

WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY IN A GREEK PEASANT VILLAGE

REGINA DIONISOPOULOS

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY - DE KALB

WITCHCRAFT AND ENVY STUDIES HAVE APPEARED WITH SOME REGULARITY WITHIN THE PAST FORTY YEARS. PROBABLY THE BEST KNOWN SCHOLARS WHO DEALT WITH ENVY ARE GEORGE M. FOSTER, WHO PERCEIVED "THE IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD," ERIC R. WOLF, WHO REFERRED TO INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY AMONG THE LATIN AMERICAN PEASANTS, AND CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, WHOSE WORK ON NAVAHO WITCHCRAFT IS CONSIDERED TO BE A CLASSIC. FOSTER AND WOLF DEALT WITH THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND WITCHCRAFT AS MANIFESTATIONS OF ENVY, AND EACH DISCUSSED THE FUNCTIONS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY AS METHODS OF SOCIAL CONTROL. KLUCKHOHN TREATED WITCHCRAFT AS A FORM OF SOCIAL CONTROL, AND HE ILLUSTRATED HOW IT WAS USED TO MAINTAIN STABILITY IN NAVAHO SOCIETY. KLUCKHOHN DESCRIBED THE MANNER IN WHICH PERSONS BECOME WITCHES. "PERSONS BECOME WITCHES IN ORDER TO WREAK VENGEANCE, IN ORDER TO GAIN WEALTH, OR SIMPLY TO INJURE WANTONLY - MOST OFTEN MOTIVATED BY ENVY" (1944:26). WOLF STATED THAT

WITCHCRAFT AS WELL AS Milder FORMS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY, HAVE AN INTEGRATIVE EFFECT IN RESTRAINING NON-TRADITIONAL BEHAVIOR, AS LONG AS SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS SUFFER NO SERIOUS DISRUPTION. IT MINIMIZES DISRUPTIVE PHENOMENA SUCH AS ECONOMIC MOBILITY, ABUSE OF ASCRIBED POWER OR INDIVIDUAL CONSPICUOUS SHOW OF WEALTH. ON THE INDIVIDUAL PLANE, IT THUS ACTS TO MAINTAIN THE INDIVIDUAL IN EQUILIBRIUM WITH HIS NEIGHBORS. ON THE SOCIAL PLANE, IT REDUCES THE DISRUPTIVE INFLUENCES OF OUTSIDE SOCIETY (WOLF 1955: 460).

THESE ANALYSES OF ENVY HAVE, IN MY OPINION, CORRECTLY SHOWN THE INTEGRATIVE FUNCTION OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY IN PEASANT SOCIETY. HOWEVER, NOT ALL ASPECTS ARE INTEGRATIVE. THE PEASANT SOCIETY WHICH I STUDIED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF DR. PIERRE B. GRAVEL FOR

ONE YEAR WAS HORA, KYTHNOS, GREECE. HORA IS A SMALL, ENDOGAMOUS VILLAGE WHICH WE STUDIED AS PART OF THE KYTHNOS PROJECT. THERE, THE "IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD" IS A VERY REAL CONCEPT. DAILY, THE PEOPLE OF HORA MUST DEAL WITH THREE DYNAMICS OF POWER, THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC, IN ANY ONE OF MANY POSSIBLE MANIFESTATIONS OF ENVY. HOWEVER, NOT ALL OF THE ASPECTS OF ENVY ARE CONTROLLABLE AND THEREFORE USEFUL AS DEVICES OF SOCIAL CONTROL. MANY ARE QUITE DISRUPTIVE, BOTH TO THE INDIVIDUAL AND TO THE SOCIETY.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER, WITCHCRAFT IS DEFINED AS POTENTIALLY HARMFUL POWER, YET POWER THAT HAS A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ROLE AND WORKS TO PROMOTE SOME TYPE OF HARMONY IN THE SOCIETY. THE SOCIAL UTILITY STEMS EITHER FROM THE EXERCISE OF THESE POWERS OR FEAR THAT THEY WILL BE EXERCISED. WITCHCRAFT MAY BE PRESENT IN THE VILLAGE, IN THE HOME, OR IN THE FIELDS, AT ALL TIMES OF THE DAY OR NIGHT.

THE SECOND CATEGORY IS SORCERY, DEFINED AS INTENTIONALLY EVIL AND AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS, WHICH MAY CAUSE GREAT HARM TO INDIVIDUALS AND TO SOCIETY. ACTS OF THIS NATURE ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAPPEN AT TIMES OF RITES OF PASSAGE, WHEN THERE IS MUCH ANXIETY AND TENSION ALREADY, AND WHEN ENVY IS RAMPANT. IT IS AT THESE TIMES THAT ONE IS MORE VULNERABLE TO THE EFFECTS OF WITCHCRAFT AND MORE SUBJECT TO ATTACK BY SORCERY. THE NEW MOTHER AND CHILD (ESPECIALLY A BABY BOY AND HIS NEW PARENTS), THE NEWLY ENGAGED COUPLE, OR THE NEWLYWEDS MUST BE ESPECIALLY CAREFUL AS THE WHOLE VILLAGE IS FULL OF ENVIOUS, BARREN WOMEN, STERILE MEN, ENVIOUS UNMARRIED MAIDENS AND YOUTHS, AND ENVIOUS PARENTS OF UNMARRIED CHILDREN. ANY OF THESE PEOPLE COULD, FROM ENVY, EMPLOY WITCHCRAFT ON THE WELL-FORTUNED PERSON AND BY USING THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, OR MAGIC, SERIOUSLY HARM HIM. OR THE ENVIOUS PERSON COULD EMPLOY SORCERY IN

OPENLY AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS TO DESTROY THE GOOD FORTUNE OF THE ENVIED ONE AND HOPEFULLY ACQUIRE THAT GOOD FORTUNE.

I BELIEVE THESE TWO CATEGORIES TO BE ACCURATE, AND THEY ARE USEFUL DIVISIONS PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY ARE BROAD AND INCLUSIVE. CLYDE KLUCKHOHN'S WORK AMONG THE NAVAHOS LED TO HIS DEFINING WITCHCRAFT IN A BROAD AND INCLUSIVE MANNER. HE SAID

THE TERM WITCHCRAFT IS NOT UNOBJECTIONABLE AS COVERING ALL THE MATERIALS TO BE TREATED HERE. A MORE PRECISE TITLE WOULD HAVE BEEN CUMBERSOME, BUT 'NAVAHO IDEA AND ACTION PATTERNS CONCERNED WITH THE INFLUENCES OF EVENTS BY SUPERNATURAL TECHNIQUES THAT ARE SOCIALLY DISAPPROVED' WOULD HAVE EXPRESSED RATHER ACCURATELY THIS STUDY (KLUCKHOHN 1944:5).

TURNER'S DEFINITION OF WITCHCRAFT HAS ALSO BEEN HELPFUL IN THIS ANALYSIS. IN HIS ARTICLE "WITCHCRAFT AS NEGATIVE CHARISMA," HE DEFINED WITCHCRAFT ANTHROPOLOGICALLY AS BEING "THE THREATENING STATEMENT ACCOMPANIED BY MISFORTUNE" (TURNER 1970:371).

I WILL TRY TO LIMIT THIS PAPER TO DISCUSSING THE WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY THAT OCCURS AT THREE PARTICULAR RITES OF PASSAGE, THE PRE-ENGAGEMENT, THE ENGAGEMENT, AND THE WEDDING. FIRST, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO EXAMINE THE THREE DYNAMICS OF POWER, TO DEFINE THEM, AND TO DISCUSS THEIR CLASSIFICATION AS ACTIONS OF WITCHCRAFT OR ACTIONS OF SORCERY.

