

STREETS

Critical Perspectives on Public Space



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ATHENS



Etching Images
on the Street
Planning
and National
Aspirations

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Figure 1. Plan of Athens, 1877, detail. The old town, clustered around the north side of the Acropolis, retained the irregular street pattern of ancient times. The nineteenth-century plans for the first time imposed a geometric order on many streets. Of the three that are the focus of this discussion, Athens and Panepistimiou are broad and straight, while Mitropoulos Street is closer in character to the streets of old Athens.

Belonging is a privilege, and has its price. All this is determined by an arbitrary line.
What is the nature of this line?

—Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled*

Arbitrary and not-so-arbitrary lines are put up not only around a city but within it. Shifting lines claim provinces of political, cultural, and popular influence within a city. With real and imaginary lines, modern Greece constructed a

web of historical belonging stretching from Pericles and Alexander the Great to Napoleon and Lord Byron, creating a political niche for itself. We can identify three major fields that describe the country's cultural and intellectual

orientation in the nineteenth century, as directed by the government at the time and by the intellectual elite: yearning for acceptance in the family of civilized, modern European nations; yearning for internal political and cultural unity and national definition; and yearning for a strong connection—if not identification—with the classical past. An analysis of three streets in Athens, Panepistimiou (University), Mitropoleos (Cathedral), and Athinas (Athena) Streets, reveals how planning and civic architecture in modern Athens addressed these seemingly incompatible national aspirations and how the public responded to these efforts (fig. 1).

Athens had been perpetually under construction since 1833, the date of the establishment of an independent Greek nation.¹ By the turn of the twentieth century it was transformed from a provincial Ottoman village of four thousand into a bustling capital of 128 thousand.² In 1866, the general in charge of public works, Emmanuel Maniatakis, proudly recorded the country's reconstruction: "Greece," he wrote, "when it came out of the War of Independence was literally a pile of ruins." After the liberation and within the first thirty years, "23 old cities were rebuilt and 10 new ones founded." The general reminded the reader of Chateaubriand's description of Turkish Athens in the 1800s: "A skeleton of a city with winding, narrow streets." Compare this, he continued, with modern Athens, "with [its] large and well-aligned streets, with beautiful houses built according to Italian taste, the oldest of which date only to 1834, and among which one notices the numerous public structures." All one had to do was compare "the sedentary and gloomy population of the former [city] with the tenfold population of the latter, which, in its manner of dressing, living, and thinking is so well identified with the great

family of the civilized nations of Europe."³ It was the new buildings, the well-aligned streets, and the "manner of dressing, living, and thinking" that championed national progress. Indeed, the streets became not only the locus but also the testing ground of the city's future. Internal cohesion and the creation of a national identity were dependent on the cultural and social production originating within the new state.

Comparing maps and images of prerevolutionary Athens with ones from the end of the nineteenth century, we can clearly see the dramatic physical changes brought about in a relatively short period. The new city plan, based on an 1833 design by the German-trained architects Stamatis Kleantes and Eduard Schaubert, and later altered by Leo von Klenze and subsequent planning committees, embodied the image, if not the soul, of the new state (figs. 2, 3). So did the new official civic architecture that was carried out between 1834 and the turn of the century in the palace, the university, the cathedral, the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the archaeological museum, the polytechnical school, and the national library, as well as the many private residences of wealthy newcomers. From the very beginning, the planning of Athens focused far beyond the borders and needs of the small state to the expanses of the prominent Greek residents in Europe, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. "The capital of Greece, Athens," proclaimed an 1861 report, "is the focal point and center of light and culture for two . . . concentric nations, the nation of liberated Greece, and the larger nation of greater Hellenism, which is still under foreign rule."⁴ While the first one was already inscribed, the second was almost infinite in its borders.

