

Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaft und Psychologie
Freie Universität Berlin



EMOTION, PERFORMANCE &
DEATH RITUAL IN INNER MANI

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktor der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

[Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)]

Vorgelegt von

CHRISTOS VARVANTAKIS

M.A., University of London, 2006

Diplom, University of Crete, 2004

Erstgutachter (First Supervisor): **Prof. Dr. Christoph Wulf**, Arbeitsbereich
Anthropologie und Erziehung, Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaft und Psychologie, Freie
Universität Berlin

Zweitgutachter (Second Supervisor): **Prof. Dr. Birgitt Röttgerp Rössler**,
Fachbereich Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin

Datum der Disputation (Date of Defence): **24. April 2013**

Resume

This dissertation analyses the interdependency of emotion, death ritual, and socio-cultural discourse in Inner Maniat death rituals with a focus on the ritualistic practice of lamenting as improvised during the pre-burial mourning ritual of *kláma*. Analysis of the processes of emotional regulation and expression within the ritualistic context of the pre-burial mourning ritual, as well as of the interrelation of the ritual with its surrounding social discourse, illustrates how the performance of emotion in a *kláma* is important for the making and negotiating of Maniat social identities and power relations. The ethnographic fieldwork on which the thesis is based was conducted in Inner Mani, a remote and historically isolated region in the southern Peloponnese of mainland Greece, and an area noted in historical, folkloric and anthropological literature for possessing a distinct and emotionally overwhelming lamenting tradition. The fieldwork was conducted as a qualitative research study underpinned by the method of participant observation as a means of collecting and producing research data. The theoretical foundation of the work rests predominantly on anthropological studies of emotion and of death ritual, and, additionally on broader theoretical conceptualisations of liminality, social interaction and of performance; as such, it is an interdisciplinary theoretical discussion on ritual and emotion. The organisation, the form, and the structuring of the mourning ritual is analysed to show that the *kláma* ritual prescribes an emotionally charged liminal space whereby social relationships of

power can be transgressed and social roles arranged and re-arranged in accordance to the category of 'grief'. It further illustrates that within the liminal ritual space where grief is expressed, the individual death mourned is placed within a canvas of previous deaths through the communication and reciprocity of emotion achieved by lamenting. This practice does not aim solely to balancing the social disruption that each individual death produces, thus, the ritual cannot analytically be contained within a traditional functionalistic theoretical framework; it is in direct connection to society in the sense that social relationships are reflected within the ritual, but precisely because of its emotionally charged character, it can act as a platform where these relationships can be renegotiated.

To, and for,
Yannis Mantouvalos

Για τον
Γιάννη Μαντούβαλο

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	8
<i>Preface</i>	10
<i>Notes on transliteration of Greek & abbreviations</i>	13
CHAPTER 1 Dying in Mani: Introduction to Inner Maniat Lamenting	16
CHAPTER 2 In the Field: Ethnographic Practice in the Field of Death Ritual	
2.1 Introduction to Ethnographic Fieldwork	30
2.2 Research Ethics and Methods in the Field of Death Ritual	32
CHAPTER 3 Theoretical Overview: Perspectives on Emotion, Ritual and Death	
3.1 Anthropology and Emotion	
3.1.1 Cultural Constructionists vs. Biological Universals	43
3.1.2 Interactions in the Anthropology of Emotion: Meaning and Feeling	47
3.2 Ritual	
3.2.1 Symbols and Structures: Anthropologies of Ritual	51
3.2.2 Death and its Rituals	55
3.3 Emotion in Ritual: Expansions	59
CHAPTER 4 Historical Perspectives: History, Kinship and Lament in Inner Mani	
4.1 Social History of Mani	
4.1.1 Classical Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire	63

4.1.2 The Ottoman Empire and the Greek State	69
4.1.3 Social Organisation in Mani in the Twentieth Century	73
4.2 Inner Maniat Laments and Historical Perception	80
CHAPTER 5	
Ritual Mourning: Kláma and Moirólóghia	
5.1 Screams: Entering the Ritual Space of <i>Kláma</i>	93
5.2 The Meaning and Formal Structure of <i>Moirólóghia</i>	97
5.3 Composing and Performing Songs of Mourning	101
5.4 Turn-taking: Structure and Reciprocity in the <i>Kláma</i>	107
5.5 Grief as a Social Category and its Negotiation in Ritual	112
5.6 Towards a Reflexive Maniat Understanding of <i>Moirólóghia</i>	120
CHAPTER 6	
Inner Maniat Lamenting & Social Discourse	
6.1 Lamenting & Social Discourse: Introduction	126
6.2 Truth Claims from the Space of Mourning	127
6.3 Revenge Narratives: the Role of Lament in Blood Feuds	133
6.4 Voicing the Unspeakable: Protesting the Silent Death	143
6.5 Grief and Transformation	151
CHAPTER 7	
Conclusion	160
CHAPTER 8	
Bibliography	166
Appendix I: Resume in German	179
Appendix II: On Lament Authorship	181
Appendix III: Erklärung zur Dissertation	183

Acknowledgements

*Give me five minutes
and I'll say things in order*

(Extract from Inner Maniat lament)

This dissertation was written and researched between 2008 and 2012; funding came primarily from a three-year Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) grant provided through the graduate school of the Excellence Cluster 'Languages of Emotion' at the Freie Universität, Berlin. Additionally, a three-month internal scholarship from the 'Languages of Emotion' graduate school and a three-month completion grant from the Dahlem Research School of the Freie Universität, Berlin have supported the final stages of writing. The supervisors for this dissertation were Prof. Dr. Christoph Wulf (Erziehungswissenschaft und Psychologie, Anthropologie der Erziehung) and Prof. Dr. Birgitt Röttger-Rössler (Ethnologie): they have both been thoroughly supportive at each stage of this work, from its initial conception to its final corrections.

I am not sure where to start with the people I want to thank for their support in this endeavour I have undertaken. First and foremost should

certainly come my friends and informants in Mani who welcomed me, patiently answered my often naïve questions, opened their houses and hearts to me, and believed in my work even at times when I found it difficult to do so. They know who they are: Yannis, Antonia, Maria, Dimitris, Savvas, Venetia, Athena, Soso, Stamatis, Andreas; and they know too that my sense of gratitude to them could only ever be clumsily expressed here.

Directly thereafter, Dafni Sofianopoulou must be mentioned; she who has supported this work in a critical and almost mystical way, and who has only occasionally made it to Mani. Not only has she kept reminding me that I still inhabit the realm of the living, but she has taught me anew how to cherish that world. Sincere thanks must also go to my parents, who never made it to Mani, and yet they too have heartily supported me. As did Martin Bittner, Thomas Stodulka, Michalis Kontopodis and Markus Edler. Tomek Wochniek also never came, but read, discussed and commented on this work. Others made it there, however: my brother Dimitris did, Kostas Hritis and Sean Foley did, and I am grateful they did so. Finally, I want to thank Brendan O'Hanrahan who danced across my dots [sic.] and swept away my commas.

Preface

The choice of a site for fieldwork, as well as the themes that the ethnographer will focus on cannot be entirely independent of his individual experiences, his memory, imagination, feelings and sensibilities; this is particularly true in the field of death and its rituals - a subject that cannot be *remotely* studied (Robben 2004:1). Death in the field can have an inescapable emotional impact on the researcher and may also act as a reminder and a metaphor for the researcher's own losses, or even his own death. This insight was echoed by one of my main informants and a very good friend, Yannis, a Maniat man in his fifties, who once asked me, why was it that I was so interested in laments? He observed that it might be essential for the research I was doing to understand where my interest in lamenting stems from. I was not able to provide Yannis with a direct or precise answer when he asked me, but his question stuck, and made me reflect extensively upon the very research I was undertaking. He was himself deeply interested in Maniat lamenting, and unfortunately for him, as he told me, he has had the chance to listen and lament a fair share of them, which in many cases followed violent and disruptive deaths that occurred in his direct social environment. When I asked him the same question, he told me that his interest began before he encountered an actual *kláma* (mourning ritual) for the first time. He recalled an incident from his early childhood when, as he played in a field, he saw two women dressed in black who were sitting on a rock and singing "something" to one another; that something was a

song, intense and powerful, and strange, and it charmed him; he gave up his game and hid behind a nearby tree, spying on the two women who went on singing for hours, or so it seemed to him. This is where he traces the beginnings of his interest in lamenting, or rather, as he put it, his enchantment by lamenting.

My own interest in lamenting began on December 23rd 2003 at nine o' clock in the morning, a few hours before the funeral of my grandmother, who having reached her eighty-third year had died of old age; my grandmother came from my mother's side of the family, from the village of Exopolis in Crete. All six of my grandmother's children were present for the occasion: four daughters and two sons, with her six grandchildren, all of whom were boys except for one girl, Argiro, who was named after my grandmother. The fact that the whole family was there was an exceptional occasion, something I had not seen in the fifteen years prior to the funeral. The reason is that the two brothers were not on good terms and would not speak to each other for many years. The decades-old dispute of the two brothers resulted in countless bitter conflicts and sadness, which had been particularly difficult for my grandmother but bitterly experienced by us grandchildren as well, who could not understand why we were not supposed to talk to our cousins. On the day of the funeral though, everybody was there at the house of my grandmother. The open casket with her body was in the centre of the living room for the villagers and relatives to pay their respects and say their last goodbyes. There were walnuts, biscuits and beverages and the front door to the street was opened for the occasion. Some close relatives were constantly in the room while many other people were coming and going, or standing on the street, chatting and waiting for the funeral. Argiro, my cousin, then aged twelve and the daughter of one of the two brothers had been there since dawn, standing by the body of our grandmother, apparently sleepless and in deep shock,

murmuring to her deceased grandmother in between sobs. At some particular moment, when the room was relatively full, Argiro suddenly rose and said in a loud, calm and clear voice: "Ah Granny, you didn't manage to bring together your two sons during your life and you did it by your death." Everybody froze at her words. Nobody dared to say anything – some turned their eyes on the floor and some broke into tears. Nobody murmured, nobody tried to interrupt Argiro as she repeated her words – this time silently, almost in a whisper, yet easily heard in the silence that was bestowed upon the room. She repeated her words once more, put her young thin frail hand over the forehead of my grandmother and broke into tears.

Nobody interrupted Agiro's transgression, and her voicing of the unsaid. Nobody tried to stop her or reason with her, because at this time she was powerful, in her dark grey dress, with her black hair ruffled, and her eyes red, sleepless and exhausted, she was *powerful*, and she was *right*. And it took me many years and this ethnographic research to understand why.

Note on the transliteration of Greek

& abbreviations

Below is a chart for the transliteration of Greek words found within the text of this dissertation. The first column contains the Greek character, capitalised and small; the second column contains the character(s) from the Latin alphabet used in transliteration.

Individual

letters:

A, α :a

B, β :v

Γ, γ :g, ghor y

Δ, δ :d

E, ε :e

Z, ζ :z

H, η :i

Θ, θ :th

I, ι : i

K, κ :k

Λ, λ :l

M, μ :m

N, ν :n

Ξ, ξ :x

O, ο :o

Π, π :p

P, ρ :r

Σ, σ :s

T, τ :t

Υ, υ :i

Φ, φ :f

X, χ :h or ch

Ψ, ψ :ps

Ω, ω :o

Diphthongs:

Αι, αι :ai (or e)

Αυ, αυ :av or af

Γγ, γγ :gg

Γκ, γκ :gk

Γχ, γχ :gh

Ει, ει :ei

Ευ, ευ :ev or ef

Μπ, μπ :b

Ντ, ντ :nt

Οι, οι :oi

Ου, ου :ou

Σχ, σχ :sh

Τζ, τζ :tz

Τσ, τσ :ts

The issue of Greek transliteration has caused much controversy and debate in Greek literature studies (Holst-Warhaft 1995: x). In this work, with respect to the original oral character of *moiológhia*, I have favoured a phonetic transliteration over a literal orthographic one. In doing so, I follow scholars in the humanities (i.e. Alexiou 1974; Holst-Warhaft 1995) and in anthropology (i.e. Danforth 1982; Seremetakis 1991) who have engaged with lamenting traditions in Greece. My intention in doing so is to shape a uniform and consistent body of literature on rural Greek laments. To provide an example, I use '*moiológhia*' (laments) instead of '*moiolóya*'.

Finally, a note on abbreviations: each extensively quoted lament fragment is signified with a capital 'M' followed by a progressive number, e.g. [M12]; and accordingly, each oral narrative or interview fragment quoted is signified with an N and a progressive number, e.g. [N01].

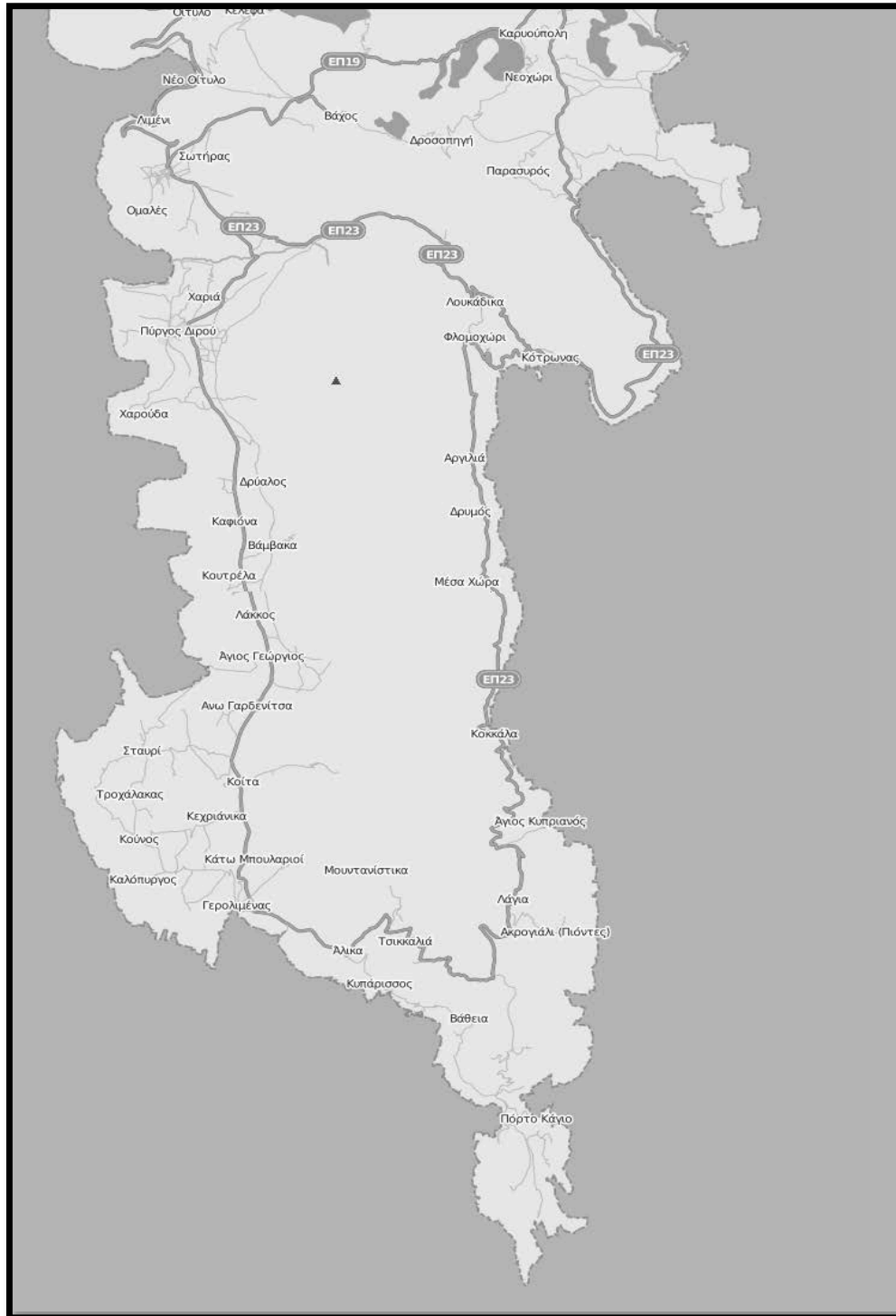


Figure 1: Map of the Mani region. The Taygetus Mountain range divides Mani into the western and eastern parts; the former is referred to as *aposkieri* (shady) Mani and the latter as *prosiliaki* (sunny) Mani. The western side is further divided from the village of Oitylo (Oitylo) into the Inner Mani region in the south, and the Outer Mani region in the north. The eastern side of the peninsula, from Gytheio to Porto Cayo is also known as *Kato* (Lower) Mani. (Map: [openstreetmap.org](https://www.openstreetmap.org); © OpenStreetMap contributors)

*Rather than eat and drink,
I would prefer lamenting.*

(Extract from Inner Maniat lament)

CHAPTER I

Dying in Mani:

Introduction to Inner Maniat lamenting

Lying at the ethnographic heart of this work are the Inner Maniat *moirólóghia*, the funeral laments sung in Inner Maniat death rituals. Inner Mani is a region in the southern Peloponnese at the southern-most tip of continental Greece¹, where there survives to this day a funeral lamenting tradition distinct from lamenting traditions in other parts of rural Greece. The local funeral laments (*moirólóghia*) are characterised in terms of form by their eight-syllable verse, as well as in terms of content by the improvisational character of their composition². They are sung on the occasion of a death in Inner Mani, primarily by female relatives of the deceased, in a *kláma*, a pre-burial mourning ceremony. This work comprises a study of the role of emotion in the *kláma* and the processes of emotional expression and the regulation of emotion, which occur within the ritual.

Inner Maniat laments are stylised expressions of grief noted for the intensity of their emotionally laden performances (Canacakis 1982; Holst-Warhaft 1995; Seremetakis 1991). The narratives of the laments, strict in their form, and improvised in their content, can be lengthy accounts of the deceased's biography, of family histories and kinship narrations, and of current social affairs; the biographic content of laments need not exclusively concern the deceased at the centre of a *kláma*. As a ritualistic *praxis*, I argue in this work, that Maniat lamenting intersects and transgresses intellectual and academic categories of language and gesture, of feeling and thinking, and of the ritual and the social.

¹ An extended socio-cultural history of Mani is to be found in chapter four.

² In chapter 5.2 and 5.3 the form and composition of Inner Maniat laments are discussed and analysed.

In order to understand the role of emotion within the Maniat death ritual, significant cultural thematics must first be taken into account; of singular importance is the cultural centrality of death for Maniats. The death rituals of Mani, as ethnographers (Alexakis 1980; Andromeneas 1976; Seremetakis 1991, 1994), folklorists (Kassis 1979; Vagiakakos 2004), travellers (Leigh Fermor 1974; Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985) and my own ethnographic experience testify are at the centre of cultural life in the region. In accordance with Nadia Seremetakis (1991:3), an anthropologist and Maniat, who has noted that "[u]nderstanding death ritual is inseparable from understanding the Inner Maniat cultural imagination," my Maniat informants have acknowledged the cultural centrality of death ritual and particularly of *moirólóghia*, the local funeral laments, in the frequent voicing of local adages, one of which starkly states: "Rather than eat and drink/ I would prefer lamenting" (*Παρα να φαου και πiou / Καλλιá 'χω να μοιρολοού*)³. The prominent place that laments hold in the Maniats' understanding of both their cultural identity and their existential condition, as well as how death interweaves with everyday life in Maniat culture, is further illustrated in the following ethnographic example: an interview I undertook during fieldwork with a Maniat woman in her mid-fifties, Soso: our discussion focused on the importance of the *kláma* ritual for Maniats.

³ Another saying in the region used sometimes by lamenters at the beginning of laments employs the metaphor of wine for lamenting and a drunkard for the lamenter; the use of this metaphor may imply that the lamenter has lamented so much that she have formed a dependency on lamentng: "I'm a drunkard and I'm a wino / and the glass won't do for me / I'm asking for it by the *oka**" (*unit of weight measurement equal to 1.28 kilograms) (Fieldnotes).

[N01, Soso and Ethnographer]

Soso:

For me, I *really* understood it through my grandmother. But I don't mean at her *kláma* [*wake ceremony*]...

Ethnographer:

Rather?

Soso:

I was about eighteen at that time, and for the first time I've seen my grandmother bathing herself. I was amazed by the view of her breasts, I was a young lady, you know, and her huge white breasts made such a great impression on me [*laughs*]. I told her so: 'Oh, grandmother, what a big breast you have, so white, so big...' She smiled and she answered: 'It is an unworked, unpractised breast my child.' And then I grabbed the chance to ask her a question that I always wanted to ask her: 'But grandma, why then didn't you marry again when my grandfather abandoned you and went to America?' 'What is it that you say child!' she said. 'How could I do something like that? Imagine If I have done something like that, what the mourners would say in my lament when I die, imagine what a bad *moiolóí* it would have been.'

(Fieldnotes)

Alongside the social significance of death ritual that this narrative demonstrates, the subject of the interweaving of the ritualistic with the social sphere surfaces⁴. The grandmother of Soso is concerned in her lifetime with the

⁴ Chapters five and six consist of a thorough analysis of the ways in which the ritualistic practice of lamenting interrelates with the social sphere.

content of the ritual that will socially acknowledge her death, and her life in death, and lives her life according to presumably shared societal mores and values in a bid to achieve, for her, a socially respectable death ritual. What is considered worse than a 'bad' *kláma* in Mani, is no *kláma* at all. In Mani, a death that is not accompanied by a *kláma* (the pre-burial wake ceremony) is considered to be 'bad luck'. For somebody who has not had a wake ceremony, who has not been lamented, the expression "he went un-cried" is commonly used, and it is indicative of a 'bad death'⁵. Amongst my elder Maniat informants, the prospect of not being lamented, and the absence of a wake ceremony following their own deaths, is a potential source of anxiety and shame. An ethnographic example of this was provided to me by Antonia M., a Maniat woman in her fifties, who related to me how her mother, Aggeliki M., seeing that she, her daughter Antonia, was neglecting the practice of lamenting, feared that there would be nobody to lament her when she died. To address this perceived problem, Aggeliki composed a lament for herself and recorded it on a tape recorder, asking of her daughter only that she play the tape at her *kláma*. But Antonia did not do so, and Aggeliki's fear was realised as after her death she passed unlamented.

Echoing Aggeliki's concern above, many of my informants consider lamenting to be a fading ritual practice, as there are not many young people in Mani who lament today. The decline of lamenting is attributed by my informants to the modernisation of the region and the urbanisation of its younger inhabitants. Younger people, for their part, do not always understand the concerns of the older generation in regard to Maniat death rituals. Although

⁵ On the issue of a 'bad' death in a cross-cultural perspective, see Bloch & Parry (1982); Bradbury (1996); Metcalf & Huntington (1991); Parry (1994); Robben (2004).

they recognise the cultural significance of the local lamenting as a tradition⁶, they are often estranged from the ritual itself. Andreas, a young man of twenty-seven, who is the grandson of Venetia S., an elderly woman acknowledged as one of the finest lamenters in Mani, only ever attended a *kláma* once - on the occasion of his grandfather's death when he was a young boy. To this day, he has not been able to overcome the memory of the experience:

[N02, Andreas]

I left. I don't remember after how long, it might have been ten minutes, it might have been an hour, I cannot say. Everything was extreme, and me, as a boy, I couldn't stand it. You know, the women singing verses that should mean something but which I couldn't understand, hitting their breasts with their fists and tearing their hair off their heads. It was, how to say, too pagan for me.

(Fieldnotes)

In the obscure image of the ritual that Andreas describes, language, gesture and their interweaving - all of which are central aspects of the Maniat lamenting - are commented upon as incomprehensible and overwhelming. Furthermore, Andreas's choice of the word "pagan" to describe the overall feeling of the *kláma* implies a generational and a cultural chasm from the actual practitioners of the ritual of *kláma*.

⁶ Mani is renowned within Greece for its lamenting tradition (Holst-Warhaft 1995; Kassis 1977, 1979a, 1979b; Seremetakis 1991). Additionally, Inner Maniat laments have been noted as the contemporary expression of the ancient classical lamenting tradition (see for instance Alexiou 1974; Holst-Warhaft 1995; Vagiakakos 2004; Varvantakis 2011). This view is widely adopted by Maniats themselves.

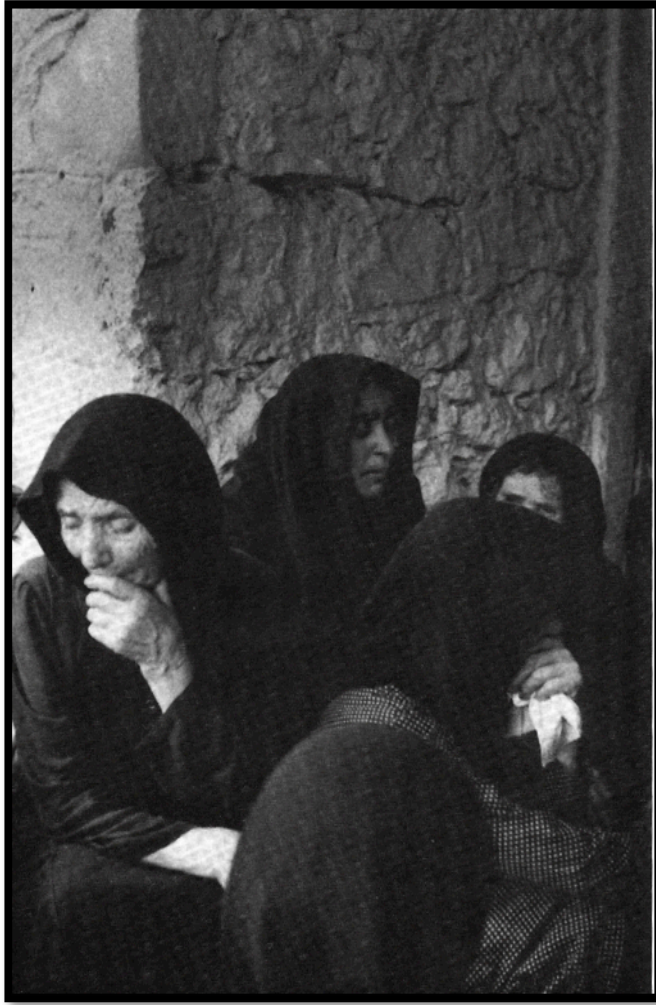


Figure 2: Maniat mourners in a *kláma* ceremony.

(Image: Vagiakakos, 2004: appendix)

The word *kláma* literally translates as 'crying' or 'wailing', and in the ceremonial context prescribes the practice of ritualistic mourning. After a death has occurred, the body of the deceased will be washed, and then dressed in fresh clothes by close kin. It will then be laid out in an open casket in a room of the deceased's house⁷ for the *kláma* to take place, after which relatives, neighbours

⁷ On some occasions the *kláma* is not held at the deceased's house but in the house of a relative of the deceased; the essential and practical requirement is that the size of the lamenting space be appropriate for the number of visitors. In the absence of an appropriately sized house the *kláma* might be held in a public space, usually in a local church. Note that when a *kláma* is held in a church the priest is never present (*see also* chapter 6.5). It can be argued that the liminality of the ritual is produced by the ritualistic *praxis* and is not bound to the space (*see* chapter 6.2); on one

and friends can visit to offer their condolences to the family, to say their last goodbyes to the deceased and, for some of them, to lament. It is women who mostly - but not exclusively - lament⁸. I have rarely witnessed men lamenting, and my informants considered these occasions to be exceptional and thus honorable for the dead, often noting that in the past men's lamenting was more frequent⁹. As, however, cases of men's lamenting are exceptional in contemporary Inner Mani, and as the bulk of the laments that I have encountered and analysed are laments composed and sung by women, in this work I focus on the female ritualistic practice of Inner Maniat lamentation as it takes place in the *kláma*.

The mourning ritual of *kláma* is a stage in the process of the ritual interment of the deceased for whom the *kláma* is organised and will culminate in a church burial of the deceased. However, the *kláma* is separate from the burial ceremony held by the village priest in the Greek Orthodox Christian tradition. The *kláma*, in fact, ends at the moment that the priest arrives in the space where the mourning ritual is being held; he then blesses the deceased, and proceeds with the relatives and the deceased to the church for the ceremony, and from there to the graveyard for the burial¹⁰. For Maniat mourners, the

occasion I have participated in a *kláma* held in the lobby of hotel which was closed for winter; the hotel was owned by the family of the deceased.

⁸ For the issue of lamentation by men in Mani, see also Seremetakis (1991:3-8, 222); Holst-Warhaft (1995:45-53); Kassis (1981:85, 216-7); Sutter (2008:12-6).

⁹ Concurring with the opinion expressed by my informants, scholars of lamenting also hold that men's lamenting was much more frequent in the past, particularly prior to twentieth century (see Holst-Warhaft 1995:45-53; Kassis 1981:85, 216-7; Sutter 2008:12-6).

¹⁰ The vast majority of Maniats are Greek Orthodox Christian. The ritual of *kláma*, however, is outside of the Christian dogma, and priests never participate in it. The priests I have discussed the *kláma* with are ambiguous about the ritual, respecting it as an ancient tradition, but thinking of it as a paganistic and possibly miasmatic ritual. This issue has major gender implications, as for Maniats *kláma* is identified

arrival of the priest is symbolically laden as an authoritative affirmation of their separation from the deceased. This is often reflected within the lamenting narratives, as for instance when a lamenter might question the deceased in her lamenting if he has really decided *to go* (to the afterlife), as the priest is on his way and the ritual of *kláma* will conclude (Seremetakis 1991:159-167)¹¹.

In addition to its religious and ritualistic significance, the *kláma* is at the same time a social event, and possibly the most significant one in Inner Mani; a large attendance at a mourning ritual is considered to be a source of pride and honour for the grieving family. Of central importance to assessing this wider social significance of the *kláma* is an understanding of the central ritualistic element in the ritual of *kláma*: *moiolóí* (lament). As a gestural and linguistic expression of emotion, *moiológhia* (laments) have a central place in the particular death ritual, and through their contained narratives generate an interplay between the *regulation* and the *expression* of the emotional state of grief¹². A provisional definition of *moiolóí* will follow in order to help position it within the wider theoretical discourse on lament.

Originally deriving from Latin, the word 'lament' (Latin verb: *lamentari*) - as with the word '*kláma*' - translates to 'weeping' or 'wailing' on the occasion of

as a female ritual *praxis* while Orthodox Christian burial is an area of male ceremonial authority (*see also* Seremetakis 1991).

¹¹ In a similar example provided by Theros (1942, quoted in Holst Warhaft 1995: 62-3; *my translation*), the priest is sent away by the lamenter: "Listen to this old priest/ go elsewhere to do your liturgies/ and if there's an opening to Hades/ go there to find your cantor [...]." In this extract, and in the course of three verses, the lamenter bridges the Christian and the ancient Greek mythological cosmos. Holst Warhaft (1995:62) notes that in Maniat lamenting, "Christian imagery is often mixed with pagan [...]."

¹² The role of *moiolóí* in ritual and the interplay between the regulation and expression of emotion, which occurs through its narratives are discussed in detail in chapter five.

a particular death, and suggests a vocal or verbal expression of the feeling of loss (Wilce 2009:1-14). The ethnomusicologist Steven Feld (1990, quoted in Holst-Warhaft 1995:19-20) has pointed out that lament is a form of singing, which exists on the borders of speech and text, and can be examined as a cultural expression of emotion; while James Wilce (2009:1) has defined laments as *tuneful, texted weeping*. If we were to attempt a provisional definition of the *moiológhia* of Inner Mani, we might say that they are improvised laments sung¹³ primarily by female lamenters in a pre-burial mourning ceremony (*kláma*) or at the occasion of memorial services for the deceased, and that they seek primarily to express a feeling of loss. Such a definition, problematic as it might be due its generalising nature, nevertheless includes the ceremonial context of *moiológhia*'s composition and performance, and underlines the active and practice-oriented condition of their performance¹⁴. While this definition of *moiolói* might also apply to the traditions of other regions in Greece where lament is still practised, for example in Epirus (see Danforth 1982), or – if somewhat more rarely – in Crete (see Caraveli-Chaves 1980), the *moiológhia* of Mani are clearly distinguishable from other Greek lamenting traditions. This is mainly due to the improvisational character of the Inner Maniat laments and due to their peculiar eight-syllable verse form¹⁵.

¹³ There is a dispute on whether Greek laments can be categorised as songs (*traghoudia*) (see for instance Caraveli-Chaves 1980; Danforth 1982; Herzfeld 1981; Holst-Warhaft 1995; Seremetakis 1991). Herzfeld (1981) writes that a *moiolói* both *can* and *cannot* be a *traghoudi* depending on the emotional context in which it appears or is referenced. Kassis (1979b) claims that *moiológhia* are *the* emblematic folk songs (*demotic traghoudia*) of Inner Mani.

¹⁴ It must be noted that Maniat laments, however, also exist outside of the ritualistic space into which they are composed. Laments are circulated among Maniats both in everyday discussion and as part of the oral tradition and their social role in discussions and narratives is particularly significant. This issue is discussed further in chapter 5.3 and Appendix II; see also Kassis (1979a, 1979b, 1981); Seremetakis (1991, 1994).

