

Christian Tuxen Falbe:

*Danish Consul-General and Antiquarian in Greece, 1833-5**

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Abstract

The topic of the paper is Christian Tuxen Falbe's tenure as Danish Consul-General in Greece from 1833 until 1835. It draws on sources in Danish archives as well as on previous publications by other scholars. Falbe fulfilled his duties in Greece diligently, but his efforts were not always appreciated by the authorities in Copenhagen, and they decided to terminate the position and recall him in the summer of 1835, because Danish shipping and trade in the Aegean had turned out to be negligible. Falbe's letters give a valuable and vivid firsthand account of life in the formative period of Modern Greece, and they reflect the roles played by Danes in this process. Special attention is given to Falbe's not entirely successful efforts to acquire antiquities for Denmark; those he managed to collect are kept in the Danish National Museum.

Introduction

Christian Tuxen Falbe (Fig. 1) was Danish Consul-General in Greece from 1833 until 1835, during which time he made efforts to acquire antiquities and coins for Danish collections. His role in this respect was similar to that of the British consuls in the Aegean, who were equally active in excavating and collecting antiquities for the British Museum at about the same time.¹ Indeed, from the point of view of the creation of the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities of the National Museum of Den-

mark, the first half of the 19th century has been referred to as the age of the Consular-Collectors.²

The primary documentary sources on Falbe's stay in Greece are his letters to various individuals in Denmark as well as his reports to the Royal Commerce Department [Kommercekollegiet & Departementet for de udenlandske Sager], which was responsible for the consular service in the then Ministry of Foreign Affairs.³ Most of these letters are unpublished, except for excerpts quoted (mainly in Danish) by the scholars who have previously

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1 Gunning 2009.

2 Bundgaard Rasmussen & Lund 2002 [2004], 172-3 and Lund 2015 [2016]; other Danish consuls, e.g. Alfred Friedrich von Dumreicher and Abraham Jacob Polack in Alexandria, and Peter Julius Löytved in Beirut, likewise collected antiquities for Danish museums. The French vice-consul in Athens, Louis François Sébastien Fauvel, and other diplomats from the then major European powers did the same.

3 Kjølens 1970, 302-6.

dealt with this subject.⁴ In a publication that came out in 1951, Niels Breitenstein focused on the antiquities in the Danish National Museum that were acquired by Falbe in Greece.⁵ Viveca Liventhal included a brief account of Falbe's Greek years in her biographical sketch from 1986,⁶ and Ida Haugsted gathered a good deal of the relevant evidence in her comprehensive publication on Danish antiquaries, architects and artists in Greece in the 19th century, which was published in 1996.⁷ This contribution seeks to place Falbe's Greek interlude in its historical setting, against the background of the relations between Denmark and the Greek state that emerged after the War of Independence (1821-32).⁸

Few Danes had visited the Aegean in the preceding centuries, when Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire.⁹ But some 20 Danish officers – of whom Moritz Hartmann is the most renowned – participated in the Venetian expedition to the Morea from 1685 to 1687.¹⁰ In 1737 only eight out of 4000 objects in the Royal Danish *Kunstkammer* originated from regions that formed part of the Ottoman Empire, and of these only two came from Greece: two marble heads from the Parthenon, which Moritz Hartmann acquired in Athens.¹¹ Carsten Niebuhr crossed the Aegean with his travel companions on his way to Arabia Felix in 1761.¹² However, the most consequential Danish traveller to Greece before the War of Independence was the archaeologist and philologist Peter Oluf Brøndsted, who arrived in July 1810 accompanied by his prospective brother-in-law, Georg Koës. The latter died at Zakynthos in September 1811, but Brøndsted stayed on until the Spring of 1813, and after his return to Copenhagen promulgated



Fig. 1. Portrait of Christian Tuxen Falbe painted by Adam Müller in 1830, reproduced with the kind permission of the owner.

his firsthand experience of ancient and contemporary Greece to a captivated Danish audience.¹³ The architect Jørgen Hansen Koch, who travelled in Greece from 1818 to 1819,¹⁴ was followed by a dozen or so Danish Philhellenes who participated in the Greek War of Independence,¹⁵ and after the liberation by the theologian Johannes Ferdinand Fenger, who published one of the first books in Denmark on Modern Greece in 1832.¹⁶

4 The archival resources are listed in the bibliography. For a list of the letters see Haugsted 1996, 355-6 nos. 44-76.

5 Breitenstein 1951, 106-9; for an updated discussion see Lund 2000a, 124-7.

6 Liventhal 1986, 343-4. See also Christiansen 2000, 47-48.

7 Haugsted 1996, 89-137.

8 Gallant 2001, 16-26 dates the end of the War of Independence to 1828. Brewer 2001 opts for 1833. In my view, 1832 – the year of the Treaties of London and Constantinople – constitutes a more logical end date.

