

Assessing the cities of Messenia in the newly-founded Greek Kingdom: the medieval walled town of Koroni based on early nineteenth-century architectural plans

Nikos D. Kontogiannis

23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Chalkida

To Anna Christidou (1969–2013)

προσφερόμεν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει
τετελειωμένου

The article examines the fortifications and the settlement of Venetian and Ottoman Koroni (it. Coron), through the accurate record of early nineteenth century engineers of the newly-established Greek Kingdom. The basic plan was conducted in 1835 by the military engineer Metaxas, who recorded all the buildings, their function and current owners, including a proposal for the urban re-planning of the city. His work proved its usefulness, since an exact copy was made in 1856 by lieutenant colonel Maniatakis. It was supplemented by a second plan produced in 1842 by the surveyor Friedrich Zerse who focused on the settlement beyond the walls. These plans are set within the framework of the administration's endeavours to assess and reorganize the cities of Messenia following wider town-planning aspirations and policies.

The history and changes that occurred in the settlements of Messenia during the early nineteenth century have not yet been adequately studied, not least in relation to the surviving architectural legacy.¹ It is generally believed that during the Greek War of Independence the major fortified cities of the western part of Messenia (e.g. Navarino/mod. Pylos, Methoni, Koroni, Arkadia/mod. Kyparissia) functioned as refuges for the local Muslim population, while those of the eastern part (known as the Exo [outer] Mani) were the lairs of the rebels.² As a result, the former were besieged and a number of

1 I would like to thank sincerely the director and the scientific personnel of the National Historical Museum and the Archive of MEECC for granting me access to their collections. My gratitude goes primarily to my colleagues and friends, I. Grigoropoulou, I. Spiliopoulou, J. Davis, S. Germanidou, N. Bouza, G. Kourmadas and S. Arvaniti for their precious suggestions, practical help and support.

2 For a general account of the events of the War of Independence relating to the castles of Messenia, see I. Diamantourou, 'Η εξάπλωση της επαναστάσεως κατά τον Απρίλιο και τον Μάιο. Επέκταση και ένταση των πολεμικών συγκρούσεων', in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, 16 vols (Athens 1975) vol. 12, 106, 121; A. Vakalopoulos, 'Η επανάσταση κατά το 1825', in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, vol. 12, 376, 378–81,

them were finally occupied. From 1825 the province of Pylia functioned as an operational base of the Egyptian-Turkish forces under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, to be handed down in 1828 to the French expeditionary force under General Maison. Following the French withdrawal and the establishment of the Greek Kingdom in 1830, control of fortifications (or a number of them) was passed on to local guards who eventually abandoned them at different times. Similarly, the settlements within the walls were deserted by their inhabitants who preferred to transfer their activities and settle outside the fortresses.³

Only recently has (archival) research begun to gradually collect and employ all surviving information in order to reconstitute the medieval as well as the more recent historic background of the Messenian civic centres. It is through the study of this material that we can comprehend the adventures of the medieval settlements, from their continuous use during the Ottoman era to their final abandonment in the face of national political and social aspirations.

Within this framework, special emphasis should be placed on plans executed chiefly by military architects in the early years of the newly-founded Greek state that rigorously and meticulously recorded the current condition of all fortifications and the settlements within them. Their importance lies in their reliability, confirmed by the accurate depiction of surviving monuments, and the ample first-hand information they provide. They represented an effort of the administration to record on the one hand the kingdom's fortifications and assess the country's state of defense, and on the other hand to identify current urban conditions and suggest proposals for their future development.

The bulk of these plans is kept in the Archive of the Directorate of Topographic Applications, Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change (henceforth Archive of MEECC), formerly known as the Ministry of Environment, Planning and Public Works, or the Ministry of Planning, Housing and Environment. A small selection of plans depicting forts and fortified settlements found its way into the National Historical Museum, as part of an early twentieth century donation in the name of Lieutenant General Petros S. Lykoudis (1843–1913).⁴ Finally, a large amount of material pertaining to the activities of the French Expeditionary Force (1828–32) and the Scientific Mission in the Morea (Expédition scientifique de Morée) is held in the collections of the Service Historique de la Défense (HSD, Dépôt de la Guerre) of the French Ministry of Defense; its publication is currently under way.⁵

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382–3; G. Parathanasopoulos – Th. Parathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία, Οδοιπορικό στο χώρο και στο χρόνο* (Athens 2000) 65–73, 83–5; G. Nikolaou, 'Η Μεσσηνία στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας και του Αγώνα της Ανεξαρτησίας', in *Μεσσηνία, Τόπος-Χρόνος-Άνθρωποι* (Athens 2007) 208–17.

3 G. Kyriakopoulos, 'Παράλιες πόλεις, Καλαμάτα-Μεθώνη-Κορώνη-Πύλος-Κυπαρισσία, Αρχιτεκτονικές επιρροές', in *Μεσσηνία, Τόπος-Χρόνος-Άνθρωποι*, 254–7.

4 For the life and work of Petros Lykoudis, see P. S. Lykoudis, *Γενεαλογία-Βιογραφία-Έργα και το υπ'αυτού εφευρεθέν νέον σύστημα λυομένων πυροβόλων, Μέρος πρώτον: Γενεαλογία-Βιογραφία-Έργα υπό του αδελφού αυτού Εμμανουήλ Στ. Λυκούδη* (Athens 1923) 47–193. Also in <http://www.elia.org.gr/EntryImages%5C1%5CΑΥΚΟΥΔΗ,%20ΟΙΚ.rtf>, <http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/58499>.

5 G. Saitas (ed), *Το έργο της Γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής του Μοριά 1829-1838, Α' μέρος, Τμήμα φυσικών επιστημών* (Athens 2011).



Fig. 1. The Castle of Koroni, aerial photo, view from the East (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Three plans representing Koroni form the subject of the present research (figs. 2–4). The text included in the plans is cited in the appendix. The walled town of Koroni in its current placement and formation dates from at least the thirteenth century onwards (fig. 1). It was primarily a Venetian colonial settlement, integrated in the Ottoman empire from 1500 until 1828, and briefly re-occupied by the Serenissima in the period 1685–1715, known as the Second Venetian Rule. Despite the multiple potential interpretations and questions that arise from the plans, our focus will be on the information concerning the medieval infrastructure and its perception by the nineteenth century planners within the framework of similar activities taking place throughout Messenia at the time.

The first plan was drawn in 1835 by the military engineer Metaxas, and merely records the fortified city with a key in French (fig. 2). The second one, produced in 1842 by the surveyor Friedrich Zerse, should be perceived as a supplement (fig. 3). Although it renders the fortifications and a schematic delineation of the blocks within the walls, it focuses on the settlement beyond the walls. Both plans attest to the acumen and observational skills of the draughtsmen. Slight differences and variations in details prove that the one did not merely copy from the other. The planners probably shared measurements or even worked concurrently using the same geographical background to the plan, yet they were both present on the spot and were first-hand witnesses of the monuments they

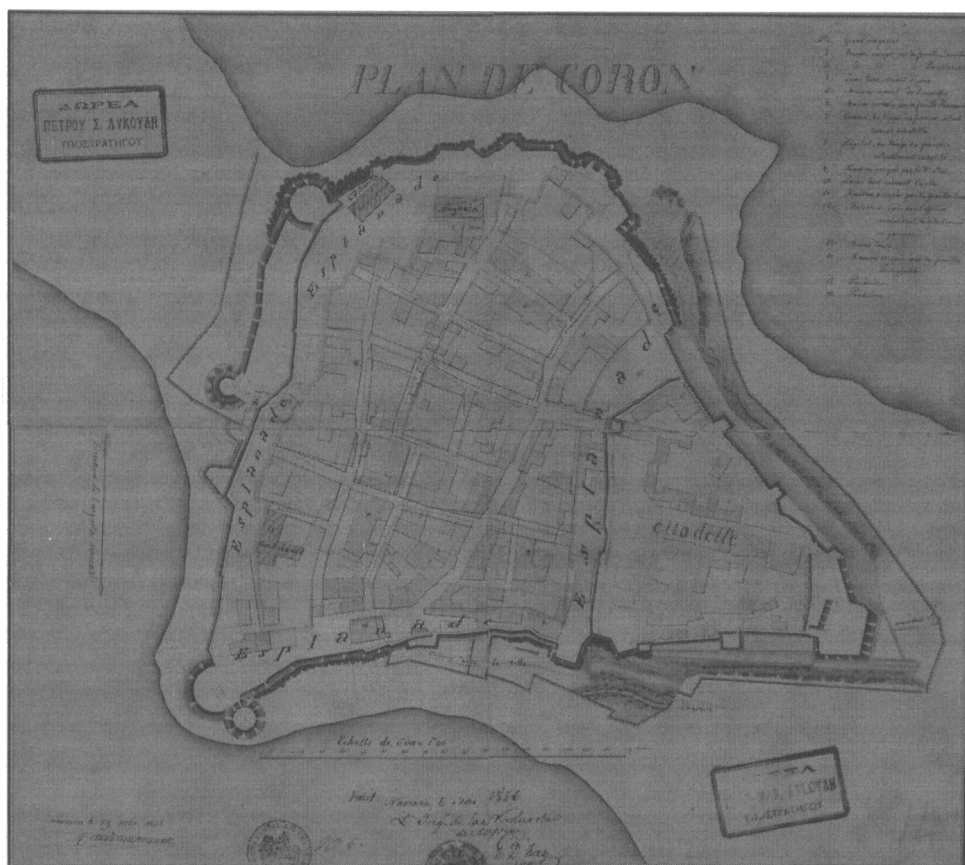


Fig. 2. Plan of Koroni by Metaxas (National Historical Museum, Athens).

recorded. These were, surprisingly, two separate endeavours whose specific circumstances remain unknown. The third plan, produced (or approved) in 1856 by Lieutenant Colonel Manitakis, is a simplified version of the Metaxas plan in Greek mainly focusing on the town within the walls; it confirms the usefulness of the original plan (fig. 4).

