PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. VIII

GRAPTA POIKILA I

Edited by Leena Pietilä-Castrén and Marjaana Vesterinen

HELSINKI 2003

ISSN 1237-2684
ISBN 951-98806-1-5

Printed in Greece by D. Layias – E. Souvatzidakis S.A., Athens 2003

Cover: Aeschylus, *Hiketides* at the Delphic Festival in 1930.

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Greek Music Policy under the Dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941)*

Risto Pekka Pennanen

Although it was an important period in modern Greek history, remarkably little historical research has been carried out on the Metaxás dictatorship, officially the Fourth of August Regime (4η Αυγούστου). This is presumably mainly due to the disorganised state of Greek public archives of that time. Given this, it is not surprising that there has been no scholarly research on Greek music policy in the late 1930s.[1] Quite a lot has been written on the censorship of music under Metaxás, but it has tended to lack historical context and precision. The most comprehensive study on Greek cultural policy under Metaxás, with some references to music, is by the German scholar Gunnar Hering.[2]

There are serious problems regarding the availability of documents that could shed light on the music policy of the Metaxás dictatorship, as the archives containing material on musical censorship are not accessible. Fortunately, some very important documents connected with the procedures and development of musical censorship are preserved in the Petrópulos Archive at the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.[3]

Since an important recording studio ledger is missing, the dating of recordings from the Metaxás era is not precise. Fortunately, some recordings for the Greek His Master's Voice label are datable through recording lists by the recording director, arranger and master musician Dimítris Sémsis.[4] Another problem is that only a few original copies of pre-1941 Greek record company catalogues have survived. Due to collectors' selective interest in *rebétiko* recordings, photocopied, more easily accessible record catalogues in private collections tend to be incomplete: often only pages relevant for 'rebetologists' have been copied. Since there is no Greek national discography, it is hard to analyse the entirety of recorded music between 1936 and 1941.

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* This article is a part of my research project "Music and Nationalism in the Balkans" funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Bonn. I wish to thank Charles Howard and Tony Klein, who read the text in its various stages and offered valuable observations, and Gregory Brown, Sotíris Likurópulos (AEPI), Dionísis Maniátis, and once again, Charles Howard for the discographic data. A debt of gratitude is also due to Ioánnis Arvanítis, Prof. Elíza-Anna Delverúdi, and Prof. Alexander Sideras for help and advice in completing the article.

1 As observed by Hering (1996, 286), no Greek term for 'cultural policy' was used before the Second World War. Correspondingly, there was no term for 'music policy'.

2 Hering 1996.

3 Most of the documents have been reproduced in Petrópulos 1979 and referred to in Torp 1993b.

4 See Torp 1993b.

Historical Background

In the mid 1930s, the constant rivalry between Republicans and Royalists and a series of political crises caused the downfall of Greek democratic institutions, thus allowing the restoration of the monarchy. After a rigged plebiscite under the royalist military dictatorship of General Yeórgos Kondílis, King George II (1922-1924, 1935-1941, 1946-1947) was able to return to the Greek throne from his English exile in November 1935. The political deadlock after the general election in January 1936 was resolved in April when the King appointed General Ioánnis Metaxás (1871-1941), the most reactionary politician in Greece, as prime minister.[5] On 4 August 1936, a royal decree suspended all constitutional rights and dissolved Parliament. Several communist and democratic political leaders were arrested. The Greek General Confederation of Labour declared a general strike effective on 5 August, and Metaxás used this as an excuse to declare martial law and imposed a rigid press censorship.[6]

During the first one-and-a-half years of its existence, the Fourth of August Regime was a conservative dictatorship, but in 1938 Metaxás transformed the regime into an extreme authoritarian state.[7] Metaxás himself was by no means a fascist, but an ultra-conservative supporter of authoritarianism. He relied on the police to suppress opposition: the Metaxás government was a *Polizeistaat* closely resembling other European totalitarian regimes in the interwar period.[8] The government included devoted advocates of fascism, and Italian and German fascist policies served as models for the regime. Metaxás and his government kept close political, economic, academic and cultural connections with Germany in particular. For instance, the Reich Minister for Public Information and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda), Joseph Goebbels, visited Greece twice, and the Greek Undersecretary of Public Security, Konstantínos Maniadákis (1893-1972), a notorious fascist, often consulted Heinrich Himmler, Reich SS Leader and Chief of German Police.[9] On the other hand, largely because of the King, Greece also maintained good relations with Great Britain.

The basic ideology of Metaxás was quite clear. Citizens were to merge with the state and the homogeneous national whole. No dissidents, nonconformists, or subversives were tolerated. Metaxás' motto was: order, discipline and work. He detested the unbridled individualism of the Greeks. There were strict norms and rules for everything. Every citizen in Metaxás' New State (Τὸ Νέον Κράτος) had to work; there was no room for idlers. In addition, Metaxas saw the family as an institution closely linked with the very existence of Greek Society.[10]

In imitation of the German Third Reich, Metaxás declared in June 1937 that his goal was to create 'the Third Greek Civilisation'. 'The Third Greek Civilisation' was to be the continuation and combination of the positive qualities of the two previous Greek civilisations, i.e. ancient Greece with its great intellectual achievements and great art,

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5 Clogg 1987, 11-12.
6 Kofas 1983, 98.
7 Ibid., vii.
8 On the role of the police in the Fourth of August regime, see Close 1986.
9 Irmcher 1986, *passim*; Kofas 1983, 131-132.
10 Kofas 1983, 62; Sarandis 1993, 151-152, 160.

and Byzantium with its deep religiosity and powerful state. Greek culture was to be cleansed of foreign influences.[11] Metaxás' ultra-nationalist views were based on mythical thinking and thus there is a certain lack of logic in them. For Metaxás and most members of the Greek elite, western European culture was not foreign, since they saw ancient Greece as the cradle of Western civilisation.

The active development of the arts and sciences was one of the objectives introduced by the regime shortly after the proclamation of the dictatorship.[12] Cultural policy was mainly governed by the Board of Literature and Fine Arts, which formed a part of the Ministry of Education and Religion, and the newly founded Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism (Ὑφυπουργεῖον Τύπου καὶ Τουρισμοῦ), which functioned as the Propaganda Ministry. They were responsible not only for propaganda, but also, for example, for the control of conferences and exhibitions, theatrical works, films, gramophone records, advertisements, lectures, publications and all kinds of written materials. In addition, they took part in the administration of the State Radio, which was established in August 1936 as a propaganda tool for the regime. The head of the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism was the journalist Theológos Nikolúdis, one of Metaxás' closest friends and a well known pro-fascist.[13]

What Sort of Music Was Supported by the Regime?

The regime's view of the role of music must be deduced from its practice; there seems to have been no written programme specifically delineating music policy. This is hardly surprising, since not even German Nazis were able clearly to define their views on music or organise coherent control programmes.[14] The state control of music under Metaxás was meant to be all-inclusive: it covered the record industry, radio broadcasts, printed sheet music, and musical compositions and especially lyrics performed publicly. The most striking means of control was censorship. Generally, all songs containing lyrics which were out of step with the regime's beliefs were forbidden, the most obvious cases being Socialist labour songs and songs opposing or ridiculing the regime.

