Threshold Spatiality: The Performative Practice of Passage as a Vehicle for the Production of Communal Space

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ: Η θεώρηση της αρχιτεκτονικής ως ένα συνεχές απόσταγμα κοινωνικών πρακτικών συνδέει τη μελέτη του χώρου με τους τρόπους με τους οποίους οι πρακτικές αυτές διαμορφώνουν και διαμορφώνονται από το χώρο. Μέσα από αυτή τη ματιά, η παρούσα έρευνα επικεντρώνεται στις inbetween χωρικότητες και στον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι κοινότητες, μέσω διαβατήριων επιτελεστικών πρακτικών, κατοικούν, διαμορφώνουν και εν τέλει επανιδρύουν τον κοινοτικό χώρο. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η έρευνα εξετάζει ως μελέτη περίπτωσης τον εθιμικό τριήμερο εορτασμό του Πάσχα στο νησί της Φολεγάνδρου. Η έφευνα εστιάζει στον τρόπο παραγωγής της χωρικότητας του κατωφλίου, μέσα από τρεις διαφορετικές όψεις : 1) Το κατώφλι ως ο κυριολεκτικός τόπος μεταξύ του ιδιωτικού εσωτερικού χώρου του σπιτιού και του εξωτερικού κοινοτικού χώρου. 2) Το κατώφλι στα όρια του οικισμού και οι συμβολικές πράξεις που λαμβάνουν χώρα σε αυτά, κατά τη διάρκεια της τελεστικής ακολουθίας. 3) Η χωρικότητα του κατωφλίου ως κατοίκηση και μετατόπιση των ορίων των ενσώματων επιτελούμενων ταυτοτήτων.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: κατώφλι, επιτελεστική ποακτική, μετεωοισμός, κοινοτικός χώρος, διάβαση, αγεομός

ABSTRACT: Viewing architecture as a constant distillation of social practices links the study of space to the ways in which these practices shape and are shaped by space. From this standpoint, this research focuses on fields of in-between spatialities and the manner in which the communities, through performative practices of passage, inhabit, shape and ultimately re-invent the communal space. More specifically, the paper presents the case study of the island of Folegandros and the three-day ritual round observed during the Easter celebration. The case is examined in terms of the inhabitation of three different aspects of the threshold, namely: 1) the threshold as a physical space between the private indoor domestic space and the public outdoor communal space. 2) The thresholds as settlement boundaries and the symbolic actions that occur at them throughout the course of the ritual. 3) The threshold spatiality as the habitation of the limits of the shifted embodied performed roles.

Keywords: threshold spatiality, performative practice, inbetween, communal space, rite of passage, ritual - round

I. INTRODUCTION

The view of architecture as practice links the study of space to the set of practices that shape it, that make it generic, that redefine its experiential boundaries, as well as its inherent meanings. In light of such a perspective on the study of space, this research takes a critical approach to the study of space, questioning *subject - identity* and the production of space through expressive behaviour. The study of modes of *identity production*, as well as the ways

in which this identity finds new boundaries within the realm of *otherness*, is essential to understanding how the subject – as a carrier of meaning – alters the meaning, the representations and the experience of space [1]. The way new identities emerge simultaneously constitutes a new production of space.

Individuals ascribe social values to space, forming a **symbolic relationship** with it [2]. The symbolic relation between space and performative practices can activate a *mechanism of similarity*, through imitation, which seeks to transfer values from the original to the copies, i.e. a *relation of transfer*. Bourdieu's *habitus practices* are pertinent in this context [3]. As Lévi-Strauss notes, it can be described as a system of meanings immersed into the images and an *allegorical relation* that activates an interpretation, having been viewed within the context of a broader narrative [4].

II. THRESHOLD SPATIALITY

Threshold spatiality creates a condition of "being in-between". As a result, an intermediate space-time is established that achieves contact between opposites and is at the same time constituted by their distance. Through "being in-between", the discontinuous assemblages of space are inhabited through the practices of identities exposed to it. The condition of "being in-between" establishes a spatiotemporal threshold which achieves the contact of two different territories by uniting them while ensuring their separateness [5].

