

Three Architectures, Three Times and Three Places in the Ruins of the Parthenon

Javier Pérez-Herrerás

Professor, PhD, Department of Architecture, University of Zaragoza, Spain
perez.herrerás@unizar.es

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Three Extraordinary Journeys to the Interior of a Ruin

The French philosopher Michel Serres describes an extraordinary journey as an ordinary journey through space (land, air, sea, cosmic) or time (past, present, future: yesterday, tomorrow) from one point to another desired point, as an encyclopedic journey – the Odyssey, for instance, is circular, running through the cycle of wisdom – and, finally, as a journey of initiation in the same way as the voyage of Ulysses, the Exodus of the Hebrews or the itinerary of Dante.¹

In the 17th century, reason was one of the driving forces of these extraordinary journeys. Back then, reason became a tool for interpreting eternal truths and delving into the geographical and temporal origins of our civilization.² Its empirical gaze searched the origins of the ruins for the truth about a new architecture until giving them, almost unintendedly, new and unexpected lives. For Maure, the graphic and literary contributions of reason awakened a new artistic awareness of the reality of ancient forms.³

The Parthenon of Athens was a must stop on many of these extraordinary journeys. Inspired by the poetics of the ruin, the temple devoted to the goddess Athena was a common destination for historians, painters and architects in search of a truth that had remained hidden until then. From those journeys on the shoulders of reason searching for an aesthetic origin that would start its own architecture, we are left with many publications full of maps, guides and notes that turned that still-standing structure, despite the looting, into the most inspiring ruin in the world.⁴ Drawings of the Parthenon revealed a desire to reconstruct with rigor the reason for a rediscovered truth destined to build a new truth, its own (Fig. 1).

The gaze of these travelers-scientists was followed by that of an emerging bourgeoisie no longer interested in the truth of an original architecture, but in romantically enjoying its ruins. The readers who heard of those new journeys had apparently lost interest in the elegant drawings and diligent measurements of those previously discovered truths.

Later, in the mid-20th century, new travelers appeared, with new gazes and lives of the Parthenon. Extolled as the new deities of the film industry, actors and actresses traveled to a Europe devastated by war, giving the whole world faith in a time of new heroes in the form of legendary artists. The original truth discovered by those travelers-scientists in their drawn architectures became the film set of men and women turned into the new idols of a time without a homeland (Fig. 2).

1 Michel Serres, "Geodésicas de la Tierra y el cielo," in *Verne: un revolucionario subterráneo*, ed. Michel Serres et al. (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1968), 49-56.

2 Lilia Maure, "El viaje y la Ilustración: La búsqueda de un nuevo orden arquitectónico," *Goya: revista de arte* 243 (1994), 138.

3 Ibid.

4 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece* (London: Willey Reveley, 1794), 47.



Fig. 1: Elevation of the Portico of the Parthenon. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 1787

In addition to those travels first driven by the gaze of scientific reason, then romantic and later scenographic, other extraordinary journeys attempted to inhabit those ruins. The ruin was not only the object of the gaze, but also a place to inhabit.

Among those other extraordinary journeys that inhabited the ruin and its memory, we propose three stories in the form of three drawings. The notes of their chronicles reveal the Parthenon as a structure of visible interiority. It is a primitive structure turned into a real room that harbors an original time open to the time of the traveler. Occupying the ruin in each of the graphic stories will bring us closer to a different time, one discovered in the move to that memory.

So, we bring together three journeys to the interior of a ruin open to its novelty, from which we will witness the emergence of many other places and times and, therefore, of many other lives. The occupation of said interior will entail, in each case, a journey to a new exteriority, from which a new man discovers himself and becomes master of his existence as his own work:⁵ the man-artist.

The first journey is that of an English engraver who captured the opulent fête that the Greek Minister of the Army offered to French and British troops in 1854. The structure of the Parthenon becomes a window open to a homeland of small men and to a time as fleeting as the time of a dinner. This is an ordinary journey through space and time.

Fifty years later, we learn of the stop of two German travelers, a painter and his father, also inside the Parthenon. Their gazes on the ruin become a move to a clearing where the sky is bound to the earth in a seemingly frozen moment in time. This is an encyclopedic journey that ties and links the time of those travelers to the time of deities defeated by destiny.

