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Rationalising violence: Leros

The paper considers Leros in the Greek Dodecanese as a case study in the history of rationalist architecture of the fascist Italian regime, implicating varied forms of surveillance, exile, detainment, and incarceration. The paper explores the enduring legacy and impact the colonial and military architecture, policy, and planning have had on urban and architectural forms, local labour economies, and the community that continues to the present day. The research spans from the Italian occupation of Leros to the establishment of detention centres for refugees today, following the chronologically overlapping trans-institutional transformation of Italian military and medical infrastructures into notorious mental health care facilities and camps for political prisoners and violently displaced children from mainland Greece. The paper focuses on the relationships established by the plan, the architecture, the strict imposition of *gerarchia* [hierarchy], as defined elsewhere by Diane Ghirardo, and associated governing frameworks, which established a unique urban form and social fabric. The paper explores not only the aesthetic and formal qualities of the architectural object but also the socio-political diagram embedded in the logic of the ambitious building programme of the Italian occupation. It will further examine the spatial tactics and policies that supported Italian control and, consequently, the gradual erosion of agrarian traditions and capabilities of the local population, forcing them into a complex co-dependence. It is precisely the interdependence and co-existence of architecture and labour that perpetuates the island's role as an apparatus of control, creating a carceral campus of surveillance and exile.

Introduction: refugees on an island of exiles¹

Leros has been at the epicentre of the ongoing migrant movement in the South East Mediterranean. Multiple cases of possible human rights violations but also military, coast guard, and human trafficking operations and activities that brought devastation and often death to multiple migrants and refugees have defined the island's recent history. Possibly the most studied event is the sinking of the fishing boat *Gönzuru* on 20 January 2014 just off the coast of

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Leros and in the immediate proximity of Farmakonisi, which has been studied by multiple NGOs, activist groups, and Amnesty International.²

With an area smaller than 4 km² and a population of 10 people, according to the 2011 population survey, Farmakonisi belongs to the municipality of Leros. The entire jurisdiction includes mostly unpopulated islands, covering an area of 74 km² with a total population of 7,900 people. Like the entire Dodecanese archipelago and the adjacent Turkish coast, it is heavily militarised; the largest army installation, located on the northern edge of the area of Partheni, is one of the most notorious military camps in Greece. It is a ground marked by post-war political conflicts — a space of displacement, incarceration, and torture during the military dictatorship.

Between 1967 and 1974, left-wing citizens were exiled in Leros as political prisoners, repeating the political detentions associated with the tumultuous instability that followed the Greek Civil War (1944–1949). Some detainees were interred twice on Leros in the space of twenty years. Imprisoned across the island in former barracks, under house arrest, or in tents on military and naval bases or hospital grounds, these men and women who experienced institutional violence were often hosted in or against the backdrop of a rather peculiar architecture. The village of Lakki, a remnant of the island's colonial history, is a series of white, rationalist private dwellings and carefully designed public infrastructure that included, among others, a market, a generous theatre, a church, two schools, and a clock tower, organised in a strict hierarchy to form an architecturally exotic township. Large military barracks are arrayed across the harbour opposite the town and on the north of the island the camp of Partheni, demarcating a clear division of the island into military and civilian zones. These military installations had their facades covered by characteristically large letters and their interiors full of fascist, Nazi and Greek nationalist propaganda and wall paintings, some dating from the 1930s. Before arriving, the exiled would have already heard of the Royal Technical School that operated in Lakki between 1949 and 1964. Moreover, they were likely to know of another equally notorious facility, the psychiatric hospital. Irrespective, these distinctive facilities would have been unmissable when entering Lakki Bay by boat.

The camp in Partheni and the little town of Lakki were designed and built during Mussolini's fascist regime when the Dodecanese islands were part of Italian sovereign territory. Between 1912 and 1943, Leros was one of its most precious military posts in the Eastern Mediterranean, with its heavy artillery and well-protected, hidden port of Lakki, or Portolago as Italians called it, becoming a myth in itself between naval officers, pilots, commandos, paratroopers, and spies on all sides.³ Famously, Leros was one of Winston Churchill's obsessions in his attempt to intensify and further expand British colonial rule in the East Mediterranean.⁴ The deep, natural port of Lakki/Portolago was considered an essential asset for the Royal Navy in an attempt to destabilise a post-Second World War Turkey and, eventually, control the waters from Bosphorus Strait and the Dardanelles to the port of Haifa and the Suez Canal.

While visiting Leros in the spring of 2018, one would observe more than a thousand people kept in the 'Leros hotspot', or 'hospitality centre', as the Greek government and the EU institutions call temporary refugee camps. Two different prefabricated unit types, organised in a series of streets on a regular grid system and confined within a perimeter of a barbed-wire fence, were placed in a large open field defined by two large 1930s abandoned buildings. On the facade of one of them, one can still make out the large painted letters, now faint: 'Caserma Avieri' [aviators barracks]. The camp is enclosed by the coastal road of Lakki and the southwest limit of one of the three sites of the Psychiatric Department of Leros Hospital, known as the 'villas'.

This paper presents the key findings of a research project, started in early 2014, that studied architecture and urban form through the lens of contemporary military institutional analysis, mental healthcare, and political history. Leros' politicised and traumatic existence has been recently studied by others, especially in its role in de-institutionalisation process, most importantly by the Greek scholar Eirini Avramopoulou.⁵ The research focuses on the last century, from the Italian occupation of 1912–1943 until today, covering a rather neglected case of Italian rationalist architecture, namely the plan of the town of Lakki/Portolago (Fig. 1).⁶ The project follows the transformation of the infrastructure built by the Italian fascist administration for varied forms of incarceration: from notorious mental healthcare facilities, camps for political prisoners and violently displaced children from mainland Greece, to the current occupation as detention centres for refugees. Due to its articular complexity, we have not gone into a further detailed study of spaces for political exiles, which requires a separate text.

Leros is a living testimony of the array of military, security, and disciplinary apparatuses deployed by the Greek state since the end of the Second World War. The brutality and unprecedented violence of displacement, confinement, and bodily restriction exist within a colonial architecture that was designed to celebrate a mystified, fascist pan-'Mediterraneanism'.⁷ It is a space and an exemplary landscape defined by water, geography, and the southeastern Mediterranean environment, and yet it performs a series of rather different functions.

Through the investigation of specific architectures of the military, securitisation, and institutions of healthcare, and the relationships between them, the paper addresses a series of questions that frame the research project, investigating the role and agency of architecture in processes of institutionalisation, trans-institutionalisation, de-institutionalisation and subjectification in Leros, especially the rationalist town of Lakki/Portolago. Most importantly, how does the military setup of the town, the masterplan, and individual buildings organise social relations, employment, and carceral territory, an entire ecology of detention, confinement, and care?⁸ Finally, what is the impact of mental healthcare protocols on the development of cities and towns?⁹ The presence and influence of Felix Guattari in the de-institutionalisation process of the Leros Psychiatric Facility in the early 1990s make it an interesting case study for how radical psychiatry confronted what Felix Guattari called 'a real

