Monumentality and its Shadows:
A Quest for Modern Greek Architectural Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Athens (1834-1862)

by

Irene Fatsea

Master of Architecture
University of Oklahoma, 1987

Diploma of Architecture Engineering
University of Thessaloniki, 1985

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ARCHITECTURE: HISTORY AND THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE
AT THE
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

FEBRUARY 2000

ROTCH
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY
APR 1 4 2000
LIBRARIES

© 1999 Irene Fatsea. All rights reserved.

The author hereby grants to M.I.T. permission
to reproduce and to distribute publicly paper and electronic copies
of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of Author:____________________
Department of Architecture
November 30, 1999

Certified by:____________________
Stanford Anderson
Professor of History and Architecture
Head, Department of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by:____________________
Stanford Anderson
Chairman
Departmental Committee for Graduate Students

Thesis Committee Member: Marco Frascari
Title: Professor of Architecture, Washington–Alexandria Architectural Center, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Thesis Committee Member: Ákos Moravánszky
Title: Professor of Architectural Theory, Institut für Geschichte und Theorie der Architektur, ETH Zürich

Monumentality and its Shadows: A Quest for Modern Greek Architectural Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Athens (1834-1862)

by

Irene Fatsea

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on November 30, 1999
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Architecture: History and Theory of Architecture

ABSTRACT

The dissertation traces the sources of modern Greek architectural discourse in the first period of the modern Greek State following Independence and under the monarchy of Bavarian King Othon I (1834-1862). Its intent is to provide an informed account, first, of the intellectual and ideological dynamic wherein the profession of the modern architect developed in Greece in contradistinction to that of the empirical masterbuilder; and second, of the cognitive realm whereby modern Greeks formed their architectural perception relative to the emerging phenomenon of the westernized city. The dissertation offers a methodical survey of Greek sources of organized discourse on architecture authored mainly by non-architect scholars at the time. The focus of the writings is Athens, the reborn city-capital in which westernization manifested its effects most prominently. Monumentality, a concept with implications of cosmological unity and sharing in the same communicative framework, serves as a working conceptual tool which facilitates the identification, categorization, and analysis of different models of thought in reference to key architectural ideas (e.g., beauty, imitation, dignity). Special heed is paid to the writers' attitude relative to the country's monuments, both old and new, which were now considered the principal activators of ethnic unity, cultural assimilation, and national identification for diverse urban populations under the call for a return to the country's "Golden Age." The texts reveal that the urge for nation-building under the aegis of a centralized authority provided but little room for the development of disinterested discourse on architecture as opposed to instructive discourse which often followed the path of prescriptive or ideological reasoning. Bipolarity, moralism, reliance on precedent, and impermeability of boundaries were some of the characteristics of this reasoning. Architecture, in particular, was subjected to an ideologically-based dichotomy of classicism and romanticism which in theory obstructed any fruitful amalgamation of the two intellectual paradigms and which, in effect, displaced any organic/ evolutionist patterns of thought. The dissertation presents the discourse of the Greek philologist–archaeologists as the most influential in the shaping of the theoretical foundations of architecture as a new discipline, in the universalization of neoclassicism as the official style, and in the promotion of monumentality as the preferred rhetorical strategy toward the reacquisition of the country's ancient glory. The written and visual texts of the philologist–archaeologist Stephanos A. Koumanoudis (1818-1899) are set forth as telling witnesses of the relevance of this discourse to architecture, as well as of the positive and negative aspects of such a conjunction. The dissertation finally argues that organic practices of space use and manipulation with roots in the vernacular tradition persisted through the new era and informed people's response to building problems in the new city, yet now coupled with the rational categories of modernity as introduced by the aforementioned discourses.

Thesis Supervisor: Stanford Anderson
Title: Professor of History and Architecture; Head, Department of Architecture

IRENE (RENA) FATSEA
idfatsea@mit.edu

Education

Ph.D. 1999
Dissertation: "Monumentality and its Shadows: A Quest for Modern Greek Architectural Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Athens (1834-1862)"
History, Theory, Criticism Program
Department of Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
G.P.A. 5.0/5.0

Special Studies 1987-1989
Theory, History, Criticism Program
School of Architecture
Georgia Institute of Technology
School of Philosophy & Aesthetics
Georgia State University
G.P.A. 4.0/4.0

Master of Architecture 1987
Emphasis on Historic Preservation
Thesis: "The Architecture of Bruce Goff during the years 1946-1956: Exploration of design determinants through analysis of selected buildings"
College of Architecture
University of Oklahoma
G.P.A. 4.0/4.0

Diploma of Architecture Engineering 1985
Thesis project: "Cultural and Recreational Facilities for a Suburban Site, Penteli, Attica"
School of Architecture
University of Thessaloniki
G.P.A. 8.4/10.0

Elementary and High School
Athens, Greece
G.P.A. 19.5/20.0

Professional Title

Registered Architect Engineer 1985
Technical Chamber of Greece

Professional Affiliations

Technical Chamber of Greece
1985-1999

Architects' Association of Athens, Greece
1985-1999

Modern Greek Studies Association (USA)
1995-1999

Academic Honors

Gerondelis Scholarship 1998
Gerondelis Foundation, Inc., Lynn, Mass.

C.C. Royal Funds 1993
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Maria Stais Funds 1987-1991
University of Athens, Greece

Graduate Tuition Award and Stipend
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
1989-1991

Graduate Tuition Award and Stipend
Georgia Institute of Technology 1987-1989

Graduate Tuition Award and Stipend
University of Oklahoma 1985-1987

AHEPA Scholarship for Academic Excellence
No. 1 Chapter, Atlanta, Georgia 1989

Cleo Cross Scholarship for Academic Excellence
University of Oklahoma 1987

Graduation with Honors
University of Thessaloniki 1985

Teaching Experience

Visiting Assistant Professor 1995-1998
North Carolina State University
Dept. of Architecture, School of Design
Survey of Art & Architecture History
Graduate seminars on architecture theory
Design studios - Design critic

Visiting Assistant Professor 1994-1995
Roger Williams University, Bristol, R.I.
School of Architecture
Survey of Architecture History
Design critic

Instructor 1989-1992
New England School of Art & Design
Boston, Mass.
Survey of Architecture History

Teaching & Research Assistant 1989-1992
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Graduate lecture courses on architecture history and theory

Work Experience

Research Assistant Summer 1989
National Park Service (SE Division)
Atlanta, Georgia
Survey and documentation of historic buildings

Research Assistant 1987-1989
Center for Architectural Conservation
Georgia Institute of Technology
Development of automated programs for the documentation & preservation of historic structures

Research Assistant 1985-1987
Design Research Center, Univ. of Oklahoma
Design projects related to historic preservation

Research Fellow Summer 1981, 1982, 1983
Archaeological excavations
Dion (Macedonia), Maronia (Thrace)
Drawing to scale of archaeological sites

Conferences – Symposia

1st Conference of the European Society of Modern Greek Studies
Freie Universität Berlin
Berlin, 2-5 October 1998
"Panorama or a work of art? The archaeological view of 19th-century Athens in the service of the nationalistic politics of the modern Greek State" (in proceedings)

17th Annual Art History Graduate Symposium
Department of Art History
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada, 7 March 1998
"The Archaeological view of 19th-century Athens through the writings and sketches of the Greek polymath Stephanos Koumanoudis"

European Studies Conference
Omaha, Nebraska, 2-4 Oct. 1997
"Embroidered canvases: Domestic space in the works of 19th-century Athenian painter Athena Saripolou"

ACSA Southeast Regional Meeting
Hampton University
Hampton, Virginia, 19-21 Oct. 1996
"Ephemeral transformations as points of private resistance to national strategies of modernizing the traditional Mediterranean city"

13th National Conference on the Beginning Design Student
Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 28-30 March 1996
"The studio studied: a foundational studio case-study" (co-author) (in proceedings)

ACSA Bi-Regional Meeting
University of Texas at San Antonio
San Antonio, Texas, 2-4 November 1995
"A woman's perspective on the modern ethos of dwelling as portrayed in the work of 19th-century Athenian painter Athena Saripolou" (in proceedings)

ACSA Southwestern Regional Meeting
University of Arizona
Tempe, Arizona, 14-16 October 1986
"Restoration of a modern masterpiece: the Price House by Bruce Goff" (co-author)

Publications

"Timeless Environments in an age of cultural change: a woman painter's perspective on Greek modernity", Modern Greek Studies Yearbook, University of Minnesota, vol. 12/13, 1996/97, pp. 237-66.

"(More) on Representation", Thresholds, School of Architecture, MIT, vol. 2, 1992, p. 5.

A Travel Guide to the Architecture of Bruce Goff in the OKC–Norman Area, pamphlet issued by the University of Oklahoma, 1987

"Design proposal for the new archaeological museum at Dion, Macedonia", Technika Chronika, Greece, 1984.

Languages

Modern: Greek, English, French, Italian
Ancient: Greek, Latin

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is the product of eight years of reading and researching into the sources of modern Greek architectural culture during the post–Independence period in Greece. Its focus kept shifting as life circumstances were shifting, old positions were reconsidered, and priorities changed. Because during these eight years my place of residence changed several times between Greece and the United States, and because the time of distraction from the project was regretfully longer than the productive time spent on writing, reflection became the only alternative to the creative drive. Continuous reading and cross-referencing between Greek and international literature opened new roads to interpretation. Matters of fact and scholarly accounts drawing on the research material blended with my life experiences to construe a broader understanding of the issues. As a result, the approach to the particular subject assumed a far more critical bent than the originally intended one in that it set forth a philosophical way of viewing the architectural culture of the given period rather than a dispassionate analysis of architectural attitudes and their dynamic.

In these long years of reserved optimism about the fate of the project my faith in it was often restored by the enduring presence on my side of a few distinct individuals. I owe my deep gratitude to all of them. First and foremost I am indebted to the three members of my committee. My immense esteem and respect go to my advisor Stanford Anderson, who has granted me his caring support, his trust, and his friendship since I first entered the program. From him I learned what the ethos of a good teacher is and how the love of knowledge ennobles even the most destitute moments of life. From my lifelong teacher Marco Frascari I learned how to pay attention to words and how to invest with craftsmanship every single piece of work that goes through my hands. Ákos Moravánszky taught me how to develop creative reasoning out of history's ocean of facts and how to be a rigorous critic of my own work.

I am beholden to my unfailing mentors Argyris Petronotis, Joakim Laguros, Louis Circeo, Deirdre Hardy, and to my two M.I.T. professors David Friedman and Francesco Passanti. Their siding with me all along empowered me both morally and emotionally toward my goal. During the three challenging years of my teaching appointment in North Carolina I was privileged to have the cordial hospitality and unconditional acceptance of a few exceptional people including Henry and Joan Sanoff, Haig Khachatoorian, Mary Myers, Daryl Carrington, Chris and Kathy Saccopoulos, and Dean Marvin Malecha. I will never forget their kindness. Many thanks also go to my teaching assistants Steve Knight, Kari Hyatt, Ed Meserve, Chris Rea, and

Christi Adams, and to my students who lightened up my days with their cheerfulness and their commitment to work. The idea of researching in more depth the architectural culture of nineteenth-century Greece was inspired by my first professor of architectural history, Georgios Lavas at the University of Thessaloniki, whom I am happy to thank from this position. Further, I want to recognize my first professor of Philosophy Angel Medina at Georgia State University for having disclosed philosophy to me more as a state of mind than as an instrument geared to practical ends.

This project turned into reality thanks to the generous C.C. Royal Funds through M.I.T., which supported one year of my research in Athens in 1993, and to the Gerondelis Scholarship which ensured my livelihood during the last stage of my writing. I am grateful to both foundations. Special credits go to institutes and individuals that facilitated the course of my research by giving me access to invaluable material, including archival collections, primary and secondary bibliographic sources, and other rare documents. I owe my sincere gratitude to the Gennadeion Library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in which I spent long hours in research. I am particularly thankful to the two librarians, Andreas Sideris and Soula Panagopoulou, who eagerly provided their help and shared with me many of the problems and concerns regarding the project. They remain friends for life. The Public Library of Athens through its archive curator Katie Kordouli and special researcher/archivist Sophia Matthaiou offered me the rare opportunity to study the Stephanos Koumanoudis Archives, the set of documents most essential to my work. At the Academy of Athens, thanks to the helpful assistance of the noted scholars Efthymios Soulogiannis and Iphigenia Botouropoulou, I gained access to the Alexandros Rangavis family archives. Valentini Tselika in the Benaki Museum of Athens kindly helped me with special research material, including parts of the Lysandros Kaftanzoglou archives. At the Historical and Ethnological Society/Museum of Athens, I received considerable assistance from its directors Mr. and Mrs. Minotos, the General Secretary Joannis Mazarakis-Ainian, and the curators of special collections Senia Dara and Alike Solomou. My research at the State Archives of Greece was highly enhanced due to the thoughtful service of archive director Aleka Kolyvá. At the Center of Asia Minor Studies in Athens I received warm hospitality and enlightening guidance from all of its members, and particularly from historian Joanna Petropoulou. Among the people who offered me their trust and priceless hours of discussion on issues related to my subject matter were also Philippos Oreopoulos, Efstathios Finopoulos, Manos Biris, Zoe Dragoumi–Mazaraki, Markos Dragoumis, Dimitris Fotopoulos, Eirini Angelopoulou–Prassas, Stelios Prassas, Mariliza Mitsou, and Aristea Papanikolaou–Christensen. I want to thank all of these unique individuals for having held an active role in this project; also some of them for their enduring friendship.

I want especially to recognize the assistance and encouragement I received from the director of the University Archives at the Humboldt-Universität of Berlin, Dr. Wilhelm Schultze, during my short visit to his office. Also, as I am leaving the school I wish to acknowledge the overwhelming cordiality of the personnel of all the M.I.T. departments I was in contact with during my studies, and particularly the Department of Architecture, Rotch Library, Hayden Library, the Writing Center, and the Rotch Visual Collections. It is these modest heroes of unfailing devotion to everyday tasks that make M.I.T. indeed a humanistic institution.

Last but not least my deepest and unrestricted appreciation goes to my mother for many years of patience and commitment to the ideal of my education; to my friend and colleague Eléni Bastéa for generously sharing with me thoughts and materials of her work despite the dangerous proximity of her research area to mine; to Mrs. Nancy Royal for her kindness, her hospitality, her understanding, and her thoughtful advice whenever I needed it the most; and to my most devoted friends Eileen and Thomas Spettel who, throughout this adventurous journey, opened for me not only the door to their house, but also – and most importantly – the door to their hearts. I have no word to characterize Thom and Eileen's discreet presence in my life other than *angelic*. Above all else, it has been their unlimited trust in me and in the value of my project that has sustained me in this effort.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT....................page 5

CURRICULUM VITAE....................page 7

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS....................page 9

TABLE OF CONTENTS....................page 13

INTRODUCTION....................page 15

1. Statement of the problem
2. 'Monumentality': Definitions
3. The Metaphor

CHAPTER 1: DEFINITION AND SOURCES OF LITERATURE ON ARCHITECTURE............page 37

1. The scarcity of architectural writing
2. The history of architectural writing in the Hellenic East
3. Books of description as sources of knowledge about architecture
4. Books of instruction and their significance to architecture
    1. *Manuals of applied ethics*
    2. *Manuals of home economics*
    3. *Manuals of climate as a special category of instruction books*
        1. *Konstantinos Mavroyiannis's "Observations on the Climate of Athens"*
        2. *Anastasios Goudas's "Researches in the Medical Chorography and Climate of Athens"*
5. Interim conclusions and forethoughts

CHAPTER 2: ARCHAEOLOGY AS THE MAIN SOURCE OF ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE...page 97

1. The relation between archaeology and architecture in the West and in Greece
2. Descriptive sources of archaeological discourse in Greece
    1. *Ludwig Ross's "Manual of Archaeology" as a source of architectural knowledge*
    2. *Archaeological topographies as first conceptualizations of architectural space*
3. Interim conclusions and forethoughts

CHAPTER 3: STEPHANOS KOUMANOUDIS'S ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF INSTRUCTIVE DISCOURSE ABOUT ARCHITECTURE..page 143

1. Introduction – His formative context
2. Basic premises of his philosophy on architecture and the arts
3. "Where is the Art of the Greeks hying today?" A tribute to J. J. Winckelmann
    1. *"Advice to the beholder [of the works] of Art"*
    2. *"On [the quality of] Grace in the works of Art"*
    3. *"Where is the Art of the Greeks hying today?"*
    4. *General assessment*
4. Architectural implications in Koumanoudis's writings
    1. *Critical comments on specific sites*
    2. *His views on Organicism and Hegel's Aesthetics*
    3. *Koumanoudis – Kaftanzoglou: An accidental encounter?*
5. "Total Panorama of Athens": Panorama or a work of art?

CONCLUSIONS – EPILOGUE..page 281

APPENDIX I: The Spatial Model of the Hellenic East..page 293
APPENDIX II: A collection of comments on architecture by Stephanos Koumanoudis.....page 297
APPENDIX III: "Total Panorama of Athens" by S. Koumanoudis – A free translation........page 311

BIBLIOGRAPHY..page 319
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS..page 333

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

> ***The creation of order in a mutable and finite world is the ultimate purpose of man's thought and actions. There was probably never human perception outside a framework of categories; the ideal and the real, the general and the specific, are "given" in perception, constituting the intentional realm that is the realm of existence.***
>
> ALBERTO PEREZ-GOMEZ, **Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science**

1. Statement of the Problem

This dissertation is a first approach to the problem of architectural culture in the city of Athens during its formative stage as the modern capital of the new Greek State under the monarchy of the Bavarian King Othon I (i.e., 1834-1862). Through the careful selection and methodical study of documents of organized *discourse* (in Greek, *logos*)[1] from this period, in which architecture participates mainly as a sub-theme, it seeks to lay bare the "framework of categories" that channeled the perception of Athenian citizens into specific ways of seeing and making sense of habitable space in a city steadily growing to the state of a European metropolis. More specifically, it scrutinizes the presuppositions of "order" as formulated, or simply contemplated, by the 'architects' of the country's modern identity, the Greek intellectuals. It proposes to show that the architectural culture which the intellectuals forged for the reborn city aimed at the establishment of an extremely formal notion of *monumentality* in the physical structure of the city, a notion which seriously contradicted the traditional sense of universal unity as retained in people's living memory and, more specifically, in the threefold schema *building* ↔ *dwelling* ↔ *thinking/remembering*. Ultimately, this study is a meditation upon architectural knowledge in general, and more specifically, upon how this knowledge fleshes out under not so favorable conditions for the progress of the discipline of architecture *per se*.

---

[1] The Greek term λόγος (*logos*) expresses most accurately the notion of ***discourse*** in the manner I am using it throughout this dissertation. *Logos* in Greek bears a number of different, yet interrelated, meanings, such as word, logic, truth, reason, account, knowledge. Since Plato, *logos* has stood as the grounding principle of order that confers meaning in discourse, and constitutes the foundation of knowledge and truth. In Christian theology, *logos* came to denote the Word of the Creator as well as the second person of the Trinity, that is, word incarnated. The assertion of the hypostatic distinction of Logos from God has reference to the limitations of human knowledge. This definition helps me to bring the word *logos* in the secular framework of Western epistemology and define it as ***knowledge on a particular topic verified through practice and consolidated in the material body of a text.*** Contrary to the normal associations of *logos* with absolute and sovereign truth in contemporary critical discourse, the term *logos* for me bears a provisional implication of truth and self-sufficiency as it can be constantly expanded and amplified by way of new heuristic processes. Through this dissertation I will be using the term *logos* only in places in which its associated meanings of discourse, writing(s) / text(s), and knowledge – that is, all terms more familiar to an English audience – poorly represent the meaning I intend to convey in the specific context.
By the term 'organized discourse' I am referring to published texts which belonged to the official culture of the time. Normally they were characterized by proper length, complete argumentation of a certain topic, and scholarly language. Often they had a programmatic purpose and served the dominant State, either directly or indirectly. I do not regard as 'organized discourse' articles of a purely journalistic character in the press, published correspondence between individuals, or commentaries on current matters authored by anonymous citizens. Exceptionally only, in the last chapter of the dissertation, entitled "Stephanos Koumanoudis's role in the formation of instructive discourse about architecture," I attempt a more thorough interpretation of the author's literature by reference to selected unpublished documents from his personal archive.

From its onset, this study encountered a curious difficulty: the almost complete absence of architectural literature during the given period. For historical and other reasons that will be elucidated in the main body of the work, the aforementioned *organized discourse* in which architecture participated as a sub-theme did not manage to develop into an actual architectural discourse and, therefore, produce a solid body of knowledge and theory before the end of the nineteenth century. It retained instead a 'para-architectural' character, so to say, as it originated with fields other than architecture. However, in the absence of the 'counter-voice' of the architectural discipline itself, this discourse by non-architect Greek intellectuals had a decisive influence upon the architectural becoming of its times and the shaping of public connsciousness relative to matters of architecture. Elements of knowledge about architecture may be generally recognized in two large areas of literature, that is, *descriptive* and *practical* sources. The former related directly to already established disciplines such as geography, medicine, and philology/ history. Logically, this literature aspired to the promotion of the theoretical interests of the respective discipline and not to that of architecture, even though it had an indirect effect on it. The latter class of sources were principally adaptations of the discursive forms of the former class into practical matters of current interest. Sources of practical knowledge during the Othonian period involving architecture as a sub-theme related to such areas as domestic economy, ethics, hygiene, climate, and applied archaeology. Sources of this group had an unambiguously instructive character as their purpose was to translate the theoretical discourse of descriptive sources into popular language for immediate practical application. Interestingly, the largest part of Greek literature in the period under study belonged to this category of practical interest. The reason for that may be ascribed to the fact that the entire nineteenth century in Greece was a time of transition from an oral to a literate culture. The need for the establishment of a new socio-political order in a country under

Ottoman rule until very recently, found convenient recourse to this language of practical instruction which, given its strong ethical underpinnings, often assumed the character of prescription. From this it follows that the 'para-architectural' literature of Othonian Greece was essentially practical writing bearing at times the commanding tone of prescription. Its purpose was to inculcate a whole new consciousness of building culture in the modern Greeks – a consciousness more in accord with the cultural paradigm of modernity, yet specifically adjusted to the cultural and ideological standards of the modern Greek State.

It is worth noting from this early point of the discussion that the foremost topic of this 'para-architectural' literature in early Greek modernity was the city, that is, the shared domain of human life and action. It was within the city – and particularly Athens, the city–capital – that a new set of perceptual categories, characteristic of modernity, developed and subsequently diffused even into the smallest units of space, such as the urban house. It is my conviction that only by understanding the structural logic of the city in her making through the words of the visionaries of her new spatial order – predominately, the learned elite – one may be sure that access to the range of perceptual categories, which comprised the logic of the individual dwelling, and the architecture of the new State in general, is also possible. The city with boundaries, the city of distinctions, the city conceived by her authors as a total monument or a 'work of art', affected the design of the private domain of the family which now strove to measure itself to the standards of the city by taking hold of some of the textual strategies of space organization and visual articulation of the latter. It is precisely in this fashion, that is, as **the source of textual strategies of meaning-making** for every single unit of built space that the organized discourse on the new city of Athens becomes absolutely relevant to my investigation.

The review of the 'para-architectural' literature in the Othonian period essentially concentrates on sources of practical interest. It begins with a brief discussion of manuals of applied ethics and domestic economy, thus setting the framework of instructive discourse at the time. It then proceeds to the analysis of manuals on the climate and medical chorography of Athens which it treats as a special class of sources of practical discourse, probably the only brand of 'para-architectural' literature that approximated the example of disinterested theoretical/ descriptive discourse. The second and third chapters of the dissertation are devoted to a lengthy exposition of texts which developed under the influence of Greek archaeology and which bring a strong ideological component to the discourse about the architecture of the modern city–capital. This concludes the review of 'para-architectural' literature in the Othonian period.

The whole discussion of the texts evolves around the dialectical opposition between contrasting paradigms of thought, more specifically of the organicist and the mechanistic paradigms,[2] and aims to show how the former was dislodged by the latter as a result of an organized effort by the State to impose its will as immutable and eternal, invested in static and idealized forms. Advocates of order and formality in all matters concerning the built environment, albeit often idealizers of the ancient glory of the country, the intellectuals of the modern State – primarily, the philologist–archaeologists – promoted through instructive texts a sober and monumental idiom for the architecture of the new city which found its supreme representation in the neoclassical style. And although the importation of neoclassicism from Western Europe belonged in theory to the general plan of the country's westernization, its propagation as the only acceptable alternative of a national style satisfied in essence a narrow nationalistic criterion and seriously contradicted the current European example, which had already set itself in favor of dialectical reasoning, organic evolution, and stylistic polyphony. Furthermore, it categorically denied forms of local culture which seized upon Eastern sensibilities of space ordering and which were naturally ingrained in people's living memory.

The dissertation looks more attentively into the structures of logic of every author and every class of sources in order to identify any hidden tensions, ideological dispositions, or rhetorical stratagems which accounted for the temporary marginalization of evolutionist systems of thought in favor of the conservative voice of the philologist–archaeologist. It examines, for example, how, in the given framework of this discourse, description easily turned into prescription, form gained prominence over process, symbolic monumentality – manifest in both writing and building – overshadowed premodern structures of communal unity. It discusses, in other words, the mechanics of theoretical discourse which led to the textualization of the architecture of the new city of Athens and its subordination to what I term the "philological–archaeological paradigm" (i.e., a by-product of the mechanistic paradigm).

---

[2] According to the paradigm of **Mechanism**, acts and agents in the field of human activity are treated as manifestations of external agencies, that is, usually linear causal relationships which initially govern over the natural world, yet by extension they determine the world of humans, too. The paradigm of **Organicism**, on the other hand, sees both natural and human world integrated into the same schema in which different parts co-exist in a relationship of mutual dependence. Whereas Mechanism presupposes a static and immutable order upon the components of its system, Organicism argues for constant change and evolution as a result of the dynamic/ dialectical relationship that exists by definition among its individual parts. Mechanism then propounds achronicity and adherence to an ideal realm of eternal forms; therefore, it favors abstraction. Organicism, on the other hand, takes a positive stand toward diachronicity and the transformative forces of history. For a thorough analysis of these paradigms see: Stephen C. Pepper, World Hypotheses: A Study in Evidence, University of California Press, Berkeley/ Los Angeles, 1961. Also: Hayden White, Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/ London, 1973.

The dissertation finally argues that – in spite of the dry State call for a perfect coinciding of word with form – *monumentality* in nineteenth-century Athenian architecture exhibited two faces, academic and popular. The former – normally articulated in elliptical architectural *logos* – due to its overdependence on form, brought about a number of *epistemological obstacles*[3] to the development of architecture into an autonomous discipline. The latter – normally expressed in actual building production – although it developed partly as a reflection of the former, did not limit itself to it, but encompassed some of the familiar practices of space generation. In effect, the urge for monumental expression in its popular manifestation on people's houses, despite all of its negative ideological underpinnings, issued certain positive results. On the one hand, it helped to register in people's minds architecture as both a shared language of signification and a tool of rationalization, therefore, as a life-improving faculty with inexhaustible resources in the context of modern Greek life. On the other hand, it inspired the production of novel architectural forms which, by mixing rational (i.e., academic) and pre-rational (i.e., vernacular) attitudes, resisted the absolute word of the sovereign, even though they partook of some of its categorical dictates.

These hybrids of modern Greek architectural culture came into being by incorporating on the one hand some aspects of the State honored monumentality, and on the other hand its "shadows", that is, elements which accounted for the preservation of an organic component into the rigid forms that the official rhetoric promoted. Under this broad definition of "shadows" one could place premodern patterns of living as perpetuated into the context of the modern city, spontaneous responses of city inhabitants to new life urgencies, the memory of the place as preserved in its multi-layered topography, the particular climate and geography of Attica, and finally the infliction upon purist classicist discourse of romantic ideas which – in a sense – offered an intelectual basis of legitimacy to all of the above. The discussion of the texts that follows deals in proper length with the conflicts, as well as with the possible compromises, between the romantic and the classicist forms of discourse that Greek scholars developed during the Othonian period. These forms of discourse are largely viewed and analyzed through the categorical characteristics of the aforementioned two paradigms of thought, the organicist and the mechanistic, respectively.

---

[3] Term which is analyzed under "The history of architectural writing in the Hellenic East". See specifically footnote #25.

2. 'Monumentality': Definitions

Monumentality (in Greek *μνημειακότης*) is a term which is receptive of different definitions depending on the context and the historical circumstance in which is applied. Etymologically related to 'memory' (in Greek *μνήμη*), a monument was originally an entity, ranging from a gigantic tomb (e.g., an Egyptian pyramid) to a written document (e.g., a will), with the power of performing as an activator/preserver of memory.[4] Therefore, monumentality was the term that applied to this particular faculty of reminiscing as carried by certain objects. Subsequently, the same term came to denote the form rather than the content of 'objects–monuments', thus becoming more closely associated with certain formal qualities, such as visual magnitude, fine proportions, and grand scale. Evidently, monumentality found a direct application in architecture – the most spatial of all arts from the Renaissance on – as an explicit attribute of buildings of a certain stature. As such it occupied European architects in early modernity, who, following the trend of their times, subjected to scientific scrutiny all the experiential, and formerly unthematized, components of buildings, including monumentality. In this analytical framework, monumentality was given a psychological basis. It was identified with the ability of certain forms to stir noble emotions and to cause powerful, everlasting impressions in the perceiver, while the reminiscing faculty of these forms – if any – was generally understated.

In both of the aforementioned cases, that is, in the memorial and in the formal/ psychological, monumentality as an aesthetic concept manifests philosophical implications of a fundamental unity, or **synthesis**. It entails the integration of disparate 'pieces' of reality into a whole, either temporal or spatial, effecting the reconstruction of either the historical rooting of the community or the biographical totality of the individual subject.[5] Monumentality as an integrative faculty became an essential component of European neoclassicism. Neoclassical architecture startles the perceiver with its grand size, but most importantly, with its harmonious proportions and the reasoned subordination of all its individual parts into a coherent whole. For historical and other reasons that will be elucidated in the text, neoclassicism was the dominant architectural style of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not only in Western Europe, but also in Greece.

---

[4] The English term 'monumentality' has its roots in the Latin verb *monere* (= to admonish, to warn). The admonishing function is not innate to the Greek term *μνημεῖο* (monument).

[5] I owe this theorization of monumentality as an integrative concept to Henri Lefebvre and his related work on the historical development of the idea of **space** in the western European city. Lefebvre explains the transition from the absolute space of the premodern city to the abstract space of modernity, by reference to changing modes of representation. In the place of the earlier (i.e., ancient and medieval) city, conceived of as a unified totality reflecting the unity of the commonly acceptable cosmological system at the time, came the city of the Enlightenment, a visual and geometric construct shaped by the structures of knowledge, ideology, and power of the modern State. Without completely superseding absolute space, abstract space appropriated its symbolic units (i.e., monuments) which it codified and incorporated into an overall textual schema. In this schema, the desired unity between the old and the new was ideologically produced by the State and no longer naturally generated through historical processes. An aura of monumentality was imposed on the modern city as a whole by dressing ordinary buildings in monumental signs, thus replacing the affective element of the traditional city with the mere iconic. In Lefebvre's view, this concept of forced 'monumentality' remains highly problematic. (Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, transl. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, Oxford, U.K. / Cambridge, USA, 1991, orig. 1974, especially pp. 220-7)

I contend that **monumentality** – in reference to architecture – **belongs to the nexus point in which literary and building intentions meet and cross paths.** Under this consideration, the notion of monumentality serves as the key element which helps me to set the conceptual framework of this work. Following this line of argument, monumentality can be defined as the heightened feeling that is produced when construction – either literary or architectural – in reaching the best of its potentials, effects communication. This heightened feeling, considered as the distillation of the poetic expression of the maker in the work, is normally the feeling that provides a common place (i.e., a *topos*) in which a number of beholders become participants in the same active form of mental (re)construction. In other words, monumentality in architecture is the quality which ideally brings together **word** and **building**, the verbal and the non-verbal, into a condition of fruitful exchange and negotiation to the benefit of the community. Henri Lefebvre, the French philosopher who offers an interesting theorization of the concept of monumentality, contends that

> monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus constituted a *collective mirror* more faithful than any personal one.... Of this social space... each one partook, and partook fully – albeit, naturally, under the conditions of a generally accepted Power and a generally accepted Wisdom.[6]

Lefebvre's reference in this quote is to the social/ monumental space of the premodern city, a space which came into being naturally and exhibited no contradictions since the forces of power that generated it accorded with the set of cosmological beliefs of the people who inhabited it. In contrast to this ideal co-existence of the **practical** (i.e., 'Power') with the **conceptual** (i.e., 'Wisdom')[7], Lefebvre juxtaposes the city of modernity, a city in which monumentality is expressed in the form of the graphic impression of the readable sign that conceals strategic intentions and actions. In this context

> [m]onumentality.... always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible *message*. It says what it wishes to say – yet it hides a good deal more: being political, military, and ultimately fascist in character, monumental buildings

---

[6] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, transl. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, Oxford, U.K. / Cambridge, USA, 1991, orig. 1974, pp. 220. The emphasis is mine.

[7] In other parts of his book, Lefebvre highlights the **habitual** element as the third indispensable component of socio-physical space, besides the **practical** and the **conceptual**.

> mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought.[8]

Lefebvre's two different brands of monumentality, one as the "collective mirror" of the community, the other as the representation of the will to power of a sovereign, delineate ways of constructing the social space of the Western city in two successive stages of its historical development. In most of his book, Lefebvre takes a special concern in elucidating how the public and the State understood and realized unity in the context of the modern city, one as the shared feeling of belongingness to a certain place, the other as an expression of sovereign power conveyed through the deceitful immediacy of the visual message. He makes clear that the modern city does not substitute abstract space for the symbolic/ absolute space that preceded it, but selectively appropriates some of its symbolic units (i.e., monuments), codifies and incorporates them into an overall textual schema. In other words, the space of modernity is a palimpsest of two, or more, layers.

Lefebvre's exposition helps one approach and visualize space in nineteenth-century Athens precisely in these terms: as this palimpsest of two layers in tension, never completely coincident, nor separate. The monuments that were prompted to stand out as the symbols of the new State were carefully chosen to be the ruins of the Periclean Age. Acting more as formal tokens of ideal unity and national identity, rather than repositories of lived memory, these monuments became the common points of reference for the inhabitants of the new city. The reason for reinforcing the role of these monuments as visually significant unifiers of modern culture was simple. The rise of Athens into a nucleus of collective life for vastly heterogeneous populations of migrants, suspended any sense of continuity between socio-economic relations and systems of belief, characteristic of the structure of the premodern Balkan town. The formerly unhindered blending of the social-physical space of the city and its related symbolisms into a harmonious whole had come to an end. Hence **unity**, a notion deeply imbedded in the world philosophy of city dwellers from their years of living in premodern environments, became all of a sudden a quality invested with undue nostalgia, rather improbable of achievement through natural evolution as before. It was now the State's task to restore this archetypal quality with recourse to reason.

The Greek State however came to understand unity in its own terms. Motivated by the ideological dream for a country unified under the superior command of a centralized authority, State agents strove to forge a uniform and unambiguous national image for modern Greece by setting in their service the intellectual powers of architecture and language in a mutually supportive role. In their choice of **neoclassicism** as the national architectural style and **purist Greek** (i.e., *katharevousa*) as the official linguistic idiom, these agents – mainly spokesmen of the King – inculcated in all modern Greeks the belief in a common glorious origin, therefore, a sense of **national identity** with grounds in both geographical space and historical time. Both choices, neoclassicism and the *katharevousa,* partook of the same phenomenon of **archaism**, or *ἀρχαιολατρεία* (*archaeolatria* = worship of the ancient past), a phenomenon realized through etymological borrowings from and iconic resemblances with ancient Greek forms. The plan of such a return to the distant past consisted, first, in the gathering of all the "scattered pieces of national identity" (as proclaimed by the State), left after four centuries of Ottoman occupation, and second, in the organization of these pieces into a comprehensive, coherent schema. Furthermore, archaism was a phenomenon inextricably linked to the much desired quality of monumentality, if not in its traditional definition as the "collective mirror" of society, more certainly as a general sentiment produced through a series of formal manipulations and strategic decisions, betokening for the nation the heightened feelings of order, grandeur, familiar imagery, verification of a prophesy,[9] and so forth. The practical/ instructive discourse about architecture of this period was particularly conducive to that end.

---

[8] Ibid., p. 143. The emphasis is mine.

Seen from an analytical perspective, manipulations affecting architecture were the direct products of a logical, code-based approach to a complex socio-cultural problem. But the simplicity, innate in the conception of this approach, defied the complexity of the problem itself. Formal rules of composition were proposed in the place of intuitive processes of handling the architectural problem, while disinterested vision was regarded as the convenient, reason-bound substitute for the affective, bodily-based modes of experiencing the world. However, and still according to Lefebvre, monumentality "surpasses such codes and subcodes, and implies a 'supercoding', in that it tends towards the all-embracing presence of the totality."[10] By "codes and subcodes" the author apparently implies the set of rules and conventions which prevail in the rational structures of modernity – such as neoclassicism and the *katharevousa* – *text*ualize the content of any such structure, account for a sharable system of signification, and permit the communication of any content in the convenient form of a message. On the other hand, a "supercode" is most often a **myth** which is imposed from the outside through political propaganda, and is intended to fill the gap from the loss of the spontaneous poetic element of life. The "supercode" of the various *texts* that the modern Greek State contrived was the myth of a common progeny (*genos*) for all modern Greeks, and which, as I mentioned earlier, had a direct reference to the Periclean Age – that is, a time sufficiently remote to fulfill the criterion of disinterestedness/ disembodiment required by a rational structure, yet true and reliable as part of the country's recorded *history*. To the dismay of its 'inventors', this "supercode" never managed to perform in the manner in which it was once envisioned. The state of *monumental* unity, pursued by the King for the country and its people was never achieved as originally conceived. The sense of belonging to the modernized city was less the result of sharing in the formal requisites of the aforementioned disembodied myth of monumentality, and more that of adapting the 'monumental' to common practices of building-making, communicating through building, and space appropriating. This is not to mean that a state of desired unity was ever reached by the citizens of nineteenth-century Athens. On the contrary, the persistent exaltation of form over process in all areas of culture by the Greek intellectuals, combined with a very purely conceived discursive framework of action, precipitated the ideological divide of the Greek population which centered its debates upon a number of artificial dichotomies, such as Greek versus Turkish, West versus East, purism versus demoticism, neoclassicism versus romanticism, masculinity versus femininity, and so forth. The actual effects of this dichotomic thinking on architecture are still to be probed upon by future research.

---

[9] This is an allusion to the notion of "Great Idea" (*Μεγάλη 'Ιδέα*), a nationalistic construct which fostered the hopes of modern Greeks for the reacquisition of all the lost lands to the Turks.
[10] Ibid., p. 222.

3. The Metaphor

As several critics have suggested, forcing a certain society into a literate state through imposition of selected textual strategies upon its superstructure is an impossible task. Particularly in Mediterranean countries which have developed their thinking patterns through a very long process of assimilating various and heterogeneous influences, literacy does not replace orality. "Rather, the two are superimposed upon and intertwined with each other. Similarly, no society is either 'oral' or 'literate' but rather uses strategies associated with one or the other tradition in various practices. The relationship between orality and textuality is not one of rigid opposition, but rather one of intrication and enfolding."[11] In a manner similar to that of language, the spatial palimpsest of the modern Greek city intricates and enfolds aspects of both its present and its past.

In nineteenth-century Greece, the building of modern cities as the ideal embodiments of physical order and moral superiority, bespeaking the country's good government and stability through time, defined the philosophical core of the monarchy's plan for westernization. With this plan in view, the architects of the new urban centers, moved their focus away from the quintessence of monument-making, that is, the rise of construction to a state of grace, into a new question: how to create spaces, either indoor or outdoor, which both accommodated human life and enacted a heightened sense of citizenship. And whereas officially appointed architects – or architecturally minded scholars – explored various possibilities for creating semiotically rich environments in the new city, the public was gradually awaking into a modern concept altogether; that is, the concept of **space** and its impact upon the psychological makeup of the community and its members. It is interesting that the adjustment of the citizens of modern Athens to this new concept was rather smooth and uneventful. This may be ascribed not as much to State rhetoric alone as to the long acculturation process through inhabiting urban settlements in transition. That is to say, a certain predisposition of the community to the apprehension of space as the determinant of human experience must be considered seriously.

---

[11] Dimitris Tziovas, "Residual Orality and Belated Textuality in Greek Literature and Culture", Journal of Modern Greek Studies, vol. 7, no. 2, Oct. 1989, p. 321.

The tendency to invest space with mythical properties has always been an integral part of the Greek consciousness since ancient times. The Greeks, as well as other cultures in the Mediterranean region, habitually used communal spaces as mediums of realizing certain states of mind, including what Porphyrios terms "contemplative states" of "rare disinterestedness" in the following quote: ".... myth allows for a convergence of the real and the fictive so that the real is redeemed. By rendering construction mythically fictive, classical thought posits reality in a contemplative state, wins over the depredations of petty life and, in a moment of rare disinterestedness, rejoices in the sacramental power it has over contingent life and nature."[12] From the ritualistic gatherings in Minoan Crete, to the beginnings of the ancient Greek drama, to the religious festivals of Christian times, the element of public performance delivered space anew every time to its audience. The space of the ritualistic narrative merged with physical space and its tangible constituents. This relationship was ascertained through the emotive participation of the audience in the performance. At the point in which practical necessity and liturgical contingency met, architecture came into being.

With the advent of modernity, an interesting reversal occurred, a reversal which is related to the aforementioned removal of emphasis from the fictive underpinnings of construction. Whereas in premodern traditions, architecture came about as the epitome of the long struggle between necessity and contingency in the context of a ritual, **in modernity architecture came to be perceived more as the bearer of significant acts rather than the final product of them.** Pre-existing monumental architecture drew attention to itself either for its ability to sustain the memory of past events into the present, or – most importantly – for its adaptability to new uses. Devoid completely of their original content in the eyes of modern users, older buildings limited their significance to the phenomenology of their forms, more specifically, to their monumental appearance. It was precisely due to this phenomenology, combined with their power to set up new and dynamic spatial relationships, that these buildings – remnants of an ancient past – were received into new contexts. For a better understanding of the semiotic structure of these contexts right before the emergence of the new State, one should look more closely into the practices of everyday life of town dwellers at that time, in other words, of people who had not yet been affected by the messages of modernity in their most doctrinal form. In the lack of any direct evidence of this kind, a painting of 1800 by Sebastiano Ittar,[13], will serve as a vehicle, or rather as a **metaphor,** to our understanding of spatial semiotics in pre-Revolutionary Athens. For its author, this work was probably nothing more than a literal representation of an ordinary amusing incident, and at the same time, a way of typifying the *other* culture through documenting some of its folk habits. Interestingly, a mere factual account from the year 1800 acquires allegorical overtones for the historian of today.

---

[12] Dimitris Porphyrios, "Classicism is not a style", Architectural Design, no. 5/6, 1982, p. 57.

The title of the painting is *Fête with a Tightrope Walker by the Theseum.*[14] It depicts a festive occasion from the life of the Athenians, still under Ottoman rule. A crowd of several hundreds are gathered in different groups in an open land on the north of the ancient temple of Theseus, at that time a Christian church dedicated to Saint George. The ethnic identity of the participants, either Turkish or Greek, is unclear. There may have been a good mixture of both. The massive volume of the Acropolis, still preserving many of its medieval features, defines the background of the composition in a distinct manner. A random agglomeration of humble gabled dwellings occupies the middle ground, right behind the area of the event, roughly where the Stoa of Zeus once stood. An acrobat is walking on a tightrope holding a long stick. His spectacular performance appears to be the focus of the majority's attention, while some are involved in intimate conversations. Supported on wooden stilts, the rope stretches between two points. One, the starting point of the acrobat, remains out of our view; the other, his destination point, is at the top of the temple. Both ends are defined by large concentrations of people. All the rest are seated on the ground in sparse groupings roughly forming a semicircle.

---

[13] An Italian painter and member of Lord Elgin's crew in his Athenian expedition.

[14] The work measures 15 x 23 cm. and was originally inscribed *Ballo incorda rapresentato in Atene nella piazza di Teseo.* The medium is sepia wash and ink. Today it belongs to a private collection in London. It is published by Fani-Maria Tsigakou in The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era, Thames and Hudson, London, 1981, p. 146, fig. 43.

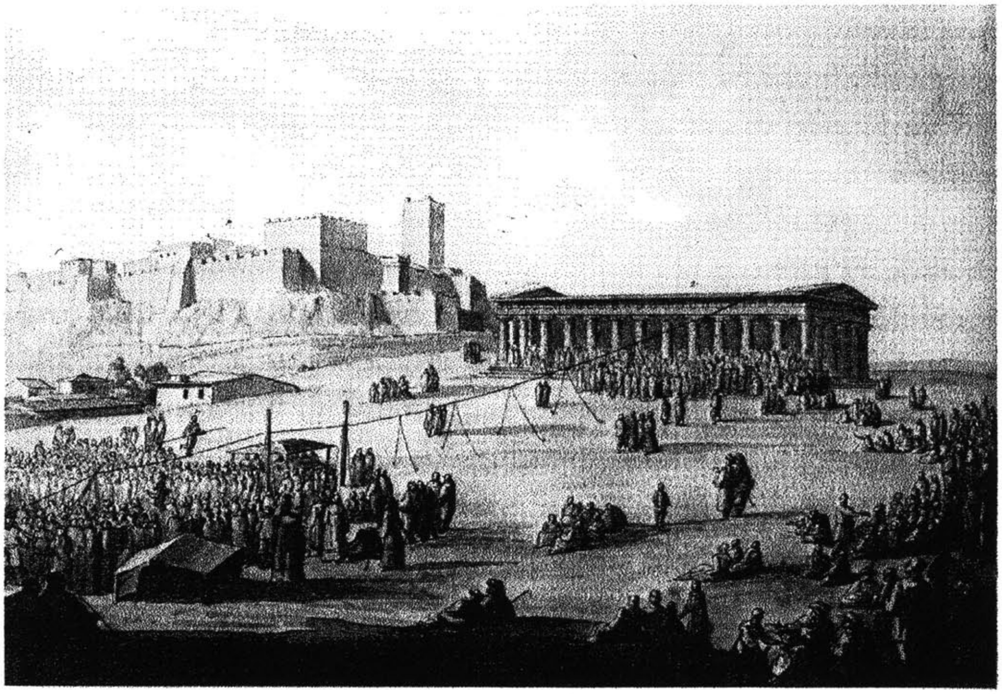


Fig. 1: Sebastiano Ittar, 'Fête with a Tightrope Walker by the Theseum', 1800
(In Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, 1981, fig. 43, p. 146)

Overall the composition presents a rather loose spatial organization, its strongest datum being the stretched rope. Due to its pronounced linearity, the rope divides the space of the event into two parts. Its diagonal placement in the painting creates an interesting contrast with the serenity that the peaceful crowd conveys. Considered in both physical and psychological terms, the energy of the composition emanates from this rope, which, although a dead and impermanent element in reality, briefly comes to life through the movement of the acrobat. The crowd, still and patient, is observing the acrobat's walk step by step. His slow and risky motion places the spectator in a state of increasing anxiety. This feeling is further accentuated by the fact that the rope has been set in an ascending position, progressively diverging from the ground toward the top of the ancient temple. An affective relationship between the acrobat and the spectator is established as the latter becomes more and more aware of the difficulty involved in the former's task. For the performance to succeed, the spectator must enter a state of mind suggesting that danger awaits the acrobat in his walk while, on the other hand, the acrobat must be convinced of the opposite. Thus a field of energy is set to work, the mechanics of which literally develop from an ironic ploy. A leap or disjunction of linear logic has to occur at the point where a new ordering of space comes into being. This leap finds the actor – in this case the acrobat – in complete isolation, an empty signifier upon which personal fears, expectations, and possibly demands on the part of the audience, are projected. His role ends right at the moment when he has successfully accomplished his rope walking. Soon afterwards the acrobat returns to anonymity, he becomes invisible again for the public who applauded him once as a hero, so that the possibility for another performance, probably in a different setting this time, is secured. All that is left from this incident and after the rope is removed from the stage, is the line that the acrobat 'inscribed' in space through his movement, a line once animated through the action of the human body – a line with a certain beginning and a more distinct end. It is through the marking of these two points that the public will remember the event in the days to come.

Thematically the scene of the festival that inspired Ittar's painting evokes images from outdoor theatrical performances in ancient Greece. Evident parallels between the two eras, superficially judged as similarities by foreign visitors to the Greek land, such as Ittar, led those men to believe that races maintain a certain core of essential characteristics over time, despite the impact of external influences and historical disruptions. Motivated by this belief, foreign travelers set themselves the task of recording, both in writing and in painting, habits and customs of Greek people as a way of proving the race's continuity through history. Ironically, many of their documentations, seen from today's perspective, bear testimony of a changed cultural paradigm rather than of a static and unswerving present carried through since antiquity.

It is common knowledge that the concept of the theater in ancient Greece developed in conjunction with folk festivals in honor of the god of conviviality, Dionysus. People seated in a circle, attended the enactment of a story which was held on a well defined cyclical stage, the orchestra. Highly diverse episodes, centered around reversals of fortune and divinatory interactions between humans and superhumans, defined the core of the plot and engaged the audience through their intelligible causal connections. It was precisely owing to the successful and publicly intelligible integration of scattered events into a whole and complete story that the temporal unity of the dramatic performance was constituted. Understanding enabled identification. By sharing in the characters' active process of bringing order to a disordered host of events, the audience enjoyed the opportunity to re-configure its own temporal experience and the related complexities that life creates in its course.

On the other end of the spectrum stands the experience of the acrobat's walking on a tightrope as seen and analyzed on the basis of Ittar's painting. Experience, in this case of a public event from the more recent history of the country, relied upon space as its primary constitutive element, as opposed to time in the case of the ancient drama. Through the adroit appropriation of space, the acrobatic performance became possible on the one hand and, on the other, its memory was retained by its audience. The acrobat realized his precarious walk by exploiting the distance between two points in space. Steps made sequentially, in a non-reversible fashion, disclosed space as a linear medium in the eyes of the audience. In this walk, no one of the steps could be assigned an absolute value. Lying in-between two fixed points, each of the rope walker's steps could only be defined mathematically in terms of its relative distance from two points in space, the beginning and the end of the rope. Because of this apparent lack of diversification in the acrobat's action, the time of the performance came to be perceived as a homogeneous medium, having no essential impact upon the internal construction of the event. Excessive emphasis was paid to the syntactic rather than to the semantic aspect of it. In contrast to the ancient actor who, through his mimetic acting, managed to bring to life significant stories from a different time, place, and people, the acrobat in his walk imitated nothing; his praxis had no model or prototype, and therefore, no depth. His walk brought into focus the fact that space and time constitutes an inseparable compound, the former engaging the latter in its sequential logic, as opposed to the unforeseeable breaks and reversals present in the spatio-temporal construction of the ancient tragedy. The acrobat wrote a thin line in space realized by both him and his audience in a linear temporal sequence. In a manner similar to the line of the written text, composed by a series of material signs laid out on a page by the writer, the acrobat inscribed space permanently through the materiality of his steps. The difference between the two types of writing lies in the fact that whereas the former is dependent upon the arbitrary medium of human language, the latter makes use of the natural language of the human body instead. No spoken words, no suggestive gestures, no allusions to a different context were parts of the rope walker's performance. His act did not affect the imaginary sphere of the audience; it had no extension to the beyond. Paradoxically, it did not fully belong to the transparent sphere of reality either. As mentioned earlier, a space of subtle deception had to develop between the actor and his audience for the performance to be accomplished, a space of separation (i.e., opacity) which ultimately made the connection of the two parties possible; an element of myth whose mechanics were now far easier to be configured in comparison to the tragic irony of the ancient drama. A ploy took the place of the plot.

In effect, the acrobat's movement on the rope was conceived as a **spectacle**, specially set up as a way of stirring the audience's excitement progressively until the point of the successful finish, the climbing of the temple top. A short-lived feeling of emotional release helped register the event permanently in the memory of the spectators. No aftermath, no cathartic resolution accompanied the event. The performance did not effect any ontological changes in the life of the attendants, as the ancient tragedy did many centuries before. In principle, it was not intended as a way of self-knowing or betterment of one's soul. It was purely a form of entertainment, evoking no "pity" or "fear"[15] in reference to the fate of the community as a whole or the individual spectator. To the largest extent, it remained an external, impersonal phenomenon, experienced in the present tense. And although it gathered the community around it, it had no center, no particular focus, no moral or intellectual message to pass to its audience. Spatially, this early intimation of a modern society found correspondence in the linear extension of the rope and the respective seating of the crowd in a loose array of different groups. The rope might extend much longer without any real effect on the performance. The concept of amphitheatrical seating around the sacred center of the orchestra had been long superseded for a more practical and less compelling spatial form.

By means of this performance – as well as other, similar performances – during the years preceding the Revolution, a new sense of space developed for its habitual users. Spaces of this kind tended to be linear and, most often, uni-directional, reminiscent of the acrobat's walking on a tightrope. They developed between points of special interest for the community, normally existing in a relation of tension with one another, as for example, the marketplace and the church. Urban planning in early modernity came as an affirmation of this preset pattern of spatial semiotics, not as a new contrivance altogether. Its intended goal was the rationalization of this pattern – product of human experience – into an abstract model with universal applicability. In modern urban plans, linear paths – some already intimated from premodern times – turned into streets, the stage-sets of everyday life in the city.[16]

---

[15] Necessary components of the ancient tragedy according to Aristotle.

In reference to the specific site of Ittar's painting, there is no evidence as to whether the starting point of the rope walk was ever firmly marked following the time of the performance, in other words, whether actually a permanent structure ever took the place of the scattered tents and sheds, specially set up for the festival. But such a 'point of origin' might have been of minor significance relative to the actual experience of the event. Even if such a structure were never built, the other end of the line, the Theseion, would still suffice as both a reminder of the event and a determinant of the new spatial architectonics. The paths leading to it would most likely be linear, leading directly to the monument, regardless of which their starting points might be. A utilitarian element initially, used for the fastening of the rope's end, absent during the performance, it was the **temple**, the destination point, that made it possible for the drama to unfold and reach its highest peak. Coming into public focus slowly as the acrobat's point of ultimate danger, the old and ruined structure was the site where a new heroic achievement came to overwrite the feats of its first hero, Theseus. Eventually, thanks to the disappearance of the acrobat from the scene, the building in its new meaning became again visible and conspicuous to the inhabitants of the modern city, a destination point for some of their walks.

Acrobatic performances and other similar shows, involving slight trickery and a festive spirit, placed Greece at the threshold of modernity long before agents of change, specifically assigned to the task, formalized this concept in an axiomatic manner through rules, decrees, precepts, planning policy, and instructive writing. And although no spatial or temporal focus existed anymore to suggest an imaginary center for the community as clearly as the circular orchestra did in ancient times, the community still managed to develop a common

---

[16] In the first draft of the plan of Athens by Kleanthes and Schaubert of 1833, the line of the rope is materialized into a wide street connecting the Theseion with a building marked as 'the Mint', set in the middle of an open plaza. The street continues to the north of the plaza as a tree-lined avenue marked as 'Voulevareion'. In Klenze's plan of 1834, by principle the area immediately to the north of the Theseion was not affected through the opening of new streets. However, the temple was still considered the ultimate focal point for one of the widest avenues in the new part of the city, running north-south. Here again, the direction of the rope coincides with that of the street. The plan which was eventually realized approximates Klenze's proposal for this western section of the city. The area adjacent to the Theseion was designated as an archaeological site and no new streets were opened. In actual experience, and probably in defiance of Klenze's intentions, the temple fails to act as the focal point of the streets in its immediate vicinity.

ethos of collectivity simply by sharing in the same jovial occasion, held in the open and attended by all social and ethnic groups together. In this context, ancient buildings came to be seen again as living elements with vital power in the constitution of a perceptual totality for the members of the community, not as inert symbols of a common national identity as later State leaders wished them to be. Due to their distinct physical characteristics, they enjoyed special attention and respect as parts of a natural continuum. As Ittar's painting demonstrates, classicism became contemporary again for early nineteenth-century Athenians. All saw and understood the ancient monument in the same terms, that is, through the folk hero's feat of keeping himself in balance on his way to the top. Public consciousness had singled these physical structures out as props to its memory, as elements with extensibility both in space and in time, still at an age when archaeology had not yet theorized them for their instrumental value in the formation of the modern nation. This sharing into the common experience of the performance, this collective projection of feelings upon a single subject in his innocuous interplay with the antique remnants, intensified for the public the sense of belonging to a certain *locus*. It was a locus concrete enough as it originated in a chain of intelligible associations (i.e., monument - acrobat - audience), and, at the same time, abstract, as it eluded a singular and centralizing response from its occupants. It was the common ground for a diverse group to meditate upon ideas of truth and moral order as foundation stones for the community, despite the fact that not all the members of this community acquiesced anymore to the same definition of either truth or moral order.

Greek people made their entrance to the classical spirit of modernity by way of the **performative or Dionysian element** of life. This element stood in contradistinction to the Winckelmannian notions of "noble tranquillity" and "calm grandeur" which archaeologically minded Greek intellectuals expounded as principal aesthetic qualities of neoclassicism in Greece. Collective celebrations of life or death, solemn or joyful, inscribed space through long processional routes, the precursors to the ideologically driven concept of the national parade. Their purpose was to reinforce the sense of communal ethos through dwelling in a shared domain of action. These celebrations used space as their natural medium and a number of architectural structures, either pre-existing or specially built for the occasion, as their station points. With the passing of time and the expert intervention of the designer, some of these structures–stations acquired permanence, solidity, and a mixed sense of monumentality – partly formal, partly vernacular – as the timeless markers of the event, often by referencing one another. Thus the old and the new were brought together into an architectural continuum through a certain procedure which may be seen as a suturing operation. Probably this was the main reason why the public eagerly embraced the ambitious plans of the modern State for construction of new monuments. The inclusion of monuments as space markers during important communal events belonged already to their premodern traditions, whereas any formal association with classical ruins was justified by images deeply imbedded in their cultural subconscious. In other words, classicism in its doctrinal form of 'neo'-classicism seized primarily the soul, and secondarily only the mind, of Athenian inhabitants. For most of them whose life had already unfolded among antique structures, their fascination with the new movement lay more in its power to form familiar contexts alluding to embodied memories, than in its ability to tie the country most certainly to the West as the intellectual leaders of the State anticipated.

CHAPTER 1:

DEFINITION AND SOURCES OF ARCHITECTURAL LITERATURE IN EARLY GREEK MODERNITY

1. The scarcity of architectural writing

Architectural discourse (*logos*) in the way we understand it today, that is, reasoning about architecture fomented through practice, was almost unknown in Greece during the period of the Bavarian monarchy. There has been no systematic Greek text in the independent part of Greece until the last quarter of the nineteenth century to lay out the theoretical premises of the profession in the manner of an architectural treatise.[17] Instead, segments only of writing about architecture are to be found scattered in various places, most often in the feuilletons of the daily press, which hardly ever reach the point of fully argumentative texts. The purpose of the author – who in the majority of cases remained anonymous – was principally political or ideological, making a case for or against the government and its policy regarding matters of architecture and planning (e.g., the implementation of the new city-plan, expropriation of private property, tree-planting, sanitation, etc.). In other cases, ideologically motivated writing took the character of a polemical dialogue between two authors, and developed in a sequence of fiery articles which were published either as letters in the paper or in the form of independent pamphlets. These 'dialogues' are known less for their dialectical merit or for the articulation of a full theoretical position on a topic, and more for the authors' efforts to have their professional authority justified through the strategy of mutual intimidation. Unfortunately, with the only exception of the addendums to new city-plans,[18] most of the samples of writing on architecture by architects that we know of from the period under study belongs to the latter category of a polemic.[19] The subject-matter under debate was, in most

---

[17] The excellent study by Philippos Oreopoulos on the history of the architectural literature in Greece during the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period until the emergence of the modern State recently brought to light an important architectural treatise of 1820 by a Greek author and professor in the Academy of Fine Arts in Corfu, Gerasimo Pizzamano. The text is in Italian. (G. Pizzamano, Saggio d' architettura civile, con alcune cognizioni comuni a tutte le belle arti, del Cavaliere, di Cefallonia, archeologo, pittore, architetto ed ingeniere, pubblico professore d' Architettura Civile nell' Academia delle Belle Arti negli stati Uniti del Jonio, Corfu, 1820.) According to Oreopoulos this was the first time in the history of modern Greek literature that architecture was treated as an autonomous subject of both theoretical and epistemological significance, since architecture was traditionally considered a purely technical profession. Pizzamano's treatise appears also as the first attempt for a synthesis of ideas originating in the western European tradition, yet now adapted to a Mediterranean framework, with a clear allegiance to the related literature of the ancients, Vitruvius in particular. It is worth noting that through this treatise neoclassicism was introduced to the Greek audience for the first time as an aesthetic attitude with an ideological taint, since Pizzamano emphatically noted its significance as a national style for the occupied country. At this point, it is difficult for me to detect and assess the impact of Pizzamano's treatise upon the architects of Athens during the Othonian period. More than likely, the Italian language of the text must have significantly limited its popularity among the broader audience of builders and craftsmen. The current scarcity of this book (I located only one copy in the Public Library of Corfu) may be used as an extra evidence for its limited circulation at the time of its publication, particularly in the Greek mainland. The political and geographical isolation of the Ionian islands from the continental part of Greece may be seen as an additional impediment to its publicity. However, the ideological underpinnings of the text at least persist throughout the architectural history of the modern Greek State. My knowledge of the treatise is only through Philippos Oreopoulos's 'Ο Νεοελληνικός Λόγος γιά τήν 'Αρχιτεκτονική καί τήν Πόλη: Τό Χωρικό Μοντέλο τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Ανατολῆς (The Neohellenic Logos about the Architecture (of the building) and the City: The Spatial Model of the Hellenic East), with a preface by A. Tzonis and L. Lefaivre, Hestia, Athens, 1998. Also published in French as Le Modèle Spatial de l' Orient Hellène: Le Discours Néohellénique sur la Ville et l' Architecture, L' Harmattan, Paris, 1998.
My research in Athenian libraries and archives has brought to light four manuals of architecture, three in a printed and one in a manuscript format, all of which date from the last third of the nineteenth century. It is evident that all four manuals were intended as class-notes to students of technical schools by their professors and not for broad circulation. Consequently, none of them reached the level of comprehensiveness of an architecture treatise. The printed manuals are: 1) Joannes Chronis, (architect, associate of the

---

Academy of Fine Arts of St. Lucas in Rome and in Athens), Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἀστικῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς (Manual of Civic Architecture) for the use of the students of the Ionian Gymnasium and Lyceum, Corfu, 1862. This manual follows the tradition of the Ionian Academy in matters of architectural education, as inaugurated by Pizzamano's treatise on which it is probably based, with the extra advantage that it is written in the Greek language. 2) Joannes Sechos, Σημειώσεις Οἰκοδομικῆς (Notes of Building Construction), Athens, 1882-83. 3) Joannes Kolliniates, Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Ἐγκρίτου Ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως (Architecture of the Distinguished Antiquity and the Renaissance), Athens, 1889. This publication has been criticized for having copied the respective treatise *Die Architektur des Klassischen Altertums und der Renaissance* by the German J. Bühlmann.

The one and only unpublished manuscript that my research yielded carries the title Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ (Architecture) with the subtitle "a complete series of lessons on architecture and the construction of buildings, streets, and bridges". It is signed on two pages (54r and 202v) with a scribble which I identified with the name of Alexandros M. Foundouklis (1837-1884), a military architect-engineer and professor at the school of military engineering between approx. 1865 and 1875, in which time-span I would place the writing of this manuscript. The book is an exceptional manual, most likely intended for the systematic teaching of architecture. To my knowledge, it is the earliest attempt within the limits of the free State for the delivery of an architectural treatise in Greek to a Greek audience. I gather that the it is the translation of a foreign treatise without any effort to adapt its content to the Greek context. More specifically, it appears to be the translation of a French educational textbook (French words inserted in parentheses and many references to French buildings lead to this deduction) as Foundouklis attended graduate studies in France (1858-60) at which time he must have acquainted himself well with the related architectural literature. The book is based on the western tradition of classical architecture with many references to Vitruvius and other authors of the Renaissance (e.g., Vignola, etc.) Although ancient Greek architecture occupies a prominent position in the book, Foundouklis exhibits no nationalistic bias – something unusual in the architectural literature of the 19th century – as its purpose is to offer instrumental knowledge to future engineers, not to propagate a specific style. The text is structured in four books and twenty-five 'lessons'/chapters and counts 454 double-face sheets (a total of 908 pages). The general approach to architecture is analytical with the exception of the first book which offers general definitions and theoretical principles along with a brief history of architecture beginning in India and ancient Egypt and ending in the European Middle Ages. Foundouklis follows a consistent format throughout his manuscript with each page divided in two columns with hand-drawn illustrations on the left and text on the right. The graphic quality is admirable. – I had the opportunity to review this manuscript in the archives of the Ethnological and Historical Museum of Athens. I wish to thank the director of the archives, Mrs. Senia Dara, for trusting me and sharing with me this rare document.

[18] Most important in this category of architectural writing is the addendum to the first plan of Athens presented to the King in April of 1834 by Kleanthes and Schaubert which will enter my discussion at a later point of the dissertation. Published in H. H. Russack, Deutsche bauen in Athen (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1942). Translated into Greek as Ἀρχιτέκτονες τῆς Νεοκλασικῆς Ἀθήνας (Architects of Neoclassical Athens), transl. K. Sarropoulos, Govostis publisher, Athens, c. 1990.

[19] Notorious for its use of harsh language, but also representative of its kind, remains the polemic between the two most renowned Greek architects of the Othonian period, Stamatios Kleanthes and

cases, the general design and stylistic definition of a specific public edifice, or the location of the new city.[20]

2. The history of architectural writing in the Hellenic East[21]

Given the scarcity of serious theoretical contributions to the discipline of architecture by architects, any epistemological advances in the field until later in the century are to be sought in writings by Greek scholars who articulated their subject matter around spatial categories, but who never made the architectonics of the built environment central to their inquiry. It is noteworthy that this model of scholarship which treated the built environment as an issue subordinate to a larger theme, that is, the theme of the **city seen as a spatial totality**, originated long before the formal entrance of Greece into modernity with the constitution of the independent Greek State. However, it persisted through and after this historical occurrence for reasons that I will presently explain by way of a short digression to the historical conditions of architectural writing before this decisive turning point in Greek history.

In his meticulous search for the origins of *neohellenic*[22] architectural writing in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine literature, architectural theorist Philippos Oreopoulos

---

Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, over the commissioning of the design for the building of Philekpaideftiki Etairia (Association of Education or Arsakeion). It was initiated by Kleanthes whose plans for the building were rejected by the committee in charge. It followed the customary avenue of the pamphlets. Besides the many factual details, the condescending remarks, and the self-exclamatory statements, these texts contain a good number of ideas about and references to architecture that facilitate our insight into the level of architectural discourse in Greece near the middle of the century. (S. Kleanthes, Ἔκθεσις περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀνεγερθησομένου καταστήματος τῆς Φιλεκπαιδευτικῆς Ἑταιρείας (Report on the Premises of the Educational Association to be constructed in Athens), Athens, 1845; L. Kaftanzoglou, Ἀπάντησις εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Κλεάνθους ἔκθεσιν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀνεγερθησομένου καταστήματος τῆς Φιλεκπαιδευτικῆς Ἑταιρείας (Reply to the Report by Mr. Kleanthes....), Philolaou print, Athens, 1845.)

[20] The most prominent piece of writing on this matter was by Lysandros Kaftanzoglou. Published in the paper relatively late, i.e., in 1839, this extensive article was intended by its author as a criticism against all the preceding propositions regarding the location of the new city of Athens. Kaftanzoglou expresses his strong disapproval of all the related decisions to that point, and calls for the abandonment of the present plan and the design of a new one in a new location, outside the officially designated area by the State. Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, "Σχεδογραφία Ἀθηνῶν" (Sketching of Athens), Newspaper Αἰὼν, no. 46, 8-3-1839, pp. 1-3 (reprinted in an independent pamphlet form under the title: Περὶ μεταρρυθμίσεως τῆς Πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν Γνῶμαι (Views on the reform of the plan of Athens, 1858).

[21] 'Hellenic East' is a term that Oreopoulos uses in order to distinguish a certain cultural context, rather than a physical/geographical entity, from the respective cultural context of the 'Latin West'.

[22] The Greek term *νεοελληνικός* (neohellenic) literally meaning *'new hellenic'*, is often translated narrowly as *'modern Greek.'* However, the term, in current literature, covers a much longer chronological span than the conventional span of Greek modernity (mid-18th to 20th century). It normally denotes the phase of Greek history, along with a set of related cultural forms, which begins somewhere around the 10th century and continues until today, it possesses the core of a national consciousness, and uses the Christian tradition as its principal ideological framework. The term is commonly used in order to stress the contrast between the antique and the post-antique phase of Greek history. This is at least how Oreopoulos uses the term in his book. For that, I transliterate his term 'neoellinikos' as *neohellenic* which I am adopting throughout my text

locates the first attempts at a systematic theorization of the concept of spatial architectonics near the turn of the eighteenth century, that is, a time associated with many Greek scholars' awakening to the spirit of the Enlightenment.[23] Strongly influenced by the literary tradition of Western Europe, these scholars – primarily geographers, historians, travelers, and writers of 'science fiction'[24] – transferred elements of this tradition to the *Hellenic East* by venturing a major or minor adaptation of these elements to the constituents of a regional culture. As opposed to western scholars' early discovery of classicism through the paradigmatic text of Vitruvius and the subsequent emergence of architecture in the West as an autonomous discipline possessing both theory and practice, the East sternly defended the roots of architecture in the art of building construction (i.e., *techni*) and the empirical tradition of the builder/ craftsman. The long-held belief in the discontinuity between mind and matter, echoing the Eastern theological dogma of the radical divide between earth and heavens (i.e., brought under the notions of "the built" and "the unbuilt"), acted as a serious '"epistemological obstacle"[25] for the rationalization of those fields of practical knowledge – architecture included – which, during the Hellenic Middle Ages (i.e., Byzantine and Ottoman) concerned themselves with matters of technical construction. In effect, these fields of practical knowledge established themselves as *closed* technical professions through the tradition of the craft guild. According to Oreopoulos, due to the aforementioned *epistemological obstacles,* not only was the technical profession restricted from explorating its own theoretical resources, but also any opening of the epistemological boundaries of different fields to a free exchange of ideas and principles was also prohibited. Greek builders and craftsmen never concerned themselves with the production of architectural discourse in the form of writing. Practical knowledge was transmitted orally through apprenticeship from generation to generation. Consequently, as I previously mentioned, the most promising avenue for the production of theoretical ideas about architecture and the built environment was a number of writings in other disciplines – only tangentially related to architecture – which managed to adapt their content to a logic that skillfully eschewed confrontation with the Church.[26] However, due to the fact that this form of reasoning about architecture developed in isolation from the practice of the profession, it was

---

following the aforementioned logic, whereas for my more specific references to the Greek history of the past two centuries I am using the more common *modern Greek.*

[23] Philippos Oreopoulos, op. cit., Part 4, Chapter 2, pp. 325-348.

[24] A relatively recent genre of literature which flourished with the advent of modernity and whose most important precedent is the classical ***Utopia*** of 1516 by Sir Thomas More, and, to an extent, the Plato's *Πολιτεία* (Republic).

[25] Term used by Philippos Oreopoulos (op. cit., pp. 90, 120ff) to characterize the obstacles imposed to the progressive development of rational thought by historical crystallizations of certain cosmologies into systems of religious or political authority which customarily turn ideas into dogmas or ideologies. Oreopoulos borrows this term from Gaston Bachelard (***La formation de l' ésprit scientifique,*** Paris, 1972) and adapts it to the epistemology of architecture, city-planning, and drawing.

[26] This is the reason why writing of this kind proliferated after the seventeenth century, that is, a time when the authority of the Church was disputed by the Enlightenment and its spokesmen.

doomed never to reach the state of real *architectural discourse*. Moreover, reasoning originating with non-architect writers never rose to the level of a theory capable of defending the disciplinary autonomy of architecture, that is, architecture as a coherent cognitive field and a source of knowledge for other disciplines.

3. Books of description as sources of knowledge about architecture

As previously mentioned, this tradition of writing about architecture by non-architects persisted long after the establishment of the modern Greek State. Geography,[27] history,[28] and travel literature[29] were again the fields which provided the most informative chorographic/

---

[27] Since my criterion in the selection of these sources is their special focus on the scale of the city, these works possess the character of a topographical rather than a geographical study. For the city of Athens, characteristic works in this category are: P.W. Forchhammer & K.O. Müller, ***Zur Topographie von Athens.*** Ein Brief aus Athen und ein Brief nach Athen, In der Dieterichfehen Buchhandlung, Göttingen, 1833; P.W. Forchhammer, ***Topographie von Athen*** mit einem plan der Alten Stadt, Schwers'sche Buchhandlung, Kiel, 1841; Jean Adolphe Sommer (Ingénieur-Géographe), ***Répertoire Analytique et Descriptif pour la Carte d' Athènes et ses Environs,*** Imprimérie de François Wild, Munich, 1841; William Martin Leake, ***The Topography of Athens*** (with some remarks on its antiquities), John Murray, London, 1821 (& 1841); J.F. Bessan, ***Souvenirs de l' Expédition de Morée en 1828, suivis d' un Mémoire Historique sur Athènes*** (avec le plan de cette ville), Henri Gomont, Imprimeur-Libraire, Valognes, 1835; Augustus Mommsen, ***Athenae Christianae,*** In Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, Lipsiae, 1868; Ernst Curtius, ***Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen, Atlas,*** Gotha, 1868; R. Smirke, (Sir) and W. Wilkins, ***Atheniensa; or, Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens,*** 1816; (Mr.) Hawkins, ***On the Topography of Athens and On the Long Walls of Athens*** with "A new plan of Athens and of the remains of Ancient Buildings which are still extant there: after an original survey by Fauvel", Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, etc., London, 1817 (also published in Rob Walpole's Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, London, 1818); (M.) Raoul-Rochette, ***Sur la Topographie d' Athènes,*** Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, (1852), (Articles extraits du *Journal des Savants*). Exceptionally I am citing the title of a topographical study for the city of Constantinople for its special significance for modern Greek literature: Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, *'Η Κωνσταντινούπολις, ἢ Περιγραφὴ Τοπογραφική, 'Αρχαιολογικὴ καὶ 'Ιστορικὴ τῆς Περιωνύμου ταύτης Μεγαλοπόλεως καὶ τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ Κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου...* (Constantinople, or Description Topographical, Archaeological and Historical of this renowned Big City and its environs in the gulf and the Bosphorus....), 3 vols., Koromilas print, Athens, 1851, 1862, 1869.

[28] In Greece, history as a discipline was rather slow to produce works of a scientific merit, divorced from ideological overtones. The earliest examples of historical writing by Greek authors mix history with personal remembrances. See for example: Dionysios Sourmelis, *'Ιστορία τῶν 'Αθηνῶν* (History of Athens), From the outbreak of the Revolution until the constitution of the State, 3 vols., Koromilas print, Aegina, 1834; Georgios Tertsetes, *Περὶ τῆς Παραδόσεως τῆς Νεωτέρας 'Ιστορίας τῆς 'Ελλάδος* (On the Tradition of the History of Modern Greece), N. Philadelpheus print, Athens, 1859.

[29] Even in this period travel literature is mainly by foreign authors who traveled in or through Greece. The difference with travel literature of the immediately preceding period (i.e., 17th-18th century) lies in the fact that some of these works now move away from the typical traveler's impressionistic description, toward a more analytical theorization of the landscape. The examples with specific reference to the city of Athens are numerous. As an indication I am offering a few titles: Edmond About, ***La Grèce Contemporaine,*** Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie., Paris, 1854; Charles Ernest Beulé, "Athènes et les Grecs modernes", ***Revue des deux mondes,*** vol. X, June 1855, pp. 1042-9; Abel Blouet (architècte), ***Expédition Scientifique de Morée*** (ordonée par le Gouvernement français). 3 vols. Paris: 1831-1838. (The views and the description of Athens are in vol. III. They date in the Summer and Autumn of 1829); J.-A. Bouchon, ***La Grèce continentale et la Morée,*** Paris, 1847 (the travel to Athens was in 1840-1); Henry John George Herbert Carnarvon, (Third Earl of). ***Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea....,*** John Murray, London, 1839; A. Chenavard (architècte) ***Voyage en Grèce et dans le Levant fait en 1843-44.*** Paris, 1858 and Lyon, 1849 (the drawings are by Etienne Rey, designateur); George Cochrane (Lord). ***Wanderings in Greece*** (2 vols.) London, 1837; (The author spent time in Greece in 1827, 1834 and 1835); Walter Colton, ***Visit to Constantinople and Athens.*** New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co.; Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1836; Henry Martyn Baird, ***Modern Greece: a narrative of a residence and travels in that country, with observations of its antiquities, literature, language, politics, and religion.*** Harper, New

topographic descriptions of either urban or rural landscapes, in which architecture participated to a greater or lesser extent. These works, which conceptually partook of the analytical logic of modernity, constituted considerable epistemological advances toward the rationalization of space by developing more and more complete systems of description. Further discussion on the different categories, the content, and the particular philosophical orientation of these sources is beyond the narrow scope of this work. It suffices only to say, at this point, that in nineteenth-century Greece the subject of geography demonstrated remarkable progress. Writings on geography proliferated, partially in response to the needs of public education in the modern State. Many of the new geography books were specially designed for the learning of young students. Despite their overall practical orientation, these books presented a strong basis in theory as they transferred ideas and principles from their European counterparts, often through literal translation. It is worth noting that handbooks of geography developed a bigger interest in phenomena of the large scale of the region, the globe, and the universe, than in the smaller scale of the city or the locality.[30] A notable exception to this rule concerning

---

York, 1856; Henry Cook, ***Recollections of a Tour in the Ionian Islands, Greece and Constantinople,*** Thomas M' Lean, London, 1853; (The trip took place in 1834. Many views of Athens and a panorama of the city drawn from the Lycabettus hill); Louis Dupré, ***Voyage à Athènes et Constantinople,*** Paris, 1825; Gustave Flaubert, ***Lettres de Grèce,*** Heuzey (ed.), Paris, 1948 (his visit to Athens was in the winter of 1850-51); Francis Hervé, ***A Residence in Greece and Turkey,*** 1837; Alphonse de Lamartine, ***Voyage en Orient,*** Paris, 1875 (the trip to Greece was in 1832); Edward Lear, ***Jourals of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania,*** 1851 (reprint: ***Edward Lear in Greece: Journals, etc.,*** William Kimber, 1964); François Lenormant, ***Beaux-Arts et Voyages*** (2ème Voyage) 2vols., 1841; Théodose de Moncel, ***De Venice à Constantinople à travers la Grèce,*** Paris, 1843; J.-B. Morot, ***Voyage de Paris à Jerusalem, 1839 et 1840,*** Paris, 1869; William Mure, ***Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands,*** vol. II, Blackwood, London, 1842; Désiré Raoul-Rochette, "Athènes sur le roi Othon", ***Revue de deux-mondes,*** vol. XVI, ii (1838), pp. 184-9; Christopher Wordsworth, ***Athens and Attica: Journal,*** J. Murray, London, 1836; Christopher Wordsworth, ***Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical,*** H.F. Tozer (ed.), Orr, London, 1882; E. Spencer, ***Travels in European Turkey in 1850,*** 2 vols.,London, 1851; Hugh W. Williams, ***Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands,*** 2 vols., Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh, 1820.

[30] Translations from the English, French, and German of basic sources in geography include: Adriano Balbi, *Γεωγραφία* (Geography), translated from the French by K. M. Koumas, D. & N. Argyriades (eds.), 5 vols., A. Benko print, Vienna, 1838-40; Léon Bezout, *Γεωγραφία φυσική...* (Natural Geography....), translation and commentary by P. Ioannides Smyrneos, Firminos Didotou print, Paris, 1826; John Bradley, *'Εγχειρίδιον γεωγραφικὸν κατὰ τὴν νέαν μέθοδον...* (Manual of geography accordingto the new method....), transl. from the English for the use of the schools by Perikles Raftopoulos, K. Rallis print, Nafplion, 1834; Adam Christian Gaspar, *Εἰσαγωγὴ γενικὴ τῆς Γεωγραφίας εἰς πλήρην τῆς γῆς γνῶσιν* (Introduction to general geography for a complete knowledge of the earth), translated from the German and edited by Kapetanakis brothers, 2 vols., Ioannes Snireros print, Vienna, 1816; M. Palaiologos and D. Themeliades (eds. & transl.), *Νέα Μεθοδικὴ Γεωγραφία* (New Methodical Geography), transl. from the French, vol. 2, Greek Commercial School, Odessa, 1834; William Channing Woodbridge, *Στοιχεῖα τῆς Γεωγραφίας, κατὰ τὴν Νέαν Μέθοδον....* (Elements of Geography according to the new method...) accompanied by pictures and a map, American print, Smyrna, 1835 (1st edition); G. Griffittes, Smyrna, 1843 (2nd edition); Paul Fr. Achat. Nitsch, *Σύνοψις τῆς Παλαιᾶς Γεωγραφίας* (A synopsis of old geography), transl. from the German by K. M. Koumas, for the use of the Philological School of Smyrna, P. Nikolaides Smyrneos (ed.), Ioannes Snireros print, Vienna, 1819. Geography books by modern Greek writers with a major or minor effort for an adaptation to the specific geographical region include: Joannes P. Kokkonis, *Γεωγραφίας στοιχειώδη μαθήματα.... Στοιχεῖα μαθηματικῆς καὶ φυσικῆς γεωγραφίας* (Elementary classes in geography.... Elements of mathematical and natural geography), for the use of elementary schools, A. Koromilas print, Athens, 1845; D.K. Markoulides, *Γεωγραφία συνοπτική....* (Concise geography....), the first part contains general elements of geography, the second part contains the political geography of ancient and modern Greece, 'Parisina Apokryfa' print, A. Patrikios director, Smyrna, 1848; Anastasios Polyzoides, *Τὰ Γεωγραφικὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐνεστὸς καὶ τὸ παρελθὸν, συγκριτικῶς....* (Comparative approach to geographic

descriptive handbooks were the few manuals of climate which, by having their roots in the sciences of geography and medicine combined, focused on the description of the particular locality.[31] On the other hand, descriptions of topographically confined landscapes emerged most prominently through the writings of Greek archaeologists.[32] One may positively state that the discipline of geography as such managed to develop its theoretical discourse in some distance from specific ideologies and other epistemological obstacles, since its subject matter, i.e., large portions of the earth, was generally regarded as bearing exclusively upon objective systems of analysis. On the contrary, derivative areas of knowledge, such as archaeological topography encountered serious epistemological difficulties in the development of their discourses. Having to deal with the particular locale, not only as a physical or a geographical phenomenon, but also as a political and historical entity, archaeologists were not supposed to proceed to a theoretical substantiation of their finds, before they had first sufficiently defined the object of their study in historical terms. In other words, their way to archaeology was through the thorny field of ideology. Being in charge of the difficult process of valorization of the city's historical layers, they had to take a stand for or against current ideological debates regarding the country's progeny. I will return to a lengthier discussion of this topic in the second chapter of the dissertation.

To this range of 'para-architectural' scholarship with a descriptive content, a new category should be added, the personal diaries and memoirs.[33] Soon this category merged with the discipline of history and acquired theoretical status.[34] Greek writers of memoirs exhibited minor interest in the problem of space as a distinct conceptual category possessing its own epistemology. The systems of space they circumscribed were specific to a particular life action or event (e.g., battle, coup d' état, family feast, etc.), thus contrasting sharply with the

---

matters in the present and in the past....), Avgi print, Athens, 1859; Dionysios Pyrros, *Γεωγραφία μεθοδικὴ ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκ παλαιῶν τε καὶ νεωτέρων σοφῶν συγγραφέων....* (Methodical geography of the universe from the texts of ancient and modern wise authors....), N. Glykys from Jannena, Venice, 1818 (1st edition); Angelides brothers print, Nafplion, 1834 (2nd edition).

[31] See chapter 1, sub-chapter 4.3. "Manuals of Climate as a Special Category of Instruction Books".

[32] The description of the specific locality preoccupied also a special group of scientists, the medical doctors, in their writing of handbooks of practical hygiene for the population of specific cities. I discuss this category of writing under chapter 1, sub-chapter 4.3.

[33] Here, of course, I am referring to diaries and memoirs by Greek authors exclusively. The most important works in this category are: Yannis Makriyiannis, *'Απομνημονεύματα (1797-1851)* (Memoirs 1797-1851), Y. Vlahoyannis (ed.), 2 vols., E.G. Bayionakis, Athens, 1947; Theodoros Kolokotrones, *Απομνημονεύματα* (Memoirs) dictated to Georgios Tertsetes, Thanos Vagenas (ed.), Athens, 1976; Alexandros Rangavis (A. Rangabé), *Απομνημονεύματα* (Memoirs), 4 vols., G. Kasdonis (ed.), Estia print, Athens, 1894, 1930; Georgios Psillas, *Απομνημονεύματα τοῦ Βίου μου* (Memoirs of my Life), E. Prevelakis (ed.), Series "Monuments of Greek History", vol. 8, Academy of Athens, Athens, 1974 (reprint); Christophoros Neezer, *Απομνημονεύματα* (Memoirs), reprint 'Ergasiai Typou', Athens, 1936; Nikolaos Dragoumis, *'Ιστορικαὶ 'Αναμνήσεις* (Historical Reminiscences), Laz. Vilaras print, Athens, 1874 (reprint 1879) ; Nikolaos Saripolos, *Αὐτοβιογραφικὰ Απομνημονεύματα* (Autobiographical Memoirs), Athens, 1889.

[34] See again footnote #28.

abstract systems (i.e., removed from human perception) that normally originate with the disinterested vision of the scientist. Their descriptive approaches to the environment took place in and from the microscale of the street, the yard, or the house-window. Although some of their writings manifest strong personal and ideological biases, their readings of space are genuine, spontaneous, and almost intact from any preconceived ideas.

4. Books of instruction and their significance to architecture

4.1. Manuals of applied ethics

Writings on geography, history, and travel, even diaries and memoirs, bore a common characteristic in reference to the problem of space: they functioned as sheer descriptive texts laying bare the matter of fact. With the rise of modernity, a new brand of literature emerged whose purpose was primarily didactic and instructive, and only secondarily descriptive and apodictical. Texts of instruction may be aptly compared with manuals of religion, whose intention was to guide the Christian safely to the path of moral virtue. Both kinds of texts laid a claim to some form of authority, that is, reason and the word of God, respectively. The difference rested in the fact that, whereas manuals of instruction predicated their source of truth to be self-evident, religious books declared faith as the only avenue to truth. By curtailing the long and cumbersome process of demonstration, books of instruction, either secular or religious, maintained the advantage of being terse, accessible, and effective, therefore, popular to the broad public, as opposed to tedious analytical writings. In this connection, they acted as easy bridges between the contesting spheres of the ideal and the real, between word and matter.

The problem that initiated the idea of the instruction manual was the need for the construction of the morally sound individual as the cornerstone of the ethical and harmonious community. In the *Hellenic East*, this need for the development of a common ethos among people of heterogeneous social and cultural backgrounds became more pressing upon the emergence of the phenomenon of the modern metropolis near the turn of the nineteenth century. The first manuals of applied ethics appeared under the general title '*Χρηστοήθεια*' ('Christoetheia', i.e., reader of good morals), and carried on into the modern context a tradition which originated many centuries earlier with some ecclesiastical writers known for having set themselves to the task of transferring the complex teachings of the Church to a simpler and codified format.[35] Soon manuals of this kind lost their religious overtones in placing at the center of their attention the art of living well as "the basis of true happiness", rather than as the way of pleasing God.[36] The commonly shared belief that civilization was a notion inextricably linked to civic life in the context of a modern nation brought forth the logical chain of associations among the terms 'civilized person' – 'citizen' – 'Greek' – 'urban ethos'. As a result, the main goal of manuals of ethics – of those, at least, which were published within the independent State – was to forge the identity (i.e., the urban ethos) of the "civilized Greek citizen living in the modern city" by offering practical instruction to this purpose.[37] In this connection, manuals of ethics were set in the service of the nationalistic State. The practical role they were called to play was tainted by a distinct ideological coloration. As a result, the advice they had to offer assumed more of the character of prescription as opposed to plain instruction. Demonstration of the supporting reasoning was omitted as unnecessary since the anticipated result was self-evident to all. As years passed, a new layer of simplification was added to former *christoetheias*. The instructions targeted less the spiritual world of the citizen and more certain external characteristics, including the physical appearance, the manners, and the social etiquette of the person.[38] Despite this change in philosophical orientation, some of these manuals retained the term *christoetheia* in their titles.[39] The earliest manuals in this category were translations of western European etiquette books, mainly French or German. The first serious examples of manuals attempting a synthetic approach to the problem of applied ethics did not come until as late as in the last third of the century. Their authors were Greek. These works not only amalgamated ideas from the western (i.e., rationalism) and the eastern (i.e., Hellenism and Christianity combined) traditions toward the creation of a modern urban ethos for Greek people exclusively, but also managed to supply convincing demonstration of their supportive reasoning, yet without proceeding to thorough scientific analyses. Manuals of this sort paved the way for a theory of ethics after a long history of merely practical instruction and prescription, although they continued to serve specific ideological agendas.[40]

---

[35] The earliest *Χρηστοήθεια* (Christoetheia) was authored by an anonymous 11th-century ecclesiastical writer. The text of this manual was seriously reconstructed in 1780 by Antonios Vyzantios and published under the same title with the subtitle "Τρόποι περὶ τοῦ 'Ελληνοπρεπῶς φέρεσθαι" (Modes of behavior befitting a Greek). Its original language was simplified and adapted to current Greek. The text was amplified along the lines of western European guides of ethics by incorporating many of their elements, often through literal translation. According to K. Dimaras, among the most important western influences on Vyzantios were Giovanni della Casa's ***Galateo*** and Herasmus's ***Civilitate morum puerilium.*** (In: K. Th. Dimaras, (Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός (Modern Greek Enlightenment), Series "Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα", Hermes, Athens, 1977, pp. 252-3). The first attempt toward the writing of a new manual of applied ethics which adapted the spirit of the Enlightenment to a Christian context was by the renowned scholar Neofytos Vamvas, *Στοιχεῖα Συνταχθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς Φιλομαθοῦς Νεολαίας* (Elements [of Applied Ethics] for the use of the knowledge-yearning youth), Venice, 1818; 2nd edition by Damianos print, Smyrna, 1857.

[36] For example: Philip Dormer Chesterfield (4th earl of, 1694-1773), *Οἰκονομία τοῦ 'Ανθρωπίνου Βίου, ἤτοι, κεφαλαίων ἠθικὴ συλλογὴ πρὸς τὸ εὐδαιμόνως ζεῖν* (Economy of Human Life, that is, a collection of chapters on the ethics of a blissful living), translated from the Italian by K. Asopios, S.K. Vlastos print, Athens,1850; (first Greek translation by G. Vendoti, Vienna, 1782); J.N. Stamatelos, *'Οδηγὸς τοῦ Βίου* (Guide to Life), Garpolas print, Athens [n.d.]; Anne Therèse Lambert (de).***Avis d' une Mère à sa Fille*** (Counsels of a Mother to her Daughter), Paris, 1734; translated into Greek by Princess Rallou Soutzou (Venice, 1819). The first attempt by a Greek scholar for a synthesis of secular and religious philosophy in a "guide to life" was in 1791 by Athanasios Psallidas, a pioneer of the Enlightenment in Greece (*'Αληθὴς Εὐδαιμονία, ἤτοι βάσις πάσης θρησκείας* (True Happiness, that is, a Basis of All Religion), Vienna, 1791). For Psallidas, reason was not seen as an autonomous source of all knowledge, as it did for his western European counterparts, e.g., the French Encyclopedists. Reason stood closer to the notion of grace (*charis*), that is, mercy granted by God. In his manual, Psallidas tried to combine the empiricism of Hume with the deductive logic of the Eastern Orthodoxy. His belief was that man, if properly guided, can be happy both in his present life and in his afterlife.

[37] For example: Georgios Simitsopoulos, *Περὶ 'Ανατροφῆς τῶν 'Ελληνίδων Γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν 'Εκτροπῶν Αὐτῶν* (On the Raising of Greek Women and their Moral Deviations), 'Peristera' print, Athens, 1873. Also a new edition of Vyzantios's manual: A. Vyzantios, *Χρηστοήθεια, ἤτοι τρόποι περὶ τοῦ 'Ελληνοπρεπῶς φέρεσθαι* (Manual of Good Morals, or, Modes of Conduct Befitting a Greek), A. Koromelas print, Athens, 1881; Aristarhos G. Christopoulos, *'Ελληνικὴ Κοσμιότης ἢ ὑποθῆκαι περὶ τοῦ Εὐπρεπῶς Φέρεσθαι* (Greek propriety or counsels of decent conduct),'Hestia', Athens, 1888 (1st. ed.), 1907 (2nd ed.).

[38] For example: K.E. Gelbert, *'Οδηγὸς Συμπεριφορᾶς* (A Manual of Proper Conduct), Bart & Hirst Publishers, Athens, c.1888; E. Muller, *'Η Κοσμιότης: Πραγματεία περὶ τῆς Καλῆς Συμπεριφορᾶς*

4.2. Manuals of home economics

Books of instruction were not limited to manuals of applied ethics only. With the growth of urban culture a few years before the Revolution, handbooks proliferated and covered practically every area of life to the point that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century one could easily talk about a whole *culture of manuals*. The effect this culture had on public consciousness was serious and can be summed up in two points. First, every problem in life was considered practical and solvable through proper instruction. Second, life appeared compartmentalized into many smaller domains of specialized interest and action. One of them was certainly the domain of the **home**, the private domain of the citizen, that is, a subject formerly unthematized in literature, either religious or secular. Related instruction originated in the fields of economics and hygiene (i.e., a branch of medicine), now the two combined in the applied science of *home economics*.[41] This severing of the private from the public sphere, as

---

(Propriety - A Treatise on Good Conduct); translated from the French by Anna S. Moraïtes, 'Koraïs' print, Athens, 1882; K. Varvatis (transl.), *Ἐγχειρίδιον Πλῆρες τοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ* (A Complete Manual of Civilization), translated from the French, reprinted "for the common good" by A. Sigala, D. Panitskov print, Vraïla (Russia), 1874. (1st edition in Odessa, the Greek Merchants' School print, 1831).

[39] For example: I.P. Kokkonis (ed.), *Χρηστοηθείας Μαθήματα περὶ Συμπεριφορᾶς τοῦ Πολιτισμένου Ἀνθρώπου* (Lessons in Good Morals for the Social Conduct of the Civilized Person), A. Angelides' print, Athens, 1838 (2nd ed., 1842). For the use of elementary school students. This book is an adaptation of an earlier work by K. Kommitás. Both copy western European manuals of etiquette and good manners and promote a secular culture. The focus is on rules concerning i) cleanliness, ii) body moves and postures, iii) habits and manners in social occasions.

[40] There are two works that came to my attention and which fit this description of *synthetic* manuals of ethics. These are: Demetrios Paparrigopoulos, *Περὶ τῶν Καθηκόντων τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου ὡς Χριστιανοῦ καὶ ὡς Πολίτου* (On Man's duties as a Christian and as a Citizen); first prize in the Nikodemean Competition; Gryparis & Canariotes print, Athens, 1864; and Xenofon Zygouras, *Ὁ Κῶδιξ τοῦ Τιμίου Ἀνθρώπου* (The Codex of the Honest Man), 'Library of the People' series, J. Kouvelos & M. Delis print, Athens, 1889.

[41] For example: Grigorios Palaiologou, *Ἀγροτικὴ καὶ Οἰκιακὴ Οἰκονομία* (Agricultural and Domestic Economy), Nafplion: The Royal Print, 1833; (Author unknown), *Περὶ Οἰκιακῆς Οἰκονομίας Πραγματεία* (A Treatise on Home Economics) / "translated from the French for the use of Greek women", Athens, 1871; Theophilos Theseus Kypriou, *Οἰκιακὴ Οἰκονομία* (Home Economics). Athens, 1842 (mainly a cook book); Sapfo K. Leontias, *Οἰκιακὴ Οἰκονομία πρὸς Χρῆσιν τῶν*

manifest in the definition of the new discipline, found theoretical justification in the rise of the family to the position of the most important self-governed unit of modern society. As a result, a special set of rules had to be invented and applied to every household. These rules became the subject of a special branch of ethics, so-called **family ethics**. Rules of family ethics prescribed roles, tasks, and proper conduct among family members toward a more harmonious co-habitation. Family ethics gave rise to a new category of instruction manual which, most often in the form of a separate book chapter, was attached either to *christoetheias* or to manuals of home economics.[42] Gradually, family ethics and home economics came to be seen as complementary and mutually supporting fields of practical knowledge. By and large then guides to the good government of a household developed into two-layered treatises concerned with both the moral and the utilitarian aspect of it, almost to an equal extent. This layering of the conceptual logic of the urban dwelling, as set forth by practical manuals, had immediate effects upon its spatial organization as I will explain later in further detail.

The dominant figure in manuals of family ethics was the woman, to whom the majority of moral instructions applied.[43] This concentration of the instructor's attention to the person of the woman[44] – the woman in the role of the cornerstone of the family and the household – is indicative of another form of symbolic separation which characterized the culture of the modern city; that is, the separation of the woman from the domain of public activity. It is worth noting that, until later in the century, almost all the Greek manuals concerning the management of either the practical or the ethical layer of domestic life, or both, were literal

---

Παρθεναγωγείων (Home Economics for the use of Girls' Schools), Constantinople, 1887; Aglaïa Preveziotou, *Οἰκιακὴ Οἰκονομία πρὸς Χρῆσιν τῶν Παρθεναγωγείων* (Home Economics for the use of Girls' Schools), Constantinople, 1892; Stamatios K. Theocharis, *Οἰκιακὴ Οἰκονομία ἢ περὶ τῶν Καθηκόντων τῆς Γυναικὸς* (Domestic Economy or on the Duties of a Woman), Patras, 1876.

[42] An example of an independent manual of family ethics is: Paul Janet, *'Η Οἰκογένεια -- Μαθήματα 'Ηθικῆς Φιλοσοφίας* (The Family - Lessons in Ethical Philosophy), transl. by D. Marinos from the French, 'Patris' print, Ermoupolis, 1901 (12th ed.). (The date of the first edition is not given).

[43] For example: J.N. Bouilly, *Συμβουλαὶ πρὸς τὴν Θυγατέρα μου* (Counsels to my daughter), translated from the French by E.N. "from Andros", Kydoniai School print, Const. Tombras from Kydoniai, 1820. (This book exhibited an unusually innovative spirit for its times. It was endorsed to the Greek public by Adamandios Koraïs); Darwin and Hufeland, *'Εγκόλπειον τοῦ Γυναικείου Φύλου, ἤτοι, 'Οδηγὸς εἰς τὴν Φυσικὴν καὶ 'Ηθικὴν 'Ανατροφὴν τῶν Γυναικῶν* (A Manual of the female sex, or a guide to the physical and moral upbringing of women), transl. by F.A. Oekonomidou, J. Angelopoulos print, Athens, 1874; A. Debay, *Φυσιολογία Περιγραφικὴ τῶν Τριάκοντα Προτερημάτων τῆς Γυναικὸς* (Descriptive physiology of the thirty gifts of a woman), translated from the French by Stefanos Hatzopoulos, Central printing office of C. Gennadief, Philippoupolis, 1889; Argyrios Th. Diamantopoulos, (M.D.), *'Ημερολόγιον 'Ηθικῆς καὶ 'Υγείας* (A Calendar of Ethics and Health), Athens: Ethnofylax print, 1875 (2nd year) (with a special focus on the moral and physical standing of the woman); (François de Salignac de la Mothe) Fénelon, *Τὸ περὶ 'Αγωγῆς Κορασίων* (On the training of young women), translated from the French by Th. Nikolaïdes Philadelpheos, Athens, 1875 (2nd ed.); P. Zontanos, (M.D.) *Περὶ 'Ανατροφῆς τῶν Κορασίων καὶ τῆς Δημοσίου 'Εκπαιδεύσεως τῶν 'Αρρένων* (On the Upbringing of Young Women and the Public Education of Men), Melistagous and Co. print, Hermoupolis, 1836; J.N. Stamatelos, *Νουθεσία Μητρὸς πρὸς τὴν Θυγατέρα* (A Mother's Admonition to her Daughter), Garpolas bookstore, Athens, 1839.

[44] Manuals of home economics were normally authored by men. The first examples of the kind by women authors were published in Constantinople. These are the manuals by Sapfo Leontias and Aglaïa Preveziotou, published in 1887 and 1891, respectively. Op. cit.

translations of similar books from western Europe. It is also interesting that all the references regarding the moral status of women in the Greek press were carefully selected from foreign literature in such a way as to conform best to the conservative standards of the Greek urban society. In fact, the views that these manuals carried were rather uncharacteristic of the current social and moral status of the European woman who, by that time, had already gained significant privileges and access to public life.[45]

For a long time, manuals of home economics limited their content to a set of instructions which had no fit to the particular context of post-Revolutionary Greek life and culture. As with manuals of ethics, the first conscious attempts for an adaptation of foreign treatises of domestic economy to this context took place near the turn of the twentieth century.[46] Coincidentally, this was the first time when Greek women rose to a more public defense of their rights using the printing press as their primary instrument.[47]

Manuals of home economics emerged as another category of literature with a special focus on problems of space organization. Therefore, they relate aptly to any discussion about the historical course of architectural discourse in the nineteenth century. However, as opposed to all the other sources which I have illustrated to this point (i.e., geography, history, travelogues, memoirs) and which dealt with space in purely analytical terms,[48] home economics took a sheer practical interest in the subject. The question for home economists was not "how domestic space is" but "how domestic space should be". **Their approach to the problem was practical and prescriptive, not theoretical and descriptive.** The two kinds of literature also differed in terms of their subject matter. Descriptive and/or theoretical works, on the one hand, concerned themselves with space seen as an infinitely expandable entity which subsumed the city as a special case in point. Writings with a more practical orientation, on the other hand, focused on space as strictly confined within some conventional boundaries, either these were the boundaries of the house (i.e., walls and/or property line) or of the city itself.

---

[45] For further analysis of this subject refer to my article "Timeless environments in an age of cultural change: A woman painter's perspective on Greek modernity" (***Modern Greek Studies Yearbook***, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, vol. 12/13, 1996/97, pp. 237-266), in which two contemporary women painters and their respective ways of perceiving space are set in comparison, a Greek and a British, that is, Athena Saripolou and Mary Ellen Best.

[46] A prominent example for the writing of a guide to home economics befitting the Greek culture is: Xenophon Zygouras, *'Ελληνικὴ Οἰκιακὴ Οἰκονομία, Θεωρητικὴ καὶ Πρακτικὴ* (Greek Domestic Economy. Theoretical and Practical) / "composed especially for the use of Greek Girls' schools everywhere", Constantinople, 1875.

[47] The main literary instrument of this effort was *'Η 'Εφημερὶς τῶν Κυριῶν* (The Ladies' Gazette), a regular publication between 1887 and 1917, edited by a group of Greek women and directed by the feminist Kallirroe Parren. For more information on the group's activity, influences, and various contacts with centers of feminist action in other countries see: Eleni Varika, 'Η 'Εξέγερση τῶν Κυριῶν: 'Η Γένεση μιᾶς Φεμινιστικῆς Συνείδησης στὴν 'Ελλάδα 1833-1907 (The Rise of the Ladies: The Beginnings of a Feminist Consciousness in Greece 1833-1907), Studies in Modern Greek History, Commercial Bank of Greece, Athens, 1987.

[48] With the exception of the memoirs whose interest in space was not scientific but simply descriptive.

Manuals of home economics were highly conducive to – not the cause of – a number of important changes which affected directly the social and cultural structures of the human community of the first urban centers, predominantly Athens. The role of these books in the crucial state of transition that Greece underwent in the nineteenth century can be summarized as follows. Manuals of home economics promoted an **urban ethos of dwelling** by instituting the middle-class house as the exemplar of a perfectly organized household – that is, the ideal nucleus of the city's social body. By using the splendid dwellings of the upper bourgeois class as ideal prototypes for the middle-class house, these manuals strove to 'transcribe' the essence of the former to the latter through a series of proper manipulations. These manipulations included the compression of the overall volume of the building to the minimum required for a comfortable living, the simplification of the program, and the rationalization of the entire set of functions and spatial relations involved. Any references to the architectural layout of the house were limited in comparison with extensive instructions in general management, housekeeping, and financial planning, all three of which were considered the real foundations of an efficiently organized household. Propriety, convenience, and efficiency were the ruling concerns of manuals of home economics. Their conception of the spatial articulation of the house unit can be only inferred through their instructions for a socially and functionally upright household. Explicit dictates about function-specific compartments, permissible or not adjacencies of uses, circulation patterns, orientation, and so forth, allow for the configuration of a house model composed of rooms and corridors, and a clear spatial zoning into horizontal and vertical sections.[49] Two zones of spaces, a formal and an informal, are stipulated for every household. On each of the two zones a different set of rules applied: rules of propriety and social etiquette on the formal, rules of hygiene (i.e., orientation, ventilation, cleanliness, etc.) on the informal. It appears as if two distinct entities partaking of two different logical systems were combined to form one single body governed by a common center, the head of the household. The house was always seen by the author from within, therefore it was perceived as an autonomous organism possessing its own life. But, given that this house consisted of two disparate and distinct parts at least, the metaphor which may best describe it is that of the **machine, not of the human body. Its functional logic was mechanistic, not organic.** No reference was ever made by the author of the manual to either the architectural morphology or the stylistic articulation of this house–machine, particularly of its exterior envelope. This, being considered a problem of a different genre, was most likely ascribed to a different authority.[50]

---

[49] A longer discussion on proposed space uses and other architectural references by manuals of home economics is the subject of my special study under the title "'*Εστιατόριον*': The brief passage of an ancient term from the private domain of the Greek urban house in the nineteenth century".

In the model home of their device, manuals of home economics consolidated all the material signifiers of the ethos of the good citizen as prescribed by manuals of applied ethics. Furthermore, they provided the laws by which this semiology of the modern social ethos would be proven effective and operative. This was, no doubt, the most important contribution of these manuals to the dwellers of the modern Greek city in their difficult process of adjustment to a whole new social and cultural reality. The question, however, which naturally arises at this point is: what was the share of manuals of home economics in the architectural culture of the time and how did these books influence – if at all – the advancement of architectural discourse in Greece?

As mentioned earlier, functionality and convenience were the primary concerns of manuals of home economics for all the issues that pertained to the household, including its architectural arrangement. As a result, matters of stability and aesthetic delight received little or no attention. Manuals of home economics provided no technical instructions for the proper and sound construction of the building, while they often alluded to the resident as a person who was not involved in the construction of his own house but occupied it long after its erection.[51] They refrained, too, as I said, from providing specific instruction pertaining to the aesthetic (i.e., stylistic) treatment of the building, thus giving way to the inference that any pleasure, any sensual effect, from its inhabitation was derivative of the correct application of the prescribed rules of propriety and utility.[52] This instrumentalist point of view, which manuals of domestic economy propagated for the house unit, had a definite effect on how the public experienced and understood architecture. The individual owner now saw him/herself divorced from the construction process, with his/her role being reduced to that of the performer of preordained tasks related to good house management. The symbolic dissociation of the three Vitruvian principles in the mind of the city inhabitant engendered a new, popular definition of architecture, at a slight – yet important – variance from the one Vitruvius formulated in his treatise. The building was perceived as the mere *sum total* of three clearly distinguishable layers, convenience, stability, and beauty. In effect, a relationship of tension between each two of the three layers arose in the place of the organic unity of all three – the organic unity by which Vitruvius and the entire building tradition of the *Hellenic East* had understood architecture to that date.[53]

---

[50] The archaeologist and the architect, as I will show in chapters 2 and 3 of the dissertation.

[51] These manuals usually provide criteria for the selection of the upright and convenient house, emphasizing issues of size and hygienic location. Characteristically, Stamatios Theocharis, the author of an encyclopedia of domestic economy entitled "The Treasure of the Family" and based on English (journal *Enquire Within*) and French (J.P. Heuzé) prototypes, in the volume dedicated to the residence advises the prospective home-owner against the construction of a new house. He offers warning about all the hardships and grieves associated with new construction. He maintains that practical thinking requires the purchase of a **ready home**. He relates the common dream for the construction of a new home to pure fad, whim, and lack of practical wisdom on the part of the householder. In: S.K. Theocharis, *'Ο Θησαυρὸς τῆς Οἰκογενείας: 'Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Γνώσεων Χρησίμων εἰς τὸν Πρακτικὸν Βίον* (The Thesaurus of the Family: an Encyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge on Practical Life), Vol.I: 'The House', 'Kadmos', Patras, 1882, p. 11.

[52] On the contrary, almost every manual offered practical instructions pertaining to the kind and form of the mobile furniture and equipment of the house, always with the view of maximum efficiency and practicality. References to the kind and style of the decorative articulation of the house interior proliferated toward the last quarter of the century. The praises to hand-craftsmanship also increased. The immediate association between hand-crafted decorative items and woman labor stood at the basis of these references. Evidently, the woman was encouraged to make her step into the professional world after having proven her skill and industry first in a specialized task related to the domestic sphere. As with most innovations regarding modern life, the influence again came from western Europe. See, for example: Kalliope A. Kypriadou, "'Επιδέξιοι Γυναικεῖαι Χεῖραι" (Skillful woman's hands), translated from the German, in 'Η 'Εφημερὶς τῶν Κυριῶν (The Ladies' Gazette), K. Parren (ed.), year 2, no. 79, 4 Sept. 1888, pp. 3-4.

The most crucial bipolarity between layers was formed by the pair convenience–stability, probably because this pair exemplified a more generic antinomy at the time, that is, the antinomy between culture and nature. Inhabitation of large urban centers stood at the root of this antinomy which characterized modernity. The widespread phenomenon of emigration to the new capital from the countryside was symptomatic of this attitude toward culture and against nature. Over the thirty years of the Othonian monarchy, Athens tripled its initial population.[54] In an almost provocative manner, the modern Greeks turned their backs to nature in order to enjoy the comforts and privileges of 'civilized' life. After all, the State itself systematically promoted the city-capital in the role of the sovereign center for the rest of the country and the ideal place for living.[55] An artificial boundary, both physical and symbolic, was set between city and countryside, the latter being seen in negative terms as the non-city, the unknown and uncivilized territory. This logic of boundaries permeated through and through the structure of the urban house. The antinomy between culture and nature affected it in more than one way. I will briefly mention three.

---

[53] Despite the fact that Vitruvius is often ascribed the characterization 'rationalist', it is rather certain that Vitruvius's rationalism was not associated with a mechanistic understanding of architecture. Instead, the Latin author placed architecture in a larger cosmology and was equally concerned about the physical and the metaphysical elements of building. For him, as well as for the organic thinkers of the 19th-century, the architecture of a building was something *greater than the mere sum-total* of the three layers, convenience, stability, and beauty, as opposed to mechanistic authors.

[54] Moskof cites the following demographics in reference to the increase of the Athenian population: 10000 in 1820, 20000 in 1830, 65000 in 1860, 220,000 in 1909. In: Kostis Moskof, 'Η 'Εθνική καί Κοινωνική Συνείδηση στήν 'Ελλάδα 1830-1909 (National and Social Consciousness in Greece 1830-1909), 'Nea Poreia', Thessaloniki, 1972, p. 152.

[55] It is interesting that the promotion of the city of Athens as an ideal place of living happened not only through the pompous speeches of the politicians, but also through practical guides for a healthier and happier life. Their authors, often medical doctors, scientifically argued for the advantageous location of Athens in terms of climate and topography. See, for example, A. N. Goudas's study on "Population, human fertility, and longevity" for the city of Athens, in which the author argues for the need of an increase of the Athenian population in consideration of the perfectly hygienic conditions of living in the Athenian basin. Goudas finds the population of Athens still low in comparison with the population of the ancient city of Athens, despite the fact that it has tripled its number since the foundation of the new State. In: A. N. Goudas (M.D.), "Ερευναι περὶ 'Ιατρικῆς Χωρογραφίας καὶ Κλίματος 'Αθηνῶν (Researches on Medical Chorography and Climate of Athens), Series: "Ιατρική Μέλισσα', Vol. VI, K. Antoniadis print, Athens, 1858, chapter 5, pp. 39-45).

