

“EMOTIONAL PERFORMANCES” IN ANCIENT GREECE: THE MOURNING THROUGH THE BODY (8TH-5TH CENTURIES B.C.)¹

“Performances emocionais” na Grécia Antiga: o luto através do corpo (séculos VIII-V a.C.)

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Abstract:

Pain and the grieving process for men and women demand a transformation of the body: crying, chanting the funeral lamentation, getting dirty and cutting hair are part of a social presentation of mourning for the deceased. Considering these issues and having in mind a History of Emotions, we propose a reflection on the “emotional performance” in funeral contexts, with emphasis on the speeches and practices of imputating of mourning in the visual sphere, that is, the transformation of their bodies before society. In this article we analyze the Homeric epics and list some tragedies in order to understand the mourning behavior of men and women in Hellas and their relationship with the body as a vector of an “emotional performance”.

Keywords: Mourning; “emotional performance”; History of Emotions; Ancient Greece.

Resumo:

A dor e o processo de enlutar-se para homens e mulheres demanda uma transformação do corpo: choro, entoação da lamentação fúnebre, sujar-se e cortar os cabelos compõem parte de uma apresentação social do luto pelo/a falecido/a. Considerando tais questões, ao partirmos de uma História das Emoções, propomos refletir sobre uma “performance emocional” nos contextos funerários, com ênfase nos discursos e práticas de imputação do luto em esfera visual, isto é, a transformação de seus corpos diante da sociedade. Neste artigo analisamos os épicos homéricos e elencamos algumas tragédias a fim de compreendermos os comportamentos de luto de homens e mulheres na Hélade e suas relações com o corpo como vetor de uma “performance emocional”.

Palavras-chave: Luto; “performance emocional”; História das Emoções; Grécia Antiga.

Introduction: Present and Past

Just over two years ago, the world found itself grappling with a sanitary crisis brought about by SARS-CoV-2, more commonly known as COVID-19. This pandemic led to a shift in the perception of mortality, particularly in the Western world. While the Western world had historically maintained a certain taboo surrounding the topic of death, the high number of casualties resulting from the rapid spread of the disease necessitated a discussion on the matter. Early in this pestilence, both national and international media highlighted the difficulties faced in conducting burials, exemplified by the alarming situation in Italy. Images of a lengthy funeral procession of bodies, requiring care from funeral homes in neighboring cities due to the inability of the city of origin to accommodate funeral procedures and burials, dominated global media².

COVID-19 and death became recurring themes in everyday discourse. As the death toll continued to rise, it reached Brazilian families, resulting inexorably in the loss of our loved ones and friends. The horror of death and the challenges and hindrances in conducting burials were palpable among us. Even in the year 2021, with over a year of the pandemic behind us, the adversities and suffering of families in Brazil persisted³. In 2022, two years after the tragic situation experienced by thousands of Brazilians⁴, the loss of these lives did not signify the end of a process. On the contrary, deaths in a public health crisis marked the commencement of the grieving process for millions of Brazilians. Two significant issues came to the forefront: the importance of conducting burials and the pain experienced by families and friends.

Exceptional circumstances prompt us to reevaluate our relationship with the past. Nevertheless, we strive to comprehend the relationship between the ancient Greeks and funeral rites more broadly, focusing specifically on the bodily expressions of grief and mourning in the face of loss. Diverging from the Western taboo surrounding death (Rodrigues, 2006), the Greeks perceived this process as just another stage of life, not its complete end – after all, the *psykaí* (souls or spirits) continue their journey to the underworld, Hades (Damet, 2007, p. 91; Sourvinou-Inwood, 2006, p.9).

As we delve into the realms of pain, suffering, and mourning, we venture into a historically understudied aspect concerning Antiquity, particularly the Greek era.

Emotions and sensitivities currently represent a new impetus in historical analyses. In light of this historiography, characterized by both progress and setbacks, we will examine, within the framework of the latest readings and proposals in the History of Emotions, the bodily expressions of those in mourning in ancient Greece.

Toward a History of Emotions

The historiographical discourse surrounding the History of emotions is extensive, revealing influences from Biology, Anthropology, and Sociology, with significant figures among its precursors and developers⁵. In the field of History, during its early days as a professional discipline, historians displayed an interest in documenting emotions. However, some prominent members expressed opposition to this approach to History, as "historians were guided by the idea that their work should be based on empirical evidence and observable facts," and emotions were believed not to be expressed in external actions but rather confined to the realm of individual psychologies (Lang, 2018, p. 107). Consequently, for a long time, many historians relegated emotions to the periphery of historical reflection, given that, for an extended period, History was

the history of the state, and this history of high politics and war was almost exclusively a history of men, by men, for men. Feelings – often associated with women, children, and irrationality – were not a prestigious topic. If emotions mattered at all, it was only when they affected the decisions of the powerful (LANG, 2018, p. 107).

