Graphic design and modernisation in Greece, 1945-1970

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vol.1/2

In memory of Frederick V. Carabott (1928-2011)

Kimon A. Eliopoulos (1922-2011)

Leonidas Christakis (1928-2009)

Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975)

Abstract

The primary aim of this work is to give voice to the silent history of graphic design in Greece, long uncharted and undocumented in both the international forum and the local design community. This study focuses on the professional modernisation of graphic design and its role in providing the means for change in Greek society. The research is supported by interdisciplinary analysis of commercial advertisements, posters, leaflets and magazines, as well as other supporting documentation, in the historical and cultural context of Athens, Greece from 1945 to 1970.

The time examined was a transitional and vociferous period in the history of Greece, one of intense and rapid economic modernisation during the post-Second World War decades from the mid-1940s to 1970. This was a time when, along with broader changes in the social, economic and political life of Greece, important developments in design education, print technology, and professional organisation marked a new age for graphic design, as a profession emerging from the broader 'graphic arts' field (inclusive of both technological and creative processes) and claiming autonomy over the more established fine arts sector.

All four chapters deal with modernisation in relation to the assumed divisions of traditional/modern, continuity/change, centre/periphery. Main areas of investigation are: trade organisation, graphic design education, advertising and urbanisation, electricity and tourism promotion. This research offers a view of the ways the 'modern' and the condition of modernity were experienced in the case of Greece through certain applications of graphic design and its agents of influence: graphic designers, artists, managers, publishers, the state and private entrepreneurs. The research benefited significantly from a number of interviews with design professionals and related individuals. The present endeavour has a modest aim: to enable understanding of how and why Greek graphic design at the time came to be, and to stress the validity of the visual as a means of historical documentation.

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Acknowledgements

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who passed away in March 2011 when I was finishing writing this thesis, and to the late Freddie Carabott, whose sudden death was announced in October the same year. I was lucky to have known Kimon and Freddie personally and to learn from them what it means to stand by your principles regardless of the circumstances.

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Author's Declaration

1. During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification.
2. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

M. Emmanouil, September 2012

A Note on Transliteration

Due to the lack of an accepted standard for transliterating Greek words into English, a mixture of a phonetic and a writing system has been employed in order to replicate the form and pronunciation of words in Greek. For example, the letter 'e' is used to indicate an 'e' as in 'early' rather than as in 'ear'. Also, the letter 'i' is used phonetically as in 'is' and not as 'I' (as in 'I am'). Words in which there is a synthesis of vowels (*ει/EI, οι/OI*) or include the following letters *υ/Y, η/H*, which produce the 'i' sound, are indicated with an 'i'.

However, it is not uncommon among Greek authors to use the Latin alphabet when a letter (as a typeform) corresponds to the Greek letter. Therefore in such cases where there is a given English transliteration, the original version is used instead. For instance, for the magazine titles *Zygos* and *Gynaika*, the 'y' (*ipsilon*), even though it sounds aurally like an 'i', is written with a 'y' in the English translation provided.

Duplication of successive letters (e.g., ll, mm) follows the original reference as closely as possible. Also, notes in brackets '[ ]' are of my own and when used in quotes serve as either explanation notes '[xxxx]', or for excluding parts of the text not essential for the reference '[…]'. In reading this study, please bear in mind the following alphabet list (English letter = Greek sound). Greek letters are transliterated in the Latin form (see table below) following the system employed by Philip Carabott and Thanasis Sfikas.[1]

All efforts have been made to accommodate the preferred spelling in English, as indicated by authors, editors and interviewees. Otherwise, the above transliteration system is employed, and the author will be happy to make any correction or editing in future publications. Lastly, the formatting and layout of this thesis follow principles set out in the Modern Humanities Research Association Style Guide, and type is set in Century.

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[1] Carabott, P., Sfikas, Th.D., ed., *The Greek Civil War* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004).

The thesis is divided into two volumes: Volume 1 contains the main chapters (Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 2, Chapter 3, Chapter 4, Conclusion), and Volume 2 includes the List of Illustrations, Appendix A (illustrations of all Chapters, and supplementary material for Chapters 1 and 4), Appendix B (transcripts of selected interviews), List of Resources, and Bibliography.

Greek	Latin	*Greek*	Latin
α	a	*λ*	l
αι	e	*μ*	m
αυ	av or af	*μπ*	b (if initial) or mb
β	v	*ν*	n
γ	g	*ντ*	d (if initial), nd or nt
γ followed by *ε* or *ι*	y	*ξ*	x
γγ	ng	*ο*	o
γκ	g (if initial), or ng	*οι*	i
γχ	nch	*ου*	ou
δ	d	*π*	p
ε	e	*ρ*	r
ει	i	*σ*	s
ευ	ev or ef	*τ*	t
ζ	z	*υ*	y or i
η	i	*φ*	f
θ	th	*χ*	ch
ι	i	*ψ*	ps
κ	k	*ω*	o

Abbreviations

Translated terms cited here below are commonly employed in literature and online contexts, or they are my own translations wherever these were not available or provided. In the main text of this thesis the English abbreviation (in bold lettering) is preferred, with the noted (*) exceptions.

English Abbreviation & Translation		Greek Abbreviation & Translation	
AAA	Association of the Applied Arts	SET	*Somatio Efarmosmenon Technon*
HAAA	Hellenic Association of Advertising Agencies	EDEE	*Enosi Eterion Diafimisis ke Epikinonias*
ADC	Athens Design Centre	AKSP	*Athinaiko Kentro Sxediasmou Proionton*
ASFA	Athens School of Fine Arts	ASKT	*Anotati Scholi Kalon Technon*
ATO-ATI	Athens Technological Organisation - Athens Technological Institute	ATO-ATI	*Athinaikos Technologikos Organismos - Athinaiko Technologiko Institouto*
CU	Centre Union	EK	*Enosi Kentrou*
DP	(*Publicity and Promotion*)	*DP*	*Dimosiotis ke Provoli*
***EAM**	(National Liberation Front)	EAM	*Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo*
ECAP	Electrical Company Athens-Pireaus	IEAP / HEAP	*Ilektriki Eteria Athinon-Pireos*
EEC	European Economic Community	EOK	*Evropaiki Ikonomiki Kinotita*
***EDA**	(United Democratic Left)	EDA	*Eniea Dimokratiki Aristera*
***ELAS**	(National People's Liberation Army)	ELAS	*Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos*
***ERE**	(Greek Radical Union)	ERE	*Elliniki Rizospastiki Enosi*
GST	General Secretary for Tourism	GGT	*Geniki Grammatia Tourismou*
GTO	Greek Tourism Organisation	EOT	*Ellinikos Organismos Tourismou*
HIGAM	Hellenic Institute of Graphic Art and Marketing	EIGTM	*Elliniko Institouto Graphikon Technon ke Marketing*
***KKE**	(Communist Party of Greece)	KKE	*Kommounistiko Komma Elladas*
PPC	Public Power Corporation	DEI	*Dimosia Epihirisi Ilektrismou*
PUA	Pan-hellenic Union of Advertisers	PED	*Panellinia Enosi Diafimiston*
RNF	Royal National Foundation	VEI	*Vassiliko Ethniko Idryma*
SGD	Society of Graphic Designers	SG	*Somatio Grafiston*
UPA	*Union of Painters-Advertisers*	EKD	*Enosi Kallitechnon-Diafimiston*
USSPT	*Under-Secretariat of State for the Press and Tourism*	ITT	*Ifipourgio Tipou ke Tourismou*

Magazines (in italics)

Introduction

As a graphic design student in mid-to-late 1990s Athens and London, I became increasingly aware of the limited presence and representation of Greek graphic design in design historiography. With respect to the latter, the very few Greek references in international graphic design journals and publications, and the absence of Greek graphic design professionals in design dictionaries, clearly point to a restricted account of the discipline as it has developed in Greece, and, generally, to a historiographical imbalance.[1]

In fact, the invisible place of Greek graphic design in design scholarship, especially since the Arts and Crafts movement of the 1890s, is not an exception but part of a broader inequity.[2] A number of other national case studies, irrespective of size or location, also remain on the margins of design discourse.[3] For instance, the larger and contested area of the Balkans and southeastern Europe is poorly recorded in design history books or researched by indigenous scholars and researchers.[4] Such a

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[1] No reference is made in: Livingston, A.A.I., *The Thames and Hudson Dictionary of Graphic Design and Designers.* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998 [1992]); Hollis, R., *Graphic Design. A Concise History.* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994); Dormer, P., *Design Since 1945.* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998 [1993]); Jervis, S., *The Penguin Dictionary of Design and Designers.* (London: Penguin Books, 1984).

[2] A very recent, first attempt in mapping the broader context of Greek design history is by Yagou, A., *Fragile Innovation: Episodes in Greek Design History.* (-: CreateSpace, 2011).

[3] Consider Australia and Canada. See Fry, T., 'A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality' in *The Idea of Design. A Design Issues Reader*, ed. by R.B. Victor Margolin (Cambridge MA, USA / London, UK: The MIT Press, 1995), pp.204-218; Donnelly, B., 'Locating Graphic Design History in Canada', *Journal of Design History*, 19 (4) 2006, pp.283-294.

[4] The 1st 'Balkan Locus-Focus' Symposium that was held at Izmir University of Economics, Turkey (Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Visual Communication Design Department, 29-30 June 2012) in collaboration with Parsons, USA (School of Art and Design History and Theory), was a first attempt to offer insights on the histories of visual communication design (graphic design) in the socio-political and mental territories of the Balkan peninsula (http://fadf.ieu.edu.tr/balkanlocusfocus/).

phenomenon, as vigorously argued in a number of scholarly colloquia and publications in the past few years, has deterred a diverse and inclusive world history of design.[5]

Until the 1990s, design historiography had largely taken the form of a chronological interpretation of events, with a focus on selective moments in design history, or on famous designers.[6] This model of design history, as a practice driven by industrialisation, is almost exclusively located in those nations modelled on the Western capitalist paradigm. Ultimately, this canonical historiography has contributed, among other things (for example, stylisation), to the formation of a dichotomy between those industrialised nations known as the 'centre', and those on the margins of certain Western socio-economic developments, known as the 'periphery'.[7]

The interaction of the concepts centre/periphery, traditional/modern, and their complex nature in various contexts, is a central enquiry of this thesis. According to the former distinction, Greece appears to have an ambiguous position: on the one hand, a pivotal status as 'the cradle of Western civilisation', a view largely built from the accumulated materials of classical scholarship; and on the other, a peripheral status in relation to the role of the country in the post-war economic matrix. Do these different statuses also appear in post-war graphic design, and in what ways? Do they co-exist in balance, or does one overshadow the other in favour of the modernisation model of rationalisation and technological advancement? And how are the concepts of periphery and centre defined and negotiated in visual terms?

Regarding the second observation, Greek graphic design has always been discussed in relation to ancient Greek civilisation. Greece's presence in world graphic design, as seen in seminal histories such as Philip Meggs' *The History of Graphic*

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[5] For a recent discussion, see the special issue of the *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2005. Relevant events include the ICDHS (International Conference on Design History and Studies) series since 1999. Similar concerns have been expressed in the International Conference 'Design: storia e identità' in Venice in 2008. Yet, very few country case studies reach a book format, such as Fernández, S., Bonsiepe, Gui, ed., *History of Design in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Sao Paolo, Brazil: Blucher, 2008).
[6] The shift to a thematic, rather than chronological focus, has originally been undertaken by Forty, A., *Objects of Desire. Design and Society since 1750.* (Dumfriesshire: Cameron Books, 1995 [1986]).
[7] For a discussion on the subject, see Margolin, V., 'A World History of Design and the History of the World', *Journal of Design History*, 18 (3) Autumn 2005, pp.235-243. Also, Tony Fry discusses the term 'canonisation' as a method to study the history of design in: Fry, T., *Design History Australia.* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1988), pp.27-29, and elaborates on the concept of marginality in his later article: Fry, 'A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality'.

Design (1983), is limited to the development of the Greek alphabet since c.1000 B.C., as the 'grandfather' of alphabet systems around the world.[8] These references are usually followed by gallant comments on the cultural contribution of ancient Greek civilisation to the West. Thus, considering the widely celebrated regard for Greek classical civilisation of the fifth century B.C. (art, architecture, sciences, philosophy and democracy), one could argue that such attitudes are to be expected in a chronologically based narrative. Yet in Meggs' text, and more broadly in contemporary international design discourse, there are almost no references to Greek graphic communication thereafter.[9] Ultimately, this tradition constructs a specific identity for Greek graphic design.

Taking the terms 'modern' and 'modernity' as referring to the present and 'the beginning of the future, rather than an extension, a prolongation, a repetition or a decay of the past',[10] Greece provides a framework in which the concepts 'tradition' and 'modernity' can be discussed and debated. For it is Greece's strong fixation on its past, expressed here as tradition, that demonstrates how history, as presented in visual and textual discourse and in the minds of everyday people, is used to provide meaning to discussions of modernity and modernisation.

Did Greek graphic design testify to a Western-style modernity based on the characteristics mentioned above? More broadly, what was 'modern' and how was 'modernity' expressed and experienced in Greek society through graphic design and advertising?

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[8] Meggs, P.B., *A History of Graphic Design.* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), pp.39-43.
[9] The history of Greek graphic design is also absent from recent publications, such as: Eskilson, S.J., *Graphic Design. A New History.* (London: Laurence King, 2007), and Drucker, J., Mcvarish, E., *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide.* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2009). Moreover, the ancient Greek craft production provided stimulus to design discourse: Onians, J., 'Idea and Product: Potter and Philosopher in Classical Athens', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (2) 1991, pp.65-73.
[10] Therborn, G., 'Routes To/Through Modernity' in *Global Modernities*, ed. by M. Featherstone, Lash, S., Robertson, R. (London: Sage, 1997[1995]), pp.124-139, p.126.

a. Note on periodisation

With its focus on graphic design and modernisation, the research outlined here concerns the period immediately after the Second World War, from 1945 to the end of the turbulent 1960s. During this twenty-five-year period Greece underwent full-scale economic modernisation. Politically, the era started with the struggle for dominance between the Right and the Left, resulting in the outbreak of the Greek Civil War (1943-1949),[11] followed by a state of 'controlled democracy', and finally to the military dictatorship of the colonels (1967-1974). Throughout these years, modernisation, as a key political aim, was implemented under the veil, or fear, characteristic of the Cold War era, of communist expansion, and coincided with the emergence of graphic design as a profession.

Historians of modern Greece usually divide the history of the post-war era (up to the end of military dictatorship in 1974) into roughly three sub-periods: 1944-1949, 1950-1966, and 1967-1974. The first began with the end of the Second World War and foreign occupation, and continued to the end of the Greek Civil War. This is considered a traumatic period for the nation, which left thousands dead, wounded, exiled, or stigmatised,[12] and created a dilemma that remained in place throughout the following decades: would Greece follow the communist or capitalist model of economic development?

In subsequent years, Greece's political and economic objectives merged. The Greek cry for help in 1945, as visualised in the ISOTYPE-inspired war album examined in Chapter 2, was answered by the US in 1947, replacing the previous role of Britain. America's massive economic support initiated a new era for Greece.[13] Heated discussions and writings of the time, particularly in economic and political texts,

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[11] Recent studies consider the Greek Civil War to have begun during the last stage of the Axis occupation in 1943, and not in 1946 as it was commonly accepted in earlier texts. Close, D.H., *The Origins of the Greek Civil War.* (London: Longman, 1995).

[12] For figures, see the editor's Introduction in Close, D.H., ed., *The Greek Civil War, Studies of Polarization 1943-1950* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp.9-10; Close, *The Origins of the Greek Civil War*, pp.219-220.

[13] Campbell, J., Sherrard, Phillip, *Modern Greece.* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1968), p.312.

focused on the question of the country's dependency and its so-called Americanisation, but largely failed to consider the cultural and ideological circumstances and effects of this relationship.

The role of America in the country's post-war political orientation, especially the development of anti-communist ideology, as seen in numerous propaganda posters (discussed in Chapter 2), was indeed central. Domestic measures against communism included establishment of the so-called 'certificate of social beliefs' in 1946, a validation of the citizen's nationalist credentials (that is anti-communist) without which he/she could not enter the state apparatus as a civil servant,[14] and later on, the formation of the Central Intelligence Service (CIS).[15] Established in 1953, the CIS was the supreme information-gathering body on all matters relating to communist subversion, matching the CIA created in America the same year. Following police measures, the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) ceased to exist as an organised force in the country (outlawed in late 1947), maintaining a surrogate existence only through the United Democratic Left (EDA).[16] During the following decades, this state of controlled democracy strongly affected people's everyday lives and activities, which took place under constant police surveillance.[17] Artists and designers were not excluded from these censorship policies.

The second sub-period of Greek post-war history occurred between 1950 and 1966. This longer timeframe is often divided into several smaller sections, according to the writer's orientation and aims, but is generally taken as a time of rapid economic growth based on the capitalist model. According to the National Accounts of OACD (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, Greece was one of the countries with fastest economic growth. The average annual increase in national annual gross income jumped from a rate of 4.0 in 1955-1960 to 7.2 in 1961-1965, which was faster than that of Italy, Portugal, and Spain, amongst other

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[14] Applicable for the decades to follow and especially during the dictatorship: Kribas, K., 'University Education and Research' in *History of the New Hellenism, 1770-2000: Winners and Losers, 1949-1974 (9 vol)*, Vol.9 (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003), pp.153-166, pp.154,157.
[15] It was equipped and trained by officials of the American Central Intelligence Agency: Close, D.H., *Greece Since 1945*. (Great Britain: Longman, 2002), pp.84-85.
[16] Ibid, p.95.
[17] The broadcast and print media were censored, the sole civilian radio station was run by the government, Ibid, p.95. See also, Close, *Greece Since 1945*, pp.114-118.

European countries,[18] though it was only after 1970 that Greece changed its status from 'under-developed' to 'middle growth level'.[19] Moreover, Greece's destiny in the 1950s and early '60s was tied to the Western European block rather than to the Soviet communist sphere. It was only in 1960/1961 that Greece passed through one of the most obvious 'gates to modernity'[20] – associate membership of the EEC (European Economic Community).

During this period, the state launched two of its most important fund-raising and modernisation initiatives: creation of a national electrification network run by the Public Power Corporation (PPC), and development of the tourist industry by the Greek Tourism Organisation (GTO), which are examined as case studies in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. In both cases, graphic design and advertising were employed consistently by the state and private enterprise as part of the context of national reconstruction and of a developing and competitive market.

Generally, the chronological structure of this thesis follows that of post-war political and economic history studies. As seen in the case studies examined, major developments in graphic design coincided with, or were a consequence of, broader socio-economic events, but did not necessarily follow the clearly defined dates cited in many of these debates. The examples offered here do, however, largely conform to established historical narratives of Greek modernity, which provide a framework for inquiry into the subject.

It was during this period, especially in 1958, that several major developments in graphic design took place: the foundation of the first design schools in Athens; trade publishing; the foundation of a promotion department within GTO, equipped with graphic designers rather than artists; the foundation of trade associations and unions

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[18] Greece: 1950-55: -, 1955-60: 4,0, 1961-65: 7,2, 1966-1970: 7,6; Italy: 1950-55: 5,4, 1955-60: 6,2, 1961-65: 4,4 1966-70: 6,4; Portugal: 1950-55: 3,6, 1955-60: 4,4, 1961-65: 6,6, 1966-70: 6,8; Spain: 1950-55: -, 1955-60: 3,2, 1961-65: 7,6, 1966-70: 6,0. Babanassis, S., 'Economic Development and Social Impacts in Greece during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)', in *4th Scientific Conference 'Greek Society during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)' Proceedings* (Athens, Greece: Panteion University, Saki Karagiorga Foundation, 1993 [1994]), pp.37-59, p.39.

[19] The national annual gross income increased from 329 dollars in 1950 to 999 in 1970: Ibid, p.44. At the end of the 1960s, amongst 21 countries taken as developed or developing countries, Greece took the 17th place, whereas Italy held the 11th, Spain the 18th and Portugal the 20th. Babanassis, 'Economic Development and Social Impacts in Greece during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)', p.45.

[20] As termed by Therborn, 'Routes To/Through Modernity', pp.131-135.

(albeit short-lived); and the initiation of conferences and exhibitions in the mid-1960s. All these events can be regarded as critical landmarks of change and modernisation in accordance with Western models of professionalisation, as will be discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

The last sub-period, as put forward by many historical texts, is the military regime known as the Junta. Claiming to protect the country from the possibility of a communist revolt in the mid-1960s, three military officers forcibly seized power on 21 April, 1967.[21] Although there has been little academic inquiry into the regime's impact on Greek visual culture beyond aesthetic considerations,[22] historians usually consider this period as one of repression, backwardness, restriction of artistic expression and cultural stagnation.[23] Certainly, in terms of tourist promotion (based exclusively on photography), art historians perceive the period of the Junta rule as less important than the early 1960s, which they label a 'golden age'.[24] Interestingly, however, the leaders of the military coup paid special attention to the persuasive power of visual communication, as indicated in their extensive self-promotion in all media, including the new (in Greece) medium of television introduced in the late 1960s. A closer look at less researched areas of visual culture during the period, such as graphic design and the advancement of technology and new media (offset printing, photography and television), might therefore lead to revision of this view, and to a more informed understanding of the role of graphic design in the process of modernisation. Hence, this study focuses on graphic design produced during the early years of the military regime, in order to identify possible ruptures and/or continuities.

The closing date for this study is the late 1960s, marking the end of a phase in Greek graphic design that was inevitably affected by key local and world events, such as the global economic crisis of the early 1970s, and the oil crisis in 1973 that plunged

[21] Gallant, T.W., *Modern Greece*. (London: Arnold, 2001), p.198.
[22] A study into the shift to a new period in the history of Greek culture is examined in Baskozos, G.N., *The Frills and the Essentials. A Study on the Cultural Trends during 1974-1989*. (Athens: Delfini, 1996), pp.7-14.
[23] See Raftopoulos, D., 'Kitsch as Fascism-meter' in *Something 'Beautiful'. A Tour Around Modern Greek Kitsch*, ed. by D. Koutsikou (Athens: ANTI, 1984), pp.68-77.
[24] According to Sgartsou, T., 'Glimpses of Greece through Tourism Posters' (Unpublished MA, Panteion University, 2009), pp.42-46. See also, Orati, I., 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece' in *Greek Posters*, ed. by Spyros Karachristos (Athens: Kedros, 2003), pp.266-267.

the Greek economy into turmoil.[25] A parallel, if delayed, response to the broader global events of the time, was vividly expressed in Greece by the insurgence of students from the National Polytechnic University in 1973, which eventually brought down the colonels.[26] The decision to consider the years up to 1970, and not until the more conventional date of 1974 – the fall of the military dictatorship[27] – was influenced by the emergence in the early 1970s of post-modern sensibilities, in opposition to the modernist consciousness of the decades following the Second World War which is the focus of this study.[28]

More generally, the developments that occurred in Greek graphic design after c.1970 helped move the discipline into a more complex professional context than previously. For example, multi-national advertising agencies were established in greater numbers, supporting the division of labour and practices into different departments (market research, media buying, etc.); and the advertising journal *Publicity and Promotion* (1958) underwent a complete makeover in 1973, radically altering its format and contents to mirror changes in the broader professional terrain.[29] Also in defining and conceptualising the profession, the term *grafistiki* (graphic design), instead of *grafikes technes* (graphic arts), was used for the first time in a Greek publication (1974), to denote a new definition of the profession.[30] In addition to this, separation of the artistic and the technical dimension of the design process was

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[25] Gallant, *Modern Greece*, p.202.

[26] The occupation of the National Technological University of Athens (NTUA) in November 1973 by students calling for people of Athens to rise up against the Junta resulted to a tragic event. Tanks crashed the gathering and students got killed. The exact casualty figures have never been established, but there appear to have been at least thirty deaths, many more injuries and still more arrests, Clogg, R., *A Concise History of Greece*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1992]), pp.166-167. The dictatorship officially was terminated in July 1974 at which time the former right-wing prime minister, Konstantinos Karamanlis, was asked to return to Greece from his self-exile in Paris, and restore Greek democracy.

[27] After 1974 the constitution of a democratic State (in which the communist party became legal again) and the final abolishment of monarchy marked unquestionably a chapter in Greek social, political and economic history.

[28] The break with the 1960s is rationalised in 'The 1970s: Bringing It All Back Home' in Berman, M., *All That is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity*. (London: Verso, 1983 [1982]), pp.329-348.

[29] See Appendix for Chapters 1 and 4 (C1/4), 01.

[30] Vithynos, M.I., *Graphic Arts: A Different Way of Education. An Overview of the Problem of the Graphic Arts and Graphic Design in Our Country*. (Athens: Vithynos, 1974).

acknowledged in the same publication,[31] more than half a century after the cornerstone year of 1922 when they were first separated in the industrialised West.[32]

A series of other, longer-lasting developments in the history of Greek graphic design also signalled the emergence of a new era: the foundation of the Greek Graphic Designers Association in 1976, the forerunner of today's professional association; establishment of the first state school of graphic design (the Technological Education Institute of Athens, founded in 1977); and the appearance of the next stage in trade publishing, which kept a keen eye on the decade's international developments in state-of-the-art computer technology.[33] In general, from c.1970 onwards, design awareness entered a more mature phase, ushering in a new period in Greek graphic design history, or to quote Teal Triggs, prompting a turning point in defining and 'designing' graphic design history.[34]

b. Hypothesis

This thesis sets out to argue that graphic design in the form of national propaganda and commercial advertising played an important role in the modernisation of the Greek state and society, in parallel with the profession's own struggle for institutionalisation and professionalisation. However, discrepancies in the development of the profession pose certain problems in understanding design in countries less aligned to the dominant paradigms of design history. The development of graphic design in Greece therefore depends on cultural definitions negotiated according to the local post-war social context.

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid. The term graphic design was coined in 1922 by the American designer William Addison Dwiggins (1880-1956). Heller, S., *Design Literacy. Understanding Graphic Design.* (New York: Allworth, 2004), pp.367-369.

[33] Such as *O Kosmos ton Grafikon Technon* ('The World of Graphic Arts', 1978) edited by Michael Fakinos, the father of Demetrios Fakinos, editor of *+Design*, one of the few design periodicals in Greece since 1998.

[34] Triggs, T., 'Designing Graphic Design History', *Journal of Design History*, 22 (4) 2009, pp.325-340.

It is also argued here that graphic design mirrored the efforts of the state and society to keep up with modernity, as defined by both past and present, and as evident in other expressions of the time. As discussed in recent studies on modern Greece, the past has been ubiquitous in cultural manifestations since the establishment of the modern Greek state in the 1830s. From Greece's participation in the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, to the Helleno-Christian rhetoric of Ioannis Metaxas' dictatorship in 1936, to stamp designs in which the long shadow cast by antiquity persisted until 1974, the past has continuously intertwined with the perceptions and agendas of the time.[35] With respect to modernity and the artistic expression of Modernism (especially in the 1930s), the past in its various local forms (vernacular, folklore, ancient, Byzantine) has been influential and present in all modern marks of the day.[36] In fact, as the comparative study of the historian Eleni Bastea showed, the fusion between a vernacular past and a modern present was not only evident in the works of both a Greek and a Turkish modernist architect in the 1930s, but also underscored similarities in the process of constructing, albeit distinct, national identities.[37]   In response to claims that Greece acquired and retained a very strong historical identity, it can be argued that in graphic design, too, tradition and modernity lost much of their antithetical character, and instead revealed their complementary potential.

A third hypothesis relates to the connection between the state and advertising. Since local political conditions and restrictions (especially anti-communist ideology,

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[35] See first chapter 'Seeds of Development' in Yagou, *Fragile Innovation: Episodes in Greek Design History*, pp.11-25; Carabott, P., 'Monumental Visions: The Past in Metaxas' 'Weltanschauung'' in *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories*, ed. by K.S. Brown, Y. Hamilakis (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.23-37. From a sample of 547 stamps issued during 1945-1974, the subject of antiquity acquires 30,8% share, while the salience of historical topics account for almost 40% of Greek stamps: Gounaris, B.C., 'The Politics of Currency: Stamps, Coins, Banknotes, and the Circulation of Modern Greek Tradition' in *The Usable Past. Greek Metahistories*, ed. by K.S. Brown, Y. Hamilakis (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.69-84, pp.71, 74.
[36] See Brown, K.S., Hamilakis, Y., ed., *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories* (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), especially, Bastea, E., 'Dimitris Pikionis and Sedad Eldem: Parallel Reflections of Vernacular and National Architecture' in *The Usable Past. Greek Metahistories*, ed. by K.S. Brown, Y. Hamilakis (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.147-169; Gounaris, 'The Politics of Currency: Stamps, Coins, Banknotes, and the Circulation of Modern Greek Tradition', ; and Carabott, 'Monumental Visions: The Past in Metaxas' 'Weltanschauung'', Also, Tziovas, D., ed., *Greek Modernism and Beyond* (Lanham/Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Inc., 1997).
[37] As the author notes, 'both states crafted a distinct, national image that paid homage to the ancestors, underscored racial and cultural continuity of the population, and displayed the state's ability and eagerness to join the Western world'. Bastea, 'Dimitris Pikionis and Sedad Eldem: Parallel Reflections of Vernacular and National Architecture', p.165.

and the first years of the Junta regime) left an enduring mark on Greek history, advertising could not be far from politics and, by extension, the state and its ideological credos, in both encouraging and limiting visual innovation and creativity. It is argued here that this took an unsystematic and unpredictable form, depending on the particular working conditions of design making and designers. Lastly, in terms of the concepts of centre and periphery, I will argue that Greece's complex identity as a country did not accord exclusively with either status, making graphic design a reflection of the interstitial position held by both the country and the graphic design profession.

c. How to write design history from the 'margins'?

> The center knows nothing about the periphery, and the periphery does not know anything about itself.[38]

> *Understanding* calls for letting go of the dead centre.

> Clive Dilnot[39]

Design histories from around the world, most notably from east and south, are slowly finding their place in the design history map. The growing interest in alternative or other design histories may be the result of broader trends towards micro- or local-level design making, production and consumption, and of critiques of post-modernity and globalisation in the cultural studies field. According to this trend, dominant design histories have already come under critical scrutiny, and dialogue between these and lesser-known histories is now considered a more useful direction to follow.

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[38] A quote by an Argentinean writer in Fathers, J., 'Peripheral Vision: An Interview with Gui Bonsiepe Charting a Lifetime of Commitment to Design Empowerment', *Design Issues*, 19 (4) Autumn 2003, pp.44-56, p.56.
[39] Dilnot, C., 'Some Futures for Design History?' *Journal of Design History*, 22 (4) 2009, pp.377-394, p.381.

Yet, despite the growing volume of literature on design outside the Western mainstream, alternative histories are still poorly represented in design studies. This general historiographical imbalance, which this thesis sets out to redress in the case of Greece, can be easily identified on a local level by lack of academic interest, either from individual researchers or the institutional establishment.[40] On an international scale, this inequity could be a consequence of the general Anglo-centric approach to design history, based on key concepts such as industrialisation, progress and economic growth, or on what has been identified as canonical professionalisation coupled with national policy on design and design education.[41] Consequently, the question emerges: how does a design historian write a graphic design history of Greece in an environment dominated by normative paradigms and definitions?

To eschew official paradigms of design historiography, in terms of what is and what is not important to consider, is a challenging proposition. Despite the fact that in some cases we can hardly deviate from using certain terms, such as 'modernisation' and 'professionalisation', we can start by considering a new and neutral local framework for dealing with these, and extend our research beyond canonical interpretations, such as that modernisation equals industrialisation or (the dominant paradigm of) professionalisation.

Nonetheless, since industrialisation was never really implemented in Greece on the scale of other Western nations, understanding and defining Greek graphic design and its role in modernisation according to this concept would be misleading and superficial, or simply echo Eurocentric language on modernisation. Moreover, even though this thesis maintains a critical position when discussing 'professionalisation', it seeks to answer what were the effects of modernisation on graphic design. For example, what was the effect of the lack of national policy on design and professional

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[40] For the poorly archived Greek press since the 19th century, and the lack of university level studies on the subject: Koumarianou, A., 'Greek Journalism', in *4th International Conference 'Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002' Proceedings,Vol.I*, ed. by P.M. Kitromilides, Sklavenitis, Triantaphyllos E. (Athens, Greece: Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Research Foundation, 29 October-3 November 2002 [2004]), pp.359-368. Original title in English from the English summary provided in the volume is kept.
[41] For a critical insight on putting 'too much weight' in the professional practice, see Dilnot, 'Some Futures for Design History?' and the enlightening article in the same issue: Banu, L.S., 'Defining the Design Deficit in Bangladesh', *Journal of Design History*, 22 (4) 2009, pp.309-323.

organisations, and on specific principles such as standardisation and aesthetic harmony in design applications?

How do I write a design history from the 'margins'? Questioning the discipline's methodological stance, and, in particular, discussing the methodologies used by scholars investigating design history, has been a lively preoccupation in the academic community since the 1980s. The state of design history has attracted a new stream of critical texts, as evident in the 2009 special issue of the *Journal of Design History*, which offer revisions and propositions that are worth some brief discussion.[42]

In the last 30 years design history has undergone important shifts in how it examines the subject of design. Until very recently, the two foci of attention (production and consumption) were thought of as two independent and, in a sense, competing fields of inquiry. Instead, design historian Grace Lees-Maffei recognises a 'third stream' as an additional emphasis and overlapping concern within design history: mediation.[43] She argues that to study mediation is to 'study the phenomena that exist between production and consumption'.[44] This vein of enquiry 'brings together issues of production and consumption, [...] illuminating not only the importance of mediating channels [...] but also illuminating the role of designed goods as mediating devices: mediating identity, mediating between individuals [...]'.[45] A concern for mediation, the author asserts, 'enables richer understanding of, and focal concern for, the object of design history', and 'recognition of the fact that design is much more than the object; it is a complex web of surrounding practices and discourses'.[46] More broadly, emphasis on mediation allows for the inclusion of multiple discourses about makers, labourers and consumer relationships with design processes and products.[47]

The Production-Consumption-Mediation paradigm, or PCM, identifies the three issues that have achieved importance at different times in the development of design

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[42] Edited by Clark, H., Brody, D., 'The Current State of Design History', *Journal of Design History*, 22 (4) 2009, pp.303-308.
[43] Lees-Maffei, G., 'The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm', Ibid, pp.351-376.
[44] Ibid, p.365.
[45] Ibid, pp.354,366.
[46] Ibid, p.372.
[47] Clark, H., Brody, D., 'The Current State of Design History', Ibid, pp.303-308, p.307.

history and that now co-exist among the various approaches.[48] In addition, these three overlapping concerns are often separated into an artificial sequence for the sake of clarity and explication. The PCM paradigm, with its emphasis on mediation, offers a valuable model for studying and understanding modernisation and graphic design in Greece. This study therefore looks at practices and processes that help reveal the meaning inscribed in graphic design products. The primary focus here is the designers and makers of graphic design and their clients, who interpret and negotiate meanings between themselves on behalf of their users (consumers).

The present study addresses the ways in which the state and its organisations (GTO, PPC and the Royal National Foundation (RNF)), as well as private entrepreneurs (e.g., the Electrical Company Athens-Pireaus (ECAP) and the Athens Technological Institute), advertising companies, educators and individual graphic designers, responded to the challenges of promoting the 'modern' by understanding and reflecting people's aspirations. This approach is crucial in that it attempts to look at issues of conception and planning, along with their surrounding discourses, rather than at modernisation as just a consequence of industrialisation.

By considering the infrastructure of design, the direct or indirect interactions that took place between designers and clients, and the allowances and limitations of their work environment, we can observe the boundaries that existed between state propaganda and commercial promotion, and the connection between the state and graphic designers. For example, did the latter have the freedom to create at will, or was the relationship closer to servitude? For all the above, oral testimonies were an important means for gathering information and viewpoints.

Another set of oppositions that pervades Greek academic work, particularly in economic studies, is the tension between public (state) and private initiatives.[49] This division is not merely a schematic one, especially within concepts of capitalism and social progress. In post-civil war society until the mid-1960s, the public sector has often

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[48] Lees-Maffei, G., 'The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm', Ibid, pp.351-376, p.354.
[49] See for example the work of Pantelakis, N.S., *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956).* (Athens: National Bank of Greece Historical Archive, 1991).

defined criteria of social recognition and upward social mobility.[50] This thesis explores the impact of these two contexts on the development of graphic design in Greece and on the promotion of modernity. Private industry may not necessarily follow the same ideological line as the state, which was more likely to introduce a nationalist tone in its campaigns. Chapter 3 examines the vision of modern life projected by the state electricity provider and its private predecessor. Similarly, in the case study of tourism promotion explored in Chapter 4, a common concern expressed in several Greek texts was control of the market by the state and private tourist agencies.[51] The relationship between public and private enterprises in relation to modernisation offers insights into how the 'modern' was visualised.

From the traumatic period of Civil War in the 1940s to the gradual emergence of democracy in the 1950s, followed by an autocratic regime from 1967, the Greek political landscape allows us to examine whether graphic design remained the same during 25 years of political change. Did the different regimes influence graphic design production, and in what ways? Through the PCM approach we can look into the limits and abuses of state ideology, whether anti-communist or nationalist, over advertising and graphic design. Political conditions and their effect on accepting, encouraging or inhibiting the use of certain design elements, themes and even colour palettes, can bring such processes into dialogue with socio-cultural factors.

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[50] Karapostolis, V., *Consuming Behaviour in Greek Society, 1960-1975.* (Athens: National Centre for Social Research, 1983), pp.248-250,256.
[51] Manos, A.D., *Tourism in Greece. A Systematic Study of the Tourism Problem.* (Athens: Pyrsos, 1935); Vassilopoulos, G.C., *Hellas and Tourism.* (Athens, 1967).

d. Tradition and modernity

> … modernists can never be done with the past: they must go on forever haunted by it, digging up its ghosts, recreating it even as they remake their world and themselves.
>
> Marshall Berman[52]

A history of philosophical writing as it relates to concepts of tradition and modernity is beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet it is important to identify briefly the philosophical and socio-anthropological milieu from which they derive.

It is commonly accepted that even though modernity saw light of day in the sixteenth century, marking the collapse of older structures and ways of life and the rise of new concepts and structures, modernity is thought to have emerged in the early nineteenth century.[53] However, it should be noted that periodisation of modernity, that is, identifying the precise date when modern societies generally began, is a tricky task. For there is no convenient cut-off point between what emerged and what went before in the slow and uneven process of transformation across the centuries. This view, endorsed by post-modern theorists and the present author, is against previous beliefs that the route to modernity taken by Western societies followed a single historical trajectory, that is, progress along a single path of development.[54]

In previous theories, modernity was thought to refer to a new social order (based on capitalism and rationalisation) that first appeared in the West and then spread to the rest of the world. It is through this direction of development, from the West to the rest of the world, that many anthropologists talk of modernity and tradition as a

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[52] Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity*, p.346.

[53] Valade, B., 'Modernity' in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, ed. by P.B.B. Neil J. Smelser (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001), pp.9939-9944, p.9940.

[54] It is argued that modern societies followed different trajectories, had different turning points and demonstrated different tempos of development, Hall, S., 'Introduction' in *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, ed. by S. Hall, Held, David, Hubert, Don, Thompson, Kenneth (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006[1996]), p.10.

dichotomy based on power relations.[55] Referring to European hegemony in the Mediterranean, social anthropologist Vassos Argyrou noted,

> Modernity is the idiom through which the dominant groups in these societies sought to distinguish [themselves] from the European past and from the dominated groups of the present – the Other within.[56]

According to these theories of modernity, there was a tendency to divide and demarcate, an approach that was expressed most strongly in the modernisation theories of the 1950s and '60s.[57] That discourse attempted to map the societies of the world onto a rigid axis of 'traditional' and 'modern', heralding the successful accomplishment of industrialisation and democratisation as the apogee of modernisation.[58]

The premise of such theories was that through processes of capitalist expansion, development and globalisation, the non-Western 'them' would become increasingly like 'us'; 'to modernize was to 'become modern'.[59] The principal contention was that development was a process through which societies pass on their way towards reaching the level of mass consumerism. This transition from tradition to modernity would be achieved by copying the characteristics of economically and industrially advanced Western societies, such as rationalisation and technology.[60]

These theories were severely criticised in the 1970s as being deterministic and teleological, and modernisation was subsequently considered a discredited concept.[61]

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[55] Hall, S., Held, David, Hubert, Don, Thompson, Kenneth, ed., *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006[1996]), pp.6,7,221-227; Argyrou, V., 'Tradition, Modernity and European Hegemony in the Mediterranean', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 12 (1) 2002, pp.23-42.

[56] Argyrou, 'Tradition, Modernity and European Hegemony in the Mediterranean', p.24.

[57] Modernity was also seen as a 'demonstration of a crisis, the symptom of a transformation', and the idea of 'rupture', to which modernity provides the rhetoric, was associated with the great discoveries, Valade, 'Modernity', p.9940.

[58] Mitchell, J.P., 'Modernity and the Mediterranean', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 12 (1) 2002, pp.1-21, p.2.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Modernisation theory was the dominant sociological theory of development during the post-war period that downplayed the accounts of capitalism and rationalisation. See Parsons, T., Shils, Edward, Naegele, Kaspar D., Pitts, Jesse R., ed., *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory* (NY: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961). Also, Rostow, W.W., *The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Weiner, M., ed., *Modernization. The Dynamics of Growth* (New York: Basic Books, 1966); Black, C.E., *The Dynamics of Modernization.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967[1966]).

[61] Inglehart, R., *Modernization and Postmodernization.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp.8,9. The failure of experiencing modernity since the 17th century is documented in Berman's highly influential book: Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity.* . His view of modernity is based on the idea of human action and social change instead of passivity.

Renewed interest in the subject emerged in the 1990s as part of enquiries into post-modernity and globalisation.[62] Central to this new view of 'how modernisation works' is the understanding that the economic, political, social and cultural are mutually supportive factors in socio-cultural change. Moreover, it is generally agreed that economic, political and social processes do not operate outside of cultural and ideological conditions.[63] This concept of a more pluralised response to modernity is further supported by questions related to the local context, as seen most prominently in the field of cultural studies.[64]

Moreover, in relation to the division between tradition and modernity, the post-modern view accepts that a mutual effect and interplay takes places between these two conditions, while contemporary cultural studies discourse has identified the problematic use of the terms 'modernisation' and 'modernity' in ways that overlook the mutual influence that old and new ways of life may exert on one another.[65] In the Greek case, it is on these two responses, of embracing modernity on the one hand, and resisting it on the other, that I hope to shed some light.

Particularly useful to this study is the theory developed by the French writer Bruno Latour who believed that we were never really modern, and that much of modernity is a matter of faith, or illusion.[66] Latour argued that the 'great divide' between nature and human, subject and object, science and society, was not real, but a fiction of the 'modern' world. Moreover, the author rejected the idea that humanity has ever really broken away from its pre-modern past, suggesting that we rethink the

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[62] See also Featherstone, M., Lash, Scott, Robertson, Roland, ed., *Global Modernities* (London: Sage, 1997[1995]), pp.2-3; Hall, ed., *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies.*

[63] Hall, ed., *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, p.15.

[64] Graham, H., Labanyi, J., ed., *Spanish Cultural Studies. An Introduction. The Struggle for Modernity* (Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[65] Graham, H., Labanyi, J., 'Culture and Modernity: The Case of Spain' in *Spanish Cultural Studies. An Introduction. The Struggle for Modernity*, ed. by H. Graham, Labanyi, J. (Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.1-19, pp.10-11. The authors refer to the normative and deterministic baggage loaded to the term modernisation when, for example, studies tend to employ a notion of 'tradition' that oversimplifies pre-industrial and ritualistic societies, and inadequately appreciates the persistence of traditional elements in modern societies. Or when modernisation is projected as something that will transform the non-European world in the image of the contemporary Western European and North American society.

[66] Latour, B., *We Have Never Been Modern*. trans. C. Porter. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993[1991]), more explicitly in pp.40,46-48. In a similar viewpoint, see Argyrou, 'Tradition, Modernity and European Hegemony in the Mediterranean'. Argyrou argued that 'tradition' and 'modernity' are European inventions that structure the way we think about the world.

distinctions that emerged with the rise of science, and that we review the definition and constitution of modernity itself. His view of the superficiality of ruptures has been useful in the discussion of modernity and tradition in this thesis.

In relation to Greek graphic design and advertising, it was not uncommon to use pictorial or verbal references to the Greek past, especially the ancient past, to promote products as diverse as sport shoes and motor oil, as late as the 1970s (not to mention today); objects that are literally irrelevant to ancient civilisation per se.[67] However, ancient Greek heritage provided modern Greek history with a crucial resource for formulating its national identity and ideology at the time of the War of Independence in 1821,[68] and therefore cannot be dismissed as a less important component of modernisation than industrialisation.

Yet, was Greece unique in using nostalgia for its past in contemporary culture? The answer is 'no'. What has been called the 'heritage movement' in Britain was, basically, as social historian Raphael Samuel has argued, 'not necessarily a reactionary, nostalgic phenomenon', but 'a counterweight to excessive modernisation, a bid to preserve natural and cultural environments under threat' in a period of post-industrialisation.[69] As he argued, 'heritage is a way of using knowledge in the service of power. It shores up national identity at a time when it is beset by uncertainties on all sides'.[70] Even though Samuel was writing about Britain in a different socio-economic context and time, his views are particularly interesting for the Greek case.

While we cannot claim Greece as exceptional as far as revivalism of the past is concerned, we can start by enquiring into its areas of application and dissemination. Was cultural heritage, or use of the past generally, used differently in separate areas of Greek modernisation? For example, was cultural heritage treated differently, or more prominently, for the promotion of tourism, a culturally loaded topic, and in another

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[67] For an analysis of Greek advertisements using this historic past, see Yagou, A., 'Connecting Past and Present: Narratives of Heritage and Modernity in 20th Century Advertisements for Products 'Made in Greece'' in *Connecting: A Conference on the Multivocality of Design History and Design Studies* (Estonian Academy of Arts, University of Art and Design Helsinki, 23-25 August 2006).

[68] Herzfeld, M., *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece.* (Texas: University of Austin Press, 1982), p.3.

[69] Samuel, R., *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture.* (London: Verso, 1994).

[70] Introducing terms like: 'retrochic', 'neo-vernacular' and 'neo-classical'. Ibid, p.243.

way for the promotion of electricity, a subject associated with industrialisation, which was a new and relatively limited commodity in Greece? Moreover, was it used more prominently in state-funded design projects rather than in private enterprises or individual design-related initiatives?

Any difference or pattern that emerges from this comparison would suggest the limitations of using the past as an ideological umbrella for promoting modernisation in design applications. Therefore, examining Greek graphic design through a filter sensitive to cultural heritage, or to the significance the past played in the making of the nation in selected contexts, is, I believe, a fruitful way to proceed.

Considering the forces of modernity and tradition as complementary is not an original approach (other studies have done the same), but it is original in its application to the field examined here (graphic design). Yet in order to avoid the danger of generalising how the past, or 'cupboard of the yesterdays',[71] was used, it is essential to ask whether and how it persisted in graphic design throughout those turbulent years and within different commercial contexts, purposes and audiences.

An important study from which the present work drew much of its methodology is by the historian Aliki Vaxevanoglou, who dealt with the social reception of novelty in the case of mid-war electrification in Greece.[72] The author acknowledged the various forms the 'new' (*neo*) can take, and points to related vocabulary such as fashion (*moda*), modern (*neoterismos*) and novelty (*kainotomia*), which are often used interchangeably without distinction.[73] This observation is also true of contemporary texts on graphic design. More often than not, all three concepts appeared simultaneously to describe the emergence of a new graphic design language different from the past, yet without questioning *what* was exactly new, or modern or novel about graphic design in the 1950s and 1960s.

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[71] Originally a phrase by Saki quoted in Brown, K.S., Hamilakis, Y., 'The Cupboard of Yesterdays? Perspectives on the Usable Past' in *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories*, ed. by K.S. Brown, Hamilakis, Y. (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.1-19.
[72] Vaxevanoglou, A., *The Social Reception of Novelty. The Case Study of the Inter-war Electrification in Greece*. (Athens: Centre of Neohellenic Studies, 1996).
[73] Ibid.

Most importantly, Vaxevanoglou raised the question of the *criteria* by which we assess the development of electricity production and consumption in mid-war Greece.[74] To answer this, the author commented briefly on a couple of possible scenarios, the first relating to economic figures before and after introduction of electrical power. Obviously, the outcome, more or less expected, would be positive, since this is what usually happens with diffusion of a novelty. Another way to answer the question is to compare the Greek case with other European or international examples. When weighed against developed countries, the result would simply demonstrate the under-developed status of Greece. At this point, she questions critically the meaning and purpose of these comparisons, considering it a less fruitful way to proceed. Instead of asking why Greece did not develop the way Western European countries did, the author proposes looking into the consequences of electricity diffusion on the structure of the Greek economy.[75] A comparison between the main characteristics of electricity companies and those of other Greek industries during the period would be, according to her, a first, modest step in tackling the question.

In understanding the development of graphic design in Greece, one could search for 'modern' graphic design through comparing older works of design with those of modernist design exemplars of the 1960s, namely the late Freddie Carabott and Agni and Michalis Katzourakis, who studied abroad. It could be claimed that Greek graphic design is 'modern', and has modernised according to Western examples, or, indeed, that Greek graphic design developed its own 'Greek style' at the time.[76] In another case, if one compares Greek graphic design with the dominant paradigms, namely, Germany, Switzerland, Britain, or the US, one could fall into the trap of highlighting the lack of a coherent design aesthetic, and therefore of the weakness of Greek graphic design.[77] In this respect, it should be noted that the words 'periphery', or 'peripheral', are used here

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Rigopoulos, D., 'The Greek Style was Born in the 1960s', *Kathimerini* Sunday 4 November 2007, p.1. It was claimed that a Greek style was manifested in the works of Freddie Carabott, Agni and Michalis Katzourakis. The author argued that '[With] direct reference, or skewed views of antiquity, byzantine tradition and folk art, decorated with humor, they created an internationally recognised image of Greekness and they became the deacon of a charming, modern 'Greek style'.
[77] As shown in the Design Without Borders report (2003) for the case of Bangladesh: Banu, 'Defining the Design Deficit in Bangladesh'.

to refer to design contexts less known (under represented) in the design academic community, and/or to those countries that have demonstrated different patterns of industrial or economic development. It should be clear that the use of such terms in this thesis does not imply an 'underdeveloped' status, a derogatory connotation that stems from the comparison mentioned above.

e. Sources and research methods

The primary visual sources for this research are advertisements, posters, leaflets, and periodicals.[78] Supporting documentation includes school statutes, company committee papers, publications contemporary to the period, and audiovisual material.[79] The principal secondary sources are drawn from graphic design and advertising history, the history of typography, and, more generally, design and art histories, as well as studies of Greek economic and political history, tourism and the history of technology.

The available literature on post-war Greek modernisation is mostly confined to political and social history, and to analysis of censuses and statistical data. For an understanding of post-war politics, I have referred to general studies, such as those conducted by historians Richard Clogg, David Close, and Thomas Gallant,[80] and from recently published books proposing a revised view of Greek history, which for the first time include visuals as credible documentation.[81] Valuable sources on the subject of modernisation have been the study *The Usable Past* edited by Keith S. Brown and Yiannis Hamilakis, and *Greek Modernism and Beyond* edited by Dimitris Tziovas.[82]

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[78] My main archives are the E.L.I.A Archive, the Greek Parliament Library (GPL), C.A. Doxiadis Archive and several personal archives. See Appendix, List of Resources.
[79] For a full list of sources and archives see Appendix, List of Resources.
[80] Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*; Close, *Greece Since 1945*; Gallant, *Modern Greece*.
[81] For example: *The History of the New Hellenism, 1770-2000*, 10 vols. (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003). Unfortunately, this research did not benefit from the 4th volume (expected-to-be published later) concerning post-1945 Greek history of the series edited by Hadjiiosif, C., *The History of Greece in the 20th Century*. 3 vols (Athens: Vivliorama, 2003/2007). The use of personal testimonies and visual sources in the volumes was highlighted during the publication's launch (20 November 2007) by keynote speaker Constantinos Tsoukalas (a key figure in Greek sociology), as being a turning point in the writing of Greek history.
[82] Brown, ed., *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories*; Tziovas, ed., *Greek Modernism and Beyond*.

The studies included in the proceedings of the following conferences were also useful, but contained few, if any, visual references: '1949-1967: The Explosive 20 years Symposium,[83] and the proceedings of the 4th International Conference on 'Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002'.[84]

This study has encountered two main difficulties: first, the scattered and ill-documented nature of primary sources, and second, the limited range of secondary literature dealing with Greek graphic design, advertising and typography.**[85]** As a consequence, both because of the broadness of the research areas examined and the limited or fragmented nature of the available documentation, this work employed a variety of sources and methods. Certainly, a study of graphic design could not but rely on classic methodologies in the study of design and visual culture, namely visual, content and discourse methods of analysis, which have been the principal strategies for studying images since at least the 1970s;[86] some of these need further explanation for clarification purposes.

A key methodological tool of this work has been drawn from the field of Oral History. Oral testimonies have become a standard method for eliciting information in

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[83] Organised by Moraitis School on 10-12 November 2000 in Athens, Greece.

[84] Organised jointly by the Institute for Neohellenic Research and the National Research Foundation, and the 4th Scientific Conference 'Greek Society during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)' by Panteion University and the Saki Karagiorga Foundation.

[85] The majority of the Greek literature consists of visual-based catalogues and personal recollections by advertising professionals. See Alevizos, T., 'Greek Posters' in *Greek Posters*, ed. by Spyros Karachristos (Athens: Kedros, 2003), pp.260-262; Papapolizos, F., Martzoukos, Kostas, ed., *HELLAdS. Hellas Through Advertising, 1940-1989* (Athens: Omikron, 1997); Koskinas, P., *70 Years of Greek Advertising, 1870-1940.* (Athens: Selector, 1993). For personal testimonies, see Papagiannakopoulos, C., *Confessions of a Greek Advertiser.* (Athens: Adam, 1992); Georgiadis, S., *What An Advertiser Saw, Heard, Said!.* (Athens: Romanos, 2003). Important recent contributions in the history of Greek typography, are: Mastoridis, K., *Casting the Greek Newspaper. A Study of the Morphology of the 'Ephemeris' from its Origin until the Production of Mechanical Setting.* (Thessaloniki: ELIA, 1999); Matthiopoulos, Y.D., *An Anthology of Greek Typography.* (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2009). For the early 19th century Greek advertising, see: Lebesi, E., *19th Century: From the Classified Ad to the 'Réklame'. The Early Age of Advertising in the Greek Press.* (Athens: Nexus, 2008). Also, Pavlopoulos, D., *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods.* (Athens: Kastaniotis/Diatton, 2004 [1995]).

[86] Influential books drawn from structuralist and post-structuralist analytical strategies, and particularly the work of Roland Barthes (Barthes, R., *Mythologies.* trans. A. Lavers. (New York: Noonday, 1991[1957])) have been useful for design historians. Classic books in the field include: Williamson, J., *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising.* (London: Marion Boyars, 1978); Goffman, E., *Gender Advertisements.* (USA: The Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication, 1976); Ewen, S., *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture.* (New York: Basic Books, 2001 [1976]); Forty, *Objects of Desire. Design and Society since 1750.* A recent basic textbook on methodologies concerning the visual, is by Rose, G., *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.* (London: Sage, 2007).

design history,[87] and it is important to comment on why I chose this method of investigation, what the implications of relying on oral testimonies are, and how I treated oral evidence for the purposes of undertaking a qualitative analysis of graphic design.[88]

Traditionally, oral history's most distinctive contribution to sociological and anthropological studies, especially in the post-Second World War era, has been to include in the historical record the experiences and perspectives of social minorities that have been largely ignored.[89] Looking at the field of graphic design history in Greece, there is no real distinction between the 'hidden from history' and well-represented Greek graphic designers – who are few in number – because little exists about their respective personal experiences or views.[90] How, then, does this approach apply to design history, and how was it useful for this study?

The graphic design historian Brian Donnelly notes that oral history in its application to design 'must take account that its subject is sometimes outside some of the most common purposes for which oral history is employed', but he argues that there are significant similarities, as well as differences, with oral history.[91] One such similarity might be that design is best understood as situated outside the dominant visual discourse of fine art.

This is true for the state of Greek graphic design in relation to the fine arts and architecture, for which there is far more textual evidence. When talking about the voice of an outsider, that of the Greek graphic designer, we must take into consideration that

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[87] Special issue edited by Linda Sandino; Sandino, L., 'Introduction: Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects', *Journal of Design History*, 19 (4) 2006, pp.275-282, p.276. For the essentiality of oral history as a method for Canadian graphic design history in this issue, see article by Donnelly, 'Locating Graphic Design History in Canada', and by Ishino, C.J., 'Seeing Is Believing: Reflections on Video Oral Histories with Chinese Graphic Designers', *Journal of Design History*, 19 (4) 2006, pp.319-331. Also, a current research on Kuwait advertising history that relied on oral testimonies is: Al Najdi, K., Smith-Mc Crea, R., 'The History of Advertising Design in Kuwait: Post-Oil Cultural Shifts, 1947-1959', *Journal of Design History*, 25 (1) 2012, pp.55-87.

[88] 'Qualitative' as explained in 'Sandino, L., 'Speaking about Things: Oral History as Context', Working Papers on Design 2, 2007 <http://www.herts.ac.uk/artdes1/research/papers/wpdesign/wpdvol2/vol2.html> [Accessed 22 August 2007].

[89] Paul Thompson has being a key figure in charting the pre-history of the modern oral history movement: Thompson, P., *Oral History: The Voice of the Past.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[90] This should not come as a surprise since oral history in Greece has only very recently been recognised as a valid method for historical research. A brief overview of the institutions initiatives and conferences is presented in Lazou, V., 'Oral History in Greece: Positive News' in *Dromos tis Aristeras* (20 February 2012) <http://e-dromos.gr/ [Accessed 13 July 2012].

[91] See 'Issues in Oral history' section in Donnelly, 'Locating Graphic Design History in Canada', pp.291-293.

working with this particular professional group, whose members are educated and literate and have particular aesthetic criteria and cultural values, this documentation becomes an elite oral history.[92]

On the issue of the benefits of oral history for design, design historian Linda Sandino brings into the discussion the paradigmatic shift within design history from the study of production and consumption to that of mediation, involving the study of the experience, interpretations and meanings of design objects.[93] Until recently, historians have been notoriously wary of memory as a historical source.[94] Issues of the reliability of memory, of the value and validity of oral evidence, and of truth and objectivity, have been put forward in heated debates in the relevant literature. Oral historian Alessandro Portelli challenges the critics of 'unreliable memory' by arguing that what makes oral history different is, first and foremost, that it 'tells us less about events than about their meaning'[95] – in other words, how people make sense of their past, and how they connect individual experience and social context. In his own defense, he poses an important question: 'Should we believe oral sources?'[96]

Portelli acknowledges that oral sources are not objective, and that their non-objectivity lies in specific intrinsic characteristics: that they are artificial, variable and partial.[97] Yet he claims that oral sources are credible, but have a different credibility to written documents that presumably provide factual credibility.[98] According to the author, once we have checked the factual reliability of oral statements with all established criteria of factual verification, there are no 'false' oral sources since they are still psychologically 'true', and this truth may be as important as factually reliable accounts.[99]

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[92] 'Elite oral history' as described in Ibid, p.292.

[93] Sandino, L., 'Introduction: Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects', Ibid, pp.275-282. The subject of mediation has most recently been addressed by Lees-Maffei, G., 'The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm', *Journal of Design History*, 22 (4) 2009, pp.351-376

[94] As discussed in the past by Paul Thompson, and in recent literature, such as in Perks, R., Thomson A., ed., *The Oral History Reader*. Second edn (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), p.x.

[95] Portelli, A., 'What Makes Oral History Different' in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. by R. Perks, Thomson, A. (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.32-42, p.36.

[96] Ibid, pp.37-38.

[97] Ibid, p.39.

[98] Ibid, p.37.

[99] Ibid, p.37.

On the unreliability of memory and the vagaries of individual bias, we must not forget that my interviewees were asked to remember events that took place more than 40 years ago, so it is only natural that there should be slips caused by the random deterioration of memory. Of course, there may have been small exaggerations or magnifications of experience, and a tendency to polarise 'good' and the 'bad', or 'high' and 'low'. Moreover, I am aware that when telling a story, the narrator not only recalls the past but also voices his/her interpretation. My aim here was not to challenge the truthfulness of their experience, but to attempt to understand the logic and structure of the narrative. I regard personal testimonies as narratives that incorporate social and historical insights, and not simply as evidence for acceptance or rejection by historical 'experts'.[100]

To give an example, when graphic designer Freddie Carabott mentioned in our meeting (22 March 2008) the arrival in '1963' of a 'military officer' to act as a new supervisor at the Promotion Department of GTO (where he worked as a design consultant together with M. Katzourakis from the late 1950s), the interesting point in this story is not the accuracy of his arrival date at GTO, or the precise identity of new administrative staff.[101] Certainly, one would be reluctant to believe that this happened during the governance of the centrist prime minister, Georgios Papandreou, in 1963-1965. It might sound more convincing, especially considering his status, if the incident had happened during the military Junta of 1967-1974.[102] What I value from this account is Carabott's understanding of the importance of this change in the professional structure, as he knew it when he joined GTO, and I view this testimony as an interpretation of his experience.

Nevertheless, my research at the GTO archive and library, and on *National Gazette* online sources in or around 1963, bears no clear evidence of GTO employment

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[100] Kennedy, R., 'Stolen Generations Testimony. Trauma, Historiography, and the Question of "Truth" Ibid, pp.506-520, p.506.
[101] Full transcript of the interview is included in Appendix B.
[102] F. Carabott's testimony can be matched with both M. Katzourakis' testimonies about staff changes at the GTO (Appendix B).

changes or additions.[103] However, supporting evidence of his claim, that he left the department after this change, can be found in an internal document recording a GTO committee meeting of August 1964 relating to the Promotion Department, in which Carabott's name is not included in the list.[104] Moreover, in that document the signed minister of the prime-minister's office is different to the preceding one (Konstantinos Tsatsos), who is argued by Carabott to have approved the initial group in which he was part of. The rationale behind the way in which interviews have been transcribed, as well as other details of interview procedure and my personal reflection on the process, are explained in Appendix B.

Audiovisual material was also a primary means for recording modernisation in Greece at the time. Commercial Greek films during the post-war period took up the issue of modernity and tradition through a variety of subjects, such as domestic re-planning in *I Theia apo to Chicago* ('My Aunt from Chicago', 1957).[105] Educational documentaries on Greece are also considered, such as the British documentary film *Our City* (1957).[106] This is a tribute to the great electrification plan for Athens in the mid-1950s, projecting the new modern face of a developing Greece. Alternatively, the film *Greece: So Rich, so Poor*, portrays realistically a poor nation oscillating between a glorious past and an underdeveloped present, that is, half modern, half traditional (agricultural), making distinctions between urban and rural an important issue of post-war Greece.[107] This material is a real encyclopaedia for our understanding of how Greece was promoted abroad, and the key issues that characterised the era.

Taking into consideration the encouraging steps that have been taken towards an inclusive design history, we still need to acknowledge that design analogies, similar to historical analogies, are hard to make, especially when there is a limited range of

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[103] Relevant sections to the GTO in the *National Gazette*: 15 June 1963, Vol.1, Issue 94 (on employee transferring from the General Secretary for Tourism to the GTO); 26 March 1963, Vol.1, Issue 32 (on the establishment of a joined Yugoslavian-Greek Committee for Tourism); 5 November 1963, Vol.1, Issue 195 (on the approval of the proceedings of the meeting for the Yugoslavian-Greek Committee for Tourism).
[104] Irene Orati's Personal archive, see Appendix for C1/4, 04. F. Lambadariou's name and other artists, painters and a painter-advertiser are listed (D. Rikakis).
[105] Sakellarios, A., *My Aunt from Chicago* (Greece, 1957) 72'.
[106] Carruthers, R., *Our City* (U.K.: C.A.L. Ltd., 1957) 26' 04".
[107] Anon, *Greece: So Rich, So Poor* (U.S.A.: M.-H. Films, 1966) 20' 13".

comparables.[108] A narrowly confined repertoire, political analyst Markus Kornprobst has argued, increases the likelihood that comparisons become limp.[109] Drawing from comparative history discourse, the range of repertoire is a crucial methodological frame for discussing historical and other analogies in Greek graphic design.[110] Although this thesis does not claim to be a comparative study of design history, some comparison between Greece and other nations is inevitable, especially when terms such as 'modern', 'tradition' and 'modernity' – cultural concepts that are inherent to historical and design discourse – are examined.

Finally, the author's position in relation to this research should not be disregarded. This work is evidently about my country, and also about my professional background. Yet, born in Athens in the late 1970s, the distance from the timeframe under investigation (1945-1970) and my lifetime allows me to keep a degree of objectivity and neutrality towards the political and other agendas that marked the period, such as American imperialism, anti-communist propaganda and the seven-year military regime. Yet, it would be unwise to disown the strong influence of post-1974 ideological and nationalist propaganda, especially the anti-American sentiment of the period, a result of political interactions of the mid-1970s, on my early teenage years and adolescence in the 1980s and early '90s. After all, I am a product of a given educational and political system, and I realise that I have incorporated into my interpretation of graphic design my country's national agendas, cultural idioms, nuances and ideologies.

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[108] Kornprobst, M., 'Comparing Apples and Oranges? Leading and Misleading Uses of Historical Analogies', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 36 (1) August 2008, pp.29-49.
[109] Ibid, p.37.
[110] Ibid, pp.37-38.

f. Contribution

My research concerns a largely overlooked but serious topic of study. The very few contemporary histories of Greek graphic art and design that exist, approach the subject mainly from an international perspective,[111] a narrowly technical standpoint,[112] or from a singular point of reference (advertising or engraving), most of which are heavily visually based with very few critical insights. This work subjects a wide range of original sources and media to historical and critical analysis, providing for the first time a broad-ranging survey of post-war Greek graphic design.

The main contribution of this work is that it will constitute a valuable source of reference for Greek graphic design students, professionals and field researchers. The aim is to provide information about the history of Greek graphic design, encourage further and more in-depth research on the issues and case studies presented here, and initiate critical discussion beyond a parochial interpretation and reiteration of international design paradigms.

In the end, it is hoped that this work will provide a firm answer to the commonly asked question put by many Greek graphic design students and professionals: Is there a history of Greek graphic design? This study asserts that Greek graphic design did exist and should be understood, rather than appreciated, in relation to the particular social, cultural, economic and political circumstances of its time. Any comparison with Western models of graphic design development on merely aesthetic terms shows a disregard of history.

Also, this research will make a contribution to the academic field of Modern Greek Studies. In particular, it will investigate post-war modernisation of the country beyond the more established fields of enquiry that focus on the economy and political

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[111] Fragopoulos, M., ed., *An Introduction to the History and Theory of Graphic Design: A Short Anthology* (Athens: Futura, 2006); Vithynos, M., *A History of the Graphic Arts.* (Athens: Organismos Ekdoseon Didaktikon Vivlion, 2002).
[112] Pavlopoulos, *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods.*

history. The latter have largely ignored the role and contribution of design in the representation of the modern Greek state since the early nineteenth century.

This study also hopes to show how the visual can play a key part in historical analysis, as argued in a number of international academic fora, such as the journals *Visual Anthropology* and *Visual Studies*, since the early 1990s.[113] As mentioned earlier, it is only very recently that visual sources – photographs, posters, adverts and other graphic art and design paraphernalia – have been included in the historical narrative of Greece. Yet this approach is still not broadly accepted in history circles.

In terms of the broader context of design history, this work offers a case study of the development of graphic design in Greece as contribution to a diverse and inclusive world history of design, particularly to discussions surrounding notions of centre/periphery. The analysis of the processes and mechanisms through which international design developments are assimilated by peripheral and developing countries like Greece will enrich the ways design historians evaluate the power and application of design developments of the so-called 'centre'. Studies from the 'periphery' can offer alternative stories of cultural assimilation and rejection, that is, critical appraisals of the modernisation project and of the restrictive definition of 'periphery' to describe less well-known design territories.

g. Structure

The thesis follows a chronological and thematic structure, according to themes, issues and terms related to the main concepts discussed. These are tradition and modernity, continuity and change, centre and periphery, public and private, and nationalism.

[113] See Davey, G., 'Twenty Years of Visual Anthropology', *Visual Anthropology*, 21 (3) 2008, pp.189-201; Norman Jr., W.R., 'Photography as a Research Tool', *Visual Anthropology*, 4 (2) 1991, pp.193-216; Ruby, J., 'The Last Twenty Years of Visual Anthropology. A Critical Review', *Visual Studies*, 20 (2) October 2005, pp.159-170; Caulfield, J., 'A Framework for a Sociology of Visual Images', *Visual Studies*, 7 (2) 1992, pp.60-71; Secondulfo, D., 'The Social Meaning of Things. A Working Field for Visual Sociology', *Visual Sociology*, 12 (2) 1997, pp.33-45.

Chapter 1 charts the institutional and professional arena of graphic design in Greece. It maps out the first educational activities and post-war professional organisations as a backdrop to the emergence of a new discipline. In addition, this chapter introduces the opportunities and stumbling blocks of the nascent profession, which defined itself in relation to the more established fine arts sector. The main question with respect to these developments concerns their role and contribution to the modernising process of Greek graphic design.

Chapter 2 discusses the role of graphic design in post-war social modernisation. Starting with the war album (1946), and moving on to the appearance of new professional models for women in advertising and graphic design, the political and social dimension of graphic design is highlighted. Also discussed is the juxtaposition of mainstream and stereotypical themes in advertising with the 'modern' propositions of emerging graphic designers. The majority of the latter studied abroad or kept an eager eye on international advertising in publishing.

Chapter 3 deals with electricity promotion as a key modernising initiative, undertaken initially by a private company and then by the state in 1950. Expansion of the electrification network countrywide was an important project for aiding industrial development and domestic well-being. This case study will open up discussion of how the new commodity was promoted, and in what ways official state ideology (nationalism) interfered with the project of modernity. Moreover, it enquires how the public and private nature of competing electricity companies influenced the ideological character of advertising content in relation to questions of national identity and modernisation.

Chapter 4 deals with tourism promotion, exploring how modernity has been designed and defined for foreign and domestic audiences, and how centre and periphery are relative, interchangeable and manipulated terms in the modernising process. These are examined through the differences and convergences of promotional activities directed towards the international and domestic audience, by GTO and RNF, respectively.

Chapter 1

The emergence of graphic design

1.1 Naming the profession and forming an identity

In the industrialised West, by the 1920s the term graphic design had started to be distinguished from longer-standing traditions of book typography, fine-art printmaking and utilitarian printing, to define a new configuration of professional interests.[1] 'Graphic design' in America and 'Gebrauchsgraphik' in Germany were the new generic terms for activities that emerged with the formation of mass-circulation magazines, advertising and modern retail distribution, as well as with academic practices.[2]

Though the term graphic design had existed in America since 1922,[3] in Greece the neologism *grafistiki*[4] – officially introduced in 1974 to name the new professional discipline of graphic design (visual) and separate it from its predecessor, *grafikes technes* (technical graphic arts) – did not exist. This was admitted by my interviewees, who referred to the latter term as the main and prevailing one throughout the period examined. Ultimately, Greece as a case study in this terminological enquiry appears to have a different voice in comparison with the changing profile of hegemonic graphic design loci since the early twentieth century.

In Greece, one explanation for the perpetuation of the established term relates to the fact that, until at least the 1960s, the term *grafistiki* was also the word for 'graphology', used to describe the science of identifying forgery in handwritten texts for

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[1] For early definitions of the term in America, see Thomson, E.M., *The Origins of Graphic Design in America, 1870-1920*. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp.3-4.

[2] See Aynsley, J., *Graphic Design in Germany, 1890-1945*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), pp.11-13.

[3] Attributed to the American designer William Addison Dwiggins (1880-1956). Heller, S., *Design Literacy. Understanding Graphic Design*. (New York: Allworth, 2004), pp.367-369.

[4] Introduced as a noun (and not as an adjective: *grafistikos/i/o*) by Vithynos, M.I., *Graphic Arts: A Different Way of Education. An Overview of the Problem of the Graphic Arts and Graphic Design in Our Country*. (Athens: Vithynos, 1974).

legal purposes (Ill.1a/b).[5] Nevertheless, if this is why the word was not used, I would argue that a reconsideration of the traditional term *grafikes technes* (graphic arts)*, which encompassed the artistry and craftsmanship of printing practices, was more complex and intertwined, with stronger and deeper ideological connections. Two other explanations for the preservation of the original term *graphikes technes*, and for not adopting the English one, also need to be noted.

Firstly, English literacy was low in Greek society (which, like the Greek cultured elite, had absorbed a strong French linguistic influence), even among high-ranking personnel (owners and directors) of advertising companies.[6] This could have restricted the use of the English word 'design' among people within the profession, as well as among the general public.

Secondly, the tendency to use *graphikes technes* could have been due to the difficulty of finding a clear and succinct Greek equivalent for 'design'.[7] As graphic designer Freddie Carabott (1924-2011) argued,

> [The word] design covers a lot of things, ... colour, sketch, layout,
> impression, punch line... The issue [of terminology] is a big problem
> and we haven't solved it. Even though we support the usage and
> preservation of the Greek language, which is very rich, there are things
> that we cannot compromise easily.[8]

An etymological enquiry is crucially important for the contextualisation of graphic design in Greece, but challenging, as in any peripheral country.[9] Developments

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[5] See Dimitrakos, D., *Mega Lexicon of the Greek Language.* (Athens: Dimitrakos, 1936), p.1699. Both terms, *grafistiki* and *graphology*, are cited in this lexicon and describe the science of identifying the authentication of a manuscript. Graphologist and scholar, Andreas Michalopoulos, wrote about *grafistiki* in the same manner in 1941, 1952 and 1962. Michalopoulos, A.E., *Grafistiki. Manual of Juridical Graphology and Characterology* (Athens: Varvatis, 1962). Until 1971, the term was indexed in a Greek lexicon as the art of graphology, as seen in Stamatakos, I., *New Greek Language Lexicon.* Vol. 1 (Athens: -, 1971), p.931.

[6] Translation of the English or German-written books on advertising and marketing was requested from Nikos Dimou, the so-called 'theoretician' of Greek advertising, who studied philosophy in Germany and founded one of the most successful advertising agencies in Athens by the late 1960s, the 'DD'. Also, individuals from the broader cultural stage, namely the theatre critic Rozita Sokou, was asked to translate the lecture given by the Italian 'graphic artist-maitre' Erberto Carboni in 1968, Carboni, E., 'The Artist Graphic Designer in Advertising', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (87) May-June 1968, pp.14-17.

[7] The complexity of the word 'design' was also the case in Brazil, in which there was no single word to translate it efficiently. In that instance, however, the English word 'design' was adopted. See Gies, S., Cassidy, Tracy, 'Brazilian Portuguese Words for Design', in *'Words for Design III' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Taipei, Japan: JSPS, 31 March 2007), pp.41-51.

[8] I-FC-04/09/2004.

[9] 'Peripheral' in the sense of an under represented country in the design community, and not as an 'underdeveloped' one.

in and experiences of design in Western countries may not be relevant to those elsewhere, who have not experienced the same degree of industrialisation. For example, in Britain and France, the words *design* and *dessin* acquired a new meaning during the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the increased division and specialisation of labour.[10] In the 1950s, Greece passed directly from an agricultural society to retail and third-sector services and industries, without developing a substantial industrial base. As argued by design historian Artemis Yagou, the 'retarded as well as inadequate development' of industrial design, compared to most advanced countries, was reflected in the absence of a relevant Greek design terminology, which in consequence restricted the development of a design discourse.[11]

A major difficulty with terminology is that translation of foreign terms can introduce complexity to the meaning, function and purpose of design in a local context. An approximation or generalisation may lead to a mismatch with Western terminology, and possibly to an erroneous view of local design practice. Design, as it appears in industrially developed contexts, can develop different ideas and conceptions in the rest of the world.

This clash of terminology between the West (primarily in Anglo-Saxon discourse) and Greece is evident in translated texts. Yet it is also through such instances that we learn the difference between local and foreign meanings associated with design. In the Greek specialist bilingual press, 'graphic design' is translated as *graphikes technes*.[12] Even though the latter term included commercial work not strictly for book printing (logotypes, company identities, advertisements, etc.), Greek editors thought it inappropriate to use 'design' as a suffix, opting instead for *technes* (arts) to emphasise artistic value.

Apart from this simple case of mismatched translation in the Western-oriented *Themata Chorou ke Technon*, or avoidance of a borrowed term (graphic design), or indeed of adopting a new one (*grafistiki*), a conceptual misunderstanding was observed

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[10] See recent text by Raizman, D., *History of Modern Design. Graphics and Products since the Industrial Revolution.* (London: Laurence King, 2003).
[11] Yagou, A., 'What is `Design'? The Issue of Greek Terminology in the Area of Industrial Design', in *Third Conference of the Greek Language and Terminology* (Athens, Greece, 1-3 November 2001).
[12] Doumanis, M.O., 'Introduction', *Themata Chorou ke Technon*, 1 1970, p.6. For an overview of Greek art and design press, see Appendix-C1/4, 01.

in educational spheres in 1968 between the British researcher, Trilokesh Mukherjee, and the vice-president of the Athens Technological Institute (ATI), Evangelos Papanoutsos (1900-1982) (Ill.2a/b).[13]

The term 'Design', used specifically by Mukherjee in the context of 'graphic design' (visual communication), was understood by Papanoutsos as a broad field that included technical drawing for engineering and architecture rather than exclusively graphic design. Moreover, in Greek specialist journals the term 'design' generally referred to 'industrial design',[14] as was the case originally in France, Germany, Italy, and other less central locations.[15] It was also occasionally translated as *morphologia* (*morphology*).[16]

After the Second World War when new advertising terms became commonplace in commercial contexts abroad, namely 'slogan', 'public relations', 'account executive' and 'copywriter', awareness of corresponding terminology among Greek professionals was very limited.[17] Still in the 1970s, as graphic designer Dimitris Arvanitis (1948) has argued, 'some words and terms were completely unknown, or … appeared solely in specialist texts and activities'.[18] And as Carabott claimed, clients were even less aware of the name for the work done by graphic designers. The following quote, by one of Carabott's clients, is typical:

> You, who make 'these' [*afta*], check out my nephew's... how you call
> 'them'? ... those that you make, my nephew does them too![19]

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[13] For a short biography of E. Papanoutsos, see Appendix for C1/4, 03/b.

[14] As seen at a later time in Vithynos, *Graphic Arts: A Different Way of Education. An Overview of the Problem of the Graphic Arts and Graphic Design in Our Country*, p.36. He clearly distinguished the term *grafistiki* and its applications from *viomechaniko schedio* (industrial design), which he called by the word design.

[15] Simon Jervis' note as quoted in Oshima, K.T., '19th Century Design Trajectories: England, USA, and Japan', in *'Words for Design IV' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Norwich, UK: JSPS, 8-9 July 2008), pp.39-45, p.40.

[16] See Papagiannis, T., 'Industrial Morphology', *Zygos* (76) March 1962, pp.65-67; Vokotopoulos, P., 'Industrial Morphology, Matter and Scopes', *Architectoniki* (39) May-June 1963, pp.75-80; The exception was the text by Cosmetatos, S.M., 'Function in Typography', *Architektoniki* (49-50) January-April 1965, pp.102-107, in which morphology referred also to graphic design. For an early discussion on design terminology, see Yagou, 'What is `Design'? The Issue of Greek Terminology in the Area of Industrial Design'.

[17] Marketing was among the early terms that started to be used by some advertising agencies by the late 1950s, while the other terms made timidly their way in the 1960s. Georgiadis, S., *An Advertising Man Remembers....* (Athens, 1987), pp.105-109; Georgiadis, S., *What An Advertiser Saw, Heard, Said!* . (Athens: Romanos, 2003), p.43. See also: Dimou, N., *Odos Galinis*. (Athens: Patakis, 1998), pp.29-30.

[18] Arvanitis, D.T., 'SOS Greece Calls Design. The Mistakes of Terms and the Passion of People', *Delta D* (31) November-December 2003, pp.30-34, p.30.

[19] I-FC-22/03/2010.

Such instances could be regarded as indicative of the unsettled definition at the time of Greek graphic design in relation to the West. However, terminological discrepancies are not mentioned here to illustrate the underdeveloped or belated status of Greece. As far as definitions are concerned, the international context demonstrated several differences and ambiguities that stretch beyond issues of industrial development.[20]

Greek attempts to incorporate terminology from the dominant model were not unique. In fact, this was commonplace among countries that had dealt with imported-versus-local terminology and its effect on the profession.[21] Resistance to the English word 'design' existed not only in less developed or traditional contexts,[22] but also in much bigger European countries such as Germany, Russia and France, which in the latter case highlighted its strong linguistic tradition and culture.[23]

In contrast to these difficulties with assimilation, in Belgium in the 1950s early introduction of the word 'design' and 'designer' was seen as successful. In this instance, adoption was a conscious choice in preference to Dutch or French terminology, as a challenge to its history of colonisation.[24] Moreover, for Belgium, the opening of the Institute for Industrial Design in 1956 helped the adoption of 'industrial design', while the Brussels Design Centre in 1964 contributed to institutionalising the word 'design' itself.[25]

A defining difference was the particular way in which foreign terminology was emulated (or not) in each case. Cultural and professional institutes (centres, museums

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[20] See papers presented in the three international workshops on the issue of terminology, 'Words for Design I, II, III', (2007-2008). Proceedings edited by Haruhiko Fujita (2010).

[21] In Thailand, for example, 'design' ('Og-Babb') is attached to everyday life and 'is not something that can be internationally described or traced' since it 'has nothing related to industrial line and manufacture'. Sinuraibhan, S., 'Reading the Word 'Design' in Thailand in the Everyday', in *'Words for Design III' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Taipei, Japan: JSPS, 31 March 2007), pp.60-68.

[22] See cases of Portugal, Estonia, Slovenia in the above conference proceedings.

[23] For the French, the resistance was seen as a consequence of an ethical judgement and political intention, as well as of a conservative taste of an elite, proud of its tradition of fine arts: Inoue, Y., 'Terminological History of Industrial Design in French - 'Dessin Industrial', 'Esthétique Industrielle', 'Design'-', in *'Words for Design II' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Toyonaka, Japan: JSPS, 30 October 2007), pp.32-38. See the Portuguese, German, Turkish and Russian cases in the above conference proceedings.

[24] Martínez, J.G., 'The Introduction and Dissemination of the English Word 'Design' in the Belgian Context' in Ibid, pp.53-59.

[25] Ibid, See also the influence exerted over the Swedish and Brazilian cases (in the above proceedings) with the foundation of design institutes and exhibitions, and educational establishments, which were modelled after foreign design schools, like the German Ulm and the Bauhaus, and the British Royal College of Art.

and associations), educational establishments, publications (articles, books, magazines), foreigners and local influential individuals, stood as driving forces in introducing the new term, or in (re)inventing local ones.[26] Speaking of particular individuals, in Mexico (Mexico City), 'design' and 'industrial design' are argued to have been integrated culturally when leaders of modern design, such as members of the Bauhaus School, fled to the country during the Second World War.[27] Design terminology was therefore subject to the particular social, political and cultural conditions of each case, and, significantly, to the key agents and mediators involved in the assimilation process.

The issue of terminology enables us to investigate the local conditions that shaped the conceptual framework of graphic design in Greece, that is, its genesis and identity. The following sections seek to analyse these terminologies and conditions, as well as the agents that influenced the conceptualisation, and ultimately the professionalisation, of graphic design as it emerged in the country after the war.

a. On *Graphikes Technes*: old voices, new voices and persisting values

Perhaps for the first time in 1963, it was emphasised in the art journal *Zygos* (first published in 1955) that the emerging profession, then known as *graphikes technes*, was not just a reference to book printing.[28] Instead, it was argued that the discipline of 'graphic arts' had expanded in scope and now included practices such as advertising, poster and packaging design. Moreover, the anonymous author of the article claimed that the discipline was oscillating between 'fine' and 'applied' art, and that it should be located in the latter context. More generally, at the beginning of the text, it was asserted that

> The applied arts are a vast field, however they have not established

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[26] See the Spanish and Mexican case in the above conference proceedings.

[27] Flores, O.S., 'Use and Origin of the Word DESIGN in Mexico', in *'Words for Design II' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Toyonaka, Japan: JSPS, 30 October 2007), pp.6-14. See also the Spanish case and Santiago Pey, member of the Barcelona Group.

[28] Anon, 'The Start of an Effort', *Zygos* (87-88) February-March 1963, pp.47-48.

a delimitation, which will make the neat line from the other, the

so-called fine arts, relatively obvious.[29]

Historically, the unsettled position of the applied arts within Greek culture was

not new. In the interwar years, the applied arts, that is, design in today's sense of the

term, constituted a 'third space' loosely connected with and positioned between art and

engineering.[30] In the post-war years, although the commercial dimension of the

profession and the special technical qualifications and knowledge required were

generally emphasised, discourse failed to establish a neat distinction between the fine

and applied arts. In fact, in some cases the term 'graphic arts' embodied both qualities

(fine and applied).[31] Moreover, it was often claimed that the graphic arts were 'a

peculiar amalgam of industry and art',[32] yet with a different purpose and social role to

the fine arts.[33]

Certainly, texts like these were not helpful in achieving the goals set out by the

author of the *Zygos* article, nor faithful to Western developments of the early twentieth

century. Yet it was a dominant view that was shared by other academics and

practitioners in Greece, who consistently promoted the emerging profession as a form

of fine or high art. A particular conceptualisation of the profession that shared many

similarities with the French example and its territories therefore prevailed.[34]

The aforementioned *Zygos* text (1963) was an attack on the bookbinder Spyros

Panayotopoulos, and his account of the profession in Greece in the international

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[29]Anon, Ibid, p.47. Also, see Anon, 'The Limits between Painting and Decoration', *Zygos* (90) May 1963, pp.71-72.
[30] Yagou, A., 'First Steps: Early Design Education and Professionalization in Greece', *Journal of Design History*, 23 (2) 2010, pp.145-161, footnote 2.
[31] '...the graphic arts are an applied fine art with clear economic objectives', Petris, G., 'George Vakirtzis. Success in the Graphic Arts', *Architektoniki* (56) March-April 1966, pp.91-98, p.91.
[32] Eliopoulou, N., 'Are Graphic Arts an Industry?' *Dimosiotis ke Provoli*, 17 1960, pp.13-14, p.13. Eliopoulou was an employee at the printing house Aspioti ELKA (est.1873). Also see, Typographia, 'Graphic Arts or Printing Industry? Where do the Techno-economic Forces Lead?' *Typographia*, 16 (318) 15 February 1973, pp.9,12.
[33] Anon, 'The Applied Arts', *Zygos* (II) February 1966, p.10.
[34] Especially in terms of the 'low' and 'high' distinction of the arts. The word design was introduced in France in 1972: Inoue, 'Terminological History of Industrial Design in French - 'Dessin Industrial', 'Esthétique Industrielle', 'Design''. Also, see the French-influenced Greek art critic P. Michelis translating the term 'esthétique industrielle' in Greek, Michelis, P.A., 'Industrial Aesthetic and Abstract Art', *Zygos*, A (38) January 1959, pp.29-36, and second volume in February 1959.

publication *Who's Who in Graphic Art*, published a year earlier (1962) (Ill.3).[35] Panayotopoulos' definition of the profession as related to book illustration and printing, engraving and the fine arts, was characterised as 'deficient' by the *Zygos* author. The article, published a year after Greece joined the EEC in 1961, encapsulated relations between the old conception of the profession and the new role it was required to fulfill in a developing economic market. Though other writers debated the view expressed by Panayotopoulos, and an awareness of change was becoming increasingly evident, the general rhetoric adhered to traditional understandings of the origin of the graphic arts.[36]

The term 'graphic arts' appears throughout the period as a signifier of the traditional artistry and fine craftsmanship of book printing, a view that coloured nearly all references to the subject, from books and articles to catalogues, course brochures and other related uses (Ill.4a, 5a/b, 6). Ready-made images were mostly taken from historical reference books illustrating seventeenth-century typographers at work.

Why did such a conception of Greek graphic design persist for so long, both locally and internationally? What purposes did it serve and what were its implications for the emerging profession of graphic design in Greece? How was professionalisation framed? Contemporary discourse concerning the graphic arts provides some answers.

The typographic and engraving tradition

The graphic arts were consistently presented in texts as synonymous with typography and various printing methods and techniques, such as engraving, silk-screen printing,

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[35] The author footnoted S. Panayotopoulos's text, which he translated in Greek. For original text, see Panayotopoulos, S., 'Greece' in *Who's Who in Graphic Art*, Vol.I, ed. by W. Amstutz (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962), pp.265-269. Greece was among the 38 countries included in the volume and presented as representatives of Greek graphic arts the cartoonist Minos Argurakis (1920-1998), and the illustrator Yorgis Varlamos (1922).

[36] The trade newspaper *Typographia* hosted a number of articles of this sort especially during the first years of its publication.

lithography and zincography, amongst others.[37] In turn, the literature on typography

was historically bound and linked generally to three cornerstone periods.[38]

The first period concerned the post-mid-fifteenth century, when typography

within Greece was non-existent under the four hundred years of Ottoman rule starting

in 1453.[39] Nevertheless, the contribution of Greek typographers of the diaspora to

Western literature at the time, and especially to the Western enlightenment, was

highlighted in contemporary and recent articles, many of which took on a nationalist

tone.[40] For instance, in an article published in *Architektoniki* in 1968, Panayotopoulos

claimed that bookbinding was a 'Greek Art' (Ill.4c). Also translated in English, the

content bore signs of nationalist rhetoric in its praise of Greek typographic

achievements of the past.[41] The text was placed in two rigidly aligned columns and was

accompanied by several cropped photographs of leather-bound books, a composition

typical of the magazine's modernist layout throughout. This is a good example of how

voices from a traditional practice, which seemed to have no relationship with new

developments in the field, co-existed in spaces characterised by modernist language of

the 1950s.

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[37] The technological and craftsmanship aspects were primarily stressed out, for example, see the first of a series of articles by Valassakis, E., 'Graphic Arts. The Historical Development of Typography', *Typographia*, 3 (56) 10 January 1961, pp.8, 11; Serbinis, G., Magkos, Dim., 'Typography is the Main Branch of the Graphic Arts', *Typographia*, 12 (261) 15 July 1970, pp.1, 5. For a recent reference on the typographic and engraving roots of the graphic arts, see Pavlopoulos, D., *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods.* (Athens: Kastaniotis/Diatton, 2004 [1995]).

[38] Key contemporary and recent references on the history of Greek typography and typographers are: Karykopoulos, P., *A Contribution to the History of Greek Typography, 1476-1976.* (Athens: Karykopoulos, 1976); Karykopoulos, P., *A Bibliography on Greek Typography.* (Athens, 1976); Mastoridis, K., *Casting the Greek Newspaper. A Study of the Morphology of the 'Ephemeris' from its Origin until the Production of Mechanical Setting.* (Thessaloniki: ELIA, 1999); Loukos, C., 'Typography and Typographers in the Greek State. A First Approach: Athens, 1930-1990', *Mnemon* (24) 2002, pp.307-326; Matthiopoulos, Y.D., *An Anthology of Greek Typography.* (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2009).

[39] It is generally admitted that this was a lost opportunity for Greek typography to follow the printing advancements after Johannes Gutenberg's invention of movable type, and it is often used as an explanation for the 'belated' development of Greek typography and its 'lack of tradition' for nearly 400 years. See contemporary references above on Greek typography, and Konomos, D., 'The First Typographic Shop of Eptanisos [Corfu]', *Typographia*, 1 (3) 20 July 1958, pp.3, 4; Konomos, D., 'In Eptanisos [Corfu] the First Prints', *Typographia*, 1 (4) 5 August 1958, pp.3, 4. Also, Skazikis, I.M., 'Typography in Greece. Deficiencies and Disadvantages', *Typographia*, 1 (10) 18 November 1958, pp.1, 2. Parts B,C,D appeared in subsequent issues 11,12,13-14 (1959).

[40] Some chronicles include: Manousakas, M.I., *The Onset of Greek Typography.* (Athens: E.S.P.G.P., 1989) and Karykopoulos, *A Contribution to the History of Greek Typography, 1476-1976*; Typographia, 'In the 15th Century the First Public Appearance of the Greek Typographic Characters', *Typographia*, 2 (22) 25 June 1959, pp.4, 5, 6. Parts B,C,D,E were published in the following issues 23/25/26 and 27/28 respectively.

[41] S. Panayatopoulos used sentimental and romanticised language ('passion', 'soul') to describe bookbinding, which sees as an art that originates from the Greeks of the diaspora, who, according to the author, transferred their skills and knowledge to the West. See Panayotopoulos, S., 'Book-printing, a Greek Art', *Architektoniki* (67) January-February 1968, p.107.

If in some cases, the new conditions were ignored, in other instances they were thought of as actually degrading. Bookbinder Andreas Ganiaris praised traditional bookbinding of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as 'a high art created by masters and read by the few', arguing that dissemination of books to a broader audience through cheaper methods of production did not work to bookbinding's benefit, on account of the cheaper materials (paper and fabric instead of leather) used and its lower-quality craftsmanship.[42] In general, visual references to typographic culture, through images of workshops, printing machines and tools, as well as to specific typographic practices such as fifteenth-century letter design, typesetting and layout, still visible in 1960s publications, articles and promotions, featured regularly (Ill.4a/b).

The second period is the early nineteenth century, when the advent of typography in Greece was seen as having forged the conscience of the Greek nation and contributed to its cultural production, aiding the War of Independence from Ottoman rule in 1821 (Ill.7).[43] In Greece at the time, 'enlightenment from a general cultural movement' became 'a social and political act'.[44] The presence of typography was not merely related to its basic function, that is, the democratisation of knowledge and dissemination of information to a wider public, but was also linked to the national struggle for independence, legitimising typography and its role in nation building.[45] Since then, nationalist and romanticised histories of Greek graphic arts and typography have been commonplace.

The final period of Greek graphic art considered by most books is that of the Second World War, when resistance on the part of youth and certain artists to the Axis

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[42] Ganiaris, A.C., 'The Art of Bookbinding', *Typographia*, 1 (16) 15 March 1959, p.2α; Ganiaris, A.C., 'The Art of Bookbinding', *Typographia*, 1 (17) 10 April 1959, p.2; Ganiaris, A.C., 'The Art of Bookbinding', *Typographia*, 1 (18) 25 April 1959, pp.2, 3; Ganiaris, A.C., 'The Art of Bookbinding', *Typographia*, 8 (164) 1 January 1966, p.14. Anon, 'Artistic Bookbinding and Contemporary Aesthetic Creation', *Typographia*, 9 (187) 1 January 1967, pp.30, 31, 34, 41.

[43] Karykopoulos, *A Contribution to the History of Greek Typography, 1476-1976*. Also, see below references on nationalism and typography.

[44] Ibid, p.14.

