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**The Past and the conservation of History:  
The making of the historic core of the Greek capital city**

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**Abstract**

In this paper I examine the making of the historic space of Athens through the narrative framework of the representation of the nation, and the means used.

Since the foundation of the Greek nation- state, the narrative framework in question and its content have been expanding to include more and usually conflicting sub-narratives. In parallel, since the delimitation and specification of the initial historic space of Athens, the overall covered area and content have expanded to include areas with varying built typologies that refer to different pasts.

The expansion of the territorial limits of the historic space, as well as the inclusion of larger samples of built typologies is related to the opening of formal history to formerly 'forbidden' narratives but also comes to show the shift of social and political priorities.

The definition and formation of the historic space of Athens had extreme importance in the nation-building effort and can be divided in three distinct phases.

## **History, Historiography and the representation of (urban) history.**

Historical dimension is an integral part of present, and therefore of modern culture<sup>1</sup>. History is not only about recording past events but rather how a society understands its past. Recording and representation methods evolve in a similar manner and parallel to the transformation of a society.

Historian's mission in the age of the nation state cease to be the sterile recording of past events and scattered memories; his task is to process and integrate selected pasts to broader narratives and frameworks set by society itself. L. Febvre's anathema is well known, '*it is not the past that engenders the historian. It is the historian who gives birth to history*'<sup>2</sup>.

Controversies on the content of history and on historiographical trends can be comprehended only by taking into account the sociopolitical and cultural context in which they take place<sup>3</sup>. Debates on history are just a different platform of conflict.

The promotion and management of built heritage has been interwoven with politics, as it contains too varying degrees of ideology and conflict. What is to be listed, preserved and considered to belong to those elements that define a common, i.e. national, heritage is a conscious decision that is taken by state institutions and authorities<sup>4</sup>. Heritage management is one of the many tools of power to legitimize its place in present by controlling and normalizing past.

Similarly to historian's scope of work, built heritage management authorities do not create de novo and in an arbitrary

manner as historic building stock already exists. Their task is not to preserve images of a city's past, but to administer and integrate refined snapshots into broader narratives which contain political and social messages.

Since the object of history depends on the conditions of a particular era and the subjectivity of the historian, how true is the reality that it invokes? Similarly, since selection process is interwoven with the promotion of built typologies and of urban areas to historic, the above question can be rephrased to whether historic urban space has anything to do with the past or it just constitutes an arbitrary construct of the present. As for the nascent historic core of Athens, traces of the reality of the past of the city are undisputable. Suspicion is focused to sites and building stock that have emerged after the establishment of the state and have passed into the realm of myth.

Oblivion played a significant role in the development of the historic space of Athens. The promotion of a politically charged constructed memory under the guise of the unearthed ancient heritage of the city, kept up with the deliberate concealment of the ottoman past. Post-independence neohellenic governments aimed towards a directed reading of the urban history of the city, targeting both new settlers and future generations of native Athenians. The promotion of memory or reversely of oblivion is a matter that goes beyond the bounds of history and is placed in the field of politics, since it is considered as a core issue in nation and identity building and in creating social adhesives for maintaining social cohesion. It is argued

that memory, oblivion and their intermediate variants are structural materials with which nations, institutions, cultures and ideologies are built<sup>5</sup>. Eradication leading to intentional oblivion constitutes an important element of collective memory, while there is a direct relationship between collective and institutional memory<sup>6</sup>. Demonization and gradual eradication of Ottoman presence was considered top priority in the early period of the state within the framework of homogenization and hellenization of space and population. History became a tool that set collective representations and social imaginary in motion, providing the means in creating new identities and offering new codes through which the nascent neohellenic society began to decrypt new reality.

### **Archaeology and the first urban plan of Athens (1833).**

Removing traces of unwanted past would start from the jewel of the city, the Acropolis, immediately after the departure of the ottoman garrison in 1833 and would culminate during the last decade of 19<sup>th</sup> century. By then, all periods apart from the ancient, were eradicated.