Even though this conception of emotions and feelings as subjects of History prevailed, some historians in the 19th century already paid attention to the theme. An example of this is J. Michelet, who, when writing about the French Revolution, emphasized that popular and political revolts dealt with the movement of humanity itself, its spirit, and its expression of fraternal love (or the lack thereof), rather than the minutiae of cause and effect (Boddice, 2018). In a concise list of historians who sought elements of emotions and feelings in their research from the late 19th to the 20th century, we can mention J. Burckhardt, who conceived art as a historical expression, and J. Huizinga, who

used literature and other artistic forms as sources to reconstruct the emotions of people in a specific space-time.

The "first turn" occurs with the Annales School, where M. Bloch and L. Febvre expressed dissatisfaction with the produced History (Odália, 1997, p. 8). Historian L. Febvre is considered the contemporary founder of the History of Emotions and Sensibilities, as evident in his article "La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?" (1941)⁶. As Lang points out, " By the 1930s, Febvre thought the time had come to take emotions seriously. The emotions of the masses, stoked and harnessed for political purposes, seemed ready to destroy the world" (Lang, 2018, p. 108). In defense of this History of Emotions, Febvre insisted that emotions " are not automatic physiological responses to external stimuli (...) but historically specific expressions of cultural norms and social relations" (Lang, 2018, p. 108). In the same vein, B. H. Rosenwein, a 21st-century historian, suggests considering emotions as socially and historically constructed, moving away from universalist and presentist theories that perceive emotions as immutable and ahistorical (Rosenwein, 2011, p. 9-19).

Despite Febvre's assertions, it was only the Third Generation of the Annales that redirected its attention to the studies of emotions and sensibilities, with E. LeRoy Ladurie and J. Delumeau. As argued by M. Bjerg, studies focused on emotions remained peripheral until the 1970s, although he also highlights Weber's proposal to understand emotions as "relevant explanatory factors, since (...) social relations were anchored in affective action" (Bjerg, 2019, p. 5).

Other historiographical currents also have prominent figures in this theme during the 1970s and 1980s, such as P. Gay, M. de Certeau, E.P. Thompson, C. Ginzburg, among many others. These historians, either directly or indirectly, engaged in a dialogue and reflection on the presence and historicity of feelings and emotions as driving forces of history, as seen in the studies of E. P. Thompson, demonstrating how "systematic attention to emotions and experience not only adds nuance to the historical narrative but also affects how we perceive and interpret how history is made" (Lang, 2018, p. 111).

The 1990s are marked by the "Affective Turn" in the Humanities, where the articulations of affectivities are reconsidered, stemming from a new configuration in the relationships of bodies, technology, and matter, prompting a shift in critical theory. This

"affective turn" urges us toward a "transdisciplinary approach to theory and method that necessarily invites experimentation in capturing the change in the co-function of the political, the economic, and the cultural, effectively turning it into a change in the deployment of affective capacity" (Clough, 2007, p. 3).

However, this article aligns itself with the most recent discussions about Emotions, conceiving them based on senses and sensations. The 2010s are characterized by a new direction termed the "Biocultural Turn"/"Corporeal Turn," as the understanding of emotions, felt and experienced by bodies, is also comprehended as a social construct – now not solely emotions⁷. It is in the body, and in its expressiveness, that emotions and sensibilities are revealed (Boddice, 2018).

The emotional experience that occurs in funerary contexts is a privileged topic for historical investigations grounded in a History of Emotions. By proposing this analysis in our article, the experiences of grief and suffering among the ancient Greeks, documented textually, allow us to visualize "emotional performances" expressed through the transformations of the bodies of the bereaved.

Funerary Contexts in Hellenic Culture: Men and Women in Suffering

Whether in exceptional situations or in everyday life, the significance attributed to the burial of the dead remains a constant among the ancient Greeks (Abellán, 1995; Campos, 2010). Between the 8th and 4th centuries BCE, funerary practices, the set of beliefs, social forms of dealing with death, and dying underwent modifications in Hellenic society. Nevertheless, burial remained essential, as it allowed the individual to continue the post-mortem process, creating a spatial marker for the living that materialized the disintegrating body (Belmont, 1997, p.42). Performing the rituals and erecting a spatial marker containing the individual's memory signifies the imprint of an existence that, without the physical object (tomb and funerary stele), fades away in time and forgetfulness. As José Carlos Rodrigues argues, funeral rites are organized to provide an affective response to the deceased but also serve as a social response, preventing the erasure of the deceased's existence from collective social memory, because "if the living know their name, the dead continue to be somewhat alive" (Rodrigues, 2006, p.12).