The spatiality of the threshold "captures" the symbolic content of communal practices, where, within the context of ritual, it is transformed into a place of passage, a place of change. In P. Bourdieu's anthropological study "The Kabyle House or the World Reversed", the importance of the function of the threshold lies in the fact that it connects worlds that are normally distant or opposite [6]. This gesture of temporary connection is marked by their meeting and reversal - a reversal that is pregnant and draws its meaning from the crossing of socially and culturally determined bodies [7]. According to Stavros Stavrides, "Thresholds are places that meet the otherness and at the same time are places that negotiate with otherness"[8]. It is evident that the threshold is a place-scene where performed identities are exposed to the Other. Therefore, the passage of the threshold is constituted as a passage to otherness and is understood as the scene in which the passage is enacted.

III. APPROACHING OTHERNESS

The concept of otherness, as outlined by P. Ricoeur, is approached here as an internal dimension in the way identity is constituted and as a way of (re)producing the identity of the community [9]. The "we" is approached through performative practices that function in a distancing way:" we", encountering others, "we" as others, "we"performing something else, or whatever else may emerge within the "we". The concept of passage is primarily derived from Van Gennep's analytical tripartite scheme (separation, transition, integration) of Rites of passage and from his intention to define passage in spatial terms [10]. This research examines the openness of identity characteristics through two axes: a) the displaced notion of sociality in the context of the performative sequence [11] - [13], b) the withdrawal of the identity characteristics of individuals during the liminal period of transition, as proposed by V. Turner [14].

IV. RITUAL ROUNDS AND THE CASE OF AGERMOS

There are many and varied performative practices through which the communities have attempted to construct and maintain a boundary that defines an outside, in order to be able to keep out of the settlement what is considered as dangerous (death, disease, hauntings, etc.) and to keep inside those forces that are beneficial to their lives and activities. These gestures are in line with George Simmel's phrase: "Man is that creature who constructs boundaries without having boundaries himself' [15]. According to Stewart, the space outside the settlement is considered to be the territory of the wild, a place which is inhabited by 'demons, elves' responsible for illness and misfortune. On the contrary, the settlement is a space of the inside, a "safe and orderly human space" [16]-[17]. Therefore, the communities performed rituals of demarcation of the settlement, ritual rounds as magical circles, inside of which the space remains "sacred" [18].

A performative practice of circular but also partly linear spatial expression with magical-religious meaning is the performance of the "agermos". Agermos is a type of ritual of religious round where a group of people go from door to door giving greetings, singing carols with or without symbolic items and/or and performing symbolic actions).

V. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the assumption that the performative practice of a magical-religious character, in the context of rite of passage - in contrast to the production of closed territories - captures and organises the boundaries of individual, collective, and communal identity in different ways, this research examines the versions of the relationship between identity and otherness in the realm of the community and the ways in which this relationship is managed at the level of performance and space [19]-[21].

The research examines versions of the identity-otherness relation in the context of the ritual rounds through the assumption that the magical-religious act of producing sacred space raises the question of the meaning of these performative practices today, and also that the crossing of thresholds captures and organizes the boundaries of communal identity, in contrast to the production of enclosed territories. In the spatiotemporal conditions of the ritual phenomena, various mechanisms of community are shifted, aspects that momentarily fracture the territory of the social order, and the relation with the otherness creates an *exceptional communal* condition. These aspects of conditions are perceived on three spatial levels: A) the level of the **house**, B) the level of the **settlement**, C) the level of the **body**.

The **basic question** raised in this research is whether the performative practices of ritual rounds can constitute different relations with otherness and thus produce different spatio-temporal conditions of the threshold. **OR** The research captures how multiple relations with otherness constitute ways of producing 'threshold spatiality'.

The research focuses on the transformative practices of the ritual round (agermos), by examining the interrelationships between the individual/ collective/ community/ common realm. The ritual sequences, repeated in space and time, constitute spatial phenomena that are perceived in their local particularities by bodies socially and culturally determined [22]. The performative acts, which are based on the orality of a social group, produce spatial territories as sites for the enactment of memory [23]. This memory is not perceived as timeless but rather as the dramatic content of the encounter between the received performative code and the postmodern cultural event. The acting bodies perform a narrative, a collective experience of the mythical motifs which they internalize as another habitus. The research is conducted synchronously without losing sight of its historical and geographical context, and follows the shifts in the conceptual content of performative practices for the production of space in the context of postmodern changes in rural culture.

