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FROM THE POWER OF WORDS TO THE POWER OF RHETORIC: NONSENSE, PSEUDO-NONSENSE WORDS, AND ARTIFICIALLY CONSTRUCTED COMPOUNDS IN GREEK ORAL CHARMS

Haralampos Passalis

Meaningless words, archaisms, glosses, neologisms as well as artificially constructed compounds often appear in charms. More specifically, the category of meaningless words (*abracadabra, voces magicae, onomata Barbara, nonsense words, gibberish*) has been considered as the most distinctive characteristic of verbal magic, and, as such, it has always constituted one of the most popular objects of study. Researchers have attempted to interpret the function of non-signification, lack of meaning and referentiality in the inherent power of the sound of these words, in the special intonation of their performance, but also, in their implicative weight, namely in their connection to another type of referentiality, that of the so-called *traditional referentiality*, which connects these words to a wider context, whose power they evoke. However, most approaches to the special register of charms, with very few exceptions, have been based on texts of anterior periods, as well as on texts belonging to the written tradition of the genre. What happens, however, in the case of oral tradition, in the case, that is, of those charms that presuppose and require an oral performance and transmission? What is the frequency of occurrence of such words, what are the special characteristics of the register used in charms and in what ways does it differ from that of everyday speech? Furthermore, on the basis of which particular rules and criteria are these words formed and what function or purpose do they serve? These are the issues that the present study proposes to address, based on the examination of oral Greek charms, shifting its focus of attention from the alleged power of sound to the power of a rhetoric which accounts for the formation and explains the function of the specific register of oral charms.

Key words: oral charms, oral/written tradition, nonsense words, pseudo words, artificially constructed compounds, sound patterns, power of words, rhetoric

The use of incomprehensible or nonsensical words and expressions of unknown meaning and origin constitutes an intercultural, diachronic characteristic of verbal magic. In his treatise *De occulta philosophia*, Agrippa comments on the use of such words saying: "[…] we must of necessity confess may do more by

the secret of the chiefest Philosophy in a magick work […] whilest the mind being astonished at the obscurity of them, and deeply intent, firmly believing that something Divine is under it, doth reverently pronounce these words, and names, although not understood, to the glory of God" (*De occulta philosophia* III, 26, Tyson 2004: 548). According to Mauss-Hubert ([1902] 2002: 35–36) "Les incantations sont faites dans un langage spécial qui est le langage des dieux, des esprits, de la magie. […] La magie […] recherche l'archaïsme, les termes étranges, incompréhensibles. Dès sa naissance [...] on la trouve marmonnant son *abracadabra*". Having studied the Trobriand charms, Malinowski also concludes: "a considerable proportion of the words found in magic do not belong to ordinary speech, but are archaisms, mythical names and strange compounds, formed according unusual linguistic rules" (Malinowski 1922: 432). The presence of such words comes as no surprise. On the contrary, it is to be expected, since magic is of diverse origin and history. It is thus only natural that it is characterised by words which do not conform to the morphological and syntactic rules of every day language (Malinowski 1965: 218).

The lack of meaning or signification should be considered to be an inherent characteristic of magic speech for an additional reason; that relating to the specific significance of sound, intonation and rhythm, since as regards magic "l'intonation peut avoir plus d'importance que le mot" (Mauss-Hubert [1902] 2002: 36). Moreover, according to Foley (1980: 86) the effectiveness of charms is incumbent upon their oral performance and sound patterns. The articulation of these sounds often takes the form of, almost, incomprehensible syllables of non-definable origin. Each of these features activates the inherent power of charms with the latter's ultimate source of power resting on their very articulation. Although Foley's claim can be considered somewhat exaggerated, nobody can deny that "echoic series of phrases, nonsense syllables and near-nonsense syllables, abracadabra words, foreign words, macaronicisms, nonce words, unclear archaisms, tautological expressions, magic names (*voces magicæ*, or, in the singular *vox magica*), holy names (*nomines sacrorum*, or, in the singular *nomen sacrum*), synonyms, epithets, attributes, euphemisms and other forms of extended naming can, by realizing significant sound patterns, be significant" (Roper 2003: 10).

The appearance, of course, of unknown words of dubious or indiscernible semantic content is not solely restricted to the genre of charms, but is also an integral part of poetry.[1] The "grammar" of poetry, just like that of magic, is based, among other things, on the special rhythmic quality of speech as well as on the use of a type of language which differs considerably from ordinary, every day speech, whose conventions it often seeks to defy, even violate, the arbitrary relation of the linguistic sign, that is between the signifier and the

signified. It is, of course, obvious that under no circumstances can we interpret the presence of non-signifying speech in charms as a conscious poetic device (Welsh 1978: 145). Magic is directed towards a concrete goal in an effort to achieve something very specific depending each time on the particularity of the circumstances. The non-verbal (acts, use of objects, gestures) and the oral performative components are combined to create the context within which the desired goal can be achieved (Chickering 1971: 83). All acts, which are carried out, or the words that are spoken constitute the means, the vehicle through which the goal of charms is habitually achieved. The charm as such, in other words, is by nature performative and it is this performative aspect of charms that determines a certain rhetorical strategy (Weston 1985: 176; Sherzer 1990: 241) within which is also included the use of nonsense words.[2]

The most fundamental approach to hitherto nonsense words has been based on texts of anterior historical periods (ancient Greek or Latin), an approach mainly connected with the written tradition of the genre. What happens, however, in the case of oral charms used in relatively recent traditional cultures? How frequent is the use of such words, but, also, which are those special linguistic features that deviate from the norm of every day speech? Could the study of the oral tradition of charms help towards a holistic understanding of the special linguistic repertoire of verbal magic? These are the topics that the present study will attempt to address through the examination of charms from the Modern Greek oral tradition.

