

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF METAXOURGEION

Urban morphology and social patterns of land use are in a dialectical, perpetually evolving relationship that is regulated by the different tempos that the diverse elements of urban space follow.¹ As far as a single building is concerned, the uses it houses and consequently its (original) form, are determined by social needs, by the social management of space. However, because the life span of a building –particularly a large one– is usually longer than that of the uses it originally housed, it may house new uses in the course of its lifetime. These last must of course adapt to the existing shell, with the necessary interventions. The flexibility of a building, that is its ability to house successively diverse uses, depends on its initial form and manner of construction, and specifically on the basic arrangement of its structure.

However, the new uses to be housed in a building do not depend only on the technical possibilities of the existing shell. They depend also on the history of both the shell and its setting, its neighbourhood. In passing from the level of the building to the level of the neighbourhood, we pass to tardier rhythms and more complex processes of shaping. The new uses should be compatible in some way with the character of the neighbourhood (residential, commercial, industrial etc.); lack of such compatibility is usually the basic reason for the building's abandonment by its previous users (e.g. abandonment of a factory in an urban area that has become residential).

The opposite may hold too, particularly in cases of large buildings and urban areas in the throes of development or redevelopment, that is whose character is transitional, still uncrystallized and open to all possible prospects of exploitation. In such cases the lone (personal) action, by definition conjunctural, may have long-term (structural) consequences. The installation of a specific function on a (large) urban plot, with a new or an existing building, can affect decisively the physiognomy of the surrounding area, because it attracts related-supplementary uses to the immediate environs or wards off incompatible ones. So all public buildings, which are usually also monumental in character, induce diffusion of central-administrative functions in their neighbourhood, fixing the centre of the city at the same point, sometimes for centuries. The same can happen with modern, large-scale, redevelopment projects, for which large urban properties are especially suitable; for example, the creation of luxury housing complexes on an available plot in a run-down area (e.g. an old factory site) can upgrade the

1. Many fertile ideas on new approaches to urban history in: B. Lepetit, D. Pumain, *Temporalités urbaines*, Paris 1993.

whole area; the installation of law courts in another area will attract lawyers' offices and so on.

On the other hand, mobility of uses is not the same for all uses nor for all agents. Lawyers' offices will not all move at the same time to the new area of the law courts, nor will old houses or workshops be renovated, converted or rebuilt simultaneously in the upgraded residential area. For this reason, at each moment in its history a neighbourhood bears the traces of the uses that were attracted there by some original pole, even when this pole no longer exists or has changed use. Its morphology at a specific moment imprints the overlying layers of the preceding phases, and it is precisely this element, the historical depth in other words, that gives urban space multiplicity of meaning, vitality and beauty, something which new cities designed on paper could never reproduce.

This dialectical relationship –the history of mutual influences between the large building and its environs, the articulation of conjunctural actions and structural trends, and its material remains in space– is easily discernible in the case of the silkmill (*metaxourgeion*) at Athens, a building of unusual longevity by Athenian standards, and the neighbourhood named after it, Metaxourgeion.

We know that the area lay outside the historic city of Athens, but in direct propinquity to it; a rural area with orchards and fields, it had two additional features that also constitute historical specifications. Firstly, to the south of it lay the area of the Dipylon (nowadays within the archaeological site of Kerameikos), with an important junction where the roads from Eleusis (Iera Odos), Piraeus (branch of the main road to Piraeus, which terminated further south at the 'Dragon Gate') and Sepolia converged.² From this crossroads,³ that can be clearly seen on Aldenhoven's 1837 map (fig. 1), a central road led to the Moria Gate of Haseki's fortification wall. Secondly, right beside the Moria Gate (on present-day Sarri street), according to K. Biris at least, 'gypsy blacksmiths' had settled, for which reason it was also called 'Gypsy' Gate.⁴ Consequently, transport-communications functions and industry were already present in the vicinity of the area under consideration before Athens became capital of the state.

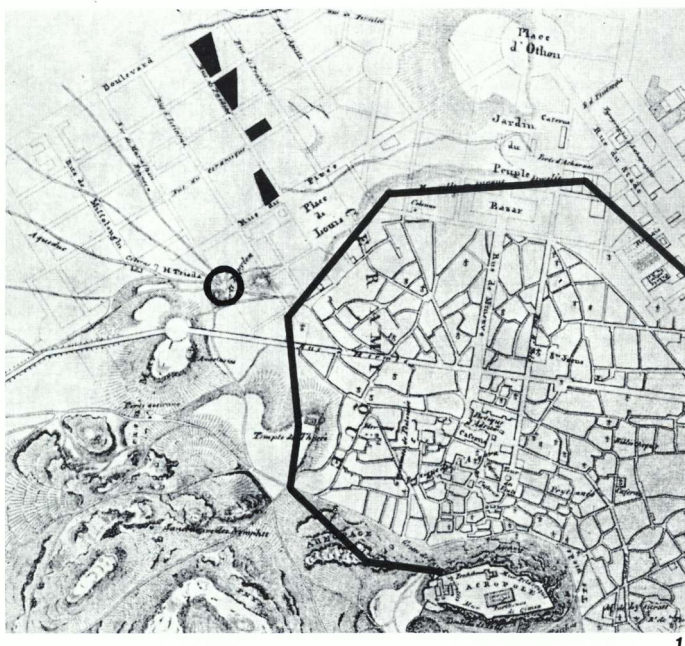
With the declaration of Athens as capital and the timely inclusion of this area in the plans for the new city, prospects opened for the urbanization of 'Chezolitharo' or 'Chesmeni Petra' (Shit Stone), as the location was known before its renaming as the more respectable 'Chrysomeni Petra' (Gilded Stone).⁵ At that moment the possible directions its development could take were naturally many. The first direction was charted by the proposed plans of Kleanthis-Schaubert and Klenze for building the palace in the nearby areas of Omonoia and Dipylon respectively. The prospect of installing central urban functions hereabouts mobilized purchases of land and attracted the significant investment of Prince George Cantacuzenos in a large urban property that

2. See the plan of King Otto's Athens and its environs with the rural roads, in K. Μπίρης, *Τα πρώτα σχέδια των Αθηνών* [K. Biris, *The first plans of Athens*], Athens 1933, 5, and I. Τριανός, *Πολοδομική εξέλιξη των Αθηνών* [I. Triavlos, *Town-planning development of Athens*], Athens² 1993, pl. XI. See also Lya and Raymond Matton, *Athènes et ses monuments du XVIIe s. à nos jours*, Athens 1963, from which figs 3, 4 and 5 in this study are taken.

3. Today there is also an important road junction (crossroads of the Iera Odos and Piraeus Street) a little further eastwards.