First, the entire structural body of the house, the bearer of the natural law, had to be completely concealed under the proper dress of civility. Traditional techniques of building construction, applied to the structural core of the house by the empirical craftsman, were carefully masqueraded and, therefore, negated in essence through the implementation of surface ornament.[56] For Athenian houses, in particular, civic ethos was associated directly with the official style of neoclassicism, the noble language of the orders, despite the fact that instruction books spoke no word about it. The application of this style as surface decoration, coupled with the rules of propriety and utility according to the manuals of domestic economy, became the basic sources of aesthetic delight for the Athenian citizen. It is notable that any sense of beauty stemmed precisely from this combination of elements. In a very general theorization, this was beauty conceived in intellectual, not in sensual, terms. It had to do with the appeal of the individual dwelling to the monumental idea of civilization, after the example of the more advanced nations of Europe, not to the actual comforts that the human body enjoyed in it. In the modern city of Athens, monumentality as a term became synonymous with the raising of one's ethos to a higher level by methodically suppressing the signs of nature while exalting the signs of ancient Greek progeny. Architecturally, this concept found sufficient justification in public buildings, not in private residences. In public buildings, utility and construction were conventionally regulated by the formal rules of neoclassicism. In the case of the private dwelling, however, the Vitruvian definition of architecture fell apart in the sense that no one of its three elements was fully validated in terms of the other two. The reason for that was because, in the individual urban dwelling, architecture in its neoclassical dress was called in theory to serve an idea which transcended by far the very idea of *dwelling*, thus becoming subject mainly to logical and ideological criteria.

The second way in which the bipolarity of the terms 'culture' and 'nature' became manifest in the urban house was by way of the physical detachment of the building from its surroundings. As opposed to the conglomerative articulation of house units in the traditional settlement, houses in the city normally developed as well-defined volumetric units, either in a row or free-standing, as a result of the regular city-plan and the city code. The modern notion of the property line reinforced the idea of the boundary and the related bipolarity of inside versus outside, home versus nature, with associations of owned and familiar versus foreign and unfamiliar, respectively. Hardly ever did manuals of home economics touch upon relations between neighbors[57] or between house and street. Their aim was to bring into proper focus the managerial autonomy of each household, to assert its self-containment. Paradoxically, this emphatic detachment of the Athenian house from its surroundings – from nature, in particular – occurred simultaneously with the proliferation of private gardens in the city. Edmond About, the renowned French satirical writer and resident of Athens for the period 1852-1854, addressed bitter criticism to every Athenian home-owner who was in the habit of preserving an ornamental garden next to his house, often at a very high price. About observed with irony that this costly habit was a sign, not of the owner's love of nature, but of his vanity, given that no ugly vegetable, such as an onion or a cabbage, had a place in his garden.[58] This probably overcritical eye-witness account gives basis to the argument that, in the Athenian house of the Othonian period, both the garden and the interior were governed by similar rules. No essential difference existed between home and garden as the latter developed into a piece of tamed nature, controlled and organized as any other room of the house interior. Special sections in manuals of home economics devoted to gardening and the arrangement of the house garden corroborated this particular perception of the garden, that is, the garden as the natural extension of a neatly organized interior room.[59] By affording a piece of green to his house, the Athenian citizen offered the rest of the community (and himself) an additional demonstration of his civic ethos in the way he conceded to embrace nature as a part equal to the sovereign culture of the city. The fact that this nature was neutralized to the point of a mere ornament was something which generally escaped notice. After all, ornament was a perfectly acceptable mode of expressing one's civility, class, and sophistication. It was simple and easily perceptible. It was less venerable than a symbol and more important than a caprice.

---

[56] I discuss this issue more extensively in my unpublished study "'Transcribing': Athenian domestic architecture and the building contract through notary archives of the period 1835-1850".

---

[57] Only near the end of the century relations between neighbors become the subject of sporadic instructions, mostly in periodicals of domestic economy which afford a bigger variety of material. For example, the editor of the *Ἐφημερὶς τῶν Κυριῶν* (The Ladies' Gazette) advises a woman from Syros: "Civilization tends toward equality among cultured people, even of different classes. Hence, be the first to pay a visit to your neighbor, because this is the custom." Kallirroe Parren (ed.), Ἡ Ἐφημερὶς τῶν Κυριῶν (The Ladies' Gazette), year 2, no. 53, 13 March 1888, p. 8.

[58] The related passage reads: "There have been many years since no house has been built in Athens without a small garden for ornamentation attached to it. The poorest of the citizens, even those in serious debt, offer themselves the pleasure of cultivating some orange-trees and a few flowers. They never allow any room in their gardens for the cultivation of vegetables. They would feel humiliated if an onion or a cabbage were found sneaking at the back of their house. Vanity is stronger in them than self-interest or need." In: Edmond About, La Grèce Contemporaine, Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie., Paris, 1854. The translation from the Greek edition is mine (transl. A. Spilios, Tolidis editions, Athens, p. 104.)
Yiannis Makriyiannis, the famous Greek warrior of the Revolution and vehement opponent of the new Athenian bourgeois establishment to which About's sarcasm was targeted, offers a memorable account of his own relation with his garden. This account pointedly contradicts About's generalization, by exposing the other side of the same coin. Makriyiannis writes in his ***Memoirs***: "I am digging my garden to grow cabbage which I will share with my children and with the families of the slaughtered, who I shelter in my residence." Makriyiannis owned a house at the northeastern edge of the city with a garden, a vineyard, and probably a separate vegetable garden. In a sense, he managed to apply the model of the country house, most familiar to him from his childhood in a village in Roumeli. The land in his property was unusually large compared to the average city lot. In: Makriyiannis, Ἀπομνημονεύματα (1797-1851) (Memoirs 1797-1851), Y. Vlahoyannis (ed.), 2 vols., E.G. Bayionakis, Athens, 1947, p. 381. The translation from the Greek is mine.

[59] These special sections are more common in instruction books or periodicals of domestic economy after the middle of the century. See, for example, the section "Gardening" in S.K. Theocharis, Ὁ Θησαυρὸς τῆς Οἰκογενείας:.. (The Thesaurus of the Family...), Vol. I: 'The House', op. cit., pp. 74-95. The author cites the French journal *Le Bon Jardinier ou almanach horticole*, published annually in Paris by Monsieur Vilmorin as a reliable reference source on the subject.

Manuals of social etiquette, decorum, and home economics were principally based on the cult of ornament, the ornament seen as a mark of civility in contradistinction with crudeness. The usage of the **wall** as a symbolic boundary between indoors and outdoors provided the basis for this semiotic usage of ornament which characterized modernity. Through the proper implementation of ornament, the wall developed into the most important symbol of separation of the private from the public sphere of life. The pair culture – nature, here, assumed a certain metaphorical overtone, as the wall was considered the element which protected the inhabitant from everything that stayed beyond his/her immediate control and foresight, that is, "the wilderness of the city". Interestingly, the street wall was not the most physically impenetrable as much as the most formal and monumental element of the house. Its decorative articulation drew attention to itself, as well as to the physical presence of the wall. Because of this special treatment of its surface, the wall now positively affirmed itself as an opaque screen which, despite its many openings, still had many things to conceal. (Figs. 4a, 4b, 5, 6a, 7a) In the Othonian period, the individual inhabitant used the street wall as a mirror of his/her supreme civic ethos, of his/her allegiance to the community and its nationalistic aspirations. But as every mirror, so the street wall both united and separated at the same time. From that point on, the private life of the Athenian became an issue of special importance as opposed to the communal feeling which gradually lost its early force – the result of the individuation of almost every house and household. This trend toward individuation of one' s own territory was more overtly expressed in the last quarter of the century (i.e., after the end of the Othonian period) through the proliferation of stylistic languages for the articulation of the exterior of private dwellings.

The third and last way by which the bipolarity culture versus nature became manifest in the Athenian house, under the influence of manuals of practical instruction, was in the division of the house in two distinct zones, a formal and an informal, one subject to rules of social etiquette, the other to rules of hygiene. (Figs. 6b, 7b) I have already discussed the disparity of the two zones and the mechanistic logic by which they were united in one entity. Here, I only need to further stress that these two zones formed a bipolar pair analogous to that of culture versus nature, with qualitative associations of 'good' versus 'bad', respectively.[60] The two zones related differently to both space and time: rational organization, strict definition of uses, and periodic usage according to custom for the formal zone; freer organization, loosely defined (often alternating) uses, and continuous usage all year round for the informal zone. Spatial order ruled in the formal zone, thus referring more directly to the rational culture of modernity and the geometric formality of the city-plan. A temporal and more organic logic ruled in the informal zone, a logic reminiscent of that in the traditional settlement where space and time formed a continuum determining one another in a circular mode.[61] The congruous relationship of the traditional settlement with nature is a matter beyond question and has been thoroughly argued in related literature.[62] Not only did traditional architecture echo the laws of nature in its forms, but also offered rational solutions to problems related to the larger ecological sphere. The informal zone of the urban house, on the other hand, confronted its congruity with nature more as a problem than as a desirable condition. The normally small urban lot afforded only small or no back space for a yard, disadvantageous orientation, and/or deficient conditions of sanitation. The specific location of the two zones in the house – the formal giving on to the street, the informal to the rear – set up a powerful system of signification with direct reference to the pair culture – nature with the connotations of 'good' and 'bad' attached to them, respectively. The formal rooms, where normally the stranger–visitor was entertained, partook of the logic of the public domain, the city. So did they present themselves: as preeminent rooms, screened by a wall with monumental ornamentation, shared with the city and, in most cases, occupying only the second floor of the house.[63] On the contrary, informal spaces stayed out of public sight and occupied the lower levels of the house, the ones closer to earth. Manuals of domestic economy provided long sections of advice on the management of the problems of the informal zone of the house. Their logic was practical, tailored to the particularity of the house unit, but general enough as to appeal to the *typical* urban dwelling. However, this practical logic of manuals of domestic economy never transcended the unit of the house in order to face the problem of nature – nature and the city, or nature in the city – on a more general scale.

---

[60] In many parts of Greece still until today, people refer to the salon of the house as "the good room". So, they refer to other things befitting a formal occasion, e.g., "the good dress", "the good serving set". Given the

---

mechanistic logic of the time, the other part of the distinction immediately assumed negative connotations, becoming the "non-good" or the "bad".

[61] For a lengthier exposition of this concept see: Excursus 1 "The spatial model of the Hellenic East".

[62] As an indication only I am citing the seminal book by Amos Rapoport, ***House, Form, and Culture*** (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969).

[63] This customary arrangement of Athenian houses with the formal zone on the upper floor – probably reminiscent of the *piano nobile* of a Renaissance *palazzo* – was criticized in the press. A traveler to Smyrna in 1866 reports to a Greek periodical his comparative views on the two cities, Athens and Smyrna. He observes that in Smyrna the salon is conveniently located on the ground level. He finds the layout of the Athenian house with the salon on the upper floor unwise and inconvenient because it obligates the guest, at times an older person, to mount many steps, that is, an effort disproportionate to the pleasure of a short visit. [Author unknown], "Σμύρνης 'Αναμνήσεις" (Memories from Smyrna), periodical Χρυσσαλὶς, vol. 4, no. 76, 28 Feb. 1866, p. 86.

4.3. Manuals of climate as a special category of instruction books

In contrast to manuals of home economics, which stressed the physical individuality of the urban house *vis-à-vis* the city, manuals authored by medical doctors adopted an all-encompassing view of the built environment. In fact, **they were the only kind of instruction manuals which addressed the city as a physical totality.** In their strictly scientific approach, which took root in the study of the pair city – nature, manuals by medical doctors evaded the crucial duality between the house and the city. At the same time, they overcame the common snare of viewing the city as a closed and isolated system. Their particular interest lay in the climate, hygiene, and medical chorography of the city. Their primary supposition was that the health of the individual was fundamental for a happy living. For that, the hygienic conditions of the environment of the city dweller, either public or private, had to be ensured first. Also, in contrast to *christoetheias* and their excessive attention to the human soul, manuals of climate brought into focus the **human body** instead. They saw the body as a part of a larger socio-physical system with its own laws and mechanics. They maintained that the well-being of the human body was inextricably linked to the normal operation of the entire system in which it shared; which means that the health of the body was not a private affair lying with the individual as the constitution of one's ethical consciousness was considered to be. In their approach to the practical problem of human health, manuals by medical doctors combined knowledge from two already well established scientific fields: medicine and geography. Interestingly, not many manuals of climate were published in an independent book form, in comparison with manuals of domestic economy. Very soon their subject was subsumed by the latter or by manuals of ethics.

Two books on the climate and hygiene of the city of Athens stand out from the period 1834-1862. These were: Konstantinos Mavroyiannis's Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλίματος τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ τῆς Ζωϊκῆς Οἰκονομίας (Observations on the Climate of Athens and its Effects on the Economy of the Vital Resources) and A.N. Goudas's Ἔρευναι περὶ Ἰατρικῆς Χωρογραφίας καὶ Κλίματος Ἀθηνῶν (Researches in the Medical Chorography and Climate of Athens).[64] They were published seventeen years apart, one near the beginning of the Othonian period, the other near the end. They are both excellent, original studies of the geophysical makeup of the Athenian basin, containing in addition brilliant chorographic descriptions of the city and its environs. A comparison between the two books, in terms of focus, organization of themes, and general philosophy reveals the change of cultural attitudes within a period of seventeen years, particularly in reference to the problem of space and the conceptual systems of its analysis.

---

[64] Konstantinos Mavroyiannis (M.D.), Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλίματος τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ τῆς Ζωϊκῆς Οἰκονομίας (Observations on the Climate of Athens and its Effects on the Economy of the Vital Resources), Em. Antoniades's print, Athens, 1841; A.N. Goudas (M.D.), Ἔρευναι περὶ Ἰατρικῆς Χωρογραφίας καὶ Κλίματος Ἀθηνῶν (Researches in the Medical Chorography and Climate of Athens), Series 'Iatriki Melissa', Vol. VI, K. Antoniades's print, Athens, 1858. A third book on the same subject was published twenty years after Goudas's manual. Because of its later date, I do not include it in my discussion: Georgios Vafas, Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰατρικὴν Ἔποψιν (Athens from a medical point of view), Athens, 1878.

4.3.1. Konstantinos Mavroyiannis's "Observations on the Climate of Athens"

The first manual of climate and medical chorography of 1841, by Konstantinos Mavroyiannis (M.D.),[65] comprised the first systematic attempt since the establishment of Athens as the city-capital of Greece for a synthetic description of it, that is, a description of the city as a multi-layered entity composed of both permanent and non-permanent (or periodic) aspects. Up to that date, descriptions with an eye to the city's archaeological substrata primarily, were the only notable sources of topographical accounts of the particular setting.[66] Mavroyiannis saw the city from a much wider angle. In his mind, the city was not physically limited to the area in which tangible signs of human life, either past or present, were manifest. Instead, he conceived of the city as the meeting ground of various cosmic forces, natural phenomena, and physical elements, including the winds, the light, the quality of the soil, the green areas, the waters, the people and their history, the relation with the sea, with the stars, and with the larger geography of the earth. Further, he offered a mental mapping of the city and its environs in terms of its specific topography, that is, the narrow and the broader horizon, the particular relief of the basin, the openings, the closures, the views, and other topographical characteristics. Lastly, he composed a brief anthropological survey of Attica in terms of its various populations from the beginning of historical times, with an emphasis on the identification of specific races, their intermixings, and other elements which contributed to the drawing of a relatively accurate picture of the socio-cultural background of the native population of the city in the author's days.

---

[65] Konstantinos Mavroyiannis was born in Corfu in 1816 and died in Athens in 1861. He studied medicine in Paris and earned the title of honorary professor at the University of Athens in 1843. He was also the author of the following studies: *Πρῶται Γραμμαὶ τῆς 'Ιατρικῆς Τοπογραφίας καὶ Καταστατικῆς τῆς Πελοποννήσου* (First lines on the medical topography and the [physical] constitution of the Peloponnese), 1842; "Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τῶν Κλιμάτων τῆς 'Ελλάδος -- Κόρινθος" (Observations on the variety of climate in Greece – Corinth), periodical *Εὐρωπαϊκὸς 'Ερανιστής*, vol. 2, no. 3, year 1, 1840, pp. 211-32; and no. 4, year 1, 1840, pp. 341-73; "'Η 'Ενεστῶσα κατάστασις τῆς 'Ιατρικῆς ἐν 'Ελλάδι" (The present state of medicine in Greece), periodical *Εὐρωπαϊκὸς 'Ερανιστής*, vol. 3, 1841, pp. 195-236. No further biographical data on Mavroyiannis are available at the moment.

[66] See chapter 2, sub-chapter 2.2. "Archaeological topographies as first conceptualizations of architectural space".

Mavroyiannis's treatise on the climate of Athens is divided essentially into three parts, a descriptive, a diagnostic, and an instructive.[67] The first part is limited to a matter of fact description of all the aforementioned components which participated in the constitution of the climate of the particular locality, together with its geo-physico-political identity. The second part proceeds to a more scientific analysis of the effects of the climate upon the health and the mental/psychological makeup of the inhabitants of Athens. In a sense, this part serves purposes of demonstration, therefore, it has a pedagogical function. The third part offers practical instructions of personal hygiene, but most importantly, it sets forth specific propositions for the planning and spatial organization of the city in such a way as to ensure people's health firmly and permanently.

Several other issues, characteristic of this book, are worth noting in this context. First, Mavroyiannis's descriptive accounts did not stem solely from empirical observation as the title may suggest. His frequent references to past literature (i.e., works by philosophers, geographers, and physicists of the classical and post-classical period) testifies that his empirical observations came more as an affirmation and expansion of those accounts rather than the opposite.[68] In combining inductive and deductive processes, Mavroyiannis's work methodologically partook of a mode of reasoning similar to the one which featured in the works of his contemporary philologists, historians and archaeologists. Second, his scientific approach to the landscape was strongly marked by an aesthetic point of view.[69] Not only did his reading of the environment happen by way of an empathetic association with its various elements, but also the language he used for his descriptions demonstrated a literary bent with the characteristic profusion of epithets, metaphors, and other rhetorical devices.[70] Third, his description of the Athenian topography blended natural elements (e.g., mountains, hills, valleys, rivers) and ancient landmarks (e.g., Pnyx, Theseion, Parthenon, Propylaia, Olympeion) in a continuous and coherent whole which he eloquently portrayed in architectural terms. From this level of description, specific references to the city's modern buildings are missing.[71] In this respect, Mavroyiannis's particular account of Athens may be compared with the numerous topographical recordings and mappings of the city by contemporary – mainly foreign – archaeologists, with one difference: archaeologists rarely pushed their descriptions to an aesthetic level of analysis. In the manner of an artist, Mavroyiannis observed forms and lines, drew parallels between the shape of hills and mounts and that of ancient monuments, explained the physical effects of the wind on the life cycle of the old buildings, elucidated the impact of natural light upon the visibility of the ruins and the preservation of their original colors. In other words, he related every single layer of his scientific documentation of the climate of Athens with the presence of the ancient monuments which he comprised as indissoluble components of the general setting. Lastly, he made a remarkable entrance into the domain of architectural design by laying out specific propositions about the new city-plan, the direction and the width of the streets, the design of the adjacent buildings, the ideal layout of the Athenian dwelling, even the architectural style most befitting the geophysical conditions of the Athenian basin, which was, no surprise, the neoclassical.

---

[67] The three parts in the order I describe them do not correspond precisely to the three major divisions of the book.

[68] His references were most commonly to Greek authors of a very wide time span, such as Plato, Apollodorus, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Dicaearchos, Efsevios, and notably Vitruvius.

[69] It is possible that Mavroyiannis knew of the work of the French philosopher and physician Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis (1757-1808) from his period of study in Paris. Cabanis carried on to his work the aesthetic ideas of the eighteenth-century empiricists. He was known for his stern views on mechanistic materialism. He was a friend of Diderot, d' Alembert, Condorcet, Condillac, and d' Holbach. He tried to distinguish psychology from metaphysics. For him, life was an organization of physical forces. He believed that the soul was superfluous and consciousness an effect of mechanistic processes. His main works were ***Rapports de physique et du moral de l' homme*** (1802) and ***Lettre à Fauriel*** (1824, published posthumously). In this late work, Cabanis expresses a special interest in the workings of a spiritual and providential God in the fortunes of people, while he gives special attention to the role of probability in human life. In this phase of his scholarship, Cabanis approaches the theories of the Greek stoics, that is, a theory which promoted the idea of a universal animism and a pantheism. It is this element of chance and probability in the works of history which makes Cabanis's theory relevant to Mavroyiannis's. In any event, the intellectual relationship between Mavroyiannis and Cabanis needs to be further explored.

[70] I am translating a short passage from the first chapter to illustrate Mavroyiannis's literary style: "The matutinal fog which surrounds the Acropolis and envelops the pedestals of the immortal monuments with an uncanny veil, this fog which stimulates the visual imagination of the far-standing spectator, has dissolved. The hillocks are glowing in a blond radiance, like fire." Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 15.

At this point, a brief report on Mavroyiannis's version of classicism is pertinent, I believe, in order to help me place his views later in comparison with the views that Greek architects and archaeologists – the official spokesmen of the neoclassical movement in Greece – expressed with both ardor and authority on the same subject. This is how then a medical doctor in Greece of 1841 understood classical architecture. Mavroyiannis approached the geo-physico-political landscape of Athens as a coherent system, *harmoniously* held together.[72] In that system, he saw the special positioning of all the ancient buildings as the result of the architect's meticulous study of the entire range of both tangible and intangible components of the landscape, such as the light, the winds, the stars, and the geometry of its elements. He maintained that the buildings not only matched the geometric patterns of the hills and the mounts, but were also located at sites which the geometry of the natural landscape dictated.[73] These sites were scattered and in good distances from one another, yet so selected as to allow for a visual dialogue among the buildings by way of their distinct architectural characteristics.[74] The author underscored the fact that there were no strict rules of symmetry at work in ancient Greek building because all the decisions concerning the layout and the general disposition of the monuments were subjected to the architect's intuitive response to the particularities of the site.[75] In general, Mavroyiannis made a strong case for the position that considers the 'marvel' of classical architecture to be not the calculated product of a rule-bound logic,[76] but the culmination of the skilled artist's 'tuning' into a set of universal forces as they were concretely manifest in the particular locale.[77] In other words, he ascribed to ancient monuments more powers of the soul and of the heart than of the mind. He saw architecture as an art in the way the Greeks understood art (*τέχνη*). This was, of course, a revolutionary thesis at a time when the authority of the educated architect had already gained enormous ground over the traditional masterbuilder and his empirical practices, while architecture came to be perceived more and more as a 'fine' art (*καλή τέχνη*) rather than a craft. This thesis should not be mistaken for a relapse into the traditional belief in the inferior status of the architect as a man of practice, not of theory, which I discussed earlier and which I related to the theocratic model of a universe divided in two parts according to the dogmas of Eastern Christianity.[78] Mavroyiannis conceived of the architect in modern terms as a scientist with both theory and practice, in the same way he conceived of himself as a scientist. He positively claimed that theory is essential to the architect. This theory would derive only from the methodical study of the ancient predecessors, of their culture, their attitudes, their ideas, but most importantly of their ways of experiencing their art as the natural outgrowth of the particular circumstances of the place. If there were a model in Mavroyiannis's mind, this must have been the model of the ancient Greek architect, a man of both theory and practice, who acted as the mediator between disparate spheres of reality, the abstract and the concrete. His argument is clear: only by taking advantage of the intimate knowledge of the place and their predecessors, the modern Greeks will be able to set their works pridefully next to the Europeans' and claim authority over the latter.[79] This knowledge will encompass the physical, the historical, the aesthetic, as well as the spiritual aspects of the place which dwell only in the cultural subconscious of the people and cannot be analyzed in sheer analytical terms.

---

[71] With very few exceptions, such as a passing reference to the terrain of the new Palace. Ibid., p.29.

[72] "...τήν μυστηριώδη ἁρμονίαν τῆς φύσεως καί τῆς τέχνης...." (the inexplicable harmony between nature and art). Ibid., p. 19.

[73] "..... δέν ὠκοδόμησαν ἀδιακρίτως· ἀλλ' ὡς τέμνονται καί συνάπτονται αἱ ὀπτικαί γραμμαί τῶν βουνῶν καί λόφων... " (they did not build randomly, but in the manner in which the lines of the mounts and hills meet and combine). Ibid., p. 18.

---

[74] "ὅλα ἀντανισχόμενα εἰς μεγάλα ἀποστήματα, συναρμοζόμενα ὅμως καί ἀνταποκρινόμενα ὀπτικῶς...." (all stretched apart by long distances, but combined and corresponding visually with one another). Ibid.

[75] "....ἄνευ σχολαστικῆς συμμετρίας, ἀλλά μέ τήν ἀφέλειαν καί ῥαστώνην τῆς ἐμπνεύσεως καί τῆς καλλιτεχνικῆς ἐκλογῆς...." (without rigid symmetry, but with both the innocence and the ease of artistic inspiration and judgment). Ibid.

[76] ".... τέχνην ὄχι ἐσπουδασμένην ἐπιτετηδευμένως καί σχολαστικῶς κεκαλλωπισμένην, ἀλλ' ἐμπνευσμένην ὑπό θείας ἐπιπνοίας...." (an artwork that was not thoroughly scrutinized and pretentiously embellished, but inspired by a divine spirit). Ibid., p. 19.

[77] ".... καί εἰς τήν πτῆσιν αὐτῆς καθορῶσαν τήν φύσιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καί κατανοοῦσαν τήν ἔκφρασιν τῆς φύσεως ταύτης, καί τήν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀποκρυπτομένην ἔννοιαν." ([this is how the ancients] caught sight of the nature of Greece in the fleeting passage of it [the divine spirit], and discerned the expression and the idea that this nature embodied.) Ibid.

[78] See back chapter 1, sub-chapter 2 "The history of architectural writing in the Hellenic East".

This is how Mavroyiannis's study in the hygienic and climatological conditions of Athens defined the role of the architect in the context of the modern Greek State. Implicated in this definition were two important ideas which mark an epistemological advance for the discipline of architecture. First, Mavroyiannis helped to raise the status of the traditional masterbuilder by removing the epistemological obstacle under which he operated to that date (i.e., the theological dogma) while, at the same time, he recognized the value of the masterbuilder's intuitive processes of building. Second, he laid out the conditions for the development of a Greek architectural discourse. No other literary work, before or after the time of this book, ever did the same thing so lucidly.

Mavroyannis's involvement with architectural matters was not limited to the aforementioned brilliant definition of the modern Greek architect. As I have already mentioned, the author formed specific propositions for the planning of the modern city and the individual dwellings. Considering that by the date of the publication of the book (i.e., 1841) the new city-plan had been under way for six years at least, Mavroyiannis's propositions came more as a criticism of current errors and as a means of prevention of any future ones. In reference to the new city-plan, he observed that it was drawn in such a way as to meet primarily aesthetic criteria and only secondarily the pragmatic demands which the topography and the climate of Athens raised. Its many narrow and winding streets – remains of the earlier planning system– the direct exposure of certain parts to the north, and the lack of shaded areas, accentuated instead of relieving the typical problems of the Athenian basin. These problems for the author were the severe northern winds and the heat strokes during the summer.[80] Mavroyiannis recommended the general application of a grid system of straight and fairly wide streets directed toward the four cardinal points, so that bulky waves of either hot or cold air would be conveniently let through them with benevolent effects on the microclimate of the city.[81] As a model of a private dwelling, he proposed a four-wing building enclosing a courtyard in the middle with arcaded fronts all around and, in the case of a two-story structure, with open galleries on the second floor. According to the author, this arrangement would ensure to the house maximum benefits from its orientation – whatever that might be – all year round.[82]

---

[79] He most complete argument on this issue can be found in the *Epilogue* of his book. Ibid., p. 127.
[80] Ibid., p. 119.
[81] Ibid., p. 29 and pp. 119-20.
[82] Ibid., pp. 120-21.

Throughout Mavroyiannis's treatise, and most certainly in his architectural propositions, resonances of Vitruvius are evident. Curiously enough, the author avoided any direct references to the Latin architect, except for one instance toward the end of his book.[83] His views on architecture may be seen as simplified versions of Vitruvius's views. One should only be reminded of the sophisticated procedures Vitruvius recommended, first, for the detection of the winds, most harmful to the human health, and second, for aligning the streets at a slight angle to the direction of the wind.[84] Instead, Mavroyiannis proposed the straight orientation of the streets toward the four cardinal points. Or better, he saw this orientation as a given and irreversible condition, since it was the one largely employed by the new city plan. In that case, the best he could do was find ways to amend and improve upon this given condition. His proposed amendments included the opening of the streets to an equal width along their entire length, the planting of evergreens along the northern edge of the city, and the implementation of arcaded fronts to the buildings facing the public streets for the protection of the pedestrians against severe weather.[85] Borrowing the type of the stoa from the architecture of ancient Greece, Mavroyiannis evidently paid no heed to the fact that the doubling of the stoa on the two fronts of a narrow street, such as Hermou,[86] would impart to it an unusual sense of pomp and monumentality, better fit to the character of late Hellenistic or Roman cities, than to the still modest and picturesque heir of the ancient capital.

It is interesting that, despite his alleged sensitivity to the built environment, in his specific architectural propositions Mavroyiannis proved himself a **rationalist**, better inclined toward the simple and prosaic solution than toward the complicated and poetic one. And although he saw the world in Vitruvius's terms, as a whole and unified system in the mode of a wonderful machine, his scientific mentality had already divided this system up into distinct layers, properly affecting one another, while retaining their own internal logic and conceptual autonomy. The example which best demonstrates this point is Mavroyiannis's proposal for the typical Athenian house, which I described earlier. In his mind, this archetypal house had the power to stand on its own as a self-contained functional unit in every part of the city, in defiance of all the pragmatic constraints, such as the city-plan or the particular orientation. It was intended to perform mechanically responding solely to climate. Its provision for rotating functions all around its four wings, all year round, gave it the character of a cosmic clock, combining efficiency with purpose. Here again, the author's primary (uncited) source was Vitruvius in his discussion of the Greek house.[87] Mavroyiannis must have had plenty of chances to see the Vitruvian model in application in the Athenian house with a courtyard, a model which persisted from the ancient through the Byzantine and Ottoman to the modern times, gradually losing its popularity over the imported western European urban dwelling – that is, a massive building with fixed and compact functions, with a small yard on one side.[88] But, whereas for Vitruvius the Greek house was only an archetype properly adjusting to a large number of determinants (e.g., the socio-economic standing of the owner, the family structure, the climate, the orientation, the site), the Athenian residence that Mavroyiannis described was both an archetype and a model at the same time. It was a generic housing unit, flexible in its internal functioning, but inflexible in its overall form, so conceived as to respond to one context only, nature. In fact, the author – maybe on purpose – ignored the socio-economic context of the new city-capital as he laid out the model of a house which, in terms of size, conformed more to the standards of a merchant's villa at Delos in the second century B.C. than to the small and narrow lot of the average Athenian property, in which every square inch counted as valuable buildable space. Furthermore, the idea of rotating functions in this model carried both advantages and disadvantages for the particular reality it sought to address. Certainly the idea itself was not new but a direct take off from the model of the traditional Greek house in which the same idea served purely practical purposes related to the climate and the life-style of the people, with one difference: it was never carried to such an extreme as in Mavroyiannis's model.[89] In the latter, rotating functions around four wings were intended by the author as the core principle behind a house model which purported to respond in a solid rational manner to a rational city plan – notably, a plan that never came into effect in the modern city of Athens.[90]

---

[83] Specifically he uses as a head quote to his *Epilogue*, Vitruvius's §27 from ***De Architectura***, Book VIII, chapter 3. In that paragraph, the Latin architect cites his sources and sets the example for future researchers to study thoroughly their predecessors first, before they proceed to conclusive arguments on their subject. Ibid., p. 125.

[84] This angle is equal to 1/16th of a full circle. Vitruvius describes in detail the procedure of the geometric construction of this angle. This angle was intended as a measure for protecting certain streets from the direct wind blows. Vitruvius, op. cit., Book I, chapter 6.

[85] It is worth noting that all these measures in favor of a regular city-plan occurred two years before Mavroyiannis's publication in Kaftanzoglou's proposal for a new plan of Athens. See: Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, "Σχεδογραφία 'Αθηνῶν" (Sketching of Athens), Newspaper Αἰὼν, no. 46, 8-3-1839, pp. 1-3. However, Mavroyiannis takes these proposals to a higher level of elaboration in his booklet.

[86] Specific suggestion for Hermou street in Mavroyiannis, op. cit., pp. 120-1.

---

[87] Ibid., Book VI, chapter 7.

[88] A good representation of the traditional Athenian house with a courtyard is offered by the German lithographer O.M. Baron de Stackelberg in his popular album with various and very accurate views of Greece which he drew between 1810 and 1814. (Fig. 2) The picture is drawn from the courtyard and shows the arrangement of rooms on two floors. The house, which evidently belonged to a wealthy Athenian, appears grand in size and fits well Mavroyiannis description who probably knew of it. In: Stackelberg, O.M. (Baron de), La Grèce, vues pittoresques et topographiques, seconde partie, I.F. d' Osterwald, Paris, 1834.

[89] At least, the type of the ancient Greek house, which we know best through Vitruvius's accounts, was based on a good compromise between alternating functions, dictated by the climate, and fixed ones, dictated by the social and cultural habits of its inhabitants, e.g., the apartments for the men, for the women, for the servants, for the guests.

[90] The city plan in which Mavroyiannis's model house could possibly find its best application was Kaftanzoglou's proposed plan of 1837 as shown in this lithograph of the Royal Typography. (Fig. 3) The architect developed this plan more as a counter-proposal to the one applied by Stamatios Kleanthes and Eduard Schaubert with revisions by Leo von Klenze. Kaftanzoglou's plan was based on a perfectly rational square grid and occupied the area to the east and northeast of the

The house was proposed as a generic and elastic type, ready to fit to every situation, on every city lot, following the logic of standardization. It was introduced by the author as a utopian projection to a new, still unknown, and multifarious reality. Stretched between two ends, that is, the organic logic of the traditional dwelling and the functionalist logic of the modern city, Mavroyiannis's four-wing house with rotating functions – the house panacea – could prove nothing but its impossibility. However, one should always keep in mind that the author was not an architect by profession.

Apart from these few lapses into a rationalist (nearly functionalist) frame of thinking, Mavroyiannis may be characterized as one of the pioneer exponents of **contextualism** in the scene of neohellenic literature, and on this account he must be remembered. He was an author who consciously tried to explain human phenomena by setting them in the context of their occurrence, without recourse to a predetermined structure or an overriding law. He portrayed the works of man as interlaced with the works of nature, much as Vitruvius did in his time. But, whereas Vitruvius set up a fourfold schema in order to explain the systemic logic by which the four elements (i.e., nature, building, man, and god) interacted, Mavroyiannis proposed a threefold schema instead with the forth element, god, being taken over by the forces of history. It was these forces modern man had to construe and assess for himself by carefully studying both the precedents and his own culture. In other words, Mavroyiannis understood the history of a certain place as a compound of two different materials, matter of fact data (i.e., monuments of all sorts including precedent witnesses) and a host of traits and attitudes innate to its people (i.e., the cultural subconscious). In acknowledging the psychological element as one of the two legs of historical explanation, the author appeared cognizant of his contemporary romantic theories which by that time had brought Europe to the threshold of historical relativism, a philosophical attitude which was to dominate the European scene through the entire nineteenth century.

Acropolis, that is, an area outside the expanse of the old city and in good distance from the most crucial archaeological zone. This plan – as Mavroyiannis's model house – had all the characteristics of a utopian plan since it was never studied or tested *vis-à-vis* the real conditions of the site, e.g. the topography, the climate, and so forth.

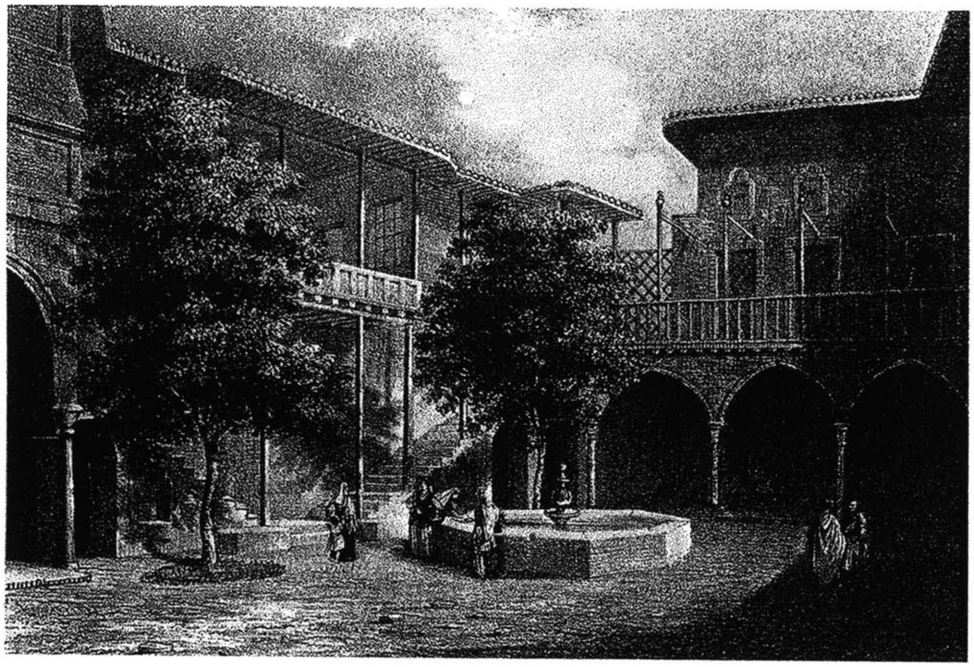


Fig. 2: Lithograph of upper-class Athenian house with a courtyard (c. 1810)
(In O. M. Baron de Stackelberg, *La Grèce, vues pittoresques et topographiques*, Paris, 1834)

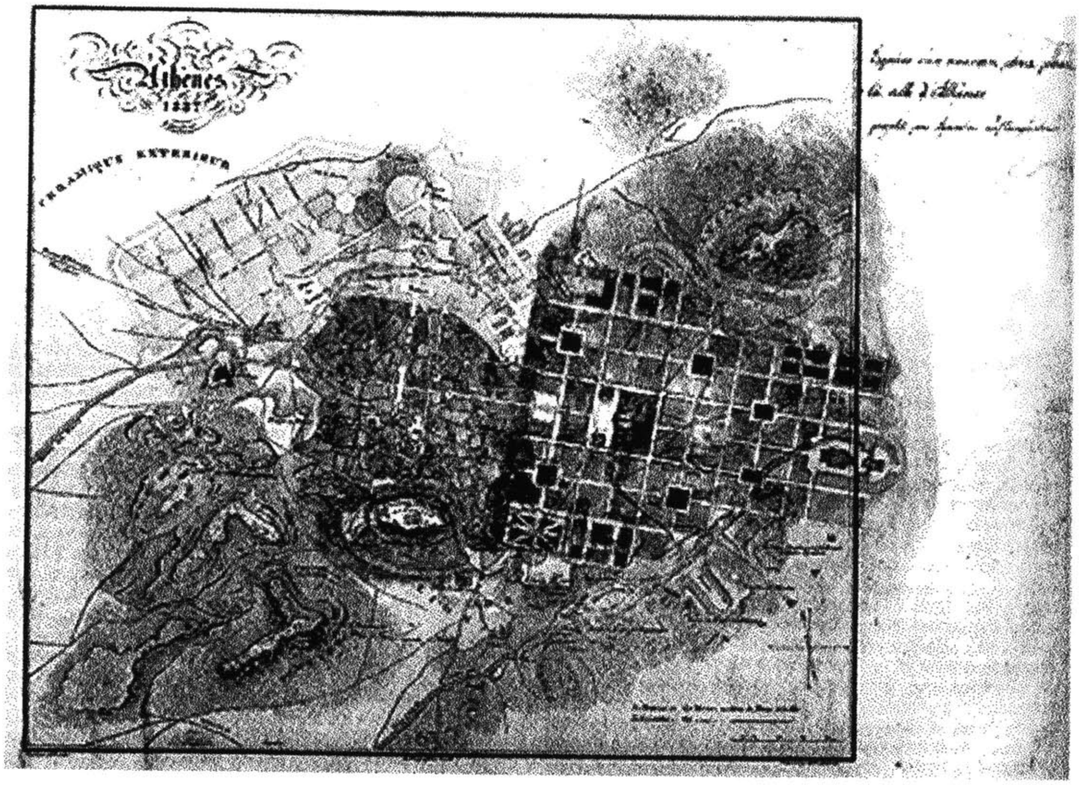

Athènes
1837
CERAMIQUE EXTERIEUR

Fig. 3: Proposal for the modern city of Athens by Lysandros Kaftanzoglou of 1837
(In D. Philippides, *Lysandros Kaftanzoglou*, Athens, 1995, p. 78)

Certain parallels may be drawn between Mavroyiannis's ideas and those of two earlier European philosophers, German Johann G. Herder (1744-1803) and Italian Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), who gained considerable popularity among the early Romantics for their defense of the notion of 'poetic wisdom' as the basis of all creative acts, including the writing of people's history. Of the two, Herder, in particular, was known to the Greek audience from the beginning of the 1800s. He enjoyed some reputation around the time of the Revolution, but he gradually fell into oblivion with the emergence of the new State and the associated rise of archaism (*archaeolatria*), that is, the movement that ascribed, in an almost deterministic manner, the cultural and ethnic identity of modern Greece to its ancient heritage.[91] The time of Mavroyiannis's treatise fell right in the midst of the expansion of the archaist fervor in Greece. This may explain why this book had no immediate successors despite its enormous significance for the course of Greek letters.

Mavroyiannis, like Herder and Vico, was a critic of the Enlightenment, in general, and of German art historian Johann J. Winckelmann, in particular. Interestingly, he referenced none of the three occidental scholars by name.[92] However, still from the first few pages of his book, Winckelmann is suggestively present as the counter-example, whose reasoning Mavroyiannis was intent on undoing in the rest of his text. In his *Introduction*, the author argued against the application of a scientific, linear logic in the writing of history. He formed the statement that interpretation of historical phenomena should derive contextually, not by reference to a mechanistic system of causality. Specifically, he declared insubstantial the argument that regarded the climate of Athens as the root cause of the ancient Athenian civilization, that is, an overt allusion to the well-known Winckelmannian thesis. Mavroyannis saw instead the climate and the natural landscape of the Athenian basin as one context, equiprimordial and of equal significance to many other contexts toward the ultimate development of the glorious Periclean Age, which essentially remained to his date an unexplainable phenomenon. In fact, he referred to Plato's account of the mythical creation of the city of Athens, in order to better argue his point against a cause and effect method of historical explanation.[93] In his contextualist view of the world, every historical occurrence lay at the point where many roads, many unlike circumstances, converged to an unforeseeable condition. Ultimately, he conceived of history as progressing in stages, in an evolutionary manner, subject to determinants of two sorts, constant (e.g., nature, climate) and transitory (e.g., society, religion, politics). It was through the course of these stages that every people or nation moved toward its self-actualization.[94]

---

[91] According to the prominent Greek historiographer Konstantinos Dimaras (op. cit., pp. 283-99), the renown of Herder in Greece before the establishment of the modern State was inhibited due to the fact that the knowledge of the German language was very limited among the Greek scholars. Ironically, by the time when the German became popular as a second language in Greece, due to the establishment of the Bavarian monarchy, the shift toward archaism acted as an ideological obstacle for the further expansion of Herder's relativist theories. Herder was introduced to the Greek literature first around 1813 through an essay published in the well-known Greek philological journal *Λόγιος 'Ερμῆς* (Sagacious Hermes) by an amateur German speaking scholar from Siatista, Theodoros Manousis. The title of the essay was "'Ιστορία τῆς Καθολικῆς 'Ιστορίας" (History of general history). The same journal published in 1816 the Greek translation of Herder's long essay "Nemesis", and in 1820 his "The Greeks' practice of the sciences", translated by Anastasios Polyzoïdes (M.D.). From that point of time until the sixth decade of the century, the references to Herder are very sporadic in the Greek literature. Only in 1843, the philological journal *'Ερανιστής* published a scholarly study on the principles of historical philosophy ("Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ἱστορικῆς φιλοσοφίας") by another strong proponent of Herderian ideas, Petros Vrailas from Corfu. According to Dimaras, Herder's renown reemerged with the rise of the nationalistic spirit and the movement for a return to the roots of the Greek folklore in the 1850s. Dimaras mentions historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and philologist Nikolaos Politis as the primary advocates of Herderian ideas in the second part of the 19th century. My research brought to light another important scholar – follower of Herder, the educator Antonios Fatseas from Cythera. Fatseas, who became known to the Greek public as a pragmatist and strong advocate of the role of technical education as a way of Greece to progress, acted as the antipode of the host of philological influences which formed the character of modern Greek culture. I will return to this subject with a lengthier discussion of the role of Fatseas in the mid-century literary scene under chapter 3, sub-chapter 4.3..

Due to a curious historical circumstance the interest of Greek scholars in Herder's predecessor Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Vico begins as late as in 1840. Dimaras mentions the name of philologist Markos Renieris as the pioneer scholar on Vico in Greece to whom he dedicated his first book *Φιλοσοφία τῆς 'Ιστορίας* (Philosophy of History) of 1841. A critical essay on Vico followed in 1843 by P. Vrailas-Armenis entitled "Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ἱστορικῆς φιλοσοφίας" (On the principles of historical philosophy) in the periodical *Ερανιστής*. For the next three decades, Renieris and Vrailas-Armenis remain the two principal supporters of the ethnological point of view of history that Vico introduced until this point of view was finally consolidated into a new scholastic discipline centered on the study of folklore. See: Konstantinos Th. Dimaras, 'Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός (Hellenic Romanticism), series "Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα", no.7, Hermis, Athens, 1985, pp. 428-41.

Mavroyiannis, like Herder and Vico, despised authority. He opposed the idea that a certain immutable standard could explain all human phenomena of the same kind. He refused to see, for example, a certain period of art serving as a standard for all the rest, as Winckelmann characteristically did in reference to the Greek period, thus casting all the other periods of history in shadow. Mavroyiannis recognized value and reason to all art at all times. In any event, he was not an enemy of classicism. – Was it rather accidental that he chose the Acropolis to be the vantage point of his description?[95] – However, he could have easily been mistaken for one at a time when classicism was hailed not simply as the most befitting form of cultural expression for the Greek people, but, most importantly, as the paramount symbol of their national identity. Mavroyiannis promoted Greek classicism with unreserved enthusiasm not as a symbol, nor as a means to monumentalization. He saw classical architecture as a way of building ingrained with the place and its people, as the third part of an equilateral triangle, therefore, as the only truthful way of Greek building. Mavroyiannis shared with the two philosophers, Herder and Vico, the belief that all human phenomena in order to be fully understood should be treated sympathetically and be seen as growing organically from the soul of the people in their response to a particular environment.[96] 'Poetic wisdom' is nothing but the distillation of people's intuitive responses to their respective environments. It may be found most prominently in their artistic works, in their language, and in their traditions. This is the kind of wisdom which modern science was inclined to ignore, giving primacy instead to linear causality. Mavroyiannis, as both Herder and Vico before him, gave considerable attention to the role of folk rituals for the poetic wisdom they embodied. He saw them not only as the means of a people's cultural expression and identification, but also as occasions for creative transformation of established traditions.

---

[92] Mavroyiannis uses Winckelmann as a reference at a later point in his book when he speaks about the aesthetic aspects of calm and harmony which characterize all Greek artwork and which the German scholar particularly exalted. Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 42.

[93] Mavroyiannis quotes Plato from his dialogue *Τιμαῖος (Timaeus)*. This is how he interprets Plato's metaphor: "'Η ἰδέα τῆς θεᾶς ἦτον τό σπέρμα, ὅ.περ ἐνεπιστεύθη εἰς γῆν προσφυῆ, ὑπό τήν ἐνέργειαν λυσιτελῶν πρός τοιαύτην βλάστησιν, διά τήν εὐκρασίαν, ὡρῶν." (The idea of the goddess [for the creation of the city] was the seed which she entrusted to fertile soil during times especially beneficial for such a cultivation.) In: Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 7. Evidently, the goddess Plato makes reference to is Athena, the protectress goddess of the city of Athens.

[94] He fully demonstrates this evolutionistic view of history in his 'Epilogue'. Ibid., pp. 125-8.

[95] In his own words, he chose the Akropolis "because it is the most beautiful ornament of the whole picture, the point on which the eyes unintentionally rest after they have scanned over the entire landscape." Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 17. The translation from the Greek is mine.

Still at a time when the pronounced exponents of classicism studied the monuments themselves as vehicles for unraveling the mystery of their own glory, Mavroyiannis brought the focus upon people's habits and rituals by means of which those monuments came into being. He sought to understand the phenomenon through its particular context and the processes that engendered its creation. "By way of their music they built the[ir] cities...., by way of their rituals they formed their relations", he wrote.[97] No other Greek scholar during the austere phase of Greek neoclassicism (i.e., the Othonian period) thought of relating monumental architecture with ritualistic performances.[98] This happened only as late as in the last third of the century with the rise of scholastic interest in Greek folklore, that is, the movement which redeemed the demotic tradition by discerning in it the link between past and present, ancient and modern Greece.[99]

---

[96] ".... ἐπειδή ἐπιθυμοῦμεν νά προσδιορίσωμεν όποίας τροπολογίας συνεπιφέρει ή φύσις εἰς αὐτόν..., δέν δυνάμεθα νά τό ἐπιτύχωμεν διά ψυχρᾶς ἀναλύσεως, ἀλλά θέλομεν τό κατανοήσει διά τῆς ψυχικῆς καί ἐνδομύχου αἰσθήσεως εἰς τόν ἑαυτόν μας." (Because we wish to define what kind of transformations nature brings about to him [man],...., formal methods of analysis are of no use as opposed to psychological ways of introspecting one's own self through which one may understand better others.) Ibid., p. 19.

[97] "Διά τῆς μουσικῆς ἔκτισαν τάς πόλεις...., διά τῶν τελετῶν συνῆψαν σχέσεις." Ibid., p. 84. He makes a similar point also on page 42.

[98] This was, of course, an idea which greatly appealed to the State authorities who took special concern for setting up new rituals in the context of the modern city which employed neoclassical architecture as a supporting, scenographic device, and whose ultimate purpose was the glorification of the King and the dominant ideology at the time. (See my related study "Ephemeral transformations as points of private resistance to national strategies of modernizing the traditional Mediterranean city", presented as a paper in the Southeastern Regional ACSA Conference (Hampton, Virginia, 19-21 Oct. 1996)).
Still from the years before the Revolution, an interest in the folk traditions of the Greeks arose, mainly under the influence of western travelers to the Greek land. Adamantios Korais, the renowned propounder of the ideas of the Enlightenment in Greece, was among the first Greeks who expressed unreserved appreciation for the value of the demotic tradition. However, the first systematic effort for the collection, transcription, and publication of Greek demotic songs belongs to the French philologist / historian Claude Fauvel (*Chants Populaire de la Grèce Moderne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1824-5).

Mavroyiannis defended classical architecture – which interestingly he never defined in *purist neoclassical* terms – with modesty and prudence *vis-à-vis* all the other architectural attitudes, particularly the neo-Gothic.[100] Precisely because he had not ascribed symbolic value to the classical forms of Greek architecture as the State and its spokesmen did, he never championed their significance by following the common rhetorical stratagem at the time of debasing the forms of Gothic architecture. His text is generally characterized by well-balanced argumentation, and a lack of pomp and dogmatism. His defense of classicism *vis-à-vis* gothicism took place on the grounds of modern aesthetic theories featuring the psychological association of the subject with the art object.[101] This theory allowed a secular author,[102] such as Mavroyiannis, to overcome the traditional divide between subjectivism, as experienced in religious irrationalism, and objectivism, as seen in rational representationalism. For him, the process of artistic creation was a self-conscious way of reuniting humans with their inner self and, therefore, with the intrinsic element of the particular world they inhabited, all linked into one harmonious whole. It was in these terms that he also understood the close affinity between building and nature. Where the rationalists, including Vitruvius and Winckelmann, saw the Greek temple as the ideal representation of a certain natural law, the law of material and construction, Mavroyiannis saw it instead as the concrete manifestation of a set of immaterial, aesthetic qualities, characteristic of the Greek nature and properly filtered through the architect's imagination. He observed that the Greeks, through their buildings, wisely complemented and enhanced Greek nature; they imitated neither its forms nor its processes. The two important qualities which the Greeks transferred from nature to building were variety mixed with simplicity and a sense of repose mixed with grandeur, even in the most severe of its expressions. Evidently, at this point, Mavroyiannis superseded some of his resistance to Winckelmann's ideas, in order to share in some of the German scholar's aesthetic views on Greek art.[103] However, he shortly passed on to a different line of thinking, stemming from the empiricist and the romantic tradition, when he introduced the building, not as an isolated object in space (i.e., a thing in itself), but as a sensuous image owing its qualities to the particular nature of its background and its surrounding atmosphere.[104] "Every ancient Greek building presents itself as an *icon* (a picture), the background of which is formed by the sky. On that, the lines of the columns are finely incised as with a stylus. In between the columns, the sky comes into view."[105] In his perception the distinct silhouette of the temple, its clear and serene lines, did not only originate but also continued to exist in and by way of nature. This miraculous compatibility between classical architecture and Greek nature stood at the bottom of his argument against the use of Gothic forms in Greek architecture. "Bright and glossy illumination, penetrating the building through and through, is in no accord with an architecture of uncanny shadows and sharp lines which, by rising to the clouds and forming a visual fantasy, capture the mind into metaphysical meditations."[106]

---

[99] A seminal publication in this context was Nikolaos G. Politis's *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία* (Modern Greek Mythology) of 1871.

[100] Neo-Gothic buildings in Athens during the Othonian period were very few. Only the **Anglican church** by Kleanthes and Christian Hansen can be confirmed with full certainty. Kaftanzoglou's residence on Othon's square belonged to a curious mixture of romantic styles (no remains). The famous 'Castello of Rododaphne', also by Kleanthes and Hansen, and the summer residence of Queen Amalia by F.-L.-F. Boulanger, were both located in the environs of Athens.

[101] This aesthetic orientation was later given formal articulation into the so-called theory of empathy (*einfühlung*) by the German psychologist Theodor Lipps in his work *Raumaesthetik* (1893-7). However, an interest in the role of human physiology / psychology in both the production and the appreciation of the artwork originated much earlier with the English empiricists Locke, Hume, Burke, and Shaftesbury and persisted through the aesthetic theories of the German idealists. It is hard for me to detect which was Mavroyiannis's source of reference in this case. I assume it to have been Herder, as Herder's presence is prominent (although uncited) throughout the rest of his book. It is in Herder that we read: "the beauty of a line is movement, and the beauty of movement expression", which suggests that man, through the workings of his mind, gives a dynamic content to physical forms.

[102] I infer this characterization (i.e., "secular author") for Mavroyiannis from the general spirit of his text. However, Mavroyiannis never set himself openly against Christianity. In fact, he considered religion one of the transitional conditions which, along with the institution of monarchy, would facilitate the arrival of the Greek people to a new state of self-actualization, a new phase in their history, fundamentally sustained by their constant and eternal nature. Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 20.

This is how Mavroyiannis understood the difference between classicism and gothicism, that is, as a difference which involved mind and matter in different proportions, not simply different forms. "The architecture of the Greeks is as material as their religion, it pleases the senses.... The idea behind a Gothic building is concealed in its mass; the idea of a Greek building is disclosed on its surface...."[107] One may discern echoes of the well-known Hegelian thesis on the difference between classical and romantic art in these words.[108] Hegel understood Greek art as the kind of art in which the *Idea* is completely at home in the sensuous realm of the form and in perfect balance with it, a balance which accounts for the ultimate of artistic beauty. On the other hand, in romantic art the *Idea* overflows the material, it grows larger than any sensuous material can expressly embody, the spiritual element dominates, and beauty takes a more subjective definition. Hegel's historicist account of different artistic attitudes originating with different peoples, in different places and times, fit well Mavroyiannis's relativist view of history.

---

[103] He extensively argues about these two points on pp. 40-41. The first probably is a take off from Winckelmann's quote on the use of ornament in architecture: "It is variety that is the source of pleasure; in discourse, as in architecture, it serves to flatter the mind and the eyes. When elegance is joined to simplicity, beauty results." (In: ***Observations on the Architecture of the Ancients,*** 1760-62, p. 627). The second alludes to repeated comments on the Greeks' "noble simplicity" by Winckelmann. (In: "Reflections on the imitation of Greek artists in painting and sculpture", 1755).

[104] As usual, here again, Mavroyiannis does not reveal his sources. From suggestive terminology and the related ideas, one may assume that from the English empiricist tradition he must have been well familiar with the works of Edmund Burke (***A Philosophical Enquiry....***) and possibly Shaftesbury. It is difficult for me to detect who might have been his sources among the German Romantics, other than the most evident one, Herder.

[105] Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 44.

[106] Ibid., p. 43.

[107] Ibid.

[108] The related theory appears in Georg W. F. Hegel's work ***The Philosophy of Fine Arts*** of 1835 (which developed from a series of lectures delivered to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität of Berlin between 1820 and 1829).

However, this affinity to Hegelian views on art led Mavroyiannis to a rather biased conception of architecture. Specifically, he approached Greek architecture as **sculpture**, that is, a phenomenon which appealed exclusively to the senses and the intellect, and which was very little concerned with structural and functional considerations.[109] The result was a strict separation between buildings made for a spiritual as against a secular function. The former (e.g., the Greek temple) was elevated by Mavroyiannis to the status of a *work of art*. The latter (e.g., the human dwelling) was meant as a functional machine that had no apparent aesthetic gratification to offer to its user. The two together fitted a city model different from the one which current urban planning philosophy had set forth. To the emerging concern of the new State for an application of the forms of Greek classicism on a more universal (i.e., fit to the need) scale, the author had no adequate solution to propose.

In conclusion, Mavroyiannis's profound study of the climate of Athens constitutes a unique example of an interdisciplinary approach to the complex problem of space and its architectonics in mid-nineteenth-century Greece. Drawing its material from the fields of medicine, physics, and geography, this study was intended, not as a text of formal education, but as a manual of practical knowledge combining description with instruction. The book is particularly interesting for the discipline of architecture because it shows how epistemologically more advanced fields at the time, such as medicine or applied physics, developed a practical interest in space related matters and contributed to the development of an elementary kind of architectural discourse in Greece. Mavroyiannis's scientific thought partook of two different systems of reasoning, induction and deduction, that is, direct observation and reliance upon first principles, respectively. He used both in order to achieve a full account of the Athenian topography, thus opposing to the common "either / or" kind of logic of his contemporaries. Through direct observation he read the signs of nature on the surface of the Athenian landscape in the manner in which a physician would apprehend the signs of health or illness on the surface of a human body. Through reference to the immutable laws of nature – i.e., his first source of authority – he established the permanent context of the city and explained some of the observable signs. Through reference to precedents – i.e., his second source of authority – he defined the city's historicity, its mutable context over the many ages of its life.[110] Following the trend of his times, Mavroyiannis also subscribed to a third source of authority, that is, the sovereign position of ancient Greece over all the other periods of history. Despite his alleged evolutionist view of history, the author could not resist considering the 'monuments' of the country's ancient past as the most powerful, propelling forces toward a wholly new phase in Greek history. It is noteworthy, however, that his view of history was a **dynamic**, progressivist view as it originated in the past and moved toward the future. Mavroyiannis never faced Greek antiquity with awe equivalent to religious awe, as most Greeks did at that time. He never suggested a symbolic return to the past. In all respects, his deductive reasoning remained secular during a very difficult time, that is, a time when in the consciousness of most people the worship of the past (*archaeolatria*) had replaced religious fervor. For this reason, Mavroyiannis's book makes a very important epistemological step forward relative to the entire host of manuals of ethics (*christoetheias*), which I discussed earlier and whose task was to create a synthesis of ideas borrowed from Christian theology and the Enlightenment. This book contains no moralistic undertones, no rhetorical or prescriptive dictates. Every instructive statement by the author derives from a process of thorough description and demonstration.

---

[109] A similar conception of the architecture of the classical period as sculpture appears in Hegel's work, too. However, Hegel was never interested to offer a normative theory of architecture per se. In his view, architecture had already fulfilled its purpose time before the beginning of the classical period from which point on it could only function as subordinate to a different art, such as sculpture or painting. This subordination of architecture to the other arts was explained through Hegel's broader theoretical schema, according to which the universal Spirit has to pass through different stages and forms of intellectual expression over the ages, one of which may be architecture.

Mavroyiannis did not idealize the ancient past although he greatly valued the cultural baggage it handed down to succeeding historical periods. His admiration for the monuments of classical architecture did not result in the idealization of the forms of these monuments, as Mavroyiannis did not isolate the form from its context. One may rightly argue that his reverence for ancient Greece had to do more with the conditions under which the specific monuments took shape as concrete material testimonies of that period than with the monuments *per se*. Therefore, Mavroyiannis seemed reluctant to align himself with the imitative tradition which was formally introduced by Winckelmann and which dominated the scene of nineteenth-century Greek art and architecture. Implicit in his text is the belief that, since the beauty of the Greek nature was captured once in the beauty of artistic creation, the possibility for a similar condition to appear again and produce new beautiful forms is open, as long as the nature of the Athenian landscape remained constant through the ages. This is the reason why Mavroyiannis spoke about classical architecture in purely abstract terms. He spoke about line and color, transparency and light, serenity and grandeur. He was a proto-modernist during a time when all the active agents of neoclassicism in Greece were occupied with stylistic concerns, and certainly long before the modernist tradition found roots in the Greek ground. In his aesthetic ideas, he may be considered a forerunner of Pericles Giannopoulos, the writer-aesthetician who first consolidated the principles of Greek modernism in a few, terse theoretical statements around the turn of the twentieth century. In these statements – as in Mavroyiannis's over half-a-century earlier – Giannopoulos captured **classicism as an idea adapted to place** rather than as mere form or style.

---

[110] "....ἡ κατάστασις τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ ἔθνους εἶναι ἐξαγόμενον τῶν διαδοχικῶν μεταβολῶν του." (the [current] condition of the Greek nation is the result of a succession of changes.) Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 127.

For his time, Mavroyiannis exhibited an unusually mature attitude toward architecture, despite the fact that he himself was not an architect by profession. He approached architecture as a powerful force stemming from the intuitive encounter of man with nature. He saw it as the tangible expression of cosmic harmony, therefore, as an idea aptly related to *monumentality*. This is, in fact, how he understood the monumental element in classical architecture: as a uniting power innate to the building, not as a normative criterion resting upon its form. He saw monumentality as the ability of this architecture to preserve in its core a direct line of continuity among man, nature, and event. It was precisely these lines of continuity in all forms of Greek culture that Mavroyiannis called the modern Greeks to study for themselves, not to receive them already interpreted from Europe. For this last proposition, in particular, Mavroyiannis's book may claim the title of a *pioneering text* of its kind in the history of neohellenic literature.

4.3.2. Anastasios Goudas's "Researches in the Medical Chorography and Climate of Athens"

This is the second manual of practical knowledge on the geophysical makeup of Athens by a medical doctor during the Othonian period.[111] Published twenty-four years after the establishment of Athens as the seat of the new State (i.e., 1858), Goudas's treatise has all the characteristics of a critical appraisal of the particular hygienic and climatological conditions, which emerged in the city in consequence of the implementation of the new plan. Compared to

---

[111] Anastasios Goudas was born in Epirus (Grammeno) in 1816 and died in Athens in 1882. He studied at the University of Athens where he earned the title of the Doctor of Philosophy in 1843. He attended post-graduate studies in Paris. He became specially known for his prolific career as the author of important works, most notably the *Παράλληλοι Βίοι τῶν 'Ανδρῶν τοῦ 'Αγῶνος* (Parallel lives of the men of the Cause) in 8 volumes (1869-76) and the periodical *'Ιατρική Μέλισσα* (1853-9) of which comes the "Researches in the medical chorography of Athens...." under discussion. He also translated works by foreign authors, such as Ufeland's ***Practical Pathology*** (1854). He protested openly against Othon's monarchy through the newspaper *'Ανεξαρτησία* (Independence) of which he was the editor. For his political beliefs he was sentenced to imprisonment which he escaped by moving to Smyrna and then to London. He earned his highest reputation under King George's monarchy. He continued his career as a writer with a new periodical of practical medicine, *Μέλισσα 'Αθηνῶν* (1865-6), and with numerous publications on political and other subjects.

Mavroyiannis's Observations..., it presents notable similarities, as well as differences, all of which I will try to lay out in the following paragraphs.

Goudas attempted a systematic, scientifically based approach to the chorography of the Athenian basin, as Mavroyiannis did before him, regarding climate as the predominant element, the presupposition for a good and healthy living. In his description, he included both tangible and intangible components of the city's profile, such as the form of the landscape, the relief of the ground, the colors, the quality of the light, the atmosphere, the waters, the flora, the kinds and directions of the winds, and so forth, all issues of major importance for Mavroyiannis, too. He examined them all over the time of a day, of a year, or of a succession of years, in other words, he described space, not as a static phenomenon, but as a dynamic one, subject to temporal change. However, he avoided Mavroyiannis's long retrospective accounts of the city's geo-physico-political history, confining his research instead to the most present-at-hand data of the city's latest historical phase. He showed considerable respect for ancient authors, such as Hippocrates, Plato, and Vitruvius, who he used as reliable sources for some of his own deductions, while he faced with skepticism observations by more recent writers.[112] Goudas, like Mavroyiannis, combined inductive with deductive processes in his work.

Overall, Goudas's treatise on the medical chorography of Athens is characterized by a pragmatist point of view as the aim of the author was to offer compelling resolutions to a series of urgent problems, which had mainly to do with the growth of the old agrarian town to the magnitude of a modern city. Similar problems appeared, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the urban centers at the time, particularly in the large European metropolises. Goudas's propositions focused on three areas in particular, the hygiene, the preservation of the natural resources, and the viability of the city as the capital of the State. Regarding the city's hygiene, he proposed measures for more salubrious conditions of living in reference to its infrastructure (e.g., sewage system), its cleanliness, the identification and extinction of the sources of pollution, and the healthy diet of its inhabitants. Regarding the preservation of the natural resources, he recommended special measures for the better management of the agricultural economy, the flora and the waters of the city; furthermore, he put forth a series of prohibitions aimed at the mindless waste of these resources for easy profit.[113] Regarding the viability of the city as a capital, his propositions included measures for the increase of the Athenian population, moral instructions to the citizens to lead a prudent life away from indulgences, and invitations to the Greeks of the diaspora to financially contribute to the rebuilding of the city.

---

[112] Specifically he considers both unreliable and insulting the observations on the Athenian climate which the French author Rauw supported in his book ***Researches philosophiques sur les Grecs*** (vol. I, p. 85). In: A.N. Goudas (M.D.), Ἔρευναι περὶ Ἰατρικῆς Χωρογραφίας καὶ Κλίματος Ἀθηνῶν (Researches in Medical Chorography and Climate of Athens), Series 'Iatriki Melissa', Vol. VI, K. Antoniades print, Athens, 1858. Among the more recent authors, Goudas seemed to hold in higher esteem the eighteenth-century French traveler Guys and his contemporary renowned German geographer Kiepert.

It is noteworthy that, in two of the three aforementioned areas of Goudas's intervention, that is, hygiene and the preservation of natural resources, his analysis followed the three-step process of description, demonstration, and instruction, which we encountered in Mavroyiannis's treatise. In reference to his third concern, the viability of the city–capital, the measures which Goudas laid out, not only appeared prescriptive in character, but also transcended by far the designated subjects of the book as stated in the title, that is, the *climate* and the *medical chorography* of Athens. In this part – i.e., the fifth chapter[114] – the manual takes a moralistic tone which is strikingly reminiscent of the then very popular *christoetheias*. In addition, it exposes the author's logical inconsistency in having used the same kind of reasoning to argue on issues largely incongruous with one another. Particularly for these reasons, Goudas's manual deserves special attention.

In the fifth chapter of his book, Goudas offered an analytical account of all the possible dangers which, in the form of material extravagances and temptations, awaited people in the city – even more so in a city, such as Athens, experiencing an abrupt transition from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist state of civilization. The first section of this account focussed on ways of improving human fertility, genetic heredity, and general health. Goudas specifically advised the Athenians to follow a regular daily schedule of life and to avoid all the possible sources of fatal infections, including illegitimate social contacts. Despite his moralistic tone, the author still relied upon scientific criteria – based primarily on linear reasoning (i.e., cause and effect) – from the field of medicine to support his points. Immediately after, however, he moved on to a different line of argumentation by using an interesting rhetorical twist. He portrayed luxury as the foremost defiling inclination of city people, bestowing effects as destructive as physical illness on the soul and the body: "As the leech cannot swell without devouring volumes of blood, luxury cannot exist without causing moral and physical degeneration."[115] He observed that material indulgence, not only thoroughly rotted the 'patient', but was also transmitted from person to person, from house to house, and from generation to generation, in the manner of an infectious disease. In short, Goudas assigned a medical explanation to a socio-cultural phenomenon with absolutely no medical basis of its own. He did so by skipping completely demonstration – i.e., the middle and most important part of scientific argumentation – and by reducing the complex relationship between material civilization, on the one hand, and human morality, on the other, to a simple, linear equation.[116]

---

[113] These preventive measures included the restriction of greezing in green areas, the restriction of woodcutting in all the hills and surrounding mounts, and the removal of all the sources of pollution (e.g., lime-kilns) from areas with special natural beauty.

[114] It carries the title "On population, human fertility and long-living". The title only partially corresponds to the content of the chapter. Goudas, op. cit., pp. 39-48.

[115] Ibid., p. 48.

In a similarly prescriptive vein Goudas invited all the wealthy Greeks to *imitate* the noble benefactors of the diaspora and actively support the financial growth of the city.[117] For the sake of argument, he simply enumerated public buildings whose construction was financed by private individuals. One may see this extensive listing of items standing in the place of demonstration. He mentioned the University, the Observatory, the Arsakeion, the Polytechnic, the Eye-Hospital, and so forth, all by name only, not as parts of the larger chorographic description of the city. Goudas made no attempt to define the placement of these buildings in their context, as the title of his book would have required or as he did with the mounts, hills, ravines, and rivers of Athens. He made no attempt either to present these buildings in terms of their special characteristics, their socio-political meaning, or their aesthetic qualities. He saw them all as the necessary constituents of the city's new layer which in both spirit and form typified modernity and which layer claimed its place next to, or rather, on top of the old layer, without ever fusing completely with it in one and the same body. This new layer, the layer of the modern institutions, partook of a logic distinctly different from the coherent and organic logic that Goudas discerned in the city's ancient chorography. It consisted of an array of different elements which existed in a presumably functional relationship with one another. It was a man-made construct aiming at the improvement of man's life both on a material and on an ethical level. Because of its complete detachment from all the time-honored centers of authority, such as nature or people's traditions, its ethical role in the modern context had to be properly defined and safeguarded by an external agent, including the benefactor and the moral expert. Evidently, Goudas placed himself in the position of the latter. It is possible that this prosaic attitude to the new architecture of Athens, which Goudas shared with many of his contemporaries, was influenced by the two-dimensional logic already present in the architects' mapping of the new city-plan. For years after the drawing of these plans, many of the buildings showed by name only as future projections in designated city-blocks, often alternating their positions until the decision for their construction was finalized. This occurrence, combined with the rather trivial logic by which many of the new buildings related to their respective sites, fostered the general idea that the city's modern layer was a body foreign to its inmost fabric.[118] This was an idea explicitly manifest in Goudas's manual on the medical chorography of Athens.

---

[116] I must note that, here, Goudas applies the so-called *principle of transportation* (ἀρχή τῆς μεταφορᾶς) which was first introduced by Aristotle in his *Ποιητική* (Poetics) as a way of defining the harmony of the whole in the poetic work (i.e., tragedy). Aristotle writes: "As, therefore, in the other imitative arts, *the imitation is one when the object imitated is one,* so the plot, being the imitation of an action, must imitate one action and that a whole, the structural union of the parts being such that, if any one of them is displaced or removed, the whole will be disjointed and disturbed." (Aristotle's Poetics, transl. by S.H. Butcher, Hill and Wang, New York, 1961, VIII, 4, p. 67) This quote is strikingly reminiscent of Alberti 's definition of beauty in the architectural work, therefore, it constitutes the foundational principle of classicism. Apparently, in the Albertian definition, the analogy at work was between building and human body. As in the case of Goudas, the human body acted as the standard referent for the principle of transportation to take effect in the mind of classical thinkers, such as Alberti. It is important, however, not to confuse Goudas with this group. As Michel Foucault ascertains the principle of transportation or thinking through analogies persisted long beyond the Renaissance as a foundational mode of reasoning even in the scientific tradition of the Enlightenment, in the 17th and 18th century for establishing identities and differences between different entities, in the 19th century for identifying similarities and differences between organic structures, i.e., functions. (M. Foucault, *Les Mots et les Choses,* English translation The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, orig. 1966). Goudas's thinking through analogy partakes of two different traditions, the functionalist tradition of the 19th century and the Byzantine theological tradition in the context of which physical illness was considered the primary cause of disharmony. I owe the latter explication to Dr. Philippos Oreopoulos who located the related proposition in the 15th-century Byzantine dictionary of Suida under the entry "harmony" (ἁρμονία). (Oreopoulos, op. cit., p. 81.)

[117] *This call to Greek benefactors is the central theme of the 'Epilogue' of the book.* Ibid., pp. 53-6.

Goudas's influence on this matter be as it may, one should however not fail to pass under closer scrutiny his claim to scientific authority, especially as this claim was contradicted by his proclivity for a moralizing style of writing without sufficient demonstration. Goudas appeared unable to provide a convincing chorographic description of the city of Athens encompassing under a uniform logic all of its elements, older and newer, natural and man-made. Through his various propositions, the city's latest phase comes forth as a phase essentially detached from its past, and in a relationship of tension with it due to the allegedly disparate nature of the two. Would it be a far-fetched rhetorical twist if one related this condition of symbolic tension between historical strata to Goudas's own advice to the citizens not to inhabit those parts of the land that lay over ancient ruins from which polluted fumes were emitted?[119] Despite the many nuances throughout the text on the difficult – perhaps impossible – co-existence of the past with the future, Goudas insisted with emphasis that the goal of all Greeks should be "the restoration of the ancient glory of Athens."[120] In more than one instance, he called the modern Athenians to adhere to the moral example of their ancient predecessors.[121] Imitation of the noblest example, either past or present, was for him the answer to the crucial problem of joining into a harmonious whole different historical times, social groups, or architectural attitudes. Imitative practice was an easy and convenient solution for a city which had to build its modern identity firmly and without delay. Moreover, it was a solution which conformed fully to the general spirit of the time as conveyed through the programmatic speeches and writings of the leading spokesmen of the modern State.

---

[118] A prominent case in point is the design of the Royal Palace by the Bavarian architect Friedrich von Gärtner who admittedly showed little concern for the relationship between the building and its site. For a more extensive commentary on this issue see: Alexandros Papageorgiou-Venetas, "Friedrich von Gaertner in Greece and the building of the Palace of Athens", 'Αρχαιολογία, no. 40, December 1993 (first published in German in the exhibition catalogue for the anniversary of 200 years since the birth of the architect under the title *Friedrich von Gaertner. Ein Architektenleben* (1992).

[119] Goudas, op. cit., p. 10.

[120] "....ὑπέρ ἀνακτήσεως τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐκλείας τῶν 'Αθηνῶν...." Ibid., p. 53.

[121] For example, on the habit of working during the day and sleeping during the night. Ibid., p. 46.

Interestingly, Mavroyiannis, too, had argued similarly to Goudas. However, Mavroyiannis's tone was aspiring, not prescriptive as Goudas's: "May her [Athens'] future fortunes bring her glory equal to her ancient one."[122] Mavroyiannis hoped for the rebirth of Athens along new lines as the objective of history was constantly changing. Despite his immense respect for the city's ancient heritage, he never proposed this heritage as the exemplar of modern action. Where Goudas called for imitation, Mavroyiannis called for reflection. His contextualist view of history, and reality in general, would not have allowed for such a simple answer to a problem which, for him, called for large amounts of aesthetic will, methodical action, introspection, time, and good fortune. Fortune, in particular, that amazing coincidence of circumstances that gave birth to the most celebrated periods in history,[123] would ensure the desired continuity between the works of nature and history, on the one hand, and the works of modern man, on the other. In short, for Mavroyiannis, the secret of all creation, including architectural creation, was not achievable through moral prescription but through faith and trust in one's own powers. The source of creation was not external but internal to one's sphere of action and intelligence. This was certainly a view which a pragmatist, such as Goudas, could not share. In fact, Goudas was scornful of Mavroyiannis's "poetic bent" which, he contended, was the end result of his unreserved enthusiasm for his own country, his "genuine patriotism."[124]

Following the trend of his times, Goudas invested little trust in poetic approaches to the pressing problems of current reality. To the long and uncertain processes aiming at a final synthesis he preferred the short and practical ones even if the end product were to take the form of a 'collage' composition. This is how Goudas viewed and described the topography of Athens, that is, as a collage of superimposed layers bearing almost no organic connection among themselves. This is also how he understood the logic of the Athenian house, that is, as an entity composed of two fixed and climatologically opposite zones, an advantageous and a disadvantageous one.[125] This is finally how he structured the text of his book, that is, as a collage of two discordant parts, a descriptive and a prescriptive one, privileging instrumentality over scientific integrity. Goudas seemed to accept reality in the form of contradiction, or better, of a compromise between two antithetical parts, a strong and a weak one. He made no effort to bridge or harmonize these parts as Mavroyiannis did, for example, in his proposition for a 'rotating house' panacea at the risk of ending up in unreality, as I tried to show in the related discussion.

---

[122] "...Εἴθε αἱ μέλλουσαι αὐτῆς τύχαι νά ἐξομοιώσωσι τό ἀρχαῖον της κλέος!" Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 71.

[123] Refer to Mavroyiannis's earlier discussion of the glorious phase of ancient Athens which he ascribed to the goddess's divine providence.

[124] The related passage reads: "....ἡ πραγματεία αὐτοῦ ἐμφαίνει τοσοῦτον ἀκραιφνῆ πατριωτισμὸν, ὥστε πολλαχοῦ ὁ συγγραφεὺς, θαυμάζων καί ἐξυμνῶν μάλιστα τὸ κλῖμα τῶν 'Αθηνῶν, ὑποπίπτει εἰς εἶδος τι ποιήσεως·" Goudas continues his appraisal of Mavroyiannis's treatise on the climate of Athens praising him for his accomplishment to thoroughly research all the ancient sources for references on the same topic. He makes no further comment on Mavroyiannis's particular philosophical viewpoint. Goudas, op. cit., p. 30.

To the question whether Goudas's treatise on the medical chorography and the climate of Athens marked an advance in the development of Greek architectural discourse the answer should be rather in the negative. This book made no advance on how architecture was defined and understood at least since Mavroyiannis's publication of thirteen years earlier. The reason might be that Goudas did not have Mavroyiannis's aesthetic sensibility, therefore, he never developed a special interest in architecture. On the other hand, Goudas's instrumentalist point of view allowed him no transgression on cognitive fields that involved relative criteria of judgment, such as the fields of art or architecture. Although he knew Vitruvius, he cited his treatise on architecture only once, and that in reference to the testing of good water – not to architecture *per se.*[126] His description of the Athenian chorography simply reaffirmed the analytical direction which Mavroyiannis first introduced in a fairly consistent and comprehensive manner. Like Mavroyiannis, Goudas treated the individual building as an innate part of a broader system, including the climate and the chorography of the region. However, Goudas narrowed the breadth of this system to the most immediately perceptible horizon. For example, contrary to Mavroyiannis, he let pass unnoticed the effects that the larger physical spheres of geography and astronomy had upon the geophysical makeup of the Athenian basin. Further, he omitted any references to the city's broader horizon, including all the notable landmarks outside the ring of the mountains. Instead, he focused inwards, to the city itself, establishing more firmly than Mavroyiannis the four mountains as the actual boundaries of the Athenian topography. Then he defined the various climatic zones of the city which were formed from the special interaction between the relief of the ground (e.g., hills, mounts) and the winds. In fact, he devoted extensive discussion to the positive and negative aspects of each zone in order to conclude that the location which the architects of the new city selected for its construction was not the most advantageous climatically.[127]

---

[125] The author actually finds this disparity in the microclimate of the Athenian house as a problematic feature having to do with the overall geo-physical makeup of Athens and the particular location of the new city. Goudas, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[126] The reference is to Vitruvius's ***De Architectura,*** Book VIII. Ibid., chapter B "On waters", p. 21.

With relation to architectural theory, Goudas's treatise marked a drastic departure – though not necessarily an advance – over Mavroyiannis's work in two respects: his views on the selected location of the city and the conceptual distinction between city and countryside. With regard to the first issue, Goudas was strongly critical of the current location of the city to the north and northeast of the Acropolis. He argued instead that the expanse of land to the south and west of the Acropolis was far more favorable in terms of its climatic balance, in that this part was well protected from the most harmful northern winds on the one hand, while it was open to the most benevolent sea breezes from the south, on the other.[128] Thus Goudas raised again the crucial issue of the location of the city – an issue at the forefront of public notice in the 30s and 40s, which apparently was never adequately settled. It is worth noting that Goudas's proposal on the ideal location for the city of Athens stood closer to the proposal of the German architect Alexander Ferdinand von Quast than to any other proposal by architects who enjoyed higher popularity in Greece.[129] Although the two proposals did not completely coincide, both Goudas and von Quast seemed to share the view that the new city should have developed in some distance from the archaeological zone, along the axis which connected the old city with the port of Piraeus to the southwest of the Acropolis. For mainly ideological reasons, von Quast's proposal was the least popular of its time, hence it was forgotten thereafter.[130] Goudas's return to the same issue of the city's location almost thirty years after the peak of its publicity may be seen as an attempt on the part of the author to shift the attention of the public away from aesthetic and ideological concerns which mainly affected the external appearance of the city and its edifices, toward what he considered more essential for urban life, that is, functional efficiency and physical health. In order for one to discern the functionalist spirit behind Goudas's criticism of the city's new plan, one should be reminded again of Goudas's reluctance to touch upon matters of aesthetic expression or ideological symbolism in his text, as well as his stern criticism on the excesses of material indulgence in Athens of the 1850s.

---

[127] Ibid., p. 8.

[128] Ibid., pp. 8 and 11-12.

[129] Most notably, Kleanthes and Schaubert, von Klenze, and Kaftanzoglou (see Fig. 3).

[130] Von Quast was a student of Schinkel and the first superintendent of antiquities in Prussia. According to Papageorgiou-Venetas, his proposal for the city of Athens was apparently an extension of Schinkel's project for the location of the new Palace on the hill of the Acropolis. Unlike Goudas, von Quast proposed for the largest part of the new city to develop on the hills lying on the southwest side of the Ottoman city, yet in good proximity to the ancient. Thus a smoother continuation with the city's ancient tradition would be better ensured, according to Quast. He published his proposal in the periodical *Museum* of Berlin in 1834. His proposal is discussed by H. H. Russack in his Deutsche bauen in Athen (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1942).

The second point of interest which this treatise brought into focus is the conceptual distinction between city and countryside. Goudas devoted a whole chapter of his book to those environs of Athens which were resort districts for Athenian citizens. He described small villages, such as Kifissia, Amarousion, Sepolia, and Patisia, as places full of natural beauties, almost untouched by modern civilization. His primary concern was again the climate in its connection with the quality of the physical environment. In his analysis, he used the same method and criteria as the ones he had used earlier for the appraisal of the Athenian climate. But, in this case, he reached a different set of deductions. He described the small villages near Athens, Patisia in particular – i.e., a district to the southwest of the city known for its fruit gardens – as ideal places for living, retreating, or convalescing. In a sense, he described all the places which still retained their natural beauty in the exact opposite terms to those he had applied to the urban environment. For a unique time in his text, Goudas resorted to poetic lyricism in order to render a picture of the Athenian environs which very much resembled the utopian landscapes we find in the literary and pictorial works of the early Enlightenment.[131] But, whereas in the texts of the Enlightenment these landscapes were contrived mainly as the earthly substitutes for the heavenly paradise – i.e., an optimistic view of life on earth – Goudas's ideal landscape of the Athenian countryside represented the antipodes of the deplorable life in the city. In both cases, the deliberate use of rhetorical language by the author added an element of exaggeration to the actual theme of the description. The motivation behind this artificial distancing from reality in each case came from the need of the author to render more emphatic the conflict between conceptually different spheres. The author of the Enlightenment, on the one hand, wished to stress the opposition between two different systems of thought, the religious and the secular. By idealizing the realm of earthly life, he called off the conventional belief in the afterlife and the related opposition between hell and paradise. Goudas, on the other hand – in his usual moralistic voice – set up the dichotomy between two earthly zones, the city and the countryside, bestowing on them features of hell and heaven, respectively.

---

[131] I am citing a characteristically lyrical sample of Goudas's text: "ἐν τοῖς τερπνοτάτοις φυλλώμασι τῆς λεύκης ἢ τῆς πλατάνου κελαδεῖ ἡ ἀηδών· ὑπὸ τὰς στέγας τῶν οἰκιῶν τσιτσιρίζει ἡ χελιδών· ἐν τοῖς ἀνθισμένοις δένδροις βομβίζει ἡ μέλισσα.... τὸ ἀνάμιγμα δὲ πάντων τούτων τῶν ἤχων ἀποτελεῖ τῷ ὄντι τήν τερπνοτάτην τῶν φυσικῶν ἁρμονιῶν." (in the pleasurable foliage of the poplar or the plane-tree the nightingale sings; under the roofs of the houses the swallow chirps; in the bloomed trees the bee buzzes.... then the mixing of all these sounds composes the most delightful of all harmonies indeed.) Goudas, op. cit., pp. 36-7.
Stunning is the similarity of this passage with a passage of 130 years earlier from a letter by Dimitrios Georgoulis Notaras, also a physician (!), "to a philosopher". The author studied medicine in Italy and served as the personal physician of the hegemon of Wallachia Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, who is known for the cultivation of the ideas of the Enlightenment in his court. In this letter, Notaras describes the countryside in the vicinity of the court at the southern part of Danube. The date of the letter is assumed a little prior to Notaras's death, around 1731. The passage reads: ".... φαρμακερά θηρία αὐτοῦ δέν ἐμφωλεύουσι, φασιανοί δέ, κόσσυφοι, περιστεραί, πέρδικαις καί τρυγόνες τούς κλάδους βαρύνουσι· καθὼς καί τά πωρικά ἕως εἰς τήν γῆν τά φυτά κλίνουσι, μήτε ἀφήνουσι τούς καρπούς, ἐάν χείρ ὀρεγομένη δέν τούς μαζώξῃ. Διότι τά στοιχεῖα εἶναι τόσον καλά συγκερασμένα, ὁποῦ τό ἕνα εἰς τό ἄλλο δέν ἀντιστέκεται...." (... poisonous beasts do not lurk there, only pheasants, blackbirds, pigeons, partridges, and turtledoves bend the branches of their weight; similarly the fruits strain the plants to the ground, and the fruits do not fall before a craving hand collects them. Because the elements are so well matched that one does not resist the other.) The commentator of this letter, Alkis Angelou, characterizes it misleading in the sense that it described an illusory state, more like a wishful thinking on the part of the author, who, for a number of reasons, felt compelled to counterpose to living reality. According to Angelou, the letter was published first by C. Erbiceanu in ***Croni-carii Greci,*** Bucarest, 1890, pp. 222-4. It was recently republished with Angelou's commentary under the title "Τό αἴσθημα τῆς Φύσης στόν Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό --'Επιστολή πρός φιλόσοφον, ἐν ᾗ περιγράφεται οἰκία ἐρημική" (The sentiment of Nature in Modern Greek Enlightenment – Letter to a philosopher, in which a desolate cottage is described), in Νέα 'Εστία, year 72, vol. 144, no. 1705, Oct. 1998, pp. 1024-31.

It is curious how a city counting barely 35,000 citizens, a city which had no view of the devastating effects of an industrial revolution, such as Athens, elicited the issue of the bipolarity between city and countryside in the mind of the author. The relatively slow pace of population increase, the low rise of residential housing, and the small percentage of the working class in Athens prove Goudas's contentions for unbearable conditions of living in the city rather groundless and better fitting the case of other, more industrially developed cities at the time, such as London and Paris. It is possible that Goudas was prompted to this kind of evaluative statements by the overflow of related critical literature focusing on the negative effects of the industrial and economical growth upon the large metropolises of Europe.[132] It is also possible that, in his perception, the contrast between city and countryside bore moral associations of impurity and purity, respectively. In other words, a literary scheme rivaled the firsthand opinion of the scientist–physician in order to color accordingly Goudas's valuations. The product of this rivalry was a metaphor whereby the broad public was directed to both experience and understand the relationship between city and countryside. The pair 'pure country' versus 'impure city' of the functionalist–physician was one of the many bipolar pairs which composed the ideological fabric of the modern capital and which found its counterpoint in the pair 'civilized city' versus 'uncivilized country' of the bourgeois–ideologue.

Despite all its overt contradictions, prescriptive and axiomatic thinking based on bipolar opposites dominated the cultural scene of post-Independence Greece. Pragmatists, such as Goudas, relied on it mainly for its instrumental value, in that thinking through bipolar opposites could effectively alert the public into basic ethical principles and immediate action. At the same time, for better or for worse, this kind of thinking raised a series of conventions, including the mutual impermeability of opposite spheres and the related notion of boundary. Goudas left hardly any room for an organic connection between antithetical entities. In the best of cases, the two were assumed to relate by analogy in the sense that, if a clear law were in effect in the one, the same law was used to explain the other. This is how we saw Goudas arguing for the intimate relation between body and soul, and thus their susceptibility to physical and moral vices, respectively. This is how he understood both city and countryside as subject to the same natural laws. On the other hand, by removing emphasis from the broadest contexts of the city and narrowing significantly its physical horizon, Goudas – unlike Mavroyiannis – defined the city as an inward-looking entity composed of a sophisticated network of tightly bound systems, both natural and artificial. The city was an entity physically very similar, yet politically very different from its adjacent country. Its striking contrast with the pristine nature of the latter intimated the conceptual notion of *boundary* which, surprisingly, Goudas never thematized as such. In fact, he put forth a proposition for extension of some of the technical systems of the city's infrastructure into the nearby villages for the better convenience of visitors.[133] Was this the author's envisioning the potential expansion of the city toward the most climatologically privileged direction (i.e., the southwest), or was it merely a desire for domesticating nature to the best benefit of city people? Furthermore, was this Goudas's statement for or against the notion of boundary? Despite the lack of sufficient evidence, I would dare to argue for the latter. Goudas, in his concern for the best physical accommodation of the modern city, both foresaw and willed its expansion toward a direction suggested by natural law, not by mere ideology as the case had been with the first city plan. For this reason, he avoided joining his voice with those of his contemporary classicists, who claimed that for the two cities, ancient and modern, to remain identical in essence, they had to coincide topographically. In other words, although Goudas understood Athens as an inward-looking city, he did not necessarily see it as closed and bound by the coordinates of the ancient. He saw it instead as an independent and constantly expanding entity, even if this expansion entailed the domestication of the pristine nature of the countryside through the application of technology, i.e., *τέχνη* (*techni*).[134] Hence, on the problematic notion of boundary – i.e., a by-product of his oppositional logic – his position was not dogmatic as the respective position of a moralist would be, but resilient and accommodating, although he never developed a total theory out of this matter.

---

[132] Critical literature on the effects of the industrial revolution included: Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843), Friedrich Engels' *Conditions of the Working Classes in England* (1845) and *The Housing Question* (1842), as well as novels and poetry by Charles Dickens, Honoré de Balzac, Heinrich Heine, Alexandre Dumas, etc.

In sum, Goudas's treatise on the "medical chorography and the climate of Athens" is a valuable testimony of the range of issues that pertained not only to the physical constitution of the city of Athens in the third decade of its life as a capital, but also to the conceptions and intellectual confusions related to this constitution. Viewing Athens straight in its contemporary face as a complex organism embracing equally the old and the new, the natural and the artificial, Goudas took a riskier path than Mavroyiannis's. He made the internal contradictions of the physical and cultural landscape of the city central to his work.[135] Holding the views of a pragmatist, he dictated action as a way out of these contradictions, as well as of the fruitless ideological debates, products of an oppositional logic. Ironically, as I previously showed, Goudas himself did not manage to escape this logic. In his moralizing attitude, as well as in his aphoristic way of defending practice over theory, he opened wider the gap which stigmatized Greek culture throughout the nineteenth century and which was most strongly felt in architecture in its century-long struggle for intellectual autonomy. Goudas, unlike Mavroyiannis, made no direct propositions as to what the profile of the modern Greek architect should be, whether a man of theory or a man of practice. His disregard of Vitruvius remains inexplicable. Ultimately, the relevance of his book to architectural theory was only indirect compared to Mavroyiannis's. Both authors approached the city as an open-ended and elastic phenomenon, primarily subject to the workings of the elements which defined, without finally determining, its actual form and disposition. City form was primarily a human affair, resting with the workings of human reason. For Mavroyiannis, humans were the ones who brought a sense of universal harmony, in reference to both time and space, to their surroundings by properly reading the signs of nature and history. For Goudas, on the other hand, humans did not appear in an equally strong position. With only rare exceptions, humans were morally weak agents, constantly in need of the good example or the moral advice of the stronger. Imitation by way of copying was the safest avenue to progress in the human domain. Goudas made no reference to the monumentalizing principle of life. He offered no satisfactory response to the question of how people could tie themselves constructively to either space or time. For him the ultimate sense of harmony lay in the way the elements were combined amongst themselves in the world of nature.[136] In this connection, he understood natural harmony as an idea synonymous to monumentality. He made no suggestion as to how or whether humans could achieve a similar state of harmony either through their formal constructions or through their way of being. As a result, he essentially left unresolved the most important of all bipolarities, that between culture and nature. In a quasi-Rousseauesque manner, Goudas defended the purity and superiority of the natural over the human world, as well as the strong dependence of the latter on the former. In this respect, Goudas may be bestowed the title of an early ecologist in the scene of neohellenic culture.

---

[133] This proposition by Goudas concerns the garden suburb of Patisia, in particular, which was frequently visited by Athenians who owned and cultivated land there. He pointed the need for a system of roads and sewage, as well as the planting of the trees along the main street. Goudas, op. cit., pp. 37-8.

[134] Goudas uses precisely this term for modern technology. Ibid., p. 37.

---

[135] Mavroyiannis, as I pointed out in various places, left the modern layer of the city out of his description.
[136] See above footnote #131.

5. Interim Conclusions and Forethoughts

Hitherto, I have discussed sources of discourse about architecture which originated in disciplines other than archaeology and architecture itself, and which I consider essential to the formation of the modern architectural face of Athens. I argued that through the largest part of the nineteenth century, architecture continued to lag behind many of the other disciplines in its theoretical development and disciplinary autonomy. Hence, it found itself in need of the organized discourse that other fields had already developed with regards to its own thematic categories, most importantly *space*. I generally divided these sources of 'para-architectural' literature in sources with a descriptive and sources with a prescriptive approach to space and its perceptual categories. I inferred that sources with a descriptive approach to space had their roots mainly in disciplines well theoretically advanced, such as history, medicine, and geography. Their theoretical orientation contributed significantly to the rationalization of space. On the other hand, sources with a prescriptive approach to space acted under the sovereign power of moral thought, relied mainly on rhetorical schemata of persuasion, and had a far more practical aim than descriptive sources. The foremost kind of manuals in this category were the manuals of ethics (*christoetheias*), followed by practical guides which covered all the various areas of life, including the management and disposition of the urban household. Specifically, manuals of domestic economy combined elements of ethics with elements from the applied science of economics and had a decisive influence on both the formation and the conceptualization of domestic space by the inhabitants of the modern city.

Descriptive sources normally approached the theoretical sphere of architecture by way of the broader context of the region, rarely focusing upon the smaller scale of the city or the individual building. They were concerned mainly with questions of continuity, flows of energy, similarities or analogies among the different layers of space, without paying much attention to ethical and other questions of this nature. On the other hand, prescriptive sources approached architecture by way of the complete and integral architectural unit, the human dwelling, the seat of the morally sound individual and his family. In other words, they gave excessive emphasis to the notion of individuality, autonomy, and identity by separating the part from the whole mainly through rhetorical manipulations. To this crucial point of distinction between descriptive and prescriptive sources one more was added; that is, descriptive sources were generally dispassionate to various ideological trends, relying basically upon value-free and non-time specific systems of analysis; prescriptive sources, on the other hand, coordinated their contents with prevalent ideologies, including religion, politics, or simply fashion. Furthermore, in their mechanistic logic of seeing the whole as the sum total of individual parts, prescriptive manuals fostered a culture of imitation of the noblest example – i.e., the example which was sanctioned by the dominant ideology – so that eventually a hierarchical order came to serve as the totalizing mechanism for a society in parts.

A special category of manuals of practical knowledge were the booklets on climate and medical chorography authored by medical doctors. These booklets may be regarded as one of the two major branches of the applied science of geography, the branch which merged with medicine. The other branch was the one which merged with archaeology and produced the so-called archaeological topographies. Works of both branches used as their subject matter geographically confined areas, most particularly cities, present (first branch) and past (second branch). Both developed a serious concern for space related matters, with architecture as a tangential theme. Both attempted a systematic approach to their subject matter which they analyzed with recourse to conceptual grids and layers. Works of the second branch, the one combining geography and archaeology, will be discussed more exhaustively in the next chapter.[137] In the present chapter, manuals of climate and medical chorography have been treated more thoroughly. Specifically, the two manuals by medical doctors Mavroyiannis and Goudas with a common focus on the city of Athens during the Othonian period, received special attention. The related discussion allowed for important deductions regarding the significance of such manuals for architectural theory on a more general scale.

Following the thinking pattern of treatises on geography from which they originated, manuals of climate adopted a holistic approach to the phenomenon of the city, which they defined as a rational construct subject to a number of tangible and intangible natural forces. Further, they proceeded to a discreet intervention in the architectural realm by determining, for example, the particular disposition of the individual building to the broader eco-system of the city. That is to say that manuals of climate enforced an intimate relation between part and whole, as opposed to manuals of domestic economy which, by seeing the house only from inside, encouraged the physical individuality of the building unit. Also, manuals by medical doctors – unlike manuals by home economists – upheld clear and ideology-free philosophical positions. Thus, we saw first Mavroyiannis supporting a contextualist point of view which he articulated in the theoretical connection among built environment, nature, and event, and then Goudas maintaining a functionalist/pragmatist point of view which propagated efficiency, practicality, and convenience, all in accordance with the laws of nature. In any case, manuals of climate and medical chorography endeavored to deemphasize, if not to call off, the gap between nature and culture, that is, a typical symptom of modernity. They achieved to settle this antithesis by introducing the human body as the intermediary element – the element which had the power to act upon the forces it received from both directions. Manuals of home economics, on the other hand, followed a different strategy on this matter. Having defined the human dwelling as the domain of bourgeois culture *par excellence,* they proposed ways by which all the signs of nature would be properly concealed or obliterated.

---

[137] See below chapter 2 "Archaeology as the primary source of architectural discourse in early Greek modernity" and especially chapter 3 "Stephanos Koumanoudis's role in the formation of instructive discourse on architecture".

By and large, manuals of climate exhibited a structural logic based on a threefold schema, not only in their way of defining their subject matter, but also in their very methodology. Specifically, they followed the three steps of *description, demonstration,* and *instruction,* as opposed to the two-step process of *description* and *instruction,* which was more common in manuals of ethics and home economics. Thus, by exposing the argumentative process which lay behind their instructive part, manuals of climate became paradigmatic for their democratic spirit in a period which allowed hardly any room for such forms of free expression. They were exceptionally instructive – not prescriptive – handbooks. Manuals of domestic economy, on the other hand, promoted a way of thinking in two layers by skipping the crucial middle part of demonstration, in the name of both practicality and immediacy. Therefore, the specific logic they exhibited was axiomatic, that is, a logic which produced prescriptions in the place of instructions. Linear causality and thinking through bipolar opposites were the most common conceptual tools of this latter category of manuals. In that respect, complex phenomena, such as the urban house, were reduced to a set of bipolar pairs, including formal versus informal zone, exterior versus interior, culture versus nature. Bipolarities, as modes of structuring reality, were not particular to the manuals of domestic economy only. Their origins are to be sought in the dogmas of the Chirstian religion and its characteristic pairs of earth – heavens, matter – spirit (*pneuma*), body – soul. In fact, bipolarities supported the logic of most manuals of practical knowledge, in order to finally encompass the larger sphere of Greek ideology at the time.

Despite the many contradictions which dominated the vast field of modern Greek ideology as a result of these bipolarities, the matter of fact is that the public adopted rather easily the way of thinking and structuring reality that prescriptive handbooks promoted. After all, this way of thinking happened to be the most familiar to Greek people due to their everlasting and intimate relation with Christianity. However, extra attention is required, at this point, so that it becomes clear how **bipolarity** as a notion was defined differently in the East than in the West, in other words, what were the epistemological suppositions behind this idea in each tradition with effects on the conception and organization of physical space.

Considering that, in both Eastern and Western Christianity, the predominant model pair for all other bipolar pairs has been the one of heaven – earth, any differences in the epistemologies of East and West should be first sought in the theological realm of the two traditions.

I would like to skip the long philosophical analyses of the matter and proceed to summarized statements using as my primary reference source again Oreopoulos's treatise on the historical development of architectural discourse through the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period.[138] According to the author, the foundational ground of both theological traditions, Eastern and Western, lay in ancient Greek philosophy – in the works of Plato and Aristotle, in particular. Both traditions used the Aristotelian "principle of transportation", or thinking through analogies,[139] in order to affirm the wholeness of the universe, as well as the wholeness of the entities that comprised it. The contrasts between matter and form, potentiality and actuality, had an Aristotelian derivation, too. From the Platonic philosophy, the two theological traditions borrowed the fundamental idea that considered the universe divided into two principal and equally real spheres, a material and an immaterial one (i.e., the sphere of ideas which in Christian theology was identified with the realm of God). The drastic separation of the two theologies took place near the end of the medieval period, when the West more eagerly incorporated in its dogma Neoplatonic theories. This revised form of Christianity in the West justified first the belief in a harmonious universe subject to mathematical laws, and second, the human urge to mathematically analyze reality into its ultimate units.[140] Also, based on the Aristotelian "principle of transportation", it considered the two spheres of reality, the microcosm and the macrocosm, practically symmetrical, their symmetry being ascribed to the application of the same mathematical law. The latter became the fundamental principle of classicism, effecting the invention of linear perspective, that is, the paramount symbolic form of the Renaissance. Perspectival space was the clearest symbolic demonstration of the essential continuity between microcosm and macrocosm, both now being interpreted through the same rational law. The basic doctrine of separation of different spheres of reality, combined with this notion of continuous and infinite cosmic space, generated an idea of boundary flexible and adaptable to the given circumstance, an idea which applied on a more general level to all the theoretical bipolarities of western cosmology. The direct product of this idea of flexible boundary was the easy mutation of certain empirical professions – including architecture – from the status of a craft to that of a theoretical discipline. It is noteworthy that, despite these mutations, the symmetry between parts was maintained thanks to the designation of an intermediary agent as a standard referent, namely the human body – perceived as the most beautiful of all creations. In architecture, this symmetry between parts, or between part and whole, was also reinforced rhetorically as, for example, in the well-known expression of Alberti: "If (as the philosophers maintain) the city is like some large house, and the house is in turn like some small city, cannot the various parts of the house.... be considered miniature buildings?"[141]

---

[138] Oreopoulos, op. cit., second and third chapter in particular.
[139] See above footnote #116.
[140] These doctrines must be attributed mainly to Neopythagorean philosophers, as well as to Greek philosophers who immigrated to the West at a time when they could no longer develop their own ideas freely in their country under the sovereign power of the Church during the Ottoman period (e.g., M. Chrysoloras, I. Laskaris, Plithon Gemistos, etc.)

The Eastern theological tradition, on the other hand, attached as it was to a selective reading of Aristotle, did not accept the western doctrine of the symmetry between antithetical spheres or entities, most importantly between the intelligible sphere of man and the unintelligible sphere of god, i.e., the 'built' and the 'unbuilt'. Furthermore, Eastern theology did not accept the use of mathematics as the rationalizing medium of the two spheres of the universe based on the argument that the infinite wisdom of god could not be conceived through the finite rationality of numbers. Instead, it proposed the bridging of the two *a*symmetrical spheres through the road of mysticism and the language of symbols. Thus a strict hierarchical order was set between earthly and divine realms, precluding any transmutations from the one to the other and holding strongly the notion of boundary between them. In this anti-classical universe the human body had no place, other than to prefigure through its suffering the potential vicissitudes of the soul at the time of judgment.[142] Furthermore, it did not have the intermediary role it had in the West, as the Christian religion resisted the use of mediators between spheres for fear of hypostatization. This notion of impermeability between antithetical spheres which the eastern tradition propagated as a dogma had two important consequences, both central to the context of this work. The first was the exclusion of architecture from the group of theoretical disciplines and the perpetuation of its status as a 'closed' technical profession long beyond the establishment of the modern Greek State.[143] The second was the conceptualization of physical space in terms of unreconciliated bipolarities with a certain qualitative value attached to them. Here, I am referring to the common duality of sacred versus profane space which applied equally and by analogy to both the public and the domestic realm of people's lives. Interestingly, this duality was transferred on to the urban culture of the first modern Greek cities, particularly in the case of the private house of the middle classes, as I will presently explain.

---

[141] Leon Battista Alberti, On the Art of Building in Ten Books (*De re aedificatoria*), transl. J. Rykwert, Book I, chapter 9, MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1988, p. 23.
[142] Here we may notice, that thinking through analogy in Eastern Christianity was directed to explaining phenomena that pertained to analogous functions, not to analogous forms.
[143] I discussed this subject in more detail under chapter 1, sub-chapter 2 "The history of architectural writing in the Hellenic East".

I have already discussed the influence of manuals of practical knowledge upon the urban Greek house and its culture. It is pertinent, at this point, to relate this discussion with the preceding explication on the two theological traditions. I showed that handbooks of practical instruction which combined geography and medicine – i.e., treatises on climate and medical chorography – approached the phenomenon of the urban house in a dynamic manner, that is, as a phenomenon that was subject to the broader cosmic forces and whose standard referent was the human body.[144] In other words, manuals of climate handed over the house unit to its immediate context, deliberately ignoring both practical (e.g., city code, income level of the owner) and ideological constraints (e.g., class dynamics, State imposed symbolism). Attached to a western way of thinking primarily, manuals of climate saw the house 'transparently' as an entity with no conventional boundaries throughout, tuned in the voice of nature only. On the other hand, manuals of domestic economy strove for the creation of the model-building in accordance with the commonly acceptable standards of ethics, propriety, and social decorum. They were concerned with the accommodation of the human individual in it primarily as a social, and secondarily only as a physical being. Interestingly, they covered with practical instructions all the pragmatic issues that the other category of manuals disregarded, except for those pertaining to ideological symbolism. Although their orientation was primarily secular, guides of domestic economy carried on to the culture of the modern house the oppositional logic of Christianity where their real roots lay.[145] It was the principal bipolar pair 'culture – nature' that they were set to resolve by methodically expanding the sphere of the former on to the latter. In their typical western logic, they discerned ways of subordinating the element of nature to the symbolic grid of reason that governed the formal section of the house. Definition of zones, strict designation of functions, fixed patterns of use, were some of their prescribed measures for 'domesticating' the space of the house, and along with it all the aspects of nature. The actual coordinates of rationalized space were materialized chiefly as dividing walls, both exterior and interior. This dynamic condition within the urban dwelling may be compared with Goudas's suggestion for the 'domestication' of the Athenian environs through the extension of the infrastructure of the city into the countryside, albeit with an important difference: Goudas, the author of a medical chorography, immensely favored nature which he considered the ultimate source of harmony, contrary to manuals of domestic economy which strove to annihilate any visible signs of nature from the human dwelling. Therefore, I would risk the following deduction. Goudas's logic was free from ideology, partaking solely of the aforementioned western tradition and its principle of dynamic symmetry between antithetical spheres. Manuals of domestic economy[146] by contrast, served the dominant, bourgeois ideology at the time, at the expense of dialectical rigor. In this connection, they dictated culture as the unconditionally prevalent force in the formation of the urban house.

---

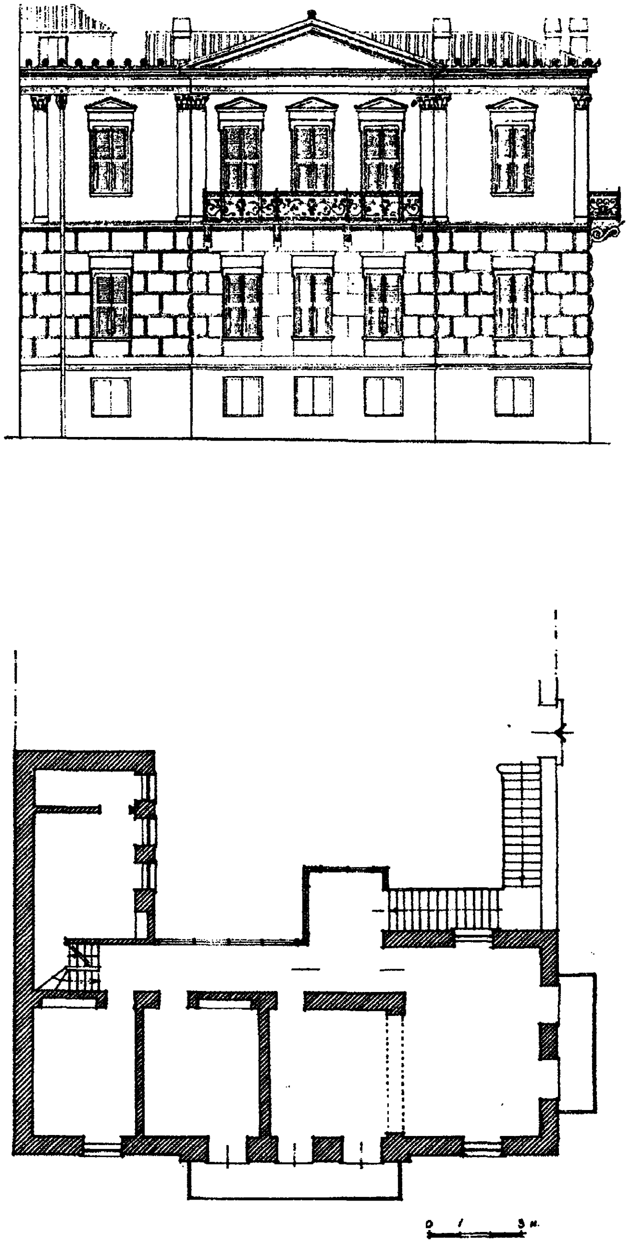
[144] Here, I am referring primarily to Mavroyiannis's manual, as Goudas did not make the house or the building, in general, a matter of concern in his treatise.
[145] I want to remind the reader of the manuals of ethics (*christoetheias*) as the predecessors of all the manuals of social behavior and practical economy.

Lastly, one should keep in mind that the Greek bourgeoisie – despite its secular orientation and its attachment to western models – developed its culture within the spirit of Eastern Christianity, a spirit methodically cultivated through the Greek *christoetheias*. From that, the new class borrowed a number of doctrines, including the immutability of boundaries, the importance of symbolism, and the negation of the body, all of which it combined with the forms it received ready-made from the West, most importantly, the form of the urban house. In the lack of an authentically Greek architectural discourse in the nineteenth century, the two traditions, Eastern and Western, failed for long to bring themselves to a state of fruitful amalgamation. In fact, the Christian doctrines constituted the moralistic framework within which the forms of the West were generally restrained from developing their real potentials in the context of the new culture. The result was a series of ideologically bound forms.[147] Specifically, the doctrine of **immutable boundaries**, combined with an almost prejudiced view of nature, produced a 'frozen' house-model, a 'house–machine', strictly separated in zones by means of 'opaque' walls–boundaries. **Symbolism**, on the other hand, became the powerful instrument which, in the hands of the new class, served secular/ ideological purposes with religious fervor. Thus, under the power of this logic of symbolism, the two major zones of the house, the formal and the informal, assumed qualitative associations of sacred and profane, respectively. Joined in a common cause, both the bourgeoisie and the State entrusted their rise to power to the language of symbols, and neoclassicism, in particular. Neoclassicism in both its architectural and its linguistic manifestations had a decisive influence upon the culture of the nineteenth-century Greek city and, more specifically, upon the culture of the urban house. It became the source and foundation of the city's new *monumentality*. Curiously enough – depending on its use – neoclassicism acted either as a restraining or as a propelling force in the development of architectural space, as I will presently explain.

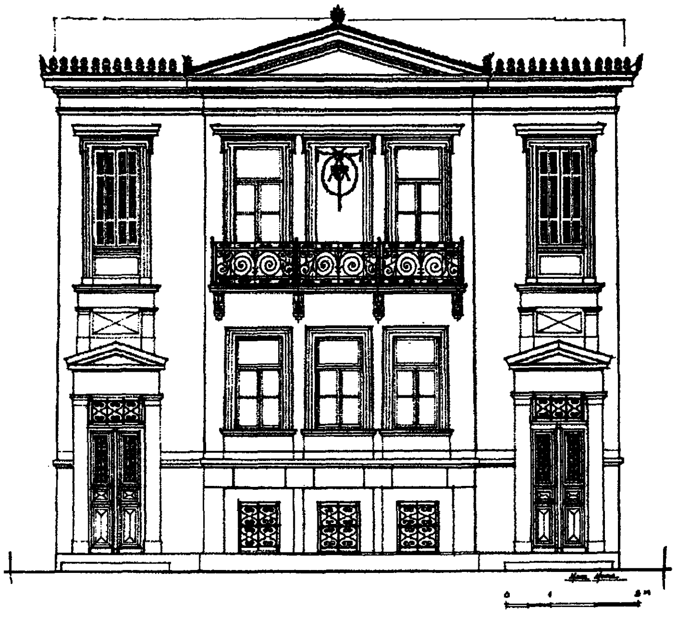
---

[146] Here, I am referring always to those manuals which were allowed circulation in Greece during the first period of monarchy, or Greek adaptations of foreign treatises, not to manuals of domestic economy, in general.
[147] Here, I would use the term 'reification' to describe this process of ideologization of forms if I did not fear that this would generate wrong associations of my analysis with the Frankfurt school of critical theory (e.g., Adorno) in which the term originated.