The guidelines for the rebuilding of the new capital were set by a royal decree in 1836. A year later, a second decree further defined and elaborated critical issues of building methods and



compensation.³ Both decrees on the planning of Athens were specific and prescriptive. It was established that all new buildings were to respect both alignment with the street and a fixed building height. Properties on the three primary streets that cut through the fabric of the old city—Ermou, Athinas, and Eolou Streets—and on all the streets of the new, northern extension of the city were to meet the street at right angles. To that effect, owners were obligated to alter the borders of their lots, cooperating with each other, so that each would receive a street façade proportionate to the size of

his property. Neighbors were also required to compensate the owner whose property suffered after the realignment. In cases of disagreement, the city architect had the final word. Buildings erected contrary to these regulations were to be torn down at the expense of the owner.

Thus, the burden of compensating those affected by the opening of new streets was placed on the owners of surrounding lots, in proportion to their gain. The city undertook to pay part of the cost of opening Athinas Street, which was especially wide, and of public squares. The evaluation of the lots in question was deter-

Figure 1. Stamatis Kleantes and Edouard Schaubert, plan for New Athens, 1833. The plan was approved by the Greek government, but altered significantly in the process of its implementation (see fig. 1).



Figure 5. General view of the city, with the royal palace at center right and Syntagma Square in front of it. Mount Lycabettos is at left.

mined by two experts, one representing the owner, and one the city council; and in case of continued disagreement, the value was established by the court.⁶ It is important to note that the focus of planning legislation was on new building. While the language of the law made it clear that sanctions would be imposed on the owners and architects of new buildings that did not conform with the plans, most decrees did not require the alteration of existing buildings. Once the older buildings reached a point beyond repair, they were to be replaced by new structures that followed the street alignment.

An important change in the city's fabric, effected by the 1836 decree, was the establishment of minimum-size building lots. Along the

three major streets of the old town and all the streets of the new town lots were to have a minimum area of two hundred square *piques*, or eighty square meters. They were also required to have a minimum façade length of eight *piques* (five meters) and a depth of at least ten *piques* (six meters). The rest of the lots in the old city had to be at least one hundred square *piques* (forty square meters). Owners of smaller lots could either buy adjacent land, or sell to the neighboring owners.⁷ This established a social and economic homogeneity of the wealthy along the main streets. The smaller landowners who did not have the means to purchase adjacent land were displaced.

By the turn of the century, Athens boasted

several paved, straight, wide streets, some with trees planted along the sidewalks, lit at night, and even sprinkled with water on very hot summer days. The new streets that were opened through the old city terminated at the palace (Ermou Street) and the Acropolis (Athinas Street), connected old and new landmarks, the palace and the cathedral (Mitropoleos Street), or led to the surrounding countryside, where Athenians took day trips on Sundays.⁸ The nation's political and cultural aspirations—to become part of Europe, to achieve cultural unity and national definition, and to connect modern Greece with classical antiquity—were physically manifested on three major avenues: Panepistimiou, Mitropoleos, and Athinas Streets.

Through both their design and their symbolic, programmatic impact, the buildings of the so-called Athenian Trilogy on Panepistimiou Street—the university, the academy, and the national library—contributed to the first national aspiration: the architectural transformation of Athens into a European-style capital, intended to hasten the political incorporation of Greece into modern Europe. Becoming part of Europe was, in fact, a cultural as much as a political feat. The creation of these institutions was intended to address not so much the country's practical needs at the time, but rather its projected image as the cultural beacon of the Balkans and the Middle East.