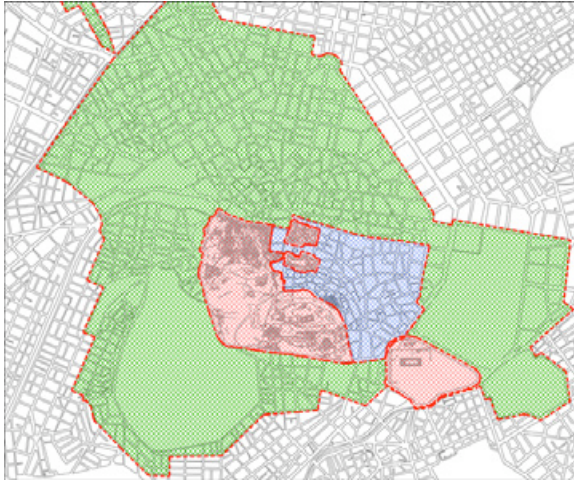
Defining the area on the foot of the Acropolis that would act as the showcase of the nation's former glory was one of the aims of the first modern urban plan of Athens. Due to the extensive degree of physical destruction, the architects of the urban plan did not include a large part of the ruined town thinking that it wouldn't be rebuilt but would be expropriated and

turned into an extensive archaeological zone. They envisioned the reconstructed city as juxtaposition of its proposed new extension and of its archaeology that would be in time fully unearthed<sup>7</sup>. Even though the idea of an extensive archaeological zone surrounding the Acropolis was put forward even before Athens was proclaimed capital of the state, it would take almost a century to materialize.

### **The paradox of Athens**

Even though the amplitude of monuments testify a continuous urban organization through the passage of centuries, Athens is a new city. Fortunately for the architects that designed and unfortunately for those interested in its urban history, it was razed to ground during the war of Independence.

The neoclassical rebuilding of the city as the capital of the state was realized almost de novo and the sole remainder of its past was its urban layout in some areas and a few medieval monuments. Nowadays, the remaining authentic built heritage of the city is found at the neoclassical structures of the early period of the state and hardly any structures of the pre-revolutionary period. The paradox of city's historicity is that while it claims that its past reaches the depths of antiquity, its urban heritage (apart from its archaeology) is constituted by buildings whose age does not exceed 200 years. Urban discontinuity is the city's authentic heritage.



The expanding historic core of Athens. Red: Areas of intervention during First phase, Blue: Areas of intervention during Second phase, Green: Areas under the jurisdiction of UASA SA.

Source: Unpublished postgraduate dissertation, Georgios Karatzas, *An essay on the management of the (urban) Past*, (Athens: NTUA- Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Program in Urban and

### **First phase. Representation of the nation's claims.**

*Purification of the Acropolis and the emergence of the archaeological sites around it.*

Disassembly and subsequent purification of the former Ottoman fortified settlement of the Acropolis began after the retreat of the Ottoman garrison in 1833 and culminated between 1885 and 1890. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several more sites emerged, such as: the Temple of the Olympian Zeus, Thiseion, Dipylon- Keramikos, the ancient Stadium, Ancient Agora and Roman Forum and Hadrian's Library.

From the above mentioned sites the emergence of Ancient Agora and Roman Forum would pose several difficulties as they were found within city limits and their transformation into archaeological sites would affect the

existing urban layout and social dynamics. Excavations in the Roman forum would begin in 1837, following necessary expropriation and demolition of existing buildings, whereas excavations in the Ancient Agora would begin almost a century later, in 1931.

Ancient Agora was located in one of the oldest intramural neighborhoods of the city. Compared to the clearance works that took place in the Acropolis and the other archaeological sites, the emergence of the Ancient Agora is more socially and politically charged as it falls into the category of gentrification.

The transformation of the area meant the demolition of approximately 400 low-scale courtyard houses typical examples of the Athenian housing neoclassical typology, the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalus and of the church of Ag. Apostoloi, and the decorative landscaping of the totality of the resulting area<sup>8</sup>. The physiognomy of the area changed dramatically; from a typical low-class Athenian quarter, fully integrated into the functions of the city, it was converted into an empty single-function secluded space. Streets and neighborhoods were cleared and the residents were in essence evicted to make way for the emergence of antiquities.

