

City Lights: A Detail of Greek Interwar Modernism

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Footnotes begin on page 26.

Introduction

This paper deals with a minor expression of the Greek modernist heritage, namely a morphological family of lighting fixtures which appears systematically in urban buildings of the 1930s. Through the study of these objects, the author has traced certain aspects of the modernization of the Greek urban space, and identified ways in which such aspects have been expressed in small-scale design.

In this study, it is assumed that design is a fundamental way of receiving and absorbing modernity.¹ Design represents the silent quality of industrially produced objects, and has a vital but not much acknowledged role in daily life.² Especially with scientific and technological innovations, industrial design is the conduit through which such innovations pass into everyday life.³ The absence or degradation of this link robs modern life of much technological or scientific progress. The objects examined in this essay represent a material expression of views about electrification, a phenomenon which entered the everyday lives of most Greek cities during the interwar years (1922–1940). The use and character of design in this specific product area provide valuable insights into the local reception of technological innovations, and of modernity in general. Although the aesthetic quality of these objects is not underestimated, they are treated primarily as evidence of a historical process.⁴

This research belongs to a broader project about the emergence of design activities in interwar Greece.⁵ The interwar period in Greece (“*Mesopolemos*”) practically started with the so-called Minor Asian catastrophe of 1922 (following the Greek-Turkish War), and ended with the beginning of the Second World War. The displacement from Minor Asia and settlement in Greece of one and a half million people caused major social problems, which were reflected in intense political instability. Yet at the same time, the local economy was invigorated by the often skilled and relatively cheap labor provided by the refugees. Population mobility led to a significant increase in housing needs which, in turn, contributed to a prosperous construction sector and to the development of urbanism. Between 1924 and 1930, the country witnessed its highest level of industrialization up until that time.⁶ During that period, capitalist methods of production became consolidated in Greece, and industrialization was acquired in a *sui generis* form that reflected the historical, social, and

economic particularities of the country, and may be described as a cross-fertilization of capitalist and precapitalist modes.⁷ Furthermore, as a result of the major political, social, and economic upheavals, the Greek interwar period was marked by a sense of its transient and contradictory character.⁸ The morphological concerns of contemporaries echo the social instability following the extensive population mobility and the rapid rise of urbanism. Perhaps a major feature of such concerns was the search for an identity and the concomitant need for differentiation, which left a clear imprint on the urban space.⁹

Modernization and the Home

During the interwar period, extensive housing construction was one of the most visible effects of the refugee influx and increased internal immigration from the countryside to the cities, especially to the capital city of Athens.¹⁰ Cities symbolized culture, modernity, and the improvement of individual and collective life. Modernity in architecture became identified with the issue of social modernization,¹¹ the latter being defined as a controlled transition to a new reality. Urbanity coded the new form of social organization and its natural space.¹² In the thirties, newly-built, modern homes became the material embodiments of this ideology: "To become modern, we must appear modern. We become more modern when the exteriors of our buildings appear more modern."¹³ The first blocks of flats were expressing "Europeanization" in daily life, as well as a connection to the European currents of thought about a new democratic society.¹⁴ The city also was connected to increased opportunities for social progress and for upward mobility on the social scale.¹⁵ It has been observed that "innovative architecture, decorative or hard-core modernism, expresses upward social mobility, the progress and prosperity of the middle class. [...] Modernism is distinct from decorative architecture not in terms of wealth, but it expresses the aggressive innovative drive of a middle social group trying to assert its identity. A segment of the lower socio-economic classes introduced modern elements into 'mass' architecture as a symbol of the middle class vision of a better life."¹⁶ Thus, we identify a dimension of popularization of the modern,¹⁷ as elements of the modernist, formal vocabulary combine the taste of the private client with that of the art of the engineer or craftsman.¹⁸

