

help, or be beset by legions of devils whirling their tempestuous journey across the face of the earth.

It is in respect of the vast and dangerous solitudes that a certain range of cosmological ideas is especially detailed, since in them man, lacking the advantage of dominance conferred upon him by the socialized areas, meets face to face the ambiguous spiritual presences which inform his world. A primary division which occurs within the elements of this natural world is between 'earth' ($\gamma\eta$) and 'water' ($\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}$), a term which is taken here to include the sea as well, elements which reflect in their different ways the structure of good and evil which is present in the universe, and which represent sources either of life or of danger according to the particular context in which they are encountered.

This capacity of the earth to be either wild or socialized—to provide sanctuary either for the demons or for man—is a fundamental attribute, and in fact the way the earth is experienced by those who live by it is in terms of a constant antinomy according to which it is both friendly and hostile, nourishing and destructive, giving sanctuary and demanding sacrifice. The earth, that is to say, provides a permanent image both of paradise and of exile, and this experience finds continual echoes in the story of the Fall of Man.

This story is one which every one in the village knows, and as told by the villagers the apple, though often referred to as an apple, can also be termed, variously, a fig, a seed, or a tree. Adam and Eve, it is said, were in those days covered with feathers (or, alternatively, hair), but when they ate the forbidden fruit 'so as to become greater than God', their feathers fell off, they became naked and hid, and were thus discovered by God who was walking in the garden and calling for them: 'Adhám... Adhám...'. Paradise is represented primarily as life without work: 'You wanted to eat, and tak!—there was a loaded table in front of you!' and, 'Whatever you wanted, you had...roast chicken...whatever you wanted'; and the curse of God is represented in the words: 'You, Éva, with pain and with torments shall you bear children, and you, Adhám, with blood and with sweat shall you till the fields.' The snake at that moment lost the legs with which it had previously walked upright, and lived thereafter on its belly, in enmity with mankind.

Two additions to this basic story, however, are illuminating. The first runs that at that time 'all the stones were bread, and there was abundant water'; but Eve, too lazy to find something to wipe her child with (or, as one version has it, too covetous of the silk scarf which she had for the purpose), took some bread, wiped the child with it, and threw the bread away. 'Is that what you're like? Take that!' God is reputed to have said, and turned her out of paradise.

Every Sunday in the celebration of the eucharist the people see the bread which they have baked with their own hands and the wine trodden from their own grapes transformed into 'the Holy Mysteries', and it is universally said that 'bread must not be trodden upon', because of its true nature as the body of Christ. Thus the statement that the stones in paradise were bread is not merely a statement that in paradise endless food was available to man without work: it is a statement that the created order was fundamentally sacred, and that the paradisaical condition of man was a consequence of his recognition of this. Eve, however, in defecting from this understanding and in wiping her child with bread and *throwing the bread away*—thus treating the world purely as a material object to be exploited for her own ends—reversed the sacramental order of reality and found the bread of the world turned to stone for her sake.

The second addition to this story runs that Adam and Eve received a command from God that they should have three children, but Eve remonstrated: 'What, only sleep with my husband three times?'—an expression of the widespread understanding of the sin of Adam and Eve as being fundamentally to do with sexual intercourse. God's answer to this was equivocal: 'Have as many children as you like, only half will be mine and half yours', meaning that half would live and half would die. Thus in this rendering, sin and death entered the world together.

The story of the fall and its variants thus reveal a state of paradise in which man once lived in equilibrium with a beneficent world, a world whose very stones were 'bread', on the condition that he subdued his own will—for sex, for power—and related with reverence to the presence of God in all created things. But the sacrilege of Eve—the wish to be greater than God, the desire for unlimited sex, the unleashing of egotistical self-indulgence—brought this situation to an end and inaugurated in its place an age of pain and suffering as bread

turned to stone, streams dried up, children became subject to death, snakes and men became hereditary and mortal enemies, and the world's original integrity became subject to sin and Satan.

It is in the context of the hardship of agricultural life that the story of the fall is uppermost in people's minds. 'Are things otherwise now?' they will say at the end of the story, referring to the 'anguish' (*ἀγωνία*), 'tribulation' (*βασάνο*), or 'tyranny' (*τυραννία*), of dragging a living out of reluctant ground, or indicating the continual exhausting work of maintaining the homestead. Men, as they struggle with the plough, and women as they labour with children and with the household, are the direct descendants of Adam and Eve, still suffering under the curse of God for that original sin. The story and the lived experience thus feed into one another, particularly on the level at which it is the hardship of village life which is predominant, for on this level the people see their lives as involving endless and unremitting work, and nature as, at the least, grudging, and at the most, hostile. In many ways the individual sees himself as working not with the forces of nature but against them, fighting the earth to force it to yield a scant living, risking both physical and spiritual danger every time he ventures into the wilds. Nevertheless, this embattled attitude to the natural world is only a part of man's relationship with the earth, as it is only a part of the story of the fall, for because this story begins with the estrangement of man from his original inheritance in the Garden of Eden, there exists in this understanding of the world not only an encounter with sin and death, but also an encounter with an image of paradise.