The regime favoured Western classical music. The State Radio Orchestra was founded in 1938 in Athens, and the National Opera was established as a separate institution within the Royal Theatre in 1939. The first production was 'Die Fledermaus' ('Nyhterida') by Johann Strauss.[15] However, in the official hierarchy, the best kind of music was national, purely Greek music, which reflected the idea of the 'superiority of the Greek race' and the ideals of the regime. Such music could be used for propaganda purposes in Greece and abroad. The second annual report of the regime from 1938 mentions that the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism sent gramophone records to foreign radio stations in order to make Greece and Greek music better known.[16]

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[11] Hering 1996, 290-291.
[12] Kofas 1983, 65-66.
[13] Hering 1996, 286, 295 n. 39.
[14] Kater 1998, 360.
[15] Ráptis 1989, 241-243.
[16] O apoloyismós, 234.

The regime favoured patriotic anthems - including the Hymn of the Fourth of August Regime by K. Rafódos and Ioánnis Tartsínis - marches, Greek Orthodox church music, and folk and folkloristic music. The songbook *Tragúdia tis Neoléas* of Metaxás' fascist National Youth Organisation EON (Ἐθνικὴ Ὀργάνωσις τῆς Νεολαίας) from 1940 is comprised of these musical genera. The melodies are written out to be sung in unison, no parts being given. No chord symbols are used in the notation.[17] There was musical activity in the EON: *I Neoléa*, the magazine of the organisation, informs us that in late 1937 the EON had several brass bands and at least one male choir accompanied by an orchestra of seven mandolins and seven guitars.[18] In early 1939, the magazine reports a male brass band, while a contemporary propaganda film shows a female brass band of the EON playing at a parade.[19]

Metaxás was influenced by the romantic nationalism that developed in the 19th century from the ideas of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803). Thus, the return to the supposed roots of Greek civilisation, the regeneration of folk tradition and the rejection of foreign influences were important for Metaxás. He declared that people in the countryside were guardians of the national heritage.[20] It is logical that Metaxás' regime favoured folklorism, i.e. the ideological, artistic and commercial utilisation of folklore.

The state promotion of folk and folkloristic music was realised soon after the coup in August 1936 when the State Radio started broadcasting such music on a regular basis.[21] The government policy of stressing the role of folk music was reflected in the record company catalogues. The number of folk and folkloristic records available was remarkably large in Columbia's 1940 catalogue, apparently due to the censorship favouring such music.

Musical folklorism was important for the EON: the instruction of its members included singing folk songs from the EON songbook and learning folk dances. Five of the six folk songs in the book are patriotic *kléftika* related to the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830) against the Ottoman Empire: 'Saránta palikária', 'O Nikotsarás', 'I kléftiki zoí', 'O horós tu Zalóngu', 'Káto stu Váltu' and 'Tis ártas to yeofíri'.[22] These songs are in *kalamatianós* (7/8), *tsámikos* (3/4 or 6/4) or *sirtós* (2/4) dance rhythms. The EON regarded these dances as Pan-Hellenic, and all members had to learn them. Regional dances were taught as well.[23] Presumably originating in the Peloponnese and Roumeli respectively, *kalamatianós* and *tsámikos* had started to attain the status of national dances in the 19th century, and they were actively disseminated to other parts of Greece and represented as Pan-Hellenic dances of ancient origin.[24]

An important forum for the ritual use of folklorism was the anniversary of the dictatorship, which was declared as a Day of Celebration. Festivities were organised in

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17 Tragúdia.

18 *I Neoléa* 1937, 1, 8.

19 *I Neoléa* 1939, 1, 19; The Metaxás Collection, cassette 6.

20 Sarandis 1993, 149-150, 154.

21 Torp 1993b, 36.

22 On the relationship of the *kléftika* to the myth of the *klefţármatoli* as patriotic freedom-fighters, see Boeschoten 1986.

23 Petrídis 2000, 247, 266.

24 Torp 1993a, 280-284.

many towns on 4 August, from 1937 to 1939. According to the memoirs of Amvrósios Tzífos, something very embarrassing happened in 1940: there were no festivities in Athens since peasant performers from the countryside did not arrive in the capital and Athenians were not eager to participate in the celebration.[25]

The representatives of rural Greece, in colourful national costumes, took part in a parade through the streets of Athens, with the Labour Battalions in brown, and the members of the EON in black uniforms.[26] The main ceremonies were organised at the Olympic Stadium. Needless to say, no representatives of ethnic minorities were invited. The only exceptions were professional Gypsy musicians accompanying dance groups from some areas. Folk dances were performed at the Stadium as a part of the celebration. The Fourth of August festivities in Athens and elsewhere were described in detail in the press for propaganda purposes. For example, *Le Messanger d'Athènes* on 5 August 1937 writes about the festivities with three photographs of performers in national costume. The mass event, where dancers from all parts of Greece performed a variety of dances for the Athenian audience, displayed the people's support of the regime at a symbolic level.[27]

In the absence of the villagers, the 1940 programme at the Olympic Stadium was largely based on the contribution of the EON members. They even performed the customary national dances. Choirs sang hymns, folk song arrangements and folkloristic compositions. Folkloristic songs were sung by the choral ensemble of the Society for the Diffusion of Greek National Music under the direction of Símon Karás (1905-1999).[28] Karás was an established specialist in Greek church music, and from 1937 the director of the folk music division of the Greek State Radio. As we shall see later, Karás seems to have been one of the key figures in Greek music policy during the dictatorship.

Collection and Research of National Music

The regime also made attempts to have national music collected and studied. Metaxás assumed personal control of the Ministry of Education and Religion in autumn 1938, and the next year the Board of Literature and Fine Arts within it was reorganised. The new Board was headed by the writer Kostís Bastiás, and it included the Department of Folklore, which concentrated on the systematic study, collection and preservation of the national heritage, especially of folk culture.[29]

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[25] Quoted in Hering 1996, 316 n. 138. Loutzaki (2001, 129), however, claims that villagers were not invited to the 1940 festivities.

[26] The Day of Celebration parades, main ceremonies and Nazi-style torchlight processions were documented, probably in 1938, on silent colour film in Athens and Salonica by the Greek-American Michalis Dorisos (1895-1956), a professor at the University of Pennsylvania. The films form the main body of the Dorisos Collection at the Greek Film Archive in Athens.

[27] Torp 1993a, 286-287; Loutzaki 1994, 66-67.

[28] Loutzaki 2001, 129-130. In the 1980s, Karás asked his student Ioánnis Arvanitis to organise the contents of a bookcase, which was found to contain lyrics and arrangements for many folk songs in numerous copies, previously used by Karás' choir. Among the folk songs Arvanitis found some songs of the Fourth of August. (Arvanitis, pers. com. 2002).

[29] Hering 1996, 286 n. 3.

It is not known if the Department organised any collecting, but the government did send a committee of three specialists to Istanbul in early February 1939 in order to collect old icons, documents, paintings, manuscripts of Greek Orthodox church music and Greek folk songs. 'Angelos Vudúris (1891-1951), an assistant singer (*doméstikos*) of the famous *protopsáltis* Iákovos Nafpliótis at the Patriachate in Istanbul, mentions in his diary that Símon Karás was a member of the committee and that his task was to seek out old manuscripts of church music and photograph them for the Greek National Library.[30]

According to Karás' student Ioánnis Arvanítis, during the Istanbul mission Karás photographed rare manuscripts at the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem Holy Grave Monastery Dependency (Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου), noticed that the building was in bad repair and decided that the material should be rescued by moving it to Greece. He proposed this to the authorities on his return to Athens, and somewhat later a secret operation was organised.[31] The manuscripts are now preserved at the Greek National Library in Athens.

Music as Entertainment

Besides propaganda, music was commonly used as pure entertainment with no indoctrination in mind. There is an interesting assessment of the popular music situation in 1940 in the fourth anniversary publication of the regime: "The sick tendencies in popular music of the previous years have now been substituted by real cheerfulness".[32] This assessment probably refers to the disappearance of sub-cultural and underground elements in recorded songs, which occurred due to preventive censorship. We can safely say that the attitude of the dictatorship towards most forms of popular music was at least neutral. Lyrics were considered more important than music. If the lyrics were cheerful and not counter to the values and taboos of the regime, the piece of music was tolerated.

