

FOLK DEMONOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF ETHNIC AND SOCIAL CATEGORIES

EKATERINA E. ANASTASSOVA, SOFIA

Demonic personages can be viewed as an invariant aggregate of differentiating features and functioning within the frameworks of a complex system of notions about supernatural creatures, known as folk demonology.¹ It emerged as a result of the opposition between Nature and culture in the course of the formation of the idea about the systematic organization of the world, in the process of the mastering of space and creating the concept of time. Three basic categories distinguish "our" (cultural, normed, organized and in the final count - social) from "alien" (natural, not subject to any norms, unorganized and in the final count - chaotic):

1. Ethnic-social category - centered around man and his place among his fellow-human beings; his family opposed to the remaining members of the socium; the entire ethnos compared with adjacent ethnic communities; the entire human multitude opposed to the surrounding world which is filled with incomprehensible and hostile forces. These oppositions, based on the semantic order man - family - ethnos, underlie the formation of the criteria of "our" and "alien" in the categories inherent to every cultural system.

2. Category of space - linear and vertical, centering around man and the space mastered by him (having passed through a number of cultural acts), surrounded by wild and unmastered nature. The constant interaction between "our" and "alien" space generates the need of "our" mythical protectors and "alien" demons personifying animate nature.

3. Category of time - real (empirical, profane) occurring in immediate proximity to man or preserved in his memory, and mythological time (druguesku vreme - "time of other people", and drugus

- "other")² - proto-time preceding man's appearance. This opposition passes into a concept of cyclic time connected with the recurring processes of birth, maturity and death in Nature.³ Their fundamental character determines the concentration of demonic forces precisely in these critical periods (especially birth and death), both in a calendar aspect and within the duration of the human existence.

The aim of the present work is to reveal the place of folk demology in the context of ethnic and social categories, within the frameworks of mastered space, noting the principal moments in the calendar and human life cycle. This paper is based on Bulgarian ethnographic and folkloric materials in the period from the end of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century.

Ethnic and Social Categories as Criteria for Realization of the Concepts "Our" - "Our Alien" - "Alien"⁴

In the process of the growing awareness of one's "I", man considers himself and his surroundings through two main prisms: the prism of the social and moral norms, starting with outward appearance and ending with behaviour and professional skills, and the categories of ethnic consciousness, which differentiate him from the representatives of the "alien" ethnoses through language, territory and culture. The study of the criteria which define an individual as "our" could contribute to the formation of a conditional paradigm of the proper "our" in the popular system of values, as well as the revealing of the notion about the "alien" within the frameworks of one's family, socium or ethnos.

Deviations in the Physical Appearance as Ethnic and Social Category

Outward appearance is obviously an important criterion for the opposition at the first level. It is both a prerequisite for the individual's working ability and a reflection of his spiritual qualities. In case of deviations in the physical look of a certain representative of the ethnos, member of the socium and even of the family, he would not be accepted as "our" and he can be considered as an example of an "alien" within the frameworks of the established norms,

i.e. as an "our" alien". In the Rhodope Mountains the appellation "ugly people" is used to denote "bad people or people with evil intentions"⁵, "God, protect us from the beardless, blind and lame, because they have been punished by God"⁶, "he bears no likeness to a man", "a changeling", "a man with a mark".⁷ Many fairy tales and legends of an etiological nature narrate about physical anomalies as a result of the interference of the devil⁸ or of God⁹, so that man can discern evil marked in this way. This explains why a lame child (netjurus)¹⁰ is explained as a consequence of violation of the accepted order (sinful parents, a curse, black magic, etc.), the child's birth being followed by various misfortunes for the community (drought, plague among cattle and sheep, diseases, etc.). In mythological order this is a peculiar victory of the forces of Chaos, which leads to disturbance of the Cosmos-Chaos equilibrium. In this sense, it is easy to explain and substantiate the ritual taboos for such people: they should not participate in ritual, religious rites, they should not be godfathers or godmothers, priests, etc.¹¹ Hence the frequently occurring characterization of the demons who are too tall, too short, without flesh, very hairy, etc., reflecting the notions of those who are considered as "ours", i.e. individuals possessing low and negative status, projected onto supernatural beings.