The practice of burial, as well as actions related to the funeral process, are already marked traditions in the Homeric tradition. The concern for the proper execution of funeral rites is evident in the emphatic demand made by Elpenor:

Now I beseech thee by those whom we left behind, who are not present with us, by thy wife and thy father who reared thee when a babe, and by Telemachus whom thou didst leave an only son in thy halls; for I know that as thou goest hence from the house of Hades thou wilt touch at the Aeaean isle with thy well-built ship. There, then, O prince, I bid thee remember me. Leave me — not behind thee unwept and unburied as thou goest thence, and turn not away from me, lest haply I bring the wrath of the gods upon thee. Nay, burn me with my armour, all that is mine, and heap up a mound for me on the shore of the grey sea, in memory of an unhappy man, that men yet to be may learn of me. (HOMER, *Odyssey*, XI, v. 66-78)⁸

It is the deceased who implores, by all that is dear to Odysseus, his own burial. The departed reinforces the plea with "μή μ' ἄκλαυτον ἄθαπτον ἰὼν ὄπιθεν" (Homer, *Odyssey*, XI, v. 72)⁹. Therefore, burying and mourning the deceased are relevant practices in the polis social body, to the extent that the hero's companion pleads for his funeral. The value attributed by the ancient Greeks to funerary rituals is also evident in the agonistic context of the *Iliad*, as there is an agreement between the Trojan king Priam and the Argive king Agamemnon to suspend hostilities and, in the meantime, perform the funeral rites (Homer, *Iliad*, VII, v. 375-378; v. 408-411).

The conception of the importance given to the correct funeral ritual by the ancient Greeks is not confined to Homeric works, as the tradition of funerary practices can be observed as a concern for characters in Greek tragedies of the classical period. In this sense, a prime example is the dedication of *Antigone* to ensuring the burial of her brother Polynices. At the beginning of the play's verses, *Antigone's* speech foreshadows the unfolding tragedy that befalls her.

Why not? Has not Creon destined our brothers, the one to honored burial, the other to unburied shame? Eteocles, they say, with due observance of right and custom, he has laid in the earth for his honor among the dead below. As for the poor corpse of Polynices, however, they say that an edict has been published to the townsmen that no one shall bury him or mourn him, but instead leave him unwept,

unentombed, for the birds a pleasing store as they look to satisfy their hunger (SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, v. 20-30)¹⁰.

In this initial context, Polynices would be the one who does not receive burial or lamentation, one who would not be granted funeral honors, in other words, he would be ἄταφος. For the ancient Greeks, remaining without a proper burial was a horror to be avoided (Jourdan, 2020). Such absence of the rite represents, for Greek poets and tragedians, "an insult to human dignity and a threat to the entry of the body into Hades" (Santos, 2011, p. 6). Other examples of the importance of burial as a practice in ancient Greek society persist in textual and visual documentation.

Not receiving funeral rites directly compromised the situation of the deceased in the afterlife, stripping them of their status. "Without burial, without funeral rites, the deceased cannot access a new condition of social existence; they merely fall into anonymity" (Laflamme, 2007, p. 11). The absence of burial denied the living the opportunity to bury their loved ones, mourn them, and have a place to remember them. Thus, the expression of emotions linked to the funerary space was also limited or, at the very least, altered in these contexts.

Similar to the pandemic we are currently experiencing, where there are situations of "incomplete mourning," in which rituals and gestures reorganize traditional practices¹¹ and influence changes in the demonstration of grief, the necessity of the mourning process also found expression among the ancient Greeks. Expressing grief and suffering were integral parts of funerary procedures in Ancient Greece.

Performativity in the Body: Expressions of Grief

As in the current pandemic scenario, where we encounter situations of "incomplete mourning," wherein rituals and gestures reorganize traditional practices and lead to a shift in the demonstration of grief over loss, the necessity of the mourning process also finds expression among the ancient Greeks. Demonstrating grief and suffering were integral parts of funerary procedures in Ancient Greece.

The emotional response to the death of a companion or family member is highlighted throughout various works from the archaic and classical periods. In the

Homeric tradition, we witness the excruciating grief (ἄχος) of Achilles upon learning about the death of his companion Patroclus. The suffering that seizes the Achaean hero is so profound that, in the transformation of his beautiful body, he inflicts violent acts upon himself.

So spake he, and a black cloud of grief enwrapped Achilles, and with both his hands he took the dark dust and strewed it over his head and defiled his fair face, and on his fragrant tunic the black ashes fell. And himself in the dust lay outstretched, mighty in his nightness, and with his own hands he tore and maired his hair (HOMER, *Iliad*, XVIII, v. 22-27)¹²

The grandeur and beauty of Achilles, along with all his magnificence, lie altered to express his grief: perfumed clothing becomes soiled with the dust of the earth, his (beautiful) face transforms into an image violated by self-inflicted lacerations, and his long hair is torn out. Visual alterations that vividly bring to life the mourning expressed directly on the body. However, this same body continues, in subsequent verses, to be used to manifest the pain and suffering over the loss. After the recovery of Patroclus' body, with his armor now taken by the Trojans, the Greeks began to lament the deceased hero.

but the Achaeans the whole night through made moan in lamentation for Patroclus. And among them the son of Peleus began the vehement lamentation, laying his manslaying hands upon the breast of his comrade and uttering many a groan, even as a bearded man whose whelps some hunter of stags hath snatched away from out the thick wood (HOMER, *Iliad*, XVIII, v. 314-320)¹³

The body serves as the conduit for the emotions of mourning: weeping, groaning. The identification of Greek vocabulary is crucial in delineating this grief, as we find tears (δάκρυον), lamentation (γόος/ ὀδυρομαι), weeping (μυρό/ κλαίω), and groaning (ἀναστενάχω / στένω/ οἰμώζω) as some basic elements of this expression of sorrow over the death of a loved one. In some cases, intensified by "μέγας" (mega/ greater) to underscore the character's immense suffering.