It is worth noting that none of the manuals of practical knowledge, which I have discussed to this point, made issues of symbolism a part of their concern. In a sense, it became almost the exclusive privilege of nineteenth-century **archaeology** to articulate reasoning on this matter, both on a theoretical and on a practical level. For that reason, it is to archaeology and its sources that I now turn.



Figs. 4a & 4b: Elevation and plan of upper floor of single family house on Oikonomou & Koundouriotou sts.– Lapathiotis residence. (Architect unknown)
Exhibits the characteristic division into two zones, a formal (upper floor) and an informal (lower floor); also, the combination of a stylistically treated façade (street front) and the traditional wood-framed structure (*hayati*) on the courtyard side (c. 1870).
(Drawn and published by M. Biris in his *Μισός Αἰώνας 'Αθηναϊκῆς 'Αρχιτεκτονικῆς...*, 1987, figs. 21, 22, p. 33.)



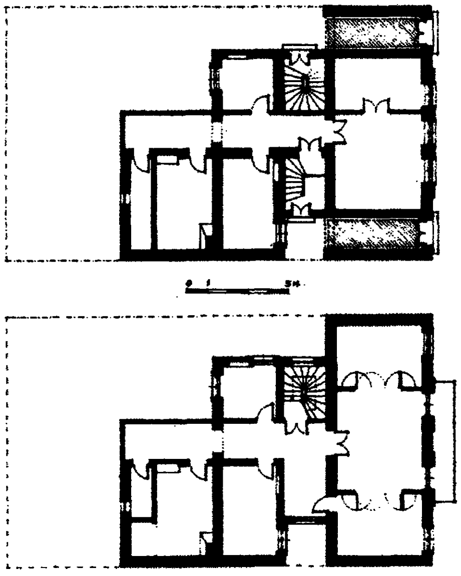
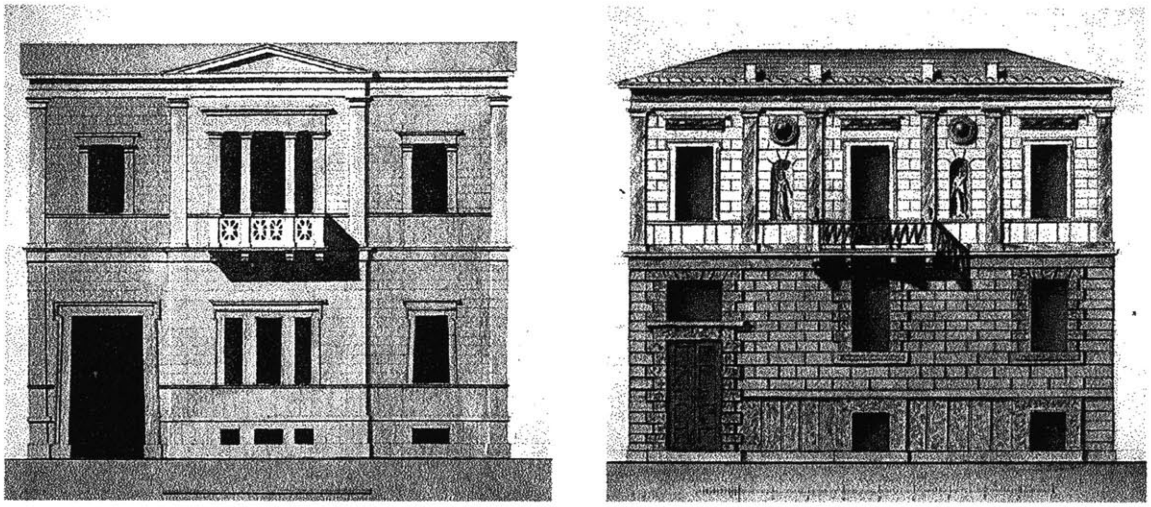


Fig. 5a & 5b: Two-family house on 48 Fylis st. of the last third of the 19th century. (Arch. unknown) Each house unit exhibits the characteristic division into a formal (street side) and an informal zone (backyard side), and the stylistic treatment of the street façade in the neoclassical language.

(Drawn and published by M. Biris in his *Μισός Αἰώνας 'Αθηναϊκῆς 'Αρχιτεκτονικῆς...*, 1987, figs. 46, 47, pp. 51-52)



Figs. 6a & 6b: Alternative proposals for the façade of a two-story middle class Athenian house by Lysandros Kaftanzoglou (1858). Variations of the neoclassical style. The one on the left in an austere neoclassical idiom carries more pronounced features of monumentality.
(Published by D. Philippides, *Λύσανδρος Καφταντζόγλου*, Exhibition catalogue, 1996, figs. 34, 35)

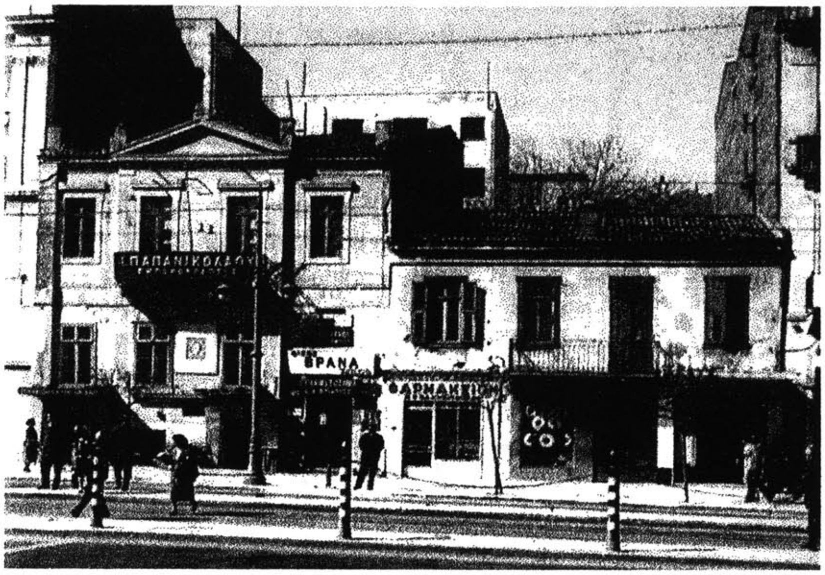


Fig. 7: Two houses on Panepistimiou Avenue facing the 'Athenian Trilogy' (Academy, University, Library). The one on the right of the 1840, the one on the left of the 1850s. Show progression toward more monumentalized expressions of neoclassicism during the Othonian period.
(Published by K. Biris, *Αἱ 'Αθῆναι ἀπό τοῦ 19ου εἰς τόν 20όν Αἰῶνα*, 1966, p. 165.)

CHAPTER 2:

ARCHAEOLOGY AS THE MAIN SOURCE OF ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE IN EARLY GREEK MODERNITY

1. The relation between archaeology and architecture in the West and in Greece

To this point, I concerned myself with writings having architecture as a sub-theme; that is, literary sources which owing to their preoccupation with space related matters offered epistemological tools to architecture for the ordering and rationalization of physical space. I left to discuss last the contribution of archaeology, because I regard the discourse of this discipline, both theoretical and practical, as the source of architectural *logos par excellence* in the Greek nineteenth century for many reasons. An important reason has to do with the fact that archaeology provided probably the earliest kind of organized discourse in the context of which architecture was recognized for the first time as a conceptual discipline and was formally placed in the realm of the visual arts. A second important reason relates to the fact that in this context of archaeological discourse the visual medium (i.e., drawing) was authorized as a formal tool for the conceptualization of built form and architectural space. Notably, none of the previously discussed writings with an indirect interest in architecture made use of pictorial imagery as a way of expressing their ideas. From the early days of the modern State, however, archaeology and architecture hand-in-hand used scale drawings as their primary conceptual tools, thus awakening the public to both the conceptual and aesthetic possibilities of drawing, and more specifically, to the idea of the visual medium as a vehicle for the effective expression of ideas.

Tracing the roots of the modern definition of the architect in the culture of the Renaissance, one sees the first *architects* possessing profound knowledge of the formal/

architectural characteristics of ancient monuments, though less so of their related history.[148] Moreover, in the so-called 'archaeological' eighteenth century, many European scholars combined the profession of the architect with the passion and diligence of the archaeologist.[149] These scholars, unlike their Renaissance predecessors, developed a strong interest, not only in the ancient monuments *per se*, but also in their generative context, both physical and historical, thus making the knowledge of **history** central to the understanding of the forms of the past.[150] In Greece, too, the three fields of archaeology, architecture, and history, comprised the intellectual milieu in which neoclassicism developed, now as the cultural paradigm of the reborn country. However, having emerged almost a century apart from its European counterpart, the age of archaeological neoclassicism in Greece displayed characteristics of a colonialist phenomenon in its way of employing a primarily aesthetic language toward political and ideological ends. On this account, the persistent study of ancient history by Greek scholars was meant not simply for illumination of the generative context of the antique monuments – as in Europe – but mainly for affirmation of the messianic belief in the rebirth of the country as the genuine heiress of its glorious past. In other words, history – in the early years of the Greek State at least – held the role of the intermediary between archaeology and architecture, which directed thinking about monuments toward certain predetermined channels of interpretation. History was the instrument which provided intellectual shape to the nationalistic ideology of the new State and which, by standing in the former place of Christian theology, bound architecture within a new set of *epistemological obstacles.* I find this explication necessary at this point, in order to prevent the reader from misapprehending architecture and archaeology as an isolated system of disciplines having osmotically affected one another, at the expense of other external influences. However, for the sake of simplification of this threefold schema, I only need to say that in the Othonian period no essential distinction existed between the profession of the archaeologist and that of the historian or the philologist. The love of 'letters' stood at the basis of them all and legitimized any transgressions or coalitions of their cognitive realms. Most Greek archaeologists had little or no academic exposure to the particular discipline of archaeology and carried no formal titles.[151] They were, in other words, self-professed archaeologists, motivated to this field by genuine patriotic enthusiasm and concern for the Greek antiquities, which they regarded as the real symbols of hellenicity. Their approach to the monuments was already tainted by their specific historicist point of view. It was this point of view that placed the first Greek 'archaeologists' in the position of the safeguards of the national identity of the reborn country.[152] Taking this into consideration, we can then define archaeology as the discipline which bestowed upon architecture, not only its conceptual tools and categories (i.e., its theoretical reasoning), but also some of the ideological suppositions it was set to serve via its historicist interpretations (i.e., its practical reasoning). Conclusively, the archaeological discourse, in general, had a double influence upon Greek architecture in the nineteenth century, propelling and restraining at the same time – propelling through its descriptive accounts and tools, and restraining through its prescriptive and ideologically driven precepts.

---

[148] For example, Brunelleschi, Alberti, Bramante, Raphael.

[149] Most notably, G. Piranesi, J. Stuart, N. Revett, W. Wilkins, R. Adam, the circle of the Earl of Burlington.

[150] In western Europe archaeology remained for long a hobby of the so-called antiquarians, that is, amateur archaeologists mainly interested in the study and collection of artifacts from the past. Its formal pronouncement as an area of academic study happened around 1756 in two German universities, in Leipzig and Gottingen.

[151] Normally, their approach to archaeology was through the eyes of the philologist with special knowledge in epigraphy (i.e., the reading of ancient inscriptions). This, however, did not preclude the most qualified of them to hold professorships in archaeology in the Greek University, most notably A.R. Rangavis (1844 - 1866) and S.A. Koumanoudis (1845-1886).

There were many reasons which justified the involvement of archaeology in decisions concerning specific architectural manipulations with long-term effects upon the physical structure of modern Athens. The first and foremost decision of this range had to do with the location of the new city roughly on top of the classical city and in adjacency to the principal archaeological site of the Acropolis. Defying practical, hygienic, and other considerations, the archaeologically minded founders of modern Athens selected among several alternative solutions the one which hinged the identity of the new city most firmly upon the underlayer of its ancient predecessor. That is, a perfect demonstration of the mechanistic attitude which characterized the early age of the reborn country, and which sought to lock the *idea* in the sensible, material manifestation of the *form.* But even all through the life of the city as the new capital, archaeology as a discipline proved itself most akin to architecture for holding stern positions on two equally important architectural issues, the restoration of the ancient monuments and the establishment of a close stylistic connection between ancient and modern forms. On all these issues, archaeology did nothing but translate into practical reasoning the theorizations of history regarding the identity argument of the reborn country. The call of the State for generalization of one cultural model, the neoclassical, was the matter-of-fact way of giving material expression – through the applied practices of archaeology and architecture – to the aforementioned messianic belief in the return of the country's ancient glory, that is, a belief primarily fomented through the channels of the historical discipline. Therefore, Greek neoclassicism from its onset had already narrowed its potentials as an aesthetic movement by having set itself in the service of Greek nationalism.

---

[152] Though never, to my knowledge, did any Greek archaeologist combine the properties of the archaeologist and the architect, contrary to the European example. Probably the only, yet early, exception is Gerasimo Pizzamano's, who, according to Oreopoulos, was an architect, archaeologist, painter, and engineer. However, Pizzamano did not serve as an architect of the independent Greek State. See: Oreopoulos, op. cit., p. 382.

In this chapter I will concern myself with those aspects of archaeological discourse in Greece which were immediately relevant to Greek architecture. I have already distinguished two directions in this discourse, theoretical/ descriptive, as in handbooks of archaeology and descriptive topographies, and practical/ instructive, that is, a form of reasoning with a special application in the architectural becoming of the new city. Interestingly, the first direction of archaeological discourse originated primarily with foreign authors, whereas the second with Greek. In my effort to provide a better illustration of the latter direction – as I consider it most characteristic of the early Greek modernity – I focus upon the writings of the Greek archaeologist Stephanos A. Koumanoudis and I analyze in detail their relevance to the construction of the architectural identity of the modern city of Athens. I chose Koumanoudis's writings as a topic for special study because I discerned in Koumanoudis the case of a Greek scholar who, by sharing in the nationalistic aspirations of the new State during its formative period, demonstrated a typical historicist point of view with definite effects upon many areas of practical interest at the time, including architecture. As I did hitherto with other sources of architectural discourse, I will try to place Koumanoudis's writings in their particular cultural and intellectual context beginning with his primary academic field, i.e., archaeology. For an introduction to this field, I am presenting and discussing descriptive sources of archaeology – therefore, sources with a claim to scientific objectivity – such as manuals of archaeology and descriptive topographies of the city of Athens. This presentation will help me to determine more accurately the conceptual and the aesthetic categories that Koumanoudis implemented in order to read – and subsequently guide other people's reading of – the built environment.

2. Descriptive sources of archaeological discourse in Greece

Descriptive literature in Greek archaeology originated primarily with western scholars who, in their works, enunciated Greek classicism to a status equal, if not superior to Roman classicism. Pioneer in this mid-eighteenth-century move toward a reappraisal of the Greek antiquity was the renowned German art historian Johann J. Winckelmann (1717-1768), who expressed his *philhellenic* ideas only in theory as he never realized his much longed for journey to Greece. However, the pivotal point for the reconsideration of ancient Greece by the 'enlightened' Europe came with two events separated by less than fifty years. These were the publication of the illustrated four-volume *Antiquities of Athens* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, two highly qualified British architect-archaeologists, and the first public display in London of the 'marbles' of the Parthenon, illicitly acquired from the Turks by Lord Elgin.[153] These two events revealed to the rest of the world Greece as a palpable reality with its past still living in the present. It was this realization that raised waves of sympathy for the still occupied country, a country now seen as well-deserving to stand on its own in order to further reclaim its ancient glory. In other words, it was principally through the route of (international) archaeology that Greece acquired a sense of national pride and identity, and along with them the vision of her political independence. For a good reason then the share of this new science in both the political and the cultural reconstruction of the country was rather undeniable. Archaeology assumed a leading position amongst all academic disciplines in the Greek nineteenth-century. In this role, archaeology formed one of the strongest 'bridges' whereby the constant flow of new scientific ideas and methods from the West to Greece was secured solidly, albeit not uninhibitedly given the numerous resistances – products of the country's internal socio-cultural dynamic.

Greek archaeologists, in general, found convenience in the scholarly support and partnership of their western colleagues.[154] Through their cooperation with European archaeologists in the field – most often members of foreign archaeological expeditions in Greece – such as L. Ross, C. R. Cockerell, and Fr. Thiersch, Greek archaeologists gained knowledge of the scope and methods of the new science. Furthermore, they realized the instrumental value of scientific description, and more specifically of the art of drawing in the practice of their profession.[155] In their sudden entry into a new cognitive sphere, the first Greek archaeologists were confronted with a number of epistemological difficulties, that is, the result of many centuries' theoretical stagnancy in the field of the arts. In fact, the encounter of these scholars with the archaeological tradition of the West via traveler–archaeologists marked the reawakening of Greece into its own artistic inheritance, i.e., classicism – classicism not as a mere visual phenomenon, but as a system of ideas tied together through a consistent and comprehensive theory.

---

[153] The publication of the *Antiquities* in parts dates in the period 1762 to 1816. The acquisition of the 'marbles' by Lord Elgin happened in the period 1801 to 1805, whereas their first public display to the society of the artists and the connoisseurs of London took place in 1807 in a temporary museum near the top of Picadilly (then in the Burlington House) until the 'marbles' were finally purchased by the British government in 1816.

[154] This partnership, however, did not lack its obscure side as foreign influence on the crafting of the modern State remained strong and much resented. Foreigners, including architects and archaeologists, holding official positions were generally faced with suspicion by the native Greeks. The troublesome passage of the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross from leading State positions for a period of 14 years is a characteristic case in point. For a lengthier discussion of the first steps of Greek archaeology see: A. Kokkou, Ἡ Μέριμνα γιὰ τίς Ἀρχαιότητες στήν Ἑλλάδα καί τά Πρῶτα Μουσεῖα (The Care for the Antiquities in Greece and the First Museums), Hermis, Athens, 1977; and Vasileios Ch. Petrakos, Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογική Ἑταιρία: Ἡ Ἱστορία τῶν 150 Χρόνων της 1837-1987 (The Archaeological Society of Athens: The Story of its 150 Years 1837-1987), the Archaeological Society of Athens, Athens, 1987, pp. 234-9.

[155] The reading of foreign handbooks of archaeology was another possible avenue for the education of those self-taught first Greek archaeologists. Possible sources for them might have been: Karl August Böttiger, ***Andeutungen zu vier und zwanzig Vortragen über die Archäologie,*** Arnold, Dresden, 1806; C. D. Beck, ***Grundriss der Archäeologie,*** Leipzig, 1816; Champollion-Figeac, ***Résumé complet de l' Archéologie,*** Paris, 1826 (2 vols.); Champollion-Figeac, ***Archéologie ou traité des antiquités,*** Paris, 1835; R. Rochette, ***Cours d' Archéologie,*** Paris, 1828; F.C. Petersen, ***Allg. Einl. in das Studium der Arcäologie.*** Aus dem Dänischen übers von Friedrichsen, Leipzig, 1829; and most certainly Müller's bibliography: K.O. Müller, ***Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst,*** Breslau, 1830 (& 1835) and K.O. Müller, ***Denkmäler der alten Kunst von K.O. Müller & K. Oesterley,*** Gottingen, 1832.

Nevertheless, despite all these useful contacts with the West, both archaeology and architecture in Greece remained for long primarily **practical** (i.e., non theoretical) fields of occupation, thus carrying into the new era elements of the dominant mentality from the years before the Revolution. As I explained in this preceding chapter, this was a mentality which stemmed from an essentially anti-classicist and iconoclastic culture.[156] In effect, Greek archaeology – and, by the same token, architecture – found themselves at the dawn of Greek modernity with no literary tradition of their own and, therefore, unable to critically incorporate the lessons of their western equals into a new synthesis. No major treatise on either of the two areas of knowledge was written by a Greek author long before or long after the establishment of the new State. The only exception to this rather generalizing statement was Pizzamano's Saggio d' Architettura Civile of 1820, which for some unexplained reason had no follower, nor was it referenced by any architect of the Greek mainland within the context of the independent State.[157] It would not be an overstatement to say that the most immediate literary precedent in all fields related to building, construction, and environmental aesthetics was the first-century paradigmatic treatise of Vitruvius, a text known to the Byzantines but never openly used owing to ideological prejudice.[158] Interestingly, references to the Latin author in Greek literature – i.e., mainly manuals of practical knowledge – proliferated after the turn of the nineteenth century.[159] Still today knowledge on the nature and ways of dissemination of western academic knowledge among Greek scholars of the early State remains vague and unsystematic.[160] Apparently the small number of Greek architects and archaeologists who were formally educated in western Europe, brought back with them their textbooks, including the basic architectural treatises of Alberti, Serlio, Vignola and Palladio. From these sources they borrowed not only the theory, but also – and most importantly – the graphic examples (i.e., plans, elevations, etc.) of classical buildings, which they applied in new works.[161] It is possible that in a period of flux and political instability, such as the 1820s and '30s, Greek scholars were generally reluctant to place trust in sources of theoretical discourse which did not originate with any higher form of authority, academic, political, or religious. Each relied instead on his own resources (i.e., his personal library) which thus, by being in the exclusive use of the owner (i.e., not shared by a larger community), came to appear as the mystical repository of his personal wisdom and the hallmark of his academic authority. Transparent processes of academic recognition had no place in this early stage of Greek modernity. The establishment of the academic authority of the Greek intellectual was an issue with unequivocal political underpinnings.[162] Theory, on the other hand, – i.e., the domain of disinterested reasoning – required a perfectly transparent framework of thought and action; it was, therefore, at odds with the current historical circumstance. This may partially explain the scarcity of theoretical production and the fragmentariness of architectural discourse in this crucial stage of Greek history and far beyond it. It may also explain the strong dependence of the public – including the intellectuals – upon sources of practical reasoning bearing the positive power of **prescription**.

---

[156] Under chapter 1 I discussed the impact of eastern Christian theology on the development of an essentially anti-classicist culture in the Hellenic East, the most important consequences of which were the identification of architecture with an empirical craft deprived of theoretical discourse, and a general iconoclastic attitude restraining any progress in the field of the visual arts. Specifically on the issue of the scarcity of architectural drawing in the building tradition of the Hellenic East see: Oreopoulos, op. cit., especially part 4, chapter 3, pp. 349-64.

[157] The reasons behind this mysterious silence around this book need to be further researched. See also my thoughts on this subject in footnote #17.

[158] The observation belongs to Oreopoulos, op. cit., p. 112.

[159] I have already mentioned the references to Vitruvius by the two medical doctors Goudas and Mavroyiannis in their manuals of climate and medical chorography. I will proceed to discuss the use of Vitruvius by the archaeologists Ross and Koumanoudis later in the text.

[160] This problem is accentuated by the fact that Greek authors in the Othonian period were in the habit of persistently citing ancient Greek authors in their works, as opposed to the more recent ones. This was probably the result of the conservatism of the philological tradition to which those works belonged.

In this context of general mistrust in indigenous sources of theory, it became the State's own mission to discover or to invent the sources of theoretical discourse that best fitted its programmatic dictates, and grant them the authority of canonical texts in various areas of academic focus. Architecture most certainly remained outside this consideration, probably because it lacked the status of an autonomous academic discipline at the time and for yet another century. Archaeology, by contrast, soon acquired its formal treatise. This was authored by the German Ludwig Ross,[163] professor of archaeology in the Greek University during the time of its publication, 1841. The book carried the title Manual of the Archaeology of the Arts and was printed by the 'Royal Typography', that is, the official printing shop of the Othonian government.[164] Ross wrote this book in modern Greek.[165] It is my conviction that, through this book and for the first time in the history of the modern Greek State, architecture gained formal recognition as an area of study possessing both practical and theoretical discourse. However, this recognition had to come via the archaeological discipline, that is, the official executor of the country's noblest aspirations.[166]

---

[161] For the use of plans from the classical treatises by architects of the so-called Cretan Renaissance in the 16th and 17th century see Oreopoulos, op. cit., p. 278-9.

[162] In fact, a number of Greek scholars were appointed as professors by the University without holding an academic degree. Characteristic in this context is the case of S. Koumanoudis.

[163] The German archaeologist Ludwig Ross (Kiel 1806 - Halle 1859) came to Greece in the summer of 1832 at the age of 26, where he stayed until 1845. He had a broad academic education in archaeology, philology, and the arts. He studied archaeology in Leipzig under Gottfried Hermann. He was appointed by the Greek government in 1833 to the position of the associate superintendent/ curator (*ephor*) of the first Archaeological Office in the Ministry of Education under the directorship of the architect Anton Weissenburg. He was promoted to the position of the latter in 1834 which he held for two years. Despite his excellent service in the office, Ross fell in the dismay of his Greek colleagues whereby he was forced to resign from his latest position of the general superintendent of Greek antiquities. Upon the establishment of the Greek University in 1837, Ross was appointed professor of archaeology, a position which he held until 1843, the year in which all foreigners who served the Greek State at the time were forced to retirement by law. He left Greece in 1845 for Halle where he became professor of archaeology and mythology at the University. In the 14 years of his stay in Greece, Ross greatly benefited the Greek scholarship in general, and archaeology, in particular. He is considered one of the pioneers in the study of Greek topography and epigraphy. He gained reputation for his descriptive talent and scientific methods. He directed extensive excavation projects in the Peloponnese. He collaborated with the architects Schaubert and Ch. Hansen in the restoration works on the Acropolis, most notably the restoration of the temple of Athena Niki, which remains his greatest contribution to Greek archaeology. He was also interested in the contemporary culture and history of the Greeks. Unfortunately, the Greek press severely damaged his professional reputation repetitively accusing

With the publication of Ross's treatise on archaeology, architecture was now redefined in purely classical terms. Three important advances came along with this new definition, three advances which sharply contradicted the way in which architecture was registered in people's local tradition to that date. First, the status of architecture changed from that of a technical craft to an art; second, architecture was placed in the same line with painting and sculpture, the so-called liberal arts, with which it was called to freely interact and exchange forms and ideas; and third, like painting and sculpture, architecture assumed a representational function, in other words, architecture was defined as an imitative art.

---

him for unauthorized use of the antiquities. He became particularly known for his prolific writings, such as: ***Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland,*** R. Gaertner, Berlin, 1863; ***Reisen und Reiserouten in Griechenland, I, Reisen im Peloponnes,*** Berlin, 1841; ***Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalia,*** I-II, Halle, 1851; ***Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern,*** Halle, 1852; ***Der Tempel der Nike Apteros,*** Berlin, 1839. For a more detailed account of Ross's activity in Greece refer to: A. Kokkou, 'Η Μέριμνα...., op. cit., II, 4.

[164] Ludwig Ross, Ἐγχειρίδιον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τῶν Τεχνῶν (Manual of the Archaeology of the Arts), First division: History of Art until the siege of Corinth, Royal typography, Athens, 1841 (distributed by A. Nast's bookstore). I have no information as to whether a second volume followed this publication.

[165] According to Otto Jahn, his friend who wrote the preface to Ross's ***Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland,*** Ross learned modern Greek fast during his time in Greece. He also taught in modern Greek at the University. I used the Greek translation of this book: Ludwig Ross, Ἀναμνήσεις καί Ἀνακοινώσεις ἀπό τήν Ἑλλάδα (1832-1833) (Memories and Reports from Greece 1832-1833), series Foreign Travelers to the Greek Land, no. 3, transl. by A. Spilios, Tolidis publishers, Athens, 1976, p. 18.

[166] According to my research, the first time in which classical architecture received a special mention by an official publication of the modern State (i.e., after the year 1828) was in a practical guide/ manual to the teaching of drawing of 1831. This guide was published in the form of a textbook and was intended for the use of all the students of preparatory schools in the country, regardless of future professional orientation. It was a literal translation from the French text by L.B. Francoeur and was published under the higher command of the first president of Greece, Ioannis Kapodistrias. Of its 230 pages only 10 were devoted to the discussion of classical architecture, that is, a brief reference to the four (Roman) orders, the parts of the temple, the parts of the columns, and their respective measures and proportions. This was a purely practical account of the basic elements of classical architecture without any theoretical substantiation. The full title was: L. B. Francoeur, Διδασκαλία τῆς Διαγραφικῆς ἤ Γραμμικῆς Ἰχνογραφίας (The Teaching of Freehand and Line Drawing), translated by order of his Majesty the president of Greece by the late K. Kokkinakos, supervised by I. P. Kokkonis, member of the preparatory education; from the State Typography (G. Apostolides Kosmitos), Aegina, 1831.

2.1. Ludwig Ross's "Manual of Archaeology" as a source of architectural knowledge

The term 'manual' in the title already suggests that this book was intended by its author, Ludwig Ross, more as a practical guide to archaeology, and less as a theoretical oeuvre. However, the mere fact that this manual served as a guide to how the discipline should be studied, not practiced in the field, immediately places it in the category of theoretical treatises. It is, in other words, a handy reference book, an epitome of major principles, definitions, ideas, and historical information, all of which constitute the historical and theoretical background of the archaeological discipline. Moreover, it is a synoptic history of art – including architecture – of all the ancient civilizations which flourished in the eastern Mediterranean region until the rise of the Romans.

The import of this manual to neohellenic literature is manifold. Its primary value lies in the fact that it is an original work, in the sense that it is a compilation of related material from western European treatises, all screened through the personal viewpoint of the author.[167] By using his broad academic background, Ross planned an adaptation of western handbooks of archaeology to the Greek standards, offering this book as a response to the question concerning the crucial state of the arts – and of Greek archaeology, in particular – at the time. As the most immediate precedent for this book may be seen the Old History of the Egyptians, the Carthagens (etc.).... by Claude Rollin in its Greek translation of 1750 by Alexandros Kangellarios.[168] That monumental sixteen-volume work contained a terse, yet complete, treatise on classical architectural theory based on Claude Perrault's related literature.[169] In that book, however, Kangellarios – unlike Ross – did not proceed to a synthetic operation, but he rested instead on a literal translation from the French text. This was the first time in which terms applicable to classical theory, such as 'expression', 'caractère', 'perspective', 'correction', found their equivalents in the Greek language, although not always with equal success.[170]

---

[167] This was precisely the method that Pizzamano used in his *Saggio d' Architettura...*, according to his own testimony in the preface of the book. It was, therefore, a synthetic work of great value for the time of its publication, which however was unexplainably overlooked by the academic establishment of the official Greek State of the mainland.

[168] The original French edition was of 1730. The full title in Greek reads: *Παλαιὰ ʽΙστορία τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, Καρχηδονίων, ʼΑσσυρίων, Βαβυλωνίων, Μήδων, Περσῶν, Μακεδόνων καὶ ʽΕλλήνων* (Old History of the Egyptians, the Carthagens, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians, the Macedonians and the Greeks) in sixteen volumes composed in the French dialect [sic] by Mr. Rollin now for the first time in the simple romeic dialect translated and meticulously amended by Mr. Alexandros Kangellarios. The twelfth volume contains material on architecture, sculpture, painting, and music, that is, [an account of] their origin, development, completion, and the most glorious artists of each. Antonio Vortoli, Venice, 1750. For a critical discussion of this treatise see Oreopoulos, op. cit., pp. 369-72, 360-62.

[169] This was contained in the twelfth volume as the extensive title suggests.

[170] Kangellarios had no specialized knowledge in the field of the arts. See more extensive commentary on the unsuccessful translation of certain terms in Oreopoulos (op. cit.)

Certainly, this eighteenth-century treatise by Rollin was out of date during Ross's time in Greece, that is, a time in which the need for a creative adaptation of western classicism to the country's new socio-cultural context was a matter of high priority.

Ross divided his treatise into two parts, a theoretical and a historical. The first part contained the theory and the historiography of the archaeological discipline. In this part and in the place of an introduction, Ross defined archaeology as the "cognitive field (*επιστήμη*) which *speaks the ancient matters,* which delivers account (*λόγος*) on the *ancients,* and more specifically of the *antiquities.*"[171] Despite his personal belief in the global scope of archaeology, that is, as the complete account (*logos*) of all the action and thought of the ancients, for purely practical reasons Ross accepted its narrower definition as **the study of the art products of antiquity.** In the manner of an art historian he then devoted the second part of his book to the discussion of the artistic works of the ancients excluding from this account all anthropological considerations. He further specified that not all the arts were covered by the methods of archaeology but only those whose products manifested themselves as visual objects, that is, the works of the so-called visual arts.[172] In this category he placed architecture, painting, and sculpture. This articulation marked a decisive turning point in the historical course of Greek architecture, which thus received its official registration as an art possessing primarily **visual merit.**

In the very first section of his book, Ross concerned himself mainly with problems of terminology. Analytical explications on such terms as 'idea', 'type', 'mimesis', 'style', and – most importantly – 'art' and 'architecture', are included in this part. Still from the frontispiece of the book and by reference to Vitruvius, Ross described the domain of such an intellectual undertaking as especially slippery: "Writing on architecture is not like history or poetry.... because those terms which originate in the peculiar needs of the art, give rise to obscurity of ideas from the unusual nature of the language."[173] In this manner, Ross eloquently expressed the difficult passage which every art had to make from experience to theory, using for that the **medium of language.** This was precisely the passage on which Greece ventured at that time in an effort to articulate again theory on the arts after a long period of hibernation. It is possible that this Vitruvian quote, with its characteristic reference to architecture, was deliberately selected by Ross, since architecture was the art most in need of a redefinition in the context of Greek modernity. After all, Ross himself defined architecture as both "the protrectress and the leading art [of all the other arts]" because – he said – "it [architecture] combines the harmonious form with the practical purpose, thus giving reason of being and meaning to the rest" (i.e., painting and sculpture).[174]

---

[171] "Η 'Αρχαιολογία εἶναι ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἥτις λέγει τὰ ἀρχαῖα, ἥτις δίδωσι ***λόγον*** περὶ τῶν ***ἀρχαίων*** ἤγουν τῶν ***ἀρχαιοτήτων.***" Ross, op. cit., *Introduction,* p. 1. The emphasis is his.

[172] Ross uses for these arts the Greek terms *εἰδωλοποιητικαί* and *εἰκαστικαί* which he borrows from Plato (Sophist and Republic). Also *φανταστικαί*. See: Ross, op. cit., p. 5 and footnote #1 on the same page.

[173] The quote – in Latin in the text – is from the preface of the fifth book of Vitruvius's ***De Architectura***: "Non enim de architectura sic scribitur, un historiae aut poemata.... Vocabula, ex artis propria necessitate concepta, inconsueto sermone objiciunt sensibus obscuritatem." In my text I used Morgan's English translation from Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture, transl. Morris H. Morgan, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1914, Book V, 1, p. 129.

In several instances throughout the book, Ross seized the opportunity to express his philhellenic sentiments which led him to such an important undertaking. Without pomp or lofty statements but with only two bitter remarks, Ross recognized classicism as the aesthetic attitude which naturally belonged to the country of its origin, Greece. Specifically, he noted that the flowering of classicism in Europe was the result of immigration of Greek scholars to the West.[175] Western Europe, on the other hand, paid but little tribute to this debt to Greece as it resolved to pronounce Rome the real home of classicism and the center of modern archaeology.[176] Ross argued that in the course of these centuries since the Renaissance, Europe did not only treat Greece unjustly, but also founded many of its historical deductions on a misconstrued picture of classical antiquity. Therefore, in his view, the shaping of the modern Greek consciousness along the lines that classicism set was to serve both an ethical and a scientific imperative. His book was certainly conducive to this effort. It is worth noting, however, that Ross did not propound – in any direct manner at least – neoclassicism *per se* as the formal style of new architecture in Greece.[177]

Ross's theory of the arts bears a strong influence of Cartesian Rationalism and Neoplatonicism in the philosophical context of which neoclassicism developed. In this context, art was defined as the creation of the mind which manifests in sensible form the presence of universal ideas. Art has always a specific aim and is subject to specific rules. Between the idea and its sensible manifestation there is a certain correlation, i.e., a *logos*, whose nature may range from the abstract language of numbers to the most concrete form of visual resemblance. In this connection, *logos* becomes the actual measure of truth, the basis of public consensus, therefore, the source of a **common ethos** for a community. For an artist to be in full command of the *logos* of his art, he must be fully cognizant of the needs and the ethical state of the particular community for which he creates.

---

[174] "'Η 'Αρχιτεκτονική δρᾷ ὡς προστάτις καί ἡγεμών τέχνη...." Ross, op. cit., p. 8.
[175] Ross, op. cit., p. 23.
[176] The formal pronouncement of Rome as the center of international archaeology took place in 1828 with the founding of the ***Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*** by the diplomat, theologian, and archaeologist Christian von Bunsen. The Institute was an international organization with sections in Germany, France, and England. It was given financial support by the Crown Prince of Prussia (later Frederick-William IV) and the French aristocrat Duc de Luynes. Among its regular members were August Böch, Friedrich Creuzer, Carl Ottfried Müller, Quatremère de Quincy, Charles Lenormand, Carlo Fea, Bartolomeo Borghesi, Theodor Panofka, and Eduard Gerhard who acted as its lifelong administrator. The Instituto was committed to a purely humanistic and philological tradition along the lines of Winchelmann. It issued numerous publications on archaeological discoveries worldwide. For a more extensive discussion on the works of the *Instituto* see: Alain Schnapp, The Discovery of the Past: the Origins of Archaeology, transl. from the French by Ian Kinnes & Gillian Varndell, British Museum Press, London, 1996 (orig. 1993), pp. 304-10.
[177] This was not the first time in which Ross took an explicit philhellenic position. According to Kokkou, the German archaeologist was at the head of the protest against the anti-hellenic theories of Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer in the mid-1830s. As it is well known the Austrian historian Fallmerayer aroused outrage among the intelligentsia of the emerging Greek State by casting doubt on one of the founding precepts of modern Greek nationalism, namely that the modern Greeks are the linear descendants of the ancient (***Welshen Einfluß hatte die Besetzung Griechenlands durch die Slaven auf das Schicksal der Stadt Athen und der Landschaft Attica?***, Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1835). Kokkou used Ross's ***Arch. Aufsätze*** (II, pp. 113-50) as her source. See Kokkou, op. cit., footnote #3, p. 92.

According to Ross, architecture accomplished all the criteria of a creative art (*τέχνη δημιουργική*), not of a merely practical one (*τέχνη πρακτική*). Its works were so made as to raise the mind from the trivial realm of necessity (*τάς άπαιτήσεις τῆς άνάγκης καί τάς χρείας τοῦ βίου*) to the supreme realm of abstract ideas (*άφηρημένην τινα διάνοιαν*), since they could clearly express in the sensible form of buildings ideas befitting the actual purpose of the latter (*ίδέαν τινά προσφυῆ... μετά τοῦ πρακτικοῦ ή χρειώδους σκοποῦ έκάστης οίκοδομῆς*).[178] In this early functionalist thesis, Ross elevated the status of architecture from that of a technical craft – that is, the status it traditionally held in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period – to a creative art, based on the common belief that the mere viewing of buildings sufficed for putting human *imagination* into effect.[179] Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, he gave architecture a leading position among all the visual arts since rules of vision and geometric harmony in combination could best apply to its products, in order to deliver them to the human senses in a far more complete state than the one which painting and sculpture could ever achieve in their imitative works. In other words, Ross ascribed higher value to artistic works which partook of the realm of the abstract (such as music and architecture) than of the concrete (such as painting and sculpture). In fact, he divided the arts into two large categories, those which created forms based on mathematical analogies, and those which borrowed forms ready from the organic world through a process of figurative imitation.[180] Although he clearly placed architecture in the first group, he still saw it as an art more akin to the second group based on its mimetic function. I will return to a lengthier discussion of Ross's definition of architecture as an imitative art shortly.

---

[178] Ross, op. cit., p. 7.

[179] Ross, op. cit., p. 4. This is the only instance in the book in which Ross made a direct reference to the role of human **imagination** in the reception of the artwork, an idea which he probably borrowed from Plato (i.e., imagination as a passive faculty of perception), rather than from his contemporary empiricist tradition. However, *Ross did not seem to abide by Plato's negative* connotations in the term. Specifically, in his dialogue *Σοφιστής* *(Sophist)* (235-264d), in which Plato named and analyzed the kinds of imitative arts, he referred to the visual art also by the derogatory term *φανταστική* (imaginative) as one of its tasks was to imitate *φαντάσματα* (images), and not real things.

[180] Ross, op. cit., p. 6.

Following the preceding explication, for the first time in many centuries architecture was induced to transcend its former designation as a mere empirical craft – product of the Christian dogma of the strict separation between conceptual and manual occupations – and reclaim for itself theoretical status, now from a position equal to a noble (i.e., *fine*) art or even philosophy. However, a new line was now drawn between two classes of arts, that is, the fine arts and the so-called 'barbaric' (*βάναυσοι*) arts, to use Ross's terminology.[181] Through this theoretical schema the age-old 'mind versus matter' distinction continued to exist and assign indisputable superiority to the former of the aforementioned two classes of arts, i.e., the fine (conceptual) arts. Ross specified that only objects which belonged to this class were of interest to archaeology. He did not fail, however, to recognize both the value and the importance of the manual arts (i.e., crafts), for the serving role they held to all the other arts. He argued that without the cooperation of the crafts, the fine arts would be unable to imprint their ideas in sensible forms and, therefore, actualize their aimed purpose. In this articulation, Ross managed to establish a common mean, a basis of correspondence between the two classes of arts, yet without canceling their line of distinction, nor their hierarchical relationship. The fine arts, such as music, painting, and architecture, were naturally attached to ideas, i.e., the realm of freedom. The manual arts, on the other hand, such as drawing, seal-making, and masonry, were bound to matter, i.e., the realm of necessity. To the extent that the two notions of freedom and necessity could be seen neither as equivalent, nor as symmetrical, a relationship of **hierarchy** between conceptual and manual arts had to persist and frame accordingly the theoretical conceptions of a classicist, such as Ross.

Drawing from this line of argumentation, Ross defined the difference between imitation and copying in art. At this point, Ross gave again a functionalist taint to his thinking by introducing ***type*** as the mediating notion between *idea* and *manière.* Type for him was a formal attribute equally shared by objects of the same class, an attribute which interpreted in a certain generic way the universal idea behind this class of objects. The artist retained very limited freedom to vary the type of an idea, and that only within certain limits which were set by convention. In any case, the originating idea had to remain intact.[182] The creative process of translating into a new material form the universal concept imbedded in the generic type comprised the so-called act of **imitation** which, in Ross's theorization, characterized the method of all the creative or conceptual arts.[183] On the other hand, when the formal type of a certain idea ceased to produce new forms, instead it came to be repeated thoughtlessly the same as a result of "intellectual apathy or blind mimicry,"[184] one could no longer talk about creative imitation, but about mere **copying**. In that case, artistic imitation was reduced to the so-called *manière*, that is, a stereotypical set of acts driven by formal repetition. Ross addressed severe criticism against all the artistic works that were based on *manière*, an attitude which he characterized as "morbid addiction" (*νοσώδης ἕξις*)[185] best fitting the performer of a *barbaric* art (i.e., the craftsman) than the real artist.

---

[181] Ross, op. cit., p. 5.

[182] Ross used a rather rudimentary way for defining *type* in his book. For a more complete definition, the reader may refer to Müller's respective manual on which Ross based many of his formulations. Specifically Müller wrote: "Forms.... which are established by regulation or custom, and which set bounds to the free activity of art, are called *types.* A type is adhered to in the imitation without emanating spontaneously from the mind of the artist as the most suitable form. The so called *ideals of the Grecian gods* are not types; they do not preclude the freedom of the artist; they rather contain the strongest impulse to new genial creations." [The emphasis is his.] K.O. Müller, ***Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst,*** Breslau, 1830 (& 1835). English translation by John Leitch, Ancient Art and its Remains: or a Manual of the

Ross singled out four *barbaric* arts which he saw as indispensable to all the visual arts, principally to architecture: carpentry, ceramics, coppersmith, and stone cutting. He embraced them all in the term 'tectonics' (*τεκτονική*), that is, a term which applied to that date specifically to the works of architecture.[186] Besides, he noticed that each creative art had its own serving crafts. Architecture, in particular, shared with painting certain crafts, such as graphics (*dessin*),[187] sciagraphy,[188] coloring,[189] ichnography,[190] and diversity (*ornamentzeichnung*).[191] Ross observed that the craft of ichnography had application in architecture (*ἀρχιτεκτονική*), whereas diversity had application in building (*οἰκοδομία*). Evidently, for Ross, to architecture belonged only that part of the creative process of building which involved the prefiguration of real buildings on paper, not the art of building construction

---

Archaeology of Art (edited by F.G. Welcker) Bernard Quaritch, London, 1852, p. 12. See also the discussion that follows on the intellectual connection of the two men, and the footnotes #199 and 200.

[183] Ross, op. cit., p. 19.

[184] Ross, op. cit., p. 17.

[185] Ross, Ibid.

[186] "Τεκτονικήν καλοῦμεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν ἐλλείψει ἄλλης γενικῆς προσηγορίας,τάς κατά τι μετεχούσας τῆς τῶν εἰκαστικῶν τεχνῶν φύσεως χειροτεχνίας, οἷον τήν ξυλουργικήν, τήν κεραμευτικήν, τήν χαλκευτικήν, τήν λιθουργικήν." (We call here tectonics, for the lack of a generic term, those crafts which somewhat partake of the same nature as the visual arts; these are, carpentry, ceramics, coppersmith, stone cutting.) Ross, op. cit., p. 5, footnote #3. The emphasis is his.

[187] Ross uses the ancient Greek term **'graphis'** (*γραφίς*), that is, the instrument of drawing or inscription, also called 'stylus'. He refers to its use by Vitruvius (I, I,3) and explains it with the Latin term *pictura linearis*. We could translate it as free-hand sketching. Ross, op. cit., p. 14 (footnote).

[188] According to Rollin in its Greek translation by Kangellarios (op. cit.), the term **'sciagraphy'** (*σκιαγραφία*) describes the drawing of objects in their precise measures and proportions. According to the Greek dictionary of K. Koumas of 1827 – preceding Ross's book by 14 years only – the term 'sciagraphy' applies specifically to the drawing of perspective with all the shades and shadows, and then becomes identified with the art of scenography. Koumas traces the earliest use of the term in Plato (Republic 10.6.298) and Aristotle (Rhetoric 3.12.5).

[189] Here Ross uses the Greek term **'zographia'** (*ζωγραφία*) roughly meaning 'drawing as in life'.

[190] Here Ross uses the Greek term **'ichnographia'** (*ἰχνογραφία*) probably in the meaning of the line-drawing of a building (or other object) which precedes construction and bears clear the idea. Another definition of the same term, most akin to Vitruvius, is the competent use of rules and compasses by which ground plans are laid *on site*.

[191] Ross uses the Greek term **'poikilia'** (*ποικιλία*). This term refers to the embellishment of the building with ornaments, either in painting or in relief.

per se. The latter he still entrusted to the builder–practitioner. Through this distinction, Ross exemplified the everlasting ambiguity concerning the role of the architect, whether a man of theory or a man of practice. He clearly defined architecture as a conceptual art, the art which translated into perceptible form abstract ideas. Its privileged sense was vision. For this reason, it shared common ground with the other two visual arts, painting and sculpture. In short, Ross did not manage to resolve the difficult dichotomy between theory and practice that characterized the architectural discipline, despite his conscious effort to substantiate a productive relationship between creative arts and crafts. After all, he did not have architecture for his profession.

In his view of the arts, Ross sustained the strong influence of ancient Greek philosophy.[192] His references to Plato and Aristotle are numerous, less frequent to Vitruvius, and much rarer to modern scholarship. He was probably of the opinion that, only by rendering the origins of classicism in ancient Greece more emphatic, the adaptation of western neoclassical ideas to neohellenic culture would be smoother and incontrovertible. The division of the arts into conceptual and manual, the hierarchical ordering of the fine arts in levels depending upon their capacity to approximate the universal idea, the privileged position of architecture among all the arts, the characterization of the art product as a work of imitation, the primacy of vision over all the senses, the importance of measure – particularly, mathematical measure (*metron*) – and the ethical function of art were all ideas directly alluding to Platonic philosophy. On the other hand, Ross's confidence in the positive role of the arts as instruments of learning and cohesiveness of the human community, bore Aristotle's influence. Ross's stated definition of imitation as "the grace intrinsic in the artfulness and the conception rather than in the theme represented" also alludes to Aristotle.[193] Ross's recourse to Aristotle, not to Plato, for an immediately effective definition of imitation (i.e., *mimesis*) related to the very structure of the work – not to its referential qualities – disclosed his pragmatist outlook on the world and his allegiance to the current historical paradigm of the Enlightenment. In this new context, natural law replaced divine law and its respective dogma of a 'superreality' (i.e., the domain of universal ideas in Platonic philosophy). The secular orientation of the Enlightenment found its best representative in Aristotle, a philosopher of nature and instrumental reason. Ross's way of thinking was clearly secular. Ross knew that a total return to the ontological universe that the father of classical thought, Plato, had construed for his times was practically impossible. Therefore, he went on to redefine the same universe in historical terms. Despite his unbroken commitment to Platonic philosophy, in the place of the sphere of eternal ideas, Ross sought to erect a vision of an ideal – yet historically real – past which was to serve as a critical and positive instrument in the present. In his view, it was Ancient Greece that held this paradigmatic function. This view Ross shared with prominent scholars both prior to and contemporary with him, such as Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849).[194] In fact, many of Ross's positions present striking similarities with the theory of the latter, Quatremère de Quincy, who became known to the European audience as the leading exponent of idealist academic classicism. It is worth noting that Quatremère, in his archaeological writings, introduced a normative view of history (i.e., historicism) much more methodically than Winckelmann had. He combined, in other words, Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy in the best possible manner. This was already a serious reason to have called Ross's attention to the French archaeologist. Curiously enough, Ross made no direct reference to Quatremère in his manual.

---

[192] Otto Jahn notes that still from his school years Ross persistently studied ancient Greek and Latin literature, and demonstrated a special interest in Plato. In: Ross, 'Αναμνήσεις...., op. cit., p. 18.

[193] Ross, 'Εγχειρίδιον τῆς 'Αρχαιολογίας.... (Manual of Archaeology....), op. cit., pp. 19-20. The allusion is to Aristotle's lines "For if you happen not to have seen the original, the pleasure will be due not to the imitation as such, but to the execution, the coloring, or some such other cause." From: Aristotle's Poetics, transl. by S.H. Butcher, introduction by F. Fergusson, Hill and Wang, New York, 1961, IV, 5, p. 56.

According to this revised version of classical idealism that Ross, Quatremère, and other devoted classicists before them upheld,[195] the primary source of universal ideas was nature itself. Specifically, scholars belonging to this group found these ideas crystallized in the exemplary and everlasting works of ancient Greece, that is, works which were now offered as prototypes to the modern artist for future creative action. Furthermore, they attributed normative value to all the supreme monuments of Greek antiquity, most importantly the Parthenon. By some, like Quatremère, with an overt bent toward Neoplatonic philosophy, Greek monuments were considered the quasi-metaphysical exemplars of stylistic unity and natural order. However, Quatremère tried to keep the supreme human work, i.e., the temple, separate from its anthropological origins in the primitive hut, that is, a product of raw, natural circumstances in his view. In the context of Quatremère's theory, the hut possessed the status of a *building type,* that is, the ideational construct which preserved the most elementary principles of building (e.g., structural, formal, utilitarian). The temple, on the other hand, was seen as the supreme repository of the rules of universal harmony and, therefore, as the embodiment of the intellectual canon of architecture.

---

[194] Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy was a permanent secretary of the French Academy and professor at the École des Beaux-Arts from 1816 to 1839. He was trained as a sculptor but established himself as an archaeologist. He held a normative view of history according to which the origins, laws, principles, theory and practice of architecture all went back to the Greeks. He was an adamant opponent of the Gothic and all the excesses of the Baroque. Among his most prominent literary works were: *Dictionnaire Historique d' Architecture,* vol. I, A. le Clère, Paris, 1789, vol. II, Bourgeois Maze, Paris, 1832; *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes,* 2 vols., Paris, 1830; *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l' imitation dans les Beaux-Arts,* Trentell et Würtz, Paris, 1823; *Lettres écrites de Londres à Rome et addressées à M. Canova sur les marbres d' Elgin ou les Sculptures du Temple de Minerva à Athènes par...,* Rome, 1818; *Considérations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l' art,* Imrim. de Crapelet, Paris, 1815; *Lettres sur l' enlèvement des ouvrages de l' art antique à Athènes et à Rome eecrites les unes au célèbre Canova, les autres au général Miranda,* A. le Clère, Paris, 1836; *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France, suivies d' un plan d' Académie ou d' École publique et d' un système d' encouragement,* Paris, 1791; *Jupiter Olympien: l' art de la sculpture antique considérée sous un nouveau point de vue,* Paris, 1815.

[195] As for example the influential French writer and theorist Jacques-François Blondel (1705-74) and other members of the Académie Royale de l' Architecture. Among his writings is the *Cours d' Architecture* (1771-7) which contains the core of his theory.

For a different group of scholars, who observed a more instrumental connection between past and present, Greek monuments possessed no idealized status. They were only appreciated as one important step in the historical development of architectural forms, or as the basis for new creative adaptations.[196] In their effort to reconsider the fundamental principles of construction, scholars who belonged to this group – primarily architects – returned to the original models of building (i.e., the tent, the hut, and the cave), which they regarded, not as metaphysical types, but as both real and material constructions. In a sense, these scholars confounded the imaginative model, i.e., the type, which in classical theory preceded formal construction, with its material expression, for a good reason. That is because their declared intention was to give a forward push to the history of architecture, as opposed to the Academy's nostalgic idealization of the past. Quatremère severely criticized this materialist view of history and espoused instead the non-material nature of type.

Another trend of architectural materialism, with a far more popular orientation in the nineteenth century, was that which rose in support of various nationalistic movements. This trend may not be ascribed to major and well-known architects, but mainly to scholars–ideologues with a special interest in the rhetorical function of architecture. Greek archaeologists with a strong presence in the architectural becoming of the modern city are included in this category. These scholars approached the paradigmatic phase of building history of a certain nation primarily as a visual phenomenon, i.e., a style, and a model for slavish imitation in modern buildings, disregarding in their account the complex process of architectural creation from idea to type to built form. Failing to discern the type behind each building as the real generator of material form, they reduced the essence of classical architecture to its mere appearance. Thus they often confined their aesthetic valuations to the exterior appearance of new buildings, using to this purpose absolute moral criteria of the kind true versus false, depending upon how faithfully these buildings had replicated ancient elements of style. Certainly such an approach very little promoted the interests of architecture *per se,* as long as it practically made no use of the primary conceptual tools of architecture. Notably, it paid no attention to the notion of type as the interpretative station in the creative process. This trend of nationalistic classicism presented explicit evidence of a prescriptive attitude to architecture, as opposed to the other two whose respective approaches were descriptive and apodictical. The Greek archaeologist Stephanos Koumanoudis appears as the representative of this group. His ideas are discussed in proper length in the third and last chapter of this work.

---

[196] Most prominent in this category is the French group of the Néo-Grecs with Henri Labrouste as a leading figure. To a similar vein belongs Gottfried Semper's materialist view of architectural history, although it developed in a different cultural and historical context.

It is rather difficult for the historian to place Ross's manual strictly under one of the aforementioned three attitudes to classical architecture, as it happened to encompass characteristics of all three. With Quatremère Ross shared some of his Platonic idealism, the basic principles and systemic logic of classicism, as well as his conviction of the superiority of Greek architecture to all other nations' – an idea which Quatremère founded in the alleged expertise of the Greeks in construction techniques. However, whereas Quatremère promoted the hut as the national type of Greek architecture – which, incidentally, he considered a construct technically far superior to the Egyptian tent – Ross refused to see a single building type as the originating cause of the Greek temple. Committed to a developmental view of history, Ross propounded the theory according to which the art and architecture of every nation was the outcome of diverse influences and transference of elements from one nation to the other. He did so although he certainly knew that his views contradicted not only Quatremère's, but also those of other highly esteemed archaeologists, such as Raoul-Rochette,[197] Müller, not to forget Winckelmann, to whom both Ross and Müller maintained a strong intellectual affinity.[198]

Still from the preface of his book, Ross openly declared his special attachment to his German colleague Karl Otfried Müller,[199] whose Handbuch der Archäeologie[200] he used as the model for his own manual because, in his opinion, it was "the most methodical and complete" of its kind.[201] At the same time, however, he argued against Müller's particular understanding of the historical development of civilizations. Ross avoided any in depth analysis of the core problem of the argument.[202] It is rather obvious however that, unlike Müller, Ross maintained an anti-essentialist, more romantic, conception of history, which was better in line with the aforementioned second group of classicists. The difference between the two positions may be rendered more clear if one refers to Müller's statement: "But the gods, the worships, the mythi, of the Greeks in their distinctive character, assuredly belong to a totally different period, a period of separate development, in which there was even no external, compact, national whole."[203] Müller, in other words, founded the uniqueness of the Greek race on preliterate and prehistoric grounds. He specifically insisted upon the autonomous development of Greek art – architecture included – from the diverse characteristics of the region's clan, which he carefully isolated from simultaneous oriental and Egyptian traditions. Ross, on the other hand, seemed more convinced that the development of each civilization was the result of multiple and heterogeneous influences. Suzanne Marchand, in her study of the role of German archaeologists in the development of the philhellenic movement, observes that Müller's "Graecocentrism was.... derived from aesthetic, religious, and quasi-racist preferences", in order to conclude that "[e]xemplary in every way , for Müller, the Greeks stood alone."[204] Guided by his idealist predilection, Müller identified a core element in every nation which he considered the source of its individuality, its identity, its national *type*, so to say, *vis-à-vis* all other nations. Müller, unlike Ross, was an archaeologist who immediately gained the sympathy of the Greeks. Idealist philosophy in general, despite its potential racist implications, was very much favored by nineteenth-century countries, such as Greece, which possessed a still weak nationalist sentiment. Ross, on the other hand, in combining elements from both 'schools' of classicism, deliberately chose a more critical path than Müller's own, albeit at the risk of intellectual clarity and popular acceptance.

---

[197] Desiré Raoul-Rochette (1790-1854) was the successor of Quatremère in the position of the professor of archaeology in the École des Beaux-Arts. He became known for perpetuating the same dogmatic attitudes after Quatremère's resignation and for shifting the emphasis of the historical norm from the Roman antiquity to the Renaissance. However, he became interested in the Greek antiquity, too, and visited Greece several times in his life. He published a good topographical description of Athens (D. Raoul-Rochette, ***Sur la Topographie d' Athènes,*** Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1852, (Articles extraits du *Journal des Savants.*)).

[198] Ross, op. cit., pp. 36-7. Again Ross fails to mention the name of Quatremère among his sources.

[199] Müller was one of the most faithful followers of Winckelmann's ideas on the autochthony of Greek culture. He further insisted upon archaeology's conformity to the dictates of philological historicism. He supported that art, religion, myth, and other forms of human expression could be understood only as products of national particularities, i.e., the *Geist* of a nation, not through external influences. He advocated a reason-based and nonsensual kind of beauty, very much in line with Kantian philosophy (*The Critique of Pure Reason*). He took a trip to Greece 1839-40 during which he fell a victim to sunstroke while collecting inscriptions at Delphi and died before he could publish his results. He was buried in Athens at the ancient site of the hill of Kolonos where a monument still stands in his memory. A collection of his writings was published in 1848 under the title ***Karl Otfried Müllers kleine deutsche Schriften,*** ed. Eduard Müller, 2 vols., Breslau, 1848. His writings also include: ***Briefe aus einem Gelehrtenleben,*** *1797-1840,* ed. Karl Svoboda, Berlin, 1950.

[200] K.O. Müller, ***Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst,*** Breslau, 1830 (& 1835). It was translated into English as Ancient Art and its Remains: or a Manual of the Archaeology of Art (ed. F.G. Welcker, transl. John Leitch, Bernard Quaritch, London, 1852). This handbook was considered an important literary source for the time of its publication, as well as for the successive generation of archaeologists.

Specifically and as I have already noted, on the problem of the origin of the Greek temple, Ross appeared reluctant to share in the classical thesis which was first introduced by Vitruvius in order to be later revisited by such theorists as Quatremère and his contemporary

---

[201] Ross, op. cit, p. a'.

[202] He sufficed to say that he adapted Müller's text to other authors' ideas, namely Thiersch, Rosseti, Gerhard, and Letronius(? In Greek in the text). Ross, ibid.

[203] Karl Otfried Müller, Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology, transl. John Leitch , New York, 1978, pp. 220-21. This is a translation of Müller's ***Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*** (1825).

[204] Suzanne L. Marchand, Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996, p. 44. Notably Marchand in her book includes no references to Ludwig Ross who she probably considers a minor figure in the spectrum of 19th-century German archaeology.

German architect Carl Bötticher (1806-1889).[205] I am referring here to the thesis which confirmed the temple as the result of metaphorical transformation of a single and homogeneous wooden model, the primitive hut. Ross contended instead that the Greek temple was the product of a creative synthesis of stone-cutting for the most part and timberwork for the roof only, of which the former he ascribed to Egyptian influences, the latter to indigenous building traditions.[206] Given his undeniable faith in the typological theory, one may be right to assume that, for Ross, the type of the Greek temple was another temple. This temple was formally much more complex than the hut, the tent, or the cave. It was a real and historical construct, not metaphysical and ahistorical as the hut of more rigid idealist thinkers. Lastly, Ross's type of the Greek temple was characterized predominantly by formal and functional integrity, as opposed to Quatremère's primitive hut in which structural integrity prevailed.

Evidently, Ross's functionalism was not based on structural or material considerations, but on both intellectual (i.e., form related) and practical (i.e., utility related) convenience. This is a rather obvious deduction if one takes into account Ross's threefold definition of architecture which, interestingly, the author did not borrow from Vitruvius's De Architectura but from Cicero's De Oratore. So, to the 'classical' triad of beauty (*venustas*), convenience (*utilitas*), and stability (*firmitas*), Ross contrasted the less known one of beauty (*venustas*), convenience (*utilitas*), and dignity (*dignitas*). In other words, he disregarded structural efficiency, probably as a secondary condition of building, and replaced it with the rather vague quality of dignity. Ross made no effort to further analyze these terms, nor any of their structural connections. A certain vehicle to the meaning of these terms is, no doubt, Alberti's treatise on architecture in which all three of them occur as explicatory notions of the term 'compartition', that is, the proper dividing of the whole of a building into parts "according to the rules of art." Specifically, Alberti wrote: "Could anything be omitted from any of these [i.e., parts of a building], through inattention and neglect, without detracting from the *dignity* and worth of the work?"[207] That is to say that dignity for Alberti – and most likely for Ross – was a quality which referred to the rightful application of the rules that ensure the harmonious relationship between parts and whole in a building. As opposed to *utilitas* which ensures the fitness of the building to its purpose, and through that the covering of all the mundane human needs, *dignitas* connects the work directly with the Platonic sphere of eternal ideas ruled by mathematical harmony. It helps as a way of idealizing vulgar functionalism. By and large, Ross's preferred triad of terms fits best the intellectual apprehension of architecture which sets reason and purpose above the orders of nature. At this point, it is worth noting that Cicero, from whom Ross borrowed his definition, was a faithful reader of Plato's writings, particularly of those which exhibited a more purist orientation. Characteristically purist in spirit is Cicero's denial of visual highlights on a building other than the most essential ones. Alberti noted on this matter: "Cicero follows Plato's teaching, and holds that citizens should be compelled by law to reject any variety and frivolity in the ornament of their temples, and to value purity above all else. "Let us have," he added, "some dignity for all that"."[208] Ross, on the other hand, did not take a clear stand on the difficult problem concerning the use of ornament on buildings. Apparently, he understood 'dignity' in a much more general way than Cicero did. That is, as the noble state of a building which derives from a process of careful **reflection** on the proper measures required for the regulation of the building's various elements, including its added parts (e.g., ornaments).

---

[205] Carl Bötticher's most prominent works on this matter were: ***Die Tektonik der Hellenen***, 2 vols., Potsdam, 1844-52 and "Das Prinzip der hellenishen und germanischen Bauwise hintichtlich der Übertragung in die Bauwise unserer Tage", ***Allgemeine Bauzeitung II***, 1846, pp. 111-26. With Bötticher Ross shared the view that the development of the idea of the Greek temple should be seen only in historical, not mythological, terms. Also that form should clearly reveal its form from the outside. In this connection, both Ross and Bötticher may be considered partisans of the same school of Functional Classicism, although Ross never developed a sophisticated enough theory regarding the relationship between 'core' and 'artistic' form of an architectural work as Bötticher did. The pragmatic, not merely intellectual, connection of the two men is confirmed by the fact that they appeared as co-authors of an interpretative study on the problem of the hypaethral temple as first accounted for by Vitruvius: Ludwig Ross and Carl Boetticher, ***Der Hypäthraltempel, auf Grund des Vitruvischen Zeugnisses***, gegen Prof. Dr. L. Ross, erwisen von C. Bötticher, Verlag von Ernst & Korn, Berlin, [n.d., possibly 1846].

[206] This is the reason why he began his account of the history of art with the Egyptians, tracing influences from one eastern nation to the other until the Greeks.

Cicero's writings, in general, strike the reader with their purist, almost dogmatic, rationalism. For this reason, they present a logical contradiction with Ross's theoretical viewpoint on architecture which, despite its overt idealist orientation, may be seen, on some level, as a precursor of eclecticism.[209] But any further discussion on the subject would exceed the scope of this analysis.

Ross's understanding of, and rare references to, the third term of Cicero's triad, i.e., **beauty** (*venustas*), remains problematic. Despite his commitment to Platonic philosophy, Ross certainly must have felt uncomfortable in adhering to Plato's metaphysical definition of artistic beauty as the means to the contemplation and attainment of the absolute, *divine* beauty.[210] The neoclassical tradition, to which Ross's treatise belongs, placed artistic beauty in a secular framework and identified it (at least one branch of it) with the notion of mathematical harmony which – based or not on the proportions of the human body – came to stand in the place of the divine sphere of eternal ideals.[211] From the Renaissance on, inevitably, the history of aesthetic theory had to take a subjective, if not a relativistic, path – a path which the Enlightenment drastically reconsidered in favor of positive science. It is in the writings of seventeenth-century French theorist Claude Perrault (1613-1688) that one should seek the first substantial articulation of this new theory with a special application in architecture. Perrault's designation of two kinds of beauty, positive and arbitrary, reestablished the faith in the objective criterion of art by recourse to the absolute power of the material and the numbers.[212] At the same time, it provided the grounds for the symbolic split of the building into two layers, one subject to the immutable law of nature and mathematics, the other to the transitory, linguistically-based, human will.

---

[207] Alberti, op. cit., Book 1, Ch. 9, p. 23. And Alberti goes on to say: "The greatest care and attention, then, should be paid to studying these elements, which contribute to the whole work, so as to ensure that even the most insignificant parts appear to have been formed according to the rules of art."

[208] Alberti, op. cit., Book VII, 10, p. 220. The reference is to Cicero's *De lege agraria*, 2.18.

[209] I am citing again from Alberti two quotes with direct reference to Cicero's stern rationalist views on architecture. "If you listen to architects, says Cicero, you might think that no column could ever be set quite vertical." (Alberti, op. cit., Book VI, 12, p. 180. The reference is to Cicero's *In Verrem*, 1. 3. 133). And: "Cicero appears to have preferred the city of Capua to Rome, because it was not perched on hills, nor disturbed by valleys, but flat and level." (Alberti, op. cit., Book VII, 1, p. 190. The reference is to Cicero's *De lege agraria*, 2.96)

This symbolic split of the building into two layers is also quite evident in Ross's theorization of architecture, if not in nineteenth-century archaeological discourse as a whole. Defending the basis of architecture in the mathematical sciences, Ross maintained that architecture reaches up to the supreme sphere of abstract ideas through application of the rules of proportion and geometric harmony (*eurhythmy*).[213] On the other hand – Ross contended – architecture receives the services of the other visual arts, sculpture and painting, in order to articulate the building with elements (i.e., ornaments) which borrow their forms from the organic world of nature. In both cases, an imitative function is accomplished. In the first case because the building stands for its intended purpose. In the second case because it acts as the bearer of figurative ornament. Ross made no attempt to further analyze how the two layers relate to one another, that is, whether the two stay distinctly apart, or one is subordinate to the other. In consideration of Ross's attachment to the conservative brand of classical theory, one may form the logical assumption that the two layers must ideally fuse into one. According to this view, the idea of the building dwells in its apparent form which thereof leaves no room for ambiguities, illusions, or allusions to another reality beyond what is actually present. In other words, for Ross, the real *is* the apparent. This way of stating the imitative function of architecture certainly contradicted Platonic theory according to which ideas reside in a realm quite distinct and separate from the everyday realm of sensible matter.[214] But even if such a slight theoretical discrepancy did actually exist, it did not prevent Ross from understanding imitation in Plato's terms, that is, as the true source of aesthetic delight which is achieved only by appeal to the sense of vision. In this rather reductivist inception of human perception, rational consciousness does the whole job of capturing the architectural image immediately through the eye and judging it as a static picture by reference to some ethical and intellectual criteria – which Ross, unfortunately, does not specify. Seen in this light, Ross's understanding of beauty conforms better to the standards of a theoretical rather than an aesthetic judgment since man as a psycho-physiological agent is left completely out of the picture.[215] Indeed, Ross made no reference to the anthropometric basis of classical architecture. He further ignored man as the bearer of the psychological properties that account for the *arbitrary* beauty on a building and the formulation of taste in a society. In fact, following again a Platonic line of thinking, Ross argued that the ability of every citizen to "see right" and "think right" (i.e., distinguish true from false) is highly dependent upon proper training and cultivation, that is, a task entrusted by the State to the artist–connoisseur.[216] Evidently, Ross was of the opinion that, only through instruction a condition of perfect accord between the building's two layers (i.e., the real and the apparent, or, the signified and the signifier) would be firmly and permanently secured. By that means, art would achieve its ultimate goal which is the disclosure of truth.

---

[210] Plato's theory of beauty is best developed in the *Συμπόσιον (Symposium)*. The reader may refer to the following quote: "Whoever shall be guided so far towards the mysteries of love, by contemplating beautiful things rightly in due order, is approaching the last grade... that very Beauty...." From: Great Dialogues of Plato, transl. by W.H.D. Rouse, New Americal Library, New York, 1956, *Symposium*, 211C, p.105.

[211] This shift from a spiritual to an intellectual definition of beauty happened at a certain cost on the metaphysical level, as a void was now left from the absence of the so-conceived as power of divine will in Platonic theory. Humanist authors of the Renaissance first, notably Alberti, sought to fill this void by emphasizing man in the role of both the source and the judge of all beautiful things. See: Alberti, op. cit., Book VI, 2, p. 155-7 and Book IX, 5, pp. 302-3 (for the relation between beauty and *concinnitas*.)

[212] Claude Perrault was a doctor by profession and an amateur architect. He became best known as an architecture theoretician through his translation of **Vitruvius** (1672) and his treatise on the orders ***Ordonnance des cinq espèces de Colonnes*** (1683). He distinguished between two kinds of beauty, positive and arbitrary, the former ruled by mathematical proportion, the latter by custom and personal taste. In this theorization, beauty was defined in light of both objective and subjective criteria, with no chance for the two to be confused as positive beauty was transhistorical, arbitrary beauty was temporary and perishable based on shifting tastes and human conventions. Perrault's theory was contradicted by that of Jacques-François Blondel (1705-74), who sought to reestablish the human body as the only true basis of universal beauty, considering in that the particularities of perception as the source of optical corrections in architecture.

[213] Ross, op. cit., p. 6.

---

[214] After all, Plato is known for not having held the arts in any high esteem. His related thesis on the existence of two separate realities is clearly illustrated in the 'myth of the cave' in his ***Πολιτεία*** *(Republic)* (Book VII).

[215] By contrast, Müller, whose ***Handbuch der Archäeologie*** Ross used as a model for his manual and from which he borrowed many of his theoretical concepts, offered a much clearer definition of beauty which actually makes evident his influences from the empiricist tradition. Müller wrote: "Whilst [....] regularity is the first requisite in the artistic form generally, beauty is a more immediate predicate of the artistic form in reference to *sensation*. We call those forms beautiful which cause the soul to feel in a manner that is grateful, truly salutary and entirely confortable[sic] to its nature, which, as it were, produce in it vibrations that are in accordance with its inmost structure." And he continues by distinguishing two different variations of 'beauty', depending on the sensation they produce. These lines prove Müller cognizant of the aesthetic theories of Burke and Kant: "The sublime and the graceful may be regarded as opposite points in the chain of sensations which is denoted by the beautiful; the former demands from the soul an energy of feeling wound up to the limits of her power, the latter draws her of itself, without any exaltation of her force, into a circle of agreeable sensations." K.O. Müller, Ancient Art and its Remains..., op.cit., p. 4.

[216] Ross quoted on that Plato from the *Republic* (Book VI, 484d) in which Plato dictates philosophers and artists to the role of guardians of truth in every society. On the same issue, Ross also quotes the German Romantic philosopher/ aesthetician Novalis: "Der Maler malt eigentlich mit dem Auge; seine Kunst ist die Kunst regelmässig und schön zu sehen" (II, S 127). I maintain the spelling of the book. Ross, op. cit., p. 5 (and footnote #2).

Ross's static conception of architecture at a time of revolutionary changes in the field of both human and natural sciences – with his own country, Germany, in the lead – remains really unexplainable.[217] More than anything else, his adherence to Cicero's ahistorical conception of beauty raises serious questions. It would not be so if Ross did not appear well informed of the latest developments in the field of art theory, some of which he tried to address in his manual, albeit in a fragmentary manner. I have already discussed his defense of a progressivist/ relativist view of architectural history in opposition to Müller's essentialist view of national styles. Ross's attraction to the romantic branch of classicism and its relativist aesthetics is further evidenced through his positive stand on the much debated issue of the polychromy of ancient buildings. He specifically wrote: "There is no colorless artifact. Therefore, the chromatophobia of the moderns is absurd, [and] the product of erroneous aesthetic theorems[sic]."[218] On this matter he cited not the pioneers of the subject, archaeologists Quatremère and Hittorff, but his coeval German architects Gottfried Semper (1803-79) and Franz Kugler (1808-58), two authors known for their contrasting positions.[219] Specifically, Kugler's concept on polychromy stood closer to Quatremère's purist idealism, while Semper's seemed more in line with Hittorff's integrative theory of color and form.[220] Ross's reference to both authors at once without openly siding with either of the two, obscures even further his theoretical standpoint. The German archaeologist sufficed to say that the use of color on buildings satisfied either *natural* or *symbolic* dictates, providing no further explanation of the two terms. If one considers Ross's preoccupation with Platonic aesthetics, one may infer that by the term 'natural' the author referred to the decorative elements of a building with a direct reference to the organic world of nature. Notably, these elements belonged to the works of painting and sculpture, not to architecture. It is possible that Ross followed the conservative aesthetics of the Academy, according to which color had no place on the architectural members of a Greek temple.[221] On the other hand, by the term *symbol* Ross declared that he understood any "complex sign" which gave figurative expression to a religious feeling and "which had no actual bearing upon the essence of the thing represented."[222] It is very likely that in the latter case, Ross was influenced by Semper's characteristic reference to prehistoric cultures which in his theory applied color on buildings for the purpose of symbolizing "obscure religious conceptions."[223] Should the reader then infer that Ross understood as symbolic all the added parts on a building, that is, parts which naturally did not belong to its very essence of construction?

---

[217] Although Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was not published until 1859, by 1830 already Goethe and his friends, Hayne and Meyer, following Herder's philosophy, had declared themselves fervent supporters of the 'transformation' theory, which opened new paths to the science of archaeology. Pioneer of this theory though was the French Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in his famous debate with Cuvier in the Académie des Sciences of Paris in July 1830. See: Alain Schnapp, op. cit., pp. 289-95.
Philosophy, too, had already entered a new phase with the organic theories of Hegel, Schlegel, Herder, and many more, who paved the way to romanticism.

[218] Ross, op. cit., p. 10. The translation from the Greek is mine.
Of course, this reference to polychromy does not qualify Ross as the pioneer of the new theory in Greece. The idea must have been known to Greece by several years prior to Ross's publication through the renowned works of such scholars as Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (*Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadien und die daselbst ausgegrabenen Bildwerke*, Rome, 1826) and Leo von Klenze (***Der Tempel des olympischen Jupiter von Agrigent***, Stuttgart/ Tübingen, 1821). Interestingly, von Klenze had already adopted Hittorff's views on polychromy in the second edition of his book of 1827. For an extensive and critical discussion on the subject of polychromy see: David Van Zanten, The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830s (doct. diss., Harvard Univ., 1970), New York/ London, 1977.

[219] Specifically Ross cites Semper's ***Vorläufige Bemerkungen über bemalte Architektur und Plastik bei den Alten***, Hamburg-Altona, 1834 and Kugler's ***Über die Polychromie der griechischen Architektur und Sculptur und ihre Grenzen***, Berlin, 1835.

[220] Actually Semper was introduced to the concept of architectural polychromy by Hittorff himself during Semper's period of study in Paris (1826-30) under Franz Christian Gau. Jakob Ignaz Hittorff (1792-1867) shocked the Academy with his organic theory on the use of color by the Greeks. Specifically he saw the system of polychromy as forming one integral system with the form of the building, with form and color reinforcing each other. He attributed the distinct character of ancient buildings to color and the richness of decoration, not to the orders as the Academy believed to that date. He further saw the color as the means by which ancient buildings harmonized with the brilliant colors of the Mediterranean environment. Finally, he considered the architecture of all nations and all periods as a continuous process of imitation of that preceding it. Notably, this last thesis Semper used and based on it his own theory of style. Hittorff published his first important deductions on polychromy with K.L.W. von Zanth in ***Architecture antique de la Sicile ou Recueil des plus intéressants monuments d' architecture des villes et des lieux....***, Paris, 1828. Also in his ***Restitution du Temple d' Empédocle à Sélinonte, ou l' Architecture polychrome chez les Grecs***, Paris, 1851.

Although Ross seems to have shared many of Semper's views on architecture – first and foremost the latter's belief in the symbolic use of color throughout the entire course of building history – any supposition for a stronger intellectual connection between the two men would be rather unfounded.[224] Since Ross was not an architect by profession, he more than likely saw the problem of building from a completely different angle than Semper. More specifically, Semper was interested in developing a theory of the past history of buildings with an instrumental significance in the present. Ross was not. Therefore, he was rather reluctant to follow Semper's view on polychromy to its full extent and theoretical ramifications, a product of a lifelong study of ancient and primitive cultures for the German architect. I am referring to Semper's definition of polychromy as the core of the socio-aesthetic theory of style and the primary force for a constant dialectical interplay between the inner and the outer form of a building.[225] Certainly, Ross had no interest in such proto-linguistic reflections on the role of color in architecture. Furthermore, for ideological reasons Ross would never have yielded to the

---

[221] Particularly if that temple belonged to the high classical period. This theory was sternly upheld by Quatremère (in his ***Jupiter Olympien...***, 1815) and his successor Raoul-Rochette. It was taken to a different level by Kugler (in ***Über die Polychromie....***, 1835).

[222] ".... σύνθετα σημεῖα καὶ ὄχι σχετικά πρός τήν οὐσίαν τοῦ παραστατέου." Ross, op. cit., p. 18. Ross went on to say that the recourse to symbolism is more common during the earliest stage in the development of a certain art. Apparently Ross saw realistic representation as a sign of maturity of art, that is, a thesis which intimates Hegelian influences.

[223] From G. Semper, ***Vorläufige Bemerkungen....***, 1834 (repr. in *Semper, Kleine Schriften*, 1884, p. 226). Quoted and translated into English by Hanno-Walter Kruft, A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present, Zwemmer, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1994, p. 311.

[224] It is also rather unlikely that the two men knew each other. Semper visited Greece in the winter of 1831-32, that is, only a few months before Ross's trip and settling in the same country.

[225] By later theorists, Semper's view of polychromy was also seen as the product of interpretative vision and the source of *meaning* in architecture. See: Michael Podro, The Critical Historians of Art, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven / London, 1982, pp. 44-55.

Semperian theorization of the crafts as the foundations for all the creative arts – architecture included – insisting instead on a strict hierarchy between arts and crafts, as explained earlier.[226] Lastly, on the crucial problem regarding the origins of the Greek temple, both Ross and Semper set themselves against the metaphysical theory that reckoned the temple as the end product of a unitary prototype (i.e., the primitive hut), and in favor of the more realistic theory that considered it the ethnological compound of foreign imports and heterogeneous influences over time. However, Ross had no specific proposition to make as to how these pieces were bound together into a harmonious whole, i.e., the temple, as opposed to Semper who eventually found in the example of the hut of the aborigines of the Caribbean both the organizational principle and the type for all further developments in building history, including the Greek temple.[227] In fact, Ross, despite his outright support of the typological theory in architecture, had no theory of his own, neither did he openly abide by any of the known ones at the time.

In sum, Ross's "Manual of Archaeology" marks a decisive turn in the development of archaeology, architecture, and the arts in modern Greece, by setting them all in the same theoretical framework as sister disciplines connected through a structural relationship with one another. This formulation entailed a number of important consequences for the future of Greek architecture. First, it set up a new dimension on the basis of which the functional competence of all new buildings in the present was judged and analyzed, that is, the dimension of **historical depth**. This idea seriously contradicted the traditional role architecture held in premodern times as a-historical (i.e., non-self-conscious) construction, obeying solely the laws of necessity and practical convenience. Now architecture had to obey primarily an intellectual criterion, a criterion which gave reason to all the other constituents of a good building. For Ross, this criterion was brought under the term 'idea', that is, the basis of the fundamental *ethos* of the community.[228] Ross used 'dignity', too, as a correlative term to 'idea', in order to express more clearly the moral principle whereby architecture related to the sphere of **abstract ideas**. Second, Ross acknowledged architecture as a **conceptual art** exhibiting both intellectual autonomy and historical development *vis-à-vis* all the manual crafts with which it was identified to that date. Although Ross foresaw a basis of cooperation between architecture and the manual crafts, his designation of architecture as a conceptual profession raised the architect to absolute authority over all the other participants of the building task. The architect would then no longer relate to the others by any means other than **linguistic/ textual** (e.g., verbal and/or written instruction, drawing). Third, Ross pronounced architecture as a primarily visual art, and its works as primarily **visual works.** Ross called for the close alliance of architecture with the other two visual arts, painting and sculpture. As a result, the building came to be judged for its exterior appearance first, and only secondarily for the manner in which it accomplished its actual purpose, that is, the function of **dwelling.**

---

[226] Of course, this formulation did not appear yet in Semper's early essay on color of 1834, but only in 1851 in his ***Die vier Elemente der Baukunst*** (Brunswick, 1851). Also in his ***Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst und andere Schriften*** (1851), ed. Hans M. Wingler, Mainz–Berlin, 1966, and finally in ***Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Aesthetik....***, 2 vols., Frankfurt, 1860, Munich, 1863. Over the course of his career, Semper articulated the theory that saw traditional forms maintaining on their painted surfaces traces, or representations, of earlier structural forms. In a sense, he contended that techniques yield metaphors which, by acquiring symbolic form, retain the memory of this technique into the next phase in the life of buildings. For Semper, this is the ultimate way of defining **symbolism** and **representation** in reference to architecture.

[227] Semper presented this theory in its complete form for the first time in his Die vier Elemente der Baukunst, Brunswick, 1851.

[228] "Ὁ τύπος ἀποβλέπει μᾶλλον τήν *μορφήν* ἤ τό *σχῆμα*, ἡ δέ ἰδέα τό *ἦθος*." (The type aims rather at the form or the shape, whereas the idea [aims] at the morale (*ethos*).) Ross, op. cit., p. 19.

Being the first Greek book of theory in its category, Ross's manual provides a good basis for criticism. Two issues are worthy of special attention in this context; one with reference to the particular point of view of the author, and the other to the way in which this point of view was carried through. I begin with the latter.

During my analysis of Ross's book, I have repeatedly observed the oscillation of the author between two discordant theoretical positions, a classical idealist, better in line with the academic tradition, and a progressivist – functionalist, more in accord with modern science and romantic philosophy. Specifically, Ross's references to a developmental view of history, together with his unreserved support of the theory of polychromy in architecture, places him marginally toward the side of his contemporary romantics, such as Goethe, Herder, and Semper. However, these references are not enough to prove Ross an unfaithful classicist. They are rather scattered and unsystematic references, more like digressions into romanticism, whereas in all other respects the author remains unambiguously attached to classical theory and the philological method. In Ross's manual, ideas of the two schools of thought do not merge into an integrated and consistent whole.[229] They only appear side by side as two foreign bodies, probably the effect of the author's intention to construct an impartial, well informed, and all inclusive handbook, following the tradition of compilation. For this reason, Ross's "Manual of Archaeology" stands close in spirit to Goudas's "Manual of Climate", as well as to manuals of decorum and domestic economy, in its characteristic way of *mechanistically* combining elements from disparate sources for the purpose of constructing an effective and handy book of instruction. After all, the reader should not forget that Ross's book, despite its theoretical varnish, was not intended by its author as a theoretical treatise but as a *manual*, as the title states.

---

[229] This disqualifies Ross for the title of a 'romantic classicist', a term which architecture historian H.-R. Hitchcock coined to the new cultural form that emerged from the combinatation of the two cultural paradigms of classicism and romanticism, and dominated the scene of western European architecture throughout the nineteenth century.

In this connection, such elements as impartiality and lack of dogmatism deserve a special mention as chief characteristics of the ethos of the author. The theoretical eclecticism of the book has much to do with these elements. Taking a modest approach to the role he was appointed to by the Greek State, Ross tried not to raise any polemics or create any ideological tensions through his writing. Characteristically, he managed to circumvent his ideological dispute with Müller politely, acknowledging him as his principal mentor. Elsewhere we saw him citing both Semper and Kugler on the issue of polychromy, casting in shadow the internal debate between the two authors. On the crucial issue of style, although he obviously set himself in favor of the classical, he addressed no comment or negative remark against any of the other styles (e.g., Gothic, Byzantine), as different authors commonly did before and after the publication of this manual.[230] Furthermore, he predicated a second volume of his book, in which he planned to cover the history of the arts after the rise of the Romans, possibly including a part of the Middle Ages so abhorrent to the Greeks. Evidently, Ross did not realize this ambition. However, by having been the author of the manual, he set a certain moral and intellectual standard which seriously contrasted with the general spirit of Greek academic discourse at the time.

Ross may have been an author with some theoretical inconsistencies in the composition of his ideas, but not an author without a firm system of beliefs. Despite his daring flirtation with romanticism, he remained a classicist at heart. However, his classicism, given the narrow framework of its inception, could bear but only ambivalent effects upon the future development of the arts in Greece. Specifically, due to his strong attachment to Platonic philosophy, Ross came to uphold a conservative view of the arts – and architecture, in particular – albeit now adjusted to the dictates of modernity. According to this view, artworks were nothing but *r*epresentations (i.e., mirror images) of idealized **forms**, yet with a concrete historical origination, as opposed to a metaphysical one in Plato. Their reason of being in the human world was primarily ethical (i.e., ethos-forming). On the other hand, Aristotle's definition of artistic *mimesis* as (re)construction of the inner structure of an artwork, which Ross emphatically endorsed, proved to be of little relevance to his system. That is because Aristotle understood reconstruction (i.e., *mimesis*) only through the active form of **performance**, unlike

---

[230] According to Oreopoulos, such an attitude against the indigenous Byzantine tradition appears quite clearly in the writings of the classicist Pizzamano. Specifically, in a short travelogue Pizzamano spoke with contempt against the houses and sites of Constanstantinople which bore the mark of Byzantine and traditional architecture. Oreopoulos cites Pizzamano's "Description de Constantinople", in I. Meletopoulos (ed.), *'Ιστορία γιά σᾶς*, vol. I, Athens, 1971, pp. 98-105.

Ross who assigned to vision and rational consciousness absolute priority over both experience and performance. This static conception of the arts that Ross introduced in his manual could aim at no better context than that of a static and hierarchically organized real world in which, on the one hand, divine will was absent, and on the other hand, the role of the human will remained highly unspecified. That is to say that the real causes for movement and change, or life itself, had no place in this world. Although Ross appeared to support in theory historical continuity, he provided no adequate explanation as to how the temporal element of life would create a valid counterpoint to the eternity of ideal forms. Characteristic in this respect is his decision to exclude 'stability' (therefore, technology and its related effects) as a potential factor of architectural progress from the triadic definition of architecture by Vitruvius, and placing in its stead the moral criterion of 'dignity'.

How did Ross then understand progress and change in architecture, or was he not interested in this issue at all? One should not forget that Ross was an archaeologist, not an architect. Therefore, he placed the focus of his investigations on the description of archaeological landscapes in which 'dead' strata of time had consolidated into a formless body open to scientific inquiry. Ross's landscape was a landscape in stasis and, at the same time, an object of curiosity. The archaeologist's special mission then was to discern and rescue out of this amorphous mass of ruins artifacts of unique value, and subsequently restore these artifacts to their original form and latent beauty. Ross's work, in other words, was *re*construction, not original construction. His referents lay all in the past, his assisting sense was vision, his methodological tool was the typological table, and, in that connection, his intellectual guide was Plato. Probably then, Ross, like Plato, came to understand time as the imitation of eternity, and every 'new' form as another return of the same. It was for this reason that he paid so little attention to the propelling forces of history and the transformative power of the arts. His view of the space–time continuum was in terms of superimposed layers bearing no essential connection with one another, other than certain formal similarities and differences. In a sense, Ross had no interest to create a normative theory of architecture. However, his manual could easily be mistaken for a book of architectural theory, based simply on the fact that it was the first of its kind in Greece to ever present principles and ideas on architecture in a systematic form.

There is practically no direct evidence to prove the impact of Ross's manual on the state of Greek architecture in the years following its publication. The excessive emphasis on formal as opposed to pragmatic and structural considerations, the designation of architecture as an artistic profession attached to the philological method, and the belated arrival of modern building technology in Greece, may be seen not as some of the immediate effects of this book but as symptoms of the general spirit of the times to which this book belonged, too. So, what was the contribution of this book – if any – to the future of Greek architecture other than restating the obvious, albeit in a more scholarly manner? Its contribution, I believe, lay in the fact that it articulated, in the best possible manner, the metaphor which served as the intellectual support of the 'edifice' of architecture – both past and present – that is, the **archaeological metaphor.** Seen from a negative point of view, this metaphor, due to its adherence to a static conception of forms, led rather easily to a dogmatic codification of styles and a naive moralism whose exclusive aim was the creation of **buildings–monuments** that obeyed certain predetermined semiological criteria. In other words, Ross, although unintentionally, provided a theoretical basis for the third brand of classicism in Greece to flourish, which – according to my earlier account – was the popular trend of nationalistic classicism and its associated style, the neoclassical. Seen from a positive point of view, the archaeological metaphor, due to its theoretical detachment from the world of immediate necessity and action, and because of its primarily linguistic basis, facilitated a mental 'flight' into the upcoming paradigm of modernism, that is, a paradigm characterized by abstraction and the domination of the conventional sign. However, in order for Greek architecture to eventually arrive at this paradigm, it had to pass first through two other important stages: an uncritical/historicist stage of idolatrous attachment to the forms of classical antiquity (i.e., Othonian period), and a critical one, a stage of self-knowing, in which a friendly, unprejudiced, and therefore no longer idolatrous, connection with the country's historical past was effected (i.e., post-Othonian period).[231]

2.1. Archaeological topographies and their role in the conceptualization of architectural space

Archaeological topographies were primarily verbal descriptions of neohellenic landscapes with emphasis on the recording of the archaeological substratum of specific localities. They emerged as the second branch of applied geography, the one which fused with archaeology, according to my earlier exposition. Combining empirical observation with past eye-witness accounts, archaeological topographies – like medical chorographies[232] – had a significant contribution to the rationalization of the Athenian landscape. But, in contrast to medical chorographies whose principal focus was on the physical constitution of the locality by the natural elements, archaeological topographies both perceived and delivered the physical landscape as the result of successive sedimentations of human culture. Both kinds of sources set themselves in the difficult task of constructing complete semiologies from the reading of sporadic signs on the 'body' of the earth. However, archaeological descriptions, in particular, concerned themselves with a synthetic approach to space, as their task was not simply to construct the specific semiology of the landscape, but also to set forth a certain avenue for interpretation. In this respect, they used as an intermediary, not the human body *per se* – in the manner of medical chorographies – but the human body as a performing agent in a certain socio-cultural milieu, that is, as an agent capable of producing meaningful works, i.e., **symbols**. Their primary vehicles in this effort were the literary texts of the ancients whereby descriptive topographies remained for long methodologically dependent upon the disciplines of history and philology.

---

[231] The formal entrance of the country to this second stage occurred with the publication of the seminal oeuvre *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους* (History of the Greek Nation) by historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos in 1860. This phase of Greek history was characterized by a reappraisal of the Greek Middle Ages and a return to the traditional values of the indigenous people of the country. See also footnote #91 for a theoretical connection of this movement with European romanticism.

[232] That is, the first branch of applied geography, which I discussed in the preceding chapter 1, sub-chapter 3.

Given the renewed interest of Europe in the ancient past of the city of Athens – that is, a result of many travelers' descriptive accounts of Athenian antiquities over a period of two centuries[233] – a considerable number of archaeological topographies of the Athenian landscape were published primarily by European scholars, sometimes accompanied by detailed mappings of the site.[234] Complementary to this kind of scholarly literature were graphic depictions of the same subject (i.e., the relief of the natural landscape) by various artists with a special bent in empirical archaeology. Quite often, this type of graphic representation encompassed in the strip form of a *panorama* the full 360° extent of the horizon of a particular locality.[235] Some of these spectacular views of archaeologically interesting localities were intended as exhibition items within specially designed circular amusement halls where technical tricks allowed for an illusory inversion of inside to outside space. According to the urban historian M. Christine Boyer, panoramic views of spectacular landscapes – either real or mythical – exhibited in the technical way of a 'panorama' or 'diorama',[236] were among the most popular forms of entertainment for the public of the largest European metropolises at the time. Boyer writes: "The panoramic eye was a peculiarly nineteenth-century product, combining a taste for spectacular illusion with the thrill of documentary realism."[237] For this reason, the panoramic spectacle represented the bourgeois mentality *par excellence* for its way of coupling an ameliorated view of reality with the pride in the scenic beauty of the particular locality – normally the city, the cornerstone of bourgeois social identity.

---

[233] For travelers in the Greek land between the 17th and the 19th century, see the multi-volume work by Kyriakos Simopoulos, Ξένοι Ταξιδιῶτες στήν 'Ελλάδα (Foreign Travelers to Greece), [n.p.] Athens, 1970. With special relevance to architecture for their line-drawings of Athenian monuments are the following works: Jacob Spon, ***Voyage d' Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 et 1676***, vols. I-III, Lyon, 1678; Julien David Le Roy, ***Ruins of Athens with Remains and Other Valuable Antiquities in Greece***, printed for R. Sayer, London, 1759; and James Stuart & Nickolas Revett, ***The Antiquities of Athens***, I-IV, London, 1762-1816; also ***The Unedited Antiquities of Attica***, London, 1817. For literature by travelers to the Greek land, particularly Attica, in the nineteenth century see footnote #15 in the same chapter.

[234] For a list of the most prominent topographical descriptions of Athens and its environs in the nineteenth century refer back to footnote #27.

[235] Particularly for topographical descriptions of Athens accompanied by a graphic part in the form of a ***panorama*** see: Charles Holte Bracebridge (Mrs.), ***Notes Descriptive of a Panoramic Sketch of Athens***, taken May 1839, W. H. Dalton, London, 1839 (Figs. 9 & 10a); Henry Aston Barker & John Burford, ***Description of the View of Athens and Surrounding Country Panorama Strand*** (with an Improbed Explanation giving a complete outline of the whole picture with numbers and references), printed by Jas, Adlard & Sons, Bartholomew Close, London, 1818 (Fig. 8); Robert Burford (painter), H.C. Selous (Assistant), ***Description of a view of Athens and the Surrounding Country*** (Now Exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square) From Drawing taken at the spot in 1845 by Georges Knowles, Esq., printed by Geo. Nichols, Earl's Court, Leicester Square, London, 1845 (Fig. 8); Henry Cook, ***Recollections of a Tour in the Ionian Islands, Greece and Constantinople***, Thomas M' Lean, London, 1853, (the trip took place in 1834; a panorama of the city was drawn from the Lycabettus hill); Ferdinand Stademann, ***Panorama von Athen***, Von Zabern, Mainz, 1977 (orig. München, 1841) (fig. 11); Stackelberg (Baron de), ***La Grèce, vues pittoresques et topographiques***, Ed. fr., Paris, 1834; Theodose Du

In defiance of the preceding definition, the first topographical views of Athens in a panoramic format shared hardly any elements with the illusionistic panoramas of European cities. Drawn by scientifically minded European artists, such as Bracebridge and Burford, these works lay an overt claim to objectivity as they transferred to a visual form the verbal descriptions of the city by contemporary archaeologists. (Figs. 8, 9, 10) In an almost purist manner, the authors of these Athenian panoramas selected to represent only what they considered essential for someone to know, that is, a blend of natural landscape with the silhouettes of ancient monuments, oftentimes spotted only as locations. Interestingly, post-antique structures and modern buildings were either completely left out of the scene or they were shown in the most abstract form possible. In this way, panoramas attached to the archaeological spirit strove to deliver to the general public an a-temporal and, therefore, scientifically 'correct' picture of Athens. They allowed then hardly any room for illusion or idle reverie. For this reason, archaeological panoramas may be considered the visual counterparts of all descriptive chorographies, including medical chorographies, which, too, by and large paid little notice to the contemporary layer of the city.

Moncel, *De Venice à Constantinople; à travers la Grèce et retour par Malte, Messine, Pizza et Naples*, Delarue, Paris, 1845 (fig. 12).

[236] There is a qualitative difference between the two media in that the **panorama** requires a moving spectator and an immobile picture, whereas the **diorama** requires the exact opposite setup. This is how Jonathan Crary defines the difference: "[In the case of the panorama] one was compelled at the least to turn one's head (and eyes) to see the entire work. The multimedia diorama removed that autonomy from the observer, often situating the audience on a circular platform that was slowly moved, permitting views of different scenes and shifting light effects." Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass./ London, England, 1990, p. 113.

[237] M. Christine Boyer, The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. / London, England, 1994, p. 257. The author notices that "... the panorama or diorama became popular in London and Paris during the last decade of the eighteenth century. They were logical extensions of pictorial journalism, a form of instant historical painting of contemporary epic events that became the sensational chronicles of Napoleonic times." Ibid., p. 252.

However, there is a point which links descriptive panoramas more strongly with archaeological chorographies than with medical ones. This point deserves special attention in the context of this study. That is, although many of the panoramic depictions of Athens were intended for spectacular showing in the aforementioned amusement halls of Europe, no similar shows took place in Greece until as late as the last quarter of the century.[238] (Fig. 13) In effect, if the Greek public had any means of acquainting itself with this kind of panoramic depictions, this would have been no other than the 'frozen' picture of the book. By way of these printed panoramas people were invited to receive a pictorial notion of landscape which corresponded in essence with its archaeological descriptions. People were called, in other words, to match the picture with the word by following the name index at the bottom of the page. The landscape the Greek public conceived in this manner was still and eternal, a landscape which, due to its extreme scientificity and purity, put forth a different kind of illusion than the one panoramic spectacles used to offer to the European public.

To this *monumentalizing* way of viewing the Athenian landscape, medical chorographies contrasted a more dynamic one. As I have extensively argued, medical doctors described the natural landscape in a state of constant flux, that is, an element essential to the nature of a panoramic spectacle. "[Moving shadows and varying colors] keep changing constantly and discreetly the scene in the manner of a *diorama*", wrote Mavroyiannis in his account of the marvelous effects of the light of Attica as early as in 1841.[239] Lacking, however, both the technical and the theoretical means of Europe to support the culture of the panorama, Greece turned its back to the aesthetic possibilities that such a culture might have begotten to a newly developing country. But, she did so for ideological reasons, too. It was most likely for the same reasons that Greece marginalized the philosophical discourse of the physicians, while she adhered more strongly to that of the archaeologists instead. The latter undeniably had the power to fix more firmly and permanently the identity of the modern city in the immutable heritage of the past, a heritage now conveyed through the language of classical symbols.

---

[238] I have no precise information as to when panoramas–spectacles were first introduced to the life of the Athenians. A postcard of the turn of the century shows a sizable panorama building in the shape of a cylinder sited across the Panathenaic Stadium, north of Ilissos River (fig. 13). The building was specially set up on the occasion of the first Olympic Games in Athens in 1894. Matoula Skaltsa in her doctoral thesis on the spaces of social gathering in 19th-century Athens identified panoramas only as late as in the last two decades of the century. She mentions three of them by name. Their presence coincides with the rise of the movie theater in Greece. Matoula Skaltsa, Κοινωνική ζωή καί δημόσιοι χῶροι κοινωνικῶν συναθροίσεων στήν 'Αθήνα τοῦ 19ου αἰώνα (Social Life and Public Spaces of Social Gatherings in 19th-century Athens), Thessaloniki, 1983, pp. 599, 605.
It is however possible that panoramas-spectacles had been in Athens before 1880, yet not as permanent structures.

[239] ".... καί μεταβάλλουσιν, ὡς εἰς διόραμα, συνεχῶς καί ἀνεπαισθήτως τήν σκηνήν." See: Mavroyiannis, op. cit., p. 18.

It is noteworthy that Greek archaeologists concerned themselves very little with the writing of descriptive topographies of Athens. With the exception of the early and rather problematic descriptive work of Kyriakos Pittakis (1798-1863)[240] – an amateur yet very dedicated archaeologist – the most systematic effort for the construction of an Athenian topography belonged to the noted scholar and polymath Alexandros Rangavis (1809-1892), whose complete guide to the modern traveler, Athènes Ancienne dans Athènes Modèrne, was not published until the year 1890.[241] Generally speaking, Greek archaeologists set themselves in the more instrumental task of identifying, collecting, and preserving the scattered antique ruins, thus leaving projects of the larger scale to their western colleagues.[242] In this passionate search for all the lost and precious pieces of history, the method those empirical archaeologists most often used was the traditional method of the antiquarian, that is, the method of listing and recording. Among other advantages, this method allowed them to measure progress in their works. The inventory of the Archaeological Society at the end of every year included long lists of artifacts, some of which its members documented and depicted in fine ink-line drawings; among them a large portion of ancient inscriptions, which they diligently read and deciphered by making use of their philological expertise.[243] In fact, this tedious and scientifically demanding occupation of *epigraphy* proved to be the real strength of those early amateurs in the field of Greek archaeology.

---

[240] The French archaeologist M. Raoul-Rochette, author of a good topographical description of ancient Athens published in a set of six essays in 1852 (see above footnote # 27), questions this negligence on the part of his contemporary colleagues. He is the one who cites Pittakis's topography (K.S. Pittakis, ***L' ancienne Athènes, ou la Description des antiquités d' Athènes,*** Athènes, 1835) which he finds "incomplete, inadequete, with scientific errors, accompanied by an illegible map". See: (M.) Raoul-Rochette, ***Sur la Topographie d' Athènes,*** Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1852, (Articles extraits du *Journal des Savants*.), article 1, p. 2.

[241] Alexandros R. Rangavis (Rangabé), 'Αρχαιολογία -- Τοπογραφικὰ τῶν 'Αρχαίων 'Αθηνῶν (Archaeology – Topography of Ancient Athens), Collected works, vol. 18, Perris print, Athens, 1898. Rangavis does not attempt a synthetic approach to the description of the city by using the idea of the palimpsest (i.e., layering of historical periods) until later in the century. This work was first published in French by a Greek printing office as: A.R. Rangabé, Athènes Ancienne dans Athènes Modèrne. Guide du Voyageur (Publié d' abord en Feuilleton), Imprimerie Anestis Constantinides, Athènes, 1890. It was intended as an objective and scientifically accurate travel guide to the city by a Greek archaeologist. In this respect it becomes a successor of Koumanoudis's "Panorama...", yet moving toward a more scientific, less ideologically ladden, direction. However, the seeds of this work were set much earlier in 1861, in Rangavis's address in front of the King Othon on the occasion of the annual anniversary of the Greek University. The text of the speech was published and accompanied by an archaeological / topographical map of Athens "Ancient Athens in the Modern". A.R.Rangavis, Λόγος 'Εκφωνηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ τῆς 'Αρχαιολογίας 'Α. Ρ. Ρ. κατὰ τὴν 'Επέτειον 'Εορτὴν τῆς τοῦ 'Οθωνείου Πανεπιστημίου Καθιδρύσεως (Address delivered by the professor of archaeology A.R.R. on the occasion of the founding anniversary of the Othonian University), 20 May 1861, Lakonia print, Athens, 1861.

[242] Despite the decline of the philhellenic movement in the West after the establishment of the modern Greek State, Greece continued to be considered the archaeological center of Europe. Many countries established schools and institutes in Greece which assumed extensive archaeological projects; among them were France (1846), Germany (1874), the United States (1881), and Great Britain (1886).

[243] The official publication of the Archaeological Society of Greece was annual and was brought under the title *'Εφημερὶς 'Αρχαιολογική* (Archaeological Gazette) between 1837 and 1860 (first period with a gap of nine years, i.e., 1843-52). It was edited by the first general superintendent of antiquities K. Pittakis and printed by the 'Royal Typography'. It was illustrated with drawings of controversial quality by the painter Athanasios Iatrides. See: Kokkou, op. cit., pp. 85-99.

3. Interim Conclusions and Forethoughts

Descriptive sources of archaeological discourse in the Othonian period are generally divided into two broad categories, manuals of archaeology and topographical descriptions of specific localities. They were authored mainly by western archaeologists and constituted exemplary cases of scholarly writing at a time of transition from a primarily oral to a primarily literate culture. Most importantly, they lay the theoretical foundations for the development of the arts, architecture, and visual culture, in general, during the rise of Greek modernity. They became one of the principal vehicles by which theoretical discourse of a western European derivation, yet based on classical Greek prototypes, was let into the country where its actual roots lay. On a general level, these sources pronounced ancient Greece the symbolic context whereby all acts in the present gained significant content. In this connection, they fostered the development of a nationalistic spirit in Greece. They also set the presuppositions for the establishment of neoclassicism as the official style of the new State, although, in their efforts to retain in theory a disinterested approach to their subject matter, they refrained from prescribing any stylistic or ideological directions.

In their specific reference to architecture, descriptive sources of archaeological discourse provided the conceptual categories and other descriptive tools (i.e., terminology, definitions, visual media, etc.) necessary for the theoretical grounding of the architectural discipline and the rise of the architect from the status of the craftsman to that of the artist. Furthermore, they suggested a reading of the man-made environment based on rational and aesthetic criteria along the lines of modernity. Archaeological manuals, on the one hand, concerned themselves with the study of the singular artifact, including the building as a special case. Topographical descriptions, on the other hand, broadened the field of archaeological study into spatial wholes, such as the historical landscape of an entire city. Both sources scrutinized the relationship between part and whole as they sought to reconstruct the totality beginning – in most cases – with the rudimentary unit, the ruin, or simply the word often found in the form of a scattered reference in some older literary text.

Parenthetically, descriptive sources of archaeology instituted a close connection between text and built form. The primary reason for that was because archaeology emerged as a by-product of **philology** with which it retained indissoluble ties before it finally gave in to the influence of empirical science. Particularly in Greece, that is, a country which until lately was subject to the dogmatic reasoning of Christian theology and which experienced a belated passage into the literate culture of modernity, philology proved to be the discipline with the greatest power relative to the other disciplines throughout the century. Philology, like theology before it, sternly defended the priority of *word* over matter. After the establishment of the modern State, philology and archaeology existed within the same intellectual framework, shared the same goals, used similar methods, lay the same claim to precedence and textual evidence, and served the same historicist 'topography'. The two together created the dominant paradigm of the century, that is, the **philological–archaeological paradigm.**

Architecture – an area of knowledge not yet developed to the status of an autonomous discipline in Greece – was prompted to construct all of its new works under the aegis of this paradigm, as the actual embodiments of what I termed earlier the *archaeological metaphor.* Based on this metaphor, the architectural entity (i.e., the building, the square, the city) was conceptualized in purely formal terms, that is, as a visual phenomenon seen from without. Furthermore, it was subject to a rational system of grids and layers, it was comprised by clearly distinguishable parts which related to one another through formal similarities and differences, and it was appreciated for its ability to create a valid reference to historical precedence. Thus architecture provided the essential material whereby the attachment of the philologist–archaeologist to an idealized past – by way of his allegiance to the Platonic notion of **imitation** – became manifest in a tangible form. In turn, architecture gained a higher state of self-awareness as a discipline by applying rational methods in the construction, formal delineation, and space definition of buildings. At the same time – for better or for worse – it was convinced of its imitative function, that is, a function which for architecture to successfully carry out it had to look beyond the resources of building construction *per se* into a more universal semiology of officially sanctioned forms, such as the forms of classical antiquity. The various ways of accessing and employing the language of these forms into new uses opened a whole new range of issues for architecture.

Specifically in Athens, where the historical precedents happened to be physically present, the classical notion of imitation easily turned from *temporal* (i.e., imitation as remembrance of another realm of ideal forms) into *spatial* since new buildings found themselves juxtaposed to the city's ancient monuments. That is to say that any possibility for an imaginary attainment to the realm of ideal forms based on Plato's definition of imitation withered away in favor of an immediately visible, syntactical connection between the ideal and the real, the old and the new. Especially under the influence of the trend of nationalistic classicism, a more instrumental relationship with the city's historical past was established, a relationship which relied primarily on visual criteria and which, interestingly, expanded its fundamental logic upon the structure of the city as a whole. The old monuments gave rise to new monuments, and those to others up to the level of the simple dwelling with a monumental pretense. Through a chain of imitative associations, *monumentality* in its various manifestations and degrees became a total phenomenon that encompassed the architecture of the modern city. New construction transferred into new buildings some of the memory of the older form which, depending on the personal input of the maker, served either as a model or as a remote prototype for the new. That is, imitation did not always follow a linear path. It did not follow a fully creative path either, given that it rarely comprised the theoretical notion of the *type* as an interpretative station from idea to form, as Ross had firmly urged in his 'manual'. In fact – and against Ross's advice on the matter – the practice of copying of either plans or individual elements into new buildings from ready models was far more common than imitation as a scholastic practice during the Othonian period.[244] In other words, the popular notion of imitation outweighed its scholastic counterpart, in whichever form the latter was expressed by descriptive sources related to architecture at the time. In any case, architectural imitation proved instrumental in the creation of a certain symbolic order, both physical and social – an order principally based on hierarchy and the moral power of precedence.

In a conclusive assessment, descriptive sources of archaeology in nineteenth-century Athens set up some of the most important coordinates for both the formation and the conceptualization of the built environment of the modern city. With their roots deep in the classical philological tradition, these sources promoted a literary model for the constitution of the architectural work according to which the referential function of the work gained importance equal to, if not more than, the physicality of the work itself. In other words, the building, or the city as a whole, was now seen and judged as an aesthetic product possessing representational value, like any other *work of art* or *monument* of ancient history. It was appreciated for its ability to participate in the construction of a collective semiology, and more importantly, of a certain social ethos. Descriptive sources of archaeology conceived the world in textual terms, that is, as a product of the human mind with architecture among its principal manifestations. In this connection, they glorified the culture of the city as man's supreme mental achievement. They saw urban culture and its related works (i.e., buildings) as almost detached from the world of nature and its transformative powers. Consequently, these sources created a compelling counterexample to the medical chorographies which, according to my earlier analysis, strove for an optimum balance between culture and nature by setting the human body in the middle as the mediating agent. – Is it rather accidental that Mavroyiannis's 'Observations on the Climate of Athens' and Ross's 'Manual of Archaeology' were published in the same year, 1841? – On an intellectual level, archaeological sources undoubtedly conformed better to the example of *christoetheias* according to which mind was above matter, form above process, law above life. On a more practical level, the archaeological discourse appeared to complement well that of manuals of domestic economy whose concern was the individual building, and the urban dwelling, in particular. Archaeology, like domestic economy, constructed its theory along rational lines, exalted the role of the individual unit *vis-à-vis* the whole, and institutionalized the practice of imitation as the dominant practice whereby order and hierarchy took hold of the socio-cultural edifice of the city as a whole. However, archaeology concerned itself only with time-honored structures, not with modern construction as manuals of home economy did. In addition, archaeological writings, as opposed to manuals of domestic economy, gave less emphasis on the internal constitution of the built unit, and more on its external configuration and its connections with a broader context of reference.

---

[244] A more extensive discussion on the issue of imitation and its implications in the architectural culture of Othonian Athens is included in my study "'Transcribing': Athenian domestic architecture and the building contract through notary archives of the period 1835-1850".

