



Philippos Vokos, Xenia Travel Station, Platamonas, Greece, 1961. Currently abandoned. © Emilia Athanassiou, March 2011.

Weaving the *Xenia* network in post-war Greece: The ethical structure of hospitality

BY EMILIA ATHANASSIOU

Tourism is examined as a vehicle for modernizing society and educating the people about mobility and the emerging cultures of leisure in postwar Greece. The focus lies on the historical, social and political milieu in which the re-launched Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) conceived and carried out the state-run *Xenia* program for a network of accommodation facilities and infrastructure, in the 1950s and 1960s. The *Xenia* network upgraded Greece's hotel hospitality and consolidated its tourism industry as a strong pillar of its economy. More importantly, it rewove the country's war-torn social fabric by infusing Greek society with visions of individual prosperity, collective progress and democratic participation.

Introduction

Xenia in Homer's *Odyssey* stands for hospitality shown to a guest or the terms that define the relationship between a host and a guest¹. More specifically, *Xenia* describes a powerful institution in Ancient Greece, supported by unwritten rules and solemn customs, which regulated the relationship between traveling individuals from different regions and their hosts². *Xenia* enabled individuals to travel to different territories and receive accommodation and meals, as their hosts were morally bound to ensure their safety and well-being for the duration of their stay. It also ensured that guests would show respect towards their hosts and would not take advantage of their hospitality. Such was the significance of the concept that Zeus was named *Xenios* god protector of the travelers/guests. In addition, Homer demonstrates that *Xenia* provided a way of measuring the degree of civilization in a community, since it created a sacred and ethical bond between the "self" and the "other"³. This might explain why the Greek National Tourism Organization (GNTO), the main government agency responsible for formulating and carrying out tourism policy in postwar Greece, chose this symbolically rich name for the new hospitality infrastructure network that aimed to get the country's economy into shape, by redeveloping its tourism industry. In the 1950s, during the course of the country's much needed and painstakingly slow reconstruction, tourism was the sector that looked more promising for attracting foreign exchange as a means of balancing public finances.

In October 1950, in the midst of a long period of political instability⁴, inconclusive electoral results and unsuccessful government formation attempts, Prime Minister (PM) Sophocles Venizelos' administration re-launched the GNTO, with mandatory law 1565/50. In doing so, the government appeared to have finally responded to persistent and

pressing demands made by the Americans, who, in their capacity as administrators of the financial and technical aid that came with the Marshall Plan, sought a new master plan for the redevelopment of tourism in Greece. In the face of slow progress in the front of Greece's industrialization, the Americans turned to tourism for viable solutions to the anemic economic recovery of the country. The newly established organization played a key role in the effective realization of their short-term plans for economic growth and prosperity. The philosophy of the GNTO's policy addressed three main axes: quality, quantity, and dispersal, that is, activated as many tourist destinations in the Greek mainland and the islands as possible, with small-scale hospitality infrastructure that offered appealing services to the foreign visitors. A wide range of projects were materialized in the following two decades⁵ that can be filed under four major categories: a. transportation; b. hospitality: designing and constructing new, state-run hotels, motels and organized camping sites; c. leisure: designing and constructing tourist pavilions, organized beaches and sports facilities, rehabilitating and/or embellishing archaeological sites, monuments and places of exceptional natural beauty and organizing or sponsoring cultural (such as the Epidaurus Festival), and leisure events and d. promotion: promoting Greece as an attractive tourist destination for international audiences via printed material and travel documentaries (Figure 01).