We know of one instance when music was used for representative purposes by a government minister. Joseph Goebbels visited Greece from 20 to, probably, 24 September 1936. In his diary Goebbels describes his visit and especially mentions an evening at an Athenian tavern with the Minister-Governor of Athens, Kóstas Kotziás (1892-1951):

"Abends Einladung von Kotzias in einer griechischen Taverne. Dort werden griech. Volkslieder gesungen und Nationalgerichte gegessen. Es ist urgemütlich. Kotzias ist ein feiner Kerl. Das Publikum ganz enthusiastisch. Es gefällt mir wunderbar. Herrlicher Abend. Ich engagiere eine junge Sängerin gleich für Berlin. Kotzias überglücklich."[33]

What kind of music did Kotziás choose for entertaining the guest of honour from Germany? He certainly would not want anything too exotic such as rural folk music or Ottoman-Greek popular music. Maybe Goebbels enjoyed a programme of Italian-style

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30 Vudúris 1998, 314-315.
31 Arvanítis, pers. comm. 2002.
32 4 Avgústu 1, 158.
33 Goebbels 1992, 987.

kantáda serenades, folkloristic music arranged in a Western way, and Western type popular music. It is not known if the female singer actually travelled to Berlin.

Besides national music, the performance and recording of many popular music styles of foreign origin were permitted. In the late 1930s, the foxtrot was popular among the urban population in Greece and it was recorded extensively. Hawaiian style music was also relatively popular, and bands playing it had no problems in having their music recorded. The status of jazz is unclear. For comparison, in Fascist Italy jazz and blues were forbidden since they were not seen as a part of the national culture. In Germany, Nazis regarded atonality and jazz as expressions of international Bolshevism, Americanism and Jewry.[34] Such bans were, as far as I can establish, not imposed in Greece. Apparently, the censors did not need to consider jazz since its popularity was marginal.

The Music of Ethnic Minorities

The regime stressed the national unity of the pure Greek race. Inter-war parliamentarian governments discriminated against minorities, but under Metaxás, discrimination and assimilation became institutionalised and considerably more effective than before. Systematic pressure was exerted on members of ethnic, national, linguistic and religious minorities.[35] The status of the sizeable Jewish population has not been studied. For unknown reasons, no commercial recordings whatsoever of Greek Jewish music for the Greek market were made in Greece until the 1990s.

There were two exceptions to the government policy towards ethnic minorities: it seems that the Turkish-speaking and Albanian-speaking minorities had some privileges. Recordings in Turkish made in Athens, and especially Istanbul, were available during the whole of the Metaxás era. This was owing to the cordiality between the governments in Athens and Ankara, which dated back to 1930, the turning point in the Greco-Turkish relations.

After long negotiations and gradual rapprochement, the Agreement for Friendship, Neutrality and Arbitration between Greece and Turkey was signed on 30 October 1930 in Ankara. The pact was accompanied by a trade agreement. Relations between the two countries became considerably better than before, and this was also experienced on the popular level. This *Entente Cordiale* was followed by a series of exchange visits between Greece and Turkey throughout the 1930s.[36]

In addition to university students, football teams, and theatrical companies, musical groups also participated in exchanges. Musicians from Turkey visited Athens as early as late 1930: on 13 December there was a concert at the Olympia theatre under the patronage of the Turkish ambassador Enis Bey. Among the performers were the Istanbul singers Safiye Ayla (1907-1998) and Hafiz Burhan Sesyilmaz (1897-1943), the *kanto* singer Makbule Enver Hanim (years unknown) and the violinist-composer Kemani Ahmed Cevdet (later Cevdet Cağla, 1900-1988). On the lower part of the concert poster is

[34] Sorce Keller 1993, 125-126; Kater 1995, 65-72.

[35] See Diváni 1995; Carabott 1997.

[36] Koufa and Svolopoulos 1991, 303-304; Alexandris 1992, 179-180.

the following text in Greek: "These Turkish artists work exclusively for the Columbia Record Company which sells records of their songs."[37] The text implies that the marketing of recordings from Istanbul, which were pressed in Athens for the Greek market, had just started.

In the 1930s there was still a large Greek population in Istanbul - 125,046 Greek Orthodox inhabitants according to the 1935 census - and in Greece a minority of ethnic Turks in western Thrace. Due to the pacts, both minorities were provided with records in their respective languages. In practice however, Turkish-language records were also bought by the Turkish-speaking Karamanli Orthodox Christians who were included in the Greco-Turkish exchange of minorities in 1923 and relocated to Greece.[38 * 40] The Greek Columbia general catalogue of 1937 contains two chapters of Turkish-language recordings: under the heading 'Anatolitika' are recordings made in Athens by Moisis Koïnoglu's Anatolitiki orhistra (ten sides), while recordings from Istanbul are listed under the heading 'Turkiki' (108 sides).

Correspondingly, from 1930, Greek- and Turkish-language records were pressed in Istanbul from matrices made in Athens. Initially the recordings were mostly in the Ottoman-Greek cafe style and were aimed at the Istanbul Greek population: 'Nini - Manes' and 'Nigris - Manes' (mat. GO 1539, GO 1540; cat. Odeon GA I486)[31'] recorded by Marika Politissa in Athens in the summer or autumn of 1930 are among the first on that label.[4"]

Some Albanian-language recordings from Istanbul and possibly from Tirana were also available in Greece during the Metaxäs dictatorship. For instance, Columbia's 1937 general catalogue contained eleven Albanian records, i.e. 22 sides. There was a minority of ethnic Albanians in Greece and a Greek minority in Albania. There must have been some kind of unofficial pact between the governments in Athens and Tirana concerning the respective minorities. Greece appealed to the League of Nations regarding Greek schools in Albania, and in April 1935 the Permanent Court of International Justice in the Hague required the Albanian government to permit the schools to operate. Albania conformed to this directive.[41] The Greek government, in return, probably made some concessions in its assimilation policy towards the Albanian minority.

The Status of Ottoman-Greek Music

It is certain that the censor discriminated against Greek-language Ottoman-Greek music, which is usually called *smirneika* in Greece. Apparently, such music and its instruments were not considered national. This situation was reflected in the recording careers of Ottoman-Greek musicians. Recordings released between September 1937 and 1940 by the very popular singers of Ottoman-Greek music, Róza Eskenázi and Ríta Abatzí, are illustrative cases. For unknown reasons, Eskenázi's discography from that period is quite

[37] The advertisement is reproduced in Petropulos 1979, 661.

[3S] See Clogg 1999, *passim.*

[39] For dating as accurately as possible, matrix and catalogue numbers are given for 78 rpm records.

[40] Charles Howard, pers. comm. 2002.

[41] Kondis et al. 1994, 20.

unlike her previous output. She did not record as prolifically as before, and the repertoire and instrumentation differs from her heyday as the most popular female singer of Ottoman-Greek music in Greece. Abatzí did considerably more studio work than Eskenázi, and it is indicative that her repertoire consisted mainly of the folk and folkloristic genera *sirtó* and *kalamatianó*. She seems to have recorded only one *zeïbékiko*, which may indicate discrimination against this popular genre by the censor.

