



**"COMING INTO BEING":
METAPHORS OF SELF AND BECOMING IN CARNIVAL,
ON THE AEGEAN ISLAND OF SKYROS**

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ERRATA

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Dedication

To Kingsley Garbett, my supervisor and mentor, whose wisdom and untiring encouragement inspired this work to completion.

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

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This work contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference has been made in the text.

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ABSTRACT

Carnival is a symbolically intense ritual field that offers abounding interpretations of the cultural and social reality upon which it muses. In this thesis, I explore a carnival held on the Aegean island of Skyros, Greece, focusing on how participants metaphorically express and experience their carnival. Each year, troupes of *Yeri* (quasi goat-shepherd masqueraders strung with hefty bells), accompanied by a colourful array of absurd masqueraders and pranksters, pour into the township's streets, resounding their social presence and heralding a culturally potent celebratory season. Communities such as Skyros, with a rich subtext of oral tradition in cultural life, perceive their world through figurative devices, that is, non-literal language. Drawing upon metaphor theory (Fernandez 1991), I use indigenous tropes as analytical keys that embrace meaning in its experiential dimension, to fathom symbolic expressions of subjectivity and selfhood in ritual practices.

Various facets of Skyrian carnival unfold ethnographically, each emphasizing different analytical/tropic features. To understand the cultural dynamics embedded in the poetic interchange during the *Trata* satirical performance, I employ the metaphor of the antiphon — a musical form of call and response. In relation to the Lenten celebration of Clean Monday, I address its paradoxical 'purgative' nature, in addition to themes of folk dress and dressing as evoking cultural memory and social relatedness.

However, my main focus is the dominant trope of carnivalesque transformation, "coming into being" — Skyrians' idiomatic notion of metamorphosis — as a metaphorical expression of ritual subjectivity and practice. Detailing predominant features of carnival, such as masquerade and concealment and its relation to the face and masking, I explore concepts of masquerade that better depict the bodily emphasis of transformation in carnival. Enmeshed in the metaphors of becoming are sub-tropes of altered states of consciousness, such as *methi* (inebriation) and *kefi* (merriment), which accentuate communal revelry and "becoming together" in Skyrian carnival. The central trope of "coming into being" illuminates culturally specific notions of the ecstatic and social self. I argue that the ethnography of carnival demonstrates that metaphoric discourse emanating from, and shaping ritual action can provide a particular understanding of ontological questions surrounding selfhood and becoming, as they arise from carnivalesque twists of social-cultural reality. Such an approach can fruitfully reveal cultural nuances of indigenous celebratory practices that have an elevated place in a community, as is the case with carnival in Skyros.

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PROLOGUE

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Η εργασία αυτή δεν θα μπορούσε να ολοκληρωθεί χωρίς την βοήθεια των κατοίκων του νησιού της Σκύρου, τις γόνιμες παρατηρήσεις ανθρώπων της επιστημονικής κοινότητας, και την πολύτιμη συμπαράσταση και στήριξη στενών φίλων. Γι' αυτό το λόγο, θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω τους Σκυριανούς που μου πρόσφεραν απλόχερα την φιλοξενία, την εμπιστοσύνη τους και τις γνώσεις τους.

Στην Σκύρο πρωτοπήγα τον Ιουανάριο, 1992 για προκαταρκτική έρευνα, και το 1994-5 για επιτόπια έρευνα στο πλαίσιο της διατριβής μου την οποία εκπονούσα στο πανεπιστήμιο της Αδελαΐδας. Συνεχίζω να διατηρώ σχέσεις με τους ανθρώπους του τόπου και επισκέπτομαι το νησί συχνά. Εκτός από την περίοδο που διέμενα στο νησί, έχω παρακολουθήσει το ιδιότυπο Αποκριάτικο έθιμο τους πάνω από δεκαετία, παρατηρώντας την δυναμική της εξέλιξη σε σχέση με τις κοινωνικό-οικονομικές αλλαγές, γεγονός που μεταξύ άλλων, συνέτεινε στο να εμπλουτίσω και, μερικές φορές, να αναθεωρήσω το εθνογραφικό υλικό που συγκέντρωσα.

Είναι πολλοί και εκλεκτοί αυτοί που συνετέλεσαν άμεσα ή έμμεσα στην δημιουργία αυτής της διατριβής. Τους ευχαριστώ και τους θυμάμαι όλους. Θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω την Άννα Ξανθούλη-Γιαννακοπούλου από τον Σύλλογο Σκυριανών της Αθήνας για το πλούσιο αρχαιακό υλικό που έθεσε στη διάθεσή μου, καθώς και για τις συστάσεις της στους κατοίκους της κοινότητας που με βοήθησαν να βρω σπίτι και να εγκατασταθώ. Η Καλή και η Έφη Φτούλη, καλές μου φίλες και η οικογένεια τους, με δέχτηκαν στο σπίτι τους, στο κέντρο του Χωριού, και συγχρόνως στο επίκεντρο του αποκριάτικου αναβρασμού. Η θεία Άννα και ο μπάρμπα Κωστής Φτούλης με φρόντιζαν, με νοιάζονταν και με συμβούλευαν με σοφία και στοργή για τα Σκυριανά πράγματα, όπως τα βίωναν καθημερινά. Η φιλοξενία τους τίμησε όχι μόνο εμένα, αλλά και τους δικούς μου ανθρώπους και φίλους που πέρασαν από την Σκύρο. Μας άνοιξαν απλόχερα την πόρτα τους και την μεγάλη καρδιά τους. Μαζί τους και ο Γιώργος Φτούλης, και η γιαγιά Καλή, η υπομονετική και πολυμήχανη γειτόνισσά μου Σούλα Ψωμά και η οικογένεια της, οι ακούραστοι και γενναιόδωροι θεία Μαρία και μπάρμπα Γιάννης Κοσμάς. Ο Βαγγέλης Γκίνης πρόσφερε τις πολύτιμες μουσικές του γνώσεις και παρατηρήσεις πάνω στο Σκυριανό τραγούδι.

Η φίλη μου, Άννα Φεργάδη, με τη βαθειά γνώση του τόπου της και την διαφορετική ματιά της, με βοήθησε, όπως και τα υπόλοιπα μέλη της οικογένειάς της, να κατανοήσω ευκολότερα τα πράγματα. Οι φίλες μου Άννα και Αγγελική Κατσαρέλια και οι γονείς τους, καθώς και η υπέροχη ποιήτρια γιαγιά τους Ατζελικό μου πρόσφεραν πολύτιμη βοήθεια.

Την αποκρία την έζησα με μια μεγάλη μερακλίδικη παρέα, τους 'σκληροπυρηνικούς', όπως έλεγα χαριτολογώντας. Μέσα από το δικό τους πάθος, και την δική τους 'ψύχωση' (όπως εύστοχα το πρωτο-εξέφρασε η φίλη μου η Καλιώ), μπόρεσα να νιώσω τις στιγμές της ξέφρενης μεταμπίεσης, μέσα και έξω από καταστάσεις μέθης, κεφιού, γέλιου και τραγουδιού. Αλλά και έντασης. Οι Άννα Ευσταθίου, Αλεξία και Πόπη Μαυρίκου, Φυλλιώ Πύθουλα, Αμέρσα και Άννα Μαυρίκου, Φρόσω Μπαλωτή, Άννα Μαυρίκου, Άννα Βιργηλίου, Ελένη Γαβρίλη, Γιάννης Νικολάου, Γιώργος Χιώτης, Γιάννης Μπαλωτής, Ορέστης Μεταξάς, Γιάννης

Μπουρμάς, Γιώργος Φόρας και άλλοι, ήταν εκεί. Και βέβαια, ο ‘πρωτομάστορας’ της αποκριάτικης μεταμφίεσης, ο εφευρετικός Γιώργος Κυριάζος.

Λίγο έξω από το Χωριό, στο Καλλικρί, διαμένει η δυναμική Θειά Φροσύνη Φτούλη-Κυριαζή, γνώστηρια πολλών Σκυριανών πραγμάτων. Με τον μπάρμπα Γιάννη Φτούλη και την θειά Μαριά κάναμε ενδιαφέρουσες συζητήσεις τα βράδια που ‘σπερίζαμε’. Αξέχαστη παραμένει και η μνήμη του ψαρά μπάρμπα Χρήστου Ευσταθίου στο Μώλο, παρέα δίπλα στο κύμα με κρασάκι, τραγούδι και ιστορίες. Στη Λιναριά, ο Κυριάκος Αντωνόπουλος μου έδινε μία εναλλακτική σκοπιά στα συμβάντα του νησιού.

Ο αυτοδίδακτος φωτογράφος της Σκύρου, Γιάννης Βεναρδής, έχει αποθανάτησει σε εκπληκτικές εικόνες ένα κομμάτι της ιστορίας και της κοινωνίας του νησιού. Αναρίθμητα πρόσωπα και περιστάσεις, ασπρόμαυρα και έγχρωμα στιγμιότυπα, αναδύονται μέσα από το φωτογραφικό του αρχείο, ένας ανεξάντλητος θησαυρός που μου ανοίχτηκε μαζί με τις αφηγήσεις του.

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Πρίν ολοκληρωθεί η εργασία μου, δύο εκλεκτοί φίλοι, ο Δημήτρης Φτούλης, και ο Κωστής Μανωλάκης, έφυγαν από την ζωή. Με τα λόγια του Κωστή κλείνω αυτό το βιβλίο.

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For my friends and the people of Skyros, I have dedicated the first piece of writing of this thesis, the prologue, in sincere gratitude for their warm reception, teaching and support throughout and beyond fieldwork.¹ Living and working on

¹ A translation of the prologue is provided in Appendix 7.

Skyros has not only been a research venture, but has enriched my life in many ways. I first arrived in Skyros in January 1992 to conduct six month's of preliminary fieldwork as an exchange student at the University of the Aegean. In 1995/6, I returned to continue fieldwork as part of my doctoral degree at the University of Adelaide. I continue to frequently visit the island, and remain intimately entwined in the place, its people and the lives of my close friends.

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INTRODUCTION

THE CARNIVAL WORLD

Carnival is a symbolically intense ritual field integrating diverse cultural forms. The carnival world offers abounding interpretations on the cultural and social reality upon which it muses. In anthropological literature, carnival is an inclusive term. It ranges from seasonal *rites de passage* associated with fertility and the reproduction of the earth, to cultural performances, fairs, cultural political movements and processions. Carnival is also a complex field of ritual metaphor; a special space and time where a *mundus inversus* (a world upside down) oscillates on a precarious scale of anticipated reversion from the status quo to, at times, potential subversion. It is a creative space for multiple expressions and reflections on the everyday realm.

Carnival, according to DaMatta, creates not only many different levels but also *its own level* of social reality (1991:62). By reflecting and inverting social reality through multiple dramatisations, carnival provides multiple entries into its domain. These entries impinge upon symbolically loaded and contested arenas of meaning. Set apart from the ordinary realm of life, carnival is, to use a Geertzian term, a meta-social commentary, one that is interpretive. In the case of an island community such as Skyros, carnival may be a reading of a particular experience, a story that Skyrians tell themselves about themselves² — yet, at the same time, it is a highly generative and regenerative cultural domain.

In this thesis, I will examine a carnival held annually on the Aegean island of Skyros, by focusing on participants and how they metaphorically perceive and experience their carnival. The emphasis is on the ontological implications of “becoming” as manifested through ritual transformations of the self in masquerade, mind and mood. Metaphoric discourse emerges from cultural practices, reflectively opening the possibility of interpreting the profuse world of carnival. Metaphors and tropes are not merely analytical devices; they are also embedded in practices that

² This echoes Geertz’s depiction of the centrally engaging socio-interpretive role of Balinese cockfights (1973:448). DaMatta (1991:45,108) applies an analogous interpretive frame of ritual to understand the social reality of Brazilian carnival.

dynamically shape social and ritual action. Methodologically, I espouse the primacy of detailed ethnography with an interpretive perspective over any single theoretical model of culture.

Carnival in Greece, as in Skyros, is a pre-Lenten celebration. Its juxtaposition to Christian Orthodox beliefs of feasting/fasting is a defining aspect of the celebration's pre-paschal character. To understand Skyrian's idiosyncratic celebration, I first explore the geo-social stage of carnival, the township, the market place and main street that the Skyrian folk troupe parade through during carnival, focusing on the historical significance of this key cultural locale (chapter 1). The *Yeri*, that is, quasi goat-shepherd masqueraders strung with hefty bells, accompanied by *Koreles* who wear a medley of folk bridal and peasant costume, and the absurd *Frangi* move through the township's streets, ascending to the monastery, demarcating a path that delineates the symbolic space of carnival (see image A on p. 3).

I introduce the historical and geographical context of Skyros by looking at processes that keep aspects of the island's history alive in popular imagination, making it pertinent to the everyday, and in turn, to carnival. Concentrating on the historical preconditions for the rise of pastoralism on the island, I sketch the social setting that contours contemporary Skyrian society. The cultural significance of the spatial arrangement of the township, its geophysical-demographic nexus and historical underpinnings are essential to understanding 'lived' spaces such as the home, the streets and the whole township of Skyros as a symbolically intense social space that hosts carnival.

Subsequently, I begin to herald my analysis (departing from the landmark approaches of Turner (1982, 1984) and Bakhtin (1968) by enlisting the use of tropes, drawing upon metaphor theory (Fernandez 1991). I use indigenous tropes as an analytical tool that embraces meaning in its experiential dimension, in an attempt to fathom symbolic expressions of subjectivity and selfhood in ritual practices. Communities such as Skyros, with a rich subtext of oral poetry in all facets of cultural life, perceive their world with an abundance of figurative devices, that is, non-literal language. Such figures of speech can also be useful semantic devices for unpacking the processes of social practices. In Skyrian carnival, the reproduction of the cosmic



Image A: Koreles and Yeri Ascend St. George Monastery. Carnival, 1995.

world (as a seasonal rite of passage of fertility and regeneration) is metaphorically dominant in the symbolic reconstitution of the self. The carnivalesque self is also a subject *subjected* to exaggeration and a myriad of transformations within a ritually specified time frame. Ontological implications of the self are hence tied to a nexus of cosmological belief systems and practices. Tropes are employed as hermeneutic keys, manifesting social processes that generate cultural meaning and action.

In addition, I draw upon the work of Csordas (1994) and Kapferer (1991, 1995) and their use of a phenomenological methodology, since such an approach privileges experiential domains of social action and cultural practices as they unfold *in vivo*. After a brief overview of concepts of selfhood and ritual subjectivity, I return to the possibility of figurative devices as enhancing an understanding of cultural worlds. The focus is on how Skyrians and non-Skyrians weave their endless array of metamorphosed selves in carnival. I especially attend to meanings of selfhood, as allegorically expressed by Skyrians in and out of the festive arena.

Skyrian carnival is ethnographically detailed over three chapters (2, 3 and 4), each emphasizing distinct facets of the celebration with a different analytical focus. However, Skyrians experience their carnival as an accumulative festivity that peaks on Clean Monday (*Kathari Deftera*). Key tropes are used to analyse themes that predominate each facet of the carnival.

To explore the dominant trope of carnivalesque transformation, "coming into being", I begin with Skyrians' idiomatic notion of carnival revelry as "psychosis", "spontaneity" and "becoming", thereby unfolding discursive metaphors pertaining to altered states of consciousness and the ecstatic self (chapter 2). A detailed ethnographic exposé of the Skyrian carnival troupe (*Yeri, Koreles, Frangi*) and comic happenings follows, highlighting ethnographic themes that metaphorically express subjective experiences of carnival, in order to fathom carnivalesque transformations and symbolic constructions of selfhood, which ultimately lead to ontological questions of ritual.

In relation to carnival satire (chapter 3), a musical metaphor, the antiphon, is used to understand the cultural dynamics embedded in the poetic and satirical interplay during the Trata celebration. The Trata is the fishermen's satirical

performance in which masqueraded sailors pull a wheeled boat to the town square from which they recite scathing verses on social and political issues.

Skyrian satire emanates from a rich source of popular folk poetry, song and improvised verse that underlies the responsive nature of cultural production. Focusing on the soundscape created by music and sound in carnival, I elucidate how Skyrians culturally construct 'noise' as meaningful voice and interaction. Analytically, I apply the concept of antiphony, that is, a musical mode of call and response, to explore the reproduction of cultural meaning in satirical performance. Specific attention is drawn to the satirical verses recited during two separate performances in the 1995 carnival, developing the conditions of why and how this occurred. The antiphonal response embedded in the Skyrian discursive repertoire created not only new comic dialogue, but also an entirely different performance. Even beyond Skyrian carnival, antiphonal forms instigate active and innovative involvement in the re-creation of meaningful frameworks of interaction.

Carnival in Skyros, as throughout most of Greece, finishes on Clean Monday (*Kathari Deftera*) (chapter 4). It is the first day of Lent, following the Sunday of the Grand Carnival weekend. Skyrians wear their heirloom folk costumes and dance in the town square, drinking copious wine as an accompaniment to Lenten appetizers. Although Clean Monday marks the beginning of Lent, its redressive nature is speculative. Clean Monday follows the peaking of activities from the Grand Carnival weekend and the satirical performance of the *Trata*. Yet, rather than halting the revelry, Clean Monday provides a liminal forum for carnivalesque celebration. The position of Clean Monday in the overall celebratory time frame of Skyrian carnival invites a reconsideration of the Carnival-Lent dichotomy. I address popular notions of purity and cleanliness as expressed in the purgative nature of Lent. I also draw upon social features of dress and dressing that are crucial in understanding Skyrian carnival, but are not visible in the public festive arena. By so doing, I ethnographically reconsider aspects of folk dress and traditional celebration in relation to carnivalesque masquerade and revelry. Masquerade moves beyond exterior change and folk dress. Clean Monday is not a celebration that merely reproduces a traditional folk representation of the community — it evokes cultural memory and social relatedness. Dressing and revelling together is the social core of carnival transformation.

Having ethnographically detailed various facets of Skyrian carnival, the main event and carnivalesque "becoming" (chapter 2), satire and antiphony (chapter 3) and cultural notions of catharsis and dressing in Clean Monday (chapter 4), I theoretically expand on the dominant trope of the celebration, "coming into being", as a metaphorical expression of ritual subjectivity (chapter 5). The language of carnival unfolds key tropes that resonate from the analysis of specialist meanings embedded in carnival practice. I examine these tropes in the context of social and ritual exchange, especially in the use of language in specialist meanings, colloquial idioms and local dialect. In other words, I analyse the metaphorical vocabulary of carnival practice as it is experientially articulated within predominant linguistic expressions and exchanges. By deconstructing and then re-interpreting this 'language', I pursue the semantics of idiomatic terms and speech in the specific context of their ritual generation. At the same time, tropes can analytically implicate structures of ritual interaction and can even be useful in understanding the shaping of social action (as for instance, the antiphon in satire, chapter 3).

Beginning with predominant features of carnival, such as masquerade and concealment and its relation to the face and masking, I then move to idiomatic concepts of masquerade, such as changing dress and appearance, which better describe the bodily emphasis of transformation in Skyrian carnival (chapter 5). In addition, I focus on inter-subjective aspects of dressing together and its implications as a social practice. Subsequently, I concentrate on the central trope of "coming into being", which illuminates a culturally specific ontology of the ecstatic self and consciousness of participants' experience of Skyrian carnival. Enmeshed in the metaphors of becoming are sub-tropes of altered states, such as *methi* (inebriation) and *kefi* (merriment), that accentuate communal revelry and "becoming together" in Skyrian carnival, providing an analytical axis for the constitution of ritual practice.

Unlike other years, the carnival of 1995 was marked by the invitation and acceptance of the Skyrian carnival troupe to join the Venice carnival event. Stepping out of its context of creation, Skyrian carnival was placed in a contrasting light in which the participants themselves questioned salient dimensions of what was held to be a local folk practice (chapter 6). The Skyrian troupe reflected upon the highly organized and stylised Venetian pageantry, often seeking peripheral venues to

experience their own carnival. Moving a major troupe out of the township of Skyros (called the *Horio*) created a particular chronotopic shift that analytically accentuated themes on the nature of popular carnival otherwise less visible. The nature of carnival as public spectacle or folk performance is reconsidered, rendering any general notion of performative space, and the relation of spectators to performers, problematic from an ethnographic viewpoint.

Shortly after their participation in the Venice event, the Skyrian troupe returned to their island and continued to celebrate (chapter 7). The homecoming was also accompanied by intense discussions, and a sharpened awareness and comparison of the varying festive forms, which accentuated the different — and at times irreconcilable — worlds of carnival. The return to Skyros was simultaneously a return to a culturally evocative topography and a festive time that sustained a meaningful frame for belief and action.

In addition, 1995 was marked by the re-emergence of the celebration of carnival on St. Theodoro's day, a week into Lent (chapter 7). This contravening of the religious period of Lent highlighted the precarious timing and relation of pagan/popular and Christian time frames, and their articulation in ritual action. Revelling on St. Theodoro's day was another forum for actively re-discovering and re-instating past practices into contemporary local carnival.

Drawing upon detailed ethnographic discussions, I suggest that metaphoric discourse emanating from, and shaping ritual action can provide a particular entrance into understanding ontological questions surrounding selfhood and becoming, as they arise from carnivalesque twists of social-cultural reality. I propose that such an approach can fruitfully reveal cultural nuances of indigenous celebratory practices that have an elevated place in a community, as is the case with carnival in Skyros.

CHAPTER 1

SKYROS: THE ISLAND AND ITS CARNIVAL

Carnival in Greece: Feasting, Fasting and the Easter Link

Carnival in Greece is a pre-paschal celebration, parading excessive revelry and masquerade. Contemporary carnival is celebrated throughout Greece in urban and rural contexts, taking on different forms throughout regions; from the procession of floats of Patras in the Peloponnese, and Xanthi in Thrace, to the highly idiosyncratic celebrations in the Aegean islands (Megas 1963, 2001; Platanos 1975; Tsoitakou-Karveli 1985).

The centrality of Easter in Greek Orthodox religious belief accentuates the poignancy of carnival. It is a pan-Hellenic celebration preceding Lent and the Easter week. Its position within the Greek Orthodox religious calendar is crucial in understanding the symbolic implications of the juxtaposition of feasting and fasting. Carnival occupies the three weeks prior to Lent, which in Greek Orthodox belief, is also a time of fasting and abstinence from meat and all dairy products. The Greek word for carnival is *Apokria* (pl. *-ies*), a composite word derived from *apo*, meaning "away from" and *kreas*, meaning "meat". This is the Byzantine term equivalent to the Latin derived *carnevale* (the Italian word for carnival) meaning "farewell to flesh", stemming from *levare*, "to put away" and *caro* (*carnis*), which means "meat" or "flesh".³ Notably, there is a semantic difference between the Latin *caro* as flesh that pertains to the body and has moral overtones (i.e., carnal) and the stricter sense of *kreas* as edible meat, which differs from "flesh" (*sarka*) (see glossary). The semantic connotations of meat stem from the Orthodox Christian preoccupation with fasting as the disciplinary mediator between body-soul. Food, and in particular, meat bears a special and *direct* relation to body-soul, and its induction into Orthodox practices of

³ In Europe, carnival is essentially a Christian celebration annexed to Lent. In Roman Catholic countries it is the name give to the period before Lent whether it is the three days immediately previous, or the whole period between the 3rd of February and Ash Wednesday (see glossary). Feil suggests that medieval carnival in Europe may have had its roots in pre-Roman and Roman pagan rites and in Lupercalia and Saturnalia, the latter being a time of unrestrained revelry, "even for slaves" (1998:142).

redemption. In the case of fasting in Orthodox Christian practices, the abstinence from various categories of food, and especially meat, with its symbolic proximity to blood and flesh (thus life) is given a particular religious weighting.⁴ In the partaking of Holy Communion, wine symbolises the blood of Christ, therefore there is a strict abstinence from meat during Lent. However, nowadays only fervent believers adhere to strict fasting practices during Lent, which nonetheless continues to be commonly understood as a time for spiritual cleansing and preparation for Easter.

Carnival is also a time for *xefandoma*, that is, "revelry", "unfettered merriment". It is a last chance for people to enjoy and indulge themselves before the beginning of Lent and fasting. Devout believers adhere to a diet free of meat, eggs, dairy products and oil for the seven weeks leading to Easter. During the Lenten period, no religious wedding ceremonies take place. These observances are very much like those of mourning. In fact, Lent is seen by the Christian Orthodox Church to be a period of mourning for the death of Christ. Carnival is tolerated by the Orthodox Church as a period of temporary and contained idolatrous revelry that precedes the time of fasting and spiritual Redemption of Easter.

Quintessentially, it is Easter that calendrically pivots the timing of carnival. Like Easter, carnival is a shifting festival. Every year it is determined by the timing of Easter, which is the first Sunday after the first full moon following the spring equinox. Carnival takes place at the end of the winter, usually in February or March. Carnival begins three weeks prior to the advent of Lent and finishes on the Sunday before the first day of Lent (see Appendix 1: Timeline). The first week of carnival is known as *Apoliti* or *Profoni* (from *profono*, to announce) as it was customary to announce the opening of the festival season so that people could prepare to buy or fatten their animals for slaughter (Megas 1963:59-60). The second week is named *Kreatini* or *Kreofagou*, which means meat-eating week. Carnival gains momentum on the *Tsiknopemti* of this week (*tsikna* is the smell of burning fat, *pemti* means Thursday). On this day, it is customary for revellers to go out and eat char-grilled meat. The third and final carnival period is *Tirini* or *Tirofagou*, i.e., cheese-eating week.

⁴ It is also important to note that squid and octopus are considered Lenten food; even though they are animal flesh they contain no blood.

The last week of the *Tirini* is an ambiguous week. *Tirini* is considered by the church to be a period of partial fasting, annexed to the seven weeks of fasting of Lent.⁵ At the climax of the festivities, partial fasting is introduced, yet still incorporated into the feasting of carnival. Most of the festivities are held during this third week and culminate in the Sunday of *Tirini*, known as Grand Carnival (*Megali Apokria*) (Tsotakou-Karveli 1985:47). During this week, no meat is eaten, only dairy products are allowed. Banquets of special cheese pies and pasta dishes are prepared for the evening meals. Although *Tirini* is deemed as being part of carnival, the introduction of prohibited foods is in a way, an introduction and preparation for the Lenten fast (Megas 1963:60). The ambiguity of the distinction between fasting and feasting in the week of *Tirini* creates a forum of shifting frames of reference. Feasting is defined in relation to fasting and the reverse. In this juxtaposition of feasting-fasting, carnival-Lent, Christianity marks its cosmological parameters in relation to the body-soul and its redemption. The temporal positioning of carnival *vis à vis* Lent impounds the symbolic assertions of each time frame.

Food and its relation to the body-soul is a potent symbolic marker of Orthodox Christian beliefs and doctrine. Even though the abstinence from meat is introduced in the final week of *Tirini*, nowadays there is no strict adherence to food prohibitions. The making and sharing out of customarily prescribed local dishes is a symbolic demarcater of celebratory temporal frames. These prescribed dishes are eaten alongside those prohibited, e.g., cheese pies are baked for the week of *Tirini* while meat is still eaten. There is a celebratory acknowledgment of fasting through these traditionally consigned dishes, but no strict adherence to food prohibition. Food is given a quasi fasting or ceremonial emphasis, as is the case in Skyros. Various local prescribed dishes are consumed ceremoniously to demarcate each week, highlighting the shift from one festive period to the next, that is, from meat eating (the week of *Kreatini*) to cheese (dairy) eating (the week of *Tirini*) and finally complete fasting.

Only Clean Monday (*Kathari Deftera*), the first day of Lent maintains any obvious rigorous adherence to fasting, as does Easter week and Good Friday. On Clean Monday, no meat or dairy produce is eaten but prescribed customary foods are

⁵ Rev. Despinoudis of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia (interview, 17-9-1990).

prepared, as for instance, a flat baked bread (*lagana*) made especially for the day, and Lenten dishes. The Lenten food practice of “away from *meat*” (*Apokria*) has a direct and generative relation to Greek Orthodox ascetic beliefs of disciplining the body through fasting. This symbolic association between body-soul and food becomes more evident on days of markedly austere fasting.⁶

Skyrian Carnival

Carnival in Skyros follows the temporal frame of the rest of Greece, but it is celebrated in its own idiosyncratic way. Skyrian carnival is a series of comic and carnivalesque happenings, skits, masquerade and satire. A distinctive feature of Skyrian folk carnival is the masquerade trio consisting of the *Yeros* (pl. -i), the *Korela* (pl. -es) and the *Frangos* (pl. -i).⁷ The *Yeros* appears as part shepherd, part goat (see image A on p. 3). His face is masked with the hide of a kid goat and he has a hefty amount of bells strapped around his waist. The *Yeros* is accompanied by the *Korela* who is usually a girl wearing a mixture of folk bridal and peasant dress (see image A on p. 3). The third member of the troupe, the *Frangos*, tends to be less stylised but more elusive. He can wear anything nonsensical and parodies the *Yeros*, at times wearing a single bell attached to his back and holding all kinds of paraphernalia (see images D1 – E2 on pp. 69-70). In contrast to the *Yeros* and *Korela*, the *Frangos* is the opposite of refinement; he is the most comic and bizarre character of the troupe. The procession of the *Yeri's* troupe is held in the main street of the town and, at times, includes the ascent to the monastery of their patron, St. George (see image A on p. 3). A medley of stylised and ad hoc masqueraders with their own collage of ludic messages, and evasive fragmented comic themes also interweave through the main street.

⁶ Similar was the force of Lenten abstinence in Medieval and early Renaissance France as expressed in popular songs (Stallybrass and White 1986:54-55). The battle of carnival and Lent, of shroving before shroving is closely linked to the ecclesiastical calendar and the final triumph of the Church. Facetious satirical verses about austere fasting are found in the repertoire of Greek folk songs at the beginning of the twentieth century (see Anonymous 1890, no. 1:93).

⁷ The limited documentation of early Skyrian carnival indicates a dominant role of other masqueraders, such as the Janissaries and the Brides (*Nifadhes*) (Konstantinidis 1901:173; Papageorgiou 1910:37). These masqueraders are no longer part of the present celebration, although they are of historical interest. Why the *Yeros*, *Korela* and *Frangos* prevailed may indicate an unceasing inspired source of their symbolism, which is culturally appropriate for local consumption. For Skyrians, amongst them Antoniadis (1995h:251), this source is self evident, if not common sensical in a pastoral community.

On the last Sunday afternoon of Grand Carnival and amidst the revelry and continuous ringing of bells, the fishermen's satirical performance, the *Trata* (pl. –es), takes place. The *Trata*, that is, a fishing boat on wheels, appears steered by the captain and pulled by about 20 to 30 unkempt fishermen and sailors (see images H1 & H2 on p. 134). As the crowd follows them, the fishermen position the boat in the centre of the town square. A chosen crewmember stands on the boat and recites the scathing satirical verses on contemporary social and political issues.

At what point in time Skyrian carnival appeared in the pastoral form of the *Yeri* and troupes is uncertain. There is limited documentation on Skyrian carnival, the exception being archaeologists' and local historians' references at the beginning of the twentieth century (Dawkins 1904/05, 1906; Konstantinidis 1901; Lawson 1899/1900; Papageorgiou 1910). However, to date there is no historical evidence of *Yeri* from Byzantine to Ottoman rule. Antoniadis suggests that the antiquity of the custom is at the centre of the attempts to explain it as a remnant of pre-history. This is without any documentation of the custom's existence, other than the traveller Carl Fredrich's (1915) assertion that Skyrians have the carnival of *Yeri* as "an age-old celebration" (as cited in Antoniadis 1995i:262). The oldest documented account of Skyrian carnival appears in 1835 by Fiedler who mentions dances and masqueraders, but makes no reference to *Yeri*, *Koreles* or *Frangi*.⁸

It may be the case that Skyrian carnival existed in its pastoral form much earlier; *Yeri* may have been part of carnival in the late eighteenth century prior to the predominance of the pastoralists on the island.⁹ Albeit, the exact nature of animal

⁸ Fiedler wrote a detailed account of Skyrian carnival in his book, *Reise durch alle Theille des Königreiches: Greichenland* (Leipzig 1840) (as cited in Antoniadis 1995i:264 nt. 14). This is a significant witnessing of the event since he arrived on the eve of carnival in 1835.

⁹ This is speculative on my part based on a nexus of historical sources, which I have consulted with Xenophon Antoniadis (personal communication 2-3-2000, Athens). The Skyrian local historian, Papageorgiou, wrote a detailed article on carnival in response to the inaccuracies in Dawkins' (1904/05) and Lawsons' (1899/1900) description of the event. He drew upon his personal experience, "many times as a child observing the masqueraders, and as a youth becoming part of their troupes, I had the opportunity to observe in all detail the happenings" (1910:35). Papageorgiou was about 51 years old at the time of writing his historical monograph in 1901 (as cited in Coulentianou 1977:50). The Skyrian historian, Konstantinidis describes the *Yeri* and troupes in his monograph of the island (1901:171-174). His dedication in the preface states that the completion of his work was based on "ancient" material collected and *witnessed*, a life long task, which he carried out for over seventy years. One may assume that the carnival of *Yeri* was not an innovation of his parents' or grand-parents' generation. It is quite likely Konstantinidis would have noted its appearance had it been within the reach of his own oral tradition. Subsequently, the carnival of *Yeri* may have existed in the late eighteenth century.

masquerade in Skyrian carnival coupled with Fiedler's account, throws into historical uncertainty, yet leaves a trace of doubt, as to what point in the social frame of Skyrian history *Yeri* and their troupes emerge. This uncertainty is a significant hindrance to a social structural argument of Skyrian carnival. If there was any conclusive evidence for the coinciding of the ascent of the shepherding families in post liberation Skyros (1830s) with the emergence of the pastoral masquerade of the *Yeri* in carnival, then this may have offered a more fruitful investigation into the relation of carnival and Skyrian social history. However, the possibility of the existence of *Yeri* (in whatever magnitude and form) prior to the pastoralists' dominance on the island weakens this particular socio-historical trajectory.

Carnival in Skyros has been celebrated unceasingly (*but* not unchangingly) for over at least a century through major socio-economic transitions, and continues to be a significant cultural event. It brings together the island community exposing issues and values, opening up a dialogue fertile for social exploration. I analyse contemporary Skyrian carnival with a particular focus on the way metaphors of self and transformation are enmeshed and become a dynamic force in ritual performance. The emphasis is on the ontological implications of being, as manifested through transformations of the self in masquerade and altered states of mind (the ecstatic self). From an ethnographic viewpoint (and given the intense and emotive impetus of carnival) this approach reconsiders notions of carnival events as performance or spectacle.

However, it is essential to first explore the space and place in which Skyrian carnival is generated and reproduced. Therefore, I begin the analysis of the carnival experience by detailing the physical and symbolic space of carnival, that is, the cultural topography of Skyros and its township within its social and historical context.

SKYROS: A SOCIAL PORTRAYAL OF A NORTH AEGEAN ISLAND

Skyros is an island located in the northwest Aegean Archipelago, Greece. It belongs to, and is situated furthest to the south of a group of islands known as the Sporades. Geographically isolated from the Sporades, as well as from the mainland of Greece, cultural life in Skyros is regarded as being *idiohromi* and *idiotipi*, literally meaning having its "own colour" and "own style" (Arnaoutoglou 1982:7, 9).

Two distinct landscapes contour the island's geomorphology. The southern part of the island of Skyros is known as "the mountain" (*to vouno*), a rugged mountainous area used mainly for pastures. The stark omnipresent "mountain" is an integral marker of Skyrian topography and shepherding life. The pastures of "the mountain" are leased to pastoral families by the monastery of St. George, a subsidiary (*metochi*) of the monastery of Meyistis Lavras of Ayios Oros (Mt. Athos, the Holy Mountain), which owns a major percentage of the land. Historically, this situation has led to dispute and friction between shepherds and the monastery; contention over the use and selling of land continues to be a volatile issue in Skyros. The northern part of the island is unsuitable for pastures; it consists mainly of pine forests and is called *Meroi*, meaning "peaceful". Spanning the narrower middle part of the island is a stretch of plain land extending from the Port of Linaria to Ahili Bay, which is mainly used for small-scale cultivation.

The main and only township on the island is also called Skyros or *Hora* (township) or *Horio* (village).¹⁰ The *Horio* lies on the east coast and is the sole centre of the island due to historical reasons; primarily, it was the fear of invasion and piracy attacks that compelled Skyrians to dwell on the rock adjacent to the Fortress (*Kastro*) (Arnaoutoglou 1982:12).

On the journey to Skyros from the small port of Linaria, one only sees the *Horio* a few minutes before arriving at its centre. Skyrians call these sudden full views of the township *anafani*, which means "re-appearance", "to show forth", an

¹⁰ The term, *Horio* (village) is more frequently used by Skyrians, as it indicates a familiar and intimate place, while the use of *Hora* is a more formal term for an island's capital. I have translated *Horio* or *Hora* as "township". Within the island of Skyros, the *Horio* is the metropolis, a rural capital surrounded by settlements. Loupou-Rokou, states that during the late twelfth century, the Byzantine Empire had declined and was unable to maintain the island towns, which were named *Hora* when they were not fortified and *Kastro* (castle, fortress) when they were fortified (1999:20). The township of Skyros, although fortified, is called *Hora*.

"emergence" (see glossary). These points of "appearance" or "revelation" begin from two paths of entry into the township and always infer *movement into* the *Horio*.¹¹ This impression of the sudden appearance of the whole township in a momentary glance is significant in relation to geo-spatial and historical themes. It elucidates the primacy of the *Hora* and of Skyros as a one-town island. The image of the township itself, clustered on the rock reveals the entirety of the *Horio*, which, in turn, is identified with the island of Skyros (see image B on p. 47).

Skyros' demographic distribution is a distinctive feature of its social composition, one reinforcing the persistence of a one-town island. The majority of the island's homes and population are concentrated in the township. Skyros has a high concentration of the population within a single locale, approximately 80% of the population and 90% of the houses are situated in the *Horio* (Spinelli & Evangelinidou 1974:29).¹² Scattered throughout the island are small coastal and inland residential settlements or clusters of dwellings (*ikismi*). Arnaoutoglou refers to these as "residential compounds" (*ikistika sinola*). They proliferated in areas where dwellings were built to assist in agricultural and pastoral work: "These residential compounds have not developed their own nucleus. They remain tied to the *Hora* and are serviced from it" (Arnaoutoglou 1982:12). For instance, until a few decades ago, the settlement of Kalikri had its own school but no commercial stores or services and was therefore reliant on the *Horio*. However, there are larger coastal settlements, such as Molos and the Port of Linaria. Linaria was initially established as a port in the 1830s, and was later settled by fishermen from neighbouring regions along with local maritime families (Faltaitis M. 1975:4). Both settlements are socially distinct from the *Horio*, maintaining a vibrant fishing livelihood, which is combined with the commercial catering for summer tourism.

Since the 1970s, the island of Skyros has had a relative demographic stability (see Appendix 2: Statistical Figures). However, like many other regions of Greece, Skyros has had fairly significant shifts in its population due to post-war migration

¹¹ One *anafani* emerges from road connecting the port of Linaria (SW) and another from the plain land of Trahi, the road from the airport (NW) to the *Horio*. Antoniadis states that the original *anafani* was a dirt path, which was later superseded by asphalt roads (personal communication, Athens, 5-6-02).

¹² Statistical surveys of the population distribution of the settlements over the past three decades again indicate the demographic primacy of the *Horio* (see Appendix 2: Statistical Figures).

overseas, mainly to the USA, as well as significant internal or seasonal migration to urban centres and Athens.

Prior to World War II, the housing arrangement of the township was strictly based on social and occupational groups (Zarkia 1996:147). The suburbs of the shepherds and landed nobility were located higher on the hillside nearer to the monastery, while the farmers, merchants and members of the business sector lived in the newly established trade zone at the base near the coast. Located further down is the coast settlement of Molos, a fishing community.

Today, the landed nobility does not exist as a distinct social group; most had migrated to the mainland or abroad by World War II. Nevertheless, Skyrians often refer to these locales and their previous inhabitants in socio-spatial terms; the nobility and shepherds at the top of the rock hill, the landless farmers and fishermen further down and away from the rock base. It is difficult to historically ascertain the exact nature of the structural role of the shepherds and the other social groups (farmers, fishermen, artisans, etc.) and their relation to production. Antoniadis indicates that there is inadequate evidence on the nature and degree of the "social hierarchy between the classes of shepherds and farmers" during Ottoman rule (1997:71). Despite the dwindling of distinct 'class' borders,¹³ these socio-spatial divisions have endured in the social imagination. Skyrians may refer to, or direct somebody to the suburbs of the nobility or the shepherds, while still recognising the changes in social composition. These changes have become infused with, rather than severed from their present day reality.

From the 1950s onwards, there is a second round of major changes in land ownership in Skyros. Professional shepherds and traders came to acquire large areas of property, while there was a parallel change in land value based on new usages.¹⁴ The previously rigid boundaries between occupational groups have been superseded by a different network of social relations. Although affiliations with an extended kin

¹³ 'Class' is a problematic term theoretically and ethnographically. The term class (*taxi*), as used in Skyrian historical works (e.g., Antoniadis 1997; Konstantinidis 1901:144) refers to discrete occupational-status groups. In popular parlance, Skyrians refer to these social groups generically by occupation, i.e., shepherds (*voski*, *tsopani*, *tsopanarei*), farmers (*yeoryi*), fishermen (*psaradhes*). On the relevance of the concept of class in Greece, particularly in relation to social structure and the totality of its development see Mouzelis (1976:402-3).

¹⁴ Nikos Varsamos (personal communication 11-4-2000).

group still exist, other informal or non-kin arenas of association, such as ritual kinship (godparents and *koumbaria*)¹⁵ work colleagues and so forth, redirect the locus of social relations. Young Skyrians will assist their parents, but there is a diminishing interest in shepherding. Skyrians engage in wage labour, the civil service, or in areas of the hospitality trade and commerce, often seasonally migrating to the mainland urban centres for work. This occupational mobility is indicative of changes and the alteration of the social order of Skyros. The source of wealth of the once dominant pastoral families has been relocated and, thus, their power has been decentred or, at least, contested by the new emerging cash generating occupations. Pastoralists increasingly engage in other activities and even subsist on externally derived income. This applies to all Skyrians in varying degrees. Mobility, both in its literal and metaphorical sense was and still is a necessary state of Skyrian existence.

The recent economic transitions have had social repercussions in other spheres of Skyrian life. This is especially obvious in kin and gender relations. Skyrian women have a relative degree of autonomy in the administering of their dowry, which is matrilineally inherited. Husbands are customarily entitled to the usufruct of their wife's dowry property. Women administer their own property and maintain their family names.¹⁶ Women's status in relation to property has changed with the influx of tourism and the reorganisation of land, which has increased its use and cash value. A majority of the shops in the township centre are listed under women's names (Zarkia 1996:149).

¹⁵ Nitsiakos details how ritual kinship in Greece expands social and political networks beyond kin groups and locale, and is often characterised by relations of patronage and clientalism (2000:89). Ritual kinship has also dynamically and flexibly been adopted in urban settings (*ibid.*: 90). In parts of Greece, as for instance in Crete, spiritual kinship through baptism (*sintehnia*) is distinguished from *koumbaria*, i.e., ritual kinship through marriage (Herzfeld 1985:74). In both cases, there may be more than one sponsor; the number increases depending on the social prestige of the person getting married or of the parent(s) whose child is being baptized (Tsantiroopoulos 2004:85). On the Ionian island of Megalonisi, Just expounds the significance of spiritual kinship as a moral system, in addition to its socio-structural aspects of patronage (2000:129-154). In this ethnographic context, Just states that godparenthood, like affinity, "reinforced and complemented relationships internal to and constitutive of the Spartohoriot community" rather than being a vehicle for creating links with the outside world (2000:153).

¹⁶ Historically, Skyrian women have been actively involved in property transactions. Antoniadis, drawing on nineteenth century archival material, states that despite the illiteracy of women and their limited participation in public life, they contributed considerably to their new family's property, the main home-residence and the internal decoration of the homes with heirloom artefacts known as the *aloni* (which I explore below) (1997:51).

Throughout the years of socio-political turbulence, peace and depopulation, the *Horio* remained and continues to be the social centre of the island. Even today, there is constant return to the *Horio's* homes and the main commercial street of the market place (*agora*) at the end of extended work periods or at the end of the day. The *Horio's agora* is the cultural and social magnet around which non or post work life rotates. Although many Skyrians are currently settling in the new outer areas, such as the coastal settlement of Molos and Aspous, there is constant return to the *Horio*. At no time is this more evident than during the carnival season.

Skyros is predominantly a shepherding island.¹⁷ The pastoral community of Skyros ritually and symbolically prevails in carnival. It is not until after liberation from Ottoman Rule (1821) and the establishment of the Greek nation state, that the large pastoral families of Skyros developed into a distinct socio-political dominant 'class' (Antoniadis 1997:68-71).¹⁸ From the mid half of the nineteenth century, shepherds begin to acquire areas of land and pasturages from the declining (and migrating) landed nobility of the town's Megali Strata (Grand Walkway) region, as well as from ecclesiastical institutions, such as the monastery of St. George (Faltaitis 1976:14).

Gradually, shepherding families¹⁹ expanded their economic capacity and subsequent influence in public affairs. These pastoral families were endogamous, pursuing connections with the landed nobility via spiritual kinship (*koumbaria*), and in post liberation Skyros (1830s) sedimented in a distinct suburb in the *Horio* called Lalares (Antoniadis 1997:70). Meanwhile the pastoralists' income increased due to a combination of factors. One factor was the high number of family members and an institutionalised form of domestic helpers participating in cheese making. *Parayios* (pl. *-ii*) (lit. stepson) was usually a child of poorer families who would live with a family

¹⁷ Antoniadis acknowledges the predominant pastoral-agrarian character of the island, but attempts to ascertain its maritime elements. He states that Skyrians' aversion to the sea and anti-marine mentality is "popular opinion" (1995a:9). However, his study of Skyros' relation to the sea (1995a) traces historical and folkloric elements that indicate Skyros' connection and dependence on the sea, and the significance of the island's maritime life. This view is an important antithesis to the dominant (if not exclusive) image of Skyros as a pastoral community.

¹⁸ Also, Xenophon Antoniadis, personal communication (22-11-94 and 2-3-2000 Athens).

¹⁹ Generally, in Skyros kindred are called *soi* or *ikoyenies* (families). I refer to *soi* as an agnatic kin group. However, anthropologically this is a problematic term, especially in the Mediterranean as Herzfeld expounds (1985:52, 283-4), and one that varies regionally throughout Greece. This issue is also discussed extensively and comparatively by Just (2000:100-1, 122-8). In Spartohori, the term *ikoyenia* (family) was used fluidly in varying contexts, without it being seen as contradictory (ibid.: 102).

and assist in shepherding.²⁰ The institution of domestic helpers (*parayii*) existed in Skyros until recently.

Another contributory factor fundamental to the island's shepherding economy is the customary system of herding co-operatives called *smiktes* (Antoniadis 1997:70; Faltaits 1976:12). *Smiktes* are particular to Skyros and continue to operate today. They are a form of collaboration between shepherds who worked their herds as a collective, in one pasturage, each shepherd being assigned various tasks. The partners are known as *koliyes* (s. *-as*), while the head of the co-operative, the *kehayias* is usually the owner of the pastoral land (Faltaits 1976:2). Faltaits regards these co-operatives as contributing significantly to the development of large scale shepherding in Skyros and, in general, to the island's social organization (1976:12). Prior to national Liberation in 1821, shepherds were reliant on the fluctuating availability of pastures (ibid.: 12). *Smiktes* allowed a rationalisation of pasture resources. They secured an experienced and diverse work force and the flock numbers of smaller scale shepherding, allowing for the development of large-scale pastoralism, subsequently enabling shepherds to maintain their socio-economic and political status (ibid.: 12).

Equally fundamental to Skyrian pastoral life is its idiosyncratic system of pasturages. Grazing lands in Skyros are defined by the customary law of *hortonomi* (pl. *-es*, also called *mandra* pl.*-es*), which generically refers to "rights to pastures" (Zarkia 1991:51; Antoniadis 1995c:69). A *hortonomi* is a piece of arable or non-arable land on which the owner of the *hortonomi* has bonded grazing rights without necessarily being the landowner of the cultivatable land. This land is cultivated by the legal owner, but after the harvesting of grain and until the cultivation of new crops, the land is used for grazing by the same owner or rented elsewhere as pastures (Vamvakeridis 1934:1). As a result, shepherds can seasonally rotate their flocks, shifting them from cultivated land plots to other available pastures. These customary "rights to pastures" (*hortonomes*) can be sold or inherited like property. Their borders are determined by place names that are orally transmitted and inherited, rather than

²⁰ In the origin myth of Skyrian carnival, the *Frangos* is the *parayios*, the ragged assistant to the shepherd-*Yeros*. The *Frangos* signifies an intriguing symbolic social positioning of the stepson, i.e., the outsider within, *vis a vis* the other *personas* of the carnival trio.

codexed on title registers. However, disputed areas taken through the court system have been legally codexed.²¹

Up to the present day, there is much contestation between shepherding families, the monastery of St. George, the state and the municipality over boundaries and transfers of pasture rights (Zarkia 1991:52). There is a continual tension between this traditional land system of grazing rights (*hortonomes*) and the judicially imposed state land reforms and decrees, with their emphasis on egalitarianism and access. Disputes relating to Skyrian land tenure resurge at various critical points of social transition. The contention relating to customary pasture rights (*hortonomes*) continues to be at the centre of social debate in contemporary Skyros. In judicial procedures related to the ownership of customary pastures, unwritten law is frequently sealed by legislative procedures.²² Customary land rights prevail in Skyrian community; they are an integral component of the island's indigenous pastoral constitution.

At present, a large percentage of privately owned land in Skyros belongs to or is worked by the pastoralists. There is a special connection to the land which privileges the shepherds with detailed knowledge and understanding of their environment. Shepherds endlessly walk rugged paths of the mountainous terrain herding sheep and goats. Place names and the continuous walking of the land provide the unwritten but customary mapping of pastures and the topography. The shepherds have an intricate knowledge of paths and the terrain. Their knowledge is frequently called upon when situations arise, e.g., as trackers and so on.²³

²¹ Xenophon Antoniadis personal communication, (2-3-2000) Athens.

²² For instance, judicial developments instigated in 1994 that related to expropriated monastic land and pastures were exposed on the front page of the local newspaper, *Skyriana Nea* (Feb. 2000, no. 278:1, 8). The article informed about the state's expropriation of property belonging to the monastery of St. George, the appropriate compensation and clarification of the legal status of monastic land. Finally, the article ended with the significant affirmation of the customary land rights of pastures (*hortonomes*) by decision of the regional courts of Halkida.

²³ Throughout the twentieth century, various studies have documented Skyrian place names (some in Greek vernacular and others in the Skyrian dialect), depending heavily on shepherds for this knowledge, particularly when referring to the mountainous areas and untraversed terrain (Antoniadis 1987; Deffner 1928; Xanthouli 1984). Through these place names, various authors attempt to highlight a linguistic continuity and connection to place. The terrain becomes a social topography that develops out of the shepherding livelihood and welds (precariously) into the genealogy of dominant pastoral families. It is no surprise that the keepers of such topographical knowledge have predominated in Skyrian society, and still maintain a prominent socio-political status. From a different angle, the significance of place names in the

A shepherd's perception of topography is not limited to a geographical landscape. It includes elements of the winds, seasons and olfactory senses that govern the direction and movement of flock, as these re-orientate the shepherd's own sense of movement through that space. The shepherds' sense of terrain includes other sensual dimensions, ingrained in the life and practice of herding, climate and the broader environment. However, changes in shepherding practices have effected the relation and perception of the terrain. The intricate knowledge of the land is associated mainly with the traditional free range herding. The new method of providing food supplies to animals necessitates their containment and the shepherds' restricted movement. In turn, this has repercussions on the continuity and depth of topographical knowledge emanating from traditional shepherding practices.

One of the major transitions in Skyros has been its articulation with the market economy of Greece and the European Union (EU). Issues relating to Greece's modernisation of its domestic economy (Featherstone 1998), questions of geopolitical identity (Goldstein 1998), linguistic and cultural identity (Spanaki 1998) have certainly not been without contention. The path to Europeanisation has intensified, at least in terms of technological and economic convergence (Kaminaris and Panagopoulos 1998:117). Attempts have been made by the state and the EU to fund the modernising of sheep and goat herding in Skyros. Funding is given mainly for building shelters to avoid losses of free-range livestock during winter, as well as for the introduction of commercial farming technology and methods, i.e., large-scale production, standardisation of product quality and so forth. During my stay, only one young Skyrian made a systematic attempt to establish a commercial sheep-farm and feta-cheese production factory.

In 1991, there were 252 members in the Agro-Pastoral Coop but many other Skyrian families also shepherd for domestic consumption (Zarkia 1991:62). Likewise, shepherds have reduced the number of their livestock or have limited them for domestic use, taking on employment in other areas of commerce and the hospitality trade, or in government administrative, medical services and so on. Most shepherds

context of everyday experience, discourse and ritual expression can be seen in Feld's work on the Kaluli of New Guinea. Place naming practices tie place to person, identity to locality and indicate "the perceptual salience of demarcating an exceptionally varied geography, one experienced by engaging with sensual continuities and discontinuities in the surrounding rainforest environment" (1996:102-3).

live in the township, but during intensive work periods, such as shearing and cheese making (mainly of feta cheese and a special local hard cheese), they remain on location in special small homes called *katounes* or *konakia*.²⁴ These *katounes* or *konakia* are scattered throughout the settlements or in proximity to the work sites.²⁵

Skyros has increasingly become incorporated into and dependent upon the tourist industry as a source of wage labour and the generation of cash. The advent of tourism on Skyros has also contributed to the creation or proliferation of a new range of occupations, such as waged builders and labourers, workers and merchants in the tourist trade, guest house, bar, and restaurant workers and owners, bus and taxi drivers, hire-cars and so on.

The state and development of Skyrian land tenure is closely linked to the transformations of the island's social structure. The changing economy and advent of tourism has devalued agricultural and pastoral land and has given value to other marginal areas, such as the coastal land of Molos, with a parallel enhancement of the fishing communities' wealth and status.

Despite major changes in the island's social organization, shepherding families continue to dominate the socio-political scene of contemporary Skyros. Agricultural production has steadily decreased since the 1970s while pastoral related production has increased. From 1971 to 1981, there has been an increase in grazing land and a slight increase in areas developed for tourist and commercial orientation, while land used for agriculture has significantly decreased (Zarkia 1991:45-48). Pastoralism maintains a solid economic base in current Skyrian society.

All forms of shepherding, from domestic production to large-scale herding, irradiates into most Skyrian households and livelihood. It is, therefore, no surprise that shepherding life, such as bells of the herd, the crook and its attire, inspire the

²⁴ Ai Stratis, a small island located 38 nautical miles south of Skyros, had a similar pattern of dual settlement (Nikolakakis 1999). Most inhabitants have their official homes in the main township (*Hora*), and simultaneously a second home (*kaliva* pl.-es) in the country (ibid.: 188). This dwelling pattern dissolved with the decline of the island's agrarian economy in the 1960s (ibid.: 188).

²⁵ Zarkia suggests that the *Horio* homes are mainly the domain of women, in contrast to the small outer homes (*konakia* and *katounes*) associated with shepherding and agrarian work, hence belonging to the male domain (1991:284).

dominant symbols of their carnival celebration, viz. the *Yeros* and *Korela*.²⁶ To what extent a connection exists between the rise of the shepherding families and the pastoral character of Skyrian carnival is difficult to ascertain due to the lack of historical evidence (as mentioned above). Until the 1960s, it was mainly shepherds who took part in the procession of *Yeri*, since they owned most of the attire and were customarily associated with this event. The social and historical conditions of the rise and constitution of the new ruling shepherding class may have prompted an analogous ritual expression in carnival. A structural or mode of production argument may provide some insights into how these socio-economic relations are manifested in the cultural and ritual domain.²⁷ However, the perseverance of the custom through major structural and historical changes necessitates another approach. In today's carnival, many Skyrians who take part are from shepherding families but the celebration has opened up to all social groups. A structural historical approach has limitations on what may be conveyed in terms of the subtleties of the carnival experience.

Exploring History and Topography: The Social Space of Skyrian Carnival

To understand Skyrian carnival, the cultural significance of the site where the celebration is staged needs to be considered. The event's site or social stage is identified with and within the island's township, the *Horio*. I examine the historical and topographical elements that point to the primacy of the *Hora* and its subsequent

²⁶ Pastoral themes of quasi-animal masquerades and bells are prevalent in carnivals throughout Greece, e.g., *Sohos* in northern Greece (see Cowan 1988, 1992), as well as other parts of Europe. The ethnomusicologist, Anoyanakis documents a diverse range of festivals and carnivals in rural Greece in which the ceremonial use of shepherding bells and animal masquerades predominates (1996:84-102).

²⁷ Although historical sources of Skyrian carnival are sparse, a structural historical analysis as exemplified by Ladorie (1979) can illuminate the social forces and class struggles infused in carnival. The popular uprising during carnival in 1580 in Romans, France was "highly charged in terms of social and cultural history" (1979:xvii). Fundamentally, the carnival was the climax of a major regional revolt against government taxes (framed by Rousseauian egalitarian thinking) (ibid.: xvii-xix). The uprising marked the intersection of two distinct waves of popular movements, one anti-noble and the other, initially at least, a non-violent, anti-tax protest. The carnival of Romans, embedded in these class struggles began as celebration, turned to massacre and ended in a rebellion. At the local level, the drapers and craftsmen used their confraternities to organise a challenge to town notables (ibid.: xix). The notables and peasants "entered violently into Carnival, confronting the other with theatrical and ritual gestures leading up to the final massacre" (ibid.: xx). Carnival, according to Ladorie, is a microcosm that shows "preserved in cross section, the social and intellectual strata and structures which make up a "trés ancien regime"" (ibid.: 370).

ritual centrality to carnival. The township of Skyros, its fortress (*Kastro*), St. George's monastery, the market place (*agora*), the architectural webbing of the streets and homes of the *Horio* are socially created spaces. The movement of people, revellers and masqueraders in the streets of the township, the main venues and sites, create a topography that is symbolically potent. This space is imbued with the island's history, popular art and imagination, religious disposition and mythology that are inscribed in sites and ruins, making the past part of the everyday. This situation is, in turn, intensified during carnival.

The social space of Skyros is introduced as a movement through indices of the island's cultural topography. The *Horio's* cultural significance is sedimented history, as it is symbolically inscribed in the dense residential settlements, which in turn, are confounded by an idiosyncratic system of property inheritance (*adhelfikata*). An architectural aesthetic born out of the island's unique social and historical conditions adorns the township. Skyrian sense of space is socially 'lived', 'historicised' and 'peopled', emphasising its familial and experiential dimension. Consequently, the primacy given to the *Horio* ritually delimits carnival space. The *Horio* provides the amphitheatre of Skyrian carnival *par excellence*.

The relation of space and society and, in particular, structured space to social organization, once the domain of architecture, has inspired anthropological inquiry. Zarkia maintains that society and space have a two-way relation, each side reflects and is realised through this relation (1992:75). Space as a social product has developed as an autonomous object of study. People-created space is that space into which humans intervene, either by construction or with the establishment of a set of symbols and signs. This becomes 'tamed' space, belonging to the domain of culture to which built space and the wider ground domination of social groups belongs (*ibid.*: 76). Ethnologists usually refer to space as an entity, seeing it as a cultural product that is generated by a combination of social events, elementary needs and symbolic thought. Zarkia states that the exclusive properties of structured space, even the limitations of construction techniques, are usually undermined in such approaches. An architectural approach, on the other hand, sees space as an autonomous object, with its own properties and characteristics, which decisively intervene in the life and

thought of social groups or individuals. Zarkia suggests that a meeting point of the two approaches on the problem of society and space would be fruitful (1992:77).

Social organization develops a spatial dimension. Hierarchy, class and economic organization become imprinted on the ground. The same applies, indirectly, with institutions. The way property is transmitted, for example, is a determining factor in the formation of the country and urban space. Place names also are an important witness to what happened within or happens to space. Built space is not only a material reality destined for the need of shelter and safety, it is also a symbolic reality that bears the imprints of history, culture and the mentality of the society that produced it. It transfers messages about the relations of production and kinship. This space is imprinted with the developments and transformations of social structure, a witness to transfer and alteration (ibid.: 79).

Zarkia contends that the architecture of a society in a given historical instance is a precious archive of information, expressing the spirit in which it was created (ibid.: 80). The home is also an archive of information, on perceptions of comfort, aesthetic, family and social organization and symbolic thought. Another property of space is its lag to social change. Space remains unchanged at the first indication of transformation, only to transform in a second timing, holding within it some indications of the previous condition. This is a property that is significant in the revelation of information, since it gathers and guards the reflection and reproduction of social events beyond its real-life time. In space, past incidents and values already transformed are revealed (ibid.: 80). Collective memory, which feeds from points of reference, continues to exist after the end or the change of the given circumstances (ibid.: 81).

The above sociological properties of space form the base for my ensuing analysis of the township of Skyros. However, I will develop a more fluid use of space, one that is given substance by the way people conceived of, as well as construct their space. This verges towards an interpretive approach to space, since my focus is on the indigenous processes by which space is understood, framed, expressed and realised.

The township of Skyros is called *Hora* but Skyrians mainly called it "the village" (*to Horio*). Despite being two different terms, *Hora* and *Horio* have a semantic

meeting ground. The vernacular Greek term *Hora* means country, land, a chief town or village. Generally, *Hora* refers to a place or region. *Hora* is “the space in which a thing is”, generally, “one’s place” or “position”, “the country” as opposed to “the town”. Etymologically, it derives from the verb *horo*, which means “I take in”, “contain”, “have room or space for” (see glossary). This meaning is semantically revealing, as it begins with the premise of space created by processes of “fitting in” or “holding within”.

Skyrians frequently use of the word *Horio* (village) when referring to the township. Similarly, it is a derivative of the verb *horo*, “to fit it” which indicates an intimate space, a rural community, resonating various levels of relatedness, familiarity and association. In popular expressions, *horio* frames social boundaries of workable co-existence; e.g., “we don’t make a village” (*dhen kanoume horio*) means “we don’t get on” or “we will become from two villages” (*tha yinoume apo dhio horia*) means “we will argue irreparably”. Both idiomatic terms, *Hora* and *Horio*, semantically and symbolically indicate the social precondition of space. *Horio*, however, further accentuates the theme of familiarity and the intricate associations bestowed upon this social space. Hence, this is the term more frequently used by Skyrians (especially older Skyrians), as it designates social membership to “their village”.

The notion of space gains substance by symbolically appropriating elements that fill in space or are contained in space, whether it is physical, symbolic, social or historical.²⁸ This notion is conceptually apt for the internal spatial arrangement of the *Horio*. The township, its streets, homes and their interiors, condense space to such a degree that everything is re-sized to miniature aesthetic forms. Skyrian’s ardour for miniature aesthetics nests in this cultural conception of space, and not the practicality

²⁸ Casey (1996:13-14) questions the universality of space and time as infinite and a priori on the one hand, and the rendering of place as a particular, compartmentalization of space on the other. From a phenomenological stance, he forwards a perceptual basis of “being-in-place” stating that people are “emplaced *ab origine*” (ibid.: 43) and place is a potent site of embodied experience. Ultimately, “place is no empty substratum to which cultural predicates come to be attached; it is an already plenary presence permeated with culturally constituted institutions and practices. As the basis of collective as well as individual habitus, these institutions and practices pervade the bodies of sensing subjects in a given place as well as gathering power of the place itself: even when prediscursively given (and prereflectively experienced), neither body nor place is precultural” (ibid.: 46). Although I do not theoretically develop the distinction, the notion of space in relation to the *Hora* or *Horio* has an almost pre-social dimension; semantically it does not suppose an existential void, while place (*topos*) as a particular locale implicating attachment (i.e., identity, sentiment, belonging etc.) can be identified in the space of the *Horio*, thereby highlighting varying levels of understanding and an indigenous conceptual merging of space-place.

of limited room alone. Empty space is always symbolically filled; the social, mythical and folk imagination, creatively re-conjures the images of the past, putting stories next to history, grand and folk narratives side by side, filling in space and transforming it into familial place. In contexts where oral cultures are still well articulated in the production of knowledge, as is the case in Skyros, historical monuments become evocative symbols, freeing the social imagination to liberal re-interpretation. The ruined walls of the *Kastro*, for instance, are intense locales of recall, iconic perpetrators of memory. As Zarkia suggests, this time-lag property of space enables a witnessing or reading of values and institutions (1992:80). This predisposition to 'fill in' or 'people' space is an important social gauging device. For instance, statements on the fullness of the main commercial street (*agora*) do not imply the numerical success of the carnival season alone; they also hint on an overflow of sociality that is at the core of carnival revelry.

Consequently, the site of *Horio* is an important symbolic space (and privileged site) for carnival activity; a place imbued with a history and popular lore. It is in a lived space that enmeshes everyday activities with the religious and ceremonious; a place that maintains its socio-political primacy, its thriving social networks and family groups. The *Horio* is a space that demands intricate knowledge of walkways and sites. The *Horio* remains Skyros' most vibrant lure; all facets of cultural life unfold within and overflow from its parameters and at its apex — carnival.

History, Stories and Myths: 'Historising' Space

The Skyrian past is often recited and posited within the discursive and chronological frame of official history. From prehistory, Skyros' central position in the Aegean archipelago contributed to the establishment of settlements and increased trade activity, as indicated by excavations in Palamari, a fortified town and port situated on the northeast side of the island (Sykka 1999:54). Archaeological excavations continuing in Palamari, suggest that during the early Bronze Age (2900-1900 BC), Skyros played a seminal role in developing trade relations with islands of the northern Aegean, Evia, the Cyclades, and in much later times, with Troy (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997:10). Within this frame of official history, the first inhabitants of Skyros were deemed to be the pre-Hellenic tribes of the Pelagsians and Dolopians who lived from

trade and piracy. Through the classical era and until the Roman subjugation by Sulla in 86 BC, Skyros belonged to Athens. The general Kimon established a presence on the island (475 BC) by a system of distributing property by lot to Athenian citizens (who were known as *klirouhi*) (Antoniadis 1995a:12, Xanthouli 1996:41-42). During the Middle Ages, Skyros, like its neighbouring Aegean islands, followed a similar path of Byzantine, Venetian and Ottoman domination, until the Independence of Greece and the creation of the nation state in 1821.

Christianity was introduced to Skyros in the second century BC. During Byzantine rule, Skyros became a military naval base. With the fall of Constantinople to the fourth Crusade (1204), the Byzantine Empire was shared amongst the Franks and Venetians who took the coastal regions and Aegean islands. Venice decreed that any of its noble subjects able to conquer coastal cities and islands had the right to keep them as hereditary fiefs with suzerainty rights (Antoniadis 1995a:19; Xanthouli 1996:44). Skyros, along with the Aegean islands Skopelos, Skiathos, Tino and Mykonos, was thereupon conquered by the brothers Andreas and Jeremy Gizi who became independent rulers in 1207 (Antoniadis 1995b:54, 1995d:120). The Byzantine admiral, Likarios (1276-1295 AD) briefly recaptured Skyros (Antoniadis 1995d:121). With the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, the island was once again left unprotected from pirate invasions. Such was the case that the inhabitants preferred protection from Venice and surrendered to the Venetian admiral, Jacobo Loredan, who in 1453 and after some hesitation conquered the island. Skyrians voluntarily handed the island to Venetian protection on the condition that their ancient privileges be acknowledged.²⁹ Skyros was under the direct rule of the Venetian official envoys, Rectors (*Rettori*), until Ottoman rule (Antoniadis 1995a:19-20).

In 1538, the Turkish admiral Barbarossa conquered Skyros, instigating three centuries of Ottoman rule. Skyros, like many other Aegean islands of the Cyclades and Sporades, surrendered as non-lancers (Xanthouli 1996:45).³⁰ Subsequently, a distinct form of rule concerning private, public and ecclesiastical land was created

²⁹ These privileges (*privilegii imperatori confirmati*) referred to basic freedom of religion, language and customs (Antoniadis 1995b:56).

³⁰ The Ottomans made a distinction between lancers and non lancers of their occupied territories. The former were those resisting but finally submitting to Ottoman rule, while the latter were those who surrendered without resistance (Xanthouli 1996:45).

(Antoniadis 1990a:62-4). There was no substantial presence or permanent residence of Turkish people on the island (*ibid.*: 63). The constant threat and raids from pirates confirms the absence of Turkish military force.

During Ottoman rule, local matters were administered by an appointed Council of Elders (*Dhimoyerondia*) presided by the *Kadhis*, the only Turkish official on the island, who acted mainly in a judicial and an administrative capacity (Antoniadis 1997:86, 110, 156). This system of rule allowed Skyros, as with other Aegean islands, a relative degree of autonomy and a systematic development of institutions of self-government (Antoniadis 1997:110). The Council of Elders, nobility and clergy constituted a powerful force in the maintenance of the Skyrian *status quo* and Orthodox Christian tradition (Antoniadis 1995e:128).

Skyros was liberated in 1821, and thereupon follows the governmental and social changes of the newly founded nation state.³¹ Skyrians were involved in both World Wars; were affected by the agrarian reforms of the 1920s; migrated *en masse* overseas and to urban centres; synchronised with the radical socio-economic changes of Greece and the EU; and strove to maintain their cultural autonomy in the face of the impending social homogenisation.³²

When Skyrians narrate their past, official historical epochs are used, either in a strictly factual style or become enmeshed in legend or stories that are, at times, placed side by side. The topography, place names, buildings or monuments, mythical

³¹ Tsaoussis (1976) presents an outline of the history and development Greek social structure, from its emergence as an independent nation in 1821 to contemporary society.

³² The issue of the relation between the local, the nation and the wider global context is indeed a pressing one for many rural or local studies. Mouzelis states that anthropologists working at the village level are weary of abstract generalizations, yet aware of the importance of context (1976:403). He notes that whenever there have been moves from the local to the national, a "village outwards" perspective is applied, in which links between the periphery and centre or state institutions are by examined through local brokers and clientalism (*ibid.*: 403). Herzfeld addresses one aspect of this issue by examining national identity in the newly established Greek nation state, focusing on ideological constructions of history and culture (1982:ix). In particular, he posits the ideological role of folklore studies in the making of modern Greece (1982:144). Just (2000:20-1) also critically points out Mediterranean anthropology's rural focus, and its concentration and parallel exoticisation of the margins that overlooks the relation between rural and urban, and the national and international. He suggests an analytical line that is "historical" and "deconstructive", focusing on the dynamics of social change, migration etc., as well as "sociological and constructive", looking at how social cohesion is created and regenerated in daily life, especially through kinship and marriage (2000:38). Just forwards kinship as a key theme to such an understanding in his study. While acknowledging problems of 'over' localising and/or abstraction, I suggest that any study of a local community can scarcely be apprehended as an entity on its own. However, the exuberant nature of ritual life methodologically demands a centrifugal focus to comprehend the depth and intensity of cultural meaning.

or actual ancestors can all become reference points or witnesses to historical events. To what extent popular stories depict real events or historical figures is less engaging than the way they are retold and become relevant stories in people's own understandings of aspects of Skyrian society. Mythical ancestors or heroic figures take on a quasi-factual dimension in relation to how they fit into the Skyrian schema. Historically significant figures, events, sites or ruins are reconstructed through the social imagination. This is integral to an oral tradition that, although has subsided somewhat in fortitude, is well articulated within contemporary local culture.

Of particular significance is the way time is perceived during narrations. When reciting themes as part of local history, mythological chronology becomes subsumed in a distant and obscure past as "old times" (*palea hronia*, literally, old years). The actual length and remoteness of time past is irrelevant to the story/history teller. Events, plots, people and sites are evoked to form a presence of enduring mythical heroes or anti-heroes, and these are integrated into the collective memory. Such mythical figures and heroes are, for example, Odysseus, Achilles, Theseus, Lykomedes, and historical figures, such as pirates, especially the Liap pirates³³ and the *Kadhis*, an Ottoman judiciary official. Skyrian folk art has inscribed and transmitted (via dowry and inheritance) the Liaps and *Kadhis* into the everyday in a series of motifs used in embroidery, ceramics and woodcarving. These figures are also featured in poetic distichs such as the metered narrative of the "Leaflet of the Liaps" (*I Filadha ton Liapidhon*) (Antoniadis 1995f:163-4). The document is an eyewitness account of the plunder of Skyros by the Liaps at the beginning of the eighteenth century, written in fifteen syllable distichs. Mythological figures provide catchy names for taverns, cafés or ferries (Zarkia 1996:161). The lives and miracles of Orthodox Saints, especially the patron saint, St. George, have a special place in popular and religious lore. St. George makes appearances in dreams, while many Skyrians recount the hearing of the saint's horse's hooves in the cobbled streets of the *Horio* at night, an indication of the saint's continuing presence and protection. Byzantine

³³ The Liaps were Islamised Arvanites belonging to one of the Albanian tribes who had their base in Liapouria, south west Albania. They were taken as mercenaries into the Sultans army during Ottoman rule; many turned to piracy while others established themselves in Greece, became Christian and later became part of irregular guerrilla troops by land and sea known as *Klephts* (or *klefts*, see Gallant 1988), i.e., brigands or liberation fighters (Antoniadis 1995f:165), akin to what Hobsbawn (1969) terms "social banditry".

hagiographies, saint epiphanies, historical figures and archaeological ruins can become part of the contemporary resurrection of popular lore.

To what extent these accounts are ideological reconstructions is open to debate. What is significant, however, is the way mythologized knowledge is reproduced by the popular imagination as it reworks, reconstructs and blends together mythological and historical discourses on the cutting edge of fact and fiction. Every contemporary re-interpretation potentially becomes part of a folk historicising of mythology. It draws upon dominant aspects of the open repertoire of popular imagination and its ideological extension or annexation to official historical continuity. A prime example is that of classical mythology. In relation to foreigners and Skyrians, Zarkia states that: "Locals even exaggerate or falsify history or a local tale in order to sell a bizarre product, or to attract the interest of the visitor" (1996:161). She gives the example of Ahili beach. In the Skyrian dialect, *ahili* simply means mouth but Skyrians relate it to the Achilles myth. This exchange is based on "a lie that satisfies everybody. ... The alienation of Skyrian culture and aesthetics is based upon both parties playing their roles as if they were 'on stage' " (Zarkia 1996:161-2).

The issue of Ahili bay and Achilles, the mythical hero, continues and reopens in various discursive contexts. I encountered it as a mythical explanation of the bay, both by older and younger Skyrians: "This is the bay from which Achilles left to join the Trojan War", they would often say when we were passing by. This mythical connection was disputed by the linguist Karatza.³⁴ There is certainly an ideological dimension under-pinning popular and historical discourse.

The ideological connection of folk rites to antiquity by folklorists has been explored by Herzfeld (1982). He argues that this connection has been part of a particular ideological discourse of nationalism, which sought to reconstruct a Hellenic ideal of the nation, thus reconnecting it to the West. Cowan (1988) extends Herzfeld's argument in her study of carnival in Sohos, northern Greece. She states that the relation between folklorist and folk is historically specific, one built around the nation and its rhetoric of an imagined antiquity (1988:245-6). Folkloric discourse enters into

³⁴ Karatza contends that the acoustic similarity of the hero Achilles and *ahellos*, the Skyrian idiom for lip (body parts are frequently used as place names) and Skyrians' desire to connect to a mythical hero have lead to this (mis)interpretation (in *Skyriana Nea*, Jan. 2000:8). He also questions the validity of the place names of Ahili as documented by the historian Xanthouli (ibid.: 8).

local discourse reshaping folkloric phenomena in the present (1988:246). There is a political manipulation of folk tradition, which ignores modern and foreign aspects of carnival. In this process many agricultural rituals are traced to Dionysian worship. Cowan maintains that folklorists find the essential meaning of carnival in the past it betokens. She states that there is no synchronic coherence to a ritual process, but a "natural diachrony" is assumed by folklorists in their assertion of an uninterrupted continuity from antiquity (1988:250). Thus relics of ancient ritual have become the passion of folklorists.

Mythical and archaeological connections evoked by ideology do not necessarily stand up to scientific verification. Popularist interpretations and exaggerated story telling, with their flimsy alliance to truthful depiction, often undermine the solid foundations of elite discourse. An oral tradition with an inclination to legendising, whether intended as history or not, thrives on the process of acquiring new motifs and placing them in their own temporal framework or crystallising them as their own past.

This ideological re-affirmation also applies to Skyrian carnival and the two popular versions of its genesis. One is mythological, that is, the origin myth of carnival as it relates to its dominant pastoral past: a shepherd who lost his herd in a destructive storm returns to the township having strung around his waist the bells of his flock. To hide his shame and sorrow, the shepherd covers his face with a kid's hide (see Appendix 3: Origin Myth). In this origin myth, Skyrian identity is framed within the dominant symbols of a traditional pastoral folk tale, one that is linked to Skyros, the land and its pastoralists. In addition, the shepherd's return to the township contains dominant symbolic elements of Skyrian cosmology. This is especially true of the shepherd's entrance into the cultural space of the *Horio*. He comes from the isolated and arid pastures of "the mountain", a liminal figure himself, part shepherd part animal, symbolically mediating the transition from nature to culture. I suggest that this particular tale symbolically underlies the cosmological significance of Skyrian carnival and its connection to the poignant social space of the *Horio* (which I develop below).

Alternatively, the other perspective forwards historical or quasi-mythical links of Skyrian carnival to a Dionysian origin. Skyrians trace carnival to their classical ancestry, maintaining a link through time and through generations. Skyrians express

both versions of their carnival interchangeably. Ideological and folkloric discourse (as Cowan suggests above) posits the authenticity of Skyrian carnival in Bacchic rites and antiquity, making links to a national identity. However, beyond ideological discourse and folklore Skyrians perceive, and more importantly *live* their carnival in multiple experiential forms and it is this source that I draw upon to elicit its cultural meaning on the local level.

