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### The Present becomes the Past: Photographs of Anafi from the 1960s

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## The Present becomes the Past: Photographs of Anafi from the 1960s

**MANY HUNDREDS** of black-and-white as well as colour photographs, taken on the Cycladic island of Anafi in the 1960s, were recently donated to the Benaki Photographic Archives. Anafi is a small, semi-mountainous island about 12 miles (19kms) east of Santorini (Thira), and is roughly triangular in shape, with rocky coasts on its western and eastern sides (two sides of the triangle), and a seven-mile-long south coast (the third side) consisting mostly of a series of sandy beaches. At the eastern end of the south coast, four miles to the east of today's harbour and village, is a narrow isthmus joining the main part of the island to Mount Kalamos, a 1476 foot (459 metres) high peak. In the ancient world, the saddle of the ridge running between the two parts of the island was the site of a temple dedicated to Apollo. Today, the temple walls enclose a monastery which houses the icon of the Panayia which, until late in the nineteenth century, was kept in a shrine on the peak.

This collection of photographs, which also includes images of Anafiot migrants in Athens, was taken over the course of sixteen months between May 1966 and August 1967 during social anthropological research for a doctoral thesis. The constraints of a student budget explain the predominance of black-and-white photographs; colour was saved for special occasions, although with only one camera to use and so a particular kind of film to use up, some everyday scenes were recorded in colour, and some important celebrations in black and white. At that time, they were records of contemporary life on the island, and a glimpse of migrants living in Anafiotika, just above the Plaka, and in the Athenian suburbs. Now, however, they have attained the status of a historical record of both places.

While many of the photographs taken on the island are views of the Anafiot landscape (fig. 1), the majority are of islanders, busy in the village (fig. 2), or out in the countryside engaged in agricultural and shepherding tasks, many of which are no longer practised, or are carried out in a very different way. These photographs of islanders show aspects of what is now, over forty years later, an almost vanished way of life, a rural subsistence economy, mainly based on hard manual labour. Although there were diesel-driven engines in the village, used in the two flour-mills, almost every other task undertaken (including olive-pressing) was non-mechanised, and used human or animal power. However, the photographs taken in Athens show that Anafiot migrants were becoming used to a very different way of life, with electricity, motorised transport, and access to all the advantages (as well as the disadvantages) of urban living.

### Islanders and migrants

There were strong links between the two communities. Most island men had experience of summer seasonal labour in the city, as well as of longer periods of wage labour there, so that urban earnings frequently supported village life directly or indirectly. Most families with older children had at least one of them (usually a son) working as a migrant in Athens, and many older people relied on their migrant adult children for regular supplies of urban goods, not only provisions (dried and tinned goods, and, when the weather was fine and the steamer sure to arrive on time, fresh vegetables and fruit) but also medicines.

Migrants and islanders were also linked at a family level through relationships based on wedding sponsorship (*kou-*





Fig. 1. View from above of village houses and path to harbour, May 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

*mbaria*) and godparenthood, and at a communal level through the Anafiot Migrants Association (*Syndesmos ton Anafaiou Apantachou*), which lobbied the relevant ministries for radical improvements to the island (electrification, repairs and additions to the harbour jetty and landing-stage) and organised fund-raising events to sponsor, for example, prizes for the best pupils in the village primary school. The links between the two communities thus combined kinship and financial elements, with the most important relationship for the continued existence of a resident population on the island being monetary.

Photographs of the Anafiot migrant community  
Photographs of Anafiotika, and of Makriyianni, were taken on the occasion of visits to the city from the island, roughly every three months. These views were often taken from the Acropolis, looking down into the Plaka, partly to enable identification of those houses in which migrants from Anafi were still living (fig. 3). At that time, the area was not seen by most Athenians as picturesque but rather as prob-



Fig. 2. Woman grinding fava using a stone hand-mill, autumn 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).





