

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
IRVINE

Tracing a Monument: Creating Spaces  
THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS  
In Art History

By  
Danielle Elizabeth Ortiz

Thesis Committee  
Professor Margaret M. Miles  
Associate Professor Roland Betancourt  
Associate Professor Andromache Karanika

2019



## **Dedication**

To

Mom and Dad, for your endless support and love

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## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to express my immense gratitude to Professor Margaret M. Miles, who not only encouraged me to pursue art history as a career, but has given me tremendous support and kindness. I feel truly blessed to have had the opportunity to work with such a passionate and deeply knowledgeable professor.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my other committee members, Professor Roland Betancourt and Professor Andromache Karanika for their time and support in all my academic endeavors.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my partner, for being my rock and supporting my passions

## **Abstract of Thesis**

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Danielle Elizabeth Ortiz

Master of Arts in Art History

University of California, Irvine, 2019

Professor Margaret M. Miles

The Choragic Monument of Lysikrates, 334 BCE was erected by the choregos Lysikrates — a wealthy Athenian who sponsored non-government funded dramatic productions — in order to commemorate the first prize of a production he had sponsored in the theatre of Dionysos. Inspired by the publication of classical Athenian architectural engravings of two English architects, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, many emulations and replicas have been produced long after the erection of the initial monument in Greece. Each version is located in a different geographical space, and through exhaustive investigation, this paper aims to trace the viewers' approach and the shifting narrative surrounding each version, building from the original to form a larger understanding and critique of the form.

## Introduction

Along the ancient road in Athens from the Agora around the northeast side of the Akropolis to the theater and sanctuary of Dionysos – the Street of Tripods – stands the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates (Figure 1), dated by its dedicatory inscription to 335-334 BCE. Here, a tripod was once displayed, meant to commemorate the victors, not of the stadium, but the first prize from the Festival of Dionysos. Erected by the choregos Lysikrates, a wealthy Athenian who sponsored non-government-funded dramatic productions, this monument is the most complete, original choregic monument still standing, and also one of the first examples of the exterior use of the Corinthian order.<sup>1</sup> Although its shape, scale and size were innovative in the fourth century BCE, even among other contemporary choregic monuments — Lysikrates’ commemorative monument has inspired many later emulations. The choregic monument was fully illustrated and published by James “Athenian” Stuart and Nicholas Revett in their eighteenth-century publication *The Antiquities of Athens*, 1762, (Figure 2) and their publication has been instrumental in its long-standing impact. The replicas and imitations sprouted up all around the globe in the years following the publication and may seem to have little to do with the context of the original monument; nevertheless, the various uses of the structure reflect unique modes of place-making. The monument of Lysikrates has become a token of the classical period and continues to symbolize ideals associated with that period. Through an exhaustive investigation of later iterations of this monument, I intend to survey the uses and interaction with the form of the monument to determine how the same architectural structure can be encountered and interpreted by its respective audiences in distinctive ways depending on its time, place, and use.

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<sup>1</sup> James Stuart, Nicholas Revett, and Frank Salmon, *Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Painters and Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), 28.

## Background

The monument itself is about thirty-three feet tall, including its rectangular base. It has a solid, cylindrical shaft and is surrounded by six Corinthian columns. The decorated, monolithic dome is topped with a finial that once supported a bronze tripod, the prize of the winner in theatrical competitions. The top part of the drum has a frieze carved with the repeated image of a tripod (the original tripod no longer exists). Bronze tripods were common prizes for various achievements, so the commemorative aspect of the monument would have been evident when the tripod was still prominently displayed. The columns, as stated earlier, are the first known example of the exterior use of the Corinthian order.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the majority of later Greek revival architects favored the Doric and Ionic orders because of their simple style, but the uses of the Lysikrates Monument do not conform to those characteristics. Many later emulations repeat the Corinthian style of the monument even though both Ionic and Doric are sometimes used within the same structure. Although the physical characteristics of the monument are consistent through most emulations, the geographical and social environments where each later construction was set up varies significantly from the context of the Theater of Dionysos.

The Theater of Dionysos is the earliest constructed theater of the Greek world. Before this, plays and orations were performed in the Agora – the center of all public life in Greece from the 500 to the mid-300s. Most surviving Greek plays were written for performance at the Theater of Dionysos; it was a space of choral production and the birthplace of ancient Greek tragedy.<sup>3</sup> The theater is considerably well-preserved, in large part as a result of the Lycurgan reconstruction of ca. 338-326 BCE. A line of stones surrounding the skene is thought to be the

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<sup>2</sup> James Stuart, Nicholas Revett, and Frank Salmon, *Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Painters and Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Eric Dugdale, *Greek Theater in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 48.

only remaining archaeological trace of the original, excavated by archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld in the 1880s.<sup>4</sup> The natural incline on the north slopes of the Akropolis provided area for seating – a built-up leveled terrace formed the orchestra. Until the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE audiences sat on wooden seats, with central productions observed from a semi-circular, staggered audience. During the time of the construction of the Lysikrates Monument, Greek middle comedy and late tragedy were major genres of play production, and especially those of Menander (342-291) BCE, who was a dramatist, well-known for Athenian New Comedy.<sup>5</sup> Productions were predominantly choral with an abundance of singing and dancing, and most often performed in the competition.<sup>6</sup> According to Roy C. Flickinger in *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*, 1960, initially, the most common prize won in Tragedy was a goat, which, more often than not, was sacrificed to the gods. For comedy, the common prize was a jar of wine.<sup>7</sup> Only the first prize winners were considered victors, making the Lysikrates Monument a commemoration of the playwright, actors, and choregos who won the first prize in a theatrical competition. Dionysos, the god commonly associated with wine-making, cultivation, fertility, theater, and religious ecstasy was a prominent figure in the activities surrounding the theater and the monument. As for the monument, the well-preserved sculptured frieze above the Corinthian columns illustrates one of Dionysos' adventures as a mischievous young god, whose interpretation has varied in more recent times.