However, Greek record catalogues from 1937 to 1940 contain some pre-censorship Ottoman-Greek recordings and even others made during the Metaxás regime. The censorship may have eased slightly from mid-1939 on. Take, for example, the record HMV 2649 by Laïkí orhístra under Dimítris Sémsis recorded in mid-1940, which contains the Ottoman-style instrumental tunes 'Aïdíniko' (mat. OGA 1062) and 'Diplóhordo' (mat. OGA 1063).[42] Moreover, many pieces and genera of the Ottoman-Greek repertoire were available in Turkish-language recordings made in Istanbul and Athens. We may be sure that Ottoman-Greek popular genera were performed in Metaxás' Greece at cafés and taverns. The tradition continued even after the Second World War.[43]

The *manés*, a vocal improvisation on a chosen poetic text in flowing rhythm to modal systems called *makams*, was an important Ottoman-Greek musical genre. Discographic analysis suggests that the *manés* had its heyday on record several years before the Metaxás coup. Some *manédes*, however, were recorded under the dictatorship. 'Nevá manés - To pira piá apófasi' (mat. GO 2752; cat. Odeon GA 7045) by Spíros Peristéris, recorded by Elvíra Kákki and 'Sabáh manés - Anixate ta mnímata' (mat. GO 2762; cat. Odeon GA 7046) recorded by Strátos Payiumtzís were the last *manés* recordings before the Axis occupation of Greece. They were recorded in the late summer or autumn of 1937. In addition, 'Sabáh manés - I fíli mu me xéhasan' (mat. CG 999; cat. DG 2113), recorded by Dimítris Perdikópulos in July 1934 and originally issued in August that year, was reissued on Columbia DG 6311 in July 1937.

It is hard to say if Ottoman-Greek music was actually banned in the modern sense of the term; it was certainly marginalized as European, and Greek Western-style popular and Greek folk and folkloristic music were consistently prioritised in recording, and apparently in broadcasting policy. Still, censorship contributed to the decline of Ottoman-Greek music on record in the late 1930s but another reason for this was the change in taste of the record buying public to a preference for Western-influenced more mainstream bouzouki music rather than Ottoman-Greek music.[44]

The Music of the Urban Subculture

Practically all aspects of Greek urban subculture opposed the values of the Metaxás regime: strong individualism, idle life, petty crime, the tendency to stay single rather than marry, and the use of hashish. During the dictatorship, the members of the subculture, *mánges* and *rebétes*, were harassed by the police. Their haunts in the Karaïskáki area of

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[42] The effects of censorship can be seen in the use of the title 'Diplóhordo', which is a Greek translation of the original Turkish term *çifte telli*, i.e. double string course.

[43] See the ensembles in photographs in Petrópulos 1979, 364, 366, 374-375; Kopsahílis 1997, 30-32, 50.

[44] Pennanen 1999, 18-19; cf. Pappas 1999, 360.

Piraeus were demolished.[45] Songs connected with the subculture, the *rebétika*, often praised a nonconformist lifestyle and considered petty crime and the use of hashish normal.[46] It is no wonder that these commercially successful songs became a target of censorship.

Although press censorship was strict from the very beginning of the dictatorship, the lyrics of the hashish song 'O bufetzís tis Pólis', originally recorded under the title 'O bufetzís' (mat. OGA 257; cat. HMV AO 2258) on 7 October 1935 by Yeórgos Bátis, were published in the August 1936 issue of the popular music periodical *To tragúdi*.[47] Possibly the issue was printed and released just before the coup and the introduction of press censorship. After the coup, *To tragúdi* did not publish any dubious material. On the contrary, the January 1937 issue has two excerpts from Metaxás' speeches.[48]

In January 1938, for the first time, the government labelled itself a dictatorship. Harsh measures, such as exile, imprisonment and torture, replaced propaganda and indoctrination. In February 1938, the government initiated the 'second phase' by enacting an Emergency Law, which was officially a necessary measure to fight communism in Greece. In reality it was a logical step towards the legalisation of the extreme authoritarian state. For the regime, all members of the very large opposition were communists.[49]

The hardening of government policy against all potential opposition groups in Greece was reflected in the measures taken against the subculture. In 1938, the *rebétika* musicians Anéstos Delías and Mihális Yenitsáris were exiled for a year as undesirables to the Cycladic island of Ios. Musical instruments were allowed, and drugs were available at high prices. According to Yenitsáris, other members of the subculture were exiled to Aigina, Anafí, Folegandros, and Sifnos.[50] This is noteworthy since all these places hosted concentration camps for political prisoners.[51]

According to a persistent rumour, the bouzouki was banned during the Metaxás regime. For example, the bouzouki musician Yiánnis Papaïoánnu relates in his autobiography that he visited Metaxás' office after the advent of censorship and banning of the bouzouki and all kinds of bouzouki music and performed in front of the dictator. He sang his song 'Vangelítsa' to a *baglamás* accompaniment, and assured Metaxás of the quality and respectability of bouzouki music.[52] This story is rather incredible - a typical tall tale. Papaïoánnu recorded 'Vangelítsa' (mat. GO 3143; cat. Odeon GA 7157) in early 1939, and in point of fact he recorded several bouzouki songs before that date, for instance 'Faliriótisa' (mat. GO 2718; cat. Parlophone B 21916) circa June 1937 and 'Ta mátia su mikrúla mu' (mat. GO 2902; cat. Odeon GA 7094) in the spring of 1938.

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[45] Gauntlett 1985, 100.

[46] There is considerable confusion in the modern use of the term *rebétiko*. The early use of the term in recorded music was more general, and different from the post 1932 meaning of it. Not until the mid 1930s did the term *rebétika* come to mean music and dance associated with the subculture and often accompanied by the long-necked lute *bouzoúki*.

[47] To tragúdi 21 (1936), 29.

[48] To tragúdi 26 (1937), 29, 34.

[49] Kofas 1983, 123, 126-128, 142-143.

[50] Gauntlett 1985, 101 n. 200.

[51] Kofas 1983, 129.

[52] Papaïoánnu 1982, 75-7.

In the light of existing documents, it is clear that there was no gap in bouzouki recordings between 4 August 1936 and early 1939. No known facts support Papaïoánnu's claim that there was a ban against the bouzouki during the Metaxás regime. The bouzouki was not a forbidden instrument *per se*. What mattered was the context in which it was played.

Apparently because of the censorship, many bouzouki musicians started composing, performing and recording folkloristic pieces. The island *sirtó* was the most popular rhythm for such compositions. The lyrics tended to be light and positive in mood - as they were subsequently during the colonels' dictatorship (1967-1974).

The Introduction of Musical Censorship

The censorship laws of the Fourth of August Regime were surprisingly durable. Although implemented in only a few cases after 1974, they were not finally abrogated until 1994.[53] Although playing a role of varying importance for several decades in Greek musical culture, it has been unclear precisely when the systematic preventive censorship of recorded music began. Various dates have been suggested, from August 1936[54] to early 1937[55].

These dates cannot be correct. It is a fact that the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism was founded on 29 August 1936 through Emergency Law No. 43, which defined one of its functions as the control of gramophone records. Despite this, it seems that the Undersecretariat initially concentrated on producing and disseminating political propaganda and censoring the press and other printed material. Recordings were not censored systematically right from the start of the dictatorship. For example, Yióvan Tsaús and Stellákis Perpiniádis recorded Tsaús' song 'Vlámissa' (mat. CG 1460-1; cat. Columbia DG 6242) in October 1936, and Mihális Yenitsáris recorded his own song 'Egó mángas fenómuna' (mat. CG 1601-1; cat. Columbia DG 6312) in July 1937. These are not sporadic cases; Greek general catalogues for 1937, and their supplements, contain several recordings associated with the subculture.[56] Instead of systematic preventive censorship, authorities initially tended to rely on the self-censorship of lyric writers, musicians and record companies.

