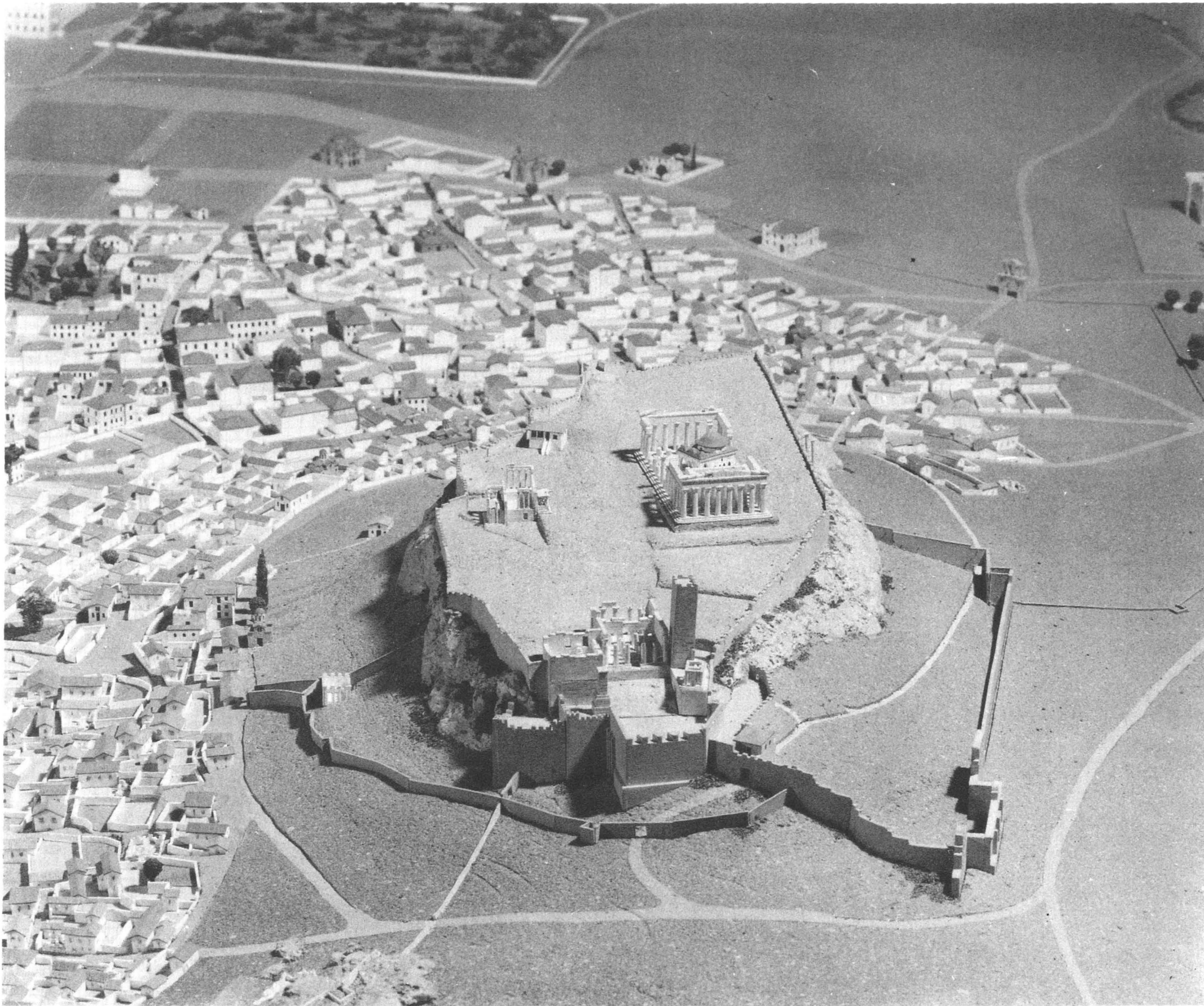


Fig. 254 Detail of the model of Athens in 1842, constructed in 1980 under the supervision of J. Travlos, on show in the Museum of the Town of Athens. The Turkish mosque inside the Parthenon, the Frankish Tower and the so-called Rizokastron Wall are still standing and the entrance to the Akropolis is still obstructed by mediaeval fortifications. (Photograph by the author).

of the Charter of Venice particularly in connection with Greek classical monuments. The structure of the 'non-living' ancient monuments of Greece is exceptionally simple: they are trabeated buildings, in which there are no lateral thrusts or horizontal stresses, and they have carefully dressed seatings. They are characterized by a total absence of binding agents (mortars), by the structural and formal autonomy of the individual stone members, and by the fact that they achieve static equilibrium through their own weight. Corbels, eccentric loadings, and 'dynamic states' in general are avoided.

These properties should be respected during the operation on the Parthenon, and the autonomy of each individual architectural member and the simple structural function of those supporting it should be preserved. This is the only proper way to interpret and extend the provisions concerning 'respect for the original state of the monument'.



Article 3: The operation should be restricted to those parts of the monument that have already been restored.

The dismantling and reassembling of parts of the temple that have remained undisturbed since antiquity is acceptable only exceptionally, at the few points where it is made necessary by the need to remove rusted ancient clamps, or where parts that have shifted as a result of earthquakes need to be restored to their original position. The need to respect the original state of the monument is paramount here too.

Article 4: The ruin should be made self-maintaining.

The ancient parts themselves, when restored (with either ancient or modern additions), will make it possible to conserve the monument properly and afford the building the required degree of protection from natural conditions.

Article 5: The changes in the appearance of the monuments should be kept to a minimum.

This last principle derives from the fact that the most important Greek temples have acquired the value of symbols for modern society. Most Greeks (and foreigners too) do not analyze these famous ruins, but merely appreciate them. They are not interested in the historical and artistic values expressed by the ruins, but the monuments are nevertheless important to them. In the collective historical consciousness and experience of the Greeks, the Parthenon means many things, which are perhaps obscure, but are undoubtedly of fundamental importance. For them, the great temple has acquired the sanctity of a symbol and should accordingly, like all symbols, remain forever unchanged.

During the last fifty years, the Parthenon has remained completely unchanged, and has been visited by more people than at any previous period. The image it now presents has become familiar throughout the world and has been recorded millions of times in pamphlets, books, photographs, films and the like. All this should make us very careful when planning changes.

At the same time, however, the question arises as to what is the image we are in fact talking about. The present study is not the place to go into the complex problems of perception, which become even more complicated when the question of the education of any particular visitor to the Akropolis is taken into account. What is of importance is that this principle should be observed only to the degree that the restoration work should not obstruct the intention to improve the temple. This is in fact achieved by the proposals put forward, for the changes are limited. They will certainly not render the Parthenon unrecognizable, and will only be noticed by attentive visitors and by specialists (...)."

## THE MAIN RESTORATION AND PRESERVATION PROJECTS ON THE ATHENIAN AKROPOLIS<sup>118</sup>

By 1828 at the end of the Greek War of Independence, Athens was left in ruins with most of its ancient monuments badly damaged. The Turkish settlement up on the Akropolis had been reduced to a heap of ruins in the midst of which the Parthenon, the Erechtheion and the Propylaia

<sup>118</sup> This section is mainly the work of Maria Casanaki and Fanny Mallouchou, "Interventions on the Akropolis: 1833-1975", which appeared in *The Akropolis at Athens. Conservation Restoration and Research 1975-1983*, published by the Committee for the Preservation of the Akropolis Monuments, Athens, 1985, 12-20.



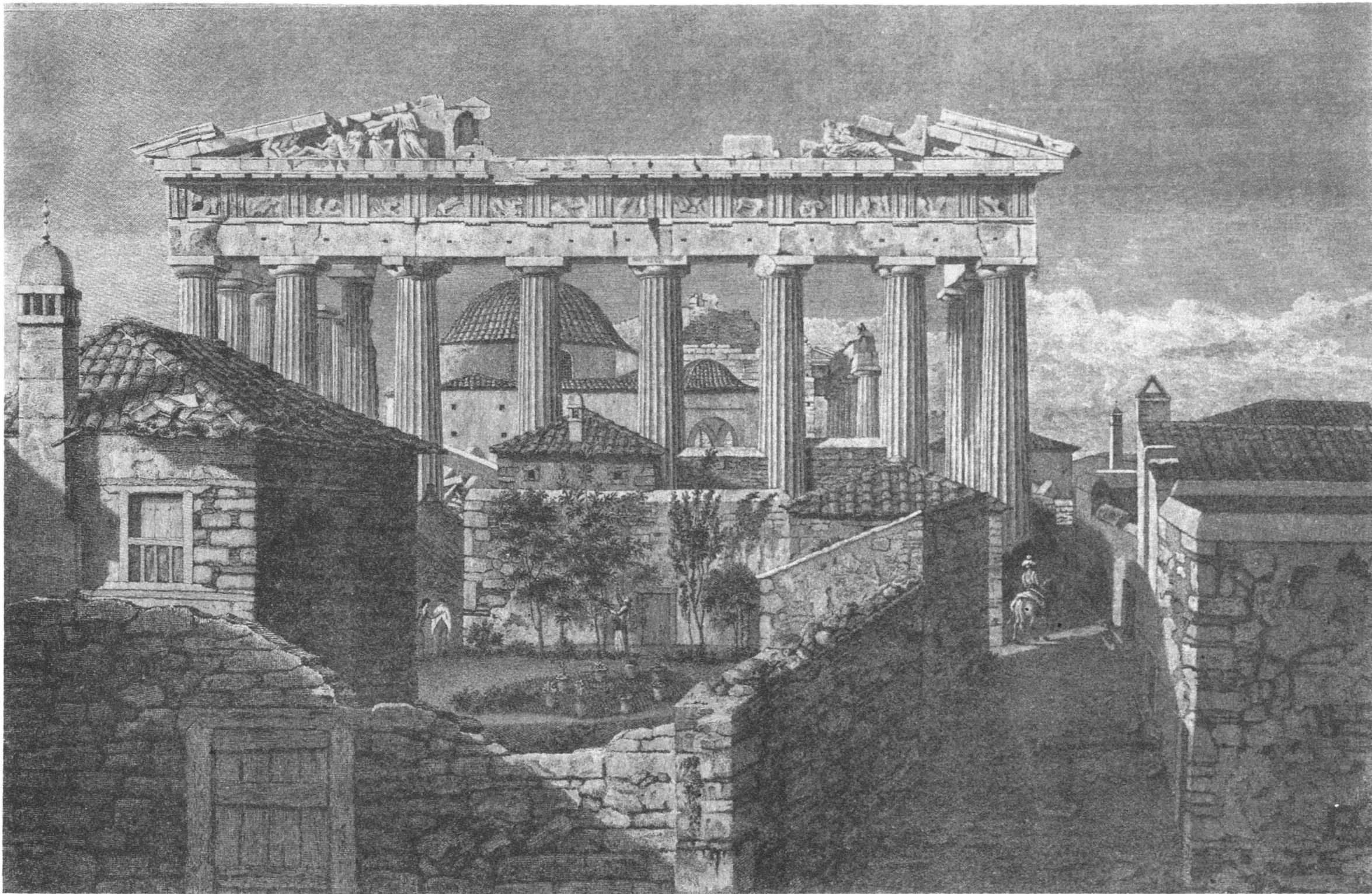


Fig. 255 The Akropolis plateau in the second half of the 18th century when the Akropolis was a Turkish fortress. Note the mosque inside the Parthenon cella and the houses of the Turkish garrison which were demolished in the 1830s. (Stuart and Revett, 1762).

stood out; they too had suffered heavy damage during the two sieges of the Akropolis. Christopher Neezer, the Bavarian officer to whom the Akropolis fortress was handed over by the Turks in April, 1833, describes the devastation as follows: "I entered the Acropolis and saw heaps of tumbled marbles. In the midst of the chaotic mass of column capitals, fragments of columns, marbles large and small, were bullets, cannon balls, human skulls and bones, many of which were near the slender Caryatids of the Erechtheion".

Recognition of an independent Greek state by the Protocol of London in 1830 was a landmark in the conservation history of the ancient monuments. The new state was oriented towards the west which was considered to be the heir of the ancient Greek spirit and was a magnet for the Greek intellectual diaspora. Greece now entered the mainstream of contemporary European thought and for the first time efforts were made to protect and display the antiquities.

In the spring of 1833, work began on the Akropolis in a general climate of enthusiasm and unbounded admiration for antiquity. The first Greek archaeologist, Kyriakos Pittakis, conducted a small-scale excavation in the Parthenon with funds raised from private contributors. In the following year, the excavation was continued and a beginning was made in the Propylaia. Pittakis also began to collect the scattered fragments of sculpture and architecture lying around on the Akropolis amidst the ruins.



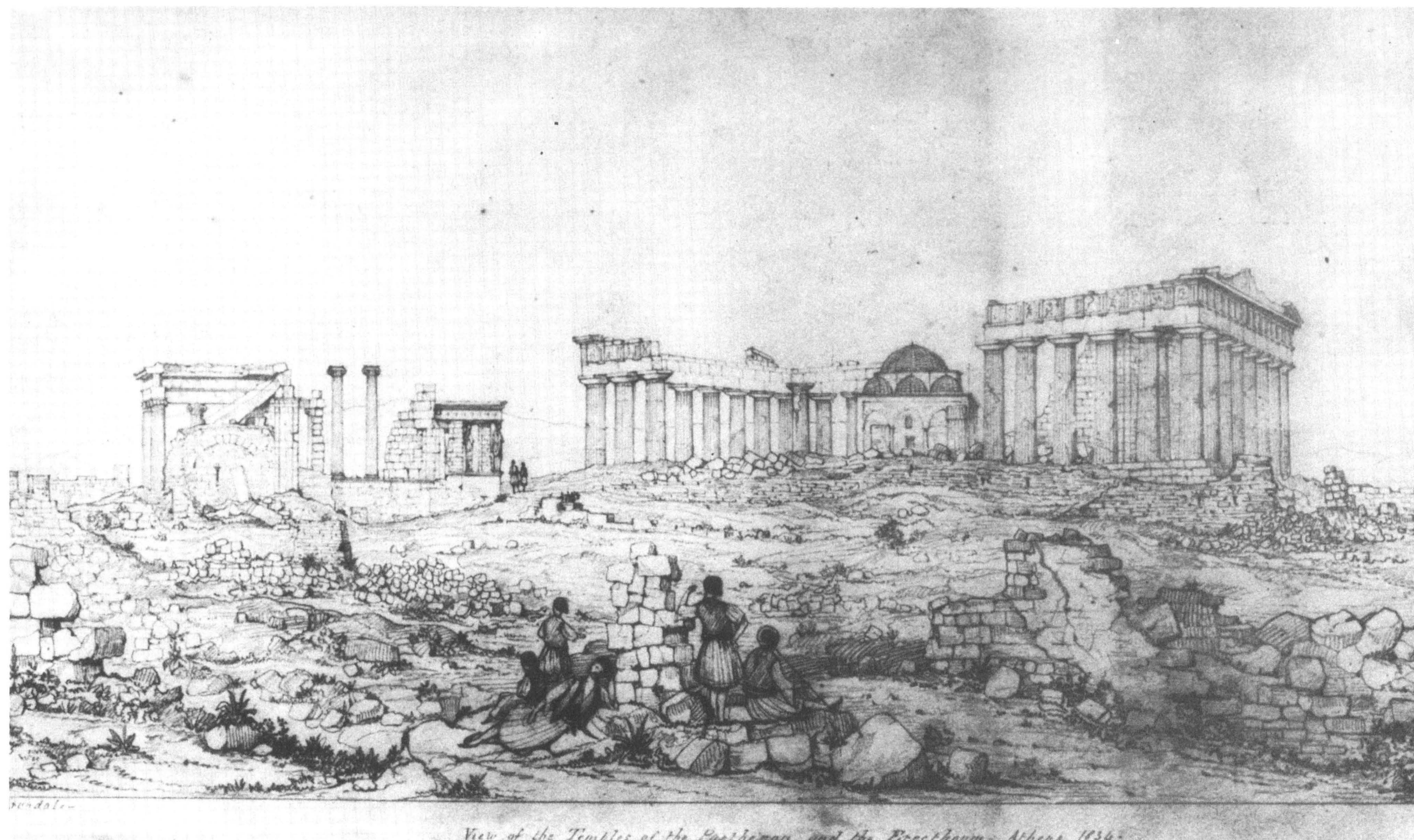


Fig. 256 The devastated 'upper town' on the Akropolis plateau in 1834. The mosque inside the Parthenon remained until 1842. Drawing by the architect Francis Arundale (1807-1854).

At the beginning of 1834, the implementation of the original town-plan of Athens became problematic. The strong opposition and the inability of the State to provide the funds necessary for expropriations forced the government to postpone the execution of this plan. The famous architect of the Bavarian court, Leo von Klenze, arrived from Munich in July, 1834, to study the problem and proceed with a revision of the plan.

The brief stay of Klenze in August/September, 1834, in Athens proved decisive for the fortunes of the Akropolis monuments. Von Klenze, one of the leading personalities of romantic classicism, submitted four memoranda to the Rengency and King Otto which set forth for the first time the guidelines for conservation and excavations on the Akropolis.<sup>119</sup> Von Klenze made the following proposals, all accepted by the Greek side:

1. To remove the fortifications that "have no archaeological, structural or artistic interest"<sup>120</sup> and especially those which are in imminent danger of collapsing, as for example the fortifications in front of the Propylaia.

2. To clear and restore the Parthenon, to proceed to excavations on an area of twenty feet all around the building and to put the *disiecta membra* in order. The sculptures to go either in the mosque in the Parthenon or in the 'Theseion'; the architectural blocks needed for the re-building should remain nearby. Architectural blocks that are not of use for restoration works,

119 For the text of Klenze's reports to King Otto, documents nos. 4, 5, 7, 8 in the list of archive materials, Appendix A of this study.

120 It is characteristic of von Klenze's purist approach to restoration practice that medieval remains are of "no archaeological, structural or artistic value" to him. In this respect he is in accordance with the prevailing aesthetic principles of his time.



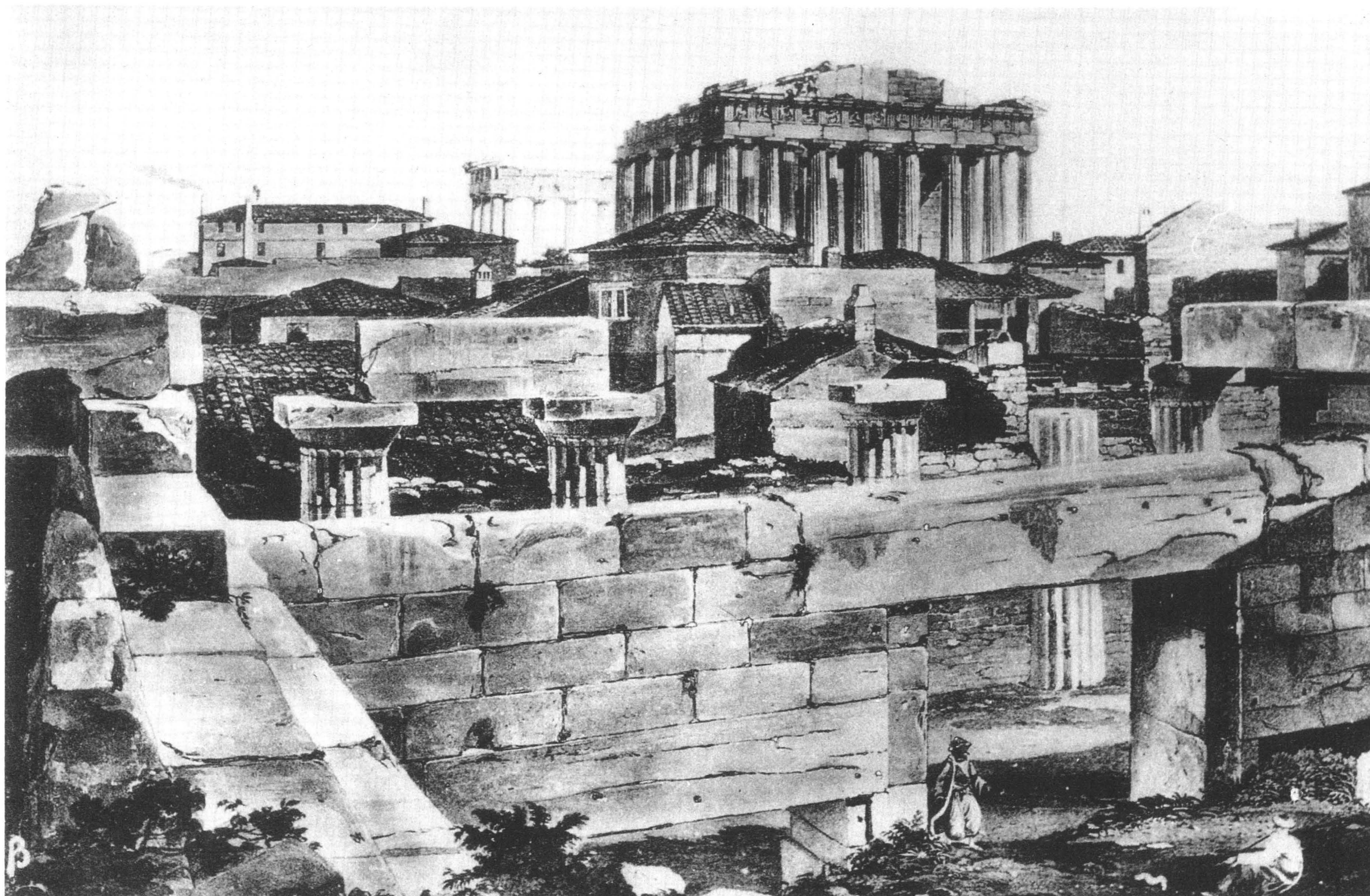


Fig. 257 The Parthenon and the 'upper town' in 1801. Coloured engraving by Edward Dodwell. (Dodwell, 1821).

but which have their own intrinsic value are to be picturesquely grouped in marble piles on the Akropolis, so that the Akropolis would preserve the appearance of a picturesque ruin.<sup>121</sup> The other architectural material lying around on the ground to be removed from the Akropolis and sold as building material.<sup>122</sup>

3. The restoration of the Parthenon to begin at the north side which is more visible from the town and the palace. In principle only ancient column drums to be set up again. If in the course of reerecting the columns it turns out that one or two column drums are missing, they may be replaced by new drums made of marble but there should be no attempt to make the new additions look old. Whatever architraves, triglyphs, metopes and cornices have survived are to be set in place above the columns in such a way so as to preserve the picturesque character of the ruin. One should continue in the same way throughout the building, reerecting the cella walls insofar as the ancient blocks are to hand. On the south side, the missing columns may be left out without impairing the impression of the whole.<sup>123</sup> The spiral stair belonging to the Christian church should be demolished and replaced, if a means of access to the superstructure is needed, with a light stairway inside the building.

4. After rebuilding the Parthenon, the area west of the building where the museum is to be built should be cleared of ruins. The Erechtheion and the Propylaia to be restored in the same

121 There is an inherent conflict between Klenze's classicist vision of a cleared Akropolis plateau with restored classical monuments and his romantic desire to preserve the 'picturesque' character of the ruins.

122 This by contemporary standards unacceptable practice was extensively carried out. A great quantity of architectural material from the Akropolis was sold as building material used all over Athens, as, for instance, in the foundations of the Royal Palace (now the Parliament Building) and in the Arsakeion built in the 1840s (hundreds of marble blocks from the Akropolis, some even with sculptural decoration, were identified during the renovation of the Arsakeion in 1986). L. Ross comments on this state of affairs as follows:

"Bei dem Aufräumen des Schuttes aber, namentlich der alten fränkischen und türkischen Gebäude auf der Akropolis, wurde eine unendliche Menge von Bausteinen gefunden, die damals bei dem großen Bedürfnisse in Athen hoch im Preis waren, besonders die behauenen Ecksteine. Diese verkaufte ich von Zeit zu Zeit im Aufstrich und löste daraus 20.000 Drachmen" L. Ros, 1863, 82-83.

123 This early, sensitive restoration theory was respected during the restoration campaign of Balanos in the twenties of this century.



124 This important step for the conservation of the monuments on the Akropolis plateau was vividly described by Ludwig Ross as follows:

“Dabei war die Akropolis aber immer militärisch besetzt. In der großen türkischen Moschee, welche damals noch in der Mitte des Parthenon stand, in den Seitengebäuden der Propyläen, die den Türken als Kriegsmagazine gedient hatten, und in den sonstigen noch bewohnbaren Ueberresten der frühern Baracken lag eine Compagnie Baiern mit einigen Kanonen, theils weil es wirklich noch kein anderes Unterkommen für die Leute gab, theils weil der damalige Kriegsminister, der verstorbene General von Lesuire, sich von der Idee nicht losmachen konnte, dass die Sicherheit Athens eine militärische Besetzung der Akropolis verlange, während er zugleich eine Art Ehrenpunkt darin sah, sich vom Civil nicht verdrängen zu lassen. Täglich um 12 Uhr verkündigte, in Ermangelung einer Stadtuhr, ein Kanonenschuss von der Burg die Mittagszeit. Allein die Anwesenheit der Soldaten hinderte mich sehr in den Arbeiten, überdies bedurfte ich aller Gebäude selbst zu Schuppen und Vorrathskammern für Schubkarren, Hebel, Winden und anderes Rüstzeug. Ich drang daher unablässig auf vollständige Räumung der Burg; Hr. von Kobell unterstützte mich im Schoosse der Regentschaft aufs kräftigste, und endlich im Februar wurde der bestimmte Befehl dazu gegeben. General Lesuire war darüber höchst gekränkt; um mich zu chicaniren, liess er die ganze Moschee voll Militäreffecten. Ich verlangte auch deren sofortige Räumung und drohte schriftlich, entgegenstehendenfalls die Sachen hinauszuerwerfen. Da schickte er einen Offizier und liess in meinem Beisein die Moschee amtlich versiegeln und ein Protokoll über den Sachbestand aufnehmen. Ich erklärte dem Herrn, er möge vollziehen, was ihm von seinem Vorgesetzten aufgetragen worden sei; sowie er sich aber entfernt habe, werde ich das Aussenthor der Akropolis verschliessen, denn zu dieser habe ich allein fortan den Schlüssel, werde meine sämtlichen Arbeiter entlassen, und über den ganzen Hergang an die hohe Regentschaft berichten. Gesagt, gethan. Es vergingen einige Tage, da erhielt der General die Weisung, auch die Moschee zu verlassen und alle Gebäude an mich zu überliefern; um ihm eine kleine Genugthuung zu geben, ertheilte die Regentschaft auch mir einen gelinden Verweis, wegen grober und ungeziemender “Schreibart”, aber den steckte ich gern ein. Ich hatte durch die entschiedene Massregel vollkommen gesiegt, war nun alleiniger Burgwart von Athen, und fand mich in den antiquarischen Arbeiten durch nichts mehr gehemmt. Das Militär trug mir aber seine Niederlage lange nach, und es gab ausserhalb der Akropolis öfter kleine Reibungen. Wäre ich damals nicht durchgedrungen, so wären die Propyläen vielleicht noch heute eine Caserne und Wachstube” Ludwig Ross, 1863, 81-82.

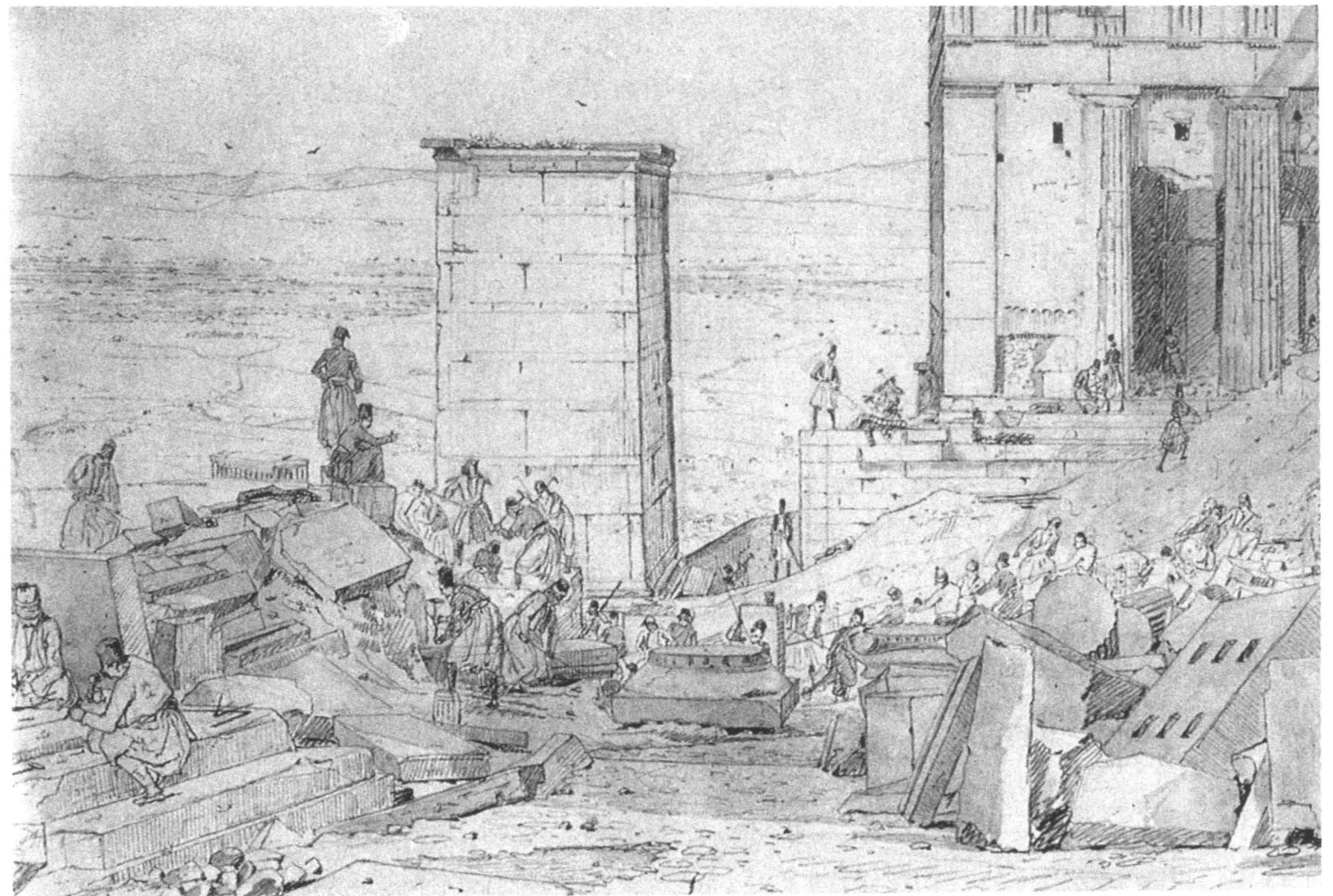


Fig. 258 Removal of the Turkish bastion into which the architecture and sculpture of the Temple of Athena Nike had been built. Oil painting, (28,5 × 41,5 cm) by the Danish artist M. Rørbye in 1835. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

way as the Parthenon. The ancient ground level should be kept as it is, with the remains of retaining walls, bases and foundations.

Von Klenze not only made out a program for excavations and restoration; he also conceived and carried out the plan of removing the military garrison from the Akropolis<sup>124</sup> which now began to take on the character of an archaeological site. Von Klenze entrusted the supervision of the work to the young archaeologist Ludwig Ross together with the architects Stamatis Kleanthes and Eduard Schaubert and made out a budget for three years' work on the Parthenon. He also studied the architecture of the Parthenon and conducted a small excavation on the north side of the Parthenon and in the Propylaea.

As the remains of later structures were being removed from the Akropolis a beginning was made of restoring the ancient monuments. According to present-day criteria, these operations were a matter of trial and error, unskillful and detrimental to the ancient material; they were done, nevertheless, in the spirit of a time in which theoretical principles of restoration had not yet been formulated and the results of restoration depended on the sensitivity and discernment of whomsoever did the work.

Towards the end of December, 1834, work began on the Akropolis with a fresh impetus under the direction of L. Ross, E. Schaubert and Chr. Hansen who replaced Stamatis Kleanthes. Ross informs us that from the beginning of January, 1835, more than one hundred workmen were employed on the Akropolis to demolish the Turkish rampart in front of the Propylaea between the Agrippa Monument and the Nike Bastion (fig. 258) and to remove the fillings around the Parthenon where part of the crepidoma of the earlier temple came to light and sculptures and inscriptions were found. Demolishing the rampart in front of the Propylaea revealed many architectural members belonging to the building, inscriptions and many steps in the Roman stairway leading up to the Propylaea. But all eyes were fastened on the southern end of the rampart which had been built out of marble taken from the temple of Athena Nike when the Venetians were besieging the Akropolis in 1687. The finds surpassed all expectations and led





Fig. 259 The Akropolis seen from the SW in the 1860s. The so-called Rizokastron Wall and the Frankish Tower are still standing. Note the huge masses of earth dumped on the south slope from excavations on the plateau above. (DAI, Athens).

to a partial rebuilding of the exquisite Ionic temple.

Ross writes as follows:

“Consequently the work was eagerly continued and by July, 1835, we had pretty nearly all of the remains of the temple together in the area in front of the Propylaia except for a few pieces which seem to be entirely missing as may be easily understood. The reerection of the temple was begun in December, 1835, and was almost finished by May, 1836. Pentelic marble was used for new column drums which were inserted in the three broken column shafts and for a new column base; poros limestone was used for new blocks replacing missing or fragmentary blocks in the cella wall”.

The north and east side of the temple were reerected to the height of the architraves and the other two sides remained half-finished. The temple of Nike was the first classical monument in Greece to be completely reerected, a clear example of the classical beauty which far exceeded the classicists' fairest visions. In 1835, Ross also worked on the Erechtheion where he excavated the North Porch.

From July of 1836 onwards, after Ross resigned, Kyriakos Pittakis became the official director of operations on the Akropolis by royal decree. Pittakis (fig. 260), an Athenian<sup>125</sup>, had for many years been deeply attached to the Akropolis monuments which he had endeavored to preserve during the War of Independence and to which he now devoted himself with rare tenacity up until the time of his death in 1863. In the beginning, Pittakis was assisted by two architects, E. Schaubert and E. Laurent, and by the Swiss sculptor Imhof who was helped by Andreoli, the Italian; from 1842 on, Pittakis worked together with the Archaeological Society and the other great Greek archaeologist of those days, A. Rizos-Rangabé.

Pittakis did many different kinds of work on the Akropolis concerning himself with all of the monuments and the surrounding area. He continued both the work of demolition, removing upper levels of fill, and the excavations begun by Ross. He began with the Propylaia where in 1836 he took down the remains of the medieval palace, the Frankish vaults in the Pinakothek

125 In a lengthy article by an anonymous author in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (Notizblatt, January 1854, Vol. III, No. 2, pages 21-22), entitled “Reisen in Italien, Griechenland und der Levante”, we read the following humorous, yet somehow touching, description of the first Greek Conservator of Antiquities:

“Daß ich bei Gelegenheit der Akropolis den Namen Pittakis nannte, geschah nicht ohne Absicht. Pittakis scheint in der That von dem um die Erhaltung und Auffindung so vieler atheniensicher Alterthümer verdienten französischen Konsul Fauvel unter einem in einem Winkel der Akropolis verlassenen Bausteine, der seine Wiege beschützte, entdeckt worden zu sein; er ist auf diesem Felsen groß geworden, hat auf ihm gelebt und wird auf ihm sterben; denn die Akropolis ist sein Vaterland, seine Familie, sein Gott, und nach seinem Tode wird man ihn sicherlich in eine Supplement-Karyatide verwandelt sehen, um die Stelle derjenigen zu ersetzen, welche verschwunden ist, so lebendig, beständig und eifersüchtig ist seine Leidenschaft für seine Akropolis. Oft bin ich mit ihm unter den Trümmerhaufen seines akropolitischen Vaterlandes herumgewandelt, und jedesmal war ich erstaunter über die feierliche Schwermuth in seinem Gange, seinen Bewegungen, in seinem Blick und in seiner Rede. Sprach er mit Gensdarmen, welche mehr die Ruinen als die Festung bewachen, so suchte er ihnen stets die heiligste Verehrung für das Marmorstück, das sie nachlässig mit ihren Füßen von sich stießen, selbst für den Staub einzuschärfen, den sie die Ehre hatten zu betreten. Kam er bei dem an den Propyläen befindlichen Postament vorbei, auf welchem ehemals die Statue des Architekten jenes schönen Monuments gestanden hatte, so vergoß er bittere Thränen über den armen seit 2000 Jahren gestorbenen Baumeister. Fand er ein Fragment einer Vase, so betrachtete er es als die Ueberreste des Gefäßes, in welchem das erste der Minerva gebrachte Räucherwerk verbrannt wurde. War es auch nur ein unschädlicher Knochen, der aus der Erde hervorgescharrt wurde, so konnte derselbe doch die kostbare Reliquie eines Kekrops oder eines Perikles, eines Sophokles oder eines Praxiteles sein, oder wurde auch von ihm gläubig als eine solche betrachtet. Hier zeigte er mir die Stelle, wo die feierlichen Prozessionen ihren Einzug hielten, dort hatte sich Aegeus bei dem Anblick des schwarzen Segels seines von einem gefährlichen Zuge gegen den Minotauros zu Kreta zurückkehrenden Sohnes Theseus, nicht in das ägäische Meer, denn das ist zwei Stunden davon entfernt, sondern auf die Felsen gestürzt; auf jener Seite stürzte der berühmte Odysseus im letzten Kriege herunter, denn Pittakis mischt in seinem Bewunderungsgefühl die Helden der neuern Zeit mit den Helden des Alterthums untereinander. Jedenfalls ist er der möglichst beste Typus eines Sammlers und Konservators der Alterthümer von Athen; möge er daher sammeln und konserviren, aber die Arbeit der Auslegung andern überlassen; er möchte an jenem Tage seinen Nimbus verlieren, wo er anstatt die Gegenstände zu konserviren, denn Sinn derselben erklären wollte. Nur eine einzige Anomalie finde ich an ihm, die nämlich, daß er fränkische Kleidung trägt. Der Konservator des Museums der Akropolis und des Museums im Theseustempel sollte mit dem Tschubeh oder dem Gewande mit weiten Aermeln der Kodscha-Baschis angethan sein, das sich doch wenigstens in etwas dem Kostüm der ernsten Männer des Alterthums nähert”.





Fig. 260 Kyriakos Pittakis. Portrait of the first Greek conservationist entrusted with the operations on the Akropolis from 1836 to 1863.

126 As a by-product of this activity measured drawings and spectacular but rather imprecise general restored views of the Akropolis and its monuments have been produced by many French scholars, as: Theodore Ballu (1817-1895), Erechtheion; Alexis Pacard (1813-1867), Parthenon; Philippe Titeux (1812-1846) and Louis Chaudet (1812-1891), Propylaia; Jacques Tetaz (1816-1865), Erechtheion; Prosper Desbuisson (1816-1890), Propylaia; François Boitte (1830-1906), Propylaia; Benoit Loviot (1849-1921), Parthenon; Marcel Lambert (1847-1928), Akropolis; Charles Nicod (1878-1967), Akropolis.

127 In this respect, it is worthwhile quoting an early protest against this practice. The English historian Edward Freeman wrote after the demolition:

"No doubt the memories of Roman, Byzantine, and Frankish rule are less pleasing than the memories of the old Athenian commonwealth. But all alike are parts of the history of Athens, of Greece, and of the world. The historian can have no sympathy with the mere classical pedant who thinks only of the events of a few favoured ages, who cares only to preserve the works of a few favoured ages. In the wider view of oecumenical history, the lessons of one age may be more attractive, more instructive than those of another; but no age is without its lesson. All are alike parts of the great whole; of none are the material witnesses to be recklessly swept away".

and the Turkish vaults in the central building, and he dug out the floor of the building.

Pittakis also carried out extensive rebuilding and conservation projects; from 1837 to 1840 the following work was done on the Erechtheion: sections of the south and north walls were reerected; part of the southeast pier and an attached half-column on the west side; the other half-columns were consolidated; the columns of the North Porch and the southwest corner were consolidated; Caryatid 5 which had been mended up by Imhof was set back into place. In 1842-1845 Pittakis, working with A. Rizos-Rangabé, carried out a restoration project on the Parthenon: some columns were reerected in the north and south colonnades and 158 blocks lying on the ground were set on the north and south walls of the inner building. The remains of the mosque, which had been built inside the Parthenon in the late 17th century, were removed. In 1843-1844, Pittakis finished rebuilding the temple of Athena Nike by completing the west and south walls, reerecting almost all of the architraves and the ceiling beams and ceiling coffers of both porches; he also made the floor waterproof and fenced off the monument. In 1850 Pittakis repaired and restored a part of the stairway leading up to the Propylaia beside the Nike temple, following a plan drawn up by the French architect Desbuisson. In 1854, he had the crepidoma of the Pinakothek repaired. In rebuilding ancient monuments, Pittakis simply used the ancient blocks lying around on the ground in a haphazard manner, without bothering to determine the exact original position of each block. He used iron fastenings and filled up the empty spaces between the blocks with ordinary bricks; he braced the columns with heavy iron rings.

Pittakis and his work in general received much more criticism than most of his contemporaries, Greeks and foreigners. Even his collaborator, the Constantinopolitan scholar A. Rizos-Rangabé, accused him later on of being crude and unmethodical. Judged by present-day criteria, Pittakis' operations on the Akropolis are, no doubt, a far cry from scientific ethics and procedure, but his unique efforts in collecting and saving widely scattered ancient material will remain a precious contribution forever. Thanks to Pittakis' fanatical zeal, a quantity of antiquities that otherwise would have been irrevocably lost have been saved and handed down to later generations for study and research. Even in rebuilding, Pittakis did anticipate modern practice in some ways at a time when the principles of restoration had not yet been conceived. For example, he maintained respect for the original material by joining fragments together, scrupulously avoiding restorations with entirely new blocks and many of his rebuilt sections were provided with inscriptions giving the dates of his work.

In Pittakis' time, French archaeologists and architects, most of them pensionnaires from the French Academy in Rome (Prix de Rome) were investigating, excavating and restoring Akropolis monuments.<sup>126</sup> In 1846-1847, the architect A. Paccard restored the Caryatid Porch with the aid of contributions from France; he put up columns to replace unsightly brick and masonry props between the Caryatids, which up to that time had supported the superstructure. Caryatid 6 was restored by the sculptor Andreoli and set in place; the Caryatid in the British Museum was replaced by a terracotta cast; the podium and architraves were clumsily repaired with new blocks in a way that was harmful to the ancient structure. In 1852-1853, the archaeologist E. Beulé excavated west of the Propylaia. At the end of his investigations that led to the discovery of the Late Roman gate, which is now known by the name of its excavator, the greater part of the later fortifications on the western approach to the Akropolis had been cleared away.

The two most important interventions on the Akropolis between 1870 and 1885 were consolidation work carried out in the Parthenon and the demolition of the Frankish Tower. In 1870-1872, the following work was done on the Parthenon under the supervision of P. Eustratiadis, General Ephor of Antiquities: the lintel of the west door and the blocks above were reinforced by means of iron rods and a brick arch and rough masonry of stones and bricks; the Italian Martinelli carried out conservation work on the west frieze in situ. In 1875, H. Schliemann gave the funds with which to demolish the Frankish Tower "which was concealing part of the Propylaia west wing". This undertaking was animated by a spirit of purism<sup>127</sup> which went far beyond von Klenze's proposals, according to which the tower was to be preserved as a picturesque feature of the medieval fortifications of the Akropolis (fig. 261-264).

In 1894, the Akropolis monuments, especially the Parthenon, were injured by a strong earthquake which led to the decision to mount a rescue operation. From 1894 to 1898, when



work began, there was controversy as to the extent of the work to be carried out on the Parthenon and how it was to be done. An international committee was organized, made up of the architects L. Magne, J. Durm and F. Penrose, who drew up the first analytical reports concerning the problems affecting the Parthenon and the method of dealing with them. The exchange of views on the question of restoring the Parthenon led to some basic decisions, such as that reconstruction would be ruled out and that the operations would be confined to consolidating the structure. In certain cases, ancient blocks would be replaced and new material added. The work was to be done 'according to the ancient method' using iron clamps and dowels sheathed in lead or cement mortar.

In 1898, work began on the Parthenon under the supervision of the civil engineer Nicholas Balanos and went on until 1902. Conservation was carried out on the capitals and architraves of the west porch, the backers of the west frieze, on the capitals and architraves of the west colonnade, on both corners of the west pediment and on the northeast corner of the east pediment which were taken apart and set back in place.

During the following years, Nicholas Balanos proceeded to work on the other Akropolis monuments. From 1902 to 1909 Balanos did extensive work (see figs. 274, 275) in the Erechtheion. In the North Porch, all of the architraves, the greater part of the frieze and the cornices were put back into place and the roof was rebuilt; on the west side most of the entablature was repaired; work was done on the east side; most of the south wall was reerected; in the Caryatid Porch, clumsy and faulty parts of Paccard's treatment and all of the ceiling coffers were put in place. From 1909 to 1917, Balanos worked on the Propylaia: in the east porch, the architraves were set in place; the northeast corner was reerected; the northern part of the coffered ceiling was rebuilt. In the central passage, the southeastern Ionic column was reerected and also the top course of the door wall which enabled him to rebuild the southeast corner of the ceiling.

In 1921, Balanos proposed to erect the Parthenon north colonnade with the entablature, using the ancient material lying around on the ground with the addition of new column drums to be made with a core of poros limestone sheathed in reinforced cement. This proposal gave rise to much discussion amongst archaeologists and architects in Greece and abroad. Reactions varied between outright rejection of the proposal on the basis of aesthetic and historical criteria to acceptance with reservations and observations concerning the necessity for fuller documentation before the operation in order to determine the correct locations for the *disiecta membra*, and questions about how much was to be restored and what material was to be used. In the end, Balanos' proposal was approved. Work started in 1923 and by 1933 the following had been accomplished: the whole north colonnade and part of the south colonnade rebuilt and restored; repairs carried out on the east pediment and the east porch; the arch inserted in the west doorway in 1872 was taken down and was replaced by a lintel of reinforced cement; during the Pittakis-Rangabé operations, the inside north and south walls had been faced with bricks which were now removed. Except for the colonnades, Balanos used Pentelic marble in piecing together ancient blocks and for completely restored blocks. He used iron clamps both for fastening ancient fragments together and to attach new marble repairs to ancient fragments; the iron clamps, either crudely sheathed in lead or not sheathed at all were covered with cement mortar. In many cases, very long, thick iron beams were embedded in ancient blocks for static reasons.

Balanos was working at a time when a new debate on the problems of restoring monuments had arisen in Europe. As early as 1883, C. Boito, an Italian engineer, had formulated the first principles of scientific and judicious conservation of monuments; he maintained that respect for the historical character of a monument requires that it should not be altered; that conservation and repair are needed rather than rebuilding which should be done only where absolutely necessary, using as few new additions as possible; that added new material must be clearly distinguished from the ancient fabric; that every phase of the operation should be recorded; and that there should be a scholarly publication at the end. These theses, later augmented and elaborated according to new desiderata that had in the meantime emerged, were to become the basis of the Charter of Athens in 1931, the first formal, internationally valid document on restoration.

These new concepts, reflected in the discussions and clashes which preceded the restoration project for the Parthenon, obliged N. Balanos—together with P. Kavvadias and the German

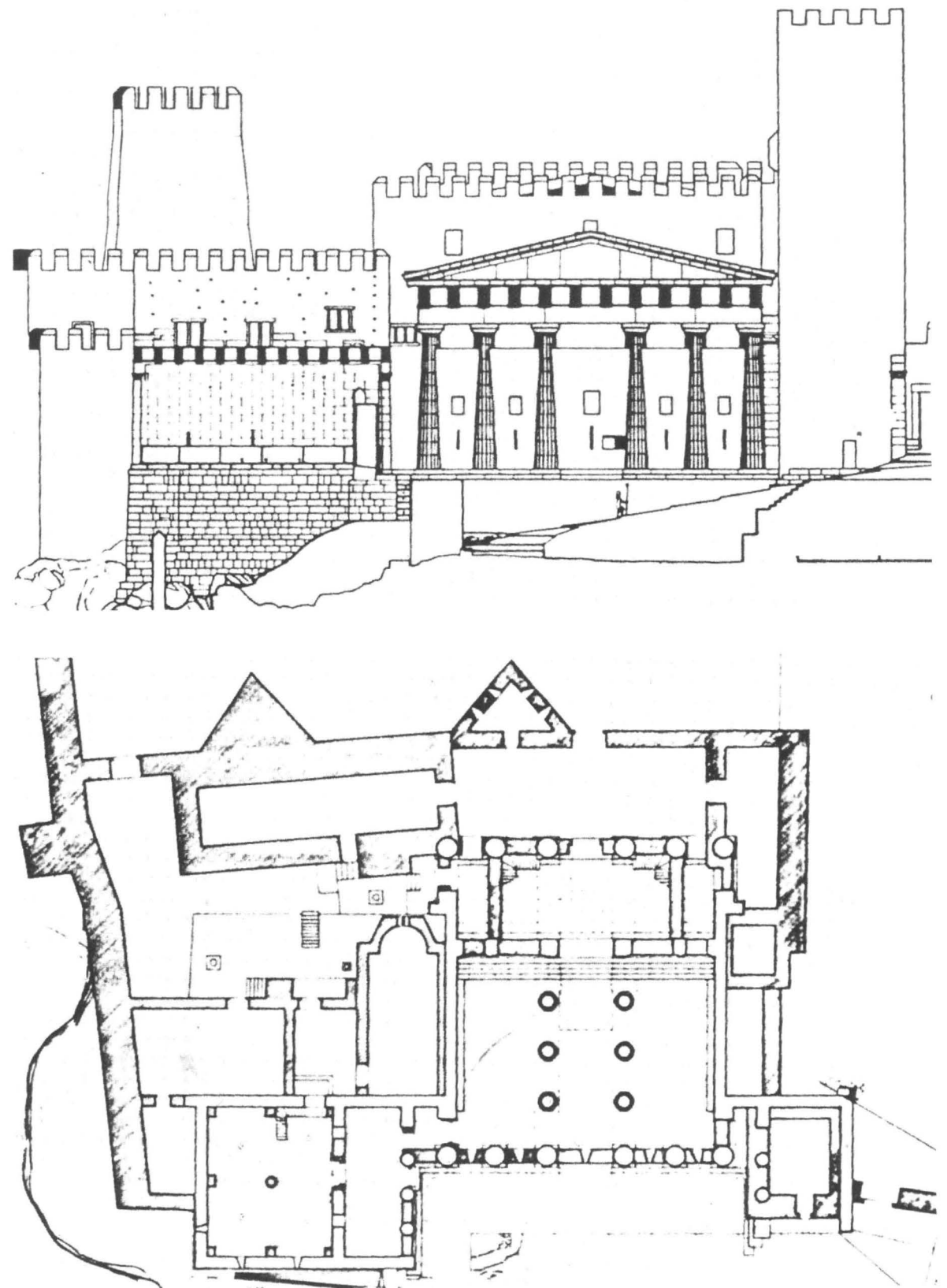


Fig. 261 The Propylaia in the 14th century. (Tanoulas, 1987).

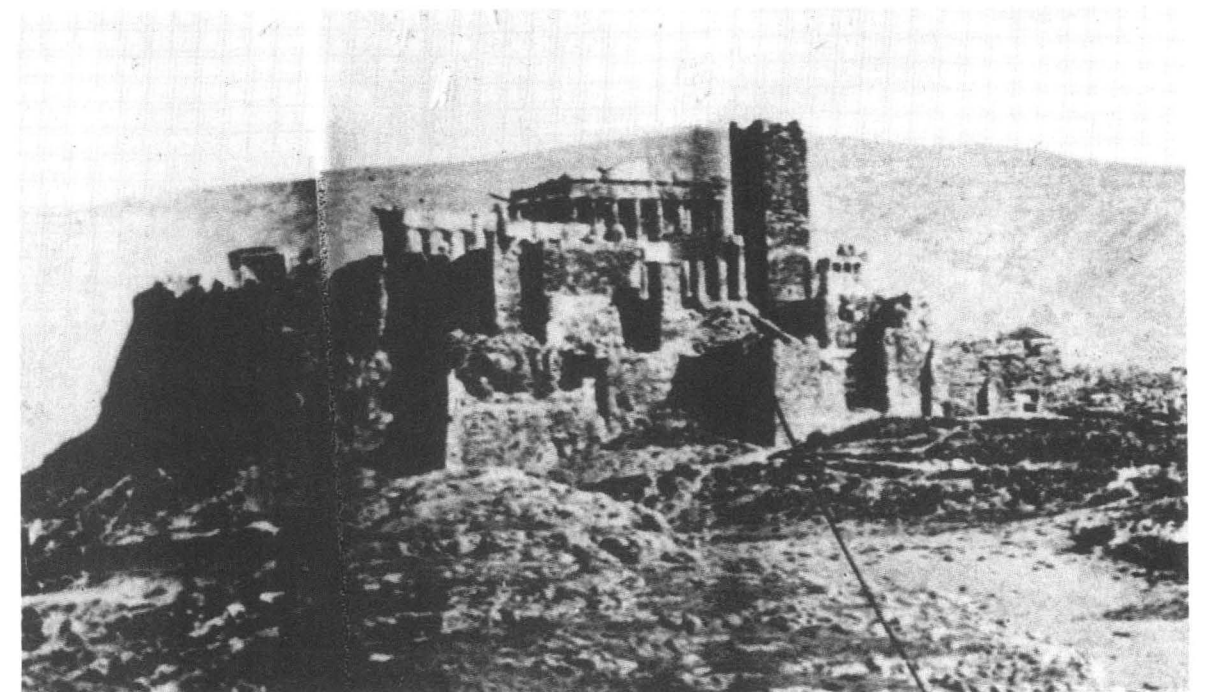


Fig. 262 The Akropolis from the NW around 1860. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 263 The Propylaea from the east in 1869. (Photograph by Stillmann, Gennadius Library).

Fig. 264 The Propylaea from the east after the Frankish Tower was demolished in 1875. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 265 Air view of the Akropolis and the south slope in the 1970s. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



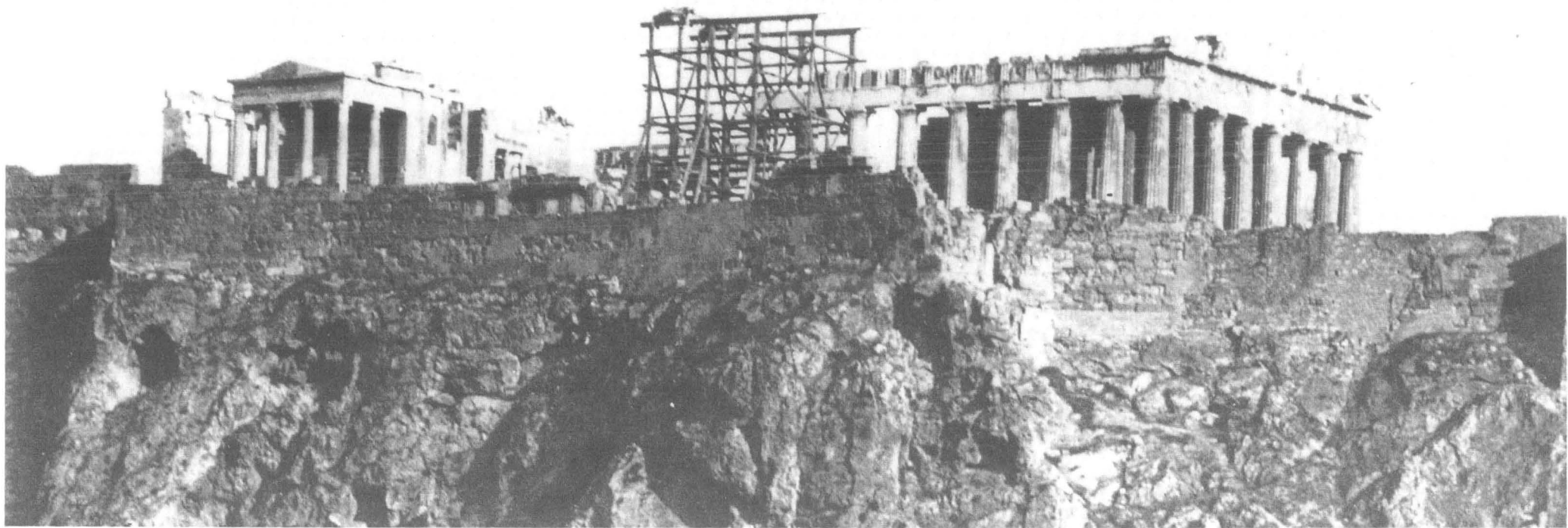


Fig. 266 Central part of the Akropolis from the north in the late 1920s. Scaffolding set up along the Parthenon north colonnade for Balanos' restoration project. (DAI, Athens).

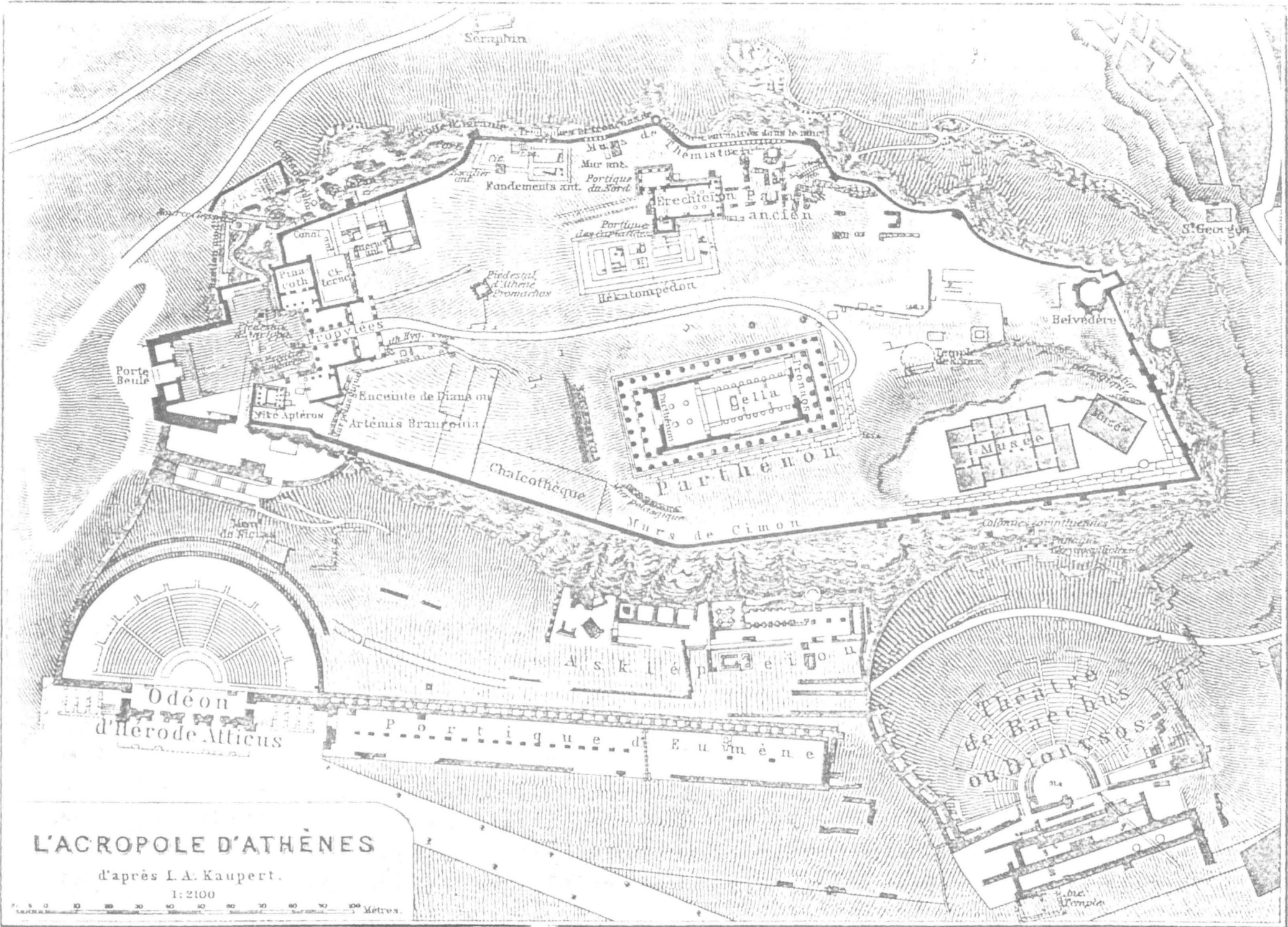


Fig. 267 Plan of the Akropolis based on the topographical survey by Kaupert. Scale ca 1:2100. (From Baedeker's *Greece*, 1908).



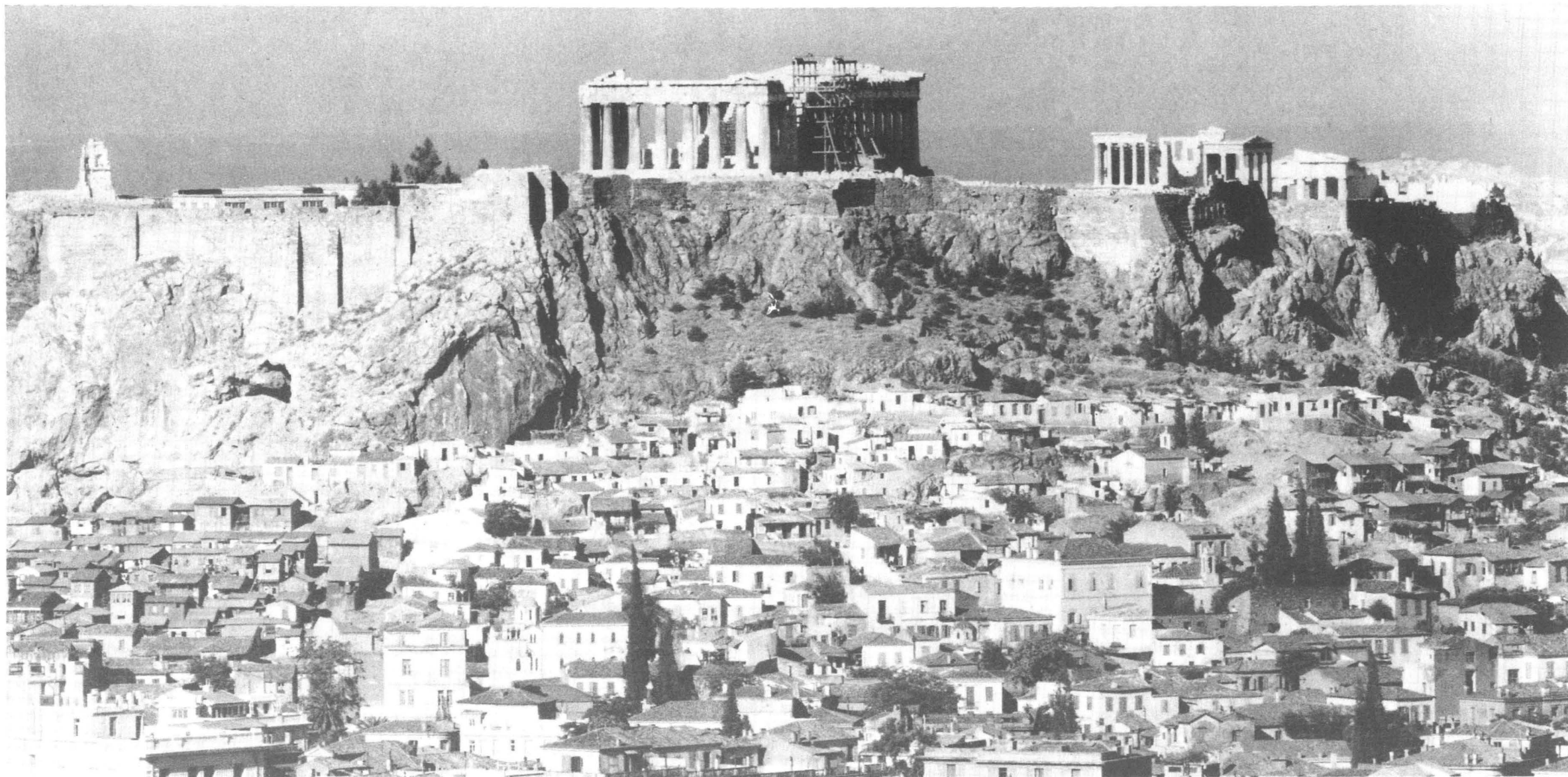


Fig. 268 View of the Akropolis and the Plaka from the NE in the early 1930s. Restoration of the Parthenon in progress. Taken from Lykabetos with a telephoto lens. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 269 North façade of the Parthenon before restoration. Note the column drums of the north colonnade lying on the ground. (Balanos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens).



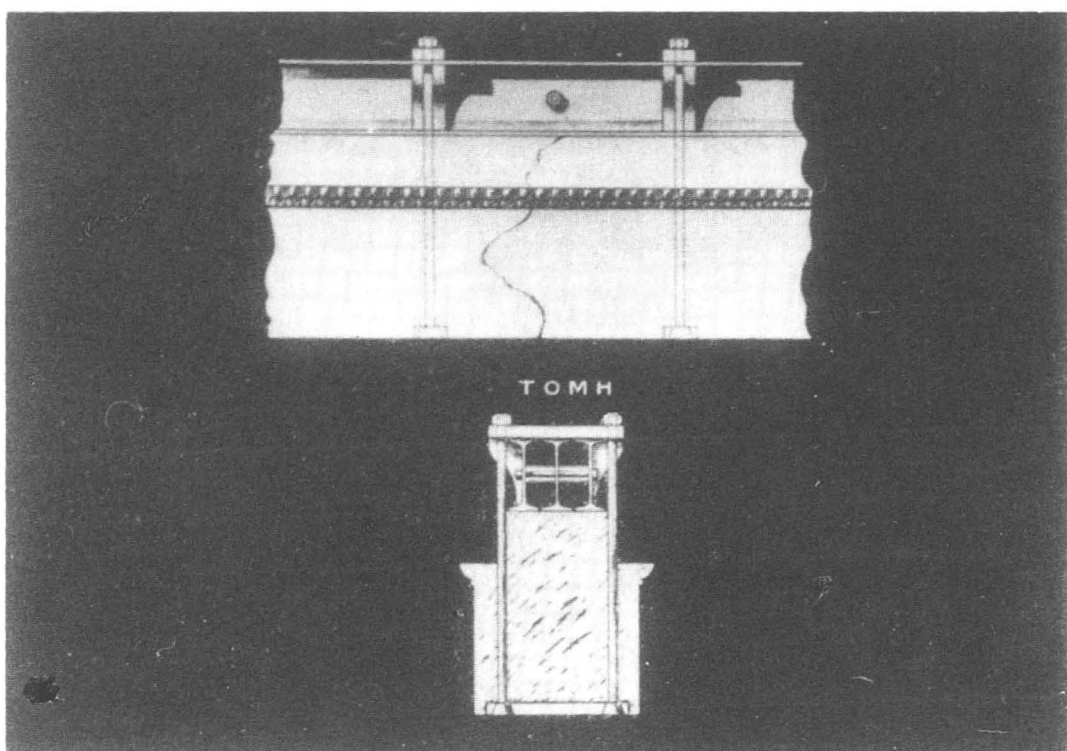


Fig. 270 Erechtheion North Porch roof after restoration by Balanos. Note the steel reinforcements supporting the original marble beams of the coffered ceiling. (Balanos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens).

Fig. 271 Erechtheion North Porch roof. Structural detail of the steel reinforcements shown in fig. 270. (Balanos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens).

architect W. Dörpfeld (who was at the time the investigator of Akropolis monuments par excellence)—to formulate, at least theoretically, guidelines before starting ‘anastylosis’. It was the first time that this had been done in Greece and the guidelines were as follows: to collect the preserved architectural blocks, to mend them up or repair them in a suitable manner and reset them in place. New material was to be used only where absolutely necessary.

Balanos, however, often did not practice what he preached. Consciously continuing the work of nineteenth century classicism and wishing “to provide a more complete picture (of the monuments) as if they had undergone less devastation” and to extol them “by restoring a part of their former grandeur”, he proceeded to rebuild large parts of the buildings using the available ancient material without going to the trouble of finding out where each block belonged. He also pieced together architectural blocks (column capitals and ceiling coffers in particular) by joining ancient fragments of uncertain provenience; he did not even hesitate to cut down the broken fragments in order to obtain flat surfaces for the forcible joins, thus displaying an indifference to ancient structures which had disastrous consequences. Ancient architectural blocks were further marred by many new cuttings, especially by deep cuttings which removed a great quantity of the ancient marble in order to insert iron clamps and beams.

Today all critical assessment of Balanos’ work stresses the unlimited use of iron which rusted and swelled in a very short time as moisture and rain water seeped in, thereby shattering the marble and inflicting terrible damage. In using iron to fasten blocks or fragments together, Balanos should indeed have paid more attention to the damage in the Caryatid Porch caused by Paccard’s use of iron components, which Balanos had had to replace with brass, and he should have listened to the voices (a small minority) who opposed the use of iron. The criticisms of Balanos’ work are justified in this respect.

Balanos should not be blamed, however, for using reinforced concrete for large sections of the monuments and for creating new bearing systems. Balanos, who was a graduate of the famed *École des Ponts et Chaussées*, was simply following the best contemporary practice and he applied the technology of the time in a way that was most impressive for the level of technical expertise in Greece at that time. At an international conference at Athens in 1931, Balanos’ work on the Akropolis met with a consensus of approval; Article 4 of the Charter of Athens, drawn up during the conference, proclaimed the reliability of the new technique of reinforced concrete and confidence in its effectiveness as applied to ‘anastylosis’. Balanos’ restorations were the last drastic operations on the Akropolis and they gave the Akropolis the form it has today.<sup>128</sup>

The only large-scale operation in the following years was the second restoration of the temple of Athena Nike in 1935-1940. This intervention was necessitated by the discovery, determined by research carried out in 1934, that both the temple foundations and the foundations of the Nike Bastion were in an alarmingly poor state of preservation. The preliminary dismantling of both temple and bastion made it possible to carry on archaeological investigations inside the bastion, leading to the discovery of the remains of earlier cults. In 1940, Balanos was succeeded by A. Orlandos, who had studied the architecture of this exquisite temple in depth. In the earlier operations of 1834-1835 and 1843-1844, wall blocks and architraves had been wrongly laid; these and other errors Orlandos was able to correct.

Orlandos, a pioneer in the field of Greek architectural history, directed work on the Akropolis for the next twenty years. The following work was done on the Propylaia under his supervision: rebuilding of the southwest wing in 1947-1957 in the course of which the last remains of the Frankish Tower were removed and the southwest column, the neighboring anta and the central pier were reerected; the architrave was reset in place with the aid of a non-oxidizing steel bar; in 1956, the poros limestone foundations of the Pinakothek walls were consolidated. The present-day ascent via a ramp was laid out.<sup>129</sup> Orlandos planned to restore the ceiling of the Parthenon west colonnade in marble: a proposal repeatedly under review from 1942 to 1960; from time to time, it was approved (as in 1950), when the ceiling beams and coffers were carved, and again in 1960, but it was never carried out. A. Orlandos, the last one to carry out interventions according to puristic ideas, began in 1953 to demolish the 13th century spiral stair in the Parthenon, but this work was rapidly stopped. In 1960-1964, in order to protect the building from rain water, he had the openings for the side doors of the Christian church sealed off and he

128 The setting on the Akropolis plateau is the result of a ‘purist’ rehabilitation and preservation philosophy, which for 150 years have given absolute priority to the conservation and restoration of ‘classical’ features, while systematically eliminating those of later periods. This approach has been seriously questioned by many scholars.

129 The pavement of this rebuilt ramp is of very poor quality and represents an unthinkable intrusion into the classical setting: colored green and reddish stones alternate with Pentelic marble in a polygonal pattern!



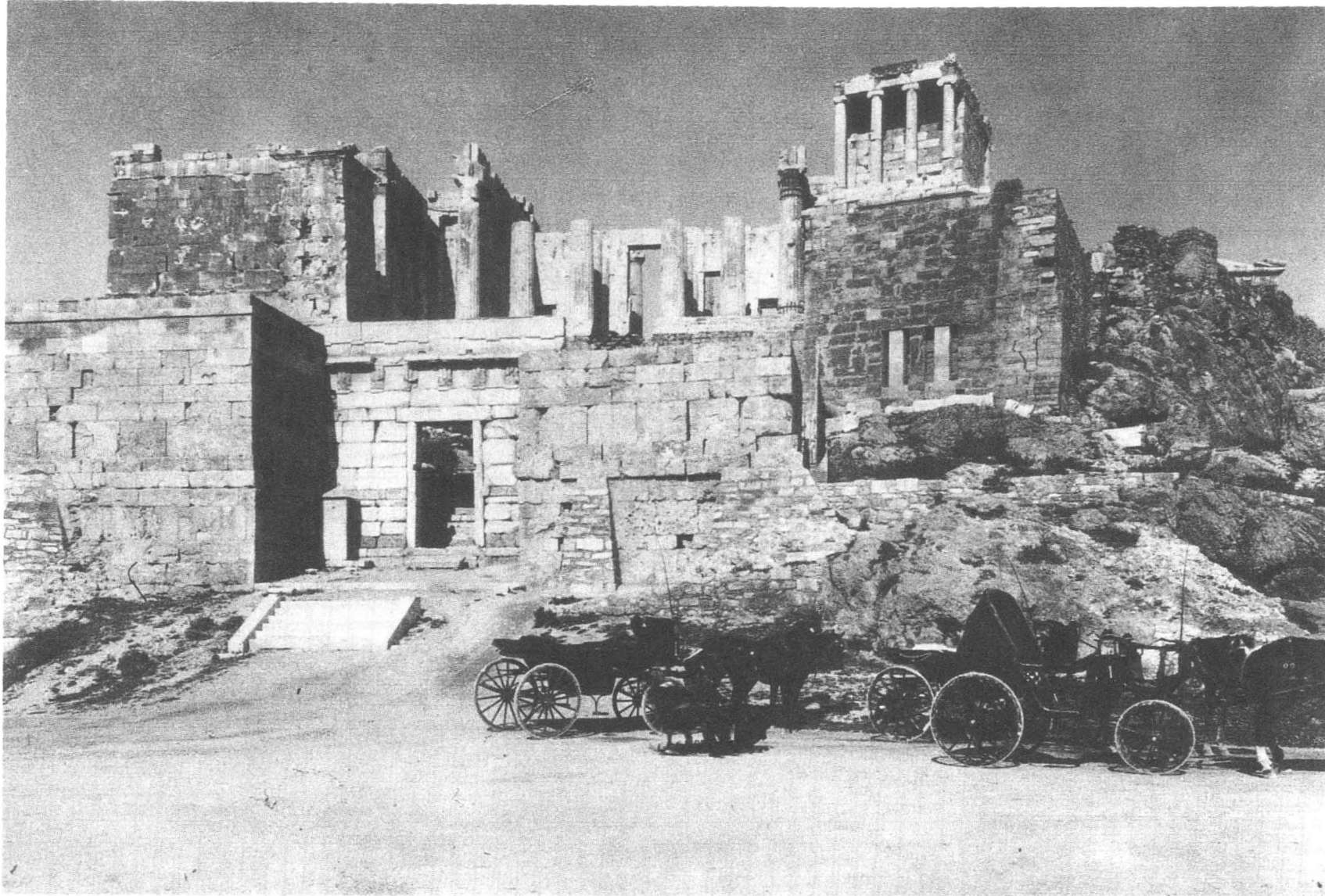


Fig. 272 The Propylaea, temple of Athena Nike and the Beulé Gate at the turn of the century, with carriages in front of the gate. (Photograph by Alinari).

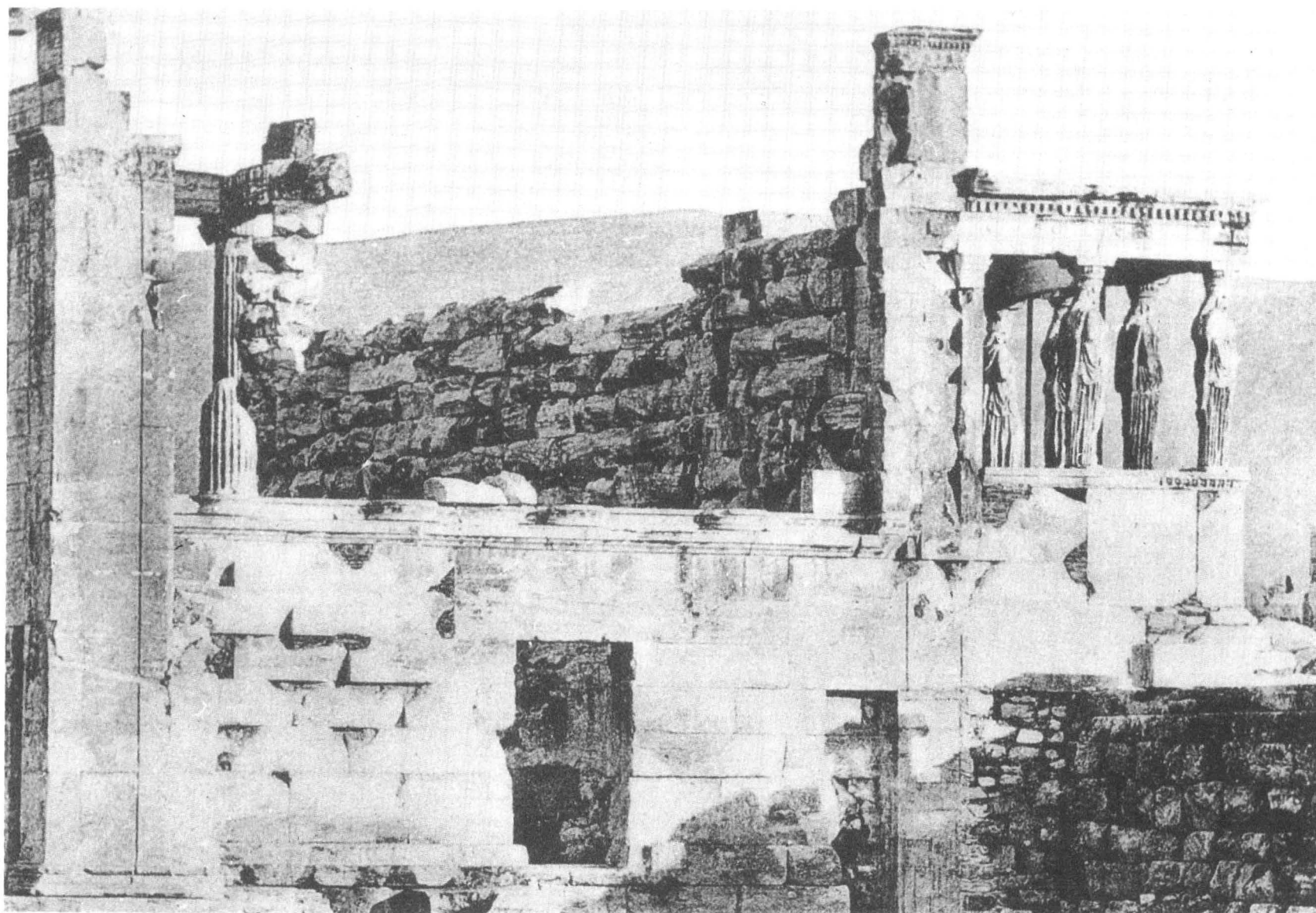


Fig. 273 Erechtheion west side before restoration (around 1900). (Balanos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens).



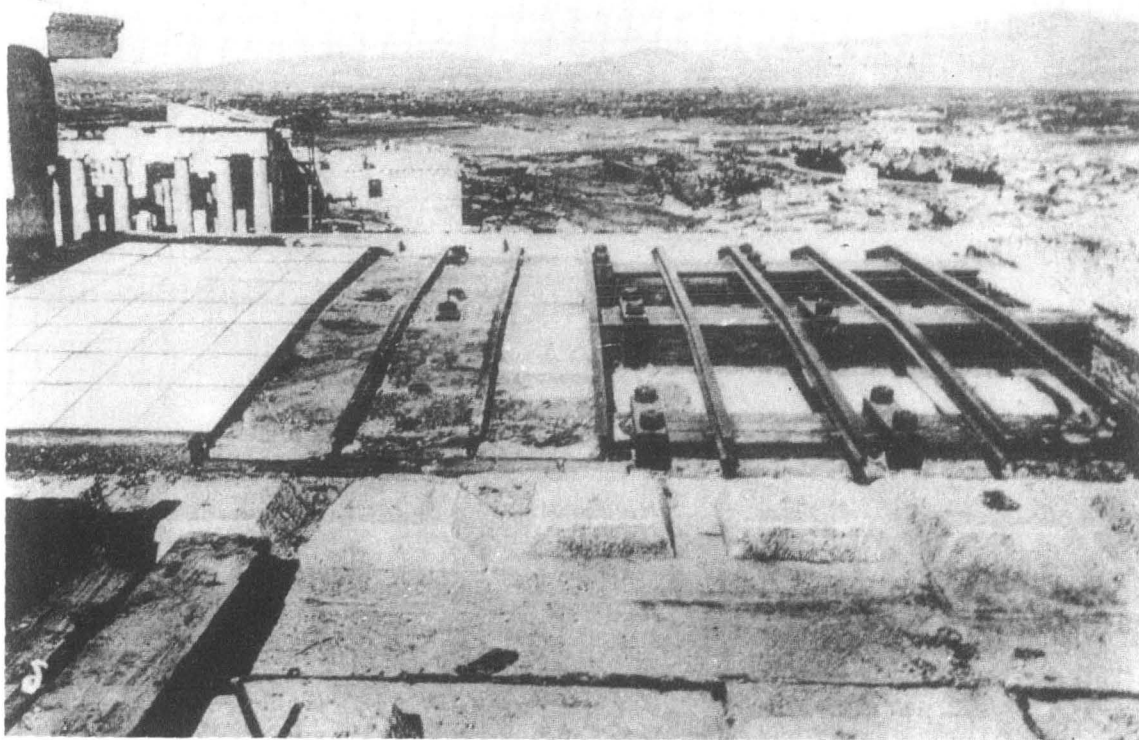


Fig. 274 Erechtheion north porch. Steel beams installed by Balanos to consolidate the roof. (Balanos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens).

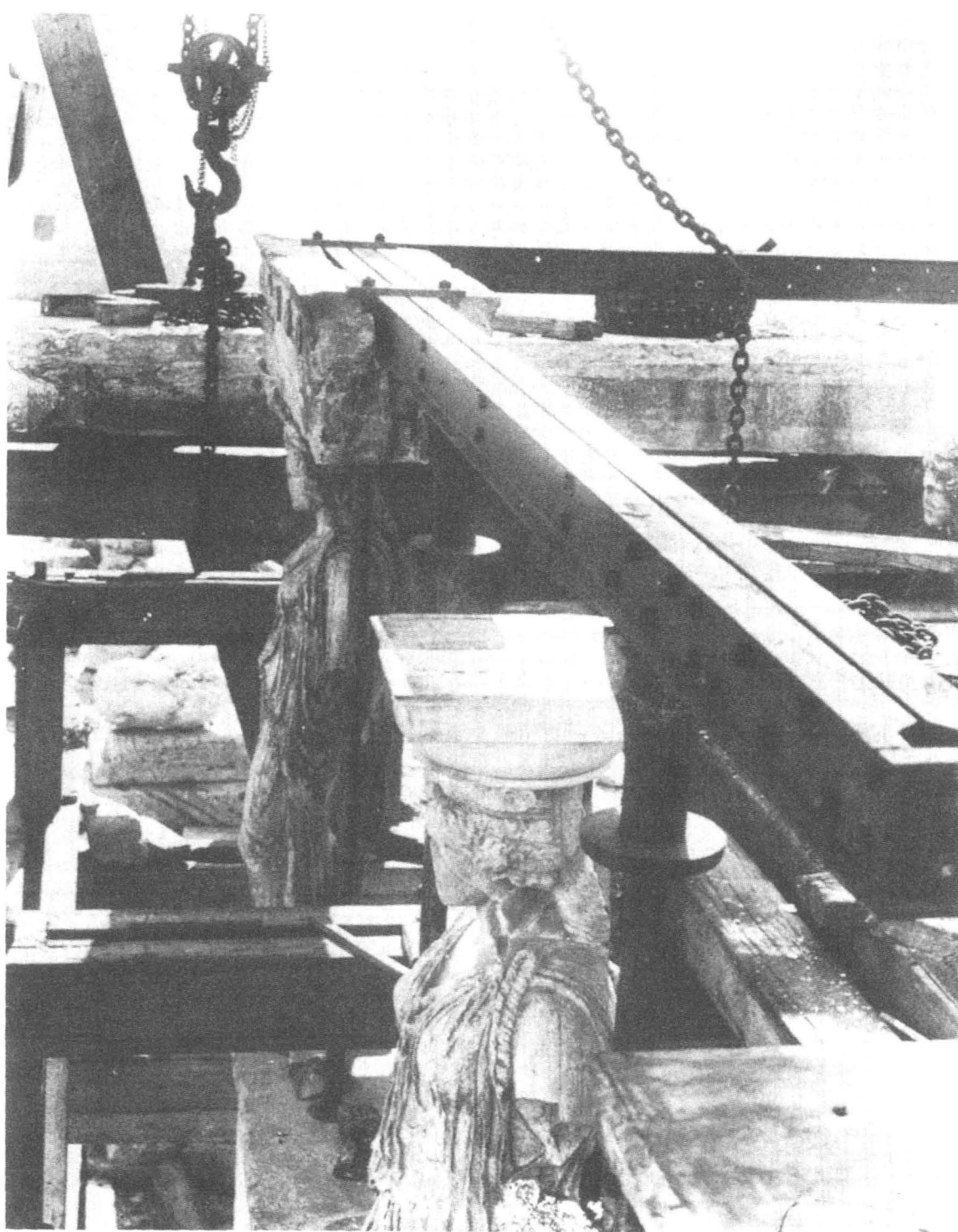


Fig. 275 Erechtheion Caryatid Porch. Steel beams installed by Balanos to reinforce the roof. (Balanos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens).

restored the floor paving in marble and the crepidoma in poros limestone.

By the 1950s, the first disastrous consequences of the ill-considered use of iron in Balanos' restoration had already become evident. In the following decades, the monuments deteriorated rapidly as new sources of trouble were added on to the primary problem of rusting iron. The new problems were static sufficiency; physical, chemical and biological changes in marble surfaces due to atmospheric pollution; antiseismic protection. Beginning in 1965, the Archaeological Service attempted to cope with the situation by means of the usual procedures for conservation and preservation, such as reattaching fragments with brass clamps and Meyer's stone cement, sealing up joints with cement mortar, replacing the visible iron clamps with brass ones and draining off rain water. By 1975, everyone had become aware of the fact that these methods were not sufficiently effective and that a more drastic intervention would be necessary. The Greek government established an interdisciplinary body, the Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments, which is fighting to save the monuments on the Sacred Rock.

## CONTROVERSIAL MEASURES IN ATHENS

The preservation measures on the Akropolis plateau have been guided so far by the rather strict principles mentioned above; apart from the quite controversial demolitions of medieval structures effected in the last century, happily enough no other arbitrary intervention (i.e. reconstruction of buildings or manipulative redesigning of the Akropolis precinct) has been undertaken to the detriment of the monuments.

What happened, however, to the ancient monuments in the lower town and its immediate surroundings? In Athens, relatively few ancient monuments are more or less well preserved, offering the interest of an architectural feature which although in a ruinous state still possesses a visible volume and form. These monuments were listed already during the early years of the new Greek state (see von Klenze's list in Appendix A, No. 9) and have been considered not only as precious examples of ancient architecture, but also as important landmarks in the modern town.

Most of these ancient monuments have been treated very circumspectly: The ruins of the Pnyx Assembly Place, the Philopappos Monument, the Stoa of Eumenes, the Theatre of Dionysos, the Lysikrates Monument, the Tower of the Winds, the remains of the Roman Agora and of the Library of Hadrian, the Arch of Hadrian and the Temple of Zeus Olympios, have only been consolidated and cleaned; minor restorations needed for the consolidation measures have been undertaken.

In some cases even additional dislocations in relatively recent times have not been repaired: e.g. the huge Corinthian column of the Temple of Zeus Olympios which was blown down during a storm in February, 1852, has been left lying in the field ever since. The resulting situation on the site is aesthetically highly interesting, affording a clear, almost classroom demonstration of the structural features and the recent history of the monument is still 'readable' *in situ*.

There are, however, some exceptions to this thoughtful, discreet preservation approach and these ventures still constitute highly controversial measures in the opinion of scholars and the wider public as well. Characteristically enough, the common justification for these measures has been again and again the alleged 'enhancement' of Athens as a tourist attraction and the advisa-



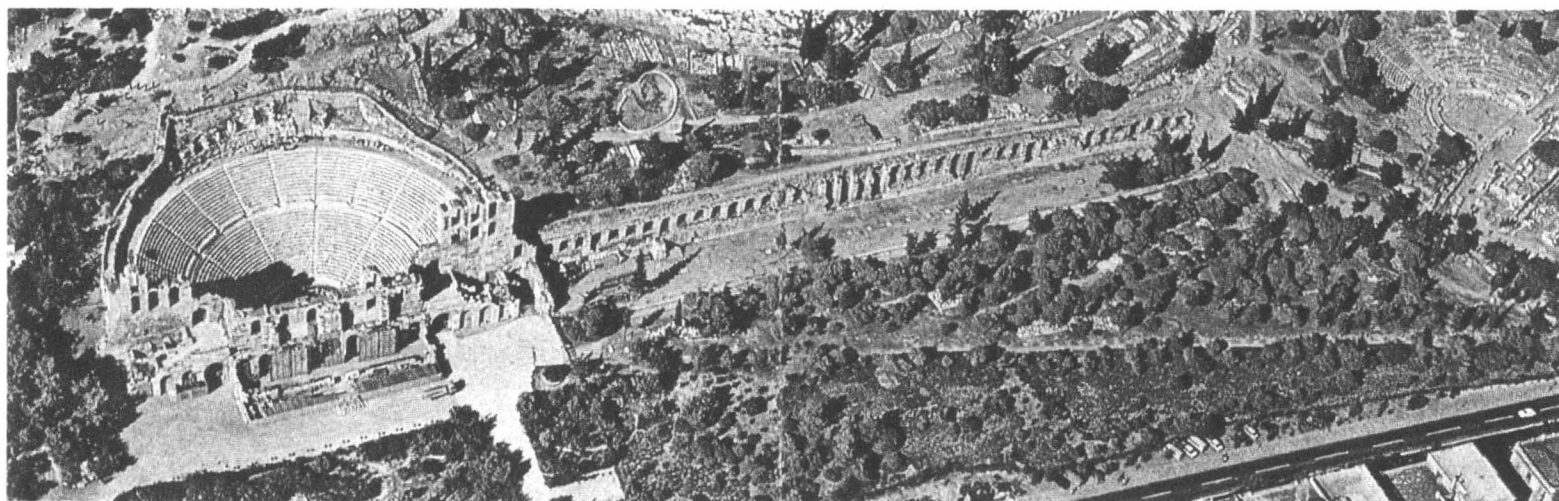


Fig. 276 The Akropolis south slope in the 1970s. From left to right: the Odeion of Herodes Atticus restored; the ruins of the Stoa of Eumenes; the Theatre of Dionysos. Air view. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



Fig. 277 Odeion of Herodes Atticus. Detail of the cavea and stage building after restoration. The orchestra is covered with a wooden platform for musical performances. (Photograph by the author).

bility of having ancient restored buildings serve a variety of new functions.

Let us start with the reconstruction (not restoration) of the Hadrianic phase of the Panathenaic Stadium (1894-96) and of the cavea of the Herodes Atticus Theatre (1952-1960). Each of these projects was undertaken in order to have athletic or cultural events performed in an ancient setting. Both are monuments of the Roman period, which for a long time have been arbitrarily and unfairly considered to be of inferior artistic quality. The fact, however, that these reconstructions were carried out on structures set well in to the natural site and not on freestanding architectural volumes, give these undertakings a somehow acceptable character.

This is not the case, however, for another important venture: the reconstruction of the Hellenistic Stoa of Attalos II (159-138 B.C.) is the first and unique attempt to restore an important freestanding monument of antiquity in Athens. All that remained of the building at the start

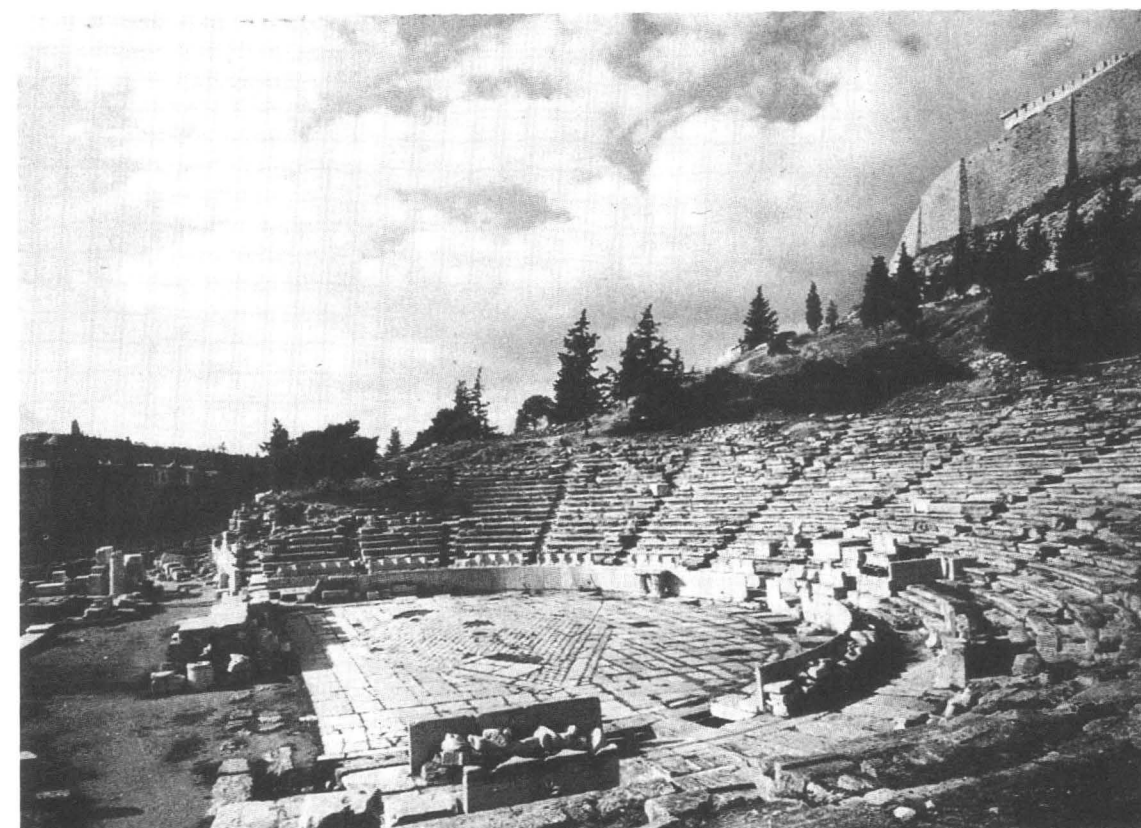


Fig. 278 The cavea of the Theatre of Dionysos after the consolidation campaign of 1978-1980. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 279 The Olympieion and the Arch of Hadrian from the west in the 1980s. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 280 Panathenaic Stadium. Reconstruction in progress in 1895. (DAI, Athens).

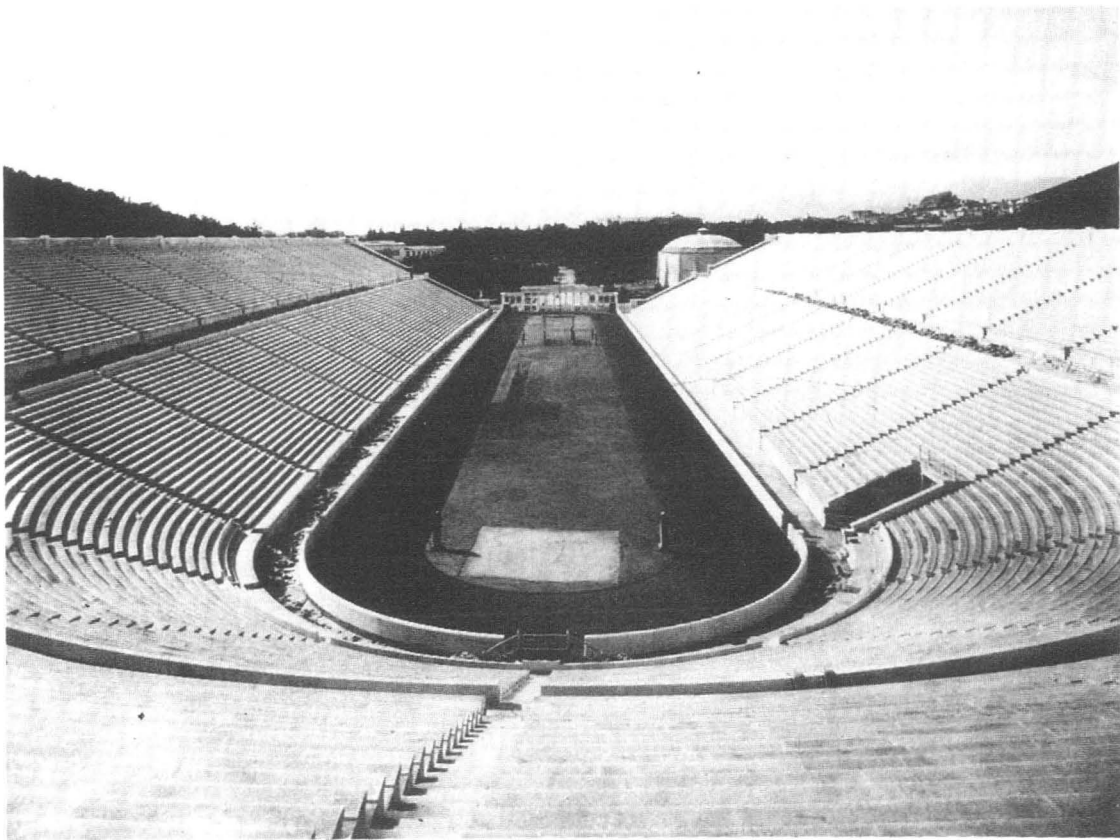


Fig. 281 Axial view of the reconstructed Panathenaic Stadium at the beginning of the 20th century. In the background: the entrance gate to the Stadium and the huge Athens Panorama Building, both subsequently demolished. (DAI, Athens).







of the project was the foundations, the northeast corner rising two-storeys high, and some of the doorways and walls of the shops on the ground floor; there were also dispersed fragments providing information concerning the four orders of the colonnades and of virtually all of the architectural members. John Travlos, architect and archaeologist, who had acted for many years as the architect of the Agora excavations, made the plans and drawings of the ancient building and the dispersed architectural fragments which served as the basis for the reconstruction which was carried out between 1953 and 1957. We are insisting on the term 'reconstruction' because to speak in this case of a 'restoration' when more than 95% of the original architectural fabric is lost forever would be a specious euphemism.

The design and execution of the work can only be characterized as exemplary. Apart from the use of new materials which were structurally necessary, for example the use of concrete for the underpinnings and elsewhere and apart from the changes in plan dictated by the new functions of museum, offices and storerooms, the original design was faithfully reproduced in the original materials, recreating an impeccable copy after two millennia. But this perfect technical and aesthetic achievement is controversial, to put it mildly, from the point of view of conservation ethics.

Those who defend this venture make the following points: since the stoa is the most typical and frequently used form of Greek civic architecture, it is well to have one complete example to make it clear what a practical, all-purpose form of architecture the stoa is; secondly, it is an advantage to have the finds from the Agora excavations exposed in an 'ancient' building; and thirdly the layout of the ancient civic centre is much more comprehensible with the east side set off with an entire built volume on the site.<sup>130</sup>



Fig. 284 Stoa of Attalos during reconstruction. Marble workers using traditional techniques in carving the columns. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).

<sup>130</sup> Thus the director of the Agora excavations at that time, Homer Thompson, in his report on the excavations of 1948 airs the alternative choices for the location of the new museum and recapitulates the arguments in favor of the reerection of the Attalos Stoa (total costs: U.S. \$2,173,000) as follows:

"Agreed that a permanent building should be erected, where was it to be placed? In the 30's a site was tentatively chosen to the southwest of the Agora proper, in the valley bounded by the Areopagus on the east, the Pnyx and hill of the Nymphs to the south, Kolonos Agoraios to the west. This site had much to recommend it: placed here, the Museum would have lain outside the ancient square yet would have been within sight and easy reach of the main area of the excavation (...) The excavation of the area to the west of the Areopagus, begun in 1939 and largely completed in the post-war seasons, has, however, brought out certain serious disadvantages in the site. A modern building of a size adequate to house the museum could not have been set down in this region without appearing obtrusive in the natural setting, nor without conflicting to some extent with the view of the principal ancient building in the area, viz., the temple of Hephaistos.(...)

As an alternative, it was proposed to place the permanent museum in the 'Theseum Park' to the west of the Temple of Hephaistos. Here again, however, the evident advantages of the site were more than outweighed by their defects. If placed at this distance, the museum would have been out of sight of the Agora and the finds would thus have been divorced from the site.(...) Still another major obstacle of a practical nature was the necessity of making a thorough archaeological examination of the proposed site before confirming the choice; this would have been a costly operation and might well have led again to the discovery of antiquities of sufficient importance to rule out the use of the site.

In the face of these difficulties, a third alternative was proposed and has now been adopted, viz., the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos to house the museum.(...) In addition to its immediate and practical value as a solution to the museum proper, the reconstruction of the Stoa has much else to recommend it. In this way, as in no other, the scheme of the ancient building will be made intelligible to layman and scholar alike and it will stand as a splendid example of one of the most common types of Greek civic architecture facing west toward the Temple of Hephaistoís, a first-rate specimen of temple design. (...)

Recommended by such considerations, the Stoa-Museum project has appealed to and has been approved by the Greek authorities, both the archaeological and the town planning, as also by Greek public opinion, so that the work begins in an atmosphere of friendly enthusiasm in agreeable contrast to the reluctant tolerance with which previous proposals had been greeted. The undertaking was viewed with favour by the European Cooperative Administration as one that would substantially augment the cultural and touristic resources of Greece, a source of revenue on which the country is bound to be more dependent in the future. It has therefore been included in the current program for the rehabilitation of museums and archaeological sites in Greece with the aid of funds made available under the Marshall Plan (...)." Homer A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 18 (1949).





Fig. 285 The Stoa of Attalos as reconstruction began in 1953. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).



Fig. 286 The Stoa of Attalos after the reconstruction was completed in 1957. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).



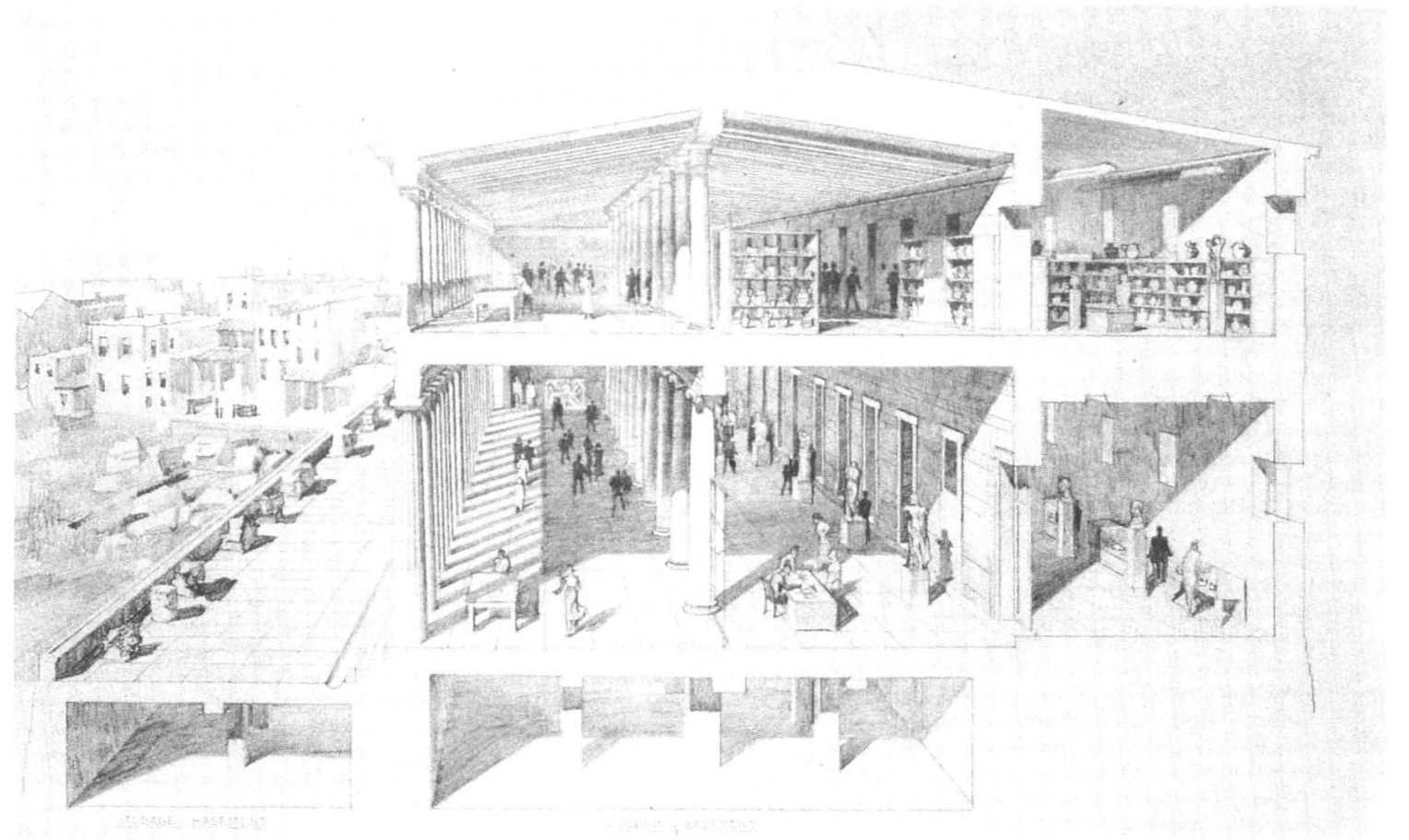


Fig. 288 Stoa of Attalos as a museum, section in perspective. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).



Fig. 287 Marble quarrying on Mt. Penteli (ancient Pentelikon). Recent photograph. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).

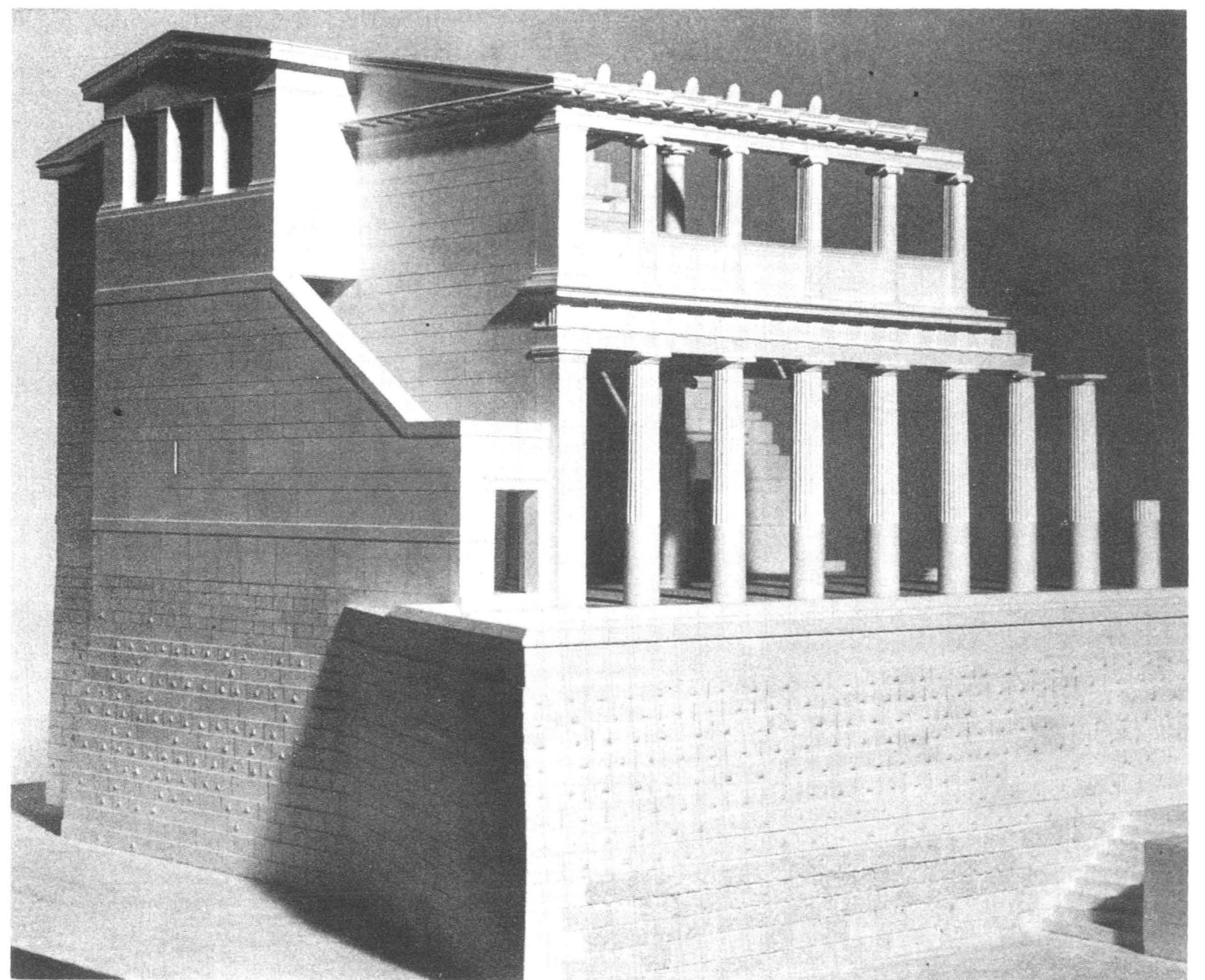


Fig. 289 Stoa of Attalos, plaster model of the north end. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).



But very severe reserves persist. The opponents of the idea consider the direct juxtaposition of discreet, low-rise, authentic ruins with the bulky mass of a 'full-scale architectural model' as unmitigatedly unfortunate. The sensitive visitor longs to have his imagination kindled by a discreet suggestion of ancient ruins and not extinguished by the sight of a counterfeit ancient monument. Since the Stoa of Attalos is bound to acquire a patina in the course of time, the day will come when the ordinary visitor will be misled, not being able to distinguish between the genuinely ancient Temple of Hephaistos and the twentieth century counterfeit stoa.

Although one would think that after the Charter of Venice (1964) was formally accepted, such rebuilding of ancient (i.e. not 'living') monuments would have been banished forever from the preservationists' philosophy, this way of thinking unfortunately still prevails, led astray by a naive and questionable wish to restore the 'ancient glory' of Athens and to promote tourist attractions in the modern town.

The pedestrian access to the Propylaia at the entrance of the Akropolis plateau is another problem which has been handled up until now in a most unhappy, questionable manner. In the 5th century B.C. there was a ramp here, the full width of the central Propylaia gate-building. This ramp, which was the end of the Panathenaic Way, started at what is now an oval driveway and went all the way up to the Propylaia west steps, where it continued as a narrow passage through the building. In Roman times the ramp was replaced by a marble monumental stairway, most of which was pillaged over the centuries.

A practical solution to the access problem was, however, needed. As early as 1849, the Greek authorities allowed a stairway to be built between the 3rd century A.D. Beulé Gate and the Propylaia. The reports of that time protest vehemently against this arbitrary intrusion.<sup>131</sup> Parts of the botched stairway are still in use today!

It would be impractical to recreate the classical ramp because the gradient of 1:4 is much too steep and because the Beulé Gate is an obstruction. Therefore a discreet reversible solution should have been implemented in the meanwhile, in order to facilitate the access of thousands of visitors to the Akropolis, a reversible solution such as has been recently adopted for the walkways on the Akropolis plateau.

Instead of that, in the 1960s the Archaeological Service designed a new zig-zag ramp for which there is no formal evidence. The result is indeed a very unhappy one: the choice of forms and colors of the new pavement stones are totally arbitrary, the retaining walls are built of rough hewn rocks with a seemingly ancient appearance, and the new ramp ends awkwardly on a 'provisional' wooden platform in front of the Propylaia, still there for the last quarter of a century (fig. 292)! This situation will probably remain for a considerable time to come.

The badly polluted Athenian atmosphere creates a special problem for those concerned with the preservation and conservation of ancient sculpture; it has become imperative to transfer the sculpture (e.g. the Erechtheion Caryatids, the Parthenon sculptures, the Kerameikos funerary reliefs) to climate-controlled museum galleries. While it is acceptable to set exact copies of the sculptures in place of the originals, it is vital that the copies be of the highest quality and as close as possible to the originals in surface finish and texture. This, however, has not been the case during the first important venture of this kind, i.e. the transfer of the Caryatids to the Akropolis museum in 1982. The copies were executed in a softly-colored concrete mortar, which inadequately reproduces the original surface finish and texture, thus diminishing their aesthetic value and providing to the visitor an inaccurate impression of the architectural embellishment of the building.

The proposal to restore the Theatre of Dionysos, in order to develop it as a tourist attraction where performances of ancient drama would be held in the very spot where the works of the



Fig. 290 The Caryatid Porch as restored by Balanos. (Photograph by the author).

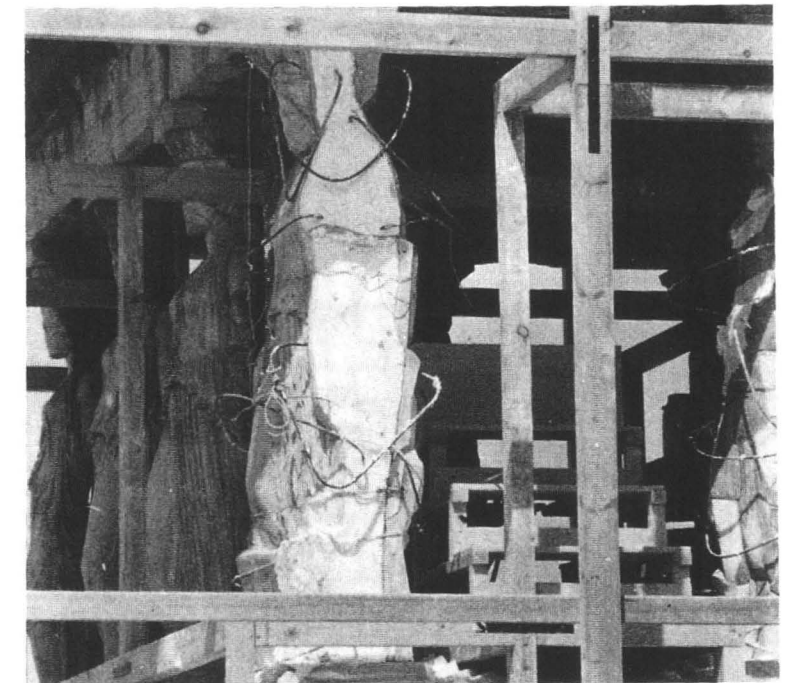


Fig. 291 The Caryatid Porch with scaffolding while the restoration of the 1980s was in progress. Casts were made of the Caryatids before they were moved into the museum. (Photograph by the author).

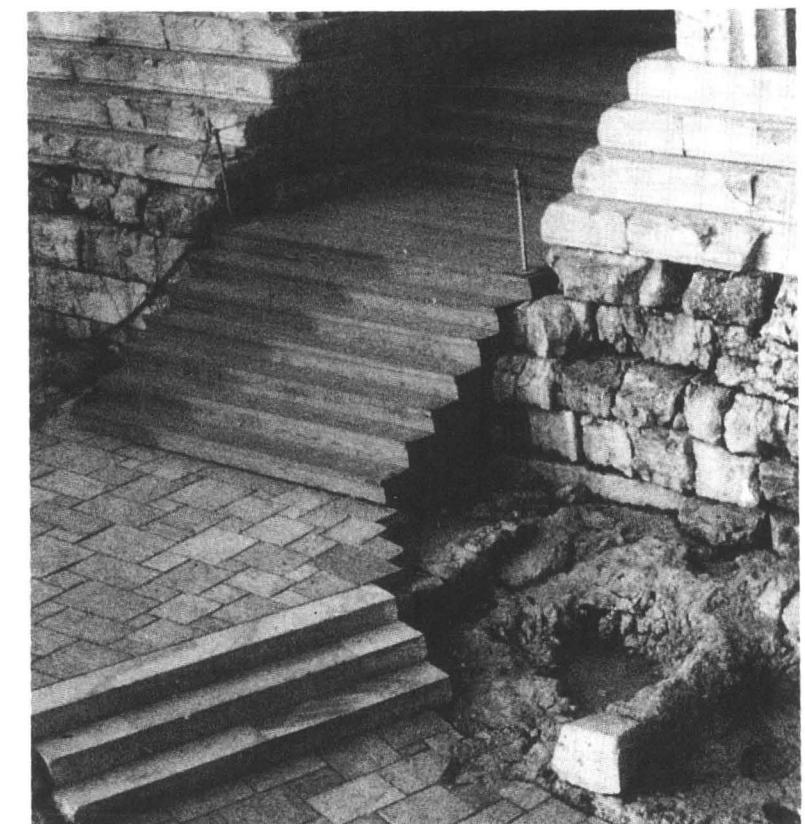


Fig. 292 The present-day access to the Propylaia. Note the arbitrary design chosen for the new pavement. (Photograph by the author).

<sup>131</sup> The Greek archaeologist Alex. Rizos-Rangabé mentioned the construction of the stairway in 1849 in a lecture given in Rome on May 21, 1852. He stated that this structure built two years ago was a barbaric addition; it partly concealed, partly destroyed the ancient marble stairway; part of the Propylaia terrace was hacked away, to build it; no architect supervised the work.



great tragedians were first performed, is a final example of disastrous planning. Fortunately, the project has been postponed *ad calendas graecas* for the time being.

Although the Theater of Dionysos on the Akropolis southeast slope has been excavated at intervals for well-nigh one and a half centuries by Greek and foreign archaeologists, nevertheless, the theater with its huge cavea rising up the slope to the Akropolis rock has been incompletely studied and published to date. Its ten centuries of use from the 6th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. naturally included a series of structural transformations. To reconstruct the theatre and install the structures and equipment needed for modern theatrical performances would be unacceptable not only for reasons of conservation ethics, but also because it would be impossible to restore more than one of the many architectural phases of the structure, a procedure which would falsify or destroy the evidence of other periods of use.

Happily enough, instead of a large-scale restoration, from 1978 to 1980, a joint Greek-German team under the guidance of Wolfgang Wurster made detailed measured drawings of the theater, followed by the most urgently needed consolidation and restoration for structural stability, using only original material. This vital conservation work is now being continued by a team from the Greek Archaeological Service, thus ensuring the preservation of the Theatre for years to come.



Fig. 293 Photograph chosen to illustrate how ancient monumental complexes, excavation zones, and the historic and modern town fabric are juxtaposed in the central part of the cultural-historic area. In the foreground, the Olympieion. In the background, the Akropolis. View taken from the SE. (Merian, 1959).