Behaviour as an Ethnic and Social Category

Men and women who have violated the norms of the socium (liars, slanderers, envious people, accidental thieves, women of easy virtue and murderers), irrespective of their belonging to the category of "our", are decisively not accepted by society and are perceived as "our alien", both in terms of social norms and in mythological terms. They are one of the frequent causes for the appearance of the evil force: their homes are visited by the evil forces and diseases, they themselves can turn into demons after their death. Their presence within the frameworks of the socium is often viewed as the cause for the disbalance in Nature: drought, hailstorms, loss of the crops, etc.¹² The same semantic load is also seen in the professional violators of social norms, e.g. bandits (ajduci), soldiers (askeri) and professional thieves. Bandits, being among the most flagrant violators of the social norms, are very close to the demons: they live in an mastered space (the forest), their banditry is committed in the dead

of the night and their ritual acts are analogous to those of the evil force. For example, the popular belief is that they start their banditry on Annunciation Day by necessarily killing a man and "taking communion" with his blood so as not to be caught by the police.¹³

Skills Exceeding the Notions of the Members of the Socrum as an Ethnic and Social Category

Sorceresses (bajacki) and witches (brodnici) belong to the category of people exceeding in their active manifestations the knowledge and the skills of their fellow-beings. On the one hand, they are useful to the socrum, while on the other hand they are dangerous when they perform various magic deeds deemed to be harmful. Moreover, when they perform their acts of magic, they are in communion with the evil force, thus acting as a temporary mediator between the terrestrial world and the world beyond, i.e. between profanum and sacrum. An interesting example of direct contacts with the evil force was recorded from the village of Shiroka Luka in 1904: "An old woman with an enormous shepherd's knife in her hands is moving around the woman in labour, slashing the air as if she wants to slaughter hundreds of foes, accompanying her frenetic movements with her monotonous womanly shriek: 'begaj, ermotičošta, mahni sa' [run, ermotičiste, i.e. evil spirit (fem.) which persecutes women in childbirth, go away], twisting her knife even more fiercely, as if she is indeed confronting chests ready to take the thrusts of her knife... and with the shriek: 'da seka, da te priseka..' continuing to twist the knife even more vigorously".¹⁴ It is obvious that even if this ritual could be useful, such acts would evoke irresistible horror among the observers. This explains to a great extent the specificity of the social status of witches and sorceresses, perceived as "our-alien". Just like sinful men and women, they can also turn to demons after their death, as well as to create demons by hatching a "mamniče" (small spirit) from an egg without yolk.¹⁵

The differentiating principles considered so far, distinguishing the "alien" representatives of the socrum, could be presented within their own frameworks in the form of a paradigm which includes the following social criteria: normal physical appearance; behaviour corresponding to the norms of society; a profession having a positive social

status; skills comprehensible to the members of the socium, which we examined with the opposite sign. However, the term ethno-social category is not arbitrary. It is necessary to emphasize the importance of the belonging to the same ethnos, whose absence determines the indisputable attributing of the respective individual to the "aliens". It is interesting to note that if an individual possesses all features pointed out above, but belongs to an alien ethnos, he would be perceived as an "alien", i.e. enemy (in Slav languages it is etymologically identical with the devil).¹⁶ The term "elenin" (etymologically connected with "Hellene", i.e. Greek), has been preserved in the Rhodope Mountains with the meaning of "enemy", "giant", "cannibal", but also as "pagan", which is evidenced by the ritual formula after a baby is baptised: "Elenče mi dade, hristenče ti vraštam" (you gave me a Greek child, I give you back a Christian), pronounced by the old woman handing the baby to its mother.¹⁷ The importance of the ethnic belonging is also confirmed by the typological character of the phenomenon, bearing in mind that in all nations the alien ethnos is assessed as being inadequate, awesome and even inhuman. This can be illustrated by the ethnonyms and their meanings: the Slav word "nemec" (mute) used to denote the Germans, and the Bulgarian dialectal words "eleani", "džidove" (etymologically connected with the Slav pejorative word for 'Jew') and "latini",¹⁸ the scamps mentioned by Herodotus, etc.