'Paradise' is a word often enough heard on the lips of the community, and the primary image it conjures up is that of a garden. 'It is paradise' is the comment often attached to a description of a place with fruit trees and cool breezes and running water, a place of ease, beauty and refreshment. It is because of this image, also, that the visitor is invariably encouraged to come to the village, not in the spring when all agree that the season is at its most exciting and lovely with bursting buds and the greening of the trees, but in the autumn, when the great period of work is over and when the fruit, the free gift of a suddenly generous earth, is offered simply for the picking. 'Come and see us in September,' they say, 'then, whatever you want, you'll find—figs, apples, pears, grapes...'. Vines, of course, require a good

deal of care, but a laden fruit tree, to which in most cases very little attention has been paid throughout the year, is not only a particularly clear image of the fecundity of the earth, it is, so to speak, an icon of nature in her unfallen state. It is as if the labourer, as he fills his house with strings of apples, or waits for a hare to come and eat the wind-falls below a wild pear tree, is released from his destiny to be nourished by the earth only if he toils and struggles, and suddenly receives, in uncalculated abundance, a harvest for which he has not lifted a finger.

While, however, the idea of 'paradise' incorporates in this essential sense the vision of a world which yields up its fruits without work, it is used also in contexts referring to the household to invoke the image of abundance, even though this abundance has in fact been gained by the sweat of man's brow. There is a proverb, 'One person alone does not create paradise', which indicates that paradise on this earth is indeed realizable, and defines it as the fruit of marriage. For marriage results not only in a well-provided household with its own cheese, meat and eggs, milk, cereals, bread, fruit, vegetables, wheat, wine, and oil, but in the priceless gift of children through which a healing continuity is assured. In this understanding too is caught up the idea of the garden of paradise, for it invokes a world in which toil and sweat are left behind, the fruit of man's labour safely gathered into the house, and in which the house, and the man and woman within it, have once again been linked with that archetypal garden from which their ancestors fell. It is this image which is being called upon in an old man's delighted comment on the fecundity of his house: 'Look! When the woman is here the house is a garden!' It is this image also which inspires the comment of an old woman, sitting by the ashy debris of the fire, the whitewashed plaster shedding flakes on the floor and the hens pecking in the mud outside, to say of her daughter-in-law: 'We brought her here to live with us in paradise.'

Paradise is in this way the experience of abundance which the people encounter with as much reality as the world of exile in which for the greater part of their lives they struggle. For in its rare moments of unsolicited fruitfulness, the earth provides a clear image of the world before the fall, while in the cornucopia of the household, overflowing with the garnered produce of the year's toil, a different dimension of salvation is offered—the redemption of the

world and the regaining of paradise with, as it were, the consequences of the fall put behind. Thus it is at either end of the cycle of work that the fruitfulness of the earth links man once again with his origins in the fundamental beneficence of creation, while the intervening periods of hardship and relentless toil confront him with an earth whose equilibrium is still disrupted by the evil consequences of man's original sin.

The dimensions, then, of wild and socialized earth, which have already been discussed, accord precisely with the story of Adam and Eve which the people clearly feel to be the charter for their agricultural life. Wild places are seen as holding a natural innocence which links them with the world before the fall, and as providing an environment which helps to keep people untainted, without sin, and in touch with the mysterious lore of the natural world. But they also hold characteristics and potentialities receptive to the devil and inimical to man, and these can be overcome only in one of two ways—by great purity, or by work and endurance. Socialized places, on the other hand, lie at the other end of the scale, fraught with the sinfulness of the men who inhabit them, and yet providing to each man his house, his spot of the sanctuary which the earth provides for those who labour for her crops.

In this way, while it is ascetic purity that transforms the wilderness into a place where saints are made, it is in work that the alchemy lies that makes spots of 'paradise' in the social world. The recurring feature in the redemption of the social world from the possession of the devil, and in the maintenance of the social order, is the toil of man.

Work is closely linked with land. The village where a person is born, the *patridha* or 'place of his fathers', is a reality embedded in the thinking of rural people, and consists in a deep sense of identity with a portion of the land which is part of a person's consciousness of himself. This love of the land, however, is a love which is connected in Greece less with a person's attachment to the substance of the physical earth of his village, as with the place to which he has traditionally been attached by inheritance and the history of his family. Thus while the villagers emphatically state that 'no one would sell his grandfathers' fields', it becomes clear that this is only partly due to a sense of attachment to the piece of land itself, and is more an iden-

tification with the value of the labour with which the land and the grandfathers had been linked.

On this level therefore it is 'land', in the form of fields or forest—the pieces of ground associated with the life and the labour of the family—rather than the notion of the 'earth' as an elemental force, which appears to exercise the primary pull over the loyalty of a villager. And on this level the relationship of the individual with his land appears to be one which is practical rather than mystical, active rather than contemplative, exploitative rather than reverential. Nevertheless, the fact that the same word (*γῆ*) is used for both 'land' and 'earth' indicates that no essential split is made between the two concepts, and even on the practical level discussed above, the permanence of the land—its primary material advantage—is seen also as a spiritual quality reflecting this immortality to which man aspires: 'The earth is immortal; does the earth ever die?' And this perception, which provides a continual undercurrent to village life, surfaces at times on highly symbolic occasions of which the traditional good wishes at a marriage provide a clear example:

May you both live a thousand years!
 As the mountains shine, so may man and wife shine,
 As the mountains grow white, so may man and wife grow white,
 With children and great grandchildren...

The earth therefore, even in so far as it is involved in the hard facts of subsistence living, is by no means experienced only on a dimension of simple materialism; as we have seen, there is a charter for seeing the earth both as man's enemy and, in the story of Adam and Eve, as man's original and ultimate home.

Work too, like the earth to which it is related, has two aspects. Its primary aspect relates it to the curse and presents it as perpetual and unwelcome evidence of that time when the world was set against mankind as a result of sin. Thus as the man comes home tired and filthy, or as misfortune strikes his fields or his household, as he swears at his animals, his children, at Christ, the cross, the faith and the Mother of God, he experiences work as anguish, and he rebels against the constant exhaustion inflicted by the tyranny of his association with the natural world. The secondary aspect, however, is otherwise,