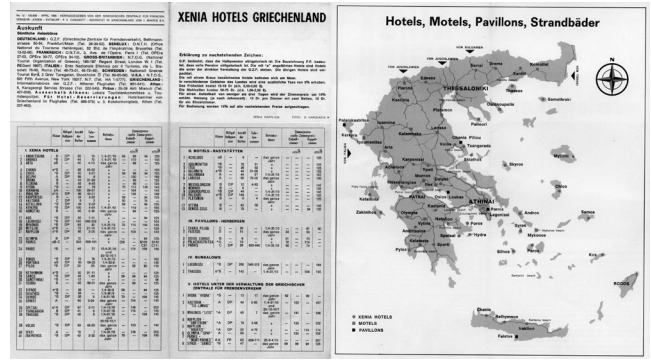
The *Xenia* Experiment

Although the systematic efforts of putting Greece on the map of international tourist interest began as early as 1950, the *Xenia* program, with the construction of the various types of tourist facilities on a nationwide scale, did not reach full swing before 1957–1959 and peaked under PM Konstantinos Karamanlis' administration's five-year tourist

01 Xenia Hotels and Motels, prospectus (in German), April 1966, GNTO. © GNTO Archives.



02 Xenia facilities and their location on the map of Greece, prospectus (in German), April 1966, GNTO. © GNTO Archives.



program of 1960–1964⁶. The fundamental idea of the program was to furnish the country with modern tourist facilities, in accordance with developments taking place elsewhere in the world and the Mediterranean in particular⁷. These were designed to both capture the imagination of the middle-class international tourist, capitalizing on Greece’s ancient past, nature, weather and, surprisingly, its services to the Allied Forces during WWII, and address the heightening drive for domestic travel by the local, urban bourgeoisie. Between 1950 and 1955, only three new state-run hotels and four tourist pavilions were built, with a total capacity of 143 beds, and a mere eight pre-war pavilions were renovated by the Technical Directorate (TD) of the GNTO⁸. In these early and formative years for the philosophy of the program, GNTO⁹ officials laid the groundwork for the development of a plan that provided the *Xenia* infrastructure with its distinctive architectural character. This character was articulated most eloquently when architect Aris Konstantinidis (1913–1993) was appointed Chief of the Projects Department (PD) of the TD. Hence, between 1955 and 1960, 31 new hotels, with a capacity of 1,600 beds in total, and 18 tourist pavilions and travel stations were completed, while in 1960 alone, 33 hotels, with a total capacity of 2,350 beds, and 21 pavilions and travel stations were under construction (Figure 02).

The successful implementation of the *Xenia* program required strong political will from the government on the one hand and methodical and persistent efforts by the Board of Directors of the GNTO on the other hand, which had adopted and supported modernist architecture, propounded by the effective and visionary architects of the TD. More specifically, they were responsible for locating suitable sites for the construction of new tourist facilities, drawing their plans, and supervising their construction. Finally, either the new facilities were run by the organization or their management was assigned to qualified individuals, following public calls of interest. Although, its infrastructure was designed mostly by in-office architects and engineers, many projects were outsourced to private, established architectural firms, thus inaugurating a successful partnership between the public and private sectors¹⁰.

Between 1951 and 1958, architect Charalambos Sfaellos (1914–2004) served as Head of the TD, setting up the