Finally, we will discover the visit to the Parthenon of a young American architect on a scholarship from the American Academy in Rome while traveling Europe 100 years after that first English engraver. His journey is one of initiation, which, like Ulysses', will end in a new homeland and will lead to a shared habitation of new men and old deities.

We propose, then, three journeys to the ruins of the Parthenon: three extraordinary journeys on the shoulders of an engraver, a painter and an architect who travel to the inside of a 14-column structure and whose destiny will be to attain a homeland three times their own.

⁵ Romano Guardini, *El fin de la modernidad* (Madrid: PPC, 1995), 69.



Fig. 2: Sophia Loren seated at the foot of the Parthenon during the filming of "Boy on a Dolphin", 1957

Fig. 3: Camp of the French and British armies in Piraeus. Engraving made from the Gulf of Aegina, 1854

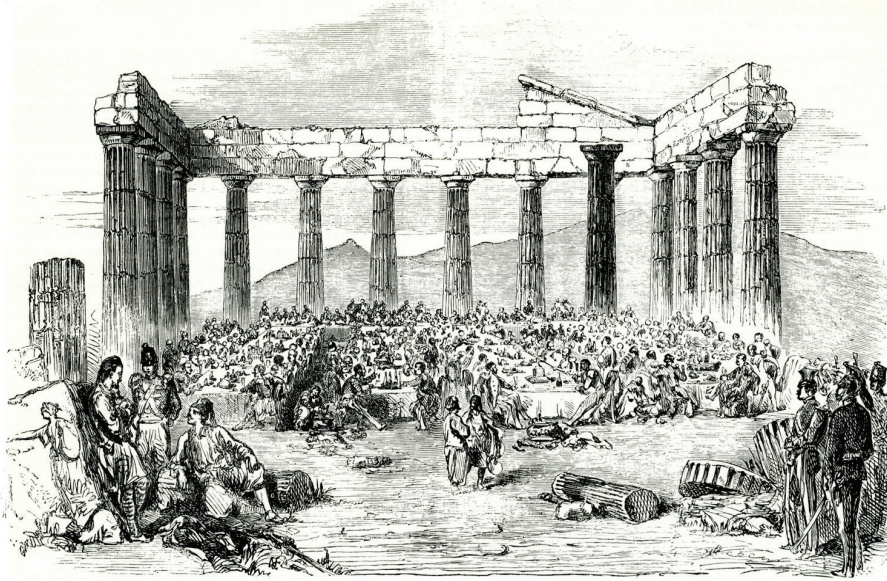


THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH CAMPS IN THE PIRÆUS.—SKETCHED FROM THE GULF OF EGINA.

Anatomy of a Window

In 1854, in the final years of the reign of King Otto I of Greece, also Prince of Bavaria, French and British troops occupied the Athenian port of Piraeus, preventing the Greeks from intervening on the side of the Russian army during the Crimean War. The foreign troops were not in very good terms with the Greek army and the locals.

Intending to ease the ongoing friction between them, the Greek Minister of the Army, Dimitros Kallergis, decided to invite his French and British allies to an official dinner. Their camp was on the shores of Piraeus, on an esplanade on the other side of the mountains that the soldiers would discover from the ruins of the Parthenon. The camp was set up in a meticulous military formation of light structures and white tarpaulins. In the eyes of the small structures surrounding it, the camp was the result of a life as ephemeral and fragile as its time in that location (Fig. 3).



FÊTE TO OFFICERS OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH FORCES, AND THE GREEK ARMY AND NAVY, IN THE ACROPOLIS, AT ATHENS.—(SEE NEXT PAGE.)

Fig. 4: Fête to officers of the French and British forces and the Greek navy during the occupation John Short. Published on Saturday, 15 July 1854 in the *Illustrated London News*

Local chronicles⁶ said that the Minister chose the best place in Greece for the event: “the sacred ground of the Parthenon.” Kallergis’ invitation was formally issued. The British Ambassador and his family, the Greek Minister of Home Affairs, the Prefect of Attikoboiotia, the police chiefs of Athens and Piraeus, the Secretary of the Prefecture and many officials with their families presided over that dinner. Next to them, at a large, four-armed table covered with white tablecloths, 250 officials attended, most of them members of the allied forces. The guests enjoyed a complete feast with good food, better desserts and plenty of wine, all made even more pleasant with Greek military music.⁷ For six hours, the sacred ground of the Parthenon became the best hall in the world.