¹⁵ It can be argued, however, that the Inner Maniat lamenting tradition differs from other lamenting traditions in Greece due to the centrality that lamenting has in the

The demanding task of establishing an understanding of lament that takes into consideration its form, performance, and its social significance, is necessary for an anthropological analysis that remains faithful to the both the informants' cultural sensibilities and to the ethnographic reality. This is reflected in the following quote from Feld and Fox (1994), that highlights the analytical complexity of an accurate and incorporative ethnographic approach to lament, and which prescribes the theoretical ground on which my own analysis treads:

[T]he overwhelming significance of lamentation is hardly confined to issues about intersecting musical and linguistic codes, folkloric genres, or comparison. Lament stylizations performatively embody and express complex social issues connecting largely female gendered discourses on death, morality and memory to aesthetic and political thematization of loss and pain, resistance and social reproduction, and to ritual performance of emotion.

(Feld & Fox 1994:39)

Through the analysis of Maniat lamenting and the ritual of *kláma*, this thesis aims to make a contribution to both a theoretical and ethnographic understanding of the role of emotion within death ritual, and locates itself *in between* the tradition of ethnographies focused on mortuary rites¹⁶ and

Maniat death rites and its equivalent centrality in the locals' perception of their cultural identity (Holst-Warhaft 1995; Seremetakis 1991).

¹⁶ See for instance Bloch (1971); Childs (2004); Danforth (1982); Damon & Wagner (1989); Goody (1962); Parry (1994); Pina-Cabral (1980); Scheper-Hughes (1992); Seremetakis (1991); Suzuki (2000). Anthropological theory of ritual is extensively discussed in chapter 3.2.

ethnographies focused on the role of emotion¹⁷. Accordingly, my work focuses on one particular mode of culturally prescribed 'responding' to the 'universal fact' of death¹⁸ by examining the emotional aspects of the *kláma* ritual¹⁹. In the light of my research findings, I argue that the expression of emotion has the most central part in the mourning ritual *kláma*, which allows for a reconsideration of both the ritual's character and function. In addition, as stated above, the anthropological significance of Inner Maniat *moirólóghia* lies in the fact that they both intersect and transgress the theoretical boundaries between language and gesture, feeling and thinking, and between the ritual and the social.

The data for this work was gathered during a period of extended ethnographic research in Mani in which I adopted the methodology of participant observation²⁰. In the analysis of my data I focus primarily on the cultural coding, symbolic signification and performance of lamenting within the Maniat death ritual, as opposed, for example, to the analysis of extended life histories, in order to understand the role of emotion in that particular ritual. In doing so I closely examine discourses²¹ generated within the ritual, in addition

¹⁷ See Abu-Loughod (1986); Cancian (1987); Geertz (1980); Kapferer (1979); Lock (1997); Nussbaum (2001); Rosaldo M. (1980); Röttger-Rössler (2004). Anthropological theoretical approaches of emotion are extensively discussed in chapter 3.1.

¹⁸ Traditionally, the ethnographic literature on death ritual has concerned itself with the formal constituents of ritual practice; as Huntington & Metcalf (1980:1) have rhetorically noted: "What could be more universal than death? Yet what an incredible variety of responses it evokes."

¹⁹ My own understanding and approach to ritual and the role of emotion are discussed in chapter 3.3.

²⁰ For a discussion of the methodology for this research, alongside the research ethics that prescribed it, see chapter two.

²¹ See chapter 4.2, five and six. On the concept of 'discourse', see also: Fairclough (2001, 2010); Foucault (1982); Van Dijk (2011).

to the dialogical relation of the ritual's practise to the broader domain of Maniat society beyond the ritualistic sphere. Alongside the analysis of the symbolic language of the ritual's discourse and its relation to the social sphere, I contextualise the descriptions of practices, behaviours and events, providing in a sense what Clifford Geertz (1973:5-10) has called "thick description" in order to make their meaning more accessible.

*You walk into the room,
with your pencil in your hand,
you see somebody naked and you say:
"Who is that man?"*

(‘Ballad of a Thin Man’, Bob Dylan)

CHAPTER 2
In the Field:
Ethnographic Practice in the Field of Death Ritual

2.1 Introduction to Ethnographic Fieldwork

The main body of research for this dissertation was conducted over a sixteen-month period of ethnographic fieldwork in Inner Mani between 2009 and 2011. Powdermaker (1969) describes the key components of anthropological fieldwork:

Fieldwork is the study of people and of their culture in their natural habitat. Anthropological fieldwork has been characterised by the prolonged residence of the investigator, his participation in and observation of the society, and his attempt to understand the inside view of the native peoples [...] *learning as far as possible, to speak, think, see, feel and act as a member of its culture and, at the same time, as a trained anthropologist from a different culture.*

(Powdermaker 1969, quoted in Robben and Sluka 2007:7; *my emphasis*)

Fieldwork is widely held by anthropologists to be a profession defining rite of passage and the corner stone of anthropological research (*see* Carrither 1996; Robben and Sluka 2007; Westbrook 2008). The period of fieldwork itself is optimally preceded by extensive bibliographical research and followed by a period of consequent research during the writing-up phase of the ethnography (Sanjek 1996:196-8). Additionally, it has been noted that it is essential that the organisation, evaluation and processing of the material collected should start while still in the field (*see* Robben & Sluka 2007; Malinowski 1984; Sanjek 1996). To enable them to successfully research and interpret the cultural lives of others on such terms many anthropologists reflect at length on the importance of spending prolonged and repeated amounts of time with, and participating in - if not sharing - the life experiences of informants (*see* e.g., Sutton 1998; Stoller

1989; Kenna 1992)²². This rather 'hands-on' approach to understanding social and cultural life is further realised within ethnographic fieldwork through the methodological approach of participant-observation²³, the methodological scheme that I followed throughout my own research. As the term implies, such an approach necessitates not only observation of social phenomena as they occur, but also the researcher's participation within the social and cultural milieu of the people he studies. However, participant-observation means more than merely spending time with informants, it is goal-orientated in a research sense, and should be focused enough to offer clarity of subject, while flexible enough to deal with the contingencies that the real world constantly throws up (Burgess 2000:31). It also entails, or is assisted by, an understanding that some forms of knowledge are best understood by non-verbal elaboration, or at least in conjunction with this, and that the verbal elaboration of cultural phenomena cannot be extricated from its social context (Jenkins 1994); additionally cultural

²² During the 1980s certain facets of the fieldwork paradigm was seriously undermined and challenged in an anthropological movement, which has come to be known as the 'reflexivity turn'. This movement stemmed from a post-modern theoretical critique of classical ethnographic texts (*see* Fabian 2002; Clifford & Marcus 1986). The main critique of such authors aimed at the relation between power and the production of knowledge. The methodological framework which has resulted from such critiques called for ethnographers to be more reflexive concerning their method and material, that is to provide details of their fieldwork experience and their informants; to adopt experimental forms and methods which may be improvised to suit the particular culture or case-study; to reflect upon their roles during fieldwork and how this affects the material they collect; and to not ignore social issues that are of central importance to their informants (*see for instance* Berger 1993; Brettell 1993; Jackson 2005; Robben & Sluka 2007).

²³ The methodological approach of participant-observation requires the researcher to adopt an ethical stance as a participant in the culture he studies, while still attending to the professional disciplinary ethical guidelines for good research practice, which in this case are the professional ethics of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and those of the Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA). My research has been conducted in accordance with the ASA's ethical guidelines for good research practice of (2011) and is also in compliance with the AAA's similar guidelines (1998).

knowledge and values are regularly elaborated through example, experience, verbal and non-verbal knowledge (see Jenkins 1994; Salzman 1996).



Figure 3: Forty-day memorial service at a taverna in Inner Mani. (Photo by the author, 2009.)

2.2 *Research Methods and Ethics in the Field of Death Ritual*

Fieldwork was conducted for this ethnography while I resided in Inner Mani over a period of two years in a house I rented from January 2009 to January 2011 in the village of Pirghos Dirou. During plenary field research in the month of January 2009 I rented a house in Pirghos Dirou and explored possibilities for long-term research. The main body of research began in September 2009 after I had moved to Pirghos Dirou and settled the practical details of my stay in

preparation for a long-term period of fieldwork. I continued to stay in Pirghos Dirou until January 2011. Through everyday contact with the people from the village I started to build a network of informants and gradually engage in the communal life of the village. From the outset I presented myself as a "researcher" with an interest in laments. Mindful of the ethical implications of my research, my role as a social anthropologist often had to be explained clearly to my informants, including both the nature of the research and any research outcomes (*see* ASA 2011) so that they were fully aware of any factors that might influence their willingness to communicate and co-operate with my research²⁴, including the purpose of study and the consequences of research.

After a number of weeks I started conducting interviews with locals, focusing mainly on women who were active lamenters. Alongside interviews, I made extended use of research data and information retrieved within the course of everyday conversation, which included casual chatting, discussing rumours and listening to gossip. To participate in such forms of dialogue is what Sanjek

²⁴ With regard to the ethical implications of forming a network of informants: informants have the right to remain anonymous if they so wish (*see for instance* ASA 2011, pt.5). If an anthropologist makes a guarantee of privacy and confidentiality, this must be honoured even when there are no legal or institutionalised obligations to do so. Sensitive details gathered during research may compromise individuals in their own locality or further afield. To avoid such issues, and after asking for my informants' opinions on this matter, I have altered the names of *all* of my informants in my descriptions, quotations, and lament extracts. In examples of historical laments that are in wide circulation among the Maniats or even published, I have retained the original names. Furthermore, according to the ASA (2011, pt.7) informants have certain rights regarding the data, recordings and publications that anthropologists use and make available from the material gathered during fieldwork and it further suggests that the work should be made available in the country of research. I have honoured the first part of this proposition in my research, and, I will endeavour to publish and distribute a Greek translation of this work in Greece as soon as possible.

(1991:196-8) understands as listening to 'speech in action', which apart from offering directly relevant data, provides the anthropologist with an understanding of the prevailing cultural conventions, which will gradually lead him to formulate more culturally accurate and therefore more pertinent questions, which in turn should lead to a better understanding of the local social and cultural milieu. A sensibility to local cultural conventions is instrumental for the researcher in establishing relationships of trust with his informants, and the matter of establishing and *honouring* trust invested in one by informants opens up some of the most relevant topics in informant-researcher relations²⁵ as for example with regard to securing access to the field of study, the particularities of which I discuss below.

The factors that were initially crucial in facilitating access to my field of study were connected to the locals taking an interest, and gradually a liking to me as somebody who was clearly interested in many facets of their local culture. The fact that I come from the island of Crete generated a particular resonance among my informants, as they consider Cretans and Maniats to share certain cultural and historical characteristics, such as respect for the notion of 'honour', the taking of pride in their mutual histories in the struggle for independence, and some commonalities in their respective language idioms (*see* Leigh Fermor 1984; Herzfeld 1982). Often, for instance, in interviews I conducted, I was turned into the interviewee by my informants who would enquire about the Cretan equivalent of historical or cultural details relating to the subjects that we were discussing. The creation of bonds of trust between my informants and myself, however, came about principally through shared labour. The olive

²⁵ In the ethical guidelines for good research practice of the ASA (2011) a central focus is put on the responsibility of the anthropologist to respect and protect his informants, as well as to respect the integrity of the social milieu of the society one studies. One should always be mindful that research is not justification to ignore local values (ASA 2011).

harvesting period around November of 2009 was a turning point for my research. Having some knowledge of the work, I suggested to some of my informants that I could help. Furthermore, I have worked in assisting informants in Mani as a waiter, as a gardener, and as builder. Importantly, through labor I was given a chance to properly introduce my professional intentions by refusing to be paid for my work and instead explain that *I was actually working doing research*, and was being paid for it.

Through hours of exhausting work, as well as shared winter idleness, I gained insight into every-day discourses, created bonds of friendship and gradually gained the trust of my informants and their families and began to integrate more into local society. Additionally, insight into the local culture gained through working alongside locals provided me with important data. An example of this was through working as a waiter in the local taverna. On occasion I was asked by Michalis, the local taverna owner, to assist him when he needed an extra waiter, for instance, when he had to host a banquet for many people. In several such cases the banquet was held after funerals or memorial services for the family and close friends of the deceased, and this offered me ample opportunity for discussions surrounding the subject of death rituals with the taverna's customers – as mentioned above, however, I was always careful to point out to my interlocutors my role as a researcher. The knowledge acquired through such conversation (as opposed to formal or informal interviews) has proven to be important both in the sense of shaping an understanding of the 'society' I was becoming part of, and as data (*see also* Sanjek 1991).

It was only after a long period of everyday encounters and co-existence that I was able to participate in and grasp the cultural reality of the people I was studying; and it was only through the personal bonds that were created during this period that I was eventually able to participate in the Maniat death rituals.

Already knowing of my interest in death ritual and my role as a researcher, an informant of mine, Michalis, the Pirghos Dirou taverna-owner mentioned above, for whom I occasionally worked asked me if I would like to accompany him to the *kláma* and the subsequent funeral of an elderly uncle of his. Knowing that many of his relations, whom I already knew, as well as other villagers and informants familiar to me would be present, I decided to go - and felt more secure in the knowledge that I would have a 'support network' of sorts entering for the first time a cultural sphere that was new to me. In this, my first encounter with a *kláma*, I was overwhelmed with emotion at the performance of lamenting and did not grasp what was happening. My incomprehension of the ritual activity was in part due to my difficulty with the local language idiom²⁶, which is heavily employed in the ritualistic context. Overtime I overcame this difficulty with the help of both reference literature and my informants, without whose assistance and patience, at least in the beginning of my research, I would have been helpless.

²⁶ The Maniat idiom is not only distinct from standard Greek but also varies locally within the region of Mani. Whereas in discussions among younger and middle-aged Maniats usually only fragments of the idiomatic differences appear, older people frequently change between using the local idiom and standard Greek depending on the context of discussion. In laments, however, the local idiom is heavily employed, and older lamenters told me that this is the natural language for the Maniat *moirólóghia*. For the translation of Maniat terms I have occasionally consulted a dictionary of the Maniat dialect by Maniateas (2002). Additionally, Mirabel's (1929) *Etude descriptive du Parler Maniote Meridional* has proven helpful in my understanding of the Maniat idiom.



Figure 4: Aspects of fieldwork: In a cemetery in Mani waiting for the village priest to arrive and perform a memorial service. (Photo by the author, 2010.)

However, my attendance at this *kláma* - as in consequent *kláma* - was appreciated by my informants, who then realised, as they later remarked, that my interest in lamenting was not superficial and that I aimed to research the practice of Maniat lamenting indepth, both as an oral tradition and as lived experience. My initiation into the ritual of *kláma* consequently led other informants to invite me to *kláma* held after the passing of their relations. Through my repeated presence at death rituals, I further reinforced my credibility as a serious and interested researcher of lament, which assisted me in creating greater bonds of trust between my informants and myself; my main informant group was composed primarily of female lamenters ranging in age from fifty to eighty years old of age and although I was a male researcher

entering a female sphere of activity my acquired and generally accepted integrity as a researcher of laments helped to bridge gender differences²⁷.

I continued to strengthen relations of trust with my informants by my regular presence and participation in both the everyday communal life of the village and in local death rituals for the entire duration of my research, and by my willingness to share and exchange examples and views from my personal emotional experience of death and death ritual²⁸. In the spring of 2010 I was told by my informants that I was *expected* to go to the death rituals held when villagers die²⁹.

²⁷ As a male researcher I have been especially careful in situations where gender relations could cause social or individual emotional harm to informants. Gender is a topic that continually arises in Greek ethnographies (*see* Seremetakis 1991; Cowan 1990; Allen 1974). Jill Dubisch (1986:xi), in an edited volume on gender roles in rural Greece, warns that because of the broader social implications they imply, gender roles in Greek society cannot be ignored.

²⁸ Fabian (2002) and Clifford & Marcus (1986) have written extensively on the important role that the researcher's own accumulated life experience plays in the development of ethnographic knowledge. Renato Rosaldo (1984) has reflected upon the importance of the emotional engagement of the anthropologist in his field. Some scholars have claimed that this emotional engagement can be turned to the researcher's professional advantage (David & Spencer 2010; Hovland 2007; Tonkin 2005; Milton & Svanssek 2005). From a self-reflexive view, Hsu and Low (2007:55) note that the researcher's "feelings can be thought of as evidence and means of participation", expounding on this as an ethical as well as a methodological proposition.

²⁹ Similarly, Allen (1974:14) who conducted fieldwork in the village of *Skoutari* in Mani notes that as villagers became used to his presence he became more susceptible to local social pressures. If absent from various social activities he would have to give an account of himself; if he left the village he would have to declare his destination. Allen's case also illustrates the power of association and associating oneself with one particular group of people during fieldwork and the effect it may have on collecting research data. While Seremetakis (1991:7) who comes from Mani and has family there, notes that her research into death ritual in the region was defined by obligations she had to her kin in Mani.

The methods I used to collect my data were a combination of interview-oriented methods, as well as observation and participation in death rituals and everyday life, in addition to the study of archival documents and existing literature, anthropological, and otherwise, on the history and culture of the Mani region. Prevalent among the specific research techniques I facilitated during my ethnography was the open-ended interview (Carrither 1996; Robben & Sluka 2007; Westbrook 2008), which occurred both formally, with a structured set of questions, and informally, usually in a casual setting as conversation on a specific subject (*see also* Sanjek 1991). In addition to the main informant group of female lamenters mentioned above, I conducted interviews among local youths whose ages ranged from twenty to thirty, as well as with middle-aged men on their experiences and views on the ritual of *kláma* and its relation to the local social structure.

In many cases, interview sessions reoccurred with certain informants over the sixteen months period, in which case I had the chance to cross-check data by repeating certain questions in order to note how or if their views and opinions changed over time. In particular, I followed two informants³⁰ closely and participated with them in several activities such as work, rituals, and celebrations, and I interviewed them repeatedly and conversed with them on their views in order to gain a deeper and contextualised understanding of the information they were providing me with. Such cases of study fall within the research method of extended case-study analysis, whereby the researcher studies the consequences of events upon the lives of the people he studies and their

³⁰ The first, Venetia S., is a local woman in her seventies, who has barely traveled outside of Mani and who has worked in agriculture her whole life. She is one of the most renowned lamenters in present-day Mani. The second, Yannis M., is a local man in his early sixties. He has studied and practiced law in Athens for several years before he retired and returned to his family house in Mani a decade ago. He takes a profound interest in lamenting and has a striking memory. Both are repeatedly quoted throughout this thesis.

reaction to those events (*see for example* Van Velsen 1967).

Another method, which I regularly employed, was the collection and recording of life-histories. This interview technique, usually extending over several interview sessions, provides first-person biographical accounts over an extended time-frame, as well as local perspectives on the history of the region and the cultural practices that I was studying. The type of data it provides can be of great value to the anthropologist as it offers personalised responses to recent historical changes, as well as potentially providing meaningful insights to archival and historical data (*see* Robben & Sluka 2007; Sanjek 1996). Most importantly, through my knowledge of my informants' kinship histories, I was able to formulate a clearer understanding of the respective family lament narratives that my informants were reciting for me. Through comparing life and family histories, as recounted to me by informants, with the local laments that were recited to me, I managed to grasp while in the field the ways in which kinship is reflected in Maniat lamenting and of its role therein.

As Maniat laments are a significant part of the local oral tradition, I have in many cases recorded the laments that were recited to me by informants (*see* Appendix II). Some of these laments are in wide circulation in Mani and are considered emblematic by locals. In some cases I have recorded multiple versions of the same lament; some of these laments I recorded are documented in the literature of the region (i.e. Kassis 1979a, 1979b; for a discussion see Appendix II). Furthermore, I have often asked my informants for stories connected to, and commentary on, laments. In doing this, I have tried to compare and contextualise laments with one other, and also to form an understanding of how my informants perceive these lament texts. In several

cases I have analysed the discourses³¹ in the lament narratives by employing the insights gained through such directed interviews. Through interviews with informants I additionally built a greater understanding of the cultural symbolism that is contained within the 'vocabulary' of laments and employed by Maniat lamenters to channel the expression of emotion.

Through the research process described above and gradually, through an even more intensive engagement in ritual and interviews with lamenters and other ritual participants, I developed a more sophisticated understanding of the *kláma* ritual. Aiming at the production of what Clifford Geertz (1973, 1988) has described as “thick descriptions”, for this ritual, alongside my participation in *kláma* death rituals, I interviewed mourners and other participants of each ritual *after* the ritual in order to gather different perspectives to help me understand what my informants perceive as the *kláma*. I have additionally compared such data gathered through interviews with my own observations and experiences from ritual participation in order to compose a critical ethnographic understanding of the ritual (*see* Berger 1993; Clifford & Marcus 1986; Geertz 1973; Jackson 2002)³².

³¹ For a discussion on the concept of discourse, see Fairclough (2001, 2010); Foucault (1982); Van Dijk (2011).

³² The process of engagement with the field data while being collected may lead the ethnographer into reconsiderations of his hypotheses and re-formulation of his questions, and while still in the field, the ethnographer has the chance to ask the eventual re-formulated questions and to re-try his hypotheses if necessary. Conversely, when the ethnographer moves away from the field, the specific mind-set he has built by participating in the culture he has studied might 'fade' - resulting in a more diffuse and less insightful interpretation of the data he has collected (Robben & Sluka 2007; Sanjek 1996). For a discussion on kinship and lament, see chapter five.

“Emotion is not only conventionally expressed in ritual – it is felt”

(Bruce Kapferer 1979:3)

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Overview: Perspectives on Emotion, Ritual & Death

In the present chapter I consider the theoretical propositions of anthropologists on the subject of emotion and ritual - as well as examining social scientific perspectives from disciplines beyond the immediate anthropological pale. Through a review of relevant social scientific literature I outline the theoretical background to the ethnographic analysis of Maniat lamenting which follows, and elucidate my own understanding and use of the two respective terms, emotion and ritual, and their interrelation.

3.1 *Anthropology & Emotion*

3.1.1 *Cultural Constructions vs. Biological Universals*

Contemporary perspectives in the anthropology of emotion have their origins in a debate between anthropologists in the 1980s, which sought to understand emotion as either biologically determined, and therefore *universal*, or as culturally determined, and thus *culturally specific*³³. The former, biological-orientated approach was until that point in time the prevailing perspective amongst anthropologists (Svasek 2005:14) who held the view that emotions were *transcultural*, and even if they were nuanced by culture, they remained fundamentally unchanged *between* cultures (*see for example* Ekman 1974; Izard

³³ The former approach is often referred to as the 'positivist', and the latter as the 'constructionist' (Lyon 1994:86-7; Milton 2005:27-30).

1980; Geertz H. 1974; Myers 1973; *see also* Svasek 2005)³⁴. The biological-orientated approach was strongly criticised by adversaries who, spear-headed by Geertz (1980), M. Rosaldo (1980, 1983, 1984), Levy (1983) and Lutz (1988; *see also* Lutz and White 1986; Lutz and Abu Lughold 1990) claimed that culture affects not only the practice of emotion, but also the very structure of the actors' experience of emotion, and thus "in various places, *passions* and *selves* are locally shaped" (Levy 1983:129; *my emphasis*). Scheper-Hughes (1992:190; *author's italics*) sums up the argument thus: "[T]he most radical statement of this position is that without our cultures, we *simply would not know how to feel*."

The casting of the anthropological eye onto emotion as a serious field of cultural study originates with the interpretative anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) who was also an inspiration for the anthropological critique of reflexivity; the growing interest in culturally specific anthropological studies of emotion coincided with what is popularly known amongst anthropologists as the 'reflexivity turn'³⁵. Geertz (1973:81) observed that "not only ideas, but emotions too, are cultural artifacts in man"; likewise, he remarked, that *passions* are as *cultural* as the politics which make use of these passions (1980:124).

³⁴ In Lutz and White's (1986) article 'The Anthropology of Emotion', they provide a comprehensive review of the extant literature on the anthropology of emotion - although their perspective is unmistakably sympathetic to the constructionist view. Another concise and informative review of literature comes from Milton (2005), who in introducing her own theory of *Human Ecology* presents a comprehensive recounting of the important debates on the subject at the turn of the century from a multi-disciplinary perspective. Finally, Leavitt (1996), whose work is discussed to some extent later on, provides an extensive review of theoretical works in the anthropology of emotion.

³⁵ To a large degree the study of emotion was neglected by cultural anthropologists until the nineteen-eighties, either as irrational unpredictable factors or as associated with Durkhemian mechanistic views of emotion (Lutz & White 1986; Wulff 2005).

Advancing the insights of Geertz (1973, 1980)³⁶, multiple authors in a special issue of *Ethos* edited by Robert Levy (1983) attempted an analysis of emotion as a cultural construct primarily based around the categories of shame and guilt, and thus proposed a theoretical paradigm for a culturally specific analysis of the construction of emotion. Opposing the dictum of emotion as a purely biological issue, and departing from the functionalist view of emotions, which thought them social in so far as they were mechanisms to assure conformity with social norms, the writers took up the study of *self* and *feeling* through the prism of cultural constructionism (Levy 1983:128-134). The most significant text in this collection, and one of the most cited articles in the field of anthropology of emotion is that of Michelle Rosaldo (1983). Rosaldo examines the case of shame among Ilongot head-hunters of the northern Luzon in the Philippines in order to challenge the western assumption that emotions of shame and guilt are essentially universal means for the control of the individual's self against impulsive, dangerous and anti-social behaviours. She argues that the very ethical 'selves' that such feelings are supposed to shape, and accordingly, the ways in which such feelings work, "will differ with the culture and organisation of particular societies" (Rosaldo 1983:135-6). Rosaldo does this by presenting the complexity of the notion of emotion among the Ilongot, pointing at the difference between *being shamed* and *having shame* (1983:136).

Regrettably, Rosaldo's article was published posthumously as she died in an accident in the field before publication was possible. In consideration of his grief for the death of his wife Michelle, her husband, Renato Rosaldo (1984)

³⁶ It should not be presumed, however, that Geertz's propositions were universally embraced by anthropologists. In fact, they have produced a very long and intensive debate and have been the target of harsh criticism. Edmund Leach, in his critique of Geertz's book *Negara* (1979) in which Geertz puts forth similar arguments wrote that his ideas were "(...) complete rubbish. I can make no sense of a line of thought which claims that 'passions' are culturally defined" (Leach 1981:32).

wrote a text which is both a classic chapter in the anthropology of emotion and a constitutional text of truly reflexive ethnography. Carrying the grief from the loss of his wife with him, Renato Rosaldo explains how he gradually managed to grasp the connection that his informant was trying to make between *grief* and *rage*, which enabled him to make sense of why those concepts were presented to him by informants as the driving force behind headhunting. Through the meditation of his own feeling, Renato Rosaldo gradually understood what his informant meant when he told the anthropologist he needs a place to "carry his anger": because anger is born of grief and by throwing away the head of the victim, the grief-struck Ilongot head-hunter is throwing away his anger (1984). Renato Rosaldo's text was subtitled "on the cultural force of emotion" and was a calling to anthropologists to try to *listen*, or better *feel* their informants' notions and understandings of emotions instead of imposing upon them preconceived definitions, morally charged in a cultural system far from the one in which they originated.

The theoretical debate on emotions as cultural constructions was brought forward by several cultural anthropologists in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Levy 1983, 1984; Lutz 1986, 1988; Schiefellin 1985; Abu Lughold 1986). These scholars made it evident that in non-western societies that which is understood as emotion can be defined very differently to what is understood as emotion in western societies. It furthermore became evident through such works that dichotomies between the mind and the body, between reason and passion, or between nature and culture may be irrelevant, or at least of secondary relevance, to a larger set of cultural concepts in use in non-western societies (*see* Leavitt 1996:516). Yet the anthropological stance on the construction of emotion has been taken to a deterministic extreme by scholars such as Lutz and White (1986), and Lynch (1990), who, by emphatically ignoring emotion as an internal

state, have radically undermined the physiological aspect of emotion³⁷. It must be noted that this body of theory has been constituted as a polemic based upon an antithetical opposition to the positivist, or *biological*, conceptualisation of emotion. Given this opposition, while the insights of the constructionists have provided an invaluable shift of focus to the cultural quality of emotion, they have done little to actually bridge the gap between the dichotomies they purport to oppose.

3.1.2 *Interactions in the Anthropology of Emotion: Meaning and Feeling*

An exceptionally clearly stated critique of the tension between biological universal and cultural constructionist views on emotion comes from John Leavitt (1996) in which he expresses concern about the limitations of these perspectives, particularly as the social sciences were shifting towards a broader interdisciplinary arena³⁸. "Leavitt pointed out," writes Milton (2005:27), "that if emotion is both bodily feeling and cultural meaning, it cannot be adequately understood by focusing on just one or the other." Yet this was precisely how most anthropological approaches to emotion dealt with the issue at the time, and as such, they could not be used to address each others' concerns. The challenge the critique of Leavitt raised for anthropologists was to develop an understanding of emotion that takes into account both its biological *and* its cultural character: in Leavitt's terms, both meaning *and* feeling (Leavitt 1996). In a more specific approach, anthropologists have sought to overcome the

³⁷ Running parallel to these ideas, the development of a view of the social world as a set of cognitions has influenced many constructionists to place an over-emphasis on emotion as a cognitive function (Leavitt 1996; Harre 1986).

³⁸ Another similar critique is that of Nussbaum (2001). Her argumentation, however, has its dialectic potential weakened by the author's over-emphasis on the universal approach (*see also* Wierzbicka 2003).

biology/culture dichotomy by approaching emotions as primarily social phenomena. The assertion of this approach is that emotions are generated *by* and *in* social relations, and can also be seen as a mode of communication (Milton 2005). Lyon's (1998) work, for instance, which is based on a criticism of the constructionist viewpoint, suggests a dialectical approach to the relation between emotion and the social world³⁹:

An important implication for a truly social perspective on emotion is to see not only how emotion has social consequences, but also how social relations themselves generate emotion. Emotion has a social ontology. That is, the experience of emotion, which involves both physical and phenomenal dimensions, has also a social-relational genesis.

(Lyon 1998: 55)

Along the same lines as Lyon (1998), Hochschild (1998) considers emotions as having both a biological character and a social genesis. He proposes that while emotion has a biological component, for example, as with trembling, weeping or breathing hard, "it takes a social element [...] to induce emotion" (ibid., quoted in Milton 2005:28).

Within the scheme of emotion as a mode of communication and interaction, the research of Brian Parkinson (1995) is of particular interest. Parkinson (ibid:277) argues that emotions find expression in *interpersonal* relations and that "getting emotional" is primarily an interpersonal activity. Interpersonal encounters, meaning moments within evolving social relationships are situations in which people present their own understanding of themselves to each another. Displays of emotion within interpersonal

³⁹ For a discussion of Lyon's (1998) perspective, see Milton (2005) and Wulff (2007).

encounters are used to assert one's image of oneself, or, as Parkinson expresses it, to make "identity claims" (ibid:282). What each individual conveys in the encounter might confirm or contradict one's own understanding of one's self. Emotion is thus provoked but it is provoked by the need to maintain or assert, therefore to communicate, an image of one's self (*see also* Milton 2005). Parkinson (1995) takes emotion to have social causes, as well as social consequences, and his theory has significant parallels to Goffman's (1956, 1967) concept of dramaturgic interaction⁴⁰ and to Butler's (1993, 1997) concept of performativity⁴¹. Parkinson's approach provides a significant analytical tool for the anthropological research of emotion within social discourse. Although I have applied Parkinson's approach in my own analysis, I have also attempted to maintain a dialectic between causes and consequences in order to address the discursive dimensions of emotional expression in death ritual (*see* chapter five).

In the most recent anthropological literature on emotion, scholars attempt to cross the boundaries of the discipline and benefit from the insights provided by other fields of research such as the cognitive sciences and philosophy (*see for example* Gebauer & Wulf 2010; Milton 2005; Röttger-Rössler & Markowitsch 2009; Whitehouse & Leidlaw 2007; Wulf et al. 2011). For example Kay Milton (2005) has referred to the work of the neuroscientist Antonio Damasio (2000), who considers emotions to be observable bodily changes induced outside consciousness, whereas feelings are the subjective experience of those bodily changes. This process of awareness, Milton suggests, can be seen as a learning

⁴⁰ For Goffman (1956, 1967) interaction in the social world can be seen as the 'staging' of social roles (hence the term 'dramaturgical interaction'), or more precisely, roles which change in accordance with the context and the audience before which they are performed.

⁴¹ Judith Butler (1993) regards performativity as the repetitive power of discourse which can produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains. She has applied the concept of performativity in studies of gender development.

mechanism for individuals to form an attachment to their social environment (Milton 2005:31-38; *see also* Svanssek 1995). In a similar approach, and attempting to compose a theory of emotions as 'bio cultural processes', anthropologist Birgit Röttger-Rössler and psychologist Hans J. Markowitsch (2009) observes that emotions felt by an individual in a specific context are affected by such factors as:

The particular social context and the corresponding cultural models of interpretation and behavior, the biography and psychological structures of the single individual, and innate physiological process anchored in human biology ("bodily reactions") and their subjective perceptions ("feeling").

