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SPACE AND BOUNDARIES BETWEEN THE WORLDS

Abstract: When we focus our attention on different cultures, what is of great importance for us is the research aiming to find out what man’s basic notions of World and of his microcosmos, in particular, are. The following analysis is based on some empiric ethnographic and folklore data referring to the traditional cultures of the Balkan peoples and of the Macedonian people.

Key words: Space, borders, traditional culture, Macedonians, our world and the other world, the world of the living and the world of the dead.

If we regard Space as a cultural and anthropological category, we would better understand the structure of the communal social activities, which indicate the general psychological and social attitude of the community members. Space, being one of the most significant natural and physical categories, takes part in the formation of man’s concepts about the World (Geertz C., 1993, 126-142), which from their part, influence the constantly regulated people’s attitude towards Space’s structure, and also their attempts to reconstruct Space’s boundaries when violated. The fact that the perception of Space has a cultural past, directly effects the ways it is regarded by certain cultures. (Kasirer E., 1996, 76-98; Popov V., 1991, 25-32; Elijade M., 1991, 89-97.) This means that the few signs and symbolic segments that form the Space concept, constitute its functioning, and are characteristic mainly for the Balkan cultures, could be an obstacle for the research workers when they try to find out what their basic meanings and role for the functioning of the traditional concept of World were.

The following analysis is based on some empiric ethnographic and folklore data referring to the traditional cultures of the Balkan peoples and of the Macedonian people, in particular. (AISK; National demonology of the Macedonians, 1995; Macedonian folklore, 1968-; Ethnologist, 1992-)

About the Space’s structure

Contemporary ethnological and anthropological researches show that the culturological concept about Space contains, in its essence, the most important definition, which originates in the notion of proto-Space: when still in an initial phase, it cannot be defined as space at all, but rather as Chaos. Structuralized Space, i.e. Cosmos, has been derived from Chaos by means of the activated divine powers.

Such mythical ideas are to be found also in the present day in great number of ethnological and folklore materials (and especially in some rites), united by the common fact that the creation of man happened to play the role of the most significant transformation of Space, which led to its division into two ontological categories. Down the ages, these categories have had a remarkable influence on the structure of man’s behavior in rites, as well as in his everyday life (Chausidis H., 1994, 65-67). Through such a division, live and original even nowadays, man has succeeded in setting himself apart from the other species, and at the same time to distinguish himself as a separate person among his likes by marking the Spaces already conquered. In this way, he was able to mark Space as svoj (his own), and tug (foreign to him): these are categorial determinants, which indicate one’s place in the World, and which qualify all the objects surrounding him. (Bajburin A.K., 1990, 3-16; Bajburin A.K., 1991, 23-43; Bajburin A.K., 1993, 183-194; Radenkovich L., 1996, 47-79) The division of Space, subjects, personages, actors playing the parts of the “familiar people” and the “strangers”, according to their position on the horizontal, or on the vertical axis of the Space structure, is very difficult to be comprehend. Defining a certain category, or the type of Space is most commonly done in terms of the given situation and context. The categories indicating familiar and unfamiliar, what is well known and what is strange to the person vary all the
time. It is desirable that the meanings they carry in themselves to be also regarded according to the precise context. Here is the place to mention the name of the great Russian research worker A.K. Bajburin, who says: “The strange begins where the familiar ends.” (Bajburin A.K., 1993, 185). In this connection, the familiar Space and the unfamiliar one can be regarded according to the certain situation; besides, there are two categories that are exclusively important - borders and border area. They depend on whether the observation is made on a micro, or on a macrolevel. What can be said about Space’s structure and symbolics the way they appear on the microlevel, can be said also about the structure and symbolics on the macrolevel. This confirms the assertion that the structures repeat themselves, in a sense that they are, in fact, the same original structures as they existed in the time of the world’s creation by the God; and these original structures were further projected on the microformat of the Space organization, and of the organization of human activities as well. Nowadays, a great number of signs evidence the identical structure and division of Space, proceeding from the concepts of the World seen on macrocosmic level, of man (the human body), (Chausidis H., 1994; Radenkovich L., 1996, 9-45), and of the dwellings (Bajburin A.K., 1983, 125-187; Stojanovich L., 1992, 122-127; Risteski L.S., 1998), always repeating the structural-space theme, but on microlevel. In this way, Space, previously scanned only on macrolevel as having the connotation of a borderline element, a periphery, now gains a new meaning, this time on microlevel; it acquires a new symbolic interpretation, becomes a centre (Wroclawski K., 1991). In order to make sure of that, we may check some examples taken from the everyday behavior of people, as well as from their ceremonial course of action.