NONSENSE, PSEUDO-NONSENSE WORDS AND ARTIFICIALLY CONSTRUCTED COMPOUNDS IN ORAL CHARMS

In magic texts there is a co-existence of intelligible and unintelligible speech, of speech which is intelligibly structured as well as of speech which is structureless, non-signifying and almost inarticulate (Tambiah 1968: 177–178). The most characteristic cases of speech devoid of signification appear in the form of sounds without any intrinsic secular, 'normal', meaning (Versnel 2002: 107), that is linguistic formations and grammatologically uncategorized semantics of protean words of no fixed meaning (Χριστίδης 1997: 55–56).[3] Such incomprehensible words or syllables are commonly known as *voces magicae* (Kotansky 1991: 110–112), *abracadabra* (Poznanskij 1917: 71–72; Bächtold-Stäubli 1926: 113–114; Dieterich 1891: Nelson 1946: 326–336), *meaningless words* (Malinowski 1965: 214), *nomina Barbara* (Audollent 1967: lxx – lxxiv; Versnel 2002: 109), *gibberish* (Grendon 1909: 124–127; Gager 1992: 9), *nosense words* (Stewart 1987; Pulleyblank 1989: 52–65). They are usually words belonging to

a different linguistic register from that spoken by the performers, which bears no relation to the morphological system of the language in which they appear and thus cannot be properly categorized either grammatically or syntactically (Χριστίδης 1997: 56). They are occasionally connected to certain codified systems of mystical theurgical theory as well as with an alleged interconnection among letters, planets, angelic and divine entities, but their deciphering requires a familiarity with the system which they are part of (Versnel 2002: 115; Struck 2002: 389). It is possible, so to speak, that originally they did possess a certain meaning, which, however, became either corrupt or got lost during their intercultural and diachronic route through time, space and history.[4] What happens, though, in field of oral tradition? How frequent is the appearance of this type of words and which are their particular characteristics?

Words and texts of this kind do survive and are also used in Modern Greek charms. Characteristic instances of vox magicae are:[5] "Σαταρέτα, πιτινέτα κένους φίτου πας άσκους άκους κι μαύρους" [Satareta, pitineta, kenous fitou pas askous akous ki mavrous] (Λουκόπουλος 1917: 99–100); "Αριπού, αρεποτάνα, ο επεράροτος" [Aripou, arepotana, o epararotos] (Οικονομίδης 1956: 25); "Άσαρε, Ασαρού, Αχθανού, Σαρανάρχου, Αρουντή" [Asare, Asarou, Achthanou, Saranarchou, Arountī] (Μαντζουράνης 1915: 616); "Σάτωρ Αρετω, Τένετ, Ωτερα, Ρωτάς" [Satōr Aretō, Tenet Ōtera Rōtas] (Δημητρίου 1983: 521); "έλε, ήλι, άγρα, πίθι" [ele, īli, agra, pithi] (Καραχάλιου -Χαβιάρα 1993: 199); "Ιλ ελ γρι πιδ" [Il el gri pid] (Ρήγας 1968: 163).

It is relatively easy to identify in the above charms surviving – either intact or corrupt – variations of well-known nonsense words, such as "ασκιον κατασκιον" [askion, kataskion] of the Ephesia grammata or the classic palindrome "Sator, Tenet, Obera, Rotas" or secret mystical names of deities like "El, Eli, Eloi".[6] Surely, a more careful, in depth research in the domain of the ancient magic material could shed some light on the origin of these words and reveal their intrinsic relations, survivals, fusions, but also mutations and corruptions. However, the percentage of this type of words that is used is relatively restricted to the oral tradition of charms. In most cases the modern Greek charms which contain such words require a written tradition and performance, one that informs the oral performance and which functions supportively as regards their survival. The interrelations, as well as the mutual feedback between the oral and the written tradition, as systems of communication and transmission of information, require an additional explanation of the notion of non-signification. This happens mainly in those cases when we have the written tradition getting feedback from the oral one, when the latter is informed by a high-status, privileged register, a register which is not usually comprehensible to the carriers of the oral tradition. Quite often, texts of the ecclesiastic, scholarly tradition

are classified under the rubric of non-signification and are more vulnerable to a variety of modifications of every sort.

Here, I would like to make reference to a characteristic, corrupt excerpt of a hymn (sung on 14th September on the occasion of commemorating the Exaltation of the Holy Cross) from the Greek Orthodox tradition that has been used as charm against snakebite. The original text "Ανέθηκε Μωϋσής, επί στήλης άκος, φθοροποιού λυτήριον […]" [Anethīke Moysīs, epi stīlīs akos, phthoropoiou lytīrion …] ("Moses placed a snake effigy on a piece of wood as treatment for the bites of snakes […]") assumed the form – during the transference process to the oral tradition – of an almost incomprensible text, such as "Ανέθηκεν αι Μωυσής τσαι αι πιστίλλης το 'κουσε, θωρούν ποιεί λυτήριον" [anethīken ai Moysīs tsai ai pistillīs to kouse, thoroun poiei lytīrion] (Διαμανταράς 1912–13: 504–05). The performer modified some of the words of the scholarly text adapting them accordingly, so as to resemble acoustically every day, common speech, e.g. the word "akos" ("treatment" or "medicine") to "tokouse" ("he heard it"), and the word "phthoropoiou" ("destructive") to "thoroun" ("they see, they gaze") and "poioun" ("they do"). In another variation of the same text the phrase "Ανεθηκε Μωϋσής" [Anethīke Moysīs] has been transformed into "*Ανέβηκε Μωσής* […]" [Anevīke o Mosīs] ("Moses went up") (Σκουβαράς 1967: 91), while in a third variation the word "akos" has been transformed into "oikos" ("house") (Σκουβαράς 1967: 104).