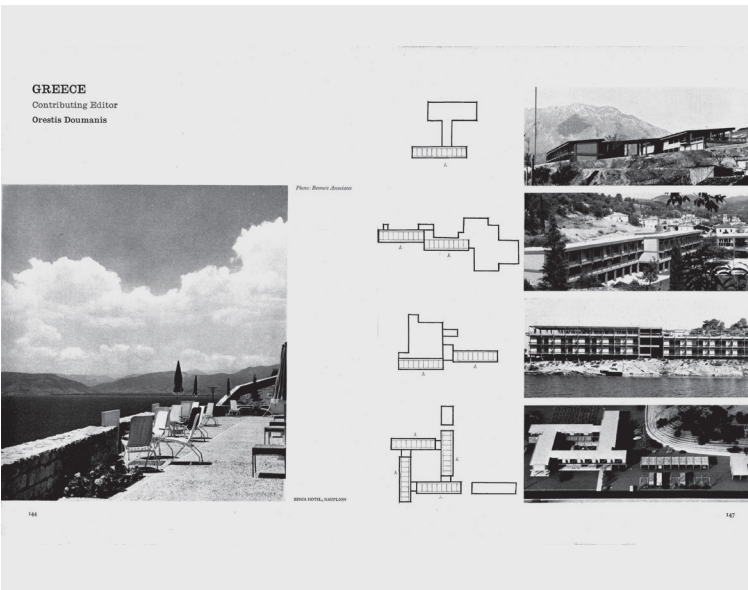
state-run tourist accommodation program of medium and small scale hotels and motels across the country, a network which would soon acquire the name of *Xenia*. This heroic period of experimentation with the formal and stylistic traits of the *Xenia* network was marked by enthusiastic productivity, despite the limited funding. The work of the GNTO under Charalambos Sfaellos can be read as an unelaborate, timid and incomplete transition to the acute postwar modernist architectural idiom that would soon follow¹¹. Capitalizing on previous experience gained under the Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece (ECA/G), the GNTO managed to include areas previously ignored by the American perspective that sought immediate results. Hence, several peripheral towns, sites and locations of interest were introduced to the program and were endowed with modern infrastructure. Besides their contribution to tourism development, the infrastructure located in distant areas of the country held enormous economic and social significance, as they provided local communities with a new concept of communal space. GNTO’s implied agenda concerning the modernization of the Greek countryside promoted the notion that the newly-built infrastructure was not aimed only at tourists and travelers, but at the local community as well. *Xenia* hotels and motels, besides tourism, also served as a highly modern backdrop for various local entertainment and recreational events, performances, religious or secular ceremonies, political gatherings and receptions of government officials, often compensating for the shortcomings of small towns in proper infrastructure and modernizing the context of the public presence of power. Hence, *Xenia* facilities served as ambassadors of modernity, proposing not only a new architectural style but a fresh viewpoint and a novel ethical stance, to the introvert, isolated and “backward” societies of the Greek hinterland and the islands. They offered an appropriate setting for the initiation of the locals in an urban life-style, different from the traditional one, or a hybrid combination of the two, as is so eloquently represented in many cinematic reconstructions of the experience of the Greek summer on the silver screen¹².

Between 1957 and 1967, architect Aris Konstantinidis was appointed Chief of the PD. Konstantinidis intensified production and personally designed twelve *Xenia* projects.

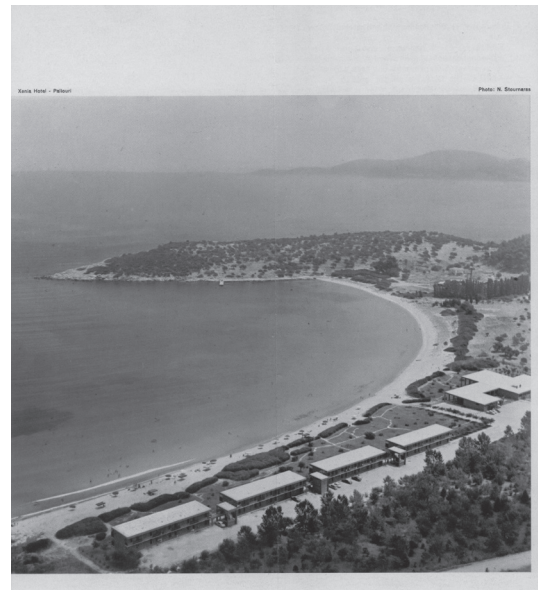
03 Yannis Triantafyllidis, *Akronafplia Xenia* Hotel, Nafplio, Greece, 1961. Currently abandoned. © Stavros Alifragkis, September 2012.



04 Aris Konstantinidis, *Xenia* Motel, Larissa, Greece, 1958. © Archimedes Athanassiou, May 1961.



05 Left page: The terrace in Yannis Triantafyllidis' *Akronafplia Xenia* Hotel, 1961. Right page: Four projects by Aris Konstantinidis. From top to bottom: *Kalambaka Xenia* Motel (1960, currently abandoned), *Olympia I Xenia* Motel (1963), *Poros Xenia* Hotel (1963, currently in use) and *Olympia II Xenia* Hotel (1966). © Aris Konstantinidis, "Architecture of Xenia Hotels", in J. Donat (ed.), *World Architecture 3/Art and Technology: Towards a third culture in architecture*, 1966.