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN 'LIVING' HISTORIC URBAN CENTRES: A MAJOR CONTROVERSY

### EXCAVATION SITES AND TOWN FABRIC; FORMAL DIVERSITY IN URBAN SPACE

In the course of centuries the forms and structures of individual buildings may be transformed by successive alterations. The same phenomenon is also to be found on a much larger scale in whole districts. Thus groups of buildings from different periods within the historic urban nuclei compose a formal diversity which is by no means a discordant factor. Present-day interventions in protected areas should try to give all of the different historic periods their due, since this is the only way of preserving traditional townscapes as they actually were.

In order to preserve the clarity and unity of a particular architectural style, we might in some exceptional cases consider the restoration of certain buildings to their original form. But, although this procedure is justifiable in the case of individual buildings, it cannot be applied to a whole historic sector where diversity of forms is usually of the essence.

However, this diversity of forms does pose a special problem which constitutes a threat not only to the cohesion but also to the very existence of the traditional urban cluster: a major difficulty is presented by the need to integrate individual archaeological monuments or excavation areas into historic urban centres, for this frequently involves an extremely difficult decision as to whether the protection of an inhabited historic district should take priority over archaeological excavations or vice versa. If the decision goes in favor of the archaeological research, the survival of the traditional urban cluster may well be called into question.

Individual archaeological monuments are often well preserved and can still fulfill specific functions within the urban cluster. There are many examples of successful integration. The Pantheon in Rome was transformed into a church, and the Diocletian baths now serve as a museum, the Roman amphitheatres in Arles and Nîmes are used for open air performances and the Temple of Hephaistos in Athens served as a Christian church from ca 650 to 1835 A.D. Other archaeological monuments, which are preserved only as ruins, have nevertheless acquired an aura as remains of ancient civilization and, because they are so intimately connected with their neighborhood, these uninhabited and functionally 'dead' monuments constitute an integral part of the townscape and so fulfill an important function as symbols of urban continuity. The integration, therefore, of an individual archaeological monument situated in a historic milieu poses no special problems provided that either its present functions and/or its symbolic significance enable it to play an essential role in urban life (figs. 294, 295).

Archaeological sites are, however, a very different matter, for they pose problems which are often insuperable. Thus, we find ourselves faced with a painful alternative when living towns of



Fig. 294 The western section of the Roman Agora with the Doric propylon of Athena Archegetis, seen from the Akropolis. (Photograph by the author).

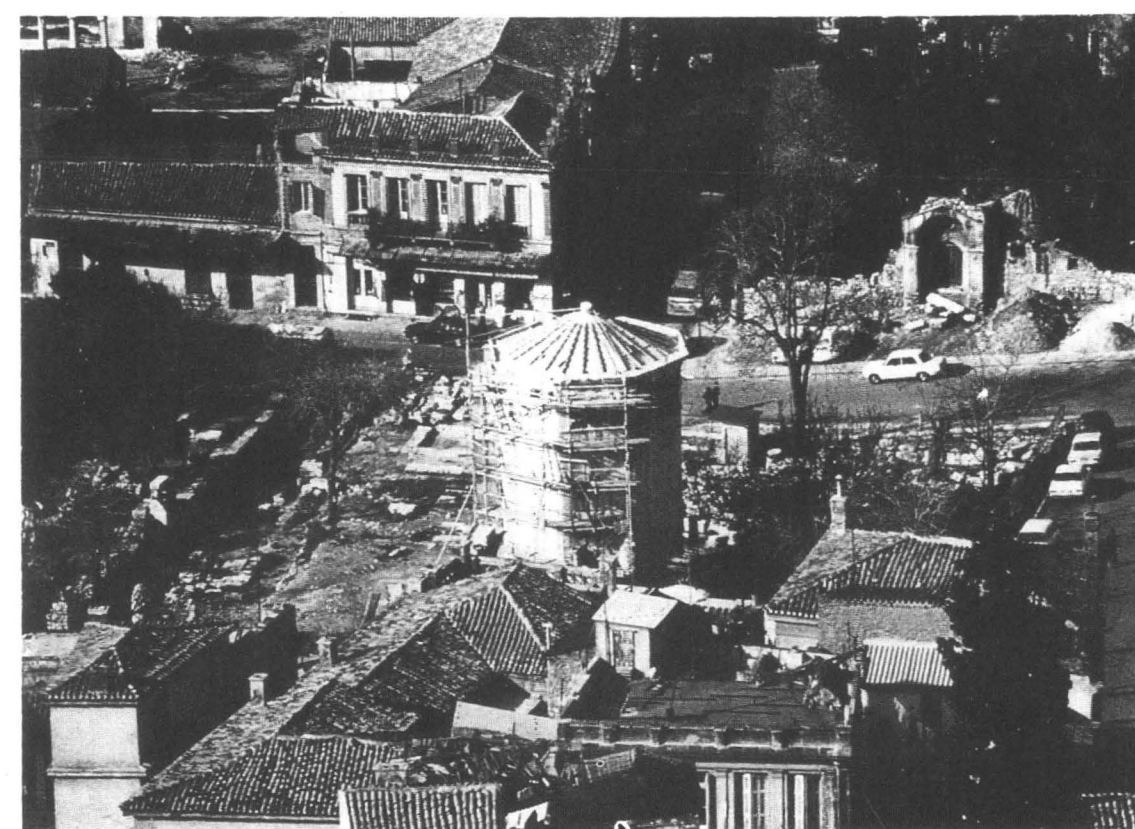


Fig. 295 On the left, the eastern side of the Roman Agora with the Tower of the Winds (water clock of Andronikos Kyrrethes). In the background to the right, the doorway to the (demolished) Islamic Theological School (the Mendresé). (Photograph by the author).



historic value are found to have been built on an important archaeological site. A decision has to be taken whether the living historic center should be preserved and the ancient remains beneath be left unexplored, or whether excavations should be carried out and part or all of the historic district destroyed. It is extremely difficult to determine which of the two heritages is the more important one in cultural terms: subjective preferences are bound to play a role.

Although each case must be judged on its merits, the ultimate decision will depend mainly on the following criteria:

a. An objective comparison between the living historic centre and the potential archaeological site in order to try to establish their relative aesthetic and cultural values.

b. An assessment of each of these two assets to determine which are rare or even unique. This would involve an enquiry to determine whether other historic centres of the same period have similar architectural features as the district in question.

c. An estimate, based on previous finds in the area or on test trenches, as to whether or not the proposed archaeological excavations would yield significant finds.

d. An evaluation of the symbolic and cultural repercussions created by the survival or destruction of the historic center on its urban environment.

This subject has another important aspect, namely the functions of existing or projected archaeological sites within the sphere of historic districts and the integration of these very special 'unbuilt' areas into the urban cluster. The need to protect the scale and unity of the townscape should—in our opinion—take precedence over all other considerations in the planning process concerning these areas.

If it is proposed to carry out archaeological excavations on the periphery of an old town, this should be accepted, for although the townscape would be changed, neither the cohesion nor the continuity of the urban cluster would be disrupted. After the excavations have been completed, the site could be converted into an archaeological park, where the excavated ruins could be put on show. The park and the historic centre would then coexist without detriment to one another.

If it is proposed to carry out excavations on sites situated in the heart of an historic centre, this would certainly threaten the consistency of the townscape. Large historic urban centres, which contain imposing groups of buildings, are of course better able to sustain this threat. The renaissance and baroque city of Rome, where ancient remains such as the Colosseum and the Forum Romanum have always formed an integral part of the townscape, is a case in point. The living urban cluster suffers less when important ancient monuments are still standing (i.e. not badly ruined) on their original sites. The presence of trees and a hilly terrain also facilitate the integration of excavation areas into historic centres. But when excavations are carried out in a relatively small historic centre which has been built on fairly flat ground, then the integrity of the urban cluster is far more likely to be disrupted.

In conclusion, it can be stated that individual archaeological monuments and/or sites can constitute a positive element in the townscape of an historic centre; this is not the case, however, when large and monotonous sites are created, since these must necessarily destroy the unity of the townscape.

## CONFLICTING PRESERVATION PRIORITIES IN ATHENS; THE SEARCH FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE COMPROMISE

From 1833 onwards the modern neoclassic extension of Athens was built up side by side with the old town which was allowed to continue to develop along traditional lines on its existing



street pattern. But much, if not all, of the old town, situated on the north slope of the Akropolis between the Akropolis itself and the Eridanos river, lay directly over sites of sanctuaries and public buildings of ancient Athens. This situation led first to a latent and later on to an open conflict in the field of preservation priorities: in a rather restricted area of about 40 ha on the north slope of the Akropolis, the excavation of the ancient town was hindered by the presence of the 'living' old town of Athens.

It is worth mentioning that the entire upper part of the old town —above the curve of Adrianou st.— was originally meant to be expropriated for archaeological excavations.<sup>132</sup> This could never be realized because the Athens municipality and later on the Greek state were unable to compensate the landowners. Thus this fairly dilapidated part of the old town was gradually resettled in the course of the 19th century with unpretentious houses of one to three storeys and became what is now called the Plaka, the old town. The slow growth rate of those years and the resulting gradual assimilation of the new built elements helped to produce an urban entity which was fairly uniform and homogeneous, especially as regards the town-planning pattern and the architectural scale. The survival of traditional elements in the house types, such as the inner courtyard and the glassed-in corridors as well as the presence of stylistic elements of neoclassical architecture, blended harmoniously with the monuments of various historic periods in this living ekistic entity. This endowed Plaka with its unique atmosphere and gave it the character of a living historic core of Athens and a distinctive central residential area, with handicrafts and the traditional forms of entertainment.

The respect for and systematic study of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman antiquities, characteristic of 19th century Greece, contributed to the international interest in this field which was sparked off by the important archaeological investigations and excavations carried out from 1834 onward. Unfortunately, this interest became exaggerated and one-sided. As a result, the Greek traditions (which were still alive in the spheres of music, building, craftsmanship, painting and folk poetry), tended to be ignored, which meant that monuments of Greek architecture and historic centres of the last five hundred years were grossly underrated. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in Greece and especially in Athens the decision to sacrifice living historic monuments and quarters to archaeological excavations has been taken far too easily in the past.<sup>133</sup>

Landowners in Plaka went ahead and put up buildings deliberately ignoring the fact that the Greek state had announced its intention of expropriating the entire area for excavation and had the legal right to do so. The floor-area ratio, the building density and the total height of the buildings were kept low, following the strict control of the Archaeological Service in a 500 m radius perimeter around the Akropolis monuments, and thus the architectural scale was maintained. This equivocal state of affairs persisted for about 150 years. It was not until recently that town-planners, following the new conservation philosophy, accepted *de facto* that this historic city quarter had the right to exist.

Until the First World War, only relatively small-scale excavations were carried out at the expense of the 'living' historic town fabric (e.g. in the area of the Roman Agora and the so-called Gymnasium of Diogenes). From 1931 onward the American School of Classical Studies in Athens conducted the first large-scale excavations on an area of about 9 ha in order to uncover the civic center of the ancient city. Pausanias' description of Athens and the evidence of other written testimonia had made it clear that the Agora was somewhere in the general region northwest of the Akropolis which was, however, covered by the dense fabric of the old 'living' town quarter. Although the Athenian population has always had strong emotional ties with the traditional 19th century townscape, the vision of recovering the splendours of antiquity (even ruined!) and the hope of important finds through excavations, proved to be stronger: absolute priority was given to archaeological research during this period, 1931-1960.

The scholarly world (historians, archaeologists and town-planners), and also the general public, was at that time not aware of the inherent conflict between the two goals: on the one hand, the preservation of the living historic district and on the other, the retrieval of the history of Athens and her culture through excavation. Thus, one hundred years after the establishment of the new city, the initial vision of Kleanthes and Schaubert was partially realized: about one-fourth of the area they had proposed leaving free for future excavations (actually, the western

132 For the proposals of Kleanthes and Schaubert, von Klenze and Kaftanzoglou, see documents No. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 13 in Appendix A.

133 As early as 1837 the Minister of the Interior, G. Glarakis, expressed strong reservations about a royal decree of King Otto requiring the preservation "of the remains of the Middle Ages during the implementation of the new plan for the capital", with biased pleading for the absolute primacy of the ancient monuments "of the most pure style":

"Quoique je n'ignore point qu'il soit du plus grand intérêt de conserver soigneusement tous les monuments qui rappellent les destinées de la Grèce dans chacune des époques passées et de pouvoir ainsi comparer les divers styles d'architecture et les diverses phases de l'art, je crois néanmoins devoir faire une exception à l'égard de quelques constructions d'une époque plus rapprochée, qui sont adossées sur les édifices du style le plus pur de l'antiquité hellénique, sur quelques monuments de premier ordre, dont la beauté dans le rapport de leurs parties et dans l'harmonie de leurs lignes, serait dérangée par toute addition d'un édifice quelconque (...). Je ne manquerai pas de faire mes humbles propositions en conséquence, toutes les fois qu'il s'agira de dégager un édifice de cette nature des constructions modernes ou d'une antiquité moins reculée qui en cachent ou qui en défigurent quelque partie".



134 Among them the author, a member of the 'Plaka Bureau' at that time, formulated clear perspectives for the old district which he published the same year (in Greek and French) under the title *La sauvegarde et la rehabilitation de Plaka, la vieille ville d'Athènes*. Here, some crucial extracts from this paper:

"L'unanimité des experts et de l'opinion se fait sur le principe qu'on devrait à tout prix maintenir une échelle "d'humilité" autour de l'Acropole et des sites archéologiques, de sorte que la vue perspective des monuments ne soit pas gâchée et que la transition visuelle de la ville moderne vers les antiquités se fasse doucement, sans heurt. L'échelle architecturale de Plaka, avec son caractère néo-classique offre la transition idéale(...)

Il est inouï de se trouver aujourd'hui handicapés —surtout quand il s'agit de la sauvegarde d'un ensemble historique— par le tabou intouchable et sacrosaint de la propriété privée, dont l'initiative, même dans des cas spéciaux et pour cause d'utilité publique, ne peut être contrôlée qu'après l'expropriation complète. C'est une mesure courante dans tous les pays, pourvus d'un riche patrimoine immobilier, d'imposer des contraintes aux propriétaires des immeubles considérés comme monuments historiques ou appartenant à un ensemble urbain historique. Si nous nous décidons à appliquer enfin ces mesures, nous réussirons la vraie sauvegarde de la vieille ville. (...)

Il est absolument nécessaire que la vieille ville soit maintenue habitée et vivante, afin que soient préservées non seulement ses formes, mais aussi sa vie.

Deux dangers se présentent contre cette perspective:

En premier: La transformation du quartier en une sorte de 'musée' par l'expropriation généralisée des immeubles qui s'y trouvent (avec l'excuse toujours de leur protection absolue). Dans ce cas les édifices seront attribués à l'installation de petits musées, de sièges d'associations culturelles, de stands d'offices divers e.t.c. Ainsi sera exclu le seul usage adéquat et nécessaire pour que la vie d'une petite communauté traditionnelle soit préservée: l'usage de l'habitation et de l'atelier artisanal.

En second: La dégénérescence de l'usage normal du quartier (avec la tolérance où même d'après la programmation des autorités) de sorte que ce secteur se voit attribuer un 'caractère spécial'. Ce 'caractère spécial' peut prendre plusieurs aspects:

L'aspect 'touristique', celui d'un 'village artistique' où encore l'aspect du 'faux folklore' (...)

Si nous conservons la propriété privée dans Plaka et si nous évitons ces deux écueils (la solution de 'musée' et le 'caractère spécial') nous réussirons à la conservation de la vie normale dans le quartier en maintenant pour les immeubles l'usage d'habitations et d'ateliers artisanaux et en ajoutant les usages nécessaires, de divertissements et de vie culturelle et communautaire".

135 Suffice it to mention that whereas Plaka had 17,000 inhabitants in 1961, only 4,500 remained in 1974 while, by contrast, 200 places of entertainment had been opened and were functioning with a total capacity of 20,000 customers! During the same period, 7,800 persons were employed in Plaka. Thus, the old historic quarter had lost its traditional functions and the individuality which stemmed from them; it was transformed into a section of the centre of Athens which came to life only at night while remaining almost dead in the daytime.

part of it) was cleared through massive expropriations.

In 1966, after the large-scale investigations of the central part of the Agora excavations were discontinued, a public hearing was conducted in the Municipality of Athens, followed with great interest by the general public and the press. About forty architects, archaeologists and town planners, representing the Archaeological Service, the Technical University of Athens, and the services of the Ministry of Housing, as well as representatives of the local inhabitants (an early example of public participation for a major planning issue in Greece) discussed the desirability of further archaeological research, or whether a general preservation policy for the 'living' old Plaka district would be preferable.

Whereas those who represented the inhabitants of the area rightly protested against 130 years of uncertainty about the fate of their living quarters, and asked for a definite decision allowing them to remain in their houses, the overwhelming majority of the professionals were in favour of large-scale excavations in order to uncover the ancient city in the total area proposed five generations ago by Kleanthes, Schaubert and also von Klenze. Encouraged by the positive results of the excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the ancient civic centre, they asked for an international campaign, to be financed jointly by the Greek State and UNESCO, in order to pursue the excavations in the whole crescent of the Plaka area south of Adrianou Street (about 35 additional ha).

Only a small minority of scholars and professionals<sup>134</sup> insisted on the necessity of preserving the 'living' old Plaka district as the only urban ensemble of the 19th century in Athens still surviving and as an ideal visual transition between the modern city centre and the monuments of the Akropolis.

Because of the enormous costs of carrying out the expropriations needed for the proposed large-scale excavations and the social hardships connected with the expulsion of the about 4500 inhabitants of the district, no practical steps were taken during the following years to enable the proposed large-scale archaeological investigations to proceed.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to attach undue importance to either of these two assets (the living historic centre and the archaeological remains) at the expense of the other, for this would make for an arbitrary choice and constitute a breach of scientific ethics. Inventive compromises which will allow preservation of the dense palimpsest of the various historic periods have to be reached. In this regard, the importance of the 1966 meeting is the fact that the issue of the survival of the old town was first raised publicly and that an awareness of the problem was thus created.

Since then the Archaeological Service has pursued a consistent policy of purchasing private houses in the Plaka area in order to facilitate future excavations. Thus, more than 100 houses now belong to the state. Although no large-scale demolitions have been allowed recently, there is a tacit consensus among scholars that the area between the Library of Hadrian and the Agora Excavations should be sacrificed one day in order to achieve the unification of the ancient civic centre and the Roman Agora and to complete the investigations of the Roman Agora. A first step in this direction was done in the early 1970s, when the American School of Classical Studies continued its excavations east of the Panathenaic Way and cleared the Library of Pantainos and the ancient marble-paved street leading from the Panathenaic Way to the entrance of the Roman Agora, the Gate of Athena Archegetis. Furthermore, on the northern edge of the classical Agora, north of Adrianou st., the remains of a stoa, possibly the Stoa Poikile or the Stoa of the Herms, have been excavated. Further areas of archaeological interest are identified as being eligible for future excavations but the idea of excavating the whole area has been abandoned.

From 1967 to 1977, the Plaka area survived only under pitiful conditions of social poverty and architectural deformation.<sup>135</sup> The Plaka urban revival started after 1978 and has been evolving positively ever since. Although archaeological research will be pursued at certain places in the Plaka area, the integrated conservation of the living city quarters as a part of the cultural heritage of Athens, including insulae of archaeological interest, is to be considered as a generally accepted decision.





Fig. 296 Part of the Akropolis north slope in the 1930s. Retaining walls are under construction to support the Akropolis north circuit wall. In the foreground: the western part of the Plaka district before expropriation and demolition for the purposes of excavations. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 297 The so-called Tower of General Church, one of the few houses in Plaka dating from before the War of Independence (1821-1827). (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 298 The eastern part of Plaka in the vicinity of Kydathenaion street around 1890. In the background, the Royal Garden. (DAI, Athens).

## REHABILITATION OF THE PLAKA, THE OLD TOWN OF ATHENS

The Plaka, one of the oldest Athenian quarters, forms what could be described as the inner core of the historic centre of the nation's capital. It is a district very closely associated with the history of Athens, since it has been continuously inhabited from ancient times to the present day.

The Plaka, a crescent-shaped area around the northern and the eastern sides of the rock of the Akropolis, is approximately one kilometer long with an average breadth of 350 metres. To the north and to the east its boundaries adjoin the commercial and administrative centre of Athens, while to the west it stretches as far as the limits of the site of the ancient Athenian Agora, an area which also formed part of the 'living' historic centre of Athens but was sacrificed for the sake of excavations undertaken there from the year 1931 onwards by the American School of Classical Studies. The Plaka district, by reason of the special position it occupies in the Athens metropolitan area, obviously forms an extensive monumental record of the civilization and history of the town. It presents exceptional interest because of its monuments reflecting all epochs in Greek history. Indeed, it is in Plaka that the form and the scale of the traditional urban pattern has been preserved. Plaka is an area which constitutes a lively and much frequented section of modern Athens, a district much beloved of all Athenians for whom it has an emotional significance.

The architectural quality of its houses is rather poor and there are only few going back to the times before the War of Independence of 1821. However, the real importance of Plaka from a town-planning point of view lies mainly in its role as a buffer zone and a transitional element between the bulky mass of the modern city centre and the monumental ensemble of the Akropolis. This guarantees a smooth transition and the preservation of the right architectural scale in an almost ideal way.

Dionysis Zivas, the chief planner of the district, sums up the problems of the area as follows:

- "The first serious pressures on Plaka appeared after 1950 and these were due mainly to:
- The building boom in Athens which came as a result of a sharp increase in the population of the capital.
  - The increasing needs of the commercial and administrative centre of Athens which borders Plaka, in combination with the post-war building boom.
  - The sharp increase in the number of automobiles and the resulting intensification of traffic.
  - The equally brisk increase in tourism and in the number of visitors for whom Plaka is in itself one of the main attractions of Athens and also a quarter which offers pedestrian access to the Akropolis.

Under these combined pressures, Plaka gradually began to be transformed in three main ways:

1. Functional transformation. The dwelling, the artisan's workshop, handicrafts and the traditional form of entertainment began to give way to mass, organized tourist entertainment, trade in tourist gift shops and services. This new situation forced a large proportion of the residents to move out and this resulted in the disintegration of the social fabric of the district.

2. Transformation of the urban space. Plaka's urban pattern, adapted to the particular topographical setting and destined mainly to serve the needs of pedestrians, was forced under the new conditions to accept the traffic caused by thousands of vehicles and to provide parking space for many of them. This means that pedestrians were increasingly at a disadvantage while noise and atmospheric pollution increased.

3. Architectural transformation. Changes in the functions of the Plaka district, the modest and sometimes poor quality of the buildings themselves, natural wear and tear through ageing and lack of proper maintenance and also the fact that the buildings have been put to uses





Fig. 299 Airview of the central part of Athens cultural-historic area. The Agora excavations are NW of the Akropolis and the densely clustered houses of the old town, Plaka, are to the north, Scale ca 1:7000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).





Fig. 300 Model of Athens in 1842; the western part of the Plaka district as seen from the Pnyx. In the centre the areas of the Library of Hadrian and the Roman Agora are still covered with buildings. (Museum of the town of Athens; photograph by the author).

incompatible with their original layout and scale, have been the principal causes for the gradual deterioration of the architectural image of Plaka".<sup>136</sup>

From 1964 to 1967, the Ministry of Housing took an interest for the first time in planning for the preservation of parts of the Plaka district on the upper north slopes of the Akropolis. A team of architects was set up, forming a 'Plaka-bureau' on the spot. They made the first measured drawings of street ensembles and worked out proposals for functional and formal rehabilitation measures.

There followed a ten-year period during which the Plaka area survived under pitiful conditions of social pauperization and architectural deformation. These conditions, which reached a

136 Dionysis Zivas, "The Saving of Plaka, Athens", *Monumentum*, 1983, 5-6.





Fig. 301 Restored houses in the Plaka on the upper Akropolis north slope; above, the Old University building in 1984. (Photograph by the author).

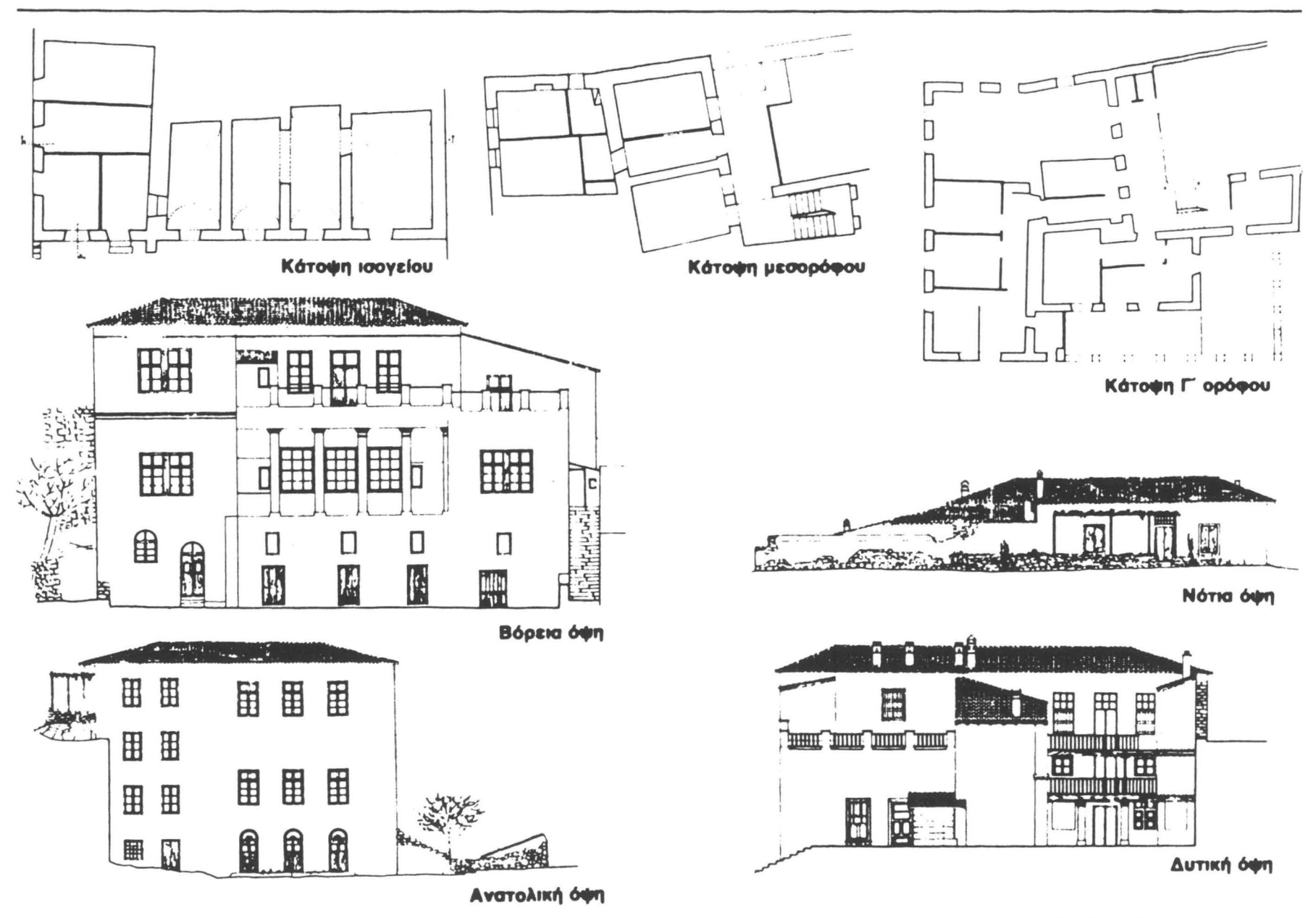


Fig. 302 Floor plans and elevations of the Kleanthes-Schaubert mansion (the Old University). Scale 1:300. (Technical University of Athens).

Fig. 303 The main (northern) façade of the Kleanthes-Schaubert mansion (the Old University) before restoration (1970). (Photograph by the author).



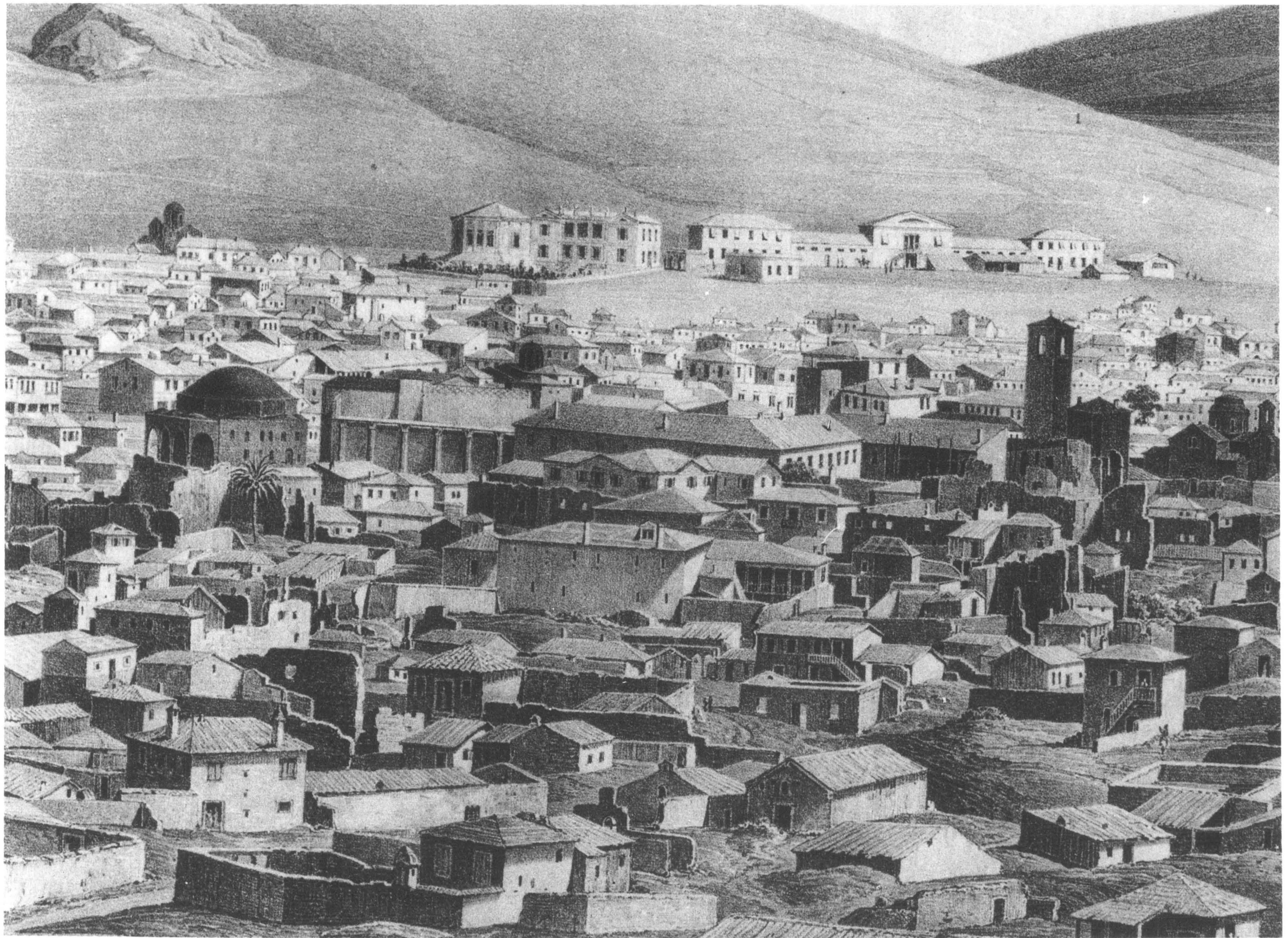


Fig. 304 Detail of Stademann's panorama, drawn in 1835. In the centre from left to right: the mosque at Monastiraki, the west façade of the Library of Hadrian, the bulky army barracks, and the clock tower built at Lord Elgin's expense which was destroyed by the big fire in the Athenian Bazaar in 1885. (Stademann, 1841).



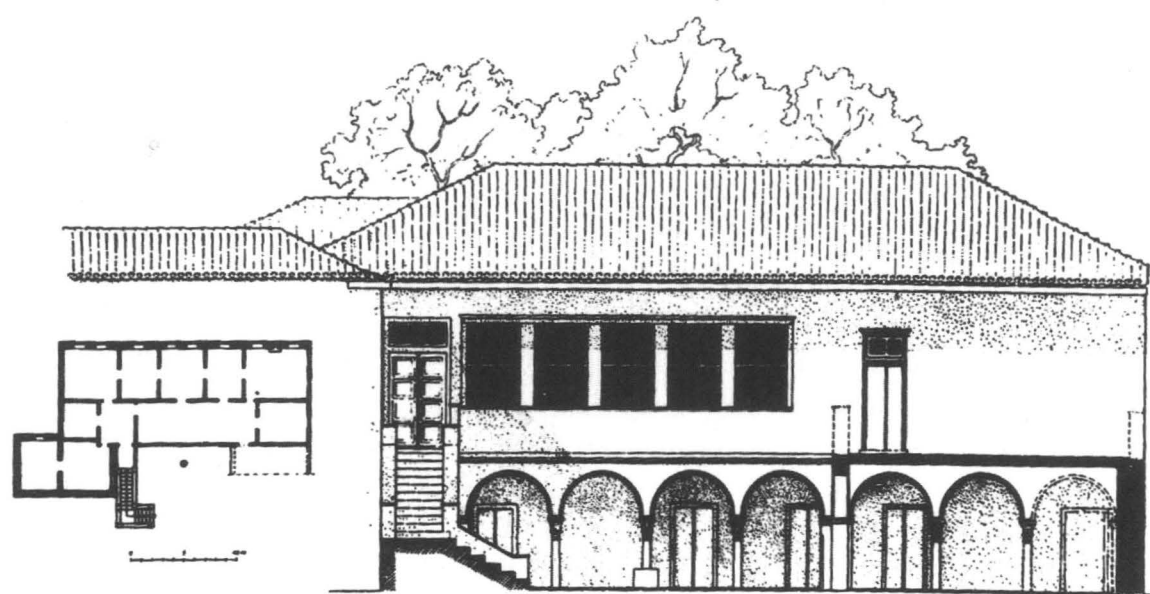


Fig. 305

Fig. 305-307 Patrician Mansion of the late 18th c. on Adrianou street.

Fig. 308-310 Mansion dating to around 1835 on Kydathenaion st. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 308

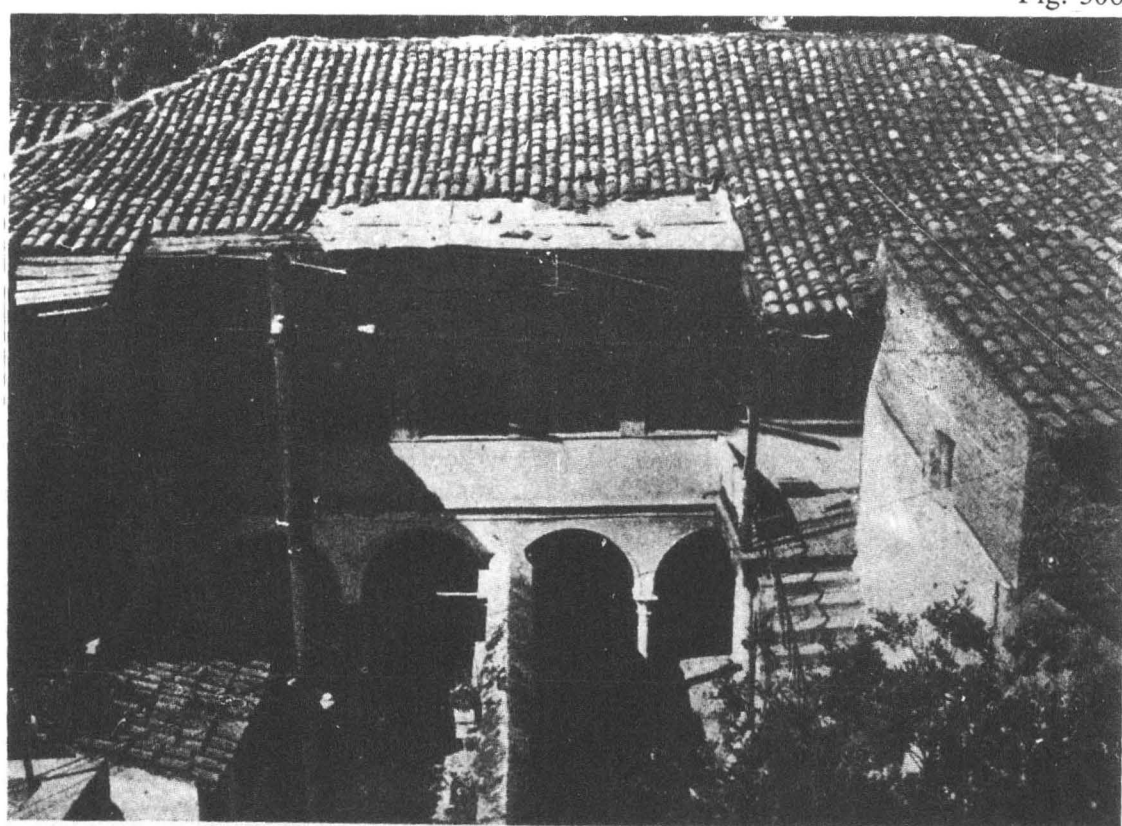


Fig. 306

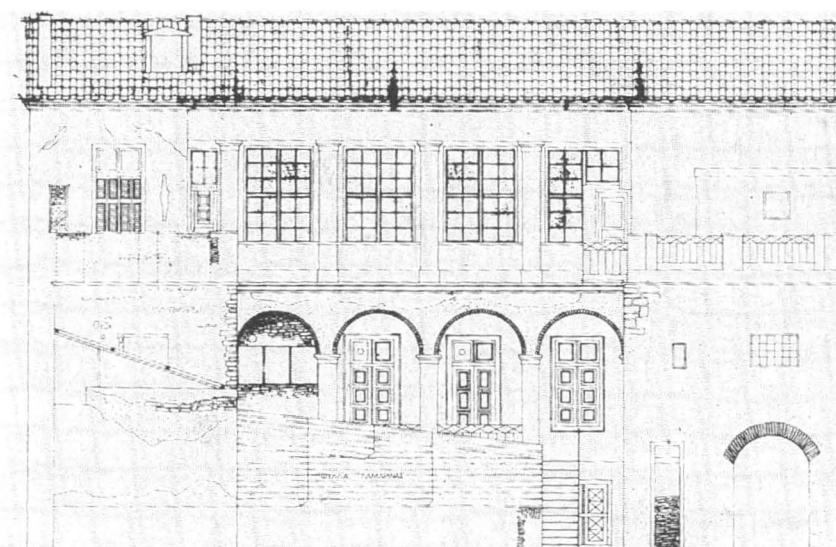


Fig. 309

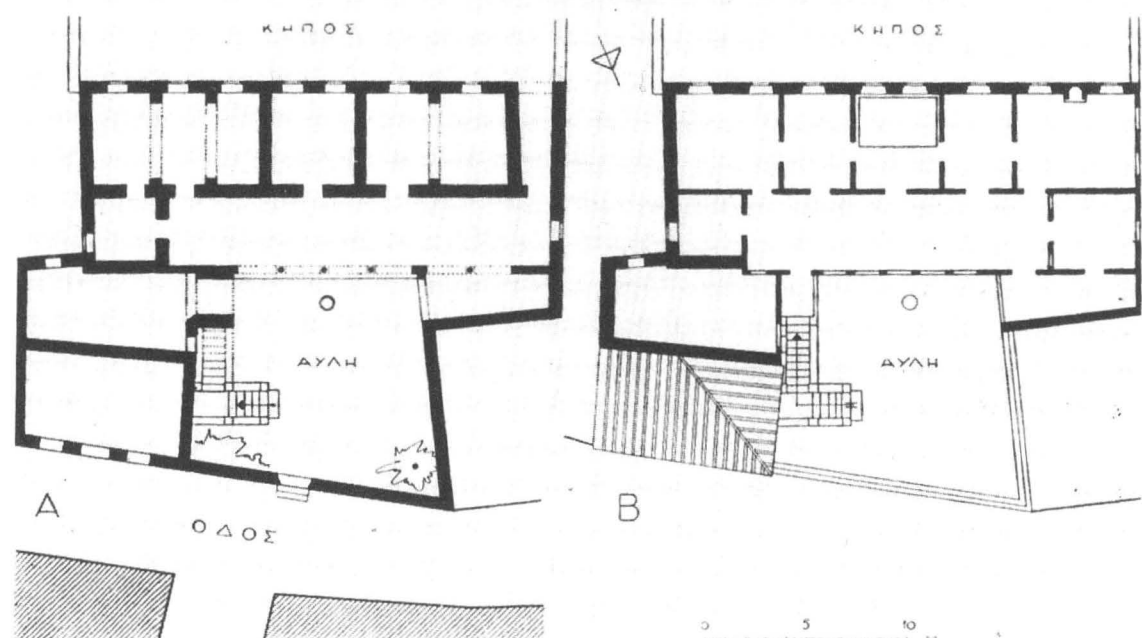


Fig. 307

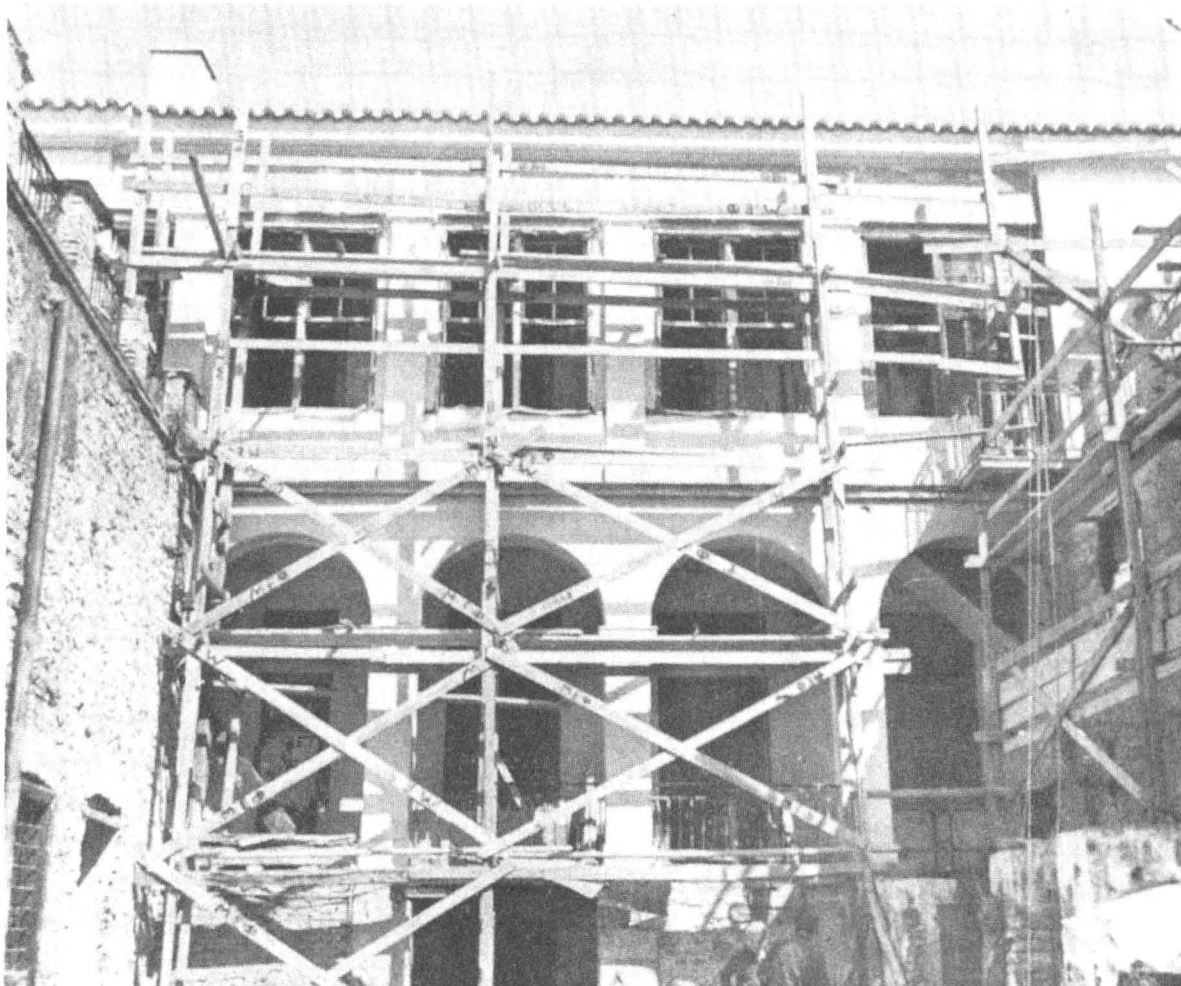


Fig. 310



137 Thus, Raymond Lemaire, expert for the UNESCO, gave the following warning in respect to the old town in his report of 1970, "Sur l'état de conservation des monuments de l'Acropole":

"La Plaka court un triple danger. Elle couvre le centre de la ville antique qu'il est impossible de fouiller sans la démolir; une partie importante en a déjà été sacrifiée à la découverte de l'Agora. Ces fouilles, conduites principalement par l'Ecole américaine, s'étendent de plus en plus et, en 1969 encore on démolissait un îlot de maisons anciennes pour pouvoir les poursuivre. A l'autre extrémité de la vieille ville, vers l'est, l'îlot qui recouvrait l'Odéon de Périclès vient d'être également livré à la pioche des démolisseurs. Le second danger provient de la situation même de la Plaka; voisine du centre commercial de la ville, celui-ci l'envahit peu à peu. Des maisons anciennes sont remplacées par des immeubles neufs plus hauts et hors d'échelle par rapport au tissu urbain ancien. La troisième menace qui plane sur ce quartier historique est issue de sa nature même et de l'attrait qu'il exerce sur les touristes. Des restaurants s'y installent, une vie de nuit s'y développe. Afin d'accueillir ces activités rentables, des aménagements ont été faits qui sont rarement heureux et souvent même catastrophiques. Des baraquements ont été construits avec des matériaux plus que provisoires pour servir de salles de restaurant ou de dancing, des façades ont été rendues 'attractives' ou plus 'pittoresques' que nature par des ajouts ou des décors d'une vulgarité souvent repoussante. En un mot, les 'marchands du Temple' ont pris possession de certaines rues du quartier ou les ont avilies souvent au-delà des limites supportables, détruisant leur charme un peu désuet et leur dignité.

L'afflux des touristes occasionne aussi une intensification de la circulation automobile. Les rues anciennes, étroites, tortueuses et souvent en pentes raides ne sont pas adaptées à ce moyen de locomotion. Il y manque aussi l'espace pour garer les véhicules. Si on n'a pas encore élargi les rues, on a déjà démoli certains blocs de maisons et on en abat d'autres en ce moment, pour faire place à des parkings. L'automobile remplace la maison ancienne et couvre l'aire de toutes les placettes. Le tourisme détruit ainsi, peu à peu, ce qui constitue l'objet même de son intérêt. Ce cercle destructeur inéluctable se refermera peu à peu sur le néant, si une prise de conscience rapide du danger n'apparaît pas et si elle n'inspire pas une politique énergique de préservation et de mise en valeur(...)

Il est nécessaire cependant que, dès à présent, une protection efficace soit assurée pour ce qui subsiste de la vieille ville(...)"

climax in the mid-1970s, ended up by arousing a more and more alarmed awareness of the rapidly increasing extent of destruction in the Plaka, culminating in a rising wave of public backlash. The inhabitants, various professionals<sup>137</sup>, the daily press and periodicals have all frequently expressed strong protests over a number of years concerning the fate of Plaka and have called for measures on the part of the Government to put an end to the evil and to save it.

In the meantime preservation philosophy evolved in Greece. The recent past was now recognized to be a valuable cultural heritage, to be taken into consideration along with the monuments of antiquity. For the first time, the idea of sacrificing the entire old city for archaeological excavations was seriously questioned and rejected. Facing the problems of how to plan the rehabilitation of Plaka as an essential part of the metropolitan area was now on the agenda.

Toward the end of 1972, the Ministry of Housing, at that time responsible for area planning in Athens, decided to entrust a group of professionals, under the direction of Professor Dionisis Zivas, with the task of elaborating a study of this overall problem which became known as the 'Study of the Old City of Athens'. The study took two and one-half years to complete, and it formed the first comprehensive analysis of the various problems troubling the district.

Dionisis Zivas wrote about the objectives and measures in Plaka as follows: "The ultimate aim was to set forth proposals for effective protection and preservation of the quarter. This main objective caused the study group to lay down certain basic principles which may be summarized as follows:

1. As a fundamental requirement, it was agreed that the whole of Plaka should be protected and preserved, as a uniform and indivisible entity. The idea of preserving certain sections only or, worse still, isolated buildings, was ruled out.

2. Plaka should be maintained as a living city quarter; all thought of preserving it as a 'museum piece' deprived of the presence of contemporary life was ruled out. For Greece, this was a very important point because for a great many years the idea of protection was closely associated, very naturally, with ancient monuments exclusively.

3. The concept of protecting the area was to include, unquestionably, the protection of its functional structure, while recognizing the need to introduce the conveniences of modern living.

4. The protection and conservation of the district would have to be carried out within the framework of existing Greek legislation and existing property ownership would not be changed. That is to say, any idea of mass expropriation of the area by the State was ruled out(...)

These basic principles which, in any case, conform with the most up-to-date and internationally acknowledged guidelines for conservation and protection of historic districts, together with the general conclusions reached in the study, formed the foundations for the next stage. This came later, when the Ministry of Housing decided on a batch of measures designed to protect and conserve the area. The urban revival of Plaka actually started in 1978 and has been evolving positively ever since.

An implementation group was set up; his job was to determine the necessary measures for the most effective conservation of the area and, on the other hand, to propose how and when they should be implemented. In other words it was a case of developing a specific strategy which would aim at two targets:

1. To ensure the broadest possible consensus for the measures and to minimize possible adverse reaction to them.

2. To provide options for adopting general measures to take effect immediately while also planning for intervention by stages which, through a longer-term program, could lead to the desired final result.

At this point, it should be stressed that twenty years of deterioration in Plaka had produced, among other things, a mentality whose main feature was perhaps mistrust, if not complete doubt as to the ability or even the will on the part of competent authorities to react to the situation and to implement a consistent policy. This meant that from the outset, the specific strategy to be chosen would have to take into account these negative conditions. Therefore it was essential to obtain a consensus of public opinion on the measures and on intervention; to limit the reaction to the least possible resistance; and to keep disruption of life in such a central part of Athens to a minimum(...)





Plaka, Athens



Part of Madrid



Montmartre, Paris



Soho, London



Part of Rome

Fig. 311 Town patterns of historic districts in five European capitals at a scale of 1:20,000.



Fig. 312 Panoramic view of the Akropolis and the Plaka from Lykabettos. In the background the Saronic gulf. (Taken from a postcard).



Fig. 313 The Agora excavation area and in back the Plaka district on the Akropolis north slope. (Photograph by the author).

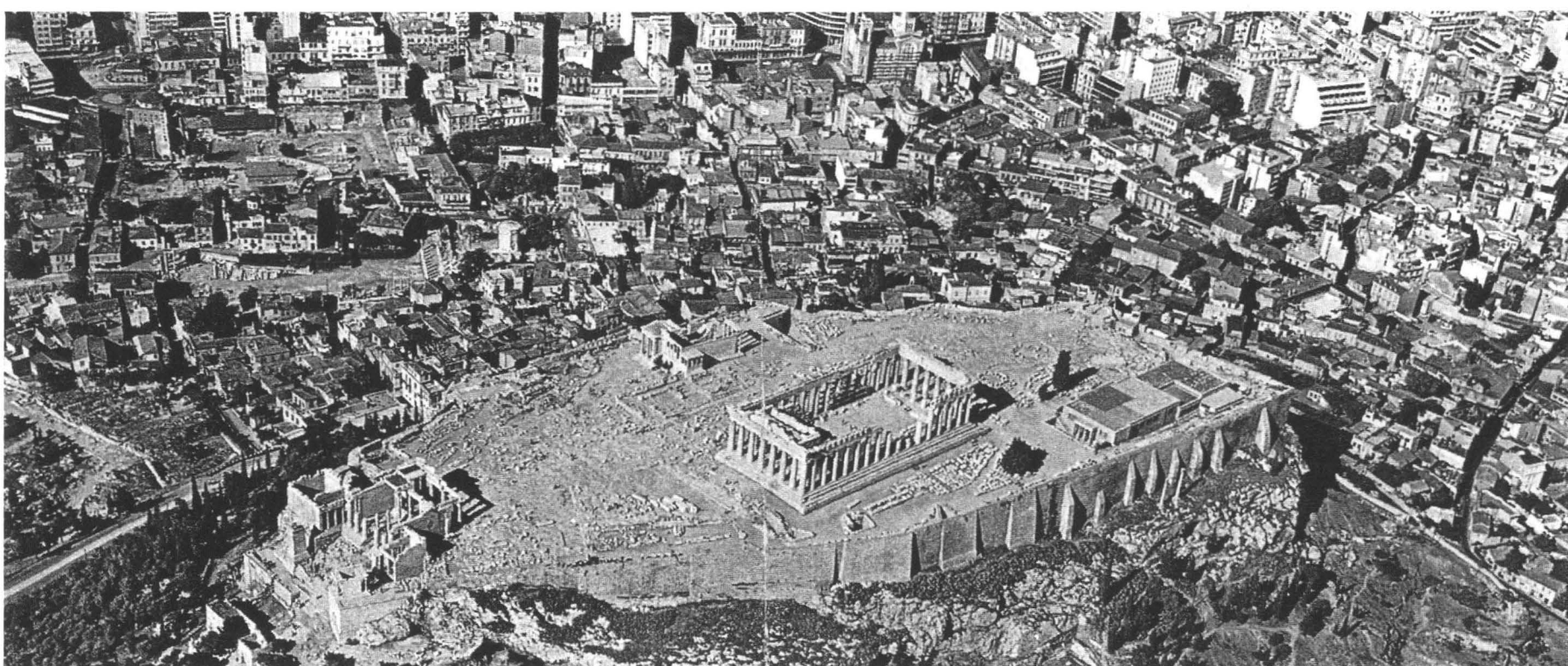


Fig. 314 Air view of the Akropolis plateau and the Plaka area from the south. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



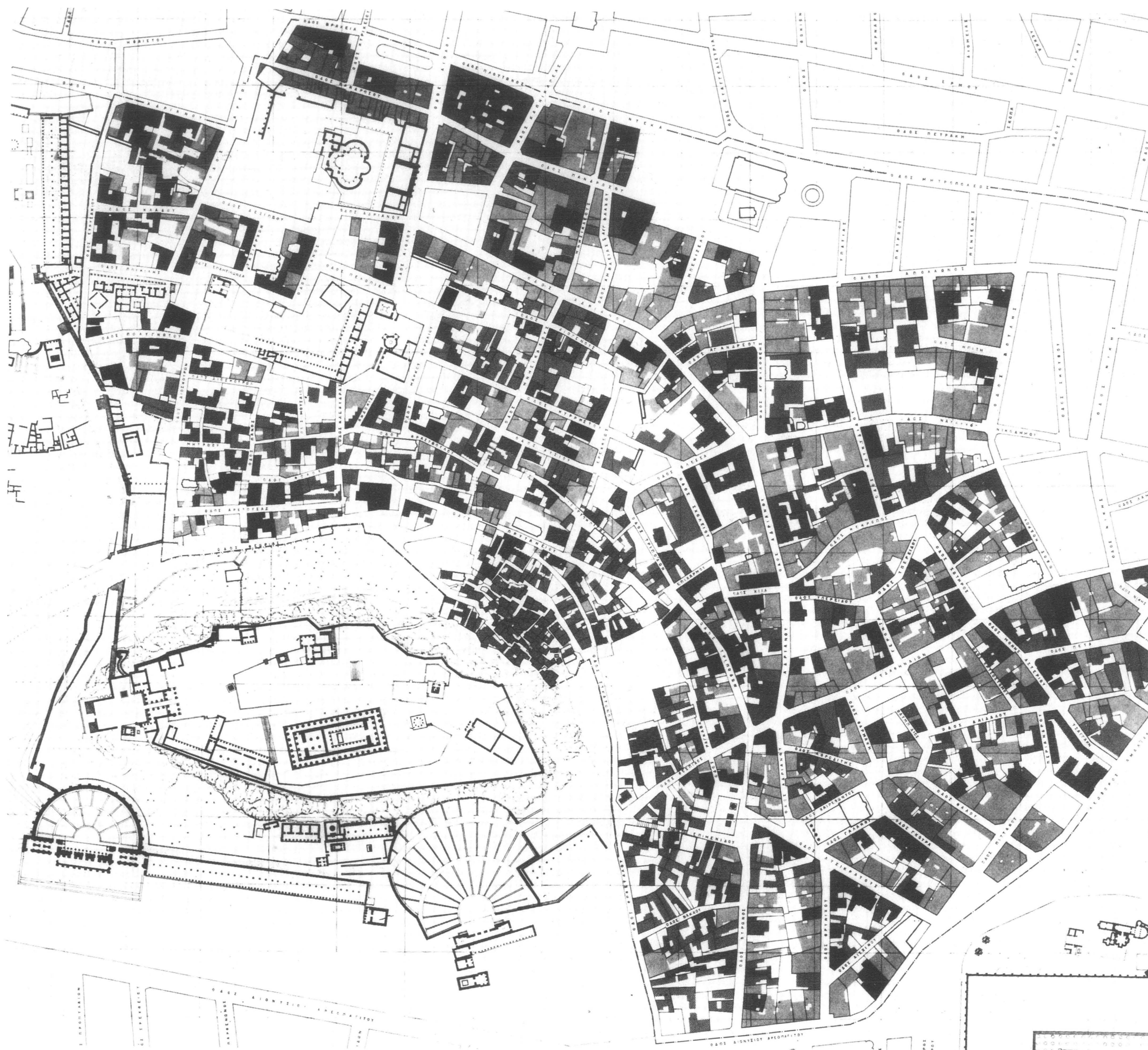


Fig. 315 Plan of the Plaka: built and unbuilt areas. Scale 1:3000. (Zivas, 1977).





Fig. 316 Traffic congestion in the Plaka before the creation of pedestrian zones. (Photograph by the author).

Fig. 317 Haghia Ekaterini church and square near the Lysikrates Monument. (Drawing by the author).







Fig. 318 Courtyard of a house in the Plaka, built in the vernacular style with typical loggia windows on the second floor. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 319 The Kalliphronas house on Mnesikleous st. in the Plaka. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 320 The Monument of Lysikrates (4th c.B.C.) in a small square in the Plaka, is silhouetted against 19th century classicizing house façades in the background. (Photograph by the author).

The first problem was to determine the exact boundaries of today's Plaka. This was necessary because, since 1969, the Archaeological Service had defined Adrianou street as the northern boundary of the area over which it claimed protective jurisdiction. Plaka, however, obviously covers a much wider area, judged on town-planning criteria, functional homogeneity and scale, irrespective of the transformation or disfiguration of the parts nearest central Athens. It is, therefore, clear that Adrianou street was chosen as a boundary for other reasons, principally to ensure a control over matters of archaeological interest. Apart from the practical problems which the fixing of this boundary had created, it also had positive effects during the first stage of the protection of the area. There is little doubt that acceptance of a broader area for Plaka as a uniform district constituted the first important step in the direction of protection and conservation.

A second very important step was the legal coverage of the existing pattern of the streets of Plaka, which protects the district from any future alterations and preserves its urban pattern as it has been handed down to us. As for the sort and extent of intervention thought necessary, the first to be studied and implemented was the pedestrianization of a large number of Plaka streets in order to restrict vehicular traffic to that essential in servicing the district's needs. The success of this measure was decisive.

Approximately half of Plaka's streets have now been pedestrianized. This means that its narrow and irregular streets have regained their original functional purpose, their use by motor vehicles has been drastically cut, and so have noise and pollution. The urban pattern which, indeed, forms a 'monument to be conserved', offers once again a genuine picture of the space and scale of Plaka. Special regulations lay down the hours during which shops and residences can receive supplies, define the exceptions for emergencies and permit the inhabitants to park their cars at appointed locations.

It should be noted that this was the first attempt in Greece to convert city streets into walkways and to regulate motorized traffic on such an extensive scale. Obviously, therefore, no matter how much useful information could be obtained from international experience in similar cases, many organizational, administrative and other problems arose. Despite all this, thanks to timely publicising of what was being done in all available media, disruption caused by the implementation of this measure was minimal; pedestrianization was soon accepted and so a new reality has emerged. Another series of work was thought necessary to complement the fundamental functional change in Plaka streets brought about by pedestrianization. They were planned, on the one hand, to emphasize this change and, on the other, to restore the earlier appearance of the streets. Everyone would thus become directly aware of the goals and achievements of the authorities. Of course, these works will be executed by stages. They include construction, replacement or improvement of the underground service networks as well as resurfacing streets and pavements. In this connection, it has to be stated that in many parts of Plaka the services are very old or even non-existent. Therefore, the water supply, drainage, electricity, town gas and telephone systems need extensive overhauling. It is important to note that as soon as the town gas network has been completed, it will become possible to run central heating with gas instead of oil and thus reduce even further the atmospheric pollution in the immediate vicinity of the Akropolis. Finally, arrangements have been made to install an underground TV central antenna cable so that, it may become possible to abolish the thickets of antennae sprouting from rooftops and terraces. As for the surfaces of streets, pavements and small squares, use is being made of natural stone slabs. All street lighting standards are also being replaced with exact replicas of the old lamps formerly in use. The removal of all overhead electric lighting wiring is planned. The ultimate object is to restore the character and quality of Plaka by using elements historically connected with it rather than by inventing new ones.

A strategy of intervention by general adjustments —such as pedestrianization— was set up, but there are also interventions carried out in stages without causing any major disruption. Each different kind of intervention has been assigned to various levels: the town-planning level, such as the fixing of the area's boundaries, legalization of the town plan and pedestrianization; the technical level, such as replacement of the entire urban infrastructure; and the architectural level, replacing road surfaces, street lighting, etc.





Fig. 321 Plan of the Plaka district and the adjacent central Athens district in 1990. Streets and other public areas for pedestrians only are shown in black. Scale 1:5000. (Greek Ministry of Housing with additions by the author).





Fig. 322 Simple 19th century houses bordering the Roman Agora excavations. (Photograph by the author).

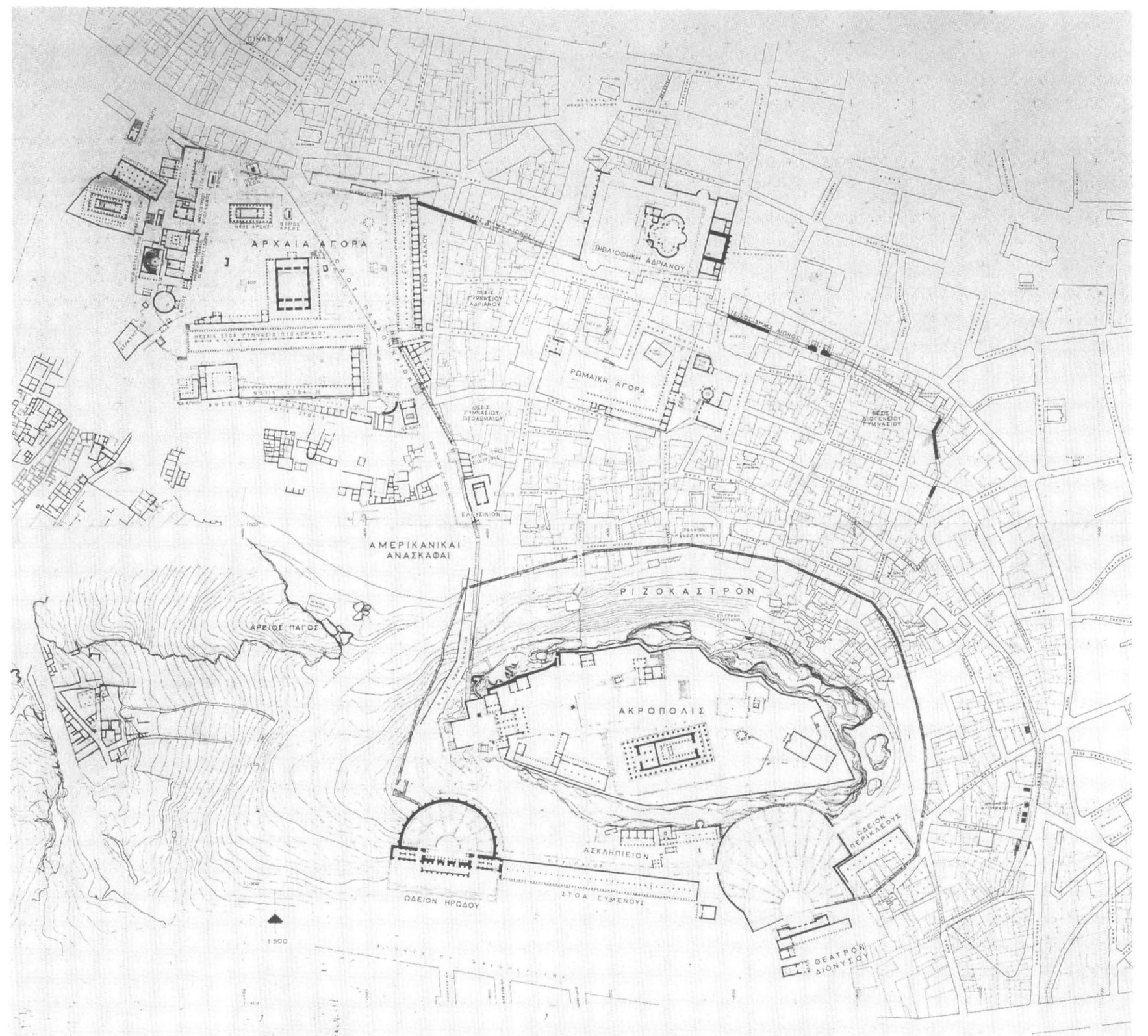
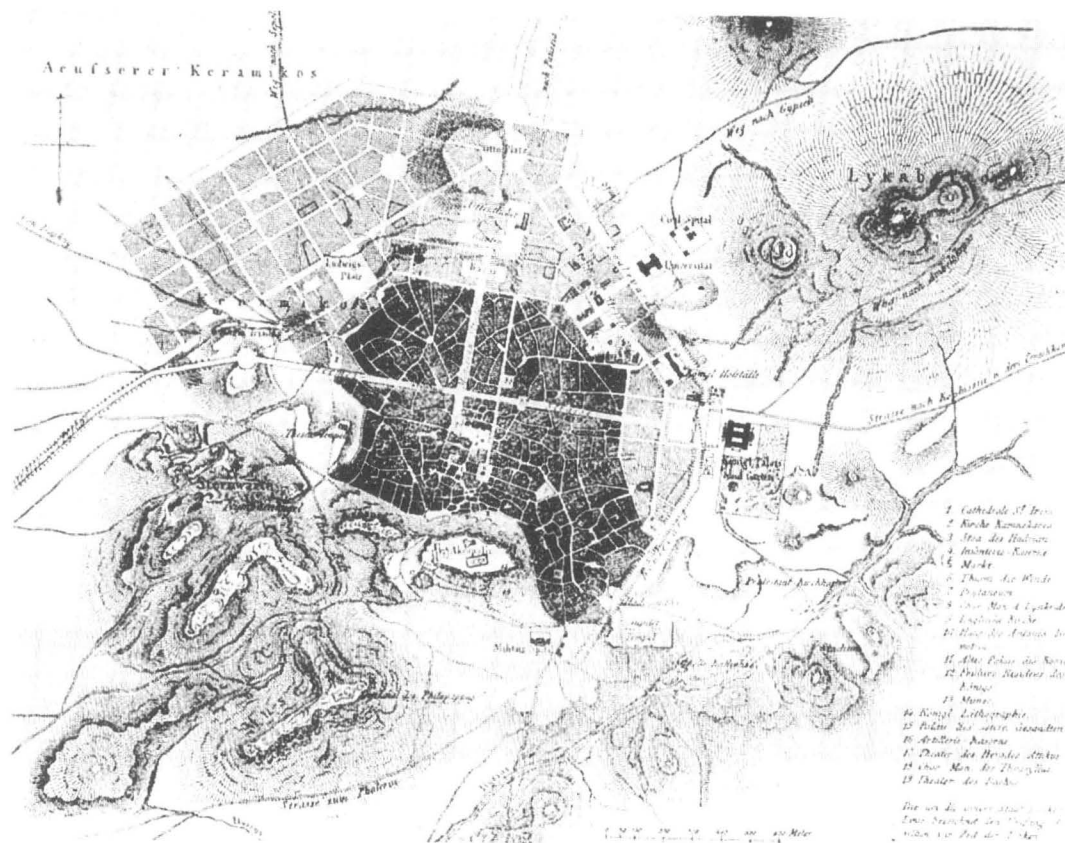


Fig. 323 The town pattern of central Athens today. Scale 1:30,000.

Fig. 324 Plan of Athens in 1846. In black: the old town. In grey: the neoclassical expansion. Scale 1:36,000. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1846).

Fig. 325 The Agora excavations, the Monastiraki district, the Plaka district, and the Akropolis. Plan of the existing situation in 1975. Scale 1:5000. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



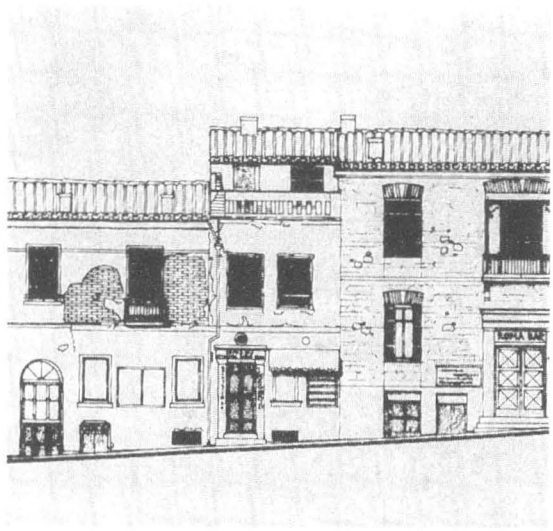


Fig. 326 Measured drawing of house façades in the Plaka. Scale 1:300. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



Fig. 327 A recently restored corner house facing the Gate of Athena Archegetis and the Roman Agora. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 328 Plaka house façades built around 1850-1860. (Photograph by the author).



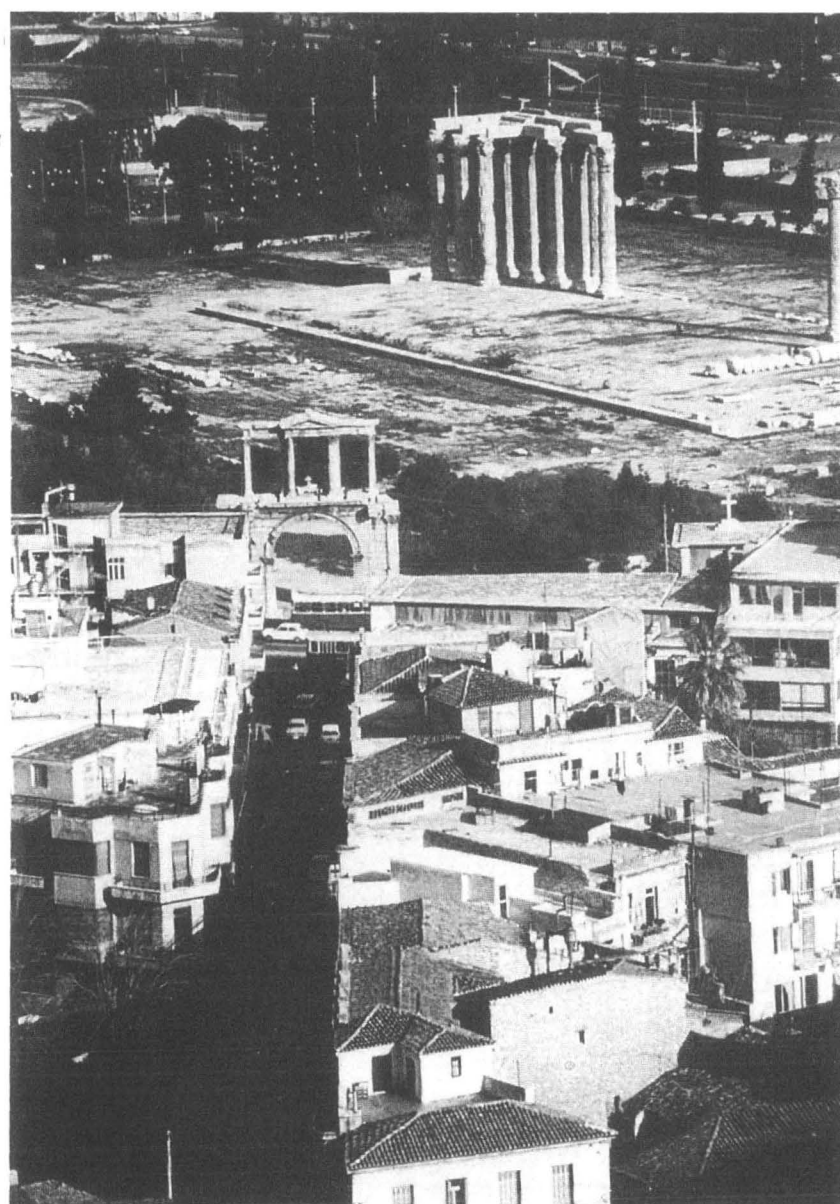


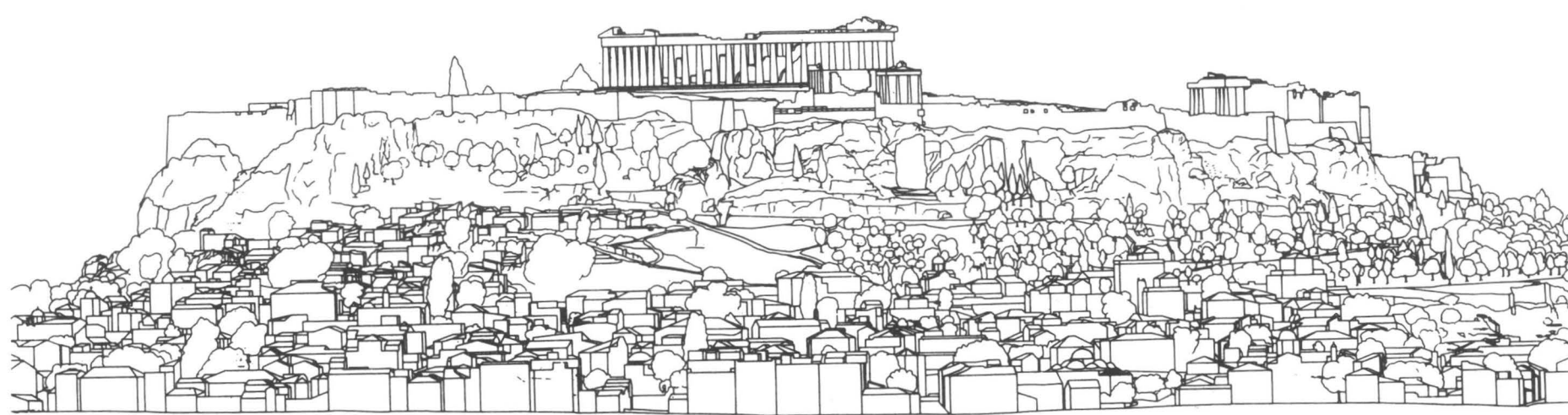
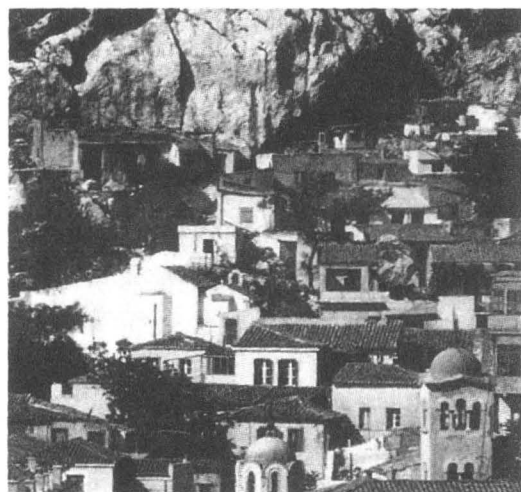
Fig. 329 Restored houses facing the Tower of the Winds. (Photograph by the author).

Fig. 330 The southeastern edge of the Plaka with Hadrian's Arch and the Olympieion in the background. (Photograph by the author).

Fig. 331 House façades and street furnishings in the Plaka. (Photograph by the author).

Fig. 332 Details of a house in the Plaka. (Photograph by the author).





DAI

Fig. 333 Detail of the Anaphiotika settlement on the Akropolis NE slope today. (Photograph by the author).

Fig. 334 The Akropolis and the Plaka: Photogrammetric documentation drawn by the Institut Geographique National, Paris, in 1970. Scale ca 1:2500.

Fig. 335 The Akropolis and the Plaka on the Akropolis east and north slopes. Note the small cubic houses of the Anaphiotika settlement at the base of the rock. Panoramic view from the NE in 1932. (DAI, Athens).





Fig. 336 The 12th century byzantine church of Haghios Nikolaos Rangavas beside the Kleanthes-Schaubert mansion (the Old University). (Photograph by the author).

The measures and interventions which have been described are, of course, of a decisive nature in the drive to restore the historic character of the area and to prevent any further disfigurements; but they are insufficient. The group therefore went ahead with the drafting of a series of legislative measures aiming at further improvement and control of the image of the district and at defining the general framework within which it might evolve in future. These legislative measures, some of which are already in effect and others awaiting final approval, refer to the following subjects.

1. An inventory of all Plaka buildings considered eligible for conservation, and formulation of the terms under which they should be restored to their original form while at the same time satisfying modern functional needs. This inventory finally included 42% of the buildings.
2. The establishment of control over all kinds of commercial signboards, inscriptions and advertisements which disfigure the façades of buildings and alter the nature of the district.
3. Control over new constructions by means of new building regulations.
4. Control over existing functions or those to be installed in the future in Plaka, through a new set of regulations concerning the use of land.

At the same time, certain financial measures in the form of incentives were approved and have already gone into effect. These have become an important factor in the overall effort. They consist mainly of loans at special low interest rates, which are granted by the National Mortgage Bank to Plaka landlords, and also certain free grants made through the Ministry of Culture.

In the recent past the conversion of the Plaka into a machine for operating mass tourist entertainment had almost cut it off from the life of Athens as a whole. This meant that any program ensuring both the preservation of the Plaka and a balanced functional development integrated with the rest of the city necessarily had to be complicated, flexible and adjustable. Studies of the implementation of various works often have to be revised in practice, as, for example, when trenches dug in order to install underground services bring to light noteworthy ancient remains. Such finds have to be investigated. This happened during work being carried out at Haghia Ekaterini Square and at the nearby Lysikrates Monument. Naturally, it will take time for these measures to produce definite results. It would be naive to expect the situation to change from one day to the next. Strong financial interests are involved, and each measure probably treads on the toes of such vested interests, even if only in small degree and, perhaps, for a limited period of time only. These vested interests are, after all, a part of the reality of the area, even if they constitute one of the main obstacles to the work.

Today, however, a great many changes have been brought about. Plaka streets are quieter beyond all comparison, more beautiful and enjoyable for the pedestrians who can stroll at ease, free of the constant nuisance of automobiles and trucks. Allowing for the peculiar conditions encountered in the area, reconstruction of the underground services is going ahead at a satisfactory pace. A central underground channel capable of accommodating all the services and designed so as to make inspection feasible at all times was constructed. It is the first time that this has been attempted in a built-up area in Greece! Laying the special paving stones along the streets reserved for pedestrians is also going ahead, and the same can be said for public spaces and the installation of lighting facilities and equipment of the streets in general. Many private houses have already been restored and others now are under repair. The trend towards a return to the quarter's old character is now quite strongly evident.

Active participation by the inhabitants in this conservation project is an important result. Their various associations keep a close eye on the progress of the work, and they offer advice and criticism which is constructive and helpful. There are no illusions as to existing difficulties and problems awaiting solution before the project can be brought to a successful conclusion. However, the results obtained so far more than suffice to demonstrate that the Plaka conservation project is on the right track".



ARCHAEOLOGY IN ATHENS. 1828-1988

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN THE CULTURAL-HISTORIC AREA<sup>138</sup>

Before the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827), sporadic archaeological excavations in Athens consisted largely of treasure-hunting for collectors. From 1828 onwards many archaeologists excavated and studied sites and surface finds all over Athens for the purpose of contributing to our knowledge of Greek civilization and history.

Excavations in Athens have been conducted mainly by the Archaeological Society at Athens, the Greek Archaeological Service, The German Archaeological Institute, the American School of Classical Studies and the Academy of Athens. Archaeologists from the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, the British School of Archaeology and the French School at Athens have also conducted excavations.

Archaeological research, as distinct from although closely linked to archaeological excavations, has been carried out by a great number of scholars of all many nationalities on such topics as the topography of Athens, architecture, sculpture, pottery and so on. The survey presented here does not touch on these topics; it deals solely with excavations. Excavation reports and other studies involving the excavations of Athens have been published in a great variety of journals and books in Greek, German, English, Italian and French. This important scientific information has hitherto been synthesized only in respect to the study of topography. The history of excavations in Athens has yet to be written. As a first attempt in this direction the present study offers an outline of the history of excavations in Athens, year by year. It must be stressed, however, that excavations outside the twelve sectors of the cultural-historic area are not included here.

Each entry in the survey gives the following information as far as available: the year(s) of the excavation, the place, the institution and/or archaeologist in charge, and the main discoveries, i.e. the when, where, who and what of each excavation.

Comments, additions, clarifications by the compiler are in brackets. One or more sources are given for each entry. Excavation reports have sometimes been cited *verbatim* without quotation marks, so that information from two or three reports could be woven together and so that the spelling of place-names could be standardized. Greek archaeologists spell their names differently in different for-

eign languages and sometimes there are variant spellings within the same language. An effort has been made to find out how the authors prefer to see their names spelled in English and a single form for each name is kept throughout, no matter how many different ways it is spelled in the sources quoted here. This means that strict bibliographical conventions have not been observed; the name is not always spelled as it appears in any given source.

When sources contradict each other with no clear evidence either way, both are given without comment; this means that the same excavation is sometimes recorded under different years.

Many monuments and sites of Athens were either not identified at all or incorrectly identified when they first appeared. Some of them afterwards received two or three different identifications as scholars went their merry way. For example, the Stoa of Attalos was first called the Stoa Poikile and then the Gymnasium of Ptolemy. Today there is disagreement about the identification of over 70 monuments and sites of Athens. An account of the history of excavations in Athens is not the place for controversy over identifications; but still there has to be a way of cutting through this tangle so that the reader understands the original excavation reports, confused and confusing as they may be, in the light of our present knowledge without being ensnared in the current controversies over identifications. Identifications are therefore given as originally reported or currently accepted with the author's own assessments given in brackets.

1828

Kerameikos excavations

Archaeological investigations at the Dipylon (i.e. Sacred Gate)  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 436 no. 617.

Agora area. Hephaisteion

Archaeological investigations at the Theseion (Hephaisteion).  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 437 no. 619.

1829

Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian area: Archaeological investigations at the Stoa of Hadrian (Library of Hadrian).  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 439 no. 622.  
Tower of the Winds: Archaeological investigations at Tower of the Winds.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 439 no. 628.

Akropolis east slope

Archaeological investigations at Lysikrates Monument.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 440 no. 635.

1830

Akropolis

Excavations west of the Propylaia.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1840, 322 no. 387.

<sup>138</sup> This chapter is based on research done especially for this study by Judith Binder.



## Akropolis lower north slope

Archaeological researches in the Rectangle of Hadrian (Library of Hadrian).  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 425 no. 590.

## 1832

## Eridanos underground channel

Eridanos channel from somewhere near Little Metropolis to Hagia Triada: East-west subterranean canal emerging in front of Dipylon Gate (i.e. Sacred Gate) at Haghia Triada explored by L. Ross, Forchhammer et al. They enter through a cistern at east end of Bazar not far from the pretty church known under the name of Metropolis, climb into canal and go west. In some places the canal is vaulted and high enough to stand in. Partly covered with big stone beams and slabs. They go about 50 paces beyond west side of Gymnasium of Hadrian. Canal had collapsed so they climb out through a cistern. Up until now seen no temple underground as promised, but their guide persuades them to persevere. Not far from the Hephaisteion (Ross' Ares Temple) they descended again, this time going east. They crawled along through water up to their necks and reach 30-32 poros column drums, Doric, diameter three English feet. The column drums are in straight line on the north side of the canal supporting the stone slabs of the ceiling of the canal. Ross sees various possibilities, perhaps Stoa of the Herms.

L. Ross, 1855, 154/157.

## Pnyx

Prokesch-Osten bought the Pnyx and whole surrounding territory from a Turk.  
*AE* Index, vol. 1, 1837-1874, λε'.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: Excavations on the property of Mr. Antonopoulos a few steps west of the Tower of the Winds reveals remains of an old building and one or two unfluted Ionic columns of Hymettian marble belonging to a large peristyle; two similar columns with capitals and architrave appear above the debris in the neighbouring property. Inscriptions found including votive base for Isis Dikaioyne.

L. Ross, 1955, 213.

## Ilissos right bank

Excavations at the Olympieion by K. Pittakis.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1840, 367 no. 467.

## 1833

## Hill of the Nymphs

Pittakis reports finding the Zeus Horos inscription.  
*BdI* 1833, 89.

## Akropolis

L. Ross reports that in May 1833 the first excavation of the Parthenon was done, uncovering the splendid frieze slabs, a south metope and the honorary decree for Audoleon in the Christian altar niche.

L. Ross, 1855, 5. See Also F. Koepp, *AA* 1890, 129, col. 1; *AE* Index vol. 1, 98, with note 4; *BdI* 1833, 89.

## Akropolis upper north slope

Pittakis reports that he discovered the Klepsydra.  
*BdI* 1833, 89.

## 1834

## Akropolis southwest slope

Pittakis did a small excavation on Akropolis southwest slope.  
Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 1/2.

## Akropolis

At the beginning of August 1834 Pittakis does small excavations in Parthenon and Propylaia but this work was suspended shortly after in order to make way for systematic excavations set going by Leo von Klenze.

Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 1/2.

In August 1834, first excavations and restoration work on the Akropolis, directed by Leo von Klenze.

L. Ross, 1855, 74.

Excavations on the Akropolis from autumn 1834 to summer 1836, conducted by L. Ross, E. Schaubert and Chr. Hansen who are appointed by the regents von Armansterg, von Kobell and von Heydeck to continue von Klenze's work.

L. Ross, 1855, 72/74.

End of December, 1834, E. Schaubert, Chr. Hansen and others find fragments of Parthenon east pediment sculpture, a Parthenon north metope, inscriptions including Erechtheion accounts.

*AE* Index vol. I, 108.

## 1835

## Akropolis

January 1835, actual beginning of excavations.

L. Ross, 1855, 74.

March 30, 1835: The military detachment leaves and the Akropolis ceases to be a fortress.

L. Ross, 1855, 94.

Excavations right round Parthenon; Parthenon cella floor slabs put back in place; Ross found west pediment sculpture.

L. Ross, 1855, 9, 74, 90.

Erechtheion north porch partly cleared.

L. Ross, 1855, 98.

Nike bastion cleared. Foundations, most of blocks, much of the parapet discovered by Ross, Schaubert and Hansen.

L. Ross, 1855, 9, 74.

Marble bear found at the precinct of Artemis Brauronia.

L. Ross, 1855, 93, 205.

Battery west of Propylaia demolished. Propylaia ceiling coffers and Nike parapet reliefs found in battery.

L. Ross, 1855, 99.



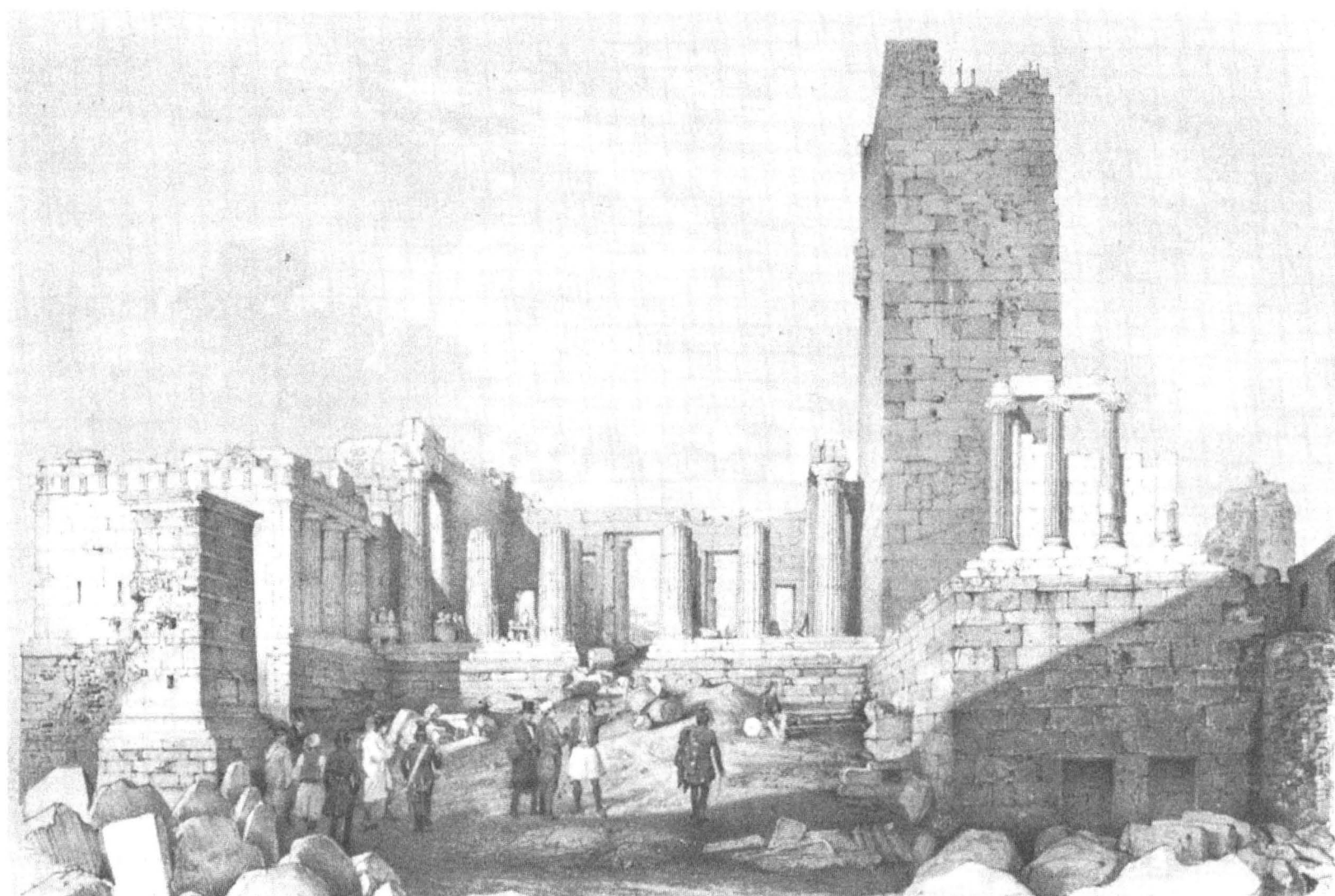


Fig. 337 Propylaea with the Frankish Tower. (Print by du Moncel, 1842).



Fig. 338 The Theatre of Dionysos on the Akropolis south slope around the turn of the century: Lower centre, the orchestra (1st c. A.D.); In the foreground, remains of the lower rows of benches and the front row of marble thrones (4th c. B.C.). (DAI, Athens).



## Akropolis lower south slope

Military Hospital, Makriyanni: In digging for the foundations of the new military hospital on the southeast side of the Akropolis, found ancient foundations with mosaic floor with garlands and ornaments, a large, rich Roman villa.

L. Ross, 1855, 103.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: On the west side of the Tower of the Winds four monolithic Ionic columns came to light when houses were destroyed during the War of Independence. The owner of the property, a Turk, found more columns still standing as he was clearing the debris.

L. Ross, 1855, 103.

1836

## Akropolis

Continued breaking up battery between Agrippa and Nike bastion.

L. Ross, 1855, 108.

Byzantine graves on the Akropolis with coins of Justin (518-527), Justinian (527-565) etc. (Earliest evidence for a Christian church on the Akropolis).

L. Ross, 1855, 13.

Ross excavated Older Parthenon column drums, in front of the Parthenon east front, east of the southeast corner of the temple.

L. Ross, 1855, 129, 141.

1837

## Euboulides monument on the panathenaic way

Dr. Treiber's house at west end of Ermou street, west of Church of Asomaton, opposite train station: Dr. Treiber started digging for foundations of his new house at the end of Hermes street 10-20 paces outside the former Turkish city wall. Here antiquities came to light. Ross gives a detailed description. Euboulides' dedication appears to have been inside the precinct of Dionysos Melpomenos.

L. Ross, 1855, 143-157.

## Akropolis

Propylaia cleared.

L. Ross, 1855, 177.

Christian paintings on Pentelic marble belonging to church in eastern part of Propylaia.

*BdI* 1837, 45/46.

Excavations north of Propylaia.

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1839, 185 no. 173.

## Agora area

One of the giants (from porch of Odeion of Agrippa) and base pulled out of ground.

AZ 11 (1853), Arch. Anz. no. 50, Febr. 1853, 296.

Archaeological investigations at the Stoa Poikile (Stoa of Attalos?).

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 419 no. 577.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Greek excavators clear foundation blocks of west wall, southwest of Gate of Athena Archegetis.

A. Rizos-Rangabé, *AE* 1837, 13.

1838

## Akropolis

In *AE* 1839, K.S. Pittakis reported excavations in the following areas of the Akropolis: at and east of the Propylaia, nos. 159 and 216; between the Propylaia and the Parthenon, no. 213; north of the Parthenon, no. 158 et al; between the Parthenon and Erechtheion, no. 215; near the Erechtheion and west of Erechtheion, nos. 165 and 186.

## Agora area

Archaeological investigations east of the Theseion (Hephaisteion).

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 418 no. 576 et al.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Excavations at Tower of the Winds.

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1839, 228 no. 267.

1839

## Kerameikos excavations

Excavations beside the Dipylon (i.e. Sacred Gate).

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1840, 360 no. 454 et al.

## Akropolis

In *AE* 1839, K.S. Pittakis reported excavations in the following areas of the Akropolis: at the Propylaia, east of the Propylaia, no. 142 et al.; no. 183 et al., between Propylaia and Parthenon, nos. 146/147; west of the Parthenon, no. 136 et al.; in the Pronaos of the Parthenon, no. 174; east of the Erechtheion, no. 137 et al.; north of the Erechtheion, no. 144 et al.; southeast of Erechtheion, no. 172.

Athena Hygieia base and altar found *in situ* on September 12, 1839.

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1839, 212 under no. 217; A. Michaelis. *AM* 1 (1876), 284 ff.

Mycenaean wall behind Propylaia southwest wing and old Propylon excavated.

L. Ross, 1855, 78/82.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Archaeological investigations at Prytaneion (not yet known where this is).

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 440 no. 632 no. 634 et al.

## Agora area

Archaeological investigations in the Inner Kerameikos not far from the Theseion (Hephaisteion).

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 443 no. 642.



Ilissos right bank

Excavations in Royal Garden (now the National Garden) at the ancient Lykeion.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1839, 226 under no. 262 et al.  
Friedrich Schmidt, the royal gardener, began laying out the Royal Garden in 1839, which led to excavations of many antiquities, especially the ancient aqueduct which provided a water supply for the garden.  
H.H. Russack, 1942, 159.  
Archaeological investigations at the Olympieion.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 466 no. 713.

1840

Kerameikos excavations

Several grave monuments are recorded by Pittakis as found at the Dipylon (i.e. Sacred Gate) on the Sacred Way in 1839.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1840, 361/362 nos. 456/461.

Akropolis

Trojan Horse: May 1840, the two inscribed blocks found in precinct of Artermis Brauronia.  
L. Ross, 1855, 194-199; Frazer II, 286.  
Pandaites and Pasikles monument found.  
L. Ross, 1855, 180-185.

In *AE* for 1839 and 1840, K.S. Pittakis reports excavations on the Akropolis in the following places: south of Propylaia; at Akropolis south wall; west, east and north of Parthenon; east of Erechtheion.

Akropolis lower north slope

Archaeological investigations at the Prytaneion (at the Post-Herulian Wall, site of Haghios Dimitrios Katiphoris).  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 444 no. 645 et al.

Agora area

Archaeological research at the Theseion (Hephaisteion).  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1840, 393 no. 519 et. al.

1841

Akropolis

Archaeological investigations southwest and east of the Parthenon.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1841, 451 no. 663; *AE* 1842, 531 no. 892.

1842

Akropolis

Archaeological investigations north and west of Parthenon.  
K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1842, 533 under no. 895.

Akropolis upper north slope

In 1842 a small excavation, clearing around the Cave of Pan.  
B. Petrakos, 1987, 29.

Areopagus

In 1842-1843 the Areopagus cleared by the Archaeology Society at Athens.  
B. Petrakos, 1987, 29.

Pnyx hill

In 1842-1843 small excavation, clearing behind the Pnyx.  
B. Petrakos, 1987, 29.

1843

Akropolis upper north slope

Excavation in the Cave of Pan.  
*PAE* 1843, 174; T. Tanoulas, *Jahrbuch* 102 (1987), 476.

1844

Akropolis

Excavation at the south side of the Parthenon where there was a huge heap of debris from the explosion of 1687. Short excavation with important finds.  
B. Petrakos, 1987, 30.

1845

Akropolis

“By the end of 1845 the French architects A. Titeux, Th. Ballu and A. Paccard (...) made an excavation near the pedestal of Agrippa and discovered inscriptions and a step of the Roman marble staircase in situ. The Archaeological Society continued the excavation and found some more inscriptions”.  
Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 11-12; T. Tanoulas, *Jahrbuch* 102 (1987) 465-466.  
Clearing of Erechtheion North Porch continued; excavation south of the Parthenon continued; clearing inside the Propylaia.  
B. Petrakos, 1987, 30-31.

Akropolis east slope

Theophilus Hansen spent 3 months investigating the Lysikrates Monument.  
H. H. Russack, 1942, 120.

1846

Akropolis

Further digging around the base of the Agrippa Monument and again some of the steps or bases thereof found (referring back to 1836).  
L. Ross, 1861, 272.



## Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Herodes Atticus: Some treasure-hunters carried out a fairly significant excavation in the southwest corner of the Odeion by permission of the government. They dug in the southwest corner between the scene-building and the semi-circle of seats. They found no treasure nor anything special. The lower wall of the stage sheathed in marble.

AZ 1847, col. 9.

## Ilissos right bank

In the Royal Garden behind the palace are mosaic floors; "specialmente una longa galleria con vasi in forma di cratere".

BdI 1846, 177 reported by L. Ussing.

In the National Garden near Vas. Sophias Avenue, a large Roman villa with mosaic floors of the 5th c. A.D. partially excavated.

M. Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland*, 1978, 36 ff.

## 1848

## Akropolis

Archaeological Society made an extensive excavation to the NE of the Propylaia.

T. Tanoulas, *Jahrbuch* 102 (1987) 466.

## Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Herodes Atticus: first small excavation in December 1848.

F. Versakis, *AE* 1912, 161; B. Petrakos, 1987, 35.

## Akropolis northwest slope

Somebody constructing a cistern in the neighbourhood of Hypapanti church (on the line of the Post-Herulian Wall) found many poros limestone blocks and asked the Akropolis for the loan of a hammer to break them up. Pittakis hastened to the spot, found 32 inscriptions and took action to buy the house for archaeological excavations.

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1853, 880 note 1.

## 1849

## Ilissos right bank

On March 13, 1849 excavations in the eastern part of the Royal Garden "at the site of the peribolos and stoas of the Lykeion".

K. S. Pittakis, *AE* 1853, 849.

## 1850

## Ilissos right bank

Remains of walls and columns found at eastern wall of Royal Garden and attributed to the Lykeion by Pittakis. (Probably the remains of villas of the Roman period).

AZ 9, 1951, Arch. Anz. 25/26, Jan.-Feb., 1851, 1 with note 2.

## 1851

## Akropolis northwest slope

On April 10, 1851, Pittakis announced that he knew of a site reeming with finds where the Bouleuterion, Tholos and Metroon were to be found. (This site is on the line of the Post-Herulian Wall north of the Eleusinion and south of the Christ church Gate). The Society approved of an excavation carried out by Pittakis assisted by P. Eustratiadis and D. Charamis.

B. Petrakos, 1987, 38.

On May 21st, Rangabé spoke about the excavations at the site of the Bouleuterion. Sculptors' workshop for herms at the same site. Rangabé thinks that the wall is a later wall on old wall base with the Bouleuterion inscriptions there as reused material.

AZ 10 (1852), Arch. Anz. 43-45, July-Sept. 1852, 199/200.

In the courtyard of a little house northwest of the Akropolis, 3 m below ground level, very many blocks of Peiraeus limestone, numerous marble fragments among which Ionic columns and bases, many statue fragments, more than 50 inscriptions; honorary decrees mentioning the Bouleuterion.

BdI 1851, 108 by Rangabé and 145/147 more of same.

## 1852

## Akropolis

Athena Nike temple parapet fragments found.

Frazer, 1898 II, 259.

Beulé Gate: Beulé carried out extensive excavations west of the Propylaia. He discovered the rock-cut footholds below the NW corner of the Athena Nike temple, the retaining wall of the archaic ramp, more steps of the monumental Roman staircase and the 3rd c. A.D. gate which had been buried under the very massive first bastion.

T. Tanoulas, *Jahrbuch* 102 (1987), 468.

## East of the Akropolis

Excavations at site of Haghios Nikodemos (Russian church).

Archimandrite Antoninus noticed undue moisture when the overhauling of the old church started and began excavations on his account, finding extensive remains of a Roman bath, cisterns, water channels, vaulted tombs.

Archimandrite Antoninus, *AE* 1856, 1449/1457 with plan preceding 1459.

## Agora area

One of the giants (of the Odeion of Agrippa) and base found. This statue is from the same place as the so-called Erichthonios pulled out in the year 1837. The new statue ends in a fishtail, not a snake.

AZ 9 (1853), Arch. Anz. 50, Feb. 1853, 296.

Post-Herulian Wall: Pittakis excavated in the triangle between Bouleuterion st., Dioskouron st. and a nameless street cutting across the ends of those two streets (see Judeich's plan). The excavations of 1952 showed that this is not the site of the Bouleuterion since no building foundations were found but only a section of a very much later wall, originally called the Valerian Wall.

K. Kourouniotis, *PAE* 1910, 58, 136-137 with fig. 1 showing the part of the wall uncovered in 1852.



1853

Akropolis

Erechtheion: Foundations of east side investigated; inscriptions found; traces of stairway on northeast wall; opening below north porch investigated realleged trident marks; some work on Maiden Porch.

AZ 11 (1853), Arch. Anz. 55/57, July-Sept. 1853, 360/361.

Agora area

Third giant discovered (Odeion of Agrippa, 2nd Triton from the east). “I do not venture to say anything definite about the third Giant; he is in a very dark cellar which receives only a glimmer of illumination from a meagre charcoal fire. And one almost has to crawl around, the room is so low. I think I can make out a fin and a scale”.

A. von Velsen, Athens, July 15, 1853; AZ 11 (1853), Arch. Anz. July-Sept. 1853, 361.

Ilissos right bank

Royal Garden. On May 18th, 1853, an inscription found in excavations in eastern part of Royal Garden. Pittakis notes that the stele was to be set up on the Akropolis and writes that it was transported to the southern part of the Lykeion, where it was found, “in the period of the Dukes” to be used as simple building material.

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1853-1854.

1854

Akropolis east slope

Base of choregic monument north of Lysikrates Monument at northeast corner of Tripodon and Thespidos streets.

Tripod relief base found above the Lysikrates Monument “am Wege der nach der Akropolis emporführt”, when a house was built between the Theatre of Dionysos and Lysikrates Monument. Height 129 cm. Winged female with oinochoe; man with thyrsos; winged female holding diskos.

AZ 13, 1855, Arch. Anz. Apr.-June, 53.

Ilissos island

The owner of the property discovered the Ilissos Basilica, the mosaic floor, parts of the walls with marble veneer, both Pentelic and Hymettian. A dedication to Athena (IG II<sup>2</sup>4323) found there with a Byzantine inscription superimposed. The so-called crypt found, its walls also with marble veneer.

K.S. Pittakis, *AE* 1854, 1221-1224.

1856

Akropolis

Pittakis excavated throughout the year on the north side of the Akropolis, and mainly at the SE corner of the Parthenon where the museum was planned.

Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 13-14.

1857

Akropolis

Pittakis continued excavating at the SE corner of the Parthenon. Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 13-14.

Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos: Excavations just below the Thrasyllus Monument uncover the theatre for the first time.

W. Dörpfeld, *Das griechische Theater*, Athens, 1896, 1.

Odeion of Herodes Atticus excavated by Pittakis. Sculpture finds: marble head with gilded hair and standing male figure baptized Herodes Atticus by Pittakis.

AZ 15 (1857), Arch. Anz. 97, Jan. 1857, 1 with note 7; AZ 16 (1858), Arch. Anz. 113/114, May-June 1858, 198/199 (reported by Conze on April 17).

1858

Akropolis

Pittakis dug at the northern part of the Akropolis between the Propylaia, the Parthenon and the Erechtheion.

T. Tanoulas, *Jahrbuch* 102 (1987), 470.

Agora area

Odeion of Agrippa: “In repeated campaigns (1858, 1879, 1895-1896, 1912) the Archaeological Society cleared the façade of the building to its full width together with the four piers that had supported the colossal figures”.

*Agora* XXI, 1988, 95 with note 3.

Agora surroundings

The Archaeological Society, searching for the famous underground passage explored by Ross (the Eridanos Canal) excavated beside the church of Haghios Philippos and SW of the church.

*PAE*, June 1874-December 1875, 15-16.

1859

Akropolis

The Archaeological Society found the ancient street at north end of Propylaia in direction of Parthenon.

AZ 18 (1860), Arch. Anz. no. 133, Jan. 1860, 12.

Pittakis excavated on the south side of the Akropolis, the part above the theatre of Dionysos, followed by excavations on the west side of the Erechtheion.

Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 13-14.

Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos: The Archaeological Society cleaned out auditorium and rows of seats.

AZ 18 (1860), Arch. Anz. no. 133, Jan. 1860, 12.

Pervanoglu reporting that in eastern part some seats cut in the living rock, others



made of blocks. Western part in a deplorable state.

*BdI* 1859, 196.

### Akropolis lower north slope

Haghios Dimitrios Katiphoris (so-called Diogeneion site): Searching for the Prytaneion, the Society excavated in the area of the demolished church east of the Tower of the Winds. They found a section of late wall (Post-Herulian Fortification Wall) which was dismantled. A series of complete herms and kosmetes portraits of the 2nd c. A.D. came out of the wall.

B. Petrakos, 1987, 42-43.

### Agora area

Stoa of the Giants (Odeion of Agrippa) excavated by Archaeological Society.

*Hesperia* 2, 1933, 96; reported in *AZ* 18 (1860), *Arch. Anz.*, Jan. 1860, 12 at greater length; B. Petrakos, 1987, 41.

Statues found near Theseion commonly thought to be the Eponymous Heroes mentioned by Pausanias. Dug 4 m down in hopes of finding inscribed bases. Found bases for two other statues and so many architectural fragments that it became clear that a row of Atlanti supported "un grande edificio". Statues dated to Antonine period by Klenze and R. Rochette.

P. Pervanoglu reporting in *BdI*, 1895, 194.

Stoa of Attalos: On December 3, 1859, the Society began excavating around the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa in the SW corner of the Stoa of Attalos. The ancient structure had been thought to be the Stoa Poikile, Gymnasium of Ptolemy, temple of Hera; now that the dedicatory inscription has been found, it is identified as the Stoa of Attalos.

B. Petrakos, 1987, 42.

## 1860

### The Pnyx range

In 1860-1861 Pervanoglu excavated graves in back of the Pnyx and the Mouseion.

B. Petrakos, 1987, 43.

### Agora surroundings

In 1860 the famous underground passage (Eridanos tunnel) was found on the north side of Adrianou st. 100-120 paces west of the church of Haghios Philippos when a house was built. The drain was found covered in part with large ancient stelai and other marbles.

*PAE*, June 1874-December 1875, 16.

## 1861

### Kerameikos excavations area

Bilingual Greek-Phoenician inscription. Antipatros stele with relief of man threatened by lion and ship's prow and bilingual inscription found while making the new Peiraeus street.

P. Pervanoglu, *AZ* 19 (1861), *Arch. Anz.* no. 147, March 1861, 172, *BdI* 1861, 140; *BdI* 1863, 172, Rousopoulos.

### Akropolis south slope

Strack excavated the Theatre of Dionysos uncovering the preserved part of the cavea. After Strack, P. Evstratiades went on with the excavations (1861-1867).

B. Petrakos, 1987, 43; cf. under the year 1862.

### Akropolis lower north slope

The Archaeological Society dropped the dig at the Stoa of Attalos and started digging near the Tower of the Winds where there is an ancient wall which is variously identified as the Prytaneion and Sarapeion. Inscriptions and sculpture built into the wall, 23 portraits herms, ephebic inscriptions etc. (Probably the site of Haghios Dimitrios Katiphoris at the Post-Herulian Wall).

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1861, 136.

The excavations of the supposed Prytaneion near the church of Haghios Dimitrios Katiphoris were suspended in June of last year (1861).

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1862, 86.

### Ilissos right bank

The Royal Garden; Report on the antiquities in the Queen's Garden, which was laid out between the palace and the Ilissos. Open air museum with sculpture found either in garden site or nearby. Reliefs, grave stelai, grave vases. The inscription from the propylon at the end of Hadrian's aqueduct (formerly built into a gate in the Turkish city wall located at Syntagma Square). Mosaic floor southeast of palace, 7 rooms with mosaic floors; meander, bands, 3 floors have birds, 1 room has rich mosaic floor decor with birds, fishes and vases.

Ad. Michaelis, *AZ* 19 (1861), *Arch. Anz.* no. 149, April 1861, 175/180.

Olympieion area: Toward the end of 1861 the construction of a new road led to excavations around the Olympieion. Work done: remains of north peribolos wall found, measured and published on December 4, 1861; part of peribolos wall rebuilt with blocks taken from the newly discovered north wall; the exedra found to bond in with north peribolos wall and belongs to an entrance; measured plans of both the temple and the whole area. Finds: 18 inscriptions (nos. 50-67); 13 pieces of sculpture and reliefs; architectural fragments; 45 gold Byzantine coins.

A.S. Rousopoulos, *AE* 1862, 26/35, 41/53.

### Northeast Athens

Queen Amalia set in motion the excavation of the Hadrianic aqueduct, the stretch between Ambelokipi and the reservoir on Lykabettus south slope. Project finished eight years later by Mr. Kyriakos, the demarch.

E. Ziller, *AM* 2 (1877), 120.

## 1862

### Kerameikos excavations area

Aristonantes relief was found a few steps away from the Charon relief on the street of the Tombs, when the new Peiraeus street was being constructed; and many grave monuments were found there (at new Peiraeus street) still in position.

A. S. Rousopoulos, *BdI* 1863, 172.

### Pnyx range

Assembly Place: Ernst Curtius cleared retaining wall of 3rd period, scarp on either



side of bema, side scarps, southeast corner of Assembly Place, upper terrace above western scarp.

H.A. Thompson and K. Kourouniotis, *Hesperia* I (1932), 90/91.

Pnyx and Mouseion hills: Pervanoglu excavates a number of graves on behalf of the Archaeological Society at Athens. Most of the tombs cut in the living rock. 14 columnella inscriptions. Skeletons with feet toward the street. At the end the excavations proceeded northeast towards the Dipylon.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1862, 145 ff.

## Akropolis

Parthenon: March 17, 1862, seven inscriptions found built into the altar of the Christian Basilica when Bötticher opened up the ancient entrance to the Parthenon. Part of the Byzantine apse removed.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1862, 87.

Bötticher dug inside the Erechtheion, took up the Byzantine pavement inside, found a small bronze boat, perhaps a votive lamp.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1862, 87.

## Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos: Strack begins excavations in auditorium and orchestra, pp. 88/89, description of central throne and prohedria inscriptions; excavations continued by Archaeological Society, p. 113; more throne and seat inscriptions, p. 114 f.; orchestra and Bema of Phaidros, p. 118; stage front sculpture; Menander base, p. 161.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1862, 88/89, 113, 114 f., 118, 161.

## Akropolis upper north slope

Karl Bötticher cleared Cave *B* looking for the Cave of Pan, with no results; recorded existence of rock-cut benches in front of Cave *A*.

P. Kavvadias, *AE* 1897, 17 note 1, 26 note 1.

Peripatos inscription discovered.

Noted by N. Dragoumis, *AM* 23 (1898) 202 note 1.

## Agora area

Stoa of Attalos: Architrave inscription found, "Gymnasium of Ptolemy" identification abandoned, Attalos Stoa identified by archaeologists of the Archaeological Society.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1862, 120/121; *PAE* 1872/1873, 27.

## Ilissos right bank

Excavations in front of the site of the Zappeion Exhibition Hall "A chance find in 1862 brought to light traces of a building with a mosaic pavement (...)".

A. S. Rousopoulos, *AE* 1862, 150, 5.

Olympieion area: Sculpture, inscriptions and wall found while levelling a public street near the ruins of the Zeus Olympios temple.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1862, 86.

## 1863

### Kerameikos excavations

The Archaeological Society begins excavations of the Kerameikos and continued at intervals until 1913.

W. Hoepfner, *Kerameikos* X, 1; R. Schöll, *BdI* 1870, 145 ff.; A. Brueckner, *AM* 40 (1915) 1.

Kerameikos Excavations (first mention of this term): Report on "scavi nel Cera-meico d'Atene" (Haghia Triada). Site is at hill called Haghia Trias after the church in a triangle formed by the two roads to Peiraeus, the ancient and the modern; the third side is the road to Eleusis. The owner of the land dug a deep ditch and came down on various grave monuments: Dexileos, Korallion, the Herakleots, Dionysos, the Dog, 'Charon' relief et al. Page 173 explains how this excavation came to be called the Kerameikos excavations. They found the Dexileos Monument with its inscription and combined it with Pausanias' mention of the monument for the fallen at Corinth he saw on the Road to the Academy which they knew from Harpokration was in the outer Kerameikos.

A. S. Rousopoulos, *BdI* 1863, 161/173.

## 1864

### Akropolis

In February Ziller cleared the Parthenon foundations at SE corner down to bed-rock.

U. Koehler, *AZ* 22 (1864), Arch. Anz. Oct.-Nov. 1864, 300\*; *AZ* 23 (1865), Arch. Anz. Feb. 1865, 19\* note 22.

"Excavations continued close to the Propylaia on the N. side, finding foundations of some old building or precinct wall, also a great quantity of dumped terracotta figurines and sherds of an early period. The excavations east of the Parthenon partly continued and the foundations of the north wall of the building or precinct found earlier on have been cleared (...)".

P. Pervanoglu, *AZ* 22 (1864), Arch. Anz. Oct.-Nov. 1864, 283\*-284\*.

### Akropolis south slope

In September excavations began in the Stoa of Eumenes. Vast amount of earth removed.

B. Petrakos, 1987, 44.

### Ilissos left bank

Ernst Ziller bought the property on which the Stadium lies for the purpose of excavations.

H. H. Russack, 1942, 153.

## 1865

### Kerameikos excavations area

City wall found while constructing new street (Ermou street) near Haghia Triada, goes in direction towards Haghios Athanasios where some of the city wall still preserved.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1865, 129/130.



## Akropolis

In a letter dated January 5, 1866, Ulrich Koehler reported that the debris at the SW corner of the Parthenon substructure has been cleared away. This debris had concealed the slightly crooked wall extending from the (rock-cut) steps towards the Akropolis south wall. In front of this wall, various mighty marble column drums (older Parthenon) below the surface, like the ones Ross found at the Parthenon east front.

In excavating for the new museum large dumped fill with quantities of sherds, some inscribed, terracottas, lamps with many nozzles and bronzes, also a number of unfluted column drums of poros limestone. Also new fragments of the so-called Apollo Nomios (Moschophoros), including the head of the animal found together with the Athena head (Gigantomachia pediment).

U. Koehler, *AZ* 24 (1866), Arch. Anz. Jan. 1866, 167\*-169\*.

Doric poros limestone architecture found at Agrippa terrace.

P. Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1865, 129.

## Akropolis south slope

The terrace directly south of the temple of Athena Nike was cleared and the beddings found. "The small grotto overhead is said to have been made during the War of Independence".

Ulrich Koehler, *AZ* 24 (1866), Arch. Anz. Jan. 1866, 167\*.

In the precinct of Dionysos Eleuthereus Evstratiadis excavated in the area of the old and new temples and the whole west side from Oct. 1865 to May 1866.

*AE* 1866, 985; Erich Preuner, *AM* 46 (1921), 2.

Excavations carried out in the auditorium, orchestra and scene building and much of the Theatre of Dionysos excavated.

P. Pervanoglu, *AZ* 24 (1866), Arch. Anz. Jan. 1866, 169\*-172\*.

## 1866

## Akropolis lower north slope

Section of Post-Herulian Wall dismantled at Church of Haghios Dimitrios Kati-phoris, 200 m east of the Roman Agora. Many inscriptions and much sculpture found, including Theseus and the Minotaur group (NM 1664).

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 41 (1937), 138; E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 43 (1974), 309.

## 1867

## Akropolis east slope

French Ambassador at Athens, count Gobineau, had the ruined burnt walls of the Capucin monastery torn down and the Lysikrates Monument excavated with Boulanger in charge.

H. H. Russack, 1942, 123.

## 1868

## Kerameikos surroundings

In building present-day Peiraioi st. many large grave monuments found still standing in place, including the naiskos of Aristonauates, were removed.

U. Knigge, 1991, 166.

## 1869

## Kerameikos excavations

Report on grave monument found *in situ*. Hegeso described.

R. Schöll, *BdI* 1870, 145/152.

## Agora area

Demolished tower in west flank of Post-Herulian Wall, i.e the tower at southwest corner of Stoa of Attalos. The colossal statues of the Iliad and Odyssey found built into tower walls.

W. Gurlitt, *BdI* 1869, 161/3.

## Ilissos left bank

Panathenaic stadium excavated by E. Ziller and S. P. Lambros from Sept. 1869 to Feb. 1870.

C. Gasparri, *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/1975), 314, 327.

The race-course was cleared of rubbish at the expense of King George. Double herm found.

Frazer, 1898, II, 206.

## 1870

## Kerameikos excavations

Carl Curtius reported on new intensive excavations conducted by the Archaeological Society, describing over 100 grave monuments found from 1863 through 1870, with a plan at 1:400 showing 94 monuments found *in situ* and an inset showing the excavations in relation to the surrounding area.

C. Curtius, *AZ* 29 (1871), 12-35, p. 44.

## 1871

## Roads to the Academy

Ancient road to the Academy from the Dipylon Gate, Zographou st. just off Plataion st., Stefanos Koumanoudis, Archaeological Society, found a carelessly constructed, poorly preserved building complex, no finds recorded, on the east side of the Road to the Academy from the Dipylon Gate. (This site received no further attention for 97 years when J. Travlos decided it was the site of Epicurus' Garden).

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 26 (1971), A, 21/22, 24/25, 33, 319.

## Agora area

Stoa of the Giants cleared by Archaeological Society.