Technological developments incorporated into urban housing in the preceding period also contributed to elevating the social significance of the home: "As the issue of water supply and production of abundant electrical energy had been solved for Athens, the residence of the period was offering to its inhabitants, for the first time, all the comforts of modern civilization."¹⁹ Nevertheless, morphological adaptations related to imported technologies were

accompanied by an inability to participate substantially in these technical achievements, and perhaps constituted an indirect beautification of this inability.²⁰

Electrification constituted the most radical change in the technological infrastructure in the interwar years. During this period, electrification was widely dispersed throughout the Greek urban space. Between 1922 and 1940, numerous small, local electric power plants were established, and the use of electricity gradually expanded in all areas of financial and private life.²¹ Between 1935 and 1939, electricity consumption for illumination for private clients doubled.²² The use of electricity constituted an important innovation²³ and, in fact, electricity became identified with modernism.²⁴ Electric lighting emphasized space, and endowed it with a new, symbolic value. At the same time, it expressed a social differentiation, real or imagined.²⁵ A newspaper article of that period described an Athens pastry shop as “electrically lit and aristocratic.”²⁶ The implications of such a description became more important in the private use of electricity. Those who could afford electricity at home were perceived as being high on the social ladder. The domestic use of electricity constituted an indicator of upward social mobility, or implied such an intention.²⁷ The use of electricity for illuminating the entrance of a house was a symbolic declaration by the house owners.²⁸ The house entrance was the borderline between private and public, as well as a showcase of the social standing and respectability of the residents. For these reasons, great attention was paid to the home entrance and its decoration.²⁹ The Athenian interwar house or block of flats revealed significant concern for this important transitional space, attached special attention to detail, and featured examples of high-quality design.³⁰ The technology of electrification, in particular, became the object of exceptional design treatment.

Lighting Fixtures of 1930s Residences

This is where the lighting fixtures examined come into the picture. They appeared in houses and apartment buildings during the thirties, in numerous variations of a standard, modernist type. The basic type was an orthogonal form, practically a “box,” with edges made of wrought iron and surfaces of glass (Figures 1–2). They were miniatures of the new residences, the apartment buildings that often were called (and often still are called today) “boxes.”³¹ Electricity, which was a novelty and therefore caused insecurity, was embedded into a familiar orthogonal shape representing rationality. This may be interpreted as a symbolic attempt to subsume the electric light, the uncontrollable and still unknown technological energy, to an understandable and controllable form. Furthermore, the standardized form may have been symbolically connected to the general institutional homogenization of the space that was being attempted at that time in Greece through various related regulations.³²



Figures 1 and 2

Research in the specialist technical press of the period has failed to identify any explicit references to specific influences from foreign designers. It is, however, possible to trace certain similarities to preexisting fixtures representing European modernism. I will identify a number of objects whose similarities with the Greek interwar fixtures are not coincidental. First of all, art deco French fixtures from the twenties, made of wrought iron and opaque glass.³³ Very similar to these are the fixtures by the Dutch designer Gerrit Rietveld, made of steel frame and glass (around 1935).³⁴ Also, fixtures identical to what was used in the Greek streets in the thirties may be found both indoors and outdoors at the residence of the architect Ernst May in Frankfurt installed during the twenties.³⁵ Another related, formal design family was expressed by the fixture designed by Rietveld for the Hartog residence in 1922,³⁶ and by that designed by Walter Gropius for his office in the Bauhaus in Dessau.³⁷ Such objects perhaps were familiar to architects and engineers who had studied abroad or were kept informed of what was happening there, for example, through bibliography.³⁸ Influences by the modern movement also were consolidated in Greece due to a major event: the organization in Athens of the fourth CIAM (Congrès International d'Art Moderne) in 1933. The CIAM was attended by key figures of the modern movement such as Pierre Chareau, Wells Coates, Siegfried Giedion, Le Corbusier, Fernand Léger, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, and Otto Neurath, among others. This meeting set the foundation of what was going to be "The Athens Charter," a very influential text for architecture and town planning in the decades to follow.³⁹