Seen only in this light, descriptive sources of archaeology could not have produced but an indirect effect upon architecture. However, and according to my earlier analysis, the influence of archaeology on the architectural becoming of the modern city–capital was far more decisive considering that archaeology was the discipline that supplied the essential metaphor by which a certain mode of thinking, acting, and constructing meaning around the material products of the modern world was effected, that is, the *archaeological metaphor*. Conducive to the development of this metaphor into the dominant structure of nineteenth-century architectural thought was the practical discourse of Greek archaeologists and philologists.[245] In contrast to the disinterested discourse of descriptive archaeologists, Greek archaeologist–philologists adopted a more instrumental approach to matters of fact. Through their practical preoccupation they managed to translate description into prescription with a direct application in the architecture of the modern city. Greek archaeologist–philologists became the pioneers of the popular trend of archaeological neoclassicism which formed the core of the nationalistic movement in Greece. Being primarily concerned with the establishment of a certain symbolic order under the command of the monarchic State, Greek archaeologist-philologists enforced such classical notions as imitation, hierarchy and monumentality, yet now adapted to the specific social and political standards of the newly developing country. If descriptive (Western European) archaeologists, in their theoretical accounts, effected an idealistic projection into a timeless plane by appeal to pure rationality, it was the Greek archaeologists' task to conform those accounts to a more pragmatic and timely frame of action.

---

[245] As I explained earlier in the text, the two terms normally coincide.

It is worth noting that, during this conversion process of theoretical into practical discourse the aforementioned notions of imitation, hierarchy, and monumentality, became subject to ideological distortion as they were called to serve immediate political ends. The constructive element imbedded in the original definition of these notions was displaced in favor of visual immediacy and practical effect. The popular trend of archaeological neoclassicism, echoing the nationalistic aspirations of the State, promoted a static conception of architectural works as the visible crystallizations of a still and eternal order. In other words, it carried the *mechanistic* logic – already present in the texts of Ross and Müller – to an extreme by adhering strongly to some of its most conservative aspects (e.g., emphasis on form, primacy of vision, moral criterion of truth, textuality). Out of these aspects and in defiance of the actual dispositions of the people (e.g., oral traditions, embodied memory, etc.), Greek archaeologist–philologists built a whole new symbolic culture for the country along the lines set by the modern State. Beginning with the individual building, the practical reasoning of these scholars expanded to encompass the entire city as the principal architectural phenomenon which had now to be conceived in terms analogous to those of the individual building, that is, as a total product or a work of art. Their sporadic and mostly journalistic texts make evident how the archaeological 'writing' of the city, which descriptive archaeology set forth in the first place, eventually turned into an ideological 'reading' of the city, which was intended for popular use. It is in this connection that the writings of Stephanos Koumanoudis emerged in the middle of the nineteenth-century as the most prominent case of instructive discourse on architecture by a Greek scholar whose specific aim was the construction of the architectural identity of the modern capital under the direct influence of both the archaeological–philological paradigm and nationalistic classicism. For this reason it becomes the subject of the next chapter.

The discussion of Koumanoudis's views on the architecture of Athens proposes to cast some light on the founding principles of nationalistic classicism in Greece and particularly on the relationship between building and city in the modern capital as articulated by a Greek who vividly experienced the transition from the traditional to the modern condition. This relationship between building and city may be justly considered the key issue throughout the entire history of Greek architecture. Especially in cities with a long architectural history such as Athens, the architecture of the individual building – both before and after the rise of the modern State– cannot be seen as detached from the structure of the city as a whole, yet with significant differences in the two periods. It was only in the nineteenth-century that this relationship between building and city was first thematized (i.e., became conspicuous) mainly through the practical reasoning of scholars with a special sensibility on matters of building culture, such as Koumanoudis.

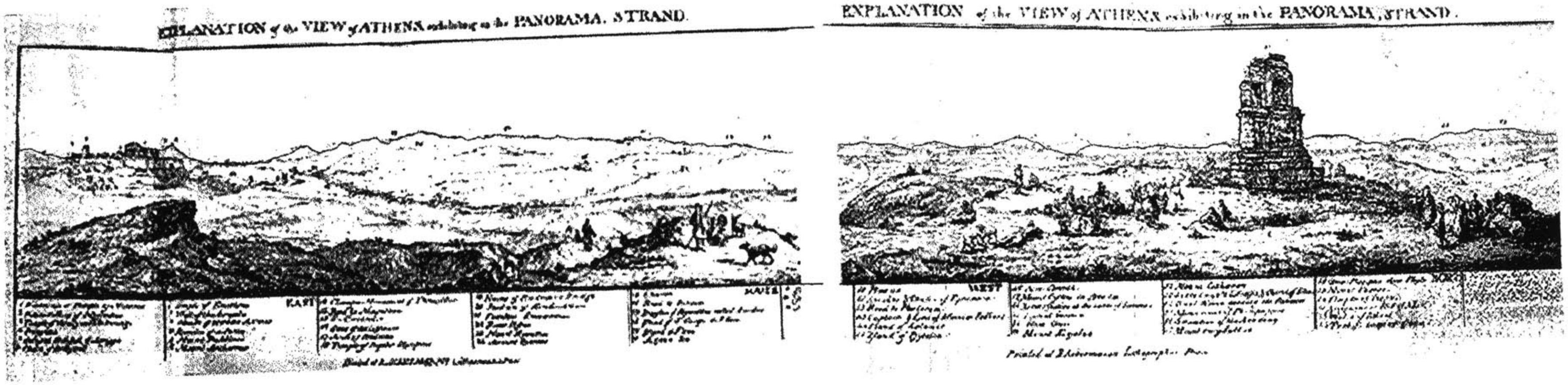

EXPLANATION of the VIEW of ATHENS exhibiting in the PANORAMA, STRAND.
EAST
EXPLANATION of the VIEW of ATHENS exhibiting in the PANORAMA, STRAND.
WEST

Fig. 8: The Panorama in *Description of the View of Athens and Surrounding Country Panorama Strand* by H.A. Barker and J. Burford (1818 & 1845) (printed by permission of the Gennadeion Library)

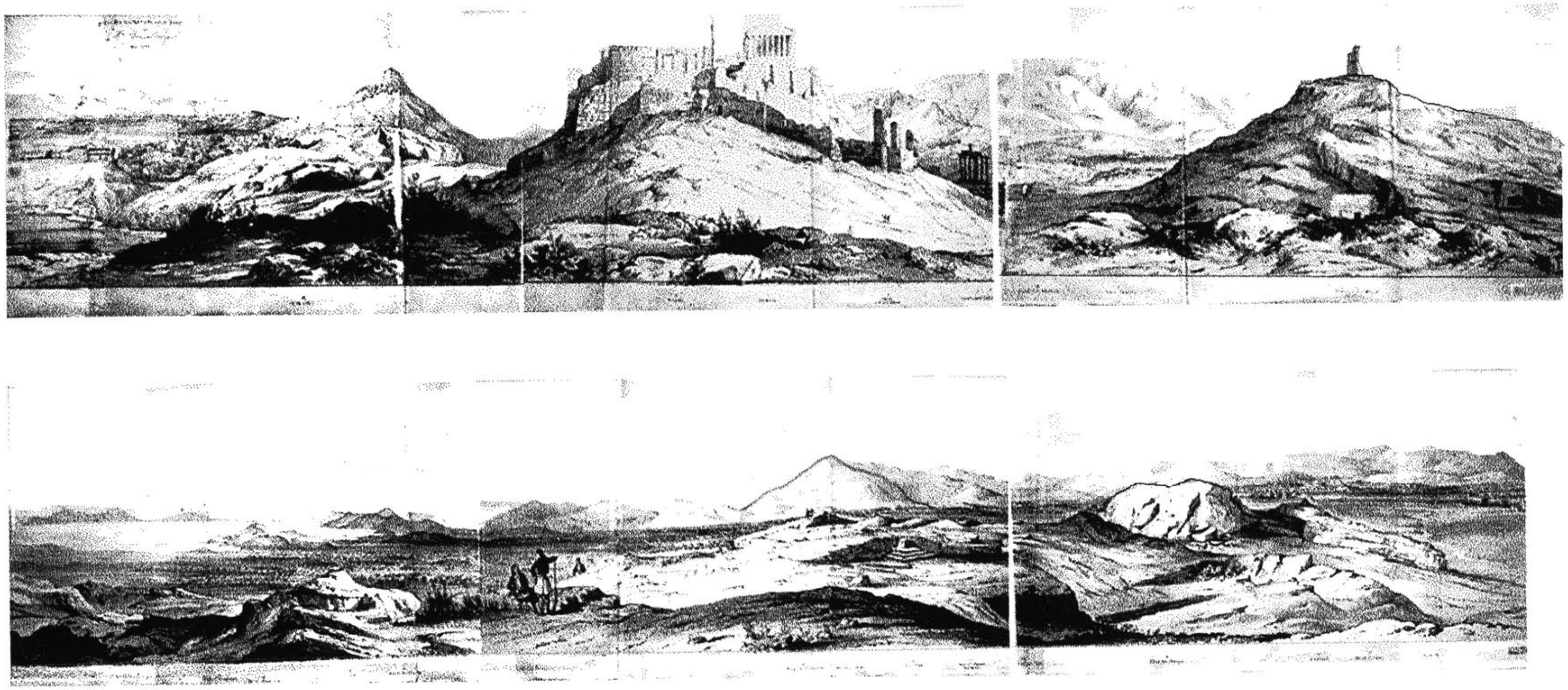
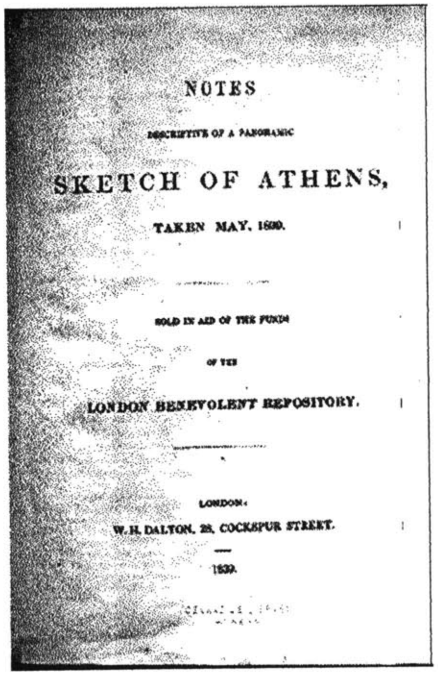


Fig. 9: The Panorama in *Notes Descriptive of a Panoramic Sketch of Athens* by Mrs. C. H. Bracebridge (1839)
(printed by permission of the Gennadeion Library)



NOTES

DESCRIPTIVE OF A PANORAMIC

SKETCH OF ATHENS,

TAKEN MAY, 1839.

SOLD IN AID OF THE FUNDS

OF THE

LONDON BENEVOLENT REPOSITORY.

LONDON:

W. H. DALTON, 28, COCKSPUR STREET.

1839.

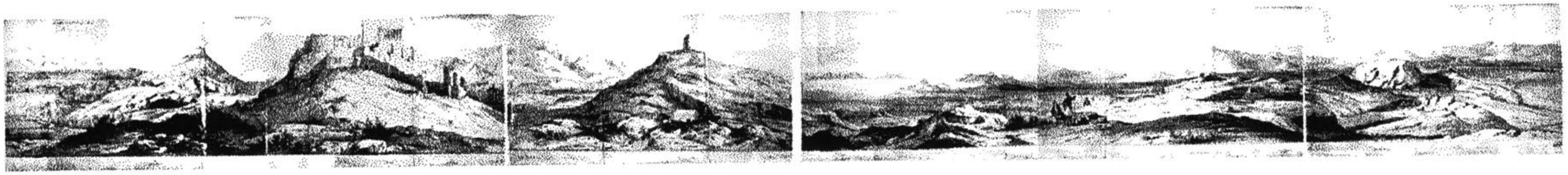


Fig. 10a &b: The cover-page and the Panorama of *Notes Descriptive of a Panoramic Sketch of Athens* by Mrs. C. H. Bracebridge (1839)
(printed by permission of the Gennadeion Library)

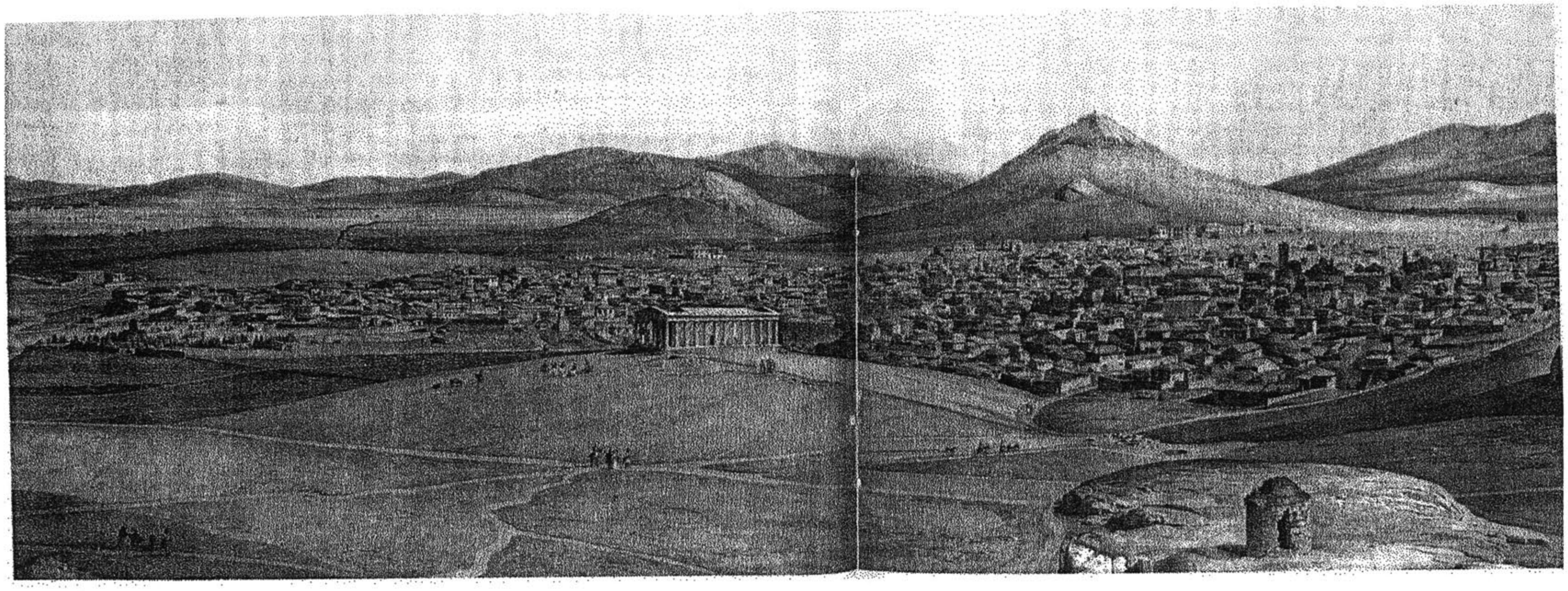


Fig. 11: Panorama of Athens (*Panorama von Athen*, 1835) drawn from the Hill of the Nymphs by Ferdinand Stademann. (In K. Biris, Αἱ 'Αθῆναι ἀπό τοῦ 19ου εἰς τόν 20όν Αἰῶνα , 1966, pp. 52-3)

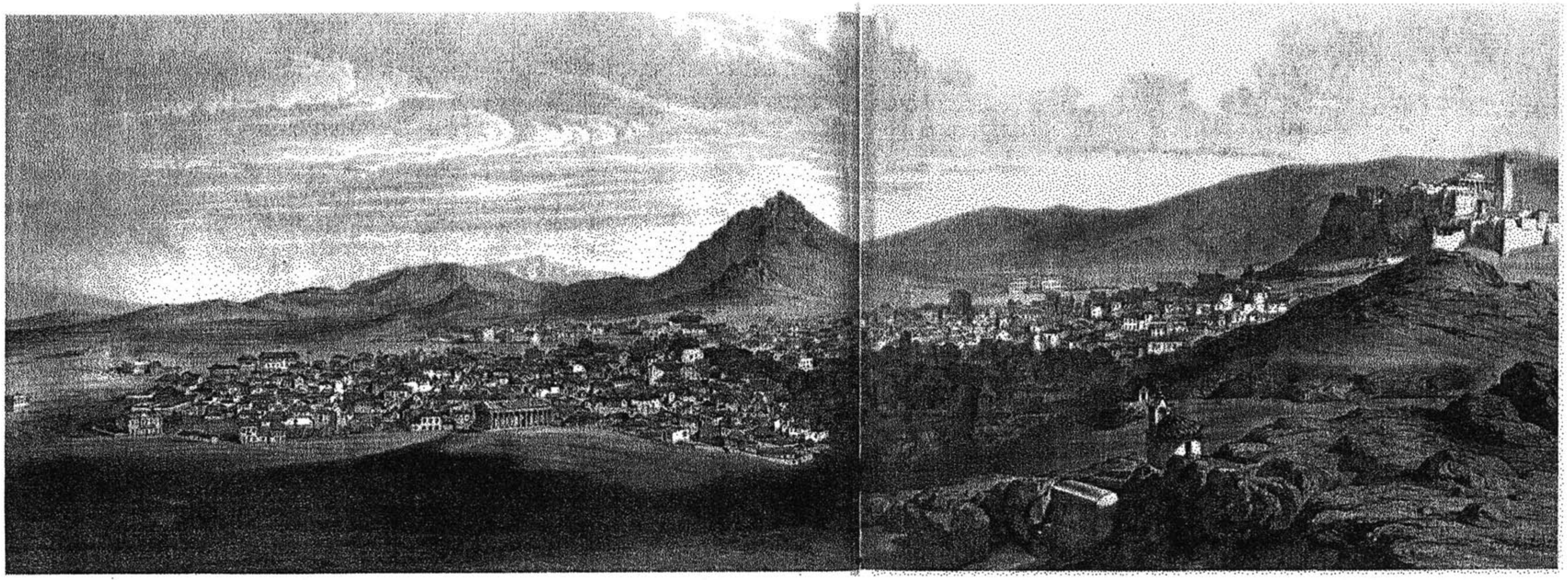


Fig. 12: Panorama of Athens drawn from the Hill of the Nymphs by Theodose Du Moncel (1842)
(In K. Biris, Αἱ ᾿Αθῆναι ἀπό τοῦ 19ου εἰς τόν 20όν Αἰῶνα , 1966, pp. 84-5)

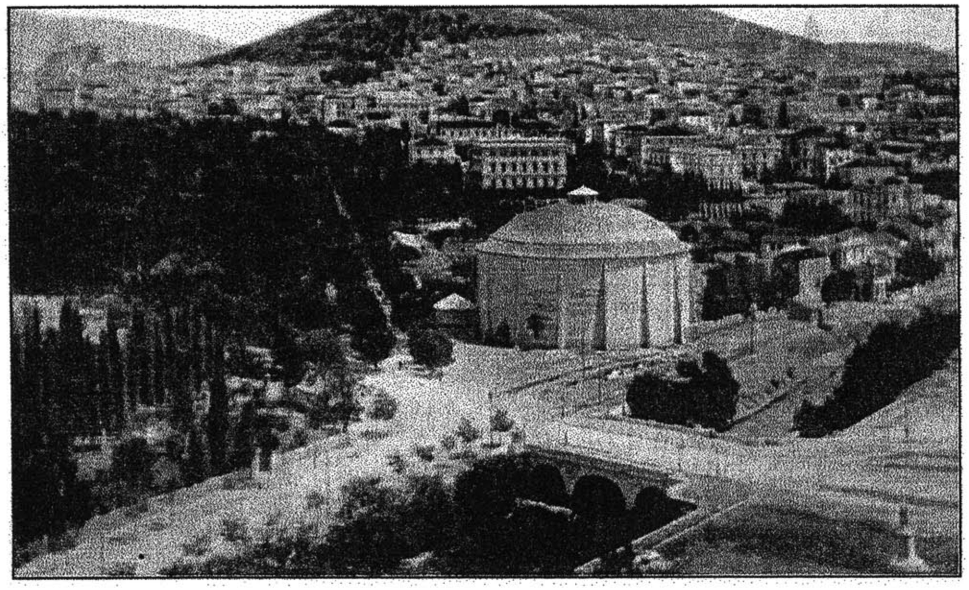


Fig. 13: The first cyclical panorama spectacle in Athens by the Ilissos River (c. 1894).
(From an old postcard – in color)

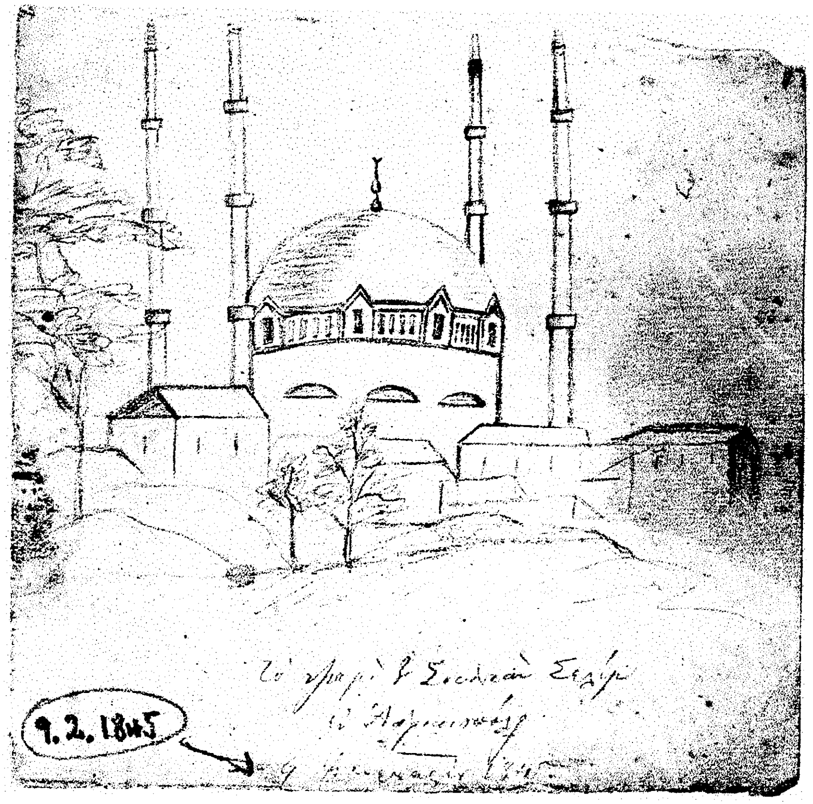

Το τζαμί τ. Σουλτάν Σελίμ
εν Αδριανουπόλει
9 Φεβρουαρίου 1845
9.2.1845

Fig. 14: Sketch of 1845 by S. A. Koumanoudis annotated "The mosque of Sultan Selim in Adrianople" (***S.K.A.***, doc. F39/ Φ1153, 43/ 9-2-1845)

CHAPTER 3:

STEPHANOS KOUMANOUDIS'S ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF INSTRUCTIVE DISCOURSE ON ARCHITECTURE

1. Introduction – His Formative Context

Stephanos A. Koumanoudis (1818-1899) holds a seminal position in the development of discourse on architecture and the arts in nineteenth-century Greece. An archaeologist, Latin philologist, and lexicographer, though not an architect by profession, this Greek polymath from Adrianople[246] demonstrated a strong interest in aesthetic matters, including architecture. His provocative articles in the press, as well as his numerous unpublished textual fragments (e.g., personal notes, mail correspondence, sketches, etc.), today form a part of his personal archives.[247] In my discussion of Koumanoudis, I will concern myself not only with his published documents of organized writing, as I have up to this point with other authors, but also with a selected number of his unpublished textual fragments which, when properly combined, will further illuminate his public views on architecture.

Koumanoudis earned his academic education primarily in Germany (1835-1842) where he studied under such famous scholars as Thiersch, Spengel, Schelling, Boeckh, Franz, Panofka,

---

[246] Adrianople (Turk. *Edirne*) is a city in the region of Eastern Thrace, currently a part of European Turkey, 210 km. to the NW of Constantinople. Since Roman times Adrianople has been a center of major strategic and economic importance. As a Byzantine city, it has been repeatedly sieged by various peoples. It fell to the Turks in 1361 in whose hands it remains ever since. It served as the capital of the Ottoman Empire from 1367 to 1472 and as the imperial residence long beyond that period. The city was gradually ottomanized and increased its population from 30,000 in 1580 to 100,000 at the turn of the 19th century. This was the time of its highest economic prosperity. During Koumanoudis's youth, Adrianople was a city with a strong eastern character, characteristic of which was its half-a-mile long bazaar with 365 shops. Its most important landmark and the masterpiece of Ottoman architecture was the 16th-century *Selimye Çami,* the mosque of Sultan Selim II by the most famous of Ottoman architects, Sinan the Great. (fig. 14)

[247] A possession of the Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles of the National Library of Greece. I want to cordially thank Mrs. Kaiti Kordouli, curator of this department, for allowing me access to Koumanoudis's archives and for patiently assisting me in the reading of handwritten manuscripts through her special knowledge in paleography. Also Mrs. Sophia Matthaiou, the organizer of Koumanoudis's archive, who first showed me the way to this valuable material.

Ritter, von Ranke, Schmidt, Hotho, and Lachmann.[248] Within the discipline of Philology, he attended courses in various subjects, including archaeology, geography, philosophy, Latin philology, and aesthetics. It is likely that Koumanoudis seized the opportunity either to take or audit classes related to architecture at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität of Berlin, thus developing a special, lifelong attachment to this subject.[249] After having spent a few years in Paris and then in Belgrade where his family had lived since 1826, he settled in Athens in 1845. From this time to the end of his life he held public posts of high political power, most importantly the post of the professor of Latin philology at the University of Greece and that of the permanent secretary of the Greek Archaeological Society.[250]

Koumanoudis appears as an exemplary case of Greek scholar who, convinced of the representational function of architecture, endorsed its role as a non-autonomous field of knowledge, subject to the *philological–archaeological* paradigm. However, unlike Ross, who articulated the same idea in the form of a quasi-theoretical discourse, Koumanoudis set himself to the task of creating a reasoning about architecture adapted to the new social and political reality of modern Greece. The result was **instructive discourse** on architecture with a strong prescriptive/ moralistic tone, which originated in the philological discipline of archaeology. According to the common Platonic conception of architecture as a pedagogical means to the ethical improvement of society[251] – a conception that Koumanoudis seemed to share unconditionally – not only did the discourse **about** architecture have to be instructive, but also the architectural work itself had to embody instruction as its principal function.

---

[248] Specifically, he studied German in Münich between 1835 and 1837 and attended academic courses at the University between 1837 and 1840. Between October 1840 and April 1842 he was a student of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität of Berlin with Philology as his declared subject. He left for Paris in August of 1842 without having received any official certificate of graduation (i.e., transcript of courses). Since the official records of the University of Berlin burnt during WWII, research cannot offer an accurate account of Koumanoudis's curriculum during the critical years 1840-42 of his studies.
I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Wilhelm Schultze, Director of the University Archives at the Humboldt-Universität of Berlin (formerly Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität), for his generous and friendly assistance during my visit in his office in October 1998. Not only did Dr. Schultze facilitate my research on Koumanoudis through the available records, but he also kindly answered to all of my questions regarding the structure and the philosophy of the curriculum during Koumanoudis's time in the school.

[249] Certainly all of these courses had a direct reference to the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome and were taught under the academic division "Kunstlehre und Kunstgeschichte", that is, as subjects of art history. From the University catalogue of the years 1840-42, I single out the courses on architecture. These are: *Geschichte, Theorie und Entwickelung der Denkmäler der Griechischen Architektur,* Hr. Prof. Toelken (private/ Fall 1840); *Allgemeine Geschichte der Baukunst,* Hr. Dr. Kugler (private/ Fall 1841); *Ausgewählte Abschnitte der Bücher Vitruvs über die Architektur erklärt,* Hr. Prof. Toelken (public/ Spring 1842). From these courses, chances are that Koumanoudis audited the last since attendance of this course was free of charge for the students of the University. Koumanoudis's later alleged interest in **Vitruvius** may further reinforce such a hypothesis.

[250] His appointment with the Greek University in Athens at the division of Latin philology lasted until 1886. His service to the Greek Archaeological Society covered the period 1859 to 1894.

[251] An idea fully articulated by Ross which I have extensively discussed in the related section of the dissertation, chapter 2, sub-chapter 2.1.

Koumanoudis's way to philology was neither easy nor free of doubts. Already well advanced in his studies in Berlin, the young Koumanoudis kept regular mail correspondence with his friends and family in which his decision to become a philologist passed under scrutiny and was argued for all its various aspects, both positive and negative. Specifically, in a letter of 1841 from his father, Athanasios, we read a good argument for philology and against architecture, which was apparently Koumanoudis's second favorite subject.[252] Athanasios Koumanoudis claimed that the profession of the philologist was the most versatile of all in those days because of the widespread demand for good teachers of languages. It was also more dignified than the profession of the architect, he held, as architects were scornfully called '*ingiliri*'.[253] In these simple words, Koumanoudis's father, a man of modest education, crystallized the traditional view of the architect in the Hellenic East, that is, a view which identified the art (*techni*) of building with a practical and, therefore, a dishonorable occupation. In a different letter of 1842, the unidentified sender – probably a friend coeval with Koumanoudis – eloquently defended philology's topmost place among all the disciplines. He argued his point based on the fact that philology was the faculty which linked the past with the present by paying due respect to the monuments of the country's history.[254] And the 'anonymous' went on to stress that such a theoretical discipline as philology had constantly to invent new ways of ensuring its practical application to the current historical and political situation.[255] Lastly, in a short note in his personal diary from the years of his study abroad, Koumanoudis expressed his on-going debate between a practical and a theoretical profession for a career.[256] Only three months before his departure from Berlin, the author questioned his decision to pursue studies in philology because, as he wrote, this subject made him sluggish, indecisive, and yearning for some action. Apparently influenced by the aforementioned correspondence, finally Koumanoudis took the decision to continue his studies in Paris where – according to his friend(?)-correspondent – matters of present history *de facto* received more attention. This decision marked an important turning point in the philosophical orientation of the young scholar, who now eagerly slipped away from the sulky grip of German Romanticism in order to commit himself more firmly to the practical and optimistic spirit of the French Enlightenment.

---

[252] Letter of Athanasios Koumanoudis from Belgrade to his son Stephanos in Berlin of 29 Jan. 1841. ***Stephanos Koumanoudis Archives (S.K.A.)***, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F1/ Φ1103, 99.

[253] In Greek in the letter. Apparently a corrupted version of the Italian 'ingegnieri'.

[254] Letter of unknown sender (the last page with the signature is missing) to Stephanos in Berlin, dated 26 Feb. 1842. ***S.K.A.***, op. cit., doc. F39/ ff1154, 21a.

[255] For this reason, he encourages Koumanoudis to leave Germany and continue his studies in Paris, where, in his view, education is oriented more toward practice than theory, while politics forms an inextricable part of the everyday life of the citizens (i.e., *Staatslebens*). Ibid.

[256] ***S.K.A.***, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 14-7-1842 (Berlin). In this note, Koumanoudis appears to have considered also the idea of becoming a painter, that is, a more active occupation which, however might have never offered him any distinction. He concludes this note by saying that *mediocrity* would be intolerable, in whichever form it might occur.

Essentially, the three aforementioned documents circumscribe – albeit in a rudimentary manner – the ideological horizon of a country running its early course of modernization, such as Greece in the nineteenth century. It was within this horizon that philology, that is, the study of language and its institutions, emerged as the leading science and the starting point for every important undertaking. Because of its intellectual foundations, philology – as opposed to architecture – enjoyed indisputable social acceptance, therefore, **dignity**. Dignity, that is, a rather vague notion which we have already encountered in Ross's Manual of Archeology as a requisite of good architecture, we now find again ingrained in common mentality as an objective criterion of social worth. Furthermore, philology did not and should not remain an abstract science. Under the pressing demand for practical application in current life, philology should strengthen its ties with both history and archaeology. It ought to provide the necessary tools for turning the inanimate objects of a country's past, i.e., its monuments (both written and built), into the strongholds of its national identity. It was this kind of philology that Koumanoudis was invited to serve in the newly rising country. That is, philology not as the source of a mere theoretical discourse, but **philology as an applied discipline** that bore instrumental effects on the present. However, in the context of an authoritarian regime, such as the Bavarian monarchy, philology had often to give up some of its interpretative capacity in order to effect persuasion through the production of practical instruction, and often prescription. The results from such a deliberate distortion of the theoretical scope of the science of language were certainly experienced in fields subordinate to philology, most importantly architecture. As I mentioned earlier, 'men of letters' were expected not only to produce instructive discourse about architecture, but also to actively ensure an instructive/ethical character for all the buildings of a certain prominence.

A curious coincidence of historical events brought Koumanoudis to the forefront of the architectural scene during the Othonian period. His authority to exercise aesthetic criticism, in general, was never disputed. First, Greek architects in the early State, occupied as they were with the production of new buildings, concerned themselves very little with writing.[257] On the contrary, Koumanoudis mastered the art of writing around which his actual profession evolved. Second, by the year 1845 (i.e., the year of Koumanoudis's arrival in Greece), many of the scholars–specialists from western Europe, including the noted archaeologist Ross, had already departed in consequence of the special measures that the Greek State had taken against all the outlanders (*heterochthons*) who held public posts.[258] From that time on, the production of new ideas and precepts on the arts by an *insider* of Greek culture was certainly something more important than a mere commodity. It was a necessity. New writing on the arts had to foster the country's national identity. Koumanoudis happened to hold precisely this position.

---

[257] The only notable exceptions to this generic dictum is the *Addendum to the first plan of Athens* by Kleanthes and Schaubert, and some sporadic texts by Kaftanzoglou. See again chapter 1, sub-chapter 1. "The Scarcity of Architectural Writing".

Concerning the question why Koumanoudis almost monopolized the discourse of this field for more than two decades, the answer may be sought again in the historical circumstance. Koumanoudis enjoyed the support of the State as his words and acts, by and large, aspired to the wishes of the authority. Koumanoudis was practically without an opponent in this particular undertaking. Coincidentally, advocates of different political and/or ideological positions (e.g., Paparrigopoulos, Zambelios, Vyzantios, Fatseas) showed no special interest in aesthetic matters. Their efforts concentrated instead on the areas of language and history.[259] However, many of the arguments involved in those fiery debates between Koumanoudis and each one of his ideological opponents had definite ramifications in architecture and the arts. Besides they render clear the ideological basis of Koumanoudis's own positions. For this reason, I will enter in some of these debates at proper instances throughout my analysis.

2. Basic premises of his philosophy on architecture and the arts

Following Koumanoudis's thinking is not an easy task. The problem lies not as much in logical inconsistencies or shifting ideological positions – in fact, the author appears steadfast to his beliefs throughout the years – as in the elliptical nature of his argumentation. Specifically, his statements hardly ever crossed the line that divides a personal opinion from a complete philosophical syllogism. Evidently, in his most popular writings, Koumanoudis cared more for how to pass a certain message to the general public, than for how to articulate these writings with sufficient demonstration (i.e., the middle and most essential part of a rhetorical argument). As a result, many of his published texts in the daily and periodical press carry a strong prescriptive character. Here, the traditional *christoetheias* may be used again as a pertinent point of reference and comparison. These guides of ethics – as I showed in the related section of this study – curtailed the long process of demonstration by assuming as self-evident both the *efficient* cause (i.e., the Creator of the Word) and the *final* cause (i.e., human salvation)[260] of their syllogisms. Koumanoudis used a similar reasoning in the construction of his ideas. The difference was that he adapted this reasoning to a strictly secular framework. More specifically, in the place of the *Creator* he placed the authority of the State, that is, the source of the new beginning for the country. As *salvation* or *redemption* of Greek people, he defined the restitution of the country's national identity *vis-à-vis* all the other enlightened nations of Europe. The comparison is striking. What Christian theology did for the sake of the individual person, Koumanoudis and his 'school' sought to do for the sake of the collective body of a nation. The conceptual model in both cases was monocentric, and hierarchical. The educated acted as the facilitator in both. He was the one who had to take raw 'matter', shape it, and direct it to the intended goal. Specifically, the educated had to invent the forms – *monumental,* no doubt – that would positively sustain this goal. He was the one in charge of the least specific of all causes, the *formal,* since the other three were given *a priori.* The direction of the whole process was uni-lateral; but in order to take effect, people had first to be convinced of two things, the effectiveness of the model and the usefulness of the invented forms to both the model and their lives. Education and formal reasoning (i.e., *logos*) was the key to this problem. Seeds of Platonic philosophy are evident in this schema, although the historical circumstance of its application was such that it cropped the most essential part of it, that is, the Platonic dialectics (i.e., the approach to truth through a process of communication and self-knowing). The kind of education that the enlightened intellectual foresaw for Greek people in the early State was education in the form of instruction.

---

[258] The related law which forced all the foreigners to retirement was issued in 1843.
[259] Alexandros Rangavis (or Rangabé) (1809-1892), the renowned polymath and politician from Phanar, was probably the only noteworthy exception. His role in the aesthetic debate of 19th-century Greece deserves to be the subject of a special study.

The following diagram may serve as a schematic crystallization of the aforementioned model during the Othonian period in Greece. It is also proposed as a reference tool for the remainder of my analysis.

Diagram 1

material reality	⟶	forms of language/art/architecture	⟶	collective consciousness
State will		education / rhetoric (*logos*)		national identity
(*material/efficient cause*)		(*formal cause*)		(*final cause*)

Still a student in Germany, Koumanoudis declared his strong commitment to the profession of the educator and the facilitator of the country's rise to the status of a nation worthy of both its name and its ancient progeny. One section of his personal diary from his days in Berlin reads as a 'wish-list', that is, an imaginary projection of the author to his future image.[261] Some of the terse statements of the list – a sort of a personal manifesto – reveal a scholar with liberal beliefs,[262] a scholar ready to commit his life to the common good. Koumanoudis specifically wrote: "I am determined to lead my life for the benefit of common people and not to flatter the ones in power."[263] And he continued: "I will seek to rekindle the Greek spirit [in ways that] set clear its essence and its merit."[264] One may see these statements as useful annotations to the above diagram. Koumanoudis accepted this schema in spirit. However, he appeared unwilling to form close alliances with the authorities or compromise his positions for personal interest. He defined himself as a free agent, motivated only by genuine feelings for his country and the people.[265] To the materialistic determinism of this schema as contrived by the "ones in power", the young student set forth spiritual freedom as the necessary counterpoint – **freedom** as the quality befitting not only the educated, but also Greece as a country holding strong to its historical roots. In various instances during the course of his life, Koumanoudis offered tangible proof of his liberal beliefs which, however, he propagated in a forthright authoritarian manner. Insufficient argumentation and manichaeist thinking often obscure the picture of the devoted liberal with shadows of dogmatism and prejudice. The dogmatic and authoritarian side of Koumanoudis's personality has been generally refuted by later critics with alleged democratic views.[266] It is my contention though that such refutations grew out of incomplete evidence. Unless the entire bulk of the author's writings – including any articles he published anonymously or with a pseudonym – are discovered, documented, and studied, we can not be sure that Koumanoudis's role in the intellectual history of nineteenth-century Greece has been justly and fully assessed.

---

[260] The four Aristotelian causes: efficient, material, formal, and final.

---

[261] The date on the note is 24 October 1841. *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1. Among other things, Koumanoudis listed his natural inclinations and the subjects he wished to teach in the Greek University.

[262] In a list with aphoristic statements, composed probably near the end of his life, he clearly states that he always defended the constitution, without himself being a democrat. (""Οτι ἦτο συνταγματικός τό φρόνημα, ὄχι δέ δημοκρατικός.") *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F53/ Φ1167, 1, #9 & 19.
In this context, I am using the term 'liberal' with a great deal of caution seeking to stress Koumanoudis's commitment to the ideological leader of the Greek Enlightenment, Korais, as well as to constitutional principles that established basic human rights, freedom of religion, a democratic system of representation, and the separation of powers.

[263] "'Αποφασίζω νά ζήσω διά παντός πρός ὄφελος τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ καί νά μή κολακεύσω δυνατούς." The translation from the Greek is mine. Ibid.

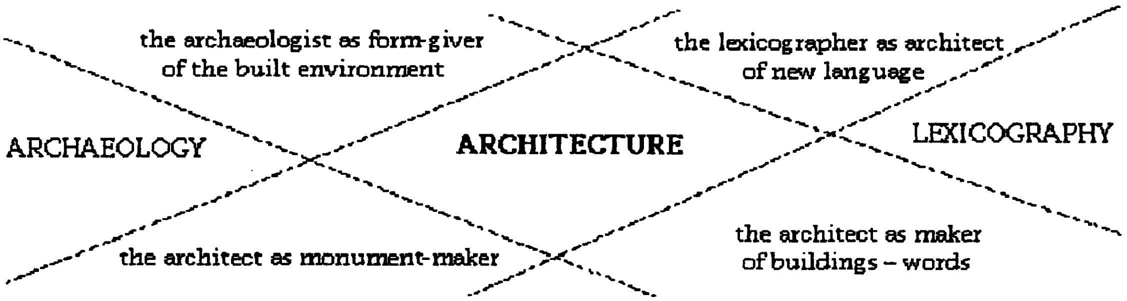
[264] "Θά ζητῶ νάναζωπυρήσω τό ἐλληνικόν πνεῦμα εἰς κατάληψιν τῆς οὐσίας του καί τοῦ καλοῦ." Ibid.

[265] In various instances through the years, Koumanoudis took the opportunity to advocate his real concern for the common people and their education. See for example his published articles in the 'Εφημερὶς τοῦ Λαοῦ, "For the cure of one of our many needs", 6 Sept. 1850 and Πανελλήνιον, "To the editors..." [after 1852]. In both articles he criticized the State for not funding the publication of Greek periodicals on specialized topics for the practical education of the people. He proposed lists of books of practical instruction.
Also in an unpublished note with no date (transcribed 14 Nov. 1886) he set himself against hereditary privileges to the descendants of distinguished individuals. He claimed that such a habit violated the rules of a democratic system. He accompanied this note with a long list of names of people who held privileges of this kind. *S.K.A.*, op.cit., doc. F53/ Φ1167, 2, transcr. pp. 42-43 (14 Nov. 1886).

[266] Here I have in mind the extremely favorable views of Konstantinos Dimaras on Koumanoudis as the propagator of the spirit of the French Enlightenment in Greece. Dimaras expressed these views in his preface to the latest edition (i.e., photo-mechanical reproduction) of the author's splendid work Συναγωγὴ Νέων Λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν Λογίων Πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' 'Ημᾶς Χρόνων (An assemblage of new words formed by the scholars from the Fall [of Constantinople] to our times), K. Th. Dimaras, ed., Hermis, Athens, 1980 (originally 1900). In this long and very informative study on Koumanoudis's methodological approach to the lexicographic problem, entitled "Λεξικογραφία καί 'Ιδεολογία" (Lexicography and Ideology), Dimaras underscores the lack of dogmatism as one of the principal qualities of the author. He further suggests that Koumanoudis allowed for an **aesthetic** ("flexible") criterion to take over the strict rules of logic. Op. cit., p. lv.

In his general theoretical outlook, Koumanoudis appeared in full compliance with the above schema. Most of his intellectual energies focused on the construction of those forms upon which the identity of the modern Greek nation would be firmly and positively founded. Greek nationalism was at its dawn and Koumanoudis one of its most dedicated 'workers'. His search for form-generating sources made him equally interested in language, archaeology, and architecture. In his view, architecture was primarily the inexhaustible repository of physical and finite forms, and only secondarily the receptacle of human energy – let alone architecture as a source of knowledge. For him, architecture maintained strong and indissoluble ties with both archaeology and language – the latter been considered in its applied form of *lexicography*.[267] The relationship among the three form-generating areas may be better described through the following schema, which serves as the second working tool in the development of this study:

Diagram 2


the archaeologist as form-giver of the built environment
the lexicographer as architect of new language
ARCHAEOLOGY
ARCHITECTURE
LEXICOGRAPHY
the architect as monument-maker
the architect as maker of buildings – words

Three observations derive naturally from this schema. First, architecture is placed between two philological disciplines, archaeology and lexicography. This, on the one hand, predicates a **conceptual basis** for architecture and a drastic rupture from its premodern roots as an empirical occupation (*techni*). On the other hand, it defines its works as **visual signs** of immediate perception, analogous with archaeological monuments and/or written words.

---

[267] I am using *lexicography*, in particular, because this was one of the most favorite areas of expertise of the philologist Koumanoudis. Furthermore, it was the area in which Koumanoudis had the opportunity to perform the best of his constructive abilities. It is however interesting that Dimaras, in his aforementioned preface to the *Συναγωγή*, notices with extra emphasis that Koumanoudis "is not a lexicographer". He is simply allured to this job by his preoccupation with order, systematicity, and clear reasoning. Also by his strong interest in the study of the most essential repositories of the country's national heritage, such as its language. Op. cit., xxxviii.

Second, the interdependence of architecture with two disciplines concerned with visual structures primarily, reinforces its **spatiality** and freezes its temporality, or more specifically, its ties with oral (i.e., intuitive and sound-based) tradition. At the same time, it creates for architecture a context of artificial temporality, a sort of **ideological time**. On the one hand, its connection with archaeology orients it toward the past and forces upon it the logic of discovery (i.e., to find again). In Koumanoudis's words "I will seek to rekindle the Greek spirit..." this logic of return or unearthing of something past and ever present is evident. On the other hand, the connection of architecture with lexicography (i.e., the selection and systematic transcription of new words), orients it toward the future and forces upon it the logic of invention (i.e., to find for the first time). Architecture's task is to create word-like monuments as bridges between past and future. However, its actual relationship with human time (i.e., the time of living memory) in this ideologically-laden framework remains problematic.

Third, the placement of architecture – that is, a field with a definite semiotic function – in the middle of two semiotically contrasting fields, imposes on it a condition of tension and ambiguity. The contrasting pair **encyclopedia** versus **dictionary**, although not entirely analogous to the pair archaeology – lexicography, bears interesting similarities with the structural logic of these two cognitive fields.[268] From the archaeologist's point of view, on the one hand, the world is structured like an encyclopedia, that is, a multidimensional semiotic totality and an exhaustible repository of forms, in which meaning is constructed intra-referentially based on already agreed upon conventions of interpretation. From the lexicographer's point of view, on the other hand, the world is defined in the exact opposite way, that is, as an open-ended semiotic system and an inexhaustible source of new forms, in which meaning is constructed extra-referentially. In this system (i.e., dictionary), emphasis is placed on the mechanics of combination and classification of basic units of signification toward the production of whole new meanings, irrespective of cultural conventions of meaning-making.[269]

It stands to reason that in societies in transition, such as the Greek society in the Othonian period, universal totalities of meaning-generation in the model of an encyclopedia break and become replaced by open-ended systems with stronger affinities to the scientific logic of a dictionary. Concerning architecture in particular, new combinatorial possibilities of various forms are explored and new networks of meaning are constructed based on formal laws of association (e.g., similarity, difference). In the absence of an *a priori* condition of totality in such a system-dictionary, quite often new interpretative parameters are externally imposed and guide the semantics of the system toward a direction of universality shaped at wish. In other words, the system-dictionary fakes the system-encyclopedia in one of its aspects, that which concerns its semantic coherence. Aestheticization of the forms composing this encyclopedia-like system is one of the strategies that the dominant culture uses for the transcription of the system-dictionary into a system-encyclopedia. This is how one could best describe the central methodological concern of Koumanoudis in all of his topographical meditations upon the physical/architectural makeup of the new city of Athens. Koumanoudis sought to reconcile the structured and coherent ancient past of the city with its yet-to-be-formed future based on a set of rational/ scientific strategies. He specifically envisioned a city with all the characteristic infrastructural elements of a modern metropolis and, at the same time, with a content highly conforming to its ancient glory and its monuments. For this to happen, the architecture of the modern city had to obey a set of rationally defined formal and aesthetic criteria. The author's ultimate aim was to set to work a commonly acceptable visual code of architectural form, upon which the ethos of the modern Athenian would be founded – an ethos bearing strong correlations with that of the ancient Athenian. The closest analogue to such a premeditated plan for the new city was to be no other than a lexical construct based on some of the norms of dictionary writing.[270]

---

[268] For a more thorough semiotic analysis of the pair 'encyclopedia – dictionary', see: Umberto Eco, Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language, Indiana Univ. Press, Bloomington, Ind., 1984, esp. Chapter 2 "Dictionary vs. Encyclopedia", pp. 46-86. Also: L. Hjelmslev, Prolegomena to a Theory of Language, transl. F. J. Whitfield, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1961, pp. 70-73. In general, critical literature on this subject is still at its very early stages.

[269] An example will make the comparison more vivid. According to an encyclopedist a *net* is normally defined as a meshed instrument designed to catch fish. A lexicographer, on the other hand, is likely to define a net as a collection of holes tied together with string.

---

[270] Further analysis with related illustration of this concept follows under sub-chapter 5. "Total Panorama of Athens".

3. "*Where is the Art of the Greeks hying today?*" or a tribute to J. J. Winckelmann

Koumanoudis was only twenty-five and still a student in Paris when he wrote his first essay–manifesto on the arts (or *φυλλάδιον* (i.e., pamphlet) in his own terminology), probably the most important on this subject in his entire career. He published this pamphlet with his initials two years later, in 1845, in Belgrade under the unusual title Where is the Art of the Greeks hying today?[271] In one of his numerous inventory-lists from the later years of his life, the author registered this publication among his "Life achievements" for the pioneering position it held in the country's prospect of a total reform of the arts.[272] Attached to his essay of twenty-seven pages, were two concise aesthetic treatises by the German art theorist Johann J. Winckelmann in Koumanoudis's Greek translation.[273] This was the first time in which Winckelmann became officially known to Greek audience through his writings. To that date, the German author was mainly known by name only through other authors' citations. We have already encountered the medical doctor Mavroyiannis and the archaeologist Ross who, as early as 1841, cited and criticized Winckelmann for his idealistic views on the arts.[274] Mavroyiannis and Ross, both authors with a keen aesthetic criterion, yet independently from one another, were prompted to this criticism by their progressivist outlook on history and by their belief in a pluralistic cultural model – a model which sharply contrasted with Winckelmann's monocentric one.

Koumanoudis's pamphlet presents a comprehensive account of the basic principles of Winckelmann's theory of the arts, now adapted to the cultural context of Greece in the early

---

[271] S.A.K., Ποῦ Σπεύδει ἡ Τέχνη τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν Σήμερον; -- Προσετέθησαν καὶ δύο πραγματεῖαι Ἰωάννου Βιγκελμάννου περὶ Τέχνης, ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ (Where is the Art of the Greeks hying today? – To which two treatises on the Arts from the German by Johannes Winckelmann were appended), typography of the Government, Belgrade, 1845. The date on the essay reads "Paris 25 March 1843". It is noteworthy that the work was published at the expenses of Stephanos's brother, Joannes. Problematic is the translation of the Greek word *σπεύδει* (spevdei) in the title. It literally means 'to rush'. But I chose the archaic 'hie' against the more commonly used 'rush' for two reasons. First, because Koumanoudis's idiom is archaic (*katharevousa*), and second, because an unusual word, such as *hie*, underscores more aptly the softly provocative tone of the author.

[272] S.K.A., op.cit., doc. F37/ Φ1151, 23 (no date).

[273] The titles on these treatises are: "Advice to the beholder of [the works of] Art" and "On [the quality of] Grace in the works of Art". Koumanoudis provided no information regarding the source of these writings. I have located them in the 1759 issue of the German periodical ***Bibliotek d. schönen Wissenschaften u. Künste.*** The titles of the essays were: "Errinerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst" and "Von der Grazie in Werken der Kunst", respectively. They were first translated into English by Henry Fuseli as "Reflections on the painting and sculpture of the Greeks with instructions for the connoisseur, and an essay on Grace in works of art" (London, 1765, 1767).

[274] I am briefly citing again the related titles: K. Mavroyiannis (M.D.), Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλίματος τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ τῆς Ζωϊκῆς Οἰκονομίας (Observations on the Climate of Athens and its Effects on the Economy of the Vital Resources), 1841 and L. Ross, Ἐγχειρίδιον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τῶν Τεχνῶν (Manual of Archaeology of the Arts), 1841.

'40s. It takes an exclusive interest in the arts of painting and sculpture, while it makes no direct reference to architecture. Nevertheless, its relevance to architecture and its theory is undeniable considering that, for the academic tradition to which it belonged, the only acceptable avenue to architecture was through the domain of the visual arts.[275] In the years to come, all the aesthetic references to architecture by Koumanoudis were expressed in sculptural and linguistic terms. For all these reasons, this publication of 1845 deserves special attention. I will begin the discussion of this work with a brief review of Winckelmann's two treatises in Koumanoudis's Greek translation.

Koumanoudis opened this (second) part of his pamphlet with "an admonition" (*προειδοποίησις*) to his readers – an admonition which reads more as an apology. The author apologized for his decision to select for translation the writings of Winckelmann, that is, a "great man" whose ideas, however – Koumanoudis admitted – "have unsettled and do not reign with as much force as they did when they were first laid out".[276] Koumanoudis positively declared his unreserved enthusiasm for the German theorist whose views he saw as retaining a diachronic value. From the very start, Koumanoudis pronounced Winckelmann a pioneer-expert in the cultivation of the true sense of beauty,[277] a sagacious author who had the wisdom to steer the destiny of the European arts toward their generative source, ancient Greece. Undeniably, it was his strong nationalistic sentiment, combined with his true love for the arts, that compelled the young idealist, Koumanoudis, to the composition of this pamphlet both as a special tribute to the German philhellene and as a reaction to his declining fame. Koumanoudis's reasoning was rather simple. With the introduction of Winckelmann's theory on the arts to modern Greece, the Greeks would be induced not only to develop a special disposition to beauty (*φιλοκαλία*), but also to embrace their blessed artistic heritage as a mark of their national pride and identity. Koumanoudis skillfully eschewed the problem of the outdatedness of the texts,[278] by setting forth the argument that texts built on the power of **Reason** can never be marked off as obsolete (*ἀπηρχαιωμένα συγγράμματα*). On the contrary, art "is hying" to uncertain directions, he claimed, when it ventures on its goal by deviating from the surest path of Reason.

---

[275] I have discussed this idea in proper length under chapter 2, sub-chapter 2.1. in reference to Ross's "Manual of the Archaeology of the Arts". After all, it is not accidental that architectural history only lately acquired its disciplinary autonomy from the field of art history from which it originally stemmed and which recognizes Winckelmann as its intellectual 'father'.

[276] "ὅτι τινές τῶν ἰδεῶν τοῦ Βιγκελμάννου ἐκλονήθησαν καί δέν βασιλεύουσι μετά τῆς αὐτῆς ἰσχύος, ὡς ὅτε τό πρῶτον ἐξεφράσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ...." S.A.K., Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., p. 32 (or p. 2 of the "Admonition").

[277] "ὡς πρώτου ἐξηγητοῦ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐννοιῶν τοῦ καλοῦ....", ibid., p.31.

[278] Considering that Winckelmann's largest volume of writing production dated from the last two decades of his death (i.e., 1768), the texts of the pamphlet were about 100 years old when Koumanoudis first introduced them to the Greeks. As an indication I am citing three titles of his works: ***Gedancken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Wercke in der Mahlerey und Bildhauerkunst***, Dresden, 1955; ***Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten***, Dresden, 1762; ***Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums***, Dresden, 1764.

3.1. *"Advice to the beholder of [the works of] Art"*[279]

In this essay Winckelmann sets up the framework of experience of the work of art. This work is no other than the classical in the particular way that Winckelmann understood the 'classical',[280] that is, as the canonical work of an archetypal nature whose validity is indisputable. Further, it is the model work that encloses in its form its beginning and is best exemplified in the artistic production of ancient Greece.

Acting mainly as a supplement to the same author's seminal treatise "On the imitation of the painting and sculpture of the Greeks" of 1755, this short essay restates some of the key points of the treatise, while it assumes a stricter instructive character. Its main ideas may be summarized as follows.

The works of the mind, in general, are superior to the works of the hand. Consequently, works which derived from a process of diligent manual effort by no means can outweigh the works of sheer ingenuity. In direct connection to this idea, Winckelmann proceeds to define the concept of **imitation** in art. He distinguishes mainly two kinds of imitation other than the slavish copying of a model, that is, an act based solely on diligence. The first kind of imitation involves the mannerist replication of one or more prototypical works in new and imaginative combinations. The result in most cases are lifeless compositions subject more to the way in which the artist performs his job by habit (i.e., *manière*) than to the very source of his inspiration. The second kind of imitation involves, on the one hand, the artist's ability to improve upon the actual state of his model, and on the other hand, the model's power to impose upon the imitator a condition of freedom that gives birth to a whole new creation. In this dialectical relation between artist and model, imitation is both a following of the past and a basis for ingenious invention. It is this latter kind of imitation Winckelmann considers most favorably and, certainly, the one he has in mind when he speaks of the Greeks as the supreme masters of artistic imitation. In their arts, Winckelmann believes, every generation of artists has a chance to discover the way to good imitation.

---

[279] The title in Greek reads: *Συμβουλὴ πρὸς τὸν Θεώμενον τὰ τῆς Τέχνης.*

[280] Although he never used this term. Instead he employed concrete historical terms, such as "the Greeks" or "the ancients". Nevertheless, Winckelmann is considered the founder of classicism (or so-called Neoclassicism) in the modern world.

Henceforth the real instructive part of the essay begins. Winckelmann sets out a series of aesthetic categories which, in his estimate, let art improve upon nature. At the same time, they serve as a reliable guide to the appreciation of the artistic work. Central to this analysis is the discussion of **beauty**, a rather elusive notion (i.e., not subject to positive measuring),[281] which the author tries to approach through reference to certain concepts with more material specifications, such as contour, economy, and grace (i.e., a concept to which he devotes the entire second essay). Beauty – to which Winckelmann attributes characteristics of wholeness, universality, perfection, and the Ideal – consists in the curious admixture of variety with simplicity.[282] Thus beautiful forms are equally removed from the sensual nature of materials and the logical perfection of geometry, although they have a share in both nature and geometry.[283] The state of perfection that characterizes beautiful forms is a state of optimum balance between emotion and logic in view of a certain unified whole. Nothing is in excess in beautiful (i.e., classical) forms. The concern for measure begins in the prudent use of materials and is further concretized in the skillfully drawn contour (or outline).[284] Winckelmann devotes several paragraphs to his discussion of **contour** as the real index of artistic beauty, and even more than that, as the sole feature which brings into play all the special attributes of beauty: unity, economy, variety, and simplicity.

In the last part of his essay, Winckelmann applies the above ideas in concrete examples through a return to two of his most favorite themes, the exaltation of the art of the Greeks and the condemnation of the art of the Baroque. If it is true that the beauty of nature motivated the artist in both eras, the Greeks have surpassed it, whereas the Baroque has parodized it. That is because the Greek artist aimed at the Ideal, whereas the artist of the Baroque[285] aimed at nothing beyond the plain model that nature itself set (*κοινή φύσις*). Using Reason as their safest guide and working under conditions of freedom and self-reliance,[286] the Greeks – i.e., the supreme masters of contour in Winckelmann's view – achieved a universal, diachronic state of beauty in their art. On the contrary, the Baroque produced works of mere diligence and grand impressions, which however were inferior in quality to their models. Winckelmann founds his deduction on the following syllogism. In the same proportion in which the copy differs from the original, the works of the artist, who does not reason but only sees and scrupulously imitates nature, remain inferior to the works of nature. And he concludes with a general advice to the modern artist to study with extra care the works of the ancients, seeking to extract from them the secrets of real art.[287]

---

[281] ".... τὸ δυσκολώτατον δὲ [ἀντικείμενον τῆς τέχνης].... εἶναι τὸ κάλλος, διότι κυρίως αὐτὸ δὲν ὑπάγεται εἰς μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμόν." (the most difficult [subject of art].... is beauty, because this, in particular, is not subject to measure and number). J. J. Winckelmann, "Advice to the beholder...", translated into Greek in S.A.K., Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., pp. 39-40.

[282] "Τὸ καλὸν συνίσταται εἰς τὴν ποικιλίαν ἐν τῷ ἁπλῷ." (The good lies in the variety that resides in the simple.) Ibid., p. 40.

[283] Winckelmann uses the geometric shape of the *ellipsis* as the pertinent example in which geometry and variety are combined in an aesthetically pleasing form.

[284] The most closely related term in classical aesthetic literature to Winckelmann's 'contour' is *finitio*, used by Alberti to characterize one of the three attributes of **beauty**, the other two being number (*numerus*) and position (*collocatio*). (See: Alberti, On the Art of Building ...., op. cit., Book IX, ch. 5, pp. 302-3). Rykwert, in his English translation of Alberti's treatise, notes that the term 'measured outline' translates better the Latin term *finitio*. This is precisely the meaning of the term 'contour' as Winckelmann uses it in his essay. (Ibid., 'Glossary', p. 422).

[285] Winckelmann's permanent target in this, as well as in some of his other essays, is Bernini.

[286] "ἐλευθερία" and "ἀσφάλεια" are the two terms Koumanoudis uses in his Greek translation.

3.2. *"On [the quality of] grace in the works of Art"*[288]

In this essay Winckelmann deals with the quality of *grace* which he considers the most essential feature of those works of art that possess diachronic value (i.e., the classical works). As in the preceding essay, here again, his tone is instructive. In fact, he believes that grace has far more definitive characteristics than beauty does. Therefore, grace may become the subject of artistic education. Grace rarely belongs to things or humans by nature, Winckelmann contends. However, it can be attained after proper cultivation and reflection. It forms an easy path to both the understanding and the attainment of the more abstract category of beauty.[289]

Despite Winckelmann's affirmations of the teachable nature of grace, the reader is hardly convinced of it from the mere reading of this essay. The declared association of grace with such ill-defined notions as simplicity, repose, reserve, civility, and reason, increases its unspecificity. A certain deduction from Winckelmann's definition of grace suggests that this notion – contrary to other matter-of-fact notions, such as contour and variety – retains a strictly **structural/relational** character. Grace is the reason-based proportion by which stasis relates to motion, the actor to his act,[290] raw nature to human will, death to life. It is best exemplified in the relation between the human body and its garment, or between the skin and the bone, in the Greek statues of the classical period. One acquires specificity because of the other. For beautiful art to exist, the balance between the two elements of the relation should not be upset. This is the reason why graceful works convey a sense of repose, stillness, and reserve. The expression of strong emotions or the excessive display of the properties of the material (e.g., the garment, the skin) do not belong to beautiful art because either of the two, or both together, works against the elementary state of energy that characterizes grace. But even after this theoretical clarification, grace continues to strike the reader as a highly abstract notion the criteria of which – although not personal and subjective – are not positive either. They are most likely **context-dependent.**

---

[287] "'Οστις δὲν ἐγνώρισε τὰ ἐξοχώτατα ἔργα τῆς ἀρχαιότητος, ἂς μὴ νομίζῃ, ὅτι εἰξεύρει, τὶ ἐστι τὸ ἀληθῶς καλὸν." (The one who did not get to know the superb works of antiquity, should not claim he has any knowledge of the truly good.) Ibid., p. 44.

[288] The title in Greek reads: *Περὶ τῆς χάριτος ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς τέχνης.*

[289] Interestingly, this articulation of the two concepts of 'beauty' and 'grace' by Winckelmann sharply contradicts the respective articulation of the same concepts by Alberti. For Alberti, and for Renaissance art theory in general, **beauty** (*bellezza*) consisted in an objective system of measurable shapes and proportions as opposed to **grace** (*grazia*), that is, a special source of aesthetic (i.e., visual) gratification, which could not be measured but lay in the material treatment of the surface of the work. (See: Alberti, On the Art of Building ...., op. cit., Book VI, chapters 1-4.) The opposite holds true for Winckelmann. In his aesthetic theory, beauty, that is, a total aesthetic quality, appears as non-measurable and rather **subjective**, contrary to the particular features of beauty (e.g., grace, etc.) which are subject to positive analysis. I would dare to attribute this theoretical reversal of the definition of the two terms to fundamental differences in the cosmology of the two periods the authors lived in. On the one hand, the universe of the Renaissance (by analogy to beauty) was conceived of as a unified organic entity subject to a mathematical law, and greater than the sum of its parts. On the other hand, in the Enlightenment the universe was thought of as infinite and immeasurable, subject to a mechanistic principle of synthesis according to which the whole was always equal to the sum of its parts. These parts, being measurable and subject to visual testing, were believed to eventually lead to the knowledge of the whole (i.e., by induction).

Winckelmann seizes again the opportunity to validate his thesis by rendering emphatic the comparison of the moderns with the ancients. In his view, all the modern artists from the Renaissance on, including even the most indisputable case of Michelangelo, violated the rules of classical art and failed to reach a state of grace in their works. Specifically, the latter are characterized by extravagance owing either to the manner in which the artist handled his medium or to his rather loose relation to the model. In both cases, personal whim and feverish imagination led artistic imitation to paths other than the ones art once contrived as classical. The Greeks, by contrast, who self-consciously pursued the Ideal through the Real, represented nature at its best and, therefore, glorified it. In their works, nature resides in the minimum amount of motion, the elementary signs of life, which – in Winckelmann's account – concretize the idea of grace. Grace, as embodied in Greek statuary, is aptly comparable to the quality that makes a human act look *natural* and unaffected, as opposed to a showy and affected one. If Mannerist and Baroque art produced works primarily for the eye, Greek art by contrast was the art of the intellect *par excellence.* Having said this, Winckelmann confirms the intellectual basis of grace.[291]

Concluding, Winckelmann invites all the modern artists to learn their lessons from the past and be critical of the various aesthetic trends of the time. Once again, he pronounces Greek art the supreme repository of the principles of true art. He advises an almost *religious devotion* to these principles and, more generally, to the wisdom that emanates from the most admirable and graceful works of the Greeks, namely the statues of the Graces.[292] It is precisely these concluding statements of Winckelmann, more than anything else, that resonate throughout Koumanoudis's principal essay in this pamphlet.

---

[290] "'Ιδιότης αὐτῆς εἶναι ἡ ἰδιάζουσα σχέσις τοῦ πράττοντος προσώπου πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν...." (Its attribute is the particular relation of the acting person to the act....). J. J. Winckelmann, "On [the quality of] grace....", translated into Greek in S.A.K., Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., p. 53.

[291] Once again, this articulation of the concept of **grace** by Winckelmann contradicts Alberti's respective articulation (i.e., *grazia*). Specifically, Alberti writes: "the hand is responsible for laying, joining, cutting, trimming, polishing, and such like, which give the work *grace.*" He further contrasts grace with **dignity** (*dignitas*), that is, the key characteristic of the measurable – though immaterial – quality of beauty, "suffused all through the body" of the work. See: Alberti, On the Art of Building ...., op. cit., Book VI, ch. 4, p. 159.

3.3. *"Where is the art of the Greeks hying today?"*

"Undoubtedly we, the Greeks, live in an era of radical transformations."[293] In these words Koumanoudis opens his essay after a brief *instructive* epigram by Oratio. Already from this early point, the author assigns his work a place in the larger program of the country's reform. '**Reform**' (*μεταρρύθμισις*) – a term which Koumanoudis repeats three times in the text and intimates in several other instances – denoted the coordinated effort of the Greek State, on the one hand, to wipe out all the preexistent ties of the country with the East and, on the other hand, to align its new political and cultural institutions with those of Western Europe. Koumanoudis firmly believed that the political change the country's institutions were subject to in those days would have been left incomplete, had it not been accompanied by a total reform of the arts. He specifically intended this pamphlet as the first move in this direction.[294]

The other two most frequently occurring terms in the text are '**nature**' (*φύσις*) and '**Reason**' (*ὀρθός λόγος*), and their variations.[295] Externally viewed, the two terms set the main tone of the essay and give it the character of a manifesto. Internally, the same terms are indissolubly joined in the leading idea of the essay. According to this idea, absolute authority belongs only to Reason which in turn is ascribed primarily to the works of nature, or works inspired directly from nature. Oratio's phrase, "*Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret,*" precisely encapsulates this idea.[296] Koumanoudis returns to the fundamental doctrines of the

---

[292] ".... οἱ ἡμέτεροι τεχνῖται ἔπρεπε νὰ ἱδρύσωσι ταύτας τὰς θεὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων των καὶ νὰ τὰς φορῶσιν ἐπὶ δακτυλίων πρὸς παντοτεινὴν ἐνθύμησιν, καὶ νὰ θυσιάζωσιν εἰς αὐτὰς διὰ νὰ τὰς ἔχωσιν εὐμενεῖς." (... our artists should install [effigies of] these deities [i.e., the Graces] in their workshops and also wear them [i.e., impressions of their images] on rings for eternal remembrance; and sacrifice to them seeking their benevolence in return.) J. J. Winckelmann, "On [the quality of] grace....", translated into Greek in S.A.K., Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., p. 61.

[293] "'Αναντιρ'ρήτως οἱ "Ελληνες ζῶμεν εἰς ἐποχὴν μεταμορφωτικὴν τῶν πάντων." Ibid., p. 5.

[294] ".... ἀνάκειται εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς σήμερον ζῶντας εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐποχὴν τῶν μεταρρυθμίσεων, νὰ βοηθῶμεν τὴν ὅσον ἔνεστιν ὁμοιόμορφον πρόοδόν του καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὴν πολιτικήν." (... it is up to us, who live in this age of reforms, to uphold the most uniform spread possible [of the European civilization] in all other fields, as we do in politics." S.A.K., "Where is the art of the Greeks hying to today?" in Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., pp. 22-3.

[295] Specifically the term 'nature' (and its derivative notions) is encountered at least 12 times in the text of 27 pages, whereas the term 'Reason' (*ὀρθός λόγος*) appears 3 times as such.

[296] In a rough translation of mine: "If you stab nature out, this will still return all the way."

French Enlightenment in order to establish nature as the common ground of truth for all the fields of human activity, including politics, science, and art, without any differentiation.[297]

The instructive character of the text is evident and well argued by the author, who maintains that **the modern Greeks need guidance** in order to successfully make the passage from a long period of obscurity and stagnancy (*στασιμότης*) to a new period of light and **movement** (*κίνησις*). The era of reform brings along a good deal of confusion to the common citizen owing to the plethora of new stimuli and imported novelties to the country. The uneducated (*ἄμοιρον παιδείας*) needs to be told *in words* the useful from the non-useful novelties so that he/she adopts the former.[298] By the same token, the visually untrained needs to be shown the good from the bad art so that he/she becomes used to appreciating the former.[299] According to Koumanoudis, such an ambitious program that combines the reform of the country with the education of the public would not be accomplished, if the citizens were not given a full show of the **intended end** (*τέρμα*). This end, as far as matters of art are concerned, is the return to the country's glorious past, the artistic heritage of ancient Greece. "The fortunate Greek goes back to Greece, his old homeland," asserts Koumanoudis.[300] This is the surest end new Greek art should be "hying" in the midst of the confusion and uncertainty the country experiences as the result of its abrupt entry into modernity.

Two issues preoccupy the author in the main body of the text: the relation of modern Greek art with contemporary European art, on the one hand, and with Christian–Byzantine art, on the other. Koumanoudis ardently argues that the art of Western Europe has its roots in Greek antiquity. However, the larger public, which ignores this historical truth, looks upon this art with suspicion thinking of it as an imported novelty and, therefore, as a body foreign to the local culture. Others – particularly those educated in Western European countries – accept all of Western art by habit without ever questioning the degree of its originality. Koumanoudis holds that both groups have to be trained in new ways of seeing and judging the works of art. Real reform cannot take place as long as people's traditional mentalities persist. Both **Reason** and **historical truth** should lead this process of cultural transformation (i.e., westernization) of modern Greece.[301] Lay people, on the one hand, ought to detach themselves from their centuries-long habituation to the forms of Christian–Byzantine art, that is, a kind of art which violates the rules of nature and the dictates of Reason. The foreign educated, on the other hand, must be instructed on how to selectively adopt *only* products of western art that are based on Reason. In Koumanoudis's view, these products are the most worthy carriers of the ancient Greek heritage into the modern era. On the contrary, the part of western art which bears the influence of the Christian–Byzantine tradition evades the path of Reason and bears strong signs of decadence. Therefore, products of this branch should not have a place of authority in the artistic reform of the country, unless they belong to the great masters of the Renaissance, such as Michelangelo, Raphael, and Correggio, that is, all artists who ingeniously adjusted the decadent spirit of this art on the lines of ancient Greek prototypes.[302]

---

[297] A line of connection may be drawn between Koumanoudis and the French Encyclopedists (d' Alembert and Diderot), to a lesser extent Rousseau, Voltaire, and Montesquieu. Common to all these thinkers was their attempt to create a systematic philosophy of life based on a thoroughly secular, albeit deductive, reasoning in which the absolute authority of God was now been taken over by Reason as founded in the laws of nature.

[298] "Ὅθεν κρίνομεν ἀναγκαίαν τὴν διὰ λόγων σύστασιν τῶν ὠφελίμων νεωτερισμῶν...." (Hence we consider necessary the recommendation in words of the most useful of novelties....) S. A. K., op. cit., p. 6.

[299] This is an idea with many precedents, ranging from Plato to Kant and Schiller. **Schiller**, in particular, who exalted more than any other the role of the art in the construction of a harmonious society, argued that only through **aesthetic education** is it possible to achieve wholeness and full humanity (***Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen,*** 1793-5). It is very likely that Koumanoudis knew Schiller's work.

[300] "Ὁ εὐτυχὴς Ἕλλην ὑπάγει εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, τὴν γηραιὰν πατρίδα του...." Ibid., p. 7.

Koumanoudis uses powerful rhetoric to prove the inferiority of Christian–Byzantine art. The contradistinction of ancient to Christian art is definitely the dominant theme of this essay as the author devoted nearly fourteen of its twenty-seven pages to outline the process of decline ancient painting and sculpture underwent in the hands of Christian artists. He specifically describes how the gradual departure of these artists from the classical principles of Reason, nature, and beauty, gave way to the art of the irrational, the abnormal, and the ugly. The essential point that differentiated the classical from the Christian work of art, according to Koumanoudis, was the attitude of the artist of each period to his model, in other words, the problem of **imitation**. The classical artist, on the one hand, adhered strongly to the external (i.e., immediately perceptible) form of his model which he tried to depict as faithful to nature as possible. The Christian artist, on the other hand, influenced by his faith to the supernatural power of his model, represented not what he saw as true and real, but what his empathetic/ biased reasoning dictated to him as true and real. Koumanoudis relates this departure from the visible form of things to a drastic departure from Reason. In his estimation, this road to art opened the door to "the Asiatic spirit of seclusion and stagnancy"[303] which manifested itself in the most extreme forms of material exuberance and ascetic minimalism. In order to reach this stage, the Christian artist had to pass first through the stage of the **total negation of form** (i.e., *ἀμορφίαν* = formlessness), therefore, through the antipodes of classical art.[304]

---

[301] Ibid., p. 8.

[302] Ibid., p. 9. Curiously enough Koumanoudis does not pass as a strict judgment on Michelangelo as Winckelmann did in his essay on grace.

[303] "τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς 'Ασιανῆς ἀποκλειστικότητος καὶ στασιμότητος," ibid., p. 21.

[304] Koumanoudis refers to theological scriptures according to which "ὁ Χριστὸς παρουσιασθεὶς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν σχήματι ταπεινοσύνης ἐνεδύθη ἀμορφίαν" (Jesus Christ upon his arrival on earth clothed himself in a formless gown). Ibid., p.13.

Koumanoudis affirms that the Christians left hardly any works comparable in quality to the works of Greek antiquity.[305] He ascribes this scarcity of good art, and the intellectual poverty of the Byzantines, in general, to the repressive dogma of the Church. Almost a military law imposed upon the artists of the time both the themes and the technique of their art. The result was either works deprived of any life spirit (*pneuma*), sterile copies of one another, or works drawn by the whims of feverish imagination, therefore, works which distorted the real nature of things.

Koumanoudis is intent on proving the complete lack of autonomy of the Christian-Byzantine artist by showing that his products were the direct reflection of the authoritarian system that brought them into being in the first place. He substantiates this point with the following argument – probably the most convincing argument in the entire text. Given that the overwhelming majority of the art of that period was intended for religious, not for secular use, its works were accepted unconditionally by the public. The devoted Christians were so disposed as to pay no heed to the technical/artistic aspect of the religious pieces they worshipped. They were drawn to them for their thematic content only. Criticism was a *de facto* sacrilegious activity in the context of Eastern Christianity.[306] For Koumanoudis, the proscription of healthy criticism signified the death of art during the long Middle Ages both in Greece and in the West. However, the West managed to break away from this misfortune first, so that it can now lead all the other countries which experienced a slower development, such as Greece, to the certain path of freedom, Reason, and knowledge.

At the end, Koumanoudis invites all the Greeks in general, and the artists in particular, to resist the allure of the Eastern art and to dispel the shadows of ignorance into which the country was cast for so long.[307] Furthermore, he invites them to imitate the art of Western Europe arguing that imitation provides always room for the individuality of the author – either an artist or a nation – to come to the surface. He even expresses the belief that Greece can thus create its own "school of art" and prove herself a worthy heiress of its ancient progeny, especially in the eyes of those who have called its national identity in question. The well-known and much debated Fallmerayer's *hypothesis* on the historical discontinuity of the Greek race is evidently in the author's mind at this point.[308]

---

[305] "Πιθανὸν νὰ ὑπάρχωσι παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς παλαιὰς ἐκκλησίας ἢ ὅπου ἀλλοῦ, καὶ ὀλίγα ἀξιοθέατα ἔργα τῆς τέχνης, ὅσων μάλιστα οἱ αὐτουργοί ἢ ἐξέκλιναν εὐτυχῶς τῆς κοινῆς ὁδοῦ δι' εὐφυΐαν, ἢ ἐζήλωσαν τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς γινόμενοι μαθηταί των· ἀλλὰ "μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ"." (We are likely to have a few pieces of artwork worth noticing in old churches or elsewhere, made by artists who either had the ingenuity to branch away from the main stream, or become disciples of Italian [masters] out of admiration; but 'one swallow doesn't make a spring'.) Ibid., p. 23.

[306] ".... ἡ ἐπίκρισις ἔργων τῆς τέχνης..... ἐλογίζετο ἔκφρασις ἀθρήσκου πνεύματος." Ibid., p. 20.

[307] He specifically refers to some of the Russian icons which, by certain critics, are thought of as masterpieces of religious art. Koumanoudis contends that without the positive influence of the West, these works would have never reached this state of excellence. Ibid., p. 25.

3.4. General assessment

Koumanoudis's pamphlet with the unusual title Where is the art of the Greeks hying today? marks the awakening of modern Greece to the idea of aesthetic discourse, or discourse on the arts. For the author of the pamphlet, it was only a matter of elementary logical association to have this kind of reasoning applied to other fields, such as music and architecture. But was this publication the real beginning of architectural discourse? Was it the beginning to the autonomization of art and architecture in Greece as Winckelmann's work was in its own context? A special commentary on the relationship between the two authors, Koumanoudis and Winckelmann – or even, on the manner in which Koumanoudis employed Winckelmann's writings to his own ends – appears essential in this context.

As Koumanoudis suggests in his "Admonition", for a step forward in the arts to occur, a step backward is required. His decision to call upon a nearly one-hundred-year-old aesthetic theory as a prop of his own betrays not necessarily his wholesale alignment with the German author's patterns of thinking, but his reticence and suspicion about current artistic movements and related theories. As archival research proves, Koumanoudis developed a lifelong aversion to his contemporary Romantic movement – especially the German variation of it – which, in calling for a contextualist approach to history and truth, had thrown doubt upon the universalist doctrines of the Enlightenment.[309] The author saw Romanticism as the worst enemy of classicism. He specifically feared that, under the spell of this movement, the Christian Middle Age gained undue prominence, since it was now placed in the same historical continuum with the classical age as a period of almost equal import to the latter. Despite the long time span that set Koumanoudis apart from Winckelmann, the two authors shared a common theoretical ground. Their commitment to classicism was common, but most importantly, their outrage against the dogma of the Church. In the perception of both, this dogma – no matter what form it manifested through history – had always obscured the workings of Reason and had cast shadows of ignorance over the devoted public. Winckelmann's attacks against the art of the Baroque, on the one hand, and Koumanoudis's fiery polemic against the Christian-Byzantine art, on the other hand, both originated in this negative disposition of the authors to Christian culture.[310] However, the methods that the two authors chose in order to adapt this attitude to specific theory differed. In fact, Winckelmann's theory of the arts in many ways anticipated later Romantic ideas, something which was not the case with Koumanoudis, even though his writings came with a delay of a whole century.[311] Self-consciously Koumanoudis sought in anti-Romantic, pro-Classicist rhetoric a way out of the current confusion, nonetheless, an easy path to the country's restoration to its ancient glory. His appropriation of Winckelmann's literature – that is, a body of writings seemingly better in line with academic trends in France than in Germany[312] – was part of this restoration program. Naturally, Koumanoudis underestimated the crypto-Romantic elements in Winckelmann's writing over its straightforward pro-hellenic rhetoric. He literally 'hooked' his own reasoning upon this rhetoric. Judged on the larger scale of events, the disparate approaches of the two authors to the same problem (i.e., religious irrationalism) issued different results. In Winckelmann's case, on the one hand, the result was genuine theoretical discourse on the arts. In Koumanoudis's case, on the other hand, the result was practical discourse on the arts with a strong prescriptive/moralistic tone, that is, a discourse subservient to a larger program of political reform. But for the contrast between the two authors to come forth more lucidly, a better account of the elements which qualify Winckelmann's literature on the arts as **theoretical** – that is, disinterested discourse ahead of its time – is required at this point of the analysis.

---

[308] Specifically, that the linear descendance of the Greek race from the ancient was interrupted in the 15th century due to a large wave of Slavic migration into the Greek peninsula (see also footnote #177). Koumanoudis counterargued Fallmerayer's theses for the first time in 1842 in an extensive unpublished essay, which is preserved as a fragment- manuscript in his archives. *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. #Φ1559. This essay was transcribed and translated into Greek by Dr. Michael Rohde as part of his doctoral dissertation "Stephanos Kumanudis und die 'Slavenhypothese' von Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer: historisch-kritische Textausgabe eines handschriftlichen Fragments aus dem Jahre 1842", Institut für Klassische Philologie und Neogräzistik der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Berlin, März 1998.
I would like to thank Dr. Michael Rohde for generously offering me a copy of his doctoral dissertation during our meeting in Berlin, in October 1998, on the occasion of the 1st European Conference of Modern Greek studies.

[309] Extensive discussion, accompanied with pertinent documentation on this issue, takes place in subsequent sections of this chapter.

---

[310] Winckelmann, in particular, developed his theories in reaction to the despotism of the so-called *ancien régime*, that is, the materialization into a political system of the principles of the **Catholic Reformation** in Europe. His vehement attacks against the art of the Baroque indirectly targeted the authoritarian establishment of the Church of his times. On the other hand, Koumanoudis, who actively strove for the restoration of the national identity of his country, used her Christian past as a point of reference to demonstrate what Greece in reality *was not*. He used this past, in other words, as the counterpoint of the highest state of glory the country ever reached, that of ancient Greece. For Koumanoudis, Christianity was synonymous not only with ignorance and dogmatism, but also with Eastern backwardness, stagnancy, oppression, and slavery. For historical and other reasons, the Eastern Orthodox tradition amalgamated with many of the **Ottoman traditions**. Therefore, Koumanoudis's aversion to the Christian religion was primarily motivated by a strong nationalistic criterion and, for this reason, it was more emotionally charged than Winckelmann's mainly intellectual opposition to the *ancien régime*.

[311] However, as the research will show, even Koumanoudis himself did not avoid the influence of his times, in that his reasoning exhibited many affinities with that of the Romantics.

[312] His aversion to the Baroque, in connection with its excessive ornamentation and exuberant form, set Winckelmann against current artistic trends in his own country. On the contrary, his passion for system, for the structural law of things, for ideas of simplicity and restraint, carry strong the influence of the French tradition. As far as architecture is concerned, certain parallels may be drawn between Winckelmann's ideas and those of the Abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier in his famous *Essai sur l' Architecture* of 1753. Also, according to Kruft who uses André Tibal as his source (André Tibal, ***Inventaire des manuscrits de Winckelmann déposé à la Bibliothèque Nationale***, Paris, 1911, pp. 104ff.), Winckelmann excerpted the elder Blondel's *Cours d' architecture* in his manuscripts. See: Hanno-Walter Kruft, A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present, Zwemmer, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1994, p. 187 and footnote 140, p. 509.

Winckelmann has been registered as "the father" of art history. That is, he was the first writer to set as his "principal objective.... the essential nature of art".[313] Besides, he was the first historian to move from the writing of the history of artists to the writing of the history of the artwork itself and the conditions of its production. Furthermore, he studied the very nature of history by trying to make its subject systematically intelligible. Ultimately, he reached an evolutionist/cyclical conception of the history of art and civilization according to which history was analyzed as an unbroken continuum from primitivism to sophistication to decline and oblivion. This narrativistic view of history qualifies Winckelmann as a forerunner of the **historicist** school of German historiography which formed the core of the Romantic movement.[314] Evidently, this view came in sharp contradiction with the dominant theory of **progress** which flourished within the mechanistic paradigm of the Enlightenment. According to this theory, human history was nothing but a mirror of the universal natural law and the rational order that governed it. Much like nature, history moved eternally in a unilinear direction and was made up of recurring phenomena devoid of conscious purpose.

It is particularly difficult for the historian of today to see Koumanoudis fit in one or the other 'school' of history. He, himself, never took a clear position on this matter. An adamant proponent of the Enlightenment, a passionate collector of facts whereby he measured the country's state of progress, Koumanoudis appears closer to the mechanistic view of history. Of course, Winckelmann's cyclical view of history would have found him in agreement, too. After all, it was the prominent example of Greece that the German author had used as a foundation stone of his theory.[315] In the eyes of all Europe, Greece was about to enter a new climactic phase, i.e., a rebirth, after having run a full historical cycle. Koumanoudis was extremely pleased with this expectation and ready to accept the country's rebirth as a fact. However, he was certainly not ready to accept as an imminent fact also the phase of decline that theoretically was to follow that peak. He was much more content to think of Greek history as smooth, even, and unilinear, subject to the same natural law that had once established Greece as the eternal cradle of beauty, freedom, and truth. As for the long Middle Ages of the Byzantines and the Ottomans that doomed the country into darkness, Koumanoudis would have rather to ascribe it to a chain of misfortunes – such misfortunes that a more circumspect political authority, acting strictly under the dictates of Reason, could have deterred.

---

[313] J. J. Winckelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums (The History of Art in Antiquity), Dresden, 1764 (facs. reprint Baden-Baden/ Strasbourg, 1966; ed. Wilhelm Senff, Weimar, 1964).

[314] The founder of the school of **Historicism** in Germany is considered to be the famous aesthetician, lawyer, and educator Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1814), followed by von Ranke, Hegel, Marx, Hotho, and others. However, the origins of historicism lay in the 18th century in the theories of Vico and Herder. Historicists, in general, claimed that there was both coherence and purpose in history; also, that the more particularized the inquiry was to one people, one nation, or one civilization, the more intelligible the patterns of historical evolution were. Historicism, in its most radical form, insisted that every age must be viewed in terms of its own immediate values; that there was no progress or decline in history, but only value-filled diversity.

[315] Especially in his ***Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*** (op. cit.)

That Winckelmann was a classicist and not a romantic, is corroborated by the fact that he articulated his aesthetic theory around the principal notion of Classicism, *imitation*. That his understanding of imitation, however, already contained seeds of Romanticism, is a point that has not received enough attention by his critics; certainly not by Koumanoudis. Typically, imitation as a term denotes a certain mode in which present action relates with a model past. Winckelmann's definition of imitation, by exception, set up an organic connection among past, present, *and future*. Winckelmann stressed – probably for the first time in history – the role of the artist as both a willful and a gifted subject (i.e., *genius*), not a passive copier of other works, either natural or human-made.[316] In this role, the artist sets himself to the task of discerning first, and imitating second, not the form, but the **inherent** law of the model. It is out of this dialectical relationship between artist and model that a whole new work emerges, novel in its kind but still part of a continuous line of tradition. "There is but one way for the moderns to become great, and perhaps unequalled; I mean, by imitating the ancients," wrote Winckelmann in his On the Imitation and Sculpture of the Greeks.[317] From the preceding explication, it becomes clear that this call for "imitating the ancients" ultimately directed the modern artist to the imitation of the *way* of the ancients – i.e., along the lines of the Aristotelian notion of *mimesis*[318] – not of the products of their work *per se*.[319] Behind this call was, no doubt, Winckelmann's admiration for the Greek artist who, by having used nature as his only model, skillfully managed to surpass it and reach the state of ideal beauty in his art. Thus, by moving the emphasis away from the inert element of the form to the subject–actor of the work, who could read the abstract law in the concrete matter, Winckelmann opened the door to art as a **universal language**. In his call for restraint and simplicity he paved the way to **abstraction**. His wonderful exposition of the notion of *grace* as a structural relationship between skin and bone, outer envelope and inner core, foreshadowed architectural theories by such famous architects of the period of Romanticism, as Schinkel, Semper, and Labrouste. All three – passionate admirers of Greek antiquity – set themselves against the mechanical imitation of its forms, and in favor of the ideas these forms expressed.[320] All three forcibly argued that the structural law of a building should manifest itself – one way or another – in the building's appearance, thus reducing ornamentation to a subsidiary element.[321]

---

[316] See again the related reference to imitation in Winckelmann's "Advice to the beholder of [the works of] Art" (op. cit., p. 39). Yet, for a more extensive analysis of his theses on imitation, see his On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks, transl. Henry Fuseli, London, 1765 (orig. Dresden, 1755). Reprint in: David Irwin (ed.), Winckelmann Writings on Art, Phaidon, London/New York, 1972, Ch. I. "Nature".

[317] Ibid., p. 61.

[318] Refer to the definition of tragedy: "Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an **action**....", in Aristotle's Poetics, op. cit., VI, 2, p. 61. 'Imitation' here translates the Greek *μίμησις* (*mimesis*). But 'mimesis' is not confined to the dramatic art only. In Book I, Aristotle defines 'mimesis' as the common principle of the arts of poetry, music, dancing, painting, and sculpture.

[319] Although the inevitable first step toward the way of the ancients consists in the use of their works as models first for copying and second for creative imitation.

Many more are the instances which bespeak Winckelmann's affinities to Romanticism, and include isolated phrases, such as "Sketch with fire, and execute with phlegm," his frequent references to the aesthetic category of the *sublime,* and his appeal to the beholder's sensory criteria as a factor of aesthetic judgment.[322] In the last analysis, however, this brief exposition of the Romantic elements in Winckelmann's thought, should not let go unnoticed the author's significant role in the establishment of the normative logic of classicism. It was in the capacity of the classicist and the Platonic Idealist that Winckelmann showed other scholars the systematic way to the theory of architecture. Winckelmann's intellectual legacy initially included academic archaeologists, such as the French Quatremère de Quincy,[323] in order to expand later to artists and architects of the Romantic school, such as the aforementioned Schinkel, Semper, and Labrouste. The fact that this legacy remained continuous and self-generating for more than a century essentially proves the distinction between Classicism and Romanticism artificial and inconsequential.

The delicate balance Winckelmann decided to keep by transcending his own time and setting himself somewhere between Classicism and Romanticism, was not immune from intrinsic contradictions. Sporadic instances of theoretical 'slack' on the part of the author gave room to some of his zealots, such as Koumanoudis, for interpreting points of his theory in their own terms. For example, Winckelmann's reader will be most likely bewildered by the author's conviction that social, geographic, and climatic conditions define the culture of a certain people, while, at the same time, there is only one idea of beauty with universal applicability and that idea belongs to the Greeks. The argument becomes even more puzzling after Winckelmann's deduction that the ideal beauty of the Greeks grew out of the most amazing coincidence of circumstances in a certain place, including its social and political structure, its climate, and its geography, all of which together composed the unique phenomenon of ancient Greece. However, by imitating the *way* of the Greeks, modern people give a good chance to themselves "to become great, and perhaps unequalled." The contradiction in the author's logic is obvious. Here, two systems of thought are at work. One, (proto-)contextualist, intimates the argument that any work of art or literature is inseparable from the physical and cultural totality in which it was produced. This argument is only one step away from the historicist 'school' of Herder and Vico, which introduced the relative criterion of value for different cultures with diverse artistic expressions. The other, idealist, confirms the prevalence of a universal reasoning as a steering force toward truths and values which are equally shared by all people at all times. The latter mode of reasoning stems directly from the universalist spirit of Enlightenment.

---

[320] It must be noted that this attitude did not characterize Romanticism in general. For a certain group of Romantics (e.g., the German Idealists of the circle of F.W. von Schelling), imitation, in any of its possible manifestations, was but a categorical impossibility.

[321] Schinkel, for example, writes: "All the essential structural elements of a building must remain visible: as soon as basic parts of the construction are concealed, the entire train of thought is lost. Such concealment leads at once to falsehood...." In Karl Friedrich Schinkel, ***Das Architektonische Lehrbuch,*** ed. Goerd Peschken, Munich/Berlin, 1979, p. 58. Here, the piece is quoted and translated into English by Hanno-Walter Kruft, op.cit., p. 299. Similar is Semper's view on the problem: "... like Nature, its great teacher, architecture, while selecting and treating its subject-matter according to her laws, must make the form and expression of its creations dependent not on this subject-matter but on the ideas that dwell within it." Gottfried Semper, ***Die vier Elemente der Baukunst. Ein Beitrag sur vergleichenden Baukunde,*** Brunswick, 1851, p. 54. Translated into English by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Wolfgang Hermann as The Four Elements of Architecture and other Writings, Cambridge, 1989. I was not able to come upon a similar quote by Labrouste.

[322] Koumanoudis translated this phrase into Greek as follows: "Πρέπει νὰ σχεδιάζῃ τις μὲ πῦρ, καὶ νὰ ἐξεργάζεται μὲ φλέγμα." In: J. J. Winckelmann, "Advice to the beholder...", in S.A.K., Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., pp. 49.

[323] Refer back to chapter 2, sub-chapter 2.1. "Ludwig Ross's 'Manual of Archaeology' as a source of architectural discourse", for a more extensive discussion of Quatremère's influence upon Greek archaeology.

Based on pure factuality, Winckelmann considered the probability of modern Europe succeeding to a status equal to that of ancient Greece rather slim. The physical presuppositions, at least, for such an eventuality were discouraging. "The most beautiful body of ours would perhaps be as much inferior to the most beautiful Greek one, as Iphicles was to his brother Hercules," admitted Winckelmann.[324] Time and again, he stressed that an essential connection existed between beauty in nature and beauty in art: "The forms of the Greeks, prepared to beauty, by the influence of the mildest and purest sky, became perfectly elegant by their early exercises."[325] How the moderns then would be enabled to overcome their natural inferiority to the ancients and become equal to them? Winckelmann already offered the answer: by imitating the *way* of the ancients. In other words, by being more observant of the way in which the Greeks imitated their one and only model, nature. Winckelmann insisted that "under a penalty" of law the Greek artist was forced to go farther than nature, and reach the Ideal.[326] It was in this mysterious leap from the Real to the Ideal that the key to the problem lay, in Winckelmann's view. For him, probably a weaker nature would necessitate a bigger leap on the part of the artist, who imitates it and, at the same time, uses the powers of knowledge and reason to his best advantage. "Let the artist's pencil, like the pen of Aristotle, be impregnated with *reason;* that, after having satiated the eye, he may nourish the mind," he stated.[327] Evidently, Winckelmann pictured the art of the future as an art with intellectual qualities so advanced that they alone would succeed in overcoming the debased nature of the models. After all, Winckelmann's age was the 'Age of Reason' *par excellence.* What nature could not do, the mind could. This, combined with a prudent system of government, that is, a system that ensured the optimum conditions of peace and freedom to its subjects, could lead a modern nation to the state of excellence that only ancient Greece had ever attained. Winckelmann's approach to the problem was analytical. In the manner of a scientist, he broke the phenomenon of Greek culture down to its constituents and, by doing so, he trivialized it. From his analysis, the providential power of the goddess which – according to Plato[328] – brought shape, coherence, and a unique identity to this culture, was missing. It was precisely on to this providential element that Winckelmann's critics – such as the well-known Herder and Vico, but also the less well-known Mavroyiannis and Ross – shifted their focus and argued for the relative autonomy of each culture.[329]

---

[324] J. J. Winckelmann, On the Imitation...., op. cit., p. 62.

[325] Ibid.

[326] Of course, this is true for a certain kind of art in ancient Greece, not for all art. However, Winckelmann generalizes it into a universal principle. It is Aristotle who presents the full argument in his ***Poetics*** as follows: "Since the objects of imitation are men in action, and these men must be either of a higher or a lower type.... it follows that we must represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are. It is the same in painting.... The same distinction marks off Tragedy from Comedy; for Comedy aims at representing men at worse, Tragedy as better than in actual life." In: Aristotle's Poetics, op. cit., II, 1, p. 52.

The analytical/secular spirit that permeates Winckelmann's work, however, does not explain the author's preoccupation with a single cultural model as the basis for a universal culture. In fact, it contradicts it. His obvious desire to replace the Roman paradigm with a more universal one does not justify his almost religious devotion to the Greeks. How then could one interpret this peculiar aspect in his theory? The reader should be reminded that the age of Winckelmann, the eighteenth century, more than any preceding age, favored **utopian** thinking. The eighteenth century was also the age which carried on to a secular framework the traditional bipolarity of heaven–hell, hitherto a product of religious thought. Its authors earnestly looked – both in space and through time – for the earthly analogue of the heavenly paradise. Rousseau found it in nature, others in the technologically advanced city of the future. Winckelmann found it in an ancient culture, the Greek. In his view, the Athens of Pericles retained an archetypal quality. Its various elements (e.g., its law, its art, its literature, its society), if taken apart, had a canon-producing capacity for all other cultures. Its forms could stand beyond and above time; they were, in other words, **ahistorical**. In reaching this deduction, Winckelmann failed to historicize the Greek culture. He failed to place it in the same context with other cultures and deal with it in real, historical terms, as his immediate successors did. He ascribed to it an almost supernatural existence, and therefore, he idealized it. In his assessment of ancient Greece, Winckelmann took a dangerous quasi-religious path which obstructed fair judgment.[330] The closing paragraph to his essay on grace is very telling. In that the author invites the modern artist to keep effigies of the Greek Graces in his workshop and sacrifice to their honor.[331]

---

[327] J. J. Winckelmann, On the Imitation ...., op. cit., p. 85. The emphasis is mine.

[328] The reference here is again to Plato's myth of the creation of Athens in ***Timaeus.*** See also footnote #93. Interestingly, Winckelmann is aware of this myth which he quotes in the opening paragraph of his treatise ***On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*** of 1755.

[329] All these scholars were more strongly committed to the *contextualist* view of history.

Eventually, Winckelmann overemphasized the **Apollonian**, that is, the intellectual component of the Greek culture, at the expense of the Dionysian, that is, the sensual component of it. He failed then to recognize that a culture which so admirably enclosed diversity within its unity, such as the Greek, could not subscribe to and be governed by one element only, Reason. The co-existence of the rational and the unconscious, the calm and the orgiastic, the morbid and the self-generating, the meditative and the compulsive sides of human nature – all equally present in Greek art – occasionally received due notice by many writers,[332] including the most methodical of all, Aristotle, whom Winckelmann certainly knew well. After all, it was Aristotle who observed that the Greek drama, like all Greek art, was thus made as to represent "men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are."[333] Tragedy and comedy were two aspects of the same phenomenon that encompassed Greek life as a whole. Deliberately Winckelmann decided to stress the former, i.e., tragedy, because this aspect conformed better to his general belief that "Arts have a double aim: to delight and to *instruct*,"[334] yet only with a view to the Ideal. His thinking belonged – still to a large extent – to the oppositional logic of the Enlightenment according to which any qualitative judgment, any identity argument, was to be founded only on the bipolar scale of positive–negative. His bias towards Greek art, with a special emphasis on the tragic side of it, was undoubtedly fomented by the limited sample of original works he knew in person, by his both physical and emotional distance from their place of origin, and by the narrow historical spectrum that was accepted as authentically Greek to his date.[335] Ironically, the distance he asked every artist to keep from his model was the distance he took himself from the object of his theoretical preoccupation, that is, Greece and its culture. That place remained for him forever a promised land, a utopia.

---

[330] It is possible that Winckelmann was induced to this vision of Greece as the early paradise by earlier artists' (e.g., Poussin, Watteau) representations of the Greek land as the mythological **Arcadia**. (See the related excellent study by Panofsky "*Et in Arcadia Ego*: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition", in Erwin Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1955, pp. 295-320.) However, many are the commentators who linked Winckelmann's elevation of ancient Greece to a model of religious devotion with his attachment to the movement of **Pietism** in Germany; that is, a pantheistic movement which goes back to the late Middle Ages, to mystics like Tauler and Master Eckhardt, but which became particularly strong in the 18th century. The movement favored such notions as stillness, quiet, and calm, which were very common in Winckelmann's aesthetic vocabulary. For the associations of Winckelmann's ideas with mysticism, see: Moshe Barasch, Modern Theories of Art, 1: From Winckelmann to Baudelaire, New York University Press, New York/ London, 1990, pp. 114-116. Barasch uses as his source Franz Schultz, *Klassic und Romantik der Deutschen*, Stuttgart, 1959.

[331] See above footnote #292.

[332] Characteristic is Sebastiano Serlio's proposition for three different types of stage-set corresponding to the three theatrical genres, tragedy, comedy, and satire. Serlio conceived the three sets in three distinctly different moods following Vitruvius's typology of the Greek drama (Book V, ch. 7). It is noteworthy that the illustrations of all three stage-sets obeyed the same rational system, i.e., the perspective, made to serve the purposes of the same form of setting, the Italian *scena*. Serlio's logic on the particular matter fell under the general logic of codification of the Renaissance, also exemplified in the way all Renaissance architects, including Serlio, applied the Orders to architecture as subject to the same mathematical system. See: Sebastiano Serlio, ***Il Primo libro d' architettura... (Geometria)***, [together with] ***Il Secondo libro (Prospettiva)***, Italian text with French translation by Jean Martin, Paris, 1545. The related reference and the illustrations are in the Appendix to Book II.

[333] See above footnote # 326.

[334] J. J. Winckelmann, On the Imitation ...., op. cit., p. 85. The emphasis is mine.

Koumanoudis, by contrast, was Greek and retained a more intimate relationship with the country and its culture. That he had not lived in the free State until 1845 did not negate the fact that his upbringing was that of a Greek. Nevertheless, from this pamphlet alone, he seemed to share in Winckelmann's phlegmatic and utopian views on ancient Greece, that is, views which were in sure conflict with his actual experience. With chauvinistic pride Koumanoudis endorsed the idealistic model which the German author had forged for his own country, Greece. Not only was he not disturbed by the outdatedness of that model, but he openly criticized those who were. He himself regarded Winckelmann's vision of Greece as an incomplete project whose time of completion had arrived.[336] In this respect, Koumanoudis can be deservedly named a leading exponent of the nineteenth-century Greek movement known as *archaeolatria* (literally, "worship of antiquity") – a movement which pronounced ancient Greece the ideal model to which modern Greece should attain.

Although Koumanoudis's essay contains no direct reference to Winckelmann by name, it still carries a distant echo of his words. Terms, such as nature, reason, imitation, and freedom, form logical 'bridges' to Winckelmann's texts. However, here, Koumanoudis called up these terms in a more proclamatory, less theoretically elaborate manner. He carefully related each one of them to a certain practical aim. Thus his text reads more as a record of theoretical statements than as a comprehensive theory of art. These statements – in the manner of early *christoetheias* – admonish based on either the positive or the negative effect of a certain course of action. For Koumanoudis, the ever present threat was one: **the relapse of Greece into the darkness of its Middle Ages.** He repeatedly claimed that "mother nature" (*μητέρα φύσις*) was the wisest teacher of all, especially of artists. Any deviation from the rules of nature led to corrupted forms of art, and became an index of either moral or spiritual degeneration.[337] In addition, Reason was the faculty that enabled humans to approach the truth that dwelled primarily in the works of nature. Reason characterized the works of classical art, either Greek or European, and distinguished them from all kinds of art bearing an Eastern influence. One who embraced products of Christian art deviated from the path of Reason, and was led to irrationality. Further, imitation was the act by which the artist related his work with the best examples of the past through resemblance. The attachment to the visible form of things safely led to the comprehension of their essence, their archetypal beginning. Any approach to art that excluded imitation from its process, only made room to absurdity.

---

[335] The recognition of the Homeric sites (e.g., Troy, Crete, Mycenae) as parts of Greek history – not mythology – along with the revelation of their valuable artifacts, did not take place until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Therefore, their significance was unknown not only to Winckelmann, but to Koumanoudis, too, at the time of this essay.
Another reason that led Winckelmann to the idealization of Greek culture may have been the fact that most of his observations on Greek statuary were based on fragmented pieces of original works. In a sense, the distance between the ruin and the whole was analogous to the distance between the Real and the Ideal in Winckelmann's theory.

[336] This would entail the total liberation of the Greeks from the Ottoman yoke, the stabilization of the new State, and the placement of Greece next to the other civilized nations of Europe.

It was precisely upon the problematic notion of **imitation** that the differing approaches to art of the two authors, Koumanoudis and Winckelmann, centered. For Koumanoudis, on the one hand, the value of the work of art was assessed on the basis of how faithfully the work replicated the external form of the original and how natural it remained after all.[338] For Winckelmann, on the other hand, the value of the work had to do with its capacity to reveal the inner energy of the form of the original. Given their roots in classical theory, both authors considered art a congenial vehicle to truth. Both referred to nature as the common denominator of all art, as the basis of its truthfulness. However, whereas Koumanoudis saw nature as more surely locked in the visible form of things, Winckelmann searched for nature beyond the visible form, into the invisible side of it – something which contradicted one basic aesthetic precept of neoclassicism. In this connection, Winckelmann believed art to be dependent on two human faculties equally, vision and intuition. It was the task of both the artist and the beholder of the artwork to employ both of these faculties so that art accomplished its full purpose. In other words, Winckelmann, by acknowledging the potentials of the invisible aspects of art, ordained a dynamic relationship among artist, work, and beholder.[339] On the contrary,

---

[337] "....ἡ γενικὴ δηλονότι διαστροφὴ τῶν πνευμάτων" (that is to say, the general corruption of the spirit). S.A.K., "Where is the art...." in Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., p. 19.

[338] A note of 1840 in his diary from Munich gives clear evidence that Koumanoudis was sensitized to the difference between the two notions, **real** and **ideal**, from that earlier date. In that note he defines as ideal, not the perfectly beautiful work of art, but that which responds to a certain pragmatic concern, and because of that it purposefully dissents from the natural form. He argues that if art seeks to be faithful to nature, at times it may create either shocking or incomprehensible forms. Therefore, the artist should not follow nature in all its aspects. "The technical work has to appease, not only to unsettle the spectator as true life does," he writes. He further calls in question art that imitates the indistinct forms of nature (e.g., fire), no matter how exceptional its technical merit might be. In this way, Koumanoudis essentially presents his objections against the art of the **sublime** which was very popular among his contemporary Romantics. It is noteworthy that his conception of the 'ideal' is not in perfect agreement with Winckelmann's. For Koumanoudis the art of the ideal was more of a way to evade the ugly or horrifying sides of nature than to reach a different state of mind. *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F23/ Φ1137,1 (23 Sept. 1840).

[339] To quote Barbara Maria Stafford on this matter: "According to Neo-Classical aesthetics beauty results from the absolute correspondence of inner being with outer form. [However,] for Winckelmann, external beauty in the sense of mere outward appearance was unthinkable" as it required the beholder's inner

Koumanoudis, due to his overdependence on the formal element of the work, adhered to the traditional, static conception of art, which considered the beholder nothing more than the passive receptor of the instructive message of the work. In his view, **memory** and **imagination** – as opposed to immediate perception – endangered the rational foundation of the artistic product.[340] Both authors defended in theory the instructive function of art, in conjunction with the sober, Apollonian, and tragic aspect of it. But for Winckelmann, in particular, the instructive function of art was an active condition, indistinguishable from the experience of the artwork. That is to say, the work engaged the beholder as the participant in a ritual, in a manner reminiscent of the way in which ancient tragedy engaged the spectator, or of the way in which the Byzantine icon engaged the worshipper. Hence, Winckelmann conceded to the evolutionist view of art history. Where he saw continuity and affinity between artistic periods, Koumanoudis saw discontinuity and opposition instead.

Koumanoudis's devotion to **form** as the dominant criterion of aesthetic judgment had much to do with the oppositional, mechanistic logic he inherited from the scholastic paradigm of the French Enlightenment. This logic defined in a consistent and unswerving manner his lifelong attitude toward all matters of a certain public import besides art, such as politics, religion, and science. To credit him with the title of the **Platonic Idealist** would be a mistake. This title should be more rightly ascribed to Winckelmann. The fact that Koumanoudis had idealized a number of things, including the ancient Greek past, his contemporary Western European culture, and the potentials of the modern Greek State, does not qualify him as a Platonic Idealist. In fact, throughout his entire essay, there is no reference to the essential leap from the Real to the Ideal, which – according to Winckelmann who follows Plato – the classical artist made in his effort to transcend the realm of everyday triviality.[341] For

---

sense. Therefore, "[t]he perception of the beautiful cannot be achieved by the intellect or senses alone, rather, it is a product of inner feeling...." Barbara Maria Stafford, "Beauty of the Invisible: Winckelmann and the Aesthetics of Imperceptibility", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, vol. 43, no. 1, 1980, p. 70.

[340] In his essay, Koumanoudis makes frequent condescending remarks against the Christian artist who, drawn by his memory and his imagination, moved away from the true nature of things. For example: "Καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μυριοτρόπως ζωγραφεῖται *κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους φαντασίας* (τῶν ζωγράφων), *ἦτον ὅμως ἓν* ὁποῖον καὶ ἂν ἦτον... " (And the face of Jesus himself is depicted in a million different ways based on the varying **imagination** (of the painters), yet it was only one and the same....) S.A.K., "Where is the art...." in Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art...), op. cit., p. 12. Also: ".... καὶ ἐζωγράφουν τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ ἀριθμητικὰς συμμετρίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς *μνήμης·* τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι ἡ συντομωτάτη ὁδὸς εἰς τὴν ἀποπλάνησιν." (... and they depicted man based on arithmetic proportions and from **memory**, which is the shortest way to delusion.) Ibid., p. 15 [the emphasis in both quotes is mine].

[341] The relationship between **Plato** and Winckelmann is more complex and cannot be exhausted in the limited space of this analysis. In short, my hypothesis is that Winckelmann was primarily influenced by the works of Plato, which had no direct reference to the arts, but which passed under close philosophical scrutiny the problem of the beauty of **ideal Forms**, such as *Phaedrus*, the *Symposium*, *Timaeus*, and others. However, in his specific reference to art (e.g., in the *Republic*), Plato himself advocated imitation by resemblance, for which he was accused for naive rationalism by his later critics. (For Plato's poor reasoning on the arts, see also the related commentary under footnote #214). Ironically, Koumanoudis adhered more strongly to this Platonic dictate than Winckelmann did. But this alone does not qualify Koumanoudis as a Platonic Idealist. The reader should bear in mind that Platonic theory, in the context in which it was first developed (i.e., ancient

Winckelmann, it is clear that a masterwork of Greek art was never a merely natural 'thing' empirically perceptible – as it was for Koumanoudis – but it was rather the only true embodiment of the *ideal itself* (in a Platonic sense).[342] For a practical thinker, such as Koumanoudis, who was convinced that resemblance was the key to good art, this vague space between the immediately perceptible and the Ideal (i.e., the state of absolute beauty) must have been at least evasive, therefore, out of his immediate concerns. In any event, it was a space difficult to handle through simple instructions precisely due to its unspecificity. Winckelmann – who contrasted Renaissance theories on this matter – was the one who contended that the state of ideal beauty did not obey to rational parameters; that it was **unteachable**, even though the surest path to it was the path of Reason.[343]

By theorizing this space of difference between the Real and the Ideal as a non-rationally definable space, Winckelmann introduced relativity and open-endedness to the context of aesthetic judgment, thus paving the way to the aesthetics of modernity.[344] The theory of ideal Forms, which Plato first delivered to a closed community of interlocutors, Winckelmann now sought to adjust to the standards of the open society of modern nations, albeit at the expense of its resoluteness. Koumanoudis, on the other hand, who thought of the modern Greeks as a closed community of citizens needing guidance, and who refused to jeopardize the unpredictable results of a subjective or relativistic aesthetic judgment, adhered to the conservative aesthetics of imitation by resemblance. In a categorical manner, he predetermined the result of this process to be the construction of the country's national identity in imitation of the forms of ancient Greece (see *Diagram 1*). Evidently influenced by Plato's view of the ideal *Republic*, Koumanoudis assigned the most highly qualified citizens to a very important role: that of the instructors and guardians of taste of the rest.[345] However, it was the oppositional and discriminatory logic of a rationalist, not the dialectical logic of a Platonist, that informed the author's philosophy and, by extension, the philosophy of the prospective 'guardian' of the arts. Koumanoudis made this philosophy clear in his essay. All new art, but most importantly all public taste, had to be carefully geared away from Christian and Asiatic forms, to those which Western Europe had accepted as *classical*. In other words, Koumanoudis charged the

---

Greece), was a form of **Realism**, not Idealism, since it advocated the self-subsistent reality of universals (i.e., Forms).