[45] The importance of print for the rise of nationalism and capitalism is explained by Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 1991). Towards a Greek nationalist approach, see: Staikos, K., Sp., Sklavenitis, Triantaphyllos, *The Publishing Centres of the Greeks. From the Renaissance to the Neohellenic Enlightenment*. trans. D. Hardy. (Athens: National Book Centre, 2001); Staekos, K.S., Sklavenitis, T. E., ed., *Five Hundred Years of Printed Tradition of the New Neohellenism, 1499-1999* (Athens: Greek Parliament, 2002).

occupation (1941-1944),[46] along with graduate engravers from the Athens School of Fine Arts (ASFA), helped raise people's spirits by producing a series of well-designed anti-Axis posters.[47] The guiding force behind this success was the teacher-engraver Yiannis Kefallinos (1894-1957), who directed the School of Engraving at ASFA from 1931.[48]

Kefallinos is considered an emblematic figure in Greek graphic arts, known for his perfectionism and mastery of printing techniques, but, more importantly, he is also credited with instituting engraving as an autonomous discipline.[49] This can be seen from the position accorded to it in Fotos Yofilis' reference book, *History of the Neo-hellenic Arts*, in 1962, in which engraving is included as a separate domain in the history of Greek art, along with painting, architecture, sculpture and decoration.[50] Since then, engraving has been treated as a separate field in the graphic arts. [51]

In 1956 the publication of 'Ten White Urns' (*Deka Lefkai Likithoi*), a set of wood- and copper-engraved prints accompanied by a Byzantine-inspired typeface (*Theokritos*) for the National Archaeological Museum, was a cornerstone project by Kefallinos that took him and his students three years to complete (Ill.8). The subject of the book, printed in a limited edition of four hundred copies, was its illustrations of ancient urns, which added to its precious and unique character as an art object. According to the engraver Yorgis Varlamos (1922), one of Kefallinos' students, the work 'is one of the most important testaments of the Greek graphic arts'.[52]

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[46] Pavlopoulos, *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods*, pp.54-57.
[47] Mertyri, A., *Artistic Education of Young People in Greece, 1836-1945.* (Athens: Geniki Grammatia Neas Genias, 2000), p.491. For students and artists' names, see Karachristos, S., ed., *Greek Posters* (Athens: Kedros, 2003), p.13; Pavlopoulos, *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods*, pp.54-57.
[48] The courses started officially during 1935-1936. At roughly the same time (1932), commercial poster artist Adolphe Mouron Cassandre opened a class on advertising posters at the École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.
[49] Mertyri, *Artistic Education of Young People in Greece, 1836-1945*, p.486. See also, Kasdaglis, C.E., 'Yannis Kefallinos', *Epta Imeres (Kathimerini)* 12 March 1995, pp.7-9; Philippou, D.A., 'Kefallinos and Kasdaglis: Two Fighters of Poetic Typography', *Eftypon* (20) April 2008, pp.11-21.
[50] Yofilis, F., *History of the Neo-Hellenic Arts, 1821-1941 (Painting, Sculpture, Engraving, Architecture and Decorative Arts)*. Vol. A, B (Athens: To Elliniko Vivlio, 1962) in two volumes. Also in Panayotopoulos, 'Greece'.
[51] Grigorakis, N., *Two Centuries of Neohellenic Engraving.* (Athens: Govostis, 2004); Orati, I., *Engraving Collections in Ionian Bank.* (Athens / Thessaloniki: Ionian Bank, 1995); Pavlopoulos, *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods.* , Pavlopoulos, D., ed., *Searching for Greekness: The '30s Generation. Painting, Ceramics, Sculpture, Engraving* (Athens: Aenaon, 1994).
[52] I-YV-22/06/2006.

Generally, all three historical periods involving typography were important moments for the nation and its history, making typography a discipline strongly linked with concepts of tradition and nationalism. This discourse seems to have been beneficial for the profession in terms of status and prestige, especially in view of state ideology concerning nationalism and continuity in Greek history (emphasising the link between ancient, Byzantine and modern times). Writing in the 1950s and 1960s, representatives of typography constructed a strong model of Greek typography that was independent from the West.

Ai Graphikai Technai and the language debate

Beyond the subject of textual sources, the language used appeared to play a significant role in establishing the status of graphic arts in Greece. In this respect, it would be a an omission to ignore the language debate that dichotomised Greek society for many decades in the twentieth century, and which made language a tool of social and cultural distinction. The debate between the two idioms of the Greek language, *katharevoussa* and *dimotiki* (demotic), emerged as an example of the conflict between conservative and progressive voices in Greek culture, and ultimately conceptions of 'high' and 'low'.[53] However, I would argue that his had little effect on concepts of the profession itself.

Resistance to adapt a new term for the emerging profession was associated with traditional attitudes. Apart from 'Ten White Urns', in which the archaic title (*Deka Lefkai Likithoi*) corresponded to the culture represented (images from ancient urns), *katharevoussa* was also used in profoundly symbolic ways. The term '*ai graphikai technai*' (the graphic arts), as seen in texts using *katharevousa*, infused the profession with a sense of pureness, tradition and connection with ancient Greek roots.

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[53] *Katharevoussa* from 'katharos' meaning pure or clean (a link between ancient and demotic Greek) is a language idiom that was created by the literary man and poet Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) in order to 'clean' the Greek language from any foreign influences (Turkish and Slavic).

In fact, only a few texts on the graphic arts were written solely in the archaic form of the Greek language. Of the very few books on the history of Greek graphic art published in the period, one was written in *katharevousa* in 1965, while the other, published in 1973, used this language for the title only.[54] In addition, a headline referring to the first serious research on Greek graphic arts in the advertising journal *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (*DP*, 'Publicity and Promotion', published in 1958) in 1960 was written as '*ai graphikai technai*', while some of the articles used a softer version of *katharevoussa* (Ill.5a).[55]

All these and other references featured an image of a traditional sixteenth-century printing workshop, echoing the perception at the time that printing shops were the 'Courts of Athens' in the 'Renaissance sense of the term' (Ill.5b).[56] Nevertheless, typographic houses in Greece, beyond their educational character as 'great schools' for new typographers and graphic artists, were still regarded as important cultural places in the 1950s and '60s, where intelligentsia, poets, writers, publishers and artists met and interacted with the typographer, who was seen as a basic part of literary production and therefore a member of the intellectual and cultural milieu of book publishing.[57]

Interestingly, these images of a past age contrasted starkly with the advanced printing machinery advertised in the specialist press, especially in the fortnightly trade journal *Typographia* ('Typography', published from 1958).[58] But since the series of articles published in *DP* in 1960 concerned the present and future of the graphic arts rather than their past, the image of a sixteenth-century typographer was seen as emblematic of their character and origin.

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[54] Katiforis, P., *Paper and the Graphic Arts*. (Athens: -, 1965); Alevizos, T., Frantziskakis, Fratzis, ed., *Aspioti-ELKA. Graphic Arts, 1873-1973* (Athens: Aspioti-ELKA, 1973).

[55] The confusion between *katharevousa* and demotic language is mentioned with reference to the aesthetic and economic consequences, in Skazikis, I.M., 'Typography in Greece. Deficiencies and Disadvantages', *Zygos* (22-23) August-September 1957, pp.4-6, p.5.

[56] I-KE-30/06/2006.

[57] Skazikis, 'Typography in Greece. Deficiencies and Disadvantages', p.4. Text in quotation marks are words by K. Eliopoulos (I-KE-30/06/2006) and A. Kanavakis (I-AK-27/04/2008). For a typographer's personal testimony, see Kasdaglis, E.C., *Clinquant on Typography, Literature, Photography, Engraving, Painting*. (Athens: Educational Foundation of the National Bank, 2004), pp.11-23.

[58] *Typographia* kept its multi-column layout basically the same throughout its publication as a reminiscent of the newspaper format of the 19th century.

Similar to Greek historiography and the formation of national identity, these images reiterated historiographical narratives for the purpose of building a professional identity. What were the potential consequences of this discourse? In considering the role of language for creating distinctions between 'low' and 'high' culture and society, authors who used literal language (*katharevoussa*) made the topic, intentionally or not, a matter discussed by the intelligentsia, and thus a subject associated with high culture.

This language debate reflected broader the distinctions and hierarchies of Greek society relating to prestige, status and low/high distinctions in professional, educational and social contexts. However, the impact of *katharevoussa* on conceptualising graphic art as a form of high culture should not be exaggerated. Identifying graphic art with high culture was not only seen in texts written in *katharevoussa*, but also in 'progressive' texts written in demotic, as in a book of 1974 by Manolis Vithynos, who in 1977 became the founder and director of the public school for graphic design.[59] Vithynos' book offers a strong appreciation and promotion of graphic design, elevating it to the level of fine art, similar to the French, Portuguese, Estonian and Slovenian paradigms discussed earlier.[60]

In addition, confusion between the two main linguistic idioms, *katharevoussa* and demotic, especially the accents of the former, or parallel use of the two in the same text, created problems for the typesetter, who in turn wasted time and money undertaking editing and corrections. The typographer I. M. Skazikis expressed this frustration in 1957, highlighting the deficiency and bad quality of Greek typography in relation to other 'developed countries', and calling for an immediate solution to the problem.[61]

Central to the study undertaken here is the view that much of the attachment of graphic design to higher forms of culture derived from the need of those involved to be

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[59] Vithynos, *Graphic Arts: A Different Way of Education. An Overview of the Problem of the Graphic Arts and Graphic Design in Our Country.*
[60] Ibid, pp. 24,37,53-59.
[61] Skazikis, 'Typography in Greece. Deficiencies and Disadvantages', pp.4-6.

associated with more established and recognised professional practices. Vithynos' book reflected this anxiety, perhaps more than any other contemporary reference. Indeed, it was the author's principal intention to build respect and recognition for a new profession that, owing to its ephemeral and mass-produced nature, received little appreciation from the 'uneducated' audience, whether lay or professional.[62] The author's discussion of *grafistiki* described its perception at the time, as well as its objectives and aspirations, all of which formed part of wider debates surrounding social and cultural distinction and hierarchy during the period.

Graphic arts and advertising: litigants or allies?

In the literature of the 1950s and '60s, the graphic arts were synonymous with typography, that is, the meticulous and time-consuming art of letter design, typesetting and geometric page layout (Ill.9). More importantly, they were often defined as distinctly different from publicity or advertising, and as having opposing objectives. Graphics was thought to prioritise quality and to be concerned with craftsmanship and high art, while advertising was preoccupied with quantity and financial benefit.[63]

The collision between the two disciplines also revolved around social prestige and status, a tension that was expressed openly during the first Conference for the Graphic Arts held in 1965 in Athens. As noted in an eight-page handwritten manuscript of the conference proceedings by the graphic designer Kimon Eliopoulos (1922-2011), there was a need to change this situation by seeing 'professionals-in-opposition' (advertisers) as allies rather than litigants.[64]

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[62] I-MV-05/12/2006. The expression 'uneducated audience' is also seen in the Swedish article, and which was too perceived as a threat to achieving the goal of producing better everyday goods, Brunnström, L., Zetterlund, Christina, 'Forming a Swedish Discourse of Design', in *'Words for Design III' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Taipei, Japan: JSPS, 31 March 2007), pp.4-13.

[63] See Bastias, Y., 'Publicity and the Graphic Arts', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (16) April 1960, pp.15-16,23; Anon, 'Graphic Arts. In Search of the Golden Section', *Ellinika Themata* (187-188) September-October 1971, p.420; Typographia, 'Will we Become Advertisers?' *Typographia*, 1 (6) 5 September 1958, p.1.

[64] K. Eliopoulos archive.

In attempting to raise the status of the profession, an important strategy of the advertising journal *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (*DP*) was to stress the role of advertising in the Greek economy. Citing America and Russia and their 'economic nationalism' of the 1950s as examples, advertising in Greece was promoted as something the nation needed more than ever.[65] This nationalist tone was underlined by the long-lasting campaign 'Buy Greek!', which discouraged the consumption of foreign products and promoted those of Greece.[66]

Interestingly, the discourse that emerged within the advertising community shared many characteristics of the rhetoric used by typographers and critics in the graphic arts. While their differences related to artistic motive and high culture, on the one hand (graphic arts), and the economic incentives for a developing and progressing economy, on the other (advertising), they shared a tendency to reference the past and the ideals of nationalism. For instance, the connection with the ancient past can be seen in the effort to imbue advertising with a mythological dimension, rephrasing it as 'goddess of our time', and incorporating the merits both of 'old craft and modern science' (Ill.10).[67] Similarly, the use of advertising images drawn from traditional Greek culture was highly recommended, and was seen as an alternative to copying foreign models.

Despite the efforts of *DP* to project the positive role of advertising and elevate its position in Greek economy and culture, the status of the advertiser remained significantly low. 'Advertiser' in post-war Greece still referred loosely to a person who performed several jobs relating to publicity and promotion, including street vending, billposting and wall painting. These jobs, as advertiser Stathis (Efstathios) Georgiadis (1917-2009) admitted, carried with them little recognition, socially and financially, and thus registered the occupation as low status.[68] These difficulties prevailed until as late

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[65] Anon, 'Advertising Works for You!' *Dimosiotis kai Provoli*, 4-5 March-April 1959, pp.1-8. Also, see article in *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (6) May 1959, p.4.
[66] Anon, 'Buy Greek!' *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (6) May 1959, p.5.
[67] Thivaiou, F., 'Advertising: A Goddess of Our Time', *Gynaika*, January 1962, pp.36-37.
[68] Georgiadis, *An Advertising Man Remembers...*, pp.13-14. I-SG-06/02/2004.

as the early 1980s,[69] when the profession of typographer was established as having 'a higher, cultural destination' connected with nation formation and liberation from foreign forces in Greek history.[70]

The opportunity to elevate the status of advertisers during the Second World War, as American advertisers had done in the First World War,[71] was lost, since the success of nationalist posters required by the Greek Ministry of Information was credited to students of the School of Engraving at the ASFA.[72] In professional contexts, advertisers distinguished themselves from typographers by creating their own circle, namely the Pan-Hellenic Union of Advertisers (PUA) in the early-twentieth century, and the Hellenic Association of Advertising Agencies (HAAA) in the late 1960s.[73]

The low prestige of advertising in Greece could be regarded as an important barrier towards its 'professionalisation'. While the privileged status of American advertising men of the 1920s and '30s gave them the impetus to push further their role as 'apostles of modernity',[74] Greek advertisers' attempts in the 1950s and '60s to negotiate new advertising techniques with their clients met with little success.

Generally, the relationship between advertiser (graphic designer) and client in Greece was based on a subordinate-leader model, with the advertiser in the lower position, leaving little room for the more advanced advertising methods used in America and Europe. In several instances, the advertiser had to follow the client's ideas on a product's campaign, which usually involved a personal interpretation of the consumer's need for national affirmation and amplified power structures. Perhaps a

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[69] N. Dimou's book challenges the distinction between 'high' and 'low' art, Dimou, N., *And You an Advertiser Johann-Sebastian?* (Athens: Delta-Delta Dimou, 1981).

[70] Skazikis, 'Typography in Greece. Deficiencies and Disadvantages', p.4.

[71] Marchand, R., *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940.* (London: University of California Press, 1985), p.8.

[72] See also chapter 2, Ill.1. For the Greek advertiser's profile, see chapter 2 in Emmanouil, M., '*At Last Now in Greece!* Greek Advertising and America in the 1950s and 1960s' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Royal College of Art, 2004).

[73] The first, temporary committee of this initiative was G. Vakirtzis (of the advertising agency 'Gnome'), N. Dimou ('DD'), Y. Zannias, E. Mavroudi ('Ergon'), P. Terkas ('K+K'). Later establishments include the Centre for Visual Arts (1974) and the Creative Circle (1975). K. Eliopoulos archive.

[74] Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, pp.1-24.

good example of this practice is the persistence of the Greek–American bottler of *Coca-Cola*, Tom Pappas, who put *tsolias* figures in Greek promotions.[75]

It was this low prestige, both social and economic, of Greek advertisers that restricted their ability to create more ambiguous connections and allusions in advertising proposals, instead having to ensure that their work was broadly acceptable socially.[76] Modernity in this sense was accommodated only to the point that it did not threaten traditional power structures or national identity, an identity invariably expressed in the most banal terms.[77]

While this phenomenon was commonplace among advertisers and clients for the promotion of everyday commercial goods, it was not an overarching fact. To avoid generalisation, it is essential to examine whether, and in what ways, such practices were exercised in other contexts, for example by state attempts to promote the country abroad as a tourist destination, or to advertise electricity for domestic consumers. Were graphic designers working for the state a different case? And how did the background and status of designers working for GTO, or for electricity companies, influence the work they produced?

Overlapping identities

In contrast to the term *graphikes technes*, a new name for the graphic practitioner, *grafistas* (graphic designer), started to gain momentum by the mid-1960s.[78] Even though there was no official entry for it in Greek dictionaries at the time, the new term, which is credited to the Association of Applied Arts (AAA, founded in 1966), made its way timidly into articles in the specialist press, and orally within the

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[75] *Tsolias* is the title given to a male figure wearing the traditional Greek *fustanella* made of 400 pleats that symbolise the 400 years of Ottoman occupation. *Coca-Cola* company rejected the proposal, which resulted to a two-year unsettled payment to the company, Dimou, *Odos Galinis*, p.134. I-ND-31/01/2004.

[76] See chapter 1, 'Advertising the Greek dreality' in Emmanouil, '*At Last Now in Greece!* Greek Advertising and America in the 1950s and 1960s'.

[77] Billig, M., *Banal Nationalism.* (London: Sage, 1995).

[78] *Grafistas*: from the French *graphiste* with the addition of the suffix -*as* to denote the (male) professional. Change in the professional title was observed in the case of K. Eliopoulos. Originally indicated as painter or artist, from the mid-1960s onwards he was referred to as *graphistas*. Extracts of newspaper clips during the mid-1960s. K. Eliopoulos archive. F. Carabott noted his objection to the ending of *grafist-as* and proposed the term *grafist-is*, but this entry was not followed through, I-FC-04/09/2004.

community.[79] It was also not uncommon for foreign terms, such as the French *graphiste* or the German *graphiker* in their original forms, to be used in articles as early as 1960 as substitutes, indicating an awareness of the relevant foreign terminology.[80]

Generally, painters who worked in the graphic arts were called by the dual title *zografos–graphistas* (painter–graphic designer) or *zografos-diafimistis* (painter-advertiser).[81] Before this, the most commonly used word to identify the professional graphic designer was *maketistas* (from the French *maquettiste* or layout artist) and *diakosmitis* (decorator). Officially, the latter term appeared in documents of the private design school, the Athens Technological Institute (ATI), following the foundation of the School of Decoration in 1958.[82]

In the broader commercial context, too, the participation of graphic designers in competitions for commercial window displays indicated the loose definition and overlap that existed between the professions of graphic designer and decorator, or what is now understood as interior and exhibition design.[83] Graphic designer Michalis Katzourakis (1933), who won second prize in one of the competitions and who is referred to as a 'decorator', explained the close connection between poster design and shop window design.

> The same principles that apply to poster design should apply to the
> window display, that is, surprise and a central message to stay in the
> mind of the passer-by... Something merely cute and nice is not enough...

[79] Anon, 'Grafistas…', *Mesimvrini* 31 January 1966. For the AAA operation, see section 'Setting the rules'.
[80] The German term is used in Eliopoulou, 'Are Graphic Arts an Industry?'. The French term appeared in Anon, 'The Profession of Graphiste Gains Ground', *Zygos* (II) February 1966, p.81. Eliopoulou, 'Are Graphic Arts an Industry?'.
[81] See for example, Anon, 'The Limits between Painting and Decoration'. Graphic designer D. Rikakis, whose Swiss-inspired design work appeared in the architecture magazine *Themata Chorou ke Technon* in the early 1970s, is listed as 'painter-advertiser' in an official GTO documentation in 1964. See Appendix for C1/4, 04.
[82] C.A. Doxiadis Archive-17616.
[83] Student competitions were organised by the Open School of Fine Arts (adjoined to the ASFA) since 1959, and later by *Tachydromos* since 1961. The judges were important figures from the art and design sector (teachers, artists and designers/architects, such as G. Moralis, S. Vassiliou, S. Molfesis), the Art establishment (M. Kaligas, director of the National Art Gallery), and the industry (A. Pitsos, electrical appliances manufacturer). Anon, 'Athenian Shop Windows', *Zygos* (64) March 1961. Other articles include: Michailidis, D., 'Shop Window Displays with Songs', *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (39) 1962, pp.19-27; Manessis, S., 'The Shop Window Display and Advertising... in Paris', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (316) 1961, pp.109-110; Anon, 'Nice Shop Window Displays Inspired by 1821', *ArchitectonikI ke Diakosmisi* (86) April 1971, pp.30-31; Michailidis, D., Pavlidis, Manos, *Behind the Shop Window.* (Athens: Dimosiotis ke Provole, 1962).

a central message is needed that will stay in the people's mind.[84]

This overlap of professional titles was a consequence of the kinds of tasks performed. As Eliopoulos argued, 'at that time, we did everything, from sign-boards to stamps and vice-versa'.[85] However, title duplication was not specific to Greece, but also featured commonly in other developed and less developed countries. In Sweden, establishing the role of designer within the industry was a long process, during which artists, engineers and architects occupied the role of designer.[86] Likewise, in France, even currently, designers do not have a distinct status in an administrative sense.[87]

For Greece, the differing sources of influence, as well as the background of the authors of articles, were directly responsible for the various titles by which professionals were known. New terms, as will be examined later in more detail, were either short-lived or not consistent with the practice of graphic design. Thus, until the late 1960s, there was no single factor governing the use of a particular title for graphic designer, but, rather, a multifarious approach.

The 'autonomous' discourse

As seen in section (a.), Greek discourse viewed the emerging field of graphic design as attached to typography and the kindred practices of the fine or high arts, distinct from the definitions and divisions already in place in America and other industrialised nations from the early twentieth century. Greece demonstrated many terminological and conceptual features in common with Estonia, Slovenia and Portugal, which inclined towards French terminology and appreciation of design as art.[88] Similar to

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[84] Michailidis, 'Shop Window Displays with Songs', p.25.
[85] TC-KE-04/04/2010.
[86] Brunnström, 'Forming a Swedish Discourse of Design', pp.4-13.
[87] Inoue, 'Terminological History of Industrial Design in French - 'Dessin Industrial', 'Esthétique Industrielle', 'Design'', p.33.
[88] Žerjal, I., "Oblikovanje": The Slovenian Term for Design', in *'Words for Design III' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Taipei, Japan: JSPS, 31 March 2007), pp.33-40; Kodres, K., Lobjakas, Christina, 'Words for Design: The Estonian Case', in *'Words for Design III' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Taipei, Japan: JSPS, 31 March 2007), pp.14-21; Barbosa, H., 'Desenhar o Desenho or Design in Portugal', in *'Words for Design II' International Workshop*, ed. by H. Fujita (Toyonaka, Japan: JSPS, 30 October 2007), pp.15-22.

Estonia, in which the cultural orientation of the elite defined design discourse, Greek authors from a theoretical background, or from practices closer to the typographic tradition or the fine arts, took an elitist view of graphic design as a form of art.

Beyond the background of the authors, the source and consistency of writings is also argued to have affected the identity of the graphic profession in Greece. Articles on the 'graphic arts' were presented in art and architectural periodicals or related trade journals, but on an irregular basis.[89] The periodical exclusively dedicated to graphic design, *Graphiki Techni* ('Graphic Art' in singular, 1964), which appears to have published only one issue, was 'not a theoretical magazine' (Ill.11a/b).[90] Although, it was 'based on similar periodicals that pre-existed for a long time in civilised countries abroad', and the enigmatic black-and-white cover did not evoke a past age, the editor Leonidas Christakis (1927-2009) argued,

> [...] the periodical's objective, was not to initiate a dialogue on
> theoretical and aesthetic issues that concern the graphic arts,
> but instead to present 'work' and 'workers'.[91]

As this initiative was devoted exclusively to the visual and was short-lived, the opportunity to create an independent and sustained locus of discourse among people other than the elite (art critics and certain practitioners) was missed. The rhetoric concerning the discipline's persistent values was strong, allowing little space for new ideas and conceptions to develop. Ultimately, however, the issue of professionalisation began to emerge, as will be examined in the next section.

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[89] See Appendix-C1/4, 01.
[90] Christakis, L., 'Editorial', *Graphiki Techni* (1) 1964. E.L.I.A. Archive.
[91] Ibid.

1.2 Attempts towards professionalisation

In design history, the issue of professionalisation, as a feature of modernisation, has lately been a lively topic of discussion, and is open for new definitions and additions.[92] The issue is broadly defined as a process in which an activity is developed into a generally recognised profession,[93] through setting up professional organisations and societies, instituting clear educational routes and developing an autonomous discourse.[94]

More broadly, it is argued that a profession arises when a trade or occupation transforms itself through 'the development of formal qualifications based upon education, apprenticeship, and examinations, as well as the emergence of regulatory bodies with powers to admit and discipline members, and some degree of monopoly rights'.[95] In sociological studies, professionalisation is also taken to involve establishing some degree of demarcation, often termed 'occupational closure', of the qualified from unqualified amateurs, creating in this way a hierarchical divide between knowledge authorities and outsiders, amateurs and the unqualified.[96] Beyond issues of regulation, professions are thought to possess autonomy, power, status and prestige.[97]

In opposition to this ideal-type approach are recent sociological writings that consider these 'traits' of professionalisation as 'myths'.[98] It is argued that the lack of development of professionalism on Anglo-American lines casts serious doubt on the

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[92] Beegan, G., Atkinson, Paul, 'Professionalism, Amateurism and the Boundaries of Design', *Journal of Design History*, 21 (3) 2008, pp.205-313.

[93] Ibid, p.307.

[94] See Krippendorff, K., *The Semantic Turn - A New Foundation for Design.* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2006); Seddon, J., 'Mentioned but Denied Significance: Women Designers and 'Professionalization' of Design in Britain, c.1920-1951', *Gender and History*, 12 (2) 2000, pp.425-447; Lees-Maffei, G., 'Introduction: Professionalization as Focus in Interior Design History', *Journal of Design History*, 21 (2) 2008, pp.1-18; Valtonen, A., 'The Professionalization of Product Design: Reflections on the Finnish Case', in *'Design Thinking: New Challenges for Designers, Managers and Organizations' International Conference* (Paris La Défense, France, 14-15, April, 2008).

[95] Bullock, A., Trombley, Stephen, *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought.* (London: Harper-Collins, 1999), p.689.

[96] Moreover, this professional closure can be gender subjected, Cavanagh, S.A.L., 'The Gender of Professionalism and Occupational Closure', *Gender and Education*, 15 (1) March 2003, pp.39-57; Weeden, K.A., 'Why Do Some Occupations Pay More than Others? Social Closure and Earnings Inequality in the United States', *American Journal of Sociology*, 108 (1) July 2002, pp.55-101; Witz, A., 'Patriarchy and Professions: The Gendered Politics of Occupational Closure', *Sociology*, 24 (4) 1990, pp.675-690.

[97] Johnson, T.J., *Professions and Power.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1972).

[98] Macdonald, K.M., *The Sociology of the Professions.* (London: Sage, 1995), p.7.

utility and validity of the 'professional project' in other societies, especially those with a history of a dominant state that came late to industrialisation, such as Eastern Europe and parts of Asia and Russia, or that went through a Fascist period, like Spain, Italy and Japan.[99]

In Greece's case, A. Yagou has argued that a diachronic impediment to the development and legitimisation of design has existed since the establishment of the modern Greek state in the early nineteenth century.[100] According to the author, this hindrance was characterised by unstable, fragmentary and inconclusive attempts to synchronise (Greek design) with the aspired Western model.

According to sociologist Andrew Abbott, 'professionalisation was a misleading concept, for it involved more the forms than the contents of professional life', concentrating on associations, licensure and codes of ethics.[101] He supported that 'professionalism has been the main way of institutionalizing expertise in industrialized countries', yet there are many alternatives.[102] For Abbott, 'interprofessional competition' and conflict are the central features of professional development.[103] Methodologically, this involves a focus on work, that is, on who does what to whom and how, rather than the organisational structures of the professions.[104]

This theory of 'action' rather than 'structure' is also endorsed by sociologist Keith Macdonald, who explored the degree to which different cultural contexts facilitate or deter the 'professional project': the part played by the state, the stratification order, patriarchy, and the role of knowledge as both the outcome of cognition and metaphor for behaviour.[105] Another useful study, and particularly true for the Greek case, is by the sociologist Magali Larson-Sarfatti on the importance of the link between individual aspirations and collective action and mobility.[106]

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[99] Ibid, pp.xii,95-96.
[100] Yagou, A., *Fragile Innovation: Episodes in Greek Design History.* (-: CreateSpace, 2011).
[101] Abbott, A., *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor.* (Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.1-2.
[102] Ibid, p.323.
[103] Ibid, pp.2,18.
[104] Ibid, pp.1,19; Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*, p.xiii.
[105] Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*, p.6.
[106] Larson-Sarfatti, M., *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis.* (London: University of California Press, 1977), pp.66-74.

The following section considers the ways in which graphic design in Greece responded to the formal traits of professionalisation, and examines how the field, its representatives, as well as the state, and more generally, the cultural conditions of Greek society, addressed the professional project, particularly the organisation of the first professional associations and the foundation of design schools. It also examines their power and the extent to which they responded to the professionalisation of Greek graphic design, and in consequence formulated its character.

a. Setting the rules

Professional bodies are expected to define, promote, oversee, support and regulate the practice of their members and enhance their status. It is within the professionalisation process that the norms of conduct and qualification of members of a profession are established. Within this process, it is insisted that members of a profession achieve 'conformity to the norm', and abide more or less strictly with established procedures and any agreed code of conduct.[107] Thus, it is thought that professional associations play a significant role in legitimating change.[108]

In Greece, the first post-war attempt to create a professional organisation, the Union of Painters–Advertisers (UPA, founded in 1956), was based on the following rationale.[109]

> The objectives of the new union are, on the one hand, the improvement of the aesthetic and technical quality of artistic advertising, and on the other hand, the recognition and the financial security of the artists who work in advertising.[110]

Eliopoulos, who was part of this project and particularly concerned with the unpredictable situation regarding pensions for graphic designers, claimed that 'it was

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[107] Hetcher, S., *Norms in a Wired World*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[108] Greenwood, R., Suddaby, Roy, Hinings, C. R., 'Theorizing Change: The Role of Professional Associations in the Transformation of Institutionalized Fields', *The Academy of Management Journal*, 45 (1) February 2002, pp.58-80.
[109] The principal members were distinguished artists, namely, D. Synodinos (president), S. Polenakis (vice-president), K. Kalogyrou (administration), K. Panourgia (treasurer), K. Eliopoulos / T. Bezerianou (consultants on the board). Names and titles as appear on the original document. K. Eliopoulos archive.
[110] This text is part of a one-page typewritten document in K. Eliopoulos archive.

set up with great enthusiasm, but we were confused, there was no tradition, anyway'.[111] Carabott also asserted the financial factor as a primary consideration.

> We were very much concerned that there were the IKA, the TEVE, etc.,
> and we didn't have anything. We were concerned by the fact that
> we were organising a group that would have no pension.[112]

UPA operated for nearly two years, during which time it co-existed with the PUA, which was a highly closed union of so-called 'advertisers' (directors or owners of advertising agencies with a background usually in law, economy or management), who tampered with entry requirement specifications for new members and often irrationally excluded new applicants.[113] Whether PUA obstructed the progress of UPA needs further investigation. However, there have been other instances in which interprofessional competition did affect the life of similar organisational initiatives.[114]

In Greece, among failed attempts to organise the design domain in the early 1960s was that of the Athens Design Centre (ADC, 1961-1963).[115] The ADC was a short-lived attempt to synchronise the design culture of Greece with that of the Western world, and to educate Greek industrialists, producers, designers and consumers. It was significantly modelled on the Design Centre in London, but despite high expectations ADC was unsuccessful due to a combination of internal and external interests.[116] It has been suggested that besides the private character of the Centre, which 'seriously reduced the chances of being accepted by those working for and representing the public sector', it threatened the status of the International Exhibition

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[111] I-KE-30/06/2006.

[112] I-FC-04/09/2004. IKA and TEVE are the major Greek social security organisations for the civil servant and commerce employment sectors respectively.

[113] Georgiadis, *An Advertising Man Remembers…*, pp.13-14.

[114] This was not particularly a Greek phenomenon. A state of rivalry and to achieving unity also existed for the formation of Architecture in Britain since the late 18th century, see Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*, pp.107-109,194-195.

[115] The ADC (*Kentro Viomichanikis Morfologias*) a purely private initiative by Themistoclis Varangis, a furniture/interior design student at Central Saint Martin's School of Art and Design and the Royal College of Art in the late 1940s to early 1950s. See Yagou, A., 'Unwanted Innovation. The Athens Design Centre (1961-1963)', *Journal of Design History*, 18 (3) Autumn 2005, pp.269-283. Also, Dimou, *Odos Galinis*, pp.73,75.

[116] Yagou, 'Unwanted Innovation. The Athens Design Centre (1961-1963)'.

of Thessaloniki, and also challenged the interests of the School of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens.[117]

A still-born initiative: the Hellenic Institute of Graphic Arts and Marketing (1964)

The period between 1964 and 1967 appears to have been fruitful for the organisation of the profession, complementing private initiatives in education and publishing of previous years. The second official professional organisation, the Hellenic Institute of Graphic Arts and Marketing (HIGAM), was founded in 1964 by the painter and editor L. Christakis and comprised 189 members (Ill.12a).[118] It set out to be a body that would confirm the principles by which the emerging profession should operate and develop.

> [HIGAM] is basically an assembly [*meletitirio*], which examines
> possibilities for improvement of the various printed material that is
> circulated without any commercial, personal or competitive objective.[119]

In relation to UPA, HIGAM demonstrated a widespread rationale, opting to adopt both a promotional and pedagogical role. It organised a conference in 1965 in Athens, which was extensively reported in the press, and two graphic art and typography exhibitions in the same city in 1965 and 1966.[120] It also published the first graphic design almanac (*Graphiki Techni*) and a newsletter (*Fori Epistulae*), and took up several initiatives, such as the portfolio series *Imprimatur Nihil Obstet* (Ill.12b/c).[121]

Fori Epistulae was a forum for addressing issues and reviewing design practices, and generally debating how the emerging profession should operate and develop. The subjects discussed among practitioners referred mainly to aesthetic issues, but also to

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[117] Also, in Dimou, *Odos Galinis*, p.77.

[118] A mathematical calculation written by hand on the last page of this list indicates (with a question mark) that 129 of them were simple members and 23 seem to represent the founding members (102 of which were male and 87 female). K. Eliopoulos archive. L. Christakis mailed the 4-page membership list to K. Eliopoulos (undated).

[119] A 2-page report, undated (between 1964 and 1965). K. Eliopoulos archive.

[120] The founder, L. Christakis, noted that this was a non-profit organisation, which in theory was still (at the time of our interview) in operation. I-LC-28/03/2007.

[121] See Appendix-C1/4, 01.

the casualness and appropriateness of printing.[122] Standardisation and organisation of the discipline were also put forward. Most significantly, ethical matters, such as intellectual property and copyright were addressed under the broader professional code of practice agenda, aimed at inaugurating a new age detached from old practices that deprived the professions of graphic design and advertising.[123] Ecological concerns were also present. Christakis was careful about the use of natural resources.

> From a graphic design perspective, I always sought unusual shapes,
> but I never threw away paper. When others had to throw away paper,
> because paper size was standard then, 58 by 86cm, I did strange foldings
> so as to save paper.[124]

The design identities of these initiatives were different to each other, yet all bore signs of the international influence of modern movements. The logo of HIGAM, a circle with a quarter displaced to the right, and black and red colours, clearly echo Suprematism, a Russian art movement of the mid-1910s founded by the painter Kasimir Malevich, which focused on fundamental geometric forms, in particular the square and the circle.

Likewise, the logotype of *Graphiki Techni*, as seen in a HIGAM letterhead (Ill.11b, 12a), denotes a Constructivist design approach, in which the bold, angular, sans-serif letters of the title are squeezed into a rectangle. Christakis' view of the profession as culturally and historically bound, as already seen from the cover of the first graphic arts exhibition he organised in 1965 (Ill.5b), can also be observed in the conceptualisation of the title of the portfolio series, *Imprimatur Nihil Obstet.* The latter

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[122] On the issue the following professionals were interviewed: Leukios Adoneutis (director of the advertising agency 'L.A.'); Yorgos Vakirtzis (graphic designer and painter, and artistic director of the advertising agency 'Gnome'); Michalis Vidakis (public relations consultant and director of 'Zinon' organisation); Kimon Eliopoulos (graphic designer and decorator, 'K.H Studio'); Dimitris Kakavelakis (public relations consultant of Lambrakis publishing); Lakis Liaskas (maquettiste); Assantour Bacharian (graphic designer, painter and director of the advertising agency 'ORA'); Kostas Nikologiannis and Lakis Stravoskiadis (maquetistes and directors of the advertising organisation 'studio chronos'); P. A. Padadakis (director of the advertising organisation 'Servis'); Evaggelos Terzopoulos (editor and director of *Gynaika* magazine). The transcription of the interviews is perhaps the first example of oral history for the field.
[123] Copyright concerns were also addressed in other fora and especially the advertising journal *DP*: Goufas, V., 'An Important Issue', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (38) February 1962, p.47. Views by professionals with respect to the issue were included in the newsletter.
[124] I-LC-28/03/2007.

heading in serif type was inspired by an eighteenth-century typographer's wood-stamp, meaning 'print without objection' (Ill.12c).[125]

This fusion of words from a dead language (Latin) (*Fori Epistulae, Imprimatur Nihil Obstet*) and modernist visual references is suggestive of the decision to wed, rather than divorce, the old and the new, the traditional and modern. Instead of turning their back to the past, as most modern movements of the 1930s heralded in their rationale, designers of HIGAM publications seemed to be inclusive in their attempts to design their identity, though, one could argue they remained ignorant or agnostic of the true value of the modern movement.

Considering Christakis' other design and art publications during the early 1960s and early 1970s, it appears that he was critical of the modern movement and its principles. Even though he did not oppose modernism generally, he argued in our interview that 'Modernism has definitely destroyed certain things'.[126] On modern art's influence on Greek artists, he wrote in 1972,

> Albeit sad, the issue of modern art arrived late in our country [...]
> primarily due to our adverse socio-economic circumstances [...]
> Thus, we can define two basic trends in the work of Greek artists
> in relation to modern art. In the first [trend], they deny it
> [modern art] in the name of 'Greekness', and in the other
> they adopt anything new to it [modern art] with no filtering [...] In
> this second view, there is the perception that the use of new
> material automatically ensures the modernisation of art
> without the reconstruction of our thinking.[127]

Among HIGAM's important propositions was the foundation of the Society of Graphic Designers (SGD) in 1965, about which very little is known.[128] The second initiative was the foundation of the Association of the Applied Arts (AAA, 1966), which may, in fact, have been the continuation of the SGD. The AAA's general administrator

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[125] I-LC-28/03/2007.
[126] I-LC-28/03/2007.
[127] In *Kouros* (9) January-June 1972.
[128] Founding members and temporary board committee members were A. Horovic, D. Synodinos, A. Theodoridis, G. Bardopoulos, L. Christakis, N. Fotinakis, G. Vakirtzis, V. Assimakis, A. Lazaridis, G. Svoronos, K. Eliopoulos, T. Hatzis, F. Galanos, and other, as noted in the newspapers: *Ta Nea* and *Express* on 14 October 1965. K. Eliopoulos archive.

was Christakis, with Alfonso Horovic (a painter–advertiser and owner of 'Gnome' advertising agency) acting as president, and Eliopoulos (a freelance graphic designer of 'KH Studio') as vice-president.[129]

The foundation of AAA received broad coverage by the press. More than 12 high-circulation newspapers and periodicals reported the event and the entrenchment of its official Memorandum/Statute in January and February 1966.[130] According to Eliopoulos, all texts were written by Christakis and distributed to the press. As one newspaper reported:

> The Association has artistic and professional character and will
> include all artists who work in the field of the graphic arts, the
> production of prints, the decoration of public spaces, as well as
> artists who produce advertisements.[131]

It was hoped that all 460 artists who worked in the field of the graphic arts would be gradually incorporated.[132] The entrance requirements for members appear to have been very broad without distinctions or classifications denoting 'artists' and their educational background, making AAA an all-inclusive professional body. Its objectives were specific and clear, reflecting the prescribed principles of a formal professional body. It aimed for,

> […] the organisation of seminars, exhibitions, exchange for the technical
> and intellectual advancement of its members, the establishment of
> a fair taxation, the entrenchment of the profession, the creation of
> terminology in the field, the foundation of an Insurance Fund, the
> consecration of royalties, the minimum daily salary, publication of a
> newsletter, protection from copying and stealing of foreign artistic
> creation, etc.[133]

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[129] Anon, 'The Statute of the Applied Arts', *Ethnos* 1 February 1966. Remaining founding members were M. Katzourakis (treasurer), T. Hatzis (public relations-nationally), F. Carabott (public relations-internationally), L. Stravoskiadis (event and studies coordinator), and G. Vakirtzis (market consultant).

[130] Some newspapers and periodicals include: *Ethnos*, *Kathimerini*, *Mesimvrini*, *Vradini*, *Ta Nea*, *Eleftheria*, *Apogevmatini*, *Naftemporiki*, *Ikonomikos Tachydromos*, *Avgi*, *Express*, *Dimokratiki Allagi*. K. Eliopoulos archive.

[131] Anon, 'An Association of the Applied Arts is Founded', *Oikonomikos Tachydromos* 3 February 1966.

[132] Anon, 'The Administration of the Association of the Applied Arts', *Vradini* 1 February 1966, Anon, 'The Applied Arts', *Kathimerini* 1 February 1966, Anon, 'Grafistas...'; 'Anon, 'The Association of the Applied Arts', *Apogevmatini* 3 February 1966; Anon, 'The Statute of the Applied Arts'.

[133] *Ta Nea*, 18 January 1966, also in *Express*, 19 January 1966. K. Eliopoulos archive.

Among its institutional roles, it was reported that 'the foundation of the AAA established in the Greek language a new term, *G r a f i s t a s* [graphic designer], for a profession that is quite old in Greece by now', presumably meaning the graphic arts.[134]

Despite the close affiliation to Western models of collective bodies that flourished abroad, the operation of HIGAM, SGD and AAA practically ended during the years of military dictatorship (1967-1974), primarily because they were ill represented. As Christakis reported,

> Besides three to four individuals, Stravoskiadis, Horovic,
> Valassakis, Bacharian, all the other members were still-born. They did
> not have any active participation. […] From forty-one founding members,
> we remained three, and then two during the Junta. [...] I wanted to do
> more but the Junta stopped me.[135]

Eliopoulos remembered the personal commitment of Christakis in the organisation of the profession, the numerous unsuccessful contacts with the state, and particularly comments on the lack of concern from other practitioners who doomed their efforts to be short-lived.[136] From a different perspective, graphic designer Agni Katzouraki (née Megareos, 1936) explained,

> [organising the profession] was something new. It was the beginning
> […] generally, many efforts [were made], but they were shipwrecked…
> there was no money.[137]

Besides the financial issues inhibiting the survival of such initiatives, what was particularly stressed was the indifference of the designers themselves to devoting time to building a coherent group able to stand up for its practice and rights, and possibly leave a substantial volume of documentation of their theoretical and practical concerns. This indifference towards collective effort was largely justified on the grounds of lack of time. On the question of whether it was a priority among designers to form a professional association, Eliopoulos replied,

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[134] Anon, 'Grafistas…', Original letter spacing is kept.
[135] I-LC-28/03/2007. Emmanouil, M., 'Leonidas Christakis (1928-2009). Part of the History of Graphic Arts', *+Design* (64) May-June 2009, pp.40-41.
[136] D-KE-22/12/2006.
[137] I-AK-22/03/2008.

> When you worked with your hands, the job consumed a lot of time. Back then
> the execution [of the design] took up most of the time. Then payment was
> little... these things [organising the profession] were a luxury.[138]

Hence, formal organisation, as a component of professionalisation, was seen as a superfluous and time-consuming commitment. Emerging professionals were not keen on investing in a collective activity while recognition by the state was still lacking. But without a unified group of practitioners, the discipline was vulnerable to being marginalised by the relatively well-established and organised fine arts sector.

In addition to time issues, the power of such initiatives was doubtful. Eliopoulos argued that trade unionism 'lacked any political power that could bring up changes'. He claimed that

> [...] to be able to claim social rights and have financial demands, you
> have to be able to exert pressure... unlike bakers, taxi drivers and
> lawyers, a strike by graphic designers would have no real
> impact [...] Nevertheless, the union trade activities, strikes and
> syndicalism stigmatised individuals with communism.[139]

Since the post-war period, especially, certain artists were suspected by those on the right as being an outlet for communist propaganda, and repression developed that had direct consequences for cultural and ideological life.[140] In the artistic context, censorship, or indeed self-censorship, directly discouraged and restrained political work.[141]

The close connection between politics and graphic design was also recorded in the context of GTO (Chapter 4). The appointment of a new person for supervising in-house advertising in (or after) 1963 (during a time of change in Greek politics) created a

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[138] I-KE-30/06/2006.
[139] I-KE-30/06/2006.
[140] According to Matthiopoulos, E.D., 'Ideology and Art Criticism in the Years 1949-1967: Helleno-centrism, Socialist Realism, Modernism', in *'1949-1967: The Explosive 20 years' Conference* (Athens, Greece: The Foundation of the Study of the Neo-hellenic Civilisation and General Education, 10-12 November 2000), pp.363-400, p.364.
[141] Ibid, p.365. The author noted that while foreign artists (such as Renato Guttuso and Pablo Picasso) participated in the international movement that supported a Greek leftist artist (N. Ampeloyannis) in the early 1950s, there is no such support from a Greek artist, not even an illegal engraving work, as was the case during the German occupation years. The editor and writers of the art journal *Epitheorisi tis Technis* were prosecuted in 1957 for the issue devoted to the Soviet Revolution (Matthiopoulos, 'Ideology and Art Criticism in the Years 1949-1967: Helleno-centrism, Socialist Realism, Modernism', p.365).

climate of disfavour surrounding the department.[142] Carabott, then design consultant at GTO, said that after this administration change,

> We froze. After that everything was somewhat alien. We didn't care.
> We, too, were afflicted with the syndrome of political disappointment.
> Because this was a result of nepotism and not of serious people who
> didn't act for their own interests.[143]

Similarly, Katzourakis recalls the reasoning behind his decision to leave his job at GTO as a design consultant.[144]

> When the Junta came, things changed a little, and we stopped... well,
> things just happened this way... I didn't, and I underline this, I didn't
> stop being at the GTO because I was in the [Junta] resistance. It was
> just that work stopped because people in there changed… there
> was no Synadinos and a few other people.[145]

Speaking of the identity of the professional graphic designer and the state, one needs to look at existing professional environments and their power structures. As mentioned earlier, the particular context of the graphic arts (as defined above) demonstrated signs of occupational monopolies and social closures in terms of accessing and developing new initiatives, and of threatening existing authorities or professional bodies similar to the ADC. As a consequence, the identity and recognition of the professional graphic designer by the state was an issue that demanded immediate action.

The interaction of graphic designer Dimitris Nikolaidis with the Greek tax office in 1969 is enlightening and worth quoting in full, and reflects the struggle of practitioners to define their professional activity outside their own realm without relying on concomitant practices. It also points to the lack of recognition of the profession by the official government, as seen in the absence of a distinct professional category for graphic designers.

> When we started our profession, we had to register at the Tax Office.

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[142] Due to lack of reference to verify this information in the *National Gazette* in the years 1962 and 1963, it is quoted here with reservations.
[143] I-FC-22/03/2008.
[144] Both designers' names were not included in the list of a committee's agenda meeting in 1967. See Appendix for C1/4, 04.
[145] I-MK-06/02/2004.

> Generally, we were called *maketistes* [maquettistes]. If you called
> yourself *grafistas*, they [the tax officers] were completely ignorant of
> the term, and this [was happening] in 1969… So, you identified
> yourself as *maquettistas*. Then they returned your tax form, and
> you saw [that you were put down as] *paketistas* [package-maker]…
> you were puzzled, not knowing what to say. When they got back
> to you and asked you, 'what is this '*maketistas*'? … 'Do you do maquettes,
> sign boards, … what is the thing you do?'. I replied, '*Zografizo* [I paint]'…
> and they replied, 'eh, then write down '*kallitechnis'* [artist]!' …
> Since then and until today, I am registered as 'artist', don't ask me why…[146]

In the case of Nikolaidis, the decision to describe his professional activity by the word 'paint', rather than a term closer to what he was actually doing – 'design' or 'drawing' (*sxediazo*) – was indicative of the overlap of the two disciplines (art and design), and awareness of the more recognised activity. In each case the absence of a trade union that could defend and delineate the borders of the new profession and provide it with official representation showed the relative power of more organised and recognised professions.

The above quote also demonstrates the dependency of the profession on state structure, and the importance of the role of the state in determining professionalisation. 'Protoprofessions', as in the case of France, tend to be ignored altogether, as activities unrecognised by the state seem unimportant.[147] Yet, relatively speaking, less organised professions have certain advantages in workplace competition.[148] Because they lack a clear status and definition, they are free to change roles, which partly explains their loose identity and overlapping titles. This plurality of positions, albeit antithetical to Western professionalisation, allowed practitioners the flexibility and freedom to exercise a wide range of graphic design, or general design, applications necessary for survival.

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[146] I-DN-26/09/2005.
[147] Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*, p.26.
[148] Ibid, p.83.

The HAAA: the modernising factor in advertising

The next professional body to enter the field was the Hellenic Association of Advertising Agencies (HAAA, 1968).[149] This represented a modernising force in Greek advertising in relation to the early-twentieth century PUA.[150] The foundation of a new advertising body in Greece in the late 1960s could be compared with the convention of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in autumn 1926, since both events symbolised the climax of increased advertising.[151]

Apart from its regulatory role, HAAA provided marketing advice to advertising agencies, since even as late as the 1960s marketing was minimal.[152] More important was its aim to secure economic and social advantages for its members, leading to greater mobility and higher status. This was achieved by a series of campaigns highlighting the role of advertising in the economy and society, and led to the establishment of a professional code of practice based on that of the International Advertising Association (Ill.13).

HAAA declared its pro-Greek colours, organising a campaign with the motto 'Trust Greek hands, trust yourself', similar to the *DP*'s pro-Greek campaign of the late 1950s.[153] Besides articles on the issue of Greekness, translations of Marshal MacLuhan's articles, and other theoretical texts on advertising and communication appeared in the journal's pages, inaugurating a scientific age in Greek advertising.[154] Also, in the early 1970s, HAAA founded a School of Advertising together with the

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[149] HAAA (or EDEE) started operating in 1966/7, but according to the Memorandum of HAAA, the official foundation date is on 24/10/1968, HAAA's Archive. HAAA is today a prestigious professional body for Greek advertisers and advertising agencies.

[150] Georgiadis, *An Advertising Man Remembers…*, pp.13-15.

[151] Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, p.8. Greek advertising expenditure quadrupled between 1960 and 1964, as reported in 'Mesimvrini Business' and quoted in ADEL's (advertising agency) in-house publication, no. 2, 6 February 1967.

[152] Anon, 'Advertising Time', *Letter from EDEE*, 1 (1) April 1967.

[153] Anon, 'Buy Greek!'; Anon, 'A Long-Standing Effort. Promotion of Greek Products. EDEE's Contribution', *Advertising,* 1 October 1972.

[154] As can be seen from the well-argued article by Mandros, S., 'Advertising with Greekness', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (91) January-February 1969, pp.36-38. Mandros also translated the theories of Marshal McLuhan, as written by the latter's student: Nevitt, B., 'Communication Problem with People through the Media-The Theory of McLuhan', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (99) March-April 1970, pp.34-38.

Hellenic Production Centre.[155] This two-year course included both theoretical and practical modules, which were intended to reflect on 'all' the issues of 'modern advertising'. Its opening was scheduled for the following November, and lasted for just a few years.

The consecutive failures of initiatives in the field are perhaps characteristic of Greece. All private initiatives until now were ill-fated, demonstrating resistance to building a collective consciousness and professional profile, as developed by cultural centres, institutes and professional associations abroad. One sector that did develop successfully was education, as will be examined below.

b. Graphic design education

According to theories of modernisation, which were imported to many developing countries from the West after the Second World War, two factors were thought essential for economic and social progress: technology and technical education.[156] Even though more and more Greek printing houses were equipped with the most advanced equipment during the 1950s, technological advancement did not go hand in hand with training, as there were no technical schools to teach the 'art of typesetting'.[157]

The need for formal technical education was extensively reported in the press from the 1950s.[158] As late as the early 1970s, it was noted that apprenticeship in printing houses no longer provided an adequate training system.[159] Specialised training

[155] Anon, 'The First Official Greek Advertising School. Cooperation of EDEE and ELKEPA', *Advertising*, 1 October 1972.

[156] For contemporary sources, see Black, C.E., *The Dynamics of Modernization.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967[1966]); Weiner, M., ed., *Modernization. The Dynamics of Growth* (New York: Basic Books, 1966). Influential for the distinction between modern and traditional societies has been Talcott Parsons' theory. See Parsons, T., Shils, Edward, Naegele, Kaspar D., Pitts, Jesse R., ed., *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory* (NY: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

[157] As noted in Tziropoulos, K., 'Typography and Chromotypography', *Dimosiotis kai Provoli* (17) May 1960, pp.25-26; Chrysochoidis, K., 'Graphic Art in Greece. Linotype in Greece', *Dimosiotis kai Provoli* (16) April 1960, pp.13-16, 23-25.

[158] Between 1958 and 1980, more than 60 articles have been published in *Typographia* on the lack of a public school of graphic arts and the urgency of its existence, see for instance: Typographia, 'A School for Typographers is Needed', *Typographia*, 1 (4) 5 August 1958, pp.1, 2; Typographia, 'We Think it is About Time for a School of Graphic Arts', *Typographia*, 19 (376) 1 January 1976, pp.3, 4.

[159] Matsoukis, A., 'Graphic Arts in 1972', *Chroniko* (3) September 1971-August 1972, pp.130-131.

was thought essential to keep up with the rapid progress of machinery, and to sustain modernisation of the profession.[160]

Another concern was related to the creative aspect of the discipline. By 1960 it was thought that more graphic designers were needed.[161] At a time when painters were still the primary image makers in the graphic arts, the call for a new kind of professional, and in greater numbers, was novel and possibly radical, if not also a threat to the status quo. In 1960 the trained graphic designer became differentiated from the painter, who might not 'be a good advertiser, no matter how great a painter he/she was' because of the technical and professional nature of the work, including marketing and public relations, which addressed a general rather than an elite audience and was less preoccupied with personal style.[162]

Making space: the art education establishment, technical training and the new design schools in the late 1950s

At state level, and despite growing awareness among Greek governments in the 1950s and '60s of the need for technical education (as evidenced by education reforms in 1959, 1964 and 1976), it has been argued that none of the initiatives succeeded in producing a foundation for technical education.[163] Initial enthusiasm for reforming technical education, which loosely included design, was not followed through.[164] This was due, firstly, to the poor industrial infrastructure of the country, which could not absorb large numbers of specialised technicians, and, secondly, to the inferior perception of technical schools in the minds of Greek people, who saw them as teaching manual

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[160] As noted in Tziropoulos, 'Typography and Chromotypography'. Moreover, it was stated that the reluctance of the older printers to pass on their experience and knowledge to the younger, fearing competition, slowed down the progress, Chrysochoidis, 'Graphic Art in Greece. Linotype in Greece', p.23.
[161] Eliopoulou, 'Are Graphic Arts an Industry?'.
[162] A similar request was observed in the Swedish case mentioned in the beginning of this chapter.
[163] Provata, A.K., *Ideology, Political Parties and Education Reform, 1950-1965.* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2002); Panagiotopoulou, I., *The Geography of Educational Distinctions.* (Athens: Odysseas, 1993).
[164] For the undetermined typology of technical and vocational education until the 1980s, see Pesmatzoglou, S., *Education and Development in Greece, 1948-1985.* (Athens: Themelio, 1999), pp.42-44,247-250,254-259.

rather than intellectual labour.[165] It was generally accepted that technical education in Greece was not appropriate for the dominant cultural trend, which valued classical or humanistic education over other forms.[166] For a large portion of the Greek population, including the ruling (conservative) class, it was only through classical-humanistic education that Helleno-Christian ideals could be nurtured.[167]

Historically, technical education emerged in the late nineteenth century as a consequence of the rise of industry. But it was in the interwar period when industrialisation really took off, that technical education, confined to a few commercial and naval schools, became connected to the economic development of the country and signalled a period of 'proto-professionalisation'.[168] As Yagou noted, design-related professions in the interwar years constituted a 'third space' in education, but remained unrepresented on the upper levels of the education system.[169]

The contribution of the new design schools is still poorly documented. Secondary literature on 'technical' and 'vocational' education refers primarily to training in building, agriculture, commercial or passenger shipping, services and tourism, from a sociological, economic and ideological perspective.[170] Little has been written about technical and artistic education, and very little, if anything, about design education.[171]

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[165] See Angelakis, A., 'Technical Education in Greece: Sivitanidios School of Arts and Professions during the Inter-War period' (MA Dissertation, National University of Athens / National Technical University of Athens, March 2004).

[166] Provata, *Ideology, Political Parties and Education Reform, 1950-1965*, pp.172-173.

[167] Ibid, p.140. Even though, influential figures in education projected a critique on 'humanism', and expressed the view that technical education is not humiliating. See Dimaras, A.K., Papanoutsos, Ev., 'What to Study', *Tachydromos* 1 September 1962, p.17. See also, Papanoutsos, E.P., *Struggles and Agony for Education.* (Athens: Ikaros, 1965).

[168] Yagou, 'First Steps: Early Design Education and Professionalization in Greece'.

[169] Ibid, p.149.

[170] Dimaras, A., *The Reform that Did Not Happen: Records of History.* (Athens: Ermis, 1973); Eliou, M., *Educational and Social Dynamic.* (Athens: Poria, 1990 [1984, 1988]); Pesmatzoglou, *Education and Development in Greece, 1948-1985*; Tsoucalas, C., *Dependence and Reproduction. The Social Role of the Educational Mechanisms in Greece, 1830-1922.* (Athens: Themelio, 1992); Kyprianos, P., *A Comparative History of Greek Education.* (Athens: Vivliorama, 2004); Fragoudaki, A., *Educational Reform and Liberal Intellectuals.* (Athens: Kedros, 2000). These writings testify to the failure of the numerous education reforms that took place in the previous years.

[171] For technical education see: Angelakis, 'Technical Education in Greece: Sivitanidios School of Arts and Professions during the Inter-War period', Panagiotopoulou, I., *The Geography of the Educational Differentiations. The Middle Vocational Education in Postwar Greece.* (Athens: Odysseas, 1993), Provata, *Ideology, Political Parties and Education Reform, 1950-1965.* For artistic education, see Mertyri, *Artistic Education of Young People in Greece, 1836-1945.* In addition, those readings that refer to artistic or technical education are lacking evidence of the actual artwork performed by the students.

Most recent literature is limited to educational institutions at higher or university level after the formation of the Greek state in the early nineteenth century.[172]

In the post-war era of rapid economic growth, private initiatives filled the gap in design education provision to meet the increasing need for specialisation in the creative industries, exceeding state initiatives.[173] According to one account, by 1972 there were eight private design schools offering courses in the applied arts, including graphic design.[174] Amongst the earliest were ATI (1958) and the Vakalo School of Art and Design (1958), which sprung from the graphic art workshop of ASFA.[175]

With the exception of these two schools, which were considered the most respectable and prestigious educational institutions in art and design at the time,[176] critiques of private schools focused primarily on confused programmes of study and the lack of specialised faculty.[177] It was often maintained that these design schools produced merely 'aesthetes' and 'sciolists' rather than technicians.[178] Once again, private initiative took over in 1970 and founded the first two schools for technicians in the graphic arts.[179]

Until 1977, when the first state school of graphic design was founded, private design schools co-existed and, to a certain degree, competed with ASFA, which was

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[172] National Technical University of Athens (NTUA, 1836), University of Athens (1837), Pantion University (1927).

[173] See Typographia, 'On the Foundation of the School of Typography', *Typographia*, 8 (147) 10 April 1965, pp.1,16; Typographia, 'The School of Typography', *Typographia*, 8 (157) 10 September 1965, p.1. In later years, the hope is reflected in a number of articles: Voutsadopoulos, M., Maglos, Dim., 'The Foundation of the School of Typography Seems Doable', *Typographia*, 8 (167) 28 February 1966, pp.1,6, and Typographia, 'It Seems Doable the Foundation of the School of Typography. Full Recorded Proceedings', *Typographia*, 8 (170) 6 April 1966, pp.1,4,6,8.

[174] Vithynos, *Graphic Arts: A Different Way of Education. An Overview of the Problem of the Graphic Arts and Graphic Design in Our Country*, p.160, quoting the National Statistical Yearbook of 1972.

[175] See Appendix-C1/4, 02a/b.

[176] As informed by all of my interviewees.

[177] Referring to the diverse programmes of study of the public and private Schools of Decoration, he noted: 'Confusion is a trait also for the sector of Decoration, in both the concept and content'. Vithynos, *Graphic Arts: A Different Way of Education. An Overview of the Problem of the Graphic Arts and Graphic Design in Our Country*, p.113.

[178] As noted in Gravvalos, P., 'The Level of the Graphic Arts. Developments and Delays', *Chroniko* (2) September 1970-August 1971, pp.170-173, p.172.

[179] These private technical schools in Athens were the Centre for Lithographic Studies (established in 1970) and the School for Monotype. Typographia, 'The Centre for Lithographic Studies is Launched', *Typographia*, 12 (259) 15 June 1970, p.1. An advert of the Centre's first year of operation appeared on issue 262, 31 July 1970, p.10. The foundation of the first public school followed in 1973 by the Greek Organisation for Employment. Typographia, 'The Instructions of the Labour Organisation. Responsibilities-Rights of the Students-Technicians', *Typographia*, 16 (320) 25 March 1973, pp.1,12.

originally part of the National Technical University of Athens founded in 1836.[180] The latter also played a vital role in obtaining an educational monopoly over private initiatives.[181] Thereafter, issues of professional and institutional hierarchy started to emerge in Greek literature. In 1982, the editor and architect Orestis Doumanis (1929) confirmed conceptions of Greek public and private education, by saying,

> In a country with no tradition in the graphic arts, private
> schools understandably attracted young people, who could not get
> into the more prestigious schools of higher education.[182]

An early ATI graduate (1959-1962), Vouvoula Skoura, noted that the profession of graphic design was considered a 'second-class' professional activity in Greece, of which professionals were not particularly proud.[183] Becoming an advertiser was not high on the list of young people's choices, who preferred a more prestigious profession, such as medicine, academia and law.[184] This low status, according to Skoura, was largely due to the fact that the discipline was not recognised by the prestigious, university-level ASFA.[185]

The differing entry requirements for public and private art and design education, as explained by another ATI graduate, Nikolaidis, were largely the result of quality control aimed at securing an 'occupational monopoly'.[186]

> Only talented illustrators entered the School of Fine Arts [...] in
> the private school, the not-so-good illustration was accepted, ... we
> didn't have the strict [criteria] ... [it was the conception] that we need
> not be good illustrators, because we will become *grafistes*.[187]

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[180] For a detailed analysis of the advent of artistic education and the ASFA, see Mertyri, *Artistic Education of Young People in Greece, 1836-1945*.

[181] 'No monopoly can be obtained and guaranteed in a modern society [...] without the active cooperation of the State - or at least, a very benign neglect', Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*. p.xii.

[182] Doumanis, M.O., 'Greece' in *Who's Who in Graphic Art*, Vol.2, ed. by Walter Amstutz (Dübendorf, Switzerland: De Clivo, 1982), pp.433-441, p.433.

[183] From her talk 'From Graphic Design to Video Art', on 17 October 2006 at the Vakalo School of Art and Design, Athens, Greece, and ID-VS-17/10/2006.

[184] See also Emmanouil, '*At Last Now in Greece!* Greek Advertising and America in the 1950s and 1960s', pp.29-30,32.

[185] I-VS-28/10/2006, ID-VS-17/10/2006.

[186] Valtonen, A., 'Strategies for Surviving in a Changing Environment. The History of Industrial Design Education in Finland', in *Wonderground, Design Research Society International Conference* (Lisbon, Portugal, 1-4 November 2006).

[187] I-DN-26/09/2005.

Acknowledgement of the status of private design education in relation to public education provision can also be seen in Papanoutsos' suggestion for the level of education proposed for the School of Decorative Arts at ATI.

> I suggest to establish a School of Decorative Arts, not of a high level,
> equivalent to the Higher School of Fine Arts, perhaps a bit lower than
> that, equivalent to the German KUNSTGEWERBESCHULEN.[188]

Antagonistic relations between representatives of the fine and applied art sectors were stressed in a *Zygos* article in 1966. On the occasion of a conference on Greek artists at ATI, the author reported the hostility to the applied sector expressed by some representatives of the Fine Arts Chamber, who complained of 'thirty-year-old ideas' and a 'sterile artistic literalism'.[189] The author suggested that artists should 'sanction the applied arts with love', and include them in their professional activities. In practice, the Fine Arts Chamber did not include a separate branch for the graphic arts,[190] demonstrating the concept of 'social closure' by which a professional group seeks to protect and improve its socio-economic situation by restricting access to resources and privileges.[191] It was argued that professionals who received the highest status from their peers were those who worked in purely professional environments.[192] In this way, new professionals in graphic design faced a struggle to become recognised or accepted as equals.

Contemporary attitudes to private design education varied. On the one hand, the 'small but important contribution of the private initiative on design education' was acknowledged.[193] On the other hand, it was thought that this created aesthetes concerned with the visual, and not technicians, and that it was merely a financial

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[188] C.A. Doxiadis Archive-19665, S-EATI-41. Three-page report with the title: 'New educational activities of the A.T.I.' was signed by E.Papanoutsos on 02/06/1959.
[189] Anon, 'The Applied Arts', p.10. Their general comments on urbanisation and the adoption of new lifestyles, the author noted, dealt with only superficially, as they argued that this was a consequence of young people's copying from foreign periodicals.
[190] As noted in *Ta Nea*, 14 October 1964. K. Eliopoulos archive.
[191] Valtonen, 'Strategies for Surviving in a Changing Environment. The History of Industrial Design Education in Finland'.
[192] Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*, p.118.
[193] Gravvalos, 'The Level of the Graphic Arts. Developments and Delays', pp.170-173. The author had taught at the ATI.

enterprise designed to exploit the growing student market.[194] Despite this, such initiatives introduced to the market a new category of professional graphic designers, who had to find space for themselves among typographers and fully-fledged, respected artists and ASFA graduates – the main creators of graphic design thus far.

i. The legacy of the Athens Technological Institute, 1958–76

The Athens Technological Institute (ATI) was considered the most prestigious private design educational initiative in post-war Athens, founded by the architect Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975) (Ill.14a).[195] ATI's popularity and high status were primarily achieved by the founder's local and international reputation as a successful architect and influential individual, hence his initiative was also referred to as the 'Doxiadis College'. The statistics for student attendance verify the school's increasing popularity across the years (Ill.14b).

ATI was directed by an influential educator and philosopher, E. Papanoutsos,[196] and the board of trustees included a number of distinguished individuals from the economic, industrial and cultural sectors of Greek society, as listed in a school leaflet of c.1968 (Ill.14c). The appointment of distinguished art and design professionals as teachers in the School of Decoration was also responsible for its popularity and reputation, while the strict entry examination and high tuition fees ensured that students came from relatively well-to-do families. Yet middle- and lower-class students also studied at ATI in the afternoon while working in the morning, or with the aid of school scholarships.[197]

The school was housed in a complex known as the Athens Technological Organisation (ATO), a non-profit organisation whose director was C. Doxiadis, and which included the latter's architecture company (Doxiadis Associates). Along with

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[194] Informal discussion with K. Eliopoulos.
[195] See Appendix for C1/4, 03a for a brief biography. For a recent biographical reference see, Kyrtsis, A.-A., ed., *Constantinos A. Doxiadis. Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements* (Athens: Ikaros, 2006).
[196] See Appendix-C1/4, 03b.
[197] The social class differentiation among students was mentioned by D. Nikolaidis. I-DN-26/09/2005.

other important buildings in Athens, such as the National Research Foundation (1968) and the Hellenic-American Union (1957), ATO was designed by its founder. An important architectural landmark in Athens, the building also represented a concerted effort to introduce 1930s architectural functionalism and the International Style to Greece.[198]

Located in an upper-class area on the Lycabettus Hill facing the Acropolis, the building demonstrated some of the key principles of modernist architecture based on simple, unornamented architectural elements, an open-space philosophy and bioclimatic design.[199] The physical presence of the building also embodied the prestige that was so essential to the advancement of the graphic designer's profession. In its volume and style, the building and its architectural details have been a point of reference for my interviewees, and an inspiration for ATI students. Indeed, certain architectural parts were used as sources of visual experimentation for the exhibition catalogue cover designed by a student at the School of Decoration in 1972 (Ill.14d).

Influenced by the curricula of foreign schools, such as the École des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, the founders of ATI, within which the Graphic Arts Workshop operated from 1959, prescribed the term 'decorator' as official title for the graphic designer. As an umbrella term, the professional decorator was,

> […] a technician as well an artist. He is the one, who knows with his
> taste and skill, how to mark with elegance, with an aesthetic character,
> various expressions of social life. Graduates would be theoretically
> trained technicians capable of various decorative works (signs,
> shop-window displays, stage works, furnishings, advertisements, etc.[200]

Looking at gender, female participation in the School of Decoration was particularly welcome, as seen through the school's promotion in the established women's magazine *Gynaika*.[201] In the course description it was also noted that 'girls

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[198] Kyrtsis, ed., *Constantinos A. Doxiadis. Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*, pp.424-428.
[199] Ibid, p.426.
[200] C.A. Doxiadis Archive-17616, 19665, S-EATI-41. Three-page report: 'New educational activities of the A.T.I.' by E. Papanoutsos on 02/06/1959.
[201] Ioannou, O., 'They Make Our Life Beautiful', *Gynaika*, 28 August 1968, pp.35-39. Also, there were some articles promoting the discipline as a female territory with promising development, Anon, 'Girls' Steps', *Gynaika*, 24 April 1968, p.88.

have special aptitude for this profession'.[202] Considering that certain professions were considered more suitable for women, such as the fine arts, which comprised their next most popular academic choice after philology and theology,[203] this represented merely a share of women's professional preferences.[204] But in view of negative social attitudes towards female employment, and of the low representation of women in technical and university-level education, promoting the profession of 'decorator' to women was to some extent novel and against certain social stereotypes. However, at times, the view that decoration was a suitable career for girls was also used to discredit it as a mere hobby, or less serious professional occupation.[205]

The change in male–female student relations can be seen in two photographs taken less than ten years apart for the school's prospectus. From a formal arrangement, with girls sitting at the front and boys at the back, a more casual relationship was now illustrated, in which boys and girls mixed together in a relaxed and friendly setting (Ill.15a/b).

Design practices taught at the Graphic Arts Workshop, which ran for 17 years (1959–76), responded to broader commercial needs than strictly book printing, regularly referred to as the 'graphic arts'. Although, engraving was part of student training taught by distinguished engravers such as Aghynor Asteriadis and Tassos (Tassos Alevizos, who was also director of the School of Decoration in the early years),[206] engraving was not the main or only practice of the Graphic Arts Workshop.[207] Courses in graphic arts prepared students for a range of design practices that could be applied to wider contemporary commercial applications, such as leaflets, advertisements and other forms of promotion for non book-related products and services.

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[202] C.A. Doxiadis Archives, 17616.

[203] Science (mechanical engineering) remained strongly a male territory, as noted in statistical data from 1969 to 1976: Eliou, M., *Educational and Social Dynamic*. (Athens: Poria, 1990[1984]), p.98.

[204] Anon, 'The Applied Arts', p.10.

[205] Employment for women was projected as 'negative' and 'unnatural', and working women were presented as the result of 'financial misery': Eliou, *Educational and Social Dynamic*, pp.96-97. Women who studied in technical education and in the university-level education were the minority. Still in 1975-6, girls represented the 13.1% of the total student figure who studied in technical and vocational schools, and 37.4% in university level education.

[206] Orati, I., *A. Tassos: Engraving, 1932-1985*. (Athens: Melissa, 1998).

[207] See Appendix-C1/4, 02a.

Even though the sixteenth-century visual references of typographers featured on the covers of school leaflets, as seen previously (Ill.6), the shift to a more design-oriented and contemporary approach, in keeping with international trends, was also observed. In particular, the influence of Bauhaus teaching principles was noted in the mid-1960s in an interview given by the painter Dimitris Mytaras (1934), then director of the School of Decoration at ATI (Ill.15c).

For instance, the works of Efi Vazirgiantziki, a student at ATI in the mid 1960s, share many traits of contemporary modern Swiss-style advertising of the 1950s, such as photographs, close-up views of objects, effective use of white space and text justified on a grid system (Ill.16a/b). A promotion for 'Maggioros' home store shows a simple but sophisticated typographic and visual layout, in which a series of photographed products (four kitchen spray cans, possibly imported) are seen through the holes of a string shopping bag.

Instead of photographing the products in the bag, the designer has made use of the complex but creative technique of photomontage. Superimposing two sets of objects (spray cans and bag) creates the illusion that the merchandise is inside the bag. In addition, the connection between the store and range of brands on sale is made further explicit by the slit at the bottom part of the bag, which in turn is attached to the heading 'home-stuff' in capital letters above the store's name. Experimentation with tools, materials and media beyond conventional ones was encouraged, as Yannis Koutsouris (1944) recalled.[208] The use of sandpaper instead of paper gave a different quality to the design for *Homer's Odyssey* he had done for his coursework (Ill.17a/b/c). Moreover, teacher flexibility and acceptance of innovation was also noted. Nikolaidis remembered an occasion when teachers made students listen to some electronic music and then design the LP cover, an example of which can be seen in E. Vazirgiantziki's personal archive (Ill.18).

> When I heard it, I was shocked. I threw colours on the paper and
> glued some screws, and wrote [on it] 'electronic music'... when Tassos

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[208] I-YK-28/01/2006.

> saw it, he said: What is this?. [I replied:] It is the vandalism of music...
> this is how I perceive it. I received a good grade.[209]

Several issues concerning the running of the school, and its relation to the professional environment, require further investigation, including teachers' qualifications in painting and engraving rather than graphic design. As Nikolaidis noted, 'I believe we didn't have a good structure. There was a nice home, Doxiadis School, but I rebuilt the foundations outside in the workplace'.[210] This was not, of course, the only complaint about design education in Greece or abroad at the time.

Incompatibility between school training and work requirements was also expressed by Carabott, when referring to his studies in London at one of the most recognised schools of art and design (Central School of Arts and Crafts, today the Central Saint Martins). He claimed that what he was not taught in London he later learnt in the Leousis advertising agency in Athens, where he first worked on returning to Greece in the early 1950s. He referred in particular to the

> [...] printings, cliché, typography, lithography, practical things, [...]
> how you would follow up a printing of a maquette that you designed
> for a client.[211]

On a similar note, it has also been argued that the theoretical model of the Ulm School of Design (Hochschule für Gestaltung, 1953) in Germany caused certain strains. Heiner Jacob, a student in the Communication department, claimed that inflexibility in adjusting its philosophy to the real world was a key reason for the school's closure in 1968.[212] These cases indicate the challenging and ever-changing relationship that persisted between design education (theory) and real job requirements (practice), and the general ambiguities of design education.

By 1976 ATI ran nine schools, including the School of Accountants, the School of Automotive Assistant Engineers, the School of Tourism and the School of Computing. ATI closed down in 1976 a year after Doxiadis passed away, after a long illness. It is

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[209] I-DN-26/09/2005.
[210] I-DN-26/09/2005.
[211] I-FC-22/03/2008.
[212] Jacob, H., 'HfG: A Personal View of an Experiment in Democracy and Design Education', *Journal of Design History*, 1 (3-4) 1988, pp.221-234.

assumed that its closure was caused by the general climate of unrest among students agitating for free education, as was the case in other parts of the world at that time and earlier.

Retrospectively, Carabott, who was teaching on the Graphic Arts course at Omiros School during 1968-1971, noted that 'Doxiadis' school was the most serious and orthodox [*orthodoxo*] school of its time'.[213] For Vlassis Vellios, an early ATI graduate (1959-1962) and later founder of AKTO (a private art and design school, 1971-today), 'the experiment of Doxiadis has been the model of an artistic school'.[214] This brief description, however, cannot be a final or fair assessment of the contribution of ATI to graphic design education in Greece.

In any case, ATI stood out as an institution that enabled new professionals, whether 'decorators', 'graphic artists' or 'graphic designers', to become independent of the previous makers of graphic design drawn from apprenticeships in printing shops or the fine arts, and thus achieved one of the key goals of professionalisation: monopolising the knowledge base.[215] Lastly, by its high status and reputation in both form and content, the school carried with it a certain social cachet, which raised the standing of the infant profession as a whole in the eyes of the community and beyond.[216]

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[213] I-FC-04/09/2004.
[214] AKTO Guide for Studies, 'A historical retrospective', 2000-2001, p.8.
[215] Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*, p.189.
[216] Ibid, p.188.

1.3 Conclusion: What kind of professionalisation?

Though several initiatives were taken in order to establish an international model of design practice and achieve a degree of formal professionalism as defined in the West, these largely failed in Greece, casting doubt on the validity of the professional project. In particular, the proto-professionalisation phase of design in interwar Greece seemed to persist in the post-war period. In the particular discipline of the graphic arts, the debate concentrated on the clash between the conflicting principles of art on the one hand, and the market on the other, which the emerging profession was now supposed to serve with its new expanded role in society and economy.

In terms of professional organisation, until 1968, lack of interest and time among professionals as a collective group severely limited the possibility of creating a unified body able to defend its practices and rights, or define its responsibilities. The plethora of unions and associations that co-existed, old and new, seemed to work against a homogeneous or stable professional environment. Without a stable, permanent body that could connect all in the profession, graphic design faced serious restraints and boundaries for formal recognition.

In terms of discourse, although there was increasing awareness that the graphic arts no longer related merely to book-publishing but also to other design applications, a redefinition of the profession was not on the agenda of either institutions (associations, design schools) or individual writers. The traditional term *graphikes technes* was used throughout the period to emphasize the 'artistic' quality of the profession, a point of view that still pervaded certain European literature at the time.

A sector, however, that accorded with the Western model of professionalisation of graphic design was design education. The foundation of educational institutions like ATI, which were supported by influential and prestigious figures in education, economy and culture, legitimised the profession's claim to hold a monopolistic position, and aided the establishment of a new category of professionals.

My research has showed that in Greece Western-type professionalisation was more a desideratum than a reality. By lacking the basics of a national policy, professional organisation, or clear definition of the discipline, Greek graphic design appears incompatible with the Western paradigm. As to whether Greek graphic design was professionalised, the answer would simply be 'no'. As a consequence, issues of standardisation, consistency and ethical practice, such as respecting international copyright laws, were lacking or ignored, as can be easily detected in the visual output. However, to address this struggle to modernise graphic design production is to implicitly accept the premise of professionalisation.

Similarly, if we accept that professionalisation did not materialise in Greek graphic design, this could lead to the conclusion that modernisation was either doubtful or hampered. However, from a local standpoint, professionalisation took place in covert ways, predominantly in private hands and within the functions of the workplace: negotiating with clients to invest in creative thinking; workers interacting with the public at exhibitions and competitions to raise awareness of design's role and status; exchanging ideas in private lectures and conferences; and electing juries for the design community. Even though these practices are unknown to the historical record, and may appear trivial or commonsense to a Western mind, they constituted a new backdrop in which modern Greek graphic design was actively negotiated and developed.

Chapter 2

The making of post-war Greece and 'modern' graphic design

2.1 From political propaganda to urban advertising

The tragic and intense atmosphere of the war years from 1940 to 1949 was reflected in Greece in its dramatic graphic art production. This comprised mainly official, but also underground, resistance propaganda. Early official propaganda commissioned during the premiership of dictator Ioannis Metaxas (1871-1941) was created not by advertisers (as in the case of America during the First World War),[1] but by fine art students supervised by Kefallinos, and professional artists, who received high credit. During the Axis occupation, illustration rather than photography prevailed.

As in international war propaganda, heroism and patriotism were the primary ideological tools for instilling zeal, endurance and courage over adversity. Often Greek soldiers were portrayed in war posters wearing the uniform of the *Evzonoi*, a contemporaneous elite unit of the Greek Army, which nowadays has a ceremonial function (Ill.1/2a).[2] Celebrated historical mottos were employed to inspire bravery and national unity, and their position on the page often gave the narrative equal strength with visual design. This sort of historical reference was also found in commercial advertising in the following decades, where it was used to evoke national identity and a

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[1] Marchand, R., *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940.* (London: University of California Press, 1985), p.8.
[2] Occasionally influenced by First World War French posters, as noted in Karachristos, S., ed., *Greek Posters* (Athens: Kedros, 2003), see poster 34, p.40.

sense of Greekness (Ill.2b). The advertising journal *DP*, in particular, encouraged such imagery for the promotion of Greek products against 'foreign-looking' advertising.[3]

In contrast to these colourful and expensively produced posters printed by big printing houses, resistance propaganda by underground groups of a leftist-communist ideological background, namely the *Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo* (EAM) ('National Liberation Front'), and its army, the *Ethnikos Laikos Apelefherotikos Stratos* (ELAS) ('National Peoples' Liberation Army'), used a more basic pictorial language.

Usually single colour and small in size, the groups' posters were produced manually by students and professional artists,[4] some of whom were members of the artists' EAM.[5] They used dynamic and often aggressive imagery of contemporary guerilla fighters, but also of everyday people fighting for the liberation of the country, either against occupation forces during the Second World War, or later during the Greek Civil War (Ill.3a/b). The tradition of using woodcut as a metaphor for direct political struggle goes back to at least the late nineteenth century. More recently, as a powerful art form produced with inexpensive tools, the woodcut took on a militant character to promote the cause of the communist revolution in China.[6]

In the meantime, Greece's desperate call for international help for post-war reconstruction was transmitted immediately after the end of the occupation in 1944 through radio broadcasting, as well as through graphic means such as charts, maps and diagrams, which were presented by Doxiadis at several international fairs and events (Ill.4a).[7] This data was compiled a year later (1946) to form a luxurious hardbound album with summaries in four languages (Greek, French, English, Russian)

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[3] See Anon, 'A Paradigm to Follow', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (16) April 1960, p.6. The author referred to the advertising of a French beer in the periodical *Match* in which a figure of a Greek soldier (*tsolias*) is being presented along with an ancient representation of a figure drinking ale.

[4] Namely A. Asteriadis (1898-1977, ATI teacher), S. Vassiliou (1902-1985, ATI teacher), A. Spahis (1903-1963), S. Polychroniadou (1904-1985). For more, see Pavlopoulos, D., *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods.* (Athens: Kastaniotis/Diatton, 2004 [1995]), pp.56-57.

[5] EAM was the largest wartime resistance organisation was founded in September 1941 and comprised of leftists-republicans and Communists. Iatrides, J.O., Wrigley, Linda, ed., *Greece at the Crossroads. The Civil War and its Legacy* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), p.x.

[6] Hung, C.-T., 'Two Images of Socialism: Woodcuts in Chinese Communist Politics', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39 (1) January 1997, pp.34-60.

[7] Such as the United Nations Charter Session, and conferences in Western Europe (London and Paris) and America (San Franscisco). This project was a collaborative work of many artists, photographers and civil servants, who had collected information and visual material during the war. Doxiadis, C., ed., *The Sacrifices of Greece in the Second World War* (Athens: Ministry of Reconstruction, 1946). Doxiadis' contribution is noted in Spencer, F.A., *War and Post-War Greece: An Analysis Based on Greek Writings.* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1952).

(Ill.4b).[8] Under the circumstances, this war album can be considered an innovative and unexpected application of graphic art by a small country devastated by the war and with urgent priorities of survival. These conditions were surveyed in numerous codified illustrations, charts and maps, which predominated in the pages, and were accompanied by black-and-white photographs taken during the war across the country (Ill.4c).

All the above cases testify to the plurality of design styles and to awareness of the significance of graphic design as a persuasive force. This was also illustrated graphically in persistent pro-American propaganda, expressed in both posters and photographs, for the Marshall Plan in Greece from 1947 (Ill.5). However, on the latter occasion, the war album, a different kind of graphic language was used: the symbolic style of the International System of Typographic Picture Education (ISOTYPE), a convention of signs pioneered by the Viennese philosopher and social scientist Otto Neurath in the 1920s.[9] This system of signs, albeit with some modifications and deviations from the original, was used to portray the devastated state of the country and its people, following the norm of similar international war publications at the time.[10]

In its volume, production quality and graphic style, the album was a testimony of two important things in the history of graphic design in Greece: firstly, awareness and appropriation of an international modern language in order to participate in equal terms and common ways in the international forum of post-war reconstruction; and secondly, acknowledgment by the Greek state of the economic and political role of graphic design in international communication.

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[8] Doxiadis, ed., *The Sacrifices of Greece in the Second World War*.
[9] See Hollis, R., *Graphic Design. A Concise History*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994), p.18; Lupton, E., 'Reading Isotype' in *Design Discourse*, ed. by V. Margolin (Chicago / London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp.145-156.
[10] Such as the Penguin paper-back album (~11x18cm) by Modley, R., *A History of the War*. (Washington / New York: Infantry Journal / Penguin, 1944).

a. State modernisation plans

After November 1952 and for the following two decades, Greece was to experience a period of relative political stability under the right-wing party Greek Rally (*Ellinikos Synagermos*), led by Marshal Alexandros Papagos (1883-1955). He was succeeded after his death by Konstantinos Karamanlis (1907-1998), who established the *Ethniki Rizospastiki Enosi* (ERE) ('National Radical Union'), winning elections in February 1956, May 1958 and October 1961. During his governance (1956-1963), Greece experienced a period of economic growth, the fastest in Europe.[11] Economic analysts in Greece and abroad referred to it as an 'economic miracle',[12] yet it was a fragile economy and Greece remained a poor country.[13]

The devaluation of the national currency in 1953 helped private investment,[14] and American economic aid under the Marshall Plan remained important.[15] Meanwhile, remittances sent home by Greek migrants working abroad, and revenue from shipping and international tourism, became vital sources of foreign currency exchange.[16] In fact, tourism was the first area to which the Greek state turned to lift the economy. The earliest post-war promotional campaigns were prepared in the midst

[11] The average increase of the annual Gross National Product between 1953-1973 was 6.9%, which is among the best in the world at the time. Especially during 1963-1973 the GNP was 7.8%, the best second to that of Japan. Iordanoglou, C., 'The Economy, 1949-1974' in *The History of the New Hellenism, 1770-2000*, Vol.9 (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003), pp.59-86, p.60. See also, proceedings of the 4th Scientific Conference 'Greek Society in the First Post-war Period, 1945-1967', Pantion University, 24-27 November 1993, Vols.1-2.

[12] 'A 'miracle' they called it' forms a chapter title in Dragoumis, M.N., *The Greek Economy, 1940-2004.* (Athens: Athens News, 2004); Gallant, T.W., *Modern Greece.* (London: Arnold, 2001), p.178; Pettifer, J., *The Greeks: A Land and People Since the War.* (London: Penguin, 2000), p.14; Stathakis, Y., 'The Unexpected Economic Development During the 1950s and 60s: Athens, A Paradigm of Development', in *1949-1967: The Explosive Twenty Years*, ed. by Fsncge (Athens, Greece, 10-12 November 2000), pp.43-65. Other European countries also experienced a post-war economic miracle, see Swett, P.E., Wiesen, Jonathan S., Zatlin, Jonathan R., 'Introduction' in *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. by P.E. Swett, Wiesen, J.S., Zatlin, J.R. (Durham / London: Duke University Press, 2000), pp.1-26.

[13] Iordanoglou, 'The Economy, 1949-1974', p.59.

[14] Especially, investments in roads and other public works created a demand for steel, cement, and other building materials, which in turn resulted to industrial growth, Legg, K.R., Roberts, John M., *Modern Greece: A Civilization on the Periphery.* (Colorado / Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), p.47.

[15] It is estimated that between 1946 and 1963 Greece received US $3.3bil, of this amount 54.7% represented economic aid and loans and the remaining 45.3% was received as military materials or grants for their purchase, Campbell, J., Sherrard, Phillip, *Modern Greece.* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1968), p.312. According to G. E. Curtis' estimation a total amount of US $5bil has been disposed between 1946 and 1977 (Curtis, G.E., ed., *Greece, A Country Study* (Washington: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1995), p.152), of which 400 million dollars alone was invested in industry between 1950 and 1960, Campbell, *Modern Greece.* p.302.

[16] From a level of 90,000 visitors in 1938 and 33,333 in 1950, tourism more than quadrupled by 1960, and quadrupled again during the following decade (2,000,000 in 1973); Buhalis, D., 'Tourism in Greece: Strategic Analysis and Challenges', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 4 (5) 2001, pp.440–480, Table 1. In the 1970s, shipping and tourist receipts covered 32% of commercial imports. As for remittances from family minded emigrants, they covered half the current account deficit in the 1970s, Close, D.H., *Greece Since 1945.* (Great Britain: Longman, 2002), p.55.

of the Greek Civil War, in 1950 the Greek Tourism Organisation (GTO) was re-established, and towards the end of the decade the luxurious and modern Hilton Hotel (among other tourist facilities across the country) was built in the centre of Athens, in the midst of what were then bare fields (Ill.6a/b). At the same time, the development of telecommunications[17] and electrification networks became a priority.[18] These initiatives, which ended up becoming state monopolies according to economy analysts, signalled a turning point in the country's modernisation.[19]

While this study takes Greek graphic design as its main territory, it is the Athenian and urban context of design that is considered in particular. As the capital city, Athens was the site of the main industrial and commercial activities after the wars, and since then has become the centre of graphic design and advertising. Comparison between graphic production in Athens and other less central locations in the country is beyond the scope of this study. Apart from the practical problems involved in such research, this thesis focuses on modernisation, and hence on the urban environment where the primary manifestations of modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation occurred. Nevertheless, Greek graphic design outside of Athens is addressed through discussion of individual designers and typographers, and of the first typographic shops that operated around the country.[20]

b. Advertising and urbanisation

Following Greece's connection with the Western capitalist block in the late 1940s, over the early years of the next decade changes in society started to be noticed. Massive internal migration towards the big urban centres, particularly Athens to the south and

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[17] The Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation (OTE, 1949). See Table 8 in Karapostolis, V., *Consuming Behaviour in Greek Society, 1960-1975*. (Athens: National Centre for Social Research, 1983), p.187.

[18] With the establishment of the Public Power Corporation in 1950, which was the only electricity provider for the whole country by the early 1960s. Other public utilities ran by the state during the time included the postal service, the broadcasting authority, the social insurance organisation (IKA already by 1940), much of the banking system, the railways (1944), Close, *Greece Since 1945*, p.90.

[19] Iordanoglou, 'The Economy, 1949-1974', pp.60,83.

[20] For instance, see Thessaloniki Design Museum, ed., *Iannis Svoronos: Grafiker* (Thessaloniki, 1997). For contemporary research on typographic history, see *Hyphen*, e.g., Christianopoulos, D., 'Greek Printing Shops in Thessaloniki under Turkish Rule', *Hyphen*, B (1) Summer 1999, pp.14-18; Natsios, D., 'The Typographic Shops of Lamia in the 19th century', *Hyphen*, 3 (1) Winter 1999, pp.55-70.

Thessaloniki to the north, was motivated by the deprivations and hardships of rural life, and the economic opportunities, material comforts and cultural attractions of the cities.[21]

The face of Athens, especially, had changed dramatically.[22] The demand for housing was constant, given the accelerating pace of migration. In 1961, 44 per cent of the metropolis' population was newly arrived from other, mostly rural, areas.[23] Urbanisation was facilitated by the extension of roads, the proliferation of radios and the evidence in newspapers and magazines of Western consumer goods flooding into cities. Shops, theatres and modern public transport, such as trams and trolley buses, most of which had been destroyed during the war, also helped develop the urban lifestyle of cities such as Athens, as old dwellings gave way to modern apartment blocks (Ill.6c).

In advertising, new consumer goods such as telephones, refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners, and especially cars, confirmed the rising status and prosperity of city dwellers. Although distinctions between social classes in Athens remained rigid, commercial advertising promoted new urban habits, emphasising the differences between old and new (modern) ways of living. However, the lower strata of society were also a target group,[24] and indeed apartments and cars were promoted as affordable to large portions of Greek society. Several advertisements created by Bost (Kostas Bostantzoglou, 1918–95), a cartoonist and playwright, helped publicise the new commodities to less well-off classes of society with his unique blend of graphic

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[21] In 1941, 15.3% of the population resided in Athens and 3.7% in Thessalonica. In 1951, the rates have been: 18.6 and 4.0, in 1961: 22.1 and 4.5, in 1971: 29.0 and 6.4 respectively. Also, 56% of the inhabitants of the greater Athens area were post-war migrants in 1960, Gallant, *Modern Greece*, pp.188-189.

[22] For those arriving in Athens without capital, the standard practice was to construct illegal dwellings on the periphery of the city. High land values reinforced the desirability of home or apartment ownership. Legg, *Modern Greece: A Civilization on the Periphery*, pp.79-80. Also, more detailed reasoning for the migration is given in Gallant, *Modern Greece*, pp.189-192. A description of the post-war building frenzy in Athens during the 1950s is discussed in Papamichos, N., 'The Post-War City, the City of *Antiparochi*', in *1949-1967: The Explosive 20 years Symposium* (Athens, Greece, 10-12 November 2000), pp.79-86.

[23] Close, *Greece Since 1945*, p.61. Population distribution in urban/suburban/rural areas in 1951 (total population 7,632,684): 32.8/14.8/52.4%. In 1961, total population was 8,388,553: 43.3/12.9/43.8%. In 1971: total population was 8,768,641: 53.2/11.6/35.1 as quoted from the Statistical Yearbook of Greece in Legg, *Modern Greece: A Civilization on the Periphery*, p.79.

[24] Delveroudi, E.-A., 'Greek Cinema, 1955-1965: Social Changes of the Post-War Era on Screen', in *'1949-1967: The Explosive 20 years' Symposium* (Athens, Greece, 10-12 November 2000), pp.163-176, p.167.

characters and inventive wordplay, as seen in an advert for the French car Renault Dauphine (Ill.7).

Consumer preferences for imported everyday products, or indeed for foreign-sounding brands, became evident.[25] Moreover, it was thought modern and progressive to call new advertising agencies by foreign words.[26] The modern way of life represented by products from abroad (convenience, practicality, aesthetics, functionality, comfort, etc.) fashioned the values of post-war conformity and aligned Greek consumer society with a Western capitalist model. This pattern of conspicuous consumption also linked with social mobility. During the mid-1960s, especially, education could no longer guarantee upward mobility (mainly through employment in the public sector) due to the reduction of positions available in the public domain. Thus, consumption of goods and services fulfilled the need for social and economic advancement.[27]

This rising connection and inter-dependence between graphic design and commerce started to be noted in the press. In particular, the role of advertising in the country's modernisation and economic prosperity featured frequently in art and design journals, as well as in specialist economic and general-interest periodicals.[28] The growth of advertising can be seen from its increased expenditure, which quadrupled between 1960 and 1966,[29] reaching 600 million Greek drachmas, a growth that surpassed that of national income.[30] And by the late 1960s, the number of advertising

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[25] Preston, L.E., Tzavelas, Constantine, *Consumer Goods Marketing in a Developing Economy*. Research Monograph Series 19 (Athens: Center of Planning and Economic Research, 1968), pp.178-179. Also, Yagou, A., 'The Emergence of Industrial Design in Inter-war Greece, 1922-1940', *Design History Society Newsletter* (100) January 2004, p.9.

[26] For example advertiser S. Georgiadis entitled his advertising agency by the anglicised 'ΜΠΙΖΝΕΣ' (*Mpiznes*) (Business) as it was taken to be innovative, modern and different to the other agencies, which used Greek titles. Georgiadis, S., *What An Advertiser Saw, Heard, Said!*. (Athens: Romanos, 2003).