After everything stated so far, our paradigm of the proper "our" individual in folk notions would have the following form:

1. Man +
2. Alive +
3. Ethnos +
4. Normal physical appearance +
5. Behaviour complying with the norms of society +
6. Profession with a positive social status +
7. Skills complying with the understanding of the socium +

The change of the sign of one of the features could lead to their carrier being accepted as "alien" or "our alien", accordingly when there is a (-) sign of the differential feature "from the same ethnos" or of some of the other features.

The last and intermediary unit in the semantic series: "our" - "our alien" - "alien" is occupied by the ancestor spirits whose main function is that of mediation. Their task is to maintain the balance between the world of the living and the mysterious and dangerous world of the dead, and through them they also influence the forces of

Nature.¹⁹ Within the framework of the ethnic and social categories, the ancestor spirit corresponds to the following pattern:

1. Man - (spirit) 2. Alive - (but with + in the world beyond)
3. Belonging to the same ethnos +
4. Normal physical appearance +
5. Behaviour complying with the norms of society +
6. Profession with a positive social status +
7. Skills complying with the understanding of the socium +

In the folk world outlook the ancestor's spirit is invisible: a large domestic snake - grass-snake (*Natrix natrix*), as well as "snake, but in an unusual, mythical form", also ram, dog, frog, lizard, bird, etc.²⁰ The ancestor is alive in the world "beyond", he has changed his appearance and has passed to another world. This notion is based on a typological phenomenon in the history of beliefs: worshipping of the ancestor in the form of a tree, animal or anthropomorphic supernatural creature. The fact that the ancestor spirit is perceived as living in the world beyond is illustrated by the narrative of S. Shishkov: "... when they are about to close a door, they whisper quietly something, so as not to hurt or kill the invisible spirit that may be among them".²¹ An important reason for the ancestor spirit to be attributed to the category of "our alien" is his belonging to the family, as well as his belonging to the maximally mastered space: the home, the courtyard and the settlement. To this day there is a saying in the Rhodope region: "As snake should not be killed in the house, because it is the mistress (*sajbija*) of the house".²² In the materials under review there is no evidence of deviations in the outward appearance of the ancestor, while the patron-animals possess, as a rule, highly aesthetic qualities: the snake has a crown of gold, the ram is "handsome", etc.²³ The basic function of the ancestor's spirit is to protect the home, its inhabitants and their farm. It is also important to note its constant presence in the real world. In its character the ancestor's spirit is equivalent to the master of the house and his murder entails the death of the master of the house. Animistic notions are also detected in the basis of the taboo on killing and torturing domestic animals when there is a "newly deceased" person in the house (in the first 40 days after death), because his spirit may have moved to one of the animals.²⁴

The faith in the patron-spirit of the family and of the home is natural and necessary for the folk world outlook, it can even be said that it is socially normative. This is also proved by its stability in

the system of the folk notions and the preservation to this day of such customs as "stopanska gozba" (meal of the master of the house), leaving food for the "stopan" - snake, commemoration services of the dead, etc. All this defines the perceiving of the ancestor's spirit as "our alien" within the frameworks of the family and of the clan, even more "our", in spite of his belonging to the world beyond, than the members of society considered above.

Summarizing everything stated so far, we can note the existence of "our aliens" in the real world, which are carriers of Chaos - to one extent or another - and violators of public order; similarly the existence of mediators who are capable both of violating and of contributing to the maintenance of equilibrium in the Nature-Culture opposition.

Folk Demonology in the Context of Ethnic and Social Categories

In folk notions demons live in the world beyond (at the end of the world, where heaven meets earth), a world subordinated to its own norms and laws which do not correspond to the laws in human society. Therefore, if the paradigm of the ethnic and social categories, attributed to man, can be marked with the sign "+" (equal to the real, human, visible world), for the world of the demons the sign would be "-" (equal to invisible world - unreal, not normed, inhuman). In this way shall obtain a mirror projection (or rather a horizontal projection, i.e. changing the image) of the visible world, refracted through the prism of mythological thinking. Under the heading "man" there will be a demonic creature, while the remaining features will lose their relevant character and will be in a relation of additional distribution (i.e. they will introduce an additional meaning in the characteristics of the demon).