*PAE* 1871/1872, 4/5; T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 96.

Stoa of Attalos: in breaking up a tower of Panagia Pyrgiotissa fragments of ephebic inscriptions, honorary decrees, and sculptors' signatures came to light.

*AZ* 29 (1871), 51.

## Lykabettos

The large reservoir on Lykabettos was excavated by the Demarch in autumn and



reconditioned together with the aqueduct as far as Ambelokipi.

AZ 29 (1871), 51.

#### Ilissos left bank

Roman mosaic found by the chapel of Haghios Petros Stavromenos.

AZ 29 (1871), 51.

### 1872

#### Kerameikos excavations

The Archaeological Society excavated in the areas of the Dipylon Gate, Themistoklean City Wall, Sacred Gate, Pompeion and graves in mound south of Haghia Triada from 1872-1874.

One of the main purposes was to locate and excavate the Dipylon Gate. The four hinderances: a road cutting through the area; the pipes for gas; the *cloaca maxima* of Athens; properties not expropriated by the government. A fifth problem was the big Stachtotheke (dump, called Ash Hill by British travellers), still in place and not allowed to be moved.

At the end the excavators specifically state that they were still not clear about the location of the Dipylon Gate. (No mention of the Sacred Gate). Finds: a door with iron grilles (the Pompeion window, the best preserved window with grilles in Greece); lampmaker's kiln for Christian lamps made in plaster moulds; Kerameikos boundary stone; the altar dedicated to Zeus Herkeios, Hermes and Akamas (at the Dipylon Gate).

PAE 1871-1873, 15-24; PAE 1873-1874, 9-18.

#### Ilissos right bank

Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios: A man digging on his property on the right bank of the Ilissos about 100 paces west of the bridge leading to the cemetery found a fragmentary inscription with accounts from the Delian League. The Archaeological Society excavated in 1872-1874 in order to find the other fragments. Found 3 inscribed cylindrical tripod bases (for victories in the Thargelia, set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios) which were placed on show on the Theatre of Dionysos.

PAE 1872-1873, 25; PAE 1873-1874, 23/24.

### 1873

#### Akropolis south slope

During the excavations of the south slope architectural fragments of the Thrasyllos Monument were found in Byzantine houses.

G. Welter, AA 1938, 34.

#### Kerameikos excavations

In 1873-1874 the Archaeological Society excavated in the areas of the Dipylon Gate, Themistoklean City Wall, Sacred Gate, Pompeion and graves in mound south of Haghia Triada.

PAE 1872-1873, 15-24; PAE 1873-1874, 9-18.

#### Ilissos right bank

Zappeion area: Bath complex with mosaic floors, probably 5th c. A.D.

M. Spiro, 1978, 58/60; S. A. Koumanoudis, PAE 1873-1874, 33/34.

### 1874

#### Akropolis upper north slope

E. Burnouf cleared out much of the interior of the Odysseus Bastion. He uncovered a small part of the paved court.

A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 195.

#### Agora area

In March-April, 1874, the Archaeological Society had a short but intensive campaign of excavations in the areas of the Stoa of Attalos and the Post-Herulian Wall.

PAE 1873/1874, 18/23.

#### Ilissos river bed

The Archaeological Society excavated in the Ilissos river bed not far from the big bridge, looking for the rest of a beautiful large grave relief, a chance find. Uncovered part of another very bulky relief with three headless figures, built into a Roman retaining wall for the river.

PAE June 1874 - December 1875, 21-22.

### 1875

#### Akropolis

Frankish Tower demolished. Expenses covered by H. Schliemann.

S. A. Koumanoudis, *Athenaion* IV (1875) 195.

Many interesting finds made while digging for foundations of future Acropolis Museum.

Helbig, *BdI* 1875, 137.

### 1876

#### Akropolis south slope

The Archaeological Society directed by S. A. Koumanoudis began excavating on April 19, 1876. Area: terrace bounded by Odeion of Herodes on the west, Akropolis cliff on the north, Theatre of Dionysos at east, Serpentzé at south. Asklepieion located and both springs found, west spring with archaic reservoir and east spring in cave. Stoa of Eumenes uncovered.

U. Köhler, *AM* 2 (1877), 171/186.

#### Kerameikos excavations

The Archaeological Society continued the excavations from previous year until end of March, 1876, outside the Dipylon Gate, east of Haghia Triada.

PAE 1876, 10-11.

In 1876-1877 G. von Alten investigated the Sacred Gate, Dipylon Gate, Street of the Tombs, and other streets.

G. von Alten, *AM* 3 (1878), 28 ff.



## 1877

## Akropolis

The French architect, M. Lambert conducted some small examinations west of the Erechtheion to find out about the ancient buildings at the Akropolis north wall.

Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 15-16.

## Akropolis south slope

Extensive excavations conducted by the Archaeological Society throughout the year.

The excavation above the Odeion of Herodes yielded three large pieces of Nike parapet sculpture. Foundations of building NE of Odeion of Herodes. In six months removed earth and debris between Stoa of Eumenes and the boulevard and reached bedrock. Cleared seven buttresses projecting southward from back wall of the Stoa of Eumenes; they contained much reused material including theatre seats, sculpture, inscriptions. Foundations of Nikias Monument cleared. One hundred and eighteen reliefs found, 405 inscriptions, 197 gold coins.

*PAE* 1877, 1-22.

## Agora area

Round altar of Twelve Gods found at Haghios Philippos.

L. von Sybel, *AM* 4 (1879), 33.

## Ilissos right bank

Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios: Fragments of altar of Apollo Pythios (IG I<sup>2</sup> 761) dedicated by Peisistratos the Younger in the 6th c. B.C. found near Lembesi street.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 66 (1962), 299.

## 1878

## Akropolis south slope

Archaeological Society excavated large area from Odeion of Herodes to SE corner of Akropolis rock at Stoa of Eumenes, theatre of Dionysos and SE of theatre. Cleared the so-called Nymphaion SE of later temple of Dionysos. Summary of finds: 107 pieces of sculpture including an Egyptian idol covered with hieroglyphics, 2 boundary stones, two large heads of Roman emperors, torso of colossal Silen.

*PAE* 1878, 6-16 with plan at end after page 48.

## 1879

## Akropolis south slope

The Archaeological Society excavated south of the theatre stage building.

*PAE* 1879, 6-7.

## Agora surroundings

Excavations on the south side of modern street going from the Gate of Athena Archegetis to SE corner of Stoa of Attalos. In May 1879 the Society briefly investigated, finding marble stylobate with column bases and a step and a gutter, seen as the remains of an ancient stoa facing north, perhaps of Roman times. On the

north side of the street an important marble paving was found years ago. In the cellar and courtyard of the house to the east columns of a stoa are still visible.

*PAE* 1879, 15-16.

## Kerameikos excavations

Excavations in the ancient cemetery east of Haghia Triada and beside the old road to Peiraeus opposite the railway tower in privately owned fields bought by the government. South of the Sacred Way between the taphros and Pythagoras stele, a room with mosaic floor with various kinds of many coloured fish and shell-fish. Continuation of the City Wall between the Sacred Gate and Dipylon Gate.

*PAE* 1879, 7-15.

## 1880

## Akropolis

In the spring of 1880, Richard Bohn for DAI investigated and cleared Nike terrace, Propylaia southwest wing, also approach to Propylaia, Beulé Gate Towers.

R. Bohn, *AM* 5 (1880), 259 ff., 317 ff.

## Kerameikos excavations

The Society dug for a month S. of the Dipylon (i.e. Sacred Gate; they were digging in Building Z). Finds included 55 loomweights and plaster moulds. Many carefully cut poros blocks from a round building extracted from the Eridanos tunnel walls.

S.A. Koumanoudis, *PAE* 1880, 7-10.

## 1881

## Lykabettos

In September 1881 grave of Bishop Klematios discovered on Lykabettos.

Gregorovius 1889, vol. I, 211 note 2.

## 1882

## Akropolis

Clearing debris and excavations supervised by Evstratiadis. Excavations east of the museum and then to the north, going down to bedrock; dumped fillings with very many ancient objects of stone, clay, bronze, architecture, sculpture, pottery.

S.A. Koumanoudis, *PAE* 1882, 9-10.

Herakles and Hydra pediment found in SE corner of Akropolis, north of the museum in terrace filling.

*AM* 10 (1885), 237.

Stamatakis began systematic excavations on the Akropolis.

Purgold, *AA* 1889, 11 ff.

## Pnyx

Assembly Place: In 1882-1883 John M. Crow and J. T. Clarke reopened E. Curtius' trench on the axis. Sunk small pits.

H. A. Thompson and K. Kourouniotis, *Hesperia* I, 1932, 92.



## 1883

## Akropolis

Excavations east of the Museum, the entire strip from the middle of the N. side of the Museum to the east side of the Parthenon, going down to bedrock.

S. A. Koumanoudis, *PAE* 1883, 7-8.

## Kolonos Hippios

J. N. Svoronos and A. H. Sayce located an ancient tunnel (for either mining or water supply) on the southeast slope of Kolonos Hippios. Svoronos thought that this was the chasm of the Erinyes or the descent to Hades figuring in Sophokles' *Oedipus at Kolonos*. This led Svoronos to investigate Kolonos Hippios looking for traces of all other monuments, sites and landmarks described by Sophokles: the Brazen Threshold, the Sanctuary of Demeter Euchloos, the sanctuary of the Eumenides, Oedipus' grave, the Ploutoneion, the crater in the rock, not to mention the Thorikian Stone. Svoronos found no traces of anything on Hippios Kolonos, no finds, no foundations, no cuttings in the rock (the remains may have been obliterated by quarrying). Svoronos then simply assigned sites to all places mentioned by Sophokles, choosing wherever possible the site of an existing church.

J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, vol. II, 1911, 387/418.

## Ilissos right bank

Penrose excavated in the Olympieion.

Frazer 1898, II, 180; F. C. Penrose; G. Welter, *AM* 47 (1922) 61.

## 1884

## Akropolis

Stamatakis becomes General Ephor of Antiquities with consequences for Akropolis which is to be thoroughly tidied up; the Classical remains to be freed of Frankish and Turkish additions. Big cistern in Propylaia northeast wing dismantled and geisa blocks built into Pinakotheke foundations discovered. Many inscriptions and some relief fragments taken out of cistern walls and neighboring north circuit wall. In cleaning out Propylaia south wing several fragments of Nike balustrade found. Archaeological Society resumes excavations on Akropolis under directorship of Kavvadias.

## Kerameikos area

The city of Athens installed a drain west of the Dipylon in the course of which many ancient objects were found mostly of Roman times.

*PAE* 1884, 25.

## 1885

## Akropolis

Stamatakis dug NE of the Propylaia for a few months.

P. Kavvadias excavated on the Akropolis plateau from November 11, 1885 to February 1890, assisted by W. Dörpfeld and Kawerau from the DAI. In 1885 excavations started at the north side, NW of the Parthenon, and continued towards the Erechtheion until the end of the year. Dörpfeld recognized foundations

of old Temple of Athena and related them to entablature in north wall.

B. Petrakos, 1987, 58-59; Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 21-22; W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 10 (1885), 275/277.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian area: Following fire of preceding year, Archaeological Society started excavating in the Bazar area in summer of 1885. Part of the quatrefoil church found with mosaic floors of kraters holding plants. Theatre in NE corner. Library of Hadrian cautiously suggested as identification. List of finds including oversize head of Hadrian, Eros torso, sundial, small bronze archaic male head, Dexippos inscription.

*PAE* 1885, 13-25 with Plan; pl. I by Dörpfeld giving the entire Library, showing what was standing in 1885 with the plan of the quatrefoil church.

## Areopagus

General Ephorate excavations on Areopagus to find the floor of ruined church of Dionysios the Areopagite. They cleared the entire area of church; found Byzantine capital and three Ionic capitals, two of which date to a good Greek period. Many Christian graves full of bones but nothing else except for glass fragments.

*AM* 10 (1885), 286/287.

## Ilissos right bank

Penrose finished Olympieion investigations.

*AM* 10 (1885), 174.

## 1886

## Akropolis

Kavvadias reported digging: 1) between the Propylaia and Erechtheion along the north wall; 2) in the area between the Erechtheion and Parthenon uncovering the old temple of Athena; 3) near the Parthenon to uncover entire east crepidoma, finding poros pediment sculpture and architecture.

*PAE* 1886, 49.

Head of Alexander the Great, Acr. 1331, found beside Erechtheion.

W. Klein, *AE* 1900, 1 ff., pl. 1.

Excavations in the Propylaia and late Roman cistern.

T. Tanoulas, *Jahrbuch* 102 (1987), 474-475.

January 24-25, 1886, the famous find of the Persian destruction fill deposit at the North Wall containing marble korai, inscriptions, bases; at once understood to be fill brought in during construction of the North Wall.

Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 23-32, figs. 1-2.

## Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos excavated by Dörpfeld, DAI.

Frazer 1898, II, 222; *AM* 11 (1886), 207.

## Akropolis lower north slope

(West flank of the Post-Herulian Wall): The Society excavated between the Bouleuterion (so-called) and the house belonging to K.N. Kosti.

*PAE* 1886, 12.



Library of Hadrian: The Society excavated from January to end of June, 1886. List of finds.

*PAE* 1886, 10-11.

### Ilissos right bank

Vas. Olgas Boulevard originally planned to run very close to the temple of Zeus Olympios. When opening the trench for the road the north peribolos wall and other structures found and the boulevard was shifted north to its present line. Excavations from October 13, 1886-June 14, 1888.

*PAE* 1949, 25.

Olympieion propylon found. The Archaeological Society cleared the whole north wall of the Olympieion peribolos finding Greek, Roman and Byzantine remains.

*AM* 11 (1886), 331-332; *PAE* 1886, 13-17 with fine plan, pl. I.

Penrose excavated in Olympieion outer colonnade.

*AM* 11 (1886), 332.

## 1887

### Akropolis

The whole north and east sides of the plateau excavated down to bedrock. Area east of Erechtheion filled in; retaining walls built to leave old back entrance exposed to view. Excavations in progress between Parthenon and Museum, main results as follows: much poros architecture found; ancient walls of undetermined function and date; wall of poros blocks which came to light when the museum was being built; this wall was built when the area southeast of the Parthenon had been filled in to about half of its present height.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 12 (1887), 385-386.

In the dumped fillings between Parthenon and Museum found head of Tricorpor with ultramarine blue beard and brilliant painting, many glaringly bright-coloured snake fragments etc.

P. Wolters, *AM* 12 (1887), 386-7.

## 1888

### Akropolis

Excavations south of Parthenon and east of Museum. South of east front of Parthenon dug everywhere to bedrock. At southeast corner of museum well-preserved stretch of Mycenaean circuit wall. West of museum at a great depth remains of Mycenaean circuit wall and Mycenaean houses.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 13 (1888), 106/109.

Excavations south of Parthenon about opposite to the middle of the temple. Poros sculpture and architecture. Ergasterion found; medieval cistern and other medieval building here. In upper levels inside the ancient building two reliefs found, later than the Persian Wars: the Mourning Athena and document relief concerning Athens and Samos. Kavvadias is demolishing medieval and modern walls at west entrance.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 13 (1888), 224 ff.

Roman towers flanking Beulé Gate freed of their later sheathing. Whole Akropolis plateau dug down to bedrock. Formerly untouched fillings inside museum have been examined. Excavations south of Parthenon extended to Parthenon southwest corner. Older Parthenon terrace retaining wall found. Mycenaean wall at Par-

thenon southwest corner. Parthenon west terrace retaining wall found. Chalkotheke and Artemis Brauronia precinct found.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 13 (1888), 431 ff.

### Akropolis upper north slope

Odysseus Bastion almost completely dismantled and yielded several inscriptions.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 13 (1888), 224 ff.

### Ilissos right bank

Zappeion area: "Peristyle courtyard surrounded by porticoes and rooms was cleared (...). The south portico led to a large semicircular Nymphaeum".

S. A. Koumanoudis, *AE* 1888, 200.

Olympeion area: Archaeological Society excavated north of precinct of Zeus Olympios. The occasion was the levelling for new streets planned right around the new exhibition hall Zappeion. North and northwest of the Olympieion propylon many Roman walls belonging to baths or stately Roman private houses. Mosaic floors, hypocausts, sculpture and inscriptions of the Roman period.

Sculpture finds reported in *AM* 13 (1888), 231.

## 1889

### Kerameikos excavations

Excavations at Sacred Gate.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 14 (1889), 414.

### Akropolis

Remains of two stoas found in Artemis Brauronia precinct. In the Parthenon excavations in depth wherever the marble floor slabs were missing. A number of Byzantine graves probably for the bishops of Athens. Walls and colonnades have foundations of different height from those of floor. Between Parthenon and old temple of Athena dug down to bedrock everywhere.

Medieval and Turkish fortifications dismantled, also the modern guard houses on west slope of the Akropolis. The towers flanking Beulé Gate almost completely freed from later accretions.

Many inscriptions found including Aphrodite Pandemos inscription. Dörpfeld places the sanctuary 200 m southwest of Beulé Gate.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 14 (1889), 117-121.

Beginning to dig below the floor level of the Pinakothek. Building B architecture found in the foundations. Propylaia kore found, assigned to Persian destruction.

Paul Wolters, *AM* 14 (1889), 121.

Final tidying up. The row of 5 cisterns north of Parthenon discovered (2 had been known before). Excavations between Beulé Gate and Propylaia north of polygonal ramp retaining wall.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 14 (1889), 324/325.

Excavations continue between Beulé Gate and Propylaia north of the polygonal wall. Altar found *in situ*.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 14 (1889), 413/414.



## Akropolis south slope

DAI digs in Theatre of Dionysos.  
W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 14 (1889), 123 ff.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Excavations at the Tower of the Winds 1889-1890.  
Aphrodite head, NM 1762, with rough cross hacked on the forehead.  
K. Kastriotis, *AE* 1900, 87, pl. 5.

## Ilissos right bank

National Garden, corner bounded by Amalias Avenue and Vas. Olgas Boulevard. Very large luxurious complex with finds including mosaic floors, sculpture and inscriptions.

*PAE* 1889, 8-17 with plan by G. Kawerau at the end.

Archaeological Society digging north of Olympieion. Large Roman building found, either a public gymnasium, or large private house. Northwest of recently discovered Roman building found a Greek building with breccia blocks and inside it still older polygonal limestone walls.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 14 (1889), 327, 414.

## 1890

### Kerameikos excavations

Archaeological Society excavated in front of the Dipylon (seems to refer to the Sacred Gate). Removed Eridanos channel walls from late times. Excavated between Haghia Triada and Dipylon and found walls of different periods at a great depth. Excavations west of Haghia Triada, more of the great graveyard. Artermis Soteira, two inscriptions found, one decree, one dedication.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 15 (1890), 345/346.

### Agora area

Excavations of the north side of the Stoa of Attalos and south side of the Post-Herulian Wall.

*PAE* 1890, 8-11.

Fragment of Demosion Sema inscription (IG I<sup>2</sup> 964) found in late fill next to north foundations of Stoa of Attalos. S. A. Koumanoudis remarks that in the years before his own time many stones were transported from the Road to the Academy seen by Pausanias into town for building material.

S. A. Koumanoudis, *AE* 1890, 105-107.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: The Archaeological Society bought the land around the southeast corner of the Roman Agora. In 1890-189 their excavations revealed the east-west peristyle, East Gate complete, stepped plaza leading to arcuated building, shops to the north of the gate, interior Doric colonnade as far as Panos street.

S. A. Koumanoudis, *PAE* 1890, 11-19; W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 15 (1890), 11-19, 343-344, 444; *AM* 16 (1891), 7-11.

## 1891

### Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora and Tower of the Winds area: the Society excavated first to the west of the Tower of the Winds and then east of the (eastern) propylon.

*PAE* 1891, 7-11.

### Areopagus-Pnyx valley

Dörpfeld's first report on his investigations of the water-supply system, the (so-called) Peisistratid aqueduct. Found the ancient street in the valley between the Areopagus and the Pnyx.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 16 (1891), 443-445.

### Agora area, the railroad trench

Railroad extension finished as far as Stoa of Attalos and bounded by new retaining walls. The ancient walls all destroyed. North front of Attalos Stoa completely cleared. Finds: site of sanctuary of Demos and Charites with altar of Aphrodite Hegemone; Bryaxis base.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 16 (1891), 252, 361-363;

Acroterion called Hebe, NM 1732, found in cutting of railway trench, 30-40 m north of west end of Temple of Ares.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 21 (1952), 95.

### Kerameikos excavations area

Excavations in lot bounded by Peiraeos, B. Herakleiou and Psaramilingou streets, directed by Stais and Kawerau. 231 graves, of which 19 of the Dipylon period, mostly 6th-4th c. B.C., no kioniskoi at all.

A. Brückner and E. Pernice, *AM* 18 (1893), 73 ff.

## 1892

### Areopagus-Pnyx valley

Found in Dörpfeld's excavations: the ancient street, two horos stones for small sanctuary, naiskos, round poros altar, two lesche boundary stones, natural spring under modern street. On the track of the Enneakrounos.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 17 (1892), 90/93.

### Akropolis south slope

In 1892 or 1893 Doric columns like those in Stoa of Attalos found immediately to the south of and a little way below the colonnade of Eumenes Stoa, probably rolled down hill to strengthen the medieval fortification wall.

Frazer 1898, II, 240.

## 1893

### Akropolis

Athena Nike temple parapet. V. W. Yorke discovered three more fragments at the foot of the Victory bastion.

Frazer 1898, II, 259.



### Areopagus-Pnyx valley

W. Dörpfeld excavated the Amyneion.

### Ilissos right bank

Between the Olympieion precinct and the Ilissos river: A. N. Skias, Archaeological Society, excavating south of the Olympieion precinct wall, found a Roman temple, later remade into a church with Christian graves; and a stretch of the Roman city wall.

A. N. Skias, *PAE* 1893 (published in 1895), 129/133.

### Ilissos river bed

Skias, Archaeological Society, excavated two reservoirs in the Ilissos River bed at Haghia Photini, the site of the Enneakrounos spring-house. Finds: Pieces of architecture, stone beams, column drums; over-lifesize head of Herakles; votive relief with Herakles, Hermes and seated god (NM 1778); architectural relief with Athena, Nike and others (NM 2668).

Belger, *AA* 1895, 112 ff.; A. N. Skias, *AE* 1893, column 103; A. N. Skias, *AE* 1894, 133/142.

Corner frieze block from temple on the Ilissos (Artemis Agrotera) found in reservoir A.

H. Möbius, *AM* 53 (1928), 1.

## 1894

### Areopagus-Pnyx valley

Dörpfeld and DAI find Peisistratid aqueduct, Enneakrounos, Bakcheion, many inscriptions and much sculpture. Greek government decides to expropriate entire Akropolis west slope and allow the DAI to excavate. New excavation begins in October.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 19 (1894), 498/499.

## 1895

### Areopagus-Pnyx valley

At the beginning of 1895 the Amyneion entirely cleared. Eight pieces of sculpture described; terracottas, vases, inscriptions.

A. Körte, *AM* 21 (1896), 287/332.

Water supply system further investigated. House with lovely Roman mosaics found. Over 100 wells found. Amyneion now identified. Whole ancient street with its flanking structures cleared from southwest corner of Areopagus to the point where it turns up towards Akropolis. Large area cleared north of Amyneion and east of (so-called) Dionysion in Limnai. Two geometric graves north of Amyneion near the old road found. West slope of Areopagus excavated: houses, rock-cut steps, alleys; great number of terracotta moulds.

*AM* 21 (1896), 104/107.

### Agora area

In 1895-1896 excavations north of the Areopagus, east of the Hephaisteion along the west side.

*AM* 21 (1896), 107-109.

### Ilissos left bank

Stadium: Restoration work financed by Averoff begins on Panathenaic stadium for the Olympic games of 1896 and new information about the architectural details of the Stadium emerges. In 1895-1896 two double herms and part of a third found.

*AM* 20 (1895), 109, 374; G. Gasparri, *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/1975) 327.

## 1896

### Ancient road from Dipylon to Academy

A. Oikonomou excavated N. of the Dipylon on property between Plataion and Salaminos streets, searching for the Road to the Academy. Found the ancient road and two inscriptions pertaining to Kalliste. Foundations of large poros blocks.

*PAE* 1896, 20-22.

### Kerameikos excavations

Stais excavated for the Archaeological Society in old graveyard near Haghia Triada.

*AM* 21 (1896), 462/463.

### Akropolis upper north slope

P. Kavvadias starts excavation for Archaeological Society. Recleared the three previously known caves and found a fourth. Rock-cut stairway found. The excavations began between the Areopagus and the Akropolis, continued on Akropolis northwest slope with the intention of excavating entire north slope. Excavated areas: Caves *A*, *B*, *Γ*, *Δ*, the first three known before, the fourth discovered for the first time. Cave *B* cleared in December 1896; the rock-cut niches and rock-cut inscription of Herennios Dexippos recorded. Rock cutting for what was thought to be an altar found in front of Cave *B*. Ten marble votive plaques dedicated to Apollo Hypoakraios by the archons found. Rock-cut steps leading up to the gate in the Akropolis north wall discovered. The excavators proceeded to explore the cleft in the rock, at that time a tunnel, and found the traces of the top flight of stairs leading down to the Mycenaean spring house.

P. Kavvadias, *AE* 1897, 1/32; W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 21 (1896), 460/461.

### Akropolis west slope

During the summer and fall, Kavvadias excavated the area between Akropolis and Areopagus down to bedrock. Directly beside southeast corner of Areopagus a Byzantine church in very disturbed ruins. Further to east poros walls of large Greek Building. A large medieval cistern partly built over this building.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 21 (1896), 460/461.

### Areopagus-Pnyx valley

Bakcheion finds as follows: round marble altar with boukrania and garlands; oblong altar with low reliefs; miniature herm; Dionysos statuette; Pan statuette; tragic masks; Artemis altar; Artemis statuette; Hadrian Olympios altar; Altar with Panes dedicated to the Mother of the Gods. Other finds from the Dionysion area: Aphrodite statuettes, votives to the Mother of the Gods, portrait of Hellenistic ruler; small copy of Parthenos.

H. Schrader, *AM* 21 (1896), 265/286.



### Agora area

Dörpfeld excavated east of the temple of Hephaistos for the specific purpose of finding the Stoa Basileios. He found two buildings and identified the northern one (temple of Apollo Patroos) as the Stoa Basileios.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 21 (1896), 107-109; *AM* 22 (1897) 225.

## 1897

### Akropolis upper north slope

Kavvadias removed dumped fillings extending from the Makrai to the area of the ruined church of Serapheim. Excavations at the Klepsydra site, the little chapel of Haghioi Apostoloi. An ancient building discovered directly under the Makrai. A greater part of the Paved Court uncovered.

P. Kavvadias *AE* 1897 2-34, pls. 1-4.

### Areopagus

Otto Rubensohn excavated Geometric graves on the Areopagus north slope on the north side of Apollodorou st.

E. L. Smithson, *Hesperia* 43 (1974), 330 with note 14, 365 under no. 1, pl. 66.

### Agora area

Excavations on Areopagus north slope; Roman building with hypocausts, 6 Dipylon graves.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 22 (1897), 478.

Stoa of Attalos: work of complete clearing and cleaning up begun.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 22 (1897), 479.

### Agora surroundings

Dörpfeld had a small excavation at 3 Adrianou st. about 50 m west of Theseiou st. and reported the discovery of the Dromos (Panathenaic Way).

W. Dörpfeld, *Antike Denkmäler* II, 1899-1901, 1, text to pl. 37.

Excavations begun on north slope of Kolonos Agoraios in order to find the road from the Agora to the Dipylon and the Eridanos river bed.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 22 (1897), 478.

### Areopagus-Pnyx valley

Peisistratid aqueduct cleared further and consolidated with stone vaults and iron beams. Several of the deep shafts had to be closed up. The entire stretch from Herodes Odeion to the Pnyx can now be comfortably traversed. Many branch canals found.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 22 (1897), 476/478.

### Ilissos right bank

Olympieion: G. Nikolaidis excavated, mainly investigating south and east sides of peribolos wall which had been robbed out. NW corner of the temple uncovered.

G. Nikolaidis, *PAE* 1897, 14-15.

### Ilissos left bank

A. N. Skias excavated the Temple of Artemis Agrotera, the Christian church, the graves and the ancient building at the site of the Windmill.

A. N. Skias, *PAE* 1897, 73-84, pl. A.

Ilissos river bed at Haghia Photini: Skias continued investigating Channel Δ. Description of the damage wrought by the flood of 1896.

A. N. Skias, *PAE* 1897, 84-85.

## 1898

### Akropolis south slope

G. Sotiriadis excavated in and around auditorium of Odeion of Herodes Atticus.

*PAE* 1898, 11-12.

### Pnyx range

Philopappos hill: Rock-cut Epos inscription discovered.

St. Dragoumis, *AM* 23 (1898), 202 ff.

A. N. Skias excavated in and around the Philopappos Monument and found the site of the fort, which Demetrius Poliorketes added to the defences of the city.

*PAE* 1898, 12-13, 21, 68-71.

R. Zahn, DAI sank some trial trenches north of the church of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiariis on Pnyx hill.

U. Jantzen, *AA* 1963, 431 ff.

Hill of the Nymphs: G. Sotiriadis investigated a small graveyard of the Roman period by the Observatory.

*PAE* 1898, 12.

### Agora area

Stoa of Attalos: K. D. Mylonas excavated continuously all year. Whole interior cleaned up to the east wall. Finds: ca 150 lead tokens; a portrait head etc.

K. D. Mylonas, *PAE* 1898, 11, 65-68; *AE* 1901, 119-122, pl. 7.

Archaeological Society works on clearing the Stoa of Attalos from 1898 to 1902.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 2, 1933, 96.

### Ilissos right bank

Olympieion: G. Nikolaidis excavated for the Society. Aim of the excavation was to uncover the whole precinct down to the ancient level, to investigate the crepidoma of the temple and to restore the original ground level around the crepidoma. Statue bases found *in situ*. Peisistratid column drums found in column foundations.

*PAE* 1898, 10, 62-64.

## 1899

### Hippios Kolonos

K. Kourouniotis excavated about 50 graves dating to late 6th-5th c. B.C. at N. side of Kolonos.

*PAE* 1899, 12, 33-34.



## Agora area

K. D. Mylonas, Archaeological Society, excavated Attalos Stoa, the eleven remaining unexcavated rooms now fully cleared so that all twenty-one rooms are open. Helmeted Athena head found. Architectural members of the stoa found, enough to make a reconstruction. Attalos inscription restored in plaster.

*AM* 24 (1899), 487.

## 1900

## Akropolis lower north slope

Tower of the Winds area: altar dedicated to Amphiaraos and Hygieia found in the Diamantopoulos Baths.

I. Miliadis, *AD* 8 (1923) 53 with figs. 1-2.

## Agora area

The two mediaeval towers in the Attalos Stoa were dismantled (3rd c. A.D. towers in the Post-Herulian fortification wall. The third tower was dismantled many years ago by the Society).

K. D. Mylonas, *PAE* 1900, 31-35.

## Kerameikos excavations

4th c. B.C. tumulus excavated by R. Delbrueck.

*AM* 25 (1900), 311.

## Kerameikos surroundings

In August, 1900, digging foundations for cellar on south side of Psaramilingou street on property belonging to O. Rousopoulos. Graves of 5th and 4th c. B.C.

*AM* 25 (1900), 308/310.

## Ilissos right bank

Olympieion area: The whole area to the west excavated except for the property owned by the Makriyanni family. Marble paving slabs found. Statuette of Hekate; small rectangular altar.

G. N. Nikolaidis, *PAE* 1900, 29-30.

## 1901

## Akropolis

In tearing down the ruinous wall behind the Erechtheion, architecture and mouldings of the Erechtheion came to light.

*AM* 26 (1901), 235.

## Akropolis upper north slope

Earth fillings removed from below the Propylaia to Anaphiotika. The Valerian Wall found beside the Michalea house (now the Kanellopoulos Museum). The large earth fills were dumped onto the site of the future road around the Akropolis.

*PAE* 1901, 12.

## Pnyx range

Hill of the Nymphs, lower N. slope: the Hoplitodromos Stele and remains of the City Wall found about 100 m from the chapel of Haghios Athanasios Chalkouri. Inner line of the City Wall found.

D. Philios, *AE* 1903, 43-45, pl. 1.

## Agora area

K. D. Mylonas excavated east and west of the Stoa of Attalos.

*PAE* 1901, 31-32.

## 1902

## Agora area

K. D. Mylonas dug down to bedrock in the remaining unexcavated area east of the Stoa of Attalos and cleared the entire east wall. Cleared part of the Valerian (post-Herulian) wall east of the stoa.

*PAE* 1902, 16-17, 33, 46.

## 1904

## Ilissos left bank

A. Skias excavated on top of the hill on the east side of the Stadium, finding Herodes Atticus tomb (probably Panathenaic Ship house) and inscription to the Marathonian Hero.

C. Gasparri, *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/1975).

## 1905

## Akropolis south slope

Asklepieion excavated by G. Allen and L. Caskey.

N. Platon, *AD* 18 (1963), Part II, Chr., 18.

## 1906

## Pnyx range

Hill of the Nymphs: Noack partially uncovered part of the Diateichisma on the NW spur.

F. Noack, *AM* 32 (1907), 508-9 ff.

City wall investigated at Peiraic Gate, lower north slope of Hill of the Nymphs.

*AM* 31 (1906), 363.

## Kerameikos excavations

F. Noack, DAI, excavated, investigated, drew up the Themistoklean City Wall, Dipylon Gate, Sacred Gate (which is nowhere called Sacred Gate; it is called "die themistokleische Toranlage" or "Älteste Toranlage").

Many archaic grave monuments found in the Themistoklean City Wall, confirming Thucydides' description 1.90.3.

F. Noack, *AM* 32 (1907), 123/160, 473/512.



## 1907

## Kerameikos excavations

A. N. Skias directed excavations in the graveyard beside Haghia Triada. Discovered that the grave monuments were not set up individually but in family grave plots.

*PAE* 1907, 57-58, 99-102.

A. Brueckner directed the Kerameikos excavations 1907-1913 for the Archaeological Society, from 1914 onwards for the DAI.

K. A. Neugebauer, *AA* 1936, 237.

## Agora area

Archaeological Society excavated west side, finding temple of Apollo Patroos and the colossal temple statue of Apollo.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 96; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 341, 353/4.

## 1908

## Akropolis

Whole area of the Akropolis cleared and trees planted by the museum. At the Beulé Gate huge mass of earth removed and excavations down to bedrock.

*PAE* 1908, 57.

## Akropolis south slope

Many trees planted.

*PAE* 1908, 57.

## Akropolis upper north slope

Excavation on N. slope continuing work begun by the Society years ago.

*PAE* 1908, 58.

## Akropolis west slope

The Ministry of Education made a road for vehicles leading from the plaza in front of the Odeion of Herodes and continuing on towards the north Akropolis slope; the beginning of the much talked-about circular road around the Akropolis.

*PAE* 1908, 58, G. Karo, *AA* 1909, 106.

## Agora area

Entire area east and north of the Temple of Hephaistos dug down to bedrock.

*PAE* 1908, 59-60.

## Kerameikos excavations

The Archaeological Society at Athens fought for the preservation of the archaeological zone in Athens, face of the most amazing obstacles.

*PAE* 1908, 60-62.

The Dipylon hoard of 598 coins, the latest dating to 577-578 A.D. found at the Dipylon Gate.

J. N. Svoronos, *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* XI (1908), 252 and XII (1909-1910) 6-9.

## Ilissos right bank

The Basilica area appropriated by the National Athletic Association.

G. Sotiriou *AE* 1919, 1.

## 1909

## Akropolis west slope

Excavations on Akropolis west and north slopes down to bedrock in connexion with the circular boulevard.

A. Koester, *Das Pelargikon...*, Strassburg, 1909.

## Kerameikos excavations

A. Brueckner excavated the Street of the Tombs starting at the entrance on Peiraikos st. and going as far as the Dexileos Monument and area to the south. Cleared the western area of excavations, the length of the tramway depot wall.

A. Brueckner, *PAE* 1909, 60-61, 105-112.

## 1910

## Akropolis

Bert Hodge Hill investigated the Older Parthenon.

G. Karo, *AA* 1910, 155.

## Pnyx hill

K. Kourouniotis excavated the Assembly Place of the Pnyx and gave a detailed description of the filling behind the Third Period curving retaining wall which he dated no earlier than the 2nd century B.C. Found the retaining wall of Pnyx second period with stairway.

K. Kourouniotis, *PAE* 1910, 57, 127-136.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: P. Kastriotis and A. Philadelphus excavated an area on the south side. The mosque to the south which had been converted into a Catholic church was demolished and the site excavated. Many finds of ancient and Byzantine periods. Plans to unite the area with the Stoa of Attalos and Library of Hadrian.

A. Philadelphus, *PAE* 1910, 56-57 and 112-126.

Library of Hadrian: Old Army Barracks in SW corner demolished.

O. Walter, *AA* 1943, 298-299.

## Agora area

Kourouniotis excavated and cleaned the area of the so-called Bouleuterion near the Church of the Holy Apostles (namely the Panathenaic Way and the Post-Herulian Wall). Much sculpture and many inscriptions.

K. Kourouniotis, *PAE* 1910, 136-143.

## Kerameikos excavations

A. Brueckner and G. Oikonomos excavated in the triangle bounded by the Eridanos, the Street of the Tombs and the mound of Haghia Triada. Found the Tritopatreion; 44 ostraka; the Triangular Sanctuary; the continuation of the so-called



Peisistratid aqueduct. At the Dipylon they found the outer Hellenistic Gate.

A. Brueckner, *PAE* 1910, 55-56, 110-111.

## 1911

### East of the Akropolis

At the church of Haghia Aikaterini A. Keramopoulos excavated around the two standing Ionic columns, finding that they are part of a Late Roman stoa facing east.

A. D. Keramopoulos, *AE* 1911, 259-261, figs. 4-8.

### Pnyx hill

Pnyx Assembly Place: Kourouniotis and Antoniadis excavated. "The entire filling is dumped fill of the Hellenistic period contemporary with the Third Period curving wall".

They also dug some metres NE of the curving retaining wall near to the Akropolis Boulevard (Apostolou Pavlou Avenue) finding rock-cut rooms of the Hellenistic period.

K. Kourouniotis and D. Antoniadis, *PAE* 1911, 51-53 and 106-109.

## 1912

### Agora area

P. Kastriotis and A. Philadelphus excavated at the Stoa of the Giants.

P. Kastriotis, *PAE* 1912, 78-79 and 91-99 with figs. 1-6.

### Kerameikos excavations

K. Kourouniotis excavated 14 graves in and around the Demetria and Pamphile precinct.

K. Kourouniotis, *AE* 1913, 183-193, figs. 1-12.

## 1913

### Akropolis south slope

P. Kastriotis excavated part of the Odeion of Perikles from 1913-1917.

G. Welter, *AM* 47 (1922) 76.

## 1914

### Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles: extensive excavations with a great many finds including: Odeion destruction fill of 86 B.C. with a thick layer of ash and charred wood; terracotta water pipes of the (so-called) Enneakrounos aqueduct; white marble eagle head; double herm with hydria and kerykeion reliefs; column drum with dedication of Ariobarzanes; owl throne fragments (from the Panathenaic Stadium); portrait heads; inscriptions.

*PAE* 1914, 67-69 and 81-124 with 23 photographs.

### Akropolis lower north slope

The Mendresé (Islamic Theological School) which had been used as a prison after

the War of Independence was demolished, excepting the gate. Keramopoulos, Leonardos, and Kourouniotis excavated the site.

Much architectural material, inscriptions and sculpture found.

A. D. Keramopoulos, *PAE* 1914, 69-70 and 125-126.

### Kerameikos excavations

Directed by H. Knackfuss and A. Brueckner, DAI. Plans for landscaping and open-air museum. The area on the right bank of the Eridanos excavated.

Tremendous dump between Peiraeos street and the City Wall, accumulated through the ages from ancient times onward and recently used as excavation dump (what earlier writers refer to as the Stachtothiki or Ash Hill). Remains of 4th and 5th c. A.D. were below 5 m of dumped fill. In order to clear the Road to the Academy, they dug a trench 120 m long and 20-30 m wide from Peiraeos street to the Dipylon. The road to the Academy is here named Kerameikos. Potter's kiln, ca 300 B.C., found near to the Dipylon; Here and there dump from destroyed workshops containing wasters, moulds and finished products. Ostraka finds.

A. Brueckner, *AM* 40 (1915), 1-26.

Excavations at the NE corner at the site for the new church of Haghia Triada. Found the third Kerameikos boundary stone.

A. Brueckner, *AA* 1914, 91-95.

## 1915

### Areopagus

G. A. Sotiriou excavated at the site of the 16th century church of Haghios Dionysios Areopagitis.

G. A. Sotiriou, *AD* 2 (1916), 119-143, figs. 1-17.

### Kerameikos excavations

The grave of the Lakedaimonians was excavated for the first time as far as the knees of the skeletons. (This grave was opened three times).

K. Gebauer and H. Johannes, *AA* 1937, 200.

### Ancient road from Dipylon to Academy

Peiraeos and Salaminos streets: Brueckner found marble sarcophagi, (interpreted as burials in the Demosion Sema).

A. Brueckner, *AA* 1915, 119-120.

## 1916

### Kerameikos excavations

An inscription (SEG 21, 1965, no. 97) recording names of slave girls, mid-5th c. B.C., found at City wall to right of Eridanos. (Probably the names of the weavers of the Panathenaic peplos, suggesting that building Z was the Ergasterion where the peplos was woven).

A. Brueckner, *AM* 51 (1926), 129/130.

Dipylon kouros head found in northern tower of Dipylon Gate.

E. Buschor, *AM* 52 (1927), 209.



## Pnyx hill

Assembly Place: K. Kourouniotis, Archaeological Society, cleared rock of the hill-side north of the terrace wall and found rock-cut stepped street north of and older than the curving retaining wall and also investigated the Assembly Place retaining walls.

*PAE* 1916, 29-30 and 46-47; K. Kourouniotis and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 93/94.

## Ilissos right bank

In 1916-1917 G. Sotiriou excavated the major part of an early Christian Basilica southeast of the Olympieion on the Island of the Ilissos.

G. Sotiriou, *AE* 1919, 1-31, figs. 1-33.

## 1918

### Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles. Excavation conducted by P. Kastriotis. Entire N. side of the building cleared (he thinks); foundations and orthostates in good condition. Owl thrones. At NW corner foundations of late house made of conglomerate blocks robbed from theatre retaining wall. Huge pithoi in the cellars of houses dated to 1455 or later.

P. Kastriotis, *PAE* 1918, 14-16.

## 1919

### Akropolis south slope

P. Kastriotis excavated Odeion of Perikles as far as the eastern end of theatre. Owl thrones yet again, many roof-tiles with marks of burning; late Roman Fortification Wall; many Christian graves of 6th-7th c. A.D..

P. Kastriotis, *PAE* 1919, 14-15, 27-31.

### Akropolis lower east slope

A. D. Keramopoulos excavated property next to the Lysikrates Monument. Finds included the inscription of sanctuary of Herakles on the Ilissos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 257).

*PAE* 1919, 15; B. Petrakos, 1987, 117.

## Ilissos right bank

Basilica on the Ilissos excavated by G. Sotiriou.

*AE* 1919, 1-31.

## 1920

### Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles excavated by P. Kastriotis proceeding southwest.

*PAE* 1920, 3-4.

## 1921

### Akropolis south slope

P. Kastriotis identified the Odeion of Perikles. The following have been cleared: northeast corner, a large part of the northern wall and three interior column bases.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 47 (1922), 26; P. Kastriotis, *AD* 5 (1919), Parart. 1-14, figs. 1-15.

A. Philadelphus excavated in precinct of Dionysos Eleuthereus; G. Welter fixed the site of the Propylon to this precinct at the end of the Street of the Tripods with fair certainty.

A. Philadelphus, *AE* 1921, 91/97; G. Welter, *AM* 47 (1922), 75/77.

### Akropolis east slope

Lysikrates Monument: Studniczka, DAI, excavated the podium and foundations of the Lysikrates Monument.

F. Studniczka, *AA* 1921, 318-322, figs. 1-4.

Area adjoining Lysikrates Monument: A. Philadelphus, Archaeological Society, and Gabriel Welter, DAI, excavated area adjoining Lysikrates Monument finding foundations of large choregic monuments. North of Lysikrates monument: the course of ancient Tripodon Street; numerous tombs of late Roman and early Christian periods; water supply and drainage systems from antiquity through Ottoman period.

A. Philadelphus, *AE* 1921, 83/91, figs. 1-24; G. Welter, *AM* 47 (1922), 72/75.

## 1922

### Akropolis south slope

Doro Levi excavated the neolithic levels above the Stoa of Eumenes.

Doro Levi, *ASAtene* 13-14 (1930-1931), 418-450.

P. Kastriotis excavated in the Odeion of Perikles.

P. Kastriotis, *AE* 1922, 25-38, figs. 1-4.

### Pnyx range

Hill of the Nymphs, lower north slope:

A. Philadelphus found three archaic bases for grave monuments in the Themistoklean City Wall: 1) the cat-and-dog base; 2) the hockey game base; 3) base with painted picture of enthroned woman and signature of Endoios.

A. Philadelphus, *AD* 6 (1920-1921), 1-20.

Erysichthonos st., near the Theseion: Many fragments of grave stelai, Hellenistic and Roman heads found together built into the City Wall.

P. Kastriotis, *AD* 9 (1924-1925), Parart. 20-24, nos. 1-7.

### Ilissos right bank

Temple of Zeus Olympios: G. Welter's excavation cleared up some of the long complicated history of the successive temples.

B. Schweizer, *AA* 1922, 254-255.



## 1923

## Road to the Academy from the Dipylon gate

Kerameikou street no. 19 near Plataion street: Three grave naiskoi found on the ancient street to the Academy.

G. Welter, *AA* 1925, 311/313.

Plataion street (near Kerameikou street): Several small votive reliefs of Artemis Kalliste, indicating a sanctuary nearby.

G. Welter, *AA* 1925, 313.

## Akropolis

Nike Bastion: G. Welter excavated. Discoveries and finds: polygonal sanctuary retaining wall (for the earlier sanctuary of Athena Nike); in the temenos beneath the paving in front of the Athena Nike temple, a square poros base *in situ* and an altar *in situ*; the crowning moulding of the bastion is contemporary with the marble paving around the temple.

G. Welter, *AA* 1925, 390/311.

## Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos. Dörpfeld, Archaeological Society, investigated southwest section of auditorium and stage buildings.

G. Welter, *AA* 1925, 311/313.

## Ilissos right bank

Regillis and Lykeiou streets: Three architectural reliefs (NM 3496-3498) with reliefs of Nikai with bulls, satyrs with krater, silens treading grapes, panther.

P. Kastriotis, *AD* 9 (1924-1925), Parart. 27-28, nos. 13-15, figs. 17-19.

## 1924

## Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles excavated by P. Kastriotis from 1924-1929.

B. Petrakos, 1987, 129.

## 1925

## Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos: Dörpfeld excavated to investigate the SW section and determine the dates of the various walls.

W. Dörpfeld, *PAE* 1925-1926, 6-8, 25-32.

Odeion of Perikles. P. Kastriotis cleared northwest wall, 67 m long; remains of wall painting of fine stucco made with marble dust. Orthostates and string course sheathed in marble.

W. Wrede, *AA* 1926, 399-400.

Peisistratid Aqueduct: Uncovered stretch from Akropolis southeast corner to Dionysos precinct.

W. Wrede, *AA* 1926, 400.

## 1926

## Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles, 1926-1927: P. Kastriotis starting at the west corner cleared the badly ruined southwest wall as far as the Propylon. Lowest course is Kara limestone, Periklean period. Above is Ariobarzanes' rebuilding. In July 1927, a stretch of the south wall cleared.

H. Möbius and W. Wrede, *AA* 1927, 345/346.

Theatre of Dionysos: W. Dörpfeld and E. Fiechter excavated parts of the orchestra, below the Phaidros Bema.

H. Möbius and W. Wrede, *AA* 1927, 346.

## Agora area

H. Koch partially cleared the foundations of the Hephaisteion and carried out a thorough study of the architecture.

H. Koch, *AA* 1928, 706/721.

## 1927

## Akropolis

W. B. Dinsmoor cleared the polygonal ramp retaining wall, 1927-1928.

R. Herbig, *AA* 1928, 570.

## Akropolis west slope

In 1927-1928 A. D. Keramopoulos cleared outside the Beulé Gate in order to get information about the approach to the Akropolis.

R. Herbig, *AA* 1928, 571.

## Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos and Odeion of Perikles: A stretch of the south wall of the Odeion cleared. East theatre retaining wall uncovered to a length of 25 metres. Christian graves of the 6th-7th c. parallel to this wall. Another section of the Enneakrounos aqueduct cleared beside the propylon of the Odeion.

P. Kastriotis, *PAE* 1927, 7-8 and 23-27 with fig. 1.

## Kerameikos excavations

Thanks to a grant from G. Oberländer, the Kerameikos excavations resumed after an interruption of 12 years. Excavations directed in 1927-1928 by K. Kübler in the Pompeion area provided much evidence for the plans and architectural details of the Greek Pompeion and of the Roman Pompeion. Above the Pompeion a huge destruction fill dating to the end of the 4th c. A.D. (Alaric) with remains of kilns and the debris from lamp factories.

K. Kübler, *AM* 53, 1928, 169/183.

## 1928

## Kerameikos excavations

A. Brueckner and K. Kübler excavated Pompeion area. Four layers above the





Fig. 339 The Agora excavations in the early 1960s. Vegetation is still sparse. In the background, the central part of the cultural-historic area, i.e. the Plaka, Akropolis, Olympieion, Zappeion, Ardetos hill, First Cemetery. (ASCS, Agora excavations archives).



Hadrianic Pompeion going to the 13th century, with scattered medieval graves above.

A. Brueckner, *AA* 1928, 572/573.

### Akropolis

A. D. Keramopoulos excavated beside the Nike Bastion and uncovered the hollows in the rock.

A. D. Keramopoulos, *AE* 1934-1935, 85.

### Akropolis upper north slope

A. D. Keramopoulos cleared the area in front of Cave Beta.

A. D. Keramopoulos, *AD* 12 (1929), 86-92, fig. 1.

## 1929

### Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles: Investigation continued.

Theatre of Dionysos: dumped fill removed from theatre.

P. Kastriotis, *PAE* 1929, 10-11, 52-57, figs. 1-3.

### Agora area

Special law covering the Agora Excavations specifies that "on completion of the excavation (...) the area shall be turned into a park".

Law 4212 of March 23, 1929, cited by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 23 (1984) 66 with note 63.

### Kerameikos excavations

Excavations in the Pompeion. Finds: Sulla's cannon balls; inscribed column bases and the Agora inscription; the Menander inscription and the graffiti on Pompeion wall.

A. Brueckner, *AM* 56 (1931), 1-32.

Huge dumped fill west of Dipylon-Academy Road, covering the entire area in front of the Dipylon and Sacred Gate, several metres high. Many fragments of painted stucco.

F. Wirth, *AM* 56 (1931), 33-58, figs. 1-11, Beilagen 11-26.

## 1930

### Pnyx hill

Assembly Place: K. Kourouniotis and H. A. Thompson excavated Assembly Place, the two retaining walls, outer face of great curved terrace wall cleared to bedrock throughout its length, upper terrace wall.

K. Kourouniotis and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* I (1932), 90-217, figs. 1-70.

K. Kourouniotis and H. A. Thompson digging on the ridge south of the Assembly Place found a retaining wall on the northeast shoulder of the hill (north of northeast corner of East Stoa) and a number of terracotta figurines.

G. Karo, *AA*, 1931, 223/4; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 156.

### Kerameikos excavations

Excavations in and around the Pompeion and on the "Kerameikos-Strasse" (Di-

pylon-Academy Road).

A. Brueckner, *AM* 56 (1931), 1.

Grave of the Lakedaimonians excavated for the second time, this time completely.

G. Karo, *AA* 1930, 90-93.

In 1930-1931 K. Kübler excavated under the storeroom beside the (Dipylon) spring house, extending old excavations of the 1870s, going down to bedrock. He reported that a brook ran through here through a crevice in the rock and that it was filled in towards the end of the 6th century B.C. at the earliest.

G. Karo, *AA* 1931, 215.

### Academy

In 1930-1931 I. Threpsiadis excavating for the Academy of Athens. At the northernmost end of the road from Dipylon to Academy, foundation of large blocks forming the northwest corner of a large building, "wohl griechischer Zeit". No sherds at all for dating. Aristophron hopes it is the Academy (so-called Square Peristyle).

G. Karo, *AA* 1931, 218.

### Roads to the Academy

P. Aristophron gives the Athenian Academy funds to excavate Plato's Academy. In order to locate the Academy the commission combined literary and archaeological evidence and chose a spot six stades from the Dipylon Gate, south of the Church of Hagios Georgios at the corner of Palamidiou and Monastiriou streets. They found an ancient road, 5 metres wide, flanked by tombs dating from the 5th century B.C. down into Roman times. "There is every reason to believe that by following this road to its end the excavators will reach the Academy itself".

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 34 (1930), 390.

Over 1400 metres away from the Dipylon Gate, the grave naiskos of Moirokles, son of Kallippos was found. Moirokles was the father of the famous Kallippos who defended Thermopylae against the Galatians in 278 B.C.

G. Karo, *AA* 1930, 92-94.

## 1931

### Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles: In 1931-1932 A. Orlandos continued excavating, removed a deep dumped fill, from the top down as follows: late pithoi and Christian brick graves; sherds of 6th-4th c. B.C., mixed with Roman terracottas and lamps, one of which was signed by Chione; a slanting layer of gravel and sand, obviously washed down the slope, containing terracotta figures, an altar and a base; the floor of the Odeion with not a single column or pier base as expected. North wall well preserved for 14 m, orthostates of Hymettian marble, above which up to 4 courses of poros limestone which had a stucco coating with remains of painting: a Panathenaic amphora and a wreath. West wall destroyed down to euthynteria but can be traced for 22 m to east parados of theatre. Found *in situ*: an omphalos-shaped altar with the fillet network painted on a stucco coating. Near the altar Orlandos observed many traces of burning. Also here a tripod base of 175 B.C. Finds: marble statuettes of Dionysos (or Apollo) and Artemis.

G. Karo, *AA* 1932, 123/124; A. K. Orlandos, *PAE* 1931, 5-7 and 25-26 with figs. 1-13.



## Pnyx hill

The Pnyx Athena, NM 3718, found on NE slope of the Pnyx, 100 metres north of the great curving wall of the Pnyx Assembly Place at 19 Julius Smith st.

V. D. Theophanidis, *AD* 13 (1930-1931), 171-176, pls. 1-2.

## Academy

To the east of the Square Peristyle a badly ruined grave precinct which yielded two important finds: a richly decorated marble loutrophoros and the base for a grave stele with three reliefs of rider and fallen foe.

G. Karo, *AA* 1931, 218/219; *ILN* June 26 (1931) 1098.

## Kerameikos excavations

Grave of the Lakedaimonians excavated for the second time, this time completely.

K. Gebauer and H. Johannes, *AA* 1937, 200.

Chapel of Haghia Triada demolished producing fragments of inscriptions, architecture and sculpture reused in the church. Among this reused material, the grave epigram of Silenos of Rhegion (IG II<sup>2</sup> 5220), who received an individual state burial from the Athenians; a fragment of the Demosion Sema casualty list for the Argives fallen at Tanagra in 458 B.C. Latest coin under Haghia Triada floor dated to 1849, coin of 1869 built into buttress at northeast corner, coins of 1878 under annexes on south side. No earlier church on the site.

A. Kübler, *AA* 1932, 183 ff.

In 1931-1932 the sub-Mycenaean-Protogeometric graveyard in Pompeion area excavated.

W. Kraiker, *AA* 1932, 203-208.

## Akropolis upper north slope

In 1931-1932 Oscar Broneer, ASCS, excavated the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. Twelve steps of Mycenaean stairway leading up to Akropolis back entrance were laid bare.

O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 1 (1932), 31; *Hesperia* 2 (1933), 329-417; *Hesperia* 4 (1935), 109, 123.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: three excavation areas.

1) In the SW corner. Demolition of a school, formerly the Hill School. Finds: early Christian capitals; Byzantine parapet blocks with rich relief decoration; votive relief of footprints dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos; Ionic geisa from the Roman Agora with all the lion heads knocked off; Byzantine building with reused columns of the Roman Agora; quantities of Byzantine pottery 10th-14th century and a kiln; ancient sculpture and inscriptions.

2) The fountain house on the south side and adjoining compartments.

3) Section of Epameinondas st. in front of the Army Bakery. Byzantine settlement, Byzantine foundry.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *AD* 13 (1930-1931), Parart. 1-14, figs. 1-13 and plan at end.

## Agora excavations

T. Leslie Shear, ASCS, began the Agora excavations on May 21, 1931.

The original American zone of the Agora excavation is shown in *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 99, fig. 2. The boundaries were: Kolonos Agoraios at the west, railroad trench at

the north, behind the Stoa of Attalos and up the northwest slope of the Akropolis at the east and the Areopagus north slope at the south. About 16 acres with 367 houses. Discoveries and finds: the Great Drain; Monument of Eponymous Heroes (not identified); monumental marble altar; statue of Hadrian.

*Hesperia* 2 (1933), 96-109.

## 1932

### Akropolis upper north slope

Oscar Broneer, ASCS, excavated the old Akropolis dump reaching a depth of more than 3 metres in some places. The primary object was to investigate the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 2 (1933), 329-417.

## Pnyx hill

East Stoa foundations cleared.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 157/158.

## Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles: A. K. Orlandos directing. Exploration of north wall. Finds: lamp fragments, marble fragments of early Christian parapets; RF and BF sherds.

A. K. Orlandos, *PAE* 1931, 10 and 27-28.

## Agora excavations

7th c. B.C. votive deposit with the Snake Goddess plaque excavated on lower north slope of Areopagus.

D. Burr, *Hesperia* 2 (1933), 542/650.

## Kerameikos excavations

In 1932-1933 excavations of mound of Haghia Triada by K.Kübler.

Remarkable finds of tomb structures and grave offerings of 7th, 6th and 5th c. B.C. and later. The great finds of Proto-Attic pottery. Grave stele of Ampharete found on south side of Sacred Way. Two archaic grave sculptures found in foundations of Eridanos channel wall at Sacred Gate, the horse-and-rider and the lion.

K. Kübler, *AA* 1933, 262/287.

## Academy

In 1932-1933 Ph. Stavropoulos and J. Travlos excavated. "Excavations were continued east of the Chapel of St. Tryphon where a peribolos wall, built of good squared blocks, was traced for a distance of 500 m. It lies about 1500 m. from the Dipylon, in a position corresponding to the statement of Livy as to the location of the Academy" (one Roman mile from the Dipylon). The discovery here of the ancient precinct scarcely permits of any doubt that the peribolos is that of the Academy. On the south side a shorter piece of the enclosing wall, in a different style of masonry was discovered (pl. 54, no. 1); it looks older than the eastern wall and the excavators identify it with "Hipparchos' wall". "North of it the ancient street appears with two buildings (...) and a row of nine graves (...) which Mr. Aristophron considers to be the public graves of the Agonothetai (...) an altar-like structure of good-sized blocks. Farther to the east lie Thermae of the early impe-



rial period in which some pieces of *opus reticulatum*, rare in Greece, are preserved (...) In the same region is a large peristylar gymnasium (...) built in Roman times. Another building, lying farther to the north (...) appears to have been a great peristyle, with massive foundations of squared blocks similar to those of the columns of the Telesterion at Eleusis". Thirteen such foundations cleared on the south side, three on the east. "There seems to have been a similar colonnade adjoining the larger one on the north (...) A pair of terracotta antefixes (...) end of the 6th century B.C. comes perhaps from the roof of this smaller building" and also a black-figure metope fragment with stag.

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 37 (1933) 491, pls. 54/55; G. Karo, *AA* 1933, 208/211.

## Road from the Dipylon gate to the Academy

In 1932 Aristophron presented to the Athens Academy his plan for expropriating a strip of land 300 metres across, between the Academy and the Kerameikos, in the middle of which the famous Dromos was to be excavated. With this an archaeological zone would be created, running from Kolonos-Kerameikos-Agora-Akropolis (with one slight interruption). The plan would have been accepted by the authorities but was upset by the "venizelistische Meuterei" in March 1935.

G. Karo, *AA* 1935, 171.

## 1933

### Akropolis upper north slope

O. Broneer, ASCS, excavated, clearing the whole lower area down to line of modern houses, and on the upper slope the entire length of the Mycenaean ascent. Remains of Mycenaean settlement found. Finds: large number of bronze and iron arrowheads from 480/479 B.C.

*Hesperia* 4 (1935), pl. I preceding p. 109.

### Agora excavations

T. L. Shear directing, ASCS, excavation season Feb. 6-July 8, 1933. 54 modern houses demolished and removed. Water-mill of 5th c. A.D. excavated. Finds and discoveries: Mycenaean gold seal ring; Library of Pantainos inscribed lintel built into Post-Herulian Wall; the great Nike sculpture, 5th c. B.C.; bust of Serapis; portrait of a priest; Roman portrait heads; 45 curse tablets.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 4 (1935), 310/339, 340, 371/420; Arthur Parsons, *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 72/90.

### Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: In August-October 1933, A. Philadelphus and Ph. Stavropoulos had the Army Bakery in the southern section demolished and the mosque cleared, also a section of the colonnade.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *AD* 13, 1930/31, parartima 1 ff. with plan; G. Karo, *AA* 1934, 126 (The *AD* for 1930/31 does seem to be reporting on events of 1933!).

### Kerameikos excavations

K. Kübler continued the excavation of the grave mound of Haghia Triada, which produced many new finds and much new information about burial customs of the 8th, 7th and 6th c. B.C. Foundations at Dipylon Gate completely cleared. T. Hess cleared and recorded the Sacred Gate; disturbing late additions removed so that the beautiful walls of the Themistoklean fortification come into their own. Erida-

nos river bed cleaned from the Sacred Gate to the Haghia Triada grave mound. The Themistoklean channel wall followed the natural course of the Eridanos in southwest curve, but in the 4th c. B.C. and later it was built over in a straight line.

K. Kübler, *AA* 1934, 196/228.

W. Kraiker excavated Protogeometric-Geometric graves in Pompeion and Dipylon area.

W. Kraiker, *AA* 1934, 229/245; E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 38 (1934), 599/602.

### Academy excavations

The gymnasium has been almost all excavated to the archaic level.

(Correction of dating given in *AA* 1933, 209, based on upper layers). "It was an old-fashioned building, older than all other known gymnasia; the plan is not yet a square over 40 × 24 m. Around a rectangular court, long narrow rooms with interior supports (...) . Northeast of the main building, a trial trench produced an archaic wall (large slabs on a foundation of little field stones) clearly a part of the entrance to which the street led, the street along which sarcophagi and (much earlier) altars were found last year. Below this entrance lovely geometric bronze vessels found; directly below the archaic gymnasium, a geometric level and then bedrock (...).

At some distance to the northeast Aristophron cleared the mighty foundations of a colonnade last year; he called it the Peripatos; it remains puzzling because no trace of a wall has been found to go with the columns. Slight remains of a small, early temple came to light in the north. A joining piece of the metope with stag found, giving the body of a hunter, chiton folds visible". This area yielded important inscriptions.

G. Karo, *AA* 1934, 136/139; E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 38 (1934), 602.

## 1934

### Areopagus

D. B. Thompson excavated in and around the church of Haghios Dionysios the Areopagite. Found Archbishop's palace, 16th c., and a cemetery dating to 7th c. A.D.

A. Frantz, *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 158.

### Pnyx

Pnyx hill explored in summer of 1934 under joint auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Greek Government and the ASCS, H. A. Thompson directing.

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 1934, 602/603.

Assembly Place: Upper part of rock-cut cavea of Assembly Place I cleaned. Quarry cuttings for blocks used in Assembly Place III walls cleared at southeast corner. Zeus Hypsistos Sanctuary: Inscribed altar and three more votive plaques found. Upper terrace: Votive deposit of sanctuary (formerly called Thesmophorion) below East Stoa; terracotta figurines, hundreds of miniature vases. East Stoa foundations cleared. City Wall on Pnyx hill investigated.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 151-200.

### Agora excavations

T. L. Shear directing, ASCS. 127 modern houses demolished, 60,000 tons of earth and stones removed. Discoveries and finds: the Tholos; standard measure, standard weights; Bouleuterion and Metroon; temple of Apollo Patroos; Stoa of Zeus



Eleutherios; Altar of the Twelve Gods; Southwest Fountain House.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 4 (1935), 340/370.

## Academy

In 1934-1935 Prehistoric settlement found south of Palaestra, going back to Middle Helladic period.

G. Karo, *AA* 1935, 171.

## 1935

### Academy

In February, 1935, the Kephissos flooded the cleared area and covered it over again, after which the inhabitants prevented excavations from being resumed.

G. Karo, *AA* 1935, 171.

### Kerameikos excavations

K. Kübler directing in 1935-1936. Investigations of a section of the Haghia Triada mound and a sector of Peiraeos street brought to completion. Finds: Pottery and grave goods of 10th-4th c. B.C.; the two earliest Attic grave reliefs, 7th c. B.C.; the most amazing 5th c. B.C. burial ever found in Athens, linked to Alkibiades. H. Johannes investigated the Pompeion foundations. Around a hundred post-holes found in Pompeion area, no later than 5th c. B.C. (correctly) associated with Panathenaic festival. The *status quo* of the excavations outlined cols. 206/208 with plan fig. 20.

K. Kübler, *AA* 1935, 260-300, figs. 1-24; *AA* 1936, 181/208; E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 40 (1936), 541/549.

### Agora excavations

T. L. Shear directing, ASCS. Sixty-seven refugee families transferred to living quarters elsewhere by the Government. 30,850 tons of earth removed. J. Travlos' first year as excavation architect. Excavated areas: South Stoa; Odeion of Agrippa; Theseion plateau. Finds: Herm of Moiragenes; ivory statuettes of Muses; Neolithic, Mycenaean, Protogeometric, Geometric burials: the Geometric Oinochoe with tubes and representation of twins; regulations for the Library of Pantainos.

*Hesperia* 5 (1936), 1-42.

## 1936

### Academy area

In May, 1936, P. Aristophron's excavations resumed after an interruption of over a year due to the ingratitude of the locals and also political upheaval. The Middle Helladic settlement further investigated.

G. Karo, *AA* 1936, 115.

In the summer of 1936, P. Aristophron determined that there was a prehistoric settlement and remains of a geometric building below the gymnasium.

Cleaning operations revealed the southeast corner of the Peribolos and the badly destroyed foundations of a building, date not yet determined, conjectured to be the Propylon for the precinct. In the vicinity of the Palaistra (so-called Square Peristyle?) a bearded archaic head of poros limestone with signs of burning.

H. Riemann, *AA* 1937, 117.

### Kerameikos excavations

K. Gebauer and H. Johannes resume the excavations between the Dipylon Gate and the grave of the Lakedaimonians, which had been interrupted in 1915. The history of the Road to the Academy studied; they knew that the Demosion Sema should be sought for on the northeast side of the street "not yet expropriated" (still not expropriated in 1993!). Many post-holes (in the road) between the Dipylon Gate and present-day Peiraeos street, dating 5th-mid-4th c. B.C., interpreted as holes for flagpoles and grandstands for the torch-race. Classical round bath excavated.

K. Gebauer and H. Johannes, *AA* 1936, 208/214; E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 40 (1936), 547-549.

In 1936-1937 K. Gebauer and H. Johannes continue excavating between the Dipylon Gate and the grave of the Lakedaimonians. Furnace room for round bath found. More post-holes found, total now more than 100, now interpreted as bema for the Epitaphion. Water supply systems investigated. Finds: Three sub-Mycenaean, 23 Geometric and 4 late 6th c. B.C. graves.

K. Gebauer and H. Johannes, *AA* 1937, 184/203.

### Pnyx range

H. A. Thompson and R. L. Scranton investigated the fortifications.

G. Karo, *AA* 1936, 112/114; E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 40 (1936), 549/550.

### Akropolis

The Nike Bastion: Gabriel Welter continued the investigations begun in 1923.

G. Welter, *AA* 1939, 1-22, figs. 1-11.

W. Züchner investigated marble dumps in the Asklepieion and on the Akropolis, with a total estimated content of 15,000 fragments of architecture and sculpture. Finds: 62 simas from the mid-6th c. temple of Athena; approx. 200 sima fragments from old temple of Athena; over half of the Parthenon antefixes (there were 132 antefixes in all); four Parthenon antefixes from the Roman repair; Parthenon ceiling cassettes; Parthenon akroterion fragment; Parthenon lionhead fragment; Athena Nike temple antefixes; from the Erechtheion: 24 Roman antefixes from Post-Hadrianic repair; 35 archaic bases for votive offerings and statues.

W. Züchner, *AA* 1936, 304/334.

### Akropolis east slope

O. Broneer, ASCS, excavated the east cave.

O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 247/272.

### Agora excavations

T. L. Shear directing, ASCS: 50,000 tons of earth removed, bringing the total amount of earth removed, 1931-1936 to 140,000 tons. "Most of the earth has been dumped (...) along the Hiera Odos, where potters have dug clay, often leaving spacious pits of stagnant water (...)".

Area north of the Hephaisteion between the Athens-Peiraeus railway and Adrianou street: The city of Athens, planning to have a public garden in this area, granted the Agora excavations permission to excavate before planting started. Main finds: ancient road, 6.50 m wide; long Doric stoa; statue base with signature of Praxiteles and dedication to Demeter and Kore; Byzantine houses of the 9th-13th c.





Fig. 340 The temple of Hephaistos and the Agora excavations in 1932. Air photograph showing the western part of the Agora partly excavated while the major part of the archaeological zone is still covered by a dense urban cluster. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



Area around the Hephaisteion: Main finds: bronze foundries; mould for archaic kouros, the earliest evidence for the *cire-perdue* process; rows of flower pots for the ancient garden around the Hephaisteion; the arsenal; bronze shield captured by the Athenians from the Spartans at Pylos, 425 B.C.; site of the sanctuary of the Hero Eurysakes; ivory statuette of Apollo Lykeios.

Area west of north end of Stoa of Attalos: Main finds: Roman monopteros; over 100 Hellenistic lead tokens.

South side of the excavations: Main find: South Stoa II.

T. Leslie Shear, *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 333/381; D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 396/425 (Garden of Hephaistos).

On March 23, 1936, fragment of base for statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Agora I 3872) found north of Odeion of Agrippa.

B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 355/359.

The Hephaisteion: A. K. Orlandos worked on the Hephaisteion in 1936-1937, restoring it to its original state by decision of the Archaeological Council. The arch on the Pronaos stylobate removed, after removing the later polygonal apse. Description of 17th c. paintings on the arch. Orlandos excavated brick-vaulted graves in west colonnade in front of Opisthodomos, with earliest coins dating to 6th c.

H. Riemann, *AA* 1937, 114/116.

## 1937

### Academy

In the summer of 1937, the north side of the Palaestra fully cleared.

H. Riemann, *AA* 1937, 117.

The government declared an area of 54 ha the archaeological zone of the Academy, most of which was built over. (*MEE* Supplementary Vol. I, s. v. Akademia, 343, shows a plan labelled "Area of the Ancient Academy" which could well represent the Archaeological zone as it was then. The sole find guaranteed to be from the Academy is the Academy boundary stone, outside of, to the south of this zone).

### Kerameikos excavations

In the east of Hegeso precinct: forty-nine Protogeometric and Geometric graves; 6th c. B.C. poros grave stele of man with staff and sword; late Protogeometric terracotta stag. Gate posts of Eridanos wall at Sacred Gate dismantled in order to remove sculpture and architecture built in. Filling of Dipylon NW tower cleared.

K. Kübler, *AA* 1938, 586-606, figs. 1-17.

In January 1937 three pear-shaped potters' kilns found when digging for new Kerameikos museum at its east corner.

K. Gebauer and H. Johannes, *AA* 1937, 184-185.

In July 1937, grave of Lakedaimonians opened for the 3rd time (first time in 1915, 2nd time in 1930) for research by Dr. Breitingner from Munich, who reported that the average height of the 13 skeletons was around 170 cm. The tallest was 185 cm, their race is Nordic.

K. Gebauer and H. Johannes, *AA* 1937, 203.

### Akropolis north slope

The Greek government is planning to build a road along the north side of the Akropolis "in order to provide a scenic highway for tourists". This led to an investigation of the area by the Agora Excavations before it was permanently

sealed over.

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 41 (1937), 138.

Excavations continued by O. Broneer, ASCS. The Ministry of Public Welfare in charge of resettling the Asia Minor refugees removed all the wooden houses enabling Broneer to excavate as far south as the road above the so-called 'Old University'. Main finds: stratified deposits from neolithic times to end of Bronze Age; archaic poros statuette of seated goddess; the Exekias krater with the introduction of Herakles into Olympus; archaic inscribed bronze horse-and-rider statuette; standard measure; the Nessos painter pinax (probably a metope); a group of 190 ostraka with Themistokles' name inscribed by 14 people, i.e. not by the voters themselves; ivory relief pyxis, 6th c. A.D.; lead seal of Tomasso Mocenigo Doge of Venice 1413-1423; early Christian grave stele.

O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 161-263.

In April 1937 Broneer began excavating the east entrance to the cleft in order to confirm Kavvadias' conjecture that here was the underground passage used by the Arrephoroi; he found the Mycenaean stairway to the underground spring.

O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 8 (1939), 320/325.

### Agora excavations

T. L. Shear directing, ASCS: Main finds in the central Agora area: the Temple of Ares; 10,325 coins; official weights. Arthur Parsons, working southward from the Stoa of Attalos, excavated along the Late Roman Fortification Wall and Panathenaic Way on the Akropolis northwest slope. Main finds: coins dating the Late Roman Fortification Wall to the last quarter of the 3rd c. A.D.; the wall; monumental stairway on Panathenaic Way; interior of the Klepsydra; wells with complete neolithic pots.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 311/362; E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 41 (1937), 138.

## 1938

### Akropolis

W. Kolbe excavated in three places: the shaft at the little stairway in retaining wall S2; down to the bottom of the wall-triangle in front of it; at the Pelasgian Wall behind the so-called Little Museum.

W. Kolbe, *AA* 1939, 227-236.

### Akropolis upper north slope

O. Broneer excavated the Mycenaean spring stairway to the very bottom. The head of Herakles from the pediment sculpture of the mid-6th c. temple of Athena on the Akropolis found in a well at a level of the late 6th, early 5th c. B.C. Broneer points out that this find has a significant bearing on the history of the north side of the Akropolis.

O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 8 (1939), 90/100, 317/433.

### Agora excavations

Minute investigation of the Tholos; work on the Klepsydra continues. Church of the Hypapanti demolished. Main finds: inscribed boundary stone of the Agora *in situ*; evidence for the site of the Eleusinion on the Akropolis northwest slope; Coroplasts' workshop; 5th c. B.C. marble lintel with painted lioness; alabastron by the Amasis Painter.

*Hesperia* 8 (1939), 201-266.



Large triangular area SW of the Agora in the valley between the Areopagus at the east and the Pnyx range at the west expropriated by the Municipality of Athens and the Greek government and turned over to the ASCS as an appropriate site for the Agora Museum.

R. S. Young, *Hesperia* 20 (1951), 135.

### Kerameikos

Excavations of graves on west side of Road to Academy, thought to belong to the Demosion Sema.

K. Gebauer, *AA* 1938, 607-616, figs. 1-2, Beilagen 3-4.

## 1939

### Akropolis east slope

Street of the Tripods: In 1939-1940 the ancient street cleared in district formerly called Rhangabé. It leads to the theatre of Dionysos, is over 6 m wide and is paved with thin slabs set in mortar. Marble steps at intervals to take care of the gradient.

O. Walter, *AA* 1940, 154.

### Akropolis upper north slope

Oscar Bronner, ASCS, continued excavations in 1939-1940. Main find: North Slope Skyphos Deposit (ca 275 B.C.); more than 200 little drinking mugs carefully arranged in rows, mostly upside down.

O. Walter, *AA* 1940, 154.

### Academy

P. Aristophron and K. Kourouniotis excavated in Gymnasium area. Main finds: a large hall with many long bench-like constructions made of earth and small stones, stuccoed on one side, arranged parallel to each other at intervals of about 0.40 m; hypocaust tiles; large Corinthian column capital of Roman period.

O. Walter, *AA* 1940, 164/165.

### Agora excavations

T. L. Shear, ASCS, directing: 215 workmen employed. Modern floor of Hephaisteion removed and interior construction investigated by W. B. Dinsmoor. Main finds: second Agora boundary stone; Kerameikos boundary stone *in situ*; the Great Drain; 6th c. B.C. wooden couch posts; the richest Mycenaean chamber tomb in Athens, on Areopagus north slope; tower in Post-Herulian wall. Chapel of Haghios Spyridon demolished in order to excavate the Library of Pantainos. The Klepsydra area on the Akropolis north slope, Arthur Parsons excavating.

T. Leslie Shear, *Hesperia* 9 (1940), 261-307, figs. 1-47, pl. 1.

### Kerameikos excavations

Supplementary excavations below and west of Haghia Triada, yielding mainly pottery of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. Deep digging in the 7th c. B.C. necropolis produced rich new finds of Proto-Attic pottery.

K. Kübler, *AA* 1940, 308-310, figs. 1-6.

Excavations outside the City Wall in area between the Eridanos and Dipylon.

K. Gebauer, *AA* 1940, 310-362, figs. 7-37, Beilage 1-3.

### Ilissos right bank

Area between Olympieion south terrace wall and the Ilissos: M. Mitsos excavated a large area prior to planting program. Main finds: On the rocky spur outside the southwest corner of the Olympieion precinct wall, many varied hydraulic installations. Near the southwest corner of the Olympieion precinct wall, four bronze foundries dating from classical times on. Remains of two pyres with many terracotta figurines of the first half of the 5th c. B.C. A building later identified as the Delphinion lawcourt. Protogeometric graves with bronze ornaments.

O. Walter, *AA* 1940, 167-169.

### Academy

P. Aristophron and K. Kourouniotis excavated in gymnasium area.

O. Walter, *AA* 1940, 164-165.

## 1940

### Akropolis lower north slope

Latrine N. of Tower of the Winds investigated by A. Orlandos.

O. Walter, *AA* 1942, 104-105.

### Agora excavations

T. Leslie Shear ASCS, directing: Excavations began April 22, suspended five weeks later for the duration of the war. Rodney Young and H. S. Robinson dug on either side of the Great Drain. Finds: ostraka; poros disk with Demeter and Poseidon. 90,000 coins found up until now.

A. W. Parsons investigated the Klepsydra on the Akropolis north slope.

Mycenaean deposit below paved court.

*Hesperia* 10 (1941), 1-8.

### Ilissos right bank

M. Mitsos continued excavating at the far west end of the Olympieion area between Olympieion south precinct wall and Diakou st. Main finds: four graves with Mycenaean and early Protogeometric pottery. Wells with very lovely Proto-Attic pottery. A pyxis by Meidias with named Muses. Sherds with the first letters of Apollo's name.

O. Walter, *AA* 1942, 106; M. Mitsos, *Hesperia* 16 (1947), 262-263.

## 1942

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian: Italian School, L. Laurenzi directing. The ground plan of the Voivodaliki in the SW corner established.

O. Walter, *AA* 1943, 298-300.

Roman Agora: Excavations conducted by the Italian School directed by L. Laurenzi, beside the mosque north of the east gate.

*AA* 1943, 300/302; *BCH* 66/67 (1942/1943), 324/326; A. Orlandos, *AE* 1964, 6/20.



## 1943

## Akropolis south slope

Asklepieion. R. Martin and H. Metzger of the French School investigated the archaic reservoir, the Doric Stoa and Sacred Pit, and the Round Rock-cut Spring House.

O. Walter, *AA* 1943, 298.

## Kerameikos excavations

Road from Dipylon Gate to the Academy Trench right across the ancient road 70 m from the Dipylon Gate at the level of the Monument to the Lakedaimonians. Expectations of finding the Demosion Sema disappointed. A few late Roman graves on the west edge of the road (i.e. the west edge after it had been made narrower by half). Postholes considered incompatible with the Demosion Sema. (Later on they were interpreted as for the bema from which the funeral orations were delivered).

Intensive investigations of the Sacred Gate. Rich finds of Proto-Attic pottery.

K. Kübler, *AA* 1943, 340-344, figs. 1-63, Beilage 1-3, pl. I.

## 1946

## Agora excavations

Homer A. Thompson ASCS, directing: Work conducted in the following areas: Altar of the Twelve Gods, Odeion, Library of Pantainos and site for a permanent museum west of the Areopagus.

Main finds: several fragments of Altar of Twelve Gods; Tile Standard; archaic poros limestone lion head from pediment; debris of coroplasts' workshops west of the Areopagus; Protogeometric, Geometric and 7th c. B.C. pottery below the Odeion including 7th c. B.C. sanctuary offerings.

## 1947

## Akropolis

The Ephor of the Akropolis, I. Miliadis, gave Leicester B. Holland permission to open a space 30 cm. square in order to investigate the crypt under the Erechtheion North Porch.

M. H. McAllister, *Hesperia* 27 (1958), 161-162, fig. 1.

## Pnyx range

Philopappos hill: A vaulted brick osteotheke excavated on the east slope. It contained 37 vases and a hoard of 7 gold coins contributing to the evidence for a Slavic destruction in 582 A.D.

I. Threpsiadis, *AE* 1971, Chr., 10-11, no. 2, fig. 1; D.M. Metcalf, *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 144-145, 157.

## Agora excavations

Homer A. Thompson ASCS, directing: Plan of SW corner clarified, west end of Middle Stoa cleared and a complex of civic offices brought to light. In the valley between the Areopagus and the hill of the Nymphs, the foundations of a large peribolos of the 5th c. B.C. that must have served some public purpose. In the

same general area remains of many houses and workshops of the Greek and Roman periods. Two Mycenaean chamber tombs on the Areopagus N. slope. Mycenaean chamber tomb at foot of Hill of the Nymphs. Several later graves including a particularly rich burial of the Early Geometric period on the Areopagus slopes. Most important finds: the terracotta plaque of Herakles riding a donkey found at east foot of Hill of the Nymphs (a clue to the location of the sanctuary of Herakles Alexikakos); 3460 coins bringing the total number to about 94,000; 524 ostraka; 120 inscriptions.

H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 17 (1948), 149-196, figs. 1-7, Pls. 37-69.

## 1948

## Pnyx range

Modern street north of the Pnyx Assembly Place. R.S. Young cleared stone water channel cut of massive poros blocks with double-T clamps, the continuation of the pipeline that supplied Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos. The channel cannot antedate the 4th c. B.C.

H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 18 (1949), 219.

## Agora excavations

Homer A. Thompson ASCS, directing: In the area of the SW Fountain House, six osteothekes excavated to be associated with the 18th c. chapel of the Prophet Elias and Hagios Charalambos that once stood there.

Finds from the lower NE slope of the Hill of the Nymphs which may come from the sanctuary of Herakles Alexikakos: reclining figure of Herakles "incorporated in a repair carried out in the late Roman period on one of the large dwellings on the NE slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, within a few metres of the place where the archaic marble head of Herakles and the terracotta plaque of the mounted Herakles were found in 1947. The combined evidence suggests that we are in the famous sanctuary of Herakles in Melite".

Decision to reconstruct the Stoa of Attalos to serve as Agora Museum.

H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 18 (1949), 211-229, fig. 1, pls. 37-47.

## Ilissos right bank

The Ilissos Basilica, M. Hatzidakis directing. The National Athletic Association demolished the old theatre building on the NE corner of the Basilica which thus became available for investigation. Main finds: marble architectural fragments; *opus sectile* wall decorations made of seashells cut in the shape of leaves, parallelograms, disks. (The name Leonidas not mentioned).

M. Hatzidakis, *PAE* 1948, 58-60 and 69-80, figs. 1-12 and unnumbered plate.

## 1949

## Agora excavations

Beginning of work on reconstruction of Stoa of Attalos. Building cleared of hundreds of ancient blocks. Last remnants of fortifications in the Stoa removed. Excavations inside the Stoa of Attalos and below its terrace. A new retaining wall for modern street east of Stoa of Attalos built "chiefly of nondescript ancient blocks".

A large structure east of Stoa of Attalos with massive concrete foundations, marble floor in one room, three Ionic column bases perhaps from part of peristyle



court, 2nd c. A.D.

Demolition of 5th c. A.D. wall, west of Stoa of Attalos, built mainly of reused material including architecture of a stoa dated to 460 B.C. and assigned to the Stoa Poikile.

H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 19 (1950), 313-337, fig. 1, pls. 98-107.

### Ilissos right bank

Ilissos Basilica: M. Hatzidakis carried out small-scale work to clarify details of the plan.

*PAE* 1949, 44 no. 2.

Olympieion Area: Basilica and bath N. of Olympieion N. precinct wall. J. Travlos excavated. The south aisle of the basilica is below the street parallel to the Olympieion precinct wall; no permission to dig under the much-used street. Walls of the Basilica built of stones, bricks and large architectural members of the Olympieion, especially ceiling coffers and many inscribed bases. The Agiasma for the Basilica was in the semi-circular nymphaion of the bath and the baptistery was probably in the octagonal room.

J. Travlos, *PAE* 1949, 8-11 and 25-43, figs. 1-13.

## 1950

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian: Quatrefoil Building investigated. Sherds dating to the end of the 4th c. A.D. found in fill below the Quatrefoil Building which was dated to the early 5th c. A.D.

J. Travlos, *PAE* 1950, 10-11 and 41-63 with figs. 1-16.

### Agora excavations

H. A. Thompson, ASCS, directing. Preparation for reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos to serve as a permanent Agora museum, a project being carried out on behalf of the Greek Ministry of Education by the ASCS with Marshall Plan aid. Discoveries and finds in north central section; continuation of the Panathenaic Way; altar of the Temple of Ares; fragments of a 5th c. B.C. frieze (formerly assigned to altar of Ares). Conservation carried out on the Tholos, Civic Offices and Odeion. Archaeological exploration of Stoa of Attalos and earlier buildings beneath it completed.

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 55 (1951), 165/167.

## 1951

### Akropolis south slope

J. Travlos excavated in the area of the Theatre of Dionysos and Odeion of Perikles, mainly in and around the one-aisled basilica in the east parodos and at the church of Hagios Giorgios Alexandrinos.

J. Travlos, *PAE* 1951, 8-10 and 41-52 with figs. 1-9 and plate I.

### Agora excavations

H. A. Thompson, ASCS, directing. Main discoveries and finds: early Roman temple in angle between Odeion and Middle Stoa; well-furnished burials of Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods; closed deposits of pottery from wells of Geo-

metric, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods.

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 56 (1952), 121/123; H. A. Thompson, *AJA* 56 (1952) 177/8.

Mycenaean chamber tomb under the temple of Ares in continuous use from ca 1450-1200 B.C. or later, also contained intact Protogeometric grave and two groups of 5th c. B.C. lekythoi.

E. Townsend, *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 187-219, figs. 1-8, pls. 71-79.

## 1952

### Agora excavations

H. A. Thompson, ASCS, directing. Main discoveries and finds: pottery from 16 wells, late Helladic through Byzantine periods; late archaic eschara; late archaic fountain house (southeast fountain house, i.e. Enneakrounos); graves of Mycenaean and Geometric periods; inscription recording Law against Dictatorship; statue of Venus Genetrix type.

H. A. Thompson, *AJA* 57 (1953), 21/25.

### Ilissos river bed

Vasileos Georgiou II street and Vas. Sophias Boulevard, (across from the Conservatory of Music): Sanctuary of Pankrates and Palaimon. S. Iakovides conducted an emergency excavation as the Ilissos River bed was built over and huge drainage pipes installed under the new boulevard. The sanctuary was founded by Sidonians and had links with the Phoenician god Melkart. Main finds: Statues, about 102 reliefs, inscriptions, about 300 lamps.

(Before this excavation the existence of this sanctuary was not suspected as there was no evidence of any kind for it. This means that the present-day district name 'Pankrati' is a genuine survival of the ancient name).

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 57 (1953), 281 and information from E. Vikella.

## 1953

### Roads to the Academy

Alexandreias street: a Kerameikos boundary stone found when a drain was being dug on Alexandreias street (about 1500 m northwest of Kerameikos excavations and 200 m southeast from the Academy).

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 60 (1956), 267.

### Hill of the Nymphs, lower north slope

City walls between Kerameikos and Hill of the Nymphs: I. Threpsiadis excavated towers of Aphaias st. and Pouloupoulou st.; part of the tower of the Peiraic Gate at corner of Herakleidon and Erysichthonos streets; the inner face of the wall for a stretch of about 35 m south of the gate. Archaic grave monuments built into the wall at the Peiraic Gate and south of it: the Boxer Stele, torso of life-size kouros; base of statue signed by Aristokles with one line in Carian.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 58 (1954), 231.

### Akropolis

Parthenon: demolition of the spiral staircase of the Christian bell tower in southwest corner begun, interrupted, postponed.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 58 (1954) 231; *Parthenon Study*, 1983, 681.





Fig. 341 Akropolis and parts of the north and south slopes. An air view and the photogrammetric drawing made from it, a sample of the work carried out by the French Institut Geographique National, Paris, in 1968. Scale ca 1:2300.



## Agora excavations

H. A. Thompson, ASCS, directing: Excavations of South Stoa I, South Stoa II, the Heliiaia lawcourt, a water clock, the ancient mint, lawcourt below the Stoa of Attalos. Main finds: inscribed base for a statue of the Iliad found in 1869; bronze flans for making coins; bronze ballots used by jurors to vote for acquittal or condemnation in the lawcourts. East frieze of the Hephaisteion cleaned. Ralph E. Griswold, landscape architect, prepared a comprehensive plan for landscaping the area. In June 1953, the Ministers of Education of Finance and of Coordination in the Greek government approved the project of reconstructing the Stoa of Attalos, to be supervised by the Department of Restorations in the Ministry of Education financed by the ASCS. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., made a substantial contribution. The achitectural firm of W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum of new York City did the reconstruction. George Biris named consulting engineer.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 23 (1954), 31/67.

## 1954

### Roman Agora

I. Miliadis, Ephor of the Akropolis, conducted a small excavation in Pelopidas street, in the northeast part of the Roman Agora, showing that the north side of the peristyle was further to the north and much closer to the Library of Hadrian than hitherto assumed.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 59 (1955), 223.

## Agora excavations

H. A. Thompson, ASCS, directing: Exploration of the Southwest Fountain House and its water supply system. Excavation of a building which may well be the headquarters of the generals, the Strategeion. Discovery of a fountain house of the Roman period. Beginning of the project to remove modern additions and restore the Church of the Holy Apostles to its original 11th c. form. The Department of Restoration in the Greek Ministry of Education supervised the project, Alison Frantz directed it, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation of New York City financed it. In November, 1954, the landscaping program began; laurel, oaks, myrtle, schinus, broom, heather was planted.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 50/71.

### Ilissos left bank

Sanctuary of Pankrates: Supplementary excavations.

I. Miliadis, *PAE* 1954, 6-7 and 41-49, figs. 1-7.

## 1955

### Academy area

Archaeological Society, Ph. Stavropoulos: Excavations on property north of Telephanous street. Main finds: a few neolithic sherds, much early helladic pottery, some middle helladic pottery, some early bronze age. A large dump of the 6th/5th c. B.C. containing thousands of sherds, roof-tiles, loomweights; three wells with pottery of the 6th/5th c. B.C.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1955, 53/61.

## Akropolis south slope

The course of Dionysiou Areopagitou street was moved south in order not to have traffic roaring right past the Odeion of Herodes Atticus now in use for performances. To make the new road, large masses of excavation dump (from the Akropolis excavations in the 1880s) had to be removed. I. Miliadis, ephor of the Akropolis, excavated, finding a large complex of late Roman houses (perhaps belonging to the Neo-Platonic philosophers). Many red-figured loutrophoroi from sanctuary of Nymphe found.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 60 (1956), 267.

## Agora excavations

H. A. Thompson, ASCS, directing: Restoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles largely completed. Exploration of the ancient road below modern Asteroskopeiou street.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 25 (1956), 46/68.

## 1956

### Akropolis

Parthenon: A. Tschira and W.-H. Schuchhardt excavated the Parthenon foundations inside the cella north wall at the level of the 7th intercolumniation from the east.

A. Tschira, *AA* 1965, 401-428, figs. 1-9.

Older Parthenon: A. Tschira and F. Rakob drew up the visible courses of the Older Parthenon foundations.

S. Sinos, *Jahrbuch des DAI* (1972), 158.

### Academy area

Excavations northwest of (theoretical) intersection of Telephanous and Marathonomachon streets, conducted by Ph. Stavropoulos for the Archaeological Society because the Athenian Academy had decided to sell the property if not of archaeological interest. Main finds: Early Bronze age apsidal house christened the House of Akademos. (A sensational find today invisible beneath weeds). Graves of the Geometric period were also found.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1956, 45/54; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 61 (1957), 282.

### Kerameikos excavations

Kerameikos excavations returned to DAI by the Greek Government; Dieter Ohly appointed director. Highlights of the report for the years 1956-1961 are as follows: The Dipylon Gate and the Fountain House, 282-284. Area NE of Dipylon with classical and post-classical remains of houses, 284-285. Pompeion area, 286-301. Foundations for Late Roman Gate, 286-291. The classical Pompeion, 292-301. Road from the Dipylon Gate to Academy and monuments on either side, 301-327. Road is called the Staatsgräberstr., 301. Trench straight across the road from Horos 2 to edge of Salaminos st., 301-310. The Demosion Sema is to be sought NE of the road below Salaminos st. and vicinity, 302.

Half of the width of the road put out of use in second half of 4th c. B.C.: by bringing in dumped fill, the result of the emergency in 337 B.C., 302-309.

Postholes in the road may be for the platforms used for the funeral orations at the Demosion Sema, 309-310. Grave of the Lakedaimonians, 313-322. The ex-Chabrian Monument at the 3rd Horos, 322-327. Tritopatreion, 329-330. The Street of



the Tombs and its monuments, 331-360. The City Wall SW of the sacred Gate, 360-376.

D. Ohly, *AA* 1965, 277-376, figs. 1-57, pls. 1-3.

## Pnyx

Saddle between Philopappus and Pnyx hills: S. I. Charitonides excavated at Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris finding naiskos (4th c. B.C.); floor levels of 4th c. B.C. buildings; destruction fill presumably caused by construction of the diateichisma; moulds for Megarian bowls.

S. I. Charitonidis, *AE* 1979; 161/187; H. W. Catling, *AG* 1981-1982, 10.

## Akropolis south slope

I. Miliadis excavated the area in front of the Odeion of Herodes. Main finds: terrace retaining wall for Odeion 14 m south of and parallel to it.

Remains of private houses south of retaining wall for Odeion, some as early as 4th c. B.C. Ten Geometric graves. Two terracotta Nike akroteria (of the Roman period) from some small buildings.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 61 (1957), 281.

## Agora excavations

H. A. Thompson, ASCS, directing: September 3, 1956, dedication of the Stoa of Attalos as museum of the Athenian Agora. Excavation finds from ca 3000 B.C.-19th c. A.D. on show in the main gallery.

Excavations on lower slopes of Hill of the Nymphs. Remains of Gate of Drako in the Haseki Wall of 1778.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 61 (1957), 281; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 26 (1957), 99/107.

Numerous fragments of late archaic poros pediment, two lions devouring a bull, discovered in Byzantine foundations between Panathenaic Way and Odeion.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 27 (1958), 153-154, pl. 43 c.

## Akropolis east slope

Street of the Tripods: A section of the street about 6 m wide was discovered south of the Lysikrates monument. On its west side stepped base of large choregic monument. On its east side another monument probably also supported tripods and below this monument, remains of house walls of the Archaic period.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 61 (1957), 281.

## Akropolis lower north slope

(The Panhellenion), so-called Pantheon at 72 Adrianou street: Northwest corner of a huge Hadrianic Basilica discovered. It was excavated piecemeal; the plan was recovered in 1968, the year in which it was (mistakenly) identified as the Pantheon.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 24, 1969, B1 Chr., 21 col. 1.

## Ilissos right bank

Olympieion. Unfinished poros column drums belonging to Peisistratid Olympieion found in deep, wide trench which may be moat of city wall.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 61 (1957), 281.

## 1957

### Akropolis south slope

I. Miliadis excavated between Odeion of Herodes and Dion. Areopagitou Ave. Remains of houses from classical period to the time of Ottoman rule. Five proto-geometric and six geometric graves. The Sanctuary of Nymphe which yielded black figure plaques, terracotta protomes, terracotta figurine, black-figure plates and loutrophoroi, boundary stone of the Sanctuary of Nymphe, thousands of red-figure loutrophoroi fragments.

*PAE* 1957, 23-26, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-4.

### Agora excavations

Excavations on north and northwest lower slopes of the Areopagus. Remains of houses 5th c. B.C.-6th c. A.D. Votive deposit in stone-lined repository on Panathenaic Way, containing charred animal bones, bronze snake protome, 8 bronze arrowheads, faience hawk, terracotta chariot group, ivory fibula, red-figure krater dated to 490-480 B.C.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 27 (1958), 145-160, pls. 41-46.

### Northeast Athens

Syntagma Square: S. I. Charitonidis excavated 113 classical graves on the N. side of Syntagma Square at the junction of Stadiou and Kar. Servias streets.

*AE* 1958, 1-152, figs. 1-207, pls. 1-26.

### Academy

In 1957-1958 Ph. Stavropoulos continued the excavations of 1956; supported by the Archaeological Society and the Academy of Athens. Main finds: Graves of the 8th and 5th c. B.C. The Sacred House, a seven-room building, late 8th c. B.C.(?), containing sacrificial pyres. (The so-called Sacred House is not a house or any kind of building). East of the Early Bronze Age house, 130 m of a precinct (?) wall running north-south, with buttresses every 6.5 m identified as the wall built around the Academy by Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos in the 6th c. B.C. Near the wall, about a hundred pieces of slate, some of which are inscribed, thought to date to 5th c. B.C. Two-sided relief with Athena on one side, Marsyas on the other.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1958, 5/13, figs. 1-3, pls. 1-4; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 63 (1959), 279-280.

## 1958

### Hill of the Nymphs, NE slope

I. Threpsiadis excavated at 1 Herakleidon street, finding a temple, altar foundation and a 4th c. B.C. decree in honor of Neoptolemos of Melite to be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis. This is probably the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule established by Themistokles near his house in Melite.

### Agora excavations

Six properties along east side of Agora expropriated. Section of Panathenaic Way cleared. Late Roman Fortification Wall, tower and gate investigated, three aqueducts cleared. Houses at north foot of Areopagus excavated.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 28 (1959), 91-108, figs. 1-2, pls. 13-22.





Fig. 342 Erechtheion South Porch. Protective canopy placed over the Caryatid Porch before beginning the restoration project in 1978. (National Tourist Organization).

1959

#### Agora excavations

The Panathenaic Way: 50 meter stretch of massive stone paving west of the Library of Pantainos. The Eleusinion: Plan of temple and peribolos clarified. Five more fragments of the Attic stelai, one with the names of Alkibiades and his slaves. The Southeast Temple: between the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Panathenaic Way. The Mint.

Rectangular tower in the Late Roman Fortification Wall demolished, fragments of three Ionic columns similar to those of the Nike temple.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 29 (1960), 327-368, figs. 1-9, pls. 73-80.

#### Academy area

Ph. Stavropoulos continued excavating in the area of the so-called Wall of Hipparchos. Main finds: pottery of the 6th-4th c. B.C.; pieces of uninscribed slate, many with holes for suspension; remains of two sanctuaries of the 5th and 4th c. B.C., graves of the Geometric period and of the late 6th c. B.C.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1959, 8/11, figs. 1-2, pls. 3-4.

#### Kerameikos excavations

The section of the Late Roman foundations partly overlying the Pompeion propylon was demolished. Finds from these foundations: Amazonomachia frieze fragments, large columns of antico verde, architectural members of the Roman period including a composite capital.

D. Ohly *AD* 17 (1961-1962), B1 Chr., 16.

(Due to reckless removal of an archaic stele in lowest course) part of the Themistoklean city wall south of Sacred Gate collapsed; when the wall was dismantled prior to repair, the original sun-dried brick wall was found still preserved.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 64 (1960), 269.

#### Akropolis south slope

I. Miliadis completed excavation in front of Odeion of Herodes. Main finds: mosaic floor in scene building of Odeion. South of Odeion three successive retaining walls, each further out on the slope than the last, dating to 6th, 5th and 4th c. B.C., formed a level area for some building or sanctuary that was destroyed to make way for the Odeion. Rock-cut tunnel for (Peisistratid) aqueduct, a fine stretch 30 m long. Access to the tunnel by a stairway cut into the rock.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 64 (1960), 267.

#### Ilissos right bank

Area north of Olympieion: J. Travlos completed excavation of area north of Olympieion. Main finds: Gate in the Themistoklean City Wall built of poros column drums of Peisistratid Olympieion; section of dry moat with Peisistratid column drums in it; traces of the road passing through the gate; pottery of MH and LH periods; remains of 4th c. B.C. houses; 2nd c. A.D. relief with Demeter, Kore and the Hierophant Agnousios. Olympieion propylon re-excavated and partially restored. Inside the peribolos, series of statue bases placed at regular intervals against the wall.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 64 (1960), 267/268.



## 1960

## Akropolis south slope

Sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos: G. Dontas excavated on the upper SW slope just below the Nike Bastion (at the site where the second ticket office was to be built). Main finds: plate with graffito dedication to Aphrodite; fragments of terracotta figurines of Aphrodite and Eros; head of Aphrodite from plastic lekythos of 4th c. B.C.

G. Dontas, *PAE* 1960, 4-9, pls. 1-2.

Area between the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and Dion. Areopagitou Avenue: G. Dontas excavated rooms of a late archaic house 40 m S. of Odeion west corner and graves of the 4th-5th c. A.D. in front of the façade of the west wing of the Odeion.

G. Dontas, *AD* 16 (1960), B1 Chr., 15.

## Academy area

So-called Sacred House investigated further. Graves of 8th, 7th, and 6th c. B.C. found.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1960, 318/323.

## Ilissos right bank

Excavations on the Ilissos right bank funded by Ministry of Public Works: From Nov. 28, 1960-March 3, 1962, I. Threpsiadis and J. Travlos excavated an area about to be landscaped, bounded by the Olympieion precinct wall on the north, by the Ilissos River on the southeast and by Diakou street on the southwest. Main finds: Pottery of Late Helladic and Protogeometric periods. Buildings of late 6th c. B.C., first discovered by M. Mitsos in 1940, now under about 1 m of fill, later identified as the lawcourt of the Delphinion. Poros limestone temple, ca 450 B.C., later identified as temple of Apollo Delphinios. Retaining wall south of the classical temple with unfinished column capitals and column drums built in. Large peristyle of the Roman period, later identified as the Panhellenion. The altar east of the temple. Rectangular structure, Roman period, northwest of Roman temple. City wall and a gate, Roman period, identified as the Valerian Wall with towers added in the 6th c. A.D. Late Roman graveyard outside of (east of) the Roman city wall. Byzantine houses and industrial establishments including an oil press on the classical temple site.

I. Threpsiadis and J. Travlos, *AD* 17 (1961/62), B Chr., 9/14.

## 1961

## Akropolis south slope

In 1961-1962 P. Kalligas excavated in the precinct of Dionysos Eleuthereus. Black-glaze kantharos foot and fragment of fusiform unguentarium found in foundation trench of the later temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus lowers the date of the temple from late 5th c. B.C. to late 4th or even early 3rd c. B.C. Investigation showed that most of the deep porch is addition in Roman times. P. Kalligas found that the stoa is contemporary with the later temple of Dionysos. Altars: Conglomerate foundations of the altar SE of the later temple of Dionysos cleared and dated to the Hellenistic period. A few metres to the east a second altar found.

P. Kalligas, *AD* 18 (1963), B1 Chr., 14-16, fig. 1, pl. 9 no. 3; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 69 (1965), 353/354.

Site of the chapel of Haghia Paraskevi: In 1860 the chapel of Haghia Paraskevi

was built at the eastern edge of the archaeological zone, preserving the memory of two earlier churches on the site, a late Byzantine basilica and a small one-aisled basilica of the 17th c.

P. Kalligas, *AD* 18 (1963), B1 Chr., 17-18, pl. 11 no. 4.

## Kerameikos excavations

In and around the Dipylon. In 1961-1963 G. Gruben carried out extensive excavations in order to retrieve the history of the Dipylon Gate, the Dipylon Fountain House and the road going through the gate to the Academy. (Sherds were recovered from about seventy fillings, construction fills, destruction fills, repair and rebuilding fills dating from the 5th c. B.C. to the 6th c. A.D.)

G. Gruben, *AA* 1964, 384-410, figs. 1-18.

The Road from the Dipylon to the Academy: D. Ohly dug a trial trench from the 2nd Kerameikos boundary stone across the ancient road as far as Salaminos st. and concluded that the Demosion Sema must be located on the NE side of this road now built over by Salaminos st. and surroundings.

D. Ohly, *AD* 17 (1961-1962), B1 Chr., 16-20, pls. 11-20.

## Academy

Investigations continued in the area inside the so-called wall of Hipparchos; graves from the late 8th-4th c. B.C. On Nov. 6th the (so-called) Sacred House well-nigh destroyed by torrential rains. Further excavations at the SW corner of Sacred House and finds of more sacrificial deposits led the excavator to realize that "we must accept that the sacrifices were performed out in the open and that the partition walls were built afterwards", a view that he later disowned.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1961, 5/13, figs. 1-6, pls. 1-5.

## 1962

## Akropolis south slope

Asklepieion: Entrance to the precinct found below the west wall of the central aisle of the basilica. Investigation of the archaic south slope spring.

N. Platon, *AD* 18 (1963), B1 Chr., 18-22, figs. 1-2, pls. 12-17.

## Agora surroundings

I. Threpsiadis excavated at 7-9 Thissiou st. and found two inscriptions built into the foundations of a Roman building. The two stelai have decrees in praise of cavalry officers, one to be set up "in the Stoa of the Herms", the other "near the Herms".

E. Vanderpool and I. Threpsiadis, *AD* 18 (1963), A Meletai, 99-114, figs. 1-4.

## Academy and Academy area

Efforts to restore the (so-called) Sacred House to its original state before the flood. Discovery of sacrificial pyres preceding the construction of the (so-called) Sacred House. Excavations on a property at Lenorman and Viantos streets: graves of the 2nd c. B.C.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1962, 5/11.



## Kerameikos excavations

K. Vierneisel, DAI, excavated graves of the 7th-4th c. B.C. on the north and south sides of the Sacred Way.

K. Vierneisel, *AA* 1964, 420-467, figs. 19-55.

## 1963

### Academy and Academy area

Investigations at a number of sites in the Academy area (all too far to the north-west to make a connection with the Academy plausible).

South of the (so-called) Sacred House; an extended layer of the Geometric period with much pottery and a sacrificial pyre.

The Veneta property on the extension of Kratylou street: Hellenistic mansion with bath thought to be very near Plato's Academy.

Ph. Stavropoulos, *PAE* 1963, 5/28, pls. 1-28, figs. 1-12.

## Kerameikos excavations

F. Willemsen, DAI: Excavations on the Sacred Way: classical grave plots dated to the third quarter of the 4th c. B.C.; archaic sacrificial deposit. Investigation of the mound south of the "Gesandtenstelen", previously investigated in 1870 and 1896; grave of foreigner, 575-550 B.C., containing Milesian kline adorned with ivory, gold leaf and amber.

U. Knigge, K. Vierneisel, F. Willemsen, *AD* 19 (1964), B1 Chr., 38/46.

Boundary stone of the telma of Athena found in front of the City Wall at SW corner of the dry moat east of the Dipylon.

G. Gruben, *AA* 1964, 414, fig. 18.

## Akropolis

Investigation of the foundations east of the Parthenon and the Monopteros of Roma and Augustus by Wolfgang Binder.

N. Platon, *AD* 19 (1964), B1 Chr., 22.

### Akropolis south slope

Small bronze-casting workshop of 4th c. B.C. found west of the Asklepieion. Further to the west a large bronze-casting establishment of the 4th c. B.C. excavated. Investigation and consolidation of the polygonal terrace retaining wall with the Spring House boundary stone. N. Platon finds that this wall has nothing to do with the Pelargikon (as believed before and after his investigation).

In the eastern end of the south slope, the area bounded by Thrasyllou, Lenaion and Dionysiou Areopagitou streets, modern houses and other structures demolished in the area of the Odeion of Perikles. Trial trenches reveal stratification from prehistoric through Byzantine times. Architectural members belonging to the theatre stage building and important material from an early Christian church were collected.

N. Platon, *AD* 19 (1964), B1 Chr., 22/36.

### Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: Remains of a three-aisled basilica with three apses was uncovered. Most of the church lies under the mosque. The church appears to date to the 7th century.

## Areopagus

Alison Frantz and J. Travlos excavated in and around the site of Haghios Dionysios Areopagitis. The church dates to the 16th century and there are no traces of any earlier church. West and NW of the church a 7th c. graveyard including a bronze reliquary cross almost certainly made in Jerusalem before 614 A.D. Plan of the 16th century Archbishop's palace recovered.

J. Travlos and A. Frantz, *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 157-202, figs. 1-10.

## 1964

## Kerameikos excavations

F. Willemsen, DAI: Excavations south of the Sacred Way: Graves ranging from Protogeometric into early Hellenistic period.

B. Schlörb and K. Vierneisel, *AD* 20 (1965), B1 Chr., 38/40.

From 1964 to 1966 excavations in and around the Dipylon Gate conducted by G. Gruben who investigated the west side of the Dipylon Gate courtyard, the moat, the proteichisma, the Ring Road, water supply and drainage.

## Akropolis south slope

Area of Odeion of Perikles: Large area cleared of modern shacks, preparing the way for excavations.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 69 (1965), 354.

## Roman Agora

Archaeological Society had two campaigns in 1964-1965. Roman Agora cleared and west side investigated. In 1964 15 m of the north wall was excavated at intersection of Dexippou and Taxiarchon streets, where the telephone company was digging a trench to install lines. In 1964, conservation and restoration of the mosque, Fetichie Tzami, were carried out, leading to the discovery that the floor of the porch is paved with column capitals from the early Christian basilica found north of the mosque.

N. Platon, *AD* 20 (1965), 22, 34/37; *AD* 21 (1966), 44/48.

## 1965

## Academy

In 1965-1966 excavations at Vasilikon and Monastiriou street, north of Alexandrieas street and Haghios Tryphon: Gymnasium complex, 5th c. A.D.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 22 (1967), B1 Chr., 59/62.

## Road to the Academy from the Dipylon Gate

Achilleos and Plataion streets. Classical (sanctuary) deposit containing 9 red-figure Kertch kraters, 4 black-glazae kraters, who Panathenaic amphoras, terracotta figurines, loomweights, etc.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 22 (1967), B1 Chr., 58.

## Kerameikos excavations

Ursula Knigge, DAI: Excavations south of the Sacred Way: Graves from Geometric to Hellenistic times. Excavations southeast of Psaramelingou street: small industrial establishments and shops.

U. Knigge and F. Willemsen, *AD* 21, (1966), B1 Chr., 51/54.



## Roman Agora

Clearing, cleaning and maintenance operations. Excavations in southwest corner and south of Gate of Athena Archegetis. Fragment of casualty list, 409 B.C., from the Demosion Sema found built into the wall of a 19th-20th c. building.

N. Platon, *AD* 21 (1966), B1 Chr., 48.

## Agora excavations

Homer A. Thompson ASCS, directing: Supplementary small-scale excavations carried out in several places.

H. A. Thompson, *AD* 21 (1966), B1 Chr., 49/50.

## Areopagus-Pnyx valley

First Ephoria and ASCS: Four houses previously excavated by the DAI in the 1890s thoroughly investigated; clearing, cleaning, some excavation, conservation.

H. A. Thompson, *AD* 21 (1966), B1 Chr., 49/50.

## Akropolis west slope

In clearing away the rubbish and earth which had accumulated on the west slope below the Beulé Gate, the retaining wall for the earlier ramp (the final stretch of the Panathenaic Way) was cleared again and cleaned. New evidence for the later history of the ramp. Directly to the south of the ramp a room of a house dated to first half of 6th c. B.C. by the pottery.

N. Platon, *AD* 21 (1966), B1 Chr., 41/42.

## 1966

### Academy

O. Alexandri, 3rd Ephoria, excavated on Aimonos street just south of Tripoleos street where the electricity company had opened up a trench. A boundary stone of the Academy, ca 500 B.C., was found *in situ* beside an ancient road (not the ancient road from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy).

O. Alexandri, *AAA* 1 (1968), 101/2, 107.

### Kerameikos excavations

F. Willemsen, DAI: Many thousands of ostraka (from ostracisms held in the Agora) including 688 ostraka bearing Themistokles' name and 1545 with Megakles' name, found in front of the proteichisma between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon Gate. (Later on Ursula Knigge found that these deposits had been brought in to fill up the old river bed of the Eridanos, abandoned when the Eridanos was given a fixed walled channel through the Sacred Gate. In 1991 the number of ostraka stands at over 9500).

F. Willemsen, *AD* 23, (1968), B1 Chr., 31/32.

## Akropolis south slope

Odeion of Perikles area: as the work of demolishing modern houses continued, about 25 m of the Rizokastron wall exposed.

I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 22 (1967), B1 Chr., 35/36.

## Akropolis north slope

Tidying up and cleaning the area just east of the Klepsydra to the eastern end of the Hypapantis Wall. Removal of huge dumped fill from the old excavations of the north slope caves. Half-ruined church of Haghios Nikolaos (Serapheim) cleaned.

I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 22, (1967), B1 Chr., 34/35.

## Agora excavations

In 1966-1967 excavations carried out at the East Building of the South Square; the Great Drain; temples in the South Square (the discovery of these two buildings scuttled the idea that the Gymnasium of Ptolemy was in the South Square); the South Road, more or less on the line of Asteroskopeiou st.; discovery of 2nd Agora Boundary Stone *in situ*; house high on the NW shoulder of the Areopagus, originally excavated in the 1890s, reexamined.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 36-72, figs. 1-12, pls. 5-17.

In 1966-1967 classical Triangular sanctuary found SW of the SW Fountain House.

G. V. Lalonde, *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 123-133, figs. 1-2, pls. 35-37.

## Roman Agora

Marble paving of courtyard investigated by Greek Archaeological Service. Fragment of letter from Marcus Aurelius gives a date of after 176 A.D. for the paving (unless the inscription is from a repair of the paving).

I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 22 (1967), 35.

## 1967

### Kerameikos excavations

F. Willemsen, DAI: Naikos outside the taphros investigated. More ostraka found.

F. Willemsen, *AD* 23 (1968), B1 Chr., 31/32.

## Agora excavations

T. Leslie Shear, Jr., carried out a thorough stratigraphic excavation of the site of the Eponymous Heroes.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 58-72.

Richest 9th c. B.C. burial found so far in Athens on Areopagus lower north slope, containing granulated and filigreed gold jewelry, ivory stamp seals, faience and glass beads, and a large model granary (or beehives).

E. L. Smithson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 77-116, figs. 1-4, pl. 18-33.

## Pnyx range

Philopappos hill, First Ephoria: 5th c. B.C. sanctuary boundary stone found built into chapel of Haghios Konstantinos.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 23 (1968), B1 Chr., 21 no. 3.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian area. First Ephoria: Little church of late Byzantine or Frankish period found in courtyard of Library to the north of the Quatrefoil Church.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 25 (1970), B1 Chr., 18, 28/29.



The Panhellenion (mistakenly called the Pantheon); Adrianou 84 and Mnesikleous streets. First Ephoria: Section of Post-Herulian Wall and the NE corner and part of the north side of the pronaos of large building, later (mistakenly) identified as the Pantheon.

I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 23 (1968), B1 Chr., 23 no. 5; G. Dontas, *AD* 24 (1969) B1 Chr., 21 col. 1.

‘Gymnasium of Diogenes’ at east end of Diogenous street. First Ephoria: A special inventory was started for the stray finds from the First Ephoria collected in the so-called Diogeneion (site of Haghios Dimitrios Katiphoris).

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 23 (1968), B1 Chr., 17.

## 1968

### Kerameikos excavations

Ursula Knigge, DAI: Investigations on both sides of the proteichisma produce new evidence for the history of the fortifications and the road around the city wall.

U. Knigge, *AD* 25 (1970), 31/39.

### Pnyx range

Hill of the Nymphs, lower NW slope. Demophontos st. near or at Herakleidon st. Remains of pottery kilns of post-Herulian date, destroyed by Alaric in 396 A.D.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 24 (1969), B1 Chr., 37-41 no. 15, fig. 1 no. 15, pl. 42:  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ .

### Agora excavations

T. Leslie Shear, Jr. directing, ASCS: Excavations in House of Mikion and Menon and workshop for a family of marble workers, 5th-4th c. B.C. in SW area, west of the Triangular Shrine. Excavations in the Southwest Baths, 2nd c. B.C.-6th c. A.D.

T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 382-417, figs. 1-8, pls. 101-108.

### East of the Akropolis

The Russian Church, Haghios Nikodemos (or Lykodemos, the later name): More of the Roman bath was found; (see under 1852). It turned out that the so-called crypt of the church is part of the Roman bath.

P. Lazaridis, *AD* 24 (1969), B1 Chr., 95 no. 3.

Kekropos st. 7-9: Roman Mansion, post-Herulian with Alaric destruction fill, 396 A.D. Some of the finds: late Roman votive relief with tree, hero, omphalos, man; steatite Egyptianizing seated goddess; terracotta theatre masks, seated goddesses, reclining Muse with lyre, reclining Eros, Harpokrates, Isis protome, philosopher protome.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 24 (1969), B1 Chr., 50-53 no. 26, fig. 1 no. 26, figs. 19-20, pls. 45-48.

### Akropolis lower north slope

The Panhellenion and vicinity: G. S. Dontas, First Ephoria: At 78 Adrianou st. and at Mnesikleous st.

1) The Panhellenion. Part of a huge three-aisled basilica, sections of which had been excavated in 1966 and 1967, now (mistakenly) identified as the Pantheon.

2) At the east end of the north wall of the so-called Pantheon, a high Justinian tower on the line of the Post-Herulian Wall.

3) Remains of two late Hellenistic buildings and two buildings of the Roman pe-

riod below the so-called Pantheon.

4) Mnesikleous st., so-called Pantheon. Part of north side of pronaos found when a new drain was under construction.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 24, (1969), B1 Chr., 19/23.

### East of the Akropolis

Site bounded by Philellinon, Kydathenaion, Nikis and Lamachou streets: Gate in the city wall, west of Lamachou street.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 24 (1969), B1 Chr., 55 and *AD* 27 (1972), B1 Chr., 46.

## 1969

### Akropolis upper north slope

G. S. Dontas, First Ephoria: Excavation below Paved Court at Klepsydra yielded undisturbed deposit of LH IIIB; Mycenaean terracotta head; Mycenaean wall.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 25, (1970), B1 Chr., 24/28.

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian area: G. S. Dontas, First Ephoria: Extensive cleaning and clearing. Late walls and rubbish removed. More of the Quatrefoil Building uncovered including mosaic floor and narthex, thus determining once and for all that it is a church. Little church to the north of the Quatrefoil Church investigated. Excavations in northeast corner of Library reveal a small theatre for lectures (previously diagnosed by Dörpfeld).

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 25, (1970), B1 Chr., 28/30.

### East of the Akropolis

27 Nikis st., near Nikodemou st.: Section of the proteichisma and taphros of the City Wall. Church built on ruins of the proteichisma and fill of the taphros before the 10th century. Second church built on the ruins of the first in 16th-17th century. Find of a marble loutrophoros, 4th c. B.C., with exceptionally vivid cavalry battle.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 25 (1970), B1 Chr. 78 no. 38, fig. 1 no. 38, figs. 32, pl. 64  $\beta$ - $\gamma$ ; P. Lazaridis, op. cit. 138-142, figs. 1-2.