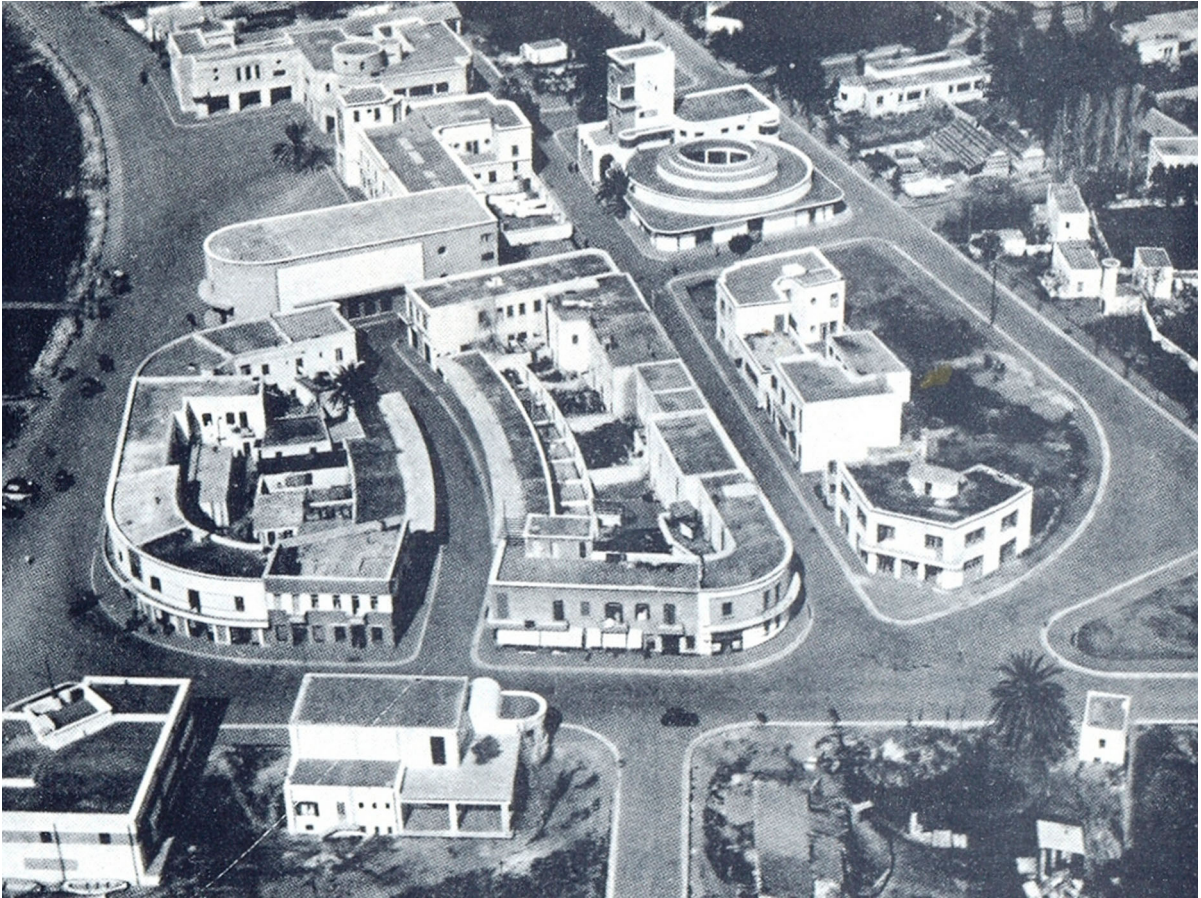


Figure 1.
Model town of Lakki/Portolagos,
1940, courtesy of the General State
Archives, Leros

psychiatric prison, a concentration camp, without the presence of any medical staff, not even a psychiatrist', when he visited the island in 1991 as one of the first attempts to reform the globally disgraced institution.¹⁰

The plan and the objects

Today a continuous crust of urbanisation encircles the waist of the island of Leros, barnacled to the sides of its deep bays and harbours. The remaining two-thirds of the island is somehow imperceptible, unknown and inaccessible, annexed from the central population due to large military bases and infrastructure. This unusual configuration contrasts with the typical archipelago tropes of seaside and hilltop villages scattered across dry island landscapes, hosting small, contained communities. This agglomeration appears more as a mainland urban development, like the start of a city or campus.¹¹ The island's vernacular is swamped by large installations for military, marine, and healthcare systems; housing fills in the patches between the institutions on the campus. This



anomaly is a direct corollary of the planning and urban development strategies of the Italian occupation that established a clear logic of hierarchy across the territory through the explicit demarcation of rank, ownership, and class through extensive programmes of expropriation and redistribution of land. These activities are concentrated around the bay of Lakki (Fig. 2). Agricultural redistribution and the military's monopolisation of the island pressured the remaining 'traditional' fabric into the thin stretch between the harbour and remaining infrastructures.

The peculiarity deepens as one enters the harbour of Lakki. Four large and imposing naval barracks flanking one side as ferries, boats, and yachts dock at the most peculiar of all villages in the Dodecanese, perhaps in the Mediterranean. Planned around the gentle curve of the harbour, with an axial plan that mirrors the camber of the bay, this small township that can be traversed in minutes is a unique and much-overlooked exemplar of rationalist Italian architecture. An experiment in planning, imagined as the model town, and a strategic eastern outpost of a failed colonial power, Lakki, and Leros, harbour a far more complex history than their modest size and reputation indicate.¹²

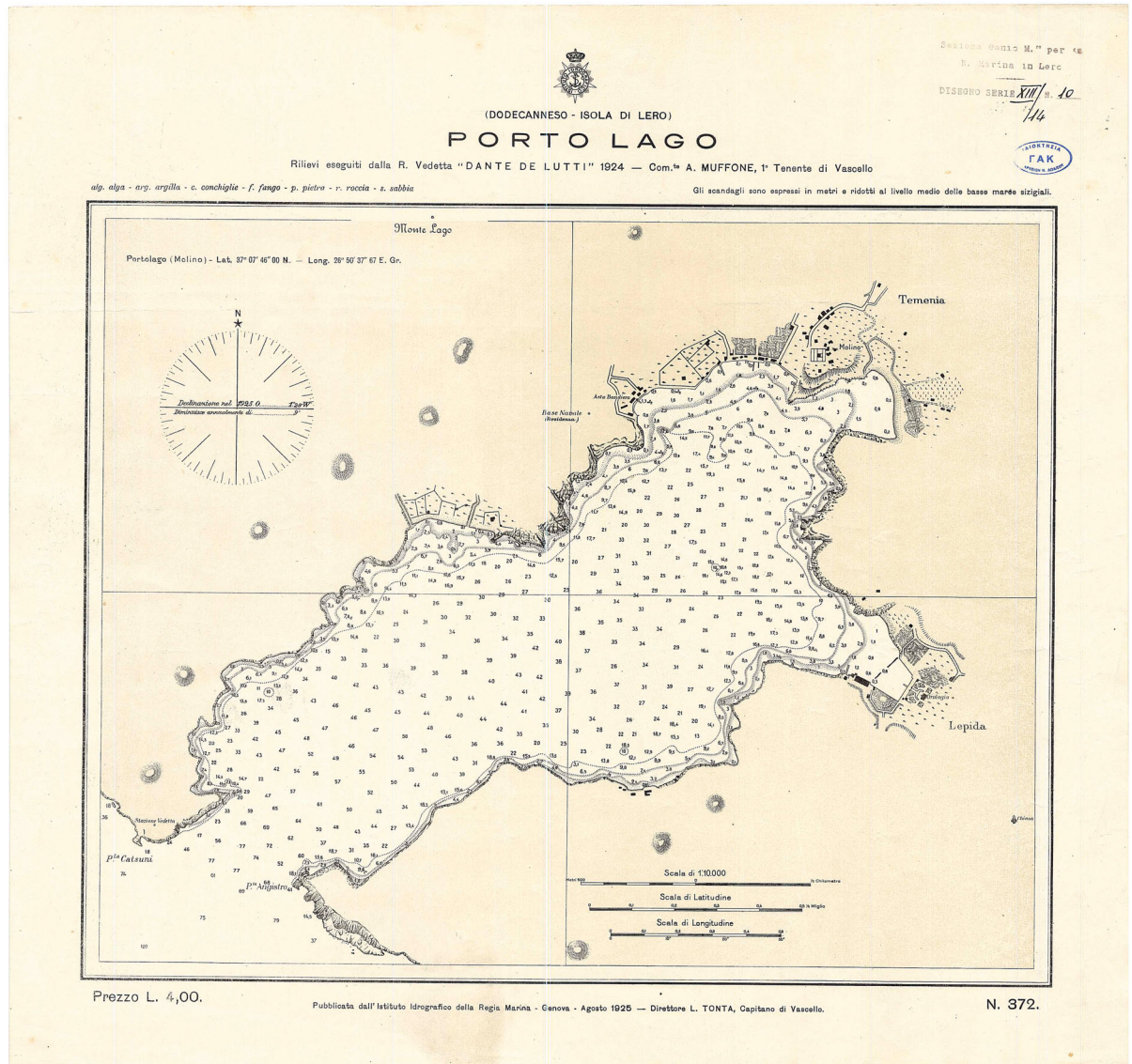
Figure 2.
Portolagos/Lakki Harbour showing Italian naval base with Aviators Barracks in the centre of the photograph, and the officers' village to the left of the image visible through the cultivated gardens including palm trees, n.d., courtesy of the General State Archives, Leros

The village carefully positions subtly designed institutional and civic edifices (theatre, casa del fascio, school, church, and market) in a considered plan, to support rows of prototypical villas along curvilinear streets. This architecture from the Italian occupation is foreign to the traditional vernacular of other islands or the adopted neo-classical vernacular prevalent in the Dodecanese. Yet, these strange objects operate beautifully in the climate, settle perfectly in the weather, and conjure a calm ease of occupation. The elegance of the architecture belies the sinister history that is palpable in the strange urban forms, the large military infrastructures, and the model town on a forgotten Greek island.