Fortifications and military premises

The castle of Koroni is divided into two parts: the smaller fort enclosure lies to the west, with the larger enclosure of the walled city to the East (figs. 1, 5.1–2).⁶ This is a well-known formation pattern in all late medieval Venetian colonies, both in the Adriatic

⁶ For a description and short history of the monument, see K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* [Gennadeion Monographs IV] (Princeton 1953, repr. 2006) 11–23; N. Kontogiannis, ‘Castle of Koroni’, in *Venetians and knights Hospitalers : military architecture networks : Archi-Med Pilot Action* (Athens 2002) 68–71; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 110–17. For specific parts of the walls and the city, referred to in the following pages, see fig. 5.

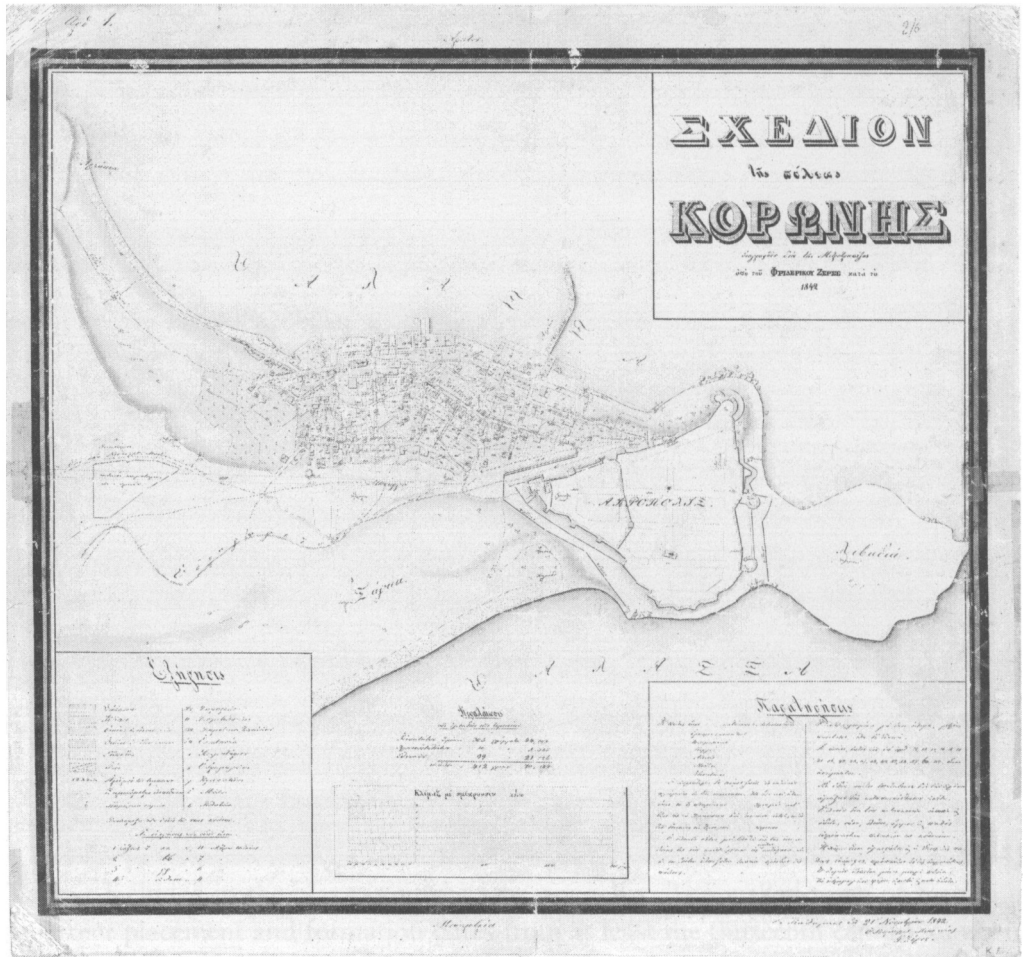


Fig. 3. Plan of Koroni by Zerse (Archive of MEECC).

and the Aegean areas. The two parts (fort-city) are divided by a transversal wall with rectangular towers that had been considered to be the sole remnant of the Byzantine fortification of Koroni (figs. 5.3, 6).⁷ Zerse names the whole complex as ‘citadel’, while Metaxas gives the name only to the fort. The Manidakis plan is limited to the simple outline of the inner edge of the enclosure with only a few details.

The imprint of the walls, towers and bastions is rendered at battlement level, denoting the width of the masonry and the cannon embrasures that open up at regular intervals. A number of architectural details are documented in detail. They prove valuable for the understanding of the castle’s military history, since their material evidence was completely destroyed or greatly changed afterwards. In particular:

7 Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 15–16.



Fig. 4. Plan of Koroni by Manidakis (Archive of MEECC).

1. There is an explicitly defined moat with a built spur (it. *contrascarpa*, counterscarp) that surrounds the whole triangular western half of the castle. This defensive element must constitute one of the last additions of the Second Venetian Rule (1685–1715), since it does not appear in the published plans of the period 1699–1701,⁸ although its formation is closely connected to the erection of the Venetian West Bastion (figs. 5.4, 7). The whole north side of this moat that originally ended at the city's Main Gate (figs. 5.5, 8) is presently occupied by modern buildings almost to the foot of the walls, with a street running along its course. The moat's south part has been turned into a small park surrounding the later church of Panagia Eleistria (the Merciful Virgin).⁹ Its counterscarp has also been replaced by modern structures. A single surviving stretch of the moat and the counterscarp can be identified with the help of the plans: it survives directly in front of the West Bastion with the moat serving as the modern Eleistrias Street, while the counterscarp is used as a retaining wall almost to its full height for the building of the municipal medical centre (the former Town Hall), preserved to a length of ca. 10 m (fig. 9).

⁸ Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, pl. I–II.

⁹ For the church of Panagia Eleistria and the events concerning its foundation (1897–900), see E. Tagonidi-Maniataki, *Ιερόν Προσκύνημα Παναγίας Ελεήσφρας Κορώνης* (Athens n.d.).

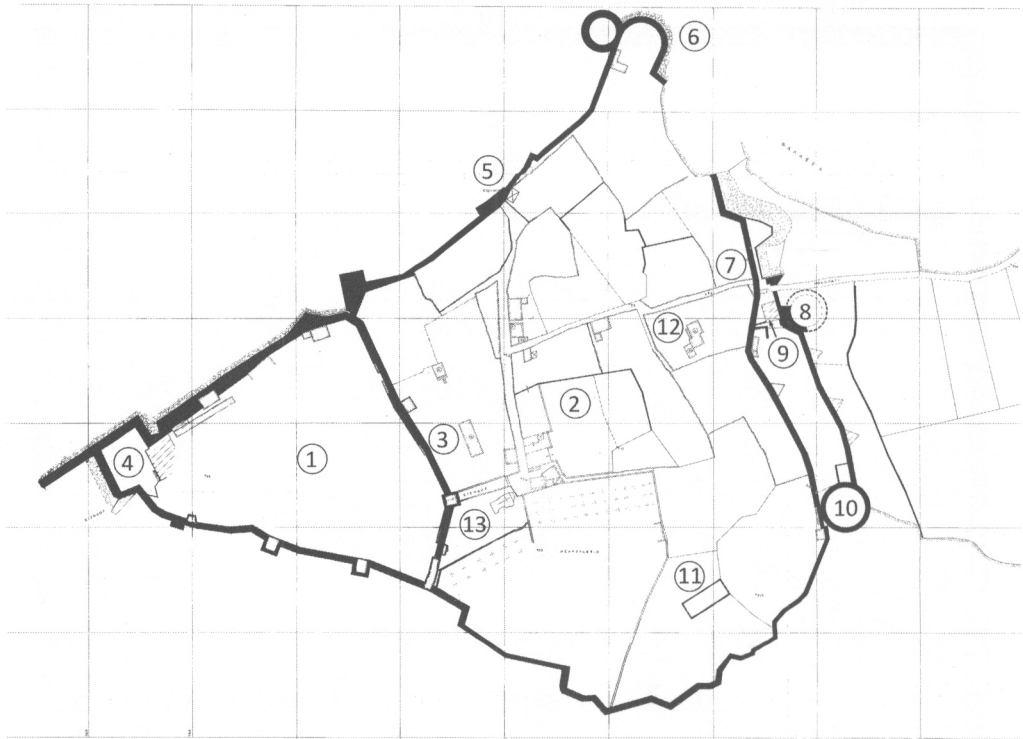


Fig. 5. Plan of Koroni. (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, reworked by G. Kourmadas, architect).