There are also a few words, less vulnerable to modifications – though not always so – namely, well-known, standardized expressions (*archaisms*) taken from the ecclesiastic ritual tradition of the Greek Orthodox church or from sacred biblical and liturgical texts. These words often appear in popular modern Greek charms as both introductory and concluding formulas, such as: "Εν αρχή ήν ο λόγος και ο λόγος ην προς τον Θεόν και Θεός ην ο λόγος" ("In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God") (Πομπός 1910–11: 465), "Στώμεν καλώς, στώμεν μετά φόβου θεού" ("Let us stand well, let us stand with fear of God") (Παπαχριστοδούλου 1962: 74–75). Ecclesiastic archaisms of the previous type are, perhaps, devoid of meaning in the collective unconscious of carriers of the popular tradition, but even if we assume that they are semantically transparent, their function is not in fact based on their meaning. The effectiveness of these data is based on their "implicative weight" (Olsan 1992: 118) and on the concept of 'traditional referentiality' (Foley 1991: 7), that is, on the fact that they evoke a much wider context than the text itself, as well as the power of the system to which they belong and which they represent.

The performance, by memory, of texts belonging to the oral tradition seems to create certain issues as regards the appearance and preservation of words and texts without clear and fixed semantic content. The incomprehensible words are subjected to multiple modification procedures and new words that have

been adapted to the morphological linguistic system of the performers are created. It is characteristic that modifications and changes occur even in the case of words belonging to the oral tradition, are of a dialectic nature or belong to a prior linguistic period and are thus no longer in use (*glottai*).[7] A characteristic example of word corruption and modification belonging to this category is the word "ορνικοί" [ornikoi], a word that we encounter in charms performed for the warding off of rats, meaning "solitary, isolated, secluded or stray": "Ποντικοί ορνικοί" ("Stray Rats", Πάγκαλος 1983: 392), "Ποντικοί ορνικοί, θηλυκοί κι αρσενικοί" ("Stray Rats both female and male", Βαρδάκης 1921–25: 557). In another variation, the word "orniki" becomes "porniki" ("related to lechery") (Μαυρακάκης 1983: 213), while in yet another variation, the word "porniki" becomes, with the addition of the emphatic "poli" (=multi), "polypornoi" (Μαυρακάκης 1983: 213).

A characteristic example of the tendency displayed by oral speech to avoid non-signification is the case of the *pseudo-nonsense* words.[8] These are words which stand between-betwixt signification/"sense" and non signification/ "nonsense". At a surface level, when they are examined regardless of the context in which they appear, they are seemingly non-signifying. Their meaning and referentiality, however, clearly becomes manifest, through their relation and interconnectedness to other words in the text, which constitute the base of their formation. Words of this category, usually encountered in Modern Greek charms, are formed either by having a part of them cut off or through substitution of the first phoneme of the base-word to which they are related.

Characteristic examples of the apocope method are the following words which appear in italics and are virtually untranslatable: "προσκυνώ σας και αρία και τη Δέσποινα Μαρία" [proskynō sas kai *aria* kai tī Despoina Maria] ("I bow to you and to *aria* and to our mistress Maria", Φραγκάκι 1949: 58); "Ελα, ερίνα μου, Κατερίνα μου" [Ela, *erina* mou, Katerina mou] ("Come my *erina*, my Katerina", Κανακάρης 1960: 135); "Ψωροφύτη, φύτη, φύτη […] λιάρη, λιάρη, κατρουλιάρη […]" [*Psorofytī*, fytī, fytī, *katrouliarī*, liarī, liarī] ("*psorofytīs*" =a type of skin disease, "*katrouliarīs*" = he who passes water on himself, Φραγκάκι 1978: 81); "βάσκα βάσκα βασκανία" [vaska vaksa *vaskania*] ("*vaskania*"= evil eye, Τσουμελέας 1912–13: 289).

Characteristic examples of words deriving by substitution of the first letter of the base-word are: "Σιλιγούδια, *μιλιγούδια*" [Siligoudia, *miligoudia*] ("siligoudi" = type of serpent, lizard, Δημητρίου 1983: 507); "η ζήλα, η *μίλα*" [zila, *mila*] ("zila" = jealousy, envy, Κυπριανός 1968: 178), "Σταφυλίτη *μαφυλίτη*" [Stafyliti, *mafyliti*] ("stafylitis" = uvulitis, a disease of the throat, Κυπριανός 1968: 187, 200]; "τσίγκρα *μίγκρα*" [tsiknra *minkra*] ("tsinkra" = gummy, gummy-eyed, Πάγκαλος 1970: 441).

The majority, however, of the special vocabulary that we encounter in charms contains artificially constructed compounds. The basic difference be-

tween pseudo-nonsense words and those compounds lies in the fact that the latter category includes words, which in most cases are semantically transparent, even if they are examined out of their context. These words are usually formed on the basis of another word in the text to which is added another, semantically transparent word, which functions as first compound: "Μέρμηγκα, *πρωτομέρμηγκα*" [Mermīnka, *prōtomermīnka*] ("Oh Ant, *First / Chief ant*", Πάγκαλος 1983: 380); "Μέρμηγκα, *βασιλομέρμηγκα*" [Mermīnka, *vasilomermīnka*] ("Ant, *great / royal ant*", Κορρές 1966: 121); "Κούνουπα, *τρικούνουπα*" [Kounoupa, *trikounoupa*] ("Mosquito, and *thrice mosquito*", Βρόντης 1955: 159); "Εχτορα, *δισέχτορα*" [Echtora, *disechtora*] ("Jaundice, and *jaundice twice*", Ήμελλος 1962: 182–83); "Άγγελε, *τρισάγγελε*" [Angele, *trisangele*] ("Angel, and *Angel thrice*", Φραγκάκι 1949: 47); "αίμα και *τριζαίμα*" [aima kai *trisaima*] ("blood and *blood thrice*", Κουκουλές 1908: 144); "Άγιε Γιώργη *δισάγιε, δισάγιε* και *τρισάγιε*" [Agie Giorgī *disagie, disagie kai trisagie*] ("Saint George, *twice saint and saint thrice*", Κουκουλές 1926–28: 496).