Prior to the Italian occupation of 1912, Leros was one of the more obscure islands of the Dodecanese. Owned by the remnants of the Ottoman Empire at the time, Leros was in a strange cultural limbo and existed relatively autonomously under Ottoman rule. In the resolution of the First World War and many exchanges of land across Europe and the Mediterranean, Leros, as with all the Dodecanese, came under Italian occupation. Italy's control of the Dodecanese emerged out of unrest in its northern African colonies; attempting to shore up and advance its power, Italy pressed into the Greek archipelago wresting control of the islands from Ottoman domain.¹³ During the first half of this period, Italy's claim was tenuous and reinforced through military presence.

Leros, with the deep natural harbour of Lakki/Portolago, became Mussolini's focus for launching his naval operations for the domination of the eastern Mediterranean. It became the centre for a strategic plan of a new state empire, with a forced Italian presence on the island as early as 1923 through the establishment of the G. Rossetti airbase in Lepida. Central to all of Mussolini's strategies for the construction of his state and his legacy was architecture. Fashioning himself as the master builder, Mussolini sought to immortalise power, control, and might through the physical construction of new architecture and environment.¹⁴ The beautiful village of Lakki, as alien as it is settled in a now distinctly Greek culture, is an experiment in this construction of a state image — the model town. But the architecture and planning of the harbour are more than just about symbolic power; it is, rather, an entire ecology, an infrastructure of buildings, services, policy, and economic frameworks that sustain a system dependent on processes of control and detainment, supporting a perpetual cycle of exile.

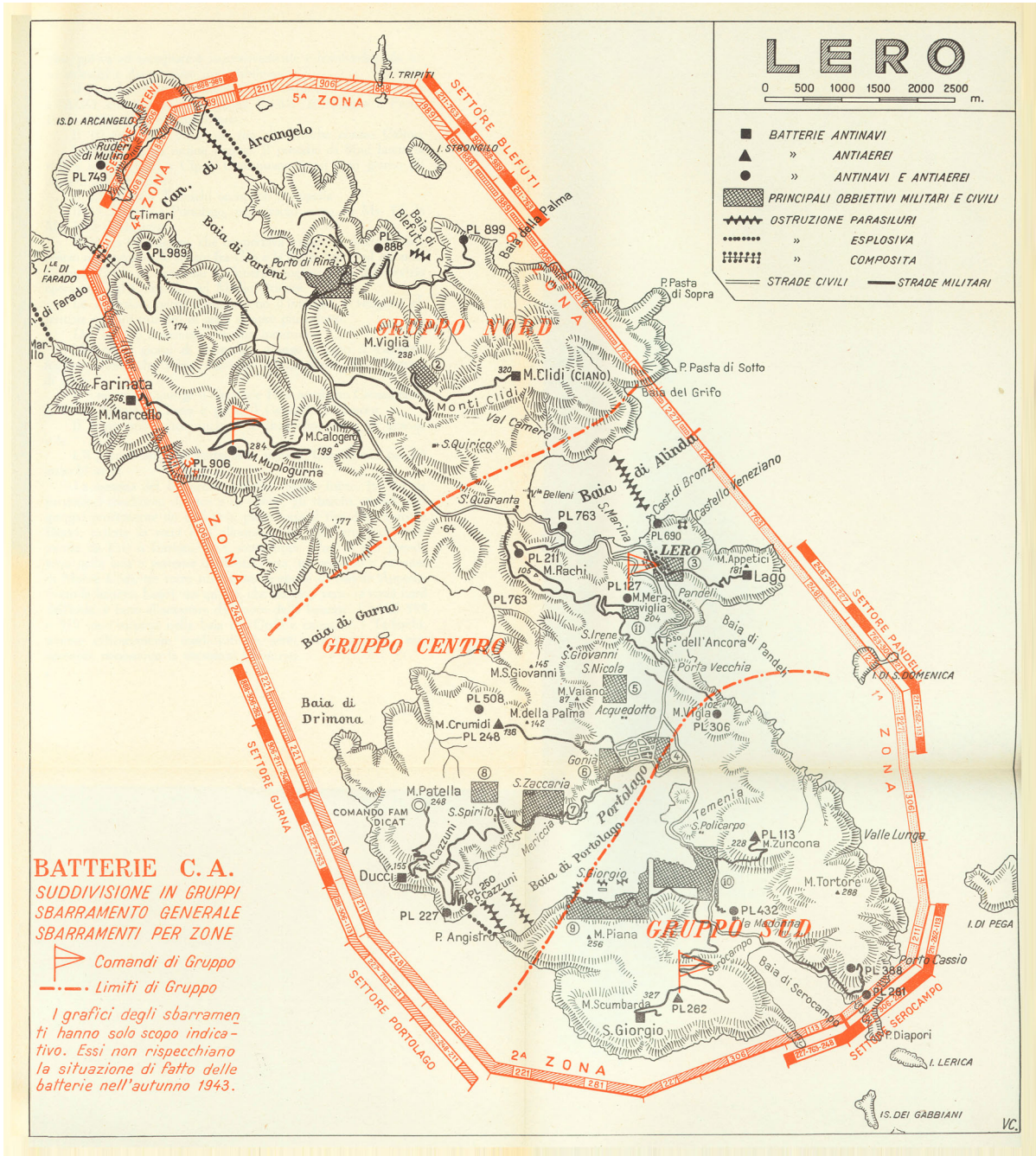
Historic archives of Leros and Rhodes include extensive bathymetry (Fig. 3) and mapping by the Italians, recording the strategic location and natural formation of Leros' harbour. The harbour becomes the focus of infrastructural and civic efforts, with residential, civic, and medical structures on one side, and naval on the other. To complement the nautical strength in the south of the island, an airstrip and military base secure the northern half of the island in Partheni. To this day, this clear delineation of occupation and function remains inscribed in the territorial logics of Leros. Partheni, now used by Greek forces, is annexed and hidden from the rest of the island, with one road in and out of a controlled territory curtailing all urban development on the northern half of the island, forcing all civilian life to the southern side.



These two poles of security are networked and reinforced through elaborate systems of defences and tunnels, built by the Italians during their thirty-two-year occupation (Fig. 4).

