

# Modern Space and Narration in the Greek Films of the Interwar Period

Anna Poupou

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

## ABSTRACT

*This article studies the representation of modern space and the evolution of cinematic narration within the narrow context of feature films produced in Greece in the 1920s and 1930s, in order to examine the construction of filmic narrative space and the influences, affinities and imitations between the Greek films and their international models. The purpose of this study is to describe and interpret the unstable, uneven, fragmented and sporadic expressions of cinematic depictions of modern urban space in Greece. The films under examination are Villar's Adventures (Joseph Hepp, 1924), Astero (Dimitris Gaziadis, 1929), Apaches of Athens (Dimitris Gaziadis 1930), The Wizard of Athens (Achilleas Madras 1931), Social Decay (Stelios Tatassopoulos 1932), The Girl Refugee (Togo Mizrahi 1938) and a few surviving fragments of other films. This examination will focus on the mapping of the locations and the implications of urban space in the organisation of the narration in order to propose a typology of depictions of the Athenian modernity in the 1920s and 1930s, providing an introduction on the Athenian urbanism and describing the radical architectural and social mutations and the ideological re-orientations that transformed the Athenian cityscape in terms of class, ethnicity, social mobility and geography. In this context, this essay attempts to answer the following questions: which of these transformations are visible in the feature films of the 1920s and 1930s? How specific film genres generate urban iconographies in this corpus? How do all these urban themes or spatial motifs reflect the passage from the amateur and non-professional production of the 1920s to the more canonical, stereotyped and, more or less, 'classical' narration, that follows the examples of mainstream cinema regarding city representations? The article was developed in the framework of the European research programme "I-Media Cities. Innovative e-Environments for Research on Cities and the Media".*

## KEYWORDS

early Greek cinema  
city and cinema  
modernism  
narration  
urban history

It is a commonplace to note that the art of cinema was not only born within the context of the urban modernity of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it was also the art that gave birth to a new way of looking at, understanding and representing modern space. The mobile gaze of cinema that reproduced the experiences of modernity has been one of the most important factors in the creation of modern space. Urban representations were a privileged theme in the early years of the 7<sup>th</sup> art, as cinema recorded views of the social reality and details of everyday life in urban spaces, depicted the familiar and the exotic (in feature films, documentaries or newsreels), and was definitely a witness of the architectural and social changes at the turn of the century. The photogenic cityscapes in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, their variety, complexity and symbolic power in geopolitical, ideological and gendered discourses, made modern city one of the most exciting and developed themes of modernist and mainstream cinema, generating new genres such as the “city symphonies”<sup>1</sup> and revitalizing older ones such as the melodrama and the comedy. New ways of constructing urban narratives were developed in feature films, while signs of modernity invaded film plots, linking cinematic storytelling to modalities originated in the theatrical stage and the modernist forms in poetry, painting and literature.

In this article I will study the representation of modern urban space and the evolution of cinematic narration within the narrow context of feature films produced in Greece in the 1920s and 1930s, in order to examine the construction of filmic narrative space and the influences, affinities and imitations between the Greek films and their international models. This study was developed as a part of the European research program “I-Media Cities – Innovative e-Environments for Research on Cities and the Media”<sup>2</sup> in which the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (Department of Communication and Media) and the Greek

---

<sup>1</sup> The literature on the relationship between the modern city and cinema is extensive even from the 1930s in the work of Siegfried Kracauer and Walter Benjamin. Recent collective volumes and articles focus especially on the cinema of the 1920s and 1930s in regard to the representation of the cityscape and the genre of the “city symphonies”. See, for example, Bruno (1993), Shiel & Fitzmaurice (2003), Webber (2008: 56-71), Keiller (2008: 29-40) and Perivolaropoulou (2011: 23-40).

<sup>2</sup> “I-Media-Cities” is the initiative of seventeen European film archives, libraries and research institutions to share access to and valorise audiovisual content from their collections for research purposes. “I-Media-Cities” receives funding from the E.U.’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, it started in April 2016 and over a three-year period plans to integrate technical development work to push interoperability among film and audiovisual archives and generate two types of e-environments to be used by researchers and innovators for research and other creative purposes. At the end of the project, a digital content access platform will be delivered, made available to a growing community of researchers and creatives Europe-wide. The Greek team is consisted by researches from the Greek Film Archive and the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. For more information see <https://imediacities.eu/>.

Film Archive participate. The corpus that could be used for this purpose is very limited, not only because of the small number of the feature films produced in this period, but also because only a few of them have survived today, some of them in unfinished or fragmented forms. This study will not attempt to reconstruct a systematic and linear process, but will try to describe and interpret the unstable, uneven, fragmented and sporadic expressions of cinematic depictions of modern urban space in Greece. The films under examination are *I peripeties tou Villar/Villar's Adventures* (Joseph Hepp, 1924), *Astero* (Dimitris Gaziadis, 1929), *I apachides ton Athinon/Apaches of Athens* (Dimitris Gaziadis, 1930) *O magos tis Athinas/The Wizard of Athens* (Achilleas Madras, 1931), *Kinoniki sapila/Social Decay* (Stelios Tatassopoulos, 1932), *I prosfygopoula/The Girl Refugee* (Togo Mizrahi, 1938) and a few surviving fragments of other films. This examination will focus on the construction of filmic space, the mapping of the locations and the implications of urban space in the organisation of the narration in order to propose a typology of depictions of the Athenian modernity in the 1920s and 1930s.

### **ATHENIAN MODERNISM IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

The reinvention of Athens in the 1830s as the capital of the newly established Greek nation-state, resulted in the paradoxical status of Athens, as an ancient city and, at the same time, as younger than most of the European capitals of the time. The name of Athens, the location, the ancient monuments and the relationship with its classical past were the only reasons for which this small and deserted—during the Independence War—city, placed in the shadow of the Acropolis hill, was selected to perform the role of the Greek capital. This link to the ancient past was used by King Otto as a way to construct the new national identity, hiding at the same time the complex multicultural ethnolinguistic environment of the new nation-state. As historian Alexis Politis has explained, this link to antiquity was forged mainly by two means, through language and architecture: as the new language “katharevousa”, which means “cleansed”, had to be cleaned of all western, Balkan or oriental elements, architecture should also be cleaned from all Turkish or Byzantine features in order to bring to mind the purity of the classical past (Politis 2003: 87). This attempt can be witnessed in the architectural vocabulary that was used at that time, and remained dominant even in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Neoclassicism. The new buildings had to break the links to Ottoman, Byzantine and Balkan traditions and aim for a ‘return’ to the classical architecture and aesthetics, an aim achieved by the importation of the architectural trend of the Munich School (Philippidis 1984: 69-70). At the same time Neoclassicism served not only as a link to the classical past, but also as a link to the rest of Western Europe. In this context, the creation of the Athenian cityscape was not the result of a spontaneous and inclusive urban development through various historical periods, but, on the contrary, a conscious attempt at self-representation and creation of a concrete image of the

dominant ideological discourse of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through architecture and urban planning.