4. K. Μπίρης, *Οι γόγγοι. Μελέτη λαογραφική και εθνολογική* [K. Biris, *The Gypsies. Folklore and ethnological study*], Athens 1942, 5. The blacksmiths' shops occupied the entire extension of the Iera Odos into the city, from west to east, on what are now Tournavitou, Astingos and Iphaistou streets.

5. Metaxourgeion, Vathi, Exarcheia and Neapolis (then Proasteion = suburb) were the first unbuilt zones to be incorporated in Klenze's city plan, which was approved on 18.9.1834, see I. Triavlos, op. cit., 238. On the area's name, see Chr. Zioulas Collection, contract 12882/17.8.1840 of the solicitor at Athens K. Kokidos: in this contract, which concerns the purchase of Anton Prokesh Osten's estate by Konstantinos Boras (who later sold it to the Société Séricicole) the renaming of the area is mentioned expressly: 'Chrysi [Golden] (former Chesmeni [Shit]) Petra[Stone]'; in all subsequent contracts I consulted in this same archive, the area is called 'Chesmeni Petra' or 'Chezolitharo'. The variation 'Chrismeno Lithari' (Anointed Stone) mentioned by A. Papanicolaou-Christensen (here p. 48), is probably later.



1. Section of F. Aldenhoven's map of Athens, 1837; marked are the four abandoned building plots onto Millerou street, the road intersection at the Dipylon and the fortification wall of Haseki.

2. The Provelengios residence as seen today, at the corner of Millerou and Kerameikou streets.

would operate as a shopping centre. Concurrently, some large residences of wealthy incomers began to be built.⁶

However, the final decision in 1836 to locate the palace at the diametrically opposite edge of the city, upset the balance of social evaluation and 'froze' developments at 'Chezolitharo', whose orientations once again became vague. The Cantacuzenos complex remained unfinished, since the creation of a shopping centre in this now 'off-centre' area was no longer meaningful.⁷ Demand for urban land turned towards the northern and northeastern suburban zones, which were the first to be built.⁸ Nevertheless, the houses which had already gone up or were finished a little later, even though most of them had been abandoned by their original (wealthy) owners, kept open for a while the prospect of the area's designation as a residential zone.⁹ This phase continued for about twenty years, and the last extant witness of it is the Provelengios residence, still standing at the corner of Kerameikou and Millerou streets (fig. 2).

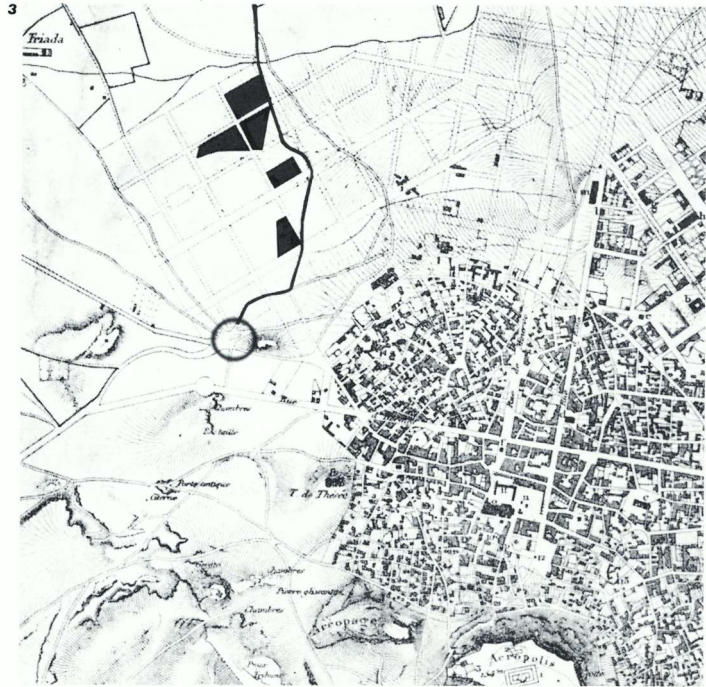
From a French map of 1854 (fig. 3) it is evident that over the twenty-year interval land occupation in the area had remained at the level of 1837. Both maps show four occupied plots, while in 1854, as can be clearly seen, the orchard of the silkmill had been added. One detail of the 1854 map is particularly interesting because it attests the durability of the street plan and

6. Α. Μηλιαράκης, Αι προ πεντηκονταετίας μεγάλοι των Αθηνών οικία [Α. Miliarakis, The grand houses of Athens fifty years ago], *Εστία*, iss. 470, 1.1.1885, 27. mention as 'products' of this phase the residences of: the Prince of Wallachia Ioannis Karatzas (inside the city walls, on Sarri street), G. Argypopoulos (afterwards of Koumoundourou), Misios (afterwards of I. Messinezis) further south, near the gasworks (Gazi), Botsaris (afterwards of Provelengios) at the corner of Kerameikou and Millerou streets, and of course Cantacuzenos, on the site of the silkmill. See also Ν. Καλλέργη-Μανουρογιάνη, Αι πρώτοι επί Οθωμάν οικία των Αθηνών [Ν. Kallergi-Mavrogeni, The first houses in Athens during the reign of Otto], *Τα Αθηναϊκά*, iss. 31-32, Christmas 1965, 84-90, and Αγγελική Κόκοκου, Τα πρώτα αθηναϊκά σπίτια [Angeliki Kokkou, The first Athenian houses], *Αρχαιολογία*, iss. 2, February 1982, 57-58.

7. On the fate of the complex, see the detailed study by Aristeia Papanicolaou-Christensen in this volume.

8. The rising land prices corresponded to a demand from the affluent strata at that time, rather than the poor immigrants to Athens from the countryside, see also Θ. Δρίκος, *Οι πωλήσεις των οθωμανικών ιδιοκτησιών της Αττικής 1830-1831* [Th. Drikos, The sales of the Ottoman properties in Attica 1830-1831], Athens 1994.

9. For example, the Cantacuzenos residence was let as a house throughout this period, as is evident from the study by Aristeia Papanicolaou-Christensen in this volume; among those who lived there were Otto Gropius, Christian Siegel and the Luth family.



3. Section of a French map of Athens (Dépôt de la Guerre), 1853-54. Marked are the four abandoned building plots and the orchard of the silkmill on Millerou (then Kerameikou) street, the old road to Sepolia and the road intersection at the Dipylon. (From: L. & R. Matton, op. cit.).

its role in shaping the urban web: although new building follows the layout of the town plan and although the buildings are aligned on Millerou (then Kerameikou) street, in reality the occupied plots are situated on the earlier rural road that led to Sepolia (and which is not shown on Aldenhoven's map). So Millerou street constituted the first pole of settlement in the area, because the new layout at this point was integrated with the earlier road axis.

