

ERYTHEIA

REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS BIZANTINOS Y NEOGRIEGOS

36 - 2015



SEPARATA

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On the cultural biography of the things: Wall calendars of cultural associations in Greece. The Athens Naxiot migrant associations' example (1980-2007)

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ABSTRACT: In the present work we examine the wall calendars that have been published by the associations of Naxiot internal migrants to Athens during the period between 1980 until the present days. These objects are discussed within the recent approach of examining material culture according to which material objects can be far better understood as cultural choices or social productions intimately linked to systems of knowledge and value.

KEY WORDS: Naxos, Cyclades, material culture, wall calendars, migrant cultural associations, objects, social life of things, time.

RESUMEN: En este trabajo se estudian los calendarios murales editados por las asociaciones de inmigrantes naxiotas en Atenas en el periodo comprendido entre 1990 y la actualidad. Estos calendarios son estudiados de acuerdo con las tendencias actuales de análisis de la cultura material, según las cuales los objetos materiales pueden ser mejor entendidos como elecciones culturales o productos sociales íntimamente vinculados a sistemas de conocimiento y valores.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Naxos, Cíclades, cultura material, calendarios murales, asociaciones culturales de emigrantes, objetos, vida social de las cosas, tiempo.

I. INTRODUCTION

The present study examines the wall calendars that have been published by the associations of Naxiot internal migrants to Athens¹ during the period between 1980 until the present days. This study, in particular, will mainly deal with the cultural biography of wall calendars as it has been defined by Igor Kopytoff. To him, «a culturally informed biography of a subject would look at it as a culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings, and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories»². In other words, we reveal how «actions on the material world [the wall calendars in our case] are embedded in a broader symbolic, social and political system»³. In this sense, this study shows how wall calendars are *objectified* in Attfield's⁴ and Tilley's⁵ terms within a particular time period in Greece (just after the 7-year Junta until 2007) abiding with the «growing emphasis on the material as a discreet domain of study»⁶ in various disciplines, folklore being no exception. In this vein, the material culture not only is the ultimate object of scientific description, but it also serves as a vital interpretative tool in order to understand the nature of the society which made it⁷, that is an active factor between social and other relationships, a vehicle of culture, a material witness of an era. This dialectical process between the object and the society that created them⁸ is quite evident in the wall calendars under investigation in the present study as will be shown later on.

More specifically, we examine the calendars from a holistic perspective:

- a) as material products, as creations of the Modern Greek material urban culture, as consumption commodities, as a self-evident product of tech-

¹ S. Sutton (*Migrant Regional Associations: An Athenian Example and its Implications*, PhD, Chapel Hill 1978) uses the term «Migrant Regional Associations».

² I. KOPYTOFF, «The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process», in: A. APANDURAI (ED.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge 1986, p. 68.

³ Chr. TILLEY, «Ethnography and Material Culture», in: P. ATKINSON ET AL., *Handbook of Ethnography*, London 2001, p. 264.

⁴ J. ATTFIELD, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life*, Oxford 2000.

⁵ Chr. TILLEY, «Ethnography...», pp. 258-271; IDEM, «Objectification», in: C. TILLEY ET AL., *Handbook of Material Culture*, London 2006.

⁶ H. GEISMAR-H. HORST, «Materializing Ethnography», *Journal of Material Culture* 9:1 (2004), p. 5.

⁷ J. HOSKINS, *Biographical Objects. How things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*, N. York 1998.

⁸ H. GEISMAR-H. HORST, «Materializing Ethnography», p. 6.

nical and artistic typography, which has noted a remarkable progress after 1980, etc.

- b) as objects on the surface of which a part of the history of the associations bearing them is imprinted, their ideology about tradition, their financial situation, their status on the Naxian society, their relationship with the geographic aspects of the place they represent; they are examined as a place to articulate the programs of the associations, their ideas, their humble and noble aims; as a place where a mass of social parameters of that time's Naxian society are reflected (social antagonisms within a place, conflicts between the associations, political competition, the local element, the local identity, the almost absent universal, etc). Therefore, I discuss them as texts which frame the way we think⁹.
- c) as objects that during their lifetime obtain new socially determined functions.
- d) as time indicators, as reflectors of time passing, namely under their primitive and absolutely of usage perspective. They offer a visual formative structure of time, and answer (in their way) to the question of how time is perceptible by modern society.

To serve its purpose, the present article is divided in five sections. The first section discusses objects as part of the material culture. The second discusses the present study. In particular, the wall calendars under investigation (100 in number) are discussed in terms of material, size, and content of their pages, themes selected, photographic material and advertisements imprinted on them. The third section discusses the question whether the particular calendars are collective creations or not, while the fourth one presents their "cultural biography", namely, the values given to the calendars and how these objects came to hold these values, their cultural life and the ways in which these values affected interactions between people and between people and calendars. Finally, the last section analyses the issue of the representation of time on the wall calendars.

⁹ D. MILLER, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Oxford 1987, p. 105.

2. OBJECTS AS PART OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE

As we know, objects¹⁰ have multiple meanings and functions by nature¹¹. All of them, even the natural ones, are *opera aperta*, open to multiple “readings”, are multifaceted and “flexible beings”¹². Polysemy derives from their very nature but also from the conditions under which their multiple and different interpretations are attempted¹³. In this sense, they possess potentialities of representation and this makes them important for people and their life¹⁴.

It goes without saying that the meaning each object emits is never complete and is located between itself and the way its viewer / user comprehends it. In this sense, its “comprehension” is a primarily personal and difficult case, much more difficult than that of a text¹⁵. According to J. Hodder¹⁶, the multiplicity of concepts / meanings that objects carry has to do with the ways we interpret them. He names three such ways. Therefore, objects are likely to be carriers of three categories of meanings; each one: i) has a particular value of usage, ii) carries a particular symbolic value, iii) has the potential to transmit messages connected to their relationships with other objects or human beings or whichever historical itinerary.

In addition, every time we view an object we perceive / understand it in a different way, a fact which reflects the evolution of the viewer’s personality. An object is likely to certainly affect the viewer as well and make her / him a different person. The life of objects is usually a long one, longer than ours, they have complex “cycles of life” and thus enjoy recognition during some period and are rejected, withdrawn or put to oblivion or in some museum collection during some other¹⁷ or return in a retro form. The same applies to wall calen-

¹⁰ I use the term for natural objects and those constructed by humans interchangeably. See Susan M. PEARCE, «Introduction», in: S. PEARCE, *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, London 1994, p. 1.

¹¹ W. D. KINGERY, «Introduction», in: W. D. KINGERY (ED.), *Learning from Things. Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, Washington and London 1996, p. 1.

¹² G. W. STOCKING (ED.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museum and Material Culture*, Wisconsin 1985.

¹³ E. HOOPER-GRENNHILL, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, London 2000.

¹⁴ C. SAUMAREZ SMITH, «Museums, Artifacts and Meanings», in: P. VERGO, *The New Museology*, London 1989, p. 19.

¹⁵ W. D. KINGERY, «Introduction», p. 1.

¹⁶ I. HODDER (ED.), *The Archaeology of Contextual Meaning*, Cambridge 1987, p. 1; «The Contextual Analysis of Symbolic Meaning», in: S. PEARCE, *Interpreting Objects...*, p. 2.

¹⁷ S. M. PEARCE, *Μουσεία, αντικείμενα και συλλογές*, Thessaloniki 2002, p. 36 (*Museums, Objects and Collections*, Leicester: UP, 1992).

dars, which are the material objects under investigation of the present study. After their period of use some of them are thrown away by their owners, some other people might attribute more value to them and keep them despite their uselessness. One of the villagers, for instance, recently asked a copy of a wall calendar of a specific past year. He also offered a big amount of money (far more than the original value of the particular wall calendar) in return. This wall calendar had obtained special value for this person because it contained some old, rare photographs of the village and of some persons that had left their mark on this person's life. This incident confirms Attfield who said that the "wild things" of material culture store memories and interrupt the flow of time to restore a sense of continuity¹⁸. In this vein, the persons' attitude towards the wall calendars is determined by the fact that they are carriers of messages and a specific historical past and present, which, having a conflicting character, can be disputable¹⁹. In this sense, the cultural biography of objects has been one of the most popular topics of the contemporary folklore researches since studying this biography is a means to get to know human thought and action²⁰.

Indeed, things have been the accoutrements of human culture and society throughout history and pre-history²¹; they entered all levels of the human social life, especially because sedentary life permitted an increased engagement between humans and the material world. Objects are imbued with meaning and a sedentary lifestyle permits a greater accumulation of objects than does one dependent on mobility, so the messages held by each object would have had greater permanence²². Nonetheless, until recently, for Greek folklore studies, many aspects of the material culture have remained invisible to the researchers²³, who lacked holistic views of the material life and resorted solely to pointing out the objects' different function levels²⁴. The current approach

¹⁸ J. ATTFIELD, *Wild Things...*, p. 264.

¹⁹ D. MILLER, *Material Culture...*, pp. 85-87, see also below.

²⁰ H. GLASIE, *Material Culture*, Bloomington 1999, p. 41.

²¹ W. D. KINGERY, «Introduction», p. 1.

²² C. RENFREW, «Symbol Before Concept: Material Engagement and the Early Development of Society», in: I. HODDER (ED.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, Cambridge: Polity Pr., 2001 (2012), pp. 122-140.

²³ A. L. FLORAKIS, «Η εθνογραφική Τεχνολογία: Όψεις θεωρίας και εφαρμογής» («Ethnographic Technology. Theoretical Perspectives and Applications»), *Εθνολογία* 6-7 (1998-99), pp. 32-34.

²⁴ K. BADA, «Η Παράδοση στη Διαδικασία της Ιστορικής Διαπραγμάτευσης της Εθνικής και Τοπικής Ταυτότητας. Η Περίπτωση της Φουστάνελλας» («Tradition in the Process of the Historical

adopted in the present study, however, approaches them as culturally constructed totalities that get transformed, since the civilization itself that created them is transforming.

The wall calendars investigated in this study are cultural, collective products and, therefore, constitute an interesting research sample. They are worth discussing because they are part of the Greek material culture and constitute a unique case since, to my knowledge, they are not encountered in this form in other areas in the world. The particular wall calendars are also interesting material artifacts because they are products of cultural associations which were formed in a particular political period in Greece and whose political ideas and beliefs are reflected on these products.

Indeed, as will be thoroughly discussed in this study, the particular wall calendars, being part of the folk material culture, are important sources through which the past and the present of the society that produced them can be approached and interpreted. As material artifacts enriched with words, symbols, photographs and other codings, they contribute to the study of the past since they provide us with a plethora of information on the basis of which the meanings and memories that they carry can be examined. The knowledge, values and preferences of a society during a particular time period are also reflected on them. They are signs. In this sense, they are contexts from the past, materializations of the cultural and political elements of the society that created them.