Generally, in the fusion of history with story we have the production of popularist narrative that gives, at times, an exaggerated view of history (as a documented account), which however, continues to be an integral part of a vibrant oral tradition, even though it has a relative autonomy from (and at times a reference to) positivistic discourse, such as folklore or history. This fusion of history/story is also compounded by the memory or interpretation of events and monuments, which blurs the distant past, near past and the living association with the past.

In contemporary Greek, the word *istoria* denotes factual, official history, as well as stories, fairytales and narrative, thus embracing a more fluid understanding of past events.³⁵ History emanates from a notion of narration and story that has a closer proximity to the way an oral tradition selects and recalls events. In certain contexts of its usage in vernacular Greek, *istoria* has a fictitious element (similar to "telling tales"), thus *istoria*, as such, does not necessarily crystallise scientific truth, detouring from any strict reference to factual reality. This semantic splintering of historical truth is certainly more apt in understanding how locals view and play with themes of their own history.

The contexts of telling 'history' or 'stories' vary, depending not only on the informants' personal positioning (not to mention that of the researcher) but on the situation and method by which the information was elicited. The conditions of eliciting such information pre-empt various forms and contexts of dialogue, these can be either formal interviews or while recording genealogies, or more spontaneous conversations and portrayals of the island's history, which happen in different environments, such as

³⁵ The oral component of transmitting knowledge is decentred in the English word "history", which predominantly centres on the science of history and the interpretation of texts and verifiable sources. The classical Greek meaning of history (*istoria*) is "to learn by inquiry", "a narrative", "history"; stemming from the verb *istoro*, i.e., "to inquire", "to narrate what one has learnt" (Liddell and Scott 1980:385) (see glossary).

cafés, in a friends' house over dinner, at celebrations or a visit to the folklore museum. Each context can be conducive to the production of a particular type or source of ethnographic information. Eliciting worldviews from such contexts has been a methodology of the ethnographer that has met with much scepticism. Although these venues are superseded by the authorial voice of the ethnographer, they provide crucial pockets of local knowledge.³⁶

At times, after discussions on local history, Skyrians would refer me to an expert who was usually a local historian or folklorist, but also to elderly people who have lived through many of these incidents or had direct memory of these incidents through their parents and grandparents. The hereditarily transmitted knowledge of elder Skyrians was invaluable and on an equal par with their formally educated counterparts. The criteria of their validity rest in their state of mind and memory recall. When I was given referrals to elderly informants, there was always a quick appraisal of whether that person's mind or memory was "in a good state" or "still remembers a lot" (*sta kala tou, akoma thimate pola*), to use the local expression. Yet, there was never a doubt that the "stories" (*istories*) told to me by lay historians were equally revered as seminal components of Skyros' history.

Equally significant is the way in which Skyrian storytellers fuse distant and immanent time, transcending linear divisions of official history. Local history based on life stories produce a particular chronotope, that is, a fusion of space and time.³⁷ Given the actual memory and life span of the narrator, the listener enters a different social-temporal frame. The images conjured exude emotionality and are attached to people, neighbours, family or other kin groups and to a specific plot. When history was recalled in these cases, events and dates and places became secondary to dominant person/figures. The remote and recent past is fused into descriptive

³⁶ The problems of 'doing ethnography' were instigated in the works of Clifford (1988); Marcus and Cushman (1982); and Marcus & Fischer (1986). Marcus and Cushman (1982) exposed the dominant genre of western ethnographic representation and writing as a problematic form of realism that uses totalising narratives with the unintrusive voice of the omniscient author representing the native point of view.

³⁷ The chronotope (literally, "time space"), according to Bakhtin, is "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (1981:84). Bakhtin uses the chronotope as a literary optic for reading the European novel — not only metaphorically, but "as a formally constitutive category of literature" (*ibid.*: 84). However, the concept has had wide interdisciplinary applications beyond literary analysis.

categories of old (*palei*) and ancient (*arhei*) times. The memory of events is drawn either from elder persons' direct lived experience or from knowledge inherited as stories from their ancestors. In this anthropocentrically infused time, potent images are evoked; these images transform fragments of life stories into history, making it difficult for a researcher to tease out the 'history' from the 'story'. This lay history is more fruitfully seen as a particular discourse that requires an alternative approach to extrapolate areas of meaning. The welding of story and history produces a complex but rich source for fathoming cosmological beliefs and systems of belief in general.

In Skyros, the immanence of the past is potentially present and embedded in features of topography and architecture. As antiquities are discovered, enduring historical monuments of Skyros' past are being continually rediscovered as, e.g., the important site of Palamari, which thrived during the Bronze Age (see above). Buildings and geographical sites that have always been, such as the *Kastro*, its walls, ancient graves, sites and place names and so on, are reinterpreted or validated by archaeological sources. Stories and legends freely extend from these sources, which are then reconnected to Skyrian land. At one level, the topography is imagined, and formed and informed by its own evolving history. It follows that from this popular perspective, both space and time are always symbolically and diachronically 'lived' and 'peopled'. Furthermore, this immanence of the past in the present compounds the intensity of the *Horio's* social space.

The *Horio* (Township): The Social Stage of Skryian Carnival

The internal and discrete space of the *Horio* is seminal to understanding the significance of Skyrian carnival. Entering the *Horio* is a parallel move along the path of the island's cultural geography. It is a move that weaves together landmarks of symbolic and historical significance, enveloping prominent and elusive geo-spatial features integral to the *Horio's* (and carnival's) social terrain.

The Town Square

The town square (*platia*) is a microcosm of the social reality of contemporary Skyros. It is here where carnival starts, the hive of social and political activity. The square is situated at the lowest point of the rock hill, elevated a few steps above the main

street. The central town square is a product of the island's socio-political changes, symbolic of the re-orientation of social space. Built in the 1920s, it coincided with the shift in local power and the consolidation of municipal government. Prior to the building of the central square, there were openings or smaller squares scattered within the suburbs of the *Horio*, the most notable being Sarous and Brooke which are located higher up on the rock hill, in the suburbs of the nobility. During carnival a few decades ago, satirists would wander through the narrow cobbled streets provoking with their verses (Couliantianou 1977:40). Today, satirists proclaim their grievances — in carnival jest — standing in the town square directly opposite the municipal chambers.

From the latter part of the 1940s, major public works changed the face of the *Horio*. Road networks, the building of the council chambers and the town square were all part of a program of state expenditure and national land reforms which increased local government power.³⁸ In the 1920s, the council was decreed land from the Greek State (Stephanidis 1933:36) and by 1985, possessed a large area of the northern part of the island. While on the other hand, the monastery of St. George historically owns a large section of the south, a fact that creates ongoing contention. In the current symbolic topographical repositioning, the bastion of state and local government power is now located at the *Horio's* base, that is, the town square, in a contra position to its sacred counterpart, the thousand year old monastery located at the peak of the rock hill. The chair of secular and legislative power has literally moved downhill to the town square, the contemporary social magnet of Skyros and the favoured site for satirists' mockery.

The Market Place — Main Commercial Artery (Agora)

The market place (*agora*) is the commercial and social lifeline of the *Horio*. Skyrians call "*agora*", the main commercial area that begins from the square and includes all adjoining shops, cafés and residences incorporating the stretch of street.³⁹ The literal

³⁸ Stephanidis (1933) details the public works and land reforms of the 1920s, as part of the state's national program of development in his mayoral report, 1929-33.

³⁹ I sometimes say "the main street of the *agora*" when I am strictly referring to the span of the street, i.e., the high street. The *agora* is the market place; the annexed main street becomes synonymous with

meaning of the word, *agora*, is "market place" and "purchase". However, the *agora* is not solely a vicinity of commerce, business transactions and exchange. Most administration services such as the bank, post office, electricity trust and telecom are located some distance away from the *agora*. In Skyros, the *agora* is the central vein of commercial transactions *and* social commensality. Taverns, shops, homes and a church, cluster around the commercial shops that front on the main street of the *agora*. This arterial road begins from the town square connects to the Grand Walkway (*Megali Strata*), which leads to the monastery of St. George. The *agora* is associated just as much with commercial venues, as with the nexus of people in and out of the street and shops. Skyrians say they are in the *agora* even when the taverns are closed and it is pitch dark, implying a sense of a lingering social presence or commensality, which does not switch off when the last venue closes. When the *agora* is "full" or "empty" or "dead" it indicates a social fullness or emptiness, one reflecting the whole town or island rather than the span of the street. In the *agora*, people take strolls, meet and converse, the exchanges are social as much as they are commercial, not to mention ceremonial. Along this street, Skyrian carnival activity peaks, it provides a channel for the *Yeri's* troupes, all kinds of masqueraders, revellers and onlookers.

The contemporary *agora*, as a socio-economic forum, developed after the early years of national liberation (1821) (Antoniadis 1997:72). The prior centre of social life was located higher up in the *Horio*, in the northern suburbs of the Council of Elders (*Dhimoyerondia*) and the Episcopal Church in the *Kastro*, while commercial exchanges were probably centred at Borio, a suburb outside the *Kastro* (ibid.: 72, 123, fn. 54). During Ottoman rule, the *agora* consisted mainly of a few coffee houses and workshops (ibid.: 72). The contemporary *agora*, however, unfurls the diversity and centrality of the new occupations of tourism and commerce in Skyrian life. Small businesses, shops and cafés cater for the *Horio* and its settlements all year round.

the term *agora*. There is a conflation of the street, the commercial vicinity of shops and adjoining residences.

Streets of the Horio

The *Horio* is a maze of narrow cobbled paths, a common feature in many densely built fortified townships of the Aegean islands. These streets were not for vehicles but walkways called *sokakia*, *kalnderimia*. The *Horio's* winding unplanned streets were built in such a way for protection. The *Megali Strata* (Grand Walkway) is the main artery or walkway leading from the *agora* to the monastery and winds through the suburbs which once housed the nobility. The carnival troupes of *Yeri* take the *Megali Strata* in their ascent to the monastery. A plethora of alleys chaotically branch off from the *Megali Strata* into small openings and abrupt ends. The orientation to paths off the main arteries is only possible by utilising known landmarks or familiarising oneself with the narrow streets. One must walk the *Horio* to know it and vice versa.

Homes of the Horio

Inside the *Horio*, the high concentration of housing generates an idiosyncratic architecture, indicative of the social value of limited space and the historical conditions of its creation. Housing expansion problems must have increased during the Byzantine period; it was then that the core of the stratified suburbs was created outside the fortress walls (Arnaoutoglou 1982:12). After national liberation (1821) the housing problem continued, forcing Skyrians to coil in the same positions, and to contain their expansion within limited space (ibid.: 14)

As one enters the *Horio* and moves up to the *Kastro*, the higher one ascends the denser the clustering of homes. The homes of the higher suburbs reflect a continual enveloping of condensed space. There is an intensification of the interior space of homes that becomes symbolically and physically laden. Within its walls, the traditional one-room homes of the *Horio* are intense spaces utilising a miniature aesthetic to furnish and adorn the interior. Decorated with items of value, the quaint room becomes a gallery exposing elements of Skyrian life; modern appliances are dispersed amongst folk art and hereditary items of precious antique ceramics, old icons, copper utensils, wood-carved furniture and embroidery. These items cover all the walls of the home but are mainly clustered around the corner fireplace, which was the hearth of these homes prior to separate or annexed kitchens. This collection of

household items inherited by the daughters, known as the *aloni*, is bestowed with symbolic and social value (see image C on p. 47).

The *aloni* was and is a significant and historically enduring part of a woman's dowry property, consisting mainly of household or decorative items (Perdika 1940:28)⁴⁰. These items are inherited and transmitted via mothers to daughters. The first daughter is entitled to half of the *aloni*, although this is no longer strictly practiced. The *aloni* often contains items of value, either due to their antiquity or rarity — Venetian glass vessels, some from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, fine porcelain, ceramic plates from Rhodes and Skopelos etc., (Xanthouli 1996:86,105) — collections which Skyrian women continue to enrich with zeal. These items were brought to Skyros either by sailors or by occasional vendors; brokers that trafficked in exotica and antiques, providing the Skyrian hearth with a *bricolage* of rarities and bounty from the outside world. The *aloni* indicates social status and wealth; it is symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977:171-183) vested solidly within the female domain.⁴¹

The items from the *aloni* are carried over into contemporary homes. A section of the house becomes the Skyrian corner (*Skyriani gonía*), an area decorated by these inherited items.⁴² Every minute detail of space of the *Horio* and in the home itself is permeated with a social presence.

In her study of space and society in Skyros, Zarkia highlights the social indices of the symbolic use of space as a significant feature of architecture and orientation (1991:270). Drawing a parallel between the homes of the countryside used for agrarian chores, and the home and township, Zarkia examines how space is at the nexus of social processes and relations of production. An example is the use of the cubic one room home, a necessary condition for communal living. Every 'room' is an autonomous spatial unit, in a sense, it is a small building or home.

⁴⁰ References to the *aloni* have been found in sixteenth century dowry-contracts, a witness to the custom's longevity (Antoniadis 1997:49, 51).

⁴¹ Bourdieu's the notion of symbolic or cultural capital moves beyond economic exchange to non-material forms of capital that are socially and culturally legitimated (e.g., prestige, ritual knowledge, artefacts etc.) in order to understand the social world beyond economic transactions (1977, 1990). Symbolic capital, nonetheless, can be converted back into economic capital (1977:179). The Skyrian *aloni* may be apprehended in such terms. The seemingly economically 'irrational' accumulation of rare objects (which can potentially be converted to economic capital, an idea absurd to Skyrian women), to be placed on the wall, only to be inherited by daughters and redecorated on the next hearth, can be understood in terms of its symbolic value within the context of Skyrian social practices.

⁴² I have also seen the Skyrian corner in apartments of Skyrians living in Athens.

As an independent structure, the base of the homes of the *Horio* is a feature essential for expanding or extending (ibid.: 228). This base of the home is also a prerequisite for *adhelfikata* (pl.), a system of sister-property communes found mainly in the suburbs of the *Horio* (ibid.: 252). These *adhelfikata* are unique property clusters, containing a common courtyard and are made by extending the original home, either by building on a wall along side or/and upwards on the flat roof ceiling. *Adhelfikata* belong to sisters who acquire it as their dower-property (ibid.: 252). Property in Skyros is matrilineally transmitted. Due to the combination of the limitations on expansion in the *Horio* and the dowry inheritance system, *adhelfikata* emerge by allowing daughters to build on the original parental home. By inheriting the *liakos*, i.e., the roof,⁴³ sisters build upon it or around it while the parents stay in the original core home (Zarkia 1991:252, for illustrated examples see Appendices 4a-4c: *Adhelfikata*).

The *Horio*'s homes have a particularly interesting relation to streets. Zarkia highlights the significance of entrances and doorways of the *Horio*'s homes, which open directly onto the streets (1991:270-71). The street, in essence, unifies the homes. The spatial indices of the home to the *Horio* are given by its relation to the road and the door's position; whether the door remains open during the day or not, or at what time the doors should be closed.⁴⁴ There is no distinct public or private domain, Zarkia calls this *semi-privé*; a space delineated by everyday activities, serving both as a public and private receptor (ibid.: 271).⁴⁵

⁴³ In the Skyrian dialect a *liakos* is the roof of a house. The right to build on the roof (*liakos*) instigated a system of horizontal property ownership, prevalent in other islands of the Aegean, but which was documented in Skyros as early as the sixteenth century (Antoniadis 1985:337). The dire need for space in the protected section of the *Horio* meant that homes could only be expanded upwards. Therefore, a necessary condition for the selling of "the roof" (*liakos*) was the possibility of building on it. In this sense the air of the roof, combined with the material base of the roof and formed a separate commodity with its own commercial value (ibid.: 336). The preconditions of this property system are once again due to the historical predicament of an Aegean township (ibid.: 337).

⁴⁴ During discussions with Zarkia on this subject, she noted that in the *Kastro*'s suburb, people passing by homes with open doors would greet even though nobody was inside (29-3-2000, Athens). Whether the house is empty or not, the greeting acknowledges a social presence; it is a space that is always 'peopled'.

⁴⁵ Given that the *Horio* homes, as opposed to *katounes*, pertain to the feminine domain, Zarkia's study (1991:284) potentially subverts the dual model of private/public spheres prevalent in anthropological work on the Mediterranean (e.g., Dubish 1986 et. al.). Her study is also insightful in the way it eludes to nuances of the time-event-activity dimension of space.

Zarkia's material raises issues about the acoustic parameters of social space. The *Horio* generates an intense space that is acoustically and visually loaded. The proximity of the buildings and streets, compounded by the clusters of homes, creates porous borders of space where sound traverses barriers ordinarily associated with private space. Casey suggests that a significant property of being in a place or region is that one is not limited by defined borders (as opposed to abstract space-time mentioned above). He argues that a place of exchange, movement and event must have a "porosity of boundaries" and "permeable margins of transition", giving the example of the Kula ring in Melanesia (1996:42). Lived domains overlap, interpenetrate, encroach or are encroached, something which becomes apparent in the dense spaces of the *Horio*.

This permeability of the *Horio's* spaces becomes particularly apparent throughout carnival, where the open door onto the road during preparation and dressing establishes a two-way street, almost a liminal opening to carnivalesque comings and goings. The volume of bells unavoidably fills every space of the *Horio*, the small openings, the town square, the quaint rooms of Skyrian homes. Given the proximity of homes and street and its very porous divide, all spaces socially weld together. This is magnified further during carnival festivities. The *Horio*, with its homes, *agora* and narrow winding streets, becomes the carnival's visual and aural amphitheatre, exuding what Feld perceptively terms as "a sense of place resounding" (1996:92).⁴⁶

The Kastro (Fortress) and St. George's Monastery

The *Kastro* is the most impressive landmark of the town of Skyros. Crowned at the peak of the *Horio*, it is also a site that physically and symbolically houses pertinent themes of Skyrian life, past and present. Just below the *Kastro* is the St. George's

⁴⁶ Feld's study of song and place names of the Kaluli of New Guinea is a synthesis (ethno-graphic and analytical) that calls for "multisensory conceptualization of place" in understanding the complexities of experience (1996:94). In response to an all-encompassing European visualism, he emphasises aural-oral experience, outlining the invaluable contribution of notions of acoustic space and cultural geography in anthropological inquiry (ibid.: 3, 94-6). Feld augments the sensorial-sonic field with his concept of acoustemology, denoting "the exploration of sonic sensibilities, specifically of ways in which sound is central to making sense, to knowing, to experiential truth" as this relates to understanding "the interplay of sound and felt balance in the sense and sensuality of emplacement, of making place" (ibid.: 97).

monastery, the patron saint of the island, a sacred place, which symbolically validates the enduring protection and the centrality of the *Kastro*.

The *Kastro* of Skyros and its walls were built in antiquity and rebuilt during Venetian rule due to external sea attacks and piracy, like many other fortresses of the Aegean islands and coastal Greece (Georgopoulou-d'Amico 1999; Loupou Rokou 1999). According to Loupou-Rokou, the acropolis of Skyros was the strongest of the Aegean islands, and the only *Horio*/Fortress that the traveller-scientist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort found on the island, while travelling in the vicinity in 1702 (1999:167). This historical uniqueness of Skyros' *Horio*/Fortress marks the island's distinctive spacial and social fabric.

Throughout its history, the *Kastro* has been a refuge for Skyrians during attacks, a vivid memorial and a fading sanctuary. It is frequently cited in history and folklore as a refuge against pirates and attacks; the palace of the mythical ancestral King Lykomedes and other mythological figures whose home, rule and demise was also located at the peak of the rock. The often-quoted myths relate to the mythical king of Skyros, Lykomedes. Within his court, his sister, Thetis, hides her son, the Homeric warrior Achilles, disguised as a woman in order to avoid his fate in Troy. The legendary king of Athens, Theseus, when visiting and asking about his paternal land in Skyros was thrown from the *Kastro* by the distrustful Lykomedes. These myths are a necessary accompaniment on any tour around the *Kastro* or found in tour guides of Skyros. Popular imagination perpetuates this mythology, as it symbolically fills and frames the edifice of the *Horio*.

The connection of the *Kastro* to piracy predominates history as much as legend. The folk image of pirates, especially the Liaps, perseveres not only in legend and folk art but is referred to in everyday mundane commentary. Piracy is the lay exegesis of the clustering around the *Kastro*. The social genesis of a unique *Horio* is due to the continual historical predicament faced by Skyrians.

The *Kastro* was a sanctuary from all attacks, a miniature self-contained citadel comparable to the island of Skyros, which was also self-sufficient. Unlike the arid neighbouring islands, Skyros had exports despite its rugged land and had an adequate range of staple produce to support its population (Antoniadis 1995a:21). The theme of self-sufficiency is often recounted by older Skyrians who reminisce that, unlike

mainland Greece, they never encountered famine or the Depression. Self-sufficiency is further enhanced with the dominant theme of the island's geographic isolation⁴⁷. This view is historically reinforced by the use of Skyros as an island of exile during Byzantine rule (usually it was administrators or generals caught up in intrigues and rivalries who were sent there for safety) (Faltaits n.d. 65). This geographical isolation is more a social perspective on the island's positioning *vis à vis* other island groupings, rather than one of geographical distance. Socio-spatial discourse envisages a particularly unique culture and social organization of this Aegean island, which is seen as a product of extreme isolation.

However, this relative and sometimes romanticised autonomy quickly dissolved with the induction of Skyros into the politico-judicial system of the Greek nation state. In the post WWI years, temporary local courts were established; schools adhered to a national education curriculum and efficient transport to and from the mainland increased.

Repeated in historical sources, everyday conversation, folklore and oral poetry is the combination of the themes of geographic isolation; they refer to the island's ability to be internally sustaining through self-sufficiency and its resilience to continual external attacks. Popularist themes of isolation and the *Kastro* as a refuge reinforce the primacy of the *Horio*. As an enduring asylum for all social and political life, the *Horio* was and is the heart of Skyrian life and the satellite settlements are drawn to it.

In contemporary Skyros, any physical sense of enclosure of the *Kastro* has been erased. Yet, Skyrians talk about the *Kastro* as if it were a building or a structure of some substance (much to the surprise of many visitors' expectations when they make the ascent to the top). Now there are only remnants of the fortress walls but the sense of security offered by the *Kastro* has not diminished. The *Kastro* was not only the historical locale of this-worldly protection but also the site of St. George's

⁴⁷ Skyros' isolation is common theme in historical literature. Graindor attributes Skyros' historical, commercial and strategic invisibility during the classical era to its isolated position, and its shadowing by its metropolis, Athens (1988:9). However, he adds that in the period when Thessaly and Troy peaked, Skyros, being on the naval route connecting the two states, would have had to have some significance (1988:9). Early in the twentieth century, Stephanidis comments on Skyros' geographic isolation from other Aegean island groupings in his mayoral report (1933:45). Antoniadis (1995a:9) sees Skyros' isolation in relation to the sea as ambiguous. Although a pastoral island, Skyros had some preoccupation with a maritime livelihood but turbulent seas, together with the distant geographic position, contributed to the island's isolation.

monastery. The protection of the town is perpetuated by the patronage of St. George, situated just below the *Kastro*. The monastery has a panoramic watch over the homes sprawled beneath. Many of the windows of the *Horio's* homes catch glimpses of the monastery. The saint, to whom many Skyrians appeal, is almost literally in their homes and at their doorsteps. The proximity to the saint offers another protective wall and symbolically enhances the primacy of the *Horio* and its *Kastro*.

The monastery of St. George was built probably in 960 AD during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Nikiphoros Fokas, without this being a conclusive date (Atesis 1961:134). There is as much legend as there is history surrounding the establishment of the monastery. In one version, Nikiphoros Fokas, on an expedition to Crete makes a votive offering to St. George to stop a storm. On his victorious return, the emperor funded the building of the monastery, which was finalised by the emperor Tsimiski after Nikiphoros Fokas' assassination (Atesis 1961:133).

As the island's patron, the celebration of St. George is a local holiday and a major fête.⁴⁸ In contrast to the official Orthodox calendar, in Skyros, St. George is celebrated on a dedicated day after Easter and includes a procession of icons. The monastery's icons are taken down to an annexed chapel near the coast for a liturgy. Two religiously significant and ancient icons lead the procession. One depicts the saint with a dark face standing upright. The other is a silver clad icon picturing the saint on horseback slaying the dragon. The first is said to have been brought to Skyros from Constantinople by a Christian wanting to save it from iconoclasts and it is particularly revered by Skyrians. This icon is considered to be the patron and guardian of the monastery (Xanthouli 1996:43). The icons are paraded through the main streets, encircling the *Horio* in its sacred path, while many Skyrians line the streets to place their votive offerings on the icons. Upon their return to the monastery, red wine is shared out to the followers. During carnival many Skyrians make the ascent to the monastery and ring its bells as a votive offering to St. George,

⁴⁸ St. George is a popular saint throughout Greece. Post-Byzantine (twelfth century onwards) icons mainly portray him in military uniform, bearing arms, killing a dragon (a personification of evil) (Sotiriou 1964:439).

much to the disapproval of the residing monk. The ongoing tension between the locals and the monastic clergy is symbolically reproduced each carnival season.

The *Kastro* also houses the ruins of the first Byzantine Episcopal church of Skyros built in 895 AD. There are three privately owned small churches on the *Kastro* in which liturgies are held on their respective saint's day.⁴⁹ Ruins of stores and a cistern, which Skyrians call *skotini filaki*, i.e., dark dungeon or a prison (Loupou-Rokou 1999:169) remain on the *Kastro's* peak, silent witnesses to a daunting era (see maps A & B on p. 48). Fused at this high point of the *Horio* is Skyros' past and present, protection and religious leadership. However, the focus of worldly power is now located downhill, away from the *Kastro*, in the *agora*, the current hive of social and commercial exchange and activity, as well as in the town square, which houses the council, the contemporary bastion of secular power. There is a downward shift and symbolic relocation of current locales of power, which has moved with the flow and ebb of political tides. The *Kastro* remains a visual perpetuator of the island's history. Its all-encompassing presence is a monument to siege and, as an apical religious site, it is an immanent part of contemporary Skyrian life.

The current concentration of the island's population on the rock hill is visually impressive. The foundations of the *Horio* may be understood historically or geophysically, but the insistence on one site indicates the symbolic value placed on the township creating an intense social site. The *agora*, the square, the streets, the *Kastro* and homes are enveloped into the island's potent cultural cartography. I have followed this same path, tracing key *loci* of symbolic importance, starting from the entry to the *Horio*, through the *agora*, the square, the winding streets and cubic homes to the final destination of St. George and the *Kastro*. This is the same path taken by masqueraders, revellers and onlookers during carnival celebrations in Skyros. The *Horio* is the site of the Skyros' major celebratory event, carnival. To move carnival out of this space, its town square, *agora*, homes and streets is to sever it from a series of meaningful associations (as this will become more evident in chapter 6). Carnival is identified with and draws meaning from this social space.

⁴⁹ On the social and religious role of church brotherhoods in Skyros, see Zarkia (1995).

I have explored historical and symbolic dimensions of social space in Skyros, detailing the centrality of the *Horio*.⁵⁰ It is difficult to conceive of Skyrian carnival without reference to this potent space. Carnival engages a broad range of experiences as it pulls together the extraordinary and the everyday. It exposes the cultural verve of a community, unleashing salient dimensions of the symbolic self.

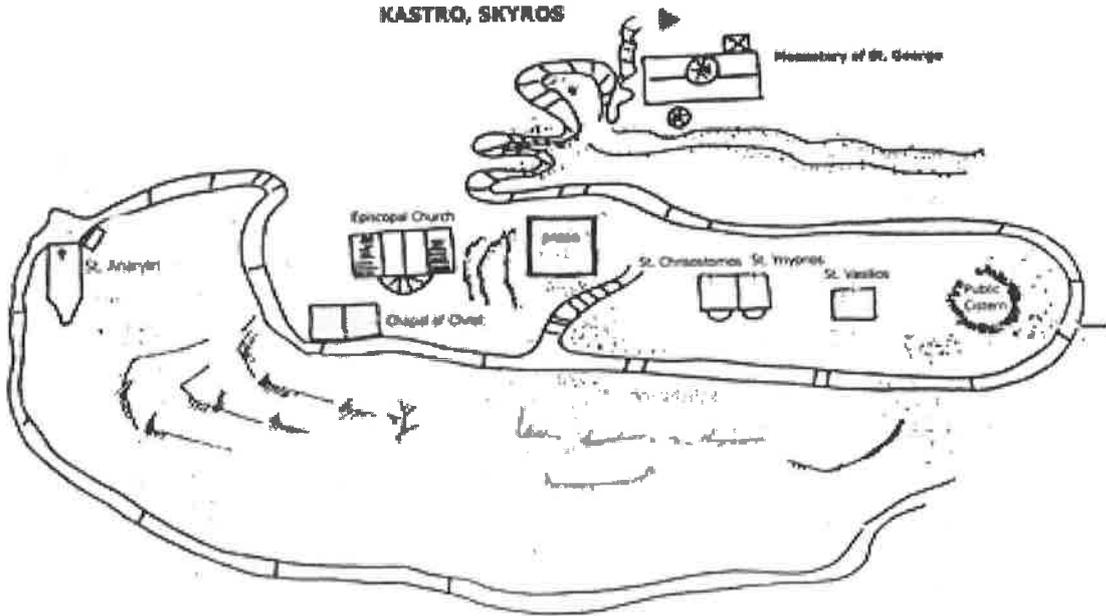
⁵⁰ My analysis primarily focuses on the significant social space of the *Horio*. Such a preoccupation emanates from the thesis' central theme, carnival, which is identified with the *Horio* of Skyros. In addition, my positioning in the township was influential in the particular shaping of my field experience. This, in turn, reflects a common methodological problem of fieldwork, that is, the practicalities of personal orientation within the field and the often circumscribed (and at times restricted) arena of social networks. I lived opposite the town square, near the main street of the *agora*, the very core of social and carnival activity. The communities in the settlements (e.g., Molos, Linaria etc.) may not necessarily share this '*Horio-centric*' perspective, yet the preponderance on the *Horio* does not deny these vibrant communities and their social significance on the island.



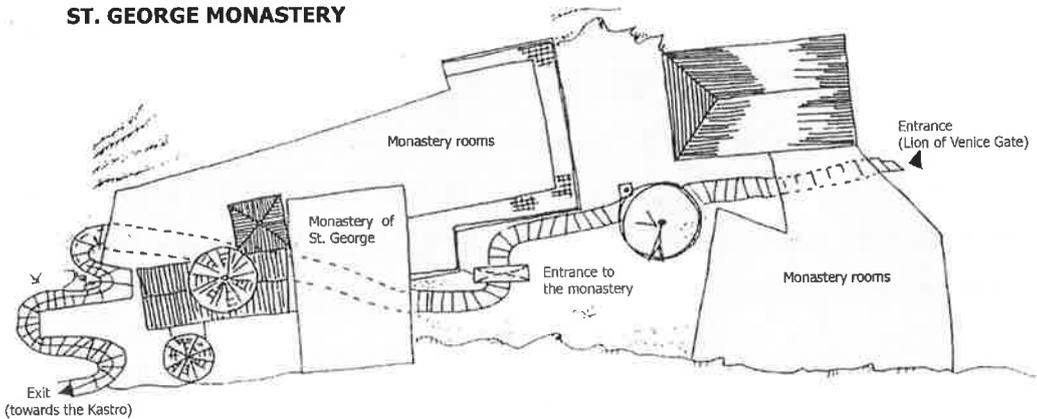
Image B: View of the Horio, Skyros.



Image C: Interior of a Skyrian Home Showing the Aloni.



Map A: Kastro Showing St. George's Monastery, Cistern and Chapels.
(reproduced and adapted from Zarkia 1991:134)



Map B: St. George's Monastery.
(reproduced and adapted from Zarkia 1991:135)

METAPHORS FOR THE CARNIVAL EXPERIENCE

Having detailed the socio-historical and cultural geography of the island, my analysis of carnival begins with crucial questions relating to Skyrians and their carnival. Why has carnival been, and still is, an important event in Skyrian life? Skyrians passionately anticipate and participate in their carnival. It has a core (despite the erasure and incorporation of different and new ritual forms) that keeps it alive and makes it persistently and centrally meaningful. It has always been emblematic of Skyros, profusely talked about, vested with energy and passionately valued. Skyrian carnival fills the township aurally and visually.

The experience of revelling in Skyrian carnival is the prime cultural mover for participants and spectators of the event. It is at the experiential and metaphoric level that I attempt to ascertain Skyrian carnival as cultural practice, departing from Bakhtinian and ritualist theoretical lines that have predominated carnival, acknowledging however that such approaches have been an invaluable contribution in understanding the social fabric of carnival and ritual life.⁵¹

The ritualist school in anthropology has undertaken to comprehend culture as "a system of symbols and their meanings" (MacAloon 1984:2). Crucial to one of carnival's symbolic meaning-systems is the concept of *mundus inversus*, the world upside down. Babcock (1978) argues that symbolic inversion is an act or expressive behaviour that inverts and contradicts commonly held cultural codes and norms, whether they are literary, religious, social or political (1978:14). Central to symbolic inversion are notions of irony, paradox and negation (the very substance of masquerade and the 'comic' in carnival) and how they become crucial to elucidating the social order and relations. Symbolic inversion is a negation of a negative, a way of understanding structures when they are violated. Inverted social reality also provokes

⁵¹ In a recent discussion of ritual's ongoing anthropological relevance, Handelman (2004:1-4) seeks to place ritual "in its own right". He recommends a moving away from representational approaches to an understanding of the complexity of socio-cultural phenomena from within (2004:4,10). He suggests that the greater the interior complexity of ritual forms, the greater its tendency for self-organization, and subsequently ritual's capacity for temporary autonomy from its social milieu (ibid.: 12-3). (Other authors in the same book (2004), i.e., Droogers, Houseman, Innes, Kapferer et al contribute to the discussion from varying perspectives). On the difficulty of conceptually defining the category of ritual see Kapferer (2004:35-6). He states that although anthropologists may generally recognize a ritual (with diverse criteria), "the vexing point at the centre of this enduring problem for analysts of ritual ... concerns the effects or potencies that ritual participants claim for its practice" (ibid.: 36).

reflexivity. The *mundus inversus* accentuates a challenge in carnival, which in turn, accentuates the subversive potential of carnival. Turner states that some genres of meta-social commentary (drawing on Geertz's term) can be subversive as well as reversive (1982:27). Carnival, as a liminal seasonal rite, potentially creates disorder within general compliance. However, compliance and disorder can be comfortably harboured within carnival.

Ritual reversal can also be traced in Gluckman's (1963) African "rituals of rebellion" as exemplified in the *incwala* first-fruit ceremony, in which the Swazi king was ritually abused, secluded, and finally reunited with his people. Ritual rebellion and its entailing acts of symbolic inversion were a way of working out structural conflicts inherent in a society, taking the form of socially 'contained' rebellion.

ritual rebellions proceed within an established and sacred traditional system, in which there is dispute about particular distributions of power, and not about the structure of the system itself. This allows for instituted protest, and in complex ways renews the unity of the system. (1963:112)

Gluckman sees rituals of rebellion as having a steam valve effect, one that is licensed to regain the social equilibrium. Inversion is translated as temporary subversion, working as a cathartic releasing of tensions between the dominant and dominated, ultimately re-addressing the social equilibrium and restoring the status quo. Gluckman states that rites of reversal protest against order, but are intended to strengthen the established order (ibid.: 130). Homeostasis is ultimately attained, a re-integration into the status quo and the normalised functioning of the social order. However, functionalist models have problematic implications about the idea of a society working as an unchanging static whole, thereby de-emphasising the cosmological and meaning system symbolically expressed and reproduced in each performance.

In later developments of the ritualist school, carnival is placed in the sphere of public celebration under a performative genre (MacAloon 1984; Turner 1984). Here, cultural performances belong to the subjunctive mood (i.e., of possibility, desire), which is related particularly to liminality (Turner 1984:20)⁵². Consequently carnivals

⁵² Liminality in symbolic anthropology is a complex, creative and often dangerous ritual stage — a venue for the radical scepticism of cherished values. Ambiguity reigns, as people judge and comment on society (Turner 1984:23). Here reflexivity is a corporate form of "meta-social commentary", which strives to see reality in new ways and generates a language enabling this reflexivity (MacAloon, citing Geertz and

are frequently viewed as seasonal — cyclical *rites de passage*, which unlike life-crisis rites, have a public orientation and their liminality is sited in public places (Turner 1984:21).

As a public celebration, carnival draws upon a series of festive, comic and ritual forms. It can be either a spectacle or a hyper-spectacle, as in the case of the Rio carnival, it can require stylised performers and a large viewing audience, or it can be a folk celebration drawing on regional religious and ritual festivities. Carnival is found in the streets, in homes or in the salon. Schechner (1988), Schechner and Appel (1990) and Turner (1986, 1990) develop the performative aspects of public rituals. I will critically draw upon this emphasis on performance in relation to Skyrian carnival, and particularly as it was presented in the Venice carnival event. I ethnographically expand upon and rethink the nature of carnival as public performance or spectacle, concentrating on the relation of audience and performers.

Bakhtin's landmark study of medieval carnival in the works of Rabelais highlights the liberational elements of this popular celebration. He emphasises carnival's festive excessiveness, which has a liberating quality from overshadowing religious asceticism (1968:8-9) with a particular focus on the tradition of folk humour. Carnival, for Bakhtin, has a relative autonomy from institutional structures; it is a celebration with enduring popular and rejuvenating potential. Bakhtinian carnival life is subject to its own laws and its own freedom. As opposed to official feasts, carnival is a temporary celebrated liberation from the prevailing truth and established order and a suspension of hierarchies. "Carnival was a true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalised and completed" (Bakhtin 1968:10). Carnival is the spirit of freedom and re-orientation to

Turner, 1984:12). In ritual, this language is the symbols that recreate and communicate levels of meaning. However, Turner's liminality points to the redressive function of public ritual, a prominent aspect of the structural functionalist paradigm. In addition, Turner's concept of liminality may rest upon an assumption of universal ritual personhood that is not sensitive to the constitution of social situation. *Communitas* rests on assumptions of a common humanity based on universal egalitarianism, preceding a pre-social equality. This may not be the case for instance, in caste society. Such an assumption of ritual overlooks the specific historical or cultural contexts out of which notions of selfhood are generated and reproduced.

the future. This principle in popular carnival, Bakhtin argues, is indestructible (1968:33).⁵³

In Skyros, up until the 1960s, carnival was dominated by the ruling shepherding families, unlike Bakhtinian popular carnival. The expensive bells and clothing of the *Yeros* and *Korela* were the exclusive property of shepherds and were only given in exchange for labour or rented out to poorer farmers. However, contemporary carnival has opened up to all Skyrians; the folk troupe is now 'popularised' although shepherding families and symbols continue to be socially dominant in Skyros *and* in carnival. Despite the intriguing social preconditions of Skyrian carnival and its relation to the changing socio-political milieu, I will focus on the contemporary generation of the event, as expressed and experienced by Skyrians, by drawing upon phenomenology. Methodologically, such an approach requires the classic ethnographic practice of 'being there' and particularly in carnival, 'being part of' the event. Fieldwork enables the partaking of the experience of anticipation, preparation and the aftermath of the performance.⁵⁴ Generally, this study analytically supports the case for 'doing ethnography', acknowledging the limitations of the authorial voice; that is, my portrayal of a finite segment of Skyrian life at a particular time in its history. From this vantage point, analysis and interpretation primarily emerge from ethnography.

A phenomenologically informed approach requires attention to the subjective experiences of carnival and masquerading. It has a theoretical proximity to ontological implications of ritual personhood. The focus will be on participants of carnival as social and cultural agents and not anonymous masqueraded performers. There is a tendency in carnival literature to merge carnival revellers with ceremonial actors. They parade as ritualised objects, precariously wired to the social and political milieu. In this case, subjectivity coalesces with ritual, rather than ritual providing the context of subjectivity. I focus on how Skyrians and non-Skyrians weave their various

⁵³ However, there are authors who are sceptical about the overt freedom and hyper liberational qualities of Bakhtinian carnival (Bernstein 1986; Eco 1984; Eagleton 1981 as cited in Stallybrass 1986:13).

⁵⁴ My ethnography includes two years of Skyrian carnival, I conducted preliminary fieldwork in 1992, but the main corpus of ethnographic material is from the 1995 carnival season during fieldwork in 1994-95. I have also visited and taken part in carnival in 1994, 1996 and 2000-2002.

metamorphosed selves in and outside the arena of carnival. I attend especially to meanings of selfhood as expressed in and out of the festive arena.

In addition, I privilege an examination of Skyrian carnival as diverse cultural practice, moving beyond a symbolic analysis of ritual and exploring the limitations of carnival as cultural performance. Skyrian carnival is a hybrid festive form, expressed in a variety of comic and carnivalesque genres, such as satirical performances and verses, parade, folk troupes of masqueraders and *ad hoc* comic skits. It has a stable and dynamic core of the *Yeros's* troupe and a more nebulous gathering of characters and activities which carnival draws into the street. Skyrian carnival is a pre-Lenten celebration hosted within the Paschal time frame. It can also be a spectacle as exemplified by the *Yeros's* folk troupe, the satirical performance of the *Trata* and the masqueraders comic skits, which are like a parade of unrehearsed and highly stylised floats. Skyrian carnival is also open for tourist consumption but not reliant on it. Carnival in Skyros is an indigenous popular celebration, firmly identified with the place of Skyros and its *Horio*.

Whether it is performance, spectacle or a seasonal *rite de passage*, Skyrian carnival is amalgamated into a hybrid form with traditional motifs that retain their autochthonous vitality and can be identified as such. It is an idiosyncratic celebration that uniquely distinguishes itself from other regional expressions of carnival in Greece. I examine carnival's microcosm relying on metaphoric discourse emanating from carnival practices, which allows for a dynamic and flexible interpretation of the profuse world of carnival.

On Tropes and Subjectivity

Carnival's symbolic fecundity beckons an alternative to broad structural frames of analysis. I enlist the use of tropes as an ethnographic analytical tool that embraces meaning in its experiential dimension as it touches nuanced understandings of subjectivity and selfhood. In addition, communities such as Skyros, with a rich sub text of oral poetry in all facets of cultural life, perceive their world with an abundance of figurative devices, that is, non-literal language. Such figures of speech can also be useful semantic devices for unpacking the structure and process of social practices.

Generally, a trope is a figure of speech that consists of the use of a word or phrase in a sense different from its ordinary meaning, that is, non-literal language. Tropes canvas a broad range of figurative devices. Subtypes of tropes are metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche (see glossary). The relevance of such literary and poetic devices to anthropology has been examined by Fernandez. He argues that human affairs are not literal and, like metaphor, usually stand for something else. Figurative devices, fundamental to discourse, define situations and a sense of what is to be taken for real (1991:1).⁵⁵

The understanding of culture through metaphor and "key symbols" is grounded in the symbolic perspectives of Ortner (1973, 1984) and Turner (1974) (Fernandez 1991:5). Since the 1980s, the enduring anthropological interest in human action has stimulated an interest in "the entirety of tropes in dynamic relation as a congeries of figures with predicative and performative possibilities [rather] than upon the sole, so-called master trope of metaphor" (Fernandez 1991:7). Fernandez highlights the current pre-occupation with the dynamic interplay of tropes and sub tropes (Terence Turner 1991) and polytrophy (Friedrich 1991). Anthropologists unceasingly find that "cultural worlds are brought into being by the performance (enactment) of mixed metaphors" (Fernandez 1991:12).

However, Terence Turner highlights the theoretical limits of metaphor theory and symbolic anthropology. He states that such perspectives analyse meaningful forms by centring on their minimal elements, abstracting them from their pragmatic contexts of social use and more complex constructs, such as rituals or narratives (1991:122). Such elements are deemed epistemologically and ontologically prior to the structures in which they are embedded in cultural discourse and social action (ibid.: 122). To avoid the reductionist and idealist tendencies of symbolic theory, Turner suggests new ways of conceiving of metaphor in relation to other tropes, and a wider approach to cultural interpretation. In addition, he indicates that metaphor theory should also provide an empirically grounded basis for considering the general question of the extent to which metaphor or symbolic theory can be used as a general

⁵⁵ Fernandez traces the development of metaphor theory in linguistics and cognitive sciences and its adoption by anthropology since the 1970s. Metaphor theory has had a special appeal to anthropology. Associationist principles of similarity and contiguity in metaphoric analysis are articulated in Saussurian linguistics and addressed in Levi-Strauss' workings of the mind (Fernandez 1991:3).

theoretical framework for the analysis of cultural structures of meaning (ibid.: 122). Turner ethnographically advocates his position by focusing on metaphors of identity of humans and birds among the Kayapo of Brazil (ibid.: 130). Overall, Turner seeks to put metaphor within a frame of long-term structures of meaningful relations — mainly of production — to which metaphor, among other tropes, makes a dynamic contribution (as cited by Fernandez 1991:10). The debate on the explanatory range of metaphor theory simultaneously highlights the confines of its precinct.⁵⁶

Recognising such analytical limitations, I undertake to comprehend tropes within the context of their generation, shifting and making links between domains of metaphor. Thereby, I move from metaphoric discourse in linguistic exchange to inter-related domains of ritual and social action, and ultimately to a theoretical level in order to understand self processes emanating from the experiential milieu of carnival. My aim is to see the welding of metaphoric discourse within social (inter)action, not solely as a general semiotic reading of symbols (although I individuate certain issues, such as dress and masquerade, pastoral themes etc. in chapter 5). Metaphors and tropes are not taken out of context into a generalized sphere of understanding, or presented as reduced cultural forms, but help to see “things in themselves” as much as any ethnographic methodology enables such an endeavour

Therefore, without monopolising the interpretative capacity of metaphor, I explore Skryian carnival with the use of tropes, emanating from an interplay of analytical anthropological frames and indigenous figurative discourse within social practice. I see tropes (and all forms of figurative speech as they relate to social action) as a fertile ground implicating social knowledge; they are potent and culturally specific indicators that expand and illuminate an array of annexed meanings, shaping social action. Tropes reflect specific formulations and arrangements of otherwise non-related arenas of meaning, at times bringing together incongruent semantic worlds. An important aspect of tropic analysis is the transfer and shifting of meanings across fields of understanding.

⁵⁶ Quinn (1991:90-91) also questions the limitation of understanding cultural worlds through figurative devices. She contends that cognitive semantics has attributed too much explanatory power to metaphor (over cultural models) as constituting our understanding of the social world.

The ensuing chapters on the ethnography of Skyrian carnival each have a prevailing analytical trope. A crucial aspect of my use of tropes is the multiple translations-interpretations of each term within its own context of generation and their subsequent re-entry into anthropological theorising. The emphasis is on tropes emanating from a particular social context; from the community of Skyros, the carnival world; from formal and idiomatic language as it is articulated with other non idiomatic discourse: tropes are enmeshed within ritual practice as they convey and become part of the carnival experience. Hence, tropes are important semantic vehicles for approaching notions of selfhood and subjectivity at a level other than 'the literal'. Carnival is certainly a fertile arena for such shifting and deconstructing frames of subjectivity. The 'make up' of symbolic codes and indices of what constitutes a person is continually and ritually dismantled and reassembled in this festive arena.

I adopt the notion of subjectivity as the constitution of the self through social practice, in particular, through ritual practice, rather than embark on any *a priori* notion of the self. Gagnier (1991) summarises varying approaches to subjectivity in autobiographical literature using the concept in its broadest sense. The subject is subject to itself and in construction to and of others (Gagnier 1991:8).⁵⁷ The self is a contentious issue in social theory. In agreement with Mead's (1967:140) basic concept, I see the individual, mind and self, emerging from dynamic processes and social interaction that constitute human experience.

In symbolic anthropology, the ritual subject has a particularly elevated place. In his study of Sri Lankan healing ritual, Kapferer adopts Mead's notion of self in order to provide insight into the experiential processes of trance in exorcism, a self arising from social experience and the individual's capacity to treat him/herself as an object (1991:273-274). Kapferer advocates a phenomenological perspective as theoretically

⁵⁷ According to Gagnier, "the subject is a subject to itself, an "I", however difficult or even impossible it may be for others to understand this "I" from its own viewpoint, within its own experience. Simultaneously, the subject is a subject to, and of, others; in fact, it is often an "Other" to others, which also affects its sense of its own subjectivity. This construction of self in opposition to others ... is as characteristic of groups, communities, classes, and nations, as it is of individuals ... the subject is also a subject of knowledge, most familiarly perhaps of the discourse of social institutions that circumscribe its terms of being ... the subject is a body that is separate ... from other human bodies; and the body, and therefore the subject, is closely dependent upon its physical environment. Finally, subjectivity in its common Cartesian sense — and despite the efforts of intellectuals to deconstruct the dichotomy — is opposed to objectivity" (1991:8-9).

centralising the nature of experience, consciousness and reflexivity, which are all significant issues in his study of ritual process. His phenomenological method dissolves the subject/object contrast and explores the "production of subjectivity through participation in an "interobjective world"; subjectivity, and its experience and the meaning of this experience in conscious awareness is emergent through a "being-in-the-world" and as a process of reflexivity" (1991:333 nt.).

Phenomenology is a philosophical movement with a heightened awareness of the fact that the source and resource of all knowledge and action is in life-worldly experience (Jung 1996:1). It is a philosophical angle that shapes an ontology⁵⁸ grounded in the experiential realm. A phenomenological approach privileges domains of social action and cultural practices as they unfold *in vivo*, and it is this methodological application in anthropology with its experiential emphasis that is germane to my ethnographic analysis of ritual and celebratory practices.⁵⁹ Generally, a phenomenological study is "grounded in the direct experience of aspects of one's own consciousness", thereby adopting Husserl's method for intuitively realizing structures of experience that necessitate the shedding of one's culturally conditioned notions of self and consciousness (Laughlin 1996:924). Its influence in anthropology, although recent, has stimulated the reintroduction of issues of consciousness into ethnographic fieldwork and theory, elevating a focus on meaning and experience in social encounter (ibid.: 926).

In my analysis, the 'self' is the body-being, which is literally and symbolically located at the core of ritual transformation. In Skyrian carnival, this 'self' can be the behaviourally observable body or person that consciously (or unconsciously) changes into other states of being, i.e., masquerader, reveller, drunkard, etc. Yet, at the same time, this transformation is subjectively (and collectively) experienced through social processes (socialisation), celebration and so on. The complexity of the 'self' in Skyrian carnival emerges ethnographically from the metaphoric discourse surrounding notions

⁵⁸ Generally, the term refers to "the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature of existence or being as such" Bhaskar (1993:429). Heidegger further argued that, "fundamental ontology or the 'science' of being, as enquiry into being, was itself dependent upon human being or *Dasein*" [that is, being-in the world] (as cited in Bhaskar ibid.: 430).

⁵⁹ Csordas (1994:4) also states the need for a theory for the cultural constitution of the self in his study of the sacred self in charismatic healing amongst Catholic Charismatics in New England (see chapter 5).

of “becoming”. The insistence on this discourse is, in some way, an attempt to suspend my theoretical assumptions and explore the ritual play on the transforming/masquerading self as Skyrians live, see, think and talk about it.

In Skyrian carnival, the reproduction of the cosmic world (as a seasonal rite of passage with all the surrounding notions of fertility and regeneration) is as symbolically dominant as the reconstitution of the self. The self is also a subject *subjected* to exaggeration and a myriad of transformations within a ritually specified time frame. Ontological implications of the self are tied to a nexus of cosmological belief systems and practices. I use tropes as hermeneutic keys manifesting social processes that generate cultural meaning. In addition, I view tropes at multiple levels of transferral or shifts of meaning. Beginning with the context of its indigenous generation, i.e., its cultural practice, then investigating the idiomatic local and formal linguistic context as it shapes and is shaped by ritual practices, culminating with a final extrapolation of meaning, tropes become the cornerstones for the ethnographic analysis of the Skyrian experience of carnival.

Chapter two therefore opens with a discussion on metaphors of revelling and masquerade, forerunning the exploration of the dominant trope of carnivalesque transformation, “coming into being”. A detailed presentation of the main expression of Skyrian carnival, the troupes of *Yeri*, *Koreles*, *Frangi* and masqueraders ensues. In chapter 3, “Carnival Satire”, I use the antiphon, a musical metaphor, to understand the cultural dynamics embedded in the poetic and political interplay of the *Trata*, the fishermen’s satirical performance. Subsequently, chapter 4, “Clean Monday: Celebrating Carnival’s End”, reconsiders concepts of tradition, folk dress and dressing and Lenten catharsis in the context of ritual practice and social memory.

The ethnographic sectioning of Skyrian carnival into three chapters is intended to facilitate analysis and to highlight different conceptual perspectives through tropes and metaphors that permeate each part. This does not diminish the interconnection of the carnivalesque celebratory forms; Skyrians experience and express their carnival as an accumulative festivity that peaks on Clean Monday, and lingers in thought and action throughout the year and years. Following chapter 4, is a detailed discussion on the interpretive value of tropes, and the metaphorical vocabulary of carnival as it experientially unfolds in social exchanges and ritual practices (chapter 5). The

analysis of Skyrian notions of masquerade, commensal merriment and ecstatic self is pivoted around the key trope of “coming into being”.

The first-time participation of a large Skyrian carnival troupe in the Venice event provided a unique contesting forum for the reflection upon local practices (chapter 6). This particular digression of the celebration provoked comparative and intense discourses — amongst Skyrians and participants alike — exposing seminal analytical issues.

Finally, carnival in 1995 was marked by the rekindling of festivities on St. Theodoro’s day, a week into Lent, thereby breaching the religious demarcation of its ending (chapter 7). Customary practices that had ceased for over decades “spontaneously” (as Skyrians would see it) re-emerged. I suggest (primarily through ethnographic analysis) that such practices are embedded, can be comprehended, and moreover are (re)generated in the discursive and metaphoric schemes of cultural and ritual action.

CHAPTER 2

REVELLING IN SKYRIAN CARNIVAL: CARNIVALESQUE TRANSFORMATIONS AND SYMBOLIC CONSTRUCTIONS OF SELF

In order to consider ontological questions of selfhood within Skyrian carnival, I have singled out ethnographic themes that metaphorically express subjective experiences of carnival. I will introduce an ethnographic incident and then consider other views and instances that epitomise Skyrians' understanding of their own carnival. The predominant themes of obsessive passion/psychosis (*psihosi*), spontaneity (*afhormito*) and becoming (*yinome*) can be seen as literary devices or tropes that expose metaphoric elements of subjectivity, as experienced in carnival revelry. The instances I examine are intended as an introductory outline, heralding the analytical utility of the application of concept of tropes in the following chapters.

On my first day in Skyros (during preliminary fieldwork in January, 1992), I sat in the ticket office of the island's ferry, "Lykomedes" along with a group of young Skyrians having a cup of coffee, chatting and basically introducing my research and myself. In this discussion, a compromised understanding of anthropology as a cross between folklore, sociology and history emerged, as well as the main object of my research, which was an ethnography of the community, with particular reference to carnival. Following this conversation, the first thing Kali, a Skyrian women in her twenties, told me with a half concealed smile was:

You know that in Skyros, to dress as *Yeri* is an obsessive (lit. psychotic) passion; we have a psychosis! [Field Diary 28-1-92, p. 1]⁶⁰

She continued to tell me that her group of friends (*parea*) dress up during carnival and her brothers and father dress as *Yeri*. She also mentioned that some of her cousins were upset because they were unable to participate in carnival for a year because they were in mourning. This was my first unmediated introduction to carnival by a Skyrian. Until then, I had only read and heard about the event from other people and sources.

⁶⁰ Unless specified otherwise, all translations in this work are made by the author.

The use and emphasis of the word, "psychosis" (*psihosi*), perplexed me, even though I have a relatively fluent knowledge of the Greek language. There were strong hints of the western psychological notions of "psychosis" as mental illness or madness. These meanings co-exist in the Greek term, re-borrowed from contemporary psychology. Since I had no interest in examining carnival as social pathology, "psychosis" had to be conceptually reframed to re-interpret the seminal idea of "psyche" as mind, soul, spirit, as well as inner being and consciousness. "Psyche", in its vernacular Greek use refers to life itself, as well as the "soul", and by extension, to vivaciousness, energy, life force or verve. Its derivative, "en-soul" (*empsihi*) means "a springing out of emotion", "encouragement" and "passion". "Psyche" can also refer to a person or can be used an endearing term for a person.⁶¹ In its vernacular use, a "soul" is a composite physical/metaphysical being. Hence, "obsessive passion" or just "passion" can be one translation/interpretation of "psychosis".

In Kali's introduction to Skyrian carnival, there was still a hint of, if not a witty play upon, the notion of *psihosi* as madness, craze, and an allusion to irrational Bacchic revelry; hence, the quasi-smile that ensued after her comment. There was also the implication of "madness", of being "beyond control" and "doing what one wants and feels". This emphasis invokes the spontaneity theme that permeates Skyrian carnival discourse. Therefore, the re-appropriated meaning of a psychological disorder, "psychosis", becomes absorbed into a frame of disorderly carnival being, in order to parody its initial implied meaning. To understand why Skyrians become *Yeri* is to understand the "psyche" — in all its ramifications. This understanding is not evident within the words uttered but rather, within a whole series of experiences and sensations into which one becomes absorbed. "Psychosis" is a conscious metaphoric articulation of what is deemed to be the core of a complex process and perception of being. The "psyche" is at the centre of carnival being and from it springs forth a range of emotions and intense feelings. Senses and sentimentality move Skyrians as

⁶¹ As for example, in the expression, "What is that soul/person up to?" (*ti kane afti i psihi*) or in the use of the diminutive "little soul" (*psihoula*), an endearing term for children or a kind-hearted person akin to the English saying "dear soul". Generally, objects instilled with a "soul" are alive (*empsiha*) similar to the English "animate". In its popular understanding, the relation of the soul and life seems to be interchangeable, implicating particular metaphysical beliefs of states of being.

they perform carnival. The notion of selfhood and being that emanate from Skyrian metaphoric discourse needs to be reconsidered within the context of Skyrian carnival (as I will detail in chapter 5).

In retrospect, Kali's comment was a valuable demarcater of Skyrian carnival. It told me who could become *Yeri*; who could not (those in mourning, whose spirit and liveliness is effected by pain and respect for the loss of life); and what the transformative energy of carnival means to Skyrians. In essence, the "psyche" may be the representational aspects of self or being to be "dressed" and redressed, as one "becomes" (*yinete*) the multiple beings of carnival.

Furthermore, this "psyche" is not imposed upon a duality of an inner soul/outer body. So what is this "psyche" that transforms in carnival, yet fundamentally underpins a Skyrian notion of identity and being? It is within this logic of representations of self, as expressed by Skyrians, that carnival becomes an event that is *performed* rather than *re-performed* or re-enacted as one Skyrian, Dino, aptly explained:

Here, we don't do any *re-performance* (*anaparastasi*).⁶² Carnival is not revived because revive means when we have someone, something dying and we revive it. This we call reviving. Here, every year, it happens differently. [April, 1992]

Again, carnival's "psyche" is expressed in opposition to revival (and death) as an unceasing life force that springs out spontaneously.

A similar situation occurred again. While watching footage of my video with a Skyrian woman whose son I had taped, I commented on how similar carnival is to a performance (*parastasi*). She disagreed, stating that carnival was neither organised nor set up. The masqueraders had an audience, unlike the *Yeri* who freely roamed streets. Immediately she qualified her stance by noting that during an interview for a radio program on Skyrian carnival, the interviewer introduced her as the organiser of the carnival, since she was a member of the council which funds one of the carnival festivities, the satirical performance of the *Trata*. She immediately corrected them: "To begin with, I'm not the organiser; Skyrian carnival is spontaneous!" The woman then continued to expound her view, pointing out how many times she sees *Yeri*,

⁶² The word used was *anaparastasi* stemming from *parastasi*, meaning "performance", "appearance", "a representation" and "depiction" (see glossary).

become excited by watching the other *Yeri*, and then briskly go and dress in order to participate.

The persistence of Skyrians seeing carnival as an unorganised, spontaneous event also dwells in the understanding of its irrational impetus. Integral to these notions is the theme of "becoming" which takes on a plurality of existential transformations or representations of the carnival self. Another Skyrian explains this logic differently:⁶³

Because brought into the soul (*psihe*) of the Skyrian is something similar to what appears in the spirit of the *Anastenarides*; that is, he doesn't take into account anything, neither the weight of the bells, nothing. Just like the *Anastenarides*; he comes to a point of exultation and steps on the coals without being burnt, and so the Skyrian feels a euphoria, something unique in his spirit and it says to him: "I'm going to become a *Yeros* now". That's why we don't know how many *will become* (*tha yinoune*) and when they will *become*. It is pure *spontaneity*; it's the will of the Skyrian. [Field Diary 25-2-92]

The *instance* of becoming a *Yeros* is always unknown and locked into the uncertainty of the specific time of appearance. Skyrian carnival is not organised; it is spontaneous with an order and form of presentation that is decided by its revellers and has the potential to be expressed in many ways. In Skyrian discourse, this spontaneity is metaphorically linked to the springing out of the life force of the "psyche" as spirit-life; it is something that happens at an instance when the desire to "become" a *Yeros* occurs. While carnival sets the time frame for the occasion, it does not indicate the *instance* of the appearance of the reveller or masquerader. Carnival exists within the allocated ceremonial time, with or without spectators and without formal organization. But for many Skyrians, the experience of carnival rests in its own allegorical source, i.e., the "psyche".

These three idioms of carnival — "psychosis", "spontaneity" and "becoming" — are entwined in the metaphoric construction of the carnival self. They are tropes that provide a symbolic frame for interpreting a subjective experience of carnival that is locally and culturally specific to Skyros. Sometimes, these discursive metaphors of carnival are used as rhetoric; on other occasions they can be embodied within ritual

⁶³ The extract is from an interview with the mayor of Skyros, who, apart from trying to describe the carnival to me before I had seen it was also explaining why there could not be any official organisation of the event.

practice or even be instigators of ritual action. I have left the definition of the carnival self ethnographically open to composite and shifting ideas surrounding the physical and emotional state of the social body as it emerges in the ritual process.

Yet, as a celebratory practice, the carnival folk troupe of *Yeri*, *Koreles* and *Frangi*, involves ritualised routines of dress, masks and metamorphosis and high decibel revelry. Variations of spontaneous comic creativity, masquerade and frivolity are woven into a unique manifestation of spectacle — procession — parade. For Skyrians, carnival is the apex of the island's celebratory life. Skyrians revel in what I loosely term a 'carnival culture'; that is, they spend half the year enthusiastically anticipating and preparing for carnival and the other half talking and reflecting upon it. In this celebratory forum, Skyrians lose and transform their self, mind and bodies as they expose their "psyche".

The Three Weeks of Carnival

The Opening of the Carnival Season

The Sunday of the *Triodhi* was the opening day of the 1995 carnival season (see Appendix 1: Timeline). From the eve of the first day, i.e., late Saturday night, the streets echoed with bells. The first *Yeri* (the main Skyrian carnival figure dressed half shepherd, half goat) appeared in the main street of the *agora* and entered a tavern that had organised a feast for the opening of the celebrations. Colourful streamers and paper decorations filled the otherwise unadorned whitewashed walls of the tavern. Tables were connected for large groups of friends and family who sat around sharing appetisers (*meze*), drinking a steady flow of carafes of house wine, and singing Skyrian songs amidst raucous jovial conversation. Three *Yeri*, later accompanied by a few frivolous *Frangi*, charged into the tavern. Here they were shouted ouzo and, in between intervals of thundering the bells, the tavern owner sang the Skyrian carnival song, the *Apokriane* to one of the *Yeri*. This is a very slow and grave song almost like a lament, sung in a melismatic Byzantine style, which puzzles many visitors waiting to hear more cheerful tunes. The bells drowned out the song but as the *Yeri* rest or slowed down, the humming of the songs continued, an unceasing drone in the background. The tavern overflows with competing sounds, songs, noise; bursting into colour and verve, filling the township and forecasting the

immanence of the climate of the revelry. The main street gradually attracted revellers, spectators and strollers alike.

On the Sunday afternoon (about 2.30 pm onwards), young children, mainly primary and early high-school age and occasional toddlers, dressed up as *Yeri*, *Koreles* and *Frangi*, and made their way to the town square and along the main street, wearing identical costumes to the carnival troupe and imitating their steps. These young *Yeri* are the enthusiastic forerunners, the first masqueraders out in the streets during the days of major celebrations.

Later, on Sunday night (from about 8.00 pm onwards) the older *Yeri* came out into the main street, some individually, others in large groups — about eight to ten at times — and others accompanied by a *Korela* or *Frangos*. They paced a stretch of the street from the town square to the mid-point of the main commercial street of the *agora*, with favoured spots for various competitive feats and antics. A colourful array of masqueraders sprang amidst them, their whimsical idiosyncratic slap-on costumes aimed at inciting ridicule or just evoking the absurd. Some masqueraders were organised into groups that appeared to have a theme, although its sense was obscure; one held a tray with odd bits and a candle at the side, there were cradle carriers and other bizarre sorts. Important in this type of comic costuming is the fracturing of any ordered form, a *bricolage* of disconnected themes riding on one individual; e.g., a gorilla head mask over a laboratory coat with a mop in one hand. Alongside these are the more standard themes of carnival costume, *Zoros*, cowboys, clowns, fairy tale figures, harem women, etc.

During weekdays after the Sunday opening of the *Triodhi*, there was a relative lull of revelry in the main street. There was only sporadic and spontaneous resurfacing of revelry in taverns, at homes gatherings or the appearance of solo *Yeri* or *Frangi*. On the Thursday of the second week, carnival increased its momentum with the celebration of *Tsiknopemti*, fat burning Thursday, a day allocated for eating out. The main menu of most venues was grilled meat and wine. On this day, the *agora* was buzzing with masqueraders, *Yeri* and their troupes.

Dispersed throughout the period were various officially organised activities, such as the High School's concert of Skyrian folk songs and dances. The council also organised an official induction of members of the Belgian sister-city group who visited

Skyros especially to view its carnival as part of a cultural exchange. The cultural group, *Skyriani Estia*, held large dance-hall dinners. This local cultural group was established by volunteers and educationalists, and supported by the Skyrian Council. It had reached its high point of activity from the late 1980s until the early 1990s. Dance-hall dinners were organised with door entrance tickets, as was the case in the 1992 carnival dance. There was talk on the grapevine of organising a few young *Yeri* to be present at the venue. I was there all night, not one *Yeros* or *Korela* appeared — ‘foot dragging’ at such events is common practice among Skyrians, much to the dismay of organisers. Most *Yeri* see it as their prerogative to appear whenever and wherever they please. In 1995, carnival parties were held in smaller, more low-key venues such as taverns, clubs or large home gatherings.

Woven into the carnival period, and in sheer contrast to the revelry is All Souls Day (*Psihosavato*, literally Soul Saturday). This religious observance takes place on the Saturdays of the last two weeks of carnival and the first week of Lent. An evening mass is held in memoriam for the deceased. Mainly women attend the service, they visit the cemetery and share food and *koliva* (a sweet made from boiled wheat).⁶⁴ Food, especially sweets are also offered after the Saturday church service. Upon receiving the food, one must acknowledge and say: “May God pardon the soul of the deceased”. This is also a time to visit the cemetery and place food on the grave for the souls. It is deemed in popular and folk belief that souls are released to roam the earth from the start of the first week of carnival (Siettos 1975:434). Skyrian women, many dressed in black clothes (an indication of mourning), wove their way into the streets of masqueraders, handing out sweets to revellers, in a gesture of forgiveness for deceased souls, unfettered by the carnivalesque atmosphere.

Sunday church services continued within the carnival weeks. They were held early in the morning. The bells of the *Yeri* were not obstructive, as they started much later in the afternoon. Older Skyrians would point out that the right time for the *Yeri* to be out was early in the day but just after the church liturgy finished. There is a

⁶⁴ According to Greek Orthodox belief, *koliva* offered in church symbolises resurrection. Apostle Paul referred to the seed of wheat as proof of decomposition and resurrection (Bekatoros 1965:740-41). Symbolically wheat is the seed of regeneration and spiritual rebirth. Panourgiá gives an insightful depiction of the symbolico-religious significance of *koliva*, its ritual use, and the perseverance of the custom as a system of reproduced gestures (1995:130-33) (see glossary for details).

precarious co-existence of liturgical life and revelry during the three weeks of carnival. The monk of St. George, however, did caution the congregation against carnival excesses in his sermon after a church service held during carnival: "we must repent ... and now with carnival, Revel! But be careful. Be with friends, but let's remember that Lent is coming" (1-3-92). (But I did not see anyone taking any special precautions after the service. Most of the congregation went home, ate, dressed and joined the masqueraders in the street, regardless!). The Orthodox monk's cautious sanctioning of revelry echoed a theological version of carnival's licensed permissiveness. At the end of the three weeks, purification from excesses of the body is accomplished by fasting and Lent and a return to the status quo of the Orthodox soul. Yet for most Skyrians, it seems that one can revel and redeem one's soul on the same day.

Carnival activities peaked on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, while during the weekdays in between, revelry receded or ceased. The culmination of festivities came on Grand Carnival, the final weekend. On the last Sunday of carnival, the satire of the Trata was held. In 1995, there were two performances, the Aeroplane Trata and the Donkey-Gathering (which I explore in chapter 3). This was followed later that day by a large turnout of *Yeri* and masqueraders. Here, the festivity literally reached the highest point on the decibel scale (see Appendix 1: Timeline).

Being a long weekend, visitors and tourists came from the mainland of Greece, with occasional tourist buses from European countries. In 1992, a bus of French high-school students came to witness the event. The Belgian sister-city group attended in 1995, alongside the usual plethora of expatriate Skyrians who flock to the island. Up to 2000 people arrived, nearly doubling the size of the island's population. The streets, taverns, clubs and pubs were saturated with people and troupes of masqueraders.

Over these three days of Grand Carnival, all 'normal' patterns of sleep, eating and drinking are disrupted, overturned and stretched to the limit. It is not uncommon to have a few hours or no sleep at all, people's voices almost fizzle out or become croaky squeaks from excessive smoking, drinking and singing. Groups of masqueraders and revellers tumble into the streets, squeeze into venues, squat unexpectedly in homes and continue the partying. At times, revellers do not return to their home for several days.

White wine flows abundantly, accompanying appetisers and song. Food in Skyrian carnival is used to balance wine so that one does not get “paralysed” (or “legless” as Australians might say); the intention is to perpetuate a mood of merriment and continue to sing, dance and revel with friends until the early hours of the morning or even over several days. Food fuels wine and song as people are bound together in revelry. Excessive gluttony or debilitating inebriation does not occupy a place in Skyrian revelry.

There is a special energy which springs from carnival time, a euphoria that climaxes after the anticipation and preparation of endless minute details. Yet, it is also a potentially volatile atmosphere, as every activity becomes loaded with shared and/or contested meanings of the festive and judgments about aesthetics and skill. There is a feeling of ‘*communitas*’ manifested through an openness and an ease in association (Turner 1986:100). There is a camaraderie in masquerade, song, dance and merriment, a forum for creating and creative humour and satire. Skyrian carnival opens an arena of contestation, transformation and ecstatic becoming.

Carnival comes as a burst of life in the heart of the cold, dormant Skyrian winter. This is the time of an empty *agora* and side streets — a season of social solitude. The metaphor of *emptiness* of the island or *agora* refers to this social solitude. During carnival the *agora* is filled. People are in the streets; even those who rarely venture out of their homes are out. The *Horio* is also filled with noise, a soundscape that extends beyond the geophysical borders of the conical enclave of the township. Sound seeps into every street and home, into its every artery and capillary from the square to the monastery. The township of Skyros transforms, as do the masqueraders.

Masquerading and the Protagonists of Skyrian Carnival

The Troupes of Yeri, Koreles, Frangi and Masqueraders

The folk troupe of the *Yeros* (pl. *-i*), *Korela* (pl. *-es*) and *Frangos* (pl. *-i* or Frank) are the protagonists of Skyrian carnival. They are the object of desire for those wanting to become part of carnival and the main attraction for onlookers who gaze in awe, as they traverse the main street of the township (see images D1 - E2 on pp. 69-70). The *Yeri* and troupes appear on different days throughout the three-week period, peaking



Image D1: Yeros, Korela & Frangos at St. George Monastery's gate. Carnival 1995.



Image D2: Yeri & Frangos in the Main Street, Agora. Carnival, 1995.



Image E1: Frangos with Barrel & Yeros in the Main Street, Agora. Carnival 1995.



Image E2: Skyrian Carnival c. 1955.

Past carnival captured by the Skyrian self-taught photographer, Yiannis Venardis. The revellers are standing in front of the chapel of Ai. Stratis in the town square. Reprinted with permission of © Yiannis Venardis.

at different points within the festivities and culminating on the last Sunday of the carnival period, the day before Clean Monday (see Appendix 1: Timeline). The less structured, general revelry characteristic of carnival, with its ad hoc comic happenings and skits that occur throughout the three-week period are also part of this carnival ring.

The Yeros

The most impressive and dominant feature of Skyrian Carnival is the *Yeros*. *Yeri* are usually males, although females occasionally dress. A *Yeros* appears in total disguise as part shepherd, part goat. On the upper part of the body, a black shaggy wool jacket is worn which gives the *Yeros* a wild look. Pillows are stuffed under the back of the jacket as a hump. The hump is also seen to be a sign of old age. Hence, the meaning of the Greek word, *Yeros*, "old man". A large number of bells are tied around the *Yeros's* waist. Sometimes up to fifty kilos can be worn, depending on the individual's skill and endurance. The sounding of bells marks the presence of the *Yeri* and heralds the arrival of carnival. In his right hand, a *Yeros* holds a shepherd's crook decorated with wild flowers. The crook, like the bells are insignia of leadership. The crook is held in various positions — over the shoulders, up in the air, in front — as the *Yeros* strides along; or sometimes it is used to tease or strike a passer-by.

The *Yeros's* face is covered by a mask made from the hide of a miscarried kid.⁶⁵ The hind legs of the kid are tied behind the *Yeros's* head while its head dangles on the *Yeros's* chest. *M'tsouna* is the Skyrian word for mask and it literally means face. Two holes are cut out for the eyes and very rarely for the nose and mouth. Ideally, the skin should not be cured, as was the case in the past. If the skin is left raw (uncured), the hide gives off a terrible smell when the *Yeros* sweats. A little cologne or ouzo was sprinkled inside the mask. Older Skyrians find the insistence of some, usually younger, *Yeri* on wearing a protective cloth on the inside of the mask as

⁶⁵ Skyrians gave a practical reason for the use of aborted kids; goats frequently abort and it is senseless to kill precious livestock. The aborted kid's hide is also softer and more suitable as a mask. However, the proximity of the goat's hide to shepherding, and especially the naming of individual masks indicates the strength of the symbolic identification of shepherds with their flock (which I further explore in chapter 5).

controversial. However, in the carnivals I have seen, there were no untreated masks.⁶⁶

Masks, like the goats they are taken from, are given individual names by shepherds. Every name is a compound word indicating distinctive features, colours or patterning of each goat. In this way, shepherds know and distinguish their animals and individuate each hide.

Although the mask and dress are used as a disguise, ironically the *Yeros*'s identity is often known. Given the close communication networks of such a small community, people usually know or can guess the identity of the *Yeri* by their body shape or walk, their hands or clothing, or by the colour or markings of the hide or kerchief. However, the *Yeri* must maintain the authenticity of their disguise, even though this may be an ambivalent form of concealment, i.e., a partial disguise. The *Yeros* is protected by the *Frangos* who will strike any inquisitive person trying to lift the mask and reveal the identity of the *Yeros* or himself. The *Yeri* may also raise their crooks against any prying prankster. This very firm prescription against lifting the mask is now ignored by the younger *Yeri* who will sometimes lift their masks and reveal their faces while parading in the main street (*agora*) or when resting. Rests are usually taken in the side streets off the main street, ideally out of sight from the audience. Older veteran *Yeri* often comment on how, nowadays, the young *Yeri* are not ashamed to show their lack of endurance and sit in full view of spectators.

Yeri parade in the main street swerving their bells in various ritualised rhythmic steps. *Yeri* also lock into competitive feats, such as the *lilirisma*⁶⁷, where a number of *Yeri* gather in the circle at an unspecified time to swirl their bells in a competitive display of strength and endurance. The *Koreles* and *Frangi* continue to skip and whirl around them. This feat lasts from fifteen minutes up to half an hour, depending on which *Yeros* outlasts the others. The *lilirisma* ends with raised crooks and full circle jump-steps by each of the *Yeri*. Despite the blaring noise, the *lilirisma* synthesises

⁶⁶ Couliantianou (1977:16-17) states that older Skyrians insisted that masks should not be treated, but controversy was mainly over what method of curing should be used, which varied if the hide was from a dead or live animal. During my stay, many older Skyrians (most of whom no longer dressed), claimed that in the past, masks were left uncured. Many younger Skyrian men who presently dress as *Yeri* would also refer to this in passing commentary, at times with a hint of relief that this was no longer ritually necessary.

⁶⁷ Couliantianou refers to this as *lylyrisma*, something lyrical (1977:33).

and harmonises a lyrical sound out of a rigorous shaking of masses of bells. This synthesis becomes quite an art form that distinguishes the skill, style and endurance of individual *Yeri*.

Occasionally two *Yeri* might ram into each other in a mock attack known as the *troka*. In the past, Skyrian carnival was imbued with ritualised or even real battles over disputes (Coulentianou 1977:36). The *lilirisma* was an especially volatile arena for the unleashing of violence. These outbreaks related to revenge vendettas or grievances over kin or pasturage disputes. This is no longer the case, although one person told me that even until a few years ago, an elderly Skyrian would dress as a *Yeros* and wait for his rivals to appear in the *agora* to engage in a *troka* collision.