Regardless of the real or imagined influence by forms that preexisted abroad, the orthogonal type acquired in Greece its own dynamics, and was developed in numerous variations (Figures 3–10). We observe morphological experimentations on the proportions of the rectangular shape, as well as variations based on other geometric shapes (e.g., squares, polygons, and even circles). At first sight, these forms appear quite standardized and would easily lend themselves to mass production. The simple, one would say elementary, forms

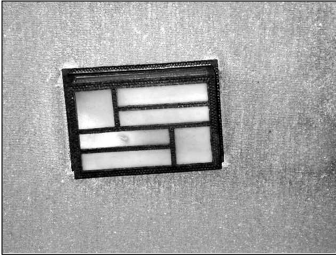


Figure 3

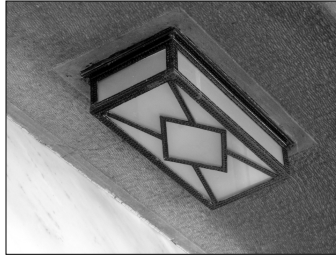


Figure 4

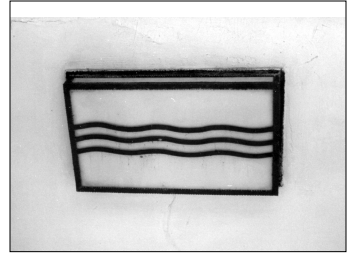


Figure 5



Figure 6

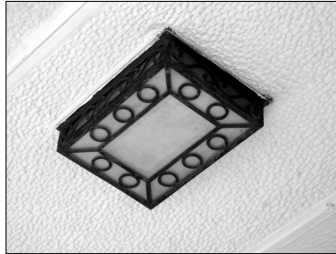


Figure 7



Figure 8

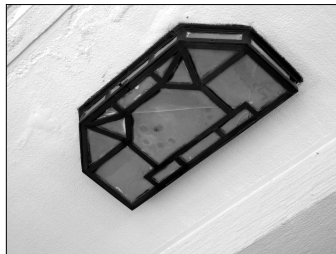


Figure 9



Figure 10

suggest the potential for industrial production which would, of course, lead to depersonalization and standardization of the product. Greek technical experts of the time already were familiar with mass production applications of construction elements for use in architectural designs.⁴⁰ However, the production of these lighting fixtures moved towards differentiation and personalization, rather than standardization. This was not irrelevant to the low-tech, craft-based, and highly personalized process of house construction. The multitude of variations eloquently illustrates the individualized character retained by the production process of the built environment.⁴¹ Residence owners would collaborate with the engineer, contractor, or craftsman who was in charge of building the house, and would order a different version of the basic type, thus expressing their own taste and stressing their individuality. This practice resulted in a very extensive variety of fixtures designed along the same basic form.



The formal sources of inspiration for these variations were very diverse. Many versions resulted from the application of various styles, especially neoclassicism, art nouveau, and art deco.⁴² Every single example constituted the domain of personal preferences, and represented the resistance of the craft mode of production, since every fixture had to be manufactured as one-of-a-kind or, in case of large buildings, in very limited runs. Sometimes, the fixture transcended the state of an autonomous object and attempted to become incorporated into the structure of the building itself, or even replace that structure (Figures 11–12). It also is interesting to note the presence of such modernist fixtures in older residencies following historic styles, especially the neoclassical. These fixtures perhaps were placed a posteriori above the neoclassical home entrance, so that the message of modernization and social success would not go unnoticed. Also, the design of the fixture often was identical to respective designs of the door, the railings of balconies, or windows, so that all the metal elements of the façade would match.