Actually, as Bennett rightly maintains²⁵, the interpretation of material artifacts carries a primarily political meaning. It is related to the persons who (individuals, political parties, or power of any sense, *inter alia*) have access to the folk culture, control it, study it and make use of it. It is also related to the way the above persons interpret the material artifacts and their intention to impose similar interpretations (their own or foreign ones) for the cultures and societies from whom the material objects originate²⁶. This is the reason why the present

Negotiation of the National and the Local Identity. The Case of Foustanelia»), *Ethnologia* 4 (1995), pp. 130-131. Therefore, the discipline of *Folklore* in Greece (*Laographia*) has always been interested in the material culture but limited itself to surface interpretations. See M. MERAKLIS, «Η Μελέτη του Υλικού Πολιτισμού: Μια όχι Άσκοπη Αναδρομή» («The Study of the Material Culture: A non Purposeless Retrospection»), in: M. MERAKLIS, *Θέματα Λαογραφίας*, Athens 1999, pp. 75-89.

²⁵ T. BENNETT, *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics*, London-New York 1995, p. 7.

²⁶ M. AMES, «Cannibal Tours, Glass Boxes, and the Politics of Interpretation», in: S. PEARCE, *Interpreting Objects...*, p. 99.

study refers quite extensively to the populism that a particular political party nourished during the examined time period and watered the abundant flourishing of the movement of the cultural associations whose products are the wall calendars under investigation.

When, for instance, the varied content of a wall calendar (the poems, the prose, the pictures, the structure of its pages, its aesthetics as a whole, etc.) is analyzed, a link to another social framework is established: the one which attributed meaning, value and social conceptions to it when it was created. The interpretation, therefore, of the particular objects constitutes an interpretation of the relevant historical framework that created them. Through the historical itinerary the objects have followed, we study the human society, which makes this study valuable for both the society and the researcher who undertook the particular study.

Apart from the past, wall calendars are also related to the present time, when they are created and observed, and the time space between these two extreme time poles (past and present) because the meaning attributed to them constitutes an evaluative criterion for the ideas, priorities, loose or tight relationship with the past of the society. Actually, the meaning of the past does not reside in the past time but in the present time as Tilley rightly maintained²⁷.

Objects have many meanings. Each one of them, during its life's duration, is given alternating or new functions, always socially determined; it also has social characteristics, since it is related to humans, and is finally given a symbolic meaning²⁸. The cultural developments unavoidably affect and are reflected not only on the world of ideas but on the objects and on their functions and their owners' everyday life, with the changes on their use, the techniques of their fabrication, but more importantly their social, economic or symbolic value²⁹. In the end, it is difficult to answer where an object starts and

²⁷ Chr. TILLEY, «Interpreting Material Culture», in: I. HODDER (ED.), *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*, London 1989, pp. 185-194. IDEM, «Interpreting Material Culture», in S. PEARCE, *Interpreting Objects...*, pp. 73-74.

²⁸ S. BRONNER, «Folk Objects», in: O. ELLIOTT (ED.), *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres. An Introduction*, Logan Utah 1986, pp. 199-223; I. HODDER (ED.), *The Archaeology of Contextual Meaning*; B. BADCOCK, «Artifact», in: R. BAUMAN (ED.), *Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainments*, New York 1992; St. PAPADOPOULOS, «Υλικός Πολιτισμός» («Material Culture»), *Εθνολογία* 3 (1994), p. 17.

²⁹ I. KOPYTOFF, «The Cultural Biography of Things...», pp. 64-91; B. KIRSCHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, «Objects in Memory: Material Culture as a Life Review», in: O. ELLIOTT (ED.), *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres...*, pp. 329-338.

ends (confining its limits), a point of view issued many years ago by Stilpon Kyriakides³⁰, when he was observing (completely forerunning) that the limits of the material and the other civilizations are not distinguishable and clear.

3. THE PRESENT STUDY

More than 100 wall calendars created by various cultural associations of Naxiot internal migrants to Athens of the historical period discussed below have been examined, a sufficient sample to guide the survey to safe conclusions. The research method followed in the present study is the content analysis of the texts, photographs, symbols, etc., of the particular wall calendars. The method of participatory observation was also used in order to study the production and management of the calendars (as cultural products) by the associations and the Naxiot migrants to the capital city of Athens. More specifically, the writer of the present work has unfailingly serviced the Executive Councils of such a cultural association since 1978 to today, possessing responsible posts. I consider the *self-reference* of the researcher³¹, accompanied by the necessary (in situations like this) *de-familiarisation* (regarding the culturally familiar place as a foreign one³²), positive elements for the present study.

This section will, first, set the historical scene when the objects under investigation were produced.

The period after 1974 (Political Change), especially its first phase (1974-1989), is a transitional period for Greece, a result –mainly– of the country's fearful (*fearful*: the one that causes fear) and silent seven-year oppressive governing by the Military Junta: it is the epilogue of post-war Greece. The period of the Political Change was even more radical than the legalization of

³⁰ St. KYRIAKIDIS, *Ελληνική Λαογραφία. Τα Μνημεία του Λόγου (Hellenic Laography I. Monuments of Speech)*, Athens 1965², p. 41.

³¹ J. DUBISH, «Κοινωνικό Φύλο, Συγγένεια και Θρησκεία: Αναπλάθοντας την Ανθρωπολογία της Ελλάδας» («*Social Gendre, Family Relations and Religion: Reconstructing the Anthropology of Greece*»), in: E. PAPATAXIARCHIS-Th. PARADELLIS (EDS.), *Ταυτότητες και Φύλο στη Σύγχρονη Ελλάδα (Identities and Gendre in Modern Greece)*, Athens 1992, p. 101.

³² See G. MARCUS-M. J. FISCHER, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, Chicago-London 1986, p. 137.

the political system allowed it to seem³³. In addition to its positive moments, we mention the political unloading of the so-called *language problem*, the creation or energetic reappearance of labor and intellectual unions, the broadening of political participation, the chance creating for more and less privileged young people to study in the University, the embedment of opener and liberal institutions, the penetration of the political parties to the society, the widening of the peoples' participation in politics, the upgrading of the political parties which become more massive, the renewal of the population of politicians, the widening of political communication etc. Along with these, the country's European course, the social change and the modernization demands were connected with the leading figures of Konstantinos Karamanlis, Andreas Papandreou and Kostas Simitis. There is no doubt that the historical outcome of the Political Change «appears from all angles to be the most positive in Greek modern history»³⁴.

However, the post-dictatorship period has a peculiarity: a society with such an ambiguous division of social classes created a political debate of the highest tones³⁵, mainly because the (then newfounded) Panhellenic Socialistic Party (Pa.So.K. in Greek) and the historic Left Flank rose above all and asserted themselves regarding the masses' organization, the social institutions, the ideology and the symbols. Yet this peculiarity can be justified. Pa.So.K. makes its appearance in 1974 as a new, dynamic, unspoilt, left bearer of change.

The Right / Left scheme that dominated during the post-war era was a result of the malfunctions and the social problems and clashes that the conservative regime had created at the same period of time. In 1974, the innovative-looking Pa.So.K. took the bourgeois-democratic color off the Central Flank, "re-painted" it with its own populist-socialistic color, and created the new triple political scheme: Right Flank, Pa.So.K., Left Flank. After 1981 we observe an almost total abolishment of the conservative urban-nationalistic speech and a domination of another one that generalized the

³³ G. VOULGARIS, *Η Ελλάδα της Μεταπολίτευσης, 1974-1990. Σταθερή Δημοκρατία Σημαδεμένη από τη Μεταπολεμική Ιστορία (Greece of the New Regime 1974-1990. Stable Democracy Marked by the post War History)* Athens 2001, pp. 28, 29.

³⁴ K. TSOUKALAS, «Προς μια Δημοκρατία της Πλήξης» («Towards a Democracy of Boredom»), in the newspaper *To Vima* (25.7.2004), p. 42.

³⁵ G. VOULGARIS, *Η Ελλάδα της Μεταπολίτευσης...*, pp. 53-54.

popular demands (fair in their majority) as well as the popular accusations, that turned out to be intensively dividing, pending towards bi-polarities, such as privileged-non privileged, having-not having, patriots-non patriots, Right Flank / darkness-Left Flank / light, etc.³⁶

The increase of political organizations, syndicates, partnerships and other associations with interests (especially of the press organizations) after 1974, means that the correspondent roles of their representers were multiplied; the main one being to patronize and mediate between politicians and civilians, a function dating back in 1830. It was one of the most dramatic courses of that period (considering the results it had).

It is during this period, on the exit from a 7-year-period of silence, that most cultural associations of province migrants to Greek big urban centres are founded as outcomes of a revolutionary transition, which made high demands for political action, collective participation and a better future both for Greece and for the place of origin. The ideology of localism, in the sense of both projecting the local culture into the new historical becoming and attempting to solve the accumulated local problems, has become the cornerstone of the constitutional documents of these associations. In this same period the national rebuilding was also the official national ideology. We witness, therefore, in laographic terms a Major and a Minor tradition which go hand in hand.

These associations did intervene (some more, some less) at the dispute deriving from the blind attachment to the political parties of the time, reproduced the existing polarizations, became the miniature of the strong speech of the political parties of the period until the middle '90s³⁷, and the local problems' solving was politically colored. Therefore, whatever was connected with them was faced in various ways by the society of origin: from

³⁶ Chr. LYRINTZIS, «Λαϊκισμός: Η Έννοια και οι Πρακτικές», in: Ελληνική Εταιρεία Πολιτικής Επιστήμης (ed.), *Εκλογές και Κόμματα στη Δεκαετία του '80. Εξελίξεις και Προοπτικές του Πολιτικού Συστήματος* («Populism: The Concept and the Practices», in: Hellenic Eteria of Political Science (ed), *Elections and Political Parties During the '80s. Developments and Perspectives of the political system*), Athens, 1990, pp. 44-49; N. MOUZELIS-Th. LIPOVATS-M. SPOURDALAKIS, *Λαϊκισμός και Πολιτική (Populism and Politics)*. Athens 1989.

³⁷ Chr. LYRINTZIS-El. NIKOLAKOPOULOS-D. SOTIROPOULOS (EDS.), *Κοινωνία και Πολιτική. Όψεις της Γ' Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας 1974-1994 (Society and Politics. Views of the Third Hellenic Democracy 1974-1994)*, Athens 1996; N. DEMERTZIS, «Η Ελληνική Πολιτική Κουλτούρα στη Δεκαετία του 1980», in: Hellenic Eteria of Political Science (ed.), *Εκλογές και Κόμματα στη Δεκαετία του '80...*, pp. 70-94.

simple suspicion to their total denial, a fact that gradually led them to disrepute at the beginning of the 21st century (also assisted by other social causes). Their historical circle seems to have definitely closed³⁸. Nowadays, it is only men that knew the importance of the social fights, volunteers and incurably romantic, that continue to be responsible for the existence and actions of the remaining associations.