9 Brewer 2010; Greene 2015; Gallant 2015.

10 Bobé 1933, 61-7; many of these originated in parts of the then Danish realm, which are no longer included in the Danish state. In the present essay all such persons are regarded as Danish.

11 Gundestrup 1990, 48 and 53.

12 Niebuhr 1774, 34-42; Haslund Hansen & Rasmussen (eds) 2005, 225-33.

13 Brøndsted 1844; see further Haugsted 1996, 11-46, 347 and 349-50; Bundgaard Rasmussen 2000; Haugsted 2000; Bundgaard Rasmussen *et al.* (eds) 2007 and Lund forthcoming with references to previous publications.

14 Haugsted 1996, 47-62.

15 Krarup 1985; Pelt 2000; Ghazaleh 2005; Papanikolaou-Kristensen 2010, 2540; Koukíou-Mitropoúλου 2014; my article in this publication on Friedel. St Clair 2008 scarcely refers to the Danish Philhellenes. For Frederik von Scholten's journeys in the Aegean, 1824-1829, see Lund 2014.

16 Fenger 1832; Haugsted 1996, 77-8, 348.

Greece in the decade after the War of Independence

Greece underwent a turbulent period in the wake of the War of Independence, but in 1832 Britain, Russia and France agreed to a Convention in London guaranteeing the existence of Greece as a monarchical and independent state,¹⁷ and a Treaty signed in Constantinople in July 1832 laid down the borders of the new nation.¹⁸

The three signatory powers offered hereditary sovereignty of Greece to Otto, the 16-year-old second son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria.¹⁹ But since he was a minor, King Ludwig appointed a Regency of three members, who were to rule until Otto came of age on 1 June 1835: Count Joseph-Ludwig von Armansperg, who emerged as the Regency's undisputed leader, the law professor Georg-Ludwig Ritter von Maurer and the general Carl-Wilhelm von Heideck, with Karl-August Ritter von Abel and Johann-Baptist von Greiner as supplementary members.²⁰ Maurer and Abel were later recalled following internal quarrels and intrigues, to be replaced by Egid von Kobell and Johann Baptist von Greiner.²¹

3500 Bavarian soldiers accompanied Otto to Greece to guarantee his safety, and Bavarian officers were given the task of training the Greek army.²² In the words of the historian Thomas W. Gallant: "the war for 'liberation' from a foreign yoke had resulted merely in a change of masters."²³ The government was autocratic and most of the administrative branches were dominated by Germans, Greek politicians being largely relegated to roles in the three political factions which emerged: the French, the English and the Russian party. The Regency officially pursued a policy of impartiality towards all the powers, but in reality often seems to have favoured the French party.²⁴

The establishment of a Danish Consulate General in Greece

On 28 October 1829, the Commerce Department asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs if the time had come to establish a Danish General Consul in Greece. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs initially rejected the proposal, but the Commerce Department submitted a new enquiry on 26 March 1831 with reference to the importance for Danish shipping of having a General Consul in Greece to "watch over the rights and security of the Danish citizens there". This time the response was positive. On 29 April 1831 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concluded that the Greek state was by now sufficiently stable to make the creation of such a position desirable,

in particular if the man who might be chosen for this post, was to possess mercantile and diplomatic as well as other personal qualities enabling him to handle the interest of Denmark in general and also with wisdom and force to further the requirements of those countrymen who might need his protection.

Falbe must have been aware of the possible outcome of the deliberations, because he applied to King Frederik VI for the post in April 1830,²⁵ and was appointed Danish Consul General in Greece on 17 September 1831, with an annual salary of 5000 silver rix-dollars.