This is an ordinary journey – a journey through space and time – and John Short, an unknown engraver at the *Illustrated London News* attested to it on its cover on 14 July 1854. His engraving shows the Parthenon as a great hall open to the mountains surrounding it. The shadows cast by the structure reveal that it is mid-afternoon, with the sun shining from the southwest. The visible interior of the structure is built on a perimetral anatomy of 14 columns, still standing after years of abandonment, war and unforgivable looting. A lone column stands within this space. The engraver turns the structure of the temple into a large window open to the mountains separating the Acropolis from the Mediterranean Sea. Together with the dinner scene, the mountains’ grayish silhouette rises as the visible landscape of this large room-window (Fig. 4).

The engraver is not very rigorous with the silhouette of the mountainous geography standing behind the window – the drowsiness of that copious banquet may be the cause. The outline defined by the Filopappou Hill and Mount Aigaleo has been moved to the right. The author uses this mistake to combine the story of a crowd of soldiers sitting at the table in an improvised hall, which spans from one side of the image to the other, with the story of the nature of the hills reaching his gaze. Everything fits inside the window that the Parthenon structure has become.

6 “Military Fête at Athens,” *Illustrated London News* 692-693 (1854): 26.

7 “Latest from abroad,” *Daily News. London, England* (July 11, 1854), 5.

The guests at this large table mingle rather heatedly and sloppily. They all look like small and short men. The table is so large that it needs to be organized in a geometry of military order and efficiency, like the camp where they sleep on the other side of the hills. The four arms open to the inside of the ruin meet in a main arm at the back of the image, crowned by the eight columns of the western entrance that hail the mountains separating them from the sea. The direction of the four arms also guides our gaze to that unknown geography that beckons many of the guests like a place to be conquered in the near future.

The table and the guests transform the inside of the ruin into a temporary room. The orthogonal geometry of the furniture dissolves in the animated celebration of a crowd of anonymous men who fleetingly turn the inside of the Parthenon into a shared homeland. The time of existence of this structure turned into an open window to the world is the time limited to those six hours of celebration.

The continuity of men and mountains rendered by the engraver places the horizon of the event at the support of the structure, hidden by a blurry band of soldiers. The encounter of that anonymous mountainous geography and the geometry of the table occupied by anonymous guests is intertwined in the visible interior of the still-standing structure.

The temporality of the nature of the mountains and hills reaching the gaze of that structure turned into window has settled on the ground on the Parthenon, which no longer seems so sacred. The time of habitation of that place is now as fleeting as the dinner itself. John Short, knowing this, houses the brevity of this time in a nature of the same contingency. It is perhaps in that fleetingness of the place where that lone inner column is located, which holds in its intense blackness the eternal time of some occupants who have already left, and the engraver knows it.

The improvised hall is limited by the perimeter defined by the 14 columns, from which the chronicler takes distance, seemingly listening to the conversation of some distracted soldiers witnessing the event. In this separation between those soldiers and the structure that hosts the dinner, there is a clear perception of distance, of a feeling unconnected to the divine time of that place and the deities that once habited there. The conversations of the local and foreign soldiers, leaning against the ruins preceding the still-standing structure, do not seem to look beyond that mountainous landscape that the ruin reveals.

The engraver capturing the event renders the shaft of the still-standing columns as a visible sum of fluted drums, strengthening the earthly horizontality of the place that the structure reveals. In his layout, the artist changes the number of stone cylinders that make up each column. The 11 drums that actually form them are reduced to five, thus equaling the result of the new composition to the size of those little men. The columns are no longer measured on the scale of a place inhabited by the deities, not even by myths, but on the scale of those foreigners who seem not to grasp the possibility of an eternal destiny. Even though it is open to the sky, the structure of the room links the festive scene to the temporary occupation of the ground plane. The sky is now a forgotten homeland, a place waiting to be rediscovered by others. It is not a time of deities or myths. The engraver discovers that sacred ground offered by the Minister of the Army to hold a dinner as a place of eternal time and divinities that have turned into the homeland of an ephemeral time inhabited by a band of small soldiers.