Nowadays, numerous examples of such fixtures survive in Athens, dispersed throughout various neighborhoods typical of the urban expansion of the 1920s and 1930s: Historic Centre, Exarchia, Kolonaki, Keramikos, Patissia, Kypseli, Gyzi, Ambelokipi, and Pangrati, but also in suburbs such as Halandri and Psychiko. The wear and tear of time, as well as replacements by modern fixtures, is evident. The formal type also frequently appears outside Athens; in urban centers such as Thessaloniki, Volos, Trikala, Nafplio, and Pyrgos, and in other places. Modern design spread beyond the capital, along with urbanization and modernization trends.

Variations of Modernity

We observe, at this point, an aesthetic and ideological compromise or negotiation taking place on the level of small-scale design. On the one hand, there was an expression of modernization through the use of modernist, standardized, formal patterns. On the other hand, this employment of imported features was subject to individual adaptation, following the personal tastes of the house owner. The forms perceived as modernist and international were adapted to suit individual aesthetic preferences. This was an assertive expression of the middle-class or lower middle-class citizen, who wished to differentiate himself from the others, as well as from the mass

character of the public space. It also was an attempt to merge and perhaps reconcile two seemingly incompatible extremes: a basic structure which could be recognized as undoubtedly modern was combined with special features or details expressing individuality and autonomy. Such fixtures represent a social formation dominated by the middle-class, a society of "small landlords."⁴³ After all, this was a very conservative society in which small, private ownership prevailed and set the tone for social, economic, and other developments. The central feature of the Greek society in the interwar years was the quantitative and qualitative dominance of the "petit bourgeois." This feature reflected the fact that Greece had undergone a fragmented, unstable, and incomplete modernization, and retained strong pre-capitalist attributes.⁴⁴ In the case of building production, the domination of the "small landlord" and the individually-tailored production of houses meant that the owner could have a very significant input in this process by negotiating with the technical expert, architect, or contractor.

The above observations may be linked to more general research findings with respect to the emergence of modernity in the Western World. In their introduction to a collection of case studies attempting to rethink the history of industrialization in the West, Sabel and Zeitlin refer to the widespread practice among European firms of selectively rejecting and accepting particular elements from foreign innovations. This leads them to accept alternative ideas of modernity where, as opposed to the claims of conventional historiography, epochs do not have a fixed beginning or end. Instead, continuity and change are intertwined in every historical epoch, and incremental, gradual change represents a more valid pattern than that of clear-cut breaks between master narratives. The concept of shifting, overlapping, and interpenetrating orientations, blending what was before and what was to come, is more appropriate in describing the transition between competing models of organization.⁴⁵ Scranton reaches similar conclusions in his study of American consumer society. His findings indicate a greater diversity in urban industrial structures and histories than usually is appreciated, and suggest the existence of as yet unrecorded, structured variations.⁴⁶ Cultural historian Jeffrey Meikle has also formulated a classification of the strategies of modern societies for coming to terms with change. The strategy of directly appropriating icons of modernity into one's own personal environment is interpreted as a way of taming their threatening aspects.⁴⁷

It appears valid to relate such arguments to the present study of Greek architectural and design manifestations of modernity. In this vein, the light fittings of interwar petit-bourgeois housing in Greece declared their modernity through an aesthetics which was not only morphologically hybrid but, at the same time, embedded within a system of production that might be considered as un-modern or even anti-modern. Elitist, formal design patterns of the modern move-

ment became appropriated and adapted by the Greek bourgeoisie as details of a localized, personalized, popular architecture. Greek architectural theorist Giacomacatos speaks of the idiosyncratic diffusion of a “modernism of all the people,” especially in Athenian private architecture.⁴⁸ Variations of modernism which challenge dominant, hegemonic narratives also may be traced in other areas of design production.⁴⁹ Design, like other cultural manifestations, has a relative autonomy and defines its own languages while, at the same time represents broad tendencies within a political economy.⁵⁰ Calotychos, an academic of the Greek Diaspora, asks: “If [...] Greeks manipulated European forms for their purposes in socio-political sites, is it not likely that they did so with cultural forms too?”⁵¹