Fig. 3. View of Anafiotika from Akropolis, 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

lematic in terms of both physical and moral hygiene: there were no drains, and some of the run-down buildings were rented cheaply to a fluctuating population of transients and 'hippies'. Then, as periodically over subsequent decades, attempts were made to evict the inhabitants, to knock down the old houses, some of which were built into the sides of the 'sacred rock', to restore the route of the Sacred Way, and to turn parts of the area into an extension of the Plaka, with cafes, clubs, bars and restaurants.<sup>1</sup>

According to their own accounts (and to some published ones),<sup>2</sup> Anafiot migrants first went to Athens when it became the capital of Greece. King Otto had visited their island in 1835 with Ludwig Ross, his first Director of Antiquities,<sup>3</sup> and, learning that Anafiots were good masons and builders, encouraged them to come and help build the city. At first they camped with other migrant-workers in an area known as Proastio, south of what is

now Plateia Kaningos and south-west of Exarcheia,<sup>4</sup> and it is claimed that, at the King's insistence, they also worked on the building of his palace. Soon, taking advantage of a law that decreed that established buildings could not be torn down, two enterprising Anafiots (Yorgos Damigos, a carpenter, and Markos Sigallas, a builder) constructed houses overnight on the slopes of the Acropolis, and a neighbourhood was established there which came to be known as the 'place of the Anafiots', Anafiotika. However, the house-styles there (with tiled roofs) certainly do not (as some writers claim) reflect the characteristic building style of the island, which, like that of Santorini, is the *tholos*, a rectangular house with a barrel-vaulted roof (like a chapel). The first inhabitants were soon joined by others. It was forbidden to build there, but officials were unable to evict the Anafiots, whom they found in houses built overnight. Some accounts describe the puzzlement of the





Fig. 4. The procession of the icon of Panayia Kalamiotissa, 8 September 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

Fig. 5. Ploughing with a donkey, winter 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

police in the morning on finding, on a previously vacant site, a whole family in a small house (a grandmother by the fire, a baby in the cradle) claiming that they had always been there. Two chapels in Anafiotika are particularly associated with migrants from the island: Ayios Simeon (at the end of Odos Mnisikleous) and Ayios Yiorgos tou Vrakhou. On the gateway of the chapel of Ayios Simeon is a marble plaque with the words '*Naos Ayios Symeon ton Anafaion*' and the date 1774, while inside, over the doorway to the chapel itself (shared with migrants from Missolonghi) is a plaque which records that an icon of the Panayia Kalamiotissa was placed in the chapel by Anafiot in 1847. A much larger marble plaque on the same outside wall lists Anafiot donors and benefactors to the building

and repair of the chapel. Minute books of the Anafiot Migrants Association, which was founded in the 1920s, frequently record meetings held at Ayios Simeon or in its courtyard (for example, in April 1937). Other meetings are minuted as being held in the café 'Hellas' in Makriyianni (December 1934) and in the Hall of the Shop Assistants Association in Plateia Mitropoleos (May 1936).

In time, however, as they became more successful, Anafiot moved out to the suburbs of the city, particularly to what are now Dafni, Ilioupoli and Ayios Antonios, on either side of Leoforos Vouliagmenis. Most of the men continued working in the building trade, but now, rather than helping to construct palaces and official buildings in the city centre, they focused on suburban apartment blocks. As a number of scholars have noted,<sup>5</sup> the move to the city resulted for many migrants in a dramatic change in their lifestyles, and in their degree of observance of customs from their places of origin. Dowry practices and residence after marriage changed. In many parts of mainland Greece, it was customary for a bride to leave her parents' home and move in with her new husband, either with his parents, or in a house in the same locality as his family and kin. This pattern of residence gave rise to neighbourhoods of related men, fathers, brothers, and sons, with their married-in wives; neighbourhoods often named after a surname or a nickname of the men's family. On the islands, there was a different pattern: an essential element in a dowry was a house, and the groom moved in with the bride, usually to a house located near her parents. This gave rise to female-centred neighbourhoods – mothers, sisters, daughters, and their married-in husbands (this was certainly the pattern on Anafi, as on other Cycladic islands). It was this pattern which also began to prevail in Athens – it began to be expected that a bride's dowry would consist of a house, or an apartment. Parents of daughters hoped to be able to build a block of flats, with some as dowries (and at least one for their own old age, so that they could be near a daughter who would care for them), and the others to bring in rents.