The pains of mourning become so overwhelming for Achilles that expressing them would not be sufficient to release the grief. In the Homeric narrative, the possibility of the hero ending his own life is considered, while other comrades also express sorrow over the loss. “And over against them Antilochus wailed and shed tears, holding the hands of Achilles, that in his noble heart was moaning mightily; for he feared lest he should cut his throat asunder with the knife. Then terribly did Achilles groan aloud” (Homer, *Iliad*, XVIII, v. 32-35)¹⁴. Examining the words in the original language reveals a vocabulary that reinforces the intensity of the suffering, as Antilochus "ὀδύρετο δάκρυα λείβων" (shed tears in lament) and sought to restrain an afflicted Achilles who "ἔστεινε" (sighed groaning) and emitted "σμερδαλέον δ' ἄμωξεν" (terrible loud groans).

This example of deep emotion is not isolated. Indeed, the magnitude and scope of Achilles' suffering, in discursive terms, stand out in Greek documentation. In this sense, the vocabulary is abundant and emphatic in public, collective, or individual demonstrations of mourning for Patroclus—even with Achilles directly or indirectly involved. However, the grief of the mourners continues to be represented by the Greeks—even if they attribute these characteristics to the suffering of non-Greek characters, as is done in the play "The Persians."

Faced with the catastrophe that befalls the defeat of the Persians in the naval battle of Salamis, the chorus, in dialogue with King Xerxes, expresses sorrow for the lives lost in the conflict: “I will indeed utter the song of lamentation in commemoration of your sufferings and of our strongly-manned ships, buffeted by waves; the plaintive strain of our land which mourns its sons. And I will cry aloud in lamentation, shedding many a tear” (Aeschylus, *Persians*, v. 944-949)¹⁵. It is important to identify that "πενθητήρος," translated in the verse as "I will cry" has a sense of "to lament." Thus, to understand the vocabulary linked to the demonstration of mourning, it is relevant to delve deeper into our analysis, as mourning for one's own people (in the case of the highlighted passage) may represent adorning oneself in mourning.

Mourning, understood as a moment of expressing emotions, can encompass different actions, even though they are socially stipulated and expected in a more or less defined set. Thus, R. Boddice asserts that "emotions are, therefore, an epiphenomenon of historical experience in a more general way" (Boddice, 2017, p. 12), and establishing the

relationship between emotion and language becomes indispensable. Researchers, broadly speaking, "agree that emotions cannot exist independently of language and that, although emotion is not a word, it can only be conveyed through words" (Matt apud Bjerg, 2019, p. 12). The relationship between emotions and the adopted vocabulary allows for the analysis of what is felt or seen and its expressiveness for the social body.

Therefore, the importance of emotions as an object of historical analysis is undeniable. As presented, these emotions related to the funerary context in Hellenic culture represent a social expression, including political disputes¹⁶. If we consider a History of Emotions applied to the funerary context resulting from the coronavirus-19 pandemic in our present, we realize how essential it is to do the same for Ancient Greece. Emotions, in the past or present, are excellent historical agents that connect to various components of a society, such as cultural, social, political, and religious. By proposing an analysis that seeks to highlight the emotion of mourning, suffering, and grief in Ancient Greece, we are dealing with the social sphere, a collective group—not individual emotions.

Thus, the way the Greeks acted and behaved in the face of the death of a relative or companion demonstrated emotions and feelings regarding the loss since " Emotions also often create in us urges to act in an emotional way in relation to someone else: we might feel an urge to hug that person or to stomp out of the room. Emotions give life its urgency" (Oatley, 2004, p. 4). Therefore, emotions are immediate, physical, and instinctive reactions that transmit feelings; feelings, in turn, react to emotions, as they are mental associations, memories, and beliefs – it is how the brain interprets and encodes emotions (Damasio, 1996).

These emotional displays were not confined to the male gender. The female role is prominent in expressions of mourning. Thus, the pain and mourning of women were constantly visible during rituals—intentionally desired to be shown by the family to emphasize the importance of the loss to the city's members. In textual documentation, it can be highlighted that "death was not suffered by the characters in silence: the suffering that afflicted them was communicated and often in an exaggerated manner. Mourning the dead ranged from shedding copious tears to cutting the hair and even self-flagellation."

