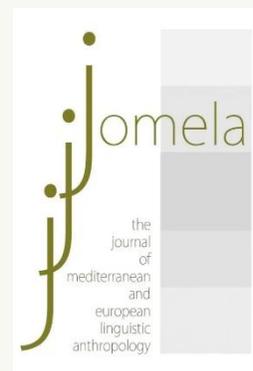


Liminality, Metaphor and Place in the Farming Landscape of Tinos: The Village of Kampos

Maria Vidali
College Year Athens, Greece

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Abstract

This research explores the farming landscape and village life in Kampos, a village on the Greek island of Tinos. Tinos is an Aegean Island with a long history of agriculture. In Kampos, one of the oldest farming villages of Tinos, boundaries created by low stone walls and alleyways primarily define the farming landscape that permeates village life and its structure. The landscape appears semi-artificial, given the construction of countless rows of cultivation ridges and terraces. This research focuses on understanding boundaries revealed through texts, space, movement and habit. Boundaries create a series of liminal spaces. They represent areas -or rather situations- allowing for different co-existing levels of interaction, which are both ambiguous and can be transformed through negotiation. Negotiation would not be possible without language and narrative. Language consists in communal metaphors, stories and fictional beliefs that bind and connect a small community together in a farming landscape, which still retains a quality of life closely connected with nature, architecture, the private and public realm, all by exhibiting features that can be found in a contemporary way of living.

Objectified and non-objectifiable boundaries -in relation to the villagers' land, water, private and public spaces-, their absence, their negotiation, the life that flourishes in-between them and their relationship to men and women, ownership, and bonding are important aspects examined in research. The presence, the lack of, and the negotiation of these boundaries unfold through

scholarly narratives/fictional stories that are based on narratives and interviews of villagers from Kampos. Through these narratives, it is argued that when boundaries are obscure or create an in-between space of negotiation and communication, when they become a liminal space, then a different situation of ownership and bonding arises, the villagers claim their properties' boundaries, they are negotiating about them and sometimes they fall into serious conflicts.

Conducting this research, I realized that stories created out of the villager's life, space and landscape consist of a series of metaphors about what dwelling is in this part of the world, in this specific landscape, with a contemporary way of living, but still connected with tradition and the past as a mimetic action to the present time.

Keywords: Tinos, boundaries, linguistic anthropology, architecture, Kampos village

Introduction

The island of Tinos, in the Greek Aegean Sea, has a long history of agriculture and living off the land. Its landscape appears as semi-artificial, given its countless rows of cultivation ridges and terraces. Water and land boundaries have become critical factors for the villagers, as the farmers had no choice but to enhance the land to make it productive. The village of Kampos is located in the central west part of the island, in the Kato Meri area. This area currently comprises mostly Catholic villages with rural economies, yet farming no longer holds the same key role in the island's commercial and cultural sectors as it did in the past. All of its inhabitants farm their land, not only to economically sustain themselves, but also to maintain the traditional nutritional habits of many years. As such, professional breeders of sheep and cows continue to reside in Kampos. However, Kampos has recently begun to benefit from tourism.

In this article, I discuss spatial, social, and ethical boundaries in Kampos, and present these as negotiable and porous. The continuous movement of the villagers in the space of the village and its surrounding landscape during summer and winter, and their continuous consideration of its topography, adheres to a fixed schedule largely predicated on the arrangement of religious events, a cycle related to the lives and breeding of animals, and requirements related to the cultivation of the land. For this, I have collected an archive of verbal history of the village, the use of local narratives, and eight fictional narratives, as a main body for the study. By taking excerpts from these narratives, I respond to how villagers perceive place, time, space, water, land, their relationship with the animals under the notion of ownership, and how dwelling is perceived through language, in this part of the world.

As such, in this article, I define liminality and liminal space as a transitional threshold between dissimilar spaces or situations. As Zimmerman (2008) claims,

the experience of liminal space poses a discontinuity and leads the occupant to question their surroundings, thus leading to heightened awareness of the space as a transformative threshold between distinct spaces.

In this paper, the terms liminality and liminal space inherently have characteristics and connotations attributed to liminal spaces in architecture. To this, I also include the feature of negotiation, which may imply communication, conflict or agreement, including a metaphor of the signification of this space across a variety of situations of village life.

Historical Background

General

In studying the history of the island of Tinos and its villages, the relationship of the villagers to the land and the landscape informs an understanding of their lifeworlds. Hierarchy and the allocation of land play important roles, as do how the authorities addressed this allocation of land in the past directly impacts on the villagers' lives.