The emergence of the archaeological site constitutes an apparent falsification of the urban history of that part of the city, as it brings out an idealized snapshot of the monuments and the area and fails to make any reference to their later historic periods.



Top: General aspect of the Ancient Agora.  
Bottom: Front elevation of the reconstructed Stoa of Attalus. Source: personal archive



### *Archaeological sites and historical meaning.*

The establishment of an extensive and sterile archaeological site in the heart of the city, free of medieval and later additions, embodies the nation's claims to the roots that it asserted. Archaeological findings provided the externality and the prestige that the nation and the state needed to legitimize its presence. For this reason, materialization of first urban plan's vision became top priority of the young state. The emergence of the above urban archaeological sites is a direct derivative of the social and cultural parameters of the era that produced it. Just as it is not

possible to examine the *History of the Hellenic nation* (1860-1877)<sup>9</sup>, by K. Papatrigopoulos- the father of Greek national historiography, without taking into account the sociopolitical conditions of the era during which it was composed, it is equally impossible to comprehend the demand to construct an archaeological zone at the foot of the cleansed Acropolis, without taking into consideration the particular conditions of the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century: the shaping of Megáli Idéa, the introversion of the state and its homogenization practices, the demographic changes in the composition of the population as a result of the wars in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the weak interwar political regimes, the postwar polarization of the society.

### **Second phase. Representation of the birth and the development of the state.**

#### *Reassessment of the cultural significance of neoclassical Plaka<sup>10</sup>*

Debates on the issue on the future of Plaka began as early as mid 1960's. Argumentation focused on whether Plaka would be cleared and turned into an archaeological site, as Ancient Agora, or whether it would be restored as such. By that time, Athens was in the peak of post-war reconstruction, expanding through quid-pro-quo and acquiring *polykatoikia* in its built environment vocabulary.

The '*Study of the Old city of Athens*' (1973- 1975) was a unique and pioneering attempt to record the overall problems of Plaka, which led to



proposals and statutory measures (1978- 1981) that aimed into the rejuvenation and preservation of its unique urban landscape.

Plaka had already lost the majority of its 'indigenous' population and at the time of the '*Study of the Old city of Athens*' was already a run-down area<sup>11</sup>.

In order to intercept further downgrading, the authors of the '*Study of the Old city of Athens*' adopted several principles that shaped the image as we know it nowadays: a. Protection and preservation of the overall of the area. The possibility of preserving segments, or worse individual buildings alone, was deemed unacceptable and opposing to the notion of preserving its historical totality, b. preservation of the area would be realized under the rationale of a living urban area and not that of a dead monument, c. Restoration of the functional structure of the area and insertion of necessities of modern living, d. Statutory protection under the current legal frame and preservation of the current ownership regime, in order to discourage total expropriation by the state and gentrification<sup>12</sup>.

Ancient Agora and neoclassical Plaka were in essence the same area. They constituted the inhabited slope of the intramural part of the city. Ancient Agora was completely demolished and replaced by an archaeological park, whereas Plaka was preserved as such with minor alterations. Although these two, nowadays discernible, areas coexist side by side but emit different messages on the relationship of the city and its history, or better on the

relationship of the nation and its history. The conscious decision not to demolish Plaka so as to excavate and unearth antiquities found underneath it indicates a shift of notions concerning the representation of the (urban) past.



Aspect of Tripodon street, Plaka. Running tracks were laid for the marathon during summer Olympics 2004. Source: personal archive

*Developments in historic townscape management as result of advances in historiography.*

Approaches in history writing evolve and the content of history changes when society itself evolves. It is no coincidence that the commission and the implementation of the '*Study of the old city of Athens*' was realized during the period of *Metapolitefsi*, following the fall of the military Junta and the swift towards the democratization.

The emergence of Plaka implies a shift of interest of the dominant state ideology from distant antiquity to nearer past. Neoclassical Plaka signifies the settlement of the Royal See in Athens and the birth of the neohellenic state. Of course, it is unknown how would ottoman built heritage be brought into prominence had there remained a

substantial number of ottoman remnants.