Another gesture is the recognition (*anagnorisi*) where one *Yeros* identifies another and they then discreetly lift their masks to greet each other. A common greeting in this encounter and throughout carnival is "and to next year" (*ke tou hronou*), i.e., the wishing of life and health to be able to dress the following year. This greeting is used on ceremonial occasions, such as May Day, and on religious celebrations such as Christmas, Easter and saint's days and name days. As a greeting, it exacerbates people's desire to repeat and continue the celebration and simultaneously, ritually seals carnival within the repertoire of popular calendrial events. It is a wish for the event (and its participants) to return full circle.

Dressing the Yeri

The dressing of the *Yeros* is as important as the parade itself and it is usually done by a male kin member with skill and experience. The person dressing the *Yeros* often follows them into the street to check if everything is satisfactory. *Yeri* wear the baggy woollen trousers (*panovraki*) that farmers formerly used for sowing in the winter or shepherds for milking and shearing herds. The white leggings are fastened by black garters of ribbon or black wool and the trousers are tied at the waist with a rope. The gauging of the tension of the rope requires skilled precision in order to support the large number of bells tied around the *Yeros's* waist. The ropes must be loose enough to avoid the danger of asphyxiation, but firm enough to withstand the beating and striking of the bells without falling off. Inaccurate tying can also inhibit endurance and cause lower back and leg pain. Finally, the characteristic Skyrian leather sandals

(*trohadhia*) are an essential item of carnival attire worn by the *Yeros* (as well as the *Korela* and the *Frangos* (if the latter so wishes). These are hand-made by shepherds and still used today for herding, milking and other agrarian chores.

On the upper part of the body, the *Yeros* wears a black, shaggy wool shepherd's jacket (*kapoto*), which is perceived as giving him a 'wild' look. A goat's hair rope is tightened around the jacket and pillows are stuffed inside the back as a hump. This padding protects the *Yeri* from the beatings of the crowd. Five to six ropes are tied around the shoulders, the chest and the waist to support the different bells strung around the *Yeros's* body. The hood of the jacket is secured by a long white shepherd's belt (*zounari*). Then comes the mask made of the whole hide of a kid goat; its hind legs are tied behind the *Yeros's* head. A black kerchief worn by widows is tied like a turban to secure the mask, as it may slip. A colourful silk kerchief is folded into a triangle and tied across the chest to the belt. Finally, a shepherd's crook (*stavroravdhi*) becomes an obligatory part of the attire and assists in various step routines. The crook serves a practical purpose; it provides better support, balance and coordination. The crook is decorated with fragrant wild flowers (*zoumboulia*, i.e., hyacinths) that flourish in this season and are collected mainly by shepherds while grazing. The flowers, like the shepherd of the origin myth (see above), have a symbolically homologous position. During carnival, they enter from the 'wild' outer limits of grazing lands into the social space of the *Horio*.

Dressing as a *Yeros* is pre-arranged by a group of friends or kin who want to dress together. At other times, it is an individual spontaneous decision. Often on the spur of the moment, after a song and a drink, one can go and dress as a *Yeros*. The instance of becoming a *Yeros* cannot always be determined. It rests on individual desire, and even within a pre-arranged group, it can be unpredictable. Locating a time and place to see a dressing was particularly difficult, especially for filming purposes. Venues and dressing parties would haphazardly change. Finding them needed ears to the ground, an efficient grapevine, chance and a perusal of the narrow streets, open doors or maybe close friends to reel you in at the appropriate time.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ During my fieldwork, most of my attempts to see a full pre-organised dressing failed. The group dressing either changed location or were halfway finished. One of the few I managed to see occurred when a friend came looking for me while I was conspicuously videotaping in the main street. She had

Not all Skyrians dress as *Yeri*, while others do so year after year, and/or repeatedly within the carnival period. It is a matter of individual desire and passion. It is the competitive feats, such as the *lilirisma* or a particular skill in movement that uniquely distinguishes each *Yeros*. How *Yeri* excel is judged by a cognisant audience, as each *Yeros* is singled out by external skill and physical endurance. This external judgment only enhances the *Yeri's* own individual satisfaction of becoming *Yeri*; they do it for their own *gusto* or *meraki* (passion, desire). *Meraki* is again another emotive metaphor for the desire to "become"; it is annexed to the idea of obsessive passion (*psihosis*) and spontaneity that I discussed at the beginning of this chapter.⁶⁹

The Bells

Bells mark the presence of the *Yeri* during carnival and the beginning of the festivities. The bell's rhythms and speed identify the *Yeros's* skill and endurance. There are mainly three types of bells: round (*strongila*), the flat narrower bells, and the double bells, i.e., one inside the other (*dhipla*). Bells used to belong exclusively to shepherds, and were imported from the mainland. In the past, some (usually less affluent) Skyrians would work for days in the fields and vineyards to be able to borrow, in return, a few bells or items for their outfit. Now they can be ordered and purchased by anyone wishing to complete a *Yeros* outfit.

The bells are threaded through hooped wooden collars by experts, and placed in an order that produces aesthetically appealing sounds. Up to 70 bells can be worn, weighing about 50 kilos. The shepherds buy the bells for their flocks in varying sizes and weight, in order to track goats and sheep if they are stolen or go astray, and to gather dispersed flocks. A shepherd can recognise each bell, even when there are many sounding together. Despite the apparent chaos that ensues from the borrowing

already dressed as a *Korela* and had asked me to tape her with her troupe of friends earlier on in the day, but she also wanted to be filmed with her accompanying *Yeros*. I was therefore able to film a complete trio of *Yeros*, *Korela* and *Frangos* from the beginning up to their parading in the main street. I kept a copy for my own research while replicas are in the homes of those dressed.

⁶⁹ *Meraki* is a culturally loaded idiomatic term. It means yearning, passion, sorrow, beauty, aesthetics, *gusto* and spiritual excitement. Although I translate it as "passion" it envelops an array of associations appropriated by populist understandings of merriment and desire. It is not mood alone but a skilful expression of song, dance, music, and extends to artistry and craftsmanship. A *meraklis* is not only the impassioned lover of beauty, music, art or a fascination, but also its emissary, connoisseur and practitioner (see glossary).

of bells, the ownership is never a matter of dispute between the shepherds and the *Yeri* who can identify them by shape and sound.

Wearing the bells is an ordeal that distinguishes the strength, endurance and skill of the *Yeri*. Combined with the cumbersome bulky costume of the *Yeros*, agility and harmony become the aesthetic distinction of the *Yeros*. The aim of a *Yeros* is to walk gracefully, moving his body to create synchronised, harmonious bell rhythms. Different steps create definite rhythms. Beginning with a steady pace, the *Yeros* slowly increases speed so as not to run out of breath. The main step is a long stride with heels barely touching the ground. Bucking hips create a two beat rhythm of the bells. This rhythmic step may change to one long, one short step with a heavy hop and the crossing of one foot in front or behind. The *lilirisma* described above is another difficult and delicate feat. There are other movements and, depending on their agility and technique, some *Yeri* can even perform acrobatic manoeuvres. There are various other rhythmic steps; however it takes an expert to be a graceful and harmonious *Yeros*.

Skyrians hear the bells and the inside tongues (*lalaridhia*) as having distinct sounds. The inner movements of the tongue is a high or fine sound, while the outer movements of waisted bells generate a thicker sound, as they swing and beat the next bell. There is skill in the synchronising of these two sounds through movements of the body, steps and skips. It is in this skill that Skyrians hear the musicality of the bells. Older Skyrians often abhor the unco-ordinated din of beating (*ta ktipoun*) or thundering (*ta vrondoun*) of bells, mainly by the younger *Yeri*, most of who are unacquainted with a finely tuned appreciation of bell sounds. The thundering of bells has its place in the *lilirisma* or the collision-encounter, *troka*. In the main street, gracefulness in movement, steps and sound is what distinguishes a good (*oreos*, meaning both beautiful and skilled) *Yeros*.

The sound the bells make is an important aspect of the *Yeros*'s skill and technique. Wearing the bells is not only a test of physical strength and endurance, but also a mastery of rhythm, turning din into music, bell clamour into harmony. Throughout and after the carnival celebrations, Skyrians exchange endless aesthetic discussions about the presentation of the *Yeri*. It was a constant theme of conversation in family gatherings while watching carnival events or in companies of

friends at the tavern or at home. The skill of the *Yeri* in swaying the bells harmoniously is especially assessed, compared and exalted. Since the bells are one of the main criteria in assessing the performance and skill of the *Yeros*, it follows that the sound and movement of the *Yeros* is just as critical in evaluating the masquerade, as the potent visual image of the *Yeros*. There is an aural dimension to Skyrian masquerade, which is as equally significant as its visual aspect, yet bears its own important set of aesthetic criteria.

During the first week of carnival, I was in a tavern with a group of friends celebrating and talking about carnival. The discussion as to who would go to represent Skyros in Venice led to comments on who was a good *Yeros* and who was not. References were made to some older *Yeri* and they detailed the qualities required for a skilful performance. Following is a small excerpt from my field diary [Thursday, 16-2-95]:

Yianni: It's in the movement.

Pavlos: You need a strong back.

Amersa: It's the control of the waist, a bit like a belly dance.

Yianni: No. It's the technique, the movement, you hear a melody. The clappers (*lalaridhia*) inside the bell make a different sound to the rest; the above line of bells sound and move harmonically like a wave that moves round and round [around the waist].

Yianni: Now most *Yeri* make a din that fills your ears.

Another woman, Kali, commented on a softer sound coming from one of the *Yeri*, referring to the higher, quainter tone of the clappers (*lalaridhia*), which had a wave like motion-sound, an indication of the *Yeros's* skill. It was a feature I heard only after participating in a few Skyrian carnivals. The rhythm of bells is found in bodily techniques involving movement and gesture, as well as a particular cultural perception and differentiation of sound/din. The co-ordination of the inner/outer bells and the rows of bells; the movement of the *Yeri*, their steps and skips; the sways of their hips and so on, produce synchronized sound with an aesthetic appeal which is not always obvious to the non-connoisseur. The sound of the *Yeri's* bells is literally 'embodied'.

There is a strong impulse by the much younger *Yeri* "to thunder the bells" (*vroundoun ta koudhounia*) to borrow the Skyrian expression, rather than skilfully harmonise them. Despite the above negative evaluation, little *Yeri* are often incited by their family and friends who have proudly dressed them to beat their bells at every

chance encounter. Thundering is not always granted a negative attribution. Even amongst experienced *Yeri*, once caught up in the frenzy of carnival boisterousness, the beating of the bells can be used to impel and incite, or to compound and increase the volume of the carnival energy.

Bells and the Carnival Soundscape

Skyrian carnival is heard before it is seen. The bells herald the beginning of the festivities and their volume is a gauge of the level of participation. Their sound fills the *agora* and seeps into homes and the narrow cobbled streets, and lingers in one's ears. The township is full of the sound of bells ringing. The *Horio* provides the amphitheatre and the venue, creating a soundscape characteristic of Skyrian carnival. To be able to hear the bells is to be able to feel carnival. At times, outsiders to the celebration or non-Skyrians stationed on the island (such as educationalists, military personnel) view the noise as a continuous and sometimes intolerable din, as is the case of some first-time visitors who try to acclimatise to the high volume festivity. Although not stirred by the same passion as the converted, many participated in other arenas of revelry.

The bells drown out all the other carnival noises; even high volume speakers in nightclubs are overwhelmed by their acoustic presence. The entrance of one *Yeros* is enough to silence or match the decibels of any blaring PA system. Sound is essential in "becoming" a *Yeros*. The bells fill the *agora*, in the same way that people fill the empty street. Thus, in carnival, sound becomes a metaphor of a social presence creating its own sonic space. The sound of the *Yeros's* bells cannot be contained for such a large number of bells will inevitably produce din, they can only be harmonised to make an acoustically appealing sound.⁷⁰

The juxtaposition of the *Yeri's* bells and the ringing of the bells of St. George is an intriguing aspect of Skyrian carnival. The ascent to the monastery is seen by most Skyrians as a *tama*, that is, an *ex voto* offering to their patron St. George (see image

⁷⁰ This issue of expressing the bells freely became even more significant in Venice when a Skyrian group was invited to participate in the carnival parade in 1995 (see chapter 6). In the Palazzo chambers, the bells wearers were urged to silence while preparing for the procession, unlike the other 'tamer' carnival troupes. They were considered disorderly and the huge noise disruptive. The containment of bell sounds was seen as a simultaneous containment of the *Yeri* and their presence.

A on p. 3). The *tama* holds a key socio-religious position in Greek Orthodox belief, and is connected with local devotional practices and pilgrimage. In Skyros, St. George, his miraculous icons and their epiphany are part of the community's enduring religious history, worship and sacred topography.

The bell tower of St. George's monastery is located at the apex of the township. The church bells summon followers to liturgy; they sound mourning chimes for deaths and signify religious celebrations. Historically, they dominate the landscape and soundscape of the township. Once they reach the bell tower, the *Yeri* beat the church bells simultaneously with their own, as they swing up and down the rope. The sound of church bells dominates the township, proclaiming the *Yeri's* presence at the monastery and not a religious mass. During Skyrian carnival, the monastery's bell tower and by extension, the *Horio* is acoustically reclaimed.

At first glance, it appears that *Yeri* dress and parade in a very ritualised and routine manner. During peak gatherings, they seem (to the neophyte, at least) to swirl up and down the main street — an amorphous mass. *Yeri* have a standard style of dress; yet what makes each *Yeros* unique is the particular desire to endure and excel with the thundering of the bells. This desire can be a personal ordeal to fulfil a religious vow (*tama*) to St. George; or a competitive display of personal strength and skill; or it may stem from an individual and spontaneous passion (*meraki*) to wear the bells.

In pastoral societies such as Skyros, bells bear a particular social significance; they are used to domesticate flock and wild goats. Bells are worn by the leading billy goats so that they can be detected and rounded up by shepherds. Only the *tragi* (male goats, leaders of the herd) wear the bells in order to direct the flock. The bells on the *Yeri's* waist, like the crook, are insignia of leadership. The crook, in a parallel manner to the bells, is the shepherd's instrument of direction. In the procession, *Yeri* use it as a support as do shepherds when herding.

The ethnomusicologist, Anoyanakis (1976), details the diverse role and symbolic significance of bells in the pastoral society of Greece. The main centre for cast-bell making is in Ioannina (NW mainland Greece). Skyrians acquired their bells mainly from Ioannina, but currently also other areas of mainland, such as Thessaly. Anoyanakis states that although their original creation and use is uncertain, bells were

suspended from animals' necks to protect them from evil spirits; they were considered to be an apotropaic device to ward off evil (Anoyanakis 1976:64). A similar significance was attributed to their use in sacred places; bells protected worshippers with the magical power attributed to their sound. The use of bells to mark ownership, or as sound production, or a musical instrument was a much later development (ibid.: 64). Anoyanakis contends that it is difficult to define the limits of the properties of bells as an apotropaic (protective) device, a producer of sound or a musical instrument (ibid.: 77).

The belling of flocks in contemporary Greece has practical purposes: to protect the animals and guide and aid a shepherd's work. Eventually the sound of bells became part of the shepherd's personal musical repertoire. The flocks and bells became connected to shepherd's lives and an inseparable part of their traditions. Anoyanakis details a Sarakatsani custom from northern Greece: when the leading shepherd (*tselingas*) died, the heavier bells were removed from the flocks during the period of mourning and nobody played the pastoral flute (ibid.: 64). Shepherds also have the same aural sensitivity as the bell smith who tunes the bells (ibid.: 64). Shepherds must choose and harmonise bells, each flock having its own sound. Such aural characteristics distinguish them from other flocks. Combinations can be made on the pitch and timbre; bells can be tuned to deep or middle and upper register (ibid.: 73). A shepherd's mastery and inventiveness in the belling process can also allow sub-flocks to be distinguished, as well as flocks of other shepherds. Sub-flocks have distinctive voices without disrupting the harmony of the whole flock. An unlimited variety of 'voices' can be produced by the combinations of bell pitch and timbre (ibid.: 74).

In many rites, traditions and in Greek Orthodox Church liturgy, bells have an important place and are often used as votive offerings. For instance, small pellet bells are placed on the icons in the fire-walking ritual of the Anastenarides of northern Greece, along with other silver or gold votive offerings, suggesting their apotropaic nature (Anoyanakis 1976:78, 1996:81-2). Bells are especially prolific in traditional rituals of carnival throughout Greece, which Anoyanakis outlines briefly (1976:79-80), and extensively in a later publication (1996:84-102), focusing in detail on the number and kind of bells worn in various regional carnivals (ibid.: 99).

It is difficult to ascertain any metaphysical function of Skyrian bells in their present use. However, the aural sensitivity of Skyrian shepherds in relation to their bells and tuning still exists, although it has become somewhat marginalized in the main event. Bells are in prolific use by non-connoisseurs and younger *Yeri*, many of whom have no relation to shepherding. The desire to hear and pass aesthetic judgments on bell harmony is, however, still an important component of Skyrian carnival.⁷¹

During carnival, the bell's ownership is temporarily transferred from the actual goats to the shepherd/*Yeros*. Symbolically, the bells allude to the shepherd's dominance and generally, to male leadership. They become gendered and potentially sexualised in a ritual process, transferring symbolic codes from animal/male goat to male/shepherd — *Yeros*.

The Korela

The *Korela* is the second main figure of the carnival trio and always accompanies the *Yeros*. In the Skyrian dialect, *Korela* means young girl.⁷² In the past, the *Korela* was always a young man disguised as a girl, whose role was to protect the *Yeros* from blows and outbreaks of fighting, a role now taken up by the *Frangos*. Presently, the *Koreles* are mainly women who accompany the *Yeros*, gracefully swirling in and around the *Yeri* and *Frangi* waving a kerchief in the air. The *Korela's* main distinguishing role is her song. She sings the Skyrian carnival song, the *Apokriane*, to the *Yeros* as he rests. In response, the *Yeros* stands and thunders the bells. This song is heard less now, but is frequently referred to with nostalgia by many Skyrians.

⁷¹ In Skyros, the fervour of bells and their symbolic value, although significant, is mainly manifest in carnival. In contrast, Panopoulos states that in highland Naxos bells have a central place in shepherding life; it is bells and not animals that are mostly stolen (2003:639-40). Panopoulos explores how animal bells constitute polysemous symbols whose meaning concerns "crucial aspects of social reproduction and the expression of local, pastoral, and family identities", and are integrally connected to social exchange, inheritance and ritual life (ibid.: 640). As sound producing cultural artefacts, bells also can also aid in unpacking local meanings of sound, noise and hearing (ibid.: 640). The anthropological need to focus on sound and its articulation within culture and experience has been instigated by studies in ethnopoetics (Feld 1982 et al.) and has extended to other areas of sensory perception (ibid.: 641).

⁷² Antoniadis maintains that the *Korela*, may be from the word *kori*, meaning young girl, daughter or the Skyrian word for rags *kourela* (1995h:252 nt. 4). Papageorgiou states that the meaning of *Korela* as a rag wearer is more appropriate because of her tattered peasant dress (1910:39).

The costume of the *Korela* incorporates formal and informal elements of folk attire.⁷³ It is a curious mix of the Skyrian bridal costume, items from everyday folk costume and the shepherd's folk garment. The bridal short jacket (*mendene*) is worn over a silk shirt waisted by the elaborate gold embroidered bridal belt. A wide skirt or petticoat is worn with an everyday apron, a testimony to the costumes mundanity. As a comic antithesis, the *Korela* wears the shepherd's white trousers and sandals (*trohadhia*), which are customarily used for herding, milking and other daily chores. The bridal headdress is replaced by a yellow kerchief, which in the past, was a non-ceremonial item of the traditional costume. Plaits are attached to the back of the headpiece. The *Koreles* are usually dressed by their female relatives — mothers, grandmothers and maternal aunts. Some items of the garment are heirloom pieces or parts of folk dress, which are exchanged, borrowed or inherited.

For a mask, a piece of translucent material is used, with holes cut out for clearer vision, or an eye-mask to which a fine material or lace is sewn in order to cover most of the face. This contemporary paper *loup* creates an aura of elegance and intrigue, played down (or sent up) by the incongruous rustic everyday leg and footwear.⁷⁴ The coquettish gestures of the *Korela*, her graceful swirling full skirt and waving kerchief, re-adjusts the awkwardness of the *Korela's* fragmented attire.

Finally, a handkerchief is tucked into the belt, an essential aesthetic piece for the *Korela*, which she waves in the air as she skips and swirls amongst the *Yeri* and *Frangi*.⁷⁵ The *Korela's* style of dress and her skill and endurance in following the *Yeros* with graceful whirling strides are aesthetically judged throughout carnival. Like the *Yeros*, the *Korela* dresses for his/her own passion (*meraki* and *gusto*) (see image F on p. 83).

⁷³ By 'folk' I refer descriptively to the local, everyday and ceremonial dress, characteristic of the region and epoch, prior to the establishment of European clothing. 'Folk' could be interchanged with traditional, customary, regional, national, popular or rural dress.

⁷⁴ A *loup* is an eye mask, a light or half mask of velvet or silk which at times expresses a courtly, coquettish style of masquerade.

⁷⁵ Epitropakis (1995:34) notes that during the Byzantine years the kerchief was used as a symbol of pillory.



Image F: Korela. Carnival, 2000.
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The Frangos (Frank)

While the *Yeros* and *Korela* are stylised characters, the *Frangos* (pl. *-i*) tends to be more elusive. The *Frangos* is a male character, although women and children dress as *Frangi*. He is freer to convey carnival masquerade and can wear anything he likes, but there seems to be a particularly distinctive style. He parodies the *Yeros*, at times wearing a single bell attached to his back or a full length *Yeros's* black jacket. In contrast to the gracefulness of the *Yeros* and *Korela*, the *Frangos* is the most comic and bizarre character of the troupe. Unlike the other two members of the troupe, the *Frangos* does not need to be dressed by an expert and can 'slap on' an outfit in minimal time. He is the opposite of refinement: the *Frangos* is fluid, whimsical and open to all carnivalesque transformations (see images D1 – E2 on pp. 69-70).

In Skyrian usage, *Frangos* means a European or it refers to European clothes. By extension, the *Frangos* epitomises the generalised European 'other'. The *Frangos* emerges in the social imagination from a historical repertoire of Frankish domination, which is semantically and symbolically transferred to a generalised European presence. Even now, the *Frangos* is still a viable symbol of 'otherness' and can also be a metaphor for all 'outsiders'. However, in most cases, the popular explanation given to me about the *Frangos* and his masquerade was that he ridiculed *frangika* clothes, i.e., European clothes and not Europeans. This also extended to professional groups, such as doctors or teachers, who wore European clothes (*frangika*) prior to their full introduction the island.

In an account of carnival at the beginning of the twentieth century, Papageorgiou states that "the *Frangos* is a shepherd or farmer parodying those wearing European clothes, especially the doctors and lawyers" and was not connected to the *Yeros* and *Korela* (1910:45). However, the "traditional *Frangos*" (*paradhosiakos Frangos*), I was told, wears old worn out farmer's breeches (*vradhika*), one bell and whatever else is available at hand. In the carnivals I attended, *Frangi* wore both European and traditional clothes, e.g., overalls, trousers, traditional farmers breeches (*vradhika*), long black *Yeri's* cloaks, and so on, forming a collage of all sorts of clothing, European, local and traditional, adorned with an odd assortment of paraphernalia and decorations. The idea of the *Frangos* as portraying Europeans or

their influence in the island as a distinct 'other' has somehow diminished (but not altogether vanished) in the contemporary context of Skyrian society.

Of the carnival trio, the *Yeros* must have total control over his body movements and tread with precise, light steps, in order to make gestures that create a harmonious ringing of his bells. The rhythm of the body becomes manifest in the rhythm of the bells and vice versa. The *Yeri's* steps should be elegant and rhythmic rather than jerky and unco-ordinated like the *Frangi*. The *Koreles* rhythmically swirl in and out among the troupe, an elegant dance complementary to the *Yeri*. The presence of the *Frangos* comes as a startling contrast and accentuates these rhythmic revellers — and herein lies his parody. The *Frangi* are 'natural' or spontaneous comics relying on their own gestures (*tsalimia*) and style. Both the *Korela* and *Yeros* may seem to have standard folk dress, but both of them fragment any theme of consistency and style. The *Yeros* is dressed as part animal, part shepherd; the *Korela's* costume includes peasant and bridal dress. These figures are expected to appear in the same form every year, so the element of surprise and improvisation is not as dramatic as it is with the *Frangi*. However, all masqueraders break any notion of complete or standardised dress.

The *Yeri* may seem to parade with set steps, standardised dress and at a set time, but the instance of "becoming" a *Yeros* within the carnival period is unpredictable. At any time (apart from pre-arranged large groups) someone may want to "become" a *Yeros*. This tends to be ad hoc, and related to the availability of bells and other items of the costume. It is not uncommon to wake up at 3 am in the morning to the sound of a solo *Yeros* who, after a round of wine and songs, decides to wear the bells and take to the empty streets. The same sense of spontaneity applies to *Frangi* and general masqueraders. Despite the expected turnout of masqueraders in the *agora*, dressing up in Skyrian carnival happens capriciously.

Children and Carnival

Young children, from toddlers to teenagers are always the forerunners of carnival. They are the first ones out in the main street, individually or in full troupes. They stride up and down the *agora* imitating, following, and daringly weaving in and out of the older *Yeri*. These young masqueraders often negotiate amongst themselves the

exchange of items of costume and bells; who will be in which group and so on. Skyrian school children actively involve themselves in their carnival, not only by participating but also by writing about the custom.⁷⁶

Many parents now purchase complete sets of new costumes for their children, despite the high cost involved. Most heirloom garments continue to be handed down. Each year, the grandfathers and fathers dotingly prepare and string the bells while grandmothers, mothers and aunts prepare items of the garments. The passion to give over these items only matches the passion to wear them, as the following incident reveals:

A Skyrian woman once told me that she is nearly in tears when she sees a lovely *Korela* and *Yeros*. She was about to buy her teenage son a full *Yeros* outfit (which is very expensive) on the condition that he becomes a good *Yeros* (*kalos Yeros*). She also told me that the previous year, an old man who was a very good *Yeros* and who had beautiful movement and gesture, heard this and told her to wait. He got dressed and came into the *agora* but because of his age, he could only do a few rounds at a time, just enough to teach her son the right moves. Her son watched him carefully. [Field Diary 28-2-1995]

Becoming a *Yeros* or *Korela* is also a life-long process and the carnival weeks offer a kind of training via ordeal. As soon as they can walk, Skyrian children learn the *Yeros*'s rhythmic steps. Little toddlers are dressed with a bell at the waist, starting with one bell and then gradually increasing the number as they grow older. Children are dotingly shown how and encouraged to step, hop and beat the bells and swirl the kerchief. Ritual pedagogy through mimesis prescribes a habitus, a style, movement and body hexis (Bourdieu 1977, 1990) that is particular to Skyrian carnival.⁷⁷ Skyrian children rehearse their bells and costumes through a life long process of revelling in carnival.

⁷⁶ As, for example, the local school newspaper, *O kosmos tou sholiou*, which gives a 6th graders' view of carnival (Feb. 1995, 4th leaflet p. 2-3).

⁷⁷ Some of my Skyrian friends took great delight in reciting an incident indicative of ritually engrained body movement of the *Yeros*. A newly arrived primary school teacher was perplexed by the strange "happy walk" her students had when they were handed their school reports. After seeing carnival, she understood.

Ritual Pedagogy and Embodied Practices

Within the carnivalesque, such social instruction is not restricted to young revellers alone, but applies to a broader spectrum of cultural action, which can be conceptually located in Bourdieu's theory of practice and embodiment:

One could endlessly enumerate the values given body, *made* body, by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy which can instil a whole cosmology, through injunctions as insignificant as 'sit up straight' or 'don't hold your knife in your left hand', and inscribe the most fundamental principles of the arbitrary content of a culture in seemingly innocuous details of bearing or physical and verbal manners, so putting them beyond the reach of consciousness and explicit statement. ... Bodily hexis is political ideology realized *em-bodied* turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking. (1990:69-70)

Body hexis, in the form of pattern of postures is both individual and systematic, connected to a system of body techniques imbued with the social meanings and values of a particular society (Bourdieu 1977:87). In such a way, Bourdieu states, a child does not model, but imitates other people's actions, giving special attention to gestures and postures that they consider attributes of adulthood (ibid.: 87).

Embodied practices, such as that of the *Yeros's* walk or rhythmic steps, entail complex and deeper levels of social practices, and a particular investigative framework that analytically privileges habitus. For Bourdieu, the body is a site of social practices of which its source is habitus, that is,

systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor (1990:53).

These dispositions, as Papagaroufali aptly recapitulates⁷⁸, are created from political-economic structures of a society and are embodied, that is, learnt through mimesis or

⁷⁸ Papagaroufali's work focuses on organ donation after death in Greece, and the way it is experienced by its supporters (2002:17). Theoretically she expounds that a symbolic-representational approach to the body is insufficient and forwards a phenomenological perspective, studying the way the body is lived in the world or a culture; it is not just as an object of the world/culture (2002:38). She maintains that the

other imposed sense mechanisms of memorisation, resulting in the transformation of ways of life, addictions (mainly bodily) with dispositions and inclinations, and more generally into durable ways of co-sensing and thinking (Bourdieu 1977:22, 93 as cited in Papagaroufali 2002:40). In such a way, the body according to Bourdieu (and Merleau Ponty) is continually socially influenced (Papagaroufali 2002:40-41).

In reality, as Papagaroufali expounds, Bourdieu's habitus is what we usually name and sense as "deep rooted perceptions" or "ideas", "habits" or "tradition", such as values, attitudes and stances of life; something taken-for-granted, unconscious, or even predestination (2002:41). These are all a history of a society and its politico-economic distinctions that are embodied by its members, and which vary according to class, gender, age and so on. They become "second nature" or "unconscious" and are forgotten (1977:78 as cited in Papagaroufali 2002:41) — they are, as Bourdieu states, "history turned into nature" (1977:78).

In other words, habitus are not the rules of a society, but the culturally recognized material, which as members of a society we use "spontaneously" and "unconsciously"; to eat or dress (or revel in the Skyrian case) in a particular way. This is the material we use to develop "strategies" consciously, but "without true strategic intention" to "improvise" and invent new experiences, to realize desires, or even to resist (Bourdieu 1977:73 as cited in Papagaroufali *ibid.*: 42).

Generally, the notion of habitus helps to understand bodily engagement in daily practices and in turn, how such practices embody dynamic interactions of culture and society, superseding the confining segregation of mind and body. The body is at a nexus of social and cultural production, while practices are dually enabled and constrained by social structure. The importance of the dynamics and regulated innovation of social practices is again located in the habitus:

Through the habitus, the structure which has produced it governs practice ... through the mediation of the orientations and limits it assigns to the habitus's operations of invention ... Because the habitus has an endless capacity to engender products — thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions — whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it secures is as remote from a creation

concept of body has been enriched with the notion of embodiment or somatisation, which emerges from the combination of semiotics and phenomenology, and more specifically Merleau-Ponty's "bodily perception" and Bourdieu theory of practice and habitus (*ibid.*: 38).

of unpredictable novelty as it is from a simple mechanical reproduction of initial conditionings. (Bourdieu 1977:95)

Kapferer highlights the significance of Bourdieu's phenomenologically derived notions in the study of ritual life. Habitus and body hexis reveal how persons move, are positioned and embodied in a structured space, implicating a dynamic practice-orientated perspective in the analysis of ritual (2004:41-2). "In Bourdieu's terms, the dynamics of many rites might be conceived of as being simultaneously the construction and embodiment of a lived habitus" (ibid.: 42).⁷⁹ Within ritual space, the orientating of participants bodies directs to meanings prior to their conscious awareness.

Whether Skyrian carnival is tradition or a novelty, conscious or unreflected upon ritual acts of (embodied) dance and dress, song and moves, what carnival manifests from a Bourdieuan perspective is that habitus is reproduced and transforms in and through practice. Subsequently, each carnival entails improvised celebratory expressions within socially and historically defined schemas — in this sense; each carnival is a new performance.⁸⁰

Yet, the passion that drives revellers to wear or listen to the bells cannot be apprehended in ritual prescription alone. Becoming a *Yeros*, *Korela* or *Frangos* in Skyrian carnival encapsulates a range of experiences grounded within the culturally distinct transformations of self that occurs within the ritual realm — a realm that is 'emplaced' in, and identified with a specific socio-historical locale, the *Horio*.

Carnavalesque and Comic Happenings

Comic happenings and freelance masquerade occur as a counterpoint to the quasi ordered troupes of *Yeri*. Springing up everywhere, they have no defined locus, no central stage and no formality. But like the *Yeri*, they appear off the street, in the homes and in the taverns. Themes of comic sketches and verses are extemporaneous. There is no annual repetition, no continuity; each year brings its own bag of tricks.

⁷⁹ Kapferer sees Bourdieu's framework as one path in exploring Sinhala Buddhist anti-sorcery ritual, focusing on ontological aspects of the rite's "cosmic" regeneration (ibid.: 42).

⁸⁰ Such angle again questions functionalist views of carnival as a mechanism for regulating social tension (see chapter 1).

Skyrian carnival takes on the form of ad hoc masquerade and general revelry, as pubs and taverns are full of revellers drinking and singing. Skyrians also dress as clowns, priests, gypsies and Orientals, or collages of various disguises slapped together. They roam the streets of the *agora*, enter pubs and taverns, teasing and provoking their victims into a guessing game of their true identity. If the masqueraders are identified, they concede, and either reveal their identity or leave quietly.

A prominent feature in Skyrian masquerade is the transgression of 'ordinary' realms or understood boundaries (as in many carnivals). One such theme is that of cross-dressing. Revellers traverse conventions of dressing when they cross-gender dress or cross animal and human realms or the conventions of age and status. I incorporate these themes under a rubric of general transformation and will explore how this relates to salient ontological dimensions of carnival transformation and masquerade (chapter 5).

Anyone can become anything during the three-week period of carnival. Even within the same day or hour, they can transform from a *Yeros* to a *Frangos*. Revellers are not limited to stylised or elaborate garments, such as the *fantasia* costume of Rio carnival. DaMatta states that those wearing the *fantasia* want to be distinguished with their costumes, revealing rather than concealing their hidden desires (1991:40). Masqueraders in Skyros, on the other hand, prefer to 'slap on' absurd costumes ready at hand.

The silence of the masqueraders is in stark antithesis to the murmur and laughter of the crowd — the mute masqueraders counterpose the boisterous revellers. The masqueraders do not speak, so they cannot be identified. Even so, they are visually impressive and bizarre, drawing attention with majestic steps and operatic gestures while *Yeri* are content to clang their bells at full volume.

In carnival, gypsies and marginal people need special attention. I was often puzzled with the zeal and prominence of the theme of "becoming" a gypsy. As a peripheral people appearing occasionally on the island as itinerant vendors, gypsies become centred in the inverted cosmos of carnival. The importance of gypsies and other marginal people, such as anarchists (*frikia*) and other underground figures is also crucial in understanding the way in which gypsies became symbolically central through the inversion of their prior marginal and transient status on the island.

During carnival, gypsies roam the streets of Skyros with confidence, telling fortunes, selling carpets and rugs, creating havoc and teasing friends who agonise over trying to find out who they really are.

In Skyrian understanding, gypsies are the extreme of what one can “become” or not be. Gypsies are the antithesis of the Skyrian notions of a local indigenous population. Often appearing as itinerant vendors on the island, gypsies are perceived as having no fixed abode or connection to place. They have an ephemeral presence, yet this can be distinctly identified and performed in carnival. Carnival draws those positioned at the outer margins of the township and society — the shepherds, marginal and underground figures, and the gypsies — into its centre.

Beneath a mask, hide or costume, a Skyrian or anyone else who so wishes, can move out of their ordinary existence and experience becoming something or somebody else, even if is not nameable or identifiable. The body becomes the symbolic vehicle carrying the reveller or masquerader into other emotional and physical states and selfhood.

Theoretically, the relation of the body, self and identity may need to be considered. Mead (1967) distinguishes between the body and the self. The self arises out of social action as stated above. The word “self” is reflexive, indicating that which can be both an object and subject (Mead 1967:136). However, the body can be present and operate in a very intelligent way without being a self involved in the experience (ibid.: 136). The self has the characteristic that it is an object to itself and that characteristic distinguishes it from other objects and from the body, e.g., parts of the body are quite distinguishable from the self and one can lose parts of the body without any serious invasion of the self. The body does not experience itself as a whole in the same sense in which the self experiences the self (ibid.: 136).

In Skyrian carnival, there is an interplay between the physical body that takes on a centrifugal point of reference for all altered states (changing shape, size, entity), the body in an emotional or ecstatic state and its continual symbolic deconstitution and reconstitution into something or somebody new or different. In Bacchic revelry, the body from the onset does not experience itself as a whole; it is loosely hinged together as it disappears and reappears provoking (consciously or unconsciously) the

reflective self at each improvisation. This (carnival) self is then that which is reflexive as it ritually alternates and shifts metaphoric meanings of selfhood.

Paper War

Apart from the focus on the body, self and masquerade, Skyrian carnival engages other symbolic games. A distinctive feature of carnival is its paper war (*hartopolemos*). Confetti is thrown across revellers at masqueraders, at times aimed into an unsuspecting mouth (likely to be open due to laughter). The *Yeri's* black cloak hosts a colourful array of these paper attacks from onlookers. Ribbons of streamers are used to gently ensnare people, and are then left on as adornments. Homes and venues are webbed with colourful streamers, paper lanterns and decorations. Paper wars break out between tables of revellers as they propel streamers across the rooms to ensnare rival groups of singers. A contemporary addition, and the children's favourite is a can spray version which generates streamers of foam.

Accounts of Skyrian carnival by Papageorgiou at the turn of the twentieth century give a different 'organic' version of the paper war:

In her right hand, the *Korela* holds a broom from bulrushes and in the left, a black fur sack full of flour, bran or ash. With the broom, she strikes those annoying her on the way, when many [try to] attack her and the *Yeros* and attempt to tear away their masks. The *Korela*, placing the broom under her armpit, throws flour or ash from her bag in her defence and of the *Yeros*, after which they usually come out as the victors of the battle. (ibid.: 39-40)

In the past, ritualised warfare amongst rival shepherds was predominant in Skyrian carnival. Ash, flour and bran were the fluid weapons of the *Korela* and *Yeros*. In today's carnival, the paper war extends to all revellers, with a parallel softening and taming of carnival weapons.⁸¹

⁸¹ The author-chronicler, Christomanos (1922), has a colourful portrayal the paper war of Athenian carnival at the beginning of the twentieth century, a theme that persists in carnival throughout Greece today. Misaelidis (1926:197) also chronicles carnival 'warfare' in Smyrne (Ismir). He states that official dances were held, however things got moving after 10 pm, all the homes would open their doors and windows towards the road so that masqueraders and non-masqueraders would pass by and throw ribbons, confetti, and exchange conversation (and teasing) through the windows. But, on Sunday afternoon the doors were secured. From 3 pm onwards, things began to move in the streets. Rows of carts and coaches were decorated with flowers, ribbons and streamers, and other (less civil) supplies. Sometimes potatoes or rotten eggs were thrown from the balconies. As it got darker, things became wild, taking the appearance of "real battle" (ibid.: 197).

Venezuelan carnival also had a historical shift in 'carnival ammunition' and provides an interesting comparative case. Lavenda (1980:465) explores the modernisation of the Caracas carnival, as capitalism expanded in Venezuela during the second half of the nineteenth century. Under the leadership of Blanco, Venezuela's Old Carnival, which was characterised by its wild and bawdy small-group activity, was transformed into a closely monitored mass celebration. This transition in power relations is reflected in the governing board of carnival (ibid.: 465). It included the new ruling elite of Guzman's supporters who had no ties with the old landed aristocracy. Members of these elites comprised the directive councils of carnival that reoriented the masses away from South American values to European versions of carnival (ibid.: 465). The emphasis was on expensive allegorical floats and private balls, espousing a new carnival of refinement, cultivation and civility.

Lavenda states that during Old Carnival, poor men and sometimes women took to the streets, battling amongst themselves, but preferably attacking those in power (ibid.: 467). Bands of people would roam the streets with calabashes, whistling, throwing eggshells, grain, flour and ochre. People were soaked, mainly with fetid water, urine or paint (ibid.: 467). Old Carnival, with its occasional casualties, was wild and uncontrollable. The new elites chronicled the event as repugnant and barbaric and advocated changing it (ibid.: 468). The models of celebratory civility emerged from Paris and Venice incorporating magnificent floats, elaborate masked and costumed celebrants, bandstands and public dances in the main Plaza: "Women, dressed in all their finery, sat at the balconies watching the huge crowd below, and rained down upon them, "the projectiles of civilization": candies, sugarplums, confetti, streamers, ribbons and the like" (Lavenda 1980:468).

Old Carnival was tamed and Lavenda poses these changes as a series of polar oppositions. The shift is from wet — the liquids of Old Carnival, to the dry — solid candies and sugarplums; from the raw to the cooked; from bawdiness to sobriety (ibid.: 469). Most important is the shift from the powerless to the powerful. Through New Carnival, the ruling elites re-affirmed their position within the global economic order. The traditional aristocracy, which had no commercial links to Europe, tolerated Old Carnival as an event that would keep the lower classes content without undermining the aristocracy's self image (ibid.: 470). Old Carnival was real war, with

damages to self-pride, clothing and bodily injuries. In New Carnival, there were no damages; women declared a perfectly acceptable war on men with sugarplums and confetti (Lavenda 1980:470).

Contemporary Skyrian paper war is in the hands of all revellers and masqueraders, men, women but especially children, who take exceptional delight in waging their paper (or foam) war and surprise attacks against adults. The shift from ashes and bran to confetti and streamers is due, in part, to the practicality of present day availability of such consumer goods. But it is also indicates the symbolic shift of items such as ash (used to smear and blacken faces) with its symbolic proximity to the earth and fire, and bran (used for animal fodder) which were traditionally associated with grot, pollution, defilement (and were celebrated as such), to the symbolically less polluting celebratory reign of colourful paper.⁸²

Wine, Food and Song

Meal times are erratic during the three weeks of celebration. Banqueting and excessive gluttony is not a dominant part of Skyrian carnival; instead, food becomes an appetiser and is shared around the tables of revellers to compliment the drinking of wine. A steady, almost rhythmical, inebriation with wine is counterbalanced with appetisers, song and dance, and thus prevents debilitating drunkenness. The point of Skyrian revelling is to party "together with the company" (*mazi me tin parea*) and not to become "paralysed" (*paralitos*), and hence be able to tease, make pranks, dress up, sing and dance. Gauging this can be quite an art form, often requiring an unspoken delicate balance of *methi* (intoxication) and *kefi* (merriment). Comatose inebriation, sleeping and physical exhaustion are placed on hold. During carnival, the body works and is somehow functional, suspended beyond its normal physical limits.

The abundant flow of wine is not surprising, especially as it is an expression of carnival commensality. Wine, usually a dry white wine, is chiefly associated with and produced for carnival, when communal revelling is at its peak.⁸³ The gathering of

⁸² It may (and I leave this issue open-ended) also reflect the changes in the social and age groups now actively involved in Skyrian carnival.

⁸³ As an indication of how much wine can actually be consumed; a Skyrian friend who makes his own wine every year told me that of the three hundred litres he made in 1995, over two hundred litres were

family and friends in the taverns and homes, all revolve around the drinking of wine, which leads inevitably to song. Various wine games are played during these get-togethers; for example, a special festive game that combines wine and song. Carafes of wine rotate around the table, keeping the glasses full, as everyone joins the main singer leading with the special song associated with this game. The main singer stops the song suddenly at various intervals and everyone listens to hear the person whose voice lingers last. Pointing to him/her in laughter, the musical loiterer's glass is filled up; s/he wishes everyone good health and drinks it in one swig. Amidst the raucous laughter, the lead singer then continues the song. The more intoxicated one gets, the less likely can one synchronise with the singing and by the end of the night (or the song), some reveller may be left too drunk either for words or song!

Food is an accompaniment to song and wine; it is mainly served as an appetiser (*meze*), i.e., a variety and portions of dips, such as vegetable casseroles (*ladhera*), grilled meats, local hard and feta cheeses on a table of commensality. There is no opulence or banqueting on food, i.e., excessive feasting nor individuated meals. Skyrian's carnival culinary experience rests in certain prescribed pies that are made according to the week in which they can be eaten. The meat pie (*kreatopita*) is made for the first week. A Skyrian pie with a regional version of a sourdough filling (*trahanopita*) is made for the opening day of carnival, the *Triodhi*. Cheese pies are eaten in the last week of carnival, *Tirini* (cheese-eating week), when partial fasting is introduced. These pies are cooked by Skyrian women in their own households as a customary practice for festive days. Most foods and pies are shared out to friends and revellers. Food is given a quasi fasting or ceremonial emphasis, as the making and sharing out of special local dishes becomes a customary acknowledgment or demarcater of celebratory fasting, rather than an adherence to austere food prohibition or prescription.

Only *Tsiknopemti* (Fat Burning Thursday) is a day allocated to eating grilled meat. Taverns and restaurants make sure that there is an abundance of meat on the menu for this day. The meat menu accompanies or adorns wine and song and is not an excessive carnivorous feasting. It does remind revellers of their "farewell to meat"

drunk with friends over the carnival period (this being in addition to wine bought). The rest was consumed at other celebrations and gatherings throughout the year.

(*Apokria*) in the coming period of Lenten abstinence, to which they pay homage, but rarely practice. Again, it is the shared communal space of the table that makes its food and drink important. Wine is poured out of carafes; even beers are shared out. During this period, there are no individual drinks; these come later, at pubs and clubs and not at the places of eating in commensality, such as home gatherings and taverns. Wine, food and song are the fuel of collective revelry.

The Space — Stage of Skyrian Carnival

The *Horio* is Skyrian carnival's amphitheatre. The square, the *agora*, the narrow winding streets, the homes and the monastery, provide the stage and paths for carnival troupes and revellers (as I have indicated in chapter 1).

The Ascent to the Monastery of St. George

The largest gathering of the carnival troupe occurs on the last Sunday of the carnival period. Upon hearing the bells, people begin to gather and wait for the *Yeri* to enter the main street. The group making the ascent to the monastery of St. George is usually headed by a number of *Yeri*, with the *Koreles* gracefully skipping in and out between the *Yeri*, and the *Frangi* capering along (see image A on p. 3).

The composition of the *Yeri* and its troupe is ephemeral and arbitrary. It does not always consist of three characters, but can be various combinations of the three. Solo *Yeri* may find that at any point during their parading, one or more *Korela* or *Frangos* may have annexed to them, following them in jest and parody. A troupe may also be properly organised beforehand, as in the case where a large group of friends or kin negotiate to dress together; freelancers may join them at a later point. Yet, it is in the ascent to the monastery that some form of procession of *Yeri* and their troupe becomes obvious. I use procession descriptively, as there seems to be more a general movement, an orientation, rather than a procession or parade in the strict sense. Skyrians usually say, "the *Yeri* are out" (*vyikan i Yeri*) or "the *Yeri* are in the *agora*".⁸⁴

⁸⁴ I have not heard the word, procession or parade (*parelasí*) used in Skyrian carnival. These terms are used for formal military parades and marches. DaMatta makes an interesting point of comparison between Brazilian carnival and Independence Day processions. Carnival is an expression of the limit of informality while Independence Day signifies formality (1991:32). The military parade creates a unity through costume and a separation between people and authorities. On the other hand, carnival brings

At a time deemed appropriate, and before dusk, the ascent and procession of the carnival troupe starts from the main street and proceeds north eastwards, through the town quarters, up along the steep cobbled street of the Grand Walkway (*Megali Strata*), to the monastery of St. George. The peak of this established route is also its mid-point. The troupes then descend south westwards, to the square via a diagonally opposing path, known as the Lalare or Egremne (see image K on p. 136). Skyrians often point out the visual beauty of *Yeri* and *Koreles* as they descend in rows from the monastery. With this path, *Yeri* encompass the township in a conical movement from the low, public *agora* to the sacred, high monastery and back again. They proceed from the social verve and boisterousness of the *agora* and square, to a quiet and solitary monastic realm and then return. The bells and revellers soon change the atmosphere of the monastery's tranquillity, adding a carnivalesque dimension to the prevailing ascetic order.

The carnival troupes enter the monastery, venerate the icons and then proceed up the steps to the bell tower, passing by the main chapel. Here, the *Yeri* and *Frangi* take turns ringing the monastery bells (see image G on p. 98). Occasionally, if the gate is closed, the troupes do not enter the monastery but remain outside the gate in an open space, continuing their various bell-dance steps and rhythms.

Year after year, this path has been ritually inscribed. The *Yeri* and the troupes have symbolically confined (and defined) the key borders of the township within their path. Taking place in the specified ritualised time of carnival, what is now customary is also given undisputable precedence. No monk questions the validity or can openly stop the entry into the monastery or close its gates, no matter how sacrilegious this carnivalesque ascent may seem. Through celebration, the *Yeri* and troupes intensify the space of the whole of the township, making it their 'place' and right of way. During carnival, the township and the monastery, both the spatially and socially, high and low become one and belong to everyone.

together the lowly and marginal, which creates a *communitas* of ad hoc groups and voluntary associations (1991:37). Skyrian carnival, as a quasi-parade, exacerbates the irreconcilable aspects of the event's formality and informality.



Image G: Yeros ringing the bell of St. George Monastery. Carnival, 2000.
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The Ascent to St. George and the Vow

The carnival revellers' ascent to the monastery is marked by a particular religiosity. The *Yeri* often see their toil up the rock hill to St. George as a vow (*tama*), it is an ordeal or hardship taken to honour their patron saint. In Christian Orthodoxy, a vow (*tama*) holds an important place in popular religious belief and practices, as Dubisch's (1995) work on pilgrimage on the Aegean island of Tinos indicates.⁸⁵

Generally, a *tama* can be a promise or pledge to a holy personage in fulfilment of a request, usually related to health or other personal concerns, but it is also the granting of that request. A *tama* is also the gift, such as large devotional candles, jewellery, and the customary metal pressed plaques depicting the concern or request, i.e., a child or various ailed parts of the body. These offerings are placed on the icon of the saint addressed; in Skyros these items decorate the miraculous icons of St. George. In addition, a vow can be an act of homage or a service (e.g., the maintenance of a chapel or shrine) offered to a particular saint.

In Skyros, the ascent to the monastery frequently takes the form of a customary devotional act; it is something many Skyrians feel the need to perform every carnival.⁸⁶ However, for each person making the ascent, the vow is also a private matter, one not generally revealed. As Dubisch similarly notes in Tinos:

Vows involve a very personal relationship between the person making them and the spiritual being to whom they are addressed. Vows are made "inside oneself," and the nature of the vow may or may not be verbally revealed, even though the fact one has made a vow is displayed — publically and sometimes

⁸⁵ On the significance of the *tama*, see Dubisch's "experimental" ethnography of the 'pilgrimage' site of the Church of the Madonna of the Annunciation. She explores the site as a vehicle for understanding the larger socio-political and cultural processes in contemporary Greek life (1995:6-7), detailing the relationship between religion and national identity, and the gendered nature of religious roles. Also insightful is Vouyiouka's (1999) study on narrations of miracles made by pilgrims to Tinos. These narrations constitute social practices that are part of religious and devotional processes, illuminating life histories, the experience of pain and social memory.

⁸⁶ I am hesitant about using the term pilgrimage in relation to the *Yeri's* and masqueraders' ascent, even though there are Skyrians from Athens or other regions (or even from within Skyros) who may view the trip to the island and up to the monastery as a kind of pilgrimage. Dubisch (1995:76) states that a pilgrimage site entails a physical local of sojourning pilgrims (usually of some distance to constitute hardship or an ordeal), but it also exists outside the immediate locale, in the power of the shrine's far-reaching and enduring holiness. In this sense, the monastery becomes a pilgrimage site on St. George's day when believers from neighbouring regions and the mainland come to visit the miraculous icons. During carnival, any form of 'pilgrimage' as such is less evident (but potentially existent) as it becomes enmeshed in profane celebratory practices.

dramatically — in the act of pilgrimage ... A vow, then, is a very personal act, however public its actual fulfillment may be. (ibid.: 89)

Even more significant is how vows represent an unmediated relationship between the person making the vow and holy personage; religious authorities are seldom (if ever) required or called upon. As a devotional practice, there is a direct relationship with the divine (Dubisch 1995:88-9). In the case of St. George, the proximity of Skyrians with their own saint is intensified in the process of the ascent and bell ringing. Upon entering the monastery during carnival, masqueraders venerate the saint's icon, and then proceed to the bell tower. Skyrians, individually and/or collectively, acknowledge the saint's presence during the days of 'idolatrous' revelry. Given the socio-historical relations of Skyrians and the monastery (see chapter 1), the allocation of a time and worship outside formal liturgy becomes symbolically paramount. In their own way and time, Skyrians establish a direct relationship with their patron saint.

Carnival Boundaries: Claiming the Horio

The *Yeri's* procession is a movement through space and time that is performed during carnival. This procession creates its own partitions of enclosure, setting the *Yeri* and their troupes in ritually demarcated boundaries rather than in physical boundaries. Acoustic space has permeable borders and a pervasive presence that transcend physical, spatial parameters. This acoustic space merges separate worlds, that of the parade and of the audience, of the sacred and profane. Unlike physical or procession boundaries, carnival boundaries are sporadically violated, as the scuffles between audience and performers and other comic interaction suggest.

The ascent and descent of the *Yeri* creates a symbolic circumscription of the township of Skyros, traversing the main arterial streets, transforming them into an exclusive space for carnival participants. The *Yeri* themselves do not violate the sacred space of the monastery chapel but remain outside its boundaries. They circumvent the chapel by using the enclosed entrance that houses the icons of St. George, which the *Yeri* venerate *en route* to the bell tower. However, their presence is sufficient to violate this space acoustically. The procession of the *Yeri* and their troupes victoriously traverse the town square, the hubbub of social life; move up to the sacred high monastic realm and return down again to the buzzing *agora*. In so

doing, they have symbolically created and encircled their territory. Carnival has enabled an evanescent re-spacing of the township. This is not merely a symbolic inversion of high-sacred and low-mundane, but rather, a fragmentation recreating a new space that encircles the entire township, homes, streets, *agora* and square; a space that is claimed by carnival's revellers and their guests (see image K on p. 136).

In 1995, the usual ascent to the monastery was surprisingly low in numbers, especially on the Sunday of Grand Carnival. Only one troupe made the ascent on this day, and another a week earlier. Most locals speculated that this was because most of the *Yeri* were young, inexperienced and lacked the stamina needed to make the ascent. Instead, the carnival troupes paced the main street in a competing fashion along with other *Yeri* and sounded the bells boisterously. Occasionally, the young *Yeri* made an entrance into the bars and taverns, sounding their bells. The shop owners would offer them drinks and, sometimes, they would even socialise with the *Yeri* who sat with masks lifted on overturned chairs (due to the bells) and then exit abruptly. This preponderance in the *agora* and taverns was a departure from the established route of the more traditional *Yeri*. This deviation from the anticipated route underlies tensions between the young and older generation of Skyrians, indicating how each generation shifts the parameters of a ritually prescribed path.

Lack of endurance is frequently cited as the reason for not making the ascent. In the following year's (1996) carnival, however, the numbers increased again and a large number of troupes made the ascent to the monastery. The intensity of various aspects of Skyrian carnival is not in any way linear or regressive, but oscillates in an unpredictable way, which enhances the spontaneity of the event. From year to year, no one knows exactly what will happen and the only certainty is carnival's time frame. Therefore, the apparent lack of interest by the revellers to make the ascent to the monastery often becomes part of the discourse concerning the spontaneity of the carnival, which is frequently used as a gauge of its success.

Most of the older generation of *Yeri* feel a certain religiosity about the climb to St. George's Monastery. Sometimes, it is an offering made in fulfilment of a vow (*tama*) promised to the saint. Overall, there was a shift in 1995, with the emphasis of the celebration remaining within the main street (*agora*) rather than on the ascent. This receding of the ascent's religiosity and pilgrimage hints in the direction of viewing

the carnival route and procession as spectacle. Thus, within Skyrian carnival there is always the possibility of a shift from the importance of the ascent as pilgrimage and song (which is lacking generally in carnival now) to a vividly intense, but spatially limited, parade in the *agora*. For most Skyrians, these transformations enhance the carnival's spontaneity and intensify the impetus for revellers to join in the event.

The Stage of Skyrian Carnival

The path of the procession, which ascends to the monastery, is quite set. But the location in which the procession begins is a shifting one. The stage of Skyrian carnival has no definite beginning point or fixed locus. It begins somewhere on the main street of the *agora* and it shifts and concentrates in different areas. Frequent gathering spots are in the mid point of the main street or next to the town square or a procession may commence in the small squares or open spaces off the main artery leading to the monastery or even in the side streets leading to the main street. The troupes making an ascent to St. George gather outside the gates of the monastery in an adjoining patch of open land.

Spectators may find themselves running after a selected troupe, forming a fluid and mobile audience/stage/troupe. Onlookers may also stay put and watch the *Yeri* and masqueraders go up and down the streets, as in a parade of floats. But to catch such feats as the *lilirisma* or *troka* or an intriguing skit or absurd masquerader, spectators must locate these happenings and follow.

In addition, the boundary between procession and audience is fragile and permeable. The *Yeri* maintain it only through persistence and their proliferation in numbers, as they push aside or sweep up onlookers into their stride while ascending and descending. Often masqueraders promenade with the audience along the main streets, their paths mingling and diversifying at various points. Yet the *Yeri's* path remains intact only through the persistent reclaiming of their performative space, which is symbolically constituted and recreated in ritual action. Ultimately, this is a space that belongs to all, given that any time members of the audience can become a *Yeros* and can join the *Yeri*.

The congregation of the carnival's audience also fluctuates during the three-week period. In the early part of the season, there is no audience, and people usually

wander up and down the empty *agora*. Gradually, an audience begins to congregate along the side of the street in response to the increase of *Yeri* and masqueraders in mid-street. Nonetheless, there is still noticeable audience movement in the middle of the street. Spectators at times weave indifferently in and out of masqueraders; they roam the *agora*, undecided as to whether go home or where to stand on the footpath; whether to continue socialising in the street or try to find a table space in one of the overcrowded coffee shops along the *agora* and view the *Yeri* and masqueraders from there. It is only during the final weekend of Grand Carnival, with the influx of huge crowds and when the *agora* is literally swarming with *Yeri* and masqueraders, that we see a high concentration of a relatively still or stable audience on the side of the streets.

Another important stage of Skyrian carnival is the home celebration (*to glendi sto spiti*). Here, gatherings of kin and friends can lead to all night revelling and 'in-house' masquerading with wine and song until the early hours of the morning. Many older Skyrians reminisce that this practice occurs less nowadays than in the past. The room used for dressing and the doorsteps of homes where friends and neighbours cluster are also important carnival spaces. During the dressing of *Yeri* and *Koreles*, the doorsteps of entrances to small rooms can become another place of congregation. Here kin, neighbours and friends gather to see the *Yeri*, *Koreles* and *Frangi* dress, shout ouzo, joke and tease with each other.

Much later at night, taverns, pubs and dance clubs become another stage for carnival revelry. These are intense *loci* of revelry and socialising. They are overcrowded, boisterous arenas filled with companies of masqueraders, wherein young *Yeri* make an occasional entrance. Masqueraders enter into teasing games of identity, coupled with dance and drinking, while other Skyrians, usually the more elderly, enjoy the sedentary appeal of the tavern table with its abundance of wine and the exchange of song.

Generally, every point of the *Horio* is potentially a stage for carnival, from the more favoured locales of the town square, *agora* and monastery, to the more discrete corners of narrow streets and home doorsteps. Carnival exacerbates the already condensed space of the *Horio*, which is brimming with masqueraders and revellers.

Viewing or being an onlooker of the event is but one of the many celebratory facets of Skyrian carnival. Hence, the carnival does not stand apart from the audience as a spectacle to be viewed. Equally important is the act of 'being in there', amidst the happenings to participate in the anticipation and preparation of the revelry experience. The audience is fluidly located in and out of masquerade, and in and out of the centre stage of the *agora*. In itself, this continual interchange of the reveller/masquerader/spectator challenges notions of spectacle and audience reflexivity. This ambiguous positioning of the audience also calls for a rethinking of ideas of performative and ritual space, and the performer/spectator relation. The invitation of a Skyrian carnival group to perform in Venice highlights this problem (which I develop in chapter 6). In this context, the exposition of Skyrian carnival as a folk performance is but one discursive aspect of the celebration, one that has little bearing upon the subjective experience of carnival.

Overall, I have detailed Skyrian carnival with the intention of exposing the richness of the carnival experience, and from this source, extract the way in which participants and revellers transcend and transform their ordinary 'selves' and existence through the ritual process. Furthermore, I have begun to explore the metaphoric discourse surrounding participants' own conceptions about their impetus for ritual action: issues of passion, psychosis and veneration, which surround anthropological questions about the constitution of self within ritual action.

In the following chapter, I focus on another crucial component of Skyrian carnival, satire. I examine the satirical performance of the *Trata* as a medium for the analysis of the socio-political dimensions of Skyrian life. Inspired by the responsorial nature of Skyrian oral tradition, I explore the satirical performance with the use of the trope of the antiphon (a musical form of call and response) in order to ascertain symbolic frames of social interaction and cultural innovation.

CHAPTER 3

CARNIVAL SATIRE

Satire is a key event in Skyrian carnival as it is a compelling expression of popular voice, and plays a pivotal role in the dialectics of celebratory practices. In this chapter, I focus on the fishermen's satirical performance, the *Trata*, which takes place on the final day of Skyrian carnival. Satire is embedded in a rich repertoire of Skyrian popular and folk poetry, song and improvised verse.⁸⁷ The *Trata* highlights discursive genres important to carnival and to Skyrian society, namely poetry in satirical verses, singing and music. These genres emanate from a pervasive and dynamic oral tradition that contours the cultural idiosyncrasies of contemporary Skyrian community.

I examine the nature of satire, comedy and the comic as expressed in carnival. Variations on the theme of satire and comedy are teased out ethnographically and their meaning is elicited contextually. Subsequently, I draw attention to the soundscape created by music and sound in carnival to elucidate how Skyrians culturally construct 'noise' as meaningful interaction. I analytically apply the trope of antiphony, i.e., the alternating or juxtaposition of two or more bodies of sound/voice/music. Antiphony is a particular musical form of call and response between a chorus and soloist or two choruses, etc., that creates a contrast of sound and lyrics. I explore how through antiphonal form, there is a production and reproduction of cultural meaning in the satirical performance of the *Trata*. A 'sense' is made out of the absurdly comic, which emanates from the responsorial nature of the performance and provides insight into innovative performance genres.

I draw specific attention to the satirical verses recited in two separate performances during the 1995 carnival, in order to elicit an understanding of why and how this occurred. An antiphonal response is embedded in the Skyrian discursive

⁸⁷ The cultural and social significance of oral poetry and song is prominent in Greek ethnography. For instance, Kavouras (1994) looks at oral poetry and its symbolic reconstitution in relation to community and history in folk songs on the island of Karpathos. Panopoulos (1994) also focuses on song and the symbolic topography of otherness on the island of Naxos. Tsimouris explores issues of song as metaphor and a living expression of social memory, protest and identity among the Asia Minor refugees in Limnos (1999:234).

repertoire that is exemplified by the Trata. This created not only new comic dialogue in forms of individual skits and satirical verses, but an entirely different performance, that of the Donkey-Gathering. Even beyond Skyrian carnival, I suggest that antiphonal forms of practices can provide an arena for an active and innovative involvement in the re-creation of meaningful cultural frameworks. Within Skyrian carnival, the antiphonal satirical performance of the Trata also surfaces as an elevated voice of reflection and socio-political expression.

The Fishermen's Satirical Performance of the Trata

The boisterousness of the *Yeri's* troupes and their bell ringing escalates on the final Grand Carnival weekend. But on the Sunday morning, there is a lull. Only a few bells from the young *Yeri* echo in the main street of the *agora*. A drowsy crowd begins to gather in the *agora* and square. Murmur and anticipation replaces the din of the previous night's revelry and upheaval. The crowd awaits to hear the clarinet that will herald the Trata's arrival at the square. The Trata is Skyrian carnival's main satirical performance. Unlike the cluttered voraciousness of general carnival, with its indistinguishable murmurs and spouts of laughter, Skyrian satire takes centre stage for the day: it is clear and forthright and has a well-directed voice.

The Trata enters almost as a Brechtian interruption⁸⁸ — one that ceases and seizes the time-space that exists in between the playing out of different forms of carnival comic — that of absurdity and masquerade. It enters as a pause for reflection upon happenings in the community and on topical and enduring issues. The Trata interrupts the revelry, shocks its audiences and exposes conditions of Skyrian life. It is a comic perspective on serious concerns.

The Trata, which literally means "fishing boat", is called the fishermen's celebration (*i yiorti ton psaradhon*) by Skyrians. On the Sunday afternoon, from

⁸⁸ In relation to Brecht's epic theatre, Benjamin profoundly locates "the interruption" as one of the fundamental devices of all structuring, one that goes far beyond the sphere of art (1968:151). As opposed to dramatic theatre with its emphasis on Aristotelian catharsis (viz the purging of emotions and empathy with the heroes), Benjamin sees epic theatre as seeking a didactic role. Rather than identifying with a play's characters, the audience should be educated to be astonished at the circumstances under which they function (ibid.: 150). The task of epic theatre is to discover the conditions of life — and to alienate them — through the interruption of happenings that startle and educate the audience into reflection (ibid.: 150-3).

around 2 to 3 pm, a large crowd hovers in the *agora*. The noise of the *Yeri*'s bells has dwindled. A fishing boat appears, transported on wheels by the crew with the captain (a comic/ceremonial figure) in the boat. The vessel is pulled by about 20 to 30 unkempt fishermen and sailors whose faces are blackened with soot. Unlike the *Yeri* and masqueraders, the crew's faces are dishevelled, but visible. The procession is led by a person playing the island song, "The Trata", on a clarinet.⁸⁹ The crowd follows the fishermen who position the boat in the centre of the town square. A chosen crewmember stands on the boat, which is elevated high above the densely gathered crowd and recites scathing satirical verses over the council's loudspeaker (see images H1 & H2 on p. 134). These fifteen syllable metered distichs (i.e., two-lined rhyming verses), coupled with a stern yet humorous intonation of the voice, accentuate the potency of the message or verbal attack, and craft the language of satire into a sharp and witty tool of social commentary. The themes of the satirical verses encompasses everything from politics, EU funding, the mayor, inflation, tourism, to mini skirts and sewerage works. The verses include crude and vulgar language, and are spoken in a Skyrian idiom, which is commonly understood or recognised as the local dialect — a fact that enhances the humour.

The Route and Stage of the Trata

In contrast to the *Yeri* and their troupes, the Trata is performed at the lower base of the *Horio*. The Trata's procession starts from the midpoint of the road that connects the coast of Molos to the *Horio*. It proceeds towards the town square, which is its final destination. Here, the performance either takes place in or adjacent to the square. This is a route opposite to that of the procession of the *Yeri*, which crosses the main street (*agora*) and then proceeds to ascend to the monastery (see image K on p. 136).

The Trata performance lasts for approximately a couple of hours, starting from the procession to the square, the recitation of the verses, and finalising with the dance of the Trata crew. The performance ends with the fishermen dancing an island dance, the *sirtos*, in an open circle around the boat, while other members give out the

⁸⁹ "I Trata mas i kourelou" ("Our tattered fishing boat") is a song and melody of anonymous authorship found in Aegean island music genres (Demeter Tsounis, personal communication, 2-1-05).

customary fish soup (*kakavia*). Finally, the Trata's crew disperses and enters the streets and pubs where they continue to revel with others. By this time, the *Yeri* and masqueraders have already started to gather in the main street, just below the square, the sound of their bells almost drowning out the end of the fishermen's performance. Carnival then continues with the *Yeri*, the masqueraders and other ad hoc comic and non-sensical skits and revelry.

Within carnival, the Trata creates a special space, its own stage. This is located in the town square, built alongside the council building and elevated a few steps above the one end of the main street of the *agora*. It is in the town square that the satirists proclaim their grievances, standing opposite the municipal chambers, sometimes pointing in that direction while they read out verses which mock, provoke and insinuate, all in carnival jest, of course! This provocation is exacerbated by the ironic fact that the council financially contributes to the Trata performance.

The term *trata* encompasses a wide range of meanings and actions, ranging from its common usage as "fishing boat" or "trawler" to "fishing nets" and, at times, implying the catch itself. In Skyros, *trata* refers to the performance and satirical event, i.e., The Trata, as well as to the actual people participating. So people would say that the "Trata is beginning" (as performance); they can "see the Trata appearing" (as a boat); "the Trata organised a party" (referring to the people participating). In linguistic terms, there is a conceptual weaving of the potent symbol of the boat with fishing livelihood, metaphorically blending event/persons/object with the satire itself.

Satire and Oral Tradition

The satirical verses, which are present in Skyros' diverse oral poetic tradition, have always played an important part in Skyrian celebratory and religious life.⁹⁰ This is not bypassing the fact that in Skyros, like most Greek rural communities, mass culture and mediated social knowledge bears heavily on cultural production. Verses can be

⁹⁰ The Skyrian folklorist Perdika (1937, 1940, 1943), and Byzantine musicologist, Psahou (1910) have written from different perspectives and eras on the importance of song and verse in Skyrian society. Throughout my stay in Skyros, I have gathered pages of verses given to me by members of musical families during spontaneous outbursts of distich improvisation, some of which I jotted down upon their request.

improvised during songs of the table (*tis tavlas*), and are welded with other pre-composed verses recalled from the oral poetic tradition. Subsequently, they become identified with the musical event. Verses can also be improvised during occasions such as weddings, fêtes or family gatherings in the home (*glendi sto spiti*). However, Skyrian verses also maintain a separate non-musical entity, as in the case of the Trata, which accumulates its own repertoire of satirical verses annually. In general, verses are associated with the popular, demotic form of song.⁹¹

A crucial component of Skyrian oral tradition is the “turning” (*yirisma*), i.e., the repetition of a verse, or the introduction and improvisation of verses by a singer or singers during songs of the table. This responsorial “turning” (*yirisma*) of musical distichs is of particular social significance (which I develop later in this chapter). It not only inspires the usage of the antiphon as an analytical device, but it is a key to understanding the direction of cultural interaction as it unfolds in celebratory life. The *yirisma* (turning) can be seen as an idiosyncratic symbolic form of cultural production, which, by extension also shapes social action.

The lengthy narration of satirical verse has been a vital part of the carnival festivities before the Trata existed as a separate performance, and was staged at a specified time in the town square. Selections of oral poetry become incorporated into a literary tradition that prevails locally as well as on a pan-Hellenic scale. An example of this genre is a classic satirical poem recited during the 1900 carnival, and reproduced in a collection by a Skyrian poet, Persidi. In this poem, the satirist who is Persidi’s maternal uncle, and a man with a formal education (which is reflected in his poetic style), appears dressed in a long cloak with seaweed hair, a plebeian Poseidon. He stands before the gathering and tells of a shipwreck off the coast of Molos, of the bounty salvaged from a cargo of tobacco, and the repercussions this event had in Skyrian life (see Appendix 6 part D, for extracts of the verses). Persidi (1994:103-104) names these satirical verses, “comedy” (*komodhia*), suggesting a quasi-staged character. The verses of renowned satirists now considered classics have been

⁹¹ *Laika* is Greek popular urban music, while *dhimotika* refer to traditional, regional folk music (Tsounis 1997b:250). According to Tsounis, “[t]he Greek demotic “folk” music tradition evolved in agrarian and marine communities over the past 700 years. It consists of regional mainland, island and Asia Minor regional styles and instrumentation. Demotic songs, dances and music traditionally functioned to accompany various events such as harvest, rites of passage and saint days” (1997a:23 fn. 1).

published by the Skyrian Association in Athens in an anthology by the Skyrian folk poet, Persidi (1994). Included in Persidi's collection of demotic Skyrian songs are verses recited during carnival at the turn of the twentieth century, written by his uncle (see above), the author's own compositions (1994:103), but most songs are drawn from a stock of anonymous poetic verse. Subsequently, Skyrian poetry may be integrated into an overarching official literary tradition, yet maintain a relative degree of autonomy in relation the popular base of oral poetic production.

Goody (1992:12-13) contends that within literate societies, oral culture is vested with only part of the total body of literary activity. Oral aspects of popular culture undergo transformation; in mass society they are subordinated to literate traditions, although this process varies according to different social groups or sub-groups (ibid.: 13).⁹² In contemporary Skyros, the articulation of oral and literate traditions indicates the idiosyncratic way in which the community plays one discursive form, against or in conjunction with another in cultural production. This relationship between forms becomes obvious in performances such as the Trata. Here, the communicative and participatory aspects of verse creation that are particular to an oral poetic tradition, maintain their ephemeral and spontaneous status, yet these verses have the potential to become part of a literary or folkloric repertoire of texts.

Historical Development of the Trata

The Trata, as it is presented today, developed as a satirical performance after the Second World War. Up until the 1970s, satire was comprised of ad hoc comic sketches and verses. Now it is a quasi-staged performance predicated on the theme of a fishing boat and its crew, hence its name Trata, meaning "the fishing boat". The performance is semi-rehearsed and consolidated into a processional form, with a plotted route of arrival to and departure from its destination, the town square. In her work on carnival, which spans from the 1960s to the 1970s, Couliantou (1977:40, 56) does not mention the word, Trata. She states that depending upon the mood of the year, there was often a satire (*satira*) and comedy (*komodhia*) — terms used

⁹² Goody gives the example of the fairy stories of the European countryside collected by the brothers Grimm in nineteenth century Germany. Fairy tales were part of a popular culture that were later supplemented by genres such as published romances and other works, to eventually be linked to the literary-based urban high culture (1992:13).

interchangeably by Skyrians (ibid.: 40). These terms were used interchangeably for two similar spectacles that had distinguishing features. *Satira* (satire) referred to satirists wandering in the streets and homes, often reciting or improvising dialogues in satiric verse. *Komodhia* (comedy) was a kind of 'comic happening' by performers, mostly fishermen from the coast, artisans and masons. The comedians would take a contemporary theme, such as a Skyrian wedding or a shipwreck. Then they would dress up as various characters, improvise roles, subsequently a poet would read out satirical verses on that specific subject, incorporating a medley of other themes. The Trata, as I describe below, is an amalgam emerging from these comic forms. The Trata is a recent re-creation of satire as a publicly staged performance. It replaced the 'freelance' satirist who no longer wanders the side streets of Skyros. Nonetheless, the Trata's production rests upon the fertile oral culture devoted to and surrounding song and verse creation.

The Trata Crew and the Satirists

Coulentianou states that most of the satirists and comedians were fishermen from the shore and artisans (1977:40). However, in the events of 1992 and 1995, the crew members came from a variety of occupations including shepherds. Many of the Trata participants also take part in carnival as *Yeri* troupes and other forms of masquerade. Most of them are young to middle-aged men, children occasionally participate. The 1992 Trata consisted mainly of uncouth sailors with soot smeared over their faces, playing out a skit of a mock marriage of one sailor to an Iranian, cross-dressed, well-covered and barely recognisable bride.⁹³ Although it is not customary, women can take part in the Trata and, on occasions, are invited to do so, but many prefer to abstain from the performance and the drunken bawdy crew. Women (usually partners or relatives) join the party that the Trata organises a few days before and a week after their performance. In 1995, there was talk about an all-woman's Trata but this did not eventuate. Women do, however, contribute significantly to the writing of verses of the satirical performance. Non-Skyrians can also participate in the Trata, although this is rare.

⁹³ In the 1995 carnival, the Trata boat was transformed into an aeroplane and there was a predominance of men cross-dressing, either as air hostesses or companions to male passengers.

The preparation for the Trata begins early on Sunday morning which itself is a celebratory event. The crew dresses and prepares the boat and various comic gags between drinking breaks. Family members and friends pass by, have a laugh, join in a drink of wine, greet and toast "and to next year" (*ke tou hronou*), dance, wander around, tease and help out. The preparation becomes a party with a smaller crowd and plentiful in-house jokes and pranks. Prior to the main event, the person responsible for reciting the 1995 verses pulled over to a corner, brought out the crumpled paper and practiced reading his verses to a few fellow revellers.

In 1992, the spokesperson of the Trata was a wood-carver of Skyrian folk artefacts who lived on the coast of Molos. In 1995, there were two separate performances; in one called the Donkey-Gathering⁹⁴ the reciter was a labourer-shepherd; in the other, the Aeroplane Trata, the reciter was a trades person. The occupational background of the satire reciters varies. In contemporary performances the spokesperson is not necessarily drawn from the fishing community but rather on the basis of merit of their humorous style (*gusto*) in narrating the verses.

Satirical Authorship

Who are the satirists, the authors and the creators of the satirical verses? Although the Trata performance is set up as a monologue for a solo reciter, it would be misleading to view the verses as being created by a single author. Even in the case of printed classic satires of renowned oral poets (cited above), verses emanate from an Aegean island repertoire of folk poetry and sung verse.⁹⁵ Oral poets usually belong to families of singers who reproduce and extend their cultural capital inter-generationally. In Skyros, particular tunes and songs of the table are named after kin groups (*soī pl. -a*) as for instance the Avloniatikos and Xanthouliaikos melodies (*skopī*), which at some point in time were created by a family member, to then be retained by the

⁹⁴ A detailed analysis of the two satirical events will follow in this chapter.

⁹⁵ Finnegan states that research on traditional epic narratives in Yugoslavia in the 1930s indicates that epic poetry was composed by oral formulaic processes by which the same narratives were differently improvised by the performer and were dependent upon the context of the performance (1992:121). However, Kavouras is sceptical about the formulaic nature of the Aegean island oral tradition repertoire, alternatively forwarding the dynamic nature of performance and ritual as emerging from socio-historically differentiated cultural practices (1996, and personal communication 2-9-04, Athens).

family as emblematic of their line, even if these tunes are no longer sung by family members of following generations.