Tinos is the smallest island of the Cyclades, which fell under Venetian rule for five centuries, thus becoming a significant immigration center for people from the rest of the Cycladic islands and from Crete. In 1390, the island was integrated into the Venetian feudal system. This system spreading throughout Frankish regions in Greece, differed to the byzantine or western feudal system. As described by historian Marcos Foskolos, feudal tenements on Tinos were either small or medium-size farmlands, and did not differ from other private pieces of land or pasture, neither in size and soil quality, nor in production. These farmlands belonged to the state and were allocated for cultivation or other kinds of land use in return for military use by the Venetians. The feudal lords belonged to the social strata of society, without exception, as they were appointed solely on their ability to fulfil the duties of a military defence of the land belonging to the state, and which had been accorded to them by the Venetian ruler.¹ The island of Tinos was conducive to the cultivation of crops and plants owing to its smooth climate, gently flowing rivers, and rich and fertile soil, despite the existence of dry and rocky in places. This explains the larger population than on the other islands of the Cyclades, which were under Ottoman and not Venetian rule.

Narratives of Possession/Ownership and the Nature of Boundaries

Contracts, legata, and testaments, were the first written descriptions of farmlands and water, and expose the villagers' perceptions of the value of land and water, at that time. Elements from each text contribute to the understandings of the current disposition of the island, and why boundaries remain non-objectifiable, including how the perception of the value of land and water has changed or remains the same, reflecting the daily habits and tasks of the villagers.

Of the oldest official forms of land description and ownership was the legato, the first attempt by the bishop Giustiniani to create a cadastre [in Greek *ktimatologio*] on the island in 1700, as a response to his desired control.² A historical reference by Epameinonda Georgantopoulo presents water in Tinos as a common good, yet also having therapeutic characteristics. For example, he reports, the water at Kaki Skala prevents the formation of kidney stones [in Greek *lithiasis*]. Water also displays other unexplained characteristics in places, such as an inability to mix wine,³ an unnatural property which resurrects mythical properties of water for locals.

Until 1960, both water and land were valued in terms of time, a value recorded in official contracts and testaments. Furthermore, this value measurement system exists until today. The land value was historically measured by the number of days required by two oxen to plough the arable parts of a field, and by the crops and trees produced.⁴ Despite the fact that the local government terminated this measurement system several years prior to Greece's inclusion into the European Union, water is still measured in the same way, that is, by measuring its speed of flow into the villagers' cisterns or cultivations. In 1981, farmers and landowners were required to officially measure their land in meters.⁵ Water, rising from a spring, was considered a common good, yet, what they could and can still own, is its flow. Additionally, there are owners of private wells and designated springs. Surface springs, at the outskirts of the village, provided water for the nearby gardens, while water was also collected in water tanks or in reservoirs constructed at the gully, both of which were filled with water from a running spring or stream.

Even at the present time, water is presented as property only through its flow, except in the cases of private wells and taps. In both cases, boundaries in ownership are permeable, and for which, arguments and conflicts arise. With regards to land, stone walls and partitions accurately define the boundaries of each property; yet misunderstandings arise, reported an island notary during a court session.⁶ Here, the owner divides a big field among several children.

Testament	120, 17th of July 1958
<p>This session takes place in public with audience by the court and its presiding judge. Without objection, the following testamentary document was published</p>	<p>I leave to my daughter, Margarita, wife of Michael Remoundos, one terrace with a vineyard at location "Plakiani" in the village in the area where the flume flows, a garden in the village Tarampados, with rights to water every two hours every Sunday and Thursday. The right for the remaining watering time will go to my son, Marcos. To my daughter, Andrianna, I leave a terrace with olive trees in Axahas and I leave to Zanne Delasouda, from the field in Axahas, the tree on the continual terraces with olive trees, fig and vineyards, except for a terrace in the lower area which is adjacent to the field of my deceased son, Zanni, and which I will give to my grandchildren, Marco and Heleni, children of my deceased son, Zanni. To my son, Petron, I leave two terraces from the field in Axaha, the one at the top which includes lemon trees, two quinces and a spring of water. The rest of the water of this spring, after the watering of this terrace and of this estate, which I bequeath, is to go in a water tank, located on two terraces of the same estate, and that I will testatrix to my grandson, Nikiforon Marcou Dellasouda.⁷</p>

In handwritten contracts of 1820, as well as in present-time contracts, the use of water is at times defined in the following way:

...water will come when the sun reaches the floor of the diocese, on the third Sunday; in the afternoon, when the sun casts its shadow on a pigeon house in Messaria to Sotira.

