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THE PROVINCE STRIKES BACK  
IMPERIAL DYNAMICS  
IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

edited by  
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## Contents

Preface		i
Björn Forsén and Giovanni Salmeri	<i>Ideology and Practice of Empire</i>	1
Vincent Gabrielsen	<i>Provincial Challenges to the Imperial Centre in Achaemenid and Seleucid Asia Minor</i>	15
Cédric Brélaz	<i>Maintaining Order and Exercising Justice in the Roman Provinces of Asia Minor</i>	45
Suraiya Faroqhi	<i>Local Elites and Government Intervention in the Province of Anadolu</i>	65
Angelos Chaniotis	<i>What Difference Did Rome Make? The Cretans and the Roman Empire</i>	83
Maria Georgopoulou	<i>Crete between the Byzantine and Venetian Empires</i>	107
Antonis Anastasopoulos	<i>Centre–Periphery Relations: Crete in the Eighteenth Century</i>	123
Giovanni Salmeri	<i>Empire and Collective Mentality: The Transformation of eutaxia from the Fifth Century BC to the Second Century AD</i>	137
John Haldon	<i>Provincial Elites, Central Authorities: Problems in Fiscal and Military Management in the Byzantine State</i>	157
Björn Forsén	<i>Empires and Migrational Trends: The Case of Roman and Ottoman Greece</i>	187
Ilias Arnaoutoglou	<i>‘διά δόξαν ἐκείνων καὶ κλέος τοῦ ἔθνους’ The Philomousos Society of Athens and Antiquities</i>	201
List of Contributors		215

‘διά δόξαν ἐκείνων καὶ κλέος τοῦ ἔθνους’  
The Philomousos Society of Athens and Antiquities

Ilias Arnaoutoglou

In 1826, the fifth year of the Greek war of independence, the war effort of the Greeks in revolt was quickly fading under the heavy military pressure of the Egyptian armies which had landed in the Peloponnese a year earlier; they had conquered most of the region and helped the besiegers of Mesolonghi to sack the city.\* However, Athens was still – but not for long – under the control of the Greek forces and the Acropolis continued to be their stronghold in eastern Greece. In this military and political context, it is surprising to discover that in Athens there was an undertaking to save antiquities.

In previous centuries, under Ottoman or Venetian rule, efforts to study and save antiquities were intertwined with West European perceptions of art, beauty, and history. Merchants, monks and travellers were mapping antique sites and were carrying away whatever they could, or were arranging for antiquities to be carried off by governors.<sup>1</sup> This activity is illustrated nicely in the story of the discovery, in the late sixteenth century, of the Hellenistic inscription recording the testament of Epikteta, on the island of Santorini, and its fate, as reconstructed by Serafino Ricci.<sup>2</sup> The first modern reference to the inscription is found in a letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1586 by Onorio Belli to Valerio Barbarano. The inscription was carried off to Candia, although Belli wished to have it carried to Venice. However, the stone found its way to Venice, since in the same year it appears in the collection of the Grimani family. The text of the inscription, as read by Belli, was published by J. Gruter.<sup>3</sup>

The inclusion of Greece in the ever increasing number of travels, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century meant the rediscovery of its past and its monuments by a large group of western European intellectuals.<sup>4</sup> In the late eighteenth century, with the development of what is called the Neohellenic Enlightenment movement, Greek intellectuals living in European countries established a link with their glorious past.<sup>5</sup> The new areas of interests (sciences), ideas (political and moral philosophy) and practices (education) were to be transplanted through the financial support of existing schools and the foundation of new schools. Soon, this approach was adopted by a significant part of the élite living in Ottoman Greece.<sup>6</sup>

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\* I would like to thank Amalia Pappa for providing me with a copy of the original document published here, and Richard Catling for discussing an earlier draft of this paper and suggesting a few corrections. All remaining errors are mine.

<sup>1</sup> See Malliares 1998 and Maltezou 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Ricci 1893.

<sup>3</sup> Gruter 1602. The standard edition is in *IG* XII (3) 330.

<sup>4</sup> See Tsigakou 1981, Constantine 1984, Stoneman 1987.

<sup>5</sup> For the birth and development of the movement of Neohellenic Enlightenment see Tabaki 2000 (with further bibliography).

<sup>6</sup> This ‘received’ interest in Greek antiquities created a series of paradoxes that resulted in the feeble and slow development of ancient Greek history studies; see Kyrtatas 2002 and Yakovake 2005. For the ambivalent attitude of Greeks and foreigners towards antiquities before and during the war of independence see Petrakos 2001.

Therefore it comes as no surprise to find that the preservation of antiquities was one of the concerns of the rudimentary administration established by the Greeks in revolt. An order of the Minister of Interior dated on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1825 about the rights and duties of the Ephors for Education authorizes the local authorities and schoolteachers to gather antiquities, that is coins, statues, inscriptions and any other remaining antiques, wherever they might be, in order to store them at schools so that in the course of time every school should have its Museum.<sup>7</sup> However, a centrally concerted effort to save antiquities would not have been adequate without the support and participation of local communities, since the war effort was absorbing the energy of the embryonic central government. The involvement of the local communities, with all its shortcomings, can be sketched out in the case of the Philomousos Society of Athens.