This is a worldly and temporary celebration of a military victory that will surely be followed by some unpleasant defeat. Many will head to Crimea and the war with Russia. Full of hope, they dream of new campaigns and of the fall of the tsar. It is a time of great expectation. History and greatness are close enough to touch,⁸ as the British historian Edmund Richardson says when he discusses this dinner. Taking a break, raising their glasses, the soldiers wonder if the old heroes will glimpse their own future... the bottles come and go and everyone drinks with great merriment.⁹

8 Edmund Richardson, "In search of an empire of memory," in *Classical Victorians. Scholars, Scoundrels and Generals in Pursuit of Antiquity*, ed. Edmund Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 72.

9 *Ibid.*, 73.



Fig. 5: Port of Piraeus, Themistocles von Eckenbrecher, 1890

Those soldiers' gaze over the ruin as a structure of their improvised hall speaks of a window open to a time and a worldly existence. It is a time of small men celebrating earthly affairs in a room once inhabited by deities. The journey of the engraver inside the Parthenon reveals the structure of a place marked by a time of men without deities in its still-standing columns. The structure reveals the mountainous geography that separates it from the sea as nameless nature expelled from any past time to embrace a new place as meagre as the dinner to which they were invited.

Anatomy of a Clearing

Karl Paul Themistocles von Eckenbrecher¹⁰ was the son of a Prussian naval officer and, as such, led the life of a tireless traveler. As a young painter, he would accompany his father in that life constantly on the go.

Themistocles painted their arrival at the port of Piraeus in 1890. From atop one of the hills surrounding the city, they watched all kinds of vessels coming and going. The city meets a shore turned into the mirror of a sky that now lays claim to its presence. Behind that hill that offers a view of the city, father and son continued strolling towards the Acropolis to finally reach the Parthenon (Fig. 5).

It is early, and the light coming from the east casts long shadows inside the temple. Standing between the shadows, a lone man who seems to wear a uniform and a hat, perhaps the father, takes in the spectacular ruin of the structure in the main entrance. The navy captain is not alone; in the background, beside the entrance, another visitor appears in sight, probably Karl Paul himself. The young painter, surely with more spring in his step, has walked ahead of his father to stand on the ruins nearest the columns of the entrance. They regard each other over a clearing between unsettling shadows in a time that seems to stop for an instant (Fig. 6).

¹⁰ Friedrich von Boetticher, *Malereien des 19. Jahrhunderts. Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte*. (Dresden: FR. v. Boetticher's Verlag, 1891), 252-253.



Fig. 6: Interior of the Parthenon. Themistocles von Eckenbrecher, 1890

The old sailor, who remains standing, gazes at the clearing trapped between the remains of a structure worn down by time and its shadows. His gaze shows us an interior place surrounded by the remains of a still-standing thousand-year-old structure after letting go everything that seemed superficial over the course of its history. A lone column emerges from this interior and luxuriates in the light of the clearing. The same 14 columns rendered by the engraver of the *Illustrated London News* remain there, surrounding the clearing, joined by an entablature with barely any remains of its front.

In the opposite direction, the son's gaze from those still-standing columns shows us a place inhabited by the time of the ruin, a time that embraces the presence of the sailor. The drums, capitals and the elements of the entablature – demolished by time itself – up like large carved stones in a rough architectural geography whose shadows seem to pick up and continue the outline of the hills behind the temple.

The dark silhouette of the mountains looming behind the structure spans across both sides of the inside of the Parthenon. Its extension on the horizon of the drawing embraces the place built by the 14 still-standing columns. The ruins of the fallen columns and their long shadows complete the enclosure outlined around the interior of the ruin. Once again, a sky that lays claim to its presence rises above it.

The linked continuity of mountains and ruins embraces a disquieting interior where the gazes of father and son meet; a clearing where, in their eyes, the time of the travelers meets a time unconnected to them, perhaps the time of those deities who fled.