THEREFORE, FOR THIS PAPER, I HAVE CONSTRUCTED THREE CONTINUA, ONE FOR EACH DYNAMIC OF POWER. I THEN LOCATED SOME OF THE ASPECTS OF THE THREE DYNAMICS ON EACH OF THE CONTINUA ACCORDING TO STRENGTH OF SOCIAL VALUE. THE CONTINUA WERE THEN DIVIDED IN HALF, AND I LABELED ONE HALF WITCHCRAFT AND THE OTHER SORCERY ACCORDING TO THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF SOCIAL USE.

THE EVIL EYE

THE FIRST DYNAMIC OF POWER IS THAT OF THE EVIL EYE. THIS IS A POWER OF THE EYE (AN ADMIRING LOOK), THE THOUGHT, OR A VOICED COMPLAINT. IT IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF TURNER'S "THREATENING STATEMENT ACCOMPANIED BY MISFORTUNE" AS THE COMPLIMENT IS A THREAT, ONE EXPRESSING THE ENVY OF THE COMPLIMENTER FOR THE ADMIRER'S GOOD FORTUNE. IT IS A THREAT COVERED WITH WORDS OF FLATTERY AND PRAISE. IT EXPRESSES THE COMPLIMENTER'S DESIRE, WHICH WILL PROBABLY MAKE THE ADMIRER NERVOUS AND DEFENSIVE.

TO FORM A CONTINUUM OF THE EVIL EYE, ONE MAY RANK THE CASES ACCORDING TO THE STRENGTH OF THEIR SOCIAL VALUE. THE PEOPLE WHO OCCASIONALLY SHOW "AN EVIL EYE" ARE ON THE FAR LEFT. INDEED, SOME INFORMANTS SAY THAT ANYONE CAN HAVE THE EVIL EYE, SINCE EVERYONE IS ENVOIOUS AT SOME TIME OR ANOTHER. THEN COME PEOPLE WHO ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE THE EVIL EYE BUT WHO DO NOT KNOW THEY HAVE IT; THEREFORE, THEY HARM WITHOUT INTENT OR KNOWLEDGE. THESE PEOPLE WERE BORN WITH THE EVIL EYE, WHICH IS THE MOST COMMONLY UNDERSTOOD WAY OF ACQUIRING IT. PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE BORN WITH THE EYE AND TRY TO EMPLOY VARIOUS TYPES OF CHANTS OR CUSTOMS TO CONTROL THEIR EVIL EYE TO KEEP FROM HARMING ANYONE ELSE, MAY BE PLACED A LITTLE FARTHER TO THE RIGHT. THESE ARE ALL EXAMPLES OF WITCHCRAFT. PEOPLE WHO POSSESS THE EVIL EYE OF THE WITCHCRAFT CATEGORY ARE DESCRIBED AS BEING ABLE TO "MATIAZI" OR BEWITCH WITH THE EYE. THE VERB COMES FROM THE GREEK WORD FOR EYE, THE "MATI." NEARLY EVERYONE IS AFFLICTED BY THIS AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER, ESPECIALLY CHILDREN. ONE WHO IS SUDDENLY TIRED, DEPRESSED, OR SUFFERS HEADACHES OR IS FEVERISH OR CHILLED, IS UNDOUBTEDLY SUFFERING FROM THE EYE. THE DIAGNOSIS AND THE CURE ARE THE SAME. IF DURING DIAGNOSIS IT IS DETERMINED THAT THE PERSON WAS AFFLICTED BY THE EYE, HE IS INSTANTLY CURED, THE EVIL BEING DISSOLVED.

THERE ARE NUMEROUS WAYS OF BECOMING CURED. MOST RITES INVOLVE OIL, CLOVES, WATER, FIRE, AND HOLY WORDS. A PERSON CAN CURE HIMSELF BY RECITING THE LORD'S PRAYER OVER AND OVER, IF THERE IS NO ONE ELSE AROUND TO TAKE CARE OF THE VICTIM. NUMEROUS TYPES OF CHARMS AND PHYLACTERIES CAN BE WORN FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE EYE. THE EVIL EYE FALLS INTO THE CATEGORY OF SORCERY, WHEN THERE IS A MALICIOUS AND INTENTFUL EMPLOYMENT OF THE EYE: A MANIPULATION OF THE POWER TO HARM OTHERS, DESTROY OR AT LEAST DAMAGE THEIR HEALTH, CHILDREN, AND PROPERTY. THIS TYPE OF BEWITCHMENT IS "VASCANIA." VASCANIA IS SUCH A STRONG FORCE THAT OFTEN THE CURE REQUIRES THE INTERVENTION OF A PRIEST AS OPPOSED TO MATIAZMA WHICH CAN BE CURED BY ANYONE. THE PRIEST READS A PRAYER AGAINST THE EYE IN THE CHURCH WHILE THE VICTIM STOOPS FORWARD IN FRONT OF THE PRIEST. THE PRIEST SYMBOLICALLY CASTS HIS GARMENTS OVER THE VICTIM TO PLACE HIM UNDER THE POWER AND PROTECTION OF THE CHURCH (GREEK ORTHODOX RITE) AND DRIVE THE EVIL FROM HIM. ALTHOUGH THE VICTIM MAY BE CURED BY A PERSON EXPERIENCED IN CURING, THERE MAY BE THE NEED FOR MANY REPEATED RITES BEFORE THE VICTIM IS CURED. THEREFORE, A STRONG FORCE, SUCH AS THE CHURCH, IS DEEMED NECESSARY TO COMBAT AND CURE THE SORCERY.

WHEN THE CASES OF THE EVIL EYE ARE RANKED, THE FOLLOWING CONTINUUM WILL HAVE BEEN FORMED:

EVERYONE OCCASIONALLY	POSSESSOR DOES NOT KNOW	POSSESSOR TRIES TO CONTROL	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL USE RISING FROM ENVY AND GREED
MATIAZMA		VASCANIA	

MATIAZMA MAY BE SEEN AS HAVING A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ROLE IN PREVENTING THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH, OR AT LEAST IN PREVENTING THE STRESSING OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIFFERENCES IN A TOWN. THIS TENDS TO UNITE THE TOWN AND, AT LEAST TO AN OUTSIDER'S EYE, THE

VILLAGE WILL APPEAR TO BE FAIRLY UNIFORM IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STANDING. VASCANIA, HOWEVER, IS A HARMFUL AND DISRUPTIVE FORCE. PERSONS CAPABLE OF VASCANIA ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY MISTRUSTED, BUT KINDLY TREATED, AS NO ONE WANTS TO EVOKE THIS TYPE OF WRATH UPON HIMSELF.