Conclusion

In my opinion, the objects in question have a quality and charm that stand the test of time. They present consistency in the application of design language on the small scale, and manage to express the transitive and often contradictory character of their time. Gravitating between public and private, industry and craft, modernity and tradition, they express the fragile balance of the turbulent and insecure interwar years. These lighting fixtures, of course, constitute a minor issue, a detail in the public space. Other kinds of objects, exclusively imported, were more appropriate to express modernity, and carried the main burden of familiarizing the public with modern ideas and lifestyle in interwar Greece. I am, naturally, referring to automobiles, trams, electric poles, and other imported, industrially produced objects, which had a catalytic influence on the form and function of the Greek public space. This influence is largely unrecorded and remains to be explored, in order to reveal a wider picture of Greek material culture in its course to modernization. In this context, the formal family of lighting fixtures presented in this paper has expressed, through its hybrid and contradictory character, the dominant inertia between the old and the new in interwar Greece, a state which characterized both local society and design. Today, in the beginning of the twentieth-first century, as the country experiences another difficult transition, the buildings of the 1930s disappear one by one through another wave of urban development and are replaced by new blocks of flats. Although the modernist lighting fixtures are continuously being reduced as Athens evolves, the remaining ones continue to delight the observant passerby in the busy metropolis. Above all, following the present interpretation, they provide an indigenous and highly expressive assertion of what it meant to be “modern.”