The Space inhabited by people, the domesticated Space, is obviously mixed with the other one, the Space inhabited by the non-humans, by the others, and these usually are gods and demons. The division of Space into familiar and unfamiliar is quite relative, because the Space we consider as our own, may be considered as absolutely alien by the members of another community, of another culture, society, or family. In this sense, when we talk about Space as our own, or foreign to us (respectively human-non-human), what we actually mean is Space of nature vs. Space of culture, or simply nature:culture (Risteski L.S., 2000). Such a division is not only a categorizing one, but also a factual one, which means that what matters in Space’s conceptualization are the boundaries between things. It doesn’t mean, however, that these are one-way boundaries, and that the segments of one category can be derived from the other cultural category. For these boundaries change, and depend on the context they are realized in.

The notions of the basic characteristics, meanings, and functions carried by the opposite Space categories can be found and more closely examined in the analysis made upon the observations of people’s everyday actions.

**Domesticating the Space**

One of the most significant characteristics of human activities, especially the ritual ones, is the “domestication” of Space through intensive ritual and magic actions, which turn the alien space into a human one (Bajburin A.K., 1993, 152-173).

Ancient myths and mythical ideas are rich with examples showing the moments of “domestication” of the world; as regards the ritual activities, they directly allude activities aiming to reconstruct Space, and what is more, to differentiate between the mastered and not mastered.

All the villages are created after the example of the proto-creation (Elijade M., 1994, 27-32, Elijade M., 1992, 51-60). What is to be done first is to fix the place where the village is going to be situated. It has to be, by no means, a sacred place; and different signs have to be present, so that the place to be recognized as sacred: a spring, a stone, an icon, or a church. Afterwards, the barrier between the two worlds - the familiar one, and the hostile one, is set. People chose the place where a new house to be built using the same model.

*The Space of the familiar and the unfamiliar - variations in the form of concentric circles.*
Defining the centre means, in fact, marking the Space, which abounds in symbolic meanings, and is rich with symbols pointing to sanctity; the Space that functions as a line of demarcation between the worlds, especially on the vertical axis. Proceeding from the representation of the hearth as the place around which the Space of the house is localized (Dzapovich L., 1995, 61-114; Anastasova A., 1993, 98-139; Wroclawski K., 1991, 100-104), our aim will be to show the changes that take place in the meaning, functions, and symbolic structures of Space, which, in a certain situation and symbolic-communicative context, takes the part of a center. It becomes clear that the concept of Space enables the different dimensions of Space to change according to the situation. Moreover, in the microcosmic perception, the hearth represents the centre of the familiar, thus uniting not only the concepts of the affiliation of all the family members to this hearth, but also including in itself the concepts of the relation with the family and house guardian - the snake, as well as the concepts of a place, around which the connections with all the dead members of the community are concentrated; here extremely important are the connections with the ones who take the part of dead ancestors-guardians of the living. (Examples: Badnik (ritual bread) - hearth - fire; child delivery - the first ritual cradling of the baby - hearth; marriage - bride - hearth; death - keeping up the fire in the hearth.)

In comparison with the other dwellings in a peasant community, a certain house plays the role of the centre of the familiar space, and the yard, respectively the fence, turns into a natural border of the outer world. The yard, however, still operates with the symbols of the familiar, yet with a lesser degree of intensity; it performs the function of a marginal space.

By again viewing the village as a social and ritual entity, being in contrast with the other peasant entities, and according to the functions and symbols carried by its segments, the Space of the village centre - the church - obtains the functions of a centre itself. The village borders differentiate the village space from the other one; and the space of the cemetery, as well as the space of the narrower village borders perform the functions of a space signified as familiar, but they function with lower intensity, so that we can mark them once again as marginal spaces.

The cemeteries, as a specific cultural space, are often considered a barrier between the worlds; however, we think that because of the connotation the cemeteries have, we can define this barrier as a marginal space. Only in extraordinary temporal conditions (in a very dark night, or during the so-called “dead” days, Duovden), and in the conditions of ritual activities (like burial, for example), the cemetery space gets the connotation of a border, or of a mediator, via which the establishing of a contact between the worlds is made possible (Bratich D., 1993, 77-90).