In a number of cases the appearance of demonic creatures is the result of the violation of the ethnic and social norms: they appear where blood has been shed, in cases of deviations in the burial rites (e.g. if someone has jumped over a dead body), or after the death of representatives of an alien ethnos (the "drakusi" are dead Turks²⁵ and those have died an unnatural death also turn into demons. It is precisely the violation of the ethnic and social norms which is the reason for the appearance of the drakus, vaper, talasam, stopan (as a harmful spirit), senka, strasno, vrag and dzin. An important aspect of the

context under review is that the demons are alive and can be killed: with the left hand, with a hawthorn twig, by sabotari, i.e. people born on Saturday, known also as sabotani or vaperari, who can see them. There are a number of apotropaic practices for preventing the appearance of the demonic creatures, namely: peculiar social norms regulating relations between the real world and the world beyond. In order to prevent the transformation of the deceased person into "stopan", iron tongs are placed on the chest of the deceased person: the tongs are specially hammered out by a naked blacksmith - a gypsy ("ag-juptjanin"), the dead man's foot is pierced with a long nail and blackberry twigs are wound around the cross.²⁶ These acts are associated with the impossibility of the soul's existence if the body is mutilated, immobilized, or "impeded".

Demons can either have or not have physical shortcomings: they can be without flesh - voices; they can resemble human beings, but they can be "without flesh, without bones, only a bag full of blood"; they can be "with red eyes, with holes instead of a nose"; "one-eyed, one-legged und naked" - talasam, strasno, karakondzo.²⁷ However, there can be total resemblance to human beings, without any difference whatsoever (cf. the numerous stories and fairy tales about marriages with vampires and about meetings with them). They can be distinguished not by their outward appearance, but by their actions (attacks, reincarnations, "disappearances"). This is what a man from the Rhodope region narrates: "In this area one should never roam after dark, because there used to be bandits who plundered and killed people. Even now voices can be heard, and there are animals that change their shape: for example a horse that turned to a fox is reported to have been seen."²⁸ In the Smolyan region it is believed that the talasam (or stopan) can be transformed into three or four creatures for only one hour: hen, fox, horse and man".²⁹

There exist apotropaic practices preserved for encounters with demons: one should not talk or touch them (because they kill on the spot). When there is a suspicion that the dead person in a house may have turned into a "stopan", a "sign" is left for the "stopan" in the courtyard, an animal is sacrificed, cooked and offered to the neighbours without telling them why. Ritual silence is a form of anti-behaviour corresponding to the world beyond, i.e. a world of silence and darkness.³⁰ It is through this silence, as a peculiar social norm, oriented to the world beyond (in the concrete case with a chtho-

nic character) that living people can come for a while closer to the world of the dead.

* * *

It was said already that the appearance of demonic personages is closely connected with the processes of birth and death, i.e. the so-called "transition periods" in man's life. Naturally, no less interesting are also the demonic personages associated with maturing and with the transition to another social status (e.g. marriage), but the scope of the present paper is too limited to allow their analysis. This will be the subject of a subsequent study.