06 Aris Konstantinidis, *Xenia* Motel Paliouri, Chalkidiki, Greece, 1960. Prospectus by GNTD, May 1970. © N. Stourmaras, GNTD Archives.

Under his supervision, the *Xenia* infrastructure achieved a distinct, mature and solid architectural character, by applying postwar functionalism and successfully adapting the principles and traits of modernist architecture to the Greek natural landscape, while leaving behind prewar formalisms or strict design typologies¹³. His personal modernism is often interpreted by Greek architectural historians as an idiosyncratic architectural expression that draws freely from the country's rich architectural tradition, namely classical dwelling typologies, such as the harmonious coexistence of the ancient Greek temple with the surrounding landscape, or the choreographic succession and proportional relation of open, semi-open, covered and closed spaces, which had survived in the medieval, anonymous, vernacular architecture of the Greek islands¹⁴. Most of the *Xenia* infrastructure reflected Konstantinidis' main priorities: unique sites of exceptional natural beauty (Figure 03), modest scale¹⁵ and fragmentation of the building's volume as a means of adjusting to the surrounding topography. Under Konstantinidis, the *Xenia* program was largely standardized on many levels. He introduced new types of areas of communal use in order to give life to the hotel all year round by attracting non-hotel guests and the locals. The aim was to turn the hotel into a space of convergence, where the local could meet the international and vice versa, where the self could come to terms with otherness¹⁶. In this respect, the architecture of the new hotels served a performative rhetoric that is compatible with the Homeric concept of *Xenia*; turning guests that were treated well by their hosts into long-lasting friends of Greece¹⁷.

Aris Konstantinidis also minimized the circulation areas of the hotel by regrouping relevant functions and launched the design of modern, elegant, but not luxurious, furnishings, as well as the use of original, modern artworks by Greek artists for the embellishment of interior and exterior communal spaces. *Xenia* hotels and motels combined extensive use of regional morphological elements and local materials (stone or marble) with modern construction techniques, such as reinforced concrete and steel. The reinforced concrete frame followed a 4×4 or 4×6 meters grid and was left, at times, unplastered and board-marked. Walls were built with mortared stone or exposed brick (Essay cover figure) or clad with ceramic tiles, while coated masonry was painted in primary colors or in the four colors of the ancient Polygnotian tradition¹⁸. Intensely colored timber window frames and metal vertical details supplemented the morphology of the *Xenia* network (Figure 07–09). Interior spaces combined Brutalist aesthetics with modern and traditional features. In some cases, local fabrics and carpets decorated floors, walls or furniture to enhance the local character, the so-called *couleur-local*. Finally, paintings or sculptures by Greek modern artists conveyed a sense of contemporaneity to the country's pleasant folklore backwardness and ancient timelessness. Modern art showcased in the *Xenias* resonated with international guests, but also functioned in an educative way for the locals. The austere, terse and laconic architecture of the *Xenia* chain introduced a new aesthetic experience and a novel dwelling mode for

tourism, as well as a distinctive ethos in the hotel business, which served surprisingly well its purpose until their eventual decline in the 1980s¹⁹.

Automobility and modern architecture: the Greek motel

In postwar Western Europe, the national Missions of the Marshall Plan promoted the deployment of the automobile by enabling favorable policies for the automotive industry. This resulted in the establishment of a new lifestyle that laid the groundwork for the emerging automobility cultures. The proliferation of the car required the construction of extensive road networks, which, in turn, prompted tourism development on the one hand and popularized modernist architecture on the other hand, in the form of newly built motels and travel stops along Europe's highways. In Greece, widespread motorization and mass summer vacations as interrelated phenomena took a more solid shape in the early 1960s, aided by the state policy of paid vacation, which was introduced as early as 1945, immediately after WWII. Thus, prewar perceptions of travel as an adventurous, exclusive and extraordinary experience, suggestive of class superiority, evolved in the postwar phenomenon of summer leave for leisure and recreation, forming a well-established social habit of escaping from the harsh realities and everyday routines of the city to the countryside, a democratic right for every social class and a crucial sector of the economy²⁰.