The Italian occupation of the Dodecanese can be characterised by two phases. In the first phase (1912–1923), in which Italy's ownership of the territory is ambiguous and not officially recognised, Italian control is imposed with a show of strength through military presence and processes. During this period, the key building project was the airport in Partheni, giving consistent

Figure 3.
Bathymetry of Portolagos/Lakki
Harbour by Italian military, August
1925, courtesy of the General State
Archives, Rhodes



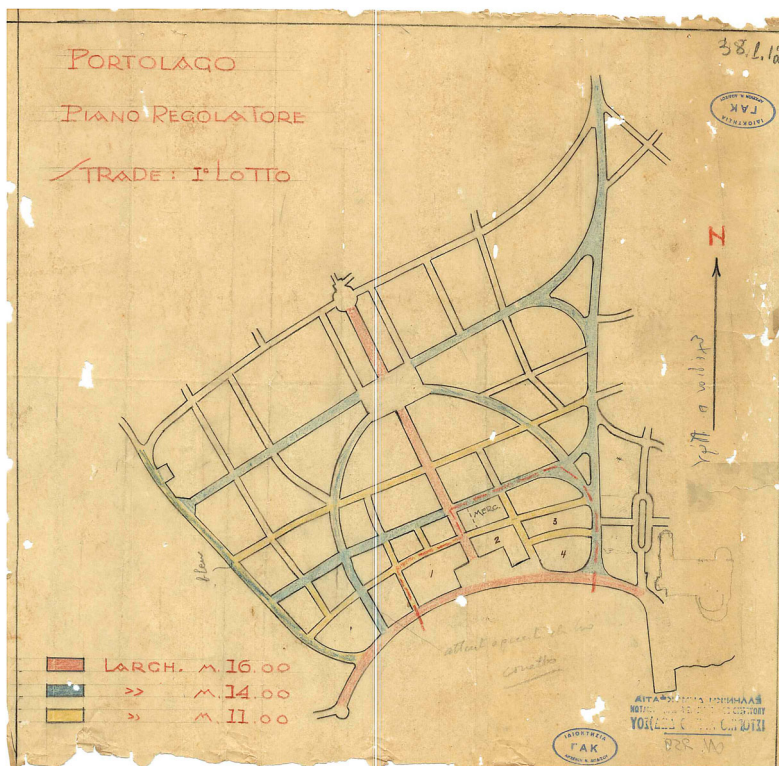
and expedient access to the Italian military and personnel. Following the official absorption of the Dodecanese into fascist Italy, the region became formally known as the Italian Aegean Islands. This latter phase of the Italian occupation, 1923–1943, is characterised by a fervent ‘Italianisation’ and a shift from military rule to political rule. Italy imposes fascist ideology through politics, culture, and social activity. This period is when Leros is rapidly developed by the Italian regime and is clearly reflected in the urbanisation of the harbour.

The southern side of the bay is efficiently developed as a naval base, with the land acquired through extensive land expropriations. The naval base is divided into two key zones: southwest for naval infrastructures and technical facilities, including two hangars for hydroplanes, storage rooms, offices, administration, and pilot quarters, and a northeast area for housing. With the development of the island, a transition in architectural style from neo-Renaissance architecture (Novecento) to a form of Modernism takes place that attempts to integrate with local and vernacular traditions as seen in the early designs of Florestano di Fausto.¹⁵ Some of these buildings still host the Greek navy today, although in a much-diminished capacity. The main structures of the historic naval base now lie in ruin — four large imposing barrack buildings. Three of the barracks, closest to the peninsula, large, austere, and imposing blocks, are a counterpoint to the delicate scale of Lakki. Masonry and concrete frame buildings, built in the Italian tradition of construction with brick floors, unlike the stone and brick Greek vernacular, have a standard gridded column and beam construction allowing for flexibility of occupation and use.¹⁶ The generic nature of these buildings and their monumental scale made them practical and valuable buildings that would go onto multiple iterations of use after 1947 when Leros and the Dodecanese would become part of Greek territory. The fourth barrack is of a slightly different architectural language; while the other buildings are utilitarian in character, it is more decorative, with mouldings to create a coronated parapet in a similar style to other Italian buildings on Kos and Rhodes. This is the barracks for the sea pilots, the architectural language differentiating the prestige of the sea pilots from the marines in the other barracks. The use of architectural language, scale, and location to delineate rank is a recurring technique of the Italian occupation of Leros that establishes and reinforces control through the urban form. In front of the building is a formal forecourt and steps, the scene of many official events and parades.

In the shift from military to political rule, Italian governance and control is wrought through planning and development. Following the curve of the bay beyond the barracks to the northeast, the officer’s residential area is elegantly laid out in a series of one- to two-storey generous villas, settled amongst rows of trees, exotic palms, and garden landscapes. Geographically separated, the compound includes entrance guard posts and swimming pools, which are part of an elaborate architectural language to demarcate status and authority. As Italian rule formalised, the Italian population swelled, increasing the demand for housing for officers and their families. To support this growth, and to consolidate Italian social, cultural, and political life, the governor of the Dodecanese, Mario Lago, founded the new town of Portolago (Lakki) on the

Figure 4.
Military/Naval defence plan of the island of Leros under Italian occupation, showing the extensive and elaborate infrastructures distributed across the island, as part of a map sourced from the personal collection of documents owned by a resident on the island operating a private military museum, courtesy of the Thanassis and Yannis Paraponiaris Personal Archive, Leros

Figure 5.
Town plan of Portolago (Lakki),
with colour-coding of the streets
demarkating structure and
hierarchy of the town along which
different building typologies were
distributed, n.d., courtesy of the
General State Archives, Rhodes



opposite shore of the naval base in the rationalist style of the Italian fascist state.

The urban plan (Fig. 5) was approved in 1934; by 1936, 7,500 people lived in the new township. Formed of 6×6 streets on a curvilinear grid, the town is like no other village in the region, with almost all buildings designed by Rodolfo Petracchi and Armando Berbabiti.¹⁷ The layout follows a strict hierarchy that arranges civic buildings, a series of villa typologies designed to support the different ranks of the population, and community infrastructure for sport, leisure, and retail. Consistent with other model towns of the Italian empire, key civic buildings are incorporated in the plan — the Casa del Fascio, Dogana (customs) theatre, and school line the waterfront (Fig. 6) — serving as the backdrop for important parades and state visits. Behind this waterfront is an intimate street with small-scale local shops. The central axis runs perpendicular to the harbour and forges up the topography, flanked by the central market and church, and leading out to fields and sporting facilities. Moving progressively out from the central axis are the residential streets, with location and typology organised strictly according to rank: senior officers in the central streets live in one to two-storey freestanding houses, junior officers in the middle zone in two-storey complexes containing four apartments, and then workers living in buildings at the periphery in two-storey apartment buildings.



Figure 6.
Portolago waterfront, showing the
theatre, Casa del Fascio, 1936,
courtesy of the General State
Archives, Leros



Figure 7.
The edge of the harbour of
Portolago (Lakki) during the Italian
occupation, showing its use for
parades and demonstrations, n.d.,
courtesy of the General State
Archives, Leros

All the houses are very carefully designed for the climate, with some of the higher-ranking typologies enjoying generous high ceilings with considered entrance spaces and circulation, set in well-designed gardens.¹⁸

The rigid structure and carefully choreographed stage set, perfect for the pageantry of reform and power (Fig. 7), create an equally rigid class structure in strict adherence to the principle of *gerarchia* [hierarchy] as established by the fascist manifesto.¹⁹ The settlement of the town was deliberately planned, with lands reclaimed from Greek locals upon occupation in a process of land redistribution, to create a dedicated space of the colony, enforcing a clear distinction between the ruling Italian population and the subservient Greek population who are shifted to the periphery and excluded from the life of Portolago. This physical demarcation was further emphasised through a series of exclu-

sionary policies around language, economy, and politics that denied access and equality to the local population. The dedication to the principles of *gerarchia* is explicit in the formal arrangement of rationalist architecture and its symbolic communication through decoration and material. It is an architecture designed to impart authority and to regulate a person's status and role — it is an architecture of control. In the case of Leros, this is emphatically demonstrated through the urban plan, with a strict social hierarchy implemented around the bay of Portolago. There is intense and distinctive regulation and segregation of classes of society and military rank, emphasising observance of specific societal roles. This structure fosters the perfect ecology for an urban form and reciprocal society, designed to control and surveil.

The plan of Lakki is carefully accented with key civic buildings that give orientation, hierarchy, and character to the village. These five buildings are quite beautiful in their simplicity and considered use of indoor and outdoor spaces suited to the Mediterranean climate. Humbler in scale and language than other Italian colonial architecture, the buildings of Lakki are a sensitive response to the Greek context and vernacular.

