



# Journal of European Periodical Studies

*an online journal by ESPRit, European Society for Periodical Research*

## The Greek Middlebrow Magazine *Μπουκέτο* (1924–46) and its Supplements

Despoina Gkogkou

*Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 5.2 (Winter 2020)

ISSN 2506-6587

Content is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence

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

Website: [ojs.ugent.be/jeps](https://ojs.ugent.be/jeps)

---

To cite this article: Despoina Gkogkou, 'The Greek Middlebrow Magazine *Μπουκέτο* (1924–46) and its Supplements', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 5.2 (Winter 2020), 60–79

---

# The Greek Middlebrow Magazine *Μπουκέτο* (1924–46) and its Supplements

DESPOINA ΓΚΟΓΚΟΥ

University of Patras

[gkogkou@upatras.gr](mailto:gkogkou@upatras.gr)

## ABSTRACT

This article introduces one of the first popular literary miscellanies published in Greece after the First World War, *Μπουκέτο* [*Bouquet*] (1924–46). The first of its kind in the country, it led the way to a new type of periodical with subject matter ranging from serialized novels to short jokes, along with a modern layout featuring fine and plentiful illustrations. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the cultural field, the article starts by showing that the magazine was a manifestation of middlebrow culture, combining commercial values with legitimate cultural aspirations and an eagerness to educate the masses. After situating the magazine in the cultural field of Greek periodical publishing and specifying its audience, the article focuses on its supplements, which followed the magazine's publishing success. These were spin-off publications associated with the magazine, such as *Βιβλιοθήκη του Μπουκέτου* [*Bouquet's Library*] (1924–36), a series of translated classic novels, the annual *Ημερολόγιον του Μπουκέτου* [*Bouquet's Calendar*] (1926–33), and pamphlets or pull-outs sewn into the central pages of the magazine. The analysis draws attention to the characteristics, as well as the threads connecting them to the parent publication. The article traces the reasons that triggered the magazine's subsidiary products and, by extension, the purposes they fulfilled, as well as the way they were used by the magazine throughout its lifespan in an attempt to create a name for itself and engage its readership.

## KEYWORDS

*Μπουκέτο*, middlebrow, popular miscellanies, Greek press, supplements, annuals, book series, reader engagement

## Introduction

*Μπουκέτο* [*Bouquet*] was a pioneering Greek mass-circulation magazine published weekly in Athens from April 1924 to October 1946, with short interruptions during the German occupation of Greece.<sup>1</sup> Its proprietor was K. I. Theodoropoulos and, according to the initial masthead, the editorial board consisted of ‘a group of Greek *litterateurs*’. Later, the editorial responsibility was transferred to Haris Stamatiou (1933–40), then Mitsos Papanikolaou (1941–43), and finally Apostolos Magganaris (1945). An important milestone in *Μπουκέτο*’s publishing history was the absorption of a sister publication *Οικογένεια* [*Family*] (1926–35) in October 1935. On the one hand, the importance given to collaborations and the subject matter, which greatly relied on originality as well as attention to translation, editing, and illustration, is clear evidence of the periodical’s aspirations towards legitimate culture. On the other hand, the struggle to appeal to a wider audience that consisted of ‘all classes, amongst them people of average education who might not understand what a more educated reader might have deemed exceptional’ demanded a compromise somewhere in the middle.<sup>2</sup> From the very beginning, the mission statement was specific: to entertain and educate the masses. The pursuit of profitability and prestige was also evident, as in any middlebrow publication. Supplements started to appear as part of a constant effort to enhance the magazine’s image and increase sales. The products were boldly announced in the main body of the magazine, and advertisements regularly promised readers value for money for the extras offered, emphasizing quality literary content and lavish illustrations.

Periodical scholars have only recently started to reflect on the nature and functions of the periodical supplement. Koenraad Claes defines the supplement as ‘a document 1) issued in close association with a periodical (which I propose to refer to as a “parent publication”) which is 2) dependent for its signification on the association with this parent publication, yet 3) conspicuously demarcated from it’.<sup>3</sup> Marysa Demoor and Kate Macdonald, in examining the Victorian supplement, identify the interrelated elements of financial utility and added value for the parent publication, quality of contents, and degree of independence from the parent publication as generic signifiers of the successful supplement.<sup>4</sup> As Margaret Beetham points out, ‘periodicals are among the most ephemeral of printed forms’, yet the form itself has a ‘deep regular structure’.<sup>5</sup> Supplements contribute to this continuity of form as they too are issued periodically with the parent publication, yet in adding something extra to the periodical they also create rupture. As a result, supplements have a unique ability to engage the periodical’s readership emotionally. According to Fionnuala Dillane, ‘it is the contrast between anticipated repetition and actual swerve from the expected that creates affective intensity’.<sup>6</sup> In the case of *Μπουκέτο*, a more prestigious cultural form counterbalancing

1 A digitized, indexed version of *Μπουκέτο* for the period 1924–36 can be found in the University of Patras Library & Information Centre [Pleias Digital Collection](#). All translations from the Greek are mine. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Evangelia Stead (Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin) and to the journal editors, for their insightful comments and suggestions.

2 ‘Καρτ ποστάλ’ [‘Postcard’], *Μπουκέτο* (7 August 1942), 26. *Καρτ ποστάλ* was the title of the correspondence column.

3 Koenraad Claes, ‘Supplements and Paratext: The Rhetoric of Space’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 43.2 (2010), 196–210 (p. 197).

4 Marysa Demoor and Kate Macdonald, ‘Finding and Defining the Victorian Supplement’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 43.2 (2010), 97–110 (p. 99).

5 Margaret Beetham, ‘Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre’, in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 19–32 (p. 19, 28).

6 Fionnuala Dillane, ‘Forms of Affect, Relationality, and Periodical Encounters, or “Pine-Apple for the Million”’, *JEPS*, 1.1 (2016), 5–24 (p. 12).

the magazine's ephemerality, one that could be presented to the readers as a gift, was needed to both serve the desired mission of the magazine and build a lasting relationship with its readership. The first two types of supplements, the book series and the annual issue, were part of the magazine's effort to establish a reputation among Greek popular weeklies. The cultural and educational roles here were more evident, while the format and quality of the later supplements (the books in 1935 or the pull-outs) showed a shift towards economic incentives.

In this article, I first outline the Greek periodical publishing scene of the early twentieth century, including the conditions under which *Μπουκέτο* was born and its position in the market in relation to older and contemporary periodicals. Some features, such as price, circulation figures, and target audience, will help establish a clear idea of *Μπουκέτο*'s position in the Greek cultural field. The article then traces the appearance of the various supplements in chronological order, while also discussing the specific types, their connection with the parent publication, and how they functioned as strategies used by the magazine to engage its readers. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the cultural field aids in the definition of the periodical's middlebrow character and provides the angle from which every supplement will be examined.

### The Emergence of Popular Mass-Circulation Magazines in Greece

The popular weekly miscellany was a new type of periodical that made its appearance in Greece in the years between the First and Second World Wars.<sup>7</sup> *Μπουκέτο* is considered the most significant among Athenian weeklies by Greek literary scholars, and the one that opened the door for popular magazines for the masses.<sup>8</sup> The title alludes to its diverse and inclusive quality, a connotative function also used by the magazine to present itself to the public: 'Well, *Μπουκέτο*, because it will be indeed a bouquet of fine pieces, delightful and didactic'.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the subtitle *Εβδομαδιαία Εικονογραφημένη Φιλολογική Επιθεώρηση* [*Weekly Illustrated Literary Review*] describes the magazine's contents. Although several general-interest magazines existed before, when *Μπουκέτο* first came onto the market, it defined itself as a groundbreaking publication seeking to revitalize the Greek periodical field while claiming kinship to older publications: 'Before *Μπουκέτο*, the press was in decline. The glory of *Πανδώρα* [*Pandora*], *Εστία* [*Hestia*] and *Παναθήναια* [*Panathinaia*] was long gone. The weekly magazines, not so fine in content, with paltry appearance, sold hardly eight to ten thousand copies'.<sup>10</sup> *Πανδώρα* (1849–72) and *Εστία* (1876–95) were two of the most prestigious family-literary periodicals of the nineteenth century that paved the way for the periodical press in Greece. *Παναθήναια* (1900–15) belonged to the so-called 'literary and art magazines', pioneered by the

7 The most common Greek term for these popular miscellanies is 'λαϊκά' [popular], although there are many reservations as to the appropriateness of the term. Charalampos L. Karaoglou, 'Τα ειδικά περιοδικά και η αυτονόμησή τους' ['An Autonomy of the Special Periodicals'], in *Ο ελληνικός Τύπος, 1784 έως σήμερα: ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις* [*La Presse Grecque de 1784 à nos jours: approches historiques et théoriques*], ed. by Loukia Droulia (Athens: Institute des Recherches Neohelléniques, 2005), pp. 263–73 (p. 271).

