

SOCIALINĖS ANTROPOLOGIJOS IR ETNOLOGIJOS STUDIJOS

LIETUVOS

9 (18)

2009

ETNOLOGIJA

LITHUANIAN ETHNOLOGY

STUDIES IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

ALTERNATYVI MODERNYBĖ:

TRADICIJA, IDENTITETAS IR DISKURSAS

Sudarytojas VYTIS ČIUBRINSKAS

ALTERNATIVE MODERNITIES:

TRADITION, IDENTITY AND DISCOURSE

Edited by VYTIS ČIUBRINSKAS

LIETUVOS ISTORIJOS INSTITUTAS

LITHUANIAN INSTITUTE OF HISTORY

LI
LEIDVYKLA

VILNIUS 2010

REDAKCINĖ KOLEGIJA

Vytis Čiubrinskas (vyriausiasis redaktorius)
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas

Auksuolė Čepaitienė
Lietuvos istorijos institutas

Jonathan Friedman
*École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Kalifornijos universitetas, San Diegas*

Orvar Löfgren
Lundo universitetas

Jonas Mardosa
Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas

Žilvytis Šaknys
Lietuvos istorijos institutas

REDAKCINĖS KOLEGIJOS
SEKRETORĖ

Danguolė Svidinskaitė
Lietuvos istorijos institutas

Lietuvos etnologija: socialinės antropologijos ir etnologijos studijos – etnologijos ir socialinės/kultūrinės antropologijos mokslo žurnalas, nuo 2001 m. leidžiamas vietoj tęstinio monografijų ir studijų leidinio „Lietuvos etnologija“. Jame spausdinami moksliniai straipsniai, konferencijų pranešimai, knygų recenzijos ir apžvalgos, kurių temos pirmiausia apima Lietuvą ir Vidurio/Rytų Europą. Žurnalas siekia pristatyti mokslo aktualijas ir skatinti teorines bei metodines diskusijas. Tekstai skelbiami lietuvių arba anglų kalba.

Redakcijos adresas:
Lietuvos istorijos institutas
Kražių g. 5
LT-01108 Vilnius

Tel.: + 370 5 262 9410
Faks: + 370 5 261 1433
El. paštas: etnolog@istorija.lt
v.ciubrinskas@smf.vdu.lt

Žurnalas registruotas:
European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH)
EBSCO Publishing: Academic Search Complete, Humanities International Complete,
SocINDEX with Full Text
Modern Language Association (MLA) International Bibliography

TURINYS / CONTENTS

<i>Pratarmė (Vytytis Čiubrinskas)</i>	5
<i>Foreword (Vytytis Čiubrinskas)</i>	7

Straipsniai / Articles

Vytytis Čiubrinskas

Įvadas į <i>alternatyvios modernybės</i> studijas. Permažstant socialinę kultūrinę kaitą: tradicija, identitetas ir diskursas	9
Introduction. Alternative Modernities: Tradition, Identity and Discourse.	
Summary	18

Jonathan D. Hill

The Politics of Indigenous Identities in South America, 1989–1998	23
Čiabuvių tapatumų politika Pietų Amerikoje, 1989–1998. Santrauka	52

David Sutton

Between Memory and Modernity: Moral Temporalities in Kalymnos, Greece	55
Tarp atminties ir modernybės: moralinis laiko tėkmės supratimas Graikijos Kalimno saloje. Santrauka	75

Ingo W. Schröder

Against 'Identity': Exploring Alternative Approaches to the Study of the Politics of Local Culture	77
Prieš „tapatybę“: ieškant alternatyvių būdų tyrinėti vietos kultūros politiką. Santrauka	91

Neringa Klumbytė

Post-Socialist Sensations: Nostalgia, the Self, and Alterity in Lithuania	93
Posovietinės jausenos: nostalgija, savastis ir marginalizacija Lietuvoje. Santrauka	114

Aet Annist

Outsourcing Culture: Establishing Heritage Hegemony by Funding Cultural Life in South Eastern Estonia	117
Įsigyjant kultūrą: paveldo hegemonijos sukūrimas finansuojant kultūrinį gyvenimą pietryčių Estijoje. Santrauka	137

Romualdas Apanavičius

Etnologijos studijos Lietuvoje 1927–2005 metais	139
Studies in Ethnology in Lithuania in 1927–2005. Summary	165

Recenzijos ir apžvalgos / Reviews

Rasa Paukštytė-Šaknienė, Vida Savoniakaitė, Žilvytis Šaknys, Irma Šidiškienė. Lietuvos kultūra: Aukštaitijos papročiai. Šaknys Ž. (sud.) (<i>Rasa Račiūnaitė-Paužuolienė</i>)	165
Vytis Čiubrinskas. Socialinės ir kultūrinės antropologijos teorijos (<i>Auksuolė Čepaitienė</i>)	169
Representations on the Margins of Europe: Politics and Identities in the Baltic and South Caucasian States. Darieva T. and Kaschuba W. (eds.) (<i>Ingo W. Schröder</i>)	173
Darius Staliūnas. Savas ar svetimas paveldas? 1863–1864 m. sukilimas kaip lietuvių atminties vieta (<i>Rasa Čepaitienė</i>)	175

Konferencijos / Conferences

10-oji EASA konferencija Slovėnijoje (<i>Auksuolė Čepaitienė, Vytis Čiubrinskas</i>)	179
Konferencija „Etninės kultūros tradicijų tęstinumas ir iššūkiai šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje“ (<i>Andželika Lapinskienė, Kęstutis Meškys</i>)	184

Sukaktys

Lietuviškosios tautotyros profesionalui Jonui Baliui – 100 metų (<i>Vytis Čiubrinskas</i>)	187
Vitaliui Morkūnui – 80 (<i>Žilvytis Šaknys</i>)	189

In Memoriam

Rita Marija Pilkaitė-Butvilienė (<i>Irena Regina Merkienė</i>)	191
--	-----

Between Memory and Modernity: Moral Temporalities in Kalymnos, Greece*

David Sutton

We are still here, looking back to go forward
(Clifford 2004, commenting on a Native
heritage exhibition in Alaska)

How are notions of “tradition” and “modernity” deployed to express changes in people’s everyday lives? I explore these issues through a consideration of discourses and practices concerning food, dress and home decoration on the island of Kalymnos, Greece. I suggest that these be approached using the concept of “existential memory work,” to get at the ways that these are not simply markers of status and class distinction, but express deeply moral concerns about individual and collective identities and the different ways people approach the question of how to live properly in the present.

*Dr. David Sutton, Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University,
Mailcode 4502, Carbondale, IL 62901, USA, e-mail: dsutton@siu.edu*

Much had changed on the Greek island of Kalymnos in the Eastern Aegean between my initial fieldwork in 1992 and my more recent study in 2006.¹ Young women were dressed in the latest fashion, a rarity to see during my earlier research. The first big supermarkets carrying diverse frozen foods and pre-prepared meals had opened the previous year, while specialty stores offered wasabi mustard, Thai curries and a variety of Mexican seasonings that had not existed previously. And the drachma was, alas, a fond memory. Was Kalymnos under the sway of so-called “globalization,” a world in which consumption defined identity and the same items were available for consumption on the island as in New York, London or my current home, Carbondale, Illinois?