### **The Interpretation of the Frieze**

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<sup>4</sup> Rhys F. Townsend, "The Fourth-Century Skene of the Theater of Dionysos at Athens," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 55, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1986): 433.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Wallace Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

<sup>6</sup> Roy Caston Flickinger, *Greek Theater and Its Drama* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 268.

<sup>7</sup> Flickinger, *Greek Theater and Its Drama*, 267-8.

In the mid-1600s, when a Capuchin monastery was built near the Akropolis, the monument was purchased by the monks, when it was nicknamed the “Lantern of Demosthenes” or the “Lantern of Diogenes.”<sup>8</sup> It was then believed that the monument was a dedication to the games held on the island Aegina, in honor of Demosthenes – an Athenian statesman and orator, who lived 384-322 BCE or the nickname may refer to the philosopher Diogenes who is said to have searched for an honest man with a lantern.<sup>9</sup> The sculptured frieze depicts a narrative of a figure wearing the skin of a wild beast, originally mistaken as a representation of the labors of Herakles. The more accurate drawings made by Stuart and Revett in the eighteenth century are responsible for the recognition of the frieze as a story borrowed from the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* (Figure 3).<sup>10</sup>

Due to this identification with the material in the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos, I will go over the narrative with the goal to contrast two interpretations. *The Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* describes a dark-haired Dionysos standing on the shore, mistaken by Tyrsenian pirates as the mortal son of a king. The pirates kidnap him and attempt to bind Dionysos in the hopes of collecting a ransom before realize he was a god. Just as they offer him passage to Egypt or Cyprus, Dionysos floods the ship with wine and constricts the sails with blooming vines. He transforms into a lion, intimidating the pirate crew, and one by one sends them fleeing into the sea while simultaneously turning them into dolphins.<sup>11</sup> The details of the narrative of the hymn differ significantly from the frieze, however. The architectural relief depicts the story as taking place on the shore, rather than the ship, and Dionysos, not alone, but attended by two satyrs to

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<sup>8</sup> J.R. McCredie, "The Lysikrates Monument & Street of the Tripods," *The Ancient City of Athens*, 2004, accessed April 11, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert F. De Cou, "The Frieze of the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates at Athens," *The American Journal of Archaeology and the History of the Fine Arts* 8, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1893): 44, accessed April 11, 2019, Jstor.org.

<sup>10</sup> De Cou, "The Frieze of the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates at Athens," 48, accessed April 11, 2019, Jstor.org.

<sup>11</sup> Hugh G. Evelyn-White, Ed, "Hymn Seven to Dionysus," *Perseus Digital Library*, 2013, accessed April 15, 2019.

either side, collectively enjoying large craters of wine. They are shown being attacked by the pirates on the shore when the satyrs – characterized by their tails – take vengeance and fight back against the pirates. The pirates are beaten and burned by the satyrs and take refuge in the sea while being turned into dolphins by an invisible force. Some scholars have speculated that the setting of the narrative was changed because of the requirements of low-relief sculpture. The confines of low-relief sculpture did not allow for a more detailed depiction of the Homeric version of the narrative. Another hypothesis suggests that the frieze is a representation of the first prize performance at the Theater of Dionysos and the variations in the relief mirrored the liberties taken by the playwright. Whether the details of the frieze are a result of medium specificity or follow a reinterpretation of the original story as given in the winning play, viewers encounter the frieze with this particular layout of figures. Of course, the relief does not change, but the interpretations of it will.

### **Confronting the Lysikrates Monument**

The important thing to note is that people encounter the monument with varied predispositions. They interpret the monument differently depending on what preexisting information they encounter the space with. In the later fourth century BCE, pedestrians along the Street of the Tripods would have been familiar with the Theater of Dionysos as opposed to someone confronting the monument in the present day. This inference is based on our knowledge of the theater's popularity in the ancient world, and it may be speculated that Athenian audiences, within reasonable proximity to the Akropolis, would be aware of the play produced by the choragos who won the first prize. This juxtaposition of audiences of the same monument is intended to create an expanded understanding of time that has passed between the erection of the monument and its contemporary dealings. As the centuries passed and the theater fell out of

use, the common narrative associated with the monument changed. People approached the monument differently as their expectations and interpretations of its form have shifted. One association, relevant to a medieval audience, without the background knowledge of the theater and its productions, was an association with the Olympic Games.<sup>12</sup> The differences between these two narratives are evident. If the frieze narrative is understood as a depiction of the labors of Herakles, then viewers would associate the monument with physical achievement, Olympic Games, and religious connotations associated with other Olympian gods like Zeus. Whereas the correct interpretation of the frieze would point directly to Dionysos with associated connotations of wine, sexual pleasure, and creative victory; satyrs on the frieze serve wine out of a large krater. The monument might then evoke wine, sexual pleasure, and creative victory. Of course some viewers have approached the monument with no predetermined knowledge at all, and invented their own frieze narratives based on their personal histories and experiences, much like how people encounter work of art without the foundation of art history. The interpretations become obscured, naturally, over time as the community changes; however, because of the reproduction of the monument in a wide array of places, the structure could suggest certain connotations that it never would have in Greece. Though the form and the detail remain the same, the ideas surrounding the monument vary from person to person and shift further throughout time and through each emulation.

As visitors from Britain, Stuart and Revett first encountered the monument in 1751 after they were commissioned by the Society of Dilettanti – a group of noblemen and scholars who sponsor Greco-Roman education in hopes of establishing new art in the classical style – to survey the ancient architecture of Athens. At this time the monument was partially encased by a

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<sup>12</sup>Herbert F. De Cou, "The Frieze of the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates at Athens," *The American Journal of Archaeology and the History of the Fine Arts* 8, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1893): 43.

