



Journal of European Periodical Studies

an online journal by ESPRit, European Society for Periodical Research

Greek Illustrated Journals and the ‘Popular’ (1912–24): In Quest for a New Research Approach

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Journal of European Periodical Studies, 5.1 (Summer 2020)

ISSN 2506-6587

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The *Journal of European Periodical Studies* is hosted by Ghent University

Website: ojs.ugent.be/jeps

To cite this article: Nicole Immig, ‘Greek Illustrated Journals and the “Popular” (1912–24): In Quest for a New Research Approach’, *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 5.1 (Summer 2020), 84–98

Greek Illustrated Journals and the ‘Popular’ (1912–24): In Quest for a New Research Approach

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ABSTRACT

This article is a first attempt to analyze a number of Greek popular journals from the first half of the twentieth century in the frame of cultural, media, and historical interrelations and its logical inferences and to investigate them as both autonomous objects of study and a particular form of press, media, and reading product. Starting with an overview of the state of the art, it argues that the journals analyzed, *Ελλάς* [*Hellas*] (1907–21), *Εικονογραφημένος Παρνασσός* [*Illustrated Parnassos*] (1910–23), *Εικονογραφημένη* [*Illustration*] (1904–24), and *Μπουκέτο* [*Bouquet*] (1924–46), should be seen as examples of a new media format that introduced a new form of documentation combining the dissemination of encyclopedic knowledge with popular entertainment, innovative forms of representation, and the extensive use of images.

KEYWORDS

popular journals, Greece, Greek printing culture, encyclopedic knowledge, popular entertainment, images

'Periodicals of wide dispersion can be divided in general in two — albeit not always accurately — categories: in popular and elitist. The major criterion (for this distinction) constitutes the readership: while in older popular periodicals female readership prevails — and this is the reason why we could describe these journals as gossip rags — elitist journals are dominated by male readership.'¹ Characterizations such as the one presented above, stated recently in a seminar paper on the history of the Greek Press, are still common practice in the discourse on popular journals of the twentieth century in Greece. Underlying this categorization — common also in other European countries — is a wide-ranging social hierarchization of culture and expressions of culture and a general dichotomy between 'low' or 'trivial' and 'high' or 'serious' culture.² Many popular Greek journals of the twentieth century are often included in the first category.³ The consequence of such a classification borders on the neglect of and disregard for the popular periodical press in Greece, on the one hand, and indicates a scarcity of research and studies about this press in general, on the other.⁴ This is related to the fact that wider academic interdisciplinary debate exists regarding neither the popular print culture nor the periodical press as a distinct object of research, including general theoretical approaches or methodologies. This leaves the researcher with many problems and doubts, as well as a general confusion on fundamental questions about the material itself.⁵ Accordingly, overall debate is lacking regarding which periodicals should actually be considered 'popular', including criteria for such classification.⁶ Is it, instead, that content, related audiences, lay-out and design, and sales figures and 'popularity' of the journals on the Greek press market define this classification?

- 1 Aris Koumparelis, *Η Ιστορία του ελληνικού τύπου — εφημερίδες, περιοδικά και διαφήμιση* [*History of the Greek Press — Newspapers, Periodicals and Advertisements*] (handout to e-class TEI Argostoli).
- 2 For a short overview on the discipline of Cultural Analysis in Greece, see Nicolas Demertzis, Nicos Souliotis, and George Makatas, 'In Search of a Cultural Sociology', in *Handbuch Kultursociologie*, ed. by Stephan Moebius, Frithjof Nansen, and Katharina Scherke, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2019), I, pp. 99–116.
- 3 The quotation points to the still often used denomination of Greek popular writings, including popular illustrated journals, as 'ροζ λογοτεχνία' ['pink literature'] or 'παραλογοτεχνία' ['pulp fiction'], linking content, and thus expressions of culture, to 'gendered' audiences and their conduct and behaviour. In this case culture — similar to what Ien Ang has shown for the popular TV series *Dallas* — is linked to 'typical female' contents and feminized audiences, which is a classification problem in itself. See Ien Ang, *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination* (London: Methuen, 1985; repr. Abingdon: Routledge, 1989–96).
- 4 The only overview study on popular journals of the twentieth century has been done by Dimitris Chanos, a writer of detective novels and author of a four-volume publication on popular literature. See Dimitris Chanos, *Τα λαϊκά περιοδικά* [*The Popular Journals*], 4 vols (Athens: Ekdoseis I. G. Vasileiou, 1990), III–IV. See also, though referring mostly to literary and art journals, Etaireia Spoudon Sxolis Moraiti, ed., *Ο περιοδικός τύπος στον μεσοπόλεμο* [*The Periodical Press in the Interwar Period*] (Athens: Etaireia Spoudon Sxolis Moraiti, 2001). There has been greater interest in popular writings, especially the popular novel, from the literary disciplines; see Panagiotis Moulas, *Ο χώρος του εφήμερου: στοιχεία για την παραλογοτεχνία του 19ου αιώνα* [*The Field of the Ephemeral: Aspects of Pulp Fiction of the Nineteenth Century*] (Athens: Sokolis, 2007).
- 5 For an overview of the attempts to research the history of the Greek Press, see Gioula Koutsopanagou, 'Historians and the Writing of Press History', *Media History*, 22.2 (2016), 245–53.
- 6 A first discussion on the issue of the differentiation of newspaper and journal is undertaken by Anna Tabaki, who focuses, however, on journals of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. See Anna Tabaki, "'Εφημερίς" ή "Περιοδικό": Προς μια τυπολογία του περιοδικού τύπου εν τη γενέσει' ["'Newspaper" or "Periodical": Towards a Classification of the Periodical Press in the Making'], in *Ο ελληνικός τύπος 1784 έως σήμερα: Ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις* [*The Greek Press 1784 until Today: Historical and Theoretical Approaches*], ed. by Loukia Droulia (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2005), pp. 92–99. In his bibliography on literary and art journals, Karaoglou specifically excludes 'so-called popular journals', while, nevertheless, admitting that, in terms of classification, these journals are the most problematic because they also publish popular foreign and Greek authors. See Charalampos Karaoglou, *Περιοδικά λόγου και τέχνης 1901–1940* [*Literary and Art Periodicals, 1901–1940*], 3 vols (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996–2007), I, p. 4.