[342] The integration of the Real with the Ideal at the ultimate state of artistic development anticipates more surely **Hegel**'s synthetic theory of art and the Aesthetics of **Organicism** about half-a-century later.

[343] For Winckelmann's critical distance from the theories of the Renaissance see again the footnotes #289 & 291.

[344] In contrast to Winckelmann's disinterested view on the arts, modern aesthetics used the **psychological subject** as the ultimate foundation for the formation of the aesthetic judgment. This tradition encompassed such various thinkers as Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Heidegger.

[345] The reference here is to the well-known passage from Plato's *Republic* (Book VI, 484d). We have already encountered the German archaeologist Ross expressing the same opinion. See again the related commentary under footnote #216.

modern guardian of art with a **corrective function**, similar to the function of the **philologist** who can easily distinguish right from wrong in the grammar and syntax of a text. From that point on, we may follow Koumanoudis in his lifelong vocation of the passionate '**mistake-hunter**' in the forms of both language and art or architecture equally.

At a time when aesthetic philosophy in the West had already entered a new paradigm after having assimilated the seeds of relativism that Winckelmann spread, Koumanoudis insisted on calling up an outdated theory which put barriers between art and philosophy and which thus precluded art as a vehicle to truth.[346] In his view, only such a theory had the power to safeguard the rights of Reason in the reborn country. In connection to that, he entrusted the welfare of the arts to the philologist–archaeologist. By pronouncing as the enemy of pure Reason the Eastern tradition, not the living memory of the people or the artist's erratic relationship to convention, he fostered an artificial divide between East and West which left its imprint in Greek art and architecture of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, his theory met Winckelmann's at one point – the most important one for the progress of the arts in any direction. He, like Winckelmann, demonstrated immense trust in political **freedom** as the necessary condition for both the production and the reception of the artwork. He, like Winckelmann, however, never managed to turn the equation around and recognize art itself as a liberating force *vis-à-vis* an authoritarian or oppressive political system, or any other system of negative external forces. In this respect, Koumanoudis's pamphlet entitled Where is the art of the Greeks hying today? was the first step, but not the most decisive one, toward the autonomization of the arts in Greece. As far as its impact upon the discipline of architecture is concerned, this was certain, yet indirect. In the next section I will attempt to show how Koumanoudis encompassed the problem of architecture in his reasoning and writings.

---

[346] I am referring, of course, to the well-known Platonic theory of art from the ***Republic***.
For Koumanoudis, coming to terms with the contradictions between **philosophy** and **art** was an immensely difficult problem. In an early note from his student years, he himself admits that there is no logical continuity between the two fields. He is particularly disturbed by the fact that the orator appropriates artistic techniques in order to trick the public. He clearly declares himself a proponent of **philosophy**. To dedicate a whole life in the hunting of truth befits a human being much better than living in deception, he argues. See: *S.K.A.* (op. cit.), doc. F23/ Φ1137,1 /diary (3 Dec. 1840). He returns to the subject of **rhetoric** (i.e., the 'bridge' between philosophy and art) a few years later, in order to restate his earlier position. In a short (unpublished) handwritten manuscript, he pronounces rhetoric a subject not worth being taught in the Greek University; a subject neither useful nor essential to the education of the modern scholar. See: *S.K.A.* (op. cit.), doc. F16/ Φ1131,19 (no date). Also in his article on the state of secondary education in Greece in the newspaper *'Ο Φιλόπατρις* (16 March 1856), he advises against the teaching of rhetoric in high schools. (Copy of the article in the archive as *S.K.A.* (op. cit.), doc. F51/ Φ1165, transcr. pp. 24-5.)

4. Architectural implications in Koumanoudis's texts

In this section of the dissertation, I propose to elucidate Koumanoudis's relationship to architecture and the implications of his mode of reasoning in the architectural field. It stands to reason that such an analysis must lay special emphasis on the oppositional logic upon which the author founded most of his arguments in defense of a *genuinely classical* idiom for modern Greek architecture. To that end, I examine materials of two different categories: one, which exhibits his judgmental and corrective attitude to existing architectural works – works which, to the greatest extent, he regarded as problematic; and another, which concerns his theoretical opposition to Romanticism, especially in reference to architecture. Lastly, I put forward a certain hypothesis which I discuss and analyze on the basis of the available sources. This hypothesis claims that Koumanoudis was connected with the most renowned Greek architect of his time, Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, through a profound intellectual relationship (not totally free of conflicts), in addition to the plain working one. Bringing into focus this connection – both theoretical and practical – between the two leading specialists in their fields during the Othonian period, reinforces my general argument that architecture and archaeology remained two closely interdependent fields in nineteenth-century Greece, that is, a time when architecture had not figured yet a way to its disciplinary autonomy.

A collection of the most important critical comments of the author with reference to architecture follows under *Appendix II*. The largest volume of these comments are extracted from his personal diary, especially from the earlier (unpublished) section of it which covers his student years in Germany.[347] In the second (published) section of his diary which begins in 1845, that is, the year when Koumanoudis settled permanently in Athens, architectural comments occur less frequently in comparison with the first part. To the reader's disappointment, this second part of the diary contains a very limited number of references to Athenian sites, as opposed to other places (e.g., Zakynthos, Patras, Nauplion, etc.) which the author came to know from short visits after the year 1845.[348] Considering Koumanoudis's special attachment to the city of Athens, her architecture and her life, this scarcity of architectural comments on Athenian buildings appears as an 'anomaly' in his notetaking habit, and is open to various interpretations.[349] The absence of Athens from the diary is not the only paradox this research had to face and deal with. Overall, the supporting materials of this section are sporadic and often elliptical in nature. Being mainly notes taken on the site, they were rarely looked over by the author for revisions or improvements. Koumanoudis's grand-son, Stephanos – an archaeologist himself – who preserved and organized this archive with extra diligence, was quoted: "one should not invest a certain text with more meaning and importance than the [meaning and importance] its own author had assigned to it."[350] This is certainly true in the case of a single and random note. It is not true, however, when the research material at hand extends to a whole body of notes – the largest part of a personal archive – in the context of which regularities and recurrences of a certain thought or idea naturally surface. These regularities and recurrences bear evidence of the author's reasoning, his preconceptions, his likes and dislikes, and so forth. It is the intention of this study to identify those regularities which will assist in uncovering the man's patterns of thinking in reference to the built environment, while trying to apply fair judgment on the author's statements.

---

[347] *S.K.A.*: (op. cit.), doc. F23/ Φ1137,1. Curiously the diary becomes very sparse during Koumanoudis's living in Paris (i.e. 1842-1844) and begins more regularly after his settling in Athens in 1845. As a result we do not have any architectural note on any of the buildings of Paris.

[348] This part of Koumanoudis's diary was published in 1990 by Angelos Matthaiou, general editor of the publication and translator of all the German parts of it (Stephanos Koumanoudis, 'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867 (Diary 1845-1867), Angelos P. Matthaiou (ed.), Ikaros, Athens, 1990). As it appears, Matthaiou was largely guided to this oeuvre by the editing comments and notes which Koumanoudis's grand-son, Stephanos N. Koumanoudis, had left on the original transcripts. Personally, I did not have the opportunity to obtain access to the original transcript of this published section of the diary. As a result, I preserve certain doubts as to whether the material of the book corresponds to the full body of the diary or to selected parts of it only.

4.1. Critical comments on specific sites

As a student in big cities of Western Europe, Koumanoudis was an observant frequenter of all the architectural attractions of the places he lived in. His set of notes from the city of Berlin (1840-1842), in particular, render a picture of the seat of the rising King Friedrich Wilhelm IV and the topmost Prussian architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) in the most vivid colors, though not in the most flattering ones. Koumanoudis missed no opportunity in his personal diary to compare Berlin with Munich in favor of the latter. Munich, in a sense, was registered in his mind as "the Greek city" *par excellence*, therefore, as a potential model for the reborn capital of Greece, Athens.[351] Berlin, on the other hand, was the counter-example of Athens, the city which dared to contaminate the Greek Orders with arbitrary admixtures, the city which received the teachings of Romanticism with open arms.

---

[349] One interpretation would argue that Koumanoudis, after settling in Athens, ceased to see the city through the eye of a tourist. Therefore, he lacked the urge of the tourist to spontaneously react and take quick notes on various sites, whereas, on the contrary, he developed detailed and systematic inventories on "the good and bad" things that occurred in the city over time (see below footnote #662). A different interpretation would hold that material with a specific reference to Athens was withheld by the executive agent of the archive after Koumanoudis's death probably in order to be published later under a special title.

[350] "....δέν πρέπει κανείς νά ἀποδίδει μεγαλύτερη σημασία ἤ σοβαρότητα σέ ἕνα κείμενο, ἀπό ὅση ὁ ἴδιος ὁ συντάκτης του ἤθελε νά ἔχει..." Quoted by the editor A. Matthaiou in Stephanos Koumanoudis, 'Ημερολόγιον...., op. cit., p. 188. According to the same author, it was Koumanoudis himself who hated the speculative and scholastic analyses on simple phrases or words with seemingly deeper meanings.

[351] As a simple reminder at this point, I need to mention that the royal architect of Bavaria was Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), that is, the same architect who drew up the final plan of Athens and the opinion of whom the Greeks sought in several other occasions related to new building construction.

However, whether Munich or Berlin was the city which Koumanoudis carried in his mind as a model for Athens, will remain an open question. In fact, Berlin was the city which helped the young and inexperienced student to develop a solid aesthetic criterion in matters of both architecture and urban planning. Koumanoudis's architectural judgment reached a state of maturity in that city. It is not accidental that the Berlin section of his diary is the most dense, thorough, and consistent in architectural commentary. By contrast, after his settling in Athens in 1845, Koumanoudis changed the style of his notes to that of an inventory, at the expense of critical and theoretical depth. Incidentally, this was also the time when the author, following the demands of his archaeological profession, immersed himself in the detailed listing and recording of ancient artifacts, that is, an occupation which he passionately carried on to the end of his life.

i) On buildings

The range of Koumanoudis's architectural sensibility was amazingly wide. The author scrutinized with almost equal concern issues of city-planning and building design. His regard for monuments was not that of a tourist. Quite often he had to visit a certain site several times – as he did in the case of the *Schauspielhaus* – before he finally determined: "I cannot get to like this theater. It gradually lowers itself in my esteem."[352] He was faster to reach a certain deduction, however, in either of the two following cases: when a certain building struck him immediately with its oddity, or when he had a ready measure of comparison for it. Thus he sarcastically commented on the *Garnisonkirche*: "They would not be wrong if they called it *Garnisoncaserne* as it looks like barracks."[353] On the *Brandenburg Gate*, on the other hand, he wrote: "... it presents many errors, if I am not mistaken, judging from its current state..."[354] Here, as well as in every other case of building with classical lineaments, the author's standard point of reference was Greek antiquity. Based solely on how the ancient Greek builder would have done the work, Koumanoudis called a building 'right' or 'wrong', accordingly. For the Brandenburg Gate, for instance, his model and the indisputable winner of the comparison, was no other than the Athenian Propylaia.[355]

---

[352] "Αὐτό τό θέατρον δέν ἠμπορεῖ νά μ' ἀρέσῃ. "Οσον πάγει ξεπίπτει ἀπό τήν ὑπόληψίν μου." ***S.K.A.*** (op. cit.), doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 29 Nov. 1840.

[353] "....'garnisonkirche'. πλήν δέν ἔσφαλλαν, ἄν ἔγραφαν garnisoncaserne διότι τῷ ὄντι στρατῶνα ὁμοιάζει." Ibid., 16 Nov. 1840.

[354] ".... ἔχουν, ἄν δέν ἀπατῶμαι λάθη πολλά, ἄν τις τά κρίνῃ κατά τήν νῦν ἐγνωσμένην στάθμην." Ibid., end of October 1840.

[355] Incidentally, the Propylaia of Athens was indeed the actual model for the architect of the Gate Carl G. Langhans. It was proposed to the architect by the King Friedrich Wilhelm II's who had seen the Greek Propylaia in the French publication of J.-D. Le Roy's *Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (Paris, 1758). Langhans applied a number of liberties to the original design in his effort to create a triumphal entrance gate to the city of Berlin, more in accordance with Roman imperial prototypes. See: D. Watkin, T. Mellinghoff, German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, Thames and Hudson Ltd. / MIT Press, London, 1987, p. 61-62.

For Koumanoudis, the neoclassical face of the city of Berlin was contemptible in most of its aspects. The author rarely paid a compliment to any of its buildings, whereas he caught every opportunity to identify problems and *errors* in almost every structure. This was to be expected from a purist classicist, such as Koumanoudis. As architectural history teaches, neoclassical architecture was introduced to Prussia less powerfully than in any other German state. For Berlin, in particular, Friedrich the Great (1740-1786) preferred an architecture which stood closer to the Baroque tradition, that is, an architecture which contradicted the minimalist past of the city on the one hand, and the rationalist principles of the French Enlightenment, on the other. The city essentially established its cultural identity and its intellectual autonomy in self-conscious opposition to French ideas. The anti-French movement in Prussia continued long after the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm the Second (1786-1815), a period in which neoclassicism was finally approved as the official style. But even then – and contrary to the example of Munich – Berlin neoclassicism never appeared as a pure architectural idiom, totally freed from its Baroque inheritance. The result was a varied style which mixed neoclassical with romantic elements in an ingenious way. In the hands of highly gifted architects, such as Genz, Gilly, and Schinkel, Prussia established itself as the homeland of **Romantic classicism.** These architects combined the minimalist and cosmic forms of classicism with the three-dimensional sensuality of the Baroque in new and inventive syntheses. According to architecture historian Doug Clelland, "their purpose was not to offer fixed rules, similar to those of the French Academics, but to encourage a more holistic approach to architecture, free of measured regulations."[356] Convinced of the power of artistic imagination as a way to the improvement of human life, these architects instigated the movement of Romanticism in architecture.

Koumanoudis naturally reacted to the whimsical interpretation of classicism by Berlin architects, which called for Doric columns with a base, porticoes with no functional purpose, marble-like facings made of stucco, and the most outrageous of all.... the doubling of columns in colonnaded building fronts. In the manner in which he demanded that lexicographers and writers strive for the maximum economy in language, he required that architects, too, be mindful of the optimum measure in their buildings.[357] He often wondered: "Why is it so difficult [for the artist/architect] to apply the measure?... To follow the universal rules of symmetry and harmony?"[358] He saw all the *deviations* from the classical principles as a mark of bad taste (*ἀπειροκαλία*) on the part of the creator, ostentation and extravagance on the part of the patron. He erroneously associated many of these vices and, most importantly, the general proneness to irrationality that characterized his contemporary architecture, with the culture of the Baroque and the Rococo. In fact though, many of the features he marked wrong dated back, in historical periods that preceded the obscurantist influence of the Middle Ages.[359] Simply the Baroque gave them extra prominence, it used them as signs. Unfortunately, Koumanoudis was reluctant to scrutinize the problem any further, once 'the die was cast': "this architecture is wrong because it distorts the rules of Reason". In other words, he did not distinguish between good use from bad use of the aforementioned elements, depending on the circumstance, the intended effect, or the skill of the architect. In general, he denied the possibility for classical architecture to also have a historical existence, besides a superhistorical, universal one.

---

[356] Doug Clelland, "Berlin: An Architectural History", A.D. Profile, 50, vol. 53, no. 11/12, 1983, p. 8.

[357] Striking is the analogy between two examples, one from architecture, the other from language. In his diary, Koumanoudis speaks with contempt on the habit of Berlin architects of doubling the columns in places in which one column only would suffice. (*S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 28 Nov. 1840). Several years later, in his splendid lexicon *Synagogi...*, he underscores the mistaken doubling of the root of certain words in the archaic, more so in the demotic; as in the word ἀρχιαγελαδάρχης. for example. (See: Συναγωγὴ Νέων Λέξεων.... (An assemblage of new words....), op. cit., p. 156). Also, in a brief diary note on the use of the Greek language by the modern Greeks, he notices needless repetition of the same words. "Let me say this, they

By contrast with his rigid attitude toward buildings with classical lineaments, Koumanoudis's judgment on buildings of other styles – less familiar to him – was surprisingly sympathetic. Characteristic is the story of his 'encounter' with the Friedrich-Werder Kirche, Schinkel's masterpiece in Neo-Gothic style.[360] Koumanoudis had to visit this building twice at least before he started liking it. His first reaction to it was shocking. In its unusual form and proportions, the church struck him as "a Turkish stool turned upside-down."[361] At the same time, however, he declared his determination to get to know this building better and thus bring himself to terms with its architect, Schinkel. In his second visit, he was impressed with the interior: "The columns soar high on both sides and in a radial pattern meet at the ceiling. The blue of the vault is so designed as if it came through the three stain-glass windows of the chancel."[362] It was the grace and the simplicity of the interior space he appreciated the most. In his third visit, he became more critical of the various irregularities of the building, its asymmetries, the odd placement of some of the furnishings, some

---

[new authors] should avoid the excesses. The same words, frequently repeated, lose their power and become mere noise. Everywhere Salamis, everywhere Marathon...." (*S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 8 Nov. 1841)

[358] *S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ end of October 1840.

[359] Specifically, most of these features have their origins in ancient Rome, namely the Doric column with a base (i.e., Roman Doric), the stucco facings in imitation of marble revetment (e.g., Pompeian frescoes), the doubling of the columns (e.g., Market gateway of Miletus). As for the purely decorative portico, the idea already exists in the western portico of the Temple of Athena Nike in the Athenian Acropolis.

[360] The building of 1834-40 is a red brick austere Gothic with English influence on the exterior, more evident in the twin-towered façade. The interior is a sequence of five bays with a gallery that runs over the choir and a magnificent cross rib-vaulted ceiling, resting on ribbed piers.

[361] *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ end of October 1840.

[362] *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 3 Nov. 1840. Today the blue of the ceiling has been replaced by a terracotta red, which coordinates better with the red of the brick.

peculiarities in the iconographic panels.[363] Apparently, it was the classical order he looked for in every building as the logical criterion of its ultimate worth. Nevertheless, he could not resist bursting out enthusiastically over the loftiness of the interior space. His reaction to it was not logical, but emotional. It was so strong that it drew his attention away from the details and the rhetoric of the style to the building's structural definition where its real aesthetic appeal lay.[364] Because – and this the reader should bear in mind – Koumanoudis, more than a rationalist and a moralist, was actually an **aesthete**. His overall impression from such a sensational building could not be but positive.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the Friedrich-Werder Kirche alone managed to fulfill Koumanoudis's initial expectation, that is, to familiarize him with Schinkel's architecture. This is because, for someone who judges architecture as a mere phenomenon, Karl Friedrich Schinkel is an unpredictable architect, to say the least. The range of his stylistic preferences was fairly wide and not necessarily bound to the past. His real impetus to architectural form had a different starting point than the most common question at the time, "In which style shall we build?"[365] It began with the question: how can an architect create a poetic visual experience by using the available technology and the humblest of the materials in new and inventive ways? With extra zeal, Koumanoudis visited and recorded his thoughts on several of Schinkel's buildings in Berlin besides the Friedrich-Werder Kirche: the Altes Museum, the Schauspielhaus, the Kreuzberg monument, the Caserna (Lehreskadron), and the old Cathedral (Domkirche).[366]

His notes on the Schauspielhaus, Berlin's National Theater – and Germany's most important theater at the time – deserve special attention. Koumanoudis's encounter with that building was virtually his first encounter with the spirit of **modernism** in one of its earliest manifestations. The young Greek absolutely hated the building. After four visits, at least, he thought of it as a structure completely "torn apart" (*καταξεσχισμένον*) and "shabby"

---

[363] *S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 9 Nov. 1840.

[364] At a different instance, Koumanoudis paid a big compliment to the medieval Gothic builder, as opposed to the contemporary imitator of past styles, especially classicism. He noted: "Πόσον φιλοκαλέστεροι ἄν καί παλαιοί οἱ τήν γοτθικήν ἀσκήσαντες. Γεννῶντες ἀπό τήν φαντασίαν των δέν ἐφοβοῦντο νά πέσουν ὡς οἱ μιμηταί ἀπό ἀμάθειαν καί κακεντρέχειαν εἰςτοιαύτας ἀτοπίας." (How much more tasteful, old though they may have been, were those who practiced the Gothic art. Bearing the fruits of their imagination only, they did not run the risk of leading themselves into absurdity as the imitators do because of ignorance and wickedness.) *S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 28 Nov. 1840.

[365] Heinrich Hübsch, ***In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?***, Karlsruhe, 1828.

[366] In fact, on the old Berlin Cathedral by Johann Boumann (1747-50) Schinkel had applied only certain modifications, including the remodeling of the front elevation and the dome.
Interestingly, Koumanoudis made no comments on the Neue Wache, the Bauakademie, and the Neue Packhof (New Customs House), all prominent buildings in Berlin by Schinkel. Among all the buildings he visited, he gave a positive comment only to the Kreuzberg monument for the War of Liberation, a single Gothic pinnacle in cast iron set on an octagonal base at the top of a hill.

(*kleinlich*).[367] He was critical of almost every feature of the theater that foreshadowed modernist ideas, namely the lightweight massing, the screen-like envelope, the feeling of openness in the whole, the square unmoulded mullions, the squeezed entrance at the ground-floor level, the low-vaulted vestibule, the inconvenient ascent to the foyer ("par-terre"), the unreasonably small concert-hall, and the use of inexpensive materials throughout. Koumanoudis did not know that Schinkel had a good justification for each one of these items; that most of them were intentional, and not the product of idleness or oversight. More specifically, the architect was restricted in decisions concerning the general layout of the building by the foundations of an earlier theater on the same site.[368] The small concert-hall was the result of prudent allocation of the available space in served and serving zones.[369] The openness of the exterior envelope was suggested by the need for better lighting of some of the deeper rooms. In a different consideration, it reflected the architect's intention to combine the trabeated grid of classicism and the openwork of gothicism into a new synthesis. As for the unmoulded square mullions, Schinkel had cited a Greek source for them, namely the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus.[370] In the last analysis, all the design decisions had primarily to obey strict economical and functional requirements.

What did Koumanoudis think was at stake in the case of a presumably *unsuccessful* building, such as the Schauspielhaus? Was it the comfort of the users, the general taste, or – something more personal to him – the Greekness of the classical style? To answer this question with a question: was it rather accidental that Koumanoudis reserved some of his severest architectural criticism for buildings which made explicit use of the language of classicism, such as the Schauspielhaus, the Altes Museum, the Brandenburg Gate, and the Caserna? Evidently, Koumanoudis felt that classicism was abused in the hands of architects who, in the name of progress and innovation, led it into new and unforeseen directions; that its real essence was misconstrued as the result of ignorance, pettiness, and affectation; ultimately, that these architects had killed the **Greek spirit of classicism**. But what did Koumanoudis regard as *Greek* in classical architecture? First and foremost, Greek in his view was the **ideal coincidence of form with content**, the Platonic condition of truth, the ultimate basis of authenticity. In his view though, architecture could not imitate nature, as other arts could. Hence, it should speak truthfully about the things that belonged to it by definition, that is, function and materials. A portico should function as an entrance;[371] a window-grille should cover a real opening, not a blind one;[372] barracks should look mighty and austere, thus be in accord with the life of the soldier;[373] a cheap material, e.g., stucco, should not fake a nobler material, e.g., marble,[374] and so forth. Essentially, Koumanoudis reacted to the use of classicism as a merely visual language subject to capricious manipulations. For him, classicism was something more than that; it was a state of mind, despite the fact that he himself often had to resort to visual criteria in order to assess its validity.

---

[367] *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 24 Feb. 1841 and 9 Nov. 1840. The Schauspielhaus is located in the Gendarmenmarkt; it was designed in 1818 and executed in 1819-21. Koumanoudis might have passed by the building practically every day as he held an apartment in that neighborhood, that is, on 76 Jagerstrasse (according to the University student records).

[368] The National Theater by Karl Gottard Langhans the Elder was gutted by fire on 29 July 1817. It was King Friedrich Wilhelm III who called for as moderate costs as possible and, therefore, proposed the re-use of the old foundations and six of the old portico columns.

[369] Specifically the building programme called for two halls, one for concerts and one for theatrical performances. The concert hall was the smallest of the two and was located in the south wing.

[370] This monument was located on the side of the Acropolis of Athens and Schinkel probably knew of it from Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. II (1789). Specifically, Schinkel wrote in his ***Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*** (1821): "The construction of pilasters as seen in the Greek monuments, e.g. the Thrasyllos monument in Athens, seemed to me to accord better with the character of a public building and to be more in harmony with the peristyle of the main façade than ordinary windows, to which is added the advantage of gaining more light for the building which, thanks to its great depth, was otherwise very difficult to light within...." Quoted in: Michael Snodin (ed.), Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man, Yale University Press & The Victoria and Albert Museum, New Haven & London, 1991, p. 123.

Monumentality was another important condition of Greekness in classical edifices for Koumanoudis, although he never referred to it by name. His comparison of the Schauspielhaus with the theater of Munich is very telling in this respect.[375] "I have not seen any other [theater] to be standing even anywhere near the one in Munich. Where are the grand stairs? the modest 'vestibulum'? the ample rooms on either side? the direct entry to the 'parterre'? *The size in everything*. That may have its errors, too, both outside and inside; but, they do not strike the eye as much as [the same errors do] in such small petty theaters!"[376] In these words Koumanoudis articulated his definition of monumentality in architecture. Specifically, he asked for a pompous, theatrical ascent followed by a series of varied spatial experiences to be laid in a linear sequence, in the mode of 'still tableaux'; all this accompanied by a bilateral arrangement of rooms and – what is more – an imposing size. Koumanoudis described a majestic journey through space, appropriate not only to a theater, but to every building of a certain distinction. His set of references were primarily works he had seen in Munich by the two

---

[371] He notices that in the building for a Bank and in the Cathedral of the Ionian island of Kefallinia (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kb'). (Fig. F) Also in the portico of the Domkirche in Berlin by Schinkel (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 1 Jan. 1841). Finally, he insinuates it in the case of the Schauspielhaus.

[372] He notices that in houses in the countryside of the Ionian island of Zakynthos (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kst').

[373] In reference to the building of the Caserna by Schinkel in Berlin (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 4 Dec. 1840).

[374] In reference to the Schauspielhaus in Berlin (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 29 Nov. 1840).

[375] His reference here must be to the National Theater of Munich by Karl von Fischer of 1812. The theater was destroyed by fire in 1823 and restored by Leo von Klenze. It was modeled on the Odéon in Paris in pure neoclassical style. The greatest mark of its monumentality was the octastyle portico with Corinthian columns, an overt allusion to the Roman Pantheon.

[376] "Τό τοῦ Μονάχου δέν εἶδα μέχρι τοῦδε κανέν οὐδέ νά τό πλησιάση. Ποῦ αἱ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι κλίμακές του, τό σεμνόν Vestibulum! τά ἁπλόχωρα οἰκήματα εἰς τά πλάγια! Ἡ κατ' εὐθεῖαν εἴσοδος εἰς τό parterre! *Τό μέγεθος ἐπί πάντων*. Εἰμπορεῖ νἄχῃ κ' ἐκεῖνο τά λάθη του ἔξω καί μέσα· πλήν δέν πηδοῦν εἰς τά μάτια τόσον ὅσον εἰς αὐτά τά μικρά θεατρείδια!" (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 29 Nov. 1840). The emphasis is mine.

Grecian architects, Leo von Klenze and Friedrich von Gärtner.[377] They were all explicit representations of the absolutist, yet strongly hellenophile, spirit of the Bavarian monarchy. Given the academic connection of the two architects with the French *École des Beaux-Arts,* another line of influences on Koumanoudis's taste can be traced, that which begins in the grandiloquent style of the Academy and passes through the utilitarian functionalism of Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand to the hands of Munich architects.[378]

How could all these features, appropriate to an empire, be adapted to the Greek ideal that Koumanoudis propounded? How could they claim roots in a democratic age which promoted to the level of a national style its own vernacular, such as the age of Pericles? Certainly Koumanoudis did not think of the neoclassical style in these terms. The pomp and magnitude that empires of a western type bestowed upon their neoclassical buildings seemed to fully satisfy his taste. His observations on the "torn apart" envelope of the Schauspielhaus echoed the call for monumentality that the Crown Prince of Bavaria, Ludwig, addressed to his architect, Klenze, in reference to the remodeling of a substantial portion of the Ludwigstrasse in Munich: "Make the windows far apart, dear Klenze, for without that the large cannot appear impressive and the small merely looks small."[379] Probably, in Koumanoudis's view, the very idea of truth, which classical architecture encapsulated, found its most deserving expression in the grand size and costly materials of buildings he had seen in Munich, such as the National Theater and the Glyptothek.[380] In that respect, truth and monumentality were two closely interrelated terms and in perfect accord with the Greek conception of classicism.

Schinkel, on the other hand, avoided both the grand size and the costly materials in his buildings, partly owing to the current state of economical depression in Prussia. Despite his attachment to the idealistic theories of Winckelmann and the French school, Schinkel set his architecture against the political background of a rising system of liberal reformism, particular to the Prussian state. The decadent in his days spirit of humanism left him rather unaffected. The most that a post-Revolutionary humanistic architecture could produce was stiff, lifeless, and static forms, that is, forms unfit to the dynamic framework of modern life. Schinkel had no interest in elevating the human being to the center of his architectural compositions, as humanist architects did. He focused instead on the **dynamic relationship between subject and object**, and the resulting experience from such an interface. What mattered to him the most was nature as a form-giving source to the built environment. Specifically, he examined how nature dictated structural laws, on the one hand, and experiential conditions, on the other. In his buildings, he celebrated both structural and experiential possibilities with equal zest, without having to resort to the classical notion of iconic imitation. In the Schauspielhaus, for example, he uplifted trabeation – i.e., the Greek structural system *par excellence* – to a poetic level. The reduction of the language of classicism to a transparent, ethereal grid did not insult the Greek spirit, as Koumanoudis thought. On the contrary, it paid due homage to that spirit by attempting a novel interpretation of it in the context of modernity. On the other hand, the maneuvering route to the interior was so planned as to add charm and mystery to the experience of entering. The same device was even more explicit in the case of the Altes Museum. The most celebrated route for the visitor to the central room, the rotunda, was through the double screened stoa-like columnar front to the flanking stairway up to the landing balcony of the second story.[381] The winding path both prolonged and accentuated the drama of entering while, at the same time, it provided multiple views to the landscape of the Lustgarten and the surrounding buildings through the slender Ionic columns. Schinkel, who happened to know the hilly landscapes of the Mediterranean countryside from an earlier trip to Italy,[382] sought to recreate the same picturesque experience of ascending to one's destination point, through the use of purely architectural means. His idea of adapting the spatial syntax of the vernacular to the formal language of architecture is comparable with the Greeks' winding processional routes to their sacred precincts, most importantly to the Athenian Acropolis. However, Koumanoudis was either unable or reluctant to discern these poetic analogies in Schinkel's architecture. His approach to it was prosaic and utilitarian. Specifically on the entry to the Altes Museum, he commented: "the low rise of the steps of the stairway displease me; you get the feeling that you may hit your head on the ceiling."[383]

---

[377] Although they both used successfully the Greek classical style, Gärtner's favorite style was the Rundbogen. I call them 'Grecian' owing to fact that they were the principal initiators of Greek neoclassicism in Greece. Another striking incident in which Koumanoudis set the two German architects, **Schinkel** and **Klenze**, in comparison, was when he expressed his dislike for the sculpture gallery of the Altes Museum, as opposed to the Glyptothek of Munich (1816-30), a neo-Grecian building with certain Renaissance features. (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 7 Nov. 1840).

[378] Both Klenze and Gärtner studied and worked under the two leading Napoleonic architects in Paris, Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine. Klenze, in particular, was also a student of Durand in the École Polytechnique.

[379] Quoted in D. Watkin, T. Mellinghoff, German Architecture....., op. cit., p. 148.

[380] Both buildings by Leo von Klenze.

In sum, Koumanoudis and Schinkel did not share in the same notion of **monumentality**. For the Greek student, on the one hand, monumentality had to do with the ability of a certain building to impose itself on the beholder through its visual magnitude and solidity, its grand scale, its fine proportions, and – most certainly – through its explicit usage of the vocabulary of classical architecture; in other words, through a set of formal qualities, not all of which applied to Greek architecture. For the Prussian architect, on the other hand, monumentality in architecture was a concept with philosophical implications of cosmic unity and, in this connection, much more faithful to the Greek idea of **monument** (*μνημεῖο*) as the repository of memory. Much like Greek settings–monuments, Schinkel's buildings exhibited an ideal integration of disparate pieces of reality, both spatial and temporal, into an architectural whole. One's touring through the Altes Museum, for example, unfolded in a sequence of unexpected happenings, which, in their paradoxical fusions and juxtapositions, defeated any linear conception of time. **Memory** reigned where the traditional physical boundary between interior and exterior space, culture and nature, was canceled. Schinkel questioned the artificiality of this boundary. This became evident in the way he allowed nature to have a discreet presence in his buildings, both literally, through the multiple visual outlets to the surroundings, and metaphorically, through reviving the manifold experience of walking in a vernacular landscape. The experience of walking through one of Schinkel's buildings was neither easy nor uneventful, as Koumanoudis noted in dismay. It was a complex spatio-temporal experience which encompassed in an ideal ensemble man, nature, and time/event, in a manner reminiscent of ancient Greek sites. It was a **panoramic experience** which – in the mode of the popular spectacle of a panorama – required active human participation so that a new synthesis comes about every time.[384]

---

[381] The other route was linear and more in accord with classical prototypes, that is, through the portico and the narrow vestibule straight into the rotunda.

[382] His trip to Italy lasted a whole year, from May 1803 to May 1804. Among the places he visited were: Trieste, Istria, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Sicily, Pisa, Livorno, Genoa, Milan.

[383] "....τά χαμηλά πατώματα τῆς κλίμακος μέ δυσαρεστοῦν· νομίζει τις ὅτι θά κτυπήσῃ τήν ὀροφήν ἡ κεφαλή του." (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ end of October 1840).

The culmination point of the visitor's poetic journey through the Altes Museum was the entry to the rotunda from the landing platform of the second story. The rotunda dominated the center of the museum and was modeled on the Roman Pantheon, although less than half its size.[385] Schinkel intended the rotunda as the "sanctuary" of the museum "where the most precious objects are located."[386] The purpose of this room was to convey a sense of monumentality, irrespective of its modest size and inexpensive materials.[387] As in the Pantheon, the domical form and subliminal lighting through the oculus evoked a strong symbolism of cosmic unity. Schinkel had conceived this space in complete isolation from the rest of the building. Apparently, the sanctuary-like feeling entailed an exclusive connection between man and universe through the medium of art, a timeless experience after a well orchestrated temporal one. It was probably in this passage from the temporal to the atemporal realm of the humanity's memory where the monumentality of the Altes Museum lay. Upon entering this atemporal realm of the rotunda all the artificial dichotomies that govern the realm of the everyday were called off. Quiet and peace reigned. However, the fundamental experience in the two buildings, i.e., the Pantheon and the Altes Museum, was different. The rotunda of the Pantheon, on the one hand, gave security, control, and self-reliance to its visitor who walked on solid ground and was well protected by robust walls. Schinkel's rotunda, on the other hand, received the visitor at the upper level, almost groundless. Thus suspended in the midst of the sphere, far removed from the safe grounds of humanism, the visitor was impelled to consider cosmic unity as a possibility again, now in the context of the uneasy culture of modernity.

---

[384] Schinkel's mastery of the art of poetic juxtapositions relates aptly to the fact that he began his career in 1806 as a panorama and diorama painter for the theatrical impressario Wilhelm Gropius. Schinkel painted about 45 works of this kind none of which has survived to this date.

[385] The diameter of the rotunda of the Altes Museum is only 21 m. and the height 24 m., in comparison with the Pantheon rotunda which measures 43 m. in both diameter and height.

[386] K.F. Schinkel, ***Comment on the Report by Hofrat Hirt***, 5 Feb. 1823. Cited in M. Snodin (ed.), Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man, op. cit., p. 132.

[387] King Friedrich Wilhelm III had refused Schinkel's request for the rise of funding, specifically for the purchase of more costly materials for the rotunda, like marble and granite, instead of stucco and sandstone (ibid., p. 131). Thus the walls were finally painted in the impression of pale gray marble, the plastered shafts of the Corinthian columns were modeled in bright yellow *giallo*, the capitals and cornices were painted white, and the cornice ornamentation bright red and golden yellow.

ii) On the city

Before closing this account of Koumanoudis's views on architecture, a special mention needs to be made of his ideas related to urban design. Having lived only in large urban centers, Koumanoudis was specially attached to the life and the problems of the city. Athens, in particular, was for him – as for most *philhellenes* – a true homeland, a destination place long before he realized his first trip to that city (i.e., 1845). Koumanoudis never managed to separate in his mind the city of Athens as a physical setting from the city of Athens as a symbol of eternal glory. In fact, many of his efforts as a scholar, active in the field of public life through writings, speeches, and practical advising, aimed at the ideal identification of these two elements, that is, the place and the idea of the city–capital of the modern Greek State.

His earliest comments on urban design issues are to be found in his diary. In a series of notes taken on the site, Koumanoudis brought again in comparison the two cities, Munich and Berlin. Interestingly in this case, the author set himself in favor of the architecture of Berlin on the urban scale as opposed to the scale of the individual building. From his first walk in the city, he gave Berlin the generous compliment of "the most beautiful city" thanks to the rich character of the buildings, the broad and straight avenues, the handsome bridges, and the architectural variety throughout.[388] With the exception of some sanitation problems, the dark colors, the 'distortion' of the Greek orders, and the lack of fine proportions, his overall impression of the city was positive. Many of the edifices reflected the presence of a noble and artistic class of citizens – more here than in Munich. Elegance and grace reigned in many of the streets. During his second and third tours of the city, Koumanoudis became more observant of its various irregularities, which ranged from the varying width of streets to the awkward juxtaposition of big and elegant houses next to small and poor ones in some of the city districts.[389] Noticing the varying widths of the Friedrichstrasse, in particular, he brought up again the rhetorical question, "Why is the regular something so hard to follow?" [390] Momentarily, he expressed nostalgia for the more orderly planned streets of Munich, which he found "harmonious", even though boringly simple. Too much variety, on the other hand, exceeded the measure and caused fatigue to the visitor. After two months in Berlin, however, his observations became more sophisticated. Koumanoudis began to discern good from bad urban design, good from bad *variety* (i.e., street composition). The Luisenstrasse reminded him of the "harmonious" streets of Munich, something which led him to believe that this was due to Schinkel's intervention.[391] The city started to feel more legible and familiar on its general scale.

---

[388] "'Απ' ὅσας [πόλεις] εἶδα μέχρι τοῦδε εἶναι ἡ ὡραιοτέρα...." *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ end of October, 1840.

Finally, the street which epitomized his views on what good urban design is was undoubtedly the Potsdamerstrasse, a relatively short and wide street in the new city quarter of Friedrichstadt, to the southwest of the old center.[392] There, Koumanoudis noticed that many of the private houses used the Greek style, yet each one of them in a different way. Planned 'irregularity' based on the unlimited versatility of the Greek style, gave a gay and pleasant look to this new street.[393] By contrast, many of the latest residential districts in Munich looked sober and graceless due to the extensive application of the "Byzantine style" [sic], he claimed.[394] He further observed that where the Greek style was used in Munich, that was in order to ensure a uniform scale and appearance to all the buildings of the same district, without any essential differentiation of individual units.

---

[389] S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 9 Nov. 1840 & 2 Nov. 1840.

[390] S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 2 Nov. 1840. The **Friedrichstrasse** was the central N–S axis of the new quarter of the city, the Friedrichstadt. Indeed, in a map of 1843, the Friedrichstrasse presents two different widths. It shows as a fairly broad avenue from its southern end at the bridge of the Floss Graben up to the Bären (today Behrens) strasse. From that point on its width is reduced to almost half and thus continues north crossing the Unter den Linden to the northernmost bridge over the Spree.

[391] S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 4 Dec. 1840. I have no related information to confirm this note.

[392] S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 6 Dec. 1840. The **Potzdamerstrasse** was a primarily residential street which run W–E, parallel to the Unter den Linden to the south. Its western end was marked by the Potsdasmer Platz, whereas to the East its name changed to Leipzigerstrasse and thus continued up to the Spittel Platz.

[393] A little later, he extolled the special advantage of the Greek style over all the other styles (e.g., Gothic, Arabic, etc.) in expressing a wide range of ideas in architecture. He contended that the architect who uses the Greek style has a far greater opportunity to accurately display, for example, the character of a palace, a tomb, or a house. S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/8 Dec. 1840.

[394] Koumanoudis refers to styles which make ample use of the round arch, such as the Rundbogen and the neo-Renaissance indiscriminately, as *Byzantine*. A prominent example of a street lined with buildings of this kind in Munich was the Ludwigstrasse.

In these scattered notes, Koumanoudis captured the essence of the current debate on the problem of urbanization of the old urban centers in Europe. Between the unremarkable uniformity of zoning and the picturesque variety of the urban block, Koumanoudis obviously 'voted' for the latter, although he did not present the problem precisely in these terms. His ultimate criterion was once again the aesthetic. Koumanoudis searched for the distinct visual character, the individual personality in buildings, as he did with archaeological finds, or even with people's faces.[395] His enthusiasm for a street lined up with buildings–characters was natural for a Balkan who had spent the early years of his life in traditional towns of southern Europe, that is, towns which used the urban block as the core element of their planning. The young student must have felt foreign to the increasing trend toward the total application of a pompous, yet hypnotizing, plan of regularization upon the old urban fabrics of the largest metropolises, namely London, Paris, and Munich.[396] Berlin, by contrast, thanks to its moderate scale, the controlled variety in the appearance of its buildings, the wide spreading of the Greek style, the adherence to a more traditional planning system, and, finally, the contrast between old and new section, had probably the strongest suggestive power upon Koumanoudis as the city–model for the new capital of the new Greek State, Athens.[397] The considerable difference in size of the two cities, i.e., Berlin and Athens, apparently had no effect on the author's aesthetic deductions.[398] Coincidentally, Berlin had a similar influence upon the two architects of the first plan of Athens, Kleanthes and Schaubert, both faithful disciples of Schinkel and students in the Berlin Bauakademie in the mid-1820s.[399] Evidently for all three – that is, Koumanoudis, Kleanthes, and Schaubert – Berlin provided the ideal image of a metropolis which the small Mediterranean city–capital of Greece could have attained under favorable circumstances in thirty or fifty years from that date.[400] But, as I will presently show, the dreams of the three men did not come true.

---

[395] I will discuss Koumanoudis's interest in human physiognomy at a later point of this study.

[396] The example which epitomizes this idea was the plan for the improvement of the city of Paris by Baron G.-E. Haussmann between 1853 and 1870.

[397] This did not preclude the possibility for certain districts of Berlin to bear characteristics of boring uniformity, similarly to the cities of Munich. Characteristic is the earliest phase of the Friedrichstrasse in the mid-18th-century. Under the supervision of military officers, the street was lined up with uniform row-houses two-stories high with repeated façades based on Danish prototypes, under a single continuous roof.

[398] During Koumanoudis's stay in Berlin, the population of the city reached 400,000, whereas the population of Athens did not exceed 40,000 at that time.

[399] Based solely on stylistic analysis, many elements in the initial scheme for the plan of Athens may be seen as direct take-offs from the plan of Berlin. The probability of Schinkel's involvement in the design, particularly in the second proposed scheme by Kleanthes and Schaubert, has also been argued by different historians. See for example: Margarete Kühn, "Schinkel und der Entwurf seiner Schüler Schaubert und Kleanthes für die Neustadt Athen", in Deutsches Arcäeologisches Institut, Berlin und die Antike, vol. 1, Deutsches Arcäeologisches Institut, 1979, pp. 515-16.

[400] It is noteworthy that the two most serious points of criticism on Kleanthes and Schaubert's plan of Athens concerned the large expanse of the city and the enormous width of the streets. The prompt consideration and adjustment of these two 'problems' by Leo von Klenze turned the Greek authorities in favor of his plan which they finally approved.

Lastly, the words of another visitor to the same city some thirty years earlier, Madame de Staël, anticipate some of Koumanoudis's observations: "Berlin is a large city, the streets of which are very broad and perfectly straight, the houses handsome, and the general appearance regular; [....] an entirely modern city, beautiful as it is, makes no serious impression; it reveals no marks of the history of the country [....]"[401]

Over the years, Koumanoudis never ceased to express in the form of short notes his views on urban design with reference to a number of places he visited both in the mainland and in the islands of Greece. Characteristic is an excerpt from a letter to a friend in Athens, in which Koumanoudis – already a permanent resident of Athens for two years – summed up his impressions from the city of Nafplion.[402] Here is how he described Nafplion as a model Greek city:

> [...] It is perhaps the only city in Greece without the unattractive sight of vacant and cut off streets. The largest part of it is laid out in straight streets with houses of two and three stories, therefore, bigger than the ones in Athens; the public square with the plane-trees, the army quarters in Venetian style, the cafés all around, and the people, bring me back vague memories of the incontestable [Piazza di] San Marco in Venice. The general character of the city is undoubtedly metropolitan; furthermore, the overhanging fortified cliffs are reminiscent of the crucial state of war and danger which Greece has arrested and since then is resting in peace[....][403]

---

[401] Madame de Staël, De l'Allemagne, Paris, 1871 (orig. 1810, 1813), pp. 81-82. The renowned author (1766-1817) had visited Germany in early 1804. Her visits to Weimar and Berlin and her acquaintance with Goethe, Schiller and Aug. Wilhelm von Schlegel consolidated her regard for Romanticism which brought her in strong opposition with the Napoleonic monarchy in her country.

[402] Nafplion (or Napoli di Morea) is a city in the northeast Peloponnese. Its history began in the early Mycenaean times. Its location on the bay of Argolis earned it special military and mercantilist significance. Over the past millennium it experienced four successive periods of foreign occupation, two by the Venetians and two by the Turks. It was one of the first cities to return to the Greeks after the break of the Revolution in 1821. Between 1828 and 1833, Nafplion served as the first city–capital of the independent Greek State and the seat of the Othonian Regency until King Othon I transferred the administrative center to Athens in 1834. It was laid out in a modern gridiron plan; however, its architectural character is eclectic due to the numerous Venetian and Ottoman remains. See: Semni Karouzou, Τό Ναύπλιο (Nafplion), Commercial Bank of Greece publications, Athens, 1979, and Vassilis K. Dorovinis, "Ho schediasmos tou Nafpliou kata tin Kapodistriaki periodo (1828-33)" (The planning of Nafplio during the Kapodistrias Era (1828-33)), in Νεοελληνική Πόλη (Modern Greek Town), Proceedings of the Symposium (Athens, 26-28 Sept. and Hermoupolis, 29-30 Sept. 1984), 2 vols., Association of Neohellenic Studies, Athens, 1985, vol. 1, p. 288.

[403] "[....] Εἶναι ἴσως ἡ μόνη πόλις τῆς 'Ελλάδος, ἥτις δέν παρέχει τήν ἄχαριν θέαν κενῶν ὁδῶν καί διακεκομμένων. Μέγα μέρος αὐτῆς εἶναι κατ' εὐθυγραμμίαν ρυμοτομημένον καί αἱ οἰκίαι εἶναι ὡς ἐπί τό πλεῖστον δίπατοι ἤ τρίπατοι· ἄρα μεγαλήτεραι τῶν 'Αθηναϊκῶν· καί ἡ πλατανόφυτος πλατεῖα μέ τόν εὔρυθμον Βενετικόν στρατῶνα καί τά πέριξ καφφενεῖα καί τούς ἀνθρώπους μ' ἐνθυμίζουν σιγανά τόν ἀσύγκριτον ἐκεῖνον ἁγ. Μάρκον τῆς Βενετίας. 'Ο ὅλος χαρακτήρ δέ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι μεγαλοπολικός ἀναμφιβόλως καί οἱ ἄνωθέν της ἐπικρεμάμενοι ὠχυρωμένοι βράχοι παρέχουν προσέτι καί τό σοβαρόν τῶν πολέμων καί τῶν κινδύνων, τούς ὁποίους ἀποφυγοῦσα πρώην ἡσυχάζει πλέον ἡ 'Ελλάδα[....]" The letter was addressed to his friend Demetrios Chr. Charamis in Athens and dated 14 Aug. 1847. (S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F1/ Φ1103, 69)

The city which Koumanoudis outlines in this paragraph is an old Greek town, whose syntactical characteristics appear to have nothing in common with those of the traditional town of the *Hellenic East*; this, despite the fact that Nafplion had a very distinctive Ottoman phase still prominent in many of its aspects. The layer that the author decided to single out and exalt was the newer and most rationally planned. It was based, of course, on western European prototypes of city-planning, something in which Koumanoudis took special pride. Nafplion was the first capital of the independent State and one of the first Greek cities that the Governor Joannes Kapodistrias (aided by his military engineers) reconstructed in the late 1820s.[404] By 1847, that is, the year in which the author visited the city, Nafplion no longer had any of the common problems – both practical and aesthetic – of cities still in progress, most prominently the new capital, Athens. Mental images–memories from Venice and Berlin blended indistinctly in the sight of this small city.[405] Order, regularity, the size of the buildings, the alignment of the streets, the coherent fabric, the cosmopolitan character of the central square, all proved Nafplion a real 'metropolis' in the eyes of the well-traveled Greek scholar; .... maybe Berlin in miniature, except for two equally formidable elements, the landscape and its history, that is, the actual memory of the place. Because of the fortified cliffs and the historically laden sea bay, Nafplion was a city which – in contrast to Berlin – *did* make a "serious impression" on its visitor. So did Athens. At the back of Koumanoudis's mind, the problem of how to make Athens the worthiest and everlasting capital of the country was ever present. He hunted for models everywhere. Here, in Nafplion, the comparison arose naturally: "the houses [were] bigger than the ones in Athens". With regard to the relationship between ancient and modern layers in Athens, the answer had been already given by all the archaeologically-minded heads of the plan, and in defiance of the scientific opinion of the physicians: superimposition. For political reasons primarily, the two cities had to coincide.[406] The old had to empower the new by giving it meaning, reason, and importance, as the fortified cliffs did to the modern city of Nafplion. The result of this superimposition was the close proximity – or virtual juxtaposition – of ancient ruins to new buildings. Thus a contesting relationship between the two developed. This relationship focused primarily on the form and only secondarily on the content and other contextual parameters concerning the buildings, or – more specifically speaking – the art of building. For a culture still so heavily bearing upon the mechanistic paradigm of early modernity and its oppositional logic, **formal similarity** was the only plausible response to the question: "In what style shall we build next to our monuments?" In addition, the visual contrast of the old with the new provided – with only a small amount of expended energy – extra drama to an otherwise utilitarian plan. Koumanoudis eagerly embraced this idea and gave it special prominence in his notable article of 1853 *"Total Panorama of Athens"*, which I will discuss toward the end of this dissertation.

---

[404] The engineers of the French Military Mission included Audoy, Garnot, Pauzier, de Vaud, Bulgari, the geographer E. Peytier, *et.al.* The chief military engineers of the reconstruction of the city of Nafplion were Stamatios Bulgari and Theodoros Vallianos.

[405] The population of Nafplion was approx. 7,000 in the 1840s.

[406] Of course, planning policy required that zones of special archaeological significance (i.e., zones with ancient monuments) be left free for future excavations. However, the criteria that designated a certain zone as archaeological were rather loose. As a result, areas of crucial archaeological significance, such as the areas of the ancient Greek and Roman agora, were occupied with newer construction until the end of the 19th century and beyond. See, for example, Fig. 19. The expropriation costs for archaeological land still remains one of the most difficult problems the Greek State had to deal with since it was first established.

In the years to come and in various occasions, Koumanoudis influenced common opinion regarding the public face of the city, both as a member in various executive committees and as an author of provocative articles in the press.[407] A monographic work on the author would require thorough research of all the related sources. However, this study is not a monograph on Koumanoudis. Its emphasis lies in the share of his reasoning and aesthetic ideas in the development of an architectural consciousness in the modern city of Athens during the Othonian period. In effect, Koumanoudis's public activity stays out of the picture.[408] On the other hand, his writings in the press are hard to identify with certainty as the author purposefully did not sign most of them. Characteristically, he avoided revealing his identity in those of his articles which exercised relentless criticism on public matters and the role of the political authorities.[409] On the contrary, he signed – by his full name or by his (well known) initials – writings of a more scientific nature, such as his archaeological reports in his periodicals Philistor and Athinaion.[410] Several articles in the liberal paper Athena bear marks of Koumanoudis's writing style.[411] None of them carries a signature. All expressed scepticism and dissatisfaction with State policy on matters of urban planning. I will comment briefly on four of them. I refrain from ascribing their authorship to Koumanoudis. I find it unnecessary for the simple reason that, even if Koumanoudis were not their official author, he might have easily been the one who effected their writing and publication. In other words, he might have been their unofficial author. His key political position absolutely justifies such a hypothesis.

---

[407] A handwritten manuscript with an extensive list of his participation in committees is S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F37/ Φ1151, 7 (no date). The manuscripts with lists of his publications are numerous, for example, S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F37/ Φ1151, 4 (c. 1854), doc. F37/ Φ1151, 5, doc. F37/ Φ1151, 6, doc. F37/ Φ1151, 15.

[408] Such a study would require a more systematic research in the General State Archives (GAK), as well as in the archives of individual offices which Koumanoudis served during his lifetime, such as the Greek Archaeological Society, the Municipality of Athens, and so forth.

[409] For example, his views on the current state of Greek music and the need for a total reform, an article published in the paper *'Ο Φιλόπατρις* (13 Feb. 1857), entitled "From Thebes on Feb. 2, 1857" and signed with the false initial "A".

[410] Both periodicals specialized in archaeology, philology, and history. Both had a short life, specifically *Φιλίστωρ* 1861-62, vols. 1-4 (in cooperation with K. Xanthopoulos and D. Mavrofridis) and *'Αθήναιον* 1877-81, vols. 1-10 (in cooperation with E. Kastorhis).

[411] In a handwritten manuscript in the archive listing 31 titles of papers and periodicals to which Koumanoudis contributed articles, the name of *'Αθηνᾶ* is included. However, no further information is provided on the dates and titles of specific published pieces.

The four articles date from the period 1856 to 1858.[412] They appeared as editorial articles on the second page of the paper under the general title "Interior affairs" (*'Εσωτερικά*). All four accompanied their sets of complaints with factual evidence that held the government responsible for the poor implementation of the city plan. The relevance of these written pieces to the present discussion rests in their ability to draw a good sketch of the distance that separated the *ideal* from the *real* image of the city–capital, thirty-five years after its inception. They offered, in other words, a good range of mental images of the city as it should be – based on the initial plan – on the one hand, and the city as it was, on the other. In addition, they proposed a number of measures for improvements upon the current state of the city, so that the coincidence of the real with the ideal ultimately becomes possible.

Specifically, the four articles held the central administration responsible for loose public policy, yielding to private interest, lack of long-term planning, amateurism, apathy and procrastination in the implementation of effective public measures. They argued and proved with examples that the result of all these flaws were successive violations of the city plan on the part of the landowners. They further accompanied their arguments with severe accusations against city officials of moral corruption and clientelism. The articles ascribed the perpetuation of an ineffective planning mechanism to two serious causes, the unofficial power of wealthy *foreign* individuals to control public policy and the absence of educated/specialists in important public posts. They proposed immediate correction of both problems through the restraining of the public power of those individuals and through the academic training of young Greeks in specialized subjects, such as architecture, urban planning, civil engineering, road and bridge construction. Incidentally, the period 1856-1858 marks the first awakening of the general public to the need for the educated specialist in matters related to the built environment. Up to that date, these matters had been considered the exclusive area of the skilled builder or craftsman (*ἐμπειρότεχνος*). It was around the turn of the year 1857 that Koumanoudis published three articles of special interest for the history of the architectural discipline in Greece.[413] The author criticized deficiencies in the current education system in the Athenian Polytechnic, including among other things the absence of systematic studies in architecture. I will return to the discussion of these articles at a later point of this study.[414]

---

[412] The four articles are the following in chronological order: Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ, year 25, no. 2389, 20 March 1856, p. 2; (same source), year 27, no. 2664, 11 May 1858, p. 2; (same source), year 27, no. 2677, 2 July 1858; (same source), year 27, no. 2685, 26 July 1858, pp. 2-3.

[413] These were: Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις, "Four visits to the Polytechnic of Athens", first part, year 2, no. 82, 15 Dec. 1856; (same source, same title), second part, year 2, no. 83, 22 Dec. 1856; (same source) "On some deficiencies in the Polytechnic of Athens", year 3, no. 89, 24 Jan. 1857.

[414] See sub-chapter 4.3. "Koumanoudis – Kaftanzoglou: An accidental encounter?"

All four articles in Athena spoke about the current state of the plan of Athens in the same terms – a total failure. Irregular city lots, anarchic construction, crooked and narrow streets, defective leveling, lack of green areas and public squares.[415] To this vast range of problems one should add the illegal conversion of public land into private property, therefore, the gradual shortage of land reserved by the architects of the plan for public services (e.g., marketplaces). The deplorable condition of the city by the late 1850s had defeated the expectations of those who once envisioned a real European metropolis in its place, including not only its citizens and its architects, but also the higher protectors of the country, the Great Powers.[416] By appointing the Great Powers to the position of the appraisers of the phenomenon of the modern Greek city, the press introduced a new dimension to the way the image of modern Athens was constructed in the consciousness of its inhabitants. This new way was highly dependent upon the gaze of the *other*, in this case, the western European. Thus the image of the city was offered back to its inhabitants as the reflection in a mirror, that is, **detached** and perfectly **rationalized**. Coincidentally, Koumanoudis's *"Total Panorama of Athens"* had already suggested a similar reading of the city a few years earlier, with one important difference: Koumanoudis sought to weave a complete canvas, that is, a complex city-image organized in layers, a "total panorama". The *other*'s gaze had a dominant role in the construction of this *panorama*. The four articles, on the other hand, due to their more practical orientation, delivered the wishful image of the city in the form of a two-dimensional abstraction. They strongly insisted on the need for a regular geometry throughout the city, the enforcement of the orthogonal grid, the rectilinear lots, and the perfect alignment of the buildings. The articles failed to mention how this abstract geometric matrix would change into habitable space. One was led to believe that geometric regularization alone had the power to do that, since a number of problems aptly related to life, such as climate, hygiene, sanitation, and aesthetics, were highly dependent upon it.

---

[415] Characteristically, the issue of 11 May 1858 seeks the first cause for the deficient design of the streets in the revisions that Leo von Klenze applied on the initial plan by Kleanthes and Schaubert. The author argues that the narrowing of the streets was an unreasonable measure against the heat of the summer, since wider streets, lined with trees, could have a much greater effect, both climatic and aesthetic, upon the general scale of the city. In this and other places in the article, the author openly expressed his dislike for foreigners, who became involved in interior matters. It is however uncertain whether his attack on the approved plan of Klenze was the product of personal bias against foreigners, of fair judgment, or of special sympathy for the ideas of Kleanthes and Schaubert. As I mentioned earlier, the two architects were strongly influenced in their designs by the image of Berlin, that is, a city they knew well and liked, as did Koumanoudis. See back footnote #399.

[416] This particular nuance is made in two of the four articles. Specifically, in the issue of 11 May 1858, the author of the article expresses fears that excessive surrendering to private interest inhibits the country's progress and "brings the relations of the country with its protectors and benefactors to a crisis, thus jeopardizing the much essential for its longevity foreign patronage." The author of the issue of 2 July 1858 adopts the gaze of a foreigner who first enters the city through its very western entrance of Hermou street. In its present condition the city appears as nothing more than a barbarian little town inhabited primarily by working class people. On the contrary, he contends, a perfectly ordered and leveled Hermou street, lined with trees, and with two more streets running parallel on either side, would have improved the image of the city to that of a European metropolis. This comment is strikingly similar to a comment that Koumanoudis made in his *"Καθολικὸν Πανόραμα τῶν 'Αθηνῶν"* (Total Panorama of Athens) of 1853, with reference to the same city entrance. (Refer to the related sub-chapter 5 "Total Panorama of Athens")

Of the four articles only the last, of 26 July 1858, took a more serious look into the three-dimensional image of the city. Both the themes and the language of the article bear evidence of an author with keen aesthetic judgment. Logically, any of the four, Kleanthes, Kaftanzoglou, Koumanoudis, or Mavroyiannis, might have been the author.[417] Contrary to the other three articles, whose primary purpose was the identification of problems and their causes, this article focused on ways of amending these problems. With the acute sensibility of an architect, the knowledge of an archaeologist, and the practical mind of a physician, the author proposed a series of measures for the restoration of a brand-new, splendid image for the city of Athens. Almost all the measures required the coordinated effort of the State and the public. The first measure called for the strict delimitation of the city's expanse, in other words, for the rigid definition of its limits. A green zone interspersed with various service facilities along the designated limits would have a positive effect on the quality of the Athenians' life. Most importantly, the restriction of the city's expanse would enforce higher density of population in the center, therefore, a more compact and coherent building fabric – a fabric pertinent to a metropolis. One may recognize in these words echoes of Koumanoudis's commentary in praise of the compact image of the city of Nafplion. The second proposition – issuing from the first – dictated the development of fruit gardens and green zones in designated areas, aiming at the improvement of the overall image of the city, on the one hand, and its climate, on the other. The article suggests that the State should encourage this program both financially and morally, that is, by offering low-interest loans to individuals and by maintaining itself a large section of this green zone, thus setting a *good example* to all the citizens. Kleanthes and Schaubert, first, proposed an organized program of tree planting as a major part of their city plan.[418] Koumanoudis was particularly supportive of the beautification of the city by way of a variety of green zones both within and along its periphery, as related notes in his archive and references in his "Panorama" reveal.[419] The third measure that the article prescribed included the architectural improvement of the two busiest streets of the city, Hermou and Athenas, beginning with their leveling. On Hermou street the article proposed:

---

[417] Incidentally, 1858 is the year in which Kaftanzoglou published in reprint his earlier "Σχεδογραφία 'Αθηνῶν" (Sketching of Athens), of 1839 under the title Περὶ μεταρρυθμίσεως τῆς Πόλεως 'Αθηνῶν Γνῶμαι (Views on the reform of the plan of Athens). The content of this text presents interesting similarities with the content of the four articles in *'Αθηνᾶ*.

[418] This becomes evident from the plan itself and from the memorandum that accompanied this plan. See: "Ὑπόμνημα τῶν Σάουμπερτ καί Κλεάνθη πρός τή Βαυαρική 'Αντιβασιλεία στό Ναύπλιο τό 1832: 'Επεξηγήσεις τοῦ Πολεοδομικοῦ Σχεδίου τῆς Νέας Πόλης τῶν 'Αθηνῶν" (The Memorandum of Schaubert and Kleanthes to the Bavarian Regency in Nafplion in 1832: Explanations of the Urban Plan of the New City of Athens). First published in German in: H. H. Russack, Deutsche bauen in Athen, Wilhelm Limpert, Berlin, 1942. The emphasis to green areas and the low density of the first plan was a reason for its critics to call it a "garden city" and reject it. Klenze's plan, which was finally approved, significantly reduced the expanse of green areas in the city as a result of the compression of the expanse of the city as a whole.

> [....] there must also be determined that *all the houses be uniform,* that is, all should have a basement, a workshop on the ground floor five meters high and good-looking, and a residential floor [on top] with a separate entrance. All the aforementioned buildings should be so constructed that one does not exceed the other in height [....] up to the crossing with Athenas street.[420]

And the article continues, now with a reference to Athenas street:

> [....] it is absolutely necessary that [....] the depth of the stoas be firmly defined, as well as both the height and the distance of the columns, all of which should be either square or round. In addition, the first house to be built in the same street, should be supervised by an engineer, because this is to serve as a model to all the houses that will be built in the same street. As for those houses which have already been built *without any order or uniformity,* will stay as they are for the time being, but in the future they will be reconstructed in the model of the others[....][421]

Strict uniformity of building units came as the logical response to the crucial problem of street composition, that is, a problem which preoccupied Koumanoudis since his student years in Germany. There, Koumanoudis compared and contrasted the street fronts of Munich with those of Berlin, the undifferentiated regularity of the former with the playful variety of the latter. He came to appreciate the middle way – i.e., the different in the same – which he found in Berlin's Potsdamerstrasse. He reflected upon this issue again during his trip to Nafplion where he admired the good sense of scale in the city as the result of the uniform size and height of buildings. The solution that the article proposed for the streets of Athens stands close to this description – a solution which somehow appears as a compromise. Strict uniformity is not the same as the controlled variety that Koumanoudis admired in Berlin. In the last analysis, however, uniformity of buildings-in-a-row was probably the best solution for Athens, that is, a city which was still at the dawn of its architectural formation and which had already experienced building anarchy as the only natural alternative to order. The article did nothing other than to enforce an earlier – and most likely by then forgotten – Royal decree of 1836.[422] With the mind of a rationalist, seeking direct and unambiguous results, the author of the article turned the more complex aesthetic messages of the connoisseurs into practical instruction conforming to the Law. His call for uniformity was not a call for mere typification, as one might be led to believe from his references to uniform building units, a continuous and horizontal[?!] skyline, uniform stoas, uniform columns, and the use of a building–model.[423] A visual criterion, too, was implicated in these references, especially in the last. A building–model, as seen and interpreted by common people and empirical builders, was more likely to affect the visual appearance than the typological definition of buildings. That is because people, in general, are better inclined to copy the visual form of specific elements (e.g., a cornice, a balcony, a window-grille, etc.) from other buildings than to capture the key idea of the model and work out a whole new composition of it.[424] The author should have known that. His preoccupation with buildings–models and good examples is not to be confused with Winckelmann's advice to the artist to imitate the *ideal*. In the context of a city under the urgency of immediate reconstruction, aesthetics yielded to utilitarianism and imitation of the artist's way was reduced to an act of mere copying. Still under these conditions the model to which the new city appealed was that of ancient Athens, with **monumentality** being one of its primary characteristics. According to the four articles, monumentality was identified with formal unity and was based on three minimum conditions: rational geometry, buildings of good size, and stylistic uniformity through the application of the most Greek of all styles, the neoclassical. Formal unity, imposed from the top, was not simply a vehicle to the aesthetic harmony of the built environment of the modern city. More than that, it was a vehicle to the cultural and social unity of its inhabitants. The exact opposite was the case in the traditional city of the *Hellenic East*, where formal conformity and assimilation to a given built environment was more of a deed of **active remembering.**

---

[419] A note of 1889 is worth mentioning in this context. It is a simple list with the title "Gardens and tree-lined [streets] in Athens of 1889". Koumanoudis records 75 gardens, both private and public, and 15 tree-lined streets. This note, as several others in the archive, hints at the idea that the improvement of the public image of the city is a common affair which requires the coordinated effort of both the State and the citizens. (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F19/ Φ1133, 77)

[420] "[....] καὶ προσέτι νὰ προσδιορισθῇ, ὥστε ὅλαι αἱ οἰκίαι αὗται νὰ ἦναι ὁμοιόμορφοι, ὅλαι δηλαδή νὰ ἔχουν ἓν ὑπόγειον, ἓν ἰσόγειον, ἐργαστήριον, πέντε μέτρων τὸ ὕψος, καλῶς ἐπεξεργασμένον καί ἓν πάτωμα οἰκίας μὲ τὴν ἰδιαιτέραν αὐτοῦ εἴσοδον. Αἱ ῥηθεῖσαι δὲ οἰκοδομαὶ νὰ ἦναι τοιουτοτρόπως κατεσκευασμέναι, ὥστε νὰ μὴν ὑπερβαίνῃ τὸ ὕψος ἡ μία ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης. 'Αλλ' αὗται πρὸς τὸ παρὸν θέλουν, βεβαίως, σταματήσει εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς." Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ, year 27, no. 2685, 26 July 1858, p. 2d.

[421] "[....] ἀνάγκη μεγίστη [....] νὰ προσδιορισθῇ τὸ διάστημα τὸ ὁποῖον θέλουν ἀφίνει αἱ στοαὶ, τὸ ὕψος καὶ ἡ ἀπόστασις τῶν στύλων, οἱ ὁποῖοι πρέπει νὰ ἦναι ἢ τετράγωνοι ὅλοι ἢ στρογγύλοι. Ἡ πρώτη δὲ οἰκία, ἥτις θέλει οἰκοδομηθῇ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, πρέπει νὰ κτισθῇ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιστασίαν μηχανικοῦ τινος, διότι αὐτὴ θέλει χρησιμεύσει ὡς δεῖγμα ὅλων τῶν κτισθησομένων εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην οἰκιῶν· αἱ δὲ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀνομοιομόρφως κτισθεῖσαι οἰκίαι θέλουν μένει μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὅπως εἶναι, ἀκολούθως ὅμως θέλουν ἀνοικοδομηθῇ καὶ αὗται ὡς καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ." (Ibid.) The translation of both quotes from the Greek is mine.

---

[422] According to that decree, along the three major avenues through the old city (Hermou, Aeolou, Athenas), the avenues Stadiou and Piraeos of the new section, and around the main squares Othonos and Loudovikou, two-story construction was enforced. The Royal decree was published in the Φύλλον 'Εφημερίδος Κυβερνήσεως (Government Gazette/ FEK), Athens, no. 20, 9/21-4-1836, article 6, p. 84.

[423] Many of these ideas are strikingly reminiscent of Mavroyiannis's proposals of 1841 for the city of Athens and Hermou street, in particular. Besides, the general spirit of the article is very akin to Mavroyiannis's, considering the adamant rationalism of the proposed solutions and the persistence in measures related to climate and hygiene. See again chapter 1, sub-chapter 4.3.1.

[424] I include extensive documentation of this argument in my unpublished study "Transcribing': Athenian domestic architecture and the building contract through notary archives of the period 1835-1850".

Interestingly, the article makes no reference to styles, neither does it offer any specific recommendation as to what the preferred aesthetic trend in architecture should be. This brings us to the fourth and last measure for the improvement of the architectural image of the city. The author of the article proposed the very selective preservation of only a small number of Christian churches and the demolition of the rest. Specifically, he maintained that – except for a few selected examples[425] – only churches of a good size were worth preserving, so they could be used as parish churches, that is, centers of social unity and administrative self-governance of individual city-districts.[426] Size then should be the primary criterion for deciding on the preservation, or not, of a certain church. "The various little churches must be finally eliminated and their number should shrink."[427] The viewpoint of the author, here again, is practical and utilitarian. He recommended that parish churches be big in order to accommodate large crowds and, therefore, ensure adequate funding for their maintenance and prestige. From these few lines on the specific subject, it becomes evident that the stylistic particularity of Christian buildings was treated as a paradox in the context of a city heavily bearing upon its ancient glories, including its classical architecture. Notably, Koumanoudis, in his "Panorama," conceded that even small churches ought to stand beside the modern monuments of Athens for the mere fact that their Byzantine style granted them a special character. However, he expected that the four big churches – currently under construction – would prove themselves the most distinguished of all Christian edifices because "[they] were designed [either] by Europeans or by Greek architects with a European education, not by merely empirical craftsmen, who possess no eye for style or scale (*symmetry*)."[428] Did the reaction of the educated to Christian buildings have an aesthetic or an ideological motivation? From Koumanoudis's words, it appears that the problem was obviously ideological. A westerner visiting Greece would no doubt read Christian buildings as conspicuous signs of the country's ties with the obscurantist Middle Ages and the unenlightened East. This would be avoided only if the State decided to encompass a selected number of churches as innate parts of the larger program of its institutional reform. That is to say that the **total rationalization** (i.e., modernization) of the State mechanism, as reflected on the three-dimensional image of the city, was, not simply the basis of the country's good government, but – most importantly – the instrument of manipulation of its history along certain predetermined directions. Following even this negative route to a conclusion, the dominant style of the modern capital had to be no other than the neoclassical.

---

[425] He recommends, for example, the transporting of the Byzantine church of Kapnikarea to a different site from its current location in the middle of Hermou, and the preservation of the church of Aghioi Theodoroi for its special architectural value.

[426] **Parish** (*enoria*) is one of the oldest and long-lasting institutions in the Hellenic East and is related to the decentralized system of governance of the Byzantine Empire. It persists to this date. It assigns a number of administrative responsibilities to the Christian Orthodox Church. Traditionally, members of the same parish – therefore, of the same city-district – shared a common background and social status.

[427] "Οἱ διάφοροι μικροὶ ναοὶ πρέπει νὰ λείψουν πλέον καὶ νὰ περιορισθῇ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν." Newspaper Ἀθηνᾶ, year 27, no. 2685, 26 July 1858, p. 3a.

[428] "[....] ἐσχεδιάσθησαν αἱ ἡμέτεραι οἰκοδομαὶ ἢ ὑπὸ Εὐρωπαίων, ἢ ὑπὸ Εὐρωπαϊκῶς μεμορφωμένων Ἑλλήνων ἀρχιτεκτόνων, οὐχὶ δὲ ὑπὸ πρακτικῶν μόνον μαϊμάριδων, οἵτινες οὔτε γραμμῆς οὔτε συμμετρίας αἴσθημα ἔχουσι[....]" K.[oumanoudis], "Καθολικὸν Πανόραμα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν " (Total Panorama of Athens), Νέα Πανδώρα, vol. 3, no. 67, January 1853, pp. 443b. The four churches were more likely the Metropolis, Aghia Eirini, Zoodohos Pighi, and Aghios Georgios Karitsis. All four fused Byzantine elements to an overall Classicist inception.

As mentioned earlier, any of the four men – that is, Kleanthes, Kaftanzoglou, Koumanoudis, or Mavroyiannis – might have been the author of the four articles in Athena. This is not because the philosophical positions of all four coincided, but because all four agreed upon one fundamental idea, that the reconstruction of the city of Athens was first and foremost a practical problem seeking rational and well-prescribed procedures for a better result. The thorough **rationalization** of the spatial canvas of the city raised no serious controversies among differently minded scholars,[429] even more so since in Othonian Greece there were no 'schools' of architecture or urban-planning to clarify the issues and lead the debates. Scholars, such as the four aforementioned ones, expressed their opinions in articles, letters, or booklets. If their writings were studied separately, each one of them would bring forth a different philosophical orientation or ideological position, along with a different mode of argumentation (e.g., deductive, inductive, descriptive, prescriptive, etc.). As I just mentioned, these differences rarely surfaced around matters of building and urban planning because the latter were still easily reduced to practical matters. On the contrary, polemics broke in full force around current ideological issues, especially around issues questioning the political position of Greece *vis-à-vis* the East and the West. In these ideological debates, architecture was implicated only indirectly.

One of the most notorious polemics in this context took place between Koumanoudis and the philologist/historian Skarlatos D. Vyzantios.[430] It was initiated by Koumanoudis's harsh review of Skarlatos's book Κωνσταντινούπολις (Constantinople) of 1851, a historical topography of the old Byzantine city.[431] The polemic made evident the

---

[429] The most striking exception perhaps was the notorious polemic between the two architects, Kleanthes and Kaftanzoglou, over the commissioning of the design of the building of the Arsakeion. See again footnote #19.

[430] Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, book review "Κωνσταντινούπολις ὑπὸ Σκαρλάτου Δ. Βυζαντίου, τόμ. Α, 1851" (Konstantinoupolis by Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, vol. A, 1851), periodical Μνημοσύνη, vol. 1, no. 1, 1852, pp. 37-40; Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, "'Απάντησις εἰς τὸν κ. Στ. Κουμανούδην" (Reply to Mr. S. Koumanoudis,periodical Μνημοσύνη, vol. 4, 1852, pp. 82-3; Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, "'Ανταπάντησις πρός τόν κ. Σκαρλάτον Δ. Βυζάντιον" (Counter-reply to Mr. Skarlatos D. Vyzantios), 1852; Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, Πρὸς τὴν 'Ανταπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου Σ. Κουμανούδη (On Mr. S. Koumanoudis's counter-reply), 3 July 1852, Athens, 16-page independent pamphlet.

[431] Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολις... (Constantinople...), op. cit. (fn. #27).

contrast between two equally strong ideological positions in Greece at the time; one which advocated the close ties of modern Greece with its ancient past, on the one hand, and with Western Europe, on the other; and the second, which considered modern Greece the product of an unbroken historical continuum bearing influences from both the West and the East. Evidently, the first camp included primarily the classicists, and the second primarily the romantics–historicists.[432] Koumanoudis's review fostered one of the questions which for years preoccupied modern Greek historians: was Greece allowed, in its present state, to consider itself a centralized and self-contained nation using Athens as its only center, or a segment of a larger entity encompassing the entire *Hellenic East* (i.e., Greek populations residing in formerly Greek lands and currently under foreign rule)? Skarlatos argued for the latter. Specifically, he argued for both the historical and the cultural equivalence of the eastern to the western part of the Hellenic East (*vis-à-vis* the Latin West). In this connection, he defended the leading role of Constantinople as a strategic, cultural, and religious center of all the Greeks. By contrast, Koumanoudis sought to prove these deductions unfounded based on the argument that Byzantium – and Constantinople, in particular – had no monuments of special value to present, either written or built, and that its culture was essentially foreign to the Greeks. Thus Koumanoudis, after having proven on the one hand Skarlatos's book completely vacuous, and on the other hand, the history of the Greek Middle Ages unworthy of any further consideration, reinforced his familiar ideological argument about the direct connection between ancient and modern Greece. Furthermore, he confirmed the sovereign and centrobaric position of Athens in the creation of neohellenic history, as opposed to that of Constantinople, that is, a city which – in his view – had never shown any authentic signs of hellenicity. This was not the only time in which Koumanoudis became involved in this crucial ideological debate. Over the years, he repeatedly attacked the proponents of a 'decentralized' model of Greek history,[433] while he fanatically refused to visit Constantinople to the end of his life.[434]

---

[432] This is, of course, a gross generalization, because there were internal debates even within each camp. For example, the **classicists** were further divided into the classicist–rationalists (or classicists–materialists) and the classicist–idealists. By the same token, the latter camp of the **romantics**, i.e., those favoring a more comprehensive vision of Greek history, were again divided into two groups, that of the progressivists/contextualists and that of the dreamers of a reborn Byzantine empire with its seat in Constantinople, the romantic–idealists. Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (see next footnote) belonged to the first group of the romantics, whereas Skarlatos Vyzantios to the second.

[433] See for example an unpublished letter (book review) to E. Tandalidis, author of a monograph on Stefanos Karatheodoris, a renowned doctor in the court of the Sultan and president of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople. In this letter/review, Koumanoudis uses severe language and similar arguments to his review of Skarlatos's book. (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F4/ Φ1106, 11/ 10 Jan. 1869) Also notorious remain his debates with Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, the first Greek historian/ historiographer to acknowledge in his work the importance of the Middle Greek Ages and proponent of the progressivist section of the romantic school. Related documents in the archive are: *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F53/ Φ1167/ 20 Jan. 1888 (pp. 48-9); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F28/ Φ1142, 26, 23 Jan. 1888 (satirical poem accusing Paparrigopoulos of demagogy and corruption).

[434] In an undated handwritten manuscript with a series of aphoristic statements (i.e., a sort of personal manifesto to be delivered as his obituary speech?), he states that "he [himself] has never visited Constantinople due to personal aversion. " (.... "Οτι δέν ἐπεσκέφθη τήν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐξ ἀποστροφῆς.) *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F53/ Φ1167, 1, #9 & 19.

In the 'Koumanoudis – Skarlatos' debate, architecture *per se* did not emerge as an issue. However, the debate as such renders clear the general political climate in Greece which had certain effects on the architecture of the city, yet not the most anticipated ones. It shows that the Greek intellectuals were polarized around ideologically contrasting positions which they upheld with relentless fanaticism. Their method of arguing was based not on well-reasoned dialogue but on polemical statements. The contrasting positions, constantly in need of further consolidation, did so in the form of ready-made **myths** (or *ἰδεολογήματα*),[435] readily passed on to the public. The hope was that these fabrications, due to their popular forms would keep certain ideas alive forever.[436]

It is rather curious why architecture, although it had the best potential to act as the mirror of the polemical atmosphere between classicists and romantics, by and large did not do so. The reason was because – as I mentioned earlier – Koumanoudis, speaking in the name of all the classicists, defended his *aesthetic* positions with almost no opponent from the romantic camp.[437] Neither Skarlatos Vyzantios, nor Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, nor any other of the *Byzantinophiles*, concerned himself with aesthetic matters as seriously as Koumanoudis did. That was perhaps for the better because, otherwise, the country would have had to take the ideological polemic on to a different level. That is, to turn it into a sterile battle of styles with uncertain results. At least, in this climate of aesthetic apathy or naiveté on the part of the majority, the architecture of the city surrendered to the strongest rhetoric of the classicists. It was then that Athens achieved a more or less uniform physiognomy and for this reason – i.e., judged only as a stage-setting – it was lauded by later generations of inhabitants. Even for the most adamant proponents of antithetical positions – normally members of the bourgeoisie – the question "In what style of house *should we* live?" was ultimately reduced to a question of personal taste, such as "In what style of house *do we like* to live?".[438] As for the life that this house contained, this anyway was carefully shut behind thick walls. The building envelope spoke very little about the life it enclosed or about the art of building itself. Instead, it became the carrier of the classical myth that the larger public embraced. Buildings turned into symbols of the country's allegiance to its Golden Age. There was no one yet to question in theory the bipolarities that the new urban building embodied, or to turn the experience of building in the modern city into mature architectural discourse. What are the inner energies that give form and expression to the Greek house, or how can the question of *hellenicity* procure certain responses through building, were questions which were not raised by any Greek intellectual before the end of the century.

---

[435] The French term 'ideologème' stands closer to the Greek *ἰδεολόγημα*.

[436] The myth of the revival of ancient Greece in the modern and the myth of the revival of a new Empire (i.e., the *Μεγάλη 'Ιδέα*), were the strongest and most characteristic myths of the two camps. Both were proven destructive in the course of modern Greek history.

[437] In the introductory part of this chapter 3 i.e., sub-chpater 1 "Introduction – His formative context".

[438] Characteristic is the case of the devoted classicist architect **Lysandros Kaftanzoglou** who lived in a peculiar house in the style of a medieval castle. The pioneer romantic, **Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos,** on the other hand, lived in a very fine neoclassical mansion built to his own dictates (related documentation in my possession).

However, one should not fail to mention in this context the massive demolition of old Byzantine churches and other important landmarks – virtual witnesses of the city's century-long ties with the culture of the Orient – which occurred from the early days of the new State.[439] It was primarily in this way, that is, as the selective dismantling of the city's preceding historical layering, that the triumph of the classicists over the Byzantinophiles during the conservative Othonian regime was materialized. It manifested itself, in other words, as a negative condition whose effects were not immediately perceptible by the average nineteenth-century Athenian citizen – as, for example, a battle of styles would – but can be more surely assessed and lamented by the historian of today.

4.2. Koumanoudis's views on Organicism and Hegel's aesthetics

Koumanoudis's lifelong commitment to a functionalist, yet mechanistic,[440] model of classicism was particularly invigorated by his alleged opposition to ideas known as 'heretical' to that model. Specifically, he did not let go unnoticed new theories of architecture originating with authors most akin to the organic model of thought, such as Hegel, Schnaase, and ultimately Schopenhauer.[441] There are several related handwritten notes in the archive. Common to all is the sarcastic tone which sets upon some of the Romantic implications of those theories. Acting as the guard of public taste and Greek nationalistic consciousness, Koumanoudis sought to expose the shortcomings of positions which, in his opinion, had placed the classical ideal under threat.

Organicism is a complex notion, overloaded with meanings, and thus difficult to illuminate in the limited space of this study. It suffices to say that the term as such may be used in two different ways. Organicism as a cultural paradigm, on the one hand, denotes a holistic, integrative way of explaining the phenomena of the world. According to this paradigm or model of thought, both natural and human phenomena are functionally united in a whole which is taken to be greater than the sum total of the parts and is subject to synthetic processes similar to the organic processes of nature. As a cultural paradigm, Organicism explains much of the intellectual framework of the romantic movement.[442] In the realm of art and architecture, on the other hand, Organicism implies a close connection between the works of art and those of living nature. Over the ages, this connection has been variously interpreted to signify either the copying of the external form of natural elements in inanimate matter or the imitation of the organic processes of nature in the artist's work. In both cases, the form of the art product manifests striking affinities to nature's forms.[443]

---

[439] According to Biris, 72 old churches only were torn down in the year 1843 to have their materials used for the construction of the new Metropolis. In: Kostas Biris, Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἀπό τοῦ 19ου εἰς τόν 20ον Αἰῶνα (Athens from the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century), orig. 1966, 2nd ed. Melissa, Athens, 1995.

[440] Favoring part-to-part relationships and seeing the architectural process as an additive process from stability to utility to beauty. (See again footnote #2). His siding with this model will be further illuminated in this sub-shapter, as it is placed in comparison with Hegel's views.

[441] His related archival sheets include a brief commentary on Schnaase's ***Geschichte der bildenden Künste*** ("Philosophishe Kunstlehre") (***S.K.A.***, op. cit., doc. F25/ Φ1139,21/ 1874) and a rudimentary note on Schopenhauer's idealism (***S.K.A.***, op. cit., doc. F36/ Φ1150,142/ after 1886).

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) is justly considered by contemporary theory an exponent of Organicism in that this world-view underlies most of his philosophical oeuvre, including his views on art and architecture.[444] Hegel developed his philosophical system within the broader context of German Idealism, that is, a branch of philosophy which gave logical precedence to thought over matter and which emerged in reaction to empiricism and the mechanistic methods of experimental science.[445] Idealist philosophers believed that the material world does not have an independent existence outside human thought, but that its operative value is highly determined by such cognitive tools as language and art. Seeking to avoid the traps of solipsism (i.e., romantic subjectivity), Hegel maintained that there is one autonomous entity, a universal Spirit (*Geist*), which not only is in charge of all world history and all forms of human thought, but also partakes of them during the course of its self-actualization. This comprehensive articulation of a world philosophy that assigns priority to a single rational Mind (or Spirit) over all its particularized expressions, is normally brought under the term **Absolute** (or Objective) **Idealism**. In Hegel's hands, Absolute Idealism lost the abstract, ahistorical character of a conventional philosophy and became an applied system of thought which, by incorporating the **organic metaphor**, accounted for concrete temporal phenomena of human life and history. Among its innovative premises were the emphasis on process and change as opposed to form and stasis, the overcoming of logical oppositions by means of dialectical reasoning (developing in threefold stages), and the recognition of intellectual autonomy[446] for the various forms of human expression, such as language, religion, art, and architecture.

---

[442] See also footnote #2 in the *Introduction.*

[443] Stephen Pepper, who first proposed the structuring of world thought around four basic modalities of conceptualization (i.e., formism, mechanism, organicism, contextualism), uses Hegel to exemplify aspects of Organicism in the related section. (Stephen C. Pepper, World Hypotheses: A Study in Evidence, University of California Press, Berkeley/ Los Angeles, 1961.) Hayden White, who uses Pepper's theory in order to construct his own historiographic method, argues that "Idealists, in general, and dialectical thinkers such as Hegel specifically, represent this approach [of Organicism] to the problem of explaining the processes discerned in the historical field." (Hayden White, Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/ London, 1973, pp. 15-6. But, at the same time, he observes that "[c]ertainly the greatest philosophers – Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Mill – resist reduction to the archetypes provided by Pepper. If anything, their thought represents a mediation between two or more of the kinds of doctrinaire positions which Pepper outlines." (Ibid., fn. 7, p. 13)
Under the entry 'organic' of The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy (ed. Robert Audi, Cambridge Univ. Press, New York, 1995, p. 551) we read "Among the applications of the concept of an organic unity are: to works of art, to the state (e.g., by Hegel), and to the universe as a whole (e.g., in absolute idealism)." We know however, Hegel as the leading exponent of Absolute Idealism.
Intimations of the 'organic metaphor' as a way of approaching philosophy, Hegel certainly found in his intellectual mentor, Schelling, who wrote: "As reason *immediately* becomes objective only in the organism, and as the eternal intellectual Ideas turn objective as souls of organic bodies, so philosophy becomes immediately objective through art, and the Ideas of philosophy grow objective as the souls of real objects." (In his *Philosophie der Kunst,* sec. 17). Entry 'Organic', The Oxford Companion to Art, ed. Harold Osborne, Oxford University Press, New York, 1970, p. 796.
According to Kruft, Hegel owes the specific application of 'organic' in architecture to Schelling. "Schelling saw architecture as the representation of organic form in an inorganic context, basing on this conception, firstly the geometric symmetry of architecture, and secondly a view of proportion analogous to that of the human body...." And he continues: "Hegel adopted **Schelling**'s concept of the organic, which he saw manifested above all in the architecture of Antiquity; and he accepted **Hirt**'s view that building in stone was derived from building in wood, together with Hirt's functionalist-structuralist argument." Hanno-Walter Kruft, A History of Architectural Theory...., op. cit., pp. 301-2.
For a thorough analysis of the application of the concept of Organicism in architecture from Vitruvius to the 19th century, see Caroline van Eck, Organicism in nineteenth-century architecture: An inquiry into its theoretical and philosophical background, Architectura & Natura Press, Amsterdam, 1994. Interestingly, Van Eck makes no reference to Hegel and his organicist views with regard to architecture. This is probably because she felt that the issue was covered by Hirt to whom she devoted the introductory section to Schinkel's and Bötticher's approaches to Organicism.

[444] Some of Hegel's most important works are: ***Phänomenologie des Geistes*** (1807, Engl. transl., *The Phenomenology of Mind,* 2nd ed. 1931), ***Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*** ("Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline", 1817), ***Naturrecht und Staatswisenschaft im***

During his studies in Berlin, Koumanoudis did not have a chance to cross paths with Hegel as the great German thinker was already dead by then for several years. It has been argued that Hegel's immense intellectual influence in the years of his teaching at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität of Berlin (1818-31) dissipated rapidly after his death.[447] However, his monumental system of thought continued to live and gain prominence on various occasions and in association with critical political or social events in Prussia. During Koumanoudis's stay in Berlin, the University was undergoing one of its severest anti-Hegelian phases which certainly did not leave the young student unaffected. This attack on Hegel had two fronts. On the one hand, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775-1854) – the other important philosopher of German Romantic Idealism and Hegel's mentor – criticized Hegel's system for its interiority which, in order to explain real life events, had to

---

Grundrisse (1821, Engl. transl. *The Philosophy of Right*, 1942), ***Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik***, ("Aesthetics, lectures on Fine Art", 1835).

[445] Probably the most stern critic of empiricism and the pioneer philosopher of Idealism was Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), who claimed that "intuitions without concepts are blind", in other words, that pure particularity is inaccessible in sensations alone.

[446] A better term here is 'relative autonomy', since all these forms of human thought and expression are highly determined by the law of the system as a whole which, by analogy to the biological organism, having a purpose itself, defines the purpose of the individual sub-systems.

[447] Charles E. McClelland, State, Society, and University in Germany (1700-1914), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/London/New York, 1980, p. 140.

hypostasize abstract ideas (i.e., make ideas into entities).[448] On the other hand, the classical philosopher and philologist Friedrich Adolf Trendelenburg disputed Hegelian ideas on Aristotelian and purely logical grounds.[449] As both men taught at the University, it is likely that Koumanoudis had classes with both.[450] Konstantinos Dimaras, the learned historian of neohellenic historiography, has argued for the definite influence of Schelling on Koumanoudis.[451] The lectures of the German philosopher, no doubt, made a great impression on the thirsty for new ideas Koumanoudis since the time he was still a student in Munich.[452] However, it is equally possible that Koumanoudis's lifelong aversion for Hegel was ultimately shaped by Trendelenburg's classes in Berlin. In fact, Trendelenburg's empirical method of argumentation must have been much more attractive and familiar to Koumanoudis than Schelling's transcendentalist one.[453] In any case, Koumanoudis's intellectual connection with

---

[448] In his so-called ***Naturphilosophie***, Schelling proposed instead that the real – not the abstract – be taken as the basis of the new philosophy; specifically, that only when the real is intuited, a true link between nature and human mind is established and objective knowledge becomes possible. Schelling maintained that consciousness itself is the only immediate object of knowledge which may eventually lead to a more universal kind of knowledge. In his view, **art** is the most powerful medium by which full consciousness of the real world is achieved, that is, a very romantic idea.

[449] In his ***Logische Untersuchungen*** ("Logical Investigations", 1840).

[450] Far more certain than that is the fact that Koumanoudis had classes in Aesthetics with Hegel's epigone at the University of Berlin, Heinrich Gustav Hotho (1802-1873), according to the author's own testimony in various manuscripts. Hotho became particularly known as the very competent scholar who compiled and edited Hegel's lectures on aesthetics under the general title ***Vorlesungen über die Ästhetic***, published in three volumes between 1835 and 1838 (2nd edition 1842-43), that is, after Hegel's death. Hotho used Hegel's handwritten notes as a basis, which he enriched with student transcriptions of the lectures from the years 1823, 1826, and 1828-29. During Koumanoudis's two-year stay in Berlin Hotho taught the following courses: "Aesthetik", "Ueber Göthe und Schiller als Dichter", and "Poetik nebst einem Abrisse der Geschichte der Poesie" (*Verzeichniss der Vorlesungen, welche von der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 1840-1842*).

[451] See Konstantinos Th. Dimaras, "Λεξικογραφία καί 'Ιδεολογία" (Lexicography and Ideology), preface to the photo-mechanical reprint of Stephanos Koumanoudis's Συναγωγὴ Νέων Λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν Λογίων Πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' 'Ημᾶς Χρόνων (An assemblage of new words formed by the scholars from the Fall [of Constantinople] to our times), K. Th. Dimaras, ed., Hermis, Athens, 1980 (originally 1900), p. xxi. Specifically, Dimaras states that **Schelling** instilled into Koumanoudis the idea of freedom (indeed Schelling was highly reputed for his monumental work ***Philosophische Untersuchungen über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit***, "Philosophical Investigations concerning the Nature of Human Freedom, 1809) and the interest in the French school of thought led by Cousin, Quinet, and Michelet.

[452] Koumanoudis mentioned **Schelling**'s name sporadically. In his short autobiography, he notes that he took classes with Schelling in Munich. In his personal diary he mentions Schelling only twice in relation to his study period in Berlin. The first time was to compare the lecturing skills of the different professors and find both Schelling and Thiersch "unsurpassable". (*S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 2 Nov. 1840) The second time, in 15 Nov. 1841, he made a note of the overcrowded classroom ("aula") in which Schelling lectured. (*S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 15 Nov. 1841) According to the University records, Shelling started to teach regularly for the University (as a member of the Academy) in the spring semester of 1842 his course "Philosophie der Mythologie" (*Verzeichniss der Vorlesungen, welche von der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin im Sommerhalbenjahre 1842 vom 18. April an gehalten werden*, p. 5) In this course, Schelling presented a new philosophy of revelation and mythology, which he characterized as "positive philosophy", in contradistinction to the "negative philosophy" of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. In this "positive philosophy", Schelling delineated the conditions by means of which thought and reality *can* exist, premised on the existence of a free creative God.

[453] Trendelenburg taught courses in Philosophy at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität through the two years of Koumanoudis's stay in Berlin, 1840-42. His subjects were: "Logik", "Geschichte der Philosophie bis Kant", "In den philosophischen Uebungen lässt die wichtigsten Kapitel aus dem Aristoteles über die Seele", "Psychologie", "Pädagogik und Didaktik zugleich mit einer Geschichte der Erziehung", "Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie", "In den philosophischen Uebungen lässt die allgemein philosophischen Capitel aus der Physik des Aristoteles", and "Dieselbe". (*Verzeichniss der Vorlesungen, welche von der Friedrich-Wilhelms-*

Schelling will require further scrutiny by specialized historians of ideas to be finally resolved. One may state with greater certainty however that the Greek author's anti-Hegelian fury was directed not against Hegel *per se*, but against Romanticism as a whole school of thought to which both Schelling and Hegel belonged, even though by being more its critics than its partisans.

Koumanoudis expressed his disagreement with Hegel's views in three scattered handwritten notes – spontaneous responses to specific philosophical writings on architecture. The first two of these notes in the order I present them simply allude to Hegel without mentioning his name.[454] There is a slight chance that the texts which caused Koumanoudis's reaction did not belong to Hegel, yet carried his influence strongly.

The first note of 1866 is a brief review of a German treatise on Aesthetics.[455] It is a harsh review. On architecture, in particular, Koumanoudis found the German author's views "ludicrous." To the claim that the earliest form of art was architecture Koumanoudis counterposed his own definition of architecture. Man at all ages, Koumanoudis affirmed, had approached architecture in the exact same way, that is, "being in need of shelter, he built round and flat structures to which he added symmetry and ornament [....] after having taken care of stability first."[456] In other words, the primary incentive to building is the practical human need, not the aesthetic urge. The second note dates from 1867 and argues against the symbolic function of architecture. It is a commentary on a specific quote on architecture from a treatise of *General History* by a German author.[457] In this quote, architecture is referred to as a predominantly *symbolic* art which, more than any other art, closely served the scope of religion over the ages. Koumanoudis completely rejected this idea as a "German sophistry." He wondered what might count as a symbol in architecture. The materials, such as stone, dirt, and copper? No! The lines, horizontal and vertical, taken as signs of stability? No, because geometry is the result of structural necessity. Even the arch and the dome initially served

---

Universität zu Berlin, 1840-1842) Curiously enough, Koumanoudis never included Trendelenburg's name in any of the casual lists he developed from time to time with his professors' names.

[454] It is possible that these notes are only fragments of longer texts, therefore, from what we read the identity of the author to whom Koumanoudis alludes cannot be deduced in full certainty.

[455] Possibly Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik,* (p. 560). S.K.A., op. cit., doc. F36/ Φ1150, 4 (b).

[456] ".... ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ πρῶτος ἀλλά καί ὁ ὕστερος καί ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν ἔτει 1866 θέλων νά σκεπασθῇ ἔκτισε στρογγυλάς οἰκοδομάς ὁριζοντίους, καί εἰς αὐτάς ἐνέβαλε συμμετρίαν καί κόσμον [....] ἀφοῦ πρῶτον ἐφρόντισε περί στερεότητος...." Ibid.

[457] *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F36/ Φ1150, 4 (c)/ 8 Nov. 1867.

Koumanoudis attributes this book to some Bernary (in Greek *Βερναρύ*). It is possible that this was the professor of Latin literature, Agathon Benary, who taught at the University of Berlin during Koumanoudis's studies there. His courses included "Geschichte der gesammten Römischen Litteratur", "Cicero's Rede für den Milo", "Lateinische Grammatik", "Arabische Grammatik", "Tacitus Historien", "Semitische und insbes ondere Hebräische Paläographie", "Des Persius Satiren" (*Verzeichniss der Vorlesungen, welche von der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 1840-1842*). Koumanoudis lists no such name among his professors in Berlin.

structural needs in utilitarian structures (e.g., aqueducts, sewers, prisons) until they were appropriated by religion to symbolize the vault of heaven. By the same token, horizontal and vertical lines exist equally in the Stoa Poikile and in the Parthenon. Or, are symbols – Koumanoudis kept on asking – the pointed arches and the cross-ribbed vaults of the German churches, which have been compared with the most natural dwelling of God, the forest? If that were so, then why do houses and city halls also make use of these elements? And the author concluded that architecture *is* art, not because it produces symbols, but because it possesses beauty that derives naturally from basic necessity. The plan of certain architects to use basic structural forms as symbols by arbitrarily attaching to them abstract ideas, was short-lived, he contended. Symbols tend to easily wear out losing their power and meaning.

In both commentaries, Koumanoudis exhibits the practical mind of a pragmatist who explains architecture in plain practical terms. Inevitably, this way of thinking gave room to a series of oversimplifications. As opposed to Hegel and his epigones, who sought to explain architecture as a part of a larger system both historical and theoretical, Koumanoudis searched for the constant, unalterable, and most essential element of architecture; in other words, he placed architecture in a purely ahistorical framework. In doing so, he reduced architecture to mere **building**, that is, an empirical activity which created its products in an additive fashion progressing from utility to stability to beauty. As an idea, this was not far from what the French school of structural rationalism propagated through its most famous architecture theorists, from Laugier to Durand and to Viollet-le-Duc.[458]

Hegel, on the other hand, whose purpose was to write neither the history nor the theory of architecture *per se*, but to describe the process of historical development of human civilization as a corollary of the rise of the universal Spirit to a state of **absolute knowledge**, did not concern himself with ahistorical phenomena, that is, phenomena which fell outside a self-conscious phase of human development. For him, the history of civilization had a purely linguistic basis. Specifically, it started at the point in which not simply human communication began, but language itself constituted an object of reflection. That happened at the time when man became first aware of ways in which he could intervene in his physical environment **semiotically**. According to Hegel, the earliest stage in the development of human consciousness (i.e., the entry into civilization) was marked by the discovery of the *symbolic* possibilities of architecture, that is, building no longer seen as a product of mere necessity, but as a vehicle of human communication and expression – that is, a definition which resonates my definition of building–monument in this dissertation.[459] He wrote: "... art's first task consists in reshaping the external world as a suitable environment for the artistic expression of spirit; and the individual art to which that task clearly falls, conceptually, is architecture, the art of building, which in fact has its earliest development before sculpture or painting or music."[460] At this stage, on the one hand, buildings gain independence *vis-à-vis* an homogeneous and timeless built continuum, and on the other hand, the art of building acquires autonomy (i.e., self-subsistence) as a discipline. Thus we have the passage from building to architecture.

---

[458] Another plausible source of Koumanoudis's thinking on architecture might have been the German architectural theorist Christian Ludwig Stieglitz (1756-1836), an author though less conspicuous than the aforementioned three Frenchmen. Stieglitz managed to combine ideas from Winckelmann and the French school in a system of functionalist eclecticism which gave precedence to classicism. In his first treatise ***Geschichte der Baukunst der Alten*** (Leibniz, 1792), he combined Winckelmann's call for imitation of the ancients, for noble simplicity and grandeur in buildings, with the French theory of *caractère* – a theory especially familiar to Koumanoudis. He wrote about different categories of buildings, such as the majestic, the serious, the magnificent, the terrible, the graceful, and the miraculous. He regarded all periods that followed the Greek, starting with the Roman, as periods of architectural decline. He expanded his first book into the ***Archaeologie der Baukunst*** (Weimar, 1801) and the 5-volume ***Encyclopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst*** (1792-98). In his introduction to a French book – a collection of designs for buildings of various uses from well-known sources – Stieglitz wrote: "The form of a piece of architecture is determined by the purpose of the building, and to this purpose it must conform, otherwise it has no function." (In: ***Plans et dessins tirés de la belle architecture.... accompagné d' un traité abrégé sur le beau dans l' architecture,*** Leipzig, 1798-1800.) In his later works, Stieglitz departed from his original view of the architecture of Antiquity as holding a normative status. He advocated instead stylistic pluralism. Stieglitz's functionalist classicism reached a more refined state of development – incorporating romantic elements – in the architectural theory of the German archaeologist Aloys Hirt (1759-1837).
I retrieved all of the above cited information on Stieglitz from H.-W. Kruft, op. cit., pp. 290-2.

This is how Hegel understood and defined architecture as an art – in fact, the earliest kind of art. Why this earliest kind of art was *symbolic* architecture, and not any other kind,[461] is an issue which would require a long and elaborate analysis, not really pertinent at this point of the study. In order, however, to offer a general sense of how symbolic architecture partakes in a linguistically structured environment, it suffices to quote Hegel again: "Buildings of an explicitly independent character, in architecture's first stage, are usually centers of assembly for an entire people – structures that *symbolize* in their external form the shared general values that unite a people, which are almost invariably their *religious* ideas."[462] Koumanoudis challenged this view from a materialistic perspective, by arguing that architectural symbols are short-lived. But this position, in fact, does not contradict Hegel's. It was Hegel first who, having observed the transient nature of various forms of artistic expression – including the symbolic, the classical, and the romantic – built his whole theory around this concept of change. In different periods different kinds of art predominated, he claimed. Each one of them formed a step ahead in the ascending route of the *Spirit* toward its full development. The more advanced the stage of development was, the more the perspective of art was internal and subjective. This is how more materially-based forms of art, such as architecture and sculpture, ceded to less materially-based ones, such as music and poetry. The latter certainly presupposed a much more refined context of communication than the former in order to effect unity in a community of people. Hegel's intention, in other words, was not to offer an account of the rise, use, and abuse of different architectural styles through history, but to present and analyze architecture (and every other form of artistic creation) in terms of its vital potential to participate in the dynamic stream of human civilization. As for what accounts as symbol in every stage of architecture's development – whether the materials, the structural forms, or the lines – is a problem which Hegel fully elaborated in his section on Architecture of the Aesthetics which Koumanoudis had read, therefore, I find unnecessary to argue through the related points in this place.

---

[459] Of course, at the time Hegel composed his theory, the discovery of prehistoric cave painting in South and Central Europe, had not taken place yet.

[460] [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel], Hegel: On the Arts. Selections from G.W.F. Hegel's Aesthetics or the Philosophy of Fine Art, abridged and translated with an Introduction by Henry Paolucci, series "Milestones of Thought", Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., New York, 1979, section VI. "Architecture", p. 68.

[461] Neither *classical*, nor *romantic*, in Hegel's terminology.

[462] Ibid., p. 69. The emphasis is mine.

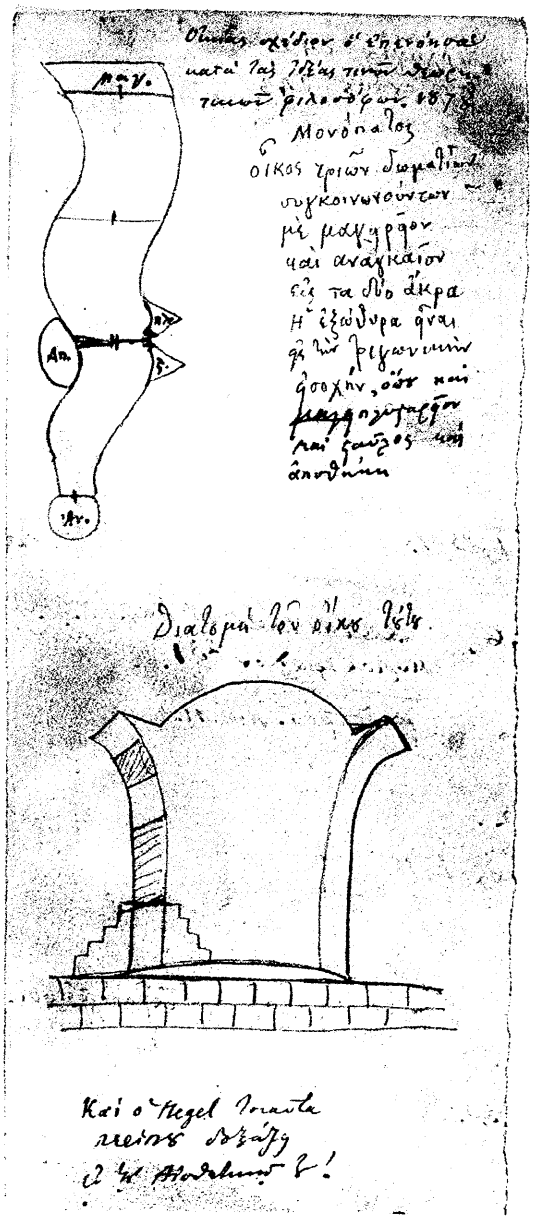
The third handwritten note by Koumanoudis consists basically of two annotated sketches.[463] (Fig. 15) The sketches are caricaturist renditions of the floor-plan and the section of a small house. They were specifically drawn as a sarcastic commentary on Hegel's views on architecture. The annotation reads: "Plan of a house which I conceived based on the ideas of some theoretical philosophers. 1878. One-story house of three rooms connected with a cuisine and a toilet on both ends. The entrance door is in the triangular niche where a laundry a stable and a storage [are]. Section of the same house." And at the bottom: "This is just about what Hegel, too, surmises in his Aesthetics!"[464]

The curvilinear walls, both in plan and in section, is the most characteristic feature of this house. The plan is wave-like. One may refer to its shape as organic. The roof is vaulted. The floor slightly bends upward. There is not a single right angle in the entire house. The three rooms are arranged *enfilade.* All the subsidiary rooms are attached as protrusions from the main volume of the house and carry unorthodox shapes (circles, semi-circles, triangles, etc.). The general layout lacks any particular logic. The placement of the entrance in alignment with the partitioning wall of two rooms is paradoxical. Lastly, the way of entering the house first by ascending and then descending the same number of steps is also paradoxical.

---

[463] *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F36/ Φ1150, 108 (1878).

[464] "Οἰκίας σχέδιον ὅ ἐπενόησα κατά τάς ἰδέας τινῶν θεωρητικῶν φιλοσόφων. 1878. Μονόπατος οἶκος τριῶν δωματίων συγκοινωνούντων μέ μαγειρεῖον καί ἀναγκαῖον εἰς τά δύο ἄκρα. Ἡ ἐξώθυρα εἶναι εἰς τήν τριγωνικήν εἰσοχήν, ὅπου καί πλυσταρεῖον καί σταῦλος καί ἀποθήκη. - Διατομή τοῦ οἴκου τούτου. - Καί ὁ Hegel τοιαῦτα περίπου δοξάζει ἐν τῇ Αἰσθητικῇ του!" Ibid.



Οἰκίας σχέδιον ὃ ἐπενόησα
κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας [illegible]
[illegible] φιλοσόφου. 1878
Μονόπατος
ὁ οἶκος τριῶν δωματίων
συγκοινωνούντων
μὲ μαγειρεῖον
καὶ ἀναγκαῖον
εἰς τὰ δύο ἄκρα
Ἡ ἐξέδρα εἶναι
διὰ τὴν [illegible]
ὑποδοχήν, ὅπου καὶ
~~[illegible]~~
καὶ [illegible]
ἀποθήκη

Διατομὴ τοῦ οἴκου [illegible]

Καὶ ὁ Hegel [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] !

Fig. 15: Set of sketches by S. A. Koumanoudis commenting on Hegel's ideas on architecture, 1878. (*S.K.A.*, doc. F36/ Φ1150, 108/ 1878)

The author intentionally exaggerated, or rather distorted, every single feature of this house in his effort to prove Hegel's organic ideas on architecture completely unfounded. Koumanoudis did not specify which section of Hegel's Aesthetics caused his sarcastic reaction. Most likely, it was the section in which Hegel describes romantic architecture as the most developed stage of the art of building, therefore, as a synthesis of the previous two stages, the symbolic and the classical. According to Hegel, a romantic building – either religious or secular – combines the semiotic self-subsistence of symbolic buildings and the serviceable traits of classical ones.[465] Koumanoudis's intention in these offhand sketches was to test the effectiveness of this theory by setting a common dwelling in the place of the Gothic cathedral – that is, the key example Hegel had used to argue his points. The house that Koumanoudis drew certainly possesses formal independence and individuality, on the one hand, and subservience to a purpose, on the other. But in order to reach the highest stage of its development and transcend mere purposefulness – Hegel claims – it "must become *inherently* artistic", that is, it must "undergo an inner transformation in the direction of the *organic.*"[466] It is specifically this organic element that Koumanoudis parodized in the sketches. What does this organic element consist of? Hegel responds by enumerating the features of the Christian 'romantic' building, the apex of all architecture. First, the building is essentially an **enclosure** in which different functions are "simultaneously admitted to sort themselves out in its wide space, where everyone comes and goes at will."[467] Second, the structural envelope is so made "as to constitute in appearance a **single construction.**"[468] Third, the building seems "to **thrust itself upward** out of the ground."[469] And fourth, "the external shape, decoration, and interconnection of walls, etc., are determined **from within outwards,** so that the exterior appears indeed to be nothing other than an enclosure of the interior."[470]

On a minimum level, Koumanoudis's house satisfies all four of these criteria. Moreover, it makes a flight into the future as its free flowing interior space – which the author jokingly conceived of as organic – foreshadows the so-called "open plan" of modern architecture. This particular plan, however, is still bound to the classical convention for the rooms remain strictly defined by walls and arranged in a line (*enfilade*). The building envelope – here showily exhibiting its structural impossibility – would have no longer seemed as impossible after the popularization of concrete as a building material. Koumanoudis's house accomplishes all the criteria of organic architecture except for one, artfulness. Because of that, it is only a joke, not a building. Artfulness, a quality almost synonymous with the symbolic aspect of architecture, according to Hegel, accounts for the building's complete individualization, that is, its semiotic independence not because it is a unique and peculiar structure, but because it is a symbol which makes its actual purpose intelligible through its particularly pleasing form. – Koumanoudis might have been really astounded to see how his house–joke turned into a house–masterpiece less than a century later by a highly gifted American architect, Bruce Goff, who, having used a similar concept to his, carried all four of Hegel's principles of organic architecture to the maximum of their potentials in a small building known as the Bavinger House![471]

---

[465] [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel], Hegel: On the Arts...., op. cit., p. 78.
[466] Ibid., p. 72. The emphasis is mine.
[467] Ibid., p. 80.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid., p. 79.
[470] Ibid., p. 81.