8 See the term 'Μπουκέτο', in *Λεξικό νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας: πρόσωπα, έργα, ρεύματα, όροι* [*Dictionary of Modern Greek Literature: Persons, Works, Movements, Terms*] (Athens: Patakis, 2007), pp. 1496–97.

9 The Editorial Board, 'Διατί Μπουκέτο' ['Why Μπουκέτο'], *Μπουκέτο* (27 April 1924), 1.

10 Anon., 'Η γνώμη των διαπρεπεστέρων Ελλήνων για το Μπουκέτο' ['The Opinion of Greatest Greeks on Μπουκέτο'], *Μπουκέτο* (3 January 1929), 24.

periodical *Τέχνη* [*Art*] (1898–99), which emphasized literature and the arts, excluded general knowledge material, and addressed a specialized readership.<sup>11</sup>

According to Dimitris Chanos, one can trace the beginning of the weekly illustrated magazine back to the time before the First World War, *Ελλάς* [*Hellas*] (1907–24) being the most representative example. Even though several weekly magazines for a broader audience appeared before *Μπουκέτο*, none lasted for long nor gained much popularity. The characteristics of the new type of periodical introduced by *Μπουκέτο* was a lavish cover, plentiful illustrations, and a combination of general interest articles, popular stories, anecdotes, gossip (primarily about Hollywood stars), and advice columns, alongside many literary pieces, both Greek and translated. Fiction was dominant (short stories and serialized novels), but the presence of poetry in every issue was also notable (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Cover of *Μπουκέτο* in 1937, featuring an illustration by F. Earl Christy (1882–1961). Several other covers from American illustrators were reprinted in *Μπουκέτο*. Collections of Hellenic Literary & Historical Archive (ELIA)

The variety of *Μπουκέτο*'s texts catered to an audience of all ages and social classes, and, while it addressed the whole family, the magazine was evidently slanted towards

11 For a comprehensive account of family-literary periodicals, see Martha Karpozilou, *Τα ελληνικά οικογενειακά φιλολογικά περιοδικά (1847–1900)* [*The Greek Family Literary Periodicals*] (Ioannina: University of Ioannina, 1991). More on literature and art periodicals can be found in Charalampos L. Karaoglou and Research Group, *Περιοδικά λόγου και Τέχνης (1901–1940): αναλυτική βιβλιογραφία και παρουσίαση* [*Literature and Art Magazines (1901–1940): Analytic Bibliography and Presentation*], 4 vols (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996–04). As for the popular and weekly magazines, the only concise account (though somewhat unsystematic and with errors) is Dimitris Chanos, *Η λαϊκή λογοτεχνία* [*Popular Literature*], 8 vols (Athens: Vasileiou, 1987–92), iii–iv: *Τα λαϊκά περιοδικά* [*Popular Magazines*] (1989–90).

women. There were occasional pieces addressed to men (for example, the short-lived column ‘How a Man Should Be Dressed’ signed by ‘The Dandy’) or to younger readers (some children’s novels and ‘The Children’s Page’), but the columns on fashion, home, food, and cosmetics appeared regularly (under titles such as ‘For You, Our Ladies’ and ‘The Woman’s Page’). From the very beginning, the magazine reached a high number of Greek readers, with sales figures of more than 30,000 per issue, and engaged many fans. These figures were claimed by the magazine itself, which declared that it was even ‘surpassing the circulation of nine out of ten newspapers’.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, no official circulation data exist, but its top position in the market is undisputed by scholars today. The correspondence column and the name lists of contest participants and subscribers all attest to the magazine’s large readership. Circulation figures were very important, not only for prestige and direct profit, but also to lure advertisers. This resulted in a dispute between *Μπουκέτο* and its rival *Θεατής* [*Spectator*] (1925–46) in 1929–30, after the latter’s rather opportunistic move to issue a distribution agency certificate for its advertisers, claiming a circulation of 41,500 copies. *Μπουκέτο*’s protestation was instant and severe, and, while centered around which magazine outnumbered the other, it showed that precise sales figures were not easy to determine.

The first issues sold for one and a half drachmas, a very low price at the time.<sup>13</sup> The editors justified this decision by emphasizing the need to reach the lower middle class: ‘A magazine like this could be priced three to four drachmas, but *Μπουκέτο* did not want to be read only by a wealthy readership, but by the poor people alike.’<sup>14</sup> Many scholars have argued that pricing was pivotal in the expansion of the magazine industry.<sup>15</sup> The strategy of reaching a wider audience through a price reduction — a result of technological innovations in both Europe and the United States — served as an exemplar for Greek publishers, as shown in the editorial note of a new weekly, *Εβδομάς* [*Week*] (1927–41). By introducing ‘a magazine of impeccable appearance and fine content, in a price range available to all’, *Εβδομάς* attempted modestly to draw a parallel between itself and the low-priced *Saturday Evening Post* (1821–) in the United States.<sup>16</sup> Even the cover design of *Μπουκέτο*’s new rival greatly resembled the emblematic American weekly, allowing for speculation on communication by Greek periodicals with their foreign counterparts. Maintaining an affordable cover price was of utmost importance to the popular Greek miscellanies, indicating their reliance on a mass audience for their prosperity.<sup>17</sup> Advertising, of course, was another factor that made low prices possible, and the magazine’s protest against the unfair distribution of national advertising budget was greatly enlightening.<sup>18</sup> Every price increase (and there were several) was introduced to the readership with an apologetic and explanatory

12 ‘Έμποροι, καταστηματάρχαι, επιχειρηματίαι, ιατροί, δικηγόροι, μόδισται’ [‘Dealers, Shopkeepers, Businessmen, Doctors, Lawyers, Tailors’], *Μπουκέτο* (5 April 1925), back cover.

13 To have a fair idea about the magazine’s pricing, we need to compare it with the price of some basic goods in April 1924: 2 eggs cost 2.24 dr.; bread, (quality A) 4 dr.; potatoes, 3.57 dr.; and milk, 5.40 (per kilo where relevant). République Hellénique, Ministère de l’Économie Nationale, Statistique Générale de la Grèce, *Bulletin statistique des prix moyen des principaux articles alimentaires e.t.c. pendant le quatrième trimestre de 1924* [bilingual edition], 248 (Athènes: Imprimerie Nationale, 1925), p. 12. Even though there was a big pay gap among professions, the average daily salary was roughly thirty to forty drachmas.

14 ‘Η τιμή του φύλλου μας’ [‘Our Cover Price’], *Μπουκέτο* (4 January 1925), 15.

15 For a general account, see Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 6–14.

16 ‘Μεταξύ μας: ο σκοπός μας’ [‘Between Us: Our Purpose’], *Εβδομάς* (15 October 1927), 2.

17 As Edward Shils points out, targeting as many readers (and buyers) as possible was the purpose of the new mass circulation magazine. ‘Mass Society and its Culture’, *Daedalus*, 89.2 (Spring 1960), 288–314 (pp. 295–96).

18 ‘Η διαφήμιση των δανείων’ [‘Advertising of Loans’], *Μπουκέτο* (11 October 1925), 675.

note, appealing to their understanding and devotion, further attesting to an economic imperative.

