

Affiliated in Stone:
An Old Athenian House in Modern Athens, Greece, 1834–1969

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Abstract

“Affiliated in Stone” tells the story of modern Athens and its architecture through a vernacular house at 36 Hadrian Street. Little is known about this house, including its builders and most of its inhabitants. Using photographs, drawings, notebooks, and other archival fragments in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens archives, it is given a place in its context. With its construction complete sometime around 1860 and its demolition in 1969, it was representative of the Athenian Neoclassical style as translated through vernacular building in this period. By the time of 36 Hadrian Street’s appearance in Athens, the typical Athenian house had adapted to the changing urban conditions of the new capital. All along street fronts in Athens and throughout Greece, a new collective urban character was promoted through sculpted, Neoclassical façades that concealed traditional Greek houses behind. Approximately 150m² in area with two floors and a basement, the house was originally arranged in an L shape around an exterior courtyard. Nearly everyone in Athens and Attica at this time built their houses in a variation of this type, and nearly all houses were built with stone. An addition to the house dating to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century was most likely made to accommodate increasingly dense living conditions in its neighborhood of Vrysaki, a working-class neighborhood that grew quickly after the War of Independence to meet the demands of housing in the city. Vrysaki was built on the site of the ancient Athenian Agora, which was designated for archaeological investigation in the nineteenth century and excavated in the twentieth century primarily by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, one of many foreign archaeological schools founded in Athens in the late nineteenth century. With the American School at the helm and in collaboration with the Greek State, the Agora became a public display of American ideological pursuits underneath foreign soil, the birthplace of democracy leveraged as grounds to promote a claim on this lineage. The American School’s curation of the Agora remains foremost a dedication to ancient Athens. The story of the house at 36 Hadrian Street represents the making of modern Athens through Athenians in their time, and embodies the qualities of a distinct culture of building that not only precedes it but continues today.

Introduction

Before the Greek War of Independence that began in 1821, Athens was a small city with dense narrow streets, less than two thousand houses, and a population of around 10,000 people. It was made the new capital of Greece in 1834, and by the end of the nineteenth century it had grown tenfold in population and its built environment had changed considerably through a series of politically motivated decisions to position it alongside other modern European capital cities. This period was dominated by architecture built in a Neoclassical style which, though not a product of the War of Independence, was greatly transformed by it in Athens. The house at 36 Hadrian Street, built sometime around 1860 and demolished in 1969, was representative of the Athenian Neoclassical style as translated through vernacular building and part of a long evolution of vernacular houses in Attica (Figure 1). It was built on the site of the ancient Athenian Agora, which was designated for archaeological investigation in the nineteenth century and excavated in the twentieth century primarily by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, one of many foreign archaeological schools founded in Athens in the late nineteenth century. As one of 625 houses taken down by the American School that made up the former working-class neighborhood known as Vrysaki, the house at 36 Hadrian Street at the northern edge of the Agora was rendered a divide between two worlds once full-scale excavations began in 1931 (Figure 2–Figure 3).

The number of Neoclassical buildings in Athens is now a fraction of what it was at its height due to the city's growth which, though arriving in moments of intensity, has not stalled since it became the modern capital. Athens ultimately did become the preeminent Greek city, and from the vantage point of Europe was imbued with a mythical

aura affiliated with its past. Its past is not intrinsically deeper or more valuable than other cities, Greek or otherwise, yet few places are subject to as much discussion over architectural memory and loss. It is widely believed that the architecture of Athens from this period requires a new scholarly stance due to the impossibility of classifying it rigidly. Told here is the making of modern Athens and its architecture through the story of the house at 36 Hadrian Street. Little is known about this house, including its builders and most of its inhabitants. Using photographs, drawings, notebooks, and other archival fragments in the American School archives, it is given a place in its context. The American School's curation of the Agora remains foremost a dedication to ancient Athens. The story of the house at 36 Hadrian Street represents the making of modern Athens through Athenians in their time, and embodies the qualities of a distinct culture of building that not only precedes it but continues today.

Revolution and Rebuilding

Athens before the Greek Revolution of 1821 had a rich built record. After being captured by the Ottoman Empire in 1456, it gradually became a walled provincial town of 12,000 people laid out in circular fashion around a fortified Acropolis (Figure 4–Figure 5).¹ It was an accumulation of monuments from antiquity and the Roman period, Byzantine churches, traces of the thirteenth century Frankish conquest, mosques and minarets, and about 1,650 houses built of stone with their “ever present courtyards and verdant gardens.”² Attica villagers joined the Athenians in a revolt against the Ottoman Empire on 25 April 1821. This siege, and a later movement of force by the Ottoman Empire in June 1826, contributed to a large leveling of the city that would be rebuilt and modified throughout the nineteenth century to reflect what was considered by the state and across Europe as the emerging modern Greek identity.³ A number of foreign travelers searching for classical Greece recorded in detail their impressions of Athens after the Revolution. English intellectual Christopher Wordsworth wrote in 1832 that the town was:

...now lying in ruins. The streets are almost deserted, nearly all the houses are without roof. The churches are reduced to bare walls and heaps of stones and mortar...It makes an abstraction of all other features, and leaves the spectator alone with Antiquity. In this consists, particularly in the present period, the superiority of Athens over Rome, as a reflection of the ancient world.⁴

¹ Manos Biris and Maro Kardamitsi-Adami, *Neoclassical Architecture in Greece* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2004), 74.

² John Travlos, “Athens after the Liberation: Planning the New City and Exploring the Old,” *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 50, no. 4 (Oct–Dec 1981): 391.

³ Travlos, “Athens after the Liberation,” 391.

⁴ Christopher Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica: Journal of a Residence There*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1837), 52.

To be clear, Wordsworth was a self-professed tourist enamored with classical Greece, which as a realm for a fixed imagination was not a nineteenth century invention. For generations, European men in particular were persistent in building up the idea that the classical period was something that could be, and was worthwhile to be, revived in modern times.⁵ In his declaration of Athens as a superior reflection of the ancient world compared to Rome, Wordsworth also made clear that Athens was not yet like Rome which he considered a “palimpsest.”⁶ The way forward for this “tattered manuscript” of Athens for Wordsworth was in the glimpses of antiquity in the landscape, dominated by the rock of the Acropolis and the wrecked Parthenon sitting on top whose worth was deepened by its state of ruin. French intellectual Alphonse de Lamartine wrote in the same year as Wordsworth that it took fifteen minutes of wandering through stone debris and broken monuments before finally “reaching Athens,” that is, arriving at the Acropolis.⁷ By decision of its Western allies, Greece was instated with a Eurocentric monarchy after the signing of the London Protocol on 3 February 1830.⁸ Young Othon the Prince of Bavaria, or “Otto,” was chosen to be the new King of Greece under continued influence by his father King Ludwig I, and Athens officially became the new national capital on 1 December 1834.⁹

⁵ Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994).

⁶ Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, 52.

⁷ Lya Matton and Raymond Matton, *Athènes et Ses Monuments Du XVII Siècle à Nos Jours* (Athens: Institute Française d’Athènes, 1963), 188–200.

⁸ Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1987); Travlos, “Athens after the Liberation,” 393.

⁹ Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami, *Neoclassical Architecture in Greece*, 71.

Native Greeks, those from the still unredeemed areas of Greece, and Greeks of the diaspora came to the city after the War to build a life, and by necessity were often obliged to build houses quickly and economically on unique plots and terrains.¹⁰ Facing a housing crisis, there was a clear practical need for rebuilding Athens following the Revolution. There was also a less clear problem of constructing a new capital that physically embodied the state's political aims. Similar to other nineteenth century European countries that fought for independence from the Ottoman Empire, Greece was intent on severing ties with its Ottoman past.¹¹ With advice from his court architect Leo von Klenze and also Karl Friedrich Schinkel, then architect to his brother-in-law Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, King Ludwig I directed the foundational development of modern Athens on principles of sentiment and preservation. Notably, it was only a decade prior that a contemporary of Ludwig I established the first preservation decree in Germany, declaring that "the surviving monuments of architecture are among the most important and interesting evidence of history, in that from them may be inferred the former customs, culture and civic conditions of the nation and therefore their preservation is greatly to be wished."¹² Architects Stamatis Kleanthes (Greek) and Eduard Schaubert (Prussian), friends and former students of Schinkel at the Bauakademie in Berlin, were the first to draw a new plan for Athens in 1832.¹³ Completed in less than one year, they designed a European Neoclassical city that included wide radiating avenues, large public

¹⁰ Sylvie Dumont, *Vrysaki* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2020), 140; Kostas Biris, *Athenian Architecture: 1875–1925*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Melissa, 2003).

¹¹ Berin Gür, "Construction of National Identity: Plaka District of Athens during the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Urban History* 38, no. 1 (2012): 40.

¹² Ludwig I of Hessen in 1818. Quoted by David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 393.

¹³ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 20; Travlos, "Athens after the Liberation," 393.

squares, monumental circular intersections, and parks (Figure 6). Kleanthes and Schaubert anchored the plan with a new royal palace and oriented all major urban perspectives in the city toward the Acropolis (Figure 7). The plan was at odds with the historical evolution of Athens, particularly at the scale of the citizen. Squares, for example, were historically not prioritized in either Athens or rural areas of the Attica region. Rather, open public spaces appeared at street intersections and other interstitial urban spaces, such as in front of churches, around wells, in wider areas around public buildings, and in coastal areas along waterfronts.¹⁴ Importantly, Kleanthes and Schaubert segregated an area of Athens for archaeological investigations of the ancient cities of Theseus and Hadrian, reinforcing the formalization of the Greek Archaeological Service which was established in 1833, and later the Archaeological Society at Athens in 1837.¹⁵ This area, approximately one-third the size of the city, included the ancient Greek and Roman agoras and most of what is now known as Plaka. Kleanthes and Schaubert wrote that “even if the present condition of Greece does not permit such a thing, later generations will surely condemn us if we had not foreseen it.”¹⁶

Initially, some Athenian citizens willingly yielded their properties to the archaeological zone drawn by Kleanthes and Schaubert due to what was perceived as the promise of modern amenities that would come with Athens as the new capital city.¹⁷ A public letter was sent to King Otto in June 1833, guaranteeing the cession of as many

¹⁴ Constantin N. Decavalla, *Walking in Towns and Cities* (Athens: Melissa, 2015); Aikaterini Dimitsandou-Kremezis, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Attica*, trans. Philip Ramp (Athens: Melissa, 1986).

¹⁵ Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

¹⁶ Quoted by Travlos, “Athens after the Liberation,” 393.