Evidently, Koumanoudis, by attacking Organicism and Hegelian ideas of architecture, felt that he secured the status of classical Greek architecture as an eternal point of reference for future architects. It is true that in Hegel's theory, classical architecture did not enjoy the paradigmatic status it held for other authors – particularly authors of the preceding two centuries. Without dismissing classical architecture entirely, Hegel recognized it as an intermediary stage, a passage so-to-say, to the 'romantic', that is, the stage in which the *Spirit* has fully expressed itself in the medium of architecture. Hegel found Greek architecture "on the whole abstract and dry because of the intellectual [i.e., mathematical] character of its forms."[472] This was because the external object (i.e., the material of stone) in a classical building was treated as a means and "subserved an end other than itself."[473] The allusion here is to the famous Vitruvian theory of transferring practices of wood construction to stone in the ancient Greek temple. Hegel thought that from this whole process architecture had only an intellectual gain, not a spiritual one. On the one hand, it improved its mathematical principles and its structural definition, whereas on the other hand, it divested its buildings from any vital/organic element.[474] For Hegel, this became immediately evident in the manner in which the stone members of a classical temple were handled as wood by craftsmen who practiced carpentry as their first trade.[475] Contrary then to the example of the Gothic cathedral, where the inorganic material of stone surpassed all its earthly limitations and reached a poetic level of expression in the hands of medieval masons, in the Greek temple stone-carving was still bound to trivial necessity and remained several steps behind its actual potentials.

---

[471] The **Bavinger House** is located in Norman, Oklahoma. It was built between 1949 and 1955 by Bruce Alonzo Goff (1902-1982) for a client of moderate economical means. The house is in the shape of a continuous snail-like spiral thrusting out of the ground and diminishing its volume upward. The interior is a continuous open space, while subsidiary rooms are attached to the main volume of the spiral as protrusions. The curvilinear wall performs a structural role and is of dark grey stone. The roof of anodized aluminum is suspended from a central steel mast with cables.

[472] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Aesthetics, Lectures on Fine Art, transl. T.M. Knox, vol. II, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 662.

[473] Ibid., p. 634.

[474] Although Hegel was aware of some of the most important optical refinements of the Greek temple, such as the *entasis* and the *meiosis* of the Doric column, he did not seem to be fully cognizant of their aesthetic purpose. Hegel, Aesthetics...., op. cit., p. 677.

[475] Ibid., pp. 664-5.

This is how Hegel approached the phenomenon of Greek architecture, reacting probably in part to the functionalist Classicism of the leading architecture theorist in Germany at the time, Aloys Hirt, who, drawing from eighteenth-century French theory, reconfirmed the natural priority of the Greek model of building.[476] For Hegel, the history of civilization was a forward-looking, propelling force. Hence none of its past phases *per se* possessed idealized status, or served as a model for the next, since the ultimate stage of accomplishment of humanity's Spirit was still to come. Based on this view, Hegel was more interested in the **mechanics of transition** from one stage of development to the next than in each one of these stages statically conceived. This was precisely the way he had read the ancient text of Vitruvius and used it in his system. I have just shown how Hegel appropriated the Vitruvian hypothesis regarding the transition from the wooden to the stone temple making it into a nodal point of his theory of architecture. But the most important lesson Hegel learned from the Roman author had to do with the passage of humankind from primitivism to civilization through the medium of architecture. Specifically, in the second book of his treatise, Vitruvius described the story of the evolution of architecture from the primitive hut to the Greek temple as a continuous process of innovative moves and improvement on first principles. The revolutionary point of Vitruvius's story, to which – unlike other theorists – Hegel paid extra attention, was the development of human language in interconnection with the very art (i.e., craft) of building.[477] It was from the point in which an ethical–social relation among people was established through the medium of **language** that architecture emerged as a coherent system of rules with application to both the construction and the visual articulation of buildings. This theory helped Hegel to reinstate the art of building as a synthetic activity which encompassed at once the three Vitruvian elements – i.e., utility, stability, beauty – without any particular order of importance.

---

[476] Aloys Hirt (1759-1837) was an archaeologist and professor at the Bauakademie of Berlin. He wrote ***Die Baukunst nach den Grundsätzen der Alten,*** 1809 (2nd ed., ***Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten,*** 3 vols., Berlin, 1821-27). He extolled the Greek way of building as ideal in the following words: "For everything of importance that the art of building requires, be it in wood or in stone, the writings and monuments of the Greeks and Romans provide us with the necessary instructions and models. Thus the man who builds properly inevitably builds in the Greek manner." (Quoted and translated from the German by H.-W. Kruft, op. cit., p. 292). Hirt was particularly interested in the mechanistic laws of the process by which wooden buildings changed into stone, yet not based on imitation of a model as Vitruvius was. On the other hand, he was not interested in such organic ideas as the ones that Idealist philosophers propagated. He thought that a building acquires *organic* (i.e., structural and formal) unity only if the architect follows strict rules of modular proportioning. Interestingly, according to Van Eck, it was Hirt – not Hegel – who introduced the term 'organisch' into German architectural literature (Caroline van Eck, Organicism in nineteenth-century..., op. cit., pp. 144-5).

[477] "then, from indicating by name things in common use, the result was that in this chance way they began to talk, and thus originated conversation with one another." Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture, op. cit., Book II, 1, § 1, p. 38.

Koumanoudis, on the other hand, remained more closely attached to the analytical tradition of Enlightenment. As a result, he did not understand Vitruvius the way Hegel did, despite the fact that he kept a far more direct and long-lasting relationship with this ancient treatise by way of his archaeological profession.[478] As we have already seen, Koumanoudis insisted that throughout history architecture had a constant basis comprised by nature and human need. Symmetry and ornament came later, probably as an outgrowth of a comfortable and luxurious lifestyle of certain people. They were not qualities suffused with the building, as Vitruvius – and subsequently Hegel – defined them. Certainly they were not any proof of a more self-conscious way of making architecture either. For Koumanoudis, beauty derived naturally from the builder's adherence to basic necessity. It required then hardly any special effort to come about. Ornament, on the other hand, was open to criticism and could easily be dismissed as pertinent or not, good or bad, right or wrong, accordingly. This crude functionalist position put Koumanoudis more firmly in line with the Italian–French school of architecture theory than with Vitruvius.[479] Certainly it did not help him understand new, more synthetic approaches to architecture, such as the one which Schinkel realized in his buildings by having productively assimilated lessons from the academic authorities of Vitruvius, Hirt, and Hegel,[480] as well as from the popular sources of panoramas, stage-settings, and landscape paintings that were most familiar to him.

Koumanoudis noticed and appreciated in the Vitruvian text elements different from those that made the same text appealing to the romantics. That is, whereas the romantics singled out from it cues that enhanced an interpretative approach to history, Koumanoudis dwelled mainly on those parts which bore a definite instructive character. A handwritten manuscript in the archive entitled "What is architecture and what the architect's education should be", is the draft of a translation into Greek of the first five paragraphs of the first book of Vitruvius's treatise on architecture.[481] In these few lines, Vitruvius determined that architecture is both a practical and a theoretical activity, therefore, the education of an architect should comprise both of these aspects to an equal extent. Vitruvius undertook to call by name all the different fields of knowledge that an architect's training should encompass (e.g., literature, drawing, geometry, astronomy, optics, history, etc.), along with a complete reasoning for the importance of such an intense and specialized kind of education. How was Koumanoudis motivated to select and translate this particular piece from the Latin? Was it out of appreciation to the Roman author for having preserved the spirit of Greek architecture to later generations of architects?[482] Or, was this the first attempt for a formal definition of the architect's profession in Greece at a time in which building was still largely an empirical activity entrusted to the skilled craftsman? Or, was this rather a call to the authorities of the modern State to consider the architect's education seriously? These questions take us to the next section of this study.

---

[478] It is possible that Koumanoudis's first acquaintance with Vitruvius was through a course at the University of Berlin (*Ausgewählte Abschnitte der Bücher Vitruvs über die Architektur erklärt,* Hr. Prof. Toelken) taught in the Spring of 1842. Chances are that Koumanoudis audited this course as it was open to the public and free of charge.

[479] In the next section I will consider the influence of Milizia in the formation of a materialistic conception of architecture in Koumanoudis's intellectual milieu, mainly via the principal architect at the time, Lysandros Kaftanzoglou.

[480] Hirt was Schinkel's professor at the Berlin Bauakademie. No direct relationship of Schinkel with Hegel has been confirmed. However, it is certain that Schinkel received strong the influence of the Romantic Idealists through his readings of the works of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Schelling, and the Schlegel brothers, on the theories of whom Hegel based his own philosophical system. (See Michael Snodin (ed.), Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man, op. cit., p. 4)

4.3. Koumanoudis – Kaftanzoglou: An accidental encounter?

Koumanoudis was not left alone in his effort at giving shape to a cultural model based on the lessons of Greek antiquity. It is highly possible that his closest ally in this effort was the preeminent Greek architect of the nineteenth century, Lysandros Kaftanzoglou.[483] The affinities in the ideological positions of the two men are so striking that whoever looks back into that period is led to believe that something more than an accidental coincidence of opinions connected Koumanoudis, the archaeologist, with Kaftanzoglou, the architect: probably a strong intellectual bond – a bond which reinforced each other's positions and empowered his public image in the midst of a politically rough milieu ruled by vicious antagonism and ideological animosity. Unfortunately, such an inference remains largely conjectural as long as the primary material that is available to me at this point is still scarce and somewhat contradictory.[484] It is clear that if such an intellectual bond between the two men truly existed, its effects upon the architectural makeup of modern Athens must have been considerable since Kaftanzoglou, by way of his prolific architectural career, had the power to materialize into building some of the fruits of that relationship. Especially for this reason, the probability of such a relationship is worth examining. This section of the dissertation proposes, by gathering and discussing the related primary materials, to give grounds for an historical hypothesis that involves Kaftanzoglou, Koumanoudis, and the architecture of mid-nineteenth-century Athens in its core.

---

[481] "Τί ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική καί ποίας δεῖ τούς ἀρχιτέκτονας παιδείας χαίρειν", *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F36/ Φ1150, 117 (no date).

[482] Koumanoudis's sentiments for Vitruvius cannot be easily deduced from the sporadic notes of the archive. In some instances, Koumanoudis called Vitruvius's competence as a historian in question, as for example in a critical commentary on the seventh book (***De Architectura***, Book VII, Introduction), in which the Latin author attempts a first approach to the historiography of the profession. Koumanoudis found the related information incomplete and unsystematic (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F19/ Φ1133, 49 (no date)). He himself undertook to compose a more complete list of architects' names from antiquity (a total of 34) by incorporating the related information of the seventh book. He placed this list side-by-side with a list of architects from the modern period (a total of 10), probably as an attempt for comparison (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F35/ Φ1149, 115 (no date/late 19th century)).

[483] The author of the recent monograph on Kaftanzoglou, Dimitris Philippides, states the importance of this architect for the history of modern Greek architecture in the following words: "Lysandros Kaftanzoglou is perhaps the most important architect to have lived and worked in Greece in modern Greek history. He is unquestionably the foremost Greek neoclassical architect." Dimitris Philippides, Λύσανδρος Καφτανζόγλου: Ἡ Ζωή καί τό Ἔργο τοῦ Ἀρχιτέκτονα Λύσανδρου Καφτανζόγλου (Lysandros Kaftanzoglou: The Life and Work of the Architect Lysandros Kaftanzoglou), Ministry of Culture / Cultural Technological Institute ETVA, Athens, 1995, p. 373. The quote originally in English.

Lysandros Kaftanzoglou (1811-1885), like Koumanoudis, was born and raised in Northern Greece under Ottoman rule. His city of origin, Thessaloniki, manifested interesting similarities with Adrianople, including a strong mercantilist economy, cultural ties with Constantinople, and an architectural tradition with roots in Byzantium. Like Koumanoudis, Kaftanzoglou came from a family prosperous enough to afford for their son an education in Western Europe, first in Rome, in the Academy of San Luca (1824-1836), and subsequently in Paris and other European cities (1836-1838).[485] Kaftanzoglou, unlike Koumanoudis, did visit Constantinople and worked there as an architect for four years (1839-1843) after his first unsuccessful attempt to settle in Athens and compete with the by then established group of architects. It is noteworthy that this 'established group' acted mainly in the interest of the Bavarian court and included architects, such as Kleanthes, Schaubert, and the brothers Hansen, all of whom strongly carried the influence of the **historicist/ romantic** school of Prussia, in general, and Schinkel, in particular. Kaftanzoglou, who by 1838 had already earned significant distinctions from the academic circles of Europe for his neoclassical designs, felt that the intellectual climate in Greece was not yet ripe to accept his stern **rationalist** outlook on architecture – an outlook which more than once brought him in conflict with the other important Greek architect Stamatios Kleanthes. In 1837, for the first time Kaftanzoglou became publicly known in Athens for his severe criticism of the plan of the city by Kleanthes and Schaubert which, after Klenze's revisions, was already in effect for three years. As I discussed elsewhere in the dissertation, Kaftanzoglou proposed the complete abandonment of the specific master plan for a new one which he himself drew up along strict rationalist lines for the vacant lands to the east and northeast of the Acropolis. (Fig. 3)[486] In his provocative article "*Σχεδογραφία 'Αθηνῶν*", published in the newspaper Αἰὼν in 1839, he undertook to undo all the major arguments in favor of a *romantic* city, which the two architects had used to support their design in front of the King.[487] In defence of his own position, Kaftanzoglou presented instead a series of rationalist arguments related to climate, hygiene, traffic, and nice vistas. He also proposed the total separation of the new from the old city, disregarding however the rate of population growth and the need for future expansion of the capital. In 1843 and after the departure of all the foreign architects from Greece,[488] Kaftanzoglou was invited by Othon to the very honorable position of the director of the "School of Arts", already pronounced the "Royal Polytechnic".[489] From this position of power and with almost no external interference for eighteen years (1844-1862), Kaftanzoglou determined the scope of technical studies in Greece and the course of Greek architecture. In an era of advancing nationalism, Kaftanzoglou, like Koumanoudis, set himself in the effort to promote a purist national identity for the country based on ancient prototypes (*archaeolatria*). Kaftanzoglou was violently driven out of the directorship of the Polytechnic in 1862 during the bloody revolt against the Bavarian monarchy. In the past, he had been repeatedly accused of authoritarian administration, pro-Othonian action, elitism, and imprudent educational policy. His excessive patronage of artistic studies (e.g., painting, sculpture, etc.) at the expense of technical ones and his exclusion of architecture from the regular curriculum were two of the most serious grievances against him as the director of the School. In fact, his related acts raised the logical suspicion that in order for him to establish his own architectural authority he had to withhold the progress of architecture as a whole. Meanwhile, Kaftanzoglou never ceased to accentuate the deeply rooted ideological divide between the classicists and the romantics by repudiating romanticism mainly in the person of his lifelong opponent, Kleanthes, until the latter's death in 1862.[490] The professional antagonism between the two men culminated in their published correspondence concerning their designs for the architectural competition for the new building of the Girls' Teaching School (Arsakeion).[491] The harsh language and the mutually intimidating comments of the correspondence (mainly on Kaftanzoglou's part) offer a good taste of the ideologically laden climate of the time and the nonsensical argumentation that characterized current public polemics on matters of common interest, including architecture. It was precisely this ideologically laden climate that procrastinated for several decades the development of a real architectural discourse.

---

[484] As I will explain later in the text, Koumanoudis was critical of some of Kaftanzoglou's administrative policies in the Polytechnic.

[485] To this date, none of Kaftanzoglou's biographers has provided any evidence on how the architect spent these two years in detail. As far as the related research shows, Kaftanzoglou, unlike Koumanoudis, did not keep a personal diary, except for a notebook in which the architect collected mainly quotes from books he had read, primarily by non-Greek authors (e.g., Schlegel,Victor Cousin Leoni, Montabert, Ramée, Daly, Milizia, Morigeratezza, Quatremère de Quincy, etc.), with characteristic references to ancient Greece and its architecture. The same notebook served the Kaftanzoglou family as an account-book long after the architect's death (i.e., 1910-21). The notebook belongs to the personal archive of the architect, today in the possession of the Benaki Museum of Athens, and carries entry #314/1. I would like to thank Mrs. Valentini Tselika, curator of the Benaki Museum, for her kindness to offer me access to this valuable document in the Spring of 1994.

---

[486] See also footnote #90.

[487] Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, "Σχεδογραφία 'Αθηνῶν" (Sketching of Athens), Newspaper Αἰὼν, no. 46, 8-3-1839, pp. 1-3 (reprinted in an independent pamphlet form under the title: Περὶ μεταρρυθμίσεως τῆς Πόλεως 'Αθηνῶν Γνῶμαι (Views on the reform of the plan of Athens, 1858). The text to which Kaftanzoglou reacted was the elsewhere cited *Addendum to the first plan of Athens* by Kleanthes and Schaubert (published in H. H. Russack, Deutsche bauen in Athen, Wilhelm Limpert, Berlin, 1942).

[488] The foreigners were ousted from the country by Royal decree in 1843.

[489] Initially a training school for artisans, it developed into the *Royal Polytechnic* in 1843.

[490] A coincidence brought Kleanthes's death by accident in the same year, 1862, with Kaftanzoglou's dismissal from the post of the director of the Greek Polytechnic.

[491] For the related literature see footnote #19. The commission of the School building was finally entrusted to Kaftanzoglou.

However, and in spite of all the problems related to his eccentric personality, by common standards Kaftanzoglou was a skilled and highly qualified architect. His public buildings, both secular and religious, including the Arsakeion (1845-52), the Polytechnic (1859-76), the churches of Aghia Eirini (1846-50), Aghios Georgios Karitsis (1846-50), and Aghios Konstantinos (1871-93), as well as his several private commissions, drastically defined the architectural physiognomy of modern Athens. As opposed to Kleanthes's 'quiet' kind of architecture in accord with the natural topography and the vernacular tradition – an architecture characterized by volumetric plasticity, ornamental reserve, and introversion – Kaftanzoglou's buildings constituted dramatic interventions in the still formless environment of the new city. They were much like buildings–signatures, strongly bearing the marks of the country's most glorious phases of architectural history, the Greek classical and the Byzantine. They were extrovert and stylistically very distinct buildings which, together with those designed by foreign architects (e.g., the brothers Hansen, Boulanger, Gaertner, Klenze, etc.), became the modern monuments of the place and the landmarks of its new architectural history. Having the official approval of the State, these buildings served as models for empirical builders who borrowed from them primarily stylistic features to use them as elements of both national and social identification in less expensive private commissions.[492]

Koumanoudis met Kaftanzoglou first in 1837 in a café in Munich. The architect was on his way from France back to Italy in pursuit of advanced studies. The fact that Koumanoudis took the time to put down some quick biographical notes on Kaftanzoglou in his diary shows that he was probably specially affected by the personality of the young Greek with an international profile.[493] Besides this note, no other direct evidence bespeaks to a personal connection between the two men during their professional years in Greece. Henceforth all this study can do is to illuminate the instances in which Koumanoudis and Kaftanzoglou happened to cross paths in their public life.

---

[492] One of the central issues of my related study "Transcribing': Athenian domestic architecture and the building contract through notary archives of the period 1835-1850" (unpublished).

[493] *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/ 27 Oct. 1837.

Kaftanzoglou had an early involvement with Greek archaeology by being appointed counsel of the Archaeological Office between 1844 and 1851. The basis for the more permanent professional relation between Kaftanzoglou and Koumanoudis was most certainly set by the election of both as active members of the Greek Archaeological Society in 1859, the former in the position of the counsel and the latter in the position of the Secretary. Both remained in these posts till near the end of their lives.[494] It was Koumanoudis who formally announced Kaftanzoglou's death to the Board in the meeting of January 1886.[495] 1858 was the year of the reconstitution of the Society under a new administration, after a long period of gradual decomposition owing to a combination of adverse historical events and weaknesses in its internal management.[496] Essentially, this new beginning marked the Society's formal entry into its purest classicist phase in so far as many of its principal members – mainly professors in the Greek University – were stern advocates of nationalistic ideas.[497] One should see this new ideological orientation of the Archaeological Society less as a reaction to its earlier establishment under renowned romantic–Byzantinophiles, such as Alexandros Rangavis and Skarlatos Vyzantios, and more as an effort to restore its status as a leading cultural institution along more rigorous lines. But there was a political scope to this move, too. At a particularly difficult time as the 1850s, the reconstitution of the Society was probably the most decisive act on the part of the Greek State to have the nationalist consciousness and the civic morale of the people firmly grounded on the stablest core of the country's history, ancient Greece and its monuments.[498] In other words, the Society became a stronghold of the Greek nationalistic movement. Kaftanzoglou's involvement in the works of the Society is indicative of the way the Greek architect understood his profession as closely allied to that of **archaeology**.

---

[494] Kaftanzoglou till 1885 and Koumanoudis till 1894. The lists of all the active members of the Greek Archaeological Society were published by Vasileios Ch. Petrakos in his 'Η ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εταιρία.... (The Archaeological Society of Athens....), op. cit., pp. 313-318. During the period 1851 to 1859, Kaftanzoglou continued to be active in the field of Greek archaeology. In 1853, for example, he appeared as the co-author of the proceedings from the extensive excavations on the site of the Erechtheion (G. Glarakis, K. Pittakis, L. Kaftanzoglou, P. Kalkos, D. Zezos, P. Efstratiades, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Ερεχθείου 'Επιτροπῆς,* Athens, 1853). Koumanoudis, on the other hand, established his status in the Society more slowly, by being elected first deputy (1851-52), then counsel (1852-55 & 1858-59) and then vice-secretary (1853-55) until his final election as the General Secretary of the Society (1859-94). Decisive for the relationship of Koumanoudis and Kaftanzoglou must have also been the participation of the two men in various committees under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, all related to the establishment and organization of the **National Archaeological Museum** in Greece. Specifically on 25 Jan. 1864 the 'Museum committee' composed by Koumanoudis, Kaftanzoglou, and another 19 members rejected the hill of St. Athanasios as the prospective site of the museum, proposing instead two other sites. The same committee remained closely involved with the issue of the new museum passing their opinions on the preferred layout and the architecture of the building. Also the two men participated in a special committee of 1874 concerning plans for organization and display of the archaeological exhibits. Of them Koumanoudis did offer a plan (see Appendix II, Fig. L) whereas Kaftanzoglou did not. (Kokkou, 'Η Μέριμνα.... (The Care for the Antiquities....), op. cit., pp. 229, 230, 247.)

[495] The fact that this announcement took place three months after Kaftanzoglou's death raises some questions. Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρίας 'Αθηνῶν τοῦ 'Ετους 1885 (Proceedings of the Archaeological Society in Athens of the year 1885), Athens , 1886, p. 9.

[496] During the 1850s Greece experienced successive crises in the field of its external politics with its 'protecting' Powers. Among the historical events which obstructed the archaeological works of the Society were the naval blockade of Piraeus by Lord Palmerston in 1850, the occupation of Piraeus and Athens by the army forces of Britain and France between 1854 and 1857 in retaliation of King Othon's participation in the Crimean War, and the outbreak of the cholera epidemic in Athens in 1854.

[497] Among them the president Philippos Ioannou (1859-79), the vice-president Kyriakos Pittakis (1859-63), the members Efthymios Kastorhis (1858-64, 1867-80, 1882, 1884-89), Grigorios Papadopoulos (1859-60), Panagiotis Efstratiades (1859-84), and, of course, Kaftanzoglou and Koumanoudis.

During his long and turbulent career as an architect and director of the Royal Polytechnic, Kaftanzoglou had numerous opportunities to express in public his theoretical views on architecture. However, writing was not among his strengths. Probably for this reason, he never became interested to collect these views in a comprehensive treatise; not even so in a programmatic text of special merit, such as Koumanoudis's Where is the Art of the Greeks hying today? Today, we know of his theoretical positions on architecture through two kinds of sources, his several articles in the press – mainly polemics or disputations of heterodox opinions – and his (twelve) fiery anniversary addresses in the Royal Polytechnic, normally delivered in the presence of the King. That Kaftanzoglou publicized his positions in such a sporadic and unsystematic manner, that architecture was normally the sub-theme and not the main theme of his texts – let alone the rumor that he may not have been the author of his own speeches[499] – all make the development of a conclusive assessment of him as a theorist rather impossible. Although thematic continuities, constant references to the same sources, and standard patterns of argumentation do exist through his writings, at the same time, internal contradictions, logical inconsistencies, and subtle violations of authorial ethics[500] – serving either personal or political goals – work against the construction of a systematic text on architecture. In other words, they exclude Kaftanzoglou's writings from both categories of organized discourse, that is, the descriptive and the prescriptive/instructive, as I defined them at the beginning of this dissertation. I will then disagree with Philippides's statement that Kaftanzoglou's speeches "form the first body of Greek theory on architecture".[501] I would argue instead that Kaftanzoglou's writings, by and large, disclose some of the major pathologies of the nineteenth century which, besides retarding the progress of the country as a whole, hindered the development of architecture into an autonomous discipline. Among these pathologies were the gap between theory and practice, the conflict between schooled professions and local tradition, ideological factionalism, and the lack of transparent, democratic procedures in matters with an immediate effect on civic life, such as the construction of the architectural identity of the city. As for the elements which Philippides overestimated as "the first body of Greek theory of architecture", I will argue that most of them already existed in Koumanoudis's Where is the art of the Greeks hying today? as ideas which the Greek archaeologist had developed through his deep concern for and involvement with matters of art and architecture. For this reason, I am not treating Kaftanzoglou's writings as the subject of a separate chapter, but as a special theme under the general heading of Koumanoudis's instructive–archaeological discourse on architecture.

---

[498] The events which caused the political instability of the country included the gradual deterioration of the relations of Greece with the 'Great Powers', the recent scars from the involvement in the Crimean War, the growing dismay at the Othonian monarchy, and the continuing threat of the centralized government from the conservative Byzantinophiles (i.e., the idealist romantics), on the one hand, and the liberal–socialists (i.e., the progressivist romantics), on the other.

[499] The direct accusation was published in the newspaper *'Εθνοφύλαξ* (6 Dec. 1862) right after Kaftanzoglou's forced resignation from the directorship of the Polytechnic. It reads: "... by fraud every year he got to deliver ridiculous and illiterate speeches, which another dignitary was preparing [for him] in full quackery and dishonesty, praising in them the old Greeks, Phidias, Pericles, Othon, and himself". (Quoted from Kostas E. Biris, 'Η 'Ιστορία τοῦ 'Εθνικοῦ Μετσοβίου Πολυτεχνείου (The History of the National Technical University), Athens, 1957, p. 148. According to Biris, this rumor was spread from Kaftanzoglou's second annual address at the Polytechnic of 1845, which was prepared by his good friend Grigorios Pappadopoulos, professor of Art History in the School, as Kaftanzoglou's ability to use perfect Greek was questionable. However, the style of the speeches changes after 1845 whereas the positions become more rigorist classicist compared to those expressed in that particular speech. One should be reminded that 1845 was also the year in which **Koumanoudis** settled permanently in Athens.

[500] Characteristic of Kaftanzoglou's habit of logical maneuvering is the incidence of his quoting a phrase in three different ways on three different occasions. The phrase belonged to the Italian professor of sculpture L. Bartolini. The three variations in free translation are: "Let the **Acropolis** and **nature** be your safest guides, which, like shining lighthouses, will light the way of every Greek who risks sailing in the open sea" ("Προσθήκη περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς 'Ρωμαντικῆς λεγομένης 'Αρχιτεκτονικῆς καὶ τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς" (Addendum on the difference between the so-called Romantic Architecture and the Greek) 'Αθήναιον, vol. 6, 1878, p. 313); "Let the **Acropolis** be your safest guide, which, like a shining lighthouse, will light the way of every Greek who risks sailing in the open sea"("Λόγος ἀνακομιδῆς ὀστῶν Μ. Τοσίτζα" (Speech on the removal of the relics of M. Tositza), Newspaper Αὐγή, no. 841, 13-5-1861; "Let **nature** be your safest guide, which, like a shining lighthouse, will light the way of every Greek who risks sailing in the open sea" (Address delivered at the eleventh ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic on 25-11-1856) Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ, no. 2502, 8-12-1856). Philippides observes that the last version of 1856 (first in timely sequence) is accurate since only in that case the author bothered to cite the reference source (i.e., *Revue de deux Mondes*, Sept. 1855).

But before I recount Kaftanzoglou's ideas and relate them with Koumanoudis's, I set out to present an essay which the architect published late in his life, in 1878, under the title An addendum concerning the difference between the so-called Romantic Architecture and the Greek. Although the date falls outside the temporal horizon of this study, I find it pertinent to make this essay the starting point of this discussion for two reasons. First, because it has architecture as its central theme, and second, because it demonstrates a clear ideological position in the light of which the entire range of the author's ideas to-that-date will be clarified. I would risk then to pronounce it the only piece of instructive writing on architecture Kaftanzoglou ever composed.

Interestingly, Kaftanzoglou's essay appeared first in the sixth volume of Ἀθήναιον (Athinaion) – the well-known philological journal with the classicist bent, which Koumanoudis published and edited in cooperation with his friend Efthymios Kastorhis.[502] This essay was the appendix to two essay–letters by the same author, addressed one to the editor Kastorhis, and the other to the "learned E. Freeman," a British historian.[503] In the two letters Kaftanzoglou raised the crucial issue of preservation policy for ancient monuments. More specifically, he laid bare the ground for the two predominant positions, one, the purist, supporting the conservation of only one (i.e., the most honorable) phase of the monument – to which position he himself belonged – and the other, the eclecticist, claiming the preservation of all the historical layers of the monument. Again here, we are confronted with the familiar polemic between classicists and romantics/historicists, now centered around a fundamentally practical problem, that is, the future life of Greek monuments. Kaftanzoglou wrote the two letters in response to Freeman's provocative letter to the periodical Κλειώ (Kleio) of Trieste (13/25 Aug. 1877).[504] By that letter the British historian denounced the decision of the archaeological committee of 1874 to demolish the robust tower on the southwestern corner of the Propylaia, that is a Frankish, not a Turkish, monument as the committee erroneously thought.[505] He contended that the selective razing of certain layers from the historical past of an old monument violated the rules of historical integrity that both philology and archaeology were committed to serve. Furthermore, such a treatment demonstrated historical bias and self-interest on the part of those who led the project. Lastly, Freeman argued that the vertical element of the tower was a positive addition to the Athenian landscape which was generally characterized by mild horizontal lines. Therefore, seen from two different points of view, ethical and aesthetic, the demolition of the tower was wrong, according to Freeman.

---

[501] Philippides, op. cit., p. 374 (the quote originally in English).
[502] Efthymios Kastorhis (1815-1889) studied philology in Germany and served as a teacher of philology, department head in the Ministry of Education, and finally professor at the University of Athens since 1863. He was also council of the Greek Archaeological Society (1861-62) and vice-president (1862-94). Therefore, his interest in archaeology was indisputable. He became involved in several archaeological excavations and published with Koumanoudis the *Ἀθήναιον* for ten years (1872-1882).

---

[503] Lysandros Kaftanzoglou,"Περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ 'Ακροπόλει 'Αθηνῶν καταστραφέντος Τουρκικοῦ Πύργου" (On the demolished Turkish tower on the Athenian Acropolis), 'Αθήναιον, vol. 6, no. 5, Jan./Feb. 1878, pp. 287-308. Accompanied by "Προσθήκη περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς 'Ρωμαντικῆς λεγομένης 'Αρχιτεκτονικῆς καὶ τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς" (Addendum on the difference between the so-called Romantic Architecture and the Greek), pp. 309-313. The same set of essays appeared in the form of an independent booklet as Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, ***'Επιστολιμαία διατριβὴ πρὸς τὸν ἐλλόγιμον Ε. Φρῆμαν περὶ τῆς κατεδαφίσεως τοῦ ἐν τῇ 'Ακροπόλει 'Αθηνῶν τουρκικοῦ πύργου*** (Epistolary diatribe to the learned E. Freeman with reference to the demolition of the Turkish tower on the Athenian Acropolis), Athens, 1878.
Edward-Augustus Freeman (1823-1892) was a British historian who studied and taught at Oxford University. He traveled extensively in Europe and the United States. He became particularly interested in medieval architecture. Among the many books he wrote were ***History of Architecture*** (1849), ***Essay on Window Tracery*** (1850), and ***The Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral.*** He also contributed articles to the ***Saturday Review.***

[504] Kaftanzoglou sent the two letters on 15 Sept. 1877 from Vienna (!), that is, Freeman's current city of residence.

[505] According to the available documents, the person who financed the project of the demolition was the amateur German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann. Petrakos, op. cit., pp. 46-7. The demolition took place in June of 1875. The ascription of the tower to the Frankish occupants of Athens (1204-1311) has also been disputed. Demetrios Kambouroglou, for example, considered the monument older, specifically Byzantine (D. Gr. Kambouroglou, Αἱ Παλαιαὶ 'Αθῆναι (Old Athens), Library of Historical Studies, no. 240, bookstore G. I. Vasileiou, Athens, 1922, p. 352. I borrow Travlos's opinion and I refer to it as Frankish (Joannes N. Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ 'Εξέλιξις τῶν 'Αθηνῶν: ἀπό τῶν προϊστορικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ 19ου αἰῶνος (Urban-planning development of Athens: From the prehistoric age to the 19th century). Athens: [s.n.], 1960, pp. 163-7.

Kaftanzoglou, on the other hand, who belonged to the preservation committee of the Propylaia and felt directly affected by Freeman's remarks, presented a strong case for a purist preservation policy in his two letters. Comparing the architectural cluster of the Acropolis to the Homeric poems, Kaftanzoglou argued that these particular monuments deserved a special treatment which consisted in the restoration of their classical layer as close to the original as possible. A purist preservation policy for the Acropolis, he contested, was fully justified on both ethical and educative grounds, since this monument has been universally acknowledged as the landmark of world architecture and as such it should lead the way of future generations of architects. In the range of reasons which dictated the demolition of the tower, Kaftanzoglou included the presence of valuable antique *spolia* in its massing and static problems caused to the foundations of the Propylaia by the enormous weight of the tower.[506] Up to this point Kaftanzoglou was right even by more recent standards of historic preservation.[507] But he then proceeded to a different level of argumentation. To Freeman's call for equal treatment of all the periods of history and, therefore, for preservation of all the diverse elements of the Acropolis – including even the Turkish minaret – Kaftanzoglou responded that the decision for the preservation of each layer of a monument should be based on two criteria, its aesthetic value and its representative value of the particular historical period to which it belonged. Moreover, Kaftanzoglou claimed that certain elements, such as the minaret and the "Turkish" tower, not only had no value of their own, but also corrupted the monument as a whole by their mere presence. They were "wretched additions" to the masterpieces of classical beauty, conflicting with the very idea of **monumentality** that these works embodied. Especially for this reason the demolition of the "Turkish" tower was imperative. To prove the Turkish identity of the monument, Kaftanzoglou gave a series of arguments with extra emphasis on its crude aesthetic quality. As later research proved, Kaftanzoglou and his colleagues were off by four centuries at least in their dating of the tower.[508] As it appears from Kaftanzoglou's words, the cleaning of the Acropolis from its "Turkish" layer, was principally dictated by the Greek nationalistic sentiment and the deeply seated anger against the Turkish ruler. In his letter to Freeman, the architect insisted that Greece had no need to preserve memories from a barbarous period of history – a period in which every building bore marks of a cruel foreign domination.

---

[506] **Koumanoudis** was the one who was assigned to the archaeological task of studying the ancient inscriptions built in the tower. He reported his finds in S.A.K., "Εἰδήσεις περὶ τῆς κατεδαφίσεως τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ακροπόλεως 'Αθηνῶν πύργου καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ" (News from the demolition of the tower on the Athenian Acropolis and one inscription plaque [extracted] from it), 'Αθήναιον, vol. 4, 1875, pp. 195 and 202-3.

[507] See related article by Alexandros Papageorgiou-Venetas, "'Αρχές καί Πρακτική τοῦ 'Αναστηλωτικοῦ "Εργου στόν Παρθενώνα (1989)" (Principles and practice of the restoration project of the Parthenon (1989)). Paper delivered in the Third International Convention concerning the restoration works on the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, 1989). Reprint in Alexandros Papageorgiou-Venetas, 'Αθήνα: Δοκιμές καί Θεωρήσεις (Athens: Essays and Speculations), Odysseas, Athens, 1996, pp. 165-75. The author discusses the reasons why by universal agreement the monuments of the Acropolis are exempt from the **Charter of Venice** of 1964, by which all the periods of history were pronounced equal and deserving equivalent preservation measures.
Also, according to Alois Riegl's seminal essay "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin" of 1928, written in a critical post-Romantic spirit, the Parthenon in particular belongs to the category of monuments whose **historical value** (i.e, the documentary/scientific value of a monument that is considered representative of its type and its period) supersedes its **age-value**, while it subsumes its **artistic value**. Therefore, the objective of any restoration procedure on the Parthenon would be "not to conserve the traces of age which have been produced by nature since its creation, but rather to maintain [it] as genuine as possible a document for future art-historical research." Only marginally and without enough specificity, Riegl addressed the problem of later additions and alterations on a monument. His pronouncements did not cover the particular case of the Parthenon. We may assume that those might fall under the class of 'age-value', hence they were rightly removed in the 19th century having been superseded by historical value. Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin", transl. by Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, in Oppositions: A Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, no. 25, Fall 1982, pp. 21-51 (34).

To the ethical and the educative criterion for the preservation of historic monuments, Kaftanzoglou thus added one more, the **sentimental**. This criterion, unlike the other two, evaded rationalization. It had to do with the general feeling of ethnic identity and national pride which united Greek people through their common symbols, most importantly, their built monuments. Certain parallels may be drawn between this feeling and that which Germanic people developed for their own nation and which they sought to lock forever in the symbols of their unity, such as the Strasbourg Cathedral.[509] This particular feeling of utmost respect for one's own country and its symbols set the foundations for the **Romantic movement** in Europe. Evidently, Kaftanzoglou refused to make this connection. Ironically, the epilogue to his letter to Freeman was nothing but a harsh attack against romanticism. Reserving for it such epithets as "irrational", "ruleless", and "bizarre", Kaftanzoglou lamented the fact that the universal authority of Greek architecture had been damaged by the menace of this new trend for four decades already.[510] To fully expose his arguments against romanticism, Kaftanzoglou wrote the theoretical essay "*...concerning the difference between the so-called Romantic Architecture and the Greek*", which he appended to the two letters to 'Αθήναιον and to which I now turn.

i) *"An addendum concerning the difference between the so-called Romantic Architecture and the Greek"*

For an introduction, Kaftanzoglou defines the term *romanticism.* After tracing its roots in the medieval literary tradition, he notes that the romantic spirit took hold of poetry and art again only as late as at the beginning of the nineteenth century "proclaiming above all its complete emancipation from the yoke of Greek classical art and its [endorsing of the works of] unrestrained imagination."[511] From the outset, Kaftanzoglou places classicism at the antipodes of romanticism, claiming that the two aesthetic attitudes contrast with each other in a number of important ways, given that the latter emerged in self-conscious reaction to the former. It is precisely these ways that the author takes on to enumerate in the rest of the essay. The method Kaftanzoglou follows is comparative, as the title suggests. But his mode of reasoning evades the rules of objective description. Instead, it is highly prescriptive in the way in which it preempts public opinion over classicism as the incontestable winner of the comparison. Using strong rhetorical statements, Kaftanzoglou charges romanticism with a series of negative characteristics, all pointing to the trifling and ephemeral nature of this artistic trend. The harsh and dogmatic language of the essay makes a libel on it – probably the best known Greek libel against romantic architecture that the nineteenth century bestowed upon succeeding ages.

---

[508] For the problem of the dating of the tower see also K. Setton, Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, p. 242.

[509] The leading figure in this movement was the young Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who in his ***Von deutscher Baukunst*** (Darmstadt, 1771/72) pronounced the style of Strasbourg Cathedral the national style of Germany.

[510] ".... τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Αρχιτεκτονικῆς, ἥτις, ὡς μὴ ὤφειλεν, ἀπὸ τεσσαρακονταετίας περίπου ὑπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ παρατύπου καὶ ἰδιορρύθμου Ρωμαντισμοῦ." Kaftanzoglou, "Περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ 'Ακροπόλει...." (On the demolished Turkish tower...), op. cit., p. 307.

The author builds most of his comparative argumentation upon the ethical and the educative criteria which classicism fulfills whereas romanticism violates. Making his start with the classicist premise that the representation of nature in works of art should aim not only at the sensual gratification, but also – and most importantly – at the moral education of the beholder, he asserts that Greek art has achieved this end by realizing the good in the beautiful. Romantic art, on the other hand, which normally creates works only for instantaneous pleasure, deliberately disregards the need for an 'isotropic' balance between beauty in art and beauty in the human soul. Kaftanzoglou strives to show that the *anti-classicist* propaganda of the romantics burgeoned in a climate of absolute hostility and revengefulness against all the time-honored rules and principles of the ancients. For a proof, he quotes the French writer, Daniel Ramée, who furiously repudiates the authority of classical Greece as the standard reference for all artists.[512] Exposing Ramée's bellicose attitude against both Greece and classicism is no doubt an interesting rhetorical stratagem on the part of the author, who is thus licensed to set his own essay forth as a counter-attack, composed in a tone similarly contentious to that of his 'enemy'.

Kaftanzoglou proceeds to relate how romanticism has overthrown one by one all the basic principles of classicism in order to follow its own arbitrary ways to artistic creation.

---

[511] ".... σκοπῶν κυρίως τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνεξαρτησίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλασικοῦ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καλλιτεχνίας ζυγοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς φαντασίας ἀχαλίνωτον." Lysandros Kaftanzoglou,"Προσθήκη περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς 'Ρωμαντικῆς λεγομένης 'Αρχιτεκτονικῆς καὶ τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς"(Addendum on the difference between the so-called Romantic Architecture and the Greek) 'Αθήναιον, vol. 6, no. 5, Jan./Feb., 1878, p. 309.

[512] Daniel Ramée (1806-1887) was a French architect and archaeologist, the son and student of an architect. He wrote ***Monographie de l' eglise de Notre-Dame de Noyon*** (Paris, 1845) and ***Un Manuel de l' Histoire générale de l' Architecture en tous les pays*** (Paris, 1860, 1862). He also translated into French Ernst Forster's work as ***Monuments d' architecture, de sculpture et de peinture allemandes*** (1836). Kaftanzoglou cites D. Ramée's ***"Hist. genérale d' archit."*** as his source.

Concerning the principle of imitation, in particular, romantic art defies the classical rule – which ordains the raising of the Real to the state of the Ideal – in order to make room for "unbridled imagination" (*ἀχαλίνωτον φαντασίαν*) and "perverted liberty" (*ἀκόλαστον ἐλευθερίαν*) to take over and become the guiding forces of the artist's hand. Specifically in architecture – the author observes – nature has not provided the prototypes as it did with the other arts. The works of Greek architecture then came to fill this gap and serve as models to numerous architects over the ages because they happened to combine basic need with reasoned beauty in a unique way. – But if the basis of all arts is imitation, Kaftanzoglou fails to mention what Greek architects used as model for their temples, if not nature herself.[513] – Romanticism, on the other hand, which dogmatically rejected everything related to Greek classicism in favor of the obscure Middle Ages, sought in the mediocre, deceptive, and depraved forms of the medieval minor arts the source of novel architectural types. Having studied their art on model-works full of errors and devious distortions, romantic architects formulated a new architectural canon which antagonizes the old by setting the thoroughly insignificant notions of "capricio" (i.e., whimsical), "bizzareria" (i.e., bizarre), "barocco" (i.e., overloaded), and "barbaro" (i.e., barbaric) against the classical ones of unity, order, symmetry, eurythmy, and disposition .[514] Thus, comparing a set of descriptive to a set of structural terms, Kaftanzoglou determines that the two architectural styles are not equal. In fact, "this anticlassical" style, "is not even a style, but a manner," he explodes.[515] And through this sequence of logical fallacies, the author leads the reader to the conclusion that classical buildings are eternal and universal as opposed to romantic ones which, owing to their feeble and superficial nature, wither away like everything else that fashion makes.

Next, Kaftanzoglou moves on to a relentless attack against **Eclecticism**, which he defines as the outgrowth of romanticism in contemporary architecture. By 1878, when Kaftanzoglou wrote this essay, Greece had already accepted historicist interpretations (e.g., neo-Byzantine, neo-Renaissance, neo-Gothic), not only for public buildings of special use, but also for private residences.[516] Kaftanzoglou himself designed in other styles, too, besides the neoclassical.[517] Eclecticism was the inevitable next step for Greek architects to take. Following the example of Europe and under the patronage of wealthy and worldly-wise individuals, the austere neoclassicism of the '50s and '60s ceded to a playful variety of architectural languages, some of which creatively combined elements from more than one style. As Kaftanzoglou noted with bitterness, personal taste and architectural imagination gradually undermined the dominance of the one and most honored national style, the neoclassical. This essay may be seen also as an apology for this event. Freeman's eclecticist stance on the problem of historic preservation of the Acropolis apparently was only the cause for the writing of the essay. The true reason for that was different and probably not as ideological as Kaftanzoglou makes it seem in this publication. After Kleanthes's death, Kaftanzoglou was faced with a new competitor, Ernst Ziller, the highly qualified German architect and descendant of Schinkel's architectural tradition who lived and worked in Greece after 1861.[518] By 1878, Ziller was still rising in the Greek architectural scene.[519] He had already carried out a number of important commissions, both public and private, in which he had proven his ability on new architectural interpretations of *hellenicity* along romantic–eclecticist lines, without having to resort to neoclassical stereotypes. Kaftanzoglou was fundamentally opposed to Ziller's way into architecture.[520] Without referring to him by name, he contends that he finds every eclecticist building of his day "grotesque" (*τραγελαφικόν*) and "arlequinade" (*ἀρλεκινικόν*), yet at the same time, "abstract" (*ἀόριστον*) in the sense that it exhibits no specific expression, no character, no purpose, and no clues to be dated by.[521]

---

[513] Several years earlier, in his annual address at the Polytechnic of 1848, he makes an explicit reference to the origination of architecture, in general, from the primitive hut and of Greek architecture, in particular, from the wooden temple. He quotes Vitruvius (*De Architectura,* Book I (?), ch. 1), Milizia (*Principi di Architettura Civile,* vol. I, p. 13), and Humboldt (*Vues des Cordillières...*). In: L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Τέταρτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the fourth annual art show), Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, Athens, 1848, pp. 10, 16-17.

[514] Kaftanzoglou, op. cit., p. 310.

[515] "Ὁ ἀντικλασικὸς οὗτος τρόπος, καὶ οὐχὶ ῥυθμὸς....", ibid.

[516] The earliest example of a neo-Renaissance residence was the **Demetriou mansion** (1842) by Theophil Hansen. The most prominent example of a residence in a neo-Gothic style was the **Saripolos residence** (1865) by an unknown architect.

---

[517] His ecclesiastic commissions mixed the classical with Byzantine and Renaissance elements. He undertook the completion of the Eye-hospital (1847-54) in neo-Byzantine style on Christian Hansen's initial plans. In his drawings, there are several instances of alternative stylistic proposals for private commissions.

[518] Ernst Ziller (1837-1923) was a pupil of Theophil Hansen in Vienna (Schinkel's student). He had lived in Dresden (Königliche Bauschule) and Leipzig before he came to Greece in 1861 where he stayed for 63 years practicing his profession and teaching architecture in the Royal Polytechnic. Ziller maintained a lifelong friendship with **Theophil Hansen**. He had also met and befriended **Gottfried Semper**. He had keen archaeological interests and was the first who supported the theory of the curved stylobate of ancient Greek temples, which he applied in the building of the Academy. This caused the outrage of the archaeological / academic establishment in Athens, to which both Kaftanzoglou and Koumanoudis belonged.

[519] By 1878 Ziller was known as the supervisor of public works by Theophil Hansen in Athens, such as the Academy, the new wing of the University, and the Zappeion, but also for his own important commissions, such as the **Civic Theater of Athens** (first set of plans 1872-73, exec. 1873-88), the **Civic Theater of Patras** (1871), and the **Civic Theater of Zakynthos** (1872). 1878 was the year in which the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann commissioned his very prestigious residence in Athens to Ziller. According to the researcher Georgios Korres, Ziller presented the first set of plans to his patron in March 1878. The house was built on Panepistimiou Boulevard between 1879 and 1880 in an eclectic style combining Renaissance and Roman-Pompeian elements, precisely reflecting the owner's taste and lifework. It became known as the **Schliemann mansion** or **'Iliou Melathron'**. (Georgios St. Korres, "Τό "Ἰλίου Μέλαθρον' ὡς ἔκφρασις τῆς προσωπικότητος καί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἐρρίκου Σλῆμαν" (The 'Ilion Mansion' as an expression of the personality and the lifework of Heinrich Schliemann), in his Ἀναδρομαί εἰς τόν Νεοκλασσικισμόν (Retrospections into Neoclassicism), Society of the People's Friends, Athens, 1977, p. 82.

[520] By then and on different occasions he seized the opportunity to lay severe criticism on projects in which Ziller was involved as chief supervisor, such as the extension to the University, the Academy, and the Zappeion.

[521] Kaftanzoglou, op. cit., p. 311.

Then Kaftanzoglou turns to the scale of the city as a whole and promulgates the unorganized compilation of stylistically diverse buildings as confusing and offensive to public taste as the jumble of an eclecticist building alone. He declares that he absolutely hates seeing different styles mingled together in one and the same street. Koumanoudis's positive opinion of Berlin's Potsdamerstrasse, a street articulated with building-variations of one style only, the Greek, here comes to mind. Would that also have been Kaftanzoglou's thesis on the architectural design of Athenian building fronts? What would his choice be between playful variation of one style (according to Koumanoudis's suggestion) and austere uniformity (according to the article of 1858 in Athena)?[522] Unfortunately, we do not know in so far as the architect was in the habit of expressing his architectural views normally in the negative.[523] On his target are the Renaissance or decadent Roman, the Byzantine, the Lombardic, the Romanesque, the Gothic or "open-scissors" (*ψαλιδωτόν*), the Persian, the Arabic, and, most importantly, the Baroque and the Rococo. Kaftanzoglou objects to the *ad hoc* spreading of historicism in modern cities, Athens in particular. In the early decades of the State at least – when he himself created most of his architectural works – Athenian historicism obeyed an official code by which certain styles matched specific building uses.[524] To his dismay, that code was seriously receding as the century progressed. Kaftanzoglou, however, makes no direct reference to a code in so far as the direct route to problems does not belong to his habitual way of acting. Instead, he takes the pessimistic view that recognizes this uncontrolled proliferation of styles as a sign of social degeneration similar to the one which brought eclecticism about in the first place.

In several instances, Kaftanzoglou relates the revival of the romantic spirit with pathological social systems featuring extravagance, ostentation, mishandling of public resources, vanity, illiteracy, and lack of good taste (*ἀπειροκαλία*). He associates all these vices primarily with the aesthetics of the Baroque, and more specifically with the arts which flourished in the court of King Louis XV in seventeenth-century France. Kaftanzoglou's critical stance against Baroque art carries echoes of Winckelmann's well-known claims on the same subject[525] with the exception that the Greek architect – instead of an analysis based on aesthetic categories – preferred to stress, more than anything else, the illusionistic aspect of the Baroque as a symptom of moral degeneration. In other words, his criteria of aesthetic judgment were social and moralistic as opposed to Winckelmann's philosophical ones. It is noteworthy that until late in the century the Greek archaeological establishment – to which Kaftanzoglou belonged – refused to accept the aesthetic theory of **optical refinements** on the Parthenon (and other Greek monuments), while several members of the group felt particularly challenged by Ziller's reports on this subject in German periodicals.[526] Would it be right then to assume that this critical debate on the problem of optical refinements provided Kaftanzoglou with an extra impetus to write this essay?

---

[522] Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ, year 27, no. 2685, 26 July 1858, p. 2d. See also footnote #420.

[523] With only few exceptions, such as the "Σχεδογραφία 'Αθηνῶν" of 1839 and the *Τὰ 'Ολύμπια ἐν Φαλήρῳ καὶ τὸ νῦν μεταρρυθμιζόμενον Ζάππειον* of 1880 ((The [show-hall of] Olympia in Phaleron and the presently transformed Zappeion [hall]), Hermes print, Athens, 1880; also published under the same title in 'Αθήναιον, vol. 8, no. 5, Dec. 1879, pp. 374-84).

[524] For example the Rundbogen for charity institutions, the neo–Gothic for the Anglican church, the neo-Renaissance for the Catholic church, the neo-Byzantine for Greek Orthodox churches. This was the common architectural code of styles in mid-nineteenth-century Athens.

[525] I discussed Winckelmann's attitude to the Baroque under sub-chapter 3 " *"Where is the art of the Greeks hying today?" or a tribute to J. J. Winckelmann.*"

Kaftanzoglou winds up his essay with a long rhetorical invitation to all the Greeks to take a stern stance against new architectural trends originating in other European countries. He underscores that Greece has absolutely no reason to look to the wrong examples for architectural inspiration at the expense of its time-honored classical heritage. Greek architects, in a word, should refrain from the experimental practices of romanticism – a product of countries unrelated to Greece in all respects, i.e., historical, physical, and climatological. To reinforce his theory, Kaftanzoglou cleverly matches two aphoristic statements by his most favorite and frequently quoted Italian authors, the architecture theorist Francesco Milizia[527] and the professor of sculpture at the Florentine Academy Lorenzo Bartolini.[528] Milizia characterizes romanticism as an "incurable leprosy", while Bartolini offers the antidote to this "horrible disease" in speaking to his Greek students as follows: "You, Greeks, who came to study art with us, will transport back to your – very dear to us – country the abhorrent fruits of the German-Italian aesthetic, thus relinquishing any hope of raising yourselves to the level of your ancestors." And Kaftanzoglou closes by misquoting Bartolini's resolute phrase: "Let the *Acropolis* and *nature* be your safest guides, which, like shining lighthouses, will light the way of every Greek who risks sailing in the open sea" (instead of "Let *nature* be your safest guide... etc.").[529]

---

[526] Specifically, E. Ziller, "Über die Ürsprünglische Existenz der Kurvaturen des Parthenon", ***Zeitschrift für Bauwesen,*** 1865 and "Die Mauern von Eleutherai", ***Zeitschrift für Bauwesen,*** 1879. According to Hans Hermann Russack, Ziller drew upon a line of studies which began with the German architect Eduard Schaubert and the British archaeologist F. C. Penrose. The most serious opponent of this theory and supporter of the archaeological establishment was the German archaeologist Karl Bötticher based on his studies on the Parthenon of 1862. See: Russack, op. cit., pp. 162-5.

[527] Francesco Milizia (1725-1798) was probably the strongest lifelong influence on Kaftanzoglou. The Italian theorist, together with Antonio Canova, Anton Raphael Mengs, and J. J. Winckelmann, belonged to the neoclassical circle of Jose Nicolas de Azara, a patron of the arts and sciences in Rome. He was a strong proponent of the rationalist culture of Enlightenment. His ideas drew upon the architecture theories of M.-A. Laugier, Carlo Lodoli and Francesco Algarotti which he, however, transfered on to a more universal/mathematical level of application and a more functionalist frame of thought. He maintained a stern stance against the Baroque and the 17th century, in general, which he considered an age of corruption. He wrote ***Le vite de' più celebri architetti... precedute da uno saggio sopra l' architettura*** (Rome, 1768), ***Del teatro*** (Rome, 1771), ***Dell' arte di vedere nelle belle arti di disegno secondo i principi di Sulzer e di Mengs*** (Venice, 1781), ***Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*** (Parma, 1781), ***Principj di architettura civile*** (Finale, 1781), ***Roma: Delle belle arti del disegno*** (Bassano, 1787), and ***Dizionario delle belle arti del disegno*** (Bassano, 1797). His writings are characterized by numerous contradictions. Characteristically, although he advocated that the authority of ancient design should not impede the pursuit of reason in a modern frame of action, he shocked his colleagues with his plea for a theater *all' antica* – an idea which Kaftanzoglou sternly supported in reference to the planning of the first theater of Athens. In his *Principj*.... he attempted a classification of basic building tasks which he appled to a series of functional building types, thus creating a fundamental dictionary of building types with effect on 19th-century architecture. Milizia set himself strongly against the idea of ornamentation for its own sake. He insisted on the three classical notions **symmetry, unity,** and **variety,** all of which should be used only in connection with a specific function. All three notions are constantly referenced by both Kaftanzoglou and Koumanoudis. Later critical literature on architecture registered Milizia as a prolific writer, but with very little degree of originality. Emil Kaufmann's comment on this matter is worth quoting:

> Since the novel ideas Milizia set forth were not his own, it is no wonder that he contradicted himself so frequently. It did not take him long to remodel his views. He changed them almost from page to page, so that the *Principj* emerges as a book without any crystallized principles.... it is clear that his modernism did not derive from a deep conviction. Just as he bowed to the romantic at times, so did he bow to the rationalistic at other times.

In place of analysis of the text, I will seek to respond to the following question: Could this "*Addendum*" be considered the continuation of Koumanoudis's principal theme in his Where is the art of the Greeks hying today?, yet now with an application to architecture? The answer is in the negative, although there are many indications which argue for the opposite. Specifically, both essays were written as organized assaults upon romantic aesthetics, and in particular, against the whole range of related notions, such as imagination, fashion, experimentation, shift toward the future, as well as lived memory, handed-down tradition, empirical practice, and artistic intuition. Both essays were ways of resisting the declining footing of Greek classicism world-wide. Both intended to reaffirm ancient Greece as the ultimate reference point for all the new works of art and architecture. Both strongly carried Winckelmann's influence, although neither one made any explicit reference to the German author by name. Characteristically, Kaftanzoglou – much more emphatically than Koumanoudis – declared his loyalty to the Winckelmannian definition of imitation which dictated the rise of the Real to the level of the Ideal – an idea drawn from classical Greek authors. Both exalted the Apollonian element of life. Both exhibited a clear oppositional logic, a moralistic/ paternalistic intention, and an instructive character.

At the same time, the two texts present a number of noteworthy differences. Most of these differences have to do with the context in which the texts originated rather than with their content *per se*. Koumanoudis, on the one hand, wrote his essay as a programmatic text only a few years after the establishment of Greece as an independent nation and still at a time in which there was no official plan to regulate the development of the arts in the newly reborn

---

(Emil Kaufmann, Architecture in the Age of Reason, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1955, p. 103). I could not find any better way to describe Kaftanzoglou's relation to architectural theory than this quote, which, ironically, happened to be written for his revered mentor, Milizia.

[528] Lorenzo Bartolini (1777-1850), Italian sculptor, follower of the classicist school of Canova.

[529] Kaftanzoglou, op. cit., p. 313. See again the commentary in footnote #500 with reference to the three variations of this quote.

country – a country inhabited by a vastly diverse group of citizens. Carrying vivid memories from the recent Ottoman rule and fearing a relapse into the obscurantist theocratic spirit of the Middle Ages, Koumanoudis sought to radically turn the arts of modern Greece away from the influence of the Orient by drawing a firm dividing line between East and West, theocracy and secularism, romanticism and classicism. Kaftanzoglou, on the other hand, addressed himself to a social group much more homogeneous, sophisticated, self-confident, and self-conscious of its common progeny and its nationalistic goals compared to the group which Koumanoudis had in view thirty-five years earlier. Within this time-frame of thirty-five years many of the historical circumstances of the country had changed. The city of Athens alone almost tripled its population, whereas its urban class – by taking full advantage of the politics of centralization – slowly developed into the most economically powerful and culturally solid core of the country.[530] The proliferation of new works by academically trained masters, including Kaftanzoglou himself, evidenced the progress of the country in building construction and the liberal arts. Whereas in 1845 the public buildings in Athens were not more than five, in 1878 they were not less than thirty, and predominantly neoclassical in style. Although Athens never became a real monumental and stylistically coherent city – a city of a Western caliber as Koumanoudis hoped – its public buildings, at least, had a definite Western air to them. Based on these observations, Kaftanzoglou's alarming call to architects to return more faithfully to a purist neoclassical model had no obvious justification. Moreover, his intent to perpetuate a mechanistic conception of reality bearing upon superficial formalistic comparisons and categorical bipolarities, appears out of place, to say the least, in Athens of 1878. It reveals some kind of ideological 'narcosis' on the part of the author who, by holding firm to his earlier beliefs, thought that he could arrest the course of history which, nonetheless, had by far superseded him. Could that explain also Koumanoudis's sarcastic note on Hegel of 1878, which chronologically coincided with Kaftanzoglou's essay?[531] Or should one seek a more immediate historical connection between the two polemical texts against Romanticism, the published essay by Kaftanzoglou and the rudimentary archival note by Koumanoudis? Unfortunately, such a connection cannot be substantiated by any present-at-hand evidence.

---

[530] In the census of 1848, the municipality of Athens counted 26,252 citizens, whereas in the census of 1879, the number of citizens raised to 68,677. I have no figures for 1843, that is, the year in which Koumanoudis wrote his essay (nor for 1845, i.e., the year of its official publication). The majority of the Athenian citizens in the second half of the century were occupied in the public sector and in trade. El. G. Skiadas, 'Ιστορικό Διάγραμμα τῶν Δήμων τῆς 'Ελλάδος 1833-1912 (Historical Outline of the Municipalities of Greece 1833-1912), Ypourgeio Esoterikon, Topiki Enosi Dimon kai Koinotiton Argolidos, Athens, 1993, p. 99.

[531] It is worth noting that Koumanoudis took his issue from a book already old by forty years, that is, G. W. F. Hegel, ***Vorlesungen über die Ästhetic,*** published in three volumes between 1835 and 1838 by H. G. Hotho (2nd edition, Berlin, 1842-43).

It is worth noting that in this essay Kaftanzoglou brings to a closure a line of arguments which he set forth first some twenty years earlier in his speech on the tenth annual ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic of 1855. In that speech, the architect and director of the School spoke severely against the common trend of Western European authors of manipulating the Greek style at wish, by deviating from the formal rules of classicism. The examples he then had in mind were most likely buildings which combined freely the languages of classicism, the Renaissance, and the Baroque – some of them products of highly imaginative architects, such as Schinkel, Semper, Labrouste, or even the still contemporary brothers Hansen. Kaftanzoglou insisted that Greece had no real reason to embrace these examples which were unquestionably inferior to "their prototypes", that is, the works of Greek antiquity. Specifically, he contended: "Greece, after having received its ancestral civilization in disguise, must strip it of all its foreign and alien gown, and adopt it in its most natural guise, that [guise] which befits the Greek customs and mores."[532] These words are strongly reminiscent of Koumanoudis's in Where is the art... asking the Greeks, first, to be critical of new fashions imported from the West, and second, to be discerning of the good from the bad art, using as their guide the rules of Reason that dwell in the works of Greek antiquity.[533] There are however two subtle differences between the two positions. Whereas Kaftanzoglou regarded **form** as both the quintessence of the work and the basis of the aesthetic judgment, Koumanoudis assigned this privileged position to **Reason**, that is, the abstract laws that determine the formal aspect of the work. In other words, between the two classicists, Koumanoudis was the one who in theory made an earlier move toward abstraction, even though in practice his criteria of judging works of art/architecture were as formalistic as Kaftanzoglou's. The second subtle difference has to do with the way in which each author viewed the relationship of Greece with the West. Whilst Kaftanzoglou promoted an ethnocentric political position by provocatively turning his back to the invasion of new fashions from Western Europe, Koumanoudis in his essay appears fully convinced of the fact that Greece was irrevocably a unit of the larger community of Western nations. He only asked for a critical and selective adoption of Western elements. Here again, one should take into account the historical circumstance under which each of the two positions was expressed: first, Koumanoudis's in the early '40s, that is, a time of happy optimism of the role of the "Great Powers" in the cultural and political regeneration of modern Greece; second, Kaftanzoglou's in the mid-50s, that is, a time of general disillusionment with the country's Western allies and a shift toward more conservative forms of a national culture, including purist classicism and Christianity.[534] Viewed however on the larger scale of events, Kaftanzoglou remained a committed pro-Westerner for his entire life as did Koumanoudis. Since he first publicized his views (i.e., c. 1837), he consistently opted for the political and cultural alignment of Greece with Europe, especially in matters of art, architecture, and city-planning. It is precisely for this reason that Kaftanzoglou strikes the reader of history as Koumanoudis's foremost intellectual *confrère* until the politically unstable decade of the '50s. From that time on, Kaftanzoglou was left to oscillate between a radical hellenocentric and a moderate Europeanist position without ever being able to successfully bridge the two. As a formalist, who chose to build a theory at the exclusion of the vitalistic/organic element, Kaftanzoglou came to owe an apology for his logical contradictions and authoritarian policies. The first issue in question was the preclusion of architecture from the regular curriculum of the Polytechnic on Kaftanzoglou's own initiative. The person who dared to challenge Kaftanzoglou on this matter was Koumanoudis, his ideological ally.

---

[532] "...καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς παραλαμβάνουσα τὸν προγονικὸν αὐτῆς πολιτισμὸν οὕτω μετημφιεσμένον, ὀφείλει νὰ ἀπεκδύσῃ αὐτὸν τοῦ ξενικοῦ καὶ ἀλλοτρίου περιβλήματος, καὶ νὰ παραδεχθῇ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν φυσικὸν αὐτοῦ ἱματισμὸν, οἰκεῖον καὶ πρέποντα εἴς τε τὰ ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα τὰ ἑλληνικὰ." L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου (9 Ἰανουαρίου 1855) ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Δέκατον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic (9 January 1855) in conjunction with the tenth annual art show), L. D. Vilaras & V. P. Lioumis print, Athens, 1855, p. 10. Also published in Νέα Πανδώρα, no. 126, 15-6-1855, pp. 132-143. The translation from the Greek is mine.
Kaftanzoglou's shift to a more ethnocentric (and anti-eclecticist) position matches in spirit a personal note which the author registered in his notebook in the same year. He wrote: "If the Greeks said 'Every non-Greek is a barbarian', the same statement applies to all the works of art in this century: Art which does not originate with the [ancient] Greeks is barbarous.... Contemporary art having no system or character shows up everywhere. In one and the same room one sees Gothic Chinese barbarian Greek etc. articles which bear no sign of place or time of their construction." ***Lysandros Kaftanzoglou Archives***, Benaki Museum, Athens, doc. #314/1, Φ5 (recto), "Ἰδία γνώμη" (Own opinion), 1 Sept. 1855. The translation from the Greek is mine.

[533] S.A.K.,"Ποῦ σπεύδει ἡ Τέχνη τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν σήμερον;" (Where is the art of the Greeks hying today?) in Ποῦ Σπεύδει.... (Where is the Art....), op. cit., pp. 5-6.

ii) Kaftanzoglou, Koumanoudis, and the problem of architectural studies in Greece[535]

Near the turn of 1857, a sequel of three articles was published anonymously in the Athenian newspaper Φιλόπατρις (Philopatris) under the general title "Three visits to the Polytechnic of Athens".[536] The manuscripts form part of the Stephanos A. Koumanoudis Archives at the National Library of Greece.[537] The visitor–critic of the state of education at the Royal Polytechnic and author of the articles was Koumanoudis. The special event which attracted many friends of the arts – including the renowned polymath – to the Polytechnic in late 1856 was the so-called Kondostavleion Contest, an art show open to artists, craftsmen, and students of the School.[538] The Greek Polytechnic, which was modeled on the Parisian *École des Arts et Métiers* from its foundation in 1837, was intended as a training school for a wide range of technical professions, including geometers (land surveyors), craftsmen, and builders.[539] The School soon acquired a special division for the teaching of the so-called 'fine arts' (primarily painting and sculpture).[540] Studies in the Polytechnic did not enjoy academic status until the reform act of 1887, but even then higher status was honored only to a selected group of technical specializations.[541] Notably, architecture acquired its own department as an independent academic discipline in the Greek Polytechnic as late as in 1917.

---

[534] The so-called "Helleno-Christian Civilization" (*'Ελληνοχριστιανικός πολιτισμός*). For the historical framework of the 1850s, see again footnotes #496 and 498. This decade is also marked by the reconstitution of the Greek Archaeological Society under a new and more rigidly classicist administration.

[535] In this section I am using as primary reference source on matters related to the history of the Polytechnic Biris's ***History***, a thorough study based on a vast wealth of archival material.

[536] Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις, "Τέσσαρες ἐπισκέψεις εἰς τὸ Πολυτεχνεῖον 'Αθηνῶν" (Four visits to the Polytechnic of Athens), first part, vol. 2, no. 82, 15 Dec. 1856; (same source, same title), second part, vol. 2, no. 83, 22 Dec. 1856; (same source) "Περὶ τινων ἐλλείψεων τοῦ Πολυτεχνείου 'Αθηνῶν" (On some deficiencies in the Polytechnic of Athens), vol. 3, no. 89, 24 Jan. 1857.

[537] It is unclear whether the manuscripts are the original or transcriptions from the published articles. They are part of a notebook– collection of articles by Koumanoudis. *S.K.A.* op. cit., doc. F51/ Φ1165, 43(v), 44 (v, r), 45 (v, r), 46 (v, r), 47 (v, r).

From the position of the director of the Polytechnic from 1844 onwards, Kaftanzoglou strove to strengthen the reputation of the School by making the *fine* arts into the substantive core of the revised curriculum. It was the Architect's conviction that the construction of a civilized ethos for the people of a certain country presupposed the rise of the arts to the leading cultural force of the respective country after the example of Western Europe, but even more so after the example of ancient Greece.[542] In a word, Kaftanzoglou believed that the arts were the main vehicles to the progress of Greece and, at the same time, the index of its civilization level. For this reason, they should be guarded under the wary eye of the State – a Platonic idea which Kaftanzoglou shared well with Koumanoudis.[543] Reacting to the educational philosophy of his predecessor and founder of the Polytechnic, Bavarian Friedrich von Zentner,[544] Kaftanzoglou sought to moderate the strictly technical orientation of the School by establishing a clearer hierarchical relationship between fine and applied arts. As a devoted classicist and through a series of clever manipulations, Kaftanzoglou encouraged the subjugation of the applied to the fine arts in the program. The annual art shows – including the Kondostavleion Contest – offered vivid testimony to this reforming educational policy. While the alleged purpose of the shows was to promote the standing of the applied (or industrial) arts in the new State, primacy was consistently given to the works of painting and sculpture. This brought the Royal Polytechnic to the forefront around the end of the 1850s more as an **artistic** (*καλλιτεχνικόν σχολεῖον*) than as a **technical** (*βιομηχανικόν σχολεῖον*) school.

---

[538] 1856 was the first year of the Kondostavleion Contest. This annual contest was initiated and financed by Alexandros Kondostavlos, the Minister of Finance, and was intended as a special encouragement to the Greek arts in conjunction of the annual art show of the Royal Polytechnic. A plan was laid for five years for the following subject areas: in 1856 and 1857 painting and sculpture, in 1858 painting and architecture, in 1859 architecture and sculpture, and in 1860 architecture and wood-carving. However, this tradition was short-lived as it was discontinued in 1858. Was it rather accidental that the contest stopped right before architecture became one of his thematic areas? See Biris, 'Η' Ιστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., pp. 99-103.

[539] The founder of the School Friedrich von Zentner makes reference to two other model-schools, the Royal School of Building Crafts of Munich and the technical school *La Martinière* of Lyon. Quoted from F. von Zentner, ***Das Königreich Griechenlands in Hinsicht auf Industrie und Agricultur*** (Augsburg, 1844) in Biris, 'Η' Ιστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., p. 25.

[540] Thanks to the generous funds and the encouragement of the French 'Duchess of Plaisance' Sophie de Marbois. The division of Fine Arts operated first in October of 1840.

[541] This group included Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, and Land Syrveying.

[542] This became a recurrent theme in his earliest ceremony speeches at the Polytechnic, for example in the second of 1846, the third of 1847, and the fifth of 1849.

[543] Kaftanzoglou expresses this idea in his third annual address in the Polytechnic. ".... καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πολιτειῶν νομοθέται οὐδέποτε ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτὴν [τὴν τέχνην] ἀπόλυτον καὶ ἀχαλίνωτον, ἀλλὰ στήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἄγρυπνον ἐφορείαν, διετήρησαν πάντοτε τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῆς χαρακτῆρα τοῦ ἠθικοῦ καὶ ἁγνοῦ καὶ καλοῦ." See L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Τρίτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the third annual art show), Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, Athens, 1847.

[544] Friedrich von Zentner was an officer engineer in the Bavarian army of King Ludwig I. He was essentially the founder of the Greek Polytechnic and its director between 1836 and 1843 until the final ousting of foreign officials from all public posts. He taught classes in mechanics and land surveying. He earned high distinctions for his dispassionate dedication to this particular post for eight years.

In his first two articles, Koumanoudis confines his critical comments on general issues having to do with the quality of the exhibits. He finds them adequate, yet receptive of improvement. Overall, he is very supportive of this new tradition of art shows which he sees as the only way in which modern Greek art can set itself higher goals, on the one hand, and reach the broad public, on the other. Koumanoudis takes the opportunity of these articles to demonstrate his belief in the decisive role of the arts in the construction of an egalitarian society. Without denying the group of fine arts priority over that of the applied arts, he advises the intellectual authorities of the country to bring the two groups in coordination in their general effort at making art more easily accessible to people. Specifically, he suggests that modern reproduction techniques (e.g., steel engraving, plaster casting) be set in the service of the fine arts of painting and sculpture, thus facilitating the dissemination of knowledge which normally resides in the latter.[545] In the midst of a politically and culturally conservative context then, Koumanoudis presents himself as a liberal in view of the crucial problem of artistic education in a country which until recently was oblivious of the notion of art *per se*. He affirms that he understands art culture for the people as an urgency much more pressing than other everyday needs. In a sense, in these articles of 1857 the author offers an extra testimony to his intellectual commitment to the tenets of the French Enlightenment which defined him philosophically as a youth.

It was however in the third article in sequence where Koumanoudis disclosed himself in his most familiar over-critical, somewhat sarcastic, attitude. The major "deficiency" of the Polytechnic on which he decided to shed light was **the absence of architectural studies.**[546] Koumanoudis argues that, given the fast pace of development of the country, the role of the architect remains crucial in all new building construction. He further considers the study of architecture the first step toward the revival of the old architectural tradition of the country. The revival of such a tradition is essential for the moral restitution of modern Greece *vis-à-vis* the ancient. Moreover, it gives prominence to the ancient monuments as the foremost sources of architectural knowledge and as the means by which the past can be more surely locked in the present. In other words, Koumanoudis claims that architectural education serves not only a practical need, but, most importantly, a nationalistic goal, that is, the establishment of the reborn country as the worthy heiress of the ancient in the eyes of all the contemporary nations.

---

[545] [S. A. Koumanoudis],"Τέσσαρες ἐπισκέψεις είς τὸ Πολυτεχνεῖον 'Αθηνῶν" (Four visits to the Polytechnic of Athens), Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις, first part, vol. 2, no. 82, 15 Dec. 1856.

[546] [S. A. Koumanoudis],"Περὶ τινων ἐλλείψεων τοῦ Πολυτεχνείου 'Αθηνῶν" (On some deficiencies in the Polytechnic of Athens), Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις, vol. 3, no. 89, 24 Jan. 1857.

All these arguments in defence of architectural education were certainly familiar to Kaftanzoglou and equally shared by him, if we take into account his many related references in his annual speeches.[547] For Koumanoudis, however, these references did not provide a sufficiently convincing reason not to blame Kaftanzoglou for the lagging of architectural culture in mid-nineteenth-century Greece. Koumanoudis even risked a subtle accusation of Machiavellian policy against the School director, based on the fact that the words of the latter purposefully contradicted his actions. This article was probably the first attempt at giving publicity to that serious matter which hitherto had been internal between the Architect and the State. In fact, there were several occasions on which State authorities questioned Kaftanzoglou on his decision to exclude the study of architecture from the Polytechnic. The responses of the School director were diplomatic.[548] One of his most controversial claims was that because there were no jobs for new architects in the country, the issue of architectural studies in the Polytechnic received low priority.[549] Koumanoudis derides this claim arguing that it is absurd for someone to predetermine the negative prospect on a certain matter without having made any positive move first toward its resolution.[550] Interestingly, Kaftanzoglou contradicted himself in many places as, for example, in the comprehensive report to the Minister of Public Economy in 1860 regarding the state of education in the Royal Polytechnic for the period 1844-1859. In that report, the author made an eulogistic reference by name to masterbuilders–graduates of the School, who carried out important building commissions in the city by working either *under the instruction of an architect* or independently.[551] Related research proves that the students were not as well prepared for the building profession as Kaftanzoglou showed them to be in that report. He was simply defending his position.[552] Nonetheless, the leading architect of the country was forced to openly admit the self-evident, that is, Greece *was* in need of more architects and architecturally trained staff during its progressive course of reconstruction.

---

[547] For example, in his 10th annual address of 1855, in the 11th of 1856, and in the 12th of 1858, Kaftanzoglou speaks in favor of the establishment of architectural studies in the Polytechnic. A little earlier though, in his 7th annual address of 1851, Kaftanzoglou ascertains that the technical program of the Polytechnic responds perfectly to the demands of the market for architecturally trained personnel by educating stone-carvers, carpenters and joiners, wall-painters, and builders. In L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου (τῇ 7 Ὀκτωβρίου 1851) ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἕβδομον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic (on 7 October 1851) in conjunction with the seventh annual art show), Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, Athens, 1851.

[548] According to Biris, Kaftanzoglou received the first memorandum from the Minister of the Interior urging for the development of architectural studies in the Royal Polytechnic as early as in 1844. To that call the Architect responded in the negative at the excuse of the inadequate background of the students and the lack of proper technical equipment. In Biris, Ἡ Ἱστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., pp. 124-25.

[549] As such this claim was a hearsay which Koumanoudis recorded in his third article as follows: "Ὅθεν καὶ δὲν δεχόμεθα κατ' οὐδένα λόγον, ὅπερ κατ' αὐτὰς *παρά τινος ἠκούσαμεν*, ὅτι δὲν ἔχουσι ἐνταῦθα στάδιον καὶ μέλλον οἱ ἀρχιτέκτονες, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν θὰ ζήσῃ μὲ τὰ σχέδιά του." (Therefore we absolutely refuse to believe what *we have heard from someone* these days, that is, that in this place architects have no career and no future, and that none of them will make a living on his plans.) Evidently, Kaftanzoglou reacted to this article in private insisting on his earlier claim, that is, there is no career prospects for Greek architects. Koumanoudis paid his last sarcastic comment on Kaftanzoglou's categorical statements in the draft of a letter-article he published under the pseudonym "'A' from Thebes" ('A', "From Thebes on Feb. 2, 1857", Newspaper Ὁ Φιλόπατρις (vol. 3, no. 94, 13 Feb. 1857)). The subject of the article was the state of ecclesiastic music in Greece. Toward the end of the article, Koumanoudis argued against Kaftanzoglou's claim that military engineers have a better lack in finding jobs than civil architects, therefore, students are discouraged from the study of architecture in the Polytechnic. He characterized Kaftanzoglou's claims

After all, Koumanoudis was right. Kaftanzoglou took no positive action for the promotion of architecture in the School, although he was expected to have used his architectural identity to the exact opposite effect. But it is rather obvious that the Architect, motivated by petty self-interest, deliberately suppressed the development of architecture into an autonomous discipline. How else could one explain the fact that beginning in the academic year 1844-45 and without any notice, all classes in Architecture and Building Construction were suspended? Since then the students' exposure to architectural ideas was only indirect through classes in linear perspective, descriptive geometry, line drawing, and ornament design.[553] The absence of architectural design from the curriculum becomes also evident through the listing of

---

unreasonable based on the example of famous civil architects who succeeded in occupying public posts, such as D. Zezos. The related comment **does not** appear in the published article. It exists only in the manuscript of the archives (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F51/ Φ1165, p. 49(r).

[550] He uses the anecdote of man who, holding a rope in his hand, walked in the market to buy an ox and warned people away from his steps not to be hit by the nonpresent ox he was pulling behind him, tied on the rope. Koumanoudis sarcastically observes that Kaftanzoglou had provided not even the rope yet, that is, the opportunity for the study of architecture in the School. [S. A. Koumanoudis],"Περὶ τινων ἐλλείψεων...." (On some deficiencies....), op. cit.

[551] L. Kaftanzoglou,"Ἔκθεσις περὶ τοῦ Σχολείου τῶν Τεχνῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως τῶν ἀναγκῶν καὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων βελτιώσεων αὐτοῦ." (A report on the present state, the needs, and the prospective improvements of the School of the Arts), protocol no. 11, in the order of the Department of the Interior, no. 3462, 17 Feb. 1860. Excerpts of the report are published in Biris,'Η 'Ιστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., pp. 134-37.

[552] Kaftanzoglou underscores that many of the masterbuilders are capable of carrying out the design phase of a building by making good use of drawing techniques, which they were taught in the course of 'Elementary Architecture' in the Polytechnic. Biris rightly observes that no such course was taught in the Polytechnic in the years preceding this report (Ibid., p. 135). Based on my personal research, I tend to believe that the related knowledge of the masterbuilders to which Kaftanzoglou refers came through their apprenticeship besides academic architects and not through systematic study in the School. (In my unpublished study "'Transcribing': Athenian domestic architecture and the building contract through notary archives of the period 1835-1850".)

[553] Reported by Biris who studied the course lists of that period. In Biris,'Η 'Ιστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., pp. 83, 93. Until 1843 there was a special course on *architectural drawing* in the program which was taught by the brothers Hansen.

thematic categories in the program of the annual art show of 1859,[554] in which architecture as a category was limited to copy-work from ancient models.[555] It was as late as in the academic year 1859-60 when a class entitled "Architecture drawing composition" was introduced, probably as a consequence of the Government's nation-wide call for production of technically trained young people, most importantly architects.[556] The aforementioned class was taught by Kaftanzoglou. Kostas Biris, in his exhaustive study of the history of the Athenian Polytechnic, caustically notes that in the continuing absence of classes in building construction, the addition of such a course to the curriculum was an act of display rather than substance – a hasty response to the Minister's call for improvements in the field of architectural education.[557] Beginning in November of 1862, the directorship of the Polytechnic passed in the hands of military architects and engineers, whereas Kaftanzoglou permanently cut his ties with the institution and the educational profession.[558]

The question that remains to be answered last is: Were Koumanoudis and Kaftanzoglou friends or enemies? Were they ideological allies divided though by political fanaticism and petty self-interest?[559] There cannot be a clear answer to these questions, in so far as we are faced with positions which were shaped mainly by ideology, lacked a firm theoretical grounding, and were not subject to any larger discursive framework; therefore, they were unable by nature to sustain for long an intellectual rapport. The paradox in the Koumanoudis–Kaftanzoglou relationship is that what, at first glance, appears to unite the two men becomes the basis for their discord, and conversely, what appears to practically divide the two men is fundamentally an issue of theoretical agreement. I will explain.

---

[554] By then the tradition of the Kontostavleion Contest was discontinued.

[555] Specifically, in the 4th category, "Architectural ornament", the themes listed are: Ionian capital, ancient ornament in plaster, and Greek ornament copied from copper-engraving. In the 9th category, "Architectural perspective", the theme is "monument". Ibid., p. 115.

[556] In his letter of 9 Dec. 1859 to all the prefectures of the country, the Minister of the Interior, Rigas Palamidis, asks from the local committees to both nominate and finance perspective scholars in the Polytechnic for the study of the "practical art of building construction"(*πρακτικὴν τεκτονικὴν*). Palamidis notes that the use of unskilled and non-properly trained staff has already caused grand delays and serious defects to the works of both private and public construction they were occupied in. Furthermore, it has forced the State to educate young Greeks overseas on public funds in order to cover elementary needs in Bridge, Road, and Building Construction, and Architecture. The new measure the Minister announces aims at the correction of all these problems and, generally, at the improvement of the technical infrastructure of the country. The letter is published in Biris, 'Η Ἱστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., pp. 130-31.

[557] Ibid., p. 131.

[558] With the exception of the important architectural commission of the new building of the Polytechnic to him (1862-1870, 1884).

[559] In fact, Koumanoudis appears rather unconcerned with issues related to the Royal Polytechnic before 1856, that is, the year of the final resignation of Ludwig Thiersch from the position of the teacher of painting in the Polytechnic. Ludwig was the son of the renowned philologist and philhellene Bavarian Friedric Thiersch (1784-1860), Koumanoudis's most favorite professor and friend from his early years in Munich. Ludwig's departure obviously caused some upheaval in the scholstic environment of Athens, since Kaftanzoglou in his eleventh annual address of 1856 feels obligated to offer an official apology on that event. Koumanoudis, however, using a very critical tone, presents Ludwig's issue as the first serious 'deficiency' of the Polytechnic in his aforementioned article ([S. A. Koumanoudis],"Περὶ τινων ἐλλείψεων...." (On some deficiencies....), op. cit.).
It is also worth noting that Koumanoudis's name appears in the list of Trustees of the Polytechnic from the year 1864. (See Biris, 'Η Ἱστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., p. 178.)

Both strove to keep alive the spirit of neoclassicism which was declining elsewhere. Both sought to pronounce neoclassicism the leading intellectual movement in Greece and the primary force toward its regeneration after the example of its ancient progenitor. Given their formalistic preoccupation, both assigned priority to the development of painting, sculpture, and architecture, that is, arts with a strong visual component capable of relating immediately ancient to modern forms. Both agreed that the surest path to success was by imitating a model. They were however in obvious disagreement on the mode – and more specifically, on the timing – in which modern Greece was to reach its ancient prototype. Koumanoudis, on the one hand, as early as in his first text–manifesto Where is the art of the Greeks lying today? of 1843 threw the two words, "**reform**" and "**movement**" as rousing mottoes for the modernization of the country. Moved by the enthusiasm of his young age, the author hailed the fast pace of development after a prolonged period of intellectual hibernation. At the same time, he sought to warn the ones in charge against possible hazards in this course of development. For him, Greece was right to move in big steps because only thus would she eventually catch up with the other civilized nations. She should be cautious, however, not to deviate from the right path. Only those of the advanced nations of Europe that made good use of her ancient civilization should be her models for success, while Greece as a modern country should drastically cut her ties with her Byzantine–Ottoman past.

Kaftanzoglou, on the other hand, from the very start exhibited a more conservative attitude to the country's modernization/ westernization process. He did not opt for drastic reforms. He argued that progress in all areas, including architecture, required a careful and systematic construction from the bottom up.[560] In other words, that progress should be based on a sound infrastructure. Every time he was called to an apology for the absence of architecture from the Polytechnic, he brought up the same argument: an architectural curriculum is highly demanding in technical equipment, books, background courses in drawing, philosophy, and the history of the arts, artistic sensibility, plus good career prospects for its graduates. Therefore, architectural studies should wait until all these conditions are satisfied.[561] But even after some of these conditions were actually satisfied, Kaftanzoglou kept postponing the study of architecture in the Polytechnic,[562] at the excuse that many things in the artistic education of a people could not happen at once. "Art is crawling, *it is not hying*", Kaftanzoglou said in his seventh annual speech at the Polytechnic in 1851, obviously alluding to Koumanoudis's urging pleas for reform in that early text.[563] Kaftanzoglou seemed perfectly happy with this slow but steady pace of artistic development of the country which would thus make her more cautious against the superficial imitation of foreign examples. In other words, **this pace would secure Greece her Greekness.** As a statement this sounds quite reasonable; however, it does not help to fully explain Kaftanzoglou's reluctance to organize architectural studies for the students of the Polytechnic. It is rather likely that Kaftanzoglou saw the development of the fine arts as the necessary pre-stage for the rise of architecture into the leading art, the "crown of all arts" as he himself defined it.[564] In his view, architecture presupposed a certain level of intellectual maturation on the part of its masters, in order to stay immune from trivialization. Trivialization of architecture could easily come along with the identification of the art of building with a mere technical occupation, instead of a humanistic endeavor, a philosophy. However, the designation of architecture as a fine art or philosophy was so planned as to secure for it the future of an elitist profession rather than a technical science. This takes us to the next point which proves Kaftanzoglou's reasoning on the arts most akin to Koumanoudis's.

---

[560] In his second annual speech in the Polytechnic, Kaftanzoglou offers a clear demonstration of his conservative spirit in view of a reform. He specifically argues that the graduates of the School need support by both the public and the private sector in their professional career. He compares them to small chicks which grow under nature's protection until they are capable of being on their own. And he continues: "Something similar is true in art. After it [art] develops under proper care and protection to a state of independence, it can move on without any further protection." ("Τοιοῦτό τι συμβαίνει καὶ εἰς τὴν τέχνην· ἀφοῦ πρότερον ἀναπτυχθῇ διὰ τῆς προσηκούσης φροντίδος καὶ ἐπιμελείας, καὶ γείνῃ ἀνεξάρτητος, δύναται νὰ προβαίνῃ καὶ ἀπροστάτευτος.) In L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τό Δεύτερον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the second annual art show), Public Printing Shop, Athens, 1846.

---

[561] This is how Kaftanzoglou responded to the first memorandum of the department of the Interior regarding architectural studies in the School. It carries protocol no. 27 and date 23 May 1844. In Biris, Ἡ Ἱστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., p. 124.

[562] That the Polytechnic acquired the necessary books and technical equipment for the study of architecture by having made use of State funds and private donations is verified by Koumanoudis in his article of 1857. See: [S. A. Koumanoudis], "Περὶ τινων ἐλλείψεων...." (On some deficiencies....), op. cit. Also Kaftanzoglou himself offers an extensive report of donations to the School as early as in his third annual address of 1849.

[563] "'Η τέχνη ἄρα [....] βραδυπορεῖ, *καὶ δὲν σπεύδει*·" L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου (τῇ 7 Ὀκτωβρίου 1851) ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἕβδομον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic (on 7 October 1851) in conjunction with the seventh annual art show), Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, Athens, 1851, p. 5. The emphasis is mine. The occasion for this comment was given by the first World Fair of 1851 in London and the discouraging representation of Greece with a few wood-crafted items and national produce. Kaftanzoglou sees this participation with optimism, as only the beginning of more and better Greek contributions to this fair in the future.

[564] ".... ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὁ ὁδηγὸς πάσης τέχνης, ..." (... architecture, the beginning and the leader of every art...) in L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς.... κατὰ τὸ Τρίτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at.... the third annual art show), op. cit.
In his second annual speech, Kaftanzoglou defines the "study of the fine arts", in general, "as the basis and the beginning of every art" ("μᾶλλον περιττὸν κρίνω νὰ συστήσω ἰδίως τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν καλῶν τεχνῶν ὡς βάσιν καὶ ἀρχὴν πάσης τέχνης·") In L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς .... κατὰ τὸ Δεύτερον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος.... (Address delivered at... the second annual art show), op. cit.

I have already made reference to Kaftanzoglou's educational philosophy in the Polytechnic, according to which the fine arts were given prominence over the applied arts or handicrafts. In consequence of that, the group of scientific and technical subjects was demoted in favor of subjects partaking in the field of liberal arts (e.g., Art History, Mythology, Archaeology) and taught by professors of the Greek University.[565] In this context, architecture remained a thorny area, neither a fine nor a technical art, yet having a share in both. It was the peculiar hybrid which quite often gave Kaftanzoglou a basis to meditate on the complementariness of fine and applied arts, even though he persistently refused to make architecture part of the School curriculum. In his hierarchical scheme with roots in Renaissance theory, architecture occupied the top place among the fine arts as the "mother art" which encompassed all the others.[566] The relation between *fine* or *liberal* (*καλαί* or *ἐλευθέριοι*) and *mechanistic* or *barbaric* (*μηχανικαί* or *βάναυσοι*) arts was a common subject in many of his annual speeches. Drawing from Vitruvius,[567] he observed that in ancient Greece theory was intertwined with practice, therefore, no distinction existed between conceptual arts and handicrafts. Architecture then was a *τέχνη* (*techni*) as all the others.[568] He ascribed the downgrading of architecture into a mere craft to the Byzantines, who – according to him – distorted the rules of reason and divorced architecture from its "sister art", sculpture. The deterioration of architecture into a barbarous craft was completed in the Ottoman period, when it was deprived of its other sister art, drawing.[569] Meanwhile, the imitative arts of sculpture and drawing/painting were rescued by the West where they developed into purely conceptual arts, thus reaching their apogee in the Renaissance.[570] Kaftanzoglou insisted that the division of the arts into conceptual and manual was artificial, the product of adverse historical circumstances. It was then time for architecture to return as the "mother art" and lead all the other arts by ideally comprising intellectual power and technical expertise in its works.[571] In other words, Kaftanzoglou envisioned a new Renaissance which should incontestably be born now in Greece, the country which first introduced art in its indivisible nature.[572]

---

[565] Biris notes that beginning in 1847, the formerly taught classes in Physics and Elements of Theoretical Mechanics were suspended, while the subjects of Building Construction, Practical Mechanics, Trigonometry, Statics, Road & Bridge Construction, Hydraulics, and Chorometry stayed out of the curriculum. In Biris, Ἡ Ἱστορία.... (The History...), op. cit., p. 93 and 127.
Instructors with a more theoretical bent and attached to the University system were: Gregorios Papadopoulos teaching History of Art and Mythology, Ioannes Papadakis teaching Descriptive Geometry and Linear Perspective, Xavier Landerer teaching Chemistry, and from 1856 Athanasios Roussopoulos teaching Archaeology.

[566] This is probably the reason why Kaftanzoglou decided to appoint as judges to the annual art shows at the Polytechnic primarily architects, both Greek and foreign.

[567] The famous passage on "the Education of the Architect" (Book I, Ch. 1, §1-2).

[568] In fact, even during Kaftanzoglou's time this confusion was most evident in language as there was only one word to characterize art as a conceptual and art as a manual endeavor, that is, *τέχνη* (techni). This makes the translation of related pieces particularly difficult as the author rarely makes clear what he means every time by the word *techni*. This confusion persists until today in modern Greek.

[569] For 'drawing', Kaftanzoglou uses the term *γραφική*, meaning every tool of two-dimensional representation. In L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς.... κατὰ τὸ Τρίτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at.... the third annual art show), op. cit.

[570] Kaftanzoglou borrows this idea from T.H. Hope's ***Histoire de l' Architecture*** (Bruxelles, 1839) and makes the related reference in his fifth annual speech. See L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Πέμπτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the fifth annual art show), Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, Athens, 1849.

This was the ambitious plan Kaftanzoglou had conceived for the reborn country, in general, and for the Royal Polytechnic, in particular, which – being the leading school of the arts – had to pave the way toward this realization. As a plan it was not new, in that similar ideas were around much before Kaftanzoglou settled in the director's position at the Polytechnic.[573] The 'Renaissance' of Greece under the star of neoclassical architecture was the dream of King Othon himself.[574] It had already inspired the new plan of Athens and had designated neoclassicism as the country's national style. Ultimately, it was the plan which was principally nourished by Koumanoudis and his academic circle of philologist–archaeologists. Koumanoudis, like Kaftanzoglou, was deeply concerned about the relationship between theory and practice, intellectual and technical professions, as well as about the makeup of the architect in this new historical phase of the country. His unpublished draft of a translation of the first few paragraphs of Vitruvius's text on the education of the architect may relate specifically to this point.[575] However, Koumanoudis, like Kaftanzoglou, was reluctant to assign authority to technically-trained individuals, especially on matters related to building aesthetics. He categorically excluded empirical craftsmen as "possess[ing] no eye for style or scale (*symmetry*)."[576] A deeply seated prejudice against the uneducated craftsman and the "barbaric arts" he performed during the long Dark Age of the country, turned a large group of modern Greek intellectuals – particularly the classicists – against the technical professions and the spirit of disinterested inquiry that was suffused with them. In the Othonian period, such professions were principally performed by empirical craftsmen and by graduates of the military school. In various instances, Kaftanzoglou demanded that the profession of the 'civil' architect be defined in contradistinction to that of the 'military' architect.[577]

---

[571] He specifically argues that it had not been long since architecture was rising again into a leading art, a position which in the 15th century belonged to painting, and in the 18th century to sculpture. In L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς .... κατὰ τὸ Δεύτερον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος.... (Address delivered at... the second annual art show), op. cit. A similar claim was made by Ludwig Ross in his ***Manual of Archaeology***, as I discussed in the related chapter.

[572] Related nuances exist in several of his speeches. Specifically, in the third speech of 1847 he saw favorably the fact that Greece was one of the first countries which accepted the radical idea of *polychromy* on its new buildings, that is, a sign of pioneering spirit in artistic matters. (Ibid.) Of course it was Kaftanzoglou himself, who had adopted color first on the exterior of some of his buildings.

[573] Off-hand I recall an article by Spyridon Valvis, published in two parts in the newspaper *Athena* in 1841. "Τὸ ἀλληλένδετον τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐκ τούτων ὠφέλεια" (The indivisibility of sciences and arts, and the related benefit), Newspaper Ἀθηνᾶ, year 10, 6 Aug. 1841, pp. 3-4 (or 3505-06), and 20 Aug. 1841, p. 4 (or 1820). Also the first annual speech in the Royal Polytechnic delivered by the instrustor of Art History, Grigorios Papadopoulos, and published in four parts in Newspaper Παναρμόνιον, Athens, year 1, no. 3, 10 Jan. 1845, pp. 20-1; no. 7, 28 Jan. 1845, pp. 51-2; no. 8, 3 Feb. 1845, pp. 61-2.

[574] In fact, Othon's dream was a new cultural model for Greece that would combine both its *Hellenic* and its *Byzantine* past. But given the various resistances on the latter, Othon compromised on the idea that the Byzantine part could wait.

[575] See my related reference under sub-chapter 4.2. "Koumanoudis's views on Organicism and Hegel's Aesthetics". The document in Koumanoudis's archives again is "Τί ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική καί ποίας δεῖ τούς ἀρχιτέκτονας παιδείας χαίρειν"*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F36/ Φ1150, 117 (no date).

[576] For the related reference see above footnote #428. It is possible that Koumanoudis stayed long under the influence of his father's negative opinion of the profession of the architect itself as *a merely practical profession*. See again footnote #252. It is however noteworthy that, as time progressed, Koumanoudis made a complete shift from his earlier prejudicial attitude against practical occupations. In a diary note of 26 Sept. 1867, he meditates upon the role of the practitioner. He theorizes on the distinction between **empirical** and

At first view, the distinction between civil and military architect was clear and based on the kind of commissions each one was assigned. However, things were not so clear in post-Independence Greece where, given the shortage of specialized professionals in building construction, military architects and engineers headed both civil and military projects indiscriminately. The 'Military Cadet Corps' (*Σχολή τῶν Εὐελπίδων*) – which may be compared to the French *École des Ponts et Chaussées* – caused a certain disquietude to the director of the Polytechnic who felt obligated to adjust the program of his School in obvious contrast to the former. His systematic promotion of the Fine Arts and his delay in organizing an architectural program may be better explained in the light of this controversy. Kaftanzoglou, in his usual conservatism, waited until the State itself decided on the particular identity of the **civil** architect in the country. In the meantime, he himself made every possible effort that this civil architect be endowed with a solid humanistic background and an academic rather than a technical bent. For this reason, in his tenth annual speech of 1855 he set out his quite innovative proposition for a closer cooperation between Polytechnic and University.[578] Despite his many exclamatory remarks in favor of practical education, Kaftanzoglou never missed an opportunity to denigrate architects attached to the technical system of the Berlin Bauakademie – most predominately his lifelong antagonist, Stamatios Kleanthes – for their lack of proper academic training and aesthetic refinement.[579]

---

practical builder. He holds that the practical builder has the wisdom to combine theory with practice because, as opposed to the empirical builder who unreflectively repeats the same act over and over, he is fully conscious at every point of time of the special needs, tools, and timing of his work. Therefore, the practical builder deserves full respect, Koumanoudis claims. In Stephanos Koumanoudis, Ἡμερολόγιον 1845-1867 (Diary 1845-1867), Angelos P. Matthaiou (ed.), Ikaros, Athens, 1990, p. 153.

[577] This call to the authorities for definition of the profession of the 'civil' architect in contradistinction to that of the 'military' architect appears in Kaftanzoglou's second speech of 1846 and in his 12th speech of 1858. Also in L. Kaftanzoglou, Ἀπάντησις εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Κλεάνθους ἔκθεσιν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀνεγερθησομένου καταστήματος τῆς Φιλεκπαιδευτικῆς Ἑταιρείας (Reply to the report by Mr. Kleanthes....), Philolaou print, Athens, 1845.

[578] L. Kaftanzoglou, Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς.... κατὰ τὸ Δέκατον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος.... (Address delivered at.... the tenth annual art show), op. cit., p.12.

[579] It is known that in 1824 the Bauakademie was separated from the Academy of Art and was placed under the Ministry of Commerce and Trade. Since then the orientation of the school was primarily technical. Kleanthes was trained in the Bauakademie specifically under this new educational policy. Kaftanzoglou challenged Kleanthes as follows: "Ὅθεν τολμῶ νὰ σὲ παρακαλέσω νὰ ἐμφανίσῃς ἐπίσης καὶ σὺ ἀποδείξεις, τουλάχιστον, τῶν περὶ τὴν τέχνην σπουδῶν σου, διὰ νὰ φανῇ, ὅτι ἔχεις δικαίωμα νὰ ἐπικρίνῃς ἀρχιτέκτονας· ἐπειδὴ μέχρι τοῦδε, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σου, κ. Κλεάνθη, οὐδεὶς εὐλόγως δύναται νὰ σὲ ὀνομάσῃ, κατὰ τὸν ὁρισμὸν του περὶ τὴν τέχνην φιλοσόφου Βιτρουβίου ἀρχιτέκτονα, ἀλλ'

Essentially, Kaftanzoglou did not manage to overcome either in theory or in practice, the established idea that assigned conceptual arts status higher than manual arts. We have already seen a progressive thinker, such as Ludwig Ross, restating this hierarchical distinction between the two classes of arts in his Manual, not so much for its theoretical relevance as for its practical significance to archaeology. Only objects which belonged to the former class were of interest to archaeology.[580] In the eyes of the nineteenth-century archaeologist the antique world still appeared like an open book full of interesting curiosities, ready to be read by choice, whereas the possibility of rewriting this book – although desirable – was rather unlikely. Dualistic thinking and oppositional logic shut the roads to interpretation, producing only sterile elitism and ideological fanaticism among the academicians. Unfortunately Kaftanzoglou was one of them. Hence he missed the opportunity he had as an architect to use his profession as a critical tool and, through his very act of making/building, question the philological–archaeological establishment on its sterile academic views. Whenever his practice contradicted his theory – something which happened quite often – he rushed to cover the discrepancy through rhetorical stratagems, easy excuses, or simply silence.[581] Although, he could have laid the foundations of a new architectural theory appropriate to the particular place and the historical time, he did not do so. Disregarding for a minute Kaftanzoglou's authoritarian character and self-serving conducts, one could easily pronounce him the most tragic figure of his age, a person absolutely divided and unhappy, unable to productively bridge thought and action under the pressure of a relentless bureaucratic mechanism.

Koumanoudis, on the other hand, who enjoyed a certain degree of freedom in expressing opinion about subjects he did not practice himself, such as architecture and the arts, seemed to uphold a more progressive attitude on the dichotomic state of the arts in nineteenth-century Greece. Like Kaftanzoglou, he proposed the closer cooperation of fine with technical arts. He

---

ἀρχιτεκτονικὸν ἀπλῶς ἐργολάβον." (Hence I kindly dare you to also present proofs of your art studies, at least, so it becomes plain whether you are entitled to judge architects; because, based on your work to this point, Mr. Kleanthes, no one can call you an architect, according to philosopher Vitruvius's definition of the art, but simply an architectural contractor.) In L. Kaftanzoglou, Ἀπάντησις.... (Answer to...), op. cit., p.31.

[580] See again chapter 2, sub-chapter 2.1. "Ludwig Ross's *"Manual of Archaeology"* as a source of architectural discourse" and the related reference in the book Ludwig Ross, Ἐγχειρίδιον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τῶν Τεχνῶν (Manual of Archaeology of the Arts), First division: History of Art until the siege of Corinth, Royal typography, Athens, 1841, p. 5.

[581] Several are the instances in which Kaftanzoglou was caught to act differently from what he was expected to. To mention only his involvement in the building project of the Eye-Hospital (Ophthalmiatreion), a civic building in neo-Byzantine style; his development of alternative proposals for house façades in different styles including his most abhorrent one, the neo-Gothic; his commissions for important new churches in Athens, in which he had to compromise his dislike for adulterating the classical with other styles; and finally, his own house (his own project?) in a castellated romantic style painted pink.

only dared to suggest as a way to this goal the introduction of architectural studies in the Polytechnic. However, there is reason to believe that in Koumanoudis's mind, conceptual and practical arts were not less hierarchically related than in the minds of Kaftanzoglou and Ross. In so far as Koumanoudis belonged to the same philological–archaeological establishment as Kaftanzoglou – an establishment which he sternly defended on every given occasion – his attack on the latter for Machiavellian politics was unjust, to say the least. This establishment was finally the one that defined the way in which Greece received modernity under the veil of a nationalist ideology and accordingly shaped her educational paradigm for at least another century. For,

> [c]ontrary to conceptions of education in developed Western countries where the ideological function of education is hidden under the technocratic value-free language of progress and development and where education has acquired an autonomous status as an institution among other institutions, in Greece such autonomy was never possible because from the start education was treated as a political weapon for the formation of a national identity.[582]

In this context, the humanities gained extra prominence at the expense of the sciences, whereas the study of the ancient language in the form of dry grammatical rules antagonized for long the uncovering of the most vital elements of Greek culture. Of utter relevance to this discussion is an archival note, a short review by Koumanoudis of a book proposing drastic reforms to the school system of the country along the lines of a simpler linguistic idiom (i.e., demotic) and courses in practical subjects. The book was authored by Antonios Fatseas (1817-1872),[583] the noted educator, reformist, and one of the earliest advocates of the ideas of Herder and Vico in Greece.[584] Essentially, both Koumanoudis and Fatseas fought for the same cause, which consisted of the popularization of knowledge to all the social strata and equal opportunities to all for participation in the country's reconstruction. However, Fatseas claimed that change was not to come through the tyrannical learning of a difficult and non-existent language,[585] nor through denying Greece parts of its actual history, but through a 'return' to the living resources of the folk, such as their natural skills, their inherited traditions, and their spoken language. Because, as he claimed, "the newer languages already contain all the past and the present ones, therefore, the Latin and the Greek."[586] Koumanoudis evidently feared that such an approach would endanger the country's progressive course of westernization and would weaken its ties with the ancient past. Therefore, he rejected the book in his familiar harsh and derogatory tone. Fatseas had dared to challenge the views of the classicists in a straightforward manner showing them that reform does not have only one face: "**Because erudition impels us to sacrifice essence to form, thus beginning where we should actually end.**"[587]

---

[582] Eudokia Konstantellou, "Beyond the Limits of Humanistic and Technocratic Ideologies in Education: A Critique of the Greek and American Models (Pedagogy)", PhD Dissertation, Department of Greek, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1992, p. 118. I would like to thank Dr. Eudokia Konstantellou for entrusting me with a draft of her doctoral thesis while it was still in progress.

[583] Antonios Fatseas was born in the island of Cythera and studied Physics and Mathematics at the Ionian Academy in Corfu. He was appointed teacher of Geography in the theological seminary of Corfu in 1841. He participated in the cause against the British domination on the Ionian islands and for their annexation to Greece. He was persecuted and escaped in the Greek State where he worked as a teacher of secondary education in various cities (e.g., Lamia, Tripolis, Nafplion). He met Dionysios Solomos, he wrote poetry himself, and he collected Greek folk songs. He became known as an admant proponent of practical education and as an enemy of erudition and dry academicism. He opted for drastic reforms in the political system, he polemized Othon's government, and he opposed any foreign authority. By contemporary standards, he can be defined as a proto-socialist. He presented a strong case for the development of the local industry and for the country's reliance on her natural resources. His writings included school manuals in various sciences (e.g., Geography, Cosmography, Arithmetics), satirical monologues, and theatrical plays. His most important piece of writing was a complete proposal for the reform of the school system. See next footnote (#584).

[584] Koumanoudis does not mention the title of Fatseas's book. That must have been Σκέψεις ἐπὶ τῆς Δημοσίας καὶ Ἰδιωτικῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν Νέων Ἑλλήνων (Thoughts on the Public and Private Education of the Greek Youth), addressed to the Minister of Public Education, E. Oikonomides print, Lamia, 1856. The related archival document is: *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F21/ Φ1135, 66 (no date, probably c. 1857). On Fatseas's attachment to the Enlightenment, and particularly, to Herder and Vico, see: Jiorgos Kentrotís, "Σκέψεις γιά τόν Κυθήριο Διαφωτιστή Ἀντώνιο Φατσέα" (Thoughts on the spokesman of

5. *"Total Panorama of Athens"*

On new year's day of 1853, the literary and highly reputed periodical Νέα Πανδώρα (Nea Pandora) published Koumanoudis's description of Athens under the title *"Καθολικὸν Πανόραμα τῶν 'Αθηνῶν"* (Total Panorama of Athens) and signed with the initial, 'K'.[588] It is probably the most substantial description of the reborn city by a Greek author during the Othonian period.[589] Elsewhere in the text I made notice of Koumanoudis's lifelong attachment

---

the Enlightenment, Antonios Fatseas from Cythera), in periodical Διαβάζω, no. 331, 16 March 1994, pp. 13-20.
I would like to cordially thank the General Secretary of the Historical and Ethnological Society & Museum, Mr. Ioannis Mazarakis-Ainian, for kindly presenting me with a copy of the aforementioned book by Fatseas honoring, as he said, the common name and place of origin between the author and me.

[585] Fatseas opposed specifically the made-up linguistic idiom that Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) – the primary figure of the Greek Enlightenment – proposed as the new language of Greek people, that is, a compound of ancient, demotic, and newly made words (in replacement of 'barbaric' loans), all subject to a simplified version of the ancient Greek grammar. It was this specific point that caused Koumanoudis's outrage, as he was a fanatic supporter of Korais's reforms himself.

[586] "Αἱ δὲ νεώτεραι γλῶσσαι περιέχουσιν ὅλους τοὺς παρελθόντας αἰῶνας καὶ τοὺς παρόντας· ἑπομένως καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους καὶ τοὺς ῞Ελληνας." Fatseas, op. cit., part 2, p. 25. He quotes on that Herder (in French), "une nation ne peut sortir de la barbarie qu'en cultivant sa propre langue."

[587] "Διότι ὁ λογιωτατισμὸς μᾶς ἀναγκάζει νὰ θυσιάζωμεν τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς τὴν **μορφὴν** καὶ νὰ ἀρχίζωμεν ἀφ' ὅπου ἔπρεπε νὰ τελειόνωμεν." Ibid., part 1, p. 21. The emphasis is mine. I retained the exact spelling of the original.

[588] K.[oumanoudis], "Καθολικὸν Πανόραμα τῶν 'Αθηνῶν" (Total Panorama of Athens), Νέα Πανδώρα (Nea Pandora), vol. 3, no. 67, 1 Jan. 1853, pp. 440-5. The original manuscript was not found in the archive.

[589] The only exception to that, as I have already mentioned, was the addendum, or so-called "**memorandum**", to the first plan of Athens presented to the King in April of 1834 by Kleanthes and Schaubert. (Translated into Greek as "'Υπόμνημα τῶν Σάουμπερτ καί Κλεάνθη πρός τή Βαυαρική 'Αντιβασιλεία στό Ναύπλιο τό 1832: 'Επεξηγήσεις τοῦ Πολεοδομικοῦ Σχεδίου τῆς Νέας Πόλης τῶν 'Αθηνῶν" (The Memorandum of Schaubert and Kleanthes to the Bavarian Regency in Nafplion in 1832: Explanations of the Urban Plan of the New City of Athens), in H. H. Russack, 'Αρχιτέκτονες τῆς Νεοκλασικῆς 'Αθήνας (Architects of Neoclassical Athens), transl. K. Sarropoulos, Govostis publisher,

to the city of Athens and his constant efforts for improvement upon both her physical image and her standing as the city–capital of the modern State. At this point, I must underscore two issues in particular. First, that Koumanoudis never ceased to defend with passion the spatial coincidence of the new with the old city, thus supporting the official plan which was already under implementation.[590] And second, that his actual involvement in the general program for the city's progress developed on two levels simultaneously, the historical/ archaeological[591]

Athens, 1990 (?), pp. 187-193. Originally in German Deutsche bauen in Athen (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1942).