In order to approach the question of what can be considered 'popular' in the framework of Greek popular periodicals of the first half of the twentieth century, the aim of this article is not to give an elaborated and profound overview on Greek popular journals or their idea of what should be considered 'popular' in the interwar period. My intention here is rather to carefully approach, in a first attempt, a very small number of popular Greek illustrated journals, all published in the first decades of the twentieth century, and analyze them in the frame of cultural, media, and historical interrelations, as well as logical inferences.⁷ Hence, I investigate them as both autonomous objects of study and a particular form of the press, media, and reading product.⁸ Exploring Greek popular journals as a form of media genre in the realm of the Greek press market requires asking, particularly, how editors and authors, but also buyers and readers, actively construct meaning when they create, buy, and read the journals. This entails the investigation of those journals as media of mass culture and, hence, a product of consumption, taking into account that these journals were published during a particular period of time, the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, a period of rapid political, socio-economic, and technological transformation. I thus argue that the journals analyzed here reflect notions of the 'popular' by somehow creating a new media format which differs from older ones because they are characterized by three basic features: a new form of documentation combining the dissemination of encyclopedic knowledge with popular entertainment, innovative forms of representation, and the extensive use of images. I thus hope, first, to initiate an interdisciplinary debate on the definitions, character, and forms of the Greek popular periodical press in a period decisive for the development of print culture. My second aim in this article is to attract attention to a periodical press that is part of the non-English speaking world of magazines characterized by Patrick Leary as the 'offline penumbra': non-digitized, little noticed and marginalized within Greece, and, at the same time, geographically perceived by many scholars outside of Greece as located 'at the peripheries' of Europe.⁹ Third, I intend to follow the recently voiced postulation to shift 'beyond the familiar cosmopolitan centers' and widen the primarily Western Eurocentric approach to the history of the periodical press in general.¹⁰

State of the Art

Recent media studies — usually drawing largely on Western Europe — have shown that since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century popular journals have evolved as significant agents of an ever advancing 'medialization of society' and played a decisive role in regional and national processes of identification, the transformation of knowledge and consumption in societies, and the development and establishment of intellectual public spheres. Still, popular Greek journals of the twentieth century are

7 Natalia Igl and Julia Menzel, eds, *Illustrierte Zeitschriften um 1900: Mediale Eigenlogik, Multimodalität und Metaisierung* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016), p. 13.

8 Madleen Podewski, 'Zwischen Sichtbarem und Sagbarem: Illustrierte Magazine als Verhandlungsorte visueller Kultur', in *Deutsche illustrierte Presse: Journalismus und visuelle Kultur in der Weimarer Republik*, ed. by Katja Leiskau, Patrick Rössler, and Susann Trabert (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2016), pp. 39–58 (p. 39).

9 Patrick Leary, 'Googling the Victorians', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10.1 (2005), 72–86 (pp. 12–13).

10 Faye Hammill, Paul Hjartarson, and Hannah McGregor, 'Introducing Magazines and/as Media: The Aesthetics and Politics of Serial Form', *English Studies in Canada*, 41.1 (2015), 1–18.

seen as expressions of low or trivial culture and inferior press products.¹¹ Thus academic research (still) distrusts these studies because serious historical, political, cultural, and socio-economic sources and systematic research on popular journals are lacking.¹² Only a very limited number of studies use popular journals, often designated 'εικονογραφημένα' ['illustrated'], 'λαϊκά' ['popular'], 'οικογενειακά' ['family'] periodicals, or of 'ποικίλης ύλης' ['general interest'], as a source of research on specific elements, mostly European and Modern Greek literature and, to a lesser extent, the socio-cultural or political history of Modern Greece.¹³ These studies employ periodicals as huge 'containers of discrete bits of information' for a particular topic, rather than approaching the journals as a distinct literary and media genre.¹⁴ This also contributes to the omission or non-consideration of all 'popular' magazines from the research included in the only recently published compendium on the Greek Press, while most literary and art journals are included. Similarly, digital catalogues barely consider these journals and differ widely in their definitions and categories when documenting and archiving periodicals. Far from increased scholarly interest initiated by the 'aggressive use of digital media' and the major initiatives of digitization projects in Europe, the US, and elsewhere, small-scale digitization projects have not led to similar developments in Greece.¹⁵ This is also due to the fact that limited digitization initiatives have only very restrictively opened new methodological possibilities for 'reading across massive multi-year archives' or forms of 'distant readings', since tools and programs such as data mining or network visualization