It is worth highlighting the statutory protection and emergence of areas and monuments associated with the Left, in accordance to the spirit of the *National Reconciliation*. The opening of the heritage list to a variety of built typologies implies redefinition of concepts related to historicity and broadening of the official narratives.



Gasworks Complex on Peiraios Avenue. The former inner-city industrial complex has been restored and converted into a cultural multi-use space run by the municipality. Source: personal archive.

### *Reassessment of the cultural significance of the industrial heritage*

During the period of *Metapolitefsi* and especially between 1980s and 1990s, theoretical frameworks preceding management and promotion of built heritage stock were associated with modernization theories. Central to modernization is the existence of a linear evolutionary schema which leads rural, underdeveloped and closed societies to urbanization, openness and diversity<sup>13</sup>. Application of the above schema to history and its representation into the urban space, echoed to those

that were tired of the narrow confines of traditional national history. Cultural policy and official rhetoric of governments during 1980s and 1990s gave emphasis to terms such as 'society' and 'people' in direct opposition to previous references to 'nation'. Similarly, official historical readings emphasized the role of institutions and social phenomena, and not of events and personalities. Seen through the prism of modernization, history is linear, embeds mobility and aims in progress. The only desirable past is the one that leads to the desirable present, and for this reason past evidence that confirmed modernization's linear evolution was investigated and promoted.

Examining historic built stock that emerged during that period, one finds several industrial remnants in Peiraios avenue, the former gasworks complex in Gazi, the terminal station of the Athens-Piraeus Electric railways.

Inevitably, the promotion of the industrial heritage signifies the inclusion of formerly 'forbidden' social groups and socio-political dynamics into official narratives. Restored industrial monuments speak of the refugees that comprised the bulk of the industrial proletariat of the city, social struggles for better working conditions, exploitation and class segregations. The emerging heritage stock evokes questions that refer to the processes that directed the transformation of the city from a neoclassical village to a European city and imply desire for self-awareness and the need for a less beautified past. Departure from the adherence of promoting evidence that supports state

ideology indicates a degree of reconciliation with the past.

### **Third phase. Conservation of history in the post-political era.**

In the era of post-politics, dominant ideologies have almost collapsed and the capital has triumphed. Town-planning analyses and interpretations of urban space are almost exclusively performed in terms of market economy. The significance of ideological and social criteria has diminished, whereas economic parameters are becoming more important.

Historic townscape management has lost most of its ideological and political sealants. The object-ive of preservation is the promotion of anything past has bequeathed and that can bring economic benefit. Questions related to the selection process cease to exist to a large extend.

Of course, the reinstatement of formerly incriminated building types that reflect unwanted pasts can be partly attributed to the plurality of cultural theories and further opening of history to new narratives and interpretative schemata.

The collapse of the East- West divide apart from the triumph of the market economy played a significant role in the intensification of the pace of cultural globalization. Plurality and liberty of exchange of cultural and political theories are also linked to the weakening of the nation- state and its substitution by larger political and economic formations. Demand for a lesser state has made deep impact in the structures and political dominance of

the nation-state. Thus, the importance of traditional notions supporting its rhetoric has lessened, whereas in contrast generic and malleable concepts that accord to global political fluidity find fruitful ground.

Historic urban space is no more the ideological showcase of the nation-state, a carefully written history book you can walk through. The promotion of historic townscape has shifted from the interpretation of history to the representation of cultural heritage. The object of study of the former is the investigation of conjunctions and causations, and that of the latter is a monument's imagibility and representational attributes<sup>14</sup>. Interest has shifted to the monument itself and not to the narratives and ideological constructs that are found beneath its skin.

Building and area preservation in the age of post- politics is also characterized by the participiality and massiveness of the interested groups involved, which escapes the narrow circles of the traditional elite who was until now in charge of managing the (urban) past.