In Skyrian carnival, satire is folk poetry used as a specific socio-political device, viz., in a collective performative capacity. The Trata verses are verbally brainstormed throughout the year, themes being sporadically suggested at bawdy parties or special gatherings held for such occasions — they are products of commensality and social exchange. The themes used for ridicule are drawn from a pool of issues aired in discussions, in homes, cafés, pubs, media and work places. They are not necessarily uniform or homogeneous in character but take a concrete form in the fishermen's distichs. Verses can also be jotted down on paper last minute during the chaotic carnivalesque preparation of the Trata, which occurs a few hours before the performance. In the end, the verses are read out aloud by the spokesperson (who is called "the poet", *o piitis*) to the public gathering in the square.

Despite its folk or popular authorship, the creator of the verses may be a single renowned author, such as the classic satirists who have been published by the Skyrian community in Athens (for instance, Persidi cited above). In recent years, there are a variety of authors (both men and women) constituting a nucleus of people involved in creating the Trata verses and performance. They are active in the production or collation of verses, ideas or comic themes, and contribute in various ways to the production of the poetic work, although the polishing of the final text is allocated to a specific person. At times, especially in relation to more sensitive or personal issues, authors may remain anonymous or are discretely hidden and protected by the group's collective identity. The satirical verses of the Trata are progressively and commensally put together through time. In the 1995 Trata, the main composer remained publicly anonymous but was discretely known to many Skyrians (as well as the author).

The authorship of the verses is lost in its quasi-collective base. However, through the same networks used to identify masqueraders, authors can also be discretely revealed. In the final draft of the satirical verses, the collective "we" is used to introduce the themes of discontent or ridicule, thus expressing the opinions of many Skyrians rather than that of a single author.

The final monologue of the satirical text emerges from a dialogue of ideas and practices. The satirical verses of the Trata spring out from an arena of contestation

and moments of shared focus. Although particular to satire, I suggest this is also the case with other folk or popular songs, poetry, etc. The grammatical use of the first person plural in the Trata verses presents a facade of authorial cohesion, one that can be quite misleading when compared with the creative process leading to the text of the recited verses (for examples see Appendix 6: Satirical Verses). Access to crucial moments and sources of cultural production can be elusive and nebulous. The monologue, i.e., singular and unitary speech of performance is similarly obscure in its source of origin, primarily due to the disjuncture of text from context. In the Trata's party — where over thirty inebriated Skyrians joke, dance, sing and compose satire, gathering targets of ridicule from a variety of sources such as, public personalities, quirky individuals, social issues or incidents, which are drawn from coffee table conversations and inspired by the rich repertoire of an oral poetic tradition — it becomes apparent that such social processes are not imprinted *in* the text but *are* the text. The Trata's verses are an indication of how a text can be used to 'read' society and reflect the way in which seminal social and communicative processes are the dynamic behind ongoing cultural production.⁹⁶

On Satire and Carnival Comic

Throughout carnival, there is a euphoric atmosphere that creates a foundation for merriment and laughter and provides the arena for different manifestations of anything funny! However, overriding themes of what is funny, namely 'the comic' needs to be distinguished in comedy and satire. Ethnographically, I attend to notions of the comic, that is, I examine the meanings and differences of these respective modes as expressed in Skyrian carnival. This analysis of comedy and satire is grounded in the juxtaposition of satirical and comic events during carnival, which highlights their distinctive forms of organization and content. These are not literary genres as such, but emanate from an oral poetic culture closely connected to the place, history and traditions of the island. The comic and satire are linked to the general creation of laughter, amusement and merry-making associated with carnival,

⁹⁶ This point cautions assumptions about conflating oral or folk traditions with ideologically constructed folkloric texts. Such notions diminish the generative role of indigenous people as being creatively and socially active in the process of cultural production. Satirical verse is an example of the complex and popular dynamics at work in oral poetry.

but engage these forces in different ways. Generally speaking, comedy (*komodhia*) refers to a more structured or rehearsed play or performance, while the comic (*komikos*) has the more diffused meaning of funny or amusing.⁹⁷ There is a blurred line between genres of comedy, satire (which I develop in detail below), joking, parody and ridicule, but all seem to have one common denominator, that is, the intention to provoke laughter. Carnival provides a euphoric atmosphere of merriment and laughter.

For Bakhtin, laughter holds a special place in carnival. Crucial to Bakhtinian carnival is the festive laughter of folk culture in the medieval market place (ibid.: 11-12). Carnival's populist foundations are found in the medieval market place with the mingling of disparate groups, exuding a cacophony of unrelated voices and folk laughter. Bakhtin maintains that carnivalesque laughter is universal in scope and directed towards all (ibid.: 11). Humour is simultaneously ambivalent, frivolous and mocking, and can be manifested in various forms, such as ritual spectacles, carnival pageants and the comic shows of the market place (ibid.: 5). This folk humour can be found in comic verbal compositions and written and oral parodies, as well as in the various genres of billingsgate (i.e., coarse, abusive language), curses, oaths and so forth. These "forms of protocol and ritual based on laughter and consecrated by tradition" were distinct from serious official and ecclesiastical ceremonials (ibid.: 5). They offered a non-official, extra-ecclesiastical and extra political aspect of world and human relations, building a second world and second life outside officialdom. Medieval cultural consciousness created a two-world condition, in which people participated at given times in the year (ibid.: 6). Historically, carnival provided a chronotope for the social expression and manifestation of the comic and popular laughter, but more significantly it can be an arena of alternative realities.⁹⁸

In Skyrian carnival, satire and carnival comic are distinctly separate forms of humour that are manifested during the time-space in which the Trata's verses are

⁹⁷ On the difference between satire and satyr play see glossary.

⁹⁸ Droogers (2004) emphasizes the significance of the ludic in ritual through his work on boys' initiations among the Wagenia, Congo. He views ritual as "an enjoyable form of playing with realities" — a festive enactment of a counterreality (2004:138). It is a generative ludic forum that gives premise to the notion of viewing ritual in its own right. The ludic, a centrally engaging feature of and in carnival, can also be seen as way of 'playing' and generating alternative realities.

recited. But satire and the comic merge before and after the event, that is, during the preparation and ascent to the square. Here, crew members hovering around the boat, invoke their own absurd masquerade and comic themes as they joke and jostle amongst themselves and with unsuspecting spectators. The recitation is barely over when the crew members embark on their own comic skits and pranks and then disperse into the crowd of revellers in the main street.

The comic in Skyrian carnival is found in ad hoc skits, amusing masquerades, and so on. The comic performer is also dressed up, either in the absurd dress of the *Frangi* or in the more stylised masquerader. Comic dress is a collage of non-sensical and fragmented themes, and this bizarreness is at times left as an unsolved riddle. Sometimes a dress joke is spelt out, so it literally rides on people's attire or backs. For example, to accentuate the joke, a cross-dressed bride walked through the main street with a placard glued to the back of the wedding dress that read, "Pregnant Bride, WANTED, a Groom". Masqueraders also carry items that make no utilitarian sense, e.g., a large barrel or a tray with gadgets and a lit candle. Jokes and absurdity are on parade in the main street during carnival.

Masqueraders and pranksters also tease fellow revellers with guessing games. The theme of concealment and revelation of identity — hiding or exposing the real self — becomes the source of perpetual joking and laughter. What is deemed as comic emerges sporadically, as it is singled out by participants and spectators alike. Something or someone appears as comic momentarily through the reveller's gaze, to be then pointed out to others and discussed in jest as it evolves into a funny anecdote. The 'comicalness' of a person or skit is speculated during and after carnival, with reference to criteria such as gestures, antics, taste, humorous style (*gusto*), dress, and so on. What is comic emerges from social interaction; it is assessed and measured with fluctuating or topical criteria. Through this interaction the bizarre and absurd become funny. The comic can be continually negotiated, but it always breaks, reshapes and toys with culturally shared meanings and codes.

Consequently, the 'comic' in Skyrian carnival essentially emerges as social practice. For instance, one Skyrian woman dressed up as an old, bent-over granny with a hump and carried a basket of bread sticks and baguettes with which, at times, she prodded or gave out to the crowd on the main street. Although she was indeed a

hilarious sight, the joke was even greater when two of my friends came running to tell me if I had seen this baguette-provocateur. It turned out to be their aunt, their mother's younger sister (and to my surprise, my neighbour!), a very active businesswoman who owned one of the main supermarkets and had just recently acquired a bakery and outlet. The joke was also a play on her surname, "Psomas" meaning "Baker" and the recent same-name business acquisition. Her nieces continued the joke, extending the bread-pun throughout the night. It was spread to a group of family and friends, under a pretence of not knowing the person, so that Mrs. Baker's joke could silently continue and extend under the guise of quasi-knowing. The comic in Skyrian carnival is ephemeral and open to speculation and social negotiation; it is unlike satire which emerges from established (but questioned) socio-political beliefs and is semi-rehearsed, requiring a stage, audience and laughter in unison. Carnival comic is spontaneous, silent and visually loaded, while satire is overtly vocal, drawing heavily on an oral poetic tradition.

Laughter is incited by the fragmentation and inversion of themes from a wide range of culturally shared assumptions. Kapferer, in reference to Sinhalese exorcisms, states that comedy and humour are important devices that gain the audiences' attention centrally, engaging them in ritual action (1979). Comedy and humour have the capacity to *break form*; dance and trance elaborate on ideas and themes which is something that comedy also accomplishes, but in a provocative or challenging way (ibid.: 146). Kapferer also contends that comedy involves the audience intellectually, drawing on a wide range of concepts, ideas and experience shared by people (ibid.: 148). Similarly, in Skyrian carnival, by overturning or accentuating themes, the comedian can convey messages across common understandings and provoke reflexivity. Comic themes in carnival can be varied, diffused or indeterminate, and range from the obscure (e.g., someone walking by holding a branch and with plastic bags tied to one knee?!), to the definite (e.g., a gorilla). In such contexts, laughter creates both an embodied and externalised (through inter-subjectivity) 'we' relationship. Comedy stresses unity or at least a unified response through laughter, manifested in the *communitas* of revelry.

By contrast, satire divides the collective "we" under different and varying banners. This is obvious in the Trata's frequent use of first person plural in the

opening verses, "We Skyrians ..." (see verses of the local government elections below) but as various groupings are banded together or severed, depending on the theme or target, the "we" can easily become "us" as opposed to "them". The extent and magnitude of laughter in satire is a gauge as to whether the comic aspect is understood and shared — or not. For example, while reciting the verses relating to a group of Skyrians' visit to their sister city in Belgium, mainly those who attended and their surrounding kin and friends laughed. Whereas most people laughed at the verses relating to the then aged (now late) Prime Minister and his young wife (for extracts of verses on these themes see "The Belgium sister city visit" and "The Villa" in Appendix 6: Satirical Verses, part A).

Satire fragments and creates opposing but disparate sets of "us" and "them". Although satire has the potential to encapsulate many of these shared comic assumptions, it can also target, articulate or undermine these notions. Satire appropriates ad hoc comic themes, but it also sharpens them to undermine, poke fun or chip away at the edges of the prevailing social order. This is why the Trata's comedy is different from carnival comedy. Rather than just mocking types and situations, as in the ad hoc revelry and ridiculous masquerade of the previous weeks of carnival, the Trata has *specific* and *direct targets*, particular persons and issues to which it directs its satire. These may be the Skyrian community or individuals, the Greek nation, the EU, politicians, epidemics, environment, morals, etc., (for further examples see Appendix 6: Satirical Verses).

Despite the obvious potential to undermine, satire and comedy can be conservative in nature, valuing the inverse of what they mock and capable of reinforcing a shared 'we' consensus of the *status quo*. With laughter, there is an ambiguity and often a fragile line separating amusement from ridicule and scorn, indicative of its conformist and corrective potential. By contrast, satire has a particular aim that is frequently openly expressed. Satire is an attack on visible targets; it is a direct polemic — at times corrective — and as such, a powerful voice of political and social grievances. Satire can release rigidity within the shared viewpoint by exposing the established order of things and presenting far-fetched renditions, which within the context of carnival become plausible and even applaudable.

Skyrians refer to the Trata performance, at times, as satirical verses (*satirika stihakia*) or satire (*satira*).⁹⁹ These verses are explicit socio-political commentary, and in Skyrian carnival, satire makes statements about the social and political milieu, morality or any other pressing issues placed on the agenda. However, these specific targets are not confined solely to Skyros, but Skyros at the intersections of its social and political geography, ranging from idiosyncratic individuals through to local and national to global issues. The range of comic attack is open; there is no limited circumference. Satire reflects and expands the flexible limit points of the Skyrian cosmos; it encompasses the mundane, the everyday, the encroaching and the expanding. The Trata brings these dimensions into one space and time, into its own satirical chronotope. So it seems quite appropriate to re-look at the town square, the site of the Trata, as the stage of a socio-political microcosm. It is a special space for revisiting and redirecting local, national and global issues, as the satirical verses traverse these from one distich to the other. Through these processes, distance is negated and place compressed, whether Skyrians feel they have been fleeced by the billiards and new pokies down the road or by the aged, ex- (now late) Prime Minister's exorbitant expenses on his young wife. Issues such as these are all brought together in one and the same space and time; the time is carnival; its epicentre is the town square.

Although I have analytically separated satire and carnival comic and comedy, the two merge during the celebrations. The Trata performance, with its well-targeted satirical verses, appears amidst the ad hoc revelry and hilarity that has been climaxing over the three weeks of celebrations on the island. Being part of that carnival, the Trata also adopts the ad hoc comic happenings of the wider revelry. Although there is some precedent for a Trata performance, there is a degree of comic freedom associated with the crew's masquerade, with the development of satellite comic themes, and with the at times, unrelated skits that rotate around the main Trata event. After the recitation of the verses has ended, the ad hoc comic skits and happenings continue. The drunken crew dance around the boat, their grotty, sooted hands draw in any spectator unfortunate enough to be nearby, zealously shouting

⁹⁹ I have rarely heard Skyrians use the term *komodhia* for the Trata, as Couletianou and Persidi mention (see above).

them wine out of a chamber pot. Bystanders half engage with a mixture of humour and disgust. The crew then disperses into the main street and, still in their own masquerade, continue to tease revellers and bystanders. They enter shops and taverns and play pranks on customers and owners alike. Without full masks, with wine and laughter, the crew blends with the carnival masqueraders and revellers. Members of the Trata easily transgress into the arena of the main masquerade and the ad hoc comedy of the *agora*. At this point, satire and carnival revelry merge in the same performative space. Therefore, the Trata is not only a time to review pressing social and political issues that are expressed in the satirical verses, but it is also an event which has been flexibly welded into the carnivalesque comic.

Obscenity and Satire

Obscenity is almost a compulsory aspect of carnival comic and satire. Most Skyrians will agree and are comfortable with obscenity, even if they disapprove of some of its contents. Anyone sufficiently shocked by the “shocking jokes” to complain is quickly dismissed and doubly ridiculed.

One such case arose from the Trata of 1994. Complaints were made to the council by certain spectators, mainly non-Skyrian women, about the obscene and sacrilegious language of the verses. Disputes amongst organisers of the Trata followed and the event was nearly cancelled. Some of my Skyrian friends — a few were members of the Trata crew — recalled the incident at a get together before the start of the 1995 carnival season:

Yianni: Last year’s verses of the Trata were 90% filthy lingo, shit, and obscenities.

[Thereupon, a disagreement began between one woman and the rest about how the Trata should say what they want.]

Amersa: It’s a Skyrian custom and any foreigner can come and see it as it is! Skyrians like the obscene, the shocking; everyone waits for the Trata to hear it, even old women!

[She continued to give a few examples of elderly aunties eagerly awaiting the Trata. Some admitted that last year had too much bad language but that was part of satire, as another friend echoed.]

Amersa: If they didn’t like it they could go and see the *Yeri* elsewhere! [Field diary, 14-1-95]

However, if offence is taken by shocking verses, formal complaints can be lodged with authorities, although these complaints are susceptible to satire and can be re-opened to re-shock at the next opportunity. An excellent example is the above complaint. A few weeks later, the 1995 Aeroplane Trata made sure it responded to the incident with a few scathing verses. The satirists lampooned the prim and proper “pseudo ladies” who complained to the council about the vile and sacrilegious language. The rhymesters retaliated with even less courteous language (which I have omitted) and ended with a strong suggestion to leave such piety for their homes:

The Shocked Ladies

Last year some *pseudo ladies* were very offended
it is shameful to say such [profanity] they said

...

So don't be shocked dear *Ladies*,
and leave the *Christs!!* and *Marys!!** for your home.

(* used here ambiguously as piety with implied blasphemy)
[excerpt, Aeroplane Trata verses, 1995. Field notes.]

Once opened up or publicised to a wider audience, there is a disjuncture between what newcomers and locals see as the permissibility of humour.¹⁰⁰ To what extent humour is shared or accepted at the local level, either by visitors or by Skyrians is only revealed at the specific time of reciting. Skyrians cushion the potential shock of obscene satire through years of building up a repertoire of witty, shocking verse. And it is these verses that will have the last word on any matter chosen, whether it is controversial or conservative. Such is the antiphonal nature of satire and of the Trata.

Satire as Political Expression

The Trata opens and airs political grievances that are commonly shared or disputed by Skyrians. It takes particular delight in targeting public and political figures, individual eccentric personalities, quirky incidents, trends, issues or any contemporary theme of local, national and global significance.

¹⁰⁰ The same dilemma (personal and methodological) applies to my own discretion in reproducing the verses — this thesis is not the Trata.

Satire has also been a popular medium of verbal resistance in other contexts. Satirical poetry also occupies a special place in societies with oppressive military regimes. Toulabor develops an intriguing analysis of political satire against the military regime of Eyadema in Togo. His work enables a particularly insightful comparison to be made with political satire in Skyros during military rule of the colonels (the Junta of 1967-74). Although I have limited material on this period, it is important to note certain issues. Mass congregations were banned and a curfew was imposed to confine political and social aggregation. Satirists then took to the side streets and smaller squares, coffee houses, inside homes and private gatherings. Skyrians recall that the *Trata* never ceased as a happening; even during night curfews the *Trata* crew continued to revel in coffee houses. Although uprooted from its main congregation venue, the town square, satire rescheduled its loyal audience into alternative venues, which became the hive of satirists verbal attacks.

In the case of Togo, Toulabor argues that the Eyadema military regime had been numbed by the violent verbal defiance displayed by public satire (1994:72). However, since 1990, satire has no longer been the voice of a political underground; on the contrary it has made "devastating inroads into the corridors of mainstream politics" (ibid.: 73). Despite the regime's repression, Toulabor contends that the oral tradition persists and invents different ways of avoiding direct conflict: "satire does have a squalid perception of the regime ... Yet it is precisely against a background of squalor that the human spirit ... can come to the fore, just as the monumental works of Rabelais, Freud and Groddeck have shown" (ibid.: 73). In Togo, satire developed into a powerful discursive weapon of popular opposition. In Skyros, satire in its current context is not only a political voice but also a political tool.¹⁰¹ I detail this point in relation to local government elections.

¹⁰¹ Although I have described satire as political expression, I need to extend the meaning of politics to elucidate the politics of satire. The "political" metaphorically extends beyond the meanings of policy, statesmanship and government, and incorporates social and ethological attributes, for instance, to say that someone "has politics" (*ehi politikí*) means that they are diplomatic, strategic, that is personal/social qualities (see glossary).

Satire and the Trope of Antiphony

In the satirical verses, the end product, such as a written or published text of verses, is by no means the final product. These verses respond to related themes and persons that may be revived or recreated years later, either explicitly or by implication, as the example of the obscene verses above indicates. There is neither finality nor closure, but multi-levels of resonance and dissonance in and between each performance. Satire enters into dialogues with previous satires or with specific persons, issues and other carnival expressions, in a particular responsorial (antiphonal) mode. To understand the cultural dialectics of such diverse carnival practices, I analytically draw upon the trope of antiphony.

*Antiphony: A Musical Metaphor for Satirical Performance*¹⁰²

I use antiphony — a responsorial form of choral singing (see glossary) — heuristically as it is a loaded metaphor for the interpretation of the satirical performance. What is so striking in Skyrian carnival is that you *hear* carnival before you see it. Bells herald the arrival of the carnival season; their volume signals the magnitude of the festivities while the clarinet heralds the Trata and so forth. It is difficult to ignore this soundscape and its musicality. Music, song and verse are symbolically integral to social exchange and commensality. Moreover, antiphony is inspired by particular ethnographic instances of Skyrian songs and commensal singing that prevails in celebratory life.

Skyrian songs are Byzantine-like melodies (*skopos-i*) that are sung in groups at tables of social gatherings or spontaneous home celebrations, at taverns during feasting and especially during carnival revelry. They are mainly sung *a cappella* (that is, without the accompaniment of musical instruments) and are characterised by ongoing lyrical and melodic changes, which Skyrians call “turning” (*yirisma*). Literally,

¹⁰² In anthropological literature, the concept of antiphony has been explored by Seremetakis (1990, 1991) in her work on women's laments in Mani, Greece. She uses antiphony focusing on its social and juridical sense, in addition to its musical and dramatic usages: “Antiphony can refer to the construction of contractual agreement, a creation of symphony by opposing voices” (1990: 492). Maniat women's laments are narrative devices for witnessing, suffering and representation that fuse jural notions of truth and reciprocity with pain (ibid.: 493). However, I specifically apply the concept metaphorically, as a trope for understanding the responsorial nature of the cultural soundscape of satire and by extension, social action.

yirisma in Skyrian means the repetition of a verse, or part of a verse. A singer thinks of a verse and begins singing; others join in, remembering other lyrics or improvising new lyrics. In this process, the melody or lyrics can be changed and new verses are improvised antiphonally. Sometimes, one table of singers competes with other groups (e.g., by reciting new or recalled verses in the same melody, thereby revealing their knowledge of Skyrian verses against other companies of singers); at other times all tables sing in unison. The responsorial nature of Skyrian song is pervasive in the local oral tradition, and provides an allegorical key to the understanding of cultural interaction. The trope of the antiphon is conceptually and ethnographically inspired by this musical turning (*yirisma*). Antiphony is an appropriate musical metaphor, a trope for the analysis of carnivalesque interaction and commensality. This trope is not only an analytical device inspired by the responsorial nature of Skyrian oral tradition, but it can also be seen as a particular cultural form that underlies the shaping and generation of social action.

The term, antiphony, conceptually emanates from musicology and metaphorically extends to incorporate drama and other literary and performative forms. The semantic rudiments of antiphony provide key terms with which to consider the relationship between voice and discourse. Etymologically, the prefix, *anti* means "against", "opposed", "instead of", "in exchange for"; and *fon* refers to "voice" and "sound". Hence, the term *anti* refers not only to opposition and resistance, but also to reciprocity, substitution and equivalence. In Greek, the differing meaning of the prefix *anti* is explained contextually. For example, in the word *antithesis*, *anti* means "opposite" and *thesis* is "place" or "position". The word for representative is *antiprosopos*, which means the person (literally the face, *prosopo*) that is replacing or substituting another. Here the prefix *anti* means "in place of" or "in exchange for".

In musicology, antiphony is alternate or responsive singing by a choir in two divisions, or the use of two or more spatially separated performers or ensembles that alternate or oppose one another in a musical work or performance.¹⁰³ It is the responsorial nature of the antiphon that I find seminal in conceptualising cultural dialectics and understanding the structuring of social action in Skyrian carnival.

¹⁰³ Hulgo (1980:471-481) examines the antiphon in liturgical chants, giving an historical account of its terminology along with a musicological analysis of melody origins.

The extensive possibilities of theoretically applying the antiphon in performance can be seen in classical Greek drama. Antiphony is prevalent in the chorus' response to the leading actor or when the chorus gives an overall evaluation of the drama, whether as representing the voice or opinion of lay people, the community, of gods or of the dramatist, etc. The chorus responds to the actors of the play with song, dance and recitation. Sometimes the chorus is divided and presented in discord, but mainly it appears as a collective single body.

Kaimio's meticulous analysis of the grammatical use of person by the chorus in classical Greek drama and comedy articulates a central problem. Although the chorus is a group, not an individual, it speaks in the first person singular as if it is an individual. The idea of the chorus as an ideal spectator or the voice of the poet is partly based on this (Kaimio 1970:10). However:

[T]here is a basic inconsistency in the personality of the chorus: it can react and express itself as an individual in spite of its outward plurality, and, on the other hand, appear as a group emphasizing its collective nature. Sometimes there even occur situations where the chorus acts neither as a group nor as an individual, but dissolves into several individuals, who are of different opinions. (ibid.: 10)

In concluding, Kaimio states that the choice of number used by the chorus is influenced by the content of thought, by the traditional forms of expression found in non-dramatic poetry, and by the poet's conception of the role of the chorus in the drama (ibid.: 239). Kaimio's work is of particular interest, especially in the analysis of the satirical verses below. The shifting of the focus of person characterises the antiphonic nature of the chorus, and this quality is also found in Skyrian satirical distichs, which I will examine below.

In a dramaturgical as well as a musicological sense, the emphasis in antiphony is on the resonating of certain quintessential themes, ideas and principles. Sometimes this process augments, contests or gives new meaning to the performance. In Skyrian carnival, the satirical performance of the Trata can be seen as an antiphonal *response* to the *call* of general carnival revelry. It is one that opposes or resonates pertinent themes of carnival and of Skyros within the wider social and cultural milieu.

Antiphony sets about contextualising the relations of one form of comic against the other, whether this is *counter* or *contra*, *instead of* or complementary, in the

creating of something completely new. It is in this relational context that antiphony draws out and enhances meaning and creates new meaning in sound, as well as in terms of language or practice. This antiphonal mode permeates throughout most discourse, especially in Skyros (though not pertaining only to Skyros) and seems to be culturally embedded in the discursive repertoire of the Skyrrian community.

The Antiphonal Timing of the Trata

The Trata is held on a Sunday of the final carnival weekend. The Trata reflects upon, severs and brings the *Yeri's* troupes and their bells to a standstill. Its timing is significantly and antiphonally positioned. Firstly, in relation to the actual day and time of its performance which is on Sunday afternoon, just after and prior to the culmination of *Yeri* and masqueraders in the *agora* (see below, *Table 1: The Trata's Positioning in Skyrian Carnival, 1995*). Secondly, in the overall time schema of the carnival event, the Trata occurs on the final day of the culmination of the carnival festivities, and the day before the Clean Monday when a different form of celebrating begins. The positioning of the fishermen's satire within this transitional celebratory framework enhances the antiphonal 'voice' of the performance, giving it a centre stage in the carnival event.

Table 1: The Trata's Positioning in Skyrian Carnival, 1995

CARNIVAL 3 weeks of celebrations	FINAL DAY OF GRAND CARNIVAL (Sunday of 3rd week)	LENT Clean Monday (First day of Lent)
<u>Weekends</u> <i>Yeri, Koreles, Frangi</i> Masqueraders, revelry	<i>Yeri & troupes</i> :Sun. morning Trata Sun. late noon <i>Yeri & troupes</i> :Sun. late noon	<u>Mon. morning until late night</u> Folk dress, Lenten food, song and dance in town square and taverns

Levels of Antiphony within Skyrian Carnival

In general, antiphony can be applied to a broader understanding of the soundscape of carnival. The theoretical implications do not concern audio and musical dialogue alone, but a range of ways in which sonic dissonance and resonance are brought together in a culturally meaningful way.

I have singled out the Aeroplane Trata and Donkey-Gathering to illustrate in detail how antiphony works within satire. There are other recurrent and antiphonal modes embedded in Skyrian carnival, and more generally, in other discursive repertoires. One such example is in the way in which the satirical metered verses interweave with the continuous thundering of the *Yeri's* bells. Another example is the way the clarinet song of the Trata performance and the metered verses of the satire respond in a melodic and rhythmical way to the *ad hoc* comedy and boisterousness of carnival. Also, themes from previous years of satire can be revisited and re-engaged in the current repertoire. This cross-temporal leap is made with ease, making topical and relevant what otherwise might have been an outdated issue. Another important carnival antiphon is in the song of the *Korela*. The *Korela* sings a slow, lament-like song to the *Yeros* as he momentarily rests. At particular intervals of the *Korela's* song, the *Yeros* responds by standing and thundering the bells, then sits to rest and the *Korela* continues the song alternating with the bells, and so on — a response to the call of the *Yeros's* bells.

Antiphony within Satire: The Chorus Divided

I now detail an ethnographic example of how antiphony can be seen in satire. The above description of the Trata — a wheeled boat dragged behind a clarinet player — is the usual anticipated run of events, as was the case in 1992, 1993 and 1996 (see images H1 & H2 on p. 134). However, in the 1995 carnival, two Trata were held (to my knowledge, this is the only year up until then that this had happened). In the first Trata, the fishing boat was transformed into an aeroplane, breaking the long tradition of the Trata as a boat (see image I on p. 135).

The aeroplane in the first Trata was a visual spoof on the theme of Skyrians' visit to their sister-city in Belgium. The transformation of the boat into an aeroplane in the first Trata was heralded in the initial sung verse. Customarily, the Trata island tune was performed instrumentally on a clarinet and accompanied the procession to the square. This time, the Trata melody customarily played on clarinet was accompanied with singing. In the 1995 event, new lyrics in the form of satirical verses were composed and added to the procession. The lyrics altered the original Trata song, proclaiming its conversion into a plane:

Our fishing boat, we've sold and got a plane,
so we can see the sky and sea below.

[Instead of the original Trata's song introductory verse]

Our tattered fishing boat, a thousand times patched over,
we continually patch it up but it's always unstitched.¹⁰⁴

Due to disagreements on the nature of the satirical celebration and the kind of comic style deemed appropriate, and set against the backdrop of political arguments arising from the local government elections in October 1994, an opposing group (who were also opposed to the residing mayor) decided to set up their own performance of satire. This second Trata was called the Donkey-Gathering (donkey here may be equivalent to the English usage of jackass, with comic connotations of stubbornness, ignorance, thick skin, stupidity, and so on (see image J on p. 135). At times, Skyrians also called it a Trata. Like another antiphon, it emerged as a counter response to the first and established Trata. In contrast to the path taken by the first Trata, the Donkey-Gathering began from the opposite direction, coming down into the square from a higher road of the *Horio*, the Megali Strata (see image K on p. 136). The revellers of the Donkey-Gathering recited the verses twice along the main street, before the final performance next to the town square. Both Trata performances had a similar format of reciting verses, but with alternative and contrasting content.

Antiphony becomes part of Skyrian cultural repertoire, a trope that constructs a framework of socially meaningful action and interaction. The divided satirical performance enhances this point. The crucial question I am concerned with here is not "Why *did* Skyrians hold two Trates?" which hinges on Skyrians political reality, the repercussions of local government elections and how the events and issues are brought into the arena of carnival. The question I am concerned with anthropologically is "How *could* they have two Trates?" which rests on the ingenious use of antiphony and in the improvisation of new comic dialogue and practice. These

¹⁰⁴ This verse is the introduction to the popular island song, "*I trata mas i kourelou*" which belongs to a repertoire of Aegean island songs (*nisiotika*). Although the lyrics are not usually sung in the procession of the Trata, the words of the first verse are well known. See Appendix 6, part B:2 for the satirical verses substituted as lyrics, sung by the Trata crew as they escorted the Aeroplane to the town square.

social forms provide both the voice and framework for shaping innovative performative action.

Why did Skyrians have two Trata performances in 1995?

Conditions emerged from the local government elections of October 1994 that divided the community around pertinent issues. There was discontent among a group of Skyrians who disagreed with the customary satirical character of the Trata, wanting to set up their own performances. They opposed the supporters of the present mayor on the grounds of their own political (and personal) inclinations and alliances, which surrounded ideas on the nature of comic performance, and they therefore refused to co-operate with the usual Trata. Initially, the Trata was to be abandoned, since there was no group large (or cohesive) enough to co-ordinate and prepare the performance. However, a carnival without a Trata seemed even less feasible, so within the last two weeks of the festive period, a 'break off' group (comprised of Skyrians opposed to the mayor) devised the Donkey-Gathering while another group, which included the mayor's supporters, arranged the first Aeroplane Trata.

The Trata opens up and airs the grievances of all Skyrians. Since there could be no voice in unison, a performance by two Trata seemed to be an alternative possibility. The internal divisions created by the local government elections were also mirrored in the event. The political inclinations were more apparent in the participants' use of satirical verses. This is not to undermine that both Trates — as true satires — voiced their opposition to the state of local government. Yet, the satirical verses did not clearly indicate each person's political preferences, since these were also dependent on other factors, such as patronage and kin alliances. In the final performance, the political alliance of the membership of each Trata did not form into a clear pro- or anti- mayor division. But the strong political and social messages of satire arose from the need to expose, in the appropriate environment, that which is commonly seen to be wrong or who in power needs to be checked. In previous years, the collective and communal "we" of the verses delivered their messages with an almost unanimous blow. In 1995, the blows were struck against each other. The tensions of local government politics had left a mark on the overall event, as well as in the content of the satirical verses. But social or political tension did not stop the

Trata, which was spontaneously improvised to reproduce a new and dual performance.

To illustrate how these satirical verses can work antiphonally, I present a section of the Trata verses concerned with the major theme of political dispute. I have listed a selection in the following table, placing them in parallel numbered distichs (see below, *Table 3: Satirical Verses from the Two Trata Performances, 1995*). Abstracts are taken from the two Trata performances on the same theme of local government elections. Column A has the verses from the Aeroplane Trata; column B details verses from the Donkey-Gathering. The performances were held at different times on the last Sunday of the carnival season. The Aeroplane Trata recited their satirical verses after 2.30 pm, while the Donkey-Gathering Trata began just after the first Trata finished, at about 3.45 pm (see below, *Table 2: Grand Carnival Weekend: The Two Trata, 1995*). The recitation of the actual verses lasted for around twenty to thirty minutes. Each group had no prior knowledge of the other's verse content.

Table 2: Grand Carnival Weekend; The Two Trata, 1995

Grand Carnival Weekend: 3rd – 5th March 1995 The Aeroplane Trata and The Donkey-Gathering
Friday: Noon until late - <i>Yeri</i> & troupes, masqueraders
Saturday: Noon until late - <i>Yeri</i> & troupes, masqueraders
Sunday: Morning - <i>Yeri</i> (in the main street of the <i>agora</i>)
2.30 pm The Aeroplane Trata (route: to town square from coastal road)
3.00 pm The Donkey-Gathering (route: from upper <i>Horio</i> to town square)
4.00 pm - <i>Yeri</i> & troupes, masqueraders joined by dispersed Trata crew

Table 3: Satirical Verses from the Two Trata Performances, 1995¹⁰⁵

Theme: Local Government Elections, 1994

A: AEROPLANE TRATA	B: DONKEY-GATHERING
The following verses were recited at the beginning of the performance, after retelling the Skyrian group's visit to their sister city in Belgium. They begin as if disembarking from the plane, like visitors to their own town.	The following verses were recited almost at the mid point of the performance, following a range of attacks on inflation and pollution in Athens.
<p>A1: Now again we have come to your country to see how things are and how you are doing now</p> <p>A2: We heard that you had municipal elections this year ... you have reduced this topic to a disgrace!</p> <p>A3: I hope you have made amends, because in these elections the only [thing you didn't do is] bite each other</p> <p>A4: These weren't elections, it was a grand evil, mothers didn't talk to their children, and they with each other</p> <p>A5: And the basic reason was the old women,¹⁰⁷ because they decided in these elections</p> <p>...</p> <p>A6: And so all this has passed and may it not return, and we all go looking to become arse up again</p>	<p>B1: Fifteenth of October we had a vote, The Officer, Agostis, Pantelis and such Stories</p> <p>B2: Now all three cry out for all of us to gather to start the chanting, to tell us lies</p> <p>B3: So they began to shout and brought out a town crier they even brought out a hooter as if they were parrots</p> <p>B4: All three begin to talk with obstinacy and spite, each one wanted to pull the other's eyes out ...¹⁰⁶</p> <p>B5: Now comes the turn of the Officer he spoke calmly, according to the law</p> <p>B6: Skyrians, to me first give your vote and whoever doesn't vote for me will bitterly regret it! ...</p> <p>B7: At first, most Skyrians thought, to have Agostis for mayor this year</p> <p>B8: As all had shown when the vote was cast Agostis was destined for the council</p> <p>B9: They showed this, and voted for him in the first round what happened after that only God knows</p> <p>B10: And so Skyros now has Pantelis as mayor again all of you take a bulrush and beat your heads</p> <p>B11: It seems that Pantelis is cleverer guys he managed to trip all of us over</p> <p>B12: So that's how Skyrians are, always the same this time the elections had many a game</p>

¹⁰⁵ I have used pseudonyms for the candidates and have translated these verses almost literally from the Skyrian idiom. Unfortunately, in the process I have decoloured all the nuances of the humour and the play on words that is almost a literary art in satire and blunted any sharp insults made through the insinuated implications and play upon the word or verse. I must also apologise to the Skyrian authors and their collaborators for such an un-comic rendering of their satirical verses with my literal English translation. (For the original Skyrian verses see Appendix 6, part B).

¹⁰⁶ The next two verses continue on the theme of the candidate for the position of advisor for the prefecture, for which elections were held for the first time in Greece in 1994.

¹⁰⁷ This is due to the eager recruitment of elderly people for their votes in the election, the verses continued on this theme.

Satire in the Trata questions and answers simultaneously. As a political opposition, the Donkey-Gathering relentlessly targeted specific candidates. In the first line of the distich A2, the satirists of the Aeroplane Trata ask about the elections as if they are newcomers to Skyros, ignorant on the subject. By the second line of the same verse they have assessed the overall event as a disgrace!

Satire also alternates the focus of agency, seemingly at whim (akin to the antiphonal shifts of person in the dramatic chorus which I have indicated above). At times it is strategically used to enhance or distance from direct involvement. As in the case of switching to and from the first person singular, the first person plural, (i.e., the collective "we") and alternating at times with the third person. Another example is the fluidity of the subject in the first person plural, i.e., the collective "we", which, at times becomes the selective "we". For instance, the distichs A1 and A2 of the Trata refer to a select group, a limited exclusive "we"; "we heard that *you* [that is Skyrians] had elections", as if they were not Skyrians but visitors to the island just embarking off the plane. In the second line of the final distich, A6, the reciter makes a plea for reconciliation, so that "we [that is all Skyrians don't] go looking to all become arse up again". Here the collective and inclusive "we" is addressed, incorporating all Skyrians and the reciter who has just changed his status from visitor to indigenous local.

In a brilliant antiphonic twist, the Donkey-Gathering in its concluding moments responds to the initial Trata's call. In the distich B1, the reciter introduces the elections: "we [that is all Skyrians] had a vote", implying the collective, communal "we" which includes the reciter. Running through the mayoral candidates, the reciter keeps to a safe and distant third person (B2 - B9), e.g., B7 "most Skyrians thought", B9 "They showed this". By verse B10, the frustration of the mayor's re-election calls for self flagellation and the use of the second person plural — "all of *you* take a bulrush and beat *your* heads" — confident in distancing themselves from this self-punishment and the mayor. However, the distich B11 acknowledges the fact that everyone, all Skyrians were outwitted *and* hence the collective "we" is returned to momentarily. In the final last words, B12 — "that's how Skyrians are, always the same" — the reciter strategically distances himself from association with Skyrians and their political decisions.

These changes of person can be quite strategic in expressing collective values, political views or stepping out of contentious zones. The first Trata was accused by some of being the clique of the mayor. It was possibly because of this criticism that the first Trata kept a strategic distance from the election as, for example, the election verses of the Trata occur immediately after reference is made to disembarking from the plane from Belgium. They enter as outsiders and end up as kin (for the attack on family discord see distich A4). In contrast, the Donkey-Gathering begins with the situation of Skyrians experiencing the vote and ends with complete disassociation from the election process and results. This creation of closeness/distance, association/disassociation, local/outsider, is not just a literal tool of the satirist. More importantly, the unintended responsive reversion of the verse's person in each Trata is indicative of the dynamic way in which these 'antiphonal twists' (as I freely name) are embedded in oral poetry and become social practice. These verses are juxtaposed here as text, but in the performative context of carnival, implicit and explicit meanings are drawn out antiphonally and, as shown above, always with the possibility of the satirists' contortion.

Satire's comedy divides as much as it unites when there are divisive issues. It creates the divisions that paradoxically unite, forming the antiphonal chorus. The two Trata performances as antiphonal choruses resonate shared ideas and themes, but in using this tropic device, these disparate and oppositional voices are brought into antagonistic juxtaposition within a common cultural denominator during carnival. The antiphonal form embedded in Skyrian oral culture helps comprehend the dynamics generating new comic dialogue *and* performance.



Image H1: The Trata Boat. Carnival, 1996.



Image H2: The Trata Boat. Carnival, 1992.



Image I: The Aeroplane Trata. Carnival, 1995.



Image J: The Donkey Gathering. Carnival, 1995.



Image K: The Horio, Skyros.
(reproduced from Arnaoutoglou 1982:13)

Paths of movement of the carnival troupes and the Trata, 1995.*

The *Yeri* and troupes of *Koreles* and *Frangi* started from approximately the *agora* (point B), ascended to St. George's monastery (point C), and returned via the Egremne (point D) to main street of the *agora* (point B). Route: B-C-D-B.

The Trata procession began from an area especially located for the preparation of the Trata (point A), and ascended via the road coming into the *Horio* from the coast of Molos, moving from below point D to the square (point B). After the celebration the Trata returned back via the same coastal road to point A. Route A-D-B-D-A.

The Donkey Gathering descended from the streets of the upper part of the *Horio*, (below point C), moved along the main street of the *agora* to the town square (point B), then returned back through the main street of the *agora*. Route C-B-C.

Key of positions:

- A = Area where the Trata boat is prepared.
- B = Central position of the *Horio*, the main street of the *agora* and the town square.
- C = St. George monastery.
- D = An approximate point of entry into the *Horio*.

*[NB. This image is intended as a sketch, giving a general idea of the movement and orientation of the carnival revellers, rather than an accurate geographical guide.]

Carnival Songs

Finally, to understand the antiphonal trope, I will elaborate on Skyrian carnival songs and commensal singing, as these are the forms that inspire the dynamics of cultural production. An integral part of Skyrian revelry is music and particularly, song and verse. Unlike other Aegean islands, dance takes a lesser place in celebratory life. There is only one local dance (*o kales*), which is identified as Skyrian but is rarely danced. Various dance forms are taken from the popular Greek dances of the mainland (*dhimotika*, *laïka*) and island (*nisiotika*) repertoires. This predominance of song is not only the case at present but also of the past. The connection of songs and carnival goes back to middle of the nineteenth century. The Skyrian historian, Konstantinidis (1901:158-159), states that the songs of farmers and shepherds were sung using old Skyrian melodies during various events, such as weddings, fêtes and carnival. Today, Skyrians listen to different kinds of music, both Greek and Western. Other Greek musical traditions have also become absorbed into celebration and carnival. These range from the commercially popular (*laïka*) to traditional Aegean island music (*nisiotika*). A particularly elevated place in Skyrian celebratory life is the traditional-popular urban music of *rebetika* (see Tsounis 1997b:250).¹⁰⁸ However, it is Skyrians own repertoire of local popular (demotic) songs that resonate and linger on during celebrations.

Musically, Skyrian songs are demotic songs, which have Byzantine, Asia Minor and Aegean island melodic influences (Psahou 1910:θ' [ix]). Most of the carnival song repertoires, especially the song of the *Korela*, are slow and lament-like tunes. Skyrian carnival songs echo like laments, sorrowful songs amidst the raucous and revelry, something that often perplexes newcomers to Skyros who anticipate jovial carnival sounds.

¹⁰⁸ The earliest *rebetika* have been defined as a type of urban or demotic folksong, belonging to an oral tradition that developed in the towns and ports of Greece and Asia Minor (Tsounis 1997a:23). The history of *rebetika* can be traced from the late nineteenth century in two sources, an oral pre-commercial tradition and an urban entertainment style of *café-aman* (popular venues in Constantinople and Smyrni and Greece that hosted a diverse repertoire of eastern Mediterranean music) (ibid.: 23-4). Later developments continued in mainland Greece with the *smyrneïko*, the *piraiötiko* (centred in the ports of Pireaus, and associated with the less privileged strata and hashish-dens), and *laïko* styles of the genre (ibid.: 23, 27). From the 1950s, the distinction between *rebetika* and a broad Greek popular music movement known as *laïka*, "popular songs", becomes blurred. *Rebetika* were subsequently assimilated into contemporary Greek urban music genres (ibid.: 23).

Often carnival is introduced to newcomers or researchers with a characteristic verse. One Skyrian talked to me about the songs before I even witnessed carnival. The lines he recited were often repeated to me throughout my stay and they are almost emblematic of Skyrian carnival. In his words:

Yianni: A special tune is sung, the Carnival Song (*Apokianes*) or *Apokriatikos* in the every day language. The verses are opposed to Hades and I will give you an example:

"Be merry young girls, Be merry young men
Be merry brave boys
for I have bound Hades' feet with iron".

It is a characteristic verse, and of course it is a song which pre-emptly, which brings spring, when the earth flowers and becomes green and generally, the picture of nature changes [as] we leave from heavy winter. [interview, Feb. 1992] ¹⁰⁹

Youth, merriment, anticipation of nature's revival in spring and the awe of Hades¹¹⁰ and death are demotic song themes associated with earth or seasonal rites. However, the transitory death/life symbolism of spring and the earth extends into human life, which is in thematic proximity to a Bakhtinian perspective of popular carnival re-generation (see chapter 1).

Generally, Skyrian songs are sung unaccompanied, by groups around tables, at fêtes, family gatherings, weddings and other celebrations. The songs' verses are drawn from a rich repertoire of oral poetry. Senior Skyrian men and women are the keepers and transmitters of these verses. Distinguished singers recall many verses and improvise lines, mainly in fifteen syllable rhyming distichs. Like most Greek demotic songs, the themes are usually about merriment, the irretrievability of youth or aging, and Hades. Younger Skyrians rely on this established musical and lyrical repertoire. But they also engage in music making in Skyrian songs by "turning" (*yirisma*) the verses. Like the wearing of bells, the "turning" of verses is a learnt process, enmeshed within the realm of revelry and commensality.

¹⁰⁹ For a musicological analysis and transcriptions of a recorded version of the popularly sung traditional carnival song "*Tis Apokrias*" see appendix 5, part B (Tsounis 2005b). Skyrian songs transcribed from a live recording during carnival are detailed in appendix 5, part A (Tsounis 2005a), in which the responsorial nature of Skyrian table songs and the repetition (*yirisma*) is highlighted (see "observations").

¹¹⁰ Alexiou (1978) details the significance and development of the theme of Hades (*Charos*) in the Greek oral poetic tradition.

Fêtes, weddings or carnival gatherings, around tables of bountiful wine and merriment is the time when Skyrians engage in song as meaningful, interactive music-making. Here they attempt to excel, both in voice and in the improvisation of beautiful distichs. A special genre of songs known as "of the table" (*tis tavlas*) is sung at such gatherings. Revellers of the same or surrounding tables spontaneously form singing groups. These groups are instigated by virtuoso or senior Skyrian voices, unaccompanied by instruments. Someone in one of the singing groups may call out, "turn it" (*yirise to*) to another, meaning repeat the distich or hemistich. "Turning" songs is usually done automatically (without indication) and flows differently at each gathering. Of course, at different occasions there are preferred selections of verses from the rich repertoire of Skyrian songs. Carnival compels its own specific song selection.

Songs are also "turned" around, that is, changed by the introduction of new verses or melody (*skopo*). This can initiate a competitive display of voice, volume and verse, as rival groupings emerge and fluctuate. Singers pause, listen and creatively respond by increasing their volume, excelling in verse recitation (the more verses one group can remember the better), improvising new verses and shifting the mood by ornamenting the melody or introducing a new melody. In this sense, the "turning" in Skyrian song practices is by metaphoric extension, an inspiring source propelling the antiphonal moves and turns of cultural action.

The Byzantine musicologist, Psahou, who studied Skyrian demotic songs in the early twentieth century, also mentions the musical practice of "turning". Psahou describes the "turning" of songs as musical and lyrical repetition and that may have strictly been the case in the early century. He states that:

In Skyros, songs are always sung in the following way. Singers are divided into two groups, which in turn and alternately, sing the same verse, either whole, or in half verses twice. To use the Skyrian term, they do the so called "turning" (*yirisma*). One chants, for example, one part of the singing and then says to another, "turn it"; this is, "repeat it" because "turning" means repetition. (Psahou 1910:vi)

During my stay in Skyros, the "turning" (*yirisma*) was explained simply as a repetition of a verse. Although there was a repetitive aspect to the *yirisma*, "turning" was also instigated as a way of changing an entire song by introducing a new melody with new

verses. In fêtes or during carnival, as the night advances and the wine loosens tongues (it is quite a standard motto for Skyrians, to sing you must drink wine) the singing groups tend to proliferate. "Turning" creates a space for new voice groupings to interject with their own style of singing. "Turning" is also a way in which a complete stranger to the music can join in the music making, familiarising and learning the verses and songs. In some cases, whole tables compete, waiting to "turn" the verse in their own style of singing, recruiting virtuoso singers and verse connoisseurs in their company as the night evolves. Sometimes, rival groups change whole songs, so that different song tunes are sung simultaneously. On occasions, a group follows on from a table of more experienced singers, repeating their verses and tune, and thus enhancing the drift of the dominant singing group.

Therefore the "turning" of a song can be repetition, a kind of collective call – response or it can involve change, innovation, competition, and so on, without one form of expression negating the other. "Turning" songs is like an invisible cultural conductor. The arrangement of table songs follows ritually precedented processes of Skyrian musical performance, which call upon a rich repertoire of popular verse and songs, while the arrangement of songs expresses the mood and arbitrary desires of the many revelling voices. "Turning" frames a context of intense revelry and creative musical reproduction and improvisation. Totally new songs can be brought into this idiomatic call – response antiphonal mode. It also provides a way for the closed ritual circle of carnival to incorporate the seemingly nonsensical or the culturally unknown (as in the case of Skyrians participation in Venetian carnival, which I explore below).

Within the "turning", a form of musical transposition (*transporto*) is also practiced, that is, the change of the tonic basis of the musical scale to another tonality. This can be seen in certain situations, as for instance, when the mood of a revelling group has dampened or when there is a show of competitiveness. During the "turning", participating groups change the tonic basis of the scale of the song being sung to a higher note in order to revive the merriment (*kefi*) and give emphasis to the song. This may last for only a few minutes. In this way, an atmosphere of musical play is created, and the rest of the company is incited to respond and join the informal musical contest, so that virtuoso singers or groups can be distinguished. In the process of the transposition (*transporto*), a singer may introduce new verses, or

remind the company of old forgotten verses to provoke interest. In turn, singing groups may create new verses impromptu or recall old ones, entering the musical game and rekindling a festive ambience.¹¹¹

Like verse, Skyrian songs reflect all aspects of life, youth, carnival, politics, rites of passage, pain, love and death. These songs are the final and embracing response to carnival. When the bells ease off late at night, these voices are heard, like Byzantine psalmodies, echoing into the early hours of the morning; the songs present a response to the day's revelry and a call to the next day's carnival rhythms. This very important antiphon was missing in the carnival of 1995, and a consistent complaint by many Skyrians was: "This year, we did not hear song" (*Fetos dhen akousame tragoudhi*). Instead of "songs" the word "song" was used in the singular form without the article. The generic use of "song" was a direct reference to the songs of the table and to the *Korela's* song, but hinted at deeper, meaningful aspects of carnival's pervading "song". Its absence implicitly evoked the need for its presence to render the soundscape complete, which was crucial to the feeling and understanding of carnival. It is this *song* that even amongst the deafening din of the bells and the raucousness of the carnival, Skyrians can easily hear. They yearn for this emotive antiphon, even in its absence. Song is Skyrian carnival's ubiquitous antiphon.

In 1995, during an invitation to display their folk carnival troupe in Venice, the Skyrian group was at a restaurant. At one point, they began their table songs, inciting and challenging the French and Italian groups to respond, which they did, with their own songs. Unlike the staged Venetian festival, in which the Skyrian troupe was one of a number of parading groups this, I was told, was for the Skyrians, the high point of their visit. Here Skyrians found carnival. They revelled in it and enjoyed it, "although we didn't understand a word!!" they laughingly explained.

In this encounter, as I have also argued above in relation to other aspects of Skyrian carnival, antiphony created a forum for meaningful social interaction. Like a meta-language, the trope of antiphony highlights active and innovative involvement in

¹¹¹ I wish to thank Vangelis Gkinis for his perceptive musical ear and knowledge in underscoring and explaining this musical practice (personal communication 23-8-04, Skyros, also see glossary). For the musicological example of transposition see Appendix 5 part A, Skyrian songs.

the re-creation of a meaningful system or framework of cultural dynamics. It is a metaphor for and instigator of social action.

Throughout this chapter, I have analysed satire as an essential component of Skyrian carnival and detailed the significance of the metaphoric use of the antiphon in understanding cultural interaction and action. In addition, I have suggested that the tropic analysis of the soundscape in carnival may elucidate salient dimensions of comic dialogue and cultural practice, particularly in the way in which the distorted and inverted cosmos of carnival becomes meaningful to Skyrians. This focus may be extended to the analysis of ritual and performance.

The Trata has a significant niche in the temporal schema of the overall celebration. Although this event interrupts the general belling revelry, it has a firm place within carnival celebrations and creates a space for social critique and innovation. I have detailed the Trata's history, change and content, the satirical verses and questions of authorship in an oral poetic tradition, which is articulated within everyday and celebratory sociality. Unlike the comic, that is, the interactive and flippant aspects of humour quintessential to carnival, satire is a significant vehicle of socio-political expression.

Conceptually seminal to satirical performance and carnival is the trope of the antiphon. As a musical metaphor, the antiphon indicates the responsorial nature of Skyrian oral tradition and provides a productive way of viewing the oppositional nature and complementarity of expressive forms, without creating an unsurpassable dichotomy between genres hence, allowing room for creativity and improvisation outside the confines of ritual frameworks.

Finally, I argue that song and verse are crucial to Skyrian carnival. While most descriptions of carnival focus on visual aspects of the revelry, symbolic inversion, masquerade and excessiveness of body, the emphasis within this chapter has been on understanding carnival's soundscape through the examination of the trope of antiphony as a key metaphor for cultural production in everyday and ceremonial life of Skyrian community. In addition, I have indicated that the antiphon is a trope that aids in understanding the shaping of performances and ritual action, as exemplified in the case of the Trata.

In the next chapter, I focus on the celebratory end of Skyrian carnival, Clean Monday, the first day of Lent. I explore the Clean Monday in relation to its 'liminal' positioning within the time frame of carnival/Lent and examine the social significance of folk dress and dressing as integral to understanding symbolic manifestations of carnivalesque masquerade and practices.¹¹²

¹¹² A recording of Skyrian songs is provided in the CD accompanying the thesis. It is intended to briefly highlight a few themes discussed in this chapter (and I recommend that readers listen to the songs in conjunction with Appendix 5), but more importantly to provide a 'hearing' of the mood and tempo of Skyrian carnival soundscape.

CHAPTER 4

CLEAN MONDAY: CELEBRATING CARNIVAL'S END

This chapter ethnographically features the end of Skyrian carnival and first day of Lent, Clean Monday (*Kathari Deftera*). Initially, I explore the nature of Clean Monday focusing on the creation of a particular 'liminal' space-time. On this day, there is a transformation from the festal carnivalesque mood to the sobriety of Lent in anticipation for the greatest celebration of the Orthodox Christian calendar, Easter. Historically, the co-revelling of religious and carnivalesque forms during Clean Monday has taken on varying expressions in Skyros. In the contemporary context, the transitional nature of the celebration continues to be upheld as Skyrians revel, yet prepare for Lent.

In addition, I explore ideas about purity and cleansing that surround the religious character of the celebration, questioning a functionalist interpretation of the day as ritual catharsis. I reconsider the celebration of Clean Monday as a traditional or folkloric reproduction, by emphasizing the fluidity of the concept and the event's seminal place in Skyrian celebratory life.

Clean Monday's liminality is also marked in a different way. On this day, carnival masquerade and folk dress ritually merge as they transgress commonly perceived codes of identification, something that is better seen in the process of wearing and changing garments. I therefore move from the celebration of Clean Monday per se, and concentrate on the significance of dress and dressing in relation to folk costume, discussing issues of social memory and relatedness. Finally, I outline the symbolic aspects of dress in relation to carnivalesque transformation in preparation for the ensuing analysis of the dominant trope of Skyrian masquerade — "becoming" (chapter 5).

Clean Monday in Skyros

Carnival in Skyros, as throughout most of Greece, finishes on Clean Monday (*Kathari Deftera*). It is the first day of Lent, following the Sunday of the Grand Carnival weekend (see Appendix 1: Timeline). Clean Monday, a significant religious day for

Orthodox Christianity, is a public holiday. There are no official holidays for carnival per se. Grand Carnival Sunday extends into a long weekend by its annexation to Clean Monday. Clean Monday marks the end of the carnival season and the beginning of Lent and the forty days of fasting prior to Easter. However, in Skyros this day seems to be the climax to the carnival festivity, rather than its end. Even at the turn of the century, visitors were perplexed by Clean Monday's lack of Lenten sobriety. Such was the case as noted by the British archaeologist, Richard Dawkins, who arrived in March 1905, primarily to see and photograph the carnival masqueraders. As he states in the beginning of his article, he was there for the last of the three Sundays of carnival, and on the following Monday when, "to the scandal of the Hegoumenos [Abbot] of St. George of Skyros, it being the first day of Lent, the festival is at its height" (Dawkins 1904/05:72).

Although Clean Monday marks the beginning of Lent, its redressive nature is speculative. The day follows the peaking of activities from the Grand Carnival weekend and the satirical performance of the *Trata*. Yet, rather than halting the revelry, Clean Monday provides a liminal forum for carnivalesque celebration.

The position of Clean Monday in the overall celebratory time frame of Skyrian carnival invites a reconsideration of the carnival/Lent dichotomy. On Clean Monday, the celebrations in Skyros continue in a rather different tone. Although the carnivalesque masquerade has vanished, another kind of dress/masquerade is introduced. People wear their folk costumes that have been handed down from generation to generation or are recreations of the originals, and stroll in the main street and town square. Although the ringing of the *Yeri's* bells has stopped and the comic skits have ceased, the revelry associated with excessive wine drinking, eating and dancing continues, if not climaxes on this day. This is in a marked contrast to other places in Greece, where Clean Monday is celebrated in a more sober tone, as people picnic on Lenten foods in the countryside and fly kites.¹¹³

In Skyros, the transition from carnival to Lent is subtle but quite bizarre. On the Sunday of Grand Carnival, from around midnight until the early hours of Monday,

¹¹³ Regional idiosyncratic celebrations such as the burying of a King Carnival in Lefkogeia, Crete (Megas 1963:74), and a variety of others have been widely documented by folklorists (Aikaterinidis 1967, 1977; Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1982; Loukatos 1978; Megas 1963, 2001; Tsotakou-Karveli 1985). The media also covers regional celebrations for long weekenders seeking customary celebrations.

revellers and masqueraders sporadically shed their bells and masks and re-appear in folk dress. As one is sitting at a crowded table in a tavern, people may discreetly disappear and re-appear in elegant ornate folk garments, at times sitting side by side with a fully-fledged masquerader, and continue to revel. From before midnight until dusk next day, the night casts a murky shroud¹¹⁴ for this transition, allowing all masqueraders to share the same space. Carnival reworks time into a new frame, one that accommodates the two forms of revelry. This transitional dawn to dusk period opens up a special space and time into which all forms of celebration enter: religious/pagan, idolatrous/folk. The pagan/Christian dichotomy of carnival/Lent is again blurred. This is a liminal space-time, generating fluid expressions of Sober Lent and Comic Carnavalesque revelry. The bells are worn along side more serious folk garments, such as the *vrakas*, that is, the wearer of the farmers' garment. Masquerade and sobriety are compatible in a new chronotope, which straddles the line of piety and excess. The *vrakas* revels together with the masquerader, around a table of wine, dance and song without the overt satire and obscenity of the previous days. This very same *vrakas* may have been a *Yeros* or *Frangos* ten minutes ago. Most Skyrians do not see themselves as being irreverent by dressing as *Yeri* or any other kind of masquerade. They do not consider their carnival as impious nor Clean Monday as particularly pious. It is all *Apokria* — carnival.

By early morning of Clean Monday, most people — Skyrians, visitors and friends — are wearing their chosen folk dress and stroll in the main street of the *agora* (see image L on p. 147). By noon, people gather in the square, sit, drink wine, eat Lenten appetisers, and dance in an open circle to island (*nisiotika*) dances with music booming out of the council's PA system (see image M on p. 147). These dances are open to all Skyrians and outsiders and not restricted to any group, since people simply join on to the end of the line to participate. The celebration has milder solemn tones to the previous weeks, as there are no bells or *Frangi*. But the revelling is intense because of the continuous inebriation and ecstatic song and dance throughout the Grand Carnival weekend. On Clean Monday, song is supposed to be the main course in the merriment menu. This is gradually being replaced with island (*nisiotika*) dance

¹¹⁴ Accentuated by the smoky, dingy overcrowded venues, the lack of sleep and ceaseless inebriation.



Image L: Vrakadhes Strolling in the Main Street, Agora. Clean Monday, 1995.



Image M: Dancing in the Square. Clean Monday, 1995.
Costumes of dancers from left to right: Vrakas, koutni (2x), lamena, tsopanika, koumiotika, vrakas (x2).

music and dancing. Late on Clean Monday night, the festivities gradually dwindle; only the singing of table songs at indoor venues echo throughout the streets.

On the Clean Monday of March 1995, a large number of the Skyrian population congregated in the *Horio's* centre. Early in the morning, the aroma of a customary flatbread (*lagana*) filled the streets (no other bread is baked on this day). The council had organised a promotional table of Clean Monday's celebratory Lenten food for visitors, especially to honour the Belgian group on their sister city visit to Skyros. On the table was an array of fasting dishes, such as lima bean *ratatouille*, *tarama* (a Skyrian version of fish roe dip with dill), pickles, olives, squid and octopus — the only meat allowed because, as Skyrians told me, it had no blood and was therefore considered Lenten food. Of course, there was abundant wine, which transforms the day into a feast on fasting foods, blurring the purificatory and disciplinary character of Lenten consumption.

Early in the afternoon in the square, the much younger children started the open circled *sirtos* island dance, followed later by the older primary school children and then teenagers. By noon, all age groups, visitors and a steadily increasing number of people joined the dancers — the square transformed by the colourful array of folk dress and the verve of island music. The merriment and revelry was intense, although somewhat mellowed by the fatigue of the previous days. The only visible reduction occurred late in the afternoon, when visitors and expatriate Skyrians who had to work the following day took the 3 pm ferry back to the mainland. Two extra ferry trips were scheduled on the Friday and the Monday of the long weekend. The last ferry left by midnight — the square and *agora* had emptied. Crammed inside scattered venues, pockets of fervent revellers (mainly permanent residents of Skyros) continued to celebrate with wine and song until the early hours of Tuesday.

History and Change of the Clean Monday Celebration

The historical accounts of Clean Monday, however scanty the information on its development and change, indicates the precarious nature of Clean Monday's relation to Lent. I draw upon publications from Skyrian historians and British archaeologists in an attempt to piece together a picture of a past Clean Monday celebration. In Skyros, Clean Monday is seen as part of carnival festivities rather than their end, as the

archaeologist, Richard Dawkins, indicated above. This seems to be the only common ongoing feature of the celebration of Clean Monday. I begin with British archaeologists, and then trace Skyrian historians' accounts.

Lawson witnessed carnival by chance in 1900. He noted that carnival was held for fifteen days prior to the strict fasting of Lent:

The week from Septuagesima Sunday to Sexagesima is celebrated with feasting and merriment subject to no religious restrictions; in the second week, although similar festivities continue, heightened rather than abated, no meat can be eaten; and on the morrow of Quinquagesima (for Monday is the first day of the Greek Lent), the full regulations as to fasting come into operation, not only meat, but fish, eggs, milk, cheese and oil being almost universally prohibited. None the less a free use of wine makes the Monday the climax of carnival. (Lawson 1899:125)

As Lawson points out, it is *wine consumption* that transformed Clean Monday from a festival of Christian religious purification (due to fasting) into carnival revelry. Lawson notes the shift in and gradual diminishing of the feasting into religious fasting, without a parallel dampening of the festive spirit. Wine drinking and merriment climax on the most austere day of the fasting calendar. Even at the turn of the century, the disciplinary nature of this important time-mark of Orthodox Christianity is held abate.

Dawkins describes the trio of the carnival, *Yeri* (whom he calls Old Man), the *Korela* (who is referred to as Maid) and the *Frangos*, as witnessed in his 1905 visit. During carnival, he states, one has the opportunity to see fine silk-embroidered clothing: "The finest of these are old, though embroidery in silk is still practised" (Dawkins 1905:72).¹¹⁵

On the Monday not many Old Men and *Frangi* appear; it is the day of the ... [masqueraders], when boys go about disguised as girls, or dressed like shepherds, who on this day all come into the village in their best clothes ... More old embroideries are seen on this day than on the Sunday, so one gets a good idea of the women's festal dress ... (ibid.: 74)

Dawkins maintains that on Clean Monday everyone is out — *Yeri*, *Frangi*, *Koreles*, cross-dressers and people in ornately embroidered folk garments. Antoniadis notes in his commentary on Dawkin's article that this was so because up until a few decades

¹¹⁵ This emphasis on the old items and embroidery is found in the contemporary celebration of Clean Monday, which I will detail below in this chapter.

ago, women did not participate in carnival appearances. On Clean Monday everyone participated in the final celebration: men, women and children (Antoniadis 1995h:254 nt. 30). In Dawkin's account, there is a merging of carnival and Clean Monday, but more intriguing is the event's emphasis on the best or "festal" ceremonial clothes that continues in Skyros today.

The traveller, Karl Fredrich (1915), drew attention to a different aspect of Clean Monday, that of cross dressing:

The last Sunday of carnival everything is very lively. [Fredrich continues with a description of the *Yeros*, *Korela* and *Frangos*] ... How these masquerades appeared and what they depict, no one knows exactly neither the inhabitants of the island. However, the female dressing of boys on Clean Monday, reminds one of old stories, because the custom is explained by the story [myth] of Achilles disguised as a girl. (Karl Fredrich as cited in Antoniadis 1995h:246-7)

Fredrich refers to the Achilles myth as an explanation for cross-dressing on Clean Monday. However, cross-dressing was (and still is) part of carnival's comic masquerade. Yet, in the past it was performed on Clean Monday, a Christian celebration. At the beginning of the century, Clean Monday incorporated carnivalesque aspects of masquerade; the emphasis on folk dress was not exclusive, indicating the liminal nature of the day.

Konstantinidis (1901) and Papageorgiou (1909, 1910) are Skyrians who have written monographs on the island's history at the turn of the twentieth century. Their perspectives vary from that of the archaeologists and they base part of their study on local knowledge. They frequently refer to oral and biographical sources as well as their own life experiences. In Konstantinidis' account, Clean Monday is celebrated both in the township and the countryside, and he emphasises the emotional, cathartic side of Clean Monday as a period that anticipates Lent by moving out of rather than into the *Horio*:

The next day, the Monday of the week and the first day of Lent, called "Clean" either they [Skyrians] would pass the day in the town with Bacchic [revelry], masquerading as shepherds with staffs in their hands, or they would go out elsewhere in groups, the weather permitting, to delightful places in the country, and continue the celebration with Lenten food, celebrating the *koulouma* [the celebration of Clean Monday in the country], passing the day with the pouring out of emotions, returning in the evening at about sunset, when all the carnival celebrations end, [and] Lent begins. (1901:174)

Papageorgiou adds another carnivalesque dimension to Clean Monday. Children continue carnivalesque masquerade, parodying the *Yeri* by substituting plants for bells, a practice that is evocative of the contemporary *Frangi* of Skyrian carnival:

The children continue the merry celebration of Sunday on Clean Monday but without noise and din [i.e., of the *Yeri's* bells]. Uprooting a poisonous plant ... they tie it [together] into a line with a fine rope and tie this around the waist instead of bells. Taking a cane instead of the shepherd's crook and without face masks, they run and jump in the streets mimicking the *Yeros*. Others cut cane into palm's length, make holes through them and pass ropes through [these], which are tied around their waists. (Papageorgiou 1910:45-6)

More recent accounts of Clean Monday are in Coulentianou's extensive work on Skyrian carnival (spanning the years 1965 to 1977) (1977:8). Coulentianou maintains that on Clean Monday men sometimes dressed as *Koreles* or in the women's folk garments called *koumiotika*, a costume taking its name from Kimi, of the adjacent island of Evia (see image M on p. 147), which was worn on special days and Sundays (ibid.: 57). She also describes other forms of masquerade, such as women dressed as gypsies, telling fortunes and belly dancing the *tsifteteli*, or people imitated doctors and lawyers, noting the 'wilder' side of Monday, which is at times overlooked by certain authors (ibid.: 57).

Generally, in accordance with Christian principles, there should be no *Yeri* on Clean Monday. Yet Coulentianou cites that the church disapproved of masquerade because of the idolatrous animal masks, rather than merriment (ibid.: 57). When Coulentianou questioned Skyrians as to whether they considered it sinful to extend carnival into Clean Monday, or how God and St. George would consider the carnival, the responses were revealing (ibid.: 57). One priest said the church always has forbidden mummery as idolatry but what could they do?¹¹⁶ An elderly Skyrian said: "We have the right. The *Geros* is serious! And we have always amused ourselves freely without misunderstanding on these days and on *Kathari Deftéra* [Clean

¹¹⁶ This echoes the view of the monk Reverend Pater Yerontios who resided at St. George monastery during my stay. He stated that in Skyros, carnival was a time-old tradition of Dionysian origin, a custom (habit), and locals would challenge his understanding of the event if he were to obstruct them. The church regards carnival as idolatry, however, Reverend Pater Yerontios added that the *Yeri* do not enter the chapel itself but move straight to the bell tower (a significant detour from a highly sacred liturgical space) [Field diary, interview 8-5-94]. This consecration by time and the legality of autochthonous institutions may be why the clergy concedes to the *Yeri* and troupes entering the sacred grounds of the monastery.

Monday]" (cited in Couletianou 1977:57). Couletianou's informants justified their persistence on carnival revelling during Lent in a different ways. One claimed that Monday was not carnival because they do not wear masks (ibid.: 58). Yet, another said that the rare *Yeros* who appears on Clean Monday is not taken seriously; Skyrian attribute greater importance to those dressed as shepherds or in other costumes:

It is not a sin when they amuse themselves on Monday, because it is groups who dress up and go out and amuse themselves and they don't give much importance to the *Géros*. And I'll tell you — because it is such an ancient custom it is not a sin, that is, it has nothing anti-religious about it. What the church can object to, however, is when there is a liturgy going on and the *Géri* beat their bells outside the church. For this reason, the *Géros* always tries to avoid passing by a church at that time. If he does happen to pass one, he will walk in such a way as not to make noise for the churchgoers inside, and only when he has passed the church does he start to beat the bells again. (From an interview taken from a shepherd, as cited in Couletianou 1977:58)

During my fieldwork, no *Yeros*, *Korela* or *Frangos* dressed on Clean Monday. Like Couletianou, I was told that in principle there should be no *Yeri*. But Skyrians referred to the fact that in past years some Skyrians (usually poorer people) who were unable to obtain bells during the carnival period would dress on Clean Monday. Currently, Skyrian's Clean Monday dress no longer entails overt comic masquerade with bells and masks. With the traditional folk costumes, the shepherd's dress theme has shifted and merged into other symbolic areas of ceremonial meaning.

How Skyrians Describe Clean Monday: Views on a Lenten Event

When talking with Skyrians, there was a stark difference between the descriptions given to me about Clean Monday at the beginning of my research and the way themes of discussions moved away from a certain rhetoric, once there appeared to be no reason to portray the event in any specific light to inquiring researchers.

The first description of Clean Monday came from the mayor, who was particularly interested in cultural events and activities:¹¹⁷

On Clean Monday we have another scene. On Clean Monday most Skyrians will dress in traditional Skyrian costumes, and if they don't dress they will have some

¹¹⁷ The interview was held during preliminary fieldwork (1992). At that point in time, I was relatively unknown, having been in Skyros for three weeks, a month before carnival started, and had not seen any of the festivities.

piece of a Skyrian traditional costume. They go to the square and dance. But [there are certain] elements that were present some years ago [but are] now more infrequent. The youth would dress as shepherds and sing in the narrow streets of Skyros, hitting the crook rhythmically to the earth, giving one rhythm and also stressing the strength of human power, keeping to the special tune of carnival¹¹⁸... I have to say that young people hold to their roots, you will see them dressed in traditional costume on Clean Monday. You will see them at the fêtes ... they sing Skyrian songs which they wish to learn. [They are] given [i.e., taught] to them by their parents in small celebrations, which happen at their homes. You will see them having Skyrian weddings. So I must say this with particular satisfaction, Skyrian youth, independently from all their other events are tied to their roots, they preserve our customs, and this is expressed in various ways and different situations. [Tues. 25-2-92]

This is a traditionalist account of the significance of Clean Monday and one that can be applied to other Skyrian activities, such as fêtes and weddings. The emphasis is on survivalist logic that sees folk festivities as being connected to primordial roots to be preserved in ancient rituals and customs, which are then handed down from generation to generation. This account echoes those put forward by media and other researchers that endorse a particular dialogue of the traditional as a relic (see Cowan 1988 above). Within this logic, there is little curiosity about the relevance of how traditions are practiced or experienced in the contemporary context, which is where the dynamic process of cultural reproduction lies.

Tradition is itself a contentious and changing concept within anthropological literature. Winthrop generally defines tradition as an explicit cultural form transmitted through time; what is deemed to have particular value, however, is its perpetuation. It is the continuity of a way of life and expression that guides acts, practices and beliefs (1991:300). The original meaning of the term is the handing down of instruction or doctrine (from the Latin *trado*, I hand over, surrender which is akin to the Greek word for tradition, *paradhosí*, i.e., to give or hand over) (ibid.: 300). In its contemporary usage, tradition is seen to entail a certain relatively fixed cultural practice, e.g., the monarchy, or a continuity in aim or style, such as baroque music. This conception of tradition bears the idea that the act of cultural transmission is itself a value (ibid.: 300-301).

¹¹⁸ The insistence of the crook being struck to the ground in a unitary rhythm to the song (something that is acknowledged by most Skyrians but sporadically practiced) may hint at a symbolic connection of revellers to the earth.

Tradition, myth and culture conceptually merged in nineteenth century anthropological thinking. Frazer, for instance, linked myth with legend and tradition, while Kroeber saw tradition as synonymous with culture (ibid.: 301). However, new directions in the study of tradition in post war anthropology and rapid technological change could not account for an inflexible view of tradition (ibid.: 302). In recent culture theory, tradition is a fluid concept, capable of being invoked and guiding innovation (ibid.: 302). Symbolic and interpretative approaches are more sensitive to processes of learning and communicating cultural principles of everyday and ritual life. Based on these theoretical shifts, tradition is not understood as "some fixed content endlessly perpetuated, but a persisting pattern of understanding that allows continuity within change" (ibid.: 303).

Tradition is often a social rhetoric for a steadfast identification with place, custom and the past, by a community (or its spokespeople) and social researchers alike. The emphasis is on those aspects of social life that take on cultural value at particular points in time, i.e., those practices that each group or select members deem as unchangingly theirs which then enter a perceived genealogy (at times constructed) of custom, tale and institution. Tradition is expressed or practised differently, according to context and experience, and this interpretation emphasises both the fluidity and continuity of tradition in social life.¹¹⁹

Many months after the mayor's interview, and after I had participated in Skyrian carnival, I interviewed Dino, a pensioner active in Skyrian community affairs. His account of Clean Monday seemed to be closer to how Skyrians experience this occasion:

No, not a *Yeros*! A shepherd, on Clean Monday!? On Clean Monday we put on our good clothes. Then there are no *Yeri*. It is not permitted to have *Yeri*. And I see that they observe this, they observe this thing because the *Yeros* and his accompaniment is carnival, it's *Apokria*! While Clean Monday is entirely religious, Christian. Lent comes in, so that's why you eat fasting foods. As the word says, put on your *clean* [clothes], your *good* [clothes]. That's why we dress like this. But of course, you can't [move] from one day to the other, one day revelling and the other fasting and prayer. No, indeed hey! [April 1992]

¹¹⁹ The issue of tradition and the re-enactment of Skyrian carnival as 'folk' performance in Venice is addressed in chapter 6.

Although Dino begins with the affirmation of the Christian nature of Clean Monday, the final sentence, "But of course you can't ..." encapsulates how most Skyrians view Clean Monday. The transition from revelry to fasting is neither easy nor abrupt. In most parts of Greece, families customarily go out to the countryside to picnic on Lenten food and fly a kite, which reinforces a cathartic view of the first day of Lent. On the contrary, Skyrians gather in the town square (a central socio-political space) to eat Lenten food as appetisers, drink abundant wine, dance and sing until the morning of Tuesday. Dino emphasised the duality of Clean Monday; it is not carnival but one cannot *stop carnival* overnight. This extension of carnival into Lent sets a co-existing duality, which Skyrians view as evolving from the nature of the celebration.

This emphasis on clean clothes and cleanliness draws attention to another mundane, almost practical lay interpretation of Clean Monday, moving away from strictly religious notions of purity. Anna, a Skyrian women, remarked that on Clean Monday, you "clean (*katharizis*) your home" or "clean up" [i.e., eat] the leftovers [of meat] from the carnival dinners". When I inquired if you can eat meat on Clean Monday, a day of strict fasting, she affirmed that it was all right; it was neither an issue nor a sin (not understanding my concern). Clean Monday was still a day allocated to austere fasting. Feasting or fasting can easily co-exist under various forms of justification. Clean Monday provided a threshold for this feasting-fasting transition.

The meaning of clean as cleanliness, as opposed to religious purity, straddles a very free line of interpretation. Individuals situationally select the flippant possibilities of cleanliness or absolve themselves, a kind of religious catharsis. This may also highlight a popular desire to hold onto a profane festivity, by continuing to feast on Lenten foods.