When 'Wrampe & Co.' decided to buy the complex and turn it into a silkmill (1852), the area had not yet been incorporated in the urban web. The specific building was obviously chosen because no buildings of analogous size that were suitable for such uses existed in Athens at this time. Moreover, the intended new use did not conflict with the still unformed character of the area, one with rather poor prospects on the outskirts of the city.

This second (conjunctural) intervention was to have a long-term impact on the area's future, that is of much greater longevity than the silkmill itself, and this because in reality it concurred with certain long-term trends that had already been inscribed in the city's structure. These trends were reinforced by the establishment of the silkmill: they involved the area's incorporation in the industrial zone of the capital and the crystallization of the city's basic



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dichotomy –maintained to this day– between the high-standard bourgeois residential zones in the east and the popular neighbourhoods with housing and workplaces to the west.

The pace of this development was slow at first, but accelerated, together with the more general pace of urbanization, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In a first phase, the silkmill itself, which as we have seen developed into a factory complex of diverse uses, stemmed the westwards extension of the residential zone. In the early 1860s it was still outside the city (fig. 4); it constituted a marginal point of settlement on the 1862 map (fig. 5), which shows that building had just begun to extend to the west of Omonoia Square. Even in 1875 (fig. 6), when this section had been incorporated fully in the urban web, the silkmill complex with its orchard forms a kind of barrier, a limit on the west side, while new building seems to seek outlets to the northwest, crossing the Kyklovoros stream, that constituted a natural boundary of the urban area, and ‘encircling’ the silkmill at a distance.

During the interval that separates the two maps, of 1854 and 1862, two further events contributed decisively to crystallizing the area’s character. The first was the installation there of the Chatzikostas Orphanage in 1856,

4. Photograph of the western part of Athens in 1869; to the left the Theseum and in the background the silkmill, outside the city and behind the Provelengios residence. (From: L & R. Matton, *op. cit.*, photograph by Rumine, Paris).

PLAN VON ATHEN

VON

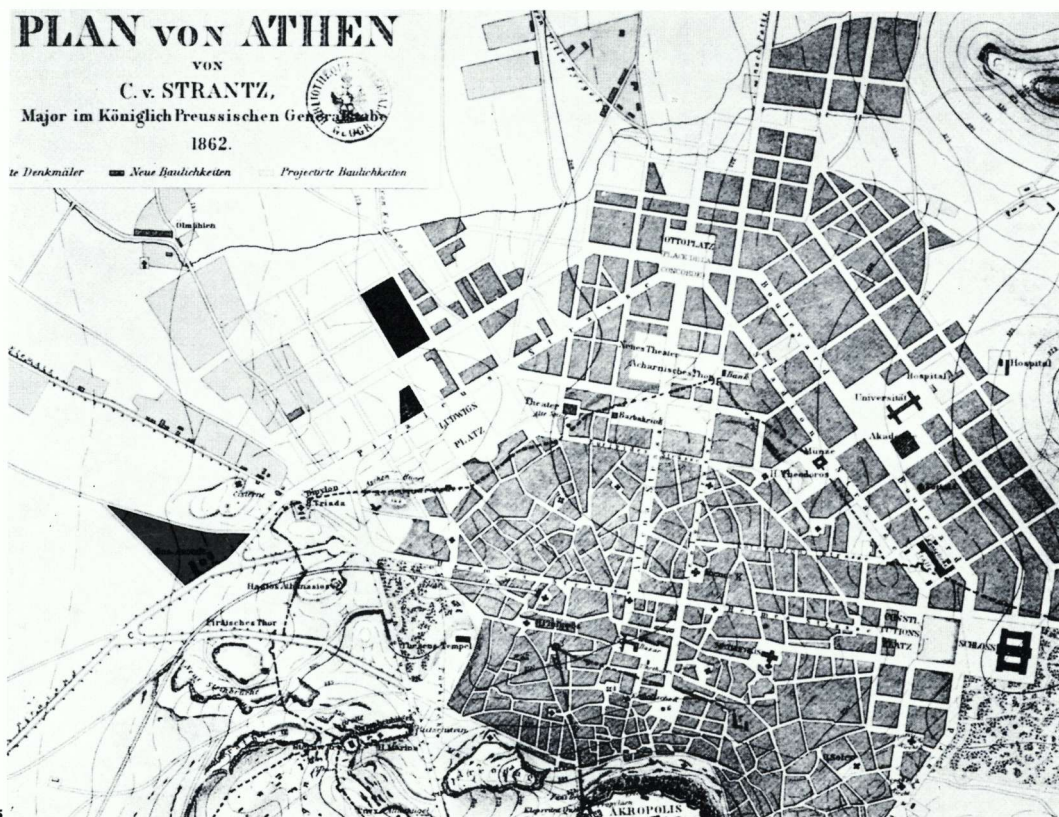
C. v. STRANTZ,

Major im Königlich Preussischen Generalstab

1862.



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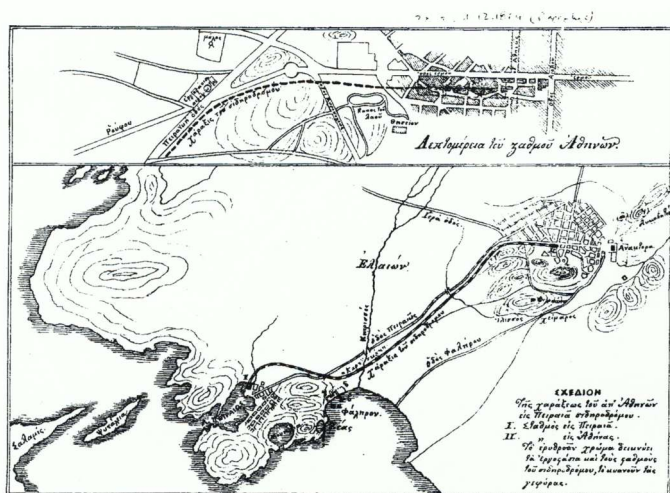
5. Section of the map of Athens by the German army officer C. von Strantz, 1862. The Omonia area is already built up. The plot of the silkmill is shown here united with the adjacent one to the southeast. At the corner of Millerou and Piraeus streets, the building of the Chatzikostas Orphanage and further south, on Piraeus street, the gasworks (Gazi).

10. The Orphanage was founded with a bequest of Georgios Chatzikostas, from Ioannina, see *Aθήναι* (periodical essay published fortnightly) year 1, iss. 2, 5 July 1887 and Στ. Π. Φύλλη, *Αι Αθήναι τον 1860* [Sp. P. Phillis, Athens in 1860], *Τα Αθηναϊκά* iss. 34, Sept. 1966, 40-43 (a republication of Sp. Phillis's letter from a pamphlet he had published in 1866). Κ. Μπίσης, *Αι Αθήναι από τον 19ου εις τον 20όν αι.* [K. Biris, Athens from the 19th to the 20th century], Part I, Athens 1966, 204, erroneously states that the Orphanage was founded in 1890.