The first initiation moment in man's life is his birth. The interruption of human life immediately after birth is a gross violation of the basic turnover: birth - maturity - death. In this context it is logical that the newborn and unbaptised dead baby becomes "navjače", "navljače", "navla" or "duše", a demonic bird with a wailing voice, or a blood-thirsty ferocious creature that persecutes the new mothers (lehusi) and their newborn babies. The period between their birth and the 40th day of the baby attracts numerous supernatural forces, part of which can be avoided through various apotropaic practices: closing of the house, hanging white onions on the door, or a sieve, or herbs, maintaining constant light and fire in the house, welcoming quests coming from outside with live coals, etc. However, there are supernatural forces which cannot be avoided: "urisnici" or "narečnici" (the weird sisters). These are usually three women (very seldom two men) and the notion about them varies. On the one hand, they can be either good or bad, which is explained with the hour of their appearance (no one knows which hour is good and which is bad); on the other hand, they can be only bad, e.g. if one is born in the so-called "unclean days" (December 25 to January 6), known locally as "mrasni dni", his life would certainly be destined by evil fairies who roam at that time. According to notions influenced by Christianity, man's destiny depends on the fate written down in God's Big Book, or on what God was doing precisely at the time of one's birth: whether He was eating, drinking, working, resting, etc. In view of the specific function of the fairies, their outward appearance is immaterial: sometimes they are said to be three old women, or three young women, ranked in ages; on some occasions the eldest of them makes the decision, on others - the youngest or the best, according to the various local traditions,

and this is perhaps why usually nobody has seen them, only their voices have been heard. Their decision cannot be changed, therefore there exist many practices for mollifying them and for "reminding" them to grant wealth, health and beauty to the newborn baby (by leaving them money, food, etc.).³¹ A transition period is also the appearance of diseases in man's life (disease can also be examined as being equivalent to death). Their appearance is occasional in character and takes place within the conquered space (the home, the courtyard or the settlement). They are apt to be mollified, therefore a number of rites and rituals are connected with them [euphemism like "sweet", "honey", "aunties" (lelki) or "small diseases" (bolehcici); preparation of food by a widow, using products contributed by the whole village on a Saturday and taken out the village so as to be eaten for the "sweet and honeyed"; or every housewife makes small buns on which she spreads honey and hands out to the village, again on Saturday; leaving food and warm water in the house for the Cuma (plague) and for her little child (Cumnice), so that they can wash, etc.].³² Diseases are everywhere perceived as ugly old women who can also have physical handicaps. (Their appearance as a consequence of the violation of social norms was discussed earlier in the paper).

Assuming that throughout his whole life man passes from one state to another, we shall examine death as the last "transition" (passing to the world of the dead) - a transition that will not be possible for the violators of social norms, who will turn into blood-thirsty spirits (scarecrows and murderers). In this way they will violate the established equilibrium and society will be sanctioned accordingly through their presence in the real world. (The duality of the connection is also evidenced by the belief that the person who has jumped over a dead body also dies).³³

The last demonic creatures to be considered (due to their presence in a strictly defined time within the established space are the poganci, buganci, buganisteata and karakondzo. They appear during the "unclean days" (from Christmas to Epiphany), they act "in the dark and secret of night", i.e. from midnight (in some places from 10 p.m.) to the first cock-crow. They are awesome creatures: with horns, with enormous eyes, ears and legs; half-men, half-horses; with one eye, one leg, etc. Their name "poganci" (etymologically connected with "pagan") testifies to the fact that they may be attributed to an alien ethnos. The place of their appearance is of the nature of a transition both in the context of the annual turnover and within diurnal frameworks.³⁴

Their basic function consists not only in scaring, killing, riding, drinking human blood, but also in bringing closer to the world of demons: "when they catch a man, they either eat him, or they make him eat human flesh, after which he becomes like them".³⁵ In their character they are messengers of chthonic forces, aiming at violating the equilibrium between Cosmos and Chaos at the moment of its maximum destabilization, in a period of dying out of the old and resurrection of the new.

The demonic creatures listed so far interact most closely with man and with society due to their constant and legitimate appearance in the conquered space, often as a result of violation of social norms.

Everything presented above gave grounds to trace certain analogies between the violators of social norms and the demonic personages, in the context of the above-mentioned ethnic and social categories. The demonic creatures discussed here function in the mastered cultural space, both in a strictly defined time and occasionally. People who violate order are perceived as being connected with the demons, while the latter are believed to be messengers of the supreme supernatural forces and the Chthonos, their task being to maintain and destabilize (but not to violate) the Cosmos-Chaos equilibrium, as well as to control and sanction society. Their function of mediators determines the low status of folk demonology in the system of mythological notions. In conclusion, it is necessary to point out the utilitarian character of folk demonology, which is connected directly with the everyday life of the socium, and not with the global equilibrium between Cosmos and Chaos, with respect to which the demons are a consequence which is manifested in real life.