### Agora surroundings

Adrianou 5 and Theseiou streets: Part of the Panathenaic Way, surfaces from late Archaic to late Roman times; stoa of 1st c. A.D.; 5th c. A.D. bath complex; Byzantine houses.

Y. Nikopoulou, *AAA* 4, 1971, 1/9; O. Alexandri, *AD* 27, (1972), B1 Chr., 23/27 no. 3; H. W. Catling, *AG* 1976-1977, 7.

Site at Kladou and Krevvata streets, east of the Stoa of Attalos:

Phase 1) remains of late Roman or early Christian building with remains of mosaic floors. Phase 2) first church, 6th-7th c., three-aisled basilica with narthex. Phase 3) second church, probably 9th-10th c. Phase 4) third church, 17th c., Haghios Thomas.

M. Hatzidakis, *AD* 29, (1973-1974), B1 Chr., 184/192; H. W. Catling, *AG* 1979-1980, 12.



## 1970

## Akropolis upper north slope

Shanties demolished on expropriated property above the church of Haghios Symeon east of sanctuary of Aphrodite. Well excavated, some neolithic, mainly Middle Helladic and Late Helladic I.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 26 (1971), B1 Chr., 26-27, pls. 38-39.

## Akropolis lower north slope

Neoclassic Mansion at Panos and Theorias streets (future Kanellopoulos Museum).

Excavation in the basement brought to light a section of the Rizokastron Wall, 11th c. A.D., and a large poros limestone geison block of the old temple of Athena.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 26 (1971), B1 Chr., 29 with fig. 1 and pl. 40α.

## Agora excavations

North of the railroad. Excavation of two long narrow blocks on the north side, between the railroad line and Adrianou st.:

1) The block west of the railroad bridge. The Stoa Basileios found. Fragments of 19 herms and inscribed herm bases set up at the Stoa Basileios. The Archons' Stone. Stoa on the Panathenaic Way west of the Stoa Basileios.

2) the block east of the railroad bridge. Thirty-two fragments of Parthenon ceiling coffers and original cella columns built into long foundations dating 450-475 A.D. Areopagus NE slope, excavation of Late Roman Mansion with sculpture.

T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 40 (1971), 241-279, figs. 1-6, pls. 45-49.

## Academy

26 Aimonos and Tripoleos streets, 3rd Ephoria: Conglomerate foundations of a building dated to the late classical period by the excavators.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 27, (1972), B1 Chr., 27 no. 5.

## 1971

## Academy

Aimonos st. just north of Alexandreias st., 3rd Ephoria: Late archaic relief of Hermes kriophoros Found.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 27, (1972), B1 Chr., 88 no. 3.

## Kerameikos excavations

Investigations of the continuation of the so-called Peisistratid aqueduct. A trench in the unwallled part of the Tritopatreion produced evidence that the Tritopatreion enclosure wall is no earlier than the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. In 1971-1972 investigations of the tumulus, the so-called Rundbau am Eridanos.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1972, 605-626, figs. 33-34; *AA* 1974, 191-194, figs. 13-15, 20-24.

## Akropolis lower north slope

94 Adrianou st.: G. S. Dontas, First Ephoria, excavated section of the north flank of the Post-Herulian Wall with much reused architecture both in the core and in the two faces; postern gate, 1 m wide, and little stair leading up to it.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 27, (1972), B1 Chr., 16/17; H. W. Catling, *AG*, 1976-1977, 6.

Site across the street from the Tower of the Winds: G. S. Dontas, First Ephoria, excavated site bounded by Kyrristou, Lysiou and Markou Aureliou streets, finding the eastern part of the so-called Agoranomeion, the building with arched façade dedicated to Athena Archegetis and the Divi Augusti.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 27, (1972), B1 Chr., 17/21; H. W. Catling, *AG* 1976-1977, 7.

## Agora excavations

T. L. Shear, Jr. ASCS, directing. Excavations in the following areas:

Panathenaic Way, the archaeological history traced from the 6th c. B.C. to 7th c. A.D.; Late Roman circular or semicircular structure east of the Stoa Basileios; Northwest Orthostate Enclosure with large votive deposit containing knuckle bones, loom weights, spindle whirles, jewelry, masses of pottery and the head of one of the herms mutilated in 415 B.C.; a public well 3 metres N. of the NW Orthostate Enclosure containing fragments of lifesize equestrian statue of gilded bronze and about 100 lead tablets forming part of the official records of the Athenian cavalry; the Northeast Basilica; start of excavation on large block of properties lying between the Roman Agora and the Post-Herulian Wall S. of the Stoa of Attalos; classical house on Areopagus NE slope, Late Roman Mansion with sculpture on Areopagus NE slope.

T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 121-179, figs. 1-7, pls. 25-39.

## Ilissos left bank

Stadium and Ardetos hill. C. Gasparri, Italian Archaeological School at Athens, investigated the Panathenaic Stadium, the bridge across the Ilissos, the Temple of Tyche, and the tomb of Herodes Atticus, combining archaeological, architectural, philological, epigraphical and antiquarian studies to produce a model monograph.

C. Gasparri, *ASAtene* 52/53, (1974-1975), 313/392, figs. 1/88.

## 1972

## Akropolis lower north slope

Metropolitan Church and the Little Metropolis: Strip between the S. side of the Metropolitan church and N. side of the Little Metropolis excavated by Ephoria of Byzantine Antiquities. Remains of buildings of the Late Roman-Early Christian period through the 12th century.

P. Lazaridis, *AD* 28 (1973), B1 Chr., 53-57, figs. 1-2, pls. 42-43 and op. cit. 57.

## Agora excavations

T. L. Shear, Jr. ASCS, directing: Zone between Adrianou street and railroad tracks, western sector: Northwest Orthostate enclosure fully excavated with a great mass of pottery and other objects dedicated in 5th c. B.C.; Roman double stoa behind the Stoa Basileios; deposit of 5th c. B.C. pottery perhaps from public dining room.

Zone between Adrianou street and railroad tracks, eastern sector: Terrace walls of Late Helladic IIIB and 8th c. B.C. to retain land on south slope of Eridanos valley.

Library of Pantainos area: Stoa lining south side of ancient street leading from Stoa of Attalos to Roman Agora; large late Roman building, 5th c. A.D.

T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 359-407, figs. 1-7, pls. 65-76.



## Kerameikos excavations

Investigations north of Grave Precincts VII-XI, bounded on the west by the Dexileos Monument; 31 burials dating 540-500 B.C.

Road from Dipylon Gate to Academy excavated in front of the Dipylon.

Sixteen layers distinguished from early 5th c. B.C. to late 5th c. A.D.

B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, *AA* 1974, 194-198, figs. 25-29.

## 1973

## Akropolis

Older Parthenon: S. Sinos cleared the Older Parthenon foundations on the south side down to course 9 and investigated the curvature.

S. Sinos, *AA* 1974, 157-168, figs. 1-6.

## Agora excavations

Excavations carried out in 1973-1974 by T. Leslie Shear, Jr., ASCS, in the area of the Stoa Basileios, in the Panathenaic Way east of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, and in the Library of Pantainos area.

Stoa Basileios: sherds from foundation packing date construction fill to end of 6th c. B.C. Panathenaic Way: the starting line of a race track found, a row of square bases across the line of the street. Library of Pantainos area: Huge deposit ca 430-380 B.C. in a well containing wine amphoras, grills, mortars, lekanai, fish plates, oyster shells, mussels, red-figure skyphoi, kraters, oinochoai, bones from cattle, sheep, goats; evidence for bone-working establishments; terracotta figurines and moulds from a coroplasts' shop. Investigation of the 5th c. A.D. building over the stoa and library of Pantainos.

T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 44 (1975), 331-374, figs. 1-5, pls. 77-84.

## Kerameikos excavations

In 1973-1974 excavations in order to trace the changes in the course of the Eridanos and to study the Eridanos channel walls.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1975, 456-465, figs. 1-20.

## 1974

## Agora excavations

See under 1973 for report covering 1973 and 1974.

## Kerameikos excavations

See under 1973.

## 1975

## Kerameikos excavations

New huge retaining wall built to keep Ermou st. in place in order to allow deep digging inside the City Wall between Ermou st. and Sacred Gate. Vast quantities of potters' debris of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1978, 44-50, figs. 1-10.

## 1976

## Akropolis southeast slope

In removing dumped fill from old Akropolis excavations, archaic architectural fragments of Akropolis buildings discovered.

G. S. Dontas, *AD* 31, (1976), B1 Chr., 22.

## Agora excavations

Poros building in the industrial district, excavated before 1949, (mistakenly) identified as the State Prison where Socrates died.

H. W. Catling, *AG* 1975-1976, 4.

## Kerameikos excavations

Investigations of the Eridanos channel, bridges over the Eridanos, and of the cross street connecting the Sacred Way with the Road from the Dipylon to the Academy.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1978, 50-622, figs. 12-24.

## 1977

## Road to the Academy from the Dipylon Gate

39 Plataion street: On the ancient road from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy votive relief of seated goddess found, holding phiale and torch approached by six votaries.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 32, (1977), B1 Chr., 26; H. W. Catling, *AG* 1985-1986, 9.

## Kerameikos excavations

Excavations S. and SE of Sacred Gate in area bounded by Melidoni st. on the south and the Pompeion on the east. Discoveries about the changing course of the Eridanos, the Eridanos channel walls, bridge over the Eridanos, the history of the Sacred Way.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1979, 178-187, figs. 1-16.

## 1978

## Academy

Foundation of classical T-shaped altar found at Eteokleous and Platonos streets.

Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *AD* 33, (1978), B1 Chr., 23 no. 34; H. W. Catling, *AG* 1985-1986, 10.

## Kerameikos excavations

Excavations in area of Sacred Way and Eridanos inside the City Walls carried out by B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff in 1978-1979 and 1981. Among the finds: kiln of 6th c. A.D.; moulds for lamps; wasters and pottery debris of the 3rd-4th c. A.D.; debris from glass workshop; several fragments of Kybele votives; colossal right toe from a figure estimated at 5 m standing height; Hekateion.

B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, *AA* 1984, 35-50, figs. 14-38.

Excavations in area of Building Z carried out by U. Knigge. Destruction fill dated to the end of the 4th c. B.C. contained kitchen ware and black glaze pottery; more than 100 loomweights; lamps; iron garden tools; more than 100 coins; terracotta



figurine of seated girl; Kybele in naiskos; marble standing goddess clutching her breasts; small silver plaque of goddess; several iron keys. No traces of burning.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1980, 256-265, figs. 1-15.

### Agora excavations

T. L. Shear, Jr. ASCS, directing: The mint excavated by J. McK. Camp.

H. W. Catling, *AG* 1978-1979, 4/5.

### Akropolis south slope

Theatre of Dionysos: Structure at east end of parodos formerly restored as a choregic monument is now known to be a propylon.

G. Touchais, *BCH* 113 (1989), 584 fig. 6.

3rd c. A.D. Fortification Wall: this wall, which encloses the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, the Stoa of Eumenes and the terrace west of the theatre itself, was built in the 3rd c. A.D., not in the Byzantine period as formerly thought.

G. Touchais, *BCH* 113 (1989), 584.

## 1979

### East of the Akropolis

Galanou st. 6 near Haghia Aikaterini: Structure of 5th c. A.D. and other structures which belong to the complex containing the Roman peristyle in front of Haghia Aikaterini uncovered.

Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *AD* 34 (1979), B1 chr., 32-33 no. 42, plan 1 no. 42; cf. *AE* 1911, 259-261.

### Akropolis lower north slope

9-15 Pandrosou st. and Mnesikleous st. (W. of the so called Little Metropolis). Many architectural members, including Stoa of Eumenes column fragments, built into later walls.

Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *AD* 34 (1979) B1 Chr., 28 with plan 1 no. 28.

### Pnyx range

Philopappos west slope, Valavani st. 10: Large deposit of wasters from pottery kiln of 4th c. B.C.

*AD* 34 (1979), B1 Chr., 18 no. 11 with plan 1 no. 11.

Hill of the Nymphs, lower north slope, Vasilissis st. 18-20 (W. of the Hephaisteion): Open air hero shrine of the late 6th c. B.C. destroyed by Persians but continued in use until early 4th c. B.C.

E. Spathari, *AD* 34 (1979), B1 Chr., 26-27 no. 31, plan 1 no. 31.

### Kerameikos excavations

Excavations in Building Z. Three phases distinguished:

1) constructed in the mid-5th c. B.C. Finds include many stamped loomweights. 2) constructed in 3rd quarter of 5th c. B.C. and destroyed by intense fire in ca 410-400 B.C. 3) destroyed at the end of the 4th c. B.C. Finds include silver pendant with head of Aphrodite (?) between stars and crescent moon; large silver round plaque with Aphrodite Pandemos; small bronze disk with Gorgoneion; rectangular silver pendant with face in relief; many glass amulets.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1981, 385-393, figs. 1-18.

Investigations in area of Sacred Way east of Sacred Gate carried out by B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff.

*AA* 1981, 385.

W. Kovacsovics excavated in the precinct of the Messenians. Fifty-five graves and two sacrificial deposits, 29 of which completely undisturbed.

*AA* 1981, 395-396.

### Road from Dipylon Gate to the Academy

Plataion st. and Kerameikou st. Ancient road with 8 layers, the earliest 4th c. B.C. Structures of 3rd-4th c. A.D. Seven built tombs of the 6th c. A.D.

*AD* 34 (1979), B1 Chr., 22-23, no. 23.

### Academy area

Vasilikon st. and Kratylou st. 56. Private grave plot with gravestones for members of the family of the statesman Lykourgos.

*AD* 34 (1979), B1 Chr., 18-20 no. 16, fig. 4 and plan 1 no. 16.

## 1980

### Akropolis lower south slope

The Makriyanni lot, site of the Old Military Hospital: Report of the excavations and a list of 21 pieces of architecture and marble sculpture found.

M. Stavropoulou, *AD* 35 (1980), B1 Chr., 25-27, pl. 17:a.

### Akropolis east slope

A decree to be set up in the sanctuary of Aglauros was found *in situ* below the East Cave.

G. S. Dontas, *Hesperia* 52 (1983), 48-63, figs. 1-3, pls. 13-15.

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian: Excavations at the gate of Athena Archegetis and to the SW.

G. Knithakis and G. Tinginaka, *AD* 35 (1980), B1 Chr., 21-22, pls. 13-16.

### Agora excavations

Excavations of 1980-1982 north of Adrianou st., N. of the Stoa Basileios and the NW Orthostate Enclosure. Main discoveries and finds: west end of a stoa, 475-450 B.C., identified as the Stoa Poikile; two rectangular foundations straddling north-south street, interpreted as foundations for the Hellenistic Gate seen by Pausanias 1.14.6; monumental altar ca 500 B.C. assigned to Aphrodite Ourania; Roman temple facing south; herms including a lifesize head of ca 500 B.C.; a classical commercial building; terracotta water pipes belonging to pipeline installed by Kimon to water the Academy; Middle Byzantine houses.

T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 53 (1984), 1-57, figs. 1-19, pls. 1-16.

13 Adrianou street: Demolition of flour mill and beginning of excavation. Finds: private houses in use from 9th through 12th c. A.D.

Panathenaic Way, northwest section: Stratigraphic history from 6th c. B.C. to Hellenistic period. Persian destruction fill containing three Doric columns from original interior columns of Stoa Basileios.

H. W. Catling, *AG* 1980-1981, 4/5.



## Academy

Lot bounded by Eukleidou, Platonos, Tripoleos and Monastiriou streets, area of the so-called Square Peristyle. Clearing, cleaning and new excavations.

Square Peristyle dated to 350-300 B.C. The two poros limestone walls running parallel to the east wall of the Square Peristyle are either contemporary with or later than the Square Peristyle and their relation to the latter has not yet been determined.

M. Hatzioti, *AD* 35 (1980), B1 Chr., 37-41, fig. 4.

## 1981

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian. Investigations of the south side of the peristyle court, second phase. Excavations in area formerly occupied by the church of Hagios Asomatos sta Skalia by the Byzantine Ephoria.

G. Knithakis and G. Tinginanka, *AD* 36 (1981), B1 Chr., 4-5, pls. 9-10.

### Agora excavations

See under 1980.

### Kerameikos excavations

Excavations in the area of Building Z conducted by Ursula Knigge: Below Building Z, remains of a bronze-casting establishment. Main finds from Building Z1: loomweights, two with seated Penelope stamps; two inscribed bronze standard measures; Panathenaic sherds. Building Z2: interpreted as inn-taverna-bordello complex, destroyed by fire at the end of 5th c. B.C.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1983, 209-221, figs. 1-21.

Excavations east of Building Z and south of Sacred Gate in area of Eridanos and Sacred Way conducted by B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff.

U. Knigge, *AA* 1983, 209.

Excavations outside the City Wall on the west side of South Street conducted by W. Kovacsovics.

### Academy and Academy area

Area bounded by Eukleidou, Platonos, Tripoleos and Monastiriou streets. Old excavations tidied up and new excavations begun.

G. Touchais, *BCH* 113 (1989), 587.

## 1982

### Agora excavations

See under 1980.

### East of the Akropolis

Plateia Lysikratous: Discoveries and finds: part of the Street of the Tripods; bases of three 4th c. B.C. choregic monuments on west side of the street; part of large rectangular structure of 4th c. B.C., large conglomerate blocks; foundations of a Byzantine building probably 10th c. A.D.

H. W. Catling, *AG* 1982-1983, 8.

Haghia Aikaterini Square, Lysikratous st.: Found the continuation of the stylo-

bate of the Roman colonnade outside the forecourt of the church, along Lysikratous st.

P. Vasilopoulou, *AD* 37 (1982), B1 Chr., 20, Plan A.

Two sites on Adrianou st. 1) Opposite Adrianou 117, north of Kydathenaion st., small Roman bath destroyed in 267 A.D.; byzantine house built of reused column drums, blocks, field stones and brick etc.; observations about streets of various periods. 2) Adrianou st. 104, in the courtyard of a public school.

M. Korres, D. Skilardi, D. Ziro, *AD* 37 (1982), B1 Chr., 11-13, fig. 2, Plan A.

Thespidos and Epimenidou streets: Wall of a Late Roman Building.

M. Korres, *AD* 37 (1982), B1 Chr., 9-10.

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian excavations at propylon and west of propylon; Investigations at the NE corner, the auditorium.

G. Knithakis, G. Tinginanka, F. Mallouchou-Tufano, *AD* 37 (1982), Chr. 6-9, fig. 1, pls. 5-9.

Adrianou st. between Phlessa and Themidos streets. Remains of the medieval city wall came to light at various points below Adrianou street.

H. W. Catling, *AG* 1982-1983, 9.

## 1983

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian: West end of Library cleared; on south side evidence for reconstruction following Herulian sack, 267 A.D.; modern entrance moved to the south; work begun clearing the Propylon; part of paved court in front found; many architectural elements recovered; southwest corner uncovered.

Section of Late Roman Fortification Wall cleared.

G. Knithakis, G. Tinginanka, F. Mallouchou-Tufano, *AD* 38 (1983), B1 Chr., 12-14, pl. 15: β-γ.

### East of the Akropolis

Plateia Lysikratous: A. Mantis and others, First Ephoria. Roman Osteotheke, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine burials; reused marbles from church furnishings found in secondary use inside one of the vaulted Osteothekes.

Plateia Haghias Aikaterinis: Work done on remains of Roman stoa with traces of a propylon apparently leading into a bath building.

Thoukydidou st., runs between Kekropos and Apollonos streets: Roman bath building with mosaic floors, first phase 4th c. A.D., second phase 5th-6th c. A.D. Vyronos st.: Mosaic floor probably to be identified as part of an early Christian basilica.

H. W. Catling, *AG* 1983-1984, 8-10.

### Kerameikos excavations

Excavations inside the Sacred Gate in a roughly triangular area bounded by Ermou st., Melidoni st. and Pompeion. First mention of Building Y bounded by Ermou st., Building Z and the south flank of the Sacred Gate; it is dated by a sacrificial pyre to 425-400 B.C. Canal investigated; an Asklepios and Telesphoros group reused as cover slab. A hitherto unknown building, as yet unnamed, coming to light just inside the Sacred Gate, bordering south edge of Sacred Way. The



*terminus ante quem* for this building is given by a sacrificial deposit dating to ca 300 B.C.

U. Knigge and B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, *AA* 1987, 481-499, figs. 1-30.

## NE Athens

NE corner of National Garden, Vas. Sophias Avenue and Herodou Attikou st.: Excavations in 1982-1983 at site of barracks for President Guard. 175 graves dating from sub-Mycenaean to 1st c. A.D. A section of the Hadrianic aqueduct. Large building complex: Phase 1) 2nd c. A.D.-267 A.D. Some rooms have wall paintings with garlands and plant motifs; Phase 2) late 3rd or early 4th c. A.D. Apsidal sanctuary with niches for marble statuettes, three of which were found fallen on the floor, 2 of Kybele, 1 of Hygieia. Two votive reliefs, Asklepios and Kybele; Phase 3) abandoned in mid-6th c. A.D.; 500 lamps found.

E. Spathari-M. Hatzioti, *AD* 38 (1983), B1 Chr., 23-255 no. 7, fig. 4, pl. 19 β.

## Ilissos right bank

Vas. Olgas Avenue, S. side, across from the Zappeion exhibition hall: Stretch of the 3rd c. A.D. fortification wall found, repaired in the 6th c. during the reign of Justinian.

D. Tsouklidou-Penna, *AD* 38 (1983), B1 Chr., 26, Plan A no. 9.

## 1984

### Akropolis lower south slope

Area of Old Military Hospital: Makriyanni District excavations brought to light remains from prehistoric times to the Ottoman period in this densely settled part of Athens.

E. Lygouri, *AD* 39 (1984), B1 Chr., 8-10, fig. 3: β-γ.

### Akropolis lower north slope

Roman Agora: Foundations of Roman Agora north wall found in trial trench at Pelopida-Panos-Adrianou streets.

Th. Kyriakou, *AD* 39 (1984), B1 Chr., 7, pl. 3a.

Library of Hadrian: SW corner investigated. More information about the Voivodaliiki.

G. Knithakis, F. Mallouchou, G. Tinginanka, *AD* 39 (1984), B1 Chr., 3-5, figs. 1-2.

## Pnyx range

Hill of the Nymphs, east slope: Old church of Haghia Marina Theseiou investigated. The flooring removed and original floor of the cave was found to be covered with hydraulic cement, confirming J. Travlos' hypothesis that there had been an ancient reservoir at this site.

Ch. Koilakou, *AD* 39 (1984), B1 chr., 60, pl. 17: α.

Hill of the Nymphs, lower north slope, Erysichthonos st. 23: Eighteen walls from three main building phases from ca 425 B.C. to ca 300 B.C. Numerous loomweights of all types found.

O. Zachariadou, *AD* 39 (1984), B1 Chr., 11.

## 1986

### Akropolis

Parthenon: Investigation of the north colonnade indices that there was a naiskos and round altar of a sanctuary founded before the Parthenon was built.

G. Touchais, *BCH* 112 (1988), II, 612, fig. 3.

## 1987

### Kerameikos excavations

Excavations in area of Building Y: After 267 A.D. the area was used by potters. Many kilns and several offering deposits of the 3rd-4th centuries contained a large number of lamps, coins, pottery.

*AA* 103 (1988), 725.

## 1988

### Akropolis lower north slope

Library of Hadrian: Headless statue of Nike, 2.55 m high, Augustan period, found in Byzantine cistern in western section.

G. Touchais, *BCH* 113 (1989), 584.

### Kerameikos excavations

In 1988-1989 Building Y and Building X were investigated. Roman potteries in and east of Building Y were excavated. Greek phases of Building Y excavated. The late 4th c. B.C. filling in Building Y contained more than 10,000 pieces of pottery including ca 1000 kantharoi, ca 800 bowls, more than 350 skyphoi and ca 250 plates, 350 amphoras, at least 200 chytras, ca 100 lekanai and mortars, ca 700 loomweights, ca 400 lamps, 80 terracotta figurines and moulds including a mould for head of Athena Parthenos.

Building X1 dated in 425-400 B.C. and Building X2 built in second half of 4th c. B.C. and destroyed at the end of the century.

A. Rügler, U. Knigge, A. Schöne, B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, *AA* 1991, 371-385, figs. 1-22.

139 Angeliki Kokkou quotes a report of the Secretary of the Archaeological Society in 1886, lamenting the lack of visitors to the Varvakeion Antiquities Collection, bitterly observing that "extremely few of our own people rarely come to visit the museum; the foreigners are the ones who appreciate it and derive the benefits". A. Kokkou, 1977, 186.



## ART MUSEUMS IN THE CULTURAL-HISTORIC AREA

With the exception of the National Archaeological Museum, the art museums of Athens are situated in the cultural-historic area. This is partly the result of deliberate planning, partly coincidence.

In the early years of the modern Greek state, ancient sculpture, inscriptions and other finds from Athens were stored at various collection points, such as the Akropolis and the Library of Hadrian, and displayed in various makeshift museums and outdoor arrangements, such as the mosque in the Parthenon or the Temple of Hephaistos.

The Archaeological Society's aim of having a permanent National Archaeological Museum in Athens was achieved by 1885; the new museum was located next to the Polytechnion on Patisson Avenue, at that time on the outskirts of the town. The decision to situate this important building at a considerable distance from the archaeological sites proved very beneficial for the preservation of the skyline of the historic Athenian townscape; and the Akropolis area was spared additional traffic and congestion from visitors.

At the same time, another trend has proved very helpful: specialized museums have been newly built or installed in existing buildings near or at the historic sites and the green recreational areas.

Thus a network of ten museums of different sizes and fields of interest has been established, offering visitors on-the-spot educational information and esthetic experiences.

The ten art museums in the cultural-historic area are as follows (fig. 351):

1) Kerameikos Museum in the Kerameikos excavations, sector 2. Inaugurated in 1938. Exhibits: grave reliefs and sculpture in the round, grave groups from 1300 B.C. to the 5th century A.D.

2) Agora Museum in the Stoa of Attalos, sector 4. Inaugurated in 1956. Exhibits: finds from the Agora excavations dating from 3000 B.C. to 1700 A.D.

3) Akropolis Museum in the SE corner of the Akropolis, sector 4. Built in 1865 with later additions. Exhibits: mainly sculpture from the Akropolis excavations (the other finds from the Akropolis excavations are in the National Museum).

4) Museum of Greek Popular Art in Plaka, sector 5. Inaugurated in 1918. Exhibits: Greek folk art.

5) The Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum, upper NW slope of the Akropolis, sector 5. Inaugurated in 1976. Greek art from the Neolithic period to Post-Byzantine period; formerly a private collection, nearly all acquired from dealers.

6) Museum of Athenian and Folk Art of the Municipality of Athens, in Plaka, sector 5. Inaugurated in 1975. Exhibits: Greek folk art.

7) Center for Akropolis Studies, lower south slope of the Akropolis on Makriyanni st., sector 4. Opened in 1987. Exhibits: models of ancient Athens and the Akropolis at various periods; displays documenting the work of the Committee for the Preservation of Akropolis Monuments; casts of the Parthenon pediment sculpture, metopes and frieze.

8) Benaki Museum; opposite the NE corner of the National Garden; sector 6. Inaugurated in 1931. Exhibits: Greek art from ancient times to the present; Greek regional costumes and embroideries; historical objects from the War of Independence; 18th-20th century paintings and drawings of Greece; Oriental art.

9) Byzantine Museum, Vasilissis Sophias Avenue; sector 10; Inaugurated in

1930. Byzantine and post-Byzantine art.

10) National Gallery, Vasilissis Sophias Avenue, sector 10. Inaugurated in 1976. Exhibits: Greek and European art of the 19th and 20th c., mainly painting.

Whereas two of the museums —the National Gallery and the Akropolis Museum— have a great many visitors, the others are considerably less known and visited. The National Gallery with spacious modern premises is viewed mainly by Greek visitors and a great number of school classes. The Akropolis Museum is mainly visited by foreign tourists as a part of their sight-seeing tour of the Akropolis. With its rather small exhibition space (about 1200 m<sup>2</sup>), this old building is entirely inadequate for the display of Akropolis finds and is a disturbing element on the Akropolis site. With a daily number of 15,000 visitors on the Akropolis on a peak day, the density of the visitors' flow reaches one person per square meter in the Akropolis Museum during the peak hour! Since the 1970s there has been much discussion and planning for a new Akropolis museum on the lower south slope with no concrete results so far.

All the other art museums of the area have been installed fairly recently and are well arranged. The exhibits in the Byzantine Museum, ideally located in the spacious mansion of the Duchess of Piacenza are, however, in need of reorganizing.

Although the way in which the museums are fairly evenly spaced throughout the cultural-historic area is a prerequisite for a smooth visitors' flow, most of the museums are, nevertheless, poorly visited (with the exception of the Akropolis Museum and National Gallery). This is due to a lack of coordinated itineraries for visitors and also of educational programs in connexion with museum visits.

As in earlier years<sup>139</sup>, even today the percentage of Greek visitors to the museums is very low. The great majority consists of school classes on compulsory, badly organized visits and art students.

An attempt at a sociological explanation of this phenomenon is made in Chapter 4 of this study.

## The history of art museums in the cultural-historic area: a brief survey

### 1830-1834

Pittakis collected sculptures and inscriptions in lower town of Athens and stored them in the Church of the Megali Panagia (in the Library of Hadrian).

Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 1/2; A. Kokkou, 1977, 158-160; *Aiðv* no. 591, 17.1.1845; A. Rizos-Rangabé, *AE*, 1837, 9.

### 1833-1836

Archaeological finds of the Akropolis stored by Pittakis in medieval vaulted room of Pinakotheke in the Propylaia.

Kavvadias-Kawerau, 1906, 13-14; *Aiðv* no. 591, 17.1.1845.

### 1834

Nov. 13, 1834, Hephaisteion decreed "Central Public Museum for Antiquities". The classical building went into use (first as an exhibition space later as a storage room) from 1835 until at least 1934.

A. Kokkou, *AE* 1974, 75, 104 with note 1; G. Karo, *AA* 1934, 145.





Fig. 343 The German Archaeological Institute on Pheidiou st., built by Ernst Ziller in 1887-1888. (DAI, Athens).

Fig. 344 Members of the German Archaeological Institute having tea on the terrace of the Institute. In the background, the bare cone of Lykabettos. Photograph dates to the 1890s. (DAI, Athens).

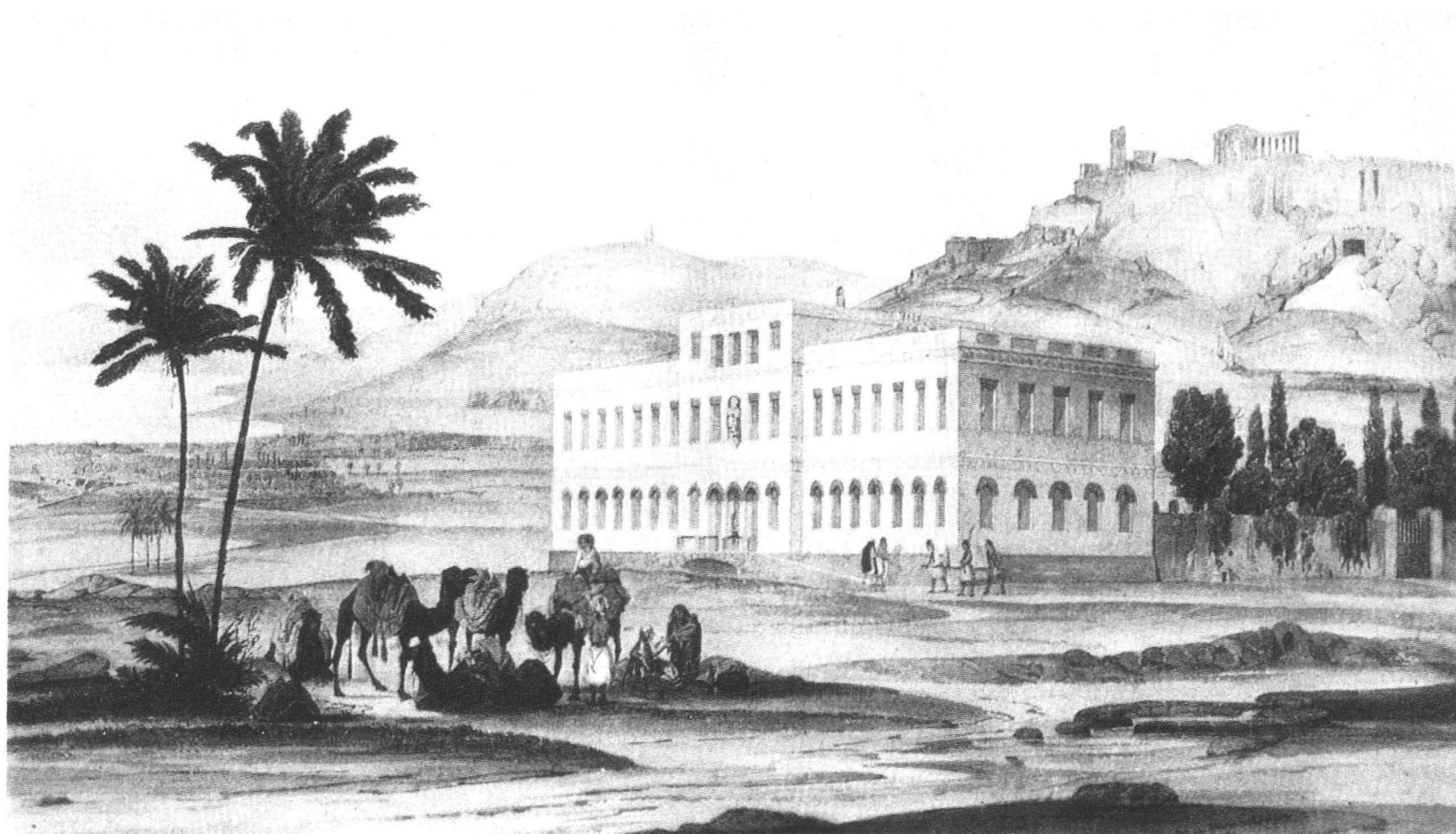


Fig. 345 The Old Military Hospital as it was in 1836. The renovated building now houses the Centre for Akropolis Studies where casts of Parthenon sculpture and displays concerning Akropolis conservation projects are on show. Coloured perspective drawing by von Weiler. (Historical and Ethnological Museum, Athens).



## 1835-1878

Vase collection on the Akropolis stored in a small Turkish house near the Erechtheion. In 1860, Michaelis reporting on vase collections in Athens says that the biggest collection of vases is “in dem bekannten Häuschen beim Erechtheion, dem jetzigen Hauptmuseum für kleinere Alterthümer”.

*AZ* 1861 (19), *Arch. Anz.* 149, 150, May-June 197 ff.

## 1836

Hephaisteion: The Theseion used as a museum, “un nobile museo”, where objects found in recent excavations in Athens are collected.

*BdI* 1836, 193, no. 56.

## 1836

Leo von Klenze designs a “Pantechneion” as a National Museum. Plans published in “Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe”. Proposed location: the slopes of Haghios Athanasios hill above the Kerameikos.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 202-206.

## 1837-1842

The mosque in the Parthenon used as a storage room for the Akropolis antiquities.

*Αἰών* no. 591, 17.1.1845.

## 1837-1884

Entrance of the Propylaia and Pinakothke used as a collecting point and kind of gallery. First mention of the archaeological collections in the Propylaia by K. S. Pittakis, *AE* 1842, 526, no. 878. Under no. 879, Pittakis further specifies “archaeological collections of the Akropolis in the Propylaia”.

More details in: A. Kokkou, 1977, 167-168.

## 1837-1885

Around 1837, the Stoa of Hadrian (Library of Hadrian) was chosen as a collecting point for marbles. First mention is by K. S. Pittakis in *AE* 1839, 278 under no 315, 317.

More details in: A. Kokkou, 1977, 175-176.

## 1843-1995

The Tower of the Winds used as a collecting point and storage room for antiquities.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 178-179.

## 1846-1874

Casts of Elgin marbles displayed in Turkish bath not far from Tower of the Winds.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 180.

## 1863

March 10, 1863: Digging for foundations for National Archaeological Museum on Hill of Haghios Athanasios, above the Kerameikos. Building postponed because of objections to the choice of the location.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 228.

## 1863-1865

Various alternate locations for the site of the National Museum proposed, e.g. Ardetos hill, area of the later Zappeion exhibition hall. The suggestion was even put forward to convert the Library of Hadrian into a museum! None of these proposals pursued.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 230-231.

## 1864

The first excavations for the foundations of an Akropolis Museum were done in the SE corner of the Akropolis plateau, where the find of well-preserved walls of a classical structure impeded work and caused the site to be moved nearer to the Parthenon, near the Akropolis south wall.

Pervanoglu, *BdI* 1867, 73.

## 1865-1874

Dec. 30, 1865: Construction starts on the Akropolis Museum designed by architect P. Kalkos. Completion of the work in 1874.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 197-198.

## 1884

The Archaeological Society gives the National Archaeological Museum 205 ancient marbles until then collected and stored in the Royal Garden (now the National Garden).

*PAE* 1875, 26.

## 1887

A second Akropolis Museum, adjoining the first, called the “Small Museum”, was built to the east over the ancient foundation walls formerly attributed to the Chalcotheke.

W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 12 (1887), 385-6.

## 1887

Theophilus Hansen presents plans for a National Museum to be located south of the Odeion of Herodes. Project not executed.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 240.

## 1918

Museum for Greek Popular Art installed in the Tzistaraki Mosque in Monastiraki Square next to the Library of Hadrian.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 296-297.



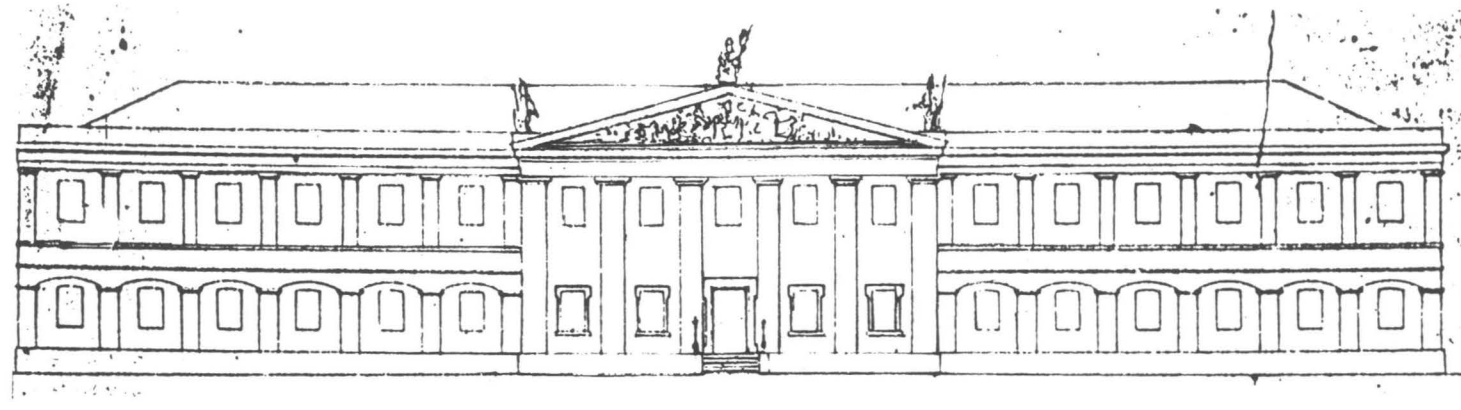
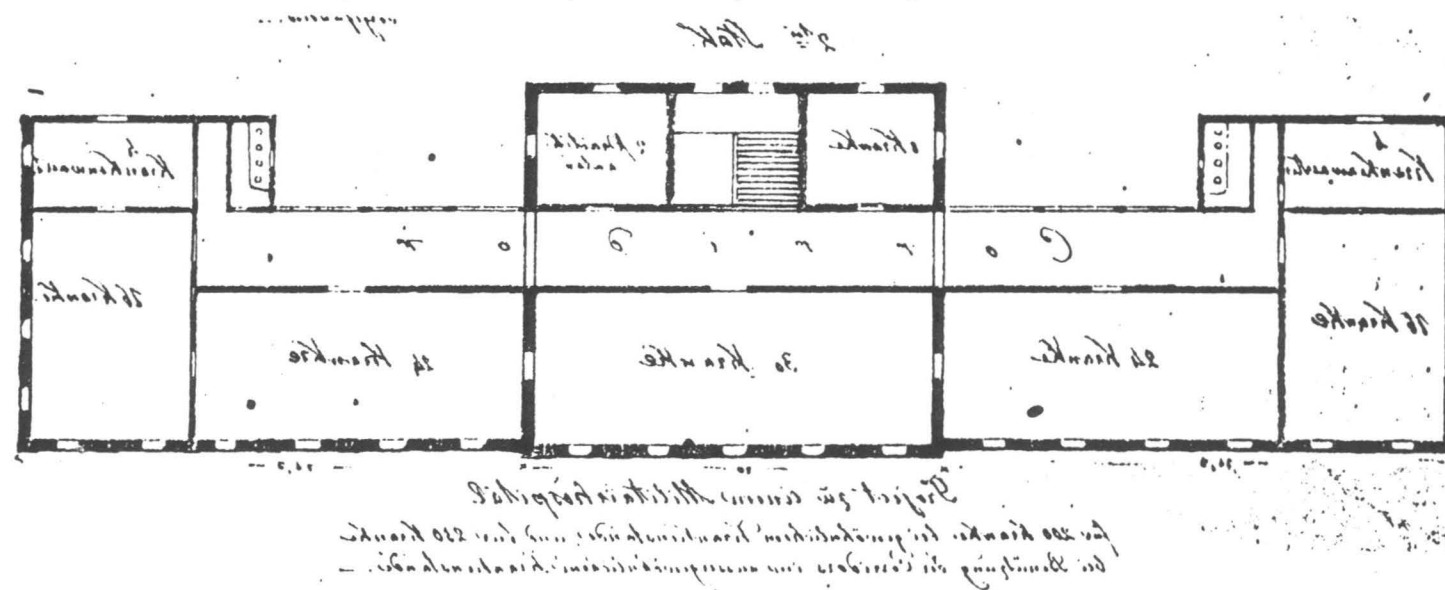


Fig. 346 The old Military Hospital at Makriyanni. In the centre: the building seen from the north at the turn of the century. Above and below: original drawings of the main façade and the second floor plan at 1:500. (DAI, Athens).





## 1930

Byzantine Museum installed in the Duchess of Piacenza Mansion (built 1840-1848 by S. Kleanthes). The remodelling inside by architect A. Zachos.

## 1931

The newly founded Benaki Museum (ancient, Byzantine, Oriental and Greek Folk Art collections) installed in the Charokopos Mansion, designed by A. Metaxas, on Vasilissis Sophias Avenue opposite the National Garden.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 300-301.

## 1932-1956

A temporary museum to display the finds from the Agora excavations installed in a group of neoclassical 19th century houses on the lower north slope of the Areopagus (ex-Asteroskopeiou street).

A. Kokkou, 1977, 274.

## 1936-1938

Kerameikos Museum built, designed by the German architect Hans Johannes. Donation of Gustav Oberländer. Inauguration in 1938 on the occasion of the centennial festivities for the Archaeological Society at Athens.

K. Kübler, *AA* 1938, 606; A. Kokkou, 1977, 272-273.

## 1952-1959

Provisional exhibition of collections of the National Gallery (paintings and sculptures of modern times, Greek and West European) in the Zappeion exhibition hall.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 292.

## 1952

Remodelling of the Akropolis Museum in progress. Two new underground store-rooms which are to receive objects from the so-called Little Museum have been completed. Architect: P. Karantinos.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 57 (1953), 281; A. Kokkou, 1977, 200-201.

## 1952-1956

Restoration of the hellenistic Stoa of Attalos I in the Agora excavations, to be used as the Agora Museum. Financed by Marshall Plan and American private donations.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 278.

## 1954

Reinstallation of Parthenon frieze, Nike parapet frieze, Erechtheion frieze and archaic poros pediment groups under the supervision of I. Miliadis, Ephor of the Akropolis. So-called Little Museum about to be demolished.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 59 (1955), 223.

## 1956

Akropolis Museum open to the public for the first time since the war.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 59 (1955), 281.

## 1956-1957

Architectural competition for National Gallery building to be erected on the north side of the so-called "Cultural Center of Athens" next to the Mansion of the Duchess of Piacenza (Byzantine Museum). First prize won by the architects N. Moutsopoulos, P. Mylonas, D. Fatouros.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 292-293.

## 1956

The reconstructed hellenistic Stoa of Attalos in the Greek Agora dedicated as the Museum of the Athenian Agora.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 61 (1957), 281.

## 1961

Museum for the Antiquities of Athens projected in the Academy area. Plans by architect P. Manouilidis. Project never executed.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 314.

## 1964

Last two galleries of the Akropolis Museum opened to the public. Gigantomachia pediment of Old Temple of Athena in a new arrangement, after the figures had been dismantled, mended up and newly restored in plaster.

E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 69 (1965), 353.

## 1968

Opening of one wing of the new National Gallery finally erected on the south side of the so-called "Cultural Center of Athens", opposite to the Hilton Hotel.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 293.

## 1973

Museum for Greek Popular Art transferred to modern building in the Plaka area, Kydathenaion st. 17.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 297.

## 1975

The A. Hatzimichali Mansion (architect A. Zachos) was acquired by the Athens municipality to be converted into a Museum of Athenian and Folk Art.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 294.

## 1976

Inauguration of the completed building of the National Gallery.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 293.



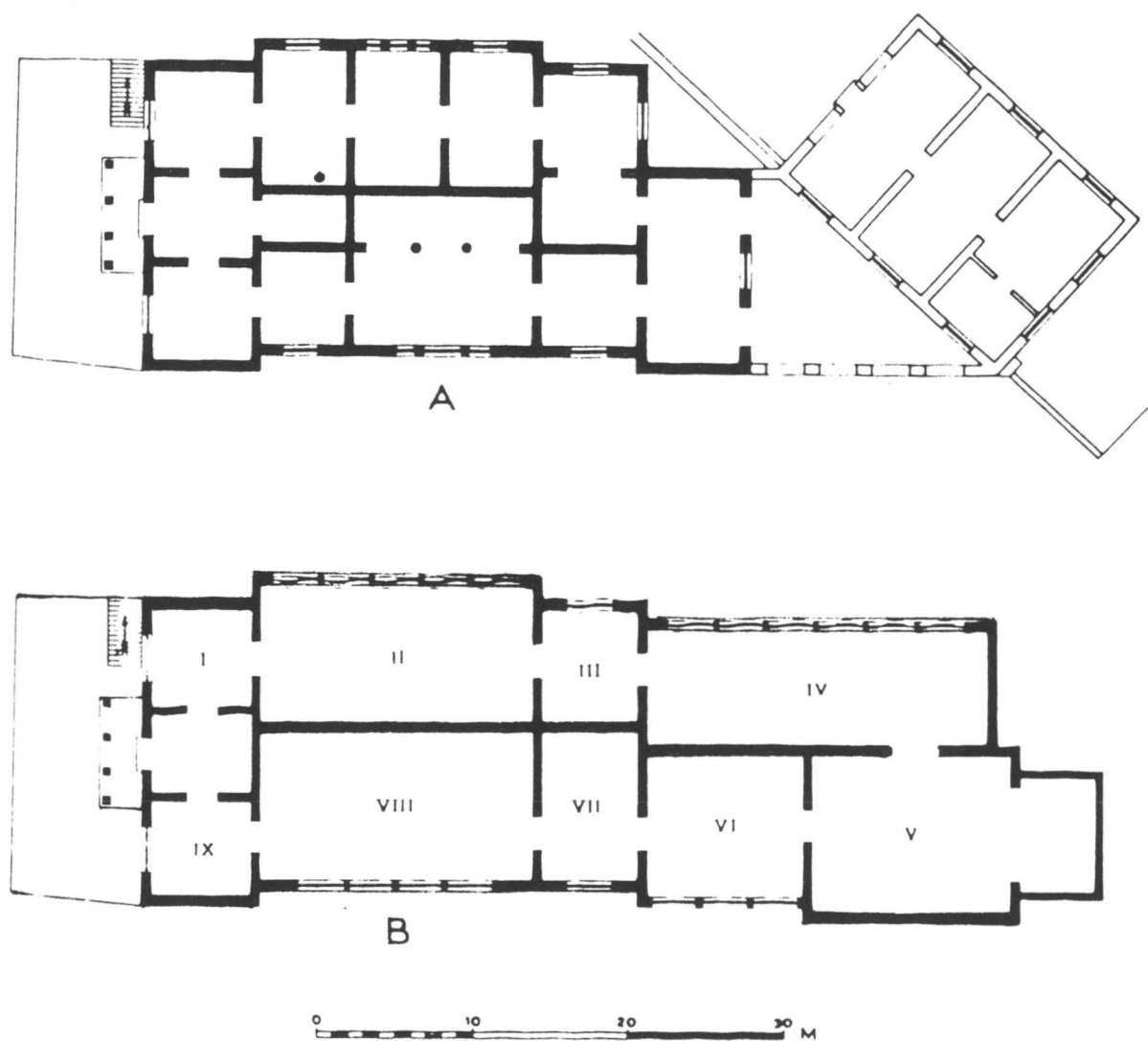
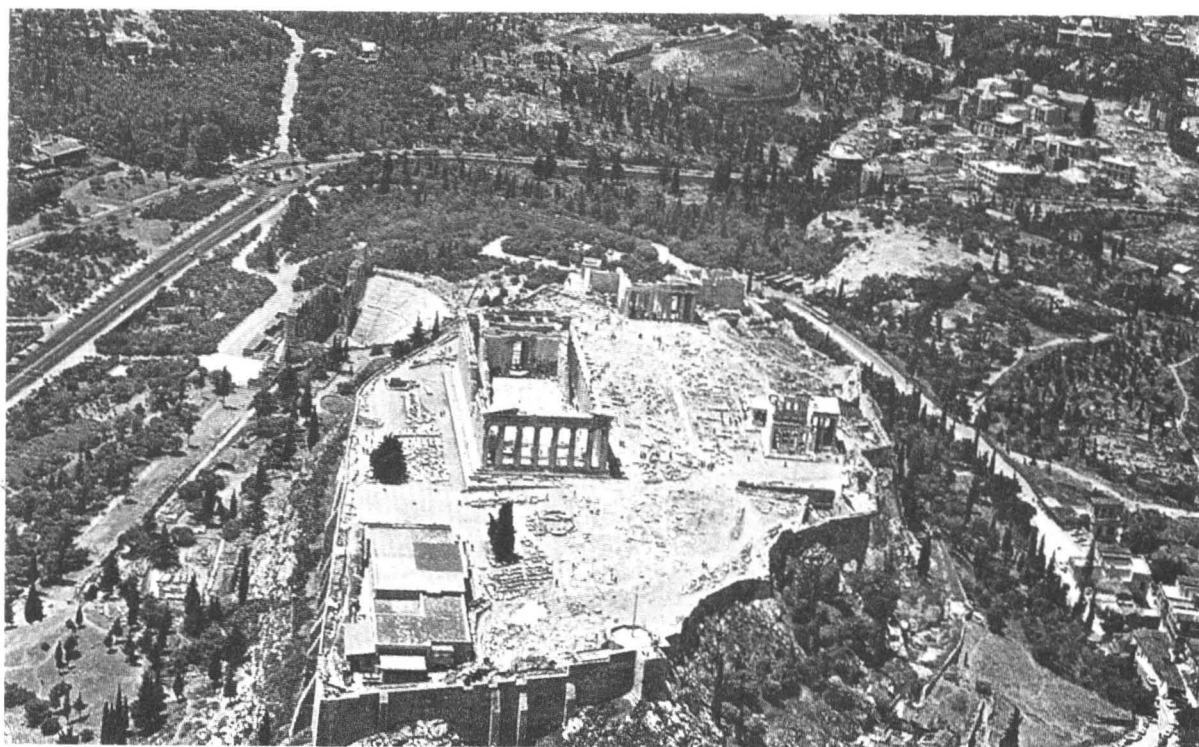


Fig. 347 The Akropolis plateau. In the foreground, the Akropolis Museum at the SE corner of the Akropolis precinct. Air view from the east. (Taken from a postcard).

Fig. 348 Ground plan of the Akropolis Museum: before (A) and after (B) renovation in the 1950s. Scale 1:600. (Kokkou, 1977).

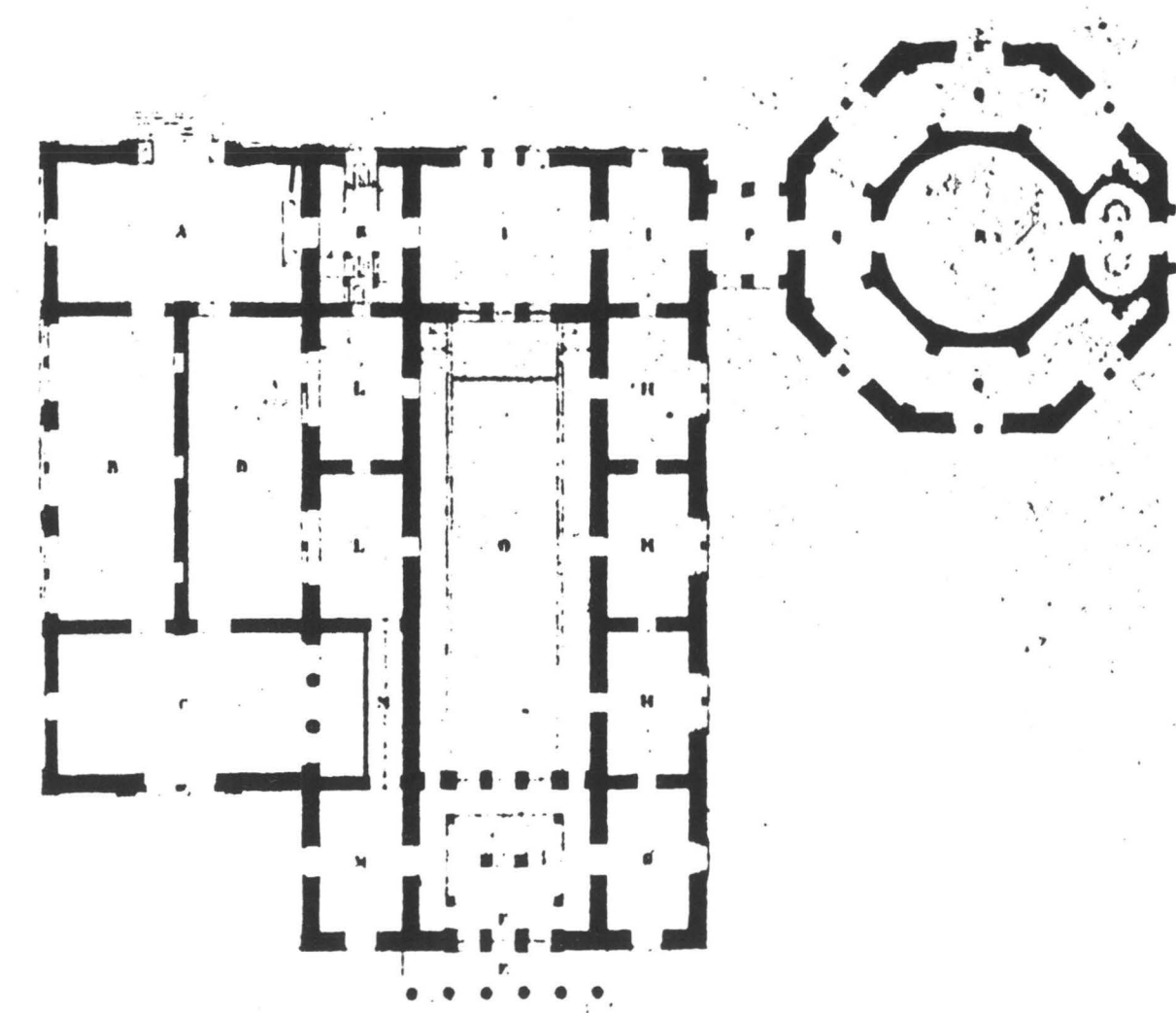
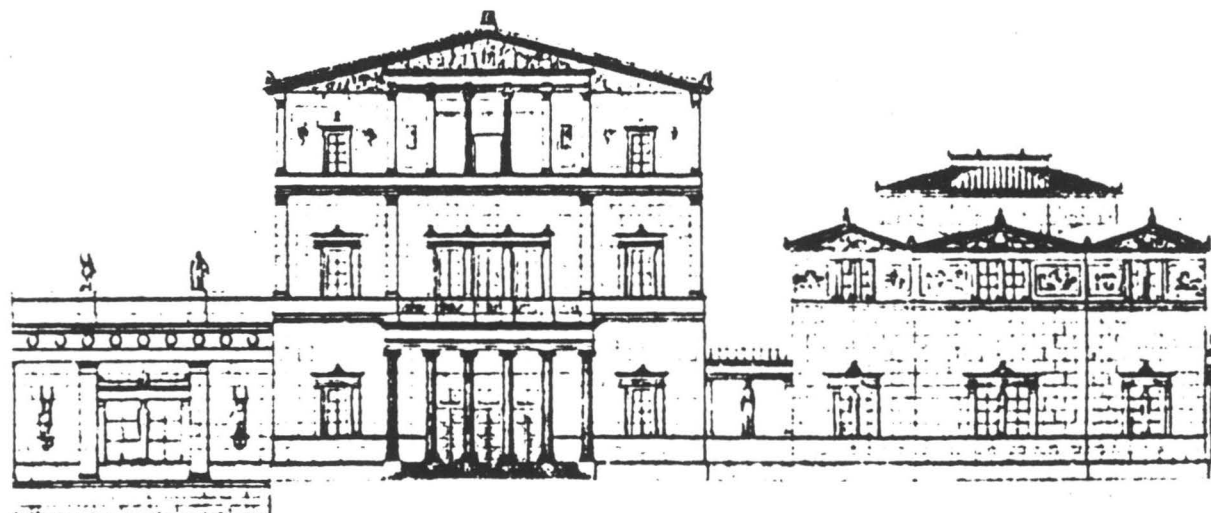


Fig. 349 The Pinakothek (NW wing) of the Propylaea functioning as a storeroom for antiquities (1833-1836).

Fig. 350 The Pantechnon designed by Leo von Klenze in 1836: front view and ground floor plan. Project not executed. (Russack, 1942).



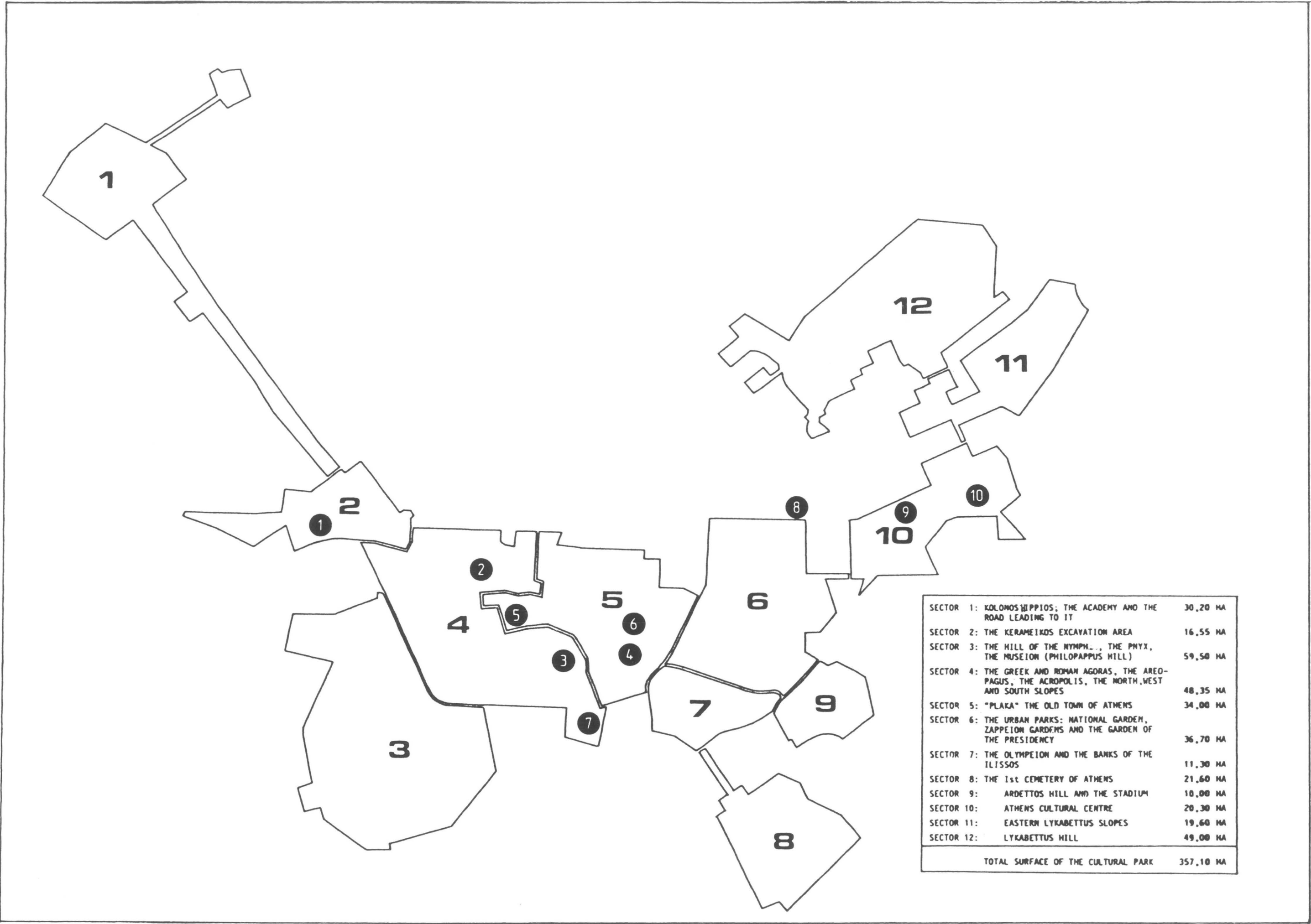


Fig. 351 Location of art museums in the cultural-historic area of Athens. Numbers enclosed in black correspond to the numbers listed on p. 314. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).



1976

Inauguration of the Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum, installed in the neoclassical private mansion of the Michaleas family on the Akropolis upper north slope on the site of the so-called Rizokastron Wall. Fine collections of Greek art from 3000 B.C. to present times.

A. Kokkou, 1977, 302.

1977-1980

Two unsuccessful architectural competitions for a new Akropolis Museum on the Military Hospital site (Makriyanni).

1987

Inauguration of the Centre for Akropolis Studies in the restored building of the Military Hospital (Makriyanni Building) designed by von Weiler in 1836.



Fig. 352 The Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum on the Akropolis upper north slope. Detail of the façade. (Photograph by the author).

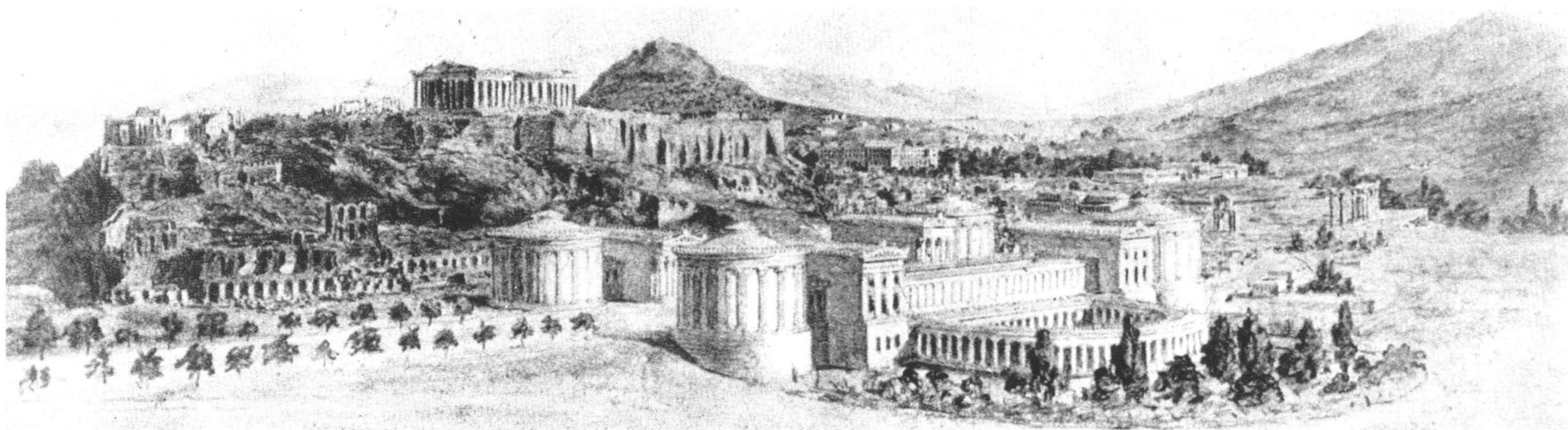


Fig. 353 Perspective drawing for a National Archaeological Museum opposite the Odeion of Herodes Atticus made by Theophilus Hansen in 1887. The project was not realized. (*Athènes, affaire Européenne*, Athens, 1985).







## LANDSCAPING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

### PLANNING PRINCIPLES; ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS

Landscaping the various areas of the cultural-historic area has never been a simple straightforward task. While some parts of the overall area of the inner city green belt are designed as public parks of various sorts, others are freely planted groves on a hilly site. It is, however, much more difficult to work out a concept for landscaping the immediate surroundings of ancient monuments or archaeological sites.

For these areas, the landscaping options range all the way from simple acceptance of the neglected *status quo* (e.g. the Olympieion terrace) to an evocative landscape design, interpreting the historic site (e.g. Pikionis' design for the approaches to the Akropolis), or to a more austere and conservative approach to landscaping, reintroducing the plant life known to have flourished in antiquity (e.g. the landscaping program for the Athenian Agora).

Although there has never been any question so far as to the desirability of inner city public parks in Athens, developed along western European patterns, the treatment of archaeological sites is still a quite controversial issue. In this respect, various solutions have been adopted but no consensus on the design principles has been reached so far.

Opinions diverge mainly on the basic option: should excavation sites, large terraces, and especially the rock formations of the historic hills be planted or should they be left with little vegetation, in a state which best displays their sculptural qualities and safeguards the readability of ancient topography?

The Greek painter and aesthete Yannis Tsarouchis has tackled this problem in an essay entitled *The Hysterical Call for Greenery*, which although quite polemical and one-sided goes deeply to the very essence of the controversy.<sup>140</sup> Tsarouchis subjects all attempts to plant and landscape the archaeological and historic sites of Athens to scathing criticism, savagely jeering at the perpetrators for concealing true natural beauty under disgraceful 'greeneries' and vain elegance.

Certainly, there is some truth but also rhetorical exaggeration to be found in this polemic text. Some of Tsarouchis' premises, as for example the sweeping generalization that Athenian "greeneries" are "anemic and dusty", simply do not correspond to the present reality! On the contrary, some excavation sites, for example Agora excavations or the site in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, suffer from unchecked growth running riot obscuring the readability of the archaeological remains.

In a memorandum submitted as early as 1946 to the General Secretariat for Tourism, Demetrius Pikionis formulated the principles to be followed in preserving an aesthetic environment in tourist development areas. In this paper, special attention is given to the problem of landscaping the areas of archaeological interest.<sup>141</sup>

Pikionis asked for a thorough study of every single feature of these areas (such as access

140 Extracts from Tsarouchis' article published in the Athens daily newspaper *Kathimerini* on September 7, 1975 are as follows:

«Τὸ συμπέρασμα στὸ ὁποῖο ἔφθασα εἶναι ὅτι τὸ πράσινο, ὅσο καὶ ἂν σεβασθοῦμε τὶς γνῶμες ἐπιστημόνων καὶ τεχνικῶν, εἶναι κάτι ποὺ δὲν ταιριάζει στὶς ζῶνες ἐμφανίσεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ χώρου. Ὁνειρεύομαι τὴν ἡμέρα ποὺ οἱ Ἕλληνες θὰ εἶναι τόσο ἀνεπτυγμένοι αἰσθητικῶς, ὥστε θὰ λένε στοὺς καλλιεργημένους ξένους ποὺ ἐπισκέπτονται τὸν τόπο μας: Μᾶς συγχωρεῖτε γι' αὐτὲς τὶς ἀκατάστατες πρασινάδες, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔχει τελειώσει ἀκόμη ἡ μελέτη ἀφαιρέσεώς τους, ὁπότε θὰ μεταφερθοῦν μακρὰν τῶν ζωνῶν ἐμφανίσεως σὲ εἰδικὲς κρυφὲς περιοχὲς ποὺ θὰ ὀνομάζονται «πνεύμονες», ἀλλὰ ποὺ θὰ εἶναι κρυφοὶ καὶ ἀθέατοι ὅπως εἶναι σ' ἓνα ἀρχοντικὸ σπίτι τὸ λεβητοστάσιο τοῦ καλοριφέρ, οἱ ἠλεκτρικὲς κουζίνες, τὰ ψυγεῖα καὶ ὅλα τὰ μηχανήματα τοῦ κομφόρ.

(...) Τὶ τὶς θέλουμε αὐτὲς τὶς πρασινάδες, τὶς σκονισμένες ἀναιμικὲς πιπεριές, τὰ φυματικὰ πευκάκια, τὰ μπασμένα ἢ ψωριασμένα κυπαρισιάκια κι ὅλον αὐτὸν τὸν πάσχοντα ἀπὸ αἰῶνια ἀνεπάρκεια φυτικὸ μας κόσμος! Ἄς πάρουμε δυὸ τρία διάσημα τοπία γύρω ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολη. Ἀλλὰ γιατί νὰ μὴν πάρουμε τὴν ἴδια τὴν σεβασμία Ἀκρόπολη —ἀνάκτορο τῆς ἀγνῆς θεᾶς ποὺ ἡ σύγχρονη ἑλληνικὴ προστυχάντζα χρόνια τώρα προσπαθεῖ νὰ μετατρέψει σὲ βιλίτσα τοῦ Ψυχικοῦ ἢ τῆς Φιλοθέης, ὅπου κατέφυγε ὄχι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἀλλὰ κάποιος ἀνυπόφορος Φραγκολεβαντίνο.

(...) καὶ ἡ μεγάλη πληγὴ τῶν κλασικῶν ἀρχαιολογικῶν χώρων, τὸ κυπαρισιάκι: Φουντωτὸ ἢ συμπεπυκνωμένο, σὰν ὄρθιο περίττωμα πασπαλισμένο μὲ ἄφθονη σκόνη, σὲ γελοῖο καὶ ἐνοχλητικὸ ἀνταγωνισμό —ὅπως τὸ παρατήρησε ὁ μέγας εἰς αὐτὰ Πικιώνης— μὲ τὶς ἐπίσης ὄρθιες κολῶνες ποὺ ἐπιμόνως ζητοῦν ὀριζόντιες ἢ καμπύλες συμπληρωματικὲς ὄχι ὅμως ὄρθια σουβλιά, ἄθλια καὶ φυματικὰ, ἐνοχλητικὰ παράσιτα στὸ καθαρὸ τραγοῦδι τους.

(...) Σεβαστὴ νευρώση βέβαια ἡ μανία γιὰ τὸ πράσινο, ἀλλὰ ὄχι στὶς ζῶνες ἐμφανίσεως ὅπου φυσικὰ βασιλεύει ὁ μέγας ἄρχων τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ τοπίου, ὁ βράχος. Ὁ ἑλληνικὸς δρυμὸς εἶναι τὰ ἑλληνικὰ βράχια. Τὸ πράσινο πρέπει νὰ φυτεύεται ἐκεῖ ποὺ δὲν καταστρέφει τὰ βράχια. Αὐτὲς εἶναι οἱ ἀθάνατες γλυπτικὲς τῆς φύσεως ποὺ θὰ δίδουν στὸν αἰῶνα τὸν χαρακτήρα στὸν τόπο μας. Τὸ πράσινο πρέπει νὰ μπαίνει ἄλλοῦ. Δίπλα σὲ βράχια ἢ δίπλα σὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐρείπια δὲν πρέπει νὰ φυτεύονται πρασινάδες, καὶ ὅ, τι μπεῖ πρέπει νὰ μπαίνει ἀφοῦ βασανισθεῖ.

141 Because of the seminal importance of this programmatic text, we cite here in full this passage in Greek as published in Pikionis' writings (Athens, 1985):

«Πᾶσα γενικωτέρα διαρρύθμισις τῶν ἀρχαιολογικῶν χώρων, πᾶσα διανοίξις ὁδῶν προσπελάσεως, δένδροφύτευσις, περίφραξις καὶ οἰαδήποτε ἄλλη διευθέτησις τοῦ ἐδάφους αὐτοῦ δέον ν' ἀποτελῇ τὸ θέμα ἐνδελεχοῦς μελέτης. Διότι συχνότατα εἶναι προτιμότερα ἢ φυσικὴ κατὰστασις εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν μᾶς παρεδόθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, παρὰ ὁ πλαστὸς ἢ πλήρης ἐκζητήσεως ἐξωραϊσμός, ὡς λέγεται, τῶν χώρων αὐτῶν.

Εἰς τὴν δένδροφύτευσιν ἰδίως δέον νὰ καταβληθῇ μεγίστη φροντίς. Ἡ σχέσις γῆς καὶ αὐτόχθονος χλωρίδος δὲν εἶναι ἀπλὴ τυχαίότης. Ὡς σχῆμα, ὡς χρῶμα, ὡς τόνος, ὡς ἄρωμα ἢ χλωρὶς αὐτῇ, δένδρον ἢ θάμνος, συνδέεται διὰ μιᾶς μυχίας ἁρμονίας πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἢ ὁποία τὴν ἐγέννησεν. Ἡ τάσις μας νὰ προτιμῶμεν ἀπὸ τὰ αὐτόχθονα τὰ ξένα, μόνον διὰ τὸν λόγον ὅτι φύονται ταχέως, ἀποτελεῖ αὐθαιρεσίαν, ἢ ὁποία διασπᾷ καὶ καταστρέφει τὴν μυστικὴν αὐτὴν ἁρμονίαν πολὺ πέραν τῶν προβλέψεων τῆς νοοτροπίας τῶν πολλῶν.

Διότι δὲν εἶναι μόνον ἡ ἁρμονία τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν —σχήματος, τόνου καὶ χρώματος— ποὺ καταστρέφεται. Κἀτι πολυτιμότερον τῆς φυσικῆς αὐτῆς ἁρμονίας καταστρέφεται, τὸ μεταφυσικόν, τὸ ψυχικόν σύμβολον, ποὺ ἀποτελεῖ δι' ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰκὼν τῆς χλωρίδος αὐτῆς. Ἐὰν θέλωμεν βαθμιαίως νὰ τὴν ὑποκαταστήσωμεν ἢ τὴν συμμίξωμεν μὲ τὴν ξένην, διότι ἡ τελευταία, ὡς διατείνονται, φύεται εὐκολώτερον καὶ ταχύτερον, τοῦτο σημαίνει ὅτι δὲν εἴμεθα ἱκανοὶ νὰ δεχθῶμεν τὸ μάθημα ποὺ μᾶς δίδει. Τὸ μάθημα τοῦτο διδάσκει ὅτι τὸ ἀνώτερον ἐπιτυχάνεται διὰ κόπου καὶ χρόνου, καὶ ὅτι τὸ εὐκόλον εἶναι ἄνευ σημασίας.

Δυνάμεθα νὰ θυσιάσωμεν τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν εὐκολίαν καὶ τὴν ταχύτητα, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκλογή μας θὰ ἀποφασίσῃ διὰ τὴν ψυχικὴν μας ποιότητα.



Τὸ ζήτημα εἶναι ἀπὸ τὰ πλέον ἐπίμαχα τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς, ἐκεῖνο διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον ἴσως ἔχουν γίνει τὰ ὀλιγώτερα.

Ἡ πανθεϊστικὴ ἐκείνη διάθεσις ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποίαν μόνον θὰ ἡδύνατο νὰ γεννηθῇ μία σύλληψις ἐλληνικὴ ἔχει ἐκλείψει.

Ἡ θρησκευτικὴ ἀγάπη πρὸς τὸ αὐτοποιὸν φύτευμα, τὸ γλαυκὸν φύλλον ἐλαίας τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ἐμαράνθη. Ἀπὸ τὰ δύο ἱερὰ νάματα, ἀγιάσματα τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως τὰ ὕμνησεν ὁ Εὐριπίδης, τὸ ἓνα ἐκαλύψαμεν, τὸ ἄλλο μένει ἐγκαταλελειμμένον, ὑπόνομοι καὶ νερὰ ἐργοστασίων διοχετεύονται μέσα εἰς τὴν κοίτην τῶν.

Λατομοῦμεν τοὺς λόφους, ποὺ εἶναι ἡ κοιτὶς καὶ τὸ σύμφυτον πλαίσιον τῆς ἀθηναϊκῆς τέχνης. Κανένα αἶσθημα ἱερὸν δὲν μᾶς ἐμψυχώνει πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, τοὺς λόφους, τοὺς ποταμούς, τὰς πηγὰς, τοὺς κρημνούς, τὰ σπήλαια αὐτῆς τῆς γῆς· τὸ καθ’ ἓνα ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα ἡ θρησκευτικὴ φαντασία τῶν ἀρχαίων εἶχε περιβάλει μὲ ὑψηλὴν καθιέρωσιν, καὶ δὲν μιλεῖ ἐπίσης διὰ τὴν ἐπιβίωσιν αὐτῆς τῆς ἰδίας διαθέσεως ἀπέναντι τῆς φύσεως, ποὺ τὴν ἀνευρίσκομεν ὀλοζώντανην εἰς τὴν λαϊκὴν μας παράδοσιν.

Μολαταῦτα, ἀπὸ ἓν τέτοιο θρησκευτικὸ αἶσθημα, ὅπως εἶπα, θὰ ἡδύνατο νὰ προκύψῃ μία ἐλληνικὴ σύλληψις. Ἀντὶ τούτου, ἡ φαντασία μας κυριαρχεῖται καὶ ἐδῶ ἀπὸ εἰκόνας καὶ σχήματα μιᾶς κοσμικῆς, θὰ ἔλεγα, οὐσίας, ὅπως εἶναι τὰ σχήματα τῆς γαλλικῆς ἀναγεννήσεως ἢ τῆς ἀγγλικῆς κηποτεχνίας, καὶ καμμία προσπάθεια μιᾶς γνησίας καὶ ἐκφραστικῆς ποὺ εἶναι ‘τοῦ εἶναι μας’ μορφῆς δὲν ἔχει ἀκόμη ἀναφανῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἶναι ζήτημα, ὅπως τόσα ἄλλα, μακρῶν δημιουργικῶν προσπαθειῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐδῶ περιοριζόμεθα εἰς ὅσα θὰ ἦτο ἐφικτὸν νὰ ἀντιμετωπισθοῦν δι’ ἀρνητικῶν διατάξεων, πρέπει νὰ τονίσωμεν ὅτι ἡ ἰσχὺς τῶν δέον νὰ καλύψῃ μίαν ἔκτασιν ἀπείρως μεγαλυτέραν τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸ τουριστικῶν ζωνῶν. Διότι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτὴν τῆς διαυγείας, τὸ πᾶν εὐρίσκεται εἰς φανεράν ἀνταπόκρισιν πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὰ μακρὰν κείμενα. Δὲν εἶναι λ.χ. ἀδιάφορον διὰ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν τὶ θὰ κτισθῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυκαβηττοῦ. Ἡ δενδροφύτευσις τοῦ τελευταίου φαίνεται, διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαρωνικοῦ θεωμένους τὸ λεκανοπέδιον, ὡς μελανὸν στίγμα ὀπισθεν τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, τὸ ὁποῖον καταστρέφει τὴν λοιπὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ τοπίου. Ὁ Φιλόπαππος εὐρίσκεται εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐπίπεδον τῆς εἰκόνης διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Λεωφόρου Συγγροῦ θεωμένους τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν. Ἡ λατόμησίς του, ἡ ἀσβεστόχρισις τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κρημοῦ του εἶναι ἀναπόσπαστα μέρη τῆς ὅλης εἰκόνης. Καὶ ἡ λατόμησις αὐτὴ τῶν περὶ τὰ Σφαγεῖα λόφων κατέστρεψε τὰς τελευταίας μετὰ τὸν Φιλόπαππον, εἰς τὴν κοίλῃν, ἀναπάλσεις τοῦ ἐδάφους, αἵτινες ἦσαν ἀπαραίτητοι διὰ τὴν ἰσορροπίαν τοῦ ἐδάφους. Τὸ παράδειγμα αὐτὸ δείχνει ἐναργῶς ὅτι διὰ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν ἄποψιν αἱ συσχετίσεις αὐταὶ ἐκτείνονται πολὺ πέραν τῶν προβλέψεων τῶν πολλῶν. Καὶ ὅτι ἐπομένως ἡ αἰσθητικὴ ἐποπτεία πρέπει νὰ περιλάβῃ ἔκτασιν πολὺ μεγαλυτέραν τῆς κυρίας ζώνης.»

roads, vegetation, fences or treatment of ground levels), stating that in many cases it would be preferable to leave “the natural setting as it has been brought to us through the ages” instead of trying to embellish these spaces artificially.

He insisted on the value of the indigenous flora and on its relation to the very spirit of the landscape. By planting non-indigenous plants not only the “harmony of the form, tone and color is destroyed, but also the much more valuable metaphysical symbolism conveyed by the image of the native flora”. Reverent admiration for the main contours of the Athenian landscape has been lost: The modern Greeks have converted the Ilissos and Kephissos rivers into open drains, and the historic hills into quarries. Contemporary Greeks are infatuated by the alien forms of French Renaissance or English landscaping instead of expressing their own identity and tradition with genuine forms of their own.

This is why he pleaded for conservation areas much larger than the actual excavation zones or the immediate surroundings of the monuments: “In this land of clarity, every feature in the landscape is seen in relation to all other features. For example, the treatment of Lykabettos hill is not irrelevant to the appearance of the Akropolis. The way in which this hill has been planted creates a dark spot in the background of the Akropolis and spoils the harmony of the Athenian landscape for the visitor coming from the sea (...)”

These remarks reveal that Pikionis gave absolute priority to preserving the natural contours of the Attic landscape. A primitive and undifferentiated replanting has no value for him. The general equilibrium of man-made and natural features and the preservation of the ‘sacred’ features of the mythical landscape are what he considered as being of paramount importance.

This attitude (which underlies all his design options in the treatment of the hills west of the Akropolis ten years later) is the main characteristic of Pikionis’ philosophy. As an analysis of his work shows, Pikionis never tried to ‘embellish’ or to ‘plant’ the Athenian hills. This typical attitude of the authorities and the various so-called beautification societies was totally alien to him.

This is why Pikionis cannot be considered as a landscape architect in the conventional meaning of the term, but rather as the guardian of the eternal features of Attica.

Some extreme aesthetic positions are, however, to be found in the arguments advanced by Tsarouchis and his mentor Pikionis: both insist on the fact that cypresses with their severe vertical form compete visually with the marble columns of the ancient monuments and therefore should not be planted in the historic site! The argument seems absurd if one takes into consideration the entirely different texture (i.e. manmade white stone artifacts versus natural dark green foliage) and the totally different kinds of display, i.e. rhythmical alignment of the columns versus random grouping of the trees.

The catchy statement that “the rocks of Greece have to be considered as its forests” is to some extent a pathetic fallacy: no doubt that rock formations —especially when imbued with historic associations— possess an enhanced appeal both as natural sculptural features and as historic landmarks. This is why planting in their immediate vicinity should be discreet and appropriate in order to safeguard the natural contours and the skyline. But to assert that “next to the rocks and to the ancient ruins no greenery should be planted” is an unjustified dogmatic exaggeration.

A kernel of truth remains however, in this over-conservative and anti-western approach to the landscape issue in Athens; and this is to be found in the concern for the unique shape and surface texture of the historic hills and for securing adequate planting of the site with indigenous plants.

Since we have no way of finding out how the unbuilt historic site appeared in antiquity, any attempt to restore the ancient landscape remains an idle and irrelevant task. Our sole concern should be a new creative landscape treatment which enhances the readability of the ancient remains and responds to the *genius loci* of the historic site, by avoiding any alien landscape approach in the direct vicinity of the monuments which could reduce the historic setting to a romantic *Ruinenpark*.

The main options and design patterns adopted in the various sectors of the cultural-historic area will be discussed in the following sections.



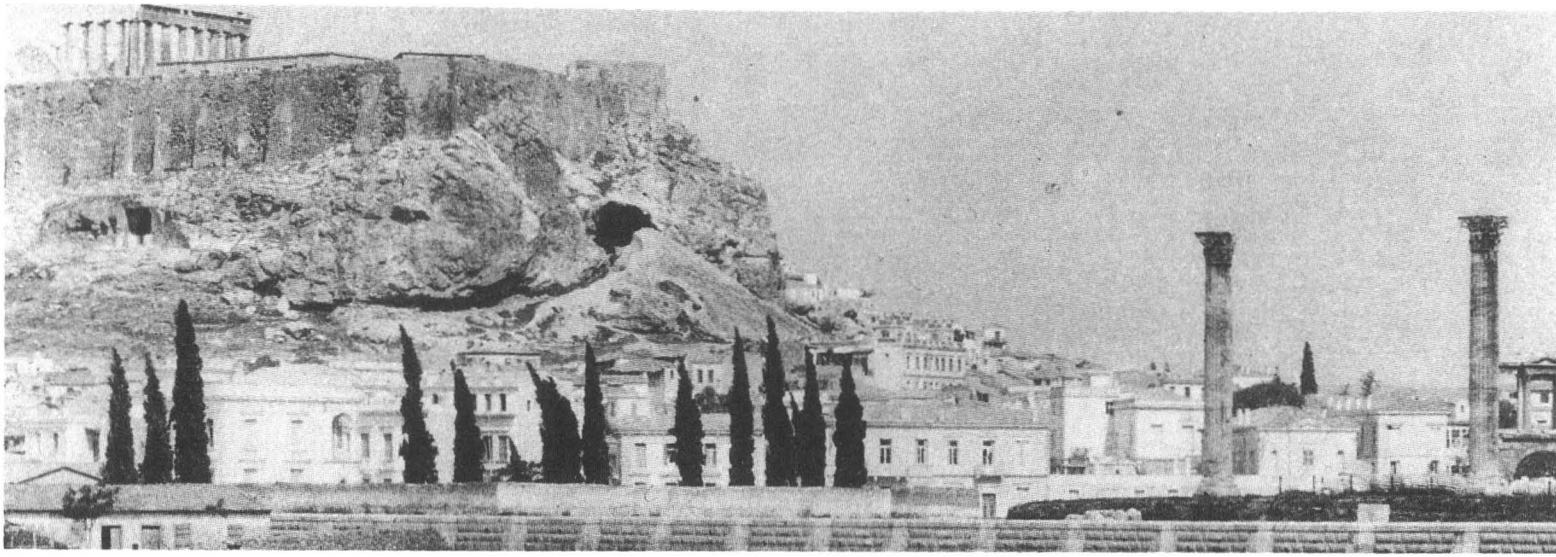


Fig. 354 Akropolis and the Olympieion. The argument that cypresses with their elongated shape compete visually with the marble columns is indefensible! (Neue Photographische Gesellschaft, Berlin).

## THE LAYOUT AND PLANTING OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARKS

From the beginning of archaeological investigations in Athens, town-planners and archaeologists were faced with the specific problem of suitable landscaping for archaeological sites after excavations had been completed and deciding how to treat the famous topographical features of the city.

Whereas in the case of urban parks, the choice between designing western-oriented layouts or traditional Greek groves remains a rather theoretical matter situated in the realm of aesthetic preferences, the layout of archaeological parks confronts us with the main question of securing the readability of the ancient remains and enhancing their aesthetic appeal by means of planting.

Early on in the history of modern Athens a consensus was reached on the best way to set off the antiquities by means of planting.

Two basic principles were adopted and maintained throughout the years: first, that the excavated areas should not be left barren but should be landscaped in order to create a specific kind of public park; second, that the trees and bushes to be planted should be arranged in groups or lines in order to set off the ground plans of the ruins. The idea of continuous dense planting was therefore rejected.

As early as 1832, Kleanthes and Schaubert commenting on the plan for the new city, suggested planting the slopes of the Akropolis with trees that can survive without much water and creating paths lined with trees for those promenading around the Akropolis.<sup>142</sup>

Two years later, Ludwig Ross made even more precise recommendations: every year in the fall, the sites that have been excavated should be planted; trees should be distributed in well-disposed groups so that the ancient city would be turned neither into a bare site nor into a forest.

Ludwig Ross was also the first to propose reestablishing the ancient Peripatos, the ring walk around the Akropolis slopes. He concludes with a proposal which may be considered as the seminal idea for the creation of an archaeological park, "Athens will possess a park which will be richly instructive and worthy of reverence by virtue of the ancient ruins as few others are and incomparably rich in the beauties of nature".<sup>143</sup>

This initial concept of a comprehensive, well-planned planting enhancing the attractiveness of excavation sites has, unfortunately, not been implemented for a long time; it was not until the

142 This seminal passage of the memorandum reads as follows:

"Außer den Volksgärten auf beiden Seiten des Königlichen Schlosses wäre der südliche Teil der Stadt, wenn er nach beendigten Ausgrabungen mit Bäumen bepflanzt, verbunden mit Alleen rings um den Abhang der Akropolis, als Spaziergang zu benutzen. Zu den Alleen um die Burg wären solche Bäume zu benutzen, welche auch ohne Wasser fortkommen, so daß die schönen braunen Felsen der Akropolis aus einem grünen Kranze hervorblicken würden".

143 L. Ross, 1863, 156:

"In jedem Herbst würde das bis dahin ausgegrabene Terrain zwischen den alten Monumenten mit Bäumen und Gebüsch zu bepflanzen sein, die in angemessenen Entfernungen gruppenweise zu vertheilen wären, damit die wiedererstandene alte Stadt weder eine zu nackte Fläche zeige, noch auch sich in einen Wald verwandele. Auf der obersten natürlichen Terrasse der Akropolis, unter ihrer nackten Felsenkrone, von der Grotte des Pan bis an das Theater des Dionysos läßt sich mit leichter Mühe ein schattiger Baumgang anlegen. Herrlich werden dann die gelbbraun glänzenden Felsen der Akropolis und ihre hellen goldgelb gefärbten Mauern mit ihren unregelmäßigen malerischen Zinnen aus dem dunkelgrünen Laube hervorrage: hoch über ihnen noch die imposanten Säulenmassen des Parthenon. Und welche entzückende Aussicht wird sich von diesem Baumgange aus dem Wanderer eröffnen, auf die alte und neue Stadt zu seinen Füßen, und über dieselbe hinaus auf die weite Ebene mit dem tief dunklen Oelwalde und auf die fernen blauen Gipfel des Kithairon, Parnes und Pentelikon. Athen wird einen Park besitzen, lehrreich und ehrwürdig zugleich durch die Ruinen der Vorzeit wie kein anderer, und reich an Naturschönheiten wie wenig andere".



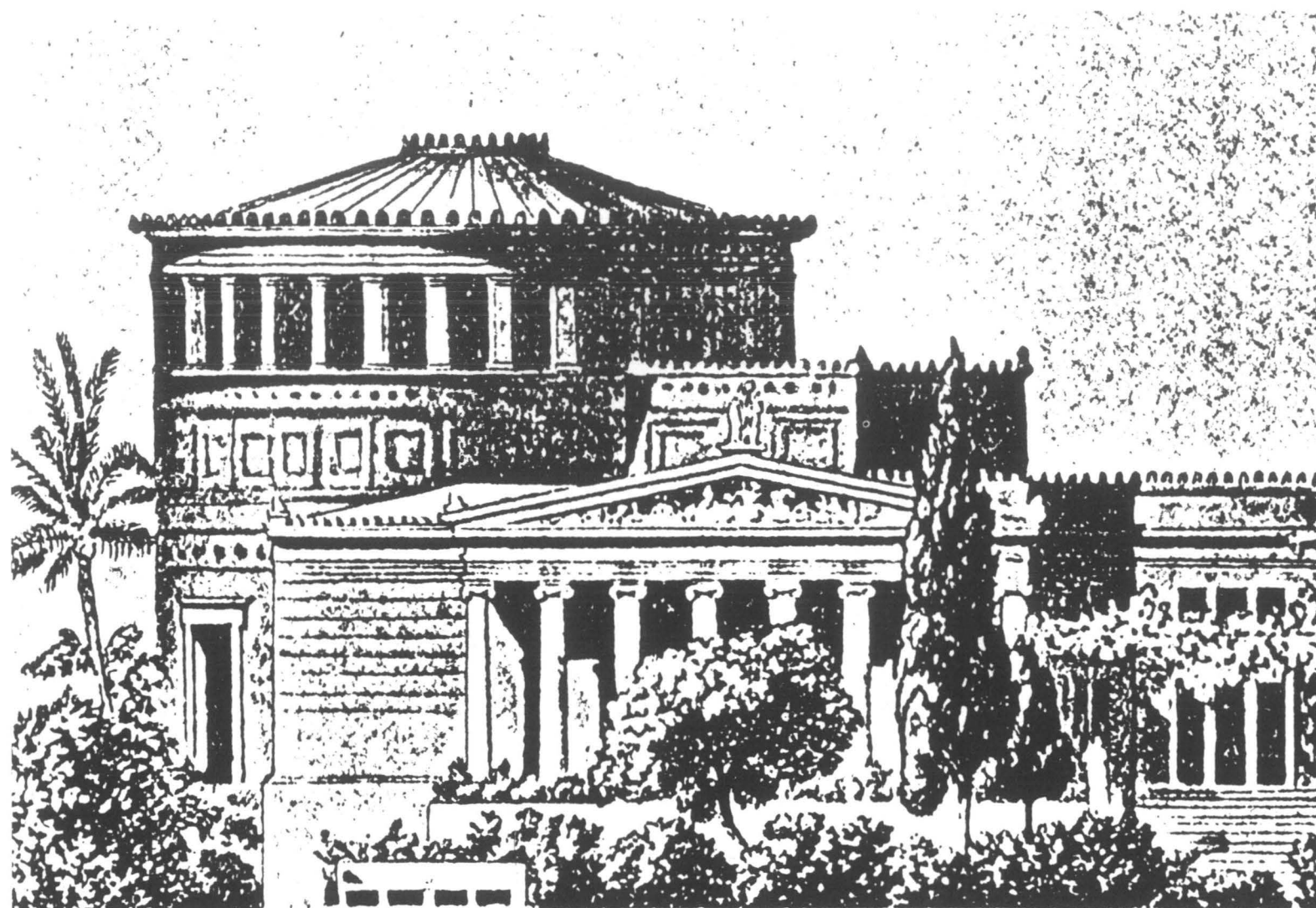


Fig. 355 Detail of the Queen's Pavilion, taken from Schinkel's project (1834) for a royal palace on the Akropolis. Note the luxuriant foliage envisaged by Schinkel. (Watercolour in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich).

late 1950s and 1960s that consistent action was taken in this direction with the landscaping of the Agora excavations, the Kerameikos excavations, the site in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, and the area to the north of the Olympieion.

In the mean time future archaeological investigations have been blocked by densely replanting large areas, such as the Akropolis west slope, parts of the Akropolis south slope, parts of the Pnyx range. What was actually done bore little relation, alas, to planning principles.

In another context, the landscaping policy on the Akropolis (or to be more precise, the policy of *not* landscaping) has been consistently pursued over the years: both Schinkels' and von Klenzes' romantic visions of planting characteristic southern trees, such as cypresses or palm trees, alongside the ruins on the Akropolis in order to enhance the picturesque quality of the site<sup>144</sup> have been rejected from the beginning; they were considered as offensive to the austere grandeur and pure sculptural qualities of the place (fig. 355).

The few landscaping schemes for archaeological sites which have been adopted in Athens during the last decades have in common maximum concern for safeguarding the ruins and an increased interest in the use of indigenous plants known to have flourished in ancient times.

The major venture in this respect has been the planting of the central area of the Agora excavations including Kolonos Agoraios. In the law passed by the Greek Parliament covering the Agora excavations (Law 4212 of March 23, 1929, article 3) the provision was made that "on the completion of the excavation (...) the area shall be turned into a park."

Almost 25 years later when the excavations of the central area were drawing to a close, serious thought was given to the question of landscaping. The American School of Classical Studies intrusted Ralph E. Griswold, a landscape architect of Pittsburg, U.S.A., with this delicate task.

As a former fellow in Landscape Design of the American Academy in Rome, and as the architect responsible for the landscaping of the United States Military Cemetery at Anzio, Italy, R.E. Griswold was well acquainted with Mediterranean flora, climate and soil conditions. After

144 Thus Leo von Klenze wanted to have the Akropolis as a picturesque crownig element:

"Es müßte dann der Gipfel des Felsens, auf paßliche und malerische Art zwischen den Monumenten vertheilt, mit einigen Gruppen von Plamen, Cypressen, Olivenbäumen u.s.w. bepflanzt werden, um dem Ganzen eine höchst reizende Gestalt zu geben, und der herrlichen Gegend von Attika einen bedeutenden pittoresken Schlußpunkt zu sichern".

Leo von Klenze, 1838.





Fig. 356 First signs of planting trees on the Akropolis west slope around the turn of the century. (DAI, Athens).

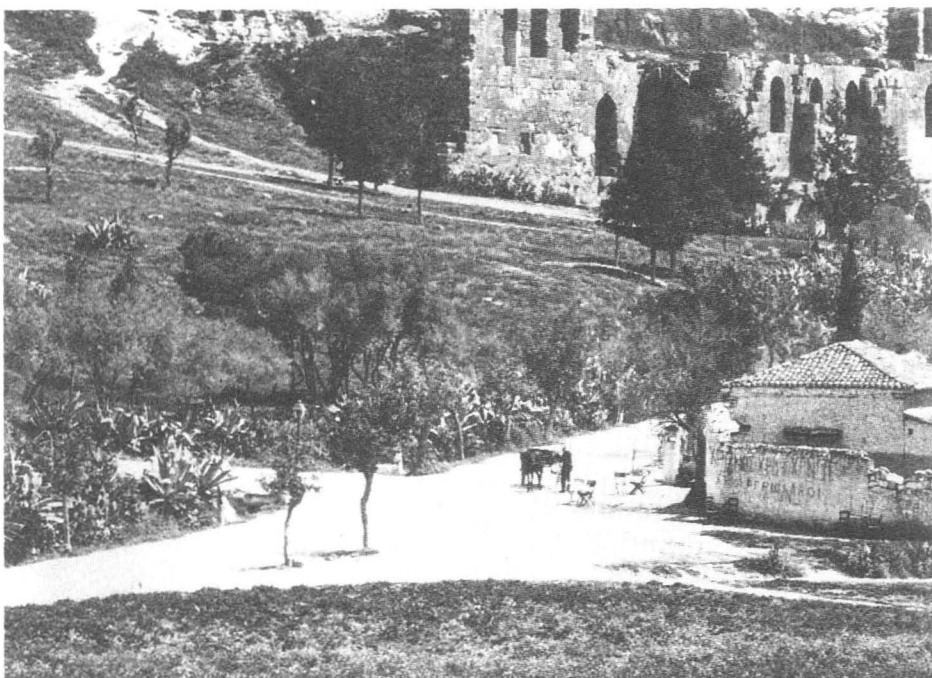


Fig. 357 The area around the Odeion of Herodes Atticus with sparse vegetation around the turn of the century. (DAI, Athens).

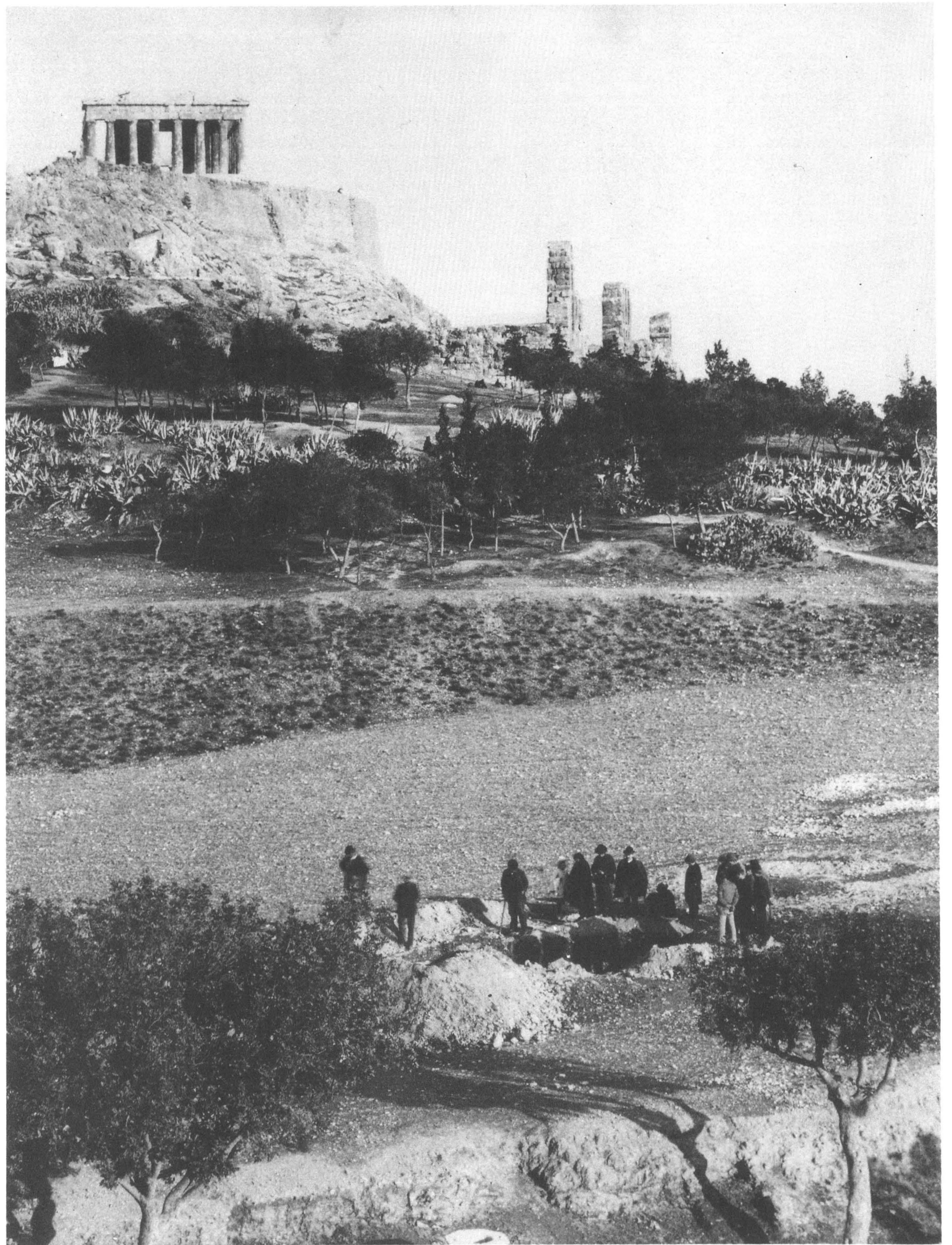


Fig. 358 Detail of the Akropolis SW slope in 1896. Note that cacti and Aleppo pines have already been planted. (DAI, Athens).



devoting several years to an intensive study of the indigenous plants of Greece both in the present and in antiquity and observing landscape practices in Athens and elsewhere in Greece, R.E. Griswold prepared a comprehensive design for the landscaping of the Agora and its environs, a total area of about 9 ha.

After the conclusion of his study, the entire area was landscaped. A first effort has thus been made to increase the 'readability' of an archaeological site by consolidating and clearing the foundations of the ancient buildings *in situ*, by designing a network of paths covered by natural soil and by planting groups of trees and bushes at critical points of the area.

An attempt was also made to distribute the planting in such a way as to help the eye of the visitor who stands on the Akropolis to distinguish the ancient square from its surroundings at a glance. By judicious planting it has been possible to define the courses of the ancient thoroughfares that passed through the square, to clarify, rather than to obscure, the scheme of the ancient buildings, and even to suggest the monuments that once rose from now ruined bases. The planting is of such a sort as to provide perpetual pleasure for the nearby residents as well as an invitation to the passing visitor. In meeting all these desiderata, the designer had to respect the ancient traditions, using only native plants and restoring as far as possible the actual trees and groves which are known from the authors to have formed such a significant and attractive element in the ancient setting of public life.<sup>145</sup>

The first archaeological park of the city was thus created. The landscaping of an archaeological site is still one of the most controversial and unsolved aesthetic and functional design tasks and unfortunately very little attention is paid to the matter. The extensive excavations in the Agora confronted us for the first time with the comprehensive task of landscaping a historic site following excavations.

A report written by Ralph E. Griswold in 1956 describes his work in creating the archaeological park in the Agora and recapitulates the planning principles he adopted. Because of its special interest we present here the main extracts of this unpublished paper:

"Landscaping the Athenian Agora," by Ralph E. Griswold

"At the foot of the Akropolis in the heart of Athens the ancient Agora has been excavated by the American School of Classical Studies(...)

The director of the Agora excavations, Homer Thompson, asked me to come to Athens in the summer of 1953 to make preliminary studies and estimates of cost for landscaping the Agora. He wanted me to see it at its worst in the midst of the arid season. There is seldom any rain from June to September in Athens. His strategy was wise. If I had not seen the severe summer conditions, which the new planting would have to endure I could not have planted successfully(...) My preliminary studies included a thorough examination of the archaeological, historical, horticultural and physical characteristics of the excavations. Most of the excavation had been completed by the time I arrived on the scene. Only a few modern houses and streets that had previously completely covered the excavations area remained to be demolished. The staff of archaeologists and historians had identified the ancient foundations and reconstructed the history of the area from the archaeological findings(...) I was provided with references to planting in the Agora extracted from the ancient authors by Professor R. E. Wycherley. In my plans for the Agora proper I used only the trees, oaks, planes, laurel, olive, white poplars and myrtle mentioned in these classical references. On the surrounding slopes I planted other indigenous plants, but no exotics. This policy became difficult to follow when prominent individuals offered gifts of exotic plants. In a few cases I compromised for strategic reasons trusting that nature would take its course. In my plans are included many semi-tropical varieties of plants familiar to us here: red bud, tamarix, oleander, vitax, almond, acacia, pine, cedar, cypress, rhamnus, parkinsonia, rosemary, heather, lavender, teucriums, gorse, clematis, honeysuckle, smilax, English ivy. I am also planting as many wild flowers as possible from all parts of Greece to give the visitors a glimpse of the unrivaled display that surpasses all other countries.

Many of our plants were contributed by individuals and organizations. They came to the Agora and planted their contributions with appropriate ceremonies.

His Majesty King Paul planted an oak, sacred to Zeus, near the altar dedicated to that

145 The information about how the Agora was planted in ancient times is scanty:

"A few ancient authors and inscriptions refer to planting in the Agora. Kimon donated plane trees to shade the walks after the Persian Wars had devastated Athens. Under a small plane tree near the Temple of Ares stood a famous statue of the orator Demosthenes. On another plane the magistrates who supervised women hung the notice board with the listed fines for the disorderly. Beneath a white poplar thieves and swindlers liked to gather. This must have been in a wet spot near the Great Drain. Near too must have been the black poplar, where the poor who could not pay the entrance fee established themselves to witness spectacles in the old orchestra. A tiny fountain was set up beside the Senate House, perhaps the 'Fountain among the osiers' where the oligarch Phrynichos was murdered in 411 B.C. In Roman times a pious citizen dedicated plants to the Light-Bearers (Phosphoroi) who were minor divinities who were worshipped in the nearby Tholos".

Extracts from "Garden Lore of Ancient Athens", ASCS, 1963.



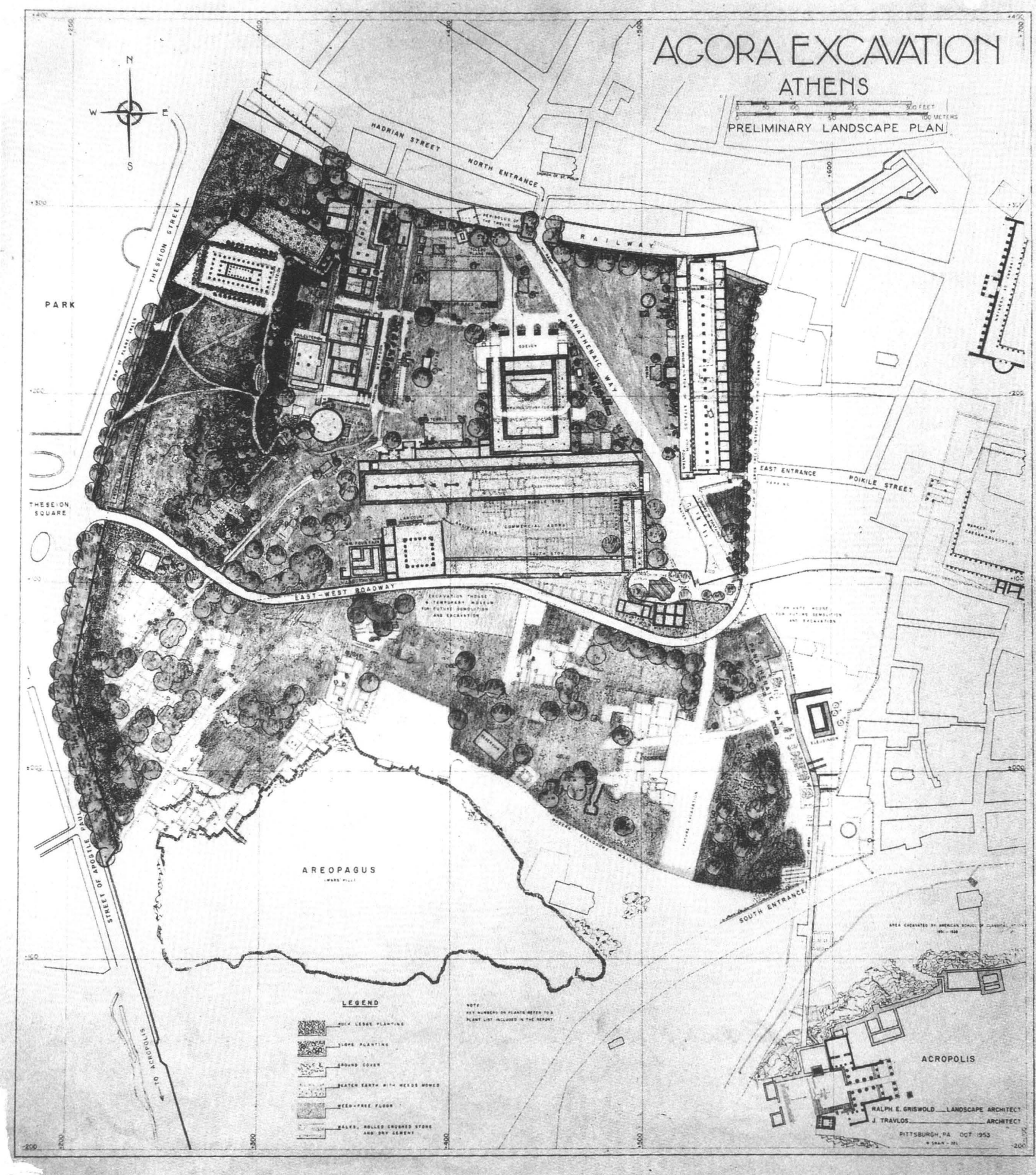


Fig. 359 General landscaping scheme for the Agora excavations by R. Griswold (1956). Scale ca 1:3000. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).





Fig. 360 Landscaping project for the Agora excavations as envisaged by R. Griswold. View towards the east; photomontage. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).

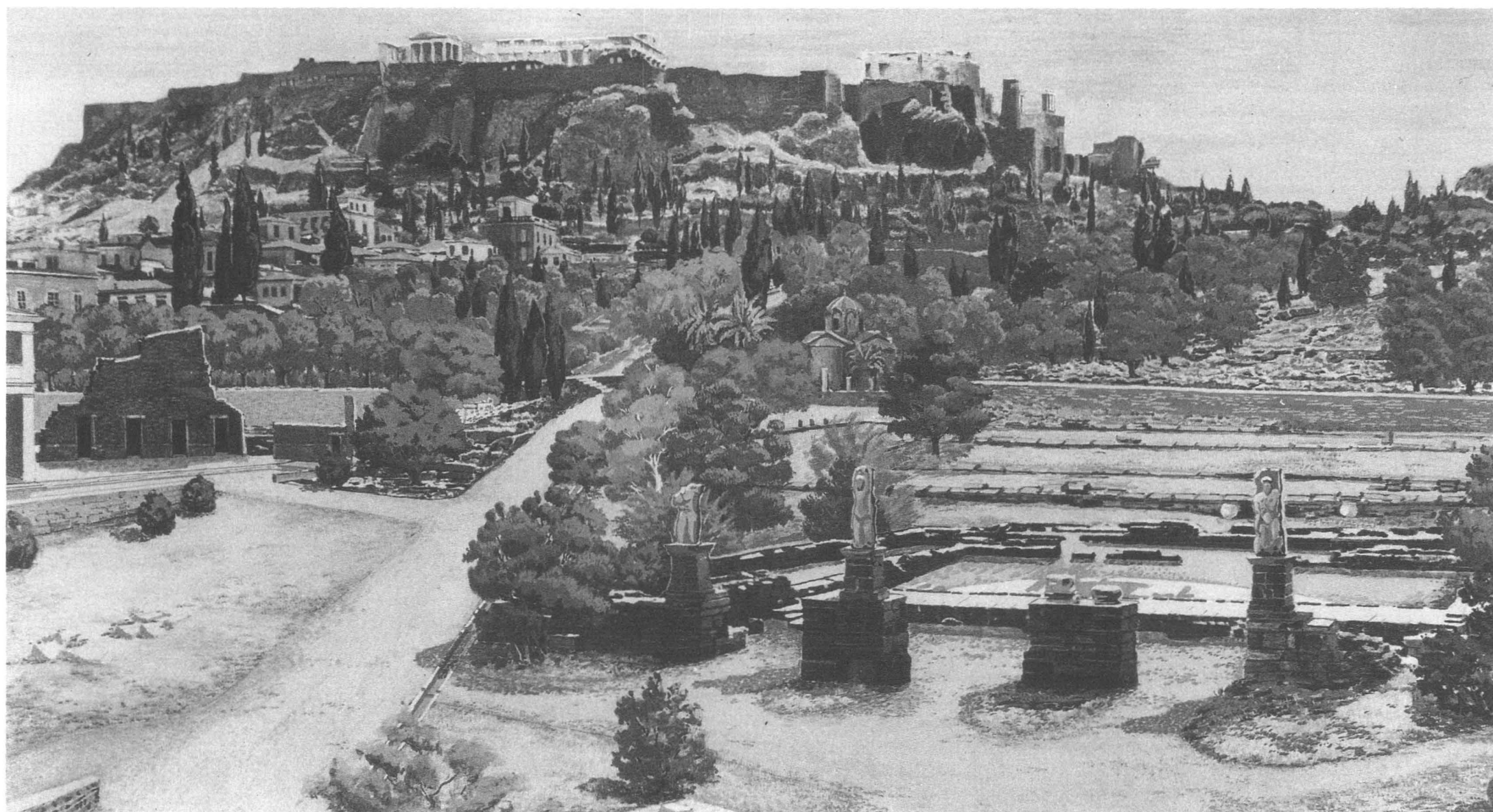


Fig. 361 Landscaping project for the Agora excavations as envisaged by R. Griswold. View towards the south; photomontage (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).



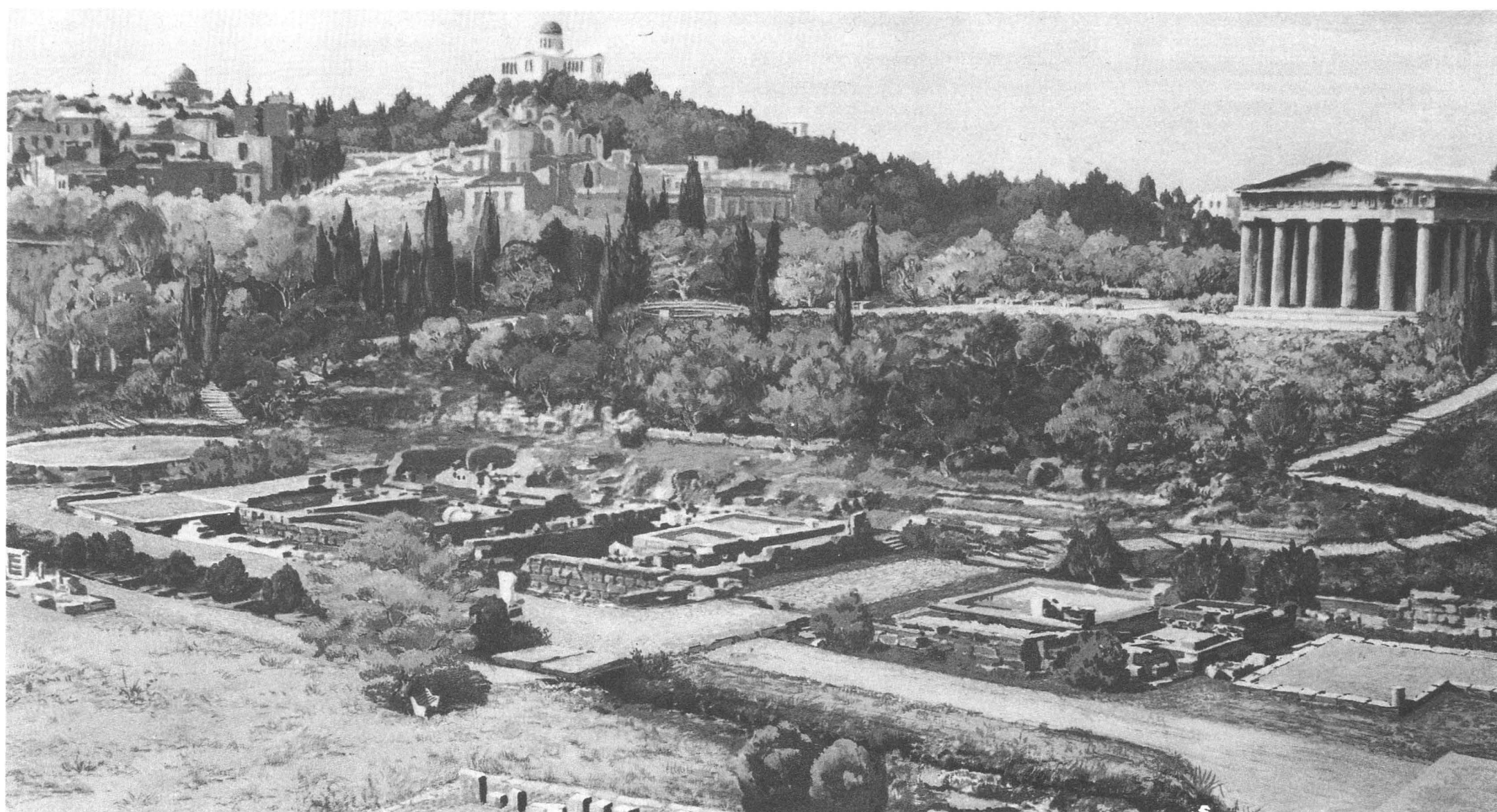


Fig. 362 Landscaping project for the Agora excavations as envisaged by R. Griswold. View towards the west; photomontage. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).