This is an encyclopedic journey, one that aims to tie¹¹ the time of the travelers to an already expired time and, to that end, Themistocles draws the still-standing structure meticulously

11 We use the term "to tie" according to the definition given by Bruno Latour, as the reinvention of the Gordian knot, which will allow us to unite our worldviews. His research does not deal with nature or knowledge, with things-in-themselves, but with the way all things are tied to our collectives and to subjects. See Bruno Latour, "Retying the Gordian Knot," in *We Have Never Been Modern*, ed. Bruno Latour (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 3-5.

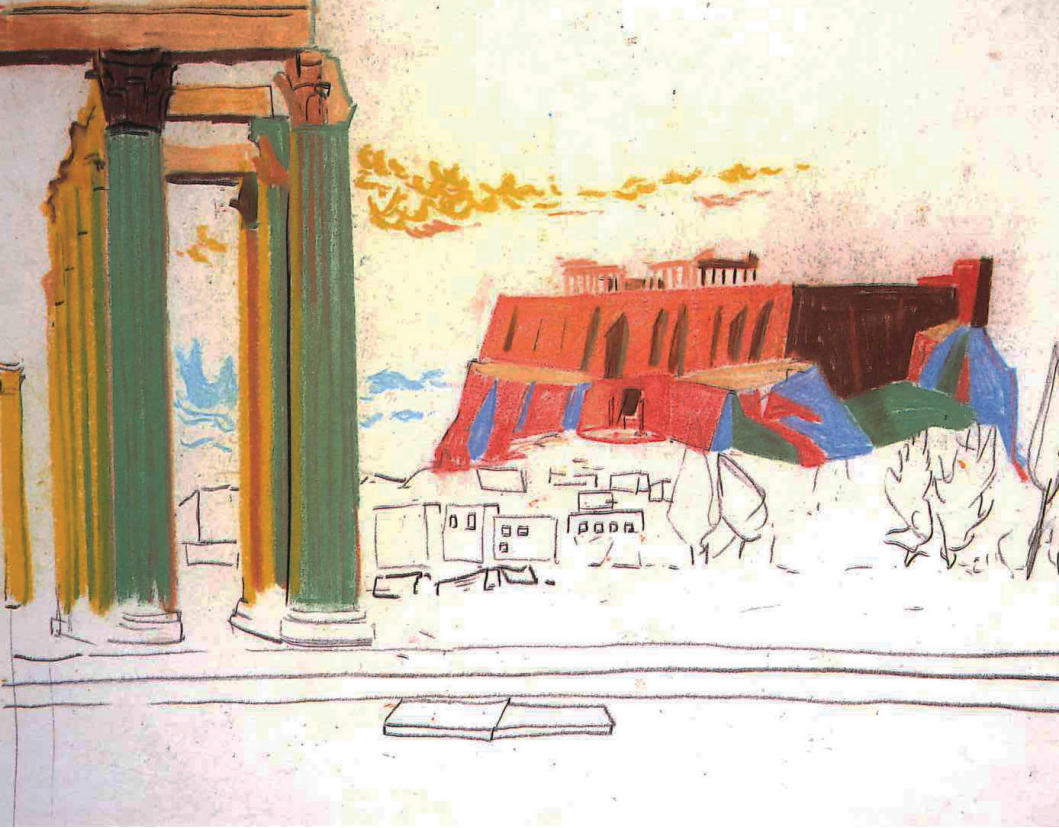


Fig. 7: Louis I. Kahn. The Acropolis from the Olympeion. 1951

and diligently, detailing those things that connect the ground to the sky: the slenderness of the grooves of the columns, the weight of the pieces of the entablature resting on those columns and the extremely simple Doric capital. The inner column, bathed in the light of an omnipresent firmament, is the primary witness to this expired time, which reveals its absence in the light of an unfathomable sky.

That meeting of gazes over the clearing shows us the ruin as the homeland of a past time. Its memory, illuminated by that great sky, tells us of a place defeated by destiny. The end of a time inhabits inside the structure of the Parthenon, a time we can tie to the time of our own existence. The ruin here is the structure of a time before the time of the travelers, but visible to their time as well. Those gazes move inside a time that has expired, a time outside their own time, but a time that fleetingly seems inhabitable or, at least, possible to visit.