Clean Monday: A Cathartic Celebration?

Clean Monday is not part of the official carnival period, but it is significant in the way that Clean Monday is symbolically and theologically constructed as the dramatic end to the masquerade and revelry. Strict fasting and feverish cleaning are the tasks of the day. But there is also the widespread religious notion that the day's aim is to "purify from sins", mainly from the sins of self-indulgence and excessive drinking that were

committed during carnival (Megas 1963:72).¹²⁰ Clean Monday is the beginning of a sacred and pious forty-day period of mourning prior to Easter, and marks the need for detachment from any form of popular or pagan belief that may be polluting. Hence, it symbolises a kind of spiritual catharsis. Yet, in Skyros, a cathartic view of Clean Monday that rests within a dichotomous framing of carnival is problematic, at least in the way it is celebrated. While there is some absolving of idolatry, the inebriation and merriment continues or even intensifies on this day. It is not surprising that Clean Monday has previously been a day allocated for more carnivalesque activities. In Coulentianou's account of Skyrian carnival, *Yeri* and other masqueraders dressed on Clean Monday (1977:57) (see above). At various historical periods, there was a presence of carnivalesque elements in Clean Monday. This indicates the flexibility and desirability of carnival occurring within Lent, as least in the eyes (or practice) of Skyrian revellers.

Although I have translated *Kathari Deftera* as Clean Monday, the meaning of *kathari* as clean or pure needs to be clarified. In vernacular Greek, *katharos* (pl. -i) means both "clean" and "pure". It is both a physical "cleaning out" and symbolic "washing away" with moral and spiritual ramifications relating to cleansing.¹²¹ Both meanings are implicated in the one word when used by Skyrians. Whether something is clean or pure depends on the context and particular perspective. On Clean Monday you can wear your *clean* clothes, *clean* your homes, *clean out* leftovers, *cleanse* your sins, emotionally or religiously purge yourself, and/or achieve a dramatic catharsis. All forms of cleansing are part of carnival's loose play on Clean Monday's 'cathartic' finale. Ultimately, the multiple interpretations and celebratory practices surrounding themes of cleansing and purity blur any functional explanation of Clean Monday as ritual catharsis.

¹²⁰ The folklorist, Megas, also states that Clean Monday marks the beginning of a spiritual and bodily purification from the sins (mainly of self-indulgence) committed during carnival, noting that for many housewives Monday is a day for literal cleaning chores (1963:72). Although Clean Monday officially belongs to the Lenten period, Megas states that it is essentially a continuation of carnival, "for it is not easy to give up all at once the pleasures enjoyed during three whole weeks. ... Clean Monday, however, is essentially an open-air holiday and symbolizes the first meeting with spring and the dismissal of winter" (ibid.: 72-73).

¹²¹ The English word, pure, as morally unadulterated is semantically closer to Greek usage of *agno* rather than *katharos*, i.e., "clean" (see glossary).

Folk Dress on Clean Monday

The Skyrian celebration of Clean Monday questions the nature of the carnival - Lent dichotomy in another way. In its particular Skyrian use, folk dress manifests an idiosyncratic angle to carnival masquerade. Changing dress draws upon common features between the masquerade of carnival and the folk dress of Clean Monday. Even though Clean Monday may appear as a traditional folk celebration, I will not engage in such an analysis, since I argue that the way tradition is interpreted and folk dress experienced is idiosyncratic and involves dynamic social practices. Instead, I concentrate on the meaning of dress and dressing on Clean Monday, and subsequently explore metaphoric implications of changing dress/masquerade and compare these notions to carnival masquerade. The overt comic character of carnival vanishes in view of the serious folk reveller. However, as in the case of carnival masquerade, by changing dress on Clean Monday, commonly perceived fields of identification continue to be transgressed. For instance, the cross-dressing of mainly females to male clothes continues, or the distinction between child/adult dress and different regional costumes collapses. It is in this respect that folk dress has a ritual proximity to masquerade, as there is the transgression of normative borders and codes of dress and social identifications, invoking social memory (as I later argue). Folk dress is seminal to understanding masquerade in its broader social implications. I will extend on the symbolic aspects of dress and masquerade in relation to the dominant trope of carnivalesque transformation, i.e., "coming into being" (chapter 5).

By folk dress, I refer to the local, everyday and ceremonial dress, characteristic of the region and epoch, prior to the establishment of European clothing. Skyrians call these outfits or costumes, *stoli* (pl. *-es*), or traditional costumes (*paradhosiakes stoles*), or local garments (*topikes foresies*). Therefore, 'folk' is potentially interchangeable with traditional, customary, regional, local, popular and rural. However I primarily explore the meaning of folk dress as in its celebratory context.

At times, the definition of ethnic dress overlaps with folk and traditional clothing. Eicher and Sumberg state that ethnic dress is understood as those items or modifications of body that capture the past of the members of a group, the items of tradition that are worn and displayed to signify cultural heritage (1995:299). Ethnic dress, as opposed to fashion, is worn by members of one group to distinguish

themselves from another; a focus on differentiation, it is a visual manifestation of difference that separates one group from the other (ibid.: 300). Whatever is culturally associated with the traditional, stereotypically never seems to change. Dress is a significant visible mark of ethnicity used to communicate the identity of a group or an individual among interacting groups (ibid.: 301). Ethnicity embraces ideas of group cohesion; 'we-ness' that is generated by factors such as a common heritage, shared language, similar dress and lifestyle (ibid.: 301). Ethnic dress may include borrowed items from other cultures that result in a distinctly identifiable ethnic ensemble because the new outfit has been culturally authenticated (ibid.: 303). Importantly, Eicher and Sumberg note that ethnic dress is not static, but has the potential to change over time (ibid.: 303).

Eicher's and Sumberg's definition of ethnic dress rests on a broad cross section of social groups or communities. In the contemporary context, Skyrian folk dress is not associated with any particular status and social group. There used to be a distinct dress for the nobility, shepherds and farmers, as well as everyday and work garments, ceremonial clothes and so forth. Garments of one social group can be taken up by another, as is the case of the farmers' dark outfit, which was worn by the shepherds at a later period in time. Therefore, using the term ethnic dress in Skyros would obscure the particularities of various garments. However, when and how they are worn by Skyrians and the cultural meaning attached to each garment are open to ethnographic analysis.

Dress and Symbolic Implications on Body and Self

One of the defining aspects of carnival and Clean Monday is dress and dressing up. Although it may seem as a surface marker of the performance, as opposed to a series of other ritual and cultural practices, dress is also an important symbolic marker.¹²²

Eicher adopts a communicative approach to the analysis of dress:

Dress is a coded sensory system of non-verbal communication that aids human interaction in space and time. The codes of dress include visual as well as other sensory modifications ... and supplements ... to the body which set off either or

¹²² In earlier anthropological literature, dress is viewed in a functional relation to social roles and identity, or structural homologies between systems of language and clothing (Kuper 1973), or is placed under aspects of material culture (Schwarz 1979).

both cognitive and affective processes that result in recognition or lack of recognition by the viewer (1995:1).

Hence, dress is not a static artefact to be semiotically read, but a cultural sign, a dynamic metaphor of the body's social self. Dress is a pivotal social and cultural indicator that is central to a series of issues, such as gender, ethnicity, the ritual or religious sphere, the everyday, individual choice, fashion, aesthetics, political power, social status, sub-cultures, etc. In short, dress symbolically encodes an identity that has the potential to be manifested within these above social categories.¹²³

However, reducing dress to a code for the inscription of cultural categories or identity may be problematic. The body as a self diminishes, neglecting how the body moves, feels or relates through time and space. Memory and social relations are dynamically instilled not only in items of dress, but also in other processes such as dressing. The body adorned is a social body and, more importantly, a person.

I argue (with particular reference to Clean Monday) that the *relation* of dress to the body is of equal social significance to the analysis of dress as a cultural sign per se. That is, dress in relation to the body, with all its symbolic ramifications on how the body is perceived, adorned, dressed and transformed is a critical point of analytical focus. Carnival is one of the most volatile arenas for playing upon transformations of the body/self. However, dress entails a process and interaction rather than merely the garment. Dress and dressing highlight a series of issues of relatedness; wherein dress operates not only as a symbol but also as a pivot continually engaging social relations. These relations can be drawn from the past, the present and through time; in the dress and dressing there is a diachrony of transmission and an emergence of

¹²³ Tradition is a dynamic and selective process, and can be invented in socio-political contexts where there is a need to define oneself or a community and the past. This is particularly clear in relation in folk dress. Seng and Wass (1995) examined how the traditional Palestinian wedding dress became a nationalist symbol when taken up by expatriate Palestinians in the U.S. Without knowing the original context, many contemporary women turned to the traditional wedding gown as a reaffirmation of identity and community (Seng and Wass 1995:229). In the Palestinian case, costume evoked memories of land and land-based community ties that became the focus of tradition. Folk motifs and tales of regions in the embroidery of the gown, were innovated by group consensus, this process being part of a continuum of women's activities, consciously creating and reviving tradition (ibid.: 234). For Palestinian immigrants and refugees, the wedding continued to be a central event for the reaffirmation of communal values and ties to homeland, values recognised and celebrated through the language of motifs cultivated by women (ibid.: 251). The re-invented, modified or imbued with new meaning wedding gown remained as the celebratory focus (ibid.: 252). Folk dress is a potent symbolic marker of self and community, as both contrasting contexts of the Skyrian and Palestinian cases indicate.

memory and sentiment as I indicate below.

Skyrian Dress Worn on Clean Monday

There is a range of folk clothing worn on Clean Monday and I detail some of the widely worn garments. The farmer's dark blue everyday outfit called *vrakadhika*, from the word *vraka*, i.e., breeches or trousers, is the most popular and it is worn by men and women alike. The wearer is named after the clothing, *vrakas* (see image L on p. 147). This is an idiomatic naming process that identifies the wearer with the item of clothing. This process creates a referential frame that symbolically privileges the garment over the wearer. Hence, the garment metonymically bestows the wearer's identity (as, e.g., the Crown is the King). The *vrakas*'s garments were the working clothes of the farmers. Their dark colours were associated with the heavy duties and chores of the poorer farmers who worked the land, many of whom were in the service of the more powerful shepherds. Also widely worn are the more elaborate and formal shepherd's outfit (*tsopanika*), which are predominantly white and light colours. The everyday outfits mainly worn by women are the *boula* (also known as *koutni*); the *koumiotika*, the Skyrian adaptation of an outfit of the neighbouring Kimi, and *lamena*, the bridal attire are occasionally worn (see image M on p. 147). In the past, but rarely at present, the women's national folk dress (*amalia*), and the infant girls' dress, the *vlahitsa* were worn. During Clean Monday, Skyrians may choose to wear a particular garment throughout the day or the same favoured garment each year.

Generally, each social group had their own range of garments that were worn exclusively by its members. The Skyrian folklorist, Aiki Lambrou, details the changes to male garments and the introduction of European or *frangika* clothes, as they were known (1994:103). The formal, white shepherd's clothes (*tsopanika*) were generally not worn after 1910 and rarely by the 1950s (*ibid.*: 103). The everyday farmer's garments (*vrakas*) were later worn by the shepherds, which indicates a looser association of clothes with status groups. Some shepherds continued to wear their kerchief on their heads as a distinguishing feature on their farmer's outfit (*vrakadhika*). Up until the 1970s, many elder Skyrian men would wear the farmer's clothes or breeches (*vrakes*), unlike the neighbouring island of Skiathos, where

breeches were replaced with European clothes after Liberation in 1821 (*ibid.*: 104).¹²⁴

With such an array of costume appearing throughout the carnival period, European and Skyrian notions of dress are continually juggled during Clean Monday and the general carnival period, as both occasions merge in their continual fragmentation and re-arrangement of dress. This juggling of dress types needs to be examined in relation to the notions of selfhood embedded in the social and relational aspects of dressing. Both folk garments and carnivalesque dress manifest potent associations with shifting symbolic frames of identity. The meaning imbued in the dress and dressing of the *Korela* and *Yeros* converges with the folk costumes of Clean Monday. Unlike the *Frangos's* costumes and those of the slap-on masqueraders, these garments have a more complex procedure of dressing. Items of garments are worn in a particular way and order that needs adequate time for preparation and the assistance of experienced dressers. There are a limited number of people who are able to appropriately dress revellers. From its initial instant, dressing up is a group practice, wherein dress and dressing become engaged in a set of cultural practices that relate to differing understandings of carnival and Clean Monday. An analysis of Skyrians' discussions and pre-occupation with dress, reveals patterns in the way items of costume are imbued with meanings of origin, life stories, memories and relatedness.

An important and distinguishing feature of Skyrian folk dress is embroidery. Many pieces of garments are given their local signature by Skyrian women's skilful stitches. Skyrian embroidery is a highly intricate folk art, weaving aspects of mythology and cosmology into colourful motifs of the island's social history (e.g., *Kadhis*, *Liaps*, boats, see chapter 1). Also prominent are fertility motifs, such as the pomegranate and snakes, local flora and fauna, and so on, themes which, although inspired by other Greek repertoires of folk embroidery, have been handcrafted into idiosyncratic styles particular to and identified with Skyros.¹²⁵ Themes and images of the island are sprawled on the walls of Skyrian homes and stitched into ceremonial

¹²⁴ Lambrou maintains that before the predominance of western clothes, Skyrians who wore breeches and needed to leave the island would wear European clothes, mostly at their children's request (1994:103). Her work gives an extensive overview and detailed descriptions of Skyrian garments.

¹²⁵ Detailed work on embroidery has been published by folklorists and historians such as A. Faltaits (1985); Perdika (1940, 1943); and Xanthouli (1996:112-122).

attire. Embroidery exists as separate household decorative objects, but it is also incorporated into many items, such as clothes, tablecloths, ceremonial aprons and decorative trimmings, curtains and bedclothes, including the special sheets and pillows allocated for the death bed and funeral rites. Embroidery thus occupies a special place in Skyrian ritual life. Embroidered items are central pieces exposed in the newly-weds' home and their garments during the first forty days after weddings; in funerals, the "death sheet" (*nekrosendono*) is an embroidered sheet or cloth that adorns the coffin of the deceased. The "death sheet" is the same cloth used to decorate a couple's home during their wedding celebrations, symbolically bringing together the cycle of life and death.

Skyrian women proudly (and, at times, competitively) exhibit their embroidery, which they have inherited from their matriline or crafted themselves in the company of other embroiderers during afternoons when chores are finished (in Skyros, such evening get-togethers are called *sperisma*). These gatherings set an occasion for regenerating and improvising themes of embroidery and a venue for inciting tales, news and gossip (and a rich source of social information during my fieldwork). The embroiderers not only become storytellers but also handcraft important symbolic capital. Valuable items or older embroidery are inherited as part of the *aloni* of the house, a major source of a woman's dower inheritance and symbolic capital.¹²⁶ Embroidery also locally authenticates an item of dress particular to another region. For instance, the yellow-black kerchief (which used to be imported from Asia Minor or Kimi, but is now commercially available in Greece) is transformed into a Skyrian kerchief worn for the *koumiotika* outfits and the *Korela's* kerchief, by embroidering a particular trimming. This same yellow-black kerchief is also worn over European clothes on Clean Monday, indicating a partial transformation into ceremonious clothes.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ See chapter 1. Embroidered items such as pillowcases, wall and fireplace decorative pieces can be seen in the *aloni* image C on p. 47.

¹²⁷ These are but brief examples indicating the cultural importance of Skyrian embroidery. Further research viewing it beyond a static folkloric artefact would elucidate the social ramifications and cultural centrality of this intriguing Skyrian women's craft.

Preparing for Clean Monday

The insistent discussions and preparation of Clean Monday's folk garments rival that of the *Yeros* and *Korela* outfits. All garments have an equally revered status during preparation. However, the *Korela's* quasi peasant/bride and *Yeros's* shepherd/goat dress, although intended as comic costumes have, over time, diminished their association with overt comic hilarity and absurdity. Today, the *Yeros* and *Korela* are more serious figures and their outfits are akin to the folk dress of Clean Monday, in contrast with the absurd *Frangi* and bizarre masqueraders. This transformation may be due to the changing nature of folk dress and its current revered status. In the past, selected items of the *Yeros* and *Korela* costumes were worn as everyday items. Thus, comic themes were played out by re-arranging these costumes into bizarre or inverted combinations. Absurdity was introduced through the European characters, and the costume of the *Frangos* was its prime parody. The preparation of garments has a levelling affect on the ritual and comic status of these items.

In the weeks prior to Grand Carnival weekend, the preparation of the folk dress is almost as obsessive as the preparation of the *Yeros's* costume and bells. The women mainly care for the *Korela's* outfits and men for the bells and *Yeros's* costume. There is an enormous amount of discussion about details relating to minute aspects of Clean Monday's folk dress. Most Skyrian mothers and grandmothers — for it is mainly their domain — seek, prepare, sew or order full outfits or supplement pieces needed to complete a full costume. They have an intricate knowledge of the items and sources of availability, relying on their finely tuned aesthetic appraisal, which is invaluable in judging and acquiring the appropriate style, item and material.

Talking about the Dress and the Origins of Clothing

Weeks before carnival started, Frosini, a young Skyrian girl, was talking about traditional costumes with her aunt [MZ] [Field diary 14-2-95]. In trying to ascertain what bits and pieces were needed to make up the *koutni* garment, she asked her aunt: "Is this Skyrian?" meaning, is it local, traditional or from Skyros. I was surprised by this cavalier way of questioning the origins of the garments. Until then, the garments seemed to me to be unquestionably Skyrian. Frosini used the word "Skyrian" and "traditional" (*paradhosiako*) interchangeably.

Generally, the meaning of the word Skyrian coincided with traditional, local or folk. But when talking to an outsider or researcher like me, the word traditional (*paradhosiako*) was often used. At the beginning of my stay in Skyros, outfits and customs were referred to as 'traditional'. But by the end of my stay, the term 'Skyrian' (*Skyriano*) was frequently used. For instance, while discussing with some of my friends what kind of a wedding a mutual friend had, they replied: "Skyrian", meaning the bride and bridal party dressed in folk bridal costume and danced in the square, following Skyrian wedding customs. The use of "traditional" often resurfaced in the context of folklore talk or discussions with learned researchers (this may have also been a way of differentiating local garments and practices). There appeared to be a taken-for-grantedness and extension on local understandings of what it meant for something to be 'Skyrian'. Skyrian was not necessarily equivalent to autochthonous, but draws on many frames of reference. What determines a Skyrian costume is where it is used; how it relates to people and relations of exchange; the ceremonial context, and so on. It is this contextual factor that raises the issue of whether something is Skyrian, local, traditional, indigenous, and so forth. The garments are but one such metaphor for conveying diverse sources of identification, as the following example demonstrates.

Preparing the Costume: Pieces of Skyrian Folk Dress

A month before carnival, Maria was sitting in her home at Kalikri (a settlement out of the township), talking about various pieces of costume and what she needed to complete a full outfit [Field diary 16-2-95]. She had ordered material to sew the shirt for the shepherd's outfit, a vest for an *amalia*, (the national folk of mainland Greece worn on Clean Monday) and a *Korela's* outfit for her grandchildren. The conversation drifted into the ways of obtaining various pieces of clothing, such as a fur-lined vest of the Skyrian wedding garment (*lamena*) (see image M on p. 147).¹²⁸ Generally, Skyrian folk costumes include diverse items, such as the yellow-black kerchief from

¹²⁸ The Skyrian folklorist and maker of outfits, Lambrou states that the "bridal-ceremonial attire of Skyros is called *lamena*" (1994:21).

Kimi, the black velvet hat from Mytilene¹²⁹ or silver brooches from Epiros (north west Greece). Garments from other regions are integrated and/or adjusted stylistically, as for instance, the *koumiotika*, a costume originating from Kimi.

The designation of costume items, whether they originate from Skyros, or were obtained or produced in other regions varies and cannot always be determined. However, the final product seems uniform in appearance and is commonly considered a Skyrian costume. Even when pieces of the costume come from other regional folk costumes, or are deemed to have other origins, this does not take away from its folk, local Skyrian character. Aspects of traditional garments have been negotiated continuously and sporadically, as the items are pieced together over time and generations in ceremonial contexts. The fact that these are non-Skyrian items in no way contradicts their local character, since they *become* Skyrian. Folk dress does not appear as a monolithic, static prototype of some traditional motif that comes together in one collection, to be handed down in the same manner. Located within the dressing and the making up of the dress is a collage of diverse identifications, regional and ethnic which constitute the Skyrian folk costume. Items of Skyrian folk garments are collected over time and from various places. In these designations of Skyrian folk costume, an item of clothing can mediate places, people and kin. This was made obvious more in *the preparation* of folk dress, rather than the finished product. Once one is fully dressed, one is in Skyrian costume.

Packing and Unpacking Items of Costume: Kin Relations and Symbolic Succession

While preparing for a trip to Venice, Kali (who was invited to perform with the carnival troupe) was packing her *Korela* and *koutni* costume. I was assisting her, carefully making sure that all parts of the garments were placed in order. After she took out the headpiece, I noticed her beautiful red silk shirt embellished with gold embroidery. She commented that it belonged to her grandmother, Kali [MM]. The shirt has inherited by her mother, Anna, the eldest daughter. However, the silk shirt was originally embroidered by Anna's grandmother [MM], Anna, who bequeathed it to her daughter Kali, and was then handed down to Anna, thereby alternating the name of

¹²⁹ Lambrou (1994:103) states that the velvet hat (*aivaliotikos skoufos*) of Aivali (a coastal urban centre of Asia Minor juxtaposed to Mytilene) became part of the farmer's costume (*vrakadhika*) in c. 1910.

the receiver of the same item in each successive generation.

Kali then showed me the white embroidered apron for a *Korela* outfit that her grandfather [MF] brought home when he was in the war in Albania.¹³⁰ She remarked: "He was in the war but was thinking about what to buy for carnival!" He gave the apron to his daughter Anna (Kali's mother). Kali wore it during carnival.

What is important here and encoded in items of the garment is the relation of giver/receiver. The doting grandparents acquire items, which are allocated for their grandchildren. At times grandparents nominate which grandchild the item belongs to. This direct hand-over enhances the relationship of the two generations; the parents become the mediators of the transactions. However, such direct grandparent-grandchild transmissions do not happen consistently with all heirlooms. Ceramics, bronze trays, embroidery and icons are inherited from parent to child. The *aloni* of the Skyrian home is mainly given as dowry from mothers to daughters (see chapter 1), and includes valuable items of traditional dress, such as the silver belt, which historically have been important items of inheritance in dowry contracts (Antoniadis 1997:49). But where grandparent and grandchild have the same name, occasionally selected precious household items, garments or heirloom icons of saints who have the same name as the grandparent-child are given directly (through nomination) to the grandchild.

Throughout Greece, it is customary to name a child after a grandparent. Which child bears whose grandparent's name varies regionally and is open to re-interpretation (and parent's or family dispute). Names can be taken from either side of the parent's family line. In one naming practice, irrespective of sex, the firstborn receives the first name of one of the paternal grandparents. In another naming practice, the eldest daughter receives the name of the mother's mother and the eldest son, the father's father. Children born later are given names alternately from the two family lines (Zarkia 1998:185). As a rule, the first names of the children must not coincide with that of the parents. Younger offspring and, on rare occasions, the eldest children can be named after other kin members, e.g., a deceased relative, childless kin or in an *ex voto* offering (*tama*) to a saint. In Skyros, the eldest children derive their

¹³⁰ Referring to WWII, when Greek forces were sent to the Albanian front against Italian Fascist attacks in 1940.

names from the maternal and paternal line. Zarkia states that importance is given to the eldest child because they are the successors and principal heirs of the feminine and masculine estate (1998:184).

Generally, naming systems are an important symbolic index, revealing social relations and the structure of a community. In southeast Europe, systems of names follow strictly recognised rules and indicate particularities of the social structure in each society (Stahl 1998:7). In Skyros, a highly stratified society, the transmission of name, inheritance and status, follow rules which showed a preponderance of boys as bearers of feminine dower assets: "the transmission of property on Skyros distinguishes masculine assets transmitted through patrilineality from feminine assets transmitted through matrilineality" (Zarkia 1998:179).

The components of names are as follows: first name, family or lineal name, the father's name or patronymic and the nickname which is used to single out personalities or same name individuals. The first name is determined by the sex and order of the individual, and is linked to that of the ancestor of whom s/he is the successor with respect to status and property (Zarkia 1998:180).

Succession is expressed by the transmission of the family name and first name, which in Skyros is called resurrection (*anastasis*). This honorary practice has a particular social role:

the successor resuscitates symbolically his ancestor by carrying his name and first name and inherits his estate; in this way continuation of the whole is guaranteed. The symbolic capital is added to the inherited material capital, for the symbolic value of the name strengthens the role of the heir-successor. Thus, each member of the new generation who resuscitates someone of the older generation also has a right to the estate, since he bears responsibility for the succession — the resurrections of the symbolic patrimony. (Zarkia 1998:184)

Zarkia maintains that the term "resurrection" (*anastasi*) should be interpreted as a symbol of the survival and continuation of the material and immaterial capitals, through a new member of the family line, rather than as a belief in re-incarnation, which may occur in other Balkan regions (ibid.: 184).

The social significance of the naming system is found in the continuity of the family lineage. However, on the personal level, the custom is seen as the bestowing of honour by the parent on his/her parent. A special relationship is established between grandparent and grandchild bearing the same name, which creates a

similarly special bond. As an extension of this practice, the honorary-customary naming system implicates a symbolic arena of identification across generations, creating a proximity between two disparate age groups, and the continuation of the matriline or patriline. This naming system is nurtured with emotional ties, enhancing family identification and a special bond between grandparent and the receptor/inheritor of their name. "Resurrecting" a person through naming descendants and eternalising their name cyclically in the paternal or maternal line, symbolically — and not necessarily metaphysically — reincarnates the identity of the bestower/receiver of the name, hence securing them a place in that family line.

Grandparents experience this resurrection as the honour of hearing their name, which is usually their first name. This honorary bestowal of the first name emphasises the individual personality of the grandparent, as opposed to their family or lineage identity. In this sense, the resurrection of one's personal self extends to the acquisition of individual traits or characteristics that are mirrored in the grandparent/grandchild. This embodiment enhances a personal level of identification and the symbolic exchange of members of the two generations. The handing over of heirloom garments to grandchildren, so that they can be worn in carnival revelry is one dimension in which symbolic succession is culturally practiced.

Kali's white embroidered apron is located and remembered in a personal and historical frame. The circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the item and the giver are as important as the garment itself. Anecdotal stories emerge and are retold, loaded with sentiment and meaning. These items of celebratory garments bring to memory the giver of the item, and in its wearing, their presence is symbolically and momentarily resurrected. However, it is not only the items of dress but the *procedure of dressing* that also recalls people back into the present, as in the following example.

Dressers and Dressed: Triggering Cultural Memory

A young Skyrian women related this incident [Field diary Sat. 14-2-95]. Several years ago, she was zealously preparing her shepherds' costume (*tsopanika*) a week beforehand for Clean Monday, and specifically asked to wear her grandfather's [FF] woollen breeches. On returning from work and preparing to dress for carnival that night, she was furious to learn that her sister had worn them. She then stubbornly

refused to wear the breeches, even though her maternal grandfather [MF] pleaded with her, saying that this would probably be the last time he would see her. The next year he passed away. This was a sad memory recalled during an otherwise festive event. For redolent within the occasion, was an emotion that is embodied, not only in dress but also in the process of dressing. Here the grandfather [FF], a shepherd from a prominent pastoralist family, bequeaths the items of the dress to his grandchildren, but the living grandfather [MF] (who is also a farmer-shepherd but of a less wealthy family) incites the dressing. In a dotting gesture of handing down across generations, dress and dressing become the process and metaphor for extending oneself. The bequeathed items embody memories that constitute a diachronic social web of people and place.

Dressing is done by those who know the ritualistic steps and style of putting together the elaborate garments. They are usually older family members and kin, preferably with the experience in well-styled dressing. It is an important and, at times, a strenuous practice amongst the dresser/dressed. Quite a few times at dressings, I witnessed scenes where the dotting grandmother and mother were at the whim, mood and anxiety of the daughters or sons whom they were dressing. Tensions would sporadically arise from getting all the bits and pieces in place; from finding missing parts; establishing who borrowed or wore them last, then running to find them; from working out who will wear what and when and from the endless turmoil over minute details. However, the dressers (usually the mothers and grandmothers assisted by maternal aunts) kept their dotting and demur deportment, recognising that this was a very special moment of transition. The value of the dressing moment was very important to both parties and thus emotionally loaded and potentially volatile. This value placed upon such relations is ignored by sociological notions of static traditionalism. Such a notion treats transition as an impersonal component of a social institution that is ideologically reconstructed. By focusing on dress as an end product rather than on dressing as part of a practice evoking cultural memory and symbolic succession, salient identifications and relations inherent in the dressing are neglected.

Making Skyrian Folk Dress Mundane through Carnival

Remarkably, the way folk garments are worn on Clean Monday is similar to carnival. On this day, precious dress items are easily damaged. Since people eat, drink and dance all through the day this is inevitable, especially if the objects are old and fragile. Although the priceless heirloom garments (which also have sentimental value) are deeply appreciated by Skyrians, this fact is compromised for the sake of carnival and revelling. It seems that carnival again offers a license for such accidents, even at the price of damaging the items. On Clean Monday, people drink and dance, and do not take any extra-ordinary precautionary measures to protect the clothing. As they eat, drink and dance, fragile embroidery can be torn, kerchiefs and hats go missing in the wind, hand-woven white woollen shirts are stained. In other words, the garments are not worn as folk display pieces but as *clothing*. Any loss or damage to the garments is mourned (especially if it is irreplaceable, such as the embroidered silk shirts). No one is blamed or reprimanded if they were very drunk and careless. It is expected after all, since this is carnival. It is seen in a rather fatalistic way and somehow anticipated. The garment and revelling go together, at whatever price.

The garments arrive in people's possession through a set of intricate relationships. They are handed *down* by kin, but also handed *around* through relations of friendship, spiritual kinship (godparenthood) and extended kinship. Initially, during these dressing sessions, it seemed that it was mainly maternal aunts and kin from the maternal line who were heavily involved in this process. I initially considered that this was because of the customary cooperation of sisters in household and external activities and the close living arrangements of the sister communes, *adhelfikata* (see chapter 1). However, over time it became evident that the paternal kin were equally involved, particularly if the father was from a shepherding family. The female kin from these shepherding families had acquired a rich source of carnival garments and items. There were also the customary strong ties of ritual kinship that are crucial to the workings of clientalism and social networks of Greek community (see chapter 1). Today, amongst younger Skyrians there is an extensive group or cluster of friends and colleagues or a company of friends (*parea*) established through schools, work and neighbourhoods, which cut across kin lines although kin is also included. This company of friends is bonded in socialising and by relations of co-revelry. At

times, these groups worked as a unit in carnival preparation and dressing.

In the process of dressing, it is these relations that are prized, not the garment per se. Stories and anecdotes continuously revolve around who wore the garment and to whom it was given. Any coinciding event becomes part and parcel of the outfit and is retold at other moments of dressing. Primacy is placed on the relationships between people over the garment. It also becomes the mediator of relations, exchanged as a ceremonial gift. A folk gown is not solely a symbolic expression of regional identity. Therefore people, past and present, are continuously drawn into the current celebratory process. The preparation, dressing and exchange of items brings together and establishes relations of co-revelling of friends, kin and even newcomers who are invited to join. Through various networks (kinship, spiritual kinship, friendship, collegiality, etc.,) non-Skyrians can also gain access or are invited to wear these costumes. Unlike borrowed everyday clothes, these garments have a different purpose. As opposed to various forms of European dress, an item associated with folk dress is made to be handed *down* and *around*, even if it is newly acquired. Therefore, each item is connected with a genealogy of makers/receivers and an expanding kin and social network. Non-Skyrians are usually dressed by the person giving their garment (or by their kin) as a gesture of handing over and, in return, a relation of co-revelling and camaraderie is established during carnival.¹³¹

Even if great value is placed on every item of the costume, whether it is old or new, its purpose is to dress for carnival. This function supersedes all other reasons for its use. The dress is not placed in a chest, to be displayed as a showpiece, which occurs, for example, on national day parades such as Greek National Liberation Day (on the twenty fifth of March), or folk dances, where the same garments are exhibited in a demur dance and then are placed back in the chest. Heirloom clothing is made mundane through carnival. Festal and ceremonial clothing becomes everyday. Carnival suspends all that is revered and sacred, even the treasured heirloom clothing worn on the first day of Lent. In this sense, the folk dress of Clean Monday converges

¹³¹ When I was first invited by friends to wear the shepherd's clothing, given my own (western) preconceptions about borrowing clothes, especially heirloom pieces, I felt very uneasy about going near food or wine or dancing in close-knit crowds. I was afraid I would damage the garment belonging to my friend's late grandfather. However, their mother and grandmother who dressed me insisted that I should because it was an honour for them as well as for me. Given the arduous task of preparing the garment and its social implications, potential misunderstandings and friction were always imminent.

with the carnivalesque, again hinting at the paradoxical nature of the Lenten celebration.

Old and New Folk Garments

Skyrian outfits are nearly always a combination of old and new items, and often are a full new replica of an old outfit, given the availability of the items, materials, colour and style. The fact that the outfit was made recently does not make it less valuable. Skyrians idiomatically phrase these outfits as *nia*, "new". To Skyrians, their folk garments are ceremonial clothes. These same items can also be marketed as local or traditional in folkloric exhibitions. Garments do not have to be old to have cultural value. Their value is extracted from the relation of the garment to the overall process of exchange, the interweaving of social relations and celebratory context. In such a way, each item becomes part of a meaningful collage of dress. New items potentially fulfil the same symbolic significance as the pieces they replace.

Visitors often commented on Skyrians wearing folk costumes as a preservation of their heritage: "They hold their traditions" (*kratane tis paradhosis tous*). This preservation of customs is often echoed by Skyrians themselves. However, for Skyrians, this is merely one side of a coin, another way of looking at the fact that — as far as they can remember — they have always been wearing special clothes for celebratory purposes.¹³² Skyrians change clothes for carnival and Clean Monday. Whether "holding to tradition" is an ideological expression of an uninterrupted continuity with the past, or regionalist rhetoric used to impress visitors looking for 'traditional' autochthonous locals, this concept is immaterial to the Skyrian experience of dressing. Holding to their roots is not the primary concern of all the revellers dancing and singing in the town square. Of course, there are many circumstances where Skyrians are called upon to exhibit part of their culture for an audience or for documentation. In these cases, they actively tailor and select appropriate themes for the situation. For instance, in the Venice carnival festival the Skyrian troupe made a conscious attempt to re-enact what was deemed authentic (i.e., an older version) of the song repertoire of Clean Monday, accompanied by the rhythmical striking of their

¹³² A point that is reinforced by Dawkins' comment in the beginning of this chapter (1904/05:74).

crooks to the ground. The troupe carried the crooks on the Clean Monday re-enactment, something that was not practiced in their own carnival after they returned from Venice. The wearing of folk dress alone does not make the celebration traditional in a preservation sense. There is an indisputable *yearning* to wear the garments because they are imbued with people and exchanges of items and stories, ceremony and sentiment. Folk dress cannot be solely understood as an abstract ideological reconstruction of a past Skyrianness. The garment is a discreet collage of people and places and, therefore, denies any systematic consistency. The value of the garment is equally found in the *now* of the dressing. What Skyrians are "holding on to" (or may be fitting into) is more than a set custom-costume. Folk dress is not an abstract item but is continuously re-engaged in a network of relations and the people into contemporary contexts of festivity and celebration. This is where cultural dynamics are at play, in the turning of the traditional/static into the contemporary. In this case, tradition, as a handing down of folk dress, symbolically traverses people, places and time, resurfacing cultural memory in the present and reoccurring revelry.

The importance of social memory in ritual performance is highlighted in Stoller's work, but is also entailed in the symbolic identifications embodied in ceremonious dress during Skyrian carnival.¹³³ Stoller critiques cultural hermeneutics and its emphasis on discourse and text that favour practices of inscription over bodily practices (1997:59). He accordingly suggests the need for a historical and embodied approach to ritual.

Stoller draws on Connerton's work on spirit possession that expounds how memory is constructed in commemorative ceremonies, signifying the importance of ritual as "performatives" that constitute rather than reflect action (as cited in Stoller 1997:58). Despite the formal structural aspects of ritual, commemorative rituals "explicitly refer to mnemonic persons and events, whether these are understood to have a historical or mythological existence" (Connerton, cited in Stoller 1997:58). At this point, Stoller argues that Connerton's position departs from symbolic

¹³³ Paradellis (1999) gives a historical account on the way issues of collective and social memory were approached in anthropology, detailing landmark theoretical concerns and developments through the twentieth century.

anthropology's line of ritual performativity by entailing a historical and embodied focus (ibid.: 58-59).

bodily practices — the embodied substrate of performance — key cultural memory. In cultural memory, "the past is, as it were, sedimented in the body". (Stoller 1997:59, citing Connerton)

The processes of sedimentation occur through practices of inscription and incorporation. Inscription practices mainly refer to the storing and retrieving of texts and audiovisual sources, while incorporation alludes to body postures and movement, gestures, and so on (Stoller 1997:59). Stoller aptly points out the need to move beyond the inscription of the body and its scholarly textualization and to elevate its sensual dimension, a compelling source of meaning and memory (ibid.: 59). Accordingly, the way Skyrian folk garments are worn, not only symbolically inscribe the body, but they incorporate living cultural exchange, sentiment, social memory and a story.

Without fully developing the notion of cultural memory, it is important to emphasise the historical, embodied dimensions of ritual performance. In Skyrian carnival, cultural memory is located not only, for instance, in the Clean Monday celebration, but in other practices and in diffuse sites of ritual preparation, anticipation and dressing. Yet, my main focus will be to examine these bodily practices, not only as keys to cultural memory, but also as providing allegorical frames of consciousness and being.

Western clothing becomes the cultural axiom from which knowledge of contrasting dress is (Eurocentrically) deduced. However, in carnival the inverting of European clothes and their subsequent comic transformation (in the *Frangos* and *Yinomeni*) gives a range of symbolic possibilities and explorations of the notion of self through "becoming" and transformation of dress. Skyrian carnival begins from the position of throwing European or Frankish dress into the air, distorting it, re-arranging and making it absurd, thus momentarily questioning its hegemony. Lambrou states that whenever Skyrian *vradhes* (wearers of the farmers outfit, usually elder farmers and shepherds) were compelled to wear European clothes they felt uncomfortable, even their walk changed when they were dressed in these new clothes (1994:103). It seems that they appeared like masqueraders, looking ungraceful, adjusting their

bodily movements to the new garment. Respectively, on Clean Monday, everyone is comfortable in folk dress and conspicuous in European clothes. There is an almost 'classic' carnivalesque inversion in the way European clothes are worn on Clean Monday.

Dress and Self: The Trope of Masquerade in Skyrian Carnival

Changing and distorting dress is an important aspect of carnival masquerade, and it has profound symbolic ramifications on the transformation of the appearance of one's self. There is an overlap between how the *Yeros* and *Korela* costume of carnival and folk dress of Clean Monday is used in ceremonial practices. But, there is one fundamental difference. In the former, the person dressed is totally concealed, while in the latter they remain revealed or at least identifiable, therefore losing any sense of a masquerade as overt disguise.

Masquerade is understood as a transformation of self, primarily linked to the mask. Masquerade implies a transformation of the self through concealment of the face and body. The term is conceptually inapt to deal with all manifestations of transformation of the self in Skyrian carnival. Here various forms of masquerade exist, many of them unmasked, like the sooted faces of the *Trata* crew and *vrakas* of Clean Monday.

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that there are social features of dress and masquerade that are crucial to understanding Skyrian carnival, but are neither visible in the *agora* nor part of a public spectacle. Having detailed the transitional nature and ambiguity of Clean Monday as a pre-paschal rite, I highlight social symbolic aspects of dress and dressing during Clean Monday that converge with carnivalesque masquerade and revelry. Clean Monday's ceremonious clothing is not solely a traditional folkloric reprint, but invokes practices that evoke cultural memory and social relatedness. In this liminal forum, heirloom garments are made mundane, and Lenten sobriety is overturned by a lingering carnivalesque temperament, a prevailing desire to revel in 'self' transformation. It is at this point that carnival and Clean Monday merge, rotating around the predominant and ritually compelling experience of "becoming".

In the following chapter, I concentrate analytically on the metaphoric discourse

that encapsulates seminal nuances of the carnival experience, leading to the dominant trope for understanding Skyrian carnival, that of "coming into being". Starting from the mask itself and then moving into other areas of masquerade, ecstatic states and collective revelry, I examine how tropes can be used to interpret, and yet constitute ritual practices. Theoretically, I explore the ontological implications emanating from such celebratory practices in order to discern the impetus of social action.

CHAPTER 5

"COMING INTO BEING" IN SKYRIAN CARNIVAL

In the three previous chapters, I examined the varying symbolic content and ritual form of Skyrian carnival. Each chapter detailed discreet moments and variations upon carnivalesque practices and performance, without diminishing the cumulative experience of taking part in Skyrian carnival. The erratic and chaotic nature of happenings, the extreme (and often exhaustive) physical and emotional states of being, the unruly and lewd transformations of unpredictable colours and combinations, and the pounding soundscape constitute a sensory overload, and therefore elude any singular explanation. How does one define and explain subjective experience within such a context? For I argue, that it is subjectivity and selfhood that is at the heart of carnivalesque exaggeration and metamorphosis. I use indigenous metaphors as a means of comprehending the cultural nuances of such a diffused event.

I put forward an analysis of Skyrian carnival that hinges on the tropic exploration of the 'language'¹³⁴ of carnival, not as a linguistic but as an anthropological exercise, extending the interpretive capacity of metaphors of cultural practice, without conflating language with practice. The translation of terms may provide a key to cultural understandings, as each word, syllable and utterance acquires a plethora of alternate meanings as they are played out in carnival. Following Bakhtin (1968), it is in the polyphony of the market place and popular carnival that one can see the dynamics of language at work. Popular culture is located within such communicative and symbolic frameworks.

It is from this standpoint that I explore the language of carnival, drawing upon key tropes that resonate with cultural meaning. Specifically, I examine these tropes in the context of social and ritual exchange, especially in the use of specialist meanings, colloquial idioms and local dialect. In other words, I analyse the metaphorical vocabulary of carnival practice as it is experientially articulated within predominant

¹³⁴ By language, I refer to a broad spectrum of communication and signification, including non-verbal, symbolic and gestural communication. I acknowledge the difference of speech and language, idioms, problems of diglossia, etc., but I concentrate on linguistic expression contextually.

linguistic expressions and social exchanges. By deconstructing and then re-interpreting, I pursue the semantics of idiomatic terms and speech within the specific context of their ritual generation. Beginning with predominant features of carnival, such as masquerade and concealment and its relation to the face and masking, I then consider idiomatic concepts of masquerade, such as changing dress and appearance, focusing on the metaphoric discourse of metamorphosis which better describes the bodily emphasis of transformation in Skyrian carnival. Subsequently, I shift to inter-subjective aspects of "dressing together" to highlight how masquerade and co-revelling establish a particular carnivalesque state in which metaphors of becoming are enmeshed in sub tropes of altered states, such as *methi* (inebriation) and *kefi* (merriment), which accentuate communal revelry and "becoming together". Subsequently, I concentrate on the central trope of "coming into being" that illuminates a culturally specific ontological questioning of the ecstatic self and consciousness, around which Skyrian carnival is pivoted. Through the focus on metaphoric discourse *in vivo*, I examine the cultural dynamics underlying ritual processes. Finally, I briefly draw on Csordas' (1994) notion of the sacred self, as it addresses pertinent issues on the theoretical and methodological workings of the self in ethnography.

Of Masks and Masquerade

What is masquerade and how does the mask relate to carnival? I begin with the *mask* of masquerade, because one of the first things that disappear in carnival is people's faces — a central trait that makes them socially and physically identifiable. Masquerade is a key feature of Skyrian carnival. It necessitates probing into the relation of physiognomy and identity. But, what do we mean by masquerade and, more significantly, to what extent does it implicate areas of meaning and cultural significance?

Masquerade is generally understood as a transformation of self, primarily linked to the covering (or disguising) property of masks (see glossary). It is this centrality of the mask that is understood in masquerade. The mask covers the face, disguises the person and conceals identity.

The inference that the face is a representation of the body has a particular cosmological significance. Simmel's view on the relation of the face to the body is revealing. In art, the aesthetic significance of the face is located in the mind's ability to transform the multiplicity of elements separated in time and space into a series of unities; the face has the highest degree of inner unity (Simmel 1965:276). Evidence for this is that any minute change to the face immediately alters its entire character: "Aesthetically, there is no other part of the body whose wholeness can as easily be destroyed by the disfigurement of only one of its elements" (ibid.: 276). In carnival, this susceptibility of the face's metamorphosis is accentuated in masquerade, masks and the grotesque.

Furthermore, as a whole, the face realizes individualization. Simmel exposes not only the paramount aesthetic of the face, but also implicates its sociological significance in relation to body and the individual:

The face strikes us as the symbol, not only of the spirit, but also of an unmistakable personality. This feeling has been extraordinarily furthered in the period since the beginning of Christianity by the covering of the body. The face was the heir of the body; for in the degree to which nakedness was the custom, the body presumably had its share in the expression of individuality ... Christianity, whose tendency to cover the body and permits man's appearance to be represented solely by his face, has been the schoolmaster for those who seek consciousness of individuality. (Simmel 1965:278-9)

In the Skyrian idiom, the mask is called *m'tsouna*, the word literally means "face". The term "masquerade", semantically misplaces the emphasis of the mask in Skyrian carnival. *M'tsouna* refers to all types of mask; simple paper eye masks, the *Yeros's* goat hide, gorilla head masks, as well as animal and human faces. Consequently, mask (*m'tsouna*) is another face, one placed over or substituting the original face, and not necessarily as a cover. Semantically, the notion of concealing the identity of the wearer is secondary, while the transformation or addition of another identity is primary, as indicated by the placement of the mask/face.

An intriguing aspect of Skyrian carnival is the insistence on full head-covering masks rather than face-covering masks. Whether these are heads of gorillas or orange-haired clowns, it is the full or whole masks that are sought out first in the shops. Small face masks are also easily adjusted to full size with supplementary pieces of material, such as kerchiefs, hoods or parkas, which are wrapped around the

head and neck to the body. Even in the *Yeros's* hide-mask, the hood of the cloak 'seals' the head, attaining complete concealment. In contrast, the *Korela* has a kerchief around her head and neck while her eye-mask is annexed to a translucent piece of cloth, to create the impression of a full-face cover; yet her face is partially visible (see image F on p. 83). The *Korela's* face is partially transparent but the head and neck are covered by the kerchief. This raises an intriguing question. If the mask is about the total concealment of identity, then why leave the traces of the face uncovered? In earlier years, the *Korela's* face was less visible, as it was covered with a thick cloth or a plastic face mask. Consequently, the total covering function or the disguise of the mask is not strictly adhered to, which may signify the primary symbolic importance of the *m'stouna*, as mask/face. The *m'stouna* conceals the distinctive features of the face, encompassing the head and neck, and connects them to the body, in a fragmentary collage of carnivalesque clothing.¹³⁵ This representation privileges the head over the face, but also annexes the head and the face as an integral part of the body. Through this annexation and extension comes the indistinguishable connection of the face to the body and the subsequent total transformation of the body as the altered self. Hence, the *m'tsouna* as mask pivots the primary symbolic transformation of the face/body/self, rather than its concealment.

The following incident, taken from my field diary during Skyrian carnival, places the puzzle of concealment and masquerade in a different light:

A young American backpacker travelling in winter happened to be in Skyros during carnival and was invited to dress up with a group of my Skyrian friends. She was perplexed by the fact the girls were dressed-up before masquerading and asked me, "Why do they make-up before they dress-up?" The happy group wore their good going-out clothes, put on make-up and then wore their costumes!

[Field diary, Feb. 1992]

¹³⁵ In relation to this bodily feature, Simmel states: "The unity of the face is accentuated by the head's resting on the neck, which gives the head a sort of peninsular position *vis-vis* the body and makes it seem to depend on itself alone — an effect intensified by the fact that the body is clothed up to the neck" (1965:277). In Skyrian masquerade, the neck literally and metaphorically 'vanishes' as it shifts bodily boundaries and their associated meaning, encompassing them into new (fragmentary) entities.

In hindsight, I assumed that one purpose of masquerade is not to cover or ignore the face, irrespective of whether it may or may not be revealed during the evening. The emphasis of being made-up is in the going-out to revel. Thus, whether concealed or revealed, the mask is yet another layer annexed to the face. This emphasis does not erase the significance of the face beneath, nor is the particular person erased. The mask does not diminish the celebratory sense of a person's going-out. The real face beneath can also be "made up", even if it not publicly seen. There is a peculiar kind of co-existence of the real and pretend, of the covered and exposed.

The *Yeri's* masks are of particular interest, which further enhances the idea of the mask's (*m'tsouna*) partial reference to concealment, and partial signalling of altered or added identity. A *m'stouna* is identified with the animal from which it comes through a naming procedure that shepherds adopt for their livestock. The masks are given code names based on patterns and colour combinations, character traits of each animal, or traits or names of the people they were purchased from.¹³⁶ Each mask is as distinguishable as the goat itself. Masks may continue to bear their own names, like the goat when it was alive. For instance, as *Kosti* a Skyrian shepherd, was dressing his daughter as a *Yeros*, he tied the mask (*m'tsouna*) to the back of her head and called it by its name. This was the name given to the goat because of its particular patterning of the hide. The goat was named because of identifiable and unique features of its hide; the *m'tsouna* carries a similar uniqueness of identity into carnival.

In addition to the commonly used idiom for mask (*m'tsouna*), the word, *maska* (a Latin based term prominent in vernacular Greek) was used less frequently by Skyrians who preferred the local idiomatic term, *m'tsouna*. Skyrians also referred to masqueraders as *maskaradhes* (pl.), and there was a definite comic slant to its usage. No serious masquerader, such as the *Yeros* or *Korela* was ever called a *maskaras*. But the *Frangos* can be a *maskaras*, as the term was also used in contexts of clownish

¹³⁶ Goat's names indicate a linguistic complexity and endless combinations. The basic characteristic starts from the hide's colour (*retzi*). Initially, the dual colouring of the hide is taken into account, then the markings. For example, the name *melisso-yiouplo-tsounpo-sanpo-rembo-aspronoradiko* (pronounced as one word) means *melisso* = red cheeks, *yioulpo* = a white and red line width up to one finger, *tsounpo* = white spatterings on the nostrils, above the nostrils and a few on the nose, less on the cheeks, *sanpo* = white-black (this word expresses two colour combinations with white, e.g., *ferosanpo* = red-white) *rembo* = black with a very white forehead, *aspronoradiko* = white tail (of a mainly black hide).

dressing or behaviour, while the noun, *maskariliki*, means both clowning around and masquerading. There was also an interesting hybrid use of *maskaras* as comic, ridiculous masquerade in carnival, and as buffoonery outside the carnival context. Extending this theme, *maskaras* also means a blighter, a mischievous, annoying person. Outside the permissiveness of carnival and in an everyday context, a *maskaras* is a deceitful, pretentious person.¹³⁷

In Skyrian carnival, disguise is only one aspect of masking, followed by the comic play on identity and guessing games. There is a running irony surrounding the concealment of identity. In a small community where the identity of masqueraders is usually known, the closer you are around a particular network of kin and friends the more likely (and quickly) you will guess who has dressed in what disguise. The closer you are 'in' in this circle of potential 'knowers', the quicker the guessing game and the shorter the time of concealment. Concealment and revelation are a matter of manipulating time on an ongoing play of identity, not the end goal of carnival masquerade. A successful game involving a temporary concealment of identity may be extended for much longer. Masquerade entails comic interplays of who is who, circumscribed within ritual and temporal frameworks.

Onlookers remark about quirks or characteristics that relate to the person they think is behind the guise. They attempt to ascertain who it is and correlate exaggerated traits of the person to their mannerisms and masquerade. There is an ever-extending group of those who know the person, pretend that they do not, and then continue to tease others into accepting wrong clues of identification. Thus, there is an overlapping and interlapping guessing game of revelation. The camouflage of the mask alone is not enough to give masqueraders a free hand to tease their victims, for this is always played along an uncertainty of the time of concealment. Carnival licentiousness adds to the fun of quasi disguise and its pretence.

Guessing games occur frivolously or when provoked. Many masqueraders, including non-Skyrian visitors and spectators, do not engage in any guessing game at all. Masqueraders wander the streets as comic portraits, not dissemblers, at times reverting to the guessing game of masquerade. Unlike mumming, where there is a

¹³⁷ The meaning of buffoonery seems to be derived from its Arab etymology (see glossary).

total concealment and surprise revelation of a masqueraders identity, in Skyrian carnival this is only one part of the joke and not the main goal of laughter. In his study of Christmas mumming in Newfoundland, Handelman (1998) emphasizes that concealment and revelation are interchangeable in the inversion of social personhood. Seemingly opposed, yet complementary, their relationship circumscribes a recurrent device of change in the social order. Concealment has been privileged in research, however, Handelman theoretically 'inverses' this by focusing on the significance of revelation, that is:

when the mask is removed, when the masquerade is over, when the inversion proves a false representation of person, and when inverted personhood reverts to its everyday analogue. To decipher inversion, in dramatizations of personhood and collectivity, one should recognize that its mechanics operate through two aspects of a single device: concealment and revelation. For the moment let me state that with inversion to conceal is to reveal, while to ask what is concealed is also to pose the question of what is revealed. (ibid.: 138)

Although there is an element of this sociological juxtaposition of personhood in Skyrian masquerade, concealment and revelation are not always expressed as antithetical complementarity, nor is this clearly defined as symbolic inversion. Concealing or masking (which is itself semantically enigmatic, as I have suggested above) is played along an axis of quasi-knowing. Therefore, a 'revelation' may not necessarily 'reveal' and establish the identity of the 'true' person. Revelation entails diffuse levels of disclosure, often dependent on the inter- and intra-relations of the groups and their targets, as well as on the time span of revelling-teasing. There seems to be more of an insistence on the play upon half-guessed identities that is in-house. One instance in the 1995 carnival reinforced this point. A group of friends, rolling with laughter, came running to tell me about a huge box walking up and down the main street! Although it was quite a funny sight, I was not sure why it was distinctly so. There was no way anyone could guess who was in the box; all clues to identify arms, legs, walk, gestures were completely concealed. Strictly speaking, it was the perfect masquerade/disguise. However, the box was a self-addressed parcel with a name on the back. The addressee revealed his/her guise! Inside the parcel was a mutual friend, wandering the *agora* in total incognito. He could not resist toying with the idea of this complete disguise and so revealed himself, yet still leaving

some doubt to whether he really was inside or not (for he may have handed the box over to another prankster).

During Skyrian carnival, the idea of masquerade as absolute concealment becomes obsolete, if not absurd. Fun and tease is in the game of quasi identification, which compels a comic interaction sanctioned by carnival licentiousness. In this sense, this echoes Handelman's point made above; concealment poses the question of what is revealed. Disguise is not the end goal of masquerade, but the medium for guessing games of identity, one that plays with the themes of extended and transformed selves. It becomes an integral part of revelling together. Furthermore, quasi disguise is also a ritual practice that provokes, breaks and re-arranges aspects of self, re-generating the new personas of revellers, making them disappear, re-appear and reveal (if they so wish) their true or altered identities. Hence, concealment and revelation as symbolic inversion is subsequently dispersed along an axis of metamorphosis, giving ritual precedence to the act of transformation itself.¹³⁸

Dress and Masquerade

A defining aspect of carnival masquerade is dress and dressing up. Carnival is one of the most volatile arenas for playing upon transformations of the body, either through physical excesses (inebriation, fatigue) or manifold masquerade. Changing, distorting dress and its ramifications are important aspects of carnival masquerade and transformations of self.

Throughout Skyrian carnival, the *Yeros's* troupe and the absurd masqueraders, the satire and its unkempt crew, the folk dressers of Clean Monday and generally all revellers have taken on and extended various and alternating patterns of masquerade. There are features that converge on all diverging aspects of carnival masquerade. Crucial is the theme of dressing; it is the exchange of items, such as clothes, bells,

¹³⁸ On a comparative note, the notion of masking and concealment in relation to carnival revelry in Trinidad and Tobago is of interest. Riggio (1998) maintains that carnival has developed over many years with varying concepts of masking. Elaborate body costumes (some up to 25 feet high) are currently a popular feature of carnival competitions. "Often the 'mask' is the costume itself, as glitter-decorated unmasked faces affirm the personal beauty of the masquerader. The idea of a full body mask rather than a face mask is more African than European, as is the importance given to large-scale headpieces. The idiom of Carnival playing — to "play mas" or "play mask" — suggests the integral connection between the "mas" as the activity of Carnival "playing" and the costume as a "mask" (ibid.: 14).

masks and so forth, that establish revelling relations. In the previous chapter, I examined the preparation of costumes on Clean Monday, focusing on how each piece of clothing has a story and significance of the relation of the dressers and the dressed. However, this component of masquerade exists in all facets of carnival. On Clean Monday though, there are no masks, nor overt comic figures like the *Frangi*. Yet carnivalesque revelling continues in a different form. The ecstatic self is certainly not missing from Clean Monday, nor does changing into folk dress revert the celebration into Lenten sobriety.

Occasionally, Skyrians describe masqueraders as "those dressed" (*dimeni*) from the verb "dress" (*dinome*). "To dress" (*dino*) is a word used for everyday clothing, but during carnival, it is extended to celebratory masquerade, suggesting that any bodily covering is potentially a ritual metamorphosis. The Skyrian idiomatic use of "those dressed" (*i dimeni*) attributes symbolic weight to the transformational potential quality of dress.

Metamorphosis

Metamorphosis — as the ever emerging and regeneration of form and self — is integral to Bakhtin's popularised version of humanity, and at the centre of carnivalesque (sur)reality. The concept provides a base for the representation of an individual's life at moments of crisis: "*how an individual becomes other than what he was*" (1981:115 Bakhtin's emphasis). There is no evolution (in a literal sense) but crisis and rebirth (*ibid.*: 115). Bakhtinian metamorphosis implies a complete bodily and existential transformation. Transgressions are made in and out of varying states of age, gender, humanness — animality, ethnicity, status, occupations and so forth. For Bakhtin, metamorphosis has enough energy "to comprehend the *entire life-long destiny of a man, at all its critical turning points*" (Bakhtin's emphasis, *ibid.*: 114)

In Skyrian carnival, a particular carnivalesque self is created and completed by the continuous strapping-on of clothing, and through a process of dressing and revelling together. There is an intriguing relation among dress/body/being. Through dress and its allegorical extension, the body "comes into being" in ritual and social interaction. In carnival, the social body is not static but continually changes through endless display and transformation. The body's being is constituted through the

experience of carnival and revelling relations. In the vernacular Skyrian term, *dimeni* (those dressed), there is an underlying critique of the static capturing of the body as a dressed ritual actor. To restrict dress to material culture, collectible items or folkloric artefacts is to diminish the constitutive nuances of masquerade in Skyrian carnival that extend the symbolic boundaries of identity.

Attempts to elucidate the body through symbolic codes run the risk of diminishing the person as a social entity, one constituted through a web of relations, feelings, memories and experiences. In Skyrian carnival, it is difficult to ignore the play upon the body-being, which allegorically fragments and transforms the body to the point of erasure, only to resurrect it in another form. The body, at the level of consciousness and through ritual practice is integrated into a state of being or non-being. People who dress in carnival "have become" (*yinontai*). Through sharing and wearing, through "becoming" in a myriad of dress transformations, carnival ritually integrates the face and dress to the body, and the body to alternative states of being. Skyrian carnival celebrates a collage of perpetual selves, transforming and incorporating body, mind, consciousness and mood.

But the final word on carnival transformation rests in Skyrian's own enigmatic idiom for masqueraders, a term that integrates dress, body and being. Conceptually and semantically, this is the most compelling analytical trope for understanding Skyrian carnival.

"Coming into Being": The Central Trope of Skyrian Carnival

During carnival and in the frenzy that leads up to it, Skyrians predominantly refer to revellers who have dressed as *i yinomeni*, a local idiom literally meaning, "those who have become". This term has been used to describe masqueraders for at least a century.¹³⁹ Its extended use, both in the carnival context and over periods of social change within carnival and the Skyrian community, indicates the persistence and relevance of its meaning in relation to notions of ritual transformation. *I yinomeni* is grammatically and semantically a loaded term; it is the participle of the verb *yinome*,

¹³⁹ To the best of my knowledge, this idiomatic term for masquerader has not been documented (to date) in any other dialect in Greece (I have also consulted the linguistic and dialectologist Mr. Konstantinos Minas of the University of the Aegean, Rhodes (5 May 1992) on this issue, he was unaware of any similar idiomatic usage of the term in his field of studies).

meaning "become" which is used as a noun. In its radical sense, *yinome* in relation to people means "to come into being" or "to be born"; of things it means "to be produced"; of events "to take place" or "happen". In contemporary Greek usage, *yinome* means "to become", "be finished" or "ready", "ripen". *Yinomenos* also means "ripe", "mature", and "complete" (see glossary).

In Skyros, "becoming" (*yinome*) refers to all forms of masquerade, dressing up and making up and takes on a particular significance for the duration of carnival. The term is a key metaphor that integrates the body/self into carnivalesque *personas*. The body is extended to encompass the states of becoming that incorporate the face in the total and final metamorphosis of a *yinomenos*. But, as I argue below, it is not the physical appearance of the body alone that is at the core of transformation. The notion of "becoming" extends to sentiment and sensual understandings and altered or ecstatic states of mind and self (inebriation *methi* and merriment *kefi*).

Dressing as Becoming

During my first year in Skyros, on the day before the opening of carnival, the *Triodhi* (11-2-1992), I ventured into the main street of the *agora* with a friend. Within the first few steps, she was asking around in jest: "Will you become?" (*tha yinou*). Realising that this was a local idiom, I listened quietly until the young daughter of the restaurant owner across from my home, peered out and also asked me: "Will you become?" (*tha yinou*); she paused, smiled at my bewilderment and without anticipating an answer continued: "Will we [all] become?" (*tha yinoume*). I returned her smile and nodded: "Yes, we will become!" (*Nai, tha yinoume*), my invitation to join Skyrian carnival was also my introduction to Skyrian carnival.

As I proceeded down the main street, this erratic questioning continued, at times like a greeting, in jest, engaging passers by in the anticipation of carnival. Local idioms were used in-house and/or to tease newcomers to Skyrian carnival, and were interchanged with the vernacular Greek forms. Distant spectators were either included or excluded from this dialogue and word play, by shifts in the use of dialect. The Skyrian dialect is no longer generally spoken. However, it is maintained through idiomatic phonetic forms, such as the dropping of unaccentuated vowels and the use of idiomatic terms and characteristic words (Karatza 1974). Younger Skyrians adhere

to this eclectic usage, while only a very few elderly Skyrians converse in the local dialect. Idiomatic language is interjected with vernacular Greek to enhance a togetherness of understanding by younger Skyrians, a re-affirmation of the idiosyncratic hue of this carnival. The play on the verb "to become" (*yinome*) is used mainly amongst Skyrians and those they incite — family, friends, visitors or newcomers — into the practice of teasing, jest and masquerade.

When I inquired about the meaning of these expressions, most Skyrians answered simply, "to become" means "to dress" (*dinome*) or "to masquerade". Rarely was there further elaboration. Dressing and "becoming" become interchangeable and the translation of these terms becomes synonymous. While on the other hand, the "bearer of masks" (*maskaras*) had a specifically comic meaning and was used in the appropriate context.

An Un-predicated Becoming

Beyond and during the carnival period, Skyrians frequently asked: "Did you become?" (*eyines*), the emphasis being on *did* you become, not *what* did you become. Grammatically, "becoming" was not always expressed within an object-predicate relation because the 'what' or 'who' was indefinable, unidentifiable or irrelevant. The emphasis was hence placed on the process of becoming and its fickle completion. The usual response to this question was "Yes, I became" (*eyina*). The qualifier to the verb was secondary, for instance, "I became a *Yeros*, *Frangos* and so on". The affirmation of "becoming" was attributed primary significance. Consequently, the emphasis was on the process of becoming through questioning with the verb, rather than its object. The predicate *who* or *what* was then a secondary elaboration and not always tacked onto the reply. The main theme of the interrogative exchange surrounds the affirmation that one has "become" during the carnival period.

A similar pattern resurfaces when people ask each other about their intentions of masquerading: "Will you become?" (*tha yinis*) that is, the future of the verb; a Skyrian may ask and again, await for no answer. The reply does not necessarily need an object. Only a perplexed newcomer (like me) may reply: "Will I become what?!" Generally you can answer "Yes". At times, Skyrians continue and speculate about what they became, for example, a *Korela*, a clown or anything that is nameable. This

brief dialogue is more of a passing affirmation or a greeting. There seems to be a futility about answering with any clarity or certainty about what you will become, since the time and object of this "becoming" is unpredictable and, at times, indefinable.

Skyrians even ask, "Have you become?" (*eyines*) even if you obviously have been or are in full costume. Again, this is more of an affirmation, posed as a rhetorical question. Since the need for an object of becoming is futile, masquerade in Skyrian carnival is an 'un-predicated becoming', centring not on the object, but the process of becoming through participation in carnival. From this perspective, idiomatic expressions can be better understood in the context of cultural practice.

The Yeros and Troupe as Yinomeni

Initially, the *yinomeni* seemed to me to be a broad and encompassing term describing those who "dress" in carnival. However, during the celebrations the meaning of masquerade becomes progressively evasive. Generally, all masqueraders *en masse* or collectively are referred to as *yinomeni*. Anyone who has altered themselves during carnival is said to "have become" (*eyinan*), whether it is the *Koreles*, *Yeri*, *Frangi* or ad hoc masqueraders. *Yinomeni* can also be stylised masquerades e.g., Zoro, gorillas, princesses, clowns and so forth.

Although everyone can be referred to as a *yinomenos*, the folk troupe of the *Koreles*, *Yeri* and *Frangi* are usually singled out by name and have identifiable features and role. Yet, within the amorphous crowd of carnival dressers, the *Yeri's* troupe can also dissolve into *yinomeni*.

The *Frangos's* role is more ambivalent. The *Yeros* or *Korela* are not overt comic characters like the *Frangos* or *maskaras* clown/buffoon. Despite their fragmented costumes, there is a seriousness that is played in contrast to the *Frangos*. *Frangi* and *yinomeni* are, at times, terms used interchangeably. While the *Frangos* is the extrovert comic, the *yinomenos* tends to fuse and accommodate all styles of dress and comic deportment. The *Frangi* are more visible if pointed out individually or singled out in the carnival mass. The *Frangos* has come to be a representation of the ridiculous or bizarre, that is, a nameable comic object. But the *yinomeni* are less tangible, again emphasizing a process rather than a reified carnival object.

So under the rubric of *yinomeni*, everyone or anyone can be placed, especially those who because of the absurdity and multiplicity of their nature of dress cannot be defined. Even a slight change of dress can be enough to alter a prior status; for example, a young Skyrian man who has always had short cropped hair, at least since many of his friends can remember, walks about with a wig of long black curly hair. A minimal change can introduce a maximum difference, which brings out the comic but most importantly, changes the ordinarily dressed person into a *yinomenos*.

Although silent, the *yinomeni* are a sensory overload of colour, shape, form and movement with no rationale or consistent theme. Masks and clothes are strapped on — heads of gorillas, bald-pated orange haired clowns or laboratory coats — with no apparent aesthetic. Absurd items are attached to the body. Plastic bags are tied around sneakers or knees; buckets are roped around the waist as substitute bells for the *Frangos*; items such as brooms, plastic clubs, barrels or even a cradle may be carried around for hours! There are endless possibilities of extending a theme. Generally, *yinomeni* are continuously fracturing and reconstituting elements of dress and self. There are boundless possibilities of transformations of dressing/becoming in carnival. Anything goes, as long it defies definability. Absurdity and making nonsense is the stuff of the *yinomeni*.

The *yinomeni*'s masquerade traverses a wide range of borders and commonly understood categories. This is done within the single attire of an individual *yinomenos* or by the same masquerader continually changing dress themes throughout the carnival period. The gender theme of cross-dressing is expressed by women dressing as men or men as women, but also symbolically encapsulates other cultural and socio-historical dimensions. The example of cross-dressing into a *mangas* (pl. -es) demonstrates this. *Manges* are cool dudes or tough guys, marginal characters or anti-heroes associated with *rebetika*, a sub-cultural musical genre of urban ghettos.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ In this context, *rebetika* was primarily (but not exclusively) associated with urban ghettos and the underworld during the "Pireaus period" of the genre (i.e., *piraiōtiko*, see chapter 3), which flourished in urban centres and the Athenian port. During the *coup d'état* of Metaxas, *rebetika* was censored between 1936 and 1937, and from 1946 onwards "musicians were persecuted, the *bouzouki* family of instruments was outlawed, songs referring to illegal drug-consumption, criminality, sexual promiscuity, anti-establishment resistance and any other social behaviour deemed immoral and corruptive by the government were banned" (Tsounis 1997a:43). Of particular interest is Tsounis' discussion of the role of the *mangas* as an archetypal "individual outsider" of *rebetika* culture, which centres on socio-symbolic expressions of the "individual-in-community" (1997a:49-51).

Being a free spirit, street wise, and defiant of anti-bourgeois life styles and sexual conservatism are stances associated with the often exoticised bohemian *modus vivendi of manges*.

Masquerading as *manges* was a favourite theme amongst teenage girls, as well as young boys during my stay. To cross dress into a *mangas* takes on a series of other symbolic social codes associated with their defiant ghetto subculture and their particular gruff style of music. Although a *mangas* has a typified dress theme, (e.g., a pin striped suit, a special hat, shiny pointy shoes), to cross-dress into a *mangas* is not a gender shift alone moving from female to male, but bears other connotations about disempowered marginal groups, musical subcultures, hashish dens and the sordid yet socially poignant underworld of *rebetika* musical culture.

Subsequently, many boundaries can be crossed or are synthesised into a masquerade collage. I briefly outline a few. In crossing age groups, there is more of a gradation than the emergence of segregated groups; e.g., a six-month baby wears a grown-up shepherd's outfit; teenagers dress as adults (or babies); adults as elderly people. Status groups are crossed, inverted and fragmented, for instance, undignified royalty, noble peasants, as are occupations, for example, clumsy cooks, lewd priests. Social relations are highlighted by being continually ruptured and re-composed into new entities, indicating the complexity of human relations and social identification.

Houseman expounds the view of ritual as an enactment of relationships between participants, but also those embedded in interpersonal ties and nonhuman (spiritual, divine, animal, etc.,) entities (2004:76). Ritual relationships bring together features of diverse domains into a single sequence of action, consequently they reframe these disparate elements as parts of a new experienced totality, that is, the ritual performance, making them "highly evocative but exceptionally integrative as well" (ibid.: 76). Furthermore, ritual relationships also entail what Houseman and Severi call "ritual condensation", that is "the simultaneous enactment of nominally contrary modes of relationships: affirmations of identity are at the same time testimonies of difference, displays of authority are also demonstrations of subordination" and so forth (ibid.: 76). However, within ritual performances, these relations are recognizable as distinct from everyday interaction (ibid.: 76). In a similar way, carnivalesque transformations in Skyrian carnival entail such a form of

'condensation', which in its exaggerated form, may also be taken as symbolic intensification of social – ritual relations.

In Skyrian carnival, there also seems to be no strict separation between the human and animal kingdom. Humans become beasts, carrying animal insignia (e.g., gorilla heads, tails, the *Yeri*) without being fully transformed into a creature. The absurdity of the *yinomeni* may rest upon this multiple eclecticism. By continually dissecting and re-arranging commonly understood categories, *yinomeni* deny any sense of boundary or dichotomous borders. During the three-week carnival period, or even on the same evening, Skyrians can go through a range of different dressings, from the standard folk trio of the *Yeros*, *Korela* and *Frangos* to the obscure masquerade. The Skyrian term *yinomeni* metaphorically captures all these rounds of transformation.

Collective and Individual Becoming

Skyrians also say, "Let's go and become!" (*pame na yinoume*) in the first person plural, which is a spontaneous invitation to each other to experience carnival. The emphasis again is on the process of becoming rather than on the object. Collective becoming also means the sharing or setting up of bizarre themes or jokes: "Here, wear this hat", "Take that broom" and so forth, which then continues with the teasing of the crowds of revellers. In collective dressing, common themes that are constitutive of an integrated self are continually fragmented and re-arranged. Dressing together is literally and metaphorically "dissembling" and "becoming together".

Dressing is not solely an expression of individuated desire to take on a role, either heroic or fantasy, as is the case with the fantasia costumes of Brazilian carnival mentioned by DaMatta (1991).¹⁴¹ However, more importantly Skyrians "become" for their "own gusto" (*via to gousto mou*). This is expressed as an individual, almost defiant desire and enhances the spontaneity of the moment of masquerade. The individual desire of becoming is tied in with the choice of the moment and the practice

¹⁴¹ DaMatta contrasts parades and fancy costumes, the fantasia costume with uniforms of the military. Uniforms constitute a forum of social equality while the fantasia costume liberates the urge for people to distinguish themselves. Hence, in the fantasia costume more is revealed than concealed, namely the pouring forth of hidden desires (1991:40).

of becoming, which is spontaneous and unpredictable. Also entailed within this process is a personal feat of excelling and endurance, which has a particular competitive edge, especially among the *Yeri* in the *lilirisma*. Although I have concentrated on carnival in its social light, this does not extinguish the impetus of personal desire and individual action.

Many of the *yinomeni* and expatriate Skyrians feel that "becoming", especially as part of the *Yeros's* troupe is a reconnection to Skyros. It almost becomes an annual pilgrimage. Many urbanised Skyrians come to relive and reconnect with their native community, which is most prominently done through dressing in carnival. Wearing the bells and "becoming" is an all-consuming passion for many Skyrians. Also included amongst the ranks of *yinomeni* are visitors or tourists to the island or friends and colleagues of Skyrians who are invited to either wear costumes or just take part in the general revelry.

There is also the personal, almost solitary side to "becoming". Behind the mask, masqueraders, especially *Yeri* are literally on their own and cut off from normal social contacts. They are closed in by abundant clothing as the masks permit only narrow vision ahead. For masqueraders, any pre-carnival sense of self in the world vanishes literally and metaphorically.¹⁴² With the mask on, one's vision suddenly becomes limited, at times restricted to one eye. In a *Yeros* costume, one is not only clothed, but also closed in a body hidden beneath thick coverings and mask, disappearing under all the items skilfully strapped around you. One becomes silent. Only the bells give an audible presence. In fact, they become your only voice and social presence.

For many Skyrians, there is no masquerading as such when entering a carnival costume, but rather a nuanced process of transformation and transgression. The mask/face, *m'stouna*, is a symbolic extension of the face/person, which is connected to the concealed or masqueraded body as it "comes into being". The interfacing of the person with the carnival experience can be understood in the context of the

¹⁴² As a Skyrian shepherd commented as he was putting the *Yeros's* mask (*m'tsouana*) on me: "Here you will see Hades" (*edho tha dhis to haro*), referring to the way the mask blacks out the world. The present world as I knew it had finished. His dramatic metaphor intrigued me. I was draped in a heavily clad abyss of dark hides and cloaks and the carnival world now began. He then proceeded to dress me with the heavy black cloak. Being of slight build, the 25-kilo cloak made me sway and he didn't even attempt to tie on the bells. My transformation into a *Yeros* was cut short [Field Diary 19-2-1995].

existential extension of the person into the symbolic self s/he has or will become. Skyrian perceptions of self and identity are strongly linked to the extension of these symbols in carnival attire. Every year they are brought out, re-arranged and worn as a collage of 'strapped-on' selves

However, the notion of "becoming" in Skyrian carnival metaphorically incorporates a broad existential spectrum of transformation. It extends from the body to mind, consciousness and mood. So far, I have focused on metaphors conveyed from the dressed physical body. Here, although external to the physical body, masquerade becomes part of its core or being, in a sense the body immaterialises under the continual shifting and strapping on of items, transforming into seemingly indefinable states. There is yet another crucial extension of meaning which moves away from the physical body as such, to the vicinity of the mind and consciousness, to altered states of being and the ecstatic self. To understand this, I will concentrate on how intoxication — inebriation (*methi*) and merriment (*kefi*) are integral to carnival "becoming". The carnival body does not exist in an essentialist form but as heightened consciousness and mood, one expressing the emotional and ecstatic state of being associated with collective revelling. Intoxication and merriment (*methi, kefi*) are important concepts of understanding Skyrian carnival. It is often through these metaphoric mediums that Skyrians talk, experience and evaluate the celebration.

"Becoming" as Inebriation (*methi*) and Merriment (*kefi*)

So far, I have examined the idea of "becoming" (*ynome*) as mainly articulated within dress and masquerade. However, equally significant are the implicit or extended meanings that relate to altered states of mind, such as inebriation (*methi*), merriment (*kefi*) and notions attributed to an ecstatic self in carnival.

A few weeks before carnival, while chatting with a friend, her cousin (FBS) dropped in and commented about how her father "became a *Yeros*" (*eyine Yeros*) last night at a home party. His lowered tone, half smile and nod, inferred some mutual understanding. I was puzzled, since my friend told me that her father no longer dressed as a *Yeros*. She later told me that to "become a *Yeros*" also means "to get drunk".

Further on during my stay, I asked for more clarification on the meaning of this expression. A Skyrian women explained it as follows:

"I become" means "I dress" (masquerade) but in the everyday language "I became" means "I got drunk". A *yinomenos* is someone who is drunk or intoxicated. To say, "I become a *Yeros*" means "I got drunk" while "I become a *lalari*" (i.e., the clapper of the bell, but also can refer to the bell itself) also means "I got drunk". [Field diary 16-2-95]

These expressions were also used in fervent discussions after nights of revelling or directly, at times to over-drunk friends in jest (rather than in a condescending way) and required an intimate environment of co-revelling to establish the conditions of inebriation as *methi*.