11. Μαρία Κορασιδού, *Οι φιλάνθρωποι μιλούν για τους φτωχούς...* [Maria Korasidou, The philanthropists

originally in the rented N. Kyklos residence (on Kerameikou steet, presumably abandoned) and subsequently in the Vranis residence, which was conceded to it, at the corner of Millerou and Piraeus streets.¹⁰ Following the 'philanthropists' strategy for the 'social incorporation of the poor children',¹¹ the Orphanage set up workshops in which its inmates could learn a trade: at first tailoring and shoe-making, and later blacksmithing. The forge developed into a factory which was let to a private businessman and employed 50 workers in 1884.¹² The second event was the installation of the gasworks, in 1859-1861, on the south side of the road junction mentioned above (fig. 6).¹³ The Gazi, as it became known, was the first step in transforming the Athens-Piraeus road into the major axis of polluting activities it still is today.

This complex, the axis of Millerou street with the silkmill and the Orphanage workshops on the one hand, and the gasworks (Gazi) on the other, constituted the first pole of attraction for industrial functions on the west side



6. Sketch by Ioannis Genisarlis, 1864, concerning the Athens-Piraeus railway line. The detail shows the gasworks at the corner of Piraeus and Voutiadon streets.

of Athens. These were directed there through the process of successive lateral shifts that typifies the mobility and adaptability of land uses in the city. These functions were asphyxiating in their historic hearth which occupied, as is well known, the same site for centuries, since the Pazari (Bazaar) of the Ottoman era was established on the remains of the Roman agora and Hadrian's Library.¹⁴ During the Ottoman Occupation the shops and workshops of Athens developed in a south-north direction along the axis of present-day Panos street and radially along the vertical axes of Iphaistou, Pandrosou, Adrianou streets etc. Iphaistou street in particular, extending (via Astingos and Leokoriou streets) as far as the Moria Gate, was the focus of forges and saddlers, while on the east side of Pandrosou street were textile workshops (*ambatzidika*). So in the Ottoman period at least, the structure of the city was characterized by a segregation of activities into 'polite' and 'polluting', the latter located in its western sector.¹⁵

With the opening of Ermou, Aioulou and Athinas streets the industrial zone was reconstituted upon these new axes. It should be noted here that, contrary to familiar stereotypes concerning its 'parasitic' character, Athens was and remained an industrial city: but even in the industrial period it remained a city of small factories producing a wide range of consumer goods (from necessities to luxuries). Shops and workshops now developed mainly from east to west, with Ermou street as the central axis, eventually occupying the entire area between Monastiraki and the western edge of Adrianou street, the neighbourhood of Psyrri and the triangle bounded by Ermou - Athinas - Evripidou streets (today's shopping centre), maintaining local enclaves of specialization.

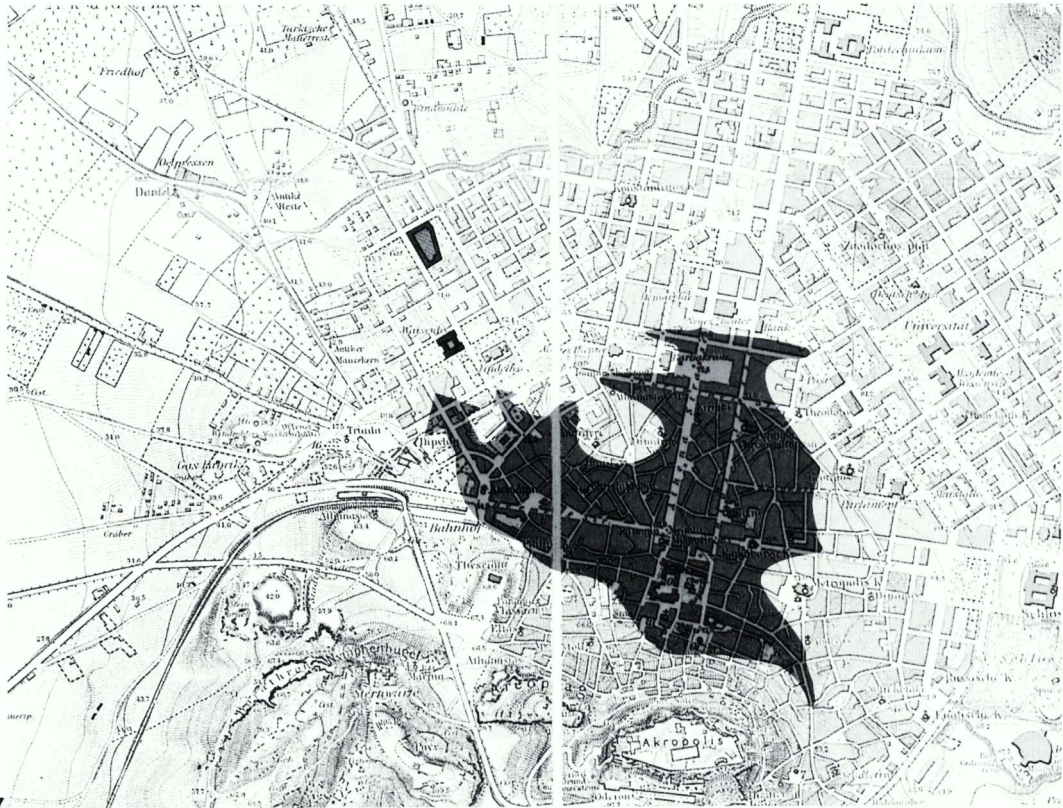
speak about the poor...], *Τα Ιστορικά*, iss. 17, December 1992, 401.

12. In 1860 the Orphanage housed 60 orphan boys aged 8-12 years, the number rising to 100 in 1870 and 220 in 1883, see Σπ. Φίλλη, op. cit. and *Επετηρίς της Ελλάδος δια το έτος 1884* [Sp. Phillis, Annual of Greece for the year 1884], Athens 1883, 139-140. The Orphanage is clearly visible on the 1875 map (fig. 7), in its finished form with an atrium.

13. The sketch from the article by the lieutenant in the Engineer Corps, Ι. Γιαννισαράκη, Γενικά σημειώσεις περί σιδηροδρόμου και ιδίως περί του απ' Αθηνών εις Πειραιά [I. Yannisarlis, General notes of the railway and especially that from Athens to Piraeus], *Ονησανόρος*, iss. 9, 1 December 1864 (appendix). Ioannis Yannisarlis (Genisarlis), who became Professor of Surveying at the Polytechnion (Technical University), took part in designing the Street Plan of Athens, in 1864, see K. Μπίρης, *Ιστορία του Εθνικού Μετσοβίου Πολυτεχνείου* [K. Biris, History of the National Metsovion Polytechnion], Athens 1956, 502.