¹⁷ John Travlos, “The West Side of the Athenian Agora Restored,” in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, trans. Homer Thompson (Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1949), 384.

plots as necessary to implement the new city plan and a redistribution of land outside the old city for the displaced landowners.¹⁸ Disagreements soon followed on compensation for residents in the proposed archaeological zone as expropriation costs were initially calculated based upon land value and the cost of building a new, identical house.¹⁹ Facing increasing property and construction costs, these lower- to middle-class residents struggled to reconcile the reality of rebuilding with the compensation offered. Furthermore, the government was concerned citizens might rebuild “small, insignificant and bad quality buildings...[and] the royal palace would be surrounded by squalid huts.”²⁰ For citizens that had already rebuilt, existing street networks and building foundations were commonly reused, prompting widespread opposition to the plan by Kleanthes and Schaubert which would clear paths through their homes. Leo von Klenze was asked to devise an alternative that would facilitate implementation and proposed reducing the widening of streets and new squares, as well as reducing the archaeological zone by nearly half its original area. Von Klenze also suggested amendments to the compensation for those in the expropriation zone, assigning variable rates according to the condition of buildings and their proximity to archaeological features of interest. For those who had already rebuilt their homes, Von Klenze suggested a gradual expropriation that allowed for residents to live in the area until excavations had reached them.²¹ Amid this starting and stalling in the city plan, houses were being built in the archaeological area faster than they could be regulated. By 1836 when the final city plan was approved,

¹⁸ Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

¹⁹ Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

²⁰ Selections from a memorandum by Leo von Klenze to the Regency Council, 1834. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 24.

²¹ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 25.

the State was forced to allow the building of houses in the archaeological zone considering how many had already been built (Figure 8).²²

With the institutional and ideological foundations of modern Greece being defined and redefined, Athens' new civic architecture assumed responsibility of reinforcing the image of the State in public space. The question of national identity loomed and its direction was dominated by a reverence for ancient Greek values, which were embodied by Neoclassicism. The application of classical architectural principles in public buildings appeared before the Revolution. Earlier examples include Corfu after its British capture in 1815, and in other early nineteenth century urban centers of Greece's then unredeemed territories.²³ Across Greece, Neoclassical trends appeared at different times and in some cases with indefinite qualities. In Athens, it first appeared in public buildings and was reflected later in houses to suggest a wealthy and well-informed citizen.²⁴ King Otto's Palace in Athens, built in 1836–1843 and designed by another court architect named Friedrich von Gärtner, was intended to transform the image of the former Ottoman province to a “modern kingdom” (Figure 9).²⁵ It was received along with other major architectural projects of the time with some skepticism. Athens was described in 1838 as “a city where there is not yet a road, and where one begins by constructing a palace, a faithful image of a country where one has just made a king, before being

²² Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 167; Travlos, “Athens after the Liberation,” 394.

²³ Alexander Tzonis and Alcestis P. Rodi, *Greece: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 21.

²⁴ Dimitris Philippides, *Greek Design & Decoration: Three Centuries of Architectural Style* (Athens: Melissa, 1999), 80.

²⁵ Tzonis and Rodi, *Greece*, 19.

assured of a people.”²⁶ As an application of Neoclassicism, however, along with the National Polytechnic project by Lysandros Kaftantzoglou, the Palace is a quintessential example of nineteenth century public architecture in Athens (Figure 10). The sheer scale of these buildings initiated a changing technological dimension in the city’s architecture and required the import of new methods, materials, and builders to the city.²⁷ Formally and stylistically these projects were austere and economic, restrained in detail and softened with the application of colors from antiquity. Representing a break from any perceived architectural decadence of the city’s Ottoman or Byzantine past, the minimal ornamentation in both buildings was not by architect choice but by State pressures, and in fact both were considered incomplete by their designers.²⁸ Their application of the classical canon was instructive, however, and the prominence of such buildings in the public realm provided a point of mediation between the state’s deliberate Neoclassicism and the Neoclassicism as translated by Athenians in their houses.

²⁶ A. M. Raoul-Rochette, “Athènes sous le roi Othon,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* 16, no. 2 (October 15, 1838): 185.

²⁷ Tzonis and Rodi, *Greece: Modern Architectures in History*, 20.

²⁸ Tzonis and Rodi, *Greece: Modern Architectures in History*, 22.

The House at 36 Hadrian Street

By 1865, expropriations in the area of the ancient Agora had not progressed and the residents of Vrysaki were busy filling in the irregular old city grid using traditional methods and materials (Figure 11). This would continue in the neighborhood until the beginning of the twentieth century yet all of the buildings were considered temporary by the government, pending excavations. It was agreed that no modern building should be built on a site so valuable as the Acropolis, yet this could not be applied to sites such as the Agora. There would not be strong archaeological certainty at the Agora until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and no absolute certainty until sections were opened with excavations.

The building at 36 Hadrian Street, along with most houses in Vrysaki and the nearby Plaka neighborhood, was likely completed around 1860 and was primarily built of stone laid in two to three wythes and 50 to 60 cm thick.²⁹ There has always been an abundance of stone in Attica and Athenians have always built their houses with it. The Ottoman explorer Elviya Chelebi's description of the city in the seventeenth century described the "7,000 houses of Athens, tile-roofed, built like castles with stone construction. There are no houses built of mud, nor roofed with earth or wood."³⁰ Wall infill was a combination of earth, cement, and sometimes organic materials such as straw and other material fragments as deemed useful. With the exception of heavy timber,

²⁹ Dumont, *Vrysaki*; Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Αθήνα* (Athens: Kapon, 2001), 174. Since exact construction date is unknown, this date reflects the details that can be verified with archival evidence of the house and comparison to similar houses in Athens regarding their Neoclassical details.

³⁰ Kostas Biris, Ta 'Attika' tou Evliya Chelebe — Ai Athinai kai ta perichora kata ton 17o aiona," *Ta Athinaika* (Athens: 1959). Cited in Dimitsandou-Kremezis, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 35.

Athenians historically imported few materials for any building, domestic or otherwise.³¹

There is a characteristic formal modesty in the vernacular houses of the region that is traceable to the classical period when: “walls of sun-dried brick were carried on socles of rubble stonework; floors were of rolled clay, roofs of the simplest terracotta tiles; the rooms were so narrow that joists and rafters could be cut from quite small trees.”³² Doors, frames, floors, and other timber details were traditionally made from a shrub-like cedar with a durability that increases with age and is found growing in clumps on the sides of Attica’s mountains.³³

Though many of the earlier houses of modern Athens were built as a matter of necessity, which also meant cheaply and quickly, this does not necessarily suggest they were all built without skill. As a building material, stone presents the challenge of each stone being unique, and this uniqueness carries through the construction at all points. The virtue of stone is that most any stone can be worked into usefulness, yet the degree to which is determined by selection. Stone selection is a matter of assessment that for the untrained eye is time-consuming. Assessment becomes more acutely important when building with assorted found and repurposed materials from foundation upward, a common practice in vernacular houses in Greece and especially in the rebuilding of houses after the War of Independence in Athens (Figure 12). After a stone is selected, there is almost always a fit adjustment needed which may also result in a rejection and finding of a new stone, its final placement a determination of strength and beauty.

³¹ Homer Thompson, “Stone, Tile and Timber,” *Expedition Magazine* 22, no. 3 (March 1980): 15, <https://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/stone-tile-and-timber/>.

³² Thompson, “Stone, Tile and Timber,” 13.

³³ Dimitisandou-Kremezis, *Attica*, 9.

The building at 36 Hadrian Street was approximately 150 m² in area across two floors and a basement and arranged around a courtyard, and nearly all Athenians at the time built their houses in a variation of this type.³⁴ The only existing drawing of 36 Hadrian Street, a 1969 drawing by architect of the Agora John Travlos, most likely reflects the house near its original condition (see Figure 1). The section south of the courtyard suggests a later addition, and Travlos likely chose to represent this section with less detail to differentiate between the two. This addition would have likely been added in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century to accommodate more inhabitants. This closing of plot by the rear addition was common, and similar examples exist in Vrysaki such as the house at 8 Vouleutiriou Street (Figure 13). The block at 8 Vouleutiriou Street also shows the other most common plot configuration in addition to the L shape where the house is arranged along one side of the plot perimeter only.

The house at 36 Hadrian Street is a part of a long vernacular evolution in the region. By the seventeenth century, Athenian houses were mostly one-story and by the nineteenth century the two-story stone house and its variations were prevalent in Athens and nearby villages Marousi and Chalandri.³⁵ The one-story broad-fronted house and two-story houses similar to 36 Hadrian Street existed in many variations by the nineteenth century.³⁶ The traditional one-story stone house, which comprised more than half of the houses in Vrysaki, was sometimes described in rural areas as “huts” by

³⁴ Biris, *Athenian Architecture*; Aris Konstantinidis, *Ta palia Athinaika spitia* (Athens: 1983); John Travlos, *Πολοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνων απο των προϊστορικων χρόνων μέχρι των αρχων του 19ου αιωνος*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Kapon, 1993). A working drawing of the house by Travlos also is preserved but does not deviate with any significance from the final drawing.

³⁵ Dimitsandou-Kremezis, *Attica*, 18–22.

³⁶ Broad-fronted house is fundamentally a main dwelling space with adjacent auxiliary spaces arranged in a line. Openings were always on the long façade.

travelers.³⁷ Tile-covered, low-slope roofs such as the main roof of 36 Hadrian Street were dominant in Athens though some flat-roof houses were built, such as in the Anafiotika neighborhood with its strong architectural translation from the islands.³⁸ With few exceptions, all Athenian houses were arranged in clusters around courtyards as is the case at 36 Hadrian Street. A historically vital space in Greek urban and rural settings, the courtyard is characteristic of houses across the Mediterranean region. In rural Attica, courtyard outbuildings included stables, storage areas, and other useful features that could include a wine press, oven, and well.³⁹ In Athens the courtyard was a multi-use space and social heart of the house, underscored by the fact that the floors of houses such as at 36 Hadrian Street did not communicate with each other internally but by an exterior courtyard staircase, or in the case of 36 Hadrian Street six.

There was great variety in the composition of Athenian courtyards, yet each contained defining features.⁴⁰ Looking at 36 Hadrian Street, there is an enclosed porch directly opening onto the courtyard at the first level, known as a *stegasto*. Directly above on the upper floor is a series of rooms set back from a sunroom, traditionally referred to as a *liakoto* or *hayiati*, that would light the upper floor and help with natural ventilation. The *liakoto* was traditionally intended to face east or south to catch the sun, yet this was not always possible in dense neighborhoods such as Vrysaki. The *liakoto* was typically supported by wooden columns with capitals, which in the case of 36 Hadrian Street is supported by only one near the privy section of the house. Stairs would have been

³⁷ Dimitsandou-Kremezis, *Attica*, 22.

³⁸ Dimitsandou-Kremezis, *Attica*, 38.

³⁹ Dimitsandou-Kremezis, *Attica*, 14.