By 1938, the generic name *rebétika* had totally disappeared from the catalogues. Despite this fact, there is a recent source giving very different information on the use of the generic name in recordings during the Fourth of August regime. According to a discography by Dionísis Maniátis, several pieces were recorded and released under the generic name '*rebétiko*' in the late 1930s, for example 'Stis Plákas ta stená' (mat. CG 1848-2; cat. Columbia DG 6431) from 1938 and 'Eléni Eléni' (mat. GO 3281; cat. Parlophone B 74004) from 1939.[57] In reality, all these '*rebétika*' recordings lack that term on their labels as

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[53] Voliótis-Kapetanákis 1997, 223.

[54] Hatzidulis 1980; Torp 1993a, 287; Emery 2000, 26.

[55] Stellákis Perpiniádis in Hatzidulis n.d., 30; Yeoryiádis 1993, 84; Voliótis-Kapetanákis 1997, 223.

[56] However, since general catalogues were printed at the end of the previous year, we do not know if the records were actually available - at least officially - in the respective year.

[57] Maniátis 2001, 108-111.

well as in record company catalogues. The generic term succeeding each title in brackets is Maniatis' own arbitrary addition, which does not appear in any known primary sources.

The year 1938 is an important date for explicitly subcultural songs as well: almost all of them disappeared from record catalogues. The only recordings with subcultural connections in the 1940 Columbia general catalogue are two versions of 'Minóre tu teké', the classic bouzouki instrumental piece.[58]

On the other hand, some pieces with underground connections were recorded after mid 1939. For instance, Strátos Payiumtzís and Vasílis Tsitsánis recorded Tsitsánis' *zeïbékiko* 'O Sarkafliás' (mat. OGA 980-1; cat. HMV AO 2628) in late 1939 or early 1940. Although the lyrics, based on an older rebetika song, relate the story of the murder of a criminal in the Trikala prison, they passed the censorship. Gauntlett assumes that the censor was unaware who Sarkafliás was.[59] This is possible, but one could also assume that censorship had been somewhat relaxed, perhaps due to changes in the composition of the censorship board. The latter explanation seems more probable since in 1940 Payiumtzís and Tsitsánis also recorded 'Matsaránga' (mat. PGA 1000-1; cat. AO 2667), another Tsitsánis' *zeïbékiko* with a distinct underground flavour.

Now we return to the crucial question: precisely when did the systematic preventive censorship of music start? Greek discographers and writers on local popular music have not been able to answer this question because of inadequate historiographic methodology and constant problems in dating recordings accurately. The dating problems are partly due to gaps in the record company files between 1936 and 1941.

Greek writers on music have typically relied on the memoirs of musicians active during the Metaxás era without consulting contemporary documents. Kóstas Vlisídis is an exception. He used the contemporary Greek press as a source for dating the advent of musical censorship and came up with the date of November 1937, which certainly appears more reasonable than the previous suggestions.[60]

The actual date for the introduction of the systematic censorship of music seems to be September 1937, as stated in a letter by the Lambrópulos Brothers Company (Lambropoulos Frères S.A.) in Athens to the Gramophone Company in Hayes, Middlesex, Great Britain.[61] The letter is in reply to an enquiry by Daniel DesFoldes, the manager of foreign records at the RCA record company in Camden, New Jersey, USA. On 8 November 1938, DesFoldes wrote to Rex Palmer of the Gramophone Company and asked if the famous singer Róza Eskenázi and her ensemble could record the songs 'Harikláki', 'Hasapáki', 'Katifé' and possibly a *zeïbékiko* in Athens. In addition, DesFoldes ordered an ensemble consisting of violin, clarinet, mandolin and guitar to record a *sirtó polítiko* and a *kalamatianó*. In his postscript, DesFoldes wonders why he has not received new sample records from Greece for quite some time.

The reason why DesFoldes wanted new recordings by Róza Eskenázi explicitly was the enormous popularity of the singer among Greek Americans and other immigrant groups from the Levant. The pieces, especially 'Harikláki' and 'Hasapáki' ('Egó tha páro hasapáki') were also particularly liked in those communities.

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[58] The catalogue number DGX 36 contains the original 1932 bouzouki-guitar duet from the USA while DG 275 is a Greek guitar duet cover version of the hit tune, also from 1932.

[59] Gauntlett 1985, 111.

[60] Vlisidis 2001, 10.

[61] EMIA, Róza Eskenázi file; also selectively cited in Gauntlett 2001, 157 n. 36.

As a response to the enquiry, the Lambrópulos Brothers Company, the agent for Columbia and His Master's Voice in Greece, explains in a letter dated 7 December 1938, that since September 1937 they had been unable to record anything without the authorisation of the state censorship, which examined the music and the lyrics of each title to be recorded (Fig. 11). According to the letter, the titles RCA asked for could not pass the censorship and thus could not be recorded. Furthermore, the Lambrópulos Brothers express their reluctance to record a *sirtó polítiko* and a *kalamatianó* by pointing out that pieces in those genera had already been recorded by Greek Columbia and His Master's Voice and were thus available to RCA.[62]

LAMBROPOULOS FRÈRES S.A.

GRANDS MAGASINS DE NOUVEAUTES

Siège: Rues du Stade-Eole
ATHÈNES

FABRIQUE: PATISSIA - ATHÈNES

ATHÈNES, LE 7 Decembre 1938

The Gramophone Co.Ltd.
Overseas Department
Hayes-Middlesex

Messieurs,

ENREGISTREMENTS POUR VICTOR COMPANY

En réponse à votre estimée du 30 ecoulé, nous nous empressons de vous informer que depuis Septembre 1937 nous ne pouvons procéder à aucun enrégistrement sans avoir reçu préalablement autorisation d'une Censure de l'Etat (constituée spécialement à ce but) qui examine d'abord la musique et les paroles de chaque titre à enrégistrer.

Cette Censure rejette absolument et sans exéption toutes chansons du type Harikláki, Hasapáki, Katifé et Zeybekika. Par conséquent, leur enrégistrement n'est pas possible.

A ce qui concerne l'enrégistrement des titres Sirto Politiko et Kalamatiano avec orchestre populaire, nous croyons que vous pouvez l'éviter, étant donné que nous avons déjà ces titres (orchestre populaire) sur disques H.M.V., savoir: Disque AO.1018 (Sirto Politiko) et disque No.2261 (Kalamatiano).

Veuillez agréer, Messieurs, nos civilités empressées.

Fig. 11. The letter from the Lambropoulos Brothers Company to the Gramophone Company Overseas Department.

[62] DesFoldes was not satisfied with Lambrópulos' suggestion of using old matrices. Therefore the Greek-American clarinettist Antónios Sakellaríu was asked to record 'Kalamatianós' and 'Sirtós polítikos' for RCA, which he did in New York on 11 September 1939 (mat. BS 041410-1, BS BS 041411-1; cat. Orthophonic S-498). 'Harikláki' and 'Hasapáki' were also recorded, but not for RCA. (Spottswood 1990, 1218). Victoria Hazan, a Sephardic Jew from Smyrna, recorded the two songs as 'ómorfi mu Harikláki' (mat. 1CV 165 A; cat. Metropolitan 165) and 'Na se haró hasapáki' (mat. 1CV 156 B; cat. Metropolitan 156) in New York circa 1943.