Capuchin monastery, which would burn down in 1821, leaving nothing but the monument to stand on its own. Prior to this moment, people living outside of the Ottoman Empire did not have access to the ancient architecture of Greece. According to Encyclopedia Romana by SPQR,

With an easing of diplomatic relations in the mid-eighteenth century, it became possible for an intrepid traveler to visit Greece, part of the Ottoman Empire and a country that, since the destruction of the Parthenon in 1687 and the expulsion of the Venetians, largely had been closed to Europeans.<sup>13</sup>

Once travel into Greece had become more possible for foreign travelers, the English architects set out to survey systematically Athenian architecture; the first volume of their work was published eight years later as *Antiquities of Athens*, 1762. The three-volume publication provided a wider access to the architecture of the ancient city, quick and detailed interaction with the monuments and buildings, with precise measurements, and a reinterpretation of ancient Greece. Although the printed engravings allowed for a much more geographically broad audience, they also gave people a vastly different view of structures such as the Lysicrates Monument. The engravings, for one, were in a two-dimensional format (although actual dimensions are given), with no sense of scale to the viewers, and no ties to a wider cultural space. The engravings produced by Stuart and Revett were made with incredible detail; some as precise to a tenth or hundredth of an inch. After their return to London in 1755, the release of *Antiquities of Athens* was delayed and during that time, a rival publication by Julien David-Le Roy, an eighteenth-century French architect was released. Once Le Roy learned about Stuart and Revett's sponsorship to survey the ancient architecture, he hurried to Athens before them, with the support of the French government, and spent only three months surveying Greece.<sup>14</sup> He

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<sup>13</sup> James Grout, "Stuart and Revett: The Antiquities of Athens," *Encyclopedia Romana*, February 2019, accessed April 15, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Grout, "Stuart and Revett: The Antiquities of Athens," *Encyclopedia Romana*, February 2019, accessed April 15, 2019.

published *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* in 1758, four years before Stuart and Revett released their first volume of a much more accurate survey. LeRoy was in such a rush to release his copy that many details of the architecture he surveyed were conjured and inaccurate. There ensued a bitter rivalry, reflected in comments in Stuart and Revett's book; this rivalry also had nationalistic overtones.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless the huge success of both publications, and the broad access to the architecture in Greece they provide, encouraged and stimulated the last period of the neoclassical movement, Greek revival.

It should be noted that in 1829, a foreign traveler to Greece, Lord Elgin of England attempted to negotiate the purchase of the Lysikrates Monument. He would have succeeded had it not proven to be too difficult to remove in one piece from its original setting.<sup>16</sup> With that note in mind, we can acknowledge the resistance of the Lysikrates Monument in Athens to remain within its cultural context, and instead focus on its metaphorical movement through its repeated for in separate locations.

### **Memorials in Scotland**

Two monuments on Calton Hill, Edinburgh in Scotland are prominent examples of Greek revival architecture that evoke the Lysikrates Monument. The first is the Dugald Stewart Monument erected in 1831 by the Scottish architect, William Henry-Playfair (Figure 4). The monument was built as a memorial to Dugald Stewart, a Scottish philosopher (1753-1828), who taught at the University of Edinburgh, where he held the Chair of moral philosophy from 1786 until his death. The structure was built around an elevated urn with open columns, as a monopteros, opposed to the closed walls of the original monument in Athens. The Stewart

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<sup>15</sup> James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated*, vol. 1 (New York, NY: B. Blom, 1968).

<sup>16</sup> "Choragic Monument of Lysicrates," *Around Greece*, updated 2019, accessed May 07, 2019.

Monument was commissioned by the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1830, just two years after his death, and is now listed as a category-A building (since April 1966).<sup>17</sup> The location of the monument on Calton Hill is considered historically significant to the collective interest of humanity, as suggested by the conservation efforts of the United Nations, which affects the way people approach the structure. Because of its status as a memorial, the correlations to theater and ancient Greek processions are not prevalent. Instead, the monument has been made as a symbol of moral philosophy, an individual man, and a resting place for the dead to be remembered. The monument also presents decorative wreaths in the frieze in place of the story of Dionysos, and excludes the image of the bronze tripod of the original, thus completely changing the narrative surrounding the structure.

Similarly, another monument modeled after the Monument of Lysikrates on Calton Hill is dedicated to Robert Burns (Figure 5) and designed by Scottish architect Thomas Hamilton – a leading Greek revivalist in Scotland in the early eighteenth century. Robert Burns was a Scottish poet and lyricist who, to this day, is considered Scotland’s national bard.<sup>18</sup> Widely celebrated and well-known for his song and poem “Auld Lange Syne,” 1788, Burns was a beloved figure in Scottish history. Much like the Dugald Stewart Monument, the Burns Monument stands as a memorial to a central figure, although Burns as a figure may be considered more closely related to the history surrounding the Theater of Dionysos and its references. Regardless of how close either association was with the original monument, neither of them are located in a place with the specific cultural context of the Lysikrates version, but they both represent staples of eighteenth-

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<sup>17</sup> The memorial site is also listed on the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) website as having cultural, and historical significance and is legally protected by international treaties from "Old and New Towns of Edinburgh," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2011, accessed May 07, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Andrew O'Hagen, "The People's Poet," *The Guardian*, January 19, 2008, accessed April 15, 2019.

century architecture and modes of memorialization, a central theme that will be evident in many later emulations.

Calton Hill, is notable because of its status as a popular tourist destination in Scotland. According to the Edinburgh World Heritage site, Calton Hill has encouraged generations of tourists to visit the site because of its astonishing views from the plateau and its many iterations of Greek revival architecture, including a monument inspired by the Parthenon.<sup>19</sup> There are strong associations with ancient Greek architecture which permeate the site, allowing its visitors to approach monuments made with the same qualities as architecture from thousands of years ago. Present-day visitors often use the site as a backdrop for their own personal photography, marking the site as a popular social media location destination. Location is a critical element to consider in the interpretation of the following emulations because it affects the ways viewers perceive the monument.