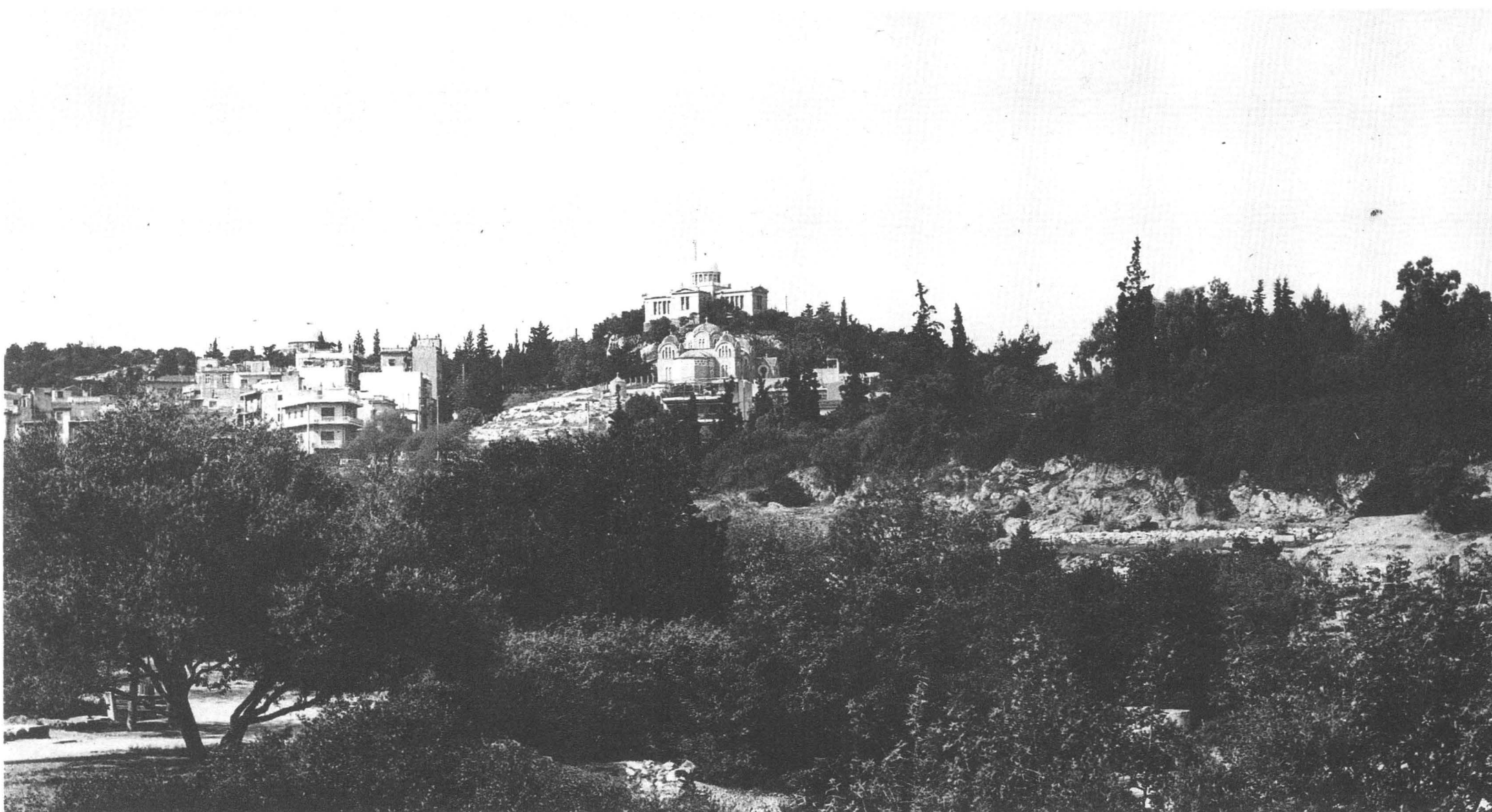


Fig. 363 The view shown in fig. 362 as it was twenty years later in 1978. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).



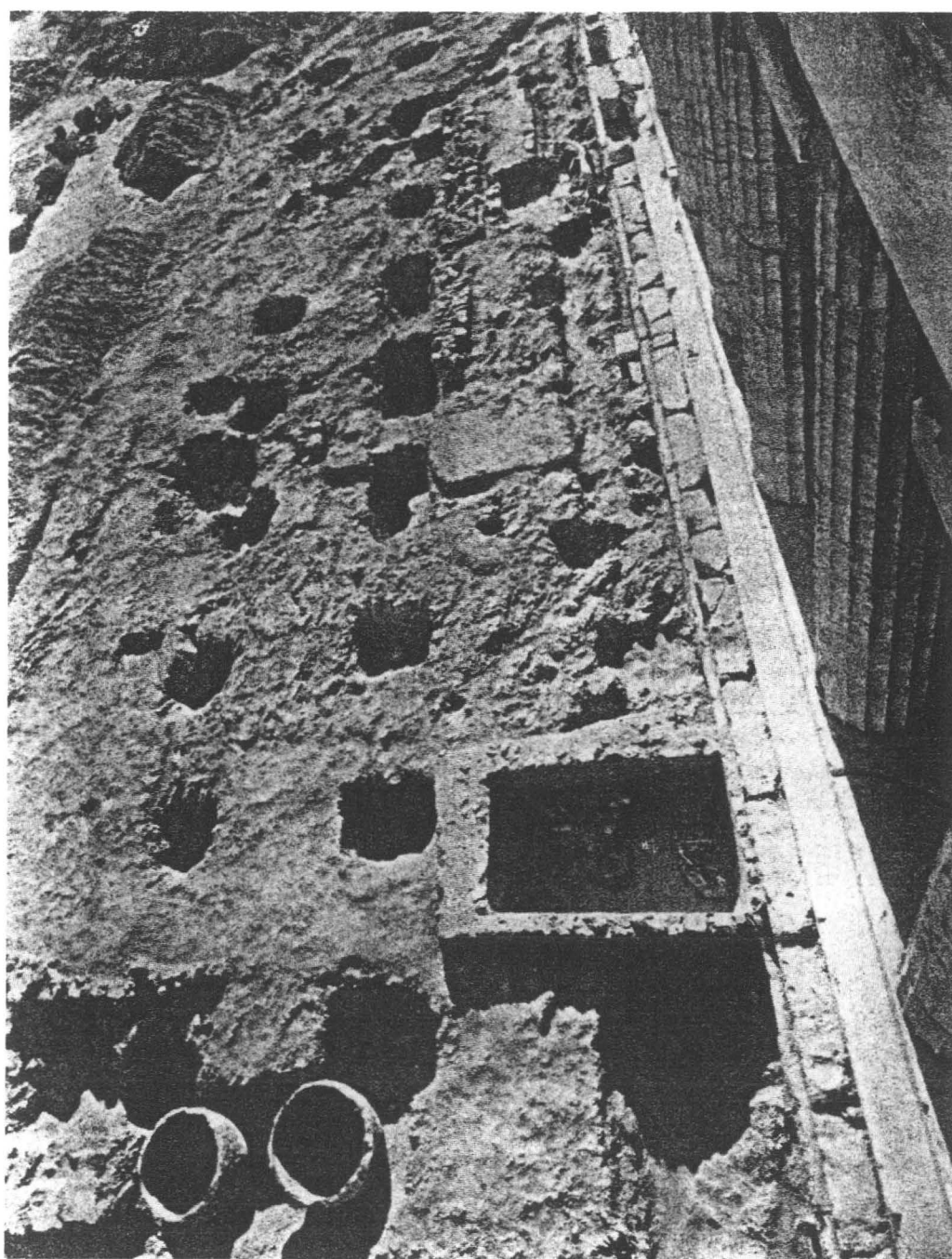


Fig. 364 Ancient cuttings in the rock for the garden around the temple of Hephaistos. Pomegranates and myrtle bushes have been planted in the holes. (ASCS, Agora excavation archives).

deity. Queen Frederika planted laurel (*lauris nobilis*) sacred to Apollo and the Girl Guides followed suit by planting a hedge of laurel all along the north boundary wall. They planted again this winter. Boy Scouts planted oleanders along the western boundary fence and, elsewhere, the Greek Landscape Committee and the Society of Old Athenians planted olives, laurel, fig and pomegranate.

From the forestry nursery of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Superior School of Agriculture, from the Royal Estate at Tatoi and from several other private estates we received gifts of plants making it unnecessary to spend much of our landscape fund for plant material. Mr. Constantine Benaki, son of the donor of the famous Benaki Museum, was especially helpful by contributions of plants from his estate at Marathon and in obtaining irrigation equipment. This type of cooperation was typical of the Greek people who showed the keenest appreciation of the Agora landscaping.

There are no landscape contractors in Greece that I could employ to carry out my plans. I had to train my own workmen in planting methods totally unfamiliar to them. They were hard workers and anxious to learn, but never before have I had to justify every instruction I gave before it was followed. The burden of proof was constantly on me with the unexpected always to be expected.

The element of surprise was equally applicable to the digging of plant holes. Even though the locations were always approved by the archaeologists before we started digging, I often ran into important archaeological objects. If it was a fragment of sculpture, pottery, or architecture the archaeologists took over the digging until it was cleared. However, if it was a large foundation I had to move the plant location. Consequently, the archaeological contribution of our horticultural excavation was considerable.

It was my intention to have the planting supplement and not compete with the archaeological structures. Each plant was located to help the visitors identify and appreciate the antiquities. The same intention governed the location of modern paths and steps which were essential to make the ruins accessible to the hundreds of scholars and laymen who visit the Agora daily.

Most visitors enter the Agora by way of the Temple of Hephaistos from which there is a spectacular view of the Agora proper with the Akropolis silhouetted against Mt. Hymettos in the distance. In my preliminary sketch for landscaping this area I showed limestone terraces where visitors could sit in front of the Temple overlooking the market square while it was explained by lecturers. This idea was frowned on by the Greek Archaeological Council who felt it competed with the ancient atmosphere of the Temple. It was a valid criticism so I moved this exedra further South along the ridge, made it much more informal, at the same time making it a memorial to Edward Capps, moving spirit of the Agora.

Surrounding the Temple on three sides a double row of holes, each a meter square and a meter deep, were found in the bedrock by Dorothy Burr Thompson, the archaeologist who excavated this area. In the holes were terracotta pots about ten inches in diameter with holes in the bottom similar to our common flower pots. These pots had been used for transplanting the plants into this Garden of Hephaistos. After the plants were set in place the pots were broken purposely to allow the roots to spread. For the same operation today we use a ball of earth bound in burlap. What the plants were, there was no way of telling. After much discussion we decided on pomegranate and classical myrtle as most likely because of their historical association with this area.

Although my budget estimate for the landscaping (\$ 100,000) is a very small part of the total cost of the excavation it is still hitch-hiking along on small contributions. The work was started before the full amount was in hand three years ahead of the original schedule in order to beat a threat of inflation. Fortunately, I can get five times as much landscape work accomplished for a dollar as I could here (i.e. in the U.S.A.), but the complication of reckoning my costs in drachmas has not made my cost accounting any easier. Knowing by what effort, devotion and sacrifice many contributions were made I feel a profound obligation to produce results worthy of the contributor's anticipations. In fact, this incentive is quite as important as the aesthetic and historical aspects of the land-





Fig. 365 The landscaped Agora excavations and in back the higher part of Plaka and the Akropolis (1986). Note the 'sculptural' display of the groups of plants in the Agora area. (Greek National Tourist Organization).



146 Thus on June 8, 1966, Homer Thompson, field director of the Agora excavations, reported to the director of the American School in Athens as follows:

"This will be a brief report on the recent visit of Mr. Ralph E. Griswold in connection with the landscaping of the Agora. The purpose of the visit was to enable Mr. Griswold to review the planting done some ten years ago, to suggest alterations in the old and to make recommendations for new planting especially in the South Square where exploration is now nearing an end (...) Mr. Griswold was in Greece from April 28th to May 28th. Apart from a week spent on a botanical excursion to northern Greece most of the time was devoted to the problems of the Agora. This expression of interest did much for the morale of the gardeners who, although they are maintained by the Greek Archaeological Service, receive little attention from that Service (...) Mr. Griswold expressed general satisfaction with the progress made by the original planting. In places where growth has been vigorous, as on the Kolonos Agoraios, it seemed desirable to open vistas; this has already been done. Elsewhere a number of trees or shrubs have been designated for removal or transplanting next winter (...)

A plan was prepared for the planting of the South Square. This has been conceived in much the same spirit as the original planting of the Main Square: a few large trees and clusters of shrubs are to be placed at significant points in relation to the ancient buildings, while the open area in the middle of the square is to be allowed to develop its own natural ground cover of grass and wild flowers. Some additional planting was also proposed for the borders of the path connecting the Agora with the Acropolis (...) In the limited areas of the ancient monuments and the paths growth will be suppressed by the use of chemicals. Throughout most of the Agora the vegetation on most of these areas now consists of tough native grasses and wild flowers (...) Mr. Griswold has pointed out the possibility of developing further the educational possibilities of the Agora park, e.g. by extending the repertory of wild plants, by providing more labels, by publishing a handlist of the plants, perhaps by offering guided botanical tours of the area".



Fig. 366 The Temple of Hephaistos and the hill of Kolonos Agoraios as they appear today. (Photograph by the author).

scape. In my first season's work last year, I finished about one-third of the landscaping. Most important of all the highly essential irrigation system was installed with the efficient cooperation of General Booth and the Athens Water Company who contributed labor and materials amounting to more than \$5000. Without artificial irrigation our planting could not survive.

This winter the planting is being continued under my direction by correspondence. From my colleagues in Athens I receive reports of new trees flourishing, shrubs thriving, wild flowers blooming, the former desolate appearance of the excavation gradually disappearing."

The Agora grove is now 36 years old. A total of 1400 trees and 2800 shrubs have been planted. Although watered and cared for, the bigger trees such as oak, poplar, Oriental plane are not yet large enough to create visual landmarks. On the other hand bushes and shrubs got somehow out of control (a problem common to most Greek gardens) because of the excessive zeal of the unqualified gardeners. Griswold returned in 1966 to Athens and made additional recommendations for the future of the area.<sup>146</sup>

## Agora excavations plant material list

The common name is given, then the scientific name and lastly the common name in modern Greek

Oriental Plane	<i>Platanus orientalis</i>	Πλάτανος
White Poplar	<i>Populus alba</i>	Λεύκα
	<i>Brushontia aparifera</i>	
Nettle tree	<i>Celtis australis</i>	Μελικοκκιά
Berry bearing oak	<i>Quercus coccifera</i>	Πουρνάρι
(prinos)		
True oak	<i>Quercus robur</i>	Ρουπάκι, Ροτσόκι
Holm Oak	<i>Quercus ilex</i>	Δρῦς ἢ Ἀρία
Cork oak	<i>Quercus ruber</i>	Δρῦς
Valonia oak	<i>Quercus aegilops</i>	Βαλανιδιά
Kurrajong	<i>Sterculia diversifolia</i>	Βραχυχίτων (ὁ ἑτερόφυλλος)
Scholar tree	<i>Sophora japonica</i>	Σόφορα (ἡ Ἰαπωνική)
Crack willow	<i>Salix fragilia</i>	Ἰτιά (ἡ εὐθραυστος)
Willow	<i>Salix amplexicaulis</i>	Ἰτιά
Goat willow	<i>Salix caprea</i>	Ἰτιά (ἡ αἰγίος)
Tsitsiphia tree		Τζίτζιφιά
Cypress tree	<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i>	Κυπαρίσσι
Cypress tree	<i>Cupressus horizontalis</i>	Θηλυκὸ Κυπαρίσσι
Corsican pine	<i>Pinus laricio</i>	Μηλοέλατο
Stone pine	<i>Pinus pinea</i>	Κουκουναριά
Aleppo pine	<i>Pinus halepensis</i>	Πεύκο
Carob tree	<i>Ceratonia siliqua</i>	Χαρουπιά, Ξυλοκερατιά
(Kharoupia)		
Redbud (Kotsikas)	<i>Cercis siliquastrum</i>	Κουτσουπιά
Almond tree	<i>Amygdalus communis</i>	Ἀμυγδαλιά
(amygdalia)		
Pomegranate	<i>Punica granatum</i>	Ροδιά



Fig tree	<i>Ficus carica</i>	Συκιά
Olive tree	<i>Olea chrysophylla</i>	Ἑλγά
Wild Olive tree	<i>Olea oleaster</i>	Ἀγριληά
Wild orange	<i>Citrus aurantium</i>	Πορτοκαλλιά
Chaste tree (Lygaria)	<i>Vitex agnus castus</i>	Λυγαριά
Oleander	<i>Nerium oleander</i>	Ροδοδάφνη
(Pikrodaphne)		
Palos verdes	<i>Parkinsonia aculeata</i>	Παρκινσώνια
Pistacio	<i>Pistacia vera</i>	Φυστικιά
Masticha	<i>Pistacia lentiscus</i>	Σκῖνος μαστιχοφόρος
Laurel tree	<i>Laurus nobilis</i>	Δάφνη
Myrtle (Brosini)	<i>Myrtus communis</i>	Μυρτιά
Mimosa	<i>Acacia cyanophylla</i>	Μιμόζα
Boxwood	<i>Buxus sempervirens</i>	Τσιμισίρι, Πυξάρι
Alexandrian laurel	<i>Ruscus hypoglossum</i>	Ὁξύμυρσίνη
Buckthorn	<i>Rhamnus alaternus</i>	Κιτρινόξυλο, Χρυσόξυλο
Firethorn	<i>Pyracantha coccinea</i>	Πυράκανθα
Tamarisk	<i>Tamarix gallica</i>	Ἀρμυρίκια
Rosemary	<i>Rosmarinus officinalis</i>	Δενδρολίβανο
Sage	<i>Salvia triloba</i>	Φασκομηλιά
Gorse (Asphalaklos)	<i>Calycotome villosa</i>	Ἀσπάλαθος
Heather (Eriki)	<i>Erica arborea</i>	Ρεικιά, Ἑρείκη
Heather (Eriki)	<i>Erica verticillata</i>	Κουκουλόχορτο, Ἑρείκη
Savory	<i>Satureia thymbra</i>	Θρούμπι
(Therocalo)	<i>Thymelaea hirsuta</i>	Θερόκαλο, Χερόκαλο
(Kolophousa)	<i>Thymelaea tartonraira</i>	Φινακολιά
Honeysuckle	<i>Lonicera etrusca</i>	Αἰγόκλημα, Ἀγιοόκλημα
Clematis	<i>Clematis cirrhosa</i>	Ἀγράμπελη
(Perikoklada)	<i>Clematis</i>	Περικοκλάδα
Purple wisteria	<i>Wisteria sinensis</i>	Γουϊστέρια
Grape vine	<i>Vitis sp.</i>	Ἀμπελιά
Plumbago vine	<i>Plumbago sp.</i>	Πλουμπάγο
Clematis	<i>Clematis flammula</i>	Χελιδονιά, Κληματσίδα
Evergreen smilax	<i>Smilax aspera</i>	Ἀρκουδόβατος, Ζουλόβατος
Myrtle	<i>Vinca major</i>	Βίγκα
(Foustanaki)	<i>Convolvulus elegantissimus</i>	Φουστανάκι
Asparagus vine	<i>Asparagus verticillatus</i>	Σπαράγγι
Asparagus fern	<i>Asparagus plumosus</i>	Σπαράγγι
Wild Thyme	<i>Thymus capitatus</i>	Θυμάρι
Teucrium	<i>Teucrium polium</i>	Ἀμάραντο, τῆς ἀγάπης
		τὸ βοτάνι
Caper	<i>Capparis sicula</i>	Κάππαρι
Broom (Sparta)	<i>Genista sp.</i>	Ἀχινόποδας

A second site which has been carefully landscaped is the less spectacular but highly evocative area of the Kerameikos excavations (3.5 ha). Here the Eridanos brook running through the site offers a special possibility for an appealing design: it has been planted with marshplants and the natural flora has been allowed to develop once more. Cypresses add their dark silhouette to the overall picture (figs. 379, 381).

The German Archaeological Institute has carried out conservation measures on the grave precincts lining the ancient streets and has planted flowering bushes, shrubs, vines and trees to

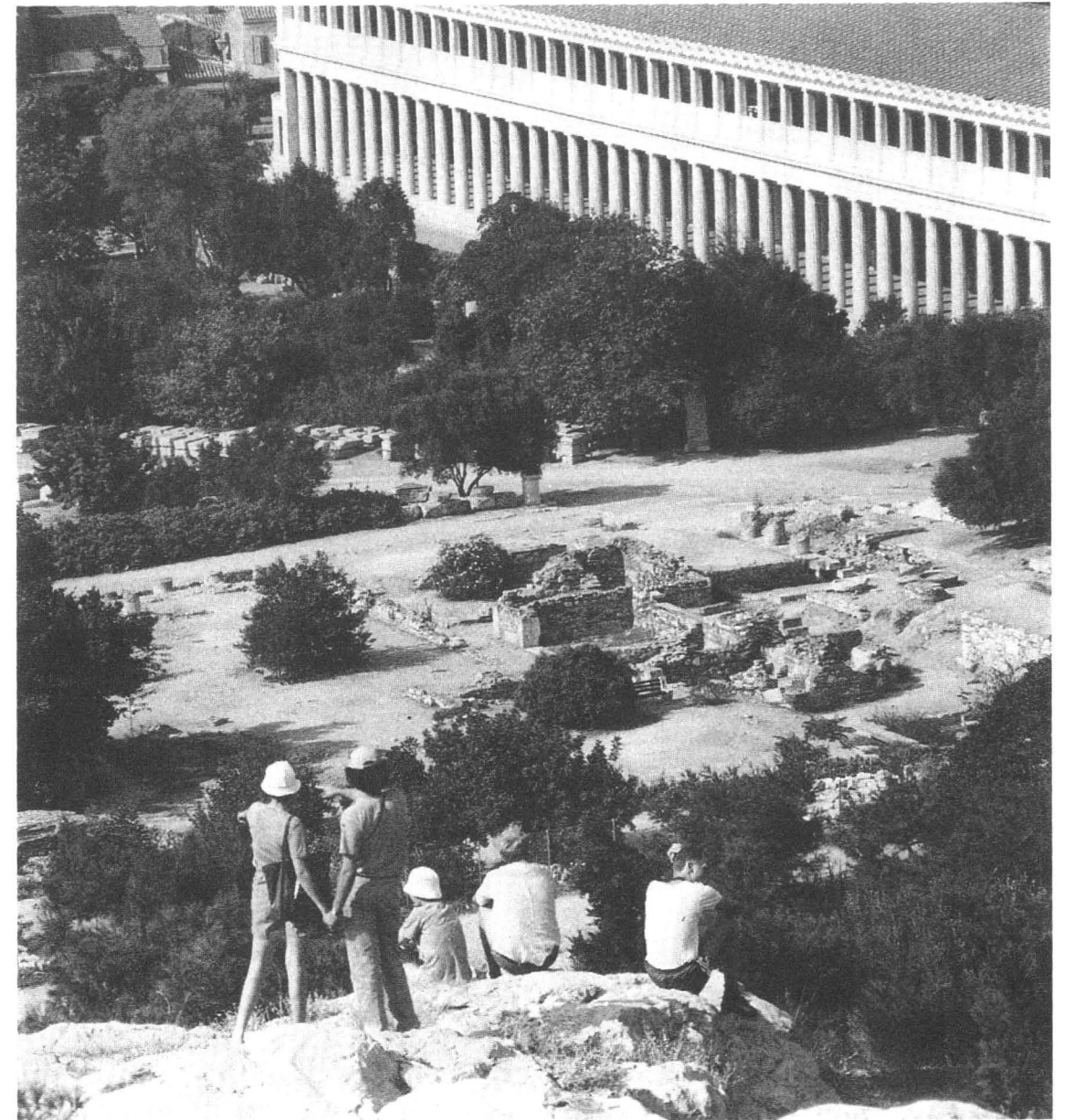
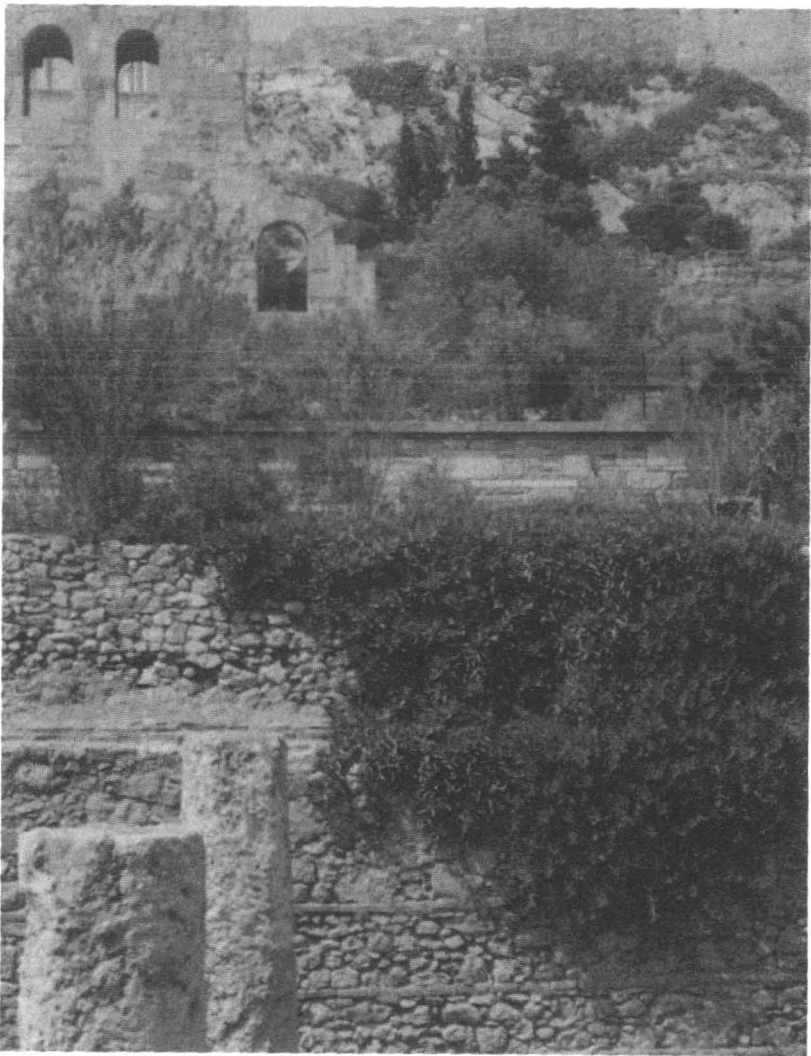


Fig. 367 The Agora excavations in 1988; detail taken to illustrate the present relationships among the ancient remains, the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos and the full-grown trees and shrubs. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 368 The reconstructed Stoa of Attalos and the Byzantine church of The Holy Apostles surrounded today by dense vegetation. (Photograph by the author).





Figs. 369-370 Details of the landscaped excavations in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. (Photographs by the author).

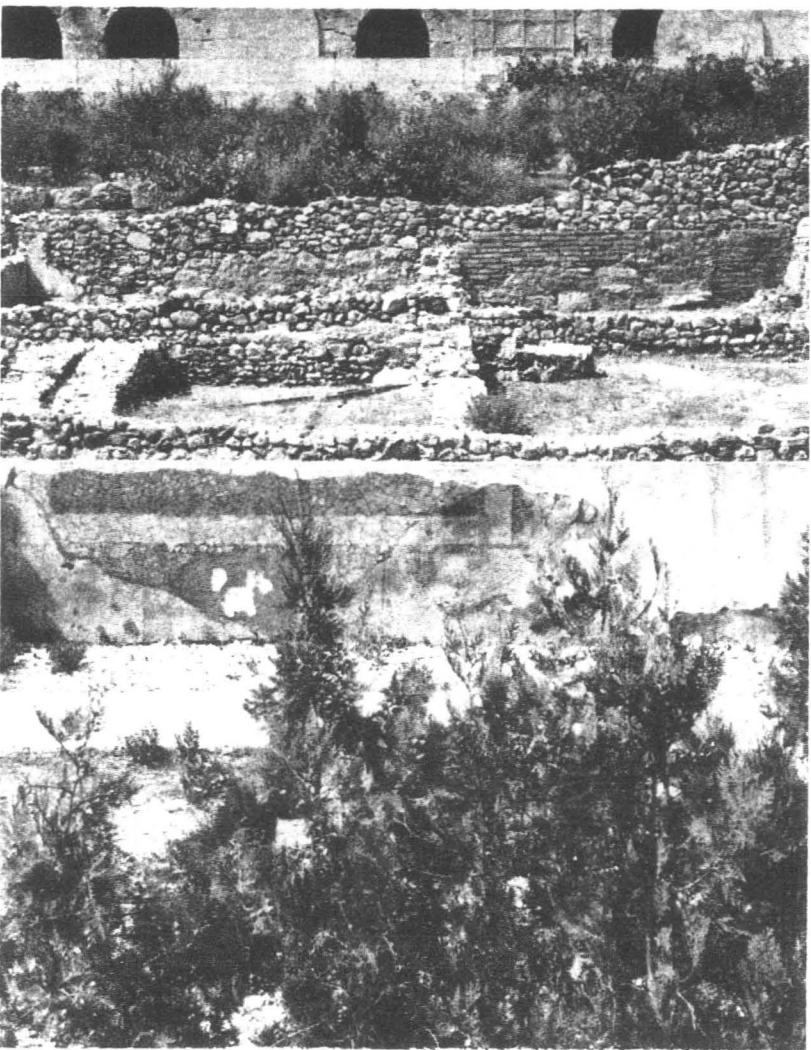


Fig. 372 The excavated area in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus just after landscaping in 1961, seen from the SE. (Photograph by the author).

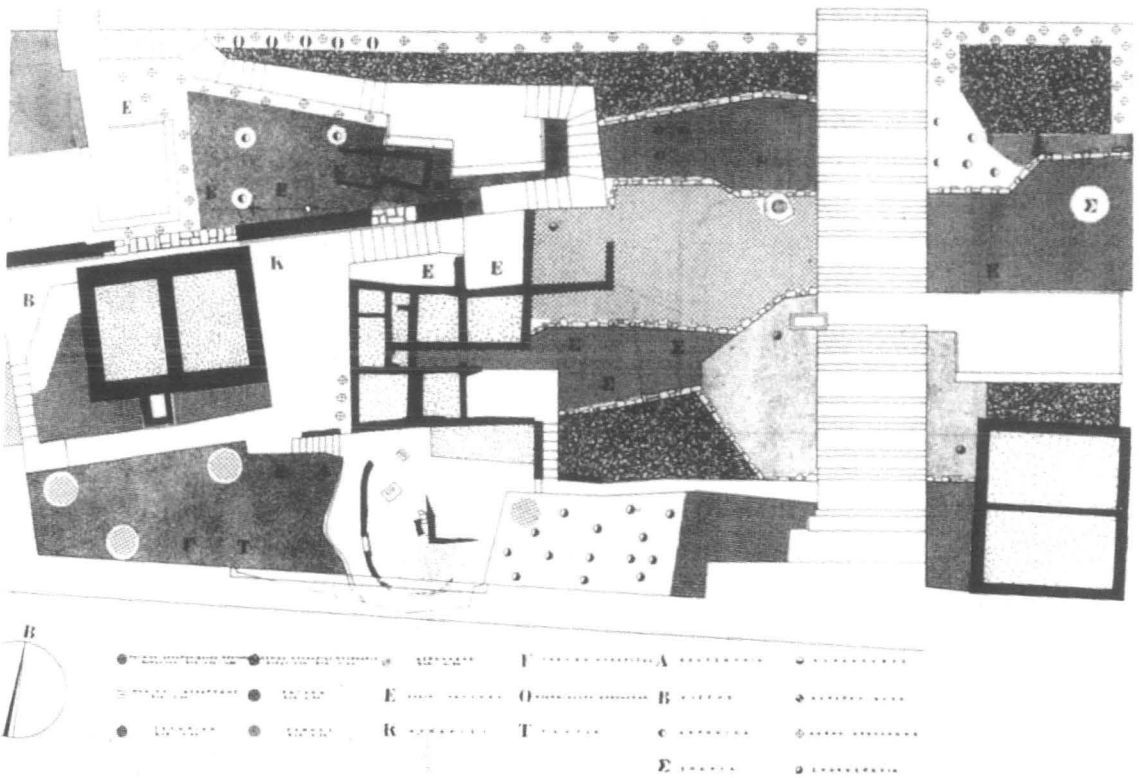


Fig. 371 Layout of the grove in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. (Plan by the author).





Fig. 373 Excavated and landscaped area in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus: Detail showing the archaeological remains, the planting and a new path. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 375 Excavated and landscaped area in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus: In the left foreground, the Sanctuary of Nymphs. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 374 Excavated and landscaped area in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus: The uncontrolled proliferation of the vegetation 20 years after planting, around 1980. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 376 Excavated and landscaped area in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus: Detail of concrete parapet-bench on the sidewalk overlooking the area. Contemporary materials judiciously applied can be compatible with an historic setting. (Photograph by the author).



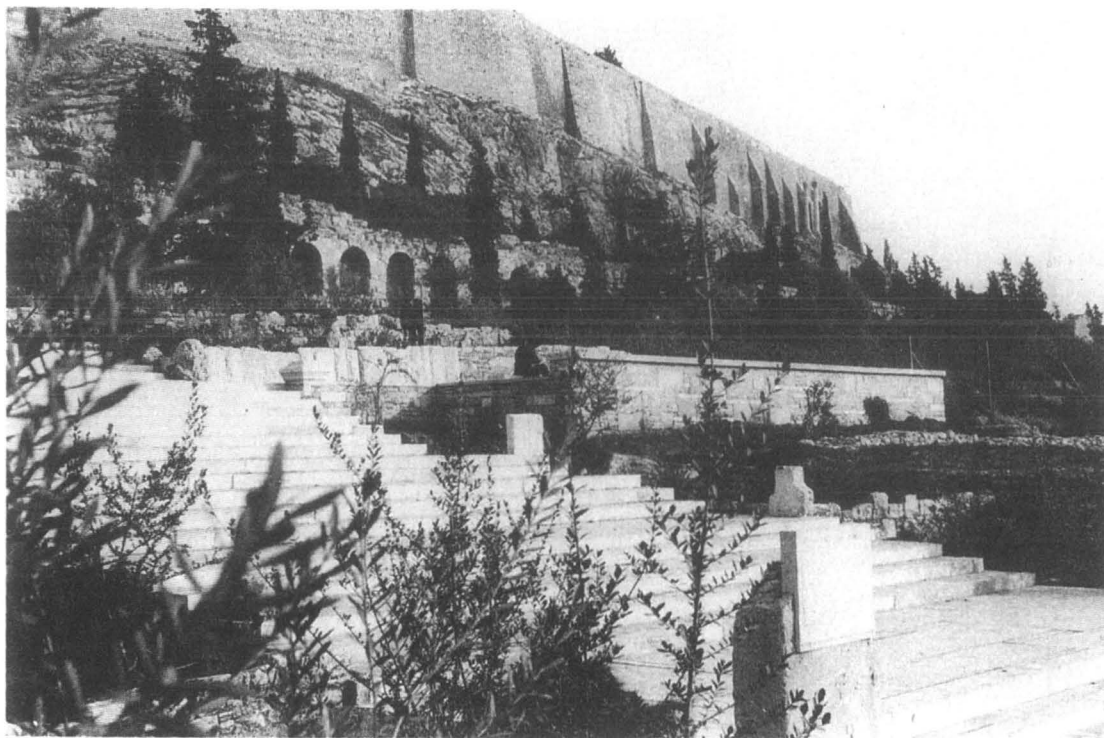


Fig. 377 New monumental marble stairway leading from Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue to the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. (Photograph by the author).

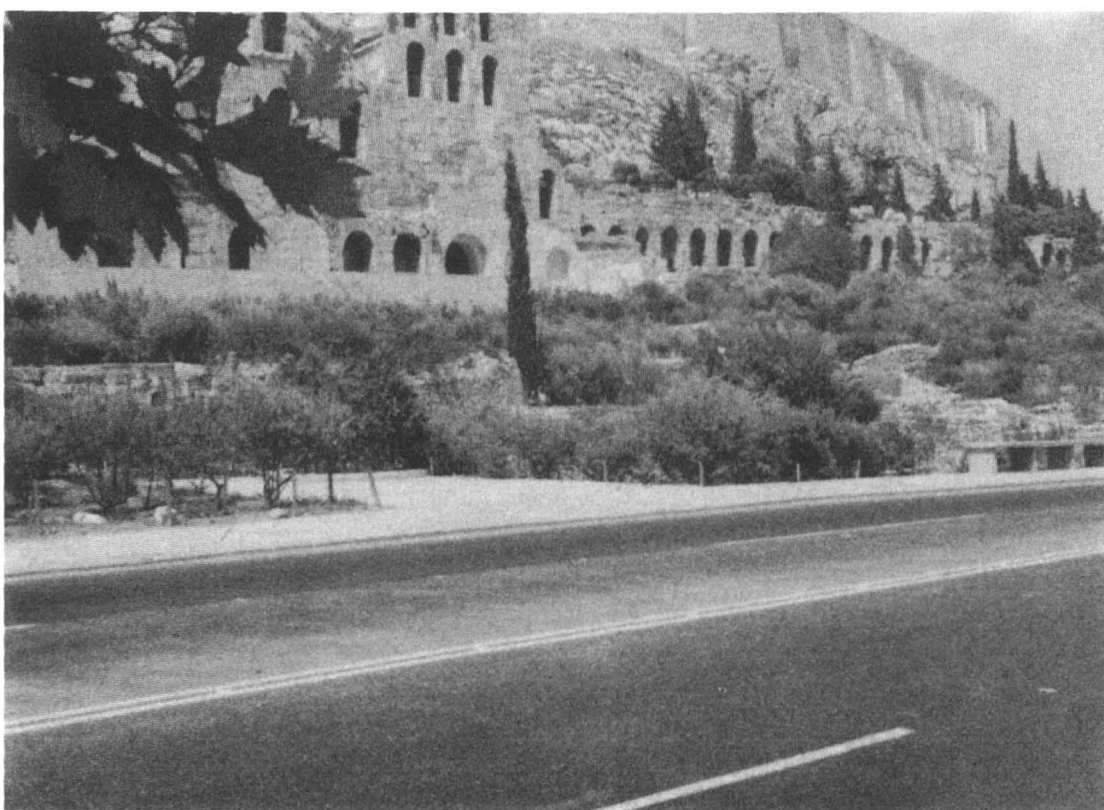


Fig. 378 Excavated area in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus just after landscaping was completed (1961), seen from the SW. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 379 The Kerameikos excavations. Recent planting in the marshy stream of the Eridanos. (DAI, Athens).

set off the ancient grave monuments and terraces. The contours of the ancient tumuli have been reconstituted and the fallen stelai reerected. Permanent maintenance has protected the area from proliferating nettles and thistles and weeds which would have concealed the ancient remains. During the last 35 years pollution has had such dire effects on the ancient grave monuments found *in situ*, that the marble originals had to be moved indoors, replaced by cement casts on the site.

To the north of the Olympieion precinct is a triangular site (fig. 380) excavated in the 1960s by John Travlos. This area was planted at random from the early years of the century. The full-grown trees were kept on the northern edge of the site in order to shield the site from the crowded intersection of the Amalias and Olgas Avenues. The rest of the area has been uncovered in some places to the bedrock. Roman baths which have been found are neatly embedded in small lawns. The elaborately sculptured acanthus leaves on the Corinthian capitals of the Temple of Zeus Olympios are juxtaposed with the real acanthus planted on the site.



In the 1950s the line of Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue was moved south in order to put some distance between the heavily travelled road and the façade of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, in connexion with the plans for restoring the Odeion as the theatre for the Athens Festival, thus considerably enlarging the Akropolis south slope archaeological zone. I. Miliades, Ephor of the Akropolis, directed the excavations. In 1960, Miliades asked the architects Christos Lembesis and Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas to work out a landscaping proposal for the area in front of the Odeion, a small plot of about half a hectare of surface but situated at a most critical point of the historic site. The architects tried to create an intricate system of natural paths and low supporting natural stone walls, blending with the archaeological remains which they respected in every detail. Suitable clumps of low bushes were planted. This careful design was the first Greek attempt to landscape an archaeological site and was intended as a seminal proposal for further initiatives (figs. 369-378). Thirty years on misapplied excessive zeal on the part of uncomprehending gardeners has turned the site into an overgrown thicket concealing the ancient remains.

Only two-fifths of the excavated area in Athens is landscaped up until now. The historic places should not only be embellished by adequate planting; what is needed even more is the regular cleaning and consolidating of the archaeological remains, regular maintenance, and the attempt to make the site readable by applying gravel layers of various tones to distinguish the plans of the various buildings.

The conversion of excavation sites into archaeological parks is a difficult undertaking and calls for great powers of empathy on the part of the landscape architect. Trees and shrubs have to be kept under control to prevent the archaeological ruins from being engulfed by vegetation while paths, steps, retaining walls and any other elements used by the architect for his landscaping must be clearly distinguishable, in both form and substance, from the archaeological remains.

An equally difficult but different task is enhancing the readability of the historic topographic features, a work undertaken during the 1950s in an exemplary (if not always uncontroversial) way by D. Pikionis on the hills of the Mouseion and of the Pnyx.

## ENHANCING THE READABILITY OF THE HISTORIC SITE. THE WORK OF DIMITRIOS PIKIONIS

During the course of the 1950s it became apparent that the excavations of the central part of the Agora, started in 1931, were drawing to a close. For the first time, 120 years after the founding of modern Athens, thought was given to the challenge of integrating an extensive excavation site in the city plan. The initial concepts regarding open space planning in the vicinity of the Akropolis date from this time. The authorities had in mind to create a protective ring development, a link between the Kerameikos excavations and the Agora excavations, and the continuation of excavations to the north of the old city, beyond Adrianou st. which was to be widened into a promenade. The main problem, namely how to cope with the existing thoroughfares cutting up the area, was not recognized.



Fig. 380 The Olympieion with the excavation zone to the north and Ardettos hill planted with trees, photographed in spring. (DAI, Athens).



Fig. 381 The Kerameikos excavations. Grave monuments in front of cypresses. (DAI, Athens).



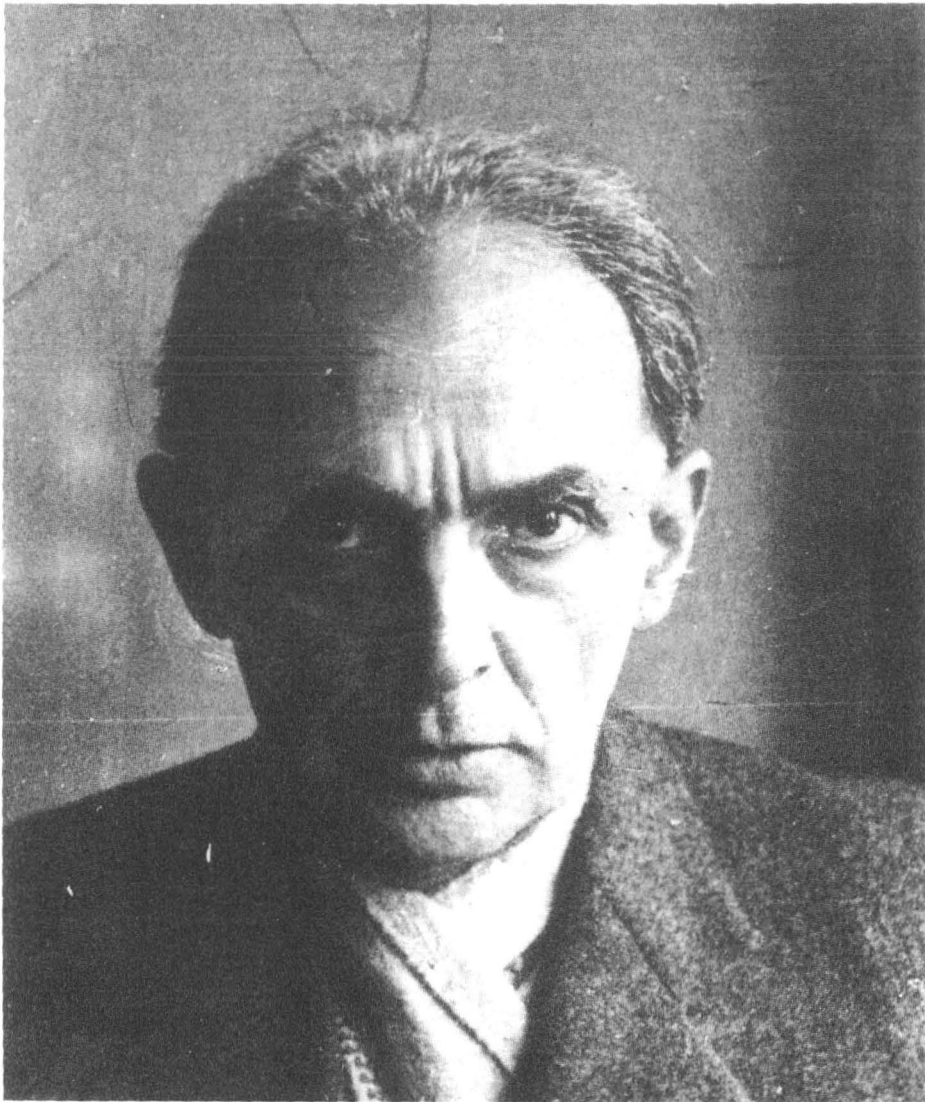


Fig. 382 Portrait of the architect Dimitrios Pikionis (1887-1968) in his fifties. (Private collection).

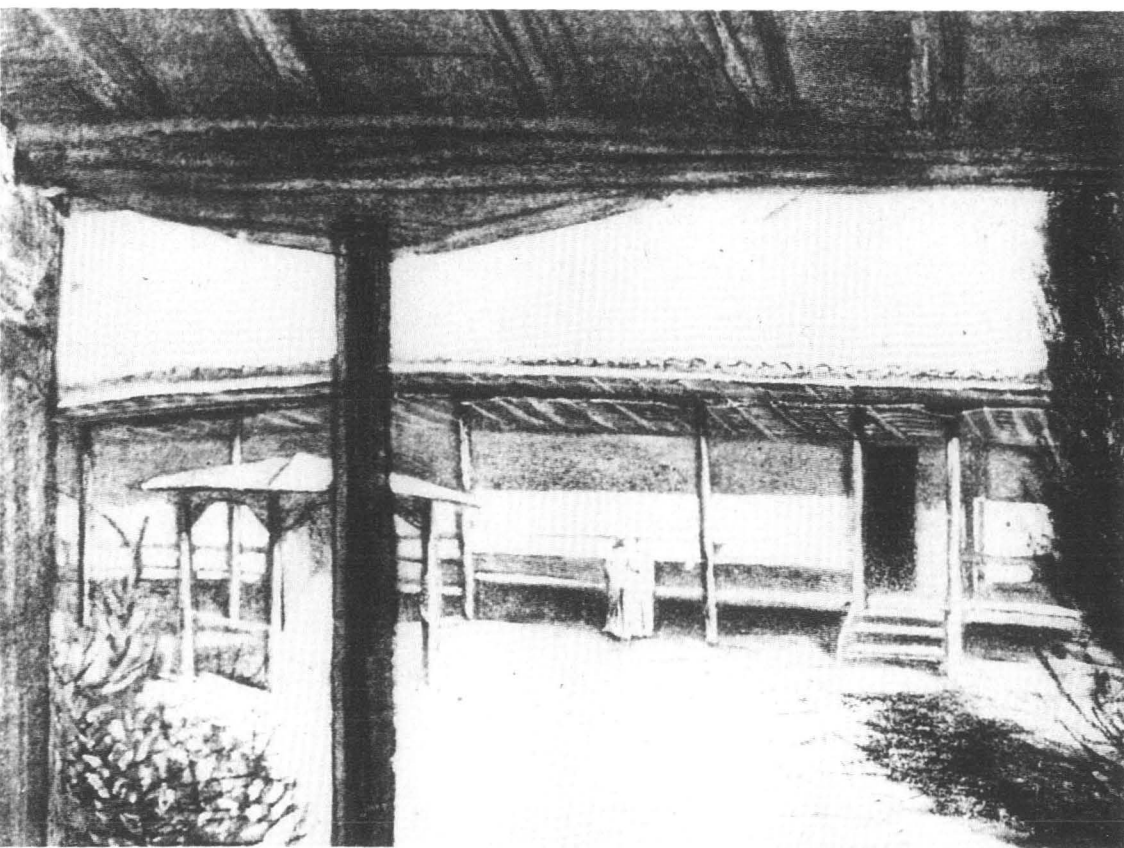


Fig. 383 Sketch for a courtyard with central pavilion by D. Pikionis.

Typically enough, the stimulus for this planning arose not from the wish to create a garden-like area in the vicinity of the Akropolis, but rather the endeavour to improve access to the antiquities. Mass tourism was starting. For the first time the ancient heritage was discussed from the point of view of revaluation and improving the urban environment. In 1954, Konstantine Karamanlis, then Minister of Public Works, following the recommendation of the senior planning authorities, commissioned Professor Pikionis with the so-called "Akropolis Works". For Karamanlis with his enthusiasm for building, this meant quickly taking action on measures for developing and embellishing the site in the usual manner. This, however, was not Pikionis' idea: he needed leisure in order to contemplate and create in the fulness of time.

Pikionis was given full powers to redesign the approaches to the Akropolis and to Philopappus hill at a time of rapidly growing tourist flow. Instead of facilitating approach by car and bus and creating large scale modern infrastructure works, such as multilevel parking areas, restaurants, etc. he tried to ease up on traffic while making the approach more convenient for pedestrians. Pikionis considered the visit to the Akropolis as an aesthetic adventure, as a pilgrimage. He was exclusively concerned with two things: first, to be as discreet as possible in adding contemporary elements to the vicinity of the ancient monuments and second, to create for the visitor an approach which would be rich in spatial perspectives and evocative of historic memories.

Born in 1887, Pikionis was well along in years and at the peak of his ability when he was entrusted with this task. He came from a family of sea captains and was brought up in Peiraeus. He fell under the spell of the Attic landscape which he painted when he was still a young scholar. His entire outlook developed at an early age: artistic talent, ethical standards, poetical views on existence.

In 1908 at the age of 21, he completed his studies in civil engineering at Athens Polytechnion and was tempted to become a painter. At the same time, he attended the Art Academy in Athens and made friends with Giorgio di Chirico who was also studying in Athens at that time. In 1908 he spent a year in Munich and then four years in Paris where he devoted himself solely to studying art. In 1912 he decided to dedicate himself to architecture which he taught himself, in order to earn a living.

The First World War came and he served on the front as an engineer with the rank of captain. In this decade (1912-1922) he mastered his new field of work by studying popular Greek architecture in detail. He travelled all over the country. The Greek countryside was a crucial experience and driving force for him. Vernacular architecture became his inspiration and a life-long passion. He considered the creations of popular architecture to be an extension of nature.

Up until the end of his thirties he had hardly built anything, but he was gaining maturity and strengthening his ideas. In 1925 at the age of 38 this allround personality was called to the chair for interior design at the Faculty of Architecture in Athens. He held this position right up to his retirement in 1957, at the age of seventy. He thus became the teacher, the *Didaskalos* for two generations of Greek architects between the wars and after World War II.

Between the years 1925 and 1933 Pikionis was attracted by the movement of modern architecture. He discovered at the same time as Le Corbusier the deep relationship between the vernacular architecture of the Cyclades and the new seminal ideas and convictions. Indeed both here and there we can find the same claim for functionality, the same endeavor to relate to nature and to be sincere in the application of building materials, the same turning to freestanding built volumes.

The so-called Pefkakia School on the slope of Lykabetos in Athens can be considered his most important building from this creative phase. Thinking it over, however, Pikionis later said about this construction: "The result does not satisfy me. If this was the meaning of the new movement (he meant Bauhaus), then it was clear to me that this would not be enough."

From that point on until his death 35 years later he worked exclusively in his chosen creative direction. This was a transcription of the traditional forms of Greek vernacular architecture into its own canon of forms which did not shy away from using contemporary building materials such as concrete and glass.

Because of this orientation, Pikionis was accused of being a formalist and national roman-





Fig. 384 Preliminary sketch for the landscaping of the central part of the cultural-historic area proposed by the Greek Ministry of Housing in 1954. The plan, partly based on the options open to D. Pikionis (i.e. the two access roads to the Akropolis and Philopappus hill) reflects a vague desire to have the area as a spatial unit while maintaining the important arteries for motorized traffic. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



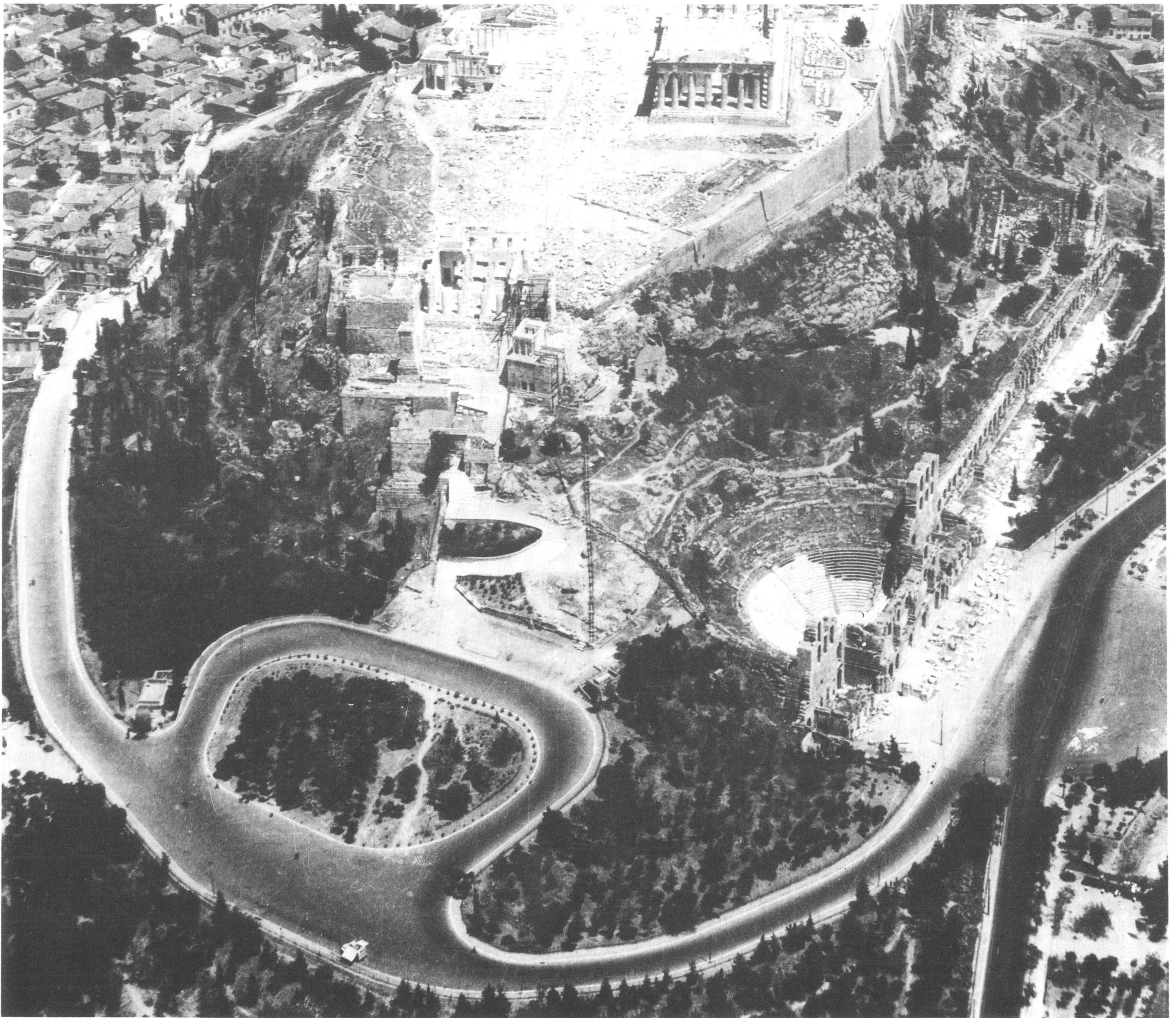


Fig. 385 The older approach to the Akropolis. The offensive asphalt road eliminated by D. Pikionis in 1953-1954. Air view taken in 1952. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



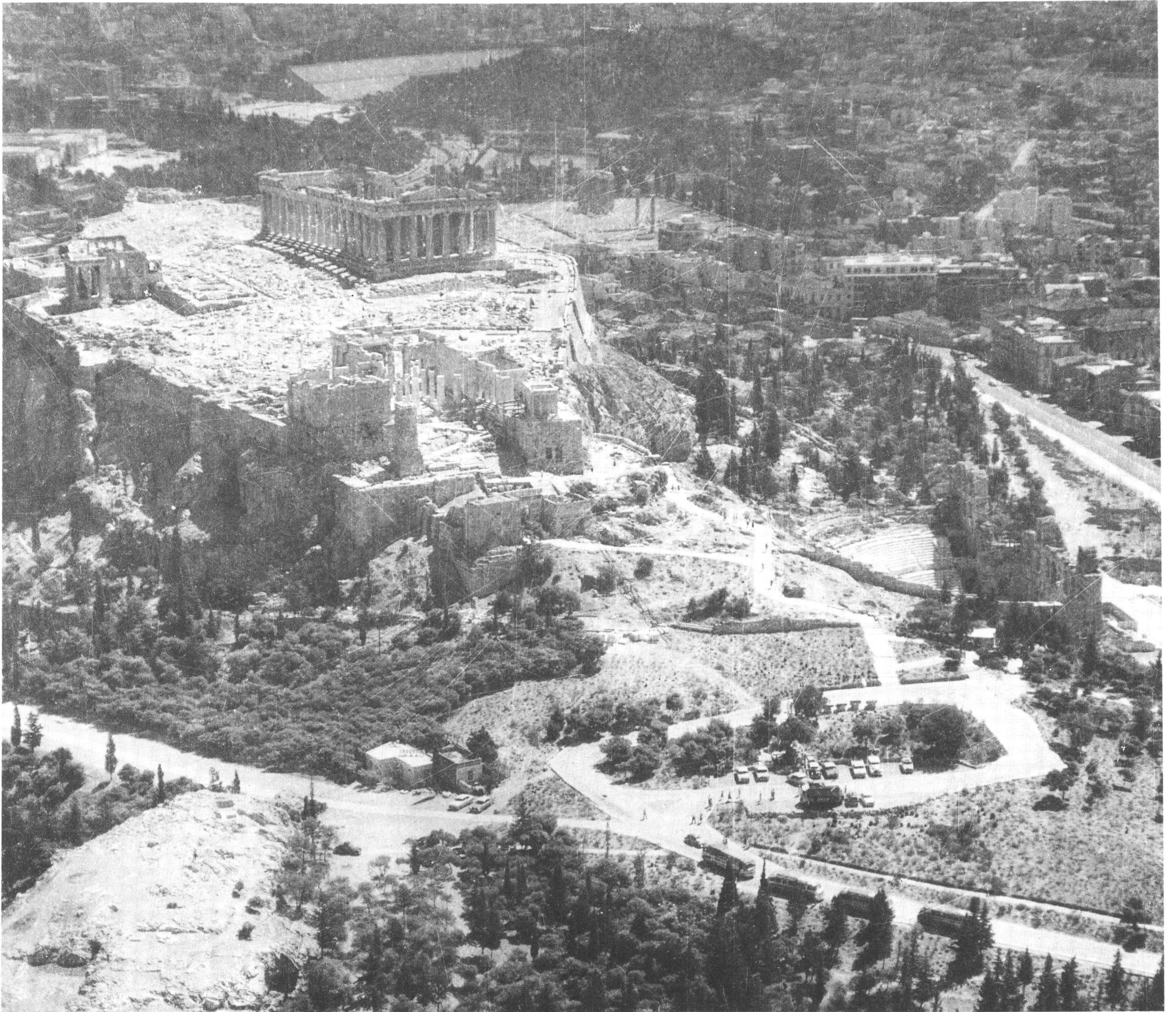


Fig. 386 Air view of the Akropolis from the west after landscaping by D. Pikionis was completed (1960). In the left foreground, the Areopagus. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



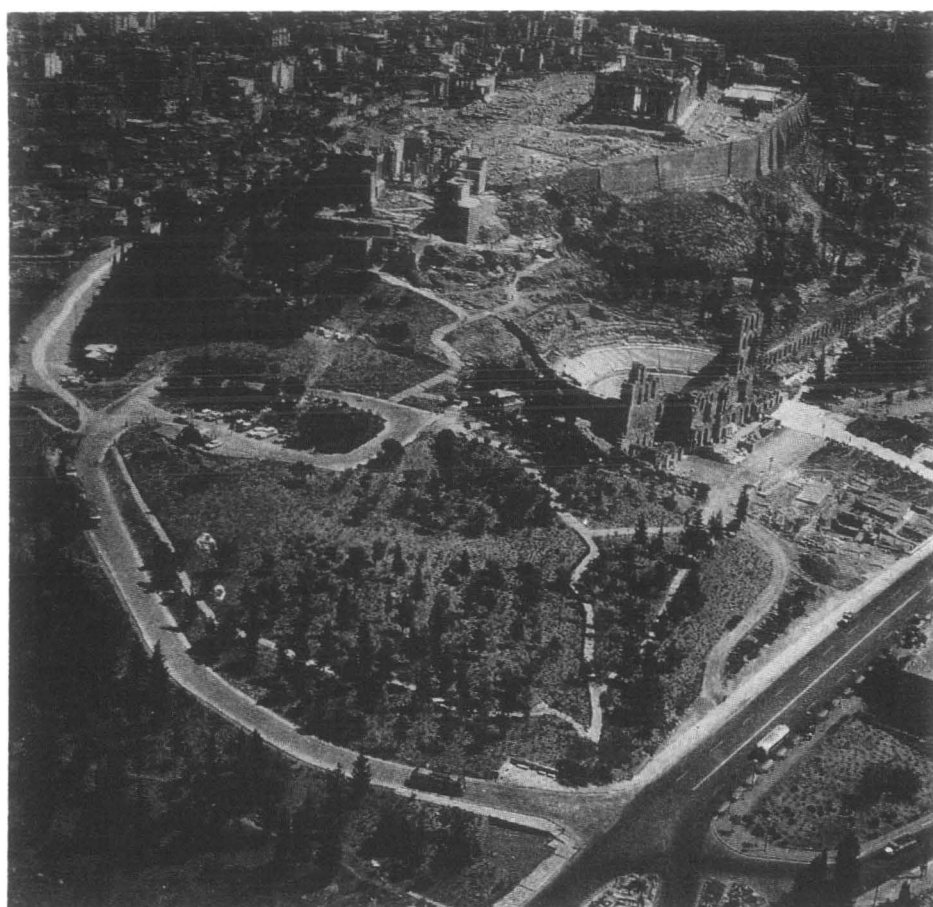


Fig. 387 Air view of the Akropolis west slope, the Odeion of Herodes Atticus with the excavated area in front of it, after the area had been landscaped (1960). (Greek Ministry of Housing).

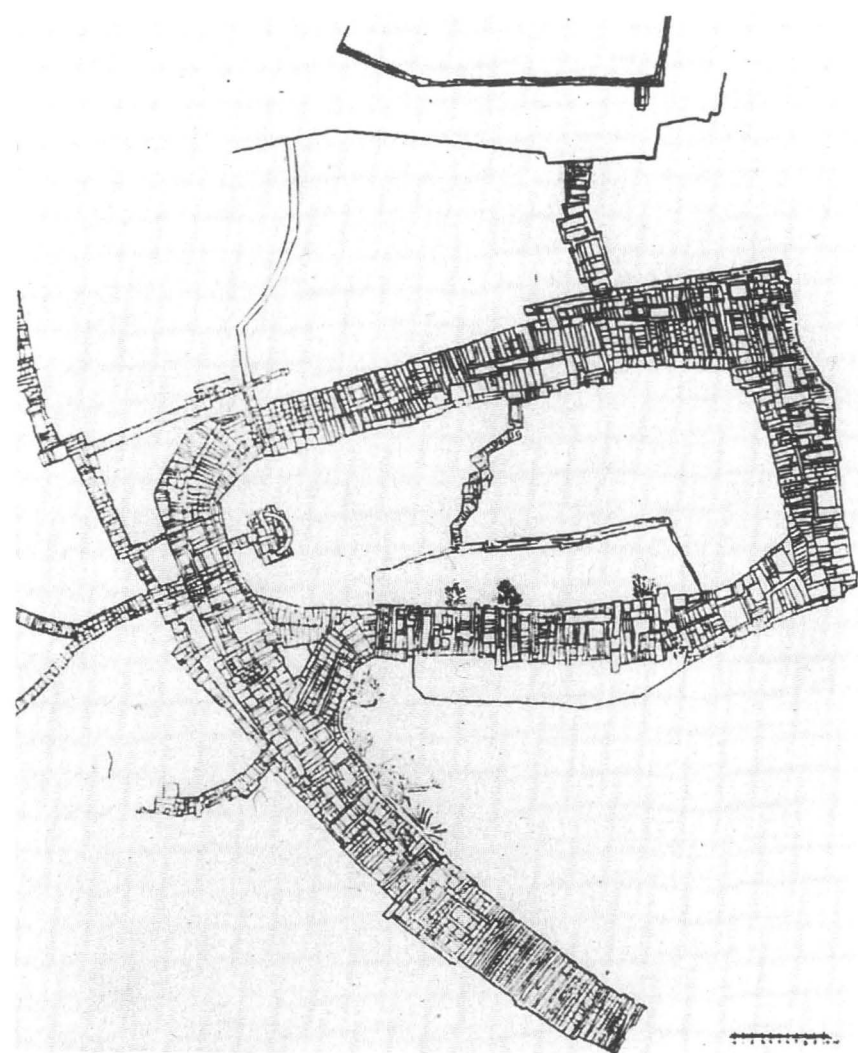
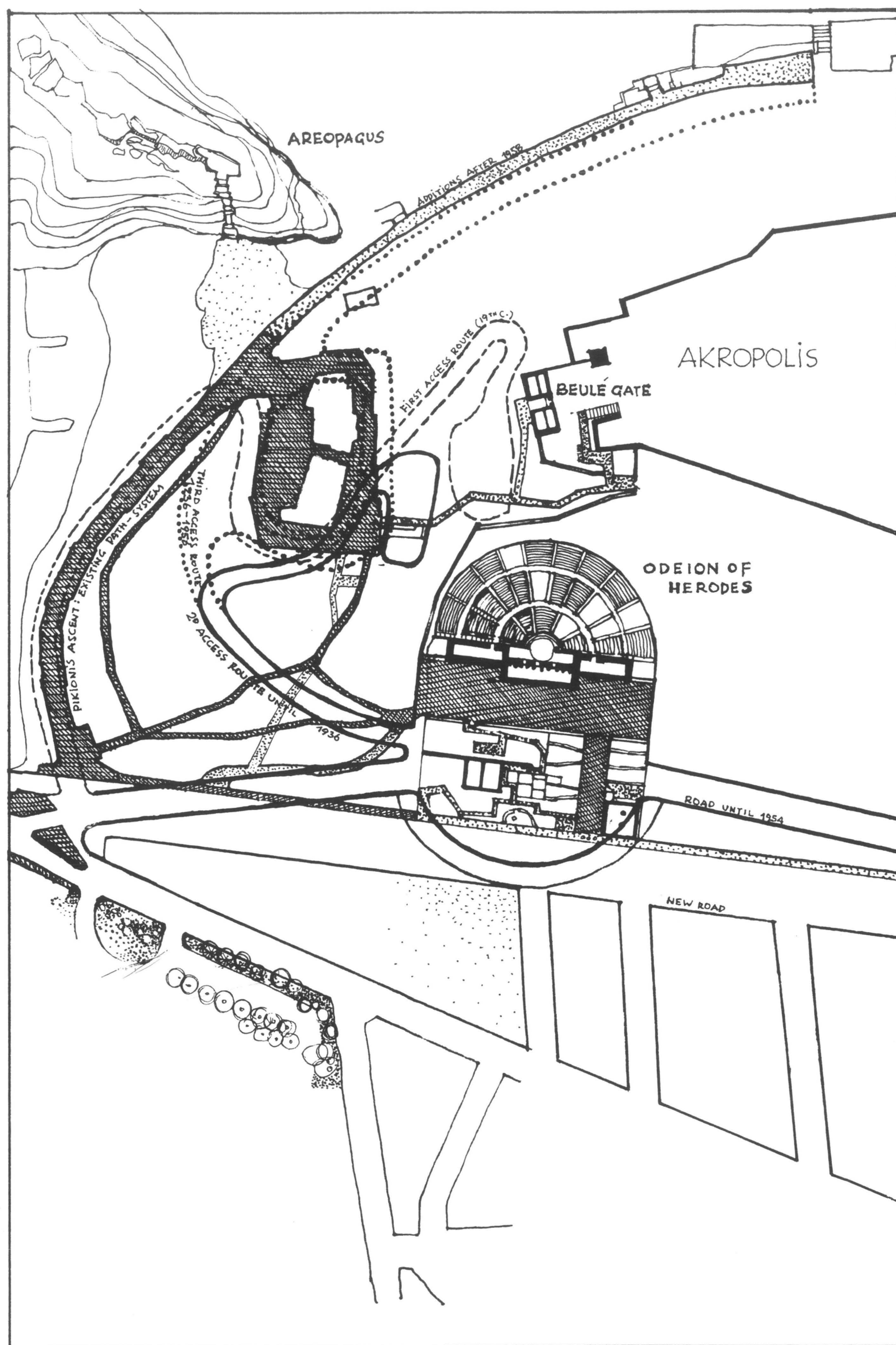


Fig. 388 Pavement design of the loop shown in fig. 387. Scale 1:1250. (Greek Ministry of Housing).

Fig. 389 The western approaches to the Akropolis. The successive access roads designed and built in this area over a time span of 100 years. Scale 1:2000. (Plan by the author).





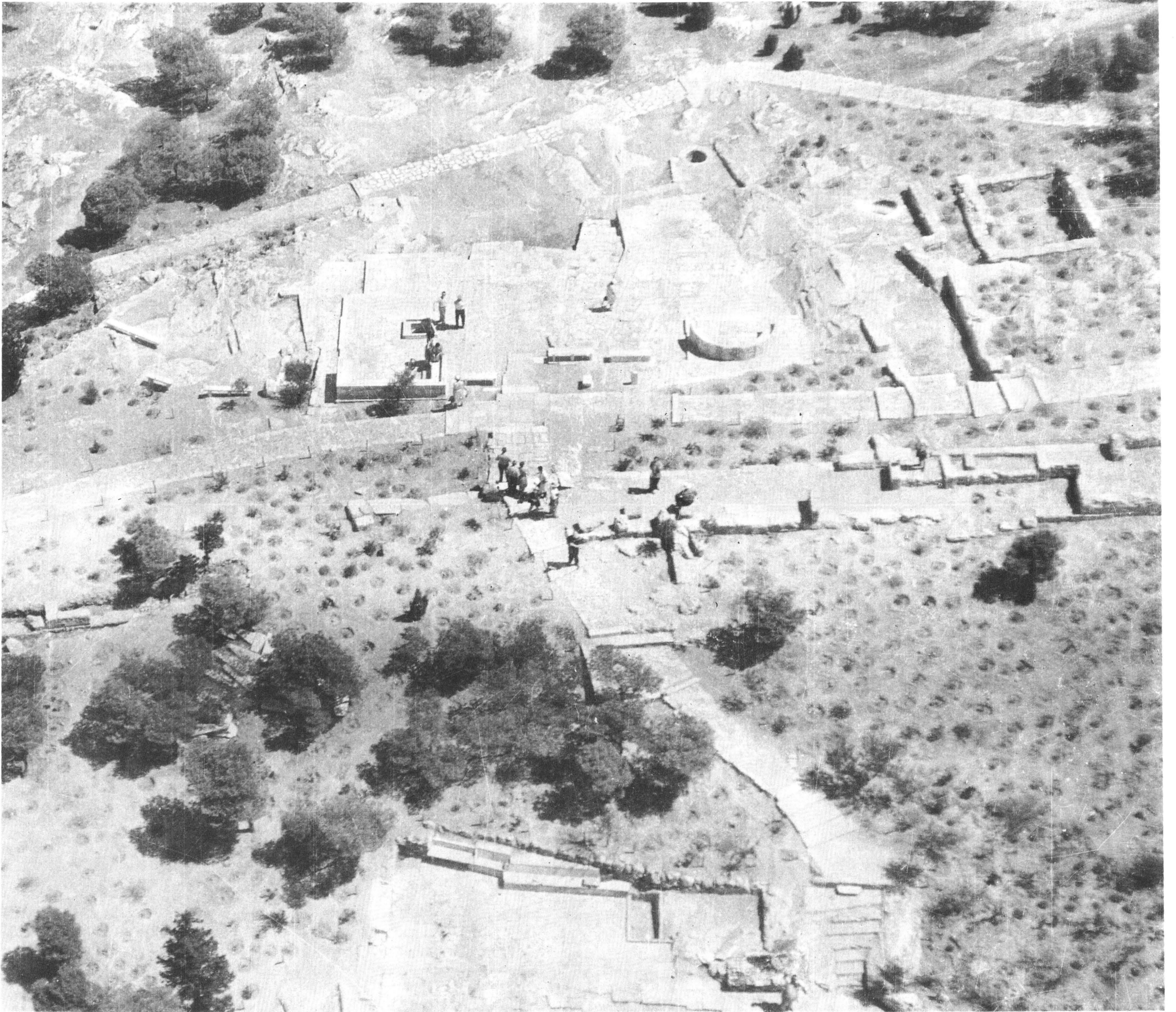


Fig. 390 Belvedere terrace, designed by Pikionis, on Philopappos hill facing the Akropolis. Air view taken in 1962.  
(Greek Ministry of Housing).



147 Pikionis has given us his 'credo' with the following thoughts:

"Form is the result of a many efforts by many spirits. An Architect does not need to invent new forms which are condemned to be short-lived, but he should reinvent the shapes and forms which have been handed down so that they answer to our needs today.

Shape can create an ideal symbol shared by all of us. But this is not the task of one man, it does not start and cannot end with the work of one man alone. The architect, like all artists, does not have to invent new ephemeral forms, but has to regenerate the perfect forms of tradition in a new way which is defined by the restrictions and needs of today. This is not only an exercise of the mind but also of the heart. In an ancient Greek text, we can read about the triple nature of artistic creation: a) the *ἐπιστρεπτικόν*-meaning preserving our ties to the past, b) the *προνοητικόν*-meaning our way of dealing with the present, and c) the *ἐράσμιον*-meaning the emotional pull exerted on the beholder. Every true work of art unites these three elements. All artistic work must also combine universal elements common to all people with the particular characteristics of local traditions". (Original text in Greek. Translation by the author).

148 Pikionis summarized the skills required of an architect entrusted with such a monumental task in a letter dated 12.5.1955 to the Minister of Public Works, K. Karamanlis. He expects him to be an artist of high moral standards over and above the conventional fashions of the day, having an historic awareness of the architectural forms which he will have to apply in a setting incompatible with the prevailing conventions:

«Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος ὁ ὁποῖος θὰ παρῆχε τὰς ἐγγυήσεις τῆς ἐπιτελέσεως τοῦ ἔργου τούτου, οὗτος δέον νὰ εἶναι ἱκανὸς νὰ ἀρθῇ ὑπεράνω τῶν κατὰ συνθήκην καὶ ἐφημέρων συλλήψεων αἰτίνες χαρακτηριστίζουσιν τὴν ἐποχὴν μας. Δέον οὗτος νὰ ἔχῃ διὰ μακρᾶς παιδείας ἀνεπτυγμένην, θὰ ἔλεγα, ἱστορικὴν συνείδησιν τῶν μορφῶν ἃς θὰ ἐφαρμόσῃ ἐν τῷ ὅποιος δὲν ἀνέχεται τὴν ἰσχύουσαν συμβατικότητα.

Οὗτος, ἵνα ἀνταποκριθῇ εἰς τὰ αἰτήματα τῆς πραγματώσεως τοῦ ἔργου, δέον νὰ παραιτηθῇ σχεδὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀσχολιῶν του, νὰ εὕρεται ἐν ἀδιαλείπτῳ ἐπαφῇ μὲ αὐτό, πρέπει ὁλόκληρος νὰ ἀνήκῃ εἰς αὐτό».

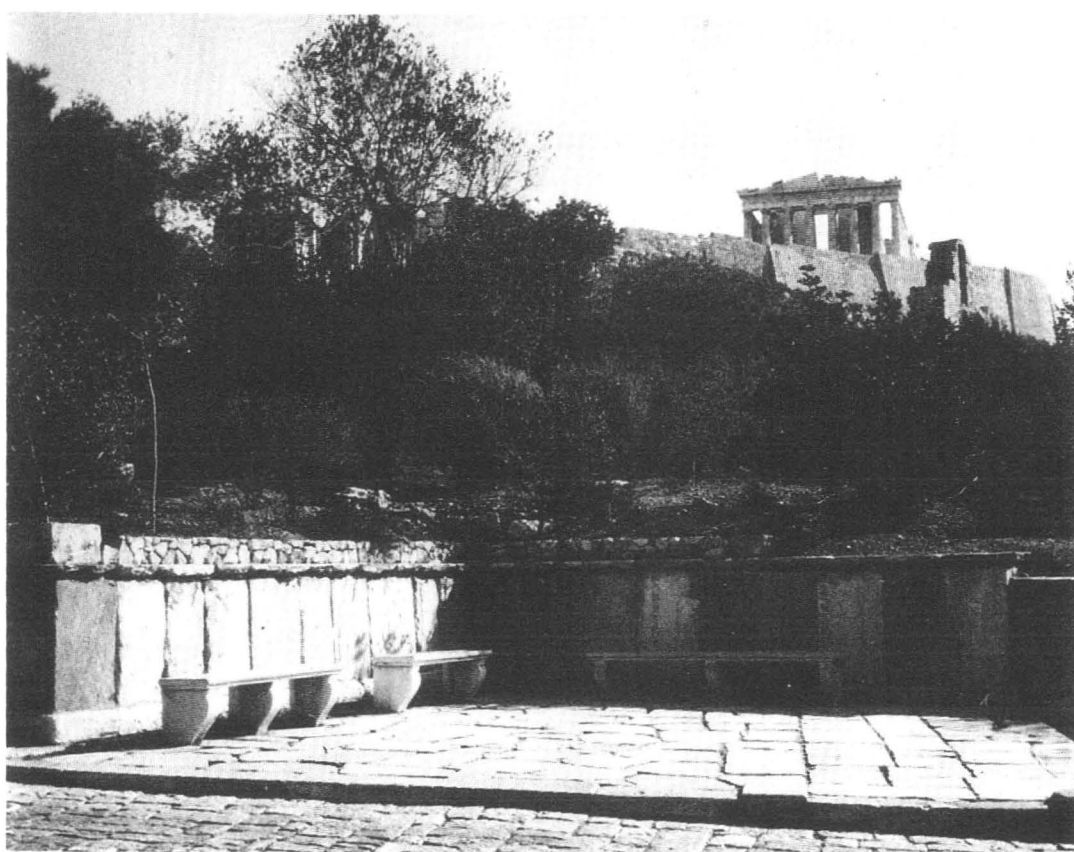


Fig. 391 Benches and retaining wall at the start of the Akropolis ascent. (Photograph by the author).

tic. It would be more correct to say that Pikionis was an early 'regionalist' decades before the term was coined in Western Europe. Although he believed in the universal validity of functional design and sincerity in the choice of materials, he also promoted the use of architectural forms differentiated according to different natural and cultural spaces.<sup>147</sup> He was ahead of his time in this respect. Pikionis tried to include the spatial principles of ancient and vernacular Mediterranean architecture as well as strong reminiscences of historic forms in his work. For this he has been misunderstood by many—at a time when the uniform tendencies of the modern style prevailed—and attacked as an eccentric formalist. Although his formal options were often undoubtedly eclectic, the high quality of the constructive details, the harmony of his spatial arrangements and the constant care for integrating man-made elements into the natural setting, gave this man the status of the Hellenic architect par excellence. It remains an open question as to whether the dependence on the examples of vernacular architecture was the only possible way. The high quality of his drawings and the perfect, restrained and craftsmanlike way in which they were implemented cannot, however, be disputed.

In Pikionis' work as a whole, the open space planning around the Akropolis becomes more important because it gave the master the first chance to realise his ideas in a large scale. This was neither a customary town planning scheme nor a simple landscape-planning task! In this case, open spaces had to be created and not merely planted, access to important antiquities had to be planned and new buildings erected in harmony with the historic townscape; one of the most difficult tasks for an architect.<sup>148</sup>

We should briefly describe the setting to gain a first impression of what has been achieved. It was Pikionis' aim to open up the Akropolis antiquities to the pedestrian as unobtrusively as possible, in both a physical and a spiritual sense. In order to achieve the former he sensitively planned a network of paths and walkways. On the other hand, he also tried to offer an intellectual approach to the monuments in three ways:

a) by choosing and designing vantage points ensuring optimal views;

b) by including in his plan historic topographic features and remains from the various historical periods;

c) by using archetypal Greek and Mediterranean architectural forms in the new buildings, in order to relate them directly to the antiquities.

The new approaches to the area consist of two main loops (about 300 and 500 metres long). They start from the intersection at the junction of Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue and Apostolou Pavlou st. and serve two different purposes. The first loop leads to the Akropolis entrance while the second loop provides views of the Akropolis from the neighboring hills. These pathways are conceived as pavements of a unique design: solid limestone alternating with slabs of thick marble of various shapes and sizes as well as concrete strips which point out the direction. The width of these main paths is 5-7 meters (fig. 388).

Pikionis took it for granted that these approaches were to be used only by pedestrians. In response to critical comments, suggesting that perhaps an approach for motor traffic was necessary, Pikionis replied with pretended ignorance and provocative jokes, as for example "if the pilgrims nowadays are too lame to manage the last few hundred meters on foot then they should do the same as the weak tourists of Roman times and should have themselves carried in litters!" These pavements, however, which look more like a work of art by Klee or Mondrian than walkways, were nevertheless subjected to wear and tear from traffic for more than twenty years (up to 1978) and survived!

The visual sequences on both loops have a brilliant effect. The surprise element is the main psychological tool. The Akropolis is first seen from the south, where the Parthenon can only be guessed at by its cornice. Then at the beginning of the loop the pedestrian completely loses sight of the Akropolis as it disappears behind the wooded slope and then after he reaches the rock of the Areopagus and turns right, he suddenly comes face to face with the Beulé Gate and the Propylaea.

The second loop has an entirely different sequence. The visitor turns his back to the Akropolis and walks to the saddle between the Pnyx and Philopappos hill. From here there is an unrestricted view of the Athenian basin all the way to Peiraeus; in the background the Saronic







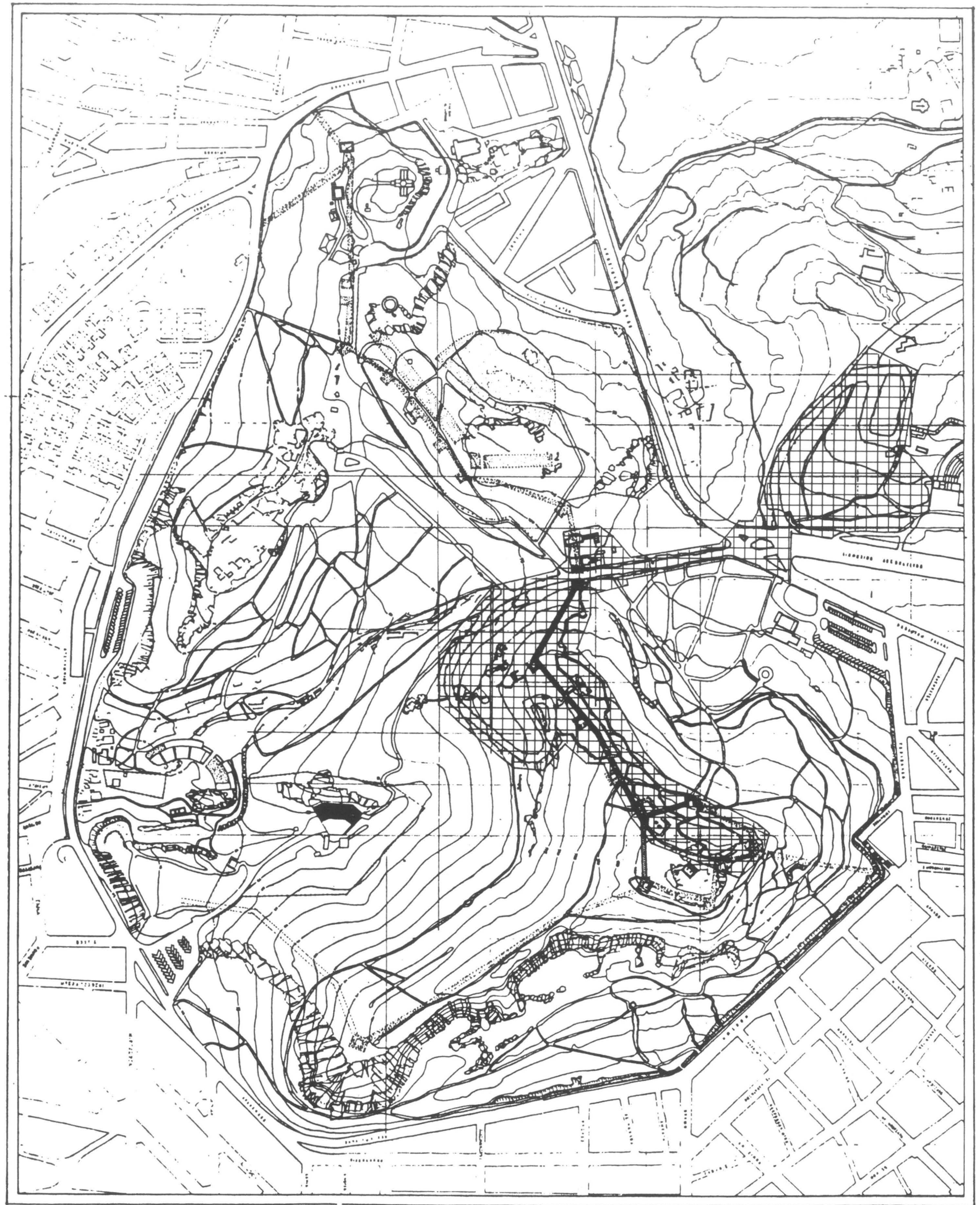


Fig. 393 Exact topographical survey of the Pnyx range: Mouseion, Pnyx and Hill of the Nymphs. The area landscaped by Pikionis (shown in crosshatching) comprises only 6 ha, of which 3.8 ha are on Philopappos hill and 2.2 ha on the Akropolis west slope. Scale 1:5000. (Plan by the author).





Fig. 394 Philopappos hill and the Pnyx. Lower left: the loop ending the road up to Philopappos. Centre: the Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiariis complex. Upper right: temple of Hephaistos. Air view taken in 1960. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



- 149 Pikionis insisted on the necessity of enriching the grove with Attic plants, while fighting vigorously against any attempt to “embellish” the slopes by introducing what he would call “Frankish” (i.e. alien) decorative plants or lawns. In a letter of 30.9.1964, to the German town-planner Prof. Erich Kühn, he wrote as follows:

“It happened that after I had received your first letter I visited the site of my work. I was unpleasantly surprised to see that certain persons unknown to me have done additional planting which has completely falsified the meaning of my work. Specifically: the type of planting does not fit into the composition as a whole and the density of the planting has ruined the balance between the details and the whole.

Now, in order to realize the original aims of the architect, I have to obtain permission to remove the unwanted additions made by persons who did not ask for my thoughts on the matter”. (Original text in German. Translation by the author).

- 150 In his letter of 12.5.1955 to K. Karamanlis, Pikionis pleaded for a special working procedure for this delicate task:

“One of the first preconditions for success is continuous supervision work with the help of a qualified team. The customary supervision does not cover the requirements of this specific work (...) Blueprints and instructions are not sufficient. Plans are not applicable and are merely pointers for the general idea, which has to be *interpreted* (...) The architect himself, with the assistance of his aides, has to become the interpreter of his work; I would say that he has to construct it himself while using the hands of his craftsman”. (Original text in Greek. Translation by the author).

The whole passage in Greek reads as follows:

«Ἡ διαρκὴς ἀσκήσις τῆς ἐποπτείας τοῦ ἔργου, βοηθουμένης ὑπὸ ἱκανῶν στελεχῶν, εἰς τῶν πρωτίστων ὄρων τῆς ἐπιτεύξεως. Ἡ συνήθως λεγομένη ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ ἐπίβλεψις δὲν καλύπτει τὰς προϋποθέσεις τοῦτο τοῦ ἔργου, ἐκείνη εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ ἐξαρκῇ δι’ ἔργα τυπικῆς καὶ παγκοίνως ἐφαρμοζομένης κατασκευῆς. Ἀντιθέτως, τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἔχει ἀνάγκη νὰ εὐρείας ἀσκήσεως μιᾶς ἐπὶ τόπου αὐτενεργείας, ἣν οὐδὲν σχέδιον δύναται νὰ προβλέψῃ, οὐδεμία σύμβασις νὰ περιγράψῃ. Εἰς τὰς περιπτώσεις αὐτὰς τὸ σχέδιον καὶ αἱ ὁδηγίαι εἶναι ἀνεπαρκεῖς. Τὸ πρῶτον δὲν εἶναι ἐκτελεστὸν ἀλλ’ ἐπέχει θέσιν γνώμονος ἐγκλείοντος τὴν γενικὴν ἰδέαν, ἥτις δέον νὰ ἐρμηνευθῇ. Διὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ταύτην δὲν ἐξαρκεῖ ἡ πρὸς τὰς ὁδηγίας συμμόρφωσις. Ὁ ἴδιος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων πρέπει, βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βοηθῶν του, νὰ καιαστῇ ἐρμηνευτὴς τοῦ ἔργου του, θὰ ἔλεγα νὰ τὸ κατασκευάσῃ ὁ ἴδιος, χρησιμοποιοῦν τὰς χεῖρας τῶν τεχνιτῶν. Αὐτὴ ἡ πράττουσα ἐποπτεία εἶναι μόνη ἱκανὴ νὰ ἐπιτελέσῃ τὴν εὐαίσθητον καὶ ζωντανὴν μορφήν ἀντὶ τῆς τυπικῆς καὶ νεκρᾶς. Ἐὰν αὐτὸ ἀπαιτῇ πᾶν ἔργον ἄξιον λόγου, πόσον μᾶλλον τὸ προκείμενον».

- 151 Pikionis actually mostly used marbles taken from demolished neoclassical Athenian houses and very few ancient stones for his structures. His original idea of a large scale use of ancient material was obviously abandoned, probably because of the strong resistance of the Archaeological Service.

In his memorandum of 1955 “On the terms for his collaboration in landscaping the area around the Akropolis” his intention to scatter around genuine ancient architectural fragments is however clearly stated:

«Ἐντεῦθεν δέον νὰ χρησιμοποιηθοῦν διὰ τὴν δομὴν τῶν φυλακίων, ἀναπαυτηρίων κ.τ.λ. λίθοι εἰδικῆς ὕψης, σχήματος καὶ χρώματος, ὡς καὶ μεγάλοι συλλεκτοὶ βράχοι, ὑπέρθυρα ἐξ ἀρχαίων μαρμάρων ἢ νεοκλασσικῶν, θὰ ἐντειχισθοῦν ἀνάγλυφα, κιονόκρανα, αἱ δὲ δοκοὶ καὶ τὰ λιθόστρωτα θὰ διακοσμηθοῦν δι’ ἀρχαίων τεμαχίων, ὡς ἐδώλια, κυλινδρόμορφα σώματα τῶν ἐπὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ τάφων ἅτιν’ ἀφθονοῦν ἐν τῷ προαυλίῳ τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Μουσείου».

- 152 N. Kurokawa: “Architecture of the road.” in *Ekistics* 16, no. 96, Athens, Nov. 1963, pp. 288-293.

Gulf and the islands of Salamis and Aegina. Here, at one of the gates in the ruins of an ancient city wall (the Diateichisma) and near a post-Byzantine chapel, Pikionis creates a pause. This is a place of rest and contemplation in the form of a precinct comprising a church and a belvedere terrace with a café grouped around a courtyard. The open form of the sacred, ancient precinct is taken in: a slim, wooden propylon and also several views and exits from the courtyard into the surrounding area. An enclosed but not sealed space; an inventive example of Greek spatial display (fig. 394). The choice of location for the pavilion at a suitable height and exactly on the longitudinal axis of the Parthenon provides a unique view of the majestic west front of the temple.

Starting from this focal point at the chapel of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris there are two possibilities to continue viewing the historical site.

—On the right is a simple path which leads to the semicircular terrace of the ancient Assembly Place of the Pnyx.

From here the observer has a wide panorama of the Hephaistos temple, past the Agora to the Akropolis. It is typical of Pikionis’ great respect for the ancient heritage that here, where an authentic ancient setting exists, he acted with restraint and refrained from adding any of his own creations.

—The other way, leading away from the chapel of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris, is different. It is a paved road, gradually climbing up the hill, stopping at approximately half way up Philopappos hill next to the ancient city wall.

Pikionis chose this height specifically as it offers an impressive, general view of the Akropolis from the southwest. Here he planned his vantage terrace, the belvedere, comprising several staggered groups of stone seating arrangements on different levels (fig. 400).

Thus the visitor gradually becomes acquainted with the landscape and the ancient monuments by means of a series of unexpected vistas offered by the two main loops.

The slopes may be further explored by means of a network of narrow paths with numerous steps paved with small natural stones. Philopappos and Pnyx hills were densely settled with private houses in ancient times and one sees rock-cut rooms and the rock-cut streets between the houses everywhere one goes. Pikionis carefully integrated all these remains in his network of paths. Historic monuments from different periods, like the ancient city wall or the post-Byzantine chapel of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris have been carefully restored. The previously existing cypress and pine grove was provided with an irrigation system. This meant that it was possible to do more variegated planting by adding indigenous shrubs and bushes such as oleander, laurel, wild olive trees, heather and broom. Pikionis steadily fought against the idea of an artificially planned park; and held that anything which would conceal the natural contours of the terrain would not be suitable.<sup>149</sup>

Pikionis consciously and consistently used a method of creative improvisation.<sup>150</sup> He spent many hours on the site in order to determine the main points of reference and to give instructions to the old, experienced stone masons. The completed drawings served only as a basis. On his instructions a small group of faithful students repeatedly fixed strings over the site thus determining the pattern of the pavements.

Together with natural stone and wood Pikionis often employed architectural members made of marble, which he took from demolished neoclassical houses of Athens and used for retaining walls, seats and pavements. In the 1950s these eclectic but sensitive architectural quotations met with little appreciation, unlike today when they could expect a gracious reception. Stories even went around about the fake antiquities which he had apparently scattered about the site!<sup>151</sup>

Pikionis finished his work around the Akropolis in 1958. It was a small but important part of the planning of the Athenian cultural-historic area which is still being developed. Only about 6 ha (one-tenth of the total area of the previously planted hills of the Pnyx and the Philopappos) have been landscaped by the master.

In spite of objections at that time to what seemed to be a throwback to outworn historical forms, the achievement has been recognized by eminent colleagues as a pioneer effort. The Japanese architect Kurokawa spoke, for example of “an architecture which is attuned to the human pattern of movement”<sup>152</sup> and the Greek town-planner, Doxiadis, spoke of a “humanistic



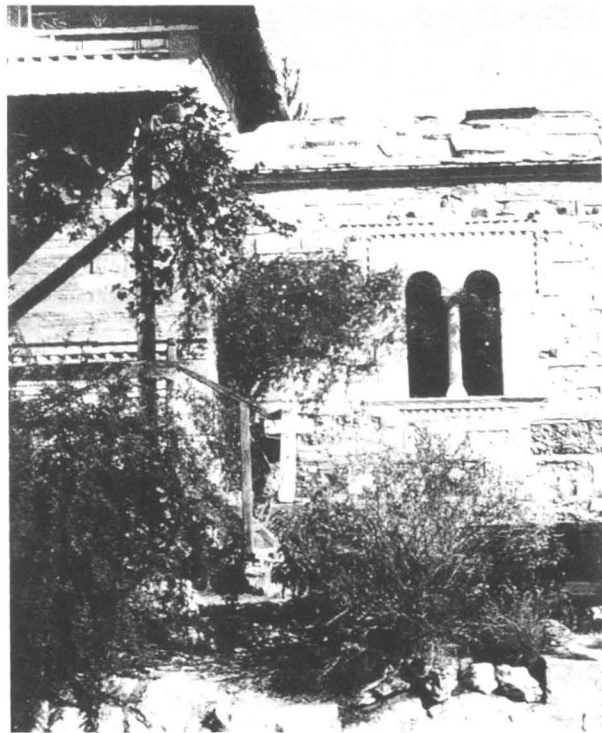


Fig. 395 Church of Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris: detail of the masonry after rebuilding by Pikionis. (Photograph by the author).

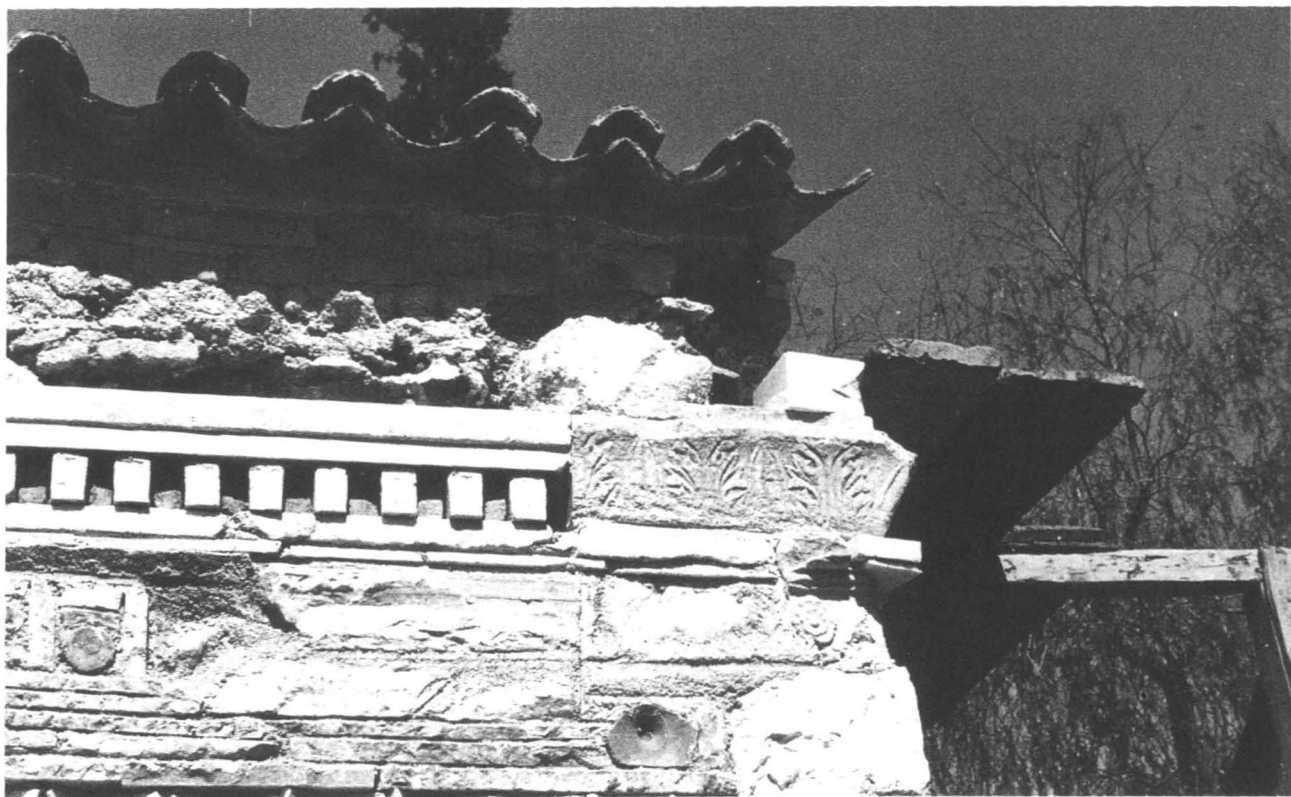


Fig. 396 Church of Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris: detail of the masonry after rebuilding by Pikionis. (Photograph by the author).

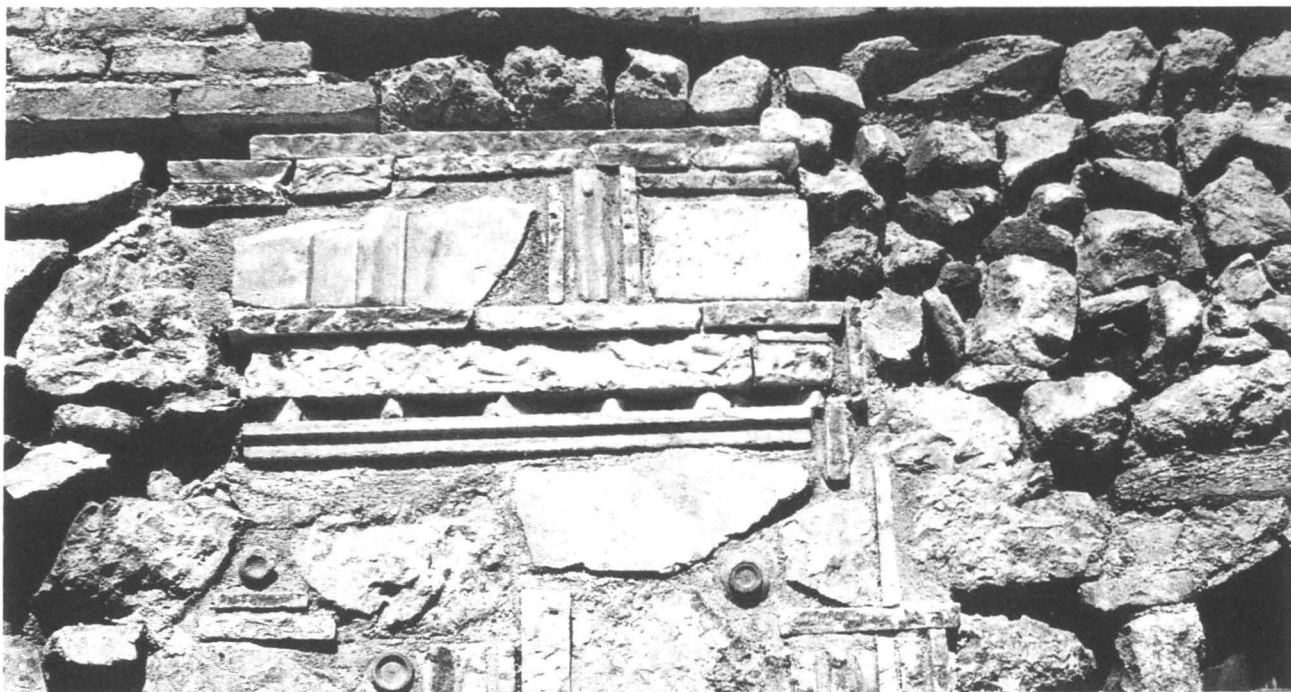


Fig. 397 Church of Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris: detail of the masonry after rebuilding by Pikionis. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 398 Pavilion of the Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris complex under construction: Detail of the masonry. (Photograph by the author).

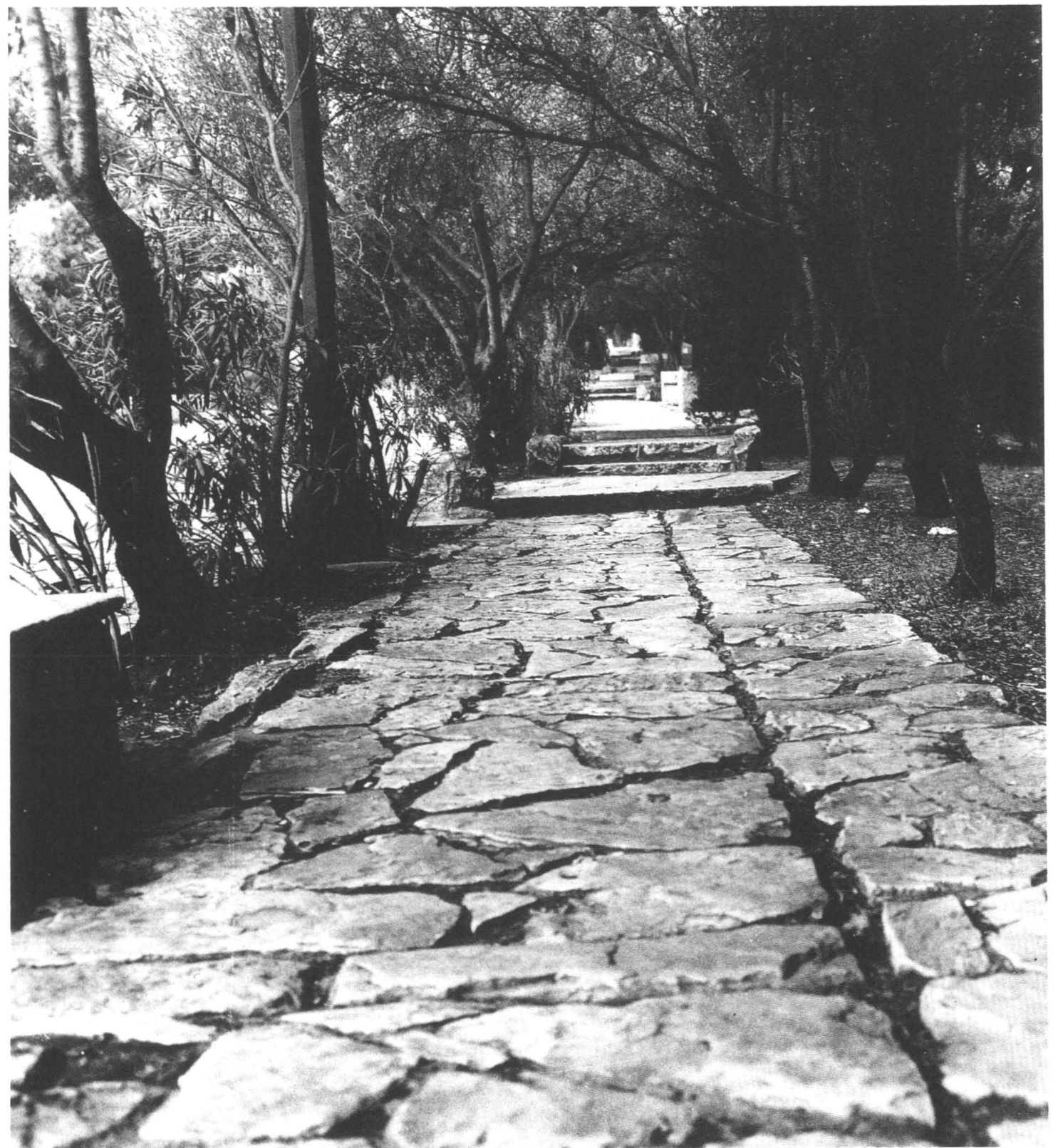


Fig. 399 Walk leading to the Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris complex. (Photograph by A. Tzimas).





Fig. 400 Philopappos hill: the belvedere terrace with the Philopappos monument in the background. (Photograph by A. Tzimas).

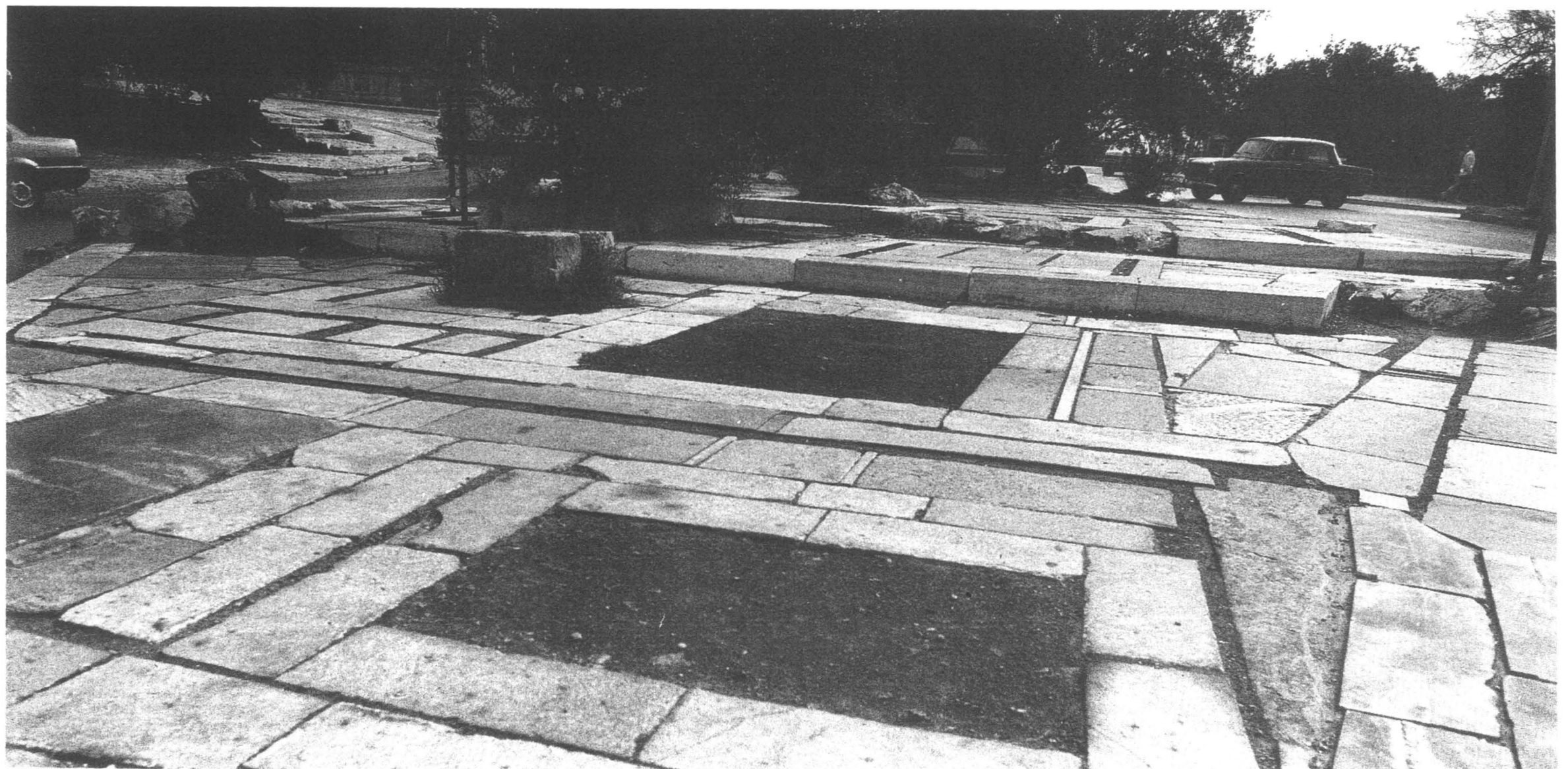


Fig. 401 Detail of the pavement of the traffic island at the start of the Akropolis ascent. (Photograph by A. Tzimas).





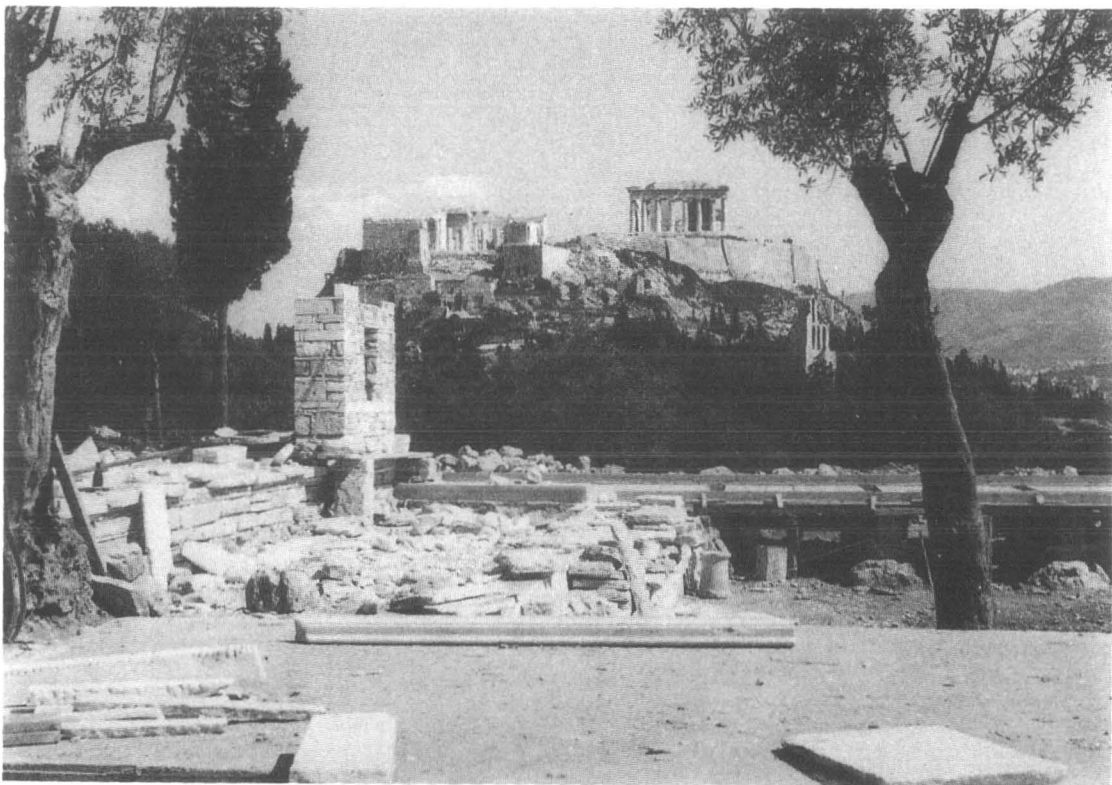
Fig. 402 Sketch for a fountain house by D. Pikionis.

Fig. 403 Wooden fence made solely of unhewn branches, made under the supervision of D. Pikionis. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 404 The wooden entrance to the Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris precinct. (Photograph by A. Tzimas).





Figs. 405-407 Three rare photographs of the buildings of the Hagios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris complex under construction (1956). (Photographs by the author).



achievement which resumes the dialogue with the climate, the *genius loci* and the architectural heritage.”

Today, thirty-five years later, what is the importance of Pikionis’ work as a constituent part of the cultural-historic area? What value do the six hectares of open space planned by Pikionis have within the 350 hectares complex of hills, parks and excavations sites?

In the meantime a new generation of architects has grown up. The esthetic discussions about Pikionis’ use of forms are no longer relevant. The question is no longer asked, as to whether too many historical quotations have been introduced, whether ‘fake’ antiquities have been displayed or whether a brilliant game has been played with the repertoire of Greek architectural archetypes from diverse periods.

The work completely fits into the historic space and has thus been appropriated by the Athenians. Moreover, the unobtrusiveness, even modesty of Pikionis’ whole gesture, his artistic quality has been confirmed in two ways: for the layman his structures appear timeless, as though they have always been there as an integral part of the setting. A trained eye appreciates, however, the marvel of the careful integration, the respect for the *genius loci*, the self-denying restraint in the presence of the great architectural heritage.

Neither the formal details nor the choice of the repertoire of forms—which can be argued about—are decisive; what makes the achievement truly great is its artistic ethos: Pikionis’ decision not to present himself as a modern Iktinos and not to compete with the ancient heritage, as many another contemporary architect might have done, but to reveal it to us discreetly and evocatively.

Pikionis gave absolute priority to the protection, readability and enhancement of the ancient topographic setting of the Akropolis vicinity. The promotion of the archaeological research on the site throughout was to him of secondary importance. This is a daring option of an architect and an aesthete to whom the symbolic value of the historic configuration of the site was the most precious asset of the heritage. His mistrust and reserve towards the changes in the contours of the site brought by excavations were intense.<sup>153</sup> Pikionis’ thinking was guided by an esthetic—and by no means by a scientific—interpretation of the task. Therefore his work is the unique output of a rare, many-sided creative personality. It nevertheless remains controversial because it failed to give an answer to the crucial question of how to treat excavation areas after the termination of the archaeological field work.

The question finally whether the remaining important surface of the hills to be landscaped could be treated in the same spirit is irrelevant. Every attempt to imitate Pikionis’ achievement would end in poor formalism: what makes up the exceptional quality of this work is his concept of space and his extreme sensitivity in the treatment of the materials.

To copy its formal vocabulary would be plagiarism. The master gave us a great example of how to build in conjunction, not in competition, with the overwhelming monumental heritage.

153 Henry Miller in his recollections of a Greek journey in 1939 entitled *The Colossus of Maroussi* is already critical about the aesthetic result of excavation activities: “The archaeologists have ruined the place; they have laid waste big tracts of land in order to uncover a mess of ancient relics which will be hidden away in museums. The whole base of the Akropolis resembles more and more a volcanic crater in which the loving hands of the archaeologists have laid out cemeteries of art. The tourist comes and looks down at these ruins, these scientifically created lava beds, with a moist eye (...)”.

Pikionis in his “Report for a landscaping scheme at Delphi” (1946) asserts that “archaeological areas are not the sites handed down to us by history, with all the natural picturesque qualities bestowed by the blind powers of nature or the destructions caused by man (...) Thus the inevitable result of archaeological excavations is that the landscape is deprived of all aesthetic value”.





Fig. 408 Detail of a walk on Philopappos hill. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 409 Church of Hag. Dimitrios Loumbardiaris during rebuilding. Detail of the façade. (Photograph by the author).

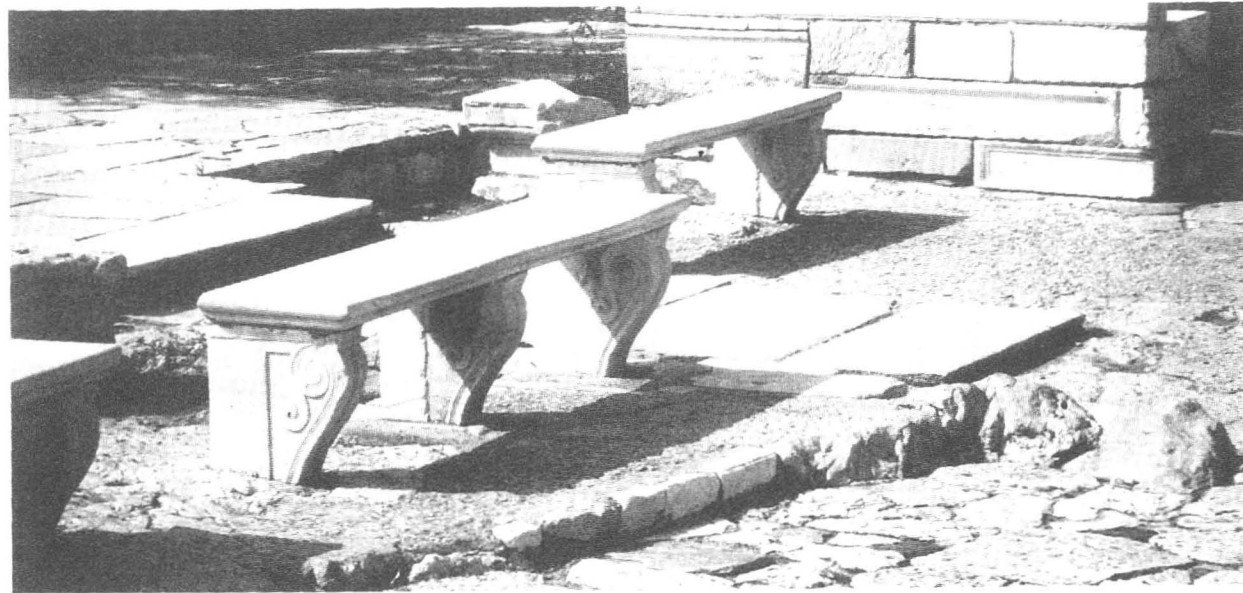


Fig. 410 Marble benches designed by D. Pikionis. Spolia from demolished neo-classical houses have been incorporated into these structures. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 411 Pavement of the road leading up Philopappos hill. Note the ingenious combination of stone and concrete. (Photograph by A. Tzimas).







CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS







## HOW GREEKS AND VISITORS FROM ABROAD APPROACH AND REACT TO THE HISTORIC SITE

### AN APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT UTILIZATION OF THE CULTURAL- HISTORIC AREA OF ATHENS

What are the different ways of experiencing historic monuments and sites in metropolitan areas today? To what extent are they perceivable by and available to the inhabitants and the visitors? In the present era of mass tourism, what has become of the cultural goals which originally motivated the idea of travel to a great extent? How may art, history and nature still be experienced under these conditions? And how can they reveal themselves and communicate their messages? The desirable cultural-political aim of allowing as many people as possible to have access to these experiences has been largely achieved in the industrial nations, but at a price<sup>154</sup>.

The feeling of enjoying something previously reserved for the socially privileged spurs many people on to make real use of the possibilities offered. The general opening up has of course had the foreseeable result that the character of many cultural assets has been radically altered and that others have become virtually inaccessible. So many cackling people crowd into the passage through the Propylaia that the way up to the Akropolis plateau is an exasperating struggle rather than a pilgrimage.

The problem has several other aspects, not the least of which is that the monuments themselves are so endangered by traffic, the crush of the crowds and pollution that the effect they were meant to have on the beholder is distorted or even lost.

The particular value and magic of an original, in contrast to a reproduction, lies in its genuineness, immediacy and authoritative presence, what W. Benjamin called its aura; under the conditions of mass tourism all this is not lost but does undergo a change in character. Whereas in earlier times the aura of an artwork invited inward contemplation, observation under today's conditions becomes rigid, irrational idolatry. The manner of displaying works of art in museums today clearly encourages the process of fetishism by means of melodramatic lighting, backgrounds designed to isolate the objects, barriers enforcing distance etc.

The situation is almost hopeless for the scholar who must have peace and quiet in order to arrive at historically valid judgements. Any attempt to pursue one's investigations halfway free of disturbances is doomed to failure because of the overwhelming crowds on the one hand and, on the other, the often even more obtrusive efforts of the guards to maintain order.

These are all well-known phenomena which everyone has been forced to notice. Unrestricted access has in reality made many works of art inaccessible or, at all events, deeply changed in quality, i.e. trivialized. Those who think that more than mere information is to be sought in this realm must admit that the number of people visiting museums who truly profit in the highest sense of the word is not growing, but diminishing.

154 This and the following seven paragraphs are partly direct translation, partly a paraphrase of a text by Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Utopische Vergangenheit*, Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1976, 36-38.



This is the ambivalent nature of the phenomenon: The very ones who approve mass tourism from the cultural-political standpoint, are absolutely not able to condone the fair-grounds atmosphere to which cultural monuments are subjected; and still less the 'Baedeker and bikini' mood created by the tourist industry, leading many to believe that they have paid their good money for the right to behave as obstreperously and noisily as they please.

But is this profanation of the heritage or a new approach? As long as the object, the building or artwork etc., still maintains its original function, it is easily appropriated by the public. For example, a building in use can create its own effect by the very act of being used, rather than being presented as an encounter with a work of art. But when the function has lapsed and the object has become a museum piece, it loses its powers of communication and becomes problematic. Certain conventional approaches to works of art, especially those of Greek and Roman antiquity, developed in Europe, beginning in the 18th century. This mostly amounts to contemplative observation, i.e. losing oneself in a solemn reverie in which aesthetic experience and thoughts about the content are vaguely intermingled. This no longer has much to do with the way the artist intended his creation to operate on the beholder.

The resulting intellectual approach to art, which has prevailed in the western world during the last two centuries, is profoundly abstract and eclectic. To many sensitive people, museums and excavation areas are not only the 'sacred precincts' but also the 'cemeteries' of art.

Thus the attitude of permissive leisure, which more and more characterizes modern society, brings into being new (but in reality old) values which correspond to the original functional-tactile experience of architecture.<sup>155</sup> If the disturbances caused by the massive tourist flows could to some extent be eliminated by introducing inventive and differentiated routes, then the emerging *Homo ludens* would be able to experience the monumental site not only in a narrowly passive way, but also through a more existential approach. This would include becoming familiar with the site and making it a part of one's life through repeated visits, so that it gains new meaning through the interplay of personal and historic recollections. It remains, however, an open question if this new approach is compatible with the aims of preserving and conserving the monuments.

But beyond these different approaches and behavioral attitudes toward the cultural heritage in general, a successful experience of the historic Athenian townscape in its considerable variety, on the part of both the inhabitants and groups of visitors, depends mainly on working out a variety of in-depth approaches to the cultural-historic area.

A successful experience of the historic Athenian townscape is achieved when visitors are actively motivated to receive visual, intellectual and emotional stimulation through a blend of personal acquaintance and knowledge of the historical circumstances.

The variety of the patterns of utilization depends on the different potentialities of each area but also the innovative new uses which can be developed in conformity with the *genius loci* of the historic site.

On the other hand, the parameter of the intensity of present utilization of the cultural-historic area should be investigated thoroughly in relation to interesting planning aspects, e.g. 1) the physical accessibility of the area, 2) its grade of spatial unification, 3) the existing treatment of the various sectors of the area with regard to landscaping and/or urban design, 4) the lifestyle and daily life of the urban dwellers and how close the people feel to the assets of the area in respect to the natural and cultural heritage.

## Access to the twelve sectors

Access to the twelve sectors of the historic-cultural area (fig. 412) varies greatly according to the diversity of existing uses, i.e. archaeological excavation sites, green spaces of replanted hills,

155 In the 1930s Walter Benjamin made some very pertinent observations on this matter, in his essay "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit":

"Man sieht, es ist im Grunde die alte Klage, daß die Massen Zerstreuung suchen, die Kunst aber vom Betrachter Sammlung verlangt. Das ist ein Gemeinplatz. (...) Hier heißt es, näher zusehen, Zerstreuung und Sammlung stehen in einem Gegensatz, der folgende Formulierung erlaubt: Der vor dem Kunstwerk sich Sammelnde versenkt sich darein; er geht in dieses Werk ein, wie die Legende es von einem chinesischen Maler beim Anblick seines vollendeten Bildes erzählt. Dagegen versenkt die zerstreute Masse ihrerseits das Kunstwerk in sich. Am sinnfälligsten die Bauten. Die Architektur bot von jeher den Prototyp eines Kunstwerks, dessen Rezeption in der Zerstreuung und durch das Kollektivum erfolgt. Die Gesetze ihrer Rezeption sind die lehrreichsten (...) Bauten werden auf doppelte Art rezipiert: durch Gebrauch und deren Wahrnehmung. Oder besser gesagt: taktil und optisch. Es gibt von solcher Rezeption keinen Begriff, wenn man sie sich nach Art des gesammelten vorstellt, wie sie z. B. Reisenden vor berühmten Bauten geläufig ist. Es besteht nämlich auf der taktilen Seite keinerlei Gegenstück zu dem, was auf der optischen die Kontemplation ist. Die taktile Rezeption erfolgt nicht sowohl auf dem Wege der Aufmerksamkeit als auf dem der Gewohnheit. Der Architektur gegenüber bestimmt diese letztere weitgehend sogar die optische Rezeption. Auch sie findet von Hause aus viel weniger in einem gespannten Aufmerken als in einem beiläufigen Bemerken statt (...) Gewöhnen kann sich auch der Zerstreute. Mehr: gewisse Aufgaben in der Zerstreuung bewältigen zu können, erweist erst, daß die zu lösen einem zur Gewohnheit geworden ist".



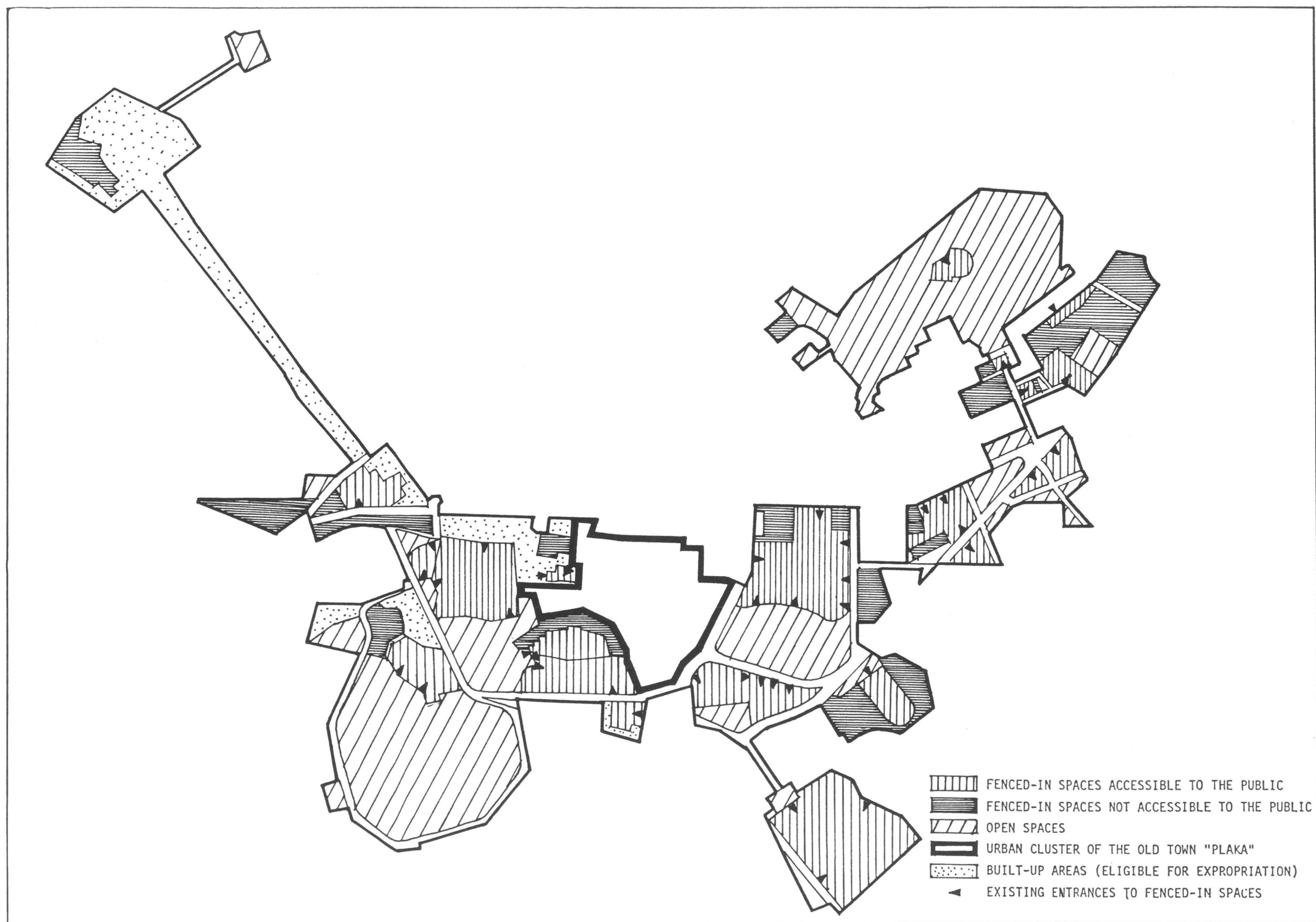


Fig. 412 Different degrees of accessibility to the twelve sectors of the cultural-historic area today. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).





Fig. 413 The heavy iron gate below the Propylaia cutting the Akropolis off from its surroundings. (Photograph by the author).

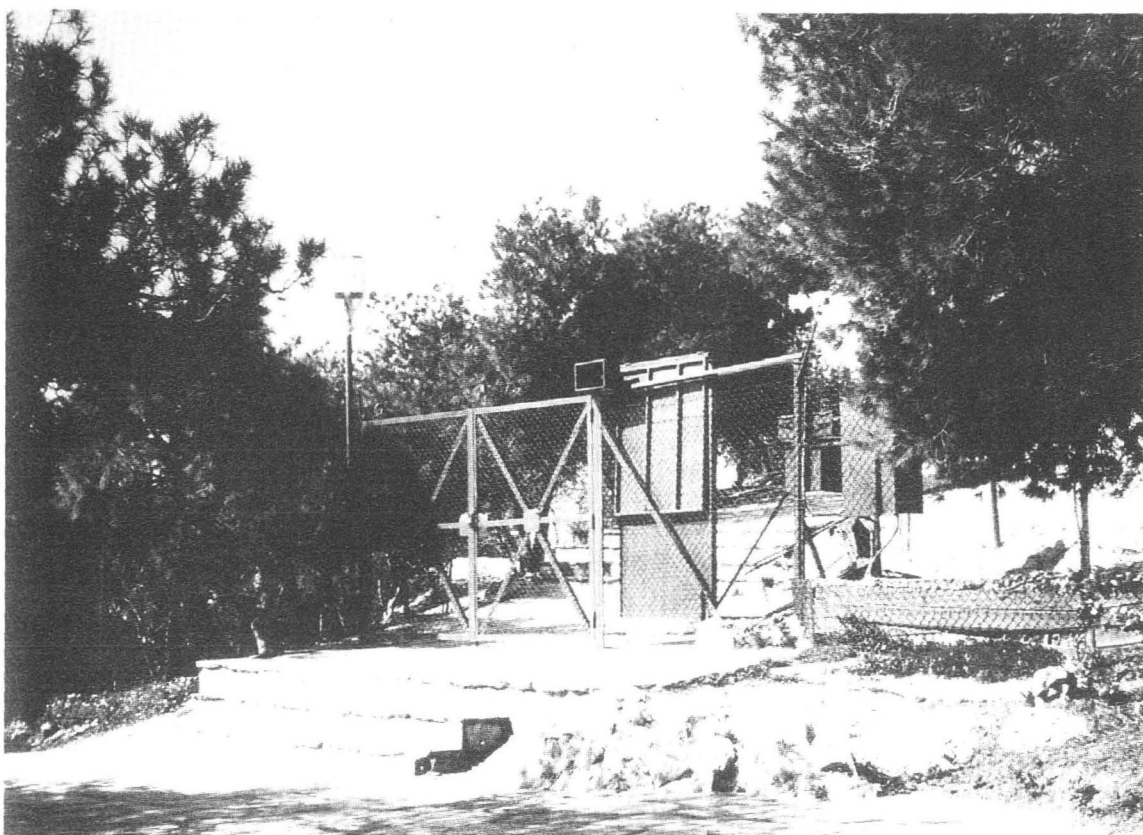


Fig. 414 The ugly makeshift fence around the Pnyx area. (Photograph by the author).

athletic installations, urban public parks, private parks belonging to cultural institutions, and the historic town sector of the Plaka. Individual areas have gradually been compartmentalized and isolated due to haphazard developments. Thus the crescent of the cultural-historic area is subdivided into no fewer than 57 distinct areas forming a patchwork of 18 fenced-in spaces, not open to the public, 20 fenced-in spaces open to the public for a part of the day, and 19 open spaces open to the public day and night.

Figure 412 presents the existing points of access, showing also that many of the areas are treated in a reasonable way (i.e. as open green areas) while others seem isolated for no apparent reason. Thus while the main areas of the replanted hills (such as Mouseion hill, Pnyx hill and the Hill of the Nymphs, the Areopagus and Lykabettos) always remain open to promenaders, Ardetos hill beside the Stadium is permanently closed to visitors, although this site offers the most magnificent panoramic view over the ancient sites, the urban parks and the other replanted hills of the inner city.

Most archaeological excavation areas are fenced-in and accessible only at certain limited hours, while others are left unfenced, such as the area south of the Olympieion, the banks of the Ilissos and the Academy area. The National Garden, the First Cemetery of Athens, the garden of the Presidential Mansion and the gardens of several institutions (the Observatory, archaeological institutes, Gennadius Library, etc.) are all fenced-in and are accessible either on a tight time schedule or not at all, depending on their functions, private, semi-private or public.

The situation around the Akropolis is even more puzzling. The Akropolis south slope is a fenced-in site open to visitors at stated times and has two entrances, one at the upper west and below the temple of Athena Nike and the other at the southwest below the Theatre of Dionysos. The upper north slope of the Akropolis with its caves, ancient sanctuaries, rock-cut inscriptions and its unique view over the old town and the modern city center is also fenced-in but remains closed to the public! As a result, the Peripatos, the ring walk around the upper Akropolis slopes, is still not open to the public. On the other hand, the large area of the Agora excavations has at last been linked to the immediate surroundings of the Akropolis entrance and the Areopagus by a walkway, although it is still sharply separated from the Roman Agora and the new excavations north of Adrianou st.

This awkward state of affairs is caused by narrowminded measures taken by the authorities to protect excavation areas by fencing them in. While such places as the Akropolis or the Panathenaic Stadium obviously need to be closed at least at night in order to protect the monuments from vandalism and the visitors from risks, the archaeological remains in excavation areas would be much better protected by thoughtful landscaping and permanent guarding than by fencing.

Visitors attempting to reach the Akropolis and Agora excavations from the Plaka are often baffled and disappointed. The access points are few and no urban design features, such as attractive walks, signposts with section plans or recognizable transition points tempt the visitor to explore the Plaka and the neighbouring sites.

## Unifying the twelve sectors

Creating a unified inner city green belt with a total length of about 6 km by linking the separate tracts seems more than problematic, in fact impossible to achieve under the prevailing traffic conditions and the unavoidable network of the main arteries and urban through-ways in the city center.

The creation of a strictly unified recreational area is also impeded by the diversity of the functional uses in the various sectors and the many different types of terrain: i.e. steep hills such as Lykabettos and Ardetos, the gently hilly terrain of the western hills, rock formations like the Akropolis and the Areopagus, sloping ground as in upper Plaka and the eastern Lykabettos slopes, and almost flat regions like the urban parks in the center, the Academy, the Kerameikos, the Olympieion and the First Cemetery areas.



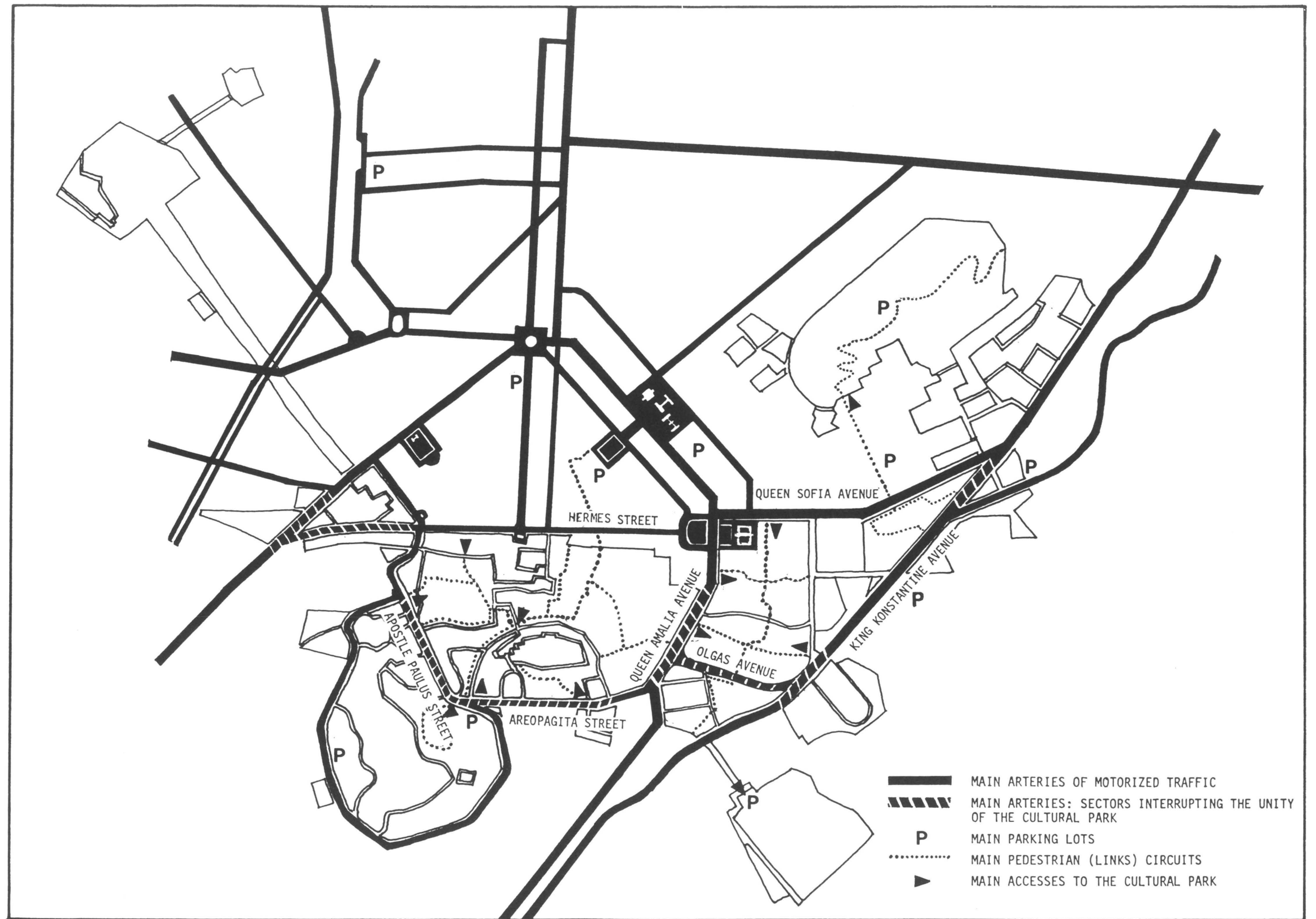


Fig. 415 Main traffic network in downtown Athens. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).





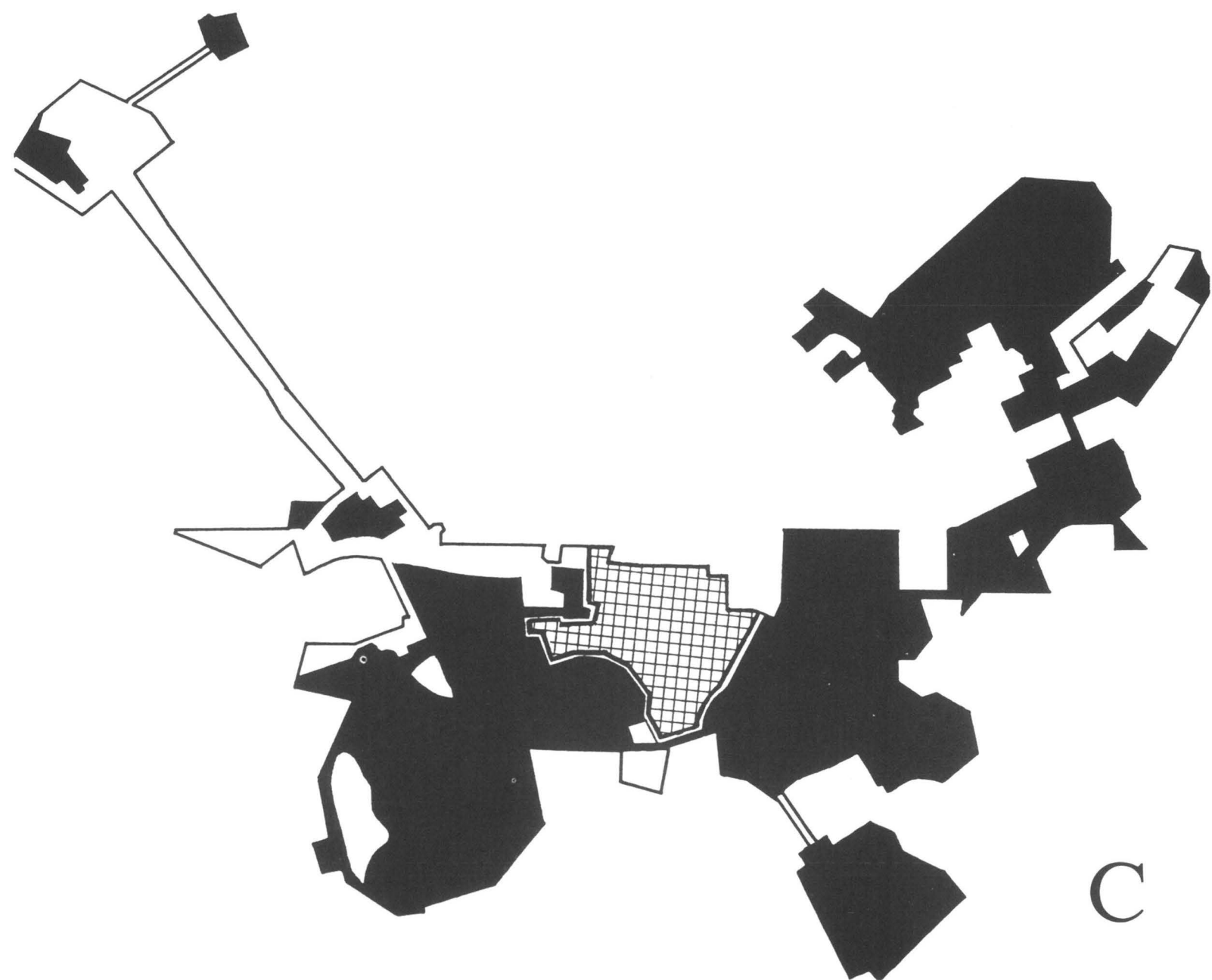
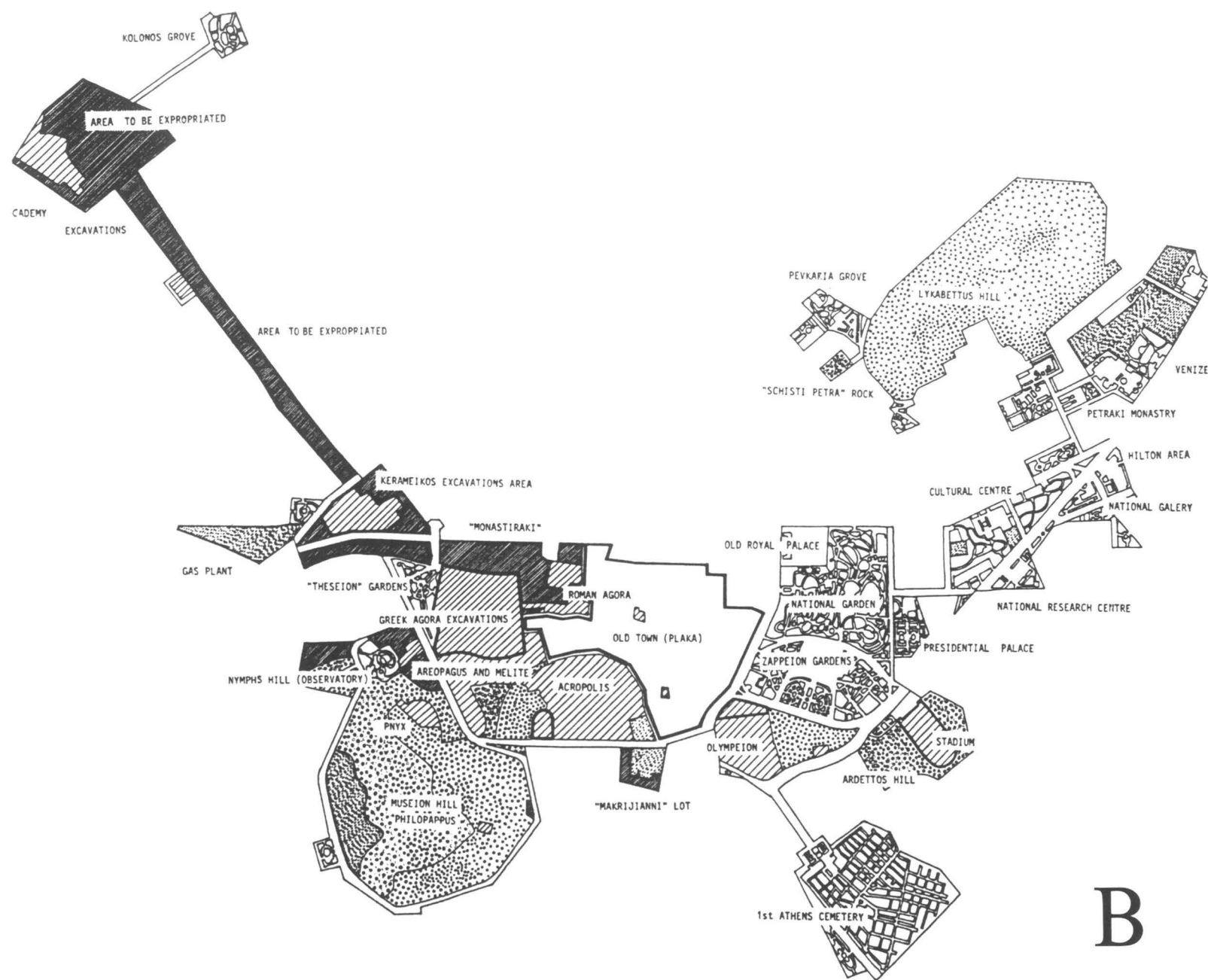
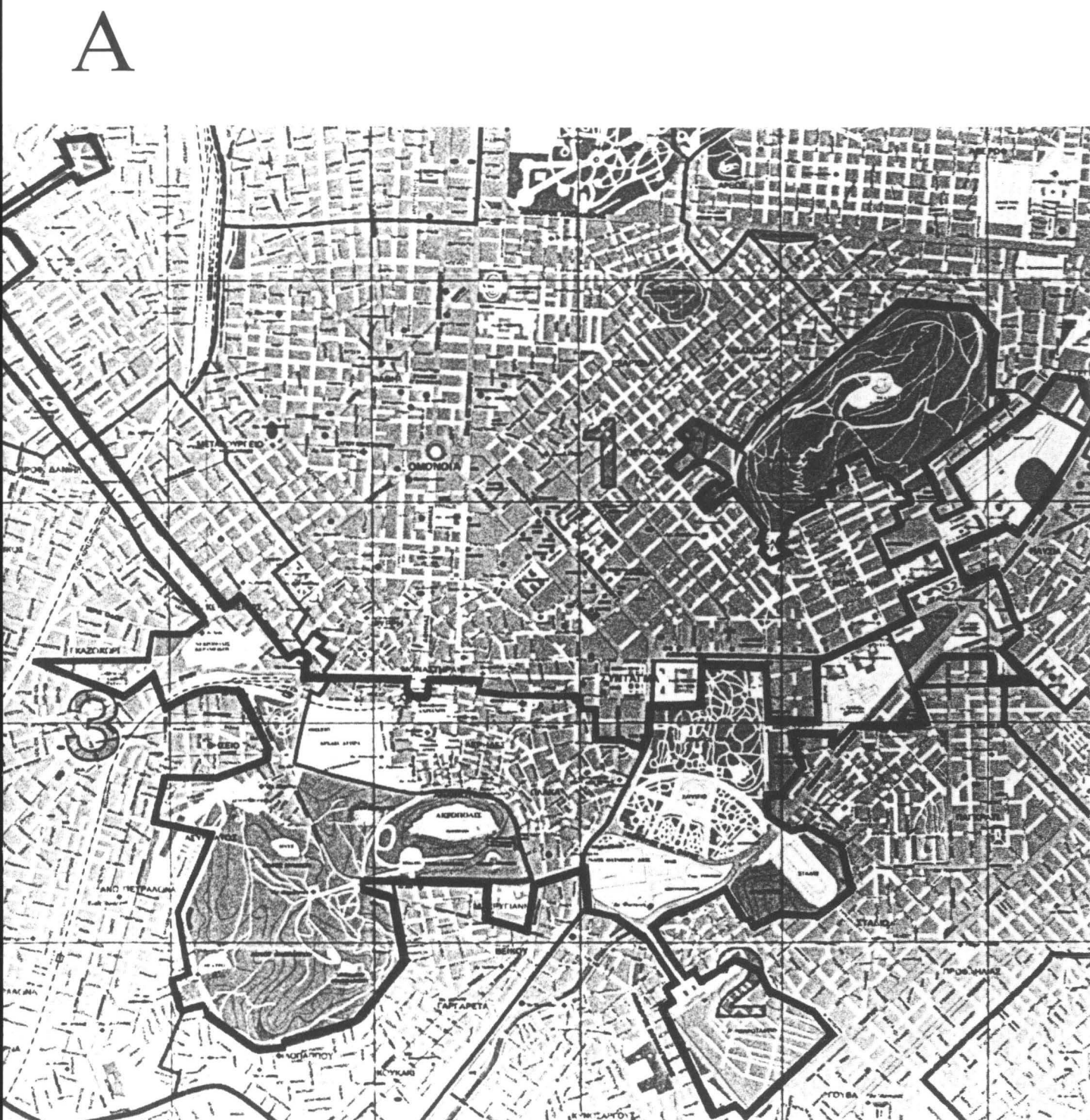
Fig. 416 The cultural-historic area of Athens: the initial situation. Scale 1:30,000. (Plans by the author).

A) Outline of the cultural-historic area superimposed on the town plan made by Kleanthes and Schaubert in 1833.

B) Proposed treatment of the surfaces of the cultural-historic area as envisaged in the Kleanthes-Schaubert plan in 1833.

C) The extent of the cultural-historic area of Athens in 1833, as proposed by the Kleanthes and Schaubert plan.





417 The cultural-historic area of Athens: present development. Scale 1:30,000. (Plans by the author).  
A) Outline of the cultural-historic area superimposed on the town-plan of central Athens in 1990.  
B) Present treatment (1990) of the surfaces of the cultural-historic area.  
C) The extent of the cultural-historic area of Athens in the year 1990.





Fig. 418 A decrepit fence around the Agora excavations. (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 419 The Akropolis north slope. A disgraceful fence cutting the Peripatos off from its surroundings. (Photograph by the author).

Built-up areas of the modern town break up the continuity of the cultural-historic area at critical points. As far as traffic is concerned, whereas the through axis of Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue - Apostolou Pavlou st. dividing the central archaeological area into an eastern section (Akropolis-Agora excavations) and a western section (the western hills) could be relieved of vehicular traffic by adequate measures, the other important obstacles to unification can be eliminated only by expensive underground diversions of the following main arteries: Peiraios street next to the Kerameikos; Amalias Avenue between the Plaka area and the Olympieion; Olgas Avenue between the Zappeion Gardens and Ardetos hill; and finally Vasilissis Sophias Avenue between area 50 in sector 10 and the eastern slopes of Lykabettos (see fig. 415).

A visually and functionally unified major recreational area could be achieved by expropriations in the following places: the built-up areas of the ancient road from the Dipylon to the Academy, the remaining unexcavated portions of the Kerameikos, the modern quarter on the Pnyx lower slope facing the Agora, and the southern extremity of Plaka across from the Olympieion. Prohibitive costs, however, make it unlikely that such large-scale expropriation measures will be adopted in the near future.

With these obstacles in the way of planning, first steps toward a partial link-up of the entire area would be the elimination, as far as possible, of superfluous fencing and the creation of a continuous integrated system of pedestrian routes through the entire area. Replanting linked walkways would, to some extent, mitigate the disruption of the main traffic arteries and the built-up areas. Clearly marked and designed entrances could be established as transition points between the monumental site and the main approaches (by foot and by car) from the city.

A glance, however, at fig. 412 showing access points and fig. 415 showing the traffic pattern of the 'green belt' *desideratum* shows that the area is a patchwork of fragments and that it would be quite difficult to unify it overnight.



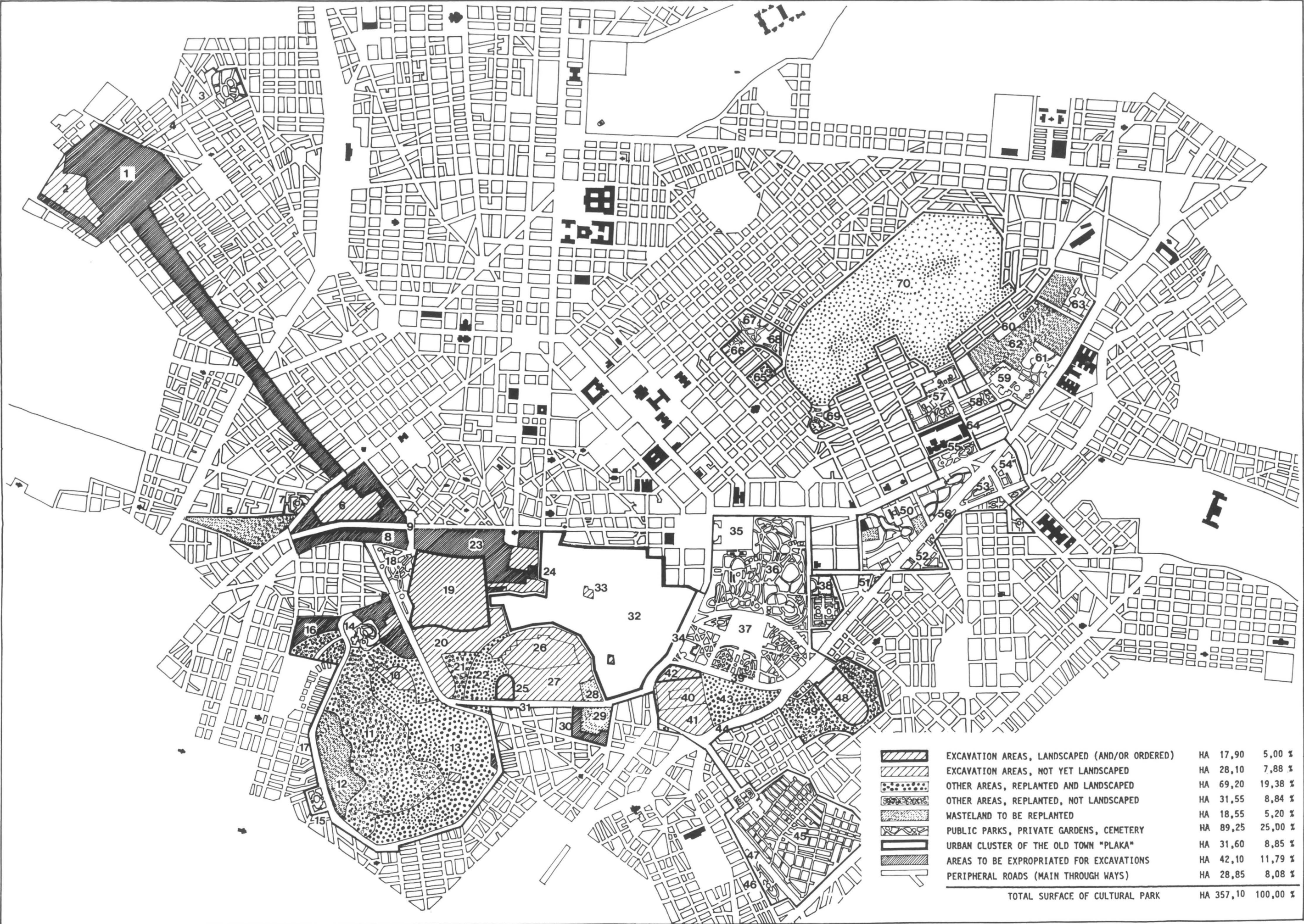


Fig. 420 Present treatment of the cultural-historic area with regard to landscaping and/or urban design. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).



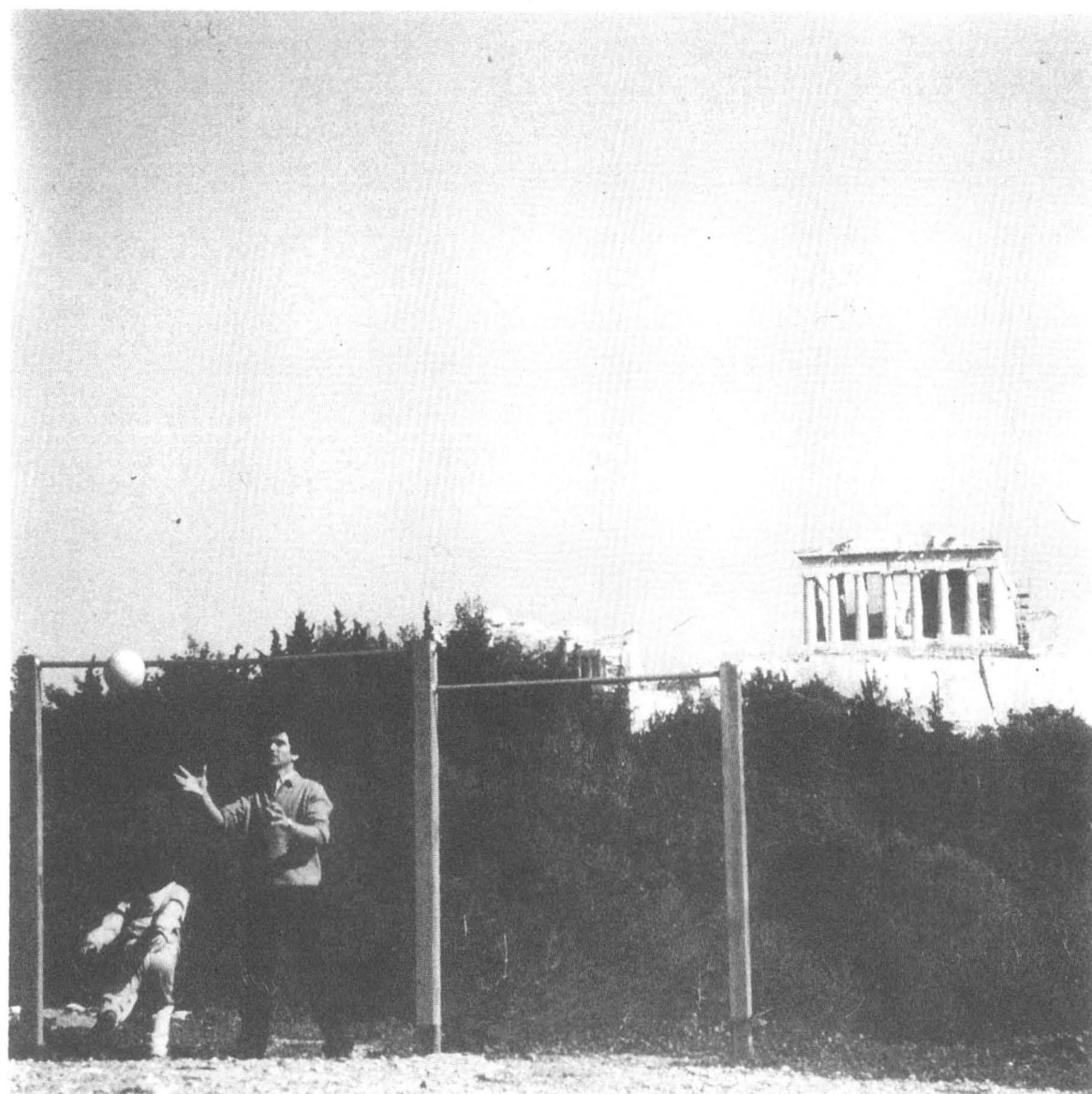


Fig. 421 In the foreground, the replanted Hill of the Nymphs with the Akropolis in the background. (Photograph by the author).

## Present-day treatment of the various sectors with regard to landscaping and urban design

Over the last 150 years the area of our concern has not only been gradually enlarged by the inclusion of the peripheral inner-city eastern hills and the Ilissos area, but has also undergone a considerable change in regard to the treatment of its various sections.

The landscaping and/or urban design also varies considerably (fig. 420) according to the different functions carried out in various sections of the cultural-historic area.

Only 5.18% (18.55 ha) of the total area (357.10 ha) still remains waste-land, i.e. the unbuilt area of the ancient Academy Area (partly converted into a municipal playground!), the still vacant area of the former municipal gas plant (to be converted into a small park of industrial archaeology), the western slope of Mouseion hill where the abandoned ruins of a huge fascistoid pseudo-ancient theater of the 1930s (to be demolished) offend the historic landscape.

The three hilly areas —the western hills, Ardetos and Lykabettos hill (totalling about 100 ha)— have been gradually replanted in the course of the present century and have also been partly landscaped in recent years, while about half their surface still waits to be made into landscaped urban groves.

The two major urban parks in the area (the National Garden and the Zappeion Gardens), several smaller public parks (Kolonos Hippios, Theseion, area 50 in sector 10, Venizelos Memorial Grove and Pefkakia) and the First Cemetery of Athens are designed following various layouts of 19th century parks with a more or less rigid scheme.

A considerable part of the existing excavation areas has been carefully landscaped during the last 40 years. This includes the Kerameikos excavations and the Agora excavations, the approaches to the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, and the area to the north of the Olympieion. Other areas of archaeological interest such as the Peripatos, i.e. the ring walk around the Akropolis slopes, the ancient residential quarter west of the Areopagus, the area of the Dionysos Theater and the banks of the Ilissos still await appropriate landscaping.

Finally, one should keep in mind that a considerable part of the *desideratum* 'green crescent' is not green at all but still covered with modern constructions. Although it is a built-up area, the Plaka on the Akropolis north slope has to be considered as an integral part of the cultural-historic area because of the special historic and artistic interest of its urban cluster (with structures of many periods closely intermingled) and because of the generally small flow of traffic in the largely pedestrianized area.

On the western side of the cultural-historic area several built-up districts on the site of the ancient Dipylon-Academy Road or on the still unexcavated part of the Kerameikos area and living quarters in the immediate vicinity of the Agora excavations and the Roman Agora are to be considered as eligible for expropriation in order gradually to achieve an integrated Athenian excavation area.

## Athenian lifestyle: how the people of Athens relate to the natural and cultural assets of the historic site

Although the activities of urban life in the Mediterranean countries have always developed to a considerable extent in the open air, an emotional and active relation to nature has never reached the existential dimension of a direct encounter, not to say worship, as in the Scandinavian countries, Germany and England. Greeks enjoy nature in a casual light-hearted manner: communing with nature is not a conscious goal; one seeks out natural settings in order to enjoy the pleasures of swimming and sailing, to keep up contacts with one's village background (most Athenians have strong roots in the countryside) or to practice a rather primitive form of hunting and



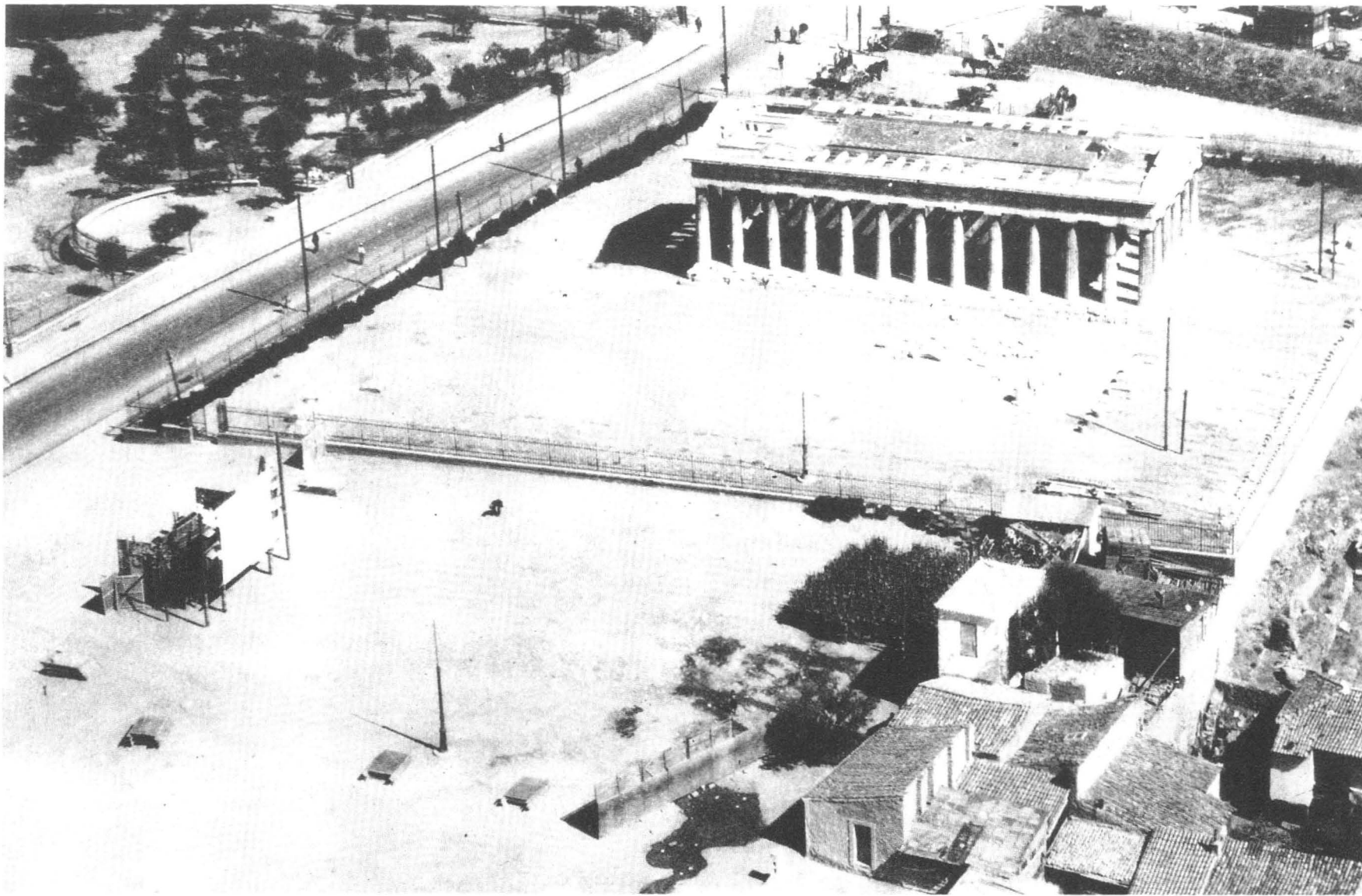


Fig. 422 The Temple of Hephaistos and an early open-air cinema to the south (1932). (Greek Ministry of Housing).



Fig. 423 The restored Stadium and the spacious plaza in front of it crowded with spectators during the second Olympic Games in 1900. (Benaki Museum, Athens).





Fig. 424 A Sunday stroll in the vicinity of the church of Haghios Dimitrios Loumbardiaris on the saddle between Philopappos and Pnyx hills. (Photograph by the author).

fishing. The basic approach is an active one: nature is seen as an additional arena for human encounters and sporting activities. Contemplation, quasi-religious absorption in and adoration of the beauty and mystery of nature are mostly alien to the practical-minded modern Greeks.

Walking tours in natural surroundings (the quintessence of German leisure 'Spazierengehen'!) and even strolling in urban environments are almost unknown activities in the south, if not combined with the specific purpose of socializing in centrally located squares, cafés and terraces. As a direct consequence of such a behavioral pattern, urban parks are mainly used only by elderly people and infants with their minders seeking some relief in the hot season of the year. The type of the well-known *Volkspark* with its spacious playing grounds and lengthy promenades seems not to be needed in southern cities. This is also the case in Athens.

But other specifically green or at least unbuilt-up areas exist also in Athens as constituent parts of the cultural-historic area: replanted hills and areas of archaeological or cultural interest. How do the inhabitants approach these areas? Until some years ago, the major replanted areas of Mouseion hill and Lykabettos were quasi-abandoned places with a low grade of security for promenaders. The hilly terrain offering an inviting setting for a real urban promenade, with the additional advantage of overall views of the townscape from elevated vantage points, seems to be of no interest to the inhabitants: they consider such ventures as tiresome and rather boring. The only favoured options are apt to be Sunday walks, or rather an ascent by funicular, to the top of the Lykabettos or a short stroll to the café terrace near the church of Haghios Demetrios Loumbardiaris on Pnyx hill.

In the past, especially during the 19th century, some specific ancient sites have been associated with traditional folk festivities: thus the great terrace of the Olympieion was used as a gathering place for picnics during spring time (κούλουμα στις κολώνες). The place was known as "At the Columns," a name clearly referring to the imposing Corinthian columns of the Temple of Zeus Olympios, lacking any historic notion of what the monument really was.

Similar festivities and popular gatherings took place on the large esplanade next to the Theseion (Temple of Hephaistos). There were tightrope walkers' performances and folk dances; later an open-air theater was installed. There was no sense of awe or admiration for the ancient temple of Hephaistos in the immediate vicinity.

Even today important ancient monuments like the choregic monument of Lysikrates or the waterclock of Andronikos are vaguely known by their folknames of "Diogenes' Lantern" and "Tower of the Winds". The former name refers to the cylindrical form of the building, while the latter alludes to the relief frieze of the Winds.

The casual way of using the ancient monuments as a backdrop for festivities and entertainments and the picturesque, inventive names given to them by the inhabitants, are certain indications of what the ancient remains really mean to most of them: landmarks, orientation and reference points in the urban fabric of the modern town. They possess a strong image and are known by most of the people as familiar visual assets of the townscape. Precise knowledge about their original function, their history and their artistic importance is the privilege of a very small minority.

Thus, planned visits and on-the-spot study of ancient remains are definitely not a spare-time occupation for the overwhelming majority of the Athenians. The emotional identification with the ancient heritage is experienced through rather stereotyped references to heroic ancestors and greatness of the Periklean age; real interest in their achievements is fairly rare. If this state of affairs derives from a low educational level or from a subconscious wish to avoid confronting the reality of modern mass civilization with the elitarian society of classical Greece is still an open question.

Summing up, we may conclude that Athenians do not use the recreation areas of their town intensively or extensively for the following reasons: the cultural-historic area is fragmented rather than unified and lacks convenient access routes; the Athenians themselves lack interest in taking advantage of what the area has to offer. With the exception of a few sites overrun by foreign tourists, most of the sectors have a very low density of visitors and remain marginal to the urban happenings in the metropolitan centre (fig. 425).



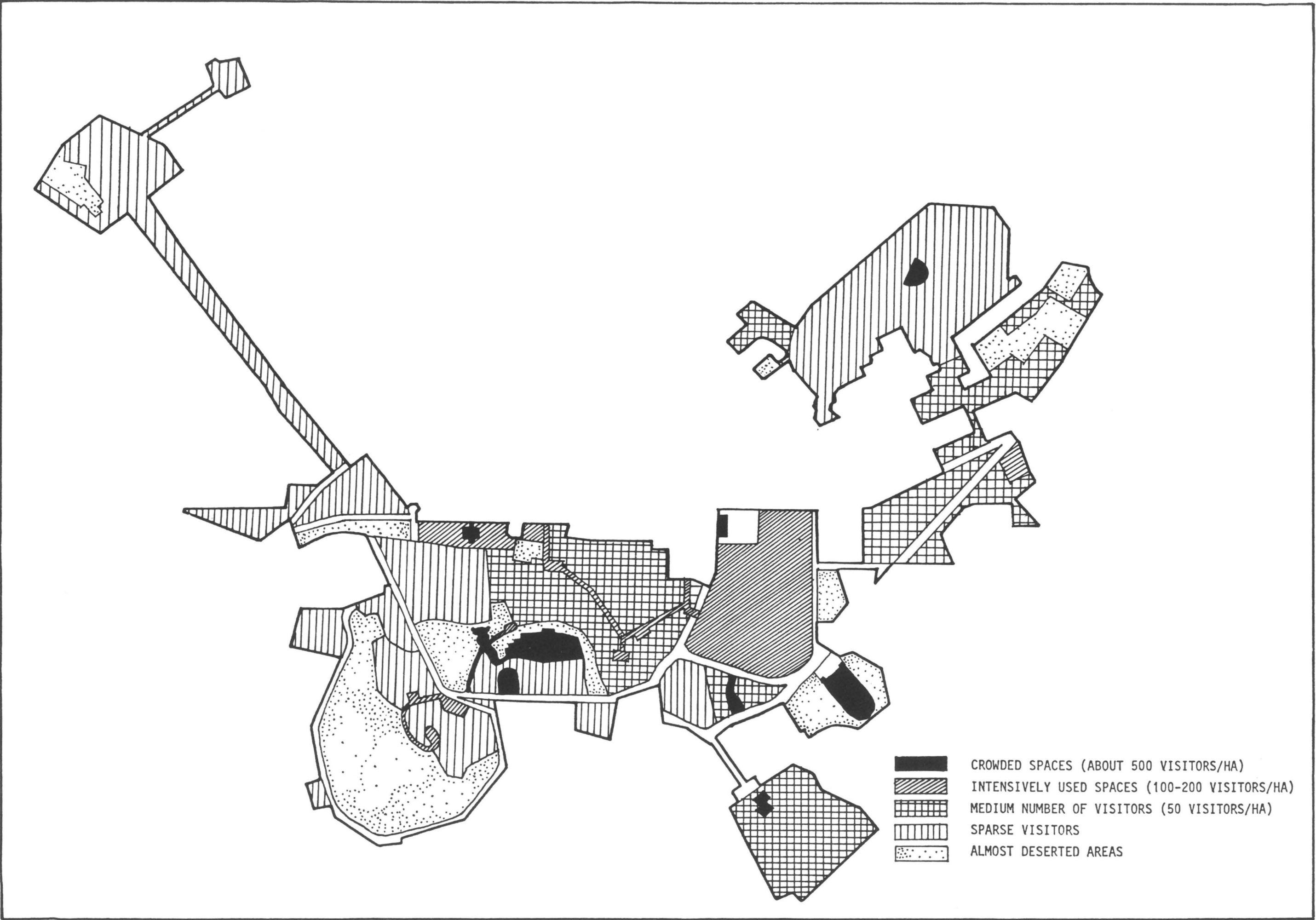


Fig. 425 Present density pattern of visitors to the various areas of the cultural-historic area at peak hours. Scale 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).



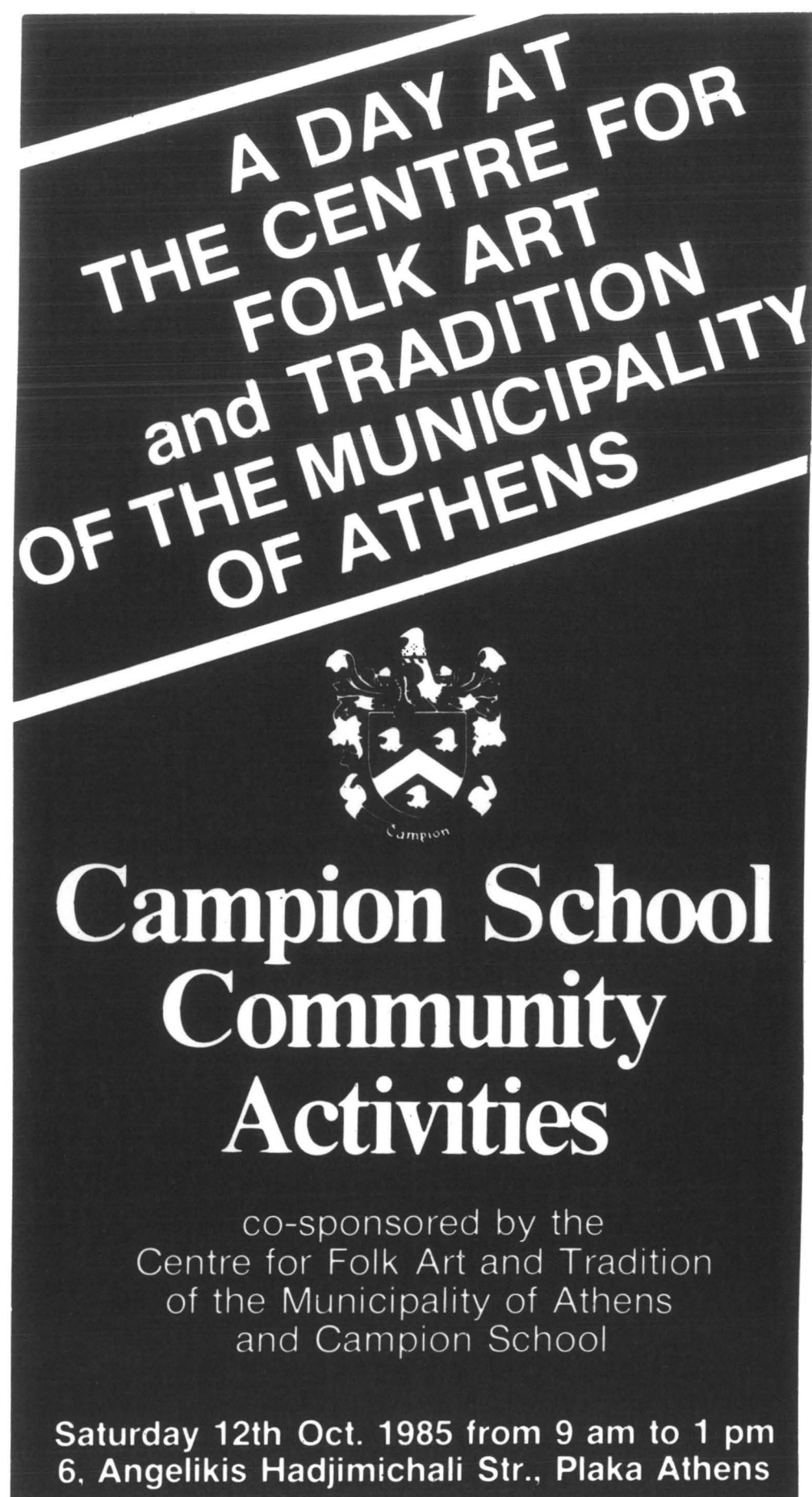


Fig. 426 Cover page of a pamphlet giving information about an educational project for children in the Centre for Folk Art and Tradition in the Plaka.

## THE EDUCATIONAL APPROACH TO THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Cultural and athletic events are held in various places in the cultural-historic area. These activities although attracting a great number of people, are oriented toward an artistic or athletic performance which absorbs the entire interest of the spectators to the exclusion of all else. These presentations do almost nothing to make the spectator aware of the significance of the historic sites, except for a vague feeling of 'experiencing cultural activities on sacred soil', whatever this may mean.

In recent times educational programs designed for school children and laymen have been worked out in many countries. They are especially concerned with providing deeper acquaintance with museums, and with proposing itineraries through historic city districts or sites. Their basic philosophy is to educate by means of an enjoyable, tactile and kinaesthetic appropriation of architectural monuments, historic sites and works of art. This is achieved by combining on-the-spot practical hands-on experience with inventive personal exploration and investigation of the cultural assets.

Such an instructive approach to the Athenian heritage is still in its initial phases; in the 1980s the first programs were set up in some museums and on the Akropolis itself.

Three kinds of educational performances are suitable for making the Athenian heritage known:

- A) Educational 'happenings' and demonstrations concerning creative and technical processes employed by artists and craftsmen.
- B) Public participation in projects aimed at improving historic sites by means of planting, weeding, cleaning up, and making the site more comprehensible.
- C) Competent, inventive and personalized tours on the site.

A) Museum visits in Athens have long been, and mostly still are, a tedious exercise endured mainly by Greek school children and foreign tourists. Every spring large classes of Greek school children are routinely herded through museums on obligatory visits. Greek public schools do not have teachers trained in art education and thus the young visitors run riot through the museums without the slightest educational guidance.

The majority of foreign tourists travel in groups shepherded through museums by professional guides. The hurried nature of the tours, the crowding in the galleries and the stereotyped information mechanically spouted by the guides are not conducive to a rewarding cultural experience.

It is interesting to note in this connection that although Greece is one of the few countries in the world maintaining a considerable number of officially trained multilingual tourist guides of high standard, this situation does not automatically guarantee a sound educational approach to the cultural heritage. In order to offer visitors a rewarding experience one needs audiovisual programs, informative printed material about the exhibits, a well-organized pace of visitor flow (in order to avoid crowding) and last but not least educational programs.

Starting in 1985 the English language Campion School community organized the first real educational museum programs in Athens (i.e. in the Benaki Museum, the Folk Art Museum, the Cycladic Art Museum, etc.). School children in small groups spend several hours in the museum. The pupils watch and take part in live demonstrations, e.g. of pottery manufacture or weaving, and are invited to draw and model related subjects in the museum and at home. Architect Cornelia Hadziaslani who developed the programs for this international private school, describes the procedure as follows in a brochure entitled: *A Day at the Museum of Cycladic Art*:

"The pupils had a thorough guided tour adapted to their age group by the curator in the Museum's Cycladic Gallery. Afterwards they were shown the photographic exhibition where the visitor can see the similarities which exist between Cycladic and 20th century



artists: the same concern for abstraction and simplicity of form.

After the tour a long discussion was held among the pupils, the teachers and the curator. The children were allowed to touch replicas of the idols, the raw materials and the tools; they sat on the floor and made their own sketches and clay models of the artifacts they chose. Back at the school they continued working during their art lessons on this project.

The teachers organized the work as follows: two 7th grade classes (ages 11-12) were asked to paint a picture based on the drawings they had made in the museum. The teachers did not give them any positive instructions but tried by questioning the pupils, to help them develop their own ideas. Many were unable to think beyond the colors and forms of the sculptures as they had seen them in the museum. When in the course of further discussion the teacher asked them what they thought the makers of the sculptures would have been like at home or in their daily life, the children began to think in a freer way.

One 5th grade class (aged 9-10) worked only with clay. Here again the pupils were just given the medium. They discussed the simple lines of the idols, for example the shape of the head. The pupils tried to work only by reducing the clay, not by adding (a procedure used for stone sculpture) avoiding the use of modern tools that probably the islanders did not have: thus they came to appreciate the problems and the forms of Cycladic art. When some of the clay models broke, the children repaired them by making holes on each piece and binding them together just as the islanders did in the past.

One 4th grade class (aged 8-9) was asked to experiment using different kinds of techniques and media, drawing their inspiration from the Cycladic art they had seen. The children used collage, batik and string printing, techniques with sand, plasticine, plaster of Paris and, of course, all kinds of coloring materials.

The work of these four groups is on exhibition in the museum. It should be noted that the pupils were not chosen for their artistic talent. The purpose of this exhibition is to display the different approaches to the educational process and not to show artwork from talented children. For this reason, some exhibits are accompanied by the original drawing done in the museum, the intermediate stage produced at school, as well as examples of what pupils wrote about their personal approach to the subject.

This program is part of the school's effort to introduce our pupils —most of them living in Greece for only a short period of their life— to the huge educational resources which exist in the Greek archaeological sites and museums."

In 1987, The Centre for Akropolis Studies was established in the remodelled building of the old Military Hospital, the first public building of modern Athens, designed in 1834 by von Weiler. It is on the lower south slope of the Akropolis across the street from the Theatre of Dionysos.


Under the auspices of this center, various educational projects have been set up, such as lecture programs, specialized exhibitions and a highly informative multi-video show of 40 minutes, which presents the town planning evolution of Athens and the fate of its monuments in a manner understandable for the layman. Entrance for the public is free for all these activities.

Mrs. Hadziaslani who also runs the educational programs of the Centre for Akropolis Studies, has embarked on a very praiseworthy although quite difficult venture: "A day on the Akropolis. Working on the conservation and restoration of its monuments" was organized for the first time in 1987, open to all visitors. About 20 focal points of interest were set up, where architects, archaeologists, stone masons and other specialized technicians of the Akropolis restoration team, gave presentations throughout the day and demonstrated how, for example, measured drawings are produced, missing architectural fragments of buildings are replaced, and the work of conservation is done.

During this day, about 2000 visitors participated in these demonstrations, each one wandering around at will and making his own choices. They were not only given information but were also taught to recognize architectural forms and styles and to color or combine elements of ancient architecture on sketch plans given to them by the organizers.

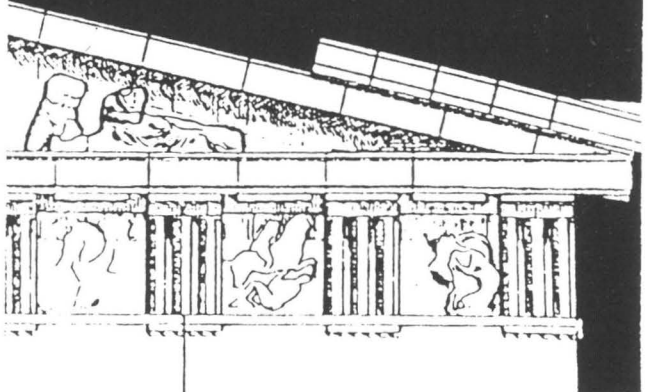
# A DAY AT THE ACROPOLIS

**...working on the  
conservation  
and restoration  
of its monuments**



**Campion School  
Community  
Activities**

**Saturday 18 October 1986  
from 10 am to 2 pm**



The Acropolis today looks like a large building site. There is scaffolding everywhere and men and machines work non-stop — a splendid opportunity for you to see, not only the monuments themselves, but the scientific work currently in progress in order to conserve and restore the masterpieces of the classical age. The architectural fragments are laid bare, revealing the variety of their forms, sizes and the manner of their construction in those bygone days. An intimate knowledge of the art and history of these monuments and a familiarity with the essence of classical architecture, should be the prerogative of all people today not just that of a select circle of experts.

In the course of your visit you will observe the damage caused to the monuments over their long life of 2500 years, you will "listen" to the story told by each of the stones, you will appreciate the difficulties being faced by the experts and you will acquaint yourself with the methods they propose for the restoration of these monuments.

In particular you will observe the work undertaken on the following monuments:

Fig. 427 Two pages of the Activities guide for the educational program: "A Day on the Akropolis".



156 We present here the Greek wording of this address, dated 20 February 1955, in which it is stated —among other things— that “this planting will bring joy not only to you but also to many generations to come”:

Ἀμερικανικὴ Σχολὴ Κλασικῶν Σπουδῶν

ΑΛΣΟΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ

Φύτευσις Ροδοδαφνῶν ἀπὸ προσκόπους

20 Φεβρουαρίου, 1955

Κύριε Πρόεδρε καὶ νεαροὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πολῖται,

Εἶναι θαυμάσιο γιὰ τὴν Ἀγορὰ καὶ γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νὰ ἔχει ἐσᾶς τοὺς προσκόπους βοηθοὺς στὴ δένδροφύτευσι αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄλσους. Καὶ χαιρόμαστε ἰδιαίτερα ποὺ διαλέξατε γιὰ φυτὸ σας τὴν Ροδοδάφνη. Τὸ φυτὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι πολὺ χαρακτηριστικὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Φυτρώνει ἄγριο σὲ πολλὰ μέρη. Ἐχει ἀντοχὴ μεγάλῃ καὶ δύσκολα χάνει τὸ θάρρος του. Ἐχει ἀκόμα τὸ μεγάλο χάρισμα νὰ ἀνθίξει τὸ καλοκαῖρι, σκορπίζοντας τὸ ἄρωμά του σὲ ἐποχὴ ποὺ πολὺ λίγα ἄλλα ἄγρια φυτὰ ἔχουν λουλούδια.

Γιὰ ὅλα αὐτὰ, τὸ φυτὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι ἓνα καλὸ σύμβολο γιὰ τοὺς προσκόπους ποὺ ὅμοια γεροὶ καὶ σκληραγωγημένοι, σὰν Ἕλληνες, προσφέρουν τὶς ὑπηρεσίες τους ὅπου τοὺς χρειασθοῦν μὲ προθυμία πάντα καὶ μὲ ὅλη τους τὴν καρδιά.

Ἀνάμεσα στὰ φυτὰ αὐτὰ θὰ τοποθετηθοῦν ἐκεῖνα τὰ μάρμαρα ποὺ βλέπετε ἐκεῖ πάνω γιὰ νὰ τὰ μελετᾶν καὶ νὰ τὰ χαίρονται οἱ ἐπισκέπτες. Θὰ τὰ χαίρεται κανεὶς διπλὰ γιὰ τὴν ὁμορφιά τους, καὶ γιὰ τὸ ἱστορικὸ τους ἐνδιαφέρον καὶ θὰ μπορεῖ νὰ χρησιμεύουν καὶ γιὰ καθίσματα ἀπ' ὅπου θὰ μπορεῖ κανεὶς ἄνετα νὰ θαυμάζει τὸ μοναδικὸ θέαμα τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως.

Τὰ μάρμαρα θὰ δίνουν ὁμορφιὰ στὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ στὰ μάρμαρα, μία συνεργασία ποὺ συμβολίζει τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ προσκοπισμοῦ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ποὺ ἐμπνέει τὴν συνεργασία τῶν δύο χωρῶν μας.

Μὲ τὸ φύτευμα αὐτὸ δίνεται χαρὰ ὅχι μόνον στὴν δική σας γενεὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ πολλὰς γενεὰς ποὺ θὰ ἔρθουν μετὰ ἀπὸ ἐμᾶς. Ἐκ μέρους τῶν γενεῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ μέρους ὧν ἐμᾶς σᾶς εὐχαριστοῦμε γιὰ αὐτὴ σας τὴν συμβολή. Ἐλπίζουμε πὼς θὰ ἔρχεστε τακτικὰ καὶ θὰ φέρνετε καὶ τὶς οἰκογένειές σας καὶ τοὺς φίλους σας νὰ καμαρώνουν τὸ ἄλσος αὐτὸ ποὺ μέρα μὲ τὴν ἡμέρα θὰ γίνεται ὅλο καὶ πὺρ ὁμορφο, ὅλο καὶ πὺρ ἐνδιαφέρον.

Τώρα ἀποτελεῖτε καὶ ἐσεῖς ἓνα μέρος τοῦ μεγάλου αὐτοῦ ἔργου. Ἐσεῖς θὰ εἴσατε στὸ μέλλον οἱ φρουροὶ του. Ἐχομε τὴν πεποίθησι πὼς θὰ συμβάλλετε καὶ ἐσεῖς στὸ νὰ τὸ προστατεύετε καὶ νὰ γίνεται ὅλο καὶ πὺρ ὁμορφο καθὼς καὶ σεῖς θὰ μεγαλώνετε μαζὺ μ' αὐτό.

Εἶθε νὰ εὐημερεῖτε καὶ ἐσεῖς κι' αὐτό.  
(Ὁδηγίαι γιὰ τὸ φύτευμα)

Τώρα θὰ φυτέψετε τὶς Ροδοδάφνες σας. Ὑπάρχουν 35 λάκκοι, 35 φυτὰ καὶ 35 φτυάρια. Οἱ ἄρχηγοὶ σας θὰ σᾶς διαμοιράσουν καὶ θὰ περιμένετε νὰ πάρετε ἐντολὴ γιὰ νὰ φυτέψετε. Κανεὶς δὲν θὰ ἀρχίσῃ τὸ φύτεμα προτοῦ δώσῃ τὸ πρόσταγμα ὁ ἀρχηγός.

Ἄμα δοθῇ τὸ πρόσταγμα θὰ σκάψετε ἓνα λάκκο τόσο βαθὺ ὅσο εἶναι τὸ κάτω μετάλλينو μέρος τοῦ φτυαριοῦ. Βάλετε τὸ φυτὸ μέσα στὸν λάκκο ὅπως εἶναι μὲ τὸ τσουβάλι. Μὴ βγάλετε τὸ τσουβάλι. Ξεσφίξετέ το μόνο στὸ ἐπάνω μέρος καὶ διπλώσετε λίγο τὸ μέρος μὲ χῶμα. Τὸ τσουβάλι θὰ λυώσῃ γρήγορα καὶ θὰ θρέψῃ τὸ φυτό.

Μ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπο φύτεψαν καὶ οἱ Ἑλληνίδες ὁδηγοὶ τὰ δένδρα τους ποὺ βλέπετε πόσο ὁμορφα γίνονται.

This remarkable project which required a considerable amount of logistic preparation was very rewarding because of the lively response on the part of the public who gained familiarity on the spot with the various aspects of the on going large-scale restoration campaign. This demonstration is well worth repeating at regular intervals.

Thus on the initiative of a single highly motivated person, instructive methods for actively involving the public in museum visits and demonstrations on historic sites have at last been introduced to Greece.

B) From the turn of the century, Athenians have actively participated in improving the historic sites. School children and the Boy and Girl Scouts have participated in the large-scale campaigns for planting trees on the historic hills. Young people were given clear instructions and went out to the sites over the weekends in order to fulfill this civic task. An important enterprise of this kind was the landscaping of the Agora excavations in the 1950s. In addressing the Boy Scouts involved in this venture the coordinator of the task insisted on the importance of active involvement of the Athenian youth in the planting campaign and pointed out the emotional links created with a historic site through such participation.<sup>156</sup>

These massive replanting campaigns carried out by young people have definitely had an educational character: the actual contribution of labour was not the decisive factor for such an initiative. The aim was to involve people personally with work on the spot, a collective experience, through which identification with and concern for the historic site is created.

Unfortunately enough, Greek archaeology and architecture students have so far participated in excavations in Athens only to a very limited extent. International work-camp vacations for the protection of the European cultural heritage (organized by *Jeunesse et Patrimoine*) have never been set up in Athens for the purpose of putting in order and tidying up the rather overgrown and neglected excavation sites. This volunteer work should, however, be adopted to the benefit of both the young people and the historic site.

C) This is not the place to discuss the efficacy of the present modalities of a visit to the cultural-historic area. The deficient accessibility and the imperfections of the established routes have already been mentioned.

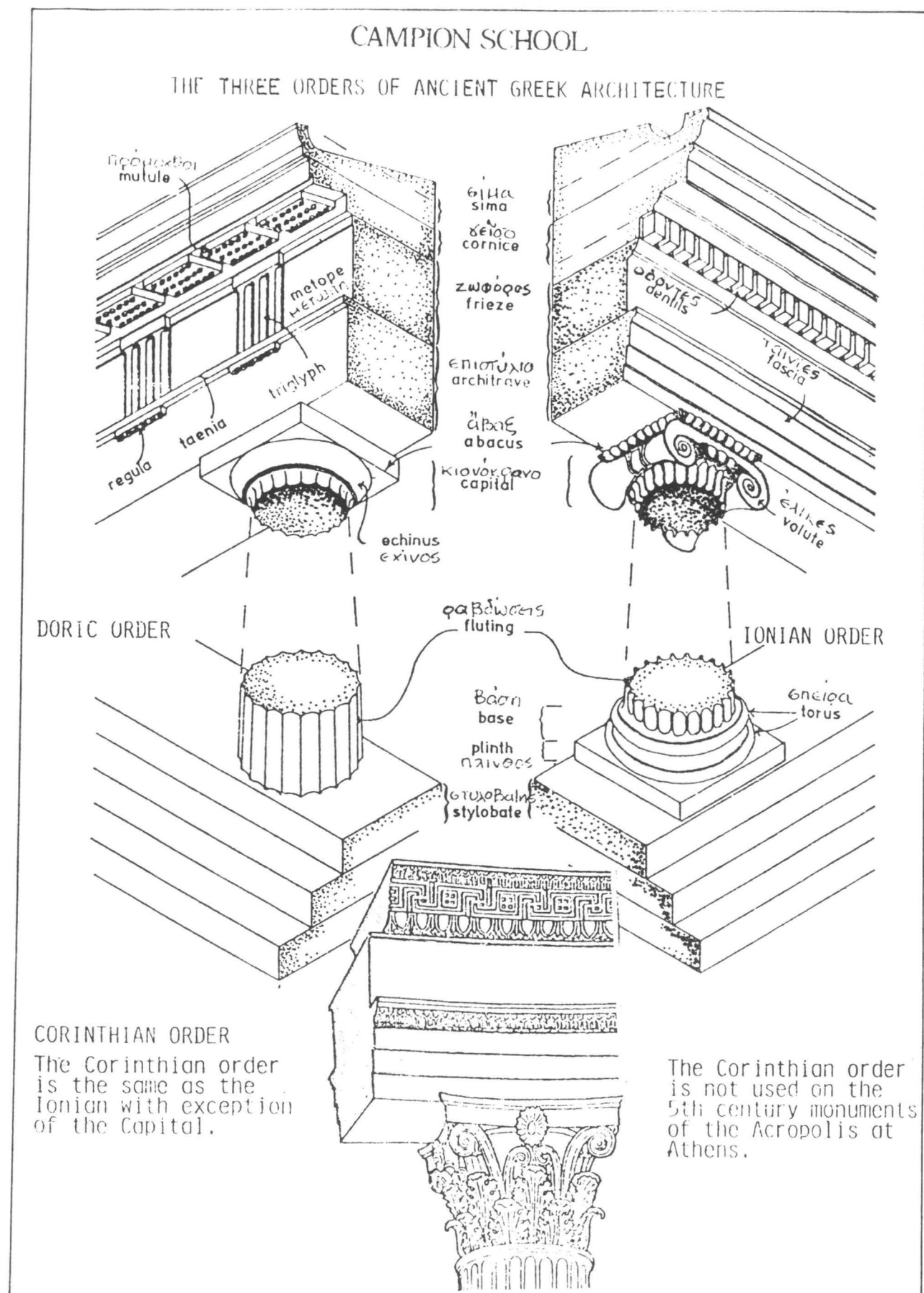
In a purely educational context another aspect of the physical and perceptual approach to the various parts of the cultural-historic area should be considered, namely the quality of the orientation and information available to visitors to assist them in exploring and understanding the historic site.

Up to the present day, tourist guidebooks for Athens are conceived in the most traditional way: the best international publications, e.g. the Blue Guides, are still following the scheme of their famous predecessors, the guidebooks of Murray, Joanne or Baedeker. The ancient remains are described in great detail and considerable information on the historic background is offered to the visitor. The modern town, its monuments, urban spaces and the townscape are, in general, very poorly described. Some itineraries are set out, usually combining a visit to a part of the city center and nearby antiquities and parks. But these itineraries are built up only in the text; any kind of guidance with the help of visual aids (i.e. plans showing the routes), is lacking.

Relatively few people, mostly those with a scholarly interest in archaeology, visit Athens with the help of these guidebooks. Most of the visitors are shown around in groups receiving only short spoken explanations by the tourist guides. This way of appropriation is not only the most impersonal one but also the most passive: the visitors pay scant attention and are not stimulated to explore the site.

Another way to pilot the visitors through historical time and space is, however, possible, one which would arouse their innate inclination to explore: Inventive itineraries of the so-called “follow the red thread” type have been developed with success in central European historic cities: various routes are graphically marked with a red zigzag line to be followed on a simplified map of the site. A succession of important vantage points are numbered along this line and form





to (A. Papanikolaou, Arch. in Charge). Try and differentiate between originals and modern replacements. Watch a demonstration by expert stonemasons of how marble is worked, using both traditional and modern methods (N. Skaris, Th. Kayiorghis, G. Papandis). Try and discover the marks made by the tools on the ancient stones, their variety and shapes.

### Parthenon

This monument dominates the Acropolis. Perhaps the most famous temple of all time, it is the truest expression of the values and achievements of classical civilization. Try and discern the elements which compose the Doric style in its maturity. Note the aesthetic self-sufficiency of the individual forms, the refinements, the absolute balance between masses and the way light is made to play upon the marble and thus "illuminating" it (K. Zambas, Civil Eng. in Charge).

Compare architectural scales, large and small, by seeing fragments from the smaller monuments placed next to those from the Parthenon.

Follow the hoisting and transportation of the marble blocks to their proper place. See how they are moved horizontally and vertically by hand and with the help of tools, with machinery controlled by hand or electrically (G. Gaitis, T. Skalkotos, F. Alexopoulos, A. Spourdos, F. Skaris, H. Velonas).

See how a wall was built, the placing and the connecting of the stones in the manner of the ancients (I. Armbilas, L. Lameris, D. Alexopoulos, G. Theotikos).

Study the following aspects of ancient architecture:

- Part of a column and of the entablature from a Hellenistic arcade which were used toward the close of the ancient period for the repair of the Parthenon.
- Sample from the base of a wall, other architectural members and drums from the inner colonnade of the older Parthenon. Note the central rod by which the drums were vertically aligned when placed on top of one another.
- Sample of marble tiling.

Discover for yourself the wear on the marble:

- Cleaning and maintenance of surfaces (Y. Dogani).

Find out how the architectural fragments are stuck:

- Fragments which, after careful study, have been proven to belong together (T. Lambaditis).
- Stones which have split apart due to the expansion of the metal clamps. The new clamps are made of titanium (S. Perros).
- Addition of the lost part of a stone by means of a mould, followed by the copying of the moulding in marble with the help of a pointing instrument (N. Vamvoukakis) or automatically by means of a pantograf (N. Perantakos).

### Propylaea

This is a monument with a unique architectural synthesis of varying building sizes and a juxtaposition of the Ionic and Doric styles. Here, on close inspection, you will see that the surfaces of the buildings never received their final finish. You will see how an ancient monument is documented, measured and drawn (T. Tanoulas, Arch. in Charge) and photographically recorded (S. Mavrommatis). If you wish, you can colour the drawing of an architectural fragment using the tones of the classical polychromatic palette (G. Vassilaras). Try for yourself and combine elements of the Ionic and Doric styles into a personal composition (T. Skari).

### Erechtheion

This monument is exceptional for the architectural variety of its four sides and for its many external and internal levels. Look for the characteristics of the Ionic style in its maturity. Colour a design of the moulding. Learn about the purposes of the restoration and the principles adhered

The programme would not have been possible without the valuable assistance of the 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. We are particularly grateful to Ephor E. Touloupa, to professor H. Bouras, to architects M. Korres and N. Togandis and to all the technical staff engaged on the site.

Comelia Hadziaslani  
Campion School

Fig. 428 Details of ancient buildings: from a leaflet distributed to the participants in the educational program "A Day on the Akropolis".

Fig. 429 Two pages from the leaflet distributed to the participants in the educational program "A Day on the Akropolis".





Fig. 430 Spectators seated on the Pnyx terrace follow a performance of 'Sound and Light' on the Akropolis. (National Tourist Organization).

a sequence of stopping-points on the way. They are given characteristic names related to the spatial context or the historical meaning of the place and they have to be identified by the visitors themselves. From these points alternative activities are suggested such as discovering interesting views, identifying monuments, or becoming acquainted with the character of the topographic configuration, vegetation, etc.

In Athens such routes, conceived for small groups, could be a valuable contribution to an improved appropriation of the historic site by the visitors; thus passive acceptance would at last be replaced by active reaching out.

## CULTURAL EVENTS, SPORTS, FESTIVALS

Apart from the art museums and collections spread out over the cultural-historic area, quite a few other institutions serve contemporary cultural or athletic purposes, especially in the eastern part of the area. A distinction should be made between activities conducted outside the archaeological zones and several special cultural events performed in or at ancient monuments.

Starting with the former category, one should cite first the multifunctional Zappeion Exhibition Hall where a considerable number of artistic and technological exhibitions take place; a popular book fair is held annually on the large esplanade. A major section of the Zappeion building has recently been converted into a fully equipped congress center. The splendid inner courtyard (the open-air rotunda) is occasionally used for chamber music performances or solemn festivities.

In and around the Athens Cultural Complex (sector 10) further conference facilities are provided by the War Museum, the National Research Foundation and also by the Athens Hilton where many international congresses are held. Next to them the new Athens concert hall, the "Megaron Mousikis", has lately been inaugurated.

The open-air Olympic Swimming Pool and the grounds of the National Athletic League are in the area to the east of the Olympieion. These premises are open to the youth as training grounds; because of their limited capacity they attract only a reasonable number of visitors, thus fitting into the frame of the site. Nevertheless, these athletic installations should never have been allowed to occupy what is undoubtedly a major site on the Ilissos river in the immediate vicinity of the earliest Christian basilica in Athens, the Temple of Zeus Olympios and two other temples. These installations are, however, reversible (i.e. they have not disturbed much of the ancient levels and they can rather easily be eliminated in the future) and their presence has protected the site from the potential threat of modern building construction.

Several institutions of learning surrounded by gardens are on the lower southeast slopes of Lykabetos: The British School at Athens, The American School of Classical Studies, the Genadius Library, and the nearby Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens hold specialized international meetings and also offer lectures and exhibitions open to the public.

The Lykabetos open-air theater, below the northern peak, has become a major cultural facility. Centrally located and accessible from all districts of the town the Lykabetos theater is used mainly for musicals, modern Greek plays and guest performances by foreign theatre companies during the summer.

Popular recreation and festive open air events in the area declined drastically during the last decades. Open air theaters and cafés formerly operating in the Zappeion area have been gradually eliminated. Today, only the traditional, recently restored Zappeion café building east of the Exhibition Hall still survives. Luna-parks or other fair installations are kept away from the

157 The Ministry of Culture granted permission to shoot scenes on the Akropolis for a film starring Gina Lollobrigida, and to shoot scenes in the Agora Excavations where Alan Ladd dug up Parthenon frieze reliefs twice the original size and instructed his workmen to load them onto a truck with the words "take it easy boys, they don't make them like this any more." Shooting frivolous television scenes has also been permitted on the Akropolis.

On the other hand serious creative efforts are discouraged. Thus for example the director of the Glyptothek in Munich wrote to the Inspector General of the Greek Archaeological Service fervently pleading the cause of the leading German stage director, Peter Stein, who wished to film the *Oresteia* in the Dionysos Theater in 1981. A minimum of stage decor and no interruption of



central green spaces. A kind of a traditional popular gathering place and a forum for public debate has developed recently near the west entrance to the Zappeion Gardens. Elderly gentlemen standing there have lively discussions about political and every-day issues.

Athenian green spaces are rather plain and decorative elements are rare. With the exception of some fountains and some 19th and 20th century statues, no major elaborate embellishments are to be found. The display of copies of ancient statues in the public gardens —an issue often discussed in the past— has never been realized and this is to the advantage of the Athenian townscape, which thus has maintained its authentic character, not spoiling the genuine landmarks of all periods with a sprinkling of artificially applied antiquities.

As far as cultural events in archaeological sites are concerned, a quite severe attitude prevails. The strict control exercised over the ancient monuments of Athens by the Archaeological Service has a long tradition and extends far beyond the solely physical protection of the cultural assets: it also involves safeguarding the symbolic and aesthetic values of the historic site.

It is worth mentioning that Athenian society, although it has many frivolous traits, has always shown an almost religious respect for the ancient remains and has rarely tolerated spectacular 'happenings' or entertainments to take place in the immediate vicinity of the monuments.

The only activities accepted so far are of purely aesthetic or cultural nature: evocative nightly illuminations, classical athletic competitions, theatrical or musical performances and, more seldom, exhibits of contemporary sculpture. In principle every kind of commercial exploitation of the monuments used as backgrounds or settings for film performances, fashion shows, television or filming, is strictly forbidden<sup>157</sup>. Even exhibitions of sculpture in the groves of the historic hills have been the exception rather than an established practice.

The Greek approach to the question of how to make the ancient sites come alive has been as purist and reserved as the Greek philosophy concerning preservation of ancient monuments. Every innovative use of the historic space is felt as a profanation. This state of mind guarantees the safeguarding of the heritage, but at the same time makes intensified appropriation fairly problematic.

Illumination of the monuments at night is an idea which appealed long ago to the Athenians. Lighting up ancient architecture was perceived as a dramatic enhancement neither endangering the monuments nor profaning the site.

As early as 1836 Ludwig Ross arranged for the Akropolis to be illuminated by torches in honour of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. A private aesthetic experience for the Royal Court was thus offered as a one-time spectacle! Fürst Pückler-Muskau, who assisted in this event, gives a vivid picture of this spectacular scene.<sup>158</sup>

In the course of the 20th century important progress has been made in ways of illuminating individual architectural monuments and monumental ensembles. During a first phase the method of illumination employed was static and undifferentiated. Architectural monuments were simply exposed to a sea of light. The relief modelling, the details of the façades and all the other architectural refinements were sacrificed to this rudimentary form of illumination. What is more, the urban setting was greatly distorted by these blinding floodlights.

A typical example of this kind of illumination was the one provided for the Parthenon in Athens. The illumination employed up to 1959 was so powerful that the temple appeared to have lost all contact with the earth and looked more like a gigantic floating doll's house than the crowning monument of the Akropolis.

Static illumination is still used today albeit with far greater care. The harsh illumination has been replaced by a differentiated system, in which several kinds of floodlights are trained both on the Akropolis monuments and on the rocky slopes of the hills. These floodlights, varying in strength also vary in respect of color: the full range covers all tones of white light.

Apart from this static technique, a new kinetic system of illumination was developed during the past thirty years. This system, which was developed primarily in France, has become known as *Son et Lumière* (Sound and Light). *Son et Lumière* is usually the presentation of dramatic incidents in the history of a building or architectural complex. The originality of this technique

daytime visiting hours was proposed. For all that, the permission was not granted. Extracts from this interesting letter, dated 8 August, 1981, read as follows:

"Peter Stein, der künstlerische Leiter der Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer in Berlin (West), hat sich über seinen Produzenten an die griechische Regierung gewandt mit der Bitte, seine Inszenierung der Orestie auf dem Gelände des Athener Dionysos-Theater filmen zu dürfen. Seine Anfrage wurde inzwischen negativ beantwortet.

Für den Fall, daß in dieser Sache das letzte Wort noch nicht gesprochen ist, möchte ich Ihnen genenüber mit großem Nachdruck ein Wort für Peter Stein und sein Vorhaben einlegen, weil ich der Ueberzeugung bin, daß dieser Film dem griechischen Kulturerbe im deutschen Sprachraum einen außerordentlich wirkungsvollen und ernsthaften modernen Ausdruck verleihen würde. Ich bin außerdem überzeugt daß Peter Stein und seine Mitarbeiter den ehrwürdigen Ort nur mit der größten Schonung benutzen würden.

Steins Berliner Schaubühne wurde kürzlich von einem namhaften Theaterkritiker als "Deutschlands genenwärtig berühmteste Bühne" bezeichnet, und derselbe Kritiker hat die im October 1980 erstaufgeführte Inszenierung der Orestie als ein "maßstabsetzendes theatergeschichtliches Ereignis" gewürdigt (...)

Peter Stein ist kein Liebhaber bombastischer Filmereien. Er hat mir versichert, daß er mit dem geringsten Aufwand und minimalem Apparat auskommen würde, und daß als Bühnenbild nur eine Wand und ein leichtes Holzgerüst notwendig wären. Es bräuchten auch keinerlei Publikumsabsperungen durchgeführt werden".

158 Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, who was in his fifties when he visited Athens, climbed up on the pediment of the Parthenon in order to gain a bird's-eye view of this unique event. In his memoirs *Südöstlicher Bildersaal. Griechische Leiden* (1840) he depicts the night-scene as follows:

"Mein hochverehrter Gönner aus alter Zeit, der bayerische Gesandte Herr von Kobell, besuchte mich früh, um mir mitzuteilen, daß diesen Abend, auf den Wunsch des Königs von Bayern, das Parthenon, der Tempel des Erechteus und die Propyläen mit Holzfeuern erleuchtet werden würden, und verschaffte mir zugleich ein Eintrittsbillett zu der für den heutigen Abend, um die höchsten Herrschaften nicht zu stören, geschlossenen Akropolis (...)

Schon erblickten wir von weitem seltsame Lichtscheine in der tiefen Dunkelheit, hier wie ein Komet über einer Säule schwebend, von der nur das Kapitell erst sichtbar war, dort wie ein Lavastrom breit und licht an einer Mauer herabfließend, die noch das Allerheiligste verdeckte. Jetzt verschwand wieder alles in undurchdringliche Nacht, doch nur wenige Augenblicke noch und das feenhafte Traumbild vor uns entfaltete sich in seiner ganzen Ausdehnung auf einmal dem staunenden Auge (...)

Noch war alles still, niemand zugegen, und wir durchstrichen einsam nach allen Seiten die Ruinen, während die tageshell erleuchteten Karyatiden des Erechtheums uns bis in die entferntesten Winkel zu verfolgen schienen (...)

Jetzt kamen die Fürsten mit kleinem Gefolge, und ich erstieg eilig die verfallene Wendeltreppe, kletterte auf dem Simse weiter nach dem Giebel-felde des Parthenon, das der Stadt zugewandt ist, und setzte mich oben auf einen einzelnen Mauerblock hin, die Wunder unter mir in religiöser Geistes-sammlung beschauend.

Hier war das Schauspiel am bezauberndsten. Rechts und links leckten die Feuer mit roten Zungen, gleich halb verborgenen Ungeheuern, an den Tempelsäulen empor. Dazwischen bewegten sich dunkle, ungewisse Schatten, und über den erleuchteten Monumenten wölbte sich ein schwarzer, sternbedeckter Himmel, zu dem die einzelnen Lichter des Athens der Tiefe irrwischartig aus dem Abgrund heraufblitzten. Dicht zu meinen Füßen aber lag, weit hingebreitet wie ein Kirchhof der Jahrhunderte, der ununterbrochene, bleiche Trümmerhaufen, dessen Grenze sich undeutlich im Dunkel der Nacht verlor und auf dessen Mitte, zur Belebung des wunderbaren Gemäldes, zwei kunstliebende Könige standen".



ATHENS FESTIVAL 1957

PEDION AREOS THEATRE

4TH - 10TH SEPTEMBER

ARTS THEATRE

"P L O U T O S"

BY

ARISTOPHANES

TRANSLATION : . . . . .

PRODUCER : . . . . . CHARLES KOUN

SCENERY - COSTUMES : . . . . . I. MORALIS

MUSIC : . . . . . MANOS HADZIDAKIS

CHARACTERS

Karion	Giorgos Lazanis	Vlepidimos	Thodoros Katsadramis
Ploutos	Kostas Bakas	Penia	Eleni Papayanni
Chrenylos	Minas Christidis	Mando	Tasso Kavvadia
1st Farm Hand	Dimitris Ballas	Agathias	Spyros Kostandopoulos
2nd " "	Giorgos Tsitsopoulos	Klepsiphron	Tassos Darios
3rd " "	Thanos Grammenos	Lampito	Martha Vourtsi
4th " "	Kostas Kazakos	Alkidar	Nikos Bouyas
5th " "	Babis Anthopoulos	Hermes	Giorgos Kostandinou
6th " "	Giorgos Costandinou	Ierocles	Kostas Nikolaou

Farm Hands - Peasants

The popular dances were directed by Stelios Papadakis

Fig. 431 Program for a performance of ancient comedy at the Athens Festival in 1957.

lies in the fact that there are no actors, their function being taken over by the evocative and ever-changing lighting effects, which bring the monuments to life, and by the background sound effects and the voice-over commentary carefully coordinated with the illumination. Sound and light performances have been staged in a wide variety of historic settings including the Pyramids of Giza, the Akropolis in Athens, Versailles, etc.

Such performances serve a dual purpose: they highlight the aesthetic quality of the architecture and they recall the historic events which have taken place there. Not surprisingly, therefore, the technique is best suited to medieval and later settings because we are not so far removed from their realities in time and therefore can more readily enter into their life and history conjured up by means of illuminations accompanied by narrators. Making the Akropolis a subject for *Son et Lumière* has been from the very beginning quite controversial. Not only have the 75 projectors and the wiring on the site been considered as ugly intruders, but also the idea of having an upward crawling flood of red light representing the fire set on the Akropolis by the Persians in 480 B.C. was felt to be most unfortunate!

Another aspect of this venture also underlines its doubtful character: the main attraction of 'Sound and Light' for the 200-300 spectators seated on the Pnyx terrace and listening to the sound effects and the commentary is the kinetic nature of the performance: the movement, the changing colours and changing intensity of the lights. At the same time the whole spectacle takes on absurd dimensions for so many Athenians who from their windows and terraces behold light effects which are meaningless because they do not hear the sound.

In spite of these reservations and despite the fact that a relatively small number of spectators attend these performances, a 'Sound and Light' show has been performed in the Akropolis area since 1959, two shows every night during the summer months and into September. The Persian attack on the Akropolis and the subsequent Golden Periclean Age are summoned up for the tourists, not to mention Pallas Athena speaking in person.

The ancient Panathenaic Stadium was restored for the specific purpose of the first modern Olympic Games in 1896, so it is entirely fitting that athletic events continue to be held there. Otherwise no archaeological sites (e.g. the Olympieion, the Akropolis, the Agora or the Pnyx) are used for athletic events. In this respect, Athenian practice has proved even more reserved than the procedures prevailing in other archaeological sites of high prestige: thus in Olympia the Olympic flame is ignited on the occasion of the Olympic games in an elaborate festive ceremony and at Delphi athletic games were performed in the ancient stadium during the Delphic festival in the 1930s.

The only inappropriate association of the glories of ancient Greece with a notoriously modern sport is to be found in the promotion of the international Akropolis Rally: taking the Akropolis as a publicity symbol this race was allowed to start in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus once a year.

The revival of ancient drama in the historic setting has been in return a constant preoccupation and a permanent wish of the Athenian intelligentsia for a long time. As early as 1867 an exceptional performance of Sophocles *Antigone* (transcribed into modern Greek by Alexander Rizos-Rangabé, the renowned philologist and archaeologist) was given in the newly uncovered Odeion of Herodes Atticus.

In the 1920s, the Euripides Drama Society made a novel contribution to the artistic life of Athens. The aims of this body, founded on the initiative of Alexander Philadelphus (archaeologist and director of the National Museum) in 1924, were the study and revival of ancient Greek drama, in particular the tragedies of the three Attic tragic authors Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. Philadelphus' ultimate aim was to revive the ancient plays in the original open air theaters which he hoped would, wherever possible, be restored for that purpose.

In 1928, during A.H.E.P.A.'s (American Hellenic Educational and Progressive Association) annual visit to Greece, the Society staged a performance of the Demeter and Kore myth at Eleusis, with the participation of renowned classical dancers, Greek pupils of the incomparable Isadora Duncan. In June 1929, Alexander Philadelphus finally achieved his noble ambition with the Society's performance of Euripides' *Alcestis* in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens. This resounding success was followed in 1930 by the *Electra* of Euripides, and Aeschy-





Fig. 432 The illuminated Akropolis floating like a gigantic *objet trouvé* above the city. (National Tourist Organization).



159 K. Koun, the inspired Greek stage director and drama teacher, epitomizes the principles for reviving ancient drama in modern Greece in his article "The Greek approach to the ancient theatre" (1957):

"Living elements that still surround us today in this land, will help us approach and understand the thoughts and poetry in ancient works much more than all scholarly books and historical knowledge concerning the external form of an ancient Greek performance. The Cothurn, the Mask, the Exedra, the Orchestra, the manner in which the chorus moved as a group, the way it sang and danced — all these things are historical data, occasionally useful, but more often of mere archaeological value (...) These scenic conventions may, of course, prove useful for a historical representation of ancient theatre; or they may even help the stage director to orientate himself towards new forms that are more suitable to the theatrical ideas of his time. More often, however, they may distract the audience from the essence of ancient drama and hinder them from appreciating it as theatre.

If any Aeschylus, Sophocles or Euripides were to direct one of their plays today, they would, I am sure, take into consideration contemporary theatre, contemporary stage conditions and the mentality of the contemporary theatre-goer. They would not have remained attached to dead forms that no longer serve their purpose. Though a clear and concise expression of thought is one of the many qualities which the ancient Greeks were endowed with, this does not imply that there exists one only form of conveying it. Simplicity does not appear in one garment only, nor does pathos strike one chord alone. Let us who live in this country search around us and we will discover a thousand ways, similar to those of our forefathers, in which to present modern audiences with performances of ancient plays - without betraying their spirit. The dangers the Greek interpreter of the ancient theatre has to face arise exactly at this point. A foreigner — a German, a Frenchman, an American — is only under the obligation to understand and be inspired by the ancient text, and to present the play in a vivid theatrical manner, in accordance with the demands of present-day audiences. For us Greeks, however, it is above all important to guard against foreign stage influences and to avoid interpretations based on foreign models, even if they originated in countries having a longer contemporary theatrical tradition than ours. For despite the fact that strong emotions are of universal character and that the human body reacts in the same way in all geographical latitudes, the way in which these emotions are expressed differs. Grandeur and fear are differently shown in the East and in the West. The cry of despair will not sound the same on the Equator and along the Steppes. If we Greeks want to get to know our ancient writers, we must take the country into our hearts as it is today. Let us therefore love and understand all that it can offer in shapes, rhythms, colour, sound, spiritual richness - in other words all that has survived from the days of ancient Greece. Let us turn to the simple truths which moulded their thought and gave expression and eternal significance to their verse. Greece of today can show us how to avoid using dead forms in rendering ancient theatre and to adapt the ancient plays to appeal to a modern theatre audience. For, although they were written over 2000 years ago, their basic concepts have still a very living reality today."

lus' *Persians*. These were the first of the ancient plays to be revived by the Euripides Drama Society up to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

During the 1930s the newly founded National Theater (1930) also embarked on a systematic promotion of ancient drama. The scenic interpretation followed the expressionist German tradition of Max Reinhardt and emphasized the declamatory role of the chorus. Open air performances in the Odeion of Herodes were however still sporadic at that time.

After the Second World War both the National Theater and private theater companies of high standard (like the Koun or Evangelatos companies) tried novel ways of interpreting ancient drama, introducing contemporary music and realistic modes of performance. New transcriptions of the text into a more popular modern Greek idiom brought the action closer to modern spectators.<sup>159</sup>

For the purposes of reviving ancient drama, many ancient Greek open air theaters were put into use again (e.g. Epidauros, Dodoni, Philippi). In Athens, performances in the Odeion of Herodes started around 1952 and by 1955 the Athens Festival had been established, originally planned as a festival devoted entirely to ancient drama, offering a platform for various interpretations of ancient theatrical works by companies from all parts of the world. This idea turned out to be impractical and, instead, a mammoth annual festival of three months' duration evolved, presenting all the traditional categories of the performing arts: classical ballet and modern dance groups, ancient and modern drama, symphonic music, chamber music, soloists and opera.

In the 1950s the Odeion of Herodes Atticus was heavily restored in order to regain the full capacity seating for 5500 people. This extensive restoration of an ancient concert hall was allowed, as an exception, because of the panhellenic cultural importance of the Athens Festival. Restoration works in Greek theaters have been otherwise kept to a minimum all over Greece.

In 1976 the then Prime Minister, K. Karamanlis, aroused strong opposition by announcing the hastily conceived project of restoring the Theatre of Dionysos for the purpose of staging ancient drama there. A three year study of the project, carried out by Wolfgang Wurster and a team from the Greek Archaeological Service, demonstrated that there was no way to carry out this project without destroying the ancient fabric and it was abandoned. Although neither the venerable theatre of Dionysos nor the Akropolis have been opened to modern cultural events so far, both the Roman Agora and the Agora excavations have — to the great detriment of the ancient remains.

An open-air theater (metal and wood structure) discreetly set in greenery has been installed on the west slope of the Hill of the Nymphs. The theatre, used exclusively by the Dora Stratou Greek Folk Dance Company, is situated on the edge of the archaeological site in no direct visual relation to the ancient monuments. Access is from the ring road to the south, the Peripheriakos Philopappou, out of sight of the Akropolis. So far this is the only example (happily enough reversible) of a new structure for the performing arts remaining permanently in place on an archaeological site; unfortunately the temporary structures for performances, annually set up and dismantled in the Agora excavations and the Roman Agora, cause untold damage.

The historic setting has very occasionally been used for exhibitions of modern sculpture. Thus in the 1960s the idea of a Biennale of Sculpture was launched and modern sculptural works were displayed in the pine grove on the northern slope of the Mouseion facing the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. The initiative was not successful, perhaps because of the lack of a well-defined concept and planning for the exact lay-out; a heterogeneous collection of many sculptures was sprinkled at random on sloping ground that had already been planted. The same site was also used for an amazing exhibition of sculpture by the famous moderns beginning with Brancusi.

In 1987 a new attempt in the same direction was made, under better premises: a Greek sculptor, Helen Stratou, showed a few non-figurative sculptural works on the saddle behind the Pnyx podium. The symbolic character of these geometric works, the sensitive choice of a site with strong historic connotations, with the Akropolis ensemble in the background, created a dramatic display.<sup>160</sup>





Fig. 433 Odeion of Herodes Atticus: an open-air concert at night. The illuminated Akropolis in the background. (National Tourist Organization).

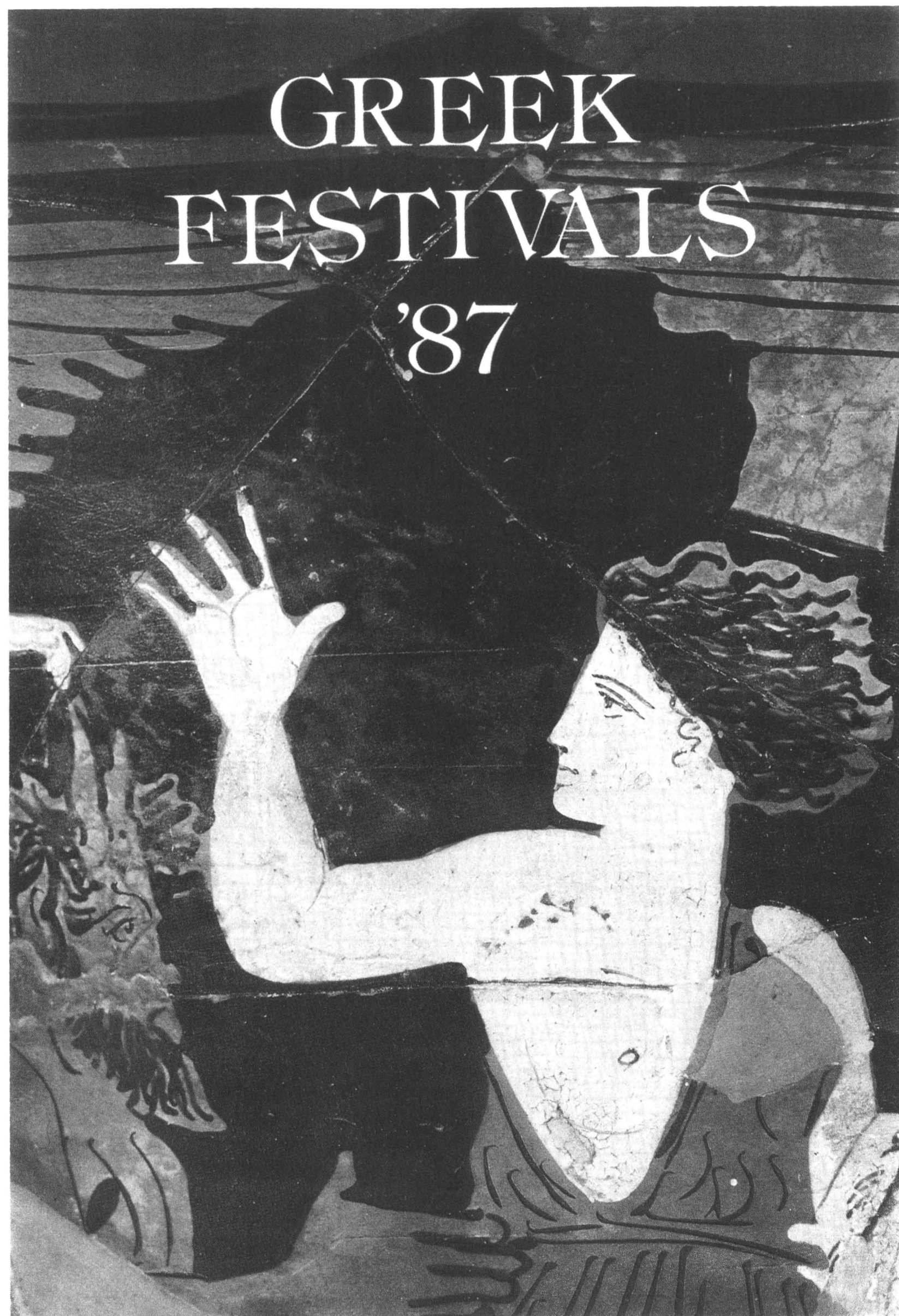


Fig. 434 The cover of the brochure for the program of Greek Festivals in 1987.



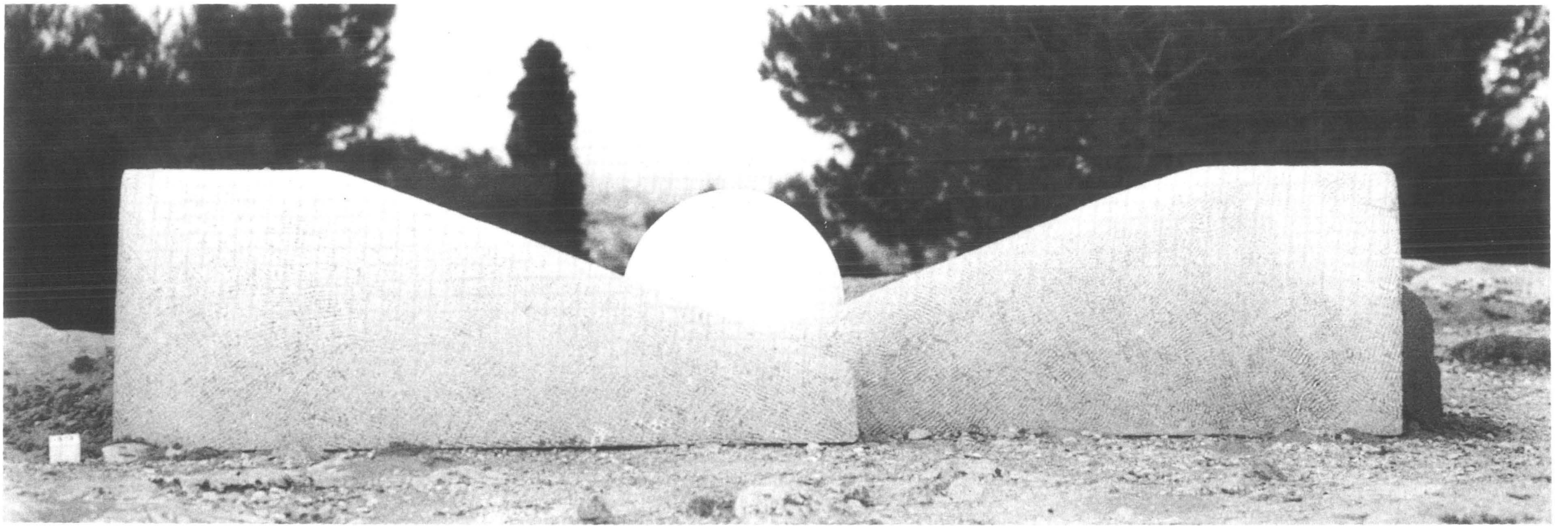


Fig. 435 Sculptures by Helen Stratou exhibited on the upper Pnyx terrace in the summer of 1987. (Photograph by the sculptress).

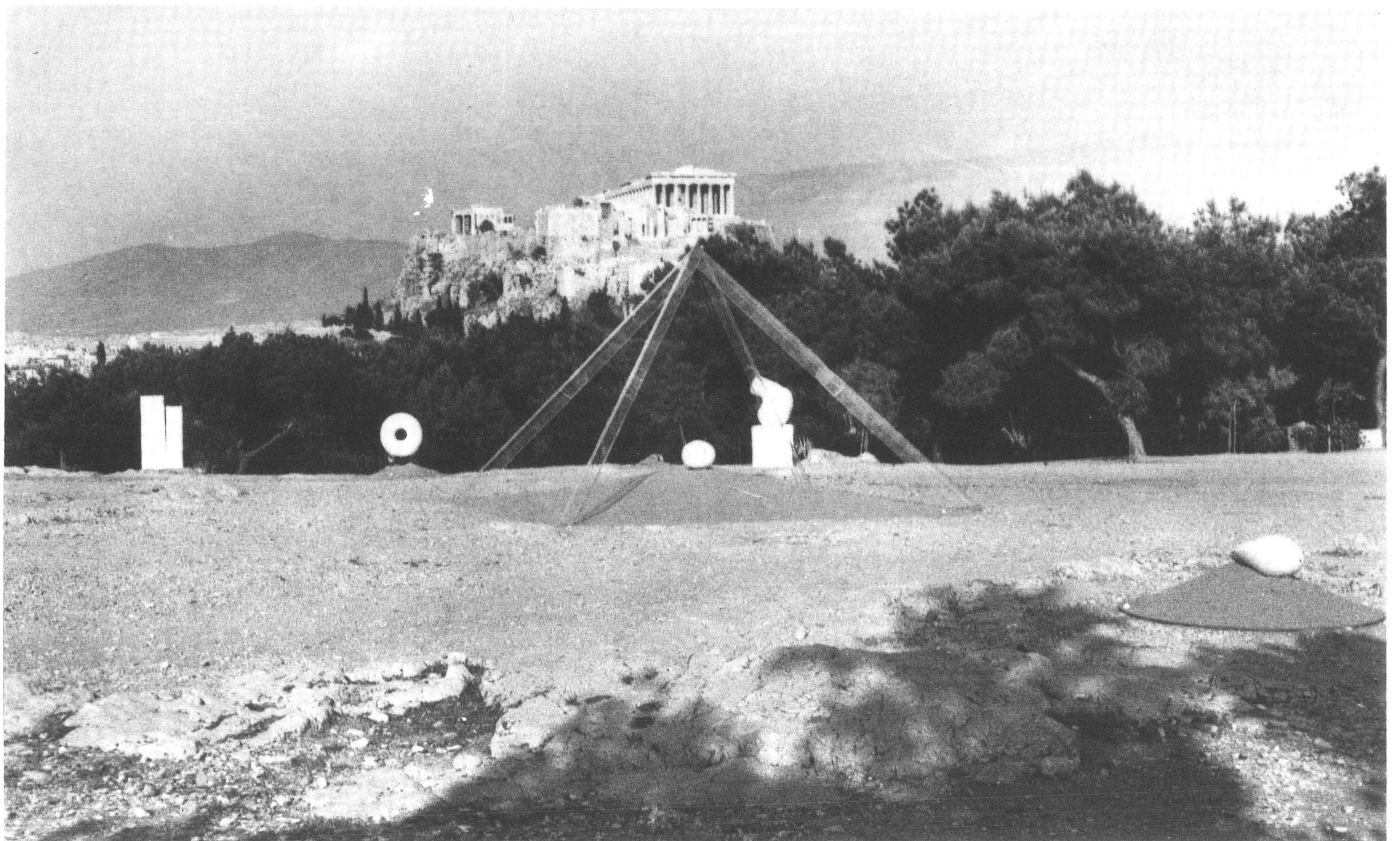


Fig. 436 Sculpture ensemble by Helen Stratou exhibited on the upper Pnyx terrace during the summer of 1987. (Photograph by the sculptress).



These sculpture displays were a new departure from the traditionally reserved attitude maintained by the Archaeological Service in regard to proposals for innovative uses of historic sites. In principle, juxtaposing ancient and modern artistic creations for the purpose of intensifying the sensibility of the spectators is a valid aim for a cultural park. Such interventions must, however, hew to a high aesthetic standard and their success depends on the degree to which both the artists and the organizers of the exhibition are guided by humility and sensitivity.

Considered as a whole, the manifold events held today in the cultural-historic area complement each other. The extent of the area and variety of its terrain certainly have a great potential for other uses which would enhance its vitality.

Whereas the cultural, educational and entertainment value of such events is indisputable, sympathetic broadminded control through a permanent supervisory board is necessary in order to prevent unsuitable commercial entertainments and souvenir vendors from turning parts of the cultural-historic area into an amusement park.