- 11 Hans Jürgen Bucher, 'Mehr als Text mit Bild: Zur Multimodalität der illustrierten Zeitungen und Zeitschriften im 19. Jahrhundert', in Igl and Menzel, eds, pp. 25–74 (p. 31). As for a claim to integrate popular literature into the field of research on popular culture, see Minas Alexiadis, *Νεωτερική Ελληνική Λαογραφία: Συναγωγή Μελετών* [*Modern Greek Folklore Studies: Collection of Studies*] (Athens: Kardamitsa, 2006–08).
- 12 Linked to this is a relatively poor state of research on the history of the Greek Press in general, mostly concentrating on newspapers less than on periodical press. See Kostas Mayer, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Τύπου* [*History of the Greek Press*], 3 vols (Athens: s.n., 1957–60). A new reference work for the history of the Greek Press is Loukia Droulia and Gioula Koutsopanagou, eds, *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου, 1784–1974* [*Encyclopedia of the Greek Press, 1784–1974*], 4 vols (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), which, however, abstains from a theoretical and methodological discussion of the field. A fresh approach to the daily Greek press is Nikos Bakounakis, *Δημοσιογράφος ή Ρεπόρτερ: η αφήγηση στις ελληνικές εφημερίδες, 19ος–20ός αιώνας* [*Journalist or Reporter: Narration in Greek Newspapers, 19th to 20th Century*] (Athens: Polis, 2014).
- 13 See, for example, ongoing research on women's periodicals at the University of Crete, directed by Katerina Dalakoura, and the [corresponding conference](#) in 2018, and Sofia Denissi, ed., *Η γυναικεία εικαστική και λογοτεχνική παρουσία στα περιοδικά λόγου και τέχνης 1900–1940* [*The Artistic and Literary Presence of Women in Literary and Art Periodicals, 1900–1940*] (Athens: Gutenberg, 2008). Also of interest are the projects involved in *Chrysalis: Cultural Transfer and 'National Character' in Nineteenth-Century Greek Periodicals* and other publications, which however abstain from a theoretical approach that perceives the journals as a media genre in its own right: Anna Tabaki and Alexia Altouva, eds, *Επιστημονικό συμπόσιο: μετάφραση και περιοδικός τύπος στον 19ο αιώνα* [*Proceedings of Scientific Congress: Translation and Periodical Press in the 19th Century*] (Athens: s.n., 2016), pp. 185–92; A. Tabaki and M. Sehopoulou, eds, *Συνάντηση εργασίας νέων ερευνητών: ο ελληνικός περιοδικός τύπος του 19ου αιώνα: ερευνητικά ζητήματα — πορίσματα της έρευνας* [*Symposium of Young Researchers: The Greek Periodical Press of the 19th Century: Research Issues — Proceedings*] (Athens: s.n., 2015).
- 14 Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, 121.2 (2006), 517–31 (p. 517); Chanos presents the content of a journal by listing the published (serialized) Greek and translated novels, poems, and other texts in relation to their authors, but completely omits incorporated images, including caricatures, columns of readers' letters to the journal, integrated quizzes, advertising etc. The only article referring to visualization in Greek periodicals of the nineteenth century is Georgios Kotelidis, 'Η εικονογράφηση της Ινδίας στον περιοδικό τύπο του 19ου αιώνα' ['Images of India in the Periodical Press of the 19th Century'], in Tabaki and Altouva, eds, pp. 185–92.
- 15 Latham and Scholes, pp. 517–18; See, for example, the [digital collections](#) Kosmopolis and Pleias of historical Greek philological and literary journals from the nineteenth until the mid-twentieth centuries initiated by the Library and Information Center of the University of Patras. The choice of journals reflects the interest in periodicals considered 'scientific, academic, and/or elite'. Since the programme is perceived as a tool for philological research on literature, the reason for including the journal *Μπουκέτο* seemed to be its subtitle *Illustrated Literary Review*, as stated in the programme produced by a 'group of scholars'.

have been utilized on only a very limited scale by researchers in Greece.¹⁶ While many of the journals are not at all or only partially digitized and often in low quality, archival material is scattered among various archives.¹⁷ Since popular periodicals were not seen as expressions of 'serious' or 'high' culture in Modern Greece, they were either never collected, or collected much later, by national institutions and state archives, and only a small number of individuals collect popular journals.¹⁸ This hierarchization in terms of cultural and historical value is also reflected in the journals' current accessibility, which is also an obstacle to research and a re-evaluation of popular journals as expressions of popular culture. Hence, data and information on the exact dates of release, publication, and closure of the journals in the existing historiography is often contradictory, while particularly statistics about total circulation and data on readership, audiences, and — since considering journals can also be considered a product of consumption — target-groups are lacking.

Greek Popular Journals and Greek Print Culture

Published under titles such as *Εφημερίδα* [*Newspaper*], *Επιθεώρηση* [*Magazine, Review*], and *Περιοδικό* [*Journal*], periodicals emerged in centres of Greek culture in Western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, and were followed in the nineteenth century by a relatively large number of, primarily, specific scientific, academic, and, often, literary (or 'art') periodicals. According to the National Statistical Service, in 1927, not only 440 newspapers but also at least 179 periodicals were published in Greece, half of them founded in the period 1901–25, most probably in Athens.¹⁹ The journals analyzed here *Ελλάς* [*Hellas*] (1907–21), *Εικονογραφημένος Παρνασσός* [*Illustrated Parnassos*] (1910–23), *Εικονογραφημένη* [*Illustration*] (1904–24), and *Μπουκέτο* [*Bouquet*] (1924–46) were published periodically between 1902 and 1926 once or twice a week, or once a month.²⁰ The choice of researched material is based on a combination of the common characteristics of content and date of publication, since all are considered journals of general interest or family magazines and are used (to a greater or lesser extent) for images and were all published in the first half of the twentieth century. *Μπουκέτο* is the only magazine which continues to be published after the period under research. Again, the periodicity depended also on economic and political developments, especially in periods of military conflict, as stated in *Παρνασσός*, which announced that, due to Greek mobilization in the Balkan Wars and the absence of writers, as well as personnel working in the printing offices, the journal would restrict its issue to only Saturday instead of Tuesdays and Saturdays.²¹ They were all published in Athens and issued in tabloid format. The first three journals, especially,

16 Hammil, Hjartarson, and McGregor, p. 3.

17 The National Library of Greece holds several smaller popular periodicals. Until recently they were stored in a warehouse, which researchers could visit once a month. The Library of the Hellenic Parliament has also digitized several periodicals, which can be accessed in the library itself, as well as in other libraries that have purchased the database. Due to the bad quality of digitization, images and photographs, which form a significant part of the journals, are blackened and not recognizable. Popular journals can be found in the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, the National Library of Greece, and the Library of the Hellenic Parliament, as well as in various private archives and collections, such as the Sophia Foundation or the private collection of Giorgos Zevelakis.