14. See Ν.Θ. Φιλαδέλφους, *Ιστορία των Αθηνών επί Τουρκοκρατίας από τον 1400 μέχρι του 1800* [N.Th. Philadelphus, History of Athens during the Turkish Occupation from 1400 to 1800], vol. 1, Athens 1902, 308-309, and I. Τριαντύλος, op. cit., 208-220 and particularly fig. 140, 211.

15. See the note on this dichotomy in pre-Revolutionary Athens also in G. Sklavounos, *Transports et division sociale de l'espace urbain: Athènes du XIXe au XXe siècle, Villes en parallèle*, iss. 9, Feb. 1986, 38.



7. Section of J.A. Kaupert's map of Athens, 1875. Marked are the manufacturing zone of the city, on the basis of a contemporary guidebook, the Orphanage and the silkmill, in the 'vanguard' of the westwards expansion of the zone.

Expansion of this zone northwards and eastwards, where the new city was being built, was prevented by the 'good' neighbourhoods of Omonoia and Syntagma respectively. To the east, from the height of the coffee shop 'Oraia Hellas' in Aioulou street, Ermou street hosted the best shops and coffee shops, terminating at the hotels, patisseries and mansions in Syntagma square. To the north, the Boukoura Theatre (1840), the Varvakeion High School (1857) and the head office of the National Bank delimited the ambit of Omonoia Square.¹⁶

Consequently the west side of the city was the only 'natural' outlet for the industrial zone. On this side, where, as we have seen, the most important workshops were located, the functions of the old communication node were widened. Aghion Asomaton square was now the terminus for carriages and all kinds of land transport arriving with ever increasing frequency from Piraeus; the installation of the railway station here in 1869 further burdened the node

16. On the nature of the northern part of Athens street in the 19th century, see characteristic pictures (unfortunately undated) in Θ. Παπαγεωργίου, *Ενθήμερον Αθηνών*, [Th. Papageorgiou, *Souvenir of Athens*] Athens 1990 and Δ. Σκούζε, *Ο δρόμος που άλλαξε μορφή, Η Αθήνα που έφυγε*, [D. Skouze, *The road that changed forms, Athens that Has Gone*] Athens 1961, 60-63.

with the needs of loading and unloading. The entire area from Aghiou Philippou square, the pitch of the Maltese porters, to the outskirts of Eleftherias (Koumoundourou) square, was filled with facilities serving transport needs: the older pack-saddle-makers, fodder-chandlers etc. and the newer carriage-makers', carpenters' and metal workshops.

It was these carriage-makers' workshops that pioneered the expansion of the industrial zone to the west. The first to 'migrate' to the west of Piraeus street, to open up next to the silkmill, was the 'Greek carriage-shop of Mr Galliani',¹⁷ the existence of which is attested from at least 1862. Three years later, in 1865, the newly-crowned George I visited to Durutti silkmill and the carriage-shop 'lying adjacent to it', and awarded a medal to both owners.¹⁸ Ten years later, in 1875, most of the carriage-makers (14 of the 15 recorded in a contemporary guide to Athens) were crowded in Adrianou street, Asomaton square and Sarri street, while in the immediate vicinity of the silkmill a workshop for iron structures is recorded.¹⁹ In the meanwhile, a section of the silkmill itself (the smithy-carpenter's shop) which had already gone into decline, was let to an independent businessman.²⁰

In 1875 the silkmill finally closed and its area was once more at a crossroads. However, there was now a pressing and mass demand for housing: the capital had entered the orbit of rapid expansion and its population soared: from 44,250 inhabitants in 1870 it reached 63,374 in 1879 (increase of 42%) and 107,251 in 1889 (increase of 69%). So within the decade 1875-1885 the entire area, as far as the outskirts of the gasworks (Gazi) to the south and the Kykloforos stream to the west, was settled and incorporated in the city (fig. 8). Its identity as a depressed area, as well as the nature of the new demand (mass migration on an unprecedented scale from the countryside and the provincial towns), contributed to the formation of a popular neighbourhood with humble houses for artisans, journeymen and all manner of small tradesmen and manufacturers, mainly from the Peloponnese but also from the islands.²¹

Even so this mass invasion of housing did not stall the penetration of productive functions in the area of the silkmill (Metaxourgeion).²² On the contrary, the character of the new incomers facilitated this. Always with Millerou street as the principal pole and carriage-making the dominant function, workplaces began infiltrating the neighbourhood. By 1900 most of the carriage-shops had moved from Adrianou street westwards to Asomaton, Leokoriou and Sarri streets, while four had gone down Piraeus street to be installed in Millerou street.²³ At least two of these, the carriage-shop of the Rossi Brothers and that of Lorenzo Mamos, were large workshops employing several people and constructing all kinds of carriages and vehicles; indeed a contemporary guide mentions the 'silkmill' [Metaxourgeion] as the address of the first.²⁴

In the same period metal workshops had also moved into the area. Two of

17. *Εθνογράφις*, 10.7.1862.

18. *Εθνογράφις*, 10.4.1865. The Galiani carriage workshop is not mentioned in later sources, but it is quite possible that it continued in operation under another name: in an advert for the carriage workshop of the Rossi brothers, set up very close to the silkmill in 1900, its founding date is cited as 1861, while it is not mentioned in later sources, thus it was very probably the successor to the Galiani carriage workshop. See also Société Biotechnique Hellénique, *La Grèce industrielle et commerciale en 1900*, 2e Partie, *Catalogue des principaux industriels*, Athens 1900, XVIII of the appendix.

19. D. Doukakis's bedstead workshop on Piraeus street, a short way down from the Conservatory, see M. Μπουκάς, *Οδηγός εμπορικός... των κυριωτέρων πόλεων...* [M. Boukas, Commercial guide... of the main towns...], Athens 1875, 109-110, 112.

20. For this reason the forge-carpenter's shop and its equipment were excluded from the 1865 auction, see *Δημοσιότητες... πλειστηριασμού...* [Notification... of auction...], *Διακοστικός Κλήτηρ*, 7.8.1865.

21. There are fleeting yet poignant images of the area in some literary texts: 'down in the outmost reaches of the city, beyond the silkmill', was the humble home of 'Master-Demetris the Villager... whitewasher and painter by trade', that he had built himself, in A. Papadiamantis's short story 'Φυλόστοργου' (1895) (in Λίζυ Τσιρμώκου, *Γραμματολογία της πόλης, λογοτεχνία της πόλης, πόλεις της λογοτεχνίας* [Lizzy Tsimirakou, *Grammatology of the city, literature in the city, cities in literature*], Λογός publications, n.d. [1987], 86-87). The young Virginia stayed with her aunt 'who had once lived in style, but having been left a widow was an ironer', at Metaxourgeion, in the novel by Κων. Χρηστομάνος, *Η κερένια κοινάδα*, [K. Christomanos, *The Wax Doll*, Athens 1925 (excerpt from p. 11). Later testimonies on the character of Metaxourgeion in: Β. Αγγελίδης, *Μεταξουργείο-Κολόνος, Νοσταλγία και περιγραμμάτωτα* [V. Angelidis, *Metaxourgeion - Kolonos, Nostalgia and reality*], Athens 1992, particularly 37-47.