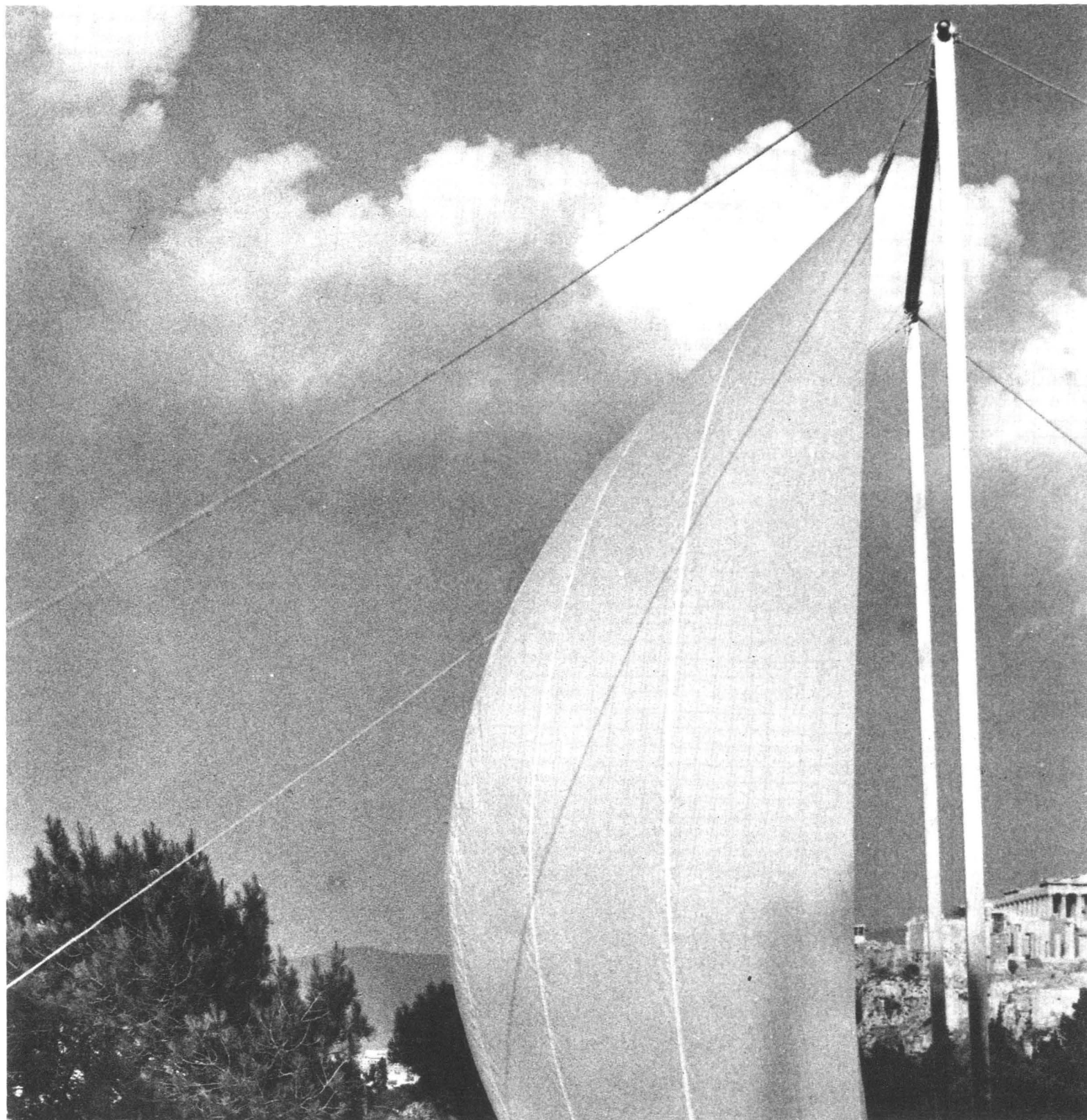


Fig. 437 A mobile sculpture with sail by Helen Stratou on the Pnyx. (Photograph by the sculptress).

160 Helen Stratou wrote up a description of this artistic event, in an unpublished "Account of a sculptress whose work was exhibited on the hill of the Pnyx":

"So the time for an exhibition had come. An exhibition, yes, but where? Where would I relinquish all these forms that had been so close to me all these years? The idea of the different galleries with their tomblike walls and the 'market place' feeling was repellent to me. Suddenly an idea came back: On the Pnyx of course, the centre of the world, of my world! (...)

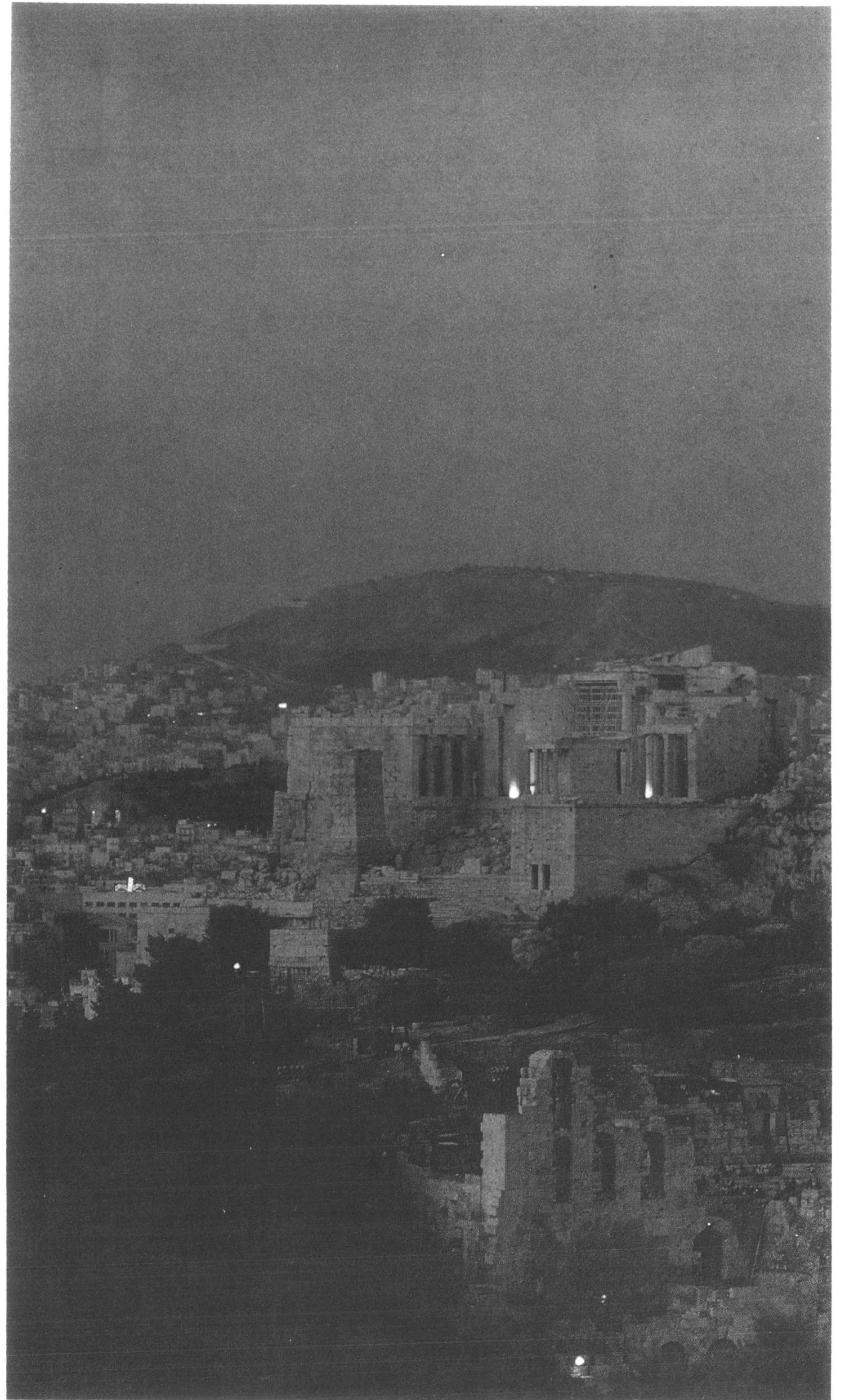
After all, these hills, these buildings, the Acropolis statues, this land, had been my teachers, protectors and guides. Yes, this was where I would be able to see, if the forms that I had been working on so far so many years were strong enough, sensitive, intense and real. Or empty, limpid and irrelevant. Would the work stand off to the test? A big crane truck brought in the statues made out of different materials. Pentelic, Naxian and Thassos marble, aluminium, bronze and plexiglass. The workers moved about unloading the heavy statues silently, respectfully. The gentleness and the respect with which they handled everything was amazing. The land was imposing its quality on all of us. Only two statues had to be put on pedestals, and this only because it could not be helped. All the others rested on, rose from, or were contained by the beautiful dry earth, or welcomed by the pink rocks. Even the big plexiglass Pyramid with its gilded Pyramidion on top seemed to rise naturally from the earth. All the statues had settled into place as if they had always been there.

To be sure a dream, my dream, had come true. But apart from this, something else had taken place. The statues had taken on a timeless quality. They seemed to belong there, and when the time came to take them away, it was a very painful procedure, a bit like uprooting a tree. But, strangely enough, it was not only the statues that were affected. The place itself seemed bare, empty and lonely, when the statues were moved away.

Then, I came to understand that perhaps this is how things worked in ancient Greece. A secret was being revealed to me. I had always been amazed by the exactitude, this sense of impersonal perfection and at the same time by the utter reverence and sense of intense offering that belongs to all the sacred places in Greece. And by the beauty, a beauty beyond comprehension. Suddenly, I came to understand that all this intensity, sanctity and relevance between the offering and the place came from the fact that man accepted the utter beauty of the landscape and what is really meant (...)

In Greece, the Divine has revealed itself in the form of beauty and measure which is apparent in the Greek landscape and, through the ages, the Greek people have responded to 'its' call, offering in return the best they could make. In our time, this vital exchange has been almost lost. The results are painful if not tragic. Somehow, by extreme good luck and out of my boundless love and admiration for this landscape and my recognition of its amazing importance, when I in my turn was allowed to make my most humble offering there, the curtain was lifted and the secret of this most delicate exchange was revealed to me."







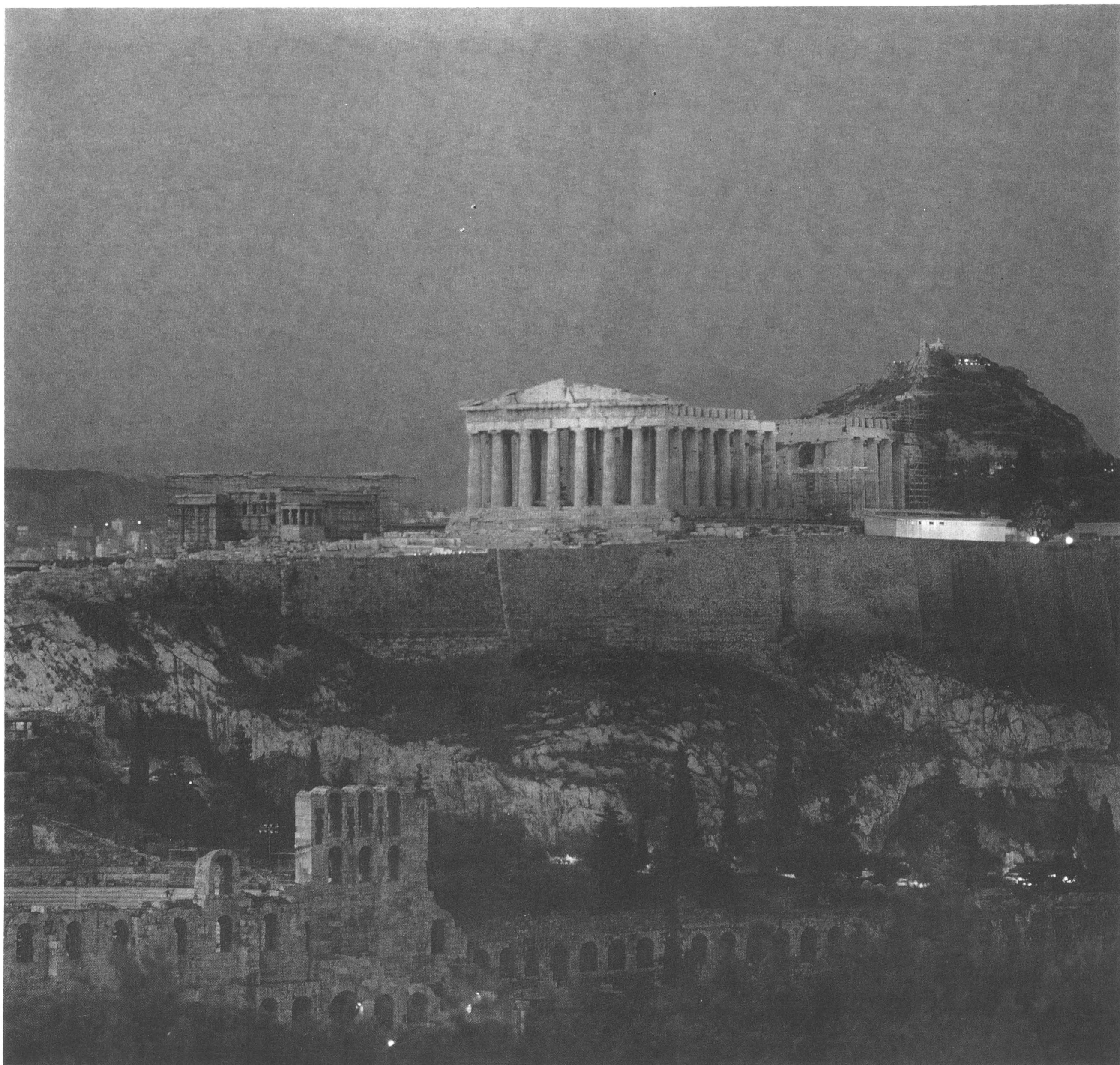


Fig. 438 View of the illuminated Akropolis from the SW. (From a poster).



## MODERN EXPLOITATION OF THE HISTORIC HERITAGE OF ATHENS

Fig. 439 A patriotic drawing showing Captain Dimitri from Chios hoisting the Greek flag for the first time on the liberated Akropolis in April 1833. The caption reads: The first free Easter. (Neezer, 1911).



### THE SYMBOLIC AND EMOTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HISTORIC HERITAGE

Whereas appropriation of the cultural assets in Athens has proved so far rather problematic, this does not mean that the population has no emotional ties to the historic site.

Beyond the intrinsic artistic value of the monuments or the specific historic interest of the site (fully appreciated by a fairly limited number of people with specialized training) we recognize that the population attaches specific emotional and symbolic significance to certain features of the cultural heritage.

There are today no natural features in Athens imbued with a symbolic meaning for the inhabitants as was the case in ancient times. The present-day Athenians do, indeed, call the Akropolis the 'sacred rock' which figures as a landmark and central point of reference in the dense Athenian conurbation, but the force of this phrase has more to do with the Akropolis as a sanctuary of Athena than as a natural feature. No other natural feature plays any role in this respect, not even the famous Ilissos river nor Kallirrhoe spring so treasured by the early travellers, now obliterated.

Some man-made structures of varying artistic importance are, however, to be considered as radiating a strong emotional appeal, although having more to do with patriotic motives than cultural considerations.

The poorest of these assets from both the aesthetic and the town-planning point of view is the Monument to The Unknown Soldier erected in 1928-1930 on the upper terrace of Syntagma Square in front of the Parliament Building. Although the design of the monument has ruined the initial town-planning situation (a retaining wall has taken the place of the gently sloping terrain in front of the building), it is, as all comparable monuments in the world, a conventional magnet for national-political identification and patriotic enthusiasm. The Monument to the Unknown Soldier is symbolically linked to Athens' glorious past: a spur of the retaining wall in which the monument is set contains replicas of column drums from the Old Temple of Athena on the Akropolis destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C.

The restored Panathenaic Stadium is another structure that had a symbolic appeal at the end of the 19th century. This gift of the Emperor Hadrian to the city of Athens was rebuilt virtually from scratch at great expense in the 1890s, although its oblong shape was from the beginning considered unsuitable for modern athletic games. The idea behind this venture was, however, the revival of the Olympic Games on Greek soil, to be expanded into a global competition for all nations, under the auspices of Greece.



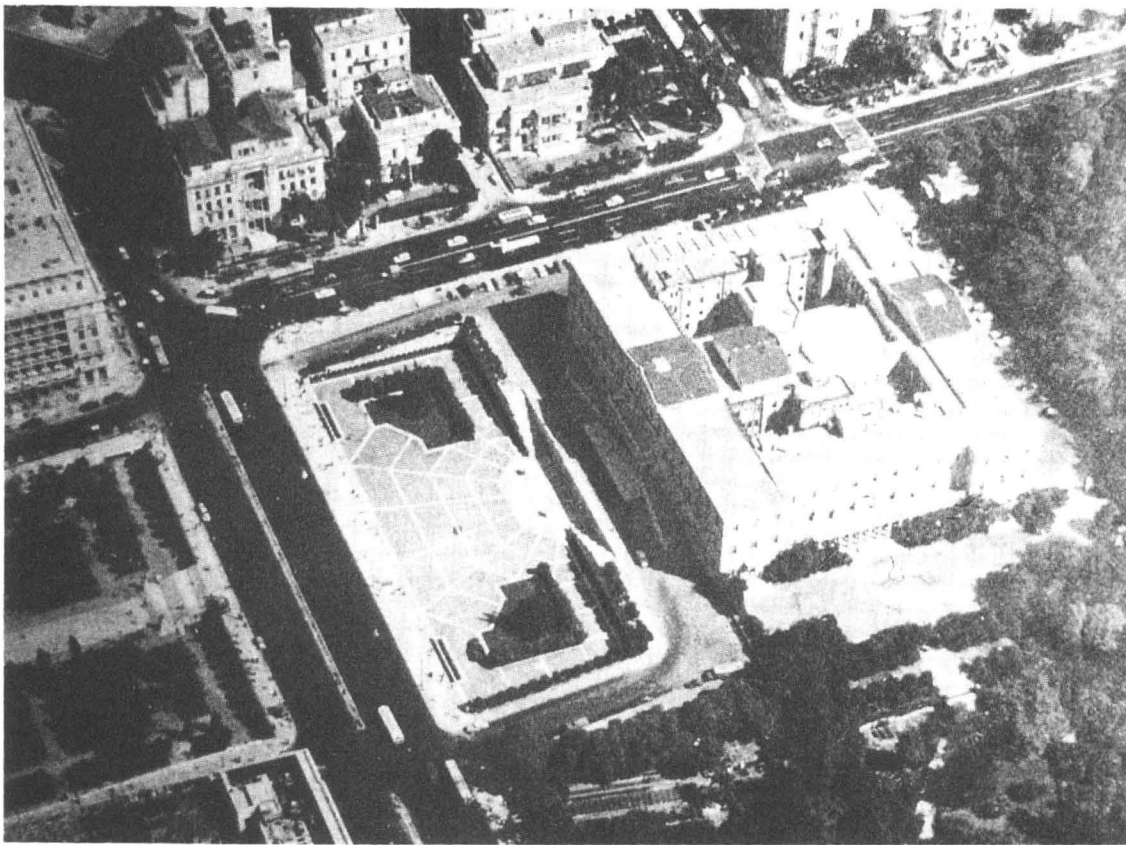


Fig. 440 Parliament Building (formerly the Royal Palace) with the monument to the Unknown Soldier in front. Air view. (Greek Ministry of Housing).



Fig. 441 The west (main) façade of the Parliament Building (formerly the Royal Palace) facing a gently sloping esplanade. Taken at the turn of the century before the Monument to the Unknown Soldier was erected. (Taken from a postcard).



Fig. 442 The rebuilt Stadium used for gymnastic displays by school children. (Taken from a postcard).



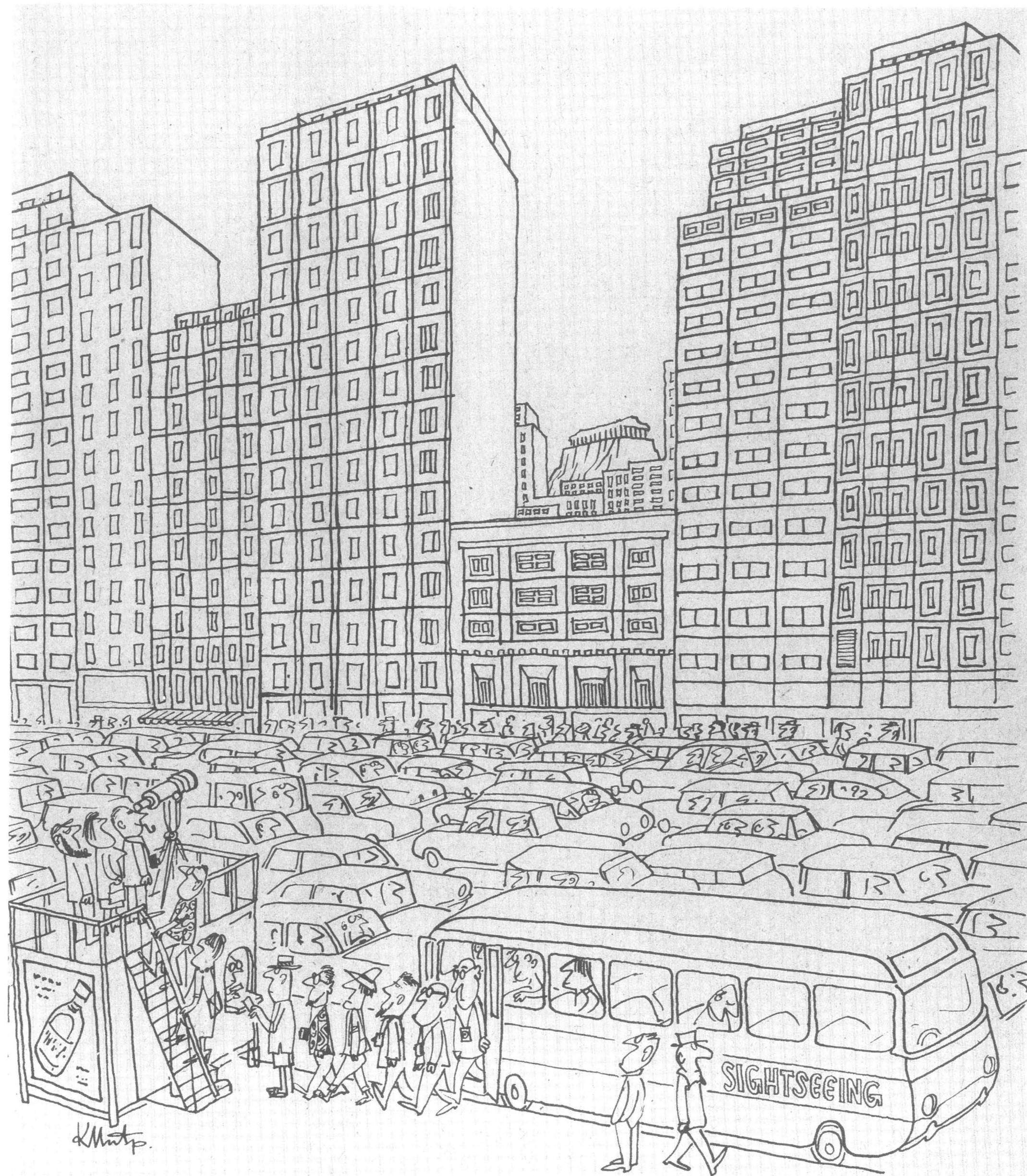


Fig. 443 Humorous criticism by a Greek cartoonist of the architectural monstrosities in Athens and how they hinder perception of the ancient heritage. (Sketch by Mitropoulos).





Fig. 444 Photograph commemorating the launching of the international campaign for the preservation of Akropolis monuments (January 10, 1977). The Greek title reads: The Akropolis - our common concern. (Cover of an Athenian magazine).



BOOKS  
LIVRES  
BUCHER  
LIBRI  
books in all languages  
ELEFTHEROUDAKIS  
international bookstore  
4, NIKIS ST.  
SYNTAGMA



Fig. 445 Books piled up to form a schematic ancient temple stress the cultural significance of Eleftheroudakis' bookstore.

The psychological motives for this venture were national pride tinged with a latent cultural chauvinism and the hope of promoting Greece as the permanent host country for the modern Olympic Games, an ambition which although very soon disappointed was once more nourished in 1988!

Since 1982, when the new Olympic Stadium on the outskirts of Athens was completed, the Panathenaic Stadium has been used more and more for political rallies with cultural biases (annual meetings of political youth organizations). The symbolic meaning is fading away, although there are still some echoes when the Marathon runners make their end dash into the Stadium.

Greek consciousness of national identity and cultural heritage is most strongly associated with the Akropolis monuments, in particular the Parthenon. The emotional ties go far beyond aesthetic appreciation of the monuments. The Greek people are strongly attached to the Akropolis as a landmark with symbolic connotations of eternal Hellenic greatness and creativity. More than any other place or building complex, the Akropolis has always been thought of as a national shrine, the focal point of Hellenism. Although the Akropolis plateau was freed from military installations in 1835 and has been an archaeological precinct ever since, exceptional solemn ceremonies, transcending mere state representation, that commemorate events of national significance have always taken place on the Akropolis.

Thus on the 10th of September, 1834, before Leo von Klenze left Athens, a ceremony was held on the Akropolis to inaugurate the restoration campaign by resetting a column drum in the north colonnade of the Parthenon. King Otto sat inside the Parthenon on a throne decorated with olive, myrtle and laurel branches; his presence and the splendor of the ceremonies expressed the desire of the state to protect and display the ancient monuments, which were identified with the rebirth of the nation.

Some years later on the 26th of May, 1838, the Archaeological Society at Athens held its general meeting in the cella of the Parthenon in order to emphasize the close relations between the Society's aims and the national image.

In 1933, the centennial celebrations of the liberation of Athens took place on the Akropolis on Easter Day, chosen for the symbolic connotations of the Resurrection. Christopher Neezer, the grandson of the first commander of the Akropolis guard, hoisted the national flag and a student chorus intoned a special hymn for the day.

After the liberation from German occupation on the 12th of October, 1944, the entire government with Prime Minister G. Papandreou celebrated national independence on the Akropolis where the Greek flag was hoisted anew.

On January 10, 1977, the Director General of UNESCO and the Greek Minister of Culture jointly launched the international campaign for preserving the Akropolis monuments, addressing the international community from the 'sacred rock.'

The Akropolis is the only archaeological monument in Greece which has again and again been given the attribute of a banner. This is almost absurd on the practical level, but very meaningful in its symbolic dimension.

To conclude, the Akropolis ensemble is relatively little known by the majority of Athenians as a work of art; it is recognized rather as the landmark par excellence of the city and above all as embodying the history and destiny of Hellenism.

Millions of people around the world are aware of the classical heritage of Athens as a symbol of perfection. Needless to say that this strong image contributes greatly to the tourist appeal of Athens, notwithstanding the actual critical environmental conditions in the city.

Quite a lot depends on the emotional and symbolic value conferred on the Athenian monuments. Actually, those irrational links play as important a role as purely artistic appreciation in our motivation for the preservation of the classical heritage. The monuments will survive only as long as active human attachment supports them.



## COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE<sup>161</sup>

Commercial advertising of consumer goods manipulates the symbols of the classical heritage for the sake of their publicity value. Commercial advertising with a large-scale impact is a new phenomenon, which first took on greater proportions from the beginning of the 20th century accompanying developed capitalist economic structure.

In the first pioneering phase of industrial development in Athens Greek businessmen presented themselves as the worthy descendants of their glorious ancestors through advertisements juxtaposing their industrial products with images of ancient masterpieces.

For example, at the turn of the century the Athenian hat factory, Pouloupoulos, had a coloured advertisement (fig. 450) displaying the hat factory in the foreground against a panoramic view of Athens in the background with the Akropolis prominent against the skyline. In the picture the Athenian promenaders seem to be more interested in the modern factory building than in the achievements of the glorious past.

This direct, fairly naive tactic has progressively evolved into a more and more sophisticated strategy using symbolic associations. During the last decades images extracted from ancient works of art have played an ever increasing role in commercial advertising. This trend is obviously due to the fact that the general public has become increasingly aware of ancient culture through mass tourism and exhibitions. The common strategy is to reduce the message to the shortest and catchiest text.

When modern advertising exploits ancient motifs, this is done with a very simple message, i.e. that the advertised goods are 'classical' (fig. 453). 'Classical' means in this case something which is absolutely sound, strong, flawless and eternal. For scholars, who have been long questioning the very meaning of the term 'classic,' this frivolous use of the word is not without irony. It proves that in modern culture there is indeed a common concept of the 'classical' which can be evoked in wider groups of the population by means of images extracted from the ancient world. The consumer who understands the message also enjoys the pleasant feeling of participating in the realm of higher culture, the possession of which was formerly associated with higher social status.

The transmission of the 'classic' message is effected by few visual symbols, which have in this respect a long tradition, for example the column, the capital, the torso. These motifs have been used with increasing frequency during the last thirty years as the advertisers are able to rely on the fact that a growing number of people have an elementary understanding of the symbolic significance of these motifs. Thus, for example, an advertisement for Wolfram light-bulbs shows an incandescent light bulb replacing the sun-god Apollo in his chariot driving his four-horse team over the Parthenon (fig. 454) and the international bookstore Eleftheroudakis advertises with an image of a temple pediment supported by books taking the place of columns (fig. 445). Even more appallingly a recent advertisement photographically distorted the Doric columns of the Parthenon in order to make them resemble Coca-Cola bottles.

The modern tourist industry also exploits other aspects of the ancient world to promote its wares, especially the emotional aspects. This exploitation is not in response to recently created needs such as are often planned by modern industry, but is attuned to needs embedded in a long cultural tradition. They involve a modern cultural experience of life, nature and art, which developed from the middle of the 18th century. This attitude started with Winckelmann and continued through classicism and romanticism down to the late 19th century.

Today the clichés used in tourist advertisements commercialize and degrade the old emotional and cultural values. Here, people are apparently offered the chance to escape from the modern world, if only for a short time. Traditional ideals and desires such as unspoiled nature, religious mysticism, flourishing sensuality, etc., are colorfully blended, presented in coarse modern advertising language laced with prosaic and practical tips. The potential tourist is meant to receive the impression that whereas in the past travel was reserved for an elite set of people,



Figs. 446-447 Postcards attempting humour with a grotesque amalgamation of supposedly ancient and modern elements.



<sup>161</sup> This section is heavily indebted to *Utopische Vergangenheit* by Nikolaus Himmelmann, Berlin, 1976, 110 ff., "Antike und moderner Alltag: Werbung mit dem klassischen Produkt", and contains some word-for-word translations of sentences in that work.



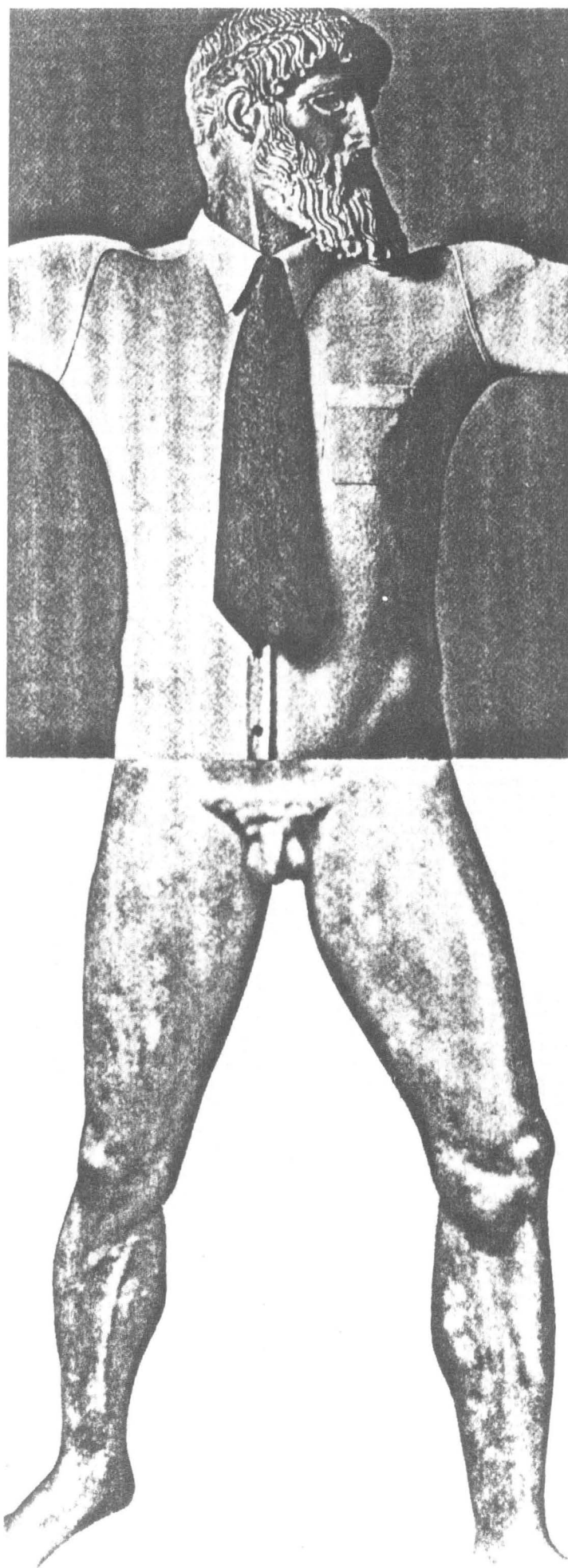


Fig. 448 The famous bronze statue of the Zeus of Artemision advertising a brand-name shirt.

**MEN'S CLASSIC**  
STIL IST DAS MASS ALLER DINGE

Eau de Toilette, Eau de Toilette-Aerosol Spray, After Shave, After Shave Balsam, Pre Shave, Rasiercreme, Rasierschaum, Körperlotion, Luxus-Seife, Duschgel, Deo-Spray, Deo-Stick.

**Schenk-Service '87**  
Das Haus 4711 ist von seiner Duftcreation Men's Classic so überzeugt, daß es Ihnen eine Garantie gibt:  
Wählen Sie Men's Classic als Geschenk. Bei Nichtgefallen des Dyites Geschenkpackung einsenden an 4711, Marketingabteilung, 5 Köln 30. Sie erhalten den Kaufpreis von uns zurück.

Fig. 449 Myron's Discobolus advertising Men's Classic with the slogan: style is the measure of all things.



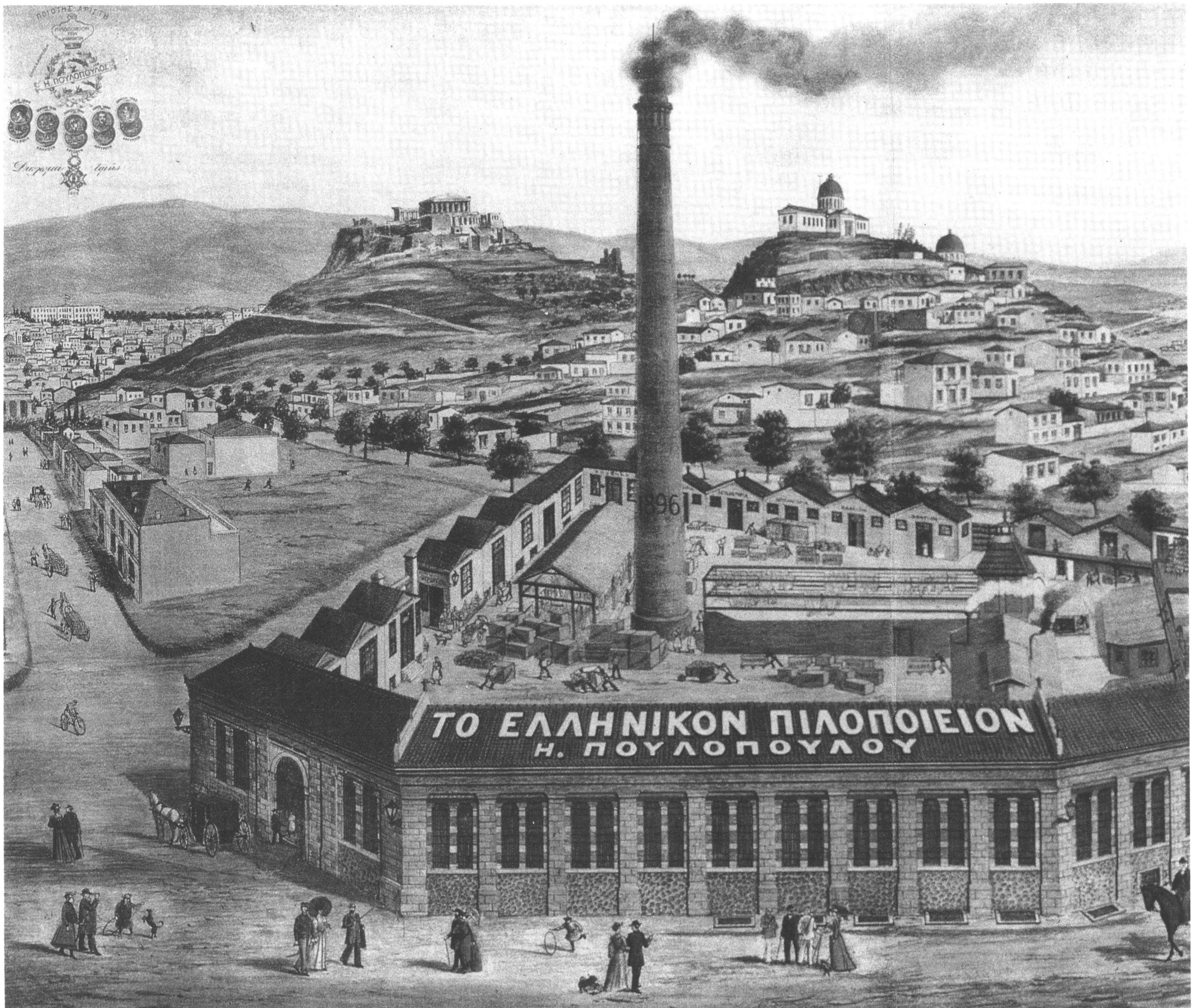


Fig. 450 An early advertising poster for the Pouloupoulos hat factory, using the A-kropolis as a status symbol for commercial purposes.



nowadays the experience and knowledge gained by travel can be acquired for little money, without exertion and without detracting from the holiday spirit of leisure in any way at all.

The travel agencies promise cheap, convenient arrangements by means of which the travellers' deeper longings are fulfilled through experiences no longer possible in the environment of daily life. The literature advertising travel variously offers an illusion of the world as unspoiled nature, a return to man's original state, a kind of time-machine taking one back through history, the promise of a return to what are pictured as simple, original human experiences, a presentation of forgotten cultures, a glimpse of magical practices, strange religious rites, picturesque dances, and eminently purchasable folk art or precious handicrafts at bargain prices.

Postcards sold in Athens blithely caricature the attempts made by the National Tourist Organization to present modern Greeks as direct descendants of the ancient Greeks directly continuing the ancient traditions (figs. 446, 447). A scene at the flea market shows both buyers

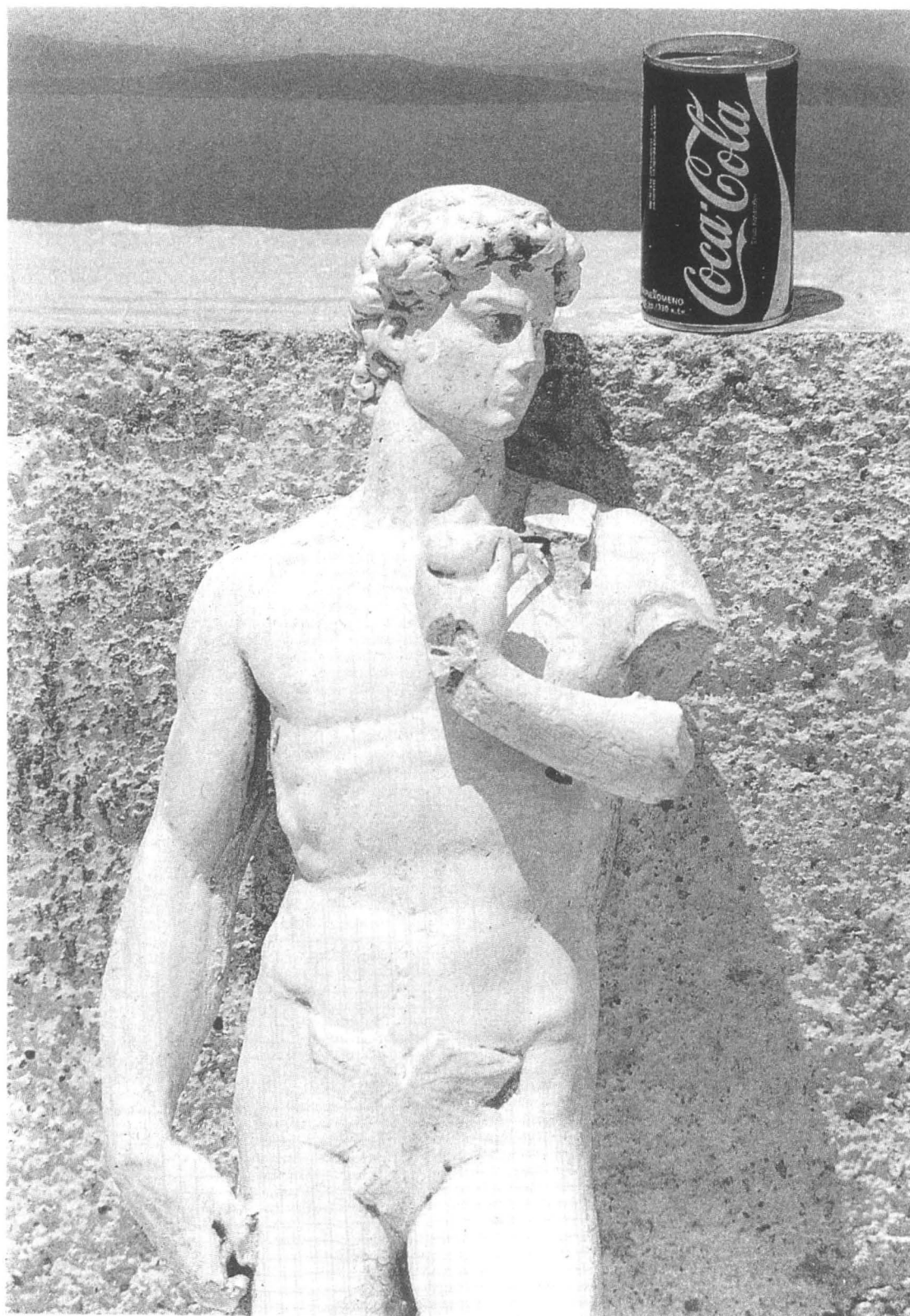
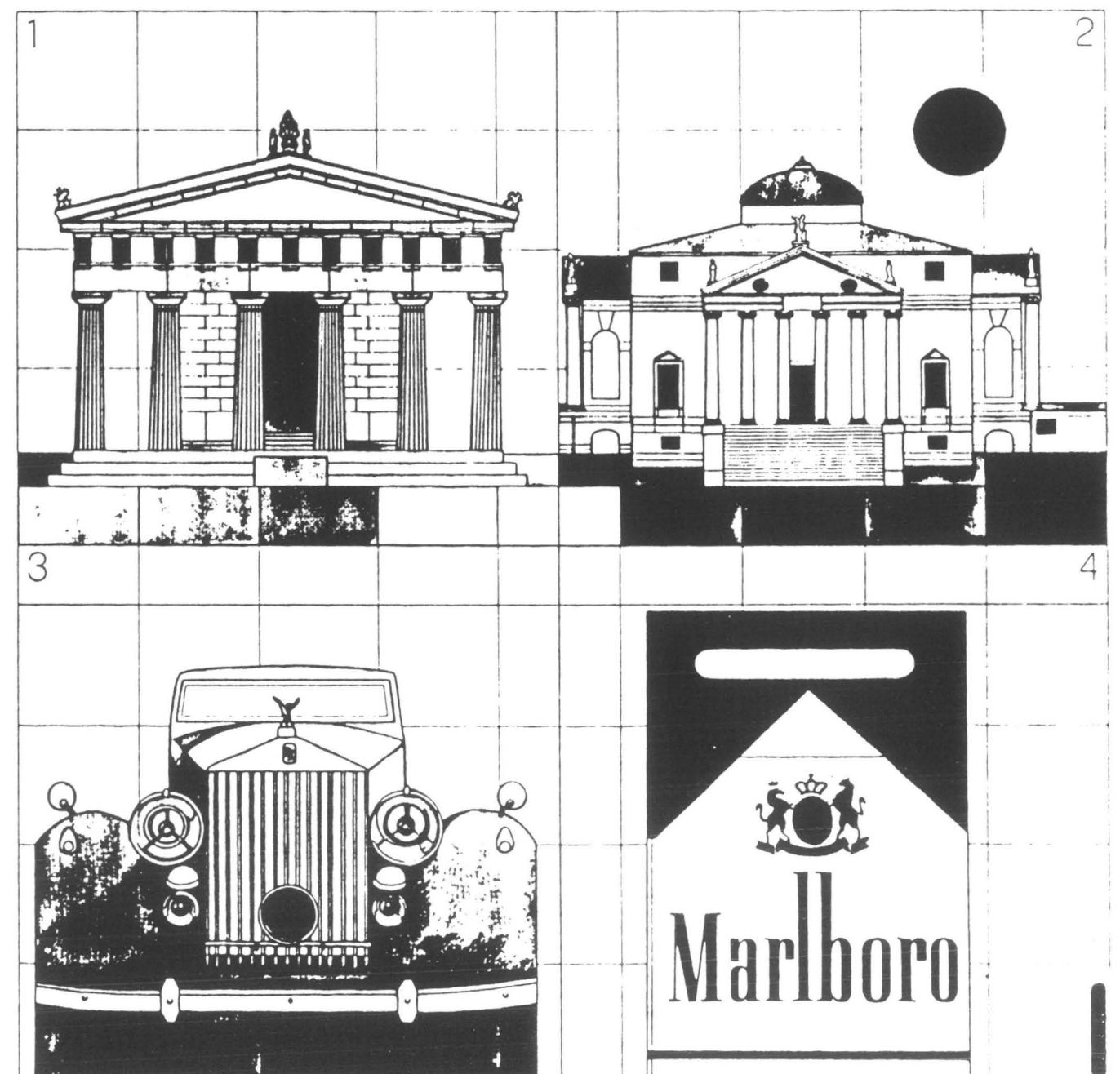


Fig. 451 The absurd juxtaposition of various tourist attractions: blue sea, renaissance (!! ) statue and Coca-Cola, the components of a happy holiday. (Taken from a postcard).

Fig. 452 Ancient monuments transformed into trivia.

# DAS TRIVIALE NACHLEBEN DER ANTIKE





and vendors clad in preposterous versions of ancient costume. In another postcard Hephaistos himself, the god of metal-working, is repairing a customer's armor at "Ifestos Service" establishment with temples looming in the background.

The publicity aimed at attracting tourists to Athens promises the traveller not only sights and pleasures: it is designed to appeal to deeper longings. The National Tourist Organization uses the slogan "Discover yourself in Greece" accompanied by a picture showing a young couple in summer clothes sitting among the ruins of the Parthenon, silhouetted idyllically against the sunset. The slogan means: understand your real self and your mission in this world. This obviously touches a particularly sensitive side of modern man whose deeper needs are regularly subordinated to daily routine.

The escape from the daily grind promised by the travel agencies is hardly possible in a city of four million inhabitants like Athens! But other, presumably cultural, motivations persist:



Fig. 453 An imaginary Greek temple (i.e. a photomontage of ancient columns on a site where no temple exists...) is supposed to lend classical Greek glamour to Metaxas brandy!

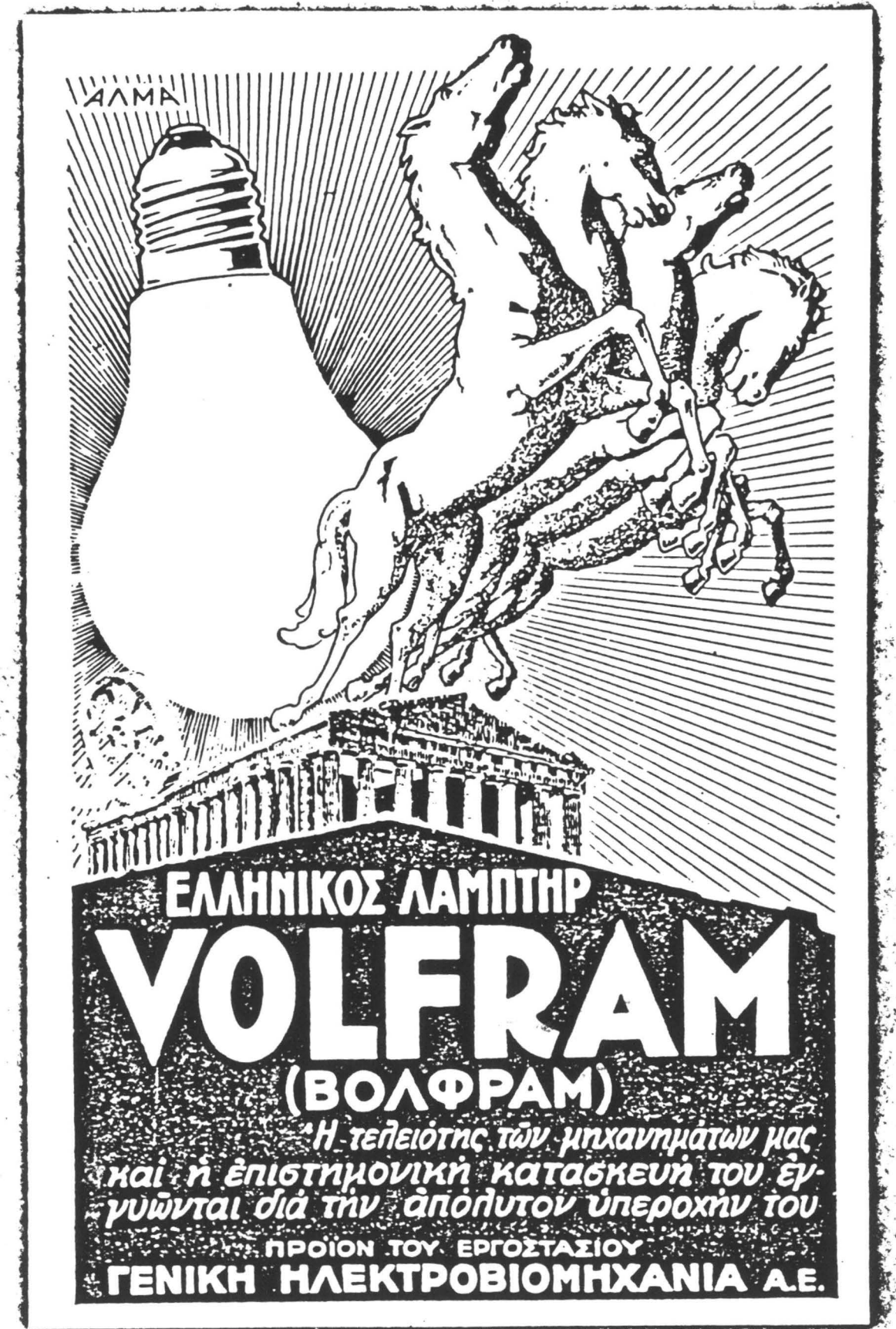


Fig. 454 A Wolfram electric light bulb shines as brightly as Helios driving the horses of the sun over the Parthenon! An absurd conglomeration of associations with no real meaning except for the vague appeal exerted by the 'radiant beauty' of ancient art.



162 Edmond About gives the following gloomy description of Athenian hotels and transportation means in 1852 (in “La Grèce contemporaine”, Paris, 1855, 403-406):

“Les hôtels d’Athènes sont chers et mauvais, parce qu’ils ont peu de voyageurs. Il leur tombe quelques touristes au printemps et à l’automne: c’est tout leur revenu de l’année. Lorsqu’Athènes deviendra un lieu de passage fréquenté en toute saison, les hôteliers feront leurs affaires et les voyageurs y gagneront.

En attendant, les chambres sont à peine meublées, la propreté douteuse, le service mal fait, la nourriture plus que médiocre (...)

L’hôtel d’Orient et l’hôtel d’Angleterre sont deux grands établissements situés à trente pas l’un de l’autre, rue d’Eole, en face du hangar aux canons. Le voyageur, en ouvrant sa fenêtre, peut contempler les douze petits canons qui composent l’artillerie du royaume (...)

Un artiste qui veut demeurer à Athènes plus d’un mois peut être logé et nourri à l’hôtel d’Angleterre moyennant cinq ou six francs par jour, sans le vin (...). Les Grecs de condition moyenne voyagent avec leur lit, qui se compose le plus souvent d’une couverture. Ils ne demandent donc aux aubergistes qu’un espace de six pieds de long pour reposer leurs corps. Il y a trente auberges dans Athènes qui peuvent le leur offrir; mais, comme je ne suppose pas que mes lecteurs soient curieux de coucher par terre entre quatre Grecs, il est inutile d’insister davantage sur des logis malpropres où ils ne mettront jamais le pied. Hors des quatre hôtels dont j’ai parlé, point de salut (...)

Les voitures ne sont pas rares dans Athènes, et l’on en trouve abondamment pour la ville et la campagne. J’ai dit plus haut que la campagne s’étend à quatre lieues de la ville. Rien n’est plus disgracieux que ces pauvres fiacres d’Athènes, disloqués, malpropres et mal tenus. Ils ont rarement des carreaux, et je ne sais pas s’ils ont toujours quatre roues.

On les trouve tous rassemblés sur une place boueuse, qui s’appelle la place des voitures. Il n’est pas facile de faire un choix, tant on est tiraillé et envahi par les cochers. On traite de gré à gré avec ces messieurs; la police n’a pas établi de tarif (...)

On a parlé d’établir des omnibus d’Athènes au Pirée. Les communications sont fréquentes, les fiacres sont chers: l’affaire paraît excellente à première vue. Elle est détestable, et l’on s’y ruinerait. Les omnibus ne pourraient pas faire payer moins de 50 lepta pour une course de deux lieues. Or, les Grecs trouvent moyen d’aller au Pirée pour 25 lepta. Le premier qui veut partir prend un fiacre, s’y installe et attend; un second arrive, on l’appelle, il prend place; un troisième vient; huit personnes qui ne se connaissent pas s’empilent dans la même voiture, qui devient par le fait un omnibus. Les cheveux de fiacre sont très-laits: mais ils ne quittent jamais le galop”.

163 Thus in 1870 a party of English tourists was kidnapped in Greece by the band of the sinister brigand Davellis, which resulted in much anti-Greek sentiment in western Europe.

various travel programs for Greece and especially for Athens provide popularized versions of all the cultural goals which have motivated the European desire for travel over the past two centuries. The advertising strategy assumes that visitors to Athens still retain vague fragments of the older educational ideals. Tourist operators have been able to tap into an emotional sphere where they can achieve success. They offer an historical excursion into a stereotyped world of symbolic ideas and connotations, aiming at customers who consider Athens a destination of special symbolic and existential value. Moreover, advertising blurbs conjure up the source of this outlook with the slogan: “Look for Greece with your soul” (Goethe’s “Das Land der Griechen mit der Seele suchend”). This emotional dimension means that many visitors still see Athens in a unique, transfigured light. This idea could not be easily used to advertise a visit elsewhere.

Today there are only a few cultivated visitors, both Greeks and foreigners, for whom nationalistic fervour or pseudo-humanistic escape dreams play no role in their links to the ancient heritage. These are the ones who visit the historic site as pilgrims to a place of human creativity and continuity. Their emotional reactions, however, differ greatly from that of the cultivated visitors of the 19th century who responded solely with passionate admiration for ancient art. Their modern counterparts have a more rational approach: some of them are challenged and stimulated by a scientific interest in ancient history, town-planning or building techniques, while others, including such personalities as N. Kazantzakis, G. Seferis or Christa Wolf, being more socially conscious, reluctantly react to the achievements of an elitarian and aristocratic society based on slavery.

## EXPLOITATION OF THE MONUMENTS AND OF THE HISTORIC SITE IN CONNECTION WITH THE TOURIST FLOW

### Social and cultural aspects of tourism in Athens

Whereas up until the War of Independence Greece was rarely visited by foreigners (with some exceptions, mainly diplomats to the Ottoman Court and scholars or art dilettanti in the 18th century), travel contacts developed slowly but constantly during the first fifty years of independent national life.

The establishment of a regular steamship connexion between Trieste and Patras/Peiraeus in the first years of King Otto’s reign and the rapid development of the Greek commercial fleet during the 19th century created the basic preconditions for an opening of the young state to the west.

The presence of a foreign court and more than 12,000 Bavarians, military personnel, civil administration and technical experts in all fields (geology, medicine, law, industrial projects, engineering, road-building etc.) during the first decade (1833-1843) in Greece and especially in Athens, meant that Greece rapidly developed into a European country with a strong Bavarian flavour. In the same period the active involvement of foreign scholars (such as L. Ross, K. O. Müller, H. Ulrichs, A. Brandis, G. Finlay, N. L. Fraas, etc.) contributed even more decisively to a rapprochement between Greece and the family of European states.

Due to the lack of means of transportation, road infrastructure and hotel facilities<sup>162</sup> but also because of unsafe conditions in the countryside<sup>163</sup>, a regular flow of interested visitors could not develop during this first period. Foreign archaeologists living and working in Athens and well acquainted with the local way of life are the main sources of reliable information on actual



conditions in Greece at this time. The works of Ludwig Ross, August Brandis and Edmond About are to be considered as basic reports on the country, albeit with strong social biases.

There were some cultivated travellers who came to Greece for cultural-artistic reasons, such as Fürst von Pückler-Muskau in Athens in 1836, Gustave Flaubert in 1851, and Ernest Renan in 1865. They came as individuals on their way to lengthy trips to the Middle East. Organized tourist visits were still non-existent.

At that time, some early photographers, mainly architects and draftsmen (e.g. G. M. Bridges 1848, J. Robertson 1850, A. Normand 1851 and F. A. Beato 1857) organized the first photographic campaigns in Athens focusing mainly on the ancient monuments of the city.

Group visits to the Akropolis in these early days made by a multitude of young midshipmen from foreign fleets anchored in Phaleron bay, were a calamity for the monuments vividly described by Ross in his memoirs.

This period of individual travelling, during which organized tours were very rare<sup>164</sup>, was followed by a period of group (not mass!) tourism starting in the 1890s. A relatively stable political situation under the leadership of prime minister Charilaos Trikoupis, improvement of transportation facilities and important archaeological excavations carried out during the last quarter of the 19th century<sup>165</sup> made the country appealing for early travel agents and tour operators.

As early as 1892 Gaston Deschamps stated in his book *La Grèce d'aujourd'hui* that tourism was the second most important source of income for Greece after customs duties! The rather exclusive parties of visitors (mainly English, French and German) were shown in the first place the antiquities of Athens; this visit was followed eventually by a tour of the Argolid (Mycenae, Epidaurus) under the auspices of the international travel agency Thomas Cook & Son, the leading tour operator between 1890 and 1930. The 'Greek adventure' usually lasted from two to four weeks.

The Baedeker guide for Greece of 1908 advises travellers that the more time they take for leisurely enjoyment and study, the more they will be compensated for the cost of the trip and the fatigue entailed. These hints were meant for visitors belonging to the upper bourgeoisie who undertook the expensive and tiresome trip in search of an aesthetic-cultural adventure. The indispensable guidebooks were the main sources of information.

The guidebooks of Joanne, Murray and Baedeker were the invaluable travel companions. By comparison with their modern equivalents, their high standard still amazes us today. In addition to detailed and perfectly practical advice on accommodation, means of travel, climate, local customs and festivities, the main bulk of these voluminous 'companions' was devoted to a minute —almost scientific— presentation of the archaeological, monumental, and artistic wealth of the country and especially of Athens. The maps, town-plans and architectural drawings are of high precision and offer still today the best documents on the evolution of the city during the early years of the 20th century.

Trained guides did not exist at that time; self-taught Dragomans (i.e. interpreters) gave primitive explanations and produced witty remarks during visits to the archaeological sites<sup>166</sup>. They offered practical services for orientation on the site and no scholarly knowledge.

But as early as the 1890s, Mr. Cook visited Greece in person and conceived a program of regular tours based on a well-equipped hotel chain and transportation directly connecting the main 'picturesque' sites of the country. These trends created an early preview of what the consequences of mass tourism could be in the future. Deschamps states that one country like Switzerland is enough for Europe and that a tourist invasion would ruin the charm of Greece<sup>167</sup>.

In the 1920s Stefan Zweig depicted all the calamities of the coming era of mass transportation: the loss of the sense of adventure, individuality and personal initiative for the sake of comfort<sup>168</sup>. In Athens, however, the tourist flow and travelling patterns evolved slowly. Although the importance of tourism and the potentialities of this sector were recognized early on, the long distances involved in travelling to Greece and the political turmoils from the Balkan Wars in 1912-13 through the First World War (1914-1918) and down to the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922, impeded a spectacular development of the travel industry.

In 1914 a directorate for tourism was founded, followed in the 1930s by a Ministry for Press

164 Such a memorable exception was the round trip around the Mediterranean Sea of the American steamship 'Quaker City' in 1867, immortalized by Mark Twain's bestseller "The Innocents Abroad." The author relates in his travel account a curious story of a clandestine nightly visit to the Akropolis with a small group of friends, while the majority of his fellow travellers participating in this early 'organized tour' stayed on board because of severe quarantine regulations.

165 Important archaeological campaigns which yielded spectacular finds were among others: Delos (French excavations from 1872), Olympia (German excavations from 1875), Akropolis of Athens (Greek excavations from 1885) and Delphi (French excavations from 1892).

166 This type of 'guide' survived even until the 1960s! Gaston Deschamps mentions ironically (in "La Grèce d'aujourd'hui", Paris, 1892, 188) the kind of services they were providing:

"Quelques-uns vont par escouades, conduits, commandés et instruits par un dragoman d'hôtel, à raison de quinze drachmes par jour. Quand on approche, on entend des bouts de conférence, on saisit d'étranges paroles prononcées avec cet accent grec, qui est du marseillais adouci: Approssez-vous pour zouzer! Ictinus, il était pas bête. Vous croyez que c'est droit. Eh bien! Non, c'est courbe".

167 We quote here this passage (op. cit. p. 192-193) in extenso, because of its almost prophetic character:

"D'autre part, certains gens, évidemment un peu fous, ont des scrupules, et j'exprime leur opinion sous toute réserve. Ils disent qu'une Suisse suffit en Europe. Ils craignent que cette invasion n'ôte à la Grèce une partie de sa grâce et de son charme. Ils prétendent que le jour où les cache-poussière, les parasols américains, les valises perfectionnées et les tubs en caoutchouc, feront leur entrée dans les montagnes d'Arcadie, les hamadryades et les satyres aux yeux verts regarderont curieusement, entre les branches, cette étrange bacchanale, et que l'ironie des dieux éclatera en un large rire. Ils supplient M. Cook d'attendre un peu, de leur accorder un sursis, de laisser quelque temps encore aux artistes, aux rêveurs, à ceux qui ne sont pas pressés, la terre sacrée des montagnes violettes et les oliviers pâles. Ils protestent qu'ils ne tirent pas leur montre dans les solitudes de tempé, qu'ils se passent de biftecks sur la cime du Parnasse; l'idée seule d'une voiture partant à heure fixe, gêne leur rêve et déconcerte leur admiration".

168 Here some of Zweig's considerations in detail:

"Ich habe mich bemüht, einmal in einen solchen Menschen Schub mich hineinzudenken; die Bequemlichkeit läßt sich nicht leugnen. Man hat alle seine Sinne frei für Schauen und Genießen: man ist nicht abgelenkt durch die liliputanischen, aber doch unablässigen Sorgen um einen Schlafplatz und Mittagstisch, braucht keine Züge nachzuschlagen, nicht durch falsche Gassen stolpern, sich nicht narren und betrügen lassen, nicht mühsam eine fremde Sprache stammeln — alle Sinne bleiben einzig der Aufnahme des Neuen bereit. Und dies Neue wiederum hat schon jetzt jahrzehntelang Erfahrung auf das Sehenswürdige hin ausgesiebt: man sieht wirklich und wahrhaftig nur das Wichtigste auf solcher gemeinsamen Reisetour, an Gesellschaft fehlt es nicht für solche, denen Genuß erst wahrhaft wird, wenn sie ihn mitteilhaftig mit anderen genießen. Außerdem ist es billig, praktisch und vor allem bequem, sicherlich darum die Methode der Zukunft. Man wird nicht reisen mehr, sondern gereist werden. Aber doch: geht nicht gerade das Geheimnisvollste des Reisens durch so zufällige Gemeinschaft verloren? Noch von uralten Zeiten her unwittert das Wort Reise ein leises Aroma von Abenteuer und Gefahr, ein Atem von wetterwendischem Zufall und lockender Unsicherheit. Wenn wir reisen, tun wir's doch nicht nur um der Ferne allein willen, sondern auch um des Fortseins vom Eigenen, von der täglich geordneten ausgezählten Hauswelt, um der Lust willen des Nicht-zu-Hause-seins, und deshalb Nicht-sich-selbst-seins. Wir wollen das bloße Dahinleben durch Erleben unterbrechen. Jene aber, die so gereist werden, fahren nur an vielem Neuen vorbei und nicht ins Neue hinein, alles Sonderbare und Persönliche eines Landes muß ihnen notwendig entgehen, solange sie geführt werden und nicht der wahre Gott der Wanderer, der Zufall, ihre Schritte lenkt".

Stefan Zweig, "Reisen oder gereist werden", *Die Monotonisierung der Welt*, 1926.



and Tourism. By the late 1920s air connections between Athens and some European towns (e.g. Amsterdam, Budapest, Constantinople, Brindisi) had been established. The first tourist brochures were issued and for the first time ancient sites were ‘reanimated’. Cultural events with an international resonance took place: in 1929 performances of ancient drama were held in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus; in 1927-1930 the Delphic Festival was held; and in 1936 ceremonies were performed in the Altis in Olympia on the occasion of the 1936 Olympic Games.

Tourism in Athens and Greece, however, continued to have an elitarian character up until the Second World War. Up until this time Greece had in fact experienced only the benefits of ‘cultural tourism’ and none of the detriments of mass vacation travel.

Immediately after the war there was a growing awareness in Athens that the country would inevitably be opened up to mass tourism. As early as 1946 Professor D. Pikionis was asked as spokesman for a special commission to formulate guidelines for a national tourist policy.

Pikionis stated that tourism had to be considered as an educational experience offering “religious contact with nature and genuine familiarization with the profound spirit of a country and a people.” Therefore tourist facilities should be conceived in a simple architectural style, well integrated in the landscape and never impinging on the archaeological sites<sup>169</sup>.

These recommendations have hardly been followed. The actual development during the last forty years gave a strong impetus towards accelerated conversion of Greece into a center of tourist attraction. Following the example of Italy and Spain, the National Tourist Organization, founded in 1950, intensively promoted the tourist infrastructure and international publicity. Starting with 100,000 visitors in 1954, the tourist flow reached 10,000,000 in 1991!

Today, organized tours absurdly promise to ‘do’ Athens in two days, including a comprehensive guided tour of the monuments, sites and museums of the city plus night life with music and dancing. In addition ‘experience’ (the word ‘education’ is strictly avoided) is supposed to be combined with relaxation; therefore the groups are taken out of Athens as soon as possible.

Up until the late 1960s, Athens remained the main gate to the country and its most important attraction. Although arrangements had been made for vacations on the beaches, the ancient treasures in Athens continued to act as a magnet. This state of affairs changed dramatically during the last two decades to the detriment of Athens.

Today, although Greece still strives for ‘cultural tourism’ based on differentiated visit itineraries, the flow has degenerated into a twofold phenomenon: mass summer vacations on coastal regions and the islands of an average duration of eight days, and a mass inundation of Athens for a short ritual and rather mechanical visit of the famous antiquities in the polluted city by people anxious to leave the place as soon as possible.

## Tourism infrastructure and tourist policy in Greece during the last decades; Tourism in Athens as an economic parameter; The role of the city and of its monumental heritage as a centre of tourist attraction

In the early the 1950s, the Greek authorities became aware of the importance of tourism. The relatively great distance between Greece and Central Europe, the division into small geographical units and a certain primitive way of life in the rural areas, caused a slower but also more balanced development of tourism than in Spain and Italy, where the rapid development has been detrimental to the historic heritage and the natural environment as well.

In Greece the idea of cultural tourism, brought about by the promotion of a trip filled with inventive experiences, was right from the beginning perceived as equally important as the development of zones for mass vacations. This idea was first implemented by the creation of a government-planned chain of *Xenia* hotels and bungalows. Well-managed and situated in the most attractive sites of the country, they promoted tours throughout Greece. These buildings —incidentally, some of them the best that Greek post-war architecture had to offer— were also cata-

169 Here the Greek wording of some of Pikionis’ recommendations:

“Δὲν εἶναι βεβαίως ἡ χλιδὴ τοῦ πλούτου ἢ ἡ ματαιόδοξος ἐπίδειξις τῆς τυφλῆς καὶ ἀνίδεης μάξης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολλοῦ λαοῦ, τῆς νεότητος καὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ προσκυνητοῦ αἱ ἀπλαὶ καὶ νόμιμοι ἀνάγκαι ποὺ θὰ χρησιμεύσουν ὡς κριτήρια διὰ τὸ ἔργον μας. Αὐτῶν θὰ ἐπιδιώξωμεν τὴν πλήρωσιν, μὲ τρόπους ἀνταξίους αὐτοῦ τοῦ ιδεώδους, μὲ ταπεινότητα δηλαδὴ καὶ μὲ ἀπλότητα.

Μία τοιαύτη θέσις προϋποθέτει πίστιν εἰς τὴν μορφωτικὴν ἀξίαν τῆς περιγηγῆσεως, ὅταν σκοπὸς τῆς εἶναι ἡ θρησκευτικὴ κοινωνία μὲ τὴν φύσιν, ἡ γνησίᾳ γνωριμία μὲ τὸ βαθύτερον πνεῦμα μιᾶς χώρας καὶ ἑνὸς λαοῦ, χωρὶς τὴν παρεμβολὴν οἰασδῆποτε τεχνητῆς σκηνοθεσίας (...)

Τὸ ξενοδοχειακὸν κέντρον, ὁ σιδηροδρομικὸς σταθμὸς καὶ τὸ τέρμα τοῦ αὐτοκινητοδρόμου πρέπει νὰ εὐρίσκεται εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ τὸν ἀρχαιολογικὸν τόπον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ μουσεῖα, αἱ κατοικίαι τῶν ἐφόρων, ἐπιστατῶν καὶ φυλάκων πρέπει νὰ διατίθενται εἰς μέρη ἀφανῆ καὶ νὰ μὴν εἰσέρχωνται εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ χώρου ὡς παρεμβολαὶ ξένα πρὸς τὴν ἰδιαιτέραν ἀτμόσφαιράν του.

Τὰ κτίσματα, αὐτὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ κρινόμενα, δεόν νὰ εἶναι ἀπλὰ καὶ ταπεινά, σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν κλίμακα τοῦ τοπίου. Ὅταν αἱ κτιριολογικαὶ ἀνάγκαι εἶναι μεγάλαι, δεόν νὰ διαλύωνται εἰς ἐπὶ μέρους ὄγκους μονωρόφους καὶ διωρόφους τὸ πολὺ, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ σχήματα θὰ συντίθενται —ἐν ἀντιθέσει ἢ ἐν ὁμοιότητι— πρὸς τὰ σχήματα τοῦ τοπίου”.



lysts for the second generation of hotels privately built after 1965.

The National Tourist Organization, equipped with more qualified personnel than most ministries, set up modern camping sites, public seashore facilities, sports grounds, golf courses and yachting harbors. All this, geographically correctly distributed, represents a well functioning infrastructure for recreation.

Attention was also paid to an adequate environmental frame and proper access to the numerous ancient and mediaeval sites of the country.

An additional success of the tourist planning was the generous expansion of decentralized ports and airports, ensuring direct access to recreation areas, permitting also the simultaneous development of a limited number of beach zones for a large number of vacationists. The western Peloponnese, the coastal areas of Crete, the islands of Rhodes and Corfu, and later also the Halkidiki peninsula in northern Greece, all became centers of the tourist industry.

These centers, however, have not more than one-third of the country's 400,000 tourist beds. One third is equally divided between the Athens hotels and the many small hotels scattered throughout Greece. The remaining third is part of a program that was conceived very early and is unique: it is a program involving rooms to let in village houses, and systematically promoted for reasons of the tourist trade. This not only provided additional accommodation, but also contributed greatly to improving the quality of housing and implementing conservation policies in rural areas.

The road network, the good ferry connections and the numerous cruises, organized by the Greek shipping firms supplement the endeavors to make the Greek area thoroughly accessible.

Several large hotel units, built during the dictatorship (1967-1974) spoil the Greek landscape with their clumsy, colossal, architecture in no relation to their settings. They are, however, a small blot on the scenery compared to, for instance, the development on the Costa del Sol in Spain. Incidentally, they also gave a warning signal to the Greeks who are now for an environment-oriented tourist policy.

During the last fifteen years, however, this fairly well balanced policy of developing coastal zones for mass holidays on the beach combined with the possibility of a more culture-oriented visit of the country by means of ship cruises and coach tours, has been seriously counteracted by the sad town-planning and environmental conditions in Athens. In twenty years the capital doubled in size and population, approaching the four million limit (i.e. 40% of the country's inhabitants!). The uncoordinated development of the outer suburbs, illegal housing, extreme dwelling densities in the central districts, lack of recreational facilities and green spaces, traffic congestion and a heavy pollution gave Athens the ominous reputation of the most deteriorated metropolis in Europe.

Visitors have started avoiding Athens and travelling directly to their vacation places outside the metropolis. It is estimated that in 1986 only about two million out of the 7.3 million foreign visitors to Greece, included Athens in their itinerary. If we consider, however, that the total tourist income of the country in the same year was U.S. \$4.8 billion, that the average stay of the visitors in Athens is of only two days, that the daily average expenditure of a tourist in Greece is U.S. \$60, and the total hotel nights spent by foreigners in Athens amounted to 4.4 million, the total tourist income generated by the tourist flow in Athens was approximately U.S. \$270 million in 1986.

This is still an impressive amount, especially if we consider that with the exception of people who visit Athens on business, the genuine tourists who still visit the town are motivated only by the wish to see the ancient monuments. The huge revenue derived from the tickets sold at the sites and museums is not, however, invested in maintaining and guarding these places, or in supporting the Archaeological Service, or in landscaping the immediate surroundings or in improving accessibility; the money flows directly into the national treasury and the total amount is not even mentioned when the annual budget for the archaeological sites and museums is decided on.

The most impressive recent investments are the annual U.S. \$1 million at the disposal of the big restoration campaign for the Akropolis monuments. The only other signs of a public investment policy in the cultural-historic area of Athens are the expenditures of the Athens municipali-



ty for some simple landscaping on Lykabettos and Philopappos hills and the urban rehabilitation works in the Plaka financed by the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Culture.

This large area of 357 ha, however, totalling about 10% of the surface of the Athens municipality, is still not only what makes Athens rather than just another amorphous metropolis, but is also the shrine of its cultural treasures. Enhancing its various features, both visually and functionally, is the most important precondition for bettering the quality of life in the capital and for safeguarding its historic monuments as a focus of European culture.

## The implications of the tourist flow for the monuments of Athens

The various parts of the cultural-historic area are used very differently by most of the population of Athens, due to specific living habits and a low level of awareness concerning the value of the cultural heritage of the city.

In fact, the major part of the 'green crescent' is very poorly visited, while in some areas (such as the Akropolis plateau and to some extent the Agora excavations by day and the Odeion of Herodes Atticus theater during evening performances) there is a heavy concentration of tourists. During the peak days of the summer season the approaches to the Propylaia and the Akropolis Museum are almost unbearably crowded.

Under these conditions the visitors are not able to get a feeling for what they are seeing and the monuments themselves are endangered.

The wear and tear on the rock surface caused by the footsteps of millions of visitors reached an alarming degree. By 1980, a light, reversible concrete covering was laid in order to create a pedestrian pathway on the Akropolis plateau. The visit to the interior of the Parthenon was prohibited.

Mass tourism does not only cause a problem of overcrowding: the numerous fragments of marble in the area around the monuments, a valuable and integral part of the excavation site and themselves objects of great archaeological value are for the average visitor neither comprehensible nor regarded as works of ancient art. They are more often used as seats and thus unintentionally and ignorantly, though sometimes wittingly, exposed to varying degrees of destruction<sup>170</sup>.

The protection of the monuments themselves should be achieved by having an adequate number of guards and nightwatchmen. At present all of the sites of Athens are insufficiently guarded and liable to theft and vandalism. The marble fragments should be placed together at certain closely guarded parts of the site. Of course, guarding contradicts cultivated people's ideal of freely experienced historic space, and yet some strict measures seem unavoidable in particular areas of the historic site.

Many people will complain about the fact that the marble fragments have been removed, not because they would have been of particular interest to them, but because now they will have nowhere to sit and the visitor is forced to keep moving or to contemplate the monuments while standing.

This brings us to the delicate problem of human behavior in cultural public spaces: the visitors hinder each other not only because of the crush of the crowd, but perhaps more because the crowd is so dense that lower parts of buildings or statues are blocked out. The qualitative aspect of the phenomenon is, in certain circumstances, more serious than the quantitative one. A mass of humans does not form a visually indifferent entity whereby the monuments are allowed to dominate, but rather forms visually obtrusive groups competing with the aesthetic appearance of the monuments.

170 We owe this and the following remarks to Manolis Corres, architect in charge of the restoration works on the Parthenon.





Fig. 455 Crowds of tourists flooding the stairway leading up to the Propylaea. (Photograph by the author).

Thus the historic site loses its power to impress the observer and becomes merely a stage setting in which the visitors call attention to themselves by striking poses and making noise. In addition, there is a disconcertingly large number of visitors who take pleasure in behaving badly with no consideration either for the nature of the site or for the people around them.

As stated above, the solution to the problem of combining an open direct experience of the historic site with adequate safety measures has yet to be found.



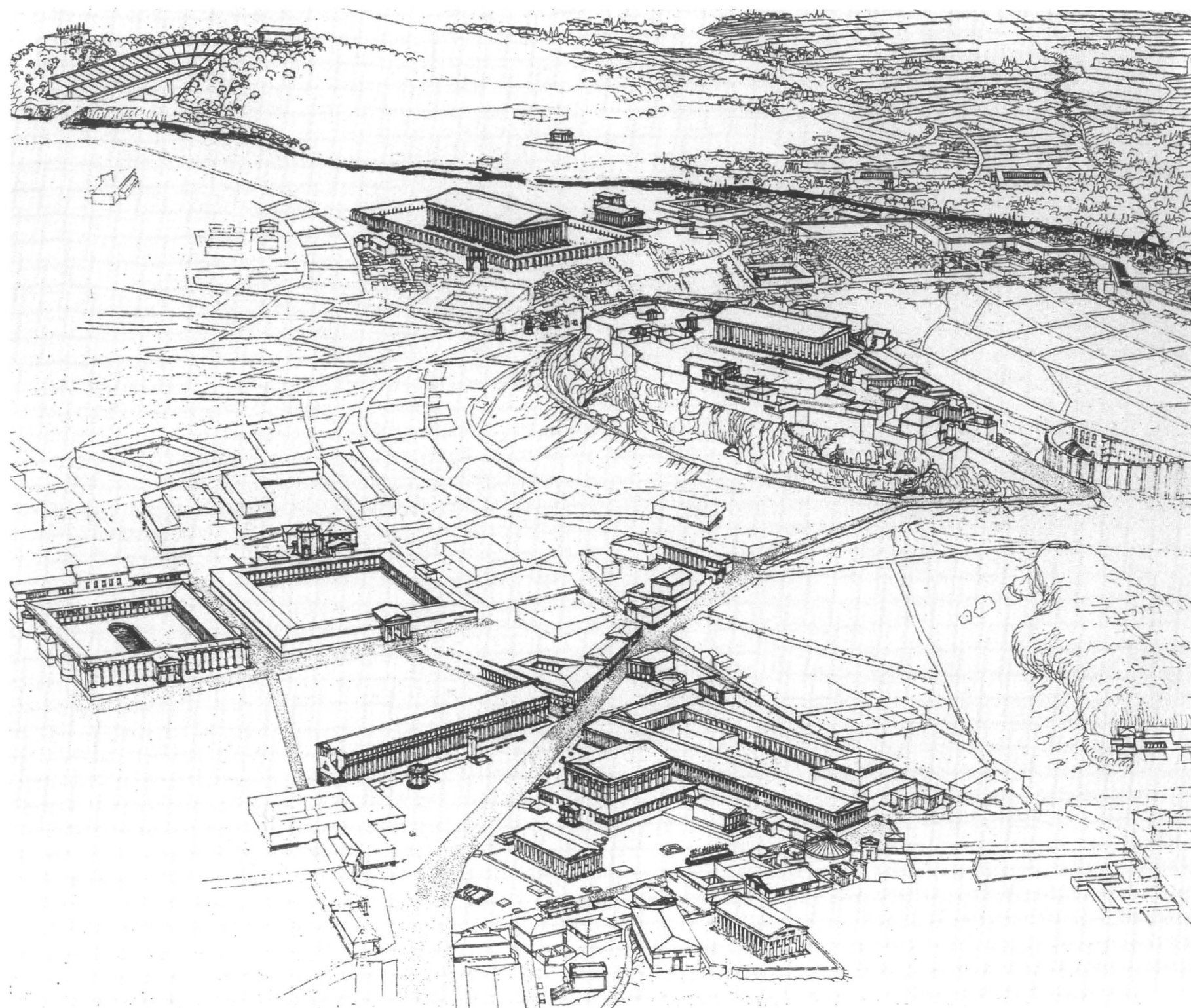


Fig. 456 Athens in the 2nd c. A.D. from the NW. Tentative sketch by Manolis Korres.



## OUTLOOK

The central concern of this study is the overall preservation of the historic cityscape of Athens in order to improve the cultural, environmental and living conditions of the metropolis. To this end a critical examination of the history of town-planning and the initiatives taken in regard to the historic monuments and cultural life of Athens has been presented in detail, leading up to the vision of a green crescent of 357 ha in which the main historical monuments and parks are linked and developed into a single, unified cultural-historic area.

In order to realize this idea important initiatives are still required, particularly in regard to traffic routes (creating overpasses and underpasses), pedestrian routes, landscaping and infrastructure works for extensive unplanted or unplanned areas, and last but not least gradual expropriation of built-up areas for the sake of archaeological excavations.

In the meanwhile, after nearly two centuries of archaeological investigations the main outlines of the topography of Athens are known and also the main features of the urban configuration of ancient Athens.

Areas of archaeological interest comprise about one-third (34.5%), i.e. 123 ha, of the total area of 357 ha, including 43 ha of already excavated sites and 80 ha (22.5%) of not yet excavated sites of potential archaeological interest. Thus, the ratio between excavated and non-excavated areas is about 1:2.

Focussing now on the 80 ha of land to be excavated in the future, a further differentiation may be made: about one-half of this area (38 ha) is already state-owned property, while the remainder (42 ha) has to be expropriated.

Let us try to establish an order of priority for the various future excavations, following the numbered areas in fig. 457.

In a first phase the following areas should be investigated:

- 1) The Kerameikos excavations should be extended into the unexcavated parts of the triangle bounded by Ermou, Peiraios and Melidoni streets.
- 2) The Odeion of Perikles and the area south of the Stoa of Eumenes on the Akropolis south slope.
- 3) The unexcavated parts of the city block south of the Theatre of Dionysos where the Centre for Akropolis Studies is situated.

These three areas have a total surface of 9 ha, of which 4.5 ha of land have to be expropriated.

As a second priority nine large-scale excavations should be planned. Because of the relatively large areas involved and because of special problems, such as replanted or built-up areas, these investigations could only be undertaken over a long time (about a hundred years), following a comprehensive plan on the part of the Greek state and supported by the international community, e.g. UNESCO and foreign archaeological institutes:

- 4) Excavations on Pnyx hill and the Hill of the Nymphs.
- 5) Excavations on the upper west slope of the Akropolis.

While both 4) and 5) do not require expropriation funds because they are state-owned property, both of these areas present the major obstacle that they have already been replanted



which means that the trees and shrubs would have to be sacrificed for archaeological research, a decision hard to take. Only a highly coordinated excavation program envisaging immediate re-planting of these areas would be an acceptable solution.

- 6) The railway trench.
- 7) The Monastiraki area.
- 8) The part of the old town between the Roman Agora and the Agora excavations.
- 9) Residential section of the NE slope of Pnyx hill.
- 10) Anaphiotika on the upper NE slope of the Akropolis.

Excavations in areas 6-10 would require expropriations of about 11.5 ha of built-up areas.

- 11) The ancient road from the Dipylon gate to the Academy.

- 12) The Academy Area.

Excavations in areas 11 and 12 would require a large investment: 23.5 ha of built-up land would have to be expropriated. Thus in the second phase a total of 35 ha is eligible for expropriations (from a total of 42 ha of future excavation sites.)

Lastly, three more campaigns could be undertaken, covering a total surface of 9 ha, of which 2.5 ha would have to be expropriated.

- 13) The Theseion park.

- 14) The triangular built-up area on the lower south slope of the Akropolis, bounded by Hatzichristou st. and Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue.

- 15) The area of the athletic installations east of the Olympieion.

The overall expropriation costs of the 42 ha of private land needed for excavation cannot be precisely estimated. Most of the areas eligible for expropriation are situated on the edge of the inner town and by the stipulations of the Athens statutory plan the present grade of land use (i.e. plot area ratio) in these areas is rather low. Thus the incentives for redeveloping these areas during the last decades have been lacking and the sectors are covered with the old urban fabric of low quality and have a low dwelling density. As a result of the above mentioned factors land prices are rather modest in comparison to the actual commercial areas: they vary from U.S. \$ 0.5 to 1.5 million per ha thus given an average price of one million U.S. dollars per ha, the total costs of the areas to be expropriated would amount to about U.S. \$ 42 million, a sum twice as high as the estimated total costs of the current restoration campaign of the Akropolis monuments.

The importance of this public investment is not negligible and the total expenditure might even increase if we consider the constant rise in the value of urban real estate; but if one considers the long time span, about 100 years, for the estimated realization of such a vast program and the fact that Greece could count on the traditional support of the foreign archaeological institutes, the enterprise seems feasible.

Aside from future excavations on unbuilt land or in built-up sectors of no historic and/or architectural significance, an important topographical question remains open, namely further investigations of the street network of the ancient city and also uncovering ancient public buildings lying in the area of the old city quarters of Plaka and Psiri.

Given the fact that a consensus on the principle of survival of the old town of Athens (Plaka area) has been reached during the last twenty years, plans for extensive excavations in this part of the city have been definitively abandoned. When, however, trenches were dug for the foundations of new buildings, archaeological investigations yielded valuable information about still unexcavated buildings in this area. A policy of *ad hoc* incremental archaeological interventions, following the possibilities given by the urban rehabilitation of the area is a feasible way of searching for additional information about the ancient city. It remains, however, an open question if the complete layout of the streets of ancient Athens can be recovered by means of such piecemeal investigations.

Outside of the cultural-historic area are many interesting archaeological sites that will be uncovered only when public works or construction of new buildings require digging. Thus, for example, Epicurus' Garden was found in NW Athens when foundations were dug for a new apartment building at 61 Marathonos st.

There is no doubt that we will come to know more and more about the townscape of



Fig. 457 Excavated areas and areas of archaeological interest not yet excavated within the cultural-historic area. Scale: 1:20,000. (Plan by the author).

- 1) Kerameikos (completion of the excavations).
- 2) Odeion of Perikles and the area adjoining the Theatre of Dionysos.
- 3) The Makriyanni block.
- 4) The west slopes of the Pnyx range.
- 5) Akropolis upper west slope.
- 6) The Haghios Athanasios area between the Kerameikos and Agora excavations.
- 7) The Monastiraki area (flea market).
- 8) Area of the old town between the Agora excavations and the Roman Agora.
- 9) The Pnyx north slope.
- 10) Anaphiotika on the Akropolis east slope.
- 11) Demosion Sema.
- 12) Academy area.
- 13) The Theseion Park.
- 14) Akropolis lower south slope.
- 15) East of the Olympeion: area of athletic installations.



TOTAL AREA OF CULTURAL PARK	356 ha
AREA OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTEREST	123 ha (34,5 %)
OF WHICH: ALREADY EXCAVATED	43 ha (12,0 %)
TO BE EXCAVATED	80 ha (22,5 %)

ELIGIBLE FOR EXCAVATIONS

FIRST PHASE	9 ha (from which in build-up areas: 4,5 ha)
SECOND PHASE	62 ha (from which in build-up areas: 35,0 ha)
THIRD PHASE	9 ha (from which in build-up areas: 2,5 ha)

TOTAL AREA TO BE EXCAVATED 80 ha (TOTAL AREA TO BE EXPROPRIATED:42,0 ha)



ancient Athens. Since the first plans drawn up by the Capucin monks in the 17th century, successive researches have attained a high degree of knowledge about the development of the ancient city plan, the fortifications, the public buildings and sanctuaries and the house plans of the ancient city. Although one will never recover more than a modest part of these structures, there are good chances of discovering missing pieces of this gigantic puzzle. The idea of a generalized large-scale excavation covering all of the ancient city *intra muros* has not only been abandoned in the meanwhile, but is also completely unfeasible, given the fact that the modern city centre and the old town, Plaka, are covering the northern and eastern part of the ancient town.

This perspective means some disappointments for the classical archaeologist who has to resign himself to the idea that a part of the ancient town fabric will remain inaccessible for the foreseeable future. This state of affairs is not unique to Athens: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Trier and most of the other important urban centres of antiquity which continued to be inhabited uninterruptedly over the millennia, have been and can be rediscovered only partially, the modern city fabric prohibiting large-scale excavations.

Athens has been continuously inhabited since 3000 B.C. Today, in the 20th century city, ancient monuments still in place, excavation sites, mediaeval churches, Ottoman buildings, 19th century classical revival dwellings, coexist with the living fabric of the metropolis. This is a unique frame of historic reference, an identification asset and a stimulating example of continuity and change in urban life; as such it can only be hailed as a precious gift to the future destinies of the city.



## APPENDIX A

## Letters, Reports and Memoranda 1832-1839: Documents concerning the preservation of the architectural heritage of Athens in connection with planning schemes for the new capital

1. S. Kleanthes and E. Schaubert; Memorandum on the projected plan for the new town of Athens, 1832.
2. Draft of a letter by Karl-Friedrich Schinkel concerning the construction of the royal palace on the Akropolis of Athens, 1834.
3. The first Greek law on the antiquities, published in the official gazette in 1834.
4. Leo von Klenze; Estimate for excavations and restoration of the Parthenon, 1834.
5. Leo von Klenze; Proposal of 1834 for appointing guards to the ancient sites.
6. Leo von Klenze; Description of the ceremony inaugurating restoration work on the Akropolis, on Sept. 10, 1834.
7. Leo von Klenze; Memorandum of 1834 on the procedures to be followed in excavating on the Acropolis, clearing away later structures, preserving and storing the finds, and restoring the Parthenon.
8. Extract from a letter written in 1834 by Leo von Klenze to King Otto with recommendations concerning personnel and procedures for work on the Akropolis.
9. Leo von Klenze; Commentary on the monuments of Athens shown in his new city plan, drawn in 1834.
10. Ludwig Ross; Recollections about work on the Akropolis in 1834-1835; ridding the Akropolis of the military barracks, and the first tourists.
11. Facsimile of King Otto's order concerning conservation of the mediaeval monuments of Athens, 1837.
12. G. Glarakis on freeing classical buildings from the additions of later periods, 1837.
13. L. Kaftanzoglou; Proposal concerning a new city plan for Athens, 1839.

1. Stamatios Kleanthes and Eduard Schaubert; Memorandum on the projected plan for the new town of Athens. *Erläuterung des Planes der Stadt Neu-Athen, 1832*. In: *Klenzeana Sammlung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. File III/22.

Die Liebe für die Wiege der Künste und Wissenschaften, für Athen, und der Mangel eines guten Planes desselben, der von allen dahin Reisenden gefühlt wird, veranlaßte uns im November vorigen Jahres zu einer genauen Aufnahme der Stadt und ihrer nächsten Umgebung, bei der wir zwei Zwecke zu vereinigen suchten. Da wir einerseits voraussahen, daß die gelehrte Welt von Europa sich für diese Arbeit interessieren werde, so haben wir uns bemüht, alle alten Ruinen und Reste, selbst bloße Substruktionen, deren in den jüngstverflossenen Jahren mehrere neu aufgefunden sind, auf das genaueste einzutragen, sowie auch die Höhen und Tiefen deutlicher anzugeben, als es auf den früheren Karten geschehen war. Andererseits glaubten wir, die Regierung werde unsere Aufnahme vielleicht später als eine nützliche Vorarbeit für einen Plan zur Wiederaufbauung Athens aus seinen Trümmern benutzen können, sei es, daß diese Stadt zur künftigen Hauptstadt Griechenlands bestimmt würde oder nicht. Deshalb fertigten wir den Plan in einem weit größeren Maßstabe an, als für bloße archäologische Zwecke nötig gewesen wäre: in dem Maßstabe von 1:2000. Beiden Zwecken glaubten wir durch sorgfältige Eintragung der Namen aller vorhandenen Kirchen zu dienen: da auch die Archäologie mitunter aus dem Namen einer Kirche Rückschlüsse auf das früher an ihrem Platze gestandene Gebäude machen kann. Im Mai dieses Jahres wurden wir auch wirklich schon von der provisorischen Regierung aufgefordert, die Zeichnungen von Neu-Athen, des Ruhmes und der Schönheit des Alten eingedenk, zu entwerfen.

So ehrenvoll dieser Auftrag war, so gingen wir doch nicht ohne Furcht an die Lösung einer an sich schon schwierigen Aufgabe, die dadurch noch schwieriger wurde, daß wir weder wußten, ob wir uns Athen als künftige Hauptstadt oder als eine bloße Provinzstadt zu denken hätten, noch den Umfang der Mittel kannten, welche die Regierung in jedem dieser Fälle auf den Bau der neuen Stadt zu verwenden gedachte.

In solcher Ungewißheit glaubten wir am sichersten zu gehen, wenn wir der öffentlichen Meinung Griechenlands und der allgemeinen Erwartung der Hellenen folgend, Athen uns bei unserer Arbeit als künftige Hauptstadt von Hellas und Sitz des Königs dächten. Auf diese Voraussetzung ist der Plan basiert, den wir jetzt einem Hohen Ministerium vorzulegen die Ehre haben und den es uns erlaubt sein möge, mit einigen erläuternden Bemerkungen zu begleiten.

Athen liegt unter dem 53. Grad der Länge und 38. Grad 5 Minuten der Breite, 107 Fuß über dem Meere, es genießt eines gemäßigten und heiteren Himmels, die Luft ist blau und gesund. Die heutige Stadt liegt unter der Akropolis und Areopagus, am nördlichen Abhange und am Fuße dieser Hügel, ist gegen Westen durch die Hügelkette der Pnyx, gegen Osten durch den Lykabettos begrenzt und ist hinlänglich mit Wasser versehen. Die Stadt ist mit einer schlechten Mauer umgeben, die ungefähr 898 Stremma einschließt, von denen kaum zwei Drittel bewohnt sind und ein Drittel beackert wird. Die Straßen sind krumm und winklig und die breitesten zählen nicht über 13 Fuß. Der größte Teil der Häuser liegt noch in Ruinen, vorzüglich an der Nordseite der Akropolis, und die wiederaufgebauten sind meistens Hütten, ausgenommen etwa 25 Häuser, die im Durchschnitt nur jedes 2000 Rthlr. kosten können. Es hat 115 kleine Kirchen, von denen nur 30 ziemlich erhalten und wieder auszubessern sind, ebenso sind von 4 Moscheen nur



2 ziemlich erhalten, wie auch 2 Bäder. Auf der Westseite der Akropolis machen der Areopagus und die an diesen stoßenden Hügel die Vergrößerung der heutigen Stadt unmöglich. Auf der Südseite des Burgfelsens ist ein ziemlich ebenes aber stark gegen das wasserlose Bett des Ilissos abfallendes Terrain. Am östlichen Fuße desselben ist eine ebene, aber links durch den Lykabettos, rechts wieder durch den Ilissos und die Felsen hinter demselben engbegrenzte Fläche (die alte Hadrianstadt). Dies ist das Lokal, auf dem sich unsere Entwürfe zu bewegen hatten.

Da wir nun unter der Voraussetzung, daß Athen zur Hauptstadt bestimmt sei, auf eine Menschenanzahl von wenigstens 35-40 Tausend rechnen und auf die Möglichkeit einer nochmaligen Erweiterung der Stadt bedacht sein mußten, konnten wir die nötige Vergrößerung der Stadt nur auf der Nordseite annehmen; dergestalt, daß sich die Neustadt in einem halben Monde von Morgen bis Abend um die Altstadt herumzieht. Diese Gegend vereinigt zugleich mehrere andere Vorzüge. Sie ist vom Nebel frei, gesünder, hat im Sommer den erfrischenden Seewind (ἐμβότης), ist wegsamer als die alte, größtenteils am Abhange des Burgfelsens klebende Stadt des Theseus und nähert sich zugleich mehr dem Piräus und der schönen von dem Ölwalde und majestätischen Bergkette begrenzten Ebene, so daß auch die Aussicht dieser Gegend jeder anderen vorzuziehen ist. Die Gründe, welche die Alten bewogen, sich um den Burgfelsen zusammenzudrängen: in der frühesten Zeit die größere Nähe der Quelle Kallirhoe, dann der Schutz, den ihnen die Burg gewährte, und die Nähe der Heiligtümer derselben, wogegen sie die Vorteile jener anderen Lage opferten, haben aufgehört. Endlich gewährt auch die Verlegung der Stadt in die Ebene nordwärts den Vorteil, daß der Boden der alten Städte des Theseus und Hadrians unbebaut blieben und hier zu Nachgrabungen Raum gelassen wird. Wenn die gegenwärtige Lage Griechenlands es nicht erlauben sollte, dieselben unmittelbar vorzunehmen, so dürfte doch ein späteres Geschlecht den jetzt Lebenden Mangel an Voraussicht vorwerfen, wenn hierauf nicht gleich Bedacht genommen wird. Vorzüglich wünschenswert wäre es, daß der nördliche Abhang der Akropolis mit seinen Altertümern nach und nach von dem Schutt befreit würde, den Jahrtausende darauf angehäuft haben und der überall 8-12 Fuß an mehreren Orten 18 und darüber ist.

Man würde auf diesem Raume eine unglaubliche Ausbeute sowohl an Kunstschätzen wie an historisch wichtigen Inschriften machen, wie dieses einige ohne besonderen Plan beim Häuserbauen in der Nähe des Prytaneums und des Turms der Winde vorgenommene Ausgrabungen zeigen. Es läßt sich deshalb erwarten, daß man nicht bloß Fundamente, sondern selbst ansehnliche Reste alter Gebäude finden wird, wie dies schon beim Turm der Winde der Fall war. Sollte aber auch die Ausbeute für die politische Geschichte, die Kunstgeschichte und die Topographie des alten Athen nicht so reich ausfallen, wie sich mit vollem Recht vermuten läßt, so sind doch die noch vorhandenen Altertümer (die Reste des Prytaneums, das Monument des Lysikrates, der Turm der Winde, das Gymnasium des Hadrian usw.) wohl schon wert, sie von der sie umgebenden Erde und von der Nähe schlechter Hütten oder moderner Häuser zu befreien, deren Nachbarschaft den Eindruck, welchen sie auf den Beschauenden zu machen haben, nur trübt und stört, und sie dagegen dem Auge des Bewunderers der alten Kunst wie der Künstler und Gelehrten in ihrer ganzen Schönheit darzustellen. Zwischen diesen Monumenten wäre die Erde bis auf den Boden der alten Stadt wegzuschachten, wo man ohne Zweifel noch die Richtung der alten Straßen und Plätze erkennen wird. Hin und wieder könnte eine der kleinen malerischen Kirchenruinen aus dem byzantinischen Mittelalter stehenbleiben, einen gefälligen Kontrast gegen jene Werke der Alten bildend. Der Raum zwischen diesen Denkmälern könnte mit Baumpartien, Rasenplätzen und anderen Gartenanlagen ausgefüllt und durch die Stellung der Baumpartien zugleich die vorteilhaftesten Standpunkte zur Betrachtung der Denkmäler vermittelt werden, und das Ganze wird ein Museum der alten Bau-

kunst darstellen, wie die Welt kein zweites aufzuweisen hat.

Der Platz, der die meiste Ausbeute bei Ausgrabungen erhoffen läßt, ist auf der Karte durch eine besondere Farbe angezeigt, und da, wo die letzten Häuser aufhören sollen, ist ein breites Trottoir mit herabführenden Stufen gedacht. Ein ansehnlicher Teil dieses Platzes ist als zu Kirchen, Moscheen, türkischen Schulen usw. gehörig bereits Nationaleigentum. Wenn aber mit den Ausgrabungen nicht bald der Anfang gemacht wird, so steht zu fürchten, daß später sowohl die Schwierigkeiten als die Kosten beträchtlich größer sein werden, wie dies die Erfahrung in Rom gezeigt hat.

In dem anderen Teile der Stadt ist weniger zu hoffen, und das Vorhandene könnte man leicht auffinden, wenn alle Häuser Keller erhielten, die für dieses Klima so nötig und bei dem tiefen Baugrund gut anwendbar wären. Das, was man etwa fände, könnte man ausgraben und mit Mauern einfassen so wie die Altertümer in Rom.

Die Gegend der neuen Stadt ist, wenn auch nicht ganz eben, doch bequem zu bebauen, überall fahrbar und zum Ablauf des Wassers und der Kloaken gut geeignet. Was die Einteilung derselben betrifft, so haben wir sie soviel als möglich der Lokalität anzupassen gesucht, ohne einer wünschenswerten Regelmäßigkeit, soweit diese zu erreichen stand, dadurch Eintrag zu tun. Wir glaubten hier vorzüglich zwei Punkte ins Auge fassen zu müssen: für das königliche Schloß, mit dem daranstoßenden Hauptplatz als dem Zentrum der Stadt, eine passende Stellung auszufinden und eine möglichst nahe und bequeme Verbindung mit der heutigen Stadt zu vermitteln.

Die Hauptstraßen vom Piräus, von Eleusis, Theben, Marathon, Mesogia mußten demnach auf eine schickliche Weise bis in das Zentrum der Stadt geführt, die oben erwähnten schon bestehenden Häuser (um Kosten zu sparen) möglichst geschont und die bedeutendsten Altertümer als points de vue benutzt werden.

Dies glaubten wir alles am besten zu erreichen, wenn wir das Schloß nördlich der Akropolis auf einem erhöhten Punkte der Ebene ansetzten. Auf dem großen Platze vor demselben vereinigt sich das Hauptstraßensystem, indem die vornehmsten Straßen dort so zusammentreffen, daß der Balkon des königlichen Schlosses zugleich den schöngeformten Lykabettos, das panathenäische Stadium des Herodes Attikus, die an stolzen Erinnerungen reiche Akropolis, die Kriegs- und Handelsschiffe im Piräus und die eleusinische Straße übersieht. Im ganzen laufen elf Straßen aus diesem Platze aus, die wichtigsten unter ihnen sind die piräische, die des Aeropags, der Minerva, des Aeolus und die des Stadium und drei andere, welche zwischen den beiden vorigen von Norden nach Süden auf die Akropolis zuführen. Ihre Richtung war durch die Örtlichkeit gegeben und sie bestimmen folglich wieder die Richtung der anderen Straßen.

Von diesen drei parallelen Straßen ist die mittlere, die Minerva genannt, die breiteste und mit Bäumen zum Spaziergehen bepflanzt. Sie führt durch die Mitte eines anderen großen Platzes, auf dem das Theater und die Börse mit Kasino gedacht sind. Hier auf diesem Platze sollen sich auch die glänzenden Kaufläden befinden, getrennt von einem anderen Viktualienmarkt, den wir mehr in die alte Stadt geschoben und klassenweise für die Verbraucher eingeteilt haben. Die Straße ist gegen Süden durch den Burgfelsen mit der Pansgrotte und den Propyläen geschlossen. Wenn es auf den ersten Blick passend scheinen könnte, sie auf die Senkung zwischen den Felsen des Areopags und der Burg hinzuführen, um der hohen, schwach bewohnten Gegend hinter dem Ilissos eine direkte Verbindungslinie mit der Stadt zu eröffnen, so stehen dem doch mehrere Gründe entgegen. Dies wäre nur durch eine weitere Verlegung des großen Platzes nach Südwesten möglich, wodurch verschiedene Vorteile des jetzigen Planes würden eingebüßt werden; zweitens ist jener Erdrücken immer noch hoch und steil genug, um keine bequeme Fuhrstraße zuzulassen, so daß die meisten Fuhrwerke es vorziehen werden, den



Weg zwischen dem Tempel des Jupiter Olympios und der Akropolis einzuschlagen, wie es auch jetzt der Fall ist. Endlich würde der Balkon des Königlichen Schlosses statt einer großartigen Aussicht auf bedeutungsvolle Reste des Altertums nur eine nackte staubige und wenig besuchte Chaussee als point de vue erhalten.

Von den beiden Straßen, welche mit der vorigen parallel laufen, führt die östliche auf den Turm der Winde und die Mitte des Burgfelsens, über dessen Mauern die Reste des kleinen Minerventempels und des Parthenons hervorgucken; die westliche auf die Ruinen des Gymnasiums der Ptolemäer und die schöne Felsenkrone des altherwürdigen Areopagos. Auch diese Straßen würden durch die Verlegung jener mittelsten alle ihren Gesichtspunkt verlieren, alle drei bilden zugleich jetzt die direkte Verbindung zwischen den Mittelpunkten der alten Stadt und der neuen. Die Straße, die in einer geraden Linie vom Piräus auf das Königliche Schloß führt, durchschneidet kurz nach ihrem Eintritt in die Stadt einen runden Platz, von dem sich andere Straßen nach allen Richtungen ausbreiten. Eine derselben geht in gerader Richtung von Westen nach Osten durch die alte Stadt, die sie in zwei fast gleiche Hälften teilt und endigt auf einem ähnlichen runden Platze im östlichen Teile der neuen Stadt, den sie auf dem kürzesten Weg mit der Piräischen Straße und dem Hafen selbst in Verbindung setzt. Auf dem eben erwähnten neuen runden Platze laufen wieder acht Straßen zusammen, unter diesen die Stadiumstraße, die der Mesogia, die Straße nach Sunium usw.

Alle anderen Straßen der Neustadt sind soviel als möglich parallel mit diesen Hauptstraßen, die spitzen Winkel vermieden, und wo diese vorkommen, abgeschnitten. In der alten Stadt sind viele Straßen in schiefer Richtung geblieben, um die etwa vorhandenen Häuser so wenig als möglich zu schneiden. Die breitesten Straßen sind 60-70 engl. Fuß breit; die anderen in der neuen Stadt 40, die in der alten Stadt durchzuschlagenden aber nur 30 engl. Fuß, woselbst Straßen von 15 bis 20 engl. Fuß, ja selbst kleinere vorkommen. Diese engen Gassen glauben wir nur dadurch zu entschuldigen, daß hier der Gebrauch von Wagen nicht so häufig sein wird wie in anderen europäischen Städten und durch das Klima, welches mehr Schatten verlangt; auch werden hier wohl die Häuser nicht so hoch sein. Des Schattens wegen haben wir die Häuser einiger Straßen mit Hallen versehen und die meisten Plätze mit Bäumen verziert, auch viel laufendes Wasser angebracht, welches stets Frische und Leben gibt.

Die Straßen bilden nicht überall Vierecke, so daß Abwechslung da ist. Die Hauptstraßen müßten an beiden Seiten mit etwa 10 Fuß breiten etwas erhöhten Trottoirs versehen werden, und der Fahrweg in der Mitte etwas gewölbt sein mit verdeckten Rinnen zum Abfluß des Wassers. In den engen Straßen wären kleine Plätze durch Einbau zu gewinnen. Die Straße, die in gerader Linie vom Piräus heraufführt und vielleicht später Eisenbahn erhalten kann, wäre, soweit sie außerhalb der Stadt durch die Felder führt, auf beiden Seiten mit Gräben einzufassen und in diese Bäume und Sträucher zu pflanzen, denen es so nicht an der nötigen Feuchtigkeit fehlen würde.

Was die Anzahl der Einwohner betrifft, so haben wir, wie oben erwähnt, etwa 40,000 Menschen gerechnet und zu 10 Menschen auf ein Haus. Jedes Haus mit Hofraum oder Garten würde etwa 12,000 Quadratfuß einnehmen, und jedes Viertel etwa 10-15 solche Häuser fassen, was eine Gesamtzahl von 160 Vierteln gibt. Die Verteilung der öffentlichen Gebäude ist vorzüglich in zwei Abteilungen geschehen so daß in der Straße vom Piräus, nachdem man den runden Platz passiert ist, die Kaufleute und Geschäftsmänner die für sie nötigen Institute vereinigt finden, wie z.B. Post, Dogana, Polizei und Gerichtshaus. Zu Ende dieser Straße findet man den Schloßplatz mit dem Königlichen Schlosse, hinter dem sich die Gärten ausbreiten. Rechts und links des Platzes sind die beiden Kammern, und weiter auf den Lykabettos zu das Finanz - und Kriegsministerium mit den dazugehörigen Gebäuden, wie z.B. Münze, Zeughaus, Gießhaus, so daß hier in der zweiten Abtei-

lung der König in der Mitte, rechts und links mit den öffentlichen Gebäuden umgeben ist. In dem östlichen Teile der Stadt gegen den Ilissos und das Stadium sind, als in der ruhigsten, geräuschlosesten Gegend, wieder mehr die wissenschaftlichen und Unterrichtsinstitute vereinigt, Universitäten, Bibliothek, Botanischer Garten und die öffentlichen Schulen. Zwischen dieser Gegend und dem Königlichen Schloß liegt an der Stadiumstraße die Metropolis. Außer dieser ist auch eine große Kirche auf der anderen Seite angenommen, welche zwei, die vielen kleinen Kirchen mitgerechnet, wohl genügen werden. Theater, Börse und Kasino liegen, wie oben erwähnt, mitten in der Stadt an dem großen Platze, welchen die Burgstraße oder Minervastraße durchschneidet. Die Kasernen sind auf der Nordost- und Südwestseite der Stadt angelegt, gleichsam sie von der Seite der Ebene zu schützen. Das Hospital, die Schlachthäuser, Ölmühlen und Kirchhöfe sind als von der Stadt entfernt zu wünschen, außerhalb. Für die jetzigen Einwohner hinreichendes Wasser kommt aus dem Ilissos oder von dem Hymettus und wird nach Ampelokipos und von da nach Athen geleitet. Das beste Trinkwasser ist aus den gegrabenen Brunnen. Bei wachsender Einwohnerzahl werden Artesische Brunnen und die ziemlich leicht wiederherzustellende Wasserleitung des Hadrian, die schönes Wasser aus Kifissia bringt, stets vor Mangel schützen können. Für Spaziergänge ist reichlich gesorgt. Außer den Volksgärten auf beiden Seiten des Königlichen Schlosses wäre der südliche Teil der Stadt, wenn er nach beendigten Ausgrabungen mit Bäumen bepflanzt, verbunden mit Alleen rings um den Abhang der Akropolis, als Spaziergang zu benutzen. Zu den Alleen um die Burg wären solche Bäume zu benutzen, welche auch ohne Wasser fortkommen, so daß die schönen braunen Felsen der Akropolis aus einem grünen Kranze hervorblicken würden. Ferner könnten Baumreihen und bepflanzte Gräben oder Gehege um die ganze Stadt herumgehen, und so die Zugänge bis auf zwölf reduziert werden, die leicht mit Wachen zu besetzen sind.

## 2. Draft of a letter by Karl-Friedrich Schinkel to Maximilian, Crownprince of Bavaria, concerning the construction of the royal palace on the Akropolis of Athens, 1834. In: *Schinkel-Archiv des Alten Museums, Berlin*.

Als Eure Königliche Hoheit im Jahre 1832 die Gnade hatte meine Auffassung darüber zu fordern: in welchem Stil man einen Pallast für die Majestät den König Otto von Griechenland bauen solle, sprach ich mich ganz im Allgemeinen aus nicht vermuthend dass Eure Königl. Hoheit eine bestimmte Arbeit von meiner Seite erwarten. Nach der Rückkunft des Kronprinzen von Preussen in Berlin erfuhr ich von höchstdemselben die speciellere Willensmeinung Eurer Königl. Hoheit, daß ein wirklicher architectonischer Plan von meiner Seite noch erwartet würde und die Königl. Hoheit unser gnädigster Kronprinz gab mir die Daten für diesen Plan an worüber hochdieselben mit Eurer Königlichen Hoheit in München übereingekommen wären. Dem hohen Befehle gemäß habe nunmehr nach diesen Datis den Plan entworfen, welchen Eure Königl. Hoheit ich unterthängigst hierbei zu Füßen lege und mir erlaube dabei noch folgendes zu bemerken.

Die mir gestellten Bedingungen waren folgende:

- 1) einen nur sehr mäßigen den Grössenverhältnissen des Landes angemessenen Bau zu entwerfen,
- 2) diesen Entwurf dem Klima und der griechischen Örtlichkeit entsprechend einzurichten,



3) für den Bau einen sicheren vertheidigungsfähigen Ort zu wählen.

Da es beschlossen war Athen zur Residenz zu machen, so war seine Königliche Hoheit unser Kronprinz der Meinung daß die Acropolis von Athen aus vielen wichtigen Rücksichten der angemessendste Ort sey, dessen Eigenschaft der Vertheidigungsfähigkeit, wenn etwa in politischer Beziehung von dem griechischen Volke daran ein Anstoß genommen werden sollte, durch die Eigenschaft seines historischen Werths noch überbothen wird und jene erst hier nur zufällig nicht absichtlich erscheint. Die Acropolis bildet einen leuchtenden Punkt in der Weltgeschichte an welchen sich unendliche Gedanken Reihen knüpfen die dem ganzen Geschlecht fortwährend wichtig seyn und theuer bleiben werden. Schon deshalb verdient dieser Ort die Wiederbelebung für die Geschichte der folgenden Zeit und wie könnte dies beim jetzigen Zustande Griechenlands besser geschehen als durch die Einrichtung der neuen Residenz auf demselben. Die mit diesem Unternehmen vorgefundenen Schwierigkeiten sind mancherlei: Der Mangel an Wasser auf dieser Höhe, die Beschwerlichkeit des Hinaufsteigens, die Sonnenhitze im Sommer, und vielleicht rauhe Winde im Winter.

Bei der Gründung eines so wichtigen Etablissements können diese Hindernisse nicht entscheidend seyn, da es glücklicher Weise der Wissenschaft und Kunst gelungen ist diese Hindernisse zu überwinden. Unterirdische Leitungen von Druckwasser aus den überall höherliegenden Gebirgsabhängen, im schlimmsten Falle Druckwasser unter dem Einfluß der Dampfmaschine werden nach Belieben die Menge des fließenden und springenden Wassers auf der Burg hervorrufen und ihr Überfluß kann beim Hinabfließen von der Burg der unten gelegenen Stadt noch vielfach nützlich werden, den malerischen Effekt des erhabenen Felsen aber nur vermehren. Ein sanft an den Felsen hinaufsteigender chaussierter Weg wird mit Hülfe malerischer Substructionen und schattiger Bepflanzung einen so angenehmen und bequemen Zugang zur Höhe bilden können. Die Einrichtung eines kühlen Pallastes und anmuthiger Garten-Anlagen mannigfacher Art werden die Beschwerde und die architectonische Einteilung mannigfach umschlossener Höfe und künstliche Zimmerwärmung durch Heizkanäle, die rauhe Winterluft mildern; so könnte dieser erhabenen liegende Fels einen höchst anmuthigen und behaglichen dabei den in historischer und ästhetischer Beziehung interessantesten Wohnort der Erde entstehen lassen. Die etwa zu den oben erwähnten Anordnungen theilweise nothwendig erforderlichen Opfer und Mehrkosten, gegen einen Bauplatz auf ebener Erde, sind nicht im Verhältniß zu dem was dadurch für Griechenland und für die Welt erreicht wird und werden nach Vollendung des Werks bald und gerne vergessen.

Meine Bearbeitung des Gegenstandes ist bis jetzt immer nur skizzenhaft und sollte nur die architectonische Klarheit haben, welche die Möglichkeit in Ausführbarkeit deutlich erkennen lässt; zwar sollte der Stil deutlich daraus hervorgehen, besonders die Resignation, welche hier aber schon durch Pietät oder durch das Verhältniß des Landes gebothen wird; kein Theil der Pallastanlage übersteigt die Höhe der Ruinen des Parthenons welche solange auf diesen Ort herrschend herabsehn und diejenigen Theile welche die gleiche Höhe haben liegen hinreichend entfernt von demselben.

Ein näheres Detail habe ich und die Anordnung des Hauptsaaes in perspectivischer Zeichnung beigelegt, um an einem Beispiel vorläufig anzugeben wie ein klassisches Princip in der Architectur keine Construction zu maskieren sondern sie selbst schöngeformt in ihrer nackten Wirklichkeit als einziges Element wahrer Architectur hervortreten zu lassen, durchzuführen sei. Auch um die schwierige und ungewöhnliche Anordnung des Saales ins Licht treten zu lassen, welche bei ansehnlichem Verhältniß der Breite, doch die dafür erforderliche Höhe so weit mäßigt, daß die Ruine des Minerventempels nicht übersteigen wird. Der ganze Pallast ist von mäßigem Umfang und die verschiedenen architectonischen Theile mit be-

gehbaren Höfen und Gartenanlagen manigfaltig gemischt, und schließt sich mehr in malerischer Gruppierung den ursprünglichen antiken Anlagen und den unregelmäßigen Formen der alten Burg an als daß er mit diesen in modern prätenziösen Contrast auftrete. Er hat nur die Höhe eines Geschosses welches unter dem südlichen Theile im Souterrain für Hofverwaltung, Öconomische Anordnungen, Bäder, Küchen, und Wohnung der Dienerschaft enthält; über sich einige Räume unter Dachconstruction enthält welche die brennende Sommerhitze von oben her abzufangen haben. Das ganze ist, man könnte sagen, in pompejanischen Verhältnissen gehalten, entspricht nur den geringsten Forderungen der Königlichen Hofhaltung. Einen einzigen Gedanken für eine colossale Anordnung habe ich gewagt in diesen Plan aufzunehmen, der in der Berühmtheit der ganzen Örthlichkeit seine Entschädigung finden dürfte. Das colossale Erzbild darstellend Athena auf der Acropolis welches ehemals aus maratonischer Beuthe durch Phidias errichtet die Burg schmückte und weit im Lande und im Meer schon als Wahrzeichen die Stadt ankündigte, habe ich bei ihrer neuen Gründung wieder hervorrufen wollen, damit sich daran für jedermann die Ehrfurcht knüpfe die ihre erhabene Vorzeit in so hohem Grade gebiethet. Mögte ich so glücklich seyn für meine Arbeit die Theilnahme Eurer Königlichen Hoheit in einiger Art zu gewinnen und für die Verhältnisse Griechenlands dadurch genützt zu haben, niemand würde mit mehr Erkenntlichkeit dieses Glück empfinden können als der in tiefster Unterthänigkeit verharrende,

Euer Königlichen Hoheit  
unterthänigster Diener  
K.F. Schinkel

3. The first Greek law on the antiquities, published in the official gazette in 1834. *Gesetz, die wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Sammlungen des Staates, ferner die Auffindung und Erhaltung der Alterthümer, sowie deren Benutzung betreffend.* Published also in: Georg von Maurer, *Das Griechische Volk, Heidelberg, 1835-1836*, pp 283-302.