[27] Karapostolis, *Consuming Behaviour in Greek Society, 1960-1975*, pp.248-250,256.

[28] Kotzamani, M., 'The Graphic Arts Express the Progress of the Country with the New Forms of their Accomplishments', *Ikones*, 31 January 1964, pp.44-46; Papamichalakis, I., 'Advertising: An Essential Supporter of every Contemporary Economic Activity', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (311) December 1960, pp.591-595; Ard, B., 'Advertising is an Essential Prerequisite for Success', *Typographia*, 16 (322) 20 April 1973, p.4.

[29] *DP* presented the advertising expenditure in the press monthly from 1960.

[30] Article published in 'Mesimvrini Business' and quoted in ADEL's in-house publication, no.2, 6 February 1967. In 1956, Greek advertising expenditure reached 6 million dollars, corresponding to 0.70 dollars per person. Income per person was estimated that year at $270 in Greece, in contrast to the $2.043 in America: Stratos, C., 'Advertising of Greek Products', *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (4-5) March - April 1959, pp.3-4. One million drachmas was 333,000 dollars in 1964, Preston, *Consumer Goods Marketing in a Developing Economy*, p.177.

agencies exceeded one hundred, making advertising a significant and accountable economic force.[31]

c. Introducing new consumer audiences and professional models

With the massive post-war internal migration to the big cities, the desire for upward social mobility shaped a new era of social optimism and economic prosperity, within which Greek advertising and graphic design emerged. Considering the conditions of capitalist development and social distinctions described above, how did graphic design and advertising respond to this new society? What changes were introduced at a social and professional level? What was 'modern' in this context, and what was its effect on the modernisation of society and the profession?

Women as consumers

Representations of women, and their role and status in Greek society, started to be replaced by a new model distinctly different from traditional ones. Women in Greece constituted a social group with a very restricted and defined role. Greek feminist writers argue that, despite women's political enfranchisement in 1951 and rising participation in the work force in the 1950s and 1960s, their status was far from emancipated.[32] Certain values and conventions persisted throughout the transitional decades after the Second World War and Civil War. The publication *Tradition and Modernity: Changing patterns in Cultural Activities within the Greek Family* (1984) maintains that the effects of industrialisation did not truly penetrate Greek society or

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[31] However, only one-fourth of these was of any considerable size, Preston, *Consumer Goods Marketing in a Developing Economy*, p.177.

[32] Greek women won the right to vote in 1951, 25 years after its initial proposition; Pantazi-Tzifa, K., *Woman's Status in Greece.* (Athens: Nea Synora, 1984), pp.44,56,57; Xiradaki, K., *The Feminist Movement in Greece. Pioneer Greek Women, 1830-1936.* (Athens: Glaros, 1988), pp.117-118; Lentakis, A., *Is Woman inferior to Man? Or, How Woman is Constructed.* (Athens: Dorikos, 1986), pp.315-316. The law was resolved more from international pressure, than from the efforts of the Greek Women's Rights Association. Pantelidou-Malouta, M., 'Greek Women and Vote: The Gender of Vote and the Vote of Female Sex', *Journal of the National Centre for Social Research* (73) 1989, pp.3-38. Women did not participate in the elections of 1952 because they had not yet been registered in the electoral records, thus, women voted for the first time in the parliamentary elections in 1956, Pantelidou-Malouta, 'Greek Women and Vote: The Gender of Vote and the Vote of Female Sex', p.10; Lentakis, *Is Woman inferior to Man? Or, How Woman is Constructed*, p.316.

change its structure.[33] An important reason for this was that in Greece post-war urbanisation developed independently from industrialisation and did not follow its models.[34] As the authors suggested, massive internal migration to the cities brought with it a traditional community-based rural culture. In the urban context, certain values and ideals remained basically the same in both urban and rural areas, as well as in both upper and lower classes, at least until the late 1960s, including motherhood, modesty and virginity, the constitution of dowry, patriarchy and the sense of honour.[35]

It is further claimed that industrialisation in Greece between 1950 and 1960 and women's participation in the workforce contributed more to modernising female values and beliefs than to their independence and status within the parental family. The principal group (family, community) continued to control their behaviour according to a traditional order of family obeisance, quick settlement and dowry provision.[36]

The kinds of decisions a Greek woman could make were those regarded as proper for her to make and that did not affect men's status in the family, such as children's upbringing, family clothing, home furnishings, household purchases and, more rarely, the family budget or financial management.[37] This is mostly explained by strongly rooted social customs, such as the dowry, which played an important role in women's degradation and sexual discrimination.[38]

Within these circumstances, however, women started to take on an important standing and role in advertising as active consumers, and as professionals working in

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[33] Gizelis, G., Kautantzoglou, Roxane, Teperoglou, Afroditi, Filias, Vassilis, ed., *Tradition and Modernity: Changing Patterns in Cultural Activities within Greek Family* (Athens: National Centre for Social Research, 1984), pp.48-49. This research work was proposed by the European Coordination Center for Social Science Documentation (Vienna Centre) in 1976. In Greece the material for this research was consolidated in May-June 1979.

[34] The majority of the migrated population found work in the third sector (services and the retail industry), which resulted in an expansion of urban rather than working class, Ibid, p.48. Also, Karapostolis, *Consuming Behaviour in Greek Society, 1960-1975*, pp.205-208.

[35] Vlontaki, P., 'Family and Adolescence in Greece and USA. An Intercultural Comparison', *Journal of the National Centre for Social Research* (39-40) 1980, pp.267-282, pp.270-272. Also, Curtis, G.E., ed., *Greece. A Country Study* (Washington: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1995), p.117.

[36] See introduction by I. Lambiri-Dimaki, in Nikolaidou, M., 'The Working Woman in Greece. An Empirical Survey', *Journal of the National Centre for Social Research* (25) 1975, pp.470-506, pp.470-471.

[37] Safilios-Rothschild, K., 'The Structure of Family Power and Marriage Satisfactions. A Comparative Study Between Greek and French Urban Families', Ibid (13) 1972, pp.92-100, p.94.

[38] Nikolaidou, M., 'The Working Woman in Greece. An Empirical Survey', Ibid (25) 1975, pp.470-506, pp.478,493-494; Teperoglou, A., 'Dowry: A Current Socio-economic Phenomenon', *Anthropines Scheseis*, A (1) July 1972, pp.63-64. The constitution of dowry indicated the interdependence among the family members (sense of responsibility towards the girl), and the existence of the sense of 'honour' and 'shame' strongly rooted in the traditional, patriarchal and religious Greek society. Vlontaki, 'Family and Adolescence in Greece and USA. An Intercultural Comparison', p.269.

the advertising agencies and popular magazines that proliferated during the decade.[39]

Along with the pre-war magazines, for instance *Romantso* ('Romance', 1934) and

Thysavros ('Thesaurus', 1944), which after their closure during the war years were re-

launched in the 1950s, new ones appeared. The most popular were the high-styled, bi-

monthly female magazine *Gynaika* ('Woman', 1950), and the weekly magazines

Tachydromos ('Postman', 1954-1993, 2000-today) and *Ikones* ('Images', 1955-1967).

Printed in offset and modelled on other European popular magazines, namely *Elle* and

Life, these post-war periodicals promoted themselves as the most effective means for

publishing high-quality colour illustrations and photographs.

In contrast to most pre-war periodicals, *Gynaika* and *Ikones* spoke to an upper-

class readership, as noted in an article of 1966 and its own self-promotion,[40] though

other social groups eventually had access to it by hand-to-hand circulation. In its first

year *Tachydromos* dealt with the issue of dowry, proposing that it be abolished. A

photograph of a serious, but modern-looking, woman, with make-up, short hair,

jewellery and exposed neck and shoulders, decorated the cover (Ill.8).

As early as 1959, women's consumer power was mentioned in a promotion for

Gynaika in the advertising journal *DP* (Ill.9a). The text read,

> Woman, the market master / '90 per cent of the money consumed in the
> market comes from the housewife's hands', [says] Dr. G. Dan Derwal
> in the world conference [...] *Gynaika* is the only female magazine
> of high circulation / It will transfer your message securely to the
> female consumer /... / 100,000 readers.[41]

The cartoon-like illustration portrayed a well-dressed woman seating elegantly

on the top of shopping boxes, carried by a man with a black hat of high economic

standing (possibly her husband). In a sense, this, too, can be seen as a new

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[39] Kairofilas, Y., *Athens Since the War (II).* (Athens: Filippoti, 1988), pp.16-17. These magazines (inclusive of few advertisements) addressed lower and middle-class audience, and their printing quality was moderate to bad.

[40] By upper-class readership, it is meant the audience with at least secondary school education, or that occupied the power and wealth in Greek society. The periodicals' target audience is explained in Anon, 'From Infancy to Maturity', *Eleftherotypia* (31) April 1966, pp.34-40. Also, see advert for *Ikones* in *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* throughout 1960. Text reads: 'Addressing the finest readers [...], it is a guarantee for the best promotion of the advertising product'.

[41] *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (3) January 1959, p.12.

visualisation of gender roles and power structure in Greek society, at a time when women were supposed to be subservient and to serve the family rather than be served.

Next to this advertisement, tips on how to win over the female consumer by the American advertiser Charlotte Montgomery backed up the promotion.[42] Although these examples came from abroad, as did the majority of advertising and marketing articles in the magazine (usually American), these guidelines were presented in Greece as undisputed fact.

The discourse on female consumption and consumer power further aided the transition of women in society and gender relations in general. An eight-page research piece (with interviews and photographs) on woman's consumption behaviour, conducted in 1962, promoted a new type of consumer – the modern, fashionable Greek woman with exclusive control of her economic resources or family budget (Ill.9b/c).[43] Also shown in the extensive photo-reportage, a modern-looking sales assistant serves and gives fashion advice to the traditional-looking housewife in a head-scarf, who appears at the end with her hands full of products and a wide smile on her face.

Professional women in publishing and advertising

Professional advertising and publishing also allowed women to take on leading roles that were unusual in traditionally male-dominated sectors. Eleni Vlachou (1912-1995) (Ill.10a) was the daughter of the editor of the conservative newspaper *Kathimerini* ('Daily', 1919). She directed the title after her father's death in 1951, along with the newspaper *Mesimvrini* ('Afternoon', 1961) and the popular weekly magazine *Ikones*.

Vlachou's role in Greek publishing and culture was noted in both the local and international press.[44] An English article published in *The Times* referred to Eleni (Helen) Vlachou as 'Eleni of Athens' (perhaps a reference to Helen of Troy in ancient

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[42] As shown in Emmanouil, M., '*At Last Now in Greece!* Greek Advertising and America in the 1950s and 1960s' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Royal College of Art, 2004).
[43] Karavia, M., 'Woman is Buying...' *Dimosiotis kai Provoli* (46) 1962, pp.13-20.
[44] A similar story of a woman's involvement in publishing by inheritance is that of Poly Miliori, the daughter of *Romantso* and *Pantheon*'s editor. See Miliori, P., *From 'Romantso' to 'Pantheon'. A Chronicle of Greek Periodical Press.* (Athens: Odysseas, 1993).

Greek mythology) with respect to her strength of opinion 'in a country where the tradition is not to listen to the opinion of a woman' (Ill.10b).[45] As quoted from *The Times*, Vlachou was presented as the 'ideal successful woman' and a modernising figure in Greek publishing, a title she had acquired after changing the layout of Greek newspapers in opposition to her elder collaborators' views, in favour of more Western ideas. Her biggest achievement was considered her opposition to the government order to limit the number of newspaper pages supporting freedom of speech, and to allow competition between newspapers. The Athens-based *Eleftherotypia* ('Free Press', 1963–7), a monthly periodical about journalism, devoted articles to this issue and to her with witty illustrations (Ill.10c).[46]

In terms of Greek advertising, Fani Lampadariou (1918) was a key figure, who occupied a prominent position early in her career. After finishing school and learning English and French, and, as she claimed, with no family connections in the field, she was employed in the advertising section of the Aspioti-ELKA printing house in the 1950s.[47] Later, between 1954 and '59, she worked in *Ikones'* advertising department, and then as executive director of the K+K advertising agency.[48] It should be noted that *Ikones* ran an 'innovative' competition in 1955 in its ninth issue,[49] in which readers were asked to rate the best advertisement in the periodical, with the winner receiving a free subscription to the magazine. *Zygos* followed a similar pattern, launching an 'Advertising of the Month' scheme in 1963.[50]

A breakthrough in Lampadariou's career occurred in 1958 when she was asked by the minister to the prime minister's office, Konstantinos Tsatsos, on the strength of her reputation in advertising, to direct the newly-founded advertising department at GTO.[51] Now in her mid-nineties, Lampadariou claimed,

> … for a man of his status and at that time, to ask a woman

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[45] Published on 20 May 1966. The English article was presented in Anon, 'From Infancy to Maturity', p.15.
[46] See also, Anon, 'The Show-down of the Number of Pages', *Eleftherotypia* (7) April 1964, pp.3-6. Not to be confused with the newspaper *Eleftherotypia* (1975).
[47] TC-FL-16/10/2009.
[48] As noted in Anon, 'Who's Who...' *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (73) January-February 1966, pp.132-147.
[49] See *Ikones*, 9 December 1955, p.3.
[50] See *Zygos* (91-92) June-July 1963, p.63.
[51] K. Tsatsos (1889-1987) was a centrist-liberal and one of the closest colleagues of K. Karamanlis.

> to direct a department in a public sector, showed the degree
>
> of his open mindedness and meritocracy. He showed to me absolute
>
> trust.[52]

Her greatest contribution to this department, as she noted, was to abolish the underbidding system of advertising commissions, a move that was not appreciated by the Junta regime when the new management asked her to take over directorship of the promotion department again in the late 1960s.[53]

'A woman in advertising' was the title of an article, published in *DP* in 1972, promoting a new model of the professional female advertiser (Ill.11).[54] After almost 12 years in advertising, Efi Chatziloui explained the difficulty of persuading clients to employ her.

> I opened my agency in 1960 [...] Since then, a tough race started
>
> because the clients, even though willing to discuss their advertising
>
> problems, did not move on to commission their promotion to an agency
>
> directed by a woman. However, in the long run my efforts were justified.[55]

These examples of professional women in leading positions, though the exception rather than the rule, show that graphic design, and especially advertising, had become a terrain in which women could acquire a new status. Successful and influential women also functioned as models for other working women. In turn, they were treated as a new target group by marketing and advertising, and were seen as a driving force in the economy. Slowly, the status-quo of women in society shifted in favour of one aligned to the Western model of the modern, emancipated and independent woman.

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[52] TC-FL-16/10/2009.
[53] 'After this, the telephone never rung again', and F. Lambadariou did not take the job. TL-FL-16/10/2009.
[54] Among the 67 advertisers indexed only 8 were women, Anon, 'Who's Who...'
[55] Rizopoulos, A., 'A Woman in Advertising', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (116-117) July 1972, pp.32-33.

2.2 Responding to and defining 'modern' graphic design

Commercial advertising in Greece consisted primarily of newspaper and magazine promotion until the late 1960s, when television became the new advertising medium. Television commercials were also shown in cinemas, where they were supported by in-store displays, posters, handbills and samples. Certainly, cinema billboards made by fine artists, especially Yiorgos (George) Vakirtzis (1923-1988), made a vivid impression on the audience.[56]

Printed advertisements were initially black and white, but started using two colours in the mid-1950s (black with magenta or cyan), thus offering a more interesting and engaging visual effect. Advertisements with colour photographs started appearing timidly in the early 1960s,[57] as well as experiments with layout, brand identities supported by famous people (actors/actresses, writers, poets, etc.), and new marketing strategies, such as the 'bigger the better', promotional offers and testimonials.[58] Most importantly, a shift in advertising approach, from 'use our product' to 'reflect people's needs and anxieties',[59] indicated an eagerness to keep up with the most up-to-date strategies of American and western European advertising and marketing.[60]

a. Modern art and graphic design

Modern abstract art began to impact Greek graphic design in the early 1960s. In previous years, modern art had been poorly received, as seen from critical reception of the post-war exhibition, 'Hommage à la Grèce', held at the French Institute in Athens

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[56] Karachristos, S., 'The Greek Poster and its Creators' in *Greek Posters*, ed. by Karachristos Spyros (Athens: Kedros, 2003), pp.12-15, p.14.

[57] I-YK-28/01/2006.

[58] Some texts include: Anon, 'What is Marketing? It is the Steam Engine of the Agency. The Revision of an Old Truth', *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (13) January 1960, p.21. Also, Anon, 'Interview with George Gallup', *Dimosiotis kai Provoli* (7) June 1959, p.7; 'Anon, 'Gallup - the inventor of public opinion poll', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (24) December 1960, p.12; 'Anon, 'The Formation of a Greek Marketing Agency in the Context of an International Organisation', *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (41) May 1962, p.16; Stratos, 'Advertising of Greek Products', pp.3-4.

[59] Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, p.10.

[60] On the psychological dimension of advertising: Michailidis, D., 'Advertising Means: Psychology', *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (41) May 1962, pp.19-24, Part A; Michailidis, D., 'Advertising Means: Psychology (Part B)', *Dimosiotis kai Provoli* (42) June 1962, pp.24-32.

in 1949.[61] Conservative members of society and culture linked modern art, especially abstract art, to anarchy and the 'far left', and insisted on the primacy of classical ideals inspired by Helleno-centrism and Greek Orthodoxy.[62]

Likewise, the first post-Civil War exhibition of abstract art, held in 1958 at the Athens-based 'Kouros' gallery, was followed by a variety of reactions, especially from conservative voices.[63] Until at least the early 1960s, there was little dissemination of modern art in Greece and responses were still negative.

> Aided by books and articles on modern art, the Greek public is now
> endeavouring to understand the abstract school of art at present in vogue,
> a form that has not as yet succeeded in winning popular favour.[64]

The picture is thought to have changed radically around 1965, by which time abstract art was generally accepted in art circles, aided by the liberal political conditions of the time and the emergence of a new generation of artists.[65] Art historians claim that these artists were ready to reject all that reminded them of Parisian modernism, 'Greekness' or Socialist Realism, and throw themselves into experimentation.[66]

In the graphic design scene, the winning posters in the 1962 and 1963 competitions for the International Fair of Thessaloniki, organised by *Tachydromos*, used abstract geometric shapes (Ill.12a/b).[67] Katzourakis, winner of third place in the first competition, represented the city of Thessaloniki by an abstract emblem of its White Tower. The painter and ATI teacher, Spyros Vassiliou (1902-1985), offered a piece of advice on this 'international language of communication'.

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[61] It hosted 46 works by famous French painters as support to the Greeks of the Resistance. Christofoglou, M.-E., 'Post-War Art, 1949-1974' in *History of the New Hellenism, 1770-2000: Winners and Losers, 1949-1974*, Vol.9 (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003), pp.275-289, pp.276-279.

[62] Ibid, pp.276-279; Christofoglou, M.-E., 'The Challenge of the Anti-academism in the Visual Arts (1949-1967)', in *1949-1967: The Explosive 20 Years Conference* (Athens, Greece, 10-12 November 2000), pp.87-97. A contemporary reference on the shift towards abstraction in the applied arts and advertising, see Michelis, P.A., 'Industrial Aesthetic and Abstract Art', *Zygos*, B (39) February 1959, pp.27-41, 51.

[63] Gallery 'Kouros' was founded by L. Christakis. I-LC-28/03/2007.

[64] Panayotopoulos, S., 'Greece' in *Who's Who in Graphic Art*, Vol.I, ed. by W. Amstutz (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962), pp.265-269, p.265.

[65] Abstract art was sometimes considered 'out of date'; Christofoglou, 'The Challenge of the Anti-academism in the Visual Arts (1949-1967)', p.92. The fear of 'academism', which was directly linked with the complex of underdevelopment and cultural lag, was dominant in Greek cultural life up until the end of the 1970s, Christofoglou, 'The Challenge of the Anti-academism in the Visual Arts (1949-1967)', p.93.

[66] Christofoglou, 'The Challenge of the Anti-academism in the Visual Arts (1949-1967)', p.95.

[67] 1st prize to E. Schina (F. Carabott's student), and 2nd to Y. Svoronos (from Thessaloniki).

It is obvious that the influence of modern art, with a tendency for
abstraction, has started to increase in our country too. Yet, I would like
to warn of the danger that lies beneath [...] with the fanaticism of the
devotee, we end up promoting milk, detergents, nylon hosiery, etc.,
with irrelevant combinations of geometric shapes.[68]

Thus new poster designers and advertisers were advised to be careful when using
this universal language and not to forget the local context. He further argued that this
'peculiar accent' spoke to an 'educated and cultured public in places more advanced and
with longer tradition in the applied arts, in order to serve a strong cultured sense of
good taste'.[69] In particular, he noted,

It is useful to learn this language. But it is important not to lose the
quality [*charisma*] of the special offering, accent, and distinctiveness
that need to give in this expression [the applied arts] of our civilisation
the special hue, originality, and truth.[70]

The following year abstract geometric shapes, experimental typography and
symbolism featured once more in the winning posters, exemplifying the popularity of
this new visual language (Ill.12b). The jury of the competition, which comprised a
university scholar, director of the National Gallery, an architect and a representative
of *Tachydromos*, noted with satisfaction the quantitative and qualitative progress of
the material submitted (320 posters) in relation to the previous year. The juries
claimed,

[...] Gladly, some key principles of poster design have been broadly met [...] the
artists, most of them young, are not restricted to the ways their school taught
them, mostly painterly ways, but they seek the most contemporary media that
are established outside of Greece.[71]

Quotes such as these demonstrate that international graphic design was officially
accepted and even encouraged. However, on this occasion the issues of copying foreign

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[68] Vassiliou, S., 'On Poster: Attention to the Trend of Modern Art. An International Language, but with a Distinct Accent ', *Dimosiotes kai Provole*, 37 January 1962.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Anon, 'Selected and Current: Poster', *Zygos* (94-95) September-October 1963.

ideas and loose copyright laws in Greece were also raised,[72] on account of the similarity

between the winning poster designs and foreign examples that appeared in *Graphis* in

1959-1960. In art and design publishing, especially *DP* and *Zygos*, it was argued that

foreign design concepts were frequently copied, to the extent that this practice

constituted a 'scandal' (Ill.12c).[73]

> Copied works have dangerously multiplied lately. There is no excuse.
> We have good artists trained in Advertising and the Graphic Arts,
> and photographers and copywriters too, and also [we have] all that
> is needed, both animate and inanimate matter for serious work in
> Advertising based on new solid foundations.[74]

This is perhaps the first time that the issue of 'copying' was elaborated, and that

the legal limits of what constituted a copy and what was merely influence were

questioned. Yet, HIGAM brought up the issue once more three years later, in 1966,

showing that little had changed.[75] The practice of taking ready images of fashionable

ladies or well-groomed gentlemen, literally copied from foreign advertising, was hardly

ever reported as bad practice, but rather accepted as the standard approach. Moreover,

some of the copied visual elements came from product promotions that differed from

the advertised product in Greece (Ill.12c).[76] And there were instances in which the

same promotional campaign appeared for international companies that exported their

products to Greece, as in the case of *Therma* kitchen stoves and *Olivetti* typewriters

(Ill.12d/e/f).

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[72] Anon, Ibid.
[73] 'Professional' or 'scientific advertising' was a term used to describe the new approach to the practice, stressing the need for radical reform with regard to Greece's connection with the EEC in 1961; Goufas, V., 'Analects', *Dimosiotis kai Provoli* (38) February 1962, p.47. With the motto 'slyness no longer works', the author launched an anti-copying campaign, making special references to the legal and economic dangers following this operation. Goufas proposed a meeting between the current advertising authority (PUA), and the accused advertising agencies, in order to deal with the issue of copying and proceed to legal arrangements. The proposed meeting never took place. Also see later issues, especially, 40 and 41. Paratiritis, 'The Easy Solution', *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (40) April 1962, pp.6-7. A copied advert from *Modern Publicity* was reported in *Zygos* (90) May 1963.
[74] Anon, 'Selected and Current: Advertising', *Zygos* (91-92) June-July 1963, p.62.
[75] The issue was brought up in *Fori Epistulae*.
[76] The fingertip in the foreign advertisement referred to the identity of a company, whereas in the Greek case to the brand 'identity' of a chocolate advertisement.

b. The impact of international design journals: copy or influence?

As previously seen, in the 1950s and 1960s modernist graphic design reached Greece through international periodicals and annuals on art and design, such as *Graphis*, *Modern Publicity*, *The Penrose Annual*, *L'architectura*, *Casabella* and *Domus*.[77] In theory, international periodicals were available to Greek designers through orders placed with central bookstores, such as Eleftheroudakis and Architektoniki, however this was not an easy or straightforward process. According to Eliopoulos, the process of obtaining foreign books and periodicals was cumbersome, and took up to two or three months.[78] Moreover, special permission was needed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the sum of money allowed to be spent abroad was very limited.[79]

Despite these difficulties, and by generally keeping an eye on the European and American design community, the design solutions featured in the foreign press were widely endorsed by Greek graphic designers and advertisers as the modern approach to graphic design. Asymmetry in layout and composition, sans-serif typefaces, different typographic weights and sizes, as well as grids and photographs in preference to other forms of illustration, formed the basic principles of the modernist project, as featured in these periodicals.[80]

Special mention was also made by the painter-advertiser Alfonso Horovic of the New York-based trade journal *Design and Paper*, for its discrete layout and advertising with small-size brand names,[81] as well as for its covers by both known and less-known graphic designers, such as L. Sutnar, W.W. Westervelt, C.C.S. Dean and H. N. Russell (Ill.13). Horovic stressed that this approach should be accepted by Greek businessmen (advertisers or clients), who in the majority relied on, or requested 'exaggeration in promotion and coarse-cut and wishy-washy speech'.[82] Similarly, Carabott, in one of his few writings on advertising, argued that the 'printed advert need be not only

[77] A selection of international titles were advertised in *Architektoniki*, 65-66, October-December 1967.
[78] I-KE-30/06/2006. K. Eliopoulos archive included an almost complete selection of *Modern Publicity*, *Graphis*, as well as other international periodicals.
[79] I-KE-30/06/2006.
[80] As noted by Tschichold, J., *The New Typography*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006[1995]).
[81] Horovic, A., 'Discrete Advertising', *Zygos* (91-92) June-July 1963, pp.57-59.
[82] Ibid.

attractive, but also clear, brief and laconic in content. When less time is needed for an advert to be read, the more people will read it', aiding to the effectiveness of the promotion.[83]

For Anakreon Kanavakis (1938), a self-taught illustrator and designer, the international press archive of the newspaper *Empros*, where he worked as an apprentice in the 1960s, was a thesaurus of inspiring ideas and influences.[84]

> From this [work experience], I followed up the layout of newspapers
> and magazines and advertising designed abroad. […] I was
> observing advanced things in the foreign press. Things that we could
> not do over here because of established situations…. I saw that they
> used differently the titles and the text, and layout too... they had a
> different dynamic that for me was a great challenge to adapt to
> Greek circumstances. […] I was influenced [by the foreign press] in
> many different ways. […] I became crazy for *The New Yorker*, … [also]
> with many Italian magazines, for instance, *La Domenica del Corriere*
> […] I had the privilege all these magazines passing through my hands.[85]

This plurality of influences was also acknowledged by Carabott, who was a direct exponent of the Swiss school of graphic design, having trained at the Central School of Arts and Design during 1950-1953, which at the time was a centre of a Swiss influence under the teaching of modernist designers such as A. Froshaug, E. Wright and H. Spencer.[86]

> We were certainly influenced by England, which interestingly wielded
> the sceptres in graphic design [*grafismo*], in smart poster and
> witty advertising. From France, and of course, from America. Also,
> from the countries of the Eastern Bloc, Poland and Czechoslovakia,
> which interestingly led [graphic design] when under the Russian
> influence. These were the things that struck us. […] Among the places
> that influenced us, I forgot to mention, naturally, Switzerland, which
> wielded the sceptres of clear, 'neat' design.[87]

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[83] Carabott, F., 'The Advertising Print', Ibid (90) May 1963, pp.64-66. In this article, a list of the basic principles of designing posters was put together in the trade press, possibly for the first time.
[84] I-AK-27/04/2006.
[85] I-AK-27/04/2006.
[86] Poynor, R., 'Spirit of Independence' in *Communicate: Independent British Graphic Design Since the Sixties*, ed. by R. Poynor (London: Laurence King, 2004), pp.12-47, p.17.
[87] I-FC-04/09/2004.

c. Traces of modernist Greek periodicals and graphic designers

In Greece, the publishing that displayed the most modernist qualities of graphic design, as in other Western countries, was the architectural press.[88] *Architectoniki* for example, since its first volume in 1957, followed a very consistent modernist profile, with photography used as the dominant medium for its covers and contents (Ill.14a).

For over 20 years, the interior design and architecture annual, *Themata Chorou ke Technon* ('Issues of Space and the Arts', first published in 1970) demonstrated a close affiliation with and devotion to the aesthetic qualities of clean and sharp design (Ill.14b).[89] A new group of 'modern' graphic designers, the majority of which had studied abroad, featured for the first time in its pages.[90] This systematic approach of indexing graphic designers and their work under 'Graphic Arts' lasted only a couple of years.[91] After 1974, the number of references to the graphic arts decreased rapidly.

One graphic designer referenced in the journal, and one of the very few of his generation and background to write about graphic design in the Greek press, was Spyros Cosmetatos (1937).[92] He studied graphic design at Kingston School of Art (1958-1959) and the Central School of Design (1959-1962) in London. An example of his modernist approach, characterised by close-up or high-exposed photographs, sans-serif letters and white spaces filling most of the page, can be seen in his promotions for pharmaceutical products, exhibition design, the design layout of architecture and interior design periodicals such as *Architectoniki*, *Architektonika Themata* and *Technika Chronika*, and for the corporate identity of the Commercial Bank of Greece (Ill.15a/b).

The graphic design professionals listed in *Themata Chorou ke Technon* referred mostly to an elite group of Greek designers who had studied graphic art/design abroad

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[88] See Appendix-C1/4, 01 for a list of art and design magazines.
[89] Hollis, R., *Swiss Graphic Design*. (London: Laurence King, 2006).
[90] Names include: M. Katzourakis, A. Katzouraki, F. Carabott, Y. Angelopoulos, S. Cosmetatos, G. Mansolas, D. Rikakis, L. Apergi and N. Saxonis. Anon, 'Graphic Design, Packaging, Exhibitions, Advertising Art', *Themata Esoterikou Chorou* (1) 1970, pp.186-206.
[91] This was included as a distinct section in the journal's contents. This section was rather a presentation of graphic design than a critical view, as was the case with the subject of architecture and the visual arts.
[92] See especially his critique on tourism poster and leaflet design in 1963 (Chapter 4).

and returned to found new advertising agencies and independent graphic design studios in Athens.[93] For instance, Katzourakis, Katzouraki and Carabott studied in art and design schools in Paris and London in the early 1950s, and in the early 1960s co-founded the K+K Athens Advertising Centre. They received exposure in the local and international press, and were awarded international prizes (Ill.16a).[94]

On the reception of their work by clients, Katzourakis added,

> … when we started the 'story', 1962-63, there was an enthusiasm.
> Greece was coming out of a War and a Civil War. New things were
> happening for the first time. The clients were young, of our age more or
> less, and so we had direct contact with the company owners. […]
> We could persuade the director of CitiBank in a different way… and
> we could pass on an idea when I, or Freddie, said so, and they accepted it.
> And because they were kind of acquaintances, we had a positive response
> to what we did. [95]

However, especially in the beginning, Katzourakis found his work to be considered 'a bit too modern' for the Greek market.[96] Clients thought of his design innovative, but felt it was not appropriate or accessible to the Greek audience. In response to the question 'What made your work modern?', Michalis and Agni replied,

> Katzouraki (AK): I think the use of vivid, bright colours. Formerly, there
> were the 'exquisite' [*aisthantika*] colours, olive-greens, browns, blues, …
> and secondly, we chose one single element to highlight.
> Katzourakis (MK): … to be able to read in seconds.
> AK: We had to make an image that would attract your attention among
> a thousand other things that existed around.
> AK: To be simple and clear. I think this was the change. What we did was
> more clear in relation to the previous works, which were art paintings,
> MK: … which were very descriptive.
> AK: … which was like a soup all together.[97]

Attention to 'one idea' seems also to have been in rigid contrast to standard commercial behaviour. The tendency of shop owners to display all available

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[93] As seen in Anon, 'Graphic Design, Packaging, Exhibitions, Advertising Art'.
[94] Their work in the early 1960s was featured in *Modern Publicity* and *Graphis*, primarily for their work in the GTO between 1958-1967. Their 'modern' profile is noted in: Perrakis, A., ed., *K&K. The Greek Profile of Modernism* (Athens: Perrakis, 2005); Anon, *Design Routes. Freddie Carabott, Michalis & Agni Katzouraki.* (Athens: E.L.I.A.- Benaki Museum, 2008).
[95] I-MK-22/03/2008.
[96] I-MK-06/02/2004.
[97] I-MK+AK-22/03/2008.

merchandise in shop windows was seen as an old-fashioned practice that needed to be changed.[98] Carabott also considered the introduction of certain colours as revolutionary at the time (Ill.16b):

> [We] introduced the colours black and red. [...] Black [was connected
> to] bereavement, [thus] bad. Red [signified] Turkey, communism, bad
> things... these are nonsense talk, but they existed as elements and were
> a taboo in Greek society.[99]

Despite their high reputation during these years, the three designers did not see themselves as pioneers. As Katzouraki explained,

> That was the way we looked at things. I can't say that we sat and thought
> that we were pioneers… it was the way we could do the work, it was
> not a matter of choice... we didn't care to do innovative work. I believe it's
> wrong to start with this sort of goal, that is, 'I want to be innovative'. What
> you do needs to come out of you naturally, and you do what you CAN
> do. Otherwise it's aping. It doesn't grow from an inner process to think
> that, now I [choose to] become old-fashioned, now I am innovative, now
> I am Greek-spirited… or to deploy Greekness. You can have it, and it
> can be truthful, and can have a personality.[100]

Moreover, their design approach represented an alternative to the imitative works then widely produced, and to more conventional design solutions. Even though K+K won several international design awards in the 1960s, and was a model for certain new graphic designers in Greece,[101] its founders changed direction in the early 1970s due to the growing division of labour in the field.

> After 1970, things started to become complicated. We had account
> executives, they [clients] created the relevant departments, and it was
> becoming circular … we did not have the freshness of the beginning
> [the direct contact with the owner of the company]. [After that] we
> turned to interior design in cruise ships. [AK] It was accidental… no,
> it wasn't more artistic. It was more profitable.[102]

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[98] As M. Katzourakis noted in an interview by Michailidis, D., 'Shop Window Displays with Songs', *Dimosiotes kai Provole* (39) 1962, pp.19-27, p.25.
[99] I-FC-04/09/2004.
[100] I-AK-22/03/2008.
[101] As informed by my ATI student interviewees. See also Zannias, Y., 'One and a Half Month...' in *Design Routes*, ed. by E.L.I.A.-B. Museum (Athens, 2008), pp.239-241. Zannias worked briefly in K+K and claimed that 'they were the professional archetypes I watched [...]. [K+K] was a hub of genuine creativity, in a pleasant and above all civilised atmosphere full of humour. [...] In Greece, at any, rate, there never was another K+K'. English translation from original.
[102] I-MK&AK-22/03/2008.

Lampadariou argued retrospectively,

> I am not surprised that the Katzourakises and Carabott have not earned
> the recognition they deserved from the Greek advertising community.
> Not only do the younger generations know very little about them,
> since unhappily they retired so early, but the very cultural gap would
> make them [the younger generation] unable to discern and appreciate
> the various aspects of any style other than the modern-Greek.[103]

Individual graphic designers who contributed to the changing profile of Greek graphic design included foreign designers who brought remarkable changes to the design layout of *DP* (Ill.17a/b/c). For example, the Swiss Bernard Kesselring and the American Walter Myers, in 1964 and 1965 respectively, contributed to introducing a clear and minimal design layout with lower-case type dominating a blank white cover page (Ill.17b/c). Myers's design was kept throughout the period 1965-1973, providing a stable identity for the journal and an alternative to the cover pages of previous years (Ill.17d/e).

After this, the journal returned to a conventional, newspaper-like format of multiple columns on one page and very few photographs (Ill.17f). It also appeared in a slightly larger size with soft cover, as in a newspaper, and carried reports on news and activities in the field rather than the longer articles of previous years. Nevertheless, a new age in Greek advertising was inaugurated with the merging of national and multi-national advertising agencies, which defined the terrain on which to comment and report.

d. Forces of resistance

Modern or new practices in Greek graphic design were debated rather than straightforwardly accepted in the period under examination. Specific kinds of practices

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[103] Zannias, 'One and a Half Month...', p.240. English translation from original.

were thought of as threatening to established patterns, exemplifying the struggle to accept the new as part of being modern.

Conservative voices on innovations

Resistance to modern aesthetic qualities and a conservative response to new methods and styles could be seen in technical circles. This was usually expressed by older practitioners of typography, such as bookbinders, who were the main practitioners to write about the discipline.

One of the few articles published in *Typographia* on aesthetic issues was a polemical account of the New Typography of the 1920s, and the new printing technique of 'photo-typesetting' – presumably, the two 'attackers' of traditional typography. On that occasion, *Typographia* translated and cited in full an article published in *The Penrose Annual* by the French academic Robert Ranc, in order to warn of the danger posed to traditional typography by the new aesthetic fashions.[104]

> … it does not matter that these modernisms come from Mallarmé and Apollinaire' […] neither I [R. Ranc] accept, nor do I condemn modernistic flights of fancy, but this does not mean that I take these seriously, because they are more drolleries than bywords.[105]

The editors of *Typographia* embraced Ranc's views, and rushed to affirm that the basic principles of typography were essentially established and undisputed. It appears that foreign articles were included largely for information purposes, or for legitimising the editors' own position, rather than to stir up any sort of debate. In any case, this rare citation of a foreign article on the subject of aesthetics in a Greek periodical displays a conservative approach to the new typographic experiments undertaken abroad.

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[104] Ranc, R., 'Typography Today and Tomorrow', *Typographia*, 9 (187) 1 January 1967, p.10. The original Issue and date of the *Penrose* article are not cited in *Typographia*. Ranc was the director of research at the École Estienne and general inspector of technical education in France.
[105] Ibid.

In the words of ATI graduate Koutsouris, another 'revolution' in graphic design in the mid-1960s was the availability of ready-made letters in different styles and sizes. Known as *Letraset*, this instant lettering allowed the designer to create the textual part of a layout with new typefaces, and, more importantly, saved time (Ill.18a).[106] Beyond Roman, *Letraset* also offered the Greek alphabet, but in little variety (Ill.18b), leading to a general internationalising of the language of advertising and Greek brand names.

In 1970, Frantzis Frantziskakis, a key figure in the Greek art scene (an academic, art critic, gallery owner and editor of the art journal *Zygos*) expressed opposition to this typographic novelty. He saw Letraset as a 'disaster' for typography, defending the traditional slower and more qualitative pace of work.[107] His romanticised view of the past, as well as his definition of older and contemporary graphic design work, can be seen in the foreword to the catalogue of the 'Graphic Arts' exhibition organised in Athens in October 1971.[108]

> Those who will visit the exhibition and think they will find typographic artwork [objet d'art] or pompous publications strictly of artistic character will be disappointed. It is as if they visited an industrial textile exhibition and expected to see lace and flounces. This exhibition promises modern printed stuff, those that our age requires, that the new status quo commands us to produce.[109]

While contemporary styles and approaches were seen forced rather than original or fitting, and advertising was presented as 'a masterful discipline able to cover the potentially bad quality and performance gaps of a product', Frantziskakis praised the 'finesse of the printed book, which is intended for the few and privileged'.[110]

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[106] I-YK-28/01/2006.
[107] See Frantziskakis, F., 'Graphic Arts: We Forgot the Typography', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (100) July-August 1970, pp.64-66, p.65.
[108] Organised at the cultural centre 'ORA' (1969) by Assantour Bacharian, a painter and advertising director of the advertising agency 'ORA' (1963) and publisher of *Chroniko* (1970). This exhibition appears to be the 4th post-Second World War exhibition in Athens following that of 1958 in the gallery 'Zygos' by F. Frantziskakis, and that of 1965 and of 1966 both organised by HIGAM. K. Eliopoulos archive. The exhibition of 1958 is noted in Pavlopoulos, *Engraving, Graphic Arts. History, Techniques, Methods*, (p.62) as the first graphic arts exhibition. The exhibitions organised by HIGAM are not recorded in that book. No documentation was found so far to document graphic arts exhibition in Greece other than that of the catalogue of 'ORA': Bacharian, A., ed., *1969-1979. Ten Years of the Artistic Cultural Centre 'ORA'* (Athens: ORA, 1979). Therefore the number of exhibitions held during the period are quoted here with reservation.
[109] Frantziskakis, F., 'Prologue' in *Graphic Arts Exhibition*, (Athens: ORA, 1971), pp.2-3.
[110] Ibid.

In a similar tone, *Typographia* introduced the exhibition and a seminar on 30 September 1971.[111] An overview of the seminar was also presented on 20 October 1971 in a full-page article with photographs of the exhibition venue and key speakers, including Y. Vakirtzis (painter), P. Gravvalos (engraver), A. Matsoukis (typographer) and A. Bacharian (painter and editor).[112] It was reported that,

> … Two periods were presented in the Graphic Art exhibition… the first
> prior to 1900, with the huge lithographic stones and with the artist-
> engravers, and the second, with the modern Offset… these two watersheds
> give visitors the opportunity to see the great progress of the sector
> in our country… visitors have the opportunity to admire the
> beautiful examples of modern and artistic work of the largest typographic
> and lithographic companies of the country.[113]

However, what impressed the authors in *Typographia* were the lithographic posters of 1912 and 1925 presented in the exhibition, rather than the more recent offset design work, which they largely ignored. They also failed to comment on the innovative exhibition catalogue cover in the form of a folder with its playful typographic setting (Ill.19), which included ten loose sheets of paper with factual details of typographic metrics, standards, types, paper-folds and sizes, and some advertisements.[114] The modern elements were seen as necessary and unavoidable, but of little 'artistic' value. The cover design, in which a variety of typographic styles were arranged in an unconventional manner, was largely ignored out of nostalgia for the lithography of the past.

National identity and stereotypes

In Greek advertising, national identity was largely expressed through images carrying distinct historical and symbolic references. A prime example is the overuse of blue and white to signify the national flag and encourage adulation from the Greek people. The

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[111] The exhibition was organised in conjunction with a seminar planned at the same time and place.
[112] Approximately fifty people attended the seminars. See *Typographia* (20 October 1971).
[113] Servos, D., 'The Role of the Graphic Art in Our Life was Highlighted at the Graphic Arts Seminar', *Typographia*, 13 (288) 20 October 1971, p.3.
[114] K. Eliopoulos archive.

three periods of greatest symbol use in Greek history were discussed in Chapter 1, though this tradition also featured extensively in graphics and advertising of the 1950s and '60s. First was the period of ancient Greece, especially the 'golden' age of the fifth century B.C., second, the Byzantine Empire, lasting nearly four hundred years from approximately the third century A.D. to the conquest of the country by the Ottoman Empire in 1453, and third, the period of the War of Independence (1820s-1830s).[115]

From the first period, features such as ancient Greek monuments (the Acropolis, temples and theatres) and sculpture, landscapes, figures from Greek mythology (gods, heroes, etc.), geometric shapes, and writing chiselled on stones, were some of the visual clichés used in Greek adverts. For the most part, the images had little connection with the advertised product or its functionality, yet appeared to work on an ideological level, as can be seen in advertising for Greek *Papastratos* cigarettes (Ill.20a), in which a cigarette and its package are seen resting on top of an ancient pillar, thereby claiming the status of a 'masterpiece' comparable to Greece's ancient heritage. As previously mentioned, *DP*'s commentators saw the concept of nationalism in graphic design as the alternative to mimesis (copying foreign models), and encouraged the use of historical insignia for the promotion of Greek goods.[116]

Conventions drawn from the Byzantine Empire included Christian iconography (Jesus Christ, the Cross, saints, angels) and techniques of icon painting and mosaic. Christian Orthodoxy was seen as an element of national identity. To be Orthodox meant to be Greek, and therefore symbols of this era and culture were frequently used as national signifiers (Ill.20b). This approach, known as 'Helleno-Christian', was especially promoted during the dictatorship years of 1967-1974, when the regime's overriding mission was expressed in the motto 'Hellas of Orthodox Hellenes' (Greece of Orthodox Greeks) (Ill.21c).

As far as the third period is concerned (1820s), the traditionally dressed figure of *tsolias* wearing *fustanella* dresses, and war heroes, featured in a range of

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[115] The Byzantine Empire laid the foundations for Orthodox Christianity in Greece, the Balkans and Russia. The conquer of Constantinople (the capital) meant the end of Christianity and in the Middle East, and the rise of Ottoman-Muslim power.
[116] Anon, 'A Paradigm to Follow'.

advertisements for commercial products, such as shoes, light bulbs and detergents (Ill.20b). Usually, these references were copied from original sources and pasted into the maquette next to the product, which itself was often taken from a ready-made picture.

Dictatorship and graphic design

One of the first preoccupations of the Junta leaders was to create a strong image for their 'Revolution' regime through a crest. This crest comprised a Greek soldier in front of a phoenix, the bird-symbol of the first Greek government of Ioannis Capodistrias after the War of Independence in 1821 (Ill.21a). Though there is no evidence that the leaders of the dictatorship, either personally or through their propaganda department, developed the regime's promotional material, one of the coup leaders contributed to the design of the crest. On the crest's inception, Brigadier Stylianos Patakos stated that,

> The idea of the bird was somewhat mine and Skylitsis [owner of the
> advertising agency 'Greka']. [...] Skylitsis suggested the bird as a symbol
> of the Revolution [21 April 1967], and I proposed that in order not to fly
> away [...] to add a Greek soldier so as to guard the bird and protect it [...].
> In this way, our political connection with the first governor of
> Greece [I. Capodistrias] will be shown.[117]

The crest featured in all their propaganda, and was promoted on every occasion, especially in celebrations and on national days. As indicated by the extensive self-promotion of the dictatorship (Ill.21b/c) in all media, including the new medium of television over which they exercised full control, the power and benefits of graphic design and advertising were fully exploited. At one time, representatives of the regime (whether the colonels directly, or specific individuals in the government, or government departments, or the designers and publicists working for them) requested that the crest be included in the 'Exhibition of Packaging and Logotypes' organised by HIGAM

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[117] Kambilis, T., 'The 'Bird' of Junta and Capodistrias' 22 April 2007 <http://enstaseis.blogspot.com/2007/04/blog-post.html> [Accessed 2 August 2010]. 'Greka' was founded in 1924 by Konstantinos Kotzias; one of the close collaborators of Ioannis Metaxas in the late 1930s.

in 1968.[118] However, HIGAM's founder and director, Christakis, refused, resulting in the event's cancellation.[119]

For a later propaganda poster to win over public support for abolition of the monarchy, known as the 'Yes or No' campaign of 1973, the officials turned to the well-known K+K advertising agency. Carabott remembered,

> As we had a good reputation in the advertising community at that time,
> they asked us to do the 'Yes or No' campaign. [...] Of course we didn't
> want to be stigmatised, and we turned their offer down skillfully. We told
> them that our contract with the international advertising agency
> UNIVAS restricted us from being involved in any political campaign
> or promotion. In reality, there was no such restriction; we could well have
> done it.[120]

The colonels' seizure of power in April 1967 affected the progress of graphic design and advertising in an ambiguous way. On the one hand, it suppressed, or even led to termination of, certain publications, such as *Ikones*, and of other creative initiatives and publications, such as those of Christakis, for which he was prosecuted several times. He claimed openly that the dictatorship stopped him from implementing his plans for the progress of graphic design, and during the dictatorship he basically ceased his activities in advertising and publishing.[121] On the other hand, the regime seems to have exercised less strict control over other developments, such as the foundation of the Hellenic Advertising Agencies in 1968, as seen in Chapter 1, and the publication of art and design journals such as *Chroniko*, and *Themata Chorou ke Technon*, both published in 1970.

Another example that reveals the limited interest of the dictatorship in imposing its authoritarian policies on graphic design is provided by Carabott. On one occasion, the colonels were concerned that the logo for a soft drink should appear in the pure form of the Greek language, *katharevoussa*, instead of in the demotic. In particular, in

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[118] As informed by L. Christakis: I-LC-28/03/2007. The 'Exhibition of Packaging and Commercial Logos', which was scheduled for 9-20 March 1968 and would take place at 'Amalia' hotel in the centre of Athens, was announced in *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (January-February 1968).
[119] I-LC-28/03/2007. There were no post-exhibition news in *DP*.
[120] I-FC-04/09/2004. Also, I-FC-22/03/2008.
[121] I-LC-28/03/2007.

1969 Carabott was asked to redesign the logo of IVI, a popular Greek refreshment brand since the interwar period (Ill.22a). No fundamental changes were required to be made to the identity, as 'it was felt that the new image should, as much as possible, derive from the old, so that the consumer would recognise his familiar product under its new guise'.[122] However, as Carabott noted, the new 'clear and simple' design conveyed a 'streamlined modern image' different to the 'superfluous' graphic elements previously employed.[123] It was obvious that the original IVI logo was designed according to aesthetic principles of previous times, which included handwritten lettering, vignettes, and the accents demanded by a polytonic system.[124]

Carabott proposed a logo free of accents (Ill.22b), and was immediately told by military officials to appear at the military-run television headquarters to explain his 'misconduct'. They requested that the logo be revised to include the appropriate accent. Carabott explained that a brand operates on a different level than an everyday word. In the same way that the military uniform operated as a symbol of the state and was not common dress, a brand was a symbol, a representation of a company, and thus should not be considered a common word that has to comply with grammatical rules. It seems that this rationale was strong enough not to be disputed. IVI appeared in its modern version for several decades, until recently when the original design reappeared.[125] As Carabott explained, the 'Junta didn't hold influence on the aesthetics of things, ... only very small things, such as accents, enough to keep a sort of decency'.[126] These controversies pose certain questions related to the degree of influence exerted by the dictatorship over graphic design and its development.

As a consequence, advertising was favoured and supported by the regime, which allowed the operation of multi-national advertising agencies in Athens and importation of products such as *Coca-Cola*, which appeared in print and television advertising

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[122] I-FC-18/10/2004.

[123] Along with the print promotion, a cinema commercial was also produced which was shown before the intermission.

[124] The polytonic system (part of *katharevoussa*) uses several types of accents in the letters of a word that comply with a vast number of rules. The monotonic system, i.e., the use of one accent (*oxia*) in a word, was established by law in 1982.

[125] The case of IVI within the history of soft drinks in Greece is discussed in Emmanouil, '*At Last Now in Greece! Greek Advertising and America in the 1950s and 1960s*'p.82.

[126] I-FC-04/09/2004.

throughout the period. At the time, the rise in living standards and economic progress, albeit superficial, encouraged consumption, which many considered a reaction to the suppression of civilian and artistic freedoms by the Junta regime.

2.3   Conclusion: A way to modernisation

This chapter has showed that graphic communication was important as a political tool and economic force, since it was seen as indispensable to mass production and financial growth. In many respects, modernisation and Westernisation overlapped as concepts. To be 'modern' was to follow the Western paradigm of graphic design and advertising, as seen in numerous examples of copied works. While imitating foreign advertising was common, criticism disputed and discredited the practice. Moreover, although application of the principles of modern abstract art was encouraged and rewarded as forward-looking, concerns over accessibility among local Greek audiences were also expressed.

Visually, modern idioms embraced simple and clear forms and the unique selling point, as opposed to the clichéd, painterly styles of previous times. However, despite the new styles and approaches that were introduced, mainly by the new generation of trained graphic designers, older styles and techniques were seldom discarded entirely. Modernist examples co-existed with other works in the same space, even on the same page, and modernisation of visual language was commonly accomplished through a customised form of Westernisation.

The following two chapters focus on the key areas of post-war economic development that accelerated post-war Greek modernisation: electrification and tourism promotion. Greece's post-war reconstruction after the war-torn 1940s was directed towards rebuilding and reshaping the nation. In this environment, electrification became the 'dynamotor' driving forward the new way of life led by capitalism and industrialisation, while tourism was the flagship of the modernisation project and a primary economic resource.

Chapter 3

'... and there was light!' Advertising electricity

3.1 Electrifying post-war Greece

After the Second World War and the Greek Civil War that ended in late 1949, Greece was left in ruins, bitterly divided with its economic and pre-war industrial infrastructure largely destroyed.[1] Nationally and internationally, there were persisting concerns both over Greece's underdeveloped industrial basis and unstable political status. In terms of the latter, as an American correspondent phrased it in 1950, Greece was the 'hot spot in the Cold War', threatening communist expansion to the East.[2] A state of controlled democracy characterised the period, with anti-communism a major state ideology.[3]

Electrification occupied a central place in the country's broader post-war reconstruction with the contribution of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Marshall Plan.[4] It was decided that the American company EBASCO Services Inc. would research and propose a plan for the power development of

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[1] After the War, human losses were estimated between 5.5 and 10%; the building sector was destroyed by 23% (30% concerned dwellings); the train and public transportation network was damaged by 90%; the industrial production rate in 1945 was 33% in relation to that of 1938: Babanasis, S., 'The Economic Development and its Social Impact in Greece during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)', in *The 4th Scientific Conference: The Greek Economy during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)* (Panteion University, Athens, Greece: Saki Karagiorga Foundation, 24-27 November 1993), pp.37-59.

[2] Anthem, T., 'Greece Steps to the Left', *Contemporary Review* (177) January-June 1950, pp.204-209.

[3] Nikolakopoulos, E., *Withered Democracy. Parties and Elections, 1946-1967.* (Athens: Patakis, 2001); Close, D.H., *Greece Since 1945.* (Great Britain: Longman, 2002), pp.88-98.

[4] Pantelakis, N.S., *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956).* (Athens: National Bank of Greece Historical Archive, 1991), p.370. For a short description of international bodies including the International Red Cross, the British Military Liaison, and on issues of economic dependency and industrialisation plans, see Thomadakis, S.B., 'Stabilization, Development, and Government Economic Authority' in *Greece at the Crossroads. The Civil War and its Legacy*, ed. by L.W. John Iatrides (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp.173-224; Pantelakis, *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956),* pp.371,392-397.

the country, signaling the increasing involvement of the American presence in Greece. According to this plan, cheap energy could be achieved by the use of indigenous natural resources (lignite, coal, and water) and the creation of a united, centralised national network.[5]

With the exception of the Electrical Company Athens-Piraeus (ECAP), based in Athens and known as the 'English company',[6] the operation of the approximately four hundred electricity companies around the country was thought of as ineffective for the industrialisation of the country and domestic use. This was due to the dated network, which resulted in frequent power cuts, and, more importantly, to the high price of electrical power for industrial and domestic use.[7] It was common belief that without efficient electrification, industrial development was unfeasible and reconstruction would remain an unfulfilled dream.

Before 1950 only 30 per cent of the country, mainly Athens and Piraeus, made use of electricity, while the rest of Greece used other means, such as gas or oil.[8] The year 1950 is considered a turning point in the history of the electrification of the country, with the foundation by the state of the Public Power Corporation (PPC). According to the official statute, PPC was a 'public company that belonged wholly to the Greek public, operated for the interests of the public, yet under the laws of the private economy'.[9] This new electrical company was basically the body to which the Greek government assigned the country's electrification, and which was gradually allowed exclusive production and distribution of electric power. In August of that year,

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[5] Pantelakis, *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956)*, p.379.
[6] ECAP was the result of merging electricity production and distribution companies in 1929/30, with the English company 'Power and Traction Limited' the major shareholder, see Ibid and Tsotsoros, S.N., *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992.* (Athens: Kentro Neoellinikon Erevnon, 1995).
[7] Pantelakis, *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956)*, pp.392-393. Greece's electrification programme was initiated in 1889.
[8] Kassianou, N., ed., *Pioneers of the Technical Civilization* (Thessaloniki: Photography Centre, Skopelos Hellas; Thessaloniki Museum of Photography, 2006), p.14. In 1950, Athens consumed the 83.8% of the total electricity, while in 1959 this was reduced to 69%, Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.112.
[9] Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.88; Pantelakis, *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956)*, pp.419-420.

EBASCO's role as technical advisor to the programme's promotion, and its influence over the company's executive officers, was very powerful.[10]

As an overriding priority, electrification was seen and widely projected in the press and documentary film as moving the country away from a poor, backward and underdeveloped nation, towards a more developed one resembling the West. Overall, electricity was presented as something positive, safe, exciting and absolutely necessary for Greek people, especially those living in remote or secluded areas.

In the texts, the diffusion ('penetration' as it appeared in original sources) of electricity into rural parts of the country was characterised in several articles as a 'happy revolution'.[11] These expressions, appearing here in inverted commas, might have struck a sensitive nerve in people's recent memories of the Greek Civil War, which occurred mainly in rural and mountainous parts of the country between the Left and Right. 'A people's revolution' (*laiki epanastasi*) was a label used by the leaders of the insurgency to characterise the communist-inspired revolution.[12] The term 'penetration' might sound especially daring, if not harsh, considering the horrific events of only a few years earlier, in which organised attacks, night ambushes and raids into villages by either 'communist guerilla fighters' or the National Army soldiers resulted in widespread killings and kidnappings.[13]

The title of this chapter, '… and there was light!', is taken from a catchphrase used in an early PPC promotional photo-essay.[14] It is emphatically re-used here to connote the cornerstone impact of electrification on the country's development and people's lives. This research considers the study of electricity promotion as appropriate for examining modernity and the role of Greek graphic design for two key reasons: first and foremost, due to the nature of the product itself being associated with progress and

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[10] For the different phases of PPC's organisation by EBASCO, see Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, pp.89,90,95,99. By 31 December 1973, 98.07% of the population and 76.45% of the settlements was energised.

[11] Anon, 'And There Was Light! Electricity Penetrates the Greek Countryside', *Ikones* (9) December 1955, pp.30-33.

[12] Iatrides, J.O., Wrigley, Linda, ed., *Greece at the Crossroads. The Civil War and its Legacy* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), p.5.

[13] See Margaritis, G., 'The Civil War. The Political and Military Conflict, 1946-1949' in *The History of the New Hellenism, 1770-2000*, Vol.8 (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003), pp.231-260.

[14] Anon, 'And There Was Light! Electricity Penetrates the Greek Countryside', p.30.

modern life per se; and secondly, due to the widespread use of graphic design and advertising, which in turn was a strong indicator of rising awareness, both on the part of the state and of companies, manufacturers, clients and the market generally, of the role of this new group of design professionals and its emerging professional discipline.

However, it is not only the quantity of the campaigns that is important here, but also their quality, frequency, display and variety of subjects, which speak of the kind of modernity projected and of the foreign influences exerted and restrictions made on art and design professionals (painters, illustrators, graphic designers and photographers) in design-making. The advertisements were collected from a several periodical types, ranging from architecture and industry to advertising, journalism and art.[15]

Case studies

The fact that PPC was associated with the national, and mostly rural, context up to early 1961, and that ECAP was connected to private initiatives and the urban environment, also raises important questions with respect to whether these two contexts – public and private, rural and urban – impacted on the way electricity, and through this, modernity, was promoted. Did graphic design present this managerial and geographic difference, and in what ways? Can we speak of context-specific modernities?

The country's post-war electrification, as projected through texts, was closely associated with the overriding post-war concept of 'progress' and of a modern, 'civilised' way of life. This connection ultimately raises another basic question regarding the visual: what constituted 'modern' in the promotion of electricity? How was the modern conveyed? Which themes and graphic design elements were employed to convince the Greek public to use this new, invisible, technologically-advanced, yet still dangerous,

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[15] The following periodicals have been examined: the industrial periodical *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* ('Industrial Review', 1934); the popular magazine *Ikones* ('Images', 1955); the business bulletin *Deltion Dioikiseos Epichiriseon* ('Management Bulletin', 1962); the periodical on journalism *Eleftherotypia* ('Liberal-press', 1963-1967); the art journal *Zygos* ('Scale/Balance', 1955-1966, 1971-1983/5); the architectural periodical *Architektoniki* ('Architecture', 1957-1971); and the advertising journal *DP* ('Publicity and Promotion', 1958).

product, and substitute older, established, gas-based methods for lighting, cooking and heating?

In her study of electrification and the reception of novelty, Greek historian Aliki Vaxevanoglou argued that change towards an electrically driven society and economy during the interwar period was a slow and challenging process because of the particular structure of Greek society and the economy.[16] Resistance to the introduction of new methods and professionals was shown through competitiveness and the opposition of rule-of-thumb experts to educated professionals, such as mechanical engineers. Interprofessional competition in the post-war years, as seen in Chapter 1, pervaded the graphic design sector, too, between artists (painters), or established practitioners (typographers) and emerging graphic designers. Looking at the structural elements of design production, we need to ask what kind of practitioner was commissioned to design the promotional campaigns of electricity in both companies, and what was their approach to design.

In his 1989 study on the Dutch electrical appliances company, Philips, during the 1930s and '40s, the historian John Heskett emphasised the processes and structural context of design decisions, rather than design trends and their aesthetic dimensions.[17] What is useful in this work is the author's argument for the limited, subsidiary role of designers in the decision-making process, as a result of corporation policy that treated design as a 'superficial styling' and as 'a late superficial addition in the product development process', in which decorative artists added a finishing touch without being really involved in substantial decisions about the nature of products.[18] A second question to ask, therefore, concerns the work environment that allowed the image-maker of electricity promotion in Greece to perform his/her creative skills.

In dealing with the promotion of electricity since the 1930s (in the case of ECAP), Greek photographers who were commissioned by the two companies to document the

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[16] Vaxevanoglou, A., *The Social Reception of Novelty. The Case Study of the Inter-war Electrification in Greece.* (Athens: Centre of Neohellenic Studies, 1996).
[17] Heskett, J., *Philips. A Study of Corporate Management Design.* (-: Rizzoli, 1989).
[18] Ibid, pp.18-19,154-155.

developments of construction works are argued to have used a mixture of modernism and conservatism – a mix that 'combined personal realities and the need to achieve particular goals for the purpose of propaganda'.[19] And although they 'were deeply engaged in structuring the new society', photographic historian Nina Kassianou has claimed that 'they were not influenced by a powerful ideology [the 'New Vision'] like their pioneering European and American counterparts'.[20] Kassianou's idea of a modest, but at times, visionary, photographic company representation offers an excellent opportunity to consider the ways international developments in electricity advertising influenced the Greek case.

Across the Atlantic in the mid-1980s, social historian David Nye, who studied the advertising history of the American company General Electric (GE, est.1892),[21] and how photographic images became a tool of corporate ideology and identity during 1890s to 1930s, demonstrated that GE presented entirely diverse images to its workers, managers, engineers and customers. Surprisingly, he argued, the images sometimes contradicted one another.[22]

Speaking of plurality of images rather than one image, did the different publicity strategies testify to a multiple profile? More importantly, considering Greece's strong association with its ancient past, how did electricity companies profile a country on the verge of modernisation powered by electricity? Did the new technological commodity (electricity) challenge that stereotypical identity and acknowledge new ones? And how did the public and private status of the companies affect the identity and decisions made over design?

To seek answers to these questions, this chapter looks at the ways in which PPC and ECAP used graphic design and advertising to introduce electricity during the mid-1950s and early '60s. Although both companies started by showing their industrial profile through images of engines, power stations, dams and other electrification

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[19] Kassianou, ed., *Pioneers of the Technical Civilization*, pp.46-47.
[20] Ibid, pp.46-47.
[21] Nye, D.E., *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930.* (MA, U.S.A.: The MIT Press, 1985).
[22] Ibid, p.159.

works, they soon developed a different advertising approach. This promotional divergence raises questions with respect to the role each company played in the electrification of the country, and the ways that electricity, which is a product of modernity writ large, was promoted.

3.2 Publicity strategies and design influences

Promoting electricity was an obvious goal for the two major electricity companies in Greece (ECAP and PPC). However, there were other factors that justified the intense advertising frenzy that developed between the two in the mid-1950s, and until PPC bought out ECAP in December 1960. PPC plans to gradually monopolise electricity production and distribution throughout Greece threatened the status of existing electricity companies, including ECAP, which was the biggest and best-placed company situated in the country's industrial centre, Athens.[23] In one promotional text, a case of 'resistance' by a local electricity company to 'transfer its rights' to PPC is graphically narrated.[24]

Approximately two years later, in 1962, PPC advertising ceased to exist when it bought out nearly all other electrical companies in the country (it already held 97.2 per cent market share by 1961).[25] This fact highlights that advertising took root in a competitive environment, strengthening its links with the local economic network. Moreover, it is significant that other state monopolies produced hardly any self-promotion at the time, which suggests that advertising was not considered an essential component of state company profiles.[26]

The earliest print advertising found in the periodical press was in 1954 for ECAP, and in 1956 for PPC. Since then, and until the end of 1960, these two companies

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[23] Since the early 1960s, PPC was the main electricity provider for the whole country, distributing electricity to 99.8% of the Greek population: Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.87. By 1963, PPC monopolised the market, having bought out almost all electrification companies across the country. *DEH Annual Newsletter*, 2006, p.8. PPC's consumers in 1961 represented 97% of total power demand in the country; in 1957 this share fell to 11.3%, in 1958 to 16.9% and in 1960 to 24.9%, Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.112. For a concise table of the companies bought out by PPC until 1968, see Pantelakis, *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956)*, p.433.

[24] The successful buying out of that small company was not, however, granted to force measures by the PPC, but by the local people's decision and determination to stop using the company's electricity for three months, Tarsouli, G., 'Light in Tsoukaleika: The Civilisation in the Greek Village', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (277) November 1957, pp.805-808, p.806.

[25] Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.112. The only promotion produced thereafter was for the company's public loans and bonds, which lasted until approximately 1966. This had more to do with supporting the company than promoting electricity, and thus, are excluded from this analysis.

[26] Consider, for example, the Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation (OTE) (1949) for which promotion was first requested in the late 1960s by K+K, nearly 20 years after its foundation. Company archive research is pending to support further this claim.

engaged in fierce advertising competition with each other. Within this five-year period advertisements for both companies shared a similar design pattern, ranging from hand-drawn illustrations and engravings to abstract linear drawing and photography. Despite this diversity, company logos and mottos, 'Progress with electricity' for ECAP and 'At the service of the Greek public' for PPC, remained basically the same throughout the period. This reflected the need for a stable identity underlined by the ubiquitous company trademark, strengthening the link between product and company. Interestingly, their advertising campaigns differed thematically in many respects. The largest quantity of advertisements for both companies appeared between 1957 and '59, with a significant reduction of advertising production by PPC in 1961. This analysis is based on a total of 72 original designs in the periodical press: 38 for PPC and 34 for ECAP.[27] PPC users rose from 24.9 per cent of total electricity demand in 1960 to 97.2 per cent in 1961, with PPC ultimately monopolising the market and making advertising redundant.[28]

a. Visibility

Electricity promotion stood out from the rest of Greek advertising. With the exception of the earliest electrification adverts, most advertisements used a whole page, a scale that added to the visibility and importance of the product and distinguished it from rival promotions of smaller size. More importantly, they usually appeared on the covers

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[27] By 'original' is meant an advert that holds a unique idea despite the fact that it has been produced by different design techniques, from a colour drawing or photograph to high-contrast black-and-white drawings or illustrations. These extra versions are not included in the total count of the adverts noted here. PPC original designs in 1956: 1; 1957: 10; 1958: 7; 1959: 8; 1960: 6; 1961: 3; 1962: 3. ECAP original designs: 1954: 1; 1955: 1; 1956: 9; 1957: 7; 1958: 7; 1959: 5; 1960: 4. The adverts were collected from the seven periodicals stated earlier, covering a period 1954-62: the first two years of ECAP advertising monopoly (1954, 1955) and the last two (1961, 1962) for PPC. Valuable visual information for early PPC promotion was retrieved by the Health and Safety Department archive, which holds approximately 60 posters (presented in the recently published album of 55 posters celebrating 55 years of the company) and a few official documents of the 1950s and '60s. These posters and a small number of international promotional material comprise unique primary sources and are included in the analysis.
[28] In 1958 it was 16.9%, and in 1957, 11.3%: Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.112.

of magazines, thereby reaching the largest number of consumers.[29] In Greece, the display of periodicals and other press in small square kiosks (*periptera*),[30] which were usually hung with periodicals and newspapers on all four sides, aided browsing by passers-by and increased the value of placing an advert on the cover page (Ill.1). Also, the reward for taking a cover page was colour printing. Advanced offset colour printing, used in some popular magazines and trade journals, improved a periodical's status and consequently that of its cover advertising.

Communication with the audience was highly valued, as seen in regular publishing of seasonal greeting messages during Christmas, New Year and Easter. Another way of promoting the company was through text. Among regular promotional articles on electrification in periodicals, the majority concerned the new PPC, with only a couple focusing on ECAP, and all made use of photography rather than other representational means.

In the interwar and immediate post-war periods, documentary photography presented the devastating conditions of life – hunger-struck bodies lying in the streets of Athens during the occupation, as recorded very frankly by photographer Voula Papaioannou (1898-1990).[31] The situation started to change in the 1950s, when photography became a medium of optimism and positivism, as well as a political tool for portraying Greece as a developing and increasingly prosperous country. As Nye and Kassianou have argued, photography for electrical companies was treated as an instrument for communicating ideologies.

Alongside documentary scenes, photographic juxtapositions of 'before' and 'after' were used to create an easily recognisable language that illiterate people could

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[29] Other products displayed in the cover pages were those associated with Greek industry, e.g., Piraiki-Patraiki, cement companies such as Titan and Iraklis, or oil companies such as BP, ESSO Pappas, that is, industries closely related to heavy industry, investments and the reconstruction of the country.

[30] Little square houses, 'paper palaces', of one foot square wide were featured in the streets and sold all sorts of confectionery (candies, chocolates, etc.) and basic products, such as men's hairbrushes. See Anon, 'Greek Kiosks', *Ikones* (24) April 1956, pp.40-41.

[31] Weber, J., Konstantinou Fani, Petsopoulos, Stavros, ed., *The Photographer Voula Papaioannou* (Athens: Agra, 2006).

understand (Ill.2).[32] This photo-journalistic approach, in which photographs were treated as powerful narrative components, made the story more dramatic, a technique that had been advanced in Germany in the 1920s by photographers like Erich Salomon, and seen in magazines such as the *BIZ*, and later, American *Life* and British *Picture Post*.[33] Design historian Steven Heller noted in his study on picture magazines of the 1930s that 'when the two pictures are brought together and positioned side by side, each picture's individual effect is enhanced by the reader's interpretative powers'.[34] Photographic juxtaposition, as seen in the PPC article published in *Ikones*, made it easier for people with poor reading skills to comprehend the impact of electricity in their lives. Most importantly, modernity in this set of photographic juxtapositions was conveyed through the functional and rational qualities of electricity.

In contrast to PPC images of electricity diffusion in rural environments, ECAP photographs projected a different reality. Young contemporary housewives were photographed drying their hair or admiring new electrical appliances, in settings that represented modern urban households (Ill.3). The close-ups of charming and attractive models posing with ease and grace were in stark contrast to images used by PPC.

PPC and ECAP photographs offered a compelling evocation of reality for each audience, and seemed to be objective statements of facts as the audience knew them. These divisions between audiences spoke of the differences between the two companies, but, more importantly, illustrated the sophistication of their promotional strategies as they appeared in the press. Interestingly, these everyday images of 'before' and 'after', 'happy' and the 'unhappy' housewife, never appeared in the companies' regular advertisements.

We are confronted here with an important question that relates to the working relation between photographers and graphic designers. Research has shown that their collaboration was mediated rather than direct. Considering K. Eliopoulos' assignment

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[32] Anon, 'Public Power Company', *Ikones* (45) September 1956, pp.94-99; Tarsouli, 'Light in Tsoukaleika: The Civilisation in the Greek Village'.
[33] See Crowley, D., *Magazine Covers*. (London: Octopus, 2003), pp.66-71.
[34] Heller, S., *Design Literacy (continued). Understanding Graphic Design*. (New York: Allworth, 1999), pp.62-68.

for designing an early PPC advertisement, the company 'gave him the photograph to include in the advert'.[35] As he affirmed, no direct communication between him (a photographer himself, as his rich collection of cameras and photographic equipment, and photographs in his archive testify) and the photographer actually took place, nor did any discussion of which photograph would be best suited for the advertising idea, or indeed for the company's long-term aim and promotional style.[36]

This testimony reveals the existence of an unintended over-arching ideology for the companies' profile, and also the primary role of both photography and photographer in the design process for PPC promotion, at least at this early stage. But without further evidence, this cannot be the final word. What we can consider is whether photography, a modern medium of representation in which both companies were so heavily invested in the photo-essays, was dominant in the context of advertising too. In other words, was photography the primary medium for imagery in advertising, at a time when it was commonly overwhelmed with illustrations? If so, this would show the companies' eagerness to adopt a modern, unconventional medium to promote their profile. Or was advertising a different arena, subjected to different visual rules and narrative techniques altogether?

Apart from print advertising and written publicity, both companies employed other dynamic sales strategies. Their major points of reference were the 'Customers' Service Centres'. These were basically showrooms in which one could get information on electricity and watch live demonstrations and screenings on how to use domestic electrical appliances (Ill.4a/b/c).[37] These events were quite popular, as 121,390 people visited the PPC centre alone in 1961.[38]

Other than showrooms, perhaps the strongest publicity strategy after 1956 was company participation in fairs and exhibitions. PPC participated annually in the major event of the year, the Thessaloniki International Fair (est.1926). Its second

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[35] TC-KE-04/04/2010.
[36] TC-KE-04/04/2010.
[37] Anon, 'The P.P.C. Customers' Service Centre in Thessaloniki', *Architektoniki* (8) March-April 1958, pp.106-109.
[38] Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.217.

contribution to the fair in 1957 was documented in detail in a ten-page report in the industrial journal *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (Ill.5a/b/c/d/e).[39] Photographs of the interior and exterior spaces of the pavilion during day and night showed its great scale and impressive 'phantasmagoric' construction, as it was called in the photo-essay.[40] As in the interior of the PPC showroom, a huge pylon stood at the entrance to the pavilion (Ill.5a).

b. Design credits and international borrowings

With respect to who designed these adverts, there are important historical gaps, which are partly bridged by personal testimonies.[41] Apostolis Saramantis, director of PPC's Health and Safety Department (HSD) between 1956 and 1983, noted that the company's promotion was a task undertaken by the Press and Public Relations office, which was established in 1956 (the year of the first known advert), and was renamed to 'Communication Department' in 1993.[42] As to whether an organised in-house advertising department operated within PPC, the available sources lead us to assume there was not, at least not in the form of a department with a full-time designer and copywriter producing original work, as seen in the German company AEG in the early twentieth century.[43]

A large amount of promotional material (leaflets, posters and adverts) was unsigned, and primary research at the PPC archive provided important but limited

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[39] Konstantinidis, F.P., 'The Electrification of Greece as it is Promoted in the P.P.C. Pavilion at the Thessaloniki Exhibition', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (275) September 1957, pp.641-650.

[40] Ibid, pp.643-644.

[41] The only reference is to the well-known cartoonist, Fokion Dimitriadis, in Tolaki, M., 'Health and Safety in Work. A Historical Retrospective of 55 Years at PPC' in *55 Years of Health and Safety in Work. Historical Posters*, ed. by M. Tolaki (Athens: PPC, 2008). It is noted in this catalogue that 'no other names of artists are mentioned because these are not yet known'. A closer look at the HSD archive gives also a few more names or initials: I. Kondylis, 'P. R.', and Maiandros. A graphic designer named 'Gkiokas' was also a collaborator, yet no further reference was given, EC-LL-20/01/2010. Also, a hand-drawn signature appears in the poster A.A.48 (which is a copy of an American visual), but the name is not readable. K. Eliopoulos claimed to have designed the first advertising promotions for PPC in *Architektoniki*, but was never paid for this work. Other design credits, go to the advertising companies: MACIT, GREKA, DITS and VIOMEP.

[42] Telephone communication between A. Dimitriou (current department director) and A. Saramantis on 14 January 2010. A. Dimitriou passed me the details of their conversation on 15 January 2010. Also, EC-LL-20/01/2010. A Sales Promotion Division was founded in 1973, operated within the Distribution Development Department, and was mainly preoccupied with the promotion of electrical heating, Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.218.

[43] Windsor, A., *Peter Behrens: Architect and Designer, 1868-1940.* (London: Architectural Press, 1981).

evidence.[44] For ECAP adverts especially, there is no information on the designer or advertising company behind their production; no designer name or advertising agency title is printed on any advertisement and the photographs have no credits, except in one case by photographer Emilios Serafis.[45] On the anonymity issue, PPC photographer Kostas Balafas noted that 'none of us saw their work as personal. Thus, neither in the trip record book, nor in the negatives archive, is there any photographer's name'.[46] This fact is also asserted for the larger graphic design and advertising sector by K. Eliopoulos, who stated,

> We rarely put our signature on the works... it was not an age of
> self-promotion that much. Anyway, we knew who did what.[47]

The majority of PPC adverts presented in periodicals were signed by the name 'Rado', handwritten in Latin alphabet.[48] According to Eliopoulos, Rado was the abbreviation of the artist's surname, Radovic (or Radowitz), who changed his Slavic-sounding name to one more authentically Greek, Radovitis.[49] Indeed, the name of Petros Radovitis is indexed in *Architektoniki's* designer's index under the 'maquette designers' listing.[50] Moreover, Saramantis has identified this same person (Petros Radovitis) as a collaborator of PPC's Press and Public Relations office.[51]

In any case, the name of the designer is not so important, as this research does not recognise the significance of the designer in the making of a more or less successful design (aesthetics).[52] Instead, other factors (than the designer) determining the final design, like working conditions and the status of the designer in the company, are taken into consideration.[53] Most importantly, in the case of PPC, the role of the client,

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[44] By law, as informed by a PPC employee, the company is entitled to keep archives for the last 5-10 years.
[45] Kassianou, ed., *Pioneers of the Technical Civilization*, Rigopoulos, D., 'When Greece Came Out of Darkness...' *K (of Kathimerini news.)*, February 2006, pp.46-51.
[46] Rigopoulos, 'When Greece Came Out of Darkness...', p.50.
[47] TC-KE-04/04/2010.
[48] The identification of his name (Rado) came from different sources, primarily personal testimonies, which correlate and strengthen the identity of the person behind the signature.
[49] According to K. Eliopoulos, Radovic (possibly Greek–Roumanian or Greek–Serbian) was a permanent employee of PPC. He came to Greece from Egypt, where a big and wealthy Greek community retained strong commercial connections with Greece during the period. ID-KE-13/08/2007.
[50] *Architektoniki*, 61, February-March 1967.
[51] Telephone communication between A. Dimitriou and A. Saramantis (as above).
[52] The designers' role was put under scrutiny in Forty, A., *Objects of Desire. Design and Society since 1750.* (Dumfriesshire: Cameron Books, 1995 [1986]), pp.182-206,239-245.
[53] Heskett, *Philips. A Study of Corporate Management Design.*

in this case of the upper administration, in the design-making process is seen as crucially important. According to Saramantis, the department usually provided the artist with visual material (leaflets and posters) relating to international electrical companies and other health and safety bodies, and 'Rado was asked to adjust them for local use'.[54]

Many posters for the HSD were nearly exact copies of material produced by foreign institutions, such as the National Safety Council (Chicago, est.1913), the Texas Power and Light Company (est.1912), the French Electricité de France (EDF, est.1946), and by a German safety provision body. In the case of the German illustration, which features careless work in underground constructions (Ill.6a),[55] particularly a bucket excavator destroying underground cables and pipes, the Greek copy isolated and reused this detail, adding a more direct and dramatic tone with the introductory message, 'Your life is in danger' (Ill.6b/c).

In some cases there are further visual additions, as in the 'Careless Use' poster, in which an image of a sun is added to the top right-corner of the poster and the colours made brighter than the original (Ill.7a/b). Also, in the original format the blue uniform is loosely sketched, whereas in the Greek version this is edited to promote a neat and respectful working appearance. Looked at more carefully, the dark-skinned worker in the American poster (identified as such by the screwdriver and general attire) has been altered in the Greek version and made many shades lighter. Presumably the Greek designer decided to modify the colour of the worker's skin to reflect more correctly the racial identity of the majority of the Greek people (White-Caucasian) at the time. Hence, the racial connotation of whiteness in the designer's mind was critical for transforming a foreign-looking image into one more representative of Greek circumstances.

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[54] Communication between A. Dimitriou and A. Saramantis (as above). Also, HSD posters were offset printed and used a number of colours. The names of printing houses, such as V. Lambrinakos, Kontogonis-Malikoutis, I. Servou, were occasionally included on the posters.

[55] In the 1950s, EDF provided support and advice to its customers about the benefits of using electricity, http://www.edf.com, http://www.nsc.org/, http://www.texaspoweronline.com, and Johnson, R.L., *Texas Power & Light Company: 1912-1972.* (Texas, U.S.A.: Texas Power & Light Co, 1973). Thumbnail images of posters created by the National Safety Council: http://www.nsc.org.in/texts/posters.asp#. E.D.F. posters: http://www.parisposters.com/Eric/Emprunt-Acier-GIS-1966--(Small-Size).html.

Nevertheless, in both cases the role of the designer (signed by 'P. R.') was largely limited to re-drawing and de-constructing the original into colour maquettes required for offset printing, rather than to contributing original design ideas. This evidence suggests that at least some designs produced for PPC were not the result of the designer exercising their creative autonomy and originality. Instead, the designer was asked to reproduce a work thought by the company to communicate the message better, trusting instead to the technical 'know-how' of international examples on the issue of safety provision. In this case, company managers made borrowing foreign design ideas almost legitimate and formal.[56]

What other contemporary images could the Greek designer have drawn on? Well-known designers and artists who worked for the promotion of electricity were Man Ray (for the Parisian electricity company in the 1920s), and Lester Beall (for the American Rural Electrification Administration between 1937 and 1941), whose work was characterised by graphic simplicity, with flat, unfussy illustrative elements (Ill.8).[57] However, there is no evidence of these works in PPC/ECAP archives. Yet images of 1930s (and even earlier) work by modernist artists and designers alike, such as Picasso, Léger, Moholy-Nagy, Alvar Aalto, Ivan Chermayeff and Le Corbusier, were presented in two lengthy articles published in *Zygos* in 1959 (Ill.9a/b/c).[58] Images closer to the electricity sector cited in this article were by A. M. Cassandre (a poster of 1925), a photograph of a pylon by the American company T.V.A., and the ergonomic design of electrical switches (by 'Heytum') (Ill.9c). How much of this visual (and thematic) resource was used, and whether an original approach by the Greek designer(s) was actually allowed, requires further investigation.

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[56] An article by Aineias, T., 'The Legal Protection of Copied Foreign Artists in Greece', *Dimosiotis kai Provoli* (41) May 1962, pp.26-28, was an attempt at intimidation, citing the international and Greek law (Law 24 April/15 June 1953).
[57] Especially the first series of posters in 1937. The second series in 1939 became more complex marked by his experiments with photomontage. The third series in 1941 was the most intricate, with angled typography, patterns of colour bars and dots and silhouetted photographs. Remington, R.R., *Lester Beall: Trailblazer of American Graphic Design*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), pp.74-81.
[58] Michelis, P.A., 'Industrial Aesthetic and Abstract Art', *Zygos*, A (38) January 1959, pp.29-36; Michelis, P.A., 'Industrial Aesthetic and Abstract Art', *Zygos*, B (39) February 1959, pp.27-41,51.

3.3 Democratising a modern commodity

Greek society at the turn of the 1950s was one of high social inequalities, and, despite the prosperity and economic growth that was observed in the decade, disparities prevailed.[59] In terms of electricity diffusion, even though almost half of the population was living in villages in 1951,[60] by 1950 just 30 per cent of the country was electrified, primarily Athens, which represented 80 per cent of this total.[61]

Disparity also existed in electricity pricing between urban and rural areas. Electricity was cheaper in Athens, where the largest electricity producer and distributor of electrical power (ECAP) supplied industrial production, than in the rest of the country. In the latter context smaller utility companies functioned with a weathered and less efficient system of production and distribution to satisfy limited demand, making electrical power expensive and, for some, a luxury.[62] To achieve cheap and ample supply of energy therefore became a state priority during the period 1950-1973.[63]

Public need for social and economic justice was suggested by PPC textual propaganda, with fairness in pricing policy between the metropolis and smaller towns and villages particularly emphasised in photo-essays. In the latter context, fulfillment of the basic needs for a so-called 'civilised' life was envisaged as one catered for by electrical power. The rural population, which comprised a large target group, was the main focus of both the government and the company.[64] The following subsections deal

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[59] See chapter 'Uneven Prosperity, 1950-1973', pp.58-82 in Close, *Greece Since 1945*. , Labiri-Dimaki, I., 'Social Change, 1949-1974' in *The History of the New Hellenism, 1770-2000*, Vol.9 (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003), pp.181-196.

[60] Exactly 47%, Close, *Greece Since 1945*, p.64.

[61] Kassianou, ed., *Pioneers of the Technical Civilization*, p.14. In 1950, Athens consumed 83.8% of total electricity, which reduced to 69% in 1959, Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.112.

[62] In Athens the rate was 1,4 Greek drachmas (drch) for each kWh, whereas in suburban and rural areas, such as Pyrgos, Kumi and Adritsaina was 5,33drch, 7,98drch, and 11,30drch respectively.

[63] Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.89.

[64] A government official reported in 1959 that 'PPC works primarily in the countryside to acquaint local people with electric power'; Anon, 'The Contribution of P.P.C. in the Succeeded Progress', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (291) January 1959, pp.29-30.

with two persuasive advertising campaigns designed to promote the potential reach of electricity to the most remote and secluded villages.

a. 'Electrification... for all'

The company's interest in providing electricity across the country was indicated in the catchphrase: 'Electrification... for all Greeks'. In the words of historian Roland Marchand, the most pervasive of all advertising tableaux of 1920s America was the parable of the 'democracy of goods'.[65] According to this parable, the wonders of modern mass consumption, production and distribution enabled every person to enjoy society's most significant pleasures, conveniences or benefits. Terms like 'everyone', 'anyone', or 'every woman' were frequent clichés in PPC advertising. By the slogan 'Queen... every housewife', emphasis was given to the benefits of electricity for acquiring a utopian or desirable status among Greek women – the appearance or status of a queen (Ill.10).

In America, this process gathered momentum in the 1920s, and gained maturity during the 1950s as a sense of class differences was nearly eclipsed by a fascination with the equalities suggested by shared consumption patterns and 'freely chosen' consumer lifestyles.[66] Differences in Greek society existed both in class and in consumption habits between rural and urban, but also within the urban environment. A large portion of metropolitan inhabitants in 1958 still lived in temporary housing, basically bivouacs, with no basic amenities (running water, heating or hygiene provision) (Ill.11a). Apartment houses with basic utilities were a luxury enjoyed only by the upper classes or those winning a 'modern home' through the popular 'Editors' Lottery' (1958) (Ill.11b). In the rural context, however, people shared more-or-less similar living conditions, in shacks and farmhouses with limited electrical or other conveniences.

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[65] Marchand, R., *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940.* (London: University of Califoria Press, 1985), pp.217-222.
[66] Ibid, p.222.

The slogan 'Electrification for all' featured in many adverts and took up symbolic associations. As seen in a 1957 advertisement (Ill.12), the motto 'Light for All' in archaic-style lettering and in the *katharevousa* idiom, seems to come out of the mouth of the fair-minded god Zeus – an order for PPC to execute. His power is symbolically transmitted through his lightning, which is connected to the lightning of the PPC trademark. This in turn is the sign of the provider of energy for the flourishing of industry and agriculture, as seen through images of factories, dams and agriculture-related constructions in the lower part of the advertisement.

Since this new power originated from Zeus himself, the god of gods in ancient Greek mythology who possessed extreme power and was respected by gods and humans alike, it could only be for people's own good. Therefore, Zeus' familiar identity and status in Greek society helped naturalise and neutralise the threatening aspects of this unknown, new and potentially dangerous electrical power. Yet Zeus was not the only mythological figure to appear in PPC advertising. Others included the less-known Phaethon (yet, as the son of the god Sun, linked directly to the subject of light and electricity) to more known ones, such as Hermes, the god of commerce (among his many identities), and goddess Athena, the symbol of wisdom and patroness of the city of Athens, as I shall discuss later on. Here, the past promised democratic sharing of a commodity enjoyed until then by the few, and mostly in the metropolis.

The use of the past or tradition in the pictorial context was not a Greek peculiarity. It was also recorded in the Japanese context for the promotion of electrical goods in the 1950s. The latter promotion made use of the 'three sacred treasures' advertising strategy drawn from Japanese mythological antiquity.[67] It was also used in GE's marketing of the Mazda mark in the early twentieth century, which was initially associated pictorially with the sun as a familiar part of life.[68] Later on, with the rise of

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[67] The treasures (a sword, jewels, a mirror) were national symbols for authenticating the position of the emperor. Yoshimi, S., "Made in Japan': The Cultural Politics of 'Home Electrification' in Postwar Japan', *Media, Culture and Society*, 21 (2) 1999, pp.149-171.

[68] George, L., "The Sun's Only Rival': General Electric's Mazda Trademark and the Marketing of Electricity', *Design Issues*, 19 (1) Winter 2003, pp.62-71.

Orientalism as a popular merchandising theme in America, electric light was naturalised through fantasies of a pre-industrial Orientalist culture.

Conceptually, the exploitation of democracy, as a key concept in ancient Greek culture, was the closest the Greek designer could get to convey a sense of local tradition, regardless of the fact that the subject had no coherent connection with electricity. By implicitly defining democracy in terms of equal access to electricity rather than as a political concept, these visual clichés offered Greeks a vision of their society as one of incontestable fairness and equality in their everyday lives. Since equality among social class was not a reality in post-war Greece, especially as seen in the diffusion of electricity across the country, the suggestion had to be proved and supported in practice.

Convincing people living outside of the metropolis or big towns of the essentiality of the new form of energy was a very important, but cumbersome task for PPC, as general mentalities concerning fear of using this new power, as well as its perceived unnecessary and luxurious connotations, had to be argued against.

b. 'Electrification is a necessity… not an extravagance!'

The acceptance and positive reception of the new power by Greek people required a systematic marketing promotion and an attractive billing policy for consumers on a national scale, especially in the rural context.[69] Audience-specific advertising used in non-electrical environments was employed to change this mentality of reluctance in changing to the new power. The target audience was the farmer, the worker, engineer and rural housewife; in other words the working, lower classes in Greek society.

As pictured in an early advertisement, instead of major mythological personae, a joyful and friendly middle-aged male explains how his fields became irrigated by PPC's

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[69] Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.111.

hydroelectric works in the area (Ill.13).[70] Beyond the agricultural message, the figure's appearance, with hat and moustache, also reveals his traditional folk background. The moustache in particular, a characteristic of manhood, started to be out-of-fashion in the 1960s, as captured very graphically in the popular Greek musical comedy film, *The Blue Beads* (1967).[71] The film shows the 'traditional' male protagonist shaving off the moustache, of which he is very proud and which defines him as a serious, respectable individual in his community, in order to be fashionable and attract the modern girl he loves.

In another advertisement, a strong over-sized male hand projects from the sky, surrounded by prosperous fields and accompanied by the slogan, 'Rain is not enough' (Ill.14a). Raindrops run through the fingers implying untrustworthy weather. Instead, PPC promised stable and secure cultivation, shifting from an ad hoc to an organised system of production. The over-sized, cut-out hand resembling the Surrealist technique of the French artist A. M. Cassandre for Marocaine cigarettes (1935), or of the Swiss Josef Müller-Brockmann 20 years later (1955) (Ill.14b), or even of the hand depicted photographically in the foreign promotion of electric switches in *Zygos* in 1959 (Ill.14c/9c), created an unconventional space and perspective, unique and novel in Greek mainstream advertising.[72]

In both Greek advertisements examined above, the message was clear: for a modern business (agriculture), electricity provided the advantage of better efficiency, and thus more profit. This new perception of the relation between labour and profit (subject to time organisation) was a novelty in the interwar years, since the priorities of small family businesses were different, and labour was valued accordingly.[73] This re-viewing of the relationship between time and labour was foreign to small family units,

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[70] The text read: 'PPC's power made the miracle. It brought water from the bowels of the earth. And in one year, the production caught fire'.

[71] Dalianidis, Y., *The Blue Beads* (Greece, 1967).

[72] Objects in heroic proportions were thought to imbue the advertised product or service with confidence, respect, dominance, transcendence, and enhanced stature, Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, pp.265-267.

[73] Vaxevanoglou, *The Social Reception of Novelty. The Case Study of the Inter-war Electrification in Greece*, p.156. The family unit in the interwar period worked as much as it could or should for the completion of a specific task, and in this context the intensity of work did not accord with the hours of labour but with the needs of a small family business.

who were resistant to new professions such as mechanical engineering.[74] It is argued that the consideration of the value of time by the small family unit was distinct to what applies to the capitalist production system and to the growing need to suppressing it (time) for the increase of production and profit. Such a view was still a novelty in the post-war period, when Greece was just starting to recover,[75] but it was also a good time to absorb and respond to changes brought by foreign assistance for reconstruction of the country and for the emergence of a consumer society.

The theme of modern agriculture was introduced into advertising to communicate messages about obtaining greater profits through more familiar imagery. The pictorial tools used were highly descriptive, realistic and illustrative, and in stark contrast with those of posters designed by L. Beall nearly 20 years earlier.[76] It has been argued that Beall's posters were appropriate for an audience with minimal reading skills.[77] However, interpretation of these 'simple to read' images requires a certain level of visual literacy, and a representational style of this kind could be complex for an audience with little familiarity with visual communication methods. This might also be true for (visually) illiterate rural audiences in Greece, which had little involvement with a capitalist market based on advertising.[78] Although such people could not read the text, they might be able to understand a realistically presented image, and a more descriptive style for promoting electricity as a solution for real problems might therefore have been considered more suitable.

Nevertheless, as examined in Chapter 2, modern abstract art was not yet accepted by the general public or endorsed by local Greek artists in the 1950s. In this respect, the style chosen by Rado to portray a novel system of production based on electricity was not one of stylised imagery (possibly less familiar to the general public), but a descriptive one that already existed in mainstream advertising. It is likely that

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[74] Ibid, p.157.
[75] The industrial production rate in 1945 was 33% in relation to that of 1938: Babanasis, 'The Economic Development and its Social Impact in Greece during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)'.
[76] Remington, *Lester Beall: Trailblazer of American Graphic Design*, pp.74-81.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Zoulas, O.C., 'One Million Illiterate, Two Millions Half-literate', *Ellinika Themata*, 192 February 1972, pp.78-81.

Rado was not aware of the work of his American counterparts, so was unable to base his designs on that model. However, his chosen descriptive style represented a divergence from official graphic design as depicted in international periodical publishing.

Selling a more abstract, invisible commodity, such as electricity, perhaps allowed greater freedom of representation than, say, electrical goods. As historian Timo de Rijk has claimed, new goods from America were studied and imitated closely in the mid-1930s, as representations of modernity.[79] Although it is hard to know how persuasive Greek advertisements were, with the completion of rural and provincial electrification works and the diffusion of household electrical appliances, from 1961 to 1973 domestic consumption of electricity in the provinces increased by five times.[80]

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[79] De Rijk, T., 'Pioneers and Barbarians: The Design and Marketing of Electrical Household Goods as Dutch Americana, 1930–45', *Journal of Design History*, 22 (2) June 2009, pp.115-132, p.122.
[80] Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.119.