Migration from the island for wage labour in the city, and further afield (many Anafiot went to Egypt), inevitably resulted, as it did all over Greece, in rural depopulation. But, as already mentioned, migrants tended to keep in contact with their families and with their place of origin, with both male and female unmarried migrants sending back remittances to their parents and to younger siblings, and married male migrants sending part of their wages to wives



Fig. 6. Loading sheep and goats onto a caique, April 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

and children. The phenomenon known as ‘chain migration’, whereby a migrant encourages one of their relatives or friends to migrate and join them, each one being linked to the next, meant that Anafiot migrants continued to be associated with particular areas of the city, first Anafiotika, and then Ilioupoli and Ayios Antonios. In time the Anafiot migrant builders and labourers had their *steki*, their base, in a café just off Leoforos Vouliagmenis, which acted as a kind of labour exchange, where recently migrated men could pick up labouring jobs, and more skilled workmen could be recruited for particular projects (this was long before mobile phones, when even a land-line telephone took years to arrange and acquire). While the first offices of the Association were a few small rooms in Makriyianni, when the majority of migrants were based in the suburbs, the Association also moved, to more spacious quarters in the suburb of Ayios Antonios.

#### The cult of the Panayia Kalamiotissa

The most significant unifying factor, on which members of both communities insisted, was their shared veneration of the island’s patron saint, the Panayia Kalamiotissa, whose icon was said to have been found on the peak of Mount Kalamos, at the eastern end of the island. After the chapel on the peak of the mountain was struck by lightning sometime in the late nineteenth century (some sources give a date of 1887), the icon was brought down to the church of the Monastery of Zoödochos Piyi, built inside the walls of the ancient temple of Apollo.<sup>6</sup> Visitors to the island in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were more interested in the remains of the temple, and its inscriptions, and in the ruins of the Hellenistic city on the hill called Kastelli, than they were in the contemporary life of the islanders.<sup>7</sup> It is to this site that islanders and migrants come, as well as people from the neighbouring island of Santorini, and a few devotees from elsewhere in Greece, to celebrate the festival





Fig. 7. Weighing the cheese rent, April 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

Fig. 8. Sisters baking bread in a courtyard oven, late 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

of Panayia Kalamiotissa on 8th September, the date in the church calendar which celebrates the Birth of the Virgin (*Yenesis tis Theotokou*). The photographs of the celebration of this festival in 1966 have already been donated to the Photographic Archives (fig. 4), and those from 1973 and 1987 and later years, when added, will give the opportunity to study the changes which have taken place over the decades.

Taking photographs of migrants at this event provided an opportunity to discover their addresses in Athens (so that copies of prints could be sent, or personally delivered on a

visit to the city) and thus to gain an insight into their lives as urban migrants. Photographs taken during a research project carried out among the Anafiot migrants in the summer of 1973 will be donated to the Benaki Museum Photographic Archives in due course, as will all other photographs taken on the island and among the migrants up to the present. There is also, as can be imagined, a large amount of published material about these pieces of research.<sup>8</sup>

#### The annual economic cycle

Many of the photographs taken on the island record events in the island's annual cycle, which consisted of a predominantly subsistence economy, based on agriculture, the raising of livestock and a little fishing. The ideal was said to be that each family should be self-sufficient in terms of grain for flour, and olives for oil. There was little flat land on the island and few natural springs; the farming of wheat and barley was mostly on narrow hill terraces, tracing the contours of the steep hills and mountains which covered most of the island (fig. 5). However, depopulation through migration was evident in the number of abandoned hill terraces, which were becoming overgrown and were grazed by flocks of sheep and goats. Some of these animals were sold to visiting meat-merchants just before Easter each year, and transported live by caique to other islands for slaughter (fig. 6). Cheeses made from their milk were used to pay the rent for the land which they grazed. So, just before Easter each year, villagers would receive rent in the form of an agreed amount of cheese (*paktos*) before the date when the rental agreement was due for renewal (fig. 7). Containers of cheese were also sent to members of the migrant community in Athens who rented out their land on the island to the shepherds. Some barley was also sold outside the island, and the Agricultural Bank on Santorini kept records of the island farmers' agricultural co-operative, showing how much fertiliser had been bought and transported there. One or two fishing boats, drawn up on the harbour beach, or shut away in boat-houses cut into the harbour cliffs during the winter, were launched in the spring (fig. 9). Most of the fish caught was sold to other larger boats, with refrigerating equipment, which called at the harbour, but some of the catch was brought up to the village and sold there.