How should we interpret the letter? The songs 'Harikláki' and 'Katifé' belong to the Ottoman popular music repertoire of the early 20th century.[63] 'Hasapáki', in the same style, was copyrighted by the Smyrna-born composer Dimítris Barúsis or Barús alias Lorántzos (1860-1944). Apparently the censor had a prejudice against the Ottoman musical style and instrumentation, but there seems to have been no absolute recording ban on the style. In addition, there certainly was no ban on pieces in the *zeïbékiko* rhythm. But since Róza Eskenázi would sing in Ottoman style and her ensemble would use Ottoman instruments, the possibility of being censored may have existed. Obviously the Lambrópulos Brothers did not want to jeopardise their business. In addition, after the mid 1930s, Ottoman-Greek music did not sell as well as in the early 1930s. Possibly the company did not want to invest in recordings which would not be highly profitable in Greece.

As related below, the Lambrópulos Brothers Company, and Themistoklís Lambrópulos personally, had been sentenced to a fine in the early days of the Metaxás era, which explains why the company wanted to minimise any risk of being charged again. It was public knowledge that the police served the regime with conspicuous enthusiasm; people were penalised for trivialities.[64] This tendency was strengthened after Emergency Law No. 1092 of February 1938, when the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism enforced even stricter press censorship and harsher penalties for the publishing of material without the authorisation of the censor.[65]

In addition to the letter from the Lambrópulos Brothers, there is a further piece of evidence supporting the dating of the introduction of systematic preventive censorship to September 1937. It seems that about that time the first censorship number or Ἀριθμὸς Ἀδείας, literally 'permit number', appeared on record labels (shortened as ἀρ. ἀδ. or ΑΡ. ΑΔ.). The lowest censorship number I have been able to find is 101: 'Yia séna ipofério' (mat. GO 2828; cat. Odeon GA 7067) by Márkos Vamvakáris recorded in September or November 1937. The highest censorship number of a recording released before the German invasion of Greece seems to be 2163 for 'To kólpo su den épiase' (mat. CG 2149; cat Columbia DG 6581) by Dimítris Sémsis and Yeórgos Papasidéris, recorded by Papasidéris on 4 March 1941. This means that the censor inspected and accepted over two thousand compositions in three and a half years.

The Principles of the Censorship

It is possible to reconstruct the list of criteria for musical censorship used during the Fourth of August Regime through a source from the 1950s. The criteria for the censorship of song lyrics in force in 1951 were listed in the announcement on forbidden songs by the Athens Police Headquarters, which was published in a newspaper that year: the lyrics should not offend religion, the Fatherland, ethics, and Greek moral standards and customs.[66] The list is almost identical with the criteria for the censorship of books, theatre

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63 Panayiótis Túntas adapted the melody of 'Harikláki' from the Constantinople urban folk song 'Daryldyn my cicim bana'. The earliest known recording was made by Mme. Mary Steele in May 1921 in New York (mat. 87427–2; cat. Columbia E9030). Similarly, 'Kadifés' is a Greek-language adaptation of the Constantinople urban folk song 'Kadifeden kesesi'.

64 See Close 1986, 105.

65 Kofas 1983, 103.

66 Reproduced in Hatzidulís 1980.

plays and public lectures during the Metaxás dictatorship.[67] After the Second World War, the recording of overtly underground and hashish songs was banned in late June 1946, but the systematic preventive censorship of recorded music was reintroduced only somewhere between late 1947 and the first half of 1948, and it is likely that the criteria originate directly from the pre-war censorship.[68]

The actual procedure of censorship is unclear. According to some rumours, musicians performed in front of the censorship board. In reality, however, this would have taken too much time. It is more probable that the board received the lyrics and scores or transcriptions of music in written form. Vasílis Tsitsánis mentions in his memoirs that the recording director and composer Panayiótis Tóuntas wrote down his songs for the board.[69] For the same reason, there was a large number of transcriptions of contemporary popular pieces in the private archive of Dimítris Sémsis.[70]

The practice of inspecting the pieces in written form was very problematic for improvised musical genera, i.e. instrumental *taxímia* and vocal *manédes* in flowing rhythm. How could one transcribe a piece of music that is largely extemporised from the stock of traditional melodic formulae? For *manédes*, of course, it was possible to provide the lyrics. The procedure of preventive censorship was based on the Western idea of pre-composed music that is played from scores rather than improvised on the spot.

There must have been a considerable amount of bureaucracy involved in the censorship procedure. The stages a composition had to go through before it was made available to the public were very probably the following: the lyric writer and the composer submitted their composition to the censor as a manuscript. The censor either approved the manuscript in the original form or amended it. After the composition had passed the censorship and been given a censorship number it was possible to perform it publicly, publish it in printed form, offer it to a record company, and record it in the studio.

There are several stages in the development of musical censorship that can be reconstructed from the few available documents produced for and by the censors. All these lyric sheets, preserved in the Petrópulos Archive, were possibly connected with Dimítris Sémsis, the recording director of the Greek His Master's Voice company. The source value of the documents is not the highest possible, due to Petrópulos' unmethodical collecting and filing procedure; he did not prepare an archival catalogue with data on the items' titles, authors, datings, context information and donors.

The lyric sheet of the song 'Se pérno díhos frángo' by Kóstas Makrís and Dimítris Sémsis is provided with the stamp of the Bureau of Press Censorship of the First Army Corps and the initials of the censor (Fig. 12).[71] As the song was recorded in late 1937 or early 1938 by Stellákis Perpiniádis (mat. OGA 640; cat. HMV AO 2439), this and other

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[67] To próton étos 1937, 50-51.

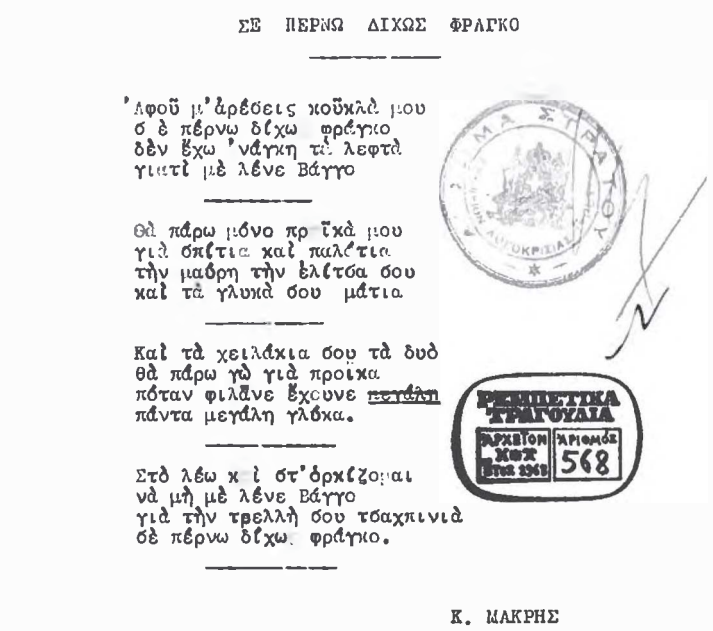
[68] AO 2764 ('Kátse froníma griniára' and 'To rimagméno spíti' composed by Vasílis Tsitsánis) recorded in October or November 1947 has no censorship number, whereas AO 2834 ('Sinnefiasméni kiriakí' and 'S' écho káni péra' composed by Tsitsánis, matrices OGA 1396 and OGA 1407) recorded in August 1948 has the censorship numbers 316-14800 and 341-16096. Clearly, systematic censorship was reintroduced somewhere between these dates.

[69] Hatzidulís 1979, 16.

[70] Torp 1993b, 33.