In what follows, the functions of the Naxian cultural associations, being the context of the present study, will be discussed. The '70s is the threshold to the creation and rapid increase of tourism in Naxos (as an economic source), under circumstances of absence of development plans or necessary infrastructures. Nonetheless, the society and the associations' movement accepted the tourist boom with a relief, as an unavoidable event, at a time when the examples of well-known and antagonistic neighboring islands (Paros, Mykonos, Santorini) were already attractive destinations for tourists. Its profitable future effects were an absolute certainty for almost everybody. They accepted the motherland's touristic making as worthy, because it could cover the absence of the productive age groups from Naxian society, its interior and exterior migrants and the productive powers that expected (still, until then) their social unfolding by the expected benefits of tourism. This certainly facilitated the State, which saw the Post-War economic status be organized under its patterns, and the social "heat" from the agricultural abandonment to be cancelled out. However, the associations' movement developed some scepticism for the increase of tourism basically because of the way the traditional culture would be managed since it was likely to be endangered by the charging tourism, the upcoming aesthetics and the environmental corrosion, the forthcoming negative social and economic effects (the foreign lifestyle, influence on the social institutions and traditional values, changes in professions, appearance of illegal economic transactions³⁹). So, in this study

³⁸ M. SERGIS, «Ναξιακός Τύπος 1890-2005. Σύντομη Περιοδολόγηση» («Naxian Press: Brief Reference to Temporal Periods»), in: M. SERGIS-St. PSARRAS (EDS.), *Νάξος. Αρμενίζοντας στο χρόνο (Naxos. Sailing in the Time)*, Athens 2005, p. 568.

³⁹ P. TSARTAS, *Κοινωνικές και Οικονομικές Επιπτώσεις της Τουριστικής Ανάπτυξης στο Νομό Κυκλάδων και Ιδιαίτερα στα Νησιά Ίο και Σέριφο κατά την Περίοδο 1950-1980 (Social and Economic Consequences of the Touristic Development on the Cyclades, specially on the Islands of Ios and Serifos During the Period 1950-1980)*, Athens 1989; IDEM, (ED.), *Τουριστική Ανάπτυξη. Πολυεπιστημονικές Προσεγγίσεις (Touristic Development. Multidisciplinary Approach)*, Athens 2000; D. FRAGOULI, «Οικονομικός και Κοινωνικός

we accept the term *cultural associations* for the Naxian case only because they (in close cooperation with the local self-government) try to preserve the popular culture, to enrich it, to protect it (almost impossible) from the foreign lifestyle's effects⁴⁰.

In this line of thought, for the cultural associations the village is the place they have experienced, the point of reference of their existence⁴¹, and that is why they tried in every way to transfer the community into their new place of residence (Athens in our case), to restore the contact with its cultural past, with the ex-community, with the common descent⁴². The migrants, via their associations, reconstruct their cultural identity in the city; their cultural identity symbolically survives in the new settlement context⁴³. They work more for their village and less for the city's people⁴⁴, although the constitutional documents of the associations declare as their first and foremost aim, the cooperation between the migrants, the concord, the mutual assistance⁴⁵ (see later in this study).

The associations also become political bearers, since they try to propose solutions for the chronic motherland's problems, they counterbalance the political absence of the State, they intervene between the central government and the village, they press the government using letters and petitions, they try to awaken their people, to coordinate the actions (always in the context of the

Μετασχηματισμός στην Ίο (1970-2004). Από την Οικονομία της Συντήρησης στην Οικονομία της Κατανάλωσης Μέσω του Τουρισμού» («Economic and Social Transformation at Ios (1970-2004). From the Conservative Economy to the Society of Consumption through Tourism»), *Εθνολογία* 11 (2004-2005), pp. 5-20.

⁴⁰ M. MERAKLIS, *Λαογραφικά Ζητήματα (Laographic Matters)*, Athens 1989, p. 90 onwards.

⁴¹ M. KENNA, «Institutional and Transformational Migration and the Politics of Community: Greek Internal Migrants and their Migrants' Associations», *European Journal of Sociology* 24 (1983), p. 270.

⁴² D. RAPTIS, «Η Ανασυγκρότηση και η Συμβολική Επιβίωση της Τοπικής Πολιτισμικής Ταυτότητας στην Πόλη. Το Παράδειγμα του Μιχαλιτσίου Ιωαννίνων» («The Reconstruction and the Symbolic Survival of the Local Cultural Identity in the City. The Mihalitsi Ioannina Example») in: M. ALEXIADIS (ED.), *Θητεία. Τιμητικό Αφιέρωμα στον Καθηγητή Μιχαήλ Γ. Μερακλή (Tenure. Dedication in honour of Professor M. G. Meraklis)*, Athens 2002, pp. 631-648.

⁴³ J. BAKER, *The Rural-Urban Dichotomy in Developing World. A Case Study from N. Ethiopia*, Oslo 1986, pp. 34-36.

⁴⁴ S. SUTTON, «Rural-Urban Migration in Greece», στον τόμο: M. KENNY-D. I. KERTZER (EDS.), *Urban Life in Mediterranean Europe. Anthropological perspectives*, Urbana 1983, p. 242; R. KAKAMBOURA-TILI, *Ανάμεσα στο Αστικό Κέντρο και τις Τοπικές Κοινωνίες. Οι Σύλλογοι της Επαρχίας Κόνιτσας στην Αθήνα (Between the Urban Centre and the Local Societies. The Associations of the District of Konitsa in Athens)*, Konitsa 1999, pp. 131-144.

local and aiming at the fulfillment of the local interests). The view of the cultural associations as expressers of the power of localism in the Greek region in general, especially in Naxos, is rightful in this sense. Thus, cultural associations have a feedbacking function and an at least quadruple aim:

a) helping the internal migrants' adjustment to the urban environment, such as finding a place to live or work, or having medical care, etc. I can assure (as a result of a non-published study of mine) that such actions (for the Naxian case and at the specific time context) were not as important as the others that follow⁴⁶.

b) reconstructing the motherland (the experienced place) at the culturally divergent city.

c) getting interested in a multi-leveled communication with the motherland.

d) supplying every material help needed by the motherland, by funding works of public benefit (squares, roads, new schools, etc.), or various artistic performances during the summer months⁴⁷.

The reinforcement of the migrants' local identity in their new environment of residence starts with the preservation of their relationship with the village and its cultural background. Thus, the association either goes over to the place of reference (trips to the village during the holidays) to experience it again⁴⁸, or uses the symbolic representations of the "cultural capital" owned by the community⁴⁹. The pilgrimage-like trips, the trips to the holy motherland contain bright forms of rites of passage, since the people briefly step out of the urban place (a filthy place, for them) and are re-baptized at the motherland's holy waters⁵⁰.

⁴⁵ H. VERMEULEN, «Urban Research in Greece», in: M. KENNY-D. KERTZER (EDS.), *Urban Life in Mediterranean Europe...*, pp. 109-132.

⁴⁶ P. MARRIS, *Family and Social Change in an African City*, London 1961; J. ABU-LUGHOD, «Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case», *American Journal of Sociology* 67 (1961), pp. 22-32.

⁴⁷ J. BOISSEVAIN, «Introduction: Revitalizing European Rituals», in: J. BOISSEVAIN (ED.), *Revitalizing European Rituals*, London 1992, pp. 1-19.

⁴⁸ R. ΚΑΚΑΜBOURA-TILI, «Η Λαογραφία του Ταξιδιού και οι Εκδρομείς των Ηπειρωτικών Συλλόγων της Αθήνας» («The Laography of Trips and the Tourists of the Associations of Epirus in Athens», *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 33 (1998-99), pp. 201-216.

⁴⁹ A. P. COHEN, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London 1989.

⁵⁰ See M. SERGIS, «Η Εκδρομή ως Προσκύνημα στον Ιερό Γενέθλιο Τόπο: Η Πρώτη Εκδρομή Εθνικοτοπικού Ναξιακού εν Αθήναις Συλλόγου τον 20ό Αιώνα στη Γενέτειρα Νάξο» («Excursion as a

One of the ways to reproduce the village in the city (apart from teaching traditional dances, publishing a newspaper, producing local –traditional– records, keeping forgotten customs alive, cutting the New Year’s Day’s pie, etc.) is publishing the annual wall calendar, which is the subject of investigation in the present study.

4. READING THE WALL CALENDARS

4.1. Material, size

In terms of material used, the wall calendars are usually made of:

- paper (paper-made calendars are what we refer to throughout our work)
- gypsum / clay
- cotton or linen cloth (these calendars end with two slim wooden picks, one to the above and one to the down side), and
- copper (copper-calendars have images curved on copper leaves). The last three categories have a handful of samples to demonstrate.

The paper-made calendars usually have 12 (a month per leaf) or 6 leaves (two months per leaf), or rarely only one harder leaf, so consequently their day calendar is the traditional box of little leaves, behind each of which we usually see printed popular couplets printed.

As far as their size is concerned, they can be found in three sizes: small (20x27), medium (23x32) and large (33x45). The size of the wall calendar is related to the financial affordance of each association, but mainly to the idealised identity that they believe their home village possesses in Naxos (e.g. it functions as a proof of cultural supremacy). The leaves of the wall calendar are usually bound with a spiral. There is always a loop to allow the hanging of the calendar on the wall.

Pilgrimage to the Holy Place of Birth: The First Excursion of a Naxian Cultural Association of Athens to the Place of Birth, Naxos in the 20th Century», in: G. PROMPONAS (ED.), *Αγαθοεργία: Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Επίσκοπο Κυανέων Χρυσόστομο Μαυρογιαννόπουλο* (*Volume in Honour of the Bishop of Kyaneon Chrysostomos Mavrogiannopoulos*), Athens 2008, pp. 535-559.

4.2. The content of the pages of the wall calendars

The cover page usually shows:

- a general photograph of the village, namely the “place of self-reference”, or more with a variety of topics.
- the association’s emblem (see picture 1).
- an artistic work of a famous Naxian artist (to whom it is usually dedicated, or has him / herself produced for the particular calendar).
- a photograph or a drawing taken from its central topic, if it has one topic only.
- a signal, with some of its elements, that the association regards as of high importance (being underlined), e.g. the building of a welfare construction, or a text which is used by the association to promote or remind its actions (a movement to construct a street or a port). Here are two such cases:

a) «Our association proudly presents to the people of Kinidaros from all over the world the renovated olive mill, which has been giving the year’s olive to half the village of ours for years...»

b) «This year’s earnings from the calendars’ selling will be exclusively donated to finish the building of our village’s new cemetery».