In the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Athenian city planning was used to serve the 'Great Idea' which was the dominant geopolitical expansionist discourse of the time, and according to which Athens was going to play a hegemonic role in the Balkans and the Near East. The Athenian architecture in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was used to serve exactly this ideology: for a city of a population of less than half a million, Athens had grandiose neoclassical mansions, parks, theatres, avenues, and emblematic buildings such as Zappeion Hall, in contrast with the city's small size and the absence of basic infrastructure (Vatopoulos 2003: 40). The first signs of modernity appear in the Athenian cityscape of 'belle époque' in the fields of transportation, consumerism, entertainment and architecture. The defeat in the Asia Minor War in 1922 and the arrival in Greece of one million refugees will not only transform the demographics of the capital but will also, as Guy Burgel (2002: 11) describes, "mark a change in the city's historical destiny" and the abandonment of the extravagance and large scale urbanism that served the 'Great Idea'.

In this context, we can trace three radical transformations in the social and architectural field in the 1920s. The first was that the arrival of almost 200,000 refugees expanded the city and led to the construction of slums, urban villages, refugee camps all over the periphery of Athens and the creation of new working class districts with collective housing buildings (Leontidou 2001: 151, 156). This demographic change will also affect the upper class, which in the 1920s abandons the residential districts of the city centre to move to new 'Garden Cities' in the northern suburbs of Athens. This upper class flight towards the new suburbs will accentuate the geographical segregation and the division between privileged districts in the north of the city and the western areas inhabited by the lower income and working class population. A third change happens in the districts of the middle class in the city centre: the new legislation in 1929 permitting the construction of multi-storey buildings resulted in a construction boom in the official centre. The facades of the three major traffic axes of the city centre (Stadiou, Academias, Panepistimiou), the boulevards of Vassilissis Sofias and Patission, and the districts of Kolonaki, Exarchia and Neapoli, were totally reconstructed and ready to host not only the middle class of the capital, but also the members of the Greek diaspora that sought to relocate their businesses in Athens. The new buildings marked the introduction of a modernist vocabulary following the principles of functionalism that for the first time replaced the neoclassical idiom (Philippidis 2000: 141-146). Thus, in the 1920s and 1930s, radical architectural and social mutations and ideological re-orientations transformed the Athenian cityscape in terms of class, ethnicity, social mobility and geography. In this context, this essay will attempt to answer the following

questions: which of these transformations are visible in the feature films of the 1920s and 1930s?<sup>3</sup> How do Greek feature films reflect, represent or avoid these important urban mutations? In which way issues such as the reinvention of the past, the self-representation of Greekness, the reception of modernity or the depiction of social problems are represented in Greek cinema? And finally, how do all these urban themes or spatial motifs affect the filmic narration and reflect the passage from the amateur and non-professional production of the 1920s to the more canonical, stereotyped and, more or less, 'classical' narration, that follows the examples of mainstream cinema regarding city representations?

## FROM THEATRICAL VAUDEVILLE TO SLAPSTICK FILMS: CHASES AND RUNS

In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, city views or city scenes were a popular filmic genre, representing panoramas of exotic places, images of modern metropolises, traffic jams in cities all over the world, parades, festivals or picturesque views. These travelogues developed together with the idea that film can construct a worldwide archive of geographical space, producing a "cartographical gaze" (Castro 2008: 33-41) and creating an atlas of visual recordings as a document of city life in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many city scenes of Athens have survived from the first decade of the century, shot mostly by foreign and Greek photographers. One representative example of this kind of city scene is the colour film by Gaumont entitled *La Grèce pittoresque/The Picturesque Greece*, shot in 1912 with the innovative technique of Trichromie, inaugurated by the same company.<sup>4</sup> The duration of the film is fifteen minutes and includes scenes shot in Megara, Korinthos, Athens and Piraeus. In Athens we have six different shots, a panoramic shot of Lycabettus from the Acropolis showing the roofs of the city (**Fig. 1.1**), and then a shot of Erechtheion (**Fig. 1.2**), a panoramic shot of the Acropolis, a static shot of the Parthenon and a panoramic shot of Zappeion and the Royal Gardens, all of them showing a monumental aspect of the city with empty and emblematic spaces. The only shot that captures a view of everyday life shows the central Stadiou Avenue with traffic, trams, horses and the street full of people, mostly men in uniforms (**Fig. 1.3**). This journal is typical of the representations of Athens in western cinematic iconographies, focusing mostly on monuments and the classical past of the city than on the contemporary reality of the Greek capital. As these views did not have a narrative function and each shot was autonomous, the city and its monuments were presented as a

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of the representations of urban space in Greek cinema and the architecture of urban cinema theatres in the 1930s, see Stassinopoulou (2000: 353-368). For more information about the Greek cinematic production in the early period and in the interwar years, see Hess (2000), Delveroudi (2001, 2003, 2012), Arkolakis (2009), and Tsitsopoulou (2012).

<sup>4</sup> *La Grèce pittoresque* Item 1200GTR0001 in the catalogue of Gaumont Pathé Archives.



spectacle, or as an 'attraction': in this particular case the 'spectacular' element is due to the unusual use of colour photography with an innovative technique.



**Fig. 1.1:** *The Picturesque Greece* (1912)



**Fig. 1.2:** *The Picturesque Greece* (1912)



**Fig. 1.3:** *The Picturesque Greece* (1912)

We can still trace these modalities, used in the city scenes, integrated in the feature film. The first example under examination is the oldest Greek feature film that has survived from 1924, *Villar's Adventures* by Joseph Hepp, a filmmaker of Hungarian origin. The film belongs to the slapstick comedy genre,<sup>5</sup> which was the first fictional genre to be cultivated in the early years of Greek production, with the exception of newsreels and journals. A typical example of slapstick aesthetics in the 1920s is the five short films performed by the theatrical actor Michael Michael of Michael who created the eponymous character. Unfortunately only fragments of three films,<sup>6</sup> directed by Lykourgos Kalapothakis, have survived (Karalis 2012: 12), enough though to allow us to make some general comments about the use of urban space. In these fragments<sup>7</sup> we can trace recognisable locations such as the Royal Gardens, Stadiou Avenue near Omonia square, the Thon Villa (a private mansion in the Ampelokipi area), an open-air vaudeville theatre, and the Grand Hotel on the coast of Faliron, with its bathing facilities. Many gag scenes take place in central avenues, outside commercial stores. Avoiding wider views of the cityscape, Kalapothakis uses medium shots centered on the bodies of the actors and the complex choreography of the gags.

<sup>5</sup> The first films of this kind were produced in the 1910s by the popular actor Spyridon Dimitrakopoulos, who embodied the character of Spyridion in a series of short comedies such as *Spyridion pou porevesai?/Quo Vadis Spyridion?* (Filippo Martelli, 1911) and *O Spyridion Bebis/Spyridion Baby* (Filippo Martelli, 1911), today lost.