Words such as nonsense, pseudo-nonsense and neologisms appear also in other genres of oral literature. The presence of these words in those genres is mainly connected to the mnemonic function of rhythm (Abrahams 1968: 51; Sherzer 1990: 240).[9] The inclusion of oral charms in the category of oral literature in combination with their specific performing context and the tradition of the genre can, in fact, partially justify the appearance of these words in question. For instance, the fact that the text is usually whispered in a low voice, so as not to be clearly heard, consequently leads to the modification of those unheard words in subsequent performances, a modification usually based on the criterion of *melopoeia* (Skorupski 1986: 146; Webster 1952: 99). It is worth mentioning that all word categories (nonsense, pseudo-non-sense, made up as well as commonly used ones) undergo this procedure. Also, the fact that the text is neither heard nor subject to any kind of censorship in combination with a belief in the magic power of speech, allows not only the preservation of these words, but also the appearance of incomprehensible texts, such as the one mentioned above, for the treatment of snakebites without loss to their effectiveness. In Modern Greek charms, there are quite a few such examples of modification cases, which clearly emerge when one compares their variations (Passalis 2000: 298–300). We can therefore come up with a satisfactory as well as reasonable explanation of the way in which these words have been created.

THE RHETORIC OF SOUNDS

Which exactly is, however, the function of the non-signifying sounds or of the pseudo nonsense words and neologisms? If we accept the view that the words

belonging to the above categories are created solely according to the criterion of *melopoeia*, then we should explain and illustrate the function of rhythm and sound patterns in charms. Could we possible talk about a social, psychobiological function of sound and rhythm? Traditional and primitive cultures, as is well-known, are particularly sensitive to the rhythm of music and songs (Izutsu 1956: 134). The shamans-healers reach a very special state of consciousness by means of rhythm. It often happens that this rhythm repeats which is supposed to cause changes in the central nervous system.[10] While listening to these rhythms the participants often display specific psychosomatic responses ranging from the expression of ordinary emotion to ecstasy. Commenting on the Indian mantras, Benjamin Lee Whorf (1966: 249–250) maintains that the mantra formula specializes in its own special way in making available a different type of power expression through a re-patterning of the nervous system and the glands. It is true, indeed, that rhythm and music may have a certain psychosomatic effect both on their performer and their listener.[11] In the case of charms, however, the words in most cases are not heard (Passalis 2011:16). In most such cases, the healer is distinct from the person afflicted, a fact that prevents us from speaking of any rhythmic effect on the sufferer for the effect is visible only on the performer. What is, then, the function of rhythm in charms?

Answers on the subject have been provided by scholars specializing in the study of verbal magic. According to Weston (1985: 185–86), rhythmic organization facilitates the performer's entry to some kind of healing state, while increasing faith in his power and abilities so that with an increased amount of power, he/she is enabled to bring about changes in the natural world (cf. Nelson 1984: 58). The repetitive sounds elevate the performer into a state of spiritual uplift, at the same time creating the proper conditions for the accumulation of the energy required.[12] Sound is thus transformed into an 'instrumental' tool to be used for the modification of extra-textual reality (Sebeok 1974: 41). Malinowski (1965: 216, 219), emphasizes that the production of power emanates from the specific way in which the magic speech (sing-song) is delivered and that the sound in magic is a type of *verbal missile* replete with magic power (Malinowski 1965: 248). This is a view in accordance with Wittgenstein's view that the use of signs in magic is non referential, which means that their effectiveness does not depend on their referring to something external, but, rather, on the very sounds themselves as material objects (Wittgenstein 1990: 18, 61).

However, we cannot account for the non-referentiality of all words, particularly those used in charms that are both performed and transmitted orally, since the presence of purely non-signifying words there is surely limited. Let us take, for instance, the case of the above-mentioned pseudo-nonsense words that are created trough cutting up parts of the base word. The base-word on

which their formation is based is in all cases connected to the recipient's name, that is, with that factor which magic speech seeks to affect in order to elicit the desirable effect. The pseudo-nonsense word, which is created through cutting up part of the original word may have a flattering, imploring, or, in certain cases, even disapproving character, depending on the communicative strategy that is endorsed each time. We could thus claim that their formation is placed within the context of a magic speech rhetoric which seeks to control and prevail over its recipient.

Exactly the same happens in the case of pseudo-nonsense words which are formed through substitution of the initial phoneme of the base-word for the prefix /m/. Is, one might wonder, the choice of this particular prefix /m/ accidental or do we really have to do with a kind of phonemic symbolism? The use of the prefix /m/ in the Greek language expresses the user's disapproval of the content of the base-word (*DSMG*, s.v. μ-). In the case of charms, this disapproval is again part of a rhetoric that aims at handling and controlling the targeted recipient as well as confirming the power of the performer over him so as to force him into obeying his desire.