(Röttger-Rössler & Markowitsch 2009:3-4)

Röttger-Rössler and Markowitsch (*ibid.*) are careful to point out, however, that the expression of emotion is subject to culturally specific regulation schemas, which are subject to change over time⁴².

⁴² Further more, Eva-Maria Engelen and Birgitt Röttger-Rössler (2012:3-8) in an edited volume of the journal "Emotion Review" have reflected upon the primatologist Frans de Waal's (2009) concepts of empathy and identification, as well as highlighting his concept of 'grasping' and the social dimensions of the relation to the emotional state of others. In the same issue, Hollan (2012) outlines a comprehensive approach for an anthropological study of empathy, which offers access to culturally and historically evolved evaluations of empathy (Hollan 2012:70-78).

3.2 *Ritual*

3.2.1 *Symbols and Structures: Anthropologies of Ritual*

As might be expected from a profession grounded in dynamic intellectual debate, there is neither a common, nor, for that matter, a coherent understanding of ritual in anthropology (see Wulf & Zirfas 2004). Although 'ritual' is one of the most commonly used terms within the discipline - one might even venture to say that it is *ritualistically* associated with the discipline - it is one that resists adequate definition (Kapferer 2010:231)⁴³. Most theories of ritual, however, do tend to agree that ritual involves forms of action differing from those of 'everyday' life, or at least that they have a different purpose to them (Mitchel 1996:490): even when in ritual the facilitation of elements from everyday life is involved, ritual itself cannot be explained by its reduction to those elements. A clear illustration of this proposition is the Christian ritual of Holy Communion, whereby symbolically-laden, and of astute religious and spiritual significance, the ingestion of bread during the Holy Communion is considered different from eating bread at any other time (Mitchel 1996:490).

The symbolic meaning attached to the elements of ritual account for such differentiations as found in the example of the Holy Communion above, and the interpretation of the symbolic aspects of ritual are for many commentators the domain of the anthropologist (Geertz 1973; Kertzer 1988; Wulf 2009, 2010). In this view, ritual is "action wrapped in a web of symbolism" (Kertzer 1988:9), which *talks about* important cultural themes. According to Geertz (1973), the

⁴³ Regarding the difficulty of producing a uniform definition of ritual, Bruce Kapferer (2010:231) notes that: "Even though, it seems, that anthropologists can recognise a ritual when they see one, they have very diverse criteria for labelling what they see to be ritual."

central and most influential scholar in the interpretative tradition of anthropology, rituals are stories people tell themselves about themselves, akin to meta-social commentaries or “texts within texts” (ibid:448-52). However, by focusing strictly on the symbolic aspects of ritual, the potential lies in considering ritual “for itself and in itself” (Levi-Strauss 1990:669) as a closed system with an internal logic and codification detached from the actual social world. For the purpose of the present work, it is of central importance, alongside the interpretation of the symbolic aspects of ritual, to also consider the pragmatic impact that ritual has on social life.

For Durkheim (2008), whose work is the corner stone of the British school of functionalist anthropology, ritual has the specific function of social integration and of the maintenance of social balance. The elementary argumentation of this functionalist perspective is that since religious ritual is aiming at strengthening the bonds which attach the believer to his deity or deities and since this higher power is a figurative expression of society, ritual in fact functions as strengthening the attachment of the individual *to* society (Durkheim 2008). Ritual thus becomes a direct representation of society to itself, that is, a representation of social structure. A clear example of such strengthening of social bonds through ritual is made by Gluckman (1963) in his study of the *Incwala* ritual performed among the Southern African Swazi people. This annual ritual symbolically and deliberately exaggerated the potential conflicts that the authority of the tribe's God-King caused. The power of the ritual was, according to Gluckman, in “exaggerating real conflicts of social rules and affirming that there was unity despite these conflicts” (ibid:18). In accordance with this perspective, Victor Turner (1969) in his work *The Ritual Process* reaches a similar conclusion if from a very different angle. For Turner,

the central part of the ritual, the liminal phase⁴⁴ creates, not a structured rebellion as Gluckman in his analysis of the Incwala ritual thought, but an *anti-structure* which lies outside of society altogether (ibid.). During the liminal phase of rituals the status of the participants is made ambiguous and thus the ritual process is partly separated from everyday social conventions. Social structure is transgressed and among the participants in the ritual a feeling of social togetherness is created; he called this phenomenon *communitas*. In this view, ritual is not just a representation of social structure in the strict Durkhemian sense but a process that transcends it, and yet functions along the same lines, namely conforming and preserving social structures (Mitchel 1996:491; *see also* Turner 1969). The work of Turner has extensively influenced the study of ritual in anthropology and in particular works concerned with performance within ritual (*see for instance* Kapferer 2010; Schechner 1994; Thomassen 2009). His contributions also play a central role in the present work, in particular his stress on the predominance of the liminal phase of ritual and his emphasis on its processual character (*see* Turner 1969; Kapferer 2010). I argue, however, that although a sense of *communitas* is created amongst the participants of the mourning ritual (*kláma*) in Inner Mani, it does not serve to balance the disturbance that has occurred with the death, but, in a dialogical relation to society, may act as an arena for the renegotiation of societal power relations.

Maurice Bloch (1997) is another influential anthropological theoretician of ritual whose ambitious Marxist-inspired critique of ritual theory suggests a model of ritual akin to mystification. According to Bloch, ritual reaffirms and demonstrates the dominance of the transcendental over everyday life; ritual in this view is the re-enactment of eternal mythological archetypes. He draws

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the liminal phase in ritual, see next subchapter (3.2.2). For further analysis, see chapter six.

further parallels between ritual and ideology, whereby ritual appears to be both a conservative and determinative force. According to Mitchell (1996:492), Bloch considers ritual to be a "dramatic process through which the vitality of everyday life is conquered by the transcendence of death and the eternal," which aims to "pit the official ideology of a society against people's experiences of it in everyday life" (Mitchell 1996:492). As such, Bloch places an overemphasis on ritual as the production of static symbolic representations of social structure, thereby potentially underestimating ritual's role as a political arena wherein those structures, alongside the participants' social identities, are renegotiated (*see* Bloch 1971,1997; Bloch and Parry 1982). Another problematic side of Bloch's conceptualisation of ritual is its limitation in accounting for change, both in ritual practice and in social structure.

A contemporary shift of focus in anthropology inspired to a large extent by the work of Bourdieu (1977) and oriented towards *practice* has resulted in a critique of functionalist approaches and the drawing of new directions in the comprehension of ritual, which concentrate on a socially dynamic and diachronic study of ritual (Jackson 1983; *see also* Kelly & Kaplan 1990; Mitchel 1996; Wulf & Zirfas 2004). This approach has the direct implication that the participants of ritual are seen as conscious agents in the reproduction of ritualistic patterns. Thus ritual itself, instead of being a direct representation of society is seen as an active part in the political *processes* of that society. Seen this way, "ritual does not merely represent social structure, nor conceal it, but acts upon it, as social structure acts upon ritual" (Mitchel 1996:493). This understanding of ritual has great relevance for my own analysis, as I approach the *kláma* (the mourning ritual in Inner Mani), as being dialectically connected to society (*see* chapter six).

A further issue in the anthropological study of ritual raised by the practice-oriented approach addresses the experiential aspects of ritual participation, namely, how ritual is *felt* by ritual participants (see Jackson 1989:133; see also Jackson 2006; Seremetakis 1991; Wulf 2004, 2005). Confronting this issue, the significance of ritual's emotional dimensions becomes evident. Of singular importance to this field is the work of Bruce Kapferer (2010), whose focus on the experiential aspects of ritual expose the ambiguity and the dialectics of the emotional character of ritual. With Kapferer's (1979:3) insight that "emotion is not only conventionally expressed in ritual – it is felt", he opens up the question of the dialectic of emotional performance and the perception of participation in ritual by the ritual participants. Since his analysis of Sinhalese exorcism (see Kapferer 1983), Kapferer has pursued both the move from ritual as symbolic enactment to performance, and from emotions as tensions awaiting resolution through ritual, to emotions as on-going context shifters (see Kapferer 1989, 2010; see also Katz 1999; Turner 1987). Emotions in ritual are thus both *part-takers* and the *outcome* of an interactive process of transformation of the participants' experience of the world (Kapferer 1983; see also Berthomé & Housemann: 2010:62)⁴⁵.

3.2.2 *Death and its Rituals*

Death, for William James, is the worm at the core of man's pretensions to happiness, but nothing less than the muse of philosophy for Schopenhauer (Becker 1973:25). Freud (1968) takes death to be the ultimate metaphor for any

⁴⁵ This approach provides a novel interpretation of the transitional liminal processes of ritual; see below (chapter 3.2.2).

significant loss, whether that be real, potential or imaginary; and whereas grief is the universal feeling connected to this loss, mourning becomes a cultural specific way to cope with this loss (ibid.). Peter Berger (1969) has demonstrated how death, and the realisation of the prospect of death, is a crisis that threatens to bring about the collapse of the social world, emphasising as it does the precarious nature of human lives. As Danforth (1982:31) has pointed out, however, "it is clear that in spite of their knowledge of their own mortality, the majority of people are able to live meaningful lives in socially constructed worlds"; the ability to live meaningful lives, despite facing what is considered to be the socially paralysing prospect of death, is attributed to the cultural force of the death ritual. Indeed, as Aries (1974, 1981), Hertz (1960), Berger (1969), Bloch and Parry (1982), and Danforth (1982) have illustrated, it is the system of socially embedded death related practices⁴⁶, which overcomes the threat of social paralysis.

Since Durkheim's (1913:377–78) claim that "mourning is not the spontaneous expression of individual emotions" but "a duty laid down by the group" scholars have sought to understand the workings of this often dramatic process occasioned by situations of loss, prototypically death⁴⁷. Following Durkheim's view, death rituals function as concrete procedures for the maintenance of society in the face of death, in the sense that it maintains society's integrity (see subchapter 3.2.1 for a discussion of the functionalist approach to ritual). In a Durkheimian sense, mourning is not only an expression of grief, but also a symbolic production of healing. On a personal

⁴⁶ The most concise history of Western European attitudes and practices towards death is Philip Aries's *The Hour of our Death* (1981). Aries studied the changing character of ceremonial death practices in relation to power relations and prevailing ideologies from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century.

⁴⁷ The ideas and approach of Durkheim were further developed by Radcliffe-Brown (1922) and Mauss (1921).

psychological level of coping with loss, the ritualistic expression of grief, or mourning, has been noted as having a therapeutic effect for the participants (*see* Sijakovic 2011; Canacakis 1982; Wilce 2011). However, Holst-Warhaft (1995:28) notes that the "therapeutic aspect of lament is related but not identical to the liminal aspect of lament, to lament as a bridge between the living and the dead"⁴⁸ (*see also* Seremetakis 1991; Robben 2004). Beyond approaches focused strictly on either the therapeutic aspects of mourning or on the functional understanding of ritual as an instrument for the maintenance of social order, the consideration of the liminality of lament reveals a much more complex practice, which resists a permanent housing in each of these two theoretical frameworks. A closer examination of the concept of liminality will allow us to theoretically expand on the functionalist approach.

Arnold van Gennep's (1960) extremely influential theory about the rites of passage considers transitions such as birth, puberty, marriage and death to be life crises, which become the subject of elaborate elevation rituals as a person rises from one age or one status to another. Death-related rites, seen as elevation rituals, have three distinct phases: first, a preliminary phase characterised by rites of separation, which isolates the corpse and the mourners from society; secondly, the rite of transition, which takes place during the liminal phase, marking the passage from the world of the living to the after-life; finally, there is the post-liminal rite of incorporation to mark both the passage of the soul to the world of the dead and the return of the mourners to the bosom of society. The mourning is expected to come to an end, the social order to be restored,

⁴⁸ Robben (2004:13) expands on this view: "Paradoxically, much work in the anthropology of death is life centered instead of death centered." Citing Lock (1997) and Seremetakis (1991), Robben calls for more attention to the actual death. Thus he attempts to dissolve the overemphasis on functionalist or therapeutic approaches to death and instead put an emphasis on how death and the prospect of death are perceived.

everyday life is to be continued with, and members of the society are expected to return to normality (*see also* Danforth 1984; Robben 2004).

Van Gennep (1960:146) remarked that although one would expect rites of separation to constitute the most important component of funeral ceremonies, it is transition rites that in fact predominate. In this, the liminal period, the participants in the ritual are neither in one nor the other state, they are "betwixt and between" as Turner notes (1967:93-111). By this, Turner (*ibid.*) is referring to a particular state in the ritualistic process into which the participants have lost their pre-ritual status and yet they have not acquired the status that they are expected to acquire after the conclusion of the rite of passage; being "betwixt and between" is connected, according to Turner (*ibid.*), to a sense of disorientation and ambiguity (*see also* Danforth 1982; Kapferer 2010; Thomassen 2009). According to Kapferer (2010), the processes of the liminal provides the participants with the potential to transform their understanding of the social world and of their roles in it as a transitional process⁴⁹. Danforth (1982:36f) writes on the issue of ambiguity in ritual, that, "[t]he liminal period epitomizes that which is ambiguous, paradoxical and anomalous. As a result, things associated with it are often considered unclean, polluting and dangerous." Furthermore, Mary Douglas (1966) has pointed out that what is anomalous and marginal is not only the source of pollution and danger, but also the source of extraordinary power. The aforementioned theoretical approaches to liminality are of central relevance to this work; as will be shown, the *kláma*

⁴⁹ Kapferer (2010) urges anthropologists to go beyond the analysis of ritual as performance and furthers Turner's (1961) insights on liminality and liminal processes by taking the liminal to be a stage in the ritual process itself, whereby the dynamic of altering transforms the experience of the world for the participants in ritual. For a discussion of Kapferer's understanding of transformation and ritual, see also previous chapter 3.2.1

ritual in which Maniat laments are sung is a liminal ritual - and it is in this liminal period that lamenting takes place (*see* chapter six).

3.3 *Emotion in Ritual: Expansions*

Through the review of theoretical literature in this chapter, I have sought to contextualise the ethnography that follows, to map a referential frame for the themes that emerge throughout its course, and to highlight the framework of theoretical debates into which this work is placed⁵⁰. Closing this chapter, I will point out the most significant aspects of emotion and theory, and to explain my own approach to ritual and emotion.

The study of death ritual has been a central focus of anthropologists since its foundation; one needs to think only of James Frazer's seminal work, *The Golden Bough* (1976), which Frazer chose to open with the descriptive analysis of a ritualistic murder of a king-priest. In addition, ritual has been extensively studied as a system that culturally shapes and occasions emotional expression (*see* Kasten 2004; Rosenblatt, Walsh & Jackson 1976; Scheff 1977; Whitehouse 2007; *also* Lutz & White 1986). Death ritual in particular is noted as a privileged space in which emotions can be studied and it has been prized as such

⁵⁰ The theoretical context prescribed in this chapter is not exhaustive however, and in the course of the ethnography that follows, further theoretical models will be employed in order to widen the analytical context of the approach to the ritual in question. For instance, in chapter 6.5 in an analysis of the complex metaphorical significance of landscape, I additionally turn to the theory of mimesis (*see* Benjamin 2005; Taussig 1993; Wulf 1994) alongside a phenomenological proposition for the significance of metaphor as a link between landscape and the body (*see* Jackson 1985; Merleau-Ponty 1962).

throughout the history of anthropology (Berthomé & Houseman 2010). What this work suggests is to not only consider ritual as an emotion-shaping practice, but also to consider the role of emotional expression in shaping and changing ritual through its performance, and consequently, to consider the reflection of this ritualistic performance of emotion on wider social relations beyond the ritualistic space.

In Inner Mani the expression of grief in the context of lamenting is a crafted performance that derives from, and has an impact on, the society in which it occurs. The necessity for a dialectic between the aesthetic and the social aspects of performance in analytical approaches on ritual is emphatically expressed by Tim Ingold (1994:342) who notes that ritual "refuses to be accommodated within the terms of the distinction between the social and the aesthetic: it draws on both and derives much of its power from the fact". Much of the contemporary anthropological literature on lament has managed to escape a purely functionalistic frame of analysis and to stretch the social significance of lamenting practices in relation to issues of gender, of power distribution, and of transgression of social norms (*see e.g.*, Danforth 1982; Feld 1982, 1990; Holst-Warhaft 1992; Seremetakis 1991; Weinbaum 2001; Wilce 1998;). As Berthomé and Houseman (2010) have pointed out, "this body of research demonstrates the existence of a cross-cultural, ritualized pattern of emotional stylization in which a peculiar expressive form is articulated with a complex set of relationships organized around the body of the deceased" (Berthomé & Houseman, 2010:58-9). Such authors tend to agree that lament's social power can be understood only within a dialectic relation to the socio-cultural context in which it is expressed and the culturally specific forms of its expression. In this sense, if the anthropological analysis of lamenting is to add up to an anthropologically valid understanding of attitudes and strategies towards death, whereby anthropological theory and ethnographic reality coalesce, its first duty

is to analyse the complex set of particular relationships that are evoked in each regional and cultural specific death ritual: this is an approach I have adopted in my own analysis of the Inner Maniot *moiológhia* (laments).

Furthermore, ritual, in order to be fully appreciated must be approached as a practice that contains a symbolically signified web of meaning, and yet that symbolism is not self contained: the ritualistic performance should rather be understood as in direct and parallel connection to society, in the sense that it *exists within* a society, and simultaneously it *talks about* the society. The *meaning* of the symbolically laden ritualistic practice, both in the language of its narratives and the gestures of its performance derives from the cultural values of the society in which it occurs but also contains the dynamic potential to change it. Emotion, I suggest, has a central role in this ritualistic process, both as the driving force behind the ritual performance and as a subject to be crafted, communed with, and negotiated within the course of the ritual.

because the blood is my blood

because the flesh is my flesh

(Extract from Inner Maniot lament)

CHAPTER 4

Historical Perspectives: History, Kinship & Lament in Mani

4.1 *Social History of Mani*

4.1.1 *Classical Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*

The mythological and historical richness of Cape Tainaros, where the Mani peninsula tapers and then terminates at a rocky point touching upon the Mediterranean sea, merely begins to suggest at what Greenhalgh and Eliopoulos (1985:17) perceive as "an idiosyncratic cultural heritage that is stranger, richer, more fascinating and less well known than almost any other in Greece." Isolated from mainland Greece by the Taygetos mountain range, the ground of Mani is a combination of marble mixed with slate formations and limestone (Alexakis 1980:10); the landscape is rock dominated, with natural vegetation mainly composed of low bushes and shrubs, but rarely trees. The rainwater never remains long at the surface due to its porous nature and drips through the calcareous rocks flowing underground and forming countless caves, such as the impressive stalactite cave complex of Diros, which is the region's most renowned tourist site; or those of Alepotrypa, the site of a Neolithic settlement; as well as a cave at the southern tip of Cape Tainaros, which is thought to be an opening to Hades⁵¹ - and before which lies the temple of Poseidon, the mythological god of the sea in Greek antiquity.

⁵¹ Hades is the mythological afterworld of the Greek Antiquity. The locals acknowledge the symbolical presence of Hades in everyday discussion, as well as in laments. (see also Kassis 1979, Holst warhaft 1995.)



Figure 5 The Church of Asomatos (Archangel Michael) at Cape Tainaros. (Photo by the author, 2010.)

There is evidence of life in the Mani region since the Neolithic period (4000-2700 BC) (Kassis 1977:11; Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:18-9). In particular, there have been extensive Neolithic finds in the cave of Alepotrypa at Pyrghos Dhirou. These finds include pottery, jewellery, cooking utensils, obsidian tools, and human skeletons in what is believed to have been a mass grave in the middle of the cave (Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:18-9). Several early records of life in the region survive in writing from the Classical and the Archaic periods. These mention the towns of Messi (*Mezapos*), Oitylo and Kardamyli⁵² (Kassis 1977:10-14). The area was under the rule of the Spartan Empire from the fifth century to 156 B.C. After 146 B.C. when the Roman

⁵² Several travel writers, from antiquity on, have mentioned the region in their works: Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Pausanias, Strabo, the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the 10th century, Benoit of Peterborough in the 12th century, Lord Sandwich and George Wheler in the 17th century (*see* Leigh Fermor 1974; Kassis 1977; Seremetakis 1991).

general Mommius defeated Achaean rule, the region, as happened with all the regions ruled by Greeks, submitted itself to Roman rule. During that period the inhabitants developed trading and financial bonds with Rome; an interesting development of the time was the formation of the Union of Free Laconians in the southern Peloponnese, which was officially recognised by Emperor Augustus of the Roman Empire in 21 B.C. as a semi-autonomous province of the Roman Empire (Elliopoulou-Rogan 1973:15-18). The Union of Free Laconians survived until the end of third century, a period during which the twenty-four cities that formed the union experienced a degree of prosperity. From the beginning of the fourth century A.D. the area was subjected to invasions from the Goths, the Vandals and the Heruli. Subsequently, in the sixth century, the Slavs began a series of invasions, which lasted until the beginning of the ninth century (Kassis 1977; Elliopoulou-Rogan 1973:17-21).

It is likely that Mani was the last region of Greece to have been converted to Christianity (Kassis 1977). Several historians of the region support the view that the Christian church began establishing itself as late as the tenth century, though most acknowledge that there was a small number of churches built in the region earlier than the ninth century (Kassis 1977; Elliopoulou-Rogan 1973; Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985). Presumably, there had to be a transitional period between the inchoate mushrooming of the Christian faith in the form of the appearance of the first lone Christian preachers and noble adherents, and the institutional establishment of the Christian religion among the Maniat people. Seremetakis (1991:18) suggests that as the pre-ninth century churches were all found in coastal locations the inner parts of Mani were somehow resistant to the spread of Christianity; presumably, coastal areas attracted church settlements due to the more cosmopolitan character of port towns. An interesting account of the subject comes from the tenth century Byzantine

emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus who in his description of the region comments:

Let it be known that the inhabitants of castle of Maina are not from the race of the aforementioned Slavs but from the older Romaioi, who up to the present are termed Hellenes by the locals for being idolaters in older times and worshiping the idols of older Greeks and who were, during the reign of the glorious Basil⁵³, baptized and became Christians; as for the place in which they live, it is dry and barren, with a lot of olive trees though – from which they make a living⁵⁴.

(Quoted in Kassis 1977:36; *my translation*)

Porphyrogenitus's commentary suggests that Christianity was not very widespread in Mani at least until the mid-ninth century; his commentary also hints at an unwelcoming landscape, as well as the isolated position of Mani, which has been a defining characteristic of the region throughout history. Due to its isolation and inaccessibility, Mani has often provided a place for refugees to flee to since ancient times. During the Slav invasions, between the sixth to ninth centuries, Mani offered refuge for those fleeing the Slavs, and after the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, also for exiled Byzantine aristocrats (Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:17-28; Eliopoulou-Rogan 1975:19-20; Seremetakis 1991:18-

⁵³ Basil I of Macedonia was the grandfather of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; his reign lasted from 867 to 886 A.D. (Kassis 1977:36).

⁵⁴ This extract has often been quoted as evidence as to the 'Greekness' of the Maniat people by writers anxious to distinguish them from the Slavs who had been raiding the region for three centuries (*see for instance* Kassis 1977; Elliopoulou-Rogan 1973; Patsourakos 2001).

21). The wider area of Mani, under the influence of Byzantium, was fought over and occupied by the Franks⁵⁵, the Ottomans and later the Venetians; the region of Inner Mani remained beyond reach and escaped most of the influence of each of the Peloponnese's foreign rulers (Kassis 1977; Eliopoulou-Rogan 1974; Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985). When, for instance, the Franks occupied the rest of Peloponnese in 1204, Inner Mani was excluded from Frankish control (Eliopoulou-Rogan 1974:23-30). One of the baronies bordering the Mani region into which the Frankish-ruled Peloponnese was divided, the Barony of Passavas⁵⁶, was given its name from the French term *pas avant*, which means "no further", suggesting the lack of substantial Frankish control over Mani⁵⁷. Shortly after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Peloponnese was subdued by the Ottoman Empire. Although the Turks built or occupied fortifications in the coastal areas around Mani, they did little to penetrate the inland areas of the region, which were never under full Ottoman control (Kassis 1977; Seremetakis 1991). The region of Mani remained autonomous and self-governed in exchange for an annual tribute that, apparently, was rarely if at all collected, and its inhabitants did not consider themselves subjects of the Ottoman Empire⁵⁸. During the Venetian conquest of 1685 the Maniats supported the Venetians

⁵⁵ The peoples of the Byzantine Empire used the label 'Franks' to refer to Crusaders in general, as well as to Europeans of the Roman Catholic Church.

⁵⁶ The ruins of a fortified castle from the Frankish period still lie south of Gytheion, formerly part of the Barony of Passavas; the Barony was accredited to Jean of Nully (Eliopoulou-Rogan 1974:24).

⁵⁷ In addition to this translation, Eliopoulou-Rogan (1973:24) proposes an alternative derivation of the barony's name, that of *passé-avant*, which translates as "go ahead" and comments that, "both derivations suggest that the Franks did not control Mani."

⁵⁸ The claim that Maniats did not consider themselves as subjects of the Ottoman Empire was reaffirmed to me in several interviews concerning history with my informants. The same opinion is expressed in the regional literature (*see for instance* Eliopoulou-Rogan 1974; Kassis 1977; Seremetakis 1991)

against the Turks and consequently the Venetian occupation of the peninsula did not alter their semi-autonomous political status (Elliopoulou-Rogan 1974; Kassis 1977; Seremetakis 1991).



Figure 6: Celebrations of the Memorial Day of the Uprising against the Ottomans in the central square of Areopolis, March 17 2010. (Photo by the author, 2010.)

4.1.2 *The Ottoman Empire and the Greek State*

The Maniats have protected and maintained their independence, if in varying degrees, in the face of repeated foreign invasions. Accordingly, the re-occupation of the Peloponnese by the Ottomans in 1712, who replaced the Venetians as rulers, meant for Maniats in practical terms merely the occupation of only a few coastal fortifications around the peninsula and the imposition of a system of governance which treated the area as a semi-autonomous periphery, whereby local chieftains, the *beys*, ostensibly governed the region on the Ottomans' behalf. Through the governance system of *beys*, many local chieftains who had risen to that status used their authority to settle affairs between their own clans and other prominent and opposing ones; and they also sabotaged the influence of the Turks in the region. The last *bey* of Mani, Petros Mavromichalis, was in fact amongst the leaders of the Greek uprising against Ottoman rule in 1821; the uprising came to be known as the Greek War of Independence (Elliopoulou-Rogan 1973:40-43; Greenhalgh & Elliopoulos 1985:33; Kassis 1977:97-102). Mavromichalis is said to have gathered together leaders of the prominent families of Mani in Areopolis on March 17th of that year to take an oath of allegiance to fight against the Turks, and then to have proclaimed the beginning of the war. This event is celebrated to this day in Mani on an annual basis as the most important holiday in the region. Its celebration, which exhibits a mixture of provincial and nationalist pride, is celebrated on the 17th of March as opposed to the 25th, which is the memorial day for the war of independence in the rest of Greece (Kassis 1977:97-118; Elliopoulou-Rogan 1973:40-43; *see also* Fig. 3.4).



Figure 7: This map, dated 1926, depicts Mani as an independent state; on it are marked the battles contested and the victories won during the war against the Ottoman Empire. The depiction on this map suggests that Mani was not part of the Ottoman Empire between 1453 (the year of the occupation of Constantinople by the Ottomans) and 1833 (the establishment of the Independent Kingdom of Greece). On the northern part of the map there is a border line, above which begins the Ottoman Empire. (From the author's collection.)

Many Maniats fought and died in the war that followed the uprising of the Greeks against the Ottomans (1821-1832). When the Greeks finally won the war, the Independent Kingdom of Greece was formed⁵⁹. Maniats then realised, much to their surprise and dismay that they would not be allowed to maintain their status as an autonomous entity within the newly formed Greek nation

⁵⁹ In February 1832 under the Convention of London, Greece was granted the status of an "Independent Kingdom under the protection of the Great Powers", which were the United Kingdom, France and the Russian Empire; the then seventeen year old Prince Otto, son of the philhellene King Ludwig I of Bavaria, was appointed as its King (Clogg 2002:46-49).

state. Consequently, a new series of violent conflicts began, this time between the Maniat clans and the Greek state, with the Maniats fighting and failing to retain their autonomous status, which was finally abolished around the 1870s. This series of conflicts was characteristic of the ways in which the newly founded Greek state was attempting to establish itself as a homogenous entity at the cost of its peripheries' particularities (Clogg 2002; Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985); equally characteristic was the way in which the Maniats resisted the scheme, which sought to quell their independence.

The campaign to incorporate Mani within the Greek state was led by King Otto and his Bavarian council. Their strategy was to compel Maniats to give up their guns, make them pay the tribute-tax of *decade* (δεκαετία) and to oblige them to demolish their family towers (the significance of which will be discussed below). At first the imposition of such regulations was attempted through brute force: three substantial attacks by an army of Bavarian soldiers assisted by a small number of royalist Maniats, on the region in May 1834 led to much bloodshed, but brought no considerable results in favour of the Greek state as the Maniats fiercely resisted government forces (Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:32-5; Kassis 1977:130-41). Kassis (1977:136) quotes a popular Maniat folk song, which refers to the demands of the Greek state imposed on the Maniats, and the response of the Maniats to those demands:

Together we've discussed it all, and one word we all say
 We won't adopt a foreign judge and neither do we want him
 And if our King would like us to go and bow before him
 We'd love it if he could resolve those three matters:
 The first concerning our guns, the second the decade,
 And third concerns our towers, which contain our manhood.
 If we're to watch our towers being taken to the ground

What do we want our lives for, wouldn't we be better off drowned?

(Kassis 1977: 136; *my translation*)

In order for the Maniats to accept being part of the newly formed state of Greece, the song suggests that the king should give up his entire agenda. The Maniats' terms are the following: the state must first allow the Maniats to maintain their guns, cancel the tribute-taxing and, as is specially emphasised, allow them to maintain their towers. Note here the notion of "manhood" mentioned in the above fragment; it is used as synonymous to pride and, it is "contained" within the towers. The consequent attempts of the Greek state to incorporate the Maniats within its homogenised nation-state apparatus turned away from the use of violent force and instead adopted a strategy of elaborate diplomacy. The diplomat Max Feder was sent to Mani with orders to offer privileges, such as administrative positions, to Maniat clan leaders who would openly express their support to the king and agree to demolish their towers. Some were convinced by the efforts of Max Feder and in exchange were given the promised administrative positions, but the majority of Maniat clan leaders, and notably those deep in Inner Mani, resisted this attempt and chose to maintain their war towers, at the cost of being outlawed by, and in conflict with the Greek state (Greenhalgh & Elliopoulos 1985:32-5). The Inner Maniat war towers were regarded by the Greek state as small monads of autonomous power and authority, which the central state could not tolerate but rather sought to eliminate, in favor of a homogeneous system of law and administration (Wagstaff 1965)⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ Since official administrative positions were assigned to Maniats who sided with the king and the state, these local allies were also expected to diminish the opposition and convert their fellows into the new order, which meant seeing to it that the towers were destroyed. But the results of this approach, which escalated after the



Figure 8: The village of Vathia, in southwest Inner Mani. (Photo courtesy of Sean Foley, 2006.)

4.1.3 *Social Organisation in Mani in the Twentieth Century*

Maniat war towers⁶¹ are emblematic structures of the region's villages, which have been dated back to 1600; although the architectural influences might also

unsuccessful military incursions led by the Bavarians in 1834, were far from successful – in fact it probably resulted in quite the opposite. The form that the conflict between the supporters of the king and their opposition took in Inner Mani was often that of blood feuds (see next subchapter).

⁶¹ The towers usually measure three to four square meters square, and are between fifteen to twenty meters high with walls one meter thick made of large stone blocks. Usually bigger granite blocks are found at the base of the structure in order to offer extra reinforcement to the tower. The walls are pierced by slits for guns and narrow windows, many of which were equipped with drainage holes for pouring hot oil or boiling water on would-be attackers. The entrances to the towers are usually small openings at ground level and windows are only found on higher levels. Before the 19th century the Maniat war towers were built as war structures, which were detached from the houses they were usually built beside,

derive from much older towers in the region (*see* Seremetakis 1991:19-22). To describe the architectural style of Inner Maniat villages, Greenhalgh and Eliopoulos (1985:43) use the metaphor, "forests of towers"⁶², referring to the density of war towers that characterises the villages of the Mani region; the metaphor also encapsulates the centrality of the war towers in Maniat culture.