Similarly, in another contract:

... the Diocese will have water in the morning of Monday until the second Wednesday morning (two days and two nights) and the second morning of the second Friday until Saturday morning (a day and a night).⁸

The above evidence the ability of discourses of water to create disputes and arguments, as the direction of its flow and count of time, contractual or not, create a space for negotiation within the family and the community core. However, I present that water can be described and perceived in a certain way by both a bearer and an heir. Both are in a position to develop a communal perception and understanding of the value of water as flow and time.

Stanley Fish, quoted in Carol M. Rose, reports, “the clearest text may have ambiguous subtexts.” (Rose 1980, p. 83). Yet, I consider the complexity arising through the junctures of the interpretation of boundaries and language. Each property may have a fixed boundary in most cases, yet may be accompanied by stories of infraction and transgression, allowing for the creation of a contact zone, an intermediate space of communication and a space of conflict and agreement. Here, owners must convene and resolve the argument through an agreement.

The non-objectifiable and flexible or porous (in some cases) boundaries mediate the creation of a threshold of communication and a need to claim ownership, a process which extends to the villagers’ everyday goings on. Stories of Kampos, as recounted by the villagers themselves, evidence the ways in which conflicts and agreements on disputed and indefinable boundaries of village common water and land can create a unique type of bonding or ownership for the villagers, not only with regards to their land, but also with regards to their community and the larger region containing their village.

In-between boundaries, a liminal space appears which mediates interaction and negotiation of issues. All of the following can motivate conflict:

A water flow of the community spring that does not suffice for the next owner

A stone wall that supports the top terrace yet falls onto a lower terrace, and which the owner of the top terrace has not yet mended

In disagreement to oral law of the island, goats that cross the boundaries of a neighbor’s property and eat all the seeds

Gates for the animals in the fields, which are built over and create an uncertainty toward the property’s boundaries

As Steinberg mentions with regards to property, “the law of property penetrates everywhere in the realm of daily affairs. It is, for example, deeply implicated in our sense of place,” (1995, p. 9), when concurrently, “nature’s complexity can at times make ownership a precarious even unreal affair” (p. 5). However, as Macpherson, in Steinberg, argues,

it was well understood that property was a right to something. This something need not necessarily be a material object; it could be a piece of land and could also be related to its life and liberties.

(1995, p. 11)

The villagers of Kampos are thus evidently constantly negotiating spatial boundaries, while concurrently and concomitantly negotiating social, ethical, and emotional boundaries.

Methodology and Philosophical Framework

Contracts, testaments and legata, addressing the land and water ownership, and comprising norms, rules, principles, and values, were part of a distinctive imagining reality, and of perceiving and interpreting the local topography, thus structuring an initial formal narrative.

Through my discussions with the locals, and hence through listening to their narratives, gossips, and rumours, in the village, I rediscovered Pérez-Gómez's realization of the fact that "the qualities of place [are] always enacted through myths: oral, ever transforming stories that were deeply shared by the people and intertwined the landscape" (2016, p. 115). Through the same process, as Pérez-Gómez also mentions, I further realized that I

may easily grasp, however, that the "in between" ourselves and the world's objects, coemerging in the action that is perception, i.e., consciousness, is itself not something object like (geometrical), but is also not nothing.

(p. 108)

The interviews and stories constructed by the villagers were replete with metaphors. My personal experience of the village lifeworlds eventually led to my development of my own metaphor. I imitated their storytelling, creating fictional narratives from their stories, their spaces, their life with animals, and the lives they have together. The "spatiality of the stories" was built up and inspired by "the constructed space" consisting of a "system of rituals for the major interactions of life," as Ricoeur (1996, p. 71) describes the exchange between the spatiality of the story and the temporality of architecture. However, such a plot is imaginary, assisting me to better appreciate Ricoeur's argument of the fact that words in a sentence can reveal a discourse, yet endow language with the function of making images (2003, p. 213).

I call on the frameworks of phenomenology and hermeneutics, to contribute to the understanding and interpretation of the spaces created by the construction of boundaries, which emerged and are sustained through the negotiation and narration of stories that take place in communal or public spaces. I attend to narrative and metaphor to discover and reveal truths, which Ricoeur notes, appear through the 'mediating role' of fiction, story, and myth, as a weaving of things that constitute life. It is this complexity of life that narrative attempts to imitate.