Island women gathered wild greens (*chorta*) and also wild crocuses, drying their stigmas for saffron for use in local cooking and baking, or to be sold to the visiting meat merchants. They also gathered snails (*salingaria*) after rain,





Fig. 9. Fishermen at the harbour of Ayios Nikolaos. summer 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

and cooked them in traditional dishes. Island men went out shooting for rabbits and birds, and also gathered furze and brushwood (*chinopodia*) as fuel for courtyard ovens, particularly for baking bread (fig. 8). Thus many elements in the island's ecological system were made good use of.

At that time there was no electricity (a generator was not built until 1974), and the barrel-vaulted houses (as mentioned above, the *tholos* is traditional here, as on Santorini) were usually lit by paraffin lamps (fig. 10). Apart from the nights of full moon, people made their way around at night by the dim beams of small hand-held torches, operated by batteries. Most households, like the main *cafeneions*, had battery radios, and as newspapers arrived on the weekly steamer, the radios were the main means for keeping up to date with news. Of most interest to the islanders was the weather forecast (particularly with respect to winds), and the steamer schedules.

There was no running water and each household used a bucket-and-rope to get water from rain-fed cisterns; there

was no sewerage system, and although some houses had hole-in-the-ground toilets, most people used the hen-house or donkey-stable. There was no full-time doctor; appendicitis, difficult childbirth, and infected cuts could all lead to death, particularly in the winter when the steamer might not be able to anchor offshore for the small boats to row out to it. In extreme emergencies, when the wind was contrary for the south coast, the steamer would be diverted to a small inlet on the rocky north-west coast, at Prassa. There were only three telephones on the whole island: one in the post office, one at the police station, and one at the harbour. Passengers and supplies from the weekly ferry reached the jetty in small dinghies, and were transported up to the village by mules and donkeys. There were no roads or tracks for wheeled vehicles – it would not even have been possible to use a child's pushchair on the village paths, even if one had been brought to the island.

A large number of the photographs record scenes of everyday life: mending nets at the harbour, playing *tavli* in the





Fig. 10. Barrel-vaulted village houses, 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

cafeneion, baking bread in courtyard ovens, as well as annual events such as harvesting, threshing (fig. 11), olive-picking (fig. 12), and scenes at the olive-press and the flour-mill. For such a small community, it was surprising that there were four cafes: two were patronised by adult men whose political leanings could be characterised as left- and right-wing respectively, one small café was used by the young shepherd boys, and the fourth by the old men (fig. 13). Many photos are scenes of special occasions, such as christenings and saints' day celebrations, when a number of photographs were taken in response to specific requests to do so, and others were taken as possible illustrations to accompany a text detailing these activities. Both types of photographs were used as gifts, and provided the opportunity to visit villagers in their houses and to find out more about their lives.

#### The domestic cycle

Many aspects of the economic cycle dovetailed with the

domestic cycle, the sequence of events which unfolded from the time of a couple's marriage. While a young woman took most of her share of the parental estate at the time of her wedding as a dowry (with the key element being a house, or rather, a place for the newly-wed couple to live, so that in time the ideal was not a home on Anafí but rather an apartment in Athens), a young man would not at that time have his own lands to work – he would have to wait for his share of his parents' estate until his father's death. So, at the beginning of their married lives, the husband expected to work as a wage-labourer, and the wife might occasionally work outside the home too, for example, picking olives in return for payment in oil. There was no expectation that a newly-married couple would or could be self-sufficient, but this was the eventual aim of every family, so that by the time their children were reaching adulthood, there would be a 'family estate' which would enable the daughters to be given a dowry house, and some





Fig. 11. Threshing with mules, 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

fields and olive trees (inherited from deceased parents) which could possibly be added to, so as to leave the sons with farming land. However, this pattern was changing, particularly because of migration, and changed further in subsequent decades as marriage patterns altered and life expectancy was prolonged. But back in the sixties, the individual life cycle and the domestic cycle were to some extent co-ordinated. Because of migration, some men were working the fields and gardens of migrant relatives in return for a share of the produce, while other fields were left fallow (usual for every fourth year) and then allowed to become overgrown. The abandoned hill-terraces all over the island showed what used to be the extent of cultivation. The gap in the agricultural year after harvest in the early summer enabled men to go to Athens to work there as building labourers (at a time when there was little paid work to be had on the island), but most usually it was the younger men who decided to migrate permanently, while

the older men returned at the end of the summer in time for the new agricultural year.