### Periodical Supplements and the Middlebrow

Sensing that there was a growing market of readers craving the material it provided, and having secured a remarkable circulation, *Μπουκέτο* steadily increased the number of pages per issue. The first few issues ran to sixteen pages, growing to fifty (and sometimes more) when the magazine was at its peak (the late 1930s). In addition, *Μπουκέτο* expanded its publishing business by launching new spin-offs such as books, an annual issue, and pull-outs — the latter usually intended to be bound in a separate volume.<sup>19</sup> These supplements can be seen from two different angles: as commodities affiliated with a popular magazine that depended on economic profitability and as cultural products of a magazine aspiring to entertain and educate. They were a constituent part of the parent publication, and that association needed to be kept intact in the eyes of the public. As Claes notes, supplements should be advocates of the parent magazine's aesthetic and ideological principles, resulting in 'customer binding'.<sup>20</sup>

As I outlined in the previous section, *Μπουκέτο* was part of a system of large-scale production intended for a wide and diverse public, which also included, by its own account, people of 'average education'. For this reason, its contents tried to compromise between 'high' culture and the taste of the majority, balancing somewhere in the middle. A characteristic example is the running of Goethe's *Faust* in fourteen instalments, with the explanatory title 'an immortal masterpiece in a literary popularization'. Poetry, a form much cherished and promoted in *Μπουκέτο*, is another illustrative example, but here it kept a clear distance from the avant-garde and, especially, surrealism: 'We do not condemn surrealism [...] but a magazine addressing a broad audience wants poetry accessible to all, poetry that can be understood, or "felt".'<sup>21</sup>

According to Pierre Bourdieu, middlebrow cultural manifestations depend on reciprocity, have expansive ambitions, and rely greatly on cultural legitimacy, avoiding any experimentation that might cause controversy.<sup>22</sup> These strategies were used by *Μπουκέτο* to establish its position as a Greek cultural artefact and create a vast and loyal readership. Thus, for example, all published books were 'popular' novels by renowned writers whose positions in the literary field would ensure the work's success.<sup>23</sup> References were made to the novels' worldwide appeal (selling 'millions of copies'), which guaranteed audience approval and allowed Greek readers to participate in a universal reading community. As for reciprocity, the notion of 'giving' surfaced in many of the magazine's announcements and small editorial notes as an opportunity to implicitly praise the merit of such a publication ('it is, so to speak, a priceless gift. Make sure your friends will take delight in it too.').<sup>24</sup> Great expectations and obligations were inherent in that offer, as in any gift. Marcel Mauss notes that the act of giving establishes a connection, as it 'engages,

19 Bookbinding was also available on *Μπουκέτο*'s premises, as indicated in many advertisements.

20 Claes, p. 206.

21 'Καρτ ποστάλ', *Μπουκέτο* (23 April 1936), 46.

22 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 125–30.

23 Bourdieu, p. 129. Bourdieu uses the term 'large-scale production' to describe the field of cultural production for the masses. Of course, popularity does not always equal intellectual inferiority, and many of the works published demonstrate this.

24 'Προς τους αγαπητούς αναγνώστας του *Μπουκέτου*' ['To *Μπουκέτο*'s Dear Readers'], *Μπουκέτο* (22 December 1938), 4. The announcement presented the forthcoming Christmas issue, still at the same price despite the increased pages (one hundred and four), and the huge expenses in 'money and effort'.



links magically, religiously, morally, juridically, the giver and the receiver'.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the magazine repeatedly emphasized the high quality of the supplements by pointing to their cultural capital. Nobel laureates or members of the French Academy, for example, were distinctly mentioned.

The analysis that follows will focus, in order of appearance, on three different types of supplements issued with *Μπουκέτο*: the first book series *Βιβλιοθήκη του Μπουκέτου*, started in December 1924, and a second series, which appeared a few years later, in 1935, without a separate title; the annual Christmas issue, *Ημερολόγιον του Μπουκέτου* (1926–33); and the pull-out sheets, which appeared on a regular basis from 1934–36 and after 1945. I will show how the strategies identified by Bourdieu were adopted in these supplements and shaped them as products of middlebrow periodical culture.

### ***Βιβλιοθήκη του Μπουκέτου [Bouquet's Library]. The Book Series***

The book, already a 'cultural emblem' by the nineteenth century, became an important and prestigious commodity in Greece in the early 1920s.<sup>26</sup> It thus made sense for a magazine that was trying to establish itself to take advantage of the cultural capital inherent in books. The proprietor of *Μπουκέτο* had his own printing business and provided services to other publishers. This infrastructure surely facilitated the magazine's first publishing step, a series of supplements, consisting primarily of translated novels, presented under the name *Βιβλιοθήκη του Μπουκέτου [Bouquet's Library]*. Even though they were first intended to run monthly, eventually just nine volumes appeared between December 1924 and early 1926. Two more Greek novels were included in the 1930 series. Finally, a second series of books appeared in 1935, but without a distinct series title; now all were presented as the magazine's publications — more precisely, as publications of both *Μπουκέτο* and *Οικογένεια*. I believe that the time of release of the first books, shortly before the merging of the two magazines, says a lot about the difference between the two series; *Οικογένεια* was absorbed by *Μπουκέτο*, indicating that the offer of new books was probably an attempt to revitalize a business on the brink of decline. One has to keep in mind that, in the course of a decade, the magazine had changed, and so had the Greek press market. The emergence of the first Greek genre fiction magazines, such as *Μάσκα [Mask]* (1935–38) and *Ρομάντσο [Romance]* (1934–40), to name the most popular, must have influenced *Μπουκέτο*'s dynamic, as did economic conditions.<sup>27</sup> The differences between the first book releases and the last indicate different motives and, consequently, a slight shift from cultural to economic incentives, as I will demonstrate later.

First, we need to delve into the relationship of this supplement with the parent publication, one of the four generic signifiers for supplements identified by Demoor and Macdonald.<sup>28</sup> This connection remained strong, as *Μπουκέτο* aspired to keep the readership engaged. In the case of the *Library*, the relationship was reinforced through the method of acquisition. By being introduced as monthly supplements, the

25 Marcel Mauss, 'Gift, Gift', in *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. by Alan D. Schrift (New York & London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 28–32 (p. 29). The notion of 'reciprocity' is central in Mauss's work *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (1923–24). On the gift as an advertising trick for deceit, see also Jean Baudrillard, *La Société de consommation. Ses mythes, ses structures* (Paris: Denoël, 1970), pp. 261–64.

26 Corinna Norrick-Rühl, 'Two Peas in a Pod: Book Sales Clubs and Book Ownership in the Twentieth Century', in *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects*, ed. by Evangelia Stead (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 231–50 (p. 232) and 'Ιστορία της έκδοσης στην Ελλάδα 1830–1974: μια επισκόπηση' ['History of Publishing in Greece 1830–1974: An Overview'], *National Book Centre of Greece* [accessed 23 February 2020].

27 *Μάσκα* was revived twice. *Ρομάντσο* became a popular miscellany in 1943.

28 Demoor and Macdonald, pp. 99, 108.



*Library* allowed the magazine to offer annual, biannual, or quarterly subscriptions to those interested in obtaining the publications: ‘hasten to subscribe, as the print run would be defined by the number of subscriptions.’<sup>29</sup> The principle behind this move is further explained in the following statement: ‘Many of our friends ask why the books of our *Library* are not sold in bookstores. We inform them that our books are monthly supplements published exclusively for our friends, who can procure them from our offices.’<sup>30</sup> The books that were produced in 1935 also reinforce their unity with the parent publication; together with a small fee, coupons that needed to be cut out of the magazine were required, and the books were to be picked up from the offices only (those in the rest of the country should visit the local distribution agencies). The magazine was trying not to disrupt the connection with its readership, as these supplements reinforced what Dillane describes as the ‘dynamic interplay of sameness and difference’ that ‘structures the periodical’s relations with readers and facilitates the swift, regular production of the object for consumption’.<sup>31</sup> This was achieved by links between these spin-offs and the magazine’s contents (such as the reappearance of familiar authors or even the same works). Readers were reassured that they were getting something familiar, already tested and approved, and the magazine’s advertisements relied much on what Anne-Marie Thiesse calls the ‘rhétorique de l’identique’ [‘rhetoric of the identical’].<sup>32</sup>