The Society was founded on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1813. Its constitution consisted of 10 articles and it was signed by 101 founding members, among them several British, something that has led some scholars to assume a heavy English influence behind it.<sup>8</sup> However, the social profile of the membership was quite varied and cosmopolitan. Half of the members were Greeks (52 out of 101), 10 from the British protectorate of Ionios Politeia. A major part of the local Athenian élite participated, among them the four *δημογέροντες* (elders) of the community for the year 1813, Sp. Logothetes, Sp. Kapetanakes, P. Zacharitsas and Sp. Trikalinos, as well as individuals who were involved later with the administration of communal affairs during the war of independence,<sup>9</sup> members of the clergy and intellectuals, such as I. Palamas, I. Marmarotyres and Dionysios Pyrrhos. The remaining members were mainly from Britain (38 out of 49) or British subjects residing in Smyrna and only 9 from other European countries. Some of them (Haller, Cockerell, Stackelberg, Gropius) were involved in unauthorised excavations and removal of antiquities. In the Society 12 women (8 Greeks and 4 foreigners) were enlisted, among them the well known Theresia Makre, who inspired Lord Byron the poem *Maid of Athens*.

The Society was run by four elected Ephors. Three articles pertain to antiquities and reveal the ideological influences of the Neohellenic Enlightenment, firmly entrenched by that time in élite circles.

The glorious past of the city lingers in the preamble of the constitution and in the three articles concerned with the preservation of antiquities. In particular, articles 4 and 5 pertain to the purpose of collecting and storing antiquities:

Article 4: The aforementioned contribution will serve the purpose of cultivating and enlightening the Greek spirit of the young through the study of sciences, publications of useful books, help for poor

<sup>7</sup> Daskalakes 1968, 3, 68-70 and Kokkou 1977, 41.

<sup>8</sup> The constitution was published in *Logios Hermes* 4 (1814), 98-100 and republished by Kampouroglou 1891, 215 and Velianites 1993, 47-50; a year later, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1814, a regulation of the duties of the ephors was approved, Velianites 1993, 51-53. The list of members in Velianites 1993, 93 is different from the one published in Kampouroglou; on the English influence, Yotopoulou-Sisilianou 1984, 194-96; Velianites 1993, 91-92 and Petrakos 2004, 4.

<sup>9</sup> See apart from the well known Sp. Trikoupes and the information provided by Sourmeles 1846, 78-81, Sp. Venizelos (*AEII* 1, 542); Damask. Petrakes (*AEII* 1, 541; 3, 101, 111, 143-44; 12, 38; 16, 163); Sp. Kaloyeropoulos (*AEII* 1, 430; 7, 57, 73, 78, 136; 8, 59, 67); Char. Chtenas (*AEII* 1, 539, 542; 3, 233; 9, 21; 18, 114); Sp. Patousas (*AEII* 1, 218, 539-40, 542-43; 3, 34, 39, 41, 233-34; 13, 62; 18, 114); N. Zacharitsas (*AEII* 1, 217-18, 541, 543; 2, 171; 18, 114). G. Papazaphiropoulos was a prominent Eleian (*AEII* 3, 137, 144; 9, 96-97, 127; 17, 27, 30-31, 41, 45).

students, discovery of antiquities, collection of stone inscriptions, statues and utensils and of anything else worthy of attention

Article 5: The collected archaeological objects shall be stored in a place chosen, called Mouseion, in order that their lovers could look at them

and article 9 stipulates:

The society selects from among its members here, men with expertise on antiquities and able to accompany the travellers frequenting this place, to each one of the ancient Greek monuments and to offer any available assistance and help.

In the same spirit, the article 26, the last one of the regulation of the library, provides that “The care of antiquities in Athens and anywhere in Greece shall be one of the sacred duties of the Philomousos Society”.<sup>10</sup>

The archaeological activity of the Philomousos Society in Ottoman Athens during the period up to the beginning of the war of independence in 1821 remained rather limited. The published accounts of the Society for the years 1814-1815 and 1817-1819 reveal that only small amounts of money were devoted to buying antiquities.<sup>11</sup> The education of the younger generation was the main concern of the Society; the employment of teachers and grants provided to poor students strained its financial resources. A letter of the Society to bishop Ignatios dated to the 13/25 of June 1820 depicts its financial difficulties and the expenses incurred on teachers’ salaries.<sup>12</sup> However, the correspondence between a leading member of the Society, A. Logothetes, and Fr. North (Earl of Guildford) reveals that A. Logothetes was undertaking some sort of excavations on behalf of Guildford. This activity was hardly conducive with the stated aims of the society.<sup>13</sup> The outbreak of the war of independence and the siege of the Ottoman garrison on the Acropolis resulted in a disruption of whatever activity the Philomousos Society had, until the surrender of the garrison on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1822.

The Society was revived sometime in March 1824, as L. Stanhope mentions in a letter to J. Bowring.<sup>14</sup> On the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1824 the elders of the local community approved the use of two mosques for educational purposes and the creation of a Museum on the Acropolis.<sup>15</sup> With a letter dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1824 the Philomousos Society

<sup>10</sup> See Kokkou 1977, 32 n. 3 and Velianites 1993, 60 and 312.

<sup>11</sup> Yotopoulou-Sisilianou 1984, 211 and Velianites 1993, 180-184.