18 Mayer, III, p. 256.

19 Georgia Eglezou, *The Greek Media in World War I and its Aftermath* (New York: Tauris, 2009), p. 9. Eglezou discusses the role of the press in Athens in the context of the Greek-Turkish conflict and the Asia Minor campaign in 1921–22, though concentrating exclusively on written accounts in Greek newspapers.

20 *Εικονογραφημένος Παρνασσός* [*Illustrated Parnassos*] will hereafter be cited as *Παρνασσός* [*Parnassos*]. In case of *Εικονογραφημένη* the annual (re-)edition was available for research.

21 'Important Note', *Παρνασσός* (7 October 1912), 15.

largely employ visual material of all kinds, usually photographs, typically published on the front page but also arranged within the issues. On the other hand, *Μπουκέτο*, with different content and a latecomer in the Greek press market, only sporadically used photographs. Sales figures, as well as data on who actually read these journals, are as of the date of this article unavailable, but we know that they were sold mostly via subscription in Athens, Greece, and abroad, including the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, the Americas, Russia, Europe, and Australia, reflecting the spread of Greek communities outside the Greek borders.²²

It is important to situate the aforementioned popular journals within the framework of Greek press history, as the decades before and after the turn of the nineteenth century signaled a 'golden era' for the Greek press market.²³ Following developments in Western Europe, innovative printing techniques, such as photo-type setting and the highly productive rotary press system, opened new potential. Black-and-white as well as multi-colored illustrations, in addition to photographs, became easier and cheaper to produce and publish, while modern technologies and economic infrastructures helped to lower prices per piece.²⁴ Greek printing enterprises adopted these new technologies rather quickly.²⁵ This contributed to a wider dispersion of press products, although prices always depended on local and global economics.²⁶ Nevertheless, the technological progress released, in any case, attractive and challenging opportunities in the field of public information and documentation.²⁷ It can be assumed that literacy helped press products to reach out to an ever-growing audience. Foreigners were particularly impressed by the high number of newspapers and the attention given to the press in general. For example, William Miller, a historian and insightful specialist on Greece and the Balkans who visited Greece after the 1900s and later settled in Athens, declared that there 'is no other country where the press plays such an important part in the life of the people'.²⁸ Although exact figures on literacy in Greece before 1927 are lacking, research suggests that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, at least forty to fifty per cent of the population in Athens was able to read.²⁹

It would be misleading, however, to assume that only literate people 'read' the journals and had access to press products, including popular journals and magazines. We

22 See advertisements in *Ελλάς* (18 June 1917), 4, or a statement by the editor of *Εικονογραφημένη* commenting on the difficult economic situation and the shortness in material and as stating that the periodical had 1,500 subscribers even in 'Abyssinia, Madagascar and Australia', *Εικονογραφημένη* (May–July 1918), 68.

23 Mayer, II, p. 13.

24 Klimis Mastoridis, *Casting the Greek Newspaper: A Study of the Morphology of the Ephemeris from its Origins until the Introduction of Mechanical Setting* (Thessaloniki: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 1999), pp. 217–18. Newspapers also advertised their print quality by taking out one-sided ads displaying images of their modern printing press as done by the newspaper *Πρωϊά* [*Morning*] of Stefanos Pezmazoglou in the 18 October 1925 issue of *Μπουκέτο* (no page).

25 Linotype machines had been introduced by most of the large Greek newspapers by the end of the twentieth century. See Klimis Mastoridis, 'Cutting and Casting Greek Types in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 81 (2006), 306–41 (p. 323).

26 See the information *Μπουκέτο* and *Ελλάς* provided to their readers on the increased price of weekly journals due to the changing price of paper, 'Statement of Ellas', *Ελλάς* (21 October 1918), 2; *Μπουκέτο* (25 October 1925), 625; or *Εικονογραφημένη* (March 1916), 60 on the price of zinc.

27 Reliable sales figures exist only in relation to Greek newspapers; for a general discussion, see Eglezou, pp. 11–14.

28 William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London: George Newnes, 1905), p. 112.

29 Exact data is gathered by the National Statistical Service, which claims that forty-two per cent of Athens' population was literate, while in 1950 it was fifty per cent. See Eglezou, p. 10. Similarly, Nikos Potamianos, in his study of the *petite bourgeoisie* of Athens, suggests that at least half of the population of Athens in 1920 was literate, and literate employees and independent 'freelancers' formed the main core of readers of the Greek press. Nikos Potamianos, *Οι νοικοκυραίοι: Μαγαζάτορες και βιοτέχνες στην Αθήνα, 1880–1925* [*Noikokyraioi: Shopkeepers and Tradesmen in Athens, 1880–1925*] (Irakleio: Crete University Press, 2016), pp. 342–45.

know that newspapers were not only bought by individual customers but also purchased by coffeehouses, which displayed them to a wider public. It is thus certain that, as stated by Miller, 'owing to the practice of sitting in cafés over a glass of water and reading the newspapers, the readers of a journal are far more numerous than its purchasers'.³⁰ Besides, although sources refer usually to newspapers, we certainly know that these were often read out loud and discussed in coffeehouses, which were frequented, however, usually by a male clientele.³¹ This also seemed to be the case for popular journals. The correspondence between editors, authors, and subscribers or readers, published in various columns often titled 'Correspondence', 'Letterbox', or 'Carte Postal' makes clear that coffeehouses and clubs based in Athens as well in other regions of Greece and abroad also purchased journals and magazines and probably placed them at the disposal of the public.³² What seems to me decisive here, however, is that those journals attracted 'readers', not just because of their writing but, equally, because of their massive visual information, a point I return to later. That the audience consisted not exclusively of literate but also illiterate 'readers' who went through the journals turning the pages and simply looking at the numerous and diverse images is, in my mind, a significant factor when considering 'audience' and 'readership' of popular journals in the interwar period.