3.4 Proposing new national identities

This section deals with Greece's fixation with a single image, that of its cultural heritage. Indeed, the second most popular theme both companies used was the past and, in particular, the ancient past. It is broadly acknowledged among historians that ancient Greek heritage stood as both a blessing and a curse for modern Greeks. On the one hand, its rich history provided a source of national pride, and, on the other, it supplied 'the meat and marrow of an inferiority complex and a convenient scapegoat'.[81]

In fact, historically, the 'sense of the past', or the consciousness that Greeks were heirs to a heritage that was universally admired, was imported from Western Europe during the critical decades of national revival in the early nineteenth century.[82] As a consequence, official ideology as elaborated in mid-nineteenth-century Greek historiography was predicated on the theory of the historical continuity of Hellenism from classical times through to the formation of the modern Greek state.[83] Even today historicism is recognised as a commonplace rhetoric. As historian Richard Clogg wrote,

> All countries are burdened by their history, but the past weighs
> particularly heavily on Greece. It is still, regrettably, a commonplace
> to talk of 'modern Greece' and of 'modern Greek' as though 'Greece'
> and 'Greek' must necessarily refer to the ancient world.[84]

In professional contexts, this sort of historical scapegoating can be seen in writings about the history of Greek advertising and graphic design, as a way of endowing it with a higher and more respectable status than it actually had (as discussed in Chapter 1). In the international forum *Who's Who in Graphic Art* in 1962,

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[81] Gallant, T.W., *Modern Greece.* (London: Arnold, 2001), pp.xi-xii.

[82] Such awareness, T. W. Gallant noted, had scarcely existed during the centuries of Ottoman rule, Ibid, p.1.

[83] Kitroeff, A., 'Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography', *European History Quarterly*, 19 1989, pp.269-298, p.269. Kitroeff supported that '... ethnocentrism permeates not only the texts but also supplementary aspects of the books, such as the illustrations, exercises, and selection of sources', 'the sources constitute a complementary historical narrative parallel to the main text which consolidates the "message" of the text on an emotional level', p.246. K. Paparigopoulos' (the most sophisticated exponent of the theory of continuity) voluminous *History of the Greek Nation*, published between 1850 and 1874, provided the unquestioned theoretical framework of Greek historiography for almost a century. A recent study attested to this practice in the Greek educational system. Efi Avdela wrote that the continuity of Hellenism from antiquity to the present constituted an essential component of Greek national identity and was continuously reproduced in school: Avdela, E., 'The Teaching of History in Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 18 (2) 2000, pp.239-253, p.239.

[84] Clogg, R., *A Concise History of Greece.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1992]), p.1.

bookbinder S. Panayotopoulos, attempted to establish an uninterrupted line between modern Greek graphic arts and the arts of ancient Greece (architecture and philosophy) and also to more recent Greek history, such as the Byzantine period (3rd-15th Century A.D.).[85] The Greek author began his introduction by stating,

> The origins of the modern Greek graphic arts must be sought
> in the artistic tradition of Byzantium. […] there is every reason
> for taking a hopeful view of the future of the graphic arts in
> the country of Phedias, and Ictinos, Socrates and Plato.[86]

In the second volume of that publication (1982), Greece's representation was accompanied by an image of an ancient Greek vase (Ill.15).[87] The same sort of narrative was also used in the film *Our City* (1957) by British cinematographer Robin Carruthers.[88] The ancient past featured prominently at both the beginning and end of the film, reminding the viewer of the glorious past that could promise Greece's revival as once again a centre of wisdom and excellence in the post-war era.

The cultural heritage of Greece was also a popular theme exploited by ECAP. In fact, it was the older electrical company that first initiated a connection between electricity and ancient Greek culture. One of the earliest examples was seen in 1956 in *Zygos* (Ill.16a), where a half-page black-and-white advertisement featured a photograph of the Parthenon inside an oval frame, with playful divisions between black, grey and white spaces. 'Art with Electricity' is the slogan used to extol the artistic quality of the acclaimed architectural monument, illuminated by the light 'proudly' provided by ECAP.

Three years later in *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi*, the concept of national identity projected through the image of the Parthenon in miniature was once again conveyed through an unusual, modern visual language (Ill.16b). Lines linked together to form a complex nexus indicate the extended network of the company across the areas of Athens and Piraeus. This highly stylised image plays on the high contrast between

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[85] Panayotopoulos, S., 'Greece' in *Who's Who in Graphic Art*, Vol.I, ed. by W. Amstutz (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962), pp.265-269.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Doumanis, M.O., Ibid, Vol.II (Dübendorf: De Clivo Press, 1982), pp.433-441.
[88] Carruthers, R., *Our City* (U.K.: C.A.L. Ltd., 1957) 26' 04".

black and white, dark and light. Decoded, the white Parthenon in this image takes on the role of 'light-giver' to those living in the 'dark'. Taken a little further, on a metaphoric level the Parthenon could stand as the signifier of a spiritual light 'transmitted' to the West, most evidently during the Renaissance, and crediting ancient Greek culture ever since with the title 'cradle of Western civilisation'. Nevertheless, the reduction of the loaded symbol of the ancient Greek world, the Parthenon, into a stylised image surrounded by a network of adjoined lines, is in itself a challenge to perception in moving away from typical visualisations of national heritage.

However, neither the style (geometric/linear abstraction) nor the medium (drawing) were popular in the company's line of promotion. Instead, photographic snapshots of ancient sites were standard, especially between 1958 and 1960, when photography was used almost exclusively. In fact, the company encouraged the public to experiment with this technological medium by launching a photographic competition in 1959.[89] People took their cameras and shot the illuminated urban environment, 'Athens by night'. The winner's photograph was used in one of the company's advertisements featuring the entrance of a house illuminated by street lighting, yet in a nostalgic and lyrical rather than experimental and innovative way.

a. The autonomous, power-driven Greece

An important preoccupation of PPC was to establish a national profile following the proposed electrification plan of the EBASCO company in the late 1940s. The plan was based on the idea of nationalisation – an approach that would give the company a trustworthy, secure and serious profile. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of nationalisation was rooted in strong political reasoning, for enhancing the power autonomy of the country.[90] Greek dependency on international resources was an issue in both the

[89] See *Ikones* (196) 1959.
[90] The power autonomy of the country has been the primary goal of the power development programme during 1948-1958, Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, pp.59,87,379.

national press and politics, affecting both internal and foreign affairs.[91] It was reported

that a day before the Second World War erupted, 95 per cent of the electrical power

consumed in Greece came from imported coal and oil.[92] By using national resources for

electrification, it was hoped that Greece would no longer depend upon foreign powers

and could declare 'independence' from these interests. Several articles on electrification

voiced this view in specialised and popular magazines.[93] By the early 1960s power

dependency on foreign energy resources had decreased to 75 per cent.[94]

The construction of a national network was seen as the only feasible and

realistic plan for the country's reconstruction and modernisation, and was backed up

by the industrial sector, which emphasised its economic benefits. Persuasion methods

included graphical presentations of other national networks, such as the English,

Italian, French and German, which through nationalisation of electrification had

managed to reduce the cost of electricity and make it more affordable.[95]

In return, the country's electrification project was used in several instances for

political legitimisation. In 1960, a long article on the state's five-year energy plan was

used to show the country's progress under the Karamanlis government,[96] and

photographs of the prime minister personally supervising electrification works were

frequently featured in the press. As minister of Public Works before leading ERE, his

presence credited the programme with authority and knowledge. Similarly, during the

junta regime, several articles reminded readers of the country's rapid progress in

electrification.[97]

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[91] Ibid, p.94; Kaltsogia-Tournaviti, N., 'The Post-War Greek Society and the Way to the Institutional-Political Modernisation', in *The 4th Scientific Conference: The Greek Economy during the First Post-War Period (1945-1967)* (Panteion University, Athens, Greece: Saki Karagiorga Foundation, 24-27 November 1993), pp.655-671, pp.659-660.
[92] Pantelakis, *The Electrification of Greece. From Private Initiative to State Monopoly (1889-1956)*, p.446.
[93] Anon, 'And There Was Light! Electricity Penetrates the Greek Countryside'; Mingos, V., 'The First Ten Years. A Story of the Birth and Gowth of the Public Power Corporation of Greece Told in Words and Pictures', *Architektoniki* (22-23) July-October 1960, pp.27-82.
[94] Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.59.
[95] Raftopoulos, T.I., 'The National Electricity Network as an Electrical Economic Target', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (135) January 1946, pp.11-14.
[96] Anon, 'Five Years of Effort for a Better Future', *Ikones* (246) July 1960, pp.35-66; Anon, 'The Magnum Opus of P.P.C.: The Contribution of Electricity to the Greek Production Effort', *Deltion Doiikiseos Epichiriseon* (3) July 1962, pp.36-37.
[97] Anon, 'PPC: New Leaps', *Architektoniki ke Plastikes Technes*, 12 (68) March-June 1968, pp.126-127; Anon, 'PPC Expands the Country's Electrificaton by Leaps and Bounds', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (676)

In visualising the 'national', and in the attempt to forge a connection between nation-building and electrification, several articles on plant-construction works were accompanied with photographs showing the Greek national flag. In one, on the occasion of the opening of a hydroelectric plant in Tavropos and the company's tenth anniversary celebrating the 'cosmogonic work', the Greek flag flew next to that of PPC (Ill.17). A constant motto stressed the 'public' and national character of the company and its 'service to the Greek people'.

Other symbolic associations with the 'national' were also devised by graphic means. In one advert (Ill.18) the four bases of a giant pylon tower were positioned on a stylised map depicting the four parts of the country (slightly distorted for the purpose), connecting the Peloponnese with the south, Central Macedonia with the north, Epirus with the west, and Thrace with the east, thereby embodying the company's mission to provide power on a national scale. The whole image of Greece under this pylon of 'heroic proportions' transmitted the idea of a progressive and strong country, a statement eloquently voiced by the slogan, 'In a Greece that moves on... Electricity gives power'.[98]

In this strongly symbolic image, Greece is portrayed as an independent island amid the calm waters of the Mediterranean. Disconnected from its Balkan neighbours in the north, or in fact from any other nearby countries (Italy in the west and Turkey in the east), Greece, as seen from a bird's eye view, seems to declare autonomy and a sense of independence, voiced in numerous PPC articles as its utmost goal. Moreover, the image of Greece as a country where technology, through the visual reference of the pylons, was tightly and securely grounded offered an alternative identity for the nation other than its celebrated ancient stereotype – that of a technologically and electrically driven society. Indeed, technology was not only neutralised and naturalised in the local

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July 1971, pp.441-442; Anon, 'Electrification. 21 April 1967-1970', *Deltion Doiikiseos Epichiriseon* (81) May 1970, pp.313-314; Anon, 'Twenty Years of P.P.C.: A National Deed. Statement by P.P.C.'s Director Mr. V. Kardamakis', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (101-102) December 1970, pp.61-63; Dimopoulos, P., 'From the Progress of the Public Power Corporation ', *Deltion Doiikiseos Epichiriseon* (110) April 1973.
[98] Objects of heroic proportions as discussed in Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, pp.265-267.

context, but, was treated as the underpinning of modern Greek civilisation and high-value art.

Monumentalising technical civilisation

i. Pylons, the new columns

Visualising this invisible, odourless, colourless, potentially dangerous and expensive form of energy has been a challenge throughout the developed world since the late nineteenth century. Besides the symbol of lightning used in the PPC trademark, an object used prominently as a signifier of electricity was the pylon – the steel tower supporting high-tension wires. The installation of pylons near villages across the country was extensively photographed and their *raison d'être* justified in the accompanying photo-essays (Ill.19a).

Above all, the presence of pylons was presented as a miracle in rural environments, bringing change and a better way of life for all. Villagers were inevitably the protagonists of these photographs, gathered to watch the in-action building of these steel constructions. The same scene with a worker, as a fearless hero perched high on a pole, was also often presented in colourful print advertising, characterised as a 'historical moment' (Ill.19b). In the same image the presence of the local priest, a status figure in Greek society who represented the conservative Orthodox Church with its long and uninterrupted history of influence on Greek national identity, served to invest the event with authoritarian approval.[99]

As with the case of lightning in the PPC trademark, the pylon was also a familiar symbol of electrification on the international scene. For instance, in 1939, the Swiss poster artist Peter Birkhäuser drew a pylon (the 'Paillard' tower) in complete isolation on a dark background (Ill.20a). And in later times, posters for the French electricity company EDF, designed by the French poster artists Bernard Villemot and Mario

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[99] Paparizos, A., 'The Identity of Greek People. Ways of Self-definition and the Influence of Greek Orthodoxy' in *'Us' and the 'Others'. Reference to Tendencies and Symbols* ed. by L.M.-A. Ch. Konstantopoulou, D. Germanos, Th. Oikonomou (Athens: Tupothito, 1999).

Tauzin, used the pylon as a central reference in painterly and graphic representations (Ill.20b/c).

Steel towers were, then, a favourite motif and a strong symbol of communication in both photographic and graphic images of electrification of the period. Pylons could also be seen in the PPC showroom and in the company's pavilion at the Thessaloniki International Fair, thus appropriating this modern icon for private space and neutralising the more threatening aspects associated with its rapid invasion of the public environment.[100] PPC advertising offered a new and imaginative way of treating visually an 'invisible' commodity and making it familiar to the general public.

ii. Pylons as modern art

In early advertising, both PPC and ECAP projected their industrial background through long-shot photographs of factories, dams, stations and machinery, including turbines, generators and pylons. Images of factories with smoking chimneys were a sign of hope and revival of the Greek industry after the disastrous 1940s.[101] With the aid of the Marshall Plan, as well as foreign investments and the new free market instituted in 1953,[102] the Greek economy started to accelerate in pace. Advertising soon captured these changes, as seen in a 1956 advert that pictured the construction in progress of the new ECAP power station, with the slogan 'Progress with electricity' (Ill.21). Many similar advertisements during this and the following year contributed to building a strong and prospering company profile.

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[100] Other objects appropriating icons of the modern could be toys, souvenirs, travel objects and miniatures. See Meikle, J.L., 'Domesticating Modernity: Ambivalence and Appropriation, 1920-40' in *Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885-1945*, ed. by W. Kaplan (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995), pp.143-167.

[101] It is noted that since the mid-1940s, when ECAP's difficult financial status resulted in the suspension of big power units, most photographs concerned social work undertaken by the company rather than the development and expansion of manufacturing works: Kassianou, ed., *Pioneers of the Technical Civilization*, p.10.

[102] These proposed free-market strategies were drawn by a devaluation of the drachma by 50% and by lifting most of the import controls, encouraging a shift towards domestic-produced merchandise: Preston, L.E., Tzavelas, Constantine, *Consumer Goods Marketing in a Developing Economy*. Research Monograph Series 19 (Athens: Center of Planning and Economic Research, 1968), p.27.

Along with long-shot photographs and other forms of representation, such as engraving and drawing, the material culture of electricity was treated as a modern subject in its own right. This was achieved through close-up frames of engines or turbines and other industrial machinery, emphasising their aesthetic qualities rather than their technical characteristics (Ill.22).

Thus, PPC advertising, especially in the early years, projected the industrial profile of the company in an artistic manner as well. While photography was used largely as a means of documenting development and construction work across the country, in 1957 two unusually designed advertisements, using black-and-white photography and graphic design in unconventional ways, dominated the covers of *Ikones* magazine for a whole year (Ill.23a/b).

In both advertisements, photographic close-ups of transmission wires and experimentation with geometry were the characteristic elements. In the first, the photograph was placed between two horizontal bright-blue frames on which the PPC trademark and motto were positioned separately (Ill.23a). In the second, the same photograph was placed behind an off-balance red frame complementing the position of the wires on a diagonal axis (Ill.23b). Through this particular arrangement of (photo)graphic elements and minimal text, the two advertisements differed significantly from previous ones and introduced a new dynamic vocabulary. This kind of imagery was uncommon in mainstream advertising, where cartoon-like figures or hand-drawn images and sketches predominated.

Historically, strong diagonals, cut-out images, aggressive compositions and experimental techniques were characteristics of Soviet art propaganda and modernist graphics of the 1920s and '30s. In Russia, artists like El Lissitzky and Alexander Rodchenko used a repertoire of innovative devices, such as extreme up and down angles, tilted horizons, fragmentary close-ups and abstracted forms, known as the 'New

Vision' photography, as part of an attempt to break old habits of perception and visual representation.[103]

In Germany, the influential Bauhaus teacher Moholy-Nagy introduced in his work unexpected vantage points, and emphasised objectivity grounded in close observation of detail to provoke a fresh understanding of the visible world.[104] Man Ray was also known for his experimentation with the photographic medium, placing objects on photographic paper or film and exposing the film or paper to light. In 1931 a series of 'Rayograms' was commissioned by the Parisian electric utility company to promote the use of electricity. In one of them, an image of the illuminated Eiffel Tower at night was laid over neon advertisements in a dynamic, multiple-exposure print (Ill.24). Fragments of words float in diagonal axes, like snatches of overheard conversations, providing visual contrast with the vertically positioned Tower.

In the examples mentioned, graphic elements were taken a step further. Instead of merely positioning a rectangular photograph and text on the page, a more complex intertwining occurs between the two. Experimentation is also apparent in the visual ingredients, which in most cases had a direct connection to the promoted product (electricity, light, etc.), such as neon text (Ill.24), stage lighting effects for the pylon (Ill.20a), or dots defining pylons that resemble light bulbs (Ill.20c).

The impact of these artists' work is hard to detect in the Greek context.[105] However, it is a historical fact that Moholy-Nagy visited Athens for the 4th Congress of CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne) in 1933, the best-known organisation of what is often referred to as the 'Modern Movement' in architecture, responsible for the formulation and dissemination of a modernist orthodoxy.[106] Although his visit to Greece is largely unknown, two of his photographs of the

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[103] Hambourg Morris, M., Phillips, Christopher, *The New Vision: Photography Between the World Wars.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989).

[104] Moholy-Nagy, L., *Painting, Photography, Film.* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987).

[105] A later article encouraged an appreciation of the geometric qualities of everyday objects in close-up frames (the symmetrical, concentric lines of a canned basket): Anon, 'Beauty Exists in Everything', *Ikones* (218) December 1959, pp.52-55.

[106] Gold, J.R., 'Creating the Charter of Athens: CIAM and the Functional City, 1933-43', *The Town Planning Review*, 69 (3) July 1998, pp.225-247; Mumford, E., 'CIAM Urbanism after the Athens Charter', *Planning Perspectives*, 7 (4) 1992, pp.391-417.

Acropolis and the Greek islands were included in the first issue of the periodical *Le Voyage en Grèce* (Spring–Summer 1934) published by the Greek Tourism Organisation.[107] Moreover, research shows that signs of a Bauhaus influence in Greece appeared 30 years later, in an article by the painter Pantelis Xagoraris published in 1963 in *Zygos*,[108] and in the late 1960s, the painter Dimitris Mytaras acknowledged that the course he taught at the School of Decoration at the Athens Technological Institute was based on Bauhaus principles.[109]

For the unsigned PPC adverts, it is not known whether the photographer who shot the transmission wires and the graphic designer responsible for the final layout were familiar with or influenced by the modern visual language born in the Soviet Union, which spread across Western Europe in the interwar period. In any case, the use of photography in combination with this particular graphic design layout was very unusual in Greek commercial advertising. First of all, until at least the 1960s, photography was not a common medium of representation in advertising, mainly due to its costly reproduction process and the limited printing techniques of some periodicals. Also, the treatment of the photographic object in close-up frames was innovative in conception, and contrasted with previous documentary methods.

Photography in the post-war era of reconstruction tried to project a positive and optimistic view of life, choosing its subjects from everyday life, natural landscapes, architecture and the urban environment, and so on. Some photographers who worked for PPC and ECAP started experimenting in their personal work with new forms and shapes, namely, D. Harissiadis, K. Balafas, and E. Serafis.[110] These peculiar photographic snapshots of isolated frames of pylons are unusual since no design tradition of this kind preceded it.

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[107] Xanthakis, A.X., *The History of the Greek Photography, 1839-1970.* (Athens: Papyros, 2008), pp.359-360.

[108] Xagoraris, P., 'Bauhaus and its Significance', *Zygos* (94-95) September-October 1963, pp.9-23.

[109] Ioannou, O., 'They Make Our Life Beautiful', *Gynaika*, 28 August 1968, pp.35-39.

[110] Tzimas, D.A., *D. A. Harissiadis. Photographs, 1911-1993.* (Athens: PHOTOgraphos, 1995); Sakelaropoulos, T., Et Al., ed., *Photographic Agency 'D. A Harissiadis'* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2009). N. Kassianou in her research at the PPC/ECAP photographic archive found no primary evidence for an international influence for E. Serafis, whose work showed some signs of modern visual language.

Yet, despite little research into international influence on Greek design, it is notable that one Greek photographer who worked for PPC, D. Harissiadis (1911-1993), who had been Greek correspondent of *Life* magazine since 1947 and worked for *Ikones* as a photo-reporter, was deeply influenced by the American photographer Edward Weston and the F64 group.[111] He was the only Greek photographer to participate in MoMA's exhibition 'The Family of Man' in 1955, and was considered by Peter Pollack, director of the Photography department at the Chicago Institute of Art, to be different from his Greek colleagues of the same period.[112]

It is not known whether this particular photograph used for the 1957 advert in *Ikones* was his. Even though he stated that he rarely found himself 'in agreement with photographic abstractions and other tendencies like the so-called 'modernist tendencies'',[113] his style (defined by formalism, austere composition, attention to detail and focused pictures) bears an impressive similarity to the unconventional and experimental principles of the New Vision.

Commenting on the photography group exhibition at the Chicago Art Institute in 1957 in which 11 Greek photographers participated, art critic Eleni Vakalo spoke of a change that was occurring in the world of Greek photography and more generally.

> A comparison sufficed to show the vast change that has been effected,
> not only in photography in particular, but in our vision in general.
> Here the subjects are defined, their presentation purposefully naked,
> the lens highlights the detail, grabs the poetry of matter, the hard
> style of oppositions, the isolation of the forms in the uniform, clear light [...]
> This is an irrefutable statement of how the world around us is changing.[114]

A year after the production of these advertisements, there was an effort to connect the material manifestations of electricity with modern art. As seen in the art journal *Zygos*, the shape of PPC power pylons was described as 'modern sculpture', as

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[111] The F64 was a group of seven San Francisco photographers who shared a common photographic style, characterised by sharp-focused and carefully framed images of natural forms and found objects. This modernist approach was partly in opposition to the early 1900s pictorialist photographic style; Hirsch, R., *Seizing the Light: A History of Photography* (McGraw-Hill, 2000), pp.245-246.

[112] Tzimas, *D. A. Harissiadis. Photographs, 1911-1993*, p.25. 'The Family of Man' exhibition in 1955 was organised by E. Steichen, then director of the Photography Department of the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

[113] Ibid, pp.19,21.

[114] Quoted in Ibid, pp.23,27. Original article in the newspaper *Ta Nea*, 6 June 1958.

exemplified very clearly by the photographic evidence (Ill.25).[115] The three black-and-white photographs that accompanied the text presented images of pylons, cables and other components, such as current inverters, alternators and generators in close-up frames with dynamic angles, almost in isolation from the surrounding area, emphasising the aesthetic qualities of the material manifestations of electricity. For instance, the cables resembled strings of musical instruments, and the generators referred to modern art, sculptures and art installations.

Four years later, in 1962, the connection with modern art was made further explicit by comparing images of electrical components with sculptures, paintings and 3-D artworks by Louise Nevelson (Russian-born, American Abstract Expressionist sculptor, 1899-1988), Hanspeter Fitz (German artist known for his floating space sculptures, 1929-1969), and Gustav Kurt Beck (Austrian painter aligned to modern and abstract art, and graphic artist, 1902-1983) (Ill.26).[116] G. K. Beck's work, especially *City by Night*, made a fitting comparison with the photographic representation of Athens by night in an ECAP advertisement.

In introducing electricity as an art object, Charles Dickens and William Morris' critique on industrialisation in the mid-to-late nineteenth century was quoted. The author of that article tried to give a contemporary view of mechanical civilisation by using as an example the Eiffel Tower, which, despite initial public anger and disapproval following its erection, was by then considered among the most recognizable of Parisian monuments.

> Today, modern art has been influenced by the astonishing
> accomplishments of technique [science, technology] that exist
> among us on a daily basis, such as cars with their dynamic forms,
> airplanes, cruise ships […], current pylons. Just like the art of
> industrial design, an idiomorphic art of many requirements,
> draws endless inspiration from the work of painters and sculptors.
> Apart for Fernand Léger, who saw the pylons as 'metal dancers',
> many later artists let their imagination wander inside a factory,

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[115] Anon, 'Electricity...' *Zygos* (80) July 1962, Anon, 'PPC's Network: an Agent of a New Plastic-Art Ideal', *Zygos* January-February 1958, pp.36-37.
[116] Anon, 'Electricity...'.

> in forests of oil wells, in engine-rooms, seeking shapes that
>
> express today's plastic ideal.[117]

The presentation of the material culture of electricity as art was confronted with objections. Critical reviews in particular revealed the uneasy relationship between the new, 'modern' material culture of electricity and the 'traditional' local environment.[118]

> The aerial power cables […] often spoil the perfection of the
>
> Greek landscape, the picturesque nature of small towns,
>
> and villages [… and] obstruct the view of important monuments.[119]

Yet, and regardless of these later critical notes, not many articles on the overt connection between the material culture of electricity and modern art were produced during the period, especially not in other contexts than art in the strictest sense of the term. The art journal *Zygos* was perhaps the most suitable space for such an approach to be voiced, though it is very likely that the articles of 1958 and 1962 were written to ease the resistance or fear provoked by these strange over-sized, metal constructions appearing in the Greek landscape. After all, this sort of imagery never reappeared in PPC or ECAP advertising. Nevertheless, Greek designers' choice to use photographs of pylons, towers, cables and current inverters in close-up frames, and to focus on their aesthetic qualities, was a strong and novel thread in Greek mainstream advertising.

b. From Classicism to the modern city in ECAP advertising

Photographic snapshots of ancient sites

ECAP campaigns centred on the theme of antiquity especially between 1956 and 1960. Most ancient sites used were classical or early Roman and included the best-known and most visited tourist attractions in Athens, such as the Parthenon on the Acropolis

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[117] Anon, 'PPC's Network: an Agent of a New Plastic-Art Ideal', Ibid January-February 1958, pp.36-37.
[118] Anon, 'A New Cultural Effort by P.P.C.' *Eleftherotypia* (28) January 1966, p.40. The article presented PPC's initiative to introduce electrification in harmony with the traditional architecture of the island of Mykonos. See also Doris, M., 'The Landscape and P.P.C.' *Architektoniki* (68) March-June 1968, p.34.
[119] Doris, 'The Landscape and P.P.C.' Translation as in original.

and other important nearby ancient monuments (Ill.27a).[120] This reference to ancient sites beyond the strictly classical era (5th Century B.C.) indicates a flexible, if not unintentional, company policy towards the ancient Greek past, and suggests that it was more important to use the most popular attractions in the city, especially those located in the Plaka area in the shadow of the Acropolis, than to present a selective view of ancient Greek culture.

Among these sites was the Monument of Lysicrates (334 B.C.), a small circular temple located on the hill of the Acropolis (Ill.27b). The monument is a *choragic* (from *choregos* meaning sponsor) monument, erected to commemorate victors at the annual Dionysian festival and built in honour of theatre patron Lysicrates. A prominent Athenian, Lysicrates has a very interesting story in relation to ECAP's role in the country's electrification. One could certainly argue that, due to its excellent state (one of the few well-preserved sites) and location on the Acropolis hill, the choice of this monument among the sites pictured was easily justified. Yet its selection can also offer an interesting metaphoric reading: an exchange of status between Lysicrates (the patron of theatre plays) and ECAP, the 'English company' that sponsored Greek culture.

The promotion of the cultural heritage of Greece through the realistic lens of photography was prevalent in the company's campaign. The subject was not one of inspiration but, rather, a conventional subject matter of lyrical and grandiose quality exploited in travel paraphernalia since the nineteenth century. Peter Pollack, director of photography at the Chicago Art Institute, commented on the issue in 1957,

> Greek photographers, like Greek architects and artists in general,
> have constantly in front of them an insuperable obstacle of
> convention, the artistic achievements of the ancients. The
> worship of the glorious past has been the cause for the artists
> to assimilate, the technicians to imitate and the architects to repeat
> incessantly the great work of their ancestors, while the photographers
> copied the lines of nature as they saw them from the point of

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[120] Such as the Temple of Olympian Zeus (6th-2nd Century B.C.), a colossal ruined temple in the centre of the city of Athens that was dedicated to Zeus; the Odeon of Herodes Atticus (161 A.D.); Hadrian's Gate (131 A.D.) built by Athenians in honour of the Roman Governor Hadrian.

view of the classical preserver of 'the worship of beauty'.[121]

Pollack addressed the so-called 'weakness' of many Greek artists, and particularly photographers, to surpass the past and project the present. Recent writings by Greek authors follow a similar critical line:

> Symbols like fragmented pillars, bodies of broken statues and
> derelict temples were the motifs chosen for centuries by one generation
> of Greek artists after the other. […] Only rarely did
> photographers interpretative of Greek life make an appearance.
> These the tourists refused to buy, and the Greeks, their eyes
> turned to their glorious past, failed to notice any image reminiscent
> of their naïve, colourful present. In any case, staged photography,
> imitating painting, would it seems satisfy some need.[122]

Indeed, one of the most frequent advertisements in the periodical press showed the Adrian doors in the foreground and the Parthenon in the background (Ill.27a). The photograph by Serafis included a synthesis of the most important and most visited ancient sites in Athens through careful perspective and illumination. These monuments thus became the object of the photographic lens and ultimately the viewer.

The focus, however, started to shift. The photographer began to shoot from the site location towards the illuminated city by night, which has now become the new subject matter (Ill.27c). The viewer therefore saw the vibrantly lit city under the moonlight, through the ancient ruins that remain in darkness, with the shadows created by the moonlight generating a highly romanticised atmosphere and view of the city. This emphasis on the spectacle offered by viewing Athens by night and Greek antiquity illuminated was apparent in one of the few cases of ECAP promotion through articles.[123] The text was overwhelmed by seven photographs, which were also used in the advertising campaigns. The two larger photographs picture a bird's eye view of the illuminated city of Athens, similar to the one shown in the *Zygos* article (1962) of illuminated American skyscrapers by night (Ill.26), of the Temple of Zeus with an illuminated Parthenon in the background.

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[121] Pollack, P., 'Greek Photographers in Exhibitions Abroad', *Zygos*, 3 (26) December 1957, pp.13-15.
[122] Tzimas, *D. A. Harissiadis. Photographs, 1911-1993*, p.25.
[123] Anon, 'Progress with Electricity', *Ikones* (147) August 1958, pp.50-53.

This viewing of the city from a height was a novelty (as we shall in the next chapter, Ill.7a). Moreover, the spectacular quality of the illuminated city was emphasised in the PPC text, shifting the message away from the mere necessity of electricity for domestic uses to the betterment of everyday life.

> Athenians today can stand with pride in one of the
> most illuminated capitals in Europe. The illuminated advertisements
> [Neon] give a different colour and an exceptional majesty/grandiosity
> in the nightlife of our city. […] Athenians enjoy the floodlight of the
> central streets and squares. In *Syntagma* square, […] the night
> seems like day because of the new lampposts.[124]

In the case of PPC, as previously seen, the rhetoric of enjoyment and spectacle derived from industrial culture rather than ancient Greece. The power pylons became a symbol of progress, and electrification was presented as a move away from the misery and hardships of previous times. Here, too, the two companies emphasised different aspects: PPC projected electricity and its associated technological aspects as modern art and thus as something to think highly of, whereas ECAP used electricity as the medium for admiring ancient culture, and later the vibrant city of Athens.

Modern Athenian streets under the Acropolis by day and night, 1960

Beyond the historical rhetoric expressed in the new series of photographically based advertisements, ECAP promotion emphasised the excitement of life in a big city and inaugurated a new phase in the company's connection with its audience. Thus, the year before ECAP was bought out by PPC,[125] the focus of the company's promotion shifted from the ancient past to the lively present and city life, with two adverts featuring the city of Athens in large black-and-white photographs (Ill.28a/b). The slogan 'ATHENS is now a big city' at the top of the page, the handwritten motto ('progress with electricity')

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[124] Anon, Ibid.
[125] In December 1960, after which time the PPC nearly monopolised the market. In 1957, PPC users accounted for 11.3% of total electricity demand, while in 1961 the number of users reached 97.2%, Tsotsoros, *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*, p.112.

in contrast to the PPC sans-serif motto, and the company logo at the bottom of the page, accompanied similar adverts.

The second advertisement showed people with shopping bags and fashionable women crossing at traffic lights, busy streets with shops, American luxury cars (the front part of a Cadillac featuring in the right-hand side of the image), big signs with foreign lettering, multi-storied apartment blocks, the new, fashionable housing model of the big cities craved by many but that only a few could enjoy (Ill.28b). As late as 1976-77, car ownership amounted to 55 per thousand inhabitants in Greece; when compared with Italy and Spain, with numbers of 283 and 148 respectively,[126] one can put into perspective the relative wealth pictured in the ECAP advert.

The setting portrayed was an aspiration for a modern way of life, but one that in reality only a few privileged Athenians could enjoy, since social and economic inequalities remained widespread throughout the 1950s and increased with the military dictatorship.[127] In a 1958 survey of a typical area of Athens, 57 per cent of households had only one room, and in most there were three or more people to a room. By 1958, 64 per cent of households in Athens had electricity, and by 1964 almost all urban households used electricity as the main light source, with approximately one third (33.1 per cent) using electrical power for cooking facilities.[128] Nevertheless, year-by-year, electricity was a commodity that started to impact radically on people's everyday actions and lifestyle.

The last two ECAP adverts presented the city of Athens by night (Ill.29a/b). The atmospheric bird's-eye view of the city illuminated by lampposts mapped the scale of

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[126] Close, *Greece Since 1945*, p.77. See also, Someritis, R., 'Car, 1958', *Ikones* (105) October-November 1957, pp.46-49; Anon, 'Why is the Car Inaccessible in Greece?' *Ikones* (213) November 1959, p.48.

[127] In the 1973 consensus, the monthly wage of a building labourer was £115 (GBP), of shop assistants £34, of white-collar workers £55, whereas university professors earned £195, colonels £190 and senior civil servants £192, Close, *Greece Since 1945*. pp.67-69, quoting sociologist M. E. Kenna (1983), p.279.

[128] In suburban households, the level was 1.8%, and 0.3% in urban areas. Karapostolis, V., *Consuming Behaviour in Greek Society, 1960-1975*. (Athens: National Centre for Social Research, 1983), p.184, Table 7. The prevailing cooking method, however, in urban areas was petroleum (41.8%), in suburban and rural areas it was coal gas (47.6% and 80.3% respectively). By 1974, cooking with electricity reached 54.1% in urban areas, whereas in suburban and rural areas the level was 20% and 3.7% respectively. All sources quoted in V. Karapostolis' work are from the National Statistical Yearbook, 1964 and 1974. In Britain, the spread of electricity was more rapid after the war: in 1951, 86% of households were wired, and ten years later 96%. By 1963 electric refrigerators were owned by 33% of all British homes, washing machines by 50% and vacuum cleaners by 77%. However, if rentals were included in these figures, they would presumably be significantly higher, Pursell, C., 'Domesticating Modernity: The Electrical Association for Women 1924–86', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 32 (1) March 1999, pp.47-67, pp.57-58.

the city of approximately 1,300,000 people in 1960.[129] In the first advertisement (Ill.29a), the Parthenon on the hill of the Acropolis can be seen in the background, and in the foreground the branches of two plants seem to interfere with reading the picture. The plant is named *athanatos*, meaning immortal, and thus the Parthenon in the background takes on a symbolic meaning, as the spirit of an ancient Greece that can never die.

The second and last advert to appear for ECAP promotion in late 1960 was one of heavy symbolism, and also of visual and technological excellence (Ill.29b). The combination of colour photography and the long aperture used to shoot the Acropolis created a fascinating visual result. The light of the cars moving along the avenue seem to lead to, or come from, the Acropolis and the world-famous ancient monument, the Parthenon. This photographic technique is certainly one of the least used and perfectly suited to the dynamic of electricity transmission. Long exposure shots emphasising the speed of cars moving also featured in the *Zygos* article.

This later advertising series ended up being the swan song of one of the biggest electrical companies in Greece since 1931. Within a three-year period (1957-1960), the emphasis in ECAP advertising had moved from technology to end product and the benefits of electrification for the urban environment. At the end of its 'life' ECAP challenged the archetypal image of ancient Greece. In its last two advertisements, Greece is indeed a country with a world-acclaimed ancient past, but installed in a contemporary technological (electricity-driven) and urbanised present.

The PPC coda: illustrating the past in the present, 1961-62

Whereas ECAP utilised the subject of the ancient past (Greek and Roman antiquity) early on in their promotional campaigns, it was not until after 1959 that PPC more frequently included illustrations of ruins of ancient sites or mythological figures of the classical era, such as Phaethon, Hermes, Athena, and Zeus (Ill.30a/b/c). These

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[129] Of which 56% were post-war migrants. Gallant, *Modern Greece*, p.189.

recognisable figures of ancient Greek culture stood as powerful images of a history shared by all Greeks, irrespective of their rural or urban backgrounds – idols of a unique culture and past that they were proud of.

However, these figures were not presented merely for their symbolic qualities as representations of a glorious past, but in relation to present and contemporary technological developments. Hermes, the god of commerce, identified by his winged cap, is pictured overseeing progress driven by PPC (Ill.30b). In a complex of colourful diagonal shapes and cog-wheels, PPC appears to hold a leading part in this mechanical nexus by the position of the company's trademark in the circular part of the smaller or first cog-wheel, which as an element of industry functions as a symbol of modern times.[130] Thus, the new prospering Greece, as voiced in the accompanying slogan ('National prosperity with Electricity'), was becoming an industrial and modern nation under the aegis of the god Hermes.

The inclusion of the present in the past and vice versa was a favourite idea seen in earlier advertisements too. For example, a diagonally positioned beam of light (product of contemporary technology) illumined the subject, whether a mythological persona (Ill.30c), an ancient pillar (Ill.31a/b) or an oil lamp (Ill.32a/b), creating a dramatic and nostalgic atmosphere redolent of a stage setting. In addition, the sense of the past was supported by the two-word slogan, 'Art… Light', written in characteristic archaic Greek lettering. The appearance of the oil lamp, diagonally lit by an electrical beam, featured more dynamically after 1959 (as generally the subject of the past) and became a popular subject that occurred regularly across periodicals. In this series of advertisements, a more controlled and powerful light was produced by electricity than that produced by the flame of the oil lamp. As seen in earlier promotions, the distinction between past and present was also invoked through the direct juxtaposition of the oil lamp with the electrical switch (Ill.32b). The design implied that the present had not broken with the past, but instead would supply better versions of experiences

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[130] As graphically presented in Chaplin, C., *Modern Times* (USA, 1936) 87.

similar to those of the past, offering a smooth transition between the two seemingly opposing states.

In comparison to its competitor, ECAP's experimentation with new concepts and images for Greece was cultivated partly by its private character and partly by its struggle to survive until the end. It became obvious that during its last years ECAP made use of the new medium of photography to offer new visual narratives of busy urban streets and ancient sites, while PPC chose a more traditional medium of representation in the form of illustration. The latter technique based on conventional painterly elements, aided creation of a nostalgic atmosphere and references to the past and present. In each case, electricity, a modern subject, was the product of negotiation and inclusion, a balancing between the new and the old, past and present.

3.5 Conclusion: Picturing (ir)rational modernity

As seen through the promotional campaigns of the two major electricity companies in Greece (ECAP, PPC), graphic design played a significant role in promoting electricity across the country, characterised by intensity, frequency, variety, and scale. Both companies demonstrated a raised awareness of the importance of advertising, and of other publicity strategies, in introducing the new commodity to post-war Greek society in this early age of a loosely defined and organised professional design practice.

From the point of view of producing these advertisements, there was a demonstration of novel advertising techniques, which included increased visibility through the use of a full-page advertising space; colour printing instead of black-and-white or two-colour printing; standardisation through brand identity with company trademarks and mottos featuring in all cases; and, most significantly, the adverts' narratives shifted from the reason why, to the benefits of consumption as a modernising development. All elements credited the companies with a systematic and organised approach to promotion.

Although both companies started off their promotional campaign with a focus on industry, their approaches developed differently after 1957. ECAP, as the Athens-based company, reflected the progress under way in the urban environment and concentrated on the city dweller and urban space, while PPC addressed the national, and particularly the rural, environment and its people. The two different contexts (urban/rural) dictated the thematic approach and medium used for the purpose. The case study of electrification promotion by PPC and ECAP reveals the struggle to introduce a new product and make it less threatening and, indeed, indispensable for Greek society. The naturalisation of this potentially dangerous, yet modern, material good was achieved through mixing ancient culture with technical civilisation and contemporary design.

Chapter 4

'Greece' in state tourism promotion

4.1 Introduction

Ideas relating to the notion of modernity are often expressed in sets of contrasts, such as West and East, traditional and modern, centre and periphery. Regarding the latter distinction, it is argued that 'a periphery can only be a periphery in relation to some centre or core'.[1] Moreover, considering objective characteristics such as economy and geography, 'to be peripheral is to be marginalised, to lack power and influence'.[2] Greece, when defined by its role in the post-war economic matrix, and by its spatial distance from power centres such as the US and Western Europe (Germany, Britain and France), held a peripheral identity.

In cultural terms, however, Greece occupied a pivotal status in the Western mind. This was due to the prominent position of classical antiquity in the ideology of the European educated middle-class, which has provided one of the main reasons for visiting Greece since the Grand Tour era. In Greece, antiquities acquired the status of 'symbolic capital', which became an 'authoritative resource' for legitimising the authority of a regime or social group.[3] According to archaeologist Yannis Hamilakis and anthropologist Eleana Yalouri, the use of antiquities has formed part of the negotiation of power throughout Greece's modern history.[4]

In state tourism campaigns, the country's ancient profile has been a dominant theme since at least the late 1920s. Ancient monuments and archaeological sites or

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[1] Scott, J., 'Peripheries, Artificial Peripheries and Centres' in *Tourism in Peripheral Areas: Case Studies*, ed. by F. Brown, D. Hall (Bristol: Channel View, 2000), pp.58-73.

[2] Brown, F., Hall, D., 'Introduction: The Paradox of Peripherality' in Ibid, pp.1-6, pp.1-3.

[3] Hamilakis, Y., Yalouri, Eleana, 'Antiquities as Symbolic Capital in Modern Greek Society', *Antiquity*, 70 (267) 1996, pp.117-129, p.121.

[4] Not only in official concerns, but also in the domain of ordinary citizens, in commercial and personal spheres: Ibid, pp.118-119.

mythological figures were lavishly presented in posters and leaflets, as seen in the work of the Greek (German-taught) photographer Nelly (Ill.1a).[5] Also during the authoritarian regime of Ioannis Metaxas from 1936 to 1941, aspects of Greek ancient heritage were featured in tourism promotion abroad to project the 'Third Hellenic Civilisation'.[6] These efforts to promote Greece abroad were remarkable in terms of organisation, intensity and spread in a variety of media, ranging from printed material to radio broadcasting, films and slide shows in more than 16 countries, and participation in exhibitions such as the New York World's Fair in 1939 (Ill.1b).[7] During the time, campaigns for Greece became an official and legitimate context for national rhetoric and propaganda.[8]

Historical lineage between antiquity and the present was taken up most prominently as a subject in historiographical narratives of the late nineteenth century. In order to demonstrate this historical continuum, obvious, yet at times forced, racial similarities between ancient and present-day Greeks were shown through striking photomontages. Ancient sculptures of gods and goddesses, and other mythological figures, were juxtaposed with portraits of shepherds, peasants and traditionally dressed men and women (Ill.1c). In this comparative approach, the reader was expected to think of rural Greeks as modern descendents of the ancients, a belief

[5] Nelly (Elli Souyioultzoglou-Seraidari, 1899-1998) studied photography in Germany in the early 1920s under Hugo Erfurth and Franz Fiedler. See Harder, M., *Nelly: Dresden, Athens, New York.* (New York: Prestel, 2001).
[6] Bearing similarities to the German Third Reich of Adolfo Hitler. See chapter 5: 'Spartan visions: antiquity and the Metaxas dictatorship' in Hamilakis, Y., *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece.* (Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.175,201.
[7] See, Markessinis, A., 'The Greek Pavillion at the 1939 New York World's Fair', Pelekys, <http://www.metaxas-project.com/e-booklets/>2011]. A total of 20 publications and 196 weekly bulletins have been produced in English, French, German, and occasionally in Italian and Arabic. U.O.P.T., 'Press, Radio, Tourism: The Precious National Agents that were Reformed by the Historical Change - For the Development of Greek Tourism' in *Four Years of I. Metaxas Ruling: 4 August 1936 - 4 August 1940,* Vol.IV: Army, Navy, Air Force, Tourism-Radio-Press-Enlightenment, Ideological Content of the National State (Athens: August 4th Publications, 1940), pp.127-147, pp.139-147; U.O.P.T., 'Press, Radio, Tourism: The Precious National Agents that were Reformed by the Historical Change - The Work of the Folk Enlightenment' in *Four Years of I. Metaxas Ruling: 4 August 1936 - 4 August 1940,* Vol.IV: Army, Navy, Air Force, Tourism-Radio-Press-Enlightenment, Ideological Content of the National State (Athens: August 4th Publications, 1940), pp.169-176. See also, Petrakis, M., *The Metaxas Myth. Dictatorship and Propaganda in Greece.* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006).
[8] It is within this systematic and controlled approach, and also political and economic capacity that the visual material of that period is referred to as propaganda. Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell have provided a concise, workable definition of the term: 'propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist', Jowett, G., O' Donnell, V., *Propaganda and Persuasion.* (California: Sage, 1999); Ross, S.T., 'Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 36 (1) 2002, pp.16-30.

shared among the so-called 'philhellenes' in support of the Greeks in the 1820s.[9] Even today there are attempts to sustain this ancient cultural profile. In British travel writing, for example, twentieth-century Greece was treated less as a modern country and more as a mirror of antiquity.[10]

Considering the above, this chapter inquires into the ways the Greek state responded to the ambivalent condition between 'centre' and 'periphery' when advertising 'Greece' as a tourist destination. What were the images and themes employed to reflect upon the country's post-war progression from a peripheral, yet culturally significant, locus, to a modern one with formal connections to the West through the EEC (in 1960/61)? Was Greece's celebrated classical identity the only facet promoted by the state? Was the idea of 'modern' dependent on preserving or projecting a strong national identity based on the past? Did themes, visual representations and techniques change over time? And did targeted audiences, whether international or domestic, or interested in popular or heritage tourism, influence conceptions of 'centre' and 'periphery'?

Visual resources: posters and leaflets

Scholarly attention has so far been given to posters as art works of 'high quality', especially those produced in the 1940s.[11] However, analysis of posters and leaflets raises certain issues. Firstly, the two are presented in this study to complement each other, rather than for comparison, since there is no single case of a poster sharing the same idea or design of a leaflet. Secondly, their design principles served different purposes. According to modern design principles, as explained by Carabott, the time an

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[9] Philhellenes were members of upper-class society, influential politicians, entrepreneurs and intellectuals driven by the Romantic movement and anything classical.
[10] Wills, D., *The Mirror of Antiquity: Twentieth Century British Travellers in Greece.* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007). The British education system, classical scholarship, and the heroism demonstrated by the Greeks during the Nazi invasion of their country, are said to have inspired writers as diverse as William Golding, Henry Miller, Lawrence Durrell, Virginia Woolf, and Laurie Lee.
[11] Anon, *Greek Tourism Poster. A Travel to Time Through Art.* (Athens: Ministry of Tourism Development / GTO, 2007), p.26.

audience can be expected to read a message determines the amount of information included, and therefore also the design elements and composition.[12] For instance, a leaflet can contain much more information than a poster, and can offer a more extensive base for examining image-text relations. Thirdly, design irregularity and inconsistency between the many different artists involved especially before 1958 make comparisons difficult. The corpus of this work consists of 223 leaflets and 113 posters.[13] Primary material from this period is presumably either lost or destroyed, so the total amount of work produced by GTO remains unidentified.[14]

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[12] Carabott, F., 'The Advertising Print', *Zygos* (90) May 1963, pp.64-66.

[13] Resources for the leaflets: E.L.I.A. Archive and GTO library and archive. Resources for the posters: Karachristos, S., ed., *Greek Posters* (Athens: Kedros, 2003); Anon, *Greek Tourism Poster. A Travel to Time Through Art*; Anon, *Fifty Years Athens Festival, 1955-2005*. (Athens: Ministry of Tourism / Greek Festival, 2005); Anon, *Design Routes. Freddie Carabott, Michalis & Agni Katzouraki*. (Athens: E.L.I.A.- Benaki Museum, 2008).

[14] As informed by GTO employees, most visual material is kept selectively, and the historical documentation of that period is destroyed if it is thought to be 'without any legal or economic value'. Communication with two members of GTO archival property who wish to stay anonymous (14/03/2008).

4.2 Representation(s) of Greece for a Western audience

a. From early travel propaganda to early post-war promotion, 1945-9

Located in the southeastern part of Europe on a crossroad between Africa and Asia, Greece is a relatively small country that has stimulated travel activity throughout its history.[15] Visits by the aristocracy have been recorded since at least the seventeenth century,[16] and especially in the early nineteenth when the Grand Tour moved eastwards as modern Greece was beginning to emerge from the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s.

The nineteenth-century romantic aura of the nature and 'local colour' of southern Europe, as seen in contemporary travellers' landscape paintings, together with cultural symbols of the ancient Greek world, constituted the two primary motives for visiting Greece at the time.[17] Nevertheless, it was the classical past that philhellenes believed in and which supported the 'noble cause' of the Greek struggle against the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century. During this period, paintings and literary texts by foreign intellectuals helped to create tourist sites and prompt marketing strategies.[18] Above all romantic poets, such as the British Lord (George Gordon) Byron (1777-1824), had been the most influential herald for Greece.[19]

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[15] Along with its strategic location and mild weather, Greece has a long tradition in hospitality, with foreigners being sacred in Greek mythology and protected by Xenius Zeus. Buhalis, D., 'Tourism in Greece: Strategic Analysis and Challenges', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 4 (5) 2001, pp.440-480, p.440.

[16] See Lithgow, W., *Discourse of a Peregrination in Europe, Asia and Affricke.* (Amsterdam / New York: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum / Da Capo, 1971 [1614]). The first recorded package cruise in Greece was reported in 1833: Anon, 'Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, etc., and of a Cruise in the Black Sea, with the Capitan Pasha, in 1829-30-31 by Adolphus Slade, Esq.' *Edinburgh Review*, 58 (117) July 1833, pp.114-143; Kourelis, K., 'Early Travellers in Greece and the Invention of Medieval Architectural History' in *Architecture and Tourism. Perception, Performance and Place*, ed. by D.M.L.A.B. Mclaren (Oxford / New York: Berg, 2004), pp.37-52, p.40.

[17] Nature and ancient culture combined with the representation of Greek peasants and their everyday life were the main subject matters in the works of Stuart, Revett, Stademan, Theurmer and Dodwell. Chtouris, S.N., 'Culture and Tourism. Tourism as an Experience Production Network', *Syghrona Themata*, 18 (55) April-June 1995, pp.48-56, p.50.

[18] Berghoff, H., Korte, Barbara, 'Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism. An Interdisciplinary Approach' in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, ed. by B.K. Hartmut Berghoff, Ralf Schneider, Christopher Harvie (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.1-20, p.9.

[19] Dritsas, M., 'From Travelers' Accounts to Travel Books and Guide Books: The Formation of a Greek Tourism Market in the 19th Century', *Tourismos*, 1 (1) 2006, pp.27-52, p.32.

Before the Greek state decided to promote Greece as a tourist destination in the early twentieth century,[20] foreign publications, namely the London-based *John Murray* (1840) and Leipzig's *Baedeker* (1889), as well as pioneering tour operators such as the Thomas Cook in England (est. 1841), created the first tourism images of Greece. The popularity of Greece can be seen in a staged photograph by Thomas Cook's descendents at the turn of the twentieth century. Two figures wearing traditional dress from the era of the War of Independence stand before an ancient temple.[21] As historian Richard Clogg has argued, this sense of the past scarcely existed in Greece during the centuries of Ottoman rule, and was essentially imported from the West.[22]

Instead of questioning the validity of this Western colonial discourse, according to literary scholar Stathis Gourgouris, the Greeks chose similar images and narratives to portray their nation and culture.[23] Moreover, the Greek state not only assented to this discourse, but also considered foreign visitors to Greece as 'valuable advertisers'.[24] As noted by publisher Achilles Kyrou in the state tourism periodical *In Greece* in 1937,

> This enthusiasm [of foreign intellectuals] has always been, and ever
> will be, the best tourist advertisement for our country. All foreign writers
> who come to Greece, whether scientists, artists, or intellectuals, become
> the best propagandists this country possesses.[25]

Although the ancient past was a central theme in state tourism campaigns, the few studies that have been conducted on Greek tourism, especially those focusing on advertising,[26] make this general teleological interpretation of Greece's ancient past in

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[20] Promoting Greece as a tourist destination became a task of the Greek state officially in 1914 through the Office of Foreigners and Exhibitions (*Grafion Xenon ke Ektheseon*) adjoined to the Ministry of National Economy. Greece's promotion abroad became more systematic from 1929 onwards with the foundation of the GTO. Vassilopoulos, G.C., *Hellas and Tourism.* (Athens, 1967), pp.261-262.

[21] As seen in Brendon, P., *Thomas Cook 150 Years of Popular Tourism.* (London: Trafalgar Square, 1991).

[22] Clogg, R., *A Concise History of Greece.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1992]), p.1; Herzfeld, M., *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece.* (Texas: University of Austin Press, 1982); Hamilakis, 'Antiquities as Symbolic Capital in Modern Greek Society'.

[23] Gourgouris, S., *Dream Nation. Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), p.6, as noted in Galani-Moutafi, V., 'Tourism Research on Greece. A Critical Overview', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31 (1) January 2004, pp.157-179.

[24] Kyrou, A., 'Our Valuable Foreign Advertisers', *In Greece* (3) 1937-1938 (in English, no page numbers). Kyrou was publisher of the conservative newspaper *Estia* (1894), the only Athens-based newspaper that maintained the polytonic system of *katharevoussa* after the reform of Greek spelling in 1982.

[25] Ibid, in English (no page numbers).

[26] As noted by social anthropologist Galani-Moutafi in her review of 200 economic and social studies, both Greek and international, on Greek tourism since the 1970s, Galani-Moutafi, 'Tourism Research on Greece.

the literature a hypothesis to be re-examined. It should be acknowledged, however, that, recently, the plurality of images and perceptions concerning Greece has been discussed by social anthropology and cultural studies, challenging previous representations of the country. Beyond the celebrated image of classical Greece as the foundation of Western thought, less favourable or flattering facets were brought forward and contextualised in the historical circumstances of the time. In their accounts, some early travellers registered the glorious cultural European past and the romantic natural and social landscape as decay, rather than as the grandeur the books suggested.[27]

From within the discipline of art history, the few recent studies on the subject support the case of a multi-faceted Greece promoted by the state since the 1930s.[28] Preliminary research shows that along with ancient Greece, the Byzantine and modern eras were also included, especially during the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-41). For example, images of Byzantine churches and religious iconography of the Virgin Mary featured on the cover of the internationally awarded, multi-lingual periodical *In Greece* (1937), published quarterly by the Under-Secretariat of State for Press and Tourism (U.S.S.P.T.) (Ill.2a),[29] as a way of supplementing the country's antiquarian profile with views of modern-day Greece. In the words of Theologos Nicoloudis, under-secretary of USSPT,[30]

> Beside the Greece of the past, which they [the guests or visitors]

A Critical Overview', pp.169-174. Also, the reasons for Greek academic neglect of the visual subject are explained in Dritsas, 'From Travelers' Accounts to Travel Books and Guide Books: The Formation of a Greek Tourism Market in the 19th Century', p.30. A recent study is: Sgartsou, T., 'Glimpses of Greece through Tourism Posters' (Unpublished MA, Panteion University, 2009).

[27] This was at least the 17th-century experience of a Scotsman visiting Athens, Arcadia and Sporades: Quadflieg, H., 'Approved Civilities and the Fruits of Peregrination. Elizabethan and Jacobean Travellers and the Making of Englishness' in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, ed. by B.K. Hartmut Berghoff, Ralf Schneider, Christopher Harvie (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.21-45, pp.33-34.

[28] As noted by Orati, I., 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece' in *Greek Posters*, ed. by Spyros Karachristos (Athens: Kedros, 2003), pp.266-267; Anon, *Greek Tourism Poster. A Travel to Time Through Art*.

[29] It was published in English, French and German, and constituted the pride of the regime, as noted in U.O.P.T., 'Press, Radio, Tourism: The Precious National Agents that were Reformed by the Historical Change - For the Development of Greek Tourism', pp.140-141. The magazine published seven issues between 1937 and 1940. U.O.P.T., 'Press, Radio, Tourism: The Precious National Agents that were Reformed by the Historical Change - The Work of the Folk Enlightenment', p.171.

[30] Sarandis, C., 'The Ideology and Character of the Metaxas Regime' in *The Metaxas Dictatorship: Aspects of Greece 1936-1940*, ed. by R. Higham, Th. Veremis (Athens: The Hellenic Foundation for Defence and Foreign Policy, 1993), pp.147-178.

> have been traditionally accustomed to love and admire, they
>
> will see a contemporary Greece […] renewed with an envigorated
>
> consciousness of her unbroken continuity as a nation, ambitious
>
> to occupy a place worthy of her past in the competitive field
>
> of peaceful activities and in the company of civilised peoples.[31]

And on a later occasion Kyrou argued,

> It has been said that this one-sided enthusiasm of our intellectual
>
> visitors for the Greek past does not allow them to become acquainted
>
> with the Greek people of to-day, their needs, their difficulties
>
> and their hardships. But I do not believe that this is so. The men
>
> who really love ancient Greece cannot but also love modern Greece,
>
> because they must feel her history as one whole and realise how
>
> unchanging is her character.[32]

Interestingly, modern times were variously represented, ranging from folklore

and vernacular architecture, along with images of peasants or people in traditional

dress, to the emerging Greek fashion industry (Ill.1c/2b).[33] Yet little is written about

the visual tools and design techniques used to portray this official image of Greece

abroad. For instance, Nelly's work matched the experimental photography of the New

Typography. Her collages were the exception rather than the rule, at a time when

painterly techniques in Greek tourism promotion prevailed. In general little has been

written about Greek designers' relation to the international and local design scene.

Design innovations since this early time are under-researched, especially in relation to

local political conditions and the 'limited freedoms' of the Metaxas regime, which is

thought to have imposed restrictions on visual creativity.[34]

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[31] Nicoloudis, T., 'Greece', *In Greece* (1) 1937-1938 (in English). Spelling as in original (no page numbers).
[32] Kyrou, A., 'Our Valuable Foreign Advertisers', Ibid (3) (in English).
[33] A selection of posters with representations of peasants can be seen in posters 5 and 7 by painters D. Vitsoris and Doris (M. Papageorgiou), in Anon, *Greek Tourism Poster. A Travel to Time Through Art.* The addition of the 'vernacular' is also supported by Orati, 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece', (2003), pp.266-267.
[34] Orati, 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece', (2003), p.267.

Deflected reality in the late 1940s

State involvement in tourist promotion remained strong after the Second World War. Developing the (international) tourist industry was thought to be vital for the recovery of the national economy, and therefore the reconstruction of the country, as symbolically conveyed in an early post-war poster (Ill.3). The fisherman's effort to hoist his sails could be interpreted as the struggle of the Greek nation to build itself anew.

Although it is difficult to evaluate the degree to which promotion increased tourist numbers in the country,[35] early recognition of the importance of advertising can be seen from the significant funds allocated for the purpose. For the period 1948-1951, tourist promotion constituted the first priority of American investment funds under the Marshall Plan, and the fourth of Greek funds.[36] Moreover, through its newly formed General Secretary for Tourism (GST, est.1945), the Greek government commissioned Greek painters from the ASFA network[37] to produce a series of posters and leaflets in English, German and French, which corresponded to the most popular languages of visitors.[38] The material appeared as early as 1947, when Greece's geographic territory (as we know it today) was finalised with the acquisition of the Dodecanese islands in the Aegean.[39]

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[35] In 1950, 33,333 foreign tourists visited the country, a figure that rose to more than 2 million in 1974. Buhalis, 'Tourism in Greece: Strategic Analysis and Challenges', Table 1. For exact numbers of the tourist movement between 1950 and 1982, see Stavrou, S.L., 'The Development of Tourism in Greece, 1969-1982', Internal Report (Athens: Greek Tourism Organisation, August 1984), Table 2. See also Buhalis, D., 'Tourism on the Greek Islands: Issues of Peripherality, Competitiveness and Development', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 1 (5) September 2005, pp.341 - 358, p.345.

[36] Anon, *Study of the Needs of the Greek Tourism Economy*. (Athens: General Tourism Administration / Kingdom of Greece November 1948), p.24 and Table 11. The 1 million US dollars constituted the largest investment in comparison with other public works listed, and the Greek sum (9,000 mil) corresponded to the fourth largest investment in terms of priority after the categories of: a. various works in touristic places (102,000 million); b. infrastructure for health resorts (25,000 million); and construction of state hotels and other touristic lodges (23,000 million).

[37] Most of the artists who participated were graduates and/or teachers at the ASFA, who in the majority belonged to the so-called 'Generation of the 1930s', namely, P. Tetsis, S. Vassiliou, G. Moschos, and Y. Moralis. One of Moralis' known public commission works is the decoration of the façade of the Hilton hotel in Athens built in the late 1950s. Their works were characterised by a combination of Helleno-centric and modern elements.

[38] In 1969, 23.87% of the most popular foreign-speaking tourists were from the US and Canada, 10.72% from England and Ireland, 10.06% from Germany, and 9.25% from France, as indicated in Stavrou, 'The Development of Tourism in Greece, 1969-1982', pp.18-19.

[39] Until then those islands (among them Rhodes) belonged to the neighbouring Italy, forming a hotbed for its tourist promotion activities.

Allegories, symbolism and nationalist overtones pervaded early state promotion, as seen in a leaflet for Greece (late 1940s) featuring a traditionally dressed soldier (*tsolias*) presented as a herald or messenger (Ill.4b), which displays many of the same characteristics as a *Life* magazine cover of 16 December 1940 (Ill.4a). The latter was designed to highlight Greece's official participation in the war after Metaxas' rejection of the ultimatum made by the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini on 28 October.[40]

Paradoxically, this early material appeared when the Greek Civil War on the mainland was entering its final and most bloody phase – with its disastrous and tragic human and material consequences – rather than during peace time, with tourist posters and leaflets portraying a highly selective view of a peaceful Greece. Focusing on the Ionian and Aegean islands, which were less affected by Civil War chaos, Greece is presented as a 'land of blue skies and sunny seas', of 'magic and legends',[41] as visualised in the work of S. Vassiliou in 1948 (Ill.5a). In the style of this artist, Greece was,

> [...] one of the loveliest and most enchanting countries in Europe [that]
> remains unspoiled and largely unknown to the average visitor –
> a delight to be enjoyed by the discriminating traveller.[42]

The style and colour of this particular poster resembles a contemporary poster for France (1946) and indicates the influence of French art on Greek painters at the time (Ill.5b).

b. Greece–ancient, Greece–Byzantine, Greece–modern (?)
Promotional themes since the 1950s

With the ending of the Greek Civil War in 1949, the government re-constituted the Greek Tourism Organisation (GTO) in late 1950, with the aim of boosting incoming

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[40] Known as the 'No day', 28 October is celebrated as a major national holiday.
[41] Introductory text of a contemporary leaflet (Ill.4b), GST, probably post-1947, but no later than 1950 (in English).
[42] GST leaflet (Ill.4b).

tourism.[43] Though a study of 1951 distinguished between different types of tourism –
cultural-historical aimed at the educated audience and popular (*laikos*) tourism –[44]
leaflets for Greece continued to portray these two main historical facets, as in the pre-
war period. At first, the two profiles were presented simultaneously in a painterly
manner, as in a 1951 leaflet (Ill.6a). Later, these were presented in separate leaflets,
but not in the overtly nationalist manner of Nelly's photomontages and related
discourses of the late 1930s.[45]

In posters from 1947 several subjects emerged: antiquity, Byzantium, vernacular
architecture, coastal sea-views, and the 'sun and beach' theme, which appeared as
early as the late 1950s.[46] By 1960, this multiple profile was used in a leaflet by M.
Katzourakis, which bears many of the traits of French poster design according to which
he was trained (Ill.6b). The over-sized title 'Hellas' (Greece) in serif type is placed on a
vertical axis rather than on the usual horizontal, and the letters' loose arrangement
outside of a fixed baseline creates a playful composition. Illustrations and sketches of
Greece's historical features, such as its navy, folklore and ancient identity, as well as a
rough sketch of a cityscape, are positioned separately on horizontal planes in light
blue, red, yellow, green and black.

Beyond culture and tradition, other reasons for visiting Greece had been
introduced two years earlier, in 1958. In a leaflet designed by Carabott, Greece is
portrayed as 'a gate to happiness and beauty', promising 'pleasure' and 'relaxation'
(written in French) (Ill.6c). On one side, a photograph illustrates the remains of an
ancient gate on the edge of a steep cliff by the sea, while on the other appears a
blossoming field. The rectangular image of the latter is placed next to a similar shaped
map of Greece, which acts as a reflection. Compositionally, the design consists of strong
diagonal lines that produce geometric shapes (triangles or rectangles), inside of which

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[43] GTO remains today the official state body that plans, implements and promotes Greece abroad.
[44] Soulantikas, P.L., *Tourism*. (Athens: Dialismas, 1951), pp.14-16.
[45] For example in the 1962 volume of *Tourism in Greece*, an almanac published by the Greek publication
'Hellenews', the connection between ancient and contemporary Greek people was made though a national
characteristic that of hospitality.
[46] For the 'sun and beach' theme, see E. Orfanou's poster (no.313) in 1959, in Karachristos, ed., *Greek
Posters*, p.170.

are positioned the text and images. Different shades of green and grey, as well as red and black, which at the time had certain negative connotations as explained by Carabott (see Chapter 2), create strong visual impact. The bold geometric shapes introduced a new design format for folded paper, which contrasted with earlier and contemporary images of Byzantine and antique subjects aligned along a central axis.

Certainly, the subject of antiquity was expected for promoting historic locations such as Athens, Delphi, Olympia and Epidavros. However, Athens held a dual identity: on the one hand 'ancient', as the centre of classical Greece with its acclaimed Parthenon and Acropolis, and on the other 'modern', as the capital city and industrial centre, as presented in a British film of 1957.[47]

Although Athens was changing rapidly by the 1950s, little attention was paid to the city in tourist posters and leaflets. A photo-reportage in *Ikones* in 1959 with the title, 'Contemporary Athens, this Unknown City!', illustrated the city from above for the first time (Ill.7a),[48] a viewpoint highlighted in the text:

> Footed on the soil of Athens over centuries, we admire the unrivalled
> beauty of the Attica sky [...]. Now, [...], climbed on this beautiful sky,
> with the help of a helicopter, we can see Athens from a different
> viewpoint [...] an unusual perspective.[49]

Photographs of the layout of the prefecture of Attica, the coast and the architecture of parts of the city offered a new perspective for Athenians.

> Endless, grandiose and embellished, Athens is spread out [...] Indeed
> you feel proud: 'Look what a marvelous megalopolis we have!'.
> Huge building blocks, lively traffic arteries, an ocean of house-tops,
> tiles, roofs, green fields, big or small -parks and hills of the city-
> break the monotony.[50]

Athens is here described as a big city, a 'cosmopolitan metropolis' in which classical ruins and contemporary buildings complement each other and are given equal

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[47] Carruthers, R., *Our City* (U.K.: C.A.L. Ltd., 1957) 26' 04".
[48] Anon, 'Contemporary Athens, this Unknown facet!' *Ikones* (211) 1959.
[49] Anon, Ibid (first page).
[50] Anon, Ibid (first page).

mention and significance. This 'New Athens' was noted by an American journalist in 1965 (Ill.7b), who reflected on the building frenzy that had occurred in the last ten years to cater for the tourist industry and internal migration to the capital:

> The old, Balkan facet of Athens […] soon gives way to a new image –
> the smooth mix of cement, glass and marble in new modern designs,
> that combines the functionality of New York with the inspiration
> of Greek architects.[51]

But he also offered reassurance to the international tourist on the city's original architecture:

> […] the tourist, who visits Athens for the first time, must feel that
> the world's ancient capital of architecture is a 'continuum', [and that]
> Pericles' heritage still remains alive.[52]

Indeed, in the majority of the leaflets, Athens was advertised by its pre- and post-war profile rather than by its modern architectural development (Ill.8a/b). An exception to this was a 1962 map by Katzourakis (Ill.8c). From a bird's-eye view, two of the central avenues in the city, *Panepistimiou* ('University') and *Stadiou* ('Stadium'), are defined by major buildings, such as the National Library and University of Athens. These two main roads, marked as black vertical stripes and filled with colourful figures of cars and yellow trolley-trams, function as guiding axes for the surrounding buildings placed on a bright red background. The latter are portrayed abstractly in a collage of bold colours and stylised architectural details, while tile-pointed (*keramoskepes*) or flat-roof buildings refer to older and contemporary buildings, and churches can be recognised by their dome-shaped roofs and crosses. Perhaps for the first time, references to ancient times are not overtly used or highlighted, but instead presented subtly through the two iconic neoclassical buildings on *Panepistimiou* avenue, cropped by the right-hand side of the page.

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[51] Berk, D., 'Facets of New Athens', Ibid (511) August 1965, pp.34-37, p.34. It is indicated that 615 hotels were built between 1955 and 1964.
[52] Ibid, p.36.

Modernising (re-designing) historical profiles since 1958

In 1958 an in-house promotion department was founded at GTO, though only committee meetings were held there for the selection and commission of artists.[53] Design work was done externally in artists' ateliers and graphic designers' studios.[54] More importantly, for the first time graphic designers were asked to take up leading positions, not only as co-producers of campaigns, but also as decision-makers for works produced by participating artists and other designers.

In the early 1960s, posters produced by the promotion department's new design consultants, Katzourakis and Carabott, were awarded prizes in international competitions and received distinctions from international advertising bodies.[55] The occasion was considered a 'Greek triumph' in the periodical press, in one of the few references made to Greek graphic design and designers (Ill.9). The significance of the event, and the value of Greek designers, was stressed by comparing their works with key figures on the international art scene, such as Picasso. According to Carabott, the quality of work produced during the period was not a coincidence, but was 'due to the appointment of qualified people in the right positions'.[56] First and foremost, he mentioned F. Lampadariou, who was chosen by K. Tsatsos on the basis of her experience in publicity and forward-thinking.

Retrospectively, the posters produced in the 1960s, rather than any other period, signaled the 'golden age' of GTO promotional campaigns.[57] Even though posters of the 1940s were high quality in artistic terms, and the 1950s introduced new themes and

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[53] I-FC-18/10/2004.
[54] I-FC-18/10/2004. Also, the printing was done externally by big private printing shops, such as Aspioti-ELKA, Pechlivanidis and Makris.
[55] They won the first 'Gold Tulip' prize for their work in tourist promotion by the International Advertising Association in Stockholm in 1963. Also, as K+K, they won the Rizolli prize for the best campaign for the oil company Mobil in 1964. After this success, Mobil's advertising company in the US included them as members of the design committee for the promotion of Mobil worldwide: Anon, *Design Routes. Freddie Carabott, Michalis & Agni Katzouraki*. In 1968, M. Katzourakis became a member of the Alliance Graphique Internationale (AGI).
[56] I-FC-22/03/2008.
[57] According to Sgartsou, 'Glimpses of Greece through Tourism Posters', pp.42-46. See also, Orati, 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece'.

styles,[58] they were poor in terms of communication.[59] Moreover, poster design in the 1950s maintained the painterly quality of earlier periods.[60] How did graphic designers, as primary agents in the decision- and design-making process, contribute or challenge this visual and thematic tradition? What were the design innovations or conventions employed to communicate with a Western audience?

i. (Photo)graphic minimalism, the 'unique selling point' and the colour revolution: from art to advertising

Since the early 1960s, photography was integrated into graphic design imagery in a way that amounted to a revolution in visual expression. Art historian Irene Orati noted that 'in the 1960s design [in Greece] was daring. This decade was characterised by a review of visual expression on all levels, which signalled similar activities in the field of creative advertising.'[61] Carabott, who studied at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London in 1950-1953, Katzouraki (Slade School of Art and Design), and her husband-to-be Katzourakis (under Andre Lhote in Paris in 1954), all brought an international design mentality on their return to Greece. In particular, their work for GTO during 1960-1962 revealed clear signs of Swiss typographic influence, such as high-contrast photography, minimalist layout on a grid and unmodulated colour.[62]

Among the most celebrated works by Carabott and by Agni and Michalis Katzourakis, which gave them the title of 'modern' graphic designers in Greece (according to a recent exhibition and related publications and articles), were their posters of the early 1960s.[63] These employed a minimal composition consisting of a

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[58] Through the use of simple lines, simple objects, 'everyday' and diachronic Greek cultural symbols beyond Greece's ancient past and natural landscapes: Orati, 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece', p.266.
[59] Ibid, pp.266-267; Orati, I., 'Advertising and Tourism Poster, 1920-1960: Following the Trail of Urbanisation and Commercial-Industrial Development ', *Epta Imeres tis 'Kathimerinis'*, 31, 17 May 1998, pp.27-30, p.30.
[60] Orati, 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece', p.267. Paintbrush or airbrush was used to produce imagery typical to the 1940s and 1950s.
[61] Ibid, p.267.
[62] See Chapter 2. Also, Hollis, R., *Swiss Graphic Design.* (London: Laurence King, 2006).
[63] Anon, *Design Routes. Freddie Carabott, Michalis & Agni Katzouraki.* ; Rigopoulos, D., 'The Greek Style was Born in the 1960s', *Kathimerini* Sunday 4 November 2007, p.1; Bistika, E., 'Freddie Carabott, Michalis

photograph (either plain or highly contrasted) of an antiquity (detail of a temple, sculpture, etc.) against a bold colour background and the title 'Greece' in either an upper- or lower-case (usually) sans-serif typeface (Ill.10a).[64] Helvetica, the sans-serif font created in 1957 and known for its clarity and neutrality,[65] is thought to have been introduced into Greek graphic design by the Thessaloniki-based graphic designer Yannis Svoronos,[66] and was used frequently, but not exclusively, in GTO works thereafter.

Scrolling through a catalogue of earlier tourist posters, the Katzourakises explained their criteria for approving or declining a commission:

> We were rejecting all these [pointing to painterly works], we didn't
> perceive them as posters, but as paintings, illustrations... they were
> confusing... very descriptive. Our works were more... 'graphic design',
> more rigid in form [...] more abstract, minimalist.[67]

> MK: We tried to make proper advertising, something very simple and
> clear... The image should tell what you want to say... and we used
> different media to achieve this... [we used] very bright colours... whereas
> before that all colours were brown, beige... We dared... to put a black
> and white photograph with high contrasts, a yellow background...
> before it was more a painterly approach... [our approach] did not exist
> before... [...]. We tried to follow the 'unique selling point'.[68]

Yet publishers sometimes challenged their authority on a final design. In a poster for Greece, the Olympic airways logo was included without the designers' permission (Ill.10b). As Katzourakis noted,

> The publisher wanted to show the connection between this poster

Katzourakis, Agni Katzouraki: The Exemplars of Graphic Design as Art at the 'Design Routes' Exhibition in Thessaloniki' in *Kathimerini* 2 September 2009
<http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_columns_1_02/09/2009_327703> [Accessed 2 September 2009]; Anon, 'Social History Written... by Design' in *Ta Nea* 2 September 2009
<http://www.graphicarts.gr/portal/showitem.php?artlid=2990> [Accessed 11 August 2010].
[64] See also Ill.16a in Chapter 2.
[65] Developed in 1957 by Swiss typeface designer Max Miedinger and Eduard Hoffmann the typeface has no intrinsic meaning to its form and so could be used on a wide variety of signage. Müller, L., Malsy, V., Langer, A., Kupferschmid, I., ed., *Helvetica forever* (Baden: Lars Müller, 2007). See also documentary film Hustwit, G., *Helvetica* (USA, 2007) 80".
[66] I-FC-04/09/2004.
[67] I-MK-06/02/2004.
[68] I-MK+AK-22/03/2008.

for Greece and Olympic airways. This is wrong. I didn't do this.

I asked him to take this [Olympic Airways logo] out in the next run of prints.[69]

Moreover, the 'unique selling point' (a term used by the Katzourakises retrospectively) referred also to a specific symbol representing the culture or place advertised. For example, in this leaflet for tourism the 'horns of consecration' stood as a symbol, ubiquitous in Minoan civilisation, for the sacred bull (Ill.11a). This repeated shape eliminated superfluous inclusion of different cultural and historical characteristics of the island, as seen in earlier works (Ill.11b). A similar preference for minimalism and abstraction also started to be seen in the works of artists such as S. Vassiliou (Ill.12), especially when compared with his early poster for Poros of 1948 (Ill.5a).[70] Moreover, beyond the use of high-contrast photography, the modern quality of their designs was achieved by an intriguing and revolutionary colour scheme. As the Katzourakises noted,

It was a combination of photography and much more daring colours.

Red, for instance, was a taboo colour due to its association with Communism.[71]

Pure, bright, saturated colours, as well as unusual colour combinations such as magenta with orange/red or red/green, were ordinarily used in leaflets produced by Katzouraki, whose work was sometimes confused with, or credited to her husband.[72] These colour combinations were considered visually disturbing, and difficult to see as separate colours in black-and-white reproductions. For example, in this leaflet for the Ionian islands, colour plays the most important role, bringing to life the other design elements and the black-and-white photographs of sites or historical maps (Ill.13).

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[69] I-MK-06-02-2004.

[70] Also noted by Orati, 'A Chronicle of the Poster for Tourism in Greece', p.267.

[71] I-MK-06-02-2004.

[72] As she explained, 'in many cases, especially when we had many commissions, we worked together, it was a collective work'. I-AK-22/03/2008.

ii. 2-D playfulness: cropped photographs, graphic symbols and tourists

As explained by Carabott and the Katzourakises, photography was not a commonplace medium at the time, due to its complicated and time-consuming process.[73]

> At that time, it was difficult to do such a thing… to find a model, etc. […] Photography capturing everyday life was later. […] to work with models like this one… we did it later… I remember that when I started a work, my ideas were bound to the execution and printing limitations. All these play an important role. You couldn't do complicated things.[74]

Moreover, when photographs were included in the design, they were treated unconventionally, as rectangular shapes that merely provided a visual reference for the text. For instance, in a leaflet for Rhodes of 1949, the black-and-white photograph of a sculpture of Aphrodite (the only photograph in the leaflet) is placed in the upper corner, revealing the lesser significance of the medium in relation to the illustration and decorative details of folk art (Ill.14a).[75]

Comparing this use of photography to an Italian brochure for Rhodes of 1938 (when the island belonged to Italy), the difference is striking (Ill.14b/c/d). A silhouetted photograph of the sculpture is pasted onto a bluish-green painted background standing for sea and sky, in the manner of the New Typography of the 1920s and 1930s. And whereas the focus of the Italian campaign was sun, fun and pleasure, the Greek promotion emphasised history and tradition, confirming the view of the country as living in 'monumental' rather than 'social' space.[76]

Despite thematic continuities, design language began to change from 1958. Carabott's design for Athens introduced new considerations of space and graphic design, such as icons for airplanes, trains and ships, to indicate travel connections (Ill.15a). A female figure is shown on *Philopappou* Hill looking at the Acropolis and

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[73] I-AK-22/03/2008.
[74] I-AK-22/03/2008.
[75] The same photograph was used in the same manner in a leaflet for Greece in 1951.
[76] Terms by Michael Herzfeld (1991) as quoted in Hamilakis, 'Antiquities as Symbolic Capital in Modern Greek Society', p.122.

Parthenon. With her back to the photographer, the 'tourist gaze'[77] is the central focus of the leaflet.

The tourist gaze towards ancient ruins, the natural landscape and the sea was also visualised through colourful illustrations of tourists. This combination of photography and illustration made the leaflet more engaging, playful and informal than earlier formats, in which a mere reference to antiquity imparted seriousness and formality, as well as a sense of remoteness, to the potential visitor. The human figure was gradually introduced into the composition as an active element, as seen in this leaflet produced by Carabott of 1963 (Ill.15b/c), and became integral to GTO promotions after the 1980s.[78]

iii. Spatial design innovations and 3-D experimentations with paper

Another design innovation introduced since the late 1950s is related to layout. In previous leaflets, image and text were positioned in the space defined by the folded sides, that is, within the three, four, or five (horizontal) sides that comprise a leaflet. Now, sharp diagonals brought a sense of dynamism to the page, creating a more engaging and playful effect. Visual elements ran through the folded sides as a unified agent and provided continuity according to Gestalt principles, rather than functioning as isolated, unconnected planes placed conventionally side-by-side. As in a leaflet by Carabott, the yellow and light-brown background shapes, as well as the photograph frame, are cropped, letting the story unfold simultaneously with the unfolding of the leaflet in the reader's hands (Ill.15a).

Lastly, a new way to represent historic subjects and the natural landscape or seaside resort was introduced by the Katzourakises and Carabott in the late 1960s. This involved a reconsideration of the sheet, not only as a 2-D material on which the

[77] As in Urry, J., *The Tourist Gaze*. 2 edn. (London: Sage, 2002 [1990]).
[78] Sgartsou, 'Glimpses of Greece through Tourism Posters', pp.70-73.

idea was sketched out, but also as a material for 3-D constructions. For the Festival of Athens in 1967 (first launched in 1955), an Ionic-type column was visualised as a paper construction (Ill.16a). The vertical hollow grooves of the shafts were made out of vertical stripes of coloured cartridge paper, and the capital of the column by a spiral-shaped form. Similarly, in Carabott's leaflet for Athens in 1966/7, paper constructions of square-shaped buildings served as a relief pattern for the background map (as a city seen from above), and contrasted with the colourful 2-D paper collage of the church in the foreground (Ill.16b). This 3-D approach also appeared in their work for Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation (OTE) during the same period, establishing it as an idea accepted and legitimised by the state, which had already honoured them with the Gold Cross of the Order of the Phoenix for their contribution to Greek design in 1965. The promotional campaigns produced by GTO, and especially by the Katzourakises and Carabott, received mostly positive comments in the periodical press.

The graphic designer and writer Cosmetatos gave one of the very few critical reviews of GTO posters and leaflets designed by graphic designers and collaborating artists in the period 1964-1965.[79] The critic acknowledged that their work was generally high-quality and imaginative, characteristics that he believed 'were in line with the central and northern European [design] mentality'.[80] However, referring to the poster designed by Y. Vakirtzis of Castella in 1955, the author noted that some works lacked basic principles of poster design, especially 'increased impact' (*ifksimeni krousi)*. Moreover, he regarded some of the posters as 'crowded' and as less effective in attracting the attention of the viewer.

This unsatisfying result, he further noted, was due to a 'lack of coordination between space and subject, and between subject and typographic elements', a fact that made him assume that the title ('Greece') or text was possibly a later addition, with no

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[79] Cosmetatos, S.M., 'Greek Tourism Leaflets', *Architektoniki* (48) November-December 1964, pp.76-83; Cosmetatos, S.M., 'Greek Tourism Posters', *Architektoniki* (45) May-June 1964, pp.92-99. The works presented were by M. Katzourakis, L. Schina, G. Manoussakis, S. Vassiliou, and F. Carabott.
[80] Cosmetatos, 'Greek Tourism Posters', p.93.

prior consideration taken of its size and positioning in the composition.[81] These remarks became more critical and specific in his appraisal of leaflet design.

> Most leaflets are original in concept, striking in their performance,
> and closely related to the subject, but they have a weak point […]
> all leaflets present problems in page layout, the continuation from
> one page to the other, the relation between photography and content,
> and sometimes, the choice of background colours when photographs
> are included.[82]

Inconsistency between images and text in relation to their relative placement was also noted. Moreover, the white space around main images or texts was not used efficiently, and the exterior of the leaflet sometimes clashed with the inside, which he characterised as 'second-class work'.[83] Overall, Cosmetatos' criticism of GTO promotion drew attention to faults in accurately applying, or complying with, Western design principles. It also pointed to the differing approaches of the various image-makers (artists, graphic designers, photographers) and the challenges of meeting the requirements of a large-scale project.

c. Photographing the 'Sun, Sand and Sex' tourist package since 1967

Photography slowly acquired a prominent role, to the point that, from the late 1960s, it became the dominant medium used in posters and leaflets, especially after 1967 when layout became more or less standard. In leaflets, the name of the destination was placed between two horizontal lines with a crest, with a photograph below depicting the most characteristic aspect of the place (Ill.17). These design solutions were repeated in consecutive years, indicating the limited opportunities that existed for renewal and creativity.

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[81] Ibid, p.93.
[82] Cosmetatos, 'Greek Tourism Leaflets', p.77.
[83] Ibid, p.77.

In addition to this, in the early 1970s 'artists-designers' became permanent employees at GTO,[84] and depended exclusively on photographers' 'easy solutions' of shots of local people or folklore and views of ancient sites. These factors are usually the main criticism of promotional campaigns under the military dictatorship. The following sections concern the changes that occurred in tourist images of Greece under the Junta, in its attempt to catch up with international developments in the tourist industry.

'Yachting in Greece'

Traditionally, Greece was a cultural destination for the educated visitor, as reflected in numerous images of antiquity and Byzantine ruins in leaflets and posters. Even though the historical identity of Greece was not abandoned altogether in tourist promotions under the Junta, it was now relegated to the background. Instead, attention focused on a different type of visitor: the tourist enjoying his or her time in the sun.

This more relaxed form of tourism went hand-in-hand with contemporary film. For instance, the subject of romance and love was the principal theme of *Koritsia ston Ilio* (*Girls under the Sun*, 1968)[85] staring Ann Lonnberg, and the independent *Return to the Sun*, a post-1963 private production.[86] Both film scripts concerned the love affair of an English girl and a Greek boy on the Greek islands.[87] Interestingly, Katzourakis's poster of 1963 (20,000 copies) was included in the latter film's opening sequence,

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[84] The mentality of having a permanent job in the public sector in Greece is often connected to indolence. Change of personnel penetrated a large part of public and private sectors at the time of the dictatorship. See Tsotsoros, S.N., *Energy and Development in the Post-War Period. The Public Power Corporation, 1950-1992*. (Athens: Kentro Neoellinikon Erevnon, 1995), p.95. In the private sector, too, the archives of ATI hold some extended references on staff/teacher changes/replacements as a consequence of the new employment criteria set by the dictatorship (C. A. Doxiadis Archives). It is implied that the new people employed were not always suitable for the job, and that in the long term these changes were not for the benefit of the organisation/company.

[85] Georgiadis, V., *Girls in the Sun* (Greece, 1968) 80'.

[86] Andreou, E., *Return to the Sun* (UK: M.F. Productions, post-1963) 19' 20". Huntley Film Archives-8868.

[87] In fact, the subject of love and passion had been a popular theme in the Greek and foreign film industry since the 1950s: Negulesco, J., *Boy on a Dolphin* (USA, 1957) 111'; Cacoyannis, M., *Stella* (Greece, 1955) 100'; Cacoyannis, M., *Zorba the Greek* (USA: T.C.-F.F. Corporation, 1964) 142'.

indicating the former's (i.e., the poster) popularity (in the director's mind) with tourists.[88]

The poster 'Yachting in Greece' of 1968 featuring Lonnberg (Ill.18a) marked a new era in Greek tourist promotion of the 'sun, sand and sex' type, known as the 'three S's' in sociology studies. Similar to contemporary Thomas Cook advertisements (Ill.18b), the woman in the poster is shown sunbathing in a white bikini on a yacht. Such a liberal approach, especially towards nudity or public display of flesh, ran counter to the Junta's censorship policies and propaganda about Greek people.[89] Domestic measures to encourage morally decent behaviour included banning mini-skirts and prescribing hair length for men. In 1970, the so-called 'Scissors' Mission', undertaken by police and endorsed by conservative sections of Greek society, involved cutting long hair in men as a form of intimidation and humiliation.[90] Similar actions had been taken in the late 1950s to suppress teddy-boy culture among Greek youth.[91]

While 'Yachting in Greece' may have appealed to an upper-class audience, such an elitist approach was only one facet of the regime's tourist promotion. Attracting the wealthier strata of society to visit the country may have been aimed at increasing foreign income, but a totally different social group was also targeted: the hippie subculture that arose in America in the mid-1960s, known for its rejection of established institutions and middle-class values, opposition to the Vietnam War, embrace of the sexual revolution, and experimentation of alternative states of consciousness through drugs.[92]

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[88] See poster no.69 in Anon, *Greek Tourism Poster. A Travel to Time Through Art*, p.81.

[89] Vasilopoulos, C., *Censorship and Propaganda during the Junta* in *Time Machine* (Greece, 17 November 2009) 45'.

[90] Vasilopoulos, C., *Youth in Greece during the 1960s and 1970s* in *Time Machine* (Greece, 16 December 2006) 45'.

[91] Known as *teddyboismos* in the Greek press in the 1950s, it referred to the 'wave of criminality of the youth' en bloc: Avdela, E., ''Corruptive and Uncontrolled Affairs': Moral Panic for the Youth of Post-war Greece', *Sygchrona Themata* (90) 2005, pp.30-43, pp.34-35. The state measures of suppression in the late 1950s were draconian and punishment was intimidating and degrading, including head shaving, cutting extra lengths off trousers cuff and public humiliation escorted by the police: Avdela, ''Corruptive and Uncontrolled Affairs': Moral Panic for the Youth of Post-war Greece', pp.36,39. The Law 4000 passed in 1958 aimed at the suppression of the phenomenon. See also, Dalianidis, Y., *Law 4000* (Greece, 1962) 93'.

[92] Neville, R., *Hippie Hippie Shake.* (London: Duckworth, 2009).

From graphic symbols to social symbols: promoting the hippie subculture in Crete in the 1970s

Together with Rhodes and Corfu, Crete was the island most frequently cited in GTO promotional campaigns, and a priority tourist destination during the 1960s.[93] Since the 1930s, Crete had been connected to the acclaimed Minoan civilisation that thrived on the island between 2700 and 1500 B.C., and representations of Crete invariably included architectural details from monumental 'palaces' at Knossos, Phaistos and Malia, as well as their interior decoration (frescoes).

Moreover, similar to pre-war narratives and styles (Ill.11b), archaic and contemporary culture was often juxtaposed to reinforce the notion of historical continuity, with modern Cretans in traditional dress portrayed next to a fresco of a young man in a similar posture. The contribution of graphic designers working for GTO from 1958 was to introduce a more abstract and minimal pictorial language. Hence, a single element from Minoan civilisation (such as the bull's horns) might be selected and transformed into a graphic symbol (Ill.11a).

From the late 1960s Crete was popular with the rising hippie subculture. In particular, the village of Matala was renowned for its man-made pre-historic caves near the sea (Ill.18c), which were seen as dwellings that conformed perfectly with the hippie's nomadic and communal lifestyle.[94] Similar to state and local resistance to teddy-boys in the 1950s, the arrival of hippies in the village was seen as a threat to Greek youth. Their occupation of the caves, and loose morals and dress code, were criticised by local authorities (church and police) as threatening to the local environment, and as inhibiting visits by more legitimate tourists.[95]

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[93] Kalocardou, R., 'Investments in the Tourism Sector. Regional Development in Greece, 1950-1980' (MA Thesis, Panteion University of Social and Political Science, 1979), p.47.
[94] Tsagarakis, M., ''My Aunt the Hippie' Goes to the Sinful Caves No More', Espresso, 9 September 2007 <http://www.espressonews.gr/default.asp?pid=21&la=2&catid=1&artid=421464> [Accessed 3 April 2008].
[95] Anon, 'Crete Police Say Hippies are Unwanted', -, May 24, 1970 <http://jmdl.com/library/view.cfm?id=1843> [Accessed 1 April 2008].

Local people perceived iHppie tourism as 'sordid tourism'.[96] But despite this, hippie culture was welcomed in GTO promotion. In a leaflet of 1970, two girls dressed in hippie style (head band, bright-coloured bell-bottom trousers) are shown sitting on a fishing boat in a relaxed and carefree manner (Ill.19a). The staging of the scene and their posture (one looking at the camera, the other looking down) appears more natural than controlled, as well as appropriate to the relaxed attitude of the prevailing culture.

However, in certain respects this representation was out of step with hard-core hippie ideology. The GTO leaflet presented a softer version of the hippie model: the two girls are decently dressed (long trousers and long-sleeved shirts) as opposed to the full nakedness of 'real' hippie boys and girls. Moreover, the choice of this particular scene for promoting Xenia Hotels on the island disregarded the hippie preference for alternative dwelling habits, in resistance to social norms. In addition, the comedy film *My Aunt the Hippie* (1970) presented the hippie community as a harmless group of boys and girls who cared more about playing music and having fun than endangering Greek culture.[97] And the following year (1971) the softer hippie type was shown in a commercial for a local beer, 'Fix', presenting this new social group as belonging to capitalist society (Ill.19b). Though such images were aimed at a foreign audience and reflected cultural tendencies abroad, this flexible approach towards tourists threatened both the regime's ethical code and local morality. But it also showed the flexibility of the Junta's attitude to international social trends as seen in British tourist promotions of the early 1970s. (Ill.19c/d).

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[96] See, Theodorou, T., 'Biographic Ruptures and Moral Panic. The Hippies Community at Matala (1965-1975) ' (MA, University of Crete, 2008); Theodorou, T., ''Sordid Tourism'. Matala: Moral Panic and Hippies Counter-Culture ' in *Greek Youth in the 20th Century. Political Routes, Social Practices and Cultural Expressions Conference* (Panteio University, Athens, Greece: Archive of Contemporary Social History, 26-29 March 2008).
[97] Sakellarios, A., *My Aunt the Hippie* (Greece: F. Films, 1970) 90'.

4.3 'Greece' for modern Greeks

Studies in sociology and anthropology claim that 'the birth of modernity was in a sense signalled by tourism, which in turn was a consequence of modernity'.[98] Even though 'tourism' had existed throughout history (for human beings have a certain innate need for recreational travel), sociologists have argued that tourism is essentially a modern phenomenon, directly linked to the logic of the capitalist production system.[99] Despite the deprived social and economic conditions of Greece during and after the 1940s, boosting domestic tourism, that is, inviting Greeks to travel in their own country, was a plan undertaken by the Royal National Foundation (RNF, est. 1947), an autonomous organisation supervised by the king of Greece.[100]

In terms of advertising Greece to an international audience, GTO concentrated on promoting central destinations, well-known historic locations and cosmopolitan islands for Westerners' summer holidays, since these venues had the greatest potential to generate revenue. These included Athens, Thessaloniki, Epidavros, Olympia, and the Cycladic, Dodecanese and Ionian islands in the Aegean. The vacation campaign initiated by RNF in 1956, under the title 'The Village Guest Houses' programme (1956–c.1959), by contrast, promoted remote places in mostly unknown, hard-to-reach destinations in mountainous areas, or the less visited islands, for Greek visitors throughout the year, such as Karya, Mikro Chorio, Elatou, Terpsithea, Kastania, and Gkoura.[101] These 'off-the-beaten-track' locations[102] were first introduced to the local

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[98] Wang, N., *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis.* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2000), p.2.

[99] Ibid, pp.12-14.