The addition of a prefix or of an additional word to the word base shows this procedure even more clearly when the added item is semantically transparent as it usually happens in the case of artificially constructed compounds/neologisms. A first compounds, such as *king*, *first*, *numericals* etc., which are added to the word base, which, in turn, is almost always connected with the rhetorical recipient of charms, show that the formation in question constitutes part of the rhetorical strategy of charms.

Another, equally characteristic, case of made up words through rhetorical strategies is the so-called homeopathic compounds, that is, words, usually compound ones, the first part of which bears the name of the disease. In these cases, the formation of made up words is based on the magic thought principle, according to which sameness can provoke sameness (similia similibus evocantur), and, more specifically, sameness can treat sameness (similia similibus curantur). For instance, in the case of charms used for the treatment of a disease called "ανεμικό" [anemiko] (Ρούσιας 1912–13: 49) the compound words used in the charm include in their first part the word "άνεμος" [anemos] ("air"), such as "ανεμοτσέκουρο" [anemotsekouro] ("ax of the air"), "ανεμόγιδες" [anemogides] ("goats of the air"), "ανεμόγαλα" [anemogala] ("milk of the air"), "ανεμοβούνι" [anemovouni] ("mountain of the air"), while in those charms used for the treatment of the inflammation of an animal's chest (Παπαχριστοδούλου 1962: 93) we encounter words such as "πυρόβουνον" [pyrovounon] ("inflamed mountain"), "πυρόμαντρα" [pyromantra] ("inflamed stockyard"), "πυρόαιγες" [pyroaiges] ("inflamed goats"), "πυρόγαλαν" [pyrogalan] ("inflamed milk") etc. Regardless of any

aesthetic value (vividness of description, rhythmical repetitiveness) that the use of such words can endow a given text with, their function is clearly rhetorical. They are selected on a similar basis as certain material objects depending on the specific result they are intent on achieving. Their aim is to affect their target object (disease or something else) through such tactics as those pertaining to sympathetic magic.

CONCLUSIONS

Charms display a double nature both "magical", which serves the purpose for which they are used, but also rhetorical, one that pertains to the method they use to achieve their goal. The focus on their effectiveness and on the ability of speech to intervene and modify extra-textual reality through unnatural means leads us to endow sound and rhythm with an inherent magic power. The manner, however, in which this intervention is attempted and achieved has a lot to do with the organization of speech and relates to rhetoric as well as to the special performative context, the tradition and the actual performance of oral charms. In contradistinction to the written tradition, which endorses the presence of stable texts, the oral tradition is inherently characterized by polymorphous diversity and allows for transformations in the form and sound of those words which are not included in the charm performer's linguistic repertoire. The fact that the text is not publicly heard, as well as the fact that its performance and transmission are secret and totally uncensored, allow for the emergence of new words, and, occasionally, also for the emergence of incomprehensible speech without posing any threat to the genre's effectiveness (Passalis 2011: 15–16).

This process of layered modifications, however, is not accidental, but constitutes part of a wider rhetoric strategy, which is not exclusively related to an inherent secret power of words. To decipher this rhetoric, which, in realistic terms, is an integral part of the communicative function of language itself (cf. Burke 1969: 41), what is required is knowledge of those cultural and symbolic relations which include, among other things, an interrelation among oral magic and treatment, oral and written tradition, the role of the supernatural in human life as well as the peformers' faith in the power of speech. The raw material of this rhetoric is sound, which constitutes a material form that can be symbolically moulded and transformed as is also the case with plenty of other features of the performative context of charms. In other words, speech becomes a means, a material object of a different substance, sound itself, which like the other means that are used in performative acts, is phonologically and morphologically shaped and is used either in combination with specific acts

or on its own, so that the performer can affect the object of desire. It is thus rhetorically organized so that it can subsequently reorganize, on an individual basis, the disrupted order by restoring it to its former orderly status.

NOTES

[1] In some cases, as a matter of fact, poetry greatly surpasses the boundaries of magic speech. A characteristically example, which is based on the conscious creation of new words through arbitrary, non sense (non-signifying) combinations, is the literary movement of *lettrisme* (*lettrism, letrismo, poesia sonora*), which first appeared in the mid-twentieth century in France. For a detailed approach to the poetics of charms along with an extensive bibliography on the subject, see Passalis 2000: 272–274.

[2] According to Graf (1991: 192) the function of non-signifying words is "to please the god [...] to claim a special relationship with the god, based on revealed knowledge". Knowledge of these words constitutes, on the one hand, proof of the power and the social status that the person performing the magic enjoys (Versnel 2002: 142), but on the other hand, it also constitutes a means of influence over the very power that the performer addresses "to answer the practitioner's request or demand" (Swartz 2002: 307). See also Borsje 2011: 129–130.

[3] The first testimony in Greek antiquity on the use of such words concern the Ephesia grammata (*ασκιον κατασκιον, λιξ, τετραξ, δαμναμενευς, αισιον/ αισια* [askion, kataskion, lix, tetrax, damnameneus, aision/aisia], Preisendanz 1962: 515–20; Audollent 1967: XCV, LXIX; Kotansky 1991: 111). Characteristically similar words in Latin are: *Abracadabra, Sator, Tenet, Obera, Rotas, Hax, Pax, Adimax* (Dieterich 1891; Grendon 1909: 113).

[4] A data base, which will include digitized charms of different cultures and eras and which will contribute significantly towards deciphering these words, is currently being compiled by the University of Amsterdam and the Meertens Institute under the supervision of Jacqueline Borsje. Its completion could greatly facilitate the diachronic, intercultural and comparative study of charms by shedding light on the origin of gibberish, nonsensical words as well as by revealing mutations, corruptions and adaptations in their new context (Borsje 2011).