A New Media Format

Most striking when approaching these three journals is the immense and diverse range of topics, from general politics (including external and domestic), cultural and philosophical values, fashion, and theatre, to encyclopedic travelogues and serialized novels, but also snappish caricatures, instructions on moral behavior, and dance lessons on paper. In columns such as 'Everywhere and anything', 'Impressions of a Month', and 'Novelties of the Week' readers got a glimpse of current news and curios from Greece, Europe, and all over the world, learned about modern art, literary and fashion-trends, amused themselves with comments on theatre and entertainment, and read up on the rites and customs of 'foreign' and 'indigenous peoples'.³³

How can this be understood as a new form of media product? It would be presumptuous to claim that it was the overwhelming content which characterized these journals as a new form of press product. While a number of earlier periodicals combined various fields of interest and importance, the wide range of topics echoed, to some extent, the world developed, produced, and surrounded by these magazines, a world that was constantly changing and growing in all areas of life. This world became more global and wide, opening a new window to an ever-growing world of information.³⁴ This was at the same time reflected by an increasing interest by its inhabitants in information. They — like audiences in Western Europe but also the Ottoman Empire — demanded,

30 William Miller, *Greece* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1928), p. 215.

31 See Martha Karpozilou, *Ta ελληνικά οικογενειακά περιοδικά (1874–1900)* [*Greek Family Journals (1874–1900)*] (Ioannina: University of Ioannina, 1991); J. Dimakis, 'The Greek Press', in *Greece in Transition: Essays in the History of Modern Greece, 1821–1974*, ed. by J. T. A. Koumoulides (London: Zeno, 1977), pp. 209–35 (p. 214).

32 Here authors and editors communicated with their readers publicly in short statements by addressing them with either their full or abbreviated names, place of residence, public office, or profession in submitted articles by the readers themselves, questions to the editors, or issues arising from published information. Often journals forwarded information from one reader to another. See for example 'Letter Box', *Παρνασσός* (30 September 1912), 14, as well as *Εικονογραφημένη* (November 1914), 12, stating that associations in Zakynthos, Lesbos, and Cyprus were subscribers. Another example out of many is *Μπουκέτο*, which published full names of subscribers, as well as names of associations and clubs that purchased the journal; see *Μπουκέτο* (22 March 1925), no page.

33 *Εικονογραφημένη* (December 1917), 2, 19; *Παρνασσός* (3 July 1911), 4.

34 Marie-Janine Calic, *Südosteuropa: Weltgeschichte einer Region* (München: C. H. Beck, 2016), pp. 179–90.

especially in urban areas, new forms and sources of information about the changing world around them. The Greek market met this growing interest with a number of periodicals, which differed from the older, conventional format of Greek journals, although they nevertheless relied on established forms of communication. As such, they meant to please the reader's curiosity by taking great effort to impart information and knowledge, something periodicals had also been trying to achieve in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.³⁵

The choice of topics played a decisive role. Alongside the serialized publication of novels of Greek and translated foreign writers, which made up a large part of the journal, colourful descriptions of unknown regions and their inhabitants, vivid accounts of imagined or more familiar places filled the pages of the journals.³⁶ Accounts on Istanbul/Constantinople, Alexandria, Paris, and Vienna are numerous, as well as stories about regions and people perceived as 'Greek', particularly after the Balkan Wars. Here reports on the newly incorporated regions of Thrace, Macedonia, and Crete, their inhabitants, customs, traditions, and history not only shed light on the new citizens, but also contributed, via text and images, to their respective 'hellenization'.³⁷ Article headings announced in short and catchy slogans to readers what they could expect to read, as in a one-sided article on Holy Mount Athos right after the Balkan Wars:

*MOUNT ATHOS 'RES NULIUS'
THREE ENVOY MONKS*

*Interesting physiognomics — What they said to us — The constitution of the Holy Mountain Democracy is ready — Fears and characterizations*³⁸

Readers were now also guided to places of curiosity, which had been previously closed to them. Consequently, *Εικονογραφημένη* reported, with illuminating illustrations, drawn in detail and in a rather diverting way, on the construction of the new Athens prison, while both praising the architects as well as mentioning the great expectations raised by Greek society.³⁹ Additionally, journals addressed on individual pages more specific readerships — most probably predominantly female — when, for instance, talking about the latest fashion in clothing, hairstyle, or headdress. At the same time, however, they presented themselves as mentors concerning issues of everyday experience, addressing elements of the middle-class culture of modernity: serialized columns on 'Varia' and '(Social) Events in the Province' or independent articles on 'How to Dance Tango and Milonga?' and 'Which is This Year's Best Colour in Letter Paper?' are just some examples.⁴⁰ Related to this is the fact that journals also perceived their readers

35 See George N. Vlahakis's discussion of the popularization of science in nineteenth-century Greek journals, however completely without any references and footnotes: George N. Vlahakis, 'Science and Society in 19th Century Greece: The Journals', in *Science, Technology and the 19th Century State*, ed. by Eftymios Nicolaidis and Konstantinos Chatzis (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research/ National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2000), pp. 117–23.