⁴⁰ Konstantinidis, *Ta palia Athinaika spitia*.

wooden or stone or both. The house privies, particularly in houses that shared a single privy accessed through the courtyard, were reported as a main cause of disagreement between residents.⁴¹ The courtyard at 36 Hadrian Street also had a well, which would have been used for watering plants and gardening.⁴²

By the time of 36 Hadrian Street's appearance in Athens, the typical Neoclassical house had adapted to the changing urban conditions of the new capital, and many traditional features such as the courtyard had evolved. It was traditionally common for courtyards to be concealed by high walls that prevented the outside world from viewing the private life of the house. Wooden courtyard gates were often framed between two recessed stone piers, sometimes reinforced with chiseled cornerstones, and served as the only point of transition between exterior and interior. In late nineteenth century Athens, courtyards were rarely closed in by high walls and houses and balconies began to open directly onto the street, reflecting a different social relationship with public space. Whereas exterior openings facing the road were previously rare, windows were also scaled up and emphasized as features. The courtyard surface at 36 Hadrian Street, laid in the typical individually worked stone, also changed at the street entry to large, framed stones that served as a literal and figural transition to the street. This social transformation of the traditional house in Athens extends to the most characteristic feature of 36 Hadrian Street and its contemporaries: between the traditional house and the street was a Neoclassical plaster façade.

⁴¹ Y. Simonetis, *Θησείο: Γειτονιές που χάθηκαν* (Athens: 1991), 146. Cited in Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 161.

⁴² This courtyard well is not shown in the 1931 neighborhood map by Dumont. For potable water, Athenians would visit one of the city's many public water fountains.

Regardless of where they lived and their income, a large part of an Athenian's budget was put toward the exterior appearance of their house by the late nineteenth century.⁴³ The aesthetic reference for these exteriors were the newly built public buildings which were then reinterpreted by vernacular builders. It was relatively simple to incorporate the fundamental rules of Neoclassicism using basic design decisions: axial symmetry; dividing the façade into base, body, and crown; introducing proportional limits to openings; and also adding additional decorative elements such as corbels, pilasters, and dentils. These details were incorporated at 36 Hadrian Street even with its non-linear façade that turned the slight corner down the street. Its north, street-facing façade was organized into a tripartite Neoclassical scheme. It has relatively elaborate details for Vrysaki but coincided with a general trend toward more architectural ornamentation across the city after 1860. At the roof of the house are antefixes, a feature rarely found before 1840, and a scalloped entablature with dentils at the cornice. The house also has an upper balcony enclosed by intricate iron railing and supported by marble corbels, a feature that appeared after 1860 in contrast to the use of iron (rare) or timber (earlier). Noting the architraves around the first-floor windows, more elaborate detail could have been incorporated into a house façade where it had the most effect, in this case for the passersby on Hadrian Street. Similar effect could be achieved with window shutters, which in the case of 36 Hadrian Street vary in style according to each façade.

⁴³ Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami, *Neoclassical Architecture in Greece*.

Additional ornamentation is incorporated at the main entry to 36 Hadrian Street with its pediment, columns, and carvings. As the house was built in the same plane as the adjacent 38 (newer) and 34 (older) Hadrian Street, simple design decisions were used to create planar difference and emphasize proportion. This includes the addition of minimally detailed plaster divisions at each floor and would have also included the application of varying exterior surface treatments and colors between buildings. With the above street sequence in mind, if the façades of 34–38 Hadrian Streets are considered as a whole in their proportional relationships the resulting composition shows a collective act of creation in the aesthetic of Hadrian Street. Just as the builders at 36 Hadrian Street reinterpreted the Neoclassicism of public buildings (which reinterpreted ancient Greece), they also reinterpreted the changing Neoclassicism of their contemporaries.

The interior of the house at 36 Hadrian Street would have remained largely unchanged for decades.⁴⁴ Despite little documentation, there are some assumptions to be made based upon existing evidence of other houses across Athens during this time. Foremost, from the existing drawings it is known that the upper floors of the house at 36 Hadrian Street were wooden whereas “wet” areas were finished with tile. There is a wooden floor section in the northeast of the building on the first floor with a different orientation than the rest of the house, but the reason for this is undetermined. It is likely that the interior of the house would have been decorated minimally, and particularly the south addition to the building. It was also common for the most formal room in a house, such as the street-facing upper floor parlor rooms at 36 Hadrian Street, to be used only on

⁴⁴ Biris, *Athenian Architecture*.

special occasions throughout the year assuming there was room to do so.⁴⁵ It is certain that life to a large extent was lived outside year round, and the courtyard supported this as a functional, social space that was host to domestic chores, sleep, and recreation.⁴⁶ The roof spaces of 36 Hadrian Street would have been used for similar activities. It is also certain that the interior of 36 Hadrian Street was different than similarly sized houses in the neighborhoods inhabited by upper-class wealthy Greek peoples of the diaspora and that had been designed by mainly foreign architects. Common in these wealthier residences were formal entrances connected to symmetrical plans arranged according to specific function and use and served by interior staircases as opposed to an exterior courtyard. Appliances and other fixtures were also kept contemporary in these houses as symbols of modern Greek living, which was less common in the neighborhood of Vrysaki.⁴⁷

Vrysaki was notable in that people of all classes were welcome and, similar to other working-class neighborhoods in Athens, consistently had higher population densities and less-than-average wealth.⁴⁸ It is difficult to determine exactly how many residents worked in the neighborhood and where but it is certain that Vrysaki was consistently home to many small businesses on the first level of houses including bakeries, bars, coffeehouses, barbershops, wine kitchens, furniture workshops, leather shops, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and grocers.⁴⁹ Properties changed hands often, sometimes sold on multiple accounts over a short period of time or given as a dowry, and

⁴⁵ Philippides, *Greek Design & Decoration*, 98.

⁴⁶ Philippides, *Greek Design & Decoration*, 140.

⁴⁷ Gür, "Construction of National Identity," 57–58.

⁴⁸ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 12.

⁴⁹ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 77.

residents often changed jobs. Most properties belonged to householders and traders, the old second and third social classes of Athens, and the majority of these property owners did not live in the area. Rather, the area was filled with renters. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the wealthier families in Vrysaki moved from the area and converted their properties to rentals, which sometimes included the adaptation of basements, storage, and other auxiliary spaces to rooms.⁵⁰ The basement level of 36 Hadrian Street likely experienced a similar modification, though records indicating as much were not found.

Like many of the houses built in Vrysaki, it is difficult to determine the exact modifications 36 Hadrian Street experienced over time. There is also limited information regarding the inhabitants of 36 Hadrian Street, as only one name is associated with the property in American School records.⁵¹ Some modifications are clear when comparing photographs of 36 Hadrian Street with the existing drawings (compare Figure 1 to Figure 14 and Figure 15). These include the closing of a central opening at the upper-level balcony, and the opening of the basement for commercial use at some point in the early to mid-twentieth century. It is likely that the major modifications at 36 Hadrian Street were made by inhabitants to accommodate dense living conditions. Typically, each room in a house in Vrysaki was inhabited by a family and no house was uninhabited.⁵² It was common for two to eight families to live together, with some instances of up to fifteen families (about fifty people) on plots with more than one structure.⁵³ The six entries to 36

⁵⁰ Biris, *Athenian Architecture*, 30–42.

⁵¹ See Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

⁵² Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

⁵³ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 76.

Hadrian Street through the courtyard (and the additional commercial entry from the street that later appears) indicates a very full plot, and this would become more so moving into the twentieth century.

Excavations and Erasure

Between 1870 and 1900, the population of Athens grew fourfold.⁵⁴ Public services began to arrive and “install themselves in every roofed area, even in the churches.”⁵⁵ The city also installed electric lighting, a water distribution system, and railway infrastructure including the Athens-Piraeus Railway which began construction in 1890. This was an enormous force on the grid of the old city, and its fifteen-meter-wide trench cut through the north side of Vrysaki and through the back of 36 Hadrian Street (Figure 16–Figure 17). In the decades since becoming a capital the social structure of the city became clearer and more cohesive, though the sum of urban change paired with the inconsistent successes of the State’s planning cultivated a sentiment of architectural loss in the city. German Byzantine scholar Karl Krumbacher went so far as to compare the aesthetic confusion he experienced in the city to “American instances.”⁵⁶ In November 1873, the Athens City Council under mayor Panagis Kyriakos organized a call for the writing of the city’s history from 0 A.D. 1821.”⁵⁷ Though there was eventually only one submission to this call, the moment solidified the public interest in history of the city not bound to classical Athens and in doing suggested that antiquity was receiving attention well enough.⁵⁸ In 1884, Greek poet Georgios Souris published a poem titled “New Athens and Wealth and Hunger” in the Greek satirical newspaper *Romios*. Souris wrote “From your ancient epoch nothing remains and every day yet another of your memories

⁵⁴ Eugenia Bournova, *The Inhabitants of Athens, 1900–1960: Demography* (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2016).

⁵⁵ Travlos, ““The West Side of the Athenian Agora Restored,” 384.

⁵⁶ P. Enepekidis, *Η Ελλάδα, τα νησιά και η Μικρά Ασία τον Καρόλου Κρονμπάχερ* (Athens: 1994), 58.

⁵⁷ Georgios Konstantinidis, *Ιστορία των Αθηνών* (Athens: 1876), ix–x.

⁵⁸ Submission came from Georgios Konstantinidis, graduate of University of Athens and supervisor of the National Library later in life.

is erased,” going on to then mention the “miraculous” fact that two small Byzantine churches, Aghioi Theodori and Kapnikarea, survived the city’s ongoing modernization.⁵⁹ The interest in more recent Athenian histories continued to accelerate in the twilight of the nineteenth century, along with a prophetic fear that foreign archaeologists at the Acropolis would destroy “all the picturesque additions of the Middle Ages in their zeal to lay bare and restore the ancient monuments.”⁶⁰ In this fervor was a reinforcement of the idea that the value of the past does not belong to the past itself, but to its relationship with contemporary society. Quoting Athenian historian Dimitris Kambouroglou: “...The Athenians should be judged relative to the situation and the spirit of the times.”⁶¹

This historical turn did not overrule the turn toward antiquity, however. After visiting Athens in 1896 for the Olympic Games, Demetrios Bikélas, co-founder and President of the International Olympic Committee, said:

On the other side of the rock [near Vrysaki] the remnants of the old Turkish town and more recent hovels, piled one above another, rise with defacing effect to the very base of the Acropolis. These are condemned, and will have to be pulled down sooner or later. The plans are ready, and only await an administration, which shall have the money, the will and the power to carry them out. The steep base of the rock will then be cleared of the accumulated rubbish and of the unsightly dwellings, and more relics of antiquity will, it is hoped, be brought to light.⁶²

⁵⁹ *Romios*, no. 33, September 8, 1884.

⁶⁰ William Miller, “The Early Years of Modern Athens,” lecture at the Anglo-Hellenic League in Athens, March 27, 1945. Quoted by Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 167.

⁶¹ Dimitris Kambouroglou, *History of the Athenians* (1986), 3:267. Cited by Nasia Giakovaki, “Medieval and Recent History: A New Consciousness about the City of Athens at the End of the 19th Century,” *Archaeology of the City of Athens*,

https://archaeologia.eie.gr/archaeologia/En/chapter_more_11.aspx#:~:text=Kambouroglou%20published%2C%20as%20a%20supplement,the%20period%20from%201458%2D1687.