Notes

- ¹ Shema opisanija mifologičeskikh personažej. In: Materialy k VI. Meždunarodnomu Kongressu po izučeniju stran Jugo- Vostočnoj Evropy. Problemy kultury, Doklady sovetsoj delegacii. M., 1989, p.78.
- ² Rečnik. In: RN. 5, 1907, N 1, p. 41.
- ³ Mify narodov mira, 1, M., 1980, p. 252-253.
- ⁴ The term "our alien" see in Lotman M. V., Usponskij, B.A. "Izgoj" i "izgojničestvo" kak socialno psihologičeskaja pozicija v russoj kulture preimuščestvenno dopetrovskogo perioda. ("svojo" i "čuzoje" v russoj kulture). In: TŽS 15, 1982, p. 110 ff.
- ⁵ RN, 5, 1907, N 3, p. 138.
- ⁶ MARINOV, D. Izbrani proizvedenija, S., 1981, p. 232.

- 7 Ibid., pp.231-232; KARAVELOV, L. Pamjatniki narodnogo byta bolgar; 1, M., 1861, 106; ASm 281, 1987. File 1, v. Zabardo, p.6.
- 8 About the origin of the instep of the human foot see the folk tale (well-known as a legend too) "When St. Peter was the Devil's manservant". In: RN, 1, 1903, N1, pp. 180-183.
- 9 MARINOV, D. Op. cit., p. 232.
- 10 ASm 281, 1978. File 1, v. Ostritsa, p. 4.
- 11 MARINOV, D. Op. cit., pp.230-232.
- 12 ASR 216, 1938, p. 98; ASR 13, 1945, p.201.
- 13 KARAVELOV, L. Op. cit., p. 194. In folk tradition soldierhood is perceived as an analogue to the illness, for exmple see the folk song. "A mother consoles her young son, who is forboding of evil." - RN, 5, 1907, N 1, p. 38.
- 14 RN, 2 1904, N 8, pp. 235-236.
- 15 MARINOV, D. Op. cit., pp.317-318; ARNAUDOV, M. Folklorni prinosi ot Rodopsko. In: SbNU, 38, p.14; ASR 9, 1946, p.130.
- 16 See MITZEVA E. Narodni predstavi za brodešti noštem svrhestestveni saštevstva. In: BF, 1981, N 2, pp.57-58 for dictionary articles on etymology of the names of mythological personages.
- 17 The same formula is met also in a more complicated form: "Buganče mi dade, hristenče ti vraštam, Gospod i Sveta Bugurodica da go čuvat i branjat ot buganci, vestici i morni bulesičici" ("You gane mi a pagan child, I give you back a little Christian, let God and St. Mary respect and defend him from evil spirits, witches and mortal illnesses"). In: RN 5, 1907, N 2, p.74. A variant of "eleanče" and "poganče" may be also "evreyče" (little Jew); "Evre će mi dade, hristianče ti vraštam" ("You gave me a little Jew, I give you back a little Christian"). Compare ILIEV, A.T. Balgarskite predanija za ispolini, narečeni elini, džidove i latini. In: SbNU 4, p. 241.
- 18 ILIE, A.T. Op. cit.
- 19 VELETZKAJA, N.N. Rudimenty jazyčestva v pohoronnyh igrah karpatskih gorcev. In: Karpatskij sbornik. M., 1976, p.106.
- 20 GEORGIEVA, I. Bulgarska narodna mitologija. S., 1983, p.170.
- 21 ŠIŠKOV, S. Životat na bulgarite v Sredni Rodopi, Plovdiv, 1886, pp. 47-48.
- 22 ASm 281, 1978. File 1., v. Starnica, p. 5; v. Ostrica, p.4; v. Izgrev, p. 3; v. Erma reka, p. 3; v. Alamovci, p. 9.
- 23 GEORGIEVA, I. Op. cit., p. 170. It is indicative too, that some supernatural creatures, whose functions are in the semantic area of "ancestor's spirit", known in the Rodopi mountains besides as "sajbii", also as "evlii", are the spirits of very good people or virtuous men and women. ASm 281, 1978. File 1, v. Nedelino, pp. 3-4; v Alamovci, p.4.
- 24 RN, 4, 1906, N 1, p. 10.
- 25 ŠIŠKOV, S. Op. cit., pp. 47-48.
- 26 ASm 281, 1978. File 2, v. Davidkovo, p. 8.
- 27 RS, 1888, N 2, p. 48; SbNU 5, p.131 ff; RN 4, 1906, p. 10.
- 28 ASm 281, 1978, File 2, v. Galabovo, p. 5.
- 29 ASm 281, 1978, File 1, v. Dobeljanovo, p. 3.
- 30 ASm 281, 1978. File 1, v Starnica, p.4; The characteristics of anti-behaviour see RADENKOVIČ, L. Neki vidovi antiponašanja u folklornim tekstovima. - Reprinted from Ns SANU knj. 64, N 9, Beograd, 1989.
- 31 ASm, 1978, File 1, v. Galabovo, p. 5; v Hvona, p. 3; v Pavelsko, p. 5; KARAVELOV, L. Op. cit., p. 17; SbNU 12, p.123.
- 32 ŠIŠKOV, S. Op. cit., pp. 46-47; ASm 281, 1978. File 1., v Hvoyma, p. 3; v Pavelsko, p. 6.
- 33 RS, 1887, N.1, p.13.