(Silva, 2015, p. 69). Not only did the imposition of physical marks of suffering constitute women's practice.

As we can infer from the work "Iliad," during the funeral rituals of Hector, the female gender also took part in the chanting of laments. During the display of the deceased, funeral songs were sung by specialized individuals. The θρῆνος (*thrénos*) was the lamentation performed by a professional with the aim of demonstrating grief for the loss. This practice is evidenced in the verses "But the others, when they had brought him to the glorious house, laid him on a corded bedstead, and by his side set singers, leaders of the dirge, who led the song of lamentation—they chanted the dirge, and thereat the women made lament" (HOMER, *Iliad*, XXIV, v. 719-722)¹⁷. In the following verse, we see another form of lamentation possible to be performed during the procession and at the moment the body is buried, "And amid these white-armed Andromache led the wailing" (HOMER, *Iliad*, XXIV, v. 723)¹⁸. The γόος (*góos*) is the lament performed by women, the suffering demonstrated by non-professionals.

In addition to the musical aspect to manifest lament, women also tore and transformed their bodies. Besides the significant suffering of Achilles already mentioned, captive women of the heroes also participated in the display of distress over the loss.

And the handmaidens, that Achilles and Patroclus had got them as booty, shrieked aloud in anguish of heart, and ran forth around wisehearted Achilles, and all beat their breasts with their hands, and the knees of each one were loosed beneath her (HOMERO, *Iliáda*, XVIII, v. 28-31)¹⁹

The expression "ἀκηχέμεναι μεγάλ' ἴαχον," translated as "shrieked aloud in anguish of heart" reaffirms the moment of great torment through which these women were passing. It is also noteworthy that they beat their own breasts as a way of expressing the exceptional moment generated by the death of Patroclus.

However, the female suffering in this context is represented, in textual documentation, by other authors. In the tragedy "Agamemnon," Cassandra, a captive, foresees the death of the Argive king and begins to lament. In her speech to the Chorus, she says,

Nay, I will go to bewail (κωκύσουσ') also within the palace my own and Agamemnon's fate. Enough of life! Alas, my friends, not with vain terror do I shrink, as a bird that fears a bush. After I am dead, bear witness for me of this" (AESCHYLUS, *Agamemnon*, v.1313-1317)²⁰

Cassandra's lamentation occurs before Agamemnon's demise. She weeps and laments their fate, death. However, even more peculiar in this passage is the character's statement that confirms her intent with such displayed dismay: "so that you may be witnesses to all of this." The demonstration of suffering, even though confined to the *oikos*, i.e., the private space, requires public confirmation that it has taken place. To bear witness that, as a captive of Agamemnon, she foresaw the king's imminent death.

In a similar vein of withholding the exposure of lamentations is the character Eurydice, Creon's wife in the play "Antigone." In the dialogue between the chorus and the messenger, Sophocles writes,

Still I am nourished by the hope that at the grave news of her son she thinks it unworthy to make her laments (πένθος) before the city, but in the shelter of her home will set her handmaids to mourn (στένειν) the house's grief. [1250] For she is not unhabituated to discretion, that she should err (SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, v. 1246-1250)²¹

Upon receiving the news of her son's death, Eurydice goes to cry inside the house, alongside other women. Even though it is a "silent lament" confined to the *oikos*, the response given by the Chorus weighs the demonstration of feminine suffering in the face of a family member's death. Thus, in response, we have "I do not know. But to me, in any case, a silence too strict seems to promise trouble just as much as a fruitless abundance of weeping" (SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, v. 1251-1252)²². Pain, whether exposed or not, remains present in those experiencing grief. We question whether it would be possible, through public silence, to also express loss. Would it be a reversal of the expectation for women regarding mourning within the social body?

Both passages, in which women enter the house to mourn the dead, are related to the changes that the polis of Athens underwent after Solon's laws²³. Therefore, due to local political disputes, there was a modification in the way grief was expressed. Although lamentation and weeping persist, tragedies and comedies depicting female distress from Athens underwent behavioral changes to fit into the new social regulations.

The question we pose regarding expressions of suffering is how much of this externalization, which drives them to lament and tear their bodies, is rooted in their own pain and how much corresponds to the social role they are expected to play. Our goal is not to measure pain and suffering – an impossible task when dealing with characters – but to highlight the extent of performativity being constructed and forged in the context of demonstrating emotions for the loss of a loved one. That is, how the discourse between the individual expressing their mourning emotions and what was expected of them as a social performance in front of other groups in the polis is constructed. In other words, how can we identify an emotional performance shaped by social expectations in a funeral context.