[5] The English transliteration of Greek words in the present study is based on the UNESCO Greek Transliteration Table.

[6] See also note 3.

[7] The fact of the presence of these words (γλώτται= glosses) has already been pointed since Greek antiquity (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1475 b) and has also engaged scholars in the field of magic speech (Versnel 2002: 108 note 10). See for this kind of words in Greek demotic songs Τσοπανάκης 1983: 361–363 and Πετρόπουλος 1960.

[8] Equally satisfactory for this word category is also the term "semi-words" proposed to me by Jonathan Roper in a conversation I had with him on the subject.

[9] A characteristic genre of oral literature in which the appearance of nonsense is promi-

nent is the category of nursery rhymes. The melodic speech that is encountered in nursery rhymes often displays protean, non-signifying or nonsense words, which do not differ much from those used in charms. Typical examples of rhythmic non-signifying speech are the so called counting-out rhymes which are used to draw role lots in games: "Ά-στρα- νταμ/ πίκι-πίκι-ραμ/πούρι-πούρι-ραμ/ α-στρα-νταμ" [A-stra-ntam-piki-piki ram-pouri ram-astra-ntam] (Κυριακίδης 1965: 80), "Α-μπε-μπα-μπλον-του-κι-σα μπλον-μπλιν-μπλον" [A- mpe-mpa-mplon-to- ki-sa-mpon-mplin-mplon]. It is also in this category, however, that we observe a link with verbal magic, since its source of origin are earlier ritual worship songs or earlier charms that were used in prior periods and whose original function is no longer valid (Sébillot 1913: 48; Κουκουλές 1948: 10; Πολίτης 1975: 171). Meaning making as regards these words is not necessary, since the nonsense syllables display a discernible rhythmic organization that facilitates the draw of a participant who is called to assume a particular role in the game.

[10] In other cases these changes are brought about through specific breathing techniques or through the reciting of mantras (Weston 1985: 186 note 12). A close similarity to the mantras is displayed by the *Dharanis* of Tantric Hinduism and Buddhism, as well as by the *dhikr* pnenomenon of mystical Sufism. These sounds facilitate concentration and meditation (Tambiah 1968: 206 note 7).

[11] A characteristic example of close connection between rhythm and activity can be detected in the so-called work/labour songs, that is, songs which usually accompany rhythmic work. They either accelerate or relax the rhythm of work and ultimately relieve and synchronize the movements of all those participating in it collectively. In fact, the relationship between these songs and the work they accompany is so close, that they are considered to be of vital importance for its successful completion, to the point that it is believed to be impossible to complete the work successfully without their being performed. They were consequently endowed with a magic power and these songs came to be classified as charms (Κυριακίδης 1965: 52).

[12] Marcel Jousse's theory as regards the way in which sound and the accumulation of energy are interrelated is quite representative. According to him the organism itself constitutes an accumulator of energy whose incessant ignitions/explosions activate hundreds of thousands of gestures and movements that are expressed in every day behaviour. This vital energy (*energie vitale*) is produced in the form of consecutive, rhythmic waves (Jousse 1924: 666). What ensues from such energy is these rhythmic patterns, which are an instinctive and spontaneous expression of vital rhythm (*le rythme vital*, op. cit.). Although it ascribes the origin of literature to biological operations, mainly as regards primeval forms of poetic expression, this approach does reveal the important role of rhythm. Critical towards this theory is Finnegan (1977: 91), who claims that it is difficult to accept such a simplistic interpretation, since the issue of rhythm is not only biological in nature, but, also, cultural.

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IVAN THE TERRIBLE'S MALADY AND ITS MAGICAL CURE

William F. Ryan

This paper discusses the testicular hydrocele which afflicted Tsar Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible), Ivan's alleged belief in witchcraft and employment of witches, the history of the Russian word *kila*, from its Greek origin to its employment as a Russian folk term for 'a swelling, hernia', and magic charms to cure it. From the evidence of two independent English manuscript dictionaries of Russian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the word *kila* in Old Russian texts of that period meant exclusively the swelling of the testicles caused by witchcraft. It is argued that Ivan would have known the word in that sense, believed that his condition was caused by witchcraft, and would have looked for a magical remedy. There are no recorded charms for this purpose dating from Ivan's lifetime, but there are from the seventeenth century. In more modern occurrences of the word *kila* it seems mostly to have reverted to its previous non-specific sense of 'swelling' or 'hernia' – but Russian occult and medical websites show that the 'hydrocele' meaning survives as a folk term and that the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century association with witchcraft is also still well known.

Key words: *kila*, Ivan the Terrible, hydrocele, impotence, illness caused by witchcraft, historical survival of witchcraft beliefs

INTRODUCTION

When William John Thoms (1803–1885), a leading British antiquarian, coined the term 'folk-lore' in 1846 in a letter to the London journal *The Athenaeum*, he said that he had invented the word as a more appropriate term for what had previously been called 'popular antiquities'. In other words, he was thinking of the new subject of 'folklore' as essentially a diachronic or historical discipline. Nowadays, of course, it is used to cover a far wider spread of topics, and some folklorists may even regard the search for the historical roots of popular culture as a distraction – and it can indeed lead to a great deal of misleading speculation. It is certainly true that it is very easy to draw quite unjustifiable historical conclusions from folkloric evidence and assume that any folk belief, or legend, or dance, or curious custom must have existed long before it was first recorded. Margaret Murray's bizarre theories on witchcraft, for example,

influenced many historians, and are still gospel to many neo-pagans.[1] I think that present-day historians, anthropologists and folklorists are all aware of the problem, but the temptation to engage in speculation is always there.