Inner Mani villages are composed of several household clusters of agnatic kin groups⁶³, known in Mani as *mahaladhes* (*see* Fig. 3.7). The *mahaladhes*, which are up to this day central factors of village social topography, indicate the importance of kinship in Maniat social structure. As marriage in Inner Mani is exogamous, with the incest prohibition extending to seventh-degrees cousins, brides move after marriage into the husband's household to live with her in-laws and often with the families of her husband's brothers (*see* Alexakis 1980:40-51); Seremetakis 1991:25-9). Essentially, a *mahalas* is the concentration of houses built close to each other and inhabited by families of the patrilineal descendants of the clan (*see also* Alexakis 1980; Seremetakis 1991). The density and the closeness of the space in which clan members choose to live, prescribes the way

and the tower was only used as a living space in cases of war or feuds. This, however, changed after the nineteenth century when facilities for habitation were attached to the towers. Alongside the tower's functionality as a solid defensive structure, the height of one's tower was in Inner Mani a symbol of power and status within Maniat society. For that reason it was usual that powerful noblemen would not allow those of lesser standing to build towers higher than their own. In fact the height of a tower alone could be a reason for a feud (Wagstaff 1965). The symbolic significance of towers, for kinship and lamenting in the local culture, is discussed in the following sub chapter.

⁶² Indeed, the architectural style and the density of towers to be found in Mani is distinctive in comparison to the rest of Greek countryside, and this is precisely what the modern-day tourism industry has highlighted (*see* Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985)

⁶³ Agnatic kin refers to a group of patrilineal descendants. Such kinship groupings appeared frequently in northern Mediterranean cultures (Benokraitis 2011). For general kinship terminology and analysis, *see*: Benokraitis (2011); Keesing (1975); Read (2001).

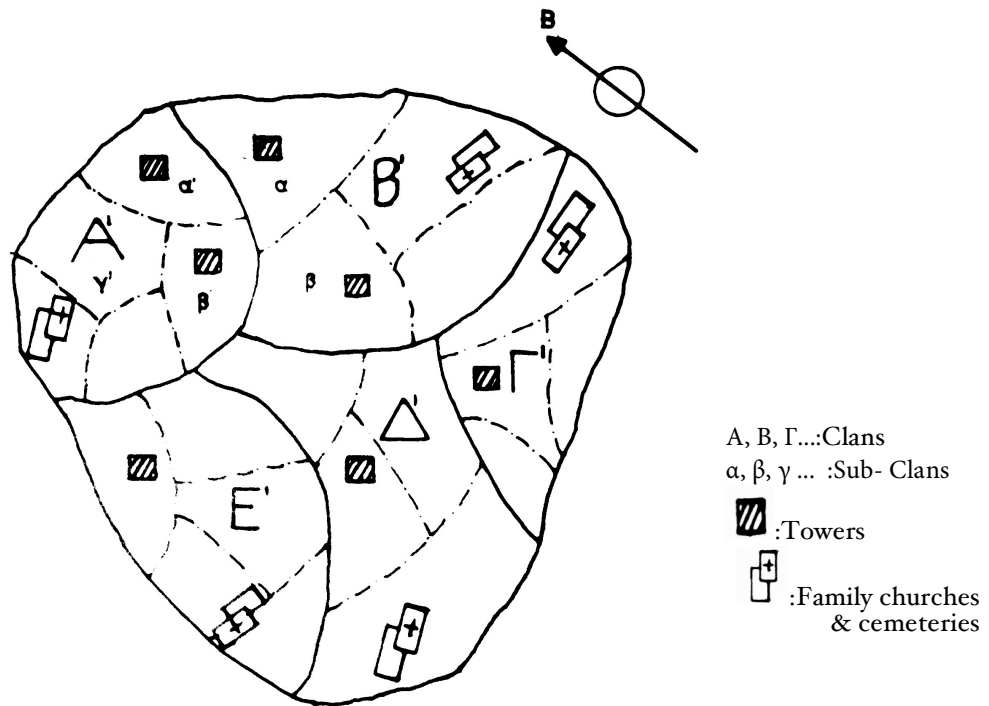


Figure 9: A typical Maniat village, according to Alexakis (1980:28-36). The village is divided into several *mahaladbes* of different clans, which again are subdivided amongst each household's habitual space. *Mahaladbes* contain one or more towers, as well as the family church, and, at least by the end of nineteenth century, the family cemeteries. (Image: Alexakis, 1980:31)

in which clan grouping acts as an alliance - a monad of power - within the village *in times of need*, that is, in case of vendettas or warfare. The space of a clan's *mahalas* could be autonomous and concentrated, and this is further highlighted by the fact that each *mahalas* contained a private family church, and in some cases even a cemetery, along with the towers of the clan (Alexakis 1980:28-36). Central squares are almost absent from Inner Maniat villages. Instead, there are several *roughes*, stone built benches, usually placed at openings within the *mahaladhes*, as well as at crossings of the stone paths in the village, and usually in shady spots; it is in the *roughes* that people would sit and chat, and still do. *Roughes* were primarily occupied by women, but also used by men⁶⁴ and 'bridge' the *mahaladhes* of each clan, as they also confirm the borders of them, as well as the borders between clans.

⁶⁴ A *rougha* is a significantly engendered and politically charged space; for a

The clan war tower is the central structure in a *mahalas*⁶⁵. Traditionally the war tower connects pragmatic and symbolic descent and alliance groups and is therefore seen as the central political unit of Inner Maniat society (Alexakis 1980:30; Seremetakis 1991:34). The tower was both a solid war structure, within which the clan members would fortify themselves in the case of a vendetta, for instance, but additionally, on a symbolic level, it was a physical manifestation of the clan's unity. As such, it is used to this day to metaphorically speak of the solidarity of the clan, both in laments and in everyday speech. As I discovered through my own research, members of clans are still connected to their towers to the extent that they are never willingly demolished or sold; and on several occasions in the recent memory of my informants, when the owner of a family tower died, direct female descendants could not inherit the tower in adherence to the Maniat patrilineal clan structure - although this has not gone uncontested by female family members.

The centrality of kinship relations in Mani is a central socio-cultural thematic for the understanding of Maniat mourning, because intrinsic to lamenting in Mani is the narration of kinship affiliations. The web of kinship affiliations can be seen at an illustrative height on the occasion of a blood feud (*ghdikiomos*⁶⁶), or vendetta.

discussion of its significance in Maniat society, see Seremetakis (1991: 16-46).

⁶⁵ Occasionally, more than one tower was built into a *mahalas* resulting in a high density of towers in certain villages. For instance, Greenhalgh and Eliopoulos (1985:77) note that at the beginning of 19th century the central village of Kitta, with a population of up to one hundred households, had twenty-two towers. Kitta is often mentioned in laments as *polypyrghou* (multi-towered).

⁶⁶ *Ghdikiomos* (Γδικιωμός): a blood feud, vendetta; the word derives from *dhikio* (δικιο: right) and means literally 'to be righted' or 'to find one's right'. See chapter 6.2 for an extended discussion of vendetta and lament.



Figure 10: With Andreas S. and Elli M., two young local friends and informants, on a visit to Elli's abandoned family tower. (Photo by the author, 2010.)

Blood feuds, for which the region has become notorious throughout the centuries (*see* Allen 1974; Kassis 1977; Patsourakos 1910) were at their most frequent in the mid-nineteenth century as families gathered around kin who actively participated in the political struggle for or against the monarchy. State suppression and resistance to it took the shape of exhausting violent struggles between clans and clan alliances. Clan members were not fighting solely against state repression, they were also in effect fighting to protect their *blood*. 'Blood' is a central metaphor for patrilineal descent in Inner Mani⁶⁷. Prolonged vendettas and warfare, however, frequently exhausted the resources of the clans involved, and led many families or whole clans to flee the region (Seremetakis 1991:45).

⁶⁷ In Mani, it is believed that the mother transmits the patrilineal blood of the father to their children. (*see* Seremetakis 1991:25-9). The symbolically laden word 'aíma' (blood) is extensively used in Inner Maniat laments (*see* chapter 7.2)

A marked rise in the frequency of blood feuds occurred again between 1946 and 1949, during the years of the Greek civil war (Kassis 1981). Most written histories of Mani usually conclude with only a brief mention of the Greek Civil War (1946–49), or, alternatively, they begin with the period by discussing how Mani was deserted in the second half of the twentieth century (*see* Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985; Holst-Warhaft 1995; Kassis 1977). Presumably, the Civil War era is omitted from the historical literature on Mani on the grounds of how shameful, painful and recent this war was; these are, it seems, highly sensitive wounds that are still open and better left alone⁶⁸. Throughout my own research, I have encountered countless narratives and traces of the civil war. The wounds, the regret and the bitterness deriving from it, as well as the will to forget it, are still part of the present day life in the region. Modernity, depopulation and the tourist reinvention of the region are filtered through the civil war experience for locals, as my informants have often revealed, in the sense of violent kinship disruptions and forced emigration.

Although Mani's population may have begun to diminish with the exhausting warfare of the nineteenth century, the height of depopulation activity occurred mainly around the nineteen-forties and fifties, when whole families, strained by the civil war and the preceding world war, left the region in the quest for a better life in Athens or in America (Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:39).

History and physical erosion, however, have done little to alter the architectural style of Inner Maniat villages and as the region is sparsely inhabited, relatively few structures were built following contemporary fashions

⁶⁸ This generally seems to be the case for publications on recent Greek history, especially for areas of Greece where the conflict was intensified. In more recent years, however, attempts have been made to compose an accurate history of the civil war (*see* Margaritis 2000).

and using modern building materials, such as concrete, in the second half of the twentieth century. Since the end of the nineteen-seventies, the majority of villages in Mani have been characterised as 'traditional' and most of them are protected as such by the Greek Ministry of Culture (Saitas 1992). In practical terms, this means erection of any type of building other than those using traditional stone block building is prohibited (ibid.). This has resulted in a striking landscape of 'traditional' stone villages and towers jutting skywards in Mani, and on these grounds, the region is now being reinvented by the tourist industry as an untouched and 'authentic' piece of the Mediterranean coastline, with a unique architectural style⁶⁹. Many of Mani's inhabitants, and especially people of the younger generation, have recently turned to the tourism business, neglecting herding, fishing and agricultural jobs, which have been the central sources of income during the twentieth century (Kassis 1977; Seremetakis 1991). Tourist activity occurs mainly in the period between July to September, and in the summer months, Inner Mani might appear to the casual visitor as a flourishing, prosperous and well-inhabited region, but this impression is dissolved with the first autumn storms and carried away by the northbound winds: the tourists are gone with the winds, and the expatriates return to their urban lives; entire villages are emptying, and the locals are switching back to their winter pace.

⁶⁹ For tourism development in the Mediterranean basin and the concept of 'authenticity', see Kousis, Selwyn & Clark (2011); Scott & Selwyn (2011); Segret, Manera & Pohl (2009); Varvantakis (2005).

4.2 *Inner Mani Laments & Historical Perception*

Maniats by no means consider the present ahistorical. Yet, just as the Maniat history is a "loose thread, interweaving itself with the multi colored strands from Sparta, Rome and Byzantium, the Franks, Venetians and Turks [...]" (Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:17), the relationship of Maniats with their history and the perception of their historical identities does not go uncontested. This observation is in accordance with the view that cultural identity is experienced in the peripheries of Europe as a mosaic of fragments, whether these be national, historical, or political, which do not remain fixed over time and cannot be reduced to a single linear historical narrative (*see for instance* Hertzfeld 1982, 1992; Kousis, Selwin & Clarck 2011; Loizos & Papataxiarches 1991; Seremetakis 1991)⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ The process of establishing Mani's historiography is a complicated one made even more complex by a historical inclination towards the oral over the written in the region (*see* Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985; Kassis 1977; Seremetakis 1991). In addition, the literature on the region, particularly travel literature, has been prone to creating stereotypes of Maniats. Morgan (1973:265) remarking on the slower appearance rate of scholarly studies on the area and its inhabitants in comparison with the mythos-building accounts of travelers, notes that Maniats have historically "been admired for their pride, patriotism and independence; castigated for a range of vices that goes from morosity to cannibalism."



Figure 11 The Maniat regional flag. The flag was initially used by Maniot clans as their banner in the uprising against the Ottoman empire (1821). The blue cross symbolises the Greek Orthodox Church. Beneath the cross is written the ancient Laconic motto: 'Ἡ ταν ἢ επι τας' meaning '*either with it [the shield] or on it*', signifying their adoption of the combat ethics of the Spartans, who they considered ancestors. Over the cross is the motto 'Νίκη ἢ Θάνατος' means '*Victory or death*'. The 'official' motto of the Greek Revolution Army was '*freedom or death*'. The Maniat flag can be seen frequently in present day Mani, waving over churches, schools, hotels and houses. (Image: Mani.org.)

History among Maniats is an important subject of discussion and debate. The historical personalities that might be named in local discourse as historical or mythological ancestors and predecessors to Maniats, whether they be, for example, Christian saints, Spartan kings, or leaders of the revolt against the Ottomans⁷¹ and the historical eras that are claimed as part of the continuities that Maniats' position themselves within vary widely, as I have witnessed throughout my fieldwork. Their deployment varies in accordance with the context in which a claim is made and it is a politically laden gesture.

⁷¹ Such 'historical personalities' are personalities from historical episodes such as those that I have discussed in the previous subchapter (4.1).

An important dimension to the Maniat cultural and historical identity is the local tradition of lamenting (*see for instance* Allen 1974; Canacakis 1982; Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985; Kassis 1979a, 1979b; Seremetakis 1991). And as with Maniat historical identity, the history of lamenting in the region does not go uncontested. In her extensive study of lamenting in Greek antiquity, Alexiou (1974) attempts to establish an historical continuity between *moirólói* from the classical period to the modern day. Alexiou's (1974) view - which is largely adopted by Holst-Warhaft (1995) - considers Maniat lamenting and *kláma* traditions to be evolutions of the 'genres' of *threnos* and *komos*, mourning traditions stemming from Greek antiquity (*see also* Canacakis 1982; Vagiakakos 2004). However, instead of attempting speculations on the archeology of lamenting rituals, and in order to formulate a critical anthropological perspective on lament, it is perhaps more meaningful to follow Kapferer's (2010) suggestion that rituals can be both *continuous* and *inventive*. In the view of Kapferer (2010), ritual can be continuous, that is, it can maintain historical characteristics, as well as being inventive, which means to be flexible in incorporating contemporary social discourse. The ability to incorporate both a continuous and an inventive side is precisely what gives ritual its dynamic nature. Additionally, this perspective allows the researcher to approach and properly weigh both the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the ritual he studies (*see* Wulf 2004). Ritual is understood as a practice that is on the one hand composed of historically evolved symbols and patterns, but simultaneously is capable of incorporating aspects of the actual social structure and political discourse. In my own view, as exemplified in this thesis, ritual derives much of its power precisely through this dialogical and dynamic form. If Maniat lamenting is inventive, it is because it creatively interweaves past and present.

Lamenting as a practice can be seen as small-scale historiography, in that its narratives are to a large extent preoccupied with the narrations of kinship ties and of family histories (see for example chapter 6.4); it has also been noted by scholars of Maniat lamenting that women's mourning can function to secure the memory and history of kinship ties (Seremetakis 1991; Holst-Warhaft 1995). For the lamenters themselves, however, kinship histories (given their centrality in Maniat social organisation) may not be perceived as *small scale* in any sense, and lamenting narratives may interweave and juxtapose what they consider as historical facts with the lamenters subjective truth claims.

As a means of exemplifying this interweaving of history and personal experience in lamenting, I will present and analyse two extended lament extracts from the beginning of the twentieth century. The extracts, well known among Maniats⁷², have been documented and commented on by folklorists (Kassis 1979b; Morgan 1973; Politis 1913). My following critique argues against the simplification of the role of emotion in the discourses found in Maniat laments.

⁷² Extracts from these two laments were recited to me on several different occasions. The different versions I have recorded are not very different from one another or from the version published by Politis in 1913 (*see* Kassis 1979b). The version I present was recorded during what started as an interview on popular laments in Mani with an informant in a cafe in which an increasing number of people were gradually called into the cafe to express their opinions and to recite their versions of the lament. I have often engaged in such conversations, which illustrate how laments are constantly circulated in discussion and ever-present in oral tradition in Mani.



Figure 12: A group of Maniat men who had just been released from prison, after the ‘Goudi Coup’ (1909). The fourth man in the front row (tagged no.8) is Dimitris Mourkakos-Livanakos; he died three years later while fighting on the Epirus front. (Image: Kassis 1979:248-9)

The following two laments were improvised in the mourning ceremony of Dimitris Mourkakos–Livanakos on Christmas Eve 1912. Livanakos was killed at the front fighting for the Greeks against the Ottoman army in Epirus⁷³ during the first Balkan War. His father traveled to Epirus to confirm the reported death of his son and to collect Dimitri’s body. And although he returned empty-handed, he did manage to confirm his son’s death. A *kláma* was organised in the family village of Pachianika where mourners from all over Mani gathered. The first lamenter was Dimosthenina Kuvarina who had recently lost her own son in the battle of Sarantaporos⁷⁴. Dimosthenina Kuvarina's lament was then answered by Murkakena, the grandmother of the deceased [M03].

⁷³ In Epirus a series of military operations against the Ottoman army took place during the First Balkan War (Hall 2000:63-4).

⁷⁴ The battle for the pass of Sarantaporo, which took place in October 1912, was the first major battle between the Greek and Ottoman armies in the First Balkan War (Hall 2000: 59-60).

[M01]

Since three years,
 good Venizelos
 who is a great minister,
 and life to him, long life
 knew the secret,
 and this year he revealed it.
 Four nations united
 have fought against the Turk,
 and they have beaten him
 and they have conquered him.
 Come close by me, Livana,
 who went up there. [*Epirus*]
 Tell me, what did you get from it?
 Where are our children?
 Yesterday I was in my house
 and I was dressing up my children
 for it was a holiday and feast,
 and off the Cape Tainaros
 our ships were passing.
 All our sons were shouting
 for us to say their greetings
 to their homes,
 for they were going to Yannina,
 going to fight,
 to conquer the Turk,
 and if they do not conquer,
 they shall not come back.
 Come close by me, Livana.
 Don't we think that it is wrong,
 and a great disgrace

to mourn for our sons?
 why, the women of Sparta
 they do not mourn their sons
 when they go and die
 for their country's good.
 The good Venizelos
 sent a telegram
 to Mavromichalena,
 that her son was killed,
 who was also an officer.
 and she answered to him
 that her son has done his duty.
 It is our nature thus
 and we have heard about it
 [*our fathers*] came from Sparta.
 Come close by me, Livana.
 You know it well,
 I reared my son with love,
 and made him a doctor
 to have a good old age,
 and then they killed him
 there in Sarandaporo.
 I do not mind his death,
 for he has freed the folk!
 Did we not want
 a Maniat for a minister
 to do good for us
 so that we'll have respect?
 The Cretan [*Venizelos*] is also a good
 he is a great man

and I wish the best to those
 who voted for him.
 Listen and I will tell you
 what he priest has told me
 that our Venizelos
 was invited to go
 and join a gherontikí [*council*]
 in England's capital.
 Greek and Christian women,
 (Fieldnotes)

the evening by the lamp
 and by your icon-shrine,
 bring your children your children
 and let them say prayers
 to the Lady Virgin
 to give him strength
 and may Archangel Michael
 stand close by his back.

* * *

[M02]

Mourn, my child,
 and take the blessing
 do honor to the bones
 of your grandfather the general.
 But what did you say, did I not hear?
 I'm an old woman and don't hear well
 our men have become cowards?
 This is not the first time
 they are in war and fighting.
 Why, haven't they got
 their Gras [*rifles*] on the gun rack,
 their cruel *karyofilia*? [*rifles*]
 Women, I beg you,
 listen to me,
 for I am older than you.
 Send your children
 to the school there's one here
 to learn to read.
 (Fieldnotes)

And new times will come
 for a Maniat to be in the parliament,
 for a Maniat to be minister,
 to talk about our rights.
 You made me sad my daughter,
 and I shall call you foolish
 What is it that you said?
 That it is shameful and wrong
 to mourn for our children.
 People mourn their children,
 Spartan mothers mourned them
 and the Mavromichalenes.
 But now I shall leave it here [*her mourning*]
 and look around to see
 all the people around me.
 All of you, you are welcome
 priests and laymen,
 teachers and clerks.

These laments above were transcribed at the time of their composition by Georgios Manolakos, a schoolmaster in the village of Pachianika, and sent to the academic folklorist Nikolaos Politis who published the laments in the journal of the Greek Folklore Association beside his own commentary on the laments (Politis 1913; *see also* Kassis 1979b; Morgan 1973)⁷⁵. Politis (1913), interpreted the two laments as “naïve” yet sincere expressions of profound patriotic feelings. It is important to point out, that Politis’s interpretation of these laments has largely influenced subsequent scholarly discussions on Maniat lament’s purpose and function (*see for instance* Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985; Kassis 1979b; Morgan 1973⁷⁶; Vagiakakos 2004).

In this first issue of the fourth volume of *Laografia* [the Journal of the Greek Society of Folklore], which due to the national circumstances we have long postponed, we decided to publish before anything else, two improvised folk poems which ingenuously express the feelings which occupy the soul of the Greek folk in these critical times. This expression is true and apparent, because it happened at the moment when the mouth speaks the excess of the heart, and because there can be no pretence by naive and illiterate women who through improvised laments are mourning their fellow dead. [...] The brave will that shines in the words of the peasant women, and which becomes even brighter through

⁷⁵ In the beginning of the twentieth century academic folklorists in Athens urged people of education in the peripheries of the newly formed Greek state to become amateur folklorists and record ‘disappearing’ traditions, such as oral poetry, of the Greek people (Giatzoglou 2009). In response to such calls made by urban academic folklorists, a remarkable number of collections were made of this unique *genre* of ‘folk poetry’ including Maniat laments from that time (*ibid.*). However, the processes of documentation were problematic: in many cases the original language was altered and very rarely was contextual ritualistic or biographical information recorded alongside the lament text (*see also* Appendix II).

⁷⁶ These two laments were translated into English by Gareth Morgan (1973), and published alongside his own brief commentary that echoes Politis’s ideas (Morgan 1973; Politis 1913).

their artless and unskilful expression, lacks nothing of the legendary patriotism of the ancient Laconians.

(Politis 1913, quoted in Kassis 1979b:253-4; *my translation*)

Politis's interpretation not only exoticises the discourse that the lamenters interweave, it also overlooks its' complexity. His opening lines declare the scientific scope and political framing of the lament's publication: it is a time of crisis and a national necessity. The postponement of the journal's publication implies the state of exception in which the laments appear. The reading that he suggests to his audiences, a profound patriotism in peasants' unskilful poetry, is presented as the only possible interpretation, dictated by the pressing political circumstances. As such, Politis's commentary misses both the aesthetic and political significance of the laments. On an aesthetic level, he assumes an apologetic view of the laments, presumably aiming at his bourgeois audience, who, it could be argued, would be used to more sophisticated folk literary products (*see* Giatzoglou 2009). His verdict on the lamenters as being 'artless' and 'unskilful' fails to evaluate the laments in their own right, that is within their cultural, social, emotional, ritualistic and performative context. The criteria upon which he decides that the laments are artless, are those of the urban and academic context of the journal's educated audience and not the culturally specific context in which those laments were sung. His comment on the artistic qualities on the lament also touches on the dialectic of authenticity of artistic production. He suggests that these laments are original *because* they are unskilful. In regard to the laments content, Politis makes a political choice through his interpretation: he uses these two laments to exhibit the spirit of the patriotism that according to him is expressed in this laments, and thus to provide his readers with courage for the fights they were fighting and those they

were yet to fight. By doing so, and in order to do so, he silences the most important aspects of Murkakena's discourse [M02].

The first lamenter, Kuvarina [M01], has a contemporary referential frame and exhibits knowledge of current political affairs even naming her sources, namely the village priest. She urges the participants in the death ritual not to be discouraged by this death, or any death that might occur, and not to lose their morale but to keep on fighting for their country⁷⁷. She asks those gathered at the ritual not to mourn, for Spartans did not mourn for the men that died for their country. Parallels are drawn between modern-day Maniats and the Spartans in her discourse in which a mythological lineage is sketched, which includes the Mavromichalis, the local clan leader who initiated the revolt against the Ottomans in 1821 (*see* chapter 3.2). Such a great breed of fighters do not mourn their brave dead, she says. And then Murkakena, the grandmother of the deceased takes⁷⁸ the lament from Kuvarina.

Murkakena [M02] claims a very different kind of historical continuity. She makes her claim upon the rights of age through a negative proposition (*I'm an old woman and I cannot hear well*). Her opinion is not officially confirmed, and her sources are not authoritative, in contrast for instance to Kuvarina's reference to the priest; her referential context is also neither contemporary nor concrete, and unlike Kuvarina, she does not mention telegrams, votes, European Metropolises or exhibit knowledge about current political and diplomatic affairs. What she knows, she knows it not because she read the papers or

⁷⁷ Yet she makes her claims upon the authoritative power of her own loss, the death of her son, and this is another point that Politis (1913) - and after him Morgan (1973) - fail to properly evaluate. For a discussion of the significance of the lamenters' personal losses in the laments, see chapter 5.5 and 5.6.

⁷⁸ For a thorough examination of 'turn-taking' in Maniat lamenting rituals, see chapter 5.4.

because the priest told her; her historical references are sentimental and embodied. The people mourn, the Spartans did, Mavromichaleans do. She refers to a *universal condition of grief*, beyond the contemporary political coincidence. The identity of Mourkakos, the deceased, as a brave soldier, cannot overshadow his identity as a son, or as a brother, or as a villager. In the last verses of her lament, Murkakena acknowledges the people present, as she is about to conclude her lamenting session. In her acknowledgement of her audience, she positions the layman with the priest, making a direct provocation to Kuvarina's proposition and diminishing the supposed authoritative voice of the priest.

These two laments, and in particular the commentary made by Politis (1913; *see* Kassis 1979b) affords an entry point to the interrelation of emotional expression and lamenting. The above laments are considered by Politis to be emotionally laden and sincere expressions of grief. The implication of this claim is that it is sincere *because* it is emotional. The supposed naïve patriotism of the peasant woman's soul, which Politis reads in these laments, is based precisely on this assumption. Politis believes that the expression is "true and apparent", because it happened in an emotionally laden occasion (Politis 1913). But, in the above laments [M02, M03], emotional expression is becoming the very subject of the lamenters' discourses. Kuvarina [M02] is asking the mourners present in the ritual not to mourn, to put their rationality before their feelings, to control their sentiments in favour of their country's good. Murkakena [M02] counters Kuvarina's suggestion, urging those present to mourn for their children, for it is a basic and universal human need.

Alongside the political implications of the two narratives, discussed above, what we encounter in these laments is a dialogue on the subject of emotional regulation. Therefore, the interpretation of Politis (1913) - and of Morgan (1973) after him - that lamenting is a "true and apparent" expression of a feeling

is limited in its analytical depth: Politis's perspective rules out the dimensions of performativity and of the weaving of discourse within the above laments, thus failing to appreciate how, in this narrative interweaving of contemporary politics, history and personal grief, emotion is not just the driving force behind the lamenting performance, but also becomes the very subject of its discourse. This is my departure point for the analysis that follows in the next chapters.

*[..] you take it,
you, that have a lot of pain
for into the earth, recently went
your precious child.*

(Extract from Inner Maniat lament)

CHAPTER 5

Ritual Mourning: *Kláma & Moirólóghia*

5.1 *Screams: Entering the Ritual Space of Kláma*

Inner Maniat lamenting is a minutely crafted *performance* of emotion with a strict formal structure. Both the terms upon which the performance is crafted and the terms of its appreciation are culturally signified and bound to the conventions of Maniat society in which it is generated, nurtured and performed; its ritualistic performance thus can only be appreciated as being located between the spheres of the social and the aesthetic (*see* Ingold 1994; *see also* chapter 3.3.) and cannot be extracted from the performative ritualistic context in which it primarily appears, that is, from the pre-burial wake ceremony of *kláma*. Subtracting the laments (*moirólóghia*) from the mourning context in which they are produced, or the social oral tradition into which they are circulated, misses out on both the emotional power and the social significance of the poetics of their performance. The following discussion, therefore, privileges an analysis of lament's formal characteristics in conjunction with a description of the ritual practice of *kláma*⁷⁹, and draws central examples of *moirólóghia* alongside the dialogical context of their ritualistic and deeply social performance. A description of a *kláma*, the ritual in which Maniat lamenting takes place, is provided in the next fragment by my informant Yannis M., a local Maniat man in his mid-fifties:

[N03, Yannis M.]

After they've washed him [*the deceased*] they brought him to the living room next to the house veranda. The priest was to come at three. As it

⁷⁹ It must be noted, however, that in Mani lamenting is not confined to the pre-burial mourning ceremony of *kláma*. Occasionally close relatives lament at church memorial services for the deceased and occasionally during visits to the deceased's grave.

was summer it was really hot and most of the people were sitting out on the veranda. It was midday and the mother of the kid was in a state of amok, she hadn't slept through the night. She was sobbing next to the body, other relatives were there, but they weren't lamenting. And then Eleni appeared, all dressed in black [...] She had walked all the way from Boularious, two hours walk, and at her age! [*She was over eighty years old*] [...] She stood by the entrance of the veranda and screamed “*My son, my black son!!*” Her scream made the whole village freeze. From that point on, the laments started, they broke out.

(Fieldnotes)



Figure 13: *Kláma* of Nikolas K. in a church in Areopolis. (Photo by Antonios Perris. Author's collection.)

When a person arrives in a place where a wake ceremony (*kláma*) is held, he or she usually greets the deceased by loudly addressing their relationship, which may be classified as fictive or actual⁸⁰. This classificatory greeting is referred to as *screaming* (*skoúximo*) and one will usually 'scream' at the deceased the moment one first sees the body, often at the very moment one enters the space where the wake ceremony is held - that is, at the initial contact with death. In Inner Mani the terms 'skoúzo' (scream) and 'moírológho' (lament) are sometimes interchanged, and the practice of lamenting itself is often referred to as screaming (Kassis 1980; Seremetakis 1991).

The initial 'greeting' scream is usually accompanied with the raising of the right arm and the address that is directed to the deceased is spoken aloud with an intensely emotional delivery. This verbal greeting is an act of kin-naming, for example: "My brother, my little brother"; "My mother, my sweet mother"; "My son, my dear son"⁸¹. Such greeting addresses and declares a close kinship bond with the deceased *and* with the space of pain in which grief is ritualistically expressed⁸².

As an affect-laden gesture of final greeting the *skoúximo* (scream) has the power to symbolically transform distant kinship relations or relationships of

⁸⁰ By actual kinship I mean that a non-fictive or 'real' relationship is addressed, for example, a son might address his deceased mother as "mother". By *fictive* I mean the metaphorical employment of a close relationship, such as when, for instance, a niece addresses her aunt as "mother". For general kinship terminology, see also: Benokraitis (2011); Keesing (1975); Read (2001).

⁸¹ Occasionally in discussions after the ritual or in some cases outside the room where the ritual takes place, some such addresses or greetings might be commented upon as improper, however, a scream (*skoúximo*) coming from a grieving relative always has an authoritative power and it will be heard.

⁸² For a further discussion on pain as a social category see chapter 5.5.

friendship to the close kinship ties of a nuclear family, such as to a brother, sister, or mother (*see also* Seremetakis 1991:87-88). As mentioned above, the addressed relationship does not need to be actual or objective; it can be a subjectively appointed relationship, a metaphor for a close kinship tie, which establishes a fictive kinship and is justified on an emotional basis: a close deceased friend might be screamed as "brother" by his grieving friend; a young man can be addressed as "son" by an elder lady from the same village. Similar is the case with Yannis M.'s narrative above [N05] where Eleni, the elderly female mourner in the extract, refers to the deceased as her "son" despite her being in actuality a distant relative⁸³. The power that lies in screaming is that through the creation of fictive kinship relations and the transgression of actual kinship relations it has the dynamic potential to transgress categories of gender, and of social and economic status (discussed below): the screaming of the dead prescribes the liminal character of the ritual in which lamenting takes place, thus, as with the initial scream, lamenting transpires within a liminal ritualistic space in which the identities of the participants are not considered to be concrete entities, but instead are ambiguous and can become negotiable (*see* chapter 3.2.2 for a discussion on liminality; *see also* Turner 1967; Van Gennep 1960; Kapferer 2010). And the power of lamenting, like that of screaming, as will be shown, derives from the emotion that it expresses and the emotions that it arouses among the participants in the ritual.

⁸³ Eleni was a third-degree aunt of the deceased.

Handwritten musical notation for an Inner Maniat lament, showing four staves of music with Greek lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: θει-ού - λα κα-λη-μέ - ρα σου - / μέ - ο - λη-τήν πα - ρέ - α σου - - / τί κά-νεις και πώς τά περνας - - - / για - - σε γη-τά - εις τι-πο-τά - -

Figure 14: A tonal transcription of an Inner Maniat lament transcribed by Alexis Kanakakis (1982). The author presents this as a characteristic example of a lament, noting, however, that there is a wide variation in lamenting styles and musical qualities (Kanakakis 1982:36-42) The author presents this as a characteristic example of a lament, noting, however, that there is a wide variation in lamenting styles and musical qualities (Kanakakis 1982:36-42) The defining characteristic of Inner Maniat laments is the distinct rhythm of 4/4 – resulting from the strict observance of the 8-syllable verse and the stretching of the last vowel.