Falbe's background

Born in Elsinore in 1791, Falbe had been educated at the Naval Academy in a wide range of skills, including mathematics, languages and the drawing of maps.²⁶ He resigned from the Navy in 1821 with the rank of Commander in order to become Danish Consul General in Tunis,²⁷

17 Clogg 2013, 39-41; Brewer 2000, 350-1; Angeláki 2010, 137-45.

18 Gallant 2001, 28.

19 Bower & Bolitho 1939, 29; Friedrich 2015.

20 Bower & Bolitho 1939, 30; Petropulos 1968, 155-8; Dickopf 1995; Kotsowillis 2007, 18-26; Friederich 2015, 102-23.

21 Bower & Bolitho 1939, 65-8; Petropulos 1968, 157-8; Dickopf 1995, 86; Friedrich 2015, 125-38.

22 Hildebrandt 1995. An interesting pictorial record of the presence of the Bavarian soldiers in these years are the albums with watercolours by Ludwig Köllnberger, cf. Heydenreuter 1995; Baumstark 1999, 388-92 no. 228 and Παπασπύρου-Καραδημητρίου 2000.

23 Gallant 2001, 32-3; Petropulos 1968, 162-5; Bastéa 2000, 18-23; Clogg 2013, 43, 273-4; for a more positive assessment, see Kotsowillis 2007, 57-63.

24 Petropulos 1968, 192-201 and 215-7.

25 Letter from Falbe written in Copenhagen on 2 April 1830 kept in The Danish State Archives, "Det kongelige General-toldkammer og Commerce-Collegium, Grækenland Danske konsuler 1829-1845", like the other documents referred to below.

26 Steensen 1951, 170-86.

27 Lund 1992.



Fig. 2. *Nauplion seen from the sea in March 1825; watercolour by Frederik Scholten in the Maritime Museum of Denmark. Photo: John Lee.*

where he developed an interest in Antiquity thanks to the influence of Frederik Münter, a professor of theology and Bishop of Zealand.²⁸ Falbe initiated excavations and undertook the difficult task of surveying the site of ancient Carthage. The resulting map was highly accurate and secured him enduring international recognition after it was published in 1833.²⁹

While in Tunisia, Falbe received a letter from the Danish Prince Christian Frederik, the future King Christian VIII, who during a tour of Italy in 18201 had developed a keen interest in coins and antiquities, in particular Greek and South Italian vases. Christian Frederik encouraged

Falbe to continue his antiquarian studies in Tunisia, urging him to collect antiquities and to ship them to Denmark. The latter was more than happy to comply and from then on regularly corresponded with the Prince.³⁰

When on leave in Copenhagen, Falbe began working in the Vase Cabinet of the prince, and he continued this work after his term as Danish Consul General in Tunisia ended in 1832.³¹ The Prince presented Falbe with a diamond brooch valued at 100 rix-dollars on 26 May 1833 (shortly before his departure for Greece), in recognition of the presumably unpaid work that he had carried out in his beloved Vase Cabinet.³²

²⁸ Lund 1992, 91-2.

²⁹ Falbe 1833. Cf. Freed 2011, 39-41.

³⁰ Lund 2000a, 121-4.

³¹ Falbe writes in a letter to Christian VIII dated 7 February 1847 that he has had the honour of working for the Vase Cabinet for nineteen years; cited by Breitenstein 1951, 154.

³² Breitenstein, 1951, 106.

In Nauplion, 1833-34

Nauplion was one of the few towns in Greece that had emerged relatively unscathed from the War of Independence,³³ and Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first president, chose this town (alternately with Aegina) for the seat of his government.³⁴ On his arrival in February 1833,³⁵ Otto made Nauplion the first provisional capital of Greece.³⁶

Falbe arrived at Nauplion (Fig. 2) at the end of November 1833, accompanied by his wife, their five children and two Danish servants.³⁷ Christoph Heinrich Detlef Fabricius – a Danish Philhellene who was now employed by Otto – helped Falbe rent a house;³⁸ the price was reasonable, but Falbe compared the lodgings to a poorly constructed house of cards, “full of windows and doors, none of which can be closed, and rain comes through the roof”, and he was obliged to spend 8000 rix-dollars on settling down, without any refund from the Treasury.³⁹ He and his wife were both afflicted by daily headaches and their children caught measles.⁴⁰ Moreover, Falbe was unhappy about his position – he felt that it would have added to his prestige if he could have travelled to Greece on board the Danish Corvette Galathea –⁴¹ and as a mere General Consul, he was not part of the diplomatic corps, and this was a draw-back in his dealings