Book publishing focused around two features: literary value and material presentation, two very important factors for a middlebrow magazine with high aspirations. The aim of the series was to provide the Greek public with ‘novels of World Literature that have been translated in all languages, sold millions of copies worldwide, and the authors’ name alone guarantees their value’.<sup>33</sup> To fully comprehend the literary worth of those first supplements, we should look at some of the translated works: popular French novels such as *Le Capitaine fantôme* (1862) by Paul Féval (1816–87), *Eugénie Grandet* (1833) by Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), and *Le Sphinx des glaces* (1897) by Jules Verne (1828–1905); popular English novels such as *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) by Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94) and *Dracula* (1897) by Bram Stoker (1847–1912); *Tösen från Stormyrörpet* (1908) by Nobel-Prize winning Swedish author Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940), whom the magazine presented as the greatest author of the century; and *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838) by American poet Edgar Allan Poe (1809–49), the greatest modern poet according to one of the editors.<sup>34</sup>

The literary prestige of the series was further reinforced by the declaration that translations had been done by prominent Greek writers (however, the title page of *Le Capitaine fantôme* bears only the initials of the translator, which can easily be traced back to assistant-editor Mitsos Papanikolaou). Another mark of importance is the fact that

29 ‘Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Μπουκέτου’, *Μπουκέτο* (29 June 1924), 159. Most probably, this way the magazine would ensure a certain capital and minimize the printing risk.

30 ‘Θαύμα! Κατάπληξις! Θρίαμβος!’ [‘Miracle! Amazement! Triumph!’], *Μπουκέτο* (25 October 1925), 699.

31 Dillane, p. 7. This is also rooted in the need for financial stability. See Raymond Williams, *Communications*, rev. ed. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966), p. 102.

32 Anne-Marie Thiesse, ‘Des plaisirs indus. Pratiques populaires de l’écriture et de la lecture’, *Politix*, 4.13 (1991), 57–67 (p. 60). Genre sameness was a common way to interconnect publications (for example, the adventure novels).

33 Advertisement, *Μπουκέτο* (30 May 1926), back cover.

34 Καρτ-ποστάλ’, *Μπουκέτο* (9 January 1936), 54.

most were introduced to Greek readers for the first time.<sup>35</sup> In addition, the magazine stressed the importance of appearance, as well as the luxury and finesse with which the books were crafted. The announcements described them as neat and elegant editions (probably all hardbound) and included the author's portrait, biography, and a review of the novel.<sup>36</sup> According to Anthony Enns and Bernhard Metz, material elements are critical for the reception of books, as they 'reflect or even determine their cultural status'.<sup>37</sup> The materiality of this series, therefore, indicates the magazine's primary motive as a cultural agent.

The new books issued in 1935 were presented as an offer to the magazine's readers, 'free' of charge.<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 2) Yet, the quality of those later supplements was inferior. Some of the novels had already been serialized in *Μπουκέτο*, such as *La Colombe* (1850) by Alexandre Dumas père (1802–70) and *Le Bossu* (1857) by Paul Féval; two were popular romances by Delly; and a few were older works already familiar to the Greek public, such as Lamartine's (1790–1869) *Graziella* (1852) and Abba Prevost's (1697–1763) *Manon Lescaut* (1731) (in three and four different Greek editions respectively).<sup>39</sup> Apart from the lack of novelty, the materiality of these works was also a sign of the magazine's decline. The attention to detail and the quality of *Μπουκέτο's Library* were lacking; there were no hard covers nor any surrounding textual material, such as portraits and notes. Nevertheless, other characteristics of middlebrow culture were present, such as the unclear distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture, and the mixture of older and prestigious authors with modern and popular ones, which was very common during that period.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, one cannot help but notice the glibness and the re-use of material, which point to a presumed turn towards economic profit at the expense of cultural enhancement.

The depreciation of the book series can be understood in the context of the socio-economic and political changes in 1930s Greece. Although books retained their high social status, the 'book crisis' was a phenomenon throughout Greece, as in many European countries during the interwar period, as a result of the general economic crisis. Moreover, weekly magazines were among the many factors considered responsible for the decrease interest in books in Greece. Accusations were plenty, from their role in

35 The works were not translated into Greek before and very few Greeks were able to read foreign texts in their original text at the time, mainly members of the upper class that could also afford such an expensive commodity. A valuable tool for older translations is K. G. Kasinis, Βιβλιογραφία των ελληνικών μεταφράσεων της ξένης λογοτεχνίας ΙΘ'–Κ' αι. [*Bibliography of the Foreign Literature Greek Translations Nineteenth–Twentieth Centuries*], 2 vols (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 2006–13). One can find a general guide to the Greek editions of the 19th century on-line at the *Bibliology Workshop 'Philippos Iliou'*.

36 My research is based on two copies held at the Library and Information Center of University of Patras (*The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* and *La Dame aux camélias* [1848] by Alexandre Dumas fils [1824–95]). I have further relied on the physical descriptions of several others in the catalogs of National Library of Greece and the Library of the Greek Parliament.

37 Anthony Enns and Bernhard Metz, 'Distinctions that Matter: Popular Literature and Material Culture', *Belphegor*, 13.1 (2015), 1–24 (p. 1).

38 This characterization was certainly a marketing gimmick. Nevertheless, the reduced price of eight drachmas (twice the price of the magazine) was still cheaper than a new novel by a renowned Greek author such as Aggelos Terzakis, which reached forty to sixty drachmas.

39 Delly, collective pseudonym of Marie (1875–1947) and Frédéric (1876–1949) Petitjean de La Rozière, was one of the most successful writers of woman's romance in France, guaranteeing high profits for the publishers. See Ellen Constans, *Parlez-moi d'amour: le roman sentimental. Des romans grecs aux collections de l'an 2000* (Limoges: PULIM, 1999), pp. 218–36. In general, it comes as no surprise that most of the translated novels were by French authors, following a long tradition of translating French literature in nineteenth-century Greece. The statistical analysis of bibliographic data for the nineteenth century translated fiction confirms the leading role of French literature. See Kasinis, 1, pp. κα'–κδ'.

40 A very good example of such cultural flexibility in American book series is presented by Lise Jaillant, *Modernism, Middlebrow and the Literary Canon: The Modern Library Series, 1917–1955* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), pp. 1–3.

10 ΜΠ

---

# ΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ

---

## ΔΩΡΑ ΜΑΣ

---

“Όπως σάς υποσχθήκαμε, τὸ «Μπουκέτο» καὶ ἡ «Οἰκογένεια» ἀρχίζουν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους αὐτοῦ τὴν διανομὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀναγνώστας τῶν σεβρῶς περιφθίμων ἀριστουργημάτων τῆς ξένης φιλολογίας.

Τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον, τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ δωανεμθῆ παρεῖν στοὺς ἀναγνώστας τῶν περιοδικῶν μας, εἶνε τὸ ὑπέροχον αἰσθηματικὸν ἀριστότεργμα τοῦ ΑΛΦΟΝΣ ΚΑΡ

**“ΚΑΤΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΙΣ ΦΙΛΥΡΕΣ”**

Γιὰ ν’ ἀποκτήσῃτε τὸ ἀριστότεργμα αὐτὸ πρέπει ν’ ἀποκόψετε ἀπὸ τὸ «Μπουκέτο» ἢ τὴν «Οἰκογένειαν» 4 ἐκ τῶν δημοσιουμένων εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν σελίδα τῆς ὅλης δελτίου καὶ νὰ τὰ φέρετε εἰς τὰ Γραφεῖα μας, καταθέτοντες συγχρόνως καὶ 8 δραχμὰς.

Ἔτσι, μ’ ἓνα εὐχάριστον ποσόν, μὲ τὸ ἐν εὐμπετον τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ βιβλίου, θ’ ἀποκτήσετε ἓνα τόμον κομψόν, ἐκ 300 περίπου σελίδων, θ’ ἀποκτήσετε τὸ «ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΩΤΟΣ», ὅπως δικαίως ἀναμύσθη τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ἀλφόνς Κάρ, τὸ ὁποῖον σὰς χαρίζομεν.

Οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἀναγνώσται μας θὰ προσκομίζουσι τὰ 4 δελτία καὶ τὰς 8 δραχμὰς εἰς τὰ ὑποπρακτορεῖα τῶν ἐφημερίδων καὶ θὰ λαμβάνουσι τὸ βιβλίον τῆς.

Μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸ ἀριστότεργμα, θὰ χαρίσομεν στοὺς ἀναγνώστας μας, κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον, καὶ ἕτερα ὑπέροχα αἰσθηματικὰ ρεμάντζα.

---

**“ΤΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΝ ΜΕ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΜΕΛΙΑΣ”**

Τοῦ ΛΑΕΞ. ΔΟΥΜΑ, εἰσοῦ

**“ΤΗΝ ΜΑΝΟΝ ΛΕΣΚΩ”**

Τοῦ ΑΒΒΑ ΠΡΕΒΩ

κλπ. κλπ. κλπ.

Ἡ εὐκαίρια δολοφία εἶνε ΜΟΝΑΔΙΚΗ.

Ἀποκόψτε ΔΩΡΕΑΝ τὰ ἀριστουργήματα τῆς παγκοσμίου φιλολογίας, ἀγοράζοντες ἀπλῶς τὸ «Μπουκέτο» καὶ τὴν «Οἰκογένειαν».

---

**“ΜΠΟΥΚΕΤΟ,,**

ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ Α' ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ

ΑΛΦΟΝΣ ΚΑΡ

**“ΚΑΤΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΥΡΕΣ,,**

---

Ἀποκόψετε καὶ κρατῆτε τὸ παρὸν ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ.

---

Τὰ δελτία ἀπὸ τοῦ πρόσχειρος φύλλου θὰ δημοσιεύωνται ἐπὶ τῆς 3ης σελίδας τοῦ ἐξωφύλλου.

Fig. 2 First announcement of the new book series on 3 January 1935. The title ‘Our gifts in the form of books’ and several other expressions ‘free’. The coupon is at the bottom of the page. Library of the Hellenic Parliament Digitized Collections

intellectual deprivation to the antagonism created by newspapers and magazines that would benefit from the tax-exempt status of newsprint, which offered them cheap raw material for their books.<sup>41</sup> Not only Greek publishers, but also many Greek novelists, especially those not affiliated with any periodical, were demanding financial backing for Greek literary production and book publishing against unfair competition from the press. Finally, the Ioannis Metaxas dictatorship (1936–41) fulfilled their demands, and law 23/1936 forbade newspapers and magazines from selling books.<sup>42</sup>

This hostile environment toward magazine publishing of the early 1930s helps us to better understand the shift made from the *Library* to the second series of published books and their use by the parent publication. Launched in the field of popular weeklies in mid-1920s, *Μπουκέτο* took advantage of the general prosperity and novelty it offered in order to captivate people's interest. Endowed with success, it felt confident in taking further steps:

*Μπουκέτο*, aiming for the broader and most moral education of the Greek reading audience, and by taking advantage of its phenomenal success, decided it was proper to release each month several masterpieces by great writers. Published in elegant, well-printed, and well-bound volumes, they constitute *Μπουκέτος Library*.<sup>43</sup>

It began serving Greeks' 'desire for more', as the progress and prosperity allowed the middle-class households to taste new standards of living: 'The only way for a pleasant summer is by getting *Μπουκέτο's Library* volumes. Wherever you are, in the countryside, traveling, by the sea, or even if you stay in town, the *Library* will be your best companion.'<sup>44</sup> Indeed, Demoor and Macdonald observe that 'seasonal supplements were published to provide extra reading during leisure time, when desire and need would be most easily tapped into'. I will explore this one next, as it is a very characteristic example.<sup>45</sup>

### ***Ημερολόγιον του Μπουκέτου [Bouquet's Calendar]: The Annual Issue***

The *Ημερολόγιον του Μπουκέτου [Bouquet's Calendar]* was an annual volume published around Christmas, from 1926 to 1933, producing eight volumes in total. It followed a

41 For contemporary discussions about literary production and readership, see Anna Karakatsouli, 'Όταν τα βιβλία πουλιούνταν... αλλά δεν αγοράζονταν: η κρίση του βιβλίου στη δεκαετία του 1930' ['When Books Were Sold... But not Bought: The Book Crisis in the 1930s'], in *Το ελληνικό βιβλίο στην κρίση: σκέψεις για το παρελθόν, παρατηρήσεις για το παρόν, ιδέες για το μέλλον [The Greek Book during Crisis: Thoughts about the Past, Remarks about the Present, Ideas about the Future]* (Athens: Oi Ekdoseis ton Synadelfon, 2014), pp. 11–18. Ebook. [accessed 23 February 2020]. The author mainly focuses on the aftermath of the 1929 economic crisis. For a concise and illuminating collection of primary sources, see also *Περιπέτειες του βιβλίου στην Ελλάδα, 1880–1940: ένα ανθολόγιο [Book Adventures in Greece, 1880–1940: An Anthology]*, ed. by Vasilias Tsokopoulos, Aggeliki Passia, and Giannis Chrysovergis (Athens: National Book Center, 1998), and Giorgos Michailidis, 'Άνθηση και κρίση του βιβλίου στην Ελλάδα του μεσοπολέμου' ['Book Prosperity and Crisis in Greece during the Inter-War Period'], *Κονδυλοφόρος [Kondyloforos]*, 13 (2014), 207–35 (p. 210).

42 The demand from intellectuals was clear in a letter dated 17 September 1936 from M. Karagatsis to Kostis Bastias, the regime's new director of Arts and Letters Affairs. For more on the dictator's stance against the press, see Takis Kagialis, *Η επιθυμία για το μοντέρνο: δεσμεύσεις και αξιώσεις της λογοτεχνικής διανοήσεως στην Ελλάδα του 1930 [The Desire for Modernity: Commitments and Demands of the Literary Intelligentsia in 1930s Greece]* (Athens: Vivliorama, 2007), pp. 173–74.

43 'Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Μπουκέτου', *Μπουκέτο* (24 January 1926), back cover.

44 See note 33 above. Tourism as a social, cultural, and economic phenomenon started in Greece in the 1920s; the Greek National Tourism Organisation (EOT) was established in 1929 and the number of tourists, foreigners and locals, had doubled by the early 1930s. See Aleka Karadimou-Gerolympou, 'Πόλεις και υπαίθρος' ['Town and Country'], in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα [History of Greece in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century]*, ed. by Christos Chatziiosif, 4 vols (Athens: Bibliorama, 2003), II.2: *Ο μεσοπόλεμος 1922–1940 [The Interwar Years 1922–1940]*, pp. 59–105 (p. 87)

45 Demoor and Macdonald, p. 101.

long tradition of annual publications by various Greek entities (associations, journals, publishing companies, other professionals, or organizations) that endeavoured to offer a general account of the year's literary and artistic production in Greece.<sup>46</sup> According to the title page, it was a festive issue, a combination of lavish illustrations and high-quality literary pieces, mainly by prominent Greek authors. (Figs 3, 4) Those collaborations were particularly highlighted by the magazine when it announced the subject matter of the initial annual issue, and took pride in its originality:

The *Ημερολόγιον*, which has already been released, is going to be something you have never seen before, something that will astonish you, something you will not be able to part with. Totally artistic, multi-coloured, multi-paged. With the collaboration of all the Greek intellectuals, exquisite pictures, elegant illustration, exceptional translations, a million things, with original scores by our excellent composers. There are no words to describe all this.<sup>47</sup>

The new supplement, in order to establish itself among Greek readers, needed to take advantage of cultural capital inherited not only in names, but also in specific art forms; the presence of musical scores and works of drama, highlighted in several announcements, indicates a tendency towards an artistic profile and, ultimately, an interest in appealing to a more sophisticated middlebrow public. As for the key feature of originality, this was further accentuated by one distinguishing element: a copyright statement at the beginning of every annual issue declared that all pieces by Greek authors were original and that any reproduction without permission was forbidden. Original works were given primacy, which is also evidenced by the fact that *Μπουκέτο* paid less for translated pieces (almost half the price per page, as a letter by a collaborator reveals) than for original writing in Greek. This emphasis on originality is remarkable, given limited attention to copyright in Greece; the first comprehensive copyright law was enacted in 1920.<sup>48</sup> In *Μπουκέτο*, restrictions regarding intellectual property appeared after 1928, and only for a few serialized pieces, such as the biography of Aspasia Manos, widow of the late king Alexander of Greece. Significantly, *Μπουκέτο* presented the annual issue as a book rather than a periodical: 'No book has ever been sold, has become a best-seller, as much as *Ημερολόγιον*', concluding that *Ημερολόγιον* was more than a special issue, it rather approximated a book.<sup>49</sup>