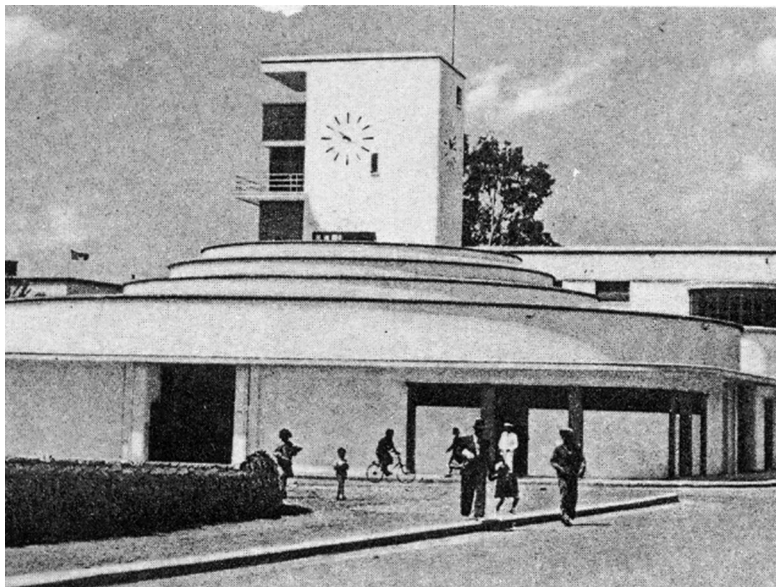
The new school sits at the entrance to the site, its curved colonnade set back against the hillside. The interior spaces offer a generous and unique space for education. Open courtyards and breezy corridors create an opportunity for outdoor classes; the proportion and scale of each space are very well considered. Today these spaces are used for the local school and the courtyard is filled with children learning Greek instruments and Greek dance classes.

The theatre and Casa del Fascio frame the main central axis back away from the cornice into the landscape. Again, the use of the curved form allows the building to detach itself from its neighbours, highlighting its presence and also opening up to the main access — presenting itself both to the water and to the street. As you continue up the axis you encounter the market (Figs. 8 and 9), perhaps the best piece in the collection, and terminate at the church. The gently domed space of the market opens into a central garden creating an oasis in the plan — a simple layout offering such enjoyable space, perfectly suited to the conditions and context. Today the courtyard of the market hosts a *cafe-neio*, an idyllic setting for idling away time.

Between the township and the villas is another significant piece of civic infrastructure, a large military hospital campus, one of the key medical facilities of the Dodecanese. Elegant courtyard structures are thoughtfully designed with climate and ventilation in mind. The scale of the hospital site is substantial relative to the population of the island, the legacy of which will earn Leros its greatest notoriety.

Extending beyond the concentrated efforts of the harbour of Portolago, an extensive and elaborate network of infrastructure supporting buildings and military apparatus were developed across the island between the military base and airport of Partheni to the north and the bay of Portolago. A system of defensive tunnels burrowed into the terrain; on the hilltops are a series of surveillance, offensive, and measuring apparatuses to watch, hear, and pursue oppositional forces. Aside from their functional role, later adopted by

Figure 9.
The market in Portolago, 1936,
courtesy of the General State
Archives, Leros



decree expropriating all Greek-owned land for Italians who wished to introduce new kinds of farming or crops.²⁰ Greek farmers were forced into a new class demographic denied their subsistence, autonomy, and typical way of life, were compelled into labour for construction becoming the new workforce to implement the ambitious building plans — land planning and reclamation became a mechanism for once again exerting *gerachia*. In 1943, after twenty years of occupation, entrenched in a system of labour and employment, the local population was no longer accustomed, educated, or equipped for agrarian subsistence — Leros had a ready-made unskilled labour force that could be readily employed and utilised in the creation of the new Greek institutions that emerge as part of the rebuilding of a new nation (Figs. 10–14)

Displacement

In September 1943, Fascist Italy collapsed, and, with the resignation of Pietro Badoglio, the Dodecanese fell to Germany until the capitulation of Nazi Germany to Britain in May 1945. For the third time in four years, the island passes into the hands of a new administration, overseen by the British state until 1947, when the Dodecanese are handed back to Greece in the redrawing of the nation's boundaries. On 7 March 1948, the island was officially incorporated into Greek national territory. From 1944 to 1949, Greece was in a state of civil war. Extremely impoverished and internally conflicted on many fronts, the ensuing twenty-five years until the fall of the 1967–1974 military dictatorship, were defined by perpetual political turmoil, a quasi-continuous civil war of varied intensity and levels of democratic or authoritarian rule. The deep divisions between the right and the left in Greece are visible and acknowledged



Figure 10.
Lakki Harbour today showing the
Theatre and the Casa del Fascio
(being converted to a shopping
mall), photographed by and
courtesy of Yannis Drakoulidis, May
2014

Figure 11.
Lakki school today, photographed
by and courtesy of Yannis
Drakoulidis, May 2014



Figure 12.
Lakki school today from inside the
curved courtyard, photographed by
and courtesy of Yannis Drakoulidis,
May 2014

Figure 13.
Lakki school today from inside the
curved courtyard, photographed by
and courtesy of Yannis Drakoulidis,
May 2014





Figure 14.
Lakki agora (market) today,
photographed by and courtesy of
Yannis Drakoulidis, May 2014

even today.²¹ Leros is caught in the confluence of this contested landscape. The large Italian infrastructures served ideally for new modes of detainment, confinement, and control in the name of patriotism and progress. This violence continued for many years after the 1974 fall of the regime of the Colonels, perpetrated not only in forms of discipline of the citizenry but also economic reform policies that sought to buttress and consolidate the many islands of the archipelago to bring them into the fold and clearly establish them as part of modern Greece.

On 31 March 1949, the Ministry of Social Welfare announced that there were 340,000 abandoned children in Greece. In the wake of the Second World War and the ensuing civil fighting in Greece, the nation faced a crisis of orphaned children. The case, the destiny, and the personal and collective histories of these children are still heavily politicised issues in Greece; both state-run institutions and the military forces of the Greek Communist Party have been accused of child kidnapping. In October 1947, Queen Frederica of Greece started a fundraising programme, The Queen's Fund, to address the plight of the refugees and orphans — this funded the first seven orphanages, *paidoupoleis* [children's cities], food distribution, and two training schools.²² Purported as the saviour of long-suffering children, these orphanages in fact

served as centres of indoctrination.²³ There is evidence to suggest that many of these children were in fact not orphans but children of communists who were in prison or exile, officially declared 'dead' by the Queen's Fund because of their political leanings, under these terms these children can be understood as captives.²⁴ By 1950, the Queen's Fund had financed 54 paidoupoleis across the country, nine of which remained operational until the end of the 1950s, with a few open until the 1970s. The children were raised in a strict militarised and politicised environment aimed at raising loyal subjects adherent to Greece's traditional values. They often wore uniforms, slept in dormitories of up to 30 children, and ate in shared dining halls adorned in nationalist iconography. In addition to studies and prayers, they were assigned to work details and had little exposure to life outside the compound — much like life in a military barrack or prison.²⁵

King Paul set up the Royal National Foundation in 1947 to 'raise the moral, social, educational and living standards of the Greek people'. As part of this, the Royal Technical Schools were established on the islands of Crete, Kos, and Leros. Financed by the Queen's Fund, they opportunistically occupied whatever buildings were available, from barracks and hospitals to lavish villas.²⁶ The most famous of the Royal Technical Schools, Leros, opened in March 1949 in the former barracks of Lakki/Portolago harbour (Fig. 15). The Italian Naval barracks of Leros, large-scale buildings designed to accommodate sizable numbers of people, were ideal for hosting and training vast numbers of children, soon becoming one of the largest and longest running such institutions in Greece. The school differed from the orphanages' programme in that it was for older boys, aged fourteen to twenty, often young leftists, captured partisans from jails and internment camps, in parts transferred from other paidoupoleis. Leros Technical School is run under strict military discipline, staffed and managed by specially chosen officers from the Greek Army. The explicit remit of the school, as articulated by the King himself, was to re-educate and reform young leftists and to bring them 'back into the national family'. After visiting the school in 1950, the British ambassador's wife to Greece, Lady Norton, praised the school and stated, '[C]ommunism must and will spread. This is the only country in the world where real creative work is being done to combat the cancer of Bolshevism.'²⁷

Students were given vocational training as carpenters, bricklayers, house painters, tailors, and electricians, and graduates would receive a diploma signed directly by the King. Correspondence outside was censored.²⁸ The students' life followed military protocol with units, groups, and unit leaders sleeping in military bunks on straw mattresses with military blankets, their uniforms made from recycled military equipment.²⁹ At any given time, the school was training 1,300 students.³⁰

The Royal Technical School of Leros remained operational until December 1964, allowing for the last of its graduates to complete their studies. After fifteen years, an estimated 16,000 were 're-educated' in Leros. Today the orphanage (barracks) is in total ruin, unused for over forty years. The floors and ceilings are collapsing, as are parts of the stairs, making it inaccessible.