By the mid-1950s, it had become apparent to GNTO officials that promoting domestic tourism, alongside international, was a necessary precondition for the viability of Greece's tourism program. To this end, the country strove to gradually acquire a reliable and extensive nation-wide road network, an essential prerequisite for stimulating postwar economic activity. Much alike the electrification of the Greek provinces, the arrival of local and foreign visitors and the strategic distribution of GNTO's tourist facilities throughout the country were expected to revitalize and modernize remote regions. Furthermore, leisure and travel were expected to contribute to the psychological and moral lift of the Greek countryside, where, after years of warfare, political conflicts and economic stagnation, the gradual initiation to a modern lifestyle had finally commenced. Hence the educational value of tourism and its transformative power, which facilitated the westernization of the Greek society. From this educational process towards modernism and consumerism a new generation of Greeks emerged, trained by driving through the rhetorical spaces of contemporary motorways and modern motels, amidst an idealized landscape, where leisure and consumerism posed an indisputable solution to the problem of Greece's economy recovery²¹. Thus, modernization, as technological utopia, trendy lifestyle and novel architectural idiom, serviced the official, national narrative with a rhetorical argument that promoted progress via a free market and westernized economy. This became a recurring political slogan and a constantly unreachable target for generations to come.



Between 1938 and 1963, the number of tourists who visited Greece by automobile tripled. Figures grew exponentially toward the end of the 1950s, due to the newly-established ferry crossing between Greece and Italy at the port of Igoumenitsa²². It was a project of great symbolic and economic importance for Greece that opened a door to Europe and strengthened the country's collective sense of "belonging to the West" that PM Karamanlis' administration was promoting as the dominant national, defense, economic and cultural narrative. The connection between these two countries was supplemented by a series of tourism projects, designed to meet the specific requirements of those touring Greece by car²³. The new hybrid building type that gradually emerged along Greece's highways and scenic routes, faintly echoed its American ancestor; it was meant to appeal to the aesthetics and cater to the needs of the modern traveler, by introducing new typological and morphological standards that were expected to work as prototypes for the private sector, furthering private initiative in the development of tourism.

The architectural type of the *Xenia* motel was introduced by Konstantinidis in 1958 and soon became a very popular building type. One of the main reasons for this was the significantly lower construction cost, compared to a hotel of similar size. Naturally, easy access – but not necessarily visual contact – to one's vehicle was a major concern. It successfully answered the call for a specifically Greek modern architectural idiom, while providing basic services as a small-scale hotel. In this respect, the *Xenias* did not function as a scenic background for the country's antiquities, mechanically reproducing ancient or vernacular architectural styles in a folkloric manner. Rather, they presented articulate propagators, whose strong architectural statements and eloquent arguments favored progress and prosperity through westernization and modernization. The rudimentary architectural program of the GNTO

motels made no provision for large reception areas or spacious lounges in order to reduce the overall operating costs, since, by eliminating excess services and their corresponding spaces, fewer staff was needed, management was simplified and costs were minimized. On April 22, 1959, PM Karamanlis' administration attempted to regulate the operation of the new accommodation type with the Royal Decree *On the requirements of motels, hostels and rooms for rent*²⁴. Filed under the term *motels* were all hospitality facilities located outside residential areas or at the outskirts of cities and towns, which consisted of either a single building or several smaller ones, specifically designed to offer parking space, as well as a service station. Since motels were located near highways, they were targeting mainly tourists touring Greece by car. However, it soon became clear that motels also served all-year-round travel, such as mobile workers, business representatives, commercial salesmen, public officials etc. Thus, heating and light meal services became mandatory on a 24-hour basis, unlike other *Xenia* facilities, which lacked central heating and, in some cases, were expected to cease operation in the winter. Finally, new specifications concerning room size, furnishings and equipment were defined, with a clear intention to upgrade the accommodation conditions. In particular, the decree called for a minimum of two beds per room, an area of at least 8 square meters (m²) for the single room and 12 m² for the double room, ensuite bathrooms and, finally, reverse cycle air-conditioning in all rooms and communal areas.