22. The separation of home from workplace is of course a recent phenomenon, belonging to the automobile age. The mingling of functions in historic cities, and not only in their poor neighbourhoods, is well known and needs no further elaboration here. If there is something we should remember, it is the doctrinaire attitude with which the principle of separation of functions has been applied in the 20th century, leading to those residential zones not fit to live in, that exist in all big cities.

23. The carriage workshops of N. Exagoreas (2 Millerou street), G. Stokos (2 Millerou street), L. Mamos (23 Millerou street) and the Rossi brothers (42 Millerou street 'neighbourhood of the silkmill'). See Στ. Κουσιουλίνου, *Οδηγός της Ελλάδος 1900* [Sp. Kousoulinos, *Guide to Greece 1900*], 4 (section V, 'Index of Addresses'), and Société Biotechnique Hellénique, op. cit., 6 and XVIII of the appendix.

24. Even though the silkmill had for some time given its name (Metaxourgeion) to the area, the neighbourhood and specifically the zone delimited by Piraeus, Voutiadon, Kon/poleos, Lenorman and Kolokyntous streets (that is including the Gazochori [gasworks] and part of the neighbourhood of Akadimias Platonos [Plato's Academy]) it was named officially for the first time, in the RD of 7.6.1908, 'Κεραμεικού ἔξο'. See M. Μαρμαράς, *Η αστική πολυκατοικία της μεσοπολεμικής Αθήνας* [M. Marmaras, *The urban apartment block in inter-war Athens*], Cultural Foundation ETBA, Athens 1991, 96 and map 1, 97.

8. Section of the map of Athens prepared by the Riunione Adriatica de Sicurtà, 1885. The areas of the silkmill (Metaxourgeion) and the gasworks (Gazochori) are now incorporated in the urban web. (From K. Biri, *op. cit.* 201).



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the most important machine-shops in Athens, of the Konteka Brothers ('Hephaistos') and of 'Vlachanis, Petropoulos & Co.' were located in Kolokythous and Lenorman respectively. The second, at the corner of Konstantinoupoleos and Lenorman streets, where the Peloponnesian railway track defined the new boundary of the city (fig. 9), developed into an important factory which, as 'BIO, Anonymous General Industrial Company', continued in existence until at least the 1960s.²⁵ With these installations, and possibly other smaller ones not recorded in the guides of the period, the neighbourhood of Metaxourgeion had already formed by the turn of the century the basic traits of its aspect and character, which its subsequent evolution, always in the same direction, was to reinforce: a popular-petit-bourgeois neighbourhood with mixed uses (housing, trade and industry) diffused through its web.²⁶

This physiognomy is recorded clearly thirty years later, on the 1930 map (fig. 10), which indicates, on the basis of a detailed guide of that year,²⁷ all the industrial uses (primary and ancillary) in the area delimited by Piraeus street, Iera Odos, Konstantinoupoleos, Lenorman, Achilleos and Deliyorgi streets. This area included some 1900 addresses (numbered entrances),²⁸ about 680 of which belong to all other uses except residential (trade, industry, leisure,

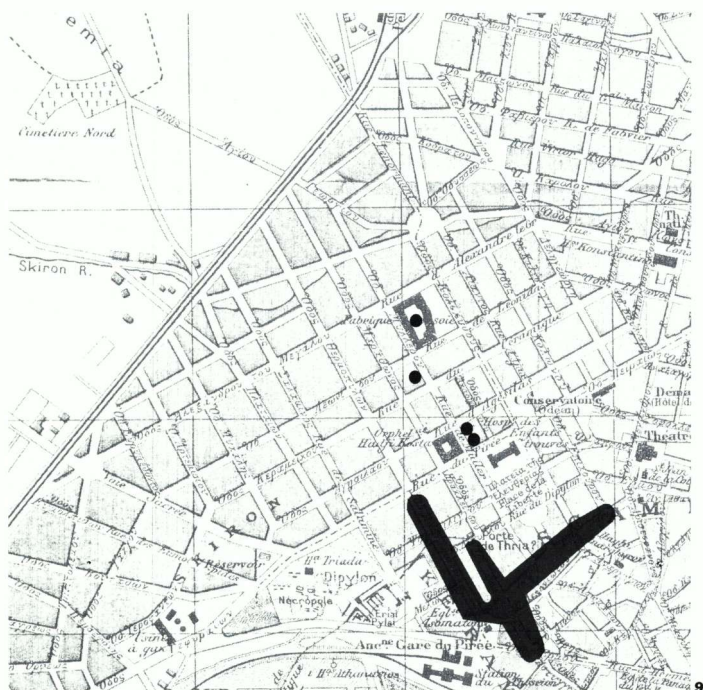
25. On the Kontekas engine-shop, see Sp. Kousoulinos, *op. cit.*, 49 (section V) and 40 of the appendix. On the Vlachanis-Petropoulos engine-shop, which is not mentioned in Kousoulinos's guide, see S.B.H., *La Grèce...*, *op. cit.*, 8 and V of the appendix. The firm 'BIO', which widened its interests beyond a machine shop to producing alcoholic beverages and dough, is mentioned in all subsequent census sources on industry.

26. See also the classification proposed by M. Marmaras, *op. cit.*, 110.

27. *Οδηγός της Ελλάδος του έτους 1930* [Guide to Greece for the year 1930], (founded by N.G. Inglesis in 1900), Πινακός S.A., Athens.

28. The number is calculated on the basis of the numbering of the streets; it is obviously an approximation because possible subdivisions (e.g. 42a etc.) are not known. The units were placed on the map in fig. 10 on the basis of the numbering of the streets today, since comparison with the numbers recorded in the 1930 *Guide* showed that they have not changed drastically since; however minor local differences should not be ruled out, for which reason the site of the units on the map should not be considered infallible; the approximation was made by block.

29. Thermopylon and Megalou Alexandrou streets were main commercial streets.



9. Section of a map of Athens in 1896 (Guide Joannes, Hachette & Cie); marked are the zone of wheelwrights' workshops in Asomaton, Lefkoriou and Sarri streets, and the four wheelwrights' workshops in Millerou street (1900).

services); that is roughly one in three houses in the area were (or included in the ground floor) workshops or shops.