Figure 15.
The King's Royal Technical School
as written across the façade, hosted
in the former Italian naval barracks,
n.d., courtesy of the General State
Archives, Leros

The walls are still covered in murals and decorative slogans from the technical school encouraging obedience and dedication to the motherland. Beyond the 're-education' of the Greek youth, the paidoupoleis and technical schools served as essential propaganda for the monarchy's good works. The activities and successes of the schools were documented and disseminated through a dedicated magazine (Fig. 16), awash with images of the regents visiting the schools, demonstrating their benevolence and the success of the programme. The formal spaces, generous waterfront promenades, and building forecourts of the naval barracks proved especially effective for the pageantry of a mock military life and for the ceremony of a royal visit (Fig. 17), just as they had for the Italian occupation prior.

In 1957, as part of a state programme of economic invigoration for regional Greece, there was a concerted effort to decentralise key services and institutions from Athens. Leros is identified as a key site for mental healthcare. In 1958, the State Mental Hospital opened, transferring people from other areas of Greece. The former barracks and hospital buildings are once again repurposed as psychiatric facilities that confined over 3,000 patients at a time, making it one of Greece's largest mental institutions. The facilities were expanded in 1961 with the establishment of the 'institution for maladjusted children' — the Leros Child Care Centre (CCC) of the Patriotic Foundation for Social Welfare and Care (PIKPA). Many of the children were not strictly psychiatric patients, but rather cases of Down syndrome, autism, and cerebral palsy. Some of the original patients continue to live on the island in the same facility today, with a total of 914 children admitted over a thirty-year period.³¹

With the introduction of the asylum, orphanage, and political prison, the island population grew 23%, not only due to the additional population of the institutions but the employment offered meant that the local population



Figure 16.
Cover of state periodical '*I paidoupoleis*' which documented the activities of the monarchy's activities in the orphanages and vocational schools, n.d., courtesy of the General State Archives, Leros

remained in Leros, whereas the trend in other islands was one of mass depopulation. While figures vary, at least 60% of the island's workforce was associated with the asylums. In 1988, the per capita income was relatively high in comparison to the rest of Greece (280,000 drachmas vs 200,000). The island enjoyed almost no unemployment with people often having several jobs.³²

Whilst the historic Italian buildings were large and therefore convenient, they were not fit for purpose. The children's hospital, PIKPA, with many patients suffering from physical disabilities as well as mental concerns, had multiple storeys without lifts or ramps or handrails, meaning that non-ambulant patients were confined to their rooms on the ground floor their entire lives. The eating areas were next to the toilets and there were endless problems with heating. The electrical wiring was inadequate, outdated, and dangerous, tap water was not safe for drinking, and there was generally no hot water. The kitchen was in a separate building with food transported in buckets. The hospital was predominantly staffed with untrained locals from Leros, their role being more to surveil than to support. There were very few professional healthcare workers in the hospital and the conditions in the adult psychiatric facility were particularly atrocious. Infamously known as the 'island of the psychopaths', Leros was the last resort for the mentally ill or infirm where the 'incurables' were sent, as patients were never expected to leave.³³

In 1982, when photographer and journalist Mario Damolin visited the island, he took a series of photographs of the patients of Leros and wrote an article that was first published in the German newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 7 August 1982, then picked up by *Der Spiegel*. Damolin's pictures showed inmates (patients) chained to beds, naked, and hosed down by staff to manage their waste. The publication of the *Der Spiegel* article precipitated a flurry of journalists to the island and an international scandal broke with a publication in the *Observer* in response to the atrocious conditions in the hospital. The main men's psychiatric facility, in a former barrack at Lepida, was the site of the most shocking and difficult events.

Overcrowded and crushed with people, additional temporary facilities had been built at the bottom of the building. Patients were kept in dormitories of one hundred or more men in a permanent state of squalor, with vomit and excrement left on the floor. The varying illnesses and needs of the patients were not considered, with patients of all capabilities and conditions lumped together in a space of control rather than support, and with no means to differentiate treatment or care depending on ailment. The patients were kept in total isolation, watching TV twice a week, without a canteen, independent space, or the smallest opportunity for autonomy. Letters were censored by hospital staff and rarely passed on, and if a patient was given leave to enter the town, the local population refused to serve them. At the time of Damolin's visit, there were only a total of two doctors, seven nurses, and one social worker for the thousands of patients detained on the island. The nursing staff used to be tradesmen or fishermen, often without even having completed a high-school education; they traded their precarious life for steady employment at the hospital.



Adjacent to the historic Italian building was a small, detached pavilion, built by the Greek state, known as the 'house of the naked', where approximately 80 men lived naked all year round, segregated and fenced off, left almost to fend for themselves. Interviewed in 2015 for this project, Damolin was still shocked by his experiences in Leros over thirty years ago, and adamant of the significance of the island's history.³⁴

The press coverage caused a wave of public outcry, and having recently joined the European Union in 1981, the backlash from the European press forced Greece to review not only the practices in Leros but all of Greece. In 1983, the reform regulation 815 was passed in Greece, outlining a new practice for mental healthcare, which also coincided with the establishment of a National Health System, influenced by British legislation. The legislation aimed to reduce the quantity of psychiatric hospitals, the number of beds in psychiatric clinics, and to develop mental health care facilities in general hospitals and at the primary care level within the community, combined with vocational training and rehabilitation. Leros was to ban all new admissions, improve

Figure 17.
The King and Queen's royal visit to the Leros Royal Technical School, 1948, courtesy of the General State Archives, Leros

conditions, and develop reliable training programmes and a more consistent provision of medical care.

Reform was met with huge resistance from the people of the island, and this was one of the greatest impediments to change. The changes implied a significant impact on employment and Leriens responded with hostility towards the reforms due to fear that jobs and income would be lost. The change in mental healthcare was thus slow and failed several times due to local resistance and ineffective implementation.³⁵ The 1988 European report on the reform of Leros, following European funding to support the reform, was extremely critical. To address the issues in Leros and Greece as a whole, a conference on 31 October 1989 of psychiatric experts was convened in Leros and included a comprehensive visit of the island's institutions to review the facilities. Central to this group of experts was Félix Guattari, who documented his visits in diary format in 'De Leros à la Borde' (Fig. 18), which included photography of the patients taken by his wife Josephine Guattari. Despite the shocking conditions of Leros and the immense troubles it faced, Guattari insisted that the institution could be reformed and remain open, he writes:

An important dimension in the problem of Leros is the complicity of the 9000 inhabitants, that rely, in some way or another, the complicity of Greece as a whole. During a whole era, the few rare people that denounced the scandal experienced severe retaliation, even physical. The shepherds and the fishermen find it normal to guard the crazy like an animal park. In truth they respect far more the beasts. We have fear of the crazy, we mythify their presumed violence, they have the 'bad eye'. Epileptics in particular are considered an evil influence. 960 people live in direct dependence of the concentration camp, and the economy of the island rests on its activity.³⁶