OTTO von Gottes Gnaden König von Griechenland.

Wir haben nach Vernehmung Unseres Ministerrathes beschlossen und verordnen wie folgt:

I Abschnitt. Von den wissenschaftlichen und Kunstsammlungen des Staates überhaupt.

Art. 1. Zu Athen, als dem Sitze der Staatsregierung sowie der Academie der Wissenschaften, der Universität und der Academie der bildenden Künste, sollen folgende Centralanstalten errichtet werden:

- 1) Eine Central-Staatsbibliothek,
- 2) Ein Central-Staatsmuseum für die Antiquitäten,
- 3) Ein Münzcabinet,
- 4) Ein Naturaliencabinet,
- 5) Ein Cabinet der physikalischen und mathematischen Instrumente,
- 6) Ein chemisches Laboratorium mit dem nöthigen Apparate,



- 7) Ein anatomisches Theater,
- 8) Ein chirurgisches Cabinet,
- 9) Eine Modellsammlung,
- 10) Eine Gemäldesammlung,
- 11) Ein Kupferstichcabinet,
- 12) Ein astronomisches Observatorium,
- 13) Eine polytechnische Sammlung.

Art. 2. Auch am Sitze eines jeden Nomarchen sollen den Bedürfnissen einer jeden Nomarchie gemäß nach und nach Kreis-Bibliotheken, Museen, und andere im Art. 1 genannte Sammlungen angelegt werden.

Dasselbe kann am Sitze des Eparchen, oder auch in den einzelnen Gemeinden geschehen.

Art. 3. In der im Art. 1, N° 1 erwähnten Centralbibliothek sollen alle kostbaren Manuscripte und Druckwerke, welche in einer Kirche, in einem Kloster, in einer Staatsbibliothek oder in einem andern öffentlichen Gebäude aufgefunden werden dürften, aufgestellt und daher von dem Inhaber dahin abgeliefert werden.

Art. 4. Desgleichen soll von sämmtlichen in Griechenland gedruckten Büchern, Zeitschriften und Tagblättern ein Exemplar an die Centralbibliothek eingesendet werden, bei Strafe des zehnfachen Werthes der nicht eingesendeten Druckschriften gegen den zuwiderhandelnden Verfasser und Verleger.

Art. 5. Bei neuen Anschaffungen für die Centralbibliothek sollen alle Zweige der Literatur berücksichtigt, ganz vorzüglich aber auf das nächste Bedürfniß der Universität, der Academie der Wissenschaften und der bildenden Künste, der Heiligen Synode, der verschiedenen Seminarien, sowie des öffentlichen Dienstes selbst, Rücksicht genommen werden.

Art. 6. Bei neuen Anschaffungen für die im Art. 2 genannten Kreis -, Bezirks - und Gemeindebibliotheken soll hauptsächlich das Bedürfniß der Gymnasien, ferner der hellenischen und Gemeindeschulen berücksichtigt werden.

Art. 7. In dem in Art. 1, N° 2 und 3 erwähnten Centralmuseum und Münzcabinet soll das Seltenste und Ausgezeichnetste von den aufgefundenen Antiquitäten und Münzen aufgestellt und in demselben niedergelegt werden.

Art. 8. Bei Errichtung von Kreis -, Bezirks - und Gemeindemuseen soll hauptsächlich von der Ansicht ausgegangen werden, alles, was Localinteresse hat, an Ort und Stelle selbst zu erhalten und zu bewahren.

Auch sollen, so viel als möglich, die in den Centralanstalten überflüssigen Doubletten von Münzen, Vasen und anderen Gegenständen, zur Vertheilung an diese Provinzial- und Gemeindegemeinden abgegeben werden.

Art. 9. Jede dieser Central -, Kreis -, Bezirks - und Gemeindesammlungen und Anstalten soll nach und nach eine besondere, ihrer Erhaltung und Vermehrung gewidmete Dotation erhalten, und diese für jedes Jahr etatsmäßig festgesetzt, sowie über deren Verwendung jährlich Rechnung abgelegt werden.

Ueber die Art und Weise der Rechnungsablage ist gemeinschaftlich von den Staatsministerien des Innern und des Kirchen - und Schulwesens eine Instruction zu entwerfen und zur Königlichen Bestätigung vorzulegen.

Art. 10. Diese Dotation ist festzusetzen:

- 1) für die Centralsammlungen und Anstalten aus der allgemeinen für das Kirchen - und Schulwesen errichteten Casse durch die Staatsregierung;
- 2) für die Kreisanstalten aus Kreismitteln durch den Kreisrath;
- 3) für die Bezirkssammlungen aus Bezirksmitteln durch den Bezirksrath;
- 4) für die Gemeindesammlungen aus Gemeindemitteln durch den Gemeinderath.

Art. 11. Die Staatsregierung behält sich vor nach Bedürfniß in solchen Gemeinden, Bezirken und Kreisen, welche zu arm sind, um aus eigenen Mitteln dergleichen Kreis -, Bezirks - und Gemeindegemeinden errichten und unterhalten zu

können, solche Anstalten zu errichten und aus der allgemeinen, für das Kirchen - und Schulwesen errichteten Casse zu dotiren, oder wenigstens Dotationszuschüsse zu leisten.

Art. 12. Der Ankauf von wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Gegenständen geschieht auf den Antrag oder nach Vernehmung des der Anstalt, für welche acquirirt werden soll, vorgesetzten Conservators:

1) bei Gemeindesammlungen, nach Vernehmung der Localcommission, durch den Bürgermeister;

2) bei Bezirkssammlungen, nach Vernehmung der Bezirkscommission, durch dem Eparchen;

3) bei Kreissammlungen, nach Vernehmung der Kreiscommission, durch den Nomarchen;

4) bei Centralsammlungen nach Vernehmung der Centralcommission durch den Generalconservator.

Art. 13. Beim Ankauf von für eine Centralsammlung bestimmten Gegenständen ist ausser den Erfordernissen des vorigen Art. 12, N° 4 noch die Genehmigung des Staatsministeriums des Kirchen - und Schulwesens einzuholen.

Art. 14. Solche wissenschaftliche und artistische Gegenstände sind unveräußerliches Staats -, Kreis -, Bezirks - und Gemeindegut.

Die Veräußerung von Doubletten oder einzelnen unbrauchbar gewordenen Gegenständen jener Sammlungen zum Behufe neuer Anschaffungen ist jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen.

Art. 15. Die im vorigen Artikel erlaubte Veräußerung kann nur nach Vernehmung der in Art. 12 erwähnten Conservatoren und Commissionen, im Falle des Art. 12, N° 1 vom Bürgermeister, im Falle desselben Artikels N° 2 von dem Eparchen, in Falle von N° 3 von dem Nomarchen, und im Falle N° 4 vom Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens verordnet werden.

Art. 16. Ueber jede der in Art. 1 und 2 erwähnten Sammlungen sollen unter der Aufsicht der in Art. 29 genannten Commission durch den der Anstalt vorgesetzten Conservator vollständige Inventarien hergestellt, davon beglaubigte Abschriften an den Generalconservator eingesendet und diese im Archive des Staatsministeriums des Kirchen - und Schulwesens niedergelegt werden.

Art. 17. Was jedes Jahr zu diesen Sammlungen neu hinzukommt, muß fortsetzungsweise in den im vorigen Artikel genannten Inventarien nachgetragen und durch vidimirte Abschriften davon am Ende eines jeden Jahres an den Generalconservator zur Hinterlegung im Archive des erwähnten Staatsministeriums übersendet werden.

Art. 18. Die ununterbrochene wissenschaftliche und artistische Benutzung solcher Sammlungen steht jedermann frei, vor allem jedoch den Mitgliedern der Academie der Wissenschaften und der bildenden Künste, der Universität, der Heiligen Synode, der verschiedenen Seminarien, ferner den Professoren und Lehrern an Gymnasien, hellenischen und anderen Schulen. Für das übrige Publicum sollen bestimmte Wochentage festgesetzt werden.

Art. 19. Ueber die Einrichtung und Anordnung dieser wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Sammlungen sowie über deren Benutzung sollen Instructionen entworfen und zur Königlichen Bestätigung vorgelegt werden.

## II Abschnitt. Von den Aufsichtsbehörden.

### I Capitel. Von den Conservatoren.

Art. 20. Zur Aufsicht und Bewahrung der wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Sammlungen des Staates sollen besondere, vom Könige zu ernennende Conservatoren angestellt und diese vorzugsweise genommen werden.



1) für die Centralanstalten aus der Reihe der Mitglieder der Academie der Wissenschaften und der bildenden Künste, der Universität, der Gymnasialprofessoren oder der ausgezeichnetsten Künstler;

2) für die Kreis -, Bezirks - und Gemeinde-Sammlungen aus der Reihe der Gymnasialprofessoren oder der Lehrer der hellenischen oder Gemeindeschulen.

Art. 21. Die Conservatoren erhalten in der Regel keinen Gehalt. Die Staatsregierung behält sich jedoch vor, denselben, wo es nöthig ist, auch einen Gehalt oder eine Gehaltszulage auszuwerfen. Diese sind sodann aus den nach Art. 9 bis 11 festgesetzten Dotationen zu bestreiten.

Art. 22. Der Geschäfts - und Wirkungskreis dieser Conservatoren wird durch eine zur Königl. Bestätigung vorzulegende Instruction näher bestimmt und angeordnet.

Hinsichtlich der bisherigen Conservatoren für den Peloponnes, das Festland und die Inseln bleibt es einstweilen bei den bisherigen Bestimmungen.

Art. 23. Sämmtliche Conservatoren stehen hinsichtlich des wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Theils direct unter dem Generalconservator.

Sie haben an ihn zu berichten und erhalten von ihm Aufträge und Weisungen.

Art. 24. Ohne erhaltenen Urlaub darf sich kein Conservator von seiner Stelle entfernen.

Zum Zweck von Inspectionsreisen kann der Generalconservator den Auftrag oder den nöthigen Urlaub ertheilen.

Ausserdem bedarf der Conservator für eine achttägige Entfernung einen Urlaub vom Generalconservator, für sechs Wochen von dem Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens, und für längere Zeit von dem Könige.

Art. 25. Zu gleicher Zeit mit dem zu ertheilenden Urlaub wird, nach Verschiedenheit der im vorigen Artikel angegebenen Fälle, der Generalconservator oder das genannte Staatsministerium oder der König selbst für die Zeit der Abwesenheit des Conservators und auf dessen Kosten einen Stellvertreter bestimmen.

Art. 26. Die Conservatoren sind berechtigt, sich an den Nomarchen, Eparchen und Bürgermeister direct zu wenden. Diese haben solchen Aufforderungen auf der Stelle zu entsprechen, oder über die etwa entgegenstehenden Gründe an die Oberen zu berichten und davon die auffordernden Conservatoren in Kenntniß zu setzen.

Art. 27. Vor dem Antritte ihres Amtes haben die Conservatoren in die Hände des Generalconservators folgenden Diensteid zu schwören:

“Ich schwöre Treue dem König, Gehorsam den Gesetzen und den auf die wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Sammlungen und das Antiquitätenwesen Bezug habenden Verordnungen und Instructionen, sowie pünktliche Erfüllung aller mit meinem Amte übernommenen Pflichten.”

Ueber den geleisteten Eid soll ein Protocoll aufgesetzt und im Archive des Staatsministeriums des Kirchen - und Schulwesens hinterlegt werden.

Art. 28. Der Gehalt oder die Gehaltszulage ist regelmäßig am Ende eines jeden Monats aus den in Art. 10 und 11 erwähnten Dotationen auszubezahlen. Deren Bezug beginnt mit dem Tage der Eidesleistung.

## II Capitel. Von den wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Commissionen.

Art. 29. Es soll in jeder Gemeinde eine Localcommission, am Sitze eines jeden Eparchen eine Bezirks -, und am Sitze des Nomarchen eine Kreiscommission, sowie für die im Art. 1 erwähnten Centralsammlungen eine Centralcommission gebildet werden.

Art. 30. Die im Schulgesetze erwähnten Local -, Bezirks - und Kreisschulinspektionen sind mit den Functionen der im vorigen Artikel festgesetzten Local -, Bezirks - und Kreiscommissionen beauftragt.

Daher gelten von diesen Commissionen die Bestimmungen des Schulgesetzes

Art. 34-36, 38-40 und 45-49.

Art. 31. Zu den Localcommissionen hat jeder Conservator in der Gemeinde, zu den Bezirks - und Kreiscommissionen aber die Conservatoren an den Bezirks - und Kreisanstalten, und zu sämmtlichen Commissionen im Reiche der Generalconservator Zutritt.

Art. 32. Desgleichen hat zu jeder dieser Local -, Bezirks - und Kreiscommissionen Zutritt: der Vorstand des Gymnasiums, der hellenischen und der Volksschule des Ortes, wo die Commission ihren Sitz hat.

Art. 33. Ist einer der in Art. 31 und 32 erwähnten Professoren oder Lehrer, oder Conservatoren, oder der Generalconservator selbst zugegen, so haben sie gleiche Stimme mit den übrigen Mitgliedern der Commission.

Art. 34. Die Centralcommission besteht aus dem Generalconservator als Präsident, aus dem Conservator der Centralsammlungen, dann aus zwei Mitgliedern der Academie der Wissenschaften, aus zwei Mitgliedern der Academie der bildenden Künste, aus zwei Professoren der Universität, und aus noch zwei anderen wissenschaftlich gebildeten Männern am Sitze dieser Centralcommission.

Die Ernennung dieser Individuen steht dem Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens zu, dasselbe wird jedoch vorher den Generalconservator vernehmen.

Art. 35. Die Ernennung der Mitglieder einer im Art. 34 erwähnten Centralcommission geschieht immer nur auf ein Jahr.

Dieselben Mitglieder können aber auch für das folgende Jahr ernannt werden.

Art. 36. Dasselbe Individuum kann nicht zu gleicher Zeit Mitglied einer Central - und einer anderen Commission seyn.

Daher hat dasselbe zwischen beiden zu wählen, wenn ihm zwei solche Stellen übertragen worden sind. Und es sollen ihm alle diese Stellen entzogen werden, wenn es sich nicht binnen 24 Stunden nach geschehener Aufforderung über die getroffene Wahl erklärt.

Art. 37. Kein Mitglied einer solchen Commission hat Anspruch auf einen Gehalt.

Art. 38. Jede Centralcommission ist berechtigt, sich aus ihrer eigenen Mitte einen Vicepräsidenten und einen Secretär zu wählen.

Der Vicepräsident hat den Vorstand im Verhinderungsfalle zu vertreten.

Der Secretär soll alle Schreibereien besorgen und die Protocolle nebst den übrigen Urkunden bewahren.

Art. 39. Diese Commissionen haben sich jeden Monat einmal zu versammeln.

Sie können jedoch in dringenden Fällen noch öfter versammelt werden, entweder auf Begehren eines Mitgliedes, oder eines Conservators, oder des Generalconservators, oder vom Vorstande von Amtswegen.

Art. 40. Zur Gültigkeit eines Beschlusses gehört die Anwesenheit von wenigstens drei Mitgliedern, den Vorstand mit eingerechnet.

Bei Berathungen entscheidet die Mehrheit der Stimmen. Bei Stimmengleichheit hat der Vorstand eine entscheidende Stimme.

Art. 41. Ueber alle Berathungen ist ein Protocoll abzufassen, und darin der Inhalt der Verhandlungen nebst den gefaßten Beschlüssen kurz anzugeben.

Die Protocolle sollen von allen anwesenden Mitgliedern, die Berichte aber nur von dem Vorstande und Secretär allein unterzeichnet werden.

Art. 42. Vor dem Eintritte in ihr Amt haben die neuernannten Mitglieder einer Centralcommission folgenden Diensteid zu schwören:

“Ich schwöre Treue dem König, Gehorsam den Gesetzen pünktliche Erfüllung aller mit der mir anvertrauten Stelle übernommenen Pflichten”.

Dieser Eid ist in die Hände des Generalconservators abzulegen.

Ueber die geschehene Eidesleistung ist ein Protocoll abzufassen und dieses im Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens zu hinterlegen.



Hinsichtlich der Eidesleistung der Local -, Bezirks - und Kreiscommissionen bleibt es nach Art. 30 bei den Bestimmungen des Volksschulgesetzes Art. 49.

Art. 43. Eine jede dieser Commissionen hat die Aufsicht über die ihr zunächst untergeordneten Gemeinde -, Bezirks -, Kreis oder Centralsammlungen.

Art. 44. Insbesondere liegt es einer jeden Gemeinde -, Bezirks - und Kreiscommission ob, im Umfange ihrer Gemeinde, ihres Bezirks oder Kreises:

1) für den Ankauf und Verkauf, oder für sonstige Veräusserungen von wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Gegenständen, nach Art. 12 bis 15 Sorge zu tragen;

2) die nach Art. 16 und 17 zu verfertigenen Inventarien zu überwachen;

3) für die Herbeischaffung der zur Unterhaltung der Gemeinde -, Bezirks -, Kreis - und Staatssammlungen und ihrer Conservatoren nöthigen Dotationen oder Dotationszuschüsse (Art. 9, 11 und 12) Sorge zu tragen;

4) für die Herstellung und Unterhaltung der nöthigen Gebäude mitzuwirken.

Art. 45. Die Bezirks -, Kreis - und Centralcommissionen sind ausserdem berechtigt und verpflichtet, die Oberaufsicht über sämtliche Conservatoren und Commissionen ihres Bezirkes, Kreises oder des ganzen Reiches zu führen.

Art. 46. Ueber die Amtsverrichtungen dieser Commissionen und deren Wirksamkeit sollen vom Staatsministerium des Kirchen- und Schulwesens Instructionen entworfen und zur Königlichen Genehmigung vorgelegt werden.

Art. 47. Ueber das Resultat ihrer Amtsthätigkeit, insbesondere auch über die wahrgenommenen Gebrechen oder nothwendigen Verbesserungen soll Bericht erstattet werden, von den Local -, Bezirks - und Kreiscommissionen an den Generalconservator, von der Centralcommission aber an das Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens.

Diese Berichterstattung soll jedes Jahr wenigstens einmal statt haben, wenn keine specielle Veranlassung vorhanden ist, dieses im Laufe des Jahrs öfter zu thun.

### III Capitel. Von dem General-Conservator.

Art. 48. Der Generalconservator steht unter der Leitung und Aufsicht des Staatsministeriums des Kirchen - und Schulwesens an der Spitze aller wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Sammlungen des Staates, der Kreise, Bezirke und Gemeinden, und der denselben vorgesetzten Conservatoren.

Insbesondere ist dessen Sorgfalt, Aufsicht und Leitung das ganze Alterthumswesen des Reiches anvertraut, und ohne dessen Zustimmung kann weder von einem Conservator, noch von einer der im Art. 29 und 43 genannten Commissionen, noch von einer andern Verwaltungsstelle etwas im Bereiche des Alterthumswesens angeordnet oder vorgenommen werden, nach den nähern Bestimmungen der Art. 65 ff.

Art. 49. Derselbe hat namentlich:

1) zum Zweck der Oberaufsicht über die im vorigen Artikel genannten Sammlungen sowie über das gesammte Antiquitätenwesen des Reiches jedes Jahr wenigstens einmal eine Inspectionsreise zu machen;

2) die Disciplinargewalt über die Conservatoren, nach den näheren Bestimmungen der Art. 50 und 51;

3) die Oberaufsicht über die Conservatoren und die verschiedenen Commissionen, nach den Bestimmungen der Art. 23, 24 und 31 ff.;

4) den Ankauf der für wissenschaftliche und artistische Centralsammlungen bestimmten Gegenstände, nach Vorschrift des Art. 12, N° 4 und Art. 13;

5) bei selbst wahrgenommenen, oder nach Art. 47, oder auf sonstige Weise in Erfahrung gebrachten Gebrechen, oder bei nothwendigen Verbesserungen, oder anderen anpassenden Anordnungen das Geeignete selbst zu verfügen, oder bei dem Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens in Antrag zu bringen.

Art. 50. Die von dem Generalconservator gegen die Conservatoren zu verhängenden Disciplinarstrafen sind:

1) Verweis;

2) Geldbuße von einer bis zu zwanzig Drachmen.

Art. 51. Ueber jede Disciplinarstrafe ist immer eine schriftliche Urkunde abzufassen und vom Generalconservator zu unterzeichnen.

Von der Disciplinarverfügung findet keine Berufung statt, wohl aber soll alsbald davon Anzeige beim Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens gemacht werden.

Art. 52. Für die wichtigeren Gegenstände seines Geschäftskreises, welche der Generalconservator nicht selbst erledigen kann, ist derselbe dem Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens in der Art beigegeben, daß er in solchen Fällen als Referent zu betrachten ist.

Derselbe hat demnach keine Berichte an das genannte Ministerium zu erstatten, sondern die Conceptionen zu den Ministerial-Entschlüssen und Berichten gleich vorzulegen.

Art. 53. Der Generalconservator hat den Rang, Gehalt und die Uniform der Ministerialräthe.

Ausserdem ist derselbe auch noch berechtigt, den Ersatz für Pferdegeder und sonstige Transportkosten bei seinen Inspectionsreisen in Anspruch zu nehmen.

Art. 54. Vor dem Antritte seines Amtes hat derselbe den im Art. 27. vorgeschriebenen Eid in die Hände des Staatssecretärs des Kirchen - und Schulwesens abzulegen. Ueber die geschehene Eidesleistung ist ein Protocoll abzufassen und im Archive des Staatsministeriums zu hinterlegen.

Art. 55. Der Gehalt beginnt, wenn im Anstellungsdecret nicht anders verfügt worden ist, mit dem Tage der Leistung des Amtseides. Er soll in monatlichen Raten regelmäßig am Ende eines jeden Monats ausbezahlt werden.

### IV Capitel. Von der Aufsicht der Staatsregierung.

Art. 56. Eine Oberaufsicht über sämtliche im Art. 29 erwähnte Commissionen, über die Conservatoren, die wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Sammlungen des Staates, der Kreise, Bezirke und Gemeinden, und das gesammte Antiquitätenwesen insbesondere, steht auch den zuständigen Eparchen und Nomarchen sowie dem Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens zu.

Art. 57. Die Eparchen und Nomarchen sollen von Zeit zu Zeit dergleichen Sammlungen und Commissionen ihres Bezirkes oder Kreises inspiciere, und über den Befund die Eparchen an die Nomarchen, und diese an das Staatsministerium des Kirchen- und Schulwesens Bericht erstatten.

Art. 58. Das genannte Staatsministerium hat die oberste Leitung der wissenschaftlichen und artistischen Anstalten, sowie des Antiquitätenwesens, im Umfange des ganzen Reiches.

Dasselbe ist insbesondere berechtigt:

1) von den in Art. 23 und 47 erwähnten Berichten Einsicht zu nehmen und das Geeignete darüber zu verfügen;

2) Disciplinarstrafen gegen die Conservatoren zu verfügen.

Art. 59. Die von dem erwähnten Staatsministerium zu verhängenden Disciplinarstrafen sind:

1) Verweis;

2) Geldbuße von fünf bis einhundert Drachmen;

3) Suspension von 8 Tagen bis zu 6 Monaten mit oder ohne Gehaltsbeziehung.

Ueber jede Disciplinarverfügung soll eine Urkunde abgefaßt und dieselbe von dem Staatssecretär des Kirchen - und Schulwesens unterschrieben werden.

Art. 60. Die Disciplinargewalt des genannten Staatsministeriums ist begrün-



det, einerlei, ob der Generalconservator schon disciplinirt hat oder nicht.

Im ersten Falle kann das Ministerium die bereits verfügte Disciplinarstrafe verschärfen, mildern, oder ganz erlassen, oder auch im Falle der Freisprechung eine Strafe verhängen.

### III Abschnitt. Von dem Antiquitätenwesen insbesondere.

#### I Capitel. Von den Eigenthumsrechten an Antiquitäten.

Art. 61. Alle in Griechenland aufgefundenen Antiquitäten sind als von den hellenischen Vorfahren herkommend, als gemeinsames Nationalgut aller Hellenen zu betrachten.

Art. 62. Alle auf Staatsländereien, über oder unter der Erde, oder auf dem Meeresgrund, in Flüssen, öffentlichen Bächen, Seen oder Sümpfen befindlichen Ruinen oder Alterthümer, sie haben den Namen wie sie wollen, sind Eigenthum des Staates.

Art. 63. Privateigenthum des Besitzers sind:

1) alle in Privatsammlungen oder sonst in Privatbesitz befindlichen Alterthümer;

2) alle auf Privatgründen, über oder unter der Erde befindlichen Ruinen, oder andere Alterthümer, vorbehaltlich der Bestimmungen des folgenden Art. 64.

Art. 64. An den auf Privatgründen über oder unter der Erde, in Mauern, unter Trümmern, oder auf sonstige Weise verborgenen, und seit der Wirksamkeit gegenwärtigen Gesetzes erst aufgefundenen Alterthümer, einerlei, ob dieselben zufällig oder durch absichtliches Nachgraben entdeckt worden sind, ist der Staat Eigenthümer zur Hälfte nach den näheren Bestimmungen des Art. 80.

#### II Capitel. Von der Anzeige der vorhandenen oder aufgefundenen Antiquitäten.

Art. 65. Wer Antiquitäten durch Zufall, oder bei Ausgrabungen, beim Legen von Fundamenten, beim Abreißen von Häusern, beim Anlegen von Straßen, oder auf sonstige Weise findet, ist bei Strafe einer Geldbuße von ein bis fünfzig Drachmen verbunden:

1) binnen drei Tagen seinen Fund einem Conservator, oder dem Generalconservator, oder der Local -, Bezirks - oder Kreiscommission, oder dem Nomarchen, Eparchen, oder der Localbehörde anzuzeigen;

2) die aufgefundenen Gegenstände auf Begehren einem Conservator, oder dem Generalconservator, oder einer der im Art. 29 erwähnten Commissionen zur Einsicht vorzulegen, und demselben zu gestatten, eine Copie oder einen Abdruck davon nehmen, oder eine Zeichnung oder eine Abschrift davon machen zu lassen.

Art. 66. Die im Art. 65 erwähnte Verbindlichkeit zur Anzeige und zur Vorlage zu dem dort angegebenen Zweck, und die bei der daselbst festgesetzten Strafe haben:

1) die Besitzer von Privatsammlungen, sowie die Privatbesitzer einzelner Antiquitäten;

2) die Vorsteher oder Verwalter einer Körperschaft, oder einer anderen öffentlichen Anstalt, die Geistlichen nicht ausgenommen, welche solche Sammlungen oder einzelne Antiquitäten besitzen.

Sie haben jedoch zur Anzeige einen Termin von 2 Monaten vom Tage der Publication gegenwärtigen Gesetzes.

Art. 67. Wenn im Falle des Art. 65 und 66 ganze Sammlungen vorhanden sind, oder der Fund oder Vorrath aus mehreren Stücken besteht, so ist mit der Anzeige ein Verzeichniß einzureichen, in welchem alle Gegenstände einzeln klar und deutlich beschrieben werden sollen.

Fehlt dieses Verzeichniß, oder ist dasselbe unvollständig, so tritt die im Art.

65 bestimmte Strafe ein.

Art. 68. Von den nach der Bestimmung des vorigen Artikels eingereichten Verzeichnissen sind von den im Art. 65, N° 1 genannten Behörden zwei beglaubigte Abschriften zu machen.

Eine Abschrift soll dem Inhaber der Antiquitäten zugestellt und die andere der Local - oder Bezirkscommission, in deren Gemeinde oder Bezirke die Antiquitäten sich befinden, deponirt, das Original aber nebst den sachdienlichen Bemerkungen an den Generalconservator eingesendet werden, welcher dasselbe im Archive des Staatsministeriums des Kirchen - und Schulwesens niederzulegen hat.

Art. 69. Wollen die im Art. 63 und 66 genannten Inhaber von Antiquitäten dieselben im Ganzen oder im Einzelnen veräußern, oder auch nur aus einer Gemeinde in die andere transportiren, so sind dieselben bei Strafe von 1-50 Drachmen verbunden, vor der Veräußerung oder Ortsveränderung einer der in Art. 65, N° 1 erwähnten Behörden die Anzeige zu machen, und derselben ein genaues Verzeichniß über die zu veräußernden oder wegzutransportirenden Gegenstände zu übergeben.

Hievon ist der Generalconservator unverzüglich in Kenntniß zu setzen und demselben dieses Verzeichniß mit den etwaigen Bemerkungen in Original zu übersenden.

Art. 70. Auch die neuen Inhaber sollen bei der im vorigen Artikel festgesetzten Strafe unter Beifügung eines genauen Verzeichnisses die daselbst vorgeschriebene Anzeige machen, und zwar binnen einer Frist von 7 Tagen seit dem Empfange solcher Gegenstände.

Art. 71. Wurden Antiquitäten mit Beschlag belegt, oder sollen dieselben aus irgend einem Grunde gerichtlich oder aussergerichtlich versteigert werden, so sind die mit der Beschlagnahme oder der Versteigerung beauftragten öffentlichen Beamten oder Diener bei Strafe von 25-100 Drachmen verbunden, unverzüglich die vorgeschriebenen Anzeigen zu machen und die vorgeschriebenen Verzeichnisse einzureichen.

Art. 72. Sämmtliche im Art. 29 genannten Commissionen haben die Aufsicht über die in ihren Gemeinden, Bezirken oder Kreisen befindlichen einzelnen Antiquitäten oder Antiquitätensammlungen, über die öffentlichen sowohl wie die Privatsammlungen.

Sie sind berechtigt und verpflichtet, durch einen aus ihrer Mitte abgeordneten Commissär Einsicht von allen, sogar in Privathänden befindlichen, Antiquitäten zu nehmen, um die Richtigkeit der nach Art. 67-71 eingereichten Verzeichnisse zu verificiren, oder um selbst ein Verzeichniß darüber zu machen und dieses sodann nebst den sachdienlichen Bemerkungen dem Generalconservator einzusenden, oder auch, um zu constatiren, ob sich die in den eingereichten Verzeichnissen genannten Individuen auch befinden.

Art. 73. Auch dem Generalconservator steht das im vorigen Artikel erwähnte Recht der Einsichtnahme und der Verfertigung eines Verzeichnisses zu.

Art. 74. Ausserdem ist das Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens berechtigt, einen Commissär abzuordnen, um bei sämmtlichen Inhabern von Antiquitätensammlungen, oder von einzelnen Antiquitäten, die im Art. 72 erwähnte Verification vornehmen zu lassen.

Art. 75. Alle Gegenstände des Alterthums können ungehindert in das Königreich eingeführt werden.

Um jedoch das Recht der freien Wiederausfuhr zu conserviren, muß binnen 8 Tagen nach der Ankunft solcher Alterthümer einer der in Art. 65, N° 1 genannten Behörden die Anzeige gemacht, nach Vorschrift der Art. 67 und 68 ein genaues Verzeichniß verfertigt und dieses eingereicht werden.



III Capitel. Von dem Rechte der Verfügung über solche Gegenstände und dem Verkehr damit.

Art. 76. In Griechenland aufgefundene Antiquitäten dürfen ohne Autorisation der Staatsregierung auf keinerlei Weise und unter keinerlei Vorwand ins Ausland gebracht werden, bei der im Strafgesetzbuch Art. 702 angedrohten Strafe.

Art. 77. Die im vorigen Artikel erwähnte Autorisation ist auf den Antrag des Generalconservators von dem Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens zu ertheilen.

Sie soll nicht verweigert werden, wenn:

- 1) die Central - und Provinzialmuseen Doubletten von derselben Art und Qualität besitzen;
- 2) der Gegenstand aus dem Auslande eingeführt, und bei dessen Einfuhr die im Art. 75 vorgeschriebenen Formalitäten beobachtet worden sind;
- 3) der Generalconservator die im Art. 79 erwähnte schriftliche Erklärung über die Unwichtigkeit des Gegenstandes abgegeben hat.

Art. 78. Im Inlande ist die freie Verfügung über Antiquitäten, welche sich nach Art. 63 im Privateigenthum befinden, insbesondere der freie Verkauf und Handel mit dergleichen Gegenständen erlaubt, vorbehaltlich der nach Art. 69 und 70 nothwendigen Anzeige.

Art. 79. Die in den Art. 69, 70 und 78 erwähnte Anzeige ist unnöthig, wenn der Generalconservator schriftlich erklärt, daß dergleichen Antiquitäten für den Staat weder nothwendig noch wichtig seyen.

Eine solche Erklärung soll jedoch erst nach Besichtigung des Gegenstandes durch eine der in Art. 29 erwähnten Commissionen und des Generalconservators selbst, oder eines von ihm damit beauftragten Conservators abgegeben werden.

Wird diese Vorschrift versäumt, so sollen auch die eingeführten Alterthümer als inländische betrachtet und nach Vorschrift des Art. 76 behandelt werden.

Art. 80. Wenn ein Private die auf seinem Privateigenthum nach Art. 64 erst aufgefundenen Antiquitäten veräußern will, so ist derselbe wegen des Miteigenthums des Staates zur Einhaltung nachfolgender Bestimmungen verbunden:

- 1) er hat die zu veräußernden Gegenstände zuerst dem Staate anzubieten und ihm das Vorkaufsrecht zu gestatten;
- 2) erst wenn er sich mit dem Staate nicht über die Verkaufsumme vereinigen kann, ist der Verkäufer berechtigt, den fraglichen Gegenstand an jeden Andern zu veräußern. In diesem Falle ist jedoch die Hälfte des Erlöses an den für das Staatsmuseum bestimmten Fond abzuliefern;

3) wenn der angebotene Gegenstand so unbedeutend ist, daß es der Staat seinem Interesse gemäß findet, nicht einmal ein Gebot darauf zu thun, oder wenn der Generalconservator die in Art. 79 erwähnte schriftliche Erklärung abgegeben hat, so wird dasselbe volles Eigenthum des Besitzers, und dieser kann ihn nun nach Belieben verschenken, vererben, verkaufen, oder auf sonstige Weise veräußern, ohne zur Abgabe einer Quote des Erlöses verbunden zu seyn.

Art. 81. Das im vorigen Artikel erwähnte Anerbieten an den Staat hat zu geschehen, entweder:

- 1) direct an den Generalconservator; oder
- 2) an einen Conservator; oder
- 3) an eine der in Art. 29 erwähnten Commissionen.

Im Falle 2 und 3 sind die Conservatoren oder Commissionen verbunden, unverzüglich dem Generalconservator Anzeige davon zu machen, und demselben ihre Ansicht wegen des Ankaufes der zu diesem Ende angebotenen Gegenstände vorzutragen.

Art. 82. Privatleute, welche Schenkungen von Alterthümern an den Staat zu machen geneigt sind, können selbst verfügen, welchem Museum sie ihr Geschenk

bestimmen. Ihr Wille in dieser Hinsicht wird auch nach ihrem Tode bei Kraft bleiben.

Solche Schenkungen sollen im Regierungsblatt bekannt gemacht, die Namen der Geber in die Verzeichnisse des Museums eingetragen, und, wo es thunlich ist, auch noch auf den geschenkten Gegenständen selbst bemerkt werden.

Art. 83. Wer auf Staatsländereien gefundene oder ausgegrahene Antiquitäten (Art. 62), einerlei ob vor oder nach der zufolge des Art. 65, N° 1 zu machenden Anzeige, verschenkt, verpfändet, verkauft oder auf sonstige Weise veräußert, ist nach Vorschrift des Strafgesetzbuches Art. 371 ff., 385 ff. oder 693 zu bestrafen.

Art. 84. Privatleute, welche einzelne hellenische Antiquitäten, oder ganze Sammlungen besitzen, oder auf deren Grundeigenthum sich solche befinden, sind nach Art. 61 und den nähern Bestimmungen der Art. 64, 65 ff. und 80 als Inhaber von hellenischen Nationalgütern zu betrachten. Daher ist ihnen jede absichtliche Zerstörung oder Beschädigung von solchen Alterthümern verboten.

Art. 85. Insbesondere ist es solchen Privatbesitzern verboten, ohne Erlaubniß:

- 1) alte Denkmale, welche sich auf ihren Privatgründen befinden, oder welche in der Folge noch entdeckt werden, namentlich auch die Ueberreste alter Straßen, Bäder, Gräber u.s.g.m. auf irgend eine Weise zu zerstören oder zu beschädigen;
- 2) in einem Umkreise von einem viertels Myriameter um hellenische Denkmale Kalköfen anzulegen, damit nicht zur Zerstörung oder Beschädigung von Alterthümern Veranlassung und Gelegenheit gegeben werde;
- 3) in der Nähe von dergleichen Denkmalen solche Einrichtungen zu treffen, wodurch voraussichtlich Gefahr des Einsturzes solcher Antiquitäten entsteht;
- 4) von schon eingestürzten Denkmalen des Alterthums Steine zu nehmen;
- 5) von im Privatbesitze befindlichen Kirchen und Klöstern Antiquitäten, von welcher Art sie auch seien, wegzunehmen;
- 6) Gerüste an Gebäude des Alterthums zu machen oder zum Behufe des Abformens, Messens, Zeichnens oder irgend eines anderen Zweckes anzustellen;
- 7) die auf Privatgründen befindlichen, ganz oder theilweis erhaltenen Tempel und anderen althellenischen Gebäude, Gräber, Sarkophage und andere Gegenstände des Alterthums zu irgend einem ökonomischen Zweck, insbesondere zu Wohnungen, Fruchthältern, Viehställen, Viehtränken u. dgl. m. zu verwenden, auch wenn mit einem solchen Gebrauche keine unmittelbare Beschädigung oder Zerstörung verbunden seyn sollte.

Art. 86. Wenn ein Private wahrnimmt, daß den auf seinem Grund und Boden befindlichen alten Denkmalen Gefahr des Einsturzes droht, so hat derselbe unverzüglich einer der in Art. 29 genannten Commissionen oder dem Conservator in der Gemeinde, im Bezirke oder Kreise, oder dem Generalconservator selbst davon Anzeige zu machen, damit zu deren Erhaltung unter der Leitung des Generalconservators die nöthigen Maßregeln getroffen werden können.

Art. 87. Wird in dem Falle des vorigen Artikels von der Local -, Bezirks - oder Kreiscommission begutachtet, und vom Generalconservator entschieden, daß solche alte Denkmale erhalten zu werden verdienen, so ist dem Privateigenthümer solcher Gegenstände von dem Eparchen oder Nomarchen ein Termin zur Vorahme der von ihm gemeinschaftlich mit dem Generalconservator zu bestimmenden Erhaltungsmaßregeln zu setzen.

Art. 88. Erklärt der Private, solche Maßregeln nicht ergreifen, oder sich die Leitung des Generalconservators nicht gefallen lassen zu wollen, oder läßt derselbe die ihm gegebene Frist fruchtlos verstreichen, so sind die Kosten zur Erhaltung aus der für das Kirchen - und Schulwesen gebildeten Casse zu bestreiten.

Das Eigenthum an solchen alten Denkmalen fällt aber in diesem Falle an den Staat gegen Ersatz der Hälfte des Werthes, welcher nach Vorschrift des Art. 93 zu bestimmen ist.



Art. 89. Die im Art. 85 erwähnte Erlaubniß ist von dem nächsten Eparchen oder Nomarchen zu ertheilen. Sie wird begehrt:

1) bei dem Conservator, oder bei einer der in Art. 29 erwähnten Commissionen, welche sodann die eingereichte Bittschrift mittelst Bericht an den Eparchen oder Nomarchen einzusenden hat; oder

2) direct bei dem Eparchen oder Nomarchen, welcher in diesem Falle vor Ertheilung der Erlaubniß den Conservator oder eine der in Art. 29 erwähnten Commissionen zu vernehmen hat.

Art. 90. Wer die im Art. 84 bis 86 gegebenen Vorschriften übertritt, verfällt in eine Geldbuße von 5 bis 100 Drachmen.

Von dieser Strafe sind auch öffentliche Beamte und Diener nicht ausgenommen, welche im Falle des Art. 85 ohne vom Eparchen oder Nomarchen ertheilte Erlaubniß dergleichen Handlungen gestatten.

Art. 91. Die ausgesprochene Geldbuße fällt nach Art. 501 des Strafgesetzbuches in der Regel in die Gemeindecasse. Sie soll jedoch zur Hälfte dem Denuncianten zugesprochen werden wenn ein solcher vorhanden ist.

Art. 92. Ausser der in Art. 90 bestimmten Geldbuße ist auch noch zu erkennen:

1) auf Restauration der beschädigten Antiquitäten unter der Leitung des Generalconservators; oder auf Zurückbringung des eigenmächtig entfernten Gegenstandes, beides auf Kosten des Thäters; oder

2) auf Ersatz des gestifteten Schadens, oder des Werthes der Sache, wenn die Restauration oder Zurückschaffung nicht mehr bewerkstelligt werden konnte, oder nicht bewerkstelligt werden wollte.

Art. 93. Der Betrag des zu ersetzenden Schadens oder Werthes soll durch zwei Experten bestimmt werden.

Davon ist der Eine vom Besitzer der Antiquität, der Andere vom Generalconservator oder von einem vom Generalconservator zu bestimmenden Conservator zu ernennen.

Können sich beide Experten nicht vereinigen, so hat die nächste der in Art. 29 erwähnten Commissionen einen Obmann zu bestimmen.

Im letzten Falle entscheidet die Mehrheit der Stimmen.

Art. 94. Was im Art. 84-87, 89-93 von den Privateigenthümern selbst vorgegeschrieben worden ist, gilt auch hinsichtlich der Pächter, Nutznießer und anderen Inhaber von Privatgründen.

Im Falle des Art. 88 ist der Privateigenthümer selbst zur Ergreifung der Erhaltungsmaßregeln aufzufordern, und ihm zu diesem Ende ein Termin zu setzen. Erst nach fruchtlosem Ablauf dieses Termins soll gegen ihn nach Vorschrift des Art. 88 eingeschritten werden.

Art. 95. Ausser der nach Art. 90-94 zu erkennenden Geldbuße und dem Ersatze, soll noch die absichtliche Zerstörung oder Entwendung von in fremdem Privateigenthum befindlichen Antiquitäten nach Vorschrift des Strafgesetzbuches Art. 371. 421 ff., 693 bestraft werden.

Art. 96. Wenn es bei der Bestimmung der Strafe auf den Werth des entwendeten oder unterschlagenen Gegenstandes, oder auf den Betrag der Beschädigung oder der Zerstörung ankommt, so ist zur Expertise immer der Generalconservator, oder ein von ihm zu bezeichnender Conservator beizuziehen.

Art. 97. Wer, wenn auch Pächter, Nutznießer oder sonstiger Inhaber von Staatseigenthum, alte Bruchstücke von Kirchen, Klöstern oder anderen Antiquitäten wegnimmt, oder sonst gegen die in Art. 84-86 gegebenen Vorschriften handelt, soll nach Vorschrift der Art. 90-93 in Strafe und Schadenersatz verurtheilt werden, vorbehaltlich der weiteren Bestimmungen des Art. 95.

Hinsichtlich der zu ertheilenden Erlaubniß gelten die Bestimmungen der Art. 89 und 90.

Art. 98. Wer an Gebäuden, welche dem Alterthum angehören, Restaurationen vornimmt, ohne vorher einer der in Art. 29 genannten Commissionen, oder dem Conservator, oder Generalconservator die Anzeige gemacht, und ohne vorher vom Generalconservator die nöthigen Weisungen hinsichtlich der Behandlung der Antiquitäten erhalten zu haben, soll nach Vorschrift der Art. 90-93 in Geldbuße, und zu gleicher Zeit zur Wiederherstellung der etwa beschädigten Antiquitäten auf eigene Kosten oder zu Schadenersatz verurtheilt werden.

Art. 99. Wer ohne Erlaubniß des Generalconservators dem Staate gehörige, in Sammlungen oder in anderen Gebäuden oder im Freien befindliche Antiquitäten abformt, soll nach Vorschrift der Art. 90 bis 93 bestraft und in Schadenersatz verurtheilt werden.

#### IV Capitel. Von den Ausgrabungen insbesondere.

Art. 100. Ohne Erlaubniß soll Niemand, ohne alle Ausnahme, weder auf eigenem, noch auf fremdem Grund und Boden Ausgrabungen nach Alterthümern vornehmen, bei Strafe von 25-200 Drachmen und der Beschlagnahme der gefundenen Gegenstände.

Art. 101. Die im vorigen Artikel erwähnte Strafe ist auch gegen öffentliche Beamte und Diener auszusprechen, welche ohne vorgängige Erlaubniß dergleichen Ausgrabungen zugeben.

Art. 102. Die im Art. 100 und 101 erwähnte Erlaubniß wird durch den nächsten Eparchen oder Nomarchen ertheilt, in der im Art. 89 bestimmten Art und Weise.

Art. 103. Die Erlaubniß zu Nachgrabungen soll nur denjenigen ertheilt werden, welche sich als die wahren Eigenthümer von Grund und Boden auszuweisen, oder die Einwilligung des Eigenthümers einzubringen vermögen.

Art. 104. Die nach Art. 89 und 102 einzureichende Bittschrift soll enthalten:

1) den im Art. 103 erwähnten Nachweis;

2) eine genaue Beschreibung der Lage des Bodens, auf welchem der Bittsteller die Ausgrabungen zu machen gedenkt.

Art. 105. Auf diese Bittschrift hin ist von der Commission, wo möglich unter Zuziehung des Conservators, der bezeichnete Ort zu besichtigen und zu untersuchen, und über das Resultat dem Eparchen oder Nomarchen Bericht zu erstatten.

Hierauf wird nach Vorschrift des Art. 89 und 102 vom Eparchen oder Nomarchen die Erlaubniß entweder ertheilt oder abgeschlagen.

Art. 106. In demselben Rescript, in welchem die Erlaubniß zum Nachgraben ertheilt wird, sollen die Entfernungen der zu machenden Ausgrabungen von den öffentlichen Straßen und Gebäuden, den Wohnhäusern, Einfassungsmauern der Gärten und Felder, Wasserleitungen, Brunnen, Ueberresten der alten Denkmale und Begräbnißplätzen bestimmt werden.

Art. 107. Die Staatsregierung ist jeder Zeit berechtigt, bereits erlaubte und schon begonnene Ausgrabungen wieder zu schließen und zu untersagen, wenn dieselben für die öffentliche Sicherheit oder Gesundheit gefährlich seyn sollten.

Die Schließung ist bei dem nächsten Eparchen oder Nomarchen zu begehren und zu erlangen, kann jedoch von ihm auch von Amtswegen verordnet werden.

Art. 108. Hinsichtlich der Anzeige der aufgefundenen Antiquitäten und Verfügung darüber gelten die Bestimmungen der Art. 65-99.

Art. 109. Ueber die zweckmäßigste Art, dergleichen Ausgrabungen vorzunehmen, und die dabei zu führende Aufsicht sollen vom Staatsministerium des Kirchen- und Schulwesens Instructionen entworfen, und zur Königlichen Bestätigung vorgelegt werden.

#### V Capitel. Von den als Antiquitäten zu betrachtenden Gegenständen.

Art. 110. Ausser den Werken der Bildhauerei und Baukunst sind unter Alter-



thümer auch die Massen von gearbeitetem Marmor oder anderen Steinen, in welcher Form sie vorkommen mögen, begriffen. Ebenso Malereien, Mosaike, Gefäße, Waffen, Schmucksachen und andere Geräthschaften aus Metall oder gebrannter Erde, ferner geschnittene Steine, Münzen und Inschriften irgend einer Art.

Sie sind sämmtlich dem gegenwärtigen Gesetze unterworfen.

Art. 111. Auch diejenigen Gegenstände, welche aus den frühern Zeiten der christlichen Kunst, nämlich aus dem so genannten Mittelalter herrühren, sind nicht ausgenommen von den Bestimmungen des gegenwärtigen Gesetzes.

Schlußartikel.

Art. 112. Die im gegenwärtigen Gesetze angedrohten Strafen sind von der Zuständigkeit der Polizeigerichte, welche dabei nach Vorschrift des Gesetzbuches über das Strafverfahren einzuschreiten und zu verfahren haben.

Art. 113. Gegenwärtiges Gesetz tritt den 18 (30) Juni l.J. in Wirksamkeit.

Von demselben Tage an sind alle entgegenstehenden früheren Verordnungen und Gesetze aufgehoben.

Art. 114. Unser Staatsministerium des Kirchen - und Schulwesens ist mit dem Vollzuge und der Bekanntmachung beauftragt.

Nauplia den 10 (20) Mai 1834.

IM NAMEN DES KÖNIGS  
DIE REGENTSCHAFT.

Graf. v. ARMANSPERG Prdt. v. MAURER. v. HEIDECK.  
Die Staats-Secretäre, A. MAUROCORDATOS Prdt.,  
C. D. SCHINAS, N. G. THEOCHARIS,  
J. KOLETTI, v. LESUIRE

4. Leo von Klenze; Estimate for excavations and restoration of the Parthenon. *Approximativer Ueberschlag fuer die Ausgrabung und Wiederherstellung des Parthenon, so weit die vorhandenen antiken Marmorstücke dazu hinreichen, 1834.* In: *Leo von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin, 1838.* Appendix VI (3).

Approximativer Ueberschlag

Für die Ausgrabung und Wiederherstellung des Parthenon, so weit die vorhandenen antiken Marmorstücke dazu hinreichen.

1. Ausgrabung rings um den Tempel auf 20 Fuß Breite, Hinwegschaffen des Schuttes und unbrauchbarer Steine, Ordnen der wiederaufzusetzenden oder zu bewahrenden Stücke etc.	26,000 Dr.
2. Ausbessern der Stufen und Bodenplatten	3500 Dr.
3. Aufrichten aller vorhandenen Säulentamboure	12,000 Dr.
4. item der etwa sich findenden Architrave	4000 Dr.
5. Hinwegräumen des Treppeneinbaues in den Opisthodomus	2500 Dr.
6. Nothwendige Ausbesserungen an einigen Säulentambouren, Gesimsen und Giebelfeldern	10,000 Dr.
7. Gerüste und Werkzeuge	14,000 Dr.
Summa	72,000 Dr.

Wenn, wie es nicht wohl anders zu machen ist, alle gefundenen formlosen und zur Restauration unnützen Stücke Marmor und anderer Steine, theils verkauft, theils in königlichen oder Staatsgebäuden verwendet werden, so kann diese Verwerthung auf 12,000 Drachmen angeschlagen werden.

Beiläufig ist zu erwähnen, daß ein jedes etwa gefundene Frieß - oder Metopenstück nach Größe und Erhaltung zu einem Werthe von 10 bis 20,000 Dr. angeschlagen werden kann.

Die ganze Arbeit wäre leicht und zweckmäßig in einem Zeitraume von 3 bis 4 Jahren zu beendigen.

Athen, den 22. August 1834.

L. von Klenze

5. Leo von Klenze; Proposal of 1834 for appointing guards to the ancient sites. In: *Leo von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin, 1838,* pp. 390-392.

An  
Seine Majestät den König von Griechenland  
(zur Regentschaft).

Der mündlichen an mich ergangenen Aufforderung zufolge, beeile ich mich über die Conservation der Alterthümer Griechenlands folgenden unmaßgeblichen Antrag zu stellen.

Die Monumente Athens ausgenommen, sind die Denkmale der hellenischen Vorzeit in Griechenland bis jetzt jeder unmittelbaren Aufsicht beraubt, und selbst in Athen kann der allerdings sehr thätige, eifrige und aufmerksame Conservator Herr Pittakis unmöglich zu gleicher Zeit die vielen und zerstreut liegenden Denkmale bewachen. Der Ruin dieser kostbaren Ueberbleibsel der Vorzeit wird also täglich durch die unbescheidene Neugierde der Fremden und deren Lust eine kleinere oder größere Probe von den Skulpturen, Ornamenten oder auch nur von dem Steine der Denkmale mit sich fortzunehmen, weiter geführt, und der Zeitpunkt ist im voraus zu berechnen, wo auch die letzte Spur derselben und wenigstens alles dessen, das deren plastische Form konstituiert, verschwinden wird. Diesem kann nun nicht wohl anders, als durch eine beständige spezielle Aufsicht über dieselben begegnet werden, und es schien mir passend, diese noch rüstigen, thätigen, ehrlichen und für den Begriff ihrer Pflichten empfänglichen Invaliden aus den regelmäßigen oder auch aus den unregelmäßigen Truppen zu übergeben, welche zur beständigen Aufsicht an Ort und Stelle sein müßten, und ohne welche kein Fremder die Denkmale besuchen und besehen dürfte. Eine kleine bedeckte Hütte würde neben die Denkmale gebaut, da wo sie ganz einsam stehen, und eine Ablösung, welche nach Umständen wöchentlich oder in kürzeren Zeitperioden statt fände, und eine genaue durch den Provinzial-Konservator diesen Leuten zu gebende Instruktion, würde, wie mir scheint, den Zweck vollkommen erfüllen.

Solche Invalidenposten sollten nach meiner unmaßgeblichen Meinung für folgende Denkmale angeordnet werden.

1. Für die Akropolis in Athen .....	zwei,
2. für die Denkmale der Stadt.....	zwei,
3. für Eleusis .....	einer,
4. für Rhamnus .....	einer,
5. für Sunion .....	einer,



- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 6. für den Tempel der Minerva auf Aegina..... | einer, |
| 7. für das Hieron von Epidavros.....          | einer, |
| 8. für Korinth.....                           | einer, |
| 9. für Mykenä .....                           | einer, |
| 10. für den Tempel des Apollo zu Bassä.....   | einer, |
| 11. für die Ruinen von Messene.....           | einer, |
| 12. für die Insel Delos.....                  | einer, |
| 13. für Olympia.....                          | einer  |

Wenn dann der Generalkonservator und die Provinzial-Inspektoren die Denkmale zu gehörigen Zeit besuchen und so über die Aufseher eine wirkliche Kontrolle ausüben, dann ist es zu hoffen, daß dieselben der Nachwelt erhalten und so eine wohlbewährte Schuld der Mitwelt abgetragen werde.

Athen, den 28. August 1834.  
9. September

L. von Klenze.

6. Leo von Klenze; Description of the ceremony inaugurating restoration work on the Akropolis, on September 10, 1834. In: *Leo von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin, 1838*, pp. 380-387.

Am 6. September kam der Präsident der Regentschaft und das Regentschafts-Mitglied von Kobell in Athen an, und am folgenden Tage traf unter dem lauten Jubel des Volkes auch der junge König ein. Es ward nun Alles für den festlichen Beginn der Restaurations-Arbeiten auf der Akropolis bereitet, und der Tag dieses Festes von Seiner Majestät dem Könige auf den 10. September anberaumt.

Ich hatte den Einflüssen der vielen Anstrengungen, unerträglicher Sonnenhitze, und endlich auch wohl den Miasmen, welche diese Hitze aus einem verwilderten, verwüsteten, mit Ruinen bedeckten und durch vernachlässigten Wasserablauf verdorbenen Boden entwickelt, meinen Tribut bezahlen müssen. Fieber, Gehirnentzündung und allgemeines Übelbefinden hatten mich, als ich kaum meine Arbeiten vollendet hatte, um die Zeit gebracht, welche ich für Ausflüge in die Umgebungen Athens bestimmt hatte.

Dem ersten Fest-Programme gemäß wollte Seine Excellenz der Herr Regentschafts-Präsident, so wie es paßlich schien, bei diesem Feste selbst die Anrede an den König halten: allein ein plötzliches Übelbefinden verhinderte ihn daran, und ich erhielt erst wenige Stunden vor der Festlichkeit selbst die Aufforderung, diese Anrede zu übernehmen. Wenige Augenblicke blieben mir also nur, um einige passende Worte für das zu Sagende vorzubereiten, und, schnell ins Neugriechische übersetzt, in einigen Abschriften vervielfältigen zu lassen, weil ich mich die Anrede in der schönen Landessprache zu halten, nicht stark genug fühlte, und den jungen König in einer anderen als seiner Muttersprache anzureden für unpaßlich erachtete.

Aus diesen Gründen wohl habe ich später diese Anrede vielfach verstümmelt in öffentlichen Blättern wiedergefunden.

Die Stunde zum Beginne der Festlichkeit wurde um 4 Uhr nachmittags anberaumt, und fast die ganze Bevölkerung Athens zog in Prozession den steilen Weg zur Akropolis empor, um ihren jungen königlichen Gebieter und das erste Freudenfest zu sehen, welches seit so vielen Jahrhunderten auf diesem Felsen (in alter Zeit dem Zeugen so vieler Feste) gefeiert wurde.

Welche Erinnerungen drängten sich mir nicht auch in dieser Beziehung auf,

als ich in glühender Sonnenhitze und zwischen Hunderten schaulustiger Neugriechen den steilen Felsenweg zu der Festlichkeit hinanstieg!

Schmerz und Freude, fromme Verehrung menschheitveredelnder Gottheiten, deren Existenz tiefgegründete und reine Überzeugung bewährte, hatten auf diesem Felsen mit der gräßlichsten Entweihung abgewechselt (...).

Aber aller Jammer jener Zeiten war vergessen, und wenn auch die festlichen Vorbereitungen in keiner Art den alten Panathenäen entsprachen und sich auf Umwindung mancher Säulen mit Lorbeer und Palmenzweigen und auf Bestreuung der Wege mit Myrten und Oleanderlaub beschränkten, so strahlte doch Jubel und Freude aus allen Gesichtern dem jungen Herrscher entgegen, als er, umgeben von zahlreichem und glänzendem Gefolge, den Berg heranritt.

Die Ingenieur-Offiziere, Architekten und ich empfingen ihn an dem mittleren geöffneten und geschmückten Durchgange der Propyläen und geleiteten ihn in den mittleren Raum des Parthenon, woselbst ein Thronhimmel aus grünen Zweigen und Blumen errichtet war, neben welchem Seine Majestät Ihren Platz einnahmen. Die offene Bogenhalle der im inneren Cellaraume des Parthenon stehenden Moschee war für die atheniensischen Damen bestimmt, welche sich ebenfalls festlich geschmückt eingefunden hatten. In der Nähe des Königs und der Regentschaft standen alle anwesenden Gesandten, Konsuln und ausgezeichneten Fremden in reichen europäischen Uniformen, und ein Quarré von griechischen ebenfalls europäisch gekleideten Truppen. Größeres Interesse aber gewährte der Anblick des Corps der unregelmäßigen hellenischen Freiheitskämpfer, welche sich in ihrem Kriegskostüme und mit allen Arten von prächtigen Waffen, der Beute ihrer Siege über die seldschukischen Henkerhaufen, geschmückt, an diese europäischen Truppen anschlossen. Eine große Anzahl geschmückter junger Mädchen unter der Anleitung des würdigen Amerikaners Hill, welcher sich hier seit Jahren einem ganz philanthropischen Unterrichte der Jugend widmet, gab einen reizenden Anblick, so wenig weibliche Schönheit auch unter dieser Jugend bemerklich war.

Den schönsten Anblick aber gewährte das Volk, in seinen malerischen Kleidungen die Trümmerhaufen bedeckend und mit tausendfach wiederholtem ζήτω ὁ βασιλεὺς! die athenische Ätherluft erschütternd, welche diese ganze Scene umgab. Diese schönen und mit dem Süden und Südländern eigenthümlichen malerischen Sinne sich ordnenden Gruppen bedeckten aber nicht allein den Boden, die Stufen und die zerstreuten Trümmer, sondern sogar die Gipfel der halb gestürzten Säulen, die Cellamauern, die Gesimse und die höchste Giebelspitze des Tempels, und verliehen dem ganzen Bilde einen unbeschreiblichen Reiz.

Alles war tief ergriffen, und mit glänzenden Augen sprach mir der junge Monarch den Wunsch aus: O! wenn mein Vater dieses Schauspiel genießen könnte!

Nachdem die Fanfaren und Symphonieen geendigt waren, mit welchen bis jetzt das Musikchor der englischen Fregatte Madagaskar den Festzug begleitet hatte, redete ich, tiefbewegt von den Erinnerungen und Hoffnungen der Örtlichkeit und des Augenblicks, den König mit folgenden Worten an:

“Eure Majestät wollten nebst so vielen anderen Wohlthaten, welche das junge Griechenland Allerhöchst ihrer Regentensorgfalt schon schuldet, diesem Lande und der ganzen gebildeten Welt einen offenkundigen Beweis des hohen väterlichen Interesses gewähren, welches Sie auch an der hehren Vergangenheit, der kräftigsten historischen Basis, auf welcher dieses schönen Landes Zukunft ruhen muß, nehmen.

Wie hätte dieses triftiger und auf eine der ganzen gebildeten Welt mehr zusagende Weise geschehen können, als indem Allerhöchstdieselben die Sorgfalt für dieser hehren Vergangenheit sichtbare Überbleibsel, für die Monumente hellenischer Kunst, bewährten?

Deshalb geruhten Allerhöchstdieselben, mir den schönen Auftrag zu geben, den Beginn der Arbeiten anzuordnen und zu leiten, durch welche die



Denkmale dieser hohen Burg, des dreitausendjährigen Sitzes atheniensischer Größe, die vollendetsten plastischen Bildungen, welche jemals in eines Menschen Geiste entstanden, dem Schutte und der Verwüstung entrissen und den spätesten Jahrhunderten aufbewahrt und gesichert werden sollten.

Ganz fühle ich die Größe, Würde und Schönheit dieser Aufgabe. Nicht das todte Werkzeug, nicht der Befehl des Werkmeisters, nicht die Anstrengung der Arbeiter allein konnte sie ausführen, ohne daß dabei Alles ein eigenes poetisches Leben anzunehmen schien.

Die Schatten der großen Männer, welche von diesem Mittelpunkte des kriegerischen Ruhmes, der Philosophie, Gesetzgebung, der Wissenschaften und Künste, von Athen aus den geistigen Umschwung der Mit- und Nachwelt beherrschten; die Schatten dieser großen Männer, seit zwei Jahrtausenden gewohnt, in jedem Schlage von Hammer und Meißel, in jedem Rufe der Arbeiter an diesem Orte das Signal einer neuen Zerstörungs-Epoche dieser herrlichen Werke zu sehen, schienen aus ihren stillen Ruheplätzen um uns her aufgeschreckt worden zu sein und ängstlich die schützenden Arme über die letzten Trümmer ihrer ehemaligen Herrlichkeit auszubreiten, um den gefürchteten Untergang ihrer letzten Spuren zu verhindern. Alles schien sich dem Unternehmen, welches nicht Zerstörung, sondern Erhaltung bezweckte, zu widersetzen: die Hebel, welche die verwirrten Steinmassen lüften und ordnen sollten, bogen sich und brachen, Krankheiten verscheuchten die Arbeiter, Rollen und Seile zerrissen, und schon glaubten die erschreckten Werkmeister das Werk aufgeben zu müssen. Da erschien am fernen Horizonte, aus dem blauen Schoße der Amphitrite auftauchend die Flagge der Hoffnung. Der König kommt, um selbst die erste Hand anzulegen an das begonnene Werk der Erhaltung! so ertönte es in den Reihen des jungen wiedergeborenen Volkes, und bis zu den Höhen hinauf, wo wir jetzt froh und erwartungsvoll versammelt sind. Da beseelte ein neuer Eifer die entmuthigten Arbeiter, Alles ward jetzt leicht und günstig, die verworrenen Trümmer gewährten willig, was man von ihnen forderte, um sie wiederherzustellen, und aus dem Schutte erstanden seit Jahrhunderten vergrabene Überreste der Plastik, welche Europa als ihr Höchstes, als Werke von Pheidias Meißel anerkennt.

Gleichsam von selbst stellten sich jetzt die Marmorblöcke dem Bedürfnisse dar und ordneten sich fast wie zu Amphions mythischer Zeit nach dem Rhythmus der Jubelgesänge, welche dem Könige entgegenschallten. Haben sie diese Jubeltöne vernommen, jene schützenden Schatten von Athens großen Männern, welche diese Säulen und Mauern umschwebten? haben sie es vernommen, daß König Otto naht? Ja! das Freudengerücht ist bis zu ihnen gedrungen, und da seine Gegenwart nur segenbringend sein kann für Alles, was Hellas Treffliches und Schönes bewahrt, so kehren sie freudig und beifallwinkend zurück zu ihren kühlen Ruhestätten und schlummern wieder fort bei dem Rhythmus derselben Töne, welche sie früher aus ihrer Ruhe geschreckt hatten.

Eure Majestät Fuß hat heute nach vielen Jahrhunderten der Barbarei zum erstenmale wieder diese hohe Burg auf dem Wege der Civilisation und des Ruhms, auf dem Wege des Themistokles, Aristides, Kimon und Perikles betreten, und dieses wird und muß in den Augen der Welt ein Symbol der gesegneten Regierungs-Periode Eurer Majestät und desjenigen sein, was Sie über diese Felsenburg beschlossen haben. Die Spuren einer barbarischen Zeit, Schutt und formlose Trümmer werden, wie überall in Hellas, auch hier verschwinden, und die Überreste der glorreichen Vorzeit werden als die sichersten Stützpunkte einer glorreichen Gegenwart und Zukunft zu neuem Glanze erstehen.

Ich wage also an Eure Majestät im Namen Griechenlands und der ganzen gebildeten Welt die Bitte, dem ersten Säulenstücke, welches sich wieder auf dem verjüngten Parthenon erhebt, Allerhöchstselbst die übliche Weihe und somit dem Fortgange und dem Gelingen dieses Werkes der Erhaltung die beste Gewähr zu ertheilen".

Nach dieser Rede wurden die üblichen Ceremonien einer Grundsteinlegung vorgenommen, und das erste durch türkisches Pulver und venetianisches Feuer herabgestürzte Säulenstück erhob sich wieder auf seiner Basis!

Wenn es gestattet ist, unseren Lesern Mittheilungen über individuelle Gefühle anzuvertrauen, so darf ich Ihnen gestehen, daß ich in einem bis jetzt glücklichen und erfolgreichen Leben als Künstler doch nur zwei Momente wahrer hoher Zufriedenheit und Freude erlebte; diesen Moment des Beginns einer wirksamen Erhaltung, ja Wiederherstellung, des schönsten Denkmals der Welt, und die Grundsteinlegung der Walhalla, wobei es mir gestattet war, dem Erbauer des Parthenon nachzueifern!

7. Leo von Klenze; Memorandum on the procedures to be followed in excavating on the Akropolis, clearing away later structures, preserving and storing the finds and restoring the Parthenon, 1834. In: *Leo von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin, 1838*, pp. 392-395.

Einem später geäußerten Wunsche der Regensschaft gemäß gab ich über das Einzelne der Behandlungsart dieser Restaurations-Arbeiten am 18. September folgendes Gutachten ab:

"Ich habe über die Art, wie die Akropolis von Athen in Zukunft im Ganzen behandelt und gestaltet werden soll, in meinem Vortrage über den Plan von Athen schon das Nöthige ausgeführt; und da die dort entwickelten Ansichten von Seiner Majestät dem Könige und von der Regensschaft gebilligt und angenommen worden sind, so bleibt mir nur noch übrig, Einiges über die Anordnung der Arbeiten im Einzelnen anzuführen.

Die Aufsicht über diese Arbeiten würde nach meiner schon früher entwickelten Ansicht dem Doktor Ross und dem Architekten Schaubert anvertraut, und ich selbst von Zeit zu Zeit durch Berichte derselben über den Zustand, den Fortgang und die allenfalls eintretenden Hindernisse unterrichtet werden. Die Art und Ordnung, in welcher diese Arbeiten geführt werden müßten, und welche ich an Ort und Stelle den obengenannten Herren mehrere Male erklärte, wäre meiner Meinung nach folgende:

Die allererste Arbeit wäre die Entfernung der Festungsmauern, welche kein archäologisches, konstruktives oder malerisches Interesse gewähren, und durch ihren höchst ruinösen Zustand gefahrdrohend sind, wie dieses namentlich gerade am Haupteingange vor den Propyläen der Fall ist.

Zuerst würde dann der Parthenon aufgedeckt und restauriert werden, zu welchem Zwecke, wie mir schon mitgetheilt wurde, die von mir berechneten Kosten und Geldmittel, auf drei Jahre vertheilt, wirklich angewiesen sind. Die dort am Parthenon begonnene Ausgrabung würde in einer Breite von 20 Fuß um die Stufen des Tempels zuerst an der Nordseite, dann an der westlichen, an der südlichen und endlich an der Ostseite fortgesetzt und vollendet,



und dieses theils um die Restauration, theils um den Transport des Schuttes und der wegzuschaffenden Steine, welcher nur nach der Westseite stattfinden kann, zu erleichtern. Jedoch könnte es auch Vortheile gewähren, wenn man für die Hinwegtransportirung des Schuttes erst an der nordwestlichen Ecke eine bedeutende Abräumung vorangehen ließe.

Was sich bei dieser Ausgrabung an plastischen Kunstwerken findet, würde sogleich dem Konservator übergeben und einstweilen in die noch stehende Moschee, sobald diese von den Soldaten der Festungs-Garnison verlassen sein wird, gebracht. Das Theseion würde ebenfalls sehr geeignet zur vorläufigen Aufnahme solcher Trümmer antiker Plastik sein. Alle zur wirklichen Restauration nöthigen und noch tauglichen Stücke würden bei der Ausgrabung so viel wie möglich sogleich an den Ort oder demselben so nahe wie möglich gebracht, wo sie aufgestellt und verwendet werden sollen. Alle Stücke, welche zu diesem Zwecke nicht mehr dienlich sind, müßten, wenn sie durch Erhaltung architektonischer Formen, Profile, Gesimse, Ornamente plastischer Arbeiten oder Malereien noch einiges Interesse gewähren, ebenfalls aufbewahrt und auf zweckmäßige und malerische Art in und um die Ruine gruppiert und aufbewahrt werden, damit diese den ihr von der Zeit aufgedrückten und unvermeidlichen Charakter einer malerischen Ruine nicht verliere. Alle Stein- und Marmorblöcke, welche außer diesen drei Kategorien fallen, würden von der Burg hinab und dahin geschafft, woselbst man sie als Baumaterial am vortheilhaftesten verwenden könnte, oder sie würden an die Meistbietenden verkauft. Der eigentliche Schutt könnte, wie ich glaube, am vortheilhaftesten über die Mauern oder Felsenwände gegen den Areiospagos hinabgeworfen und von dort auf Wagen zum Anfüllen der Schloßterrassen geschafft werden, wodurch ein doppelter Zweck mit einfachen Kosten erreicht werden würde.

Die Restauration würde in der Art stattfinden, daß man fürs erste alle Säulentambours verwendet, um die Säulen des Peribolos der Nordseite des Tempels ganz aufzustellen, da diese von der Stadt und dem Schlosse, also von den Hauptseiten aus, gesehen wird. Sollte, um eine Säule ganz aufstellen zu können, ein oder zwei Stücke fehlen, so würden diese aus dem vorhandenen Marmor neu gemacht, jedoch ohne diese Restauration gerade mit Affektation verstecken und unkenntlich machen zu wollen. Was von erhaltenen Architrav-, Triglyphen-, Metopen- und Gesimsstücken gefunden wird, müßte, so viel es möglich ist, auf malerische dem Charakter der Ruine entsprechende Weise wieder auf die Säulen aufgestellt, und so um den ganzen Bau fortgeführt werden, indem man ebenfalls die Cellamauern, so weit es die vorhandenen Stücke gestatten, wieder aufrichtete. An der Südseite werden wahrscheinlich einige Säulen fehlen, und ohne Schaden für die Wirkung des Ganzen hinweggelassen werden können; übrigens ist sie wie die Nordseite zu behandeln. Die an der Westseite zwischen den Anten und Antensäulen eingebaute Wendeltreppe muß entfernt werden, und kann, da es wünschenswerth ist, auf die Höhe des Tempels gelangen zu können, durch ein leichtes Treppchen im Innern der Cella ersetzt werden.

Zu dem Aufziehen der Steine sind Gerüste und Maschinen nöthig, welche theils schon gemacht, theils von mir den Architekten angegeben worden sind. Starke Flaschenzüge, Steinglocken u.a. wäre es vielleicht rathsam und nöthig in Deutschland machen zu lassen, und ich würde dieses auf Begehren sehr gerne besorgen.

Nach dem Parthenon würde dann das Plateau des Felsens gegen Westen, wohin das Museum gebaut werden soll, dann das Erechteion und endlich die Propyläen mit ihren Umgebungen ab- und ausgeräumt und in der

obenangeführten Art restaurirt werden.

Daß bei allen diesen Arbeiten der antike Boden, so wie man ihn findet, mit allen Absätzen, Terrassen, Piedestalen und Substruktionsresten vollkommen erhalten werden muß, versteht sich wohl von selbst".

## 8. Leo von Klenze; Extract from a letter to King Otto with recommendations concerning personnel and procedures for work on the Akropolis, 1834. In: *Leo von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin, 1838, Appendix IV.*

Um nun die Darstellung dessen, was auf meine Veranlassung für die alten Denkmäler Griechenlands geschah, zu beschließen, füge ich hier die speziellen Vorschläge bei, welche ich in dieser Beziehung an die Regentschaft machte. Diese erhielten sämtlich, nachdem schon am 4. September (Beilage VI) die für die Restaurationsarbeiten auf der Akropolis berechnete Summe von 72.000 Drachmen angewiesen worden war, am 16. September mit dem Zusatze die Genehmigung, daß die Regentschaft mit Freuden meine fortdauernde Theilnahme an dieser Angelegenheit auch nach meiner Rückkehr annehmen würde.

Mein erster Antrag vom 5. September war folgender.

"Auf Eurer Majestät speziellen Befehl beeile ich mich, über die Personal-Verhältnisse, welche meiner unmaßgeblichen Meinung zufolge bei der Wiederherstellung der Akropolis einzutreten hätten, folgende unvorgreifliche Vorschläge zu machen. Der antiquarische Theil, so wie die obere Leitung der ganzen Arbeit würde dem eben so klassisch gebildeten, als in jeder Hinsicht empfehlungswerthen und zuverlässigen Doktor Ross anvertraut werden. Die technische Leitung der Arbeiten könnte wohl am paßlichsten gemeinschaftlich von den Architekten Schaubert und Kleanthes übernommen werden, welchen die spezielle Aufsicht über die aufgefundenen zur Restauration, zur Aufbewahrung oder zur anderweitigen Verwendung zu bestimmenden Marmorblöcke, so wie die Übergabe der aus dem Schutte erstehenden plastischen Werke an das Konservatorium denselben anheimfallen. Eben so würden die Architekten dafür zu sorgen haben, daß die aus dem Abbruche der Mauern und aus dem Schutte zu gewinnenden Baumaterialien, welche man vielleicht mit Vortheil an Privat-Unternehmer übergeben könnte, so wie die für den Staat brauchbaren oder in antiquarischer Hinsicht interessanten Stücke gehörig sortirt und ausgewählt würden. Der Unterzeichnete würde es sich zur wahren Freude machen, auch in der Ferne noch Antheil an dem Fortgange dieser nach seiner Angabe und unter seiner Leitung begonnenen Arbeiten zu nehmen, wozu es etwa dreimonatiger Berichte über Fortgang bedürfte, um ihn in steter genügender Kenntniß deshalb zu erhalten".

## 9. Leo von Klenze; Commentary on the monuments of Athens shown in his new city plan, drawn in 1834 (see fig. 12). In: *Leo von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesam-*



*melt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin, 1838, pp. 455-463.*

Ich füge dem auf Tab. II. dargestellten, von mir entworfenen Stadtplane nur noch einige Bemerkungen, und für die Nichtkenner der griechischen Sprache, welche für die Einschreibungen der Kupfertafel gebraucht werden mußte, einige klärende Worte hinzu.

Auf diesem Plane sind alle Höhen und Terrainbewegungen, außer denjenigen jedoch, welche in den eigentlich bebauten oder noch zu bebauenden Stadttheil fallen, möglichst genau dargestellt. Eben so sind alle Denkmale des Alterthums, so wie die christlichen Kirchen und einige türkische Gebäude darauf verzeichnet.

- I. Der Theseustempel.
- II. Die erst vor einigen Jahren aufgefundenen plastischen Werke, welche an pilasterartige Stützen gelehnte Figuren darstellen, von welchen die eine sehr gut erhaltene den drachenfüßigen Erechtheus darstellt. Man hat hieraus schließen wollen, daß diese Werke, von welchen man noch drei erkennt, die Eponymen darstellten, deren Pausanias erwähnt.
- III. Die Überbleibsel des Gymnasions, Ptolemäon genannt.
- IV. Portikus der neuen eretrischen Agora, welche unter Augustus nach den Verwüstungen des Sylla hieher verlegt wurde. Man kann sich einer gewissen Wehmuth nicht enthalten, wenn man dieses Denkmal ansieht. Die Formen sind noch dorisch, alle Theile dieser hehren Ordnung sind daran sichtbar, aber aus jeder Einzelheit dieser Formen und Verhältnisse, in jeder Biegung der Profilirungen erkennt man die Geschichtsperiode, welcher es angehört. Der Geist eigenes Lebens ist daraus gewichen; als man so in Athen bauete, ertönten die Worte hellenischer Freiheit nicht mehr von den Höhen des Pnyx, sondern nur noch wie von einem leisen Echo wiederholt, vom Isthmos her, wo sie Flaminius, der römische Besieger Griechenlands, höhnend ausgesprochen hatte.

Diese Architektur wollte offenbar nicht mehr sich selbst genügen, sondern dem Geschmacke einer Zeit, eines Volkes, oder eines Herrn gefallen; und was kann unter solchen Bedingungen die Architektur und jede Kunst sein?

Mit großem Interesse sah ich noch neben diesem Portikus die Ruinen des Hauses, welches der edle Fauvel hier so lange in patriarchalischer Ruhe bewohnt hatte, bis ihn die Wirren der Revolution aus demselben vertrieben.

Eine Figur, welche Frankreich darstellt, mit den bekannten Inschriften der französischen Revolution versehen, bezeichnete noch diese Ruinen.

- V. Überreste der Wasserleitung, welche das Horologium des Andronikos Kirrhestes versah. Obwohl diese drei Bogen von ziemlich hoher Arbeit sind, so liefern sie uns doch in der Art, wie die Archivolten der Bogen mit Profilen in viereckiger Form eingerahmt sind, ein höchst bedeutendes Denkmal von den Mitteln, welche die griechische Architektur anwendete, um die Bogenform mit ihrem Hauptsysteme senkrechter und wagerechter Linien und Dispositionen zu verschmelzen.

Diese Anordnung muß sehr ausgebreitet gewesen sein, da es Spuren ihrer Verpflanzung in byzantinischen Gebäuden giebt, während man sie in der Bauart des muhammedanischen Glaubens, wie uns die spanischen Denkmale beweisen, durchgängig angewendet findet.

Auch in neuester Zeit haben Architekten, welche den Geist der

griechischen Architektur und die Modalität, unter welcher dieselbe bei uns lebendig werden kann, begreifen konnten, diese Anordnung mit dem größten Erfolg angewendet.

- VI. Horologium des Andronikos. Obwohl die Arbeit sowohl der architektonischen Theile als der Plastik dieses Denkmals roh ist, so ist das Ganze doch aus der Idee hoher Zweckmäßigkeit hervorgegangen, welcher den griechischen Werken innewohnt, und der Anblick des Ganzen mit seinen einfachen unteren Theilen, den wenigstens trefflich gedachten und angebrachten Figuren der acht Hauptwinde und der eben so zweckmäßigen als zierlich geformten Bedachung ist noch jetzt von großem Reize.
- VII. Ionischer tetrastylar Säulenportikus, einem nicht bekannten Denkmale angehörig.
- VIII. Stoa des Hadrian. Vor Spon und Wheler für den Tempel des Zeus Olympios, von Stuart für die Poikile gehalten. Die Beschreibung, welche Pausanias von der großen Stoa giebt, die Hadrian in Athen errichtete, enthält nichts, was der aus der Analogie des Baustyls fließenden Annahme, daß diese Ruinen jenem Gebäude angehören, zuwider spräche.  
Die leere Pracht der an eine geschlossene Mauer zwecklos gestellten Säulen gehört offenbar der römischen Zeit an. Diese Anordnung ist bei Triumphbogen und öffentlichen Denkmälern erklärlich, da diese mehr als malerische Zusammenstellungen erobeter Werke der Architektur und Plastik, denn als organische Compositionen der Architektur angesehen werden müssen.  
So wurden nach Plinius Angabe mehrere Säulen des Olympieions aus Athen durch Sylla als Siegeszeichen mit fortgeschleppt und dann zur Verherrlichung der Triumphbogen verwendet, sie dienten dann den gleichfalls eroberten plastischen Werken als erhabene Piedestale. Vielleicht waren die Säulen an der Stoa des Hadrian ebenfalls als solche verwendet; jedoch möchten sie hier und in dieser Stellung schwer zu rechtfertigen sein. Nur bei bedingter Anwendung der römischen Triumphbogenform möchte dieses eintreten.
- IX. Überreste des Prytaneions. Man hat einige sehr schöne Überreste von Quadermauern des schönsten Styls, welche in dieser Gegend erst durch den Ruin der Stadt bei den verschiedenen Belagerungs-Epochen zu Tage kamen, dem Prytaneion zugeschrieben.  
Die Lage scheint zu den höchst mangelhaften Andeutungen, welche Pausanias über diese Gebäude giebt, zu passen. Allem Anscheine nach würden weitere Nachforschungen in dieser Gegend zu den glänzendsten Entdeckungen führen.
- X. Die Propyläen.
- XI. Der Parthenon. Die Form ist ungefähr bekannt, wenn auch Stuarts Nachbildungen und Vermessungen vieles zu wünschen übrig lassen. Weiteres über die Vollkommenheiten dieses Gebäudes zu sagen, ist überflüssig: tanto nomini nullum par elogium!
- XII. Das Erechtheion. Mit Jammer sieht man, in welchem schrecklichen Grade die Zerstörung dieses herrlichen Werkes griechischer Architektur in der letzten Revolution zugenommen hat, wenn man seinen jetzigen mit dem Zustande vergleicht, in welchem Stuart dasselbe noch sah.

Außer dem, was Lord Elgin davon hinwegschleppte, und was die Kanonenkugeln bei zwei Belagerungen verwüsteten, ist besonders der Einsturz der Ecksäulen des Portals am Poliastempel, so wie dessen ganze Marmordecke, zu bedauern.

Um dieses Portals inneren Raum, welchen der letzte Kommandant Gouras zur Wohnung für sich und seine Familie gewählt hatte, bomben-



fest zu machen, ließ er auf die Marmordecke eine solche Masse von Schutt und Erde häufen, daß dieselbe, nachdem die nördliche Ecksäule hinausgedrückt worden, endlich einstürzte und elf Personen unter ihren Trümmern begrub.

Die höchst barbarische Liebe zu den Werken des Alterthums, welche Lord Elgin auf so großartige Weise beurkundet hatte, wurde nun um so bequemer von des Schottländers Landsleuten und Anderen an den herabgestürzten Säulenknäufen, Balken und Lakunarien der Decke geübt. Wer die Akropolis besuchte, wollte ein plastisches Andenken mit sich fortnehmen, und so wurden bald alle Spuren von Skulptur und Ornamenten von den herabgestürzten Marmorblöcken in alle Welttheile zerstreut.

- XIII. Überbleibsel des runden Piedestals oder Tempels des Augustus und der Roma.
- XIV. Das Thor des Hadrian. Elende Architektur. Alles, was Hadrian in Athen gebaut hat, erscheint weit schlechter, als was wir aus seiner Zeit in Rom sehen. Die geringen Spuren griechischer Kunst, welche im Style des Ornaments erscheinen, sind gespenster- und fratzenhaft. In Rom ist wenigstens Alles rein römisch ausgebildet.
- XV. Der Tempel des Zeus Olympios. Diese riesenhaften Marmorsäulen, die Wälder von Statuen und Kolossen, welche nach Pausanias rings um denselben standen, der ungeheuere Peribolos, welcher den Tempelplatz umgab, müssen bei völliger Vollendung und Erhaltung des Ganzen eine Pracht des Anblicks gewährt haben, von welcher sich unsere ärmliche Zeit keinen klaren Begriff mehr machen kann.
- XVI. Brücke über den Ilissos, zu dem Stadion führend, woran man aber nur geringe Überreste der Grundmauern sieht. Sie wurde bei Gelegenheit des Baues der neuen Stadtmauern von Athen zerstört.
- XVII. Antike Trümmer, wahrscheinlich Spuren des Denkmals, welches dem Herodes Attikos hier errichtet wurde.
- XVIII. Spuren, wahrscheinlich des Tempels der Tyche.
- XIX. Substruktionen, welche dem schönen ionischen Tempel des Triptolemos angehörten, welchen Stuart hier noch aufrecht stehen sah und darstellte.
- XX. Aquädukt des Hadrian, von welchem zu Stuarts Zeit ebenfalls noch mehrere schlecht geformte ionische Säulen standen. Es wurde aber, als bei Gelegenheit des Aufstandes in dem Jahre 1770 Athen schnell gegen die einbrechenden Albanesen oder nach anderen Angaben im Jahre 1780 gegen die Seeräuber und Arnautenhorden befestigt werden mußte, völlig zerstört, und man sieht noch eine diesem Aquädukte angehörige Inschrift zu der barbarischen Konstruktion des Thores von Mesoghia verwendet.
- XXI. Korinthische Säule von euboeischem Marmor und unbedeutendem Styl. Sie scheint eine Denksäule aus später Zeit zu sein.
- XXII. Odeion der Regilla, von Pausanias und Philostratos erwähnt und beschrieben.
- XXIII. Platz, welchen das Theater des Bakchos einnahm, von welchem jedoch außer einer ziemlich verwischten Höhlung des Bergabhanges nicht die kleinste Spur mehr übrig ist.
- XXIV. Choragisches Denkmal des Thrasyllus. Im letzten Kriege vollkommen verwüstet; nur noch einige Trümmer der Konstruktionsstücke liegen an der Stelle, wo dieses schöne Denkmal stand.
- XXV. Choragisches Denkmal des Lysikrates. Es hat durch die Verwüstungen des Revolutionskrieges wenig gelitten, und ist von dem Gebäude, in welches es eingebaut war, befreit worden. Es ist ein wahrer Diamant der

Ornamentarchitektur und unfehlbarer Probiereisen richtiges Urtheils über dieselbe; wer dessen kanonische Schönheit nicht fühlt, wäre wahrlich zu bedauern.

- XXVI. Die Pnyx.
- XXVII. Das Denkmal des Syriers Philopappos. Da hier die türkische Batterie stand, welche im letzten Befreiungskriege die Akropolis verwüstete, so hat dieses Bauwerk selbst sehr gelitten und geht seinem völligen Untergange entgegen. Die Kunst würde dabei nur eines der Mittelglieder der Kette architektonischen Verderbens einbüßen, welche das hellenische Alterthum mit der byzantinischen und den anderen romantischen Bauarten verbindet.
- XXVIII. Höhle des Apollon und des Pan.
- XXIX. Das panathenäische Stadion des Herodes, Sohnes des Attikos. Ein Kalkofen in der Tiefe der Rennbahn zeigt uns deutlich, wodurch und wie die ungeheueren Massen pentelisches Marmors, mit welchen Herodes dieses Denkmal zierte, bis auf die letzte Spur verschwunden sind.
- XXX. An den mit der Ziffer 30 bezeichneten Orten findet man Spuren alter Bauwerke, welchen man nicht wohl mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit Namen aus den alten Schriftstellern beilegen kann.

Die Bezeichnung der Stellen, an welchen das Palladion, das Eleusinion, die Tempel der Eukleia, der Artemis Agrotera und die Stoa Eumonia standen, beruhen auf sehr wahrscheinlichen Konjekturen nach den Angaben des Pausanias; da ich aber nicht gesonnen bin, hier eine antiquarische Topographie von Athen zu schreiben, so genüge die Andeutung im Plane.

## 10. Ludwig Ross; Recollections about work on the Akropolis in 1834-1835; ridding the Akropolis of the military barracks, and the first tourists. In: *Ludwig Ross, Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland, Berlin, 1863*, pp. 80-84.

Schon während der Anwesenheit des Hrn. von Klenze in Athen, im August 1834, wurden die Ausgrabungen und Restaurationsarbeiten auf der Akropolis eingeleitet und bei dem Besuche des Königs im September durch eine passende kleine Feierlichkeit unter den ehrwürdigen Hallen des Parthenon eröffnet. Die fernere Leitung wurde fortan mir übertragen, ich wurde zum Oberconservator (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων) ernannt; aber durch die Reise, auf welcher ich den König zu begleiten die Ehre hatte, dann durch die mühevollen und verdriesslichen Geschäfte der Baucommission wurde die Fortsetzung auf mehrere Monate unterbrochen. Endlich war die Übersiedelung der Regierung nach Athen glücklich vollzogen, das Werk konnte wieder aufgenommen werden. Ich nahm meine bescheidene Wohnung wieder am nördlichen Abhange der Burg, an dem Wege, auf welchem ich meinen türkischen Vorgänger, den Disdar-Aga, mit seinem Paukenschläger öfter hatte hinanreiten sehen; der Oberarchitekt, mein Freund Schaubert aus Breslau, und der geschickte dänische Architekt Chr. Hansen, der jetzt die Bauten des Österreichischen Lloyd in Triest führt, wurden mir für das Technische beigegeben. Zur Bewachung der Akropolis und zur Begleitung und Überwachung der Besucher der Alterthümer wurden mir zwölf Invaliden (ἀπόμαχοι) von der Invalidencompagnie in Monembasia (Napoli di Malvasia) überwiesen, höchst nüchterne, ordentliche



und gewissenhafte Leute, über die ich nie zu klagen gehabt habe. Ich baute mit Schaubert am Eingange der Burg, über dem Odeum des Herodes, ein Häuschen für sie, welches wir, um seine Bestimmung durch den Charakter der Architektur anzudeuten, grossentheils aus unbrauchbaren Trümmern, Säulenschaft, Capitälern, Basreliefs, Inschriften zusammensetzten.

Dabei war die Akropolis aber immer militärisch besetzt. In der großen türkischen Moschee, welche damals noch in der Mitte des Parthenon stand, in den Seitengebäuden der Propyläen, die den Türken als Kriegsmagazine gedient hatten, und in den sonstigen noch bewohnbaren Überresten der frühern Baracken lag eine Compagnie Baiern mit einigen Kanonen, theils weils es wirklich noch kein anderes Unterkommen für die Leute gab, theils weil der damalige Kriegsminister, der verstorbene General von Lesuire, sich von der Idee nicht losmachen konnte, daß die Sicherheit Athens eine militärische Besetzung der Akropolis verlange, während er zugleich eine Art Ehrenpunkt darin sah, sich vom Civil nicht verdrängen zu lassen. Täglich um 12 Uhr verkündigte, in Ermangelung einer Stadtuhr, ein Kanonenschuss von der Burg die Mittagszeit. Allein die Anwesenheit der Soldaten hinderte mich sehr in den Arbeiten; überdies bedurfte ich aller Gebäude selbst zu Schuppen und Vorrathskammern für Schubkarren, Hebel, Winden und anderes Rüstzeug. Ich drang daher unablässig auf vollständige Räumung der Burg; Hr. von Kobell unterstützte mich im Schosse der Regentschaft aufs kräftigste, und endlich im Februar wurde der bestimmte Befehl dazu gegeben. General Lesuire war darüber höchst gekränkt; um mich zu chicaniren, ließ er die ganze Moschee voll Militäreffecten. Ich verlangte auch deren sofortige Räumung und drohte schriftlich, entgegenstehendenfalls die Sachen hinauszuerwerfen.

Da schickte er einen Offizier und ließ in meinem Beisein die Moschee amtlich versiegeln und ein Protokoll über den Sachbestand aufnehmen. Ich erklärte dem Herrn, er möge vollziehen, was ihm von seinem Vorgesetzten aufgetragen worden sei; sowie er sich aber entfernt habe werde ich das Außenthor der Akropolis verschließen, denn zu dieser habe ich allein fortan den Schlüssel, werde meine sämtlichen Arbeiter entlassen und über den ganzen Hergang an die hohe Regentschaft berichten. Gesagt, gethan. Es vergingen einige Tage, da erhielt der General die Weisung, auch die Moschee zu verlassen und alle Gebäude an mich zu überliefern; um ihm eine kleine Genugthuung zu geben, ertheilte die Regentschaft auch mir einen gelinden Verweis, wegen grober und ungeziemender "Schreibart", aber den steckte ich gerne ein. Ich hatte durch die entschiedene Massregel vollkommen gesiegt, war nun alleiniger Burgwart von Athen, und fand mich in den antiquarischen Arbeiten durch nichts mehr gehemmt. Das Militär trug mir aber seine Niederlage lange nach, und es gab außerhalb der Akropolis öfter kleine Reibungen. Wäre ich damals nicht durchgedrungen, so wären die Propyläen vielleicht noch heute eine Caserne und Wachstube.

Wir brachen nun zunächst die byzantinisch-fränkisch-türkischen Mauern und Befestigungen vor den Propyläen ab, aus denen vor allen die Überreste des abgebrochenen kleinen Tempels der Nike Apteros hervorgingen, sodaß wir diesen schon in den folgenden Monaten auf seiner alten Stelle wieder aufrichten konnten. Auch ließ ich die Moschee im Parthenon sobald wie möglich abbrechen, um diesen Zankapfel aus dem Wege zu räumen und eine neue Casernirung von Soldaten auf der Akropolis unmöglich zu machen. Indess für eine genauere Erzählung des Fortgangs der Arbeiten ist hier nicht der Ort. Sie wurden mit Eifer bis in den Sommer des Jahres 1836 fortgesetzt und kamen dann ins Stocken. In dieser Zeit verausgabte ich für Arbeitslohn (ich hatte oft über hundert Tagelöhner), für großes Bauholz zu Gerüsten, für Seile, Schubkarren und anderes Material die Summe von 50,000 Drachmen (12,500 Thalern); bei dem Aufräumen des Schuttes aber, namentlich der alten fränkischen und türkischen Gebäude auf der Akropolis,

wurde eine unendliche Menge von Bausteinen gefunden, die damals bei dem großen Bedürfnisse in Athen hoch im Preise waren, besonders die behauenen Ecksteine (ἄγκωνάρια). Diese verkaufte ich von Zeit zu Zeit im Aufstrich und löste daraus 20,000 Drachmen, sodaß als reine Kosten der Ausgrabung und der Restaurationsarbeiten nur 7500 Thaler übrigblieben.

Im Frühling 1835 kam auch eine stärkere englische Flotte nach Athen, deren Offiziere, besonders das bewegliche Geschlecht der jungen Midshipmen, welche Knaben von zehn oder zwölf Jahren bis zu zwanzigjährigen Jünglingen umfassen, sich bisweilen in Strömen über Stadt und Land ergossen. Sie waren auf der Burg und bei den Ausgrabungen eben nicht die bequemsten und discretesten Besucher. Meine Invaliden hatten mit ihnen vollauf zu thun, denn während die Einen auf die höchsten Spitzen des Parthenon kletterten, krochen die Andern in alle Winkel, in die Cisternen und Gewölbe; es war unmöglich, sie genügend zu beaufsichtigen. Ich war genöthigt einige besondere Vorsichtsmaßregeln zu treffen; und um den Zudrang etwas zu vermindern, zugleich dem Fonds eine Einnahme zu verschaffen, kam ich auf den Gedanken, zierlich lithographirte Eintrittskarten auszugeben, die für einige Drachmen unten in der Stadt gelöst werden mussten. Aber damit hatte ich in ein Wespennest gestochen; die Engländer waren sehr erbittert darüber und beschrieben das Außenthor der Akropolis mit Invectiven gegen mich, unter denen das Prädicat 'son of a witch' nicht selten war. Ja einer schloss eine längere Ergiesung über mich mit den Worten: "Um genug von ihm zu sagen, er ist ein Grieche" (to say enough of him, he is a Greek). Indess gelang mir der bessere Schutz der Alterthümer.

Neben den Ausgrabungen auf der Burg wurden in diesem Frühlinge auch einige andere Arbeiten ausgeführt. Den alten dorischen Tempel am westlichen Rande der heutigen Stadt, der seit anderthalb Jahrhunderten misbräuchlich Tempel des Theseus genannt wird und der, bis auf sein altes Dach fast vollständig erhalten, damals mit einem schadhafte christlichen Gewölbe über der Cella überdeckt war, versahen Schaubert und ich mit einem neuen Dache aus maltesischem Sandstein, um sein Inneres als Museum benutzen zu können. Das helle Gelb des maltesischen Steins harmonirte so vollkommen wie möglich mit dem goldgelben Tone, den der weiße Marmor des Tempels im Laufe der Jahrtausende angenommen hat. Hier fingen wir an, die in der Stadt gefundenen Sculpturtrümmer und Inschriften aufzuhäufen. Ein glücklicher Zufall fügte es auch, daß bei der Grundsteinlegung der Magazine im Piräeus einige Überreste vom Arsenal des Philon und die das Seewesen betreffenden Inschriften entdeckt wurden. Wir schwelgten nach allen Seiten hin in anziehenden und lehrreichen archäologischen Funden, und die erste Hälfte des Jahres 1835 war eine der genussreichsten Zeiten, die ich in Griechenland durchlebt habe.



11. Facsimile of King Otto's order concerning conservation of the mediaeval monuments of Athens, 1837. Manuscript in the Hellenic State Archives, Athens; Othonian Archives, Ministry of Public Education, File L44.

Πρὸς τὸν Βασιλέα.  
 Ἐν ἑστὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῶν  
 δημοτικῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν γραμματείων  
 τῆς ἑσπερίας.

Ὁδων  
 κ. τ. λ.  
 Λαβόντες ὑπὸ ὄψιν, ὅτι πολλὰ λείψανα  
 τῶ μεσαιῶνος, Βυζαντινὰ, Βενετικὰ καὶ  
 Τυρκικὰ, τὰ ὅποια εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν, αὐξάνον τὰ σκελετὰ τῆς  
 ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς. Διατάλλομαι νὰ φροντίσῃ ἡ  
 ἐστὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν  
 διακρίνουσας αὐτὰ τὰ λείψανα τῶ μεσαιῶνος  
 εἰς τὴν ἐκτέλεισιν τοῦ νέου σχεδίου τῆς ἀρχι-  
 τεκτονικῆς. ἑστίασε δὲ νὰ φιλάλλωνται τὰ  
 ἀνώτερα, ἂν εὐρίσκονται μεμυγμένα με-  
 εδονικὰς ἢ ῥωμαϊκὰς ἀρχιτεκτονικὰς, καὶ  
 νὰ μὴν <sup>καταστῶν ἀνεκδοκίμητος</sup> ἐκχωρηθῶσιν ἀντὶ ὀφελου-  
 διαταγῆς Μαι.

Ἀθῆναι τῆς 7/19 Δεκεμβρίου 1837.

Ἡ ἡγεμονία σου εἰς τὴν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐκ-  
 κλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν γραμματείων τῆς ἑσπερίας.

Περὶ τῆς διακρίσεως  
 τῶν ἐν Ἀθῆναις λειψάνων τῶ μεσαιῶνος.

Ὁδων



12. Letter written by G. Glarakis, Minister of the Interior, to King Otto on freeing classical buildings from the additions of later periods, 1837. Manuscript in the Hellenic State Archives, Athens; Othonian Archives, Ministry of Public Education, File L44.

Le Secrétariat d'Etat pour les cultes et l'instruction publique

Athènes, le 21 Décembre/2 Janvier 1837/38

Concernant les antiquités du moyen âge

A sa Majesté le Roi

Sire,

je n'ai pas manqué de communiquer au conservateur du musée central l'ordonnance royale du 7/19 Decembre et a l'inviter a donner son attention à tous les restes de l'antiquité qui datent aussi de l'époque romaine, du bas empire et même des siècles passés de la domination turque. Il donnera aussi ses instructions à ce sujet aux gouverneurs.

Mais en même temps, Sire, je crois de mon devoir de faire les observations suivantes: Quoique je n'ignore point qu'il soit du plus grand intérêt de conserver soigneusement tous les monuments qui rappellent les destinées de la Grèce dans chacune des époques passées et de pouvoir ainsi comparer les divers styles d'architecture et les diverses phases de l'art, je crois néanmoins devoir faire une exception à l'égard de quelques constructions d'une époque plus rapprochée, qui sont adossées sur les édifices du style le plus pur de l'antiquité hellénique, sur quelques monuments de premier ordre, dont la beauté dans le rapport de leurs parties et dans l'harmonie de leurs lignes serait dérangée par toute addition d'un édifice quelconque. Ces monuments doivent au contraire être de plus en plus restaurés de manière à pouvoir un jour faire reparaître leurs formes belles et majestueuses telles que l'artiste inspiré les avait conçues, et qu'il les avait exécutées en rapport avec le ciel de la Grèce, et ses paysages. Je pense que toute autre considération doit être subordonnée a celle-ci et que ces monuments tels que le Parthénon, le temple de Thésée et autre semblables sont trop intéressants en eux mêmes pour que ce rapprochement ajoute rien à l'intérêt qu'ils inspirent et que l'impression produite par eux est trop forte pour ne pas absorber l'imagination toute entière de quiconque les observe. Je ne manquerai pas de faire mes humbles propositions en conséquence, toutes les fois qu'il s'agira de dégager un édifice de cette nature des constructions modernes ou d'une antiquité moins reculée qui en cachent ou qui en défigurent quelque partie.

J'ai l'honneur d'être Sire

de vôtre Majesté

le très-humble et très-soumis

serviteur et fidèle sujet

G. Glarakis

13. Lysandros Kaftanzoglou; Draft of a letter to King Otto with his proposal for a new city plan for Athens, 1839. Manuscript entitled "*Esquisse d'un plan pour la ville d'Athènes propre a remplacer le projet en exécution si mal conçu et impossible a recevoir sa totale organisation*". Hellenic State

Archives, Athens; Othonian Archives, Ministry of the Interior, File 214.

Je ne veux pas discuter la plus convenable situation de la ville, car cela est inutile étant fixée par la construction du Palais! Je veux présenter seulement les graves inconvénients que le projet en exécution présente et qui seront a jamais irréparables si la seule volonté royale ne porte a temps un remède décisif a ce malentendu projet, que les intérêts privés ont rendu la capitale de la Grèce et des Arts incapable a recevoir tout son developpement espéré, en la faisant prendre un aspect si triste qu'empêche les riches tant grecs, qu'étrangers a venir jouir des bienfaits de son climat qu'outre l'avantage qu'ils apporteraient par leur séjour ambelliraient la ville par des somptueuses constructions comme cela arrive en Italie et principalement en Toscane ou les noms des Demidofs et des Poniatofski sont si vénérés pour les grands bienfaits qu'ils ont apporté a l'état.

Les premiers fondateurs d'Athènes ont choisi l'Acropole par sa situation qui présente une défense naturelle aux excursions des malfaiteurs et pour la même raison quand la population a augmenté s'est repandue aux pieds de la même colline, ayant pour principal but la possibilité de la défense.

Ces circonstances sont tout a fait différentes, et les gouvernements d'aujourd'hui cherchent a réformer leurs anciennes villes par des sommes immenses et les rendre plus salubres et plus commodes aux besoins de la vie. Cette mesure qui devait être la principale, ne fut point suivie en établissant la capitale dans l'ancienne ville a l'endroit même le plus malsain des alentours car étant posée sur le penchant du nord de l'Acropole le brouillard qui pèse sur cette partie se dissipe difficilement par la nature même de sa position, qu'empêche la libre circulation des vents et rend la ville humide.

Le parti pris d'entourer l'ancienne ville par une nouvelle autant peu régulière avec l'espérance qu'on pourra dans la suite régulariser le centre est un projet mal entendu et inexécutable même avec des sommes immenses et un temps indéfini.

Mais si même cela était possible la forme polygonale propre plutôt a un jardin qu'a un plan de ville est très mal conçue car outre l'aspect désagréable qu'elle rend aux édifices en les coupant en angles aigus et obtus elle manque encore de places qui sont l'âme des villes bien établies. Enfin c'est bien triste qu'une ville bâtie auprès de la mer n'ai pas l'avantage de jouir de ce grand spectacle de la nature.

Or je crois que si on se décide a renoncer a un projet si mal conçu et si chèrement payé, on pourra dans notre siècle même avoir l'espérance de voir la ville d'Athènes devenir une des plus agréables et charmantes Capitales.

Le palais étant bâti heureusement dans une bonne situation et séparé pour ainsi dire autant de l'ancienne que de la nouvelle ville doit attirer insensiblement les habitants a bâtir vers ce côté. Or si on previent a temps cette tendance naturelle par une réforme générale du projet, outre les avantages sous indiqués présentera encore une économie non petite.

Le gouvernement doit se déclarer propriétaire des champs autour du Palais pris au monastère Petraki moyennant des échanges ou a un prix fixé par une loi. Une fois qu'il est propriétaire du terrain, doit diviser cet espace régulièrement et fixer les localités des principaux édifices vers les quatres points de la ville pour la peupler tout-également, ainsi par exemple l'église de S. Sauveur vers le monastère Petraki, l'Université d'un autre côté ainsi que le théâtre.

La grille générale de la ville doit être rectangulaire et divisée en quatre parties par quatre grandes rues qui vont aboutir sur la place royale. Chaque partie doit être divisée par d'autres rues parallèles aux quatre principales qui aboutiront a d'autres places de développement.



Les rues doivent être larges pour empêcher les inconvénients qui se font déjà sentir par la difficulté de la circulation des voitures.

Les principales rues doivent être bordées par des arbres qu'outre la grande commodité qu'ils portent en défendant les passants des rayons du soleil ornent en même temps la ville en cachant en partie les petites maisons économiques et a la suite si la nécessité le demande peuvent être remplacés par des portiques que la nature du pays demande. Car outre que l'histoire nous apprend l'usage des portiques usités en Grèce et en Italie nous voyons encore aujourd'hui ici tirer des tentes sur les rues pour se parer des rayons brûlants du soleil et en Italie des villes entières jouissent de cette grande commodité comme Turin, Novare, Bologne, Padoue ect. ect.

Les places doivent être en forme de jardin c'est à dire l'espace de la place doit être entouré par une grille, laissant autour une large rue pour l'usage de la communication et dans l'intérieur se formera un jardin de fleurs, à l'imitation des squares de Londres.

La colline de Lycabettus pourra servir de promenade et en même temps de lieu pour l'établissement d'un observatoire astronomique, et la colline de l'Acropole doit présenter l'autre promenade publique.

La ville se situant vers ce côté outre ces avantages elle aura encore celui de sa position qu'étant placée au levant et en amphithéâtre sur le penchant de la colline toutes les maisons jouiront de la vue de la mer; et de plus, la facilité d'établir les égouts le long d'Illyrie pour les écoulements des eaux présentera une économie et une propreté à la ville.

Quant à l'ancienne ville étant bâtie si mal elle aura une courte durée et les habitants peu à peu seront forcés à l'abandonner au gouvernement sans avoir des grandes prétentions se trouvant hors de la ville régulière et loin des édifices publics. Ainsi on pourra nourrir l'espérance de pouvoir avec le temps faire des excavations si intéressantes pour les arts et pour l'histoire.

J'ai cru de mon devoir de présenter cette esquisse comme artiste, et convers grec qui désire la prospérité de son pays, aux yeux de S.M. qui seule peut par une énergique et prompte décision, remédier d'aussi graves inconvénients que les intérêts privés ont rendu irréparables pour toujours.

Je suis Sire avec le plus profond respect  
de V.M.

le très humble et très obéissant  
serviteur

Lysandre Caftangioglu

## APPENDIX B

List of Articles published in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Vienna, between 1838 and 1864, concerning architecture, town-planning, archaeology and preservation of monuments in Greece during the reign of king OTTO<sup>1</sup>

Unless otherwise noted, the page references refer to the main text. Separately paged sections, e.g. Notizblatt etc., are indicated.

1) Das Parthenon zu Athen in seinen Haupttheilen neu gemessen. Ein Beitrag zur Konstruktionslehre der Tempel bei den Griechen. Mitgetheilt von dem königlichen griechischen Regierungsarchitekten Joseph Hoffer. Hierzu 3 Abbildungen auf Blatt 237, 238 und 239 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 3 (1838) 371-375, 379-383, 387-391.

2) Notiz über den Fortschritt der Bauarbeiten an der Quarantäne-Anstalt zu Syra, von Weiler.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 3 (1838) p. 378 under "Nachrichten".

3) Entwicklung der Formen der hellenischen Tektonik. Von Architekt Carl Bötticher zu Berlin.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 5 (1840) 316-330.

4) Ansichten der Akropolis zu Athen und ihrer Gebäude. Schreiben an den Herausgeber von Adolf Schöll. Hierzu auf Seite 89: Topographischer Plan von Athen, nach Leake und Cockerell, im Maßstab 1:10000 und 7 Abbildungen auf Blatt 390 bis 396 des Atlas (Architekturdetails und Propyläen-Pläne von Joseph Hoffer.)

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 6 (1841) 11-19 and 91-125.

5) Die Anlage von Athen und der jetzige Zustand der Baukunst in Griechenland. Zerstreute Bemerkungen von F. Stauffert, gewesenen Stadtarchitekten von Athen vom Jahre 1835 bis 15. September 1843. Nebst Bemerkungen über die alten und mittelalterlichen Denkmäler dieses Landes, so wie über die Baugesetze und die zur Erhaltung der Alterthümer erlassenen Verordnungen, über die Organisation des Bauwesens und über die technischen Bildungsanstalten des neuen Königreiches.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 9 (1844) Ephemeriden 1-8, 17-25, 33-38, 41-58, 69-95.

6) Über die alterthümliche Anfertigung leichter Steine aus einer weißen (wahrscheinlich Infusorien-) Erde auf der Insel Rhodos, und deren historische Anwendung zum Bau der berühmten Sophienkirche in Konstantinopel. Nach Prof. Dr. Ehrenberg, zu Berlin, mitgetheilt von C.W. Hoffmann.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 10 (1845) 291-294.

7) Die freiherrlich von Sinaische Sternwarte bei Athen. Von Theophil Hansen. Hierzu auf Seite 127: Plan von Athen und 7 Abbildungen auf Blatt 29 bis 35 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 11 (1846) 126-131.

8) Ein Privatgebäude in Athen. Entworfen und ausgeführt von Theophilos Hansen. Hierzu 7 Abbildungen auf Blatt 62 bis 68 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 11 (1846) 287-288. (The building in question is the Dimitriou Mansion on Syntagma Square, now the Grande Bretagne Hotel.)

9) Rezension von Lohde über: "Das altgriechische Theatergebäude, dargestellt auf neun Tafeln" von J.H. Strack, Baumeister und Professor, Potsdam 1843.



Bei Riegel, I. Band in Folio.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 11 (1846) Literatur und Anzeigeblatt 19-22.

10) Öffentliches türkisches Bad in Athen. Dazu zwei Grundrisse und zwei Schnitte im Maßstab 1:200 auf Seite 47.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 12 (1847) 46-50.

11) Die Insel Santorin im griechischen Archipelagos und die in Triest und Venedig aus Santorin-Sackmauerwerk ausgeführten Baulichkeiten. Hierzu eine Charte der Insel auf Seite 55 und Abbildungen auf Seite 61 und 63 (Schnitte von Fundamenten von Bauwerken).

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 13 (1848) 53-65.

12) Die Restaurationsarbeiten der St. Sophien-Kirche zu Konstantinopel.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 13 (1848) Notizblatt 199-201.

13) Friedrich von Gärtner: Biographische Skizze mit einem Portrait auf Seite 153.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 14 (1849) 148-153. (The Royal Palace —now the Parliament Building— on Syntagma Square is one of von Gärtner's buildings).

14) Hagion Oros oder der heilige Berg Athos mit seinen Klöstern und byzantinischen Malereien.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 14 (1849) Notizblatt 97-108.

15) Die englische Kirche zu Athen. Entworfen und ausgeführt von Christian Hansen. Hierzu Abbildungen auf Blatt 302 und 303 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 15 (1850) 1.

16) Mittelalterliche Kirchen byzantinischen Stils in Griechenland. Von F. Stauffert. Hierzu Abbildungen auf Seite 345 (Grundrisse Aghia Sophia, Navarino, Vurlano) und 5 Abbildungen auf Blatt 368 bis 372 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 15 (1850) 339-355.

17) Griechenland: Die Marmorbrüche der kykladischen Insel Paros.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 15 (1850) Notizblatt 290-291.

18) Die Otto-Universität in Athen. Entworfen und erbaut von Christian Hansen. Von F. Stauffert. Hierzu 5 Abbildungen auf Blatt 374 bis 378 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 16 (1851) 1-6.

19) Die Restauration des Erechtheions zu Athen. Eine erklärende und beweisende Abhandlung, dem Institut von Frankreich im Jahre 1850 überreicht vom Architekten Tetaz, ehemaligen Pensionär der französischen Akademie zu Rom.

Nebst einer genauen bildlichen Darstellung der wichtigsten Architekturtheile dieses Gebäudes von dem königlichen griechischen Regierungsarchitekten Hoffer (und einer Schlußnotiz von F. Stauffert, ehemaligem Stadtarchitekt von Athen).

Hierzu Abbildungen auf Seite 339 (Skulptur) und Seite 349 (Grundriß und Schnitt des Erechtheions) und 7 Abbildungen auf Blatt 429 bis 435 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 16 (1851) 335-353.

20) Übersetzung einer Rezension von E. Cartier (aus der "Revue archéologique", 9. Jhg. erste und zweite Lieferung 1852) über das Werk "Die polychrome Architektur bei den Alten", von J.J. Hittorf. (Französischer Originaltitel des rezensierten Werkes: Restitution du Temple d'Empedocle à Selinonte ou l'architecture polychrome chez les Grecs". 1 vol. en 4 avec Atlas).

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 17 (1852) Literatur-und Anzeigeblatt für das Baufach, 243-250.

21) Die Versorgung der Stadt Konstantinopel mit Wasser und die öffentlichen Brunnen daselbst. Hierzu eine Karte von Konstantinopel auf Blatt 523 und Zeichnungen und Ansichten auf Blatt 524 bis 535 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) 36-60.

22) Die Doppelkirche des Klosters zum Heiligen Lukas in Griechenland. Hierzu Abbildung auf Seite 191 (Kapitell) und 6 Abbildungen auf Blatt 572 bis 577 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) 189-194.

23) Die Klosterkirche Daphny bei Athen. Hierzu Abbildungen auf Blatt 576 und 577 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) 194-195.

24) Bericht über einen Artikel von Chaudet, erschienen in der "Revue archéologique" (9 Jhg. dritte bis zwölfte Lieferung 1852) unter dem Titel: "Die Propyläen und die Akropolis von Athen". Hierzu eine Skizze von den neuesten Ausgrabungen and den Propyläen auf Seite 359.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) Literatur-und Anzeigeblatt für das Baufach 355-361.

25) Reisen in Italien, Griechenland und der Levante: Delos.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) Notizblatt 225-237.

26) Reisen in Italien, Griechenland und der Levante: Santorin.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) Notizblatt 241-252.

27) Reisen in Italien, Griechenland und der Levante: Rhodos.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) Notizblatt 261-272.

28) Reisen in Italien, Griechenland und der Levante: Zypern.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 18 (1853) Notizblatt 277-286, 293-307.

29) Die neue Katholische Kirche des Heiligen Dionysius zu Athen, von Leo von Klenze. Hierzu Abbildungen auf Blatt 617 und 618 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 19 (1854) 129-131.

30) Die Monumente Athens und die archäologischen Studien in Griechenland. Hierzu Abbildungen auf Blatt 614 und 615 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 19 (1854) 84-127.

31) Reisen in Italien, Griechenland und der Levante: Syra, Pyräus, Athen.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 19 (1854) Notizblatt 1-19, 21-26, 37-67.

32) Die Insel Ägina und ihre Kunst.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 19 (1854) Notizblatt 94-112.

33) Die französische Schule in Athen und ihre literarischen Leistungen, besonders in Betreff auf das Werk "L'Acropole d'Athènes" von Beulé. Hierzu Abbildungen auf Seiten 55, 57, 59 und 61.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 19 (1854) Literatur - und Anzeigeblatt für das Baufach 9-31, 47-76.

34) Der Tempel der ungeflügelten Viktoria auf der Akropolis in Athen. Hierzu Zeichnungen des Architekten Landron auf Blatt 723 bis 728 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 20 (1855) 336-348.

35) Fortsetzung des Artikels: Die französische Schule in Athen und ihre literarischen Leistungen besonders in Betreff auf das Werk "L'Acropole d'Athènes" von Beulé.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 20 (1855) Literatur - und Anzeigeblatt für das Baufach 80-84, 91-99, 103-111, 115-124, 135-148, 159-171, 187-194.

36) Die Baukunst der Kirchen und Klöster im Orient. Hierzu eine Karte der Halbinsel Chalkidiki auf Seite 351 und zahlreiche Abbildungen auf Blatt 139 bis 154 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 22 (1857) 343-402.

37) Die Kunst in Sparta. Hierzu ein topographischer Plan auf Seite 225 und eine Ansicht auf Blatt 211 des Atlas.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 23 (1858) 204-232.

38) Rhodos und Malta, oder die Johanneskirchen auf den beiden Eilanden. Von Prisag.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 23 (1858) 145-149.

39) Der Kopaissee in Böotien, nebst einer Einleitung über die Seen Phonea und Stymphalos in Morea. Hierzu eine Karte auf Seite 211.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 23 (1858) Notizblatt 195-202, 203-216.



40) Antiker Thurm auf der griechischen Insel Andros. Hierzu eine Abbildung auf Seite 107.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 24 (1859) 106-107.

41) Der östliche Theil der Akropolis von Athen.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 26 (1861) Notizblatt 105-115.

42) Über die von Prof. Herrn Siegel in Griechenland aufgefundenen Marmorbrüche. Gelesen in der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin von Herrn Dr. Herrmann Grimm.

*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 27 (1862) 142-144.

1. The author compiled this list in the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich which has a complete run of the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*.

The full title of the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* is as follows:

ALLGEMEINE BAUZEITUNG

MIT ABBILDUNGEN FÜR ARCHITEKTEN, INGENIEURE, DEKORATEURE, BAUPROFESSIONISTEN, ÖKONOMEN, BAUUNTERNEHMER UND ALLE, DIE IN DER BAUKUNST UND DEN DAHIN EINGESCHLAGENEN FÄCHERN ANTHEIL NEHMEN

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# BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- AA = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*  
 AAA = *Athens Annals of Archaeology*  
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 Abele, J.A.G., 1836 *Griechische Denkwürdigkeiten und die Königliche baierische Expedition nach Hellas*. Mannheim  
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 AD = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον  
 AE = 'Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς  
 AE Index, 1973 = AE Index, vol. 1, 1837-1874, edited by A. Kaloyeropoulou and M. Philip  
 AG = *Archaeology in Greece* (appearing annually in *Archaeological Reports* published by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the BSA)  
 AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*  
 Allgemeine Bauzeitung = *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1836-1918. Vienna  
 AM = *Athenische Mitteilungen*  
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 ASA tene = *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*  
 ASCS = American School of Classical Studies at Athens  
 Athenaion = Ἀθηναίων

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 BdI = *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica*  
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in the educational program "A Day on the Akropolis".

- Fig. 429 Two pages from the leaflet distributed to the participants in the educational program "A Day on the Akropolis".
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ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ ΤΟΥ Α. ΠΑΠΑΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ-BENETA  
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IN A MODERN METROPOLIS*  
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From 1968 to 1994 he has been working mainly in western Germany (Berlin and Munich) as well as in his home country Greece as an urban designer in a wide scope of activities, including teaching, research and planning consultancy. His special interest focused on urban conservation, planning and urban history. He worked with the "Freie Planungsgruppe Berlin" and the "Burckhard Planconsult/Basel". He elaborated major planning development and preservation schemes for the Greek state (Chios Tourist Development, Mykonos-Delos Development Plan, Chanea Old Town Preservation scheme) and acted as an expert for UNESCO (1970, Iran) and the UNCHS (1982, Yugoslavia).

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# ATHENS

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