VI. THE CASE STUDY OF THE THREE–DAY RITUAL ROUND OF THE EASTER CELEBRATION IN FOLEGANDROS

The island Folegandros belongs to the Southern Cyclades and to the unit of Thira. The island has a narrow and long shape, 13 km long and 35.5 square kilometres. Folegandros is a mountainous rocky island, with many hills. It has two main settlements, the settlement "Chora", which is built on the eastern side and is 200 meters high from the sea, and the settlement "Ano Meria" in the west, a rural settlement developed on the ridge. Smaller settlements are the port – "Karavostasis" to the south, and "Petousis", "Livadi" and the settlement "Agali", which has life only in the summer. To the east is the mountain

of "Panagia" (Virgin Mary) with the homonymous church which is the main and most important church of Folegandros that dominates the top of the hill, in Paleokastro, where an ancient city used to exist. The church shelters the holy Icon of Panagia, the patron saint of the island.

During the ritual round of Chora, in front of every house, in front of the door, in the courtyard, at the threshold of the house, the hosts - mainly women - wait for the arrival of the Holy Icon and the people who follow. The Holy Icon enters the house and after that, the people of the community follow. The hosts treat the community, the followers of the Icon, sharing and exchanging greetings and teasing. After a while, the Icon continues its way to the next house.

The route of the ritual round starts from the first houses at the foot of the Santa Maria hill. It crosses one of the central squares of Chora, called Pounta and proceeds towards that part of Chora closest to the port. The holy Icon and the followers enter, among other places, the Town Hall and they also pass in front of the school. They enter not only houses but also shops and taverns, modern hotels and accommodation for tourists. In fact, the holy Icon "visits" all the vital places of current post-modern life of the community. After passing through the newest part of the settlement, the entire route ends in the houses of the old Castle and the holy Icon "stays" in the Church of "Panagia Pantanassa". Then, the community of "Ano Meria", takes the responsibility of transferring the holy symbol to their settlement, supported by their own priest and donation box.

The holy symbol is carried to the exit of Chora, to a specific point considered an entrance/exit. There, people from Ano Meria symbolically perform the delivery/receipt of the Icon. The community carries the Icon in their hands and goes from Chora to Ano Meria on foot, which is quite a long distance.

On the second day of the celebration, on Easter Monday, the second ritual round starts from the Church of St. George of Ano Meria. As a rural settlement Ano Meria is developed on the ridge and the structure of many old houses have the structure of the traditional type of "thymonia" or its evolution [23]. In the afternoon, the completion of the ritual process of the agermos takes place in "Brovarma", where is the entrance and exit of the settlement. What takes place there is the pilgrimage of the icon from the community and its delivery to the people from Chora, who walk back to Chora with the icon in their hands and leave it in the Church of Panagia Pantanassa. They also visit some houses that are built after the exit of the settlement of Ano Meria.

A significant feature of the agermos of Ano Meria, is the fact that this long route has significant differences in altitude and crosses, to a very large extent, farmers' fields and crops, a terrain that is difficult to negotiate. Therefore, the need to take a shortcut, to reduce the

distance to the houses as much as possible and thus to conserve physical energy, has led to the practice of moving off the main road network, literally making their way through overgrown slopes and fields.

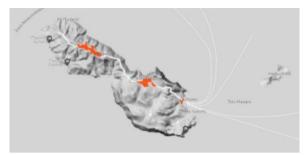


Figure 1 - Map of the island of Folegandros with the development of the three central settlements (Chora, Ano Meria, Port).

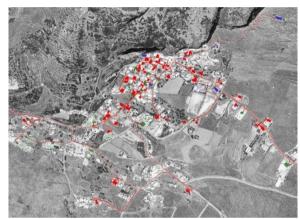


Figure 2 - Map of the full development of the ritual round of Chora, 1st day of the three-day ritual (16/04/23).



Figure 3 - The exchange of the holy Icon from the community of Chora to the community of Ano Meria at the entrance of Chora, the afternoon of Easter Sunday (possible time period 1950-1960), ©Katerina Marinakis Archive.