1. Fort enclosure; 2. City enclosure; 3. Transversal Wall; 4. West Bastion; 5. Main Gate; 6. Twin Bastion; 7. Livadia Gate; 8. Livadia Bastion; 9. Powder store-room; 10. Southeast Bastion; 11. Ayios Charalambos; 12. Ottoman Baths; 13. Ayia Sofia

2. Access to the city was made from the north, through a monumental medieval gateway which was also the ending point for the moat with its counterscarp (figs. 5.5, 8). As regards the formation of the wall in this area, which had since been totally changed by later interventions, evidence was limited until now to the two published engravings of the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*.¹⁰ These were obviously based on first hand observations in 1829 by the members of the team, namely the designer Prosper Baccuet, whose original drawing is preserved in the Gennadius Library, Athens (fig. 10).¹¹ The drawing depicts two transversal walls defending access to the

10 The first in M. de Saint-Vincent et al., *Expédition scientifique de Morée, travaux de la section sciences physiques, Atlas 1831-1835* (Paris 1835), première série, pl. XIX.2, and the second (from a slightly different angle) in A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée, ordonnée par le gouvernement français 1: Architecture, sculptures, inscriptions et vues du Peloponèse, des Cyclades et del' Attique* (Paris 1831) pl. 17, fig. I; repr. in Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 16, fig. 5; Papathanasopoulos - Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 117, fig. 195.

11 For the work of Baccuet including the drawing of the Koroni Gate, see I. Viggoroulou, 'Απόψεις τοπίων. Τα χαρακτηριστικά του Άτλαντα και τα σχέδια του Prosper Baccuet στο λεύκωμα της Γενναδείου Βιβλιοθήκης', in



Fig. 6. Transversal Wall, exterior view (I. Grigoropoulou).



Fig. 7. West Bastion (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Main Gate, which is the only currently preserved part of the entrance complex. The outer wall was low with an opening to the middle, while the inner one had a barrel-vaulted gate

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Saitas, *To έργο της Γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής*, 88–98, esp. figs. 6.18–20. Also, J. L. Davis, 'Prosper Baccuet and the French *Expédition scientifique de Morée*: Images of Navarino in the Gennadius Library', in M. Georgopoulou – I. Solomonidi (eds.), *Hidden Treasures of the Gennadius Library* [The New Griffon 12] (Athens 2011) 57–69.



Fig. 8. The north side of the walls with the Twin Bastion (left) and the Main Gate (centre) (N. Kontogiannis).

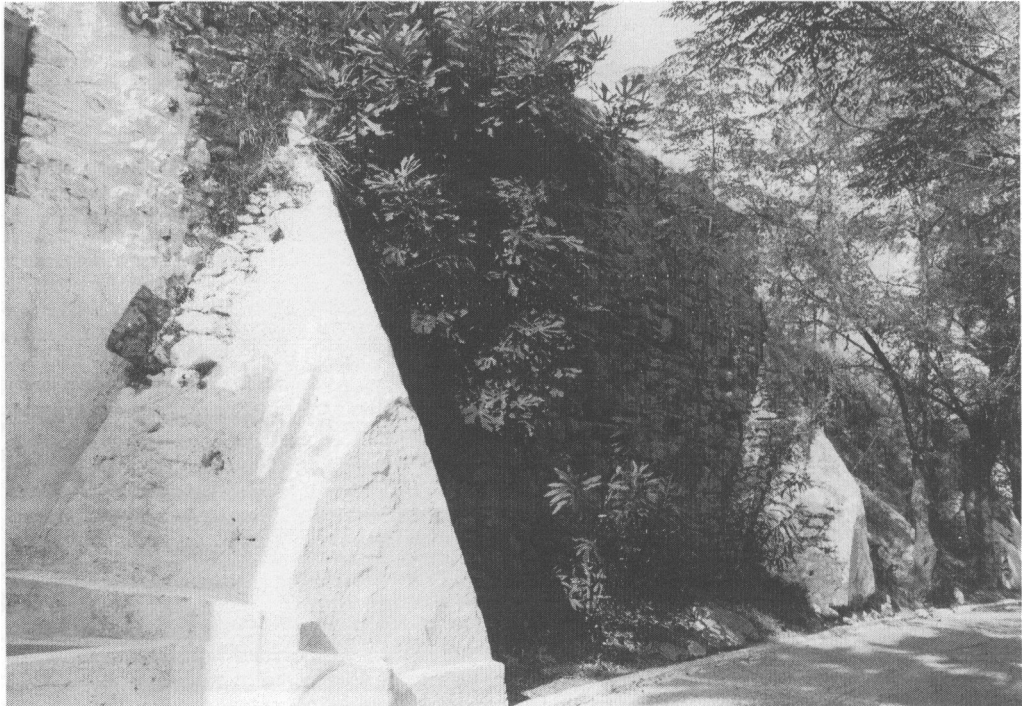


Fig. 9. Surviving part of the moat's counterscarp, present Eleistrias Street (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

with two sets of wooden doors at its extremities. A relief slab depicting the Lion of St. Mark was placed above this gate. The crenellation of the inner transversal wall was interrupted by gun-loops. In the background one can see the volume of the Main Gate along with a minaret, probably belonging to a mosque near the gate that no longer survives (see below, p. 232). Thanks to the plans, these features can now be fully understood and integrated within the broader fortification: the main access to the Castle was from the

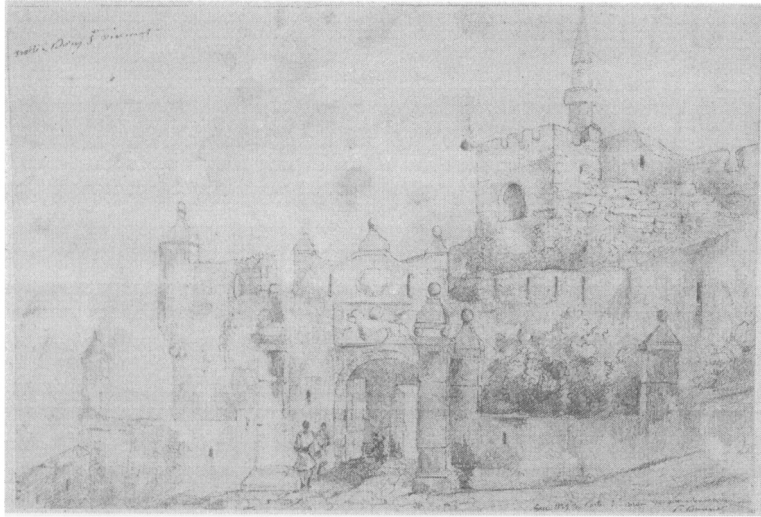


Fig. 10. The Main Gate, drawing by Baccuet (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

north, through an entrance at the counterscarp of the moat. From there on, one continued within the moat to the east, eventually reaching these two transversal walls which barred one's course and created a form of barbican for maximum protection. These constructions, based on their form and the presence of the Venetian relief, can be attributed to the Second Venetian Rule (early eighteenth century), obviously with later Ottoman additions (e.g. the crenellations).

3. The large West Bastion is among the architecturally intriguing parts of the Castle as it was the most vulnerable part of the enclosure, it was continuously improved with additional structures and finally left unfinished at the end of Venetian Rule in 1715 (figs. 5.4, 7). The plans record the surviving structures in detail with their successive obstacles; the postern gate that opened at the flank of the bastion; the half-ruined circular tower just to the inner part of the Bastion (noted as "ruins" in the Zerse plan, also fig. 11). Finally, the plans show also the site of Koroni's aqueduct which brought water to the walled city from the countryside to the west. In the Zerse plan the aqueduct split into three just before it reached the moat: the northern branch continued to the settlement outside the walls; the middle one ran along the north walls, following the axis of the moat, and reached the city through its Main Gate; finally, a third, shorter branch, stopped at the face of the West Bastion. Apparently the plan was for it to continue underground towards the settlement. Based on this information, we could identify a vaulted subterranean structure currently visible at the road surface of Eleistriasis Street just in front of the west bastion, as a single remaining part of Koroni's aqueduct (fig. 12). Zerse informs us in the key of his plan that the aqueduct brings 'adequate and good' water.¹²

12 For the west bastion and the aqueduct see also, Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 21–3.



Fig. 11. The circular tower within the Fort (I. Grigoropoulou).