GEORGIA, A WOMAN WITH WHOM I LIVED DURING THE COURSE OF MY FIELDWORK, WAS SAID TO HAVE THIS TYPE OF POWER. HER SISTER, THE WIFE OF A BAKER, WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE CAUSED THE ILLNESS AND EVENTUAL DEATH OF THE SINGLE RIVAL BAKER. BOTH WOMEN WERE BORN IN ASIA MINOR AND HAD SETTLED ON KYTHNOS WITH THEIR PARENTS AS REFUGEES OF THE BALKAN WARS. ALTHOUGH THEY LIVED ON KYTHNOS FROM THE 1920'S UNTIL TODAY, PEOPLE STILL REFERRED TO THEM AS BEING OUTSIDERS. GEORGIA WAS VERY VINDICTIVE. SHE RECALLED WRONGS DONE TO HER IN THE TWENTIES AND THIRTIES AND SHE DISCUSSED THOSE EVENTS OFTEN. WHEN ANGERED SHE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO RECALL PRIOR INCIDENTS AND SOUNDLY CHASTISE HER VICTIM FOR THE OLD AND THE NEW WRONGS. THE VILLAGE SECRETARY, A WELL EDUCATED, SOPHISTICATED GIRL, WAS SO FRIGHTENED OF THIS OLD LADY'S EVIL EYE THAT WHEN GEORGIA WENT TO THE MAYOR'S OFFICE FOR HER MONTHLY SOCIAL SECURITY CHECK, THE SECRETARY WOULD GIVE HER THE CHECK THE MOMENT THAT GEORGIA ENTERED THE ROOM SO SHE WOULD LEAVE IMMEDIATELY, RATHER THAN BECOME ANGRY AND VENGEFUL AT BEING REQUIRED TO WAIT WHILE THOSE AHEAD OF HER WERE GIVEN THEIR CHECKS FIRST. AFTER I MOVED TO ANOTHER HOUSE, PEOPLE TOLD ME THAT THEY HAD WANTED TO WARN ME NOT TO LIVE WITH HER, BUT THEY WERE AFRAID OF HER POWER. SEVERAL FAMILIES TOLD ME THAT WHEN THEY HEARD I WAS LEAVING HER HOUSE, THEY WOULD HAVE INVITED ME TO LIVE WITH THEM. HOWEVER, THEY WERE TERRIFIED OF WHAT SHE WOULD DO TO THEM IN RETALIATION FOR THEIR TAKING ME INTO THEIR HOME.

Gossip

THE SECOND DYNAMIC OF POWER IS GOSSIP. GOSSIPING IS ONE OF THE MAIN VILLAGE PREOCCUPATIONS. ADULTS GOSSIP AT ALL PLACES OF SOCIAL INTERACTION: THE COFFEE HOUSE, THE STORE, THE EVENING PROMENADE, THE WELLS, AND WITHIN THE CHURCH DURING SERVICE. SO IMPORTANT IS GOSSIP THAT ONE WOMAN TOLD ME THAT WHILE HER HUSBAND BUILT A WASH AREA FOR HER IN THEIR GARDEN, SHE PREFERRED TO GO WITH THE OTHER WOMEN TO THE STREAM. THERE SHE HEARD GOSSIP THAT SHE WOULD HAVE MISSED IF SHE DID HER WASHING AT HOME.

CHILDREN GOSSIP AMONG THEMSELVES, USUALLY REPEATING WHAT THEIR PARENTS SAID. APPARENTLY, A CHILD TELLS HIS PARENTS WHAT HE HAS OVERHEARD WHILE EAVESDROPPING ON OTHER ADULTS.

THERE ARE TWO TYPES OF GOSSIP. WITCHCRAFT GOSSIP IS KOUTSOBOULIO, AND SORCERY GOSSIP IS GLOSSOFEYA. IN NORMAL CONVERSATION, KYTHNIOTES INEVITABLY REFER TO THE KOUTSOBOULIO GOSSIPS. WITCHCRAFT GOSSIP MAY BE EQUATED WITH WHAT SOCIETY SAYS. IT MAY BE HARMFUL IN THAT UNTRUTHFUL STORIES OR INCORRECT INTERPRETATIONS OF ACTIONS ARE ATTRIBUTED TO INDIVIDUALS, IT ALSO HAS A SOCIAL VALUE, REINFORCING THE NORMS OF SOCIETY. DEVIATIONS FROM THE NORM ARE CONSIDERED SOMETHING TO TALK ABOUT. IT IS, IN JOHN SZWED'S WORDS, "A TECHNIQUE FOR SUMMARIZING COMMUNITY OPINIONS . . . ONE DRAWS ON GOSSIP TO ESTABLISH AN OPINION, BUT ALSO USES IT TO INFLUENCE OTHERS" (SZWED 1966:435). AS SUCH, THE KOUTSOBOULIO ARE THE VILLAGE CHORUS. THEY NOT ONLY MAINTAIN THE SOCIAL NORMS OF A SOCIETY BUT HELP INSTRUCT OTHERS IN WHAT THESE NORMS ARE; AND THEY HELP KEEP OTHERS FROM BEING DEVIANTS. HENCE, GOSSIP REGULATES SOCIAL INTERACTION AND HELPS STABILIZE AND MAINTAIN THE HARMONY OF THE VILLAGE. CONSEQUENTLY, THAT WHICH IS A POTENTIALLY HARMFUL FORCE ALSO

HAS A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ROLE IN VILLAGE LIFE.

THE PEOPLE MOST OFTEN GOSSIPED ABOUT ARE THOSE WHO ARE OUTSIDERS. THE POLICEMEN AND THE SCHOOLTEACHERS WERE CONSTANTLY BEING DISCUSSED BY THE VILLAGERS, ESPECIALLY BY LINKING THEM WITH LOCAL GIRLS.

THE KIND OF CONCERN VILLAGERS HAVE MAY BE ILLUSTRATED. ONE SINGLE, MIDDLE-AGED WOMAN WOULD OFTEN REFUSE TO GO FOR EVENING WALKS WITH A FRIEND WHO WAS THE WIFE OF A POLICEMAN, AS THE POLICEMAN AND THEIR TWO CHILDREN WOULD GO WITH THE TWO WOMEN AND FREQUENTLY, A YOUNG, UNMARRIED POLICEMAN, WHO WAS HALF HER AGE, WOULD ACCOMPANY THEM. SHE WAS AFRAID OF WHAT THE VILLAGERS WOULD SAY, SEEING THEM TOGETHER. THERE WAS SOME REASON FOR HER FEAR IN THAT NEARLY EVERY GIRL OF MARRIAGEABLE AGE WAS LINKED TO THE THREE UNMARRIED POLICEMEN AND THE UNMARRIED DOCTOR BY GOSSIPS AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER. THERE WERE NUMEROUS WHISPERED STORIES ABOUT THE POLICE STATION AND THE CLINIC BEING USED AS BROTHELS.

EVERYONE PARTICIPATES IN KOUTSOUBOULIO AND NEARLY EVERYONE ADMITS TO IT IN A JOKING MANNER, HOWEVER, NO ONE DARES TO ADMIT THAT HE BELONGS TO THE SORCERY CATEGORY (GLOSSEFEYA) AND FEW PERSONS WERE EVER IDENTIFIED TO ME AS GLOSSEFEYA. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, TWO OF THE THREE WOMEN, WHOM I GREW TO INTENSELY DISLIKE AND LOOK UPON AS BEING MALICIOUS AND GREEDY BY NATURE, WERE IDENTIFIED BY THE VILLAGERS AS GLOSSEFEYA. THESE ARE GOSSIP-MONGERS, MALICIOUS GOSSIPS. THEY DEVOUR WITH THE TONGUE (GLOSSA MEANING TONGUE AND FEYA MEANING EATER). THEY MAY BE SPECIFICALLY NAMED AND FEARED FOR THEIR AGGRESSIVE AND MALICIOUS NATURES AND ABILITIES. THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO CAN CAUSE GREAT HARM BY EMPLOYING THEIR POWERS DIRECTLY. THEY ARE PEOPLE WHO SLANDER OTHERS, STARTING STORIES ABOUT ONE'S REPUTATION AND ACTIONS,

WITH THE INTENTION OF DOING HARM. ALTHOUGH PEOPLE FREQUENTLY COMPLAINED TO ME THAT THE ONLY THING WRONG WITH THEIR VILLAGE WAS THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, AND WHILE THEY INSTRUCTED THEIR CHILDREN TO ACT IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO KEEP FROM LETTING THEMSELVES BE VICTIMS OF THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, IT IS THE POWER OF THE GLOSSOFEYA WHICH IS REALLY FEARED. THE GLOSSOFEYA, IT WAS FREQUENTLY CLAIMED, EMPLOY MAGIC WITH THEIR THREATS AND AGGRESSIVE GOSSIP, AND SINCE THEY SPEAK WITH AN INTENT TO DO HARM, ONE CANNOT REALLY PROTECT ONESELF. THE GOSSIP MAY BE CALUMNY. THE VICTIM MAY NEVER HAVE COMMITTED THAT OF WHICH HE IS ACCUSED. NEVERTHELESS, HE IS TORMENTED BY THE GLOSSOFEYA.