The expressions, "I became a *Yeros*" (*eyina Yeros*) or "I became a bell-tongue" (*eyina lalari*) meaning "I was inebriated", were continually played upon throughout carnival. In the link of altered states of self in masquerade, dress was extended to incorporate altered states of mind, such as drunkenness (*methi*) and intoxication, which was also integrally connected to communal merriment (*kefi*). Both dress and inebriation are associated with carnival, but local expressions for drunkenness are used in daily conversation outside the carnival period. Particular linguistic idioms are extracted from their ritual context and become part of the everyday. The link of the carnivalesque to the everyday resides in shifts of drinking behaviour from inside to outside the carnival time frame. The local idiom used in carnival encapsulates not only all kind of masquerade but also altered states of self, mind and mood

Accordingly, to become a *Yeros* or a bell or just "to become" means both to *dress* and a particular kind of *intoxication*. Carnavalesque "becoming" is carried forth into the everyday in the state of temporary inebriation, yet *methi* in carnival is not regarded as a dysfunctional state. There is a particular view of *methi*, that is, social drunkenness, as a less negative state connected to merriment from commensality, revelry or dance and merriment, as in the example of my friend's father — he "became a *Yeros*" at a home party. *Methi* here was associated with song and wine, with an impassioned state of consciousness and sociality, and the intensification and heightening of emotions that ensued from collective revelry and merriment (*kefi*). This meaning emerged from the revellers' individual passion (*meraki*, see chapter 2), but it was completed in a celebratory context. The venues for attaining *methi* and *kefi*

simultaneously provided the conditions for verse and song improvisation (see chapter 3). *Methi* and *kefi* are indeed prerequisites for cultural production, hence their elevated position in celebratory and ritual life.

Of particular interest is the social and musicological significance of *kefi* and *meraki* in the Greek musical subculture of *rebetika* (Tsounis 1995a, 1997a). In the dance forms associated with *rebetika*, such as the *zeibekikos* (an improvised Anatolian solo dance in nine-beat metre) and the *tsifteteli* (an improvised Anatolian solo dance in duple and quadruple metre)¹⁴³ — both forms are prevalent in Skyrian musical repertoire, within and beyond carnival revelry — the concepts of *kefi* and *meraki* describe a positive disposition towards celebration, merriment, music-making and dancing. A dancer who displays spontaneous engrossed movements is said to have *kefi* (high spirits, in a good mood). If he or she exhibits a skilled and diverse repertoire of dance gestures, s/he is said to have *meraki* (passion, skill) or be a *meraklis*¹⁴⁴ (Tsounis 1995a:96-97). A *meraklis* is also a musician who skilfully improvises solos with intense passion, employing diverse modal knowledge (ibid.: 96-97).

Moreover, the display of *kefi* and *meraki* in *rebetika* music-making and dancing cannot exist without its social context. "The externalised expressions *kefi* and *meraki* of dancers and musicians are 'read' as celebratory signals by participants, and function to generate an event with *kefi* and much social interaction" (ibid.: 96). In Greek music-making and dancing, passion is constituted as a cathartic experience of the individual symbolically (through music and dance) asserting a strong sense of self within the collectivity of the community.

Tsounis suggests that the concepts of *kefi* and *meraki* in *rebetika* music-making and dancing articulate a particular construction of passion, which simultaneously indexes an ideology of "soul" (of feeling, body, and mind) and a construction of "community." Similarly, Cowan argues that the translation of *kefi* as "high spirits" also relates to "an ideal state of communal sociability" (1990:106 as cited in Tsounis ibid.: 96). The expression of one's *kefi* and *meraki* through music-making and dancing cannot exist without the support of the collectivity, which takes for

¹⁴³ Tsounis (1997b:250), and personal communication 24-12-04.

¹⁴⁴ See chapter 2 and glossary.

granted that such cultural generation is a diverse, yet shared experience. However, "a paradox of the *tsifteteli* and *zeibekikos* is the "unisonance" of expressive solidarity that they embody and engender despite their solo forms" (Tsounis 1995a:96-97). In the Skyrian context, this collective expression of music making is further enhanced by the *communitas* of carnivalesque revelry.

Similarly, Papataxiarchis (1992:209) explores male commensality and drinking as practices of consumption and social exchange, in which *kefi* and *methi* illuminate particular understandings of social and gender identity. Ethnographically dwelling in north Lesvos, he notes that in the context of the coffee shop (*kafenio*)¹⁴⁵, the drinking of raki (a potent alcoholic beverage associated with maleness) constitutes drunkenness (*methi*) or alcoholism only if it is drunk systematically, all day and alone. A solitary raki drinker represents a complete failure of an individual to create relations through raki, a weakness that places them in the social margins (ibid.: 236).

However, the collective drinking of raki at particular times and celebratory moments leads to heightened euphoria and unison of commensal drinkers. It is characterized by the diffusion of "the outer boundaries of identity" and the simultaneous redemption from daily sorrows and pain, which the male self accomplishes through the expression of emotion and merriment (*kefi*) (ibid.: 236). *Kefi*, as a distinctive trait of inebriation (*methi*) is a culturally polysemous term characterized by pleasure, good mood and bodily lightness (ibid.: 237). In *kefi*, the self is realized on the basis of an inner/outer self, which moves on two different cultural tendencies. The self that performs and is defined by *kefi* is liberated from its external traits and moves towards its internal dimension, ultimately leading to an archetypal natural condition of similarity in the encounter and identification with the 'other' (ibid.: 237). In this sense, identity is an internal relation of similarity and egalitarianism rather than hierarchy and distinction, it is an "expressive" self, which locals consider an "authentic" self. Nonetheless, *methi* has its own particular order based on *kefi* as social control, coordinated by means of song and dance. The danger of exceeding the limits and losing natural control is also present. In such cases, the

¹⁴⁵ In his study, Papataxiarchis (1992:209) defines the 'coffee-shop' (*kafenio*) as a particular geographic site, frequently located in key public and commercial spaces, i.e., squares, markets, where men gather, partake in commensal drinking and socialize (often entailing political and economic exchanges).

pace of raki drinking is slowed down, since there is an awareness that to lose control is dangerous and equated with becoming effeminate (ibid.: 237).

Conversely, in Skyros, communal drinking is usually based on wine, a less potent drink, and more rarely, ouzo. The inebriation of wine can span over a longer period of time, and it is paced by the intake of food (which may be why white house wine is preferred) and song. This prolongs commensal euphoria and enables all night merry making. Women, even adolescents or whole families, at times participate in wine drinking, particularly during carnival. Wine, is an encompassing, all-embracing medium for the realization of *methi* and *kefi* in Skyrian carnival.

Generally, the conditions of inebriation that exist in the everyday and at moments of spontaneous merriment and commensality are analogous to the experience of ecstatic self in Skyrian carnival. To "become a *Yeros*" in the Skyrian idiom has expanding implications. The concept rotates around levels of understanding and descriptions about the carnival condition through one's experience, which is fundamentally grounded in the emotional and bodily axis of "becoming".

Dismantling Masquerade

If "to become" in Skyrian carnival ranges from the masquerade of the dressed body to experiences of states of altered consciousness and mood, how then is the contrary or alterative state explained? An even stronger statement of carnival self is portrayed by the expression of the opposite state of "coming into being". The Skyrian word for undressing and sobering is described by one and the same word *halao*, which means "ruin", "undo".¹⁴⁶ *Halasa*, "I have ruined", is also used to describe sobering up and to be sombre, i.e., having no merriment. To "ruin" is an abrupt and dramatic end to the carnival transformation of mind, mood and dress and is a term that graphically incorporates a dismantling of altered states of the body and consciousness:

A group of young Skyrians were invited to become *Koreles* and *Yeri* for a commercial television program which showcased various carnival customs throughout Greece. After filming, one person told us that all of them left the studio without ruining (*horis na halasou*) [i.e., undressing in Skyrian idiom], drunk (*methismeni*), singing in Patision street.
[Field diary 17-2-1995]

¹⁴⁶ The verb *halao*, means to spoil, undo, change, destroy (see glossary).

In this incident, the first meaning of "ruin" was in relation to dress/masquerade, while *methi* was retained for drunkenness and singing in relation to merriment, although all three referred to the state of the general merriment (*kefi*) of the group. The negative use of ruin (*horis na halasou*), encapsulated the other two meanings by extension, that is, they continued to "become" and revel in masquerade, which is integrally connected to a general euphoria of song and drink. However, in this situation "to ruin" was primarily and linguistically used to mean masquerade, metaphorically encapsulating the other expressions of the ecstatic self.

The use of the expression of ruin (*halasa*) as opposed to undress (*xedino*) may avoid themes of nudity/nakedness. This meaning is not an issue of modesty or morality, since carnival licenses, if not encourages obscenity. To "undress" (*xedino*) is specifically directed to a dressed body and not a masqueraded body. The term "ruin" however, rounds up all transformations of body and mind into one and the same opposing state, that is, a complete and finite dismantling of body, mood and disposition.

To "ruin" is used in the same discursive way as "becoming"; for instance, a group says, "Lets go and become!" (*pame na yinoume*) in the same manner as "Let's go and ruin!" (*pame na halasoume*). Again, the masqueraders tell each other this in jest; it is a statement about "unbecoming" together just as they "become" together when dressing and revelling.

In the same way, to be ordered to "ruin", that is, to sober up or undress is also part of the comic exchange among revellers in carnival. When Skyrians say to a friend "Go and ruin, you don't have *gusto!*" they mean "Go and change, you are a bore". Masquerade dress is ritually insufficient if the interchange is not based on other comic criteria of commensal merriment (*methi, kefi*), that is, other salient dimensions of carnivalesque "coming into being". However, to be told to "Go and ruin!" can also be seen as a tease, since "In carnival, it [to become] is a dressing up, a tease. Nothing is standard, everyone is great!" Indeed, there is no fixed condition or conception of revelry; fluidity of form and meaning is the very stuff of carnival rite.

Skyrians may also say "*halases?*" "You have ruined?" to someone who has already undressed and has obviously changed. Again, it is a rhetorical re-affirmation of the "ruin" of masquerade attire that is a trope for coming out of carnival "being"

and merriment (*methi, kefi*). Unlike the term *yinomenos*, to "ruin" is always expressed as a verb (*halo, halases*), never as a participle, i.e., "those who have ruined" (*i halasmeni*), indicating, among other things, a lexical inability to consolidate such a state into a definable noun-subject. While on the other hand, one might deduce that "those who have become" (*i yinomeni*) linguistically consolidates ritual processes and allegorises carnival's generative life.

Generally, the meaning of *halao* (ruin) is not antithetical but contingent to its existential dimension. In carnival you can exist in a state of "ruin". Also, there is a certain irony in stating that you return to ordinary existence when you "ruin". The experiential interconnection of dressing the body and inebriation (*methi*) and merriment (*kefi*) of the mind is accentuated by its opposite or negative state of being, that is, "ruin". To "ruin" is also a transient state, since within carnival, people continuously "become" and "ruin"; they dissemble, put together or just linger on in an ecstatic state of mind.

Ontological Questions on Ritual Transformation

Attempting to ascertain ontological questions within ritual transformation by examining the metaphoric extension of "coming into being" in carnival may seem an ambitious, if not exaggerated, venture. In addition, the relation of language and experience may be methodologically problematic. Csordas (1994:xii) suggests that there is a particular dialogue between author, reader and text. The relation between semiotics and phenomenology can be complementary in ways of thinking about linguistic and narrative data.¹⁴⁷ The crucial question, "How can you say you are writing about experience when all your data are in the form of language?" assumes a rift between language and experience (which Csordas suggests is based on a "hyper-Foucauldian exaggeration"). I agree with Csordas that, "language is not only a form of observable behaviour, but a medium of intersubjectivity, so that it is fair to say that language gives us authentic access to experience" (ibid.: xii). In Heidegger's terms, it not only represents but 'discloses'" (as cited in Csordas 1997:xii). Such a series of

¹⁴⁷ In the same vein, on the question of self as self-awareness, Csordas states that "the linguistic argument that appeals to the evidence of the grammatical person begs the question of how representation is related to being in the world, the same question that generates semiotics and phenomenology as apparently divergent stances" (1997:277).

'revelations' or 'disclosures' are enfolded, not only in linguistic, but also in metaphoric and ritual practices of Skyrian carnival. The main point I would like to extract from the extended tropic analysis above is how varying dimensions of selfhood are symbolically formed, transformed and exacerbated, both in ritual language *and* practices.

Symbolic approaches to seasonal rites, or by extension to carnival rites are pervaded by the centrality of cosmological regeneration and reproduction, the link between the earth-cosmos and the cultural world, hence their pervasive chthonic or dionysian elements. However, I would like to extend a particular line of questioning with a rather introverted focus on the ontological nature of such rites. What do they exude and express in terms of self representation, or "self processes" (Csordas 1994) and in particular, notions of becoming. For over the many historical structural changes in Skyrian society, through the radical socio-economic transformations of the twentieth century, carnival is an unceasing focal celebratory landmark in the community. Whoever celebrates carnival — whether it was the shepherds up until the 1960s or ex-patriot Skyrians of the 1990s — revellers enter carnival to wear and thunder the bells and to "become". I return to and remain with this question for I suggest that it is ethnographically compelling.

From Self to "Becoming"

Self is theoretically divergent as much as being and becoming is ethnographically intangible. How do we analytically traverse from concepts of self to the experience of "becoming"? Notions of the social self and the construction of self are fundamentally connected to social experience. Mead's basic precept sees the individual mind and self emerging from dynamic processes and social interaction that constitute human experience (1967:140) (see chapter 1). The genesis of the social self is through experience, so to speak.

Although I have dealt with metaphoric expression and practices so far, I suggest that there is a theoretical gap and there are methodological problems in relation to issues of self and becoming which may need to be addressed respectively.

In my analysis, intimations of self are at times dispersed or inherent in symbolic action, while "becoming" is a process made tangible through metaphoric

discourse and carnivalesque practices. Conceptually, self and becoming are precariously welded in loaded or potent instances of transformation, revelry and general social action. In Skyros, I focus on expression of self in ritual action, which works both individually and collectively, that is, bounded conceptually within the rite of transformation in carnival. This particular experience of transformation triggers differing (symbolic) extensions of perceptions of self, which are always in a flux of "becoming" and, include (or extend), emotive and ecstatic, (ir)rational states of self.

Self and Self Processes

I briefly interject Csordas' notions of self, for it offers insight on analytical and methodological workings of the self in ethnography. Csordas states the need for a theory that can account for the cultural constitution of the sacred self in charismatic healing (1994:4). Highlighting the need for a methodologically apt phenomenology, he forwards a concept of a self sensitive to experiential specificity; one in which culture and the self are grounded in embodiment, drawing upon Merleau-Ponty's and Bourdieu's work (ibid.: 4). The elevated place of the self in Csordas' work accentuates two interconnected themes; the self and experience; and self and embodiment. Although I have given weight to the former, ideas of embodied action pervade through the ethnographic analysis (see chapter 2). Embodiment is a key methodological concept for comprehending the inter-relation between body, self and experience.

Deviating from interpretive anthropology's insistent symbolism, Csordas develops his own variant of cultural phenomenology, as it "represents a concern for synthesizing the immediacy of embodied experience with the multiplicity of cultural meaning in which we are always and inevitably immersed" (1994:vii). Acknowledging the theoretical range and complexity of concepts of self¹⁴⁸, Csordas attempts to present a notion that is "neither inductively derived from the data, nor deductively demonstrated in terms of the data, but dialogically suspended between theory and

¹⁴⁸ As Csordas states in relation to his work, "I have chosen the term self from among a large set of related and near synonymous terms. Zaner (1981:112) has done us the service of defining this terminological set, including both colloquial and technical terms: self, spirit, soul, psyche, subjectivity, subject, inner man, person, mind, consciousness, ... *Da-sein* ... agent, transcendental ego. In addition, one should not forget identity and the individual. I am satisfied that the term self has, at least for our purposes, less connotational and theoretical baggage than any of the alternatives" (1994:283 nt.2).

data" (1994:x). To a point, methodologically this is where some of my presentations may also be poised. Fundamentally, self is:

neither substance or entity, but an indeterminate capacity to engage or become oriented in the world, characterised by effort and reflexivity. In this sense self occurs as a conjunction of prereflective bodily experience, culturally constituted world or milieu, and situational specificity or habitus. Self processes are orientational processes in which aspects of the world are thematized, with the result that the self is objectified, most often as a "person" with a cultural identity or set of identities (ibid.: 5).

Even though the social self beckons an analytical direction towards ideas of person and cultural identity, I return to the question of "coming into being", even if such links are less tangible. Ontological questions are indeed very remote from philosophical implications of 'Being', which Heidegger argues is the most pertinent yet least tangible of all questions.¹⁴⁹ Yet, the trope of "coming into being" triggers a plethora of responses and metaphoric extensions that depicts a particular cultural hue of selfhood within and outside the carnivalesque realm. I have attempted to analytically sketch such expressions through in-depth ethnographic description in the previous chapters. Enquiries into self and being, as articulated in ritual practices, can be synchronously 'read' and 'interpreted' to provide meaning as well as providing conditions for the generation of social action. This questioning is also happening at another level, I return again to Geertz' words, that carnival can be a form of meta-social commentary, that is, a story that people tell themselves about themselves. Yet, it is a story that involves history, myth and most importantly, an impetus to perform, to be part of the experience with all its social and cultural ramifications. It is at this level, I have disclosed Skyrian carnival.

Therefore, whether Skyrians wear a mask or "face" (*m'tsouna*); whether they metamorphose themselves into quasi-animal figures allegorising a pastoral/mythic origin, or into a medley of uncouth, unidentifiable masqueraders; whether their selves

¹⁴⁹ For Heidegger, the indefinability of being does not dispense but compels the question of its meaning. "Being" is the self-evident concept. "Being" is used in all knowing and predicating, in every relation to beings and in every relation to oneself, and the expression is understandable "without further ado." "Everybody understands, "The sky *is* blue" ... and similar statements. But this average comprehensibility only demonstrates the incomprehensibility. It shows that an enigma lies *a priori* in every relation and being toward beings as beings. The fact that we live already in an understanding of Being and that the meaning of Being is at the same time shrouded in darkness proves the fundamental necessity of recovering the question of the meaning of "Being" " (ibid.: in Krell 1993:44).

become or are *lost* in communal revelry, ecstasy and inebriation; and finally when they ruin, only to be resurrected at another instance, ultimately all compose a turbulent world of metaphor, potent image and sound, exposing self processes — the very substance of their carnival experience, and thereupon ritual and social action.

CHAPTER 6

SKYRIAN CARNIVAL IN VENICE

In 1995, unlike other years, Skyros was invited to participate in the Venice carnival event. A large group was selected to exhibit their local celebration in an international festive arena. Skyrian carnival was extracted from its context and retailored for the occasion. This process accentuated contrasting and comparative frameworks of ritual production in which the participants themselves questioned salient dimensions of indigenous folk practices. The Skyrian troupe responded in diverse ways to the highly organized and stylised Venetian pageantry, often seeking peripheral venues to experience their own carnival. The encounter of the two worlds of carnival was documented through self-filming, which subsequently became a key medium for recounting, reflecting upon and reliving the event.

In addition, moving a major troupe out of the *Horio* created a particular chronotopic shift that accentuated features and themes of popular carnival otherwise less visible, making them more amenable to analysis. Subsequently, the nature of carnival as public spectacle or folk performance is reconsidered, critically developing Schechner's & Appel's (1990) and Turner's (1990) general notion of performative space, and the spectators/performers relation from an ethnographic viewpoint.

Overall, the repercussions of the visit to Venice left an incisive mark prior to and after the troupe's departure, creating a particularly insightful discourse on carnival. It became the main object of conversation and had wider socio-political ramifications. Questions rotated around who would be selected for the representative group, the nature and implications of the visit, whether it was a folkloric exhibition, or whether it could be used in a promotional tourist capacity. Taking carnival out of Skyros into an organised international event highlighted a series of questions and dilemmas among Skyrians. It is from such an angle that I question anthropological assumptions on whether carnival is a performance and/or a spectacle in light of social practice.

Announcing the Invitation to Join Venetian Carnival

In mid-January, a month before the beginning of the carnival season, I was at a gathering of friends celebrating a name's day. As the night went by, the theme of carnival cropped up, not at all surprising at such get-togethers. A Skyrian woman who worked in the council, remarked that the Venice carnival committee sent a fax to the Skyros council inviting representatives to their carnival festival. She then added in jest: "They thought it was an organised event, they don't know it is spontaneous!" Invitations were sent around the world. Only one other invitation was sent within Greece to Patras, a much larger city in the Peloponnese, which hosts an elaborate parade of floats and dancers. The Patras carnival committee declined the invitation.

There was a mixed feeling of being honoured by being singled out with the invitation to such an internationally prestigious event, and at the same time, unease at Venice's misconception that Skyrian carnival was ready to fit into a carnival procession mould. Immediately after the comment on the invitation, another Skyrian man added: "There is no comparison of the Patras carnival with Skyros. If it becomes organised, it would be a failure" (Field diary, 14-1-95). Most of the people at the table agreed with a nod or a chuckle.

The troupe was provided fares, food and accommodation for fifteen participants. The Skyrian carnival group consisted of men and women of differing ages and occupations: a senior woman renowned for her voice and virtuosity in Skyrian song repertoire, as well as another skilful male singer, several tertiary students, a woman working in the municipality, skilled workers and labourers, a tradesmen, shepherds, a shop owner and his wife. A smaller group of family and friends also accompanied the group. They went of their own accord as support, but also drawn by the novelty of seeing Venetian carnival. The Skyrian group took their own costumes and bells to become *Yeri*, *Koreles* and folk garments to re-enact the Clean Monday dances and songs.

As the time neared for the group to leave for Venice, contesting issues frequented conversations about the trip. They mainly centred on the criteria for recruiting the group. Those selected were obviously the mayor's clique of

supporters.¹⁵⁰ The free-to-all judgment of *Yeri* and *Koreles* has now been streamlined and politicised. It is those within the patronage of the mayor, rather than the commensal judgment or agreement upon merit that determined the choice of participants. Disgruntled murmurs began about who would be more aesthetically appropriate to represent Skyrian carnival.

Another controversial issue was the idea of parading in front of an audience. One participant was reluctant to go and eventually withdrew. She said that she did not want to be in a group that was “part of the mayor’s clique ... clowning like a *karangiozi*”¹⁵¹ in front of an audience.” Being asked to perform carnival outside the context of Skyros can potentially twist into self-ridicule, thereby potentially making satirists the object of ridicule. Satire emerges from a specific time and place (chronotope) from which it draws and directs its targets. This chronotopic dimension of comedy’s context adds to the tensions and ethics of export and exhibition of autochthonous carnival.

One positive affirmation of the visit was the notion of a promotion or projection of the island as a vibrant traditional culture. The term used was *provoli*, meaning to “put forward”, but also “projection”, “a showing”, meanings more closely associated with visual imagery and cinematography. It was suggested that such a ‘screening’ of Skyrian carnival would place it on a map in an international forum. A small, relatively unknown island like Skyros would be made visible to its European counterparts.

Others were worried that this was just a promotional stunt and really had nothing to do with Skyrian carnival. On the one hand, this was seen as having a promotional benefit to the island, something to highlight its existence and attract the tourism of the European market. Skyrians are already divided on the benefits of

¹⁵⁰ Tensions between the supporters of the two rival candidates heightened after the October 1994 local government elections (see chapter 3).

¹⁵¹ *Karangiozi* is a comic and grotesque figure of the shadow puppet theatre (of Asia Minor origins) with a particularly intriguing social history in Greece. He is a poor, obnoxious, downtrodden anti-hero who wins people’s sympathy and laughter by using his wits to get out of difficult (self-inflicted) situations, usually with his superiors. Kiourtsakis presents a Bakhtinian interpretation of this lay theatrical figure by focusing on comic ‘texts’ (in the broadest semiotic sense) and performances as meaningful practices (1995:185-6). He sees *Karangiozi* as integrally connected to the carnivalesque with his verve for masquerade and continual transformation — a king of popular laughter (ibid.: 288-91). The expression used above, “*na kano ton karangiozi*” means “to be [act] like a *karangiozi*”, implying making a spectacle of oneself to amuse others. Generally, the term can be used for any clownish behaviour or buffoonery, which (following Kiourtsakis) may be associated with carnivalesque symbolism.

tourism and its commercial viability on the island. Carnival was added to this agenda, exacerbating the issue. No systematic attempt is made by the council or Skyrians to forward their carnival as a tourist attraction, or to market it as a carnival event. As the mayor stated in an interview at the beginning of my stay, no one knows how carnival will take place, neither the time nor number of people dressing; every year it is different.¹⁵² This unpredictability of Skyrian carnival has left it open to alternative or special interest groups, who avoid mainstream carnival events looking for indigenous local celebrations. For instance, a company of university students who heard about this local festival from a mutual friend came to witness the event. They, like other visitors searching for local cultures, were intrigued by what they considered elements of "Dionysian ritual acts" (*dhionisiaka dhromena*). A coach of junior high school students from France came to see Skyrian carnival as part of an educational excursion. There were also specialist or learned groups or individuals, historians, archaeologists, folklorists, authors, cinematographers, who annually seek out regional festivals of cultural interest throughout Greece.

Articles about Skyrian carnival randomly appear in mass circulation newspapers and magazines. The pieces may be written by independent or freelance journalists and are featured in travel sections that recommend places of interest for the carnival long weekend. Feature articles are also occasionally included by specialist, folklorists or historians (e.g., see Epitropakis 1995). Documentaries on Skyros are occasionally screened during the carnival period, usually on national television channels. These documentaries are part of a series of programs that televise regional and folk celebrations throughout Greece.¹⁵³

An underlying concern of many Skyrians was the performance of carnival as a re-enactment or live folk exhibit. *Yeri* and *Koreles* may inherit ritually prescribed codes of practices, but they do not consciously attempt to re-enact them in a strict sense. Skyrians frequently questioned why they should go and perform in front of an audience, out of place and context, as one person stated: "What sense is there in

¹⁵² See chapter 2 on the theme of carnival and spontaneity.

¹⁵³ One documentary screened showcasing Skyrian carnival amongst other regional expressions was *Karnavalia sto Eyeo* [*Carnivals in the Aegean*, 1990, ERT] by an eminent Skyrian director, Maria Mavrikou. Another was *The Goat Dance of Skyros* (1968) by the director Pantelis Voulgaris in collaboration with Joy Couleantianou, filmed during a politically poignant era of Greece, the military Junta.

carnival if the *Yeri* are out of the *agora*?!" or another person exclaimed: "What are the *Yeri* doing out of the side streets (*kalnderimia*) of Skyros?!" The absurdity of the *Yeri* out of the *agora* was again part of the discussions when the participants and other Skyrians viewed the video screenings, especially the scenes of *Yeri* in St. Mark's square. Although some Skyrians admired the beautiful scenic backdrop of St. Mark's cathedral, it did not have the 'revered status' (in an ironic carnivalesque sense) as the Monastery of St. George, especially in relation to the customary *ex voto* offering (*tama*) made to the island's patron saint during this season. Nonetheless, a review article in the local newspaper heralded that "the participation of the Skyrian troupe in the carnival festival of Venice was a great success" (*Skyriana Nea*, January 1996, no. 229:1).

Having no prior knowledge of Venetian carnival, I relied heavily on the Skyrian troupe's experiences of the event as it was relayed upon their return. Through lively descriptions and conversations with the participants, combined with recurrent screenings of the video that they filmed themselves, my Skyrian friends and I learnt about Venice in retrospect. There was little or no mention (or material) of the Venetian carnival organisers nor the committee's role and aims. However, Feil's (1998) insightful work on Venetian carnival (as well as other published material, official advertising, etc.) provides a complementary background to the Venetian event.

The Carnival of Venice: A Brief Overview

Venetian Carnival is advertised as an international, organised event with a tourist orientation that incorporates artistic, musical and theatrical performances that usually take place in the city's central St. Mark's square (Piazza San Marco).¹⁵⁴

Prior to and after the troupe's visit, there seemed to be a glaring omission of the organisational role of the Venetian Carnival committee and municipal authorities in general. In the Skyrians group's experience of the event, any official presence was somehow overlooked (except for occasions when the group was reprimanded by officials, as we shall see below). This omission is quite telling about the nature of

¹⁵⁴ Advertisements and packages for Venetian carnival are readily available on the Internet, e.g., <http://www.carnivalofvenice.com/area.asp?id=4&lang=uk> [26-5-04].

mutual perceptions and the relation between the Skyrian carnival troupe and their sponsor.

Feil's (1998) study of Venetian carnival offers a complementary, as much as contrasting, view on the relation of the two carnivals. He examines the celebration in connection with a particular mythologizing of Venetian history, as encapsulated in expressions and affirmations of Venetian identity. Feil illustrates the parallels between sixteenth century and contemporary Venetian carnival, as well as the event's subsequent organization and centralisation. His study offers invaluable insight into the background scenarios that coloured and shaped the present day celebrations, namely the carnival that hosted the Skyrian troupe.

Historically, Venetian carnival can be traced back to the eleventh century, but it peaked through to the eighteenth century and declined after Napoleon's conquest in 1797. In 1979 — and after a recess of two hundred years — Venetian carnival, re-emerged as a major event, instigated by the city's mayor, Mario Rigo (*ibid.*: 141).

Carnival became an official state festival of Venice in 1296, and was subsequently integrated with a range of public rituals, processions and feast days. Feil states that the Venetian government creatively fused carnival and Christian and formerly pagan celebrations with dates of landmark significance to the city, thereby gloriously reinforcing itself by association (*ibid.*: 143). Venetians were incited to think of their history as a unified past and present with a regenerative potential rather than a linear unfolding of events. The state increasingly became involved in and monitored carnival's content and message, intentionally manipulating the meaning of popular and elite events (*ibid.*: 144).

In the beginnings of the sixteenth century, parallel with the city's decline, a self constructed glorious past began to mythically re-instate the, until then, unconquered city-state. Venice became "a republic of civic rituals, processions, and festivals like carnival, a version of sorts of a 'theatre state' (Geertz 1980), which proclaimed a 'universal validity' simultaneously to the world and to itself" (*ibid.*: 147). During this period, Venice was rebuilt, and streets and monuments were restored in a conscious attempt to ennoble public spaces (*ibid.*: 147).

The sixteenth century decline of the city-state accordingly prompted a response for grander carnival; it heightened nobility and conspicuous consumption of

wealth and display, particularly under the rule of the Doge de Andrea Gritti, 1523-38. Gritti forwarded Venice as a place of concord and high culture, employed poets professionally and imported musicians. The government progressively overtook the management of commissions overseeing carnival, and disregarding popular carnival amusement. Performances became more stage-managed, while city spaces were closely monitored and carnival was concentrated within them as a form of control, thereby dissuading its expansion to the margins (ibid.: 149).

The nobility distanced themselves from others by setting up their own subsidized groups that orchestrated events and grand pageantry. Neighbourhood guilds that once had a leading role in carnival were replaced by new groups who dominated key ceremonial spaces and charged exorbitantly for their performances. In addition, directors were allocated to control spontaneity and excessiveness in events (ibid.: 149). Gritti put a stop to pantomimes and recitations performed before ambassadors, thus averting their exposure to lewd language (ibid.: 149-50). This ritual censorship is significant, for I suggest that it parallels the process of carnival's centralisation and control with a steady stifling of the bawdy satirical edge, elements crucial to popular Bakhtinian carnival.

Contemporary Venetian Carnival

Gritti's changes and reforms surround the main issues in contemporary Venetian carnival. Feil poses these as a series of questions that resonate with the Skyrian experience in Venice:

Does Venetian carnival 'belong' to ordinary Venetians or to the 'nobility'? ... What is the relationship between neighbourhoods and centralised spaces in carnival events? Is carnival about spontaneity or a highly managed entertainment? ... Is carnival primarily for Venetians, or for tourists and other outsiders? (ibid.: 150)

Feil states that the interpretation of these questions highlights how Venetian identity and carnival are intertwined. His work also directs us to the point at which the Skyrian troupe enters the carnival stage. Skyrians own perception of carnival, which was experienced in the side streets of the *Horio*, sharply contrasts with their allocated central space, the San Marco Piazza. It seems that Venetian and Skyrian revellers prize peripheral spaces for carnival, although with a very different ceremonial expression and ritual form.

Venetian carnival re-emerged in 1979-80, with the initiative of the socialist mayor, Mario Rigo. "Prior to 1979, carnival had remained a squalid affair held in peripheral locations in which mostly young and adolescent children participated" (ibid.: 151). Pronouncing carnival's "spontaneous rebirth", Rigo officially relaunched the event the following year. Spontaneity became a central theme in carnival discourse — as was the case in Skyros (or maybe in any carnival culture) that uses "spontaneity" as a metaphoric expression or affirmation of indigenous creative practices. Publications were produced by the tourist commission, authenticating the celebration's revival. Venetians were incited to creatively participate and relive their popular traditional festivals. The 1979 carnival spanned over four days, finalising with a seventeenth century-like masked ball in St. Mark's Square. "Venetians achieved some level of *communitas*, it seems; it was considered a great social success" (ibid.: 151).

Contemporary Venetian carnival has now become a massive enterprise, which is held for over two weeks, and includes lectures, concerts, plays and pageants, all tangentially connected to carnival's history. Each night, the central square turns into a grand outdoor hall, hosting over a 100,000 revellers (ibid.: 151).

In past years, a substantial majority of the revelling masses were ordinary citizens. Nowadays, as Fiel states, Venetians sense a need to take part in a carnival of their own creation (ibid.: 153). In the early years of revived carnival, bankers and office workers roamed in costume, wearing traditional masks. Parties were organised and Venetian meals cooked. More importantly, "carnival is for remembering and situating oneself as a Venetian in Venice" (ibid.: 153). Venetians grieve over their carnival's mass culture at the city's public meetings. According to this sector of people, carnival should be decentralised and the official managing of the event made more discrete. Nevertheless, carnival has provided a forum for discussion, the renewal of community ties and has momentarily reinstated Venice and its history to its citizens (ibid.: 153).

Furthermore, Venetians unwavering loyalty to their city-state inevitably created conflict with the city administration, especially the Tourist Commission (ibid.: 154). The Tourist Commission enticed tourists (including Italians) beyond the summer season and organised lavish spectacles resonating with the noble carnival of sixteenth century Venice. The organisers expressed contempt for spontaneity and attempted to

control focal ceremonial spaces, such as St. Mark's square. They hired entrepreneurs from Rome (in the same vein as Gritti) to perform shows and operas, resounding the city's glorious past (ibid.: 154). Costly guides published by the Tourist Commission advertised Venetian carnival as an international and intentional stage for carnival and the arts.¹⁵⁵ The general temperament was that carnival should guide cultural and historical reflection, rather than be a vent for frivolity and games. It must be cosmopolitan, attracting outsiders and those eager to spend. Unruly behaviour and rowdiness was controlled, and boisterousness was muffled by insistent organization. Overall, there was a general de-emphasising of the ludic. The Tourist Commission appropriated categories, and recast them as the 'true' message of carnival (ibid.: 154). This rhetoric, however, did not appeal to Venetians, neither to Skyrians who were caught up in this unseen script of contemporary Venetian carnival.

Positions on the nature of Venetian carnival were exacerbated by political parties seeking votes on surrounding debates. In the 1980s, the socialists forwarded a carnival that was less structured and more spontaneous, at least in theory, and large crowds were welcomed (ibid.: 155). In 1985, the Christian Democrats won power. They criticised the Socialists' "pink carnival" as disorganised and disorderly, obstructing the city and square with its emphasis on popular revelry. Frequent complaints were lodged about brawls, injuries and petty crime (ibid.: 156). The police were unable to confront the huge disruptive crowds, while the young arrived en mass, euphoric and penniless. For the Christian Democrats,

the 'open invitation' given by the ruling government's Tourist Commission was too generous; transgressions and licentiousness had been pushed to and beyond the limits of decency. There was, in their words, 'incredible anarchy' and 'total chaos' ... The Socialist response had been 'those who want to sleep should move to *terrafirma*; those who want to eat should find a free table; those who want to work in tranquillity should change cities (ibid.: 156).

The Christian Democrats remodelled the carnival of the masses into a refined carnival of the state. The Tourist Commissioner, Salvadori, cleansed the spontaneous events, introduced the policy of restricting the numbers admitted to the city, and guarded

¹⁵⁵ Feil (1998:154) quotes the Tourist commission guide that portrays carnival as a "myth of the city which obliges Venice to appear on the international stage looking its best. For the image of Venice as an intentional city of art and culture, carnival is essential - given that it brings in thousands of 'spectators' all over the world and wide coverage in the Mass Media" (*Guida al Carnevale di Venezia* 1986:22).

against further 'invasions' from the mainland (ibid.: 156). The Christian Democrats civil and serene popular festival was confined to a single space, with expensive events geared for affluent tourists. However, Venetians denied that such a carnival expressed their cultural identity (ibid.: 156).¹⁵⁶

A referendum held on carnival in 1987 revealed that 55% of Venetians did not like the organised event (ibid.: 158). In 1992 carnival, "The Venetian Event" came under new management. The city council controlled 51%, while private institutions and companies held the remaining 49%. The Referendum had little effect on the citizens' vision of carnival (ibid.: 158). Venetian carnival soon lost the popular connection to its "spontaneous rebirth".

In 1995, and at this point in the contemporary re-genesis of Venetian carnival, the Skyrian group arrived, set amidst a highly organised international event that showcased an array of world carnival cultures alongside other artistic events. Here, Skyrian carnival born in the *agora* and side streets of the *Horio*, must take 'centre stage' in St. Mark's square. The Skyrian group entered as a parochial antithesis to this prestigious 'high culture' festivity — their rustic attire, providing a stark contrast to the courtly masqueraders and majestic architectural surroundings. Yet, it is from this antithesis that an exceptionally insightful dialogue on the nature of Skyrian carnival emerges.

The Skyrian troupe seems to have been placed under the same organizational control and confinement of space imposed on spontaneous Venetian revelry. Skyrians did not encounter Venetian popular carnival, apart from rare incidents and outbreaks of revelry, which were literally and capriciously found in the periphery, the side streets, on route, or around a side street corner. These spaces are significant in the way they provided alternative venues for collective merry-making and grounds for experiencing carnival cross-culturally (as I will explore below).

¹⁵⁶ The hoteliers and merchants were (and are) an influential lobby group in carnival management. They proclaimed that carnival was always an international event, and Venice the birthplace of tourism with an established hospitality infrastructure for crusaders and pilgrims to the Holy Land (Feil 1998:158). Feil also adds that reference is seldom made to the struggle over the control of billions of lira, yet arguments persist among contesting groups laying claim to the authentic meaning of Venetian carnival (ibid.: 153).

Skyrian Carnival in Venice

The Skyrian visit to Venice was the first time any systematic attempt was made to reconstruct carnival as a performance. In 1995, a large group was rallied to re-enact carnival. There have been other years when representatives of Skyros were invited to display carnival at festivals or folk celebrations. In these cases, only one or two representatives were sent, mainly to exhibit the style of dress and bells worn by the carnival protagonists, the *Yeros* and sometimes the *Korela*. Such was the case at the Athens' Folklore Museum in 1996, and the Sardinian Festival of Carnival of the Mediterranean (1988). In both these instances, one person was sent to dress as a *Yeros*.¹⁵⁷

Venetian carnival was held in the second weekend of Greek carnival (i.e., 18th–20th of February 1995, see Appendix 1: Timeline), a few weeks prior to the climax of the Skyrian event, namely the Grand Carnival weekend on the 5th of March. This pre-carnival timing was a reason why some participants decided to attend. Generally, Skyrians are not viewers or spectators of other carnivals; they prefer to be part of their own celebrations. This is an indication of how carnival is privileged as lived experience over a spectacle to be viewed. The invitation of a large group to participate in a very different expression of carnival, such as that of Venice — an international and cultural/artistic event — highlighted the rift between Skyrian and Venetian understandings of carnival and raised some interesting responses. I have selected commentaries on the most pertinent themes, placing them under common subjects. Before commencing an examination of the various themes and discussions, I will briefly focus on how the video recordings became a vibrant and on-going part of the group's experience in Venice.

The filming of the troupe's visit was introduced quite impromptu and unintentionally, as I will expand upon below. Generally, the centrality of visual images in contemporary life and the need for a method of experimenting with envisioning

¹⁵⁷ In subsequent years (from 2000 onwards), during the carnival season Skyrian carnival was showcased (with an increased participation) in an event organized by the Museum of Folk Art in Athens, along with other regional customs of Greece.

ethnography is propounded by Bloustein (2003) and Bloustein and Baker (2003),¹⁵⁸ "Visual images are present in the form of cultural texts or they represent aspects of ethnographic knowledge and methodological tools", they can exist as the basis for the sites of social interaction or they can be pre-existing images, as for instance TV programs or archival photos (Bloustein 2003:1).

Bloustein and Baker see the camera as a tool for ethnography by proxy, not so much as a way of producing a more 'authentic' version of reality, but a methodology "making the process of mutual discovery and creativity of both the researcher and subjects more transparent" (2003:72). There are advantages of such a methodology in terms of access, reciprocity and voice, especially in their research where there was a large discrepancy in age between researcher and participants (Bloustein 2003:6).

Photographs and film have become significant cultural symbols, and epitomize ways in which life experiences are framed, interpreted and represented. Their indexical quality creates a paradox, although the camera seems to blur the distinction between the represented and the representation, it can be creatively used to *construct* new images (Bloustein 2003:2, citing Corner 1995). The camera is usually used with an audience in mind; frequently it is a means of surveillance. "It is often seen as a means 'to objectify' through which the representation of a particular cultural space or context can be *created*, in ways that are different from the real life experiences it focuses upon" (Bloustein 2003:2). Visual images can also be used for personal reflexivity, a way of seeing or reinventing ourselves. Because we continuously reinvent ourselves, it sufficient to say that the resulting images are not reified or static but "*a subject who feels he is becoming an object*" (Barthes 1981:12-14, as cited in Bloustein 2003:2).

For the participants in Bloustein's and Baker's research, the cameras became a way of interpreting and redefining their worlds, as a methodological tool in the hands of young participants it deepened and precipitated unforeseen dimensions of research (2003:69). In addition, the photograph is a powerful tool in the representation of

¹⁵⁸ Bloustein and Baker (2003:64) use visual ethnography to understand the complexity of the gendered/ethnic experience of growing up as pre-teenage and teenage girls in Adelaide, exploring the relationship and tension between the representation and everyday experience.

identity. "Photographs are clearly a powerful vehicle for telling a story of the 'self'" (ibid.: 69).

Venice via Video: 'Self'-Filming as Post Carnival Revelry

Most of my knowledge of the Skyrian groups' visit to Venice came from their video recordings and the recurrent discussions that ensued. The screenings of the video generated abounding conversation and scenarios for remembering and reliving carnival. The video was filmed mainly by one woman of the group. I handed over my video recorder to her with a fifteen minute, on the spot lesson, two days before their departure. Skyrians studying or living in Italy, who happened to be present there, also took turns on the camera work. Whenever the person filming was in any of the events, it was handed around to other Skyrians who accompanied them. The ad hoc nature of the way the video camera was introduced set up some interesting differences in its use. Anyone who so felt, could film whatever was deemed important. There was no direction or line of production. At least five different people participated in the recording of the Venice tape. The intrusive eye of the lens had transformed into a carnivalesque toy, and as such, entered into a lively game of seeing and taping 'us' amongst the 'others'.¹⁵⁹ Although, as I was told, it was very difficult to film surrounded by a huge crowd, there was enough footage of everything important, at least as judged by the troupe.¹⁶⁰

This 'self'-filming (as it turned out to be) did not anticipate an altogether unknown audience; it was intended for family and friends and the probable screening at my university seminars. Venetian and other masqueraders were only captured

¹⁵⁹ On the theme of 'play', Bloustein and Baker state that sometimes the participants in their study shared activities captured on film with the researcher and audience, other times there was a more serious attempt to document the fun of social engagements using hand held cameras. "Here the camera was in the middle of the activity rather than standing by 'objectively' recording events. It was the tension or gaps between these different types of representation, which echoed the struggles of the girls themselves to find a psychic fit between their experimental play and the constraints of their everyday lives. On the surface, such attempts at representations seem like 'just play', but under closer analysis, we can see specific strategies, the human seriousness of play (Goffman 1970; Handelman 1998; Turner 1982), providing insights into the ways gendered subjectivity is performed and simultaneously constituted" (ibid.: 73).

¹⁶⁰ According to Sontag, "photographs are a way of imprisoning reality, understood as recalcitrant, inaccessible; of making it stand still" (1977:163, as cited in Bloustein 2003:2). This leads to the notion that photography or film provide instant access to the real, yet in some way maintain a remoteness of the real. In the context of Venice, 'self'-filming seeks to capture the real and record or 'write' it in images as much as in words.

sporadically, or when nearby. The organisers are left out almost completely (expect for a snapshot of one representative of the council). Of particular interest were the masqueraders and masks — apt mediators of this mosaic parade of carnivals. Overall, there was an inward gaze of the camera, unlike my own video recordings, which were insistently writing what was out and about. This filming was a self-reflective exercise, as minimal attention was given to others outside the company of revellers.

The continual alternation of people behind and before the lens blurred the line between who and what was filmed/recorded at any given instance. This kind of 'self'-filming inverted the capturing of otherness, as it tried to the grasp Skyrians sense of self, revelling amidst a plethora of other parading selves.

Generally, in Venice, 'self'-filming by the troupe can be seen as a process of cultural inscription and prescription; the cultural eye sets its own criteria of self-censor. What was chosen to go into this visual diary, and what was implicated by exclusion, raises broader questions on the mediated construction of social reality.

However, what is significant in the recordings is the way that the videos became an extension of a carnival celebration. The recordings were not simply documenting their visit; and neither were they viewed as such, but rather were integrated into the carnival experience. The meta-commentaries on the video took on another life. It was an occasion for a group to gather, sit around drinking wine, joking and teasing the performers, as if they were with them back in the *agora* and side streets. Rarely was the video viewed individually. The recording was neither a documented portrayal, nor a visual diary in the strict sense, but it was reworked into a post carnival celebratory frame, triggering carnivalesque moments and revealing people whose identity the viewers would often try and guess. Consequently, video screenings became part of a meta-carnival experience, one easily regenerated within company, wine and merriment (*kefi*). In such screenings, resurgences of carnival narratives were common.

Commentary on the Venice Visit

A series of comments and responses emerged from the Venice visit that were often re-iterated at video screening gatherings. From a range of interviews, conversations and complaints, I have selected the main themes that preoccupied Skyrians about

their Venice visit. The time frame of the commentary is broad and taken from various sources and people. It extends from January, one month before departure to after the return from Venice (21-2-95), as well as later discussions that accompanied the screenings of the self-recorded video, up until around April 1995.

Silencing the Bells

Upon their return, one Skyrian woman in the troupe initially commented (and many agreed) that in the beginning the group was not well received. The Venetian carnival organisers could not keep the Skyrian group quiet in the Palazzo chambers. The organisers complained that the group made too much noise. Others complained about the din interrupting mobile phones. One participant remarked how could they be silent: they had to make noise trying out the bells. She chuckled at the futility of wanting a silent *Yeros*. She also added that it seemed that the Venetian organisers had regrets about inviting them. Nevertheless, after the organisers saw the group in action, they became friendlier. The troupe was even shouted drinks and sweets. This gesture came closer to the Skyrians own celebration of carnival, which entailed a commensal sharing of wine, food and song. At this point, there was a mutual experience of carnival revelry.

While waiting in a procession line along with other groups of masqueraders, two younger *Yeri* became impatient and were continuously hushed by organisers and other participants. They responded: "Its difficult to be quiet with sixty kilos of bells around your waist!" Aggravated by the incident, they started jolting and thundering the bells, and even did run-ins (*trokes*).¹⁶¹ Quite a few participants recounted the hilarious incident of one masquerader, a Neapolitan, who provoked a *Yeros* by soaring back and forth, wearing a pizza-table around his waist. He got into a run-in (*troka*) with one of the *Yeri* who took on the challenge.

¹⁶¹ While viewing the video footage taken in the Palazzo chambers, I was given the impression that Skyrians, especially the younger *Yeri*, were very reluctant to be placed in a line. The incident appeared to be a case of foot dragging; the youngsters responded with loud defiant voices and bell rhythms to offset the obligatory silencing of their bells and the stifling of their raucous fun.

Floats, Processions and Carnival Things

One Skyrian woman did not think much about Venetian carnival, claiming that it was mainly an organised parade of "set up and boring floats". However, she admired some of the costumes and masks. There was very little footage of the floats and procession in the video recordings. Yet, there were a few lasting shots of stalls and vendors selling grotesque and refined masks, as well as an assortment of carnival paraphernalia.

Venice carnival was also a forum of new ideas for Skyrians own celebration. The carnival items or masks recalled the most, were the ones the group had talked and joked about how they would use them in their own carnival. One example is the Neapolitan wooden clapper, which the troupe found quite intriguing. They said it was like a tambourine (*defi*), and "we should make one for our carnival". Also, a wooden stick with colourful ribbons and bells was considered to be "a nice mop! ... a great idea for a *Frangos's* crook!" The objects of Skyrian carnival seem to have a counterpart elsewhere and acquire a homologous position to the *Frangos's* parodying of the *Yeros's* attire. The meaning of carnival 'things' was mediated by their potential use and experience through carnival. This was a purely visual appraisal of carnival, not experienced in Venice, but still potentially included in carnival revelry and practices.

Revelling Beyond the Main Square

After the procession in St. Mark's square, some Italians imitated the *Yeri* and their movements in side streets. Members of the Skyrian group saw them and thought it was funny (but also flattering, since some revellers wanted to join in their carnival).

Another issue was the synchronisation of festival time. While discussing her visit with her parents, one of my friends commented on how the group was left hungry. The restaurant that co-operated with the council to provide meals for the visitors closed at 7.30pm. This was an inappropriate time, since people in Greece eat out much later. So the troupe pooled all their meal coupons (given to them by the council) and bought plentiful amounts of wine, got drunk, sang, danced and revelled. They had finally created a mood of merriment (*kefi*) after all the fatigue and stress of Saturday. They did what they liked and enjoyed carnival.

One night, in a restaurant after the main procession event, the Skyrian group started singing popular Greek and Skyrian songs. Later they added some international songs (i.e., internationally known), such as "Never on a Sunday" and the "Zorba". In the restaurant, tables of Italians and French who were also invited to take part in Venetian carnival "turned" (*yirisan*) the Skyrian songs (much to their delight). First the Italians started, then the Skyrians responded, the French followed, and so the Skyrians replied to their verses. Everyone enjoyed this multilingual singing of choruses and refrains, particularly the French songs; some thought that they must have been their own regional melodies. "They [the French and Italians] sing well!" they exclaimed, as they joked about their group enjoying the song and merriment, "even if we did not understand a word!"

The "turning" (*yirisma*) of a song is customary at fetes and weddings. Groups sitting and eating around tables "turn", that is, repeat or change the melody or lyrics of the prominent song, manifesting their vocal mastery and engaging, at times, in a competitive game of song (see chapter 3 for an extended discussion on *yirisma* and antiphonal response). This is especially prominent in Skyrian carnival table songs (*tis tavlas*). A similar situation was experienced on a boat-taxi while returning to their hotels. Skyrians began to sing and dance to commonly known Italian and Greek songs with the Neapolitan group and other musicians who were co-passengers. This incident was recorded on video and frequently replayed at screenings in home gatherings.

Yeri Beyond the Horio

While watching the video, two Skyrian women praised the magnificent shots of the *Yeri* in St. Mark's square, especially the scenes taken against the backdrop of the Cathedral. They were immediately contradicted by two of their other friends who fervently stated that: "The *Yeri* belong in the *agora* and the narrow streets (*kalnderimia*) of Skyros!"

For the Skyrian troupe, carnival revelry was possible only outside the main square. The taxi boat, the wine coupons and restaurant songs were the most mentioned incidents of carnival festivity, as they were themes that evoked meaningful carnival experience. This may also indicate how aspects of celebration antiphonally

engage 'the other' and how Skyrian's experience of carnival is translated into their own meaning system.¹⁶²

Making Space in St. Mark's Square

When in St. Mark's square, the *Yeri* had to make space for themselves, gaining processional territory with their bells. In the end, the carnival organisers realised that the Skyrian group could not be placed in a procession line, and therefore allocated a fenced off area in St. Mark's square. Here the *Yeri* wandered freely, thundering their bells and engaging in the customary feats such as collisions (*trokes*) and the competitive circle of bell swirling (*lilirisma*) (see chapter 2).

Generally, there was a consensus that Skyrian carnival cannot be placed in a procession mould, nor be assimilated into a series of floats. *Yeri* are individualistic, impulsive, and need to make their mark spatially and acoustically. They are unfettered, acting whenever and wherever they please, while carnival *communitas* is attained by spontaneous revelling, predicated upon the group's commensal merriment and intoxication (*kefi, methi*).

Who Judges Carnival?

During screenings of the video, the Skyrian group, their family and friends would make continual judgments on the style, aesthetics and comic gestures, on dance and on singing voices and so on, as if they were revisiting the *agora* during carnival. If one of the participants were present, they would be reeled into a teasing appraisal. The viewers also assessed the Venetian masqueraders, especially those lined up waiting with the Skyrians in the Palazzo chambers. Judgment on who was a successful masquerader is usually done collectively and arbitrarily at the grass-roots

¹⁶² For a re-enactment of Clean Monday, the Skyrian group sung their "table songs" over a microphone on an elevated stage, and performed their island dances in an allocated area in the square. When I presented a seminar and video footage on carnival at the University of Aegean, one student noted the similarity of the Skyrian songs to that of her own region (Epiros, NW Greece). She pointed out that they had a better time (*kefi*) at the rehearsals in the side streets, than on stage in the Piazza. I agreed that the side streets were more appropriate for revelling, removed from elevated viewing. The fact that "songs of the table" were sung to an audience was a complete re-orientation of its purpose, i.e., commensality. In Venice, it was presented to an audience at a staged performance, making a sharp and unsurpassable distinction between singers and listeners, who of course did not "turn" their songs.

level. It is part and parcel of the comic interaction. There was an open resistance to the idea of a judging panel with set criteria.

Schechner and Appel (1990:6) state that one of the main (and quite contentious) features of performances is how they are evaluated. Criteria vary culturally and the question remains on whose standards should be applied. Another issue is to who evaluations are directed, the performers, would be spectators or scholars (ibid.: 6). In Venice, the criteria of judgment on the aesthetics and artistry of carnival masquerade were different than those collectively assessed in Skyrian carnival. In the Venice event, assessments were made in forms of competitions and judgment panels, which distributed prizes. In contrast to the courtly and arty Venetian masqueraders, the Skyrians' rustic troupe had a different implicit scale of judgment criteria. Aesthetic comparisons were placed on the overarching and hierarchical notion of high/low culture, which radically departed from Skyrian 'populist' judgments of comic and aesthetic merit. These arbitrary populist aesthetic judgments, which proliferate behind the main stage of Skyrian carnival, are the impetus defining and adjusting comic and aesthetic frameworks. Skyrians pass their own judgments on their carnival, as the incident of ignoring the prizes offered to the best *Yeri* indicates. Dino, an active member of the Skyrian community and in the Skyriani Estia (a cultural organization) tells of the incident:¹⁶³

Dino: So one day ... we gathered money to make the Skyriani Estia ... so we can get permission to do one thing, to do another ... As such, we said to give some awards — prizes to the best of those, for example, to that *Yeros* who had the most beautiful costume, good bells etc., ... to him who had the best movement, with the least effort brought out the loudest sound from the others. Eem, the smallest *Yeros*, the youngest *Yeros* or the eldest *Yeros*. They gave out one [prize] there. I lifted the mask, "Let me see you, let me recognise you", "Dino put your hands down!" and he lifts the crook to strike me. He didn't want me to recognise him ...

And of course the gifts, I should tell you, were not monetary. They were either bells ... I should say here that we lost a lot of money here, ... crooks are difficult to find ... But it was a distinction you see, not a prize. Because with the prize, "who are you to give me a prize?" But a distinction? The world won't [come to a] ruin! And I will tell you that some didn't even come to get them.

Author: So it did not mean anything [to them]?

¹⁶³ Extracts from interview, 19 April 1992.

Dino: Of course. I do it for myself [gusto]. This is good, I do as I feel. He does as he feels he says? But how will we get into in the spirit of the celebrations? We said later that it our mistake to give out these distinctions. It would have been much better if we got a barrel of wine and put it in the square, and whoever wanted could go and drink. It's the best thing which is needed, even this year, even now. It can't be done differently. Put out the wine and you'll see what will happen!

In the above incident, the issue of judgment was contentious for several reasons. Firstly, revealing a guise, which is a privilege of the masquerader who decides *if* and/or *when* to disclose their identity. This issue is also connected to a revellers' freedom of movement, and spontaneous choice of the moment and nature of dress. Secondly, no prize (no matter how much it is valued in the context of carnival) can substitute for the revellers' own reward for entering carnival. Thirdly, aesthetic judgment should not take place in a hierarchical manner, that is, by a particular person or body. Rather the procedure of judgment is often carried out in a dispersed and erratic manner, but it is closer to the commensal experience of carnival (as Dino's acknowledgement of the value of abundant wine in co-revelling suggests). Consequently, this 'openness' allows room for defiant individuals to dress "for their own gusto" (*via to gousto mou*), setting and reaffirming their own fluctuating comic and aesthetic criteria. Popular carnival, so to speak, becomes its own judge.

Tailoring Skyrian Carnival as Staged Performance

To a certain extent, in Venice Skyrians had to re-enact their carnival in the form of spectacle or a performance, with an international audience in mind. The experience of Skyrian carnival had to be superimposed with the spectacle of a processional form crystallised in a newly relocated time frame, making it understandable within an array of carnival identities. For instance, before leaving for Venice, the mayor decided that instead of the singing of the Skyrian carnival melody, the *Apokriane*, a slow and sad song, the group should sing happy carnival tunes. Jovial songs are a commonly understood as particular to carnival. The Byzantine lament-like songs characteristic of the Skyrian carnival repertoire would have made no sense in Venetian carnival. These songs also perplex visitors from other regions of Greece. This contrived censorship was relayed to other Skyrians with a chuckle. Skyrians are aware of the rift between their own idiosyncratic appropriateness of sorrowful carnival songs, which contrast

with outsiders' anticipation of happy carnival tunes. They took delight in restating this melodic recasting, which was relayed as a joke among themselves before and after their visit to Venice.

Certain elements were retained others were censored or tailored, in an active engagement of what should be part of Skyrian carnival as a performance. It is in this dialogue that implicit anticipations of Skyrian carnival as 'traditional' folkloric re-enactment were included, thereby reshaping another carnival performance. However, what Venice required, or at least what Skyrians thought they needed to portray as carnival to outsiders, did not stop the group from feeling carnival in auditions in the side streets, in taxi boats and restaurants.

This particular tailoring of Skyrian carnival may be interpreted as a particular and conscious re-invention of tradition. However, it is not strictly in the manner in which Hobsbawn and Ranger develop the notion, namely, "invented tradition" as constructed and formally instituted set of practices that establish continuity with a suitable historic past (1983:1). Skyrians made no connection to an official historical past, but rather singled themes of identification from a diverse background of an oral folk tradition, having an international European audience in mind.

One line of the "invented tradition" argument in the contemporary context is Chapman's (1995) study of Scottish kilts and lace head pieces (*coiffres*) of Brittany. He details the historical re-invention and representation of traditional cultures in frozen frames, concentrating on contemporary perceptions of the above items of folk attire. Chapman suggests that all tradition involves invention and change, while the invention of tradition on the other hand, ceases and standardizes cultural processes into official institutions. Chapman concludes that in Brittany and Scotland traditional dress "frozen in its frame" may be regarded as part of a popular discourse about "modernity", a kind of symbolic inversion that tells people what they are in everyday life, and their 'modern' condition within the nation state (1995:27).

In the case of the Skyrian troupe in Venice, a live re-enactment of a folk tradition, as mediated by the media, government cultural groups, tourist administration and so on, may be regarded as temporarily "frozen". Such a process may also entail a particular a survivalist ideological trajectory to justify the community's expression of itself as a unique cultural-historical entity, namely as a

'living tradition'. Yet Skyrian carnival was often felt and experienced off stage. A frozen frame perspective tends to de-emphasize how the participants, who are not always fully preoccupied with reliving and displaying their cultural heritage, experienced and reproduced cultural practices within and outside a particular 'ideological' dialogue. This may be but one part of a discourse in which social actors engage, one readily available to a researcher, external viewer or the 'other'. Moreover, new meaning may be elicited from this re-staged, re-lived carnival, as it negotiates themes of cultural identity in a novel environment. Although the notion of re-inventing tradition may illuminate the interplay of culture and history in negotiating identity, there are limitations to what extent such a perspective unravels the meaning imbued in such cultural practices as 'lived' social action.

The Missing Frangos

One glaring omission in the Skyrian group was the *Frangos*. For no clear reason, this figure somehow slipped out of the carnival trio. Even the participants were a bit perplexed by this. It seemed that the organisers or officials in Skyros saw the *Frangos* as unnecessary, negligible (not being a cast in 'traditional' or 'folkloric' mould), or maybe inappropriate.

When I questioned some of the participants why they had not taken a *Frangos* to Venice, no one had a direct answer, apart from a certain indifference, shoulder shrugging and puzzled repetition to my question: "Hey yes, why didn't we take a *Frangos*?" I tried to elicit their reasons, not pressing the point, but it did not seem to be an issue with the Skyrian troupe. Instead, the conversation drifted, and ideas were thrown about as to who would have been a good *Frangos*. A Skyrian studying in Italy who joined them in Venice said after the event: "Ah, yes. I should have grabbed a bell and an outfit [black coat] and dressed as a *Frangos*" and his friends agreed, as they continued to jest with him. The *Frangos's* outfit could easily have been assembled from the costumes already available. A traditional *Frangos* (*paradhosiakos Frangos*) wears old worn-out shepherds' breeches (*vrakes*) and one bell (*trokani*), something in his/her hand, and maybe a black cloak. This, I was told in retrospect, is how they would have preferred to dress him in Venice. The *Frangos* was re-created in lieu of

his/her participating co-revellers. The *Frangos's* omission was re-constituted in this jovial appraisal after the event.

The *Frangos* could also be potentially offensive, presenting a parody of the hosts of carnival. Tact may be needed when introducing an awkward and absurd figure, such as the *Frangos*, "a Frank" to Venetians. A grotesque metamorphosis centring on European otherness is comic in its own context of carnival. Here, this masquerader reveals another genre of Europeanness that is particular to Skyros, especially in relation to European dress. It became an emblem of status or social positioning, coinciding with the Westernisation of provinces (see chapter 4). The satire of the *Frangos* may be geared to the bourgeoisie as much as to Frankish domination, in both its symbolic and historical forms. Whether omitting the *Frangos* is etiquette or embedded in the contextual appropriateness of carnival comic is speculative on my part. However, the relationship of host/Venetian/European and guest/Skyrian, as symbolically encoded in the European/Frank, entails a different social relation. Here, the comic did not have the same impact as in the carnivalesque inversion. There was no explicit hierarchical relation between Venetians-Skyrians in Venice, but a more ephemeral relation of host-guest, which, nonetheless, must be placed in the context of an international spectacle within the broader backdrop of the European and global political milieu.

Through the invitation to the Venetian international forum, an implicit framework of carnival as folk exhibition was established. Hence, the immediate tailoring of the carnival song repertoire: cheerful songs were substituted instead of sombre songs. Since any spontaneity was ruled out, the *Frangos* and absurd masqueraders were excluded from this re-enactment. The absurd, impromptu humour of the *Frangi* and masqueraders must have a context to define its meaning, a background of normality for its absurdity. This was not found in St. Mark's square. Why would a *Frangos* be comic or ridiculous to a European? Only as an imaginative afterthought did the *Frangos* prop up as part of the troupe. The *Frangos's* spontaneous slapped-on clothes are part of the Skyrian carnival experience. With this absurd, impromptu dressing up, a *Frangos* can "become" with co-revellers and accompany a *Yeros*. Given the Venice council's accentuation of artistic and courtly masquerade, the *Frangos's* mismatched clothing could only come in as a parochial

contrast. The *Frangos's* original paradoxical intelligibility as the nonsensical character of the troupe vanished in the piazza San Marco.

The Skyrian troupe was part of a carnival exhibited amongst many other nations and regions of Italy. The parallel or lineal placing of carnival in procession routes, transformed carnival from celebration into a comparative representation of nations, ethnicities and regional carnival customs. This changed the outlook and meaning of carnival for Skyrians or revellers, even though carnival can flexibly accommodate or evolve into the spectacular or processional modalities.

Generally, upon their return to Skyros, there were mixed feelings among the troupe about the display of their carnival. The group attending felt that they could not relate to the organised procession of carnival troupes in St. Mark's Square. A *Yeros* will dress and jolt into the streets at any time he feels like "becoming". To be placed in line awaiting other floats was stressful for some of the younger *Yeri*, who were impatient to "thunder the bells". It was a common feeling that the Skyrian carnival could not fit into the parade mould, but most participants thought that they had left a mark of their difference, since some spectators did engage in the Skyrian carnival experience outside the procession.

Feil's work on Venetian carnival highlights several important analytical themes that run parallel to Skyrian carnival. One important issue is the attempts of the government, Tourist Commission or various ruling parties to control carnival spaces. The example of the Christian Democrats organization and controlled spaces pivoting around St. Mark's square, (to avoid anomie), subsequently severed Venetian citizens from their own participation in and experience of carnival (see above). In the process of re-organization, differences between central and peripheral carnival space were diminished or trivialised. This pitches government or company organization against popular carnival. Thus, spontaneity is manifest predominantly in the discourse of popular carnival. The need for freedom of movement and expression detaches carnival from highly organised events. Spontaneity becomes the discursive response to centralised and controlled carnival. It is embedded in a popular counter discourse against control and hegemony, in Bakhtin's sense, as well as expressing the need for a poignant and authentic carnival experience.

Equally significant is the way that the displacing of carnival exposes vital aspects of the event, and its connection to place, such as the *agora* and the *Horio*. The ethnographic example of the Venice visit highlights, if not intensifies, salient dimensions of Skyrian carnival. By severing it from its original context (in a chronotopic shift) compatible and contesting perceptions of carnival as performance or rite become clear.

Parading Identities in Carnival Attire: Authenticity through Guise

Contemporary Venetian carnival is staged as a cultural and artistic event, a spectacle gathering and exhibiting a mosaic of living carnival cultures, alongside the elaborate and highly stylised masquerade of the Venetian court and regional Italian counterparts. Skyrian carnival could not be contained in a processional form amongst the other floats and troupes, so a re-enactment was improvised. An area in St. Mark's square was fenced off for the staging of a live folk tradition. It was insufficient to display their attire alone in a parade, therefore a performance was also needed. But, there is a running irony in this process. Skyrians paraded their identity as their alternative/masked selves. The masqueraders are represented as authentic, local, or even parochial subjects for display in an international forum. They exhibit their masks as if they are 'unmasked'. The invited masqueraders become authentic subjects of another place, albeit in carnival guise.

Carnival as Performance, Parade or Spectacle: Some Observations

What impels Skyrians to participate in carnival is to "become" and alter themselves through spontaneous masquerade and merriment (*kefi*), which provide the cultural medium for commensal revelry. The exchange of clothes, masks, jokes, and the individual desire to wear the bells is at the nexus of the individuated and collective act of becoming in Skyrian carnival. Although masquerade maintains a ceremonial façade, ultimately Skyrian carnival is more about what is going on behind the mask and in between masking and dressing.

Therefore, for Skyrians, carnival required an experience of sated inebriation and merriment (*methi* and *kefi*), as well as masquerade. It may be unclear as to why or what the Venetian organisers attempted to find and exhibit in the Skyros' folk re-

enactment. But what is evident, at least from the Skyrians perspective, is that they did not find (let alone experience) carnival in the Venice parade or St. Mark's square. This raises the question of what does carnival mean to its participants. Why does Skyrian carnival lose or alter its meaning or spirit (*psyche*) outside the context of the *agora*? What does the shift from the *agora* to St. Mark's square say about the understanding of carnival as an event or performance in general? Starting from issues of its displacement, I reconsider certain aspects of the carnival's ritual form. Is carnival performance, event or spectacle?

Carnival takes on diverse forms, such as staged performance, parade or spectacle. These forms reflect varying conceptual implications, but all precipitate degrees of viewing, display and happenings. I begin with symbolist and performative aspects of carnival, drawing upon the work of Turner (1990); Schechner (1986, 1988); and Schechner and Appel (1990).¹⁶⁴ The Venice visit highlights issues of carnival as performance, but I emphasise the need to refocus on subjective experiences that are made meaningful to carnival participants and constitute social action. Finally, I return to subjective implications of what it means 'to carnival', via a metaphoric and interpretive look at Skyrian carnival. A pivotal point in understanding carnival experience is the role of audience/participants; they are the subjects and mediators of carnival performance. Ultimately, they are revellers who, for whatever reasons, personal, social or ritual, come together "to become". The cultural intonations and constructions of meaningful action in Skyrian carnival coil around this central trope.

Carnival is located in the ritual realm and, in the Turnerian sense, under a broader spectrum of social drama and performance. On a contrasting note, DaMatta's work compares carnival, military parades (namely of Independence Day) and religious processions as three fundamental *distinct* forms by which the Brazilian world is ritualised and reflects social structure (1991:26). Carnival expresses the "limit-point" of informality, while parade expresses the "limit-point" of formality (ibid.: 32). The parade takes place during the day and belongs to constituted authorities, while carnival takes place at night, bringing together all groups of people (ibid.: 35-37).

¹⁶⁴ The authors forwarded an insightful analytical experiment between anthropological and theatrical thought, especially in relation to performance (Turner 1990; Schechner 1988; Schechner and Appel 1990).

On the other hand, religious processions incorporate both parade and carnival elements. The centre of the procession is formed by those carrying the saint, which consists of members of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, thus expressing formal hierarchy. However, this hierarchical nucleus is surrounded by a disorderly non-hierarchical crowd of all social types; like carnival, it unites all people, the healthy, the ill, the authorities *and* the people (ibid.: 44).

DaMatta isolates crucial relationships that underpin parade, carnival and religious processions. He states that the "basic mechanism" (not necessarily in a functionalist sense) of carnival is *inversion*; of the military parade, *reinforcement*; and of the religious procession, *neutralization* (1991:49). These three rites are *discourses*, symbolic and expressive of positions of social structure (ibid.: 49). Even more significant is the way in which power becomes symbolically mediated in these distinct ritual moments. In the military parade, the marching soldiers become the symbols of power that mediate between the authorities and the common people. In the religious procession, the authorities carrying the saint's image mediate between the saint and the people, while in carnival, both the people and authorities witness the costumed people who incarnate the authorities symbolic power, parading as part of a "resplendent royalty" (ibid.: 44-45).

Skyrian carnival unevenly and erratically incorporates features of the ritual forms detailed by DaMatta. The uniformity of costume and steps in the ascent of *Yeri* to the monastery, the centring of the boat as central (but non sacred) object in the *Trata*, are some aspects of the form of parade and procession, which simultaneously can become a parody of this ritual form, that is, its carnivalization. The *Trata* procession ends as carnival; the procession of *Yeri* emerges from general revelry in the main street. Skyrian carnival is heterogeneous in the way that distinct ritual forms of procession and parade become subsumed into a carnival arena of popular, spontaneous merry-making.

For Schechner and Appel performance is an inclusive term, embracing play, game, sports, rites, ceremonies and theatre (1990:3), a line followed by Turner

(1990).¹⁶⁵ Carnival may be placed under the general notion of performative ritual. Although performance varies from genre to genre, culture to culture, Schechner and Appel outline general principles of performance (1990:4-6). I develop a few that are pertinent to my analysis of Skyrian carnival.

One of Schechner's and Appel's general principles refers to the *performance sequence* as a whole (1990:4-5). Western scholars pay attention to the show, rather than the training rehearsal and to ritual frames just before and after the performance. Performance includes several stages: training, rehearsal/workshop, warm up, the performance, cool down, aftermath. This differs in different cultures; for example, Noh drama in Japan is codified traditional performance that demands extensive training but little rehearsal (*ibid.*: 5).

Training to perform in Skyrian carnival resides in the young *Yeri's* mimesis of steps and gestures, a life-long process that is part of their habitus (see chapter 2). Young masqueraders rehearse as they revel; they are not segregated in training. Turner's principle significantly extends the parameters of performance by incorporating training. Furthermore, this emphasises the nuances of the culturally specific pedagogy of ritual and performance.

Another important feature for understanding performative elements of carnival is audience-performer interaction. Schechner and Appel details the way in which the audience provides a context for performance (1990:4). For instance, when a performance is on tour, a new place provides a new audience and the performance changes. There are also imported audiences or tourists. The reception of a performance depends on how much the audience knows about what is going on, therefore in a particular performance such as Noh drama, a connoisseur audience is sought out (*ibid.*: 4).

Audience behaviour varies, from full participation to stage separation. Schechner and Appel site the interrelation of audience and performers, implicating of a

¹⁶⁵ For Turner, the revelatory nature of performance is a key to cultural understanding: "the anthropology of performance is an essential part of the anthropology of experience. In a sense, every type of cultural performance including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre, and poetry, is explanation and explication of life itself" (1982b:13). Drawing on Dilthey he suggests that "through the performance process itself, what is normally sealed up, inaccessible to everyday observation and reasoning, in the depth of sociocultural life, is drawn forth" (1982b:13). The "meaning" of an event is drawn out by those experiencing it or "cries out for penetrative imaginative understanding (*Verstehen*)" (*ibid.*: 13).

performative separation between audience and actors, yet quite correctly raise the question, "and what of genres that mix participation with observation?" (ibid.: 4). Generally, audience members can participate or mingle, but cannot exclusively become a performer. However, in Skyrian carnival, a spectator can become a main stage performer and a performer a spectator. At any given time, a spectator can run home put on the bells or slap on a costume and resume centre stage, or take off their costume and within minutes re-appear as an enthusiastic member of the audience. This latter transition is important, since performers are usually excluded from being spectators or participants of their own events. In Skyrian carnival, this is done in a haphazard way, and at times, repeatedly throughout the same night. The audience is transient, so are the performers. In the parade of the floats in the carnivals of Patras or Xanthi,¹⁶⁶ for example, there is a distinct degree of separation of performers from spectators. The performers remain on or around their floats, with freelance clowns and masqueraders rotating as part of the procession, who mingle or interact with the audience, but only become part of it in jest (e.g., a clown may pull out and watch the floats with arms crossed or keel over with laughter pretending to be a spectator). Although revellers can join the fun, or run into the parade, they are not part of the carnival procession. Bakhtin states that although carnival images closely resemble spectacle:

carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlights would destroy a carnival, as the absence of footlights a theatrical performance. Carnival is not a spectacle seen by people; they live in it. (1965:7)

To take this one step further, the spectators of Skyrian carnival are both centre stage performers *and* constitute a connoisseur audience. Anyone is potentially an expert performer and judge at the same time. At any given time, anyone can become both spectator and performer of equal proportions in the same event. The spectator/performance line is often broken as audience and participants blur. At any instant, the spectator next to you may become a masquerader in the *agora*, or a

¹⁶⁶ I particularly draw upon my experience of the Xanthi (Thrace) carnival in the 1970s during my High School years. It greatly differed to the village where my family and I lived, few kilometres out of Xanthi, where carnival was celebrated with mumming and masquerade. My knowledge of the Patra procession is from the recurrent media screenings, carnival chroniclers and descriptions by friends.

masquerader can come out of costume, and move into the crowd to watch. Only on the last Grand Carnival weekend, with the massive influx of tourists and visitors when the population of the island increases dramatically, is there a more constant and visible line of spectators and performers. Yet for Skyrians or fervent revellers, there is never a clear demarcation of audience and participant.

Generally, Skyrian carnival incorporates both spectacle (in a fluid sense), that is, the *Yeri's* troupe and the unrehearsed comic skits form an anarchic parade of floats. It is a parade that is also open for tourist consumption but not dependent on it.¹⁶⁷ During the early weeks of celebrations, a small number of spectators gather in the *agora*, however, sometimes there are no spectators. Even so, many *Yeri*, *Koreles* and *Frangi* pace the main street — performers with no audience. Yet, the absence of spectators does not diminish the sense of a celebratory procession.

Skyrian carnival can be viewed and lived. It is both a spectacle, as it requires stylised performers, and has an audience. Although there are no floats or systematically organised comic themes, the *Yeros's* troupes amongst other things, establish a kind of parade and gather an audience. But Skyrian carnival can happen with or without an audience, a lone *Yeros* or *Frangos* roaming the street is still considered carnival. In addition, unlike parades in which the audience congregates first and then the performance begins, in Skyrian carnival the bells announce its beginning, then the audience begins to gather. The intensity and mass of the carnival procession depends on the amount of performers, the more *Yeri*, the larger the audience drawn in to watch.

Carnival can also be specifically tailored for international events, or sectioned into smaller dispatches for display, such as the case where a sole *Yeros* was sent to the Museum of Folk Art in Athens. Any new performance that springs up can easily be accommodated, as for example, the Donkey-Gathering. Skyrian carnival can potentially become spectacle, as in the *Trata* satirical performance, or through the proliferation of masqueraders and *Yeri* that gather a large audience, or a large pre-arranged group can transform into a procession in the *agora*. Sections of carnival can

¹⁶⁷ As in the case of gale wind conditions when the ferry cannot transport any one to the island. These adverse weather conditions can last for days, substantially reducing the amount of people coming to view the celebrations.

become temporary performance, as in the case of some semi-rehearsed comic skits, which take on a life of their own. As carnival, it is open and susceptible to everything around. It is an alchemy of celebratory form, including ritual, spectacle, performance and Bacchic revelry.