The "memorandum" was written in a simple style carrying hardly any rhetorical intent. Its main purpose was to explain the reasons for specific planning decisions of the two architects; also, to lay out a set of technical data in reference to these decisions. Through the text, the planning philosophy of the two architects comes to the fore. According to this philosophy, the new part of the city should develop as an extension of the pre-existing one to the North of the Acropolis forming distinct boundaries with the strictly archaeological section where most of the city's ancient monuments lay. That section of the city was intended to develop into an autonomous zone with the character of an outdoor museum. The new section of the city was planned on an orthogonal grid intersected by diagonal avenues which converged radially on the city's main piazzas, and two of which continued and cut through the old town. Hermou street defined the boundary between the new and the old city sections. The entire plan was in the shape of a triangle that turned all perspectives toward the Acropolis. Individual classical monuments served as visual foci to major city arteries. The most celebrated site of the new city was the King's Palace to be erected on one of the major piazzas (today Omonoia Sq.). Concentrations of public buildings were to be found around the piazzas and alongside major streets. The general philosophy of the plan owed as much to the absolutist ideas of 17th-century Baroque city-planning (e.g., Versailles) as to picturesque planning of cities with an old historical core, products of later-day archaeological/ historicist sensibility (e.g., Berlin). In other words, Kleanthes and Schaubert made clear that their intention in the new plan of Athens was to combine the rational geometry of an abstract master-plan with the design flexibility of small scale interventions. In its general conception, the city of Kleanthes and Schaubert was in the image of an idyllic 'garden suburb' for 40,000 inhabitants, with low density, relatively wide avenues, tree-lined promenades, medium size square blocks, houses with private flower gardens, and a large archaeological park. Of course, later unsuccessful adaptations of this plan combined with poor means of implementation defeated all these great intentions and precipitated the disorderly development of the city–capital.

As opposed to Koumanoudis's 'panorama', the 'memorandum' was more programmatic and explanatory in nature than narrativist and instructive. It was projective, not retrospective. Both texts however shared a certain optimism in that they envisioned an ideal city in the place of the existing one (i.e., still an Ottoman town in 1832; a blend of an Ottoman and a modern city under development in 1853).

[590] The document which confirms this statement best is a hand-written transcript in the archive, a fragment of an undated note similar to all the other notes Koumanoudis used to set down as forms of meditation on issues of personal interest. According to all the indications, the note dates around 1889, that is, 10 years before his death. In the note Koumanoudis reacts to a discussion he had with the philologist Eirinaios Asopios and specifically on the latter's remarks against the chosen location of the current city. He writes: ""Οτι μεν αἱ 'Αθῆναι ἔπρεπε νά γίνουν πρωτεύουσα τοῦ νέου τῆς 'Ελλάδος βασιλείου καί ὄχι ἡ Κόρινθος ἤ ἄλλος [...] τόπος, οἱ πλεῖστοι, εἰ μή πάντες οἱ "Ελληνες καί οἱ ξένοι ὁμολογοῦν. "Οτι δε καί ἐπί τῆς αὐτῆς θέσεως ἔπρεπε νά ἀνακτισθῇ ἡ νέα πόλις, τοῦτο οὐδείς ἴσως παραδέχεται, πλήν ἐμοῦ, ὅστις ἀπό πλείστων ἐτῶν ταύτην τήν γνώμην, ἀλλ' οὐδένα σχεδόν πείθω λέγων τούς λόγους μου. Μόλις τῷ 1889 ἐξετέθη ἡ γνώμη μου διά τοῦ Σπανδωνῆ ἐν τῇ 'Ακροπόλει τῆς 25 'Απρ. 89 [....] Τῇ δε 27 τοῦ μηνός ὁ Εἰρ. Ασώπιος μοί εἶπεν [....] τίς εἶναι ὁ μωρός ὁ γράψας, ὅτι ἔπρεπε οὕτω νά κτισθῇ ἡ πόλις ὡς ἐκτίσθη κτλ. 'Εγώ δε τῷ εἶπον· ἐγώ εἶμαι ὁ μωρός. [....] ἄν ἡ νέα πρωτεύουσα μακράν εἶναι τῆς παλαιᾶς θέσεως, ἠμπορεῖ νά ἐνεργῇ εἰς τούς νέους πολίτας ἐκεῖνα ἅ ἐπροσδοκῶμεν παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκ νέου κατοικουμένης καί τιμωμένης[;]" (That Athens should be the capital of the new Kingdom of Greece and not Korinth or any other [...] place, most, if not all, Greeks and foreigners admit. That the new city should be rebuilt in the same location is something no one probably accepts but me, who I have been holding this view for many years but I get to convince almost no one with my arguments. As recently as in 1889 my view was presented through Spandonis in Acropolis in [the issue of] 25 Apr. 89[...] On the 27th Eir. Asopios [...] asked me who is the fool who wrote that the city should be built the way she has, and so forth. And I replied, I am the fool; [...] if the new capital is located far from her old site, how can she act on the new citizens the way we expect her to [that is] be inhabited and respected anew[?]" *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F36/ Φ1150, 125 (no date).

[591] The archaeological sites Koumanoudis excavated and documented were principally in Athens, such as the 'Serpentzes', the Hadrian's Library, the Roman Market, the cemeteries of Dipylon and Kerameikos, the Theater of Dionysus, the Stoa of Attalos II. See Petrakos, 'Η ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εταιρία.... (The Archaeological Society of Athens....), op. cit., p. 275.

and the ordinary/ contemporary.[592] Roughly speaking, one could relate the bulk of Koumanoudis's academic scholarship (e.g., archaeological researches, lexicography, philological studies) with the former level of his involvement, and his journalistic writings in the popular press with the latter. However, in the author's mind, it was rather clear that these two levels were not separate but influenced one another in different ways; that is, the former lent some of its formal methodological tools to the latter for measuring and assessing ordinary matters, while the latter charged the former with some of its ideological baggage. Koumanoudis's *"Total Panorama of Athens"* – an artificial construction in essence – vividly illustrates this reciprocity between the two levels.

The crucial question at this point is why such a glorious description of the city–capital came out in the press at that particular historical moment – that is, at a moment of crisis for Othon's monarchy.[593] In the very first paragraph of his essay, Koumanoudis makes his goal clear: to render a picture of Athens without "dark colors", a picture different from the one which the daily press ordinarily set out – in his perception – motivated more by political animosity against the government than by true concern for the well-being of the city and the citizens. Did the article serve a certain political agenda? That is possible. Koumanoudis's article does bear characteristics of an eulogy to Othon's good government as physically manifest in the form of the reborn city of Athens, a city modeled on European prototypes. The same text, however, could have simply been an optimistic appraisal of the good effects of westernization irrespective of who the initiator of the particular plan was. Were Koumanoudis's views perfectly in accord with the King's? That we do not know. The certain thing is that Koumanoudis's *"Total Panorama of Athens"* was **a text of instruction** which proposed a certain way of both reading and experiencing the urban artifice – a brand-new artifice still unfamiliar to the majority of its inhabitants.

My intent through this exposition is to reveal the disparity between what the author stated the image of Athens to be in the title, namely a **'panorama'** (that is, an open-ended spatial schema paratactically organized according to visual rules) and the image of the city as it actually comes forth through his description, namely a **classical work of art** (that is, a collection of well framed still tableaux organized around an overriding concept). Being the last section of the dissertation, this exposition epitomizes in the most lucid manner possible the idea which underlay the work to this point: that the official discourse on the city and its architecture, which Greek intellectuals developed during the early days of the State, was caught in a complex dichotomy between past and future, fixity and progress, orality and textuality, classical and romantic conventions, prescriptive and descriptive forms of reasoning. At the root of this dichotomy stood the State's program of reviving the city's ancient glory through new textual strategies of space-making which were based on the formalistic imitation of classical elements and which sharply contradicted the city's former organic logic of development as a typical Mediterranean town.

---

[592] His contributions to the development of the modern city extend on to many fields. They include articles in the daily press accounting for all the improvements upon the city's both physical image and infrastructure, participation in advisory committees of the City of Athens deciding on street naming and building numbering (e.g., *S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F9/ Φ1111, 14/ 1854, F19/Φ1133, 87, F51/Φ1165, p. 29v (Transcr. of his article in *Philopatris*, no date)), involvement in the decision-process concerning the founding of new buildings and new institutions, most importantly the Museum (F9/Φ1111, 16/ 17-1-64), the Theater (F9/Φ1111, 18/ 21-8-1856), and the Academy (F51/Φ1165, p. 26 r/v (Transcr. of his article in *Philopatris*, 6 Jul. 1856)).

[593] Due to his persistent disinclination to abide by the Constitution, his unpopular external politics, and his failure to provide a successor to the throne.

i) The text

Koumanoudis's descriptive account of the city of Athens has a clear structure in the way it unfolds on three distinct 'grounds': background, middle ground, and foreground, sequentially following one another in this order. One may also characterize these three 'grounds' as the ground of myth, the ground of reason/convention, and the ground of common experience and everyday life. The writing style is narrativistic colored with poetic lyricism, yet precise in its methodological premise.

At the **background** of Koumanoudis's description stands nature which is composed of the special geography, the climate, and the entire host of permanent physical characteristics of the place, including the ancient ruins. The mountains and the hills are the physical elements which define the Athenian basin and frame the horizon while they still allow vistas to the Saronic bay and its islands. The vantage point of the description is somewhere high in the middle of the basin, maybe at the hill of the Acropolis, or even higher. The author calls the spectator's attention to the unlimited horizon and, more specifically, to the interesting interplay between land and water, first and second topographical rings, both equally open to view due to the clarity of the atmosphere. To the same background belong the ancient sites and important landmarks of past history, most prominently, the hill of the Acropolis and its monuments. In Koumanoudis's rhetorical construct, works of nature and remnants of the distant past blend indistinctly in a harmonious continuum, human artifacts become naturalized and all together form the container of the modern city. Wittingly, the author reads a 'spirit' almost in every natural element, a spirit reminiscent either of a godly or of a human act granted with immortality. Not only do all the associations aspire to the Periclean Age, but the underlying logic of these associations presents a striking analogy with the semiotics whereby the ancients came to terms with nature (i.e., 'genius loci').[594]. The rich and variegated landscape that the author designs for the reader leaves no room for melancholy or futile reverie. It is ageless and eternal, and at the same time, vibrant and contemporary. Bearing in fact the mythology of the city, it acts as the ultimate boundary, the container of meaning, the standard point of reference for all the monumentalizing moves in the present. In this sense, it is the ideal backdrop of the city's second layer, the middle-ground.

The **middle-ground** in Koumanoudis's description of Athens is the physical manifestation of the symbolic realm of human culture and its institutions. It is made of all the new structures, the streets, the plazas, the buildings, and the green areas. It is the man-made layer of the city which is determined by reason and human will. It is the symbolic layer of the city that stands above the triviality of everyday life. To this layer belong buildings both private and public, all testimonies of the citizens' current state of civilization. For the author both classes of buildings contribute equally to the city's dignity and aesthetic appeal. However, it is to the public monuments in particular – the seats of the new State's power – that he calls the reader's attention. He lists them all in a 'panoramic' sequence and by reference to their special 'physiognomic' characteristics. In close scrutiny, one realizes that what at the first place seems like an innocent and unbiased enumeration of city units in a panoramic account is in fact a recording by order of power and importance: the Palace, the University, the two hospitals (the military and the political), the Mint, the Girls' School, the Theater. Second come the classes of buildings whose style is different from the neoclassical. They are all ecclesiastic structures, four new Greek Orthodox churches in the neo-Renaissance style,[595] the one and only Anglican church in the Neo-Gothic style ("yet lacking proper size")[596], and numerous Byzantine churches – remains of the city's long Christian past. Almost apologetically, Koumanoudis seeks an aesthetic justification for the presence of ecclesiastic buildings among the rest. The small Byzantine churches have character, he claims. The new churches are all designed by architects with an academic education, not by empirically trained craftsmen "who possess no eye for style or scale (symmetry)".[597] Lastly, he proudly cites a number of public – mainly educational – institutions (e.g., the Polytechnic, the Girls' School, the Seminary), which account for the superiority of Athens over any other Greek (or formerly Greek) city in the Mediterranean region.[598] No particular vantage point of viewing is discernible at this level of description which has more the character of stock-taking. The author fails to approach the city as a visual phenomenon or an organism possessing its own architectural structure. Instead, he relies on the method of recording and classification, that is, a way more akin to a natural scientist or to an archaeologist of his time (or earlier). In sum, he sees modern Athens in the same line of continuity which begins at the well-bonded background of nature and ancient monuments, and ends in the monuments of the new era. Except for the few Byzantine churches, the intermediate twenty-century-long part of Greek history almost escapes his notice.

---

[594] *genius loci* = Latin expression denoting the association of epiphanies of a deity with the name of a particular place.

[595] Actually Kouamanoudis does not specify the style of the four buildings.

[596] ".... ἀλλὰ στερουμένη μεγέθους, τοῦ ἀπαραιτήτου εἰς τὸν ῥυθμὸν τοῦτον πράγματος, δὲν ἐμποιεῖ ὅσην ἔπρεπε ἐντύπωσιν." K.[oumanoudis], "Καθολικὸν...." (Total Panorama...), op. cit., p. 443b.

[597] Ibid.

[598] Characteristically, he mentions Constantinople, Smyrna, and Corfu. Ibid.

The third layer of description, the **foreground**, brings to the scene a more intimate picture of Athens. What is actually revealed in this part is the episodic structuring of the city as experienced primarily at the level of the street. Here, Koumanoudis takes less concern for the aesthetics of this ground and more for the actual experience of the walker/pedestrian. The whole of built and natural environment – already discussed and reasoned out in the preceding two grounds – now becomes the backdrop of real life and action. As in the middle-layer, here, once again, quantification is used as a criterion commensurate to quality. In the absence of a vantage point for a total viewing of the city on this level – as in the middle level – description evolves in a paratactic fashion through a series of direct associations between viewer and objects of perception. In his characteristic manner of enumeration, the author proposes alternative routes of entering and walking through the city which correspond to a range of different experiences (e.g., the route of the poet, the tourist, the reveler).[599] As the proliferation of public institutions ensures the State's civility, an increase of possibilities for living and acting in the public realm accounts for the citizen's well-being. Festivals and parades, Sunday promenades and idle strolling through the antiquities, short excursions to the environs, participation in quiet or loud forms of entertainment, and attendance of parliamentary debates, are among the activities Koumanoudis lays out, showing clear preference for some of them over others. During this temporal experience of walking, the earlier deductive logic of the author is momentarily suspended so that experience takes precedence. Interestingly, here, Koumanoudis poses himself in two constantly interchanging roles: of the Athenian citizen already familiar with the city, and of the stranger. Whereas in the former role, he allows himself a share in the various pleasures of the modern city, in the latter role, he becomes the critical observer/reader of an environment known only through its contrasts and paradoxical juxtapositions. Ethical judgment supersedes aesthetic judgment, practical logic displaces mythical references. City elements are evaluated through sets of bipolar opposites, such as straight versus crooked streets, European versus Asiatic centers of public life, noble versus humble dwellings, all fitting the scale of right versus wrong, respectively. This role of the stranger offers Koumanoudis the opportunity to assume his familiar, prescriptive tone in order to put out a series of proposals to the State for 'improvements' aiming at two directions: the construction of the total neoclassical image of the city, and the application of a rational order encompassing both the form of the physical environment (i.e., city plan and buildings) and its institutional structure. The objective? A new and modern infrastructure which, combined with a powerful and monumental image, would place the city in line with all the glamorous metropolises of Europe.

---

[599] A non-dated note in the archive listing 17 possible itinearies, or walking tours, through the city is relevant to this point (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F36/ Φ1150, 136 (pg. 4 of a fourfold, probably after 1870)

In the same prescriptive tone, Koumanoudis counsels the stranger–tourist to prefer certain itineraries over others. Intimating the analogy between a city-tour and a narrative, he advises the stranger, for example, against entering the city through the western end of Hermou street which takes one after a series of reprehensible scenes (e.g., shacks– remains of the early days of expedient construction, oblique and irregular crossing alleys) straight to the most spectacular monument of the modern city, the Royal Palace.[600] As in a good story the episodes succeed one another in a certain order and lead to the pinnacle neither too soon nor too late, a city-tour ought to have both proper size and structure; it has to be, in other words, a **complete experience.** With this rule been considered, Koumanoudis's 'panoramic' description of Athens does have proper size, structure, beginning and end. But since the touring of modern Athens is essentially structured by the author as a twofold experience, one for the inhabitant and one for the stranger, it ultimately should have two terminal points, two closing acts, or two points of **total viewing** of the city. On the one hand, the last station most pertinent to the Athenian citizen is the modern cemetery to the East of Ilissos river, a site noted for its vast array of neoclassical burial monuments. As a stage of final resolution, the visit to the cemetery should not speak about futility and hopelessnesss, but about balance and harmony, about the dissolution of opposites, about life and death in one, in that it embraces in spirit both the ancient and the modern city in its elegant monuments. On the other hand, the resolute experience of the stranger comes with the last glance to the city from the boat departing from Piraeus. According to Koumanoudis, this glance should be a moment of contemplating the total life of Greece, past and present, which endures despite all the woes and misfortunes of its recent history.[601]

---

[600] "Διότι ὅταν ὁ ξένος ἐκ προοιμίων εὐθὺς κατοπτεύσῃ ὅ,τι ἡ πόλις ἔχει λαμπρότατον, κορέννυται ἐξαίφνης ἡ περιέργειά του πρὸς βλάβην τῆς λοιπῆς σημασίας τῆς πόλεως." (Because when the stranger glimpses straight in advance the most splendid [attraction] of the city, his curiosity is satiated at the expense of all the remaining to be seen and appreciated in the city.) Ibid., p. 441b.
Interestingly, a similar argument we find in A. Rangavis's *Memoirs* in reference to the speculated location of the new Archaeological Museum on the hill of St. Athanasios (SW of the Theseion). As a member of the advisory committee of 1865, Rangavis voted against that location because it was in first sight from the Western entrance to the city through Piraeus street. In: Alexandros Rangavis (A. Rangabé), Απομνημονεύματα (Memoirs), vol. 3, G. Kasdonis (ed.), Estia print, Athens, 1894 (1930), p. 157.

ii) Critical analysis

In review, the city of Athens – according to Koumanoudis's construction – is a three-layered schema suggesting the following interpretation. The first layer, the background of nature and naturalized history, is the sacred one. It is open and, at the same time, closed. Open in its physical makeup as an indeterminate horizon and closed in its significant content, that is, the memory of ancient Athens. Here the contrast of this horizon with the limiting and deplorable, in Koumanoudis's eyes, Haseki's walls serves as a pointed rhetorical contrivance.[602] The city's new horizon is a horizon of freedom which sets itself aptly against the artificial boundaries of Ottoman ruling. Despite the author's protest against artificial boundaries, the 'natural' horizon he outlines for the new city is essentially a human fabrication. Technically, Koumanoudis's first layer of modern Athens stems directly from the disinterested descriptions of archaeological topographies. At the same time, however, it deviates from the rules of disinterested description due to its immediate rapport with the city's middle ground which it defines. In that sense it is a neat, radiant, and very concrete 'frame', similar to the frame of any highly valued work of art.

The middle-ground, or so-perceived as the layer of convention, carries all the important symbolic baggage of the new city and its culture, mainly secular in nature, yet reverential in the way it stands above the triviality of ordinary life. It is the layer of the human institutions wherein civic order and State law take control of human destiny. Koumanoudis describes this layer by recourse to his favorite methods, classification and enumeration, a direct reflection of his archaeological manner of collecting data in the field. In a sense, Koumanoudis's ambitious 'panorama' of Athens is an attempt at bringing into a narrative form raw material as it was first collected and classified in his private note-sheets.[603] Interestingly, a large portion of his notes were in a list form.[604] Some more complete and systematic than others, these lists were probably updated regularly until the author's death in 1899. Their analogy with lists of strictly archaeological content is striking.[605] The lists in the archive are innumerable. They reveal Koumanoudis as a devoted archaeologist driven by his passion for protection, collection, and preservation of the city's classical past in small pieces. They are the depository of the city's memory in the most compressed form possible, that is, the form of the personal archive. Ultimately this obsession with listing turned into a metaphor by which the author saw, recorded, and assessed his contemporary world, if not reality as a whole. One may consider, for example, his biography composed of 66 biographical events,[606] lists of family expenses,[607] and of course numerous lists of personal achievements.[608] From a certain point on, excessive listing acquired characteristics of satire or self-sarcasm.[609]

---

[601] Koumanoudis is not that precise in this differentiation. He only lays the two experiences out as the last two stages of the tour through the city. That they pertain as ending points of a narrative-tour to two different agents is a logical inference.

[602] These walls were hastily erected in 1778 under Ottoman rule by *voyvoda* (head of the administrative district of Athens) **Haseki** (Hadji-Ali), as a way of protecting the city from external attacks and for imposing an administrative limit to the taxed population. The walls followed the outline of the 5th century B.C. fortifications and created seven gates to the city. The demolition of these walls became one of the first tasks of the new government, something which the author applauds with enthusiasm.

[603] Citation of archival material to follow.

[604] For example, a list of 74 sites with classical antiquities within the city limits (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F28/ Φ1140,5 (no date)), a list of 72 gardens, both public and private (same source, F19/ Φ1133,77 (1889), a list of 18 tree-lined streets (same source, same manuscript), a list of 50 public buildings (in 1876) with the notation "only 16 of which existed in the year 1845" (same source, F34 / Φ1149,44 (1876)), a list of modern buildings,

Is there a structure, a purpose, or a reasoning in this ocean of facts? Or did the author only fall prey to his very methodology and his passion for objectivizing raw experience?[610] Koumanoudis, no doubt, had a very concrete intent in developing exhaustive archaeological records. One of his principal aims was to pave the way for the establishment of the first museum in Greece.[611] Other lists were aptly related with his lexicographic duties.[612] Ironically, his fascination with the realm of the yet-to-be discovered turned the whole world into an archaeological field full of finds and collectible objects, an unlimited series of promising discoveries. Past and present were measured and assessed with the same numerical criterion.

---

public and private, which make use of full-bodied columns in their architecture (same source, F34 / Φ1148,68 (no date)).

[605] Among them a list of 12 statues in Athens which preserve both their body and head (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F18/ Φ1132,62 (no date)), a list of Latin inscriptions discovered in Greece (same source, F20/ Φ134, 19 (no date)), an over 100-page long inventory of vases (same source, F49/ Φ1163 (no date)), a list of 78 modern buildings occupying sites of archaeological interest (or incorporating ancient spolia in their structure) (same source, F20/ Φ1134,81 (no date)).

[606] Same source, F39/ Φ1153,41 (no date).

[607] Same source, F17/ Φ1131,41 (no date). The notes are not systematic to the level of account-books.

[608] Including committees he served, publications related to archaeology, philology, book reviews, articles in the press, translations, and so forth.

[609] As for example the list of divorced couples in Athens with a special list of names of those who had a second marriage (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F19/ Φ1133,104 (no date), a list of 157 kinds of fasting foods (same source, F35/ Φ1149,207 (no date)), a list of epithets the author attaches to his name, such as man, Greek, baptized, married, house-owner, tax-payer, and so forth (same source, F35/ Φ1149,32 (no date)).

[610] A pointed comparison with the two characters of the popular novel by Gustave Flaubert ***Bouvard et Pécuchet*** and their obsessive, yet aimless listing and cataloguing, comes to mind. For a critical reading of the novel see: Eugenio Donato, "The Museum's Furnace: Notes Toward a Contextual Reading of Bouvard and Pécuchet," in ***Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism,*** ed. Josué V. Harari (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1979).

[611] His interest in the culture of the museum was shaped first through his involvement in the organization of the collection of antiquities of the Archaeological Society, and later, through his systematic efforts for the establishment of the Archaeological Museum of Athens. See also below footnote #662.

[612] For example, lists of people's names, both first and last, became part of his *Assemblage of New Words* as it becomes evident through the first footnote of the book. See: Koumanoudis, Συναγωγὴ Νέων Λέξεων.... (An assemblage of new words....), op. cit., p. 1. Related lists in the archive are: ***S.K.A.***, op. cit., F20/ Φ1134,63, F25/ Φ1139,23.

Eventually from this queer search for symmetry between two different historical times an elementary schema of logic emerged; past and present were set in contest. Many of Koumanoudis's note-sheets include comparative lists of items as, for example, two lists of Greek architects one from the antiquity one from the present,[613] and others.[614] The classification of items is thematic with the theme often stated in the title, e.g., "Promoters of the fine arts in Greece during this century".[615] One is led to believe that, if there were an overriding logic that dictated the selection of these themes, that must also have been composed in a list form. The themes which preoccupied the author were unlimited, like the number of items in every list. Koumanoudis displayed no interest in forming a taxonomy or any other classificatory system out of these numerous lists of data. Prominent exceptions to that were the genealogical tree of his family[616] and a sheet mapping places which he visited or spent parts of his life.[617] (Fig. 16) The annotation on the latter sums in a statistical manner 6 countries, 2 seas, 13 states, 10 nations, 12 cities with a population of over 50,000, 15 islands, and 8 kingdoms. It also mentions the furthest points the author traveled north, south, east, and west. On the upper right corner of the sheet two scribbles call for special attention. The original map is translated into an angular human figure which further transforms into a devilish hominoid. The abstract map turns into something concrete and recognizable. The transformation bears no apparent logic. It only lays bare the author's humorous spirit. It also reveals his interest in giving spatial form to temporal experience, which he subsequently submitted to an empathetic reading. The result was not a natural sign, but a caricature. Once again, Koumanoudis laid bare his humorous spirit, now probably imbued with a sense of sarcasm as the author faced the gap between science and art. This sheet takes me to another important point of the analysis shedding light on the middle-ground of the Athenian 'Panorama', that is, Koumanoudis's interest in physiognomics.

---

[613] Same source, F35/ Φ1149, 115 (no date).

[614] For example, two lists of Greek poets one ancient one modern (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F19/ Φ1133,80 (no date), F39/ Φ1153,82 & 83 and F39/ Φ1153,73 (no date)), lists of renowned women from both ancient and modern times (same source, F39/ Φ1153,84 (no date)), a list of 8 ancient and 10 modern fountains in Athens (same source, F18/ Φ1132,72 (1871)).

[615] Same source, F18/ Φ1132,74 (1892). A three-column list with representatives of all the fields, including architecture. The criterion for this taxonomy remains unknown.

[616] Same source, F39/ Φ1153,2 (no date).

[617] Same source, F39/ Φ1153,30 (no date).

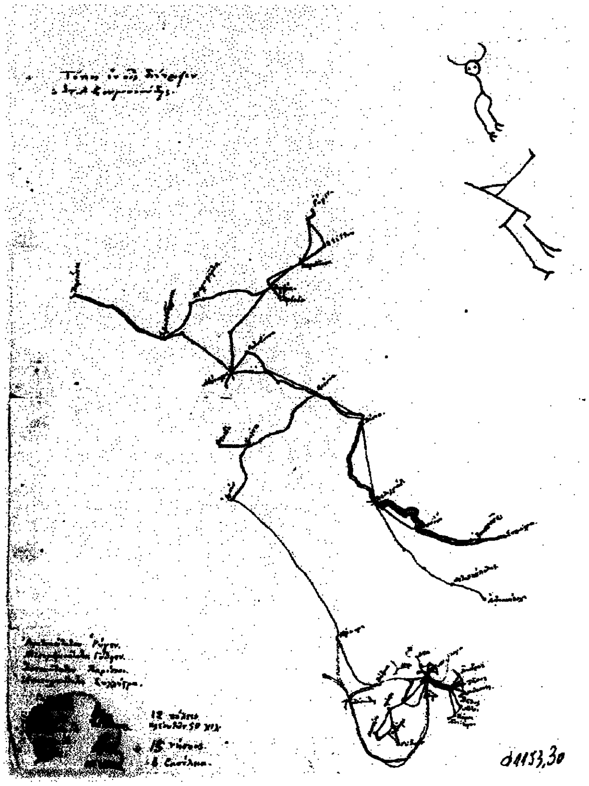
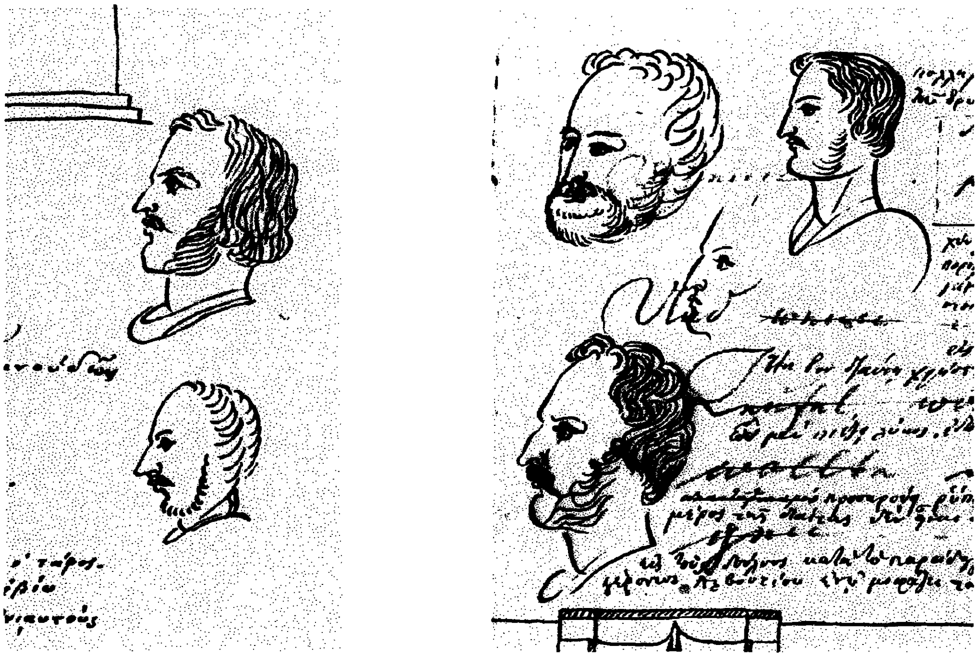


Fig. 16: Schematic map of traveled places by S. A. Koumanoudis (*S.K.A.*, doc. F39/ Φ1153,30)



***Figs. 17a & 17b*:** Profiles of unidentified individuals drawn at the margins of scrap papers (*S.K.A.*, F39/ Φ1153,3 and F16/ Φ1130,147)

As mentioned earlier, the elements of this middle layer – i.e., primarily buildings–monuments – are enumerated in order of importance based on gross stylistic categories. The spatial schema of a 'panorama' that Koumanoudis proclaims in his title remains undefined as it possesses no particular architecture. Buildings are named as singular archaeological finds in anticipation for more to come. Both the spatial canvas to which they belong and their mutual interrelationships are covered with obscurity. Had the author perceived the city as an organic totality along the lines of a romantic aesthetics, he should have probed further possibilities for a more dynamic composition of the elements of his landscape. But his adherence to the classicist paradigm made him more of an apologist for the dearth of meaning in some of the modern buildings which he viewed as discrete and individual elements. "What is the use of an Academy in a city which has not yet produced her own academicians?", he cried out in an article of 1856.[618] In a city which was no longer constructed from the bottom-up as the traditional pre-industrial city, meaning became either a private affair resting with the individual or an issue of negotiation between citizens and authorities. From that point on, it was the author's duty to provide a plausible scenario, **a way of reading** the signs–products of this negotiation until they were finally 'filled' with meaning in the eyes of all. Koumanoudis's text did precisely this by paying due homage to the languages of convention. **Style** was set in the service of legibility. **Vision** made up for the lost sense of bodily perception. The psychological effect on the perceiver was set under scrutiny. The exterior appearance of the building became an issue of first priority with which every individual, including Koumanoudis, had to come to terms. First in his description came the monuments of the official style (i.e., the neoclassical), followed by all the other buildings which happened to possess enough **character** to earn them a place in the extensive horizon of a panorama. The author cited building after building through reading in each one an essential attribute: the magnificent, the solemn, the modest, the cute, the peculiar, and so forth. A parade of characters, a physiognomic reading of isolated units, whose continuous accumulation constructed the form of the modern urban scape.

---

[618] [S. Koumanoudis], "On [the issue of] the Academy", newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις, vol. 2, no. 59, 6 July 1856, pp. 1-2. The same essay exists in a manuscript form under *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F51/ Φ1165, p. 26 r/v (1856). In a different manuscript commenting on the need for a theater in the city of Hermoupolis, he uses a similar argument. He contends that the building should not precede the need for the certain institution it houses. The imposition of the institution, owing to the mere presence of the building, upsets the cultural dynamic of the city by imitating the practices of other countries which have developed hitherto naturally and without any foreign intervention (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F21/ Φ1135, 219, 1862?).

Koumanoudis developed a special inclination for sketching. Doodles and scribbles fill scrap papers and the margins of note-sheets.[619] (Figs. 17a &b) In some of them busts of men show in profile or in a three-quarter view. The content of the notes rarely permits an immediate association with the sketches. The human busts could have belonged to significant individuals ranging from historical figures (e.g., Greek poets and philosophers) to members of Koumanoudis's family.[620] Although some of them appear exaggerated to the point of a caricature, one tends to believe that their underlying spirit was not only humorous or satirical, but exploratory.[621] As we came to know from the analysis to this point, Koumanoudis was particularly concerned for the ideal coincidence between form and content. Related to this concern was his conviction that art had no power of its own without a positive criterion to measure its social or ethical effect. To him rhetoric was a useless, not to say a harmful occupation that obscured the continuity between art, philosophy, and science.[622] He thought that the ideal coincidence between form and content was most certainly carried in the works of classicism. His either positive or negative judgment on many of the buildings in Berlin was based on this 'ethical' criterion of corresondence between external form and inner essence. His insistence on having the new city built on top of the old one was driven by this criterion, too. His search for this ideal coincidence between sign and referent extended to all other areas of life, including human faces. "I made physiognomic studies on the faces of the professors. I found the names Lachman and Zinkeisen suitable to their faces," he wrote in his diary in August of 1842 while attending the two German scholars' lectures at the University of Berlin.[623]

From where did Koumanoudis draw his interest in relating buildings to human characters? Given his familiarity with Vitruvius's treatise, one may easily assume that the first spark of such an interest came about from the Latin author. However, Vitruvius never proposed character as a prerequisite of good architecture; neither did he propose physiognomy as a means of coming to terms with a new or unnfamiliar built evironment. His theory epitomized **imitation** as the generative principle of architecture. The three Orders –

---

[619] As an indication I am citing: *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F35/ Φ1149,44 (profiles of men and a nude figure of a man, satyr?); same source, F35/ Φ1149, 87 (profiles of men's busts on the last page of a twofold); same source, F39/ Φ1153,3 (profile busts of two men, one possibly of his brother); same source, F39/ Φ1153,73 (profile busts of three men, possibly Greek poets); same source, F16/ Φ1130,147 (11-3-1873) (page with several profile busts of many among other notes and sketches); same source, F54 / Φ1168,1 (men's profiles in a booklet among other sketches); same source, F54/ Φ1168,6-155 (large collection of small sketches among which several human busts in profile).

[620] It is possible that Koumanoudis enjoyed filling with sketches the margins of his note-sheets while sitting in boring meetings at the University or at the Archaeological Society. Probably some of the busts belonged to his colleagues in the room.

[621] In one document two profile sketches of men accompany the author's sketches and notes for a design of a funerary stele for the tomb of his family (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F39/ Φ1153,3).

[622] See also footnote #346.

[623] *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F23/ Φ1137,1 (3 August 1842, Berlin). Unfortunately, Koumanoudis's sketches of the two professors were not found among his papers in the archive. Most likely they perished long ago.

determinants of the total formal disposition of a building, i.e., style – helped to transcribe a whole universe of meaning into the built evironment using the human body as a medium.[624] It is worth noting that in Vitruvius's account this universe of meaning was closed in so far as its constituents (e.g., cosmic powers, theoretical notions, natural elements, etc.) were precisely represented by divinities of the Greek Pantheon which was also closed.[625] As a result, the number of building types to which these constituents of meaning corresponded was finite, yet the variations of each type could be unlimited.

Of course, Koumanoudis did not return to such an outdated theory of styles, even though he was aware of it. His era had much to teach him on the subject of physiognomy – a subject which had gained increasing popularity among both artistic and scientific circles in Europe from the sixteenth century and on.[626] The application of physiognomic theories in architecture was at the forefront around the time of the French Revolution under the quest for a distinctive character in new buildings.[627] Specifically, the notion of *caractère* – mediating between architecture and physiognomics – was variously appropriated by aesthetic trends to serve either as a basis of typification of the built environment or as a way of grasping a metaphysical meaning in the transitory appearance of buildings.[628] The former approach was mainly represented by academic classicists who sought to give the study of imitation a more systematic form. The latter approach, which was often combined with a desire to use the marked character of buildings as a vehicle to change and dissolution of static classical forms, had a more spiritual intent and flourished among the Romantics.[629] Apparently, this Romantic approach left Koumanoudis uninterested. For him the distinct form of every building had no metaphysical referent as much as it had a practical/utilitarian significance. His physiognomic reading of Athens based on classical theory witnesses current concerns about creating an orderly, yet semiotically rich environment, made of clear and unambiguous constituents easily recognizable and deemed on their face-value. However, contrary to the ancient city, the modern one betokened no particular cosmology in its architecture. It was an open-ended schema which could grow freely toward various directions. The expert Koumanoudis cared to make these directions more predictable, first, by defining with precision its first-layer, i.e., its mythical horizon, and secondly, by proposing his physiognomics of the built environment as a means for its moral codification. Partly influenced by the writings and memoirs of 18th-century foreign travelers in Greece (e.g., Guys, Pouqueville, etc.) – compulsive hunters of similarities and differences in the customs, manners, life-style, and physiognomies between ancient and modern Greeks – Koumanoudis used physiognomics as the legitimate vehicle of mediating between the two spheres of reality, the visible and the invisible, of which the former was more easily accessible than the latter. By doing so, he developed an aesthetic mode of reasoning that glorified the typical over the ephemeral, the codifiable over the merely expressive.[630]

---

[624] The most telling paragraph in this respect is §5 (***De Architectura***, Book I, Ch. 2). In this paragraph, Vitruvius designates the appropriateness ("propriety") of certain Orders to temples dedicated to specific divinities, therefore, to the specific natural elements, ideas, or cosmic powers that the divinity stands for. He also argues for the mediatory role of the human body between building and universe (i.e., the anthropomorphic and antropometric properties of Greek buildings) in other places, mainly in Book III, Ch. 1.

[625] Other factors with effect upon the total constitution of a building, according to Vitruvius, besides the dedication to a specific divinity, were usage and nature (i.e., site). It appears though that these were modifying (i.e., secondary), not determining, factors of a building's makeup as it becomes evident in Vitruvius's quote: "... the divinity will stand in higher esteem and find his dignity increased, all owing to the nature of his site." (***De Architectura***, Book I, Ch. 2, §6, 7)

[626] The scholarship of Physiognomy encompasses a long line of authors from the antiquity to the Romantic era, such as Theophrastus, Giambattista della Porta, Descartes, Le Brun, Lavater, Herder, Buffon, and Goethe.

[627] Exponents of the **physiognomic** theory in architecture were the Swede (Augustin) Ehrensvärd, and the Frenchmen Étienne-Louis Boullée, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, and Jean-Jacques Lequeu. But even rigorist classicists, such as Milizia – most familiar to Koumanoudis through Kaftanzoglou's numerous references to him – decreed that a building must evince immediately its temperament or physiognomy on its front (in his *Dell' arte di vedere nelle belle arti di disegno secondo i principi di Sulzer e di Mengs* (Venice, 1781)). The author who substantiated the relevance of physiognomics to architecture was J. C. Loudon:

> Character in architecture, as in physiognomy, is produced by the prevalence of certain distinctive features, by which a countenance or a building is at once distinguished from others of the same kind. Hence, numbers of buildings like numbers of human beings, may exist without exhibiting any marked character. On the other hand there may be buildings, which from their general proportions being exalted, and from all their parts being justly distributed, exhibit what is akin to nobleness of character.... In general whatever is productive of character in a building must be conspicuous and distinctive; and it should rather consist of one than many features.

(In J. C. Loudon, "The Principles of Criticism in Architecture", Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture (London, 1833), p. 1120.

[628] To the former category of scientifically-minded classicists with a special interest in physiognomics belonged Lessing, Sulzer, Lichtenberg, and Engel. To the latter category one may find Herder, Lavater, Novalis, Schelling, Humbert de Superville. (See the related analysis of these categories of physiognomists /

---

pathognomists in Barbara Maria Stafford, Symbol and Myth: Humbert de Superville's Essay on Absolute Signs in Art, University of Delaware Press / Associated University Presses, New Jersey / London, 1979, esp. the 'Introduction'). Particularly interesting is the case of Quatremère de Quincy whose theory of 'caractère' somehow bridges the two approaches, the classical and the romantic.

[629] In their theory of 'character' the Romantics considered the fact that to the extent to which human physiognomy can reveal true emotion, it can as well deceive, thus giving rise to a sequence of unanticipated effects. They gave, in other words, equal bearance on 'physiognomics' and 'pathognomics'.

[630] I tend to believe that Koumanoudis would have never developed such a special sensibility on matters of city aesthetics had he not been a stranger in foreign cities himself. Characteristic are his several 'look-like' comments on specific buildings in Berlin, e.g., the Werdershenkirche looks *like a Turkish stool turned upside-down,* some rococo details above the university windows seen from inside look monstrous *like shapeless rags hanging* (κομμάτια πατζιαβούραις), and so forth. See Appendix II.

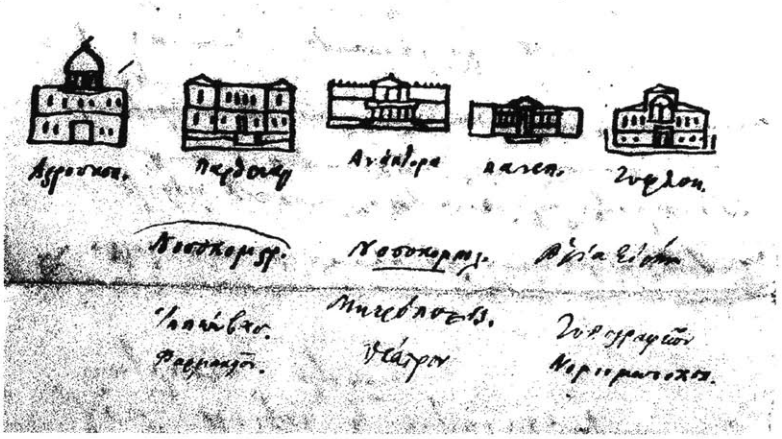

Αρχιεπισκ.
Παρθεναγ.
Ανάκτορα
Σχολείον.
Βρεφοκομείον.
Νοσοκομείον.
Φαρμακείον.
Μητρόπολις.
Θέατρον
Τυπογραφείον
Νομισματοκοπείον.

Fig. 18: Sketch of five buildings (***S.K.A.***, doc. F 36/ Φ1150,126)

An enigmatic sheet in the archive contains five minute vignettes of noted Athenian buildings with their names. (Fig. 18) Right below them are names of other buildings grouped in three columns.[631] What was the idea the author sought to convey in this array of vignettes? Five buildings unrelated in all different respects: size, location, date, style, architect. Probably this is precisely the point of this sketch; that is, Athens already has a good ***variety*** of public buildings, the core of a panorama. 'Variety' was in fact a word which Koumanoudis repeatedly used in his text to refer to buildings, public places, modes of entertainment and anything else modern Athens provided, as testimonials of her status of a 'European' metropolis. Variety, a notion sanctioned by classicism,[632] was already used by the author as a criterion for judging the aesthetic worth of city sections in Munich, Berlin, and Nafplion.[633] Obviously influenced by Winckelmann's related theories, Koumanoudis sternly advocated the combination of simplicity and variety as the guiding principle of all new architecture. To the formalistic exuberance of the Baroque on the one hand and the hotch-potch of eclecticism on the other hand, he counterproposed the variation of a certain theme, or style, as the optimum solution. In this particular article, Koumanoudis's notion of 'variety' has come to be almost equivalent to that of 'panorama', the key term in the title. The five caricaturist renditions of buildings on this sketch clearly manifest notion. At the center is the Palace in an 'austere' Doric order, flanked on both sides by two 'magnificent' variations of the Ionic, that is, the Girls' School and the University, bordered by the 'radiant' Observatory and the 'peculiar' Eye-Hospital in neo-Renaissance and neo-Byzantine styles, respectively; a spectrum of styles. The hierarchically and almost symmetrically organized schema around a central axis – i.e., the Palace – bears striking similarities with the image which Koumanoudis used in order to portray the middle layer of the city of Athens in the article, that is, the layer of the modern monuments. Theoretically, this array of buildings could extend indefinitely on both sides. However, the author expressed no interest in such a possibility. For him the neo-Renaissance and the neo-Byzantine buildings on the two ends represented the two furthest 'extremes' the classical style could reach in this city by having happily merged with the style of the 'round-arch'.[634] At the same time, the five buildings stand for five distinct models, five originating sources for five series of new buildings – variations of these models. Self-consciously or not, Koumanoudis conformed the logic of Athenian architecture to the Vitruvian model. By analogy to the finite architectural universe that Vitruvius delineated in his treatise, that is, a universe composed of a limited number of building types and their variations, Koumanoudis's Athens appears architecturally finite, too. Nevertheless, a certain incongruity set the two examples apart since the former was so formed as to *mimetically* reflect an ontologically finite universe, as opposed to the latter which was mainly comprised by self-referential units and, therefore, its finiteness was artificial (i.e., externally imposed) rather than real.

---

[631] It carries catalogue number F36/ Φ1150, 126. It represents from left to right the Observatory, the Girls' School, the Palace, the University, and the Eye-Hospital. The sketch is not dated but it must certainly be at least contemporary to the article "Total Panorama...", since by that time the construction of all these five buildings was completed.

[632] Alberti, for example, generally considers 'variety' (*varietas*) a positive property of architecture, as opposed to Plato and Cicero who reject the notion altogether as violating the formal purity of a building. He writes: "*Variety* is always a most pleasing spice, where distant objects agree and conform with one another; but when it causes discord and difference between them, it is extremely disagreeable." (Alberti, On the Art of Building...., op. cit., Book I, Ch. 9, p. 24.) It was Winckelmann, however, who exalted the notion of 'variety' giving it equal standing to 'simplicity'. Some of his characteristic comments are: "It is *variety* that is the source of pleasure; in discourse, as in architecture, it serves to flatter the mind and the eyes. When elegance is joined to simplicity, beauty results...." (in ***Observations on the Architecture of the Ancients,*** 1760-62, p. 627). "The good lies in the *variety* that resides in the simple...." (in ***Advice to the beholder of [the works of] Art,*** 1759). Also Milizia included 'variety' among the three principal notions of classical architecture, together with *symmetry,* and *unity* (in ***Dell' arte di vedere nelle belle arti di disegno secondo i principi di Sulzer e di Mengs*** , 1781).

[633] See related references in sub-chapter 4.1."Critical comments on specific sites– On the city".

In the absense of a network of properties to bring coherence to the system as a whole, Koumanoudis's classificatory system was constructed like a **dictionary** whose logic approximated the logic of a tree. As I noted elsewhere in the text,[635] in a dictionary system emphasis is placed on the mechanics of combination and classification of basic units of signification toward the production of whole new words – prospective bearers of new semantic content. A dictionary is conceived of as an open-ended semiotic system – an inexhaustible sourse of new forms – in which meaning obeys no established conventions and is produced only extra-referentially. In such a system, the field is open to the writer to impose his own metalinguistic categories and guide the semantics of the system toward an ideologically driven direction of universality. Koumanoudis, immersed as he was in his lexicographic researches, considered it absolutely legitimate to transcribe the simple logic of a dictionary on to the still unsettled logic of the architecture of the modern city by imposing his own limits and by having one basic criterion in mind: how this new architecture could bespeak the city's Greek identity. In this connection, classicism provided the figurative 'root' for the entire family-tree of new Athenian architecture, in the same way that a lexical root provides the basis for an entire family of whole new words to come about. In both cases, the underlying criterion is formal, not typological.

Can the scheme that Koumanoudis created verbally in the second layer of his description and pictorially in the sketch bear the title of a panorama? Yes, as far as its visual nature and its apparent open-endedness with respect to its semantic possibilities. No, as far as its internal logic which is rather tree-like and tends to approximate more the classificatory logic of a dictionary. If the term 'panorama' is intended to denote the aesthetic model of a city which – borrowing its principle from the cyclical nature of the panorama–spectacle – is centerless,[636] dynamic, and spatial, Koumanoudis's model for Athens is not a panorama. In fact the principle of his model contradicts the principle of the panorama. It is static, not dynamic. It is composed of discrete units in space, whereas space as a transformative element, activated by temporality and human perception, is of no relevance as such. It is constructed from the center out, while the author reserves epithets such as 'peculiar', 'cute', or 'queer' to characterize the margins. His architectural construct is hierarchical affirming the power of the center over the rest of the scheme. The center does not meet the margin at any point. Although his 'panorama' lays a claim to open-endedness, both center and margins are firmly set. In that sense it is closed in essence, but not cyclical, as long as it seriously limits in number its possible readings. Much like every classical composition, it has a well-defined axis of symmetry and is comprised by an odd number of elements, distinct and autonomous. However, unlike the classical composition, the elements of Koumanoudis's 'Panorama' are in no dialogical relationship among themselves: like a parade of characters or words in a sentence which has not yet found a certain syntactical form. Interestingly, Koumanoudis himself during the seventh decade of his life recognized the harm lexicography might cause to the scholar who decided to immerse himself in the hunting of new words and the writing of dictionaries. He considered lexicography an almost addictive occupation whose *modus operandi* could easily extend to other areas of the life of the person who practiced it. In his view, the most serious drawback of lexicography was the proclivity it imparted to the lexicographer, first, to neglect the whole (i.e., the meaning and structure of sentences) in favor of the part (i.e., the isolated word) and, second, to pay extra heed to unique and peculiar words at the expense of the most common and typical ones. For these reasons, the author discouraged prospective lexicographers from this dangerous and life-consuming vocation.[637]

---

[634] The neo-Byzantine style of the Eye-Hospital (*Ophthalmiatreion*) was the most remote from classicism, yet it conformed to it mainly due to its proportions.

[635] See sub- section 2 "Basic premises of Koumanoudis's philosophy on architecture and the arts".

---

[636] Except for the viewer who becomes him/herself the center.

[637] ""Ινα εἴπω ἀληθῶς πᾶν ὅ,τι αἰσθάνομαι, λέγω, ὅτι δέν θεωρῶ πολὺ ἀξιοζήλωτον τὸν προορισμὸν τῆς ἐν λόγῳ ἀσκήσεως. Εἶναι μὲν αὕτη χρησίμη τῇ φιλολογίᾳ καθόλου, *εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν φιλόλογον φέρει τινὰ βλάβην, καθόσον τὸν συνεθίζει νὰ μὴ πολυπροσέχῃ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις του εἰς τὴν τῶν νοημάτων συνέχειαν, νὰ θηρεύῃ δὲ μᾶλλον λέξεις, τὰς μεινάσας ἀπαρατηρήτους παρ' ἄλλων.* Ἐδῶ συμβαίνει πως τὸ τοῦ ρητοῦ "ἄλλοις ὑπηρετῶν ἀναλίσκομαι".... "Οστις λοιπὸν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὁμοτέχνων θέλει νὰ ζήσῃ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἑαυτὸν του καὶ νὰ δυναμωθῇ διὰ ἐννοιῶν καὶ γνώσεων φυσικῶν, λογικῶν καὶ ἠθικῶν πρὸς ἀπόκτησιν τοῦ ὅσον ἔνεστι τελείου ἀνθρωπισμοῦ, ἂς μὴ παραδοθῇ, τὸν συμβουλεύω, δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου του εἰς τοιαύτας λεξιθηρικὰς μελέτας καὶ ἀσκήσεις ἀποκλειστικῶς." (To speak the truth about all I feel I say that I do not consider desirable enough the results of such a practice [i.e., lexigography]. On the one hand it is thoroughly useful to philology, on the other hand *it causes some harm to the philologist as it gets him used to overlooking matters of internal coherence [among units of speech] in his studies; also, to hunting for the words which have escaped the attention of others.* Here somehow applies the saying "I consume myself in the service of others".... Therefore, I advice the one amongst us who wants to live for himself and to gain knowledge in all the sciences that make the perfect humanist, that is, natural, logical, and ethical [sciences], not to surrender to this kind of lexicographic exercises exclusively and for life.) Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Συναγωγὴ Λέξεων Ἀθησαυρίστων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς

In a general assessment, Koumanoudis's descriptive model for the city of Athens undoubtedly belongs to the aesthetics of modernity and is thoroughly imbued with the western spirit of rising **capitalism**. His comparative lists of ancient and modern items (people, places, etc.) mark the beginning of an effort at overcoming the law of immutable boundaries between heterogeneous spheres of reality, as set by the Eastern theocentric tradition. Koumanoudis applies the same measure on both historical spheres, antiquity and the present, and by doing so he sets the distant past in a more familiar perspective; therefore, he makes it more readily available for exploitation but, at the same time, he is particularly careful not to damage its myth and trivialize it. On the other hand, his dependence upon visual criteria for assessing the built environment partakes of a modern aesthetic, too. His physiognomic readings of buildings and human faces underscores the possibility for a reflective (i.e., critical) mode of experiencing one's own surroundings – a possibility impregnated with the promise of intervening and changing things at wish. Furthermore, his narrativistic description of the city bears interesting stylistic affinities with contemporary descriptions of modern cities by such authors as Charles Dickens, Honoré de Balzac, Emil Zola, and Charles Baudelaire.[638] Koumanoudis, like all these writers (and many more), came to know the city as a walker endowed with acute perception, fair judgment, and a keen aesthetic criterion. This becomes particularly evident in **the third layer** of his 'Panorama', defined as the layer of 'everyday life'. At this point, a comparison of the author with the characteristic protagonist/narrator of the aforementioned literature – often referred to as a *flâneur* – seems pertinent. Koumanoudis was probably the earliest Greek *flâneur* of modern Athens who had the skill to both record and rationalize his experience – "the conscious observer for whom the word *boredom* had become meaningless."[639]

Λεξικοῖς (An assemblage of words not included in Greek dictionaries), 1883, pp. ζ'-η'. The emphasis and the translation into English are mine.

[638] Dickens's ***The Sketches by Boz*** (in which the tradition of the English *flâneur* reaches its culmination), Balzac's ***Histoire des Treize***, 1831 (publ. in English as *History of the Thirteen*, ed. Herbert J. Hunt, London, 1978), Baudelaire's ***Les Fleurs du Mal***, 1857 (in English *The Flowers of Evil*, rev. ed. Eds. Mathiel and Jackson Mathews, New Directions, New York, 1962). Of all these authors, Koumanoudis's descriptive methods and concerns appear closer to Balzac's. They both share an interest in human physiognomy, typology, classification, and creation of schematic abstractions of the city. Besides, Balzac, like Koumanoudis, was preoccupied with a city undergoing a period of dramatic change from a small medieval town to a modern urban center (i.e., Paris). Both had a very selective eye for certain city views as opposed to others. But this is as far as the similarities between the two authors go because Balzac, unlike Koumanoudis, developed a special interest in social (not building) typology, on the one hand, and promoted a picture of the city as a whole and unified **organism**, on the other hand. He wrote: "Paris is a sentient being, every individual, every bit of a house is a lobe in the cellular tissue of that great harlot whose head, heart and unpredictable behaviour are perfectly familiar to them." (Balzac, History of the Thirteen, op. cit., pp. 317-8)

[639] Rémy G. Saisselin, The Bourgeois and the Bibelot, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1984, p. 25.

The applicability of the term **'flâneur'** to the walker of early modern Athens has been questioned by some authors. Based on the narrative description of the city by the French author Amèdée Britsch (***La Jeune Athènes: Une Democratie en Orient***, Librairie Plon, Paris, 1910), M. Christine Boyer notes: "Distributed along straight roads and large avenues where the sun, wind, and dust raged all around, the modern Athens [....] scarcely lent itself to the *flaneur*." (Boyer, The City of Collective Memory..., op. cit., p. 170.) Descriptions of the city similar to Britsch's, focusing on its unpleasant or even perilous aspects for a

According to the author Rémy G. Saisselin, the *flâneur* "is a new type of collector, interested not only in small works of art but also in the products of modern capitalism. His attention has shifted from the consecrated object of the collector and curieux to the products of the city, its spaces, types, sensations."[640] Koumanoudis happened to embrace both roles by being the systematic collector of archaeological finds, on the one hand, and the dedicated list-maker of city "products", on the other. His manifold effort converged to one point: how to both increase and secure the city's **capital**, how to deliver the city richer than ever before not only to her citizens, but mainly – and most importantly – to the world at large. In order for the new city of Athens to be sufficient to the Athenian she had to stand up to the standards of the European first; that is, she had to prove herself a tradable commodity in the international market. The prominence of the critical gaze of the stranger–tourist in Koumanoudis's twofold description shows how important that gaze was for the stabilization of the city's modern identity.

It could be that Koumanoudis's key term 'panorama' had a critical relation more to this third level of description than to any of the other two levels. In other words, it was meant to bring into focus the variegated experience of the author–*flâneur* who passed alternately from street to site, from low to high point of view, from movement to stasis, from involvement to detachment, and so forth. Anticipating in his ways those of the movie-camera, Koumanoudis transcribed with professed fidelity what he encountered on his way, but, above all, he recorded **the experience of change** as he moved constantly through things and situations, characteristic of the modern city.

The parallel cultures of the *flâneur* and the panoramic shows have been noted by contemporary literary criticism.[641] As far as the claim to honesty which both the *flâneur* and

---

pedestrian, may be found also in other works, such as the travel 'memoirs' from Greece by Edmond About, William Mure, and William Miller.
Greek literature focused on the concept of the *flâneur* for the first time in 1877. The philologist Eirinaios Asopios, in his article "'Αθῆναι" (Athens) devoted a section to the discussion of the difference between the modern 'flâneur' (*πλάνης*) and the ancient walker or 'peripatetic' philosopher. He wrote: "Σήμερον ὁ μὲν Περιπατητικὸς καλεῖται *Πλάνης* (flaneur), ὁ δὲ Περίπατος *Πλάνησις* (flanerie)· εἶναι δὲ τῷ πλάνητι βιβλίον σπουδῆς καὶ μελέτης αἱ ὁδοὶ, αἱ ῥύμαι, αἱ ἀγυιαὶ, αἱ λεωφόροι, αἱ πλατεῖαι, ἑνὶ λόγῳ οἱ δρόμοι. Ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος Περιπατητικὸς ἐφιλοσόφει περιπατῶν ἐν ὁρισμένῳ τινι χώρῳ [....] ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων Πλάνης ἐπεξέτεινε τὸν κύκλον τῆς σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ, περιδιαβάζων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε σοφὸς μὲν ὁ Περιπατητικὸς, σοφώτερος δὲ ὁ Πλάνης[....]" (Today the Peripatetic is called 'flaneur' and the Walk 'flanerie'; for the flaneur the book of study and learning are the streets, the pathways, the alleys, the avenues, the piazzas, in short, the roads. The Peripatetic of antiquity was philosophizing as he walked in a confined area [...] the contemporary Flaneur expanded the field of his study as he walks through the entire city; therefore, wise [was] the Peripatetic, but wiser [is] the Flaneur.) In: Eirinaios Asópios, "'Αθῆναι" (Athens), Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1878, (Attikon Yearbook of 1878), year 22, Athens, 1877, p. 1.

[640] Ibid., p. 27.

[641] The works which epitomize the role of the walker (*flâneur*) as the creator of panoramic descriptions of the city with a typological objective in mind are Charles Dickens's collection of the ***Sketches by Boz*** (exec. in the 1820s) and Edmond Texier's ***Tableau de Paris*** (1852-3), illustrated with 1,500 engravings it was a detailed account of Parisian sites and institutions just before the city was redesigned and expanded

the panoramist of the nineteenth century laid in reference to their object of transcription, this has been seriously disputed by both art and literary critics. These critics argued that there is hardly any medium, whether verbal or visual, which does not adopt the dominant convention of its day, whether cultural or epistemological, for representing accordingly the real.[642] On this issue, in particular, the critical author Dana Brand comments:

> By presenting the city as orderly and coherent, spatially and temporally encompassed, the flaneur and the panoramist unintentionally create an effect of incongruity deriving from the fact that something that is known to be ephemeral and dynamic is being represented as if it were *eternal* and *immutable*. By eliminating all contingency, panoramas, dioramas, and the sketches of the flaneur produce an uncunny *sense of death* in the thing.[643]

However, the key issue of this study is not so much the fidelity of Koumanoudis's description of Athens as the kind of conventions that shaped this description. If convention is by nature destined to produce "a sense of death in the thing", how was the death Koumanoudis effected to his object of representation different from the death Brand observes in reference to panoramas–spectacles? In order for this problem to be resolved, one should seek responses to some simpler questions first. What were the conventions within which Koumanoudis developed his description? How and why did he appropriate the term 'panorama', and what did this word mean to him and to his readers?

iii) The 'city–theater'

As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, the Athenians had no chance to familiarize themselves with the visual equivalent of Koumanoudis's description in the form of a spectacle until as late as the turn of the century.[644] That is to say, the average Athenian citizen had never been abroad to gain the immediate experience of panoramic entertainments, neither had he related them with their natural settings – namely, the spectacular fairs and the commercial

---

by Napoleon III and Baron G.-E. Haussmann. Walter Benjamin was one of the first authors who critically discussed the phenomenon of the parallel cultures of the panorama and the *flâneur* in the modern city (in Walter Benjamin, ***Gesammelte Schriften***, 7 vols., eds. Rolf Tiedermann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, esp. vol. V: ***Das Passagen-Werk***, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1982).
On the parallel cultures of the flâneur and the panoramist Dana Brand, for example, writes:

> The history of the flaneur and the history of the panoramic shows of London are interestingly parallel. Each appears in rudimentary form in the seventeenth century, consolidates into recognizable form in the eighteenth century, and reaches its peak of sophistication and popularity in the 1830s. [....] The flaneur and the culture of panoramas appear to have been complicit historical processes. [....] The flaneur – the descendant of the character writer, the contemporary of the panoramist, the predecessor of the photographer – shows us through his clear and honest lens [....] a mere transcription of "everyday life".

Dana Brand, The Spectator and the City in Nineteenth-Century American Literature, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/ New York/ Port Chester/ Melbourne/ Sydney, 1991, pp. 52-3.

[642] Pioneers in this vain of criticism are Erwin Panofsky, Ernst Cassirer, and Ernst Gombrich.

[643] Brand, op. cit., pp. 54-5. The emphasis is mine.

[644] See section "Archaeological topographies and their role in the conceptualization of architectural space".

arcades. This citizen then held but a very vague idea of the real meaning of the term 'panorama'. In the best of cases, the term referred one either to dry archaeological topographies or to expanded iconographic renditions of the city by foreign artists. In neither of the two cases did the particular piece have a purpose other than documentary and instructive. Their difference lay in the fact that the latter was a more popular version of the former. In effect, the Athenian beholder of those works had hardly any share in the enjoyment that the contemporary citizen of Paris or London had by being the active participant in panoramic shows. There was indeed no comparison between, on the one hand, the make-believe illusion of a panorama–spectacle as combined with the kinaesthetic experience of the moving spectator and, on the other hand, the static experience of reading in a book panoramic topographies in the form of mere collections of signs – signs which the reader was invited to translate into meaningful symbols. Whereas, in the former case, the spectator was inspired with a sense of autonomy and self-reliance, in the latter case, the reader of topographies was dependent upon instruction for relating pictures with ideas. But even when the panoramic picture was so made as to speak for itself – as for example in the famous panoramas of Athens by Stackelberg, Stademann (fig. 11) and Du Moncel (fig. 12) – the engagement of the beholder with it was mostly intellectual rather than sensual or aesthetic. Koumanoudis's article belongs precisely to this latter category of '*instructive* panoramas'.[645] The oxymoron here is intentional. The advent of modernity in Greece was accompanied by many similar intentional or unintentional contradictions. The artist/writer of popular 'instructive panoramas', like the guardian of social morals in Plato's Republic, treated his audience as an immature and undisciplined crowd, incapable of making the passage into this new cultural condition without guidance. He practically ignored or underestimated the collective mechanisms people had developed over the ages for adapting themselves to new situations and new cultural paradigms. He relied heavily upon the didactic and the cerebral element, as opposed to the performative and the intuitive, which was ingrained with the real life and habits of people. Drawing from Winckelmann's persuasion, the spokesman of the modern State extolled the Apollonian at the expense of the Dionysian aspect of Greek culture.

One should not fail to mention in this connection Koumanoudis's vehement opposition to the development of a theatrical culture in modern Greece, as well as to the importation of novel literature from the West. The author held both media responsible for the moral degeneration of people who are prone to self-indulgence, luxury, and corruption. As a writer of journalistic articles, he did not miss any opportunity to denounce the passionate devotion of modern Athenians to the rising culture of the theater. In the "Panorama of Athens", he attributed frivolity and superficiality to those who frequented such spectacles.[646] Elsewhere, and in reference to the new theater in the island of Syros – the most cosmopolitan island of the Cyclades – he noted that the social morale had not matured yet to the point of drawing benefit from such an institution.[647] On the issue of the location of the first Civic Theater in Athens, he advised the government to pass under closer scrutiny the need for such a big expenditure considering that institutions of greater importance (e.g., educational, etc.) had not yet been granted proper shelter. But even if a theater were voted necessary for the State – the author continued – this should be located far beyond the center, at the edges of the city, in the hope that the remote location might inhibit the Athenians "all, younger and older, from rushing every day to the spectacles."[648] The government did not comply with this suggestion and proceeded with the erection of the Civic Theater of Athens in the designated central location. However, the completion of the construction was delayed for another thirty whole years from the date of the article.[649] Apparently, the causes of this delay were not only financial. In the meantime, Koumanoudis and his circle – after having failed to revoke the decision for a State theater altogether – shifted their efforts on to the creation of a "genuinely *Greek* theater."[650]

---

[645] This is further reinforced by the one and only illustration of the article (p. 442) which belongs to the spirit of the panoramas by Stackelberg and Stademann. It is a wood-engraving that shows a total aspect of Athens from the Northeast, using a distant and high point of view, probably the top of the Lycabettos hill. The author is unknown.

---

[646] K.[oumanoudis], "Καθολικὸν Πανόραμα...." (Total Panorama...), op. cit., p. 445a.

[647] [Unpublished?] manuscript book review on the booklet "The Theater of Hermoupolis...." (author unknown, M.P. Peridis print, Hermoupolis, 1862), *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F21/ Φ1135, 219. The review is positive. Koumanoudis fully agreed with the author's views that the need for an institution should preceed its establishment. In this review, Koumanoudis expresses the very odd opinion that the theater caused serious harm to both the ancient Greeks and the Romans, therefore, its current usefulness should be questioned. Similar objections against a culture of spectacles were common in the press of the time since the beginnings of the modern State. For example, Philippos Ioannou, the renowned philologist and University professor wrote in 1839: "'Εν τέλει πρέπει νὰ μάθωσι οἱ κύριοι τοῦτοι, ὅτο ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς δὲν εἶναι ὁ τοῦ ἐκχυλισμοῦ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐν 'Ελλάδι." (Finally those gentlemen should know that the present time in Greece is not [a time] of indulgences.) Newspaper Αἰὼν. Quoted by Giannis Kairofylas, 'Η 'Αθήνα καί οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι 1834-1934 (Athens and the Athenians 1834-1934), Athens, 1978, p. 32.

[648] "'Ισως μάλιστα ἔχει καί τι καλὸν τὸ ἀπόκεντρον, τὸ νὰ μὴ τρέχωμεν ὅλοι μικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι καθ' ἡμέραν εἰς τὰ θεάματα." Article unsigned in newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις, vol. 2, no. 64, 11 Aug. 1856, p. 3. See also footnote #618.

[649] The Civic Theater (initially also called 'Kambouroglou's Theater') was located on Ludwig (*Loudovikou*) Square across from the City Hall. It appears that Koumanoudis participated in the advisory committee as the related invitation of the Ministry of the Interior (#20236, 21 Aug. 1856) proves (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F9/ Φ1111,18.) The foundation stone was laid in 1857 and the construction was completed in 1886. The plans went through three phases of revision. The plans of the last phase carried the signature of Ernst Ziller. The researcher of the history of the Civic Theater should not fail to relate the long delay of the construction with the strong ideological controversies of the time in which both Koumanoudis and Kaftanzoglou were involved.
The press of the time was full of protests against the erection of the new theater. The arguments were similar to Koumanoudis's and carry no signature. See, for example: Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ, year 25, no. 2454, 19 Aug. 1856, p. 2; (same source), year 26, no. 2533, 5 Mar. 1857, p. 2; (same source), year 26, no. 2581, 24 July 1857, p. 2; (same source), year 26, no. 2583, 31 Jul. 1857, p. 2.

[650] Koumanoudis's argument in favor of a **Greek theater**, that is, a theater made of Greek actors and Greek plays, is included in the aforementioned article in *Φιλόπατρις*. A certain document in the archive shows that new theatrical performances were subject to the jurisdiction of a committee of scholars, including Koumanoudis. The *National Society of Drama* invites Koumanoudis by formal letter (#567, 6 Sept. 1888) to attend the rehearsals of three ancient Greek plays and offer opinion on the quality of the performances, and particularly, on "whether they are in accord with the tradition handed down from antiquity." (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F9/ Φ1111, 22)

How would Koumanoudis justify his general antipathy for the institution of the theater, that is, a product with strong roots in ancient Greece? How would he justify his hostility to the western European theater and, at the same time, his immense regard for Western European music?[651] How would he justify his aversion to the culture of spectacle and all the other material indulgences of a Western origin, whereas he 'appointed' a westerner tourist as the judge of modern Athens and its architecture? Or, should all these be simply seen as a few more of the many contradictions of Greek modernity – inexcusable, yet inevitable until the country's passage into a coordinated state of material and cultural self-reliance?

For better or for worse, Koumanoudis was never called to account for all those logical contradictions into which he fell, either consciously or not, as the writer of popular articles. Nonetheless, contradiction persisted as a general problem in current life – a problem which he had to face first for himself and then adjust his rhetoric accordingly. As becomes evident in the article, the crucial issue of the day was **change**. Athens was changing in a rapid pace, not necessarily by becoming friendlier or more desirable to her citizens. Confusion and disorder were common problems of everyday life, caused not only from the uproar of new construction but, most certainly, from the loss of the familiar scale and the habitual relationship with one's environment. For mid-century Athenians the good city existed only as an idea or promise. In the midst of an unsettled present, life was stretched between past and future. Koumanoudis's task was to domesticate change, to legitimize novelty, to redeem the present, to win over the empty signifier, and to ensure the identification of Form with Idea. With that goal in mind, he

---

The quest for a Greek theater was set in an **architectural framework** by an article of 1857 in the press signed with the initial 'K.' (Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ, year 26, no. 2625, 21 Dec. 1857, pp. 1-2). The article was aptly related to the problem of the design of the Civic Theater in Athens, currently under construction. The author argues for an architectural design based on the type of the ancient Greek theater, similar to Palladio's theater in Vicenza. He further contends that modern Greek theater can flourish only when both the architecture of the building and the kind of the plays partake of ancient Greek prototypes. Given Kaftanzoglou's both familiarity with and attachment to Milizia – an expert in theater architecture and author of the noted treatise ***Del teatro*** (Rome, 1771) in which he propounded the type of the ancient Greek theater adapted to modern use – one could assume Kaftanzoglou's interest on the matter natural and, therefore, take the initial 'K.' to stand for the architect's name, not for Koumanoudis's. The fact that both often used the same initial to sign their articles makes the problem of the authorship of this article more complicated. Neither the handwritten transcript, nor any related notes were found in Koumanoudis's archive to prove him the author of the article. But even if the author were Kaftanzoglou, this would be a good evidence to verify once again the congruity of thought between the two men – now on the issue of the theater – as I argued in the related sub-chapter of the dissertation. "Koumanoudis – Kaftanzoglou: An accidental encounter".

[651] The issue of **music** was central to his concerns. In fact, he devoted several pages of his journalistic literature to it. His general argument was that the existing musical culture in Greece which had obvious Eastern roots and which extended from the Church on to all the kinds of popular entertainment, degrades and dishonors modern Greece. Therefore, it should be immediately replaced by western European forms of music. See, for example, his aforementioned article under the pseudonym 'A', "From Thebes on Feb. 2, 1857", Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις, vol. 3, no. 94, 13 Feb. 1857. Also in the same newspaper: "Περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς" (On ecclesiastic music) (letter 1), 2 Feb. 1857; (letter 2), 26 Apr. 1857; (letter 3), 21 May 1857. It is interesting that the aforementioned letter of 1888, whereby the National Society of Drama invited Koumanoudis as a judge of three theatrical plays, mentions that Western European music would accompany two plays by Sophocles. Specifically, Mendelsohn's music would be used in *Antigone* and Wender's music in *Philoktitis*. (**S.K.A.**, op. cit., F9/ Φ1111, 22).

forced all things, older and newer, into one harmonizing continuum which he labeled 'panorama'. His narrativistic mode was intended as a way of appeasing his readers that what they read was already part of real life. But how successfully Koumanoudis's 'panorama' managed to capture the free flowing and constantly evolving nature of reality – by analogy to a panorama-spectacle – is questionable. That is because the author held strong resistances to two different fronts, the aesthetics of romanticism and the Eastern tradition as a whole. By restricting the former, he essentially prevented his readers from resorting to imagination and subjective experience for relating things with one another and making sense for themselves. The construction of experience was the connoisseur's job, who delivered it to the citizen *a posteriori* as a product ready for consumption. In this connection, the theatrical metaphor was inappopriate for his 'panorama'. By restricting the possibilities for a theatrical reading of the city, he actually fought her living memory. And if Romanticism were a threat easier to handle rhetorically as long as he was the master of his own language (*logos*), the 'shadows' of Eastern tradition exceeded his sphere of effect in that the city's living memory was still present everywhere: in the earlier plan, in the architectural and visual logic of the built environment, in people's bodily perception, and finally in life habits and modes of socializing indistinguishable from the spatial makeup of the premodern town.

iv) The city of parts

Koumanoudis lamented the fact that the actual center of life in the city coincided physically with neither of the two major city piazzas (i.e., the square of the Palace or the square of the Mint), but with the intersection of the two foremost commercial arteries, Hermou and Aeolou, which happened to be in the vicinity of the market area of the old town. (Fig. 20) In order to rectify this observed 'antinomy', he proposed the planning of more public offices, clubs, and workshops around the two piazzas.[652] In all that, however, he overlooked the fact that the two squares were located in the new city section which, as a whole, manifested a slower pace of development in comparison with the area in and around the old section, that is, the area which people knew better and reckoned upon more easily from the start. Koumanoudis's way of dealing with the phenomenon of empty city squares – a phenomenon seemingly localized, yet the result of a larger socio-spatial dynamic – exemplifies the common mentality at the time on matters of city-planning. Problems related to the built environment were seen by both the citizens and the State as isolated episodes in need of localized solutions. The new city of Athens – unlike the typical town of the Hellenic East[653] – was not conceived of as a continuous, organic totality in its spatial, functional, or architectural constitution, but as a collection of unrelated particulars. At the excuse of limited responsibility, many of the citizens followed the route of piecemeal treatment for the different problems, often mistaking the effect (or the symptom) for the cause, as in the aforementioned case of the two squares.

---

[652] K.[oumanoudis],"Καθολικὸν Πανόραμα...." (Total Panorama...), op. cit., p. 442b.
[653] See Appendix I: "The Spatial Model of the Hellenic East".

The transition from a premodern to a modern condition was not easy for a city decreed to look like something different from herself. The ambitious goal of the spokesmen of modernity, such as Koumanoudis, was to annihilate what in reality had been there in the form of physical or **embodied memory** replacing it with intelligible forms of **history** (e.g., monuments, archives, museums, dictionaries, maps, etc.). To the kind of memory Koumanoudis denounced belonged the practical discourse of traditional building practice, the social and ecological stabilizer of the premodern community.[654] Displaced by the sovereign logic of the new master plan, this practical discourse of the past persisted only in fragments – no longer sanctified by Law but by human urgency – for empirically handling spatial adjacencies, functional arrangements, ways of adapting to climate and topography, and generally problems in which aesthetics did not arise as the dominant concern. Far from self-conscious returns to an earlier cutural condition, many of these incidents were spontaneous responses to an elastic planning policy which, faced with numerous practical and bureaucratic obstacles in the implementation of the new city plan, reluctantly gave way to private initiative. Interventions echoing the organic logic of premodern environments were applied mainly to the utilitarian zone of the private house (that is, the zone that remained hidden from public view),[655] or – more rarely – to entire city blocks, normally products of low-income or expedient construction.[656] Furthermore, the preservation of large sections of the old town, in close contiguity with the new one, let the premodern spatial model surface naturally and perpetuate its life through modernity, as it was now retained by the physical memory of the place itself. The speedy development of the intersection of Hermou and Aeolou into the informal center of the new city is a characteristic case in point. Needless to say, all these instances of spontaneous building practice or space appropriation with roots in premodern environments were despised by the city authorities and by citizens indoctrinated with the images of western civilization. Interestingly, they were judged mostly on the scale of 'proper – improper' rather than 'lawful – unlawful'. That is to say, the logic of discrimination in nineteenth-century Athens was shaped more by a tacit aesthetic/ moralistic criterion and less by a common normative principle or a formally established code.

---

[654] It was consolidated in the legislative corpus of the Byzantines after having appropriated theoretical ideas of ancient Greek philosophers. Refer again to Appendix I.

[655] See the related analysis on the bipolarity of the Athenian house under chapter 1, sub-chapter 4.2 "Manuals of Home Economics".

[656] Typical example in this category is the housing development of the area of the Ancient Agora. Fortunately, the urban blocks were documented very accurately before their demolition by the American School of Archaeology for the excavation of the site in 1938. The plan of the block #648 was published by Joannes Travlos in his Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν... (Urban-planning development of Athens....), op. cit., p. 253. (Fig. 19)

From the foregoing, one is led to the deduction that the city which Koumanoudis was offered to describe was a vastly diverse city, a city of heterogeneity which could hardly be defined as a city of interesting or picturesque "variety." (Figs. 20, 21) Certainly it was a city of parts, owing not to the stylistic pluralism of the buildings, neither to the large selection of archaeological sites, promenades, vistas, or forms of recreation, but because **it encompassed different systems of logic** – e.g., mechanistic and organic, to name only two. These systems, due to their innate incongruity, often produced tensions and conflicts to the point of canceling one another. The different parts – no matter how they came about – did not belong to the same species, and because of that, they did not stand placidly one next to the other, neither did they offer themselves to easy comparisons based on visual criteria. Several were the instances in which city sections designed strictly in the mechanistic logic of the new plan – characterized by street alignments, individual property, strictly defined boundaries, and architectural discipline – soon after its implementation manifested syntactical characteristics of the premodern city due to the way they were appropriated by the public and the kind of activities that took place in them. Again the intersection of Hermou and Aeolou is a prominent example, although not the only one.[657] It would be erroneous however to consider these incidents as pieces severed from the earlier premodern town and transplanted to the new one. It would be erroneous, in other words, to ascribe to these pieces a purely organic nature. In fact, the term 'organic' here is self-contradictory in so far as, for the term to be applicable, the whole has to maintain its coherence, normally at the expense of the individuality of the parts. This was not the case in Othonian Athens in which, on the one hand, the idea of the whole was never settled,[658] and on the other hand, the instances of living memory imbedded in space were conspicuous, to the point even of being singled out as picturesque examples by the intellectual–esthete. Difference and discrimination belonged to the nature of the modern city. Therefore, instances of living memory, in order to endure, had to resort either to complete privacy or to forms of active resistance to the emerging paradigm – that is, practices rather unknown to the inhabitants of the pre-Revolutionary *organic* town.[659]

---

[657] The public of Athens became more conscious of these contrasts between conflicting languages of space manipulation toward the end of the century when the city acquired a more definite form. A series of caustic articles on this issue were published by the philologist Eirinaios Asópios in his Yearbook for three consecutive years, 1878, 1879, and 1880. In these articles, Asopios enumerated a series of incidents in the city which reveal in a vivid and humorous manner the contrasts between the two cultures, the European and the Asiatic. Some of these incidents are: on Sophocles street, the neighboring of the splendid Melas's mansion, all dressed in white marble, with the meat market where blood-dripping slaughtered animals hang in public view; on Loudovikou square, the siting of the "workshop of death" having on public display crosses, coffins, bones and skulls, right across the Civic Theater; Stadiou avenue, or the so-called "Boulevard des Italiens" of Athens, where the most elegant shops of the city are located, where it meets Aeolou a grocery store is located which has in plain sight the most disodorous foods, such as "feta cheese swimming in a yellow liquid" and cases with salted sardine; along Patision avenue, the so-called, "Champs Elysées" of Athens, where the King, the Queen and all the Athenian aristocracy promenade every Sunday, vegetable stores exhibit their products on the sidewalk, which consist of bowls of olives, barrels of cheese, boxes of sardines, onions, garlic, cabbage, and all the things that aesthetically disturb the pedestrian. In: Eirinaios Asópios, "Ἀθῆναι" (Athens) – Part 1, Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1878, (Attikon Yearbook of 1878), year 22, Athens, 1877, pp. 1-34; "Ἀθῆναι" (Athens) – Part 2, Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1879, (Attikon Yearbook of 1879), year 23, Athens, 1878, pp. 1-41; "Ἀθῆναι" (Athens) – Part 3, Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1890, (Attikon Yearbook of 1890), year 24, Athens, 1877, pp. 1-22.
Asopios used a characteristically aesthetic approach (similar to Koumanoudis's) to describe the conflicts of two different mentalities in the city. His criteria are primarily visual. Nevertheless, the examples are very pointed and help to make the case.

Koumanoudis understood and described modern Athens as a city composed of many interesting parts. This was partly due to the mechanistic logic of the new plan, and partly due to his own formal logic as shaped through the channels of **lexicography** and **archaeology**. Both still at an elementary state of their development – i.e., inexpert occupations rather than formal sciences – lexicography and archaeology depended upon similar methods and procedures including listing, recording, enumerating, classifying, discriminating, and proceeding from part to part. Both excluded time from their methodological inquiry, giving instead primacy to space as an abstract/mathematical medium unresponsive to human perception. Both relied entirely on the materiality of the trace – whether a lexical component or an archaeological find – and the visual immediacy of form. Both had a serious part in the construction of the country's national history, while they were generally indifferent to matters of living memory. However, they differed in that lexicography focused mainly on the future by constantly renewing, cleansing, and amplifying the lexical depository of language, following the route of invention. Archaeology, on the other hand, was exclusively attached to the past, which it treated as an inexhaustible repository of finds accessible through the method of discovery. Whereas lexicography cared to incorporate change by assuming the world as indefinite and open-ended, archaeology was more concerned for the selective reconstruction of what was already there in the form of a finite material universe.

---

[658] Due to recurrent waves of migration of new populations to the city.

[659] Refer to my related study "Ephemeral transformations as points of private resistance to national strategies of modernizing the traditional Mediterranean city", presented in the Southeastern Regional ACSA Conference (Hampton, Virginia, 19-21 Oct. 1996).
Unfortunately, the remaining physical evidence to this date is so scarce that it precludes any further expansion on this topic, especially in reference to architectural space.

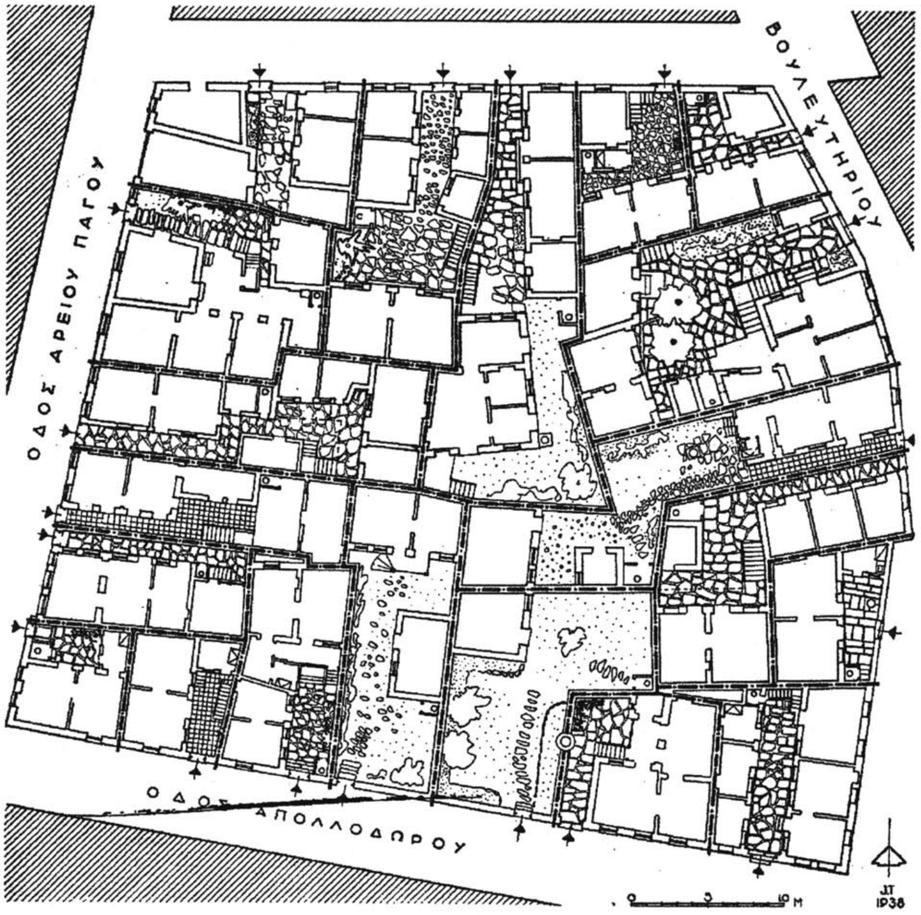

ΟΔΟΣ ΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΓΟΥ
ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΥ
ΟΔΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ
0
5
10 M
JT
1938

Fig. 19: Low-income residential block (#648) in the area of the Athenian Agora. Demolished for excavations in 1938. Characteristic sample of premodern patterns of building and space organization persisting through nineteenth-century Athens.
(Drawn, surveyed, and published by Joannes Travlos in his *Πολεοδομική 'Εξέλιξις τῶν 'Αθηνῶν...*, 1960, fig. 173, p. 253)

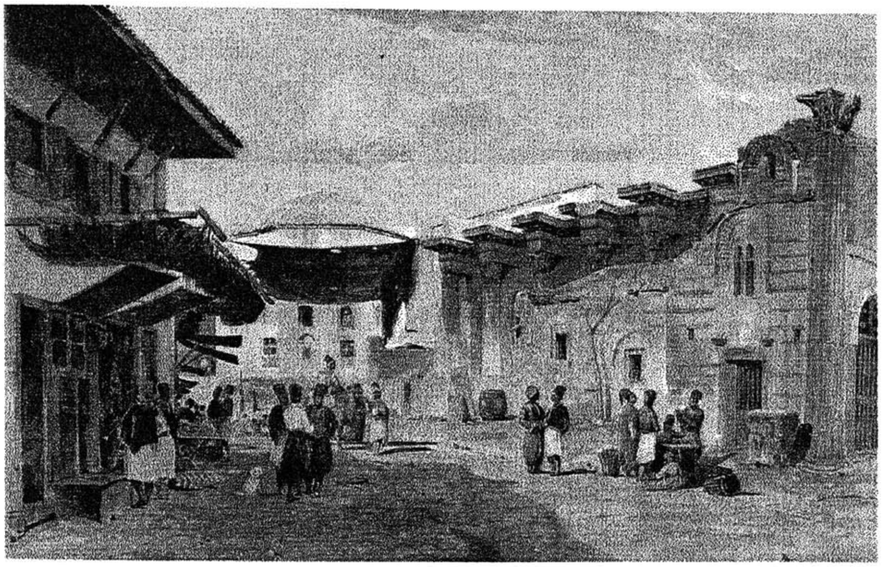


Fig. 20: J.N.H. de Chacaton, *Hadrian's Library*, 1839 (watercolor)
(In Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, 1981, pl. XX)

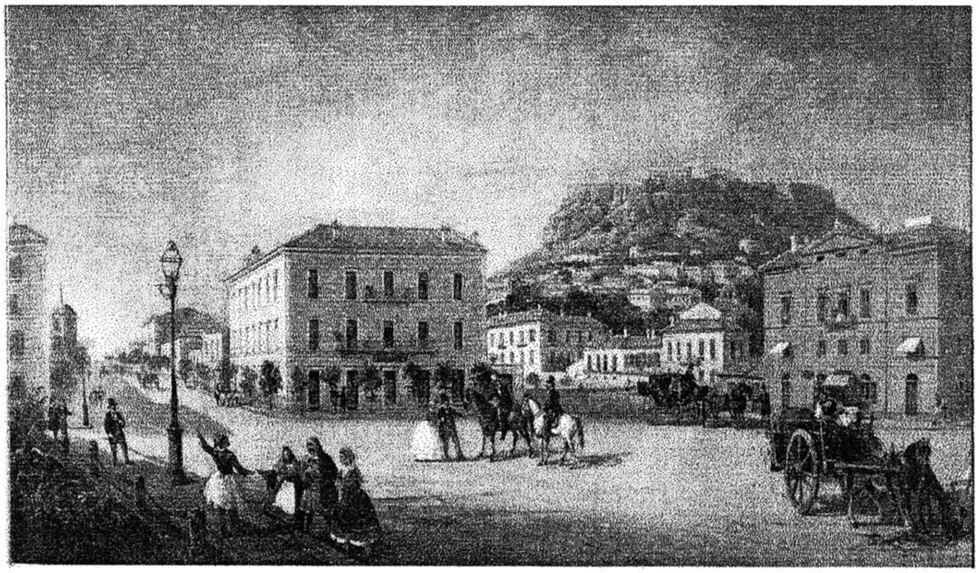


Fig. 21: Giorgio Peritelli, *Syntagma Square*, 1863 (oil on canvas)
(In Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, 1981, fig. 49, p. 149)

[Contrasting views of urban life in mid-nineteenth-century Athens.]

v) The 'city–museum'

Koumanoudis lived in a time of change. It would have been absurd then if he had sought to describe Athens in the terms of an archaeological topography alone, that is, as a stationary and finite universe composed of fixed objects in space. The tree-logic of the dictionary, as explained earlier, allowed him to introduce change in the system without disturbing its basic hierarchical structure. In such a system, change comes additively without overthrowing preestablished relationships. The system grows by accretion until a desired variety of new forms comes about, a 'panorama' in the author's terminology. This panorama however does not use as a conceptual model the theater – that is, probably the nearest analogue to real life – but the **museum**. The museum is, I believe, the metaphor which concretizes most lucidly the city of Athens which Koumanoudis constructed in his 'Panorama'. The modern **city–museum** is a city which combines the logic of the dictionary and that of the archaeological topography, while it adds an ideological layer to them. Hence, it takes disinterested description to the level of practical instruction.

Influenced by early Romantic ideas, Koumanoudis envisioned a city in which stability and change would not be in conflict with one another, a city in which the old and the new would coexist in harmony. The concept of the 'city-museum' was common around Europe at the time and it continued to inform urban design projects throughout the nineteenth century.[660] In fact, it was by suggestion of noted Western Europeans, such as King Ludwig I of Munich, and the architects Klenze and Schinkel, that Athens began to visualize herself in these terms. At the same time, Athens was different from most other cities because she was allegedly also a **city–monument**, that is, a repository of humanity's cultural memory and a standard point of reference for the rest of the world. If other city–museums yielded to the dictates of modernity and placed their valuable 'exhibits' in a dynamic continuum, Athens was practically restricted from doing that. She was instead induced to single out her 'Golden Age' as the unique and unrepeatable accomplishment and proudly preserve it as such for the ages to come. The concept 'city–monument', superimposed on the concept 'city–museum', charged the reborn city of Athens with the immense responsibility of resisting the contingencies of time and retaining its prototypical character in eternity. She had to promote herself as a total work of art. Like every important monument, like every work of art born in the classical tradition, Athens was expected "first to instruct, and then to delight" her foreign visitor.[661] However, in post-Independence Greece, that is, in a country still lacking the necessary discursive mechanisms to process and assimilate foreign messages of this kind, this message from the more civilized West was received as a call for regimentation. Agents of change with an obvious classicist bent, such as Koumanoudis, immersed themselves in the painful effort of purging Greek history from any 'shadows' of an Eastern origin and of promoting ancient Greece as the ultimate basis of the country's national identity. This selective viewing of the past entailed a selective viewing of the present. The new city had to reflect the old, to bear an iconic resemblance with the old as long as she could not be its natural extension. She had to be neither a city of history nor a city of memory, but a city *about* history. The new plan of Athens, drawn up without any serious foresight for the city's future growth, served nothing more than a thin slice of the present – a present essentially subjugated to the past.

---

[660] For example, eighteenth-century Potsdam under Frederick the Great (turned from a garrison town to an architectural museum), and nineteenth-century Munich under Ludwig I and his hellenophile architect Leo von Klenze (turned into a museum of styles). The development of Vienna's Ringstrasse into an array of different styles belongs to the same concept, although it is not a city in itself.

The museum metaphor, combined with the monument metaphor, epitomizes Koumanoudis's aesthetic philosophy in reference to the reborn city of Athens. Obviously influenced by his own involvements in the design and organization process of the first archaeological collections in Greece,[662] the nineteenth-century Greek archaeologist conceived the new city as a collection of particulars over which order, precision, hierarchy, and semantic clarity reigned. The various artifacts–buildings, plainly and unambiguously defined in advance, were placed one beside the other in a well organized sequence, making the experience of walking through them both interesting and didactic. The range of possible connections between them, based either on comparison or on contrast, were also predetermined. The itineraries through the city–museum had to be properly measured so that the items of special significance came into view neither too soon nor too late. The accumulation of more valuable exhibits and the proliferation of the potential itineraries was to serve as an index of the city's progress.[663] Change was not an issue that could in any way overthrow the preexisting order, even less affect the intelligibility of the display pieces. On the contrary, change would enhance perceptual clarity by properly treating all the observed anomalies, either by placing the unfit 'pieces' behind dividing walls or by eradicating them altogether. The museum *with* walls, the museum that obeyed the current convention of setting apart artifacts from different periods, countries, and racial groups, was the museum type most familiar to Koumanoudis and certainly the prototype he used in order to conceptualize Athens as a city–museum; that is, a stationary, clean, almost *aseptic* city.[664] It was the type of museum which coerced its beholder into a standard mode of disembodied perception, totally unaffected by the contingencies of time and history. The *flâneur* of the panoramic arcades of Europe was but a remote relative to the citizen of new Athens who was still making his/her first hesitant steps into modernity.

---

[661] This is my comment on the memorable slogan by Schinkel and Dr. Waagen (later director of the Altes Museum) in the memorandum they published jointly in 1828 on the operation of the Altes Museum, ***Über die Aufgaben der Berliner Galerie*** (On the Purpose of the Berlin Gallery): "Erst erfreuen dann belehren" (First delight, then instruct). Quoted in Watkin and Mellinghoff, German Architecture..., op. cit. p. 99. Of course, the primary reference here is Winckelmann's memorable, less categorical, phrase: "Arts have a double aim: to delight and to instruct." J. J. Winckelmann, On the Imitation..., op. cit., p. 85.

[662] In 1861 Koumanoudis was placed in charge of the organization and display of the first collection of antiquities in rooms of the University where they were temporarily housed since 1858. The collection consisted mainly in a compilation of private donations, including Koumanoudis's own collection. At that time, Koumanoudis was also entrusted with the systematic cataloguing of all the acquisitions of the collection, the core of the later National Archaeological Museum. According to the archaeologist Angeliki Kokkou, Koumanoudis's catalogue was exemplary for its order and scientific method. (Kokkou, Ἡ Μέριμνα.... (The Care for the Antiquities....), op. cit., p. 184.) Significant was his participation as a member of the advisory committee on the specifics of the establishment of the first Archaeological Museum in Greece, that is, location, design, architect, organization, and so forth. See related document in the archive (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., F9/ Φ1111, 16/ 17-1-64).

[663] Accounts of **progress** in Greece, composed in a list form, are included in the following documents: *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F36/ Φ1150, 6(r) (enumeration of the "good and the bad" in Greece of 1850 with emphasis on public

Koumanoudis's description of Athens in terms of a panorama was not a dispassionate reading of the city but a reading motivated by a special interest: the exoneration of Athens from her present state of disarray and the promotion of an ideal picture of her worthy of a European capital. His essay, despite its plainly instructive and pedagogical tone, set forth a number of innovative issues which, had they been promptly consolidated to a theoretical body, could have turned Athens into the dream-city of every citizen, that is, the place which combines quality of life with aesthetic gratification. Most prominent among these issues were the close rapport between built environment and landscape, and the extension of the notion of historical value beyond human artifacts on to natural elements (e.g., trees, water, and mountains). These ideas – especially nourished by early advocates of Romanticism in Greece, such as Mavroyiannis – had the potentials to preserve the ecological balance of the Athenian basin and, simultaneously, forge a sharable *ethos* for its inhabitants. Unfortunately, these ideas were easily forgotten under the feverish pace of speculative development of the urban land, which was to reach its peak in the twentieth century. The city of organic unity which persisted for many centuries gave way to the "city of parts" and the mechanistic logic whereby

---

monuments and private residences); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F34/ Φ1148, 73 (a listing of the public works in Greece between the years 1835 and 1855 and a listing of adversities during the same period); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F34/ Φ1148, 76 / date 1894 (listings of public institutions, beneficial groups, societies, unions, etc.); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F28/ Φ1142,3/ date 1874(?) (2 comparative lists of public projects accomplished for the city of Athens in the period 1845-1862 (35 items) and 1862-1874 (35 items)); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F34/ Φ1148, 188/ date 1876 (a listing of 50 public buildings with the note "only 16 of these existed in 1845"); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F34/ Φ1149, 44 (a listing of 21 public projects with the title "Beautifications of the city of Athens since 1862"); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F35/ Φ1149, 142 (a listing of 17 schools and other educational institutions with the title "The schools of Athens at the end of 1869"); *S.K.A.*, op. cit., F20/ Φ1134, 9 (a listing of 10 schools for girls in Athens – no date).
The purpose of these listings is not specified. Most likely they served the author as preliminary notes toward the writing of articles in the daily press. Articles of similar content were very common in the press at that time. See for example: newspaper Αἰὼν, year 14, no. 1203, 23 Oct. 1851 (author unknown).

[664] An undated sketch by the author in the archive shows the layout for a museum with 7 rooms arranged *en filade.* It carries Koumanoudis's annotations on the use of each room. The exhibits are placed in strict chronological and historical order. Evidently it is Koumanoudis's proposal for the organization of the western wing of the Archaeological Museum after the final plans by P. Kalkos, around 1874 (*S.K.A.*, op. cit., doc. F39/ Φ1158, 12). See also Appendix II, Fig. L.

the urban phenomenon was conceptualized, experienced, and handled at the dawn of Greek modernity. Koumanoudis's text shared in this logic. At the same time, its author earnestly sought to tie the pieces together under an overriding principle, thus crafting Athens in the image of a total and unified work of art. His classicist bent overshadowed his romantic idealizations, most notably his representation of Athens in terms of a panorama. His attachment to a static and already by then obsolete model of a 'city–museum', his overemphasis on aesthetic matters, and his underestimation of the role of the perceiver, impregnated "a sense of death" in the object of his description, probably a far more severe "sense of death" than the one observed in the *panoramic* descriptions of western authors. His vision of creating a monument out of a city of contrasts and heterogeneity ultimately gave in to a polyphonic definition of monumentality as every citizen relied upon a more personal, less prescribed, understanding of this notion.

CONCLUSIONS – EPILOGUE

What were the constituents of architectural culture and what were the intellectual presuppositions that shaped a modern architectural consciousness in the new Nation-State of Greece after a four-century long submission to a foreign yoke? This dissertation endeavored to respond to this twofold question by tracing and discussing seminal Greek texts related to architecture from the period immediately following the Independence of Greece from the Ottomans, and specifically from the thirty-year course of Bavarian monarchy under the aegis of the "Great Powers" of Europe. King Othon I's assignment to the throne of Greece was accompanied by a program of drastic reform in the country's socio-cultural makeup, which included such measures as the inculcation of a nationalistic sentiment in all Greek citizens, the moral, social, and economical empowerment of the middle-classes, the promotion of a literate cultural model *vis-à-vis* the traditional oral one, and the transformation of the country's institutional infrastructure according to western European prototypes which sharply contrasted with the preceding Byzantine and Ottoman ones. The effects of this reform program upon nineteenth-century Greek building culture were unequivocal: the educated architect emerged in the former place of the empirical masterbuilder as the leading agent of major building commissions; building construction was understood as an expert field possessing not only practice, but also theory; and buildings were perceived as signs bearing a certain communicative value, normally associated with the new State's nationalistic aspirations. As in politics, society, and culture, so in architecture, a reversal of terms was set in effect since old patterns of thinking and acting according to inherited traditions were dislodged by new ones which conformed better with the government's program of westernization. In consequence of the fact that many of these new patterns were uncritically transplanted from the West without having been yet properly contextualized, modern Greek culture at its dawn was structured around a series of linguistic bipolarities, such as West vs. East, history vs. lived memory, culture vs. nature, city vs. countryside, center vs. periphery, and so forth. While the first part of each pair enjoyed full legitimacy by both political and intellectual authorities, the second part of each pair either played a subservient role to the first or was disclaimed as a misfitting category in the new order of things. Thus, for having worked its ways through irreconcilable bipolarities and for having generally failed to productively assimilate preestablished conventions of world-making into its new realities, the nineteenth century is often regarded by contemporary historians as a period of transition in the long intellectual and cultural history of Greece. It is on the mechanics of this transition in special reference to architecture that this dissertation focused through a systematic examination of related textual accounts at the time.

Athens, the city–capital of the new State, became the center of this historical/theoretical investigation owing to the prominence she gained in Greek nineteenth-century discourses in association with the fact that Athens, a city reconstructed from its ruins, set a whole new architectural paradigm for the entire country. This architectural paradigm was tied to the government's political/ideological program of Greek nationalism which proclaimed a direct link between the country's present state and its classical past. Bearing heavily upon the idealized example of the Athenian "Golden Age," modern Greeks – prompted by their European allies – envisioned Athens as the embodiment of the impelling dream of the country's return to its ancient state of glory. Although the prospect of a Greece gaining nationalistic autonomy by offering clear evidence of its kinship with its ancient past was a plan that originated with western European romanticism, the means for its realization were practical, mundane, and far from romantic in their inception. In fact, the related analysis of the texts showed that organic and contextualist models of thought – normally associated with the romantic paradigm – were generally suspect by Greek intellectuals and, therefore, rejected in favor of mechanistic and more materially-based models which drew from the outdated paradigm of early Enlightenment (i.e., the so-called "Classical Age" of Europe). By most Greek intellectuals and State agents in the Othonian period, this call for a return to glory was interpreted as a call for monumentality in all the aspects of the new culture, including language, social customs, and most importantly architecture. Monumentality, a concept traditionally associated with cosmological unity and deeds of memorialization equally shared by the community, in the ideologically laden nineteenth century came to denote outstanding size, class, progeny, and verification of a nationalistic prophecy. It became a convenient way of redeeming the everyday from its normal attachment to Eastern traditions, embodied memory, nature, familiar scale, and intuitive processes of world-making, all of which were perceived by the modern State as the dark side (i.e., the "shadows") of the new order and, therefore, as incongruous with their rational plan of westernization. Ironically, State ideology invested in monumental "Greek" forms added another layer to that "dark side" as it methodically instilled in public consciousness the myth of eternal Greece, that is, a non-rational fabrication. In the context of this dissertation, monumentality served as an important conceptual tool which enabled the identification, classification, and analysis of different models of thought in reference to architecture. The attitude of the writers – primarily non-architect Greek intellectuals – toward the country's both old and new monuments, all now seen as symbols of ethnic unity and national identity, was carefully considered. Special heed was paid to elements of their texts which, either directly or indirectly, encouraged, transformed, or counteracted popular ways of relating with the built environment.

An important deduction of this thesis concerns the nature of the available literature. No original texts of architecture (e.g., architectural treatises, critical essays on existing buildings, etc.) were produced within the free State during the Othonian period – an indication of a not-yet fully developed context of architectural discourse at the time. Instead, a host of other literary sources having architecture as a sub-theme caused unprecedented interest in matters related to space and the built environment. These sources were mainly practical in character and covered such subjects as domestic economy, hygiene, social etiquette, physical chorography, climate, or popular description of city sites. Although they did not generate architectural discourse *per se*, texts of this kind helped to disclose architecture as a powerful medium of world-making to modern Greeks mainly through the language of practical instruction. Furthermore, they nourished the Vitruvian idea that architectural knowledge is not necessarily generated within the limits of the discipline of architecture itself but is the product of a dynamic interchange with other fields of knowledge. Such fields with a certain impact upon architecture as a rising discipline in nineteenth-century Greece were geography, medicine, economics, history, philology, and archaeology. Being fields epistemologically well advanced at the time, they lent many of their conceptual tools, analytical methods, and formal reasoning to architecture – still largely an empirical profession – by way of texts of practical education.

The dissertation took notice of the fact that not all of the aforementioned scientific fields had an equal effect on the creation of an architectural culture in Othonian Greece, and more specifically in the Athenian capital. Depending upon the extent to which each of these fields served the interests of the dominant ideology, it was or was not assigned prominence in the broader discursive field. A closer look into the vast array of manuals of practical knowledge – the real bridges between the abstract domain of science and the everyday – proves, for example, that the highly original discourse which medical doctors (e.g., Mavroyiannis, Goudas) developed in reference to the climate and the physical chorography of the city was generally underrated in favor of the practical, and not so original, instruction manuals of social etiquette and domestic economy. Not only did the latter group of manuals copy their western equivalents, but also used a particularly axiomatic rhetoric to relate human action with architecturally specific settings. To the interpretative, context-responsive, and rather disinterested reasoning of medical doctors with roots in early romantic thought, manuals of domestic economy and decorum counterposed a mechanistic logic of categorical distinctions which often turned practical instruction into prescription (i.e., lacking proper demonstration of their arguments). The overwhelming popularity of these sources, especially among the middle-classes of the city–capital, is ascribable to the growing desire for social advancement, urbanization, and nation building under the general command of a centralized authority.

The first chapter of the dissertation presented the middle-class Athenian house of the Othonian period as the most distinctive crystallization of the cultural forces at work during the formative stage of Greek modernity. On the one hand, the ideologically based drive for urban assimilation and social distinction found its perfect representation in the formal zone of the house in which most of the axiomatic rules of domestic economy and decorum applied. On the other hand, inherited patterns of living and space-use in tune with nature persisted in the informal zone of the house which, for this reason, was better disposed to the aforementioned disinterested discourse of medical doctors. Whereas the formal zone ensured both the physical and symbolic contiguity of the house with the urban domain, the informal zone gave the house on to the vital forces of nature, particularly through its organic relationship with the courtyard (or backyard). In this sense, the Athenian house – by contrast with its vernacular precedent – gained autonomy, individuality, and self-subsistence relative to its context through the appropriation of the monumentalizing means of modern urban culture; yet, at the same time, it retained certain vernacular characteristics mainly through its inhabitants' habitual practices and through engaging nature in part of its structure. The dissertation argued that the Athenian house of the Othonian period was not an organic construct, like the traditional Mediterranean house, but a mechanistic one, for adjoining – without integrating – two distinctly different zones. And although, in a general theorization, this mechanistic construct may appear to be holding culture and nature in an irreconcilable tension, in the minds of its inhabitants its division in two zones was justified as an essential upshot of their new life in the city. Further, by projecting upon its spatial definition the traditional theological polarity of sacred and profane as aspired to Eastern Christianity, they mystified the boundary between the two domestic spheres, thus promoting to the level of an immutable symbol – the symbol of a rising class with a distinct national identity – an otherwise functional organic entity, such as the human dwelling.

The second and third chapters of the dissertation proceeded to a more thorough study of the intellectual milieu which fostered architecture as the monumentalizing force *par excellence* in the modern Greek State. This milieu was identified with the group of the philologist–archaeologists, a relatively new empirical profession in Greece heavily bearing upon the power of the written text. The related research proved archaeology as the discipline most akin to architecture at the time due to a shared interest in space and its representations. Specifically, the discourse of the philologist–archaeologist came to be the most influential in setting the theoretical foundations of the architectural discipline. Archaeological topographies by western European archaeologists set forth novel ways of space conceptualization as they scientifically demonstrated space in its dual nature – i.e., visible and invisible – and in its ability to order and rationalize the material world. Ludwig Ross's first Greek *Manual of Archaeology* appeared to be the only source of basic architectural theory in the Othonian period, but because of its subtle romantic and non-ethnocentric bent it was soon superseded by the more categorical voice of the classicists. It was the officially sanctioned discourse of the philologist–archaeologist – interestingly, never articulated in the complete form of a text – which dominated the scene of Greek culture for most of the nineteenth century and ascribed a moral cause to the country's return to its classical state of glory. In this connection, neoclassicism was institutionalized as the dominant architectural style with incontestable monumentalizing powers in comparison with any other style. The fact that the discursive path to a new architectural order was paved mainly by a discipline other than architecture had a certain effect upon how architecture was generally perceived by the city public: as a textual medium which could generate new and compelling places of memory, but which possessed no disciplinary memory of its own. The ideologically–bound word of the philologist–archaeologist gave architecture prominence as a rising discipline. Yet, at the same time, it divested architecture of some of its vital potentials by stressing form over structure/ construction, text over context, culture over nature, and rule over imagination; also, by establishing an artificial divide between classicism and romanticism – a divide which the West had already overcome through more dialectical modes of reasoning. Greek philologist–archaeologists, acting as the guards of the new socio-cultural order, assigned to the arts – architecture included – an educative mission in the context of which the sensual element was carefully suppressed. Consequently, the visible world was modeled as a static universe which was thus hoped to secure more firmly its monumentality in eternal and inalienable forms. The dissertation argued that this world remained a highly theoretical schema which was contradicted by reality itself to the extent that it failed to integrate people's habitual ways of monumentalizing the everyday through active involvement in public spectacles and awe-inspiring rituals.

The third chapter of the dissertation, in particular, delved into a systematic reading of both published and unpublished documents of Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, the well esteemed nineteenth-century archaeologist, lexicographer, and Latin philologist. Although Koumanoudis's writings typify the aforementioned ideologically-bound discourse of the philologist–archaeologists, they go beyond it into more incisive reflections on architecture and its problems as a discipline under formation. A good number of them reveal an author whose relation to architecture was not contingent upon his profession, but motivated by a profound personal interest in this discipline. His sketches of buildings, spatial wholes, and building details prove him a keen observer of architectural form. In his diary notes, Koumanoudis appears an astute critic of buildings and built environments. In his notable article "Total Panorama of Athens" he crafts a compelling picture of the city by combining the dispassionate description of archaeological topographies with a coordinated plan of urban growth along the lines of modernity and the all-pervasive nationalist spirit at the time. Finally, his promotion of the idea calling for the establishment of the architectural discipline in Greece by way of academic studies confirms his special attachment to the field and its interests. The fact that he never articulated architectural discourse *per se* may be recognized in a number of ideological obstacles which prevented the fruitful exchange between practice and theory in the early phase of the Greek State – obstacles which carried on to the secular context of Greek modernity the absolute theological bipolarity of the "built" and the "unbuilt" as deeply seated in premodern Eastern Christian consciousness.

Despite their overt attachment to the prevalent nationalist ideology, Koumanoudis's instructive writings proposed a whole new way of dealing with the urban phenomenon and its architectural definition. They expanded the notion of dwelling upon the domain of the city as a whole which they regarded as the real domain of order, visual education, and communication for modern citizens, even though divorced from its habitual associations with the theatrical and performative element of the premodern town. Monuments for Koumanoudis were not innocuous entities to be recast constantly into new contexts and empower the community in new ways, but enduring marks of national identity, items of display, and time-machines in the overriding allegory of the "city-museum." The model of the city Koumanoudis set forth was conservative and still caught up in a host of linguistic bipolarities and moralistic prejudices. However, it was one of the very few visionary models that neohellenic literature constructed for the Greek city before the maturation of a modern architectural discourse.