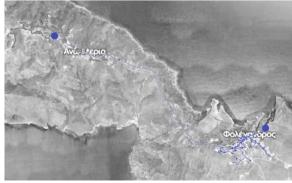


Figure 4 - Map showing the movement of the icon from the Church of "Virgin Mary" and its final destination - the Church of St. George, 1st day of the three-day celebration of Easter in Folegandros (16/04/23).

Through walking, a specific carving of an alternative exceptional route is produced. The performers, carrying the Icon and all the sacred equipment, jump yards, create paths and move in an unstructured way, according to the development of the geophysical environment. This way of producing the spatial trace of the agermos is mainly contrary to the institutionalized and familiar way of connecting spaces. Property boundaries are 'violated' by mutual consent. Main entrances and the ways in which each house has formed an organized relationship with the street, are often invalidated. Within the spatio-temporal condition of the ritual, which functions as a parenthesis within everyday time, a spatial exception is created and produced. This condition requires the bodies of the performers to react in ways that go beyond the boundaries of habit and establishes new possibilities for how we can re-inhabit the place. Through a pilgrimagelike walk, the production of the alternative exceptional route, visits and symbolically produces, through the practice of allegory, the spatiality of the threshing floor. The customary performance produces a symbolic relationship with the dimension of the threshing floor, and acts symbolically by crossing it.

On Tuesday, the third day of the celebration of Easter, the ritual round starts from Chora, continues with the small "Petousis", "Livadi", the port of "Karavostasis" and returns to Chora. This route is composed more on a logic of connections between placessettlements - than on a ritual act that seeks to enclose a territory ensuring its well-being. It is rather an act that passes the baton from one transition to another, uniting "linearly" spaces that could not be connected in terms of homology. It unites, for example, places of worship with places of residence or places of agricultural production. Such a "stitching" connects the basic spatial structures of community life. If on the first two days of the celebration, the agermic rituals are developed within a settlement, on the third day we do not have a wide range of home visits. However, a connection between settlements is created. The significance of the ceremony derives its meaning from the crossing of the paths that connect the settlements.

On the third day, when the performers arrive at the port, the ritual group enters the ships with the Icon. This act, among others, testifies to the will of the people to domesticate the ever-present boundary that defines their island reality and their need to create ceremonial events that mediate the relationship between the island and the territory outside the island. They establish threshold conditions and a possibility of managing the island's relationship with the sea, a relationship that is temporarily inhabited by these ritual practices. It is in this sense that we also perceive the procession by the sea: The participants and the followers who are in the harbor area get into their ships and boats and perform a rudimentary procession of the icon at sea. This practice could be seen as an act of "re-inhabiting" the boundary of the sea, as an act of temporary occupation of the boundary.

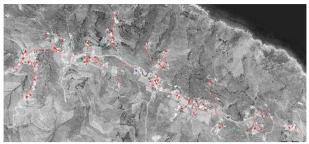


Figure 5 - Map showing the movement of the icon from the Church of St. George of Ano Meria to the Temple of "Panagia Pantanassa" in Chora, 2nd day of the three-day celebration of Easter in Folegandros (17/04/23).



Figure 6 - Map showing the movement of the icon from the Church of St. George of Ano Meria to the Temple of "Panagia Pantanassa" in Chora, 2nd day of the three-day celebration of Easter in Folegandros (17/04/23).





Figure 7 - Crossing through the fields, Agermos of Ano Meria, Folegandros (17/04/2023). **Figure 8** - Crossing through the properties, Agermos Chora, Folegandros (16/04/2023).

During the whole performance of the three-day ritual, we can find symbolic acts that take place at the boundaries of the settlements: the exchange of the icon at the entrance of Chora or even the prayer at the entrance of Ano Meria, at "Brovarma", at the closing of the agermos. Brovarma, the community passes under the icon. A symbolic act of exit from the settlement is thus defined. We see that the ceremony signifies the importance of the entrance-exit both as a spatial territory and as a ritual practice. The spatial literalness of the threshold is also conceptualized through the symbolic act of crossing. The performative act at the threshold of the settlement symbolically signifies the whole magic circle. The emergence of the symbolic act realized in the spatial literalness of the boundaries of the settlement, and indeed at the entrance and exit from it, is of crucial importance.