5.2 *The Meaning & Formal Structure of Moirólóghia*

The word *moirólói* (μοιρολόι) derives from two separate words: *moira* (μοίρα: fate) and *lógos* (λόγος: speech, word), and literally translates as 'to tell the fate'

(of someone)⁸⁴ (see for instance Holst-Warhaft 1995). This etymology of *moiolói* has, however, been questioned by some scholars in folklore and in literature studies (see Canacakis 1980:25-32; Harvey 1955; Maas 1962). Alternative etymological derivations include: *mirious* (μύριους: thousands⁸⁵); *miromai* (μύρομαι: weep); and *miro* (μύρο: an aromatic oil used in Christian Orthodox ceremonies). Whenever I have presented informants with such alternative definitions of *moiolói*, they have rejected them, although some have expressed an interest in understanding them. In an interview with Venetia S., an elderly woman and a renowned lamenter in Inner Mani, she commented on alternative definitions of *moiolói*, which did not incorporate 'fate': "But this is not what we do here – not what I do. I cry the fate – not *miro*, [aromatic oil] not *mirious* [thousands]" (Fieldnotes). Similar opinions have been expressed by all my informants with whom I have discussed the issue of the word's definition, and thus, out of respect for my informants' sensibilities and the culturally specific significance of the word, in the present text I adopt a definition of *moiolói* as 'telling one's fate' (see also chapter 5.6 for further discussion on the word *moiolói*).

The form of *moiológhia* contrasts with the usual fifteen-syllable verse metre of Greek folk songs, in that *moiológhia* are composed in stretched iambic eight-syllable verses. The eight-syllable verse, with a stressed final vowel or

⁸⁴ The word *moiolói* is translated in standard literature on Greek laments as 'the mourning of one's fate' (see e.g., Holst-Warhaft 1995; Morgan 1973; Danforth 1982). The word's literal translation as it derives from its two components is 'to tell the fate' and its use in Greek implies 'telling' the fate of a specific individual. The use of the adjective in Mani is strictly attached to the practice of mourning, and as it will be discussed in chapter 5.6 the 'telling of fate' in Mani is not limited to 'telling' the fate of a *specific individual* in the mourning context.

⁸⁵ In Greek, the word *mirious* (thousands) does not refer to a specific numerical quantity, rather it indicates an unspecified large sum. The relevance of this as an aid to understanding the meaning of the word '*mirolóil*' (lament) was particularly confusing for my informants.

syllable, results in a repetitive theme, notably different from that of laments composed and sung in fifteen-syllable verse, which is the case traditionally with lamenting in Epirus (Danforth 1982), and with folk songs from all over Greece (Ioannou 2010). The rhythm of lamenting in Inner Mani is 8/8/8/8, whereas in Epirus, for example, it is 8/7/8/7 (*see* Danforth 1982). The Inner Maniat style results in a repetitive musical rhythmical division of 4/4 (*see also* Figure 14). An illustration of the eight-syllable lamenting is the following example:

[M03]⁸⁶

Ο-Χά-ρος-δε-γκρα-τει-γιορ-τή
 Ο-Cha-ros-dhe-gra-tei-ghior-ti
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

[EXT]

Ου-τε-Χρισ-τού-ού-τε-Λαμ-πή
 Ou-te-Chri-stou-ou-te-Lam-pri
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

[EXT]

(Fieldnotes)

The strict adherence to eight-syllable verse greatly confines word use, making the on-the-spot composition of laments a demanding and impressive task. For the purpose of keeping the rhythm and the eight-syllable verse

⁸⁶ Lament extract [M03] reads: "Ο Χάρος δε γκρατεί γιορτή/ Ούτε Χριστού, ούτε Λαμπρή": "Charon doesn't celebrate/ not at Christmas, nor at Easter" (Fieldnotes).

restriction, it might happen that the lamenter spares a letter from a word or combines two words into one. However, the issue of *moiológhia* composition is a complex one and it cannot be reduced to a single one of its characteristics; thus, it cannot be defined solely by its formal structure, by the emotional excessiveness of its ritualistic performance, or by the social discourses that it reflects; in order to be fully appreciated, *moiológhia* must be understood as the simultaneous interplay of all these dimensions at once.

Following on from the above discussion of the definition and of the formal character of *moiológhia*, in the next subchapter I analyse the process of its composition, that is, the poetics of lament, which centre around grief and its performance. By the laments' *poetics*⁸⁷ I am referring to their composition process *and* to their performance. The two are bound together because of the improvisational character of lamenting which necessitates that its on-the-spot composition is part of its performance.

⁸⁷ For Kassis (1979b:2-15) the Inner Maniat laments are the quintessential *poetry* of the Maniat folk, while for Seremetakis (1991:1) their poetics are the "poetics of the fragment", whereby the 'fragment' is politically and culturally peripheral to society. In my own understanding of poetics in Inner Maniat lamenting I turn to the root of the word 'poetry'. Poetry stems from the ancient Greek *poesis* (noun) and *poiein* (verb) which means 'to create'. The practice of lamenting in the liminal space, as it is argued throughout this thesis, is an action of creation and transformation, thus it is a *poetic process*. An understanding of *poiesis*, however, should not only be confined in the Platonic sense of poetry to a work of art, that is, as "an attempt to mediate between the mystery of life and the emotions of the people" (Johnston 1997:4). I also take into consideration Heidegger's (2008) broader understanding of *poesis*. Heidegger thought of *poiesis* as the process of "bringing forth" (ibid.) - which is comparable with the liminal process of lamenting. Heidegger employed the examples of the blooming of the blossom and of the emerging of a butterfly from a cocoon to illustrate *poiesis* as a threshold-process of *transformation* and of *becoming* (Heidegger 2008: 315-8; see also Di Rippo 2000).

5.3 *Composing and Performing Songs of Mourning*

Laments, before anything else, are considered to be *expressions* of grief (Feld 1990; Feld & Fox 1994; Holst-Warhaft 1995; Seremetakis 1991; Wilce 2009). Inner Maniat *moiológhia* are no exception, and lamenters readily acknowledge this proposition. The implication is that through the *improvised* composition process of Maniat lament a transformation of feeling into sound, language and gesture occurs. As the occasion of a death is generally unpredictable, the laments that will be sung at each particular death ritual that accompanies a death in Mani are improvised on the site of the *kláma* in order to suit each specific case⁸⁸. There are some aspects of Maniat lamenting that may obscure the appreciation of its improvisational character. In discussions with lamenters, I have frequently been told that, before they are to perform a lament at a forthcoming *kláma*, they might be thinking about the content of the lament they will perform, or they may even practise some verses, while, for instance, they walk on their way to the *kláma*. There are also several sets of well-known verses that are frequently re-used by lamenters in laments. For instance, the set of verses, "because the blood is my blood/ because the flesh is my flesh" are often used in order to express the power of blood ties and to make explicit or underline the lamenters right (*dhíkio*) to lament and to grieve in a deceased relation's *kláma*; in these verses the thematics of 'blood' (αἷμα / *aíma*) and 'flesh' (κρέας: *kreas*) are used as the central metaphors for patrilineal descent⁸⁹.

⁸⁸ Inner Maniat laments, however, as I have mentioned, after their initial improvised composition, are reproduced in everyday discussion, and often become part of the local oral tradition (*see for instance* chapter 5.3). Laments that are considered particularly 'good', survive in the oral tradition for decades and even for centuries (*see for instance* Holst-Warhaft 1995; Kassis 1979a, 1979b, 1981; Seremetakis 1991).

⁸⁹ See chapter 4.1.3 for a discussion on kinship in Mani and its centrality to lamenting; see also chapter 6.5 for an analysis of these verses in a lament extract [M20].

Although the stretched-iambic form in which Inner Maniat *moiológhia* are composed is strictly adhered to, there are countless variations on what we could call lamenting styles. Most lamenters, or at least the lamenters that are considered to be good *moirologhistres*, have a personal style, which is both recognisable and distinct. A particular lamenting style can be characterised by its musical qualities and form, as for example through the alteration of the lamenters voice frequency or the stretching of the last syllable in each verse. The lamenting style may also be distinguishable in terms of its content, for instance, by the lamenter's ability to improvise narratives that accurately fit the specific death that she is lamenting, but additionally by a suitable choice of 'citations' from older laments, as well as by the employment of a distinct and recognisable vocabulary. Alongside the ability to improvise verses, a deep-rooted knowledge of the deceased's kinship history and biography is necessary for the composition of a good lament. Finally, among my informants, the ability of a lamenter to maintain both a clear singing style and the 'integrity' of her narrative is highly appreciated as a lamenting skill; this 'integrity' refers to the lamenter's ability to regulate, or better, to *channel* her emotion into singing. The expression "she's driving it like a bee approaching a flower" is sometimes used to characterise a good lamenter; the metaphor refers to the smoothness of the lamenting endeavour.

A *bad* lament, on the contrary, is often judged as a hurried and unclear *moiolói* in which one cannot make out the words from the screams of the lamenter. In such cases the lamenter may lose control over the eight-syllable verse and the word-usage may seem uninspired. A bad lament, and, accordingly, a bad *kláma* ritual can be taken as a bad omen for the soul (*psichi*)

of the deceased and is a potential source of shame for the family⁹⁰. In the following example the lamenter interferes at the beginning of a disordered *kláma* and is asking for a good *kláma* to take place:

[M04]

Σας παρακαλώ πολύ	Please do listen to me
μενα μου τό χει εντολή	to me that he has left an order
όλες να τονε κλάψετε	for all of you to mourn him
να δακροκατεβάσετε	to pour tears down,
μόνο με λίγη προσοχή	but with some order,
όμορφα για να κλαφτεί.	nicely to be mourned.

(Seremetakis 1991:89)

The issue of what a bad *moirólói* is - or for that matter what a good one is - defies simple definition or strict categorisation. In emotionally excessive lament performances an antiphonic movement between linguistic and non-linguistic media, such as between sobbing and singing, may occur (*see* Seremetakis 1991:116); these laments may not be judged negatively, and may even be appreciated, by the participants. An example of this is the occasion of the tragic death of Stamatis, a man in his thirties who was killed in a car accident during the period of my fieldwork. At the *kláma* of Stamatis the lamenting of his mother was frequently interrupted by her screams and gesturing, obscuring the narrative content of her lament. Her lamenting performance, however, was never commented on by other ritual participants as *bad* lamenting in interviews

⁹⁰ See chapter one and in particular the narrative of Soso [N1] for the significance of a 'bad' lament in the Maniat cultural imagination.

and discussions I had with them afterwards, and her lament was contextualised within the borders of the excessive pain she was experiencing, indicating that a specific *moiolóí* can only be appreciated case-specifically and within its rightful performative context. As this example indicates, both the quality of laments, as well as the structure of the ritual of *kláma* are important issues, both within the ritual itself, but also outside of the ritual context.

In everyday discourse the quality of both *moiológhia* and of *kláma* are frequent subjects of discussion and commentary. The quality of the *moiológhia* that are heard in a *kláma*, as well as who lamented and - perhaps most importantly - who did not, is a subject that will be discussed for days to follow the *kláma*, and in some cases for years. If a particularly special or original *moiolóí* is heard in a *kláma* it will find its way into common conversation, and eventually into oral histories. If an important claim is made within the course of a *moiolóí* it can be recited as evidence in debates, in friendly discussions in cafes, in serious juridical disputes and even as official evidence in courts (*see for instance* Holst-Warhaft 1995:89-91; Kassis 1979 (1):272,304; *see also* chapter 6).

In what my local informants considered to be a *good kláma*, usually five to ten *moiológhistres* will lament in turns, gathered around the body of the deceased for whom the ceremony is held. The role of the main soloist (*korifaia*) will be passed between the different lamenters in the chorus (*see* chapter 5.4). The main lamenter will often perform her session standing, while the rest of the mourners' chorus will be seated (*see* figure 13). A gesture that accompanies the beginning of the lamenting of a soloist is the taking off of the black scarf (*mantíli*) that female mourners typically wear - thereby releasing the hair. Outside of the ritual, wearing a black scarf signifies grief, while inside the ritual, taking off the scarf is connected to the release and exposure of grief. According to my informants, this revealing of the hair is symbolic of the grief-struck

lamerter pulling out her hair. In different *kláma* rituals, as I have experienced it, this gesture can be symbolically contained into pulling back the scarf just a little. It may be, however, that in cases of extreme grief the scarf is completely taken off, the hair unbound, pulled at, and pulled out of the head during the performance of a lament (see for instance Figures 15, 16). Gestures such as hair-pulling, as well as the similar gesture of a lamenter pounding her breast while lamenting are ritually embodied expressions of the pain that the lamenters' narratives linguistically express, thus both the composition of the lament and the mourning performance are channelled through her body.

The primary addressee of the lamenter's narrative is the deceased. The lamenter will usually address the deceased in the first person, although sometimes she might address another mourner in the lamenting chorus, or even address another participant of the ritual outside of the mourners' chorus. While the soloist laments, it can happen that a number of other lamenters in the chorus *answer* the soloist's laments. The 'answering' of the chorus is precisely what provides the distinctive antiphonic character of the ritual (Seremetakis 1991:99-105; *see also* Holst-Warhaft 1995). The chorus's answer to the *korifaia* might be through the repetition of the last syllables or words of the soloist's verses, through parallel lamentation or plain language narrations, as well as through screaming, wailing, or gesturing. All such responses are considered as a form of dialogue, which may support, emphasise, explain, or contradict the main soloist's lament performance and its narrative content. As such, the performance of the main lamenter is not a strictly individual and self-contained performance, rather it interacts with the chorus and the space of ritual. Below, I provide a brief example from my fieldwork of the dialogical discourse between the *korifaia* and a member of the chorus. The wife of L. is the soloist lamenter, and among the chorus his daughter is heard in a monologue parallel to her mother's lament. In this lamenting fragment, the wife of L. is lamenting as the

soloist, singing a clear narrative in eight-syllable verses for her deceased husband. Her daughter supports and enriches her mothers lamenting, not singing, but in plain speech:

[M05]

[*soloist: wife; chorus: daughter*]

In the place where you will go

Today my sweet father,
today

Michalis will be there already [*his nephew*]

he is there,

and he has his clarinet with him,

he likes the clarinet,
his clarinet

take also your bouzouki [*lute-like instrument*]

your bouzouki
my sweet father

and make everybody dance,

[*sobs*]

now that the first of May approaches

(Fieldnotes)

5.4 *Turn-taking: Structure and Reciprocity in the Kláma*

Who is going to lament first, who will follow, and sometimes who should not lament at all, is defined by an extremely complex system of turn-taking, which takes into primary consideration the relationship of the lamenter with the lamented, but also holds in consideration the pain (*pónos*⁹¹) that the lamenter has undergone throughout her life, as well as her age-status, and her skill as a lamenter. The order of lamenting is rarely arranged beforehand. If a mourner wants to lament she may begin to quietly lament in the background *requesting* her turn, or instead of making a request, she may *justify* the taking of the lamenting turn by incorporating her claim into her eight-syllable lament verse⁹². The following extract is an example of this:

[M06]

Εμένα να μ' αφήσετε	Me, allow me,
τί μείς εμεγαλώσαμε,	for we grew up,
αναστηθήκαμε μαζί	we were raised together
μ' ένα νερό μ' ένα φαϊ.	with one water, one food.

(Seremetakis 1991:89)

⁹¹ Pain (Πόνος; *pónos*) in the context of the Inner Maniat death rituals is used to connote emotional suffering and grief (*see* chapter 5.5).

⁹² Standardised expressions are often used by lamenters in order to ask for the lamenting turn, for example: "Close the notebook / that you hold in your hands/ and pass it on to me." (Fieldnotes). Lamenting in this extract is referred to as a notebook, and according to one informant connotes memory; the lamenter who wishes to take the lamenting turn asks the preceding lamenter to pass the 'notebook' to her, highlighting the materiality of lamenting, its circulation and exchange in the ritual of *kláma*.

In the above extract the claim for the right to lament is expressed on the grounds of kinship. Claims upon the rights of kin need not necessarily express bonds of actual kinship, as I have remarked in the opening subchapter (5.1). As is implied in the above lament fragment, although there is no apparent direct blood-tie connecting the lamenters in question, such as a brother-sister relationship, the lamenter claims that in all actuality, their relation should be respected as such (in this case brothers) for they have grown up together. This underlines the significance of fictive kinship relations that occurs in the liminal ritualistic space and its dynamic in transforming actual kinship and power relations. The complexity of turn-taking becomes apparent in the following example:

[M07]

Με πόνο και με ταραχή,	In pain and in distress
εγώ θα κάνω την αρχή,	I will do the start
τι είμαι της χώρας χωριανή,	for I am a villager of this village,
Τι μ' έχει κάψει η φωτιά,	for I have been burned from fire
και τώρα και παλιότερα,	now as well as in time past
τι η φωτιά ειν αφορμή	for fire is the reason
οπου δεν έχω αδερφή.	for which I have no sister.

(Fieldnotes)

The *kláma* ceremony in which this lament above was recorded was held for an elderly woman, Konstantina M., who died in an accident with a fire. The lamenter who speaks is an elderly woman, Maria P., who no longer lived in the

village where she grew up, but was living with her children who had taken her to live with them in Athens. At the time of the accident, Maria happened to be in the village; in the *kláma* she appeared, stating her wish to lament first. In the first line of the lament she states her condition of *being in pain* and then she declares her identity as a "villager", implying that she *feels* like a resident of the village rather than a resident of Athens, regardless of her physical absence from her native village. Similarly with the bonds of fictive kinship that are created in the space of lament, in this fragment [M07] we have a renegotiation of identities. Her children who live and work in Athens took Maria away from the village against her will for reasons of their own convenience. Having declared herself one of the villagers and a member of the group she continues by declaring her relation to the deceased for whom the ritual is held. Although she is not an actual relative of the deceased, she states that she has lost her sister when she was a child, and in a similar accident with a wild fire that broke out at the family's oil-mill. In the fifth verse of her lamenting she connects the two events ("now as well as in times past"), thus mapping the continuum of pain in which she must be given the right to lament.

It is more usual that one lamenter will pass the turn to another, inviting the next lamenter to continue by acknowledging her right to lament. The verbs used to describe this process of turn-passing are 'give' and 'take'. Lamenting is, as such, considered an entity of substance, which can *be given or taken*, and a common product of exchange, which is circulated and distributed among the lamenters' chorus⁹³. On the occasion when the lamenter who will follow is sitting next to the soloist, the passing of the turn is frequently preceded and accompanied with a gesture of touch. The *korifaia* who is about to conclude her soloist lamenting session and pass it on to the next lamenter will often therefore

⁹³ See: Seremetakis (1991:216-7); *see also* Seremetakis (1994) where she writes insightfully on the senses as material entities.

take the next lamenter's hand into hers and gradually acknowledge the next lamenter in the closing verses of her own lamentation. The gestures of touching hands, of turning the head towards the next lamenter, and of acknowledging her in her song are gestures of reciprocity in the ritual that illustrate how the circulation of the lamenting turn occurs symbolically as material exchange. An example of the narrative acknowledgement of the succeeding lamenter's right to lament is the following lament extract. The first lamenter directs the second, Lampraina, by acknowledging her pain (*πόνος*) and calling her by name, as she 'gives' the lamenting turn to her in the first line of the lament. Lampraina, the second lamenter, then starts lamenting by thanking the first for 'giving' her the lamenting turn.

[M08]

Μοιρολογίστρα Α:

Έ, Λάμπραινα, πάρ' την εσύ,
που 'ναι ο πόνος σου πολύς
τι είναι πρόσφατα στη γής
τ' ακριβουλάκι σου παιδί.

Lamenter A:

E, *Lampraina* you take it,
you that you have a lot of pain
for recently went into the earth
your precious child.

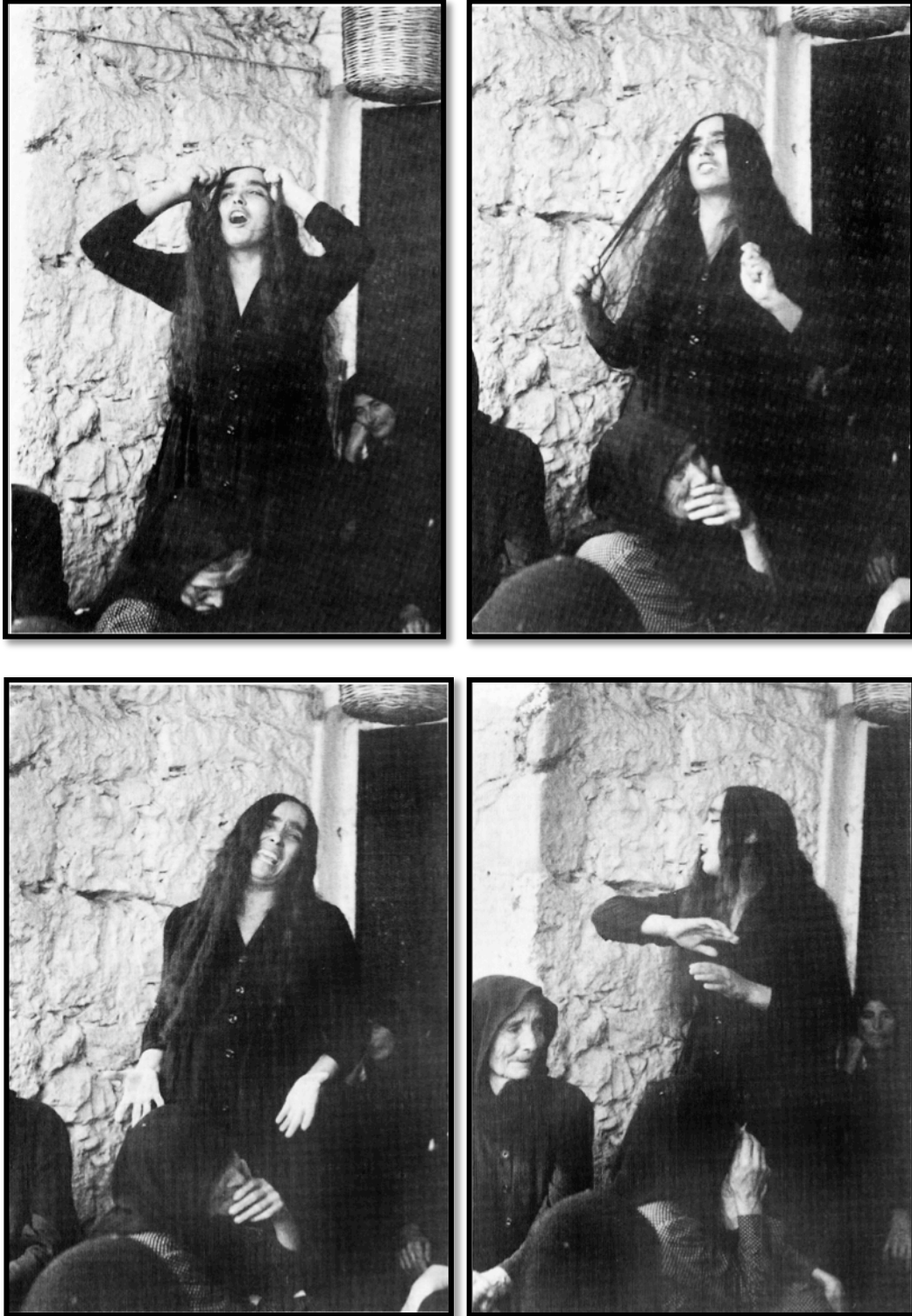
Μοιρολογίστρα Β:

Με υποχρέωκες πολύ,
που μου δωκες τη προτιμή

Lamenter B:

You've really honoured me,
giving me the priority.

(Fieldnotes)



Figures 15-18: Maria A. lamenting at the *klama* of a close kinsman in Inner Mani. (Image: Vagiakakos, 2004: appendix)

5.5 *Grief as a Social Category and its Negotiation in Ritual*

In Mani the death of kinsmen and the disturbance to social life resulting from death results in *pónos* (*pain*). Pain (*pónos*) encompasses for Maniats the feeling of grief and is a persisting cultural value in the region (see also Seremetakis 1991). The pain (*pónos*) that a person carries with them in Mani is acknowledged and respected, and in lived experience it does not have to concede to any perceptible threshold of social or ritual discourse.

In the previous lament extracts [M07] and [M08], the distribution of lamenting turns is negotiated upon the basis of pain (*pónos*), of assimilated grief, that is not directly connected to the deceased person for whom the *kláma* has been organised. Lampraina, in extract [M08], is given the lament on the grounds of having *too much* pain, for her child had recently died (line 2-4: "you that your pain is plenty/for recently went into the earth/your precious child"). Maria, of extract [M07], demands that she be allowed to start lamenting on the grounds of her pain for a death that occurred decades ago. The respect for the pain one has undergone throughout one's life is accompanied by a common agreement that grief must be expressed.

The emotional release that occurs in death ritual (see chapter 3.2.2) has been noted by scholars as having a therapeutic and satisfactory effect on participants⁹⁴ (see for instance Canacakis 1980:94-5; Danforth 1982:73; see also Holst-Warhaft 1995; R. Rosaldo 1984; Seremetakis 1991). However, the

⁹⁴ Holst-Warhaft (1995:29) notes that "[i]t has been widely observed that laments are perceived by those who conceive them as fulfilling an emotionally necessary, even a satisfying, function." Canacakis (1982:94-5) reaches a similar conclusion by means of quantitative research he conducted among Maniat lamenters.

therapeutic dimensions of lament must be understood within the social discourses that surround and generate them. In following the theoretical suggestions of Lyon (1998), I consider emotions in the context of their social ontology. Accordingly, the culturally specific channelling of the emotion of grief into lamenting is considered as part of a communicative and interactive ritualistic process (*see also* Hochschild 1998; Milton 2005; Parkinson 1995; Röttger-Rössler & Markowitsch 2009). Thus, the focus of my analysis revolves around the social and cultural processes that are involved in the shaping of the emotional expression as well as the cultural signification of its circulation in the ritual.

Maniat lamenters acknowledge as self-evident that the thematic of lament is (or can be) an emotionally relieving process. In several discussions, my informant lamenters have pointed this out. In an interview, an aged lady, Vangelio recited to me a verse from a lament: "Το ὄχου είναι φάρμακο" (: "the *ohou*⁹⁵ is a medicine"). I have frequently heard this verse recited in laments, and it can be seen as both an affirmation and a reminder of the therapeutic qualities of lament. Yet it can also be understood as a justification of extended lamentation, to the participants of the ritual. Consider the following extract:

⁹⁵ The '*ohou*' is a verbal transcription of the sound of a sigh. It could be understood as 'ah', and it refers to wailing, sobbing and sighing.

[M09]

Εί γκαρδιακούλα μου καφή	<i>Hey, my hearty sister</i>
Κανένας δε ζε αδικά	<i>Nobody will judge you badly</i>
να κλαίεις να μην ασκολιάς	<i>for mourning with no stop.</i>
Το δίκιο ζου είναι βουνό	<i>Your right is a mountain</i>
δε ντο δικά βασίλειο.	<i>It can't be ruled by a kingdom.</i>
Εγώ το ξέρω κι ο Θεός,	<i>Me and God we know it well</i>
για τον αδερφοχωρισμό	<i>for the separation of brothers,</i>
το ώχου είναι φάρμακο	<i>the <i>ohou</i> is medicine</i>
το κλάμα η παρηγοριά	<i>mourning is the remedy</i>
που μαϊνάρει τη γ καρδιά	<i>that relieves the heart.</i>

(Kassis 1980:185)

The lamenter, Panayiotena S., not only reassures the previous lamenter, the sister of the deceased (a dead soldier) of the therapeutic aspects of lament, but also of her right to mourn, and to do so exhaustively (M09, line 2). Panayiotena first establishes a fictive kin relationship with the previous lamenter, as a *sister*; she then affirms that the pain of losing a brother is tremendous, implying a similar loss for herself, and that lamenting is what she *must be doing*. Her right (*dhíkio*) to mourn is as unshakeable as a mountain, it cannot be judged by humans, and it cannot be confined even by rules set by a king (M09, lines 4 and 5). Through this set of metaphors, she justifies her mourning right and sets it beyond the sphere of moral critique. In the liminal ritualistic space of *kláma*, she is the possessor of great power by virtue of being in pain. Yet, Panayiotena's lament is also a reminder that this pain is not unique to her; Panayiotena makes her statement by rights of a shared pain, that is, she knows how it feels to lose a brother and she declares that she empathises with

this loss⁹⁶. This commonality of pain that is built upon grief and mourning can be thoroughly appreciated only in parallel to an appreciation of the dialogical character of Inner Maniat lamenting, the dialogue that occurs between the lamenters in the ritual, illustrated, for instance, in the analysis of the system of turn-taking above (5.4).

In many respects the above fragments are concerned with order in the ritual, that is, with the channelling and regulating of the emotional expression of pain. This channelling occurs as an integral part of the lamenting narratives and performance, and it is an on-going discursive distribution of roles in a dialogical and interactive ritual. The ritual is a social process in its inner distribution of power (turn-taking) but also exists in a dialectical relation with the power distribution in society. As I demonstrate below, within the ritual of *kláma* there occurs a constant interplay between the expression and the regulation of emotion and the social structure and its power relations; and it is because of this interweaving that the particular death ritual defies accommodation either within a framework of purely functionalist analyses or that of a closed symbolic systems⁹⁷. The relations of reciprocity that occurs symbolically within the *kláma* ritual should be considered in regard to social conventions in its dialectic of transgression and regulation. The following extract [M10] is an example of how social structure and its conventions are reflected onto the ritual performance.

⁹⁶ This narrative acknowledgement of empathy can be seen as an example of Hollans' (2012: 70-8) approach to culturally developed expressions of empathy; *see also* chapter 3.1.2.

⁹⁷ See: chapter 3.2 for a discussion of the relevant theoretical models.

[M10]

Έ συμπεθέρα μου χρυσή	Eh my golden in-law
μη φορτσαρίζεσαι πολύ	don't get too expressive
σα θάλασσα σιρροκινή,	like a stormy sea
δεν είσαι μάνα είδ' αδερφή	you're neither his mother nor his sister
είσαι γυναίκα κ' εν ντροπη.	you're his wife and it's shameful.

(Fieldnotes)

If the lamenter in the fragment [M09] is seen to be *justifying* the previous lamenter's lengthy and expressive lament, in the above fragment [M10], the lamenter attempts to *regulate*, even restrain, this emotional expressiveness alongside similar lines. The wife of the deceased is advised by an older lamenter, Maria N., not to be too expressive of her grief for her husband. The lamenter of fragment [M10] makes that clear: if she was a sister or the mother of the dead, it would have been justified, expected even (lines 4 and 5), but she is not a sister, she is a wife, and for a wife such expressiveness is shameful⁹⁸. Through her advice and her attempt to regulate the wife's lamenting, Maria reaffirms the social dominance of close blood ties over marital, symbolic or distant kinship ties.

⁹⁸ This example underlies the central significance of blood ties in the Maniat kinship structures. My informants with whom I have discussed kinship ties and expressiveness in lamenting have expressed the opinion that both in the present day, as well as historically, the loss of a brother is considered to be a much more painful loss than that of a husband; a widow is expected to be looked after by his brothers with whom they are connected through blood ties.

However, social stratification, social identities and the distribution of power in society do not necessarily find an equivalent in the liminal ritualistic space, rather they may become negotiable values and be put under question by the ritual's practitioners. The following lament extract demonstrates lament's potential for the transgression of social order. The fragment is from a lament sung during the civil war, as the tide had turned against the left-wing partisans in Mani (*see* chapter 4.1.3) and at a time in which they were marginalised and forced to become fugitive partisans, often hiding out in the mountains. In the *kláma* of a right-wing soldier killed in conflict with the partisans, a lamenter from a neighbouring village, with relatives among the left-wing partisans, makes, through her lamenting, a deeply political commentary to the right-wing lamenters who were participating in the ritual.

[M12]

Εσείς απο τη δεξιά μεριά	You from the right side
μην έχετε παράπονα	don't you complain
τι 'σεις τους κλαιτε φανερά	for you are mourning for them openly
μα άλλες κλαίσι στα κρυφά.	but others mourn secretly

(Fieldnotes)

The extract above makes explicit an apparently underlying social tension that finds room for expression in the space of ritual. The left-wing lamenter is saying: yes, although the men have been killed, at least the right-wing supporters can – as is proper - openly mourn their dead. They can also, the lamenter continues, express their grief and so counterbalance the loss they have suffered, and should think of those who cannot mourn their dead properly. The

lament protests the suppression of the right to mourn, which, it implicitly claims is a basic human need. Death is a common fate in the time of war and the emotional response to it is natural and expected. In the case of this lament, historical coincidence and the ephemeral political structure have marginalised the expression of grief for the relatives and friends of the partisans on the grounds of the revelation of their political preferences. This marginalisation, however, does not mean that mourning of the partisans is not taking place, the lamenter informs the participants of the ritual. Her lamenting is a social critique, as much as it is an expression of grief. It criticises the current social and political structure and its impact on the death ritual rights, but it also openly exposes the fact that the lamenting of partisans *does* take place.