- some popular verses relative to the main topic of the calendar:

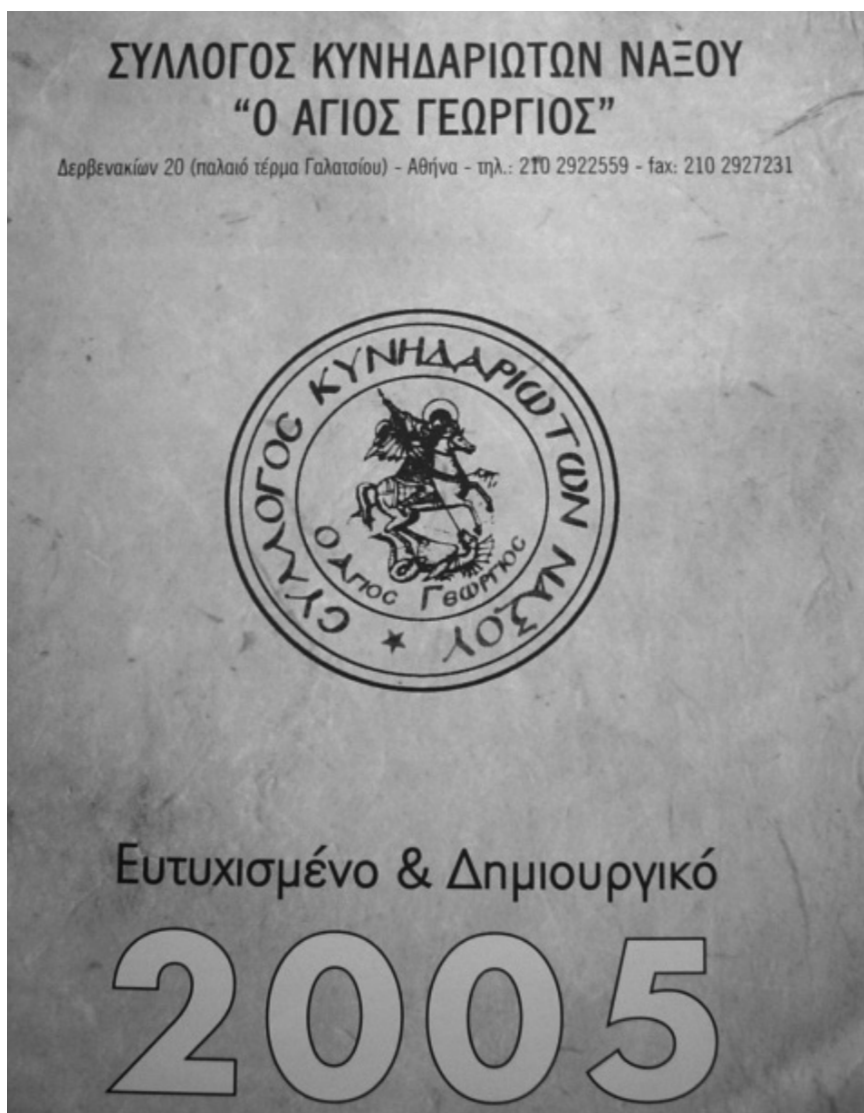
*Come to Kinidaros to drink wine and dance
To coerce all the problems of this time*

- some artistic verses, work of a famous man of letters: «Memories point at the waves. The waves point at the ships. The ships at the horizons, but the horizons don’t point. They travel».

- the necessary wish for the new year, sometimes formal (i.e., HAPPY NEW YEAR 2007), sometimes as a lyric.

- advertisements: We saw them even on the cover page of many calendars. For more details about this topic, see later on, since they usually appear on the inner pages of the calendar.

On the second page follows a one or a few pages long introduction by the editor of the calendar or by the association’s council, which ends by thanking the economic supporters of the publication of the calendar, and by “saluting patriotically” and wishing the best to all fellow-villagers living in Athens and



Picture 1

elsewhere. The in-depth content analysis of these texts provides us with valuable information and evidence about:

- the character of the associations themselves and their actions, their ideology, their relationship with the motherland and the tradition, their prosperity (whether existing or not), their indirect opinion about the other compatriots, the way they manage their cultural memory, the manner of their speech with its unavoidable similarities with the political speech of the period, etc. And, in specific, the focus is on:

- a) their everlasting desire to preserve the motherland's tradition in their new place of residence: «As the century changes, we want to underline the importance of preserving our historical continuity and identity through tradition. We chose to make a calendar depicting our association's dancing department».

- b) the dominance of memory, the memory of the motherland through its nostalgic recall: «Skimming through the pages of our calendar let yourselves loose to the waves of memory. This journey will have enough storms, but when we find our port, we will be different, we will know our past and we will be the hopeful guides to the future».

- c) the commanding need of the migrated fellow-villagers to count upon traditional ways of sociability in order to survive in their new place of living, as the time passes, is transformed in the well-known urban reasoning "return to the roots", accompanied by the reasoning of "beautiful, pure, idyllic village", or otherwise, the structural nostalgia⁵¹ of the city citizens and former villagers. Next to an old photograph of the village Kinidaros, e.g., we read: «We, the Kinidaros villagers living in Athens, love the Kinidaros of today the same or even more than some others do. Being romantic more than we should be, we feel nostalgic for the warmth of those not so distant eras».

- d) the effort to diffuse, to transfer some elements of the Naxian identity (= distinct cultural patterns) to the place of reception as action patterns, as ideal form-patterns to the wider population. The internal immigration here acts as an element of underlining the Naxian identity, as an element of intra-national differentiation, but also as a stimulus to export the local identity to the urban (and culturally multi-collective) environment: «Let's prove the Athens Komiaki

⁵¹ J. FROW, *Time and Commodity Culture*, Oxford: UP, 1997, pp. 109-138.

family to be one of the warmest cellule of modern greek family», we read in an admonishing text from a Komiaki association calendar.

e) the community's origin myth: «The motherland, lost in the shadow of the myth, sends its sea call...»

f) the association's actions regarding the accomplishment of a mostly of embellishing character aim for the village (restoration of a traditional building, building of a cultural centre, a cemetery, a square, a community health centre, etc.) and for Athens as well, mentioning, e.g., the trips the association organizes throughout the land of Greece⁵², etc.

g) the "great purpose", which usually is a work beneficial to the public, and is regarded to utterly change the village's future: «The Council of P.O.G.N., once more proudly and with respect congratulates all Glinado inhabitants [...] who had helped and contributed so that the solid rocks in the centre of the village to become a community office, an agrarian health center, a cultural centre and two squares»; «The calendar's publishing [...] has as another purpose to inform and make responsible all Apeiranthos villagers about the new great aim of the Association, which is the founding of a Cultural Centre in Apeiranthos, in which the unique Apeiranthos cloth will find shelter»; «1836: The finding of the Holy Icon of Mary Mother of Jesus in Argokoili, a bas-relief icon made of wax and mastiche, a work of Evangelist Lucas, brings legends back to life and realizes the dreams of the Primary School of Koronos children. 1996: 160 years since then and the vision of Koufitaina becomes true. The first and most important sign is the founding of the Holy Temple by His Holiness the Ecumenic Patriarch Bartholomew the 1st. In this way, Argokoili and the Ecumenical Throne, the par excellence Spiritual Centre of Orthodoxy, are now connected...»

Analysing the content of this text as a folklore source would demand a huge amount of work about the relationship of people of Koronos with the dreams and prophecies, about the deep religious faith of theirs, reinforced by the Church of Holy Mary of Argokoili⁵³, about the efforts of private individuals

⁵² See also the excursions of the associations of the area of Epirus (NW Greece) in R. KAKAMBOURA-TILI, «Η Λαογραφία του ταξιδιού...», pp. 201-216.

⁵³ Ch. STEWART, «Fealds in Dreams: Anxiety, Experience and the Limits of Social Contructionism in Modern Greek Dream Narratives», *American Ethnologist* 24 (1997) 877-894; «Τα Όνειρα Θησαυρών ως Ασυνείδητες Ιστοριοποιήσεις» («Dreams as Unconscious Story Making»), in: Chr. CHATZITAKI-KAPSOMENOU (ED.), *Ελληνικός Παραδοσιακός Πολιτισμός. Συνέδριο στη Μνήμη της Άλκης*

and members of their association to make its worship worldwide, to connect their church with the Ecumenical Throne by inviting the Ecumenic Patriarch himself to Naxos in order to found the new, impressive Temple, for the “imperialistic” policy of the aforementioned towards the other local places of worship, and many more. The Church of Holy Mary Argokoiliotissa is the eternal symbol of the return to the sovereign value system of the Koronos small society, which is an element of self-reference for every Koronos villager, in the past and present. Professor Charles Stewart issues that one of the prophecies, namely the one that has foreseen Koronos becoming a great city and its church a place of worldwide pilgrimage (when the icon of Saint Anna will be found), offers to its villagers «... a means to cope with the today’s decadence of the [emery] digging out industry, knowing that their abilities are part of a divine plan and have to be preserved».

– the problems in the relations between the Athens associations and the ones coming from their village of origin: an example follows, drawn from the dispute between the Athens Association of Apeiranthos and the Apeiranthos Cultural and Sport Association, an organization based in the village, which was publishing its own separate calendar from 2000 until 2004. In 2005, the two associations cooperated and published the year’s calendar together, a result and sign of a wider cooperation in other fields as well: «And may the wild, self-sown flowers of our village crown this effort for cooperation, going together and in alliance, so that our distinct cultural characteristics be preserved and our village emerges from the mist of mountainous Naxos».

– the problems the Athens associations had with the “political factors” of the village, who considered the association an instrument in the hands of the governing political party. The link between the associations and the political parties has been underlined earlier. Such a case follows: «The gist throughout

Κυριακίδου-Νέστορος: Λαογραφία και Ιστορία (*Hellenic Traditional Culture, Conference in memory of Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros, Laography and History*), Thessaloniki 2001, pp. 120-127; IDEM, «Οι Ονειρευόμενοι. Τα Γεγονότα του 1930 στην Κόρωνο» («The Dreamers. The Events of 1930 at Koronos», *Αρχαιολογία* 80 (2001) 8-14; M. SERGIS, «Τοπική Ταυτότητα και Λογισμύνη: Η Περίπτωση της Κορώνου (Αρχές 20ού Αιώνα-1944) και του Γιάννη Χουζούρη» («Local Identity and Scholarship: The Case of Koronos, Beginning of the 20th century-1944, and John Houzouris»), in: *Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου “Η Νάξος διά Μέσων των Αιώνων” (Proceedings of the Third Panhellenic Conference “Naxos Through the Centuries”)*, 4-7 Sept. 2003, Athens 2007, p. 734.

the work is the great secret: Nothing more than UNITY itself. UNITY did not fall from the sky. It emerged because of the common needs, the common aims, so that is why the struggle of the villagers' majority was common. Villagers of Glinado, the experience showed you that if you do not fight for yourself and for your fellow men's own good, you will not hope for a better future. The attachment to a political party and to a political factor only serves the party leaders and the factors...»