### *The subject of preservation in the expanding historic core of Athens.*

One of the principal differences of the current phase of the promotion of heritage stock of Athens concerns the subject of preservation, or in other words who takes initiative. During the first two phases it was the state, (directly or through its institutional bodies), that specified what would be brought into prominence and how. During the current period, key players in shaping historic



townscape are state institutions, public and private partnerships, NGOs, public pressure groups and private developers.

Key players according to their method of operation are: *i.* the state and its institutional bodies who specify strategies and set aims, *ii.* private interests that operate within broader municipal and state strategies, *iii.* private interests operating against broader municipal and state strategies, *iv.* private interests that shape historic landscapes outside municipal and state strategies. Of course, the above categorization is not exhaustive, but it covers most cases.



Dionysiou Areopagitou promenade. The pedestrianisation of the Acropolis former perimeter avenues, D. Areopagitou and Ap. Pavlou, was one of the first large scale interventions of UASA SA. Source: personal archive.

*i. The Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens S.A. (UASA S.A.). The case of Metaxourgio.*

UASA S.A. is a limited company, owned entirely by the ministry of Culture and the ministry of the Environment, Planning and Public Works. The unification of the archaeological sites is

the largest and most extensive intervention in the city centre aiming to redefine its urban physiognomy<sup>15</sup>. Due to the limited extend of this paper we focus to Metaxourgio, a neighborhood found under the jurisdiction of the public company.

Studies for the regeneration of Metaxourgio are essentially a gentrification manual. Key objectives of the proposals were: *a. (re)integration of the area in the perceptual totality of the (new) historic centre*, by creating networks of pedestrianized walkways and selective restoration of historic references and monuments, *b. functional integration of the area into the metropolitan centre*, *c. provision of suitable conditions to attract investments*, *d. coordination of initiatives to upgrade urban infrastructure*<sup>16</sup>.

In the attempt to redefine the character of the area, it is prescribed that promotion of the area's historicity and determination of its new functional role, would be achieved from above and without taking into account existing dynamics that had consolidated during the past decades. Market forces were called to play a key role<sup>17</sup> and special regulations and strict limitations took effect. The sought vision was to convert the area from a '*...seedbed of small-scale enterprise activity...*' to an area where '*...new services and poles of attraction will settle to suit a metropolitan clientele...*'<sup>18</sup>.

Examination of the register<sup>19</sup> of the proposed buildings to receive statutory protection that accompanied preliminary studies comprises of neoclassical

structures in its greatest part, as well as, a small amount of non- neoclassical typologies. Qualitative analysis of the included neoclassical structures, , shows the addition of structures belonging to less privileged classes of society. The inclusion of the humble and the rough indicates a departure from the exclusivity of the upper class and bourgeois built heritage and implicit primacy in the formal historical narrative. Just as a low class dwelling is deemed 'significant' to be included in the heritage list, the presence of its anonymous owner is deemed important to be represented in the official national historical narrative. We are witnessing therefore a sort of democratization of urban history. A reading of the historic space of Metaxourgio nowadays, tells the tales of both prince Katakouzenos that settled in Athens during the establishment of Greek nation-state and his peers, as well as, the tales of the thousands who came from the countryside and settled in search of a better future. Democratization of urban heritage, however, is not realized to the degree and pace that one would expect taking into account the constant revisions in the content of official history. It is carried out within the narrow limits of neoclassicism and the implied narrative schema of historical continuity of the nation. Building typologies expressed by a different architectural language that implies deviation from the above schema are suspiciously few. The exclusion of exceptional examples of light-industry and apartment buildings from the heritage list is a huge omission.



Examples of mid 19th century middle-class neoclassical structures in Metaxourgio. Metaxourgio was one of the first suburbs of the modern capital. Source: personal archive.

#### *ii. Real estate and land speculation in Metaxourgio.*

An independent NGO has been established since 2008 and is active in the area of Metaxourgio. It is '*...an open platform for communication, action and reflection, that aims to protect and promote the area through the collection and exchange of expertise and ideas, research and implementation of proposals, targeted in the enhancement of the quality of life...*'<sup>20</sup>. The platform claims that it enjoys the support of local residents and other interested bodies that aim to bring to an end further downgrading of the area. The organization cooperates closely with an investment group who also has a strong interest in the area<sup>21</sup>. Together they organize artistic events, many of which have active support of state institutions and public administration<sup>22</sup>; architectural competitions<sup>23</sup> and urban design studies. In parallel, they vigorously pressure municipality and central government to take immediate

measures towards the regeneration of the area.