* An earlier version of this article was published: Sutton David. 2008. Tradition and Modernity Revisited: Existential Memory Work on a Greek Island, *History and Memory* 20(2): 84–105.

¹ Kalymnos is an island of about 12,000 people, renowned for its sponge diving past. My recent study, which is ongoing, explores cooking knowledge and its transmission, as well as changing ideas about food, health and generational identity.

In my earlier research (Sutton 1998; Sutton 2001) I tracked the discourse on Kalymnian identity in terms of an overriding concern with the relationship of a cluster of terms referring to the past – “tradition,” “the old years,” “first” – and to the present – “modernity,” “today.” I suggested that these terms are refracted through a number of “significant others” to whom Kalymnians compared themselves: “modern” Europeans and Athenians, “backward” Turks, “innocent” Americans. Within this political spatial geography, Kalymnians often referred to themselves as “very backward,” though moving on a continuum toward “civilization.” I also suggested that Kalymnians expressed ambivalence about this self-view, connecting Europeaness – expressed, for example, in concerns with hygiene or with price – with shallowness, and individualistic, anti-social, behavior. I explored how these attitudes became embodied in Kalymnians’ sensory memories of food, so that acts such as eating a watermelon with one’s fingers – juice dripping everywhere – could come to stand for “the old years” and a less hygienic, atomized social world. I suggested that Kalymnians saw the relationship of “modernity” to “the old years” as “the most significant moral issue facing them in the present” (Sutton 1998: 37).

In 2006 there was little question in people’s minds that Kalymnians were “European.” While in the early 1990s there still seemed to be a public discourse about whether Greece “belonged” in Europe (Sutton 1998: 38 ff), in the wake of the incorporation into the Euro currency (Vournelis & Sutton 2008), the taking down of borders, and Greece’s hosting of the 2004 Olympics, many of these previous contrasts no longer seemed salient in people’s everyday lives. But despite these changed circumstances, questions about “modernity” and “tradition” were still seen as crucial moral issues. That is, how to live in the present remained a question of *what to remember and what to forget*, or how to *place oneself and others in time* in a way that both recognized continuity and acknowledged change. Which parts of “tradition” and which parts of “modernity” should make up the present? These remain deeply ethical concerns, that is, through them people ask how to live properly in a present in which certain pasts are remembered and others are left “behind.” I refer to this process as *existential memory work* in order to capture the notion that choosing different aspects of tradition and modernity is not a fully conscious, manipulative process of status seeking, but involves deeply-felt questions of “who we are.” In this paper I explore the varying ways Kalymnians draw on their memories of the past and notions of “tradition” and “modernity” – through everyday practices and discourses on food, homelife and consumption – as part of negotiating their future and their place in the contemporary world.

I have drawn on the anthropological method of participant observation for my materials in this article. Interviews were conducted both formally and

informally. As this was part of a larger project on the role of cooking in contemporary Kalymnian life, I videotaped and audiotaped informants as they prepared food and/or reflected on their food practices and values. But I also allowed informants to direct interviews to other issues not related to food and cooking if they so desired. Formal videotaped sessions ranged from 2 to 4 hours, while audiotaped sessions were somewhat shorter. I used preliminary and follow up (informal) discussions with each informant to further explore issues raised. For this project I drew on both women and men of different generational and class backgrounds. Most of the subjects were chosen from among those Kalymnians who I have known since my initial research in the early 1990s so that I could get at some of the continuities and changes in their discussion of various issues.

Historical Consciousness in Modern Times

In the past 20 years there has been a flurry of interest in the cultural shaping of memory and historical consciousness. Whether framed in terms of “the invention/imagination of tradition” or the “anthropology of time,” as part of studies of nationalist and statist uses of the past, or local counter-memories, anthropologists, historians and those in related disciplines have been interested in exploring the way the past is used as a resource in social struggles and quests for identity – gender, class, ethnic and/or other.² Jennifer Cole (Cole 2001) talks about such struggles using the term “memory-work” (drawn from Freud), to capture the “politically-salient” way that “continuous memories are often the substance on which claims about identity are based.” She sees such memories as taking form in both public “commemorations” and in everyday discourses and practices. But she notes that it is important to not reduce memory to politics by other means, but to see it as a *moral practice*, drawing on affect, and on deep-seated struggles for personal and collective *meaning*. It is to capture this idea that I suggest the term *existential memory work*, to get at the ways people’s orientation toward the past is felt to be an intrinsic part of their selves and subjectivities.³

²For reviews of some of this vast literature, see Boyarin 1996, Cole 2006.

³Thus I use “existential” not to refer to the philosophical movement per se, which, as Michael Jackson (Jackson 2004: xi–xii) notes, is caught up in questions of individuality which often seem irrelevant in many of the societies where anthropologists study. Rather, I take inspiration from Jackson’s use of the term “existential anthropology” to think about my own preoccupation with questions of memory. As Jackson sums up his position: “...human wellbeing involves far more than simple adjustment to a given environment, natural or cultural: it involves endless experimentation in how the given world can be lived decisively, on one’s own terms.”

Collective attitudes toward “tradition” and “modernity” also reflect such moral questions. Rather than making claims about what characterizes “tradition” and “modernity” (or even the more recently popular “modernities”), we should, as Cooper (Cooper 2005) suggests, look at these terms as ethnographic objects with different cultural and historical valences. Or, as Knauff (Knauff 2002: 26) puts it in the introduction to a collection on “alternative modernities”: “the alternatively modern is the articulatory space through which notions of modernity and tradition are co-constructed as progress and history in the context of culture and political economy” (see also Comaroff & Comaroff 1993; Fog Olwig 1993). Kath Weston – focusing on gender and sexuality – stresses the ideological work involved specifically in time claims:

One does not automatically ‘see’ events in temporal dimensions. There is a kind of work...involved in any attempt, however ‘confused,’ to cast a molten world into the contours of time. Although the specific practices vary tremendously from one social location to another, temporalities generally require some method of delineating and ordering artifacts, events, what have you, into sequenced frameworks... People explain current circumstances with reference to arrangements that they believe prevailed ‘back in the day...’ (Weston 2002: 92–93).