– a poetic text, a sign that a scholar, well-known Naxian artist has taken care of its creation: «Sleepless the consciousness wanders in the alleys, which await for a clear night sky full of stars without sleep –the bells which awake the morning, the houses which stand still in deep thoughts».

Moreover, the (many times) analytic presentation of the calendar's main subject by the editors in the second page is one more source of information for the folklore researcher, and an additional important reason to scientifically examine it. Some descriptions are worth mentioning, even when they are confined to one or (rarely) two pages only. They might contain even felicitous remarks. For example: «The quarries are the most important factor of our village's prosperity and economy. Because of this, our Association dedicates this year's calendar to the everlasting character of the marble digging-out», and the next page contains the history of the Naxian marble from the ancient times until today; «Apart from the religious sentiment that dominated and thankfully continues to have such an important place in the villagers' hearts until today, the religious festival was an event that surely broke everyday's routine»; «Before the War, the festival was full of peddlers of all kinds. Early in the morning, the *Incense Lady* was coming first, this is how we called her, because incense by far outnumbered the other goods in her trade. Her store was two baskets covered with a cloth. They smelled beautifully because they had all sorts of incenses, spice, dried fruits, bonbons and candies inside. Moreover, the Hebrew, so-called *Ovrios* was coming, but it was forbidden to us to shop from him. He had two baskets, but with a different merchandise than the *Incense Lady*. Aconites, pocket knives, brushes, razors, rosaries, small toys, whistles, rattle large planes, strings, socks for men and women. Third came the *Armenian*, who was a wholesaler. He had a grey female donkey, loaded with two large baskets, containing all kinds of household utensils, from big and small pots to coffee-cups, made of clay all of them. And last but not least, was the merchant from

Halki. He was carrying some rolls of many cloths on his shoulder, with his forearm to his waist and the strap holding the scissors. All of them had a successful business, but *Ovrios* and the *Incense Lady* always sold out. And, above all, it was the dance...»

In some other cases, the texts of the second page of the calendars are written by the honoured person, who presents a short biography and texts of high inspiration related to his art and also takes care of the calendar's publication, using the same high aesthetic view. Sometimes, a fellow artist of the honoured one presents the artist's biography and the list of his works⁵⁴. These calendars are, in terms of aesthetics, "masterpieces".

The rest of the pages of the wall calendars have a fixed structure: their upper part is covered by the association's logo, their centre by a photo or photos with some of the themes discussed in the following section and the bottom part by the standardized *day calendar*, the nature of which I will present later.

4.3. Themes

Considering all the above, it is not a coincidence that the vast majority of the themes depicted in the wall calendars at the associations include topics referring:

a) to the distinctive cultural characteristics of every village's cultural identity, as these characteristics are defined by their *self-image* or their image as defined by the *others*. For example, it is firmly believed (in the island of Naxos) that the villages of Keramoti, Kinidaros and Apeiranthos have a remarkable tradition in dance and music, while Apeiranthos in the architecture of folk houses and their inner decoration as well. Apeiranthos has been considered as the exemplifying model, the expression of the traditional authenticity⁵⁵, a view spread throughout Greece. This view was created via the work of its human resources, both administrative and economic, and of course its own cultural association.

⁵⁴ Local association of the Naxian village Kynidaros, wall calendar of the year 1996 edited by Dr Dora Markatou, historian of Art.

⁵⁵ For such interesting issues see E. ΑΥΔΙΚΟΣ, «Η Κάρπαθος ως Λαογραφικό και Ανθρωπολογικό Παράδειγμα» («Karpathos as a Laographic and Anthropologic Example»), in: Πρακτικά του Β' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Καρπαθιακής Λαογραφίας (*Proceedings of B' International Conference in Karpathian Laography*), Karpathos, 26-27 September 2001, Athens 2003, pp. 71-86.

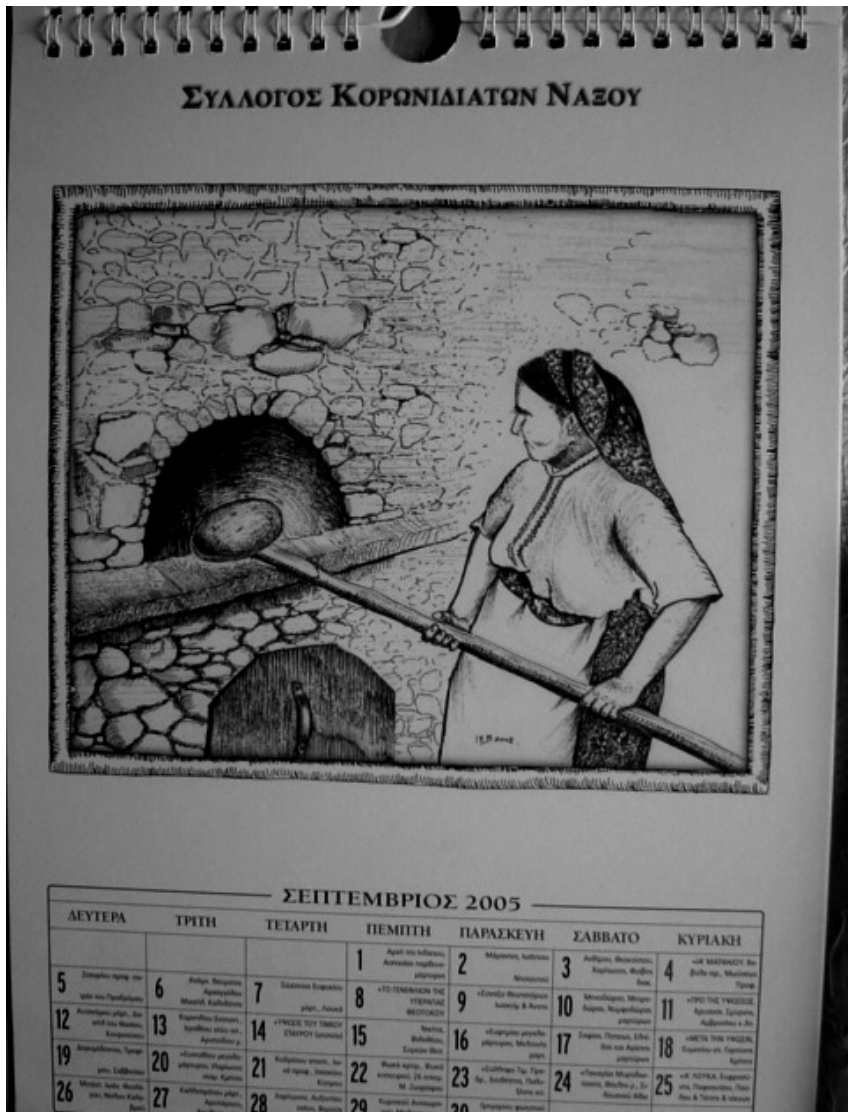
b) to distinctive moments from its folklore: pictures of everyday customary life, of the traditional games (considered as their own cultural products), of the village's notable figures (an elder, a housewife, women, etc., see picture 2), and of other subjects of everyday life, such as the religious life (churches, monasteries, chapels, hagiographies, liturgies, religious feasts, a.o.), the school life (photographic material with students from older periods, but also painting made by the children that are now studying at the village's primary school). More often the topics refer to the village's church, since the logos of most of the associations depict their parochial church. The latter is the symbolical border of the neighbours' difference, a point of reference for the villagers, a symbol of the return to the community's primitive values. The church not only is an *imago mundi*, but also an earthly imitation of an above earth model, the depiction of a heavenly archetype, as Mircea Eliade⁵⁶ had shown. The village's protector saint, deeply important to the villagers' souls, is one more element of coiling around and renegotiating of the local identity via their religious feast, namely when the people of the community meet and creatively negotiate their society's identity again. Indirectly, via the saint's name, after which the association is sometimes named, the Saint offers protection to all migrated members⁵⁷. In general, the calendars offer images of the past, which give pleasure and mostly move sentimentally, since they function as a clue of enforcement for the local identity, as mechanisms of connection with the past, the endless and unbreakable history, the motherland. The wall calendar of the local associations is a bearer of memory, identity, and initiation of the migrated society's younger members to the cultural past of the motherland as aforementioned. In this sense, the fact that most associations carry the name of their saint celebrated in their home village cannot be accidental. The cultural association of the village of Kynidaros, for instance, is named "Agios Georgios" (Saint George), of the village of Galini "Panayia Attalyotissa" (the Virgin Mary from Attalya), of the village of Keramoti "Timios Stavros" (Holy Cross), of the village of Danakos "Zoodochos Pigi" (the Virgin Mary as Holy Spring), etc.

c) to the history of the village, to the antiquities, to archaeological museums, as bearers of this memory. It is not possible for History not to be

⁵⁶ M. ELIADE, *Το Ιερό και το Βέβηλο (Sacred and Profane)*, Athens 2002.

⁵⁷ M. KENNA, «Institutional and Transformational Migration...», pp. 272; «Greek Urban Migrants and their Rural Patron Saint», *Ethnic Studies* 1 (1987) 14-23.

Wall calendars of the Naxiot migrants associations in Athens



Picture 2

present here as well, as a proof of the continuity, the glorious and continuing past of the community, which is either invented by the community or, if already existing, is duly (and sometimes overly) demonstrated.

d) to the ingredient elements of the local economic organization, production and creation, both material and spiritual; *Kinidaros*: olive, marble, *Apeiranthos*: textiles, smyrigli, music, tradition / authenticity, *Koronos*: smyrigli, church of Panagia Argokoiliotissa, *Glinado*: the potato⁵⁸, a.o.

e) to the village as a place, with many photographs of it, paintings or drawings, but also showing its ingredient element (beautiful secret corners, small alleys, yards, coffee and grocery houses, etc. (see pictures 3 and 4).

f) to a popular or famous folk artist of the community, or well known artist of the community, as, for instance, the Council of an association notes: «[Our association] is always trying to honour and put to the limelight the people who had dynamically sealed our community's art life through their course and work». In one other relative note the popular painter is referred to as a co-creator of the cultural character of the village⁵⁹. The artist, the generally exceptional figure, brings prestige to the motherland, enforces its cultural treasure, connects it (sometimes high-handedly) with its bright historical past (true or imaginary) for which the honoured is taken to be the undeniable and unbreakable continuity.

g) to nature (flora and fauna), especially to the sea, even in the cases of villages that are inland or highland. These people have no relationship with the sea, their economy and life are related to the cattle-raising and the mountain, and they have also made the dichotomy *plain-mountain* their main distinctive element that creates their identity and their self-image⁶⁰. Nevertheless, they do have some coastal regions within their area of jurisdiction, which they demonstrate in order to be closely connected with the tourist movement of the island and to bring out the interests of their enterprising compatriots of those areas, of course.