Over the ensuing years, the island of Leros underwent a challenging process of de-institutionalisation, including the slow reduction in the scale of the facilities and considerable reform of its practices. Central to this process was to shift the approach and attitude of the staff, with extensive training programmes implemented to transform the patient relation to their carers. Today, the mental hospital still operates, but in a completely different form. The large psychiatric hospital in the former barracks was shut down, reducing the patient population to 700 by 1998. Facilities are now hosted in the former officers' villas built by the Italians. Here patients live in a share-house arrangement and are free to come and go. Some patients live there permanently, having now been decades on the island; others come from neighbouring islands for a short stay of less than a month. PIKPA still operates but does not take new patients, it is supporting the 'children' that are now old and middle-aged adults, having been institutionalised their entire existence. A group of PIKPA children from Leros have been set up independently in Athens in a share-house where they lead autonomous lives outside the boundaries of an institution — these are all necessary steps in a process of institutional reform.³⁷

DE LEROS À LA BORDE

Félix Guattari

Présentation de Marie Depussé
Photographies de Joséphine Guattari
Post-scriptum de Jean Oury

lignes poche

Figure 18.
Cover of Felix Guattari's book, *De Leros à la Borde*, 2012, reproduced with permission from Éditions Lignes



While the conditions in Leros were undeniably shocking, it is crucial to put this in the context of global practices in mental healthcare. At the beginning of the 'deinstitutionalisation' to date, mental healthcare around the world was disconcerting. Institutions such as the PIKPA reflect the common understanding in the first half of the twentieth century that children with disabilities or 'disturbing behaviour' be moved (and isolated) in institutions to protect

society from them. But, by the mid-1940s, it became clear that long-term institutionalisation had a seriously detrimental effect on the cognitive and emotional development of children and the landscape started to shift. However, only in 1971 with Article 23 did the UN General Assembly declare that people with disabilities should have 'to the maximum degree of feasibility the same rights as other human beings' (Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons) and it was not until 1989 that articles referred to the rights of disabled children with regard to rights of care and education. Guattari emphatically noted the fact that Leros, whilst extreme, was not alone in this horror, in his papers, as he advocated for reform not closure.

Conclusion: 'purity is the essence of the soul'³⁸

The problem of reform and the questions of what an institution is (Fig. 19), which parameters define it, and how a particular institutional architecture — if this category exists per se — responds to the change in protocols, habitual practices, and even definitions or conceptions of the 'normative', is central to our study of Leros and the township of Lakki/Portolago. What is crucial here is to understand exile, detention, confinement, indoctrination, and the architecture that allows the above not as accidental or even pragmatic developments, but as relational, diagrammatic conditions that operate in an infrastructural field of possibilities. Leros testifies that the logistics and the logics of warfare, as well as the project of displacement and the very conception of 'undesirables' and the 'displaced', produce first and foremost two things: the legal and social apparatuses that produce these subjects, and spaces within which this violence is exercised. It also evidences the durability and longevity of these conditions, the vestiges of which endure for many generations beyond the initial formation and formal delineation of the institutions themselves. Therefore, it is always within the asymmetric relations of labour that both the subject of the confined and one of the guards is produced.

We do not claim that architecture is the cause of this. And while the architecture of the Italian rationalist period has its own qualities, it is also constructed within a very specific diagram. Our interest here is not the degree to which 'fascist' architecture of various degrees could exist, or even if any kind of architecture could be more or less 'fascist'? Rather, our claim is that the relationships inscribed by the plan and the architecture, the strict imposition of *gerarchia*, established a unique urban form and social fabric.

Tens of thousands of people were exiled, detained, isolated, and surveilled in Leros and the town of Lakki/Portolago; their lives were serviced, policed, and confined by a series of institutions — the Royal Technical School, the Greek Military, the Psychiatric Clinic, the national and European police and security apparatus of control of the refugee flows — that employed local population, forming a carceral network across the island. The Italian military town inaugurated and cast permanence to these relationships: class, labour,



Figure 19.
A slogan painted inside the Royal
Technical School: 'purity is the
essence of the soul', photographed
by and courtesy of Yannis
Drakoulidis, May 2014

gender segregation, multiple zones of controlled and restricted access, as well as military and civilian infrastructures interwoven with a multiplicity of scales, from the Mediterranean, the archipelago, the island, the town, the village, to the building-object itself. Ultimately, the role of the Lirian has become one of the guard, the discipliner, the cook, the cleaner, and an extremely precarious service provider; they are themselves in exile and completely dependent on these institutional forms. Where the Greek state pushed tourism, leisure, and small-scale construction industry for most islands and towns on the mainland as the main economic activity, there was a very different strategy for Leros — to become an *island of exiles*. The population is so economically inculcated in the process of control that it has become a self-perpetuating demand. The argument is thus that neither one thing in or of itself is of substantial scale nor the cause — neither the population, the large barrack infrastructures well-suited to this application, nor the rationalist architecture in and of itself is unique; rather, the coexistence and confluence of all these factors have created a carceral-campus of surveillance and exile. It is precisely the interdependence and co-existence of architecture and labour that perpetuates the island's role as an apparatus of control.

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Notes and references

1. This research was first exhibited in 2018 in Palermo Italy as part of the collateral events for Manifesta 12. The exhibition included original photographic prints by Yannis Drakoulidis, a selection of archival materials, physical models, and a critical text that is the basis of this paper. Excerpts of this research have also been published in Beth Hughes and Platon Issaias, 'Leros: Island of Exile', *Funumbalist: Space of Ableism*, 19 (2018), 8–9, focusing on the recent refugee crisis in the region; and Beth Hughes Platon Issaias, and Yannis Drakoulidis, 'Leros: Island of Exile', *Movements: Journal for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies*, 4.2 (2018), 000–111, discussing the work exhibited for Manifesta 12 with a focus on the original photography.
2. For more on this incident, see Hughes and Issaias, 'Leros: Island of Exile', *Funumbalist*.
3. Its legendary status was captured in Alistair MacLean's 1957 novel, *The Guns of Navarone*, which was based on the battle of Leros, an event considered the last defeat of the Allied Forces in the Second World War. J. Lee Thompson's critically acclaimed movie of 1961 based on the book made the small island of Leros known internationally, possibly for the first time in its recent history.
4. Famously, Leros was one of Winston Churchill's obsessions in his attempt to intensify and further expand British colonial rule in the East Mediterranean. This has been captured and discussed in many instances, such as, most importantly, in Anthony Rogers, *Churchill's Folly: Leros and the Aegean – The Last Great British Defeat of the Second World War* (London: Cassell Military, 2003).
5. Among others, see Eirini Avramopoulou, 'Decolonizing the Refugee Crisis: Palimpsestous Writing, Being-in-Waiting, and Spaces of Refuge on the Greek Island of Leros', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 38.2 (October 2020), 533–62 <<https://doi.org/10.1353/mgs.2020.0031>>.
6. The town planning and the particular architecture of Lakki/Potrolago are absent, or rarely mentioned, in studies of Italian rationalist architecture, with the exception of the work of Vassilis Colonas. Colonas has done work on architecture of the Italian fascist period in the Dodecanese, but without expanding into the post-First World War history of the town. For further details, see Vassilis Colonas, *Italian Architecture in the Dodecanese Islands 1912–1943* (Athens: Olkos, 2002), pp. 66–71.
7. For further discussion and exploration of the enduring and generational impact of colonial occupation of territories and their traces that extend far beyond the formal sovereignty, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2016).
8. In considering the idea of an 'ecology of detention', it is perhaps useful to refer to discussions in carceral geography and definitions of diffused models of carcerality that move across territory outside the boundaries of the prison walls. See Dominique Moran, Jennifer