<sup>6</sup> *O Michael den ehi psila* Michael is completely broke, *O gamos tou Michael ke tis Concettas/The Marriage of Michael and Concetta* and *To oniro tou Michael/The Dream of Michael* (all made by Lykourgos Kalapothakis in 1923).

<sup>7</sup> The surviving fragments can be seen in the documentary *Ton Palio Ekino ton Kero/In These Early Years* (Alekos Sakellarios, 1964).

The camera is usually immobile, in a frontal position to these buildings, while, interestingly, in the centre of the frame there is always a door, a window or a staircase. The characters enter and leave the frame using this entrance: in this way the organization of space creates an enclosed frame that coincides exactly with the theatrical scene. Theatrical topics are also common in the Michael comedies, since the character himself is an unsuccessful vaudeville actor, so many scenes take place on the theatrical stage or backstage. Interior spaces are reconstructed in open-air theatre scenes, using theatrical scenography.

The most interesting examples of the slapstick comedy in the 1920s are the two films presenting the actor Nikos Sfakianakis as the character of Villar. The first one was *O Villar sta gynekia loutra toy Falirou/Villar in the Women's Baths of Faliron*, (Nikos Sfakianakis 1920), today lost. We know that the film was successful as it was screened in Athens for a few weeks, and it was also shown in cinema-theatres in Istanbul<sup>8</sup>. The second film of the series, *Villar's Adventures* has recently been restored by the Greek Film Archive and is considered today the oldest Greek feature film that has survived. The director of this film was Joseph Hepp, who arrived in Athens in the 1910s as a Pathé cinematographer, working as a projectionist and later as a cameraman, and is considered one of the pioneers of early Greek cinema. Hepp continued to work in the Greek film industry as director of photography until the 1950s. Filmed in 1924, *Villar's Adventures* is a late example of a slapstick chase comedy in which the main actor, Nikos Sfakianakis, tries to imitate Charlie Chaplin. In this film, the main character named Villar is running after beautiful women all over the city and tries to be on time for either work or romantic dates.

The chase comedy is an important sub-genre for the construction of cinematic space; it appears around 1903 but it was mostly developed in the 1910s. Charles Musser describes this evolution:

As used by Biograph, the chase encouraged a simplification of story line and a linear progression of narrative that made the need for a familiar story or a showman's narration unnecessary. Rather than having a lecture explain images in a parallel fashion, rather than having the viewer's familiarity with a story provide the basis for understanding, chase film created a self-sufficient narrative in which the viewer's appreciation was based chiefly on the experience of information presented within the film. (Musser 2003: 92-93)

Furthermore, according to Noël Burch, the chase film stems from vaudeville theatre, where a group of characters are running on stage from door to door,

---

<sup>8</sup> This information is provided by Lakis Papastathis in his documentary *Ellinikos Kinimatographos: Ta iroika hronia/Greek Cinema: The Heroic Years* (2006).



each one chasing the other, coming from different directions, suggesting that the chase goes on beyond the stage, in the backstage, in the extra-theatrical space (1991: 138, 145-147). The chase film transfers this pattern from the theatrical stage to the urban space. Having a rudimentary thematic core that triggers the action, this genre suggests the transition from the “attraction” cinema (Gunning 2004: 41), where the city appears in an autonomous way as a spectacle and as a visual attraction, to the first form of a linear chain of shots and scenes, where the city’s locations acquire a narrative use. This shift from the “attraction” cinema to narrative structures creates the need of consolidation of the first continuity rules related to the chronological succession and the organisation of a cohesive filmic space. The organisation of the shot as a theatrical ‘tableau’ ceases to be self-sufficient, and the development of the action suggests the imaginary creation of the ‘offscreen’ space, while the filmic experience widens in time and space, in a literal way since the duration of these films becomes longer. The city as a spectacle starts to have a structural narrative function. The succession of emblematic and recognisable by the viewer urban places in the chase film functions as a way to give a linear order and a system to the “perceptual chaos of the primitive image” (Burch 1991: 149).

*Villar’s Adventures* is, I believe, a very good example of this liminal state of the use of urban space, between the city as an attraction and the city as narration. The film could be used as a tourist guide as Villar visits the most emblematic monuments of Athens. The film opens with a scene showing the main character waking up in a stable among cows: by the intertitle, we are informed that Villar has just arrived from Paris – which explains the hero’s French name – and now he is working at a cleaning store<sup>9</sup>. In the next scene we see Villar on his way to his work, in a major commercial street, probably Stadiou Avenue: outside a store he spots an attractive woman (Nitsa) and starts flirting with her, playing with his stick in a way that brings to mind Charlie Chaplin. When she leaves, Villar follows her. The camera turns to the right and gives us a wider view of this street, accentuating the viewer’s perspective as the figure of Villar follows the woman, and shows to the spectator the traffic on the street, the neoclassical building on the corner and the wide and comfortable pavement aligned with the windows of modern commercial stores. In comparison to similar scenes outside commercial stores, as seen in the films of Michael Michael, we trace here an effort to inscribe the city’s movement into the frame and a larger variety of ways to film urban space. In the next scene, the chase continues, and the two characters take a taxi

---

<sup>9</sup> The national origin of the character is not clarified: he has a French name, the intertitles inform us that he came from Paris, however he seems more like a Greek who pretends to be a European foreigner in order to gain social status. The use of the French language and accent by the members of the middle class was a theme strongly ridiculed in Greek theatrical comedy from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1930s. See also Tsitsopoulou (2011).

ride. Forgetting his job, Villar enjoys with Nitsa a tour excursion of the tourist sites of Athens such as the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the Parthenon, Pnyx, Philopappos Hill and the Royal Gardens, before catching another taxi and head to an expensive seaside restaurant, which is full of women in fashionable attire and bob haircuts dancing to the frenetic rhythms of a jazz orchestra at Faliron coast. Numerous gags follow at Faliron, giving the director the opportunity to show the empty Syngrou Avenue, the streets around the urban railway station in Faliron and the coastline. When Villar realizes that he is late for work, he runs again out of the restaurant, chases a tram, catches it, and later on he jumps into a taxi, which brings him to the centre of Athens, in Vassilissis Amalias Avenue near Syntagma. Later on, Villar continues to run in front of the emblematic neoclassical trilogy in Panepistimiou Avenue, the buildings of the National Library, the University and Academia, ending up outside the Odeon of Herodes Atticus (**Fig. 2.1**).



**Fig. 2.1:** *Villar's Adventures* (Hepp, 1924)

In this location, the scene of a wedding marriage celebration unfolds: a weird-looking group of extravagant participants, who look like members of a circus, eat, drink, make vulgar sexual jokes about the marriage and attack one another with spaghetti, in a culmination of the slapstick aesthetics. What is interesting is that this vulgar and subversive ritual takes place just outside the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, destroying any serious attempt at producing a grand spectacle out of the

Roman theatre. Finally, Villar, chased by another mistress, finds refuge in the Royal Gardens and Zappeion, where a friendly gardener gives him a water shower with his hose, in a scene that brings to mind Lumière brothers' (1895) *L'Arroseur arrosé/The Sprinkler Sprinkled* (Delveroudi 2001: 25). What actually holds together all these episodes and makes this film 'readable' is the axis of the itinerary through different recognisable locations of the city.