Weston usefully suggests that the world doesn’t come with temporalities already assigned, and that a process of delineating or ordering is involved. She also suggests the interrelation of artifacts, events and what have you, which I hope to trace here. She argues that in the United States an “allegiance to modernity” (Weston 2002: 108) and thus to notions of progress and consigning past styles and identities, or the older generation in general to “backwardness,” tends to prevail. In Greece, where the founding of the Greek nation was explicitly linked to historical precedents, there is a highly ambiguous relation between the past and the present, and no simple “allegiance to modernity.” On Kalymnos, as I have previously argued, while the ideology of “modernity as progress” is not absent, neither is it unchallenged, and it must compete with other explicit and embodied understandings of the relationship of past and present. One of the most striking changes on Kalymnos that I will discuss is the fact that increasingly “modernity” does not need to be argued for, whereas “tradition” needs discursive support. Thus much like Pierre Nora’s (Nora 1989) concept of *lieux de memoire*, Kalymnians see “tradition” as providing *spaces* for memory in a context in which “modernity” has increasingly encouraged forgetting. Seremetakis makes a similar case in arguing that in rural Greek experience, the past is seen as a key component in everyday identity, a bulwark against the “repression of memory” she sees as characteristic of modernity. She stresses, in particular, the role of sensory memory as a key aspect of the process of keeping

the past alive in the present: “Here sensory memory, as the meditation on the historical substance of experience is not mere repetition but transformation which brings the past into the present as a natal event” (Seremetakis 1994: 7). In this article, as in my work on food, I am also interested in seeing the role that the senses play in more explicit debates over the relation of “tradition” and “modernity” on Kalymnos, as well as in such “existential memory practices” as decisions over house design and decoration.

Kevin Birth notes the floating significance of terms like “long time” in Trinidad, which might refer to “‘20 years or 30 years aback...’ ‘When I was young,’ or ‘When I was 10’” (Birth 2006: 195–196). He concludes that that such references to the past can sometimes refer to a historical event, a decade, the distance separating past from present, or a stage in one’s life, each one having different implications “Even stories that are datable and part of local history are temporally framed as ‘years aback’ if there is a moral message” (Birth 2006: 198). The different moral weightings of different pasts (and different presents, since “now” is equally socially constructed (see Johansson 2006)) was a constant preoccupation for Kalymnians, a description of which I turn to now.

The Bad Old Days

Elsewhere (Sutton 2001) I have documented what I call “memories of *Gemeinschaft*”, Kalymnian nostalgia for the tightly knit community and its shared pleasures and sociability. But the past is also looked back on as a time of ignorance, an ignorance that can mar the present as well. During my current research in 2006, I sat with an older man and woman and read a story from the local folklore journal about the inhabitants of the island of Telendos,⁴ a small island of a hundred or so inhabitants located a 10-minute boat ride from Kalymnos. While the story itself was one of a genre of such humorous tales of the past that one finds in Kalymnian folklore, the couple was particularly interested in hearing the story, since they spend their summers on Telendos, and thus know the protagonists particularly well. While the story was set in the past, what was interesting was that the couple saw it as applying equally to the present, noting how “backward” the Telendos residents continue to be. As the wife put it to me: “Telendos islanders are illiterate, but extremely literate in their badness. Despite their illiteracy, 40 lawyers would not be able to beat them down, they are so cunning.” She and her husband went on to tell me about some of the stories of bad things that the Telendos islanders had done to each other, concluding with the phrase “10 families, 11 ovens” to suggest their unwillingness to cooperate with each other, even to share space in their large

⁴ This story involved the islanders chasing down a giant, runaway pig.

outdoor ovens.⁵ Here, backwardness was marked by the sign of “illiteracy” as ignorance; as one man remarked to me, universal literacy on Kalymnos means that people do not need to be as cunning and combative as in the past, as they no longer fear being taken advantage of. This was put somewhat differently by a clothing store owner who had lived on Kalymnos for 30 years, who still considered himself an outsider on the island. Talking about his early days on Kalymnos, he said that Kalymnians were so ignorant they didn’t know that $100 + 100$ made 200, so they would make two purchases separately to make sure that they weren’t cheated. But rather than seeing this as something now overcome by literacy, he saw Kalymnians as failing to adapt to changing times because of their “insolence” (*thrasitita*), by which I believe he meant lack of flexibility, a mark of their character that has kept them stuck in the past, their continued throwing of dynamite for Easter and other celebrations being an example of this (see Sutton 1998: 43 ff). He admitted that some things had changed on the island in the time he had lived there – noting that he was now an accepted member of the community, but when he first opened his store, Kalymnians, fearful of competition, had threatened to burn it down and throw him off the island. But most of the changes had been for the worse, he claimed, citing the prevalence of drugs (see below) and the lack of respect for elders: “When I first moved here, the younger generation would greet you ‘good day uncle,’ now its ‘go to hell, you old bastard.’”

Notice the similarity in both characterizations: in the first case a Kalymnian assigns a certain segment of the population – those living on Telendos – to having carried the negatively valued past into the present; in the second, a non-Kalymnian makes the same claim about all Kalymnians. In both cases the speaker suggests that a group of people in failing to change is now “backwards” or condemned to repeating the past, although in fact the store owner suggests that Kalymnians have not only carried bad aspects of the past into the present, but they have added to that negative aspects of the present, they have, in effect, combined the worst of tradition with the worst of modernity. This attitude can be seen in casual reference as well, as when a Kalymnian man in his forties belittled Kalymnian cooking, noting that Kalymnians still add water to salad, a leftover from times of poverty when there wasn’t enough oil to dip one’s bread into, though of course such “flavor memories” can, in fact, have deep, affective dimensions (Sutton 2001).

⁵ This comment was particularly a propos, coming on the heels of Easter when the woman who used this phrase had shared her oven with a number of friends and relatives needing space for their Easter lambs. In general, the sharing of ovens provides an opportunity to assess one’s relations with family and friends.

In these uses, “the past” becomes a burden or a drag on the present, particularly employed to indicate the failure of others to reject the bad aspects of tradition, not by conscious recollection, but rather through a kind of embodied habit memory. Other Kalymnians used the past not as a way of marking off certain members of the population, or the population as a whole, as asynchronous, but rather to mark how far Kalymnos had come in embracing the promise of the present. I had the following discussion with a couple in their 50s, Irini and Savvas, whom I had known well from my earlier research. They had lived in the same neighborhood all their lives, Irini living on the same small street of the square of the neighborhood of Ayios Mammias. Neither of them had more than primary education, and their children had only finished high school. They had long worked selling fruit in a neighborhood stand, which had grown, over the years, into a small grocery store, with Savvas traveling to other islands to buy produce, often with the aid of his two sons. While neighbors saw them as reasonably well off, Irini herself complained constantly of the struggle for money, noting in recent years the greater competition coming from supermarkets which cut into her sales. Savvas, on the other hand, seemed more optimistic, especially when it came to discussing the present and future of the island.

Savvas: Between 1960 and 1980 Kalymnos, and all Greece left poverty behind, it became beautiful, a flower, very, very quickly. I remember my pants when I was a kid, all torn and patched, but that all changed when I was in my teens, an end to poverty! All the migrants returned bringing dollars! (Irini cuts in, saying that they brought the civilization of these countries). Now we have passed Europe by in terms of modernization. Cars, money, we have it all. But also equality. No more class distinctions. In the old days, there were the tie-wearers, now, even I can wear a tie if I want.

David: I heard that the daughter of one of the former sponge merchant families married the son of a pastry store owner...

Savvas: Yes, everyone's a family. No more class racism. All Greece has broken the taboo, gotten rid of this class racism. The youth, let's say everyone from my generation is modern, the old folks, no, but from my generation forward... modern.

David: When I lived here 12 or so years ago, there weren't that many teenagers going to bars, but now...