### **The Monument in Religious Context: Scotland**

Also located in Scotland are the next two structures inspired by the Lysikrates Monument, the North Kirk Tower in Aberdeen and St. Giles Church in Elgin (Figures 6-7). Both buildings were designed by Archibald Simpson, a Scottish architect who fashioned the city Aberdeen as the “Granite City.”<sup>20</sup> Commonly mistaken as a part of the Triple Kirk Towers, which fell into disuse in 1966, the North Kirk was built the mid-nineteenth century during Disruption, when there was a schism between the free Kirk and the established church of Scotland, ca. 1843. The tower is curiously topped with a replica of the Monument of Lysikrates, with the addition of carved windows and a weathervane crowning the highest point of the

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<sup>19</sup> "Calton Hill," Edinburgh World Heritage, 2017, accessed May 15, 2019.

<sup>20</sup> William Douglas Simpson, "The Archibald Simpson Centenary Celebrations," Quarterly Journal of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, no. 1 (August 1947).

structure. Because it is highly elevated, the replica of the monument is difficult to study in any detail by church-goers or by people passing on the street. The building itself is a conglomerate of Greek architectural styles, which prominently displays both Ionic and Corinthian columns on its exterior. St. Giles Church in Elgin has a similar, curious combination of Doric and Corinthian columns on its exterior. The architectural plan of both churches is quite similar, with the Lysikrates Monument used as a topper for each of their towers. The altered placement of the monument, from ground-level to the top of a tower, and the transfer into a religious setting, changed how the monument is interacted with and how both the monument and the viewers influence each other.

When people encounter a religious environment, there is a tendency to behave in a certain way. Scotland's Churches Trust website describes St. Giles Church by stating, "St Giles' is an elegant and imposing building which dominates the centre of Elgin," highlighting the monumentality of the building.<sup>21</sup> The replica of the Lysikrates Monument is briefly noted, but no reason or intention is cited. As opposed to our earlier examples, it is unusual to imagine visitors to the church taking their next social media profile picture and using either church as a backdrop. Instead, the vicinity is used for religious worship and respectful interactions both with other people and the building. Though the original monument in Greece may also be a popular tourist destination, it is encountered with a different attitude than the previous memorial sites, and certainly different than the towers of these churches. In fact, it is likely that the replicas of the Lysicrates Monument are hardly acknowledged when people encounter the churches.

### **The Monument in England**

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<sup>21</sup> "St. Giles Parish Church, Elgin," Scotland's Churches Trust, 2017, accessed May 15, 2019.

The monument emerges again in the Gardens at Shugborough (Figure 8), shifting the interaction with the form yet again. The gardens are located outside a stately home in Staffordshire, England, and was owned by the Bishops of Lichfield until the Dissolution of monasteries.<sup>22</sup> The property is dated back to the mid-sixteenth century, but several additions were made to the gardens after its expanse in the early eighteenth century. According to Jason M. Kelly in *The Reception of Greek Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain*,

As artists, architects, and antiquaries traveled more widely in the Mediterranean – and as it became imperative for new architects to study publications on Greek architecture in order to please their patrons’ tastes – classical styles became more historicized.<sup>23</sup> In 1760, James Stuart himself designed this replica of the Lysikrates Monument, as well as other monuments including the Arch of Hadrian. At this time Stuart had returned from Athens, yet the replica was still referred to by its medieval nickname, “The Lantern of Demosthenes,” addressing how the same structure was understood by its two primary identifications simultaneously, even after the revised interpretation of the original sculptured frieze was revealed. In conjunction with the arch, the garden references a broader Greco-Roman past due to the arch’s connection to the triumphal arches of Rome. Much of neoclassical architecture refers back to flourishing points of both Greek and Roman civilizations, conjoining their histories to represent a larger political identity. The landscapers and architects who designed the garden intended to expose a certain nuance about its character concerning the priorities of a powerful and sophisticated civilization of past.

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<sup>22</sup> G.W. Bernard, "The Dissolution of Monasteries," Wiley Online Library 96, no. 324 (October 2011): 391. Dissolution was a period between 1536 and 1541 when Henry VIII dismantled several religious institutions in England, Wales, and Ireland in order to increase funding to the crown.

<sup>23</sup> Jason M. Kelly, "The Reception of Greek Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *A Companion to Greek Architecture* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 509.

## **An English Attraction**

Let us examine another version of the monument located at Alton Towers Resort in the same city of Staffordshire, England as the previous example. The Alton Towers Resort is owned and operated by Merlin Entertainments Group, a British company headquarters which operates nineteen hotels and seven holiday villages in twenty-seven countries.<sup>24</sup> The resort incorporates a theme park, waterpark, spa, and hotel complex as well as strolling gardens where the Lysikrates Monument emulation is located. The monument is dedicated to the fifteenth Earl of Shrewsbury (Figure 9), Charles Talbot, 1685-1737, who was a prominent lawyer and politician who devoted considerable resources to the construction of his house which would later become Alton Towers.<sup>25</sup> The dedication to him is made obvious by the large ‘S’ made out of hedges in front of the monument as well as the marble bust housed within its open columns. The inscription at the base of the monument reads, “He made the desert smile,” as a commemoration to his character. Constant tourism encourages consistency of new audiences to wander the attractions and gardens where they encounter the monument, where this iteration of the monument will always be associated with this particular Earl. The gold and white painted exterior and the purely decorative frieze hold no relation to the display of the original monument, making its form ambiguous to its contemporary audience. The columns may allude to neoclassicism and Greek architecture, but the placement of the monument within the context of an amusement park almost seems comical, maybe staking a claim to relevance with the original monument and its relationship to Greek Comedy within the theater. Regardless, its connotations have shifted dramatically and the sort of emotional response to the same type of structure is dramatically different in each new context.

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<sup>24</sup> J.P. Papworth, "Alton Towers," *Historic England*, 1999, accessed April 23, 2019.

<sup>25</sup> Papworth, "Alton Towers," *Historic England*, 1999, accessed April 23, 2019.