The clearing abandoned by the deities safeguards an original homeland in its ruin. The structure regards the ruin as its own origin and the ruin regards the structure as the sign of a previous time, an original time. The structure is the soul and beginning of a place anchored in time itself and simultaneously open to its novelty. The ruin that Themistocles paints reveals this original time, a time that our travellers retie to their own time and, ultimately, to their destiny.

Anatomy of a Time Without Shadows

In 1951 Louis Kahn set out on a long and initiatory journey through time while on a scholarship from the American Academy in Rome, touring cities in Italy, Egypt and Greece. His first stop was in Athens, where he visited and drew the Acropolis. These drawings—many of which are preserved—identify the structure of the temples as an account of the journey. One of these drawings recounts Kahn's visit inside the Parthenon, in the same spot where the engraver John Short and the young painter Karl Paul Themistocles stopped.

Unlike the previous depictions, Kahn's drawings are colored. The architect discovers the Acropolis from the columns of the Olympieion, on a hilltop of red, blue and green tones carved by black shadows (Fig. 7). Vincent Scully notes that the white light of Greece was not what Kahn wanted, and so he made the temple and background orange. He was looking for a hotter, heavier light.¹²

At its feet, between the two temples, lies the city of men, whose nature and architecture can only be sketched by a careless pencil. The Olympieion and the distant Acropolis are rendered in color, leaving the city and tress as mere pencil outlines. Forms are reduced to simplified abstractions and colors are used symbolically, writes Jan Hochstim. In this drawing, a late afternoon winter sun touches the sides of columns and walls with its golden light. A flutter of luminescent clouds connects the foreground colonnade with the distant citadel.¹³

Upon his arrival at the Parthenon, Kahn shows us a structure that turns out to be empty inside. He draws the columns with reddish and brown strokes and lines. The pediment is smaller on purpose, perhaps due to Kahn's desire to depict a structure with a clear horizontal composition. The floor of the base, of the same color as the structure – but stained with a distant blue – is modulated by the lines that once drew the grooves on the columns. The floor has been cleared of all rubble, leaving only the rest of the entrance wall at the back. There is no sign of that lone inside column described by the previous visitors. The unsettling emptiness turns the interior space into a room waiting to be occupied.

The grooves on the shafts are now continuous, making it hard to grasp their size or how they relate to the man visiting them. It is a crime to try to measure the Parthenon,¹⁴ Kahn tells his students. The strokes of the columns hardly rest on the ground plane of a place only open to the sky – the first place that the structure shows us. This lack of support, the loss of scale and the verticality of the grooves turn the structure into a curtain of stone fabric that seems to hang from the entablature (Fig. 8).

After discovering this inner space, Kahn's gaze returns to the structure to travel further on. The columns on the right are connected in the perspective of the drawing, perhaps hoping to insinuate that wall that, for Kahn, came before them.¹⁵ To the left the same columns appear as such. Between these and the eight front columns, the blue of a sky that turns out to be that other place emerges.

On the other side of the structure the hills discovered by the engraver and the painter are no longer in sight. That is not the place that hosts Kahn. The mountains, the sky and the landscape that brings them together meet in a new place stained with blue with some stormy clouds passing by. The place is so infinite and distant that it seems inaccessible to its temporality, but visible from the anatomy depicted by Kahn.

The willful vertical strokes of the columns become the curtain that reveals the sights and sounds of a new place. The drawn structure then lies halfway between two revealed places. The drawn place seems to be silent, maybe because there is no man on the scene of the drawing this time. There is no trace of those animated soldiers depicted by Short and gone with the wind, nor of those two travelers portraying Themistocles and his father. Kahn himself seems to have disappeared to enter the drawn structure and join as an inhabitant of a new abode now shared by old deities and new men. His quick strokes are no longer those of a visitor from far away like the previous ones. The American traveler clings with his drawing to the structure, perhaps trying to understand the whispers of its memory. Unlike the distant position of the engraver and the travelling painter, Kahn enters the structure. There is no more exterior here than the interior of this stony anatomy.