The investment group has already restored several aging properties, particularly apartment buildings from the 1970s, whereas a large percentage of the derelict and in-poor-condition heritage stock of Metaxourgio is already found in its portfolio. Of course, development of the remaining will come when the state has completed its part in the regeneration 'effort' which includes statutory limitation of traffic, pedestrianization of walkways, land use control and parallel removal of land uses that are not congruous with the sought character of the area, physical and perceptual unification of the area with its neighboring ones.

In addition, NGO and investment group exert pressure to local and central government institutions to include their independent proposals into various European programmes, as well as broader planning strategies (Athens-Attica 2014, Athens Regulatory Plan 2020). In fact, because local and central authorities delay in implementing public regeneration schemes, the NGO and the investment group proposed, in July 2010, to the former to begin implementation of their own independent ones in specific areas and axes<sup>24</sup>.

During the past years there is a sudden and dynamic expression of interest, which demands here and now regeneration. Is it indeed residents and local interest groups that the NGO claims it represents behind this aggressive interest or is it just the investment group who is eager to make profit? A gentrified and upgraded

'historic' urban area acts as a multiplier to profit from the sale or rental of a restored building that is found within it.

The NGO demands<sup>25</sup> and the investment group is able to provide. The motives of the latter are deemed positively by the media<sup>26</sup>; re-colonization of the desolate city centre, promotion of the historic building stock, creation of safe neighborhood conditions are goals that find broader public acceptance.

As for the promotion of built heritage, private initiative does not possess state sensitivities for the messages emitted through the nascent historic townscape. Selection criteria are entirely related to profitability and cease to be ideological.



Aspect of one of the buildings of the former refugee housing complex. Deterioration and neglect are apparent. Source: personal archive.

### *iii. Refugee housing complex in Alexandras Avenue.*

The housing complex was built during 1933- 1935, in order to accommodate Greek refugees from Asia Minor following the 1923 exchange of populations. It comprises of eight functionalist buildings (228 apartments) that reflect avant- garde social and architectural theories of the time.



The historical significance of the complex is unquestionable to the preservation of memory; it constitutes one of the handful surviving examples of state intervention to relieve thousands of refugees that settled in the periphery of the city in squatter settlements during 1920-1930s, and in addition, its exterior walls still bear traces of bullets, witness of the intense conflicts before and after ww2 liberation.

During 1990s, the ministry of Public Works and the Public Real Estate Corporation began to ex-appropriate apartments, gradually thus gaining ownership of four buildings. Since then, a huge struggle began to rescue the unique built heritage from demolition. Pro-preservation groups included local residents, public bodies, the association of architects and schools of architecture, whereas pro-demolition groups included local and central government and private investment initiatives who had compiled development strategies for the broader area.

In 2003, the Central Council of Modern Monuments of the Ministry of Culture, proposed statutory protection of only two of the eight buildings of the complex, in line with local and central government views on the exploitation of the broader area. Only after pro-preservation parties' appeal to the Council of State, and its subsequent decision to annul the ministry of Culture's partial listing, did the totality of the complex remained intact.

Immediately after Council of State's decision, the Central Council of Modern Monuments re-examined the case and in 2008 decided on the final and irreversible statutory protection of all

eight buildings of the complex<sup>27</sup>. Of course, the preservation and promotion of the complex is not yet certain, but as a listed monument it is at least safe from demolition.



Top: General view of the Marina complex.  
Bottom: Detail aspect of one of the buildings.  
Note the neoclassical references.  
Source: personal archive.

#### *iv. Flisvos marina complex.*

The last case study belongs in the category of private initiative investing in the added value of historicity, shaping thus historic landscapes independently and outside state strategies and aims.