<sup>12</sup> Protosaltis 1957, 265-273 esp. 270-271: the ephors of the Society abolished the name Mouseion and preferred the title Bibliothēke, because “the former denotes particular collections of precious (or not) objects, and it does not befit a simple collection of books necessary to a school or gymnasium. The name Bibliothēke does not prevent the storing of artistic objects or antiquities, which fate may provide one day to the society, since at present its monies do not suffice other than for unavoidable expenses”; curriculum, Protosaltis 1957, 281-282; Kokkou 1977, 34; financial difficulties, Protosaltis 1957, 266-267. Cf. Velianites 1993, 324-326. For the bishop Ignatios see Protosaltis 1961.

<sup>13</sup> Yotopoulou-Sisilianou 1984 and Velianites 1993, 97-105. For the association of the Earl of Guilford with Greece and especially Kerkyra, Bobou-Stamate 1995.

<sup>14</sup> Stanhope 1825, 143-144.

<sup>15</sup> See early references in Stanhope 1825, 130-131 and 136, dated in March 1824; Protosaltis 1967, κγ’ and 16 no. 4; decision of the Legislature, *AEII* 8, 47 no. 132/14-9-1824; reading of the decision of the Executive in the Legislature body, *AEII* 7, 52; approval by the Ministry of Interior, Protosaltis 1967, 17 no. 6 and the article in *Ephemeris Athenon* 21 (12-11-1824) [= Koumariou 1971, 98].

thanked E. Blaquiere for covering the expenses for three young Athenians to study in Britain.<sup>16</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1824 the Society issued a proclamation, in which it is stated that antiquities shall be collected and stored in the temple of Athena so that anyone will be able to see them.<sup>17</sup>

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1824 the ephors of the Society issued a second call for the resumption of its activities and an appeal for funds, while on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1824 the society asked the head of the armed forces on the Acropolis, I. Gouras, to take on the monument of the Erechtheion in order to transform it into a museum.<sup>18</sup>

In 1825 Gouras asked the Society to send him in Pyrgos (Peloponnese) several diplomas of membership. The Society replied with a long letter underlining the perennial problem of financing its educational activities and asking for financial assistance.<sup>19</sup>



Fig. 1. A view of Hadrian's Library in the mid eighteenth century (after LeRoy 1770, 409 pl. 6).

<sup>16</sup> Blaquiere 1825, II, 131-132 and similarly Stanhope proposed to be sent "a virtuous and highly gifted man ... to be instructed in the most improved systems of education", Stanhope 1825, 207. Educational activities: advertisement for the post of a teacher published in *Ephemeris Athenon* 1 (20-8-1824) [= Daskalakes 1968, 1, 55 no. 22 and Koumariou 1971, 68], information on the schools operating in Athens, Daskalakes 1968, 1, 59 no. 25. News of the election of a new executive board in *Ephemeris Athenon* 7 (24-9-1824) [= Daskalakes 1968, 3, 2071 no. 25A] and in a letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 1824 to Stanhope, Stanhope 1825, 456-459.

<sup>17</sup> Velianites 1993, 326.

<sup>18</sup> Appeal for funds, Protopsaltes 1957, 283-84, Daskalakes 1968, 1, 60 no. 26 and Velianites 1993, 197-198; letter to Gouras, Protopsaltes 1967, 16 no. 5, Velianites 1993, 327-328; answer by Gouras on the 10<sup>th</sup> of March 1825, Protopsaltes 1967, 18 no. 7 and Velianites 1993, 328-329. Appeal for funds issued on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1825 to the people of Zakynthos, Daskalakes 1968, 1, 96 no. 65. Invitation of the 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1825 to the teacher I. Distomites, Daskalakes 1968, 1, 97 no. 66 and intervention of the Philomousos Society in favour of I. Distomites, *AEII* 7, 395. Description of the educational activity of the Philomousos in *Genike Ephemeris* 5 (21-10-1825) and 14 (21-11-1825), Daskalakes 1968, 1, 98 no. 67 and 103 no. 73. Petition of the Philomousos Society to the Executive to appoint I. Distomites as teacher, Daskalakes 1968, 1, 99 no. 68. Account of activity of a girls-only school run by the Philomousos Society, Daskalakes 1968, 1, 105 no. 74. Request of the Philomousos Society for the granting of two houses to be used as schools in May 1826, Daskalakes 1968, 3, 1964-1967 no. 951.

<sup>19</sup> *Ephemeris Athenon* 39 (27-1-1825) [= Daskalakes 1968, 3, 2074 no. 46A; Koumariou 1971, 121-125 and Velianites 1993, 198-200].

There is no doubt that the Society's activities were limited as far as antiquities were concerned in the period 1813-1824. From 1824, it seems that a period of renewed activity had started. Poor Athenians still sold "stones, remnants of antiquity", as the Head of the Police of Athens reported on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1825.<sup>20</sup> The peak and the most significant impact on archaeological matters of the Society would be attained in 1826.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1826 the ephors of the Philomousos Society of Athens requested the Executive to authorize activities aimed at the protection of antiquities. In particular, they asked a) to form a commission made up of the local authorities and colonel Fabrier, a member of the Society, who in cooperation with the local committee for the sale of public land, would be authorized to refuse the sale of public land, when the preservation of antiquities is compelling, b) to authorize the demolition of buildings bordering and threatening antiquities, either with fire or with subsidence, and c) to make proposals for and proceed, following authorization, to the planning of streets.<sup>21</sup> This initiative should be seen in the light of the imminent implementation of a law concerning the sale by auction of publicly owned properties in order to raise funds for financing the army and the fleet.