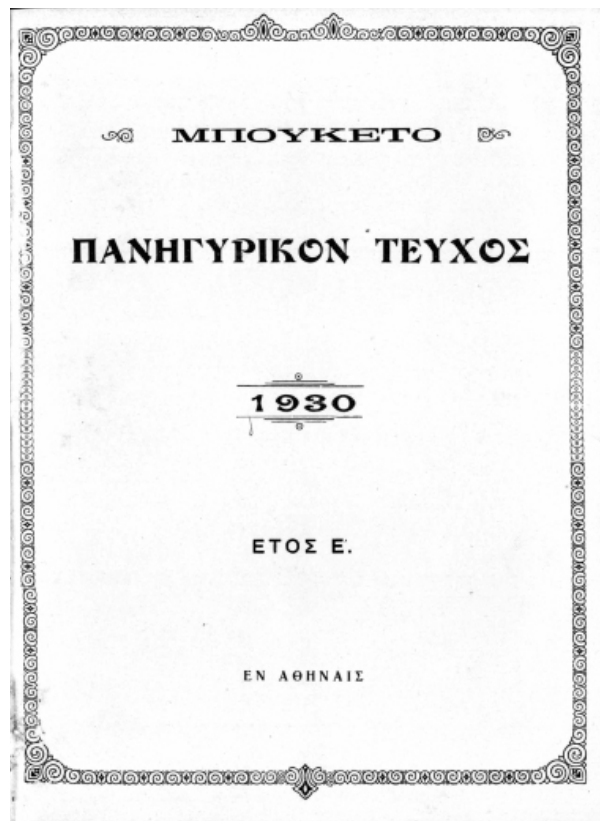
Despite this closeness to book publication, *Ημερολόγιον* greatly resembled *Μπουκέτο* in terms of material form and content, thereby evoking familiarity in its devoted audience. The annual issue had the same aesthetic quality as its parent publication regarding vignettes, fonts, illustrations, and layout. The literary pieces chosen for publication in both the magazine and the supplement indicate the same

46 For an overview of this type of annual volume in Greece, see Dimitrios Daskalopoulos, 'Ημερολόγια' ['Calendars'], in *Encyclopedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica*, 61 vols (Athens: Papyrus, 1980–96), xxvi (1984), pp. 386–87.

47 'Το *Ημερολόγιον του Μπουκέτου*', *Μπουκέτο* (27 December 1925), 850.

48 These were laws 2387/1920 'On copyright law' and its predecessor, 3483/1909 'On rights of authors of dramatic works'. Irini Stamatoudi and Maria-Daphne Papadopoulou, 'The Copyright/Design Interface in Greece', in *The Copyright/Design Interface: Past, Present and Future*, ed. by Estelle Derclaye (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 80–107. Greece ratified the Universal Copyright Convention (Bern) with the law 5257/1931 'On the protection of literary and art works'.

49 'Το *Ημερολόγιο του Μπουκέτου*', *Μπουκέτο* (21 February 1926), cover verso. There is sometimes a fine line between a periodical and a book. Very typical cases were the special issues of weekly illustrative magazines of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Jean-Pierre Bacot, 'Les numéros spéciaux de *L'Illustration* (1830–1930): objets hybrides, célèbres et méconnus', in *L'Europe des revues (1880–1920): Estampes, photographies, illustrations*, ed. by Evangelia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, 2008), pp. 25–39.



Figs 3 and 4 *Ημερολόγιον του Μπουκέτου*. Cover of and page title of volume 5 (1930).  
Collection of the Library of the Hellenic Parliament



preferences and shared contributors. From 1926 to 1933, most Greek authors appearing in *Μπουκέτο* also contributed to *Ημερολόγιον*. The most characteristic examples are the poets belonging to the so-called generation of the 1880s, a group of Greek poets who differentiated themselves from the romantic tradition and supported the use of demotic (i.e. the vernacular) language in their poetic work. This generation's leader, the national poet Kostis Palamas (1859–1943), is at the top of the list, with a total of twelve poems. The presence of poetry, a highly esteemed literary genre, endowed the publication with cultural value. Prestigious names were an important factor for cultural legitimacy.

Apart from the subject matter, legal restrictions and collaborations that clearly aimed at a higher cultural level, other ways that *Ημερολόγιον* used to foster the reader-magazine relationship need to be considered. A central idea underlying this relationship was reciprocity. An announcement in the new annual issue specifically employed the term *μουναμάς* [*bunamás*], an Italian loan word adopted into the Greek language which was used for gifts given at Christmas and New Year's Eve.<sup>50</sup> What gift could *Μπουκέτο* expect in return for providing such an issue? Loyalty, of course — and more readers from all social *milieux*: '[*Ημερολόγιον*] should be in every aristocratic lounge, in every Greek house, whether rich or poor.'<sup>51</sup> It is also important to mention the inclusion of the whole family in the ideal readership that could benefit from *Ημερολόγιον*: 'Do you want to get the best present for your children, your family and friends? Do you want to offer them something pleasant, diverting, educative, positive and cheap alike?'<sup>52</sup> The intellectual, recreational, and economic benefits are the best advocates for this middlebrow supplement. As with the book supplements, *Ημερολόγιον* came at an extra charge; this, according to Claes, suggested that the publishers had faith in this spin-off 'to be able to provide for itself'.<sup>53</sup> The time of appearance (less than two years after *Μπουκέτο* hit the market) and its highly artistic value demonstrate that the annual issue was not just aiming at economic profitability for the publishers, but also cultural legitimacy, 'making a name' for *Μπουκέτο*.<sup>54</sup>

### The Pull-Out Sheets

Another extra was the folded pull-out sheets stitched into the centre spread, which could easily be detached and later bound into volumes. These contained two kinds of content, either text (mostly fiction) or pictures, and appeared at intervals. In June 1934, a new series of five 'literary masterpieces' to be published on separate folded sheets (eight pages each) was announced: *Amok* (1922) by Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), *La Bataille* (1909) by Claude Farrère (1876–1957), *Verlaine tel qu'il fut* (1933) by François Porché (1877–1944), *Le Journal d'une femme de chambre* (1900) by Octave Mirbeau (1848–1917), and *The War of the Worlds* (1897) by H. G. Wells (1866–1946). A second frontispiece was included to be used as a personalized book cover, adding to the book's perceived cultural value. Two years later, in March 1936, a weekly 'appendix of *Μπουκέτο*—*Οικογένεια*' was introduced with the title 'Scrapbook of Greek Women' and including themes that alternated from week to week; one addressed feminine interests and the other featured film news and the

50 In modern Greek both the *bonamas* and *bunamas* are encountered, which probably indicates that the words were introduced in Greece from either standard Italian (*buonamano*) or the Venetian dialect (*bonamian*). Giuseppe Spadaro, 'Correzioni al lessico etimologico neogreco dell' Andriotis', *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 21.2 (1968), 256–81 (p. 272), and Georgios Babiniotis, 'Μπουναμάς', in *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας* [*Dictionary of Modern Greek Language*] (Athens: Centre of Lexicology, 1998), p. 1153.

51 'Το *Ημερολόγιον του Μπουκέτου*' ['The *Μπουκέτο* Diary'], *Μπουκέτο* (10 January 1926), cover verso.

52 'Τα καλύτερα δώρα' ['The Best Gifts'], *Μπουκέτο* (25 December 1930), 1251.