The performativity in J. Butler seeks to establish the relationship between "a linguistic theory of discursive acts with bodily gestures" (BUTLER, 2007, p. 31), assuming that discourse is an act with linguistic and practical ramifications. "Performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of iterability, a regulated and limited repetition of rules [...] This iterability implies that performance is not a singular act or event, but a ritualized production" (BUTLER, 1993, p. 95). Thus, performativity is a stylized repetition of acts that are constituted in the social body. Therefore, Butler's concept of performativity is an attempt to rethink the relationship between social structures and the individuals who compose them. As S. Belli et al. add, acts or "fabrications" (considering that performative acts are socially forged) can be considered "natural" among members of a particular society, as repeated execution over time and a broad set containing multiple everyday social interactions imply a sense of "naturalization" of the process. However, as a social creation, these "performative acts are open to constant transformations and redefinitions" (BELLI; et al, 2010, p. 5).

Even though the term "emotion" does not appear explicitly in her texts, it emerges spontaneously in her speeches and postures (BUTLER, 1993). Thus, "emotion is a

performance produced through these fabrications, internally discontinuous acts. In other words, emotions do not exist before their performance" (BELLI; et al, 2010, p. 5). Emotions, to be expressed, need to be in a discourse. A repeated discourse that acquires other forms of externalization, such as performance through the body. And in this sense, the constant "repetition" of these acts and discourses promotes performativity (BELLI; et al, 2010, p. 5).

With the analysis of the presented passages, we can identify the elements that make up the "emotional performance" of mourning forged in the textual discourse of Hélade, especially in the archaic period and the beginning of the classical period. The body is a vector of emotions in this performativity when crying and tears – biological products of this body – are associated with the features of a "socialized body," that is, getting dirty and intoning funeral lamentation.

What we understand, therefore, as "emotional performance" is the conjunction of the natural production of the body with the use of corporeality as a public visual element. The emotions of the grieving experience that are vivified and materialized with the body as support are discourses of social expectations and individuality of feeling; however, when performed by the highlighted characters, they forge a dialogue between these two spheres.

The "emotional performance" of mourning transforms the male and female bodies. More than just being felt, pain and suffering need to be externalized and transformed into public knowledge. Achilles performs, during the final chants of the Iliad, a broad torment for the loss of Patroclus. The demonstrations encompass a set of bodily products and modifications to the body itself; his "emotional performance" distances itself from other mourners during the conflict: neither men nor women take as long as Achilles to "sate themselves with weeping." The hero, in his mourning, transforms the beautiful body, makes his anguish visible to others, and publicizes his distress.

Public manifestation alone does not generate an "emotional performance." As in Cassandra's situation, where she announces that she will go inside the oikos to suffer in mourning in advance, the elements are not seen by the public (internal to the characters of the staging and by the audience watching the play) but are informed to everyone. Thus, even if the mourning by the body is not visibly materialized, the discourse of the Trojan

performs what she will suffer. An "emotional performance" can, therefore, use the "hiding" of public manifestations, but they inform the development to become public, in a "knowledge without having been seen."

Conclusions

The finitude of life implies, in socially organized groups, the ritualization and development of funeral practices. Part of this process requires the execution of expressive actions by the living in the face of loss. Among the Hellenes, grief was also demonstrated through the materialization of mourning. This display of mourning impacts the use of the body as a conduit for "emotional performances." In this sense, the manner and how one cries or the way in which the body's aspect is shown (dirty, with lacerations, hair cut) are expected social demands; thus, these elements constitute the emotional performativity of bereaved individuals.

The analysis of these emotions expressed in the textual documentation listed allows us to understand that, in mourning situations, men and women engage in dialogue through their behaviors: both can cry effusively, intone funeral lamentations, lacerate themselves, and soil themselves. This does not imply that the "emotional performances" of men and women in Hellas would be the same, as women have prominence in funeral rituals concerning the lamentation of the dead (JOURDAN, 2019). Still, there are behavioral similarities between the feminine and masculine in society. The judgmental nature of these "emotional performances" is another issue to be analyzed²⁴.

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¹The translations of ancient texts are listed in the bibliography and, therefore, differ from the references provided in the Portuguese version.

²Some examples of articles on this subject are available in various languages: <https://www.agazeta.com.br/editorial/caminhoes-com-corpos-sao-retrato-da-tragedia-do-coronavirus-0320>; <https://www.ilpost.it/2020/03/19/coronavirus-bare-bergamo-esercito/>; <https://news.sky.com/story/coronavirus-italian-army-called-in-to-carry-away-corpses-as-city-crematorium-is-overwhelmed-11959994>; https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/monde/a-bergame-les-camions-militaires-hantent-toujours-les-esprits_2147430.html; <https://g1.globo.com/globonews/estudio-i/video/caminhoes-de-bergamo-na-italia-levam-mortos-do-coronavirus-para-cremar-em-outras-cidades-8417607.ghtml>.