The university was founded in 1837, four years after the establishment of the new nation. The building, an elegant and restrained Neoclassical structure, was completed in 1864. Designed by the Danish architect Christian Hansen, who had also worked on the restoration of the Temple of Nike on the Acropolis, it betrays an admiration for and familiarity with ancient Greek architecture (fig. 4). The design also shows knowledge of the Neoclassical architecture of northern Europe, for example, that of

Copenhagen, Berlin, and Munich. Although the erection of the university did not address the most pressing educational problems of the time, namely the lack of elementary schools, it helped to fix Athens as the cultural focus of Greece, increasing its stature in the Balkans. "The establishment of the university was one of the most important events in the history of modern Athens," wrote a Greek historian at the turn of the century.⁹ Thus were revived "the ancient times, when those who desired higher education came from all over to the country of Plato . . . and Aristotle. . . . Serbians, Bulgarians, Romanians began to come to Athens, and to take the literature, science, and culture of Athens back to their own countries." According to the modern historian C. Th. Dimaras, this was indeed the lofty, albeit political, mission of the university in particular and of Greece in general during the nineteenth century: to act as a conduit, receiving the light of Western civilization and transmitting it to the East.¹⁰ Embodying these ideals, Hansen's design provided a most fitting envelope for the university's political task.

The erection of the academy and the national library, begun in 1859 and 1887 respectively, and designed by Hansen's brother Theophil, further established Panepistimiou Street as the official cultural axis of the new capital.¹¹ Questions about the need for such extravagant structures and institutions notwithstanding, their impact on the city was unmistakable. Discussing the appropriateness of the new academy building, for example, the city council argued that "the academy, to be erected on University Square, will become an agent of the greatest ethical and material value for the municipality and the nation, contributing furthermore to the beautification of the city. Believing that it is for the profit of the municipality to support any work that



Figure 4. The university building, facing Panepistimiou Street, was designed by Christian Hansen.

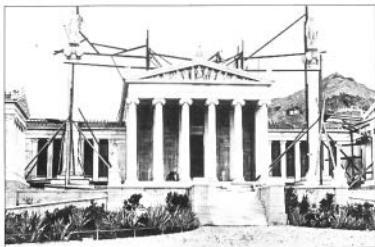
contributes to the ethical and material development of the nation [the city council] has decided unanimously to donate the lot" (fig. 5).¹² Similar arguments supported the erection of the national library, which completed the Athenian Trilogy. Terminating at Syntagma (Constitution) Square, the elegant, tree-planted plaza fronting the palace, Panepistimiou Street symbolically and literally etched the line connecting official cultural production with the monarch's residence (fig. 6).¹³

The Greek state's second political aspiration—to create political and cultural nationhood—found expression in the erection of the new cathedral on Mitropoleos Street, next to the modest twelfth-century church of Panagia Gorgoepkeos, which had served the Athenian populace during Ottoman rule. While the royal palace, designed by Friedrich von Gaertner in

1836, signified the newly established political independence of Greece, the building of the cathedral church in Athens symbolized a cultural and religious continuity with a Greek past (though not with classical antiquity) that was necessary for the majority of the population. "Although the city of Athens has theaters, palaces, etc., it does not even have one church appropriate for celebrations for the whole city," wrote the liberal newspaper *Athena* in 1840.¹⁴ The widespread demand for a new cathedral had both historical and political roots: it reflected the country's continued attachment to Orthodoxy, the only tradition that had united the population during the long years of Ottoman domination, and the Greeks' most articulate and continuous cultural heritage. Although some Greeks disagreed with the conservative and provincial views of the clergy, most whole-

heartedly supported their church in its fight against the imposed Bavarian government, finally, for the small group of Westernized Greeks who supported a secular state, the building of the cathedral, like the building of the university, came to symbolize the cultural independence of Athens in the Greek-speaking world, gradually supplanting the position that Constantinople had once held.