Hepp attempts to show Athenian modernity of the 1920s through the motifs of speed and mobility, using successive tracking shots and a mobile camera. The tracking shots that follow Villar in all the above locations, usually shot from a car that follows the actor, are the most distinctive features of this film that differentiate its aesthetics from other examples of the time. However, the empty streets of the middle class central districts with a few pedestrians, little traffic and limited public transport are more evocative of a sleepy Mediterranean town of the 19th century than a modern metropolis. At the same time, Hepp's Athens avoids the representation of the social mutations and never shows spaces of poverty, misery or everyday life. With the exception of the few scenes set in the cleaning store, which we can situate in a central residential upper class district, all the other locations are either archaeological sites and monumental spaces or spaces of modernity, like the central commercial avenue and the jazz club. Hepp shows Athens as a city enclosed in a sterilised monumentality while at the same time dreaming of an imagined and unattained modernity, not without a hint of irony for this fallacy.

## URBAN BRICOLAGES AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

An interesting case of cinematic representation of Athens is the film *The Wizard of Athens* by Achilleas Madras. More a 'work in progress' than a feature film, this compilation combines footage from different sources, not only shot by Madras, but also by other uncredited directors. The first version of the film was entitled *I tsingana tis Athinas/The Gypsy Girl of Athens* and Madras started shooting it in 1922. This attempt was abandoned, but scenes from this unfinished work were re-used in *The Wizard of Athens*. Madras reworked the editing of the *Wizard* and apparently included in it fragments from other films of the period, and he presented to the Athenian public a semi-final version in 1932. The copy which has survived in the Greek Film Archive includes all these versions, giving the impression of a *bricolage*, further evidence of which is the more than four different sets of intertitles, two of them bilingual (Greek-English and Greek-French) and two in Greek, one of them probably originating in another film. Furthermore, the initial material seems to be a less professional effort in terms of narration, characterisation, causality and editing, giving the impression of scattered segments of action that are not necessarily connected. Vrassidas Karalis describes the film as "a masterpiece of bad cinema", cites a review of the period, and underscores the originality of it "as a strange bricolage experiment

on stereotypes and clichés, an euphoric attempt at a carnivalesque comic treatment of a melodramatic motif [...] a palimpsest of different layers of stories, added progressively over each other” (Karalis 2012: 14). We could argue that the original intention of the director was to produce a melodrama, however in the process this intention was reversed and the final result was closer to a slapstick comedy mocking melodramatic modes. *The Wizard of Athens* presents an impressive variety of different Athenian locations, and at the same time expresses ideological discourses – through the use of the Athenian past and present – due to the use of different material from multiple sources. Nevertheless, as Madras himself consciously embedded this extra footage in his work, we could make a few comments about the urban representations and use of locations in the film, having always in mind that these scenes might have been originated in different sources of primary material produced under various circumstances.

A short synopsis is the following: Dolly, a rich girl from the United States, daughter of a millionaire, is interested in the arts, and particularly in dance. Her father decides to offer her a trip to Greece, where she could study classical civilization and be influenced by ancient choreography. In her visit to Athens, she stays at the Hotel Grande Bretagne, follows a luxurious and extravagant lifestyle and is surrounded by male admirers who adore her unconventional spirit. Dolly then gets kidnapped by a thief, but hopefully is rescued by a strange figure, Mirka. Played by Achilleas Madras himself, then in his 50s and looking like a less-handsome version of Rodolfo Valentino, Mirka is a magician and a violinist. Dolly, under the spell of the mysterious stranger, falls in love with him. However, she returns to her family and decides to marry a millionaire, leaving a desperate Mirka, who ultimately abandons himself to drug use. Mirka then persuades Dolly to run away with him; they travel to different places, with Dolly giving performances, accompanied by Mirka’s magical violin, and working as fortune tellers. But their happiness will soon be over, as Dolly returns to her husband and after many twists she finally commits suicide. Different sub-plots involving many characters revolve around this story, but they are, more or less, incomplete.

The first ten minutes of the film are devoted to the presentation of Athens. The first scene is set in a garden, somewhere in the US: Dolly’s father is reading a French book entitled *Athènes*; a shot of the Parthenon illustrates the father’s thoughts and an intertitle explains: “The glory that was Greece... The yearning for a visit to Greece”. Later on he says to his daughter: “In view of your liking the ancient Greek dances, I promise to take you to Greece to enjoy the inspiration of its classical atmosphere”. From the beginning of the film, Athens is seen from the perspective of the American philhellene tourist, who comes to Greece with Pausanias in hand in order to discover the place of classical history and

monuments, to find the inspiration of “the classical atmosphere”. A shift in this perspective or a disappointment is not expressed by the characters: they seem to find in Athens exactly what they were looking for. The next scenes are set in “a boat from America with lovers of Greece”. Dolly admires from the boat the bay of Piraeus, revealed in a panoramic shot through the device of a binocular mask. The shot gives us an interesting view of this cityscape, with industrial funnels in the background, and small traditional sailing boats amongst larger steamer ships. A few urban buildings are visible in the harbour: most of them are small houses of one or two floors, and only two or three are larger scale multi-storey buildings of three or four floors. It is possible that this shot comes from earlier years, and definitely not from 1932 when the urban landscape of Piraeus was more dense with taller buildings. Dolly stays at the Hotel Grande Bretagne, where she is followed by male admirers who are attracted not only to her original character but also to her dollars. She goes shopping in the commercial streets of Athens, possibly in Stadiou Avenue, in a scene similar to Kalapothakis’s film, upsetting her friends with her extravagant consumerism.

What follows is a long sequence of Dolly’s visit to the Acropolis, the Parthenon and the Odeon of Herodes Atticus. The intertitle explains: “Dolly is captivated and is dreaming of scenes of long ago, when athletic games, bull fights and other festivals were staged for the pleasure of the Roman emperors”. This scene is intercut by shots showing another character, Paulo, wandering in the centre of Athens. Interesting dissolves of two frames, one showing a neoclassical building and another depicting an ancient temple, accentuate the link between neoclassical architecture and the ancient model. These frames are not used as a juxtaposition between the old and the new; on the contrary, the use of the device of the dissolve suggests the convergence of past and present accentuating the concept of historical and architectural continuity.<sup>10</sup> A flashback scene begins with the intertitle “Imagine the miracle of this place in the time of Pericles during the celebration of Panathenaea”, and is followed by images of paintings of the monuments and unusual synthetic shots in double exposure: in the one half of the frame we see a static depiction of the temple, while in the other half we see shots from an all-female chorus participating to an ancient-themed celebration. The multi-member chorus and the presence of spectators, sitting on the seats of an ancient theatre, shows that this is footage from newsreels or other recordings of these kinds of celebrations, or fragments from ancient-themed feature films.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Some of the shots seen earlier at the Odeon of Herodes Atticus are repeated, apparently from a different version of the film with different image quality and intertitles. The first set of intertitles is branded *Ajax Films* and the second is branded *Mirror Film*. In the second set the names of the characters change: Dolly, for example, becomes Lilly.