⁶² Demetrios Bikélas, “Public Spirit in Modern Athens,” *The Century: Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 53, no. 3 (January 1897): 388.

At this time, the first organized excavations of classical Athens were beginning to take place as the Archaeological Society had firmly developed and foreign archaeological schools were being founded in the city. The Agora was first excavated by the Archaeological Society at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute before it changed hands to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, which was founded in 1881.⁶³ The conception of the American School involved American scholar Charles Eliot Norton, also credited with founding the Archaeological Institute of America in 1879 and serving as its first president. On the foundation of the American School, Norton remarked:

France and Germany have their schools at Athens, where young scholars devote themselves, under the guidance of eminent masters, to studies and research in archaeology. The results that have followed from this training have been excellent; and it is greatly to be desired for the sake of American scholarship, that a similar American School may before long enter into honorable rivalry with those already established.⁶⁴

The American School's first excavation was in 1886 at the Theater of Thorikos near Athens, which was followed by other small endeavors for the then scrappy American School to build up its support in Athens and at home in the United States.⁶⁵

By the early twentieth century, the Vrysaki neighborhood was the densest in Athens with over eight thousand residents.⁶⁶ Recalling the housing crisis following the

⁶³ "About Us: History and Mission," American School of Classical Studies at Athens, accessed November 26, 2023, <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/about/about-the-american-school>, 2023.

⁶⁴ "A History of the American School of Classical Studies, 1882–1942," American School of Classical Studies at Athens, accessed November 26, 2023, <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/history-of-the-american-school-1882-1942-chapter-i>.

⁶⁵ "About Us: History and Mission," American School of Classical Studies at Athens, accessed November 26, 2023, <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/about/about-the-american-school>; William W. Goodwin, Frederic D. Allen, and Thomas W. Ludlow, "Preface," *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 4 (1885–1886): vi.

⁶⁶ An average of 56.91 inhabitants per 1000 m² according to YΠΕΘΟ Census of 1921. As cited in Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 12.

War of Independence, after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) many rural residents migrated to Athens and by the 1920s the city absorbed a wave of refugees, many of whom found opportunity to live in the city's designated archaeological zone.⁶⁷ The increase in property value in the city due to this population increase applied pressure to the dormant expropriation process to excavate the residents living in the Agora archaeological area. Additionally, the decision that denied residents full use of their properties since the nineteenth century was under pressure. Census records from 1921 describes the working-class Vrysaki community as residents of "dilapidated, ready-to-collapse buildings, often living in basements."⁶⁸ By 1922, many residents of Vrysaki "had started to complain and the government hesitated to implement with severity the ordinance forbidding the construction of new buildings and repair of old ones."⁶⁹ A bill was proposed in July 1924 to the Greek government by the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education to at last secure the zone for expropriation, still maintaining this was "very much the will of Greece to realize this dream" but the bill was rejected due to costs.⁷⁰ The Greek State was not in a position to fund such a project and in turn the project was floated to the foreign archaeological schools in the city.⁷¹ It was suggested that the zone be divided between the various schools working in the city, yet European archaeological schools were also in no financial position to support such a project, still recovering from World War I.⁷² Bert Hodge Hill, director of the American School at the time, was encouraged by the Greek

⁶⁷ Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

⁶⁸ ΥΠΕΘΟ Census of 1921. As cited in Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 76.

⁶⁹ Konstantinos Kourouniotis, *Εστία*, December 15, 1928. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 38.

⁷⁰ Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 38.

⁷¹ Edward Capps, "Foreword," *Hesperia* 2 (1933).

⁷² Dumont, *Vrsyaki*, 38.

government to submit a letter to the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education in interest of excavating the Agora. There was no objection to this as long as the American School also covered the costs of expropriation, adding that “of course, this project is costly, but the excavation of the center of the renowned city will no doubt prove the most illustrious to have ever taken place on Greek soil...and the cost under the current circumstances can only be undertaken by the great American nation.”⁷³

The American School agreed to the initial terms of the offer despite also not having the full financial means, then also understaffed and host to only eight student scholars but certain of their ability to find an appropriate benefactor.⁷⁴ This was an opportunity to excavate Athens where only the Archaeological Society at Athens previously could, a privileged site that went down to the roots of democracy. In March 1927, a “friend of the [American] School” who wished to remain anonymous offered a donation of \$250,000 in support of the excavations.⁷⁵ This friend was John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who was persuaded by American School supporter and advisor to the Rockefeller Foundation Abraham Flexner on condition that the excavations would proceed as planned and produce satisfactory results.⁷⁶ It was only after the securing and public notice of this funding that it was understood by the American School that the archaeological permit they were granted by the Greek government dictated cooperation

⁷³ ASCSA AdmRec, box 202/1, folder 1, Spyridis to Hill, January 14, 1925. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 38.

⁷⁴ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 42.

⁷⁵ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 44.

⁷⁶ ASCSA AdmRec, box 202/1, folder 2, Flexner to Capps, August 6, 1927. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 44.

with the Archaeological Society at Athens.⁷⁷ With Rockefeller's money as leverage, negotiations continued until an agreement was made that excavations would be conducted in collaboration with Greek archaeologists but under the management of the School, dividing the area into an American and a Greek section.⁷⁸ The negotiations were difficult due to the complex demands of the Greek government and area residents against the stipulations attached to Rockefeller's donation. For residents, the dense living conditions along with a drop in local currency value resulted in greater uncertainty. The School also did not want to "become the largest landowner in Athens" if expropriated properties were unexcavated, and restrictions on owners' rights "would remain until the buildings collapsed and the land value became minimal."⁷⁹ The Greek government was preoccupied with an ongoing economic crisis in Greece, not the activities at the Agora.⁸⁰ In July 1929 Law 4212 was published, declaring the conversion of the area of the Agora to an archaeological site regardless of who conducted the excavations. According to a survey by Greece's Ministry of Religion and Public Education, the excavation zone was occupied by 347 houses, 70 of which were marked as insignificant, 37 as slums, 35 in ruins, and 16 ready to collapse. Over half of the houses were listed as old or very old.

In the spring of 1931, the first fifteen houses on the site of the Agora were demolished and excavations by the American School began.⁸¹ Despite assumptions on

⁷⁷ ASCSA AdmRec, box 202/1, folder 2, appendix (paras. 6,7) to letter, Capps to Argyros, June 30, 1927. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 44.

⁷⁸ ASCSA AdmRec, box 202/1, folder 2, Capps to Argyros, June 30, 1927. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 44; Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 44–49.

⁷⁹ ASCSA AdmRec, box 202/1, folder 2, Capps report to the Executive Committee, ca. August 1928; ASCSA AdmRec, box 202/6, folder 4, note about Law 4212, ca. September 1, 1929. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 48.

⁸⁰ ASCSA AdmRec, box 202/1, folder 2, Capps report to the Executive Committee, ca. August 1928. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 48.

⁸¹ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 49.

feature locations, the Stoa of Attalos was the only certain feature in the area of the Agora identified at this point.⁸² Hadrian Street at the time was still filled with a number of shops and businesses, and in nearby Thissio Square street vendors still gathered to sell produce alongside an open-air cinema and the refugee settlement that relocated there in 1922.⁸³ Four churches and two chapels also remained active in the neighborhood.⁸⁴

Expropriations and excavations typically followed the existing street grid and terrain, proceeding through sections mostly occupied by buildings.⁸⁵ Excavations would continue each year for the next eight years from the end of January through mid-June until 45 sections were opened, moving quickly while more funding was secured from Rockefeller to complete the project.⁸⁶ During this nine year span, 348 properties were demolished and approximately 5,000 inhabitants left the area.⁸⁷ Excavations stalled in the spring of 1940 due to political instability, and the site was offered for temporary farming and grazing for sheep, goats, and chickens during World War II.⁸⁸ According to the American School, by this point “all the later accumulation” had been “stripped away” and the “cultural capital of the ancient world” was lying “ready for investigation.”⁸⁹ The Greek State did not grant permits for further large-scale excavations following the war.⁹⁰ Completing ongoing excavations, fulfilling the directive of Law 4212 to convert the area

⁸² Homer Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shapes, and Uses of an Ancient City Center* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

⁸³ A. Tsapogas, *Εμπορικὸς ὁδηγὸς Ὁ Ἐρμῆς*, Athens, 1930. Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 76–77.

⁸⁴ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 90.

⁸⁵ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 3; Leslie T. Shear, “Notes and Comments: The Agora of Athens,” *Art and Archaeology* 30 (1930).

⁸⁶ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 49.

⁸⁷ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 49.

⁸⁸ Homer Thompson, “The Excavation of the Athenian Agora, 1940–46,” *Hesperia* 16 (1947): 194–195.

⁸⁹ ASCSA Homer A. Thompson Papers, box 109, folder 2, Eugene Vanderpool, Margaret Crosby, Alison Frantz, A. W. Parsons, Lucy Talcott, and Rodney Young to Louis Lord, April 10, 1947.

⁹⁰ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 206.

into an archaeological park, and building a museum to store artifacts and visibly promote the American School became institutional priorities.⁹¹

The archaeological park was formally inaugurated in January 1954 and a dedication of the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos as the excavation museum was held in September 1956 (Figure 18). The Archbishop of Athens, the royal family, the prime minister, the mayor of Athens, leaders of the opposition parties, the president of the national Tourist Organization, politicians, ambassadors, and scholars were all in attendance at the Stoa's opening.⁹² Situated on the east side of the Agora as a formal counterpoint to the Theseion on the west, the Stoa separated the site from the surrounding "very unsightly part of the modern city."⁹³ This separation was considered valuable by the leaders of the American School on principle that ancient and modern sites should not interact with each other, an attitude that also was reflected in the local press, one journalist comparing the "backward" humble houses of the modern city to the "gleaming" Stoa.⁹⁴ The perspectives of residents living nearby were not recorded.⁹⁵ This recalls a 1929 description of the area by Anastasios Adossides, mediator between the American School and the Greek State: "most of the houses are very run down and have lost their

⁹¹ Nikki Sakka, "A Debt to Ancient Wisdom, and Beauty": The Reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos in the Ancient Agora of Athens, *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (82), no. 1, Special Issue: Philhellenism, Philanthropy, or Political Convenience? American Archaeology in Greece (January-March 2013): 204.

⁹² "Κοσμικότητες," *Ελευθερία*, September 4, 1956, 2. Translation taken from Sakka, "A Debt to Ancient Wisdom," 206.

⁹³ ASCSA Homer A. Thompson Papers, box 109, folder 3, Thompson to Skouras, December 13, 1948; quotation from box 110, folder 1, Thompson to Canaday, January 26, 1953.

⁹⁴ Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 122; F. Germanos, "Η αναστήλωση της Στοάς του Αττάλου συμπληρούται," *Ελευθερία*, February 7, 1956, 3, translation taken from Sakka, "A Debt to Ancient Wisdom," 209.