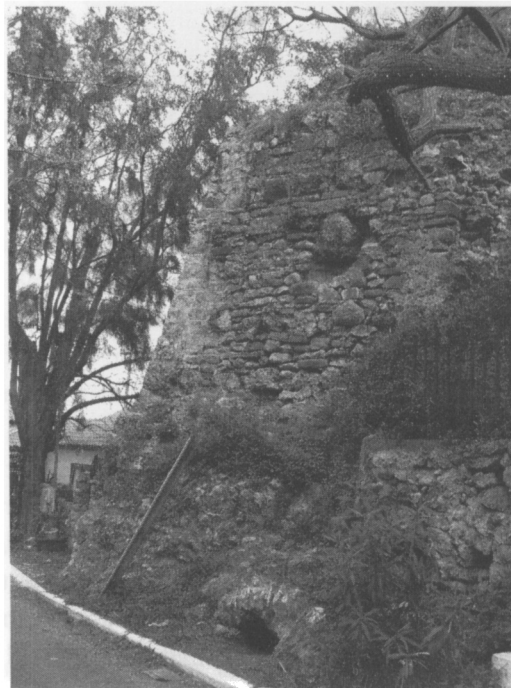


Fig. 12. West bastion, detail with subterranean vault (low) (I. Grigoropoulou).

4. Of equal importance is the accurate depiction of the eastern walls. Metaxas recorded them at battlement level, while Zerse added details from their lower structures:



Fig. 13. Livadia Gate, exterior view (I. Grigoropoulou).

these included the talus of the northern Twin Bastion that continued southwards to the Gate of Livadia (fig. 5.6–7); the existence of a fountain just at the foot of the walls, still present today even if only accessible by the sea; the existence of a postern gate to the inner side of the Southeast Bastion which has since disappeared due to wall collapse. The circular Livadia Bastion at the centre of the eastern walls, outside the Livadia Gate, can now be reconstructed with fair accuracy (figs. 5.7–8, 13–14): it was apparently the twin of the still standing Southeast Bastion (fig. 1[bottom], 5.10), both belonging to an exterior line of walls along with its own moat covering the vulnerable part of the Castle towards the Livadia area. These structures probably dated from the sixteenth century and represent Ottoman additions to the pre-existing medieval walls. The Livadia Bastion was used during the Second World War as an ammunition storehouse, and was subsequently blown up by the German forces during their withdrawal in 1944, severely damaging this side of the enclosure.¹³ Consequently, the plans acquire special validity, being accurate reconstructions of this part of the Castle.

Military buildings that no longer survive are recorded by Metaxas and repeated by Manitakis in various parts of the walled city. They were always located at short distances from the walls, in order to be easily accessible in case of attack. Large barracks (*caserne*) and storerooms were found in the area near the Southeast Bastion. A second barracks was found near the transversal wall, facing the city. The key specifically mentions that the latter was built by the French, obviously following the installation of the French expeditionary force in the castle after 1828. In 1835 it lay empty. Close to the second

13 Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 18–20; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πύλεια*, 116–17.



Fig. 14. Livadia Bastion (I. Grigoropoulou).



Fig. 15. Powder store-room at the Livadia Bastion (I. Grigoropoulou).

barracks, a powder store-room is noted, installed in the rectangular medieval tower of the Transversal Wall. A second powder store-room was to be found at the inner side of the Livadia Bastion (figs. 5.9, 15). This building is still preserved intact and can thus be securely identified: it is a rectangular structure covered with a barrel vault and strengthened by supporting arches. Its entrance is bent in a way to prevent direct contact with the

exterior and thus avoid potential accidents. In all probability, this is an earlier structure from the Second Venetian Rule whose use continued down to the nineteenth century.

Public and private buildings

Today the city-part of Koroni Castle is almost entirely covered by olive trees with only a handful of later standing buildings; the area of the fort is wholly occupied by the premises of the Timios Prodromos monastery (dedicated to John the Forerunner).¹⁴ Until 1828, the Castle was inhabited solely by Turks, with the Greeks occupying the area next to the harbour, a settlement that was completely destroyed during the War of Independence. A year later (1829) Abel Blouet gave us a short description of the eminent Turkish houses of Koroni: 'Les principales maisons turques, à Coron, sont remarquables pour la richesse de leur décoration et la grandeur de leur disposition; les intérieurs sont ornés de boiseries sculptées et peintes, ainsi que de vitraux de couleurs dont l'ensemble, d'un goût oriental, produit un bel effet'.¹⁵

Consequently, one of the key features of the 1835 plan is that Metaxas drew in detail the entire civic fabric within the walls at that time, which obviously preserved all the (Turkish) houses, identifying many of their (new) occupants and their functions in the accompanying memo written in French. It should be noted that the 1856 Manitakis plan simply reproduced the Metaxas one, while translating the accompanying legend into Greek. Its focus on the town buildings rather than the fortifications points to the fact that it was made in order to preserve a record of a still-functioning settlement and was probably used in dealing with civic issues.

An L-shaped complex at the northern end of the fort was occupied by the Karapoulo or Karapaulo family. A line of rectangular structures at the inner side of the transversal wall (at its central and south part) was designed with discontinuous lines. They are to be identified with large subterranean cisterns, which are still preserved within the monastery's precinct. Water supply by means of cisterns was vital in every medieval settlement in case of siege. The number of these structures probably points to a public use and poses a number of questions, such as, for instance, the source of water and the potential connection of the cisterns to the aqueduct.

Within the city enclosure, all individual buildings were designed with the boundaries of the properties, the stone walls and the paved streets that defined their limits. All of them have since perished, with a handful of exceptions. On the basis of the keys in the Metaxas and Manitakis plans, we can identify the residencies of the following individuals: Dariotti, Perivolaraki, Dova or Vourna, and Trighetta, along with that of 'Director Stai'.

These were obviously the most influential inhabitants, with a key role in local public affairs. In this light, a future thorough examination of archival sources may well shed

14 This is a nunnery that follows the old calendar, founded in the 1920s by the local monk Theodoulo (Georgio Anagnostopoulo).

15 Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, 16.

more light on the recent history of the local society. For instance, it is known that when governor Ioannis Kapodistrias visited the city in 1829, he lodged at the residence of the rich merchant Dionisios Trighetta and his wife, Margarita.¹⁶ Based on the plan, the Trighetta residence was located at the eastern part of the city, near the Livadia Gate. It is outlined as a large long-and-narrow complex with transversal wings, oriented to the east.

The following public buildings are also drawn on the Metaxas plan and are noted in its key, repeated in Greek in the later Manitakis copy:

1. 'Zami [mosque] turc servant d'église'. This refers to the present church of Ayios Charalambos which was initially constructed during the Second Venetian Rule in 1689 and originally dedicated to San Rocco, according to the dedicatory inscription that still survives in situ (figs. 5.11, 16).¹⁷ The building was obviously transformed into a mosque in 1715, from which period the base of the minaret is preserved to the building's northwest corner. It reverted back to being a church after the War of Independence. The building is also represented in the Zerse plan, with a cross indicating its function. In 2012, the church was burned down and has not been restored. Fig. 16 represents its state before the fire.
2. The Town Hall, located directly opposite the entrance of Ayios Charalambos, in the area presently occupied by the city's cemetery.
3. The Hospital, which according to the legend was built by the French expeditionary force and lay empty after its departure.
4. 'Zami turc servant d'école'. This building is placed in the vicinity of the castle's main gate, its minaret probably depicted in the Baccuet drawing. It was converted into a school, as part of the school network founded in Messenia at the instigation of Kapodistrias, and probably functioned according to the widely spread Monitorial System.¹⁸
5. The residence of the commander of the guard, located near the Livadia Gate. In the Zerse plan the building is identified as an οἰκία ἐθνική (national residence).
6. Ottoman baths. The complex is still preserved in a ruinous state at the area of the Livadia Bastion, as depicted on the plan (fig. 5.12).

16 L. K. Fotiou, *Κορώνη. Η προσωπογραφία μιας πολιτείας* (Athens 1983) 246, who falsely identifies the Trighetta mansion with a house outside the walls, the present Malliou residence opposite the church of Agios Dimitrios; B. D. Marantos, *Η ιστορία της Κορώνης*, rev. ed. B. Rouvalis (Athens 2000) 92.

17 Papathanasopoulos - Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 111.

18 For the Monitorial, or Mutual instruction, or Bell-Lancaster Teaching Method in general, see <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/389525/monitorial-system> [accessed 12/12/2011]. In Messenia, monitorial schools were functioning in the towns of Kalamata, Messini, Methoni, Filiatra, Gargalianoi, etc. (Nikolaou, 'Η Μεσσηνία στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας', 217). The Methoni school is one of the few buildings specifically constructed for this purpose outside the castle walls and still preserved within the modern settlement. See V. Albani, 'Καποδιστριακό Σχολείο Μεθώνης', *Πελοποννησιακά* 28 (2005–6) 118–28. For the implementation of the Monitorial System in Greece, see L. Papadaki, *Η αλληλοδιδασκτική μέθοδος διδασκαλίας στην Ελλάδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα* (Athens 1992); D. Harlan, 'British Lancastrian schools of nineteenth-century Kythera', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 106 (2011) 325–74.

A



B



Fig. 16. Ayios Charalambos, A. exterior view, B. dedicatory inscription (I. Grigoropoulou).