Nevertheless, some researchers cannot help thinking primarily in historical terms, and instinctively look for antecedents, textual witnesses and historical linguistic evidence. I personally find it particularly satisfying when solid historical and linguistic data can be brought together to demonstrate the historical continuity of a popular belief or practice. In this short paper I am going to combine some historical information about a medical condition of Tsar Ivan IV, commonly known as Ivan the Terrible, with some notes on the Russian language recorded by English visitors to Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and some magic charms recorded in Russia in the following four centuries. In this way I shall try to arrive at a plausible hypothesis about one aspect of Ivan the Terrible's health, and demonstrate a continuity of popular belief about one particular medical condition thought to be caused by witchcraft, its name, and its magical treatment, which can actually be localized and fixed in time.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE AND WITCHCRAFT

Ivan the Terrible ruled Muscovite Russia from 1547 to 1584. He has been associated with magic and witchcraft of various kinds in many historical sources. It is a definite historical fact that he employed a disreputable physician and astrologer called Elisaeus Bomelius, or Bomel, who was born in Westphalia, educated at Cambridge, and recruited into the tsar's service by the Russian ambassador in London. He had the reputation, while still in England, of being a magician. Bomel is reputed to have poisoned Ivan's enemies at court on the tsar's orders, and was eventually accused of sorcery and treason and was punished by being tortured by the strappado, roasted on a spit, then thrown into a dungeon where he died (*ODNB* 2004: s.v. Bomelius). The Russian historian of science R. A. Simonov has suggested, quite plausibly, that it was Bomel who introduced Tsar Ivan to western-style Renaissance magic (Simonov 1986: 79). His evil reputation in Russia persisted – in Rimsky-Korsakov's 1898 opera, *The Tsar's Bride*, Bomel (described as a German) is depicted as a scheming supplier of poison and magic love potions, a crucial element in the plot.

An earlier accusation of interest in witchcraft came from Prince Andrei Kurbskii, a trusted boyar general of Ivan the Terrible who defected in 1564 to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Polemic texts attacking Ivan as a tyrant in league with the devil are ascribed to him. In one of these, the *History of the Grand Prince of Muscovy*, Kurbskii denounced Ivan as having been conceived

with magical assistance of Karelian witches employed by his father, and that he himself had employed *charovniki* and *sheptuny* who commune with the devil (literally a *charovnik* is a charmer and a *sheptun* is a charm whisperer) (Fennell 1965: 202–3). Both Ivan's mother and his grandmother were commonly thought by the people of Moscow to have been witches. Other sources, including Sir Jerome Horsey, who at various times was a merchant, spy, ambassador, agent of the Tsar and representative of the Muscovy Company, say that Ivan summoned witches from Karelia when he felt he was near to death. Horsey was also a disparaging acquaintance of Bomel, the Tsar's physician and astrologer mentioned above. Ivan certainly seems to have been interested in magic and astrology – and contemporary accounts describe the summoning in 1584 of sixty "wizards and witches" (*kudesniki i koldunii*, i.e. male and female magicians) to foretell the time of his death.[2]

Ivan, like other Renaissance rulers, managed to be both a client and a persecutor of witches – despite his magical interests he had summoned a Church Council in 1551 (the so called Stoglav) to extirpate abuses within the Russian church, of which a considerable number were connected to magic, witchcraft, blasphemy and divination. In his account of Ivan, Jerome Horsey describes a meeting just before Ivan's death in which Ivan showed him his royal staff, a magic unicorn horn set with precious stones, the magical properties of which were enumerated by Ivan (Berry and Crummey 1968: 304–6). Historians know that Horsey was not always a reliable informant but his account, together with other sources, certainly indicate that Ivan was both familiar with magic and a user of it.

Ivan was notoriously a violent, cruel, and unpredictable ruler, and many historians have discussed the possible medical or psychological causes of his apparently unbalanced and sadistic behaviour. However, none of these historians, as far as I can discover, has discussed the relatively minor condition afflicting Ivan in his last days and which is part of the topic of this paper.

IVAN'S HYDROCELE AND THE *KILA*

Jerome Horsey's account of the death of Ivan tells us that Ivan's sexual excesses in deflowering a thousand maidens caused him to "grievously swell in his cods" in his last illness (Berry and Crummey 1968: 304), that is, he had a serious swelling of the testicles, or more probably the scrotum, known in medicine as a hydrocele (*hydrocele testis*). Although the round figure of one thousand deflowerings suggests a rhetorical exaggeration, there seems to be no reason why

Horsey should have invented the particular medical detail of the hydrocele, so I accept it as probable.

The modern medical term 'hydrocele' (more specifically in this case *hydrocele testis*, in Russian *vodianka iaichka*), is a composite word made up of two Greek words *hudor*, 'water', and *kēlē*, 'a swelling or hernia', a meaning it still has in modern Greek. This second word is similar in sound to the root of the Greek verb *kēleō*, 'to bewitch'; and although the two words appear not to be etymologically linked there could obviously be a popular association. This Greek word *kēlē* seems to have been borrowed into Slavonic at a very early date, because it occurs in all the Slavonic languages. In Russian it emerges as *kilá*. This is a relatively rare word which occurs in a few Old Russian documents, but in early modern and modern Russian it is a folk term for several medical conditions in which some part of the body is swollen, or for a hernia or an abscess. Vladimir Dal's celebrated dictionary of spoken Russian, published in the late nineteenth century (Dal' 1880–82: s.v. *kila*), tells us that a *kilá* in general popular belief at that time was a swelling inflicted by magicians (*znakhari*), and many folklore records agree, although there is nothing on the topic in the encyclopedic study of Russian folk belief by Afanas'ev (1865–9). A fairly recent book on 19th–20th century charms in Nizhnii Novgorod says that a *kilá* there was an abscess on the face, always caused by witchcraft, and it could only be removed by a *koldun*, a male witch, with a spell (Korobashko 1997: 4). One of the Nizhnii Novgorod charms even personifies the *kilá* as a demon: "Kila, kila, nechistaia sila, kila-bes, podi v les" (note that *kilá* is normally stressed on the last syllable but here possibly on the first), and the others suggest that a *kilá* may afflict any part of the body. It is slightly surprising that a word of learned Greek origin should be used for a rather non-specific condition in non-literary Russian and in other Slavonic languages and even more so that it should have also a magical connotation.