[100] The RNF was one of the two royal institutions founded at the time (the other being the Royal Provision under Queen Fredericka's supervision). As noted in the 1955 and 1961 publications, it started operating on 25 May 1947 and acquired the title 'Royal' in 1955: Anon, *National Foundation.* (Athens: National Foundation, 1955), p.5; The Royal National Foundation, *The Royal National Foundation: Its Works and Its Objectives.* (Athens, 1961), pp.7-8. The RNF ran independently of the state (official government), but only occasionally cooperated with it.

[101] The mountainous areas of Greece had been, in fact, the hideaways of guerrilla fighters during the recently ended Greek Civil War, a historical fact that was never mentioned in the leaflets.

[102] Buzard, J., *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

rather than the foreign audience, with the latter becoming acquainted with these less popular parts of the country only after the 1980s.[103]

The rigid geographical and seasonal differentiation between GTO and RNF promotion in relation to their audiences – foreigners and locals, respectively – reveals the complementary roles of the two institutions and the plurality of state agenda towards tourism.[104] With the exception of one location (Pilio and the nearby Sporades complex of islands), it becomes obvious that the two bodies shared very little in their promotion plans in terms of target groups and geographical focus. The most popular central locations were promoted to a foreign audience, while the more remote, less developed destinations on the periphery of the tourist industry were left for the local Greeks.

From a graphic design perspective, was there any difference in promotion techniques and strategies? How were these different territories advertised, by what media, and by whom? Was there a different modernity for a national and an international audience, and, if so, what kind?

a. Designing vacation leaflets for the domestic audience in the 1950s

Massive internal migration towards the big Greek cities, particularly Athens to the south and Thessalonica to the north, was motivated by the deprivations and hardships suffered by rural society, and by the economic opportunities, material comforts and cultural attractions of the city. In 1961, 44 per cent of the population of the metropolis was newcomers from other (mostly rural) areas.[105] Moreover, there were also those who

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[103] Sgartsou, 'Glimpses of Greece through Tourism Posters', pp.51-54.
[104] Argued also by Kalocardou, 'Investments in the Tourism Sector. Regional Development in Greece, 1950-1980'. In that study, it is stated that regional tourism development was completely ignored in GTO tourism policy. In more detail, between 1950 and 1960, the already popular destinations of Rhodes, Athens, Corfu, Argolida and Delphi, were given even greater push. During the 1960s, Athens and its broader province was given priority in GTO promotional campaigns, as well as Thessaloniki, Patras and Irakleion (Crete). Finally, during 1971-1978, the emphasis in the promotion was placed on Athens, Peloponese, Macedonia by 40%, and in a second order of priority, on Rhodes and Corfu (p.47).
[105] Close, D.H., *Greece Since 1945*. (Great Britain: Longman, 2002), p.61. Population distribution in urban/semi-urban/rural areas of total population in 1951 was 7,632,684: 32.8/14.8/52.4%. In 1961, total

migrated abroad for a better chance at pursuing prosperity. The first post-Civil War Greek travel agencies in Greece dealt with external migration to the US, Australia and Europe, rather than with organising excursions and trips to the countryside.[106]

Nevertheless, a virtual getaway to cosmopolitan locations in Greece was possible through the cinema. Many Greek films during the time took up the subject of holidays and vacationing in Greece or abroad.[107] Enjoying holidays on a popular Greek island was a sign of conspicuous consumption for privileged upper-class Greek society. For the rest, it was almost a forbidden fruit, inaccessible and, in fact, inappropriate for their economic status and class.

More importantly, the RNF programme materialised in the sensitive post-Civil War period of the early 1950s, during which people in Athens were executed and imprisoned for holding leftist political views. The stigma suffered by left-wing supporters in these years had a direct impact on their professional careers and personal lives. One must therefore ask: who was the target group of these promotional campaigns, and what was their aim? How did this new leisure activity fit into the life of Greek people?

The RNF's 'Village Guest Houses' programme (1956-9)

RNF aimed at 'elevating the moral, social, educational level and standard of living of Greek people'.[108] For this purpose, a number of so-called 'welfare activities' and 'benefactions' were undertaken, such as the building of the 'Children Towns' (*Paidoupoleis*) for war-orphaned children. RNF also initiated special educational

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population was 8,388,553: 43.3/12.9/43.8%. In 1971, total population was 8,768,641: 53.2/11.6/35.1, as quoted in the Statistical Yearbook of Greece in Legg, K.R., Roberts, John M., *Modern Greece: A Civilization on the Periphery*. (Colorado / Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), p.79.

[106] In the early 1950s, only 20 travel agencies existed. These agencies started to change focus from elite travel provision to mass tourism, as noted in Chitiris, L.S., *Tourism Agencies: Foundation, Organisation, Operation*. (Athens: Interbooks, 1995), p.27.

[107] For a short review of a list of films concerning domestic vacations, see Papamattheou, M., 'Holidays in Corfu with My Aunt the Hippie' in *To Allo Vema* 18 July 1999 <http://www.tovima.gr/print_article.php?e=B&f=12640&m=C14&aa=1> [Accessed 3 April 2008].

[108] Anon, *The Royal National Foundation. Its Work and Its Objectives*. (Athens: Royal National Foundation, 1961).

programmes across the country, such as 'Get to Know Our Greece' excursions (*Gnorisate tin Ellada mas*) for young people and young mothers in the northern part of Greece during the period 1963-1981.[109] These free, catered and carefully instructed excursions were organised for purely educational, and seemingly, national-propagandistic purposes, establishing a loyal and supportive audience from the lower classes of Greek society.[110]

In an earlier programme, 'The Village Guest Houses' (VGH, *To Xenodochion tou Choriou*), RNF aimed to promote Greek locations, mainly unknown villages or less visited islands for vacations throughout the year. Between 1956 and February 1959, 19 leaflets were produced in Greek.[111] Variations in design layout and lettering prevailed, yet there were also standard elements, such as the foundation's crest, and the programme title, date and numbering of the promotion featured consistently on the front cover.

In the course of these three years, leaflet production was systematic and intensive, promoting more than three or four places per year. The print run is not indicated, unlike GTO posters or leaflets, which in some cases reached 20,000, distributed to several travel offices abroad. Considering also that the only source of information for potential travelers was the RNF central office in Athens, VGH must have been a small-scale project. Yet the leaflets were visually engaging and attractive, using local characteristics that made them original and innovative.

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[109] The programme was initiated by the Ministry of Northern Greece in 1959-1960 and aimed at the 'gradual assimilation of the foreign-speaking Slavic communities in West Macedonia, and in later years (1966-1967) primarily at the 'combat of Slavic-speaking influences'. Ios, 'Touristic Education. Holidays for National Purposes / Nation's Itineraries / To the Limit', *Eleftherotypia* 28 May 2000 <http://www.iospress.gr/ios2000/ios20000528a.htm> [Accessed 9 April 2008].
[110] A critical view of the purposes and politics of the Royal institutions can be found in Ios, 'The Foundations of the Ex. The Royal *Paracratos* of Provision', *Eleftherotypia* 15 December 2002 <http://www.iospress.gr/ios2002/ios20021215a.htm> [Accessed 27 March 2008].
[111] Each leaflet is numbered according to the respective promotional initiative, the so-called 'effort'. The number of 'efforts' are inscribed on the front cover of each leaflet: November 1956: 3rd effort; 1957: 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th; 1958: 11th, 12th, 13th, 17th; 1959: 19th (February 1959). This study examines the surviving 13 leaflets held at the E.L.I.A. Archive.

i. Modern Greeks visiting rural Greeks: designing two social types

Although countryside excursions by Greek upper-class society and the intelligentsia had already started in the late-nineteenth century with the foundation of private touring clubs and associations, travelling for recreational purposes in the post-war period was still an extravagance in terms of the status of average, lower or middle-class Greeks.[112]

Although the inexpensive nature of RNF locations was emphasised in the texts of these leaflets, the concept of holidays was still somewhat new for the majority of the Greek population. Despite this, the VGH programme targeted the 'tired city dweller', who, upon arrival in the village away from busy city life, could relax and find peace in the natural environment. Tourism was thus presented as an escape from the alienation of modernity,[113] and albeit somewhat premature, this rationale fit perfectly with the logic of modern tourism.

> Modern tourism is a cultural celebration of modernity (such as
> the improvement of living standards, and increased discretionary time
> and disposable income), [...] it is a cultural critique and negation of
> modernity (such as alienation, homelessness, stress, monotony [...]),
> exhibited as an escape and a desire to 'get away from it all' (home and
> daily responsibilities).[114]

The identity of the modern Greek tourist was illustrated and separated from that of the host, with certain visual tropes adopted to establish this distinction, as in this leaflet for Karya, a mountainous village at 900m altitude located north-east of Ellasona near Mount Olympos (Ill.20a). While the guest is shown attached to a lifestyle based on technology, the host is presented as maintaining strong folklore traditions. However, the Greek traveller's means of transport did not differ much from that of their foreign counterpart, as seen in a poster for coach tours from 1955 (Ill.20b).

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[112] At the time, domestic tourism was treated with irony and was a subject of ridicule: Konstantinopoulos, V., 'Domestic Tourism: Source of National Wealth', *Ellinika Themata* (199) September 1972, pp.502-505.
[113] Wang, *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*, pp.14-15.
[114] Ibid, p.15.

According to a British account, initial representation of the Greeks 'as pastoral and non-developed' continued in the minds of British residents in Greece after 1945.[115] On the issue of whether Greece and Greeks were 'developed' or not, between 1957 and 1961 the editor of *Ikones*, Vlachou, published at least nine long articles refuting the idea that they were 'underdeveloped'.[116] The article was accompanied by illustrations of a traditional-dressed figure with a moustache, and another with a more 'European' style, stripped of local folklore characteristics (Ill.21a). In an article of 1961, the two types of Greeks, the 'urban' and 'rural', were humorously sketched by the illustrator Kyriakopoulos (Ill.21b).[117]

The Greek guest, who comes to the village either by car or public transport, is identified as a young fashionable individual, who enjoys the natural environment through activities such as walking, mountaineering, rowing and picnicking (Ill.22a). On island leaflets, the guest can be seen enjoying further activities, such as sunbathing and amateur (rather than professional) fishing, as suggested by a fishing mask, flippers and harpoon gun (Ill.22b/c). In fact, the pictorial style resembles that used by Carabott in GTO leaflets for Rhodes portraying international tourists (Ill.15b/c).

By contrast, the village inhabitant is identified by characteristics associated with their occupation; a shepherd and fisherman. The mountain shepherd is involved in relaxed labour, indicating his laid-back, care-free attitude (Ill.22d), while his traditional attire, reminiscent of the War of Independence and a symbol of national pride and patriotism, accentuated the unchanged character of Greek rural life. His fellow elder villagers are portrayed as also enjoying a quiet lifestyle, such as reading a newspaper or enjoying each other's company in the local coffee shop. The islander, whose geographic locus may enable him to establish connections with the outer world more easily, and thus to be exposed to social and cultural change more quickly than his

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[115] British residents in Greece since 1945 did not challenge stereotypical characteristics of Greeks. In fact, they reproduced and perpetuated stereotypes of 'otherness', and the notion of Greeks belonging more to the East than the West. This view was part of a perceived power-differential between those from the 'developed West' and the Balkans, as argued by Wills, D., 'British Accounts of Residency in Greece, 1945–2004', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 23 (1) 2005, pp.177-197.
[116] See issues 113 (1957), 161 (1958), 245/262/263/267/269 (1960), 272/273 (1961).
[117] Kyriakopoulos, G., 'Two Types of Greeks', *Ikones* (294) June 1961.

mountain counterpart, appears as a welcoming, happy individual in non-specific, casual attire (Ill.22b).

Interestingly, such distinctions between foreigners and Greeks were rarely pictured in GTO leaflets. Moreover, in contextualising this kind of tourism, which differed from pre-modern tourism in its a shift from an occasional to an organised activity, Greek advertising retained many of the traits of the more elite character of pre-modern tourism.[118]

ii. Drawing the natural landscape with photo-like illustrations

The majority of surviving RNF leaflets were produced in a naive painterly style, with earthy-toned watercolour (soft greens, browns, blue and puce) as the medium of choice for depicting local sites. In contrast to GTO leaflets, those for RNF, with the exception of a few photographs of the interiors of village houses, seem to have systematically avoided photographic images as over-realistic, opting instead for the projection of a fantasy or utopian world through black-and-white pen and ink sketches of local scenery (Ill.23a).

Several overlapping illustrations reveal the way photographic views of locations were used in a GTO leaflet for Corfu of 1958 (Ill.23b). A rational explanation for the absence of photographic material in the majority of leaflets could be that printing shops lacked the appropriate technology. However, this seems unlikely, since these leaflets were printed in large printing shops like Papachrysanthou, where GTO leaflets with photographs had been produced since the 1930s.[119]

A more plausible explanation for the exclusion of photography could be economic, as the photographer would need to be paid for his work, an issue that has not yet been

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[118] Wang, *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*, pp.12-14. Several differences between pre-modern travel and modern tourism have been identified. These are the different orientations, attitudes, and conceptions of recreational travel, and the necessary social conditions, that is, massive reorganisation and institutionalisation of tourism from an occasional to a mass phenomenon.

[119] Six printing shops have been identified in the 13 leaflets: Aspioti-ELKA, Lambrinakos, I. Makris, Papachrysanthou, Pechlivanidis, Pervolarakis-Lykoyannis.

examined in detail. Whatever the reason, the effort to present the subject using different techniques could be considered 'design mutation'.[120] Nineteenth-century 'open-air' painting practices seemed to be a more fitting means for capturing the natural landscape, which was the main reason for travelling to the countryside. Hence, a room with a view was promised by RNF leaflets, from which the vacationer could obtain a majestic view of nature. This gaze contrasted with that of the Acropolis and Parthenon in hotel promotions for foreign audiences (Ill.24). The Athens Hilton, for instance, was defined by the view framed by its guestrooms and rooftop restaurant.[121]

iii. Image-text relations

Although leaflet texts were written in a simple and poetic, novel-like style, they were less analytical or historically accurate than those of GTO. Yet the history and 'historicity' of the place was proudly and consistently noted in a narrative of antiquity that ran from Byzantine, Frankish and Ottoman to modern times.[122] According to George Tolias, director of the Institute for Neohellenic Research, 'the historicity of space remains one of the permanent topics of Modern Greek scholarly undertakings, agent and product of the rising modernity […]'.[123] In addition, the local environment and geography of the place was particularly emphasised.

In a leaflet for Gkoura, the reader was supposed to be enticed by the location's assets and the beauty of the route itself (Ill.23a).

> […] the waters of the lake seem to touch the road, as if they want to

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[120] When one medium (illustration) is trying to imitate or substitute for another (photography). Gelder, H.V., Westgeest, Helen, 'Photography and Painting in Multi-Mediating Pictures', *Visual Studies*, 24 (2) September 2009, pp.122-131.
[121] Wharton, A., 'Economy, Architecture, and Politics: Colonialist and Cold War Hotels' in *Economic Engagements With Art*, ed. by N.D.M.A.C.D.W. Goodwin (Durham, NC / London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp.285-299.
[122] The search for the 'historicity' of the space was noted in the writings of Greek intelligentsia throughout the last three centuries: Tolias, G., 'Space and History: Antiquarian and Historiographic Approaches of Geography in 19th-20th Century's Greece', in *4th International Conference 'Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002' Proceedings,Vol.II*, ed. by P.M. Kitromilides, Sklavenitis, Triantaphyllos E. (Athens, Greece: Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Research Foundation, 29 October-3 November 2002 [2004]), pp.77-120, p.116.
[123] Ibid, p.119.

> speak to the passer-by and narrate him stories of some very old ages,
> [...] of mythical, glorious deeds, of the Stymfalos palaces, and of the
> history of ancient temples that still survive today.

And further on:

> [...] and as the snake-shaped road [approaches] the top of the col of
> Kastania mountain, one can see the plain of Feneos at once,
> a panorama of shapes, a beauty of colours. [...] below there is a plain,
> thousands of acres in geometric shapes coloured in a range of light
> yellows to dark greens, [...] stretched as a colourful carpet divided by
> the silver line of Olvio's river... Divine Beauty![124]

The same poetic way of describing locations was followed in other promotional leaflets of the period, creating a strong image-text relationship. In comparison with GTO leaflets, this link was a weak point of GTO, and shows in retrospect that RNF's smaller-scale project was more carefully contextualised, and that communication between scriptwriter and designer/artist, was tighter.

iv. Interior renovation: a spatial modernisation

An untouched beauty and picturesque environment, as well as the simple, care-free life of the inhabitants, all formed part of the luxury and 'modern' accommodation promised to the Greek tourist.[125]   Only 'the best and most appropriate' traditional homes were selected for the stay of visitors. In high contrast to this basic tourist infrastructure in the countryside, by 1961 the state had constructed and operated 171 hotels, the so-called Xenia Hotels, to cater for the needs of a middle- and upper-middle-class international clientele, while the Hilton in central Athens opened for guests in 1962.[126]

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[124] Leaflet for Gkoura, RNF, 1956.
[125] This was part of the 5-year interest-free loans granted by RNF to the locals, through the former's Committee of Municipalities and Communities. This economic role was emphatically noted in every leaflet with a note of the exact numbers of rooms furnished. Anon, *Royal Awards to Regional Self-Government: Second Phase, 1954-1956.* (Athens: Royal National Foundation, 1958).
[126] At the time, the Hilton was the biggest, most modern and luxurious hotel to be built since the nineteenth-century Grande Bretagne Hotel.

Of 13 leaflets, only one, by Carabott, used black-and-white photographs of the village and interiors (Ill.25a). Those showing interiors seem to provide the prototype or inspiration for illustrations, since the latter follow the photographs in every detail, whereas all previous leaflets showed the same room layout. The furniture consists of uniform steel-frame beds and matching chairs, as well as a wash basin, though local craftsmanship can be seen in details such as the traditionally decorated blanket, bed rug and curtain covering the sink closet.

Indeed, interior room renovation was an integral part of the modernisation of post-war Greek society, as seen in a number of commercial films of the late 1950s, such as *I Theia apo to Chicago'* (*The Aunt from Chicago*, 1957) and the award-winning *Never on Sunday'* (1959). In the first film, the eponymous aunt, on arriving in Greece from America to visit her brother and his family, acts as a modernising influence on the Greek family: with the reluctant permission of her brother, she is allowed to make major changes to the household so they can catch up with the 'civilised' world. Amazingly, this transformation satisfies the ultimate goal of the Greek family: to see their daughters well married. In a similar vein, RNF transformed the interiors of rooms for visitors through provision of a standardised set of furniture.

Carabott's designs were distinguished from other RNF (unsigned) leaflets mainly through the unconventional positioning of pictorial elements – diagonal arrangements of shapes and texts that did not necessarily follow the space provided by the paper folds (Ill.25b). Moreover, new graphic symbols and signs, as well as overlapping transparent rectangular shapes on black-inked sketches, were used to advertise remote villages, as seen in the leaflet 'To Micro Chorio' ('The Little Village') (Ill.25c/d). Indeed, with his work for GTO from 1958, Carabott introduced a new visual language and more daring colour palette, avoiding visual distinctions between places (central/peripheral) and audiences (locals/foreigners).

4.4 Conclusion: Designing/Defining the 'modern'

This case study shows that designing and projecting the 'modern' Greece abroad from the late 1940s was a constant preoccupation for GTO (or its predecessor). Although at times the messages contained in posters and leaflets deviated from reality and contradicted state principles and ideologies, changes in theme and media were remarkable.

Within a period of approximately 20 years, the myth-making process of becoming modern was recorded through a spectacular thematic shift. In keeping an eye on the Western tourist industry, campaigns moved away from cultural heritage toward an emphasis on human factors. Thematically, the high culture of ancient Greece, which had been the focus of state promotion since the early twentieth century, slowly gave way in the late 1960s to the pleasures of sunbathing and recreational tourism. Yet the historical significance of Greece never entirely disappeared; instead this provided a subtle backdrop to new fashions, but without abandoning Westerners' long-standing expectations of the place.

In visual terms, the focus changed too. Paintings and descriptive illustrations of the late 1940s were replaced by graphic means of representation and experimentation in the style of Swiss minimalism. In turn, this imported design language, which existed throughout the 1960s, was substituted quickly and exclusively from 1967 onwards by photography. Since then, and at least until the early 1970s, in posters and leaflets, people, natural landscapes and man-made environments were portrayed plainly and in standard format. Despite this, tourist advertising during this period attracted mostly negative criticism for being inferior in quality.

The outline of media provided above, however, says little of their significance and function in addressing the modern. During the 1960s, especially, Greek definitions of the 'modern' came close to Western conceptions, largely due to the presence of graphic designers at GTO who had been trained abroad and influenced by foreign styles.

Attempts to communicate with the world through a hegemonic visual vocabulary in the 1960s (roughly 1958-1967) were recognised and rewarded by the main design centres (which awarded design prizes to GTO designers), which helped establish and legitimise their role as canonisers of 'good design'.[127]

Yet successful assimilation of canonical design was not fully accomplished. Looking closer at these 'modern-looking' visuals, deviations from original design principles were common and must have been anathema to the founders of 1920s New Typography and its post-war expression, the International Typographic Style. The prime advocates of the International Typographic Style in Greece, Carabott and the Katzourakises, did at times bend the strict rules of this design hegemony, and modifications were often subject to technical, technological or economic limits, for a range of locally and culturally determined reasons. The restricted availability of sans-serif lettering in the Greek typographic trade, for instance, hindered its exclusive or widespread use.

Beyond issues of style and claims of modernisation, this study has sought to argue that modern Greek graphic design was developed principally through the introduction of new, previously unseen visions of life and forms of representation:[128] playful pictorial tropes for traditionally 'serious' subjects (classical Greece); modern media and techniques (collage, 3-D constructions, photography), and standardised design formats; new profiles of Greece beyond stereotypical (ancient) ones, as an independent and progressive country; and changes to the ways Greeks saw themselves and their nation. The presentation of the modern Greek as social and welcoming in RNF leaflets, in contrast to the duality of ancient/rural in those produced for foreigners by GTO, introduced a new social identity for post-war Greek citizens. In this respect, leaflet design became more truthful in representing Greek society, as well as more

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[127] 'Canonisers' was termed by Fry, T., *Design History Australia.* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1988), pp.27-29.
[128] Regardless of whether these corresponded to international design trends, or whether these novelties may have appeared trivial or obsolete in the advanced industrialised West.

sophisticated in adopting visual techniques appropriate to the subject matter (countryside/landscape) and in creating stronger connections between image and text.

Juxtaposition of international and domestic tourist promotion shows that the 'centre' and 'periphery' are relative, interchangeable and malleable terms in the process of becoming modern. Peripheral, or off-the-beaten-track locations were seen as desirable for the modern Greek tourist of the 1950s, but only became so to an international audience nearly 30 years later. In any case, state promotional efforts through GTO and RNF aimed to reflect the expectations of both audiences, at times challenging the boundaries between promotion and propaganda. Modernity in Greece, as manifested in campaigns run by these two state bodies, despite inconsistent and irregular patterns of implementation, gradually acquired a context- and audience-specific physiognomy.

Conclusion

a. Overview and outcomes

> Design history has the confidence to proceed without
> absolute definitions of design and design history to
> which we must all adhere.[1]

This research aimed to enrich our understanding of a transformative period in the
country's post-war history, while demonstrating the value of the analytical visual-
based approach. By way of conclusion, I argued that, whether endorsed or ignored,
filtered or raw, rejected, debated or negotiated, modernisation was omnipresent,
indisputable and ongoing. Instead of being a simple linear process, modernisation
developed in muddled and less organised ways that at times challenged official political
credos, rational justifications, and social conventions.

By its specific nature and scope, this research takes part in the discussion
initiated recently by Greek historical studies, which argues that modernisation in
Greece was a cyclical process in which tradition and modernity were not necessarily
antithetical, and that the past played a crucial enabling role in becoming modern.[2] The

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[1] Lees-Maffei, G., 'The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm', *Journal of Design History*, 22 (4)
2009, pp.351-376, p.360.
[2] Hamilakis, Y., *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*.
(Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). Also, the works included in the 1996 publication edited
by Keith S. Brown and Yiannis Hamilakis that focus on the manufacturing of national identities and
national design is a concentrated effort towards this direction: Bastea, E., 'Dimitris Pikionis and Sedad
Eldem: Parallel Reflections of Vernacular and National Architecture' in *The Usable Past. Greek
Metahistories*, ed. by K.S. Brown, Y. Hamilakis (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.147-169;
Carabott, P., 'Monumental Visions: The Past in Metaxas' 'Weltanschauung'' in *The Usable Past: Greek
Metahistories*, ed. by K.S. Brown, Y. Hamilakis (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.23-37;

study complements current Greek historiography by demonstrating the complexity of modernisation during the period after the Second World War until 1970, and by viewing the process through the lens of graphic design.

This thesis also proposes visual communication as a significant tool for understanding Greece's developing profile as a modern country. By Western standards, the post-war history of graphic design in Greece is a modest history speaking in a specific voice. It is the history of a belated modernity with uneven development, but also of struggles, ambitions and incomplete initiatives, of priorities of survival that defined the choices made over the design outcome, of the limitations of freedom for experimentation and imagination, and of how the profession can (rather than should) operate.

In addition, the research explores the ways in which the emergent group of professional graphic designers and more established artists defined effective ways of meeting the expectations of both clients and consumers. Instead of being the prime author of form, both in terms of process and final outcome, the Greek graphic designer worked most of the time within specific aesthetic, functional and economic limits, and his/her decisions were subject to local agendas and attitudes.

The evidence presented in preceding chapters supports the argument that the 'modern' was a factor of constant negotiation within state and private enterprises, and between graphic designers and their agents. As part of this process, visual references to the past became important in rationalising and naturalising new commodities and lifestyles, while modern design methods and techniques brought an aura of renewal to the post-war, traditionally art-based, Greek visual language.

Gounaris, B.C., 'The Politics of Currency: Stamps, Coins, Banknotes, and the Circulation of Modern Greek Tradition' in *The Usable Past. Greek Metahistories*, ed. by K.S. Brown, Y. Hamilakis (Oxford/Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.69-84. Especially, in studies that looked into the inter-War period, which comprised perhaps the most contested era for defining Greek modernity in society, politics and also in art, architecture, literature and other cultural manifestations, modernity has taken up a hybrid form rather than one of ruptures and dichotomies. See also, Vaxevanoglou, A., *The Social Reception of Novelty. The Case Study of the Inter-war Electrification in Greece.* (Athens: Centre of Neohellenic Studies, 1996); Tziovas, D., ed., *Greek Modernism and Beyond* (Lanham/Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Inc., 1997). Contemporary to the period under examination studies include: Gizelis, G., Kautantzoglou, Roxane, Teperoglou, Afroditi, Filias, Vassilis, ed., *Tradition and Modernity: Changing Patterns in Cultural Activities within Greek Family* (Athens: National Centre for Social Research, 1984); Karapostolis, V., *Consuming Behaviour in Greek Society, 1960-1975.* (Athens: National Centre for Social Research, 1983). On Greek design from the mid-nineteenth century to today, see Yagou, A., *Fragile Innovation: Episodes in Greek Design History.* (-: CreateSpace, 2011).

The thesis has showed how the Greek state was connected to graphic design, less on the level of infrastructure and more on the level of production, defining and legitimising accepted forms of visualising the modern in ambiguous rather than consistent ways. The two case studies examined of electricity and tourism promotion promised, potentially, to tell a story of graphic design at its best. Both fields promoted the nation's economic modernisation and manufacturing programmes, with visual output characterised by contradictions, irregularities and inconsistencies; these in turn reveal the transformative yet unstable character of design that was produced under conditions of constant flux.

In each case study, Greece appears to have acquired several profiles, stretching from the ancient to the contemporary, and interchangeably from a 'central' to a 'peripheral' status. The image of the country thus changed from a traditional and authentic place bonded to its glorious past to an independent, strong and progressive country of the future. Similarly, graphic design in Greece occupied an interstitial place between the graphic art and more established fine art sectors. Oscillating between the two, and at times collaborating with one another, the development of the discipline took various forms, from copying ideas to adopting new practices and concepts in the workplace, and gradually building an understanding of the profession and its role in the cultural and economic life of Greece. The status of Greek graphic design at any one time can be gauged from the extent to which it critically responded and adhered to imposed or imported ideas of design. I have attempted to show how, through resistance and negotiation, Greek graphic design demonstrated that it could occupy a flexible space in the hegemony of design.

b. Rethinking the 'modern' today

Developing a critique of an out-dated model of modernisation may seem to have limited relevance today. However, modernisation can play a substantial role in our understanding of the evolution of graphic design in the past, as well as of its status today. Even in 2011 graphic design, as an independent course of study, is excluded from the more respected university-level art-education curricula, and the sole professional association for graphic designers, the Greek Graphic Designers' Association (1976/7), struggles to survive due to low member participation and weak performance in interprofessional competition.

The persistent problems of institutionalisation that emerged in the 1950s continue to exist in the early twenty-first century, making the process of becoming modern an open-ended inquiry. Moreover, perception today of what constituted modern graphic design in Greece during the time is influenced by the assimilation of modern Western design principles by agencies such as K+K.[3] Indeed, as the case studies revealed, and as seen from the views expressed by my interviewees, becoming modern entailed diffusing dominant design practices, especially the International Typographic Style. While accepting that this was indeed the case in certain contexts, this research has also shown the form and structure that modernisation took beyond assimilation of Western design styles.

c. Call for further research

Given that knowledge of history is the result of how it is mediated and presented, this research makes no claim to be definitive or conclusive. By focusing on the mediating role of graphic design and by examining its professional context, certain obstacles to

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[3] See for instance: Rigopoulos, D., 'The Greek Style was Born in the 1960s', *Kathimerini* Sunday 4 November 2007, p.1.

improving understanding of the concept of modernisation have been identified. It would therefore be helpful to explore how people responded to visual manifestations of modernity by inquiring into the social and consumption side of the process.

In taking further the case studies presented here, research is also needed to uncover the hidden sides of professionalisation, such as the organisation of conferences, exhibitions and public seminars, and to clarify the relationship between image and text contained in tourism leaflets. Also, what this research has not shown is the extent to which mainstream graphic design (newspapers, civil servant documents etc.) followed the hegemonic model of graphic design. Did this constitute a different side of graphic design due to the more bureaucratic attitude to change? In addition, the research has not examined in depth the role of advancements in printing technology (phototypesetting, offset) and typography.

Last but not least, this thesis has demonstrated how the professional domain of graphic design and advertising offered a terrain for repositioning women's role in Greek society. However, the examples given focused on their business leadership rather than their influence on the conceptual or aesthetic aspects of design. A gender-focused study investigating the creative talents of the female graphic designer is a subject that needs to be addressed.

By questioning Greece's identity as a country wedded to its ancient past, this research has liberated the study of modern Greek culture from an outmoded form of analysis based on classical scholarship, which in turn contributed to the notion of *exceptionalism* attributed to the Greek case.[4] In-depth comparison with the international design domain (both Western and Eastern) should deepen understandings of difference 'without seeking the exception', and help 'document and analyse the particular without feeding parochialism'.[5]

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[4] *Exceptionalism*: 'the belief that something is exceptional in relation to others of the same kind', The Oxford English Dictionary.
[5] See 'Against the Greek *Exceptionalism*' Conference Proceedings (Princeton University, 10 February 2007) http://www.princeton.edu/~hellenic/Exceptionalism.html.

Graphic design and modernisation in Greece, 1945-1970

Marina Emmanouil

Word Length 75,355

vol.2/2

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Illustrations for Chapter 1

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Ill. 1b: 'Script analysis', page from book by Michalopoulos (1962) showing the word *Grafistiki* in handwriting (Source: GPL)

Ill. 2a: T. Mukherjee's letter to Doxiadis Associates, 1 April 1968
(Source: C.A. Doxiadis Archive-17544)
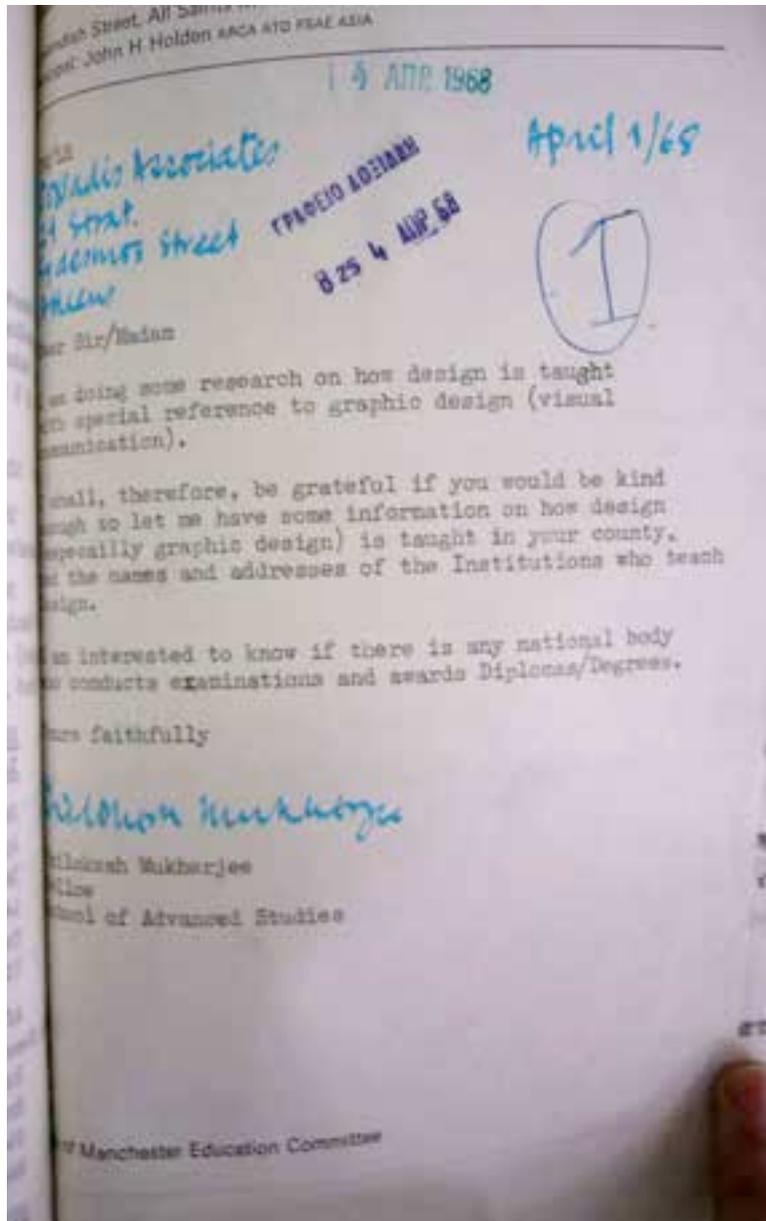
Text reads:

Dear Sir/Madam, I am doing some research on how design is taught with special reference to graphic design (visual communication).

I shall therefore, be grateful if you would be kind enough to let me have some information on how design (especially graphic design) is taught in your country, and the names and addresses of the Institutions who teach design.

I am interested to know if there is any national body who conducts examinations and awards Diplomas/Degrees.

Ill. 2b: E. Papanoutsos' reply to T. Mukherjee's letter, 16 April 1968
(Source: C.A. Doxiadis Archive-17544)
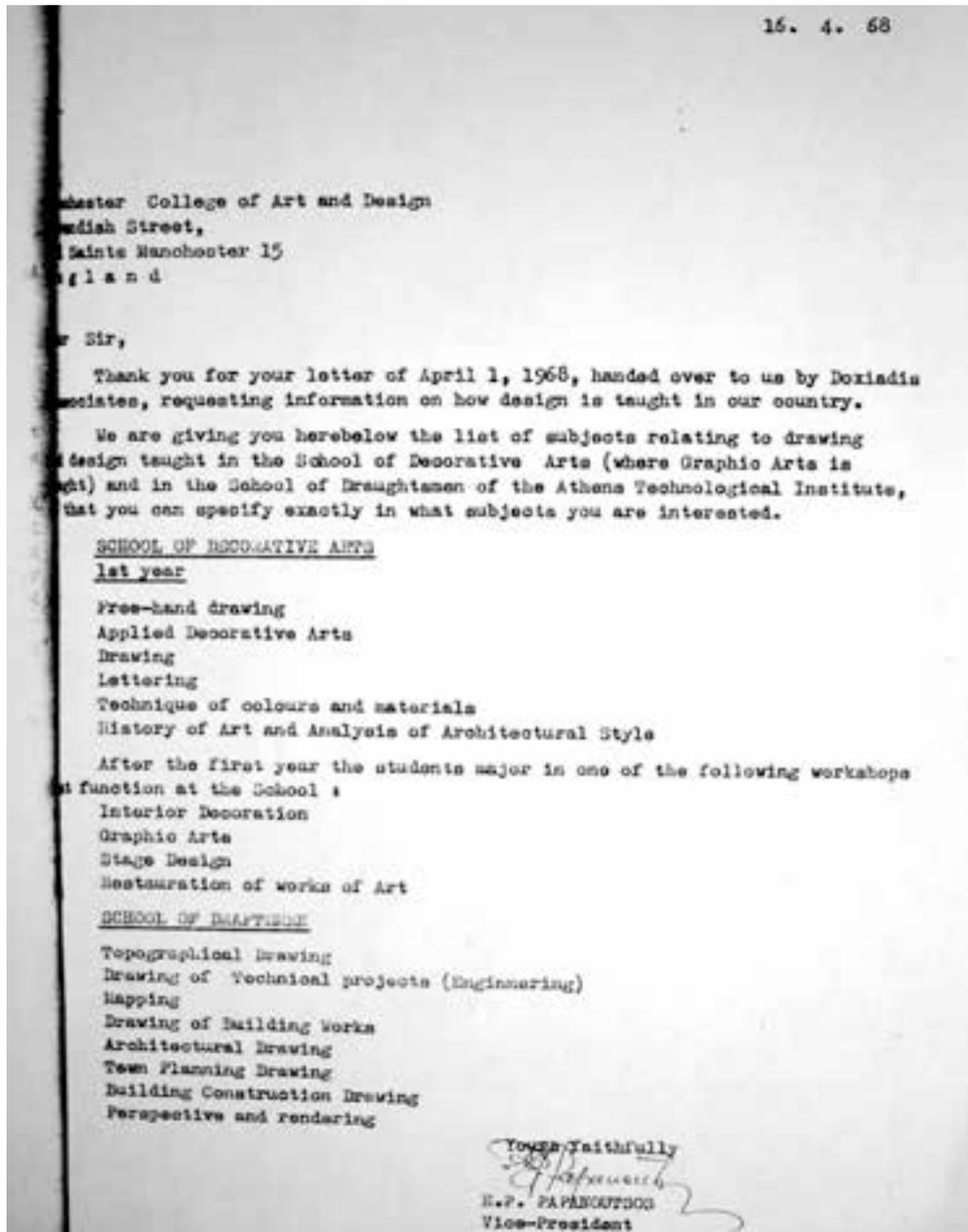
Text reads (original spelling is kept):

Dear Sir, Thank you for your letter of April 1, 1968, handed over to us by Doxiadis Associates, requesting information on how design is taught in our country.
We are giving you herebelow the list of subjects relating to drawing and design taught in the School of Decorative Arts (where Graphic Arts is taught) and in the School of Draughtsmen of the Athens Technological Institute, that you can specify exactly in what subjects you are interested. | SCHOOL OF DECORATIVE ARTS 1st Year: (Free-hand drawing, Applied Decorative Arts, Drawing, Lettering, Technique of colours and materials, History of Art and Analysis of Architectural Style). / After the first year the students major in one of the following workshops function at the school : Interior Decoration, Graphic Arts, Stage Design, Restauration of works of Art. / SCHOOL OF DRAUGHTMEN / Topographical Drawing, Drawing of Technical projects (Engineering), Mapping, Drawing of Building Works, Architectural Drawing, Town Planning Drawing, Building Construction Drawing, Perspective and rendering.

Ill. 3: S. Panayotopoulos, 'Greece' in *Who's Who in Graphic Art* . (1962) (Source: NAL)

GREECE

Spyros Panayotopoulos
Athens

The origins of the modern Greek graphic arts must be sought in the artistic tradition of Byzantium. Well before the Renaissance, self-taught painters, usually belonging to the clergy, illustrated manuscripts of the gospels and psalms with tiny pictures of saints and various other sacred symbols, while lay artists adorned the works of classical Greece with illustrations of many different kinds.

After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 a large sector of the Greek elite of artists and writers emigrated, to exercise their skills henceforward in other lands. Most of these refugees settled in Italy, and more particularly in Venice, where they later distinguished themselves. It was there, incidentally, that Jean Glykis printed the first books in Greek.

Once Greece had been liberated from the Turkish yoke (1821-29), a school of art was founded at Athens, and here Ferbos taught engraving for the first time. He and Zavitsianos were the first Greek engravers of any cultural standing. Their work reveals various influences but does not lack originality.

The first artists trained in this school replaced those who had hitherto depicted for the newspapers in technically primitive engravings current events and prominent personalities.

From this time onwards engraving quickly established itself in its own right, and soon held an honoured place alongside painting and sculpture. Artists of great talent, like Galanis, who lived in Paris and was a member of the Institute, as well as Kogevinas, Theodoropoulos, Papademitriou and Kefallinos, produced works of powerful inspiration which were enthusiastically acclaimed by critics of world repute for their sureness of form, their delicacy of line and the perfection of their technique as well as for their Hellenic character. All of them, and for that matter most of the younger artists such as Yannoukakis, Katraki and Tassos, belong to the 'figurative' school. This, however, has not prevented them from assimilating some valuable elements from cubism and surrealism.

Among the artists who have specialized in the illustration of books, reviews and periodicals, or who have designed postage stamps, diplomas and medals, we should mention Ghyzi—founder, with Lytras, of modern Greek painting—Kefallinos, Tassos and Grammatopoulos. The last-named has been responsible for some lively illustrations for classical and academic works.

The art of the cartoon is also highly developed in Greece. The father of this genre was Anninos (1845-1916), who satirized political and social usages of his day with subtlety and humour. Dimitriadis, Vassiliou, Castanakis, Bostanzoglou and Argyrakis are today's leading cartoonists.

Greek artists have been less occupied with graphic design for trade and industry, for local conditions provide little scope for this. It is only quite recently that an interesting movement has begun to gather momentum in this domain. For example, we may cite the contribution of the Greek electricity supply company, which in 1960 issued an album of definite artistic value. This was illustrated by Mégalidis, who succeeded in presenting man's labours in a realistic manner.

Poster art, it must be admitted, is still in its infancy in Greece. However, there have been a few notable exceptions to this general rule, in particular the designs by the painter Gounaro at the time of the Greco-Italian war of 1940, with themes which moved the Greek people profoundly.

Art editions are at present making considerable progress. The publications in this field include ancient and modern Greek works, photographs of historic monuments and the like. They are distinguished by the high quality and fidelity of their reproductions.

Journals and magazines also show an improvement in quality. In addition to *Néa Hestia*, mainly a literary review but which also publishes art reproductions of unquestioned value, *Architektoniki*, *Iconés* and *Zygos* are also impeccable in their presentation and help to cultivate the layman's appreciation of beauty. Aided by books and articles on modern art, the Greek public is now endeavouring to understand the abstract school of art at present in vogue, a form which has not as yet succeeded in winning popular favour.

In view of the talents of Greek artists, the results already achieved and the rising cultural level of the people in general, there is every reason for taking a hopeful view of the future of the graphic arts in the country of Phidias and Ictinos, Socrates and Plato.

GRÈCE

Les origines des arts graphiques néo-helléniques doivent être recherchées dans la tradition artistique de Byzance. Bien avant la Renaissance, des peintres autodidactes, appartenant d'habitude au clergé, illustraient de minuscules images de saints et de symboles sacrés les copies manuscrites des évangiles et des psaumes, tandis que les artistes laïcs ornaient de diverses illustrations les œuvres des classiques grecs.

Après la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs, en 1453, une importante partie de l'élite grecque des arts et des lettres s'expatria, apportant à de nouvelles patries son effort spirituel. La plupart de ces fugitifs vinrent s'installer en Italie, et plus spécialement à Venise, où ils se distinguèrent par la suite. C'est là, d'ailleurs, que furent imprimés les premiers livres grecs par les soins de Jean Glykis.

Quand la Grèce se fut libérée du joug turc, une école des beaux-arts fut fondée à Athènes, et c'est là que Ferbos enseigna pour la première fois l'art du graveur. Ferbos et Zavitsianos furent les premiers graveurs grecs possédant une certaine culture. Leur œuvre n'est pas libérée de diverses influences, mais elle ne manque pas d'originalité.

Ill. 4a: First page of Alevizos, T., Frantziskakis, F., *Aspioti-ELKA. One Century of Graphic Arts.* (Athens, 1973) (Source: EL)

ΕΝΑΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ ΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΤΕΧΝΩΝ

Note the use of first letters before the beginning of each paragraph in Ill.4a, as seen also in Ill.4b

Ill. 4b: Page of Mousourou, M., (ed.) *Etymologikon Mega kata Alphaviton* ('Etymological Lexicon'). (Venice, 1499) printed at N. Vlastos and Z. Kaliergis' printing shop (Source: Matthiopoulos, 2009)

Ill. 4c: 'Book binding. A Greek Art', S. Panayotopoulos, *Architektoniki* (67) January-February 1968 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 5a: Page from article 'The Graphic Arts in Greece', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (16) April 1960 (Source: GPL)
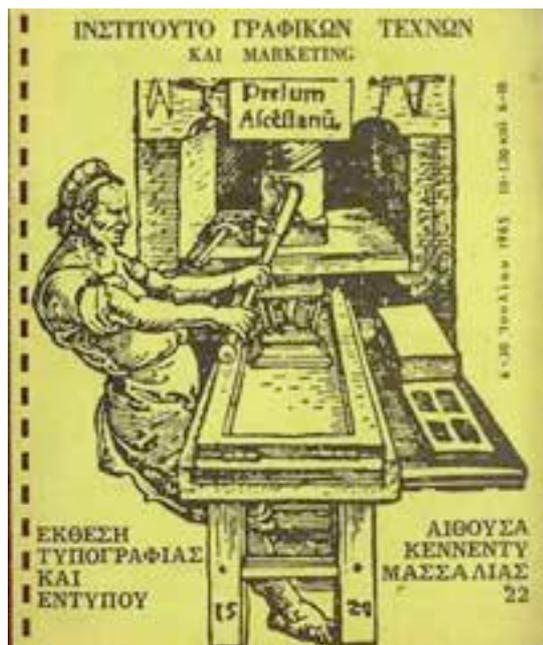
Ill. 5b: 'Typography and Printed Material Exhibition' Catalogue, HIGAM, Hellenic-American Union, July 1965 (Source: K. Eliopoulos archive)

Ill. 6: Graphic Art Workshop Exhibition Catalogue, 1968 (by student Aik. Kostidaki) (Source: C.A. Doxiadis Archive)

Ill. 7: Commemoration article of 1821 in yellow frame and an engraving by Tassos, *Typographia* (61) 25 March 1961 (Source: *Typographia* archive)

Below the engraving there is also an article republished from *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* in 1960: 'Graphic Arts in Greece'

Ill. 8 (below): Page from the *Deka Lefkai Likithoi* ('Ten White Urns') by Y. Kefallinos and his students, 1956 (Source: Matthiopoulos, 2009)

Ill. 9: An example of geometric layout of *Allilographia, 1913-1952. Keimena* ('Correspondence, 1913-1952. Texts' of Y. Kefallinos) edited by E. Kasdaglis (Horizontal rectangle indicates the correct positioning and size of the body-text in the page. Slight distortion due to photocopy) (Source: Philipou, 2008)
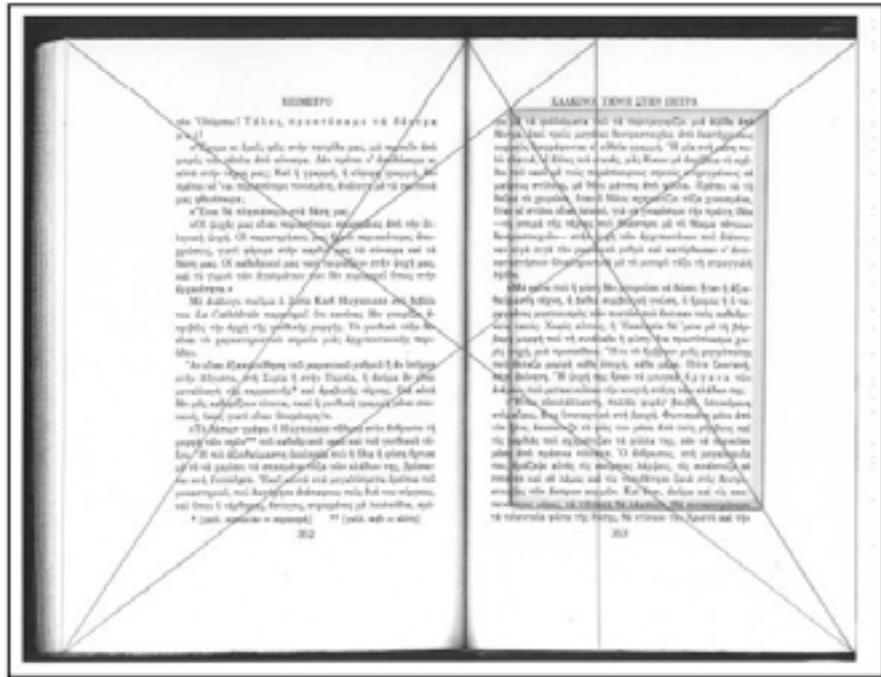
Ill. 10: 'Advertising: The Goddess of Our Time', *Gynaika,* 17-30 January 1962 (Source: GPL)
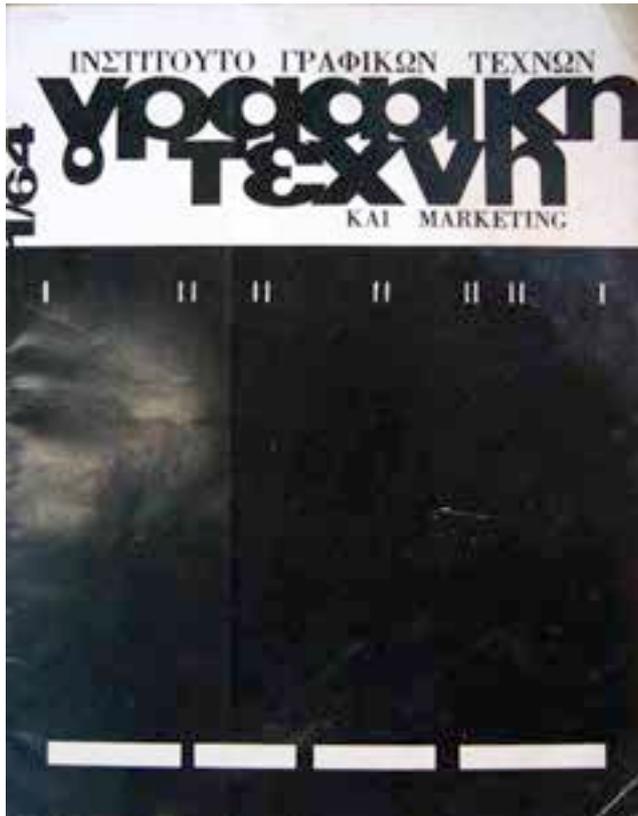
Ill. 11a: Cover page, *Graphiki Techni* (1) 1964 (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 11b: Editorial page, *Graphiki Techni* (1) 1964 (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 12a: HIGAM letterhead. Correspondence letter between L. Christakis and K. Eliopoulos. On the left: logotypes of HIGAM, *Graphiki Techni*, *Fori Epistulae*, *Imprimatur* (Source: K. Eliopoulos archive)

Ill. 12b: *Fori Epistulae* letterhead (detail) (Source: K. Eliopoulos archive)

Ill. 12c: *Imprimatur* letterhead (Source: K. Eliopoulos archive)
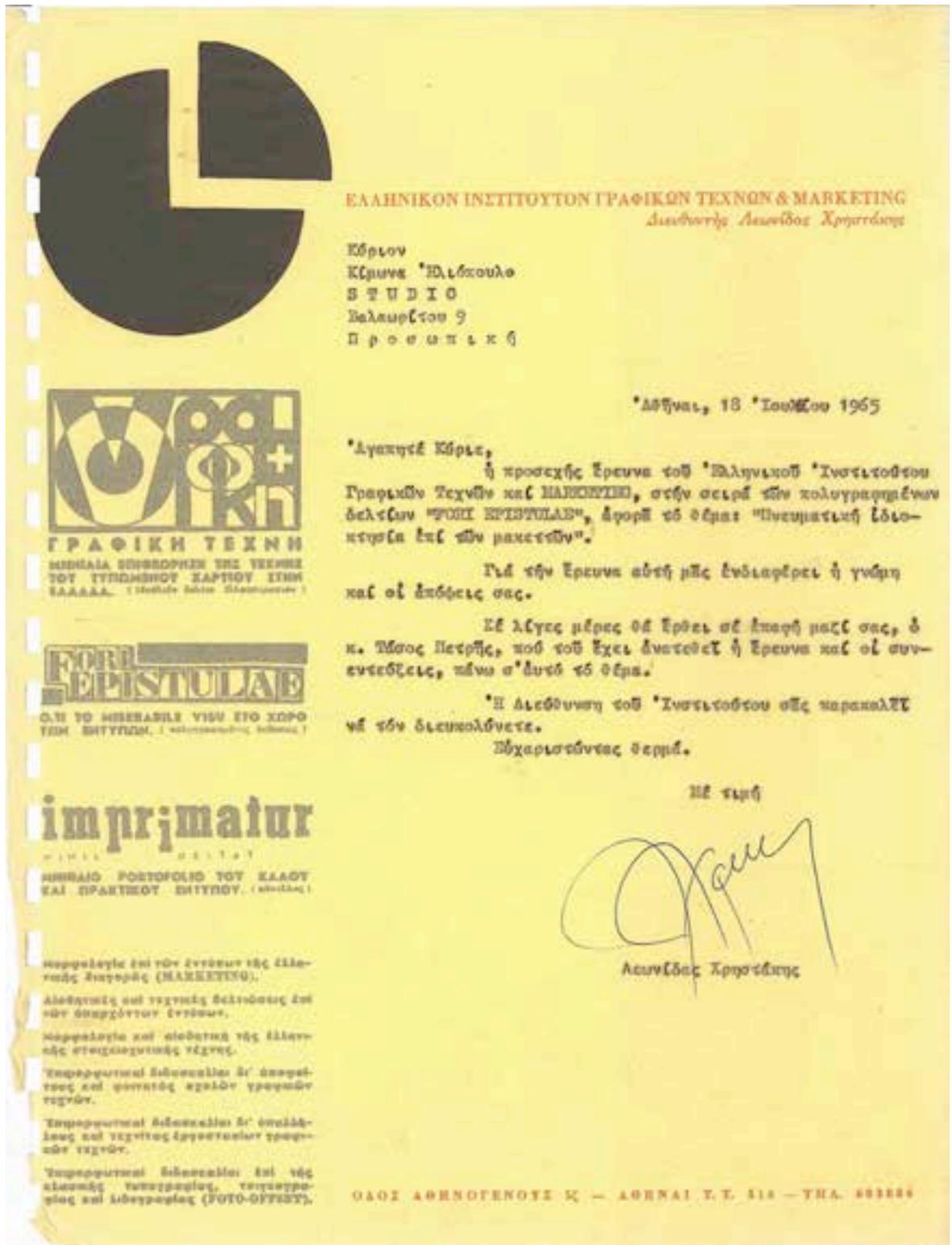
Ill. 13: 'Get to Know Advertising. The First Campaign in Greece', *Dimosiotis ke Provoli* (96) November-December 1969 (Inlaid adverts text reads: 'Advertising is an economic need', 'Advertising is a science', 'Advertising is an art', 'Advertising is a social service') (Source: GPL)
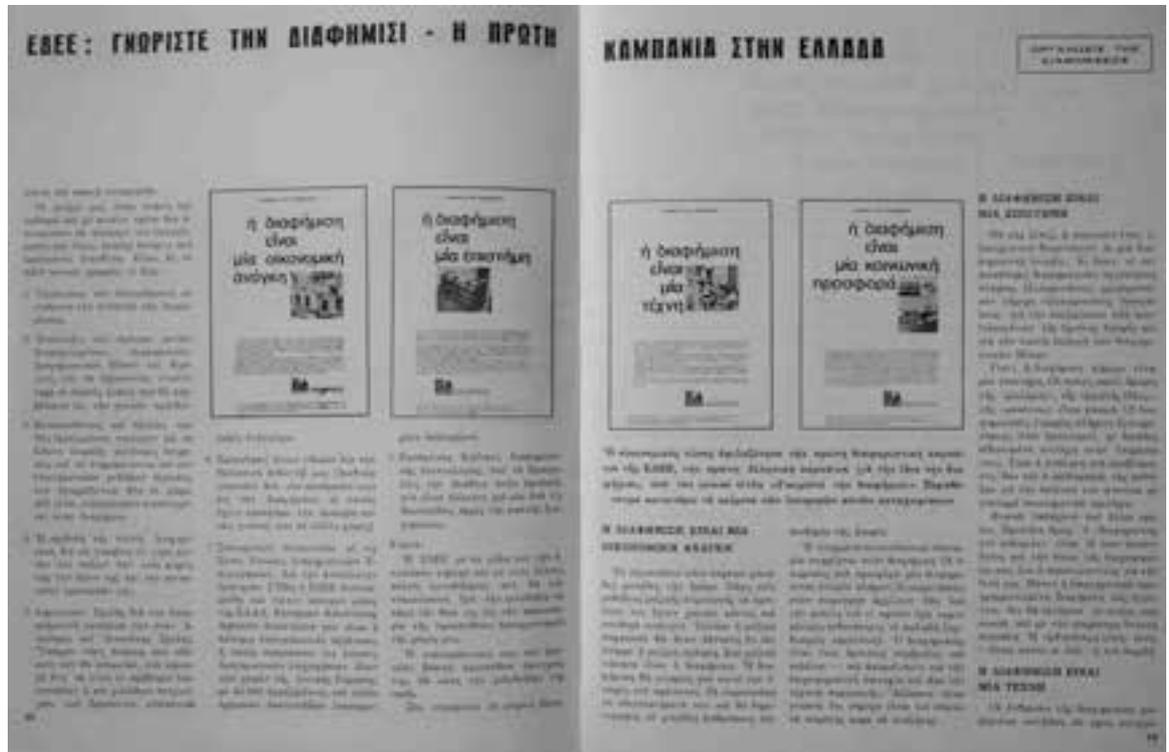
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Ill. 15a: Photograph of ATI students in 1958-59 (Source: C.A. Doxiadis Archive)

Ill. 15b: Students from the Graphic Arts Workshop Catalogue, 1969 (Source: C.A. Doxiadis Archive)

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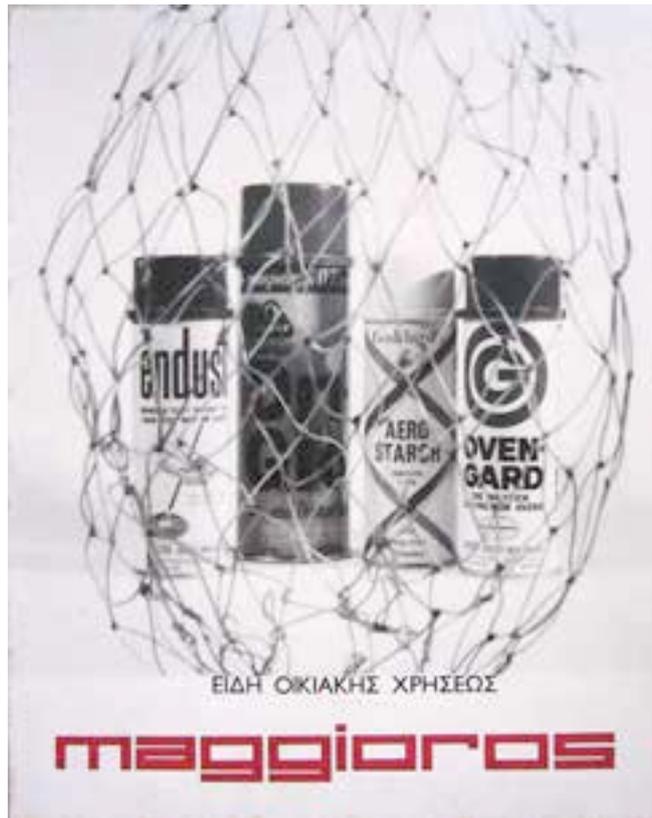
Ill. 16a: Maquette for 'Maggioros' store, ATI graduate (1964-67), Efi Vazirgiantziki (Source: E. Vazirgiantziki archive)

Ill. 16b: Maquette for Corfu promotion by E. Vazirgiantziki (Source: E. Vazirgiantziki archive)
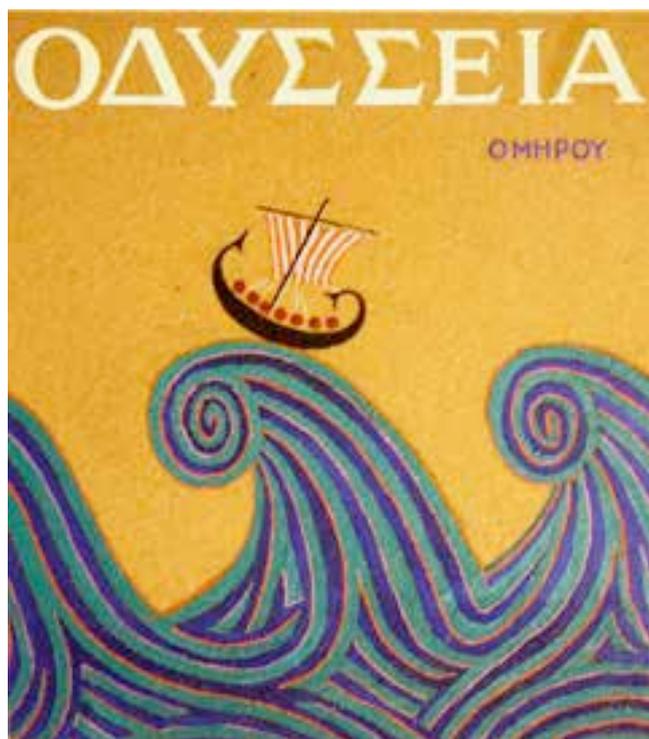
Ill. 17a/b/c: Book cover and illustrations for *Homers' Odyssey* on sand-paper by ATI graduate (1964-67) Yiannis Koutsouris (Source: Y. Koutsouris archive)

Ill. 18: Maquette for electronic music, LP cover by E. Vazirgiantziki (Source: E. Vazirgiantziki archive)

Illustrations for Chapter 2

Ill. 1: 'Come and Get Them' poster by K. Grammatopoulos, 1940 (printed at the V. Papachrysanthou printing house)
(Source: Karachristos, 2003)

The motto between the Greek soldier's feet ('Come and Get Them') reminds of the historic phrase *Μολών Λαβέ* ('Molon lave') by King Leonidas, the leader of three hundred Spartan warriors, in his attempt to call forth the enemy, the Persian King Xerxes and his army of over one million soldiers in Thermopyles (480 B.C.)

Ill. 2a: 'Greeks, Be Careful!' poster 1943-1944 (date given by Karachristos)
(Source: Karachristos, 2003)

Ill. 2b: Advertising for Greek cognac 'Metaxas', *Architektoniki* (49-50) January-April 1965 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 3a (left): 'Union Means Power' poster by EAM-ELAS (Union of Artists of Athens EAM) against Nazi occupation (Source: Karachristos, 2003)

Ill. 3b (right): 'EAM Breaks Athens Chains' poster by K. Grammatopoulos, December 1944 (Source: Karachristos, 2003)

Ill. 4a: Constantinos A. Doxiadis (first from the left) at the Charter Session of the United Nations Organization, San Fransisco, 1945. Charts and maps on the background later to be included in the album (Source: Kyrtsis, 2006)

Ill. 4b: Album cover, 'The Sacrifices of Greece During the War' edited by C. Doxiadis, 1946 (Source: Apostolos Doxiadis archive)

Ill. 4c: Chart showing the reduction in Greek Agriculture in 'The Sacrifices of Greece during the War' (Source: Apostolos Doxiadis archive)
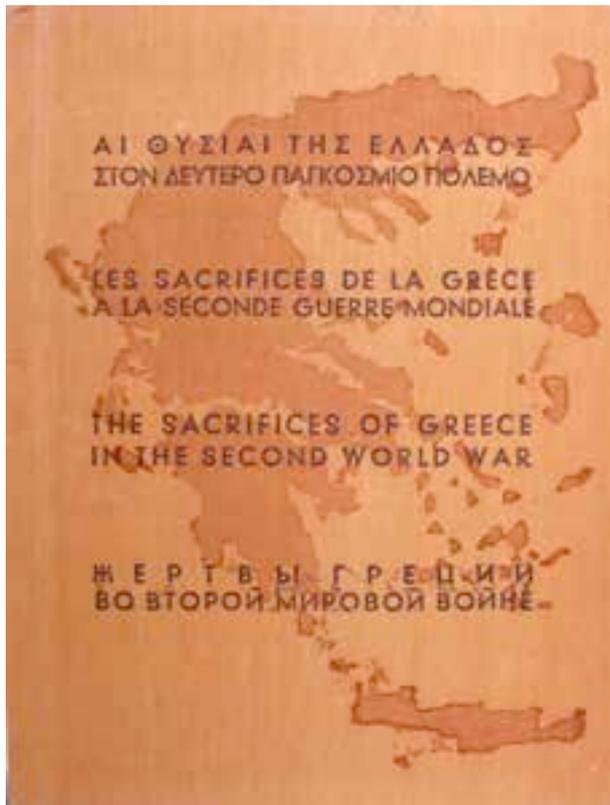
Album description

Size: 35.5 x 47cm
Pages: 107 in colour
Languages: Greek, French, English, Russian

Printed by the 'Graphic Arts Aspioti-Elka' workshop, Athens, Greece.
Material: fabric-textured, terracotta-coloured hardbound cover printed in two colours (dark terracotta for the map of Greece, and black for the text), with soft flap jacket in cream paper printed in two colours (cyan for map of Greece and burgundy red for the text)

Text as appears in album

The general data which were used in the compiling of this Album were collected during the Occupation by the Office of Town and Country Planning attached to the Ministry of Public Works. The specific data were collected by other Public services or by private individuals as is analytically shown in the Table that follows.
The collection and classification of incoming information, the bringing up to date of existing data, and the drawing of maps and diagrams, were carried out originally by the Office of Town and Country Planning. Later on, when this office was incorporated to the Ministry of Reconstruction, this work as well as the work of printing and presentation of the Album was undertaken by this Ministry.

*The text was composed by the architect C. A. Doxiadis, who directed the whole work with the help of the **architects of the Ministry of Reconstruction A.** Skepers, J. Papaioannou, K. Krantonelis, G. Papageorgiou, and A. K. Tsitsis, of the painter A. Stylianidis, and of the draughtsmen M. Gavalas, and S. Yannoulis.*
The work started in May 1941 and was first exhibited, in the presence of the Government, in the Office of Town and Country Planning just after the Country's liberation in November 1944. In April, May and June of 1945 it was exhibited in Paris and London as well as at the U. N. O. Conference in San Francisco. The printing was started in June 1945 at the workshops 'Graphic Arts Aspioti-Elka' and was terminated in July 1946.

Sources of data:
Ministry of Reconstruction, Ministry of National Economy, Ministry of Agriculture, A. G. Bakalbassis –Greek Economic during the Occupation, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Transport, Greek State Railways and Peloponnese Railways, Ministry of Merchant Nany, Ministry of Airforce, Ministry of P. T. T., Photographic studio of Ververis, Northern Epirus Organisations, Bank of Greece, Doctor G. Logharas, Athens Police Force, Doctor G. Valaoras, Jewish Community of Athens.

Ill. 5: Marshall Plan poster by an anonymous Greek artist (winner of a competition organised by the American Aid committee in Greece)
(Source: Tomai-Konstantopoulou, v.2, 2002)

Text reads:

18 Nations work together for the reconstruction of Europe

Ill. 6a: A neighborhood near Hilton Hotel area, Athens, 1955
(Source: Kairofylas, 1988)

Ill. 6b: Hilton Hotel construction, Athens, 1959-61 (Source: Kairofylas, 1988)

Ill. 6c: Panepistimiou Street in central Athens, 1950s
(Source: Kairofylas, 1993)

Ill. 7: Advert for 'Dauphin' automobile by C. Bostantzoglou (Bost) ('Armos' advertising agency) 1959 (Source: Bostantzoglou, 1995)

Text reads:

- *Good morning chauffer guy, hi there, ticket collector! Was I given the impression of the silly-billy? Here I am! I got an auto!*
-*He said it and did it! When did he manage?*
-*We lose our best clients due to the hassle of public transportation*
Runaround text reads: *One and twenty return – it summed up to two and a half, I was going crazy. Plus one of the same for the afternoon ones – Here is the five drachmas gone – Therefore, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bus(h) – Waiting for the bus to arrive – and if it's empty it'll stop, otherwise it'll pass through (last phrases are popular sayings and adapted to the situation portrayed)*
Message pointing driver: *The chap with Dauphine*: wordplay of the title of a popular song by M. Hadjidakis and screenplay by Jean Negulesco, 'Boy on a Dolphin' (1957)

Ill. 8: 'Dowry should be abolished'
title in yellow ribbon on cover of
Tachydromos (40) January 1955
(Source: Papapolyzos, *et al.*, 1997)

Ill. 9a: 'Woman: the market master!...',
advertisement for *Gynaika* in *DP* (3)
December 1959 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 9b: 'Woman is buying…' by M. Karavia, *DP* (46) October 1962 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 9c (below): 'Woman is buying…' by M. Karavia, *DP* (46) October 1962 (left page) advert of *Gynaika* (Source: GPL)

Text on right page reads: *The best way to approach a woman is through* Gynaika

Ill. 10a: Eleni Vlachou in *Eleftherotypia* (4) January 1964 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 10b: E. Vlachou in *Eleftherotypia* (32) May 1966 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 10c: E. Vlachou and prime minister George Papandreoum in illustration by Skoulas for 'The Fight for the Pages' article, *Eleftherotypia* (7) April 1964 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 11: 'A Woman in Advertising. Interview with Efi Chatziloui', *DP* (116-117) July-August 1972 (Source: GPL)
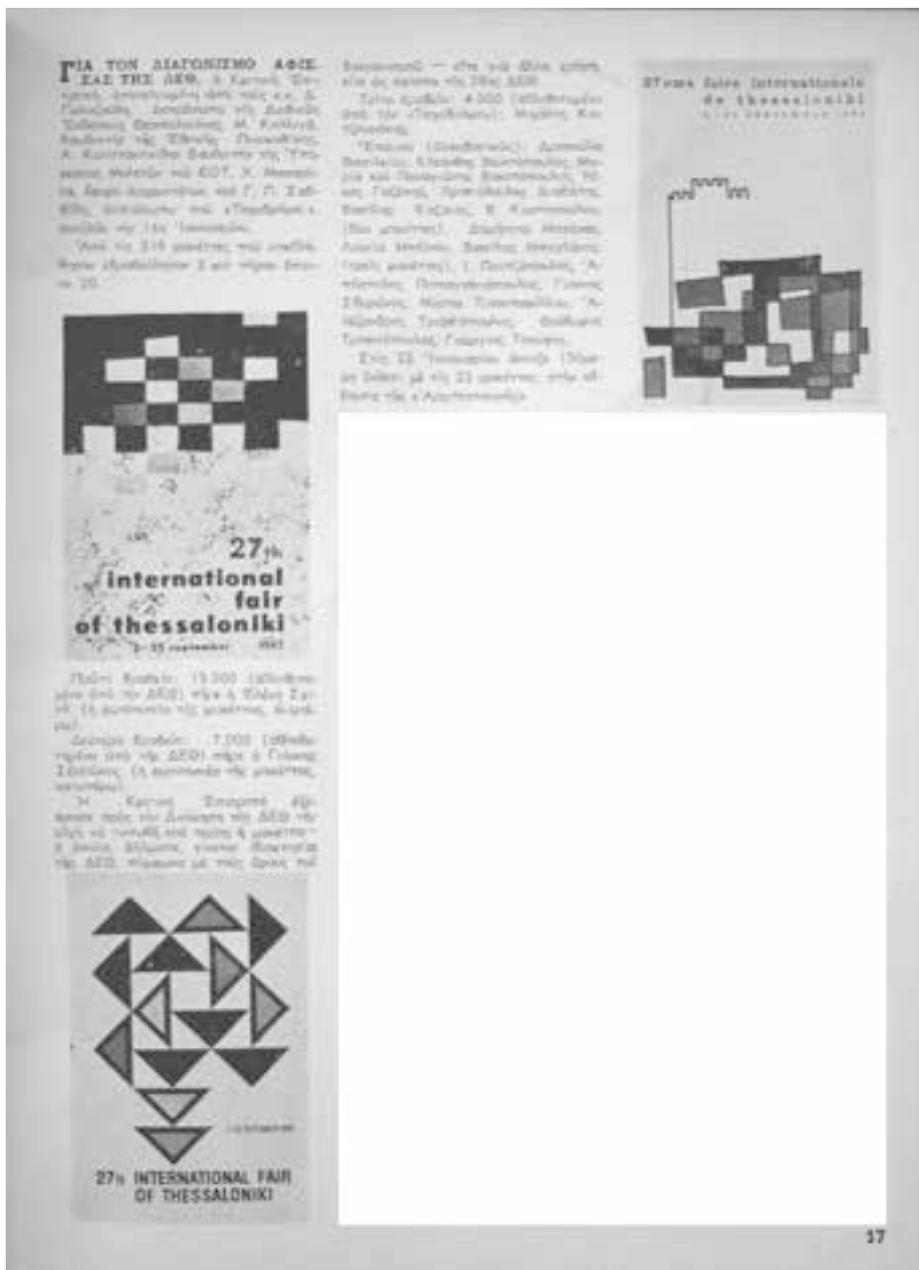
Ill. 12a: The winning posters for the International Fair of Thessaloniki competition, 1962, *DP* (37) January 1962 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 12b: Winning posters of the International Fair of Thessaloniki competition, and posters in *Graphis* (1959/60) (below two), *Zygos* (96-97) November-December 1963 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 12c: Cases of copying from *Graphis* and *Modern Publicity* (1959-60), *Zygos* (90) May 1963 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 12d/e/f: Cases of same (see *Therma*) or similar (see *Olivetti*) advertising ideas. Left: *Ikones* (321) December 1961, Middle: *Zygos* (8) June 1956, Right: original advert by G. Pintori) (Source: GPL)

Ill. 13: Cover pages of *Design and Paper* in article by A. Horovic, *Zygos* (91-92)
June-July 1963 (Source: GPL)
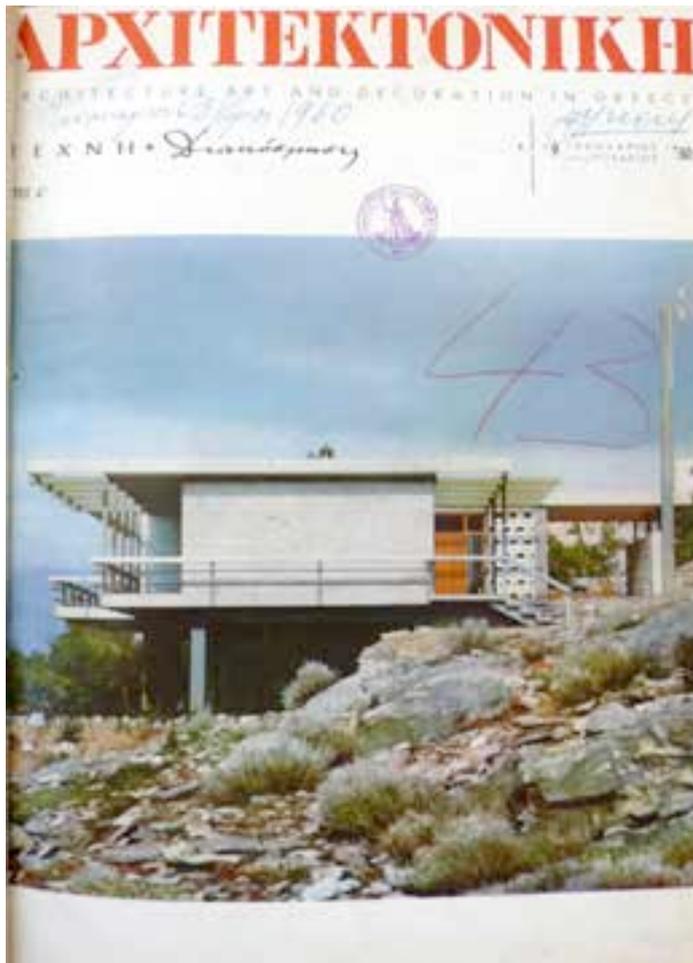
Ill. **14a**: Cover of *Architektoniki* (19) January-February 1963
(Source: GPL)

Ill. **14b**: Cover of *Themata Chorou ke Technon* (4) 1973, by Agni Katzouraki
(Source: Photo by the author, 'Design Routes Exhibition', Benaki Museum, Athens, 2008)

Ill. 15a: Presentation of S. Cosmetatos' graphic design works, *Themata Esoterikou Chorou* (1) 1970 (Source: PUL)

Ill. 15b: Presentation of S. Cosmetatos graphic design works, *Themata Esoterikou Chorou* (1) 1970 (Source: PUL)

Ill. 16a: 'Greece' tourism poster (K+K)
(2nd prize in the International Tourist
Poster Exhibition, Livorno, Italy, 1961)
(Source: *Design Routes*, 2008)
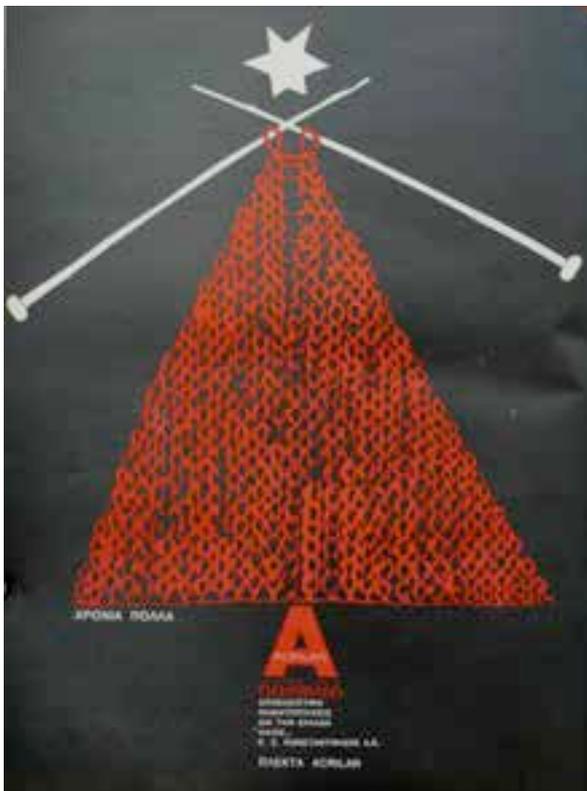
Ill. 16b: 'Acrilan' advert (K+K), *Ikones*
(427) December 1963 (Source: GPL)

K+K designed the advertisements for the
textile company 'Acrilan' consecutively
from 1963 to 1966. The use of black and
red in such intensity appears to have
influenced new advertising agencies,
such as 'Aliki', as seen from later
promotions of the latter advertising
agency

Ill. 17a/b/c: Covers of *DP*. left: (1) 1958, middle: (61) 1963 (B. Kesselring) right: (73) 1965 (W. Myers) (Source: GPL)

Ill. 17d/e/f: Covers of *DP* (1959, 1961, 1973) (Source: GPL)

Ill. 18a: Advert of Letraset, *Architektoniki* (61) February-March 1967
Text reads: *With a soft rub and the letter... is imprinted instantly* (Source: GPL)

Ill. 18b: Advert of Letraset
Architektoniki (62) April-May 1967
Text reads: *Extra small-Small-Middle-Larger* (Source: GPL)

Ill. 19: Cover of 'Graphic Arts' exhibition folder, 1971
(Source: K. Eliopoulos archive)

The folder was made of glossy thick paper and printed on black ink. The size of the front cover was 20x27cm. The folder contained a guide to typographic correction of manuscripts, definitions on what constitutes a typographic sheet, a map of the printing process from the creative to the final stages of the reproduction process, a list of standard paper sizes, a range of Greek typefaces in different sizes and spacing, bookbinding modes. These information is accompanied by linear technical drawings and hand-drawn elements and texts when appropriate, e.g, for indicating the special symbols required for the correction of typographic faults. The enclosed information was intended for the participants of the adjacent seminar series on the subject of graphic arts conveyed by popular practitioners

Ill. 20a: Advertising of 'Papastratos' cigarettes (by 'Alector'), *DP* (12) November-December 1959 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 20b: 'Show your children the glory of our history' advertising for Rol (by 'Kousentos'), *Ikones*, March 1962 (Source: GPL)

Picturing an angel and portraits of the War of Independence heroes
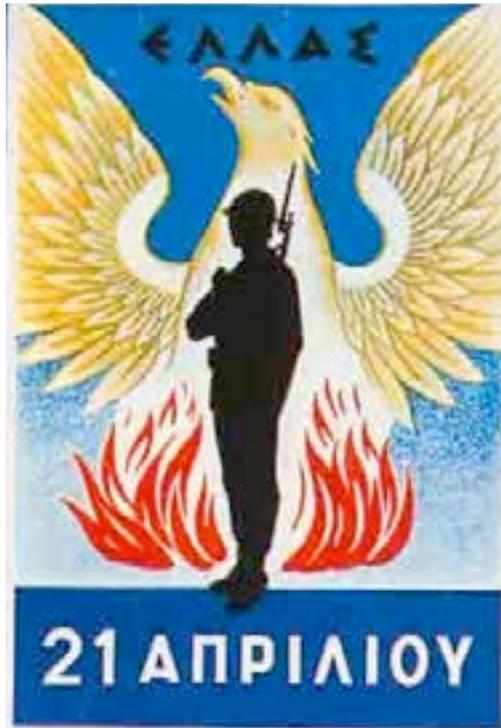
Ill. 21a: The crest of the Junta regime
(designed in early 1968)
(Source: Papapolyzos, *et al.*, 1997)

Ill. 21b/c: Promotional material of Junta regime
Text (right) **reads**: *Hellas (Greece) of Orthodox Hellenes (Greeks). 21st April*
(Source: Papapolyzos, *et al.,* 1997)
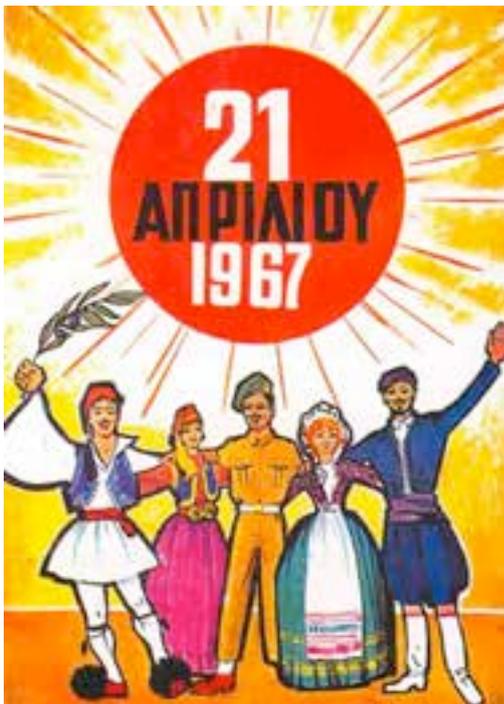
Ill. 22a: Advertising for soft-drink 'IVI', *Gynaika* July 1960 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 22b: Redesign of 'IVI' logo and advertising by F. Carabott, 1961, *Themata Esoterikou Chorou* (1) 1970 (Source: PUL)

Illustrations for Chapter 3

Ill. 1: A Greek kiosk, *Ikones* (24) 1956 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 2: PPC article, Housewives' ironing, *Ikones* (45) 1956 (Source: GPL)

'Our 'electrically' backward country until yesterday, enters today a road to progress'

Ill. 3: ECAP photograph, PPC Archive, 1950s (Source: Kassianou, 2006)

a.   **b.**

c.

Ill. 4a/b/c: PPC Customers' Services Centre (Thessaloniki), *Architektoniki* (8) 1958 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 5a/b/c/d/e: PPC at Thessaloniki International Fair, *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (275) 1957 (Source: GPL)

a.

b.

c.   d.

e.
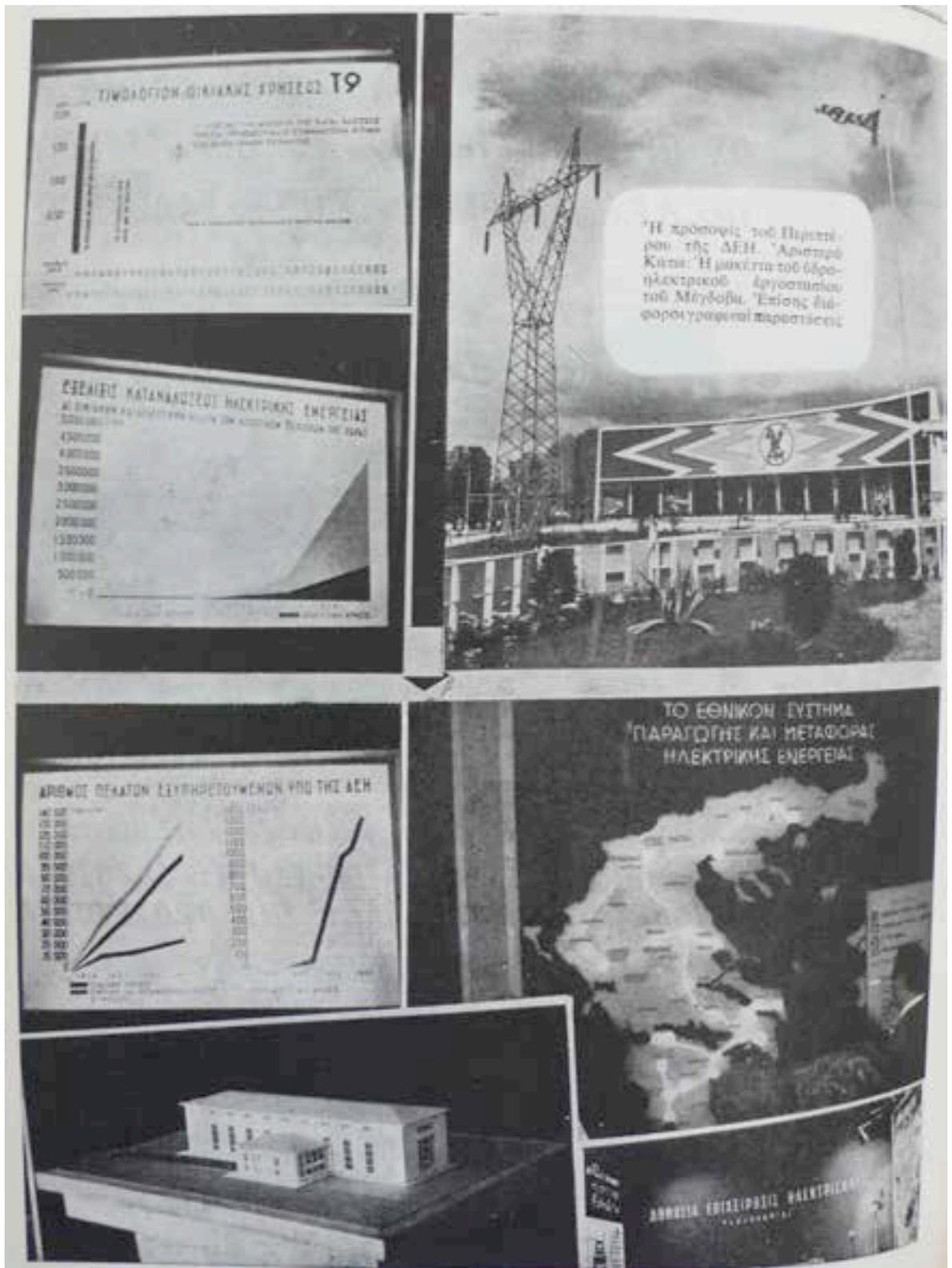
Ill. 6a: German illustration, HSD Archive, 'Think first, Then act!' (Source: PPC/HSD archive)

Ill. 6b (left): PPC maquette, c.1950s
(Source: PPC/HSD archive)

Ill. 6c (right): PPC advert, c.1950s
'Your life is in danger. Before digging get
informed of the positioning of the underground
electrical cables' (Source: PPC/HSD archive)

Ill. **7a**: Poster by National Safety
Council, Chicago, USA
(Source: PPC/HSD archive)

Ill. **7b**: PPC poster (A. A. 67) (by P. R.),
'Bad placement – Bad result'
(Source: PPC/HSD archive)
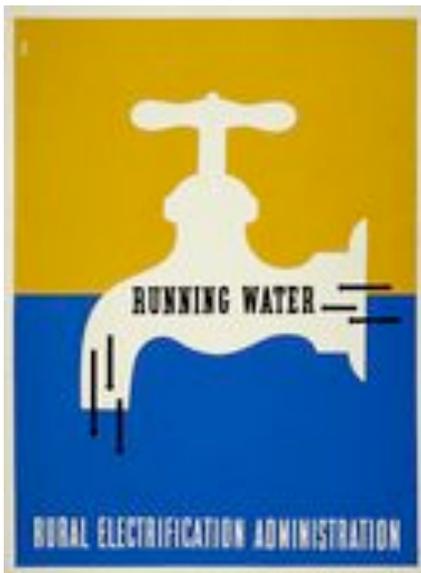
Ill. **8**: 'Running Water' Rural Electrification
Administration poster, L. Beall, USA, 1937

Ill. 9a/b/c: Abstract Art and Industrial Aesthetic' article, P. Michelis, *Zygos* (38/39) 1959
(Source: GPL)

a.

b.

c.
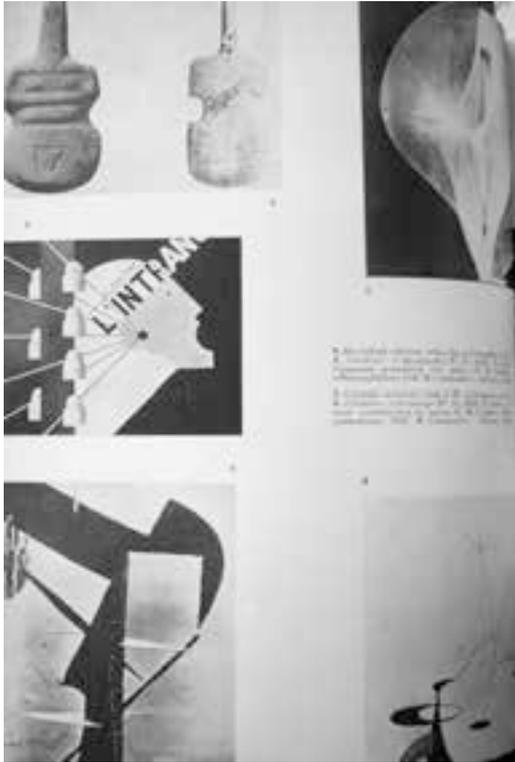
Ill. 10: PPC advertising, Rado, *Ikones* (134) 1958 (Source: GPL)
'With Electricity... Queen every housewife! Comfort - Prosperity - Economy'

Ill. 11a: Athens, Tavros, 1958, D. Harissiadis (Source: Tzimas, 1995)

Ill. 11b: 'News Lottery' advertising, VIOMEP, *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (289) 1958 (Source: GPL)

Text reads:
'The modern home, with the ideal electricity provision by PPC'

Ill. 12: PPC advertising, 'Light to All', Rado, *Architektoniki* (5) 1957 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 13: PPC advertising, 'My field became irrigative!', *Architektoniki* (4) 1957 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 14a: PPC advertising, '... rain is not enough' *Architektoniki* (9) 1958 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 14b (below left): 'Das Freundliche Handzeichen', J. Muller-Brockman, Switzerland, 1955

Ill. 14c (below right): Cut out image from Michelis' article, *Zygos* (38) January 1959 (see Ill. 9c)

Ill. 15: 'Greece' in *Who's Who in Graphic Arts*, Vol.2, 1982 (Source: NAL)

Ill. 16a: ECAP advertising, *Zygos* (8) 1956, 'Art with electricity - ECAP' (Source: GPL)
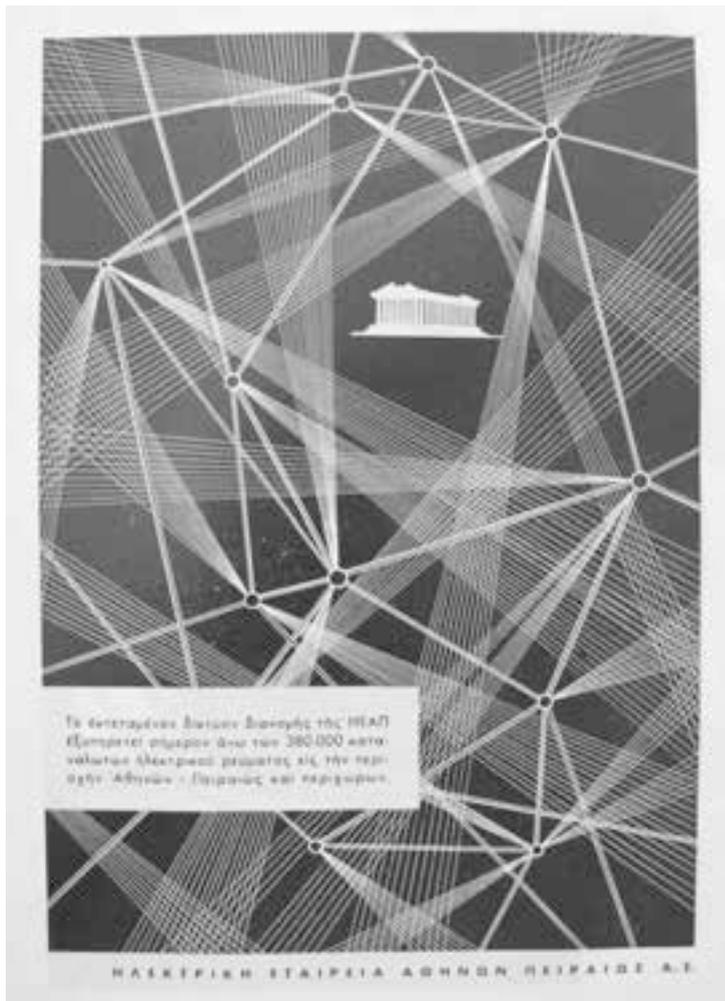
Ill. 16b: ECAP advertising, *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (302) 1959 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 17: PPC article, *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (314) 1960 (Source: VA)

Ill. 18: PPC advertising, Rado, *Architektoniki* (28) 1961 (Source: GPL)

'For Greece that moves on... Electricity gives power'

Ill. 19a (below left): Photograph in 'Light in Tsoukaleika', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (277) 1957 (Source: GPL)

'The Greek village celebrates! Electricity has even reached this [remote] village to bring civilisation and joy to its people. The first connection with the national network of P.P.C. is done under a festive atmosphere.'