Eight days later, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January, the committee for the sale of public land<sup>22</sup> wrote a letter to the Central Committee in Nauplion suggesting an exchange of properties in which antiquities existed and the concentration of antiquities dispersed throughout Athens. This is what they suggested:



Fig. 2. J. Thürmer, The west side of Hadrian's Library, 1819 (after Matton 1963, pl. 73).

<sup>20</sup> Protosaltes 1967, 19 no. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Sourmeles 1853, 131-32, Protosaltes 1967, 21 no. 11 and Daskalakes 1968, 1, 108 no. 75. An example of how the planning was done and the compensation for those affected is revealed in a letter read at the sitting of the Legislature on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1826, *AEΠ* 7, 480.

<sup>22</sup> The Executive of the Greeks had decided in 1824 to start auctioning perishable landed property owned previously by the Ottoman Turks and confiscated after their expulsion, McGrew 1985, 65-66 and Psychoyos 1994, 24-30; for later developments see Nakos 1984. It is possible that the auction envisaged in this report did not, in the end, take place, since we hear of reactions in Athens in March 1826, Mamoukas 1839, 5, 92-94 (= *AEΠ* 3, 246-249): "...τὰ ἔδωσεν ἡ ἐπιτροπὴ εἰς τ' ἀνήκοντα μέρη καὶ ἐλπίσασα, ὅτι πλέον δὲν θ' ἀπαντήσῃ οὐδεμίαν ἐναντιότητα, ἄρχισε καὶ ἐκ τρίτου τὰς ἐργασίας της, ἐτοιχοκόλλησε τὸν περὶ ἐκπονήσεως ΝΓ' νόμον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔγραφα μὲ τὰς περιγραφὰς τῶν ζητηθέντων καὶ εἰς ἐκποίησιν ἐκτεθέντων ὑποστατικῶν ... Χθὲς πρωῒ ... ἐσυνάχθη εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πλῆθος λαοῦ καὶ ἐπίτηδες ἐλθόντες, ἵνα ἀναγνώσωσι καὶ τὰ ἀνέγνωσαν, ... ἀλλ' αἴφνης σήμερον πρωῒ εἶδομεν ἐνυβρισθέντα καὶ ἀτιμασθέντα τὸν νόμον ... καὶ ἠκούσαμεν, ἡ τοῦλάχιστον ἠκούσα ἐγὼ, φοβερισμοὺς διὰ πολλὰ χειρότερα καὶ ἀπευκαῖα...".

And some ruined houses, which obstruct and cover precious ancient buildings, as well as temples and the like, need not be sold but should be demolished so that the above mentioned radiant artefacts of our immemorial ancestors shall remain free standing, for the glory and the splendour of our nation; and in the middle of the town the portico of Hadrian, which is covered by a nation-owned and two privately owned workshops, that they should be exchanged with other nation-owned workshops in a different place and those becoming national property to be demolished, since the above mentioned buildings otherwise are subject to the possibility of destruction by fire.

And for some antiquities which lie in the preserved national houses it would have been better to have taken away from there and to have stored in a separate place, handed over to the superintendents of the Philomousos Society, because when these houses are sold, they will remain in the ownership of the buyers, without offering for these antiquities any price, and even if this was possible, they would not have provided the price of these priceless antiquities.<sup>23</sup>

The answer from the central Government arrived on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1826 in the form of an order of the Executive to the Governor of Athens to cooperate with the ephors of the Philomousos Society and the local committee for the sale of public lands in order to carry out the proposals of the Society and of the Committee.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, on the 8/9<sup>th</sup> of February 1826 the Legislature advised the Executive to order the Committee to consider as state property all antiquities that may be found in auctioned properties and the Philomousos Society to accept and store them.

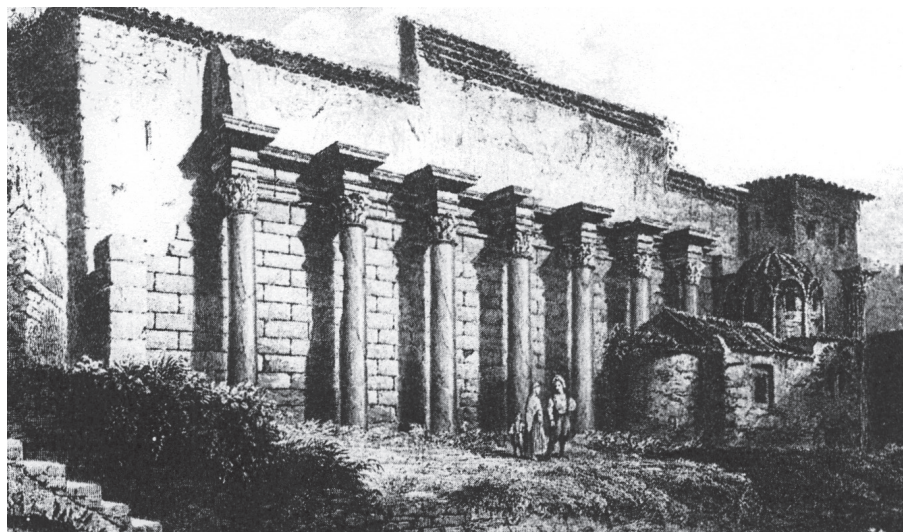


Fig. 3. The west side of Hadrian's Library in 1829, *Expédition de Morée* (after Kokkou 1977, 42).