Originally, the commission for the design of the cathedral was given to Theophil Hansen, but his proposal, a mixture of Byzantine and Gothic details dominated by a large dome, was not carried out. After Hansen left Athens in 1846, an architectural competition was held for the revision of his design using a "Greek Byzantine" order. This was one of the first open architectural competitions held in Greece. The architectural definition of this order was not clear; its inspiration was manifestly intended to come from the Byzantine and not from the classical Greek period. The espousal of a Greek Byzantine style was indicative of a general intellectual anxiety to establish the unbroken continuity of the Greek nation from antiquity through Byzantium and the Ottoman years to the post-liberation period. Thus, while the architectural pluralism introduced by the cathedral's final design challenged the earlier formal harmony of the palace and the university, the resulting image of the city reflected more accurately the antithetical forces that stirred Greek society at the time: ancient Athens on the one hand, Byzantium on the other (see fig. 6).¹⁵ The short stretch of Mitropoleos Street that connected the palace with the new cathedral became a very important thoroughfare during the nineteenth century. The king and his entourage would progress down it to arrive ceremoniously at the cathedral not only on religious holidays, but also on all major national holidays, which tradi-



tionally began with a special mass. Thus Mitropoleos Street etched another line on the cultural map of Athens, this one firmly connecting church and state.

The last and perhaps most important national aspiration, to claim the classical past for modern Greece, manifested itself in a multitude of ways: in the restoration of the Acropolis and the removal of all post-Roman structures from it; in the ambitious excavation plans, which continue to the present day; in the design of most civic and governmental buildings in the Neoclassical style; and even in the adoption of the German educational model, which favored a classical curriculum. This explicit orientation toward antiquity was evident not only in the architecture, but also in the planning of the modern city. When the provisional Greek government commissioned Kleantes and Schaubert to design the capital, it asked for "a new plan equal with the ancient fame and glory of the city and worthy of the century in which we live" (emphasis in the original).¹⁶ In their 1833 plan for New Athens, Athinas Street, which cut through the fabric of the old town, established a north-south axis in the city, stretching

Figure 5. Next to the university, the academy building is shown here under construction, c. 1880. Designed by Theophil Hansen, it was financed by the Sina family.

between the royal palace and the foothills of the Acropolis (see fig. 2).

Although the palace was finally built at the eastern point of the imposed triangle, Athinas Street continued to be a fashionable and heavily trafficked thoroughfare, now anchored by Omonia (Concord) Square at the northern node. By the turn of the century, Omonia Square, smartly landscaped and surrounded by elegant hotels, had become the first stop for many upon their arrival in Athens, since it was located near the new train station. From Omonia Square, Athinas Street, with its generous dimensions and imposing buildings, its thriving shops and businesses, had indeed a markedly modern, European look (fig. 7). As it neared the Acropolis, however, it expired unceremoniously amid a web of narrow, preliberation alleys. Since the original plan had designated a wide zone around the Acropolis to be set aside for future archaeological excavations, no new streets could be cut there, nor permits issued for new buildings. As a result, the Plaka, the area around the Acropolis, has to a large extent preserved its early-nineteenth-century character. Islanders who had come to Athens for work had erected small dwelling for themselves and their families around the ancient hill. Though originally illegal, these houses, with their distinct Aegean vernacular architecture, were allowed to remain, challenging, as they do to this day, the nineteenth-century vision of an orderly, Neoclassical capital. Taken in its totality, then, Athinas Street, a modern avenue under the shadow of the Acropolis, etched and calibrated the distance between the classical and the modern city.

Just as the development of major avenues reflected contemporary national aspirations, so did the architecture of the new civic and government buildings. Adhering for the most part to Neoclassical prototypes, it set a stamp of permanence not only on the newly established

political and cultural institutions but also on the city itself. The new buildings along the major streets were orderly and imposing, their tall, symmetrical façades and regular floor plans defining the newly opened boulevards. Neoclassical architecture, introduced first by the Bavarians, found fertile ground in the period of reconstruction. Since European culture saw itself as based on the ancient Greek heritage, and since modern Greece, eager to forget the Ottoman legacy, oriented its policy toward Europe, the adoption of the Neoclassical style was doubly justified: it strengthened ties to the classical tradition and demonstrated the country's Western orientation. Most of the major post-liberation buildings, of which a representative few have been discussed here, bespeak the cultural image that Athens sought to establish, for reasons both economic and political. Since money for most major buildings came from private donors, cultural institutions were arguably more glamorous benefactions than prisons, markets, or elementary schools. Furthermore, focus on the cultural achievements of modern Athens strengthened the city's ties with ancient Athens and connected, in still another way, the present with the past.