⁹⁵ Sakka, "A Debt to Ancient Wisdom."

value over time. Unsanitary and crumbling, they have zero value as buildings, and can only be accounted for as plots of land due to their position.”⁹⁶ Similarly, in a 1925 survey of the area, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education described the neighborhood as “densely populated with low-income people, it has narrow lanes, all filthy and unsanitary, and even if there were no archaeological motives, the houses should be demolished for the health of the city.”⁹⁷ Well before its expropriation and demolition in 1969, 36 Hadrian Street was also omitted in some maps and travel brochures produced for the international visitor to Greece in the 1950s (Figure 19). After completing excavations as applicable under Law 4212, the American School was certain that the area of the ancient Agora went beyond the Athens-Piraeus Railway and Hadrian Street, which was still a lively area of the neighborhood (Figure 20).⁹⁸ The building at 36 Hadrian Street, along with its neighboring buildings, was demolished by the American School in the summer of 1969 and its plot excavated to the classical era (Figure 21). It exists in a similar excavated state in the present day (Figure 22–26).

⁹⁶ Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

⁹⁷ Quoted by Dumont, *Vrysaki*.

⁹⁸ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 209.

Memory and Loss

In *The City of Collective Memory*, Christine Boyer writes “the collective memory of Western cities clearly reaches back to ancient Athens and her renowned Acropolis, inciting both admiration and imagination...The Western world is indebted to Athens, for so it has been claimed time and again.”⁹⁹ Boyer suggests a problematic relationship of present to past when a gap of time appears between the memory of an event and its actual experience, causing overdetermined attempts to write, record, preserve, commemorate, and remember as much as possible. This determination leads to what Boyer later called an endless struggle, “...how to write and memorialize history; how to archive, access and interpret the accumulation of discourses engendered by the ‘memory machine,’ bubbling up from below or imposed from on high...”¹⁰⁰ The story of the house at 36 Hadrian Street exemplifies this condition in Athens. Boyer also rightly points out that after the Revolution, Athens was in an impossible position:

...it was to be the standard of civilization in the abstract sense but judged in reality to be a humiliated Oriental vassal clearly inferior to—and in the end dependent on—the more modern Europe. This, moreover, served Euro-centric purposes and legitimated the plundering of Greece’s past.”¹⁰¹

The past was ancient Greece, something far from existence yet nevertheless determined an appropriate vessel for fixation. The passion for “discovering” the “ruins” of ancient Greece, followed by subsequent “discoveries” of other periods in Athens’ past, would be transformed to a means of self-identification and searching for modernity. The newly

⁹⁹ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 152.

¹⁰⁰ Christine Boyer, “Collective Memory Under Siege: The Case of ‘Heritage Terrorism,’” in *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, edited by C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Carris, and Hilde Heynen (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 338.

¹⁰¹ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 158.

independent Greece was no doubt seen unfit by Europe as stewards of its own history, thereby becoming the self-imposed duty of outsiders to curate it. The subsequent plundering of artifacts, measuring and documenting of marbles, and grand urban designs for the city as the cradle of Western civilization anew, were all part of this curation and construction of Greece's heritage as it is widely understood today.

Furthermore, Boyer points out that many felt the State pursued an effectively anti-Greek policy through its ideas of becoming modern, of which Neoclassicism was fundamental, but in turn it was Greeks who disseminated and assimilated Neoclassical forms.¹⁰² On the other hand, according to Boyer, it was Athenians who did the most to eradicate their existing diversity:

Their own self-image was compromised: having fallen from a state of classical purity, they accepted the Eurocentric assumption that their heritage had been flawed...Cloaked in the mantle of classical respectability and uniformity, Greek cultural expression was denied individual diversity, indeterminacy, and unpredictability...now each corner of the earth was named, every marble called a monument, and the eye and the mind restrained to focus only on the Acropolis. Modern houses lined the route without plan or symmetry belonging to another century and another country, for a mass of strangers had descended on Athens to exploit it, to sell its ruins in fragments until all that once was authentically antique nearly vanished from sight.¹⁰³

As seen through the vernacular building at 36 Hadrian Street, Athenians were far less seemingly powerless, and the architecture of their houses showed this in the new city. Whereas the original proponents Neoclassicism in the city broke with the local evolution of tradition, disdaining in particular its vernacular basis and continuity from the Ottoman era, what ultimately developed in Athens was a Neoclassicism that was widely accepted

¹⁰² Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 168. See "Notes from a Tour of 1839 by Henry J.G. Herbert, Earl of Carnarvon," *Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea* (London: John Murray, 1869): 1–86.

¹⁰³ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 168–169.

and assimilated in the local traditions. If the pure Neoclassical form and the traditional form are considered to exist at two ends of a continuous spectrum, the house at 36 Hadrian Street falls closer toward tradition. The treatment of 36 Hadrian Street's façade in the Neoclassical style involved it in the larger social and political spectacle of the city by default. Vernacular architecture may be considered more of a spontaneous creative act than otherwise, but it is unreasonable to suggest that the interpretations of Neoclassicism in the façades of houses such as 36 Hadrian Street were made naively. This said, any decoration applied to a building was unlikely prompted by any real practical need imposed by the city's social conditions.¹⁰⁴ Fatsea adds to this by saying that as the life of an Athenian "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."¹⁰⁵ It is reasonable to assume in all of this that Athenians were inherently aware of the city's ancient monuments outside of their nineteenth century appropriation, and therefore their relationship with them was different to begin with.¹⁰⁶ This permeates through any vernacular Neoclassical interpretation Athenians produced in their houses. It could have simply perpetuated the constructed memory of classical Athens as suggested by Boyer, but it also could have reinforced a belonging to the place and its collective memory.

¹⁰⁴ Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami, *Neoclassical Architecture in Greece*, 152.

¹⁰⁵ Irene Fatsea, "Monumentality and Its Shadows: A Quest for Modern Greek Architectural Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Athens (1834–1862)" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999), 35.

¹⁰⁶ Dimitris Philippides, "The Parthenon as Appreciated by Greek Society," in *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. P. Tournikiotis (Athens: Melissa, 1994), 306.

Boyer recognizes it is difficult to define collective memory.¹⁰⁷ It is widely accepted that individual memory, “the kind that people carry around in their heads,” is different from collective memory, yet this memory too is constructed according to societal pressures and built up by commemorative events.¹⁰⁸ Some suggest interpreting collective memory through concepts of myth, tradition, or commemoration, rather than ideas of universality. Or, it can be held firm to the public discourse of the past and other historical accounts that work on behalf of collectivities.¹⁰⁹ Olick suggests yet another definition of collective memory, limiting its conceptualization to processes of memory found in memorial sites and public monuments.¹¹⁰ Architectural collective memory, according to Olick, is the archetypal collective memory as it is “literally carved in stone,” and with its other forms is useful as it gives validity to our concepts of heritage, concepts that are firmly rooted in the nineteenth century.¹¹¹ Collective memory as it relates to 36 Hadrian Street is foremost affiliated with the tradition of building it embodies and only after this does it relate to the public spectacle of Neoclassicism in which it played a role. In this conception of collective memory, nothing is ever truly lost.

In the attempt to catalog an abstract “Frenchness” lost to modernization, Pierre Nora defined *lieux de mémoire* (realms of memory) as “an unconscious organization of

¹⁰⁷ Boyer, “Collective Memory Under Siege,” 326.

¹⁰⁸ Boyer, “Collective Memory Under Siege,” 327; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 51.

¹⁰⁹ See Mrinalini Rajagopalan, “Preservation and Modernity: Competing Perspectives, Contested Histories and the Question of Authenticity,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, edited by C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Carris, and Hilde Heynen (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 321.

¹¹⁰ Jeffrey K. Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007).

¹¹¹ Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 89.

collective memory.”¹¹² To an extent, Athens in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also follows Nora’s *lieux de mémoire*, grasping at an imaginary “Greekness.” This was complicated at the site of the Agora by the additional ideological grasping on behalf of the American School. In the near century that passed between the first suggestion of the archaeological area in the plan by Kleanthes and Schaubert and the start of excavations at the Agora, Athens had utterly transformed yet the aims for the Agora had not. The building at 36 Hadrian Street and the entire neighborhood of Vrysaki stood between the American School and these aims, yet even if this were not the case the city was exerting other equally destructive pressures through its modernization, such as the cutting of the Athens-Piraeus Railway behind 36 Hadrian Street in the lead up to the 1896 Olympic Games. By the time 36 Hadrian Street was demolished, Athens was busy building a post-war reinforced-concrete-frame landscape that is at the core of nearly all descriptions of the city that persist today. This phenomenon, along with other growth in the city’s modern history not focused on here, was as an effective tool of destruction as the American School at the Agora. Furthermore, due to the limits on building in the archaeological zone and uncertainty surrounding expropriations, buildings like 36 Hadrian Street arguably lasted longer than they would have elsewhere in the city during this period, preserved through a state of neglect.

Regarding this state of neglect, Sylvie Dumont opens her book *Vrysaki: A Neighborhood Lost in Search of the Athenian Agora* with a 1922 quote by Athenian historian Dimitrios Kambouroglou: “The renowned Vrysaki, this dense, ‘pure’ and

¹¹² Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 23.

compact neighborhood of Athens, still lives in the memories of the old denizens.”¹¹³ Kambouroglou’s “pure” neighborhood was seen to have expressed some essential Athenian character.¹¹⁴ To others, of course, such as some government officials and archaeologists, the neighborhood was filthy and unsanitary, rundown and in need of demolition regardless of archaeological interest once the time came.¹¹⁵ As previously discussed, similar sentiments were present in the late nineteenth century but directed toward a different essential character of Athens that was threatened by the modernization of the city. Due to the contrast that developed over time between buildings like 36 Hadrian Street and the excavations of the Agora, paired with the documentation of this contrast through excavation records, a particular case of loss developed that allowed the idea of essential character to take stronger hold. Part of this essential character is locked away in the definitions of vernacular and traditional architecture as they relate to the working-class built fabric of Vrysaki. As some Greek scholars have recently argued, the term vernacular is incompatible in Athens.¹¹⁶ The definition of vernacular, “apparently so simple, has proven to be one of the most serious problems for advocates of vernacular architecture and landscapes research.”¹¹⁷ This observation by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach in 1986 was made in the absence of any authoritative definition of vernacular, which still does not exist. The concept of vernacular can be used as a source

¹¹³ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 1.

¹¹⁴ L. Leontidou, *Πόλεις της σιωπής: Εργατικός εποικισμός της Αθήνας και του Πειραιά, 1909–1940* (Athens, 1989), 132; S. Galani, “Οι γειτονιές του κέντρου της Αθήνας στην περίοδο του Μεσοπολέμου: Ο χώρος ως έκφραση των κοινωνικών αντιλήψεων της εποχής.” In *Αρχιτεκτονική και πολεοδομία από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα: Η περίπτωση της Αθήνας* (Athens: 1997), 173. As cited in Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 76.

¹¹⁵ Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 56, 77.

¹¹⁶ Ioanna Theocharopoulou, *Builders, Housewives, and the Construction of Modern Athens*, 3rd ed. (New York: Onassis Foundation, 2022).