- ³⁴ There is a vast bibliography about the so called "dirty days", see one of the recent papers: GABROVSKI, M. Prehodat meždu starata i novata godina u bulgarite. In: Etnografski problemi na narodnata duchovna kultura. S. 1989, pp. 12-51.
- ³⁵ RS, 1888, N 2, p. 48.

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. ASM - Archiv na Smoljanskija muzej
2. ASR - Archiv na Stojan Romanski
3. RN - Rodopski napredak. 1-10, 1903-1912
4. RS - Rodopski starini. 1-2; 1887-1888
5. BF - Bulgarski folklor
6. TZS - Trudy po znakovym sistemam
7. SbNU - Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knižnina, 1, 1889.

НАРОДНАТА ДЕМОНОЛОГИЯ В КОНТЕКСТЕ НА ЕТНОСОЦИАЛНИТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ

Р е з ю м е

В предложената работа се разглежда спецификата на демоничните персонажи, интерпретирани като хоризонтална (променяща образа) проекция на нарушителите на етносоциалните норми в живота на общността. Разработват се критериите за оценяване на члена на социума като "свой": човек; жив; принадлежност към същия етнос; нормален физически облик; поведение, съответстващо на нормите на обществото; професия с положителен социален статус; умения, отговарящи на разбиранията на членовете на общността. Представянето на посочените признаци във вид на "парадигма" показва, че отклонението от една характеристика определя отнасянето на индивида към категорията "свой чужд" в рамките на общността. Релевантен значение за разграничаване на човешкото и демоничното имат първите два признака: човек, жив.

Междинно звено между "човешкото" и "отвъдното" е духът на прадеда, натоварен с медиативни функции, равно присъствам във видимия и невидимия свят. Голямо значение за възприемането на духа на прадеда като "свой чужд" има принадлежността му към рода, семейството.

Втората част на изследването разглежда някои демонични персонажи, функциониращи в усвоеното пространство, в моменти с преходен характер от календарния и човешки жизнен цикъл: навляче, описници - персонажи, свързани с раждането, болести, поганци, караконджоли, и др. Съпоставянето на "своите чужди" членове на социума с демоните, налагат извода за определени аналогии в осмислянето на генезиса, семантиката и функциите им. Подчертава се взаимосанкциониращата връзка човешко - демонично, резултат на противопоставянето Космос - Хаос.

Студията е разработена по материали от българската народна култура в периода от края на XIX до средата на XX век.