BLUM AND BLUM EVIDENTLY FEEL THAT THE VILLAGERS OF THEIR STUDY AREA IN RURAL GREECE HAD A SIMILAR FEAR OF GOSSIP. HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT DISTINGUISH IN THEIR TEXTS BETWEEN KOUTSOUBOULIO AND GLOSSOFEYA.

THEY SAY:

GOSSIP MAY BE VIEWED BY THE OBSERVER AS A TRIPLE THREAT: THE WORDS HARM MAGICALLY BY THEMSELVES, THEY ALSO DO DAMAGE INsofar AS THEY ARE BELIEVED AND PRODUCE SOCIAL DAMAGE, AND FINALLY, THE MOTIVES REFLECTED IN GOSSIP MAY ALSO MOVE THE GOSSIPING PERSON TO DO SORCERY OR TO ENGAGE IN OTHER DESTRUCTIVE ACTS (BLUM AND BLUM 1970:169).

A CONTINUUM OF GOSSIP MAY BE CONSTRUCTED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

MATCHMAKER GOSSIP	SOCIETY "SAYS"	INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS MISINTERPRETED	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL GOSSIPMONGERING
KOUTSOUBOULIO			GLOSSOFEYA

MAGIC

FINALLY, THERE IS THE DYNAMIC FORCE OF MAGIC. TO THE LEFT OF THE CONTINUUM ARE PEOPLE WHO CAN CURE MANY TYPES OF EVIL AND VARIOUS DISEASES, AND THEY CAN ALSO CURE SPELLS OF MAGIC AND OF THE EVIL EYE. THEY ARE PRACTICING WITCHCRAFT IN THAT THEY ARE MANIPULATING

POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS POWERS. THE VILLAGERS MAY FEEL THAT THESE PEOPLE WHO ILLUSTRATE THEIR POWERS IN CURING RITUALS, MAY HAVE THE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS POWERS OF THE SORCERER. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF THOSE WHO CURE BY USING CHANTS, WHICH CALL FOR EITHER A PAINFUL DEATH OR DISFIGURATION AS THE FATE OF THE ORIGINAL AFFLICTOR. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE OF THE MORE COMMONLY USED CHANTS AGAINST THE EVIL EYE CALLS UPON THE EVIL TO RETURN TO THE POSSESSOR OF THE EYE AND "IF IT IS A WOMAN CRUSH HER BREASTS AND IF IT IS A MAN CRUSH HIS GENITALS." CERTAINLY, THE PERSON USING THIS CHANT IS CALLING UPON A POTENTIALLY VIOLENT POWER. IT IS USED HERE FOR CURING. ON ANOTHER OCCASION, IT MAY BE USED IN ANGER.

IN GENERAL, IT WAS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO GET ANYONE TO TALK ABOUT A "MAGISSA" OR WITCH. ONE PERSON SAID THERE MIGHT BE WITCHES IN THE NEXT VILLAGE. OTHERS SAID THE ONLY WITCHES ARE THE TURKOYIFTES OR TURKISH GYPSIES WHO OCCASIONALLY VISIT KYTHNOS. ONE MAN SAID HIS SISTER WHO HAD MARRIED A MAN FROM ANOTHER ISLAND WAS KILLED BY A WITCH WHO WAS THE SISTER OF THE HUSBAND. PEOPLE WERE SOMEWHAT RELUCTANT TO TALK ABOUT WITCHES FROM ELSEWHERE OR ABOUT CASES OF WITCHCRAFT WHICH HAD OCCURRED ELSEWHERE, BUT IT WAS MANY LONG MONTHS BEFORE ANYONE WAS WILLING TO TALK ABOUT LOCAL WITCHES. THEIR HESITATION WAS UNDOUBTEDLY DUE TO THEIR FEAR OF REPRISAL BY THE WITCH. BY NAMING THE WITCH, THEY WERE GIVING LIFE TO HIS POWER AND THEREBY EVOKING HIS WRATH AND INDIGNATION.

THERE ARE NUMEROUS WOMEN ON KYTHNOS WHO PERFORM CURING RITUALS. NEVER IN MY PRESENCE WERE PEOPLE WHO CURE REFERRED TO AS "MAGISSA." WHILE THIS IS USUALLY TRANSLATED AS "WITCH," IN FACT IT IS THE COGNITIVE OF "MAGICIAN." THEY WERE REFERRED TO AS "WOMEN WHO KNOW A LOT" OR AS "DOCTORS;" AND ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS I HEARD THEM REFER TO

THEMSELVES AS DOCTORS. THIS, OF COURSE, MAKES THEIR ROLE SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE. GREEK ORTHODOX PRIESTS MAY ALSO BE PLACED IN THE WITCHCRAFT CATEGORY. THEY ARE HIGHLY RELIGIOUS AND REPRESENT A LINK BETWEEN MAN AND GOD. ON KYTHNOS, THEY ALSO CLAIM TO HAVE TREMENDOUS POWERS, WHICH THEY USE IN SERVING GOD, AND IN INSURING GOOD CROP RETURNS, GOOD HEALTH, AND GOOD ANIMALS. THE ROLE OF THE PRIEST IS TO MAINTAIN HARMONY BETWEEN MAN AND GOD AND BETWEEN MAN AND MAN. THE PRIEST'S POWERS ARE MUCH FEARED BY MANY OF THE VILLAGERS, AND IT IS COMMONLY BELIEVED THAT IF THE PRIEST CURSES SOMEONE, THAT PERSON WILL NOT DIE PEACEFULLY. HIS BODY WILL NOT DECAY, AND HIS SOUL WILL WANDER THE EARTH AS A VIOLENT SPIRIT. THE PRIEST'S CURSE MAY BRING MUCH HARM AND GRIEF TO THE VILLAGERS. THE VILLAGE PRIEST ON KYTHNOS IS GREEDY, AND HE USED HIS PRIESTLY POWERS TO BLACKMAIL THE VILLAGERS INTO HIRING HIM FOR CARPENTRY WORK, WHICH IS HIS OTHER PROFESSION. WHEN A PRIEST EMPLOYS HIS POWERS TO DO HARMFUL OR DESTRUCTIVE WORK, HE IS CERTAINLY ENGAGED IN SORCERY. IT IS SAID BY MANY PEOPLE THAT THE WORST EYE IN ANY VILLAGE IS THAT OF THE PRIEST. GREEK-AMERICANS, FOR EXAMPLE, BELIEVE THAT IF A PRIEST PUTS ON CERTAIN OF HIS GARMENTS BACKWARDS, HE IS CURSING HIS PARISHIONERS.