with the Greek officials.⁴² Due to this lack of diplomatic status, Falbe was not invited to Otto’s New Year audience on 13 January 1834. However, the British Resident, E. J. Dawkins, intervened on his behalf and he was summoned to a separate audience at very short notice immediately afterwards.⁴³ Falbe characterised the young king as “neither *short-sighted nor bandy-legged*, even if he is hard of hearing on his left ear and lisps slightly”.⁴⁴ He found him a pleasant enough person with nice manners, who spoke with thoughtfulness and sense.⁴⁵ Other observers were far more critical.⁴⁶ Falbe also came in contact with the Regency, in particular Count von Armandsberg, reporting home that its members had been stupid enough to let the public become aware of their difficulties in working together, something that he considered detrimental not only to its own reputation but also to that of the king.⁴⁷ Maurer and Abel turned against von Armandsberg, and the two were recalled to Bavaria in late July 1834.⁴⁸ Falbe was satisfied with this turn of events, noting that he and his wife, together with the English emissary, had been the only ones among the foreign ministers and agents “who had not acted as a turncoat towards the Count and his family”.⁴⁹ Ludwig Ross noted that Falbe’s wife had been so eager to wait on Armandsberg’s wife that she

33 Woodhouse 1973, 347.

34 Woodhouse 1973, 415, 488-507.

35 Bower & Bolitho 1939, 37-41; Haugsted 1996, 82-4; Baumstark (ed.) 1999, 355-61 nos. 188-93; Brewer 2001, 350; Kouria 2007, 191-3 figs 153-5, 194-6 figs 156-8.

36 Bower & Bolitho 1939, 42: “The population of Nauplia did not exceed six thousand before Otho landed there. But when the news of his arrival spread through the country-side, strangers of all nationalities swarmed to the town.” See also Ross 1863, 68; Kouria 2007, 190, 198 and 199 with figs 160 and 161.

37 Haugsted 1996, 90.

38 Militært repertorium 2.r.II, 1845 216-20; Krarup 1985, 51 and *passim*; Haugsted 1996, 89 note 1, 291-2 and *passim*; Pakkanen 2006, 101, 142-3; Παπανικολάου-Κρίστενσεν 2010, 40.

39 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik written in Nauplion on 10 March 1834.

40 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik, Copenhagen, 24 December 1833, Haugsted 1996, 91. See also a letter from Falbe in The Danish State Archives, the archive of R.A. Adler.

41 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik written in Nauplion on 28 January 1834.

42 Letter to Hans Krabbe-Carisius from Nafplia dated 22 January 1834; letter to Prince Christian Frederik written in Nauplion on 28 January 1834. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs were probably reluctant to change Falbe’s status because of the additional expenses this would have involved.

43 Letter to Hans Krabbe-Carisius from Nauplion dated 22 January 1834. Ross 1863, 70-71 reports the same incident, but with the added information that Falbe actually turned up at the same time as the diplomats, demanding to be presented with them and making a fool of himself when he was refused.

44 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik written in Nauplion on 24 December 1833. Haugsted 1996, 91.

45 Haugsted 1996, 91.

46 Bower & Bolitho 1939, 72-3 and 77-8; Petropoulos 1968, 230-3; Christiane Lüth described him as a loveable man but slow and pedantic, see Clausen & Rist (eds) 1926, 98-9; Detlevsen 1978, 66; Lüth 1988, 56.

47 Letters to J.G. Adler dated 31 March and 14 July 1834 in The Danish State Archives, the archive of R.A. Adler.

48 Bower & Bolitho 1939, 65-7.

49 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik, written in Nauplion on 4 August 1834.

was referred to in Nauplion as “*die erste Hofdame der Gräfin-Mutter*”.⁵⁰

At the same time, Falbe also had dealings with Greeks. In January 1834, he informed the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs of his meetings with the Minister of the Interior, Ioannis Kolettis,⁵¹ who had reassured him that “the influence of the administration will succeed against the rebellious party, dreaming of the independence of the country, who assault it and have revolted against the Regency”.⁵² Kolettis was referring to a suspected insurrection by the Russian Party led by Theodoros Kolokotronis, who had been arrested with other suspects in the late summer of 1833.⁵³ Falbe also reported on the arrival of a deputation from Samos, which was excluded from the territory of independent Greece, asking for asylum for the Greek families on the island that would prefer to emigrate rather than submit to Turkish rule. They were invited to settle in a ruined town and on nearby land in Euboea in compensation for what they had lost.⁵⁴