<sup>11</sup> These shots could possibly have originated in celebrations in Olympia or in the Delphic Feasts organised by Eva Palmer and Angelos Sikelianos in Delphi. Similar



At the same time, intertitles give historical information and descriptions about this celebration of Panathenaea, while the Dolly's visit ends in the Theatre of Dionysus.

The introduction to Athens continues in the next sequence, which opens with the intertitle "The central streets of Athens", a shot of Panepistimiou Avenue full of trams, cars and people, and a shot of the emblematic building of the University, a typical choice for depicting the official centre of modern Athens. The following shots however are rather unexpected, as they show a "mangas", the type of a male petty criminal, and a woman, who poses as a prostitute, in a poor district with small houses and dusty alleys. In the next shot these two urban lumpen proletarian characters are drinking ouzo in an open-air tavern. The unusual medium framing, the different quality of the image in terms of lighting and clarity, combined with the fact that these two characters do not have any other diegetic function, bring us to the conclusion that it is again footage from different material. The same goes true for the next scene, in which participates the well-known actor Petros Kyriakos. These crowd scenes, shot at Avyssinias square, have an interesting continuity editing, combining long shots with mediums and close ups of the non-professional extras that participate in the scene.<sup>12</sup> A similar problem can be traced in the next scene, which is shot in the popular streets of Plaka showing snapshots of everyday life: picturesque sellers with their donkeys, and locals at leisure eating, drinking and dancing. Refugee districts are not shown, however negative stereotypes for the refugees from Asia Minor can be detected, such as the type of the "rembetis", "mangas", and the prostitute. These scenes are not related diegetically with the filmic characters. Again, the different *mise-en-scène* and framing shows that these shots do not belong to the original material shot by Madras.

After these long introductive sequences the plot continues in the gardens and verandas of upper class mansions in wealthy northern suburbs, possibly Kifissia, and in a hotel near the coast, probably the luxurious Faliron Grand Hotel or Akteon Hotel that dominated the coastline, giving guests access to bathing facilities and organised beaches. The most interesting locations are the spaces of

---

footage can be found in the Gaumont newsreels, as, for example, the item 36186j00008 – *Fleurs and Fetes Printaniers in Epidaure/Flowers and Spring Feasts in Epidauros* (1936): in this example, however, the dancers are wearing traditional costumes and not costumes referring to an ancient model.

<sup>12</sup> This scene has been shown in different compilations, as, for example, in the documentaries by Sakellarios and Papastathis mentioned earlier. However, none of them identifies it as a scene from *The Wizard of Athens*. Interestingly, Frixos Iliadis and Yannis Soldatos, use in their illustrated books frames from this particular scene, describing that they come from the considered lost film *Apaches of Athens* in which Petros Kyriakos appears. However, the recent discovery of this film does not confirm this hypothesis.

leisure: many scenes take place in coffee shops, dance clubs, taverns and beaches on the Faliron coast, at open-air concerts in public gardens and even a roller rink in the Royal Gardens. Usually these party scenes end with the dance performance of Dolly, and her favourite show, the “death of the swan”. This variety of location offers a panorama of the middle class urban leisures of Athenian modernity of the time. The subversive, comic and almost surrealist depiction of the characters and their habits presents an ironic and critical view of the middle class of the capital, ready to imitate a western lifestyle and follow the eccentricities of the unconventional American girl, while at the same time Dolly abandons herself to the mesmerizing charm of the ‘Orient’, here represented by Mirka, perpetuating the colonial stereotype of orientalism in mainstream cinema of the period. In conclusion, despite the chaotic structure, the incomplete narratives, the technical problems of the image and the impression of a ‘work in progress’ that *The Wizard of Athens* gives, the representation of urban space is divided in terms of class and ethnicity, which results in a peculiar diversity of locations of this urban bricolage.

The film *Social Decay* (1932) by Stelios Tatassopoulos, is considered today the first example of a film of social realism in Greece of the interwar period. The film was re-edited by the director in 1989 in collaboration with the Greek Film Archive, when film footage, which was considered lost, came to light in the 1980s, found in a storage room at the Rex theatre in Athens. The fact that the film was re-edited many decades after its production, together with the fact that it was more an amateur and artisanal attempt than a professional production, gives again the impression of a work in progress, which results in a bricolage of aesthetics. The main character, Dinos (played by Tatassopoulos himself), studies law at the University of Athens: when his father, who lives in the provinces, is no longer able to send him money he finds a job as a dancer in the theatre. There Dinos has a love story with an actress, but when she abandons him for a wealthy man, he starts using drugs, which brings him into a miserable state. When he is rescued by syndicate workers, he decides to join them and starts working as a factory worker. He rejects his ambitions for a bourgeois lifestyle and becomes the leader of the syndicate. He is imprisoned for his activities but when he is released he continues his political activism, as it is suggested in the film’s open ending. Despite the film’s many problems in terms of aesthetics, continuity and content – today it seems as a naïve melodrama – its importance lies in the fact that it is the only Greek film of the period that deals directly with the issues of syndicalism and the lack of freedom of political expression in the 1930s. A law passed in 1929 by the government of Venizelos, the so-called “idionymo” law about “the security measures regarding the social status quo and the protection of freedoms” (Delveroudi 2001: 33) restricted the activities of the labour unions: the film makes a direct allusion to this problem. The film also focuses on the

problem of unemployment and social marginalisation and offers rare—in Greek cinema—representations of prisons and of the lumpen drug-addicts milieu.

In the first act, the choice of locations is not unexpected: the building of the University, shots of Panepistimiou Avenue, scenes set in the backstage and in the stage of a vaudeville theatre, romantic scenes set in the Faliron coast and in Piraeus by the sea, and fashionable music clubs where bourgeois-bohemian artists mingle with members of the upper class. In the second act, when Dino's girlfriend leaves him and he resigns from his work in the theatre, the choice of locations changes: we see him wandering in the streets looking for a job. The commercial streets are not celebrated as signs of modernity as in *Villar's Adventures* and in *The Wizard of Athens*, but they are used more as indexes of the financial crisis, in grim images of empty stores and pawnbrokers that overtone the misery and stagnation of the commercial life in Athens. Dinos, having lost any hope of getting a job, finds refuge in coffee shops where drug addicts gather and starts to work as a dealer, selling narcotics even in hospitals. Shocking images of the characters injecting heroin and smoking hashish complete this desolate representation of the urban life during the interwar period and its social problems. In the third act, Dinos meets a group of tobacco workers who help him stand up on his feet again and get a job at the factory. Dinos is back on the stage, this time the stage of a syndicate conference, but when the police interrupts this event and arrests him and his comrades, he ends up in prison. The third act takes place mostly inside the prison, showing the miserable condition of the prisoners. When Dinos is released, he heads for Syntagma square, where he will meet his comrades for a demonstration, as we are informed from the intertitles. The film ends with a panoramic shot of Syntagma square, in front of the Parliament, showing people gathering for a demonstration.