Savvas: Now, they're free! Modernized! Now a young girl can go to the cafes, drink her coffee, without misunderstanding. The way of life has changed, the old way compared to now. Now is great. In the old days, things were very backwards.

At this point a neighbor comes into the store, Savvas greeting her says: “Maria, isn't now better than then?”

Maria: Things are more difficult now.

Savvas: What? Things are better! We had nothing back then, people were bitter.

Irini: Maybe we live great, but now with all the luxury, this, this, that, we work like slaves, we're reduced to husbands and wives having no time for each other. The days pass like a boring routine...

Savvas: Eh? It's fine now.

I present this conversation not to suggest whether it is an accurate or hyperbolic portrayal of the present,⁶ but to note how every aspect of the present is seen in constant comparison with the past, the old days. While for Savvas the present comes out ahead in such a comparison, indeed, the present, by which he takes in his generation and onwards, is seen as the first arrival of "the modern," for his wife Irini, this comparison is much more ambiguous; the present may offer better things, some things have improved, but at a great cost. Specifically, she suggests that life passes like a boring routine, a phrase that I heard elsewhere to suggest that the *time demands of modernity* do not allow the space for memory. As one woman complained to me about the fact that fewer women find time to bake cookies for Easter, and prefer to buy them from the store, "now Easter will pass and we won't realize it" a phrase meant to indicate that in a visceral, embodied sense Easter will not be marked or appreciated because "tradition" has been let go. This attitude hints at the existential aspects of this debate. It is in having something produced for you, rather than producing it yourself, that is experienced as a loss, an issue that we will see reflected below in discussion of the value of making the ritual funeral food known as *kolliva*. In other words, modernity is seen as forgetting, or blotting out the past, for better or worse, which makes Kalymnians totally different people. Notice, however, that even the discourse of "modernity" demands memory of a certain sort. Not what I am calling "existential memory work" but a recollection of the past as a contrast, an image against which Savvas's claims to freedom and prosperity make sense. But it is a static, frozen memory, preserved only to contrast with the present, or, in the earlier cases discussed, to ridicule others who haven't adopted the program of modernity.

This discourse which posits the past as "the bad old days," then, has become less marked by a spatial geography in which Europe represents the present, and Greece (and Turkey) represent the past – as Savvas notes, "we have surpassed even France" – even as it retains its force in consigning the past to backwardness.

⁶ Indeed, later in the conversation, Savvas is critical of how many Greeks have used bank credit to buy new cars and other luxuries, and are now unable to pay back their debts.

Sex, drugs and... fast food

As is indicated from Irini's response to her husband's claims, many Kalymnians have ambivalent feelings about the present and what it represents. While such feelings were often expressed to me during my earlier fieldwork, in recent times there had been a shift in people's discourse from a primary concern with materialism and sexuality to a more specific focus on the greater prevalence on the island of drugs and attendant drug-related crime, and fast food. Both of these were seen as threats to the family, as children did not learn proper values and was seen in the feeling of a lack of respect for the older generation noted by the store owner above. Different causes were adduced for these problems, from lack of proper parenting, to lack of commitment of schoolteachers to educate students to distinguish between the good and the bad of globalization, to Kalymnians' tendency to "mimic" what they saw on TV, to a corrupt police force and politicians, or in general a sense that the world has been "spoiled" everywhere. In all these cases Kalymnians saw these issues as maladies of the present moment, which once again contrasted strongly with a past in which "tradition" prevailed. Thus in discussing the moral decline and family breakups resulting from drugs and the police involvement in this corrupting influence, one woman in her 60s seemed to have difficulty squaring the present with a past in which she recalled to me how everyone took care of everyone else. As she repeated "how has Kalymnos ended up like this"?

Fast and frozen food, now both widely available on Kalymnos, were seen as similar reflections of the negative aspects of modernity. Many older Kalymnians railed against the younger generation because it "no longer cooks." This is a discourse which has particular gender implications, as it is by and large young *mothers* and working mothers who are blamed for abandoning this traditional practice, and by implication, failing to properly enculturate their children.⁷ Much outrage was expressed that younger women spend more money on clothes than on food, which is seen as a particular attack on tradition, since clothes are considered foreign (most are not made in Greece), while food is identified as typically Greek. Clothes also represent a concern with appearance, while food, drawing on both discourses of tradition and more recent concerns with health, is internalized. Food is also a source of embodied, sensory memory, and on Kalymnos sensory practice is particularly elaborated in relation to food. Thus the shared sensory experiences of food are very much part of creating a

⁷ This echoes Renee Hirschon's ethnographic observations on Greek refugees from Asia Minor who told her that "proper food" takes a long time to make, since it is proper for women to spend time in the kitchen rather than using that time to engage in potentially illicit sexual pursuits (see Hirschon 1998: 150).

sense of “collective memory” in Halbwachs’ (Halbwachs 1992) sense in which individual memory is always placed within the context of the larger group. Thus for the older generation, the change in food practice seems particularly threatening to their sense of what it means to be Kalymnian.

Drugs, of course, were also seen as a major threat. Some saw the contemporary influx of drugs as an explicit reaction *against* the past. As one woman, a schoolteacher in her 50s who was interested in popular psychology, explained to me: given the hardship in the past, people didn’t want their children to suffer as they did, so they give them too much money, which they can spend on clothes and drugs. Because the parents feel that they didn’t have freedom to do things, they think, “I’m not going to deprive my child of freedoms.” But they overdo it, don’t set limits, so the kids are out at bars all night, and of course they’ll get into drugs out of curiosity. It’s that people don’t know how to find a middle path between extremes, she insisted to me. This “middle path” was very much on people’s minds as they struggled with the challenges of the present.

Living traditionally modern

In the face of the perils of both the past and the present, what’s a Kalymnian to do? What is one to remember, and what to abandon to forgetting? For most Kalymnians the challenge is not to embrace the domain marked out as “tradition” nor that of “modernity,” but rather to carefully parse and sift to attempt to find that “middle path” to wed the best of the past with the best of the present, even if *discursively* this means stressing the traditional over the modern. This is because for Kalymnians reproducing the past takes work and effort, whereas change seems to happen by itself.