Significantly, the stories consisted of a series of metaphors referencing, and more so describing, dwelling in this part of the world, and in this specific landscape. As Gadamer (1976, p. 20) claimed,

in language and only in it, can we meet what we never “encounter” in the world, because we are ourselves and merely what we mean and what we know from ourselves.

This knowledge from and in ourselves also draws on and is structured by emotion, as another way of connecting ourselves with space and environment through fiction.

Interview 1	Boundaries, Kampos, January 6 th , 2013 (my translation from Greek).
Marcos	Tomorrow, they will not be able to discern the boundaries of the fields. They gradually disappear too [...] They are falling, who will build them? Ee, this slope is finished; tomorrow they will not be able to tell their properties apart, there are no people available to see to that. If I were to leave now, to go to Kionia take care of my animals, nobody would be there, everybody else has retired.
Manolis	We have to install a wire mesh, Marcos. The stone walls have crumbled. Who is going to rebuild them?” (A pensive Manolis).
My description	We stood at the edge of my field and looked west toward the Ktikados area. The morning sun had not yet reached this area. The land looked inhospitable and cold.
Marcos	I have a field that was bequeathed to me by my late mother. When I measure it on paper, it is supposed to be three stremmas, when actually, it is thirty. In other words, it is part of a simblie, next to Tasos’ land, next to Antonis’, putting their names, they were saying it’s theirs. Now, to write down land on paper, we have to pay money, if your wallet is full and you are willing to pay, everything can be settled.
Manolis	Marcos, there are contracts, (Manolis tries to reassure Marcos), even if the measurements are not accurate and we have to guess the zevgaries for some of them, there are still reference points, such as the stone storage huts. Then, there are also the siblios.
Marcos	They do not know where the boundaries are; they may exist on paper, but let’s say, me, I know where everything is, where the water is, the pathway, you know I know so, because I’ve also told the priest. I told him, Father, I had twenty sheep, I gave back thirty, which was good. The following year, I didn’t keep ten females, there were only five, ten died, others got mixed up, they were lost. That’s what the village is like, no children have remained, and villages vanish. That’s life in the village. There used to be more of us, but not anymore. Everybody, who owns something, knows so from their father, their grandfather. There used to be no papers, or there would be papers, but they would refer to an entire piece of land as a whole.

Through the reconstruction of stories, I also note how Kearney, whose work aligns with that of Ricoeur, explores the ability of language to open up new worlds, not as a collection of the subjective, but through productive linguistic imagination, “the metaphorical imagination” (1989, pp. 3-6), as he calls it, which “not only combines the verbal and non-verbal, it also produces new meaning by confronting a literal with a figurative sense” (p. 15).

During Excerpt 1 (above), from Fictional Narrative 6: Our Land, I was concerned with the situation. I thus asked Manolis, a landowner to accompany me. I also requested that the rural constable join us, but he was not able to come.

Interpretation

The Meaning and Value of Land in the Village

In the conversation above, Marcos discusses contracts related to his land, property, and family. In the recent past, the value of land was not measured in terms of area, but rather, in terms of the extent to which the land can be cultivated and hence farmed, and thus the size of its yield. In contracts, what counted were the number of days a pair of cows would take to plow the land.

The landscape is conceived and understood differently through farming, largely owing to the fact that the properties are divided into small pieces which are dispersed at the outskirts of the village. The farmer must follow a specific route in his daily travels in order to reach each part.

Every farmer had plots from 4-12, that means 15 minutes-2 hours to move from one to another.

(Presentation of agronomist Ioannis Asproungos, Tinos, Sept. 2011.
Trans. by author)

Working with nature, which, for the island and village settings, usually suggests dry land and lack of rain, the farmer seems to nurture a bond with what the farmer can never own, that is, nature. Farmers work continuously on the earth: They follow an annual schedule of sowing; they wait for rain; they plan a fallow; they share machinery, water, and land, they create agreements with those who have wells so as to provide water, and in return, offer farming products. All of this activity is predicated on the need to cultivate.

From the earth and the sea comes everything. The bread, the vinegar, the olive oil, everything needs work so as to be made. Only God spoke and created, man needs to make.