*Social Decay* presents a large variety of locations, everyday life places of the working class and disadvantaged social strata, places of the underworld and of the sub-proletariat, together with places of leisure of the middle class. In this way it highlights the issue of social injustice, showing the social frontiers of the urban space. What also distinguishes this film from the previous examples is the use of medium shots and close ups with a faster editing, which brings the film closer to the cinematic language of the classical narration. The actors for the first time avoid looking at the camera, as in the cases of *The Wizard of Athens* and *Villar's Adventures*, where this element of theatricality combined with long shots was dominant. Finally, it is safe to assume that Tatassopoulos, who openly identified himself as a Marxist, was influenced by the German films of the late 1920s, by G. W. Pabst and Karl Grune, by the so-called Street films and the New Objectivity, which focused on the social problems of interwar Germany, under the influence of Brechtian theories in order to avoid sentimentality. Despite the abrupt shifts of the narration that are similar to a melodrama, we trace in this

film the intention to avoid sentimentalism and an effort to lead the plot to a political conclusion as well as to make a political statement through the open ending of the narration, a feature that characterised the films of the New Objectivity.

### OPPOSITIONS AND ABSENCES: THE CITY AND THE PERIPHERY

While the city in the late 1920s is a space of social mobility, the most popular trend in Greek cinema are the pastoral films, set in picturesque villages in the mountains of Greece, dealing with love stories between young couples. This genre constructed an a-temporal Greece, out of time and history, based on the conservative rhetoric that life in the village is untouched by progress and social transformation. The first film of this trend was *Golfo* (Konstantinos Bahatoris, 1915) which was an adaptation of a popular theatre play by Spyridon Peresiadis. The trend called “foustanella”,<sup>13</sup> which combined the mountain adventure with the pastoral melodrama, remained popular in the 1920s and 1930s and through repetition and standardisation of its features emerged as a distinct genre that survived until the 1960s. Maria Stassinopoulou has stressed the opposition between the representation of the countryside and the city in the films of this period, considering that the development of the “foustanella” genre was part of the filmmaker’s attempt to create a distinct “national” style in Greek cinema (Stassinopoulou 2000: 353-368). Despite the fact that these films were perceived as a “national” genre, we can easily trace their models in Hollywood films, as for example *Astero* which was inspired by D.W. Griffith’s *Ramona* (1910)<sup>14</sup> (Delveroudi 2001: 28).

*Astero* (1929), by Dimitris Gaziadis, is the best known feature film of this trend, and it can be considered today as the most accomplished Greek feature film of the period in terms of aesthetics and narration, with an elaborate *mise-en-scène*, expressionist photography and dynamic editing. Although the film takes place in a village and deals with a love story between a young couple, a very short introductory sequence takes place in Athens. It is a typical montage sequence with fast editing based on the contradiction between the old and the new, between the immobility of the monuments of the Acropolis that dominate the city and the urban rhythm of the Athenian modernity. The first shots show different views of the Acropolis hill, the Parthenon, the Propylaea (**Fig. 3.1**), and the Erechtheion and later focus on the architectural details of the monuments. What follows then is a shot of Omonia square (**Fig. 3.2**), a shot of a street full of traffic with trams and cars in the corner of the square, and then two impressive and fast tracking shots from a vehicle that circulates Stadiou Avenue showing the

<sup>13</sup> The genre of foustanella was named after an item of the traditional Greek costume.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the reception of the foustanella genre by the Greek audience, see also Hess (2000: 13-36) and Chistophides – Saliba (2012: 97-113).

density of the traffic (**Fig. 3.3**). This mobile shot is juxtaposed with an immobile shot of Erechtheion and the Caryatides statues (**Fig. 3.4**). Then a sequence of three related shots follows: the first shows the Excelsior Hotel in Omonia in an oblique framing (**Fig. 3.5**), while a tram enters the frame, then another shot, again in oblique framing showing the neoclassical building of the University, while again a tram enters the frame (**Fig. 3.6**), and finally the Parthenon, which appears as the model for these neoclassical buildings (**Fig. 3.7**). Another couple of juxtaposed shots show three women in modern suits and umbrellas walking in the corridor of the Parthenon, in a frame that accentuates the verticality of the high columns (**Fig. 3.8**), while in the next shot we see a multi-storey modernist building that stands out from the other buildings because of its height (**Fig. 3.9**). In another couple of shots, an ancient arch is juxtaposed with the circular façade of the brand new functionalist building of the Hall of the Army Pension Fund near Syntagma (**Fig. 3.10**). Constructed in 1928, it was the largest commercial building of the city, hosting many commercial arcades, cinemas and theatres, coffee shops and multiple stores and was considered the peak of the Athenian modernist architecture of the interwar period. In this short sequence, we have an idealised image of Athens, focusing on the aspects of the reconstructed city centre and the motif of modernity, through multiple tracking shots, fast editing, oblique framing and innovative match cuts, suggesting the continuity between modernist architecture and classical monuments.



**Fig. 3.1:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)





**Fig. 3.2:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)



**Fig. 3.3:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)



**Fig. 3.4:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)



**Fig. 3.5:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)





**Fig. 3.6:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)



**Fig. 3.7:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)



**Fig. 3.8:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)



**Fig. 3.9:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)





**Fig. 3.10:** *Astero* (Gaziadis, 1929)

This elaborate use of montage techniques shows that the Gaziadis brothers had a very good knowledge of “city symphonies”, such as Walter Ruttmann’s *Berlin: Die Sinfonie de Großstadt/Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis* (1927), *Manhatta* (Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler, 1921) and others. It is interesting to note that urban topics used in the avant-garde documentaries were quickly integrated by classical narration in Hollywood films and mainstream genre cinema (Jacobs 2008: 97-103). The aesthetics of the “shock” of the metropolis inspired by techniques of the Soviet montage (as, for example, the idea of “collision” between oppositional shots) can be found in autonomous urban sequences in the introductions of mainstream feature films. *Astero*, in 1929, is an excellent example of this integration of avant-garde aesthetics into classical narration cinema, and proof that the Gaziadis brothers used a wider range of references from international cinema and had professional experience that distinguished them from the other Greek filmmakers of the time.

*Astero*’s introductory montage sequence is accompanied by the following text in the French intertitles:

In the heart of poetry and beauty... in Greece, the ruins of the ancient city of Athens, that were the witness of the Golden Century, dominate in the modern city, whose feverish activity contrasts, in a strange way, with the supercilious patience of the monuments of the past. But far away from Modern Athens, the railway, surprising with its strength,



traverses places, the appearance of which has not changed in the last 3000 years... There, we find again, intact, the atmosphere of ancient Greece.