³ The article titled "Amidst Grief, Families of Covid Victims Buried in Mass Graves in Manaus Plan Tribute for All Saints' Day" substantiates the argument regarding the challenges faced by relatives and friends in the face of the grieving process. This report is accessible at: <https://g1.globo.com/am/amazonas/noticia/2021/11/01/em-meio-a-dor-familias-de-vitimas-de-covid-enterradas-em-valas-comuns-em-manaus-planejam-homenagem-para-o-dia-de-finados.ghtml>

⁴ Presently, in recently released figures, Brazil has approximately 698,000 deaths attributable to this disease. In the state of Rio de Janeiro alone, there are around 76,000 fatalities (data obtained on February 22, 2023).

⁵ In order to illustrate some research endeavors that significantly stimulate the development of the History of Emotions, we can cite several influential works across various disciplines. In the field of Biology, notable contributions include C. Darwin's "The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals" (1872) and M. Daily & Margo Wilson's "The Truth about Cinderella: A Darwinian View of Parental Love" (1998). Within the vast contributions of Anthropology, key figures such as E.B. Tylor with "Primitive Culture" (1871), A. Van Gennep with "The Rites of Passage" (1909), E.E. Evans-Pritchard with seminal works like "Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande" (1937), "The Nuer Religion" (1956), and "Theories of Primitive Religion" (1965), as well as M. Douglas with "Purity and Danger" (1966) and "Risk and Blame: Essays in Cultural Theory" (1992), and C. Lévi-Strauss with "The Elementary Structures of Kinship" (1949/1968) and the Mythologiques tetralogy: "The Raw and the Cooked" (1964), "From Honey to Ashes" (1966), "The Origin of Table Manners" (1968), and "The Naked Man" (1971). Additionally, C. Lutz's "Unnatural Emotions" (1988) and "Language and the Politics of Emotion" (1990), and G.M. White's works "Moral Discourse and the Rhetoric of Emotion" (1990), "Affecting Culture: Emotion and Morality in Everyday Life" (1994), and "Emotive Institutions" (2005) have made significant contributions. In Sociology, noteworthy figures include E. Durkheim with "Suicide" (1897) and "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life" (1912), E. Goffman with "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" (1956), "Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates" (1961), and "Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity" (1963), N. Elias with works like "The Civilizing Process" (1939/1969-1982), "The

Society of Individuals" (1969), "Established and Outsiders" (1965), "The Loneliness of the Dying and Humana Conditio" (1979), "The Loneliness of the Dying" (1982), and "Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process" (1986), R. Sennett with "Families Against the City: Middle Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872-1890" (1970), "The Decline of the Public Man: The Terrors of Intimacy" (1977), "The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism" (1998), and "The Foreigner: Two Essays on Exile" (2011), and J.H. Turner with works like "Theory and Research on Human Emotions" (2004) and "Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions" (2006).

⁶ FBVRE, L. "La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois ?" In: **Annales d'histoire sociale**, III, 1941, p.5-20.

⁷ Embedded within this new perspective, focusing on the analysis of emotions among the ancients, we highlight D. Konstan as one of the most prominent authors. His significant contributions include works such as "Beauty: The Fortunes of an Ancient Greek Idea" (2014), "Friendship in the Classical World" (1997), "Before Forgiveness: The Origins of a Moral Idea" (2010), and the renowned "The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature" (2006). Another researcher making substantial contributions is D.L. Cairns, whose notable works encompass "Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After" (2017), "Emotions in the Classical World: Methods, Approaches, and Directions" (2017), "Emotions between Greece and Rome" (2015), "Vision and Viewing in Ancient Greece" (2013), and "Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds" (2005).

⁸ "νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὀπιθεν γονάζομαι, οὐ παρεόντων,/ πρὸς τ' ἀλόχου καὶ πατρός, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἐόντα,/ Τηλεμάχου θ', ὃν μοῦνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες:/ οἶδα γὰρ ὡς ἐνθένδε κίων δόμου ἐξ Αἴδαο/ νῆσον ἐς Αἰαίην σήσεις ἐνεργέα νῆα:/ ἔνθα σ' ἔπειτα, ἄναξ, κέλομαι μνήσασθαι ἐμεῖο./ μὴ μ' ἄκλαυτον ἄταπτον ἰὼν ὀπιθεν καταλείπειν/ νοσοφισθεῖς, μὴ τοῖ τ' θεῶν μῆνιμα γένωμαι,/ ἀλλὰ με κακκῆϊα σὺν τεύχεσιν, ἄσσα μοι ἔστιν./ σῆμά τέ μοι χεῖρα πολίτης ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης,/ ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι."

⁹ "not behind thee unwept and unburied"

¹⁰ "οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῦν τῶ κασιγνήτῳ Κρέων/ τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει:/ Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν, ὡς λέγουσι, σὺν δίκῃ / χρήσει δικαία καὶ νόμου κατὰ χθονὸς / ἔκρυψε τοῖς ἐνεθθεν ἐντιμον νεκροῖς:/ τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν/ ἀστοῖσι φασιν ἐκκεκρηῦχθαι τὸ μῆ/ τάφῳ καλύψαι μηδὲ κωκῦσαι τινα,/ ἔαν δ' ἄκλαυτον, ἄταφον, οἰωνοῖς γλυκύν/ θησαυρὸν εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς." (*Antígona*, vv. 20 -30) [grifo nosso].