Ill. 19b (below right): PPC advertising, Rado, *Architektoniki* (12) 1958 (Source: GPL)

'A historical moment for every village with the turn of a switch, electrical power is being transmitted from the PPC National Network to the distribution network. Thus, electricity is passed onto hundreds of villages around Greece.'
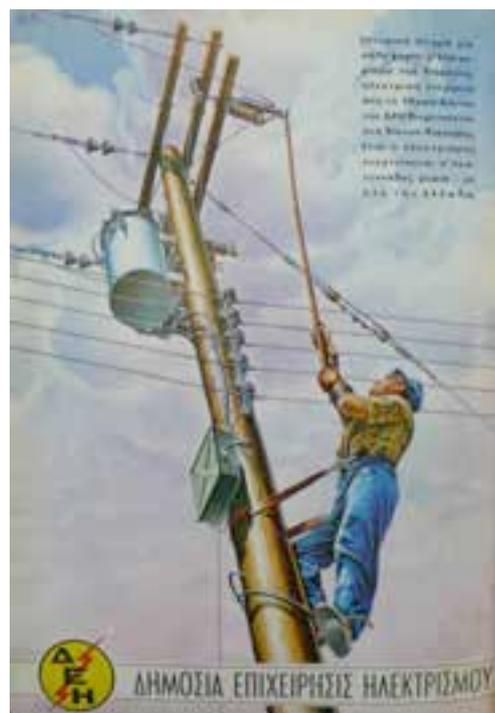
Ill. 20a: 'Paillard' poster, P.Birkhauser, 1939

Ill. 20b: 'Emprunt EDF' poster, B. Vilemot / M. Tauzin, 1966
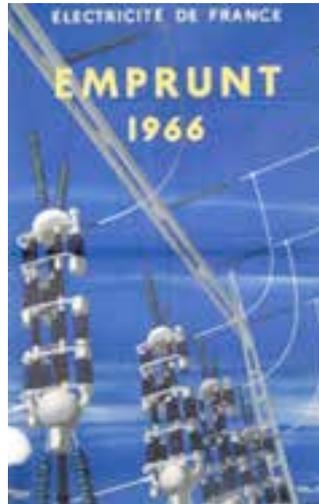
Ill. 20c: 'Emprunt EDF', poster B. Villemot / M. Tauzin, 1968

Ill. 21: ECAP advertising, construction of Saint George Power Station, *Zygos* (6) 1956 (Source: GPL)

'Progress with electricity, ECAP'
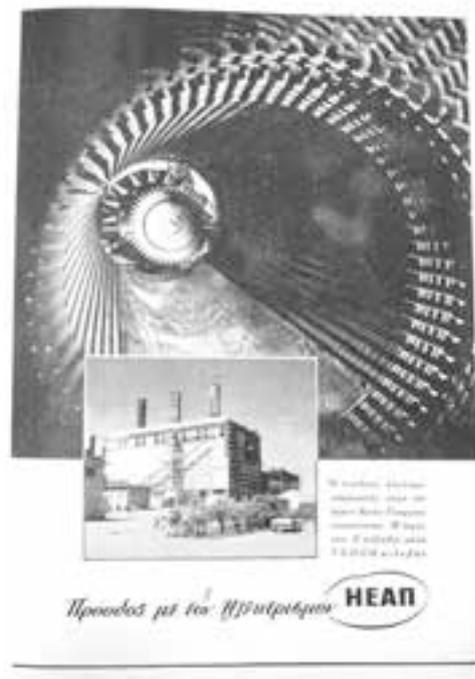
Ill. 22: ECAP advertising, *Zygos* (11-12) 1956 (Source: GPL)

'Progress with electricity, ECAP'
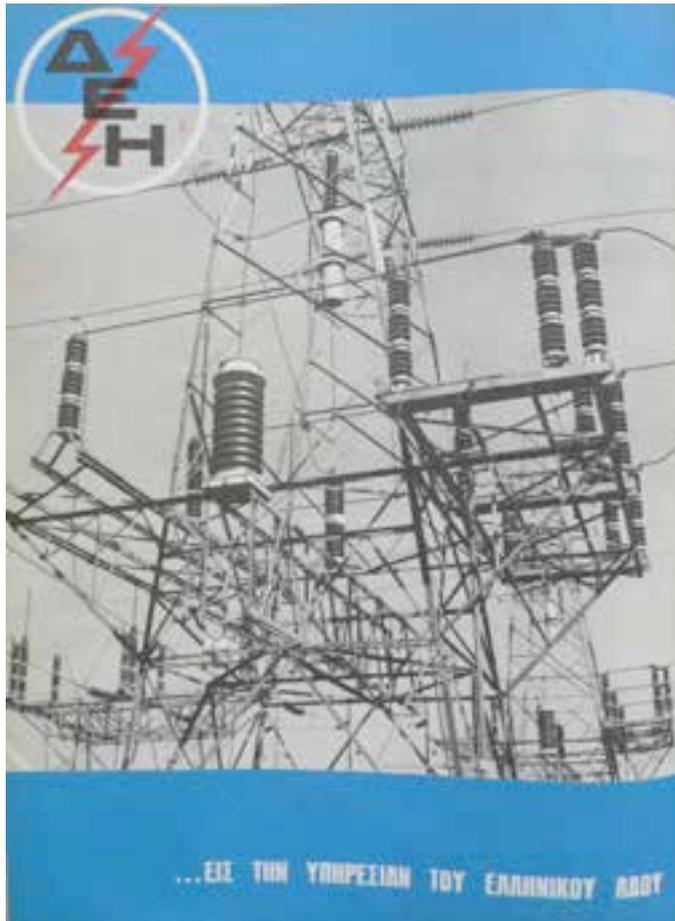
Ill. 23a: PPC advertising, *Ikones* (66) 1957 (Source: GPL)

'... at the services of Greek people'
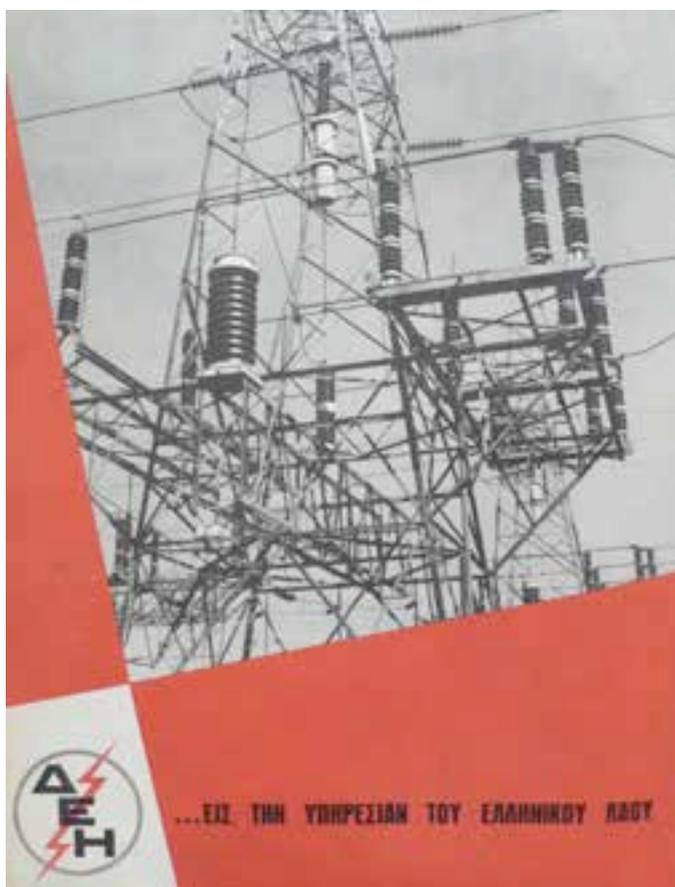
Ill. 23b: PPC advertising, *Ikones* (69) 1957 (Source: GPL)

'... at the services of Greek people'

Ill. 24: 'La Ville-Électricité portfolio', Man Ray, 1931

Ill. 25 (below): 'PPC's network, an agent of a new plastic ideal', *Zygos* (27-28) 1958 (Source: GPL)
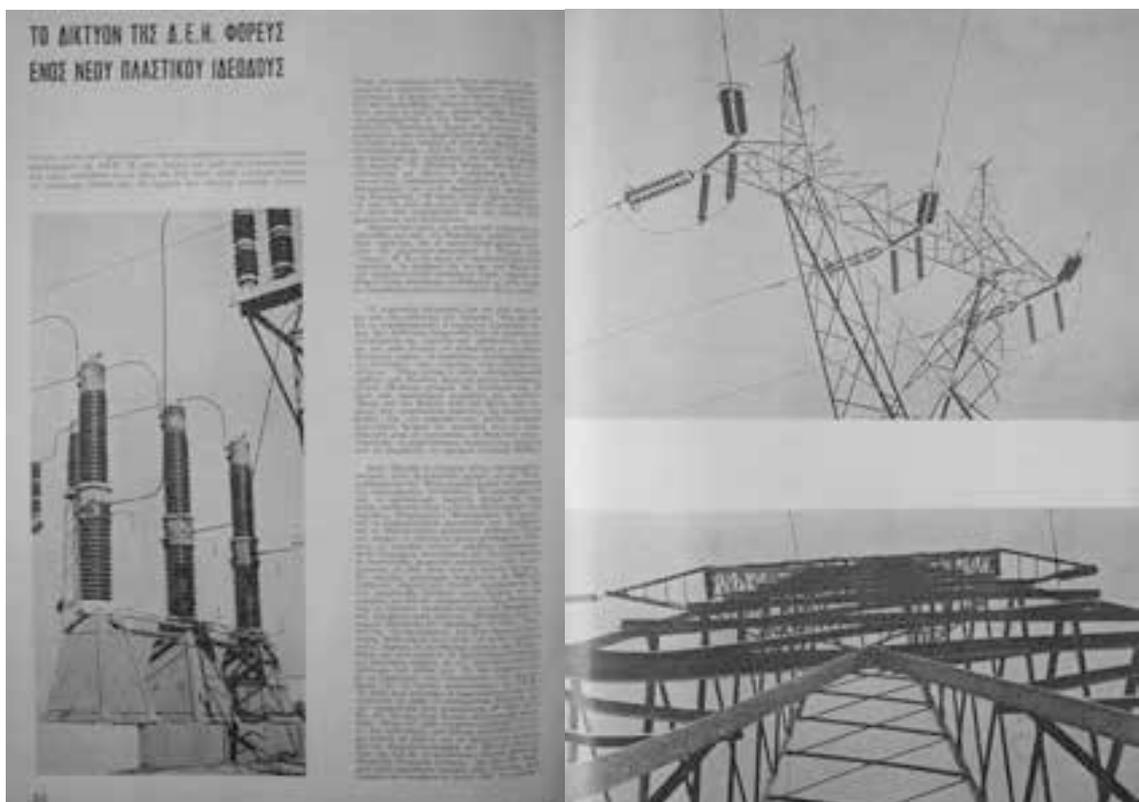
Ill. 26: PPC promotion, *Zygos*, (80) 1962 (Source: GPL)
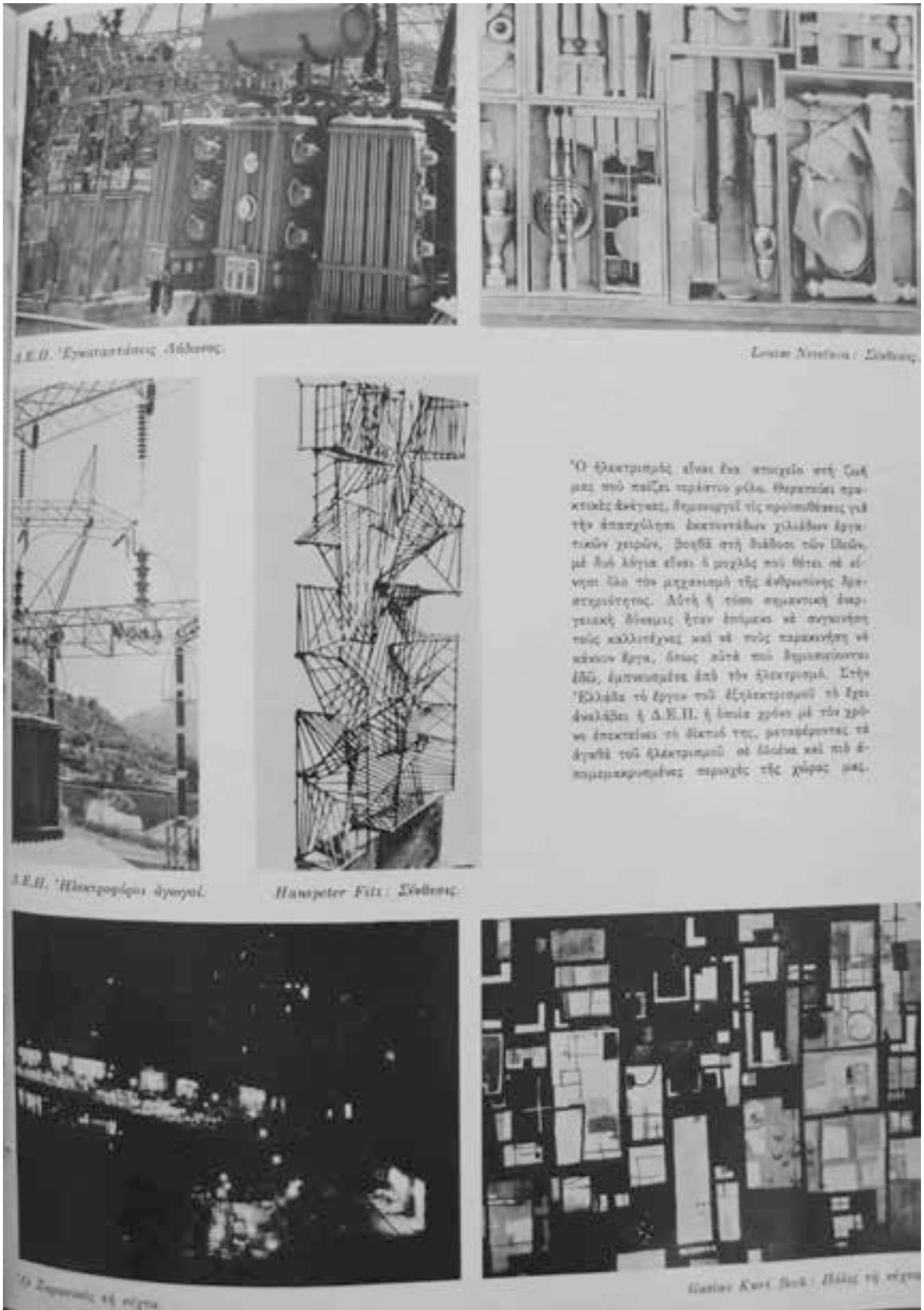
Ill. 27a: ECAP advertising, *Architektoniki* (8) 1957 (photo: 'Photo Emile') (Source: GPL)
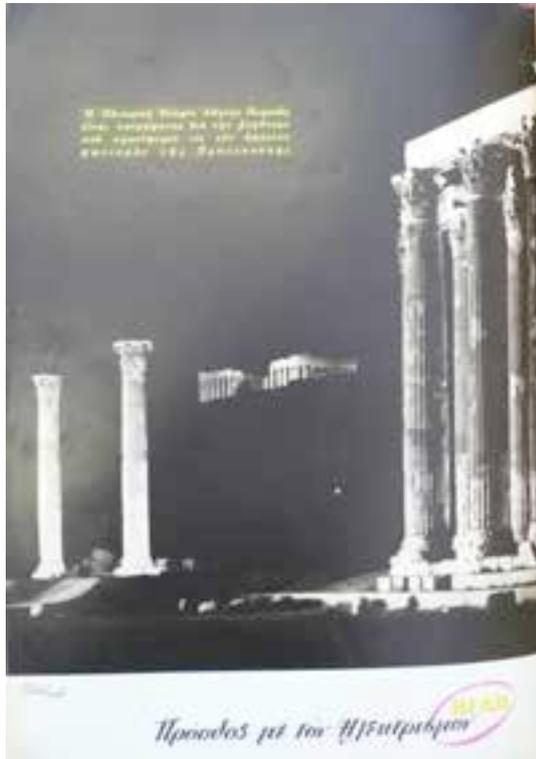
Ill. 27b: ECAP advertising, *Architektoniki* (9) 1958 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 27c: ECAP advertising, *Architektoniki* (17) 1959 (Source: GPL)

'Progress with electricity'

Ill. 28a: ECAP advertising, 'ATHENS today is a big city', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi* (305) 1960 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 28b: ECAP advertising, 'ATHENS today is a big city', *Zygos* (55) 1960 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 29a: ECAP advertising, 'ATHENS today is a big city', *Architektoniki* (19) 1960 (Source: GPL)
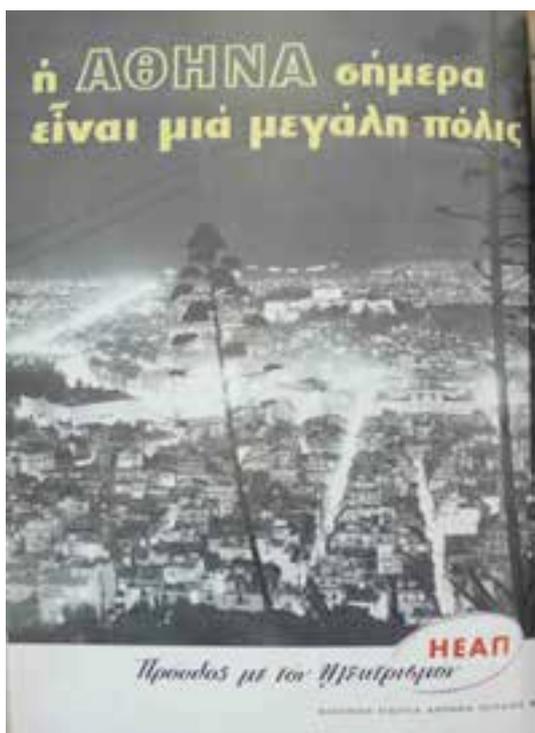
Ill. 29b: ECAP advertising, 'Progress with electricity - ECAP', *Zygos* (56-57) 1960 (Source: GPL)
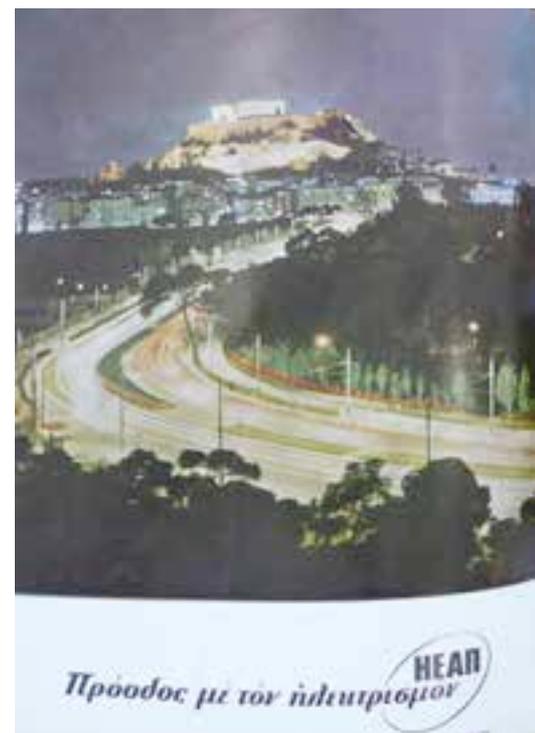
Ill. 30a: PPC advertising, 'Ten years at the service of the Greek people', *Architektoniki* (19) 1960 (Source: GPL)
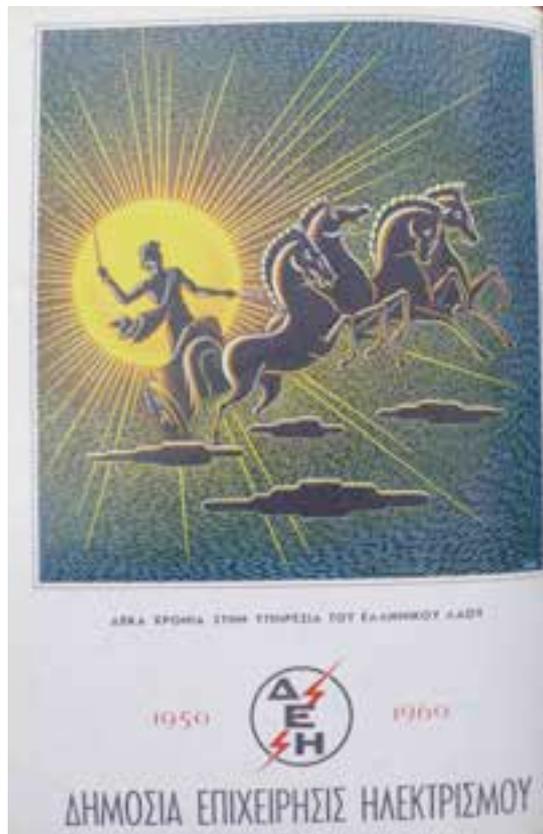
Ill. 30b: PPC advertising, 'National prosperity with Electricity', *Architektoniki* (25) 1961 (Source: GPL)
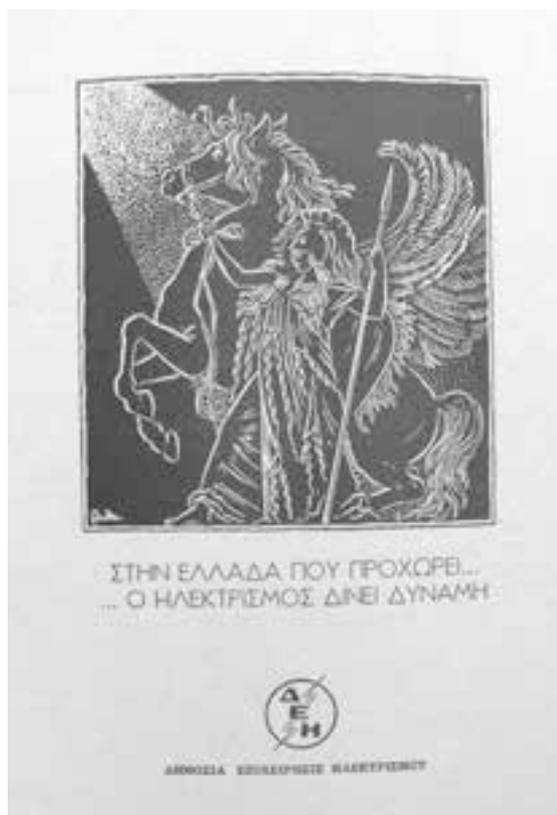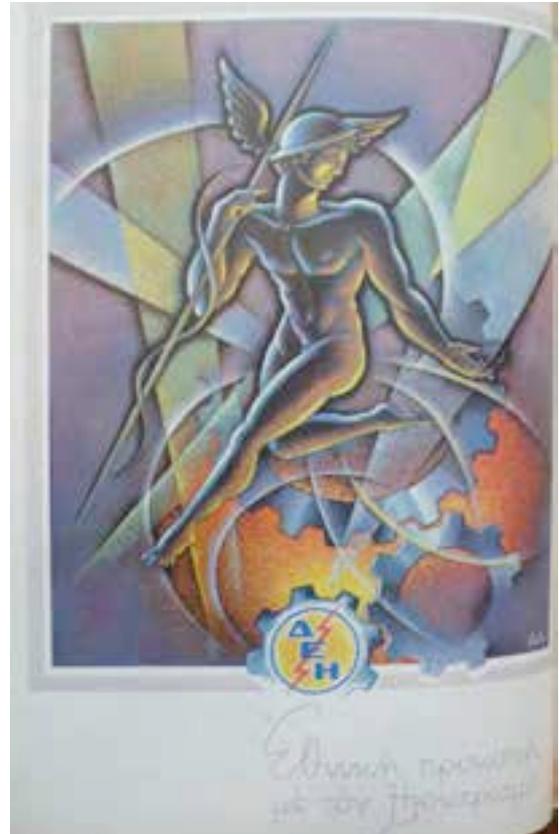
Ill. 30c: PPC advertising, 'For Greece that moves on... electricity gives power', *Deltion Dioikiseos Epichiriseon* (4) 1962 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 31a: PPC advertising, 'Art…
Light…', *DP* (24) 1960 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 31b: PPC advertising, 'Electricity…
Civilisation…', *Viomichaniki Epitheorisi*
(319) 1961 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 32a: PPC advertising, *Zygos* (78-
79) 1962 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 32b: PPC advertising, *Zygos* (26)
1957 (Source: GPL)

Illustrations for Chapter 4

Ill. 1a: Poster for 'Greece', Nelly, 1929 (Source: *Greek Tourism Posters*, 2007)

Ill. 1b: Interior of the Greek Pavilion at the World's Fair in New York, 1939 (Source: Markessinis)

Ill. 1c: Article on the 'Greek Race', *In Greece* (1) 1937 (Source: BL)

Ill. 2a: Cover of a Byzantine church, *In Greece* (3) 1938 (Source: BL)

Ill. 2b: Article on Greek fashion, *In Greece* (4) 1938 (Source: BL)

Ill. 3: Poster for 'Greece', S. Vassiliou, 1947 (Source: Karachristos, 2003)

Ill. 4a: Cover of *Life* magazine, December 1940 (Source: www.flickr.com)

Ill. 4b: Leaflet for 'Greece', late 1940s (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 5a: Poster for 'Poros', S. Vassiliou, 1948 (Source: Karachristos, 2003)

Ill. 5b: Poster for France in *Promotion of France*, 1946 (Source: J. Aynsley archive)

Ill. 6a: Leaflet for 'Greece and its antiquities', 1951 (front and back cover) (Source: GTO)
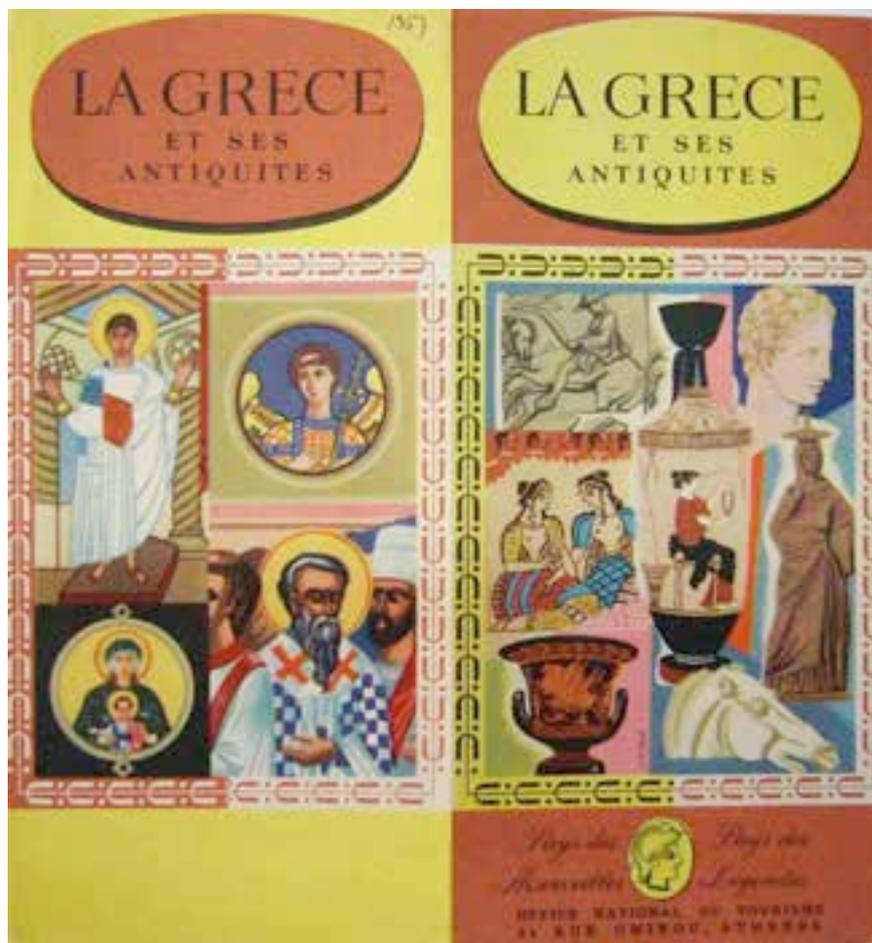
Ill. 6b: Leaflet for 'Hellas', M. Katzourakis, 1960 (Source: E.L.I.A.)
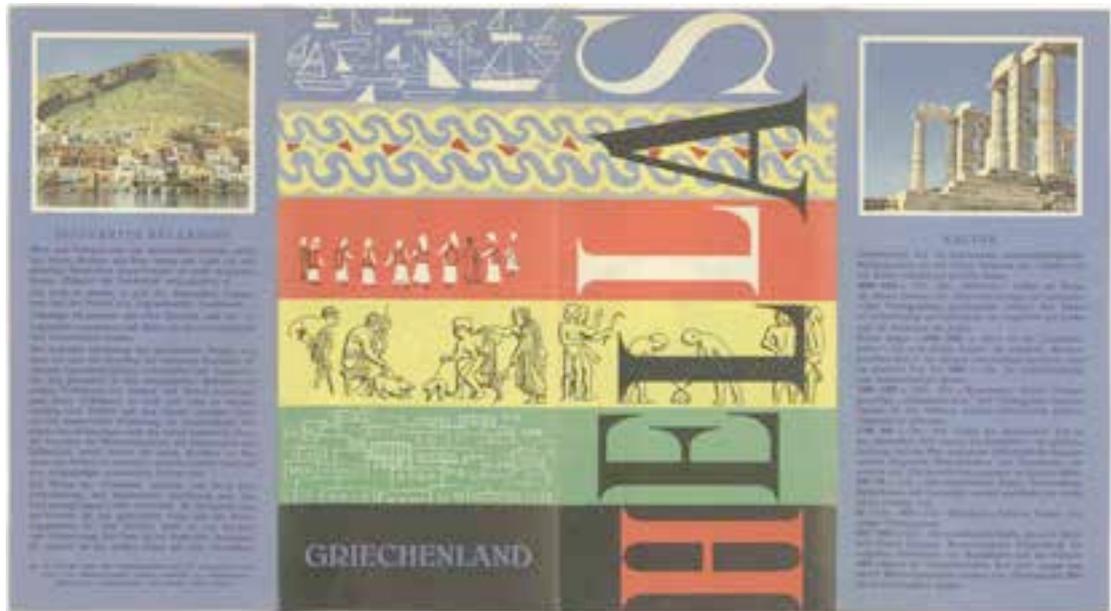
Ill. 6c: Leaflet for 'Greece', F. Carabott, 1958 (Source: E.L.I.A.)
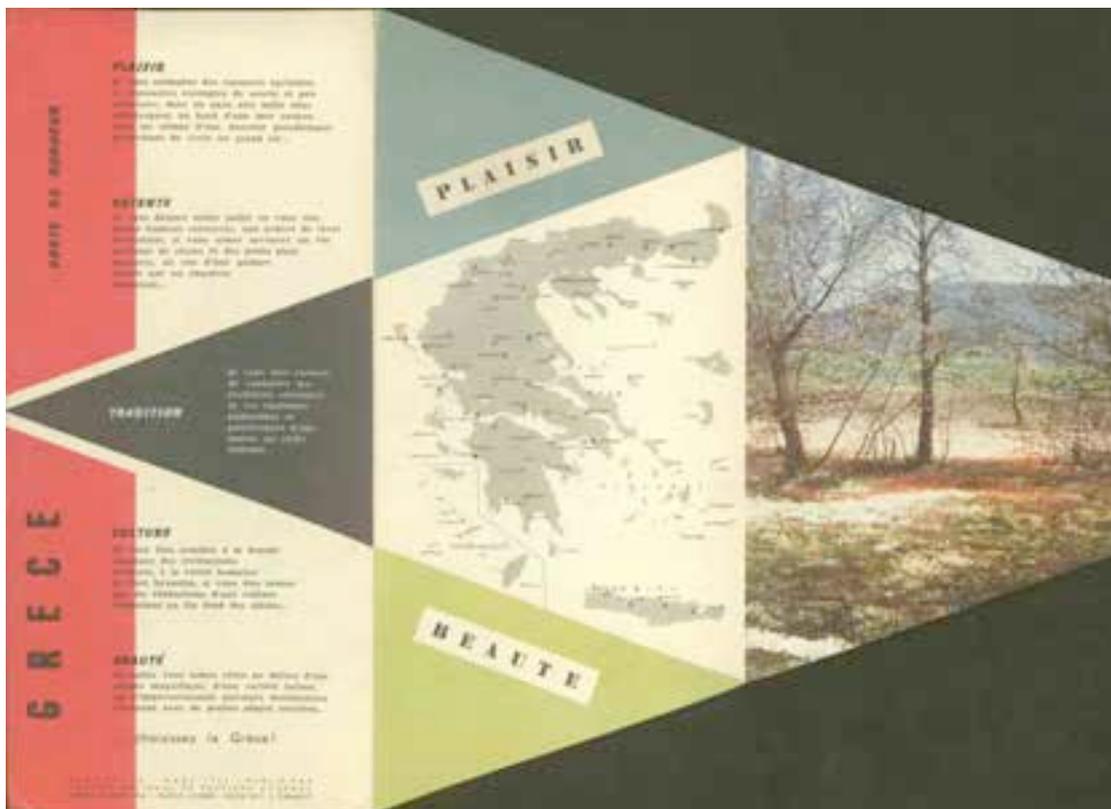
Ill. 7a: Article 'Contemporary Athens, this Unknown City!', *Ikones* (211) 1959 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 7b: Article 'Facets of New Athens', *Ikones* (511) 1965 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 8a: Leaflet for 'Athens', 1952 (front/back cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
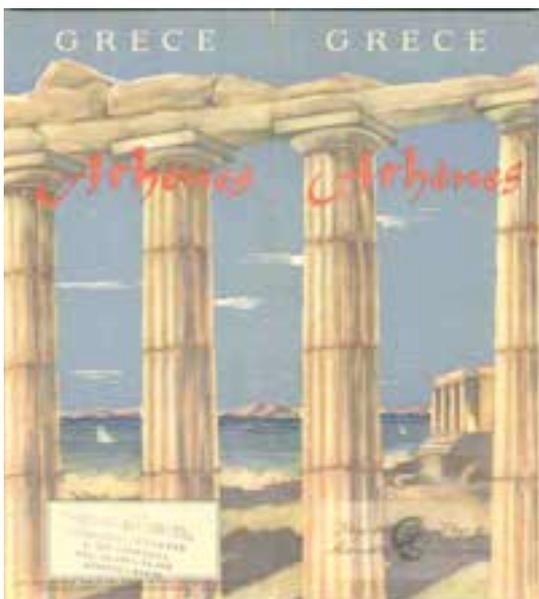
Ill. 8b: Leaflet for 'Athens', 1957 (front/back cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
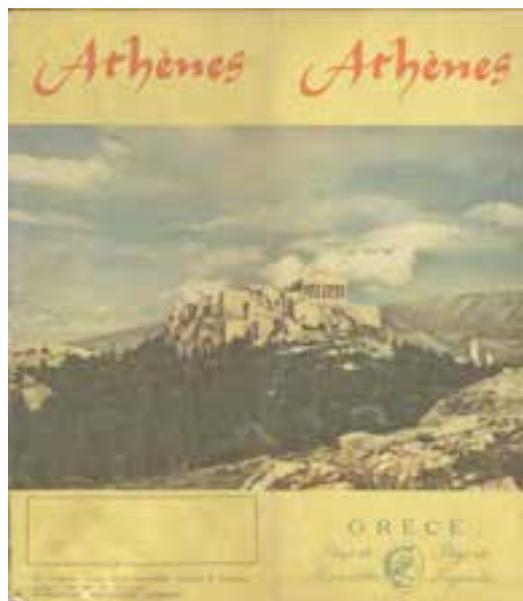
Ill. 8c: Map of 'Athens', M. Katzourakis, 1962 (Source: GTO)

Ill. 9: Article 'The Greek Triumph in Tourism Poster', *Ikones* (360) 1962 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 10a: Poster for 'Greece' with Olympic airlines logo, M. Katzourakis, 1960-1962 (Source: Karachristos, 2003)

Ill. 10b: Poster for 'Greece' with Olympic airlines logo, M. Katzourakis, 1963 (Source: Karachristos, 2003)
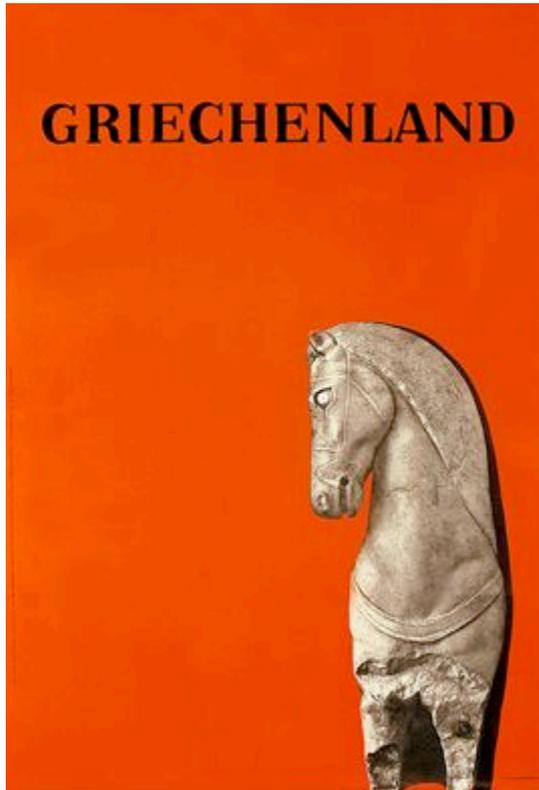
Ill. 11a: Leaflet for 'Crete', Y. Manoussakis, 1960 (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 10a: Poster for 'Greece' with Olympic airlines logo, M. Katzourakis, 1960-1962 (Source: Karachristos, 2003)
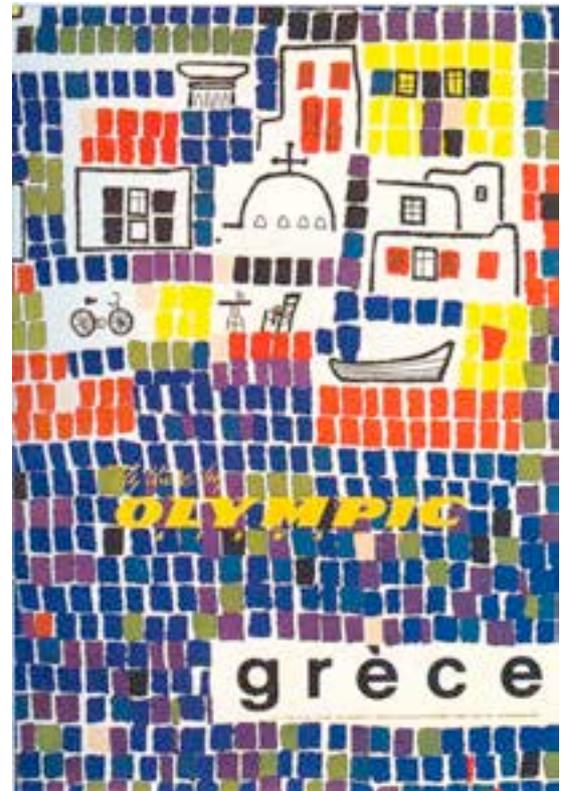
Ill. 11b: Leaflet for 'Crete', 1955 (Source: Karachristos, 2003)

Ill. 12: Poster for 'Greece', S. Vassiliou, 1960 (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 13: Leaflet for 'Kefalonia, Zante, Ithaka', M. Katzourakis, 1963 (front/back cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
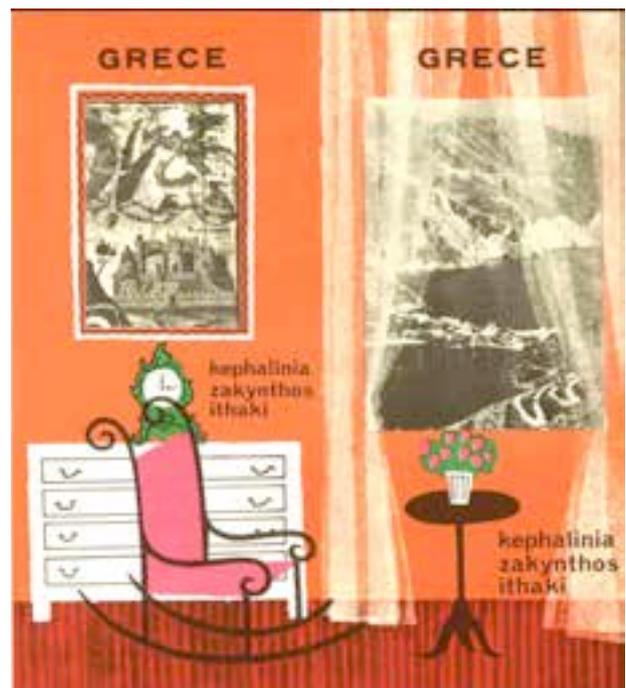
Ill. 14a: Leaflet for 'Rhodes', 1949 (Source: E.L.I.A.)
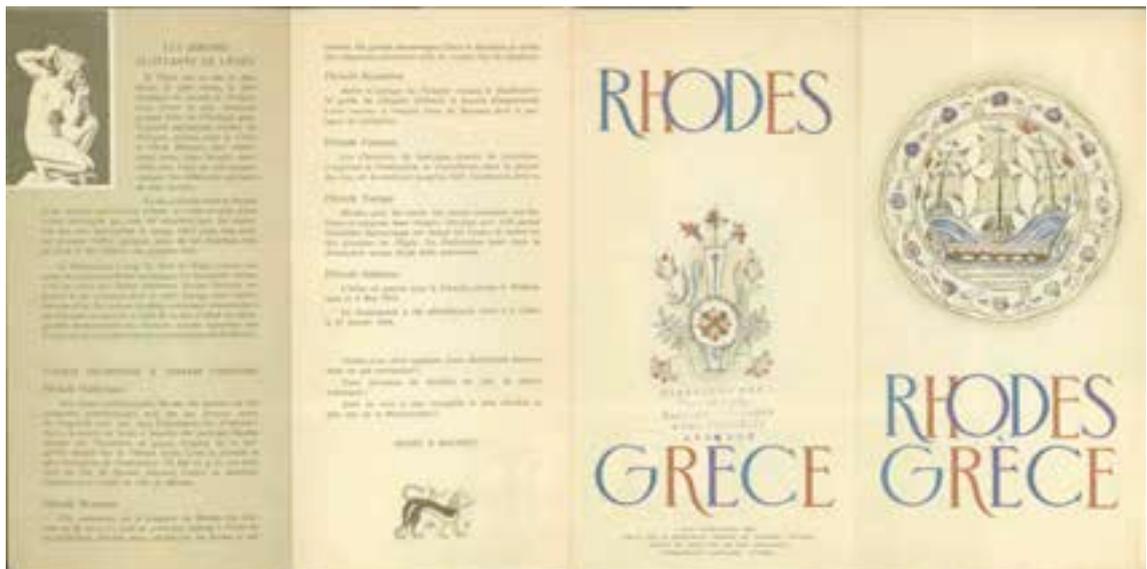
Ill. 14b/c/d: Brochure for 'Rhodes', Italian Tourism Promotion Department, 1938 (front/back cover and inlaid pages below) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
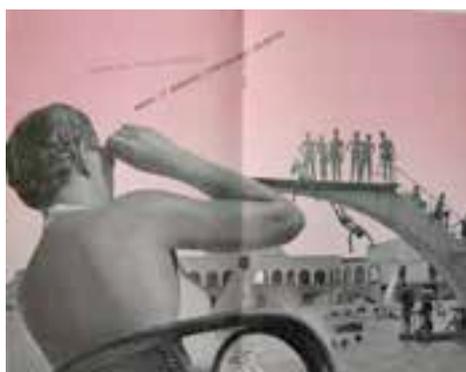
Ill. **15a**: Leaflet for 'Athens', F. Carabott, 1958 (Source: E.L.I.A.)
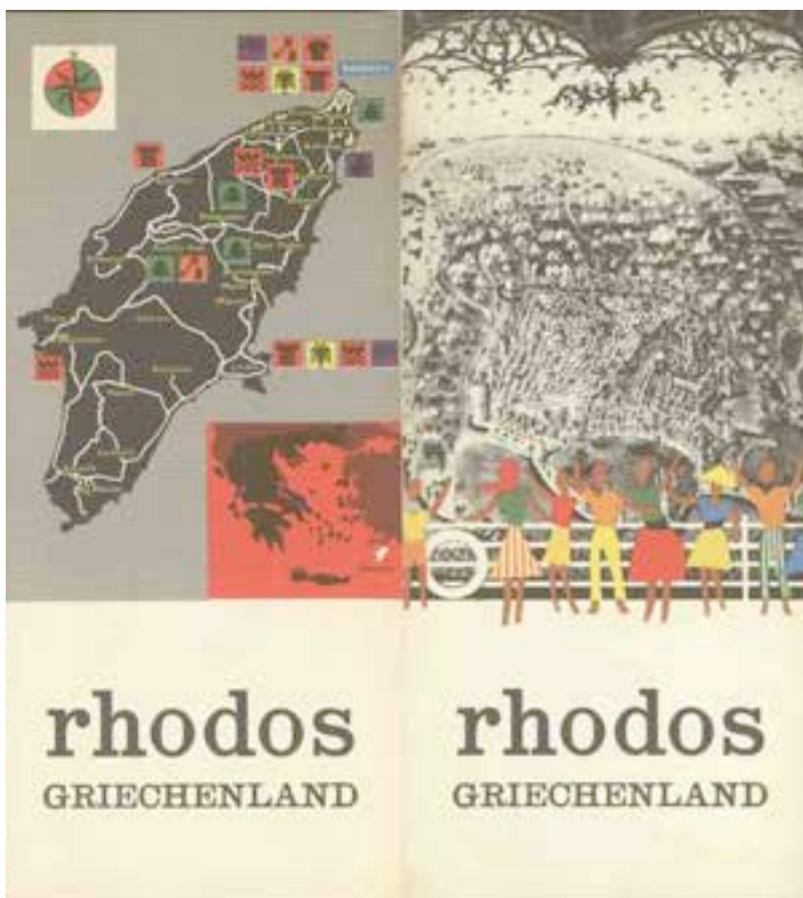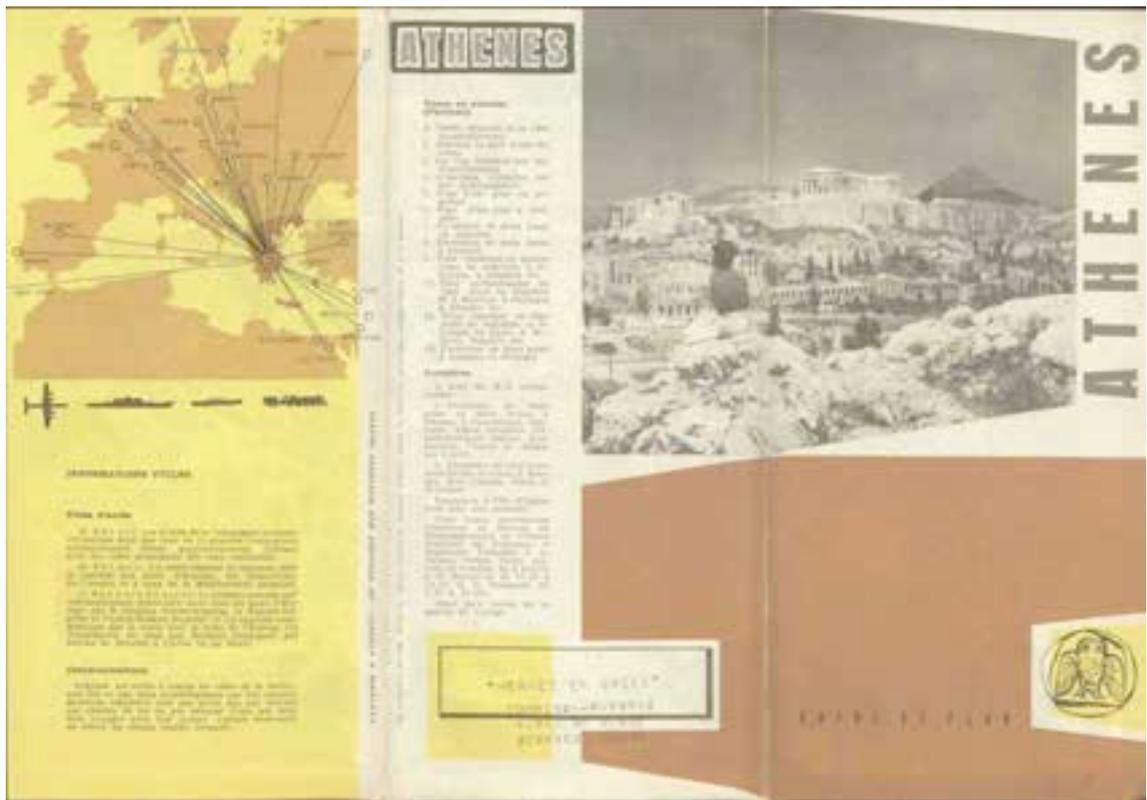
Ill. **15b**: Leaflet for 'Rhodes', F. Carabott, 1963 (front/back cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 15c: Leaflet for 'Rhodes', F. Carabott, 1963 (inlaid pages) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 16a: Brochure for the 'Festival of Athens', M. Katzourakis, 1967 (cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 16b: Brochure for 'Athens', F. Carabott, 1966-1967 (cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
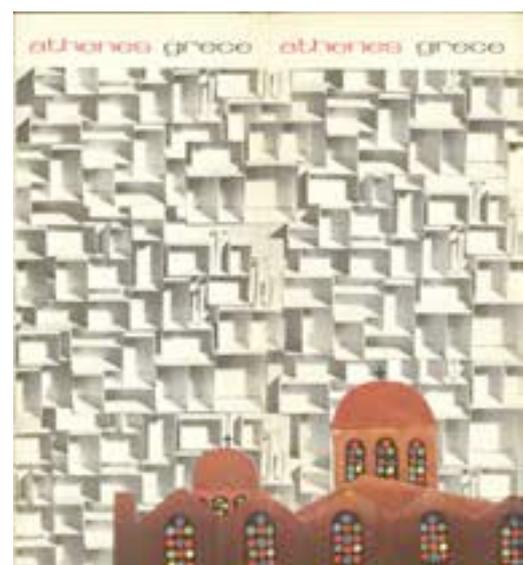
Ill. 17: Brochure for 'Crete', Poriasi, 1973 (cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 18a: Poster 'Yachting in Greece', N. Kostopoulos / N. Mavrogenis, 1968 (Source: *Greek Tourism Posters*, 2007)
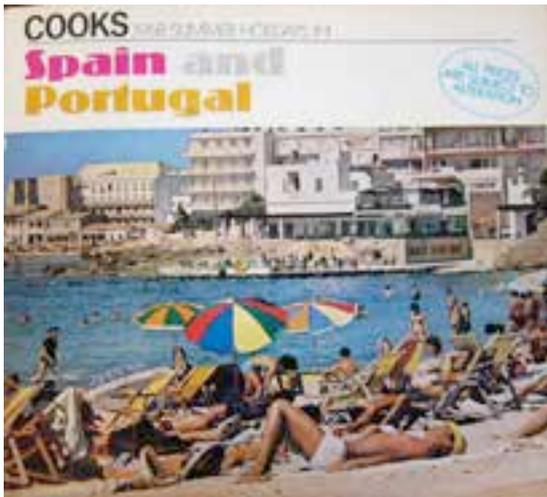
Ill. 18b: Catalogue for 'Spain and Portugal', Thomas Cook, 1968 (cover) (Source: TCA)

Ill. 18c: Brochure for 'Crete', Poriasi, 1973 (inlaid pages) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 19a: Brochure for 'Crete', A. Kanavakis, 1970 (cover) (Source: GTO)

Ill. 19b: Advertising for Fix Beer, *Gynaika*, October 1970 (Source: GPL)
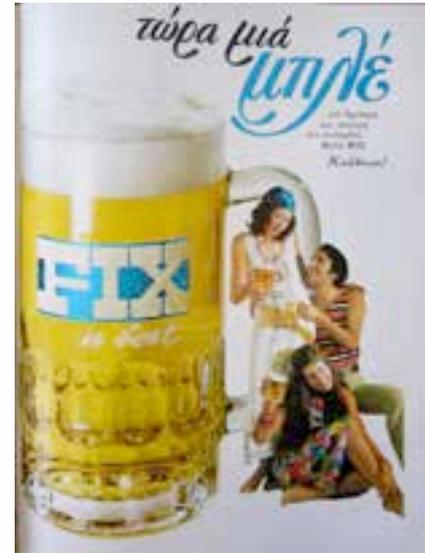
Ill. 19c: Catalogue of 'Cook's Golden Wing Holidays', 1973 (cover) (Source: TCA)
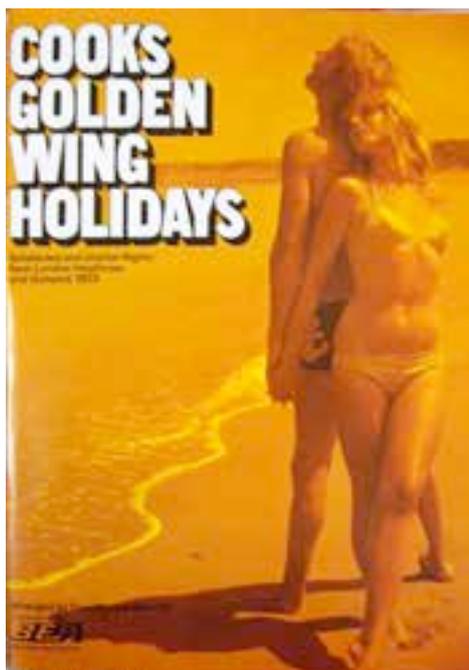
Ill. 19d: Catalogue for 'Cook's Golden Wing Holidays', 1974 (cover) (Source: TCA)
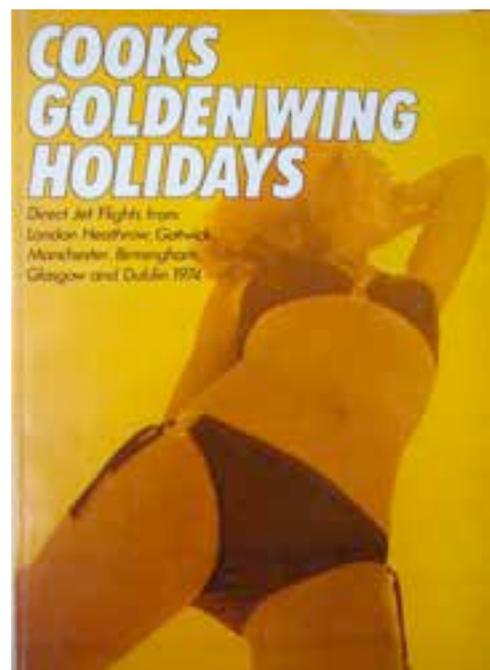
Ill. 20a: Leaflet for 'Karya', 1957 (front cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 20b: Poster for 'Greece. Coach Tours', 1955 (Source: *Greek Tourism Poster*, 2007)
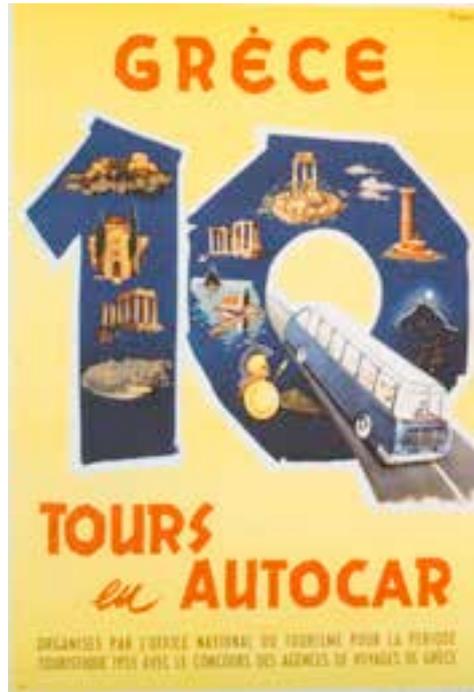
Ill. 21a: Detail from article title, *Ikones* (263) 1960 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 21b: Illustration for 'The two types of Greeks', KYR, *Ikones* (294) 1961 (Source: GPL)

Ill. 22a: Leaflet for 'Kastania', 1958 (front/back cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 22b: Leaflet for 'Alonissos', 1957, F. Carabott (inlaid page) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 22c: Leaflet for 'Alonissos', 1957, F. Carabott (inlaid pages, detail) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
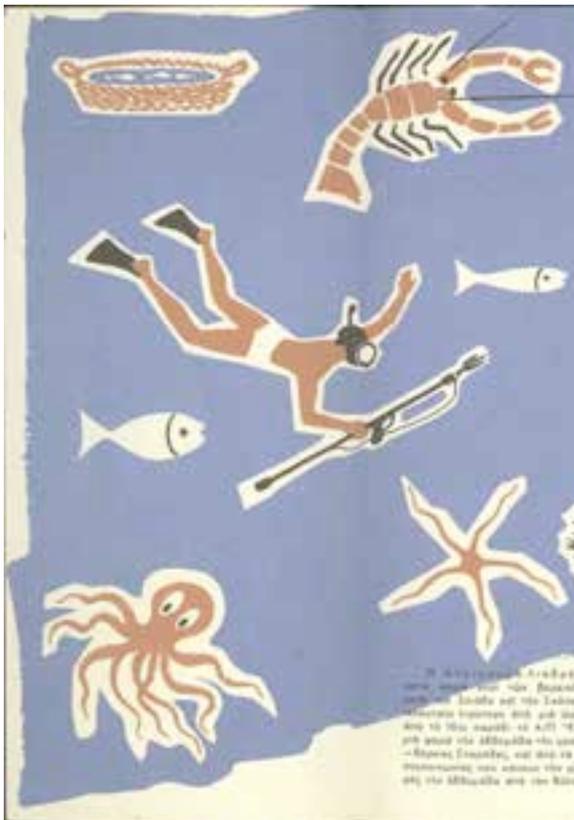
Ill. 22d: Leaflet for 'Elatou' and 'Terpsithea', 1957 (cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
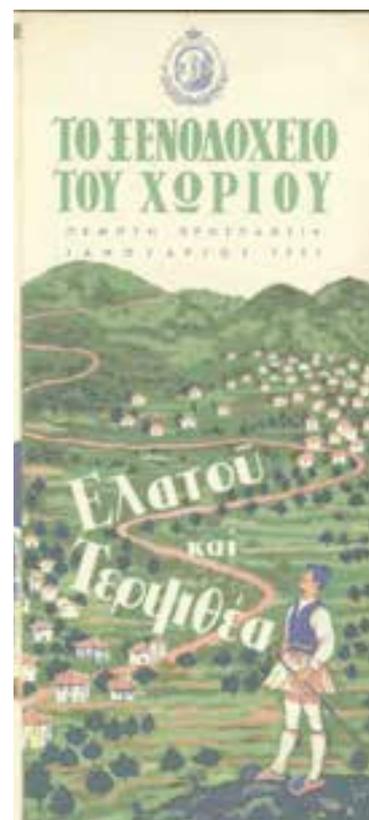
Ill. 23a: Leaflet for 'Gkoura', 1956 (front) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 23b: Leaflet for 'Corfu', 1958 (inlaid pages) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
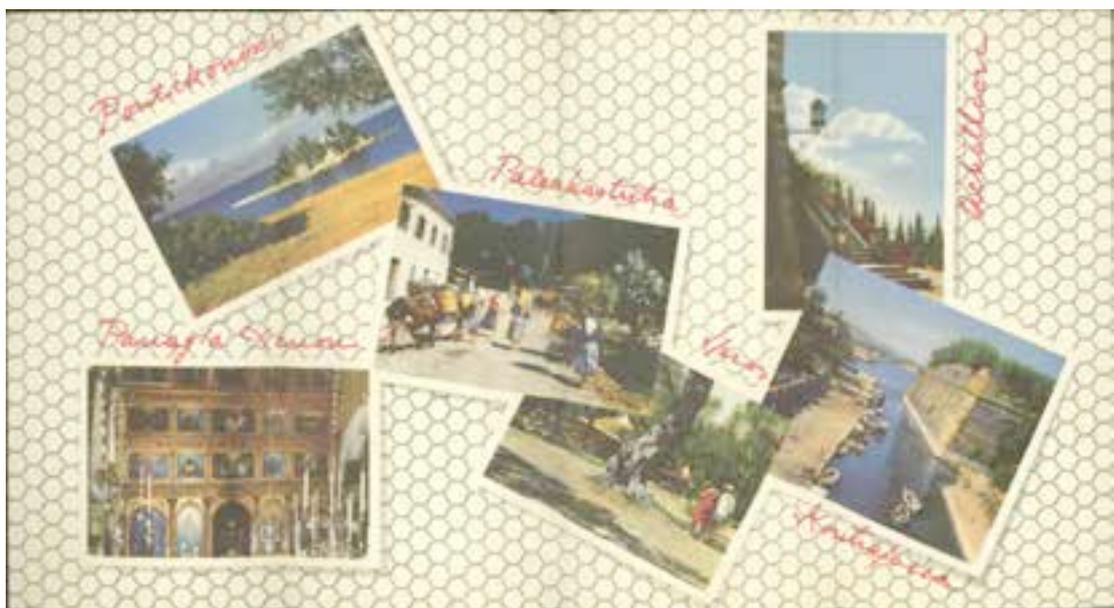
Ill. 24: Leaflet for 'Hotel Guide', 1960 (cover) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 25a: Leaflet for 'Vilia', F. Carabott, 1957 (inlaid pages, detail) (Source: E.L.I.A.)

Ill. 25b: Leaflet for 'Vilia', F. Carabott, 1957 (inlaid pages) (Source: E.L.I.A.)
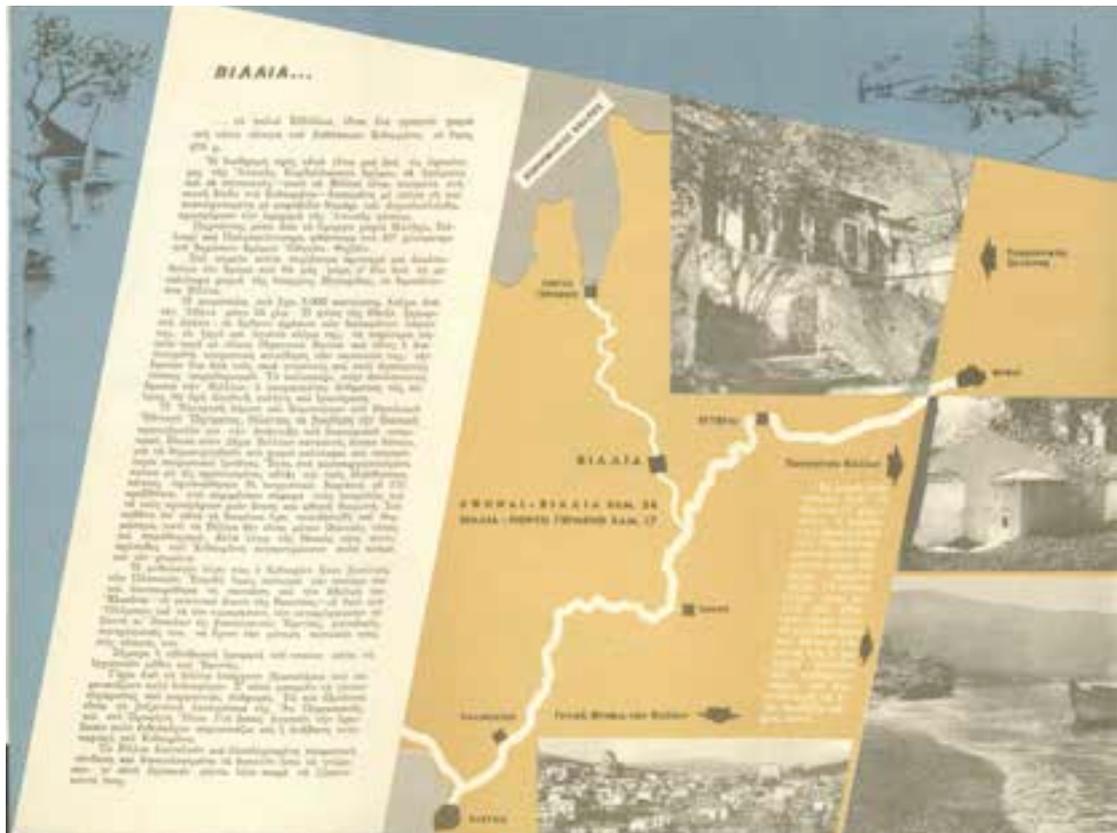
Ill. 25c/d: Leaflet for 'To Micro Chorio', F. Carabott, 1959 (front and back sides)
(Source: E.L.I.A.)
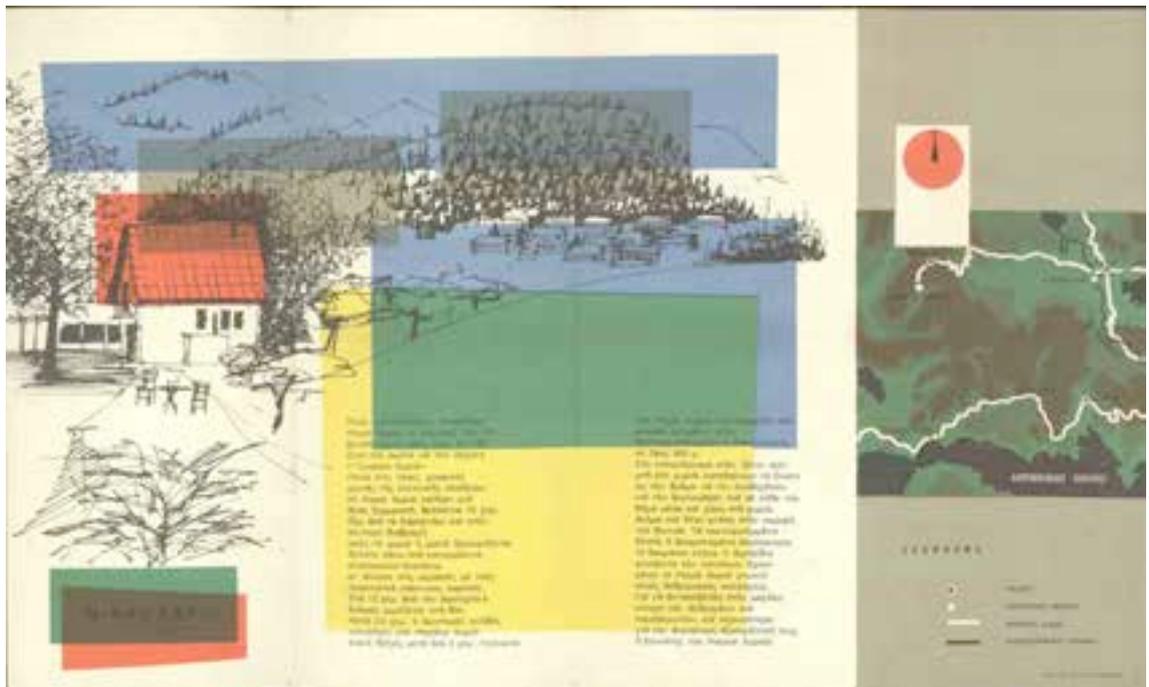
Appendix for Chapters 1 and 4

01. Notes on periodicals with references to the graphic arts

Architektoniki (1957-1970)

Architektoniki ('Architecture') was a monthly periodical on architecture published by the architect Antonis Kitsikis in 1957. It occasionally published bimonthly and some time later included an English section. The original title changed in 1968 to *Architektoniki ke Plastikes Technes* ('Architecture and the Plastic Arts').

References to graphic design were not featured on a regular basis. An issue dedicated to the graphic arts (see inserted image)[1] published in 1966 referred to the contribution of George Vakirtzis to Greek graphic arts,[2] who was cited as a successful example of a painter who worked in the graphic arts field. According to the author, the painter's success was due to his ability able to match the graphic style to the character of a specific commercial product and service.

Chroniko (1970-1987, 1990-1)

First published in 1970, *Chroniko* ('Cronicle') was an annual review of the visual arts produced by the painter and advertiser Assantour Bacharian. He was also the founder of the Artistic Cultural Centre 'ORA' (1969-after 1979), in which many exhibitions and lectures on graphic design and advertising were held.[3]

Chroniko was a publication of the visual and performing arts, including theatre, music, dance, cinema, television broadcasting and architecture, as well as

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[1] *Architectoniki* (56) March-April 1966.
[2] Petris, G., 'George Vakirtzis. Success in the Graphic Arts', *Architektoniki* (56) March-April 1966, pp.91-98.
[3] The Artistic Cultural Centre 'ORA' was founded in 1969 in central Athens, near Syntagma Square. More information on the Artistic Cultural Centre 'ORA' and the adverting agency 'ORA' and their activities in the Greek cultural scene (exhibitions, conferences, seminars, special events, publications) can be found in the 10-year celebratory book published in 1979: Bacharian, A., ed., *1969-1979. Ten Years of the Artistic Cultural Centre 'ORA'* (Athens: ORA, 1979), pp.34-39. The book also includes some posters, black and white photographs of the neo-classical building of ORA, of the exhibitions and gatherings and other events organised by the 'ORA'. Also, a useful list of exhibitions of graphic arts and related activities organised by the Centre ORA during the decade 1969-1979, is included. Particularly, 202 artists private exhibitions, 180 participations in group exhibitions, 24 exhibition, 45 lectures, 29 discussions, 19 seminars, 42 literary readings, 15 music events, 30 film screenings, 8 theatre performances, 33 publications, and 22 special events.

poetry and literature. The subject of graphic arts was also included, but not on a regular basis. The 1974 issue contained an article by the lithographer and engraver Andreas Ganiaris on bookbinding (see inserted image).[4] 'Graphic arts' as a category appeared in the journal's contents four times in total, in 1970, 1971, 1972, and 1975.[5]

The 1971 issue included a review of the current state of the graphic arts by Panayotis Gravvalos, a young painter and graphic designer of the time.[6] This text was basically a response to views on the status of Greek graphic art expressed by other professionals in the magazine the previous year. The author argued that the conflict between his fellow colleagues had come about primarily due to the imbalanced progress of certain sectors, in particular the flourishing state of advertising and the belated development of publishing. He also admitted that there was no tradition in the field, primarily due to the poor economic development of the country and the lack of technological equipment and specialist workforce. He noted specifically that during the last two decades the situation had started to change, particularly in categories such as cigarette advertising and cinema billboards, through the production of high-quality publications. Nevertheless, Gravvalos admitted that historical development, though small, had existed and should be studied.

An article published the following year (1972) by Alekos Matsoukis (lithographer and engraver) documented the changes that had occurred in professional practice.[7] 'The small 'personal workshop of one person no longer exists' he stated, and had been replaced by massive production units. However, the lack of expert technicians was still a burning issue. Apprenticeship in printing houses,[8] though historically valuable, was no longer an adequate training system, he argued. The foundation of schools offering specialised training was seen as urgent for the survival of the field. Moreover, a reassessment of conventional practices was also needed due to rapid technological development. Maintaining an open mind towards the technological advancement of the time, Matsoukis saw the development of Greek graphic art as

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[4] *Chroniko* (5) 1974. The 1974 volume included a section under the title 'Bookbinding' and included an article by Ganiaris, A.C., 'The Art of Bookbinding in Greece', *Chroniko*, 5 1974, pp.147-148 corresponding to the image of a manual printing press on the cover page.

[5] In the first volume (1970) the contents of the Graphic Arts section included the following subheadings; Cartoon; Research Questions; Yorgos (George) Vakirtzis; Nikos Kontoros; Spyros Bontas; Frantzis Frantziskakis; Takis Psarakis; The Print; Bibliography. This section covered approximately ten pages (206-217). The second volume (1971) included only one article by Gravvalos, P., 'The Level of the Graphic Arts. Developments and Delays', Ibid (2) September 1970-August 1971, pp.170-173. The third (1972): Matsoukis, A., 'Graphic Arts in 1972', *Chroniko* (3) Septemrber 1971-August 1972, pp.130-131. The fourth (1975): Skourtelli, S., 'Affiche: A Mass Communication Medium', *Chroniko*, 6 1975, p.228.

[6] Gravvalos, P., 'The Level of the Graphic Arts. Developments and Delays', *Chroniko* (2) September 1970-August 1971, pp.170-173.

[7] Matsoukis, A., 'Graphic Arts in 1972', Ibid (3) September 1971-August 1972, pp.130-131.

[8] He specifically referred to the contribution of the printing house of Aspioti-ELKA in the development of the Greek graphic arts and especially to its significance as 'the school' for those who worked there.

dependent on the economic progress of the country, and on the two major 'patrons', i.e., the state and the banks. In contrast to the banks, the state had damaged the quality of graphic art by establishing a competition system, which favoured the most economical proposals.

Dimosiotis ke Provoli (1958)

Dimosiotis ke Provoli (*DP*, 'Publicity and Promotion') was a monthly advertising and public-relations journal first published in December 1958 by the advertising agency and gallery owner, Manos Pavlidis (1921-2007). He was elected secretary of the International Public Relations Association in 1964, and served as president from 1973 to 1976. In 1965, he participated in the constitution of the public-relations ethics code known as the 'The Athens Code', and is thus considered the 'father' of public relations in Greece.[9]

Initially, *DP* was a supplement to *Aeroporika Nea* ('Airways News') in the form of a soft-cover publication laid out in multiple columns. Design changes to this layout had started during the period 1959-1963, and in December 1959 the loose newspaper format acquired a more periodical look with the addition of a thick jacket cover. No designer names were credited in the contents until 1963. In 1964 the Swiss graphic designer Bernard Kesselring designed the publication's logotype, and the following year the American graphic designer Walter Myers designed its identity. Myers's bold graphic form was kept, with some occasional changes, until 1973, when the journal basically returned to its original design format. After 1973 the title changed to *Nea Dimosiotis* ('New Publicity').

In 1960, *DP* published a series of short articles on the state of Greek graphic art, emphasising the need for trained technical staff and better education.[10] However, in the main it was a journal on advertising and marketing, which presented many translated articles on the subject from foreign sources, primarily America and France.

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[9] Papantriantafyllou, Y., "The Athens Code'. The Glorious History of Public Relations in Greece' 2 March 2010 <http://georgepapapatriantafillou.wordpress.com/> [Accessed 31 August 2010].
[10] Eliopoulou, N., 'Are Graphic Arts an Industry?' *Dimosiotis ke Provoli*, 17 1960, pp.13-14. Some of the articles were occasionally quoted in other journals.

Fori Epistulae (1964)

Fori Epistulae was the official newsletter of HIGAM, whose main aim, according to the rationale, was to 'institutionalise good and practical print in Greece [...]. In the form of roneo reports, it would detect anything inartistic/unaesthetic [*akalaisthito*] in the print field and offer suggestions for their improvement through interviews'.[11] According to surviving documentation, eight different themes had been scheduled.[12]

1. 'Theatre and Cinema Programmes' (April 1964)

2. 'The 1963 Gift Catalogue' published by the Greek Promotion Centre (June 1964) (critique of the casualness and rough organisation of the publication)

3. 'Menus and Catalogues of Restaurant and Clubs' (July 1964)

4. 'Postcards'

5. 'Wall-Posting of Posters'

6. 'Intellectual Property' of the advertising maquette

7. 'Copyright'

8. 'Demotic Language', its use in advertising and publishing

Graphiki Techni (1964)

This journal set out to be a 16-page monthly review of the 'Art of the printed paper' in Greece (for the magazine's cover page, see illustrations for Chapter 1). It was printed on glossy paper and distributed among members of the Hellenic Institute of Graphic Arts and Marketing, to approximately five hundred subscribers (mostly companies and advertising agencies), and to 'anybody interested upon request'.[13] It presented a wide range of graphic design applications, from tourism

leaflets (see inserted image) to illustrations featured in newspapers, company logotypes, and book and periodical covers. It published only one issue.

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[11] As noted in *Fori Epistulae*, April 1964.
[12] The first, second and third theme was directed, edited and interviewed by Andreas Rizopoulos, the fourth theme by L. Christakis, and the seventh theme by Tassos Petris. The first and seventh theme is the lengthiest, 4 and 7 pages respectively, and dealt with the issue of copyright for which 11 individuals from the field of advertising and publishing contributed their comments and suggestions. Of the eight themes only five are available in K. Eliopoulos archive.
[13] Christakis, L., 'Editorial', *Graphiki Techni* (1) 1964.

Themata Chorou ke Technon (1970)

Originally published as *Themata Esoterikou Chorou* ('Issues of Interior Space'), *Themata Chorou + Technon* ('Issues of Space and Arts') was published in 1970 by the architect Orestis V. Doumanis, also editor of *Architektonika Themata* ('Architectural Issues').[14] It was a bilingual (Greek/English) architectural journal whose English title was *Interior Design in Greec*e.[15]

From 1970 to 1974, 'Graphic Arts' was included as a discrete section in the journal's contents, alongside packaging, exhibitions and advertising art.[16] However, this section was basically a showcase of the works and biographies of Greek graphic designers,[17] a systematic approach to indexing graphic designers' works that lasted only a few years. Moreover, the Graphic Arts section did not include a critical view of graphic design, as was the case with architecture and the visual arts, the journal's primary subjects. After 1974, the number of references to graphic art decreased rapidly.

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[14] *Architektonika Themata* was designed by graphic designer Spyros Cosmetatos (1937). The periodical was available abroad in Australia, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa, Switzerland and the USA. The reason for publishing one more periodical about architecture, and its connection with graphic design, was explained in the introduction of the first issue of the *Themata Esoterikou Chorou* (*Interior Design in Greece)* in 1970, p.6: 'INTRODUCTION. With the appearance of the third volume of the annual review 'Architecture in Greece' it became apparent that the areas covered had to be extended and complemented, as to include all those elements that enter into the creation of the human environment. Thus it was decided that the publication of a new separate annual review was necessary; 'Interior Design in Greece' was created to meet this need. / 'Interior Design in Greece' will deal mainly with the organisation and layout of interior space in the Greek home. It will cover not only the architectural design and construction of the house, but also its equipment in terms of furniture and other elements that contribute to a comfortable and stimulating environment: modern industrial products as well as handicrafts. Another aim of the new review is the encouragement and promotion of collaboration between the visual and applied arts, and architecture. The need for such collaboration has often been recognised; successful examples prove that the potential and the opportunities for its realisation already exist in our country. At the same time, 'Interior Design in Greece' will keep its readers informed on recent activities in the realms of visual and applied arts and of graphic design in Greece, while the well-known art critic Charles Spencer will be contributing a unique review of the international art scene of the preceding year. / Finally, its collaboration with the London Council of Industrial Design, 'Interior Design in Greece' will publish articles on industrial design, its importance and role in the organisation of modern life and the modern home, and will present industrial products that can contribute to the smooth functioning or the successful layout of a given space.' Originally quoted from the periodical's English translation of the first issue.

[15] From the third or fourth volume the English translation of the updated title *Themata Chorou ke Technon* was altered to *Design in Greece*. The English translation of the title changed once more in 1982 to *Design + Art in Greece*. International feedback was given by art critic Charles Spencer and the London Council of Industrial Design.

[16] The main categories formed the periodical's agenda after 1974 were: 'Architecture', 'Visual Arts' and 'Industrial Design'. Even though the title 'graphic arts' was included in the journal's covers throughout the 1970s, the subject was officially reappeared in 1978 under the general category 'Applied Arts'.

[17] M. Katzourakis, A. Katzouraki, F. Carabott, Y. Angelopoulos, S. Cosmetatos, G. Mansolas, D. Rikakis. L. Apergi and N. Saxonis. Anon, 'Graphic Design, Packaging, Exhibitions, Advertising Art', *Themata Esoterikou Chorou* (1) 1970, pp.186-206.

Typographia (1958-today)

First published in 1958, *Typographia*, was a fortnightly newspaper for the Greek graphic arts[18] still produced today,[19] which is a remarkable achievement in the history of Greek publications.[20] The newspaper was the first technical publication on Greek graphic art published by and for the owners of printing shops. According to the introduction of the first issue (see inserted image), these tradesmen-typographers were,

> … the CHANNEL through which ancient and modern philosophy, philology – foreign and our own – several inventions and all that has the
> potential to become part of the whole is diffused to the public.[21]

From a design perspective, *Typographia* retained the same layout and format throughout its 50-year history, the design of which was attributed to traditional typographers.[22] Advertising in the newspaper by manufacturing and print companies gradually took over more and more space in the newspaper. These provided an insight into the development of design styles and approaches taken by designers and advertisers over the years. Since the early and mid-1960s, these more modern and experimental adverts, either in colour or black and white, were quite different from the newspaper's two-colour printing and conventional design style. *Typographia's*

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[18] It was presented as: 'a fortnightly newspaper of typography, zinc engraving, paper and the Fine Arts sectors'. It was published by an empirical typographer, Fotis Landas, and a doctor-to-be, Georges Methenitis, who chose to get involve in business activities and chose to collaborate with F. Landas. First director appears to be F. Landas until 9th issue after which time G. Methenitis took over as noted in the first cover. Other names include P. Loukeas, co-owner, and E. Rigopoulos, chief editor.

[19] According to Dina Raftopoulou (Landa's niece and current director and editor of *Typographia*), the Landas-Methenitis partnership of the 1950s developed into a large-scale typographic enterprise, which terminated in the late 1980s after Landas' retirement and Methenitis' pass away. Dictionaries, several newspapers, newsletters for the Technical Chamber of Greece, the proceedings of the Country Committee, and other important documents were printed by this typographic organisation. Dina Raftopoulou and Yorgos Ventouris took over the publication of *Typografia*. Ventouris was Methenitis' bridegroom and architect, who opted out from *Typographia* on 1/1/2006. Since then Dina Raftopoulou (originally studied economics at Panteion Univeristy of Athens) and her son Nikolas Raftopoulos (studied technology of the graphic arts at the public Technological Educational Institution of Athens) continue unabated the family business and the over fifty year tradition of *Typographia*, which is printed every 1st and 15th of each month in the same A3 size original format. I-DR-03/07/2006. *Typographia* and can only be consulted at the newspaper's archive at *Typographia's* offices.

[20] An explanation of the choice of the title (*Typographia*) was given in a later issue on the occasion of a title categorisation for tax purposes configured by the Country Committee that confused tradesmen-typographers at the time. Typographia, 'What 'Typography' Means?' *Typographia*, 20 (424) 20 April 1978, pp.1,12. It was explained that 'typographia' incorporates a larger set of meanings and practices in everyday discourse than its actual definition.

[21] Typographia, 'Channel', Ibid (1) 15 June 1958, p.1.

[22] It underwent some subtle changes in the layout during the 22 years examined from June 1958 to August 1980. The changes in layout and heading title included the reworking of the size of the head title, *Typographia* in the end of 1962. From the following year, 1963, for every first publication of the year the newspaper acquired a harder jacket cover, mostly for advertising space, and was called New Year's edition and printed in a harder jacket cover sponsored most of the times by a manufacturing or importing company of printing machines. Roughly around that date the January covers became more graphic and playful, with more figures. Since 1975, the first issue of the year, *Typographia*'s contents were printed in English as well. The original multi-column structure was kept basically the same, while the agenda of *Typographia* was enriched in 1979 with the special section for technological advancements.

primary goal was to inform typographic shops of the latest news in state policy, laws, constitutions, national insurance funds, union rights and all that ensured the welfare of their businesses.

However, *Typographia* was not a publication merely concerned with institutional matters. Starting as a six-page newspaper, it grew to a hundred-page gazette in the 1970s, and included local and global news of state-of-the-art technology and industrial printing equipment, trade activities, and major events such as professional exhibitions and fairs in Greece and around the world, keeping its readers aware of the broader typographic and graphic art scene.[23] The editorial board consisted of Greek and foreign correspondents, including lawyers, journalists, union members, financial advisors, politicians, technicians, academics and practitioners of the graphic arts, who brought from their respective disciplines a variety of voices ranging from nationalist and romantic to pro-technological and rationalist approaches.

Besides *Typographia's* informative role, the newspaper also acquired a pedagogical function. *Typographia* regularly hosted historical articles, reprinted from other Greek and international journals, such as the British typography periodical *The Penrose Annual* and the *British Printer*. During the period 1958 and 1980, a key issue was addressed: the lack of technical education and its urgent need in the country.[24] Formal education was believed by the authors to be a necessary step for the modernisation of the discipline in order to keep pace with the rapid change of technology and international developments, especially following Greece's official entry into the EEC in 1981.[25] The documentation of foreign education policies and typographic schools in France, Germany, England, Israel, Brazil and the USA demonstrated the advanced position of the profession in those countries.[26] This comparison also served to highlight

[23] Typographia, 'Typography in Japan', *Typographia*, 8 (164) 1 January 1966, p.26; Typographia, 'Typography in Africa', *Typographia*, 16 (330) 25 August 1973, pp.4,9; Bright, H.C., 'Typography in its Birthplace. What Happens in China', *Typographia*, 13 (364) 15 May 1975, p.6; Typographia, 'Typography and Democracy in the Progress-friedly Sweden ', *Typographia*, 21 (438) 30 November 1978, p.8. On education: Typographia, 'The Typographic Education in Germany', *Typographia*, 15 (306) 1 August 1972, pp.4,6 (other 4 articles refer to German typographic education published in 1973, 1975 and 1979); Fritlaender, H., 'School of Typography in Israel'. While Here?' *Typographia*, 9 (187) 1 January 1967, pp.31,44; Bright, H.C., 'Switzerland', *Typographia*, 16 (330) 25 August 1973, pp.7,9, Typographia, 'The Vocational Training is Considered National Responsibility in France', *Typographia*, 11 (250) 31 December 1969, p.30; Bright, H.C., 'Rochester Institute of Technology. When Is Our Country Going to Have Such Institutes and Schools?' *Typographia*, 22 (453) 10 September 1979, pp.2,12,21.
[24] Of the first articles to report the need: Typographia, 'A School for Typographers is Needed', *Typographia*, 1 (4) 5 August 1958, pp.1,2.
[25] Zacharatos, A., 'Graphic Arts and our Conformation to the Technological Progress', Ibid, 9 (204) 25 December 1967, p.23.
[26] Typographia, 'The Vocational Training is Considered National Responsibility in France', Ibid, 11 (250) 31 December 1969, p.30; Bright, H.C., 'The Reformation of Typographic Education in West Germany', *Typographia*, 16 (335) 15 December 1973, pp.6,8, Typographia, 'The Typographic Education in Germany'; Typographia, 'Typo-Technical Education in West Germany. An Interesting Possibility in Light of Our Entry to the E.E.C', *Typographia*, 22 (448-449) 30 June 1979, pp.21,28; Bright, H.C., 'Culturing with Parallel Education. Yet, but not in Our Country, in Germany', *Typographia*, 16 (578 (wrong Issue number, possibly 358)) 31 January 1975, p.7; Typographia, 'In England, College in Typography Updates its Facilities with the Modern Photo-reproduction',

Greece's delayed status in this respect, which it proposed remedying primarily through state policies.

With respect to technology, *Typographia* allayed the fears and concerns of professionals in Greece and abroad. Even if the eye-catching sub-headings of a number of articles gave the impression that the newspaper was against new technological developments and the consequences these may have for the profession, it tried to relieve tension by offering solutions and alternative perspectives. Such an approach certainly sounds rational for the time, and probably came from the owners of print shops rather than the workers.

Zygos (1955-1966, 1973-1983/85)

Zygos ('Scale'/'Balance') was among the earliest and lengthiest art journals in Greece published since the Second World War and Greek Civil War, and is among the few periodical titles recalled by graphic designers today. First published in November 1955 by the journalist and gallery owner Frantzis Frantziskakis, *Zygos* originally claimed to be a periodical for the fine arts, but soon broadened its scope to include the applied arts as well. The editorial board of *Zygos* constituted both practitioners (painters, sculptors) and theoreticians.[27]

On the subject of graphic arts, a pattern of themes was observed. From 1955 to 1962, articles addressed the issue of graphic art as related to typography and book printing. These fields were viewed through a historical perspective, with texts focusing on pioneers of Greek typography and the appearance of Greek type in international printing in the fifteenth century. During the same period (1955-1963), the journal also hosted critical writings on the current status of Greek typography. For example, an article of 1957 by I. M. Skazikis on the deficiencies and disadvantages of Greek typography discussed the reasons for the status of Greek typography,[28] especially in comparison with professional standards in other countries. According

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Typographia, 21 (440) 1 January 1979, p.36; Typographia, 'Training on Electronic Composition in England', *Typographia*, 21 (440) 1 January 1979, p.33; Typographia, 'The Education and Post-education of Typographers in Great Britain', *Typographia*, 7 (132) 10 August 1964, pp.1,8; Typographia, 'The Education and Post-education of Typographers in Great Britain', *Typographia*, 7 (133) 25 August 1964, pp.9,12; Bright, H.C., 'The Technical School for Graphic Arts in Brazil - Industrial College', *Typographia*, 16 (328) 15 July 1973, pp.3,13,14, Fritlaender, 'School of Typography in Israel'. While Here?'; Bright, 'Rochester Institute of Technology. When Is Our Country Going to Have Such Institutes and Schools?'.
[27] See Michelis, P.A., 'Industrial Aesthetic and Abstract Art', *Zygos*, A (38) January 1959, pp.29-36, and Papanoutsos, E.P., 'Aesthetic Experience', *Zygos* (48) November 1959, pp.15-18.
[28] Skazikis, I.M., 'Typography in Greece. Deficiencies and Disadvantages', *Zygos* (22-23) August-September 1957, pp.4-6.

to the author, a practitioner himself, the profession of typographer in Greece was an overlooked trade of high cultural value. The author also stated that lack of trained personnel was a burning issue that should be dealt with immediately. He asserted the need for expert knowledge that only training in schools could provide, and the problems caused by certain characteristics of the Greek alphabet and typography, particularly relating to the two main linguistic idioms *katharevousa* and *demotic*, which, used side-by-side and sometimes simultaneously, confused the typesetter who in turn wasted time and money editing and making corrections. The author also referred to the bad economic conditions that created competition between the old and new, often inexperienced, typography shops, which offered cheaper but lower-quality work. Skazikis's text, among others of historical interest, was reprinted in *Typographia* in 1958 and 1966.[29]

In 1963 a new subject category was added to *Zygos's* agenda, that of the applied arts. As noted in a two-page article under the title 'The start of an effort,[30] the initiative of adding a new subject category was taken in response to the absence of applied arts in the broader art and design community. Acknowledging that the 'applied arts' was a vast field (mentioning in particular furniture design, interior decoration, stage and retail design, ceramics and the graphic arts), the anonymous author offered a new perspective on what constituted graphic arts in contemporary society. The writer opposed the writings of the graphic art professional Spyros Panayotopoulos, presented at the international forum *Who's Who in Graphic Art* in 1962.[31] Panayotopoulos had attempted to establish an uninterrupted line between the arts of ancient Greece and more contemporary, but still glorious moments in Greek history (such as the Byzantine era, 3-15 A.D.)[32] and modern graphic art.[33] However, it was to the connection between graphic arts and book-related practices, such as illustration, engraving and book-binding, that

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[29] Skazikis, I.M., 'Typography in Greece. Deficiencies and Disadvantages', *Typographia*, 1 (10) 18 November 1958, pp.1,2 (the rest three parts in later Issues). Also, other reprinted articles from *Zygos*: Typographia, 'In the 15th Century the First Public Appearance of the Greek Typographic Characters', *Typographia*, 2 (22) 25 June 1959, pp.4,5,6 (the rest four parts are cited in later Issues); Typographia, 'Koromilas' Family. A Corner-stone in the development of Greek Typography', *Typographia*, 1 (20) 25 May 1959, pp.1,3; Ganiaris, A.C., 'The Art of Bookbinding', *Typographia*, 1 (16) 15 March 1959, p.2α.

[30] Anon, 'The Start of an Effort', *Zygos*, Issue 87-88, March 1963, pp.47-48.

[31] Panayotopoulos, S., 'Greece' in *Who's Who in Graphic Art*, Vol.I, ed. by W. Amstutz (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962), pp.265-269.

[32] The Byzantine Empire laid the foundations for Orthodox Christianity in Greece, the Balkans and Russia. The end of Constantinople (the capital) meant the end of Christianity and in the Middle East, and the rise of Ottoman-Muslim power.

[33] Panayotopoulos, I.M., 'Book-binding', *Typographia*, 4 (79) 25 January 1962, pp.4,7. Panayotopoulos begun his introduction by stating: 'The origins of the modern Greek graphic arts must be sought in the artistic tradition of Byzantium'… and finished his text: 'In the view of the talents of Greek artists, the results already achieved and the rising cultural level of the people in general, there is every reason for taking a hopeful view of the future of the graphic arts in the country of Phidias, and Ictinos, Socrates and Plato'. He referred to engraving, as a practice that 'established itself in its own right, and soon held an honorary place alongside painting and sculpture'. Names of artists were cited as well. Greece was among the 38 countries included in the volume and presented as representatives of Greek graphic art, the cartoonist M. Argyrakis, and the illustrator Y. Varlamos.

the anonymous author particularly objected,[34] criticising Panayotopoulos's text for having serious deficiencies in projecting the 'right' picture of modern Greek graphic art.

Publication of *Zygos* was interrupted between 1967 and 1972, during which time the editor contributed articles to other periodicals, namely *DP,* on the subject of the graphic arts, and was asked to introduce graphic design events in catalogues. From 1983, *Zygos* was also available in English, but ceased publication altogether in 1985.

02. The first post-war schools of art and design

a. Athens Technological Institute (ATI, 1958-1976)

ATI's 18-year life coincided with key dates in the history of the Greek educational system. In 1959 and 1976, two major educational reforms took place, as well as one in 1964, which aimed to introduce free education for all social classes. The first reform in 1959 divided technical education into three levels, higher, secondary, and primary, and was a first attempt to classify and define the academic status of vocational and technical education. ATI belonged to the middle level for students aged 15 and above, and was entered after completion of three classes of high school or of a commercial school. In the following year (1959) the School of Decorative Arts (or Decoration) was established, in which Graphic Arts was introduced as a workshop option for second-year students.

Classes taught at the Graphic Arts Workshop in the School of Decorative Arts included free-hand drawing of decorative applications, numbers and lettering, techniques involving colours and materials, and the history of art and rhythmology.[35] After the second year, the students could choose between 3 (and later 4) workshops: Decoration and Advertising (which was later called Interior Decoration), Graphic Arts (which stayed the same), Scenography (later called Stage and Costume Design), and a fourth workshop introduced 3 years later, Conservation of Works of Art.

Teaching staff of the Graphic Arts Workshop comprised 5 painters, 1 engraver, 2 sculptors, 2 architects and 1 philologist/archaeologist for the History of Art course. Prestigious

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[34] The anonymous author considered Panayotopoulos's text on what is modern graphic arts as outdated by saying that: '…Panayotopoulos text… presents some serious deficiencies, which could have been avoided if the author had essential clues on the present situation of the Greek graphic arts', and quoted fully his text in Greek.
[35] C.A. Doxiadis Archive, 17616. Undated (assumed 1960/61) and not specifically-addressed sheet, with the title: 'SCHOOL OF DECORATIVE ARTS'. It was found together with one page on the definition of a 'Decorator' (in English).

names included Yannis Tsarouchis (painter), Spyros Vassiliou (painter), Dimitris Mytaras (painter), Thanassis Apartis (sculptor), Tassos Alevizos (engraver) and other known artists at the time. Younger practitioners, such as the architect and decorator Theodoros Patramanis (1932), who taught the foundation course during the first year of study at ATI and had studied at HfG in Ulm, Germany, also added to the prestigious roster of teaching personnel.[36]

b. Vakalo School of Art and Design (1958-today)

The Vakalo School is a private art school founded by the painter George Vakalo (Vakalopoulos) in 1958. Its tutors were originally those teaching at ASFA, such as the painter Panayiotis Tetsis, while a key figure was Eleni Vakalo, an art critic and wife of the founder. The school's curriculum was originally oriented towards painting and costume design. A record of the school's history is provided by the periodical *Peri* published in December 1993,[37] but according to the current senior tutor, art historian Miltiadis Frangopoulos, 'the archives are lost'.[38]

03. Short biographies

a. Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975)

Constantinos Doxiadis graduated from the National Technical University of Athens in 1935, and the following year obtained a doctorate with distinction from the Technical University of Berlin (Technische Universität)[39]. In 1937, the Greek government appointed him to the key areas of town planning and reconstruction. He served the country during the Greek-Albanian War, and contributed to the resistance movement during the German occupation by publishing the only-available underground magazine of the time, which was distributed across the country.