After this urban introductory sequence, what follows is an interesting scene of the railway traversing natural landscapes that serves as a passage not only from the cityscape to the countryside but also from the historical time to a-temporality. The ultimate sign of modernity, the railway, is used here to suggest not only a journey to another space but, most importantly, to another concept of time.<sup>15</sup> The pace of the shots slows down while the tracking shots seem like “phantom rides”, as the train passes over bridges, across rivers and through tunnels, giving in this way the impression of a slow return to the past. As the modern city never reappears in the film as a filmic or diegetic space, the railway is used pointedly as a metaphor, more as an experience for a journey in time, than as a modern transportation means that brings the village closer to the city. The rest of the story takes place in the village, so this introduction served only as a contrast to what the film describes as “the essence of eternal Greece”.

A depiction of Athens as a site of contrasts can be traced in the recently rediscovered film by Dimitris Gaziadis *Apaches of Athens* (1930). In 2016 a copy of this early sound film came to light, found at the Cinémathèque Française under the French title *Le prince des gueux*. The film is an adaptation of a successful operetta by Nikos Chatziapostolou and Yannis Prineas that premiered in 1921 and testifies the interconnection between the popular practices of the theatrical and musical stage. The filmic geography is structured around the opposition between the popular neighborhood and the wealthy upper class northern suburbs: in this case, the mansion of the newly-rich character Athanase Paralís is nothing less than the royal habitation in Tatoi, which in the years of the shooting of the film had become property of the Greek state. The main character is a petty criminal known in the underworld of Plaka, called “the Prince”, who pretends to be a nobleman in order to exploit the naïve Paralís. The depiction of Plaka, which stands as the opposite pole of the city, is represented as a picturesque, poor but joyful district, with its distinct pleasures and distractions, such as the game of stone throwing between gangs of young boys that represent local central areas. This common local “sport” that was popular at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century appears as an anachronism, as it refers to a nostalgic image of the “Old Athens”. It would not be an exaggeration to note that many films of the “Athenian School” of the 1950s, that construct the filmic space of Plaka as a nostalgic reference to pre-war everyday life spaces, correspond to the modalities introduced by this film. Many scenes set in Plaka are shot in the today lost

---

<sup>15</sup> On the figure of train and the phantom ride, see also Keiller (2008:29) and Burch (1991: 40-42).

neighborhood of Vrysaki, which was demolished in 1932 for the excavation of the French Archaeological School at the Ancient Agora. The film presents a rare image of one of the oldest districts of Athens that was situated between Plaka, Monastiraki and Thissio. Other scenes are shot in unidentified locations, probably refugee's districts, with wooden provisory small houses in dusty narrow alleys. This nostalgic depiction of the popular neighborhood is juxtaposed with images of the center of Athens, shot in phantom rides from cars and trams focusing on traffic and modernity. In a particular scene, the two poor hoodlums from Plaka share a taxi ride at the modern center of the capital, enjoying the view of its vibrant streets, luxurious hotels and commercial stores. Finally, these urban forms, despite the richness of the footage in sociological information, seem to reproduce spatial representations that derive from the theatrical stage, such as oppositions of different parts of the city that do not interconnect with each other and juxtapositions between rich and poor, modernity and nostalgia.

The opposition between the city and the periphery becomes more clearly designated in the films of the 1930s as the decade goes on: a representative example is the film *The Girl Refugee*, directed by Togo Mizrahi in 1938 and produced in a studio in Cairo with Greek actors. This musical melodrama takes place in an agricultural community in Thessalia. A wealthy farmer is married to a refugee woman from the Caucasus and they live happily in the village. But their happiness is threatened by a woman from the city, who seduces the farmer and separates him from his wife. His wife leaves him and finds shelter in Athens, where she becomes a popular singer. Finally, the husband discovers the hypocrisy and shallowness of his mistress and apologizes to his wife. Most of the film takes place in the provinces, while the scenes in Athens are shot in studio interiors and not in real locations. The only scenes depicting the city are a short introductory sequence and a few transitional scenes with shots from the centre of Athens and intertitles describing "Traffic! Noise! Masses!", as opposed to the peaceful landscape of the village (**Fig. 4.1, 4.2, 4.3**). The duration of these scenes is less than a minute, and they are based on very fast editing and the use of double exposure, in order to accentuate the notion of simultaneity. Despite this absence of images of the city, the urban theme dominates the film through the two juxtaposed female characters. The woman of the village is good-hearted, modest and dignified, a good wife and mother, while the woman of the city is presented as hypocritical, greedy, arrogant, lazy and disrespectful of any social convention or ethical rule. We can trace in this film a model that comes from the American melodrama in emblematic films such as *Sunrise* (1927) by F.W. Murnau in which the opposition between the city and the periphery is expressed mainly through female characterisation.



**Fig. 4.1:** *The Girl Refugee* (Mizrahi, 1938)



**Fig. 4.2:** *The Girl Refugee* (Mizrahi, 1938)



**Fig. 4.3:** *The Girl Refugee* (Mizrahi, 1938)

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we note that the surviving feature films of the 1920s and the early 1930s deal with the representation of the city as a major topic, establishing a dialogue with western genres such as the slapstick comedy, the “city symphony” or the melodrama and the spatial patterns that these genres use to depict their filmic geography. Urban motifs are not limited to the subject matter of these films, but influence the organisation of the frame, the development of the *mise-en-scène* and editing techniques, through devices such as the “phantom ride”, the tracking shots, the dissolve, the double exposure, the crosscut editing, the match cut that finally transform the development of the filmic narration. Furthermore, we can trace even modernist techniques that come from the avant-garde traditions such as the *bricolage* or the montage city sequence while at the same time we find narrative schemes that come from the classical narration of Hollywood films.

In the first amateur and non-professional films in the beginning of the 1920s, the urban phenomena of modernity, such as the new means of transportation, the speed and mobility in the streets, consumerism, tourism, leisure and western lifestyle, seem to fascinate the directors of the slapstick comedy such as Kalapothakis and Hepp, who express a kind of anxiety about the scattering of urban space and an uncertainty about what they should include or exclude in their depictions of the city. Images of poverty and misery are absent in the films