THE MAKERS OF LOVE-POTIONS MAY BE PLACED IN EITHER THE WITCHCRAFT OR THE SORCERY CATEGORY DEPENDING ON THE INTENTIONS OF THE MAKER AND THE OUTCOME OF THE MATCH. THE FIRST INVOLVES THOSE WHO MAKE LOVE POTIONS WHICH PRODUCE AGREEABLE, HARMONIOUS AND HAPPY COUPLES. THE OTHER CATEGORY INCLUDES THOSE WHO MAKE LOVE POTIONS WHICH RESULT IN MATCHES OF COUPLES WHOSE FAMILIES ARE NOT HAPPY, AND WHICH MAY LATER END IN DIVORCE. OR IT MAY LEAD TO THE JILTING OF A SWEETHEART. HE OR SHE BECOMES THE VICTIM OF A POTION THAT CAUSES ONE TO FALL IN LOVE WITH

SOMEONE ELSE AND FORSAKE HIS SWEETHEART. THEREFORE, A PERSON MAY BE REFERRED TO AS BEING THE ONE WHO BROUGHT ABOUT THIS MATCH AND BE BLESSED BY ALL INVOLVED OR BE BLAMED FOR THIS MATCH AND CURSED FOR YEARS. SORCERERS ARE THOSE WHO HAVE CREATED A TENSE SITUATION OF HOSTILITY AND UNHAPPINESS IN THE SOCIETY WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE RELATIVES OF THE TWO FAMILIES INVOLVED AND THEREFORE NEARLY THE WHOLE VILLAGE MAY BE BROUGHT DIRECTLY INTO PLAY. SORCERERS ALSO EMPLOY THEIR MAGIC TO HURT THOSE WHO ARE ABOUT TO UNDERGO OR WHO HAVE JUST UNDERGONE A RITE OF PASSAGE. THE NEW MOTHER AND CHILD, THE BRIDE AND GROOM, AND THE ENGAGED COUPLE MUST BE GUARDED AGAINST SORCERERS, WHO CAN EMPLOY MAGIC TO DO GREAT HARM AGAINST THEM.

TO RANK THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF MAGIC ONE MIGHT FORM A CONTINUUM SUCH AS THE FOLLOWING:

CURERS OF VARIOUS DISEASES	PRIESTS	MAKERS OF LOVE POTIONS	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL USE OF POWER, SORCERY
POSITIVE MAGIC		NEGATIVE MAGIC	
THE THREE CONTINUA MAY BE ILLUSTRATED AS A GROUP IN THE FOLLOWING WAY:			
WITCHCRAFT		SORCERY	
POTENTIALLY HARMFUL POWERS, THESE POWERS HAVE A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE FUNCTION AND WORK TO PROMOTE HARMONY IN THE SOCIETY. THEY ARE EVIDENT DAILY IN ALL ASPECTS OF VILLAGE AND HOME LIFE.		INTENTIONALLY EVIL AND AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS WHICH MAY CAUSE GREAT HARM TO INDIVIDUALS PHYSICALLY, MENTALLY, EMOTIONALLY, AND FINANCIALLY. THESE ARE DISRUPTIVE POWERS AND THEY ARE MOST EVIDENT DURING RITES OF PASSAGE.	
EVERYONE OCCASIONALLY.	POSSESSOR DOES NOT KNOW.	POSSESSOR KNOWS AND TRIES TO CONTROL.	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL USE RISING FROM ENVY AND GREED.
MATIAZMA		VASCANIA	
THE EVIL EYE			
MATCHMAKER GOSSIP	SOCIETY "SAYS"	INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS MISINTERPRETED	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL GOSSIPMONGERING AND BACKBITING
KOUTSOBOULIO		GLOSOFEYA	
GOSSIP			
CURERS OF VARIOUS DISEASES.	PRIESTS	MAKERS OF LOVE POTIONS RESULTING IN HARMONIOUS MATCHES.	MALICIOUS & INTENTIONAL USE OF POWER FOR DESTRUCTIVE PURPOSES
POSITIVE SOCIAL RESULTS		NEGATIVE SOCIAL RESULTS	

MAGIC.

I WILL NOW ANALYZE SOME OF THE DIFFERENT SITUATIONS IN KYTHNOS WHERE THESE DYNAMIC POWERS WERE CARRIED OUT ESPECIALLY IN REGARDS TO PRE-ENGAGEMENT, ENGAGEMENT, AND MARRIAGE. THE VILLAGE SECRETARY ONCE TOLD US HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS TO LEVY TAXES OR TAKE A CENSUS AS THE PEOPLE MAINTAINED THAT THEY HAD NOTHING. THEIR LANDS WERE POOR AND FEW, THEIR ANIMALS WERE DISEASED, OLD AND DYING, THEIR HEALTH WAS SO BAD THEY WERE UNABLE TO WORK REGULARLY. BUT WHEN A PEASANT FARMER IS TRYING TO IMPRESS ANOTHER ABOUT THE QUALITIES OF HIS CHILDREN IN REGARDS TO A POSSIBLE MARRIAGE MATCH, HE CANNOT PRAISE HIS WEALTH AND HEALTH ENOUGH.

WHILE IT MAY APPEAR TO BE INCONGRUOUS, THERE IS AN EXPLANATION. CONCERN ABOUT ASSESSMENTS AND FEARS ABOUT EVOKING THE EVIL EYE ARE REASONS FOR NOT BRAGGING ABOUT ONE'S WEALTH AND HEALTH. HOWEVER, WHEN THE ISSUE IS A MARRIAGE MATCH, MODESTY IS OUT. THIS, OF COURSE, MAKES THE POTENTIAL COUPLE AN OBJECT OF ENVY, AS THEIR DOWRIES ARE IN ORDER AND THEY ARE CONSIDERED TO BE DESIRABLE. AS SO FEW PERSONS AT ANY ONE TIME WOULD BE OF MARRIAGEABLE AGE AND READY TO BE MARRIED BECAUSE OF THE CONSIDERABLE FINANCIAL INVESTMENT, THOSE WHO ARE ELIGIBLE ARE VULNERABLE TO THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS BEING DESIRED AND MORE SO WHEN BOTH PARTIES ARE READY AND WILLING TO MARRY. DOWRY LINENS ARE KEPT IN CHESTS WITH BLUE BEADS AND FLOWERS FROM THE REPLICA OF THE TOMB OF CHRIST USED IN GOOD FRIDAY SERVICES. THESE PROTECT THE GOODS FROM EVIL AS DO THE CANDLE STUBS FROM THE EASTER SERVICE, WHICH ARE ALSO PUT INTO THE CHESTS. MARRIAGEABLE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OFTEN WEAR A BLUE BEAD TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM THE EYE, AND THEY RELY GREATLY UPON THE CRUCIFIX THEY WEAR TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM A VARIETY OF EVILS, INCLUDING THE EVIL EYE AND MAGIC. PARTICULARLY DESIRABLE YOUTHS AND HENCE PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE YOUTHS MAY BE TOLD BY THEIR MOTHERS TO WEAR A CLOVE OF GARLIC

IN THEIR POCKETS OR TO PUT A SPOT OF SOOT BEHIND THEIR EARS.

THE LOOMS ON WHICH DOWRY ARTICLES ARE WOVEN HAVE A BLUE CHARM HANGING FROM THEM TO PROTECT BOTH THE GOODS AND THE WEAVER FROM THE EYE. THE FINEST OF THE ANIMALS HAVE BLUE BEADS AND TASSELS ON THEIR BRIDLES AND MAY HAVE OTHER TYPES OF CHARMS ON THEM AS WELL.