¹¹⁷ Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, “Introduction,” in *Common Places*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), xv.

of learning or critique of “architecture,” but also as an indication of some backwards cultural threat or material artifact otherwise insignificant.¹¹⁸ As Lowenthal points out with the ideological tension present when the Romans “copied” the Greeks, negative connotations of the “other” have been around for a very long time.¹¹⁹ In the absence of one definition there is an infill of non-definitions, the most widely understood being that it is “the architectural language of the people” and the product of “non-experts,” built with available materials and formed in response to environmental conditions.¹²⁰ This points to vernacular as common in a given place at a given time, but commonness alone lacks precision. In more recent scholarship, the study of vernacular architecture has become (again), “the study of the cultural impact of a specific people upon building practices in a specific place.”¹²¹ Dumont makes a distinction between “vernacular dwellings” and “Neoclassical buildings” in descriptions of the neighborhood of 36 Hadrian Street.¹²² All Neoclassical architecture from this period can be considered as part of the same Athenian project, however, and for any definition of vernacular to be useful it must be willing to let vernacular change.

Precise knowledge on the architectural transition that occurred in Greece immediately before and after the Revolution is limited. Despite the fact that the association between Greece and its historical models had been dormant for four centuries,

¹¹⁸ Dalibor Vesely, “The Primitive as Modern Problem: Invention and Crisis,” in *Primitive — Original Matters in Architecture*, eds. Jo Odgers, Flora Samuel and Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2006).

¹¹⁹ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*.

¹²⁰ Robert Brown and Daniel Maudlin, “Concepts of Vernacular Architecture,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, eds. C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Carris, and Hilde Heynen (London: SAGE Publications, 2012); Paul Oliver, *Built to Meet Needs — Cultural Issues in Vernacular Architecture*, (Oxford: Elsevier, 2006).

¹²¹ Brown and Maudlin, “Concepts of Vernacular Architecture,” 341.

¹²² Dumont, *Vrysaki*, 2.

it is certain that there were continuities inherited from the past in its traditional houses.¹²³ Before the Revolution, the physical assimilation of history into something newly built was ordinary, be it the reuse of materials or the inclusion of common features such as a courtyard. Quoting Greek man of letters Zissimos Lorenzatos, “until 1821 [the start of Greek Revolution], we had no problem of dealing with our ancient heritage...we never felt the need to question our living tradition.”¹²⁴ The building at 36 Hadrian Street with this understanding was not a static representation of a period or style, but the accumulation of time through its vernacular qualities. Neoclassicism acted on this accumulation, not from the ground up. Boyer argues that “the nineteenth century was too eager to appropriate its heritage, too quick to document its ruins, too fascinated with idealizing and purifying its classical antiquities, so instead a Neoclassical monument arose to commemorate the memory of ancient Athens.”¹²⁵ Modern Athens was never a monument, however, and even at its Neoclassical peak the majority of its building was by Athenians fulfilling more complex needs than those of the Greek State. Those who built and inhabited 36 Hadrian Street helped give physical form and local identity to Athens. Its particular attachment to the Agora only illuminates the persistent archaeological turn toward the classical “golden era” in the post-revolution period and the complex heritage production that took place. The irony of the archaeological excavations of the Agora is twofold. First, digging up the past was critical to the State’s idea of moving into the future. Second, any modern building in its zone of effect, such as 36 Hadrian Street, had

¹²³ Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami, *Neoclassical Architecture in Greece*, 22.

¹²⁴ Zissimos Lorenzatos, *The Lost Center and Other Essays in Greek Poetry*, trans. Kay Cicellis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 130–131.

¹²⁵ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 170.

limited opportunities to become truly modern. Archaeology is equally able to legitimize or subvert.¹²⁶ In this sense, 36 Hadrian Street was an “old” Athenian house almost as soon as it was built.

Boyer asks which is more important: the preservation of stones or the lives of people?¹²⁷ Lowenthal has long argued against the “self-dismissive taunt that we ‘preserve our monuments because the foreigners are still interested,’” calling for a more prideful and “conjoined” approach, rather than “segregated.”¹²⁸ Heritage, according to Lowenthal, “should not be confused with history. History seeks to convince by truth and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error.”¹²⁹ Further, heritage and history are everywhere, and in order to give value to what we remember we must also choose what to forget.¹³⁰ To some, the erasure of Athenian history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made the juxtaposition of the eventual modern city and the “apparent perfection” of the classical city even stronger.¹³¹ Neoclassicism, once indicative of forward progress, is now the historical marker. Today, neighborhoods such as Plaka and Anafiotika that were once regarded similar to Vrysaki are promoted for their own touristic worth. The monuments have in turn monumentalized the houses around them. The Agora, in its own right and in

¹²⁶ Michael Herzfeld, *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹²⁷ Boyer, “Collective Memory Under Siege,” 337.

¹²⁸ David Lowenthal, “Classical Antiquities as Global and National Heritage,” *Antiquity* 62, no. 237 (December 1988): 734.

¹²⁹ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” *History and Memory* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 7.

¹³⁰ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012).

¹³¹ Theodoropoulou, *Builders, Housewives, and the Construction of Modern Athens*.

proximity to the other prominent features of Athens' heritage landscape, continues to legitimize the nineteenth century ideologies that segregated it from the modern city:

[Regarding] the beautifications of the current area of excavations north of Hadrian Street...The aim here is to stabilize, landscape, and present the important monuments in this large plot to the public...It fulfills the long-held and widely-shared vision to create a coherent archaeological zone...This region encompasses a key part of the Agora at the time of Athens' most consequential contribution to world history: the invention and deployment of democracy. Together with Hadrian Street, which is already public property, it is the final piece of the puzzle of the Athenian Agora.¹³²

Flattened ideas of heritage in the city perpetuate a perceived identity crisis, seemingly forever stuck in a juxtaposition of time. Narrow views of Athens' heritage are not limited to one authority or another, but cocreated by residents and heritage consumers. There is a required amount of continued participation by all involved to have constructed the archaeological landscape in the historic center of Athens. The American School, in cooperation with the Greek state, constructed a particular past “to become a part of it as well as make it its own.”¹³³

¹³² John Papadopoulos, “Exciting New Projects at the Athenian Agora,” in *News of the American School*, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, no. 79 (Fall 2023): 13.

¹³³ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 331.

Conclusion

The house at 36 Hadrian Street as studied here stood in the historic center Athens for approximately one hundred years before it was demolished by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens to make way for archaeological investigations of the ancient Agora. Likely completed around 1860, it was approximately 150m² in area with two floors and a basement and was arranged in an L shape around an exterior courtyard. Nearly everyone in Athens and Attica at this time built their houses in a variation of this type and, like the house at 36 Hadrian Street, nearly all houses were built primarily with stone. The house at 36 Hadrian Street was representative of Vrysaki, a working-class neighborhood that grew quickly after the War of Independence to meet the demands of housing in the city. Hadrian Street formed the northern boundary to this neighborhood, a threshold between the Agora and the modern city. The site of the Athenian Agora, the ancient civic and commercial center of Athens, is similar to the Athenian Acropolis in that it has been subject to competing local, national, and global heritage claims.¹³⁴ With the American School at the helm and in collaboration with the Greek State, the Agora became a public display of American ideological pursuits underneath foreign soil, the birthplace of democracy leveraged as grounds to promote a claim on this lineage. In addition to the large-scale excavations that began in 1931, in the 1950s the American School reconstructed the ancient Stoa of Attalos with American steel and timber, which along with a historicist landscape design of the Agora solidified a strong separation from the house at 36 Hadrian Street and the modern city.¹³⁵ The demolition of the house at 36

¹³⁴ Eleana Yalouri, *The Acropolis: Global Fame, Local Claim* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001).

¹³⁵ Craig Mauzy, *Agora Excavations 1931–2006: 75 Years Exploring the Ancient Athenian Agora* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006).

Hadrian Street in 1969 removed its trace from the Agora, and in its place remains what was uncovered of the ancient city. For its entire existence, the house at 36 Hadrian Street was caught between the ancient Agora and the modern city, at odds with a vision for the city established before it was built.

All of modern Athens, it could be argued, was built at odds with itself. Its orientation in the nineteenth century Greece was defined by Europe, and despite the growth of the city in its modern period the current urban fabric of Athens strongly reflects the original plan by Kleanthes and Schaubert in the early years of King Otto's regime. "Hellenization," or Hellenism as imposed by Europeans and bourgeoisie, was the vehicle for Greece to forget its Ottoman past and remember its classical era to become "modern," materializing architecturally through Neoclassicism.¹³⁶ The paradox was a far removed past as a symbol of modernity. Boyer argues that the city constructed "took only its name from antiquity," and that the further one went from the Acropolis the more it appeared two cities were rising side by side, "a new Athens that borrowed from everywhere and came to resemble nowhere, and the scenographic illusions of ancient Athens, ephemeral as a dream."¹³⁷ Everyday Athenians, however, appropriated the Neoclassical state-making that defined the new capital through their building and made it their own.

"Neoclassicism" is not a rigid classification in Greece. Though it defined the country's urban architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the variety of its interpretations across scales and building types prevents it from being

¹³⁶ Gür, "Construction of National Identity."

¹³⁷ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 170.

applied generally. Similarly, architectural tradition in Athens was not broken by the Revolution of 1821. All along street fronts in Athens and throughout Greece, a new collective urban character was promoted through the sculpted, Neoclassical façades that concealed traditional Greek houses behind. The many forms of this local Neoclassicism are both products and producers of culture. The extent to which this argument was physically expressed in Athens is seen through the house at 36 Hadrian Street in its context, an architectural representation of the collective identity of its neighborhood Vrysaki. The property at 36 Hadrian Street shows an opening up of the house to the city and explicitly calls attention to the aesthetic expression of its builders. As a prominent public space throughout the house's entire existence, Hadrian Street reinforced and perpetuated strong Neoclassical façade decoration, particularly when compared to the more interior parts of the Vrysaki neighborhood.

Over time many voices expressed lament toward the architectural loss in the city, though the object of this loss depends on the voice. More recently, some attribute the development of modern Athens to Greek greed and lost opportunities, not only lacking regulation but lacking affection by its inhabitants.¹³⁸ Preservation and protection measures for historic buildings were not legally integrated in Greece until the 1975 Constitution, and furthermore agency was and is carried unilaterally by the State not the building owner. In present-day, persistent challenges in preserving historic buildings from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Athens stem from restrictive statutory framework on restoration and reuse scenarios.¹³⁹ Destructive practices of

¹³⁸ Decavalla, *Walking in Towns and Cities*, 50.

¹³⁹ George Katsibokis, "Ktirothiki: The Architectural Heritage of Athens, 1830–1950," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 31, no. 1 (May 2013): 133.