[71] PA 568. Document numbers refer to the numbering of the Petrópulos Archive.

similar documents[73] are from the first phase of the systematic preventive censorship of music. The lyric sheets are undated and do not contain censorship numbers or references to protocols. The censor who approved the lyrics has written his initials H N (Greek X N) as signature to all documents.[73]



ΣΕ ΠΕΡΝΩ ΔΙΧΩΣ ΦΡΑΓΚΟ

Ἀφοῦ μ' ἀρέσεις κοῦκλὰ μου
σ' ἐ πέρνω δίχω φράγκο
δὲν ἔχω 'νάγκη τὰ λεφτὰ
γιατί μὲ λένε Βάγγο

Θὰ πάρω μόνο πρ τικὰ μου
γιὰ σπίτια καὶ παλ'τια
τὴν μαύρη τὴν ἐλίτσα σου
καὶ τὰ γλυκὰ σου μάτια

Καὶ τὰ χειλάκια σου τὰ δυὸ
θὰ πάρω γὼ γιὰ προίκα
πόταν φιλᾶνε ἔχουνε μεγάλη
πάντα μεγάλη γλύκα.

Στὸ λέω κ ἰ στ'ὀρκίζομαι
νὰ μὴ μὲ λένε Βάγγο
γιὰ τὴν τρελλὴ σου τσαχπινιὰ
σὲ πέρνω δίχω φράγκο.

ΚΑΚΡΗΣ

ΕΠΙΤΡΕΠΕΤΑΙ ΤΑ ΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ
ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ ΚΟΤ
ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ 568

Fig. 12. The lyric sheet of 'Se pérno díhos frángo' by Kóstas Makrís and Dimítris Sémsis.

In his memoirs, Stellákis Perpiniádis mentions that in early 1937, the board of musical censorship consisted of two men, Prátsikas and Psarúdas.[74] Possibly Perpiniádis is referring to the journalist and man of letters Yióryios Prátsikas (born 1897). Although Perpiniádis apparently gives too early a date for the existence of the systematical musical censorship, Prátsikas and Psarúdas were probably censors in the Bureau of Press Censorship of the First Army Corps. However, no available documents on musical censorship refer to these two men. Still, due to his education and profession, Yióryios Prátsikas could have made a perfect censor: besides inspecting the tenor of the lyrics, the censor could also amend the orthography, as in document PA 562, and omit expressions from the underground slang.[75]

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[73] I am indebted to Prof. Alexander Sideras for checking the deciphering of hand-written notes and signatures in the documents.

[74] Hatzidulis n.d., 30.

[75] Cf. Gauntlett 1985, 103-116.

From document PA 414 (Fig. 13) we can see that by March 1938 the censorship of song lyrics had been transferred from the First Army Corps to the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism, which marks the beginning of the second phase in the systematic preventive censorship of music. The change of censorship office may have been affected by slightly earlier developments in Germany. In December 1937, a special office for musical censorship was established in the Reich Ministry for Public Information and Propaganda. In the main, the office concentrated on the inspection of foreign compositions and popular German dance and jazz tunes. At the same time, Goebbels also completed the state control of the German record industry.[76]

Fig. 13. The lyric sheet of 'To spitáki mas'.

Judging from the censorship numbers, it seems there was an interim period during which both the Bureau of Press Censorship of the 1st Army Corps and the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism censored song lyrics. Document PA 555 containing the lyrics for ''Alla mu les ki' álla mu kánis' by Stélios Hrisínis was inspected by the 1st Army Corps. It was recorded by F. Zumídis (mat. GO 2995; cat. Odeon GA 7125) in the early autumn of 1938 under the censorship number 521. However, document PA 414 was approved on 2 March 1938 and given the censorship number 433 by the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism.

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76 Kater 1995, 98-107; Kater 1998, 361.

Document PA 414 is notable for traces of a complicated bureaucratic procedure. The rectangular approval stamp contains a protocol and a censorship number. Strangely enough, the high protocol number 4576 seems to imply that the censor did not inspect music exclusively. In addition to the rectangular stamp there is also the standard circular stamp of the Undersecretariat with the state coat of arms. The date is written by hand. The document is signed by a censor named Vizántios on behalf of the head of department. The identity of the chief is unknown. He may have been the director of all censorship at the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism, the pro-fascist Mihaïlis Papastratigákis.

Document PA 567 (Fig. 14) reveals that in early 1938 it took roughly a week for the censor at the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism to treat the song text 'Fíye, áponi, kakiá'. The lyrics sheet arrived at the Undersecretariat on 30 March and the text was approved on 7 April and given the censorship number 612. However, it had to wait for a long time before being recorded. This *syrtos* by Emmanuíl Hrisafákis was eventually recorded by Ríta Abatzí under the direction of Dimitris Sémsis on 17 August 1939 (mat. OGA 943; cat. HMV AO 2592).[77]

Fig. 14. The lyric sheet of 'Fíye, áponi, kakiá'.

77 PA 567.

Such a delay seems not to have been uncommon. For example, Yeórgos Kávuras recorded the songs 'Ta psaradákia' and 'O zontanós o horismós' (mat. GO 3154, GO 3155; cat. Parlophone B 21981) in early 1939. Their respective censorship numbers are 517 and 880, which means that permission for recording the former song had already been granted in early 1938 — considerably earlier than the latter. These delays, and the approved lyric sheets of numerous songs which were apparently never recorded, imply that for some reason record companies were not able to release all approved compositions. In addition, some matrices recorded during the Fourth of August Regime were either pressed and released after the Second World War, in 1946, or never released at all.[78]

On the other hand, some pieces were recorded only shortly after they were approved by the censor. 'Yia krátise ton órko su' by Dimítris Sémsis and Stélios Hrisínis passed the censorship on 27 July 1939 and was recorded by Nóta Kalléli and Maíri Panayiotáki shortly afterwards, on 14 August 1939 (mat. OGA 935; cat. HMV AO 2590).[79]

Fig. 15. The lyric sheet of 'Rubína'.

78 PA 421, 489, 562, 593.
79 PA 428 and 537.

By August 1940, the bureaucratic apparatus of censorship was more developed than ever. From document PA 593 (Fig. 15) we can see that there was a special Directorate for Popular Enlightenment/Propaganda (Διεύθυνσις Λαϊκῆς Διαφωτίσεως). The word διαφώτισις has the double meaning of 'enlightenment' and 'propaganda', which links the name of the Directorate closely with Goebbels' infamous Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. The era that begins with the founding of this Directorate can be called the third phase of systematic musical censorship. Unfortunately, because of the unavailability of archival documents, the advent of the third phase is impossible to establish precisely.

The lyrics in document PA 593 were inspected very quickly: they were submitted on 29 August and were already approved by 31 August 1940. The signature of the head of department under the approval stamp is that of Símon Karás. Document PA 428 from July 1939 is also likely to have been signed by Karás, which means that he started his career as a censor during the second phase of systematic musical censorship. According to Ioánnis Arvanítis, Karás related to his students in the 1980s that he had been on the censorship board for music during the Fourth of August Regime. Karás certainly understated his personal contribution to musical censorship: in reality, he was a key figure in it.

Two Cases of a Song being banned

There are two very different cases of a song being banned during the Metaxás dictatorship before the introduction of systematic preventive censorship. Interestingly, both of the songs in question were still on the list of banned songs of the Athens Police Headquarters in 1951.[80]

The first song banned under the Metaxás dictatorship was the hit 'Varvára' (mat. CG 1359; cat. Columbia DG 6159) by Panayiótis Túntas, recorded by Stellákis Perpiniádis in January 1936. The song became so popular that its lyrics were reproduced at the beginning of the second edition of *Néa tragúdia* in July 1936. A scene from the song was printed on the cover (Fig. 16). We can see a sensual young woman in a bathing costume holding a fishing rod. If we look carefully, we can see that the fish in the water have men's heads. According to Stellákis Perpiniádis,[81] shortly after Metaxás rose to power 'Varvára' was banned, and discs of it were confiscated from shops and destroyed. Túntas, the Lambrópulos Brothers Company and Themistoklís Lambrópulos were fined.