The regeneration of the marina complex was realized during 2003- 2006, exclusively by private funds and strategies<sup>28</sup>. Apart from mooring facilities, it consists of several new buildings in an axial layout and a fully landscaped quay. The intention was to create an attractive high quality environment, relevant to Greek urban-

scape. The architectural language of the new buildings makes clear references to the particular neohellenic neoclassical dialect, which is attested by their modest scale and their general morphology. Alien to the surrounding urban environment, the buildings of the complex relate visually to the stereotypical historic forms of the city centre, creating thus the sense of familiarity and of continuous presence in its location.

The overall picturesque composition of the complex and the architectural deliberation of the constituent parts, may perhaps puzzle experts on the area's urban history but certainly fascinate visitors, and in a greater extent users of the marina who through it get a first taste of the historic urban space surrounding the Acropolis.

### **Conclusion.**

Historical dimension is an integral part of present and of modern culture. Recording and representation methods evolve in a similar manner and parallel to the transformation of a society. Promotion and management of built heritage has been interwoven with politics, as it contains varying degrees of ideology and conflict. Heritage management is one of the many tools of power to legitimize its place in present by controlling and normalizing past.

Eradication leading to intentional oblivion constitutes an important element of collective memory, while it is argued that there is a direct relationship between collective and institutional memory.

The paradox regarding historicity of Athens is that while its archaeology reaches deep antiquity, its urban built heritage is no more than 200 years old; urban discontinuity is the city's authentic heritage. The construction of the ever expanding historic core can be divided in three distinct phases.

The first phase concerns the establishment and representation of the nation's claims and the hellenization of the urban space. It relates to the purification of the Acropolis and the emergence of the archaeological sites around it.

The second phase is concerned with the celebration and representation of the birth and development of the state. It relates to the reassessment and emergence of Plaka, the city's oldest surviving neighborhood, and the re-evaluation and promotion of the city's modernization heritage.

The third phase is largely emancipated from ideological constraints of the previous two phases and is related to the complex framework of heritage conservation in the post-political era. The state has vested its primacy in the field to other operands. Key players can be categorized according to their methods and degree of co-operation with local and central government. Thus, one can distinguish private interests operating within broader state strategies; private interests operating against broader state strategies; private interests shaping historic landscapes independently and outside state strategies.



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<sup>1</sup> Antonis Liakos, *Πως το παρελθόν γίνεται Ιστορία* [How past becomes history], (Athens: Polis, 2007), 24.

<sup>2</sup> Lucien Febvre, *Introduction*, in Charles Morazé, *Trois Essais sur histoire et culture*, (Paris: Cahiers des Annales, 1948), 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1.p.13

<sup>4</sup> Interrelationship of selection process and creation of national and place identities is clearly shown in Aspa Gospodini, "Urban morphology and place identity in European cities: built heritage and innovative design", *Journal of Urban Design* (2004), 2 (9): 225- 248.

<sup>5</sup> Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (Paris: editions Calmann Lévy, 1882); John A. Petropoulos, "The Modern Greek State and the Greek Past", ed. Speros Vryonis, *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1978), vol. 1, 163- 176.

<sup>6</sup> G.J. Ashworth, J.E. Turnbridge, and B. Graham, *A geography of heritage: Power, Culture & economy*, (London: Arnold, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Alexandros Papageorgiou- Venetas, *Αθήνα: ένα όραμα του κλασικισμού* [Athens: A vision of classicism], (Athens: Kapon, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, *Excavations in the Athenian Agora*, <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/excavationagora> (September 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους: από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι των νεωτέρων* [History of the Hellenic Nation: From ancient to recent times], 6 volumes, (Athens: N. G. Passari, 1860-1877).

<sup>10</sup> Plaka is one of the oldest neighborhoods of Athens, located at the E, NE and N foot of the Acropolis. It belongs to the intramural part of the city claiming continuous habitation since antiquity. It was rebuilt after the revolution of independence but retained its pre- revolutionary urban layout. Due to local particularities such as plot sizes, large number of property owners, steep topography and the existence of antiquities, it remained an unpopular area for post-war redevelopment and so retained a large part of its built heritage.