It should also be noted that in the Zerse plan a number of the fort towers were depicted in pink which stood for private residencies, an indication that right after the War of Independence they were promptly occupied by individual owners. Furthermore, both Metaxas and Manitakis plans record the church that is currently known as Ayia Sofia (Holy Wisdom, figs. 5.13, 17), though they ignore it in their keys. This was a building of continuous religious use with successive construction phases. The area was



Fig. 17. Ayia Sofia, view from the west (I. Grigoropoulou).

excavated by the Italians during the Second World War in their obvious quest for the temple of ancient Asini, though no record of their works survived. Instead, they revealed a sixth-seventh century basilica,¹⁹ whose north aisle was occupied by what could be interpreted as an Islamic domed tomb (*türbe*) obviously from the period 1500–675 (First Turkish Rule). The building was reused and extended to the west during the Second Venetian Rule, thus ending with the present Ayia Sofia.

Identifying the authors

The first plan has two hand-written notes in the lower part. The first is the signature of its author, lieutenant Metaxas, with the date and place: Navarino, 29 (unknown word in the place of the month) 1835. It is obvious that having collected the necessary data from Koroni, he later worked and executed the plan at the Fortress of Navarino (known also as Niokastro or New Navarino, mod. Pylos), which served as seat of the local military commander.²⁰

Lieutenant Metaxas should probably be identified with Gerasimos Metaxas (1816-1890), a military engineer and architect originating from a noble family of the

19 I. Stampoltzis, Παρατηρήσεις επί τριών χριστιανικών ναών της Μεσσηνίας, *Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Σπάρτη 7-14 Σεπτ. 1975*, τόμος Β': *Αρχαϊότης και Βυζάντιον* [Πελοποννησιακά Παράρτημα 6] (Athens 1976-8) 268-70, pl. 93-6; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 111, fig. 183.

20 Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 86; I. M. Grigoropoulou – N. D. Kontogiannis, 'Οι ποινικές φυλακές στο Φρούριο Πύλου («Νεόκαστρον») μέσα από τις αρχαιολογικές πηγές', *Πελοποννησιακά* 27 (2003-4) 73-6.

Ionian Islands, and professionally active during the Ottonian period.²¹ The fact that all notes and the key are written in French should probably be related to the education and the family origin of the author. Starting in 1834 he worked for the Department of Architecture of the Ministry of the Interior under the direction of Gustav Eduard Schaubert who is well known for the urban planning of the capital Athens. The department's main object was indeed the urban and architectural restructuring of the Kingdom's civic centres. In any case, our plan presents the only surviving proof of Metaxas' involvement with Messenia, in the very early years of his professional life. Between 1843 and 1854 he was head of the Cyclades division, and was responsible for the works at the jetty of the port of Syros and various other public buildings, such as the monumental church of Ayios Nikolaos and the covered fish and meat market in Ermoupoli.

Metaxas became actively involved in the capital in projects like king Otto's palace (the modern Parliament, 1836–42) and its adjacent Royal Gardens (mod. National Garden), the Ophthalmiatreio [eye clinic] of Athens (the north extension and an additional floor, 1868–9). He also designed a number of private residences, such as the Konstantinos Vouros residence in Athens (currently located at 5, Paparrigopoulou Street, dated 1859). Between 1863 and 1872 he was professor at the newly-founded Polytechnic School of Athens. Over many of his later years, he was Chief of the Military Household of King George I. He was one of the proponents of the architectural classicism of the nineteenth century.

According to the second hand-written note on the Metaxas plan, it was checked and confirmed by the engineer of the Prefecture of the Peloponnese (?), Captain E. D. Hay, for whom unfortunately no further information has been retrieved. The note is dated 4 May 1836, and the place is again the fortress of Navarino.

The second plan identifies its author in the head-title. It was made *ἀπό τοῦ ΦΡΙΑΔΕΡΙΚΟΥ ΖΕΡΣΕ* [sic] (Friedrich Zerse) in the year 1842, 'with the use of a plane table', indicating the accuracy of the work. A small two-line note at the lower right part of the plan, outside its frame, supplements this information: the plan was executed in Kalamata, on 21 November 1842 by the surveyor of Messenia, Friedrich Zerse. He was obviously of German extract, and belonged to the Bavarian administration that had functioned in the newly-established Kingdom until the expulsion of all foreign

21 Regarding the life and work of Gerasimos Metaxas, see K. Ch. Biris, *Ιστορία του Εθνικού Μετοσβίου Πολυτεχνείου* (Athens 1957) 500–1; M. Biris, 'Η ανασυγκρότηση της Αθήνας κατά την Οθωνική Περίοδο, Η αρχιτεκτονική των κτιρίων της (1832-1862)', in M. Z. Kasimati (ed.), *Αθήνα-Μόναχο, Τέχνη και Πολιτισμός στη νέα Ελλάδα*, exhibition catalogue (Athens 2000) 96–7, 101, 104; I. Traulos – A. Kokkou, *Ερμούπολη, η δημιουργία μιας νέας πόλης στη Σύρο στις αρχές του 19^{ου} αιώνα* (Athens 1980) 67, 69–70, 81, 88, 95, 115, 118–20; 'Μνήμη άλλων ελλήνων τεχνικών επιστημόνων', in P. Kiriazis (ed.), *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες περιόδου απελευθέρωσης* (Athens 1976) 296. Also in the following sites: <http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/58097>, http://www.eie.gr/archaeologia/gr/arxeio_more.aspx?id=202, http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/gh251.jsp?obj_id=1760, <http://www.cityofathens.gr/el/istoria-toy-ethnikoy-kipoy/istoria-toy-ethnikoy-kipoy>, [accessed 15/9/2011].

civil servants, following the constitution of 1844.²² He should be identified with one Ζέρτσε, mentioned in an evaluation memo of the Department of Surveyors personnel that was submitted to the Minister of the Interior by D. A. Guebard on 28 May 1843. According to the memo, Ζέρτσε came from Hanover and entered the Department in 1836.²³

The third plan clearly states at its bottom-left key that it was copied from the original (obviously referring to the Metaxas plan) on 16 November 1856 and is signed by the Head of the Public Works Department, Lieutenant Colonel Manitakis. It could be that he was not the author, but rather the one who authorized and certified the copy. Emmanuel Manitakis (or Manitaky, 1809–83) is another well-known military engineer of the nineteenth century.²⁴ He was recruited by Kapodistrias in 1829 with the rank of lieutenant as member of the newly founded ‘Σώμα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀχυρωματοποιίας καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἀξιωματικῶν’ (Corps of officers in charge of fortifications and architecture).²⁵ He served on in the Corps of Engineers founded by king Otto in August 1833,²⁶ and remained in the public sector occupying the position of Director of Public Works at the Ministry of the Interior from 1845 onwards. In 1859 he compiled a handbook containing all laws and regulations concerning the Corps of Engineers, while in 1866 he published an account defending the material progress of the Greek Kingdom in the sectors of urban planning, finances, roads and harbours, shipping and commerce.²⁷ Among the few works that are specifically attributed to him, is the plan of Lamia.

Re-planning the walled town of Koroni

As already mentioned, the Metaxas plan contains, on the one hand, the actual state of the walled city, and on the other, the proposals for its future development. This was achieved

22 See E. Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (Cambridge 2000) 21; V. Hastaoglou-Martinidis, ‘City form and national identity: urban designs in nineteenth-century Greece’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1995) 109.

23 General State Archives, Ottoman Archive, φ.240; K. Kaukoula – N. Papamichos – V. Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων στην Ελλάδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα* (Thessalonike 1990) 41–2, n. 9.

24 Information about the life and works of E. Manitakis comes mainly from his obituary in *Ποικίλη Στοά Δ'* (1884) 439–41. See also I. Travlos – A. Kokkou, ‘Πολοδομία και Αρχιτεκτονική’, in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, vol. 13 (Athens 1977), 518–21; <http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/57666> [accessed 15/12/11].

25 Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 45; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 38–9, 47; Kokkou, ‘Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση’, 360.

26 For the organization of the civil administration concerning public works during this period, see Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 39–42, 47–9; A. Kokkou, ‘Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση στην περίοδο 1828–1843, κρατική πολιτική και πραγματικότητα’, in *Νεοελληνική πόλη: οθωμανικές κληρονομίες και ελληνικό κράτος, πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ιστορίας, Αθήνα 26–28 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984, Ερμούπολη 29–30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984* (Athens 1985) 361–2.

27 Έγχειρίδιον τοῦ Μηχανικοῦ Σώματος, ἤτοι Συλλογὴ νόμων, βασιλικῶν διαταγμάτων, ὑπουργικῶν ὁδηγιῶν κλπ. Περί τῆς διοικητικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ Σώματος αὐτοῦ, and *Aperçu sur les progrès matériels de la Grèce*. See also Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 67–8; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 79–80; Kokkou, ‘Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση’, 363.

through the co-existence of two layers of design. The first layer, the substratum of the plan, represented what the author was able to view at the time. The outlines of all the buildings both of the City and the Fort, as well as their precincts, were rendered in black ink, as opposed to the grey used for the fortifications. Roofed premises are sketched in light pink, obviously relating to their tiled-covered appearance.