Figure 9 - Map showing part of the route Chora-Petoussi-Petoussi-Livadi-Limani-Hora. Mapping of the area of the port. (18/04/2023 -3rd day of the celebration of Easter in Folegandros)

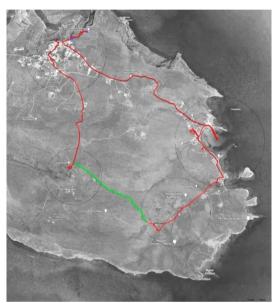


Figure 10 - Map of the total route Chora - Petoussi - Livadi-Limani - Chora (18/04/2023 -3rd day of the celebration of Easter in Folegandros).





Figure 11 - Figure 12 - Passage under the icon at the exit of the settlement, Agermos of Ano Meria, Folegandros 17/04/2023.

VII. PERFORMATIVE PRACTICES OF COMMUNAL SPACE

We notice that the ritual act as a whole wants to visit the total range of activities of the real life of the people of the island: from the residences and the Holy Temples, to the modern tourist complexes and the recreational areas, the ritual acts horizontally, where through its repetitive process of the visit these areas are equalized, at least symbolically. This repetitive visit seems to "sweep" the

space, linking, in a non-linear way, the spaces and places that emerged in the pre-industrial period (for example the mills or threshing floors) with spaces that are prominent in the post-modern period (for example luxury hotels). Even the very magical-religious act of circumambulation, when performed in postmodern settings, is forced to transform itself in order to host, invent and express new symbolisms. This strange stitching, within the mechanisms of ritual, is constructed in a multifactorial way, on the horizon of the wisdom and the inventiveness presented by oral culture.







Figure 13 - Figure 14 - Figure 15 - The gendered dimension of threshold habitation, Three-day Easter celebration in Folegandros, April 2023.

The women, who still manage the private universe of the interior space, are the main administrators of the visit of the sacred image into the house. That feminine presence manages this passage on a practical and imaginary level, "holds the ritual process of the passage" performing a dual role as somebody that manages the event from the inside and at the same time somebody from the outside, who is also a member of the same community. As guardians of the threshold, the female presences control the passage, through a variety of ritual practices, both in terms of preparation and "stage" performance.

The passage is opened by the alterity of the Holy Icon.

The Icon of the Virgin Mary, as the absolute Other, "guarantees" that the passage will not disturb the balance of the inside individual universe, but will instead function as a well-being practice that will bless the space inside. It is important to observe here that the function of the threshold and its protection by the guardian - the feminine presence, does not necessarily promise an easy opening. Crossing does not mean opening. Passage means a management of the transitions that occur both in space and in identities. The sacred symbol "paves the way" for these transitions to have a positive sign.

The inhabitants of the House pass under the Icon. This practice of sacred greeting, which is familiar from various rituals or etiquette gestures, creates through the ephemeral arrangement of bodies, the passage of a second threshold. **The symbolic act of "passing underneath"** produces a relationship between the literal passage at the threshold of the house, and the passage through the sacred symbol. The relationship between the actual spatial literalism of the threshold and the symbolic threshold produced by passing under the Holy Icon is a dynamic relationship that demonstrates the correlation between literalism and metaphor.

If one observes the spatial relations of the bodies that are formed as social expressive practices during the visit, one will find that the bodies confirm the **unfamiliarity that is caused by the Sacred Presence**. The otherness of the sacred Icon, in relation to the secular development of social mechanisms, produces a distance which the human bodies try to manage. This distance is expressed in space. The relation (or the distance) between the Sacred presence and the communal life that flourishes at each visit, is materialized in spatial terms.

The way the community chooses to honor each house is proportional to the importance that these people have in the community. Ceremonial behavior is developed and affirmed on the basis of gendered social relations. The way the bodies of the community inhabit the passage presents an analogy to the social significance of the face of the house. Or, the social identity of the person is translated, affirmed, produced through the way the community inhabits the ephemeral transitional spacetime of the passage.