I return to Irini, Savvas’s wife, who unlike her husband was much more interested in making a claim on living “traditionally.” We began discussing cooking and eating practices, and when I asked if her two sons (in their twenties) still lived and ate at home, she noted that on Kalymnos the family is still tightly knit, we still hold onto traditions and customs, unlike in Athens, on Crete, or in Europe and America. “We want our children to stay close by, even after they’ve married.” Her married daughter lives in a house that they built for her above their small grocery store, so indeed she is “close by.” Interestingly, however, this is different from the practice of having the daughter live in an extension built onto one’s *own* house, or simply abandoning one’s house and moving into a small room attached to the house once one’s daughter is married, which was a common practice in the past. The difference is that Irini’s daughter essentially keeps her own house, she has her own kitchen in which she cooks

for herself and her husband, rather than sharing meal tasks with her mother, as some Kalymnian families continue to do. This was significant because when I asked Irini about the difference in her cooking and her daughter's, she said that hers is more "traditional" whereas her daughter is interested in trying new things. She said she herself was not interested in TV cooking shows and new foods, "I like to be in a traditional state (*m'aresei na eimai se paradosiaki katastasi*). I like to continue to hold on to that which I learned [from my mother]." This first claim "I like to be in a traditional state" is interestingly phrased. *Katastasi* is an ambiguous word, which can mean, state, situation or even "event." Thus this could also be translated "I like to do traditional things." It suggests that for Irini, tradition is something that you *are*, but not all the time, something that needs to be *actively called to mind*. She then declared that the vindication of her view was "that my kids like my cooking better than their sister's!" In a sense by respecting her daughter's wish to have a separate kitchen, which itself is not considered "traditional," in fact she is better able to reproduce tradition. This led her into broader reflections:

Tradition is a beautiful thing. Even if all societies are moving forward in everything, but everything has also been ruined, the environment, stress and running... The old life wasn't great with its unhappiness and hunger. Now you don't go hungry, but you're running all the time, you can't enjoy life. Like a machine... [Thus] whatever we can keep from tradition – food... customs and habits, generally in our lives – I believe is satisfying, it keeps some warmth in our lives. OK, lets be modern, but hold onto some things as well.

Notice here that she echoes some of her husband's views, but gives them a different slant, emphasizing the active work of remembering the past through "being in a traditional state," whereas, as noted, modernity simply happens. Once again, *tradition is part of explicit discourse, but its best exemplar is a kind of embodied memory implicit in the fact that her sons share the taste for the food that she has learned from her mother and grandmother.*

Perhaps a more striking example of looking for the middle path was provided by a couple in their late 30s/early 40s Mihalis and Nomiki, who lived with Nomiki's mother and one teenage daughter, Maria. Their older daughter, Popi, having started college in Cyprus the previous year, was at home for the Easter holidays while I was there. Mihalis worked as a civil servant in the mayor's office, while Nomiki's father was a carpenter (he died in a tragic dynamite accident), and her mother does part time sewing, producing "traditional costumes" for sale to Kalymnians in the U.S. and Australia to use for holiday celebrations. While neither of Nomiki's parents had gone to high school, Nomiki had studied music and had the possibility of continuing study

after high school, but had dropped it when she had decided to marry. Several years earlier, Mihalis and Nomiki had gone in on a partnership with a friend and opened a pizza restaurant on the harbor, catering mostly to tourists and young Kalymnians. In speaking about tradition, Nomiki echoed Irini in many ways: "It's not good to get away from tradition." While Mihalis also spoke of the importance of remembering the past, once again the active incorporation of the past is more female than male gendered, as we will see in what follows.

They had invited me over to film the preparation of and partake in Sunday lunch, an elaborate meal of stewed fish and moussaka. It was the first time I had seen their new house, as on previous trips they had lived in Nomiki's parents' house. What was most striking was how the house was a hybrid of "modern" conveniences and a recreation of many features identified with the past. Most prominent was that the typical parlor for greeting guests opened onto a *krevvato* or *krattho*, or large bed with storage area underneath, a key feature of "traditional" Kalymnian homes (Kapella 1987). Hirschon (Hirschon 2008: 7) describes a similar feature, still found on Karpathos where it is called a *soufas*:

The great architectural feature of the Karpathiot house is the elaborately carved sleeping platform, which can be said to constitute the house itself. It is the center of attention, both for the owners of the house, and visitors... the family sleeps on the *soufas* platform, which is also used for display of family wealth, its treasures, and for special festivities such as weddings.

This was the first of its kind that I had seen in a recently built house on Kalymnos, as most Kalymnians have adopted standard, "Western-style" beds. However, a number of people mentioned that this feature was making a comeback in the past five or six years in newly built houses. Interestingly, it no longer had one of its original functions of sleeping the entire family: the daughters slept on it, but the parents slept in their own room. When asked about it, Nomiki noted that they saw it as really for the grandchildren, so that they would have a sense of being close, rather than isolated in separate rooms.⁸ Once again, notice that remembering tradition is not simply discursive, or relegated to special occasions, but incorporated into mundane, bodily practices such as sleeping arrangements. However, while the *krevvato* remained the central feature for the eye, it no longer took up the entire house as it once did. In Nomiki and Mihalis' house, this area also opened directly on the right onto the kitchen, which is how kitchens tend to be incorporated into homes in

⁸James & Kalisperis's (James & Kalisperis 1999) study of the nearby island of Chios suggests the unusualness of this layout. They note that the Chians "prefer to have a formal area, separated from the family living area by walls and doors, in which to entertain guests and strangers." They also note that bedrooms on Chios are "very private," only seen by most non-family members on the ceremonial occasion of "dressing the bed."

more recent times, in the past kitchens being a separate room outside of the main house, with a corridor leading to an indoor bathroom. Thus there is not a simple attempt at reproducing the past, but rather an active commemoration of previous styles incorporated into a modern house plan. And yet, it is hard to see this as simply a “statement,” or a purely decorative feature: first because it is so central to the house and how one might move through it, and second because it is part of one’s deeply personal sleeping arrangements, for anthropologists a site for “habit memory” par excellence.

Other “traditionalizing” features included the second floor fireplace (see Figure 1) built into the corner of the wall, and the outdoor oven in the front courtyard (see Figure 2), which tended to be a feature of wealthy homes, or homes on the outskirts of the town in the past, but not as common in the close quarters of the town itself, but which has become increasingly popular, with more families adding this feature so that they are able to cook their lamb in coals, rather than using the baker’s oven. Mihalis was using this oven to bake *pastitsio* for lunch, which was the first time that they had used it for something other than lamb.

He showed me the special kindling Mihalis had gathered from particular mountain shrubs to provide a different smell to the food while it was cooking. After asking me to notice how nicely it caught fire, he noted “Thus back then the old ones made [their fires]. They didn’t have lights, electricity, nothing. Therefore in order to survive the needed to cook their bread, their food, their sweets in outdoor ovens.” This discourse rolled off the tongues of Nomiki and Mihalis throughout the after-



Figure 1. Nomiki’s daughter Maria, playing the Sandouri. Kalymnian fireplace in background. April 2006 (Photo by David Sutton)



Figure 2. Mihalis, feeding the outdoor oven. April 2006 (Photo by David Sutton)

noon: Nomiki, for example, showed me a vegetable appetizer that Mihalis had preserved in salt, noting “Back then people would make this for appetizers. And Mihalis made it [now]. It’s called *toursi*, and is made with carrot, two kinds of pepper, cauliflower... and they used to make it. It’s preserved with a little oil on top, and it keeps for years.” Here the continuing of tradition is metaphorically embodied in the object itself, which “keeps for years.” But it is also marked by the use of the past imperfect tense to refer to something in the present: Nomiki was holding the object in her hand while talking about it as part of the past. This was to me “existential memory work” in which one’s everyday practices allow the past to flow into the present. It brought to mind for me similar incidents, such as when I watched a woman and her neighbor preparing homemade doughnut balls (*tiganites*) for the guests who had come to visit on a summer Sunday afternoon. The woman was stirring the doughnuts in hot oil while her neighbor squeezed one hand into a fist, allowing the dough to squeeze out of the top of her hand, then scooping it with a spoon into lovely oblong balls. She jokingly referred to herself as a “factory,” while her neighbor said that you can buy a tool that shapes the batter for you, but we don’t like the “modern” device, we prefer the old spoon. She also noted that they make these doughnuts typically on the name day of Saint Andreas in October, but they wanted to present something traditional and sweet today for the guests. Food related examples of this kind of practice abound on Kalymnos (see Sutton 2001: Chapter 3). What is striking about the example of Nomiki’s *toursi* is that – unlike the “fast food” decried above – it is both a practice that *takes time to prepare*, and that itself is a metaphor for continuity in that it “keeps for years.”