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1826 the Executive issued an order to the Committee for the sale of public lands, a) to safeguard, together with the Governor and the Philomousos Society, all antiquities, b) to remove antiquities from auctioned properties, c) to exempt from auction any properties adjacent to ancient structures; these properties shall pass to the Philomousos Society to be administered in such a way that ancient structures will not be affected, d) the Philomousos Society together with the Governor will empty ancient buildings of dangerous material and find the safest building for the storage of antiquities.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Full text in Greek in Appendix I, pages 2-3, *infra*. The report was read and discussed in the session of the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1826 of the Legislature, and the proposals were endorsed, *AEII* 7, 503; the acknowledgement of the decision to the Executive in Protopsaltes 1967, 24 no. 13 and *AEII* 8, 415.

<sup>24</sup> Protopsaltes 1967, 23 no. 12 and Diamantes 1971, 374ff.

Apparently initial work involving the demolition of workshops was carried out, as we learn from a letter dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1826, sent by the ephors of the Philomousos Society to the Executive asking for an exchange of properties to be arranged with the owners of four workshops adjacent to a wall and columns.<sup>26</sup>

All this is confirmed by a mere comparison between Figs. 1

and 2 depicting the west side of Hadrian's library before 1826 and Figs. 3-5, dating to some years later, in which all the structures attached to the wall have been removed.

So far, most research has overlooked the fact that the clearings effectuated in 1826 were countenanced first in 1824 by Gropius in a letter to E. Blaquiere.<sup>27</sup> In particular, Blaquiere published a long letter sent to him by Gropius on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1824, in which Gropius, among other things, spelled out the efforts of the Philomousos Society to preserve antiquities. Central to his project was the removal of a line of shops adjacent to what he calls the Poikile Stoa (actually Hadrian's Library) and the removal of the old 'magazine' from the Erechtheion. Gropius in his letter mentioned also what he had proposed to the government. However, so far, there is no evidence of that motion in the published documents of the Executive. From this letter two further questions emerge, first, why the intervention of the Philomousos Society was focused on Hadrian's Library, and second, why it took almost two years to proceed with these demolitions. The location of the monument in the city centre and the existence of a marketplace created an imminent

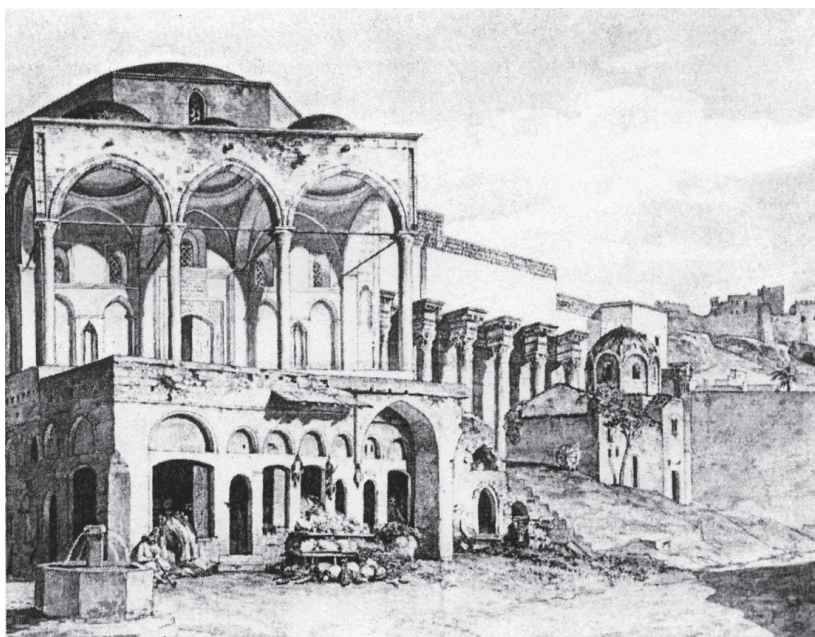


Fig. 4. C. v. Heydeck, The mosque of Tsisdarakis with a view of Hadrian's Library, 1835 (after Matton 1963, pl. 74).

<sup>25</sup> Protosaltes 1967, 24 no. 14. The decision was read and approved by the Legislature, *AEII* 7, 449, Kokkou 1977, 43. See also the order of the Interior Minister (3218/15-3-1826) to the Governor of Athens, for compliance with the order of 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1826, Protosaltes 1967, 25 no. 15.

<sup>26</sup> Protosaltes 1967, 25 no. 16. The letter was read and approved by the Legislature, *AEII* 7, 475.

<sup>27</sup> Blaquiere 1825, II, 155-157: "The Society of Philomusae, charged with the preservation of ancient monuments, has just proposed to the government to take down the line of shops which is built up against this magnificent remain, and which almost conceals it from review, as well as threatens it with total destruction, in the event of a fire. The town would gain a fine open space by this trifling sacrifice. The matter is still undecided, but we hope our request will be granted" and "We have not as yet been able to get the powder removed from the old magazine established by the Turks, which is, as you know, in the fine vestibule of the temple of Erechtheus. The matter is decided on, but money to construct the new magazine is wanting. I need not say how anxious the Society is to rescue this masterpiece of art, from the total ruin with which it is hourly threatened". For the archaeological activities of G. Chr. Gropius in Greece, see Protosaltes 1947 and Callmer 1982.

danger to antiquities, a reason recurring constantly in the petitions of the Society.<sup>28</sup> As for the question of time, 1824 and 1825 were two years of open civil warfare between the factions of the Peloponnesians and the Roumeliotes. In addition, for these years the necessary restructuring and the educational activity of the Society, as we have already seen, had a central importance.