Besides, we have already mentioned how important the maintenance of the centre is - it is almost as important as the preservation and the renovation of the boundaries, marking the Space as ours and theirs, are.

In this connection, the fixation of the centre on microlevel goes simultaneously with the demarcation of the boundaries. Right away after the fixation of the place for a new house is done, the builders set the borders of the house space by erecting the walls.

The traditional perception of Space clearly shows that both the centre and its connotation appear exactly in the middle, so that the intensity of such a division is lessened when the movement is directed towards the periphery.

The movements of the centre and the enlarging of the circles of the conquered space are realized in the form of concentric circles, so that each next circle gets a new centre, but still includes in itself the previous cultural circles.

Mythical structure of the World

Ethnologic and folklore materials, referring to the ideas of the World, popular among the Balkan peoples, reveal that the cosmic part of the World (i.e. this part of the Chaotic space, which has entered the World’s frames in the moment of the proto-creation) has a three-part structure. It consists of three lands, or worlds: Middle Land, Upper Land, Lower Land (Risteski L.S., 1999). By no means, it is the Middle
Land that represents the space inhabited by men, it is our world, the one which gives many opportunities to the representatives of both other worlds to “visit” it, but only on the condition that at a certain time all the personages will go back to their own worlds, taking away all the staff that belongs to them. Otherwise, there is a danger for the harmony and the Space’s structure to be destroyed, and as a consequence the World will find itself in a serious crisis.

The other two worlds, the Upper Land and the Lower one, are situated in opposition to the Middle Land. The Lower Land is usually presented as the world of the dead, and of all the demon creatures, as well; the world which is reigned by eternal darkness… The Upper Land, however, is the space inhabited by godly creatures, and by the Lord himself. Often it turns out to be the place where the souls of the people go after death. Of course, it is evident that both worlds are described as variations of paradise and hell.

There are some significant characteristics, which serve to make a contrast between the Upper and the Lower Land from one side, the Middle Land, from another. These characteristics are: the divine, or respectively the demonic nature of the creatures inhabiting the worlds, the immortality, the eternal darkness, the impotence (though the representatives of the two worlds are very predisposed towards fertility but only when being in contact with representatives of our reality).

Our world and the outer world

Based on the division of the world into ours and outer in the traditional cultures, the notion of the existence of the two realities, two worlds - this one and the other one, seems to be the most essential one. Besides, the idea of this world includes elements and segments concentrated around the communal existence and activities, always marked as own, familiar, cultural, i.e. as human. On the other hand, there is the other world - a mythical reality, an entity which includes characteristics being in opposition with the ones pertaining to the other world. The other world is always presented as a cultural category; and the contamination is a typical feature that allows the existence of creatures, which don’t fit in with this world. That’s why visitors from the other world directly influence the violation of the harmonic structure of this world (Risteski L.S., 1999; Risteski L.S., 2000, 1-10).

The other world is always marked by the brand of danger and evil, that’s the token of the antistructure, of Chaos. All the personages that are characteristic natural phenomena appear on the opposite side: Sun, Moon, Stars, etc., and especially when these are to be found in the sphere of oddities (Night Sun, Day Moon, etc.) The notion of all the devilish faces of death, of all the deceased, and all the other demonic creatures, are pertinent to the mythical reality of the other world.

One of the most significant characteristics of the other world is its vagueness. It is not a Space that could be precisely described, for one of its typical features is that there is a possibility for it to be installed in this world (by the birth of a new member of the community, by one’s death, or by the entering this world of some creatures coming from beyond the human world, etc.), and thus, to contaminate right away the space of the human world. This means that there are some categories, which function as a foundation of the mythical ideas about the opposition between this world and the outer one: man:devilish creatures, light:dark, fertility: impotence, human world:unhuman world, mortality: non-mortality.

(I think that the usage of the term “immortality” would be quite out of the place here, if we consider the fact that the visitors from the beyond are not only immortal, but are also not susceptible to death, they cannot be murdered, i.e. they are not mortals. For some of the mythical creatures death means nothing at all. For these reasons we are prone to define the opposite of the term “mortality” with the term “non-mortality”.)

The World of the Living and the World of the dead

There is one more important cultural category that takes part in the separation of the Space of the living from the Space of the dead. Proceeding from the popular concept about death’s negative influence
and its “contiguosity”, it becomes absolutely clear that the space, marked as lethal, or at least contaminated with death, comes into opposition with the space of the living. And if, in everyday life and during ritual activities, the contamination of the two worlds is almost inevitable (due to the death of a community member, or to the participation of the living in rites, in which dead people are involved), we still can be sure that the Space of the living will always remain clearly isolated from the one of the dead.