The *Xenia* motels can be grouped in two distinct categories. The first type was introduced by Aris Konstantinidis. It describes an effort to apply the American functionalist type to the local landscape, by separating the communal areas from the room wings. In other words, the two (or more) independent buildings were typologically and morphologically defined by their function and the different services they were providing (Figure 05). At the same time,

the usually single-story buildings and the ortho-canonical arrangement of the ground-floor layout constituted the very definition of Doric simplicity, since one could detect in the reinforced concrete structural frame of these motels subtle references to the ancient Greek column and beam construction system²⁵. The second type of motels followed the logic of a more compact, single-unit building or building complex, styled after a scaled-down version of a *Xenia* hotel, offering full services in less space²⁶. Konstantinidis designed his first motel in Larissa, in 1958. It was the first GNTO facility that officially bore the name *Xenia*. The new motel was located at a flat and open area outside the city, next to the highway that connected Northern Greece and Thessaloniki with Athens. The single-story main building housed the reception desk, the restaurant and its kitchen, a residence for the hotelier, and public toilets and showers for the transit tourist (Figure 04). The adjacent service station completed the range of services offered there. Rooms were located in separate, two-story wings, dispersed evenly in the surrounding area. Each wing consisted of six double rooms on the first floor and corresponding parking spaces on the ground floor (Figure 06). Visitors, after checking in, would park directly underneath their room. This minimized walking distances while spared visitors from the view of rows of parked vehicles. From the ground floor parking area, a single staircase gave access to two rooms. Visitors would also have to carry their own luggage up to their rooms, since the motel did not offer room service. Breakfast was served in the main restaurant and never in the rooms, or at the bar, since the motel offered no additional sitting or living areas. Aris Konstantinidis' plan for the motel in Larissa formed the basis of the *Xenia* motel in Igoumenitsa (1959), with a different arrangement of buildings in order to accommodate the ample view to the sea. According to him, Igoumenitsa was seen as an architectural experiment on whether one could apply identical solutions to similar morphological and climatic landscapes²⁷. Creative experimentation with the *Xenia* motels, however, was not limited to the above-mentioned typological and morphological investigations. GNTO architects strove to achieve low-tech, economic solutions to condition the microclimate of the facilities with the use of passive bioclimatic design, such as south orientation, unobstructed air circulation, vegetation for sun-protection and shading, planting wind barriers etc. The fact that the GNTO had complete control of the overall design process, from the microscale of the furniture to the large scale of the landscaping, presents an interesting case of a holistic design approach, unique in Greek architecture.

Epilogue

The *Xenias* were very popular at the time, as they constituted extremely attractive alternatives to the private sector, especially among the Greek middle class, which had gradually adapted to the travel cultures of the 1950s and 1960s. Between 1951 and 1967, the reinstated GNTO managed to secure the conditions for the rapid development of Greek tourism, despite the economic turmoil, the political instability, the conflicts and the various claims made by the