Ten days after the request, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1826, the Legislature approved the petition of the Philomousos Society for further demolitions.<sup>29</sup> This is the last reference to the archaeological activities of the Society. Following the sack of Mesolonghi in April 1826, the Ottoman forces led by Mehmed Reshid Pasha (Kutahye) in August 1826 besieged the Acropolis, whose defenders eventually surrendered in May 1827.

Even though efforts to collect and store antiquities were continued throughout the governorship of I. Kapodistrias (appointment of A. Moustoxydis in 1829 as Director of the Greek National Museum in Aegina), no such thing is reported in Athens till 1833.<sup>30</sup> The founding of the Archaeological Society in Athens in 1837 heralded a new era of excavations, protection and preservation of antiquities in the city. G. Chr. Gropius, an early and active member of the Philomousos Society, was among the founding members of the new society, linking thus the Ottoman and revolutionary periods with the fresh start

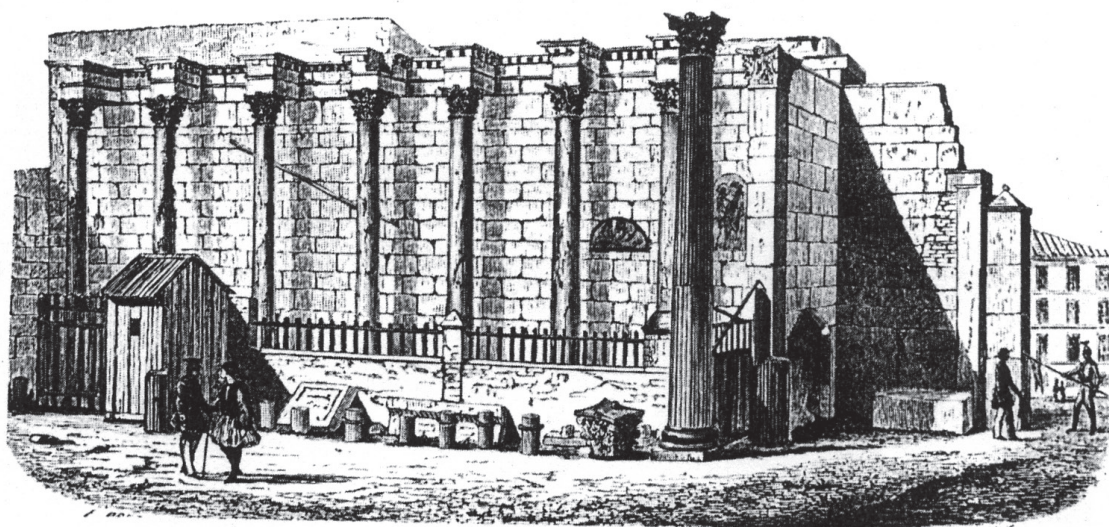


Fig. 5. The west side of Hadrian's Library used as a repository of antiquities, 1840 (after Kokkou 1977, 177).

<sup>28</sup> Protosaltis 1967, 21 no. 11 (18-1-1826); the document published in Appendix 1 (26-1-1826); Protosaltis 1967, 25 no. 16 (16-3-1826): “Διὰ τὰ ἐλευθερωθῇ ὅμως τελείως μία ἀξιοθέατος σειρὰ κολώνων κειμένη εἰς τὸ πλέον συγχασμένον μέρος τῆς ἀγορᾶς μας καὶ ἡ ὅποια ἀνήκει εἰς τὸν περίβολον τοῦ Διοικητικοῦ παλατίου τῆς πόλεως... Μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ Διοίκησις εὐκολύνει μεγάλως τὴν πρόοδον τῆς φιλοκαλίας εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πόλεις” (In order to free completely a magnificent series of columns, located in the most frequented place of our market, which sits in the court of the Governor's palace of the city ... By doing that the Administration will greatly further the love of beauty in Greek towns).

<sup>29</sup> Protosaltis 1967, 27 no. 17 and *AEII* 8, 459; proceedings, *AEII* 7, 475. The Executive proceeded as was recommended and on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1826 asked the Interior Ministry to proceed to the exchange, Protosaltis 1967, 28 nos 19 and 20. In its turn the Ministry on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1826 ordered the provincial government of eastern Greece to proceed, Protosaltis 1967, 29 no. 21.

<sup>30</sup> For the Kapodistrian period see Kaloyeropoulou 1981; see also the account of Rhangaves 1837 and Petrakos 2004, 6-15. For the efforts during the period of regency, Maurer 1976, 545-552.

in the study of antiquities.<sup>31</sup> Towards this end the contribution of the Philomousos Society – despite the often amateurish character of its efforts rooted in the cosmopolitan society of the last years of the Ottoman Empire in Athens – was not meaningless.