From 1945 to 1951, Doxiadis was one of the prime leaders responsible for restoring Greece to a normal peacetime existence, first as undersecretary and director-general of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction (1945-1948), and subsequently as minister-coordinator of the Greek Recovery Programme and undersecretary of the Ministry of Coordination (1948-1951). He also supervised the publication of the album presented to the American High

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[36] T. Patramanis is the only Greek student that studied in HfG according to the HfG Records. Information retrieved from the personal archives of Artemis Yagou, who contacted the HfG in 1999.
[37] A contemporary to the period self-promotion appeared in *Architektoniki*: Anon, 'The 10 Years of the Vakalo School. The Vakalo School Exhibition', *Architektoniki* (69-70) July-August 1968, p.99.
[38] D-FD-21/12/2004.
[39] The former Royal Technical College of Charlottenburg (est.1879).

Commission that helped attract financial support under the Marshall Plan. This album described the destruction of the Second World War in Greece, and is a unique record of the country's economic, social and geographical disasters caused by the war.

In 1951 he founded 'Doxiadis Associates', a private consulting firm that undertook architectural and engineering projects in more than 20 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and the USA. He is probably best known for developing the science of human settlements, which he called 'Ekistics', in order to solve the problem of managing the growth facing cities worldwide. He is also known for a major research project entitled 'The City of the Future'. During his lifetime Doxiadis received several awards and decorations, including the Award of Excellence by the Industrial Designers Society of America (1965), the Aspen Award for the Humanities (1966); and a posthumously the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada's Gold Medal for 1976.[40]

Before opening ATI, Doxiadis already had experience of teaching and running a technical school in Athens. He had been employed as professor at the Evening Colleges for Technicians[41] of the Diplarios School of the Hellenic Company of Light Industry [*Elliniki Biotechniki Etairia*] in 1933, and five years later (1938) was appointed director of the Technical Colleges at the school.[42] After a preliminary investigation of technical education in Greece,[43] and research on the post-war economic status of the country and its potential development, Doxiadis opened ATI in 1958 with the launch of two schools: the School of Draftsmen-Designers, and the School of Technical Assistants for Civil Engineering Works or Engineering Assistants.[44]

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[40] For more information visit: www.doxiadis.org.

[41] At the specialisations of Builders, Furniture-makers, and Decorators.

[42] Diplareios School was founded in 1919 aimed at promoting and developing free technical education. It was part of the Hellenic Company for the Light Industry, which was established in Athens in 1892 by Professor Stefanos Kyparissos (University of Athens). Aristidis Diplaris donated his assets to the company for the foundation of a School, so that both men and women could learn design (*schedio*), and generally arts, for free. Information retrieved from: http://www.e-paideia.net/eLibrary/default.asp?c=30105&p=1&i=0&ix=1&ty=&sty= (accessed 13 November 2005).

[43] According to a preliminary research undertaken by J. Piperoglou regarding technical education in Greece, it was estimated that approximately 50,000 Greek students studied in educational Institutions in Athens the academic year 1956/57. C.A. Doxiadis Archive, 17521, R-EATI 12. Unsigned and undated 4-page report (most likely to be written by J. Piperoglou some time after 1957 or in 1958) and was addressed to Agapitidis with the title: 'PRELIMINARY' (in Greek). It was also reported that the number of students that chose to extend their education abroad was estimated 2619. C.A. Doxiadis Archive, 17521, R-EATI 51. Two-page report with the title: 'Greek students abroad' was signed by E. Papanoutsos on 12.05.1958 and addressed to D (Doxiadis) (in Greek). The statistics provided by this research give an insightful view of the choices that were made. Greek students seem to choose Germany by 38.8%. In second and third order of preference was Austria and Italy with 26.7%, and 15.1% respectively. England held just 3.7% before Switzerland and after the US.

[44] Considering that 'there is an acute need [for these specialisations] in Greece as well as in the countries of the Middle East'. C.A. Doxiadis Archive, 17521, R-EATI-16. This 4-page letter with the title: 'Technical Education' was written by Doxiadis on 05.02.1958 in English, and addressed to two of his school partners; Agapitidis and Piperoglou. Spelling and course names vary from document to document. The original terms and format (upper/low case lettering) used in original sources are kept as they appear.

b. Evangellos P. Papanoutsos (1900-1982)

Evangellos Papanoutsos was a progressive educator and Greece's most influential modern philosopher.[45] He studied theology, philology, philosophy and pedagogy at the universities of Athens, Berlin, Tübingen, and Paris. His influence on the educational system of Greece was profound, as teacher and administrator, as general director and secretary-general of the Greek Ministry of Education, and as advisor to the prime minister George Papandreou. He was the 'architect' of the educational reform introduced by that cabinet in 1964, and vice-president of ATI from its foundation.

Cover page of *To Chroniko tu ATI* (*ATI's Chronicle*) (2) June 1966. Photographs of C. Doxiadis and E. Papanoutsos (Source: C.A. Doxiadis Archive)

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[45] Merry, Bruce, *Encyclopaedia of Modern Greek Literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), p.317.

04. GTO Committee meeting and Minutes, August 1964

Document signed by the minister of the prime-minister's office: D. Papaspyrou
Committee meeting agenda: Printing shops to print GTO promotional material

Assigned Committee members: D. Logaras (director of the National Gazette), Y. Moralis (Professor at ASFA), K. Grammatopoulos (Professor at ASFA), S. Vassiliou (Painter), Y. Manoussakis (Painter), N. Nikolaou (Painter), A. Tassos (Engraver), D. Rikakis (Painter-Advertiser), A. Peppis, (Editor of the Thessaloniki Fair Exhibition album), C. Bousbourelis, (Journalist), P. Gianakopoulos (Journalist), F. Lambadariou (Director of the GTO Tourism Promotion Department), A. Eliadis (Committee secretary)
(Source: Irene Orati archive)
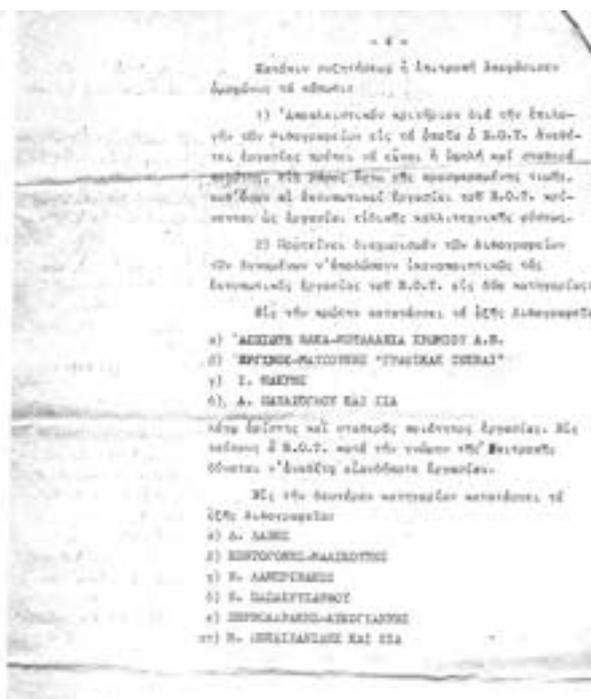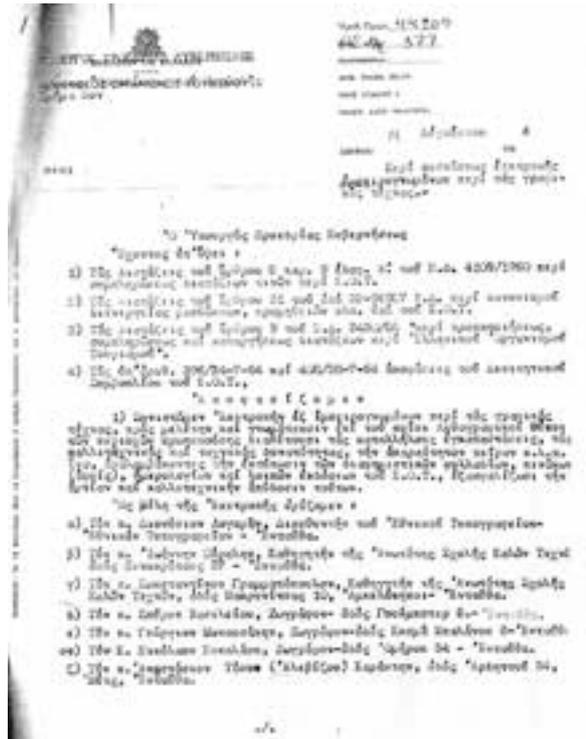
Appendix B

Interviews, contacts and discussions

> Historical work using oral sources is unfinished because of the nature of the sources; historical work excluding oral sources (where available) is incomplete by definition.
>
> Alessandro Portelli[1]

Personal testimonies are valuable in that they bring into the discussion perceptions and experiences of design that in some cases are not, or cannot be, found in written documentation. To my knowledge, in the course of this research and close to the end of it, four of the people who granted me interviews passed away; Stathis Georgiadis, Leonidas Christakis, Kimon Eliopoulos and Freddie Carabott. The sad news of their loss brought to mind the African proverb 'every old man that dies is a library that burns'; a strong reminder that people's memories are living histories.[2]

The majority of my interviewees and contacts consisted of graphic design professionals who commenced their career mainly in the 1950s and 1960s, and of individuals (design students and tutors, editors, managers, architects, GTO employees) related to the case studies examined in this thesis. In total 29 people were interviewed (formal or informal) or communicated with via email (1) or telephone (5) during 2004-2010. In some cases, several interviews or/and informal discussions took place over time, as, for instance, with the late Kimon Eliopoulos.

In terms of mediation, minor changes in grammar and syntax have been made where necessary, otherwise all efforts have been made to keep the original expression, words and rhythm of the interviewee's individual speech to maintain as much authenticity as possible in the transcribing and editing. This type of transcription, i.e., 'in the raw', may not be preferable to people uncomfortable with speech, but, as the editor of this material, I

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[1] Portelli, A., 'What Makes Oral History Different' in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. by R. Perks, Thomson, A. (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.32-42, p.40.
[2] Perks, R., Thomson, A., 'Introduction to Second Edition' in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. by R. Perks, Thomson, A. (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.ix-xiv, p.ix.

considered it closer to the original narrative and a valid choice for the purpose – a choice that was truthful to the individual's speech pattern and the subliminal information contained in speech mannerisms, and that, hopefully, would bring the reader of these texts closer to the original oral experience.

In assessing the outcome of the interviews, and in the spirit of reflexivity, I am not entirely satisfied that I found the best process. As a newcomer to oral history, I fear that some of my questions, especially in the first interviews, lacked the open-endedness required, and one can detect my own early assumptions and preconceptions in distinctions such as modern/traditional, western/local. I also came to believe that using more visual props – images of design works and photographs, or video recordings – might have complemented or assisted further my interviewees' verbal performance.[3] These considerations would have potentially provided more accurate and detailed testimonies. On a practical level, and as far as the language and print conventions used in the transcripts are concerned, I left the contributions in their original format, that is, as dialogue rather than more formal written prose, to evoke the spontaneity of oral narrative.

With respect to the presentation of the transcripts, a simple notation system is employed.[4] Square brackets with ellipses, […], are used to denote either long pauses, or deletions of material thought to be inessential. Text inside the brackets indicates either the interviewee's original wording, or my own explanatory note. Unbracketed ellipses between words indicate shorter pauses. The paragraphs are arranged so that emphasis is placed on certain parts of the narrative, or as indication that there has been a change of subject by the interviewee him/herself. The use of individual names likely to cause offence has been omitted.

All interviews were conducted in Athens, Greece, and were digitally recorded unless otherwise stated. Seven have been translated into English (one interview includes three individuals), and one in Greek. The full transcripts of these testimonies are arranged

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[3] Video recording is seen as an ideal resource of documentation for graphic design history oral testimonies, and especially with people who are less verbally articulate. See Ishino; Sandino, 'Introduction: Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects'; Slim, H., Thompson, P., with Bennett, O., and Cross, N., 'Ways of Listening' in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. by R. Perks, Thomson, A. (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.143-154.

[4] Useful advice on transcription considerations regarding editing and language, is given in Portelli; Good, F., 'Voice, Ear and Text. Words, Meaning, and Trascription' Ibid, pp.362-373; Terkel, S., with Parker, T., 'Interviewing an Interviewer' in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. by R. Perks, Thomson, A. (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.123-128.

chronologically below, and marked with a '✔' sign, with interviews by the same person listed consecutively.

In the main text, the form of communication is noted as: Interview (I); Informal Discussion (ID); Telephone Communication (TC); Electronic Communication (EC), and follows an abbreviated format consisting of: Type of communication - Initials - Date. For instance, my interview with Stathis Georgiadis on 06 February 2004 is noted as: I-SG-06/02/2004. A list of interviewees' details and form of communication is given below.

List of interviewees

Name	Occupation	Date/Type	Transcripts
Stathis (Efstathios) Georgiadis (1917-2009)	Advertiser	06 February 2004 / I	
Michalis Katzourakis (1933)	Graphic designer, co-founder of K+K Advertising Agency	22 September 2004 / I ✔ 22 March 2008 / I ✔	In English In English
Frederick (Freddie) Vincent Carabott (1924-2011)	Graphic designer, co-founder of K+K Advertising Agency	04 September 2004 / I ✔ 18 October 2004 / I 01 February 2006 / I 22 March 2008 / I ✔	In English In English
Agni Katzouraki (1936)	Graphic designer, co-founder of K+K Advertising Agency	22 March 2008 / I ✔	In English
Miltiadis Fragopoulos	Art Historian, Vakalo teacher	21 December 2004 / ID	
Manolis Vithynos	Architect, Professor of Graphic Design at TEI Athens (retired)	19 September 2005 / I 05 December 2006 / I ✔	In Greek
Vlassis Vellios	ATI graduate (1959-61) AKTO founder (1971)	22 September 2005 / I	
Dimitris Nikolaidis	ATI graduate (1965)	26 September 2005 / I	
Theodoros Patramanis (1932)	Architect (Student at Uni. Stuttgart, and HfG), Decorator (WKS Muenster)	27 January 2006 / I	
Yannis Koutsouris (1945)	Painter, ATI Graduate, Graphic Arts (1964-67)	28 January 2006 / I	
Efie Vazirgiantziki (1946)	ATI Graduate, Graphic Arts (1964-67)	31 January 2006 / I	
Anakreon Kanavakis (1938)	Illustrator, Newspaper/Magazine Designer, President of the Greek Graphic Design Association, 1991-	22 May 2006 / I ✔	In English
Kimon Eliopoulos (1922-2011)	Stage Designer, Packaging designer, Graphic Designer, Art Director of Aspioti-Elka, Founder of the Union of Painters-Advertisers (1958-19?), Union of Graphic Designers (1964-67?), Greek Graphic Design Association (1983-)	30 May 2006 / I ✔ 30 June 2006 / I 13 August 2007 / ID 04 April 2010 / TC (and several ID)*	In English
Giorgis Varlamos (1922)	Illustrator, engraver	02 June 2006 / I	
Dina Raftopoulou	Editor of *Typografia*	03 July 2006 / I	
Dimitrios Fakinos	Editor of *+Design*	05 July 2006 / I	
Vouvoula Skoura (1943?)	ATI graduate 1959-1962; founding member of the Centre for Visual Arts in Athens, 1974	17 October 2006 / ID 28 October 2006 / I	
Xanthipi Bania	ATI graduate	28 Oct 2006 / I	

Aikaterini Kalogeropoulou-Dramytinou	ATI graduate	05 January 2007 / I	
Katerina Tsitsoni	Vakalo graduate	27 January 2007 / I	
Leonidas Christakis (1927-2009)	Editor, painter, graphic designer	28 March 2007** ✔	In English
Evgenia Papadopoulou	GTO employee	05 February 2008**/ TC	
Christos Kantzas	GTO archivist	14 March 2008** / ID	
Liana Louka	PPC Assistant executive (Corporate Identity Promotion department)	20 January 2010 / EC	
Yannis Laventzis	Editor, Public Relations manager	16 October 2009 / I 04 November 2009 / I 29 October 2009 / I	
Fani Lambadariou	Head at the advertising section for *Icones* at Aspioti-ELKA, GTO Art Director, K+K Manager	16 October 2009 / TC ✔	In English
Yannis Migadis (1926)	Artist	04 June 2010 / TC	
Dimitris Arvanitis (1948)	Graphic designer	10 June 2010 / TC	
Apostolis Dimitriou	PPC Director (Communication department)	15 January 2010 / TC	

* Included several monthly informal (not recorded, but hand-noted) discussions
** Not recorded: either been informal discussions or my interviewee requested our talk not to be recorded.
    Handwritten notes available.

Transcribed Interviews

Michalis Katzourakis

Interview on 6 February 2004, Athens

ME: What are your studies in graphic design?

MK: *To put things in order... I didn't have any plans to become...* [a graphic designer] *to work for 'design'. I was interested in painting.* [My design studies] *were something like preparatory, or foundation courses if I may say... Finances were very limited... my family's finances, especially after the War* [WWII]. *Some relatives helped me to go to Paris, or something like this... It would never have happened if I asked to go there to study painting... the economic situation would not allow that. So, I had to do something that it would have an application* [in the market]. *Painting, in those years, was not like today. Today young painters make money, there are art collectors, etc. It is different now. I had just finished school when I went to Paris in the 1950s... to study architecture... because I was not good in maths!*

I stayed in Paris for a while, and the closest to architecture was the graphic arts... I had many interests, adventures with different schools. I ended up with Paul Colin's school. He was an old man by then. Not that old, let's say 63? He was among the most known creators, artists. [...] *Many important people graduated from his school... graphic designers... well, 'graphic designers' but not in the sense of the English school... of typography and all this... It was more* [of an] *artistic education, more painterly let's say... Colin's school was similar in style to Cassandre's time...*

ME: So, would you say that tour influences came mainly from Europe?

MK: *Certainly. Yes, yes.*

It [Colin's school] *was an old-fashioned school. Basically we did some exercises on poster design... he was correcting me... What I liked most* [at the school] *was that there was freehand drawing in the curriculum, with models and all... I drew for five hours a day... I didn't have much connection with America.*

ME: What was the situation in Greece in relation to design education in the 1950s?

MK: *There weren't any schools back in 1955. Doxiadis and Vakalo came later. I worked for Gkreka* [advertising agency in Athens] *at some point when I came back to Greece... In the beginning things were difficult to be sold.*

ME: Why was that?

MK: *Well, the style was more modern... more... different than what they did at the time... which was more ... illustrative.* [Also] *back then, in advertising there wasn't photography that much either...*

ME: You mentioned, things were difficult to be sold? Was there a resistance to your approach, to a more 'modern' approach to design?

MK: *Yes. I remember, Gkreka managed to sell only one of my campaigns for some fish company... it was in bold black and white...*
And later on, I met Freddie Carabott, who had a studio. He did some design works and we started collaborating... Since then we also became partners and founded the K+K, an advertising agency.

ME: For what kind of products did you design for?

MK: *Freddie worked for different companies, for example, Mobil Oil... and at some point, I don't remember exactly how it started, but we both became art consultants for tourism promotion* [at the GTO].

ME: Until 1967?

MK: *Yes. When Junta came, things changed a little, and we stopped... well, things just happened this way... I didn't, and I underline this, I didn't stop being at the GTO because I was in the* [Junta] *resistance. It was just that work stopped because people in there changed... there was no Synadinos and a few other people...*

In the meantime, we had opened the agency [K+K], *which was an art studio, more of an art-oriented advertising agency... and we had some success in it... well,* [success in design terms], *and very bad in economic terms...*

ME: In practice, how did you design? What sort of tools, technology and media did you use?

MK: *We made a design proposal to the client... there was no marketing at the time. When we worked for the GTO, things were more free/loose. For instance, for this poster for Epidavros, I tried to portray with a contemporary way the theatre of Epidavros. I was always interested in painting... I always painted. This is what interested me basically, painting... I don't mean to say that I felt punished for working for an applied art. I liked it too...*

ME: You experimented with 3-d objects in your poster designs...

MK: *Yes, yes... this one for example... with an object that we photographed... the first ones was more painterly in style... This poster for Martha Graham my wife designed, was a photogramme.*

ME: How did you work on the visual?

MK: *For example... this poster for the Olympic Airways. The idea starts from the mosaic technique... and then they put the Olympic logo over here! The publisher wanted to show the connection between this poster for Greece and the Olympic airways. This is wrong. I didn't do this. I asked him to take this* [Olympic Airways logo] *out in the next run of prints.*

ME: In your poster designs, there is often a combination of photography and...

MK: *It was a combination of photography and much more daring colours. Red, for instance, was a taboo colour due to its association to Communism. Different times altogether. Before there was illustration... we did more 'graphic design', more strict forms.*

ME: What were your influences?

MK: *I studied in France. I had some influences from Paul Colin, Cassandre, Chauvignac... all these were the models we had...*

[...]

ME: In the 1950s, in some parts of Europe, England and France for instance, there was a reaction to advertising... for example defacing of the advertisements in the streets, etc.. Was a similar reaction to advertising in Greece?

MK: *No. Advertising was not that popular... There were some newspapers, not too may. Few magazines... basically when we talk about the 1955, 1960 and 1965, there were* Icones, Tachydromos, *and* Gynaika... *As for the printing methods, those magazines in which images could be printed decently, were these three.*

ME: ... so advertisements were mainly seen in newspapers, magazines, radio...

MK: *Yes, yes... and slowly there came the television too. Of course, there was the cinema space... they showed some spots during the intervals... we made some for Marinopoulos supermarkets...*

ME: Since there were no design schools before 1958, what sort of qualifications did one have so to be employed in an advertising company? Was freelancing more commonplace?

MK: *Let's take Gkreka as an example, which was a big advertising company that I worked for some time, a month or so... I got disappointed and left... Apparently I wasn't a good employee...*

Gkreka had previously an old man to make the illustrations... Other agencies were DITS, ADEL, Gnome that had Yorgos Vakirtzis, ERGON had Svoronos at a later time... and there were some freelance graphic designers... Maybe a little later, there was Kosmetatos, Mansolas... I miss some names now... Dimitris Rikakis, who did a little more 'Valkyrian things'... yes, there were some [freelance designers]*...*

ME: About the freelance designers... reputation of an advertiser was not good...

MK: *... Freddie and I didn't have a complex, and our colleagues, that is my wife, Lena Apergi, Nikos Saxonis... we had a good name, a very good reputation. We received awards at international competitions for the Tourism promotion... and there we started building the agency* [K+K]*... we had a good recognition...*

ME: Was there competition among your colleagues?

MK: *Look, for the things we did, we were the outsiders, we weren't part of the competition.... we dared things that were accepted... what we did wasn't preposterous.*

ME: ... they were accepted for product promotion too?

MK: *Yes, for sure! We had clients like CitiBank..., the National Bank, Acrylan... many clients... also IVI by Doukakis* [?].

ME: How did you get design commissions?

MK: *... well, back then, the situation was different. Clients came directly to me, let's say the manufacturer of IVI himself rather than a representative of the company, a mediator, a marketing executive, and so on... who filter out the ideas, and so things become complicated...*

Things were a lot more interesting in the beginning... we could convince them [the clients] *more easily with a less conventional idea. For instance, we designed a campaign for EL-AL* [airline]*, an advert to be placed in a newspaper... At that time, we had a photographic studio in the office and tried to make some draft photo shootings, and I happened to be the model... holding a raincoat on my arm.... The slogan was: 'starting at 12 from Athens and I am in New York at 1'... And my client told me: 'I like it very much... and the photograph is very, very successful!'.*

ME: You had the freedom to...

MK: *... for sure! We were quite free to do things....*

ME: When did this sense of freedom started to let's say 'fade out'?

MK: *Slowly the agency started to have a media department, account executives, marketing, and so on... we ended up having no direct communication with the heads... it was a mess...*

ME: … I understand that you weren't comfortable with this development...

MK: *No. This is the reason we left, and I started working in interior design... we changed our direction completely.*

[...]

ME: In your opinion, what is the design culture in Greece generally...

MK: *Twenty years ago the National Bank asked us to design the sign system of their bank. I went to meet them. I proposed a manual with the applications needed... to study some of their branches, the building façades for the visuals... to work on the internal forms, and those related to their clients... Ah, we also asked I think an American designer to be part of the design team. I think it was Alan Fletcher from Pentagram in London. So, we asked him too to be a consultant for this project. And we asked for this work the 'mythic' price of twenty million drachmas... and after that they didn't even say good morning to us. They didn't even reply to us. So, this is not the way things should be done...*

ME: What do you remember of Varangis' Athens Design Centre?

MK: *I was part of this... it ended.*

ME: *... the offices were at Syntagma Square, at the same building that MacDonald's are housed today...?*

MK: *Yes, yes... the Stathatos Building* [?]*... one floor was for the exhibition.*

Well, look ... see Stergios Delialis' Design Museum in Thessaloniki... He has a wonderful collection of 10,0000 objects. They gave him a space, he worked on it, and then they took it back... He wasted six months of his life on this space, and at the end they took it back... and now everything is loose, here and there... He tries to do things, to put things together, to organise a seminar in June to invite Alan Fletcher... he makes some efforts...

ME: Is there anything similar in Athens? The Institute of Communication by EDEE?

MK: *They did a documentary for us, Freddie and I, three or four months ago. There is some history there.*

ME: So, in Athens there isn't anything similar to the Design Museum in Thessaloniki for Greek graphic design?

MK: *No, no. There is of course the Museum of Modern Art...*

We need an infrastructure... services... today more people are coming who are less educated than the previous ones... until they educate their children, it will take time... slowly._

Frederick V. Carabott

Interview on 4 September 2004

[...]

FC: *I studied at Saint Martins and Chelsea in London. I was working in the morning... I didn't come from a family of ship-owners...*

ME: About Greek design education... Doxiadis Colleges?

FC: [Doxiadis schools was]*... the most serious and orthodox [orthodoxo] of its time in Greece until today as far as I know. Also, there was Vakalo and Omiros in which* [Omiros school] *Katzourakis and I taught for some time.*

ME: When was that? During the 1960s, 1970s?

FC: *In the 1960s... The school was at the corner of Acadimias and Sina Street, an old building, very nice building...*

ME: In your opinion what were the influences in Greek design school curricula? In the Doxiadis Archive there is a documentation written by Vokotopoulos, Doxiadis's close associate, about the design curricula of technical schools, schools of Decorative arts, in France.

FC: *I don't know. I have no idea. We were certainly influenced from England, which interestingly wielded the sceptres* [skeptra] *in graphic design* [graphismo]*, in smart poster and witty advertising. From France and of course, and from America. Also, from the countries of the Eastern Block, Poland and Czechoslovakia, which interestingly led* [the way] *under the Russian influence. These were the things that struck us during 1960-1980, that is the time, around 1955-1980 that was more active for Katzourakis and me.*

ME: Looking at the period from 1955-1975, what were the changes in the profession of the graphic designer [*grafistas*? *grafistis*?]?

FC: *Unfortunately, both terms sound like* 'masistas', 'fasistas' [fascist]*... at some time, during a conference, I told my colleagues to use the word* 'grafistis' *instead of the ugly sounding* 'grafistas'*... it would sound like* 'commounistis' [communist]*... They were left speechless... But why really? Of course, now I mention these things for fun...*

I think the cornerstone time was during the 1950s, since the time of Yannis Svoronos from Thessaloniki. Very good graphic designer... well, 'designer'? How am I supposed to call him? Anyway, there is no word for it [the title of the practitioner]*... 'graphic artist' [*grafikos kallitechnis]*? And this is wrong. Yannis Svoronos was the first to introduce Helvetica in the market.*

Among the places that influenced us, I forgot to mention, naturally, Switzerland, which wielded the sceptres of clear, 'neat' design. And this [word]*, 'design', there is no word for it* [in Greek]*.*

[The word] *design covers a lot of things, ... colour, schedio, layout, impression, punch line... The issue* [of terminology] *is a big problem and we haven't solved it. Even though, we support the usage and preservation of the Greek language, which is very rich, there are things that we cannot compromise easily.*

Nevertheless, I shouldn't forget Switzerland, which was the best in [design]*.*

ME: If we can represent the development of graphic design in Greece in a chart, how would that be? Smooth? Ruptured?

FC: *I would say the twenty years between 1960-1980, starting from Svoronos, there was a big flare* [analambi]*. Especially advertising agencies started to be interested in graphic design*

[grafismo], *interested in qualitative graphic design. At that point, there were many colleagues that played a key role in helping graphic design, and especially advertising, in Greece to develop.*

ME: There was a serious work in...

FC: *Very serious.*

ME: ... in magazines, adverting...

FC: *And they were revolutionaries too. To talk for myself, together with Katzourakis, we introduced the colours black and red.* [...] *Black* [was connected to] *bereavement,* [thus] *bad. Red* [signified] *Turkey, communism, bad thing... these are nonsense talk, but they existed as elements and were a taboo in Greek society.*

ME: What was the general picture of Greek graphic design during the time?

FC: *It was good. From 1957 to 1980 it was very good... international awards started to be organised in Greece, which was a very important thing. Slowly, international press started to publish our work, Rizolli awards in Italy, and the Livorno awards for poster design... America, Swiss, Japanese, English... All these started to publish our work and promote us, and Greece too. This was important. That was a sign that there was a 'boom'.*

ME: Were there any changes behind this 'boom'? Either technological, or organisational in nature... Also, on the other hand, were there any changes that brought some obstacles?

FC: *An important change during those years before and immediately after the war* [WWII] *was to actually have a designer in the advertising* [agency]. *I mean 90% of an advertising agency* ['s power] *was to have a designer to assign him a job, for example to sell soap, and tell him to design something for it. The 10% was the director of the agency that is the owner. See Skylitsis-Gkreka* [advertising agency by Skylitsis]. *Skylitsis went to the client to sell the idea of his designer of a nice lady holding a bar of soap in nice foam. And always, the designer did two-three ideas for the same job.*
Ok, this was the one. What was the change? The change was the organisation of a studio. This was done quite early. Around the 1960s, a studio started to be organised having art directors, and a little after to have creative directors ... All these were some sort of a basic order, an 'organisation' in the studio.

Parallel to this, and now I turn into the less favourable, less productive changes, the advertising agency got organised. The advertising agency had an owner, who was running all day with his bag to sell maquettes to his clients... So, organisation was introduced also to the advertising agency... meaning to have the account executives, representatives of the agency for the client, and vice-versa. A single account executive was responsible for a client selling let's say for soap, another for cars, etc.

Also, there was the department for the planning... how to make the campaign. Also, there was another department -and now we enter into the trouble- for market research, marketing... before a promotion starts, marketing goes first so that to see where in the market the product is missing, and has the potential to sell, who would prefer or crave for this product, what is the colour to be used for its promotion, etc... and this is where we [graphic designers] *got in... And this is when things didn't work well... We wanted black-red, but the result of the market research was different... We wanted black-red and the research showed green-yellow* [as the right colour combination]... *And this is the point we diverged... In our case, Katzourakis and mine, our intuition sold better. The green-yellow combination that we tried after marketing's research proposition, failed.*

And then, after this, there was the campaign planning, media planning... [...] *and lastly the media buying. The market* [...] *So all these showed a structuring of the advertising agency that didn't exist before, at least not before 1950, or more correctly, before 1960.*

The pioneer in this organisational model was ADEL by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos [a Greek from Egypt]. [It was an] *exceptional advertising agency. It was 'imported' from Egypt, with an*

Anglo-Saxon culture, etc. And they introduced for the first time this model [stouktoura] *for a correct advertising agency.*

ME: Where there any 'models' in Greek design education?

FC: *By model you mean that the French model of education is that... the American is that... etc...? I don't know. I can't answer this. Katzourakis and I taught at Omiros for two-three years or so, and our teaching was from our own experience and knowledge. We didn't use a specific educational model. No. We tried to transfer to the students whatever we knew from our experience... It was unschooled/natural* [pigaio]. *We gave all we knew with great pleasure and excitement, with no specific order or sequence... When we were talking about colour we would mention also something else, for example: '... don't forget that this colour should be positioned in a certain point in the composition and not randomly.' It wasn't a particular system of teaching.*

ME: Regarding the Institute of Graphic Arts, 1964-1965. What was the situation? What was your experience about the unions and associations, organisation of the profession?

FC: *I know very few things. I will reply kind of harshly. Whatever we did back then was to secure some money for later... to secure a pension, and nothing else. That was our only concern. I don't think there was anything organised, at least when we were participating in this story. There was not even anything related to syndicalism. If by saying 'syndicalism' we meant to get a pension... Yes, this is what we wanted and nothing else.*

ME: Did you or your colleagues have any other plan for the profession beyond this?

FC: *It is very sad to say this but no. If a subject like that popped in, we would have done something. But, No. We were very much concerned that there were the IKA, the TEVE, etc.* [for other professional categories]*, and we didn't have anything. We were concerned by the fact that we were organising a group that would have no pension. Concerned about the fact that we started organising a group of professionals that it would be left without pension at the end. This is what interested us. This is what I know, this is was I can say.* [...]

ME: Do you remember any magazines and publications relevant to the field? *Zygos,* for example...

FC: *Magazines... well, apart from* Decoration and Design... [*+Design*]*, I don't know any other. I know many international ones. As for coffee-table books on Greek advertising and the poster design for those years, yes, there are many.*

By the way, for the Institute of Graphic Arts mentioned before, the initiators was Yannis Svoronos, Yorgos Vakirtzis, Kimon Eliopoulos, Yiorgos Mansolas... even KYR [newspaper cartoonist] *joined us, and two-three big ones that I forget now...*

Ah, it was not only the pension... We did also some practical job too. From time to time, there were some design competitions, for example for a poster about this company, for the Greek petroleum, for the Union of Greek Banks, for the logotype of the National Bank, etc. Our colleagues submitted their proposals and we, as the 'big masters' assessed the works. Well, you see, that was a job that we did. We awarded the first, second and third monetary award. So, we had also some institutional role other than trying to get some money... which we didn't manage to get anyway, we didn't get anything at the end... at least WE didn't get any money.

ME: About Manos Haritatos, director of ELIA...

FC: *Very fine person. He published my book* [A Teenager's War, 1941-1945 (2001)]. *I designed the layout* [...] *and some of the works* [illustrations]. *Well, these works come from my experience during the Second World War in which I lived the Opposition, the captivity in Germany and so on. I have painted these* [illustrations] *and ... published by ELIA.*

ME: I did a research at ELIA Archive on GTO and VEI tourism leaflets. Your designs stand out from the others in temrs of composition and colours...

FC: *Mainly those of Agni. Agni was the light of Greek aesthetics in graphic design.*

By the way, some criminals threw away our archive, and we are now trying to put it together for publishing it, if you find something, please let us know.

ME: Can you recall products or services that were promoted more vividly during the time?

FC: *The tourism industry, the Film industry, the Greek textile company 'Aigaio' by Peiraki Patraiki... Well, at this point I need to praise our own work, because this is what I can remember, mainly Agni and Michalis' work for CitiBank, OTE* [Greek Telecommunication Network], *Acrylan* [textile company], *Seventeen* [cosmetics]... *it was such an nice work by Agni, Lena Koutsi, Katerina Mamai... very nice work.*

ME: You mentioned some female designers, what was the male-female balance in the profession? Was any distinction? Or any taboo? In Doxiadis Archive, I saw that at some point on students were mostly girls…

FC: *Yes, surely, why not.*

ME: Bringing as an example America, for a long period of time in te twentieth century there was a close connection of the profession with men, that basically advertising was a man's job. What is your opinion for the Greek case?

FC: *As everything else, at the beginning. Don't forget that female vote in England was allowed with the action of the Suffragettes, which, if you think about it, is not that far back...*

ME: Was there any such taboo in Greece?

FC: *Of course not. And I mean in the 1960s... when we founded our advertising agency* [K+K]. *At that time, there were the Beatles, the Swinging London, Cannaby Street... there was no room for this* [taboo?]. *And of course, you had so many talents. For instance, Agni came from the Slade School, also Lena Koutsi, former Apergi and Schoina, she had two names. She* [Lena] *was my student, and my assistant... And at a poster competition for the International Fair in Thessaloniki, I 'the big master' so to speak submitted my work together with Lena, the 'young', the assistant... and at the end she won the first prize. Fair enough. Also, other name were Katerina Mamai, Irene Vourloumi...*

ME: Can you identify what sort of products or services in the 1950s and 1960s gave the opportunity for graphic design to stand out? In other words, what sort of product or service promotion prompted graphic design to be recognised as a professional entity and play a role the modernisation of the country during the period?

FC: *... I would say the thirst for consumption. Which was brought by during the Karamanlis period and after... and then it was the Junta... the consumption drive in the 1960s...*

ME: How the political situation in Greece influenced the graphic design field? Do you have a personal experience on that? Speaking of changes a little earlier, there were some instances of academic staff change in the Doxiadis School after 1967... (source: Doxiadis Archive)

FC: *I don't know about that. What I know is about the commission for the soft drink company IVI, regarding the accent for the word IVI* ['ivi in Greek means 'adolescence' and also 'youthfulness'] *in the new logo I designed for the company.*

I was called by the Military Board of YENED, which was the military channel and national channel... they called me and told me that in the my logotype the right accent in the word IVI is missing... And I replied: 'For God's sake, a logotype is a graphic design work, a symbol, it is not letters...' and they replied: '... but we read letters...'. And then I continued by saying something like: '.... but the world is now developing'... and at that point it came to my mind something crazy to say. I saw that the officer was wearing his uniform, as a Colonel, which was a modern dress, which was invented by the English in 1939, originally the 'Battle Dress', with pockets and long jacket... and I say to him: '... please allow me to make a personal comment. What are you wearing?', he replied: 'Uniform!'. And I reply, yes, but this is not the same one as before 1939... Now you are wearing a […] *there is some development... And so, in logotype design we need not to mix things... He shook his head, and said: 'Fine, fine...'. At the end we managed to get away with it. Well, here you are, this was a silly instance.*

No, I don't think they stopped us in anything. I don't remember having any serious incident or something like that...

ME: So, there were so sort of admonition for some things, but not serious...

FC: *Most likely, yes. You know, the usual sort of things... maybe when it came to Greek-Orthodox, nationalistic... no nudity... don't use the flag this way... etc. I don't remember anything serious...*

Well, a personal experience... As we had a good reputation in the advertising community at that time, they asked us to do the 'Yes or No' campaign. [...] Of course we didn't want to be stigmatised, and we turned their offer down skillfully. We told them that our contract with the international advertising agency UNIVAS restricted us from being involved in any political campaign or promotion. In reality, there was no such restriction; we could well have done it. I'm telling you that because the 'Junta' didn't hold influence on the aesthetic of things, ... very small things, as told, only about the accents, and as far as to keep a sort of decency, with or without inverted commas.

ME: So, with respect to the language issue... they were keen on maintaining the old, the traditional...

FC: *Exactly... And since I happened to be the most 'serious-looking' in the office, wearing ties, etc., they sent me to YENED to meet the Colonel. We weren't afraid of sending us to a prison in Yaros island* [used as a land for sending people into exile during the Junta]. *They could deport me of course, this the only thing they could do to me... I am half British from my father's side and my grandfather... Complicated story._*

Dimitris Nikolaidis

Interview on 26 September 2005, Athens

ME: Why did you choose Doxiadis Colleges for your studies in graphic design?

DN: *I chose this school because it had good reputation. I think there were also Vakalo School, Omiros, and other schools… but when you said the name of Doxiadis Colleges, everybody said: oohh!*

My brother in-law first told me about the school. He was studying Stage Design there. He convinced me to enrol. It was 1965, after my high school education, I decided to go there. It was a 'strict' school, prestigious and expensive. There were student bursaries so some students didn't have to pay the fees.

Those years were very difficult… The monthly tuition fees were 650 drachmas when a house rent of a nice 2-bedroom apartment in the city centre was around 2,500 drachmas. … The majority of the students were from wealthy families, but there were also students who worked at the same time. I had to work as a pyrography artist in order to earn a living and study on the side.

To enter, I remember, we were given some extra tutorials for the entry exams. I joined the last week of these classes. Then, Dekoulakos [teacher] *told me '… we already started working on drawing three months ago… there is no way you can pass the exams'. They* [teachers] *were very strict. The best grade given was 16 out of 20.*

ME: What do you remember of your courses? How did you choose this specialisation [Graphic Arts]?

DN: *My courses were held in the building located at Sina Street* [the main building was at Stratiotikou Syndesmou Street]. *There was a morning, an afternoon and an evening section. I first went to the morning classes, but it was difficult for me since I worked in the evenings. So, I followed the afternoon classes, and worked in the mornings.*

Two or three times a week we had the Freehand Drawing during the first year. We also had the History of Art class by the well-known art historian and critic, Lidakis. We also had Civics and classes on Social issues in relation to advertising. We had a class on Colour, Architectural drawing, Decoration, Stage Design, and Letter Design, … our teacher was [M]*Pikas, and Katsimanlis…*

These were the courses of the first year. Then we had to choose a direction/specialisation. I chose Graphic Arts. I became interested in the Graphic Arts because of the plurality of subjects: letters, composition, images, etc… In the beginning, I didn't know what was this specialisation exactly, but I decided to take it. We had very good teachers… Vassiliou, Tassos, Georgiadis, Gravvalos, Mytara, who was the wife of the painter Dimitris Mytaras (who at time won awards for his artwork), Dekoulakos… [Dekoulakos] *taught us Colour. Dekoulakos was a great man, sensitive, simple, good painter, known in the market. Many talented people graduated from this course… Pantaleon, Koutsouris, Sekofsky, Elias, Zannias…*

ME: What can you remember of your courses and projects?

DN: *Generally, most visuals in the market back then were either photographs or linear drawings, and so we were trained to make linear sketches* [grammika], *for example a linear sketch of a car for a car advert. I worked the sketch with rapidograph pens… all shadows were made with these pens. I worked hard on a project… it took me a week to complete. Because of my 'obsession' on linear drawings, I was soon given the name of the 'peculiar' one* [arrostos]…

When I got a job in ADEL [advertising agency by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos] I show the man who did linear drawings with a fountain pen! That man was Vlon, the best professional in this

technique and a great man. He was also doing retouch… One time he got ill and there was a need for a retoucher. I volunteered to work for that commission… and the clients were satisfied with the result. In fact, I was paid extra for that job… However, I didn't do any other retouch when Vlon was around… I was working also outside ADEL, and people got to know that I was doing a good job. This is how I entered the retouch specialisation. I designed nearly all car adverts in the market with the technique of linear drawing…

In Greece, there weren't many retouchers. There was Vlon, Tsourellis, and a third one, who I can't remember his name right now… These three held the whole market. At the school we didn't know what is an airbrush. All illustrations were done with watercolours or oil paints. We didn't have airbrushes. In the workplace, the first to work with this technique was Antoniou and Tsourellis… one of them went in fact to study the technique in Italy… When I discovered the colour airbrush I got so excited. In total, we were five-six people working with this technique… but one English man overtook us all, John Read [or Reed], was one of the best in airbrush illustration…

Two things did matter in the market place at the time: to be the best in your specialisation, and be on time for the deadlines… it didn't matter if you were expensive…

ME: Do you remember if any of your instructors gave you an idea of what was happening abroad in the field?

DN: *No, none. They didn't have any knowledge of what was going outside of Greece. Only, we realised how 'little' we were, when we looked at Black books of international advertising…*

ME: From the Doxiadis Archive, I saw that there were organised some lectures by people from abroad at ATO…

DN: *I attend only a couple…* [but] *outside the school* [ATI], *it may be possible to make these events… I never heard that 'tomorrow there is a seminar by that and that foreign person, and that he/she will talk about the history of graphic design…'. Maybe there were such lectures, but I don't remember these to have happened…*

ME: Do you remember having foreign instructors at school?

DN: *No. Unfortunately, we didn't. They were all Greek.*

ME: After you graduated, what did you do?

DN: *When you graduated, if one wanted to get employed in the public sector, he/she had to pass the State exams…*

ME: Did you choose to take those exams?

DN: *Yes, I did because I wanted to reach the end. But generally, there was a depreciation to work in the public sector. There was the perception that nobody would* [choose to] *go to the public sector… Anyway, upon our graduation, we were asked to work in big* [advertising] *agencies, which held competitions too. Also, Pavlidis* [a Greek chocolate manufacturer] *immediately after we graduated, he asked us to propose some ideas/sketches for packaging design.*

ME: What was your first job experience after graduating? And in general, how much your school training helped you in the professional arena?

DN: *When you graduated you had a general idea, not exactly what you would face in the professional context. When Tassos recommended me to the advertising agency ADEL, even before I graduated, there was a German lady, an English lady, and many well-dressed Greek men. I was impressed by the way they were working… Everything was designed in black and white at first… you needed to know the points of the letter, the position of the text in the composition, etc…*

Yes, we did learn all that in school, but it was not in a professional manner. For instance, when we designed a leaflet we were told to use that and that letter size. But the issue of the letter

setting is a big story… to be shown all alphabets, to be told that before you decide on the size you need to consider the space, the width, the height, the leading, etc… and from these calculations you could decide on the letter size. We didn't know how a design work was actually implemented. Of course, all these are thousand details to discuss in a class…

When we were given to design an advert for a fridge. They said 'your task is to promote this product… find a way to do that.' But the promotion of a product is again a whole story, and we needed a more specific brief and instructions… For example, what it means to design an advert, what is the weight to be given to the product, the slogan, the visual versus the text, if it is about the promotion of a new product in the market, etc…

Once a Turkish colleague came to ADEL, a good graphic designer… his knowledge was superior from ours… They [Turkish designers] *had German teachers, and they knew how to make a promotion… When he designed a logo, he knew why he designed it that way…*

Another example, Yorgos Kioussis, who studied in France, was my schoolmate in high school… he was telling us that there was not an expressive/undisciplined freedom to design… one needed to design in a particular way, because there was a reason… to design within certain limitations, in 'boxes'… and this is right in some respect. The knowledge received from abroad was so different from here.

I looked my work afterwards and wondered: 'how did my teachers let me do this?' That is, to work on the title in this way. Aesthetically, it was beautiful, but it didn't work in the context. For example, the title, lets say 'Universe', was too thin… it was too weak and went to the second plane… It may look nice, but it needs to be able to sell too, and you need to justify it… This is what Yorgos Kioussis taught me, who studied in France. He was telling me: 'if the title is going to be 48-points, it is not legible any more, and… how am I supposed to see your aesthetic intuition then.'

Nobody knew how to justify… how a poster should be designed… what weight to be applied to the title, how long it should be in order to be able to be seen and read easily… to have a brief, rather than a long title… All these things you learnt them 'on the way'. I haven't heard them in school. I believe we didn't have a good structure. There was a nice home, Doxiadis School, but I rebuilt the foundations outside in the workplace. I can't recall any such instructions at School. But again, I may have a very weak memory…

I guess, the aim of school education is to excite the students, and from the various strayed tools that are given to bring forward the artistic self… For one project, teachers made us listen to electronic music and design its LP cover. When I heard it, I was shocked. I threw colours on the paper and glued some screws, and wrote 'electronic music'… when Tassos saw it, he said: 'What is this?' [I replied… *it is the vandalism of music… This is how I perceived it. I received a good grade.*

ME: Your instructors were working as graphic designer in the professional terrain?

DN: *No… Gravallos was an engraver working at Aspioti-ELKA, as an art director. Katsoulidis was in the graphic arts field, and taught the graphic arts pretty well, I heard…*

ME: Which do you think was the reason of this clash between training and professional terrain? Do you think the teachers' qualifications were not from the graphic design context, or there was little time to go into detail?

DN: *No, they had the background knowledge. It was not that.* […]*…There was no depth… Also, although some of us were supported and pushed by our teachers in the market… I felt that sometimes they were not allowing us space to move beyond them, to become better than them. But this is how I felt, I may be wrong…*

ME: Was there any sort of a professional competition?

DN: *Maybe yes… because we would be the first 'professionals' in the job, or because we were starting to be so many… kids with so much knowledge. Our teachers were big names, well-known artists… they held all posts in the workplace…*

ME: What would you have changed at the School? What else would you like to have been tought?

DN: *the sharing of knowledge… to have instructors that will be willing to open their stock place* [apothiki] *with all their heart, and be ready to give everything. You may be knowledgeable in your field, but give only what there is at the entrance hall, but not the rest… I wish it wasn't like that…*

ME: If you were to go back to 1965, which design School would you choose?

DN: *Doxiadis Colleges. Among all, it was the most revolutionary/innovative. The school was the best at the time and there was a nice atmosphere. The teachers were treating students nicely, very politely…*

I also studied at Papachrysanthos Typesetting School around 1980-1982… It is one thing to design a maquette, and another to know how a maquette is being made…. I graduated from that School, and because not many colleagues knew about the production process, I was working both as a graphic designer and in the film separation.

I worked in agencies for thirteen years, and after that I opened my own studio… All went ok, until the computers appeared. It was difficult to work with this machine… It was chaos. From 100 commissions you get, the number declined to 45 in 1995. Mangkos, a film distribution company, brought the first computers in the market. All agencies went to Mangkos… They paid 30,000 drachmas per hour, and later 10,000 drachmas when more people joined in.

ME: What was the working environment in the market place?

DN: *Initially, when graphic designers started to work, they came up with the concept, the idea, which, albeit was not based on market research… on knowledge. Later, the copywriters had a word on the visual too. There was a battle between the two. And later with the account executives around 1975/6, and generally… the trafficking of the process… There was chaos. There were misconducts in the workplace. I am a freelancer since 1979… negotiation was always a problem…*

The account executive was asking: 'Why did you do it this way? Can you justify your choice?' And then the designer replied: 'Well, Giuguburgeman… -he was saying a random name- said that in his book…'. Then the account executive replied: 'Oh, all right then…'. But when I asked my colleague to tell me more about that name he replied: 'I don't know, I just told a name to convince him'. He was saying: 'This is the way I like it, it fits me, it's nice…'. In short, there was the personal aesthetic.

ME: What was the official name of the graphic designer at the time?

DN: *When we started our profession, we had to register at the Tax Office. Generally we were called* 'maketistes' [maquettistes]. *If you called yourself* grafistas, *they* [the tax officers] *were completely ignorant of the term, and this* [was happening] *in 1969… So, you identified yourself as* maquettistas. *Then they returned your tax form, and you saw* [that you were put down as] 'paketistas' [package-maker]… *You were puzzled, not knowing what to say. When they got back to you and asked you, 'what is this* 'maketistas'*?… 'Do you do maquettes, sign boards, … what is the thing you do?'. I replied, 'zografizo* [I paint]*'… and they replied, 'eh, then write down* 'kallitechnis' [artist]*!'. Since then and until today, I am registered as 'artist', don't ask me why…*

ME: What was the policy in copying some else's work in the workplace?

To copy a design from someone else was equal to crime. If you committed [design] *plagiarism you were 'finished'.*

ME: Did you teach in a design school?

DN: *I was invited by Vellios to work for AKTO* [an art and design school founded in 1971]. *I was concerned about whether the students were willing to learn… I was a little straightforward… I had some second thoughts… In order to teach, I will need to dedicate myself, to collect resources and new facts every day. To be prepared for all details, and this requires many hours… if I*

wanted to be dutiful with my responsibilities. And I said: 'I am sorry, I will not be able to accept your offer.'
Yannis Mavromatis, a schoolmate, teaches for many years... In around 1984/5, Efstasiadis also asked me to give some airbrush seminars, but this would be time consuming, and I refused again...

ME: What are your comments on the foundation of KATEE (technical education inclusive of the graphic arts) in 1977?

DN: *I was overwhelmed with the job... We were preoccupied with the job and we didn't have that much of contact with the education sector...*

ME: What was the connection between the private design schools and the public (state) Athens School of Fine Arts at the time?

DN: *Only talented illustrators entered the School of Fine Arts* [...] *In the private school, the not-so-good illustration was accepted, ... we didn't have the strict* [criteria]*... [it was the conception] that we need not be good illustrators, because we will become* grafistes.

ME: In your opinion, is there a subject in the history of graphic design in Greece that is worth investigating?

DN: *The personal fervour of individual people. The love and dedication some people showed for the job. Zannias for example...*

ME: Do you get in touch with your classmates? Do you know what they did after school?

DN: *We had a 30-year reunion with all my schoolmates. Elias, the gallerist, organised it at the Stratiotikou Sundesmou* [premises]*. We were all there, students, teachers, Katsoulidis, Vasiliadis, Gravvalos, Oikonomidou... The majority of my fellow students did not go into the sector of advertising. I mean they were doing graphic design but not in advertising agencies. Now that I think about... Half-half maybe... If I remember well, the majority in the class were girls, who seems to be preoccupied later more with painting... or they opened their own studio... The truth is that I didn't come across them in the advertising agencies that I worked in. Yannis Koutsouri, who worked as an assistant to the painter and our teacher Vassiliou, opened an animation studio and received many awards for this work. Later he became photographer for luxury publications, and now he is a painter.* _

Anakreon Kanavakis

Interview on 27 April 2006, Athens

ME: I got to know you through *Who's Who* publication for the graphic arts (1982). I saw your name listed there with your work. How did this come about?

AK: *It was by chance. I don't remember exaclty how it happened. I received a letter?... and that was it?*

ME: How did the editors of *Who's Who* find you?

AK: *There were some jobs I did that were published in Europe. But maybe not even from them... There was a calendar that got an award, and maybe they noted down my name.*

ME: Wasn't there a Union to connect you with the editors, or something like this?

AK: *No, it was by chance.*

ME: What was your design education?

AK: *To put things in order, I didn't study graphic design. I studied at Panteio University* [Athens], *and I ended up in the graphic design field from the 'back door' so to speak. Since I was 18 years old, I was working in newspapers making illustrations. At some point I decided that visual* [art] *interests me most, and I should not follow other things, so I got more serious in it. The result of this* [decision] *is that I worked in newspapers making illustrations, designing their layout... and slowly, this is how I entered the field.*

ME: Which do you considered as a 'school' in the beginning of your career?

AK: *My first school, it is kind of funny... I was responsible for the archive of* Embros *newspaper. What does this mean? Press* [entypa] *from all over the world arrived at the archive of this newspaper. So my big school in graphic design and generally in the visual arts was this. Amazing things came in* [the archive] *which were of no interest to anybody else.*

The newspaper was interested in politics, not in aesthetics, but for me the aesthetics was a major issue [...] *I saw in the foreign press advanced things, other things that here we could not do because that was the status quo. From this* [work experience]*, I followed up the layout of newspapers and magazines and advertising designed abroad.*

At some point I was asked to design my first newspaper layout. I got some experience through this [first job]*, and knew by then how to design pages in practice. But things were difficult at the time... there was the marble table where all typesetting was done... It wasn't anything great, BUT it was for me a big school because I slowly started making some* [design] *innovations... starting to seek solutions. I was observing advanced things in the foreign press. Things that we could not do over here because of established situations.... I saw that they used differently the titles and the text, and layout too... they had a different dynamic that for me was a great challenge to adapt to the Greek circumstances. I saw that letters currently used* [in the Greek press] *weren't nice. I designed some typefaces, inspired by the foreign ones... It was mainly the 'compact' letters that fit the titles in a newspaper.*

I worked for three newspapers: Embros, Ethnikos Kirikas, *and* Eleftheria, *and later on for* Ta Nea, *and* Eleftherotypia. *My design studio specialised in the layout of newspapers. I also forgot to mention* Mesimbrini *newspaper when* [Eleni] *Vlachou was there. I designed its layout from scratch. I also designed* Icones *magazine and after it closed down during the Junta, it was re-launched under Lambrias* [publisher]. *After that I designed Kathimerini* [newspaper]*, which still retains the layout I designed... in the big size design format and* [keeps] *the* [design] *rules I suggested.*

ME: From which foreign press were you influenced more?

AK: *I got influenced* [by foreign press] *in many different ways. One big chapter that preoccupied me was illustration. I was crazy with* The New Yorker, … [also] *with many Italian magazines, for instance,* La Domenica del Corriere [a weekly newspaper ran from 1899 to 1989], *which was a handmade press inclusive of stories and images, … it had an amazing* [visual] *impact… I started noting down some specific illustrators names.*

Of course, there were American and English magazines that had a value of their own, but I was more interested… got more influenced, let's say, by the Italian way of thinking in terms of design layout… And [I got influenced] *somewhat by the Germans. But this* [German press] *was conservative a little too much, but there were also some magazines that were more experimental.*

I would say that I was mostly interested not in the known and mass produced magazines, but in the experimental ones. They had some spirit. Also, some small circulated English ones with a very short life. French magazines also… I remember Réalité, *which was very well designed. But those magazines that superseded all others in terms of experimental design, were the Italians, mostly magazines for Art, which were rich and avant-garde in their solutions.*

I had the privilege all these magazines to pass through my hands. When I left the newspaper [Embros] *and I didn't have this privilege any more, I marked certain ones and I was looking for them, buying them, so I had a connection.*

Of course, American books were among the first to get hold of. The big edited volume of the Illustrators, *and many others, e.g.,* Graphis, Gebrauschgraphik. *In fact, some of my work was published in* Gebrauschgraphik.

So, this was the way… I was preoccupied with illustration and with graphic design, which [as a discipline] *covers a lot more things. In fact, cartooning was the little demon that got me into the graphic design field.*

ME: Were you involved with the Doxiadis Colleges?

AK: *I had already started working professionally well before Doxiadis* [Colleges were founded]. *At some point, they included my name in the list of the school's instructors, but I didn't go. Omiros School had started too.*

I worked on a programme of study … I made a proposal. I believed that this job was truly exciting for the students to live in practice, not in theory. Until then, [students] *did what they were told by their professors. I wanted to put them* [students] *inside things, and I made an arrangement with the newspapers and magazines* [publishers] *to create small experimental courses for the students. I made this proposal to the School* [Doxiadis]… *and all colleagues and professors there got excited with the idea, except from the 'businessman'. At the end, it didn't happen.*

Yes, I think that would have been very important [step] *in the mainstream graphic design education. Students would have had a direct contact with the job from the very first minute. There* [in printing shops, magazines, etc.] *they would be asked to design an eight-page layout for a magazine with specific contents, images... To design it there and then… Some of the newspapers were very positive about this idea, and they suggested to include into their publication two-three pages exclusively designed by students. This is what I wanted.*

ME: Did the idea flourish in the end?

AK: *No. In fact, it did develop in* Eleftherotypia *after the Junta. The idea was taken up, but not from me. There were a lot of discussions about it and many people wanted it. I was not in the mood for taking up any 'professorship' title* [kathigitiliki]. *Moreover, what I wanted to do was to have some very good professionals, namely Carabott and Katzourakis, to give some of their time to this* [initiative]. *Actually, this could have been realised.*

Well, to put it in other words, what I was suggesting, was basically a tumbling/backfall of the existing design curriculum… Students were entering the schools and, of course. learning things.

[But] *I wonder how many posters would a designer make in his/her lifetime? I think they were preoccupied with things that… whereas in real life there were so many other issues.*

ME: So, you think that the graphic design applications taught in design schools at the time were limited?

AK: *I thought that the programme* [course curriculum] *was poor for the graphic design students. For sure, there were some very good teachers. In Doxiadis and Vakalo schools, the teachers were the best, not exactly on the graphic design field however…*

I remember Dekoulakos got excited by my idea and wanted to implement it. The reason he resigned from the school was that the 'businessman' did not approve it.

Now, we are having this little talk, but back then, I had made a very serious study on the issue. Before I proposed it, I checked if this is manageable/applicable. I secured a 'yes' from advertising agencies, newspapers, magazines, printing shops, packaging industries.

[…]

There is a big chapter called 'letters', which for me were the base for everything else. At the same time I wrote articles on issues of graphic design, ten-twelve of them, … for the Greek lettering system [grammatologio]*… I also tried to raise awareness to the Ministry of Culture… In Greek schools calligraphy was taken out as a course. Chinese consider calligraphy second to philosophy. Calligraphy is for sure 'culture'. But in Greece we don't have this culture. We copied types with an awful manner… We didn't know that types are not single pieces, but millions, billions of combinations… we really didn't know. Everything here was done so clumsily.*

I knew that nothing would be achieved if there will be no state support. Therefore, I put some hopes in that the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education, as partners, will create a Centre for the Greek Script. I knew many knowledgeable people, Greek and foreign, who could be part of this [project]*. I submitted this proposal when I was president at the Union of Greek Graphic Designers. Unfortunately, I did this before the computers came in Greece…*

I think the disaster came a little after [the computer age]*. The family of typefaces started to be called 'fonts'* [grammatoseires]*. And from then on, anybody could take a letter and do whatever she/he wanted with it and name it with his/her name. And this has actually happened. The result was to have garbage of letters that nobody knows…*

What I considered as a key issue when I started as a graphic designer was [Greek] *typeface design. To have letters based on the Greek characters… we needed to raise some sort of critical thinking about this… As you see, a Greek text when printed has nothing to do with a foreign one. The Greek text is something entirely different.*

ME: What is the reason(s) that this idea [Centre for the Greek Script] didn't flourish?

AK: *Things were very poor back then. Nobody paid any attention. Those who should have cared, did not.*

Who designed Greek typefaces? Very, very few people from the Fine Arts School, engravers or emerging graphic designers. And still these were not designed from scratch. They copied from foreign typefaces. There are some few good ones [typefaces]*, but then the good ones that are still being used are foreign-based in the majority. Foreign designers worked on Greek letters. We didn't have a model, we didn't have some design base.*

[…]

In Greece, printing shops were the cultural centres before and a little after the War [WWII]*. In there you could find some very serious people. Typographers carried a big tradition, for instance Davias, the father Davias and grandfather of the present one. Books, literature, all ended up in a printing shop… printing shops, for some reason, adopted a certain aesthetic. They knew how to handle a text, a title, how to place the initial capital* [archigramma]*, the margins around a*

page… There were some rules… Printers followed those rules. And there were some traditional printing shops in Athens that did some sort of basic graphic design.

I lived my life in printing shops, and I knew people who could work beautifully on book design. They had the 'culture', they spoke foreign languages… Typographers were educated people.

So, the part of aesthetics in graphic design was the responsibility of the typographers back then. However, times changed. Offset came. Phototypesetting. Things started to change. Those printing shops could not survive anymore. The art of typography was an expensive art. To design a book in monotype was a big story, but with phototypesetting everything was done with the flickering of an eye. There remain very few [printing shops] nowadays.

There was another crime. Metal characters went missing too. There were some very nice types from 1900 to 1960-70 designed by Germans or some Greeks, few, very few Greeks. In any case, there was a variety of characters. Printing shops closed. Also, there was no state provision to keep some of them [metal types] just for archival purposes. Or a Centre to support the printing shops… Nothing was done, because the state had a cursory policy towards these things. I went through some tough times when I suggested a Centre for the Greek Script to be founded… Many opportunities were lost.

[…]

ME: Were you interested to teach in design schools?

AK: Teaching… it wasn't for me. For the simple reason that I don't have the patience that is required… But I could show exactly how I was designing.

Nevertheless, many people in my studio learned graphic design. I was more concerned with how to treat a title on the page, to place an image on a piece of paper, or to work on paper folding techniques. These for me were real challenges. In Greece, what we have known, we know it from abroad that is from countries that have a tradition in these things.

I believed in and adored printing shops, such as Aspioti-ELKA. There you could see all the artistic 'cream' of the country. From poets to writers, cartoonists and painters… Aspioti was looted.

Also, in this country we didn't realize that all things can be combined. For example, commerce, which is the lever for this sort of combination/collaboration, was never in work with anything else. We couldn't figure it out. Why? Because we are faciles [procheirologoi]. One does his job in one or another way [eventually]. And the state itself that should have cared was absent.

[…]

ME: What happened in the organisation of the discipline? Unions and Associations…

AK: Well, [graphic design] was not a well paid job… Moreover, it is difficult to organise the Greeks. I was the president of the Union for twelve years. I stopped [acting as the president] two years ago.

What we did? We gathered, ten people, and put our hands in our pockets to collect some money to print a catalogue or something, to write articles, to organise an exhibition. Graphic designers who declared themselves colleagues and who became members of this Union… they were supposed to pay a subscription fee. Eh, nobody paid!… There would have been a solution if the state helped to fund the Union. And we tried that too. What we managed was for a short period to secure some discount in the tax, which [the discount] was later cancelled.

The state ignored us. We submitted a proposal in the Ministry, and they were asking us: 'Who are you? Graphic designers [Grafistes]'? So, what do you do? You write?'. They didn't know anything. I tried to explain to them and bring awareness to the politicians by saying that 'without us you will not become member of the Parliament'… that we were behind their promotion, and at that point they understood a little.

But when the issue of copyright came to the level of the Parliament for the photographers, it wasn't the same for the graphic designers. Recommendation for this copyright law was passed by Koumantos. Of course, the law passed, but it excluded us. For us the law would have been a gospel… And ironically, it was a few years back that we have paid five million drachmas to this famous constitutionalist… but he didn't take it into consideration when he prepared the law for private property [for photography]. *We tried many things, we submitted papers… but we were entirely ignored. So, today, there is no copyright for graphic design in Greece, which is stupid because the European Law is still valid… At least, the country could have showed a little intelligence on the issue, but it didn't…*

ME: Institutions, Awards, Exhibitions?

AK: *… very few things. We announced also some competitions. Sadly, only 30 people showed an interest in the Union. These only showed up, the rest never appeared. They thought that the Union would find them a job. They subscribed and then they forgot about it. They were less interested to know what the Union is doing…*

But today, things have changed. Last year, [the meeting and exhibition] *at the Benaki Museum… the Catalogue shook some waters a little… Then the seminar about the Costing policy… people gathered for that. And then, one more for Packaging, which was full house. Yet, still…*

ME: Can we say that there was a common language, a common aesthetic in advertising, packaging, book covers, etc.?

AK: *Unfortunately, poster design in Greece, except from some cases, was not popular first and foremost among the clients so that an interest to emerge. And also, there was no real concern and critical thinking by the graphic designers themselves either. Literally, very few things, only those colleagues who had connections with the film centre and were commissioned on a regular basis, dug into the issue more seriously and started doing nice things.*

ME: When it come to tourism promotion?

AK: *Let's not talk about tourism promotion. It was exclusively dependent on photographs of some few good photographers* [referring to the post 1967 era]. *Of course, in the area of tourism promotion there are other things going on. For instance, there were the awards. Many GTO posters received an award.*

[…]

ME: Packaging design?

AK: *I wouldn't say that there is an original aesthetic for each application separately. At times, there was a good graphic designer who did a good job. And then, many others imitated his work because it was a success.*

But I repeat that commerce itself didn't realize the power of graphic design. In fact, today [the power] *is completely forgotten. When we talk about commerce, we talk basically about advertising and packaging. This is a field that in order to attract creativity and inspiration it needs to roll smoothly. Well, this never happened.*

When I started this job, and I was proud to say that I was a graphic designer, if I knew how things would develop, I would have never started. It is big disappointment. We discuss these with other colleagues too… it's a pity.

There were people with intuition, style and strength … There was the one and only [Yannis] *Svoronos. When he died I proposed the local municipality to name a street after him. And they were asking me: 'Who was Svoronos?'. They treated me like Karagiozis that I proposed this.*

[…]

All these were personal attempts. Personal initiative does not create a base for tradition, this fundamental thing that you build upon it […] *This is not happening here. And it is a*

characteristic of the country because other smaller countries have achieved far more things. In Denmark, for example, design there is at a pedestal… Here no matter how much you will talk about design, you will be doing the talking and the hearing youself…

ME: What is your opinion on the issue of terminology?

AK: *I, and some other colleagues wanted to attempt an understanding of some* [foreign] *terms, and to see if we can hellenicise them. It is not possible… Certainly,* grafistas [graphic designer] *or* grafistis *as termed by* [Leonidas] *Christakis, was originally a Greek word that was absorbed in Latin and became 'grafiarius', the person with the stylus. We added the ending* -istas, *which is entirely foreign, and if you think about it, it's a joke. … If we cannot change the term* grafistas *to* sxediastis [designer]… *For an audience that got accustomed to* [the term] grafistas, *it would have been very difficult to introduce another term… even the term* sxediastis [designer] *would be too general. There was no serious thinking on the matter. This was our mistake.*

ME: There were some articles published in magazines and newspapers in the mid-1960s that referred to the professional as *grafistas…*

AK: *There was the term* 'maquettistas', *and then it became* 'grafistas'. *Anyway, both of them are foreign. It doesn't matter from where the term comes from,* […] *what matters is to be consistent when using them, and to be clearly understood what is what. Graphic design terminology is not that big anyway, maybe 200-300-500 words… these words should have been in the conscience among the practitioners and among the audience, so that it* [audience] *would also know what is happening. Eh, this didn't happen. The audience was not trained.*

Some years back, at the Union we wanted to publish a magazine, which would not be for us, to discuss things amongst ourselves, but to be of interest to a broader audience. So that the audience can get in the circle… We couldn't dream of a magazine like Fakinos's one: +Design.

What we were thinking was not a special audience, but to have a broader circulation, to address all people. In this [magazine] *we would insert illustration for novels, critical thinking about illustration… ideas and concerns about the magazine itself, the advertisements that will be there would be inserted in such a way to show our concerns and issues… We were discussing this with Leonidas Christakis, but he had more anarchic views.* […]

It would have been a great magazine that would educate the audience. This was an idea that we never managed to implement. The main reason was that we didn't have the finances, and secondly, we needed to sacrifice our personal [life?] *to devote to this.*

I didn't have any obstacle. It was my idea anyway. I showed this [idea] *to some people, I had done the study for this magazine, the contents, and I had proposed it to several newspapers, publishers, etc.* [Eleni] *Vlachou showed an interest during the post-Junta era. She liked it a lot. Vlachou was a truly inspirational woman and open minded individual. When I discussed this idea with her she told me: '… let's see how finances will go…' -she had indeed some serious financial difficulties at the time- … 'but I think it is a wonderful idea. I'll inform others too.'*

It would have been very nice if this would be implemented. Its starting point would be the critical thinking behind design and illustration, but in reality it would offer contents that would interest all. And of course the publisher should have been determined to publish it in a large scale.

ME: What was the situation with other periodicals at the time? For example: *Zygos, Chroniko*?

AK: Zygos *was out before… and concerned mostly painting and sculpture, but not* [graphic design] *… also, there was* Diagonios *in Thessaloniki, …* Tetarto… *but it wasn't purely about art… There was no journal for the Graphic Arts.*

ME: What is your advise for research? Is there anything worth investigating in the history of the profession?

AK: *Publications that Tassos edited with illustrations of small tirage. Maybe Gravvalos know about this issue. These* [publications] *never became a professional challenge. Because nobody was reading them, very few graphic designers knew about them. Only on the area of practice…*

the work of Vakirtzis, Carolos Cizek [Tsizek]*, Carabott, Katzourakis, Arvanitis in poster design. Also, exceptional works were done by photographers, who I don't separate from us. Many of whom have a great eye on things…*

I would not comment on the Greek stamps… because I find them awful. It was not a point of critical thinking either… even Ghana has better stamps.

Good job has been done for LP covers. Very nice photography by Delapollas. Delapollas is an exceptional case in terms of aesthetic. He still continues making photography. I will not be mentioning any other photographers who worked for advertising because they executed something they were told. There were many good photographers, but nothing unique… photographers that were relevant to design I mean, there were very few. Christos Christodoulidis was a very good photographer but he quit everything and founded a publishing company. He published a great magazine, Gaiorama*, which closed down but competed the National Geographic. A marvelous magazine for the Greek standards. Original work… the result in design terms was exceptional.*

[…]

I see some young people do something good now, but all will be assessed in time. One is not evaluated as a personality for an amazing thing he did once in the past. Especially in graphic design, because we are transformable and influenced by the subject we are working with, it is very difficult to pass a personality [a personal style]*. This is very difficult. If you work exclusively on poster design and you have the authority to do what you like, you can pass a personality. But this is not happening, it is very difficult. Even I, who have done many LP covers can consider only a few that represent me accurately.*

Instead, in a serious of covers that I did for an American company in New York, they were exactly what I wanted to be. People [there] *left me the space to do what I wanted and however I wanted it. Here, they* [the clients] *don't understand this simple thing. You were dealing with the producer* [the music producer]*, who thinks he knows what he was selling and he wants for the cover something very specific. You are also dealing with the composer or the singer himself, who is a different story altogether. They were asking me: 'I want you to do this, and this…' or, 'I want something like that…'. And when this starts, you cannot present a personality, to have a style in your work… an issue that is commonsense abroad. They* [the clients] *need to come to me because I have a particular style, and I will do what I think is good. If you want, you can come to me, or you are free to go to someone else… but this is not how things are done here… It is very difficult to pass this* [sort of mentality]*.*

ME: Do you have an archive of your work?

AK: I need to gather things together. I don't have them organised, not everything at least. In the meanwhile, there was another sort of disaster, beyond the state one. The passing of time and natural disaster… Our storage was flooded twenty years ago and destroyed the work. If there is anything it would be in bits and pieces. _

Kimon A. Eliopoulos

Interview on 30 June 2006, Athens

ME: What were the circumstances in the field of graphic design and advertising in the 1950s and 1960s?

KE: *'Your death is my life' saying is applied to advertising world as much as in commerce. There were no 'budgets', no briefs... they* [the clients] *asked you to 'simply make a maquette'. The organised work was done from the mid-1960s onwards and 1970s.*

To give you an idea: 'Alektor' and 'Mynitor', the two 'big' advertising agencies [in Athens] *occupied three little office rooms in a building until the 1960s; two by Mynitor and one by Alektor. I worked for Alektor as freelancer, not as an employee. There was also Aloneftis and his daughter working there…*

ME: What was the relation between graphic designers and advertisers?
[Note: by 'advertisers' KE refers to the owners of the advertising agencies, and not in the sense of the American 'advertising men']

KE: *'Bring a maquette'. There were one-off commissions. No professional commitment. No copyrights. No insurance. Nothing.*

ME: What was the role of the Unions? Were there any such bodies at the time in the fisrt place?

KE: *There were indeed many efforts towards* [the formation of a Union]. *The first attempt was in the mid-1950s, the 'Union of Painters working in Advertising'. It was set up with great enthusiasm, but we were confused, there was no tradition anyway.*

The process of getting hold of foreign books and periodicals was cumbersome, and took up to two or three months. Moreover, special permission was needed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to get out ten dollars… the sum of money allowed to be spent abroad was very limited. How do you expect people to get informed?

Moreover, most of the people working in this job were craftsmen [mastoroi]. *The educated ones were very few… I mean those who could speak a foreign language. Most of us didn't speak any… Personally, I didn't have a proper instruction in English… my English is entirely empirical. All in all, the conditions were totally different... the surrounding atmosphere… the bosses' mentality. In general, these patterns* [associations/unions] *in countries like Greece, the developing ones…* [weren't successful].

ME: So, the time was not mature enough for organising the profession?

KE: *The field was disorganised in general. Moreover, the connection between* [people and] *things was more emotional, and not like* [today]… *There was also the mentality of the 'till'* [bezachtas]… *that is, 'to give money for this sort of jobs?, that is, the services???'. The term 'service supply' didn't exist. The advertising agents* [diafimistikoi praktores], *whom they are called now 'account executives' or 'account supervisors', they were called salesmen/bagmen/commercial travellers* [plasie]. *They received a small payment from the agency. Significant work was done for cinema and theatre promotion, packaging… There were some people who were the exceptions, such as Forawer.*

ME: Was there any space for personal style?

KE: *At the time, everybody had a personal style. It may have been that the name of DITS, Mynitor, …* [advertising agencies] *was included at the bottom of an advert, but behind the name of the advertising agency it was Kastanakis, Eliopoulos, Forawer, Chatzis… The style was*

recognisable because our work was done by hand. Now the design is with no identity. Computers can do the same things, right? Or am I wrong?

In Roman times, Terentius once said that 'we live as we can, and not as we want'… these things are not little talk… at the time [1950s] *the needs were tremendous. Of course, some jiggery-pokery was going on… Many people, who were well off were destroyed, and other people have been created from nothing… many stepped on dead people, of course in the broad sense of the sense. You cannot compare the times.*

Today there is another kind of difficulty. This financial slavery is the worst form of slavery, because it is the sneakiest one.

Not only in our job but in general, in Athens you couldn't join a bourgeois home if your background was blurry. The black marketeers [during the Second World War], *was a special class that became rich through any means, and their children, who could educated them, are today's ruling class. There are always fifty-sixty families that rule everything… the 'right' by inheritance. You can see this in politics. What kind of democracy do we have? George Papandreou, Karamanlis, Mitsotakis, Varvitsiotis… I call this 'hereditary democracy'. It's one of a kind around the world.*

ME: How many years did the 'Union of Painters working in Advertising' last?

KE: *It didn't last long, not even until the end of the 1950s. It just blew out. There was no interest. There were different circumstances that things like that existed in England… To be able to claim social rights and have financial demands, you have to be able to exert pressure. No employer would give you money because he is generous. This is nonsense. What is happening today in world level is the capital takes back what workers won in the past…*

… If the bankers, the PPC, etc., go on strike the social impact would be tremendous. Unlike bakers, taxi drivers and lawyers, who if they go on strike people will not have bread to eat, there will be traffic problems, there will be chaos, etc., a strike by all painters, all sculptors, all graphic designers would have no real impact […]. *Who would care?*

Trade unionism lacked any political power that could bring up changes. Nevertheless, the union trade activities, strikes and syndicalism easily stigmatised individuals with communism. Here a worker is [perceived to be] *a good employee if he is a snitch to the boss, if he demands more that we* [employers] *want to give them, he is a communist… these things are common sense… You can't do much.* [We] *couldn't exert pressure… painters could only… Let's say, Eliopoulos could make nice packaging, Vakirtzis* [could make] *nice decors in cinema theatres… or Stefanos Almaliotis* [did that]…

The era was very loose. And then, there is another thing that characterises Greeks [Romios]: *when s/he gets in* [a job, and secures a place] *s/he expects others to solve all of his/her problems, s/he does nothing. Moreover, we* [the Greeks] *know better the job of someone else than himself/herself… and that we need to get self-promoted, and we don't care about the rest.*

In addition, when someone got a big job somewhere, he forgot [all the things related to the organisation of the professions]… *he had no time to spare…* [And I ask you] *isn't your social standing and professional reclamation/exercise/employment a preoccupation for you?*

Today, the new generation [of graphic designers]… *they try to do something. Back then, you asked them to do something, and they were uninterested. Moreover, there was confusion. In these Unions, many people* [from all sections of the profession] *started to join in: employees of advertising agencies, owners of advertising agencies, freelancers, etc. Eh, all these people don't have the same interests! In fact, they have clashing interests many times. That is, would Zannias care about raising the salaries of painters, who are his employees? Zannias had a great talent… now talent is not important any more… what matters is the skills of ascending…*

ME: After this attempt to organise the profession, what happened next?

KE: *After the first attempt, there was a second* [Union of Graphic Designers], *and a third one* [Creative Circle]. *In the first, I was consultant, in the second, I was the vice-president, and in the third, I was also the vice-president with Horovic. In fact, in the Creative Circle we were all*

equal. After this, at the Association of Graphic designers [1977]*, they started the idiotic aspect of syndicalism.*

This generation is more active. They make moves… they have some experience too. Today, the generation is more practical. They cannot be compared with the previous one…

ME: Who were the members of the second attempt?

KE: *In our times, we were mostly painters, painters and designers* [schediastes]… *architects, or kids with talent or those who were apprentices… the 'Renaissance' mentality of apprenticeship of two-three kids in a printing shop… Vakirtzis, and I was Almaliotis' apprentice for ten years before he entered the School of Fine Arts. Yorgos Kouzounis, with his brother, Kostas, was an empirical affichiste and made decors for the cinema Titania… This is the way we learnt then. Kousentos learnt the job from Theologidis, who was brought by Skylitis from Rumania to work in Gkreka. This is where he* [Kousentos] *was taught the job.*

ME: It seems that to form a professional body was not a priority among the practitioners?

KE: *When you worked with your hands, the job consumed a lot of time. Back then the execution* [of the design] *took up most of the time. Then payment was little, … these things* [organising the profession] *were a luxury. Only now and then there were some meetings, but…*

There were active people, namely Leonidas Christakis. To give you an example: We were holding a board meeting in the 1960s at the Lycabettus Hotel on Valaoritou Street … Katzourakis, Carabott, Vakirtzis, Kostas Kalogirou, me… We were more or less ten-twenty people. The next day Leonidas already prepared a news press, which was sent to us and distributed to all newspapers… what ballyhoo! He [L.Christakis] *did the distribution too…*

Well, he had some other weakness too. With whatever he was preoccupied and started to take shape and make a success he cancelled its continuation, […] *this was Christakis' characteristic. He was passionate but inconsecutive. But this is another story.*

L.Christakis had high public relation skills. Some people have this talent. He had it in his blood. He could speak to the President of Democracy and any passer-by with the same flair and firmness. I could never do that. It's not me. I can remember numbers, images, … what we call photographic memory, which you develop through exercise in the profession…

ME: In your opinion, what is the heritage you left for the next generation?

KE: *All these efforts, didn't lead to somewhere… the specific periods of time under the particular circumstances… Besides your capabilities and efforts…* [what is important] *is how much impact you have in other people. Collectivity generally helps the group/total. I was shouting… I left for two-three months… we forgot…. We had the right to renew the…*
What happens today, this is the continuation… It didn't stopped. Unconsciously, underground, it worked this thing.

ME: About the status of the profession, and its recognition by the state: Did you get any answers for your requests to the state at the time?

KE: *Did you get any answer from the Greek civil service? Just try and you will see. Two years ago I was a member in a committee about the Olympic Games… and that time I met L.* [name given] *and asked if the National Gallery would be interested to have a couple of Op Art prints I did in the past. The reply was: 'Please, make an application, and we will see…'*

ME: Was there any periodical exclusively on graphic design?

KE: *Some times* Zygos *published some articles…*

ME: Was there a school to train graphic designers…?

KE: *There was no school until the 1960s. A big school I mean… Didn't you listen to my talk at Hilton Hotel about the 'Courts in Athens'… _*

Manolis Vithynos (Μανώλης Βιθυνός)

Interview on 5 December 2006, Athens

[…]

ΜΒ: *Η Γραφιστική τότε από το 1958 ως το 1978, πρέπει να αναγνωρίσω ότι αναφέρεται και στο σχέδιο στον τοίχο… διαφημίσεις σε τοίχους. Στους δρόμους υπήρχαν μαντρότοιχοι. Στους ασπρισμένους μαντρότοιχους διαφήμιζαν με γράμματα, αλλά και με εικόνες πολλές φορές. Αυτή ήταν μια αυθεντική γραφιστική… Ήταν με το χέρι φτιαγμένα σχέδια. Αλλά τότε χρησιμοποιούσαν τα stencils, δηλαδή, θυμάμαι διαφημίσεις της 'Πίτσος', αυτών των εταιρειών που πρώτα πουλούσαν τις λευκές συσκευές, τις καινούριες, τις ηλεκτρικές… η ΙΖΟΛΑ, υπήρχε ένα μοντέλο σε ΙΖΟΛΑ αυτό το κουβαλούσαν από τοίχο σε τοίχο και το βάφανε, και έβγαινε η διαφήμιση της ΙΖΟΛΑ. Αυτά σε τοίχους, κι αν δεν ήταν άσπροι τους άσπριζαν τα συνεργεία για να υπάρχει ένα φόντο που να δεχόταν τα γράμματα… μπλέ, κόκκινα, μαύρα. Συνήθως το πιο εντυπωσιακό, το πιο δυνατό ήταν το μαύρο περισσότερο από το κόκκινο… Το μαύρο στο λευκό ήταν η τέλεια αντίθεση…*

ΜΕ: Πώς αποφασίσατε να γράψετε το βιβλίο σας (1974);

ΜΒ: *Εγώ ενδιαφέρθηκα για τις Γραφικές Τέχνες [ΓΤ] γιατί γεννήθηκα σε τυπογραφείο. Ο πατέρας μου είχε τυπογραφείο. Έχασα πολύ νωρίς την μάνα μου, κι έτσι από μικρός σαν παιδική χαρά είχα τον χώρο του τυπογραφείου. Κι έτσι από πολύ μικρός είμαι συνηθισμένος με τα τυπωμένα χαρτιά και τις διαφημίσεις από τη δεκαετία ακόμη του '40. Θυμάμαι εκτυπώσεις στο τυπογραφείο του πατέρα μου από τη δεκαετία του '40. […]*

… έχοντας αυτήν την παρακαταθήκη πίσω μου έδωσα εξετάσεις ως εξωτερικός φοιτητής στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών, στο εργαστήριο Τυπογραφίας και της Τέχνης του Βιβλίου. Τότε δέχονταν μερικούς που δηλώνανε ειδίκευση στην χαρακτική κυρίως, και την χαρακτική την θεωρούσαν συναφή προς την τυπογραφία και την τέχνη του βιβλίου, με υπεύθυνο τον καθηγητή Κώστα Γραμματόπουλο, τον πολύ καλό έλληνα ζωγράφο, κυρίως χαράκτη. Έχει εικονογραφήσει παιδικά βιβλία, αλφαβητάριο…

ΜΕ: … στην σελίδα 132 του βιβλίου σας (1974), αναφέρεστε στα 'Φροντιστήρια των Καλών Τεχνών'…

ΜΒ: *Άλλο ήταν της Διακοσμητικής, και άλλο της Τυπογραφίας και της Τέχνης του Βιβλίου… εκεί ήταν ο βοηθός, ο…. ένας απο τους τελευταίους Πρυτάνεις… […] Δεν ξέρω αν υπάρχει ακόμα… όταν έφυγε ο Γραμματόπουλος είχε πάει ένας άλλος…*

Όχι απο το 1958… το 1963 ή το 1962… εκείνα τα χρόνια… Όταν πήγα εγώ το 1963, η πρώτη μου δουλειά ήταν η τακτοποίηση των τυπογραφικών στοιχειων… με γραπτές εξετάσεις… αλλά υποβάλλαμε και φάκελο… Ειχαμε δώσει καμιά διακοσιάρια και πήραν μόνο δύο.

Δεν θυμάμαι τον δεύτερο… εννοείται ότι εγώ δεν τελείωσα αυτό το εργαστήριο γιατί συνέχισα τις σπουδές μου στην Αρχιτεκτονική Θεσσαλονίκης, στην Πολυτεχνική Σχολή Θεσσαλονίκης… στο διάστημα [αυτό] συνέχιζα να εργάζομαι στην Θεσσαλονίκη ως τυπογράφος γιατί δεν είχα οικογενειακή υποστήριξη.

ΜΕ: Γιατί από την Τυπογραφία περάσατε στην Αρχιτεκτονική;

ΜΒ: *Πολύ καλό ερώτημα. Πρώτον, γιατί πίστευα ότι η Τυπογραφία [Τ] δεν θα μου εξαντλούσε τις δημιουργικές μου δυνατότητες, όσο πίστευα… γιατί η Τ τότε ήταν εκτελεστική δουλειά, δεν είχε σχεδιασμό, δεν είχε δημιουργικότητα όπως πίστευα… όπως σε μέγιστο βαθμό έχει η Αρχιτεκτονική. Τότε ακόμα τα εντυπα, τα τυπογραφικά, ήταν συνθέσεις του πατέρα μου του τυπογράφου. Ο πατέρας μου δεν είχε καμία σχέση ούτε με το σχέδιο ούτε με την ζωγραφική, αλλά μπορούσε να συνθέσει έντυπα. Δηλαδή επέλεγε τυπογραφικές σειρές, γράμματα, οικογένειες, μεγέθη, είδη χαρτιών, και τα λοιπά, με την εμπειρία του. Ήταν μάστορας-τυπογράφος… το βιβλίο μου που του το αφιέρωσα, αυτός μου έμαθε μαστορικά την Τυπογραφία, δηλαδή τι σημαίνει ο τίτλος, γιατί ο τίτλος πρέπει να έχει σχέση με το κείμενο, γιατί η οικογένεια πρέπει να είναι συναφής, τι σημαίνει να είναι τα μεγάλα και τα μικρά γράμματα της ίδιας οικογένειας, και πώς*

προκαλείται η αρμονία στο έντυπο. Αυτά ως μάστορας μου τα έμαθε, κι έτσι ξεκίνησα εγώ… δεν είχε μακέτες για τα έντυπά του… Γιάννης Βιθυνός… Το τυπογραφείο ήταν στην Νίκαια.

ME: <u>Την δεκαετία του '70 αποφασίζετε να γράψετε το βιβλίο σας…</u>

MB: *Εγω μάζευα στοιχεία, και είχα στη σκέψη για μια Σχολή που έπρεπε να γίνει. Τότε δούλευα στο Υπουργείο Δημοσίων Έργων γιατί έπρεπε να ζήσω, δεν είχα άλλο τρόπο να ζήσω, έπρεπε να δουλέψω… δούλευα στην Χαλκιδική, στις ελεύθερες ώρες, να συγκεντρωσω όσα μπορούσα κείμενα για τις ΓΤ και κυρίως για την Τ. Μία ενδιαφέρουσα παρατήρηση θα ήταν να σας πω, την αλλαγή της έννοιας της Τ με τις ΓΤ. Αισθανόμουν τυπογράφος. Και αισθάνομαι ότι η Τ ειναι η μεγίστη τέχνη αυτή που κληρονομήσαμε. Η ευρύτερη έννοια των ΓΤ άρχισε να χρησιμοποιείται στην Ελλάδα επειδή κολάκευε, δηλαδή ο τυπογράφοι άρχισαν να αλλάζουν τα τυπογραφεία και να τα κανουν ΓΤ. Αλλά οι ΓΤ δεν είναι 'τυπογραφεία', οι ΓΤ μπορεί να μην είναι καν 'τυπογραφεία'… είναι 'τυπογραφία' με την έννοια ότι γράφουμε τύπους, δηλαδή με τυπικά γράμματα, με αυτην την έννοια είναι τυπο-γραφή, τυπογραφία, αλλά τυπογραφεία, με 'ει' δηλαδή, οι χώροι, δεν ήταν, γιατί περιοριζόνταν στο να τυπώνουν έντυπα που δεν χρησιμοποιούσαν καν μακέτα.*

Γι' αυτό εγώ πρότεινα τον όρο γραφιστική ως την τέχνη των προτύπων των εντύπων. Είναι ο πιο σύντομος όρος που μπορώ να σας δώσω. Η τέχνη των προτύπων των εντύπων. Έτσι ξεκίνησα την γραφιστική. Βέβαια τώρα τα πρότυπα των εντύπων είναι και πρότυπα για οθόνες, οπότε η γραφιστική είναι η τέχνη των προτύπων που τυπώνονται ή δείχνονται ή εικονίζονται σε οθόνες.

ME: <u>Σχετικά με τη λέξη 'τέχνη'…</u>

MB: *Τέχνη εννοώ το να έχεις απαιτήσεις Καλής Τέχνης, Καλλιτεχνίας. Τέχνης με κεφαλαίο.*

[…]

… ή η διαμόρφωση των προτύπων των εντύπων με τον γαλλικο όρο μακέτα. Αυτό μπορούσε να μην έχει ενδιαφέρον καλλιτεχνικό, ή να έχει. Εγώ επεδίωκα πάντα να μιλήσω για τις ΓΤ, για την γραφιστική, των οποίων τα έργα θα έχουν ενδιαφέρον από την μεριά της Τέχνης με Τ κεφαλαίο. Γιατί πιστεύω αν αυτό επιτυγχάνεται, τότε η τέχνη αυτή γίνεται πολύτιμη για την κοινωνία, οι ΓΤ γίνονται πολύτιμες για την κοινωνία, συντελούν στον πολιτισμό της, στο μεγάλωμα του πολιτισμού των κοινωνιών όπου αναφέρεται.