An example of the transgression of social structure is also provided in the next extract. In [M13], a peasant woman, coming from a poor family interrupts the lengthy lamenting of a woman coming from a well-known and prosperous Maniat family:

[M13]

Μωρή αρχοντονοικοκυρά	Hey you lordly housewife
σταμάτησω το νερό	stop the water's flow
και γύριστοτο κατα 'δώ	and turn it this way
να ποτιστούνε οι πραχιές	so that the lawns be watered
κι οι πλούσιες και οι φτωχιές	both the rich and the poor ones.

(Fieldnotes)

In the above extract [M13], a reference is made to the system of water distribution, which due to the scarcity of surface water consists in several cases of canalisation to control the water flow⁹⁹. The set of metaphors that the lamenter is using is impressive: she draws parallels between lamenting and water, and between lamenters and vegetable patches. The lamenter points out that *all* vegetable patches need to be watered, those of the poor as well as those of the rich. The analogy of water distribution made by the lamenter is directly connected to the regulation of lamenting in the ritual, and suggests a more equal distribution of lamenting turns. In addition, it is a distorted reflection of the power relations of society in that it reflects a transgression of them¹⁰⁰. When I asked a lamenter, Stavriani, in an interview, to comment on the meaning of these verses, another parallel level of meaning arose, which referred to the very process of lamenting. Stavriani, who was present at the *kláma* ritual when those verses were lamented, commented:

[N04; *Narrator: Stavriani*]

She was lamenting her brother for so long, you know, educated, with a rich vocabulary, she has studied in Athens... She was lamenting her

⁹⁹ Generally, Mani is quite barren and arid, historically making the practice of agriculture difficult (Allen 1974:21).

¹⁰⁰ This extract makes evident why the Maniat ritualistic practice of lamenting cannot be seen as dominating the transcendental over the everyday (see Bloch 1971, 1997; see also chapter 3.2.1); in lament extract [M13] a set of symbolisms grounded in the earth -and reflecting in part the dependency of local livelihoods engaged actively with the land of Mani - is employed in order to talk about the 'transcendental', that is, the lamenting ritual. The everyday lived experience of the ritual's practitioners becomes part of the ritual process and both interweave and make evident that the ritual and the social world cannot be seen as two separate spheres of human activity, and that an alternative approach to ritual should be employed in order to encompass the complexity of the ritual of *kláma* (see chapter 3.3).

brother, A., as if he had the most tragic death - as if the rest of us, we don't have losses to lament.

(Fieldnotes)

This second level of interpretation, indicated by Stavriani, reveals the complexity of the metaphors that lie in this lament fragment, as the ritual itself becomes the subject of its' narrative. The two levels of meaning do not conflict with each other, and the one does not negate the other; rather, their relation is symbiotic and their narrative deeply political. These verses raise again the issues of reciprocity and of a shared pain, employing a striking metaphor to do so: the earth that needs water. Mourning itself becomes the subject of the mourning's discursive argumentation: its distribution is not solely a ceremonial structuring technique, but also a reflexive, multi-layered political critique. It refers at the same time to the ritual's formal structure (the passing of lamenting turns) and to society's integral inequalities (the insignificant poor and the significant rich) and to the existential reality of humankind, in that we all have losses to mourn.

5.6 *Towards a Reflexive Maniat Understanding of Moirólóghia*

In the previous subchapters I have discussed how the ritual structure and the process of the *kláma* ritual and of lamenting are socially relevant. In this subchapter I reflect on the definition of the word '*moirólói*' and more precisely on its active form as a verb to reveal the culturally relevant symbolism that is contained within it - which in turn is expressed in the Maniats' experience and perception of lamenting.

I have thus far described laments as the mourning of kin relations, which involve biographical elements in their narratives (see subchapter 5.3). The biographical character of *moiológhia* is at least two-fold. Primarily a lament seeks to describe the life of the deceased and the social and existential difficulties which they had to overcome throughout their life, as well as who may have assisted them in overcoming those difficulties, or, on the other hand, who is to blame for them - and in which ways. In addition to this, one other biographical element frequently surfaces in Maniat laments. Throughout a *moiolói* the genealogy of the lamenter and a biography of her own losses will often be narrated by her: the lamenter may expand on a history of her own pain (*pónos*), that is a history of the previous losses that she has undergone throughout her life (as for instance in [M01], [M07] and [M09]). The biographical narratives of the lamenter, whether her own or the deceased's, which are incorporated in her lamenting for the deceased aim to prescribe and create stronger ties between the deceased and the lamenter. By incorporating her own biography in the narrative of the deceased's biography, the lamenter draws parallels between the present lamented death and her own previous losses. *This lament technique thus can position any individual death within a continuum of pain*: this is because of the *emotional power* of Maniat lamenting expressed in the liminal space of pain.

Politis (1913) and after him Morgan (1973) in their commentary on laments [M01] and [M02] are fascinated by the absence in the laments of any references to the actual death of the deceased at the centre of the *kláma* (Morgan 1973:293; Politis 1913:3-4). However, this 'absence' is not so striking in the context of Inner Maniat lamenting. A *moiolói*, a song that in its literal translation means 'to tell the fate' of someone (see chapter 5.2), is presumably 'telling' or 'mourning' the fate of the deceased, describing the life of the person

for whom this ceremony is being held. Inner Maniat lamenting, however, as mentioned above, is not necessarily confined to a biography of the deceased, but may also expand on a history of the lamenter's own pain. That the narrative is not exclusively concerned with the deceased, as will be discussed below, and is in accordance with the use of the reflexive verb which Maniat lamenters use most frequently to refer to the *act of lamenting: moirologhoúme*. In Inner Mani the verb employed to describe the act of lamenting, *moirologhoúme*, contrasts with the standard verb in use in the literature on lamenting in Greece, which is *moirologhó*¹⁰¹. It is not just an idiomatic difference that separates these words. *Moirologhó* translates literally to 'I tell the fate', implying the fate of *someone*, presumably that of the deceased. *Moirologhoúme* or in its particular idiomatic form *moirologháme*, translates to the passive personal voice of 'I tell my fate' or 'I mourn my own fate'. It is a term, which, if one wishes to do justice to his subjects' cultural linguistic sensibilities must be respected in all its actual differentiation from the standard definition of lamenting. The employment of the reflexive verb *moirologhoúme* by Maniats as well as the multiplicity of biographical narratives employed in Maniat lamenting is significant in that it points to a culturally distinct Maniat perspective on pain (*see* chapter 5.5; *see also* Seremetakis 1994) which does not orbit one particular death, but instead positions death itself - or at least Maniat deaths - within a shared history of loss¹⁰².

¹⁰¹ The standard scholarly understanding of the word '*moiroloi*' in Greece fails to grasp the particularity of the regional and cultural specifics of lamenting in Mani with authors tending to generalise to a national level of shared comprehension: Alexiou (1974); Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos (1985); Holst-Warhaft (1995); Politis (1913); Ioannou (2010).

¹⁰² Furthermore, in its narrative context, the employment of the reflexive verb for the act of lamenting *and* the fusing of the lamenter's biography with the biography of the lamented diffuses the borderline between the lamenter and the lamented and incorporates the narrator in her own narrative. The incorporation of the lamenter into her own narrative can be seen as a mimetic gesture that takes place in the

An exemplification of this occurs in the following lament fragment. The lament was sung on the occasion of the *kláma* for Ghiorghakaina in the village of Palyros in Cape Tainaros in southern Inner Mani. Ghiorghakaina came from the village of Alike and was married in Palyros where she died. The lamenter, Nikolou, lamenting at Ghiorghakaina's *kláma*, sends greetings to her own deceased brother in the underworld¹⁰³:

[M14]

Μωρή Μαυρογιωργάκαινα,	Eh, black Ghiorghakaina
οπου επέθανες επά,	that you've died here,
δεν ημπορείς να περπατείς,	could you walk,
στη γκάτου γής να συριανείς;	and stroll around the underworld?
Να φτάσεις Βάθεια κι Άλικα	To reach <i>Vathia</i> and <i>Alike</i>
Κυπάριζο και Μπουλαριούς	<i>Kyparizo</i> and <i>Boularios</i> .
Κι ά βρεις το Γιατρουλάκη μου	And if you come upon my Ghiatroulakis
δώσε του χαιρετίσματα	give him greetings
απο τη μαύρη του καφή	from his black sister.

(Kassis 1981:90)

Within the lament, Nikolou, the lamenter, names four villages further north from Palyros where the *kláma* was taking place: Boularios and Vathia,

liminal phase of ritual (see Gebauer & Wulf 1992, 1998; Taussig 1993, Wulf 2004; see also chapter 6.5 for a further discussion on mimesis).

¹⁰³ In this as in other Maniat laments, the 'underworld' connotes Hades, the Greek mythological afterlife, which in this lament interchangeably refers to the ground in which the deceased is buried. As mentioned in chapter 3.1, it is widely held by locals that an entrance to Hades is located by Cape Tainaros at the southern-most tip of Inner Mani.

villages where the family of the lamenter were buried, and Alike and Kyparizo the villages where the kinsmen of the deceased, Ghioghakaina, were buried (Kassis 1981:90). Nikolou juxtaposes these villages, regardless of their geography and kin affiliations, substituting one of the villages associated with the deceased of lamenter with that of the lamented and vice versa: Alike (of the lamenter's kin) follows Vathia (of the lamented's kin) in the same line of the lament, as Boularious follows Kyparizo in the next line. In doing so, the lamenter brings closer together, symbolically conflating, her own kin history and social geography with that of the lamented, and thus fuses the lamenter's biography with the biography of the lamented.

Nikolou, the lamenter, further reinforces a shared biography with the lamented when she refers to Ghiorghakaina in line one of the lament extract as "black" (*mávri*). *Mávri* in this instance is used to connote a state of being miserable, wretched, or unhappy. In the last line, the lamenter also calls herself "his black sister" and thus declares a common state with the lamented, the condition of shared pain, which dictates the *poetics* of lament and unfolds its emotional power within the space of the liminal. In the following chapter I will discuss how this power interweaves with social discourse.

*Really, it didn't cross your mind,
you didn't realise it?
when you were killing him,
my Kalápothos,
my only brother?*

(Extract from Inner Maniat Lament)

CHAPTER 6

Inner Maniat Lamenting & Social Discourse

6.1 *Lamenting & Social Claims: Introduction*

Inner Maniat ritual mourning provides a social arena where identities can be renegotiated and social relations of power can be questioned. I have mentioned in chapter one that alongside its religious and cultural significance, Maniat death rituals are social events; they are occasions in which people come together, family and neighbours, and friends and relatives from villages all around Mani, and frequently from Athens or other cities. The liminal ritual of wake thus takes place in front of a diverse and varying audience that extends beyond close kin and the chorus of lamenters. The lamenters who *perform* before this audience, narrate through their song not only fragments of individual and family histories, but may also expose social issues through their narratives that they consider to be problematic, unresolved or unequal. In the present chapter I analyse the way in which social *claims* can be made from the space of mourning. By the employment of both ethnographic and historical examples for my analysis, I argue that the performance of lamenting, grounded in emotion and through the employment of metaphor in its narrative, produces and facilitates the liminal phase in order to communicate lamenters' social claims.

6.2 Truth claims from the space of Mourning

*I shall go up to Ano Pula
to see the stars in heaven,
to shout a wild scream
for the universe to shake.*

(Extract from Inner Maniot lament)

In previous chapters I have shown how the interweaving of life and death in Mani forms a cultural thematic of central importance to Maniats' experience of social reality¹⁰⁴. In this subchapter, through the presentation and reflexive analysis of an ethnographic fieldwork episode, I demonstrate how truth claims and the renegotiation of social structure can be made through the processes of mourning. I was introduced to the way life and death interweave in Mani early on when I arrived in the field: in the winter of 2009 I was in Mani for preliminary research, trying to make arrangements for a house to stay in and to meet again the people I knew from a previous visit in order to begin to establish a network of informants for my fieldwork. What I found was not what I had expected: the weather was very harsh, and most people I knew had returned to Athens after the summer season was over. While I was there I encountered for the first time an expression of Maniat mourning, witnessing the events that I describe in the following extract from my field notes:

¹⁰⁴ See for instance the narrative of Soso [N01] in chapter one.

[N05. Fieldnotes extract¹⁰⁵]

With Stelios in a café at T. [*village*], Friday noon. Somebody has died, the news broke out - it is extremely difficult to point to the source. I gather that somebody has been found hanging at his house. ‘*Did you hear?*’ is the introductory sentence. Activity was very high in repeating the news to newcomers and exchanging information I could not properly comprehend. Yet, everybody is whispering, all information exchange is happening in low voiced discussions among visitors to the café and people who approach the square from all directions. The early midday stillness is interrupted in a subtle and yet violent way. Stelios explained to me that the deceased was Michalis, a person who had been sitting at the café just an hour ago – a person I knew from previous visits, and yet this morning who had acted like a stranger. [...] As soon as everybody is informed, things seem to settle a bit, I speak with Takis [*the café owner*], he says that Michalis was here last night, with N. [*his cousin*] from T. [*a small village on the south*], Nikias had brought him a gun and he was explaining to him how it worked, and Takis seemed very troubled. [...] And then there was a scream. It came from a woman in black clothes, she was for sometime around, and she was whispering like everybody else. I didn’t really notice her until she screamed. She yelled: ‘*They took our diamond, we lost our diamond!*’ She kept on repeating the same sentence, and after her scream the mood changed again, radically. Many people have run to her [*the woman’s*] assistance, others now wail and mourn, people in the café openly and loudly discuss the death, exchanging details and forming theories on how it happened. ‘Life upon you,’ I said shamefully to Takis, I’m not sure if it was the right thing to say. I leave, troubled and silent.

(Fieldnotes)

¹⁰⁵ All names in the extract [N04] and in the consequent analysis have been changed.

The woman who screamed was Maria, an aunt of the deceased, and a villager in her forties. At the moment Maria's scream reached my ears, I felt helpless. All knowledge of mourning in Mani I thought I had gathered up until that moment seemed to dissolve under a merciless November rain. I was trying to understand what exactly was happening, but the scene seemed flooded with emotion¹⁰⁶. Precisely because of the imprint that this episode left on me, and as it was a central topic of discussion for weeks to follow I decided to enquire further into the incident. The background¹⁰⁷ to the episode was the following: Michalis, a man of almost thirty, was in the previous few years involved with a group of youngsters from the western side of Inner Mani, who were illegally dealing drugs. His mother told me later it was because of his friendship with a distant cousin that he happened to get involved with this disreputable company in the first place; before that, he used to be a “fine honest fine young man”, she claimed. However, as he had engaged in a very serious dispute with his 'friends', he began to fear for his life. He had insulted somebody who had then threatened to take his life. His fear of being murdered grew increasingly to the extent that he asked his friend Nikias to provide him with a gun. Which Nikias did, the night before Michalis committed suicide. According to his mother, it was his fear, which had become unbearable, that led him to take his own life.

Equipped with this background to the episode, the incident as outlined in the fieldnotes above seemed to become ethnographically and analytically more approachable. The grieving woman, Maria, was an aunt of the deceased,

¹⁰⁶ For the role of emotion in the field of ethnographic research and the impact on the researcher, see also: Hovland (2007); Jackson (1989,2006); Rosaldo (1984); Sheper-Huges (1992).

¹⁰⁷ I established the background details to this scene from a number of discussions with various informants from the village where it occurred, as well as through interviews with Maria and Takis.

the sister of his mother. Her open and loud grieving, the sentence she screamed in the village square ("they took our diamond"), can be seen as the public initiation of the mourning: Maria's sentence essentially attempts to transform a death, which up until that point had been discussed in whispers by locals as 'news' into a communal loss. She calls Michalis a "diamond", a metaphor that aims to highlight his moral value in societal terms. And she calls him "*our* diamond", positioning him communally in a society into which he had lost his status due to his questionable acquaintances; this action of metaphorical repositioning is similar to the symbolic creation of kin through screaming (*see* chapter 5.1) and lamenting (*see* chapter 5.4). Although she refers to the event of her nephew's death by suicide, she uses the verb "they took"; in doing so, she attempts to symbolically transform the suicide into a killing. In the view of Maria, as she explained to me, although Michalis has taken his own life, there were also other people to be held responsible for his death, even if indirectly, such as the drug dealers, his cousin who first brought them in contact, and the villagers who did not offer their moral support to him. In the *kláma* ritual that followed Michalis's death, both Maria and the mother of the deceased, in their respective soloist lament sessions, repeatedly used the sentence Maria voiced publicly to announce Michalis's death, incorporating it into their laments in an eight-syllable verse: "They took our gem" ("*pirasi to diamanti mas*"). Every word of Maria's sentence is heavy with meaning, precise, and laden with a very specific social claim: despite her nephew's biological death, she wants to protect him from a *social* death. The *timing* (and location) of Maria's initial voicing aloud in the town square, her first scream, was of essential importance for her endeavour.

I discussed again this incident several weeks after it occurred, with Thanasis, an elderly man, who was sitting at the same café with me the day the incident occurred [N05]. We talked about what happened at the moment the

news of Michalis' death broke out, reconstructing, in a sense, the events of that day. When we discussed about Maria's scream, he said: "Yes, she was screaming – but did you notice *when* she first screamed?" (Fieldnotes). What he meant was that, although Maria was in the village's square for some time, she screamed at a specific moment, just at the time that the village priest appeared in the square on his way to the church. The official Eastern Orthodox Christian dogma considers suicide an unforgivable sin¹⁰⁸. On those grounds, Greek Orthodox priests often refuse the burial for the bodies of persons who have committed suicide or refuses to perform the burial ceremony (*see for example* Harakas 2004). Maria, fearing such a prospect for her dead nephew, carefully and wisely chose the moment when she voiced her declaration, according to Thanasis; and thus she made a *social claim*. Everybody in the square heard her claim and saw that the priest had also heard her.

Maria's mourning is a performance that demonstrates the politics of pain (*pónos*) as expressed in grief, which is used as in this instance in order to counterpoise the ethics of an institution and of the wider society (*see* Foucault 1995; Seremetakis 1991; Taussig 1991). In Mani suicide, as well as drug dealing are ethically dubious acts - as my informants acknowledge and my wider ethnographic experience in the area testifies to. Maria, Michalis's aunt is doing what he will not be able to do anymore, that is to try and protect his reputation and memory, and with it, the reputation of their family; and through Maria's

¹⁰⁸ The logic of this proposition is connected to the sacredness of the gift of life within the Orthodox Christian church, which considers taking somebody else's life to be an extremely serious sin, but it is one for which the sinner can be redeemed if he sincerely asks for forgiveness. Since, however, on the occasion of a suicide, the individual who has taken their own life is already dead, he can never have the chance to ask for forgiveness, and thus his soul, according to the Eastern Orthodox dogma, is doomed to damnation (Harakas 2004).

mourning, she also seeks to protect her nephew from a further social death, which the absence of a church burial would reinforce.

Marias truth claim expressed as open mourning in a public space was not only witnessed but also taken into consideration by all villagers who witnessed it (and who would convey it in discussion later on with others). Her view on reality is heard by her audience *because it is coming from the space of pain*, where emotional expression has a prescribed language and set of symbolic tools, which are recognised, respected and acknowledged by Maniats. Furthermore Maria is acting in accordance with a culturally engrained mode of emotional expression as *claim-making*. I have shown how in the liminal sphere of *kláma* rituals, pain has an emotional currency (see chapter 5.5). In this example, a liminal space - a sphere of social ambiguity - is *created* by Maria's public screaming which draws on the ritualistic emotional apparatus of the *kláma* and performs it before a public audience before whom she wants to present her case for consideration. Her public screaming was later taken into the ritualistic sphere when it was incorporated into a lament verse by the mourners in Michalis *kláma*, echoing and confirming Maria's initial scream.

Maria did ultimately succeed in protecting her nephew from a social death through her mourning. The priest agreed to bury the body of Michalis on sanctified church ground in direct response to her screaming, and, as such, this is an example of the cultural *power* of mourning in Inner Mani in action, exhibiting on one hand the interweaving of feeling and thinking as it occurs in Maniat mourning, but also the centrality that the *expression of the feeling of grief* (*pónos*: pain) has in Maniat social discourse.

6.3 *Revenge Narratives: The Role of Lament in Blood Feuds*

*Dead men don't fight back*¹⁰⁹

An important dimension of Inner Maniat lamenting, as I have demonstrated, is that through its narrative it provides the potential to express identity claims or to question the social order and the laws that govern it. A notorious historical example of this is the way in which lament has functioned as a flame that burns in the heart of Maniat vendettas, that is, blood feuds, or, in the local language idiom, *ghdikiomós*¹¹⁰, a practice for which the region has a long and involved history (see Leigh Fermor 1984; Kassis 1979; Seremetakis 1991; Holst-Warhaft 1995). A demand for revenge coming from a lamenting mother who has lost a son through a killing would rarely be ignored or taken lightly (see also Holst-Warhaft 1995). A killing stemming from a personal insult, a land dispute, or from a betrayal - if it is thought to be unjustified by the clan of the dead - is a loss that should be avenged with death, and thus has the potential to start a

¹⁰⁹ Francesco Janis di Tolmezzo (1511), quoted in Muir (1993:14).

¹¹⁰ As I have mentioned in chapter 4.1.3, the word *ghdikiomos* derives from the word *dhíkio* (δικίο: right) and literally means 'to be righted' or 'to find one's right'. There is, however, a problematic in translating the term *dhíkio* as it is used in the context of *ghdikiomós*, for it entails both a moral as well as a metaphysical dimension. Kerrigan (1996:20) describes the difficulties with the translation of the ancient Greek term *dhíke*, which in many ways is connected to *dhíkio*, in his treaty of *Revenge Tragedies*: "Orestes deals in *dike* and its cognates, words which cannot be accurately translated by using right ... or 'retribution', 'la justice', 'das Recht', or any of the other terms which strive, in modern European vocabularies, to define the sphere of just-dealing." Note here that '*dhíkio*' is often employed in the context of an Inner Maniat *kláma* as the mourner's right to mourn, and thus has a parallel meaning with *pónos* (pain).

chain of killings¹¹¹. The incitement of the male kin to avenge and to justify a killing of a clan member frequently occurs through the medium of lamenting. An extract from a lament, thought to have been composed in the mid-nineteenth century¹¹² illustrates vividly the 'custom' of *ghdikiomós*:

[M15]

<p>Όλοι καλως ορίσατε όσοι κι αν εκοπιάσατε καλώς το Μιχαλάκο μου γέροντα του κατωπαγγιού. Τί θες που ήρθες στην Όχιά; Εμένα μ' άφησε εντολή ο κοντοστρόφιγος Σουρδής, συνβιβασμός να μη γενεί, το αίμα να μη προδωθεί, μον' ν' αναστήσου το παιδί να μεγαλούσει ν' αξιωθεί να ξεκρεμάσει το σαρμά, που είναι στον κρεμανταλά, να κυνηγήσει το φονιά απο πελάγου και στεριά το Μούρμουρα και τον Καρπή και της πουτάνας το παιδί. (Filednotes)</p>	<p>You're all welcome all of you that came here welcome Mihalakos elder of <i>Kattopaggio</i> [village]. What did you come for in <i>Ohia</i>? To me he's left an order, the short-necked <i>Sourdis</i>, that there should be no compromise, blood shouldn't be betrayed, rather I should raise the child to grow old and became capable to unhang the gun, that hangs on the wall, and chase the killer on sea and land <i>Mourmoura</i> and <i>Karpi</i> and the son of the whore.</p>
---	---

¹¹¹ In studies of ancient Greek tragedy, the story of consequent revenge killings in the epic of the 'House of Atreides' led Herrington (1988:126) to conclude that for Aeschylus, the only certainty that had been left to the world was the certainty that a crime would be followed by another crime; and equally, for Kott (1976:10) to propose that *it is the dead and their demands that dictate the destiny of the living*.

¹¹² The lament extract was recited to me by an informant, Yannis M.

The lamenter in the above fragment gives an approximate description of a *ghdikiomos*¹¹³ wherein the main features of the feud are contained. These are: a death that will be avenged in time; a gun hanging on the wall, waiting for the son of the murdered man to mature and become capable of picking it up; orders which are left behind from the dead father on how his death should be avenged; a widowed wife and mother transferring the dead man's wish; the possibility of *simvivasmos* (συμβιβασμός; compromise) that the presence of the respected old man (*Mihalakos*) implies; and, finally, the certainty that blood should not be betrayed.

¹¹³ At this point it is useful to provide some information that I have gathered during my ethnography on the internal structure of the killing 'code' of blood feuds in Inner Mani. A *ghdikiomós* was a public affair, enacted by the declaration of *polemos* (πόλεμος; war) whereby a member of the wronged family would declare to the members of the opposing one that they are now at war and that they should be aware of this. Subsequently, both clans involved in the feud would then fortify themselves inside their respective clan's towers (see chapter 3.1.3). In most cases women were excluded as potential targets, so they could leave the tower to attend to agrarian work or feed livestock, and generally maintain the homestead. The primary target would usually be a male, preferably an important man from the rival clan: a first-born son would be a prized target. There were occasions, however, when the clans fighting a blood feud could come out of their defensive structures without fear of being harmed by the rival clan. One such occasion is the *treva*, a type of truce agreed between the feuding clans for a given period of time, in which each clan would attend to the more demanding agrarian occupations such as the harvest. Additionally, on the occasion that a man who was a possible target needed to exit his tower for some urgent errand, there was the custom of the *xevghartis*: an elder of a neutral and respected clan would accompany the targeted individual effecting a neutral zone whereby the target was no longer in danger. The end of the blood feud is referred to as *aghápi* (αγάπη; love) and the ritual through which it was achieved was named *psichikó* (ψυχικό; of the soul). For further discussion on Maniat feud killings, see also: Alexakis (1980); Kassis (1979b); Mantouvalos (1978); Patsourakos (1910); Seremetakis (1991).

Blood is a metaphor in Inner Mani for patrilineal descent (*see* chapter 3.1.3; *see also* Alexakis 1980; Seremetakis 1991); and the claim that "blood should be avenged" in the lament fragment above [M15] refers to both its symbolic and actual meaning. Male relatives, according to their degree of kinship with the dead man would be expected, in local parlance, to 'take back their blood'. In the Maniat cultural imagination, blood has ontological and cosmological dimensions: the blood of a man who has been killed at the hands of another will not let the killer flee the crime scene; the killer, in fact, should draw a cross with his knife on the ground in order to flee, and to be released from the spellbinding force of blood. A dead man will not be at peace until *his blood is taken back*, and, according to my informants' narratives, he might appear in the dreams of his relatives to ask for revenge. Blood is an entity, which can "scream" for revenge, it can "spring" and "run", can "raise bridges" and can "tear mountains and hills apart"¹¹⁴.

The power of kinship ties, which, as I have shown (*see* chapter five) has a central place in the lamenting process, is also a central thematic and the backbone of the blood feud killing code. The understanding of the practice of *gdhikiomós* is particularly important in the understanding of the social role of emotion in the death ritual, as it provides clear examples of when the emotional ritualistic performance of grief affects the actions of individuals, often in opposition to the dominant political apparatuses¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁴ These expressions are from verses of a Maniat lament fragment; *see* chapter 6.5, extract [M20] for further analysis of those verses.

¹¹⁵ Anthropologists who have assumed a strict functional perspective of right and law considered the power of customary laws as evidence for the absence of elaborate law systems in the so-called 'less complex' societies (*see for instance* Radcliffe-Brown 1979:212–219). The complexity of the code of the blood feud, however, as illustrated in the case of Maniat *gdhikiomós*, reveals a persisting ethical construct with a striking internal logic and cultural coding. Another important and

The further examination of lament narratives that have been composed around the thematic of feud killing, and the ways in which lamenting functions through metaphor will be analytically approached in the following sections. The lament of Lighorou (*Της Ληγορούς*, also known as *Του Βέτουλα*¹¹⁶) is, like Sourdina's lament [M15], a well known lament in Mani composed on the occasion of a blood-feud killing. Vetoulas, the deceased lamented in this lament, was engaged in a feud with the Liopoulos family who shot him dead in an ambush. The lament was composed by the deceased's grieving sister, Lighorou, who speaks of herself in the third person. She describes in the lament, how, after the killing of her brother, she set out from the village of Kitta to visit her brothers in the village of Alika. On her way there, passing by the village of Boularious, she came upon the enemy's family, and the killer of her brother who provoked and insulted her and her family. In her lament she deliberately names and thus accuses him. Consequently she expresses her deep grieving:

widespread view on vendetta in anthropology is that it is a cohesive power in society and that the threat of open violence is a way to achieve social balance (*see for example* Black-Michaud 1975:74; Tsantiropoulos 2004:10 -31).

¹¹⁶ Lighorou originally composed this lament between circa. 1828 and 1830 (Holst-Warhaft 1995:56-9; Kassis 1979:170-8). It is still often sung in Mani today and I have encountered verses from it both in ritualistic and non-ritualistic contexts (*see also* Holst-Warhaft 1995: 56-9). I have taken a version of this text printed in Kassis (1979a) into the field and have asked my informants to comment on it and on the oral history that accompanies it. I have discussed this lament and its meaning extensively, particularly with my informants Jannis M. and Venetia S.; and I have based my analysis upon the fieldnotes that have resulted from this extended commentary and the oral narratives.

[M16a]

Ο Πέτρος ο Λιόπουλος, απάνου εξεσηκώθηκε. Είπε “Καλώς τη Λιγορου, καλώς τη καλωσόρισες Μωρή, α’ μπάεις στ’ Άλικά να μπείς στουν αλωνουνε ζου πες τους να κάμομε καλά κι εμείς τους το πλιερώνουμε το γίδι που σκοτώσαμε.” [...] Δεν αποκρίθη η Λιγορού βάνει στη στράτα στα μπροστά μοιρολογιούντα κλαίοντα. Στα Άλικά που έφτασε, στα Άλικά στη Λατομιά, δεν εχαιρέτα πουθενά.	Petros Liopoulos stood up. He said “Welcome Lighorou welcome to you. Wench, if you go to <i>Alika</i> [<i>village</i>] tell your brothers that they should behave themselves and we shall repay them [<i>in cash</i>] for the goat that we have killed.” [...] Lighorou didn’t answer she went along her way lamenting and wailing. Once she arrived at <i>Alika</i> , at <i>Alika</i> , at <i>Latomia</i> [<i>a locale of the village</i>] she greeted no one.
--	--

(Kassis 1979a: 187; *my translation*)

Lighorou describes how she arrived at the village of Boularious. When she was passing by the village *rougha*, the communal seating area, Petros Liopoulos, the killer of her brother, stands up and greets her. Lighorou, through her lamenting conveys the killer's comment, which consists of a heavy insult and a provocation. The killer derogatively calls her brother a goat, and he suggests that his family will compensate the deceased's family with money. In her lamenting, she does not comment on the bitterness of the killer's comment, as she does not answer the killer in her narrative – she recites the comment as it was said to her, word for word. Consequently she makes her grief apparent by narrating her silence in the absence of a response to the killer, and wailing. Both

her lamenting and silence are gendered, demonstrating her sorrow, but also the constraints of her gender; she could not have stood up to the killer at the moment of his insult. Yet, her silence is not the absence of an answer or an end to the dialogue, her silence *is* her answer; her silence, which will give way to wailing and lament as soon as Lighorou is alone [M16a: lines 6-8], and will become silence again upon her arrival in the village of Alike, is pregnant with her screaming, which is about to break out: soon after, in her lamenting narrative, she incites her brothers, and her other male relatives, to avenge the death of her older brother – she does so contonuing in the third person:

[M16b]

Κι έσκουξ η Ληγορή	And <i>Lighorou</i> let out a cry
ο τόπος ν' ανατριαλιστεί:	that made the place shudder:
“Δεν είχε ο Βέτουλας καφό,	“Did <i>Vetoulas</i> have no brother
δεν είχε πρωτοχάδερφο;	did he have no first cousin?
Εχάθη νάμαι σερνικός	Could I not have been a male,
και να φορού βρακί και γώ!	wearing pants myself,
Ν'άχου στον όμο τον σαρμά	to carry a gun on my shoulder,
να κυνηγήσου το φονιά!”	to chase out the murderer!”