The Philomousos Society of Athens attempted to save as many antiquities as its financial means allowed; even if, in the first period, the outcome was rather poor, this was due to the focus on education and to the parallel ‘archaeological’ activities of, at least one, of its members. In the second period, despite the better focused archaeological activity, the Philomousos Society crippled by inadequate funding and hampered by administrative procedures managed to effectuate the clearing of the wall of Hadrian’s Library. In this respect, the statement of Edward Blaquiere in 1825, that “had the Society of Philomusae been properly supported by the friends of art and learning, it might have done much towards preserving the Athenian monuments from the ruin into which they are fast falling; as it is, the members resident at Athens, have done their utmost” is a neat reflection of the situation of Athenian antiquities in the decade which saw the end of the Ottoman rule and the beginnings of the Greek state.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See Petrakos 2004.

<sup>32</sup> Blaquiere 1825, I, 99.

## Appendix I

*Letter to the Commission for the Sale of State Lands*  
(ΓΑΚ 47 Β, φ. ΙΙΙ αρ. 6)<sup>33</sup>

Page 1

Πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς ἐκποιήσεως τῶν ἐθνικῶν κτημάτων

Καταγινόμενοι εἰς τὴν καταγραφὴν τῶν ἐθνικῶν κτημάτων, κ(αὶ) περιφερόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος ἐπιστατοδημο/γερόντων, κ(αὶ) ἄλλων, ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰ διατατόμενα σημειώ/σαντες ὀνομαστί, τὰ μέτρα ἐκάστου οἴκου, τὸ ἐμβαδὸν, κ(αὶ) πε/ριφέρειαν αὐτῶν ἢ πᾶν ὅ,τι ἄλλο ἐμπεριέχεται εἰς αὐτούς.

Τὰ καταγραφέντα κ(αὶ) ἐκτιμηθέντα ὀσπήτια ἐπροκηρύχ/θησαν ἤδη κατὰ ἀπαιτουμένην τάξιν, εἰς τὰς 22» τοῦ τρέ/χοντος κ(αὶ) εἰς τὰς 27» τοῦ ἰδίου θέλαιν βληθεῖ εἰς τὴν δημο/πρασίαν, ἥτοι τὴν αὐρίον κ(αὶ) οὕτως ἀλληλοδιαδόχως καθὼς καταγράφονται/ κ(αὶ) ἐκτιμῶνται.

Ἐν μόνον στοχαζόμεθα, περὶ τῶν κτημάτων τούτων, /ὀσπητίων κ(αὶ) ἐρειπίων, ὅτι θέλει ποληθῶσι παρὰ τιμὴν, ἐπειδὴ κ(αὶ) ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἀγοραστῶν ἔχει βάσιν εἰς τὴν προγεγωνεί/αν ἐκποίησιν, ἥτις ἐγένετο τότε, κ(αὶ) ὅτι τὰ μείνοντα ὀσπή/τια, τὰ ὁποῖα θέλαιν ἐκποιεθεῖ ἤδη, ἐξ ὧν μερικὰ εἶναι/ κατοικητά, εὐρεθέντων παροικηστῶν εἰς αὐτὰ κ(αὶ) μὲ πολλὰ/ ὀλίγον ἐννοίκιον, ὡς ἐπληροφορήθημεν παρ' αὐτῶν, τὰ/ δὲ κατάλοιπα εἶναι διόλου ἀκατοίκητα, ἄλλα μὲν ἔχον/τα ἡμίσειαν σκεπὴν, ἄλλα δὲ μὴ ἔχοντα πάτωμα/ παντελῶς, καὶ τὸ περισσότερον μέρος ἐρίπεια μέχρι τῶν/ θεμελίων κατεδαφισμένα, ἐν οἷς εὐρίσκονται καὶ τινα, μέρος τὸν τοῖχον ἔχοντα, καθὼς θέλετε πληροφορηθῇ ἀκρι/βῶς κατόπιν παρατηροῦντες τὴν κατὰ σειρὰν καταγρα/

Page 2

φὴν αὐτῶν, ἥτις στέλλεται μετὰ τὴν τελείωσιν ἐκάστης δημο/πρασίας.

Εἰς τὴν ρηθείσαν ἀκριβή καταγραφὴν ἐν μόνον θέλει λεί/ψει, οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἐκάστου οἴκου, κατὰ τὴν διαταγὴν, ἐπειδὴ εὐ/ρισκόμενα τὰ ὀσπήτια σποράδην, ἀπὸ ἑναν μαχαλᾶν εἰς ἄλ/λον κ(αὶ) πλησιάζοντα ἄνω, κ(αὶ) κάτω, μεταξὺ τῶν ἐρειπίων, διὰ/ τοῦτο δὲν ἐδυνήθημεν νὰ τὰ ἀριθμῶμεν, διὰ τε τὸ ἀδύνα/τον τῆς ἐκτελέσεως, τούτου, κ(αὶ) διὰ τὴν μεγίστην παρᾶτασιν/ τῆς ἀριθμοίσεως, ὥστε τούτο μὴ δυνάμενοι νὰ κατορθώσω/μεν, ἐκάμομεν τὴν τόσῃν λεπτομερίαν ἐκάστου οἴκου/ εἰς τὴν σημείωσιν.