36 An overview of international and domestic writings in the journals, published periodically in Greek translation, can be found in Chanos.

37 Examples of accounts can be found in 'Pinakothèque of Parnassos', *Παρνασσός* (9 November 1912), 7–8 and in 'Panorama of Ellas', *Ελλάς* (13 January 1913), 8–9 on the towns of Thessaloniki and Veria in Macedonia.

38 *Ελλάς* (21 February 1913), 7.

39 *Εικονογραφημένη* (April 1914), 78–79. See also the assumptions raised by Bakounakis concerning the new journalistic style of writing articles, which also refers to the role of photographs (Bakounakis, pp. 79–92).

40 *Εικονογραφημένη* (January–March 1914), 48–49; (December 1913), 32. A first approach to the idea of the column on 'Varia' in Greek journals of the nineteenth century is made by Nikos Falagas, *Αφηγήσεις της πραγματικότητας: η στήλη των 'Ποικίλων' στην Εντέρπη* ['Narratives of Reality: The "Varia" Column in *Εντέρπη*'], in Tabaki and Sehopoulou, pp. 143–57.

as consumers. This was reflected in small, as well as one-page, advertisements carefully located within the magazine that offered readers a window onto the global world of modern consumption. French beauty products lined up alongside offers by local dressmakers, next to ads from law and medical offices, while large images of new hotels, restaurants, and racecourses recently opened in Athens gave insight into the lives of the rich and high strata of Athenian society.⁴¹

Alongside the choice of topic, however, what seems decisive here was the entertaining way journals circulated news and information and the way periodicals presented encyclopedic knowledge. In a period of technological modernization and rapid political and social transformation, in order to increase participation in mass culture and consumption by growing populations, journals — perceived as a print and media product — had nevertheless to satisfy a new need for entertainment.⁴² Such processes of modernity also entailed that readers understood themselves more and more as consumers, searching for the joys of everyday life.⁴³ Similar to trends in other parts of Europe, twentieth-century Greek popular journals answered this call by combining encyclopedic knowledge, moral instruction, and satirical criticism of society with well-directed entertainment. Greek journals drew immensely from the former traditions of the satirical press which flourished in Greece, affecting the Greek daily press of the nineteenth century as well.⁴⁴ Hence they used simplified, vibrant, and true-to-life depictions in their writings. Doing so, the articles generated easily interpretable representations of complex issues or instances of medical or technological issues, with the aim of editing and organizing a great deal of information as popular knowledge. Hence, *Παρνασσός* titled its regularly published articles on various medical issues 'Science for Everybody', as seen in the one-page article on 'Cholera and Disinfection'.⁴⁵ In a similar vein, functional articles about the newest technological inventions, such as the cinematograph, cameras, and the telegraph, and their use, as well as experiences with these new devices were published.⁴⁶ They normally used a clear and intelligible version of Modern Greek, sometimes even the vernacular, and carefully approached a topic by addressing the readers' own experience in the matter, a calculated decision in contrast to the scholarly older forms of popular science in journals of the nineteenth century. For example, the article on the 'Secrets of the Cinematograph' started with: 'Now that everybody, young and old, has been caught up in the magic of cinema, there exists a well-justified curiosity about how these performances, which everybody so vividly views on the white screen in every dark hall of the country, were produced.'⁴⁷

Periodicals often openly addressed their readers and their supposed curiosity about the latest events and rumors about the world in order to involve them directly in these accounts, while telling the story of interest as one yet to be 'discovered', not just by the author but by the audience itself. As Nikos Bakounakis has recently stated, for daily newspapers at the end of twentieth century Greece, the aim of a narration was not just limited to presenting information on a certain matter, but also to promoting

41 See for example *Εικονογραφημένη* (16 February 1914), 14 or the half-page advertisement on Champagne (France) in *Μπουκέτο* (29 November 1925) or on a hotel opening in Loutraki in *Μπουκέτο* (26 July 1925), no page. Shops also advertised their products in connection to the popularity or the number of buyers, stating their full names, place of residence, and the purchased product within the respective ad. See *Μπουκέτο* (13 December 1925), no page.

42 Gustav Frank, Madleen Podewski, and Stefan Scherer, 'Kultur — Zeit — Schrift: Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften als "kleine Archive"', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 34.2 (2009), 1–45 (p. 16).

43 Kaspar Maase, *Populärkulturforschung: Eine Einführung* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019), pp. 89–97.

44 Mastoridis, *Castings*, p. 257.

45 *Εικονογραφημένη* (14 July 1911), 13.

46 *Εικονογραφημένη* (11 May 1911), 11.

47 *Εικονογραφημένη* (11 May 1911), 12.

information by telling a story as a detective novel.⁴⁸ The article on the people of the former Ottoman province of Tripolitania, for example, started as following: 'Actually, who are these residents of Tripolitania, whose occupation has provoked the Italian-Turkish war and might put peace in the Balkan Peninsula in danger? Take a look at this actual dilemma, which nowadays is on everybody's lips and which Parnassos will attend to.' Contrary to nineteenth-century journals, these journals and the authors who engaged directly with the topics related them particularly to the fears, worries, passion, and excitement — generally speaking, to the sentiments — of its readership. Hence, popular journals addressed the readers' own emotions or experiences with the everyday, be it news about Mediterranean politics, products, and activities of mass consumption, such as dancing in the 'European way', or going to a cinema.