An interesting moment came when Nomiki and her older daughter were listing for me the ingredients the daughter had put in the ground beef for the *pastitsio* (noodle casserole). Not hearing it mentioned, I asked Nomiki whether there was nutmeg in it, which I had previously noted in other people’s preparation. She responded “some have gotten used to using that, but a long time ago those things didn’t exist, they came later to Kalymnos, those ingredients. Like curry, all that stuff. Those didn’t exist.” At this point her mother interjected: “They did have nutmeg.” Nomiki: “Eh, it didn’t exist, nutmeg. In the food?”

Mother: “It did. Nutmeg, Cinnamon, Pepper. Whoever liked it put it in.”

Nomiki: “Ah, I didn’t know, perhaps, perhaps...”

In each of these two examples, the past is a direct reference and justification for present practices (of commission and omission). In the case of the nutmeg, it’s interesting that the mother corrects Nomiki, noting that there was also choice in the past, rather than the typical suggestion about tradition that it was flat, i.e., accepted for all, and only in the present do some deviate (“some use it, others don’t”).

I might have thought that these temporal references were purely for my benefit, if not for the fact that they fit completely with the décor of the home: objects such as the TV and microwave were not displayed prominently; instead the house was decorated with all kinds of objects representing the past. These included a number of kitchen items – pans, casserole dishes, bread boards, bowls for allowing bread to rise in (which she claimed to still use), sifters, which were all displayed on walls, in corners or on top of cupboards in the kitchen, or in various spots in the front yard (Figures 3 and 4).

There were also several farm implements that Nomiki had found abandoned in fields on Kalymnos, which she had displayed in her front yard. She referred to these, as well as some of the kitchen implements, using their local, Kalymnian names (identifying them even more with the past). Finally, all the furniture which she bought, both for her use, and for her daughters' dowries, were antiques, though not all from Greece. In relation to these last Nomiki said "I don't like getting (valo, lit. putting) these modern things. Everything here is made of wood. I want to know the history of the furniture," noting that the set she had bought for her elder daughter was made in the 1930s, owned by a doctor in Switzerland, and the chairs had pigskin coverings. While keeping old things is not uncommon, indeed some homes on Kalymnos display the ancient Greek amphoraes brought up by sponge divers, more typically new houses tend to be sparsely decorated, such as the large home of a schoolteacher in her 50s, who had on her walls a few icons, locally done paintings of Kalymnos harbor, and a few hand-crafted plates.



Figure 3. Nomiki shows off her grandmother's egg pan. April 2006 (Photo by David Sutton)



Figure 4. Two "traditional" sifters (koskina), flanked by inherited casseroles and pots in Nomiki's kitchen. April 2006 (Photo by David Sutton)

For Nomiki and Mihalis, these claims on tradition extended to many everyday practices that they wished to pass on to their children. Nomiki has encouraged her younger daughter to learn the *sandouri*, a Byzantine instrument (somewhat like a xylophone), and with Nomiki playing accordion, they perform in traditional music groups on and off the island (Figure 1).

Nomiki was one of the few women of the younger generation who knew how to make the labor-intensive Greek funeral food *kolliva* (see Sutton 2003). An older neighbor had showed her how to prepare it, as her mother had not learned either, many Kalymnian women feeling this is a tradition that is too "sad," and preferring to buy prepared *kolliva* from the store. Nomiki had felt guilty about buying prepared *kolliva* for her father's memorial, and had heard a priest say that to not prepare it yourself was like inviting your ancestors to eat and taking them to a restaurant.⁹ Of course there was a certain irony here, given that Mihalis and Nomiki own a restaurant. Their restaurant, which they referred to as a good investment for difficult times, was seen as a place mostly patronized by young people, who had learned to eat things like hamburgers, *souvelaki* and other snack foods, foods that Nomiki and Mihalis saw as inappropriate on a regular basis for their own children.

In talking about the problems with the younger generation, Nomiki claimed

they don't take an interest in their local place. If there is a public presentation of local dances, you invite them, they don't want to come. Eventually there won't be individuals who are still able to present the local dances anymore. But they're not interested.

She placed blame first on the kids themselves, who want to hang out at bars, make easy money, not work hard, but also on mothers who are too busy working, watching TV and drinking coffee to really take an interest in what their children are doing, to see what they are interested in, and to push them in the right direction. Once again, the time demands of modernity are seen as shutting out the possibility of properly remembering tradition, not simply as a commemoration of the past, but as something to be incorporated into one's daily life. Just as women in general were more articulate about "tradition," on this matrifocal island, women took most of the blame for what was seen as the failure to properly enculturate their children into the values of tradition.

A controversial "traditional" feature of their home was the second floor, which Nomiki and Mihalis had specifically designed for their eldest daughter to reside after marriage. This was in a sense an evolution from older typical

⁹This claim is echoed in du Boulay's research in rural Greece in debates over whether liturgical bread can be bought at the store. As one of her informants notes, hinting at a discourse on tradition and modernity: "'I don't know. I'm just a stupid toothless old woman, but I say that the farmer himself should produce the corn from his own land to make the liturgical bread. That is what is good'" (du Boulay & Williams 1987: 19).

practices in which the oldest daughter would occupy the house of her parents on marriage, and the parents would move to a small hovel. More common now was to build a separate house for the eldest daughter. Nomiki told me that many of her friends had been critical of this plan to install her daughter and son-in-law on top of them, meaning that they would continue to share a common kitchen. They said: “what if you don’t get along with the groom, its better to have them on their own.” But she said that she and Mihalis were easygoing, so she didn’t think they would cause problems for the young couple. Notice the contrast here to Irini, who wants to keep her children “close,” but also insists on the value of a separate kitchen from her daughter.

Discussion and conclusion: discursive tradition, everpresent modernity

Across the ethnographic spectrum, the idea of the modern is crucial to people’s historical self-understanding. It is part of both elite and popular discourses, imaginings and desires. And it is hardly a neutral matter. Questions on the subject can be terribly fraught: What does it take to be modern? What are its promises and its threats? Who is included or excluded? Are we there yet?... The idea of the modern has become a ubiquitous social fact (Keane 2007: 48).