The World of the dead, as a mythical entity, is included within the frames of the World beyond, so that it becomes the field, on which the desires of the dead community members are fulfilled, but only of those members who have gone through all the way of transition, and finally have successfully joined the community of the dead. Thus, the dead members of the community become ancestors whose responsibility is to watch over the living members. A typical feature of the community of the dead is their benevolence towards the living. Another typical feature is the exchange of good deeds, which, however, doesn’t mean that the contacts between these, absolutely opposite mythical realities could be realized regardless to the strictly established ritual and social norms of behavior functioning within the community.

**The borders and their basic parameters**

The examination of the cultural space, without paying attention to the borders as its main category, is impossible. Borders set the Space limits, which are in charge of separating and differentiating the worlds. By considering the facts already mentioned above, it becomes evident that boundaries change, and beside being permanent or movable, they can be also concentric, monolinear, multilinear, always depending on the exact situation and context; with respect to the changes that take place during the process of symbolic communication, and with respect to the perceptive level of the functions, symbols, and meanings the boundaries carry in themselves.

As a result of such an understanding of what boundaries really are, people have established a specific system of cultural reaction (more often on a symbolic-communicative level), with the aim to be able to react properly in a given situation. This reaction often consists of intensive ritual activity that has for its purpose to differentiate the contaminated zone from the uncontaminated, the clean one, to distinguish the familiar from the unfamiliar, then to set the boundaries between them, and finally to isolate the one from the other.

We can use as examples the analysis of the Space semiology, as well as the investigation of the processes of changing its semological meaning via the rites from the ritual life cycle, (Jovanovic B., 1993), especially these processes that points to the opposite directions of semiologization.

If we consider the delivery of a child as a process, which fits into the sphere of nature, i.e. a process still alien to the cultural reality, then it is normal for it to occur in places defined as natural (such as the barn, for example), and the space surrounding the young mother and her child becomes contaminated by the presence of the visitor from the beyond (for according to some beliefs, the newborn baby comes from another world, and according to others, it is the very World of the dead it comes from), so that for the next 40 days the mother will remain at the edge between the two cultural worlds. In this sense, the cultural reaction of the community will find expression in the ritual initiation of the “stranger” (for it is considered a “stranger among us”), and his/her introduction into the family community. The introduction is done through several ritual activities, in a couple of phases, the most important one of which is the magical and symbolic transition from the periphery towards the centre. The newborn child is brought home by passing over the house’s threshold, then both the mother and the baby come closer to the centre, i.e. to the fireplace. (They pass through water and fire.) Afterwards, there comes the most important moment in the new member’s “introduction” to the community - the baby is put in its cradle that has to be situated near the fireplace. However, despite all these ritual-magical actions, both the mother and her child will continue to be regarded as a constant peril by the other members of the community, and this will go on till the final moment of the newborn’s acceptance in the community, and the restitution of its mother’s community membership (which happens on the 40th day after the delivery,
the day when the child is baptized), That’s why the place, where the mother and the baby are lying, is strictly limited, and is kept in a constant state of quarantine. (Things like rope, onion, tar, fire or live coals, etc usually surround the mother.) (Risteski L.S., 1998, 1-10).

From the very beginning of the matrimonial ritual cycle, the young couple, and especially the bride, enter the state of marginality; in which the participants are carriers of the connotation of being already in touch with the contamination, and thus becoming dangerous also for the other people. The arrival of the bride in the bridegroom’s house, is regarded through the symbols of the ritual-magical dividing as an arrival of a stranger in the family community; besides, all the ritual acts aim to make the transition of the stranger to the domesticated Space more successful, thus trying to erase the boundaries existing between the different worlds. The direction of these rituals is from the periphery towards the centre. (The bride is carried inside the house after passing over the threshold.) (Bajburin, 1993, 62-88)

When a member of the community dies, he right away becomes a carrier of the principle of death - there is a dead person in the house, and the space around him is dark and mysterious. The immediate cultural reaction finds expression in fixing the boundaries that will separate the dead person from the living. A symbolic boundary is laid around the dead person, which is to show the limits of his own space. (Black-and-white woollen threads, millet, or a long candle surrounds him). Through these actions, the community of the living clearly marks him as “a stranger among us” by further using more and more majestic and ritual devices in order to persevere the boundaries and the division of Space. (Onion, tar, thorns, etc.)