An excursion to Mantinea, Tegea and Sparta

One of the persons Falbe met in Nauplion was the philologist and archaeologist Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer (1801-94), a Dane from Husum in Schleswig, who had come to Greece with financial support from the “Fonden ad usos publicos”.⁵⁵ More consequential, however, was his encounter with “Mr. Ross, Doct: Filos”.⁵⁶ The person in question was Ludwig Ross from Holstein, at the time a Duchy in personal union with Denmark. Falbe regarded

him as Danish,⁵⁷ but Ross did not consider himself so, and today he is claimed for German scholarship.⁵⁸ He had come to Greece in 1832 with a grant from the “Fonden ad usos publicos”, and he served as the Ephor of Antiquities of the Peloponnese from November 1833 to May 1834, with responsibilities for Arcadia, Laconia, parts of Argolis and Elis. In 1834 he was appointed Keeper of all the antiquities in Greece.⁵⁹

On 28 January 1834, Falbe wrote to Prince Christian Frederik:

Tomorrow I shall depart on a small tour to Mantinea, Tegea and Sparta with Doctor Ross. I cannot expect to obtain any antiquities on this journey because he [Ross] wishes to keep everything for the state. This zeal cannot be tempered by my persuasive arguments ... I hope ... that my present modesty and deference to the needs of the state may stand me in good stead when I, in time, might wish to acquire something really valuable that they hold in duplicate in the state collections.”⁶⁰

In this respect the journey was a disappointment to him. Upon his return, Falbe wrote:

“My trip to Tripolitza and Mistra gave so little result that it is hardly worth reporting upon. Anything in the way of an antiquity was requisitioned by Dr Ross on behalf of the government. The government traces all antiquities and makes such great demands that all private individuals must hand over objects to the State Museum that is to be set up, and the officials have orders to reserve everything that is found so that there is very little prospect of obtaining any marbles, inscriptions, vases or bronzes.”⁶¹

50 Ross 1863, 71.

51 Baumstark (ed.) 1999, 385 no. 223; Clogg 2013, 269-70.

52 Haugsted 1996, 91.

53 Kolokotronis was condemned to death but pardoned in 1835; see Petropoulos 1968, 201-12; Clegg 1992, 245.

54 Letter to J.G. Adler written in Nauplion on 31 March 1834. His source may well have been reports in *Le sauveur*, a newspaper published in Nauplion; the story appears in a cutting he sent home to Denmark.

55 Haugsted 1996, 91-2, 348.

56 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik written in Nauplion on 24 December 1833. Haugsted 105 note 20.

57 Christian Hansen also regarded Ross as a Dane, cf. Papanicolaou-Christensen 1994, 60.

58 Goette & Palagia (eds) 2005. Dyson 2008, 73-4 refers to him as “German”.

59 Letter to Johan Gunder Adler, 4 November 1834. Haugsted 1996, 138 note 1: “I am, however, in a position to notify our most gracious Prince of something good. – The Danish Doctor Phil. Ross has been named Keeper of all Antiquities of Greece, a post which is honourable and gives him a secure salary of 500 rix-dollar species.” See further Pántov & Kreeb 2005.

60 Breitenstein 1951, 106; Lund 2000a, 124-7. For the journey to Sparta, see also Ross 1869, 72-4 and Lund 2000a, 124-7.

61 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik, 10 March 1834. Breitenstein 1951, 106-8; Haugsted 1996, 92, 356 no. 47; Lund 2000a, 124-7. For the Greek government’s restrictions on the export of antiquities in the 19th century, cf. Kvist 1997.

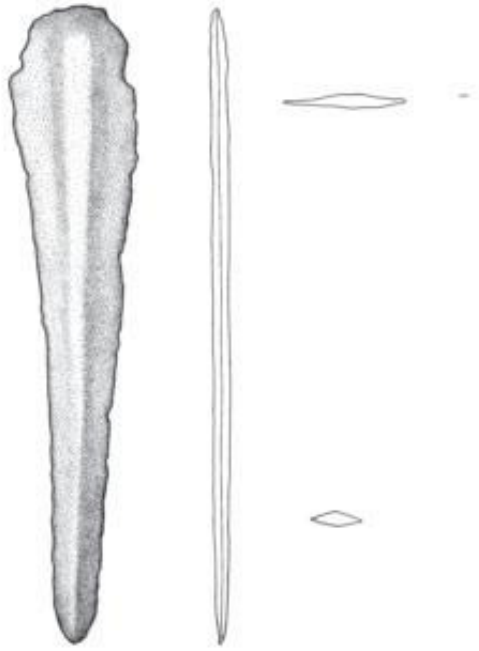


Fig. 3. Bronze dagger allegedly from Seriphos, *The National Museum of Denmark, Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities*, I.n. Aba 341, drawn by Poul Wöliche.