- 1 Gui Bonsiepe, *Interface: An Approach to Design* (Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Akademie, 1999), (101) "Design can be seen as an attempt to create the conditions for modernity"; and (129) "Design is the driving force of modernity"; as well as Gui Bonsiepe, "Industrial Design in the Periphery" in *History of Industrial Design: 1750–1850: The Age of the Industrial Revolution / 1851–1918: The Great Emporium of the World / 1919–1990: The Dominion of Design*, Carlo Pirovano, ed. (Milan: Electa, 1991).
- 2 Penny Sparke, *An Introduction to Design and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), xix–xx.
- 3 Bonsiepe (1999), 41.
- 4 Victor Margolin, *The Politics of the Artificial – Essays on Design and Design Studies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 164.
- 5 This research was partially funded by the State Scholarships Foundation (I.K.Y.) through a post-doctoral grant (2002–2003). All pictures were taken by the author in Athens, with the exception of picture six, which was taken at the city of Volos.
- 6 Thomas W. Gallant, *Modern Greece* (London: Arnold, 2001), 135–159.
- 7 On this issue, see: Nikolaos Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment* (Athens: Exantas, 1978). [in Greek] (English edition: London: MacMillan, 1978).
- 8 Alkis Rigos, *The 2nd Greek Democracy 1924–1935, Social Dimensions of the Political Scene* (Athens: Themelio, 1999), 24. [in Greek]
- 9 Nikos Vatopoulos, *The Face of Athens* (Athens: Potamos, 2002), 123. [in Greek]
- 10 For the "construction explosion" of the 1920s, see: Vatopoulos, 141; and Christina Agriantoni, "Engineers and Industry: An Unsuccessful Meeting" in *History of Greece in the 20th Century, 1922–1940 The Interwar Years*, Christos Hadziiossif, ed. (Athens: Vivliorama, 2002), 268–293. [in Greek]
- 11 Andreas Giacomacatos, "From Conservatism to Populism with a Stop at Modernism: The Architecture of the Modern" in *Architecture of the 20th Century – Greece* (Athens: Greek Institute of Architecture/Deutsches Architektur-Museum/Prestel, 2000), 35. [in Greek]
- 12 Vilma Hastaoglou, "The Emergence of the Neo-Hellenic City: The Conception of the Modern City and the Modernization of the Urban Space" in *Venizelism and Urban Modernization*, George Mavrogordatos and Christos Hadziiossif, eds. (Rethymno: University of Crete Press, 1992), 93. [in Greek] Furthermore, it is noted that: "The application of modern aesthetics acquired thus symbolic dimensions. Through this application, the Greek society was declaring that it could understand the elements that formed the concept of modernization: it could handle the machine and machine production, it was aware of the properties of industrial materials, it appreciated their aesthetics. In other words, the country was going along international developments." George Parmenidis and Erossini Roupá, *Bourgeois Furniture in Greece, 1830–1940: A Century of Construction of Design Rules* (Athens: National Technical University of Athens Press, 2003), 480. [in Greek]
- 13 Panayotis Tournikiotis, "Modernism and Modernization in Greek Interwar Architecture" in Philippides, 34.
- 14 Vatopoulos, 169.
- 15 Hastaoglou, 100.
- 16 Panayotis Nikolaides, "New Architecture: Form and Social Spirit" in *Urban Housing of the '30s: Modern Architecture in Pre-War Athens*, Dimitris Philippides, ed. (Athens: Nireas, 2001), 27. [in Greek and English]
- 17 Tournikiotis, 33.
- 18 See, for example: Philippides, 14–15, and Nikolaos Holevas, *The Architecture of "Transition" in Interwar Athens* (Athens: Libro, 1998), 24 and 30. [in Greek]
- 19 Kostas Biris, *Athens from the 19th to the 20th Century* (Athens: Melissa, 1995), 313. [in Greek]
- 20 It has been pointed out that: "These aspects of the movement almost did not touch Greece of the '30s, which was restricted to introducing related formal aspects and not interested in following the concomitant technological innovations. The obvious conservatism of Greek society together with the backwardness of local technology restricted the field merely to formal experimentation." (Philippides, 12)
- 21 Nikos Pantelakis, *The Electrification of Greece, from Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889–1956)* (Athens: Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, 1991), 32. [in Greek]
- 22 Pantelakis, 306.
- 23 Alikí Vaxevanoglou, *The Social Reception of Innovation: The Example of Electrification in Interwar Greece* (Athens: Neohellenic Research Institute/ National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1996), 48. [in Greek, with French summary]
- 24 Pantelakis, 19.
- 25 Vaxevanoglou, 59–60.
- 26 *Kathimerini* (Athens daily newspaper, February 16, 1924). [in Greek]
- 27 Dimitra Vassileiadou, Themistoklis P. Roukis, and Sakis Spyridis, *The Beginnings of Consumer Society in Interwar Greece* (unpublished seminar paper) (Rethymno: University of Crete), 2001. [in Greek]
- 28 Similarly, for the United States, Scranton observes: "For a time, having a car or being 'on the phone' announced both one's wealth and/or status and signaled modernity [...]," Philip Scranton, "Manufacturing Diversity: Production Systems, Markets, and an American Consumer society, 1870–1930," *Technology and Culture* 35:3 (July 1994): 485.
- 29 Philippides, 16.
- 30 For the aesthetics and function of entrances in interwar blocks of flats, see Nikos Moiras, "The Entrance to Apartment Buildings of the Interwar Period" in Philippides, 43.
- 31 See Elias Eliou, "Of Praiseworthy Boxes," *Neoellinika Grammata* (1937): 33–36. [in Greek] Also, Hastaoglou, 102–103 and 107–109, for analogies with the organization and homogenization of urban space on the basis of a repeated orthogonal element: the block. For the basically arbitrary, but ideologically loaded, use of orthogonal shapes in mass-produced technical objects, see also Artemis Yagou, "Shaping Technology for Everyday Use: The Case of Radio Set Design," *The Design Journal* 5:1 (2002): 2–13.
- 32 Aleka Karadimou-Yerolymou and Nikos Papamihos, "Space Regulation: Political Initiatives and Institutional Arrangements" in Mavrogordatos and Hadziiossif, 118–119.