12 Vincent Scully, "Louis I. Kahn and the Ruins of Rome," *Engineering & Science* 56, 2 (Winter 1993): 6.

13 Jan Hochstim, *The Paintings and Sketches of Louis I. Kahn* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1991), 273.

14 Louis Kahn, *Conversations with Students* (Houston: Architecture and Rice Publications. Princeton Architectural Press, 1969), 33.

15 *Ibid.*, 8.

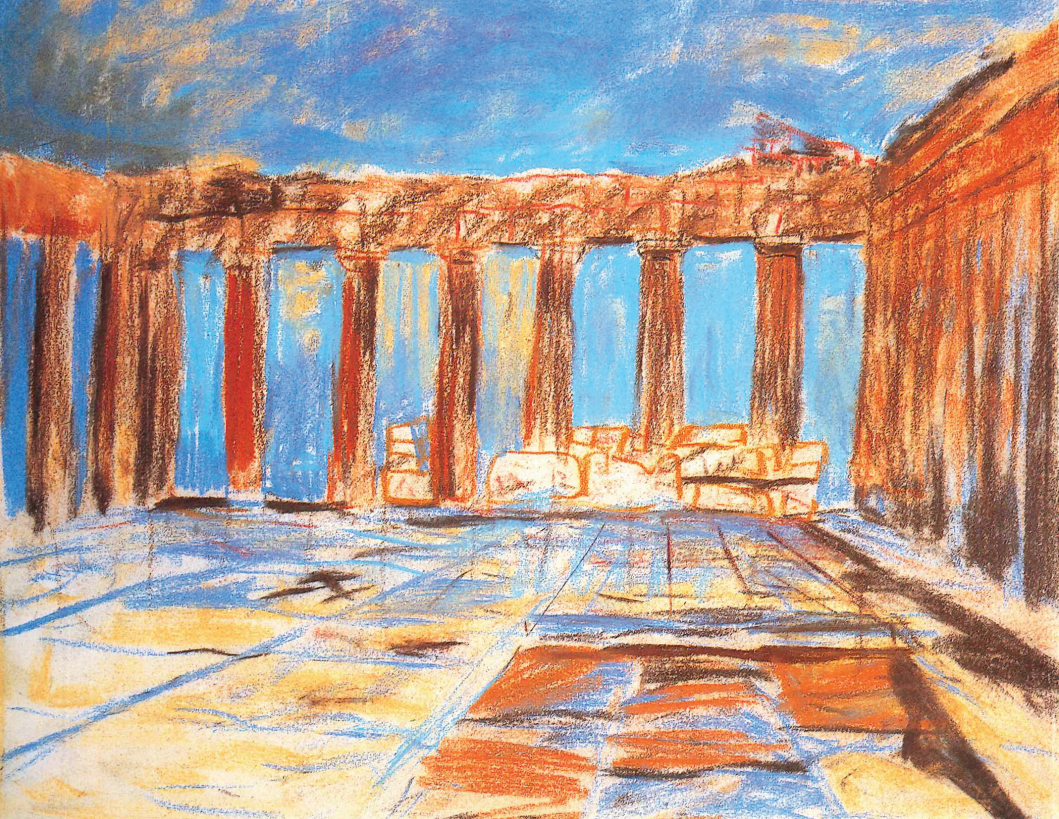


Fig. 8: Interior of the Parthenon. Louis Kahn, 1951

The 14 columns become a structure that blurs and confuses the boundary between the geographic environment where the engraver told the story of the dinner of the French and British troops and the divine clearing where the young Themistocles gazed at himself and his father and travel companion. While architects throughout history have recorded these places, Kahn's drawings are not merely portraits of buildings. They can be experienced as pure renderings of light, writes Sue Ann Kahn.¹⁶

Turned into a curtain between two places and two times and perhaps rattled by that wind pushing the clouds in the drawing, the structure lets us listen to the murmur of the conversation between deities and men on either side of a new homeland named by the structure itself. That lone inner column depicted by Short and Karl Paul has been replaced by the emptiness of a room that can travel to either side of this stone enclosure of sorts; to either side of a time that deities and men share in the same structure.