professional guild of private hoteliers, who felt threatened by the initiatives of the State. In any case, the State was not ready to relinquish its role in controlling the tourism agenda, especially when it was embedded so firmly in the national narrative and State rhetoric of the times. It should be noted, though, that the initial intention of the GNTO was to set not only the typical but also the aesthetic standards for private initiative in tourism, using the *Xenia* network as a model, an exemplary display of modern perception of space, whose architecture, besides being morphologically and functionally modern, also propounded new ways of dwelling in the neglected areas of Greece²⁸. The *Xenias* remained popular until the late 1980s, when their rapid decay and abandonment began. This happened at a time when many long-term leases of their management began to expire and the buildings were considered worn-out and obsolete. Furthermore, new energy and seismic safety measures and regulations turned their remodeling and retrofitting into a financially risky, time-consuming and technologically ambitious undertaking. At the same time, the austere and ascetic model of leisure promoted by the *Xenia* network had fallen out of fashion both with domestic and international audiences. This was also a transformative period for the GNTO, who became an agency for promoting tourism in Greece instead of a laboratory of creative experimentation with various forms of arts and their ideal convergence in the *heterotopia* of the hotel. The *Xenia* experiment had succeeded but the buildings and their modern architecture were condemned to a slow and silent death. In retrospect, one has to acknowledge that the GNTO, despite their systematic attempts to produce a coherent and consistent model for moderate tourism development, that distinguished itself from the dominant paradigm of the international hotel chain, had failed to introduce enough flexibility and adaptability in order to make the model sustainable over time. The current, poor condition of the remaining *Xenia* buildings (some have been demolished, while a few others have turned into luxurious hotels with varying degrees of success) calls for a framework for their rehabilitation and reuse, on the basis of their exceptional architectural qualities²⁹, but also their overall design philosophy, which reflected a remarkable ethos towards the stranger (*xenos*). With this in mind, turning the remaining of the GNTO facilities, after more than twenty years of abandonment and decline, into shelters for the contemporary suppliants who seek asylum and, therefore, protection in Greece, would not be entirely without merit.

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Notes

- 1 Homer, *Odyssey*, 24, 285–286.
- 2 Moses Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, New York, The New York Review Books, 1982, xii–xiii.
- 3 Anne Dufourmantelle, Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, Trans. by Bowlby, R., Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 21–73.
- 4 Angelos Vlachos, Athens, 2016, 289–313.
- 5 Myrianthe Moussa, Athens, 2017, 264–279.
- 6 Vassilis Colonas, “Tourist Facilities in Greece 1950–1974”, in Yannis Aesopos, (ed.), Athens, 2015, 62–87.
- 7 Hotel networks had already been implemented in Spain with *Paradores* since 1928 and in Portugal with *Pousadas* since 1938. Initially, the *Pousadas* were buildings of an inter-war hybrid architectural style with traditional and modern elements and *Paradores* were luxury hotels located in historical medieval castles. See Ricardo Agarez, “Regional identity for the leisure of travellers: early tourism infrastructure in the Algarve, Portugal, 1940–1965”, *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.18, No.5 London, RIBA, 2013, 721–723. See also *Arquitectura Moderna y Turismo: 1925-1965*, Fundación **docomomo** Ibérico, Actas IV Congreso, Valencia, 6-8 de noviembre 2003, and Susana Lobo, *Pousadas de Portugal: Reflexos da Arquitectura Portuguesa do século XX*, Coimbra, Coimbra University Press, 2007.
- 8 The initial period of the GNTO, under the Marshall Plan, has left us with a limited but indicative of the high expectations for the corpus of architectural projects, such as the tourist pavilions of Mycenae (1951) and Epidaurus (1953) by architect Kimon Laskaris (1905–1978), as well as *Amfitryon* hotel (1951) in Nafplion by architect Kleon Krantonellis (1912–1978), officially the first new tourist hotel designed by the organization.
- 9 December 1951 marked the completion of the Marshall Plan for Greece and the reassignment of the budget for the country’s tourism development program under state funding. In January 1952, following the end of direct US supervision over Greek affairs, there was a change in the leadership of the GNTO. Lawyer and former Member of Parliament (MP) Nikolaos Fokas took over as the first post-Marshall Plan Secretary General. In the twelve years of his administration, from 1952 to 1964, the GNTO conceived, designed and constructed an imaginative, innovative and ambitious program for the rehabilitation of Greece’s tourism infrastructure, spearheaded by the design, construction and management of hotels, motels, tourist pavilions, travel stations and organized beaches and camping sites under the Xenia brand name. The GNTO at the time was staffed by a small but effective team of visionaries, modernist architects and civil engineers, talented artists and graphic designers, as well as enthusiastic administrative staff, organized in different directorates and departments with distinct responsibilities that coordinated the implementation of a multifaceted tourism policy, and, in the following decade, changed the landscape of Greek tourism. Essentially, the TD functioned as a large-scale laboratory of experimentation with modern architecture in Greece.
- 10 Until 1960, approximately forty distinguished Greek architectural firms had collaborated with the GNTO in various projects.
- 11 A typical example of this period is the *Hotel du Lac*, in Kastoria (1953), designed by Charalambos Sfaellos.
- 12 Stavros Alifragkis, “Cinematic Gazes into Greek Tourism”, in Yannis Aesopos (ed.), Athens, 2015, 262–279.
- 13 Dimitris Philippides, Athens, 1984, 289.
- 14 Helen Fessas-Emmanouil, “Modernization, Originality and Genius Loci: The Groundbreaking Hotel Architecture of Aris Konstantinidis 1958–1967”, in Yannis Aesopos (ed.), Athens, 2015, 148–159.
- 15 In two exceptional cases, such as the *Xenia* in Arta (1958) by Dionysios Zivas (1928–2018) and the *Akronafplia Xenia* at Nafplio (1961) by Yiannis Triantafyllidis, the newly-erected buildings of modern architecture were successfully situated within the walls of the local medieval fortresses.
- 16 Aris Konstantinides, London, 1966, 144–147.
- 17 Kazuhiko Yamamoto, “The Ethical Structure of Homeric Society”, *Collegium Antropologicum*, Zagreb, Zagreb Croatian Anthropological Society etc., No. 26, 2002, 695–709.