Even when the general outlines of Neoclassicism were taken for granted, the details of its interpretation were often contested among architects. A case in point is the design of the Arsaikon School for Girls on Panepistimiou Street, across from the national library. The Society for Education, which had originally commissioned Kleanthes to design the school, later invited Lysandros Kaftantzoglou, an Italian-trained architect, to submit his own proposal. Kaftantzoglou's design was finally chosen, setting off a stream of bitter attacks by Kleanthes. Both proposals were executed in the classical idiom, their symmetrical, monumental façades fronting Panepistimiou Street. Yet Kleanthes,



himself trained under Karl Friedrich Schinkel in the Berlin Bauakademie, decided to attack his rival's Italian affiliations, writing in a pamphlet he circulated: "None of the four façades [designed by Kaftantzoglou] appropriately characterizes the idea of the Parthenon; it would be highly desirable if this national Parthenon were built more according to the Greek style, because it does no honor to us Greeks to erect Parthenons in Athens imitating Tuscan architecture, while all the rest of the countries in Europe are zealously imitating Greek architecture in all of their buildings."⁷⁷ What the heated duel demonstrates, beyond the obvious professional rivalries, is the importance of defining

an appropriate Greek architecture at a time when Greece, a young nation with an unstable government, was trying to define itself as a political entity. By the turn of the twentieth century, the architecture and urban design of the new capital were, in fact, addressing the national yearning to belong to the present, through a modern plan worthy of the country's Western orientation; to the classical past, through the focus on cultural institutions and the adherence to Neoclassicism; and to itself, through the construction of a modern Greek national image.

Looking at images of Athens at the turn of the century, it becomes clear that buildings are much easier to tame than the street. While the

Figure 6. View of the southwest corner of Syntagma Square, 1865. The new cathedral is featured prominently in the background, flanked by the new houses on Mitropoleos Street.



Figure 7. View of Athinas Street, c. 1900, exemplifying the city's modernization.

main boulevards, notably Panepistimiou and Athinas Streets, had indeed acquired the sought-after European look, the back roads and even the backs of major buildings remained decidedly unglamorous. Even the Neoclassicism of the major civic structures—the palace, the Athenian Trilogy, and the Arsakeion School, among others—was not uniformly applied. Private residences, especially when located far from the center, displayed a rather eclectic stylistic blend. Uneven streets were a perpetual problem, since the planning of Athens was carried out in a piecemeal fashion that addressed each new street opening individually, and lacked an overall leveling program. While the new buildings made a concerted effort at the front to meet the street at a ninety-degree angle, their backs often remembered the street patterns and property lines of ancient, Byzantine, and Ottoman Athens (fig. 8).¹⁶

In order better to understand the urban and social changes in nineteenth-century Athens, it is necessary to see clearly the relationship between civic architecture—state-sanctioned, internationalist, highbrow—and popular cul-

ture—persistent, untamed, vulgar, provincial. The opposition to the forces of change is particularly interesting, since that opposition was expressed physically in the fabric of the city and verbally in the contemporary press. Although on one level the mercurial urban polity supported the metamorphosis of Athens, and appeared to fall in love with the beauty of its new buildings, on another level it hated and resisted such change, and indeed is still resisting.