As already mentioned, journals also encouraged their readers to actively engage in the making of the journal itself. Following the example of daily Greek newspapers, readers were now asked to share with the journal their experiences regarding modern trends and products and with the audience by writing smaller articles or comments, or just posting brief bits of information on a variety of matters. Via contests about issues like 'What is the best reason for a rich Greek person to invest his or her money in Greece?' which asked readers to send in ideas, journals allowed their audiences to partake in their creation and composition.⁴⁹ As such, readers figured prominently as informants on social events, especially in the peripheries and from the countryside, and letting other readers know that they also had participated. Hence, they directly incorporated a wide range of reader perspectives, including those of different writers, especially offering women new avenues towards participation in public discourse regarding a wide range of social and political issues. In my opinion, this is important, taking into account the fact that the journal had to sell. A participating readership could always be considered a group of buyers in a fast-growing and competitive press market.

The Role of Images

The proposition of these journals to invite readers to participate actively in their making was not only limited to written contributions. It was also extended to visual material, especially photographs, which leads us to the issue of images and their role in popular journals in relation to the creation of a new media format. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Greek press started to print photographs using half-tone production.⁵⁰ Since 1899, the Athenian newspaper *Ἐστία* [*Hearth*] published photographs on the front page, followed by many Greek dailies like *Ἐμπρός* [*Forward*], *Σκρίπ* [*Scip*], and *Τὸ Ἄστυ* [*The City*]. According to Mastoridis, photographs had become an 'indispensable element of the Greek daily' already by the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵¹ Photographs and images appeared, however, in rather small numbers, being used as either illustration or evidence.⁵² The monthly *Εικονογραφημένη* was the first to introduce photographs

48 Bakounakis, p. 99.

49 *Εικονογραφημένη* (3 January 1913), 9.

50 Important to note is that many newspapers established their own printing offices, including departments of stereotyping, zincography, and photo-engraving, since this technology was not easy, requiring special equipment and knowledge. Mastoridis, 'Cutting', p. 350.

51 Mastoridis, *Casting*, p. 345.

52 Bakounakis claims that by 'the beginning of the twentieth century the photograph had already found its place in the Greek newspapers, adding to the optical function of the narration'. This implies a steady increase in the utilization of photography by daily Greek newspapers, which is however doubtful especially in the period after 1922. One reason could be increasing prices of paper and materials, the domestic economic crisis, and the loss of trained professionals, affecting the printing business. Bakounakis, p. 93.

in 1902 as one of its major strategies for attracting readers.⁵³ More than any other journal, *Εικονογραφημένη* presented a new form of popular illustrated journalism in the field of the periodical press. The journal based its success particularly on the high number and quality of the photographs displayed on every page of the journal.⁵⁴ Like *Εικονογραφημένη* — but with fewer photos of lesser quality — *Εικονογραφημένη* and *Εικονογραφημένη* also employed photographs, but in contrast to *Εικονογραφημένη*, these figured prominently on the front page. They were mostly images of political, social, and cultural life, beautiful actresses and artists, and members of the Greek royal family, but also of other dynasties, as well as European and Greek politicians.⁵⁵ Hence, like European journals, photographs were used particularly as eye-catchers on the front page addressing the curiosity of the potential reader, who probably became more and more used to this new form of visual technology.⁵⁶

Furthermore, in all journals, but more specifically in *Εικονογραφημένη* and *Εικονογραφημένη*, we typically find large two-page panoramas titled 'Panorama', 'Pinakothèque', or 'Salon' or just 'From Work and Life', usually at the centre of the magazine. As a new form of visual presentation, the exclusive display of images, often solely photographs and frequently framed by red printed edgings, consisted of a wide variety of themes and fields of interest.

Topics, areas, and regions are rather unsystematically compiled in a potpourri of photographic impressions rather than adhering to one photographic or visual narrative or serving as illustration for an article.⁵⁷ The scenery often presented landscapes, city panoramas in Greece and abroad, spectacles, and locations of general pleasure, entertainment and excitement, such as zoological gardens, but also business scenes of market places, shops, and trade fairs.⁵⁸ There were also numerous depictions of known and unknown athletes and artists, music associations, and school excursions, as well as many orientalist and staged pictures of both 'foreign' and 'familiar' ethnicities, which many readers probably already knew from postcards.⁵⁹

Since photographers had not yet initiated a rule regarding the signing and labelling of their photographs, the origin of the photograph is not known in many cases.⁶⁰ Journals used, to a great extent, photographs from amateur photographers and 'personal collections' along with their own. Issues simply listed the motif related to a geographic or topographical area and the location depicted in the picture, as well as the name of the (amateur) photographer and his place of origin. Although these images were taken by individuals, as stated by the caption, they were often signed by known photo studios of the time.⁶¹ *Εικονογραφημένη* and *Εικονογραφημένη* and, to a lesser degree,

53 Alexis Xanthakis, *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Φωτογραφίας 1839–1970* [*History of Greek Photography, 1839–1970*] (Athens: Papyros, 2008), p. 221.

54 Three to four photographs in several sizes, always of very high quality and in different layouts, characterized the journal. See the issues of April–May 1916, 64–65; 68–69 on April's festivities or December 1913, 30–31 on medical progress.

55 See similar developments in the field of the daily press, Bakounakis, pp. 92–93.

56 Regarding the use of photographic cameras by Greeks, see especially Xanthakis, pp. 205–13.

57 See also *Εικονογραφημένη*, 'In Our City', referring to Istanbul/Constantinople, which groups various views of the city, *Εικονογραφημένη* (August–October 1918), 76–77.

58 See, for instance, 'Pinakothèque of Parnassos', *Εικονογραφημένη* (2 February 1914), 7–8.

59 Michelle L. Woodward, 'Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization: Photographic Practice in the late Ottoman Era', *History of Photography*, 27.4 (2003), 363–74 (p. 367).