## The Monument in Religious Context: England

Although the space surrounding the monument at Alton Towers is reflects minimal concern and awareness of classical history because of its placement within a larger contemporary environment, the builders of other emulations made more thoughtful decisions about the monument, and placed it much more visibly: for example, St. John the Evangelist's Church in Chichester, England (Figure 10). Much like the other religious buildings already discussed, the Lysikrates Monument is the crowning element of the highest point of the structure. Comparatively, the small structure is placed directly onto the broad, main structure rather than a tower. The church was built by an English architect, civil engineer, and writer about arts, James Elmes in 1812. It was built as a propriety church but was opened to the public with designated seating to subscribers to the church in its later years. It should be noted that worship no longer takes place in the church and is instead used for concerts and musical events, partly as a result of its excellent acoustics derived from its theater-like, Georgian design.<sup>26</sup> Reversion back to the Greek context of the original monument are present within these replicas. The building was designed much like a theater and is now used as such. Within proximity to the monument, it as if the relationship between the Theater of Dionysos and the choregic monuments transcend into this modern context. Could it be a coincidence that the function of St. John the Evangelist's Church, originally intended for religious practice, is now more closely related to the function of the ancient theater and its monument? The structures we build have just as much agency on us as we do them, so who can say for certain? This particular church is now listed as a Grade-1 building by the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage as an ecclesiastical center.<sup>27</sup> It is

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<sup>26</sup> David Lovell, "Former Church of St. John the Evangelist," *Historic England*, 2014, accessed May 23, 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Kenneth Gravett, "Sussex Churches and Chapels," *The Antiquities Journal* by David Beevers, Richard Marks and John Roles. Brighton: Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, 1989 69, no. 2 (1989): 386.

built in a broadly classical style with elements of both Greek and Egyptian revival. Many of the buildings which include elements of classical architecture tend to be amalgamations inspired by several regions and periods. The monument crowning this building, inspired by the Lysikrates Monument, functions as a lookout and is accessible for people to go inside. By approaching the monument in this way, with no close access to the exterior, the interior becomes the focus and the bodily relation to the architecture forces contrasting modes of interaction to the original monument. Although the interior of Monument of Lysikrates was briefly accessible as a study during the late 18th century, for most of its history the monument was primarily viewed from its exterior. The interior eliminates the commemorative aspects of the structure because viewers do not encounter the structure as a monument. The space encompasses the viewer rather than the viewer encircling the monument. The viewers' space becomes an environment for contemplation. Because of its placement, the affiliation to a religious space will continue to be relevant to its history as well as its connection to theatre, ancient Greece, and Chichester, England, generating a diverse experience for its occupants.

### **The Lysikrates Monument in America**

The form of the Lysikrates monument in Europe is significant because of its diversion from the original context in Greece, but its design traveled even further to the United States, where neoclassicism was established as the national architectural style. As a result, the monument developed broader implications. Built in 1832-1834 and crowned with our next emulation of the Lysikrates Monument, the Merchant's Exchange Building in Philadelphia is the oldest existing exchange in the United States (Figure 11). Originally built as a brokerage house, the building is considered to be designed in the first national American Architectural style.<sup>28</sup> The

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<sup>28</sup> Kathleen Kuiper, "Neoclassical Architecture," Encyclopedia Britannica, October 13, 2009, accessed May 11, 2019.

architectural style alludes to the forming of a new nation and the principles it wished to uphold. By 1875 the building was taken over by the Philadelphia Stock Exchange and in 2001 it was declared a national historic landmark, listed as the oldest existing exchange in the U.S.<sup>29</sup> Today it is being used as the headquarters for the Independence National Historic Park.<sup>30</sup> The history of this building is undeniably and closely associated with American nationalism and it could be considered the epitome of a booming economy with a rising middle class and thriving trade and commerce in America. Hence, the monument was at a pivotal point in history for a different country yet again. The need for a centralized exchange building came out of overcrowding in the area. Stephen Girard, a French-born turned naturalized American, through the means of his own fortune, inspired the wealthiest men of Philadelphia to finance the structure.<sup>31</sup> Girard was a philanthropist and banker, who much like the ancient choregos, was a wealthy citizen – one of the richest in America – who donated his efforts to his surrounding society. It is necessary to note that sponsors of neoclassical American architecture were often associated with larger political parties, creating a commerce of political and social engagements and classical interest.

American architect William Strickland was chosen to design the Merchant's Exchange due to his increasing popularity as an apprentice of Benjamin Henry Latrobe – a prominent neoclassical architect. Strickland's background was in Greek revival and his use of the Monument of Lysikrates as inspiration for the building's lantern tower drew the local press to write in an 1831 newsprint that "Philadelphia is truly the Athens of America."<sup>32</sup> The inspired monument, like some previous examples, had windows encircling the drum walls and also

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<sup>29</sup> "Philadelphia Merchant's Exchange," UShistory.org, July 4, 1995, accessed May 23, 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Ken Finkel, "The Very Model of an Ancient-Modern Monument," The Philly History Blog: Discoveries from the City Archives, December 9, 2013, , accessed May 11, 2019

<sup>31</sup> Finkel, "The Very Model of an Ancient-Modern Monument," The Philly History Blog: Discoveries from the City Archives, December 9, 2013, accessed May 11, 2019.

<sup>32</sup> "Philadelphia Merchant's Exchange," UShistory.org, July 4, 1995, accessed May 23, 2019.

included a more elaborately decorated roof, topped with a weathervane that drew attention to the high point of the structure. Not only did the Merchant's Exchange Building stand as a prime example of American architecture by the mid-nineteenth century, but it also inspired buildings in other states where there was a necessity to incorporate this refreshed style. One leading example is the Tennessee State Capitol Building in Nashville designed by the same architect (Figure 12). The building serves as the seat of government for Tennessee as well as the base of the Tennessee general assembly and government office.<sup>33</sup> Constructed in 1845-1859, it presents as Nashville's prominent example of Greek revival. In 1970 it was added into the National Registry of Historic Places and one year later was named a national landmark. It should be noted that the architect, William Strickland died five years before the completion of the building and was entombed into the northeast wall of the building, making it not only a national landmark but also a resting place and memorial.<sup>34</sup> His decision to include the Lysikrates Monument was directly motivated by the success of the Merchant's Exchange building in Philadelphia. In any case, the decision to include the monument meant that it reflected a history that the architect of these stately buildings wanted to include. The monument is stripped of its individual history and instead, in conjunction with the rest of the building, is symbolic of a powerful, democratic society.