Of course, as I have been arguing, “the modern” evokes a parallel discourse of “the traditional,” since, as Keane notes, one of the few consistencies in the use of “the modern” across the ethnographic spectrum is the implication of a “rupture from the traditional past” (Keane 2007: 48), a break in continuity. A number of authors (e.g., Stewart 1989) have suggested that the revaluation of “tradition” has been an undertaking of the middle classes, a project of Bourdieuan symbolic capital and class distinction. Billiard (Billiard 2006), for example, describes the process of inventing tradition and claiming authenticity on the part of elite Maltese as part and parcel of making “distinctions” in Bourdieu’s sense: “Far from creating a national identity based on the defense of their food heritage, [the elite] have created a new way to distinguish themselves from their ‘other, within’, the lower classes...” This is the kind of “political” view of memory that challenges the “authenticity” of practices that reference “tradition” in the present. Such a view certainly has relevance to Kalymnos.¹⁰ But it misses the ways that “tradition is being renegotiated for new situations” as Clifford (Clifford 2004: 16) argues for native heritage displays in Alaska. As I have been suggesting throughout, a “cultural capital” view of such practices as building a *krevvato* or an outdoor oven lacks the existential, moral tinge to

¹⁰ See, for example, my discussion of the commodification of “tradition” on Greek cooking shows (Sutton & Vournelis 2009).

all these decisions about habits and practices. They are life choices that cut deep. Indeed, many choices that Nomiki has made to learn to make *kollivo*, or to build a house with a *krevoato* and with her daughter on the second floor are not given status by the community. Indeed, when I repeated Nomiki's comment about the priest who said that you should not buy *kolliva* prepared by others, people were highly dismissive, one man calling that "bullshit," and classifying *kolliva* not as a valued tradition, but as a stupid superstition. Even in the realm of food and expressive culture, then, there are traditions and there are Traditions, some things worth remembering through present practice, and some which many would rather forget. There are many other aspects of Kalymnian life where it would make no sense to embrace "tradition." Despite the traditionalizing features of their house, Nomiki and Mihalis did not reject indoor plumbing, for example, despite the fact that bathroom practices were the site of a kind of nostalgia for community intimacy for many older Kalymnians (see Sutton 1998: 37–38). Nor did they reject opening a pizza restaurant, despite its association with fast food, tourism, and the anti-social aspects of "modern" eating. While not dismissing the reinvention of tradition as a project of class distinction, it makes more sense, I would argue, to see such views and practices of described here for Nomiki, Irini and Savvas as ontological attitudes toward the problem of facing the present appropriately, rather than as calculated displays of authenticity as symbolic capital or dressing up for tourists.

A key change on Kalymnos in the past 20 years, however, is that "modernity" no longer needs the discursive support that it did in the past, when there was still some doubt that Kalymnos (and Greece) had achieved it. Modernity is here to stay in the view of most Kalymnians, reflected in Savvas's comment that Greece had "even surpassed France." Modernity no longer needs to be embraced as a conscious choice, it is only a question of parsing out its negative features and trying to address them while making an effort to "be in a traditional state" as Irini put it, to preserve *spaces for memory*, for actualizing the past in the present. Tradition, on the other hand, takes discursive work. It is not simply a matter of following tradition in practice, but also thinking about its role, marking it out, even as people debate and disagree about what counts as tradition, which are valued, and which are stupidities and superstitions. As noted, while this is a concern shared by men and women, it is women who are seen as primarily responsible for this domain, just as they were in the past when matrilineal inheritance characterized Kalymnian practice. The association of women with tradition is, of course, a feature of most "modern" states, as a number of authors have argued (e.g., Sutton 1995; Yuval-Davis & Anthias 1989). However, tradition increasingly seems to be part of women's "double-shift," and consigned to the world of "home" or leisure rather than "work," consumption

rather than production. Nomiki and Mihalis, for example, never considered opening up a restaurant serving only Greek – much less Kalymnian – food, as part of their concern for the loss of traditionality in the younger generation. This does not make it less existentially salient, as people's identities on Kalymnos, as elsewhere, seem increasingly bound up with the business of consumption, rather than production. Preserving tradition has become an increasingly private affair, and in this sense Kalymnos could be said to be forgetting the past even as it is remembered, to be indeed “modern.”

References

- Billiard Elise. 2006. When Tradition Becomes Trendy: Social Distinction in Maltese Food Culture, *Anthropological Notebooks* 12(1): 113–126.
- Birth Kevin. 2006. Past Times: Temporal Structuring of History and Memory, *Ethos* 34(2): 192–210.
- Boyarin Jonathan. 1996. Space, Time, and the Politics of Memory, Boyarin F. (ed.). *Remapping Memory: the Politics of TimeSpace*: 1–37. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Clifford James. 2004. Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska, *Current Anthropology* 45(1): 5–30.
- Cole Jennifer. 2001. *Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cole Jennifer. 2006. Memory and Modernity, Casey C. & R. Edgerton (eds.). *A Companion to Psychological Anthropology: Modernity and Psychocultural Change*: 103–120. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Comaroff John L. and Jean Comaroff. 1993. Introduction, Comaroff J. & J. L. Comaroff (eds.). *Modernity and its Malcontents*: iii–xxxv. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cooper Frederick. 2005. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- du Boulay Juliet and Rory Williams. 1987. Limited Good: a Critique from a European Perspective, *Anthropological Quarterly* 60(1): 12–24.
- Fog Olwig Karen. 1993. Between Tradition and Modernity: National Development in the Caribbean, *Social Analysis* 33: 89–104.
- Halbwachs Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Trans. Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hirschon Renee. 1998. *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Hirschon Renee. 2008. Bourdieu in Olymbos: the Symbolic Character of the Karpathiko House, Alexiadis M. (ed.). *Karpathos and Laographia: Praktika Trito Diethnes Synedriou Karpathikis Laographias. 3rd International Congress of Karpathiko Folklore*: 565–579. Athens: Karpathiko Folklore Society.

- Jackson Michael. 2004. *Existential Anthropology: Events, Exigencies and Effects*. Oxford: Berghahn.
- James Alice & Loukas Kalisperis. 1999. Use of Hosue and Space: Public and Private Family Interaction on Chios, Greece, Birdwell-Pheasant D. & D. Lawrence-Zuniga (eds.). *House Life: Space, Place and Family in Europe*: 205–222. Oxford: Berg.
- Johansson Ella. 2006. The Doppler Effect, Löfgren O. & R. Wilk (eds.). *Off the Edge: Experiments in Cultural Analysis*: 71–76. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Kapella Themelina. 1987. *People and Things in Kalymnian Life*. Athens: The “Muses” Literary Publication Series 15 (in Greek).
- Keane Webb. 2007. *Christian Modern: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Knauff Bruce (ed.). 2002. *Critically Modern: Alternatives, Alterities, Anthropologies*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Nora Pierre. 1989. Between Memory and History: *les Lieux de Memoire, Representations* 26: 7–25.
- Seremetakis C. N. 1994. Memory of the Senses, Seremetakis C. N. (ed.). *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*: 1–43. Boulder: Westview.
- Stewart Charles. 1989. Hegemony or Rationality? The Position of the Supernatural in Modern Greece, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 7: 77–104.
- Sutton Constance (ed.). 1995. *Feminism, Militarism, Nationalism*. Washington D.C.: American Anthropological Association.
- Sutton David. 1998. *Memories Cast in Stone: the Relevance of the Past in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Sutton David. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: an Anthropology of Food and Memory*. Oxford: Berg.
- Sutton David. 2003. Kollivo, *Slow: the Magazine of the Slow Food Movement* 7: 104–107.
- Sutton David and Leonidas Vournelis. 2009. Vefa or Mamalakis? Cooking up Nostalgia in Contemporary Greece, *South European Society and Politics* 14(2): 147–166.
- Vournelis Leonidas and David Sutton. 2008. Monetary Tastes: Symbolism and Memory in the Transition to the Euro, Alexakis E. et al. (eds.). *Anthropology and Symbolism in Greece*: 97–123. Athens: Greek Ethnology Society (in Greek).
- Weston Kath. 2002. *Gender in Real Time: Power and Transience in a Visual Age*. New York: Routledge.
- Yuval-Davis Nira and Floya Anthias (eds.). 1989. *Woman-Nation-State*. London: MacMillan.