Despite the restrictions,⁶² Falbe was able to acquire some antiquities from the Peloponnese during this trip, which he later presented to Christian Frederik. They are now part of the Danish National Museum: fragments of a grave

relief⁶³ and an inscription⁶⁴ from Tegea, a fragment of a sculpture⁶⁵ and a piece of an inscription from Tripoli,⁶⁶ as well as two fragments of inscriptions from Sparta.⁶⁷ Moreover, an entry for 1842 in the inventory of the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities informs us that nine pieces of gold jewellery were handed in by Com. Capt. Falbe, “who had acquired them in Nauplia in 1834. They had been found in tombs in Aegina.”⁶⁸ In the same year, he also got hold of objects from the Cycladic island of Serifos:⁶⁹ pottery⁷⁰ and oil lamps from different periods,⁷¹ a terracotta figure⁷² and some bronzes (Fig. 3).⁷³ These antiquities were the contents of the two boxes, “one with stones and the other with pots and potsherds”, which he sent to Prince Christian Frederik via the Danish Vice-Consul in Marseille.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, one item of the “medals, terracottas and tombstones” was missing when the objects were loaded on the Danish ship “Ludwig” in November.⁷⁵

But Falbe’s visit to Sparta paid off in another respect. The Regency embarked on an ambitious programme involving the foundation of numerous new towns initiated by Kapodistrias,⁷⁶ and the re-foundation of Sparta was decided by a decree of 20 February 1834.⁷⁷ During the trip with Ross, Falbe had surveyed the terrain of the new town, and his plan “found the approval of Count von Armanberg; he used it to point out the terrain where he intends to re-build Sparta”.⁷⁸ Falbe’s plan from 1834 seems to be preserved in a copy from 1882 published by Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas, who was unaware of its origin.⁷⁹

62 It is highly unlikely that Falbe could have acquired the rather bulky antiquities in question without the knowledge and permission of Ross, who himself presented two Cycladic figurines and other antiquities to Prince Christian Frederik (later King Christian VIII), cf. Riis *et al.* 1989, 26-9 nos. 12-3.

63 Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, Inventory number (I.n.) ABb 119.

64 I.n. ABb 121.

65 I.n. ABb 135.

66 I.n. ABb 120.

67 I.n. ABb 117, 122.

68 I.n. Aba 208-15.

69 There is no indication in Falbe’s correspondence that he himself visited Seriphos, as tentatively suggested in Lund 2000a, 125.

70 I.n. Chr. VIII 387, 418, 438 and 631; Chr. VIII 383 originates from Aegina or Seriphos.

71 I.n. Chr. VIII 577, 581, 588-589.

72 I.n. Chr. VIII 716.

73 I.n. Aba 267-72, 283-7, 341-3. For the illustrated dagger, I.n. 341, see Dietz *et al.* 2015, 22 no. 12.

74 Letter to Johan Gunder Adler written in Nauplion on 7 July 1834. Haugsted 1996, 92.

75 Letter to Johan Gunder Adler written in Nauplion on 4 November 1834.

76 Bastéa 2000, 43-68.

77 Papanicolaou-Christensen 1994, 60 note 29.

78 For the new town plan of Sparta, see Haugsted 1996, 95; Papageorgiou-Venetas 2009, 206-10.

79 Papageorgiou-Venetas 2008, 208 fig. 86: “Urheber nicht gesichert”. The draughtsmanship is highly similar to the plans made by Falbe in Tunisia, cf. Lund 2000b.



Fig. 4. *Perspective view of Athens, sketch and watercolour by Christian Hansen, 1836, The Danish National Art Library, Architectural Drawings S 18545.*

A Danish Institute at Athens?