(Interview, Marcos, Kampos, Jan. 3, 2013
Trans. by author)

Although they live in an era during which goods are readily available at supermarkets, they effectively plan the work to cultivate their own vegetables, vinegar, wine, and olive oil. In an effort to own the natural produce, village boundaries disappear from the peasants' everyday routine; their house and family name extend to the fields; all property boundaries of water and land merge; all in the aim of allowing for good production.

Despite the above, the walls separating properties are border agreements. In daily practice, one can cross these, and even tear these down, as animals often do. However, the trace of agreement displayed, and hence the property, is more defining. The low stone walls define the properties in the village landscape, and reaffirm their limits, and concurrently define perhaps a competitive relationship and a kind of communication, as a result of either agreement or disagreement. These boundaries also create a different type of bonding and ownership for the villagers, not only in terms of their land, but also in terms of the area of their village. A communal perception and language exist, predicated on communal awareness, a process which also affects the farming landscape and the way people in the village inhabit the landscape.

Maintaining the Family Land

By donating land to family members, villagers forge another connection between their land and their family. Such an action reveals "interconnections between the pattern of naming children, their rights to family property, and their obligations" (Kenna 1976, p. 21). "Houses and fields are passed on from parents to children with particular items of property going to certain individuals because of the particular Christian names they were given" (ibid), as Kenna reports for a similar situation on Anafi, an island southwest of Tinos. Continuity for the family name is achieved through interaction with the land and landscape of the village, as well as a bond by the family members, with the family, with the land, and with the village. As Kenna notes (ibid),

A consideration of this salient feature of the physical landscape leads to an examination of key principles and values of the social landscape ... These principles and values are used to interpret, justify and evaluate behaviour in different ways at various points in the domestic cycle.

A different situation arose when the daughters inherited land. Those children can not inherit the family name; once married, the daughters assume their prospective husband's name. Specifically in the past, the daughters inherited land by the sea which was usually not farmable, and there was thus no interest in preserving the family name in this area. "The meaning of something is its connection to past, present and future experiences, actual or possible," as Johnson (2007, p. 273) refers, assisting to explain the villagers' concern with the idea of the land bearing the family name throughout the passage of time, from one generation to the other.

The villagers realized that land connects them, e.g., the properties in Tinos were small, as reported in 1829 by Fuller when narrating about places in the Ottoman Empir, and describing a law decreeing that no property was to be sold unless a proposal was made to adjacent landowners to buy it first. If these landowners did not have finances to purchase the land, they would borrow money for the purchase, and would then work to repay all loans (Sarafi 2008). In addition to the family, the term *siblios* (neighbor) has been significant for the villagers.

At present, given the absence of photographs or topographical plans, the men in the *caffenio* (coffee shop) of the village can guide people to find a specific piece of land, at times when the people have little knowledge of the owner and no further information.

The dialogue between Marcos with Manolis reveals what de Coulanges writes, that is, "the family did not build for the life of a single man, but for generations that were to succeed each other in the same dwelling" (1902, p. 81). The connection of the family to its land, and also the distinction and inheritance of the best parts of the land to the sons of the family, are characteristics which exist in the village of Kampos and Greek culture, in general thus confirming the need for the continuity of the family name on the island's land. "If you can, do not sell anything. Just pass it over to the next one" (Interview with Antonis Pontis, Komi, Sep 2014, trans. by author). De Coulanges also claims that,

There are three things which from the most ancient times, we find founded and solidly established in these Greeks and Italian societies: the domestic religion; the family and the right of property - three things which had in the beginning a manifest relation, and which appear to have been inseparable.

(De Coulanges 1877, p. 80)

Excerpt 2	Fictional narrative 7: The Animal that I Lost (Trans. by author)
	Ioanna mumbled. She was more emotional than Tassos.
Ioanna discussing breeding and slaughtering of	In the evening, we have regrets, saying ah the poor one, it will be slaughtered ... Because every day we are feeding them. They are just like children, like humans, we are feeding them. When the children are gone, it is the same, you miss them.

animals, as she set the dinner table	They will either be sold, or... It is normal to miss them, if your children emigrate for years, wouldn't you be asking for them? And if you think, by knife.
Ioanna discussing weather changes and the births of the animals	Eee, the animal understands. Eee, you have to look after the animals, if you don't look after them, they will not give you anything. You have feed the animals them, give them water, you can't do otherwise. E yes, if you abandon them, how will you live? You either have to search for a job or work or with the animals. It is work, feeding the animals, watering them, selling them, milking them, giving the milk in order to live.