¹¹ The article titled "A pandemia impede despedida tradicional aos mortos pela Covid-19" can be read at <https://veja.abril.com.br/saude/a-pandemia-impede-despedida-tradicional-aos-mortos-pela-covid-19/>.

¹² "ὡς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα:/ ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν/ χεῦατο κακ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἤσχυνε πρόσωπον:/ νεκταρέφ δὲ χιτῶνι μέλαινα/ ἀμφίζανε τέφρη./ αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κονίησι μέγας μεγαλωστί τανυσθεῖς/ κείτο, φίλησι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην ἤσχυνε δαΐζων."

¹³ "αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ/ παννύχιοι Πάτροκλον ἀνεστενάχοντο γοῶντες./ τοῖσι δὲ Πηλεΐδης ἀδινού ἐξῆρχε γόοιο/ χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους θέμενος στήθεσσι ἐταίρου/ πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχων ὡς τε λῖς ἠὺγένειος,/ ᾧ ῥά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφιβόλος ἀρπάση ἀνήρ/ ὕλης ἐκ πυκινῆς: ὃ δὲ τ' ἄχνυται ὕστερος ἐλθῶν"

¹⁴ "Ἀντίλοχος δ' ἐτέρωθεν ὀδύρετο δάκρυα λείβων/ χεῖρας ἔχων Ἀχιλῆος: ὃ δ' ἔστνε κυδάλιμον κῆρ:/ δεΐδτε γὰρ μὴ λαίμων ἀπαμήσειε σιδήρω./ σμερδαλέον δ' ᾧμωζεν"

¹⁵ "ἦσω τοι τὰν πάνδυτρον,/ σὰ πάθη τε σέβων/ ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη,/ πόλεως γέννας πενθητήρος:/ κλάγξω κλάγξω/ δὲ γόνον ἀρίδακρον."

¹⁶ Without delving deeply into this issue, we can highlight two fundamental examples of situations where emotions are employed as political stratagems: the funeral oration delivered by Pericles for those who perished in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, II. 36-42) and the commotion stirred by Athenian politicians regarding the casualties in the Battle of Arginusae (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I. 6-7).

¹⁷ "οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσάγαγον κλυτὰ δώματα, τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα/ τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι θέσαν, παρὰ δ' εἶσαν ἀοιδούς/ θρήνων ἐξάρχους, οἱ τε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδῆν/ οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες."

¹⁸ "τῆσιν δ' Ἀνδρομάχη λευκώλενος ἦρχε γόοιο"

¹⁹ "δμοφαὶ δ' ἄς Ἀχιλεὺς ληΐσαστο Πάτροκλός τε/ θυμὸν ἀκηχέμεναι μεγάλ' ἴαχον, ἐκ δὲ θύραζε/ ἔδραμον ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆα δαΐφρονα, χερσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι/ στήθεα πεπλήγοντο, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα ἐκάστης."

²⁰ "ἀλλ' εἶμι κὰν δόμοισι κωκύσουσ' ἐμῆν/ Ἀγαμέμνονός τε μοῖραν. ἀρκεῖτω βίος./ ἰὼ ξένοιο,/ οὔτοι δυσσίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ/ ἄλλως: θανούση μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι τόδε"

²¹ “καὺτὸς τεθάμβηκ’ : ἐλπῖσιν δὲ βόσκομαι/ ἄγη τέκνου κλύουσιν ἐς πόλιν γόους/ οὐκ ἀξιώσειν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ στέγης ἔσω/ δμωαῖς προθήσειν πένθος οἰκεῖον στένειν./ γνώμησ γὰρ οὐκ ἄπειρος, ὥσθ’ ἀμαρτάνειν.”

²² “οὐκ οἶδ’ : ἐμοὶ δ’ οὖν ἢ τ’ ἄγαν σιγὴ βαρὺ/ δοκεῖ προσεῖναι χη μάτην πολλή βοή.”

²³ According to Plutarch, Solon, the Athenian legislator of the 6th century BCE, is said to have instituted changes and established new legal ordinances. These modifications extended to mortuary matters and female demonstrations within this context: "He also enacted a law regarding the movements, expressions of mourning, and festivities of women, restraining disorder (ἄτακτον) and excess (ἀκόλαστον) [...] He prevented them from lacerating themselves with blows (ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων), from feigned lamentations (θρηγεῖν), and from mourning for someone unrelated at the funeral of others (κωκύειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς ἐτέρων ἀφεῖλεν)" (PLUTARCH, *Parallel Lives: Solon*, 21.4)

²⁴ This issue was not the subject of study in this article; hence, the absence of such a debate.