Like the streets of Athens, with their skin-deep European façades and indigenous backs, Greek society was characterized by a duality, embracing modernity on the one hand, while holding to earlier ways of life on the other. Becoming part of Europe was clearly the aim of Greek reconstruction. There was no other choice. At a time when national consciousness was still considered synonymous with being anti-Turkish, the new buildings and roads that marked a tangible departure from the Ottoman past were considered to forge a *de facto* national Greek identity.¹⁷ Repeatedly, the inhabitants expressed their pride in the impressive new structures that were going up, in the restoration of antiquities, and in the return of classical architecture to the country of its birth. Athenian architecture would soon surpass that of Turkey and the Ionian islands together, argued a magazine article in 1853, because “our buildings were designed by Europeans or European-trained Greek architects, not by practical builders, who have no concept of line or symmetry.”²⁰ Since the country lacked a proper architecture school until the last third of the nineteenth century, all its major buildings until then were designed by foreign-trained architects and executed under the direction of Bavarian contractors and master builders. Local builders, who often apprenticed under the foreigners, gradually became familiar with the particular brand of Neoclassicism that flourished in Athens,

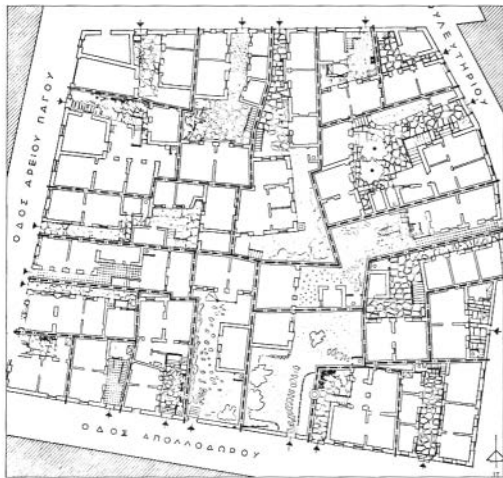


Figure 8. Plans of houses of a complete building block, located on the northern side of Areios Pagos, and demolished for the excavations of the Roman Forum. While a relative regularity of alignment with the street was maintained on the façades, the interior of the block preserved an intricate property-line pattern of the Ottoman years.

imitating it and adapting it to the needs of the lesser residential structures.⁷¹

Despite a certain sense of civic pride, criticism of the new government, its policies, and its building programs was widespread, often outstripping any show of support. This had in part to do with the various affiliations of the critics themselves. Each of the numerous newspapers that circulated in Athens during the last century had a definite political agenda that colored its editorials and articles. This alone, however, does not explain the strength of opposition to the cultural aspirations of the young state. It

was not that the Greeks resisted the ideas themselves; it was their implementation that provoked heated editorials.

To the average citizen of Greece, except for the Orthodox religion, nothing was sacred, least of all the ancient theaters and temples so revered by European visitors. "Of what use are they to me, the glorious ruins of immortal antiquity, among which I live as a stranger?" complained the resident of a small town, in an 1833 issue of the newspaper *Athens*. "Of what use is it to me that I am neighbor of Agamemnon . . . and that my village is only an hour

from the capital, when I have no idea of what is happening in the world? . . . It is true that so-called travelers often come through my village . . . but what can I learn from these strange gentlemen, who, when you ask them about people, question you about piles of stones; and when you talk to them about the living, ask for information on the dead?" And we read in an 1834 issue: "[The plans] for future excavations, which Greece, because of its poverty, will not be able to undertake for a century, prevent many from building on the ruins, where the stone is available, and which the poorest people do not have the means to transport; it is the general opinion that the government could allow the building of houses within the excavation line, at least for twenty years, upon the agreement that if, after that time, the government wants to excavate, the owner will tear his house down at his own expense."²² Of course, no such proposal could be sanctioned by the government.