The Breeder's Topography

In the broader landscape of the village, immediately beyond the houses, and further away from the centre, where the kitchen vegetable gardens stop and the larger fields begin, and even further beyond these, lay small stables and stalls, particularly those that shelter the herds of cattle. The villagers and their animals constantly move from the village to the layers of gardens and orchards, and further away to the layer of the cultivated land and the fields.

Three professional breeders reside in the village of Kampos, and hence three villagers who professionally work with the animals, who sell their milk and their meat, and who care for the reproduction of the animals. Their cattle herds contain 15 to 17 cows, producing 100-150 kilos or liters of milk per day. These breeders also have other livestock: The working day for the professional farmers begins at five or six o'clock in the morning, both during winter and summer. By six or seven o'clock in the morning, the stables must be cleaned, and farmers must begin the "transportation," as they note. This process suggests that the animals must be transferred from the fields, in the surrounding area of the village, where the cattle graze, to the nearest village stables, so that the herds can eat and be milked. After this procedure ends, the herd will move out and back to its original location, on the site where they will graze. The farmer will also move in another direction, to a different location, to feed the sheep and then return to his home and rest. Breeders in Kampos tend to their animals themselves; they milk them with their hands, and clean and guide their animals themselves. In the afternoon, at four o'clock, the professional breeders again herd the cattle in from the fields to the stables, so as to again feed and milk the animals. Most villagers breed only a few animals; however, the professional breeders are those who sell the animal's products at the market.

Transportation begins with reading the weather, and reading the weather begins with observing the horizon. Paying attention to the flow of the wind over the land, noticing the first change of the temperature of the wind, and predicting which of the seven winds blowing on Tinos may affect their daily routine, all create a particular awareness of and encounter with the local landscape. This awareness builds on a very long tradition of breeding on the island, which

goes back many years. Local animals, cows, calves, and bulls, have earned many honorary awards, as presented in the local newspaper, dated June 8th, 1953.⁹ The same newspaper reported on the high quality of breed of cattle on Tinos, which now rarely appears. However, the island is well known for producing animals that work well in fields, that produce abundant amounts of milk, that procreate one calf per year, that do not require excessive food, and are resistant to illnesses.¹⁰

In addition to the daily transportation of the animals from the grazing fields to the stables, for milking, another type of transportation, the *metakomisi*, occurs with more permanent intentions. The *metakomisi* can happen at the beginning of summer and at the beginning of winter. During the winter, the animals must be protected against inclement weather, thus emphasizing the sphere in which the animals move. The other kind of *metakomisi* occurs at times when the field cannot respond to the daily needs of food for the herd. This may be approximately every two months, largely predicated on the surface and production of the field but also on the size of the herd. The cattle inhabit a world, in which they move daily or seasonally beyond the inner boundaries of the village core.

The movement of the livestock seems remote to the residential village boundaries, as the cleaning of the village has been established as a socially unwritten law; large animals and small flocks are not allowed to cross the village, with the exception of donkeys, or mules, as the village must retain its cleanliness. The need for cleanliness creates inner and outer boundaries in the relationship between humans and animals, and between the residential and non-residential areas of the village. The limits are inconclusive, as, apart from the horse, donkey, or mule, there is an area in the cellar of the house for newborn animals, while cats and dogs inhabit the courtyards, and chickens and rabbits inhabit the kitchen gardens.

This movement and transportation of the animals across the landscape over time has shaped villagers' habits, and has rendered this landscape inhabitable, bearing meaning and continuity. Certainly,

the sense of inhabiting an articulate landscape - of dwelling within a community of expressive presences that are also attentive, and listening, to the meanings that move between them - is common to indigenious, oral peoples on every continent,
(Abram 2010, pp.167-183)

even if currently, a dense panoply of technologies inhibits a connection with the enfolding earth.

(Abram 2010, p. 263).

The Role of the Man and the Woman

Ioanna is a woman and a breeder, and thus multiple roles, and whose life is devoted to both the care of the animals and the care of her household and her four daughters. Ioanna is not a typical woman of the village, considering that her time and effort in the fields are far greater than those of other typical female residents. In certain cases, the boundaries between the roles of Ioanna and her husband, Tassos, have been fused. This will continue, so as long as Ioanna can maintain the physical strength needed to complete the required chores and tasks. The couple begins their day together, as they perform and share the chores. Tassos herds the animals when the distance is great, and search for lost animals. Ioanna cleans the stables and tends to the housework.