- Turner, and Anna K. Schliehe, 'Conceptualizing the Carceral in Carceral Geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 42.6 (2018), 666–86.
9. This last point has become particularly relevant through the work of Susana Caló and Godofredo Pereira and their research project on CERFI; see Godofredo Pereira and Susana Caló, 'From the Hospital to the City', *Journal of Critical Thought*, 2.1 (2016), 50–8.
 10. '[...] véritable bague psychiatrique, camp de concentration sans la présence d'aucun personnel soignant, sans même un psychiatre', in Félix Guattari, *De Leros à la Borde* (Fécamp: Éditions Lignes, 2012), p. 32. The psychiatric hospital on Leros became the centre of a scandal due to the 1981 visit of journalist Mario Damolin, whose material was first published in *Frankfurt Rundschau* on 7 August 1982, in the section 'Zeit und Bild', and later in *Der Spiegel* on 18 September 1989 and *The Observer* (J. Merritt, 'Europe's Guilty Secret', *The Observer*, 10 September 1989, p. 17), breaking international news. Damolin was interviewed, by email and phone, in June 2016 for the purposes of this research.
 11. In the context of this research, the campus is understood as an urban typology specifically related to institutions. In this sense, the campus consists of a series of buildings that function autonomously but also together as institutions themselves and together as a network. The form of the campus plan controls not only the buildings and their architectures but also the associated infrastructures and landscapes that define their territory. Often the architectural language of each building can be recognised as individual elements of a greater whole. The campus not only physically hosts institutions or organisations but also under shared governance, ideology, and bureaucracy.
 12. The model town, Città di fondazione, is an important tool in Italian fascist bio-political control of the population through the control of landscape, urban development, and architecture. Model towns/villages were deployed across Italy, honing the urban form, as a technique to displace undesirable populations and insert model demonstrations of Italian life, represented through the architectural and urban forms themselves. For a comparative understanding of the role of urban design and architecture and the Italian Empire, see David Rifkind, 'Gondar: Architecture and Urbanism for Italy's Fascist Empire', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 70.4 (2011), 492–511. For more on this, among others, see Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal in America and Fascist Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989); Diane Ghirardo, 'Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: An Evaluation of the Rationalist's Role in Regime Building', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 39.2 (May 1980), 109–27; Dianne Ghirardo, *Italy: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013); Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: Architettura e città, 1922–1944* (Torino: Piccola biblioteca Einaudi, 1989); and Thomas L. Schumacher, *Terragni's Danteum: Architecture, Poetics and Politics Under Italian Fascism* (Princeton, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993).
 13. More on the Italian Empire's naval strategies can be found in Marco Rimanelli, *Italy Between Europe and the Mediterranean: Diplomacy and Naval Strategy from Unification to NATO: 1800s–2000*, vol. 21 (New York, NY: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 1997).
 14. For further discussion, see Stephen Gundle, Christopher Duggan, and Giuliana Pieri, *The Cult of the Duce: Mussolini and the Italians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
 15. Vassilis Colonas, *Italian Architecture in the Dodecanese Islands 1912–1943* (Athens: Olkos, 2002), pp. 66–71.
 16. See Annalisa Giglio, 'The Decorative History of Concrete in an "Other" Modernism: Italian Architecture of the Dodecanese (1912–1943)', *Second International Congress on Construction History*, 2 (2006), 1251–69; Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy*

- (New York, NY, and London: Princeton Architectural, 2005); Simona Martinoli and Eliana Perotti, *Architettura coloniale italiana nel Dodecaneso (1912–1943)* (Torino: Fondazione Agnelli, 1999); and Jean-Francois Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (London: Routledge, 2010).
17. Rodolfo Petracco and Armando Bernabiti are the Italian architects of the fascist regime attributed with the design and architecture of Lakki/Portolago. They worked extensively across the Italian colony in the Dodecanese, also credited with buildings in Kos and Rhodes.
 18. The distribution of housing and organisation according to station/rank was established through field work and interviews with residents in May 2014, and analysis of the architects' drawings from the City of Rhodes archives. Archival work has been carried out in and material has been used from the following: General Archives of the State, Dodecanese County Archives, Rhodes, Greece; ELIA – MIET: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, Athens, Greece; ASKI: Archives of Modern Greek History, Athens, Greece; Exile Museum – The Museum of Political Exiles of Ai Stratis, Athens, Greece; and Thanassis and Yannis Paraponiaris Private Archive, Leros.
 19. Ghirardo, 'Italian Architects', pp. 109–27.
 20. Colonas, *Italian Architecture*, pp. 71–2.
 21. For more on the construction of the modern Greek state and the civil war, see C. M. Woodhouse, *The Struggle for Greece 1941–1949* (London: Hurst & Co, 2002), first publ. in 1976; David H. Close and T. Veremis, 'The Military Struggle 1945–1949', in *The Greek Civil War, 1943–1950, Studies of Polarization*, ed. by David H. Close (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), pp. 97–128; and *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943–1960*, ed. by Mark M. Mazower (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), later trans. and publ. in 2003 in Greek by Alexandria, Athens.
 22. Queen Frederica of Hellenes, *A Measure of Understanding* (London: Macmillan, 1971).
 23. Loring M. Danforth and Riki van Boeschoten, *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory* (Chicago, IL, and London: Chicago University Press, 2012), p. 170.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *Ibid.* For more on children from the Greek civil war and paedeopolis, see Eftihia Voutira and Aigli Brouskou. "'Borrowed Children" in the Greek Civil War', in *Abandoned Children*, ed. by Catharine Panter-Brick and Malcolm T. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Lars Bærentzen, 'The "Paidomazoma" and the Queen's Camps', first publ. in 1987, in Lars Bærentzen, John O. Iatrides, and Ole Langwitz Smith, *Studies in the History of the Greek Civil War, 1945–49* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1987); Aigli Brouskou, 'Vos Parents ne sont plus vos parents', *Nouvelle Revue d'Ethnopsychiatrie*, 14 (1989), 71–82; E. Lagani and M. Bondila, 'Paidomazoma' i 'Paidosimosimo'? (Thessaloniki: Epikendro, 2012); Loring M. Danforth and Riki van Boeschoten, 'The Evacuation of Refugee Children to Eastern Europe and the "Queen's Camps" during the Greek Civil War', *Balkanistica*, 25.2 (October 2012), p. 185; K. Gritzonas, *Ta paidia tou emfiliou polemou [The Children of the Civil War]* (Athens: Filistor, 1998); and L. Hassiotis, *Children of the Civil War: From the 'Auxilio Social' of Franco to the Frederica's 'Fundraiser'* (Athens: Hestia, 2013).
 26. Danforth and Van Boeschoten, *Children of the Greek Civil War*, p. 198.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
 28. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Ibid.*

31. Information on the patients and structure of the facility were identified as part of field research, speaking directly to the current staff of the institution, in May 2014, alongside photographic records and patient archives from the General State Archives in Leros.
32. J. Tsiantis, A. Perakis, P. Kordoutis, G. Kolaitis, and V. Zacharias, 'The Leros PIKPA Asylum, Deinstitutionalization and Rehabilitation Project', *Br J Psychiatry Suppl*, 28 (July 1995), 10–45.
33. Mario Damolin, 'Die Insel der Verlorenen Leros und seine "Irren"' ['The Lost Island of Leros and Its "Crazy People"'], *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7 August 1982.
34. Damolin was interviewed in June 2016 as part of the research for this paper. His visit to the island was through a friend who was working in the hospital. It is through his first-hand experience that we established an understanding of the daily routine and conditions in the hospital as this is not explicitly documented in medical records.
35. For a more detailed exploration of the psychiatric facilities of Leros, see, among others, Megalooikonomou Theodoros, *I Leros os zontani amfisvitsi tis klassikis psychiatrikis* [*Leros as Living Proof to Challenge Classic Psychiatry*] (Athens: Agra, 2016).
36. Guattari, *De Leros à la Borde*, p. 32.
37. Information on the current operation of the psychiatric facilities comes from field interviews in May 2014 directly with the current medical staff on-site at the hospital PIKPA.
38. The quote in the title of a conclusion is taken from the translation of slogans painted on the walls of the Royal Technical School.