The plan of the city, hailed at first for its modern, European character, was soon enough ridiculed by the press, which, by attacking the architects, was indirectly attacking the government: "Messrs. Kleanthes and Schaubert have been ordered to make a plan that resembles rather the plan of a garden, than of a city. . . . In designing the streets, they did not leave out any geometric shape; . . . they drew triangles, squares, hexagons, polygons, trapezoids, rhomboids, etc., so that the professor of mathematics, Mr. Negres, when he teaches geometry, does not need [to draw] geometric shapes, having the plan of our city [to refer to]." The extravagance of the academy building was another frequent target of the press. We read in an 1858 newspaper, as the building

was under construction: "We have no ships, no army, no roads, but soon we will have an Academy. Turkey, beware!"²³

The people of Athens often challenged and resisted the official pro-European position of the government, not only through words but also through actions. Family photographs from the mid and late nineteenth century more often than not include some members in European clothes, while others proudly wear their elaborate, traditional regional garb. Old customs die hard. Despite the influx of Greeks from other European states, and their economic and political prominence, the local population remained greatly attached to its provincial, preliberation ways of life. A contemporary observed in 1875 that Greece was no longer Greece, but neither was it yet Europe.²⁴

The opening of new boulevards, notably Panepistimiou and Athinas Streets; the widening of existing ones such as Mitropoleos Street; and the design of major new structures such as the Athenian Trilogy and the cathedral etched an image of Athens that reflected the nation's aspirations: modernity, cultural unity, and connection with antiquity. This image, however, came to coexist with, rather than replace, that of the earlier city, with its ancient, Byzantine, and Ottoman roots. Although the nineteenth-century literature implied that it was only a matter of time before New Athens completely superseded its predecessor, it is clear that the legacy of the earlier city, its culture, its way of living, its spatial claims, and its own architectural order endured; they are still evident today. Etched on the buildings and the streets of Athens are the lines of belonging to both the East and the West, with the privilege and the price that brings. ■

Notes

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In transliterating the Greek words and passages in the text, I have followed the Library of Congress system. Street names, however, follow the phonetic transliteration adopted by most cartographers today. All translations are mine. In the nineteenth century there was a twelve-day difference between the Julian calendar, which the Greeks used, and the Gregorian calendar, used in western Europe. I have maintained the dating of the original sources in the Julian calendar, unless otherwise noted. Government publications usually included both dates, with a *solidas*, as below. Government legislation was published in the *Ephemeris tes kyverneseos* (Government Gazette), abbreviated *FEK*.

- 1 The conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 had marked the fall of the Byzantine Empire. By the end of the fifteenth century, most Greek-speaking territories were subordinated to Ottoman rule. Following the Greek War of Independence (1821–27), diplomatic negotiations among the major European powers, France, England, and Russia, finally established an independent Greek nation in 1833, under the leadership of seventeen-year-old Prince Otto of Bavaria. Otto brought to Greece his own court and an army of thirty-five hundred Bavarian troops. Internal instability, however, coupled with a general dissatisfaction with Otto's autocratic ruling manner and frequent disregard for local religious traditions, led to his abdication in 1862. The Danish-born King George I ascended the throne in 1863, initiating a period of true constitutional government that carried the country into the twentieth century.
- 2 The population figures are approximate. For Ottoman Athens, see D. Karydis, "Poliodomika ton Athenton tes Tourkokratias," Ph.D. diss., National Technical University, Athens, 1981. For a compre-

hensive treatment of the city, see J. Travlos, *Poliodomike exelxis ton Athenton* (Athens, 1966), where the figure of four thousand is cited on p. 235. For the twentieth-century city, see, among others, G. Burgel, *Craissance urbaine et developpement capitaliste, le "miracle athénien"* (Paris, 1981), and L. Leontidou, *Poleis tes isopos* (Athens, 1989), where the figure of 128 thousand is cited on p. 304.