The field of the communal space, displaced through the processes of passage, but also transformed within the spatio-temporal framework of exception created by the ritual, the masculine "public" space, enters into the feminized conditional interior space. During the ritual round, multiple events occur which are more public than some of the private space, but also more private than the publicity of the communal space because they are confirmed as extensions of an expanded private universe. A threshold condition is produced that contributes to the emergence of passages into areas to otherness. As a result, the community inhabits the interior space as a square. The living room becomes a square. But a square displaced.

It is also important for the production of in-between states that these visits have a time limit. The visit to each house is carried out as an **extraordinarily special event**, even though many visits have already taken place and many more will follow. The in-between condition is also produced by a sense of momentum, of how much the visit "lasts", how its distinctiveness is produced within a horizon of a continuous movement shaped by the structure of the agermos.

The repeated act of visiting is based on a formalization of performative behavior, an act based on the logic of the repetition of the "same". Space is perceived symbolically in homotropic terms. Therefore, standardized behavior constructs spaces - "objects" and space is expressed as a sum of unitary elements. This performative act, which relates to space through literal and metaphorical components, produces a value equivalent among all actsvisits. The content of the act, may temporarily lose its meaning through repetition (as a word said many times loses its meaning), only to return renewed, re-founded within the familiar physical, mental, emotional norms of bodily memory and experience. The entry of the Sacred

Icon activates a relationship with the **identity and history of each house**.



Figure 16 - The co-presence of the communal and the sacred life. Three-day celebration of Easter in Folegandros, April 2023.





Figure 17 - Figure 18 - Aspects of community life. Three-day Easter celebration in Folegandros, April 2023.



Figure 19 - Figure 20 - The inhabitation of the square. Three-day Easter celebration in Folegandros, April 2023.



Figure 21 - Figure 22 - Figure 23 - Versions of the relationship between the Sacred symbol and space. Three-day celebration of Easter in Folegandros, April 2023.

Through the visit, the representations of the ancestors regain their rightful place in the realm of the sacred for as long as the visit lasts. As a collage of representations, the images of the ancestors emerge as other forms of the sacred. This silent stitching, this silent reconstruction is re-formed by both **collective memory and the mechanisms of orality**. The presence of the sacred icon activates the collective memory of the community which forms and is also formed by the history of each "House"-"Face". It is the moment of these symbolic elements that each House carries (photographs of ancestors, heirlooms and other symbolic objects) to be placed in the field of the collective memory of the community once again. The visits of the Holy Icon and the performative practices that accompany the whole process, shape the **cultural**

symbols and meanings of the place. The embodied presence of the community confirms the importance of the history of each House as a lived place for the function of the community. These soft processes of memory are the tools that the community incorporates into itself as a collective narrative through the rich, complex and heterogeneous processes of orality.

It is important to the people of Folegandros that they carry out the transitions from place to place on foot. It is essential to them that they carry the holly symbol on their shoulders and in their hands and also that they perform this tour with their bodies. It is true that the strength of the bodies is tested. The three-day ritual gesture of walking or carrying is of such magnitude that if one wants to follow the whole ritual, they will come to a strong negotiation with the tiredness and the limits of the body.

The sacred symbol will "walk" on shoulders and hands to pass as they say "from all over the island", "from all over the village". Such an act seeks to "humanize" the otherness produced by the Holy Icon, through the spatial development of the three ritual rounds and through the rite of passage in which the limits of the body are tested. The practice of 'humanizing' the Sacred is also carried out through the body and social behavior. The body is the vehicle for the phenomenon of humanization. Some of the phrases addressed by the participants to the icon are: "To enter, to rest. To talk to her - to keep her company, To sit with her – Not to be alone!", forming a relationship with the symbol in terms of the human body. Even the practices of kissing, adorning or caressing that accompany this relationship, work in this direction. Through these kinds of performative practices, a process of taming the otherness that the Sacred produces is formed.



Figure 24 - House in Chora / Ceremony of the Holy Day of Chora (16/04/2023), Fig.25. House in Ano Meria / Celebration of the Holy Day of Ano Meria (17/04/2023).





Figure 26 - Figure 27 - Manifestations of the taming the Sacred.