(Kassis 1979a: 188; *my translation*)

The scream that was nurtrued in Lighorou's previous narrative, her silent grief, is finally expressed loud and clear, and it *makes the place shudder* (M16b, lines 1-2). Although the provocative force of Lighorou's narrative is striking, one must also look closely at the metaphoric and transformative

aspects of it. The lament is an attempt to provoke revenge,¹¹⁷ yet this occurs through several layers of negative propositions: *Does the deceased have no brothers?* (line 3); *Could not she, the lamenter, have been a man?* (line 5). Additionally, by lamenting in the third person, Lighorou objectifies her story, her pain and her truth claims; she refers primarily to her male brothers, but not in the first voice of their sister, rather as a third person narrator of the events. Through the narrative techniques that she employs, she declares to her male relations what is at stake for them in the case they would not going to avenge Vetoulas's death: that is, their right (*dhikio*) to be considered kinsmen and their masculinity. Lighorou places two biologically defined categories under cultural scrutiny: blood ties and gender. If her brothers will not avenge the death, she implies that they are neither worthy to be considered *family* or *men*. She has to symbolically transform herself into a man through her lament in order to achieve this purpose. This gendered transformation aims to shake up her brothers, to provoke them to fit into the gendered roles of 'man' and that of 'brother'¹¹⁸. And Lighorou did manage to appeal to her brothers feelings: Yannis, her brother-in-law went on to kill the murderer of Vetoulas's (Kassis 1979a:184-6; Holst-Warhaft 1995:58-9).

The logic of gender transformation and the fictive claim to kinship, as discussed in the above example [M16a,b], is a recurring motif in Maniat lamenting (*see* chapter one). The metaphorical claim to kinship is a central thematic and a technique for the establishment of relations between the lamenter and the deceased (*see* e.g., lament M06) or with other lamenters in a

¹¹⁷ According to Holst-Warhaft (1995:77), redress is not only *an option* for a grieving Maniat lamenter who is mourning the victim of a *ghdikiomos* (vendetta) but necessary in order to preserve one's honour.

¹¹⁸ Lighorou's mimicry of a 'stereotypical man' through her lamenting is theoretically relevant to two traditions of performance theory: it is both a performative (*see* Butler 1993, 1997) and mimetic (*see* Gebauer & Wulf 1992, Taussig 1992, Wulf 2004) interplay of roles.

kláma (see e.g., lament M09). Inner Maniat lamenting, as already noted, is centrally concerned with kinship relations and mourning kinship relations, in response to a disruption *to* kinship relations, that is, death. Kinship relations are at the heart of the Maniat social structure. The mourning ritual of *kláma* is a liminal ritual (see chapter 3.2.2), in which the status and the identities of the participants are treated as ambiguous (Danforth 1982; Kapferer 1983, 2010; Turner 1967, 1969). As such, the metaphorical creation, or disruption, of kinship relations and identities in the ritual can be seen as a *technique of liminality*, with the dynamic for transformation of social identities and power relations; and the metaphorical transformation of the lamenter's identity, whether that be gender-transforming or not, in her own lamenting narrative, has the potential to also transform the experience of the world for the participants of the ritual immediately around her, and beyond, because Maniat lamenting in the *kláma* operates at the heart of social organisation.

The process of the symbolic transformation is exemplified once more in the next lament extract, where the lamenter narrates how she has lost all her children in a violent vendetta, which aimed to avenge the killing of her husband. As a result, she is left without anyone to avenge her dead kin. The lamenter opens her lament with details about her kinship; she declares that she comes from a good clan, the Variko, and that she has been a good wife in the clan into which she married, for, as she says, she has given birth to many sons¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁹ For clan and kinship organisation in Mani, see chapter 3.1.3. This lament was, according to my informants, composed in the late 19th century.

[M17]

Εγώ ειμαι απο το βαρικό	I am from Variko
κι απο το σόι το καλό	and from the good clan
που 'καμα του πολλούς υγιούς	and I gave birth to many sons
στο Καουριάνικο στενό	in the Kaourianiko alley
μα ο Καλατζής είναι λωβός	and Kalatzis is handicapped
ένα κατουροσέλικο.	a <i>katouroseliko</i>
Όλα μου τα βαλα μπροστά	I have set my children forth
και σερνικά και θυληκά	both males and females
αλλα ψητά κι άλλα βραστά	some were baked, some were cooked [<i>killed</i>]
σαν κουκουβάγια έμεινα.	I remained alone as an owl.
Να κάτσου θέ να 'ναπαυτού	I shall lay and rest
πίζου να ματαγκαστρωθού	and I'll conceive again
να κάμου έναν οψιμογιό	to born a late son
να μοιάζει του Μιχάλη μου	to look alike my Michalis
να κουντουνίζει τ'άρματα	to take over the guns
τις ασημοπιστόλε του,	his silver pistols,
τον ασημένιο ντου σαρμά,	his silver <i>sarmas</i> ,
οπού 'ναι στον κρεμανταλά	that are left hanging
και τα περίλαβε η σκουριά	and rust has taken over them
και θαν τα φάει φαητά.	and it will eat them. [<i>destroy them</i>]

(Fieldnotes)

In this lament extract [M17] the lamenter declares that regardless of her old age (she is in her fifties) she shall conceive and give birth again. Her proposition is a provocation to her male relatives to avenge the death of her husband, Michalis. The transformation that she undergoes in her narrative through pregnancy is a metaphor that signifies a symbolic adoption. She suggests that the one who will avenge her killed kinsmen will be considered by her as her own son. There is,

however, another issue that she touches upon through her lament. She mentions that her son, Kalantzis, is handicapped (*katouroseliko*); the sub-text of this proposition is that her biological son is incapable of continuing the killings. When I discussed this lament fragment with two informants, two elderly women who were descendants of the lament's composer, they confirmed that the remaining son was indeed handicapped, if only lightly. According to my informants, the lamenter, P., was especially fond of her son Kalantzis, due to his physical disabilities, and even more so as he was her last remaining son. Thus, her calling to arms and her suggested metaphorical adoption of the one that will avenge her husband is simultaneously an attempt to protect her son, who otherwise might be made a target of a killing himself. As much as she wants her *dhikio*, her blood to be avenged, she also wants her son alive.

6.4 *Voicing the Unspeakable: Protesting the Silent Death*

“There is no further need for wailing and lamentation [...] they are useless to women who are to be decent, let alone for men.”¹²⁰

As noted above, death ritual in Inner Mani has the potential to act as a platform from which social claims can be expressed. This assertion has two implications: (1) a claim that is expressed in the course of mourning may not have been

¹²⁰ Plato (Republic III, 398) quoted in Holst-Warhaft (1995:98). Holst-Warhaft (1995:89-170) has written a history of how the Athenian Republic in classical antiquity sought to eliminate woman's lamentation, considering them to be anachronistic customs.

possible to express outside the mourning context; and (2) that since such a claim is made from the space of pain, it will at least be heard and possibly considered (as for example in the case described in chapter 6.2). The social dynamic that this assertion entails raises important gender related issues concerning lament, as it indicates that lamenting provides an important space for female voices, opinions, and truth claims to be heard¹²¹. The following two lament fragments are illustrations of this issue; and their in-depth analysis, in expanding the analysis of the 'politics of pain' of this chapter, will allow us to understand how transgression of gender and of power relations in society might occur from the ritualistic space of grief.

Both of the two fragments that follow come from laments heard around the occasion of the death of a middle-aged woman, Yannakaina Dikaiopoulina¹²². When Yannakaina died from an illness, she left behind three daughters and no sons. Although a *kláma* took place on Yannakaina's death, the widower, Yannis, subsequently tried to suppress further mourning by forbidding another *kláma* from taking place during the forty-day memorial service of his deceased wife. It was rumoured that her widowed husband, Yannis, was intending to remarry straight after his wife's death, because, as my informant Stamatia noted, he wanted to have male children. However, the sisters of the deceased were concerned that if he remarried and sired male descendants, and therefore heirs, he would not adequately take care of his three daughters. At his

¹²¹ Alexiou (1974), Holst-Warhaft (1995) and Seremetakis (1991) have shown that, historically, lamentation in Greece has provided a platform for otherwise suppressed female voices.

¹²² My informant Yannis M. has commented that the name of the deceased was *Yannou* but it is used in the lament [M19] as *Yannakena* in order to fit the eight-syllable verse. This is an example of laments slightly changing words for the sake of the poetic compositional processes of lamentation, which I discussed in chapter 5.2. For reasons of consistency, I maintain in my analysis the name that is employed in the lament, *Yannakena*.

his wife's *kláma*, a sister of the deceased, Mesisklina, voiced this concern when she lamented the following fragment, which was addressed at the widower who was present at the time:

[M18]

Ά βρε κουτάβι και σκυλί,	Ah you puppy, you dog,
κι οι θυγατέρε ζου και ζύ.	your daughters and you.
Ένα ζου λέου μοναχά:	One thing I'll tell you only:
να μή με στείλεις στη χαρά	Don't you invite me into your happiness
όντα που θέ να παντρευτείς	when you will get married
κι άλλη γυναίκα θε να βρεις.	and find another wife.
Η τιποτένια μου καφή,	My good for nothing sister
το σπίτι της ήταν καλό	her household was good
στο φόρα της εκκλησιός.	straight in front of the church.
Ποτέ της δεν ανέβηκε	She never climbed up
στη σκάλα της με φαντασμό	her stairs with pretence
τ' έκαμε τα παιδιά της	for she has made her children (<i>paidia</i>)
και τα καλομεγάλουσε.	and she has raised them well.

(Fieldnotes)

In this lament fragment [M18] the most important aspect of Mesisklina's lamenting is her exposing of the widower's intentions. What were rumours before the ritual become a public affair through her lamenting. She has warned everybody about his intentions, and thus no-one is justified in remaining neutral on the grounds of ignorance. The lamenter, simultaneously, declares her position on the issue of his marriage, in that she warns Yannis not to dare invite her to his eventual wedding. She declares her position by employing a

vocabulary of emotion, defining her state as a grieving sister in contrast to the widower's prospective happiness; and she draws parallels between marriage and happiness, as seen from her position of pain, as categorically negatable. Later, Mesisklina raises the matter of *his* daughters; to refer to them she uses the term *paidia* (children), normally reserved in Mani for boys; as such, she transgresses the gendered structure of local name-classification and in doing so openly reminds the husband of his basic human duties towards his own children, regardless of their sex.

However, Yannis, the widower, did indeed get married within a few weeks of his first wife's funeral; and, subsequently, at the memorial service for his deceased wife, only a priest came to read prayers at his house, and some close kin gathered; but he forbade the women of the family - his daughters and his first wife's sisters - to initiate a *kláma* and lament. According to my informants, he got involved in an argument with Dimou Kourevesitsa, another sister of the deceased, who was protesting the silencing of the sisters, and he explicitly warned her not to lament. On the day that the memorial services took place Dimou did not obey his demand, and she started lamenting transgressively, during the memorial service that was held in Yannis's house:

[M19¹²³]

Αμπου είσαι Γιαννάκενα,
 ανέβηκα στη σκάλα ζου
 Κι ηύρεκα το Γιαννάκη μου
 και εξανακατέβηκα
 μωρέ κι ηύρεκα τη γριά
 κι εμίλα της Γιαννάκενας
 κι ήτα η Βουλίτσα μοναχή
 κι η Καλιοπίτσα η μικρή
 και η Βασίλω για νερό
 κι απάνου που ανέβηκα
 είπεκα του Γιαννάκη ζου:
 “Δε θε να πούμε τίποτα
 να τηνε μαρτυρήσομε;”
 Και μ’είπε ο Γιαννάκη μου:
 “Εσύ ‘σαι η πρώτη μου καφή
 και ‘συ σαι η τριανταφυλλιά
 εσύ θα στρώσεις το σουφρά
 και ταβερνιάρης θα κερνάς.”
 Να μπόρου έ Γιαννάκενα,
 ζα ντο Χριστό ζ’ ανάστηνα
 κι ας σκάσει οπου το πικραθεί.
 Μωρή Μαυρογιαννάκενα
 έτσα να ξεραθού κι εγώ
 να παντρευτεί ο Δημαράς

Where are you Yannakena
 I climbed up your stairs
 And I found my Yanaki
 and I climbed down the stairs
 and I found the old lady,
 and she was talking to Yannakena
 And Voulitsa was alone
 and Kallopitsa, the little one
 and Vasillo was drawing water.
 And I climbed up again
 and I said to your Yannakis:
 “Aren’t we going to say anything
 aren’t we going to witness her?”
 And my Yannakis answered me:
 “You are my first sister
 and you are the rose
 you will set the carpet
 and as the host you ’ll serve the wine”
 If I only could, oh Yannakena,
 resurrect you like Jesus,
 and let him die, he who might be sad.
 Oh black-Yanakena,
 just like you did I wish to die (*xeratho*)
 so Dimaras would marry again

(Fieldnotes)

¹²³ Seremetakis (1991) has also encountered an extract of this lament in her own research in Mani, which she briefly analysed (*ibid*: 104-5). Her interpretation of the piece, although insightful in parts, is also limited in that it is concerned only with a relatively small fragment of the lament. The lament extract she cites are the same as lines 1 to 4 and 7 to 13 in the version I have recorded [M19].

Dimou, the lamenter at beginning of the lament addresses her deceased sister, Yannakena, directly, as if her lamenting were a report to Yannakena of her household's present situation. In the second line Dimou uses the possessive pronoun *your* to talk about the house as still being *hers*, that is, Yannakena's home. Her biological death and her physical absence which is indicated in the first line of the lament (“where are you Yannakena?”) is counterpoised to the status that Dimou thinks her sister should have in the household and in relation to Yannakis, that is, the way Dimou thinks her sister ought to be commemorated and remembered. Then Dimou acknowledges her meeting with Yannakis, in which, as I have mentioned above, he forbade her, along with the other mourners, to initiate a *kláma* ceremony. On this occasion she uses the possessive pronoun, *my*, to refer to the widower, stressing their kinship relationship as in-laws, which has been disrupted by the death of her sister.

The “old lady” of the lament, refers to the mother of the deceased, Yannakena, the grandmother of the three girls. Dimou, the lamenter, reports that she has found the grandmother talking to her already buried daughter on the occasion of the forty-day memorial service. Dimou implies that the grandmother was so upset her mind was affected, unable to overcome the loss of her daughter and incapable of looking after the girls. She then talks of the girls; each individual girl represents a particular aspect of the states they are experiencing: being alone, young, and working. Through the narration of the girls' conditions, she implies that they must be taken care of, and that this is part of the father's responsibility towards them. Then the lamenter directs her lament again at Yannis, the husband, who, notably, is positioned above and away from his daughters, upstairs.

Dimou, the lamenter, asks the girl's father: “will we not say anything, will we not suffer for her?” [M19, lines 12-13] The Greek verb *martiráo* (μαρτυράω), means simultaneously 'to witness' and 'to suffer'. In its use in this lament, it utilises both aspects of this word: *witness her*, to acknowledge her existence and her place

in the kinship, and *suffer for her*, to properly express grief through the ritual of *kláma* and lamenting. Through the phrases “to say anything”, and “to witness her, (to suffer for her)” [M19, lines 12-13], the lamenter protests the silencing of her sister's death and the implicit loss of her status in the kinship structure (see Seremetakis 1991:104). The fact that Dimou directs her narrative at Yannakis does not indicate that she expects an answer from him. In fact, as my informants remarked, and as Seremetakis (1991:105) notes, “it is doubtful that the father would vocally respond” to her lament¹²⁴. Thus Dimou, in an ironic tone, answers herself in Yannis's place.

Assuming the voice of Yannis, Dimou recites as Yannis acknowledging *her*, Dimou's, status as his kin, as his “first” sister. By putting these words in Yannis's mouth, (M19, line 15: ‘You are my first sister’) she re-establishes and affirms a kinship relationship with him. Through this acknowledgement, the status of the deceased's wife is also restored, and thus, Dimou, still speaking in the voice of the widower, declares that a *kláma* session should take place, and *she*, Dimou, should initiate it¹²⁵ [M19, lines 17-8]. The people present are aware that this is not the actual wish of Yannis, and that in fact he had forbidden Dimou and other relatives of his deceased wife to lament. Still, through her inventive lament, Dimou alters the narrative when she places in the mouth of Yannakis, the words that she thinks he should have said: *that the kláma shall take place*.

¹²⁴ Seremetakis's (1991: 106) analysis of this lament ends at line 13 of this extract [M19]; she concludes that “the husband who sought to erase the dead by silencing her mourners, is in turn, reduced to silence by a discourse made explicit from the female space. His silence is the antiphonic completion of the mourning discourse” (ibid.). However, in the light of examining the more extended lament fragment, which I analyse here, the silence of the father can be understood as being *used* by the lamenter as a space where she further expands her discourse (see below).

¹²⁵ The incitement to the *kláma* ceremony is employed through the metaphorical reference to it as a feast. Lament is metaphorically referred to as ‘wine’, which Dimou as the host will serve the chorus of lamenters. This metaphor between wine and lament is frequently encountered in Inner Maniat laments; another instance of it is quoted in chapter one (fn3).

After this point in the lament, Dimou's narrative changes radically. She starts lamenting in a tragic and provocative way as if she has taken on her own incitement to mourn. She again directly addresses her deceased sister and ponders a desire to resurrect her, like Jesus. The employment of Christian cosmology¹²⁶, that of the resurrection of Jesus, occurs in the lament as a powerful tool, in that it draws evaluative parallels between the pain from the loss of her sister with that from the death of Jesus. But, with this equation, Dimou finally affirms the absence of her sister, and provocatively expresses her bitterness towards the husband with the prospect of her sister's resurrection: in line 21 of the lament [M19], she declares that she would let those die who would be saddened by the resurrection of her sister. Her provocation, which borders on being a curse, is directed at Yannis who in Dimou's estimation is saddened by the symbolic resurrection of his deceased wife - which occurs through her commemoration in lamenting.

Following this multi-layered manipulation of reality in her lamenting, Dimou undergoes a symbolic death. Her radical statement directed this time at her own husband declares that she would like to die, and that then her husband would remarry. Her proposition is very powerful as her husband is symbolically separated from her through her own death wish. She brings her own husband into her discourse and symbolically destroys their relationship to encourage the ritual participants to comprehend the issue in a communal sense beyond the individual case of Yannakis and her sister. She exposes the issue of her sister's memory being forgotten and of her nieces' futures being ambiguous as not merely private matters belonging to the Yannakis family but as a wider social and gender issue. She identifies with the dead (through her symbolic death) and with the female space of mourning, and separates herself from what she detests as male ethics.

¹²⁶ Another instance of the employment of Christian cosmology occurs in the lament fragment [M09] in chapter five, where the lamenter draws parallels between herself and God, with regard to the knowledge of how painful it is to lose a brother.

6.5 *Grief and Transformation*

In the previous subchapters I have analysed the ways in which the expression of emotion in Inner Maniat lamenting intersects with social discourse. In this closing subchapter I will further analyse the issues which have arisen in this process through an extended ethnographic example of a particular *kláma* (mourning ritual) witnessed by myself. I went to the *kláma* accompanied by a friend-informant, Dimitris, and a cousin of the deceased, Michalakos, who was a resident of the village in which the mourning ritual took place. Dimitris told me the previous day that Michalakos was a popular man in the area and thus his *kláma* was expected to attract a lot of people. The deceased had lived outside Mani, having spent the last twenty years of his life in Athens with his children, but it was his wish to be buried in his birth-village in Inner Mani. I have encountered several occasions in which Maniats, some who had emigrated abroad to America, some who had moved to Athens, but all who have died outside Mani were brought back to be lamented by local lamenters and to be buried in Maniat soil¹²⁷. As Michalakos and his children lived in Athens, however, his family house in the village was not in a 'presentable' state, as Dimitris told me. Thus one of the village's churches¹²⁸ would be employed for his *kláma*. But it was agreed among the relatives and the church's priest, that by noon the priest would be there to perform the funeral rites in the Orthodox Christian tradition, and by that time the *kláma*

¹²⁷ Many such cases are also reported by Kassis (1979b, 1981) and Seremetakis (1991). In discussions with my local informants about emigrants being brought back to Mani for their death rituals, the former have expressed their understanding; my informant *Stavriani* has remarked that the emigrants too do not want to "go un-cried" but want to be suitably mourned and buried in their homeland. For a discussion on the unmourned death in Mani, see chapter one.

¹²⁸ As mentioned in the introduction, village churches are occasionally used in Mani to accommodate the ritual of *kláma*. On such occasions, however, churches are preferred only as a physical space that will accommodate the wake and the eventual lamenting in absence of a large enough, or appropriate, private space, and none of my informants, with whom I have discussed this matter, considered the *kláma* rituals that take place in a church to be more 'sacred' (see also Seremetakis 1991:159).

should have concluded. Dimitris remarked that he was expecting this occasion to be a *good kláma*, "like the old days". Some of the most capable lamenters of Inner Mani were Mihalakos's relatives and they were expected to be there to lament him, and their presence would attract even more lamenters from the surrounding villages. Maria, a second-degree niece of the deceased, and a villager, affirmed Dimitris's opinion; in a discussion we had the day prior to the burial she told me that, "he had many friends, that will come to greet him" (Fieldnotes)¹²⁹.

On the day of the ritual I met Dimitris at his house at six o'clock in the morning and we walked together to the church. It was early March and as it had been raining throughout the night, the wet earth released hints of the first spring essences. It was still dark when we arrived, yet very few lights were turned on in the church and only a small number of candles were burning. A few relatives of the deceased were already there, and a circle of four mourners was seated around the open coffin with the body of the deceased, lamenting softly. Most of the relatives present at this early hour of the morning had been travelling throughout the night on a bus that had been hired in order to bring the body of the deceased and some of his relatives from Athens to Mani. By the church's entrance stood Maria, a niece of the deceased, who was preparing tea and coffee, and repeatedly asking those present if they would like a cup, in a loud voice, as if she was trying to cover up the lamenting that was coming from the circle of the black dressed women seated around the body. The church's interior, familiar to me from previous visits, seemed as if it had undergone a radical transformation - cold and dark in the early morning, it felt stripped of its typically impressive atmosphere. The body of the deceased was positioned in the centre of the church in an open coffin, the chairs had been moved from their usual parallel rows facing the altar, and were instead positioned in a circle around the body. Even the portraits of the

¹²⁹ For the significance of death ritual in Mani as a social event, see chapter one.

Christian saints, otherwise so dominant, seemed now in the dim light like silent witnesses to the women's lamenting.

As the morning moved on, more mourners arrived, relatives and friends of the deceased from the village and the surrounding villages and by ten o'clock a relatively large crowd had gathered by the church, some attending the *kláma*, which was occurring inside and others standing outside in the churchyard. Dimitris was right in his prediction, and as the numbers of mourners were growing several lamenters formed a chorus around the body of Michalakos. There was one absence, however, which was especially noted: Soulio, the younger sister of the deceased (and also a resident of Athens), who was not yet there. As the time was approaching that the *kláma* should come to an end and give way to the church ceremony, a murmur was rising among the crowd outside of the lamenting circle. Finally, it was expressed within, by Venetia, a distant relative, who while lamenting made a bitter comment concerning Soulio's absence: "*Eh Megalomihalaka* [the deceased]/*where's your family now?*"¹³⁰.

Although Venetia's words caused more talk among the gathered mourners, it was, for the time being, left uncommented within the chorus of the lamenters. However, after some time Soulio finally arrived, observably upset from the death of her brother, and tired from her journey, she rushed into the church where the *kláma* was taking place. She screamed to address her brother ("my brother, my

¹³⁰ Venetia refers ironically to Michalakos as *Meghalomichalaka*: Great Michalakos. The full verse to which these lines were incorporated recounted an event in which Michalakos was asked by distant relatives of his to assist them in a land dispute they had with their neighbours, but he refused, prioritising the needs of his close kin. Venetia expressed this event poetically and metaphorically through her lamenting: "[..] and they said to Michalakos: / 'We should sell everything / the vine yards and the chestnut trees / and let the money be spent on lawyers.' / 'I won't sell the vine yard / for it's a fertile piece of land / and it produces great fruit / and thus my family lives.' / Eh *Meghalomichalaka*, / Where is your family now?" (Fieldnotes).

little brother"), continued screaming and then started to lament. By rights of kinship, but also due to her state of grief, she was unquestionably allowed to lament even though she had interrupted another lamenter and had broken the order that was established before her arrival. However, as she was not a skilled lamenter and did not have the ability to compose lament verses well, after a few minutes her words were being lost between sobs and cries. At this point an elderly female cousin of the deceased (and of Soulio), Vassiliki, interfered and took over the lamenting. Her interference signifies both an attempt to save her niece, as well as her family, from embarrassment and an attempt to bring order back into the *kláma* - "to create a beautiful *moirolói*, as the deceased would have wanted it to be," she told me when I asked her afterwards. In the course of her lamenting she does something more: she answers to the provocative comment made previously by Venetia, which doubted the integrity of the family. Given that Soulio finally managed to come all the way from Athens, and apparently on time for the *kláma*, Vassiliki creates a fantastical conversation wherein a third person (of Vassiliki's creation) is asking Soulio, "how did you manage to come so fast from Athens?" Performing as the voice of Soulio, Vassiliki laments in answer to this question:

[M20]

Γιατι το αίμα αίμα μου,
γιατί το κρέα κρέας μου,
γιατί το αίμα αναπηδά,
σκιζει λαγκάδια και βουνά,
χτίζει γεφύρια και περνά

Because the blood is my blood,
because the flesh is my flesh,
because blood pumps,
tears mountains and hills apart,
raises bridges and does pass.

(Fieldnotes)

It is impossible to isolate the poetics of the lament above from the very discourses that are generated within it or the liminal contexts in which it is performed. Vassiliki's response, which in itself is not an original piece but rather a well-known set of verses used in lamenting to express the overcoming of obstacles with the power of blood ties, attempts to re-establish the integrity of the family, which was put in question by Venetia, by employing a metaphor of cosmological imagery - and the gestural mimetic processes which bind it together with the body. The imagery of Maniat landscape, mythological and real, is frequently employed in Maniat lamenting, and its invocation, as my informants observe, involves very powerful metaphors¹³¹. The juxtaposition of blood, the Maniat signifier for patrilineal kin, and landscape expresses the power that a mourner has. *Blood tears apart mountains and raises bridges, it destroys and it creates*; in other words, blood transforms - and it does so, metaphorically.

Metaphor plays an important role in how people identify and associate with nature through the senses (*see, e.g. Feld 1990:62*) and emotions (*see Milton*

¹³¹ Another example of the use of such metaphor in Maniat lamenting comes from Holst-Warhaft (1995: 44) who wrote of a lamenter who describes herself as a 'rock' in the lament she composed for her deceased son: "I'm a real Maniat woman/and a hard rock of Morea"; I have frequently witnessed this set of verses cited in laments by my informants. Another extract, which is often cited by lamenters to express the emotional durability of the lamenter, says: "I am the Vergha of Almyros/ and I can withstand whatever comes." *Vergha* means 'stony hills'; Vergha of Almyros is the place where a crucial fight between the Maniat clans and the Turkish army took place in the course of the Greek-Ottoman war in 1826 (Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985: 33; *see also* chapter 3.1.2). Prior to the battle the men of the Inner Maniat villages had united and travelled to Verga in order to defend the expected attack, when a force of about a thousand Ottoman soldiers made a surprise attack on Pirghos Dirou where there were only women and children left behind to defend it. The Turks, however, were defeated by the women who were armed only with agricultural tools: and they were also defeated by the Maniat men in Verga (Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:61-3). These lament verses recount the victory as women's history (Seremetakis 1991: 237-8). And the employment of this set of lyrics in lament is a metaphor for both history and place. As Seremetakis notes: "In the first verse, the female mourner becomes, not just the battle, but the place where the battle was fought" (Seremetakis 1991:237-8).

2002: esp., p.77). Writing from an existentialist-phenomenological perspective on “a mode of speaking, thinking and acting in which personal, social and natural aspects of Being are made to correspond or coalesce”, Jackson (1983:127) argues that there exists an ‘analogical mode of understanding [...] in all human societies, and the key to this understanding is metaphoric imagery, which he compares to “thinking through the body” (1983:128). Jackson’s point is not only that metaphor overcomes dichotomies, such as those of nature-culture, mind-body, subject-object, but that it “reveals unities” (ibid: p.132). For Jackson metaphor is something that can *reveal* itself linguistically. It is an expression of existential-phenomenological being, that, and to this end he quotes Merleau-Ponty (1962:388), “is inseparable from a view of the world and is that view itself brought into existence [...] of all expressive operations and all acquired views which constitute the cultural world.” It is because, according to Jackson (1983:133), that “human consciousness is intentional and embodied”, that metaphors “rediscover themselves in our thought.” In addition, metaphor, from an anthropological perspective, may also have a mimetic function¹³². The metaphorical correlation of the ritual performer’s body with the landscape, as it occurs in the lamenting of

¹³² It has been suggested by contemporary anthropologists that mimesis can be seen as a way to understand the relation of the individual to the world (Gebauer & Wulf 1992, 1998; Taussig 1993, Wulf 2004). This perspective on mimesis to a large extent theoretically follows Walter Benjamin (2005), whose theory of mimesis has its origins in language. It was in Benjamin’s (2005) attempts to articulate a theory of language that would explore the way words are connected to objects that the seed for his theory of mimesis appeared (Benjamin 2005: 62-74; *see also*: Buck-Morss 1979:87; Jennings, Eiland & Smith 2004:846). In the ‘Mimetic Faculty’ he speaks of the notion of non-sensuous similarity and describes language as the most complete set of non-sensuous similarities that our once powerful ability for mimesis, for becoming similar in a sensuous way, has bequeathed to us in the modern age (Benjamin 2004:721-2). Taussig (1993:44-69) remarks that this ability has been historically suppressed, throughout the enlightenment and its reflection in colonialism. Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) suggested that the origins of mimesis should be sought in primitive magic, in the imitation of nature by the shaman, and enlightenment can be seen as a repression of the mimetic faculty through its organisation (Adorno and Horkheimer 1997:9-11; *see also* Taussig 1993:47; Buck-Morss 1979:87-8).

Vassiliki in the above lament extract [M20], exemplifies a mimetic interplay between the individual and the world.

For Michael Taussig (1993) the ability of *becoming similar* through mimesis prescribes the ability *to become the other*¹³³. Taussig's perspective on mimesis offers a theoretical entry point into the concept of liminality and the processes of identity transformation in *kláma*. In the lament extract cited above [M21], Vassiliki, the lamenter, mimetically *becomes* Soulio, who *becomes* 'blood that tears mountains apart,' in order to reach her deceased brother before his *kláma* will be concluded and he should enter the earth. The lamenter does not simply cross through the landscape – she *transforms* the landscape. In her narrative, blood, the signifier of close kin, has a tremendous impact on the world: it can tear mountains apart, and it can raise bridges. Thus the geography of the earth, the ground on which one stands, is not fixed - just as the identities of the practitioners in the ritual are not (*see* chapter 5.1, 5.6, 6.3) - but is negotiable in a metaphorical sense. And it is negotiable, as Vassiliki expresses it, because of patrilineal kinship ties: blood. The metaphorical power of blood to transform expressed by Vassiliki, who speaks as Soulio, who declares that she *did* manage to come on time for the *kláma* of her brother *because she is blood-kin*. Thus she silences all comment on the integrity of the family, as well as on the memory of the deceased, because her declaration is recognised as an infallible Maniat truth: patrilineal kinship ties form the foundational core of Maniat society, *and kinship ties will be mourned*. The grieving sister, Soulio, managed to come to the *kláma*, and she did do emotionally *charged*, to mourn for her brother. Blood is pumping in her veins connoting the *feeling* of grief for her blood kin. But blood also transforms the earth if need be in order to express that grief. Thus bodily (physiological) feeling and cultural expression conflate in the Maniat ritual expression of grief.

¹³³ The correlation of body and landscape is analogous to what the Cuna shaman is doing in the healing ritual for a sick pregnant woman, through his metaphorical narration of landscape as the sick woman's body (Levi-Straus 1993; Taussig 1993). For Taussig (1993) this case prescribes the power of mimesis in ritual.



Figure 19: Procession to the graveyard after the *klama* of Nicholas K. in Areopolis. (Photo by Antonios Perris; author's collection.)

CHAPTER 7
Conclusion

The expression of grief on the occasion of death in Inner Mani has a cultural heritage and a social ontology that is rooted in the ritualistic mourning practice of lamenting. The ritualised expression of grief in lamenting occurs through a crafted performance that in its 'language' draws on a highly symbolic gestural and linguistic vocabulary. This performance is rooted in the cultural values of Maniat society, primarily the centrality of death in the Maniat cultural imagination and the centrality of the patrilineal kinship system in social organisation; and it provides mourners with the means to express their personal grief but also the dynamic potential to address social discourse. In contrast to traditional symbolic and functionalist anthropological approaches, this work addresses ritual as a practice that *does* contain a symbolically signified web of meaning and yet is *not* a closed and self-contained practice - rather it is in direct and parallel connection to society in the sense that it *exists within* a society, and at the same time it *talks about* the society (see Geertz 1973).