At the same time of year that island men were leaving to go to the city, migrant Anafiots were coming to the island to spend their holidays there, usually women and children first, when schools closed, followed later by their menfolk. Island relatives found themselves expected to open up the migrant relatives' houses, and carry out any whitewashing, airing of mattresses, and such-like, before their visit. The migrants were expected to bring gifts for their relatives and *koumbaroi* (ritual kin, those who had acted as wedding sponsors and godparents) and this made a trip to the island an expensive business for some of them. It was through the visits of migrants that those islanders who had never left Anafi, gained some insight into what was happening elsewhere in Greece. At this time, the only direct medium of communication was battery-operated radios, as newspapers arrived on the weekly steamer, so were not up-to-date. Once





Fig. 12. Olive-picking, autumn 1966. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

Fig. 13. Old men in café, February 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

Fig. 14. Funeral of an old woman, May 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

electricity had arrived in the village and at the harbour (in 1974), television, first in the cafes and soon in homes, offered the opportunity to see other parts of Greece, and indeed other parts of the world, as well as to watch soap operas and game shows.

#### Saints' days and other festivals

Saints' days were usually celebrated in the appropriate saint's chapel either in the village (there were at least ten of them) or in an outlying chapel (*eksokklisi*). Such celebrations brought people from different island families and from different areas of the village together. These were occasions when requests were made for photographs to be taken, particularly to send to relatives in Athens. When saints' days were celebrated in chapels outside the village (often chapels built on family land and thus belonging to a particular family), other parts of the island could be explored. Some of these chapels were so far from the village, and the paths to reach them so rocky and steep, that it took almost a day's walking to reach them. The chapel of Ayios Antonios, on the north-east coast, was one such, and because the saint's day is in the winter (17 January), most of those who attended came on the Eve of the feast and stayed overnight (fig. 15). Men who attended the festival (many of whom were celebrating their own name day or that of a relative) took the opportunity to bring their guns and to hunt for rabbits or wild birds; if they were successful on the way to the chapel, a fire was made outside it to spit-roast *mezedakia* ("titbits"). Women who came to the festival brought home-made delicacies such as *kourabiedes* (a kind of shortbread biscuit) in celebration of the name day of a male relative (husband or son) called Antonis, or a female relative named Antonia.

Other celebrations, such as *Apokries*, were said by the older islanders to be less 'lively' than they had been in the past, when there had been more young people on the island to take part. But, as migration from the island had been going on for over one hundred years, and there are many references to the dearth of young adults, particularly men, it is difficult to know whether these remarks were based on memories or wishes.

#### Ritual obligations

The research carried out on the island resulted in a thesis, and later publications, in which the main theme was the relationship between the Anafiot pattern of naming children,



Fig. 15. Outside the chapel of Ayios Antonios, 17 January 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

their rights to property because of their names, and their obligations to carry out the cycle of ceremonies (*mnemotysna*) which ensure the fate of the soul.<sup>9</sup> These ceremonies began with the funeral and culminated in the exhumation of the bones of the deceased. The funeral marks the beginning of processes of transformation for the body and for the soul of the dead, and also a period of liminality for the mourning relatives (fig. 14). While the body decomposes, the soul, so it is believed, goes through purification, for which it is dependent on the living for the cycle of rituals to be carried out to achieve this. The memorial ceremonies ensure that the soul of the deceased is cleared of sins, symbolised by the fact that all the flesh has rotted from the bones. While it would be very difficult to take photographs to illustrate these abstract ideas and principles of the island's social structure, many of the images in the collection show funerals, the making of *kollyva* (boiled wheat mixed with dried fruit and pomegranate seeds) for memorial services, and its distribution outside the village church (fig. 19). The

photographs of objects and activities need to be looked at in the light of an understanding of these major organising principles of island life.