- 33 Designed by Georges Champion and produced by Studio Gué (Georges and Gaston Guérin in Paris), *'20s Decorative Art*, Charlotte and Peter Fiell, eds. (Cologne: Taschen, 2000), 545.
- 34 Peter Vöge, *The Complete Rietveld Furniture* (Rotterdam: O10 Publishers, 1993), 101.
- 35 Fiell and Fiell, 206–207.
- 36 Vöge, 31.
- 37 Herbert Bayer, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius, eds., *Bauhaus 1919–1928* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1986) (first published in 1938), 42.
- 38 Giacomacatos (2000), 30, mentions the names of major Greek architects who had studied abroad, mainly in France and in German-speaking countries. Foreign approaches had a lasting influence through the dissemination among Greek architects of specialist French and German magazines (Giacomacatos [2000], 36). Regarding foreign influences, see also Hastaoglou, 94–95; Karadimou-Yerolymou and Papamihos, 116–117; and Savvas Kontaratos, “Modernism and Traditionalism: From Post-War Reconstruction to the Penetration of Post-modernism, 1945–1975” in *Architecture of the 20th Century – Greece*, 48.
- 39 Nikolaos Kitsikis, “The IV Conference of New Architecture to Take Place in Athens, 29 July–13 August 1933,” *Technika Chronika* 38:15 (July 1933): 691–694. [in Greek] The IV CIAM activities are extensively recorded in the special, trilingual monograph issue of *Technika Chronika* 44–46:15 (October–November 1933): 995–1194. [in Greek] On the Athens Charter, see Guy Julier, *The Thames and Hudson Encyclopedia of 20th Century Design and Designers* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 55–56. For a recent evaluation of CIAM influence in Greece, see Giacomacatos (2000).
- 40 Dimitris Papalexopoulos, “The Engineer and the Design of Space: Avant-Garde or Modernization” in Mavrogordatos and Hadziiosif, 138.
- 41 Karadimou-Yerolymou and Papamihos, 125.
- 42 “If the ‘orthodox’ Modern Movement as it appeared at the international Weissenhofsiedlung exhibition (Stuttgart 1927) required the use of clear geometric forms with white rectangular shapes, excluding any trace of decoration, in practice different variations arose in varying degrees with other contemporary trends, such as the angular Art Deco (a product of the 1925 Paris Exhibition), simplified classicism, or the local vernacular idiom.” (Philippides [Introduction], 17). It has been observed that “the image presented by most buildings of this period has arisen from a vague and disparate conglomeration of influences leading, finally, to a hybrid ‘Mass Architecture.’” (Nikolaides, 19).
- 43 Karadimou-Yerolymou and Papamihos, 127. See also Hastaoglou, 109.
- 44 Rigos, 157–175.
- 45 Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, “Stories, Strategies, Structures: Rethinking Historical Alternatives to Mass Production” in *Worlds of Possibility: Flexibility and Mass Production in Western Industrialization*, Charles F. Sabel, Jonathan Zeitlin, Maurice Aymard, Jacques Revel, and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–36.
- 46 Scranton (1994) and Philip Scranton, “Multiple Industrializations: Urban Manufacturing Development in the American Midwest, 1880–1925,” *Journal of Design History* 12:1 (1999), 45–63.
- 47 Jeffrey Meikle, quoted in Margolin, 210.
- 48 Andreas Giacomacatos, *History of Greek Architecture – 20th Century* (Athens: Nefeli, 2004), 51. [in Greek]
- 49 Leontidou discusses Mediterranean alternatives to modernism in the field of urbanism. Based on the writings of Antonio Gramsci, she describes the appropriation of in-between spaces in south-European cities. Lila Leontidou, “Alternatives to Modernism in (Southern) Urban Theory: Exploring In-between Spaces,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 20:2 (1996): 180–197.
- 50 Jeremy Aynsley, *Nationalism and Internationalism* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1993), 14.
- 51 Vangelis Calotychos, *Modern Greece – A Cultural Poetics* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 97.