53 Claes, p. 204.

54 Bourdieu, p. 75.

lives of Hollywood stars. They were yet another effort to keep the publication alive and flourishing, aiming at, and leaning on, two major factors: a prevailing female readership and the most popular entertainment of the time.<sup>55</sup>

The pull-out extras ceased for almost a decade and reappeared in 1945, when *Μπουκέτο* was trying to recover from the destruction caused by war, and a continuing publication of twenty-one years. The innovative product was a sixteen-page popular romantic novelette attached in the centre spread. Most of the stories were self-contained, with the exceptions of Daphne Du Maurier's (1907–89) *Rebecca* (1938) (in four parts, adapted from a recently screened film), Max du Veuzit's (1876–1952) *Moineau en cage* (1936) (in seven parts), and Octave Feuillet's (1821–90) *La Veuve* (1884) (in two parts, also an adaptation). Again, the advice was to bind them together and thus compile a series of short romances. A compromise between middlebrow demand for the widespread popular romance stories of the time (the cases of Delly and Max du Veuzit are the most characteristic) and the seduction of the wide screen was perfectly achieved in those post-war supplements.<sup>56</sup>

As the editor of a similar magazine revealed a few years later, the method of adding detachable pages was used by Greek publishers to prevent the passing of issues from one reader to another, and thus avoid a decline in sales. It also gave the impression of a 'treat' and of something new, a 'routine breaker'.<sup>57</sup> The commercial imperatives behind those post-war extras seem obvious here, but *Μπουκέτο* was an older periodical and a respect for legitimacy to some extent still governed its actions. Despite the lower status of the last novelettes, an ambition for book owning resurfaced, as loose leaves were destined to turn into something valuable and more permanent.<sup>58</sup>

One final type of pull-out that should be mentioned was a 'coloured centerfold' that appeared in several periods, sometimes under the title 'Our Gallery'. As the subtitle *Weekly Illustrated Literary Review* distinctly indicates, *Μπουκέτο* relied heavily on illustrations, both to illustrate the text and as an adornment, one of the most distinguishing features of the first popular weeklies. These images were cultural enhancers, as the incorporation of an artistic illustration in the text was able to 'transform the cultural status' of a literary work.<sup>59</sup> This is why *Μπουκέτο*, apart from using various reproductions of vignettes and illustrations of older and foreign magazines, employed artists like Kleovoulos Klonis (1900?–88) and Gerasimos Grigoris (1907–85) to adorn its literary pieces, mainly short stories and serialized novels. The illustrations offered as pull-outs started in October 1924, but they were not a permanent feature, serving more the need of a supplement to create desire for its high quality.<sup>60</sup> In a preceding announcement, the magazine introduced new festive issues, with multicoloured artistic pictures ideal for framing.<sup>61</sup> It is all too obvious that there was a parallel with the endorsement of book binding; the magazine promoted the supplements as cultural

55 Unsurprisingly, the two are closely connected, as the film fan magazine was 'the first of its type to be directed to a predominately female audience'. Anthony Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine: A History of Star Makers, Fabricators, and Gossip Mongers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), p. 19. I feel compelled to remind the reader here about the absorption of *Οικογένεια* in October 1935, which was a clear retreat from the expansive business ambitions of the previous decade.

56 Pierre Bourdieu notes that public desire is what defines middlebrow works. Bourdieu, p. 125.

57 See Poly Miliori, Από το 'Ρομάντσο' στο 'Πάνθεον': ένα χρονικό του ελληνικού περιοδικού τύπου [*From 'Romantso' to 'Patheon': A Chronicle of the Greek Periodical Press*] (Athens: Odysseus, 1993), p. 60. Miliori is the daughter of publisher Nikos Theofanidis, owner of *Ρομάντσο*, which became the most popular post-war magazine in Greece, selling 250,000 issues.

58 In fact, it is not unlikely that the magazine, by including readers in the process of crafting their own cultural artefacts, achieved in them a feeling of belonging.

59 Enns and Metz, p. 15.

60 Demoor and Macdonald, p. 102.

61 'Το *Μπουκέτο* ανακαινίζεται' [*Μπουκέτο* is Revamped'], *Μπουκέτο* (21 September 1924), 351.

objects to be preserved, thus reshaping the supplement's inherent ephemerality.<sup>62</sup> (Figs 5, 6) The illustrative plates became regular in late 1938, with the reproduction of paintings by both historical and more contemporary artists (Thomas Gainsborough [1727–88], Antoine Calbet [1860–1942], and Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot [1796–1875], to name but a few) and some reproductions of contemporary artistic photographs. By revealing financial data about these illustrations, *Μπουκέτο* further attempted to increase its artistic value. An illustrative example is the declaration that a 'significant amount of money' was spent securing a reproduction of El Greco's *The Crucifixion* for the Holy Week issue.<sup>63</sup>

These pull-outs are a perfect example of a middlebrow manifestation: by not charging extra, they created the obligation of recompense, by utilizing the 'gift' concept. Luxury, artistic value, and colour were qualities stressed on every occasion. Thanks to modern technology, everyone was able to become the owner of a piece of art, the popularization of which through mass circulation magazines and advertising made it more appealing to the majority.<sup>64</sup> Although financial constraints prevented ambitious publishing steps, the need for innovation and constant revamping was imperative in fighting competition and gaining loyalty. The later pull-outs demanded less intellectual effort than the books and the annual issue, relying upon technology to offer, once again, traditional artwork of aesthetic appeal that would become the perfect decoration for the modern Greek home.

## Conclusion

It did not take long for *Μπουκέτο* to establish a dominant position in the Greek popular press. It had all the means to become a prosperous publication: modern equipment, competent collaborators, a dedicated readership, and artistic ambition. As statistics played a critical role and the market was extremely competitive, the objective was to create loyalty and gain more buyers; new supplements appeared to reinforce the appeal of a middlebrow publication addressing a wide and diverse audience. Moreover, the magazine's desire to 'indulge and educate' the Greek audience was sacredly fulfilled through certain spin-offs, which were promoted as unique and of high quality, while still popular enough to not affront the 'average' reader's expectations. Sameness between the parent magazine and the supplements was maintained on many levels. As the result of the magazine's publishing success — and demanding extra cost and effort — the supplements appeared mainly during the magazine's most booming period, that is, until the late 1930s. One cannot help but notice the gradual degradation of the incidentals offered, which parallels the magazine's decay, by the early 1940s. The reasons could be many: a weary audience looking for something new, fierce competition, and, of course, the financial and social instability of the era.

Amongst all these changes, we see signs of a magazine turning into a publishing company, full of assertiveness and cultural ambitions. *Μπουκέτο* was clearly concerned with the intellectual and moral welfare of its readers, as much as with their amusement. The supplements were connected to the magazine's functions as both cultural institution and (most evident in the later extras) commodity. By functioning as a culture bearer for all classes, *Μπουκέτο* had to rely on cultural legitimacy and constantly strove to satisfy consumer demand: 'Readers should not forget the effort made and the sacrifice suffered

62 Claes, p. 208.

63 'Η εικονογράφηση του *Μπουκέτου*' [*Μπουκέτο's Illustration*], *Μπουκέτο* (30 March 1939), 5.

64 Eugenios D. Mathiopoulos, 'Εικαστικές τέχνες' [*Visual Arts*], in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα*, ed. by Chatziosif, pp. 401–59 (p. 441).



Figs 5 and 6 'The most beautiful stars'. A unique centrefold for the Christmas issue in 1937. The frame decoration bears the signature of Gerasimos Grigoris. Although not an extra plate as the other pull-outs, these pages illustrate the magazine's intention to provide a decorative object. Collection of the Library of the Hellenic Parliament

to supply them with impeccable and masterful publications.<sup>65</sup> In constantly changing times, the supplements were an integral part of this effort.

**Despoina Gkogkou** is a PhD Candidate in Modern Greek Literature at University of Patras. Her research focuses on the Greek press of the interwar period, mainly the popular middlebrow magazine *Μπουκέτο* (1924–46). She holds a bachelor's degree in Library Science (Ionian University) and a Master of Arts in Greek Philology (University of Patras). She has been working as a librarian since 1997. At present, she is the institutional repository manager and curates the digital collections at Library and Information Center of University of Patras. Her other research interests include Digital Humanities, mass culture, popular literature, feminist and reader response theory, and the reception of foreign literature in Greece.