The nature of that exterior place discovered from the window that the engraver depicted has turned here into a deeply rooted place, an interior place that speaks of a new nature: one depicted as the common homeland of those old deities and the new men of the best modernity. If the engraver's gaze on the structure of the Parthenon was a window to a world of small men and times and the gaze of the traveling painter was that of the time of a clearing where he could tie himself to a different time, Kahn's gaze ends up being that mirror of a memory where the man looks at himself as destiny, to discover himself in a homeland shared by those deities who have fled and the men who listen to their absence. The warm burnt sienna and browns of the columns and the architraves stand out against the deep blue of the sky, providing a strong sense of depth. The blending of these colors in the foreground and in the sky unifies the composition and allows the eye to blend in an impressionistic manner, writes Hochstim.¹⁷

¹⁶ Sue Ann Kahn, "The Color of Light, the Treasury of Shadows," in *Louis Kahn: The Importance of a Drawing*, ed. Michael Merrill (Baden: Lars Müller Publishers, 2022), 78-79.

¹⁷ Hochstim, *The Paintings and Sketches*, 277.

If the upper side of the drawing shows a space inside the structure itself, the underside reveals that distant and infinite place. Both know each other and look upon the same structure that brings them together. Perhaps the former, that place inside the structure, is the room of the men; not just of any man, but of that man who listens and knows about the deities that inhabit that other place, distant and blue. The latter, outside, is the homeland where they ask for the return of those deities that once inhabited this same place. The structure is now the anatomy on which both realities are imprinted, which come together as part of a new homeland. This structure is the enclosure of a new *temenos*, that place where the Greek poets sang about the encounter between deities and men.

The drawn account of Louis Kahn's journey to the Parthenon leaves us with a parting word. Unlike the previous accounts, his place has no shadows. Its light is no longer that of a sun that dictates the fleeting time of a group of soldiers invited by their minister, nor is it that instant when the deities light the clearing discovered among the shadows of human existence with the light of the sky. The anatomy of this place is frozen in the time in which deities and men can and do strive to come together at the same time again. All material in nature, writes Kahn, the mountains and streams and the air and we, are made of light which has been spent, and this crumpled mass called material casts a shadow, and the shadow belongs to Light. So Light is really the source of all beginnings.¹⁸

As Many Lives as Extraordinary Journeys

Inhabiting the ruin is linked to the physical condition and to the memory that the place holds as a kind of soul. A soul that some travelers manage to turn into their own room. From those extraordinary journeys described by Serres, we learned that this memory holds a past time and the possible origin of a new time – a time waiting to be won. The memory of the ruin is that room where we stop or to which we travel in search of our own time and place and, ultimately, a new homeland.

We discover that the ruins of the Parthenon and the room they hold inside do not have a single life, just as they do not have a single time. That makes them magical, because their memory treasures the possibility of gaining the homeland of our own time and of our own destiny. Their structure is a place open to the novelty of our existence.

The story of these three journeys that make the Parthenon the room and destination of an extraordinary journey shows us that the memory living among its ruins is nothing more than the sum of all the places inhabited in it before: places resolved in a structure turned into a room, which knows of all those journeys that have become part of the memory.

Travelling inside the Parthenon helps us to think about ourselves, in this modern life explored by the Polish philosopher Bauman, as auctors, actors and authors,¹⁹ of a place that we construct when we know of its memory, which is nothing less than the memory of all those who managed to inhabit it in a truly extraordinary journey. For good travelers, the memory of these ruins is a place awaiting to be a homeland of their own destiny.

We know that the Parthenon of Athens has many lives. Its ghosts, those of its memory, span across the centuries, writes Rodríguez Adrados. For there are many Greeces and there are even many Athens,²⁰ as many as extraordinary journeys to the ruins of the Parthenon.

18 Louis Kahn, "Light," in *Between Silence and Light: Spirit in the Architecture of Louis I. Kahn*, eds. John Lobell and Louis I. Kahn (Colorado: Shambhala Publications, 1979), 22-23.

19 Zigmunt Bauman, *El arte de la vida* (Barcelona; Paidós, 2008), 99.

20 Francisco Rodríguez, "El Partenón en su momento histórico y espiritual," in *El Partenón en los orígenes de Europa*, eds. Francisco Rodríguez and Juan Rodríguez (Madrid: CSIC, 2003), 17.

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