Tarp atminties ir modernybės: moralinio laiko tėkmės supratimas Graikijos Kalimno saloje

David Sutton

Santrauka

Šiame straipsnyje autorius nagrinėja klausimus, kaip „tradicijos“ ir „modernybės“ supratimas paveikė žmonių elgesį Kalimno saloje ir kaip šis supratimas pakito per penkiolika metų nuo jo vykdytų lauko tyrimų pradžios XX a. dešimtojo dešimtmečio pradžioje iki vėlesnių 2006 m. tyrimų. Nors 2006 m. žmonės daug mažiau domėjosi, koks tapatumas – „europietiškas“ ar „rytietiškas“ – būdingas Kalimno salai ir Graikijai, „modernybės“ reikšmės žmonių kasdieniams gyvenimams klausimai tebėra svarbūs. Tačiau XX a. paskutiniajame dešimtmetyje atrodė, kad „tradicija“ ir „modernybė“ dar „lenktyniauja“ viena su kita Kalimno saloje, o 2006 m. mažai kas abejojo tuo, kad „modernybė“ jau „įvyko“ ir kad ji egzistuos toliau be vietos žmonių pagalbos. Bet kad „tradicija“ dar egzistuočiau dabartyje, ją reikėjo aktyviai ir sąmoningai palaikyti. Straipsnyje šios problemos tyrinėjamos aptariant su maistu, apranga ir namų puošyba susijusius diskursus ir praktikas. Pažymima, kad ir į „praeitį“, ir į „dabartį“ žiūrima kaip į keliančius moralinių pavojų Kalimno salos gyventojams ir kad moralinį asmenį apibrėžia tai, kaip pasirenkama, kas geriausia iš „tradicijos“ ir „modernybės“. Autorius dėsto savo požiūrį naudodamas „egzistencinio atminties veikimo“ sąvoką. Jis taip siekia parodyti, kad pasirinkimo būdai žymi ne tiesiog visuomeninės padėties ar klasės skirtumą, bet iš esmės išreiškia moralinį susirūpinimą dėl individualių ir kolektyvinių tapatumų, ir bando atskleisti, kad žmonės skirtingais būdais sprendžia klausimą, kaip *tinkamai* gyventi dabartyje. Tai apima ir etnografinį tyrinėjimą, kaip žmonės suvokia laiką ir kaip jų praktikos ir elgesys skiriasi įvairiais laikotarpiais. Kad būtų suprasta, kodėl svarbu orientuotis į praeitį kasdieniame gyvenime Kalimno saloje ir kaip tam tikri objektai ir veiksmai – lauko virtuvė, lovos stilius, laidotuvių maisto ruošimas namuose, daržovių dėjimas – tampa tam tikromis dabartinio gyvenimo būdo moralinėmis nuostatomis, autorius, naudodamas iš Jennifer Cole perimtą froidiškąją „atminties veikimo“ sąvoką, straipsnyje pateikia „egzistencinio atminties veikimo“ sampratą. Straipsnyje taip pat naudojamos ankstesnių autoriaus tyrimų etnografija siekiant parodyti, kad praeitis ir dabartis patiriamos pagal tam tikrus konkrečiai vietai būdingus ryškius tropus ir kad yra įvairių būdų kategorizuoti praeitį. Tuo pat metu daugelis žmonių naudojami jau suvoktais „modernybės“ pranašumais – nuo vandentiekio namo viduje

iki aukštojo mokslo, – ir visa tai karštai svarstoma bei tampa individams ir šeimoms teisingu sprendimu. Akcentuojami „pojūčiai“ ir keliamas klausimas, kaip juos pakeitė „modernybė“, kuri nepalieka vietos stipriems sensoriniams potyriams – ir teigiamiems, ir neigiamiems. Žmonės sąmoningai atgaivina tokius su praeitimi susijusius sensorinius potyrius ruošdami maistą lauko virtuvėse, kad sukurtų ypatingą degančio medžio kvapą, pajauštų, jog gamina „savo rąkomis“, ar suvoktų, jog naudoja tik „anksčiau“ vartotą maistą ir prieskonius. „Modernybės“ šalininkai naudoja „senų blogų dienų“ prisiminimus siekdami dabarties pranašumams priešinti tai, ką jie laiko atsilikusia praeitimi. Kadangi daugeliui „modernybės“ vaisiai atrodo dviprasmiški ir įgyjami didele, ypač laiko, kuris suvokiamas kaip kupinas streso, kaina, atkreiptas dėmesys į idėją, kad praeityje buvo *laikas* praktikuoti tam tikras tradicijas, kurių nesilaikoma dabartyje. Straipsnyje detaliam nagrinėjamas atvejis, kai viena šeima stengiasi subalansuoti savo gyvenime šiuos tarpusavyje besivaržančius poreikius, ypač kreipdama daug dėmesio namų vidaus tvarkai, puošybai ir maisto ruošimo praktikai. Autorius parodo, kad nors į šias praktikas galėtų būti žvelgiama vartojant Bourdieu „skirtingumo“ sąvoką, t. y. kaip į tam tikrą vidurinėsios klasės bandymą įgyti socialinį kapitalą, ši perspektyva nekreipia dėmesio į kai kuriems pasirinkimams būdingus egzistencinius aspektus, į jauseną, kad šie pasirinkimai giliai įrėžti žmonių tapatumuose. Užuo sutelkęs dėmesį į „išrastų tradicijų“ „autentiškumą“ ar „neautentiškumą“, autorius sutinka su Jamesu Cliffordu, kad „socialiniai procesai, perduodantys ir perkeičiantys žinias bei tarpusavio santykius“, yra priemonė suprasti tokių objektų ir praktikų reikšmingumą. Straipsnis baigiamas šių problemų lyties aspektu – to, kad moterims ypač skirta saugoti ryšį su tradicija ir kad joms priekaištaujama, jei tai nepavyksta, – aptarimu.

Gauta 2009 m. vasario mėn.