⁵⁸ M. SERGIS, *Ακλήρηματα. Οι Αλληλοσατιρισμοί ως Όψεις της Ετερότητας στην Αρχαία και τη Νεότερη Ελλάδα* (*Aklirinata: Mutual Satirisms as Views of the Otherness in Ancient and Modern Greece*), Athens 2005, pp. 197-199.

⁵⁹ «So, this year we turned to the individual-member of our society who creates artistically and puts his own mark to the curving of our cultural character».

⁶⁰ M. SERGIS, *Ακλήρηματα...*, pp. 183-195.



Picture 3

M. SERGIS



Picture 4

h) to the military service. The military service was (and is) a colourful experience engraved on the Greek people's souls. Not only is there the experience of "the unknown and the exciting" that the young people (closed until then to their villages) had or the experiences and the acquaintances with the other compatriots. It is its connection with the Nation, the national, the patriotism, the nationalistic, etc. We Greeks well know what not serving (for any reason) the military service to the national army means...

i) to various topics from all the aforementioned theme circles.

4.4. Photographic material

The photographic material can (usually) have many subjects but also a single one, when the calendar is dedicated somewhere, and it is accompanied by interpretative comments, and sometimes with long, exceedingly scientific texts when signed by relevant editors. Its framing by lyrics of famous fellow-villager poets is interesting and folk Naxian poets from various villages, as a sample of their people's poetic predisposition (or of poetry as their everyday life's element) are depicted below:

*Tzambouna⁶¹ and drum are the instruments of the Carnival
men disguised and kilted, bells and banner⁶².*

*Kynidaros means dancing, Apikrados⁶³ means company
and dancing group is our trade-mark.*

*Art, craftsmanship and skill, they all build the temple
and June whitewashes it with his endless light.*

In other calendars, the photos are accompanied by clever comments, which evidence an editor well aware of basic folklore theories, since such comments reflect truths embraced by Modern Folklore. I indicatively glean two interesting views:

- «The simple Apeiranthos woman wants the products of her hands not only to be plain, useful in the everyday life objects, but also distinguished jewels

⁶¹ A traditional Greek musical instrument similar to the bagpipe.

⁶² Local association of the Naxian village of Kynidaros, wall calendar of the year 1993.

⁶³ *Apikrados* in greek means sorrowless. It's the nickname of the same village. See K. KLOUVATOS, *Κυνίδαρος ο «Απίκραντος». Κοινές και ιδιότυπες πολιτισμικές και γλωσσικές αποτυπώσεις (Kynidaros, the sorrowless village. Common and idiosyncratic cultural and linguistic imprints)*, Athens 2011.

which offer comfort and an aesthetic emotion» (the admirable coexistence of usage and unintentional aesthetics in popular art).

– «We do not display the woven cloths and watch them as if they were artistic values of a dead world, but we practically incorporate them into our new aesthetic demands» (the creative making worthy of tradition).

We earlier discussed in detail about the localist spirit of the associations, which is strongly reflected on the associations' calendars. Indeed, not a single one from the calendars we examined presents as its main topic "naxianity", instead of locality: the association of Skado-Messi dare to see (even symbolically), even on the cover, the local through the hyper-local: they publish two photographs of its villages (Skado and Messi⁶⁴) surrounded by the eternal symbol of Naxos' history, the legendary *Portara* (= Great Door) for the Naxians, namely the immense, «Π» shaped, entrance to Apollo's ancient temple, located on the Palatia spot, on the northern side of Chora's (the capital city of the island of Naxos) port.

4.5. The advertisements

The advertisements on calendars can be a special subject of study, with the former being inserted even on the calendar's cover some times, as we mentioned before. But, usually, they are inserted on the following pages, beneath the day calendar (picture 5) or gathered together on the last page of the calendar (picture 6). The providers are usually from the same village and are immigrants to the great urban centre or to the closest to the provincial town. Their financial contribution to the calendar's publication reinforces their relationship with the motherland, but it is also a means to promote themselves to the village's small community. Their expenses remind us of the "prestige expenses" or the "showy consumption", since in their majority, they do not really need to promote their business: what really matters to them is to see their names on the calendar, and their fellow-villagers to do the same. Over the last few years the providers' list has grown longer, not because the association's circle of influence has expanded, but, on the contrary, because their financial difficulties and the increased publication cost have made them

⁶⁴ The second village developed from an immigration of inhabitants of the first one.

ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΝΑΞΟΥ
Ρέας 3 & Τράλλεων, Γαλάτσι, τηλ.: 210 2927952




Απόλλωνας

ΜΑΪΟΣ 2005

ΔΕΥ	ΤΡΙ	ΤΕΤ	ΠΕΜ	ΠΑΡ	ΣΑΒ	ΚΥΡ
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ 2005

ΔΕΥ	ΤΡΙ	ΤΕΤ	ΠΕΜ	ΠΑΡ	ΣΑΒ	ΚΥΡ
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΙΣ
ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ Κ. ΡΟΥΦΑΝΗΣ
ΑΓ. ΓΑΥΚΕΡΙΑΣ 22 & ΒΑΣΙΛΟΥ
ΤΗΛ. 210 2916959 - 210 2922888
ΣΕ ΜΑΣ ΉΔΕ ΦΡΕΙΤΕ ΓΙΑΝΤΑ ΕΝΑ ΚΑΛΟ ΔΙΑΜΕΡΙΣΜΑ
Η ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΑ ΣΩΣΤΗ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ

ZΩΓΑΣ Α.Ε.
Εμπορία σιδήρου μπeton ΔΟΜΙΚΑ ΠΛΕΓΜΑΤΑ
(TIMES ΕΡΓΟΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ)
Α. Μ. ΜΑΥΡ. - Α. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΩΛΙΔΗΣ & Α. - ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΤΗΛ. 210 2462271, 210 2464160 FAX 210 2464162
Α. Μ. ΜΑΥΡ. - Α. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΩΛΙΔΗΣ 210 2146110 ΤΗΛ. 210 2146100
2000 ΚΑΛΑΜ. ΚΙΝΗΤ. 21027710000 FAX 21027710000 ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΗ ΤΗΛ. 21027710000 FAX 21027710000

ΑΤ ΤΣΟΥΜΑ ΜΠΕΤΟΝ
Α. ΕΡΓΟΣΤΑΣΙΟ ΑΝΕΛΕΥΣΗ ΤΗΛ. 210 2470117, FAX 210 2472124
ΑΒΟΙ ΤΣΟΥΜΑ Α.Ε. ΤΗΛ. 210 5096062 - 210 5096057
Β. ΕΡΓΟΣΤΑΣΙΟ ΑΣΦΥΚΤΗΤΗ ΓΕ ΤΗΛ. 210 5096062 - 210 5096057

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΕΦΑΡΜΟΓΕΣ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΣΩΤ. ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΥΡΓΟΣ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ 34., 11146, ΓΑΛΑΤΣΙ
ΤΗΛ. 210 2915447 FAX: 21 2138126 ΚΙΝ.: 6977 417606

ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΙΣ
ΠΟΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΔΙΑΜΕΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ
Π. ΑΝΤΩΝΗ ΧΩΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ
ΤΗΛ.: 210 9515419 - 210 2932228

ΣΧΟΛΗ ΟΔΗΓΩΝ
"η Αεωφόρος"
ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΟΔΗΓΙΑΣ
ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΣΗΣ
ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΕΚΔΕΛΕΞΗΣ
ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΕΚΔΕΛΕΞΗΣ
ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΕΚΔΕΛΕΞΗΣ
Τηλέφωνο 210 9511896

Προσγράφετε τα μέλη και φίλους του συλλόγου που διαφημίζονται στο ημερολόγιο

Picture 5

ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΥΝΙΔΑΡΙΩΤΩΝ ΝΑΞΟΥ
«Ο ΛΙΘΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ»

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Β. ΚΛΟΥΒΑΤΟΣ

ΚΡΕΟΠΩΛΕΙΟ - ΝΑΣΙΑΚΑ ΠΡΟΪΟΝΤΑ

ΚΕΝΤΡΙΚΟ ΚΥΝΙΔΑΡΙΩΤΩΝ ΝΑΞΟΥ
 ΥΠΟΚ.ΜΑ. ΕΚΑΤΗΣ 2 ΓΑΛΑΤΣΙ - ΤΗΛ. 21.30.101

 **ΕΚΛΕΚΤΑ ΚΡΕΑΤΑ ΝΑΞΟΥ**
 Τυριά, Πατά & Γλυκά Ναξου

Αντώνης & Γιάννης Τσαλέντης

α) Ναξου 17, Γαλάτσι
 β) Ριναρίου 20, Γαλάτσι

τηλ. 29.24.373
 τηλ. 29.13.525

Στ. Καρποντινής
Δ. Μαμάης Ο.Ε.

Επισκευές Αυτοκινήτων

Παπαδοκη 2-4, Τρεις Γέρφες - Κ. Πατήσια
 Τηλ. 83 18 942, 85 44 444

Ι. ΜΑΥΡΟΣ ΕΠΕ

Φωτιστικά - Μικροέπιπλα

Γ. Παπανδρέου 157, 144 52 Μεταμόρφωση, τηλ. 28.24.700-1

ΤΟΠΟΘΕΤΗΣΕΙΣ
ΠΛΑΚΙΔΙΩΝ

ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ ΤΣΑΛΕΝΤΗΣ

ΣΤΙΚΟΥ 4 - ΠΑΛΛΗΝΗ, ΤΗΛ. 60.31.907, ΚΙΝ. 097-7262740

ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΔΙΑΣΚΕΛΑΣΕΩΣ
«Ο ΦΑΡΟΣ»

ΣΤΑΘΗΣ ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΑΡΗΣ

Διακείας 201, τηλ. 2531019, 0944-947717

Panasonic
 Κλιματισμός

Διμήτρης Σιόχος

Αντιπροσωπός Διπ. Λιθίου

Παντηρή Τσαλδάρη 44, 121 34 Περιστέρι
 τηλ. 57 35 077, 57 51 248, fax: 57 51 248

TEGUI

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ
«ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΥΡΓΟΣ Ο.Ε.»

ΕΚΠΕΔΕΥΤΙΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ - 116 ΓΑΛΑΤΣΙ - ΤΗΛ 2100611 - FAX 210061
 «ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΗ» - ΚΑΡΥΣΣΟΥ 118 - 115 66 ΓΑΛΑΤΣΙ - ΤΗΛ 2102150

ΔΕΡΒΕΝΑΚΙΟΝ 29 - ΓΑΛΑΤΣΙ - 111 46 ΑΘΗΝΑ
 ΤΗΛ. 29.22.559 - FAX: 29.27.231

ΓΡΑΦΕΙΑ ΤΕΛΕΤΩΝ
ΚΛΟΥΒΑΤΟΣ

ΑΝΑΛΑΒΑΝΟΜΕ ΤΕΛΕΤΕΣ
 ΣΤ' ΕΛΛΑΔΑ & ΕΥΡΩΠΗ ΟΔΟ ΤΟ 24ΩΡΟ

ΚΑΘΟΙΚΤΟΡΗ 23 - ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΣ
 ΤΗΛ. 29.87.300-301, ΚΙΝΗΤΟ: 090-2253813, 090. 26.13.637

 **ΕΠΙΠΛΩΣΕΙΣ**
ΤΑΠΕΤΣΑΡΙΕΣ
 ΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΕΣ - ΚΑΤΑΣΤΕΥΕΣ

ΑΝΤΑΚΟΥ & ΛΑΜΠΡΟΥ
 ΤΗΛ. 29.19.249 - 29.19.348

SNACK BAR «Η ΚΟΡΟΝΙΑ»

ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ ΚΟΥΝΑΔΗΣ

ΚΥΝΙΔΑΡΙΟΣ - ΤΗΛ. 0285-31797

 **ΕΠΙΠΛΑ ΚΟΥΖΙΝΑΣ-ΜΠΑΝΙΟΥ**
ΝΤΟΥΛΑΠΕΣ ΥΠΟΔΟΜΑΤΙΩΝ

ΚΑΛΥΨΩΝΣ 6
 ΝΕΑ ΣΙΣΤΡΟΙΑ
 ΤΗΛ. 97.28.427
 ΚΙΝ. 0877-902059

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΕΦ. ΜΟΝΔΕΛΟΣ

Πλακάκια • Είδη υγιεινής
 • Εισαγωγές πλακιδίων
 • Τοποθέτηση πλακιδίων

ΑΝΤΑΚΟΥ 28 & ΧΡΥΣΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΣ, ΓΑΛΑΤΣΙ
 ΤΗΛΑ: 29.23.577 - ΚΙΝΗΤΟ ΤΗΛ. 094-5497276

Λεύκανση δοντιών - Ακτίνες Χ
 Λιθοθρυτική Στόματος - Υπέρηχοι

Άγγελος Ι. Μαγκανάρης
 Χειρουργός Οδοντίατρος

Προφ. Ηλία 4 (άντισθεν Εθνικής Τράπεζας), Γαλάτσι
 τηλ.: 21.39.380, σελίδα: 29.31.994

Παιδικά • Κούλες • Άρμος • Προσκή
 Υψηλό καθίσματα & σκελετοί
 Καρμίνες για μηχανές & Ντουλαριές
 Στεφανο-Ρελινοποιείο τζαζ - Σιδωμένες
 Είσοδοι ποταμιών - Μικροσυστήματα - Εργαλεία

Τα πάντα για το σπίτι
ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΟΥ Α. & Α. Ο.Ε.

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 τηλ. 6006093, fax: 6006043, κιν. 091-6006091, 091-7679176

ΜΑΝΘΩΣ ΣΤΕΡΤΙΝΗΤΗΣ

ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ - VIDEO

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΑΚΗ 9 - ΓΑΛΑΤΣΙ Τ.Κ. 111 46
 ΤΗΛ. 29 19 706, 29 18 957 0845, 097 2 836 293

Picture 6

seek aid from the mercantile, touristic and hotel world of Chora or from Athenian Naxiot businessmen, even from non-Naxiots. The Apeiranthos Association, powerful and with a great members' number, e.g., included eight pages full of colored advertisements in one of its calendars.

On the last page, there is the catalogue with the providers' logos, as we mentioned before, usually along with that year's brief calendar of holidays or useful addresses and telephones of public services of Naxos. It is a clearly practical page, facilitating their fellow-villagers' transactions with the administration in the capital of Chora.

The selection of the printer of the wall calendar usually undergoes similar processes, who is most of the time a fellow villager or a Naxian. This person's intimate relationship with the homeland or the wider place of origin (the island of Naxos) leads him / her to an offer of lower prices. The printer will consider the printed wall calendar as a personal offer to the whole collective effort. The associations have benefited financially from this dedication and offer, especially over the last years when their financial problems have become more acute.

5. ARE CALENDARS COLLECTIVE CREATIONS?

The vast majority of the local associations' calendars we examine are presented as collective creations. The calendar's topic or topics are decided by an Association's Council decision. Even so, I suspect that the calendars' creator is one or two of the Council's members, who are up to the task to create the year's calendar. They introduce their own personal aesthetics, more or less, which is deliberately not different from the other members' view as well as the final calendars' receivers. The aesthetics and language of that final product is determined by the self-censorship that the common aesthetics poses to the creator and by the desired communication between the Association and its members. Their proposals are under the judgment of the other members of the Council, as happens with every popular work, and by that judgment few necessary changes are made. It is possible, as we mentioned before, that the innovative aesthetics of the scholars finally prevails –aesthetics nowhere near the tradition, but still acceptable, even with provises, by the judging society of the village and the city, which is sometimes not at all different from the motherland's. This form of civilizing the local community, namely its partici-

pation to aesthetic ways not at all understandable until then and always mocked as irrelevant to the standard aesthetic patterns, is a policy of many associations (as it was revealed by my very own occupation with my village's association and by information given by fellow-villagers who were members of other Associations).

Some other times, the calendars' editors are famous Naxian artists, mostly painters, who decorate the calendars with their work as aforementioned. The ones we frequently observed are the pensioner lawyer Giannis Veronis and the painter Apostolis Sachas, who have decorated not only the calendars of their villages' associations, but those of other villages as well. More specifically, the latter, as a professional painter, has many times decorated (apart from his association) the calendars of the Skado-Messi association and others, not only Naxian but from the general region of Cyclades, establishing himself as an aesthetic pattern.

6. THE CULTURAL BIOGRAPHY OF THE WALL CALENDARS AND OTHER THOUGHTS

Buying the calendar is a criterion of participation to the embellishing-cultural-social work of the association for the association members (and the village's and city's societies), an evidence that its buyer participates to his fellowmen's society, that contributes in a minimum way to the society's work; it is a criterion of love for the motherland. If somebody lies to his fellow-villagers about his contribution to his association's work, his fellow-villagers' reply will focus on his attitude towards the calendar: «But he has never bought the association's calendar in his life!» The relational categories "person"- "thing" in their high level⁶⁵!

The meaning of things (objects) is sometimes found outside of them. The association spends a lot to fulfill its goals, and its member's small yearly contribution and the funds from the calendars' selling are its only income, and its existence many times depends on this income. So, the calendar –apart from its

⁶⁵ See M. STRATGERN, *Property, Substance and Effect: Anthropological Essays on Persons and Things*, London 1999.

aforementioned properties– is at the same time an item of trade and consumption. I am not sure which property prevails, or if we finally have a complete transition from the ideological-non-negotiable mercantile to the negotiable one; from its cultural meaning to the economic one. Of course, most of the times the associations' directors do not define a price for their product, which remains priceless and they let the fellow-villager and buyer to spend as much as he wants to have it. They possibly understand that by announcing a particular price for a symbolic product the risk of eliminating its symbolic value is run, abiding with Bourdieu's assertion that the symbolic goods belong to the spiritual sphere / domain⁶⁶.

The purchaser's financial situation, the quality of his relationship with the association, the environment in which the purchase will take place (in private? In front of others, who happened to give a big amount of money?), are the factors that determine how much the purchaser is going to spend. I believe that this element deletes the calendar's value as a consumption item, and serves a more symbolic value, since it is destined for a higher purpose. The end justifies the means of this purpose.

The association's calendars are made every year during November and December, as they need to be ready before Christmas. Until our days they reach their receivers in many ways: most of them are sold during the traditional New Year's Day pie cutting ceremony and during the *Apokries* (= Carnival) carnival dance; some others are sent by mail, while one other portion is distributed throughout the village, door-by-door, by the Council's representatives and volunteering villagers. Long ago, perhaps until the end of the 20th century, the Association Council's members themselves were issuing the calendars to the association's members throughout Attica⁶⁷. The Council was divided into 2-3 groups; they were dividing the area into equal-in-number parts, which they were visiting with their cars. We Naxians well know which areas of Attica have a strong Naxos population and how each village has settled its population. The vast majority of the Glinado villagers –for example– are settled in the districts

⁶⁶ P. BOURDIEU, *Πρακτικοί Λόγοι για τη Θεωρία της Δράσης* (*Raisons pratiques sur la théorie de l' action*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994), Athens 2000, p. 161.

⁶⁷ This past continuous tense we use shows the abolition of that custom: as the poet said, «the best lads got tired and went home to rest» (lack of new volunteers to serve the collective idea, the idea's downfall, individualism, abandonment of every sense of collective organization and serving, etc.)

of Galatsi, Polygono, Peristeri, Helioupolis. These were the areas we tried to fully satisfy when sharing the calendars.

It was a huge insult for a member not to get the calendar (in a way we just described): it was meaning that the Association casts him out of belonging to the community of the Athens's immigrants. The calendar's direct distribution was another means, just before Christmas, for P.O.G.N. (the association of the village named Glinado) to transfer the message of the days, instead of Christmas carol, through giving to our fellow villagers the calendar, and taking back their wishes and the price of our product, which for them had a different value. Some other associations used to sing the traditional carol and give the calendar as well. They were beautifully combining tradition and modernity, because, no matter what, whatever is related to the calendars is an element of modernism. At times, the visit turned out to be a feast with Christmas sweets (*melomakarona*, *kourabies*) and drinks (*raki*, *ouzo* and wine) where the merry compatriots, due to the wall calendar distribution, met and had fun. All this fun resulted in a one or two day long delay of distribution of the remaining wall calendars since, being drunk, they could not hand them.