The situation of Ioanna and Tassos is unique in some cases, evident when we compare Dubisch's description of her research in the village of Falatados. Many years ago,

men's and women's activities tended to take place in different areas of the village. Women performed their tasks in or near the house, making occasional trips to the store to fields or stables, or to church), while men ranged farther, to distant nearby fields, to other villages, or to the island's main town for business or to earn wages for their labor.

(Dubisch 1993, p. 274)

This situation can also be observed in Kampos, as evident in this fictional account, and in real life, as most of the village's women assist their husbands with animals. Through the tasks and labor, boundaries of Ioanna and Tassos' social roles eventually overlap. Domestic tasks include mending, knitting, cleaning vegetables or going "to a local church for a saint's day service."¹¹ However, for the

men engaged in agriculture, daily work was generally not a social activity, since they laboured alone in the fields, and hence they experienced a more definite break between work and leisure.

The division between work and the house is also clearly defined. In this way, women were and still are associated with the house and with the 'inside' (ibid, p. 275). Ioanna, mediates between the inside and the outside (ibid, p. 277) to a larger extent than the other women in the village.

Excerpt 3	Fictional narrative 5: The White Cow (Trans. by author)
Ioanna's father	Do you remember the story with Nikolakakias, when he was beaten by ageloudes down at the crossroad before Xynara? (he began telling an old, known, communal and habitual story).
Ioanna (been helping in the kitchen, joined the table and added to her father's story	Well, they were talking about facts, but they also said the truth back then. I didn't understand it at that time because I was young, but they used to say that whoever returns from the countryside at 10 or 11 o'clock at night may encounter strange things on their way back to the village. If Tassia were here, she'd tell you the story. It might be true. She said that ageloudes caught her husband and severely beat him up. He was saved eventually by Stefanakena. She said that this is how he died.
Ioanna	I don't know if ageloudes existed or not, or what actually happened to him (in a strained voice). Then Petris, who was younger than my father said, "Nicolakakias had been beaten a lot," meaning that he had been beaten by the ageloudes, "but in the end they said that Ninos beat him up.
Remark	No matter how many times they had heard the same stories before their eyes still sparkled with their usual surprise and an addictive fear and curiosity. Story-telling had just begun and continued with Marcos reciting his story:
Ioanna	I remember, it was me, my brother Giorgis and my father. We were at Prokopies at the time and we were threshing. One day, my father was threshing together with my brother in the fields. Time went by, it was already 8 o'clock in the evening, and my old man told my brother to load up the donkey, go back to the village and come back again in the morning. As my brother was on his way to the village, he saw a woman with wheels, right where the houses begin. He turned his back and went back to our father at the fields. When our old man saw him and Giorgis told him what he had allegedly seen, my father says, now take this sack on your back and carry it together with you all the way to the village. What are you talking about, a woman with wheels? And my brother returned to the village.

Interpretation

Story telling

At that particular dinner, the stories recited involved *ageloudes*; they were imaginary stories, narrated partially as a nostalgic event, a process that forges connections within the community. Such stories once ‘animated’ the daily lives of the villagers, at which time, after dusk, they all gathered at the *choreftra* of the village. There was no electricity or lights at the time. Fear and imagination filled the brains of young people, and who were afraid to return home alone. In the present day, children listen to these stories, but do not repeat them. As reported by Langellier and Peterson, storytelling is socially and culturally reflexive, “it is not a natural form of communication but a habitual and habituating practice” (2004, p. 4). In Kampos, the villagers perform narration, as

an integral and consequential part of daily life ... As audiences gather around storytellers, narrative becomes a significant site of communication,” between “the speaker as a storyteller and the listeners as audience ... an experiential moment in which one learns something about oneself and the world.

(Langellier and Peterson 2004, pp. 1-2)

The story illustrates an emphasis on the performance of storytelling that conceptualizes narrative as act, event, and discourse, so as to evidence the negotiation of the real world of the village, as well as an imaginative world, which coexist in the village’s landscape (Langellier and Peterson 2004, pp. 1-2)

The narratives at the dinner involve spectral beings called *ageloudes*, seen at the boundaries of the village near the gorge. Many creatures, such as elves and demons, seem to live at the boundaries of the village, out in the countryside. They emerge at night fall, and near midnight. In Tinos, the word *ageloudes* is used without any distinction, to describe the devil and fairies, which are generally called *xotika* (Filorakis 1971). *Ageloudes*, whose name harks back to the ancient female demon ‘*Gello*,’ who attacks pregnant women and babies, usually appear at night, but once in a while appear during the day, at crossroads, in the valleys, and at the *Gelidocameres* [*Gelido-arches*], according to Florakis. They tease passersby, and usually transform into humans or animals. They appear as black men, or dance on their horse legs (*ibid*).