The second layer of design overlies the first, exclusively in the City part of the plan: the settlement is enveloped with a bold yellow line, designating a distinct free zone between the settlement and the walls, which is named four times as 'esplanade'. Within the yellow framework, building blocks are delineated with pale ochre colour. The street grid separating the blocks remained white.

This layer of design with the yellow-ochre colour, the blocks and street grid, along with the peripheral free zone, did not correspond to existing conditions in 1835: the street grid passes over buildings of the underlying layer, there is a series of houses in the peripheral zone, while the blocks exclude parts of the premises which are lying beyond their borders. It is therefore evident that this layer of design constitutes a proposal for the future urban formation of Koroni in its current placement within the walls. All this information was altogether omitted in the later Manitakis copy which simply transcribed the layout of the existing premises and street grid.

The Zerse plan, on the other hand, used the same method as Metaxas to depict the settlement that grew outside the walls of Koroni. Sketches in various colours represented the existing structures and their features. Yellow was again used for the proposals and the future re-planning of the street-grid. As for the area within the walls, the author filled the space with the rectangular-trapezoidal blocks of his proposed grid and street pattern with no notion to existing structures. He exempted, as mentioned above, Ayios Charalambos and the Commander's headquarters. Comparison with the actual situation as noted by Metaxas, proves that he simply filled the space with a geometric pattern bordered by the lines of the walls.

Urban planning in nineteenth-century Messenia or *The passage from barbarity to civilization* (S. Bulgaris, 1832)²⁸

Though lacking further evidence about this endeavour, we should view the Koroni plans as part of the wider conflicting policies that developed in the newly established Greek state. Starting from the period of Kapodistrias and greatly accelerating during the rule of king Otto, urban planning of the kingdom's pre-existing civic fabric was imperative in order to assess existing conditions, rebuild and revitalize its centres. At the same time fortified cities which had played an important role in the War of Independence, did not generally lose their military function: many of them continued as active army bases well into the nineteenth century, while others were converted into jails. Indeed in

28 For Bulgaris, see P. Kiriazi, 'Σταμάτης Βούλγαρης, ο αγωνιστής, ο πολεοδόμος, ο άνθρωπος', in Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επισήμονες*, 151–65.

order to comprehend the way the early Greek state dealt with its inherited civic infrastructure, one should bear in mind the interaction between an initially predominant but gradually failing military function and the need to refurbish existing civic structures in order for them to comply with the aspirations and the mentality of the new kingdom. The fact that public works were carried out by a rudimentary administration predominantly staffed with military engineers, only added to this interaction.

In the short period of governor Kapodistrias (1828–31) an impressive number of planning projects were either completed or programmed, under the direction of Stamati Bulgari (1775–843), mainly for the cities of the Peloponnese, such as Nauplion, Patras, Argos, and Tripoli. The authors were mostly foreigners, among them the French engineers of the expeditionary force under general Maison that arrived in the Navarino area in 1828.²⁹

The latter were especially active recording the land and its settlements, while also reconstructing bridges, roads, defenses, aqueducts etc.³⁰ Their contribution was paramount in the area of Messenia, in order to re-settle the population that was largely left bereft following the devastating activities of the Turk-Egyptian forces under Ibrahim Pasha.

In Methoni (it. Modon), it was decided to transfer the population to an area outside the walls, while pulling down all surviving houses within the enclosure in order to re-use the building materials. The fortress preserved its role as their military base, with its bridge over the moat rebuilt and the commander's headquarters redressed in order to receive a state visit by Kapodistrias himself.³¹ On the occasion, he approved and signed the plan of the new city (based on their larger plan of the whole area), entitled 'Plan des Environs de Modon' and dated 4 May 1829.³² At the time it housed 3,625 inhabitants, and had a

29 Travlos – Kokkou, 'Πολεοδομία και Αρχιτεκτονική', 515; Kokkou, 'Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση', 359–60; Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 43–50; Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'City form and national identity', 106; F. Pajor, *Eretria – Nea Psara, eine klassizistische Stadtanlage über der antiken Polis* [Eretria XV, Ausgrabungen und Forschungen] (Athens 2006) 111; Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900, Στα πλαίσια του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου «Νεοελληνική Πόλη» που οργανώνεται από την Εταιρεία Μελέτης Νέου Ελληνισμού Αθήνα 27/9-4/10/1984 (Athens 1984) 7–9; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 37–8, 77. Especially for Nauplion and Tripoli see the articles of V. K. Dorovinis, 'Ο σχεδιασμός του Ναυπλίου κατά την καποδιστριακή περίοδο (1828-33)', and P. Tsakopoulos, 'Τρίπολη: πολεοδομική, μορφολογική μελέτη της μετάβασης απ' την οθωμανική στη νεοελληνική πόλη', in *Νεοελληνική πόλη*, 287–96 and 297–325 respectively.

30 For the work of the French Expeditionary Force and the related Scientific Mission (Expédition scientifique de Morée) see the publication of Saitas, *Το έργο της Γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής*; and esp. the article of P. Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του ασπικού χώρου: αποτυπώσεις οικισμών και πολεοδομικά σχέδια', 76–86 for their contribution in the urban planning. For their building activity, T. Demodos, 'Ο πρώτος δημόσιος δρόμος στην Ελλάδα', in Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες*, 228–30.

31 Related by J. B. G. M. Bory de St. Vincent, *Relation du voyage de la commission scientifique de Morée dans le Péloponnèse, les Cyclades et l'Attique, tome premier* (Paris 1836) 339–48. Also, Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, 11–12, 16, pl. 12; N. D. Kontogiannis- I.M.Grigoropoulou, *Το κάστρο της Μεθώνης* (Athens 2009) 19–20, 38–9, 48–9.

32 Archive of MEECC. Also, Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900, 13, nr.3; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 199; Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες*, 322; Tsakopoulos, 'Η

fan-shaped grid pattern that spread outwards from the castle peninsula. The aim was to create a new orthogonal grid, regulating pre-existing irregular street patterns.³³

In Navarino, the first attempt of the French engineers was to restructure the old fortified city, while housing also a part of the population near the harbour outside the walls. The surviving plan for the walled city was apparently never implemented.³⁴ On the other hand their proposal for the nucleus of the modern Pylos at the harbour proved a success, meeting the pressing needs of a population of refugees residing in wooden huts and unhealthy conditions.³⁵ It was entitled 'Plan de la ville basse de Navarin', executed in Navarino on 26 December 1830 and approved in Nauplion on 15 January 1831 by the governor Kapodistrias.³⁶ The new city obviously flourished and soon outgrew its original core, creating a need for a plan of an enlarged city (entitled 'Σχέδιον πόλεως Νεοκάστρου'), which was approved in the name of king Otto by queen Amalia on 5 July 1861.³⁷

Finally, the French engineers produced a plan of the Koroni peninsula in 1829.³⁸ It recorded the geography of the area, the settlement outside the walls, and the general layout of the Castle. Were they also intending to pursue a new urban planning of the medieval settlement, as they did in the previous cases and elsewhere in the Peloponnese? Was this plan known or used by Metaxas and Zerse? These questions cannot be answered with any certainty due to lack of evidence, yet it would not seem irrational to assume that the French work could well have served as background for the slightly later plans by the engineers in the service of the newly-founded Kingdom, since they all faithfully recorded existing conditions working virtually side-by-side.

During king Otto's rule, the process of urban planning and modernization was greatly accelerated, including almost all pre-existing cities (such as Thebes, Naupaktos,

Continued

αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου', 80–1, figs. 5.8, 5.10 and Π3.6. The city continued to grow and a second plan with the extension was drawn in 1880, currently preserved at the same archive.

33 Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 46.

34 It is preserved in two copies, one in the National Historical Museum, Athens (N. D. Kontogiannis, 'Πληροφορίες για το Νιόκαστρο Πύλου μέσα από τα σχέδια των στρατιωτικών μηχανικών του 17^{ου}-19^{ου} αιώνα', in *Ανταπόδοση, Μελέτες Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης προς τιμήν της καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή* [Athens 2010] 215–16, 223, fig.12), and the second in the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris (Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου', 86, fig. Π3.5).

35 Vividly depicted in the drawings of Prosper Baccuet, published in J. Bennet, J. L. Davis, D. K. Harlan, 'The fortress of Anavarin-i Cedid', in F. Zarinebaf, J. Bennet, J. L. Davis (eds.), *A Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece, The Southwestern Morea in the 18th Century* (Princeton 2005) 254, figs. III.16–7.

36 Archive of MEECC. Also, Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 46–7, fig. 8; *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 14, nr. 6; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 215; Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες*, 323. A copy of this plan is preserved in the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris (Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου', 80, fig. 5.7).

37 Archive of MEECC. See also *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 24, nr. 53; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 91–2.

38 Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου' 80, Folio 66. The plan was drawn by Michaux based on the plans of Cavagnac, and is currently kept in the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris (Cartes/4.10.C.81.0001).