- 3 E. Maniatakis, *Aperca sur les progrès matériels de la Grèce*, 2d ed. (Athens, 1869), 15–17.
- 4 *Athens*, November 11, 1861. Cited in E. Skopeteca, *To "protypo vaseleio" kai he Megale Idea* (Athens, 1988), 291.
- 5 See "On additions to the decree on the plan of Athens," November 12/24, 1836, *FEK*, no. 91, 1836. The 1836 decree of April 9/21, "On the Execution of the Plan of Athens," *FEK*, no. 20, 1836, also appeared in the newspaper *Athens*, May 27, 1836.
- 6 The articles on compensation can be found in the decree of November 12/24, 1836. See also the September 28/October 10, 1837 decree, "On a change of the November 12/24, 1836 Royal Decree about pieces of lots of the city of Athens," *FEK*, no. 35, 1837: "Because Article 25 of our 12 (24) November 1836 decree, which was misunderstood by the municipal authority of Athens, was applied wrongly . . . we have decided [that] the lot pieces that, according to Article 13 of the same decree, were transferred immediately and without the intervention of the city of Athens to the ownership of the adjacent landowners will be appraised by two arbitrators appointed by both parties."
- 7 See Decree of November 12/24, 1836, *FEK*, no. 91, 1836. A *pigmos*, or *pecho*, the length of the forearm, is about twenty-five inches, or 63.5 centimeters.
- 8 See M. Shaltsa, *Koinonike zoe kai demonioi choroi koinonikon synathroteseon sten Athina tou 19ou aiwna* (Thessaloniki, 1985), for a detailed discussion of the use of the streets.
- 9 A. Argyros, *Historia ton Athenton* (Athens, 1896), 193. The cornerstone of the first elementary school in Athens was placed in the Plaka, the oldest extant quarter of the city, in 1836.

- 10 C. Th. Dimaras, *Hellenismos romantismos* (Athens, 1982), 349–50.
- 11 Theophil Hansen is perhaps best known for his work in Vienna, notably the design of the Austrian parliament building, 1874–83, which bears a marked resemblance to his earlier academy building in Athens. See C. E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1979), for an exemplary analysis of the architecture and political symbolism of the parliament and the other new civic buildings erected on the Ringstrasse in Vienna.
- 12 Archive of the City of Athens, Proceedings of the City Council, no. 6729, July, 1859, cited in G. Laios, *Simos Sinas* (Athens, 1972), 143–44.
- 13 The royal palace now houses the Greek parliament. The original linear connection between official culture and the monarchy has thus shifted to a broader-based and multiparty network that still links politics and culture.
- 14 *Athens*, April 6, 1840.
- 15 The architects of the cathedral's final design were Dimitri Zozos, F.-L.-F. Boulanger, and Panagiotis Kalkos.
- 16 General State Archives, Ministry of the Interior, Otto's Archive, f220, document dated July 10, 1836, and signed "S. Kleantes."
- 17 S. Kleantes, *Ekthesis* . . . (Athens, 1845), 16.
- 18 This is a common phenomenon in many nineteenth-century cities that underwent similar transformations. In London terrace houses, for example, it was referred to as a "Queen Anne front and Mary Anne back"; it should probably here be called a "Pericles front and Karaghiozou back."
- 19 See V. Kremmydas, *Historia tes hellenikes koinonias (1700–1821)* (Athens, 1976), 205.
- 20 *Pandora* 3, no. 67 (January 1, 1833).
- 21 One should not assume that all building before the liberation was carried out by local Greeks. Wealthy individuals often hired traveling builders, or even European-trained architects and builders to construct their mansions. For a discussion of "traditional" Greek architecture before 1830 and a review of the current literature, see E. Bastéa, "The Sweet Deceit of Tradition: National Ideology and Greek Architecture," in *Twentieth-Century Art and Culture* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1990).
- 22 Letter signed "The Old Man of Dalamanara," *Athens*, May 13, 1833; *Athens*, November 21, 1834.
- 23 *Ibid.*, March 11, 1839; *Aion*, March 27, 1858, cited in Skopetea, *To "protypo vasileio"*, 76.
- 24 *Anodaios*, January 26, 1875, cited in Skopetea, *To "protypo vasileio"*, 163. On pro-Europeanism, see Skopetea, 45, 53. The best analysis, to my mind, of the Westernizing forces in modern Greece has been provided by C. Th. Dimaras. See, for example, *Hellenismos romantismos*, *passim*.