### **An Altered Form**

In accordance with the Greek revival movement in the United States, many other monuments inspired by classical architecture, as well as the ones mentioned above, have emerged in the following years after their construction. One of the more unique structures, taking inspiration from the Lysikrates Monument, is the design of the Portland Breakwater Lighthouse in Maine (Figure 13). Perhaps the most varied form from the original monument, the lighthouse

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<sup>33</sup> "Tennessee State Capitol," Tennessee State Museum: Experience Tennessee, 2019, accessed May 23, 2019.

<sup>34</sup> "Tennessee State Capitol," Tennessee State Museum: Experience Tennessee, 2019, accessed May 23, 2019.

was first constructed in 1855 as a wooden structure. After extensive damage and corrosion, it was reconstructed with the inclusion of Corinthian columns around the preexisting cylindrical structure. Though the form is considerably different from the original monument in Athens, and did not necessarily function as a monument during its use, the relationship is made clear through the inscription plate near of the lighthouse referencing the Lysikrates Monument reading,

Inspired by the fourth-century Choragic Monument built near the Acropolis in Athens, the unique style of the lighthouse sets it apart from any other lighthouse in the world. It was adopted as the official seal of the City of South Portland in 1940.<sup>35</sup>

It was designed by Thomas U. Walker, one of the founders of the American School of Architects, whose intentions are to promote “the scientific and practical perfection of its members and elevate the study of the profession.”<sup>36</sup> This version of the monument serves a dramatically different purpose than any other imitation we have encountered thus far and changes the way classical architectural elements are incorporated into modern buildings. The Portland Breakwater Lighthouse was decommissioned in 1943 and today is referred to by its given nickname, Bug Light – due to its small stature. It is surrounded by the Bug Light Park, which is open to the public and allows visitors inside the lighthouse. It also functions as a memorial to the ship-building efforts of World War II and therefore was added into the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.<sup>37</sup> Although the lighthouse retains the columns as a reference to the Lysikrates Monument, the structure as a whole looks incredibly different. It is much wider than the original, with no frieze imagery, and is now outlined with rust because of its white metal coating. Without the inscribed reference, it is unlikely that any layperson would recognize the underlying elements of the choregic monument, especially given its function as a lighthouse and

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<sup>35</sup> "Bug Light Park: Inscription Image" Trip Advisor, 2014, accessed May 23, 2019.

<sup>36</sup> "AIA About: History," AIA, updated 2019, accessed May 23, 2019.

<sup>37</sup> "Bug Light Park," City of South Portland, updated 2019, accessed.

memorial unrelated to the Greek context of the original. This makes the interaction with the structure entirely different than the earlier examples, yet the small similarities about the form still retain a certain way of approaching the monument, possibly influencing its status as a place for a memorial.

### **Memorial in America**

Keeping with the theme of memorial, let us move on to American Civil War monuments. This superficially enlarged emulation of the Lysikrates Monument is called the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in Stoughton, New York 1902 (Figure 14). The monument was first suggested in 1869, with the realization of a fading sense of nostalgia regarding the Civil War, but was delayed for several years because a site for the monument could not be agreed upon. This points to the importance of site-specificity and the fact that these monuments are not random, but selected for their places respectively, with human interaction in mind. The actual design for the monument was not decided until the official site was determined.<sup>38</sup> It was constructed as an enlarged version of the Monument of Lysikrates by Charles and Arthur Stoughton, and stands roughly twenty-nine meters tall. It is decorated with twelve Corinthian columns around the exterior and sits on a raised platform, similar to the Lysikrates Monument, but with access to the inside. The inscription in place of the tripod relief on the original monument reads, "To the memory of the brave Soldiers and Sailors who saved the Union," and is furnished with additional sculptures of eagles and wreaths, crafted by Paul E. Duboy, where the frieze of Dionysos sits on the original monument in Athens. This monument is perhaps the most elaborate version of the Lysikrates Monument, with the addition of exterior sculptures, more elaborate brickwork and decorative carved designs both on the inner walls and the dome of the structure. It cost a

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<sup>38</sup> "Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument," Riverside Park: 25 Years of Conservancy, October 23, 2007, accessed May 15, 2019.

significant \$300,000 to be erected which, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics consumer price index, would amount to roughly \$8,914,465 in 2019.<sup>39</sup> There seem to have been no price limit on memorials and monument replicas, especially those with classical ornamentation. Where national identity and history are concerned, Money was apparently then not a topic of concern, where it raises controversial debate today. After its completion, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument was dedicated by Theodore Roosevelt on Memorial Day, on which it is annually commemorated through parades and marches led by United States veterans of the armed forces. Following the trend of the other structures, the monument was designated a state landmark in 2001.<sup>40</sup>

Interestingly, the popular monument has featured in numerous films and television shows in recent years, including but not limited to: *The Odd Couple*, *Godspell*, *Parting Glances*, *Law and Order*, and *Sex in the City*. The site is also frequently used as a play production sight for annual *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream* reenactments.<sup>41</sup> The shifting culture surrounding the monument surely indicates various modes of interaction when visitors confront it, either during festivities commemorating war veterans, or attending dramatic productions, or even acknowledging the site as a "gay cruising area," which was customary in the sixties.<sup>42</sup> However one approaches the monument, there are predetermined expectations from the viewers who encounter it. The process is cyclical, where, the monument retains agency over its visitors, encouraging certain means of interaction, and as the cultures change, the monument's intentions are also influenced by its community.

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<sup>39</sup> "U.S. Inflation Rate Generator," CPI Inflation Calculator, 2019, accessed May 07, 2019.

<sup>40</sup> "Riverside Park," NYC Parks, February 22, 2017, accessed May 23, 2019.