Lamia, Chalkida etc.). New – mainly coastal – cities were also designed and founded, such as Eretria, Aidippos and Karystos (then Othonopolis) in Euboeia, or Ermoupolis in Syros.³⁹ At the same time, the military administration continued to use older fortified settlements as army bases, command stations or military outposts. Although largely understudied as a subject, the kingdom's garrisons were stationed not only in the frontier cities, e.g. Lamia,⁴⁰ but also in a number of Peloponnese centres, like Nauplion (in the castle of Akronauplia).⁴¹

In Messenia, a number of earlier walled towns were used by the military, such as the castles of Methoni and Navarino, with the former gradually abandoned and the later finally turned into a penitentiary prison.⁴² The government's city-planning efforts were centered on the development of the area's capital, Kalamata. The first recorded plan of the city, dated to 1836, represented in detail the post-medieval settlement situated away from the sea and surrounding the outcrop of its castle. The privileged position of the nearby coastal area along the harbour was soon acknowledged, and a new settlement (Coast of Kalamata, *παρολία Καλαμῶν*) quickly spread and was recorded in a number of plans dating from 1860 onwards.⁴³

Another coastal settlement, Marathos, developed at the western shores of Messenia, serving as the port for the agricultural products of nearby Gargalianoi and Filiatra. Its plan was approved by the king on the 20th October 1859. The consistent policy of

39 Travlos – Kokkou, 'Πολεοδομία και Αρχιτεκτονική', 515–19; Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 22–3, 56–9, 61–4; Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'City form and national identity', 101, 105–8; *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 9–11; Kaukoula-Papamichos-Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 78–9, 98, 143, 168, 178, 164, 227 (plans reproduced from the Archive of MEECC). For Ermoupolis, see Travlos – Kokkou, *Ερμούπολη*, 25–32, and esp. 64–8. For Eretria, see Pajor, *Eretria – Nea Psara*. For Chalkida, see S. Kokkinis – G. P. Gikas, 'Το πρώτο πολεοδομικό διάγραμμα του «Κάστρου» της Χαλκίδας και κατάλογος των κτισμάτων', *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 19 (1974) 277–91. For the pre-eminence of coastal sites, see M. Sinarellis, 'Réseau routier et état Grec', in *Νεοελληνική πόλη*, 376.

40 M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *Το κάστρο της Λαμίας* (Athens 1994) 10–11, 21–2.

41 A highly interesting document in this respect, dated in 1834, is kept in the General State Archives of Argolid, Nauplion. Entitled: 'Γενικαί ὁδηγίαι διὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ φρουρίου Ναυπλίας κ(αί) τῶν ἄλλων φρουρίων' (Αρχαίον Δημογεροντίας Φ. 6.4), it lists the daily duties and services of an active military base of the early Greek kingdom. I would like to thank I. Spiliopoulou for bringing the document to my attention and the Director of the Archives, Mr. Georgopoulos, for his warm hospitality and sharing of his knowledge on local history.

42 For Methoni, see Kontogiannis – Grigoropoulou, *Το κάστρο της Μεθώνης*, 19. For the Navarino (Niokastro) prison, see Grigoropoulou – Kontogiannis, 'Οι ποινικές φυλακές στο Φρούριο Πύλου («Νεόκαστρον）」' 74–7.

43 All in the Archive of MEECC. The Coast of Kalamata plans bear the following dates: 1860, 13 July 1867, 6 September 1868, 29 June 1898, 29 August 1893, 28 November 1895, 25 August 1900, etc. See also, *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 26, nrs. 62–3; Kaukoula-Papamichos-Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 173, 175. For the urban development of Kalamata during the nineteenth century see I. K. Spiliopoulou, 'Η πολεοδομική και αρχιτεκτονική εξέλιξη της Καλαμάτας από τα προεπαναστατικά χρόνια έως την περίοδο του μεσοπολέμου. Η τύχη της πόλης μετά τους σεισμούς' in G. Xanthaki-Karamanou, A. N. Doulaveras, I. K. Spiliopoulou (eds.), *Μεσσηνία: Συμβολές στην Ιστορία και τον Πολιτισμό της, Αφιέρωμα* (Athens 2012) 665–70.

founding harbours and enhancing towns continued in Messinia well into the following reign of George I, with examples ranging from the important Kyparissia to the minor site of Bouka Pamisou.⁴⁴

The politics and ideologies that instigated the process of town-planning in the early history of the Greek kingdom, as well as its actual implementation, have been a matter of considerable research.⁴⁵ According to these, from the economic point of view, the new kingdom needed urban centres to act as growth drivers, to invite and settle Greek populations from outside the frontiers, to facilitate agricultural production and transportation improvements. From the political point, the interventions aimed to reflect the new national identity, the continuation of a classical past devoid of Ottoman remnants; to establish central authority within a regime of absolute monarchy; to set principles and dictate organizational patterns that would unify the built environment of Greece creating an impression of a European state in a Levantine setting.

On a practical level, this led to uneven results, deriving from the dynamic process between government initiative and citizen involvement. Nevertheless, it followed in general the same guidelines: an effort was always evident to adhere to basic geometric urban patterns. The weight was set on public and state buildings that would function as the city's focal points from which streets and blocks would radiate. It was attempted to create central spaces with public character, such as open squares, as well as recreational areas with gardens and promenades. Most of the kingdom's cities were located in coastal sites and natural harbours, since communication was mainly conducted through sea routes, due to the lack of land roads.

In the case of the Koroni plans, kernels of all these driving forces and directions are detected. The aim was not to revitalize a devastated settlement, but to configure a medieval infrastructure with the typical narrow alleys and the compounded clusters of buildings, a part of which had outgrown its fortified enclosure moving closer to the port. Metaxas focused on the medieval town by setting a grid pattern and creating a free peripheral zone. The latter would act as a recreational space in the spirit of nineteenth-century gardens. He also recorded all public buildings that played a central role in the infrastructure of the city and the circulation of the inhabitants. Furthermore, he noted the houses of the key citizens, the ones that were expected to have an active part in the local social, commercial and administrative affairs. His effort was supplemented by Zerse, who focused on the settlement outside the walls.

44 Archive of MEECC. See also *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 27–8, nrs. 67–8, 72–3, 75; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 95–7, 158, 176, 187, 201, 226.

45 Hastaoglou–Martinidis, 'City form and national identity', 99–110; Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 43–4, 47–8, 51–3, 60–1; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 21–5, 33, 60–6, 113–18; A. Karadimou–Gerolymprou, 'Σχεδιασμός και ανάκτηση του χώρου της πόλης', in *Νεοελληνική πόλη*, 383–8; P. Tsakopoulos, 'Ελληνική πόλη και νεοκλασικισμός, η ελληνική πολεοδομία στον 19° αιώνα', in Lagopoulos, A. -F. (ed.), *Η ιστορία της ελληνικής πόλης* (Athens 2004) 373–82; Pajor, *Eretria – Nea Psara*, 66–8.

Nevertheless, they both paid considerable attention to the fortifications of the city. They recorded them in great detail, noting the gates, posterns, canon embrasures, towers and bastions. One can surely conclude that this was still an active military installation, or at least one that could be used as such in case of danger. The fact that the Maniakis plan almost ignored the walls focusing only on the settlement proved that the enclosure had gradually lost its military importance, being downgraded in junction to that of a simple stone fence.

There is no evidence indicating that the proposals for the medieval town and its new street grid were ever approved or enforced. In any case, they were probably overcome by local conditions and historic evolution. In the later half of the nineteenth century the settlement was wholly transferred outside the walls by the sea, following its economic growth as an important harbour and an outlet of agricultural products, namely olive oil. To that end, a new extension of the city was approved on 3 April 1889.⁴⁶ The houses of the old medieval town were gradually left to decay and disappeared finally, though property titles were still maintained.

The plans of the walled town of Koroni should therefore be envisaged as the result of a significant and rigorous, though short-lived, effort by the services of the newly-established Greek Kingdom to record and modernize the existing conditions of an active settlement, including well-maintained fortifications, private and public buildings. They were drawn in an effort to suggest an urban intervention in order to improve the form and function of the civic fabric in the aftermath of the War of Independence, along the guidelines of the wider political and social culture of the day. Even though the achievement of their goal remains in doubt, they proved a fortunate attempt since they accurately documented a fortified settlement that no longer exists, a monumental complex that went through centuries of change and intervention, reaching our times virtually unknown.

APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF PLANS WITH TRANSCRIPTION OF LEGENDS

1. *Title:* PLAN DE CORON Fig. 2

Dimensions: 45 cm. height x 50, 5 cm. width.

Provenance: National Historical Museum, Athens, Plan Collection (Lykoudis Archive) no. 13620/88.

Date: 1835

Key: (in a column at the upper right side) No. 1. Grand magasin / 2. Maison occupée par la famille Dariotti / 3. id. id. id. Perivolaraki / 4. Zami turc servant d'église / 5. Maison servant de Dimarchie / 6. Maison occupée par la famille Karapoulo / 7. Caserne du temps des français, actuellement inhabitée. / 8. Hôpital, du temps des français, / actuellement inhabitée. / 9. Maison occupée par le Dr. Stai. / 10. Zami turc servant d'école. / 11. Maison occupée par la famille Dova (?) / 12. Maison occupée par

⁴⁶ Archive of MEECC. For the urban fabric and the buildings of modern Koroni, see P. Grigorakis – S. Migadi – D. Charalambous, 'Μεθώνη – Κορώνη', in D. Philippidis (ed.), *Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική, τόμος τέταρτος: Πελοπόννησος Α'* (Athens 1985) 55–74.

l'officier / commandant le détachement / en garnison. / 13. Bains turcs / 14. Maison occupée par la famille / Tringhetta / 15. Poudrière. / 16. Poudrière.