- 18 Polygnotus was an ancient Greek painter of the 5th century BC, who introduced four fundamental colors (white, black, terracotta red, and ochre) in ancient Greek painting.
- 19 Pantelis Nicolacopoulos, “Xenia Hotels 1950–1967: The Vision of Modernism”, in Yannis Aesopos (ed.), Athens, 2015, 140–145.
- 20 Ning Wang, *Tourism and Modernity—A Sociological Analysis*, New York, Pergamon, 2000, 188–189.
- 21 Stavros Alifragkis, Emilia Athanassiou, “Educating Greece in modernity: post-war tourism and western politics”, *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 18, No. 5, London, RIBA, 2013, 699–720.
- 22 Igoumenitsa’s connection with Brindisi started on August, 1st 1960, with the Greek ferry-boat *M/S Egnatia* on a daily basis. In 1961, the line was supplemented with a second ferry boat, the Italian *M/S Appia*.
- 23 These projects were a new Customs Station in Igoumenitsa by Giorgos Nikolettopoulos, the *Xenia* motel in Igoumenitsa (Konstantinidis, 1958), the now-demolished *Xenia* hotel in Ioannina (Philippos Vokos, 1958), the *Xenia* hotel in Arta (Dionysios Zivas, 1958), the *Xenia* motel in Messolonghi (Yiannis Triantafyllidis, 1958), the rehabilitation of the Igoumenitsa-Ioannina road, as well as the upgrade of the whole tourism infrastructure network in western Greece.
- 24 Government Gazette (FEK) A 71/22-04-1959.
- 25 Typical examples of this category were the *Xenia* motels in Larissa (1958), Igoumenitsa (1959), Kalambaka (1960) and Paliouri (1962).
- 26 The *Xenia* motel of Messolonghi (Yiannis Triantafyllidis, 1962) was the most prominent example of this category.
- 27 Aris Konstantinidis, 1992, 272–273.
- 28 In 1963, the GNTO owned and managed 74 hotels and motels, with a capacity of 2,608 rooms and 5,004 beds, without taking into account the various hostels and the travel stops.
- 29 Vassilis Colonas, Athens, 2018, 121–127.

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