When the cycle of ceremonies has been completed, the bones of the dead are exhumed (fig. 16). In most places in Greece the bones are then put in a box, and the box is placed either in the cemetery church or chapel, or in a family vault. On Anafi (and possibly on other Cycladic islands in the past)<sup>10</sup> the customary practice was to take the bones to a bone depository or ossuary (*osteofilakion*), located beside a chapel which stood in the fields or garden-land which belonged to the family of the deceased (fig. 17). In some places on the island, an ossuary stood on its own, not associated with a chapel, and this was known locally as a *mnimouri*, elsewhere a term used for a tomb or monument, but on Anafi this word is used only for a bone depository which stands on its own, not associated with a chapel, and in which family bones are stored (fig. 18).

Photographs taken of graves and family vaults in the vil-





Fig. 16. An exhumation. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

Fig. 17. An ossuary next to chapel, 1968. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

Fig. 18. An Anafiot ossuary, April 2006. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

lage cemetery in the sixties provide valuable evidence, when compared with photographs of such things in more recent decades, of the types of changes that have taken place. Graves, as noted above, are periodically re-used, and by different families, so changes can be noted in their construction and care. It is possible to interpret them, and family vaults, as physical manifestations of the rights and obligations which are considered highly important in the relationship between the generations. While these rights and obligations stay the same (that is, the way in which children are named, their rights to property because of the name, the obligation to carry out the cycle of ceremonies), the way in which they are expressed may well change, often as a result of urban influences and knowledge of customs from other parts of Greece. Photographs of the conduct of memorial services over the decades can also be examined, and comparisons made. Similarly, photographs of areas of the village, and of the island, are invaluable records of what these places were like before the coming of electricity in the 1970s and the construction of roads in the 1980s and 1990s.

Electrification of the village and harbour, in the mid 1970s, first of all brought retired migrants back to the island to live out their retirement years in a more comfortable environment, and was then followed by an extraordinary increase in tourism. In the sixties, only a very few adventurous and hardy tourists and travellers, and the occasional archaeologist, came to the island, often to be told that they should get back on the steamer as they must have mistaken Anafi for its neighbour Santorini. In other words, at that time, locals could not even imagine why any stranger would voluntarily come to their island. This response is possibly linked to its history as a place of exile for 'public dangers', such as drug addicts and animal thieves, and for those regarded as political dissidents.<sup>11</sup> Very soon, however, Anafiot migrants began to return from Athens to open restaurants and cafes, if only during the tourist season from May to September, while locals began to convert stables and storehouses, and then to purpose-build rooms to rent for the ever-growing numbers of foreign and domestic tourists. Familiarity with the urban economy and with city ways of life on the part of the migrants, and with Greek and foreign tourists on the part of the resident islanders, gave the island a very different character from the sixties. More recently, with the advent of computerisation and the internet, websites have been set up, by locals and by tourists, which give all kinds of information about the island





Fig. 19. Memorial distribution on Easter Sunday 1967. Athens, Benaki Museum - Photographic Archives (photo: M.E. Kenna).

and allow anyone in the world to see photographs, videos and webcams which give ready access to the place and its inhabitants. This ease of access is very different from the twenty-four hour steamer journey needed in the 1960s. Although this story of rapid technological and social change could be recounted for almost anywhere in Greece from the 1950s onwards, the photographs of Anafi in the 1960s, now in the Photographic Archives of the Benaki Museum, are a unique resource for historians, social scientists, folklorists, architects, conservationists and others. In time other pho-

tographs taken over the intervening decades will be added, making this particular archive one of the richest records of change in Greece. What were, when they were taken, pictures of the present have now become significant images of particular moments in the past.

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## NOTES

1. For more detail, see R. Caftanzoglou, *Στη Σκιά του Ιερού Βράχου. Τόπος και Μνήμη στα Αναφιώτικα* (Athens 2001); *eadem*, The sacred rock and the profane settlement: place, memory and identity under the Acropolis, *Oral History Society Journal* 28 (2000) 43-51.

2. See L. Micheli, *Πλάκα: Ιστορική Μνήμη και Μυθοπλασία* (Athens 1985) 230.

3. L. Ross, Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres (1840), in: E. Widemann – W. Hauff (eds), *Reisen und Landerbeschreibungen* (Stuttgart-Tübingen 1835-1860) 486-527.