ME: <u>Υπήρχαν άλλες μελέτες για την Γραφιστική την εποχή του '70…</u>

MB: *Θα σας πω, εγωιστικά ίσως, αλλά έτσι με πληροφορήσανε και κολακεύομαι να το πιστεύω. Το βιβλίο μου άνοιξε ράφι στην Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη. Βιβλίο με τον τίτλο ΓΤ στην Ελλάδα δεν υπήρχε πριν από την έκδοση του δικού μου βιβλίου του 1974. Υπήρξε έναν βιβλίο του Σακελαρίου, ενα βιβλίο που αφορούσε τη γραφιστική και αναφεροταν κυρίως στο σχεδιο των ΓΤ. Εγώ δεν αναφερόμουν μόνο στο σχέδιο στις ΓΤ. ΓΤ θεωρώ και το έντυπο και το πρότυπο, και τη γραφιστική και την τεχνολογία. Είμαι ο δημιουργός του Τμήματος [Γραφιστικής] με τις προτάσεις μου και τις αποδοχές από το Υπουργείο. Της Σχολής ΓΤ, της μοναδικής Σχολής στην Ελλάδα σε ανώτερο και τώρα πια σε ανώτατο επίπεδο. Η ίδρυση του τμήματος γραφιστικής ακολούθησε το τμημα τεχνολογίας ΓΤ. Υπάρχουν και τα δύο τώρα, το ένα ήταν οι εφαρμοσμένες στο έντυπο, στο βιβλίο, στην αφίσα, τέχνες… Και ο στόχος ήταν να βγαίνουν άνθρωποι που θα ειδικεύονταν στην τεχνολογία των ΓΤ, δηλαδή στην παραγωγή των εντύπων γενικά. Αυτό που πρότεινα εγώ ήταν ότι δεν μπορούσε αυτό να έχει νόημα για μια κοινωνία που αναπτύσσεται, και να προσφέρει όσο μπορεί στον πολιτισμό… Θα ήταν η γραφιστική που θα έκανε το έντυπο όσο γίνεται υψηλότερης ποιότητας, δηλαδή θα το έκανε έντυπο τέχνης, … τέχνης όχι πάντα στο 100, αλλά και 5 να ήταν, θα ήταν σπουδαίο… και κάποια θα έφταναν την κορυφή. Και έχουμε έντυπα που έφτασαν την κορυφή. Ας πούμε οι αφίσες του ΕΟΤ, ήταν έντυπα κορυφαία με καλλιτέχνες σπουδαίους που αΣχολήθηκαν με τα πρότυπα των αφισών, δηλαδή κάνανε γραφιστική για να γίνουν έντυπα. Η λέξη γραφιστική δεν υπήρχε αλλά λέγανε 'ζωγραφίζω την μακέτα για να γίνει αφίσα'. Εγω το λεω κάνανε γραφιστική για την αφίσα, … την γραφιστική του εντύπου της αφίσας.*

ME: <u>Εκτός του βιβλίου του Σακελαρίου… δεν υπήρχε κάτι άλλο;</u>

MB: *Ελπίζω να μην κάνω λάθος στο όνομα…*

…Τα αντίτυπα [του βιβλίου του 1974] τα πλήρωσα. Μη έχοντας λεφτά το έκανα. Είναι δαχτυλογραφημένες σελίδες… Το μόνο καλό ήταν ότι είχα δώσει 10-15 αντίτυπα στον

Ελευθερουδάκη [βιβλιοπωλείο] *και εξαντλήθηκε σε μια εβδομάδα. Μου ξαναζήτησαν, τους πήγα ακόμα 10… γιατί άρχισα να το δίνω στους φοιτητές μου, και δεν είχα μετά. Αλλά ούτε πήγα να πάρω χρήματα, μου χρωστάει ακόμα ο Ελευθερουδάκης…*

…για να τα πουλήσω για να γίνουν γνωστά… μία από τις μεγαλές μου ικανοποιήσεις ήταν ότι δέχτηκαν μια δημόσια, τότε το 1974, παρουσίαση, …υπάρχει ένα περιοδικό, ο Ζυγός. Εδώ έγινε μία από τις πρώτες παρουσιάσεις του βιβλίου μου με πάρα πολύ κολακευτικά λόγια…

…να, κι αυτό [το βιβλίο] *'Από τον Γκούτεμβεργκ… στην Ηλεκτρονική Τυπογραφία' του Καρυκόπουλου… Αλλά δεν μιλάει για γραφιστική. Αυτός έγινε καθηγητής μου μετά. Αυτή ήταν η πρώτη παρουσίαση του βιβλίου μου το 1974 το τεύχος Σεπτεμβρίου-Δεκεμβρίου στον Ζυγό. Αυτό για μένα ήταν δικαίωση. Η κα. Βακαλό στην 'έννοια των μορφών' δεν μιλάει για ΓΤ γενικά, μιλάει για 'τέχνη'. Αλλά ομολογώ όταν το διάβασα δεν με σταμάτησε αυτό το βιβλίο, ίσως πρέπει να το ξαναδώ.*

ΜΕ: Άλλοι συγγγραφείς;

ΜΒ: Εγώ πιστεύω ότι ο Ζυγός έγραφε… δεν τους ενδιέφερε η μορφή αλλά η ρήση, τα γράμματα, δεν τους αποσχολούσε η μορφή αλλά τι έγραφε… έχουν κυκλοφορήσει κάποια βιβλία με τις διαφημίσεις του Εικοστού αιώνα, του Μαρτζούκου… Κάποιες από αυτές τις διαφημίσεις έχουν πάει και στους τοίχους, φοβάμαι ότι πρέπει να δείτε και αυτό… Γιατί είναι γραφή στους τοίχους… σε παλιές ταινίες ελληνικές που δείχνουν δρόμους, εκεί υπάρχουν, και ειναι stencils, είναι πολλαπλές γραφές…

ΜΕ: Στο βιβλίο σας αναφέρετε κάποια ονόματα που είχαν εισηγηθεί για το Τμήμα Πολιτιστικών Δραστηριοτήτων του Σχεδίου Μακροχρόνιου Αναπτύξεως της Ελλάδας, π.χ. Μπαχαριάν, Φραντζεσκάκης, Μόραλης, Παπαδάκης, Μυταράς…

ΜΒ: Ο Παπαδάκης ήταν διάδοχος του Γραμματόπουλου, χαράκτης ο κος Παπαδάκης, χαράκτης και ζωγράφος… Σταθείτε, ο κος …. ο Μυταράς είναι ζωγράφος, δεν έκανε χαρακτική, ο Μόραλης είναι ο γνωστός ζωγράφος, ο οποίος όμως έχει δώσει και θέματά του να γίνουν μακέτες. Από εκεί είναι η μεγάλη διαφορά στην αντίληψη και η διάκριση αν θέλετε, ότι κάνανε και ΓΤ και γραφιστική οι ζωγράφοι. Ήταν αντικείμενο των ζωγράφων και των μαστόρων, όπως ο πατέρας μου. Δηλαδή, μεταξύ του μάστορα-τυπογράφου που μπορούσε να συνθέσει ένα έντυπο χωρίς την βοήθεια σχεδιαστή ειδικού, γραφιστή που το λέμε σήμερα… τον όρο 'γραφιστή' που προτείνω με την γραφιστική που δεν πέρασε παντού, αλλά κάποια φορά το ακούω, και χαίρομαι που το ακούω. Δηλαδή σε διάκριση του 'γραφίστας', ο γραφίστας είναι αντιδάνειο από τα γαλλικά, όπως ο πιανίστας…. οι Γάλλοι πήραν την 'γραφή' στη γλώσσα τους και το κάνανε grafiste … γιατί η κατάληξη σημαίνει την ειδικότητα του τεχνίτη, και εμείς πήραμε ολόκληρο το grafiste και το κάναμε 'γραφίστας', ενώ πρέπει να πάρουμε την γραφή και να κάνουμε την ελληνική… 'λογιστής'… και να το κάνουμε 'γραφιστής', η κατάληξη είναι -ιστής, δεν υπάρχει –ιστας στην ελληνική γλώσσα... κι έτσι πρότεινα το γραφιστής, αλλά δεν περνάει εύκολα, γιατί έχει ήδη ριζώσει ο 'γραφίστας'…

ΜΕ: Ανάμεσα στους μάστορες και στους ζωγράφους έπρεπε να υπάρξει ενας ενδιάμεσος κρίκος…

ΜΒ: Έτσι, έτσι, έτσι,… Όχι έπρεπε να υπάρξει, δημιουργήθηκε … με δυσκολίες στην Ελλάδα. Τότε που διάβαζα και μελετούσα, στις περισσότερες χώρες του κόσμου, ακόμα και στην Αμερική, υπήρχαν εμπειρότεχνες που έκαναν γραφιστική […] *εκτός από τα μεγάλα ονόματα… άρα δεν θα ζητούσαμε ανθρώπους που θα βγαίναν από ένα ορισμένο σχολείο. Αλλά εγώ πίστευα ότι ένα συγκεκριμενο σχολείο μπορεί να βοηθήσει αυτούς που έχουν ταλέντο ή ικανότητα, να γίνουν καλύτεροι ή πιο γρήγορα… όπως νομίζω και οι Σχολές Καλών Τεχνών δεν δίνουν ταλέντα, δεν προσφέρουν ταλέντο. Αλλά στο ταλέντο του δίνουν την δυνατότητα πολύ γρήγορα να δημιουργήσει, να μην χάσει τον καιρό του ψάχνοντας ποιό είναι το καλύτερο πινέλο… Ο δάσκαλος μπορεί να του πει ότι τα πινέλα της αγοράς είναι αυτά… αυτός για να βρεί τα πινέλα της αγοράς, να φαει καιρό… ο καιρός ειναι απώλεια… Στο σχολείο λοιπόν κερδίζεις χρόνο για να δείξεις το ταλέντο σου ή να το αναπτύξεις, αλλιώς θα αναπτυχθεί, αλλά θα πάρει χρόνο…*

ΜΕ: Το θέμα της Εκπαίδευσης ήταν ουσιαστικό για εσάς…;

ΜΒ: Βέβαια… γιατί αυτούς που είχαν ταλέντο και κλίση πολύ πιο γρήγορα θα τους έκανε να μπούν στην άσκηση, στην εφαρμογή, και να αναπτυχθούν πολύ ταχύτερα από όσο θα αναπτύσσονταν μόνοι τους. Και βέβαιως να αρχίσει να ειδικεύει κόσμο στο αντικείμενο, γιατί πριν

δεν υπήχαν... οι ζωγράφοι ήταν αυτοί που έκαναν τις μακέτες για τα έντυπα, ...ο Κατζουράκης, ο Βασιλείου για τις περίφημες μακέτες του ΕΟΤ, ο Μόραλης, ή... όλοι όσοι δουλέψανε τις αφίσες. Ακόμα και ο Περβολαράκης με τις αφίσες του '36-'37....ήταν ζωγράφοι... δεν έκαναν μόνο έντυπα, μόνο ΓΤ, όπως είναι σήμερα ο φίλος μου ο Αρβανίτης που κάνει μόνο ΓΤ... θεωρώ πως είναι ο πιο σημαντικός Έλληνας γραφιστής. Είναι αυτος που μου σχεδίασε το βιβλίο μου, την 'Ιστορία των ΓΤ'.

ME: Οπότε η εκπαίδευση ήταν κάτι που έλειπε τότε...;

MB: *Ναί, προφάνως, δεν υπήρχε καμία Σχολή... Εκτός από τη Σχολή του Δοξιάδη... Αλλά, πρώτον ήταν μή-κρατική, δεν είχε το κύρος μιας κρατικής Σχολής, δεύτερον, ήταν για παιδιά που δεν είχαν βγάλει το γυμνάσιο, τότε δεν υπήρχε το λύκειο, δηλαδή ήταν μέσης εκπαίδευσης. Και δεν ξέρω αν ήταν η προυπόθεση να έχεις κάποιο χαρτί, κάποιο απολυτήριο για να πάς σε αυτή τη Σχολή, δηλαδή και ένας ερασιτέχνης θα μπορούσε να πάει στου Δοξιάδη. Και δεν είναι κακό αυτό, δεν το κατηγορώ αυτό, αλλά πίστευα ότι έπρεπε να υπάρξει μια Σχολή που να βρίσκεται σε ένα ανώτερο ή ανώτατο επίπεδο, το ανώτερο τότε το θεωρούσαμε ανώτατο, ... τα ΚΑΤΕ το Α τους είναι 'ανώτερης' ... εγώ πιστεύω ότι θα μπορούσε να γίνει ανώτατη, ακαδημία. Το λέω μάλιστα στο βιβλίο μου, ... μια 'Ακαδημία ΓΤ'... γιατί θα έπρεπε να ενισχυθούν όσοι θα ασχολούνταν με τις ΓΤ στο ανώτατο δυνατό θεωρητικό επίπεδο. Να σπουδάσουν, να δούν την ιστορία τους, να δουν τα παλαιότερα επιτεύγματα, να δουν ενδεχομένως λάθη, να δούν σωστά... και ανάλογα να πράξουν. Όχι να τα αντιγράψουν, αλλά ανάλογα να πράξουν. Ανάλογα να φτιάξουν τα καινουρια.*

ME: Την 'φωνή' σας την είχαν υιοθετήσει και άλλοι συνάδελφοι εκείνη την εποχή;

MB: *Από την υποδοχή του βιβλίου μου, θα έλεγα ναί. Αλλά το πιο σημαντικό ήταν ότι ξαφνικά όταν ιδρύθηκε το ΚΑΤΕ της Αθήνας... ειδα ξαφνικά ότι υπήρχε μια Σχολή που ασχολείται με τεχνολογία των ΓΤ. Μάλιστα δεν χρησιμοποιούσε τον ορο ΓΤ. Ο τίτλος της... το 'Τμήμα της Τεχνολογίας Εκτυπώσεων και Φωτομηχανικής Αναπαραγωγής'. Δεν χρησιμοποιούσε τον όρο ΓΤ, η Σχολή ήταν ΓΤ, και το τμήμα 'Τεχνολογίας Εκτυπώσεων και Φωτομηχανικής Αναπαραγωγής'. [...] με είχε εντυπωσιάσει που δεν υπήρχε ο όρος ΓΤ στη διδασκαλία... και το τμήμα... Εε, μέσα εκεί προφανώς έλειπε το δημιουργικό κομμάτι. Η Τέχνη με κεφαλαίο, εκεί [ήταν η] τεχνολογία... δηλαδή με την χρήση μηχανημάτων, εκτύπωση πολλών αντιτύπων... παραγωγή εκτυπωτικών πλακών με την τυπογραφία, με την λιθογραφία, την μεταξοτυπία, την φωτομηχανική αναπαραγωγή, και η παραγωγή αντιτύπων πολλών... αλλά το δημιουργικό κομμάτι που ήταν η γραφιστική, που ήταν η τέχνη των προτύπων για να γίνουν οι εκτυπώσεις και οι φωτομηχανικές αναπαραγωγές, δεν υπήρχε... αυτό ήταν η δική μου πρόταση, να γίνει μια τέτοια Σχολή, αυτό έγινε δεκτό από το Υπουργείο Παιδείας. Τότε ήμουν διευθυντής της Σχολής επί έντεκα χρόνια περίπου, έγινε δεκτή...*

ME: Έχετε αρχεία με την αλληλογραφεία σας με το Υπουργείο;

MB: *Δεν ξέρω... Μπορεί να τα βρώ... αλλά υποθέτω ότι στο Υπουργείο υπάρχουν. Άν υπάρχουν από πριν 25 χρόνια, είναι πολλά... Στο σχολείο σίγουρα δεν υπάρχουν. Μπορεί να τα βρώ κάποια στιγμή... ακόμα δεν τα έχω ψάξει αναλυτικά, τα αρχεία τα δικά μου... Έχω κάποια, αλλά δεν έχω φτάσει στο σημείο να τα ψάξω, ίσως γιατί δεν ξέρω αν θα χρειάζονταν εδώ που τα λέμε. Υπήρξε μια μεγάλη αναταραχή στο σχολείο τότε που προσπαθούσαμε να εμπλουτίσουμε τα δύο αυτά τμήματα, και κυρίως το τμήμα της γραφιστικής, όταν στο πανεπιστήμιο της θεσσαλονίκης ιδρύθηκε ένα τμήμα εφαρμοσμένων τεχνών... Μια Σχολή εφαρμοσμένων τεχνών στην οποία υπήρχε ζωγραφική, υπήρχε γλυπτική. Η Σχολή καλών Τεχνών Θεσαλλονίκης που λένε τώρα είναι ενα Τμήμα Τεχνών... και ξαφνικά αναγγέλθηκε ότι μέσα εκεί θα υπήρχαν και ΓΤ. Αντιδράσαμε έντονα, κυρίως οι σπουδαστές μου, αλλά και οι συνάδελφοι μου οι καθηγητές, προβάλλοντας το εξής απλό αίτημα: πώς μπορεί να ξεκινησει μια καινούρια Σχολή χωρίς να έχει τις εγκαταστάσεις που εμείς ήδη είχαμε από το Τμήμα των Εκτυπώσεων Φωτομηχανικής Αναπαραγωγής, δηλαδή της αναπαραγωγής των εντύπων... Να αναφέρονται στις ΓΤ χωρίς το τμήμα γραφιστικής να έχει καν συμπληρωθεί στοιχειωδώς. Συμπληρώστε μας και κάντε ένα καινούριο τους είπαμε... Δώστε μας το προσωπικό, δώστε μας τα εργαστήρια, δώστε μας την δυνατότητα να ολοκληρωθούμε σαν τμήμα, να μπορεσουμε να διδαξουμε τις ΓΤ και μετά φτιάξτε το άλλο... Φαίνεται οτι μας άκουσαν, και ανέστειλε την λειτουργία το τμήμα ΓΤ στο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Δεν ξέρω αν η αναστολή αυτή συνεχίζεται ακόμα. Δεν υπάρχει, δεν ακούγεται, δεν νομίζω να υπάρχει, δεν ξέρω αν παίρνουν πτυχία ΓΤ από την Θεσσαλονίκη, μάλλον όχι...*

ME: Τότε ήταν μόνο οι ιδιωτικές...

ΜΒ: *Ήταν του Δοξιάδη, του Βακαλό…*

ΜΕ: … αναφέρετε στο βιβλίο σας ότι στις σχολές αυτές υπήρχαν και καλοί καθηγητές…

ΜΒ: *… και θεωρητικοί, έτσι… και το έργο που δημοσιευόταν. Από το έργο τους κυρίως, από το αποτέλεσμα, από τις εκθέσεις που κάνανε και τα ονόματα των δασκάλων είναι σημαντικά. Μάλιστα είναι χαρακτηριστική περίπτωση καθηγητών που από του Δοξιάδη και από του Βακαλό ήρθαν στη Σχολή μας, … ο Τάκης Κατσουλίδης ήταν υπεύθυνος στου Δοξιάδη, και ήρθε στη Σχολή μας και έγινε τακτικός καθηγητής… τώρα συνταξιούχος… Μετά είχε έρθει και είχε διδάξει ο Πέτρος ο Ζουμπουλάκης, ο οποίος για διάφορους λόγους διαφώνησε με τους συναδέλφους και αποχώρησε… η κυρία Μυταρά, η γυναίκα του Μυταρά, η Χαρίκλεια Μυταρά, είχε έρθει και είχε δουλέψει στη Σχολή μας, ο κύριος Γρατσίας, ο ζωγράφος… Πολλοί άνθρωποι δηλαδή από τις δύο αυτές σχολές ήρθαν και στη Σχολή μας… και δεν ξέρω και οι άλλοι, οι διάδοχοί τους που πήγαν εκεί, μετά στο εξωτερικό σπούδασαν…*

ΜΕ: Κάποια ιδιωτικά σχολεία χωρίζονται στα 'τεχνολογικά', όπως το Κέντρο Λιθογραφικών Σπουδών και η Σχολή Μονοτυπίας…

ΜΒ: *Ναι, η Σχολή Μονοτυπίας, ήταν ιδιωτική. Ήταν του αντιπροσώπου των μηχανημάτων μονοτυπίας. Δεν ήταν Σχολή ουσιαστική, απλώς δίδασκε τη χρήση της μηχανής της μονοτυπίας. Υπήρχε ο ΟΑΕΔ μόνο, που δίδασκε τυπογραφία. Όμως, και εκεί ήταν πιο πιστή στην παράδοση, αλλά μόνο τυπογραφία, γιατί οι δάσκαλοι ήταν μάστορες, και δίδασκαν πως τυπώνανε ένα έντυπο στοιχειοθετώντας γράμματα, αλλά χωρίς να τους αποσχολεί το θέμα της γραφιστικής…*

ΜΕ: … στη Σχολή κάνανε το θεωρητικό κομμάτι, και τα εργαστήρια στη δουλειά… Κάνατε ένσταση σε αυτό… Το πρακτικό μέρος έπρεπε να ήταν και αυτά μέσα στη Σχολή…;

ΜΒ: Ναι, για τα εργαστήρια…. Όπως έγινε τελικά στο δικό μας σχολείο. Όπου υπάρχουν στη Σχολή ΓΤ… όπου τα εργαστήρια των εφαρμογών υπάρχουν στη Σχολή. Δηλαδή υπάρχει εργαστήριο μεταξοτυπίας, εκτυπώσεων, τυπογραφίας, χαρακτικών, βιβλιοδεσίας, περατώσεων, και βεβαίως τώρα υπάρχουν οθόνες, υπολογιστές, κλπ. Φωτομηχανικής εργαστήρια επίσης…

… άρχισαν να υπάρχουν νέα στοιχεία. Η Σχολή άρχισε να υλοποιεί μέρος αυτών που είχα γράψει και περίμενα να την συμπληρώσω. Πράγμα που το κάνω τώρα σιγά-σιγά… Ποιά στοιχεία; Κατ' αρχήν πρέπει να κάνω έναν απολογισμό όλων αυτών των χρόνων που δούλεψα στη Σχολή, πρέπει να μιλήσω για τα παιδιά που βγήκαν από τη Σχολή, και όντως την γραφιστική την έχουν ανεβάσει πάρα πολύ. Να σας πώ ότι έχω με υπερηφάνια διαπιστώσει ότι κορυφαίες δουλειές στις ΓΤ στην Ελλάδα γίνονται από σπουδαστές μου παλιούς, και από αποφοίτους της Σχολής… ένα σπουδαίο όνομα… είναι ο καλλιτεχνικός διευθυντής του συγκροτήματος Λαμπράκη του ΔΟΛ… είναι ο Νίκας που είναι μαθητής της Σχολής. Ο καθηγητής της Σχολής Καλών Τεχνών είναι μαθητής της Σχολής… Μεγάλα τυπογραφεία, όπως του Καδιανάκη [;] που κάνει τα έντυπα του Μεγάρου Μουσικής, είναι μαθητής της Σχολής.

Υπάρχουν πάρα πολλοί άνθρωποι που δουλεύουν και στην παραγωγή των εντύπων, αλλά και στη σχεδίαση, ακόμα και σχεδίαση στοιχείων. Ο Κουρούδης που έχει τα γράμματα Cannibal, μιά εταιρεία που κάνει γράμματα, είναι και αυτοί από τη Σχολή. Θέλω να πω ότι στους χώρους της παραγωγής των εντύπων στην Ελλάδα, αλλά και της σχεδίασης, υπάρχουν πάρα πολλοί μαθητές της Σχολής. Αυτό για μένα είναι μια μεγάλη ικανοποίηση είναι μια δικαίωση, και θα έπρεπε να το καταγράψω και αυτό. Βέβαια είχα τη μεγάλη χαρά να διδάσκεται το βιβλίο μου για τις ΓΤ στην μέση εκπαίδευση στις ΓΤ. Και τώρα έχω τη μεγάλη χαρά στα μεταπτυχιακά του Ανοικτού Πανεπιστημίου να διδάσκονται τα βιβλία μου με ΓΤ, και βιβλία που έχω κρίνει το περιεχόμενο για την τεχνολογία των ΓΤ […] είναι και αυτό μία μεγάλη ικανοποίηση. Η ιστορία μου των ΓΤ, μια ιστορία των ΓΤ. Οι ιστορίες είναι όπως πάντα σε αναφορά σε αυτούς που τις γράφει… η ιστορία μου λοιπόν διδάσκεται στο Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο…. Πιστεύω ότι κάτι έκανα για τις ΓΤ, και πιστεύω ότι θα συνεχίσω να κάνω όντας όχι στην ενεργό διδασκαλία.

ΜΕ: Ποιός είναι ο απολογισμός της διδασκαλίας σας…

ΜΒ: *Είναι η άλλη ικανοποίηση πια ότι το επίπεδο των ΓΤ στην χώρα μας είναι υψηλό, είναι πάρα πολύ υψηλό, και γι'αυτό είμαι και πολύ ικανοποιημένος. Σκέφτομαι ότι έχω μακρινές ρίζες… είμαι και αρχιτέκτονας. Ξέρω πολύ καλά ότι τίποτα δεν μπορείς να φτιάξεις πάνω στην επιφάνεια της γης αν δεν έχει στερεωθεί κάτω από τη γη. Τα σχολεία είναι τα θεμέλια. Το επάνω είναι η προσωπικότητα των παιδιών, έτσι πρέπει να είναι. Οι δάσκαλοι πρέπει να είναι κάτω.*

Μου έκανε πολύ εντύπωση η ερώτησή σας γιατί δεν προέταξα στο βιβλίο μου το Bauhaus. Αυτή η ερώτηση με βασάνισε που μου κάνατε... Η απάντηση ειναι απλή, γιατί πίστευα ότι εκείνη την εποχή το Bauhaus έπρεπε να μείνει σαν επόμενο βήμα διδασκαλίας και αναφοράς. Θα ήταν πολύ τότε να μιλήσω για το Bauhaus. Μίλησα για τον Müller, την Denise René στο Παρίσι, για τα πολλαπλά που ήταν τότε… αυτά δώσανε την έννοια των ΓΤ σε πολλαπλά αντίτυπα. Δηλαδή το να κάνεις ένα έργο έντυπο και να είναι τέχνη. Αυτό για μένα ήταν το συγκλονιστικό ερέθισμα, και αυτό ξεκίνησε από την Γαλλία και από την Ευρώπη.

Όχι από την Αμερική. Δηλαδή στην εργασία [το Μάστερ μου] που διάβασα θα είχα κάποιες αντιρρήσεις. Δηλαδή θα ήθελα να ήτανε διαφορετικά.. δηλαδή να ήταν και άλλα παραδείγματα… Και το Americanisation, δεν θεωρώ ότι ήταν τόσο χαρακτηριστικό. Πιο πολύ ήταν η Ευρώπη παρά η Αμερική που έπαιξε ρόλο στη διαμόρφωση της οπτικής επικοινωνίας.

Ένα από τα μαθήματα που δίδαξα συστηματικά στη Σχολή ήταν η οπτική επικοινωνία, αλλά ένα μεγαλο μερος της οπτικής επικοινωνίας το μέρος της έντεχνης οπτικής επικοινωνίας, δηλαδή… με όχι προσωπική… γιατί και τώρα κάνουμε οπτική επικοινωνία με τα ρούχα που φοράμε, τα γυαλιά που φοράμε, το χτένισμα μας, η μορφή μας, αυτό ειναι μέρος των μηνυμάτων που θέλουμε να στείλουμε… Αλλά η έντυπη επικοινωνία στην Ελλάδα επηρεάστηκε πάρα πολύ από την Ευρωπαική έντυπη οπτική επικοινωνια. Θα ήθελα να κρατήσετε τον όρο 'οπτική επικοινωνία', και να τον περάσετε στην εργασία σας, γιατι ουσιαστικά το visual communication είναι αυτό που έδωσε την ιδέα της διαμόρφωσης της εποχής μας, ως εποχή των εικόνων. Πολύς κοσμος συγχεει την μορφή με την εικόνα…

ΜΕ: Κατά τη γνώμη σας ποιές χώρες επηρέασαν την Ελλάδα…

ΜΒ: *Οι χώρες που είχαν σχέση με την Ελλάδα ήταν δυστυχώς πάντα οι ίδιες. Γαλλία Αγγλία, Γερμανία, και Ιταλία. Άλλωστε οι περισσότεροι φοιτητές που πήγαιναν έξω να σπουδάσουν, σε αυτές τις χώρες πήγαιναν. Βεβαια ο αριθμός των φοιτητών στην Αγγλία έχει αυξηθεί υπέρμετρα, με αντίστοιχη μείωση στην Γαλλία και στην Γερμανία… στην Ιταλία δεν ξέρω αν ποσοστιαία είχε… είχε το μέγα προνόμιο, ήταν πάντα πιο φτηνή.*

ΜΕ: Υπήρχε επιρροή από τις Βαλκανικές χώρες;

ΜΒ: *Πιστεύω επίσης ότι αυτή η πολυεθνική Ελβετία, με την παράδοση των σχολών τέχνης, αρχιτεκτονικής, στην οποία συμμετέχουν οι πολιτισμοί Γερμανίας, Γαλλίας, Ιταλίας, έπαιξε σημαντικο ρόλο. Για μένα ήταν αποφασιστικό βοήθημα στην διαμόρφωση της αντίληψής μου για την οπτική επικοινωνία το βιβλίο του Josef Müller-Brockmann, 'Ή Ιστορία της Οπτικής Επικοινωνίας'. Αυτό είναι ένα πολύ σημαντικό βιβλίο για την εποχή του, για το 1971. Αυτό είναι ένα βιβλίο που έχει διδαχτεί σε όλη την Ευρώπη, Αγγλία, Γαλλία, Γερμανία. Είναι τρίγλωσσο βιβλίο και ειναι χαρακτηριστικό ενδεχομένως…*

ΜΕ: …από εκεί επηρεαστήκατε όσον αφορά τι…

ΜΒ: *… τη σημασία της οπτικής επικοινωνίας και τη συμμετοχή του εντύπου στην οπτική επικοινωνία την οποία ο Müller προτάσσει. Δηλαδή είδα ονόματα μέσα… του μεγάλου τυπογράφου… που δεν ήξερα καν ότι στην Ευρωπη υπάρχουν τυπογράφοι που από μάστορες γίνανε δημιουργοί…όπως ο Tschichold… Και επίσης εκεί είδα πρώτη φορά να αναφέρεται ο γραφιστής, αρτιστ-γραφικ, ο καλλιτέχνης της γραφικής. Ο Στάινερ στις περίφημες διαφημιστικές δουλειές του… αυτοί ήταν οι γραφιστές. Στην Ελλάδα δεν είχαμε μόνο γραφιστές τότε, … δηλαδή υπήρχαν σε κάποια διαφημιστικά γραφεία κάποιοι που κάναν σχέδιο, αλλά καλούσαν ζωγράφους για να τους κάνουν μακέτες για έντυπα…*

Δεν υπήρχε… Γραφικές Τέχνες στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών δεν διδάσκονται. Ακόμα και σήμερα, το θεωρούσαν τέχνη παρακατιανή. Οι φοιτητές αρνιόνταν να κάνουν ΓΤ και ακόμα και σήμερα. Υπάρχει μόνο μία καθηγήτρια, μια επίκουρη, την είχαν πάρει λέκτορα που τους έκανε μάθημα ΓΤ. Δεν υπάρχει καθηγητής ΓΤ ακόμα στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών. Μα όταν πήγα τότε να μιλήσω για ΓΤ, μόνο που δεν με διώξανε… μου έλεγαν ότι θα θέλανε να συνεργαστούνε… όχι εγω ήμουν η παρακατιανή Σχολή. να πάω. Και τους έλεγα ότι είναι η μοναδική Σχολή ΓΤ στην Ελλάδα σε ανώτερο επίπεδο, εσείς εισαστε ανώτατη, ας συνεργαστούμε, ας βρούμε, δώστε μας καθηγητές, ελάτε, …τίποτα, καμία… με διώξαν… γιατί θεωρούσαν ότι ήταν παρακατιανή τέχνη. Ήταν τέχνη η οποία τα έργα της με την πολλαπλή παραγωγή εκφυλιζόνταν τάχα. Ο ζωγράφος κάνει έναν πίνακα που ειναι πολύτιμος, μοναδικός για ένα σπίτι. Εάν ο πίνακας γίνει έντυπο αυτό θα πάει σε

χιλιάδες σπίτια ... χάνει την οικονομική αξία... Και ξεχνάνε να σκεφτούν ότι αν αυτό είναι σπουδαίο ότι θα πάει σε χιλιάδες μάτια, και η προσφορά στην κοινωνία θα είναι πολλαπλάσια... Και σήμερα ακομα ... μα και σήμερα ακόμα δεν υπάρχει Σχολή ΓΤ, ... είναι δυο χρόνια που ο Μπαμπούσης διδάσκει φωτογραφία στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών... ούτε φωτογραφία δεν διδάσκαν στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών. Στον 21ο αιώνα μπήκε η φωτογραφία στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών, επίσημα, με καθηγητή.

ME: Γιατί κατά τη γνώμη σας υπήρξε τόση αντίσταση;

ΜΒ: Γιατί θεωρούσαν ότι είναι υψηλή τέχνη η ζωγραφική, η γλυπτική... Και τους έλεγα, καλά η ζωγραφική... η χαρακτική δεν ειναι έντυπα; Η χαρακτική δεν ειναι τυπογραφία ουσιαστικά; Αφού είναι τύπος... ένα καλούπι... Να βγάλω από μία πλάκα ένα αποτύπωμα... Μα η χαρακτική δεν είναι τέχνη... Ναί, λέει την χαρακτική την υπηρέτησαν μεγάλοι ζωγράφοι, όπως ο Ρέμπραντ... Μα ο Ρέμπραντ είναι και χαράκτης, δεν είναι μόνο ζωγράφος. Δικαιούται να αναφέρεται ως μέγας χαράκτης, όχι μόνο ως ζωγράφος που έκανε χαρακτική.

ME: Ποιοί αντιστάθηκαν;

ΜΒ: Οι ζωγράφοι, οι δάσκαλοι...

Θα πρέπει όμως για να είμαι δίκαιος να κάνω μία εξαίρεση στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών. Η εξαίρεση είναι ο Κεφαλληνός... γιατί και ο ίδιος δούλεψε με τα έντυπα. Ο ίδιος έφτιαξε βιβλία έξοχα, εξαιρετικά, με αποκορύφωμα το σπουδαιότερο έντυπο του 20ου αιώνα, κατά τη γνώμη μου, το Λεύκωμα, 'Αι Δέκα Λευκαί Αττικαί Λύκηθοι'. Αυτό τυπώθηκε από τον Γιάννη Κεφαλληνό στη Σχολή με τη βοήθεια τριών μαθητών του, της Μοντεσσάντου, του Βακαλόπουλου και του Βακιρτζή. Είναι ένα έξοχο έργο ΓΤ, σχεδιασμένο από τον ίδιο και τους τρεις μαθητές, τυπωμένο με τη δική τους βέβαια συμμετοχή, τυπωμένο με ξυλογραφία, χαλκογραφία και τυπογραφία. Με γράμματα που χυθήκανε σε δικά του σχέδια, 'τα γράμματα του Θεοκρίτου τα έλεγε. Σχεδίασε γράμματα... νομίζω ότι είναι ίσως το σπουδαιότερο έντυπο που έχει τυπωθεί στην Ελλάδα, κατά τη γνώμη μου. [...]

ME: Πού θα μπορούσα να βρω αυτό το Λεύκωμα;

ΜΒ: Δεν μπορείτε να το βρείτε. Πρώτον, κοστίζει περισσότερα από 2-3, 5 εκατομμύρια δραχμές. Τυπώθηκαν 200 επώνυμα αντίτυπα. Κάθε αντίτυπο είχε τυπωθεί αφού πουλήθηκε, άρα δεν βγήκε στην αγορά, και αυτοί που τα έχουν, επειδή έχει αυθεντικά υπογεγραμμένα από τον Κεφαλληνό έργα, μόνον όταν έχουν μέγιστη ανάγκη θα τα πουλούσαν... Εγώ είχα την χαρά να δω το αντίτυπο του ίδιου του Βακιρτζή που δούλεψε μαζί με τον Κεφαλληνό.

ME: Δεν υπάρχει ούτε στην Βιβλιοθήκη της Βουλής;

ΜΒ: Πιστεύω πως όχι. Γιατί τότε [...] ήταν υποχρεωτικό να καταθέτει κανείς δύο αντίτυπα μόνο στην Εθνική. Και δεν ξέρω αν είναι και τα δικά μου στη Βουλή. Στην Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη είναι.

ME: Για τους ορισμούς/ορολογία, είχατε κανει μια έρευνα για το πώς ορίζεται η γραφιστική και οι γραφικές τέχνες, και χρησιμοποιήσατε το λεξικό του Σταματάκου... Υπάρχει κάπου αλλού κάτι;

ΜΒ: Δεν υπήρχε πουθενά. Δεν ξέρω... και να υπάρχει με τον τρόπο που το λέμε σήμερα. Στον Μπαμπινιώτη, δεν ξέρω αν το είδατε... Την λέξη 'γραφιστική' δεν την έχουν ακόμα παρ' όλο που από το 1974 υπάρχει στο ΦΕΚ, από το '78... με την έκδοση του βιβλίου μου η λέξη 'γραφιστική'. Αλλά από το '78 ιδρύθηκε το τμήμα γραφιστικής της Σχολής ΓΤ του ΤΕΙ Αθήνας, του ΚΑΤΕΕ Αθήνας, και το '81 έγινε ΤΕΙ Αθήνας.

ME: Θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι είσασταν ο 'εισηγητής' της λέξης...

ΜΒ: Έτσι... και του Τμήματος... μα η λέξη πριν το '74 δεν είχε αναγραφεί πουθενά... η γραφιστική με την έννοια της τέχνης των προτύπων. Είχε γραφεί στο λεξικό το πρώτο, της Πρωΐας του 1826, ως 'η τέχνη της γραφολογίας'. Από εκεί και πέρα μετά δεν είχε ξαναγραφεί...

ME: Ο όρος γραφιστικά έργα... υπήρχε μέσα από την κριτική του Γ. Πετρή...

ΜΒ: [Διάβασμα από λεξικό] 'Γραφίστας: αυτός που ασχολείται με τις ΓΤ'. Δεν είναι ο ορισμός αυτός. Γραφίστας είναι αυτός που σχεδιάζει το πρότυπα των ΓΤ. Γραφιστικός-ή ως επίθετο, όχι

όρος... Το 'γραφιστική' το έχει σαν επίθετο του 'γραφιστικός'... εγώ το έχω προτείνει το 'γραφιστική'... [ως ουσιαστικό]

<u>ΜΕ: Είχατε έρθει ποτέ σε επαφή με τον Μπαμπινιώτη, ή με κάποιον που ασχολείτο με λεξικά... Σας ζητήθηκε ποτέ να δώσετε έναν ορισμό για...</u>

ΜΒ: *Όχι, όχι ακόμη. Μια φορά με κάλεσαν μόνο από τον Πατάκη [εκδοτικός οίκος]. Θα έκαναν ένα ειδικό λεξικό. Αλλά δεν είχα καιρό, δεν μπόρεσα να ανταποκριθώ. Εκείνοι ήθελαν βιαστικά, και εγώ είχα τη διδασκαλία. Δεν μπόρεσα να συνεχίσω. Τώρα που μπορώ, μπορεί να με ζητήσουν. Πάντως εδώ [στο λεξικό αυτό] δεν υπάρχει. Μάλιστα το 'γραφιστικός' το έχει σαν επίθετο... Αλλά όπως σας είπα 'γραφίστας' δεν είναι αυτός που ασχολείται με τις ΓΤ, αλλά με τα πρότυπα των... ΓΤ λέει ... [διάβασμα από λεξικό]... βλέπετε πως μπερδεύει τους όρους...*

... Τον Π. [αναφέρεται σε συγγραφέα βιβλίου για τις Γραφικές Τέχνες] τον έστειλε τότε που έψαχνε... [...]... Ήθελε να έρθει στη Σχολή μας. Τώρα κατευθύνεται προς την δημοσιογραφία. Με είχε ρωτήσει. Με αναφέρει στο βιβλίο του αρκετές φορές. Ο άνθρωπος είναι ιστορικός της τέχνης, δεν είχε ειδικότητα στις ΓΤ, αλλά επειδή έπρεπε να γράψει ένα βιβλίο, πήρε αυτό τον κλάδο... Ενταξει... Δεν υπήρχε η έννοια... και δεν υπήρχε η Σχολή να βγάζει τέτοιους αποφοίτους. Εκτός από το '81 και μετά... ήταν τριετής [η φοίτηση] μετά έγινε τετραετής.

<u>ΜΕ: Είπατε ότι τις ΓΤ τις θεωρούσαν τέχνες 'παρακατιανές', '2ης κατηγορίας'...</u>

ΜΒ: *Να το πούμε αλλιώς. Αντί να το πούμε '2ης κατηγορίας'... δεν ήταν τέχνες που περιλαμβάνονταν στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών, και αυτό το δείχνει όλα. Ήταν τέχνη παρακατιανή γιατί μπορούσε να την κάνει ο καθένας. Ο πατέρας μου έκανε έντυπα, έκανε ΓΤ, έκανε γραφιστική, χωρίς να είναι ούτε γραφιτής ή γραφίστας, ούτε να έχει πάει σε μια Σχολή να σπουδάσει, ούτε βεβαίως να πάει στη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών, να γίνει ζωγράφος ή χαράκτης ή καλλιτέχνης γενικά. Δεν τους δίναν τον όρο 'καλλιτέχνης'.*

<u>ΜΕ: Πότε έγινε η κατοχύρωση του επαγγέλματος;</u>

ΜΒ: *Ε, μετά όταν βγήκε ο τίτλος, όταν πήραν την ειδίκευση γραφιστικής από το Τμήμα, το Δίπλωμα τούς έδινε κάποιες δυνατότητες... Βέβαια τα επαγγελματικά είναι μια μεγάλη πονεμένη ιστορία. Αυτά που δημοσιεύονται στο Φύλλο της Εφημερίδας της Κυβερνήσεως... έχουν δημοσιευτεί πάντως στο ΦΕΚ...*

<u>ΜΕ: Υπάρχει Σύνδεσμος Αποφοίτων;</u>

ΜΒ: *Υπάρχει. Μπορείτε και σε αυτους να απευθυνθείτε... Ο κος Γιαννακάκης, ήτανε πρόεδρος... που ήταν μαθητής μου παλιός. Ήταν κριτής στα βραβεία ΕΒΓΕ. Είναι επιτυχημένος, και κάνει καλές δουλειές...*

<u>ΜΕ: Ποιές ήταν οι επιπτώσεις του χαμηλού κύρους του επαγγέλματος τόσο στο δημιουργικό κομμάτι όσο και στους επαγγελματίες;</u>

ΜΒ: *Το πιο απλό ήταν ότι περιπτώσεις απαιτήσεων εξ'αρχής εκαλούντο ζωγράφοι. Οι πτυχιούχοι της Σχολής Καλών Τεχνών... να κάνουν τα πρότυπα των εντύπων... και κάποιοι αρχιτέκτονες ενδεχομένως...*

<u>ΜΕ: Επιπτώσεις στο δημιουργικό μέρος;</u>

ΜΒ: *Μα από τις ΓΤ σπάνια αναζητούσαν, στις περασμένες δεκαετίες, αποδόσεις τέχνης, δηλαδή καλλιτεχνήματος. Ήταν σπάνιες. Τα λευκώματα που είχαν απαιτήσεις τέχνης και οι αφίσες που μπορούσαν να διακριθούν, πέραν μιας εφήμερης παρουσίας... Οι αφίσες ήταν να ενημερώσουν, να διαφημίσουν, και τα λοιπά, αλλά όχι να μείνουν σαν έργα τέχνης, να κρεμαστούν στους τοίχους... όπως υπάρχουν κάποιες αφίσες που μπορούν άνετα να κρεμαστούν σαν έργα τέχνης... όπως οι αφίσες του Βασιλείου, του Μόραλη, του Περβολαράκη, του Τάσσου, της Κατράκη, του Βακιρτζή, και νεώτεροι μετά, ... του Κατζουράκη... Είχε [Κατζουράκης] πάρει ένα Ευρωπαικό βραβείο για μια αφίσα του. Είχε κάνει πολύ αίσθηση τότε το 65, το 63;, η σειρά των εκδόσεων του ΕΟΤ. Ο ΕΟΤ ήταν μια πολύ καλή αρχή, η πηγή παραγωγής εντύπων με καλλιτεχνικές απαιτήσεις. Αυτό βέβαια ήταν μια παράδοση από το 1930-40 όταν είχε ανατεθεί από το τότε γραφείο για τον τουρισμό σε καλλιτέχνες, ζωγράφους να κάνουν αφίσες, όπου και η αφίσα του Βασιλείου, πριν αλλά και μετά*

τον πόλεμο… του Γκίκα… αυτά είναι σημαντικά έργα που νομίζω ότι θα μπορούσαν να κοσμήσουν τον τοίχο όπως έργα ζωγραφικής μοναδικά.

ΜΕ: Επιπτώσεις της ανυποληψίας στο δημιουργικό κομμάτι… στους επαγγελματίες και στο χώρο γενικά…

ΜΒ: *Δεν είχε αυξημενες αμοιβές. Δεν παίρναν πολλά χρηματα. Δηλαδή, όταν κάνανε μια μακέτα για μια αφίσα δεν παίρναν τα λεφτά που παίρναν από έναν πίνακα.*

ΜΕ: … αυτο σήμαινε λιγότερος χρόνος για πειραματισμούς;

ΜΒ: *Όχι… μόνο γι' αυτό. Αφαιρώ βέβαια τις αφίσες του πολέμου και της Κατοχής που οι συνθήκες δεν επέτρεπαν καν δοκιμές, αλλά ήταν προικισμένοι, ο Τάσσος ο Αλεβίζος, η Κατράκη, ο Βασιλείου, ο Βακιρτζής… που κάναν στην Κατοχή. Αυτά ήταν έργα που γίνονταν και παράνομα καμιά φορά… Υπάρχουν και ξυλογραφίες του Βασιλείου που έχουν γίνει παράνομα, που φοβόνταν να τις δημοσιεύσει… εικονογραφήσεις βιβλίων κάποιοι χαράκτες κάνανε, αλλά εικονογραφήσεις βιβλίων… το θεωρούσαν ότι ήταν έργο ενταγμένο στο κείμενο, και δύσκολα ξέφευγε η δημιουργηκότητα της εικόνας από την αναφορά στο κείμενο… άρα να οφείλει την δημιουργικότητά του στην παρουσία, την ισχυρή, του κειμένου, δεν ήταν αυτόνομο έργο. Και αυτό θα πρέπει να το αναγνωρίσουμε και στις αφίσες, οι οποίες ξεκινάνε από το περιεχόμενο, από το αντικείμενο… Δεν είναι ένα έργο του ζωγράφου που είναι μόνο η έμπνευση, που μπορεί να μην αφορά σε συγκεκριμένη αφετηρία. Ξέρετε αυτή η αναφορά σε συγκεκριμένο πελάτη, και συγκεκριμένο έργο, μείωσε την δημιουργικότητα, την αυθεντική. Καταλάβατε; Ήταν μειωμένης δημιουργικότητας, αυθεντικότητας…*

Πήγαζε από την ιεράρχηση της ελληνικής κοινωνίας, του ανώτερου, του κατώτερου… Έτσι, και αντικειμενικά, ίσως είναι. Ένας ζωγράφος μπορεί να εμπνευστεί μόνο από το μυαλό του, όπως ένας ποιητής, … να μην πάμε στον μουσικό… Ο μουσικός ειναι εντελώς αφηρημένα όλα… Ο ποιητής πια έχει συγκεκριμένες λέξεις, αλλά η έμπνευση είναι εν όλω δική του. Άλλο είναι βέβαια το ποίημα που γίνεται για τα μάτια της συγκεκριμένης ή συγκεκριμένου, αυτό πια κατεβάζει την έμπνευση, θα έλεγα μειώνει την αυθεντικότητα, αφού έχει μια αφετηρία συγκεκριμένη.

Έτσι λοιπόν εθεωρείτο, και ενδεχομένως θα πρέπει, έτσι να τη βλέπουμε. Αφού έχει μία αφετηρία, διαφημίζει, προβάλλει, κολακεύει, βελτιώνει πολλές φορές ένα συγκεκριμένο αντικείμενο, πράγμα, άτομο, ιδέα, υπηρεσία… Ενώ του ζωγράφου, του καλλιτέχνη, μπορεί να μην υπάρχει τίποτα σαν πρότυπο, και να ξεκινήσει από το μυαλό του, ανεξάρτητα αν στο μυαλό του έχει δημιουργήσει από διαβάσματα, μνήμες οπτικές…. Πάντως είναι παντελώς ελεύθερος να μας προτείνει έναν πίνακα. Ο γραφιστής δεν είναι… ο γραφιστής συνήθως έχει πελάτη. Δεν ξέρω αν διαβάσατε μέσα κάποια παρατήρηση που λέω: η ευτυχισμένη περίπτωση του να είναι ένας …. ο ίδιος ο γραφιστής,… αυτός που ενδιαφέρεται για το περιεχόμενο, και βεβαίως να είναι αυτός που θα τυπώσει, αλλά και αυτός που θα δείξει το έργο του. Δηλαδή, αν ένας γραφιστής γράψει ένα βιβλίο και κάνει μια αφίσα για το βιβλίο του, και τυπώσει ο ίδιος την αφίσα, ε, από αυτόν θα περιμένουμε πολύ περισσότερα πράγματα από όσα για τον γραφιστή που θα κάνει μια αφίσα για το βιβλίο ενός άλλου που ο άλλος θα του πει τι θέλει. Ή ο γραφιστής που θα κάνει μια αφίσα για την Μερσεντές, και θα έχει οπωσδήποτε το σήμα της Μερσεντές, και θα έχει οπωσδήποτε την μάσκα της Μερσεντές, και θα έχει οπωσδήποτε το προτιμώμενο από το εργοστάσιο χρώμα που θέλει να πουλήσει, ή να εχει στο φόντο το εργαστάσιο για να δείξει πόσο μεγάλο… Πού είναι η έμπνευση και η πρωτοτυπία;

ΜΕ: Μιλήσατε για κάποια ιεράρχηση στην ελληνική κοινωνία…

ΜΒ: *Υπάρχει.*

ΜΕ: Στην εκπαίδευση επίσης; Ο διαχωρισμός 'ανώτερη-ανώτατη';

ΜΒ: *Είναι και αυτό ένα μέρος. Αλλά τότε υπήρχε η δικαιολογία ότι οι ανώτερες ήταν σχολές εφαρμογών. Για να γίνει εφαρμογή υποτίθεται ότι υπάρχει μια πρόταση, ενα σχέδιο… Για να μην πάμε στις σχολες εργοδηγών που ήταν αυτοί βοηθοί των μηχανικών… Οι ανώτερες σχολές δεν είχαν το θεωρητικό μέρος… δεν είχαν θεωρητικό μέρος μεγάλο, μάλιστα υπήρχε ένα ποσοστό 25% θεωρητικά [μαθήματα], 75% πρακτικά [μαθήματα]… Πραγματα που έχουν ανέβει τώρα και εχουν διαφοροποιηθεί. Πάντα το εφαρμοσμένο, πάντοτε οι τέχνες ηταν παρακατιανές… Άρχιζε να αλλάζει και εδω, πρέπει να τονιστεί… το Bauhaus… Στο Bauhaus η τυπογραφια διδασκόνταν το ίδιο με την αρχιτεκτονική, το ίδιο με τη ζωγραφική, το ίδιο με την γλυπτική, αλλά και το κέντημα*

και η υφαντική, και η κεραμεική, και η επιπλοποιία, και η τυπογραφια επίσης… μια μεγάλη στιγμή της τεχνης των εντύπων ήταν στο Bauhaus που κάνανε αρχιτεκτονική και έπιπλο, κάνανε και τυπογραφία, δηλαδή, έντυπα. Χαρακτηριστικές είναι οι αφίσες τους που είναι σχεδιαμένες από τον Klee, τον Gropius κλπ, που είναι βέβαια οι καλλιτέχνες που διδασκαν και τις άλλες τέχνες, τις Καλές… Ο El Lissistzky ειναι αρχιτέκτονας και κάνει αφίσες, ο Schmidt κάνει αφίσα ενώ διδάσκει ζωγραφική. Ο ίδιος ο Gropius είναι αρχιτέκτονας και διδάσκει σχέδιο. Αυτό είναι χαρακτηριστικό… αυτά είναι.. έπιπλο και κεραμεική και ύφασμα που αφορούν την ίδια την Σχολή στην οποία διδάσκεται και η τυπογραφία.

ME: Υπήρχε μια εξίσωση των τεχνών στο Bauhaus…

MB: *Ναι, ναι.*

ME: … Πιστεύετε ότι δεν μπορεί να εφαρμοστεί κάτι παρόμοιο και εδώ στην Ελλάδα;

MB: *… να εφαρμοστεί επίσημα, επίσημα εννοείτε; Ναι, ναι… Δηλαδή η τυπογραφια εκτός από το εργαστήριο της Σχολής Καλών Τεχνών, μόνο η δική μας ήταν αυτόνομες. Και από το 2001 που έγινε η ανωτατοποίηση των ΤΕΙ, είναι ανώτατη Σχολή ΓΤ… Άρα και το Τμήμα ειναι Τμημα της ανώτατης Σχολής ΓΤ. Άρα στην Ελλάδα οι ΓΤ διδάσκονται πια σε ανώτερο επίπεδο. Φυσικά το ανώτατο δεν εξαρτάται από τα ονόματα, περιμένω να εξαρτηθεί και από σπουδαίους δασκάλους, που περιμένω σιγά-σιγά να προσέρχονται, …να σας πω και την μεγάλη μου φιλοδοξια; Να είναι και παλιοί μαθητές της Σχολής και δικοί μου, αν θέλετε, που να έχουν αποκτήσει τα προσόντα του ακαδημαικού δασκάλου, δηλαδή, να έχουν κάνει μεταπτυχιακά, να έχουν κανει διδακτορικά, να έχουν κάνει δημοσιεύσεις, βιβλία, και να μπορούν να καταλάβουν επάξια τις θέσεις των καθηγητών μια ανώτατης Σχολής … αυτό είναι το όνειρό μου τώρα πια, και αυτό θα είναι η μεγίστη ικανοποίηση μου.*

ME: Παρουσιάζετε στο βιβλίο σας ότι η γραφιστική ειναι μια 'Καλή Τέχνη'…

MB: *Θα ήθελα, πρέπει… Έχω έργα να το υποστηρίξω… Δηλαδή έχουμε έργα γραφιστικής που μετατρέπουν το έντυπο έργο σε έργο τέχνης. Ποιά είναι αυτά; Είναι αυτά που μας μεταδίδουν τα συναισθήματα που μεταδίδει η Τέχνη.*

ME: Δεν αναφέρετε, και δεν εξηγείτε πάρα πολύ την κύρια ιδιότητα της γραφιστικής, δηλαδή πως η γραφιστική είναι μια εφαρμοσμένη τέχνη…

MB: *Όχι, μπορεί και να μην είναι… δεν είναι σίγουρο ότι μια μάκετα για ένα έντυπο θα γίνει έντυπο. Τώρα πια μιά μακέτα για έντυπο μπορεί να γίνει μόνο οθόνη, site, page.*

ME: Για εκείνην την εποχή…

MB: *….για εκείνη την εποχή, δεν τελείωνε… δηλαδή, γινόταν η μακέτα και δεν τυπωνότανε. Εγω και ως αρχιτέκτονας, έχω δύο-τρείς μελέτες κτιρίων που τα έχω σχεδιάσει, έχω βγάλει άδειες και δεν χτιστήκανε…*

ME: Εφαρμοσμένη με την έννοια ότι…

MB: *… έχει μετατραπεί σε πολλά αντίτυπα, δηλαδή, η εφαρμογή της γραφιστικής ειναι η παραγωγή των πολλών αντίτυπων των εντύπων… […] Η γραφιστική περιλαμβάνεται στο πρώτο μέρος στην παραγωγή του προτύπου εκτυπωτικών πλακών. Καμιά φορά έχουμε πρότυπα που είναι μεγάλα έργα τέχνης που γίνονται έντυπα. Κλασσική περίπτωση, και εκεί υπάρχει το μεγαλο πρόβλημα. Ας πούμε [παραπομπή σε ένθετο βιβλίο από το Έθνος, από το Μουσείο Ορσέιγ στο Παρίσι] … ας πάρουμε την Ολυμπία ή το Πρόγευμα στη Χλόη του Μανέ. Αυτό είναι ένα αντίτυπο, όχι από τον πίνακα, αλλά από την εκτυπωτική πλάκα, η οποία έγινε από την φωτογραφία που βγήκε από τον πίνακα που παίζει τον ρόλο της γραφιστικής δουλειάς. Με την φωτογραφια ενταγμένη σε αυτό το σχέδιο της σελίδας έγινε η εκτυπωτική πλάκα, δηλαδή, αυτό είναι αντίτυπο της εκτυπωτικής πλάκας. Το μέγα πρόβλημα είναι πόσο αποδίδει την πιστότητα του ζωγραφικού πίνακα. Και βέβαια αυτό έχει τυπωθεί σε 200.000 αντίτυπα. 200.000 αντίτυπα σε αυτό το μέγεθος που ειναι 1 και τόσο… πόση πιστότητα… Και ας ξεφύγουμε από την πιστότητα… Αυτός που δεν θα πάει ποτέ στο Μουσείο Ορσέιγ να δει τον αυθεντικό πίνακα, μπορεί να απολαύσει την αισθητική ικανοποίηση που θα έπαιρνε ενδεχομένως από τον πίνακα…*

ΜΕ: Πιστεύετε ότι παρουσιάζοντας την γραφιστική ως μια 'Καλή Τέχνη', θα βοηθούσε στην 'ανύψωση' του επαγγέλματος...;

ΜΒ: ...όχι έτσι, όχι θεσμικά. Πιστεύω μόνο από την βάση θα γίνει αυτό...

ΜΕ: Όταν το γράφατε εννοώ...

ΜΒ: ...τότε ναι. Το πίστευα ότι θεσμικά έπρεπε... έπρεπε να γίνει μια ανώτερη ή ανώτατη Σχολή, και να έχει κύρος... να βγαίνουν φοιτητές από την Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών, και να βγαίνουν με το κύρος αυτό. Αλλά δυστυχώς αυτή δεν την είχε η πολιτεία, για να το πω έτσι αφηρημένα...

ΜΕ: Θα ενισχύατε...

ΜΒ: Θα ενισχυθεί στο μέλλον. Αυτό είναι ολοφάνερο... το ότι έχουμε ανώτατη Σχολή τώρα, αυτό είναι μια αφετηρία. Αλλά δεν μπορώ να σας πω τώρα σε 5-10-20 χρόνια, αλλά αναγκαστικά θα γίνει. Προβλέπω ότι θα γίνει.

ΜΕ: Άλλοι στον χώρο υιοθετούσαν την άποψη σας οτι η γραφιστική ειναι μια 'Καλή Τέχνη';

ΜΒ: Κατ' αρχήν τη λέξη μου δεν την δέχτηκαν αμέσως. Τους κολάκευε να λένε ότι είναι γραφίστες και όχι γραφιστές. Και ότι οι γραφιστές αυτοί δεν ξέρανε την λέξη γραφιστική, ούτε λέγανε ότι κάνανε γραφιστικό έργο. Εγώ είμαι χαράκτης, έλεγε ο Κατσουλίδης,... ή ζωγράφος, και έκαναν έργα ΓΤ, έκανε μακέτες. Ο Κατζουράκης που πήρε [το βραβείο για] την αφίσα δεν είπε ποτέ ότι είναι γραφιστής, 'είμαι ζωγράφος...'. Ο Κεφαλληνός είναι ζωγράφος και χαράκτης. Δεν είναι γραφιστής. Που πιστεύω εγώ ότι είναι το σπουδαιότερο Λεύκωμα... Δηλαδή, θεωρούσαν πιο κολακευτικό γι' αυτούς να λένε ότι είναι ζωγράφοι ή χαράκτες παρά γραφίστες ή γραφιστές. Εγώ βέβαια στο μυαλό μου χαμογελώ στη σκέψη ότι ο Ρέμπραντ, ο μεγάλος ζωγράφος, ήταν χαράκτης και έφτιαχνε πρότυπα εκτυπωτικών πλακών των οποίων τα αντίτυπα είναι στα μουσεία του κόσμου. Και είναι έργα από τα οποία η αισθητική συγκίνηση είναι ακέραια όση και στα ζωγραφικά του έργα. Πολλές φορές έκανα το πείραμα και πρόβαλλα στην αίθουσα χαρακτικά έργα του Ρέμπραντ. Στην αίθουσα των μαθημάτων, σε διάσταση ενός τοίχου, μιας οθόνης μεγάλης. Η εικόνα μιάς σταύρωσης χαρακτικής του Ρέμπραντ, προκαλούσε... Έβλεπα την ίδια ένταση στους μαθητές μου όσο κι ένας ζωγραφικός του πίνακας με θρησκευτικό θέμα. Ήταν τέτοιες οι συνθήκες, ενδεχομένως γιατί δεν είχαν δει αυθεντικούς πίνακες του Ρέμπραντ, αλλά η στάση τους απέναντι στο ζωγραφικό και στο χαρακτικό έργο.... Εγώ θεωρώ το χαρακτικό έργο έντυπο, και είναι... ήταν η ίδια... δηλαδή, έβλεπες την δύναμη του Ρέμπραντ, του χαράκτη, όπως και του Κεφαλληνού, ανεξάρτητα εαν μιλάει για τον χαρακτηρισμό...

[παραπομπή στο βιβλίο 'Γιαννης Κεφαλληνος. Ο Χαρακτης' από το Μορφωτικό Ιδρυμα της Εθνικής Τράπεζας, στην εικόνα από τις 'Αι Δέκα Λευκαί Αττικαί Λύκηθοι']... είναι σαν να βλέπεις την λύκηθο του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου. Το χρώμα είναι η άργιλος της Αττικής, οι σκουριές των χρωμάτων που μείνανε είκοσι αιώνες στη γη, είναι οι σκουριές που έχουν αποδοθεί με χαλκογραφία και ξυλογραφία... Και αυτή η καταπληκτική απόδοση ... γι' αυτό λέω πιο σημαντικό έργο ΓΤ στην Ελλάδα δεν πρέπει να έχει τυπωθεί. Θεωρώ είναι το σπουδαιότερο έργο.

ΜΕ: Πώς το κοινό θα αισθανθεί θα εκτιμήσει ένα τέτοιο έργο...

ΜΒ: Αυτό είναι μεγάλο πρόβλημα διότι μιλάμε για ένα κοινό που νομίζω ότι σε γενικές γραμμες δεν έχει την δυνατότητα να συγκινηθεί, και από τα έργα της ζωγραφικής... Οι λύκηθοι είναι αγγεία που συνόδευαν τους νεκρούς, βάζαν μέσα αρώματα και λοιπά... και είναι μόνο στην Αττική γή, γιατί μόνο η Αττική γη είχε αυτήν την λευκή.... άργιλο... στην οποία βεβαίως για να ζωγραφίσει κανείς με πινέλο τριών τριχών, κοιτάξτε πόσο λεπτή γραμμούλα... και αν τυχόν η γράμμη έφευγε... έσπαγε ολόκληρο το αγγείο... δηλαδή, ήταν τρομερά επώδυνο να κάνει λάθος ο ζωγράφος. Σκεφτείτε λοιπόν τι επιδεξιότητα έπρεπε να έχει ώστε να μπορεί σε ένα αγγείο να κάνει μια ζωγραφική. Και οι λύκηθοι είναι καταπληκτικοί... Αυτά γράμματα του Θεοκρίτου είναι για μένα η πιο αυθεντική ελληνική σειρά που εχει σχεδιαστεί μέχρι σήμερα... [...] μια εξαιρετική κατά την γνώμη μου σειρά. Θέλω να πω ότι τον Κεφαλληνό τον εξαίρεσα ως σπουδαίο δημιουργό στο χώρο του εντύπου με την ιδιότητά του, του καθηγητή και του Πρύτανη της Σχολής Καλών Τεχνών.

ΜΕ: Ποιό ήταν ο ορισμός του 'κακότεχνου', 'κακόγουστου', 'ακαλαίσθητου'...

MB: *Είναι η πιο δύσκολη ερώτηση που μπορεί να κάνει κανείς για όλες τις τέχνες γιατί οι ορισμοί εξαρτώνται από αυτούς που τους κάνουνε, και οι διαπιστώσεις είναι από αυτούς που θα τις κάνουνε. Ένα κριτήριο ασφαλές είναι η πολλαπλότητα των κρίσεων. Εάν δέκα κριτικοί διαπιστώσουν ότι ένας πίνακας είναι άρτιος καλλιτεχνικά, κατά πάσα πιθανότητα ο πίνακας θα έχει πολλά προσόντα αρτιότητας. Ενδεχομένως ο ενδέκατος να βρει κάποια σημεία που να μην εναι τόσο… Αλλά κατά πασα πιθανότητα θα εκπληρώνει πολλά προσόντα αρτιότητας. Φαντάζομαι το ερώτημά σας έχει σχέση με το μεγάλο πλήθος. Το μεγάλο πλήθος είναι το πρόβλημα, νομίζω ότι και στο βιβλίο εκείνο…*

ΜΕ: Ποια ήταν η 'φωνή' εκείνη την εποχή που έλεγε ότι αυτή είναι η 'σωστή' κρίση…

MB: *Δεν υπάρχει. Κοιτάξτε, είναι όπως σε όλον τον κόσμο. Πρώτον, υπάρχουν οι κριτικοί των εφημερίδων, οι κριτικοί στα έντυπα μέσα επικοινωνίας, εφημερίδες, περιοδικά κυρίως, ειδικεύμενα περιοδικά, και ιστορικοί της τέχνης. Αλλά [για την] ιστορία της τέχνης στην Ελλάδα έχουμε μονο δύο ή τρεις. Μία ήταν του Άγγελου του Προκοπίου, η 'Ιστορια της Τέχνης', η άλλη του Χρήστου που άρχισε να γράφει τον 20ο αιώνα, όχι όμως της Ελληνικής Τεχνησ… μια συστηματική ιστορία. Συστηματικές ιστορίες της τέχνης μία τελεύταια είναι… Ιστορίες της ελληνικής τέχνης… η πιο πρόσφατη του Χρύσανθου Χρήστου, επίσης … μια καλή ιστορια…του Λιδάκη [ο οποίος δίδαξε στου Δοξιάδη], καθηγητή του Πανεπιστημίου, ναί από εκεί ξεκίνησε. Ο Στεφανίδης έχει γράψει μια ιστορία… είναι τώρα Λέκτορας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, αλλά εκείνη είναι προσωπική, είναι… 'Μια ιστορία..', αυτός το τονίζει, και έχει δίκιο βέβαια σε αυτό. Καποια φορά είχαμε βρεθεί σε ενα πάνελ με τον Μάνο Στεφανίδη, και αφού μίλησε για κάποιες γνώμες, του είπα· 'κε Στεφανίδη, αν είχατε την απαίτηση οι απόψεις σας να γίνουν δεκτές, θα έπρεπε να βγάλετε μια φωτοτυπία του εαυτού σας και να την πολλαπλασιάσετε με τους ακροατές του συγκεριμένου πίνακα για να έχουν τις ίδιες απόψεις…' ε, δεν τις έχουν… Δηλαδή, το μεγάλο πλήθος δεν μπορεί να έχει την ανταπόκριση σε ένα έργο τέχνης όπως ένας κριτικός. Χαρακτηριστικό είναι οι κριτικοί κινηματογραφικών ταινιών κάθε εβδομαδα. Πόσοι διαβάζουν, πόσοι ακολουθούν, και πόσοι συμφωνούν… Πολλές φορές έχουμε κριτικές ταινιών με κριτήρια θα έλεγα 'σινεφίλ', αλλά το μεγάλο πλήθος δεν ακολουθεί και δεν συμφωνεί με τις κριτικές του Δανίκα στα Νέα. Συμφωνούν για να πάνε σινεμά…. Το πρόβλημα είναι οι κριτικές αυτές γίνονται από ανθρώπους που έχουν μία ιστορία, μία προετοιμασία, έχουν μελέτη, μία σπουδή κλπ, το μεγάλο πλήθος όμως, κατά μέγιστη πιθανότητα, δεν έχει τη δυνατότητα να ακολουθήσει τον ίδιο δρόμο για να έχει την ίδια ανταπόκριση με τα έργα τέχνης.*

ΜΕ: Ποιοί φορείς, εάν υπήρχαν, διαμόρφωσαν το 'γούστο' στην Ελλάδα;

MB: *Τεράστια ερώτηση. Δύσκολο να απαντήσει κανείς. Πρώτον, η δημόσια ζωή: περιοδικά, εφημερίδες, κινηματόγραφος. Και σιγά-σιγά η τηλεόραση… _*

Freddie Carabott

Interview on 22 March 2008, Athens

This interview was held at the premises of the Benaki Museum in Athens before the opening of the K+K exhibition. The interview concerned mostly F.Carabott's work in tourism promotion at the Royal National Foundation (VEI) in the mid 1950s, and the Greek Tourism Organisation (GTO) from 1957-1967.

ME: How did you get the commission to design the domestic leaflets for the Royal National Foundation (VEI)?

FC: *Well, it was, let's say, our good reputation.*

I came back to Greece in 1952-1953. In the beginning, I did some freelance works, and later on, I worked for the advertising agency Leoussis in a small room at Efpolidos Street. There were 5 people in that room, Kastanakis, who was a designer-painter-cartoonist, Yannis Liaskas [?], Mrs. Leoussi, the soul of the agency, Mr. Leoussis, a unique and transcended gentleman, Iakovos Kambanellis, copywriter, and myself, and also the young assistants. All in a room sized 4x4m. For the lavatories we had to ask for a special key from the building's door-keeper. Each room had a key... [it felt like] *grummet in the ships...*

How I ended up there? Nora, later Nora Anagnostaki the wife of the poet-writer Anagnostakis from Thessaloniki, introduced me to Leoussis. Or, maybe through Fragiski Zacharopoulou [?], a marvelous lady that knew Leoussis...

[At Leoussis] *I learned things that it would be difficult to learn in London... printings, cliché, typography, lithography, practical things,* [...] *how you would follow up a printing of a maquette that you designed for a client.*

ME: So, slowly you started building a name...

FC: *social connections... the social circle of Athens was small back then... everyone knew everybody. At some point Pogkis* [?] *the director/president of VEI heard about me through a common circle of friends.*

ME: I see that you signed your designs with your name on both the GTO and VEI laeflets...

FC: *Yes, I signed my works... It was logical. I was responsible for what I did. In my time, we did sign our work* [at the GTO and VEI], *and there were also the printing and publishing information... which artist, when it was printed, ... this helped for archiving purposes. I saw this practice exist since the post-civil war times, which was characterised by an attempt to be organised, to be prompt professionals...*

ME: How did the job at the GTO come about?

FC: *This came through Aspioti-ELKA (AE)... I am not sure through whom... maybe through* [painter] *Moralis, through* [painter] *Tsarouchis? I was introduced to Mrs. Eliopoulou and Mr. Eliopoulos at the AE, where I started working as Art Director. There, I met Fani Lambadariou, who was the Chief for the advertising section of Eleni Vlachou's Icones magazine.*

Before that I was working for Ilissos. Ilissos was some kind of an artistic publishing 'boutique' that was consisted of painters namely Nikolaou, Yannis Moralis, Yannis Georgakis the 'great', and also the writer Andreas Gkousgounis [?]... And then again, through many acquaintances, through night-outs gatherings and dinners, ... what we call today, public relations...

I was asked to work at Ilissos with Leoussis' permission. Leoussis treated me exceptionally well. He told me: 'Yes, my child go to Ilissos where you will get a lot more money, and it is a more wide spreading company-agency'... and then there was a telephone call... The connection

between AE and Ilissos was through family bonds... we had those close connections, we hanged out together at nights... they knew our work, and they recognised it. [They were telling] *'oh, for this job get Carabott at the advertising department of Icones'.* [...] *Also, clients did not come to AE just for printing their work, they commissioned the design of the job too there. AE gave these kind of jobs to me. I worked at AE in 1955-56 and 1957-58, around those years...*

My work at GTO came again through social links. Athens was a small family back then. GTO asked me to do 1-2 designs, and then at the same time, from Onassis' Olympic Cruises they asked me to make some posters... One thing brings the next.

At that time Konstantinos Tsatsos, the Minister to the Prime Minister's Office, knew the talent of Fani Lambadariou in the field of advertising. He told her: 'Come to [work for the] *Tourism* [sector], *to lead the department of Tourism Promotion.' Fani knowing my abilities/qualities as her colleague at AE, invited me to work with her. This was done in an official way, since before that I had a connection with GTO already, in this manner: 'Mr Carabott, we heard good words about you, would you design a leaflet for us... a poster?'. And I was accepting these* [one-off commissions]. *But then Fani's invitation was a lot more official.* [She told me] *'come here to be a member of the Committee Board, and also to design for us too. This meant not just being the judge of external commissions, posters and leaflets of fellow colleagues, painters that is, but also to design leaflets and posters for the GTO. This is how my work developed there and lasted from 1957 to 1967.*

Then Junta arrived and all this came to an end...

I met Michalis Katzourakis through a family acquaintance. I liked his work very much, and I asked him to join the Board at the GTO too. This was end of the 1950s beginning of the 1960s.

ME: The Board consisted of you, and ...

FC: *... Michalis Katzourakis, Fani Lambadariou, Martzi Chatzilazarou, Vana Chatzimichali, and Kostas Dimitriadis, who before Lambadariou became the chief...* [Dimitriadis] *who was the leader in the promotion of tourism before advertising became more 'scientific', more 'professional'...*

We were deciding on who to design the leaflets, who to commission. There was a group of painters and we were commissioning one depending on the subject. For instance, we wanted a leaflet for Cyclades, so, among the 5-6 painters we had in mind, who is the best for this job...Who was good for promoting Ydra? Moralis for instance,... Manoussakis, etc. They presented their drafts to us, and we were making decisions...

ME: Did you commission more than one practitioner for a single job?

FC: *We asked just one person each time. I don't remember if a design was rejected before we give a second chance to the painter...*

ME: Did you get paid for this job?

FC: *Surely. In two ways. Firstly, we were given a small fee for the weekly meetings, and some times for unplanned ones... and secondly, we got paid for our design contribution, when we were asked to design... our works passed through the same procedure, as did the work of our colleagues, painters, graphic designers or the like... through the Board.*

ME: What kind of professionals did you have for this work (tourism promotion)? Painters, graphic designers? Where there graphic designers?

FC: *So, so. Yorgos Vakirtzis was both a painter, and why not... a graphic designer. Vassileiou was a painter. Manoussakis was more a painter than a graphic designer, but he knew how to set type in composition... he would not put them wrongly. Yannis Svoronos... was a graphic designer, but I am not sure if he designed anything for the GTO. These are very sensitive issues to attempt a taxonomy...*

ME: Young people, were painters or graduates of design schools?

FC: *Some came from Doxiadis Colleges, and some where the Uncle's nephew who had 'talent'...* [Often we were told] *'You, who make 'these'* [afta]*, check out my nephew's... how you call 'them'? those that you make, my nephew does them too! So what do you think, can he do something* [for you]*?' This is how things were done in those years.*

... in 1963, there was a cut. In 1963 the political system changed, it was Georgios Papandreou [the Prime Minister]*... things somewhat were politicised, they became confused... They employed an officer from the military to run the Promotion Department, could you ever imagine this? We froze. After that everything was somewhat alien. We didn't care.*

And it was at that time if I remember well that Fani Lambadariou quit. [She said] *'no work can be done over here... how on earth after working all these years and receiving awards, one can send me a military officer to supervise my department!?...'. He was a likeable officer otherwise, but still irrelevant [to the work]!*

ME: Who employed him?

FC: *Status quo. The* [political] *system changed, the old government left and the new one came over. That's it. The same old story. The Promotion Department followed orders from the government in power each time. But there weren't many governments actually up to the point. It was the Karamanlis' government until 1961-62, when Fani Lambadariou served as the Head of the Promotion Department. Then Georgios Papandreou came over and things started to be complicated, with military or non-military officers, ... [to be in control of things] over here, over there... From then onwards, the atmosphere froze. And it was at that time that Fani said: 'Maybe, it's better to move on with the guys I know, with Michalis and Freddie, who already have an agency since 1962 to go and work with them...'. And this is how she became the Manager of K+K.*

ME: What happened after 1967, did you continue being members in the Board at GTO?

FC: *Board members? I am not sure...! We didn't have any position in the Board. They just commissioned us occasionally... until 1967, and then was a different issue, we started to lose it.* [Photographer] *Nikos Kostopoulos started working there, a very good professional. This is all we knew.*

ME: After 1967, designs relied mostly on photography...

FC: *Everything was so alien to us... we didn't pay too much attention... We were too, inflicted with the syndrome of political disappointment.*

[...]

I want to underline the word 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' At some point. This is very important. From 1963, the words 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' were, for me, placed in the fridge, they became secondary in every aspect. And this had consequences in everything. From standing up when a lady is entering to making the right briefing for your artist. EVERYTHING! I insist on that. Konstantinos Tsatsos selected Fani Lambadariou... Note this: a man chooses a woman, a well-informed man chooses a thinking lady, and a Lady fore and foremost, ... it's difficult for me to explain... What I was left with after all these is that we started to see new faces, other reactions, other situations... For us, I think, it was... -I expose myself now, but I am afraid I have to say it one day-, these new faces were the result of nepotism. Do you understand? They weren't the result of serious people, patriots, who did not dare think for their own benefit. For instance, Tsatsos chose Lambadariou not because he would get a kickback [miza]... but he chose her for [her professional skills]. This manner had consequences in so many other things...

ME: The period during Karamanlis' government was a period of modernisation...

FC: *Absolutely! There was, what we call, 'drive' in all people! From all strata of society. From the little typographer to the big lithographer, the burgeoise store owner to the manufacturer. There was an excitement to build Greece...*

ME: How did you, as a graphic designer, realise this 'drive'?

FC: *We got to realise this through our contact with our clients. Whether it was the small client or the really big one, it didn't matter. We see them all as equal. We had a very nice communication with them. The desire to make something beautiful was wide open. How they trusted us, we don't know... Of course, some [clients] had their attitude. You showed them what colour you use in the poster, and they told you that they need to ask their wives for this. Oh, well, all these always exist of course.*

ME: People, clients were open to accept the 'new'?

FC: *Absolutely! On the one hand, they kept the fear, the conservatism of the past, on the other hand, you saw them smile towards the modern... also they enjoyed humour too. This is what I recollect from this era.*

ME: Did the government order you to put emphasis on ancient Greece in your design? To show antiquities in your promotion? Was there any ideology that you perceived coming from above?

FC: *No! Never ever! During the meetings we just said that we needed to promote let's say Achaia... and we asked: 'what do we have there to promote? What attracts foreign tourists to that place?' Oh, we also targetted the poor tourist, who is bored to see Olympia as the glorious past of Greece. 'Aaahh, then let's show him Killinis' beach umbrellas'. This is the way we spoke, this is the way we were thinking...'*

ME: You didn't target only the educated traveller?

FC: *No, unless there was a message from above coming down to us once or twice that we need to advertise Olympia because the area is in need of support. And what had Olympia to offer? Olympic Games, then this is what we needed to promote. Where there was a government order was at a different department, the Ministry of Presidency for the Cypriot issue. In that case there was an order along the lines: ' Do something to push Europeans or the world, that the right is with Greece and not with Britain that keeps it* [Cyprus] *under its colony'. So to speak, that was a justified order.*

[...]

Government politics did not concern us... Yet, I remember two instances. One order came from the Presidency of the Government for the elections of 1963/1964. Katzourakis and I were asked to design a poster. Back then Greek economy was very good. We designed an eye, and on the part of the apple we placed an 1 drachma coin. It was a very strong poster. The slogan was: 'Your drachma and your eye, don't let Papandreou blow it away.' We were very excited about this idea. We presented this to our office mates, but it was rejected in the majority. And since we were compliant to democratic orders we accepted.

The second occasion was during the Junta. Junta officers asked us to do the 'Yes or No: Monarchy or Democracy' campaign. We had to find a skillful way to turn this commission down. We were just at the time we signed a contract with UNIVAS, and so we told them: It would like to work for you but we just signed a contract with UNIVAS and there is one condition: no involvement with politics.' And this is how we got away with this.

But, to have governmental orders for Tourism? No, none. [...] *How pure/naïve time it was back then… about government orders… we knew nothing…*

ME: Did you feel more free when you designed for an international audience?

FC: *Of course we were conscious of the audience. We dared. We knew how the audience would receive it.*

ME: In which languages did the leaflets and posters come out? English, French, German…

FC: *And Italian, some times. They were the dominant languages.*

ME: What was the relation between text and image in the leaflets? Did you read the inserted texts before you started designing?

FC: *Surely. Very often they gave us the text to be familiar with the atmosphere/discourse. And this gave us inspiration. For sure! Or even the copywriter's slogan… it gave us the spark…*

ME: About the tourist campaigns abroad?

FC: *There weren't any advertising agencies in Greece, but ADEL. The only, serious, professional agency was ADEL that offered all the services: media research, market research, media buying, media planning, account executives… No other* [offered these services]… [all other agenices were] *in the age of Otto* [King of Greece in mid-19th century].. *they just drew an illustration… 'my nephew told me of a very nice slogan, put it!' eehh! It was logical for the targeted audience, the promotion of Tourism to be assigned to foreign advertising agencies.*

ME: So, you at the GTO did not have the exclusive promotion of Greece? Foreign agencies were also designed fr Greek tourism promotion?

FC: *For sure!*

ME: Did you communicate with those agencies abroad?

FC: *Yes! But in this sense: we designed* [in isolation?], *and maybe this was a mistake. One need to have an overall view of the subject. You can't ask from an English agency to design the international campaign and at the same time you design a leaflet for Olympia. You need to submit it to the international committee so that to check and to correct if there is any issue is clashing with the one that we were doing here in Greece for Olympia. This level of communication was not reached at the time.*

[…]

I think, at this point there need to be a professional integrity. All things should have been consistent. But this was not the case. They [foreign advertising agency] sent us their poster to approve, we didn't do the same. We didn't send our campaign to be approved by them. […] And, I guess, it is at this point, that Katzourakis and I were good at. We captured the pulse of the German, British, French, Italian tourist, and we managed to send the right messages.

ME: Was there one design concept for all countries?

FC: *Only the title changed: Greece, Grèce, Griechenland. Well, some time there were some changes, but rarely. Only for a niche target, a particular place, country. [For instance], English people, lets say, like ouzo, so we put ouzo in the poster… maybe this was happening…*

ME: Which element do you see as 'modern' in your designs?

FC: *Colour. The mixed technique. The impact, the eye-catching element, simplicity. Of course, the first impression to be strong.*

ME: What happened in the 1960s?

FC: *We lost the interest. There were two elements [that disappointed us]: first, the market research, which was saying [let's say] that this should be green and not red, even though the product sells good in red for many years. This was the first disappointment. The second, the companies started to grow and the owners of the companies too, age-wise, so we stopped seeing the owner, or the owner stopped seeing us… to have a direct communication. Instead we started seeing their representative, and he saw our representative… we lost interest… it was not financial productive anyway…*

ME: Did you have a space to work in the GTO?

FC: *We didn't have a space to design. We went there only for the Board meetings. We were given a dissent paycheck… not of course to buy a piece of land…*

In 1963, Fokas also left. Papaeftathiou, who had American Express, came at the GTO. Very nice person, but together with him came also this military officer to take lead of the Promotion…

1963 was a cornerstone year. Things changed. Papaefstathiou was very nice. It happened to be friends with Papandreou, and that's fine. Nevertehelss, Papaefstathiou was a travel agent, he knew what tourism meant at least.

ME: Did Fokas and Papaefstathiou attend your meetings?

FC: *No, very rarely. And rarely went to theirs. We didn't invited them to our meetings to ask them how they liked a campaign made by Katzourakis, Carabott, etc.. Very rarely.* […] *But then if these happened, I don't remember. These things did not impress on me so much.* _

Agni Katzouraki, Michalis Katzourakis, Freddie Carabott

Joined interview about their work at the GTO
Interview date: 22 March 2008, Athens

[...]

MK: *It was not possible for two consultants* [Carabott, Katzourakis] *of the same background to be in the Committee, but we made a formula for me to be in the Board too. I was paid for designing the promotional material, … and also participated in the weekly meetings…*

Nikos Synadinos was the Director for the Athens and Epidavros Festival…

In the Board's meetings there were Fani Lmbadariou, Freddie Carabott, me, Martzi Chatzilazarou,… Chatzimichali… There was not an office for these meetings… We met and discussed who will design what… No, we didn't have any connection with the finance department.

FC: *No, we didn't have any connection…. Just when it came to decide if it is better to advertise in newspapers, periodical press, in cinema halls. Yes, for this matter we had a say. Also, we had the say more about the designs proposed from abroad, whether it's good or not… Also, we were assessing our colleagues' works, and ourselves too… is it good, is it bad, what is it? … Well, things like that…*

ME: Who decided upon the subject/place of the promotion?

MK: *… depending on the needs at the time…*

ME: Was there any problem for your employment that you didn't hold a Greek certificate?

MK: *… there was never a problem. Well, it was just me, and what I did.*

ME: It was your reputation?

MK: *Yes.*

ME: And your connection with Freddie Carabott?

MK: *Yes, basically that.*

In 1957-1958, Konstantinos Tsatsos was the Minister to the Prime Minister's Office, … very educated person… and he chose Nikos Fokas. [Fokas]*, who was a very good director for tourism, he knew the job. I don't know what was his background, but he wanted Greece to have selected and expensive tourism, which never really happened. And he* [Fokas] *decided to found an advertising department* [at the GTO]*. And then, they invited Fani Lambadariou, who was currently at Aspioti-ELKA and responsible for the* Icones *magazine to undertake the direction of this department.* [Lambadariou] *wanted to have the freedom to choose her colleagues… under this condition she accepted the position. And they agreed on that. It was an ideal collaboration from the Minister to the Director… this was very important.*

ME: What was the relation between image and text when designing the leaflets? Did you read the texts before designing them?

AK: *No. Texts came after… but we knew about the subject to be promoted, for instance we knew that we would design a leaflet for Kefalonia.*

MK: *… and it would be tri-fold, quarto-fold, multi-fold, etc.*

AK: *… yes… we weren't inspired by the texts… the text was kind of more informational…*

MK: *… about the hotels, the antiquities… For instance, for Mykonos we were thinking what represented the island best, or for Rhodes island… Which element was important and strong… that had a personality.*

ME: Were there any other graphic designers at the time you started working for the GTO? For instance, Vlachos, Valassakis, Manousakis, Tassos…

MK: *… there was someone called Gerontas… he signed with 'Ger'69'… he wrote the year next to his name… They were also some collaborators coming from the 'property' of GTO… well, there was also Manoussakis, who was a talented painter.*

AK: *… also, artists worked for the GTO too, for example, Tetsis.*

MK: *… Vassileiou too… Well, Tetsis was well before us… we didn't have a connection.*

AK: *In 1958, when we got married* [with Michalis Katzourakis], *I was leaving* [the country] *because we were about to move to London, and was looking for houses… but he* [MK] *wrote me to come back because he decided to work at…* [the GTO]

I was a 'trainee' [mathitevomeni] *in the office…*

MK: *… we all were trainees. I was a trainee too… self-taught. Basically, I went to Paris* [to study] *under the tutelage of Paul Colin. But Colin did posters, he was not a graphic designer with the sense that… not even Cassandre… he did posters… I was drawing for five hours a day…*

AK: *He* [MK] *did perfect lettering by hand! This is what we learned…*

ME: Was there a market research at the GTO?

MK: *I am not sure.*

AK: *It was kind of an 'oblivious' age generally…*

MK: *… our department did the design of posters, for all promotional material… which was distributed in several tourist agencies abroad, and to hotels in Greece to show other places to visit… also to travel agents…*

ME: Abroad?

MK: *… there were some campaigns for America and Europe… but these were not* [?] *made by international advertising agencies…*

ME: Were you given a specific briefing from the upper administration to employ a particular subject more prominently, let's say, ancient Greece?

MK: *No, I don't think so. There wasn't anyone above Lambadariou… anyone that would be involved with advertising for tourism… But there might have been some sort of an agreement to make campaigns in Europe and America…*

ME: Were you asked to use images of antiquity more prominently?

MK: *No. There was a lot of freedom. There was the Committee… Well, back then, things were not that scientific as they are now…*

AK: *… and also everything was new… the whole history of advertising… Toulouse Lautrec…*

MK: *… you are talking about ancient things now…*

The most professional posters were by Colin, Cassandre…

AK: *… well, there was only THE POSTER back then… no other things.*

ME: Was it in your intention to present a 'modern' image of Greece in your designs? Or to show a classical one, or a traditional one?

MK: *No. We wanted to show real Greece. Greece had antiquities, sun and sea. The Festival of Athens was a different story… with ancient theatres… Well, anyway, despite of the amateurish conditions at the time, Greece got the most prestigious award in advertising in 1963…* […] *it was the Tulip advertising award for GTO's tourism promotion…*

ME: About the weekly Committee meetings…

MK: *… There were 5-6 people, and was also, Dimitriadis…*

ME: What were the subjects/themes in tourism promotion?

MK: *… that depended on which areas had an* [tourism] *infrastructure…*

ME: If we may make the distinction between 'modern' and 'traditional', which element in your work in relation to the previous works of colleagues, you consider 'modern' and which one 'traditional'? The layout? The colours?

MK: *We tried to make proper advertising, something very simple and clear… The image should tell what you want to say… and we used different media to achieve this…* [we used] *very bright colours… whereas before that all colours were brown, beige… We dared… to put a black and white photograph with high contrasts, a yellow background… before it was more a painterly approach…* [our approach] *did not exist before…* [before] *it was a soup altogether… We tried to follow the 'unique selling point'.*

AK: *… This was the way we looked at things. I can't say that we sat and thought that we were pioneers… it was the way we could do the work, it was not a matter of choice… we didn't care to do innovative work. I believe it's wrong to start with this sort of goal, that is, 'I want to be innovative'. What you do, needs to come out of you naturally, and you do what you CAN do. Otherwise it's aping. It doesn't grow from an inner process to think that now I* [choose to] *become old-fashioned, now I am innovative, now I am Greek-spirited… or to deploy 'Greekness'. You can have it, and it can be truthful, and can have a personality.*

ME: Were your ideas easily accepted at the GTO?

AK: *… how we convinced them?… I don't know… because they really looked loony…*

MK: *… this happened because when we started the 'story', 1962-63, there was an enthusiasm. Greece was coming out of a War and a Civil War. New things were happening for the first time. The clients were young, of our age more or less, and so we had a direct contact with the company owners.*

After 1970, things started to become complicated. We had account executives, they [the clients] *created the relevant departments, and it was becoming circular … we did not have the freshness of the beginning* [the direct contact with the owner of the company].

We could persuade the director of CitiBank in a different way… and we could pass on an idea when I, or Freddie said so, and they accepted it. And because they were kind of acquaintances, we had a positive response in what we did…

Also, it seems that the Greek audience was receptive to our ideas… otherwise all these campaigns would never have been realised…

ME: In relation to that you designed for an international audience, was there any difference?

MK/AK: *No, it wasn't different… it was the same thing…*

ME: What made your work 'modern'?

AK: *I think the use of vivid, bright colours. Formerly, there were the 'exquisite'* [aisthantika] *colours, olive-greens, browns, blues, … and secondly, we chose one single element to highlight.*

MK: *... to be able to read* [the message] *in seconds.*

AK: *We had to make an image that would attract your attention among a thousand other things that existed around...*

MK: *To be simple and clear. I think this was the change. What we did was more clear in relation to the previous works, which were art paintings...*

AK: *... which were very descriptive.*

MK: *... which was like a soup all together.*
... to add some springs there, and an urn, and a cloth and a head ... it doesn't go anywhere all this... Aahh, and then you look at this and read that... it was too narrative...

AK: *... well, ours were telling a story too...*

MK: *Yes, but it was more straightforward, more clear... from all the things, you picked the most important one to promote...*

AK: *This was the starting point... to make things that will be different from all the thousand other things... be it a newspaper, a magazine, a poster...*

ME: After 1967...?

MK: *Basically, after 1967 there is no Tourism* [GTO] *for us, but our advertising job* [at K+K] *continued as normal, nothing changed...*

ME: ... new people came at the GTO?

MK: *I don't know what happened after... there was no Committee... B.* [sirname is given] *took decisions very quickly...*

AK: *... the issue of tourism stopped completely, our agency* [K+K] *continued...*

ME: (... looking at post-1967 posters from the GTO Catalogue 'Tourism Posters')

MK: *... there were some good things, and some... There were more photography-based posters in the majority ... by Kostopoulos. He was good. He was an employee at the GTO. Employees at the GTO were working* [permanently] *there,* [that is] *they weren't external collaborators.*

ME: (... looking at a photography-based poster for Crete of a young lady and an old Cretan man)

AK: *At that time, it was difficult to do such thing... to find a model, etc.* [...] *Photography capturing everyday life was later. There were some photographers working for tourism promotion, e.g., Kontos, Mavrogenis... but to work with models like this one... we did it later... I remember that when I started a work, my ideas were bound to the execution and printing limitations. All these play an important role. You couldn't do complicated things... for the titles, there were some books... we photographed the letters, letter by letter and did the composition... very time-consuming procedure... and then there was the repromaster, phototypesetting... then our life started to get easy... there was 'Mecanorma' transfer lettering... now you have all these things in a box with a click of a button, tack, tack, tack...* [referring to the computer technology].

ME: After 1970?

MK: *... we turned to interior design in cruise ships.*

AK: *It was accidental... no, it wasn't more artistic. It was more profitable...*

The situation in advertising was awful. All the middlemen/mediatory people were standing in our way... we lost interest. All the enthusiasm had gone. And then I went to work at Katzourakis' office [K+K] *as a 'trainee' again... In K+K there was a collaboration... exchanging. At the art department there were around 10 people,* [that is] *employees-trainees: Zannias for a*

couple of months, Saxonis, Poriazis with Kanavakis after, Yannis Angelopoulos, Lena Koutsi-Apergi (former Saxoni)…

ME: … Was the professional circle small at the time?

AK: *There weren't that many. There were some other studios, for instance, Eliopoulos, Vakirtzis, Papadopoulos…*

ME: Was there a competition between the studios?

AK: *We, as individuals, didn't interact much with the rest of the trade guild… we weren't interested… after all, there was no organisation* [association/union]…

ME: What about the attempt by Christakis to found the Institute for the Graphic Arts…

MK: *… we created a union of graphic designers, and Christakis was the treasurer…*

AK: *…* [organising the profession] *was something new. It was the beginning* […] *generally, many efforts* [were made], *but they were shipwrecked… there was no money. _*

(I was advised to contact Fani Lambadariou at her home number in Athens)

Fani Lambadariou

Telephone communication on 16 and 26 October 2009, Athens

ME: How did you get to work for the GTO?

FL: *I must say that I was not qualified officially for the job* [at the GTO] *since I didn't have any relevant degree or formal qualification. I was just a Lyceum graduate and spoke English and German. At the time* [mid 1950s]*, I was working at the distribution and advertising section at* Icones *magazine* [1955-1967]*, and at the printing house Aspioti-ELKA* [1884-1987]*… then I was asked to meet the Minister Konstantinos Tsatsos… In the meeting it was also Stefanos Pesmatzoglou, Fokas* [governement officials]*, and* [Aris] *Konstantinidis, the architect. In fact, he* [Konstantinidis] *closed his office to come and work with the team.* [Tsatsos] *showed to me absolute trust… they* [government officials] *let me go alone in America…*

ME: Why were you asked to go to America?

FL: *We were collaborating with an US advertising agency to promote Greece. In Fall 1958 we received a proposal for a campaign from our American counterparts. It was a cursory proposal, and it did not have consistency with our campaigns. … It was thought among us that 'We wont make Greece like Miami…'. We decided to make a European-minded campaign, not an American one. This is the dialogue between Fokas and myself:*
>   Fokas: *Did you see the campaign they sent us… Did you like it?*
>   FL: *Not at all.*
>   Fokas: *What do you suggest?*
>   FL: *To go to America tomorrow morning.*
>   Fokas: *Do you have Visa?*
>   FL: *No.*

And by that afternoon I had a Visa issued for me. I traveled to New York the next day. I talked to the agency director, and he agreed to revise the campaign.

ME: The working environment at the advertising worldwide was make-dominated, what was the situation at the GTO?

FL: *The same here, it was male-dominated. Albeit after the war many women had to work.*

ME: It is thought by both designers and historians that the period between 1958 and 1963/4 was the 'golden age' for the tourism promotion? What is your opinion?

FL: *It wasn't just me. We were a team, and everything had to do with the Government management. … there is a lot of work behind the overall promotion, … it isn't just the poster we see. Most of the work done during the time is documented in the K+K catalogue.*
…and then, Junta came. Although I had already left the GTO. One night I received a phone call, and I was asked to return back to this post. But when I told them my contribution to the annulment of the auction/competition for the commissions, they said 'ah, you are that person who… Thank you and Good night!' and they hung up. They never contacted me again. It was my belief that there was no real and fair competition in auctions… there was a lot of backstaging…_

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Notes: For Regulations concerning competitions for the GTO, see: *National Gazette*, 5 October 1957, Vol.1, Issue 199, pp.1525-1530; For Regulations concerning the GTO Committee, see: *National Gazette*, 15 July 1957, Vol.1, Issue 125, pp.891-893; For the alteration of the organisation and the composition of the GTO Committee Board as appeared in 10.10.1956, see: *National Gazette*, 1 June 1957, Vol.1, Issue 96, p.678; For the alteration and addition in the Orders concerning the GTO Committee Board (Law 3864), see: *National Gazette*, 23 October 1958, Vol. 1, Issue 174, pp.1521-1526.

List of Resources

Greece: C.A. Doxiadis Archive (DA); Greek Parliament Library (GPL); Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (E.L.I.A.); Greek Tourism Organisation Library and Archive (GTO); Public Power Corporation Archive (PPCA); University of the Aegean Library (Lesvos) (UAL); Vovolini Archive (VA); Evgenidios Library (EL); Hellenic Association of Advertising Agencies Archive (HAAA or EDEE); Institute of Communication Archive and Library (ICAL); ADEL-Spot Thompson Archive; *Typographia* Archive; AKTO Library

Private archives: L. Christakis; Apostolos C. Doxiadis; K. Eliopoulos; Y. Koutsouris; D. Nikolaidis; Irene Orati; E. Varzigiantziki

UK: Royal College of Art Library (RCAL); British Library (BL); National Art Library (NAL); Thomas Cook Archive (TCA); Huntley Film Archive (HFA); J. Aynsley personal archive

The Netherlands: Delft University Library (DUL); Royal National Library (RNL); Leiden University Library (LUL)

USA: Harvard University Library (HUL)

Turkey: Izmir University of Economics Library (IUEL)

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