Ἔτι δὲ στοχαζόμεθα, ὅτι τὰ ἐθνικὰ ἐργαστήρια κ(αὶ) οἱ μύ/λοι δὲν πρέπει νὰ πωληθῶσι διόλου, ἀλλὰ μόνον νὰ ἐννοικια/σθῶσι, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ποσότης, ἥτις θέλει δοθῇ εἰς τὴν ἐκποίησιν/ αὐτῶν μὲ τὸ διδόμενον (κατ' ἔτος) ἐννοίκιον ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐν/νοικιαστάς, εἰς δύο ἔτη συμπληρεῖ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς πω/λήσεως. Ὅθεν ἐὰν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκποιήσεως ἐννοικιασθῶσι/ διὰ δημοπρασίας, εἰς δύο ἢ τρία ἔτη μὲ συμφωνίαν προ/πληρωμένου ἐννοικίου, θέλουν δώσει μεγαλητέραν πο/σότητα τῆς ἀγορᾶς κ(αὶ) τὰ ἐργαστήρια κ(αὶ) οἱ μύ/λοι μένουσι/ ἐθνικὰ, τοῦτο εὐρίσκει εὐλογον κ(αὶ) ὁ συνταγματάρχης φαβιέρος, κ(αὶ) ὁ κύριος ἐπαρχος κ(αὶ) οἱ πολῖται.

Καὶ μερικὰ ὀσπήτια ἐρίπεια τὰ ὁποῖα περιορίζουσι/

<sup>33</sup> The document was first published by Diamantes 1971, 372, no. 282.

## Page 3

κ(αὶ) ἀποσκεπάζουσι τὰς πολυτίμους ἀρχαίας οἰκοδομὰς καθὼς/ ναοὺς κ(αὶ) παρόμοια εἶναι ἀνάγκη νὰ μὴ ποληθῶσι, ἀλλὰ/ νὰ κατεδαφισθῶσι διόλου, ἵνα μείνῃσι μεμονομένα κ(αὶ)/ ἐλεύθερα, τὰ ρηθέντα λαμπρὰ τεχνουργήματα τῶν ἀειμνήστων προγόνων μας, διὰ δόξαν ἐκείνων κ(αὶ) κλέος τοῦ/ ἔθνους, καὶ ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως στοὰ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ/ ἢ ὅποια ἀποσκεπάζεται ἀπὸ ἓν ἐθνικόν κ(αὶ) δύο ιδιόκτη/τα ἐργαστήρια, τὰ ὅποια ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐναλαγῶσι μὲ/ ἄλλα ἐθνικὰ εἰς ἄλλο μέρος κ(αὶ) τὰ γινόμενα ἐθνικὰ/ διὰ τῆς ἀλλαγῆς νὰ κατεδαφισθῶσι, διότι ἀλλέως, ὑπόκειται αἱ ῥηθεῖσαι οἰκοδομαὶ κ(αὶ) εἰς φθορὰν ἐνδεχομένης/ πυρκαϊᾶς.

Καὶ μερικαὶ ἀρχαιότητες αἱ ὅποια εἰσέτι εὐρίσκον/ται εἰς τὰ διασωθέντα ἐθνικὰ ὀσπήτια καλὸν ἦτο νὰ λει/φθῶσι ἐκεῖθεν, κ(αὶ) νὰ ταμιευθῶσι εἰς ξεχωριστὸν μέρος/ παραδιδόμεναι τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τῆς φιλομούσου ἐται/ρείας, διότι πολυμένων τῶν ῥηθέντων ὀσπητίων, αὐταὶ θέλει μείνουν ιδιοκτησία τῶν ἀγοραστῶν, χωρὶς/ νὰ προσφέρουν διὰ αὐτὰ παραμικρὰν τιμὴν, κ(αὶ) ἂν/ τοιοῦτον τι ἐδύνατο νὰ συμβῇ, δὲν ἤθελον δώσει τὴν τιμὴν τοιούτων ἀνεκτιμῆτων ἀρχαιοτήτων.

Προσέτι καθυποβάλλομεν εἰς τὴν σκέψιν σας, ὅτι/ διὰ μὲν τὰς σημαντικὰς κατὰ τὴν ποσότητα ἐκποίη/σεις μ' ὅλον ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι δυσαρέστως προσφέρον/ται ἀγοραστὰὶ στοχαζόμενοι, ὅτι μέλλουν κ(αὶ) αὐτόσε νὰ

## Page 4

μεταβῶσιν ἀλλὰ βλέποντες τὴν μεγάλην ὠφέλειαν ἀναγκά/ζονται νὰ τὸ ἀκολουθήσωσι. Οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς μικρὰς ἀγορὰς/ διόλου δυσκολεύονται ν' ἀγοράσωσι ἂν μέλλῃ νὰ ἔλθωσιν/ εἰς Ναύπλιον, καθὼς κ(αὶ) οἱ ἐννοικιασταὶ τῶν μύλων κ(αὶ) ἐργα/στηρίων ἂν ἀκολουθήσῃ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον.

Διὸ περὶ πάντων νὰ ἔχωμεν ταχίστην ὁδигίαν τοῦ/ πῶς νὰ ἀκολουθήσωμεν.

Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 26 Ἰαννουαρί(ου) 1826

Οἱ ἐπιστάται τῆς ἐκποιήσεως

Νικόλα<sup>ος</sup> Γερακάρης

Δ. Δενδρινός

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