The common usual calendars sold in shops of the business or other organizations are suspended throughout the year on the houses' walls; the books-calendars (another category of calendars) are tools of memory, since personal notes, remarks, comments, elements of research, etc., are recorded in them. On the contrary, the wall ones will not be filled with personal information or footnotes. They are time measurers, but they rarely serve this primary purpose of theirs. This is why they are hung and presented in semi-public (formal or not) areas of the house⁶⁸. During my own continuous personal research I saw them hanging mostly in the kitchens, but I also saw them in the most formal place of the house (*saloni* in Greek). It is well known that there is an interactive relationship between the value of the place and the objects that are found in it. In other words, the social dimension of a place transmits social value and meaning to the objects that are part of it which is also the case for the objects, which in their turn transmit value to the place where they are

⁶⁸ M. ZALOT, «Wall calendars: Structured time, mundane memories and disposable images», *Journal of Mundane Behavior* (2001) at: http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:3_wj97PyNNcJ:www.mundanebehavior.org/issues/v2n3/zalot.htm+wall+calendars:+structured+time,+mundane+memories&hl=el&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=gr

found. In this vein, the *saloni* constitutes a special cultural context and the objects that belong to it are valuable and important. The wall calendar is also likely to turn the place into a valuable one. In this sense, the kitchen, which is a more familiar and every day place, is turned into a valuable one due to the wall calendar hung on its wall by the housewife, who values the particular wall calendar due to a family photograph on it or a certain theme etc.

We would expect that the duration of their stay in the house would be fit in with their use. However, sometimes, even when their usage has passed (after the end of the year), their sentimental value remains, created by their transformation into symbolic items. Along the social convention, the calendars' role as memory carriers still remains and is even reinforced, depending on i) their aesthetic approach; ii) their topic, if it is attractive, and iii) the special relationship they have with their purchasers. The latter dimension makes them exceed their usage time and become diachronic. They are *mementos* (because they present many old photos in the first place, so here we could discuss about the "reading" of a photograph⁶⁹), but also preservers of the village's recent memory, or the village's history in general (see the section on the calendars' themes). The photographs are timeless, they instantly freeze the time and keep this instance alive for ever. According to Susan Sontag (1993), the photographs' game is postmodern, the images are out-of-context information (decontextualised) which we see in very different situations than the one they were created into⁷⁰. Not only do the photographs bring in our memory the time when they were taken, but they also remind the events with which they were connected to the past. But, at first, they depict familiar faces, whose memory brings sorrow to the living but a pleasant communication with them as well. So, it is not a coincidence that while the calendars sold in shops are thrown away after their time of use elapses, the calendars of the associations are kept. In addition to that, many village women have repeatedly complained to me because, being responsible for publishing our association's calendar, I had not included a photograph of their dead relatives in the calendar's topics photograph collection. They considered this an underestimation of their relative and

⁶⁹ The international bibliography is enormous.

⁷⁰ For the scientists of folklore, photographs are a way of study of the "old", an exciting source of information for the traditional culture, a lovely game between the historical, objective depiction and the sentimental, subjective meaning of every photographic document (see M. MERAKLIS, *Λαογραφικά Ζητήματα*, p. 275).

their family, and they invited me to visit them and collect material for the next calendar. Adding to this, I saw in my fellow-villagers' houses photographs of older calendars, cut from the calendar and put on a picture frame: they were photos of some familiar persons of theirs; photos they did not possess in their personal archives, and they now had them through the calendar. The illustration paper, the good restoration of the faces and the relatively big size of the photo made the calendar owners to keep it in a picture frame on a regular basis. In this sense their users view it with a feeling of affect or probably attribute to them the forgotten qualities of objects (their sacred, magical character) or simply view them *per se* thinking of the how, which were the reasons of their creation, their journey until they reached their hands... Belk is probably right when he asserts that eventually –voluntarily or involuntarily– we face the material objects as parts of ourselves, as its extension, that we are attached to them and that their loss is often escorted by feelings of lamentation and deep mourning⁷¹.

Most of the sold-in-shops calendars are used for keeping notes or future tasks ought to be remembered by the possessor, personal notes, scheduled appointments as already mentioned; in general, reminders which, by the end of the year, when the use of a calendar ends, compose a recollection, an experienced memory of personal moments. You skim through the calendar and go back to this year's life moments, which pass before your very eyes as quick as lightning in a trice. So, by throwing away the calendar, the amount of these moments is thrown away as well. Throwing away the images is a purifying process with a ritual character; this does not mean that the throwing away is ritually done. On the contrary, since it is done without too much thinking about any consequences. Time is undefined, the appointments are transient, the memory fades, and the calendar is a tangible item which helps to reproduce, categorize, and finally reject some kinds of experience⁷². The calendar goes straight to the garbage or the recycle bin, and a new one is hung on the kitchen wall. But the associations' calendars usually keep on hanging on the houses' walls, because they already got another kind of value.

⁷¹ R. W. BELK, «Possessions and the Extended Self», *Journal of Consumer Research* 15 (1988) 139-168; M. R. SOLOMON, *Consumer Behavior. Buying, Having, and Being*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1996.

⁷² M. ZALOT, «Wall calendars...».

Moreover, every month's name is shadowed in the calendar's totality due to the clearly dominant position of the photo. It may be January, but the photo of the village or a feast that was celebrated during this month, e.g., is the one that dominates the page and is clearly visible even from far away. Saying this, I do not mean that people tend to forget the month's name. The photo is more likely to serve to keep attention off the passage of time. This happens because images have multiple meanings⁷³. The same person sees the same picture for one or two months, and possible mood or occasion changes and will bring forth different mental associations, thus viewing the picture each different time can lead to a new experience as mentioned earlier. This continuous (re)vision of its meanings serves to draw our attention away from the passage of time⁷⁴.

The associations' calendars are also hanged on the par excellence public places of the village, such as the coffee houses. Not on all during the period we examine, a period of polarization as we mentioned before. There were "right" coffee houses in which the association's calendars never entered, since the association was identified in many villagers' conscience as "left", due to its members voting choice of Pa.So.K.⁷⁵ On the contrary, the calendar was easily accepted by the storekeepers belonging to the aforementioned political area. So, the P.O.G.N. calendar reinforced the tensions and the exclusions, and became a symbol of conflict.

7. THE REPRESENTATION OF TIME ON THE WALL CALENDARS

Time belongs to the notions on which a society's value system depends⁷⁶. The perception of time is not globally common; it depends on each nation's civilization, and is not homogeneous, as it was proven by Evans Prichard, Lévi-Strauss, E. Leach, C. Geertz, M. Bloch, *inter alia*. Time's representations emanate from the society, thus it has a social dimension, depends on the civilization which consumes it⁷⁷.

⁷³ S. SONTAG, *Περί Φωτογραφίας (On Photography)*, London: Penguin Books, 1979), Athens 1993.

⁷⁴ M. ZALOT, *ibid*.

⁷⁵ It is true that some irresponsible actions on his part supported this viewpoint.

⁷⁶ E. DURKHEIM, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, New York 1995, pp. 17-18.

⁷⁷ E. DURKHEIM, *ibid*.

The calendars (in general) offer a graphic representation of time's arrangement. They offer us a way to construct our experience of it, so that it becomes facsimile, exploitable and more effective. They offer a visually formative structure of time, in a subtractive way, but this subtractivity presents a very clear image of how time is perceived. Since the associations' calendars are consumption products, it is usual that the time is represented homogeneously, because the printing offices choose the same merchandise standard type of tissue used by the common calendars of others, such as companies, stores, etc.: each month is represented with a tissue which has 28, 29 or 31 little boxes. Each day is represented in a small box, similar in both shape and size, the numbers have the same height, so each day of the week is presented as equivalent (see picture 7). The calendar's tissue echoes our relationship with time and everyday life. It is a postmodern perception of time, in which every single day is unified. However, time is multiple (biological, psychological, experience, ecological, social, historical, etc.), it is not qualitatively uniform, since it expresses itself in many forms and qualities. Some days pass quickly, some others seem to be enormous. Let's think of Monday, for example, or Friday (just before the relieving weekend⁷⁸), or the endless waiting days when we wait, which expand the present. Our days become unequal because of the human psychological conditions or the meanings they get by the individuals and society (e.g. anniversaries, birthdays, etc.).

We mentioned before that each day of the typical week is presented in the same way in the calendar tissue, apart from Sunday (see pictures 2 and 5). This difference is usually expressed by marking the left or right column red, as if the holiday is subsidized! The calendar's editors are thus declaring the *social time*, to which everyday life time and holiday time (among others) belong. Saturday, a day on which many are working, is on the other edge. In one calendar we saw the official holidays being marked in blue, while Sundays were marked in red. All these resemble a certain view of how we ought to perceive the notions of free and work time⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ E.T. HALL, *The Silent Language*, New York 1959, p. 149.

⁷⁹ Z. KAZNEV-D. VICTOROV, Βασικά θέματα της Κοινωνιολογίας και Κοινωνιολογικό Λεξικό (*Basic Themes of Sociology and Sociological Lexicon*), Athens 1988, pp. 98-118; A. KORONAIΟΥ (ED.), Κοινωνιολογία του Ελεύθερου Χρόνου (*Sociology of the Free Time*), Athens 1996; N. ELIAS-E. DUNNING, Αθλητισμός και Ελεύθερος Χρόνος (*The Quest for Excitement. Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Progress*, Oxford 1986), Athens 1998.

Wall calendars of the Naxiot migrants associations in Athens



Picture 7

Some other times, the arrangement of the days on the wall calendars' tissue is formed as a straight line: behind this, I see the depiction of contemporary industrial society and production *linear time*⁸⁰, which tends to be rather abstracted; time is founded on the idea of linear progress and it is continuous, quantitative, rectilinear, without any trace of memory or tradition. Through this iconic representation of time, calendars remind us that time is merchandise and that we spend it unthoughtfully unless we are productive and effective. Let us remember the motto *Time is money* launched by the modern industrial State, which implies that time is not *spent* but *consumed*.

Each day passing by is marked by an X on its box, it is deleted. This is a modernistic experience of time⁸¹. Anyway, my grandmother was confused by the labyrinthine (for her) arrangement of time on the calendars' tissues. She preferred the calendars with the "little leaves", as she was calling them, with the "little box", those which had popular distiches of a romantic character and full of perceptiveness on their back page, those which informed her about the day of the week, the sunrise and sunset time, or the lunar phases. Every morning, she would take off the little leave, read it and throw it away or not. Maybe this shows old people's different understanding of time, a realistic, an anti-meta-physical and admirably conscious point of view against the short and perishable human life... Thus, many village women, like her, bought the Association's calendar for its symbolic significance, but for reasons of usage they were taking another one with those little leaves, either from the village's groceries or from its church⁸². The churchwardens knew the problem and acted antagonistically to the Association some times, pursuing to sell their own calendars, taking care of their area's interests.

⁸⁰ V. NITSIAKOS, *Χτίζοντας το Χώρο και το Χρόνο (Constructing Place and Time)*, Athens 2003, p. 128.

⁸¹ M. ZALOT, *ibid.*

⁸² Let me note this: Some people with good memory learned by heart and reproduced the calendars' distiches, they diffused them, and the lyrics were becoming popular because people loved them. I found out during a research of my own, at the late 80's, that many of the small, in verse poems some people were dictating me were actually "stolen" from the calendars' little leaves.

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