Performance Space and the Carnival Stage

According to Schechner, performative space — the 'where' of theatre, sports and ritual performance, such as arenas, stadiums, stages, and theatres — are often non-self-supporting structures left unused over prolonged periods (1988:11). They provide an occasional rather than permanent base for viewing events (ibid.: 11). These spaces are uniquely organised so that groups of people can watch and be aware of themselves at the same time, and foster celebratory feelings (ibid.: 13).

However, any general or set notion of performative space for viewers-spectators can be problematic, especially in the case of Skyrian carnival. Space is created through the process of the carnival; it fluctuates, expands and diminishes. In Skyrian carnival, this performative space can be a stretch of the main street ascending to the peak of St. George, the square or side streets, or the home. In many cases, Skyrian carnival sets a stage that can be partly seen, or in cases not at all, as for instance, inside homes. Yet, this does not diminish the importance of these spaces as a carnival stage.

Skyrian carnival happens in the street, the square, taverns and in the home. It is the process of carnival that defines its inner and outer spatial parameters. These spaces alternate in public and private domains,¹⁶⁸ as well as in different *loci* along the main street, depending on different times during the three-week festive period. In Skyrian carnival, there is a fluid troupe, mobile stage and transient audience.

The Horio — Venice

The *agora* is Skyrian's carnival main stage and is the central vein of commercial transactions and social commensality (see chapter 1). During the celebratory period,

¹⁶⁸ I use private and public domains as terms in an oppositional sense, although as I have noted in chapter 1, these are not exclusive realms. What constitutes the private (inner) public (outer) world may also be problematic.

the *agora* is literally brimming with people and becomes the main artery of carnival. In Venice, it was a significant fact that Skyrian revellers' hotels were a fair distance from the city centre. This distance did not create significant intimate carnival places, such as the front room of homes during dressing and changing, an important social feature of Skyrian carnival masquerade. These liminal spaces of the homes provide a vital link to the outside world; they are openings to the side streets, and subsequently onto the main street of the *agora*. These sites act like capillaries, annexed to the main arterial spaces where carnival draws and feeds its sustenance. It is in these continual movements; in and out of the home-*agora*; in and out of masquerade, inebriation (*methi*) and merriment (*kefi*), that the manic ebb and flow of carnival is sustained.

The importance of Skyrian carnival space parallels and contrasts with that of Venice. In both cases, a particular cultural geography emerges from a history and the mythologizing of place. Feil states that Venice has changed little since the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁹ Key locations like the plazas, streets and quays of Venice remain a living geography of the past. "The power of place vitalises and imbues Venetian activities with its own patina of historicity" (ibid.: 159). Every event in the present is simultaneously located in the past, and there are even those who intentionally refute the present. For Venetians, the past is a resource readily accessed and used (ibid.: 160). Both myth and history continue to be tied to a 'lived reality', influencing the present world and collective identity. Symbolic recollections of a past Venetian community are exposed and maintained through myth and history (ibid.: 160).

The *Horio* parallels the mythic-historic significance of Venice, but from a very different trajectory. The intensity of the *Horio's* space becomes identified as intimate place through historical resonance and the contemporary value of the *Horio*, its *Kastro* and monastery. The *Horio* epitomizes the island socially and culturally. Earlier, I have detailed the importance of the ascent to the monastery as an *ex voto* offering to the island's patron saint, the significance of the *agora* as social space, the town square in

¹⁶⁹ To exemplify this point, Feil states that a wood map of 1500 is still sufficient to orientate oneself around the city (1998:158-9). Also any attempts at architectural restoration have incited heated debate. "Venice, 'isolated' in a lagoon, avoided the turbulence of many other parts of Italy during the middle centuries of this millennium, but at the same time, became a crystallised structure, a captive prisoner of its own past" (ibid.: 159).

the island's recent political history, which is especially taken on by the satirical performers of the *Trata* (see chapter 1). Skyrian carnival is integrally linked to its place, the township and the *agora*. This importance of the place of carnival is highlighted by its displacement in any staged performance. It also indicates that carnival or any public ritual does not dwell alone on meaningful aspects of a culture's symbolic and cosmological systems, but is well engraved in the specific geographic site and associated socio-political history. There is a connection of event and place; the interaction of the two is not static, but draws meaning from its place of genesis and reproduction. Meaning is drawn from the place and not just the ritual event. In other words, there is a grounding of ritual within social place. This is an implicit critique of ritual performance as having its own meaning sphere per se.

Finally, I dwell on one of the main features of performance for Schechner and Appel, namely the transformation of being and/or consciousness, either a permanent change, as in initiation rites, or temporary, as in theatre (1990:4).¹⁷⁰ Ethnographically, this principle of performance better conveys salient dimensions of selfhood, as expressed in ritual practices. The transformations of revellers may be temporary, but the culturally specific way of viewing "coming into being" in Skyrian carnival ripples into poignant arenas of social self and consciousness.

During the Venice visit, the experience of carnival for Skyrians (and quite likely Venetians) peaked away from centre stage. These impulsive moments of revelry were as critically important as the main performances assembled in allocated venues. Focusing on spectacle and performance may limit accessibility to the subjective meaning of the carnival experience. In Skyros, these understandings are elicited from metaphors and tropes surrounding the hermeneutics of becoming.

Skyrian carnival is a uniquely indigenous and historically precedented folk celebration. It is intimately linked and identified with the place of Skyros and the local's impassioned anticipation of and participation in their carnival. Skyrian carnival encapsulates dynamic folk or popular cultural practices, and at the same time fits

¹⁷⁰ In a similar vein, Kapferer discusses the significance of Turner's re-orientation of ritual analysis beyond Van Gennep into a "more philosophical meaning of becoming", focusing on ritual as a process that can yield and transform the very ground of being (2004:38). Turner saw ritual as "the generative source of the invention of new cosmological and other cultural categories within which original constructs of persons and their relations might be created" (Kapferer 2004: 38).

adorned with what carnival draws into its path. Whether it is performance, spectacle, or a seasonal *rite de passage*, Skyrian carnival is a hybrid form with folk motifs that retain their autochthonous vitality — and just by being carnival, everything is possible.

CHAPTER 7

CARNIVAL'S END: REVELLING INTO LENT

The Return

Shortly after participating in the Venice event, the carnival troupe returned to Skyros and in the following days participated in their carnival (some with much fervour). The journey to Venice was, in a way, a journey through a particular understanding of their own carnival experience. Skyrian carnival was extracted, tailored and re-arranged — chronologically (see Appendix 1: Timeline) and in content/form — and subsequently integrated into a new celebratory forum.

The homecoming was also accompanied by intense debate and comparisons, and a heightened awareness of the festive features — some of which were previously taken for granted, as for instance, the *Yeros's* need for a particular space. In addition, this almost revelatory displacing of the event accentuated the two different worlds of carnival, and at times, their irreconcilable differences. Skyrians returned to the *Horio* and continued to revel, fragmenting and reconstituting their bodies, self and mind, without imposed procession orders. The return to Skyros was at the same time a return to a place imbued with their social history; to the (paradoxical) religiosity of the ascent and vow to the monastery, and to their ritually and religiously allocated days for carnival. In other words, a return to a culturally evocative topography and time that sustained a meaningful frame for belief and action.

St. Theodoro's Day: Carnival in Lent

After carnival, the week following Clean Monday, all had quietened in the *Horio*: the bells, the dancing and singing had stopped. Equally striking was the silence and emptiness that replaced the brimming *agora*, square and streets. It felt as though the sober period of Lent and fasting had actually started.

The first Saturday after Grand Carnival was St. Theodoro's day, which is also the last of three All Souls Day (*Psihosavato*, see chapter 2). I was told that on this day, Skyrians customarily dressed as *Yeri*, wore the bells and returned to the *agora*. Some older Skyrians pointed out that in the years gone by, those who used to dress

on St. Theodoro's day were the poor or anyone who had no access to the bells and costume. It was a chance for the socially disadvantaged or people marginalized from the network of exchange of carnival goods to wear the bells and participate in carnival.

In 1995, and after many years of the custom's cessation, a group of *Yeri* rekindled carnival.¹⁷¹ However, the *Yeri* who dressed on this St. Theodoro's day did not belong to a marginal social group. On the contrary, among them were select *Yeri*, several of whom (if not most) had dressed during the carnival period, one had participated in the Venice event, and quite a few owned the entire outfit. In the past decades, there was a wide gap between the more affluent shepherding families and farmers who could not afford to buy carnival attire. In one case, I was told that a farmer worked in the vineyards owned by a shepherd for a few days just to borrow some bells for the *Yeros's* outfit. I suggest that this change parallels the socio-economic transformations that have taken place in Skyros (see chapter 1).¹⁷² Today, most Skyrians, own, purchase or can access the garments.

Early on St. Theodoro's day, younger *Yeri* and *Frangi*, mainly school age children, appeared sporadically in the main street. The older *Yeri* emerged after 8 pm. They swept into an empty *agora*, and then entered a tavern where they were eagerly greeted by tables of singing and dining Skyrians. For a brief instant within Lent, the *Horio*, *agora* and side streets returned to its carnivalesque boisterousness. Although carnival returned for a brief one day, the intensity of the celebration was magnified by the lulled background of a now emptied (of visitors and tourists) and 'sober' *Horio* of Lent.

In addition to Skyrians, another person, a visitor, also decided to dress. He was from the Belgian sister city exchange group who were hosted by the council throughout the carnival period. Skyrians dressed him very late at night, shouted him drinks and took him to taverns where he sang Belgian songs in response to Skyrian carnival songs, antiphonally rejoining verses and continuing to revel in the celebratory

¹⁷¹ During my preliminary fieldwork in 1992, no one dressed up, but on that day many references were made about how carnival was celebrated on St. Theodoro's day in the past.

¹⁷² Due to limited sources on the exact nature and social range of those participating in old carnival, I cannot sufficiently develop the issue, although it is a significant indication of social relations and exchange networks in and beyond the ritual sphere.

aftermath. He then paraded through the main street of the *agora*, accompanied by a few friends and the Skyrians who dressed him.

Yeri dressed again in the following year, in the 1996 carnival. The custom was revived; Skyrians revelled into Lent. Since 1995, carnival on St. Theodoro's day is sporadically celebrated with no consistent pattern, nor is it certain that every year someone will revel. It is difficult (but tempting) to draw any conclusions on whether the visit to Venice incited a forum for the rekindling of past customs, or to pinpoint why Skyrians re-ignited this celebration at this particular time. Again, most participants affirmed that their actions were based on a spontaneous decision made by individuals or groups. Nevertheless, what is significant is that the ritually allocated time for carnival in the Skyrian customary calendar remains steadfast. It can be recalled and reclaimed, in a different context, even if it remains dormant for decades.

Breaking the ecclesiastical calendar of Lent is also intriguing from a socio-political point of view.¹⁷³ Power is symbolically re-appropriated by the allocation of St. Theodoro's day as a special time and space that cuts into, and becomes welded into the Lenten cycle. The chronological dichotomy between carnival/Lent was imposed upon religious celebrations associated with paganism and popular beliefs, which subsequently transferred folk religious practices into a Christian time frame.¹⁷⁴ The ecclesiastical calendar has been historically monitored and kept under the aegis of the Greek Orthodox Church.¹⁷⁵ However, on St. Theodoro's day, although the Lenten fasting period is 'violated', there is no implication of idolatry or irreverence. As in the case of the *Yeri* and their ascent to the monastery, it is a rather joyous fusion of revelry and sombre respect rather than an open confrontation with Christian Orthodoxy. I suggest that there may also be an indication of symbolic resistance to the monastery, based on the history of land ownership and social relations on the island (see chapter 1), but it would be difficult to adequately account for such a

¹⁷³ In an earlier work, I presented initial considerations on how calendars and celebrations are of importance in the establishment of church and state power, as well as focusing symbolic aspects of hegemonic relations between church and popular celebrations (Amanatidis 1990, see chapter 5).

¹⁷⁴ The folklorist Tsotakou-Karaveli states that church leaders, seeing that they could not detach Christians from idolatrous customs inherited from antiquity, gathered all the customs celebrated during the end of winter and beginning of spring, into the three weeks of carnival (1985:38).

¹⁷⁵ The need for church unity and control prompted a revision of the calendar and the removal of conflict between religious and civil calendars, and the stabilization of Easter (Amanatidis 1990:45-46; see also Chrysostomos (1935:175) and Germanos (1933:128).

position. What is of importance is the ritual appropriation of a specifically Christian time to celebrate carnival.

St. Theodoro's Day

On the eve of St. Theodoro's day, women go to his chapel, clean and prepare it for the liturgy and decorate it with flowers. Customarily, the saint was called upon by young women to find or reveal their matrimonial match and fortune. About three decades ago, the fête evolved into a major celebration organised by and associated with women.¹⁷⁶ In 1995, it started early in the morning, and continued all night with women drinking wine, and singing obscene and satirical verses of songs (e.g., *Yiannare*). The men who dared to enter the room of revelling women were beaten in a mock battle and thrown out.

This ritual dominance and symbolic inversion of gender power seems to have a proximity with women's bacchic festivities and is somehow associated with the carnivalesque. However, there is no obvious connection of St. Theodoro's fête to carnival (it is held at some distance from the *Horio*), apart from being a site where women (especially in the past) could exclusively hold their own celebrations. Nevertheless, the fête holds an interesting place in the overall extension of revelry. It is noteworthy that although the fête of the saint started with fasting food (being the first week of Lent), it slowly evolved into a large celebration akin to major fêtes where meat and rice are cooked for the devotees (much to the initial disapproval of the priest, who later conceded).¹⁷⁷ There is a particular weaving of the symbolic gender reversals under the auspices of a patron saint, which traverses a pagan/Christian line, as a popular women's festival becomes another platform for the carnivalesque. The marked significance of St. Theodoro's day is not vested in the infringement of carnival alone. It is an example of how popular/laic tradition is still active in the way it

¹⁷⁶ One of the originators and subsequent organizers of the fête was Anna Trahana. She decided to have a liturgy in honour of the saint at his abandoned chapel (the owners had left to Athens), around the 1970s. As she stated, "I took devotional bread ... and a priest for the service ... and some Lenten appetizers. Such a great celebration took place! We have established it now ... Around the first decade it was only women, later men and families came ..." (personal communication, 24-8-04, Skyros).

¹⁷⁷ As Anna Trahana modestly added, "we established it, we gave him [the priest] fasting food and we ate the meat" (personal communication, 24-8-04, Skyros).

acquires and reshapes time-spaces to accommodate its own expression of beliefs and practices.

Furthermore, the paradoxical juxtaposition of two (seemingly incongruent) world-views can reveal indices of cosmology at critical turning points: the twist of sacred to irreverent, the move of revelry into Lent, and so on. Practices embodied in, and instituted on a duality invoke Bourdieu's concept of habitus in terms of oxymorons, that is, spontaneous dispositions, regulated improvisation, and so on (as cited in Csordas 1994:278). For Bourdieu, there is a difference between the oxymoron and contradiction; to coincide the two terms would be to "misrecognize that one of the dualities challenged in the notion of habitus is that between the conscious and unconscious" (1987:20-23 as cited in Csordas, *ibid.*: 279). This line of thought inevitably leads to questions of reflexivity and consciousness. However, at this point, it may suffice to apprehend the ethnographically 'telling' instances of such celebratory practices as meaningful play (and (un)conscious reflexivity) on diverse belief systems.

It is on this point, on the crevice/rupture of systems of thought and practices brought out by paradoxes — the precarious co-existence of hegemonic and popular time frames; the fusion of instances of sacred and profane; of carnival within Lent (as in St. Theodoro's day, etc.,) — that I again bring forth issues of self and "coming into being" with inherent implications on the nature of consciousness and selfhood.

Analytically, I have examined bodily transformations, partial or total, and the simultaneous criss-crossing of boundaries of identification, such as social, local, gender, age, occupational, human-animal and so on; sensual exaggeration and ecstatic mood; the merging of participants/reveller and spectators/audience; the alchemy of celebratory forms (procession, spontaneous revelry); the subjugation of dichotomous juxtapositions into a fluidity of experience — all of which lead to a particular ontological questioning of self within and through experience.

Subsequently, I reconsider Skyrian carnival ending from where I started, with an interpretive inclination — to tell of a story told, an ethnographic effort at an interpretation of cultural meaning and practices.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study, my aim has been to present an ethnographic interpretation of an Aegean island culture that privileges carnival as a centrally engaging rite in social life, one that encompasses manifold symbolic expressions and identifications of self. In the analysis of carnival itself, I have explored ritualised and non-ritualised facets of the celebration as articulated within the ritual process and every day practices, in order to gain a nuanced understanding of cultural meaning embedded in such practices.

A theoretical vehicle employed to discern meaning has been the notion of tropes and metaphoric discourse. Initially, I drew upon Fernandez's notion of metaphor and tropes as one of the many "strategies of capture"¹⁷⁸ of consciousness and cultural meaning. Analysis of metaphoric discourse enables a particular reading and interpretation of indigenous concepts as they unfold in ritual practice and shape social action. Despite this seemingly adherence to a symbolist line, I maintain that such an approach may overcome the theoretical insurmountability of semiotics and phenomenology (as indicated by Csordas (1994:282) see below). Therefore, I have put forward an analytical welding of lived experience and symbolic discourse, as it emerges from varying instances of ethnographic interpretation, giving primacy to cultural practices that direct the flow and development of themes. The unfolding of the events, their recording and subsequent retrieval as part of an ethnographic depiction on the one hand, and instigator of anthropological theorising on the other, creates one of manifold and complex visions and versions of social reality.

Furthermore, I have primarily explored metaphor in the context of its generation, that is, in relation to discursive and social practices. At an initial level, I have focused on tropes as they emerged from indigenous metaphoric discourse, subjective perceptions and explanations interwoven within social action and interaction. At another level, I have examined tropes in relation to other domains of meaning and practices (as in the notion of merriment and inebriation (*kefi, methi*), chapter 5). Subsequently, I extracted metaphors from this generative context and

¹⁷⁸ Cohen & Rapport (1995:7) use this phrase to describe the discussions of consciousness in their book, highlighting Fernandez' (1996) contribution to an analytical understanding of metaphor.

began an analysis of related issues of selfhood within broader anthropological frames of meaning and social action (drawing on Csordas, Mead). In so doing, I have tried to avoid the reductionist tendency of symbolic theory that expounds the extraction of metaphor “by focusing on their minimal elements (or individual tropes) abstracting them from their pragmatic contexts of social use”, as Terence Turner suggests (1991:122) (see chapter 1). From this particular ethnographic endeavour emerged a series of questions that were not, strictly speaking ‘cosmological’ as one would anticipate in such a ritual context, but also ontological, rotating around questions of self and becoming, thereby merging ethnography and theoretical analysis.

Overall, my main objective has been to focus on the *cultural dynamics* at work in the island community of Skyros, at a specific instance in time (namely that of my stay in the field and subsequent returns) surrounding a seminal ritual event.

The trope of the antiphon — as explored in the poetic and satirical interplay during the Trata celebration (chapter 3) — is probably the most exemplary metaphor highlighting cultural dialectics. Skyrian satire emerges from a popular oral tradition that underlies the responsive nature of cultural production. Concentrating on the soundscape of carnival, I have examined how Skyrians culturally construct ‘noise’ as meaningful voice and interaction, drawing particular attention to the satirical verses relating to the local government elections, which were recited during two separate performances. The antiphonal response embedded in the Skyrian discursive repertoire created not only new comic dialogue, but also an entirely new performance. Beyond Skyrian carnival, antiphonal forms can be seen as instigating active and innovative involvement in the recreation of meaningful frameworks of interaction.

In addition to the use of metaphor, is the underlying phenomenological centrality of lived experience, a direction in ritual taken by Kapferer (1979, 1991, 1995) and Csordas (1994) (albeit in diverse ways). I consider such an approach as methodologically apt for ascertaining lived reality in ethnographic research, particularly in relation to ritual and the multiple micro-forms of social activities and meanings it entails. Less visible features of carnival — often remote from public or well-trodden spaces — were revealed, such as the symbolic processes of dressing and “becoming together” on Clean Monday, and the way they constitute social relatedness and invoke cultural memory (chapter 4). Such a perspective also recognizes the fluidity of notions

of folk dress and tradition, avoiding static cultural models. Similarly, during the Skyrian troupe's visit to Venice (chapter 6), marginal activities came to the forefront, especially through the processes of self-filming. Here the participants' subjective experience took priority, revealing a particular discourse and perception of Skyrian's involvement in Venetian carnival, along with comparative appraisals of their local celebration.

In general, the insistence on the immediacy of experience allows one to see the dynamics of ritual performance more fruitfully. Therefore, there is a need to move from structural perspectives that expound rites of reversal within an unchanging social equilibrium. I also critique the persistence on symbolic or semiotic readings of action as texts, which deprives cultural phenomena of their inner dynamics. In many instances, every carnival performance in Skyros can be viewed as a new performance, bringing with it new meaning and experiences.

Deviating from structural models, Bakhtin's work has highlighted the regenerative aspects of popular carnival in Medieval Europe. In accordance with his perspective, the liberational and reconstitutive aspects of carnival offer another dimension of understanding the social dynamics involved, one centred round the subjugated strata in their struggle with ecclesiastical hierarchies. In Skyros, this aspect of the carnivalesque can be better apprehended in instances such as the symbolic contra-position of the *Yeri* and the monastery in their ascent to St. George (chapter 2), or the laic encroachment of ecclesiastical/Lenten time frames, as in the case of St. Theodoro's celebration (chapter 7), without necessarily establishing a structural opposition between people and church.

In relation to Victor Turner's and Schechner's work (chapter 6), the insistence on experiential workings of carnival has revealed a complex alchemy of performative practices and forms. In particular, the notion of performative space is critically evaluated through ethnography. The fickle role and position of spectators/actors during carnival often breaks any sense of procession or parade, expanding notions of the nature and form of performance. In addition, the space/stage of Skyrian carnival is historically and culturally loaded, which leads to an integral weaving of the ritual event with its social place.

However, it is the transformation of being or consciousness, which Schechner and Appel (1990:4) consider as a main feature of performance, that becomes a pivotal point for a return to subjective meaning and experience in Skyrian carnival. Generally, concepts of self are analytically involved, with wide ranging sociological, psychological and psychoanalytical implications. The theoretical overlapping and inter-relation of varying notions makes it difficult to discern and isolate any specific model. Nonetheless, I have outlined a sense of self that ethnographically emerges from indigenous discourse and practices, predicated on Mead's assumption of the social construction of self.

In Skyrian carnival, the focus on self, mood and mind emanates from the immediacy of ritual experience (although the significance of the themes of embodiment and reflexivity are implicated). In the discourse surrounding ritual participation, but particularly within social practices, any integrated sense of body diminishes into transient states of self through fluid processes of becoming. I have put forward an ethnographic portrayal of the event that parallels the unfolding of theoretical issues at indexical points where bodies and minds are displayed, adorned, altered, ruined and reconstituted. Having unpacked metaphors of masking in relation to features of the face, and thereby locating key social identifications of a person, I then moved to examine overlapping themes of dressing and becoming (chapter 5). The central trope of Skyrian carnival, "coming into being" was explored in relation to bodily transformation and altered states of mind and mood within the ritual process. I also focused on how these were encapsulated into other spheres of social action and meaning. Notions of merriment (*kefi*) and inebriation (*methi*) were intertwined within senses of commensal song, celebration, ecstatic self and forms of becoming. The ontological antithesis of "ruining" is also annexed to symbolic processes of becoming and dismantling. Ultimately, this analysis raises theoretical issues of selfhood and self processes emanating from ritual practices and metaphors of transformation.

This line of analysis also alludes to questions on carnival and ritual's agility to inverse, fragment, disfigure, re-unite, and then again re-dismantle any unified sense of personhood, role or border. Carnival metamorphosis is not only about what one is or is not, but also what one can (absurdly) be; it epitomizes processes of becoming and unbecoming. The study of carnival does not necessarily provide any answer to

the nature of being and becoming, but poses — if not provokes it — by its very practice.

My emphasis throughout the study has been to portray processes of becoming within the experiential realm, with analytical questions emerging from particular ethnographic instances. Such an approach revokes any singular model, but may entail certain limitations of a micro study, which has a tendency to privilege the subjective and isolate the 'local' from its wider context (see chapter 1). Therefore, I have placed Skyros within a broader framework to highlight the socio-economic and historical background of this Aegean island community in its contemporary milieu, yet ethnographically prioritising its own right of *place*, by illuminating the way it stands *as part of* and simultaneously *apart* from the rest of the world (chapter 1).

Csordas states, that his study on the sacred self is not a "microanalytical" or a subjective approach as opposed to objective or macro studies, but methodologically begins "in concrete immediacy rather than in abstract structure" (1994:282). This is a method for making constructed dualities problematic. Csordas maintains that the opposition between semiotics and phenomenology is misleading, and argues for the immediacy of embodiment as a starting point because "it is easier to abstract from experience that to arrive at experience from abstraction" (ibid.: 283).

Subsequently, it is from this "starting point" that I conclude by returning the last (or lasting) words to Skyrians as they lived, assessed and reflected upon their carnival. For I believe that it is essential to reveal the importance of practices that are held to be not only of significance for anthropological inquiry, but also important in Skyrians' own cosmological and ritual realm: carnival is a generative and regenerative part of their cultural world.

Carnival's Epilogue

On the Saturday night of St. Theodoro's day, the festivities had dwindled, a large group of young Skyrians and I were sitting in a coffee shop, drinking, conversing, and naturally the theme of carnival was raised. The conversation was incited by passing judgments on the *Yeri* who dressed on St. Theodoro's day. Appraisals started on the theme of their style and gesture (*tsalimi*) and the conversation led to an overall evaluation of the carnival.

- Kali: They have degraded this.
Kosti: *Yeri* are now young kids, *manges* (cool dudes). They dress after eleven at night for bars and shots of drink. Some oldies would say: “[Hey] where are you going?”
Kali: Yes *mangia!*
George: They don’t respect anyone.
Kali: I haven’t seen one good *Yeros*, they have no style or gesture (*tsalimi*). They are badly dressed.
Kosti: I have become a *Yeros* for fifteen years now. I felt it. After you lose your endurance you can’t see anything. Your soul (*psihe*) takes you ...
Kosti: They [young *Yeri*] must learn the right way.
Kosti&George: They lift their masks in the *agora*. Hey! Where are you going?! Another one smokes, [another] rests after half an hour
Kosti: In one incident with a *troka* (collision of bells) with a young one, instead of saying “best wishes and to next year” ... I tried to advise him on the good manners of the *Yeros*.
Kali: And what about those six who went into the pub for a drink! ...
Kosti: Anyway, for me it doesn’t matter — as long as I become ...

The general feeling was that there were many changes in the celebration (and not always for the better), but ultimately the desire for *Yeri* and carnival remains, so people can dress and become. Kosti proclaims and maintains a very noble and honourable character of the *Yeri*, and their pedagogical role. *Yeri* persist as a symbol of strength, guidance and empowerment of mind and body. No matter how much carnival changes its meaning, it is the dressing — the “becoming” — that is of importance. So what may surface from this conversation is a glimpse of the seeds of carnival’s reproduction. Becoming and ruining create a particular cultural impetus for ritual reproduction. It is expressed through metaphor, emotion and practice, but can be apprehended as Bakhtinian regenerative framework, as potential and ongoing renewal taking on diverse meaning.

Skyrian carnival transcends the socio-political particularities of its history, and the deep-seated changes to its socio-economic structure. Over a hundred years (at least), this annual fervour has brought out Skyrians and visitors alike, inverting and transforming their appearance, mood and relations. Carnival is an intense forum of cultural meaning in social action, exaggerating, assembling and disassembling the body and mind. In this ritual context, the self is elusive as it becomes manifest in many forms (a kind of protean self) symbolically and experientially shifting frames of meaning of the body as being, as it moves through states of becoming.

Kosti's words also take me back to the early stages of my stay in Skyros, to the unceasing emotive discussions and stories of carnival, when I first started to unpack the colourful cultural parcel of masquerade to find why it holds such importance to Skyrians. Kosti's words disclose Skyrian carnival. You must understand the spirit (*psihe*) for it is that which "takes you" (*se pai*). It is this "psyche" that leads you through the blindness from ecstasy and empowers your weakened body. It requires respect and is honourable. Becoming and revelling comes in so many ways, some desirable, some not. It is frenzy, it is riotousness — in its many faces, sounds and moves people ruin and become. Kosti's words are the most befitting in regards to what carnival means for many revellers; it reveals how Skyrians embrace carnival, and how carnival embraces Skyrians.

GLOSSARY¹⁷⁹

adhelfikáto (pl. -a) (n)

Skyrian idiomatic term for homes inherited by daughters built around the main parental home (see Appendices 4a-4c).

afthórmito (adj)

Spontaneous, impulsive, uncontrained.

agnó (adj)

LNHL: Spiritually and morally clean, someone who is unadulterated, who retains their purity.

OGLED: Pure, chaste, clean, innocent.

[NB. The English word pure (as morally unadulterated) is semantically closer to Greek usage of *agno* rather than *katharos*].

agorá (pl. -es) (n)

CLGL-KD: A place of gathering, selling and buying, a purchase, exchange.

IGEL: An assembly of the people as opposed to the council of chiefs, the place of assembly used not only for debating, trials and other public purposes but also as a market place, like the Roman Forum. The business of the *agora*, public speaking, gift of speaking. Things sold in the *agora*, the market. A mark of time, the forenoon, when the market place was full.

ODMG: Market, buying, purchase.

agorázo (v)

IGEL: To occupy the market place, to buy in the market place, to buy, purchase.

OLPD: Buy, purchase.

Aivaliótikos skouífos (pl. -í) (n)

A black velvet hat from Aivali, a coastal town of Asia Minor worn with the *vradhika* Skyrian outfit.

alóni (n. fem.)

A Skyrian term referring to rare and antique heirloom artefacts such as bronze, glass and ceramic ware used for the internal decoration of the Skyrian home.

The *aloni* is a significant part of women's dower estate.

amalía (pl. -es) (n)

National folk garment of Greece worn by Skyrian women on Clean Monday.

anafénome (v)

CLGL-KD: Appear, present myself.

¹⁷⁹ The stress of each word is indicated by a grave accent on the vowel of the stressed syllable. Italicised words are Greek unless otherwise specified. The references and dictionaries listed at the end of the glossary have been cited, in addition to oral sources and other reference material used in the study, especially in relation to Skyrian idiomatic terms. The abbreviation of each reference is used when the meaning is drawn specifically from that source. In some entries, several dictionaries have been used to compare or briefly denote the change and trajectory of the word's meaning (e.g., IGEL: mainly classical Greek, GLRBP: Roman and Byzantine period, CLGL-KD: contains demotic Greek and *katharevousa*, ODEE: on etymology). English words are included to highlight semantic or linguistic differences from the Greek that were of analytical consequence in the ethnography. I wish to thank Dr. George Drivas for his assistance in the clarification and translation of selected items.

IGEL: Passive voice: to be shown forth, come to light or come into sight, appear.
To re appear: Active voice: to give light, to blaze up, to bring to light, show forth, display.

OLPD: Appear, emerge.

anafaní (n)

Appearance, re-appearance or sudden appearance. An idiomatic Skyrian term used to refer to the sudden appearance of the township from various points of roads or paths on entering the *Horio*.

anagnórisis (n)

OGELD: Recognition, acknowledgement.

In Skyrian carnival, *anagnorisis* refers to a gesture of recognition, a greeting made between *Yeri*.

anaparástasi (n)

OGELD: Enactment, re-enactment, reconstruction.

anástasi (n)

OLPD: resurrection, Easter.

In Skyros, succession is expressed by the transmission of the family name and first name, which is called *anastasi*. The successor symbolically resuscitates their ancestor by carrying their name and first name and inheriting their estate (Zarkia 1998:184).

antí (prep.)

IGEL (preposition with genitive) over against, opposite.

Usage: 1) Of place; instead of, in the place of; 2) as good as, equal to; 3) at the price of, for; 4) for the sake of; 5) to mark comparison, set against the other, compare with it.

In composition: 1) over against, opposite; 2) against, in opposition to; 3) in return; 4) instead; 5) equal to; 6) counter.

OLPD: Instead of, for, as. Prefix; counter-, anti-.

antiphon (n)

CMD: A psalm or prayer sung in alternate parts.

NHDM: A type of liturgical chant common to the Gregorian and other Western chant repertoires that is associated principally with antiphonal psalmody. It is generally a relatively short melody in a simple syllabic style that serves as a refrain in the singing of the verses of a psalm or canticle.

OCM 1) In the Roman Catholic Church, it is a short extract consisting of a verse of a psalm and/or other traditional passage intoned or sung during the recitation of Divine Office ... and after the psalm or canticle, which is itself responsively sung by the singers divided into two bodies. The antiphon may serve to enforce the meaning of the psalm or to introduce a Christian application of the original Jewish text. ... It is sung in complete form only at the greater feasts. The plain song tune of the antiphon, though not the same as the 'tone' of the psalm is in keeping with it as to mode etc. 2) Many antiphons now exist without psalms, and they are sometimes sung to settings by composers instead of the original plain song.

WBE: A) A song, hymn or prayer sung or chanted in alternate parts, a composition consisting of verses or passages sung alternately by two choirs; B) a short introduction or conclusion (often in the form of plain song) to a psalm or other part of a church service. A verse sung or chanted in response in a church

service [From Greek, *antiphona*, musical accords *anti*, opposed to and *phone*, sound].

antiphony (n)

CMD: Alternate or responsive singing by a choir in two divisions.

NHDM: The use of two or more spatially separated performers or ensembles that alternate or oppose one another in a musical work or performance. Music employing choirs in this way is said to be polychoral.

antiprósopos (pl. -í) (n)

OLPD: Representative, proxy.

Apokriá (pl. -ies) (n)

CLGL-KD: The last day of meat-eating before fasting, the three weeks prior to Clean Monday, carnival. From the verb *apokeo*, I eat meat during the eve of fasting, I indulge in something for the last time. [From *apo*, away and *kreas*, meat].

Apokrianés (n)

A popular Skyrian carnival song (see Appendix 5, part B).

arhéο (adj)

OGELD: Ancient, very old, antique.

boúla (pl. -es) (n)

Skyrian women's folk garment worn on Clean Monday (also known as *koutni*).

billingsgate

WTNID: Condemnatory language marked as coarse or offensive, scornfully abusive or contentious. [*Billingsgate* old gate and fish market London, England noted for the abusive language used there].

café-aman (n)

Popular venues in Constantinople and Smyrni and also mainland Greece, peaking after the 1880s, which hosted a diverse repertoire of eastern Mediterranean music (Tsounis 1997a:23-4).

carnival (n) (see also *Apokria*)

NSOED: In Roman Catholic countries, it is the week (originally the day) before Lent devoted to festivities, Shrovetide, the festivity of this season, any period or occasion of riotous revelry or feasting, a festival occasion. In North America, a travelling fun fair, a circus. [From the Latin *caro*, flesh and *levare*, put away].

ODCC: Popular etymology derives the word from *caro vale*, i.e., "good-bye flesh", but more probable is the derivation form *carnem levare* "to put away flesh-meat". It is the name given in Roman Catholic countries to the period before Lent, whether it be the three days immediately previous, or the whole period between the 3rd of February and Ash Wednesday. Such seasons of feasting and dancing early degenerated into riots, hence the transference of the word to secular festive occasions.

clean (adj) (see also *agno*, *katharos*, *katharizo*, *katharsis*, *pure*)

CCD: Free from dirt, stain or anything that contaminates. Pure, free, guiltless, honest.

cleanse (v) (see also *agno*, *clean*, *cleanse* *katharos*, *katharizo*, *katharsis*)

CCD: Make clean or pure.

coiffres (n) (French)

Elaborate lace head pieces worn in Brittany (see Chapman 1995).

comedy (n)

NSOED: A narrative poem with a happy ending; i.e., the divine comedy, a drama with a happy ending and amusing and satirical characters, any literary composition, humour, or farcical incident in life. [From Greek *komodhia* f. *komodhos*, a comic actor, singer]

dhimotiká (tragóúdhia) (pl.) (n)

Demotic (songs), i.e., regional folk music (Tsounis 1997b:250).

Dhimoyérondas (pl. -es) (n)

LNHL: The leader of the Greek community having administrative and police duties during Ottoman rule.

Dhimoyerondía (n)

A form of government established by Ottoman rule in which local matters were administered by a council of Elders known as *Dhimoyerondes*.

dhionisiaká dhróména

Dionyssian ritual acts.

dhiplá (adj)

A type of bell worn by *Yeri* in Skyrian carnival, literally meaning "doubles", because one bell is inside the other.

dhipló (adj)

OGELD: Double, dual.

dhístiho (pl. -a) (n)

OLPD: couplet.

díno (v)

OGELD: Dress, clothe.

diménos (pl. -í) (n)

Literally meaning "someone dressed". In Skyros, during carnival the term refers to masqueraders.

distich (n)

OED: A couple of lines of verse, usually making complete sense, couplet.

émpsiha (pl.) (n)

OLPD: Animate, with a soul, living.

empsi hóno (v)

OLPD: Encourage, animate, cheer up, put new life into.

empsi hosi (n)

Encouragement.

foní (pl. -es) (n)

OGELD: Voice, call, shout.

frángika (adj)

OGELD: Western European style of dressing, Western European way of life.

frángikos (adj)

OGELD: Frankish, Western European.

Frángos (pl. -í) (n)

OGELD: Frank, West European.

Comic character of the Skyrian carnival trio. A Frank.

frikiá (pl. -a) (n)

LNHL: A young person who dresses and behaves in a provocative and antithetical way towards social convention, usually as an expression of protest. A person with an ugly outward appearance.

In Skyrian carnival, an underground figure, a freak, a punk.

gléndi (pl. *-ia*) (n)

OLPD: Merry – making, fun, revelry.

Gléndi sto spíti, home celebration.

gráfo (v)

CLGL: Represent my thoughts via letters, draw, compose or send a letter, compose article, book or study, etc., publish a book, etc., to enrol (*engrafo*), document (*katagrafo*), bequeath.

IGEL: In its original sense; to scratch, scrape, graze, having scratched marks as tokens on a tablet. Later meaning; to represent by lines drawn, to delineate, draw, paint. To express by written character, to write, to inscribe, to write down, to register, enrol, to write down (e.g., a law).

ODMG: I write, record, enrol, settle (property).

[NB. During fieldwork in Skyros but also throughout Greece, a term frequently used for video recording or tape recording was *gráfo*, i.e., to write, record. The formal word for video recording is *vindeoskopisi* and for tape or sound recording is *ihographisi*. When Skyrians would ask me: "*grafi i kamera?*" they were asking, "Is the video recorder writing/recording?" In the everyday, writing as documenting or inscription is not only held to be a property of text but also of sound and sight].

gousto, gústo (pl. *-a*) (n)

CLGL-KD: Taste, tastiness, to my liking, a liking, enjoyment, a taste for something beautiful, charm, grace, a special preference; gusto.

LNHL: Aesthetic perception, personal preference, elevated and cultured aesthetic (appreciation), whatever incites amusement: *kano gousto* (I do my gusto/taste) = I entertain myself, I find something amusing, *yia gousto* (for gusto) = for simple pleasure, amusement.

gusto (n)

CCD: Exuberant enjoyment, zest.

haláo or **haló** (v)

OLPD: Spoil, ruin, break; (of food) go bad, wear out/off [deteriorate], (of money) waste, squander, change; destroy, demolish, pull down [wreck].

In Skyrian carnival, to "ruin" means to dismantle masquerade, to sober up and become serious.

hartopólemos (pl. *-i*) (n)

Literally means paper-war, a confetti and streamer throwing game associated with celebration and especially carnival.

Hóra (pl. *-es*) (n)

GLRBP: Place, country as opposed to town, a town.

IGEL: The space in which a thing is, generally a place, one's place, position, (met.) one's place in life, position, land, country, a piece of land, estate, frame, the country as opposed to the town.

LNHL: A section of the earth's surface of a defined area with a specific political and governmental organization, an inhabited region which has a governmental/state dimension; the state in which someone is born, their homeland (esp. sentimentally); the total of people who live in one country; (gen.) an area of land, a place; a large town with many people (as opposed to the countryside); the centre, the capital.

[The ancient etymology is uncertain. It is certain that the words, *Hora* and *Horos* have the same root, but the only possible hypothesis supposes the separation *Ho-ra* and *Ho-ros*, whereby the stem *ho-* represents the extended and qualitative ablaut¹⁸⁰ of the Indo-European *ghe-*, I am vacant, empty].

[NB. *Hora* implicates a social-political space, shaped by historical and cultural processes. *Hora*, like *Horio* (village) is space that has been socially granted its locale, that is, it is a social place with a familiar network of people. *Horio* (village) is the term more frequently used by Skyrians, as it indicates a familiar and intimate place, while the use of *Hora* is a more formal term for an island's capital.]

Horió (pl. -ia) (n)

GLNHL: A village, small settlement.

GLRBP: Place, (rustic) country as opposed to town.

hóros (pl.-i) (n)

OLPD: Space, room, area, ground. (pl.) precincts, (met. domain).

horó (v)

IGEL: I take in, hold, contain, I have room or space for.

GLRBP: To contain, to hold, to comprehend.

hortonomí (pl. -es) (n)

OLPD: Forage, fodder.

In Skyros, *hortonomes* (also known as *mandra* pl -es) are customary rights of pasture.

idióhromi (adj)

LNHL: That which has a natural colour and has not been dyed with artificial colouring.

(Met.) Having a particular colour or hue.

idiótipi (adj)

LNHL: Someone who is characterised by particularities, somebody who is distinguished by their particular characteristics.

OGELD: Peculiar, singular, quaint, idiosyncratic, odd.

(Met.) Having a particular style or form.

ihográfisi (n)

OLPD: Recording. Sound recording.

ikismós (pl. -i) (n)

IGEL: Residence, dwelling house [Related word *oikos*, home, house, household, family].

LNHL: The total of a restricted number of temporarily built residences in a particular area.

OGELD: Settlement, built up area.

[NB. *ikismos* can be suburbs within cities or just clusters of dwellings]

ikistiká sínola (n)

Residential compounds.

ikoyénia (pl. -ies) (n)

¹⁸⁰"Ablaut" is a linguistic term for a change in the articulation of the vowel. Nancy Thuleen "History of the German Language: Identifications and Short Answers" <http://www.nthuleen.com/papers/650midterm.html> [8-8-04].

OLPD: Family, home.

istoría (pl. -es) (n)

CLGL-KD: The narration of significant events, especially written. The narration of individual episodes, a text that contains a sequence of events, the subject of history in school. The science that researches and interprets historical events, legends, myths, events. A case, trouble, bother.

IGEL: Learning by inquiry, inquiry, the knowledge so obtained, information, a narrative, history (Aristotle).

ODMG: History, story. The plural, *istories*, also means trouble, bother.

istoréo (v)

IGEL: To inquire into a thing, to learn by inquiry, to examine. In the passive voice, to be questioned, to narrate what one has learnt.

Kadhís (n)

OGELD: A Turkish judge.

A representative of the Ottoman Empire in Skyros having a juridical and administrative capacity.

kafenío

OLPD: Café, coffee shop.

ke tou hrónou

Greeting frequently used in Greece, literally "and to next year", meaning many (happy/healthy) returns.

kakaviá (n)

OGELD: Fish soup.

kalnderími (pl. -ia) (n) (see also *sokaki*, *strata*)

CLGL-KD: Narrow cobbled streets, usually with rough surface.

OLPD: Cobbled road.

kalíva (pl. -es) (n)

OGELD: Hut, cabin, shack, shed.

On the island of Aí Stratos, a second home in the country used during intense agricultural work (Nikolakakis 1999:188), similar to the *konaki* of Skyros.

kapóto (pl. -a) (n)

Thick black woollen knee-length coat worn by Skyrian shepherds and the *Yeros* in carnival.

Karangiózis (pl. -idhes) (n)

A popular comic and grotesque figure of the shadow puppet theatre in Greece (of Asia Minor origins). He is a poor, obnoxious, downtrodden anti-hero who uses his wit to win his audience's sympathy and laughter.

Kástro (pl. -a) (n)

OGELD: Castle, fortress, citadel, bastion, stronghold.

katharévoussa (n)

LNHL: The form of the Greek language, especially the written, that prevailed as the official language of the state until 1976. Historically it is characterized by the tendency of restricting of foreign elements and dialects, and the domination of archaic elements of the Greek language.

OLPD: Purist Greek.

Katharí Deftéra (n)

Clean Monday, the first day of Lent in the Greek Orthodox Church.

katharízo (v) (also see clean, pure)

CLGL-KD: Clean, remove dirt or garbage, remove foreign or useless elements, peel, settle (an account); (met.) to kill.

OGELD: Clean, clear, peel, shell, refine, clarify, settle (accounts), clean out, kill off, become clean or clear.

katharós (adj) (also see clean, pure)

CLGL-KD: Clean, not having dirt or foreign substances, unadulterated, pure, transparent, bright, uncontaminated, unpolluted (air), (metaphorically) without sin, pure.

IGEL: Clear of dirt, clean, spotless, unsoiled. Open, free, in a clear open space. In a moral sense: clear from shame or pollution, pure. Clear of admixture, clear, pure. Of birth: opposed to foreign, pure, genuine, real. Without blemish, exact. As an adverb: pure, with clean hands, honestly, clearly, plainly.

[NB. In classical Greek, the word had a wider range in meaning]

OGELD: Clean, clear, distinct, plain, straightforward, pure, unmixed, sheer, net. Of mind; lucid mind.

kátharsis (n) (also see clean, pure)

IGEL: A cleansing from guilt or defilement, purification.

LNHL: Symbolic nature of ritual through which the taint of sin, evil spirits and harmful elements is absolved. The redemption from the emotional intensity caused by a narrative work, the purification of emotions that is caused by its final outcome (especially in relation to tragedy according to the definition given by Aristotle in his *Poetics*). Cleansing, removal of harmful or unclean elements.

katoúna (pl.-es) (n)

Skyrian term for *konaki* (see below), a secondary home in the country used mainly during intense agricultural and shepherding activities.

kéfi (pl. -ia) (n)

CLGL-KD: Merriment, good mood.

ODMG: Good mood, gaiety, gusto, merry, tipsy.

kehayías (pl. -adhes) (n)

LNHL: A person who is given leadership or the administering of matters.

The leader or main partner of the Skyrian customary herding co-operatives called *smiktes*.

Klephts or klefts

Brigands of the Greek countryside, who later became part of the irregular guerrilla troops involved in national liberation from Ottoman Rule (see Gallant 1988).

kliroúhi (pl.) (n)

Athenian citizens distributed property by lot, a way in which the general Kimon established a presence on Skyros in 475 BC (Antoniadis 1995a:12, Xanthouli 1996:41-42).

kóliva (pl.) (n)

A sweet made from boiled wheat, sugar, ground coriander, pomegranate seeds and dried fruit (the ingredients are always in odd number) and given out at specified days of memorial services for the soul of deceased relatives. People are offered and accept the sweet, as a gesture of acknowledgement of God's forgiveness and the resting of the deceased person's soul. Panourgiá states that grains, eggs and pomegranates have been associated with the dead since ancient times, its symbolism is apparent, since they generate life on their own

(1995:130). For an insightful portrayal of the ritual of *koliva* giving, its making, history and symbolism see Panourgiá (1995:130-33).

ERE: According to Greek Orthodox belief, *koliva* offered in church symbolise the resurrection of all. Apostle Paul referred to the seed of wheat as proof of decomposition and resurrection. As the seed falls to the earth, it is buried and decomposes without perishing; a new plant springs out from this substance, which has more beautiful and richer seeds. In a similar way, the body of the deceased decomposes, and from this same perishable substance a new body will be resurrected. This body will not decompose and decay like the former one, nor will it have lost its own substance [i.e., it is not subjected to carnal decay] (Bekatoros 1965:740-41).¹⁸²

kolíyas (pl. -es) (n)

LNHL: A person who cultivates land, pasture or flock and shares the produce with the owner.

A partner in the Skyrian customary shepherding co-operatives of *smiktes*.

komikós (adj, n)

OGELD: Comic, funny, comedian.

komodhía (pl. -es) (n)

OGELD: Comedy, sham, play-acting.

konáki (pl. -ia) (n)

LNHL: A place of permanent or temporary residence.

OGELD: Lodgings.

In Skyros, a secondary home found outside the township (*Hora*) in the country used during periods of intense shepherding and agricultural activity.

Koréla (pl. -es) (n)

The female character of the Skyrian carnival troupe.

kóri (pl. -es) (n)

OLPD: Girl, daughter.

koudhounáti (pl.) (n)

Belled masqueraders.

koudhoúni (pl. -ia) (n)

OGELD: Bell.

In Greece, the term generally refers to bells. However, in Skyros it refers specifically to the bronze double bells (i.e., one bell inside the other) as distinct from the others, which are called *trokania* (see below).

koúlouma (n)

LNHL: The custom of celebrating Clean Monday whereby people go to the countryside, fly kites, eat Lenten food to celebrate the beginning of Lent.

OGELD: Shrove Monday feast.

koumbariá (pl.) (n)

LNHL: The kin or social relations between people through marriage or baptism. Ritual kinship.

¹⁸² I wish to thank Anastasios M. Arholekas (B. Philosophy) for his assistance in clarifying and translating the text (personal communication 14-8-04).

In certain parts of Greece, as for example in Crete, *sintehnia*, i.e., ritual kinship through baptism is distinguished from *koumbaria*, i.e., ritual kinship through marriage (see chapter 1).

koumbáros (pl. -í) (n)

OGELD: Best man, godfather.

koumiótika (pl.) (n)

Women's folk garment worn on Clean Monday in Skyros.

kouréli (pl. -ia) (n)

OGELD: Tatters, rags, ribbons.

kourelís (n)

OGELD: Person in rags, tattered, ragged person.

kourelouí (adj)

OGELD: Patchwork, shoddy.

In Skyrian carnival, the wearer of tattered rags.

koutní (pl. -ia) (n)

Skyrian women's folk garment worn on Clean Monday.

Kreatiní, Kreofágou

Literally meat-eating week, the second week of carnival. [From the Greek, *kreas*, meat, *fago*, eat].

kreatópita (pl. -es) (n)

Local mince pie made especially for carnival in Skyros.

ktipó or **htipó** (v)

OLPD: Strike, hit, knock, beat.

ladherá (pl.) (n)

Vegetable and oil based casserole, ratatouille dishes.

lagána (pl. -es) (n)

A flat bread baked especially on Clean Monday.

laiká (pl.)

LNHL: The general name for the songs and music that developed after the [second world] war in major urban centres of Greece, having its origins in traditional music and *rebetika*, but frequently using both Western and Eastern musical elements.

Greek popular urban music (Tsounis 1997b:250).

lalári (pl. -ia) (n)

In Skyros, used idiomatically in phrases such as, "*eyina lalari*", that is, "I am drunk/tipsy", denoting drunkenness, possibly referring to the inner tongue of a bell "*lalaridhi*" (see below).

lalarídhī (pl. -idhia) (n)

The inner tongue of a bell; a Skyrian term.

laména, allaména (pl.) (n)

Traditional Skyrian wedding dress.

loup (n) (French)

OED: A light or half mask of velvet or silk worn by females.

liakós (n)

In Skyros, it is the roof of a home. Historically, due to the dire need of space in the *Hora*, the *liakos* developed into a significant asset and instigated a system of horizontal property ownership (see chapter 1).

lilirisma (n)

A Skyrian term for a competitive feat of endurance performed by *Yeri* in a circle during carnival.

mángas (pl. - es) (n)

OGELD: Street urchin, smart, cunning, crafty.

LNHL: A man with a 'heavy', tough character who tries to impose himself, usually exhibiting strength and virility. A person who has the ability to succeed in what he wants. A man who belonged to a specific urban popular (laic) strata in which he was recognised by the rest as an important person with particular virtues, dressed in a particular manner and frequented marginal places (e.g., hash dens).

A term for a "cool dude", a marginal figure associated with the hash den musical subculture of *rebetika* music (see chapter 5 and Tsounis (1997a:49-51) on the socio-symbolic expression of the *mangas* as an individual-in-community).

mangiá

LNHL: (In a negative sense) characteristic of a *manga* (see above); 'pseudo' bravery; a provocative, aggressive attitude. One's ability to achieve whatever they want; to be able to pull through. To do something important; overly bold.

OPLD: Cunning, tricks.

mándra (pl -es) (n) see (*hortonomi*)

OLPD: Enclosure, fold.

In Skyros, customary rights of pasture.

mask (n)

OED: 1) A covering of velvet or silk with holes for seeing, concealing the face or upper part of it, worn for disguise at balls etc. 2) A covering worn on the face for protection, a screen of wire to protect face. 3) In Classical Antiquity: a hollow figure of a human head worn by actors to identify the character represented and to amplify the voice. 4) A grotesque representation of a face made of pasteboard, moulded and painted, worn at merry making, carnival. 5) A likeness of a person's face in clay, especially wax taken from mould of person itself. 6) Something that covers something or hides it from view. 7) A masked person, a person in masquerade. 8) A cloak, a disguise, a pretence.

ODEE: Covering to conceal the face. Arab *maskarah*, buffoon, formed on, *sahira*, ridicule. With the use of disguises at social gatherings etc., the word has spread out throughout Europe.

RT: Dress, shade, concealment, ambush, deceit, put on a mask.

mask (v)

OED: 1) To cover the face or head with a mask. To wear, be disguised with a mask. 2) To hide or conceal from view, by interposing something, to disguise (feeling etc.) under an assumed outward show. 3) To conceal the real nature, intent, meaning of something. 4) To take part in a masque, to masquerade.

maskarás (pl.-*adhes*) (n)

CLGL-KD: Shameless, brash.

LNHL: 1) He who wears masquerade (during carnival or other celebrations). 2) A person dressed in daily life in a way out or ridiculous way. 3) A person who behaves with cunning and vileness. Syns.: *freud*, *trickster*, *treacherous person*. [Etym: medieval <Venetian *mascara* from Medieval Latin *masca* "mask", meaning ghost, witch].

masquerade (n)

RT: Dress, concealment, disguise, frolic. Syn.: hiding, mystification, occultification, veil, shroud, mask, disguise; buffoonery, mummery, comic.

masquerader (n)

NSOED: A person who takes part in a masquerade, a person who masquerades or assumes disguise.

máska (pl. - es) (n)

LNHL: A covering for part or all of the face that a person wears so that they do not reveal their identity. [From Medieval Latin *masca*, a ghost, a sorceress]

OGELD: Mask, disguise, guise.

maskarévo (v)

OLPD: To masquerade, disguise, mask.

[NB. In the English usage, the noun, mask, refers both to masquerade and disguise, while the Greek, *maska*, is primarily used in its literal sense]

Megáli Apokriá (n)

Grand Carnival. The final weekend of the three weeks of carnival prior to the beginning of Lent.

mendené (pl. -edhes) (n)

Long sleeved vest of traditional Skyrian garments.

meráki (pl. -ia) (n)

CLGL-KD: Desire, longing, sorrow, beauty-aesthetics, gusto, spiritual excitement or stimulation.

ODMG: Yearning, passion, sorrow for the unaccomplished. Plural: *ta merakia*, sentimental mood; something done with *meraki* is made with loving care.

OGELD: Longing, yearning, ardent wish, good taste, artistry, high spirits, be in the mood.

[NB. OTEd: *Meraki* comes from the Turkish word *merak*, which is translated to mean curiosity; whim, or having a passion (for something); amateur, connoisseur, fan, devotee (see Hony and Iz eds. 1984:335).

LSL: In his lexicon of Greek colloquialisms, Zachos explains *meraki* as applying to a person who has the curiosity and the interest; who is "in the know" and "streetwise" in the public sphere of the "market place"; a person who knows what is appropriate for every circumstance and occasion, the detailed and the deep feeling and knowledge of connections and relations which comprise the cosmology of the streets. The *meraklidhes* (see below) were philosophers of the culture of the bazaar, the market-place and the streets (Zachos 1981:320)

meraklís (pl. -idhes) (n)

ODMG: A person who demands and relishes the best, a connoisseur, one who loves to do a job well, and is usually done by the person themselves. Derived from the word *meraki* (see above and chapter 2).

meróï (adj)

The name for the northern part of the island of Skyros. The term means peaceful, tranquil.

metaphor (n) (see also metonymy, synecdoche, trope)

CCD: A figure of speech by which a thing is spoken as being that which it only resembles.

méthi (n)

CLGL: Disturbance of the mind by the influence of alcohol; (met.) enthusiasm, when somebody loses their reasoning.

ODMG: Intoxication, drunkenness.

methó (v)

CLGL-KD: Provoke a hedonistic emotion. To darken, shadow the mind, make somebody dizzy; (met.) feel excessive pleasure, dizziness.

ODMG: Intoxicate, get drunk.

[NB. The Greek word, *methi*, simultaneously encompasses a hedonistic or emotional state, including madness, passions and emotions that are released. *Methi* is not necessarily debilitating drunkenness.]

metóhi (pl. *-ia*) (n)

OGELD: Monastery, dependency.

metonymy (n) (see also metaphor, synecdoche, trope)

WBD: A word or a figure of speech that uses the name of the thing for that which it naturally suggests, e.g., the pen (i.e., the power of literacy) is more powerful than the sword.

mezé (pl. *-edhes*) (n)

OGELD: Snack, portion.

An appetiser.

m'tsouína (pl. *-es*) (n)

In Skyros, a term for carnival masks literally meaning "face".

nekroséndono (pl. *-a*) (n)

Literally means "death sheet". A Skyrian term for the embroidered sheets specially allocated for a person's death bed used to decorate the coffin. These are dower items that are also used to decorate a couple's home during wedding celebrations. The term, "death quilt", *nekropaploma*, is also cited in Hatzimihali (1925:144), Lambrou (1994:122) and Perdika (1940:118).

niá (pl. *-es*) (n)

Skyrian term for a newly tailored folk garment, literally meaning "new".

Nifádhes (pl.) (n)

Literally meaning "brides", masquerade figures of early twentieth century Skyrian carnival (Konstantinidis 1901:173, Papageorgiou 1910:37).

nisiótika (pl.) (n)

LNHL: The traditional songs of the islands of the Aegean, or contemporary songs written in such rhythms.

In Skyros, the term refers to musical and dance genres.

oréo (adj)

OGELD: Good, fine, beautiful, handsome, fair, lovely.

paleó (adj)

OGELD: Old, long-standing.

paliá hrónia

Literally old years, i.e., many years ago.

panovráki (pl. *-ia*) (n)

White woollen trousers worn by the *Yeros*, customarily worn by shepherds during chores, in particular the milking of herds (Lambrou 1994:93).

parádhosi (pl. *-is*) (n)

OLPD: Delivery, tradition, teaching.

paradhosiakés stolés (pl.) (n)

Traditional outfits.

paradhosiaká (adj)

OGELD: Traditional, folk.

parálitos (adj)

OGELD: Paralytic.

A term for a very drunk person.

parástasi (pl. *-is*) (n)

OLPD: Performance, show, representation.

parayiós (pl. *-ii*) (n)

OGELD: Servant boy, adopted son.

In Skyros, the term refers to domestic helpers assisting in shepherding work.

parélasí (pl. *-is*) (n)

OLPD: Parade, march – past.

paréa (pl. *-es*) (n)

OGELD: Company, companionship.

A close group of friends or companions who socialise, eat, drink and celebrate together.

piitís (pl. *-es*) (n)

OLPD: Poet, maker.

In Skyrian carnival satire of the Trata, the terms refers to the reciter of the verses.

piraiótika (pl.) (n)

A musical style of *rebetika* (see below) that flourished in urban centres and the Athenian port of Pireaus, associated with the underworld, ghettos and hashish dens (Tsounis 1997a:43).

platía (pl. *-ies*) (n)

OLPD: Square.

politikí (pl. *-es*) (n)

CLGL-KD: The skill, the episteme of governing a state, the way of conducting state affairs, the state programme (i.e., policy), active involvement in political life; (met.) suitable, clever, crafty, way or manner of action.

OLPD: Politics, policy.

politikós (pl. *-í*) (n, adj)

OLPD: Civil, political, civilian: (n) politician, statesman. Shrewd.

CLGL-KD: pertaining to a government; somebody related to government power, civil, (met) suitable, clever, crafty. (n) Politician. To say somebody "is political" (*ine politikos*) also means that they are diplomatic, tactful.

politévome (v)

CLGL-KD: Participating in political life.

[NB. The meaning of politics in Greek oscillates between notions of government, politics and personal attributes of strategising]

Profoní (n)

The first week of carnival, also known as *Apoliti*.

prosopíon (n) (see also mask)

IGEL: A mask, outward appearance, beauty, a person, bodily presence. [From the word *prosopon*, face, visage, countenance, one's look, appearance].

prósopo (pl. *-a*) (n)

OLPD: Face, person, character.

provolí (pl. *-es*) (n)

OGELD: Projection, show, screening, appearance, looming up, emergence, promotion, publicity.

psarás (pl. *-adhes*) (n)

OGELD: Fisherman. The plural *i psaradhes* is used in Skyros to refer to the fishing families as a distinct social group.

psihi (pl. *-es*) (n)

GLNHL: Breath, breathing, life, soul, heart, mood, sentiment, morale, will, desire, spirit, an individual, a person, a subject. A butterfly (as a sign of the immortality of the soul).

GLRBP: Soul, in the sense of person. The butterfly.

Psihosávato (pl. *-a*) (n)

OGELD: All Souls Day.

psyche (n)

ODEE: Soul, spirit, mind; In Greek, the *psuhe* is breath, soul, life. Related to *psuhein*, breathe, blow, (*psyhros*) cool.

Psychic: First sense of the word pertains to soul or mind. From 1878 onwards (in physical research) the word pertains to conditions supposed to be outside the physical domain.

Psycho-: Combination form of Greek *psyhe* used in technical terms since the seventeenth century, but prolifically only since mid nineteenth century.

Psychiatry: Relating to mental illness.

Psychology: The science of the human soul or mind (seventeenth century, only occasionally before nineteenth century).

psihosi (pl. *-is*) (n)

LNHL: A mental disease that is expressed in the creation of illusions and delirious ideas and with a serious deficiency of a critical capacity and perception, especially in relation to the perception of reality, communication with others; (met.) a particular flow (inclination) towards something. (syn.) passion, worship, madness.

psihó (v)

GLNHL: Encourage, en-hearten, to give life.

GLRBP: To give life or soul, to animate.

psihóula (pl. *-es*) (n) (diminutive of *psihi*)

OLPD: Little soul, darling

LNHL: A gentle and loved being, a kind and sensitive person (an endearing term).

pure (adj) (see also *agno*, clean, cleanse *katharos*, *katharizo*, *katharsis*)

OED: Not mixed with anything else, free from adulteration, clear, stainless, unadulterated, unalloyed, uncontaminated. Free from corruption or defilement, faultless, correct, guiltless, genuine, chaste, innocent, fit for sacred service or use.

rebétika (s. *-o*) (n, adj)

A type of urban or demotic folksong, belonging to an oral tradition that developed in the towns and ports of Greece and Asia Minor (now Turkey) (Tsounis 1997a:23). Socio-historically, *rebetika* music is a tradition of Greek-speaking people, which developed over a period of a century in the urban centres of Greece, Asia Minor, and the United States of America. "This music-making tradition contains dance music, improvised instrumental music, and

above all, composed songs of love, lament, celebration and defiance. *Rebetika* music became popular in Greece between 1920 and 1960 with live performance in taverns and nightclubs and through commercial recording and dissemination. After 1960, substantial recording of new compositions abated yet live performance of *rebetika* music in Greece has never ceased" (Tsounis 1997a:1)

rétzi (n) (pl. *-ia*)

In Skyros, goat's hide colouring.

sárka (pl. *-es*) (n)

CLGL-KD: Flesh, the muscular part of the body, meat, the material/physical dimension of humans, especially its sexual part.

OGELD: Flesh, the sins desires of the flesh, pulp.

LNHL: The muscular part of the body of people and animals. (Met.) the material dimension of humans, the base of their impulses and desires in contrast to their spiritual dimension. The fleshy part of fruit in contrast to the pip and peel.

sátira (pl. *-es*) (n)

LNHL: A literary genre of metered verse or prose, which exercises criticism in a mocking or satirical manner against people or social conditions with the aim of correcting them, in contrast to comedy (*komodhia*). Roman satirical poetry.

OGELD: Satire, lampoon, skit.

satire (n) (see also, comedy, parody)

WBD: The use of sarcasm or irony to attack or ridicule a habit, idea custom etc., which is considered to be foolish or wrong. Satire is a poem, essay or story that attacks or ridicules in this way [from the Latin *satúra*, a medley].

satiriká stihákia

Satirical verses.

satirikós (adj)

LNHL: ironic, ridiculous, critical.

(i.e., relating to satire).

satirize (v)

WBD: To attack with satire, criticise with mockery, seek to improve by ridicule.

satirízo (v)

LNHL: To ridicule people and situations.

satyrikó (n)

Satyr play.

LNHL: *Satyrikos* (from satyr) refers to the Satyrs, the goat like horned demons followers of Dionysus prone to sexual acts. Satyric Drama is a form of ancient Greek drama which had a satirical content and whose chorus consisted of actors masqueraded as Satyrs.

satyrízo (v)

GLRBP: To make or create a Satyric drama.

[NB. The Greek word for satire (*satira*) is similar to the English, that is, the use of sarcasm or irony to attack or ridicule an idea or custom. However, satire (*satira*) is different to Satyric drama *Satyriko*, which is an ancient form of drama, a mix of comedy and tragedy, named after the Satyrs, Dionysus companions. Satire is a literary form, poetry and much later prose with comic elements and ridicule, (its Latin etymology, *satúra* meaning medley, may refer to a mixture of poetic forms). Traces of satire are found within Iambic Lyric poetry, but this

literary form developed in the Roman period with Lucilius and later Dante, Cervantes.

Satyrical drama (*Satyriko*) is a ribald (irreverent/obscene) drama of ancient Greece, performed after the trilogy of tragedy and comedy at the spring Dionysia festival, whose chorus consisted of Satyrs. This was a short comic parody of a Greek myth, a humorous afterpiece that declined with classical drama after the 200s BC. There is a common 'comic' denominator in Satyrical drama and satire, but they are distinct literary genres.¹⁸³

In Skyrian carnival, satire stems from an oral tradition of verse improvisation, and has a performative expression].

sintehnia (pl. -ies) (n)

Ritual kinship through baptism, a term especially used in Crete (see *koumbaria* above).

skopós (pl. -í)

OLPD: Aim, intention, purpose.

Vocal melody.¹⁸⁴

skotini filaki

Literally meaning "dark dungeon or prison", a cistern/store found in the *Kastro* of Skyros.

smiktes (pl.) (n)

Skyrian customary herding cooperatives.

soi (pl. -ia)

OLPD: Descent, family, stock, breed.

In the Skyrian context, I refer to *soi* as an agnatic kin group. However, this is a problematic term, especially in the Mediterranean and one that varies regionally throughout Greece.

sokaki (pl. -a) (n) (see also *kalnderimi*, *strata*)

CLGL-KD: Narrow road.

OLPD: Back street, alley.

spérisma (pl. -ta) (n)

A Skyrian idiomatic term for evening get-togethers, when people visit and chat with family or friends, usually in private homes.

stavrorávdhi (pl. -ia) (n)

Shepherd's crook.

stihákia (pl.)

The diminutive form of *stihos*, i.e., verse, stich (see below).

stihos (pl. -í)

OLPD: Verse, line.

stolí (pl. -es) (n)

OGELD: Uniform, dress.

stráta (pl. -es) (n)

CLGL-KD: Street, road, path, journey.

OLPD: Street, road, way.

¹⁸³ Information obtained from, *Nea Domi* (1999 vol. 30:597), Markantonatos and Sakellariadis (1980:426-8), World Book dictionary (1988:1833), World Book Encyclopedia (1976, 5:272).

¹⁸⁴ Demeter Tsounis (personal communication, 1-2-2005).

A high street, walkway.

strongilá (adj)

OLPD: Round.

In Skyros, the term refers to a particular type of round bell.

synecdoche (n) (see also metonymy, metaphor, trope)

CCD: The figure of putting the part for the whole or the whole for the part.

sirtós (n)

A Greek dance performed in an open circle.

táma (pl. -ata) (n)

OGELD: Vow, solemn promise; *kano tama*, make a vow. Offering.

In Skyros, as in Greece, it refers to a religious votive offering.

taramá

Fish roe dip considered a Lenten food.

távla (pl. -es) (n)

LNHL: Plank, low oblong table for eating.

OGELD: Plank, board, rough wooden table.

táxi (n)

OLPD: Order, class, category, rank, orderliness, tidiness, classroom.

Tiriní, Tirofágou (n)

Cheese-eating Week. The third week of carnival when partial fasting is introduced and no meat is eaten, only dairy products are allowed. [From *tiri*, cheese and *fago*, eat].

tis távlas (n)

LNHL: "*Tragoudhi tis tavlas*", the demotic song sung while sitting and eating at the table.

Literally meaning "of the table", refers to the repertoire of traditional Skyrian songs sung unaccompanied customarily around a table while drinking wine and eating.

tópos (pl. -i) (n)

OLPD: Place, locality, land, room, space, landscape, country, native land.

topikí foresiá (pl. -ies) (n)

Regional or local folk garments.

trahanópita (pl. -es) (n)

Skyrian pie filled with the local speciality, a sour dough mixture (*trahana*), baked especially for carnival.

transpórto (= transposition) (n)

NGDMM: Transposition. The notation or performance of music at a pitch different from that in which it was originally conceived, by raising or lowering the notes in it by the same interval. Transposition is frequently applied to pieces performed on different instruments from those used in a prescribed scoring, and in particular for different vocal ranges ('high voice', 'middle voice', 'low voice') in songs.

In Skyros, a version of this musical practice can be found during the singing of table songs (*tis tavlas*) (see chapter 3 and Appendix 5: Carnival Songs).

transposition (see *transporto* above)

tráta (pl. -es) (n)

OGELD: Fishing trawler, trawl.

In Skyros, the fishermen's satire performed during carnival.

trágos (pl. -i) (n)

OGELD: Billy goat, buck.

tragóúdhi (pl. -a) (n)

OLPD: Song, tune.

trohádhia (pl.) (n)

Skyrian leather scandals made by shepherds, used especially for herding chores.

tróka (pl. -es) (n)

A run in collision of two *Yeri*, a mock attack.

trokáni (pl. -ia) (n)

OGELD: Large sheep bells.

In Skyros, this is the term generally used for most bells, except for bronze double bells, which are called *koudhounia* (see above).

trope (n) (see also metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche)

OCCEL: A turn of phrase. In rhetoric, an expression that deviates from the natural and literal through a change in meaning, often with a pleasing effect, the deviation or technique that makes such a thing possible. For Roman rhetorician Quintilian, tropes are metaphors, metonyms and figures (*figurae*) and such forms of discourse as rhetorical questions, digression, repetition, antithesis and periphrasis (also referred to as schemes). In the eighteenth century the term became associated with over ornate style and fell into disrepute when a plainer style came to be preferred. As a result, what was known as tropes and figures are now generally called figures of speech or broadly still, rhetorical devices.

WBD: A figure of speech that consists of the use of a word or phrase in a sense different from its ordinary meaning, figurative language, e.g., hot and copper sky. In the Western church, a phrase, sentence or verse interpolated into some part of the liturgy. A subject heading. [From the Greek, *trope*, a turn, turning].

tropí (n)

IGEL: Turn, change of speech by figures of tropes.

tsalími (pl. -ia) (n)

OGELD: Trick, wile.

In Skyrian carnival, it also refers to revellers' and masqueraders' gesture, style and movement considered funny and witty.

tsélingas (n)

OGELD: Rich, chief shepherd.

In Skyros, the term refers to the billy goat, the leader of the herd.

tsiftetéli (pl. -ia) (n)

Commonly known as a belly-dance, it is believed to have origins in women's fertility rites. The name of the dance is derived from the Turkish words *cifte* meaning "paired" and *telli* meaning "stringed" referring to the stringed instrument that typically accompanied the dance. The *tsifteteli* is a solo dance characterised by a free improvisation style with gentle sways and undulations of the body. Music accompanying the dance contains a recurring two- or four-beat rhythmic pattern with a characteristic syncopated accent on the one- and beat (Tsounis 1995a:94). The *tsifteteli* is a *rebetiko* dance form (like the *zeïbekikos*), which is characterized as a feminine dance, yet it is performed by men and women (ibid.: 92-3).

Tsiknopémti (pl. -es) (n)

The Thursday of the second week of carnival. On this day it is customary to eat grilled meat. [From *tsikna*, the smell of burning fat and *Pempti*, Thursday].

tsopánika (pl.) (n)

Traditional light coloured clothing worn on Clean Monday associated with the shepherding class.

tsopános (pl. – í) (n)

Shepherd. The plural *i tsopáni*, *tsopnaréi* or *tsopaní* (the accent on the last syllable is in Skyrian idiom) is used to refer to the shepherding families as a distinct social group.

vindeoskópisi (v)

Video recording.

voskós (pl. -í) (n)

Shepherd. The plural, *i voski* is used in Skyros to refer to the shepherding families as a distinct social group (see also *tsopanos*).

vounó (pl. -a) (n)

OGELD: Mountain, mount.

To vouno is the name of the rugged mountainous area of southern Skyros, which is used mainly for grazing.

vlahítsa (pl. –es) (n)

Skyrian folk garment worn on Clean Monday that resemble wedding garments of Attica (Lambrou 1994:198).

vráka (pl. -es) (n)

OGELD: Breeches, knickers.

Baggy breeches part of Skyrian traditional garment.

vrakádhika (pl.) (n)

Traditional Skyrian dark coloured outfit worn in the past by farmers for daily chores, which is presently a popular garment worn on Clean Monday.

vrakás (pl. -adhes) (n)

The wearer of the farmer's *vrakadhika* outfit.

vronó (v)

OGELD: Thunder, boom, rumble, pound, slam. Resound.

xefándoma (pl. –ta) (n)

OLPD: Merry – making, revelry.

yeoryós (pl. –í)

Farmer. The plural *i yeoryi* is used in Skyros to refer to the farming families as a distinct social group.

Yéros (pl. -í) (n)

OGELD: Old man.

The main character of Skyrian carnival, masqueraded as half shepherd, half goat.

yinoménos (pl.-í) (n)

ODMG: Ripe, (maths) product.

A Skyrian idiomatic term used for masqueraders. The word is the participle of the deponent verb *yinome*, I become, which is used as a noun.

yínome (v)

CLGL-KD: To take on dimension, existence or life. To be. Eventuate, happen, produce, be transformed, ripen. Impersonal formation; it is possible.

IGEL: Radical sense: to come into being. Of persons: to be born. Of things: to be produced. Of events: to take place. Of time: arrived. Followed by a predicate; to come into a certain state, to become.

ODMG: Become, be done, produced, be finished or ready, ripen, happen, exist, eventuate.

yiortí (pl. -es) (n)

OGELD: Holiday, feast, festival, celebration.

yírisma (pl. -ta) (n)

OLPD: Turn.

In Skyros, a term for repeating a verse of a song.

yírizo (v)

OLPD: Turn, revolve, change, wander return.

zeïbékikos (pl.-a) (n, adj)

A solo Anatolian dance in nine-beat metre (Tsounis 1997a:250). The *zeïbekikos* is a *rebetiko* dance form (like the *tsifteteli*) originating in male martial dances of the *zeïbek* ethnic group in Anatolia. The dance is symbolically associated with male prowess, strength, and *mangia*, however, it is danced by men and women (1995:92, 95).

zoumbóuli (pl.-ia) (n)

OGELD: Hyacinth.

A Skyrian fragrant white winter wild flower used to decorate the *Yeros's* crook.

zounári or **z`nári** (pl. -ia) (n)

OGELD: Belt, girdle, sash.

In Skyros, the term refers to the long white belt that secures the hood of the *Yeros's* outfit.

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WBE	<i>World Book Encyclopedia</i> . 1976. Chicago: Field Enterprises Educational Corporation.
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Abbreviations

adj.	= adjective
esp.	= especially
fem.	= feminine form
fig.	= figuratively
gen.	= generally
impers.	= impersonal construction
leg.	= legal
met.	= metaphorically
n.	= noun
pl.	= plural
prep.	= preposition
s.	= singular
syn.	= synonym(s)
v.	= verb

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[NB. For dictionary and encyclopaedia references see glossary]

Appendix 1: Timeline. Skyrian Carnival, 1995

TIMELINE OF CARNIVAL CELEBRATIONS & LENT, SKYROS 1995

Carnival 1st week <i>Apoliti or Profoni</i>	Carnival 2nd week <i>Kreatini</i>	Carnival 3rd week <i>Tirini</i>
Opening of the season The Triodhi Sun. 17/2	Tou Asotou Sun. 19/2 Tsiknopemti Thurs. 23/2	Grand Carnival Weekend Sat. 4/3 to Sun. 5/3
Feasting, revelry	Feasting, revelry	Feasting, partial fasting

Lent	Lent Easter
Clean Monday Mon. 6/3 Fasting	Easter Week Fasting
St. Theodoro Sat. 11/3 Fasting	Easter Sunday 23/4 Feasting

NB.

In Venice, the Skyrian troupe performed carnival at the following times:

On Saturday, 18th February the re-enactment of Grand Carnival (Sunday 5th March).

On Sunday, 19th February the re-enactment of Clean Monday (Monday 6th March).

Appendix 2: Statistical Figures

Population Distribution of Skyros; the *Horio* and Settlements*

Year	1971	1981	1991
Total pop	2349	2757	2901
<i>Horio</i>	1921	2217	1806
Trahi		114	313
Loutron	136	151	24
Linaria Port	213	121	146
Mela	58	52	103
Aspous	21	31	47
Atsitsa		14	22
Aherounes		77	71
Sarakiniko(island)		-	-
Skyropoula (island)		-	-

Additional settlements in the 1991 census

Pefkos	26
Kalikri	44
Kalamitsa	29
Ahili	26
Nifi	26
Kira Panayia	-
Molos	244

Population of Skyros: A historical statistical outline from the year 1821

Year - Total Population of the island

1821 - 2500
 1896 - 4142
 1909 - 4200
 1920 - 2896
 1940 - 3395
 1961 - 2882
 1971 - 2349

*NB. The above figures were adapted from the 1981 and 1991 census from; the Government Gazette, Bureau of Statistics, vol. 2:9459; Spinelli (1974:29); and Xanthouli (1996).