<sup>41</sup> "Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument," Riverside Park: 25 Years of Conservancy, October 23, 2007, accessed May 15, 2019.

<sup>42</sup> George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (NY: Persues Books Group, 1994), 182.

## **A Miniature Monument**

Though each structure examined thus far has altered the interaction with its visitors significantly from the original monument in Greece, our next imitation of the form is shifting its role in human interaction. Handed out for the Richard H. Driehaus prize to honor a living architect is a miniature bronze replica of the Monument of Lysikrates (Figure 15). This trophy version of the monument shifts the sense of scale in relation to architecture, changes the format of encounter, and aims to symbolize an entire collapse of time and principles. It is fully named The Richard H. Driehaus Prize at the University of Notre Dame and is a global award intended to honor present-day architects who contribute to the field of contemporary vernacular and classical architecture. It is offered as an alternative to the modernist Pritzker Prize.<sup>43</sup> Presented annually at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, in the department of the classical-teaching School of Architecture, the prize was created in 2003. The winners are selected based on honoring the principals and traditions of classical architecture within a present society by creating what a selected jury considers a positive cultural, environmental, and artistic influence. The most recent winners of the prize in 2018 are Marc Breitman and Nada Breitman-Jacov, Paris-based architects who are well-known for their efforts to improve city quality based on urbanism and architecture.<sup>44</sup> The bronze miniature is awarded alongside a \$200,000 cash prize. Here, the choice to use the Monument of Lysikrates as a model for an architectural award references its repeated use throughout global architectural history. The implications associated with each variation of the monument have been eliminated and we are left solely with a compressed history

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<sup>43</sup> "The Richard H. Driehaus Prize at the University of Notre Dame," University of Notre Dame: School Of Architecture, updated 2019, accessed May 07, 2019.

<sup>44</sup> "Marc Breitman and Nada Breitman-Jacov," University of Notre Dame: School Of Architecture, updated 2018, accessed May 07, 2019.

of architecture. This history is entangled with the characteristics of neoclassicism and specifically, the period of Greek revival.

### **Greek Revival**

The Greek revival style in architecture has been used as a demonstration of principle values and has often been inspired directly by fifth-century BCE Greek temples, such as the Parthenon. The term for the style was first coined by Charles Robert Cockerell during a lecture at the Royal Academy of the Arts in London around 1842.<sup>45</sup> He was a professor of architecture and was quite familiar with its expanding popularity as a branch of neoclassicism; he had also contributed to the documentation of temples in Greece. The trend to incorporate Greek elements into modern architecture spread throughout Europe and the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century and was due in part to an intellectual preoccupation with ancient Greek culture after the reopening of its borders to foreign travelers, and in part to competing ideologies in the aftermath of.<sup>46</sup> Visitors, and especially architects, were fascinated with the reinterpretations of the Greek and Roman civilization as a symbol of democracy, free-thinking citizens, and as a model of sophisticated societies which produced some of the world's most influential writers, philosophers and artists. As noted earlier, the beginning of Greek revival style in domestic and public architecture was largely inspired by the publication of the three volume of *Antiquity of Athens* by Stuart and Revett. Their extensive survey provided the basis for so many reinterpretations of the Monument of Lysikrates, and they documented numerous other examples of ancient Athenian architecture that also were borrowed freely during the latter part of the neoclassical movement. From 1820-1850, Greek revival became the dominant American

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<sup>45</sup> Anne Bordeleau, "Architectural History: 'The Professor's Dream': Cockerell's Hypnerotomachia Architectura," *SAHGB (The Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain)* 52 (April 11, 2011): 122.

<sup>46</sup> The Napoleonic Wars the French took Rome as a model, while the British and Germans responded with attention to Greece as a model.

architectural style and based on its popularity, was considered the national style.<sup>47</sup> For the United States, Greek revival is viewed as an expression of nationalism and civic virtue, where it also denied the moral values of certain European aristocratic societies that America was attempting to distinguish themselves from. Before the style was recognized, however, there was little factual history known about ancient Greece.

Until about 1751, Greek architecture was known primarily from literary accounts. Some interested readers could consult Pausanias's exegesis of Greece, a traveler and geographer who traveled through mainland Greece in the 160s and 170s CE. His, *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις* provides crucial first-hand accounts of monuments as they were preserved in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.<sup>48</sup> Most of Greek architecture was known only through literary comments, but soon, determined travelers to Paestum and Sicily in Italy, and to sites in Greece, would open up new architectural vistas. Once the monuments became accessible through publications, practicing architects made good use of the new documentation.

### **Uses of Greek Revival in the United States**

In the United States, this style was used differently in the North and the South. In the North, the style was implemented as a symbol of freedom from oppressors, whereas in the South, it represented the cultural glories enabled through slavery.<sup>49</sup> It should be noted that the third president of the United States personally represents this conflict as an advocate for equality for all people, but also a prominent slave-owner, who in fact, owned the first volume of the

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<sup>47</sup> "Greek Revival," *Architectural Styles of America and Europe*, October 2011, accessed May 23, 2019.

<sup>48</sup> Hans Rupprecht Goette, "Die Basis Des Astydamas Im Sogenannten Lykurgischen Dionysos-Theater Zu Athen," *Antike Kunst* 42, no. 1 (1999): 21.

<sup>49</sup> Talbot Hamlin and Sarah Hull Jenkins Simpson Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life Prior to the War between the States* (MI: Dover Books on Architecture, 1964), 339.

*Antiquities of Athens*.<sup>50</sup> Thomas Jefferson implemented classical principles of design in his Monticello and the University of Virginia, but much of his actual built work was inspired by Roman exemplars such as the Pantheon. Similarly, within modernity the reversion back to classical Greek architecture within Greece took place after the end of Ottoman occupation ca.1830. Although Byzantine architecture was primarily used for religious buildings, classical Greek architecture began to be adopted for many secular, public buildings, recognizing their national identity as an independent people as well as an acknowledgment of cultural history.