Neoclassical buildings continue through “privatization calls, ‘fast track’ investments, and solutions for immediate economic benefits.”¹⁴⁰ With this, there are increasingly more efforts to document and preserve the nineteenth and twentieth remnants of Athens.¹⁴¹ It has been suggested that a perceived lack of “noteworthy” architecture or structural expression contributed to the slow start of interest in the vernacular built environment of Attica: “the demise of this environment, which was the expression of a way of life that did not offer much scope and had been kept traditionally ‘intact,’ preserving its wretchedness until the opening decades of [the twentieth century], is final. The wealth of ancient monuments in Attica fairly well exhausts the touristic interest in architecture.”¹⁴² Current generations of Athenians are looking for ways to deal with this loss.¹⁴³ Returning to Boyer, memory and loss are not “disembodied abstractions that haunt or invade anything; they are too various and pluri-vocal to be locked up in stone...”¹⁴⁴ The curated classical past in Athens, striving for permanence, has not just remained a source of “fascination, pleasure, and memory” since 1834 but has become more so.¹⁴⁵ The story of the house at 36 Hadrian Street, marked by incompleteness and transience, is a more honest reflection of Athens’ past than any conscious attempt to curate it.

¹⁴⁰ Stelios Lekakis “‘Here Be Dragons’: Historical and Contemporary Archaeology and Heritage in the Aegean Sea,” *Historical Archaeology* 57, no. 4 (December 2023): 1278; Stelios Lekakis, “A Political Economy of Heritage and the Commons: A First Sketch Focusing on Greece,” in *Cultural Heritage in the Realm of the Commons*, ed. Stelios Lekakis (London: Ubiquity Press, 2020).

¹⁴¹ See for example *Monumenta*, <https://docathens.org/gr>.

¹⁴² Dimitsandou-Kremezis, *Attica*, preface.

¹⁴³ *Monumenta*, <https://docathens.org/gr>.

¹⁴⁴ Christine Boyer, “Collective Memory Under Siege,” 338.

¹⁴⁵ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 162.

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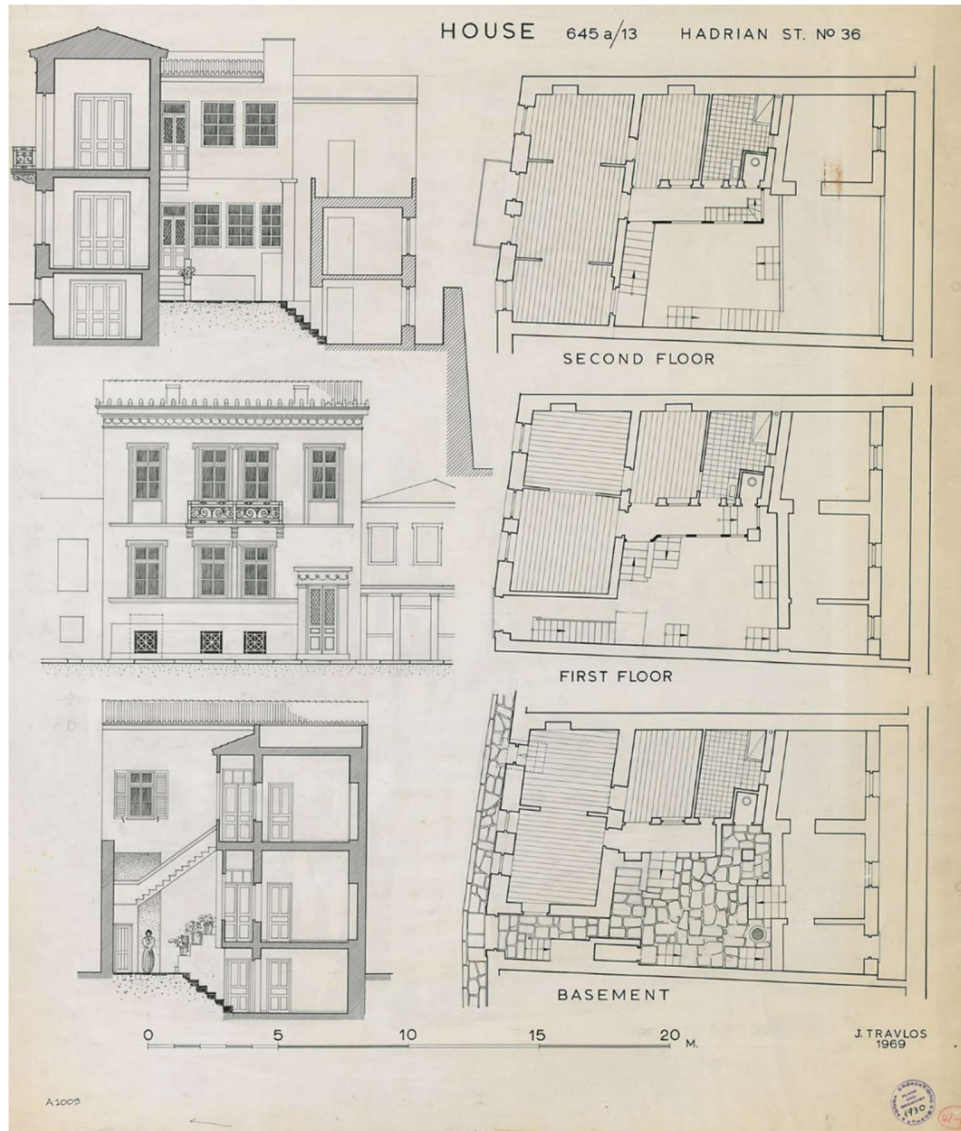


Figure 1. 36 Hadrian Street floor plans (north approximately to left of plans), EW section (top left), NS section (bottom left), and north elevation by John Travlos, 1969. Agora Excavation Archives DA 1009.



Figure 2. View of Vrysaki neighborhood on first day of excavations, May 1931. Agora Excavation Archives 2012.20.0002.



Figure 3. Map of properties demolished for excavation, ca. 1931. 36 Hadrian Street (black fill) at north threshold. Adapted by author from Dumont, *Vrysaki*.



Figure 4. View of Athens from foot of Mount Lycabettus by Edward Dodwell, ca. 1803.

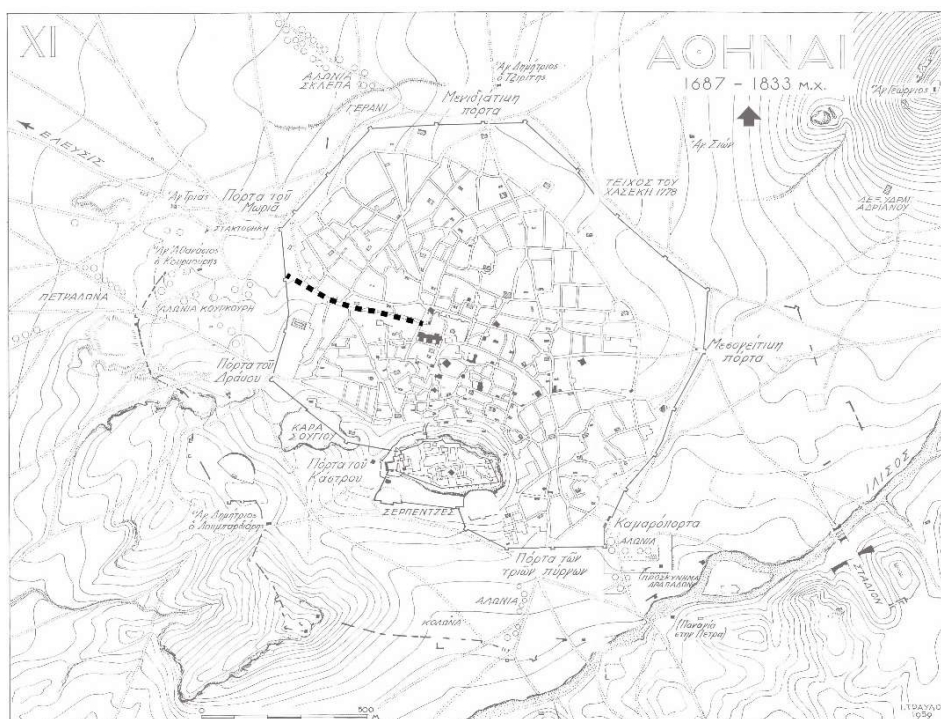


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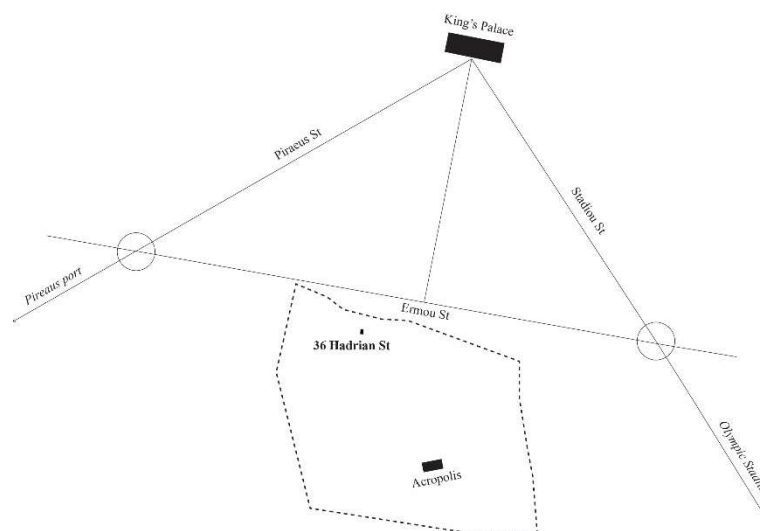


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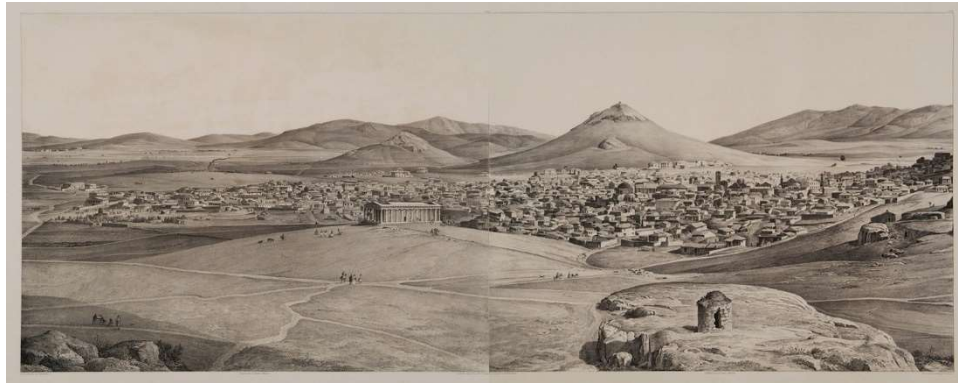


Figure 8. Athens, 1835 by Ferdinand Stademann.



Figure 9. King Otto's Palace (lower right), Friedrich von Gärtner, 1836–1843. Photograph taken 1868. Tzonis and Rodi, *Greece*, 19.