60 Bakounakis, p. 92. In the researched journals, many photographs are signed by photography studios such as Laios, Kolman, and Kazanis, while others come from foreign press agencies or offices. However, since those studios were also acting as traders of photographs and simply acted as mediators of all kinds of visual material, we cannot be certain about who had taken the photographs.

61 See the panorama picture of Karditsa town square, sent in by 'artist I. Petridou from Athens' in 'Pinakothèque of Parnassos', *Εικονογραφημένη* (15 September 1912), pp. 7–8, and Pineios bridge in Larisa sent in by 'G. Chatzikotoula and I. Birthos, from Larisa' in *Εικονογραφημένη* (21 February 1910), 9; both were signed, however, by the photographer Laios.

the weekly issue of *Εικονογραφημένη*, greatly encouraged their readers to send in their own photographs of any content. Similar to those in European and Ottoman journals, articles about military conflicts resulted in increased demand for textual and, especially, visual, information from both editors and audiences.⁶² In addition to official images from state institutions, the journals relied on and deliberately based their visual coverage of the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, preceding the First World War in South Eastern Europe, on their audiences' contributions. *Εικονογραφημένη* persistently requested readers to send images from family members who were fighting or had been wounded or even killed.⁶³ Hence, periodicals mostly published portrait photographs taken in studios before or after military service and distributed them uniformly throughout the magazine, accompanied by captions stating either the location of service, the state of health, or the date and place of death.⁶⁴

It is important to underline, however, that in addition to photographs, a variety of other images comprised the visual body of the journals presented in this paper. *Εικονογραφημένη* and *Εικονογραφημένη* regularly presented caricatures, drawings, and lithographs on their covers instead of photographs, while both journals frequently offered readers a page with caricatures on the last page of every issue.⁶⁵ A mix of visual material was offered, likewise, within the issues. Especially, but not exclusively, columns such as 'Technological Progress' informed readers about news from nature, medicine, and technology, along with the simplified language and methods previously discussed. Extensive visual material also consisted of graphics, drawings, charts, and hand-drawn maps to illustrate and explain what written accounts would only complicate or were not able to illuminate.⁶⁶ In such instances, it seems that photographs probably functioned as scientific evidence, while illustrations functioned mostly as explanation, reflecting the great demand for more information. But this also mirrored an abundant curiosity by certain sectors of society in areas that were either inaccessible to their readers or only gradually emerging into public attention and discussion.⁶⁷ This increased use of visual material also signaled a certain transparency and openness towards readers in the journals' own operational practice, including the process of printing, production of photographic material, and methods of distribution.⁶⁸ Rather than being comprised exclusively of photographs, the mix of visual material, including woodcut images, drawings, graphic illustrations, hand-drawn cartographic material, caricatures, and multicoloured depictions, as well as an increasing number of photographs, managed to keep readers attracted to the journal's content.

62 See Ulrich Keller, 'Der Weltkrieg der Bilder: Fotoreportage und Kriegspropaganda der Illustrierten Presse 1914–1918', *Fotogeschichte*, 130 (2013), 5–50 (p. 5); Thierry Gervais, *The Making of Visual News: A History of Photography in the Press* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 46. Concerning Ottoman journals, see the article by Doğan Çetinkaya, 'Atrocity Propaganda and the Nationalization of the Masses in the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 46 (2014), 759–78.

63 *Εικονογραφημένη* (11 November 1912), 6.

64 *Εικονογραφημένη* (6 January 1913), 8–9; *Εικονογραφημένη* (21 October 1912), 4, 13.

65 See drawing on the resurrection of Greece after the victories in the Balkan Wars on the front page of *Εικονογραφημένη* (14 April 1913) or *Εικονογραφημένη* (4 May 1914), with photographic portraits on the front page and caricatures on the last ('Comic Week'), as well as within the journal.

66 See the article in *Παρνασσός* (12 February 1914), 4, on how to tell the future by reading palms, showing six drawn images, or the hand-drawn maps of Germany's expected defeat in the issue of *Ελλάς* (14 October 1918), 8.

67 See the report on the new Athens jail in *Εικονογραφημένη* (April 1914), 31–32.

68 See the photographs and short description of the cooperating photographic workshop in *Εικονογραφημένη* (26 April 1912), 12; photographs of street-sellers in *Εικονογραφημένη* (19 January 1914), 14; specific ways and methods of operation of or within the journal in *Εικονογραφημένη* (2 October 1917), 3.

New forms of printing technology, such as photo-type setting, not only facilitated the use of multiple images on one page, but also supported new display formats by mixing different types of images and illustrations in photo-collage. One example is the two-page 'Pinakothèque of Parnassos', which merged several photographs of the Bulgarian tsar Ferdinand with the painting of a Byzantine emperor into one image.⁶⁹ Layout and typography contributed substantially to this process by highlighting the illustrations integrated into the text in red, although they did not always connect directly with the topic of the article, though lithographs and photographs often helped convey specific political statements, messages, and goals. Hence, images played a major role not only in popularizing information and knowledge; they also contributed to the fact that the journals entertained the readers, functioned as attractive ways of grabbing readers' attention, and accustomed readers to a new way of seeing and, ultimately, reading.

Rather than thinking of textual innovations, novel methods, new forms of reader participation, and communication, an increased variety of visual materials, pictorial markers, and specific forms of typographical layouts as given by-products, they must be seen as expressions of the inherent logics of 'popular' illustrated journals as powerful press and media creations in a period of rapid political, socio-economic, and technological transformation at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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⁶⁹ *Εικονογραφημένη* (20 September 1915), 8–9. See also the cover of *Εικονογραφημένη* (10 September 1917), depicting the National Defense of Venizelos in photo-collage.

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