Epilogue

This dissertation developed as a long meditation upon the conditions which either enable or prevent the articulation of architectural knowledge (i.e., *logos*) in the material body of a text in a given historical context and in a specific place. It built upon the hypothesis that the entry of Greece into a literate state of culture immediately following Independence would enhance the possibilities for the continuation of its tradition of architectural discourse which was interrupted for more than ten centuries. The most promising place for such a revival seemed to be Athens, the new city–capital. The hypothesis was not satisfied by the available research material. This leads to the simple conclusion that knowing and reflecting upon the known are two different things, not necessarily in coordination with one another at a given historical time. Almost all the architects of the Othonian period, either members of the academic establishment or not, were devoted to the architectural task, not to writing. This is probably because reflection upon the known was difficult to develop in a country which had not yet secured its borders, its social and cultural identity, its national symbols, and its modern image. With its ethnic ancestry in dispute due to the provocative Fallmerayer case on the one hand, and with its gradual marginalization from the once philhellenic Europe, on the other hand, Greece found itself in the need to strengthen its internal mechanisms of self-defense against any insidious attacks upon its self-subsistence as a reborn country. Greece experienced the Othonian period in a state of urgency. In this state, the possibilities for disinterested discourse were practically minimal, while a far bigger urge arose for the production of prescriptive texts to lead the country to a predetermined end. Greece in the nineteenth-century absorbed the teachings of the European Renaissance and the Enlightenment – that is, two periods of which it did not have the chance to partake at the right time – in the compressed form of instructive texts and formalistic dictates. As a country it did not experience the rise of an authentically modern culture before the 1930s. By that time, Greek intellectuals had succeeded to overcome their century-long fixation with the sovereign example of ancient Greece and the word of the authority, and incorporate the formerly neglected 'languages' of the people into a more dynamic cultural schema – a schema they upheld through both practice and theory. The poems of Seferis and Elytis, the paintings of Tsarouchis and Moralis, the music of Hadjidakis and Theodorakis, and the architectural works of Pikionis and Konstandinidis, far from nostalgic regresses into an unattainable past, were critical responses to the realization that the idea of a homeland resides not as much in the monuments as in the "shadows" of people's lives. That this new cultural paradigm was amplified by the written discourses of its creators was not a mere coincidence, but a natural outgrowth of the critical spirit that motivated their works.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE SPATIAL MODEL OF THE *HELLENIC EAST*

The results from the long period of 'hibernation' of the architectural discourse in the *Hellenic East* were far from detrimental for the built environment of regions formerly under the aegis of the Byzantine Emperor.[665] Given the strictly external and hierarchical relationship between the works of God and the works of man, the latter were endowed with an unusual degree of independence only on the condition that their concerns focused exclusively on pure matter, that is, theoretically an element of no worth in Christian theology. The prize which human occupations involving pure matter and labor work, such as building construction, had to pay for their independence from the rules of the Church was that they could never claim for themselves a status higher than the status of a mere technical profession. The respective gain, however, was twofold, philosophical and practical at the same time: on the one hand, these professions enjoyed a relative degree of autonomy from any mystical or metaphysical notions – in contrast with other more speculative fields of knowledge, such as philosophy and science – and on the other hand, they maintained the right to a self-reliant reasoning which was never exploited by any form of authority (i.e., religious or political) toward specific ideological ends. This reasoning, instead, found specific application in the world of sensible matter and sought to offer practical solutions only to pragmatic human needs.

Specifically, the art of building construction (*tektonike*) and its related practical reasoning (*logos*) had a decisive impact on the development of a thoroughly rational model for the pre-Revolutionary city (i.e., Byzantine and Ottoman), for which Oreopoulos coins the term "spatial model of the Hellenic East".[666] This model, whose philosophical foundations lie in ancient Greek philosophy,[667] passed on to the spatial realm after its theoretical principles were properly abstracted from ancient ontology, preserved, and institutionalized in and through the legislative corpus of the Byzantines.[668] Thereof, in the form of a 'building code', this set of abstract principles regulated the entire series of spatial relationships among the architectural components of every settlement which was subject to the same Law.[669] In brief, these principles espoused the cosmological balance among the four elements (i.e., earth, air, fire, water), the regulation of this balance by a set of computational relations, the sense of universal harmony, and the constitution of the world as a complete whole. Two characteristics of this mathematically complex model, as applied to the built environment of the pre-Revolutionary city, deserve special mention in this context. First, the structural logic of the whole is primordially defined by the arithmetic logic according to which a set of standard spatial relationships are established among the architectural components of the first entity. In other words, the principal unit of the model is not the isolated building, nor the city as a whole, but a spatial entity which involves **the building in relation to its immediate surroundings.**[670] Second, the development of the settlement follows the organic logic of gradual accretion with the addition of new spatial entities to the first one over time. In other words, building expansion is based solely on a **syntactical logic**, that is, a logic which is founded on spatial adjacencies and gives priority to functional over semantic considerations.

---

[665] Oreopoulos begins the development of this argument in Part 2, Section 4 "The City" of his book and fully demonstrates his point in Part 3, Section 2 "The spatial model of the Hellenic East". Philippos Oreopoulos, 'Ο Νεοελληνικός Λόγος γιά τήν 'Αρχιτεκτονική καί τήν Πόλη: Τό Χωρικό Μοντέλο τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Ανατολῆς (The Neohellenic Logos about the Architecture (of the building) and the City: The Spatial Model of the Hellenic East), with a preface by A. Tzonis and L. Lefaivre, Hestia, Athens, 1998, pp. 124-131, 176ff. The book was also published in French as Le Modèle Spatial de l' Orient Hellène: Le Discours Néohellénique sur la Ville et l' Architecture, L' Harmattan, Paris, 1998.

[666] The term appears in the title and throughout the book. Its fullest exposition is in Part 3, Chapter 2 (op. cit.) The logic of the spatial model is far more complex than what my epigrammatic exposition makes it appear.

[667] A methodical consolidation of ideas from the Pre-Socratics (Empedocles), Plato (*Τιμαῖος*), the Pythagoreans, Hippocrates (*Περl ἀέρων*), Aristotle (*Poetics*). The work of Vitruvius (*De Architectura*) – the eighth book in particular – is the first clear demonstration of architectural discourse which is built on and builds upon the philosophical reasoning of all of the aformentioned authors. (Oreopoulos, op.cit., p. 182).

[668] The first important compilation of rules concerning the organization of the built environment along the lines of the ancient cosmological model within the Christian world has the form of a handbook, entitled *'Επαρχικὸν*, and is attributed to the sixth century architect Julianus Ascalonites. The content of the manual passed into the official legislation corpus of the Byzantine State in the tenth century. Oreopoulos leaves open the question whether Julianus knew of Vitruvius's text or not.

[669] The geographical expanse of the Byzantine code formally defines the actual expanse of the Greek world at the time within the larger area of Eastern Mediterranean, therefore comes the attribution of the model to "the Hellenic East".

Based on this sketchy demonstration of the "spatial model of the Hellenic East", the following conclusions may be drawn to facilitate our transition to the discussion of the model of the post-Revolutionary Greek city. In the pre-Revolutionary city, the whole of the built environment was never preconceived as a physically finite and complete totality (contrary to the scheme of the divine universe which was thought of as always both finite and complete, though only in the eyes of God). There was no logical separation between the building and the city, therefore, no epistemological distinction between architecture and urban-planning. The logic of the two was common and was encompassed by the term 'built environment' (*κτισμένο*), that is, a continuous and homogeneous spatial entity – as opposed to the theological system earth–heavens, which was assumed discontinuous and hierarchical. The built environment was never conceived of as an aesthetic phenomenon reducible to its visual image; it was both non-representing and non-representable; the aesthetic effect of its physical form derived solely from the harmony of the arithmetic relations imbedded in it (not from any external generative source, i.e., the human figure). These arithmetic relations existed equally in the universe and in the human body.[671]

In transferring the principles of a harmonious universe to an anthropological level, Byzantine Law managed to establish the conditions of a harmonious co-existence to a multi-cultural community using as its sole apparatus the built environment. The abstract and generalized manner of stating these principles, proved the "spatial model of the Hellenic East" the most flexible and adaptable, therefore, the most stable and enduring, model of a city during the long Middle Ages of Southern Europe. People embraced this spatial model and retained it in their living/ bodily memory – still long after settling in modern cities – mainly for its instrumental value in the creation of an orderly, habitable, and peaceful environment at a time when peace and order were probably the most desired qualities in that region. But they did so for an additional reason, too. To the extent that the built environment bore in it both the functional and the mathematical logic of the human body, people understood buildings in general as natural extensions of themselves, and only in rare instances as mirror-images of their bodies. For the latter, the "spatial model" had nothing to say.[672]

This parenthetical exposition of the "spatial model of the Hellenic East" and the intellectual conditions of its development that I attempt by reference to Oreopoulos's commendable study, assists in restating, more firmly now, three important deductions regarding the cultural substratum upon which the post-Revolutionary city – Athens, in particular – was founded. First, Greece reached the threshold of modernity without any tradition of architectural discourse. Vitruvius's treatise, which was already revisited by western European architects and properly adapted to their particular physical, cultural, and social milieux, was known but ignored by Greek authors in the Middle Ages due to a host of *epistemological obstacles.* The discourse which supported building practice was practical in nature, not theoretical, and derived exclusively from the corpus of the Byzantine Law. This kind of discourse never managed to rise to the level of an autonomous architectural discourse; even less, to develop the right tools (e.g., the art of drawing) for the transcendence of empirical knowledge by way of theoretical speculation. The second important deduction concerns the role of the builder/craftsman as the creative manipulator of raw matter toward a functionally and structurally sound building product, not as the inventor of new spatial order or novel built form. Working from a set of given parameters, the builders and craftsmen of the *Hellenic East* became the interpreters of an immutable law in their ability to adapt its dictums to the particularity of the situation. Hence, they functioned as the regulators and stabilizers of order and harmony in the human community, by bridging the gap between word and matter through their building practice. Lastly, building and city were conceived, perceived, and constructed as a continuous 'body', with the essence of the whole imbedded in the part, that is, the originating spatial unit. A boundary was understood, not as a physical limit, but as a set of relations that defined what lay beyond or what was yet to be built. Human perception, having to respond to a labyrinthine, albeit determinate, continuous, and predictable environment, developed a sense of automatic orientation in space based on intuition rather than visual certainty. Identification with the city as a whole took place from the inside rather than from the outside, as it was based more on the experience of the inhabitant-pedestrian than of the traveler-spectator.

---

[670] Oreopoulos coins the term "law of minimum distances" to the arithmetic logic that defines the spatial relations of the model. For a full demonstration see: Op.cit., Part 3, Section 2.

[671] According to Vitruvius.

[672] Here, I am insinuating, of course, classical morphology manifest in buildings of the 'Hellenic East' during the period preceding the Greek Revolution. Oreopoulos attributes these rare examples to a self-conscious transplanting to a traditional context (mainly Crete and the Ionian Islands) of Renaissance and Baroque plans, or simply of stylistic elements, originating in the treatises of Western European architects. See: Oreopoulos, op. cit., Part 3, Section 4.1, pp. 230-232. Also p. 242. Buildings, remains of the classical antiquity, also had a decisive impact upon human perception in its familiarization with the principles of classical architecture.

APPENDIX II

A COLLECTION OF ARCHITECTURAL COMMENTS BY STEPHANOS KOUMANOUDIS
(PRIMARILY FROM UNPUBLISHED SOURCES)[ ]

I. Visits to various sites and related comments

- Munich, **Jewish Synagogue** (11 Sept. 1840)(1)
  Extensive description of the building. Emphasis on the classical elements (e.g., Doric & Corinthian columns) and their deviations from the norm. Attention to liturgical elements and use of space.
- Munich, **Basilica of St. Bonifatius**, arch. Ziebland (11 Sept. 1840)(1)
  Notices the Byzantine influence throughout.(*) The crypt with unusually short and thick columns. Use of space. The main church with 66 columns in 4 rows. Description of the site. Main and subsidiary buildings.
- Munich, **Ludwigkirche** [in Rundbogenstil, arch. Friedrich Gärtner, 1829-44] (13 Oct. 1840)(1)
  Notices Byzantine influence and a cross plan. Extra attention to the iconography of the recently completed frescoes. The Last Judgment [by Cornelius] dominates. Beauty and naturalness are absent. Alienating effect.
- Berlin, **City** walk (end of Oct. 1840)(1)
  Positive effect ("the most beautiful city") except for the dark color on buildings. The architecture has more variety and a richer character than that of Munich. Notices distortion of the Greek Orders and lack of proportions. More variety in the architecture of private houses than in Munich where simplicity reigns. Richer and more elegant buildings as fit in the class of the aristocracy.
- Berlin, **City** walk (9 Nov. 1840)(1)
  He notices more and more irregularities in the appearance of private houses. The streets lack uniformity. Many small and cheap houses among the large and noble ones. The streets of Munich are far more 'harmonious'. The city is filled with life and shops, which are inferior to those in Munich and Leipzig.
- Berlin, **Friedrichstrasse** (2 Nov. 1840)(1)
  The street is not evenly wide throughout. "Why is the regular so hard to follow?"
- Berlin, **Luisenstrasse** (4 Dec. 1840)(1)
  He notices that all along the street and the adjacent square [which?] the buildings are unusually elegant. He suspects Schinkel's intervention. The style of the street reminds him of the 'harmonious' streets of Munich, although still unfinished. He thinks that the street would have impressed him less if he had entered it through the opposite side. He finds the Königliche Arzneischule a handsome building.
- Berlin, **Potsdamerstrasse** (6 Dec. 1840)(1)
  There are many private houses each of which uses the Greek style. Thus they look nice and gay. This does not happen in Munich where many houses lately are built in the sober and graceless Byzantine. There the Greek style is used only in order to ensure uniform scale and appearance to the new districts of the city, but not to each house individually.
- Berlin, **Theater [Schauspielhaus**, arch. Schinkel, 1818-21](end of Oct. 1840 – First visit)(1)
  Inferior to that of Munich. Looks like a box.

- Berlin, **Schauspielhaus** (9 Nov. 1840 – second visit)(1)

  Negative comments on the overall appearance of the building. Its massing dissolves due to the large number of windows. It looks like a continuous window which is subdivided by numerous mullions. This makes it "kleinlich"(=shabby). He is disturbed by the fact that all the ornaments of the windows are made of stucco. This shows misery. Who cannot pay for good materials (e.g., stone) should not built a theater. He identifies the painted themes with stories from the Greek mythology.
- Berlin, **Schauspielhaus** (29 Nov. 1840 – third visit)(1)

  He expresses his increasing dislike for the building. Everything looks odd, cold, and depressing. The contrast with the theater of Munich is striking. You enter a low-vaulted vestibule like the basement of a prison. Once you mount on 20 steps, you are in the 'par-terre' (unfit name). The interior looks unreasonably small compared to the exterior. It looks like a room in a palace that was temporarily set aside for a theater. Normally the interior space could accommodate three buildings, not one. It is not enough for a building to be well decorated, it has to be architecturally solid. He describes various irregularities in the building, e.g., the enormous boxes of seats which protrude on both sides of the stage with the shapeless "ovens" underneath. He nostalgically recalls the theater of Munich, any irregularities of which do not strike the eye as much as in these 'petty theaters' (*θεατρίδια*). He recalls the grand stairs, the humble 'vestibulum', the generous rooms on both sides, the direct entry to the 'par-terre'.
- Berlin, **Schauspielhaus** (24 Feb. 1841 – fourth visit)(1)

  A note on the columns of the building in German. Too many narrow window-slits make the mullions look like columns. This annihilates the effect of columns ("devours the columns") where they are in use. Thus the building looks entirely "torn apart" (*καταξεσχισμένον*).
- Berlin, [Altes?] **Museum** [arch. Karl Fr. Schinkel, 1824-30](end of Oct. 1840 – first visit)(1)

  Better than the Theater from the exterior. Unpleasant feeling from the low ceiling along the entry staircase.
- Berlin, [Altes?] **Museum** (7 Nov. 1840 – second visit)(1)

  He visits the sculpture gallery. The large number of columns fill up the space entirely and create an unpleasant atmosphere as opposed to the gay feeling in the Glyptothek of Munich. Wrong use of natural light removes from the quality of the exhibits and makes the room depressing. – Artifacts of average quality.
- Berlin, **Museum [Orangerie?]** (2 Dec. 1840 – third visit)(1)

  [He does not specify which building. This was most likely the former Orangerie, a small building right behind the Altes Museum, used to store the royal collection of porcelain.]

  He visits the vase-gallery. The exhibit rooms have low ceilings and look like basement rooms ("the Underworld"). Mediocre quality of artifacts. They are lacking in craftsmanship and good taste. Their value lies in the scenes represented on their surface.
- Berlin, **University [Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, later Humboldt U.]** (end of Oct. 1840)(1)

  Irregularity dominates its overall appearance as it was built in phases.

  The front façade would look better if the portico were in accord with the architecture of the rest. The ornaments on the window-lintels look ugly. The same does the metallic balcony.
- Berlin, **University [Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität]** (3 Aug. 1842 – second note)(1)

  In the courtyard he observes some of the rococo details, e.g., the helixes above the windows; seen from inside they look like shapeless rags hanging (*κομμάτια πατζιαβούραις*). They look monstrous.

- Berlin, **Brandenburg Gate** [arch. Langhans, sculp. Schadow, 1788-91] (end of Oct. 1840)(1)
  Ironically, he calls it 'meta'-pylaia (instead of pro-pylaia) as marking the end of the city. He notices many mistakes in the architecture.
- Berlin, **Nicolaikirche** [medieval church of 1230, rebuilt in 1470 in Late Gothic, red brick](1)
  Odd shape. Irregularities on its exterior & interior due to additions. The stoa is completely unfit to the building. A particular icon in the chancel deviates the iconographic conventions. He is disturbed by the way church people beg for money.
- Berlin, **Werderschenkirche** [arch. Schinkel, 1824-30] (end of Oct. 1840 – first visit)(1)
  So called "the ship" by the Germans. The colossal window of the front looks odd. It is out of proportion relative to the bell towers. The whole looks like a Turkish stool turned upside-down. Was it out of laziness that the builders did not raise the towers higher? The iconography of the exterior is inferior to that in Munich. He hopes to come to terms with Schinkel when he visits the interior.
- Berlin, **Werderschenkirche** (3 Nov. 1840 – second visit)(1)
  Impressed by the interior. "The columns rise on both sides and in a radial form meet at the ceiling." Blue color dominates. Stain-glass. Iconography is limited to the chancel only. Oak-wood is used for all the furnishings. He notices local craftsmanship. Grace and simplicity reigns. A church worth visiting often.
- Berlin, **Werderschenkirche** (9 Nov. 1840 – third visit)(1)
  At a second look he observes all the irregularities. The frame of the main panel does not match the theme. A series of cabinets on one side, as well as two round windows, break the symmetry of the interior. Does this happen on purpose? Many notes on liturgical elements.
- Berlin, **Tiergarten** [public park in the English style, ca. 1835 by P.J. Lenn] (1 Nov. 1840)(1)
  He finds it boring and graceless compared with the English garden in Munich. Its straight alleys [reminiscent of its earlier French design] lack picturesqueness.
- Berlin, **Königstadtisches Theater** (7 Nov. 1840).
  He finds it small but nicely decorated. He notices the pilasters used as markers on both sides of the royal department. He finds the recess of the third tier (stoa) awkward; it looks as if it is broken. Overall he likes it better than the Operahaus.
- Berlin, **Operahaus** [arch. G eorg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, Neo-Palladian, 1740] (9 Nov. 1840)(1)
  He does not like it probably for the same reason that he does not like the Schauspielhaus, i.e., the odd use of classical elements.
- Berlin,**Royal Schloss** [Schloß Bellevue?–For Prince Aug. Ferdinand–Neo-Renaissance, 1785](1)
  Presents many irregularities.
- Berlin, **Königspalais** [Stadtschloss? – Not extant – Built in many phases – Its Baroque phase by arch. Andreas Schlüter in 1700] (9 Nov. 1840)(1)
  He calls it "erbärmlich" [= miserable]
- Berlin, **Academy of Art** [?] (16 Nov. 1840)(1)
  Positive criticism on the building except for a group of statues at the top which are much inferior in quality to the building. They must be removed.
- Berlin, **Nazarethkirche** [Müllerstr., Wedding, outside the old city, 1832-35] (16 Nov. 1840)(1)
  He liked the building but wonders what its style is, Byzantine, Greek, German? [The church is a simplified version of the basilica in Italian vernacular style. It has brick walls and 4 corner towers in Rundbogenstil.]
- Berlin, **Garnisonkirche** [on Friedrichstrasse] (16 Nov. 1840 – first visit)(1)
  He is sarcastic with the extreme simplicity of the building. "They wouldn't be wrong if they called it Garnisonkaserne because it looks like barracks."
  It is a simple rectangular edifice with no characteristic of a church. Its long windows characterize barracks. Its interior seems of no interest.

- Berlin, **Garnisonkirche** (7 Apr. 1841 – second visit)(1)
  He repeats the same comment as above. It looks poor and unimportant. Its contrast with the Michelkirche, "the Frauen of Munich", is striking. In the interior are 4 Doric columns on each side with a wooden (!) vault.
- Berlin, [Leich...?] **kirche** (29 Nov. 1840)(1)
  Corinthian columns inside with painted flutes. Unattractive statues of the 12 Apostles. No good icons. The cylindrical addition on the outside looks odd as it does not connect with the main space. Is it a bell-tower?
- Berlin, **Caserna** [or Lehreskadron on Lindenstrasse, arch. Schinkel, 1817-24] (4 Dec. 1840)(1)
  Negative opinion. He does not find the style of the building fit to the life-style of the soldier. Unless the architect thinks that the soldier of today should be gay and soft. Wrong! The soldier must be mighty, dignified, and atrocious. So, must be his residence.
- Berlin, **'Krautzberg'** [Kreuzberg or Hill of the Cross? Monument of the Wars of Liberation, arch. Schinkel, 1818-21] (20 Dec. 1840)(1)
  He likes the monument in particular.
- Berlin, **Domkirche** [arch. J. Boumann the Elder, 1747-50, exterior remodelling by Schinkel, 1820-22 – not extant] (1 Jan. 1841)(1)
  The portico in the Ionic style with pilasters and two columns. He does not like the fact that this is not the real entry to the building. The architectural members are not made of marble and lack glamor. The arcades with Corinthian columns. The ceiling is vaulted. The church houses the relics of important political figures. Also, plaques with the names of those who fell in the Napoleonic war.

- Athens, **Observatory** [arch. Theophil Hansen, 1842-44] (19 Oct. 1845)(1)
  It looks better from nearby. The use of color is striking. As it appears Greece is at the forefront of the modern trends in architecture. Other countries easily do away with the lessons of ancient art/architecture [i.e., the more faithfully one follows the ancients, the more trendy one is!]
  The Latin inscription at the door lintel will be incomprehensible to most people.
- From Piraeus to Athens, **New Road** (26 Nov. 1845)(1)
  The road looks wide and nicely built. It looks better than any road in Serbia.
- Athens, **Cemetery** (3 Dec. 1845)(1)
  Many of the monuments are artistically done. Overall, it is better than the cemetery of Belgrade. Everything there has a rural character.
  Athens, as a city, can please a Westerner better than Belgrade can.
- Athens, **Military Hospital** [neo-Byzantine style, arch. W. Weiler, 1835-36] (26 Nov. 1845)(1)
  Positive comments on the building. But he is displeased of the inscription "built in the fourth year of King Othon's stage *Unter der Kegierung*", instead of "... King Othon's reign". He thinks that this phrase insults the hellenic sentiment.
- Athens (Phaleron), **Monument to Warrior Karaiskakis** (13 March 1846)(1)
  The remoteness of the monument from the street makes it inconspicious and undignified. It has been subject to neglect and vandalism, maybe because it was built under the Regency. Same comment as above for its inscription.

Athens, **Promenades of Tivoli and Pausilypon** (19 April 1846)(1)
  Nothing similar in Belgrade. The Athenians enjoy comforts and luxuries similar to those in Western Europe. He compares with Berlin and Munich.

- Athens, **Monastery of Kaisariani** and environs (24 May 1846)(2)
  A very important monastery after that of Penteli. Sparse green areas. The road very pleasant. The church looks ordinary except for damages in the frescoes.

The eyes of the saints have been removed [by anti-Christians] since the time of the War. This shows the impiety of the young generation.

- Athens, on the **City** (25 Aug. 1851)(2)

  An inventory on the progress in building construction over the 2 summer months. 15 new private houses, some bridges, the Eye Hospital (after 2 years of recess and due to the generous contributions of some foreigners and Greek benefactors).
- Athens, on the **City** (no date - 1870s?)(6)

  An inventory of buildings which are ornated with round columns. Three lists, one of private, one of public, and one of ancient buildings. His purpose is to show that modern Athens has a good reason to be considered a dignified city.
- Patras, the **dock** (2 July 1851)(2)

  He disagrees with the decision of the government to violate the modern plan for the dock reducing its size for speculation of the land.
- Patras, New Church [?] (25 Aug. 1851)(2)

  It looks grander than the churches of Athens but its adjacency to private houses removes some of its charm. Because of that, one of its wings was cut off. Its façade is reminiscent of Tuscan villas. It has a Tuscan portico with a very low entablature. The columns are of cheap stone and bad craftsmanship. Dedication inscriptions on the columns have misspellings which insult the Greek language. The columns of the interior are tall and graceless, raised on pedestals about 1 1/2 times the height of a human. More land will have to be expropriated for the completion of the building.

  He accompanies this note with a rough sketch of the façade (See Fig. A).
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **Loutzi's Mansion & Estate** (14 Sept. 1850)(2)

  Impressed by the elegance of the house. He takes notes on the furnishings (engravings by Raphael and Reni, books by V. Hugo & Bocaccio – no Greek titles – gypsum statuettes by Canova, numerous family pictures. Large fields, nice flower garden – A real palace! But the architecture is not accurate because of the doubling of the columns [!]
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **The City** (14 Sept. 1850)(2)

  The old Italian architecture prevails throughout the city. The broken pediments are common in churches and often in private houses. At times figural sculpture decorates these pediments.

  He demonstrates a broken pediment in a scrible (See Fig. B).
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **Typical estate** (20 Sept. 1850)(2)

  Description of the main building as a villa in the Palladian type. The planting fields on both sides, front and back. (See Fig. C)
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **The City** (13 July 1851)(2)

  He is disturbed by the high density of building in the city. Row houses with no courtyards create stifling conditions.
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **The City** (July 1851)(2)

  He counts the private houses in a pure style to be only 20. All the rest are in a mixed style. He notices the lack of noble buildings, and stagnancy in general.
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **The City** (July 1851)(2)

  He notices that the city has two zones with obtrusive functions (e.g., workshops, etc.) as opposed to Athens which has only one. This is good but he does not like the fact that the shop-keepers work outdoors on the sidewalk. He asks for a map of the city but he cannot find any, so he draws two sketches from memory. (See Figs. E1 and E2)
- Island of **Zakynthos** (Zante), (July 1851)(2)

  He notices that there are no churches in the Byzantine style in the entire island. They all bear either the Rococo or the Italian influence. The ceilings of most are so low that often touch the templum. Some good icons are copies of Italian pieces.

- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **Church of St. Dionysius** or Metropolis (July 1851)(2)
  The bell-tower was built recently. He finds the square base of the tower enormously wide (out of proportion). The columns are Doric and of sandstone, the same as those of the police-station. In the interior the mezzanine (women's department) is fully guilted and the most attractive. The templum is nice except that it touches the ceiling.
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **Bell-tower of St. Dionysius** (4 July 1855)(3)
  Sketch of the tower from memory while on board. He notices that there are no triglyphs, nor ante at the low 4 corners, although the tower is in the Doric style. (See Fig. D – traced over)
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), [Catholic] **Church of St. Mark** (July 1851)(2)
  It has two mezzanine departments for women. The one on the side is covered with lattice-windows which bear the Eastern influence. The decoration is of no interest.
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), the **countryside** (no date - 1863?)(5)
  He notices architectural elements with no functional purpose in the houses of the countryside, e.g., stone grills covering blind niches. Also the 'bad' use of volutes in the place of a pediment. (See Fig. G – traced over)
  [That is, the use of volutes in the Albertian manner as in Sta. Maria Novella.]
- Island of Kefallinia, **Bank** (no date)(4)
  The building of the bank is good and faces East. It has [a portico of] six nice classical Ionic columns, unnecessary though because [the portico] is of no use. A double row of windows, major and minor. A solid base with no entrance door in the middle. (See Fig. F – traced over)
- Island of Kefallinia, **the Church of St. Gerasimus** [?] (no date)(4)
  The portico has four decent classical Ionic columns of sandstone, capped with a pediment. However, they are merely ornamental, as nobody can enter the church through them. The exact same thing happened in the bank. The Greeks never did such a silly thing.
- Nafplion, the **City** (14 Aug. 1847)(9)
  He expresses his enthusiasm for this Greek city. He pronounces it the model city, a real megalopolis. Among its advantages are: the uniform and consistent plan, the perfect alignments of streets, the consistent height to all buildings (2 or 3 storeys), the big houses (compared to the Athenian), the formidable rock-cliff with history for a background. He also admires the nicely embellished square with the old Venetian barracks and the coffee-shops.

II. Other comments with reference to architecture

- Munich, 24 Sept. 1840: He finds stunning the fact that memory preserves events associated with specific places, while it eliminates things read and painfully memorized.(1)
  [i.e., the basic axiom of the *ars memoria* and the basis of classical architecture.]
- Munich, 23 Sept. 1840: He presents his problematic on the definition of imitation, whether art should imitate the real or the ideal (i.e., should the artist have a predetermined aim). The faithful imitation of nature may cause unpleasant feelings. Art must be calming.(1)
  [i.e., his first objections against the category of the sublime in art.]
- Berlin, end of Oct. 1840: He characterizes the Germans as people with good taste and good ideas on the arts/architecture, but sort of miserous in the application of their ideas. On the contrary, the French and the Italians are extravagant, which takes them away from the norms of elegance and good taste (*ἀπειροκαλία*).

He wanders: "Why is it so difficult [for the artist/architect] to follow the measure (the middle road)?"(1)

- Berlin, end of Oct. 1840: In reference to the Brandenburg Gate, he wanders why the present age (so called the 'Enlightened Age') so easily dissents from the universal rules of beauty and good taste, something that did not happen in the Age of Pericles despite the limited technology. "Total symmetry and harmony reigned."(1)
- Berlin, 9 Nov. 1840: In reference to the use of stucco for ornaments in the Schauspielhaus. He orders that a noble material should not be faked by a cheaper material. This shows misery and bad taste.(1)
  [i.e., he fails to recognize that his most favored style of Neoclassicism amply used this practice in architecture.]
- Berlin, 28 Nov. 1840: He calls "a bad habit" the doubling of the columns in the colonnades of certain buildings. He assumes that this habit came about from the doubling of the pilasters which flanked windows, then it was applied to all the columns. He notices this 'anomaly' in many of the old buildings, e.g., the Library, a Palace in [Unter den] Linden, the Zeughaus, the colonnades in Königstrasse. He calls the architects who applied this feature first 'bad imitators' lacking any sense of good taste. Compared to them the Gothic builders used their imagination much more sensibly.(1)
  The author accompanies this note with a very eloquent set of two small sketches (scribles), one showing the façade of a classical building with single columns, the other of a modern building with double columns. (see Fig. H)
- Berlin, 8 Dec. 1840: He contends that one of the greatest merits of Greek architecture is its variety. Contrary to the Gothic and the Arabic, Greek architecture has the ability to express three different ideas, in addition to the [pilasteragstem?] which fits in all cases. Thus the builder can well display the character of a palace, a tomb, or a house. This is not feasible with Gothic architecture alone.(1)
- Berlin, 3 Aug. 1842: With reference to the rococo details in the courtyard of the University. He contends that when organic motifs are not confined to the geometry of the architectural part they belong to, they become insulting and violate the rules of good taste.(1)

- Athens, 15 Sept. 1846: He contemplates a trip within 1847 to his city of birth, Adrianople. He will try to locate his family house from memory.(2)
  He accompanies this note with a sketch (scrible), mapping from memory the neighborhood where he was raised. (see Fig. K)
- Athens, 26 Sept. 1867: For the first time he expresses a positive comment on the work of the builder/ craftsman. He distinguishes the trained craftsman from the untrained one who builds mechanically. He appreciates the former because he possesses real knowledge of his craft, thus combining well theory and practice. For that he deserves the respect of others.(2)
- Island of Kefallinia (no date): He brings up two examples (i.e., the bank, and the church) in which the classical portico is purely decorative, empty of function. He is annoyed by this gap between signifier and signified, which contradicts the principles of classical architecture.(4)
- A critical note on D. Müller's Greek translation of the *History of Greek Philology* (vol. B, p. 322). He disagrees with the author that architecture raises moods and feelings to the user. He wonders what kind of feelings relate the user with a Greek stoa or a bridge.
  [His reaction to proto-Romantic aesthetic theories. His conviction that the primary function of architecture is the practical.](10)

- Fragment of a commentary on a book [which? possibly Hegel's *Philosophy of the Arts*], (1866). He finds the philosopher's theory on architecture outrageous. He disagrees with the view that ascribes to architecture historical priority over all the arts as if it were the artist who decided so. He contends that the primary motivation behind architecture is the human need, not the aesthetic urge. Art and decoration come later.(12)
- Brief review of a German philosopher's views on architecture [Hegel's?], (8 Nov. 1867) He objects to the author's definition of architecture as a symbolic art, which places it in the same line with all the other arts. S.A.K. questions which the primary symbols of architecture might be: raw materials (e.g., mud, stone, wood, etc.) are not; building forms are not symbols but the results of necessity (e.g., the dome was not related to religion but to construction, the pointed arch was not related to the woods, nor to religion, since it is still in use in the city). Nevertheless, he argues that architecture is an art because it is the source of beauty due to its innate qualities of symmetry and harmony.
  [He appears reluctant to accept the symbolic nature of architecture because this would open wide the door to fancy, imagination, and possibly arbitrariness in the use of forms that nature dictates. He appears reluctant to embrace his contemporary movement of historicism.](13)
- A set of two sketches with the plan and section of a house with the annotation ".... Something similar Hegel advocates in his Aesthetics." (date 1878) [See Fig. 15]
  The odd features of the house are intended as a sarcastic commentary on Hegel's conception of architecture as an art which appropriates organic forms and processes. He intentionally twists the forms so they violate the rules of structural necessity. [He evidently denies architecture the right to imagination.](14)

III. Comments on the aesthetics of space (city, etc.) with reference to social habits

- Berlin, 3 Nov. 1840: He feels repelled by the German habit of defiling the exterior space of the churches. By contrast, the Greeks & the Turks respect the sacredness of religious sites.(1)
- Berlin, 5 Nov. 1840: He considers the habit of the Germans to use their churches for secular activities inappropriate to the spiritual nature of these monuments, as their purpose is to house only art and religion.(1)
- Berlin, 3 Nov. 1840: He feels shocked by the ugliness of the street Königs-Mauer due to the expansion of prostitution alongside all its houses and its sidewalks. He suggests that the State should designate less conspicuous sites for this kind of activities instead of letting a nice street be polluted and stigmatized.(1)
- Berlin, 3 Nov. 1840: He finds unusual the fact that people who rent houses in Berlin normally do not have servants.(1)
- Berlin, 20 Dec. 1840: He notices that the use of scaffolding around monuments does not always bear the same effect. Not everyone uses it as [tactfully as?] here in Berlin. For example, the scaffolding of the obelisk in Munich is disgusting; the same with the scaffolding around the new column in Paris.(1)
- Berlin, 1 Nov. 1840: He cannot explain the habit of people in Berlin to have the restroom at the ground floor of every building. This does not provide full autonomy to every apartment.(1)
- Athens, 19 April 1846: He strongly argues for the centrobaric position of Athens over all the other cities in Greece. He thinks that the wise citizen cannot chose any city to live other than Athens. In every respect (i.e., politics, culture, life) is unsurpassable.(2)

- Athens, 1 Oct. 1846: He notes that the earlier social order has been upset in his days. Now, the economic scale is not in accord with the social scale of the person. Thus someone with an average income can furnish his house as luxuriously as the vice-president of the Supreme Court.(2)
- Athens, 9 Nov. 1846: He notices conditions of a Turkish neigborhood around the monument to Lysicrates. A passer-by wearing European [Frankish] clothes, like him, becomes a victim of abuse due to social discrimination. He wonders how 10 years of kingdom has not made any difference.(2)
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), **Illumination of the City** (14 July 1851)(2)
  A spectacular event which the author cannot compare with anything similar in Greece or any other city he had lived. He disagrees with the illumination of the church; he sees that as a too secular of a sign. He does not like that the bell tolling covered the sound the music band, which he reads as a sign of Eastern culture.
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), 14 July 1851: He notices graffiti on the wall of a house. The graffiti hails the union with Greece. Bitter political comment of the author.(2)
- Island of Zakynthos (Zante), July 1851: On the silver-icon of the church of St. Charalambus he notices offerings of human hair. He gets annoyed by the religious fanaticism of the islanders. He underscores that church people become wealthy from the most precious offerings.(2)

IV. Thoughts on the establishment of the first museum

- Athens, 30 April 1847: After touring the Theseion [then used as a museum] and its area, he contemplates the constitution of a modern museum, "an average museum at least with pure Greek and Roman pieces, not with any suspicious ones." This will require the design of plein pedestals, a decent interior, good lighting. He laments the fact that many antique pieces are scattered all over in the Stoa Poikile, the Tower of the Winds, the Theseion, the Propylaia, the Parthenon. A hundred good pieces would suffice for a beginning.(1)
- Plan of a museum with annotations on the use of every room. Long rectilinear building with 7 main rooms *en filade* and axial entrance on the long side. The exhibits – from the archaic to the Byzantine period – are arranged strictly by period and historical order. The author provides no information on the date, and purpose of this plan. Evidently it is Koumanoudis's proposal for the organization of the western wing of the Archaeological Museum after the final plans of P. Kalkos (possibly of 1874).(7) [See Fig. L]
- Athens (no date): He proposes that the State issues a new law by which the removal of ancient pieces used in new buildings as spolia will be reinforced. This is necessary in view of the construction of the first museum. He lays out an extensive list of buildings which house ancient spolia.(8)

V. Thoughts on the establishment of the first theater

- Pamphlet review on (anonymous's) *The Theater in Hermoupolis*, M. Peridis typography, 1862. He applauds the author's arguments against the establishment of a theater in the island of Syros. He agrees that the theater as an institution promotes an indulging life-style, something that contradicts the state of urgency Greece is going through. The erection of a building should always follow the need for a certain institution to come into being. In Greece the opposite is the norm. Buildings which do not fulfil their purpose for the citizens become pathological and are often abandoned. The institution of the theater enjoys low esteem in general; therefore, it should take low priority relative to other institutions. It harmed the ancient Athenians and the Romans.(11)

- Published article by S.A.K. in the newspaper *Philopatris* entitled "On the new Theater of Kambouroglou", 11 Aug. 1856.

Endnotes

[ ] Brackets throughout this appendix indicate my personal comments or additions to the transcribed information from sources other than the ones cited.

* Koumanoudis does not differentiate the Byzantine from the Romanesque (Rundbogen) style. He covers both under the 'Byzantine'.

(1)*S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F23/ Φ1137, 1 (unpublished section of his personal diary).

(2)Stephanos Koumanoudis, Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867 (Diary 1845-1867), A. Matthtaiou (ed. & transl.), Ikaros, Athens, 1990. The published section of his personal diary.

(3) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, iz', p. 2 (unpublished).

(4) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kb', (unpublished).

(5) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kst' (unpublished)

(6) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F34/ Φ1148, 68 (unpublished)

(7) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F39/ Φ1158, 12 (unpublished).

(8) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F39/ Φ1158, 273 & 305 (unpublished). Similar lists can be found in other documents, such as F20/Φ1134, 81, F39/Φ1158, 19

(9) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F1/ Φ1103, 69, (unpublished). A letter to his friend D. Ch. Charamis.

(10) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F21/ Φ1135, 124 (unpublished).

11) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F21/ Φ1135, 219 (unpublished?). He takes the same position on the theater in a satirical verse of 1881 (op.cit.) doc. F28/Φ1142,31.

(12) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F36/ Φ1150, 4 , b' (unpublished).

(13) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F36/ Φ1150, 4 , c', 8 Nov. 1867 (unpublished).

(14) *S.K.A.*, Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F36/ Φ1150, 108, 1878 (unpublished).

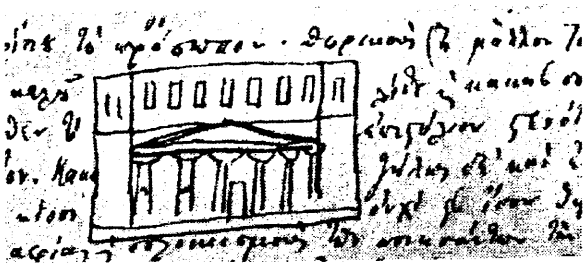


Fig. A: Sketch of the façade of a new church in Patras with Tuscan portico, 1851.
(Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867*, Athens, 1990, p. 176)

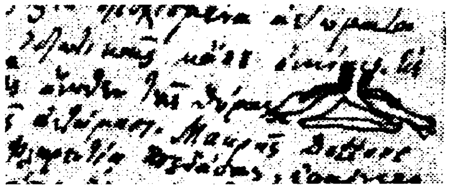


Fig. B: Tiny sketch of a broken pediment with figures in a house of Zakynthos, 1850.
(Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867*, Athens, 1990, p. 125)

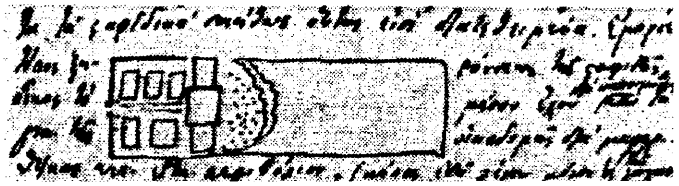


Fig. C: Sketchy site plan of an Italian style villa in the countryside of Zakynthos, 1850.
(Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867*, Athens, 1990, p. 126)

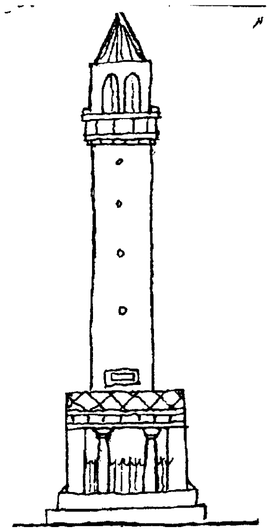
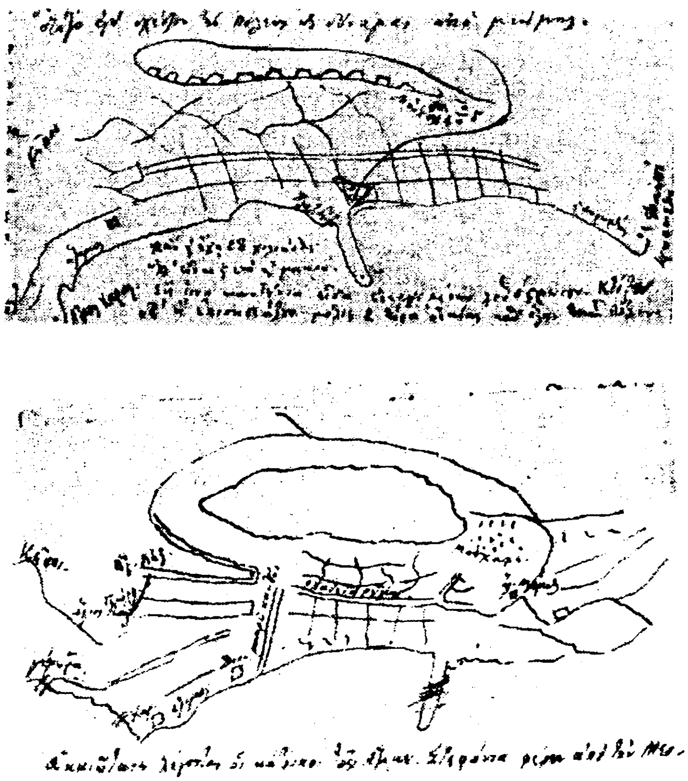


Fig. D: Bell-tower of St. Dionysius of Zakynthos drawn from memory, 1855.
(*S.K.A.*, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, iz', p. 2. Unpublished. – Traced over.)



Figs. E1 & E2: Two schematic maps of the city of Zakythos drawn from memory, 1851.
(Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867*, Athens, 1990, pp. 137, 138)

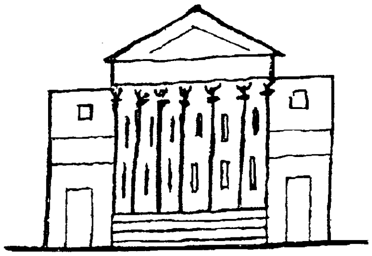


Fig. F: Sketch of the façade of a new building for a Bank in Kefallinia with Ionic portico, c. 1850.
(*S.K.A.*, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kb'. Unpublished. – Traced over.)

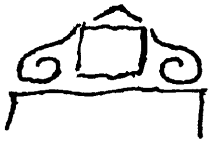


Fig. G: Sketch commenting on the 'wrong' use of volutes for a pediment (1863?)
(*S.K.A.*, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kst'. Unpublished. – Traced over.)

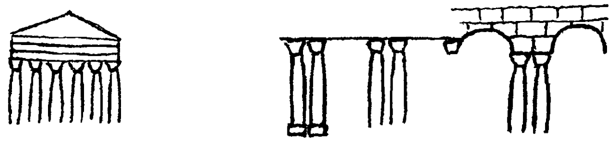


Fig. H: Comparative sketches commenting on the doubling of classical columns in buildings of Berlin, 1840.
(*S.K.A.*, doc. F23/ Φ1137,1/28-11-1840. Unpublished – Traced over.)

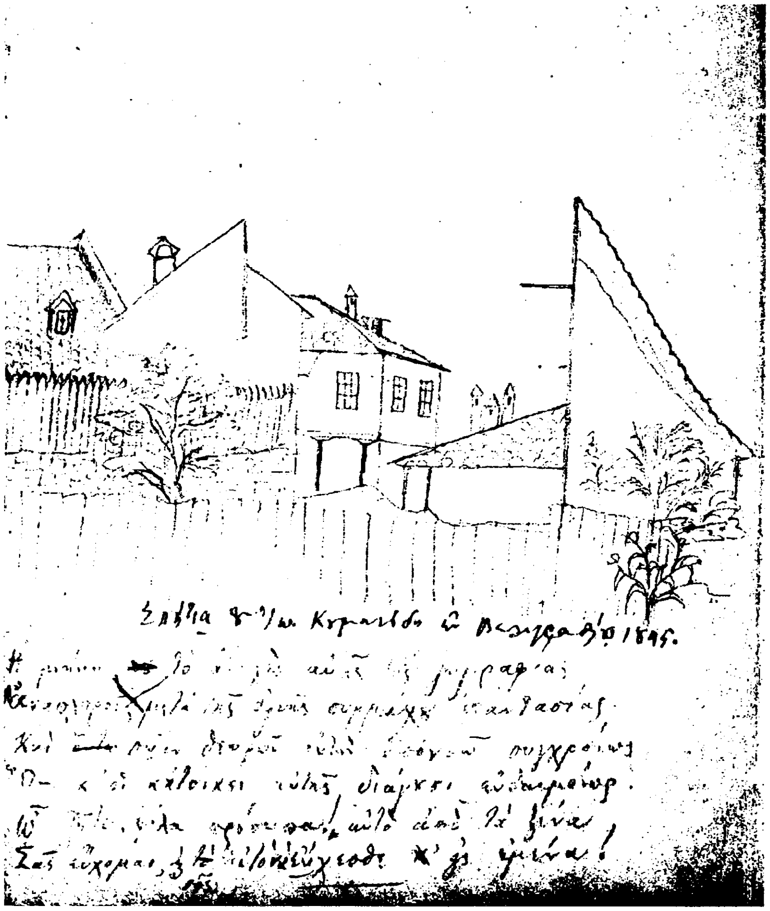


Fig. I: Koumanoudis's neighborhood in Adrianople drawn from memory, 1845 (w/ annotation). (*S.K.A.*, doc. F54/ Φ1168, 1. Unpublished.)

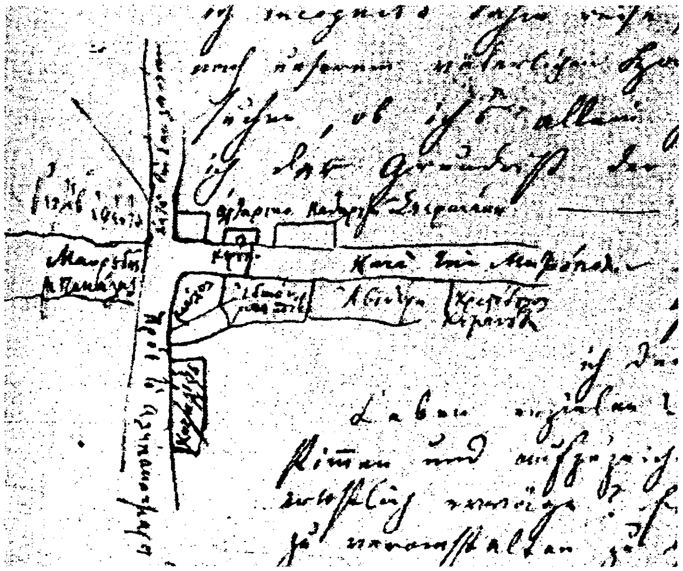


Fig. K: Sketchy plan of Koumanoudis's neighborhood in Adrianople drawn from memory, 1845. (Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867*, Athens, 1990, p. 155)

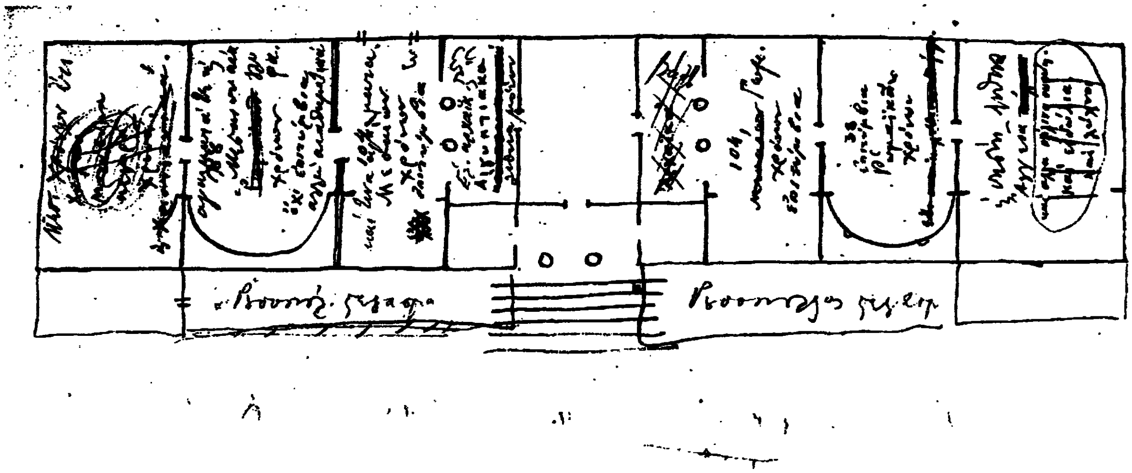


Fig. L: Plan for the organization of the exhibits by historical period in the Western wing of the Archaeological Museum of Athens, c. 1874. (*S.K.A.*, doc. F39/ Φ1158, 12. Unpublished.)

APPENDIX III

"TOTAL PANORAMA OF ATHENS"

by Stephanos A. Koumanoudis

(A free translation of the essay)

If a stranger sought to learn of the condition of the Hellenic Kingdom from reading our political newspapers and not from eye-witness account, he would undoubtedly draw a very wrong idea of it. Why? Because our political animosities are so intense [...] that the journalists cannot see beyond what needs correction in high level politics, beyond what is utterly contemptible in low level administrative discipline. Therefore, a great deal of the either perceptible or imperceptible good things that have occurred especially in out capital, pass unnoticed and unappreciated. However, they do exist, although they are not as loud as the sun which calls the attention even of the most indifferent. But the good things, which are in our mind today and move our pen, are before our eyes. They present themselves in modesty to the sensitive eye that takes a moment to look at them instead of bypassing them with disdain. We, at least, should not let them complain. Let us grant them a look. They, too, seek a glance, like the modest maiden who is gifted with beauty. But if our attraction to them happens to be consumed by the habit of seeing them every day, let us try to find for them more ardent funs from the non-residents.

Athens, that sublime creation and name of the Greek race, is no longer the venerable and violet-crowned Athens of Pindar, neither the marvelous and much praised Athens of Aristophanes, neither the Greece of all Greece as in Pericles['s Age]; it is however a city of many attractions for the Greek patriot, for the non-grumbling citizen, for the patient who does not expect to see the end of his dream realized in an instant. The Athens of today is no longer that anonymous provincial Turkish town which received and housed in the poverty of its deplorable Haseki wall one or two Frank consuls as the most important persons. It is not the seat of the Turkish *voyvoda*,[673] which used to show its miserable sight to one or two European travelers per year. Since 1835, that is, for the past seventeen years, it has housed thirty thousand souls – the bloom of all Greece – and it has been the respectable seat of the superior authority, of many ambassadors and deputies. Shouldn't we call her the Queen city? Should this decent title be still reserved only for the prosperous slave-city of the Bosphorus?.... Our city carries royal crown on the head the magnificent Acropolis with its supreme architectural wonders. "So that by giving them a look, you, the dwarf, sprain your neck!"

Its standing guard is the shapely cone of Lycabettus hill nearby; midway stand the grand mount Hymettus that stretches long to the East and turns purple near the sunset, the more somber mounts of Pentelikon and Parnes to the North and West, and the variegated and humble ridge of Corydalos and Aegaleo. And what else? From many points inside and outside the city, as for example, from the suburb of Neapolis walking don't we have southern views to the blue sea of Saronic bay, and to Aegina, the mother of the just Aiakos,[674] and to the world famous Salamis, and further don't we catch glimpses – by either walking or sitting down – of the mountainous peninsula of the older and newer Peloponneseans, no longer an enemy but a friend? – Let now some of the cities of Europe, or of any other continent, come and compete with our city, Athens, on the variety of views. Two or three of those could, no more! Not even as many could come and claim an atmosphere as clean and clear [as the Athenian] which stays cloudless most of the winter. Do you wish a forest, reader, nearby? Here, in a 15-minute distance you have the vast gray olive-grove. Do you also wish some hills to enjoy the sun (oh, I myself so often bask in the sunshine!) or to get fresh air whenever you wish around the year? Farther off you have the pious [hill of] Kolonos[675] crowned with Müller's burial monument,[676] nearer [you have] the serious Areios Pagos[677] which stuns you with its carved steps and in which old warriors wearing the *foustanella*[678] slip in and recount to each other glories of the recent history in a humming voice. You also have the blandest hill of the Nymphs where, if you may, try not to polish further the plain rock; thus you can save a pregnant Athenian woman from the common misfortune of sitting and falling over in this place. More manly now proceed to the mind-moving rock of the Pnyx, or to the more open knoll of Philopappos,[679] or taking the winding path to the right find yourself at the end [of the hill] of the Observatory. As you approach all these sites in the spring, walking through green fields of linen and red poppies, even if you are completely dispassionate and insensitive, you feel the subtle need of surrendering to bold meditations on the magnificence of Caesar's Age in connection with the colossal grave of the man from Syros,[680] on Demosthenes's patriotism in connection with the elegant steps of the natural rock once served as a political platform,[681] on Sophocles's passion in connection with Oedipus's hill[682] as you listen to the sweet singing of the very earnest nightingales which hide in the adjacent gardens of Academos and in the vineyards; and, finally, on modern science and progressive tendencies in connection with the vividly articulated house of astronomy.[683] Should I call again European cities to compete [with ours] on the subject of the aforementioned soul-bearing sites? But let me now move on to the inner city.

---

[673] Muslim Turkish minister of an administrative district, appointed by the Sultan.

[674] According to the Greek mythology, Aiakos was the son of Zeus and Aegina, father of Peleus and Telamon, who with their descendants are called the "Aiakidai".

It is the Western view of the city from the olive-grove I consider the best, particularly in the afternoon. Looking through the openings that the tree-lines form by nicely breaking their continuity, you see quite a few of the major edifices of the city at a distance. Further on stands the Acropolis all washed in gold as if she were leaning on the blackish mount Hymettus at her back; you feel, stranger, as if she comes toward you while you approach. But if you enter [Athens] through Hermou street coming from Piraeus, you will regret it, stranger. Having enjoyed briefly the view of the archaic Theseion which makes its appearance abruptly on the right after you have bypassed a knoll, you are taken by bad mood and disgust. Here is the reason why. Hermou street that you take is straight and the longest in the city, but right at its entrance (or exit) by the olive-grove and the street of Piraeus a conglomeration of small and unimportant houses – products of the early urgency of 1835 – show up, together with clouds of dust everywhere from the passing carriages. Next flaw: as you are halfway through the street, you get glimpses on both sides of streets crossing at obtuse and acute angles, especially narrow. Third flaw, in my opinion particular to Hermou street is, not the tall palm-tree in the middle of it, nor the old church of Kapnikarea also in the middle (in fact, I consider these real advantages), but the fact that your sight meets directly the white Palace at the farthest upper end of the street. I regard this as its most serious defect, because when the stranger glimpses straight in advance the most splendid [attraction] of the city, his curiosity is satiated at the expense of all the remaining to be seen and appreciated in the city. By all means, to be more attracted, do find a different way to enter so that you succeed to see more buildings worth your while. But in that case you should travel by land. No matter from which side you enter, however, once you are in the city, you will immediately notice that only few straight streets are in plan, two of which are long and nicely lined with sidewalks, Hermou – already mentioned – and Aiolou that crosses it; both names from mythology the former of which was not justly chosen in my view. Besides these [two], some more streets are under construction, such as the splendid avenues Amalias and Panepistimiou, as well as the street of the Stadium. These and some more are ornated with pleasant tree-lines (especially the first with four lines) but still with some interruptions. The private houses of Athens are solid, for the most part, and evidently carrying European influences in their styles. Even the cafés compete against the second class Parisian.

---

[675] **Kolonos** was a hill of 56 m. high to the northwest of the old city of Athens, also called *Ippios*. Especially known through Sophocles's tragedy "Oedipus at Kolonos". The burial groud of two famous nineteenth-century archaeologists, the German Müller and the French Lenormant.

[676] K. O. Müller, the famous German archaeologist, author of ***Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst***, (Breslau, 1830 & 1835), who died in Greece and was buried on the hill of Kolonos after his request.

[677] **Areios Pagos** was the meeting place of the parliamentary body of the Athenians. It was a natural rock of 115 m. high, round in shape and located to the northwest of the Acropolis.

[678] Pleated kiln.

[679] **Philoppapos** (Gaios Antiochus) was the Roman archon of Athens between 90 and 100 A.D. He is known as an important benefactor of the city. He had a monument erected on the top of the hill of the Nymphs which ever since has been carrying his name.

[680] Philopappos.

[681] Pnyx.

[682] Kolonos.

[683] Observatory.

You cannot find squares of the number and the kind you wish. Syntagma square, in front of the King's Palace, is worthwhile, particularly for its green; the same with the square of the Mint which, however, requires more attention for its plane-trees, its large poplars, and all the other kinds of its trees. I should note now that these two so-called squares, do not have much in common with other squares. The former becomes lively only around noon when the band plays and many people gather; the latter is frequented only by few who stand mainly by the entrance of the public Treasury. Neither of the two is at the center, or is lined with workshops and clubhouses. This is something that proves Nafplion and other Greek cities superior to Athens. In fact, the intersection of the streets Aiolou and Hermou is the only location of Athens which the busiest men of all, or, so to say, the club patrons, frequent at all days and all times, into the deep night.[684]

We have already mentioned the shady square of the Mint. Here, we cannot but express our deep gratitude for the trees of the city, which are essential to the warm climate and the constantly sunny days of Attica. We care about these trees so much that, as if they were ours, we keep counting them every day full of pride in our progress. I swear to the Amadryads,[685] reader, we would report here their actual number, if we were not worried that you might accuse us of trivial talk. But we *are* worried. However, we are not convinced that that melancholic Englishman was more justified to have counted all the conjunctive 'end-s' of the Old Testament as they say. Moreover, the ones of you who have origins in Turkish towns, where tree-lined streets do not exist, do envy us and come to have a preview of the Western European metropolises. You may protest and argue that you have gardens. But these are not missing here either. The Royal Garden, which almost by miracle grows and improves day after day, is the largest and most handsome of its kind in that it successfully unites nature and art. There, native and exotic plants, as well as evergreens, cover as much space as double and triple [the space] of the Acropolis. There are more noteworthy gardens, owned by private wealthy individuals who are fond of the arts; some of them are in the city, other are outside by the elementary Ilissos river which used to be a graceful river or creek, which currently is embellished with the finest marble bridge. That arched bridge rises near the falls of Callirrhoë.

Public edifices worthy of admiration do exist, but they are scattered in various places and one should search to find them. Next to the Royal Palace in white marble and Doric columns (in fact it looks more magnificent from the inside than from the outside) comes the University with two Ionic columns at the portico, which surpass in beauty and stylistic perfection [columns in] all other places of the world. This temple of the Muses also has planted areas on both sides enclosed in courtyards, in one of which the poet Alexandros Soutzos has a marble stele raised in the memory of the soldiers of the "Sacred Cohort" – the only modern monument in the city. Of the rest of buildings worth mentioning are the Military and the Civic hospitals – the latter with a nicely planted enclosure – the solemn Mint, the structurally peculiar Eye-Hospital, the grand Girls' School of Arsakis,[686] and if there were more they should not escape [our] notice. The theater now, which is built of stone but is out of the main routes, we were told, is superior to all the other theaters in the Greek Kingdom for its size, if not for anything else.

---

[684] This location almost coincides with the business center of the premodern city, and particularly with the section called 'Staropazaro' (wheat market).

[685] In ancient Greek mythology, the Amadryads were nymphs associated with trees. Each of them was born, lived, and died with a tree, forming somehow the soul of it. They all carry names of trees.

You also encounter many small Byzantine churches, yet not lacking in character. Quite a few of them are unavoidably subject to the city inhabitants' reconstruction fury. Eventually, some of them change for the better, and others for the worse. One Protestant church only was built in the Gothic style but, lacking in size, it fails to stand up to the grandeur of the specific style. Four Eastern [Orthodox] churches are currently under construction. Once these are completed we can be confident that our country is far ahead in technical harmony of all the cities of Turkey and the Eptanese. The reason why is simple: our [ecclesiastic] buildings were designed either by Europeans, or by western educated Greek architects, not by empirically trained craftsmen who possess no eye for style or scale (symmetry)", as it has evidently happened in many of the lavish churches in the East that were built either before or after the Revolution.

Furthermore, the city of Athens is proud of other things, too, less visible than buildings. Are you fond of science? Then, reader, you have Othon's University (an unthinkable feat as of twenty years ago) in which as many as forty-four professors and assistant professors teach every science one can guess – neither only one, nor even a dozen of haughty teachers and students of general education. On the other hand, two Royal high-schools with fifteen teachers compete with a Greek school with as many teachers. To those we should add the Girls' School (*Philekpaideftiki Etairia*) staffed with many teachers, the Polytechnic which significantly promotes the liberal and other arts, the Rizareion Seminary which is built in a graceful location and is proud to provide room for the – invisible from afar – burial monument of the much praised scholar N. Doukas, and so forth. Plus all the special and worthwhile collections at the Polytechnic and other places, comprised of pictures, plaster casts and technical equipment, the treasury of natural history, the botanical garden – fervently developing and much frequented by visitors – the Library of 60,000 volumes and reading rooms for everyone, and the splendid Observatory whose construction was sponsored by the devoted patriot Sinas, a resident of Vienna. We regard all these assets as worthy of our praise to the extent that we feel that [because of them] we have surpassed all three nests of Greek culture taken as a whole, Constantinople, Smyrne, and Corfu, even though our senior sister-cities. If those are stars shining in the night, I can claim without bragging that we are the sun shining all through the middle of the day. As a proof let me mentioned the example of those who, being fond of learning, flow to the city from such places as Beirut, Zante, Iasi, and Cairo. The printing offices of all these places taken as a whole amount probably to less than half of our printing offices here. Our archaeological society, which makes its presence conspicuous from time to time, is the caretaker agent of our old monuments; our educational society has been endowed already with a splendid edifice thanks to Arsakis's generous contribution; our [society] of fine arts is presently dormant. These societies enjoy the membership and benevolence of brave individuals who are spread over all the aforementioned places, yet they recognize this city [i.e., Athens] as the center of the entire Hellenism. Whose heart doesn't beat in awe of the great expectations of the race? Who cannot share in the joy he encounters after traveling from afar to the city, especially during feast-days when the military, the citizens, and the bearded students move freely in the streets of lively Athens?

---

[686] Famous benefactor after whom the institution was named *Arsakeion*.

It is Sunday. Come out, stranger, and join the local men and women who, all well-dressed, take their walk along the promenade of Patisia. Stand to listen to the band which plays mainly European music, and only occasionally folk music, while the King comes by on horseback sharing in the common gaiety. Take some pleasure in the physical beauty of the Greek race and forget all the unsupported claims of the self-professed scholar of the Greeks Fallmerayer. To talk the truth, watch first the plastic and proudly tall bodies of men and their characteristic profiles, secondly, the grace and liveliness of the elegantly dressed women. But assume you don't like all these. You might as well avoid the big crowds. Having only few days to spend here, you would rather visit the classical antiquities. I have just indicated some to you. Let it be so. Here, I am presenting you with a different opportunity. Although it has a short-term occupation to offer, it is still good in keeping you away from the dust of the many carriages moving toward the vacation houses of Patisia. Come back to the city quietly and proceed to the artful Tower of Cyrristos with the wind-gods.[687] Then move to the tall gate of the chief goddess Athena. But do not look for it under this name, unless you want to be laughed at. Call it market gate, and anyone can point it to you. Do not be scared to pass through it. Its four columns securely hold it up. In the vicinity, a large and fully inscribed plaque addresses you (can you see?) by asking you *tax for the oil,* assuming you a grower of Athena's tree.[688] But the ancient tax-collector is no longer there. Feel free to wander up to Hadrian's Gate and the remains of Ptolemy's Gymnasium. From there, you may bravely enter a courtyard to visit the stone giant in the shape of a snake, who even in his kneels is double your size. The timid ones did not get to know him, friend, as he is standing in a private enclosure and wards off the non-persevering of the tourists. I can tell that you haven't missed most of the city's antiquities. However, there is still one ancient site of arcane loveliness that lies on the other end of the city and complains to you. It is the monument of Lycicrates, the amiable site of Lord Byron who used to live in the neighborhood. Ask for the poet Byron's street and you come to this small columnar tholos of which you may deduce what Greek grace is like. But since I am speaking to you about all these, why don't I take you up to the Acropolis? May this not happen! One mounts this hill motivated only by the right sensibility. [In that case] one cannot accept anyone walking on the side, neither inappropriate utterances. There is nothing in common among me, you, and the Acropolis. You may be the only one observing the rites you initiate in deep silence.

Let us take a look at the more trivial. Are you rich living in luxury or a gouty old man? Then you have fast and handsome carriages to take you around Athens at a low fare, and whose equal you won't find in any other part of the East. You enter one and you get off at any of the furthest country sites you wish, as for example at the monastery of Daphni to visit the graves of the Frank Dukes of Athens adorned with lilies, or at the well-irrigated Ambelokipi after having enjoyed on your way there those bizarre palaces of the Duchess, or at Kifisia which stays cool all year round, or at the adjacent quarries of the mount Pentelikon of which the modest Parthenon and the venerable Propylaia were built for an eternity. Try also to visit the cheerful monastery of Kaisariani on the Thursday of the Ascension and return in the company of sensational Bacchic groups.

In which place other than the environs of Athens, could you, reader – lover of loneliness – have a better grasp of the ancient poets? Then take their writings under your armpit and go out to read some of their words seated at the deepest recess of the reverberating theater of Dionysus, or nested in one of the windows of the massive odeion of Herodes Atticus, or even reclined under a gigantic column of the temple of Olympian Zeus. But I must have tired you out. Go through the adjacent Hadrian's Gate, leave behind you the city of Theseus, pay no notice –

---

[687] Tower of the Winds, also called Horologium of Cyrristos by modern Greeks. It was erected c. 100-50 B.C. by Andronicus of Cyrrhus for measuring time. Its eight sides, which face points of the compass, are decorated with a frieze of figures in relief representing the winds.

[688] The olive-tree according to the Greek mythology.

if you may – of the related inscription, and from now on and every summer evening go after more prosaic and easier indulgences in the pleasurable dens of Tiburi and Pausilypon, both carrying foreign names although naturalized. There, for only a small pay, you may be more than pleased with European ice-creams at Parnes's, billiard-boards and beer-drinking at the remaining Bavarian hangouts, Turkish coffee and narghile smoking that carry on from the old habits. Having joined the crowds of these shady enclosures, if, from where you sit, you try to pay closer attention to various people's babbling, then and only then, a strange thing will happen. You will notice that one subject only is discussed freely and in many variations; that is, the wrongdoings of all Western and Eastern governments. These are, as you might expect, severely analyzed and criticized until midnight. On your way home, you listen, even at that late hour, to the songs of those who still wander in the streets. And only if you are from Byzantium[689] or from Smyrne, you will certainly gain great pleasure at that; otherwise, singing from those places will hurt your ears. On this particular chapter, our people still pay their dues to Asia, the mother of the ancient civilization. More rarely our youths sing the melodies [from the operas] of Norma or the Barber of Ispalia (forgive my neologism!).[690] But they are the same who more often compete fervently over the women singers at the theater, as it is much easier to apply judgment on the physical beauty of them.

But how could I not take you, friend, to places of more serious discussions? How could I make this since I myself have never entered the evening forums of our politicians? However, if you are fond of political addresses from the platform, your admission to the Parliament and the Senate is free. But (should I tell you this or not?) I do not envy you being there. I at least, after having the experience of political gatherings in the West, do not spend much time there. Because, speaking the truth, either our so-pronounced deputies do not know their way to the platform and [therefore] fail this task, or no competent [deputies] have been educated yet amongst us. This is not strange though. The political science is the last to mature since it deals with the most important and difficult task of taking care of the social being.

I almost failed to mention the worth seeing cemetery of the Athenians, although I remember it in various other occasions. Built beyond the river of Ilissos, it has a gate that marks its location for those who walk in full joy along the far distant banks of Ilissos. However, it does not carry any warding off inscription. Do not be scared by the "lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate" as it is not going to insult you. On the contrary, tourist, not only you enter in good hope of seeing a substantial number of well-crafted monuments in the Greek style carrying epitaphs in both the ancient and the modern idioms, but you leave well disposed about both life and death, in a country such as Greece which gave birth to harmonious relations of eternal value to humanity. Is not Greece the homeland of Thales who said "death is not much different from being alive"?

I considered you a worldly person, friend, I considered you a scientist, I considered you a politician. To whichever class you belong, however, trust the glorious city of Athens for many delights. Be aware, at the same time, that you will rekindle many hopes and thoughts during your stay with us. Once you feel full, take the route down to Piraeus. There, after having given your salute to the grave of the immortal Karaiskakis[691] on your left and before you sail away, turn to see for the last time this brand-new circular maritime city, with its brilliant quays, the innumerable masts, the sail-boats and the steam-boats, as well as the monastery of Hagios Spyridon in which many good Greeks excelled in the battle. Then I am certain that you cry out with Pindar as you wipe a tear off your eye:

---

[689] Apparently Koumanoudis here implies Constantinople and its environs, using instead the ancient name of the city in the same location to 330 A.D.

[690] The obvious reference here is to Rossini's comic opera "The Barber of Seville". However, the author's allusion here to 'Ispalia' in the place of Seville remains obscure.

[691] Famous warrior during the War of Independence.

...Let us communicate some sweetness even after the hardship,
since from above our heads
some GOD has turned aside that stone of Tantalos,
a weight Hellas could never dare![692]

---

[692] The verses belong to the victory ode (epinicion) *Isthmia VIII* commemorating the success of Kleandros of Aegina in the boys' pankration at the Isthmian Games of 478 B.C. (i.e., a year after the Greeks' victory over the Persians at Plataia). The feelings of relief in these verses have to do precisely with the delivery of the Greeks from the Persian threat. Here, Koumanoudis creates a parallel with the liberation of the Greeks from the Turks in the recent War of Independence. I used Richmond Lattimore's English translation of the verses as in The Odes of Pindar, Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago/ London, 1947, p. 148.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVES - SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Stephanos A. Koumanoudis Archives (*S.K.A.*), Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, Athens, Greece.

Lysandros Kaftanzoglou Archives, Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece.

General Archives of Greece (*GAK*), "Othon's Archives", Athens, Greece.

PRIMARY SOURCES (Nineteenth Century and before)

1) Books, Treatises, Essays, Scholarly Articles and Reviews

About, Edmond. La Grèce Contemporaine. Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie., 1854.

Alberti, Leon Battista. On the Art of Building in Ten Books (*De re aedificatoria*). Translated by Joseph Rykwert. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1988.

Anastasios N. Goudas (M.D.). Ἔρευναι περὶ Ἰατρικῆς Χωρογραφίας καὶ Κλίματος Ἀθηνῶν (Researches on the Medical Chorography and Climate of Athens). Series "Ἰατρική Μέλισσα", Vol. VI. Athens: K. Antoniadis print, 1858.

[Aristotle.] Aristotle's Poetics. Translated by S.H. Butcher. New York: Hill and Wang, 1961.

Asópios, Eirinaios. "Ἀθῆναι" (Athens) – Part 1, Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1878, (Attikon Yearbook of 1878). Year 22, Athens, 1877, pp. 1-34.

Asópios, Eirinaios. "Ἀθῆναι" (Athens) – Part 2, Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1879, (Attikon Yearbook of 1879). Year 23, Athens, 1878, pp. 1-41.

Asópios, Eirinaios. "Ἀθῆναι" (Athens) – Part 3, Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1890, (Attikon Yearbook of 1890). Year 24, Athens, 1877, pp. 1-22.

Barker, Henry Aston and Burford, John. Description of the View of Athens and Surrounding Country Panorama Strand (with an Improbed Explanation giving a complete outline of the whole picture with numbers and references). London: Printed by Jas, Adlard & Sons, Bartholomew Close, 1818.

Bracebridge, Charles Holte (Mrs.). Notes Descriptive of a Panoramic Sketch of Athens, taken May 1839. London: W. H. Dalton, 1839.

Burford, Robert (painter) and H.C. Selous (Assistant), Description of a view of Athens and the SurroundingCountry. From a drawing taken at the spot in 1845 by Georges Knowles, Esq. London: Printed by Geo. Nichols, Earl's Court, Leicester Square, 1845.

Chronis, Joannes (architect, associate of the Academy of Fine Arts of St. Lucas in Rome and in Athens). Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἀστικῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς (Manual of Civic Architecture) for the use of the students of the Ionian Gymnasium and Lyceum. Corfu: [n.pbl.], 1862.

Du Moncel, Theodose (Comte). De Venice à Constantinople; à travers la Grèce et retour par Malte, Messine, Pizza et Naples. Paris: Delarue, c. 1845.

Fatseas, Antonios. Σκέψεις ἐπὶ τῆς Δημοσίας καὶ Ἰδιωτικῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν Νέων Ἑλλήνων (Thoughts on the Public and Private Education of the Greek Youth), addressed to the Minister of Public Education. Lamia: E. Oikonomides print, 1856.

Francoeur, L. B. Διδασκαλία τῆς Διαγραφικῆς ἢ Γραμμικῆς Ἰχνογραφίας (The Teaching of Freehand and Line Drawing). Translated by order of his Majesty the president of Greece by the late K. Kokkinakos, supervised by I. P. Kokkonis, member of the preparatory education. Aegina: The State Typography (G. Apostolides Kosmitos), 1831.

[Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin.] Verzeichniss der Vorlesungen, Berlin, 1840-1842.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. Aesthetics, Lectures on Fine Art. Translated by T.M. Knox. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1975.

[Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich.] Hegel: On the Arts. Selections from G.W.F. Hegel's Aesthetics or the Philosophy of Fine Art. Abridged and translated with an Introduction by Henry Paolucci. Series "Milestones of Thought". New York, N.Y.: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1979.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. Ἀπάντησις εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Κλεάνθους ἔκθεσιν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀνεγερθησομένου καταστήματος τῆς Φιλεκπαιδευτικῆς Ἑταιρείας (Reply to the Report by Mr. Kleanthes....). Athens: Philolaou print, 1845.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου (9 Ἰανουαρίου 1855) ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Δέκατον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic (9 January 1855) in conjunction with the tenth annual art show). Athens: L. D. Vilaras & V. P. Lioumis print, 1855. Also published in Νέα Πανδώρα, no. 126, 15-6-1855, pp. 132-143.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου (τῇ 7 Ὀκτωβρίου 1851) ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἕβδομον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic (on 7 October 1851) in conjunction with the seventh annual art show). Athens: Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, 1851.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Τέταρτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the fourth annual art show). Athens: Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, 1848.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τό Δεύτερον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the second annual art show). Athens: Public Printing Shop, 1846.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Πέμπτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the fifth annual art show). Athens: Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, 1849.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. Λόγος Ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἐπέτειον Τελετὴν τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Πολυτεχνείου, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Τρίτον Καλλιτεχνικὸν Ἔτος Ἐκθέσεως τῶν

Διαγωνισμῶν (Address delivered at the ceremony of the Royal Polytechnic in conjunction with the third annual art show). Athens: Ch. Nikolaides Philadelpheus print, 1847.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. "Περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ 'Ακροπόλει 'Αθηνῶν καταστραφέντος Τουρκικοῦ Πύργου" (On the demolished Turkish tower on the Athenian Acropolis). 'Αθήναιον, vol. 6, no. 5, Jan./Feb. 1878, pp. 287-308. Accompanied by "Προσθήκη περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς 'Ρωμαντικῆς λεγομένης 'Αρχιτεκτονικῆς καὶ τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς" (Addendum on the difference between the so-called Romantic Architecture and the Greek), pp. 309-313. (Also published in an independent pamphlet form as 'Επιστολιμαία διατριβὴ πρὸς τὸν ἐλλόγιμον Ε. Φρήμαν περὶ τῆς κατεδαφίσεως τοῦ ἐν τῇ 'Ακροπόλει 'Αθηνῶν τουρκικοῦ πύργου (Epistolary diatribe to the learned E. Freeman with reference to the demolition of the Turkish tower on the Athenian Acropolis), Athens, 1878.)

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros. "Σχεδογραφία 'Αθηνῶν" (Sketching of Athens). Newspaper Αἰών, no. 46, 8-3-1839, pp. 1-3. Reprint in an independent pamphlet form as: Περὶ μεταρρυθμίσεως τῆς Πόλεως 'Αθηνῶν Γνῶμαι (Views on the reform of the plan of Athens), 1858.

Kaftanzoglou, Lysandros . Τὰ 'Ολύμπια ἐν Φαλήρῳ καὶ τὸ νῦν μεταρρυθμιζόμενον Ζάππειον (The [show-hall of] Olympia in Phaleron and the presently transformed Zappeion [hall]), Hermes print, Athens, 1880. (Also published under the same title in 'Αθήναιον, vol. 8, no. 5, Dec. 1879, pp. 374-84.)

Kambouroglou, Demetrios Gr. Αἱ Παλαιαὶ 'Αθῆναι (Old Athens). Library of Historical Studies, no. 240. Athens: Bookstore G. I. Vasileiou, 1922.

Kleanthes, Stamatios and Schaubert, Eduard. "'Υπόμνημα τῶν Σάουμπερτ καί Κλεάνθη πρός τή Βαυαρική 'Αντιβασιλεία στό Ναύπλιο τό 1832: 'Επεξηγήσεις τοῦ Πολεοδομικοῦ Σχεδίου τῆς Νέας Πόλης τῶν 'Αθηνῶν" (The Memorandum of Schaubert and Kleanthes to the Bavarian Regency in Nafplion in 1832: Explanations of the Urban Plan of the New City of Athens). In: H. H. Russack, 'Αρχιτέκτονες τῆς Νεοκλασικῆς 'Αθήνας (Architects of Neoclassical Athens). Translated by K. Sarropoulos. Athens: Govostis publisher, c. 1990.

Kleanthes, Stamatios. Ἔκθεσις περὶ τοῦ ἐν 'Αθήναις ἀνεγερθησομένου καταστήματος τῆς Φιλεκπαιδευτικῆς 'Εταιρείας (Report on the Premises of the Educational Association to be constructed in Athens), Athens, independent pamphlet,1845.

Klenze, Leo von. Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland von (...). Berlin: G. Reimer, 1838.

[Klenze, Leo von.] Ein Griechischer Traum: Leo von Klenze, Der Archaeloge: Austellung vom 6. Dezember 1985-89. (Feb. 1986, Glyptothek München). München: Staatlische Antikensamlungen und Glyptothek, 1985.

Kolliniates, Joannes. 'Αρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς 'Εγκρίτου 'Αρχαιότητος καὶ τῆς 'Αναγεννήσεως (Architecture of the Distinguished Antiquity and the Renaissance), Athens, 1889.

K.[oumanoudis]. "Καθολικὸν Πανόραμα τῶν 'Αθηνῶν " (Total Panorama of Athens). Νέα Πανδώρα. Vol. 3, no. 67, January 1853, pp. 440-445.

Koumanoudis, Stephanos A. "Κωνσταντινούπολις ὑπὸ Σκαρλάτου Δ. Βυζαντίου, τόμ. Α, 1851" (Konstantinoupolis by Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, vol. A, 1851). Book review. Periodical Μνημοσύνη, vol. 1, no. 1, 1852, pp. 37-40.

Koumanoudis, Stephanos A. Συναγωγὴ Λέξεων 'Αθησαυρίστων ἐν τοῖς 'Ελληνικοῖς Λεξικοῖς (An assemblage of words not included in Greek dictionaries), Athens: [n. pbl.]1883.

Koumanoudis, Stephanos A. Συναγωγὴ Νέων Λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν Λογίων Πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' 'Ημᾶς Χρόνων (An assemblage of new words formed by the scholars from the Fall [of Constantinople] to our times), K. Th. Dimaras, ed., Hermis, Athens, 1980 (originally published in 1900).

Koumanoudis, Stephanos A. 'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867 (Diary 1845-1867). Edited by Angelos P. Matthaiou. Athens: Ikaros, 1990.

[Koumanoudis] S.A.K. "Εἰδήσεις περὶ τῆς κατεδαφίσεως τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ακροπόλεως 'Αθηνῶν πύργου καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ" (News from the demolition of the tower on the Athenian Acropolis and one inscription plaque [extracted] from it). 'Αθήναιον, vol. 4, 1875, pp. 195 and 202-3.

[Koumanoudis] S.A.K. Ποῦ Σπεύδει ἡ Τέχνη τῶν 'Ελλήνων τὴν Σήμερον; -- Προσετέθησαν καὶ δύο πραγματεῖαι 'Ιωάννου Βιγκελμάννου περὶ Τέχνης, ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ (Where is the Art of the Greeks hying today? – To which two treatises on the Arts from the German by Johannes Winckelmann were appended). Belgrade: Typography of the Government, 1845.

Loudon, John Claudius. "The Principles of Criticism in Architecture", Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1833.

Makriyiannis, Yiannis. 'Απομνημονεύματα (1797-1851) (Memoirs 1797-1851). Edited by Y. Vlahoyannis, 2 vols. Athens: E.G. Bayionakis, 1947.

Mavroyiannis, Konstantinos (M.D.). Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλίματος τῶν 'Αθηνῶν καὶ τῆς 'Ενεργείας ἐπὶ τῆς Ζωϊκῆς Οἰκονομίας (Observations on the Climate of Athens and its Effects on the Economy of the Vital Resources). Athens: Em. Antoniades's print, 1841.

Müller, Karl Otfried. Ancient Art and its Remains: or a Manual of the Archaeology of Art. Edited by F.G. Welcker. Translated by John Leitch. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1852. (Originally in German as *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, Breslau, 1830 (& 1835)).

Müller, Karl Otfried. Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology. Translated by John Leitch. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844. Second edition New York, 1978. (Originally in German as *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, 1825.)

[Pindar.] The Odes of Pindar. Translated by Richmond Lattimore. Chicago/ London: Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, 1947.

[Plato.] Plato: The Collected Dialogues. Edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. New York, N.Y.: Bollinger Series LXXI, Pantheon Books, 1961.

Rangavis (Rangabé), Alexandros. Απομνημονεύματα (Memoirs). Vol. 3. Edited by G. Kasdonis. Athens: Hestia print,, 1894 (1930).

Rangavis (Rangabé), Alexandros R. Athènes Ancienne dans Athènes Modèrne. Guide du Voyageur (Publié d' abord en Feuilleton). Athènes: Imprimerie Anestis Constantinides, 1890. (Also published in Greek as 'Αρχαιολογία – Τοπογραφικὰ τῶν 'Αρχαίων 'Αθηνῶν (Archaeology – Topography of Ancient Athens). In A. Rangavis, Collected works. Vol. 18. Athens: Perris print, 1898.)

Riegl, Alois. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin", translated by Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, in Oppositions: A Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, no. 25, Fall 1982, pp. 21-51.

Ross, Ludwig. 'Αναμνήσεις καί 'Ανακοινώσεις ἀπό τήν 'Ελλάδα (1832-1833) (Memories and Reports from Greece 1832-1833). Series Foreign Travelers to the Greek Land, no. 3. Translated by A. Spilios. Athens: Tolidis publishers, 1976. (Originally in German as *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*. Berlin: R. Gaertner, 1863.)

Ross, Ludwig. 'Εγχειρίδιον τῆς 'Αρχαιολογίας τῶν Τεχνῶν (Manual of an Archaeology of the Arts). First division: History of Art until the siege of Corinth. Athens: Royal typography, 1841 (distributed by A. Nast's bookstore.)

Sechos, Joannes. Σημειώσεις Οἰκοδομικῆς (Notes of Building Construction). Athens, 1882-83.

Semper, Gottfried. The Four Elements of Architecture and other Writings. Translated by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Wolfgang Hermann. Cambridge, U.K./New York, N.Y: Cambridge University Press, 1989. (Orig. in German *Die vier Elemente der Baukunst. Ein Beitrag sur vergleichenden Baukunde,* Brunswick, 1851).

Skarlatos Vyzantios, Demetrios. "'Απάντησις εἰς τὸν κ. Στ. Κουμανούδην" (Reply to Mr. S. Koumanoudis). Periodical Μνημοσύνη, vol. 4, 1852, pp. 82-3.

Skarlatos Vyzantios, Demetrios. 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολις, ἢ Περιγραφὴ Τοπογραφική, 'Αρχαιολογικὴ καὶ 'Ιστορικὴ τῆς Περιωνύμου ταύτης Μεγαλοπόλεως καὶ τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ Κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου.... (Constantinople, or Description Topographical, Archaeological and Historical of this renowned Big City and its environs in the gulf and the Bosphorus....), 3 vols.. Athens: Koromilas print, 1851, 1862, 1869.

Skarlatos Vyzantios, Demetrios. Πρὸς τὴν 'Ανταπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου Σ. Κουμανούδη (On Mr. S. Koumanoudis's counter-reply). Independent pamphlet. Athens, 3 July 1852.

Stackelberg, Otto Magnus (Baron de). La Grèce, vues pittoresques et topographiques. Seconde partie. Paris: I. F. d' Osterwald, 1834.

Stademann, Ferdinand. Panorama von Athen. Mainz: Von Zabern, 1977. (Originally München, 1841).

Staël, Madame (de). De l' Allemagne, Paris, 1871 (originally 1810, 1813).

Theocharis, Stamatios K. 'Ο Θησαυρὸς τῆς Οἰκογενείας: 'Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Γνώσεων Χρησίμων εἰς τὸν Πρακτικὸν Βίον (The Thesaurus of the Family: an Encyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge on Practical Life). Vol.I: 'The House'. Patras: 'Kadmos', 1882.

Vafas, Georgios (M.D.). Αἱ 'Αθῆναι ὑπὸ 'Ιατρικὴν Ἔποψιν (Athens from a medical point of view). Part 1: 'The City'. Athens: [n. pbl.] 1878.

[Vitruvius, Marco Pollio.] Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture (*De architectura libri decem*). Translated by Morris H. Morgan. New York, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1914.

Winckelmann, Johann J. Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums (The History of Art in Antiquity), Dresden: [n.pbl.] 1764 (facs. reprint Baden-Baden/ Strasbourg, 1966; ed. Wilhelm Senff, Weimar, 1964).

Winckelmann, Johann J. On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks. Translated by Henry Fuseli. London, 1765 (orig. Dresden, 1755). Reprint in: David Irwin (ed.), Winckelmann Writings on Art. London/New York: Phaidon, 1972.

2) Articles in newspapers and popular magazines

[Unknown.] "Σμύρνης 'Αναμνήσεις" (Memories from Smyrna). Periodical Χρυσσαλις, vol. 4, no. 76, 28 Feb. 1866, p. 86.

[Unknown.] Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 26, no. 2533, 5 March 1857, p. 3.

[Unknown.] Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 27, no. 2692, 20 Aug. 1858, p. 3.

[Unknown.] Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 25, no. 2454, 19 Aug. 1856, p. 2.

[Unknown.] Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 26, no. 2533, 5 Mar. 1857, p. 2.

[Unknown.] Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 26, no. 2581, 24 July 1857, p. 2.

[Unknown.] Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 26, no. 2583, 31 Jul. 1857, p. 2.

[Unknown.] "Esoterika" (interior issues). Newspaper Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 27, no. 2685, 26-7-1858, pp. 2-3.

[Unknown.] "Esoterika" (interior issues). Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená). year 25, no. 2389, 20 March 1856, pp. 2-3.

[Unknown.] "Esoterika" (interior issues). Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 27, no. 2664, 11 May 1858, pp. 2-3.

[Unknown.] "Esoterika" (interior issues). Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 27, no. 2677, 2 July 1858, pp. 2-3

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Τέσσαρες ἐπισκέψεις εἰς τὸ Πολυτεχνεῖον 'Αθηνῶν" (Four visits to the Polytechnic of Athens) – Part 1. Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 2, no. 82, 15 Dec. 1856.

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Τέσσαρες ἐπισκέψεις εἰς τὸ Πολυτεχνεῖον 'Αθηνῶν" (Four visits to the Polytechnic of Athens) – Part 2. Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 2, no. 83, 22 Dec. 1856.

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Περὶ τινων ἐλλείψεων τοῦ Πολυτεχνείου 'Αθηνῶν" (On some deficiencies of the Polytechnic of Athens). Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 3, no. 89, 24 Jan. 1857.

'A' [Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "'Εκ Θηβῶν τῇ 2 Φεβρ. 1857" (From Thebes on Feb. 2, 1857). Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year. 3, no. 94, 13 Feb. 1857.

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Περὶ 'Ακαδημίας" (On [the issue of] the Academy). Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 2, no. 59, 6 July 1856, pp. 1-2.

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Περὶ τοῦ Θεάτρου τοῦ Καμπούρογλου" (On Kambouroglou's Theater). Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 2, no. 64, 11 Aug. 1856, p. 3.

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς" (On ecclesiastic music) – Letter 1. Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 3, 2 Feb. 1857.

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς" (On ecclesiastic music) – Letter 2. Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 3, 26 Apr. 1857.

[Koumanoudis, Stephanos A.] "Περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς" (On ecclesiastic music) – Letter 3. Newspaper 'Ο Φιλόπατρις (Philópatris), year 3, 21 May 1857.

'K.' [aftanzoglou?] (On the new Theater of Athens). Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 26, no. 2625, 21 Dec. 1857, pp. 1-2.

Kypriadou, Kalliope A. "'Επιδέξιοι Γυναικεῖαι Χεῖραι" (Skillful woman's hands). Translated from the German. In 'Η 'Εφημερὶς τῶν Κυριῶν (The Ladies' Gazette), K. Parren (ed.), year 2, no. 79, 4 Sept. 1888, pp. 3-4.

Papadopoulos, Grigorios. (First annual address in the Royal Polytechnic – Part 1). Newspaper Παναρμόνιον (Panarmónion), Athens, year 1, no. 3, 10 Jan. 1845, pp. 20-1.

Papadopoulos, Grigorios. (First annual address in the Royal Polytechnic – Part 2). Newspaper Παναρμόνιον (Panarmónion), Athens, year 1, no. 7, 28 Jan. 1845, pp. 51-2.

Papadopoulos, Grigorios. (First annual address in the Royal Polytechnic – Part 3). Newspaper Παναρμόνιον (Panarmónion), Athens, year 1, no. 8, 3 Feb. 1845, pp. 61-2.

Valvis, Spyridon. "Τὸ ἀλληλένδετον τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐκ τούτων ὠφέλεια" (The indivisibility of sciences and arts, and the related benefit) – Part 1, Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 10, 6 Aug. 1841, pp. 3-4 (or 3505-06).

Valvis, Spyridon. "Τὸ ἀλληλένδετον τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐκ τούτων ὠφέλεια" (The indivisibility of sciences and arts, and the related benefit) – Part 2, Newspaper 'Αθηνᾶ (Athená), year 10, 20 Aug. 1841, p. 4 (or 1820).

Φύλλον 'Εφημερίδος Κυβερνήσεως (Government Gazette/ FEK), Athens, no. 20, 9/21-4-1836, article 6.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Angelou, Alkis. "Τό αἴσθημα τῆς Φύσης στόν Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό --Ἐπιστολή πρός φιλόσοφον, ἐν ᾗ περιγράφεται οἰκία ἐρημικὴ" (The sentiment of Nature in Modern Greek Enlightenment – Letter to a philosopher, in which a desolate cottage is described). Νέα Ἑστία, year 72, vol. 144, no. 1705, Oct. 1998, pp. 1024-31.

Audi, Robert (ed.) The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995.

Barasch, Moshe. Modern Theories of Art, 1: From Winckelmann to Baudelaire. New York, N.Y./ London, U.K.: New York University Press, 1990.

Biris, Kostas E. Ἡ Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μετσοβίου Πολυτεχνείου (The History of the National Technical University). Athens, 1957.

Biris, Kostas. Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἀπό τοῦ 19ου εἰς τόν 20όν Αἰῶνα (Athens from the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century). 2nd edition. Athens: Melissa, 1995. (Originally, 1966).

Biris, Manos G. Μισός Αἰώνας Ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς 1875-1925 (Half-a-Century of Athenian Architecture 1875-1925). Athens: [n.pbl.] 1987

Bourdieu, Pierre. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Transl. by R. Nice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Boyer, M. Christine. The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments. Cambridge, Mass. / London, U.K.: The MIT Press, 1994.

Brand, Dana. The Spectator and the City in Nineteenth-Century American Literature. Cambridge/ New York/ Port Chester/ Melbourne/ Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Certeau, Michel de. The Practice of Everyday Life. Translated by Steven F. Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. (Originally in French as *L' Invention du Quotidien* (Vol.1: *Arts de Faire*). Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1980).

Chartier, Roger. "Forms of Privatization: Introduction." In R. Chartier (ed.) A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance. Translated by A. Goldhammer. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984, pp. 163-5.

Clelland, Doug. "Berlin: An Architectural History." A.D. Profile, 50, vol. 53, no. 11/12, 1983, pp. 5-15.

Crary, Jonathan. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge, Mass./ London, U.K.: The MIT Press, 1990.

Dimaras, Konstantinos Th. "Λεξικογραφία καί Ἰδεολογία" (Lexicography and Ideology), introduction to the reprint of Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Συναγωγὴ Νέων Λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν Λογίων Πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἁλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' Ἡμᾶς Χρόνων (An assemblage of new words formed by the scholars from the Fall [of Constantinople] to our times). Edited by K. Th. Dimaras. Athens: Hermis, 1980.

Dimaras, Konstantinos Th. Ἑλληνικός Ρωμαντισμός (Hellenic Romanticism). Series "Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα", no.7. Athens: Hermis, 1985.

Dimaras, Konstantinos Th. Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός (Modern Greek Enlightenment). Series "Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα". Athens: Hermes, 1977.

Dorovinis, Vasilis K. "'Ο Σχεδιασμός τοῦ Ναυπλίου κατά τήν Καποδιστριακή Περίοδο (1828-33)" (The planning of Nafplion during the Era of Kapodistrias (1828-33)). In Νεοελληνική Πόλη (Modern Greek Town), Proceedings of the Symposium (Athens, 26-28 Sept. and Hermoupolis, 29-30 Sept. 1984), 2 vols. Athens: Association of Neohellenic Studies, 1985, vol. 1.

Eck, Caroline (van). Organicism in nineteenth-century architecture: An inquiry into its theoretical and philosophical background. Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994.

Eco, Umberto. Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 1984.

Foucault, Michel. The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. New York: Vintage, 1970. (Originally in French as *Les Mots et les Choses: Une archaeologie des sciences humaines*. Paris: Gallimard, 1966.)

Gourgouris, Stathis. Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Hitchcock, Henry-Russell. Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1968.

Hjelmslev, Louis. Prolegomena to a Theory of Language. Translated by F. J. Whitfield. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1961.

Hobsbaum, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In E. Hobsbaum & T. Ranger, (eds.) The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 1-14.

Joannes, H. and Biris, Kostas. Αἱ 'Αθῆναι τοῦ Κλασσικισμοῦ (The Athens of Classicism). Athens: [n.pbl.], 1939.

Kairofylas, Giannis. 'Η 'Αθήνα καί οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι 1834-1934 (Athens and the Athenians 1834-1934). Athens: [n.pbl.] 1978.

Karadedos, Yiorgos (ed.). Νεοκλασική Πόλη καί 'Αρχιτεκτονική (Neoclassical City and Architecture). Conference proceeding (Thessaloniki, 2-4 Dec. 1983). University of Thessaloniki, Department of Architecture History, 1984.

Karouzou, Semni. Τό Ναύπλιο (Nafplion). Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece publications, 1979.

Kaufmann, Emil. Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England - Italy - France. New York, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1955.

Kentrotís, Jiorgos. "Σκέψεις γιά τόν Κυθήριο Διαφωτιστή 'Αντώνιο Φατσέα" (Thoughts on the spokesman of the Enlightenment Antonios Fatseas from Cythera). In periodical Διαβάζω, no. 331, 16 March 1994, pp. 13-20.

Kokkou, Angeliki. 'Η Μέριμνα γιὰ τίς 'Αρχαιότητες στήν 'Ελλάδα καί τά Πρῶτα Μουσεῖα (The Care for the Antiquities in Greece and the First Museums). Athens: Hermis, 1977.

Konstantellou, Eudokia. "Beyond the Limits of Humanistic and Technocratic Ideologies in Education: A Critique of the Greek and American Models (Pedagogy)." PhD Dissertation. Columbus, Ohio: Department of Greek, Ohio State University, 1992.

Korres, Georgios St. "Τό ''Ιλίου Μέλαθρον' ὡς ἔκφρασις τῆς προσωπικότητος καί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ 'Ερρίκου Σλῆμαν" (The 'Ilion Mansion' as an expression of the personality and the lifework of Heinrich Schliemann). In his 'Αναδρομαί είς τόν Νεοκλασσικισμόν (Retrospections into Neoclassicism). Athens: Society of the People's Friends, 1977.

Kruft, Hanno-Walter. A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present. New York, N.Y.: Zwemmer, Princeton Architectural Press, 1994.

Kühn, Margarete. "Schinkel und der Entwurf seiner Schüler Schaubert und Kleanthes für die Neustadt Athen." In Deutsches Arcäeologisches Institut, Berlin und die Antike, vol. 1, Deutsches Arcäeologisches Institut, 1979, pp. 515-16.

Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford, U.K./ Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991, orig. 1974.

Marchand, Suzanne L. Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.

McClelland, Charles E. State, Society, and University in Germany (1700-1914). Cambridge/ London/ New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Moskof, Kostis. 'Η 'Εθνική καί Κοινωνική Συνείδηση στήν 'Ελλάδα 1830-1909 (National and Social Consciousness in Greece 1830-1909). Thessaloniki: 'Nea Poreia', 1972.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire.*" Representations, no. 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7-25.

Oreopoulos, Philippos. 'Ο Νεοελληνικός Λόγος γιά τήν 'Αρχιτεκτονική καί τήν Πόλη: Τό Χωρικό Μοντέλο τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Ανατολῆς (The Neohellenic Logos about the Architecture (of the building) and the City: The Spatial Model of the Hellenic East), with a preface by A. Tzonis and L. Lefaivre. Athens: Hestia, 1998. Also published in French as Le Modèle Spatial de l' Orient Hellène: Le Discours Néohellénique sur la Ville et l' Architecture. Paris: L' Harmattan, 1998.

Osborne, Harold (ed.) The Oxford Companion to Art. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Papageorgiou-Venetas, Alexandros. "'Αρχές καί Πρακτική τοῦ 'Αναστηλωτικοῦ Ἔργου στόν Παρθενώνα (1989)" (Principles and practice of the restoration project of the Parthenon (1989)). Paper delivered in the Third International Convention concerning the restoration works on the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, 1989). Reprint in his 'Αθήνα: Δοκιμές καί Θεωρήσεις (Athens: Essays and Speculations). Athens: Odysseas, 1996, pp. 165-75.

Papageorgiou-Venetas, Alexandros. "Friedrich von Gaertner in Greece and the building of the Palace of Athens", 'Αρχαιολογία, no. 40, December 1993. (First published in German in the exhibition catalogue for the anniversary of 200 years since the birth of the architect: *Friedrich von Gaertner. Ein Architektenleben*, 1992.)

Pepper, Stephen C. World Hypotheses: A Study in Evidence. Berkeley/ Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961.

Petrakos, Vasileios Ch. Ἡ ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εταιρία: Ἡ 'Ιστορία τῶν 150 Χρόνων της 1837-1987 (The Archaeological Society of Athens: The Story of its 150 Years 1837-1987). Athens: The Archaeological Society of Athens, 1987.

Philippides, Dimitris. Λύσανδρος Καφτανζόγλου: Ἡ Ζωή καί τό Ἔργο τοῦ 'Αρχιτέκτονα Λύσανδρου Καφτανζόγλου (Lysandros Kaftanzoglou: The Life and Work of the Architect Lysandros Kaftanzoglou). Athens: Ministry of Culture / Cultural Technological Institute ETVA, 1995.

Philippides, Dimitris and the Hellenic Institute of Architecture. Λύσανδρος Καφτανζόγλου (Lysandros Kaftanzoglou). Exhibition catalogue (May 17-June 16, 1996). Athens: The Hellenic Institute of Architecture, 1996.

Philippides, Dimitris. Νεοελληνική 'Αρχιτεκτονική (Modern Greek Architecture). Athens: Melissa, 1984.

Podro, Michael. The Critical Historians of Art. New Haven / London: Yale Univ. Press, 1982.

Porphyrios, Dimitris. "Classicism is not a style", Architectural Design, no. 5/6, Academy Editions/ St. Martin's Press, 1982, pp. 51-57.

Rohde, Michael. "Stephanos Kumanudis und die 'Slavenhypothese' von Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer: historisch-kritische Textausgabe eines handschriftlichen Fragments aus dem Jahre 1842." Doctoral Dissertation. Berlin: Institut für Klassische Philologie und Neogräzistik der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, März 1998.

Russack, Hans Hermann. 'Αρχιτέκτονες τῆς Νεοκλασικῆς 'Αθήνας (Architects of Neoclassical Athens). Transl.ated by K. Sarropoulos. Athens: Govostis publisher, c. 1990. (Oroginally in German as Deutsche bauen in Athen. Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1942.)

Saisselin, Rémy G. The Bourgeois and the Bibelot. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984.

Schnapp, Alain. The Discovery of the Past: the Origins of Archaeology. Translated from the French by Ian Kinnes & Gillian Varndell. London: British Museum Press, 1996 (orig. 1993).

Simopoulos, Kyriakos. Ξένοι Ταξιδιῶτες στήν 'Ελλάδα (Foreign Travelers to Greece). Athens: [n.publ.], 1970.

Skaltsa, Matoula. Κοινωνική ζωή καί δημόσιοι χῶροι κοινωνικῶν συναθροίσεων στήν 'Αθήνα τοῦ 19ου αἰώνα (Social Life and Public Spaces of Social Gatherings in 19th-century Athens). Thessaloniki: [n. pbl.] 1983. {Doctoral Dissertation, University of Thessaloniki.]

Skarpia-Heupel, Xanthippi. "Η μορφολογία τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Κλασικισμοῦ (1789-1848) καί ἡ δημιουργική ἀφομοίωσή του ἀπό τήν ἑλληνική ἀρχιτεκτονική (1833-1897)" (The morphology of German Classicism (1789-1848) and its creative assimilation by the Greek architecture (1833-1897)). Thessaloniki: Doctoral Dissertation, University of Thessaloniki, 1975.

Skiadas, Eleftherios G. 'Ιστορικό Διάγραμμα τῶν Δήμων τῆς 'Ελλάδος 1833-1912 (Historical Outline of the Municipalities of Greece 1833-1912). Athens: Ypourgeio Esoterikon, Topiki Enosi Dimon kai Koinotiton Argolidos, 1993.

Skopetea, Elli. Τό "Πρότυπο Βασίλειο" καί ή Μεγάλη 'Ιδέα: Ὄψεις τοῦ 'Εθνικοῦ Προβλήματος στήν 'Ελλάδα (1830-1880) (The "Model Kingdom" and the Grand Idea: Views of the National Problem in Greece (1830-1880). Athens: Polytypo, 1988.

Snodin, Michael (ed.). Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man. New Haven & London: Yale University Press & The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991.

Stafford, Barbara Maria. "Beauty of the Invisible: Winckelmann and the Aesthetics of Imperceptibility." Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, vol. 43, no. 1, 1980, pp. 65-77.

Stafford, Barbara Maria. Symbol and Myth: Humbert de Superville's Essay on Absolute Signs in Art. New Jersey / London: University of Delaware Press / Associated University Presses, 1979.

Stafford, Barbara Maria. Voyage into Substance: art, science, nature, and the illustrated travel account, 1760-1840. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, c. 1984.

Travlos, Joannes N. Πολεοδομική 'Εξέλιξις τῶν 'Αθηνῶν: ἀπό τῶν προϊστορικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ 19ου αἰῶνος (Urban-planning development of Athens: From the prehistoric age to the 19th century). Athens: [n.pbl.], 1960.

Tsigakou, Fani-Maria. The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era. London: Thames and Hudson, 1981.

Tsiomis, Giannis. 'Αθήνα Εὐρωπαϊκή 'Υπόθεση (Athens, a European Affair). Athens: Ypourgeio Politismou (Ministry of Culture), Exhibition catalogue (12 Oct. - 2 Dec. 1985), 1985.

Tziovas, Dimitris. "Residual Orality and Belated Textuality in Greek Literature and Culture", Journal of Modern Greek Studies, vol. 7, no. 2, Oct. 1989, pp. 321-35.

Varika, Eleni. 'Η 'Εξέγερση τῶν Κυριῶν: 'Η Γένεση μιᾶς Φεμινιστικῆς Συνείδησης στήν 'Ελλάδα 1833-1907 (The Rise of the Ladies: The Beginnings of a Feminist Consciousness in Greece 1833-1907). Studies in Modern Greek History. Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1987.

Watkin, David and Mellinghoff, T. German Architecture and the Classical Ideal. London, U.K./ Cambridge, Mass.: Thames and Hudson Ltd. / MIT Press, 1987.

White, Hayden. Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Baltimore/ London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Zanten, David (Van). The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830s. New York/ London: Garland Publishing, 1977. (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1970).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

i) Illustrations in main text

FIG. 1: Sebastiano Ittar, "Fête with a Tightrope Walker by the Theseum," 1800. Sepia wash and ink. Private collection, London. Published in Fani–Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981, p. 146, fig. 43.)

FIG. 2: Upper class Athenian house with a courtyard, c. 1810. Lithograph. Published in Otto Magnus Stackelberg, *La Grèce, vues pittoresques et topographiques* (Seconde partie. Paris: I. F. d' Osterwald, 1834.)

FIG. 3: Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, Proposed plan for the modern city of Athens, Royal Typography, 1837. Published in Dimitris Philippides, *Λύσανδρος Καφτανζόγλου: Ἡ Ζωή καί τό Ἔργο τοῦ Ἀρχιτέκτονα Λύσανδρου Καφτανζόγλου* (Athens: Ministry of Culture / Cultural Technological Institute ETVA, 1995, p. 78.)

FIGS. 4a & 4b: Elevation and plan of single family house on Oikonomou and Koundouriotou streets, Lapathiotis residence, Athens, c. 1870. Architect unknown. Drawn and published by Manos Biris, *Μισός Αἰώνας Ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς 1875-1925* (Athens, 1987, figs. 21, 22, p. 33.)

FIGS. 5a & 5b: Two-family house on 48 Fylis street, Athens, c. 1870-80. Architect unknown. Drawn and published by Manos Biris, *Μισός Αἰώνας Ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς 1875-1925* (Athens, 1987, figs. 46, 47, pp. 51-52.)

FIGS. 6a & 6b: Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, Alternative proposals for the street façade of a two-story family house, 1858. Published in Dimitris Philippides, *Λύσανδρος Καφτανζόγλου* (Exhibition catalogue (May 17-June 16, 1996). Athens: The Hellenic Institute of Architecture, 1996, figs. 34, 35.)

FIG. 7: Two houses on Panepistimiou Avenue facing the 'Athenian Trilogy', 1840-1860. Published in Kostas Biris, *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἀπό τοῦ 19ου εἰς τόν 20όν Αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1966, p. 165.)

FIG. 8: The Panorama in *Description of the View and Surrounding Country Panorama Strand* by H. A. Barker and J. Burford (London: Printed by Jas, Adlard & Sons, Bartholomew Close, 1818 & 1845). Printed by permission of the Gennadeion Library.

FIG. 9: The Panorama in *Notes Descriptive of a Panoramic Sketch of Athens* by Mrs. C. H. Bracebridge (London: W. H. Dalton, 1839). Printed by permission of the Gennadeion Library.

FIG. 10: The cover-page and the panorama in *Notes Descriptive of a Panoramic Sketch of Athens* by Mrs. C. H. Bracebridge (London: W. H. Dalton, 1839). Printed by permission of the Gennadeion Library.

FIG. 11: The Panorama in Ferdinand Stademann, *Panorama von Athen* (München, 1841.)

FIG. 12: The Panorama of Athens in Theodose Du Moncel, *De Venice à Constantinople; à travers la Grèce et retour par Malte, Messine, Pizza et Naples* (Paris: Delarue, c. 1845.)

FIG. 13: The first cyclical panorama spectacle in Athens by the Ilissos River, c. 1894. Postcard in color.

FIG. 14: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch annotated "The Mosque of Sultan Selim in Adrianople, 9 February 1845." Ink on paper. Unpublished. Stephanos Koumanoudis Archives (*S.K.A.*), Public Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, doc. F39/ Φ1153, 43/ 9-2-1845.

FIG. 15: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketches commenting on Hegel's ideas on architecture, 1878. Ink on paper. Unpublished. *S.K.A.*, doc. F36/ Φ1150, 108/1878.

FIG. 16: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Schematic map of traveled places by the author. Ink on paper. Unpublished. *S.K.A.*, doc. F39/ Φ1153, 30.

FIGS. 17a & 17b: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketches of profiles of unidentified individuals. Ink on paper. Unpublished. *S.K.A.*, doc. F39/ Φ1153, 3 and doc. F16/ Φ1130, 147.

FIG. 18: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch of five Athenian buildings. Ink on paper. Unpublished. *S.K.A.*, doc. F36/ Φ1150, 126.

FIG. 19: Plan of low-income residential block (#648) in the area of the Athenian Agora before the excavations of 1938. Drawn, surveyed, and published by Joannes Travlos in *Πολεοδομική 'Εξέλιξις τῶν 'Αθηνῶν: ἀπό τῶν προϊστορικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ 19ου αἰῶνος* (Athens, 1960, fig. 173, p. 253.)

FIG. 20: J. N. H. Chacaton, *Hadrian's Library*, 1839. Watercolor. Benaki Museum, Athens. Published in Fani–Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981, pl. XX.)

FIG. 21: Giorgio Peritelli, *Syntagma Square*, 1863. Oil on canvas. Private collection, Athens. Published in Fani–Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981, p. 149, fig. 49.)

ii) Illustations in Appendix II

FIG. A: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch of the façade of a new church in Patras, 1851. Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867* (Athens: Ikaros, 1990, p. 176.)

FIG. B: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch of a broken pediment with figures in a house of Zakynthos, 1850. Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867* (Athens: Ikaros, 1990, p. 125.)

FIG. C: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch of site plan of an Italian villa in the country of Zakynthos, 1850. Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867* (Athens: Ikaros, 1990, p. 126.)

FIG. D: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Bell-tower of St. Dionysius of Zakynthos drawn from memory, 1855. Unpublished. Traced over. *S.K.A.*, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, iz', p.2.

FIGS. E1 & E2: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Two schematic maps of the city of Zakynthos drawn from memory, 1851. Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867* (Athens: Ikaros, 1990, pp. 137, 138.)

FIG. F: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch of the façade of a new building for a bank in Kefallinia, c. 1850. Unpublished. Traced over. *S.K.A.*, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kb'.

FIG. G: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch of volutes on a building pediment, c. 1863. Unpublished. Traced over. *S.K.A.*, doc. F24/ Φ1138, 3, kst'.

FIG. H: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketches comparing the use of columns in ancient and modern buildings, 1840. Berlin. Unpublished. Traced over. *S.K.A.*, doc. F23/ Φ1137, 1/ 28-11-1840 (diary).

FIG. I: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketch of his old neighborhood in Adrianople drawn from memory with annotation, 1845. Unpublished. *S.K.A.*, doc. F54/ Φ1168, 1.

FIG. K: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketchy plan of his neighborhood in Adrianople drawn from memory, 1845. Published in S. A. Koumanoudis, *'Ημερολόγιον 1845-1867* (Athens: Ikaros, 1990, p. 155.)

FIG. L: Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Sketchy plan for the organization of the exhibits in the Western wing of the Archaeological Museum of Athens, c. 1874. Unpublished. Ink on paper. *S.K.A.*, doc. F39/ Φ1158, 12.

F. L. Lucas summed it all up: the whole of life is "*an eternal tight-rope walk. Balance is essential. To the question 'Classic or Romantic?' the answer is surely 'Both'!*"

J. MORDAUNT CROOK, **The Greek Revival,** p. 65.