THE KOUTSOUBOULIO GOSSIPS HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE PRE-ENGAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS. GOSSIP ACTS AS A PRECURSOR. IN THIS SENSE IT IS THE SAME AS THE GREEK CHORUS. THE VILLAGERS ARE AWARE OF WHAT IS ABOUT TO HAPPEN OR WHAT HAS HAPPENED. ONE INFORMANT TOLD ME THAT HER SON AND HIS GIRLFRIEND WANTED TO MARRY. NOW HER HUSBAND WOULD SEND A "PROXINOU" OR MATCHMAKER TO BEGIN THE SUBJECT OF AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE TWO FAMILIES. SHE THEN ADDED THAT THE GIRL'S FAMILY WOULD KNOW THE MATCHMAKER WAS COMING, WHO HE WAS, AND WHAT HIS MISSION WAS BECAUSE THE GOSSIPS, THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, WOULD INFORM THEM.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF HOW PRE-ENGAGEMENT RUMORS BY THE KOUTSOUBOULIO INFLUENCED THE OUTCOME IS SEEN IN THE FOLLOWING. IT WAS RUMORED THAT A YOUNG, BACHELOR FARMER, NICKOS, HAD GONE TO SEEK THE HAND OF A VILLAGE MAIDEN, ERINI, THE SEAMSTRESS. THERE WERE CONFLICTING STORIES ABOUT THE OUTCOME. SOME PEOPLE ADMITTED THAT THEY DID NOT KNOW THE OUTCOME OF THE PROPOSAL, WHILE OTHERS ARGUED THAT THE SUITOR HAD BEEN REJECTED. STILL OTHERS CLAIMED THAT HE HAD BEEN ACCEPTED. FINALLY, THE GIRL WAS INTERVIEWED. SHE STATED THAT SHE HAD HEARD THE RUMOR BUT IT WAS NOT TRUE. NICKOS HAD NOT COME. SHE ALSO MAINTAINED THAT SHE WAS HAPPY THAT HE DID NOT COME, AS HE WAS NO MATCH FOR HER. HE WAS UGLY, POOR, AND A FARMER, AND SHE WOULD NEVER AGREE TO THE MATCH. AT THE LAST INTERVIEW WITH HER, SHE STILL MAINTAINED THAT HE HAD NOT COME, AND THAT SHE WOULD NOT ACCEPT HIM IF HE DID COME. IT IS MY CONTENTION THAT ONE OF THE ROLES OF GOSSIP

IS TO ALLOW FOR AMPLE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PROS AND CONS OF THE MATCHES TO BE AIRED. THE GIRL'S FAMILY INDICATED THAT THERE WAS NO HOPE OF EVEN MEETING FOR A DISCUSSION ABOUT A POSSIBLE MATCH, AS ERINI HAD LEFT NO DOUBT IN ANYONE'S MIND THAT SHE WAS NOT INTERESTED. THE YOUNG MAN'S FAMILY FOUND OUT THAT HE HAD NO CHANCE TO GAIN THIS PARTICULAR GIRL FOR A BRIDE. SHE HAD VOICED HER OBJECTIONS QUITE LOUDLY AND IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EMBARRASS AND INSULT HIM.

ERINI HAD BEEN LINKED BY THE GOSSIPS (KOUTSOBOULIO) WITH ANOTHER YOUNG MAN, YANNIS. WHILE IT WAS RUMORED THAT YANNIS HAD SOUGHT ERINI, IT WAS MORE OFTEN RUMORED THAT ERINI WAS INTERESTED IN YANNIS. ERINI SPOKE OF HIM IN VERY HIGH TERMS. SHE SAID THAT HE WAS A GOOD MAN AND WOULD BE A FINE HUSBAND. TO SPEAK OF A YOUNG MAN IN FINE TERMS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE MATCH WOULD BE AUTOMATICALLY AGREED TO BY THE TWO FAMILIES. IT DOES MEAN THAT A MATCH WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY THE GIRL'S FAMILY. ALL THE MORE INTERESTING IN THIS CASE, YANNIS HAD BECOME UNOFFICIALLY ENGAGED TO ELLI, WHO WAS HAVING AN AFFAIR WITH A MARRIED MAN. ACCORDING TO THE VILLAGE GOSSIPS, ON THE EVE OF THE OFFICIAL ENGAGEMENT PARTY, YANNIS WAS TOLD BY ERINI'S MOTHER THAT ELLI WAS HAVING THE AFFAIR. YANNIS WAS THEN LED TO A PLACE WHERE ELLI WAS HAVING A RENDEZVOUS WITH HER LOVER. BY DOING THIS, THE MOTHER COMMITTED AN ACT OF GLOSSOFEYA, INTENTIONALLY TELLING YANNIS SOMETHING TO PRODUCE HARMFUL RESULTS TO THE ALREADY EXISTING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YANNIS AND ELLI, IN ORDER TO SATISFY HER GREED AND DESIRES. ALTHOUGH YANNIS RENOUNCED HIS INTENTIONS OF MARRYING ELLI, HE DID NOT GO TO ERINI. ERINI TOLD ME THAT SHE HAD HEARD THAT YANNIS WAS INTERESTED IN HER, BUT HE HAD NOT COME. ERINI'S MOTHER, WHO HAD ACTED AS A MALICIOUS GLOSSOFEYA, WAS CRITICIZED BY THE VILLAGERS FOR HER ACTIONS. BUT EVERYONE AGREED THAT YANNIS WAS

LUCKY TO HAVE FOUND OUT ABOUT ELLI BEFORE THEY HAD MARRIED. ONE WOMAN SAID THAT ERINI'S MOTHER HAD NO RIGHT TO INFORM ON ELLI, SINCE SHE HAD TWO UNMARRIED DAUGHTERS AND HAD, THEREFORE, SUBJECTED HERSELF TO REVENGE AND HER DAUGHTERS TO CRITICISM ABOUT THEIR ACTIONS.

THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC, IN REGARDS TO MARRIAGE, DEAL MAINLY WITH "PHILOTIMO" AND "DROPI." PHILOTIMO IS THE "LOVE OF HONOR," WHICH AMONG MEN IS CONSIDERED A LOVE OR RESPECT FOR MASCULINITY. THEREFORE, ONE'S MASCULINITY IS INCREASED BY LESSENING THAT OF OTHER MEN, AS THOUGH MASCULINITY IS IN LIMITED SUPPLY. IF ONE GAINS, SOMEONE ELSE MUST LOSE (FOSTER 1965:301). AT THE COFFEE HOUSE, VILLAGE MEETINGS, SPORTS EVENTS, THE EVENING PROMENADE, THE STORE, THE CHURCH AND DURING ALL PERIODS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION, EACH MAN IS PITTED AGAINST THE OTHERS. IF NOT OPENLY AGGRESSIVE, HE IS AT LEAST ON HIS GUARD TO SEEK OUT EVERY POSSIBLE CHANCE TO LOWER SOMEONE ELSE'S MASCULINITY AND BUILD UP HIS OWN. PHILOTIMO MAY BE APPLIED TO WOMEN AND THEIR HONOR OR LACK OF HONOR DISCUSSED. MORE OFTEN, HOWEVER, THE QUALITY OF "DROPI" OR SHAME IS DEALT WITH. A WOMAN WHO IS NOT CHASTE, IS UNFAITHFUL TO HER HUSBAND, OR DOES NOT ACT AS A GOOD WOMAN SHOULD, BRINGS SHAME TO THE MEN AROUND HER. HERE, SHAME REFLECTS UPON THE HONOR OF THE MEN - HER FATHER, HER BROTHERS, AND HER HUSBAND. WOMEN ARE FEARED AND CENSORED BY THEIR MALE KINSMEN BECAUSE OF THE SHAME THEY CAN BRING UPON THEIR MEN THROUGH THEIR ACTIONS.