### **The Vandalized Monument**

Although the construction of monuments in the classical style after the Greek War of Independence formed a significant part of the visual landscape in modern Greek cities such as Athens, Thessaloniki, and Nauplion, in recent years, with an influx of refugee immigrants to Greece, the monuments have been used to reflect a tense controversy about their history. Returning to the original Lysikrates Monument in Athens, sadly, it was vandalized by anarchists in 2016 (Figure 16). Operating under an anti-authoritarian political philosophy, many incoming occupants of the country hold a strong rejection of “hierarchies” and view the representation of the ancient past as “unjust”. The monument was spray-painted with bright green paint at its base. One graffito read, “Τα ελληνικά σας μνημεία είναι τα στρατόπεδα συγκέντρωσης των μεταναστών” translated to, “Your Greek monuments are concentration camps for immigrants.”<sup>51</sup> According to a local news article from the Tribune, protestors who use ancient monuments as a focal point have been growing in number, and over the years, with the decrease of power from authority figures, this has become an almost daily occurrence.<sup>52</sup> In stark contrast to the other

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<sup>50</sup> Hamlin and Jenkins Simpson Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, 339.

<sup>51</sup> “Βανδάλισαν με σπρέι το άγαλμα του Λυσικράτη,” *The Press Room*, June 23, 2016, accessed April 07, 2019.

<sup>52</sup> “Αναρχικοί βανδάλισαν το αρχαίο Μνημείο του Λυσικράτη,” *Tribune*, June 20, 2016, accessed April 07, 2019.

highpoints of this monument, it now enacts and receives violence from its concurrent communities. Although the actual structure has remained in its original place and has stayed relatively complete, its identifying narrative has been altered based on its changing environment. To the desperate refugees flowing into Greece, these monuments represent the authority of their oppressors. They encounter structures such as the Lysikrates Monument and feel threatened by its references to slave labor and oppression, because of its connection to the use of slave labor for its contemporary monuments and later emulations. The monument creates a space that excludes a growing audience in Greece who feel threatened by its references.

### **The Persistence of the Form of the Lysikrates Monument**

All of this directs us to the relevance of this particular monument that has had such a long history of “homage” because of its distinction as an ancient Greek monument. As recently as 2018, the monument is still being used by architects as a representation of a larger ethical approach to architecture. A replica of the Lysikrates Monument has been placed on the top the tower of the Walsh Family Hall of Architecture at the University of Notre Dame (Figure 17) to symbolize the mission of the school: to educate the next generation of architects while upholding the values of sustainability and conservation of classical and neoclassical architecture.<sup>53</sup> Completed in November 2018, the building serves as a new epicenter of the University and a global hub for classical revivalist architects. The interactions formed with the monument are still evolving. Like many reiterations of ancient architecture, the forms are used to serve the agenda of contemporaneous influencers.

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<sup>53</sup> "Walsh Family Hall," University of Notre Dame: School Of Architecture, 2018, accessed May 15, 2019.

## Conclusion

Each repetition of the form has had its own identity in juxtaposition with the history of the original Lysikrates Monument and every usage before it. Each replica, imitation, emulation, and influenced architectural structure was made with an intention. A common underlying theme of these structures is memorial. Closely tied to commemoration, they all celebrate a particular person, event, or series of events. Some links to theater and ancient Athenian cultural contexts remain for each, even if only the use of the Corinthian column and decorative sculpture. The form was chosen to honor the lives of prominent philosophers, philanthropists, architects, classicists, and soldiers who mark specific histories in specified times all over the world. Each architect who decided to utilize this form hoped for authority and support from a revered past. From Notre Dame, where a miniature Lysikrates Monument is the prestigious award for immersing oneself in ancient architecture, to the same vandalized monument in Athens by a subculture of people who critique that ancient history and all the other structures in between, every repeated structure created a new approach and revised the meaning of the form. Even without the full history of the monument, viewers can understand that the use of the form of the monument references a history that speaks to contemporary politics. Reverting to specific constructions of the past is a strategy that enables an outward expression of priorities and values. When we honor the past, we select what we honor about the past and make it evident. The Monument of Lysikrates is one small facet of place-making and human interaction which we choose to both honor and critique about the past.

## Images



Figure 1  
Monument of Lysikrates, 335-4 BCE,  
Athens, Greece



Figure 2  
James Stuart and Nicholas Revett,  
Monument of Lysikrates in *Antiquities of  
Athens*, 1762



Figure 3  
Stuart and Revett, Frieze of the Lysikrates  
Monument in *Antiquities of Athens*, 1762



Figure 4  
William Henry-Playfair, Dugald Stewart  
Monument, 1831, Calton Hill, Scotland



Figure 5  
Thomas Hamilton, Robert Burns Monument,  
1831-1839, Calton Hill, Scotland



Figure 6  
Archibald Simpson, North Kirk, 1828  
Aberdeen, Scotland



Figure 7  
Archibald Simpson, St. Giles Church 1825-  
1828, Elgin, Scotland



Figure 8  
James Stuart, Lantern of Demosthenes  
(Lysikrates Monument Replica) 1760,  
Staffordshire, England



Figure 9  
Monument to Charles Talbot, the fifteenth  
Earl of Shrewbury, 1820



Figure 10  
James Elmes, St. John the Evangelist's  
Church, 1812, Chichester, England



Figure 11  
William Strickland, Merchant's Exchange  
Building, 1832-1834, Philadelphia, United  
States



Figure 12  
William Strickland, Tennessee state Capitol,  
1845-1859, Nashville, United States



Figure 14  
Charles and Arthur Stoughton, Soldiers' and  
Sailors' Monument, 1902, Manhattan,  
United States



Figure 13  
Thomas U. Walker, Portland Breakwater  
Lighthouse "Bug Light," 1855, Maine,  
United States



Figure 15  
Richard H. Driehaus Prize at the University  
of Notre Dame, since 2003



Figure 16  
Lysikrates Monument Vandalized, 2016



Figure 17  
John Simpson, Walsh Family Hall at the  
University of Notre Dame, 2018, Indiana,  
United States

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