The degree to which Maniat ritual mourning and social discourse interweave is made apparent through the role that kinship plays in ritual lamenting (*moiológhia*). The biological death of a relative in Mani creates a disruption to the patrilineal kinship system, which is central in the Maniat social structure. Death of kin occasions ritualised mourning, and in Mani to mourn in a culturally appropriate mode is to ritually lament through *moiológhia* in a *kláma*. To ritually lament one first establishes one's right to do so by establishing a close kin bond with the deceased being lamented; this bond may be actual or symbolic. The narratives of laments revolve around kinship histories, which through *techniques of liminality* can position an individual death within other

kinship groupings, symbolically expanding the kinship grouping of the deceased to position the individual loss of a patrilineal kin member communally within the losses of Maniat society as a whole. Through this narrative process the importance of the individual death at the centre of a particular mourning ritual is not diminished, rather it is positioned within *histories of pain*, which prescribe an understanding of loss through death for Maniats as shared grief and common fate. Thus the *expression of grief* in a ritual context in Mani is underpinned by kinship organisation.

It is the *feeling of grief*, however, that propels ritual mourning and the ritual performance of lament. Improvised on the occasion of each death, lamenting performances are *structured* ritual enactments with a shared understanding among lamenters of the prescribed procedure. The *poetics* of lament are characterised at the outset in that lament is an improvisational practice, which means that its composition is part of its performance. The eight-syllable verse of Maniat laments together with the symbolic vocabulary and repertoire of gesture employed additionally reveal lament as a *crafted* performance whereby emotion is channeled (and regulated) through a culturally and historically structured aesthetic performance apparatus. The concepts of 'good' and 'bad' lament are indicators of the importance of emotion in lament performances. A good lament performance is expected to wield consistency in its narrative and its performative display through an adept 'handling' of emotion. A bad lament performance is where the narrative drive of the performance is considered either lost or diluted through the lamenter becoming overly '*emotional*' and losing control, and thus lamenting outside the bounds of the prescribed structure of the performance - one might even venture to say outside the *emotional bounds* of the performance.

Furthermore, the structure of the lamenting performance becomes a performance in itself with the ordering of the lamenting process. The regulation of which lamenter follows which, 'turn-taking', is regulated from within the ritual through a process of dialogical lamenting. In addition to the establishment of a close kinship bond with the deceased, turn-taking is justified *on an emotional basis* whereby grief as a culturally acknowledged category of emotion holds ritual currency thus shaping ritual relations through the prism of shared grief.

To understand the social relevance of the Maniat ritual expression of grief one needs to understand the liminal processes at work in the ritual of *kláma*. Ritual participants in *kláma* are “betwixt and between” (Turner 1967) in that their social identity and status is ambiguous; in this sense *kláma* is akin to Van Gennep's (1960) rite of passage, and is a ritual between the world of the living and that of the dead (*see* Turner 1967). The ambiguous nature of identities within the *kláma* is evinced from the outset of ritual participation, as mentioned above, by the ability of lamenters to declare a bond of fictive kinship, that is to adopt an appropriate identity to enter the liminal space of the *kláma*. The liminal space where lamenting is undertaken is a fluid and transitional space and as such provides a platform for poetic creation. Lamenters incorporate a set of poetic techniques in their narratives and performances, which include the use of metaphor and mimetic gesture that aim at the *transformation* of the ritual participants' understanding of the world; these techniques avail of bodily gesturing and movement, linguistic expression, and expression 'on the borders' of the linguistic, as with wailing and sobbing - all of which in practice *shape emotion into the song, narrative and gesture of Maniat moirológhia*.

It is because it is a liminal process that the ritual of *kláma* provides a space of ambiguity that may allow the lamenters to interfere with the power relations in society; and death ritual in Mani does not simply reflect and incorporate the status quo of societal power relations, it also has the potential dynamic to alter them. The space of mourning is frequently employed as a platform by lamenters to voice truth-claims, that is, to present their own version of a social issue that they believe needs reconsideration, resolving or redressing. Because lamenting is primarily a female ritualistic practice in Mani the voicing of truth-claims through lamenting may, however, be considered as a gendered discourse in that it allows female mourners to express critical concerns that the social constraints of their gender might potentially hinder or inhibit in the social sphere (*see* Seremetakis 1991; Holst-Warhaft 1995). The truth-claim expressed in lament may transgress the dominant ethics of society, but because the claim is coming from the emotionally laden ritual space of shared grief it will be witnessed, holds at least the potential of being taken into consideration, and may in fact effect a change in social relations.

For Maniat lamenters death is *universal*, a physiological fact, which affects everybody and causes one to grieve on an individual and societal level. Yet the Maniat understanding of grief and their means of expressing it is bound to a culturally specific performative and ritualistic apparatus: *kláma* and *moiológhia*. The performance of *moiológhia* is a ritualised expression of grief directed *at the social world*. This is ultimately why the *ritual* currency of the Maniat language of emotion transforms itself into *social* currency. Thus Maniat death ritual overcomes the distinctions between *feeling* and *thinking*, which have fuelled the anthropological debate on emotion (*see* Leavitt 1996; Milton 2005; Wulff 2007).

To understand what this entails, however, one needs to understand on an ethnographic level the symbolism, the verbal and non-verbal vocabulary, the impetus, and the effect of the *language of emotion* that produces healing by repositioning individual grief into a social cosmos of shared grief and at the same time may articulate powerful social critiques: Beyond generalising speculations on the nature of emotion, ethnography opens the path to an understanding of the realities of such cultural practices as lived discourse through critical engagement.

In summary, the study of emotion in ritual as it has been exhibited in this work can be an invaluable tool in understanding the interrelation of emotion and society. What this work has suggested is to not only consider ritual as an emotional-shaping practice but also to consider the role of emotional expression *in shaping and changing ritual through its performance*, and consequently to consider the reflection of this ritualistic performance of emotion on the wider social relations beyond the ritualistic sphere. To do so, however, the researcher should enquire into ritual not as a self-contained system, but to attempt to see ritual in interaction with the social canvas on which it is practised. Similarly, emotion in ritual must be understood as of communicative value, which is *expressed, felt and perceived socially*.

CHAPTER 8
Bibliography

- Abu-Lughod, L. (1986): *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Village*. California: University of California Press.
- Adorno, T. & Horkheimer, M. (1997): *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London: Verso.
- Alexakis, E. P. (1980): *Τα Γένη και η Οικογένεια στην Παραδοσιακή Κοινωνία της Μάνης* (Clans and Family in the Traditional Society of Mani). Athens: Privately Published.
- Alexiou, M. (1974): *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Allen, P.S. (1974): *Social and Economic Change in a Depopulated Community in Southern Greece*. Unpublished Phd. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Brown University, U.S.A.
- (1997): Finding meaning in Modifications of the environment: the Fields and Orchards of Mani. In Kardulias, P.K. & M.T. Shutes (eds.), *Aegean Strategies: Studies of Culture and Environment on the European Fringe*. Lanham, M.D.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- American Anthropological Association (AAA) (1998): *Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association*. Online at: <http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethicscode.pdf> (last retrieved: 10/08/2012).
- Andromenas, J. (1962): *The Inner Maniat Community Type: A Study of the Local Community's Changing Articulation with Society*, unpublished Phd. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
- (1976): Maniat Folk Culture and the Ethnic Mosaic in the Southeast Peloponnese. In Dimen, M. & Friedl, E. (eds.), *Regional Variations in Modern Greece and Cyprus: Toward a Perspective on the Ethnography of Greece*. Annals of the New York Academy, Vol. 268; New York: New York Academy of Sciences: 99-206.
- Archer, J. (1999): *The Nature of Grief: The Evolution and Psychology of Reactions to Loss*, London: Routledge.
- Aries, P. (1974): *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- (1981): *The Hour of Our Death* (Vols. 1 & 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (ASA) (2011): Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice. Online at: <http://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf> (last retrieved: 25/08/2012). Becker, E. (1997): *The denial of death*. New York: Free Press Paperbacks.
- Benjamin, W. (2004): *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings; Volume 1* Bullock, M. & Jennings, M. (eds.); USA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- (2005): On Language as Such and on the Language of Man. In Jennings M, Eiland H, & Smith G. (eds.) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings; Volume 2, Part 2* USA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. : 62-74.
- (2005): On the Mimetic Faculty. In Jennings M, Eiland H, & Smith G. (eds.) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings; Volume 2, Part 2* USA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. : 720-2.
- Benokraitis, N. V. (2011): *Marriages and Families*. 7th Edition, Pearson Education, Inc.
- Berger, P. (1990): *The Sacred Canopy: Elements Of A Sociological Theory Of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Berthomé, F. and Houseman, M. (2010): Religion and Society: Advances in Research, 1 (1): 57-75
- Bloch, M. (1971): *Placing the dead: tombs, ancestral villages and kinship organization in Madagascar*. London: Seminar Press Ltd.
- (1982): Death, Women and Power. In Bloch, M. & Parry, J. P. (eds). *Death and the regeneration of life*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (1997): *Ritual, history and power : selected papers in anthropology*. London [u.a.]: Athlone Press.
- Bloch, M. & Parry J. (eds.) (1982): *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977): *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradbury, M. (1996): Representations of 'Good' and 'Bad' Death Among Deathworkers and the Bereaved. *Contemporary Issues in the Sociology of Death, Dying and Disposal*. G. Howarth and P. C. Jupp. New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Briggs, C.L. (2001): Questions for the Ethnographer: A Critical Examination of the Role of the Interview in Fieldwork. In A. Bryman (ed.), *Ethnography* Vol I. London: Sage Benchmark in Research Methods: 345-368.
- Buck-Morss, S. (1979): *The Origin of Negative Dialectics: Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin and the Frankfurt Institute*. New York: The Free Press.
- Butler, J. (1993): *Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. London and New York: Routledge.
- (1997): *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Canacakis, G. (1982): *Trauerverarbeitung im Trauerritual und leib-seelisches Befinden: Psychologisches Felduntersuchung zur Psychohygienischen Wirksamkeit der Totenklagen (Moiroloja) in Mani, Griechenland*. Unpublished Dissertation for the University of Essen.
- Cancian, F. (1987): *Love in America: Gender and Self-Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Caraveli-Chaves, A. (1980): Bridge between Worlds: The Greek Woman's Lament as Communicative Event. In *Journal of American Folklore*, 93: 129-57.
- Childs, G. H. (2004): *Tibetan Diary: from Birth to Death and beyond in a Himalayan Valley of Nepal*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Clifford, J. & Marcus G. (1986): *Writing Culture : The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography : a School of American Research advanced seminar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohen, A. P. (2000): *Signifying identities : anthropological perspectives on boundaries and contested values*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Counts, D.R. & Counts, D. A. (1991): *Coping with the Final Tragedy: Cultural Variations in Dying and Grieving*. New York: Baywood Publishing Company.
- Damon, F. H. & Wagner, R. (1989): *Death Rituals and Life in the Societies of the Kula Ring*. DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Damasio, A. (2000): *The Feeling of what Happens: Body and Emotion in the Making of Consciousness*. London: William Heinemann.

- Danforth, L. M. (1982): *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*. (With photographs from Tsiaras A.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- de Waal, F. (2009): *The age of empathy: Nature's Lessons for a Kinder Society*. New York, NY: Harmony Books.
- Di Pippo A. F. (2000): The Concept of Poiesis in Heidegger's An Introduction to Metaphysics. In: *Thinking Fundamentals, IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences*, Vol. 9
- Douglas, M. (2005): *Purity and Danger: An analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Durkheim, E. (2008): *The elementary forms of religious life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ehn, B. & Löfgren, O. (2006): Emotions in Academia. In Wulff, C. (ed.): *The Emotions: A Cultural Reader* (ed.), Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Eliopoulou–Rogan, D. (1973): *Mani: History and Monuments*. Athens: Lycabettus Press.
- Engelen, E.M. & Röttger-Rössler, B. (2012): Current Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Debates on Empathy. In *Emotion Review* 4, (1): 3-8.
- Fabian, J. (1973): How others die: reflections on the anthropology of death. In Mack, A. (ed.), *Death in American Experience*. New York: Schocken Books.
- (2002): *Time and the other: how anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (2001): *Language and power*. Harlow, Eng.; New York: Longman.
- (2010): *Critical discourse analysis : the critical study of language*. Harlow: Pearson.
- Feld, S. (1982): *Sound and sentiment : birds, weeping, poetics, and song in Kaluli expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Feld, S. and Fox, A. A (1994): Music and Language. In *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23(1):25–53.
- Fermor P. L. (1984): *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Foucault, M. (1995): *Discipline and punish the birth of the prison*. New York: Random House.

- (1972): *The Archeology of Knowledge*, London: Tavostock.
- Freud, S. (1969): Mourning and Melancholia. In, Stacey, J. (ed.) *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*. In Vol. 14: 243-258. London: Hogarth Press.
- Gebauer, G. & Wulf, C. (1992): *Mimesis: Kultur - Kunst - Gesellschaft*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- (1998): *Spiel - Ritual - Geste: mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*. Reinbek bei Hamburg : Rowohlt.
- (1998): Mimesis. In Kelly, M. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics Vol. 3*, pp:232-238. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Geertz, C. (1973): *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- (1980): *Negara: The Theatre State in 19th Century Bali*. New York: Princeton University Press.
- (1988): *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Geertz, H. (1974): The Vocabulary of Emotions. In LeVine, R. (ed.), *Culture and Personality*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gell, A. (1998): *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gluckman, M. (1963): *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa*. London: Cohen & West.
- Goffman, E. (1956): *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.
- (1967): *Interaction Ritual: Face to Face Behaviour*. Chicago: Aldine Publications.
- Goody, J. (1962): *Death, property and the ancestors. A study of the mortuary customs of the LoDagaa of West Africa*. London: Tavistock.
- Greenhalgh, P. (1985): *Deep into Mani : journey to the southern tip of Greece*. London; Boston: Faber & Faber.
- Hall, R. C. (2000): *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, Prelude to the First World War*. London; New York: Routledge.

- Hallam, E. & Hockey, J. (2001): *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, Oxford: Berg.
- Harrakas, S. (2004): *Interview on Suicide*. Online: <http://www.fiercegoodbye.com/Default.asp?P=71> (Retrieved 25/04/2012).
- Harre, R. (ed.) (1986): *The Social Construction of Emotions*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, A.E. (1955): The classification of Greek Lyric Poetry. In *Classical Quarterly*, London: 157-174.
- Heelas, P. (1996): Emotion Talk Across Cultures. In Harre & Parrott (eds.), *The Emotions: Social, Cultural and Biological Dimensions*. London: Sage.
- Heidegger, M. (2008): *Basic writings : from Being and time (1927) to The task of thinking (1964)*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Thought
- Hertz, R. (1960): *Death and the Right Hand*. London: Cohen & West.
- Herzfeld, M. (1982): *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- (1992): Segmentation and Politics in the European Nation-State: Making Sense of Political Events. In K. Hastrup (ed.), *Other Histories*. London: Routledge.
- (1997): *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. London: Routledge.
- (2001): *Anthropology: Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1998): The Sociology of Emotion as a Way of Seeing. In Barrett, S., Komaromy, C., Robb, M. and Rogers, A. (eds.) *Communication, Relationships and Care: A Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Hollan, D. (2012): Emerging issues in the cross-cultural study of empathy. In *Emotion Review*, 4(1): 70–78.
- Holst-Warhaft, G. (1995): *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hovland, I. (ed.) (2007): *Fielding Emotions*, *Anthropology Matters* 9(1).
- Howell, N. (1990): *Surviving Fieldwork: A Report of the Advisory Panel on Health and Safety in Fieldwork*. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

- Hsu, E. and Low, C. (2007): Introduction. In *Wind, Life, Health: Anthropological and Historical Approaches. Special Issue, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13 (s1): 1-17.
- Ioannou, G. (2010): *Τα Δημοτικά μας τραγούδια* (Our Folk Songs). Athens: Vima.
- Jackson, M. (1983): Knowledge of the Body. In *Man*, 18(2): 327-345.
- (1989): *Paths Toward a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- (2006): *Existential Anthropology: Events, Exigencies, and Effects (Methodology and History in Anthropology)*. Canada: Berghahn Books.
- Jackson, M. (ed.) (1996): *Things as they are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Johnston, I. (1997): *Lecture on Plato's Republic*. Online at: <http://records.viu.ca/~johnstoi/introser/republic.htm> (Accessed: 04/10/2011)
- Ingold, T. (1994): Introduction to Culture. In Ingold, T. (ed), *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London & New York: Routledge: 329-349.
- Kapferer, B. (1979): Emotion and Feeling in Sinhalese Healing Rites. In *Social Analysis*, 1: 153-76.
- (1983): *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- (2010): Beyond Ritual as Performance: Towards Ritual as Dynamic and Virtuality. In *Paragrana*, 19(2): 231-249.
- Kassis, K. (1977): *Συνοπτική Ιστορία της Μάνης* (Brief History of Mani). Athens: Self-published.
- (1979a): *Μοιρολόγια της Μέσα Μάνης, Τόμος Α'* (Laments of Inner Mani, Volume 1). Athens: Self-published.
- (1979b): *Μοιρολόγια της Μέσα Μάνης, Τόμος Β'* (Laments of Inner Mani, Volume 2). Athens: Self-published.
- (1980): *Μοιρολόγια της Μέσα Μάνης, Τόμος Γ'* (Laments of Inner Mani, Volume 3). Athens: Self-published.

- Kasten, I. (2004): Ritual und Emotionalität. Zum Geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters. In, Wulf, C. and Zirfas, J. (eds.) *Die Kultur des Rituals : Inszenierungen, Praktiken, Symbole*. München: Fink :198-216. Katz, J. (1999): *How Emotions Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Keesing, R. (1975): *Kin Groups and Social Structure*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Kertzer, D. (1988): *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kousis, M., Selwyn, T. & Clark, D. (2011): *Contested Mediterranean Spaces: Ethnographic Essays in Honour of Charles Tilly*. London: Berghahn Books.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1993). The Effectiveness of Symbols. In *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. 1, England: Penguin Books: 186-205.
- Levy R. I. (ed.) (1983): Introduction: Self and Emotion. In *Ethos*, 11(3): 128-134.
- Leavitt, J. (1996): Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotions. In *American Ethnologist*, 23(3): 514-539.
- Lock, M. (1997): Displacing Suffering: The reconstruction of Death in North America and Japan. In Kleinman, A., Das, V. & Lock, M. (eds.), *Social Suffering*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Loizos, P. & Papataxiarches, E. (1991): *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Lutz, C. (1988): *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lutz, C. & White G.M. (1986): The Anthropology of Emotions. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15: 405-36.
- Lutz, C. & Abu-Lughod, L. (eds.) (1990): *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Lynch, O. M. (1990): The Social Construction of Emotion in India. In Owen, M. L. (ed.), *Divine Passions: The Social Construction of Emotion in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lyon, M. (1998): The Limitations of Cultural Constructionism in the Study of Emotion. In Bendelow, G. & Williams, S.J. (eds.), *Emotions in Social Life: Critical Themes and Contemporary Issues*. London; New York: Routledge.

- Lyon, M.L. & Barbalet, J. L. (1994): Society's Body: Emotion and the 'Somatisation' of Social Theory. In Csordas (ed.), *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maas, P. (1962): *Greek Metre*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Malinowski, B. (1984): *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: an account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- Mantouvalos, G. (1978): *Στη Σκία του Ταύγετου: Απόσκερη Μέσα Μάνη* (In the Shadow of Tayghetos: Shady Inner Mani). Athens: Self Published.
- Margaritis, G. (2000): *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Εμφυλίου Πολέμου 1946-1949* (History of the Greek Civil War 1946 - 1949). Athens: Vivliorama.
- Mead, M. (1973): The Art and Technology of Field Work. In Raoul, N. & R. Cohen (eds.), *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962): *Phenomenology of Perception*. New York: Humanities Press.
- Metcalf, P. & R. Huntington (1991): *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, J. P. (1998): Ritual. In Barnard, A. and Spencer, J. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Milton, K. (2005): Meanings, Feelings and Human Ecology. In Milton, K. & Svasek, M. (eds.), *Mixed Emotions: Anthropological Studies of Feeling*. New York : Berg.
- Milton, K. & Svasek, M. (eds.) (2005) *Mixed Emotions: Anthropological Studies of Feeling*. New York : Berg.
- Mirabel, A. (1929): *Etude descriptive du Parler Maniote Meridional*. Paris: de Boccard
- Morgan, P. (1973): 'The Laments of Mani'. In *Folklore*, Vol. 84, : 265-98.
- Müller, H. (2005): *Der Auftrag und andere Revolutiosstücke*. Stuttgart: Reclam.
- Myers, F.R. (1973): 'Emotions and the Self: A Theory of Personhood and Political Order among Pintupi Aborigines'. In *Ethos*, : 343-70.
- Nussbaum, M. (2001): *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Parkinson, B. (1995): *Ideas and Realities of Emotion*. London; Routledge.
- Parry, J. P. (1994): *Death in Banaras*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Papataxiarhes, E. & Paradellis, T. (eds.) (1993): *Ανθρωπολογία και Παρελθόν: Συμβολές στην κοινωνική Ιστορία της Νεότερης Ελλάδας*. (Anthropology and the Past: Contributions in the History of Modern Greece). Athens: Editions Alexandria.
- Patsourakos, I. V. (1910): *Η Μάνη και οι Μανιάτες* (Mani and the Maniats). Piraeus: Astir.
- Pina-Cabral, J. De (1980): Cults of the dead in Northern Portugal. In *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 9: 1-31.
- Politis, N. (1913): Maniat Laments. In *Laografia*, 1(4): 11-32
- Read, D. W. (2001): Formal analysis of kinship terminologies and its relationship to what constitutes kinship. In *Anthropological Theory*, 1 (2): 239-267.
- Reiner, E. (1938): *Die Rituelle Totenklage der Griechen*; Tuebingen.
- Robben, A.C. G. M. (2004): Death and Anthropology: An Introduction. In Robben, A. C. G. M. (ed.) *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader*. Singapore: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rosaldo, M. (1980): *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1984): Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling. In Shweder R.A., & Levine, R.A. (eds.), *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosaldo, I. (1984): Grief and a Headhunter's Rage: On the Cultural Force of Emotions. In Bruner (ed.), *Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Rosenblatt, P.C., Walsh, R.P. & Jackson, D.A. (1976): *Grief and Mourning in a Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New Haven: HRAF Press.
- Röttger-Rössler, B. (2004): *Die kulturelle Modellierung des Gefühls. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Methodik ethnologischer Emotionsforschung anhand indonesischer Fallstudien*, Lit- Verlag.
- Röttger-Rössler, B. and Engelen E. A. (2012): Current Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Debates on Empathy. In *Emotion Review* 4(1): 3-8.
- Röttger-Rössler, B. and Markowitsch. H., J. (2009): *Emotions as bio-cultural processes*. New York: Springer.

- Saitas, G. (1992): *Μανη: Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική* (Mani: Greek Traditional Architecture). Athens: Melissa.
- Sanjek, R. (1993): *Fieldnotes : the making of anthropology*. Ithaca [u.a.]: Cornell University Press.
- Sartre, J. P. (1948): *The Emotions*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Schechner, R. (1994): Ritual and Performance. In Ingold, T. (ed.), *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Scheff, T.J. (1977): The Distancing of Emotion in Ritual. In *Current Anthropology*, 18: 483-505.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (1992): *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Scott, J. & Selwyn, T. (2011): *Thinking Through Tourism*. London: Berg.
- Segreto, L., Manera, C. & Pohl, M. (2009): *Europe at the seaside : the economic history of mass tourism in the Mediterranean*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Seremetakis, N. (1991): *The Last Word: Women Death and Divination in Inner Mani*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1994): *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Sijakovic, D. (2011): Shaping the pain: Ancient Greek lament and its therapeutic aspect? In *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU*, 59 (1): 71-96.
- Suzuki, H. (2000): *The Price of Death: The Funeral Industry in Contemporary Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Svasek, M. (2005): The politics of Chosen Trauma: Expellee Memories, Emotions and Identities. In Milton, K. & Svasek, M. (eds.), *Mixed Emotions: Anthropological Studies of Feeling*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Taussig, M. (1991): *Shamanism, colonialism, and the wild man : a study in terror and healing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1993): *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge.
- (1994): Michael Taussig Replies to Martin Jay. In *Visual Anthropology Review*, 10(1): 154.

- Thomassen, B. (2009): The Uses and Meanings of Liminality. In *International Political Anthropology*, 2 (1): 5-27.
- Tonkin, E. (2005): Being There: Emotion and Imagination in Anthropologist's Encounters. In Milton, K. & Svasek, M. (eds.), *Mixed Emotions: Anthropological Studies of Feeling*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Tooby, L. & Cosmides, J. (1990): Emotional Adaptations and the structure of Ancestral Environment. In *Ethology and Sociobiology*, 11: 375-424.
- Turner, V. (1967): *The Forest of Symbols*. New York: Cornwell University Press.
- (1969): *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti- Structure*. London: Aldine Transaction.
- (1987): *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ.
- Vagiakakos, D. (2004): *Γύρω στο Μυρολόγι της Μέσα Μάνης* (About the Lament of Inner Mani). Athens: Self-published.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2011): *Discourse studies : a multidisciplinary introduction*. London: Sage.
- Van Gennep, A. (1960): *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Varvantakis, C. (2005): Studying the People of Chania through Photography: A Reflexive Approach. In *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 15(2): 345 - 358
- (2009): A Monument to Dismantlement. In *Memory Studies Journal*, 2(1): 27-38
- (2011) Mourning Deaths, Lamenting Lives: Grief and transformation in Inner Maniot Laments. In *Paragrana*, 20(2): 140-154.
- Vernant, J. P. (1982): *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*. New York: Zone Books.
- (1991): *Mortals and Immortals*. Princeton; Princeton University Press.
- Vernant, J. P. and Vidal-Naquet, P. (1988): *Myth and tragedy in ancient Greece*. New York; Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books.
- Wagstaff, J. M. (1965): House Types as an Index in Settlement Study: A Case Study from Greece. In *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37: 69-75.

- Walter, T. (1999): *On Bereavment: The Culture of Grief*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Wentworth, W.M. & Yardley, D. (1994): Deep Sociality: A Bio-evolutionary Perspective on the Sociology of Emotions. In Wentworth, W. M. and Ryan, J. (eds.) *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, Vol.2. Greenwich C.T: JAI Press.
- Whitehouse, H. (2004): *Modes of Religiosity: a cognitive theory of religious transmission*. Walnut Creek, CA.: AltaMira Press.
- Wierzbicka, A. (2003): Emotion and Culture: Arguing with Martha Nussbaum. In *Ethos*, 31 (4): 577-600.
- Wilce, J. M. (2009): *Crying shame : metaculture, modernity, and the exaggerated death of lament*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wilce, J. M. (2011): Sacred Psychotherapy in the "Age of Authenticity": Healing and Cultural Revivalism in Contemporary Finland. In *Religions*, 2, no. 4: 566-589.
- Wulf, C. (ed.) (2001): *Grundlagen des Performativen : eine Einführung in die Zusammenhänge von Sprache, Macht und Handeln*. Weinheim: Juventa-Verl.
- (2004): *Anthropologie : Geschichte, Kultur, Philosophie*. Reinbek: Rowohlt-Taschenbuch- Verlag.
- (ed.) (2005): *Ikonologie des Performativen*. München: Fink.
- Wulf, C. et al. (2011): *Die Geste in Erziehung, Bildung und Socialisation* Germany: VS Verlag.
- Wulf, C. and Zirfas, J. (eds.) (2004): *Die Kultur des Rituals : Inszenierungen, Praktiken, Symbole*. München: Fink.
- Wulff, H. (2007): *The Emotions: A Cultural Reader* Oxford; New York: Berg.

APPENDIX I

Resume in German

Diese Dissertation analysiert die Wechselwirkung zwischen der Emotion, dem Todesritual und dem soziokulturellen Diskurs in Innen Mani Todesritualen und legt den Fokus auf die improvisierte rituelle Praxis vom Lamentieren während des Vorbeerdigung-Trauerrituales von *kláma*. Die Analyse, zum Einen des Prozesses der emotionalen Beschränkung und Äußerung innerhalb des Vorbeerdigung-Trauerrituales, als auch des Zusammenhangs des Rituals mit dem sozialen Diskurs, zeigt, weshalb die Äußerung von Emotionen im *kláma* wichtig für die Schöpfung und Verhandlung der sozialen Identitäten und Machtbeziehungen in Innen Mani ist. Die ethnografische Feldforschung für diese These wurde in Inner Mani durchgeführt, eine abseitige und historisch isolierte Region in Südpeloponnes auf dem griechischen Festland. Dieses Gebiet, wie mehrere Historiker, Ethnologen und Volkskundler schon vermerkt haben, besitzt eine eigene und emotional überwältigende Tradition des Lamentierens. Die Feldarbeit wurde als eine qualitative Forschung ausgeführt und basierte auf der Methode der teilnehmenden Beobachtung, um Forschungsdaten zu erheben und zu produzieren. Die theoretische Grundlage dieser Arbeit stützt sich in erster Linie auf anthropologische Studien über Emotionen und Todesrituale und zusätzlich auf weitere theoretische Konzeptualisierungen der Liminalität, der sozialen Interaktion und der Performanz; folglich ist diese Arbeit eine interdisziplinäre, theoretische Diskussion über Ritual und Emotion. Die Organisation, die Form und die Gestaltung des Trauerrituales werden analysiert, um darzustellen, dass

das *kláma*-Ritual einen emotional geladen liminalen Raum bestimmt, in dem sowohl soziale Machtbeziehungen aufbrechen, als auch soziale Rollen arrangiert und wieder-arrangiert können, jeweils in Bezug auf die „Trauer“. Weiter illustriert diese Arbeit, dass, innerhalb des liminalen Ritualraumes, der individuell betrauerte Tod sich, durch die mittels lamentieren erreichte Kommunikation und Reziprozität der Emotion, in ein bestehendes Bild vergangener Tode einfügt. Diese rituelle Anwendung hat nicht ausschließlich das Ziel, die soziale Zerreiung, die von jedem individuellen Tod verursacht wird, auszugleichen, woraus folgt, dass das Ritual nicht in einem traditionell funktionalistisch theoretischen Rahmen enthalten sein kann. Es steht in direktem Zusammenhang mit der Gesellschaft; in dem Sinne, dass sich soziale Beziehungen im Ritual widerspiegeln. Aber genau aufgrund des emotional geladenen Charakters der rituellen Performanz kann das Ritual als eine Plattform fungieren, auf der diese Beziehungen neu geordnet werden können.

APPENDIX II
On Lament Authorship

The question of authorship in an ethnographic work is always a complex one. To maintain a clear dialectic between the opinions expressed by informants and those of the researcher is not an easy task: they often overlap, and one can affect the other, making it impossible to reattribute each one accurately. Additionally, the very object of study, lament – the product of an oral performance - is often difficult to trace to one particular creator. The recitation of laments in Mani, whether it be the lamenting of small number of short verses as employed in new performances or lengthy citations as found in oral histories, further obscures the attempts to trace ‘originality’ to the extent that this endeavour becomes not only fruitless, but proves to be aimless and disorientating. In this work I have mostly used laments that I have recorded in the field, and in the cases when I have recorded oral narratives of previously documented laments that are addressed in this text, I have used my own recordings (see for instance [M01] and [M02] in chapter three).

There have been several attempts to document Maniat laments since the beginning of the twentieth century. Such attempts were usually undertaken by amateur folklorists from Mani, often people of some education who were frequently teachers. Especially in the first half of twentieth century, a burgeoning zeal to collect this unique ‘folk poetry’ (as it was frequently understood) came

about in response to calls made by urban academic folklorists who were trying to collect fragments of folk production in the newly formed Greek state. Collections of laments that were produced within this referential frame are not ideologically neutral and usually represent lament in a distorted way (Giazoglou 2009).

Collectors of laments have influenced their material in many ways, some of which are conscious, while others are not. Consider for instance the process of the selection and consequent exclusion of laments that they collected: one generally finds a preference for more 'epic' old laments, as well as those that through their narratives make explicit that Maniats are Greeks, direct descendants of the Spartans who have passionately fought for Greece's independence. Thus laments have been used as a tool of nation-state identity building in Greece. Accordingly, as it has been repeatedly noted (Giazoglou 2009; Kassis 1974) and as I have realised during my research, in many instances the verses of laments have been changed, in some cases to modify an argument made by the lamenter, or to beautify a lament's often-coarse language.

Clearly, such practises of selection or beautification exclude a large part of the cultural practises that they were supposed to document. This, however, is only one side of a wider problematic in the process of documentation, namely that of representation as transpires through the transcription of a ritual oral performance into text. The transcription of a lament, spontaneous and improvisatory, in its original oral form, necessarily results in a fragmentary representation. The scholarly traditions of linguistic anthropology and oral studies have in recent years pressed towards the collection and documentation of meta-data, alongside the transcription of the oral creations in order to deal with this problem (Foley 2002; Bauman & Briggs 2003). Such contextual and performative meta-data are absent or almost absent from the majority of existing collections of Inner Maniat *moiológhia*.

APPENDIX III
Erklärung zur Dissertation

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die vorgelegte Arbeit selbständig verfasst habe. Andere als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel habe ich nicht verwendet. Die Arbeit ist in keinem früheren Promotionsverfahren angenommen oder abgelehnt worden.

Berlin, den 24.09.2012

Christos Varvantakis