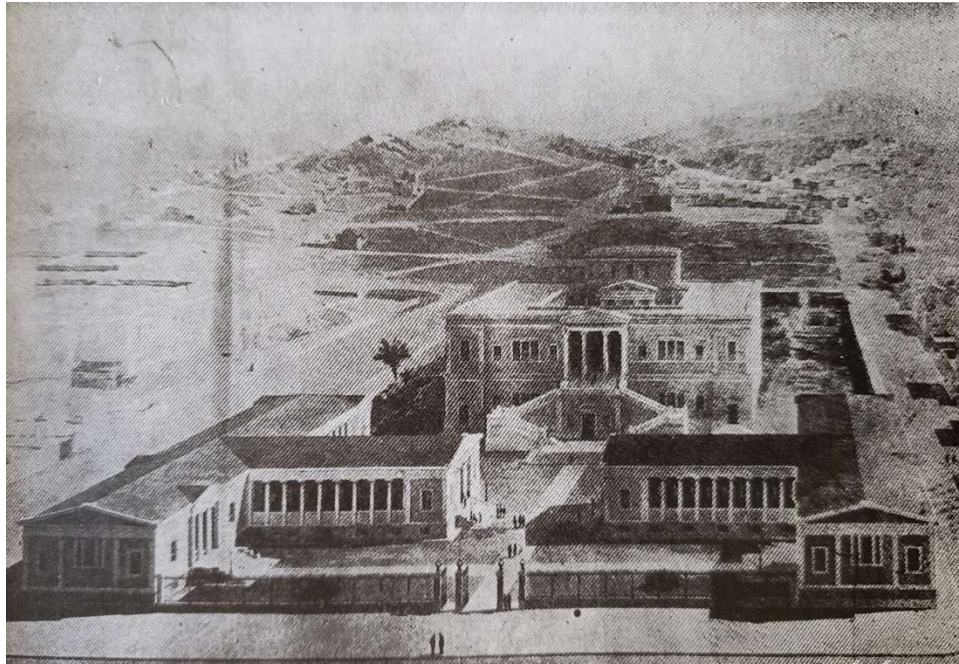


Figure 10. National Polytechnic, Lysandros Kaftanzoglou, 1862–1876.
Watercolor by Luigi Lanza.



Figure 11. Athens looking toward Vrysaki, 1850–1875.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/94513343/>.



Figure 12. Late Ionic capital in west wall of 26 Hadrian Street.

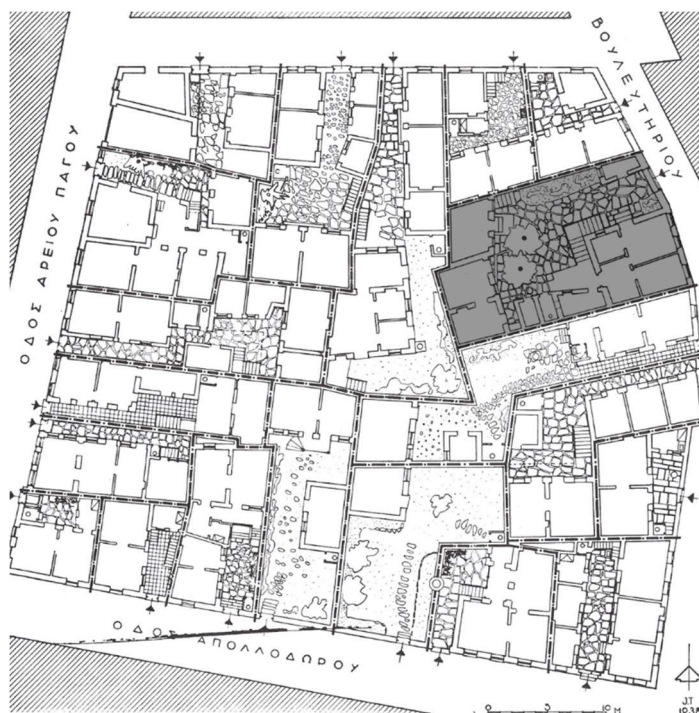


Figure 13. Block bounded by Areiou Pagou Street (west), Apollodorou Street (south), Vouleutiriou Street (east), and Vouleutiriou byroad (north). 8 Vouleutiriou Street shaded in gray. Demolished in 1938 by the American School. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνων*, 253.



Figure 14. 36 Hadrian Street north elevation, 1969. Drawing by author.



Figure 15. 36 Hadrian Street north façade, looking southwest, 1969. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.19.0030.

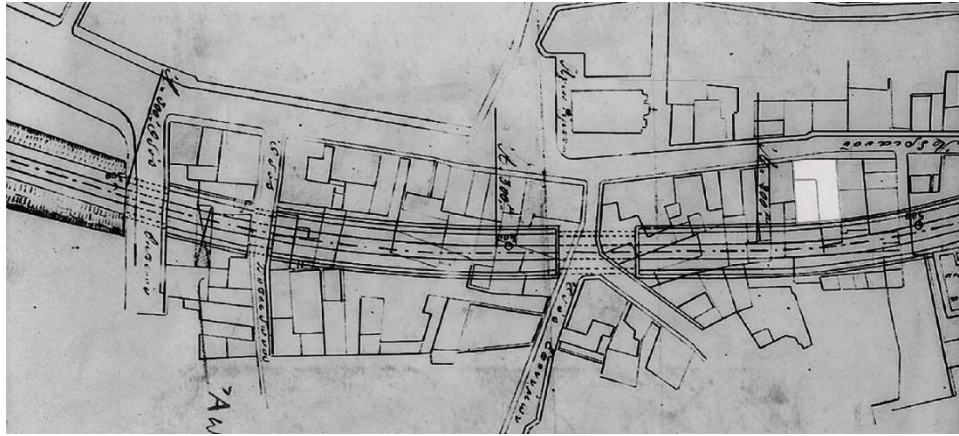


Figure 16. Drawing of planned Athens-Piraeus Railway through Hadrian Street sections by German Institute, Athens, 1890. 36 Hadrian Street highlighted in white. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.01.0040.

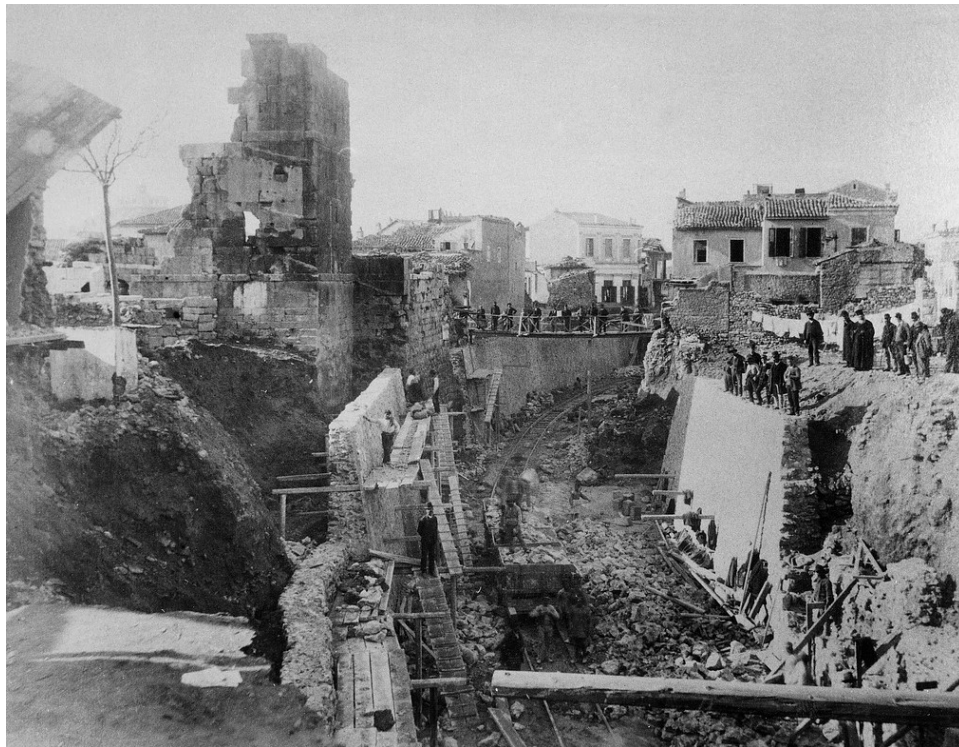


Figure 17. Construction of Athens-Piraeus Railway in 1892 looking west behind Hadrian Street. House at 36 Hadrian Street visible in back right. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.01.0098.



Figure 18. Ink drawing of Agora and recently completed Stoa of Attalos reconstruction looking NE. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.01.0458.



Figure 19. Detail of 1950s tourist map with 36 Hadrian Street already omitted. Author's collection.



Figure 20. 26–38 Hadrian Street looking east, 5 June 1969 with 36 Hadrian Street visible in lower left. Agora Excavation Archives 2012.31.1192.



Figure 21. Demolition of 36 Hadrian Street, 1969. Agora Excavation Archives 2004.01.0801.



Figure 22. Mid-nineteenth century and earlier Turkish remains under 34 Hadrian Street, with Stoa of Attalos and Acropolis in background, October 1969. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.01.0029.



Figure 23. View of Hadrian Street looking east where 36 Hadrian Street once stood, December 1969. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.01.0035.



Figure 24. View of Hadrian Street looking west where 36 Hadrian Street once stood, December 1969. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.01.0034.

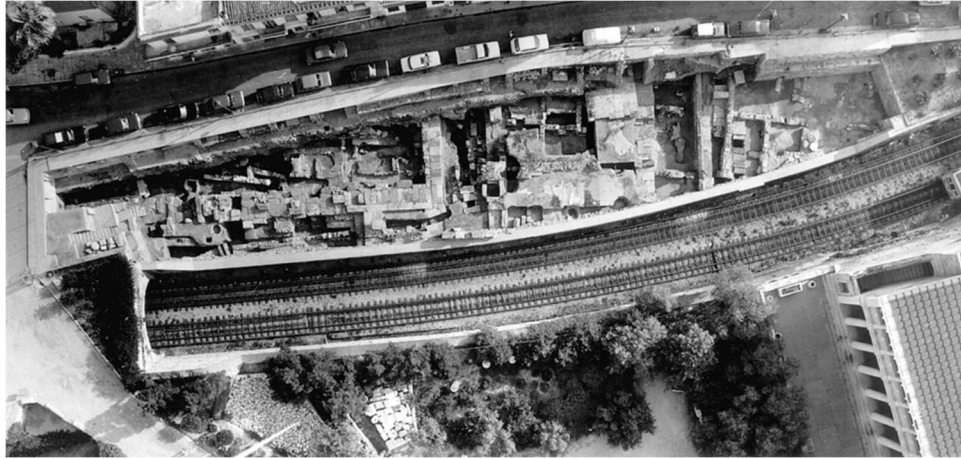


Figure 25. Aerial view of Hadrian Street, May 1975. Agora Excavation Archives 1997.01.0007.



Figure 26. Aerial view of Hadrian Street section, 2023. Google Earth.