4. L. Leondidou, *Πόλεις της Σιωπής. Εργατικός Εποικισμός της Αθήνας και του Πειραιά, 1909-1940* (Athens 1989) 124.

5. P. S. Allen, Internal migration and the changing dowry in modern Greece, *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 32:1 (1979) 142-56.

6. Apollonios Rhodius, *Argonautica* (trans. R.C. Seaton) (London 1912).

7. See: M. Bendtsen, *Sketches and Measurements: Danish Architects in Greece 1818-1862* (Copenhagen 1993); J.T. Bent, *The Cyclades: or, Life among the Insular Greeks* (ed. G. Brisch, Oxford 1885, 2002); F.T. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera, Unter-*

*suchungen, Vermessungen und Ausgraben in den Jahren 1895-1902*, 1: *Die Insel Thera in Altertum und Gegenwart* (Berlin 1899); *idem*, *Inscriptiones Graecae* 12, 3: *Insularum Maris Aegaei: Inscriptiones Symes Teutlussae Teli Nisyri Astypalaeae Anaphes Therae et Therasiae* (Berlin 1898).

8. See, for example: M. E. Kenna, Institutional and transnational migration and the politics of community: Greek internal migrants and their Migrants' Association in Athens, *European Journal of Sociology* 24 (1983) 263-87; *eadem*, Mattresses and migrants: a patron saint's festival on a small Greek island over two decades, in: J. Boissevain (ed.), *Revitalizing European Rituals* (London 1992) 155-72; *eadem*, Return migrants and tourism development: an example from the Cyclades, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1993) 75-95.

9. See M.E. Kenna, Houses, fields and graves: property and ritual obligations on a Greek island, *Ethnology* 15: 1 (1976) 21-34; *eadem*, *Greek Island Life: Fieldwork on Anafi* (Amsterdam 2001).

10. See Bent (n. 7) Chapter 1, 'Serifos', 1.

11. See M.E. Kenna, *The Social Organisation of Exile: Greek Political Detainees in the 1930s* (Amsterdam 2001) (Greek edition: *Η Κοινωνική Οργάνωση της Εξορίας* [Athens 2004]).

## MARGARET E. KENNA

Το παρόν γίνεται παρελθόν: φωτογραφίες από την Ανάφη του '60

Μέσα από μια συλλογή εκατοντάδων ασπρόμαυρων και λίγων έγχρωμων φωτογραφιών, που δώρισε η γράφουσα στο Τμήμα Φωτογραφικών Αρχείων του Μουσείου Μπενάκη, εικονογραφείται η ζωή των κατοίκων της Ανάφης στα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1960. Τις λήψεις έκανε η δωρήτρια από τον Μάιο 1966 έως τον Αύγουστο 1967 στο πλαίσιο της έρευνάς της στο νησί, για την εκπόνηση διδακτορικής διατριβής στην κοινωνική ανθρωπολογία. Οι φωτογραφίες καταγράφουν τον ετήσιο κύκλο των αγροτικών εργασιών (όργωμα, σπορά, θερισμός, αλώνισμα, μάζεμα της ελιάς, επεξεργασία στο ελαιωτρι-

βείο), σημαντικές θρησκευτικές εορτές (γιορτές αγίων, απόκριες, Πάσχα), καθώς και ταφικές και επμνημόσυνες τελετές (κηδείες, μνημόσυνα, εκταφή κ.ά.). Παρουσιάζουν, επίσης, απόψεις κυκλαδίτικων σπιτιών με τη χαρακτηριστική καμάρα, οικισμών και τοπίων. Αποτελούν έτσι σπάνιες μαρτυρίες της ζωής σε ένα από τα νησιά της "άγονης γραμμής", που βρισκόταν, όπως έλεγαν οι ίδιοι οι κάτοικοί του, «εκατό χρόνια πίσω από τον υπόλοιπο κόσμο» και ιδιαίτερος πολύτιμος, αν σκεφτεί κανείς ότι σήμερα η Ανάφη έχει πολύ περισσότερο πληθυσμό και μια ανθηρή τουριστική οικονομία.