On the Boundaries of the Village Territory

What is exceptional in the case of fictional and imaginary stories narrated in the village is the fact that they are specifically located and hosted, in a pragmatic space and time or in a past time, at the boundaries of the village connecting with the countryside and the world of nature or an

unknown world outside the village boundaries and in the darkness. As one of the villagers explains, these stories reveal truths that the ethical and social boundaries of the village may never accept. In the darkness of the night, outside of the spatial village boundaries, ethical issues among the villagers are solved under the name of an elf and without a human witness. Despite the strong religious tradition in the village, it seems that smaller demons still survive and exist as part of the folkloric everyday life of the village. Fictional stories always contain grains of true stories, as are black-market deals made at the edges of the village, and as are secret love stories and love affairs. These stories also serve as a way of keeping children close to the village. Imaginative figures come to reinforce the idea of the boundary between the interior and exterior of the village. However, they reveal that what is unethical for the village order can be negotiable at the spatial boundaries of the village, staying though outside of its structure and social network, and in the darkness.

The village needs to remain a space, a social and ethical shelter, for its inhabitants. Religion certainly responded to and supported this situation employing the ritual of watering with holy water the boundaries of the village so as to repel evil from the village. This is still performed nowadays during the village festival of Holy Trinity church and the Corpus Christi ritual in June.

Epilogue

The village of Kampos, like other villages on the island of Tinos, offers us the opportunity to witness different ways of life and their spatialities. It is a striking example of how human beings, architecture, and the environment, negotiate their boundaries, creating liminal spaces based on villagers' property in terms of land, water, and private and communal goods, thus reflecting their permanence within a physical space. In this way, they are engaged in a constant dialogue, a continuous discourse through negotiation, but also a communal language among them that renders order and dwelling constant, rooted, and alive in space and time. Despite our contemporary and highly technological ways of living, this way of life and spatial understanding in the village, perpetuating the same habits and patterns of the past, still contributes to a balanced lifestyle in terms of physiology and psyche, both in the private and the public realms.

The stories shared by the small community of the villagers connect language with mimetic action and habit, which reconnects our bodily and mental experience with the environment, but also with place and space. The value of metaphor appears as a natural language of sharing a communal way of living, and one that is connected with the natural and built environment.

The life narratives, metaphors, and fictional narratives that form this study also appear as tools with which to better understand and explore the idea of a 'meaningful regionalism' (Pérez-Gómez 2016), included as another aspect of dwelling through the traces and habits created by language. According to Crossley "language affords us a grasp upon the world by condensing and mapping it" (2001, p. 81), while the stories of the villagers and the fictional

stories included in this paper and research assist in the grasping and understanding of the space of Kampos and in the perception of its realities.

The in-between, liminal spaces in the village and its landscape, where conflict and solidarity coexist, as places of negotiation, reveal the importance of language to aid in the understanding of the meaning of these spaces as private or communal, and as a deeply rooted way of dwelling. Dwelling in tinos has become an engagement with the environment, and is still predicated on natural forces, yet the religious and ethical order remains traditional, in both the private and public realm. The origin of the 'invisible significance' of architecture, as suggested by Pérez-Gómez, is a space of conscious participation and existence where space is revealed through a choreography of a "poetic motility, [...] woven by language in a narrative form." An encounter of this psychosomatic equilibrium integrates with human relations, with the environment, and with architecture, all of which appear in the village atmosphere, and are communicated through language.

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Endnotes

- ¹ Marcos Foskolos, *Τηνιακά Ανάλεκτα*, Τόμος 3, Ανάτυπο, *Το κτηματολόγιο των εκκλησιών της Τήνου και η καταγραφή των λεγάτων τους*. ΑΚΤ, Κώδικας 4, (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Φιλιππότη, 1998), pp. 247 - 249, translated from Greek by the author, The Venetians ruled the island from 1390 till 1715.
- ² Marcos Foskolos, *Τηνιακά Ανάλεκτα*, Τόμος 3, *Το κτηματολόγιο των εκκλησιών της Τήνου και η καταγραφή των λεγάτων τους*, pp. 15-16, Translated from Greek by the author.
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