The occurrence of “the unfamiliar, the lethal” in proximity with the centre of the domesticated space, is considered extremely dangerous for the stability of the community, because the earthly activities are directed towards the “space beyond”, and the dead person is the emissary of the lethality and of the transition from the centre towards the periphery. This is best observed when the dead person is carried out of the house; people who carry the body stop at the threshold for a moment, and then all the activities move out from the house, and concentrate on the cemetery, on the grave - places we have previously defined as peripheral. During the funeral, once again a symbolic boundary is set, which aims to “bind” the dead person more firmly to his own space. (Garnizov B., 1986, 16-30; Risteski L.S., 1998).

There is another basic category that has to be paid attention to, namely the one of the road dealing with the change of Space semiology. The road walked by both the dead and the living, who carry the body, leads from the house to the cemetery and, of course backward. This process of rearrangement of the cultural space carries in itself the symbolics of the excluding: family member - death - stranger.

**Trespassing the boundaries - need and/or necessity**

Despite our declaration that one of the distinctive features of the boundaries is their impermeability, it does not mean that boundaries are as a rule inaccessible.

The concept of Space and the boundaries functioning within it includes one more significant element, which enables its functioning: the channel existing between the worlds. What is meant by channels here is the official in-and-out passages, which function only when some necessary conditions are obeyed. Here we have to mention without, however any further elaboration, the places which even nowadays are ascribed a symbolic meaning and ritual functions. These are places which, according to some folklore beliefs, are able to facilitate the transition from one mythical reality to another one. (Door, window - placed on the horizontal axis; fireplace, holes, caves, etc. - placed on the vertical axis.) (Risteski L.S., 1999; Risteski L.S., 2000)

If we consider the incredibly rich cultural tradition of the Balkan peoples, then there will be no problem in finding arguments that will evidence that there is a possibility not only of opening the gates from one world to another, from one mythical reality to another, but the very transition, especially if it is realized by formal ritual institutions of the community, and that in a precise order, enables the
communication between the worlds situated far away from each other (according to the symbolic connotation). There is also a possibility for the established contacts to be preserved and further renovated, and that is very important because these contacts preserve the communities and the worlds from disintegration, and keep the Space’s and World’s structure in constant harmony and order. (Mentzej M., 1996, 31-35; Mentzej M., 1997). Furthermore, the mutual existence of both the living and the dead, of people, gods, and demons depends exactly on these important transitions and contacts are established between the worlds.

Not anyone, however, is given the ability to transfer from one world to another, without causing complications in the structure, as well as in the order of community. The establishing of the contacts is regulated by the institution of the formal personages, who, in the process of the symbolic connotation, are defined as so-called "strangers among us". These persons become in charge in a situation when a contact is to be established. According to the role and the functions that are executed within the community, these are people who are neither close to the community, nor strangers to it; they are not marginal figures, and are often to be found standing at the very edge dividing the two worlds.

According to the symbolics they carry, these persons take the part of mediators between the worlds, moreover their presence always gives warning signals of a coming danger. The group of the mediators consists of such “specialists” in ritual procedures, such as sorceresses, fortune-tellers, etc.

Therefore, keeping up the communication between the representatives of the different mythical realities on a constant level seems to be not only a need, but also a necessity. Many ritual-magical activities are based on the notion of the Space division, the change of its semiotic meaning, the setting of the boundaries, and the realization of the needs through a ritual trespassing the boundaries. These ideas are to be traced through all the ritual complex, then through the ritual cycle of the rites dealing with the circle of life (birth, marriage, death), then all through the rites connected to the cure with going through rocks, passing under trees, etc. Besides, the ritual passing through signifies, in fact, the very process of transition from one world to another, from one mythical reality to another, and more often, from the world beyond to the world here. In this way, by the process of passing through, and through the forms of the renewal of the protostructure, a new birth actually takes place; it is a rebirth that finally results in recovery from the sickness. On the other hand, the rites, in which the transition is expressed by the means of a ritual passing through, gives the connotation also to the notion of the actor’s successful “coming back” into the human world which brings health to the sick person.

It follows that the conceptualization of Space, as perceived by the traditional cultures, carries the idea of the establishment of total harmony, structure and equality between Nature and Culture, so that Man, as the main protagonist in these processes, endeavors to take control over things, which are, in fact, strange and unfamiliar to him.

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