IN 1968, A YOUNG COUPLE ELOPED. MANOLI WAS ONLY 18 AND HIS BRIDE KATINA WAS ONLY 14. MANOLI'S FAMILY WAS ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY MORE PROMINENT THAN KATINA'S. KATINA HAD THREE SISTERS AND HER FAMILY WAS POOR. CONSEQUENTLY, HER DOWRY PROSPECTS WERE LIMITED. MANOLI'S FATHER KNEW HE WAS INTERESTED IN KATINA. ONE OF HIS AUNTS TOLD ME THAT WHEN SHE HEARD THAT MANOLI WAS PLANNING TO ELOPE WITH KATINA, SHE TRIED TO TALK BOTH PARTIES OUT OF IT. THE KOUTSOUBOULIO HAD INFORMED MANOLI'S

FATHER THAT MANOLI WAS CONSIDERING MARRIAGE. THE FATHER ALSO TRIED TO PERSUADE MANOLI NOT TO MARRY KATINA. THE FATHER FELT THAT HIS SON HAD BEEN BEWITCHED. AS MANOLI HAD EATEN AT THE GIRL'S HOUSE, HIS FAMILY FELT THAT SOMEONE THERE MUST HAVE PUT A LOVE POTION IN HIS FOOD.

THE COUPLE RAN OFF TO THE MOUNTAINS FOR A FEW DAYS. AFTER RETURNING TO THE VILLAGE, THEY MARRIED AND THEY LIVED WITH THE GROOM'S PARENTS, AS THE BRIDE'S FAMILY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH CUSTOM, WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HER. ALTHOUGH EACH HAD CARRIED SUCH PROPHYLACTICS AS BLUE AGAINST THE EYE, A TINY GOSPEL TO DISPEL EVIL, AND SCISSORS TO "CUT THE MAGIC" THAT SOMEONE MIGHT TRY TO CAST ON THEM (I.E., SORCERY AT THE WEDDING), IT WAS OBVIOUS TO THE VILLAGERS THAT THE COUPLE HAD BEEN BEWITCHED DURING THE WEDDING SERVICE. THE GROOM WAS UNABLE TO CONSUMMATE THE MARRIAGE. IT WAS BELIEVED THAT WHEN THE BEST MAN PASSED THE WEDDING CROWNS OVER THE COUPLE'S HEADS THREE TIMES, SOMEONE PRESENT HAD UTTERED MAGIC WORDS AND HAD TIED THREE KNOTS IN A STRING, THEREBY ACQUIRING POWER OVER THE COUPLE. THE GROOM REPEATEDLY TRIED TO CONSUMMATE THE MARRIAGE (HIS TESTIMONY). IN A SOCIETY WHERE THE WEDDING SHEETS ARE PUBLICLY DISPLAYED, THIS BECAME A WELL-KNOWN FACT. THE GROOM WAS ILL AND BEDRIDDEN FOR FOUR MONTHS. HE BEGAN TO WASTE AWAY, AND THE PRIEST WAS SUMMONED DAILY TO BLESS HIM AND THE HOUSE. A RELATIVE SUGGESTED THAT A WITCH IN ATHENS BE CONSULTED AND HE, HIS PARENTS, AND HIS WIFE WENT TO ATHENS. THE WITCH PERFORMED A CURING RITUAL AND INSTRUCTED THEM TO RETURN TO KYTHNOS AND BE REMARRIED AT AN OUTLYING CHAPEL. THIS WAS DONE. AT THIS SERVICE, KNOWN AS REVERSING THE CROWNS, THE MAGIC SPELL WAS BROKEN. MANOLI BECAME WELL QUICKLY. AFTER TWO YEARS, MANOLI WENT INTO THE SERVICE AND HIS WIFE CONTINUED TO LIVE WITH HER PARENTS-IN-LAW. HER PARENTS THEN GAVE HER THE DOWRY HOUSE AND GOODS THAT THEY HAD WITHHELD FOR THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF MARRIAGE. SHE MOVED INTO THE HOUSE

AND HAD ONE OF HER YOUNGER SISTERS LIVE THERE ALSO. SOON THE GOSSIP BEGAN. MANY PEOPLE WERE CRITICAL OF KATINA AND THEY FELT SHE HAD ULTERIOR MOTIVES IN LEAVING HER PARENTS -IN-LAW'S HOUSE WHILE HER HUSBAND WAS AWAY IN SERVICE. A NEW, YOUNG POLICEMAN ARRIVED AND HE ASKED HER TO DANCE OFTEN AT EACH OF THE FESTIVALS. IT WAS RUMORED THAT HE DAILY ACCOMPANIED HER TO HER FIELDS, WHICH WERE AN HOUR AND A HALF AWAY. ALL OF THESE ACTIONS WERE DISCUSSED BY THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, WHO WERE PRESENTING SOCIAL COMMENTARY ON ACTIONS THEY FELT DEVIANT. FINALLY, IT WAS RUMORED THAT KATINA AND THE POLICEMAN HAD AN AFFAIR. HER FATHER-IN-LAW SUMMONED HER HUSBAND. WHEN HER HUSBAND ARRIVED, HE, HIS FATHER, HIS FATHER-IN-LAW, AND HIS WIFE'S UNCLE WENT TO THE POLICE STATION AND FACED THE POLICEMAN. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, THE POLICEMAN WAS CALLED BEFORE HIS SUPERIORS AND SOON WAS GIVEN A TRANSFER TO ANOTHER AREA. MANOLI BEGAN DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS. SINCE HE COULD NOT PROVE THAT KATINA HAD COMMITTED ADULTERY, BOTH HE AND KATINA AGREED TO A DIVORCE ON THE GROUNDS OF MUTUAL INCOMPATIBILITY. MANOLI RETURNED TO ATHENS TO FINISH HIS FINAL TWO MONTHS OF SERVICE. KATINA'S REPUTATION WAS DAMAGED. SHE WAS CALLED NAMES EVERYWHERE IN THE VILLAGE AND SHE WAS INVOLVED IN A HAIR-PULLING, FIST FIGHT WITH ONE WOMAN WHO CALLED HER NAMES. SOON THE STORY WAS SLIGHTLY ALTERED. IT WAS SAID THAT HER SISTER, WHO LIVED WITH HER, HAD ALSO HAD AN AFFAIR WITH A POLICEMAN. MANOLI'S RELATIVES HAD BEEN QUITE VOCAL IN DISCUSSING HIS BAD FORTUNE, AND MANY BLAMED HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW FOR THE WHOLE TROUBLE. INDEED, BOTH HE AND HIS BROTHER MAINTAINED THAT KATINA'S MOTHER HAD BEWITCHED MANOLI INTO MARRYING KATINA. MANOLI SAID THAT IT MUST HAVE BEEN WITCHCRAFT. OTHERWISE, HE WOULD HAVE LISTENED TO HIS FATHER AND WAITED. HE ADDED, "WHY ELSE WOULD I HAVE MARRIED DURING THE BEST YEARS OF MY LIFE?" SUDDENLY, A NEW RASH OF RUMORS BEGAN, INITIATED MAINLY BY KATINA'S

RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS. THEY CLAIMED THAT KATINA WAS SUING FOR DIVORCE AS HER MARRIAGE HAD NEVER BEEN CONSUMMATED. A FEW SAID THAT THEY THOUGHT KATINA HAD HAD AN AFFAIR WITH THE POLICEMAN, BUT ONLY BECAUSE HER HUSBAND WAS IMPOTENT. THIS WAS AN OBVIOUS EFFORT TO RATIONALIZE HER DEEDS AND MAY BE SEEN AS A BACKLASH. KATINA WAS SHAMED AND HER REPUTATION RUINED. THE MOST EFFECTIVE ATTACK AGAINST MANOLI WAS TO RUIN HIS REPUTATION BY CONDEMNING HIS MASCULINITY. A FINAL RUMOR WAS PASSED ABOUT BY MANOLI'S FRIENDS AND RELATIVES. THEY SAID THAT KATINA'S MOTHER (ALREADY BRANDED AS THE SORCERESS WHO HAD ADMINISTERED THE LOVE POTION), HAD HAD AN AFFAIR WITH A POLICEMAN, HAD A BABY, WENT TO ATHENS TO LIVE WHERE SHE PUT THE BABY UP FOR ADOPTION. A FEW YEARS LATER, SHE MARRIED AND HAD FOUR DAUGHTERS. THEREFORE, HER DAUGHTERS' ACTIONS WERE REALLY HER OWN SINS REVISITED. MANOLI TOLD ME THAT HE BORE NO GRUDGE AGAINST HIS WIFE, AS HE FELT THAT SHE HAD DONE WHAT SHE DID BECAUSE OF HER MOTHER. HE ALSO HELD NO GRUDGE AGAINST HIS FATHER-IN-LAW WHOM HE RESPECTED.