There have been various speculations about the reasons for the ban. For instance, it has been claimed that the name of Metaxás' daughter was Varvára and that is why the song was forbidden.[82] However, passages of Metaxás' biography make it clear that he had no daughter named Varvára. His two daughters were Lukía and Naná.[83]

'Varvára' may have actually been banned simply due to a humorous double entendre about the daily working life of a prostitute (see Appendix 1). The moral standards of the regime were extremely conservative, which is illustrated in the strict

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80 Reproduced in Hatzidulís 1980.
81 In Hatzidulís n.d., 28-39.
82 Ibid., 30; Papaïoánnu 1982, 75.
83 See e.g. Vatikiotis 1998.

instructions it gave to the press after the coup: "Don't print pictures of girls in bathing suits, even athletic pictures."[84] The sparklingly risqué story of 'Varvára' was certainly too much for the authorities.

Fig. 16. The cover of *Néa tragúdia* from July 1936 with a scene from the song 'Varvára'.

Since 'Varvára' was such a big success, completely new lyrics were written for the same melody immediately after the ban, and Stellákis Perpiniádis recorded the tune in September 1936 under the title 'I Maríka i daskála' ('Marika the Teacher'; mat. CG 1436; cat. Columbia DG 6249) (see Appendix 2). With some imagination one can see sexual metaphors also in this text: Maríka the frustrated spinster has two big houses, i.e. breasts, and stares longingly and lasciviously at the young men she wants to make love with but does not dare to. In both songs, fish are a metaphor for male sexual organs: the skilled angler Varvára catches whoppers while Maríka's stomach remains empty.[85]

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[84] Cited in Kofas 1983, 100.

[85] I am indepted to Tony Klein for drawing my attention to this interpretation.

Túntas exploited the very successful melody yet again for 'Manolios ke Dimitrúla' (mat. CG 1808; cat. Columbia DG 6414), which Stellákis Perpiniadis recorded in September 1938. This was not the end of the story. In late 1940, during the Italian invasion of Greece, composers of popular music realised that popular songs with patriotic lyrics could be commercially successful, so they thus wrote such pieces. Perpiniädis recorded the fourth 'Varvara' variation, an anti-Mussolini song 'Àku Dutze mu ta nea' ('My Duce, Hear the News') (mat. OGA 1144, cat. HMV AO 2691), in November 1940.

Arising from human error, another case of a ban has been somewhat mysterious. The famous singer Kostas Rúkunas (1903-1984) relates in his memoirs that his song about the collision of two ships was withdrawn by order of a judge somewhere between 1934 and 1936.[86] Riikunas, however, recalls incorrectly: according to the matrix number, he actually recorded the song 'I adikopnigmeni' ('The Unfairly Drowned') in 1937. The lyrics relate the story of a marine accident that took place on 1 August 1937 outside the Piraeus harbour (see Appendix 3). The two ships mentioned in the song are the diesel passenger boat Anastäsis and the passenger boat idra coming from the island of Salamis. After the collision the Anastäsis sank and 25 people were drowned."[87]

The label does not have a censorship number; the song was recorded and released in August. According to Rúkunas[88], the two captains of the ships hired lawyers to have the record withdrawn from circulation. It was done immediately and effectively, and as a result the record is extremely rare; only two copies are known to exist.[89]

Afterword

The current paper is a preliminary study on Greek music policy under the dictatorship of General Ioännis Metaxäs. Clearly more scholarly research on the Fourth of August Regime is necessary in order to form a more accurate picture of its attitude to music.

The results presented here raise further questions that deserve to be answered. How was the state control of music actually organised? What sort of statuses did the ethnic minorities and their music have? Who were the censors of music? What other functions besides musical censorship did the Directorate for Popular Enlightenment/ Propaganda have? How was live music controlled—if at all? Were there plans or attempts to control musicianship and live performances in Greece as in Nazi Germany, where the membership of the *Reichsmusikkammer* (Reich Chamber of Music) was compulsory for all professional musicians? Such a method of control would have been logical to Metaxäs since his goal was a corporate state.

These questions are answerable if we only have access to historical sources. This is problematic: if extant at all, the bulk of primary sources is probably scattered. Due to differences in bureaucratic location, it is hard to assume that the protocols of the music censors from the Bureau of Press Censorship of the First Army Corps, from the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism, and from the Directorate for Popular Enlightenment/ Propaganda would have ended up in the same section of archive files. The uncovering of documents on music produced by the regime would be of the utmost importance.

Department of Music University of Tampere

[86] Rúkunas 1974,33.
[87] Dúnis 2000.
[88] Rúkunas 1974,33.
[89] One copy is in the possession of Mr. Ilías Barúnis, Athens. I am indebted to him for a transcription of the lyrics of the song and an excerpt from the recording.

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Filmed Material

The Metaxás Collection at the Greek Film Archive, Athens.

The Dorisos Collection at the Greek Film Archive, Athens.

Appendix 1

Varvára
Comp. Panayiótis Túntas
Rec. Stellákis Perpiniádis, Athens January 1936
(Mat. CG 1359; cat. Columbia DG 6159)

Varvára always spends the night in Glifáda
fishing for sea-basses and dark grey mullets.
She waits all night with her fishing-rod in hand.
She waits for the fish to nibble and move the fishing-rod.

A strong, beautiful and spry grey mullet
nibbles Varvára's fishing-rod and moves it.
But Varvára is not confused; she hooked and got it.
She holds it in both her hands and doubles up with laughter.

Look, Varvára, you don't have to be afraid.
Such a mullet with a claw is hard to find.
O Varvára, it may not slip and dive back to the sea.
Hold it by the head so it does not escape.

She puts it in her basket and shouts for joy:
I have skill, I have grace to hook every fish.
I am waiting all the night for a fattened mullet
which will come to nibble and move my fishing rod.

Appendix 2

Maríka the Teacher
Comp. Panayiótis Tóuntas
Rec. Stellákis Perpiniádis, Athens September 1936
(Mat. CG 1436; cat. Columbia DG 6249)

Maríka the teacher who has two big houses
Goes out at six o'clock in the morning to the market place.
She holds her basket and stares with hunger.
She wants tender beef or some fresh fish.

A young first-rate youth, Panayiótis the fisherman
Recognises the teacher and says "Good morning,
I have two fine sea-basses that just arrived from Rafína.
Buy one of them for cooking a fish soup."

"Sea-bass does not suit me, I want to fry the fish.
If I don't find bonito, I'll buy bogue or whitebate.
If I don't find such fish, I'll buy one *oka* of beets.
And if I add some oil, I'll chew also in the evening."

So every day she goes out this way but she doesn't buy anything.
The stingy teacher who has two big houses.
She likes all fresh things but she's afraid to buy them.
And so because of her meanness her stomach remains empty.

Appendix 3

The Unfairly Drowned
Comp. Kóstas Rúkunas
Rec. Kóstas Rúkunas, Athens ca. late August 1937
(Mat. GO 2766; cat. Odeon 7048)

Two captains work sloppily
And so many drown needlessly.
People listen to the news carefully
About the two ships which collide outside the port of Piraeus.

One is the Anastási, the other the Idráki.
The awful news spread opposite to Párlama.
Lads, think now how they are crying,
Women, men and children shouting "Save us!".

Thus their fate had been written
That they be unfairly drowned
And those who had been waiting for them
Are now all dressed in black.

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