## Bibliography

- Babiniotis, George, 'Μπονναμάς' ['Bonamas'], in *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας* [*Dictionary of Modern Greek Language*] (Athens: Centre of Lexicology, 1998)
- Bacot, Jean-Pierre, 'Les numéros spéciaux de *L'Illustration* (1830–1930): Objets hybrides, célèbres et méconnus', in *L'Europe des revues (1880–1920): Estampes, photographies, illustrations*, ed. by Évanghélia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, 2008), pp. 25–39
- Baudrillard, Jean, *La Société de consommation: ses mythes, ses structures* (Paris: Denoël, 1970)
- Beetham, Margaret, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 19–32
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993)
- Chanos, Dimitris, *Η λαϊκή λογοτεχνία* [*Popular Literature*], 8 vols (Athens: Vasileiou, 1987–92), III–IV: *Τα λαϊκά περιοδικά* [*Popular Magazines*] (1989–90)
- Claes, Koenraad, 'Supplements and Paratext: The Rhetoric of Space', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 43.2 (2010), 196–210
- Constans, Ellen, *Parlez-moi d'amour: le roman sentimental. Des romans grecs aux collections de l'an 2000* (Limoges: PULIM, 1999)
- Daskalopoulos, Dimitrios, 'Ημερολόγια' ['Calendars'], in *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Πάπυρος Λαρούς Μπριτάννικα* [*Encyclopedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica*], 61 vols (Athens: Papyrus, 1980–96), xxvi (1984), pp. 386–87
- Demoor, Marysa, and Kate Macdonald, 'Finding and Defining the Victorian Supplement', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 43.2 (2010), 97–110
- Dillane, Fionnuala, 'Forms of Affect, Relationality, and Periodical Encounters, or "Pine-Apple for the Million"', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 1.1 (2016), 5–24
- Enns, Anthony, and Bernhard Metz, 'Distinctions that Matter: Popular Literature and Material Culture', *Belphégor*, 13.1 (2015), 1–24
- 'Ιστορία της έκδοσης στην Ελλάδα 1830–1974: μια επισκόπηση' ['History of Publishing in Greece 1830–1974: An Overview'], *National Book Centre of Greece*
- Jaillant, Lise, *Modernism, Middlebrow and the Literary Canon: The Modern Library Series, 1917–1955* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014)

65 'Το τρίδραχμον' ['The Three Drachmas'], *Μπουκέτο* (8 May 1930), 459.

- Kagialis, Takis, *Η επιθυμία για το μοντέρνο: δεσμεύσεις και αξιώσεις της λογοτεχνικής διανοήσης στην Ελλάδα του 1930* [*The Desire for Modernity: Commitments and Demands of the Literary Intelligentsia in 1930s Greece*] (Athens: Vivliorama, 2007)
- Karadimou-Gerolymou, Aleka, 'Πόλεις και ύπαιθρος' ['Town and Country'], in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα* [*History of Greece in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*], ed. by Christos Chatziiosif, 4 vols (Athens: Bibliorama, 2003), II.2: *Ο μεσοπόλεμος 1922–1940* [*The Interwar Years 1922–1940*], pp. 59–105
- Karakatsouli, Anna, 'Όταν τα βιβλία πουλιούνταν... αλλά δεν αγοράζονταν: η κρίση του βιβλίου στη δεκαετία του 1930' ['When Books Were Sold... But Not Bought: The Book Crisis in the 1930s'], in *Το ελληνικό βιβλίο στην κρίση: σκέψεις για το παρελθόν, παρατηρήσεις για το παρόν, ιδέες για το μέλλον* [*The Greek Book during Crisis: Thoughts about the Past, Remarks about the Present, Ideas about the Future*] (Athens: Oi Ekdoseis ton Synadelfon, 2014), pp. 11–18. [Ebook](#)
- Karaoglou, Charalampos L., 'Τα ειδικά περιοδικά και η αυτονομήσή τους' ['An Autonomy of the Special Periodicals'], in *Ο ελληνικός Τύπος, 1784 έως σήμερα: ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις* [*La Presse Grecque de 1784 à nos jours: approches historiques et théoriques*], ed. by Loukia Droulia (Athens: Institute des Recherches Neohelléniques, 2005), pp. 263–73
- Karaoglou, Charalampos L. [supervision], and Research Group, *Περιοδικά λόγου και Τέχνης (1901–1940): αναλυτική βιβλιογραφία και παρουσίαση* [*Literature and Art Magazines (1901–1940): Analytic Bibliography and Presentation*], 4 vols (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996–2004)
- Karpozilou, Martha, *Τα ελληνικά οικογενειακά φιλολογικά περιοδικά (1847–1900)* [*The Greek Family Literary Periodicals*] (Ioannina: University of Ioannina, 1991)
- Kasinis, K. G., ed., *Βιβλιογραφία των ελληνικών μεταφράσεων της ξένης λογοτεχνίας ΙΘ'–Κ' αι.* [*Bibliography of the Foreign Literature Greek Translations 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*], 2 vols (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 2006–13)
- Mathiopoulos, Eugenios D., 'Εικαστικές τέχνες' ['Visual Arts'], in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα* [*History of Greece in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*], ed. by Christos Chatziiosif, 4 vols (Athens: Bibliorama, 2003), II.2: *Ο μεσοπόλεμος 1922–1940* [*The Interwar Years 1922–1940*], pp. 401–59
- Mauss, Marcel, 'Gift, Gift', in *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. by Alan D. Schrift (New York & London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 28–32
- 'Μεταξύ μας: ο σκοπός μας' ['Between Us: Our Purpose'], *Εβδομάς* (15 October 1927), 2
- Miliori, Poly, *Από το 'Ρομάντσο' στο 'Πάνθεον': ένα χρονικό του ελληνικού περιοδικού τύπου* [*From 'Romantso' to 'Patheon': A Chronicle of the Greek Periodical Press*] (Athens: Odysseus, 1993)
- Michailidis, Giorgos, 'Άνθηση και κρίση του βιβλίου στην Ελλάδα του μεσοπολέμου' ['Book Prosperity and Crisis in Greece during the Interwar Period'], *Κονδυλοφόρος* [*Kondyloforos*], 13 (2014), 207–35
- 'Μπουκέτο', in *Λεξικό νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας: πρόσωπα, έργα, ρεύματα, όροι* [*Dictionary of Modern Greek Literature: Persons, Works, Movements, Terms*] (Athens: Patakis, 2007)
- Norricks-Rühl, Corinna, 'Two Peas in a Pod: Book Sales Clubs and Book Ownership in the Twentieth Century', in *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects*, ed. by Evangelia Stead (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 231–50
- Peterson, Theodore, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1956)
- République Hellénique, Ministère de l'Économie Nationale, Statistique Générale de la Grèce, *Bulletin statistique des prix moyen des principaux articles alimentaires, etc.*



- pendant le quatrième trimestre de 1924* [bilingual edition], 248 (Athènes: Imprimerie Nationale, 1925), 12
- Shils, Edward, 'Mass Society and its Culture', *Daedalus*, 89.2 (Spring 1960), 288–314
- Slide, Anthony, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine: A History of Star Makers, Fabricators, and Gossip Mongers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010)
- Spadaro, Giuseppe, 'Correzioni al lessico etimologico Neogreco dell'Andriotis', *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 21.2 (1968), 256–81
- Stamatoudi, Irini, and Maria-Daphne Papadopoulou, 'The Copyright/Design Interface in Greece', in *The Copyright/Design Interface: Past, Present and Future*, ed. by Estelle Derclaye (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 80–107
- Thiesse, Anne-Marie, 'Des plaisirs indus. Pratiques populaires de l'écriture et de la lecture', *Politix*, 4.13 (1991), 57–67
- Tsokopoulos, Vasias, Aggeliki Passia, and Giannis Chrysovergis, eds, *Περιπέτειες του βιβλίου στην Ελλάδα, 1880–1940: ένα ανθολόγιο* [*Book Adventures in Greece, 1880–1940: An Anthology*] (Athens: National Book Center, 1998)
- Williams, Raymond, *Communications*, rev. edn (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966)