In his first letter from Nauplion written on Christmas Eve 1833, Falbe informed Prince Christian Frederik of the Regency's plan to transfer the capital to Athens.⁸⁰ He looked forward to this, because the climate in Nauplion did not agree with him. Greek families who also wanted to move there were putting pressure on the Government to set things in motion and so were 150 families from Chios, who wished to settle in the Piraeus.⁸¹

Falbe later reported home that the members of the Regency used all occasions to "urge the foreign envoys and everybody else to build in Athens", arguing that this would be cheaper than renting. He claimed that a building lot might be bought at a reasonable price and that most of the wood and iron needed for construction work could come from Denmark. Moreover,

"the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters and the Royal Museum in Copenhagen might wish to have a place in Athens, where scientists and

artists could deposit their things and where one could receive and lodge *high*-ranking persons who wished to visit the town".

Falbe urged immediate action,⁸² noting the expenditure involved in building a consulate would repay itself after eight years in comparison with the money to be paid for renting.⁸³

Regrettably, nothing came of Falbe's proposal, which in a way anticipated the founding of the Danish Institute in Athens in 1992.⁸⁴ It is not without interest that the first foreign Archaeological School in Greece, the *École française d'Athènes*, was not established until 1846, followed by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in 1874, the *American School of Classical Studies* in 1881 and the *British School* in 1886.⁸⁵

Athens 1834-5

Around 1800, Athens had about 9000 inhabitants and 1200 to 1300 houses,⁸⁶ but the town was subsequently

80 Athens was first spoken of as the future capital of Greece in a German newspaper in October 1832, according to Mackenzie 1992, 128. The idea was enthusiastically endorsed by Ludwig I of Bavaria, the father of King Otto, cf. Bower & Bolitho 1939, 73; Papageorgiou-Venetis 1999, 69; Bastéa 2000, 6-9; Kotsowillis 2007, 40-1; Papageorgiou-Venetis 2008, 31-41.

81 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik, Copenhagen, 24 December 1833, Haugsted 1996, 91.

82 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik, Copenhagen, dated 28 January 1834. Liventhal 1986, 344; Haugsted 1996, 98, 109 note 50.

83 Letter to Prince Christian Frederik, 10 March 1834.

84 Lehmann 1994, 3: "It is said, albeit with a certain reservation, that the Danish General Consul in Athens, Christian Tuxen Falbe, was the first to suggest the establishment of a Danish Institute in Athens already in the 1830'ies."

85 Korka (ed.) 2005.

86 Lund 2009, 75.



Fig. 5. Hadrian's Library and the Tzistarakis mosque, watercolour by General Carl Wilhelm von Heideck, dated 15 April 1835 and presented to Christine Stampe. Copenhagen, the Royal Museum of Fine Art, Nysø Album Td 145.

destroyed during the War of Independence, and it was said to have no more than 6000 inhabitants in 1832 (Figs 4-5).⁸⁷ Two years later, Athens hardly comprised 150 small houses and the same number of miserable huts, which made it difficult and expensive to find lodgings there.⁸⁸ Falbe described the incredibly chaotic conditions of the transfer from Nauplion in mid-winter during rain and sleet in December 1834, comparing the scene to Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in 1812.⁸⁹ The furniture and luggage of 3000 people, which had been sent to the Piraeus, had been left on the beach because of the absence of

"storage magazines, wagons to transport the goods and a road to transport them on" (Fig. 6). A new road from Piraeus to Athens had been decreed, but not completed, whereas the old road had been made impassable. The ship carrying Falbe's family from Salamis to Athens was very nearly wrecked, and they only reached Piraeus after five hours of rowing, wet through due to bad weather; they then had to endure one and a half hours in an open carriage to Athens, where they had to spend the night in the allotted house without bedclothes or spare clothes.

⁸⁷ Kairophilas 2011, 41; Bower & Bolitho 1939, 73-4; Mackenzie 1992, 105-26; Papageorgiou-Venetas 1999, 69; Angelomátis 2007. Bastéa (2000, 10-14) paints a somewhat more positive picture.

⁸⁸ Letter from Falbe in The State Archives, The Archive of Christian VIII; Mackenzie 1992, 125: "only about a hundred and fifty [houses] were still in a reasonable condition"; Papageorgiou-Venetas 1999, 71: "Nach Ende des Unabhängigkeitskrieges waren nur and die 25 der etwa 1200 Häuser in der Altstadt intakt geblieben". According to Bastéa (2000, 6), Athens had a population of about 12,000 in 1834.

⁸⁹ The State Archives, The Archive of Christian VIII.