The census and mapping of these uses enhances the basic characteristics of the neighbourhood. Firstly its popular character; in comparison with the density of each class of uses in Athens overall, there are, for example, very few clothing-footwear shops in Metaxourgeion, yet a high percentage of tailors, shoemakers and alterations-repairs workshops; there is just one restaurant (of the 98 recorded in the Guide), yet a host of cook-shops and coffee shops. Secondly, the large number of shops and the variety of uses (among them health services, education and leisure) point to a neighbourhood which within the fifty or so years since it began to be settled had acquired a fully urban character. Lastly, the different density of the various uses in individual parts of the neighbourhood bears witness to the mechanisms of attraction-repulsion of like-opposite functions that create contexts and attach identities to sectors of the urban web. So commercial and industrial uses are crowded in the central zone of the neighbourhood and on the peripheral axes, while in its interior and particularly its western part there are mainly residential pockets, from which however food shops are not missing,

KEY

1. 'Heavy' (total: 141)

1.1 Metal sector (total: 64)

Automobiles: workshops making bodies (6)
and springs for cars and coaches (1),
upholstery (6), engine shops (6) and paint
shops (4)
(total: 22)
Tinners (1)
Nickel-platers (1)
Electrical machine works (2)
Bedstead factory (1)
Foundry (1)
Machine shops (9)
Welders (2)
Brass foundries (5)
Farriers (2)
Blacksmiths (14)
Lantern-makers (4)
Smelters - casters (3)

1.2 Wood sector (total: 60)

Wheelwrights (3)
Coopers (5)
Cabinet-makers (and basket furniture) (24)
Chair-makers (3)
Basket-weavers (4)
Cart-makers (2)
Roller blind-maker (1)
Box-maker (1)
Woodcarver (1)
Carpenters (11)
Saddlers (5)
Coffin-maker (1)

1.3 Building materials (total: 7)

Asphalt (factory) (1)
Plaster of Paris factories and stucco
mouldings (3)
Synthetic marble (factory) (1)
Marble-carvers (2)
Mosaic tiles (factory) (1)

1.4 Miscellaneous (total: 10)

Lithographer (1)
Soap factory (and perfumes) (3)
Ropery (1) Printers (5)

2. 'Light' (total: 116)

2.1 Food sector (total: 32)

Bakeries (23)
Dairies (2)
Sweet factory (1)
Beverage factory (and aerated) (6)

2.2 Textiles, clothing and footwear sector
(total: 75)

Knitwear (factory) (1)
Quilt-makers (2)
Silkmill (1)
Milliners and Hatters (8)
Bespoke tailors and clothiers (17)
Vest-makers (1)
Slippers-pumps (manufacture) (2)
Sandal-makers (3)
Shoemakers (40)
Shoe factory (1)

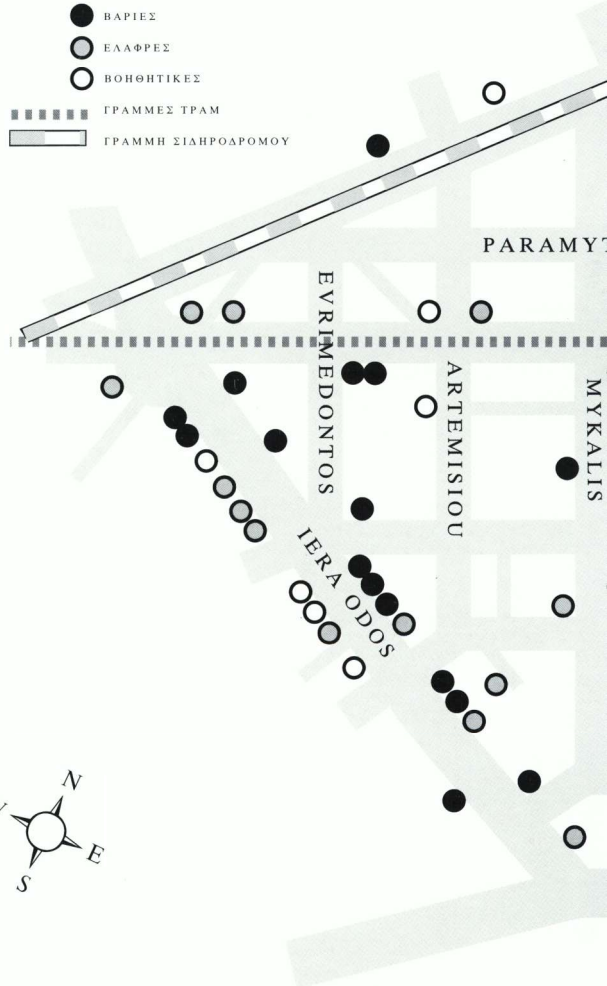
2.3 Miscellaneous (total: 9)

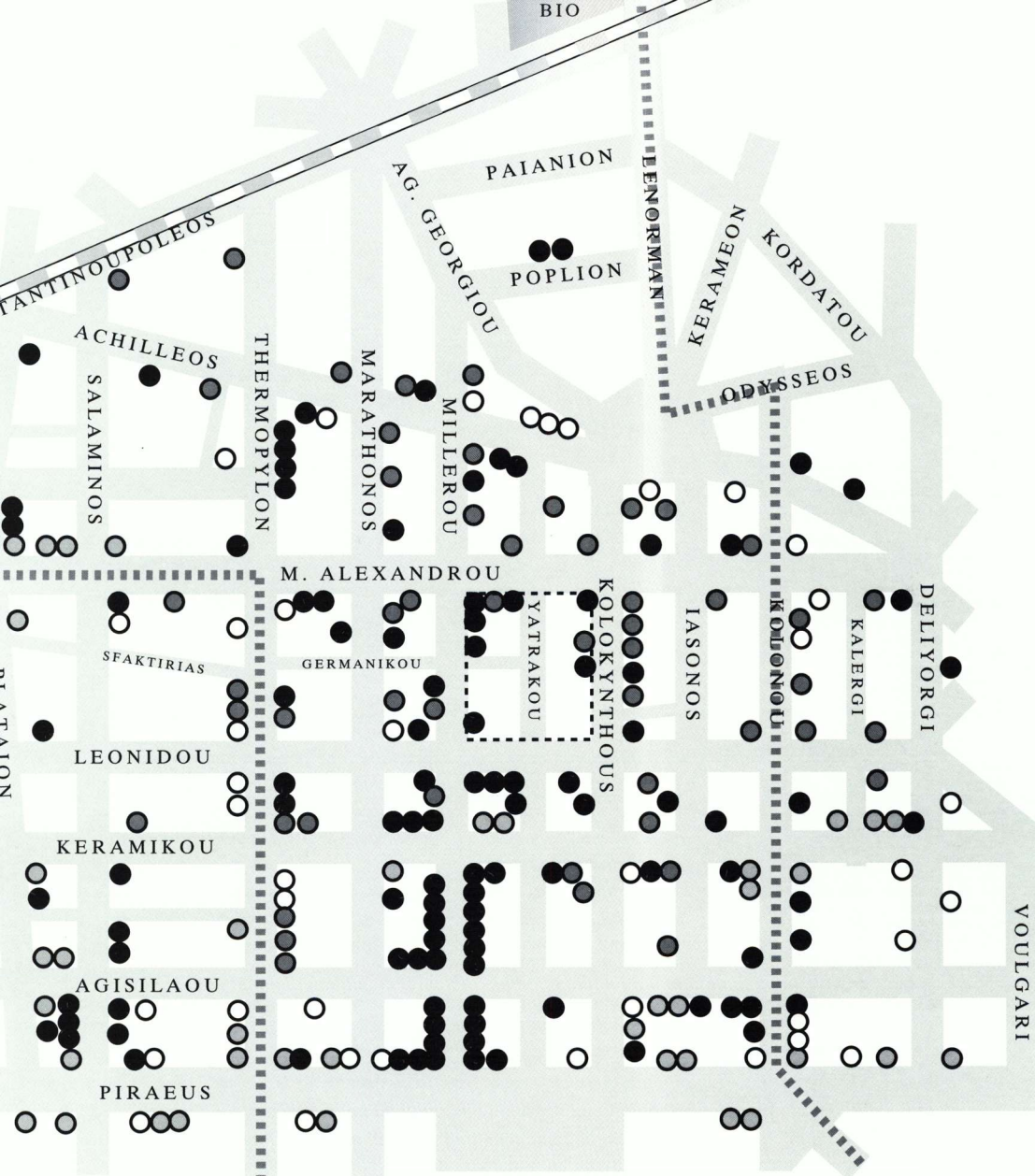
Book-binders (3)
Sign-painters (1)
Chandler (1)
Box-makers (3)
Dentures (factory) (1)
Bicycles (repairs - renting) (3)
Goldsmith - Watchmaker (1)