(Low left corner) Navarin le 29 106v. 1835 / (signature) Metaxà Lieutenant

(Below the plan, to the right of the previous, circular stamp with emblem and adjoining inscription) — — ΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤ. ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΩΝ

(Below the plan, to the right of the previous): Vidit. Navarin 4 Mai 1836 / L'ing. de la Nomarchie / <duloponis> / E. D. Hay / Capit. / (Circular stamp with emblem and adjoining inscription) — — — — ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΔΙΟΙΚ. ΤΟΥ — — — —

(At the upper left and the low right corner rectangular stamp with blue ink) ΔΩΡΕΑ / ΠΕΤΡΟΥ Σ. ΑΥΚΟΥΔΗ / ΥΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ.

Designer: Metaxas

N.B From the two circular stamps that accompany the notes, the first depicts in full formulation the royal emblem of the Ottonian period, as it was defined in the Royal Decree 947, dated 26 January/7 February 1933: in the middle, escutcheon with a silver cross and the Bavarian coat-of-arms in the centre, set in ultramarine background. It is supported by heraldically placed lions, golden and crowned, and above it, there is a closed royal crown. The whole scheme is set in front of a purple mantle, also bearing a royal crown.⁴⁷ The inscription surrounding the emblem suggests that the stamp belonged to the Ministry of Military Affairs.

The second stamp has the same emblem in larger scale, bearing one more royal crown and surrounded by two laurel branches. The only legible words of the surrounding inscription refer to a Royal Command.

2. Title: (upper right corner, within a rectangular frame) ΣΧΕΔΙΟΝ / τῆς πόλεως / ΚΟΡΩΝΗΣ / διαγραφθὲν διὰ τῆς Μετωποπαζέξης / ὑπὸ τοῦ ΦΡΙΑΔΕΡΙΚΟΥ ΖΕΡΣΕ κατὰ τὸ / 1842 Fig. 3

Dimensions: 57 cm. height x 62 cm. width.

Provenance: Archive of MEECC.

Date: 1842

Key: (lower left corner, within a rectangular frame)

Ἐξήγησις / (left column) [rectangle with blue colour] θάλασσα / [rectangle with brown colour] Κῆποι / [rectangle with manganese colour] Οἰκίαι εἰς ἐθνικὴν γῆν / [rectangle with pink colour] Οἰκίαι εἰς ἰδιοκτησίας / [colourless rectangle] Γῆπεδον / [rectangle with lines] Ὅδοι / 1.2.3.4... Ἀριθμοὶ τῶν τεμαχίων / [numbers in pink, barely visible] Σημειώμετρα ἰσοπεδώσεως / ἡ Γεωμετρικὰ σημεῖα / (right column) 162<γ> Δημαρχεῖον / 11 Δεσμοτελωνεῖον / 182 Δημοτικὸν Σχολεῖον / <64> Ἐκκλησία / α Κοιμητήριον / β Ὑδραγωγεῖον / γ Κρυσταλλεῖον / δ Μῶλος / ε Πλατεία / (single column) [two horizontal parallel yellow lines] Διαχωράζεις τῶν ὁδῶν τῆς νέας πόλεως / Αἱ διαστάσεις τῶν ὁδῶν εἶναι : / 1 τάξεως ἢ α = 11 Μέτρα Πλάτους / 2 » » ββ = 7 » » / 3 » » γγ = 6 » » / 4 » » οἱ λοιποὶ = 4 » »

(lower centre)

Κεφαλαίωσις / τῶν ἐμβαδῶν τῶν τεμαχίων / Ἰδιοκτητῶν τεμάχια 303 στρέμματα 44,993 / Προικοδοτηθέντων » 10 » 3,325 / Εθνικῶν » 99 » 21,826 / τὸ ὅλον » 412 στρέμμ... 70,144

(lower right corner, within a rectangular frame)

Παρατηρήσεις / (left column) Ἡ πόλις ἔχει.... κατοίκους, ἐκτούτων εἶναι / Ἐμποροὶ † κάπηλοι † / Βιομήχανοι / Γεωργοὶ / Ἀλιεῖς / Ναῦται / Ἰδιοκτῆται / Ὁ κυριώτερος δὲ πόρος ζωῆς τῶν κατοίκων / προέρχεται ἐκ τῆς ἐνοικιάσεως τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ ἐλαιώνους, ἐν ᾧ πληρώνουν Δραχμάς κατ' ἔτος εἰς τὸ Δημόσιον διὰ ἐνοίκιον αὐτοῦ, ἐκτός / τοῦ δεκάτου ἐκ Δραχμῶν περίπου. / Ὁ ἐλαιῶν οὗτος μετεβλήθη διὰ τῆς ἐπιμε- / λείας εἰς τὴν καλλιέργειαν εἰς καλὴν κατάστασιν καὶ / ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἐλπίζεται ταχεῖα πρόοδος τῆς / πόλεως.

(right column) Ἡ καλλιεργουμένη γῆ εἶναι ὀλίγη, μετρίως / ποιότητος, ὅλη δὲ ἐθνικὴ. / Αἱ οἰκίαι, ἐκτός τῶν ὑπ' ἀριθ. 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19 / 21, 36, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 64, 119, εἶναι / ἀσήμαντοι. / Αἱ ὁδοὶ καίτοι ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὴν χρῆσιν / ἀμάξων δὲν κατασκευάσθησαν εἰσέτι. / Ὑλικὸν διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν οἰκιῶν κ(αὶ) / ὁδῶν, οἶον, λίθοι, ἄμμος κ(αὶ) πηλὸς / εὕρισκεται πλησίον εἰς ἀφθονίαν. / Ἡ

47 On the subject, see, Ch. G. Dimakoroulou, 'Ἡ καθιέρωσις νέου ἐθνικοῦ θυρεοῦ κατὰ τὸ 1832', *Δελτίον τῆς Ἐραλδικῆς καὶ Γενεαλογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 10 (1996) 201–5, fig. 7.

χώρα είναι ύγειοστάτη κ(αι) ή θέσις τῆς πό- / λεως εὐάρεστος, πρόπαντων δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. / Ὁ λιμὴν δέχεται μόνον μικρὰ πλοῖα. Τὸ ὑδρογωγεῖον φέρει ἀρκετὰ κ(αι) καλὰ ὕδατα.

(lower right corner, below the plan's frame)

Ἐν Καλάμαις τῆ 21^η Νοεμβρίου 1842 / Ὁ Γεωμέτρης Μεσσηνίας / Φ. Ζέρσε

Designer: Friedrich Zerse

Bibliography: Ἐκθεση Σχεδίων Ἑλληνικῶν Πόλεων 1828-1900, 20-1, nr. 32; Kaukoula–Paparimichos–Hastaoglou, Σχέδια πόλεων, 183.

3. Title: (upper left corner) <Σχέδιον> τῆς πόλεως / Κορώνης Fig. 4

Dimensions: 38 cm. height x 52 cm. width.

Provenance: Archive of MEECC.

Date: 1856

Key: (lower left corner)

<Δι>αν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου ἀντιγραφῆς / τὴν 16 Νοεμβρίου 1856 / [Δημοσίω]ν Ἔργων Τμηματάρχης / (signature) [Ἐμμανουήλ] Μανιτάκης / ἀντισυνταγμ(ατάρχης)

(upper right corner)

<1> Μεγάλον Μαγαζεῖον

<2> Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπὸ τὴν οἰκογένειαν τοῦ δε Δαρρωῖότη

3 » » » » » Περιβολοράκη

4 Τζαμίον Ὀθωμανικόν χρησιμεῖον δι' ἐκκλησίαν

6 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπὸ τὴν οἰκογένειαν _ _ Καραπαύλου

5 Οἰκία χρησιμεύουσα ὡς Δημαρχεῖον

7 Στρατῶν Γαλλικός ἀκατοίκητος

8 Νοσοκομεῖον Γαλλικόν ἀκατοίκητον

9 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπὸ τὸν Διευθυντὴν Στάϊ

10 Τζαμίον Ὀθωμανικόν χρησιμεῖον ὡς Σχολεῖον

11 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπὸ τὴν οἰκογένειαν τοῦ Βουρνᾶ

12 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπὸ τὸν Διοικητὴν τοῦ ἀποσπάσματος

13 Λουτρό Ὀθωμανικά

14 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπὸ τὴν οἰκογένειαν τοῦ κ. Τριγγέτα

15 Πυριτιδαποθήκη

16 »

Designer: Manitakis (?)

Bibliography: Ἐκθεση Σχεδίων Ἑλληνικῶν Πόλεων 1828-1900, 22, nr. 40; Kaukoula–Paparimichos–Hastaoglou, Σχέδια πόλεων, 184.