In contrast to the process of humanizing the sacred, we observe mechanisms that make **the communal unfamiliar**. It is important to realize that these spatiotemporal conditions of these ritual events are separate from everyday life. They are distinct "scenes". These framed conditions organize in their own way a network of post-communication. *Sociality*, whether it is an expressivity in the joy of social association, practices of necessity -according to Giddens, or the activation of context through playfulness -according to Simmel, leads the individual to adopt new paths of expression and thus other ephemeral and new characteristics of identity.

The expressive behaviour, in the context of the ritual event, seen through the terms of sociality, constitutes a cultural framework of the "exceptional" social life. A relational performative mosaic in which the subjects, while playing roles visit this exceptional theatricality; visit aspects of their views of otherness. They attempt, through their bodies, to explore open identities, to experiment with new "public liminal selves". Within this framed, displaced sociality, role performances contribute to the openness of social every-day-behaviors that are known to the community outside the context of ritual. Through these versions of openness and simultaneously through the re-habitation of the familiar social relations, a condition of grounding identities in relation to versions of otherness is emerged. This displacement of sociability leads subjects to negotiate an encounter with the field of otherness.

The presence and participation of the children is crucial and helps to shift the identification with otherness in a different way. The children's presence has an educational effect on them, but also brings a sense of well-being to each house they visit. In the celebration of the three ritual rounds in Folegandros the presence of the children also has another meaning: The children are the first to express, through their bodies, their enthusiasm and their tiredness, their need to be part of this communal celebration. And indeed, the fact that they find space in the ritual, the fact that they are assigned certain roles, keeps the process alive and allows them, in their own way, to inhabit and, in effect, produce an in-between space-time. The inhabitation of the intermediate spacetime is related to a "stage" performance of the in-between: with their bodies, the children inhabit the areas of the intermediate spaces (the thresholds, the courtyards, the terraces) in various ways, problematizing their boundaries. They actually produce the spatial conditions of the threshold through the way they inhabit the inbetween spaces but also through the "dramatic" performance of the intermediate: the versions of performative processes of identity that produce inbetween conditions.

Through their bodies and through their "unstructured" identities, the presence of the children restores the margins of the roles required by etiquette. It redefines a set of imperatives imposed by the social contract, vis-à-vis sacred or social processes. By performing roles within

the ritual, children produce an inside and outside field of practices during the ritual: While they fully support the given roles, they do not identify them. This function evokes **in-between conditions**. Without losing the sense of the importance of the ritual, they affirm the ritual sequence as play. The children manage to support, in fact create, a ritual reality for themselves and for others, establishing alternative scenarios of relationship between the mundane and the sacred, between identities and otherness.

While for most performers and participants, the way of inhabiting the symbolic acts has a look back to the history of the place, the children's presence creates a perception of the performance mainly as a **here-and-now** condition. As subjects under formation, the children manage to stitch the oral materials: the modes of production of customary ritual and its relation to a pre-industrial world and a postmodern present in which they live and grow. Such a stitching, uncrystallized, uncontained, creates an openness of mechanisms, an alternative way of managing the connection between worlds, rather than a "continuity" with the past.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Observing the production of threshold spatiality, we focused on the Threshold of the house – as a passage between the individual- communal space, the Threshold of the settlement, a passage at the entrance of the settlement that hosts symbolic actions and the threshold of the body: an embodied "theatrical" behavior, a multiple liminal communal expression that can emerge. Following the case study of the Easter celebration on the island of Folegandros, we can conclude that:

- 1) The ritual round occurs much more as a vast embodied connection between settlements, stories, people, future and past, rather than as a magical circle (as in Stewart's scheme) or a boundary that encloses the Sacred inside and keeps the Otherness away.
- 2) The places of threshold production, but also the modes of the threshold, while ensuring distance, establish relations of worlds that could not otherwise be in proximity- could not otherwise emerge.
- Communities inhabit the real threshold spatialities through symbolic actions in order to activate other thresholds (much more irrational) that give meaning to their lives.

From this perspective, the performative practices of passage that form and are formed by threshold spatialities, re-produce, and, in essence, reestablish the identity of the community by giving this ephemeral transformation spatial terms. As a result, new collective possibilities can emerge that reconstruct the meaning, the representations and the experience of space. By performing the passage, by sharing of the passage, communities find ways to co-create and co-imagine *in* the communal space, *through* and *about* it.

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