PUBLIC OPINION ALLOWS US TO FORM THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS. THE COUPLE WAS MARRIED BECAUSE OF A LOVE POTION, MAGIC, WHICH IN THIS CASE WAS AN ACT OF SORCERY AS THE COUPLE AND THEIR FAMILIES WERE NOT HAPPY WITH THE MATCH. THE GROOM'S FAMILY BELIEVED THAT THE MATCH HAD BEEN DUE TO SORCERY AND THEY BELIEVED THAT THE SORCERER HAD BEEN MANOLI'S MOTHER-IN-LAW. AT THE WEDDING, AN UNIDENTIFIED SORCERER HAD CAUSED THE GROOM TO BE IMPOTENT AND ILL. THIS MAGIC SPELL WAS CAST AT A RITE OF PASSAGE AND TIME OF GREAT TENSION AND ANXIETY. LATER, A WITCH, USING A CURING RITUAL AND THE PRIEST, ALSO A WITCH BY OUR DEFINITION, USING MAGIC WERE ABLE TO CURE THE GROOM AND BREAK THE SPELL. KATINA LEFT THE HOME OF HER PARENTS-IN-LAW, THUS LEAVING HERSELF OPEN TO GOSSIP, AS SHE WAS

UNCHAPERONED. WHILE SHE HEARD THE KOUTSOBOULIO ABOUT HERSELF, SHE HAD NOT TAKEN APPROPRIATE ACTION TO PROTECT HERSELF. SHE COULD HAVE MOVED IN WITH HER OWN PARENTS, MOVED BACK WITH HER PARENTS-IN-LAW, OR AT LEAST REFUSED TO DANCE WITH THE POLICEMAN. BECAUSE SHE DID NOT TAKE ACTION TO STOP THE KOUTSOBOULIO ABOUT HER CONDUCT, HER REPUTATION WAS RUINED BECAUSE OF THE GLOSSOFEYA. IN RETALIATION, HER FRIENDS AND RELATIVES UNDERMINED MANOLI'S BY ATTACKING HIS MASCULINITY, AN OPENLY AGGRESSIVE ACT OF GLOSSOFEYA. THE FINAL ASPECT WAS THE GOSSIP ABOUT KATINA'S MOTHER. SAID TO BE TRUE, IT WAS A STORY WE HEARD ONLY AFTER THE DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS BEGAN. IT WAS TOLD SPECIFICALLY TO DAMAGE KATINA'S MOTHER'S REPUTATION AND KATINA'S.

THE ABOVE CASES ILLUSTRATE A SMALL PORTION OF THE VARIETY OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS THAT THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC, AS FORMS OF WITCHCRAFT, PERFORM. AS CONTROLLED DYNAMICS OF POWER, THEY STRESS THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC UNITY OF THE SOCIETY AND REINFORCE THE NORMS. DEVIANT SOCIAL ACTION, INCLUDING CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION, IS MINIMIZED EITHER THROUGH FEAR OF THE EXERCISE AS IN FEAR OF THE EVIL EYE OR IN AN ACTUAL ATTACK BROUGHT ON BY BRAGGING. SOME ASPECTS OF THESE SERVE AS FACE-SAVING DEVICES. WHEN THE KOUTSOBOULIO INFORM A FAMILY OF THE INTENTIONS OF A POSSIBLE SUITOR, THE FAMILY EITHER PREPARES TO MEET HIM AND DISCUSS A MATCH, OR WILL COUNTERACT WITH RUMORS TO PREVENT HIS ARRIVAL. THIS MAY BE SEEN AS FACE-SAVING, SINCE POSSIBLE CONFLICTS MAY BE ELIMINATED IF THE YOUTH REALIZES THAT HE WILL NOT EVEN BE CONSIDERED AND NEED NOT GO TO THE HOME. ALSO, INDIVIDUALS WHO REALIZE THAT THEY OR THEIR FAMILIES ARE BEING GOSSIPED ABOUT DUE TO DEVIANT ACTIONS MAY TAKE STEPS TO END THE DEVIANT ACTIONS AND THEREBY STOP OR AT LEAST MINIMIZE THE GOSSIP. THE PRIEST AND THE CURERS MAY BE KNOWN AS STABILIZERS OF VILLAGE TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS. THEY MAY BE WELL

RESPECTED FOR THEIR ACTIONS. THEIR POWERS MAY BE HELD IN AWE AS THEY ARE POWERS OF ALMOST UNLIMITED POSSIBILITIES. HOWEVER, THE VERY NATURE OF THESE POWERS MAKES THE VILLAGERS FEARFUL OF THEM AS WELL.

THE BELIEVED MAKER OF LOVE-POTIONS MIGHT BE SUCCESSFUL IN ARRANGING A HAPPY MATCH WHICH WILL RESULT IN HARMONIOUS CONDITIONS AMONG THE RELATIVES. AS LONG AS ALL OF THESE POWERS ARE HELD IN CHECK, OR AT LEAST THE ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THEM IS EVIDENT, THESE POWERS WILL PROVIDE SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE VILLAGE AND HELP TO STABILIZE THE SOCIETY. THIS IS IN ACCORD WITH WOLF'S, KLUCKHOHN'S, AND FOSTER'S FINDINGS. BUT KLUCKHOHN'S DEFINITION OF "WITCH" WOULD ACTUALLY BE WHAT I CALL A SORCERER AND AT THIS LEVEL WE SEE THE BREAKDOWN OF FAMILY AND VILLAGE STABILITY. EACH OF THE ASPECTS OF WITCHCRAFT, IF WILLFULLY EMPLOYED TO CAUSE DESTRUCTION, MAY BE SO INTENSE THAT TOTAL VILLAGE DISHARMONY MAY RESULT. IT IS AT RITES OF PASSAGE, WHERE TENSIONS ALREADY EXIST, THAT ATTACKS OF SORCERY, INTENTIONALLY MANIPULATED, AND EVIL ACTS APPEAR MOST FREQUENTLY AND DO THE MOST DAMAGE. THE HARM DONE BY WITCHCRAFT MAY BE GUARDED AGAINST AND ALMOST COMPLETELY CORRECTED. BUT THE DAMAGE DONE BY THE SORCERER MAY BE FINAL, AS SOME THINGS CANNOT BE REPAIRED. A DIRECT ASSAULT ON ONE'S REPUTATION, A BROKEN HOME, AND A JILTED SWEETHEART, ARE ONLY A FEW EXAMPLES OF THE FINALITY OF THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY SORCERERS.

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