<sup>11</sup> Dionysios Zivas, *Πλάκα 1973- 2003: το χρονικό μιας επέμβασης για την προστασία της παλαιάς πόλεως Αθηνών* [Plaka 1973- 2003: chronicle of an intervention for the protection of the old city of Athens], (Athens: Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, 2006)

<sup>12</sup> Dionysios Zivas, *Πλάκα: η επέμβαση για την προστασία και την αναβίωσή της* [Plaka: intervention for its protection and rejuvenation], in ARMOS honorary volume for prof. N.K. Moutsopoulos, (Thessaloniki: AUTH- School of Engineering, 1983), 657- 671.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 1, 204

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 1, p.263

<sup>15</sup> Aims are: '...to restore the historic continuity of the city; to create poles of attraction for its residents; to provide an overall upgraded environment that includes several functions, such as culture, where the harmonious coexistence of various city elements related to its cultural history and contemporary development highlight the historic physiognomy of Athens'. UASA SA, *Unification of Athens Archaeological Sites*, <http://www.astynet.gr/static.php?lang=1&c=4>, (September, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> The town planning study: 'Identification and intervention proposals for the area of Metaxourgio' was commissioned by UASA SA in December 2001 and constitutes the most recent and updated study on the overall promotion of Metaxourgio.

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<sup>17</sup> ‘...regeneration and reuse of the area, can be achieved through market mechanisms which can meet the objective of promoting history and centrality...’, *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Unpublished postgraduate dissertation, Georgios Karatzas, *Ο δρόμος είχε την δική τους ιστορία, ένα δοκίμιο για την διαχείριση του αστικού Παρελθόντος [An essay on the management of the (urban) Past]*, (Athens: NTUA- Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Program in Urban and Regional Planning, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> KM Model neighborhood, *Introduction*, <http://www.kmprotypigeitonia.org/?p=introduction>, (September 2011- in Greek).

<sup>21</sup> The investment group was one of the founding members of the NGO.

Oliaros, *About*, <http://www.oliarosblog.com/?lang=en&p=about>, (September 2011)

<sup>22</sup> *ReMap3*, <http://www.remapkm.com/3/>, (September 2011)

<sup>23</sup> *Upto35, Overview*, <http://www.upto35.com/#/overview> (September 2011)

<sup>24</sup> Independent proposal of the NGO for the promotion of Keramikou and Salaminos street to axes of culture, [http://www.oliarosblog.com/data/files/Presentation\\_Protypi\\_Dimos\\_270710\\_finaligt.pdf](http://www.oliarosblog.com/data/files/Presentation_Protypi_Dimos_270710_finaligt.pdf), (September 2011- in Greek).

<sup>25</sup> ‘... the creation of a modern, prototypical, ecological neighborhood in the centre of Athens that will integrate traditional and contemporary elements of architecture, culture and society, within a framework that will be based in quality, innovation, productivity, sustainability, diversity, collaboration and knowledge...’,

KM Model neighborhood, *Vision*, <http://www.kmprotypigeitonia.org/?p=orama> (September 2011- in Greek).

<sup>26</sup> “A city within the city”, *SKAI online*, 10 October 2010,

<http://www.skai.gr/news/greece/article/156273/anaplasti-se-kerameiko--metaxoyrgeio-me-idiotiki-protovoylia/> (September 2011- in Greek).

<sup>27</sup> “Λεωφόρος Αλεξάνδρας, Διατηρητέα όλα τα προσφυγικά” [Alexandras avenue, All refugee buildings under statutory protection], *TO BHMA newspaper*, 28 November 2008, available from : <http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=244451> (September 2011- in Greek).

<sup>28</sup> *Flisvos Marina*, [http://www.lamda-development.net/online/Projects.aspx?MenuCategId=107&MenuModuleID=44&MenuModuleTable=Real\\_Company&LevelNo=1&PageCounts=1](http://www.lamda-development.net/online/Projects.aspx?MenuCategId=107&MenuModuleID=44&MenuModuleTable=Real_Company&LevelNo=1&PageCounts=1), (September 2011)