of the 1920s but they appear more often in the 1930s, partly because the discourse about the global financial crisis and its social effects was highlighted and also because of the popularity of socialist ideas and the rise of working class consciousness. Poverty, unemployment and social injustice were no longer a Greek problem that national cinema should avoid or hide, but a global issue represented widely by international films of social realism. In the 1930s, we witness the ambition of the filmmakers, such as Madras and Tatassopoulos, to capture the multiplicity and the variety of the urban sprawl and to map all the juxtapositions and different aspects of Athens. This proves to be an impossibility as the city in the 1930s is no longer a familiar and stable social space: its constant transformation and its fluidity lead to procedures such as the *bricolage* in order to illustrate the heterogeneity of the new modern cityscape. Finally, at the end of this period, urban modernity becomes familiar and standardised: as a result we have stereotypical introductions where the urban landscape becomes systematised, loses its explosive multiplicity and gets in order, into pre-fabricated discourses, in films such as *The Girl Refugee*. Despite the fact that in this period a discourse about the creation of a “national style” leads to an absence of urban thematics, the few minutes in the introduction of films such as *Astero* reveal the intention of the filmmaker to attribute to Athens a miniature “city symphony”, using the modernist vocabulary of the contemporary avant-garde cinema. Moreover Gaziadis’s two films show his intention to consolidate the hegemonic narrative about historical and architectural continuity and to integrate into this discourse the topics of urban modernity, an intention that can also be seen in the films *The Villar’s Adventures* and *The Wizard of Athens*. Finally, we can conclude that the only reference point that functions as a permanent axis in the representation of Athens is the use of antiquity: all directors of this period seem to reproduce an idealised iconography of Athens that stresses the architectural and historical continuity of the city, combining the monumental aspects of antiquity with a vision of an elusive modernity, in which Athens is trying to participate.

## REFERENCES

- Arkolakis, M. (2009), *Ellinikos Kinimatografos (1896-1939), sygrisis se evropaiko ke mesogiako plesio. Tropi paragogis ke dianomis/Greek Cinema (1898-1939), Comparisons in a European and Mediterranean Context. Methods of Production and Distribution*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Hellenic Open University.
- Barber, S. (2002), *Projected Cities: Cinema and Urban Space*, London: Reaktion Books.
- Bruno, G. (1993), *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Burch, N. (1991), *La lucarne de l’infini: Naissance du langage cinématographique/Life to Those Shadows*, Paris: Nathan Université.



- Burgel, G. (2002), *Le Miracle athénien au XXe siècle/The Athenian Miracle in the Twentieth Century*, Paris: CNRS.
- Castro, T. (2008), 'La ville planétaire. Un regard cartographique'/'The global city: A map view', in L. Creton and K. Feigelson (eds), *Villes cinématographiques, Ciné-lieux Théorème no10*, Paris: Presses Nouvelle Sorbonne, pp. 33-41.
- Christophides, Y., & Saliba, M. (2012), 'Open air cinemas in Athens: The Rise of the City and Urban Identities', in L. Papadimitriou & Y. Tzioumakis (eds), *Greek Cinema: Texts, Histories, Identities*, Bristol: Intellect, pp. 97-115.
- Delveroudi, E. A. (2001), 'Arhi ke exelixa tou Ellinikou Kinimatografou'/'The beginnings and the development of Greek Cinema', in Athanassatou I., Delveroudi E. A., Kolovos V. (eds) *Neoelliniko Theatro (1600-1940) – Kinimatografos/Modern Greek Theatre (1600-1940) – Cinema*, Vol. II, Patras: Hellenic Open University, pp. 15-40.
- Delveroudi, E. A. (2012), 'Silent Greek Cinema: In Search of Academic Recognition', in L. Papadimitriou & Y. Tzioumakis (eds), *Greek Cinema: Texts, Histories, Identities*, Bristol: Intellect, pp. 115-129.
- Gunning, T. (2004), 'Now you see it, now you don't. The temporality of the cinema of attractions', in *The Silent Cinema Reader*, L. Grieveson & P. Kramer (eds), London and New York: Routledge, pp. 41-49.
- Hess, F. (2000), 'Sound and the Nation: Rethinking the History of Early Greek Film Production', *Journal of Greek Modern Studies*, Vol. 19, pp. 13-36.
- Jacobs, S. (2008), 'Urban montage sequences: City Symphonies and their Integration in Classical Cinema', in *City in Film: Architecture, Urban Space and the Moving Image*, J. Hallam, R. Koeck, R. Kronenburg & L. Roberts (eds), Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 97-103.
- Karalis, V. (2012), *A History of Greek Cinema*, Bloomsbury: London.
- Keiller, P. (2008), 'Urban Space and Early Film', in *Cities in Transition: The Moving Image and the Modern Metropolis*, A. Webber and E. Wilson (eds), pp. 29-39.
- Leontidou, L. (2001), *Poleis tis siopis/Cities of Silence*, Athens: ETVA.
- Musser, C. (2004), 'Moving towards fictional narratives. Story film become the dominant product, 1903-1904', in *The Silent Cinema Reader*, L. Grieveson & P. Kramer (eds), London and New York: Routledge, pp. 92-93.
- Perivolaropoulou, N. (2011), 'I kinimatographiki poli: Siegfried Krakauer'/'The Cinematographic City: Siegfried Krakauer', in *City and Cinema: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches*, E. Sifaki, A. Poupou and A. Nikolaidou (eds), Athens, Nissos Publishing, pp. 23-40.
- Philippidis, D. (1984), *Neoelliniki Architektoniki/Modern Greek Architecture*, Athens: Melissa.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2000), 'I emfanisi tis polykatoikias stin Athina tou 30'/'The appearance of the multi-storey building in the Athens of the 30s', in the proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> international conference *The City in Modern Years: Mediterranean*

- and Balkan Views (19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, Athens: Etairia Meletis Neou Ellinismou, pp. 141-146.
- Pisano, G. (2008), 'La ville réverbère: Camera obscura et art trompeur'/'City street light: Camera obscura and deceptive art', in L. Creton & K. Feigelson (eds), *Villes cinématographiques, Ciné-lieux*, Théorème no 10, Paris: Presses Nouvelle Sorbonne, pp. 25-32.
- Politis, A. (2003), *Ta romantika hronia: Ideologies ke nootropies stin Ellada tou 1830-1880/The Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece 1830-1880*, Athens: Mnemon.
- Shiel M., & Fitzmaurice, T. (2003), *Screening the City*, London: Verso.
- Stassinopoulou, M. (2000), 'O kinimatographos ston elliniko astiko horo ke I kinimatographiki ikonografia tis ellinikis polis sto Mesopolemo'/'Cinema in Greek urban and cinematic iconography of Greek city during the interwar period', in the proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> international conference *I poli stous neoterous xronous: mesogiakes ke valkanikes opseis (19os 20os eonas)/The City in Modern Years: Mediterranean and Balkan Views (19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, Athens: Etairia Meletis Neou Ellinismou, pp. 353-368.
- Tsitsopoulou, V. (2012), 'Coloniality and Early Greek Film Culture', in L. Papadimitriou & Y. Tzioumakis (eds), *Greek Cinema: Texts, Histories, Identities*, Bristol: Intellect, pp. 73-97.
- Vatopoulos, N. (2003), *Facing Athens: The Facades of a Capital City*, Athens: Potamos.
- Webber, A. (2008), 'Symphony of a City: Motion Pictures and Still Lives in Weimar Berlin', in *Cities in Transition: The Moving Image and the Modern Metropolis*, A. Webber & E. Wilson (eds), London: Wallflower Press, pp. 56-71.