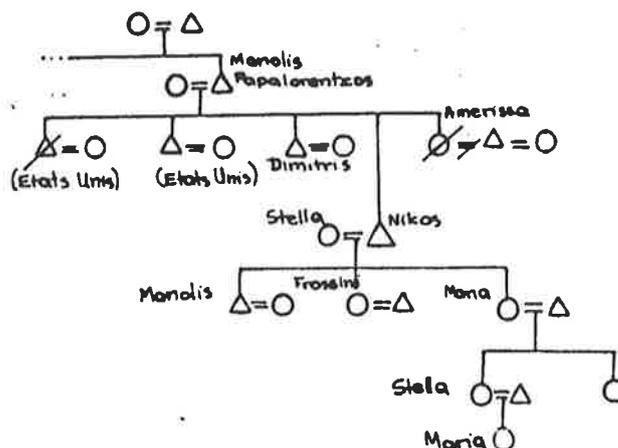
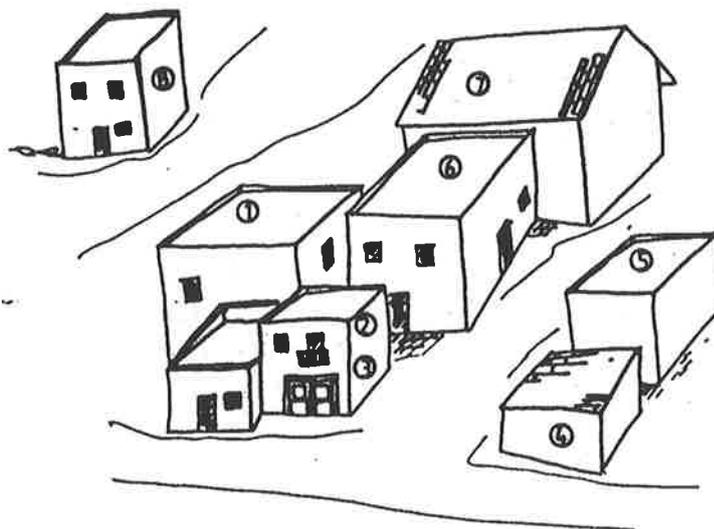
Appendix 3: An Origin Myth of Skyrian Carnival

The following extract narrates the origin of carnival in Skyros. It is drawn from the transcript of an interview and took place just before the carnival in February 1992. I have heard and recorded other versions, most of which had a similar storyline, but differed in length and detail. Several other versions mention the *Frangos*, that is, the stepson (*parayios*) who also accompanied the *Yeros* on his journey of grief into the *Horio*.

After a catastrophic storm, a shepherd had lost all his animal stock, all his sheep and goats. He got dressed, he put on his overcoat, he put on his *panovraki*, that is, the gown [breeches] he wears when milking. He strung [to himself] the bells from the sheep and goats, placing in front [of his face] a mask from a small goat because he was ashamed to confront the Skyrians. Thus, in this way, and in this form [image], he came to Skyros ringing the bells sometimes with sorrow, sometimes with anger. When he arrived at his home, his wife, in order to console him, put on her best garments and started to sing a tune, which had verses dedicated to life. She then started to twirl around him giving him air and these are the dance steps of the *Korela* that you can see in carnival. [The *Korela* makes] a few breaks in which the *Yeros* gets up and rings [lit. beats] the bells with strength, his wife giving him morale with her words, [with] the verses and songs which she sings to him.

Appendix 4a: Adhelfikata, Agora.
 (reproduced and adapted from Zarkia 1991:264)

Agora



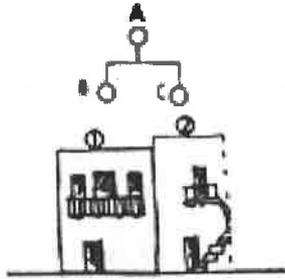
Agora, Skyros

Houses 1-8 were all inherited by Manolis Papalorentzos. He has transmitted to his son Dimitri house 8, to Nikos 6, 2 & 3 and to Amerissa the rest. Amerissa died young and childless and the houses were inherited by her husband (custom was not followed/respected) who marries a second time and gives these as dowry to his children of his second marriage. Nikos gave 2 & 3 to Manolis, 6 to Maria and 7 (dowry from his wife Stella) to Frosini, the eldest. Manolis sold 3 to Frosini and 2 to somebody else. Frosini sold 7 to Maria and Maria has sold 6 to a foreigner.

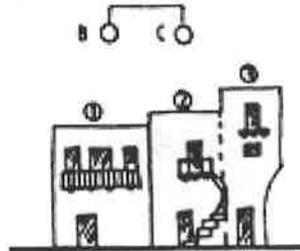
Appendix 4b: Adhelfikata, Megali Strata.
 (reproduced and adapted from Zarkia 1991:255)

Megali Strata: District of landowners

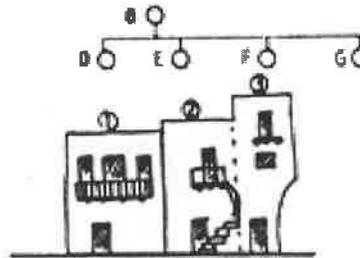
A owned house 1 and bought house 2 (right of priority). The two houses are two storeys (*anagokataga*), because they belonged to a family of landowners. A gave house 1 to her older daughter B and 2 to C.



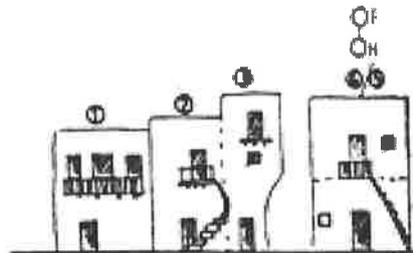
C left for Athens and sold her house 2 to her sister B. B also bought house 3.



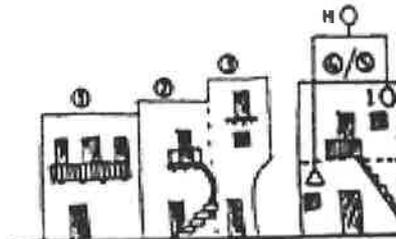
B endowed D house 1, E took house 3 and F took 2. G left very early and received her dowry in cash.



F bought 4 & 5 and gave them to her daughter H.

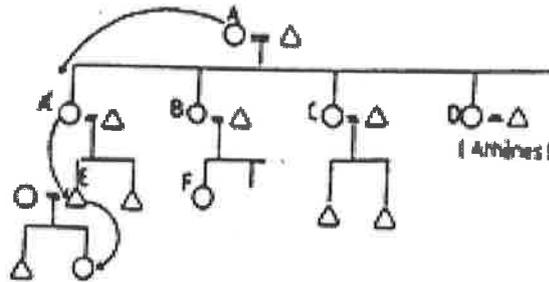
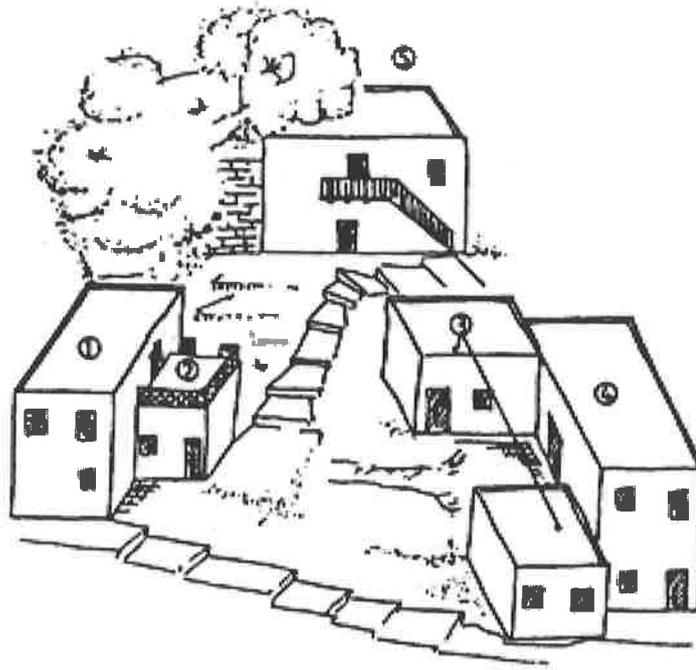


H bought 6 for herself and divided house 4, which was destined for her daughter and house 5 was destined for her son. Homes 4, 5 & 6 communicate between each other.



Appendix 4c: *Adhelfikata, Agia Anna.*
 (reproduced and adapted from Zarkia 1991:259)

Ag. Anna



Suburb of Agia Anna, Skyros

A gave 1 & 2 to A', the eldest. For her other daughters B and C she bought 3 & 4. D has married in Athens, she has not received her dowry in Skyros. A' who only has sons, gives 1 to her eldest son E who lives with his [mother's] family. The wife of E, a Skyrian, is the youngest daughter and she accepted to live with her mother-in-law, who lives in 2. She intends to give 1 to her daughter. B has received 3 (*anogokatogo*) this has been given to his older daughter F and she has sold it. B now lives in house 5 that he bought when F was married. C has received 3 as dowry and she has two unmarried sons. The house is destined for her older son.

Appendix 5: Skyrian Songs

PART A

Skyrian Songs

Dr. Demeter Tsounis
2001 (ed. 2005)

INTRODUCTION

This paper¹⁸⁵ presents musicological observations of three Skyrian songs (which are sung at festive occasions, fetes and carnival) with the assistance of transcriptions of the song texts and music.¹⁸⁶ The three songs are:

Το Παπάζι - *To Papazi* ("The Fez")

Πέρασα 'Πό 'Να Ρέμα - *Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema* ("I Crossed The River's Stream")

Τα Κανάρια - *Ta Kanaria* ("The Canaries")

They were recorded live on a walkman at the Estia centre¹⁸⁷ during carnival festivities in Skyros, Greece, on the evening of 29 February, 1992, by anthropologist Agapi Amanatidis. The three songs are generally known as *tragoudia tis tavlas* meaning, "table songs", sung by people informally seated around tables where they chat, nibble and drink in between singing.

In the live sound recordings of the three Skyrian songs, it appears that there are two main groups of singers (*parees* = "companies", "group of friends").¹⁸⁸ Amanatidis as sound recordist sat with Group 1, which consisted of "friends of Soula (whose family members are well known Skyrian singers), good voices and elderly people" (Amanatidis, personal communication, 2004). Their voices in the sound recording appear close by and clear. Group 2 consisted of Kali and her *parea* with a third *parea* of 'officials' such as the mayor later entering the venue and joining Group 2 to sing. The voices of Group 2 sound more distant on the sound recording and therefore their singing is not as clearly audible. The singing of Group 2 is transcribed in the first song, *To Papazi* ("The Fez"), but omitted from the second and third transcriptions, - *Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema* ("I Crossed The River's Stream") and *Ta Kanaria* ("The Canaries") - because it is not clear enough for transcription.

In the songs discussed, singing is responsorial whereby the two groups alternatively sing the same verses. Group 1 sings the verse first, then Group 2 repeats it, providing a 'response' or 'answer' to the 'call'. Group 1 then sings a different verse, which is also repeated by Group 2, and so on. This repetition of verses by different groups is referred to as the "*yirisma*" ("turning") by Skyrians (Amanatidis, personal communication, 2001).

A senior woman in Group 1 is audible on the recording remembering the verses and reciting them quickly to members of her group before the group launches into singing a verse. In general, singers are heard spurring each other on to remember lyrics.

¹⁸⁵ I am indebted to Agapi Amanatidis (personal communication, 2005) and her friends Vangelis Gkinis, Kalio Ftouli (17 February, 2002) for their corrections and commentaries and Soula Mandilara who made insightful observations of the texts (23 August, 2004)

¹⁸⁶ Music notations of the three songs appear at the end of this paper.

¹⁸⁷ The Estia centre is the cultural centre of the *Skyrian Estia* organisation and was used as a venue for carnival on this specific occasion (Amanatidis, personal communication, 2005).

¹⁸⁸ This is confirmed by Amanatidis (personal communication, 2004).

There is much extra musical chatter among singers between verses. For example, while Group 2 sings a verse, members of Group 1 chat, saying such things such as “you should give up smoking” or “come and join in”. The atmosphere is informal yet focussed on the singing.¹⁸⁹

OBSERVATIONS

The first song discussed is *To Papazi* (“The Fez”).

To Papazi (“The Fez”)¹⁹⁰ Το Παπάζι

A transcription of the song text of *To Papazi* is presented below in Greek.¹⁹¹

Group 1

1. ... το,¹⁹² από το Θεό να το βρείς
Από το, από το Θεό να το βρείς
Οπως με κατήντησες, αμάν, αμάν
Οπως με κατήντησες.

Verse 1 is repeated by Group 2

Group 1

2. Μου ‘φαγες, μου ‘φαγες τα σωθικά μου
Μου ‘φαγες, μου ‘φαγες τα σωθικά μου
Τώρα μ’απαρνήθηκες, αμάν, αμάν.
Τώρα μ’απαρνήθηκες.

Verse 2 is repeated by Group 2

Group 1

3. Κάνω να, κάνω να σ’ αλησμονήσω
Κάνω να, κάνω να σ’ αλησμονήσω
Μα η καρδιά μου σε πονεί, αμάν αμάν
Μα η καρδιά μου σε πονεί.

Verse 3 is repeated by Group 2

Group 1

4. ‘Συ είς’ η πρώ-, ‘συ είς’ η πρώτη μ’ η [μου Group 2] αγάπη
‘Συ είς’ η πρώ-, ‘συ είς’ η πρώτη μ’ η [μου Group 2] αγάπη
‘Σύ ‘σαι κι η παντοτινή, αμάν αμάν
‘Σύ είσαι κι η παντοτινή.

Verse 4 is repeated by Group 2

Group 1

5. Τα ωραί-, τα ωραία σου τα μάτια
Τα ωραί-, τα ωραία σου τα μάτια
Στο καθρέφτι μη τα δεις, αμάν αμάν
Στο καθρέφτι μη τα δεις.

Verse 5 is repeated by Group 2

Group 1

6. Γιατί μόν-, γιατί μόνη σ’ αγαπιέσαι
Γιατί μόν-, γιατί μόνη σ’ αγαπιέσαι

¹⁸⁹ This brings to mind my observations of Pitjantjatjara elders at Indulkana, South Australia, while participating in their music-making events. They too would chat between verses of an *inna* corroboree to remember subsequent verses and comment on the proceedings.

¹⁹⁰ An English translation of the song reads: “The Fez”. “May God punish you the way you have ruined me/ You have eaten away deep into my heart, you have forsaken me now/ I try to forget you but my heart aches for you/ You are my first and only love/ Your beautiful eyes, do not look [at them] in the mirror/ Because you love only yourself and forget me/ From your sweet eyes flows immortal water/ I asked for a drop but you refused me.” The English translation was assisted by Amanatidis, (personal communication, 2005).

¹⁹¹ A music transcription of the song is presented at the end of this paper.

¹⁹² The sound recording begins during a verse. The song text before this point is inaudible.

Και εμένα λησμονείς, αμάν αμάν
Και εμένα λησμονείς. Verse 6 is repeated by Group 2

Group 1

7. Από τα, από τα γλυκά σου μάτια
Από τα, από τα γλυκά σου μάτια
Τρέχ' αθάνατο νερό, αμάν αμάν
Τρέχ' αθάνατο νερό. Verse 7 is repeated by Group 2

Group 1

8. Και σου γύ-, και σου γύρεψα λιγάκι
Και σου γύ-, και σου γύρεψα λιγάκι
Και δεν μου 'δωσες να πιώ, αμάν αμάν
Και δεν μου 'δωσες να πιώ. Verse 8 is repeated by Group 2

To Papazi is a song of unrequited love.¹⁹³ Despite its sad song text and melsimatic melody, it is sung with much gusto and sporadic clapping accompaniment. The melismatic singing is assisted by a steady underlying metre (beat) in simple quadruple time (4/4) at a moderate tempo.

The song text contains 8 verses, which are 15 syllable trochaic distichs (couplets). The first hemistich of each distich contains 8 syllables while the second hemistich contains 7 syllables. Each hemistich is repeated. The repetition of the first three syllables of each verse lengthens the song text, perhaps to accommodate the melody.

The form of *To Papazi* is strophic with the same *skopo* (“melody”, “tune”) recurring with each subsequent verse. The melody has a distinctive Asia Minor/Byzantine melodic style with many melismas and a meandering ‘rhapsodic’ style which does not fit into regular 16-bar phrases, but rather spans an ‘odd’ 15-bar phrase.

Modally, the song employs two tetrachords with a tonal centre of E. The first half of the melody contains the E minor tetrachord (E F# G A), which ascends and descends in an undulating contour, mostly with a step-wise motion except for the interval of a 3rd. The second half of the melody ascends to the III degree (G) and descends in an undulating contour through to the A major tetrachord (A B C# D) to lower A. It moves mostly in 2nds with occasional intervals of a 3rd and 4th. Finally the melody returns to the first E minor tetrachord to be ‘resolved’. When the melody descends to this final resolution, the II degree (F#) appears to be slightly flattened by the singers, rendering it a half-F# and closer to the phrygian or ‘ousak’ minor *dromos* (“scale”), (E F G A B), (e.g., bars 14, 29, 74, etc.). This indicates the employment by singers of an untempered scale (i.e. intervals other than those employed in contemporary western classical music).

To Papazi is a very melismatic song in which ornaments of several notes are sung to single syllables of the text. Vocal ornaments include upper and lower turns, trills and dotted quaver figures. Some ornamentations are indiscernible because of the quality of the recording. For example, the difference between an ornamental trill and a wide vibrato is not clear. There are also interesting variations of the same melody with slight changes in ornamentation (compare bars 124 with 128).

During the singing of the eight verses, the pitch of the song gradually ascends chromatically from E minor to F minor (bar 61) to F# minor (bar 181) to G minor (bar 226). The vocal range of the singing is one octave and this gradually ascends with the shift in tonal centre from A-A, to Bb-Bb, to B natural-B natural to C-C. Both groups initiate these tonal centre changes which, while they are transpositions in a technical sense, perhaps indicate a ‘competitive’ intensification of the performance as the groups ‘turn’ (*yirizoun*) the song from verse to verse.

¹⁹³ Some verses of *To Papazi* are found in other Greek folk songs (e.g., verses 7 and 8 are found in *Aidinikos Horos*, a song from Asia Minor).

The heterophonic style of singing in *To Papazi* is evident when one compares the vocal melody executed simply with longer note values by some singers with the vocal melody executed ‘busily’ with ornaments of shorter note values by other singers (e.g., bars 9-11; 40-41 and 70-71). All categories of singers - “Female Voices”, “Male Voices” and the “Male Tenor”- are observed to ornament the melody.

An interesting feature of the melody is the sudden rise of the melody an octave as the Male Tenor voice changes registers (e.g., bars 9; 39; 69) which also adds intensity to the dynamics and expression in the performance.

There is a correspondence in the text-melody relationship. The vocal melody is comprised of two phrases. The repetition of the first hemistich corresponds with the repetition of the first melodic phrase. The second hemistich corresponds with the second melodic phrase. When the second hemistich is repeated, the second melodic phrase is varied to form a closure (IV-II-I; A-F#-E), for example:

Verse 2

Μου ‘φαγες, μου ‘φαγες τα σωθικά μου	MELODIC PHRASE 1
Μου ‘φαγες, μου ‘φαγες τα σωθικά μου	MELODIC PHRASE 1
Τώρα μ’απαρνήθηκες, αμάν, αμάν	MELODIC PHRASE 2, half-close
Τώρα μ’απαρνήθηκες.	MELODIC PHRASE 2, full-close

Another interesting feature is the interjection of the word “αμάν” (“*aman*” = “woe is me”) at the end of the second hemistich, perhaps to ‘fill in’ the melody and create a ‘pause’ in the melody (“half-close”) before it is completed and ‘resolved’ with its repetition. The use of the word *aman* also indicates an Asia Minor musical influence.

The final bar of each verse is not necessarily in 4/4 time. Sometimes Group 2 enters earlier, on beat 3 or 4 (e.g., bars 30, 45, 60), once again indicating the free ‘rhapsodic’ nature of the music.

The second song on the live recording of Skyrian songs is *Perasa ‘Po ‘Na Rema* (“I Crossed The River’s Stream”).

***Perasa ‘Po ‘Na Rema* (“I Crossed The River’s Stream”)¹⁹⁴ Πέρασα ‘Πό ‘Να Ρέμα**

A transcription of the song text of *Perasa ‘Po ‘Na Rema* is presented below in Greek. As for *To Papazi* each verse is sung by Group 1 first and then repeated by Group 2.¹⁹⁵

1. Πέρασα ‘πό ‘να ρέμα
 πέρασα ‘πό ‘να ρέμα
 πέρασα ‘πό ‘να ρέμα
 με πήρ’ ο ποταμός.

2. Με πήρε και με πήγε
 Με πήρε και με πήγε
 Με πήρε και με πήγε
 στη νέα π’ αγαπώ.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ An English translation of the song reads: “I Crossed The River’s Stream” “I crossed the river’s stream and the current swept me away/ You left me, the young one I love/ Come let me kiss you and you kiss me too/ And when I reveal [my love], reveal your’s too/ Come let us kiss like the wild birds/ That couple on the branches and build their nest/ La la la etc./And exchange kisses (English translation assisted by Amanatidis, personal communication, 2005).

¹⁹⁵ The music notation of *Perasa ‘Po ‘Na Rema* at the end of this paper presents a standardised representation of the melody (*skopo*) as performed by Group 1. The repeated verses by Group 2 are not presented in the notation because they were not clearly audible.

¹⁹⁶ The song text of verse 2 is not clearly audible on the sound recording.

3. Έλα να σε φιλήσω
έλα να σε φιλήσω
έλα να σε φιλήσω
και φίλα με και 'σύ.

4. Και σαν το μαρτυρίσω
Και σαν το μαρτυρίσω
Και σαν το μαρτυρίσω
Μαρτύρα το και 'συ.

5. Έλα να φιληθούμε
έλα να φιληθούμε
έλα να να φιληθούμε
σαν τα άγρια πουλιά.

6. Που σμίγουν στα κλαδάκια
που σμίγουν στα κλαδάκια
που σμίγουν στα κλαδάκια
και χτίζουνε φωλιά.

7. Λα
Λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα
Λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα
και αλλάζουνε φιλιά.

Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema is another song of unrequited love with a final plea to build a love nest like the wild birds. It has a steady underlying metre in simple quadruple time and is slightly slower than *To Papazi* which adds to its brooding tone as a typical Skyrian 'table song' for responsorial singing.

The song contains seven verses which are exchanged responsorially as for *To Papazi*. Six of the verses are 13 syllable trochaic distichs and strophic in form with the repetition of the same melody (*skopo*) for each verse. The first hemistich of each distich contains 7 syllables and is repeated three times. The second hemistich contains 6 syllables and provides a closure to the distich.

In verse 7 there is a different melody and tonality. Apparently functioning as a *finale* closing 'refrain' for the entire song, 'sing-a-long' "la, la, la" syllables provide the first 10-syllable hemistich which is repeated three times and 'answered' by "και αλλάζουνε φιλιά" (= "and exchange kisses"), a 6-syllable line.

There is also a heterophonic style of singing in *Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema* with singers ornamenting the same 'unison' melody differently.¹⁹⁷

Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema has a distinctive Asia Minor/Byzantine style. There is the sense of a meandering 'rhapsodic' form with the 16-bar melody made irregular by a penultimate 2/4 bar. The song is melismatic as for *To Papazi* with several ornaments (i.e. several notes per syllable) such as upper turns, some slower with quaver note values and others faster with semiquaver note values, adorning the text. The undulating melody moves mostly by step (2nds) with regular intervals of 4ths and 3rds. There are two repeated melodic phrases in a major tonality (F major initially) which alight from the V degree (C) and move to the upper tonic (F) by a 4th interval and then descends mostly in step-wise motion (2nds) with the occasional 3rd intervals. The first phrase has a 'half-close' on the V degree (C) while its repeat finally rests on the III degree (A) which offers a sense of closure. The vocal range is therefore a minor

¹⁹⁷ A standardised representation of the melody rather than the heterophonic style of singing has been notated in *Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema* because many voices were unclear.

sixth between the III and VIII degrees (A B \flat C D E F), which in effect presents a phrygian minor tonality (A B \flat C D E F [G A]) as all pervading.

As in *To Papazi*, the pitch of *Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema* gradually ascends chromatically as the intensity of the performance increases. It commences in F major and ascends to F \sharp major (in verse 2, bar 17), to G major in the repeat of verse 3 by Group 2, to A \flat major in the repeat of verse 4, and finally to A major in verse 6 (bar 81).

There is a slightly different text-melody relationship in *Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema*. The melody comprises a phrase which is repeated. The first hemistich is repeated three times over one and a half melodic phrases and rests on C (V) while the second hemistich and final half of the melody 'closes' the song with a melodic descent of VI – IV – III (D – B \flat – A). For example:

1. Πέρασα 'πό 'να ρέμα	MELODIC PHRASE
πέρασα 'πό 'να ρέμα	MELODIC PHRASE CONT., half-close
πέρασα 'πό 'να ρέμα	REPEATED MELODIC PHRASE
με πήρ' ο ποταμός.	REPEATED MELODIC PHRASE CONT., full-close

The repetition of the first hemistich three times may be a convenient technique which gives singers time to remember or improvise an appropriate 'answer' with a second hemistich.¹⁹⁸

The final verse 7 remains in A major (the song having ascended in pitch from F major to A major) but contains a simpler melody. It moves mostly by step, alights from the III degree (C \sharp) and appears to emphasise the E major tetrachord, E F \sharp G \sharp A. There is the leap of a 4th to the VIII (E-A) and a leap of a 5th to the VII (C \sharp -G \sharp). The melody finally rests on the III degree (C \sharp) again.

The third song recorded live at the Skyrian carnival celebration is *Ta Kanaria*, "The Canaries".

Ta Kanaria ("The Canaries")¹⁹⁹ Τα Κανάρια

A transcription of the song text of *Ta Kanaria* is presented below in Greek. Each verse is sung by Group 1 first and then repeated by Group 2.²⁰⁰

1. Από τα πεντέμια πέφτω κανάρια
από τα πεντέμια πέφτω κανάρια
πέφτω για να σκοτωθώ, κανάρια
πέφτω για να σκοτωθώ.

2. Κι η αγάπη μου φωνάζει, κανάρια
κι η αγάπη μου φωνάζει, κανάρια
πιάστε τον για το Θεό, κανάρια
πιάστε τον για το Θεό.

3. Είχα κόρη να σου στείλω, κανάρια
Είχα κόρη να σου στείλω, κανάρια
λουλουδάκια απ' το βουνό, κανάρια
λουλουδάκια απ' το βουνό.

¹⁹⁸ Albert Lord (1960) discusses the 'formulaic' uses of hemistichs by singers in European cultures.

¹⁹⁹ An English translation of the song reads: "The Canaries". "From the cliff face, canaries [regular interjection], I fall so I can kill myself/ And my love cries out, for God's sake save him/ I will send you, young girl, flowers from the mountain/ So that you may put them in a vase, and think of me/ A hundred times I have said, if only I had not been born/ and entangled in your love." The English translation was assisted by Amanatidis (personal communication, 2005).

²⁰⁰ The music notation of *Ta Kanaria* at the end of this paper presents a standardised representation of the melody (*skopo*) as performed by Group 1. The repeated verses by Group 2 are not presented in the notation because they were not clearly audible.

4. Να τα βάλεις στο ποτήρι, κανάρια
να τα βάλεις στο ποτήρι, κανάρια
να θαρρείς πως είμαι εγώ, κανάρια
να θαρρείς πως είμαι εγώ.

5. Εκατό φορές το είπα, κανάρια
εκατό φορές το είπα, κανάρια
να μην είχα γεννηθεί, κανάρια
να μην είχα γεννηθεί.

6. Και στην εδική σ' αγάπη, κανάρια
και στην εδική σ' αγάπη, κανάρια
να μην είχα περδευτεί, κανάρια
να μην είχα περδευτεί.

Despite the desperate sentiments of this song of unrequited love, *Ta Kanaria* is a fast and lively song with a dance-like rhythmic feel which is enhanced by the singers clapping to the beat. The more up-tempo simple quadruple metre is not disturbed by the irregular 15-bar melody, nor by the occasional early entries of the Groups.

The song text contains six verses which are sung responsorially by the two Groups. Performers in Group 1 can be heard asking one another, “*Tha to yirisoun*”, meaning, “Will Group 2 repeat the verse”? This is the repetition or “turning” (*yirisma*) characteristic of all three Skyrian songs discussed here.

The 15 syllable trochaic distichs of *Ta Kanaria* are broken up by the repetition of each hemistich and elongated by the interjection of “*kanaria*” (= “canaries”), perhaps once again a technique to elongate the text to ‘fit’ the melody. The first hemistich consists of 8 syllables and the second hemistich contains 7 syllables. The hemistichs correspond with the two melodic phrases of the *skopo* (“tune”, “melody”) of *Ta Kanaria*. Also characteristic of all three songs discussed is the strophic form of the song with the same melody repeated for each verse.

This song contains a melodic contrast between syllabic (one note per syllable) and melismatic styles (a group of notes per syllable such as upper and lower turns). As with the two previous songs discussed, the melody moves mostly in a step-wise motion (2nds) with the occasional 4th and 3rd intervals. There is a heterophonic style of singing obvious in *Ta Kanaria* with individual singers ornamenting the same melody slightly differently.

The tonality of *Ta Kanaria* hovers between a C major pentachord (C D E F G) and D natural minor pentachord (D E F G A). The corresponding first melodic phrase/hemistich alights from C to rest on D, while the second melodic phrase/hemistich alights from E to finally end on D:

1. Από τα πεντέμια πέφτω κανάρια	MELODIC PHRASE 1 (full-close on D)
από τα πεντέμια πέφτω κανάρια	MELODIC PHRASE 1 (full-close on D)
πέφτω για να σκοτωθώ, κανάρια	MELODIC PHRASE 2 (half-close on C)
πέφτω για να σκοτωθώ, κανάρια	MELODIC PHRASE 2 (full-close on D)

In this way the song may be interpreted as having a D natural minor (*minore*) tonality or modality with the D minor pentachord (D E F G A) pulling back to the VII degree C pentachord (C D E F G), the “*hypotonic* or secondary tonal centre” as is common in Greek folk music (Chianis 1980: 679).²⁰¹

With the excitement of the exchange of verses between the two groups, the tonal centre gradually ascends chromatically as for the previous two songs from D to D# major in the repeat of verse 3 by Group 2, to E in verse 6.

²⁰¹ See Chianis on Greek folk music (1980) vol.7, 675-682.

SUMMARY

In summary, there are various features common to all three Skyrian songs discussed.

Firstly, these three songs of unrequited love have a distinctive simple quadruple metre which appears to enhance the cohesiveness of the group 'unison' singing. This is despite the slightly irregular metre in all three songs with either 15-bar phrases or shortened 16-bar phrases.

The Skyrian songs discussed display a unity of structure based on the repeated distich (of variant lengths) and a strophic form whereby the same melody is repeated for each subsequent verse (and the occasional 'refrain'), and various correspondences between repeated hemistichs and melodic phrases.

Singing is performed in unison with everyone basically singing the same melody. Exceptions to this occur when some women sing an octave higher than men.²⁰² Occasionally one can hear a male voice singing in 'tenor' voice in the same register as the women. Responsorial singing presents another exception as groups of singers musically compete with each other for aesthetic prominence.

The third exception to this notion of 'unison' singing is the presence of heterophony (also common in most Greek folk music) whereby singers perform the same basic melody (*skopo*) but ornament it differently, some in more detail than others depending on their disposition, vocal dexterity and imagination. Within the context of group consensus, heterophony appears to accommodate individual creativity and expression, adding aesthetic colour to the music-making experience while enhancing the community experience.

Tonality in these songs hovers between major and minor tetrachords and pentachords, with vocal melodies meandering in Asia Minor/Byzantine style by 2nds and occasional intervals of 3rds, 4ths and 5ths. Singing is mostly melismatic with the use of various types of ornaments, especially turns, while syllabic articulation does occur to lesser degree. With the unaccompanied singing of Skyrian 'table songs' tonal centres are also flexible and tend to ascend chromatically throughout the song as performance intensity increases.

²⁰² See the musical notation *To Papazi* for the distinction between female and male voices.

To Papazi "The Fez"

Moderato ♩ = 110

Traditional Skyrian Song
Recording: Agapi Amanatidis, Skyros, 29 Feb 1992
Transcription: Demeter Tsounis

Fem Voc

Mal Voc

Tenor

THE RECORDING COMMENCES IN THE MIDDLE OF AN INAUDIBLE VERSE. THE NEXT VERSE, 'VERSE 1', COMMENCES FAINTLY. THE RECORDING IS INTERRUPTED AND THEN RESUMES FROM THIS POINT BELOW (BAR 2).

GROUP 1

1. το, α - πό το θε - ό να το βρεις α - πό

το, α - πό το θε - ό να το βρεις ό - πως με

κα - την τη σε(ς) α - μάν α - μάν ο - πως με κα -

GROUP 2

τη ντη σε(ς) 1. Α - πό το, α - πό

To Papazi

Fem Voc

Mal Voc

Tenor

το θε - ό να το βρεις α - πό το, α - πό

το θε - ό να το βρεις ο - πως με κα - την

τη - σεσ α - μάν α - μάν ο - πως με κα - την τη -

GROUP 4

σοσ. 2. 'φα - γες μου 'φα - γες τα σω - θι -
2. Μου 'φα - γες [AS ABOVE]

κά μου μου 'φα - γες μου 'φα - γες τα σω - θι -

To Papazi

The musical score for "To Papazi" is presented in five systems. Each system contains three staves: Fem Voc (Female Voice), Mal Voc (Male Voice), and Tenor. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are in Greek and are placed below the vocal staves. Measure numbers are indicated at the beginning of each system.

System 1 (Measures 129-131):

Fem Voc: κύ μου τό - ρα μ'αρ - παρ - νη - θη - κες α - μάν
 Mal Voc: (Instrumental accompaniment)
 Tenor: (Instrumental accompaniment)

System 2 (Measures 132-134):

Fem Voc: α - μάν τό - ρα μ'αρ - παρ - νη - θη - κες
 Mal Voc: (Instrumental accompaniment)
 Tenor: (Instrumental accompaniment)

System 3 (Measures 135-137):

GROUP 2
 Fem Voc: 2. Μου 'ρα - γες μου 'ρα - γες τα σω - θι - κά μου
 Mal Voc: (Instrumental accompaniment)
 Tenor: (Instrumental accompaniment)

System 4 (Measures 138-140):

Fem Voc: μου 'ρα - γες μου 'ρα - γες τα σω - θι - κά μου
 Mal Voc: (Instrumental accompaniment)
 Tenor: (Instrumental accompaniment)

System 5 (Measures 141-143):

Fem Voc: τό - ρα μ'αρ - παρ - νη - θη - κες α - μάν α - μάν τό - ρα
 Mal Voc: (Instrumental accompaniment)
 Tenor: (Instrumental accompaniment)

To Papazi

Fem Voc

Mal Voc

Tenor

να σ'α - λησ - μο - νή σου κά - νο να, κά - νο

να σ'α - λησ - μο - νή σου. Μα η καρ - διά μου σε

πο νεί α - μάν α - μάν μα η καρ - διά μου σε πο

GROUP 1

νεί. 4. Σ'ου είσ' η πρό - σου είσ' η πρό - τη μ' η α

γά - πι σου είσ' η πρό - σου είσ' η πρό - τη μ' η α

To Papazi

Fem Voc

Mal Voc

Tenor

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127 ραί - τα - ω - ραί - α σου τα - μά - τιά Στο κα - θρέ -

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To Papazi

Fem Voc
 Mal Voc
 Tenor

πέ - σαι, και ε - με - να - λη - σμο - νεις - α - μάν
 α - μάν και ε - με - να - λη - σμο - νεις
GROUP 2
 6 Για - τί - μό - για - τί - μό - νη σ'α - γα - πέ - σαι
 για - τί - μό - για - τί - μό - νη σ'α - γα - πέ - σαι
 και ε - με - να - λη - σμο - νεις - α - μάν α - μάν και ε -

To Papazi

177 179 181 183 **GROUP 1**

Fem Voc μέ - να λη - σμο - νεις

Mal Voc 7. Α - πό

Tenor

185 187 189 191

7. α - α - πό τα, γλυ - κά σου μά - τιά α - πό

τα α - πό [AS ABOVE]

193 195 197 199

τα, α - πό τα γλυ - κά σου μά - τιά Γρέχ - α - θά -

201 203 205 207

να το νε - ρό α - μάν α - μάν τρέχ - α - θά - να

209 211 213 **GROUP 2**

το νε - ρό 7. Α - πό τα, α - πό

To Papazi

Fem Voc

Mal Voc

Tenor

198 τα γλυ - κά σου — μιά — τιά — α — κό — τα, — α — πό

203 τα γλυ - κά σου — μιά — τιά. Τρέχ' α - θά — να — το

207 νε - ρό — α - μάν — α - μάν τρέχ' — α - θά — να — το νε -

211 ρό, 8. Και — σου — γύ., — και — σου γύ - ρε - ψα λι -

213 8. Και [AS ABOVE]

215 γά — κι — και — σου — γύ., — και — σου γύ - ρε - ψα λι -

To Papazi

Fem Voc

Mal Voc

Tenor

218 219 220 221

γά - κι και δεν μου 'δω - σες να πω - α - μάν

222 223 224 225

α - μάν και δεν μου 'δω - σες να πω,

GROUP 2

226 227 228 229

8 και σου γύ - και σου γύ - ρε - ψα λι - γά - κι

230 231 232 233

και σου γύ - και σου γύ - ρε - ψα λι - γά - κι

234 235 236 237

Και δεν μου 'δω - σες να πω α - μάν α - μάν και δεν

238 239 240

μου 'δω - σες να πω,

GROUP 1 COMMENCES NEW MELODY/SKOPO - "PERASA 'PO 'NA REMA"

© 2001 (ed 2005) Maraki Music

Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema "I Crossed The River's Stream"

Andante ♩ = 100

Traditional Skyrian Song
Recording: Agapi Amanatidis, Skyros, 29 Feb 1992
Transcription: Demeter Tsounis

EACH VERSE IS REPEATED BY GROUP 2

Voc Gr I

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 4/4 time signature. It consists of eight staves of music. The first four staves correspond to the first verse, and the last four staves correspond to the second verse. The lyrics are written below the notes, with bar numbers 1 through 32 indicated above the staff lines. The first verse ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The second verse begins with a key signature change to three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a 2/4 time signature change.

1. Πέ - ρα - σα - 'πό - 'να ρέ - μα
 5. πέ - ρα - σα - 'πό - 'να ρέ - μα
 9. πέ - ρα - σα - 'πό - 'να ρέ - μα
 13. με πτή - ρ' ο - πο - τα - μός.
 17. 2. Μέ πτή - ρε και μέ πτή - γε
 21. μέ πτή - ρε και μέ πτή - γε
 25. μέ πτή - ρε και μέ πτή - γε
 29. στη νέ - α - π' α - γα - πώ.

© 2001 (ed 2005) Meraki Music

Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema

Voc Gr I

3. Έ - λα να σε φι - λή - σω
 έ - λα να σε φι - λή - σω
 έ - λα να σε φι - λή - σω
 και φι - λα με και 'σου.
 4. Και σαν το μαρ - τυ - ρί - σω
 και σαν το μαρ - τυ - ρί - σω
 και σαν το μαρ - τυ - ρί - σω
 μαρ - τυ - ρα το και 'σου.
 5. Έ - λα να φι - λη - θού - με
 έ - λα να φι - λη - θού - με

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Perasa 'Po 'Na Rema

Voc Gr I

6. Που σμί - γουν στα κλα - δά - κια
 σαν τα άγρι α που - λιά,
 που σμί - γουν στα κλα - δά - κια
 που σμί - γουν στα κλα - δά - κια
 και χτί - ζου - νε φω - λιά,
 7. Λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα
 λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα
 λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα λα κια -
 λλά - ζου - νε φι - λιά.

GROUP 1 COMMENCES NEW MELODY/SKOPOS "TA KANARIA"

Ta Kanaria "The Canaries"

Allegro $\text{♩} = 130$

Traditional Skyrian Song
Recording: Agapi Amanatidis, Skyros, 29 Feb 1992
Transcription: Demeter Tsounis

EACH VERSE IS REPEATED BY GROUP 2

Voc Gr I

1. Α - πό τα πε - ντέ - μια... πέ - φτω κα - νά - ρια
 α - πό τα πε - ντέ - μια... πέ - φτω κα - νά - ρια
 πέ - φτω για να σκο - τώ - θώ... κα - νά - ρια
 πέ - φτω για να σκο - τώ - θώ.
 2. Κι η α - γά - πη μου φω - νά - ζει κα - νά - ρια
 κι η α - γά - πη μου φω - νά - ζει κα - νά - ρια
 πιά - στε τον για το θε - ο... κα - νά - ρια
 πιά - στε τον για το θε - ο.
 3. Πες μου κό - ρη να σου... στεί - λω κα - νά - ρια
 πες μου κό - ρη να σου... στεί - λω κα - νά - ρια
 λου - λου - δά - κια απ' το βου - νό... κά - νά - ρια
 λου - λου - δά - κια απ' το βου - νό.

Ta Kanaria

Voc Gr 1

4. Να τα βιά - λεις στο πο - τή - ρι κα - νά - ρια
 να τα βιά - λεις στο πο - τή - ρι κα - νά - ρια
 να χα - ρείς πως εί - μαι ε - γώ κα - νά - ρια
 να χα - ρείς πως εί - μαι ε - γώ.

5. Ε - κα - τό φο - ρές το εί - πα κα - νά - ρια
 ε - κα - τό φο - ρές το εί - πα κα - νά - ρια
 να μην εί - χα γε - ννη - θεί κα - νά - ρια
 να μην εί - χα γε - ννη - θεί.

6. Και στην ε - δι - κή σ'α - γά - πη κα - νά - ρια
 και στην ε - δι - κή σ'α - γά - πη κα - νά - ρια
 να μην εί - χα περ - δευ - τεί κα - νά - ρια
 να μην εί - χα περ - δευ - τεί.

THE RECORDING FADES AND STOPS DURING THE REPEAT OF VERSE 6 BY GROUP 2

PART B

Traditional Skyrian Carnival Song: *Tis Apokrias – Aftes I Meres To 'Houne*, “These Are The Days”

Dr. Demeter Tsounis
2002 (ed. 2005)

INTRODUCTION

This paper²⁰³ presents musicological observations of the Skyrian Carnival song *Aftes I Meres To 'Houne*, (“These Are The Days”) with the assistance of transcriptions of the song text and music.²⁰⁴ The song is found on the commercial LP recording *Skyriana Tragoudia*²⁰⁵ and was recorded by Simona Karra and Maria Voura on the Aegean island of Skyros in 1978.

On the recording of *Aftes I Meres To 'Houne* there are six male and female singers (Manolis Xanthoulis, Nikos Orfanos, Alekos Trahanas, Manolis Trahanas, Frosini Bonatsou-Tsakami, Maria Ftouli-Fergadi), a clarinetist (Christos Pagonis) and a lutist (Kostantis Bimbis).²⁰⁶

It is a happy song celebrating the time of Carnival when ‘children sing’, ‘mothers take delight’ and await the return of their shepherd husbands to don their best dress for the celebrations. A transcription of the Greek song text is presented below.²⁰⁷

Αυτές Οι Μέρες Το 'Χουνε (“These Are The Days”)²⁰⁸

1. Αυτές οι μέρες το 'χουνε
κι αυτές, κι αυτές οι εβδο-, τσ' αυτές οι εβδομάδες.

2. Να τραγουδούνε τα παιδιά
να χαί-, να χαίροντ' οι μα-, να χαίροντ' οι manάδες.

‘REFRAIN’

3. Χαρήτε να χαρήσομε
τσ' ο θιός, τσ' ο θιός το ξερ' αν, τσ' ο θιός το ξερ' αν ζή-, αν ζήσομε.

4. Τσοπάνη μ' όταν έρχεσαι
απ' το, απ' το βουνόδρο-, απ' το βουνόδρομένες.

5. Τσ' από τους κάμπους δροσερές
σαν άν-, σαν άντζελε γρα-, σαν άντζελε γραμμένες.

²⁰³ I am indebted to Agapi Amanatidis (personal communication, 2005) and her friends Vangelis Gkinis, Kalio Ftouli (17 February, 2002) for their corrections and commentaries and Soula Mandilara who made insightful observations of the song texts (23 August, 2004).

²⁰⁴ A music notation of the song appears at the end of this paper.

²⁰⁵ *Skyriana Tragoudia*. LP Recording. EMI TC SPR 142. No. 299/87, 1978. Side A, Track 4.

²⁰⁶ *Skyriana Tragoudia*. LP Record Notes pp. 1-6.

²⁰⁷ The music notation of *Aftes I Meres To 'Houne* at the end of this paper presents a standardised representation of the melody for all the voices.

²⁰⁸ An English translation of the song reads: “These are the days and these are the weeks/ When children sing and mothers take delight/ Be merry and let us enjoy/ For only God knows if we will live/ My shepherd when you come down from the mountain in a sweat/ Refreshed from the plains like a picture of an angel/ Put it on, put it on, your dark blue jacket/ Put it on, put it on, and when you get hot take it off.” The English translation was assisted by Amanatidis (personal communication, 2005).

‘REFRAIN’

6. Βάλτενα, βάλτενα μαρέ
το γε-, το γερανιέ σου, το γερανιέ σου με το μεντενέ.

‘REFRAIN’

7. Βάλτενα μαρέ, βάλτενα
τσε σα, τσε σαν καψώσεις, τσε σα καψώσεις βγάλε βγάλτενα.

OBSERVATIONS

The song *Aftes I Meres To 'Houne* features a group of male and female singers accompanied by clarinet and lute. The clarinet provides an instrumental introduction, instrumental interludes between verses and an instrumental coda, as well as melodic accompaniment of the singing. The lute provides a harmonic-rhythmic accompaniment for both singers and clarinetist.

Aftes I Meres To 'Houne is a lively song in a simple quadruple metre with four beats to a bar. Occasionally there is a bar of Simple Duple time (two beats in the bar) to accommodate the extended melody-text phrase which indicates an aggregative ‘rhapsodic’ style of melody.

This song is in typical strophic form with the same vocal melody repeated for each subsequent verse. There also appears to be a type of ‘refrain’ interspersed between verses which melodically differs enough from the verse (in the first two bars) to warrant its distinction. However, it is not a standard refrain which maintains the same lyrics every repetition. The melodic-textual form of the song is thus:

Verse 1

Verse 2

Verse 3 (‘Refrain’)

Verse 4

Verse 5

Verse 6 (‘Refrain’)

Verse 7 (‘Refrain’)

Verses 1, 2, 4 and 5 are consistently 15-syllable iambic distichs. The ‘Refrain’ verses however present a variation to the textual form. ‘Refrain’ 3 contains a pair of 8-syllable lines while ‘Refrain’ 6 and 7 contain a distich of 8- and 10-syllable lines. Perhaps the slightly longer ‘Refrain’ melodies accommodate the longer texts.

The singing style of *Aftes I Meres To 'Houne* is unison group singing: everyone is basically singing the same *skopo* (“melody”, “tune”) with a lower octave range at times for men. There are slight ornamental variations in the vocal melody from singer to singer which indicates heterophonic singing but this is minimal in the recording.

The tonality of the entire piece is diatonic and hovers between two overlapping pentachords: C D E F G and D E F G A. Each melody commences and sits in a C major tonality and ends in a D minor tonality. Perhaps C major is the tonal centre while D minor is the ‘hypertonic’ or secondary tonal note based on the II degree.²⁰⁹

The entire vocal melodic range is a minor 7th (C-Bb). The vocal melody moves mostly by step (2nds) in meandering ascending and descending contours. There are the occasional leaps of a 4th and a 3rd. The ‘Refrain’ melody differs from the verse melody by alighting from G and rising to Bb, the highest note in the vocal melody, suggesting a G minor upper tetrachord, G A Bb C. This rise to Bb certainly adds a dramatic quality to the melody, creating a minor 7th degree interval from the tonic C and perhaps

²⁰⁹ See Chianis on Greek folk music (1980) vol.7, 675-682.

adding symbolic interest to the vocative tense of the 'Refrain' verses (e.g., "Be merry...", "Put it on...", etc.).

The instrumental melody played by the clarinet mirrors the verse and 'Refrain' melodies, adding ornamentation. The clarinet melodies also contain leaps of a 5th and 6th, two examples of 'counter' melody (see the seventh bar of each verse melody, e.g., bar 21; and the eighth bar of each 'Refrain' melody, e.g., 77) and an extended range of a 9th (G-A) during the verse and an octave (C-C) during the 'Refrain. One can observe the difference between the vocal melody which is executed more simply with longer note values and the instrumental melody on clarinet which is executed more complexly with ornaments of shorter note values (i.e. the instrumental melody is 'busier'). The ornamental and melodic 'freedom' of the clarinet part also points to a heterophonic style typical of Greek folk music-making whereby instruments and voices provide variations on the 'unison' melody.

The lutist provides a rhythmic block chord accompaniment which maintains the tonic C chord and occasionally moves to the hypertonic D minor chord. The rhythmic accompaniment points to the Greek *syrtos* ("dragging dance") dance rhythm especially with the dotted-crotchet/quaver/crotchet/crotchet figure (e.g., bars 2, 8, 9 etc.), suggesting that the song is performed to accompany dancing.

Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune
"Carnival Song" - "These Are The Days"

Allegro $\text{♩} = 160$

Traditional Skyrian Carnival Song
LP Recording "Skyriana Tragoudia" 1978 EMI 659429987
Transcription: Demeter Tsounis

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system includes staves for Vocals, Clarinet, and Lute. The second system continues the instrumental parts. The third system introduces the vocal line with lyrics in Greek and English. The lyrics are: "I. Aftes - tes oi me - res to you" (measures 14-16) and "vc ki ou - tes ki ou - tes oi c" (measures 17-20). The score is in 4/4 time and features a mix of treble and bass clefs for the instruments.

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Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is for Vocals, the middle for Clarinet, and the bottom for Lute. The music is in 4/4 time and features a mix of 2/4 and 3/4 time signatures. The vocal line includes the following lyrics: βδο-... τα' αυ - τος ο1... βδο... με... ος... The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

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Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves: Voces (Vocal), Clarinet, and Lute. The vocal line includes the following lyrics: 2. Na τρα - γου - δοῦ - νε τα παι - δία να χαι - να χαι - ροντ' οἱ να χαι - ροντ' οἱ μα - να - δες. The Clarinet part features a melodic line with some triplets. The Lute part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. Measure numbers 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60 are indicated at the beginning of each system.

Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score consists of five systems, each with three staves: Vocals (top), Clarinet (middle), and Lute (bottom). Measure numbers are indicated above the vocal staff in boxes. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

System 1: Measures 81-84. No lyrics.

System 2: Measures 85-88. No lyrics.

System 3: Measures 89-92. Lyrics: 3. Χα - ρή - τε να - χα -

System 4: Measures 93-96. Lyrics: ρή - σο - με τσ' ο θύς, τσ' ο θύς το -

System 5: Measures 97-100. Lyrics: ξέρ - αν, τσ' ο θύς

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Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves: Vocals (top), Clarinet (middle), and Lute (bottom). The time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1 (Measures 81-84):
Vocals: to ξέρ' av. Γή, av ζή - σο -
Clarinet: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
Lute: Chordal accompaniment with eighth notes.

System 2 (Measures 85-88):
Vocals: (Silent)
Clarinet: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
Lute: Chordal accompaniment with eighth notes.

System 3 (Measures 89-92):
Vocals: (Silent)
Clarinet: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
Lute: Chordal accompaniment with eighth notes.

System 4 (Measures 93-96):
Vocals: (Silent)
Clarinet: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
Lute: Chordal accompaniment with eighth notes.

System 5 (Measures 97-100):
Vocals: 4. Τσο - πά - νη μ' ό - ταν
Clarinet: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
Lute: Chordal accompaniment with eighth notes.

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Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is for Vocals, the middle for Clarinet, and the bottom for Lute. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1 (Measures 99-104):
Vocals: ἐρ - χε - σαι ἀπ' τοῦ ἀπ' τοῦ βου -
Clarinet: [Instrumental accompaniment]
Lute: [Instrumental accompaniment]

System 2 (Measures 105-110):
Vocals: νό - ὄρο - ἀπ' τοῦ
Clarinet: [Instrumental accompaniment]
Lute: [Instrumental accompaniment]

System 3 (Measures 111-116):
Vocals: βου νό ὄρο με -
Clarinet: [Instrumental accompaniment]
Lute: [Instrumental accompaniment]

System 4 (Measures 117-122):
Vocals: νό
Clarinet: [Instrumental accompaniment]
Lute: [Instrumental accompaniment]

System 5 (Measures 123-128):
Vocals: [Empty staff]
Clarinet: [Instrumental accompaniment]
Lute: [Instrumental accompaniment]

Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in five systems, each with three staves: Vocals (top), Clarinet (middle), and Lute (bottom). The music is in 2/4 time and consists of 140 measures. The lyrics are in Greek and are placed below the vocal line.

Measures 121-124: Vocals are silent. Clarinet and Lute play accompaniment.

Measure 125: Vocals: 5. Το'α - πό τους κά - μπους

Measures 126-129: Vocals: όρο - σε - ρές - σαν άν - σαν άν - τζε

Measures 130-133: Vocals: λε - γρα - σαν άν -

Measures 134-137: Vocals: τζε - λε - γρα - μιέ -

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Tis Apokrias - Aftis I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves: Vocals (top), Clarinet (middle), and Lute (bottom). The music is in 2/4 time. The first system (measures 141-144) shows the vocal line starting with a rest, followed by the clarinet and lute. The second system (measures 145-148) continues the instrumental accompaniment. The third system (measures 149-152) features the vocal line with the lyrics "6. Βά - λτε - να, βά - λτε - να, μι - ρε - το γυ - ρο - το". The fourth system (measures 153-156) continues the vocal line with the lyrics "6. Βά - λτε - να, βά - λτε - να, μι - ρε - το γυ - ρο - το". The fifth system (measures 157-160) shows the vocal line with the lyrics "6. Βά - λτε - να, βά - λτε - να, μι - ρε - το γυ - ρο - το".

Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in five systems, each with three staves: Vocals (top), Clarinet (middle), and Lute (bottom). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The score includes measure numbers 181-184, 185-188, 189-192, 193-196, and 197-200. The music features a mix of 2/4 and 4/4 time signatures. The vocal line includes the lyrics: γε - πα - νί - σου, το - γε - πα - νί - σου - με - το, με - νε - νε, and με - νε - νε. The Clarinet and Lute parts provide accompaniment with various rhythmic patterns and chords.

Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in five systems, each with three staves: Voces (Vocals), Clarinet, and Lute. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 2/4. The score includes Greek lyrics and measure numbers in brackets above the vocal line.

System 1 (Measures 181-184):
Voces: [181] [182] [183] [184] 7. Βά -
Clarinet: [181] [182] [183] [184]
Lute: [181] [182] [183] [184]

System 2 (Measures 185-188):
Voces: [185] [186] [187] [188] λτε - να μα - ρέ, βά - λτε - να τσε
Clarinet: [185] [186] [187] [188]
Lute: [185] [186] [187] [188]

System 3 (Measures 189-192):
Voces: [189] [190] [191] [192] σι, τσε σαν κα - πω -
Clarinet: [189] [190] [191] [192]
Lute: [189] [190] [191] [192]

System 4 (Measures 193-196):
Voces: [193] [194] [195] [196] σεις - τσε - σα και - πω - σεις -
Clarinet: [193] [194] [195] [196]
Lute: [193] [194] [195] [196]

System 5 (Measures 197-200):
Voces: [197] [198] [199] [200] βγά - λε βγά - λτε - να.
Clarinet: [197] [198] [199] [200]
Lute: [197] [198] [199] [200]

Tis Apokrias - Aftes I Meres To 'Khoune

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system (measures 197-204) features a vocal line with a whole rest, a clarinet line with eighth-note patterns, and a lute line with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system (measures 205-209) continues the vocal line with a whole rest, the clarinet line with eighth-note patterns, and the lute line with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The third system (measures 210-213) features a vocal line with eighth-note patterns, the clarinet line with eighth-note patterns, and the lute line with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The score concludes with a 'Fine' marking and a final chord in the lute part.

Appendix 6: Satirical Verses

* * *

CONTENTS

- A) Extracts of original verses with translation from the Donkey Gathering and Trata-Aeroplane 1995: Introduction, Belgium sister city visit, The Villa.**
- B1) Original verses on Local Government Elections cited in chapter 3.**
- B2) The accompanying song/satirical verses of the Trata-Aeroplane, 1995.**
- C) Samples of satirical verses (original and translation) from 1991 and 2005.**
- D) Samples of satirical verses (original & translation) from 1900 & 1911 carnival, reproduced from Persidi (1994).**

A) Extracts of original verses with translation from the Donkey Gathering and Trata-Aeroplane 1995: Introduction, Belgium sister city visit, The Villa.

Γαϊδουρομάζεμα, 1995: Εισαγωγή

Τύφλες και μου'τζες να'χοθμε φέτος μ'αντά τα χάλια
η πείνα που μας έπιασε, πάνω στα καρναβάλια

Πίτες πια δέ πασκάσαμε, ούτε τσε μακαρόνια
σαν όνειρα τα θμο'μαστε, τα περασμένα χρόνια

Τότε ούλοι τσικνόνανε, τα μνούχια τα τραγιά τους
τόρα πια δε τσικνούνε, ούτε τσε τα σκατά τους

Έχει η μοζήθρα ενάμιση, τυρί δύο χιλιάδες
που πιά να τ'αγοράσουμε, εμείς οι φουκαράδες

Άλλοτε είχαμε φτηνοί τσ'φασούλες πού'χνε χάρη
που τρώγαμε, τσ' ο κόλος μας πήγαινε σα βαρδάρη

Τώρα τσ'αντοί πανάκριβοι, που πια να τσ' αγοράσομαι
για αυτό βούλωσ' ο κόλος μας, τσε δε μπορούμε να
κλάσουμε

Τράτα-Αεροπλάνο, 1995: Εισαγωγή

Να'μαστε πάλι όλοι εδώ, σαν πέρσι έτσι και φέτος
φαίνεται το'χει η μοίρα μας να σμίγουμ' κάθε έτος

Βλέπω πως καθ'αποκρία και σείς δω σμαζευσάστε
φαίνεται γλυκαθήκατε γι'αυτό και ξαναρχόσαστε

Έρχεστε να γλεντήσετε να φάτε τσε να πιείτε
στο τέλος να μας χέσετε και να αποσυρθείτε

Και μεις προσαρμοζόμαστε ανάλογα τσ' ανάγκες
γιατ' είμαστε ομορφόπαιδα, αλλά προπάντων μάγκες

Γι' αυτό τη Τράτα μας τ'καναμε αεροπλάνο
να βλέπομε τα συννεφα και τ' θάλασσα απο πάνω

Donkey Gathering, 1995: Introduction

We are blinded and jinxed this year and in a mess
for hunger has taken over us right upon carnival

We no longer taste pies, not even macaroni
we remember them like a dream in years gone by

Then everyone would grill their rams and goats
now they can't even grill their shit

Ricotta cheese costs one and half, cheese two
thousand (drachmas)
how can we wretched ones buy these things

Once they were cheap, and beans had flavour
we would eat them and our arse blew like the wind

Now they are so expensive, how can we buy them
that's why our bums are clogged, we can't even fart
...

Trata Aeroplane, 1995: Introduction

Here we are again, this year like the last
it seems to be our destiny to meet every year

I see that every carnival you also gather here
it seems you've acquired the taste and came again

You come to revel, to eat and drink
in the end you shit on us and then leave

And we have adjusted according to such needs
because we are handsome and cool dudes

That's why we made our Trata boat into a plane
so we can see the clouds and the sea below

Βέλγιο: Ο Οδοντίατρος

Μας κάλεσαν στο Βέλγιο, να πάμε να τους δούμε
κι αν μας αρέσει η συμπεθεριά, να αδερφοποιηθούμε

Το πήραμε απόφαση τότε κι εμείς να πάμε
λέμε πως θα' ναι όμορφα, θα πιούμε τσε θα φάμε

Κάνανε όλοι τσ' έξυπνοι κ' τσ' κοσμογυρισμένοι
αλλά απ' το φόβο φτάσαμε πατόκορφα χεσμένοι ...

Σα μπήκαμε μας έδεσε η αεροσυνοδός
κάναμε όλοι το σταυρό τσ' ο θεός βοηθός ...

Σα πέφταμ' σε' κανα κενό γουρλώναμε τα μάτια
τσε σφικταγκαλιαζόμαστε σαν να'μαστε δεμάτια

τ' αεροπλάνου ο καμπινές μας είχε συνηθίσει
τόση πολύ προτίμηση δεν είχε σ' άλλη πτήση ...

Τράτα-Αεροπλάνο, 1995:

Η Βίλα:

Αφήστε πιά τα σκάνδαλα κα τ' βίλα στην Εκάλι
Βρήκατε μπόλικο φαί για να ξομπλιάζομ' πάλι

θέλει ο Αντρέας τη Μιμή να αποκαταστήσει
γι' αυτό δανείσσει ο άνθρωπος βίλα για να της χτίσει ..

The Belgium sister city visit: The Dentist

They invited us to Belgium to go and see them
and if we like our in laws, to consummate

So we made the decision to go
we said that it would be nice, we will eat and drink

We all made out we were clever and world
travellers
but we arrived head to toe in shit from fear

When we got in the air-hostess tied us up
We crossed ourselves, and may God help us

As we fell into air holes our eyes would bulge
we tightly hugged each other like bundles

The aeroplane's toilet got used to us
in no other flight did it have such a liking

Trata – Aeroplane, 1995:

The Villa:

Leave the scandals and the villas in Ekali
You have found plenty of fodder to gossip again

Andreas wants to provide security for Mimi's
future
that's why the man borrowed — to build her a villa

B1) Original verses on Local Government Elections cited in chapter 3.

See Table 3: Satirical Verses from the Two Trata Performances, for the translated verses.

**Donkey Gathering: Local Government Elections
Γαϊδουρομάζεμα: Εκλογές**

Δεκαπέντε του οκτώβρη είχαμε ψηφοφορία
Αγρονόμος, Αυγουστής, Παντελής τσε Ιστορία²¹⁰

Φνάζνε τώρα και οι τρείς ούλοι να μαζευτούμε
ν' αρχί'σνε τα τροπάρια ψευτιές για να μας πούνε

Τσ' αρχίσανε τσε φνάζανε τσε βγάζανε ντελάλη
μέχρι που κόρζα βγάζανε σα νά'ταν παπαγάλοι

Αρχίζουν λένε και οι τρείς με πείσμα τσε γενάτι
ο ένας ήθελε τ' αλλουνού να του βγάζε το μάτι

Μιλάει τώρα στην αρχή ο Κώστας Μανόλης
τσε λέει πως τον ψήφο σας να τε προσέχετ όλοι

**Trata-Aeroplane: Local Government Elections
Τράτα-Αεροπλάνο: Εκλογές**

Μάθαμ' ότι είχατε εκλογές φέτος για τ' Δημαρχία
και ότι το καταντήσατε το θέμα αηδία

Και μιάς και είστε όλοι εδώ, ελπίζω να τα βρήκατε
γιατί σ' αυτές τις εκλογές μόνο π'δε δαγκωθήκατε

Αυτές δεν ήταν εκλογές ήταν κακό μεγάλο
δε μ'λούσε η μάνα στο παιδί, το'να παιδί με τ' άλλο

Κι ο βασικός παράγοντας ήταν οι γριές
αυτές αποφασίζανε σ' αυτές τις εκλογές

...

[Ακολουθούν στοιχάκια πάνω σ' αυτό το θέμα,
δηλαδή, την ένθερμη στρατολόγηση των
ηλικιωμένων για τους ψήφους τους]

...

²¹⁰ Pseudonyms have been used for the candidates.

Γι αυτό όλοι οι Σκυριανοί για την ψηφοφορία
τον βγάλαν πρώτο σύμβουλο μέσα στην Νομαρχία

Τώρα έρχετε η σειρά τσε για τον Αγρονόμο
αυτός μίλησε ήρεμα σύμφωνα με τον νόμο

Σε μένα πρώτα Σκυριανοί το ψήφο σας να δώσετε
όσοι δεν με ψηφήσετε πικρά θα μετανιώσετε

Πάλι τσ'άμα δε θέλετε κανείς να με ψηφήσει
ζωή να 'χνε τα μλάργια σας φούρνος να μη καπνήσει

Οι Σκυριανοί σκεφτήκανε πρώτα οι ποιό πολλοί
να βγάλουνε για Δήμαρχο φέτος τον Αυγουστή

Όπως όλοι το δείζανε με την ψηφοφορία
τον Αυγουστή προόριζαν μέσα στην Δημαρχία

Το δείζαν και τον ψήφισαν ήδη στο πρώτο χέρι
τόρα μετά τι έγινε ένας Θεός το ξέρει

Και έτσι η Σκύρος Δήμαρχο τον Παντελή έχει πάλι
πάρτε ένα βούρλο ούλοι σας τσε δέστε το τσεφάλι

Φαίνετε πως ο Παντελής πιο έξυπνος παιδιά
Σε ούλοι μας τα κατάφερε τσε έβαλε προπηδιά

Έτσι είναι οι Σκυριανοί τα ίδια και τα ίδια
τούτη τ' φορά οι εκλογές είχαν πολλά παιχνίδια

Όμως αυτά περάσανε και ας μη ξαναρθούνε
γιατί το πάμ'γυρεύοντας πάλι κόλος να γινούμε

B2) The accompanying song/satirical verses of the Trata-Aeroplane, 1995.

Customarily, the Trata song "*I trata mas i kourelou*" is played on clarinet as the boat is accompanied to the square. However, in 1995 the performers of the Trata-Aeroplane wrote the verses below which they sung to the same melody.

Το τραγούδι της Τράτας-Αεροπλάνο (1995)

Την Τράτα μας πουλήσαμε, πήραμε αεροπλάνο
να βλέπουμε τον ουρανό και, τ' θάλασσα απο πάνω

ΡΕΦΡΑΙΝ

Από ψαράδες γίναμε τώρα όλοι πιλότοι
στις πτήσεις εξωτερικού, είμαστε και οι πρώτοι

Ερχόμαστε απ' το Βέλγιο λίγο, για να σας δούμε
και αν μας αρέσει η φάτσα σας, ν' αδερφοποιηθούμε

The Trata-Aeroplane's accompanying song

Our fishing boat we've sold, and got a plane,
so we can see the sky and sea below.

REFRAIN

From fishermen we have all become first class
pilots
in international flights, we are the best

We come from Belgium to see you for a while
and if we like your faces, we will affiliate.

C) Samples of satirical verses (original and translation) from 1991 and 2005.

Below is an extract from the satirical verses recited in the Trata of the February 1991 carnival on the theme of “the dentist”. Following is a segment on the council works and the concluding verses of the Trata, March 2005.

Η Τράτα, 1991

Με το π’τελείωσαν οι εκλογές, ο δήμαρχος μας τάζει
θά’ρθει τσε οδοντίατρος, καθόλου μη σας νοιάζει

Κι οι δόλιοι καρτερούσαμε πότε θα’ρθει δω’ πέρα
μα έρθε τόσο γρήγορα, που θέλομε μασέλα ...

Η Τράτα, 2005

Σπουδαία έργα έκανε κι αυτή η Δημαρχία
Έκαμε ακόμα και σχολή για μοζυθοκομία

Είδαμε εκσυγχρονισμό σε μάντρες τσε κονάτσα
και σκουλαρίκια θα φορούν οι τράοι τσε τ’αρνάτσα

Πέραν τσε μιαν απόφαση στο Βνό νερό να πάει
Νάχνε να πίνε τα σφαχτά τα ρίφια τσε οι τράοι

Όμως νερό δεν φτάνει κει το λάστιχο έν βλωμένο
τσε θα ποτίζνε τα σφαχτά με εμφιαλωμένο

Έπαμε κάνε πολλά μα δε τα κάναν ούλα
Γιατί του κράτους τα λεφτά γινήκανε κουκούλα

Πέσανε ούλα τα λεφτά μονάχα μες τν Αθήνα
Κι η επαρχία φίλοι μου ψοφά από την πείνα

... [και καταλήγει]

Της τράτας η παρέα μας πολιτική δε κάνει
Μονάχα γέλιο θέλομε ο λόγος μας να βγάνει

Άμα καμπόσοι θμώσατε γι’αυτά που η τράτα λέει
Θα βάλομε τη γάτα μας να κάθεται να κλαίει

Αν ίσως κάποιος από σας θέλει κι άλλα να πούμε
Ας έρθει τα πει αυτός τα στιμόνια τ’αν βαστούνε

Τα λόγια λένε φτώχεια είναι γι αυτό βάλτε κρασί
Να πιούμε και να ευχηθώ καλή σαρακοστή

Trata, 1991

As soon as the elections were over, the mayor promised us,
that a dentist will arrive — don’t worry about a thing.

And so we poor fools waited for him to arrive,
but he came so quickly, that we need false teeth.

Trata, 2005

This council has also completed great works
It has even made a school for ricotta cheese production

We have seen modernization in folds and farm huts
soon lambs and billy goats will be wearing ear-rings

They passed a decision to take water to the mountain
So that the herds, kids and billy goats can drink

But the water is not enough and the hose is clogged
and so they give the herds bottled water

We said that they have done a lot, but they haven’t done
everything
because the government’s money has disappeared

All of the money fell only into Athens
and the provinces, my friends, are dying of hunger

... [and concludes]

Our Trata company of friends doesn’t do politics
we only want our words to bring out laughter

If quite a few of you are angry with what the Trata says
then we will put out our cat to sit and wail

If maybe someone wants us to say more
they can come and say it themselves, if they can stand
the test

Words are poverty so pour the wine
let’s drink and let me wish you happy Lent.

D) Samples of satirical verses (original & translation) from 1900 & 1911 carnival, reproduced from Persidi (1994).

Απόκριες 1900

(αποσπάσματα από Περσεΐδη 1994:104)

Λόγος θεού “Ποσειδώνος”

Εγώ ειμ’ ο θεός Ποσειδών
της θαλάσσης υπέρτατον ον

Καλημέρα καλοί μου νησιώτες
εγώ ειμ’ ο θεός Ποσειδών,
που ορίζω την θάλασσαν όλην
κάθε πλοΐον μεγάλ’ η μικρόν

Μνιά επίσκεψι ήλθα εδώ
στο νησί σας παιδιγιά μου να κάνω.
Να σας είπω τα τόσα καλά
που στον τόπο σας έχω να κάνω.

...
Επειδή ως θεός της θαλάσσης
συμπαθώ τους καλούς Σκυργιανούς,
την “Τσελμίνα” διατάζω (να σπάσεις)
για να πάρουνε τσιγάμπα καπνούς

Απόκριες 1911

(αποσπάσματα από Περσεΐδη 1994:108)

[Πρόσωπα: Ένας γέρο-τσοπάνης (ο Αφέντης) με
τους πέντε γιούς του]

Βρ’ήντ’ ν’ αυτά τα νοικοτσεριά πούχετε σεις οι νέοι,
ρολόγια τσαι ‘ποδήματα .. ρμαχτήτσετε στα χρέη

Δε ‘λεπετε τ’φет’νη χρονιά, όπ’δεν έμ’νε ποδάρι,
σεις, τσαι κλεψές λογιάζετε δε βέρνετε χαμπάρι.

τσαι στο παπόρι τρέχετε, απ’ τ’ Κούμη, για τ’
Χαλτσίδα
πότε για βόδι η γι’αρνί, πότε για καμιά γίδα *

‘Σεις δάρε τούτ’ τ’τσαιρού οι νιοί, θέλετε τσαι
μπαρμπέρη
τσαι κάθε λίγο τρέχετε με το βαρά στο χέρι ...

* Δηλαδή στο Δικαστήριο, κατηγορούμενοι για
ζωοκλοπές

Carnival 1900

(extracts from Persidi 1994:104)

Speech of the god “Poseidon”

I am the god Poseidon
the sea’s superior being

Good-day my good islanders
I am the god Poseidon
who rules all of the seas
and every ship big and small

I came here for a visit
to your island my children
To tell you of the many good things
that I will do for your place

...
As a god of the sea
I like good Skyrians
I order the “Tselmina” to wreck
so they can have free tobacco

Carnival 1911

(extracts from Persidi 1994:108)

[Personas: An old shepherd (Afenti) and his five
sons]

What’s all this housekeeping you young ones
have
watches and shoes ... you’re ruined in debt

Can’t you see this year that there’s no one alive
your mind is on stealing, you take no heed

And on the boat you run from Koumi to Haltsida
sometimes for a bull or lamb or sometimes for a
goat *

You young ones today, you also want a barber
and you run every so often with money in your
hand

* That is, to the courts of Halkida charged with
animal theft

Appendix 7: Prologue (translation)

This work would have not reached its completion without the help of the people of the island of Skyros, the productive criticism of members of the scientific community, and the invaluable support of close friends. For this reason, I would like to thank all Skyrians for generously offering me their hospitality, trust and knowledge.

I first arrived in Skyros in 1992 to conduct preliminary fieldwork, and in 1994-5 to conduct field work as part of my doctoral thesis at the University of Adelaide. I continue to maintain relations with the people of Skyros and visit the island frequently. Apart from the duration of my stay on the island, I have viewed their distinctive carnival celebration over a decade, observing its dynamic development in relation to socio-economic changes, a fact, which among other things contributed to the enrichment and, at times, the re-evaluation of the ethnographic material.

There are many special people who have contributed directly or indirectly to the creation of this work. I thank and remember them all. I would like to thank Anna Xanthouli-Yiannokopoulou of the Skyrian Association at Athens for making available the association's rich archival collection, as well as introducing me to members of the community, who assisted me in finding a home and establishing myself on the island. My dear friends, Kali and Efi Ftouli and their family received me in their home, in the centre of the *Horio* (township), and simultaneously in the heart of carnival bustle. Their hospitality was extended not only to me, but also to all my family and friends who passed through Skyros. *Theia* Anna and *barba* Kosti Ftouli took care of me, advising me with wisdom and sensitivity on Skyrian matters as they lived them from day to day. They graciously opened their door and generous heart. With them, Yioryo Ftouli and grandma Kali, my patient and energetic neighbour Soula Psoma and her family, and the untiring and generous Maria and Yianni Kosma. Vangelis Gkinis offered his invaluable musical knowledge and observations on Skyrian song.

My friend, Anna Feryadi, with a deep knowledge of her island and with a different point of view, along with all her family helped me gain a better understanding of Skyrian life. My friends Anna and Aggeliki Katsarelia and their family, as well as their grandmother, the superb poetess Angeliko, offered their invaluable assistance.

I 'lived' carnival with a large company of fervent merry-makers, the "hard-core group" as I would musingly say. Through their passion and "psychosis" (as my friend Kalio well phrased at the beginning of my stay), I was able to experience instances of frenzied metamorphosis, in and out of situations of merriment, inebriation, laughter and song, but also intense and volatile moments. Anna Eustathiou, Alexia and Popi Mavrikou, Fillio Pithoula, Anna Viryiliou, Amersa and Anna Mavrikou, Froso Baloti, Anna Mavrikou, Eleni Gavriili, Yianni Nikolaou, Yioryo Hioti, Yianni Baloti, Oresti Metaxa, Yianni Bourma, Yioryo Fora, and others were all there. And of course, the 'grand-master' of carnival masquerade, the imaginative Yioryos Kiriazos.

A little distance from the *Horio*, in Kalikri, resides the dynamic Frosini Ftouli-Kiriazis, well versed in Skyrian things. With Yianni and Maria Ftouli Maria we had many interesting conversations, passing our time during the evenings. In Molos, the memory of the fisherman, *barba* Christo Efsthathiou remains; time spent next to the sea with wine, song and stories. In Linaria, Kyriako Antonopoulos gave me an alternative viewpoint on the happenings on the island.

The self-taught photographer of Skyros, Yiannis Venardis, has immortalised in outstanding images a piece of the island's history and community. Innumerable people and events, captured in black and white and colour, emerge from his photographic archive — an inexhaustible treasure, which he opened up to me together with his narrations.

The assistance of Soula Mandilara was, and continues to be invaluable. Her knowledge on Skyrian matters flows from her lived experiences and talent. Her voice and poetry, inherited from her outstanding musical family, is perceptively combined with a contemporary perspective. Pavlo Tsakamis, active and well-versed in many facets of Skyrian life has eagerly offered his support.

The late Xenophon Antoniadis has left his mark on a large part of this thesis. His attention to detail, his sensitivity as a person and historian inspired and illuminated many facets of Skyrian life — past and present.

Nikos Varsamos has made a valuable contribution to social and historical issues, and Rev. Pater Yerontios on matters relating to the ecclesiastical history of the monastery of St. George. Anna Trahana and Euaggelio Trahana-Mavrikou shed light on significant aspects of religious and ritual life of the place. I also appreciate the support of the then mayor of Skyros, Yiannis Tsakamis, Taki Mavriki and captain Manoli Fergadi. Tasia and Manos Faltaits made available a rich source of personal family archives for my use, as well as material from their folklore museum. The late Dinos Maroudis had significantly helped me with his critical and insightful observations.

Before completing this work, two special friends sadly departed from this life, Dimitri Ftoulis and Kosti Manolaki. With the words of Kosti I close this book.