3. Auxiliary installations (maintenance,
repairs etc. (total: 54)

3.1 Garages (12)
3.2 Plumbers shops (10)
3.3 Personal services (32)
Dyeing and cleaning clothes (4)

10. Manufacturing installations in the
neighbourhood of Metaxourgeion in 1930.





Barbers (21)
 Altering and cleaning hats (1)
 Laundries - Ironing (3)
 Shoeshiner (1)
 Cobblers (2)

*The installations with more than one use have been included in each use separately but have not been counted twice in the totals, for which reason these are not always the same as the sum of the individual numbers.

dispersed throughout the web on virtually every corner; northeast, on the outskirts of Omonoia (beyond Kolokythous street), a greater concentration of services and self-employed professions is observed.

However, the most important feature of the neighbourhood of Metaxourgeion, that which is of prime interest here, is the high concentration of industrial units, and indeed of those which in a rudimentary classification could be designated 'heavy': metal workshops, timber yards, building materials and printers, 141 units in all (fig. 10). Indeed particularly striking is the density of these units in Millerou street which, 75 years after the founding of the silkmill, remained the paramount street of workshops and small factories, while in contrast neighbouring Thermopylon street amassed more 'light' workshops (clothing, footwear, box-making etc).²⁹

Even more revealing for the resilience of the historical parameters in forming the neighbourhood's physiognomy, is the ascertainment that it retains its specialization in servicing transport; but the carriage-shops have given way to various workshops servicing the motor vehicle: car-body workshops, car upholstery and springs, engine shops, paint shops and parking lots,³⁰ as well as spare-parts shops. It is these workshops that will slowly give way to the garages of the post-war period, when all possibility of establishing a Greek automobile industry has been finally wiped out.³¹ The 1930 Guide records a transitional period in which, despite the invention of the 'production line' in the Ford factories, the production of the automobile still remained to a large degree labour intensive, thus allowing the parcelling out of parts production and mainly of assembly tasks, to smaller units. The small transport industry in Athens adapted to the developments and showed remarkable flexibility and durability to time.³²

Lateral shifts and absorptions, forces of attraction exercised by strong poles (large properties, atypical functions), readjustments of productive uses within the limits of wider families, are some of the formative mechanisms of the urban web in its historical course that the history of the neighbourhood of Metaxourgeion enhances. The formation process was not so linear. The physiognomy of the neighbourhood emerged from the synthesis of opposing trends that at various times appeared to predominate temporarily (industrial zone - residential zone) and from the articulation of individual (conjunctural) actions and structural propensities of the development of the city. The large building of the silkmill played a leading role in this tug-of-war. First it opened the way for the expansion of the productive zone to the west of the city; later 'it was besieged' by housing; but the influence it had already exerted on its environment withstood the test of time more effectively than the building itself. The productive functions, with central axis Millerou street, infiltrated the newly settled area to form an inextricable mesh of housing-workplaces, an urban neighbourhood with a distinctive identity.

30. One of these, perhaps the most important, Nikos Theologos's 'automobile factory' (52 Thermopylon street) was published recently in 'Εφύλον', the colour supplement of the Sunday newspaper *Κυριακάτικη Ελευθεροτυπία* 24.7.1994, in a feature entitled Ο Έλληνας Φόρντ λεγόταν Θεολόγου (The Greek Ford was called Theologos). Production must have stopped by 1930, however, since it is mentioned as a 'garage' in the *Guide* of that year.

31. Contrary to the popularly held view, the automobile repair shops did not move into the area of Metaxourgeion after World War II because it was abandoned by its inhabitants (see the relevant article in the *Δελτίον Συλλόγου Αρχιτεκτόνων*, referred to). Nor, of course, did the old inhabitants of Metaxourgeion leave their neighbourhood because of the repair shops. As 'old-established' Athenians after the War, and certainly more thoroughly incorporated in the petit-bourgeois and bourgeois strata of the city, the inhabitants of Metaxourgeion moved into better housing conditions, in the apartment blocks at that time taking over the whole city; the repair shops for their part maintained the area's character as a workplace, so 'saving' the properties from the voracious building-contractors and Metaxourgeion from the invasion of the apartment block...

32. It should be noted that two out of five car-body shops ('Athina' at the corner of Millerou and Germanikou streets, opposite the silkmill, and P. Alexiou) and two out of nine engine shops (S. Kordellakos on the Iera Odos and S. Sideris, again in Millerou street) in 1930, are included in 1954 among the most important factories of the respective sectors, see. N. Σιδέρης *Η ελληνική βιομηχανία. Βιομηχανική παραγωγή και αξία αυτής κατά τα έτη 1953 και 1954* [N. Sideris, Greek industry. Industrial production and its value during the years 1953 and 1954], Athens 1955.



11. 'Automobile Factory' (now a garage) at 54 Millerou street: living proof of a long and forgotten history.

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