Dal's information that in Russian popular perception a *kilá* is inflicted (*nasylat', privesit' kilu*) by witchcraft is important as evidence of its usage in the 19th century, and is supported by the (later?) Nizhnii Novgorod charm quoted above. There are several medical conditions in Russia which have a long history going back to classical antiquity and which were thought to be demonic in origin – these include the fevers or *triasavitsy*, personified illnesses which are linked with St Sisinnius and the Greek Gylou tradition, and the mysterious *dna*, the Greek *hystera*, a personified illness which may be an affliction of the womb, or a fever, or almost any other disorder (Ryan 2005). Several conditions, also probably of ancient origin, were thought to be caused by the Evil Eye (which is usually called *sglaz* or *durnoi glaz* in Russian) and were classed as *porcha*, the Russian equivalent of *maleficium*, which may inflicted by a witch, but not

necessarily so. And there are a few medical conditions which are definitely *maleficium* caused by a witch – these include *kilá*, which we are discussing here, *strély* (literally arrows: sharp pains, usually in the lungs), *nasylki po vetru* ('things sent on wind', i.e. afflictions sent from a distance by a *koldun* or witch) and *nevstanikha* (literally 'not standing up': impotence).

Slightly more information about this word *kilá* and its meaning can be found by looking not at modern dictionaries but at two old manuscript vocabulary books written by two Englishmen.

MARK RIDLEY AND RICHARD JAMES

The first of these vocabulary books is by Dr Mark Ridley and was written at the end of the sixteenth century. He was a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London, and he was sent to Moscow in 1594 by Queen Elizabeth to be personal physician to Ivan's successor Tsar Fedor Ivanovich. He was a learned man who wrote two manuscript dictionaries of Russian with a large medical, botanical and scientific content. The entry for *kilá* in his dictionary is: "a swelling of the coddes [i.e. testicles] by witchcraft" (Stone 1996: 174).

A few years later, in 1618–19, the Reverend Richard James, the very observant chaplain of the embassy to Russia of Sir Dudley Digges, wrote in his phrase book of the Russian spoken in the northern town of Kholmogory: "*khila*, the disease of the stones [i.e. testicles] bewicht into an exceedinge swellinge bignesse" (Larin 1959: 123).

Some years ago I wrote a history of Russian magic and divination (Ryan 1999), and was criticized by one reviewer of my book for using the travel accounts of foreigners as historical evidence. This was a strange objection since in fact the observations of educated and curious foreigners, when used with care, are always useful to historians and anthropologists because foreigners often notice things which are strange to them but which local inhabitants take for granted and do not bother to talk or write about. In this case we have confirmation, from two unrelated, educated, foreign sources, in two quite different parts of Russia, and not found in any Russian source, that *kilá* at that time, only a few years after the death of Ivan, was in fact quite specifically a swelling of the testicles, and that already in the sixteenth century it was thought to be caused by witchcraft. And Ivan the Terrible must surely have known this about his own condition, since he seems in any case to have been convinced that he was a target for witchcraft.

KILA AND ITS CURE

Here, then, we have Tsar Ivan, who has developed a *kilá* or hydrocele, a condition thought, in the Russia of his time, to be caused by malefic witchcraft. He believes in magic and witchcraft, and he has a large number of witches at his bedside. Would he not consult them in this matter?

It is true that there are herbs which in Russia were supposed to cure *kilá*, such as *kil'naia trava*, but this term seems to be have been used only in later translated *travniki* or herbals as a translation of Latin *Herniaria glabra* (*Slovar'* 1975: s.v.) or in traditional English 'Rupture Wort' – which echoes the more general meaning of Russian *kilá* and which was a specific for hernia. In Russia the only other magical remedy for a *kilá,* apart from the herbs or other substances with magical curative properties, were prayers to St Panteleimon, St Michael, or St Nicolas, or a magic charm, such as the prayer-like invocation of Vezi, Puzi and Sinii, the three sons of Baba Yaga,[3] which would normally be the property of a witch. And we should remember that in Russia, as elsewhere, there is a common rule in popular belief, that a condition created by a witch can only be cured by a witch.

Kilá, as defined independently by the two English observers, but nowhere else, was just such a bewitched condition – and as it happens we do have some recorded charms for treating it.

If you search on the Internet for *zagovor* and *kilá* (together) you will obtain over 20,000 results, many of them modern charms put together from old published sources, and very few of them mentioning testicles or witches. In fact the word *kilá* in modern contexts seems mostly to have reverted to its general etymological sense and may refer to almost any kind of swelling or hernia or abscess, although one enquiry to a Russian medical website suggests that the more specific meaning of 'hydrocele' still survives: "У меня кила, так по-моему в народе называют большое яичко" ("I have a *kilá*, I think that is what simple folk call a large testicle" – http://www.andros.ru/consult/list/19/117.html). The word may perhaps be regional – it is not found at all in the collection of Polessian spells edited by Agapkina, Levkievskaia and Toporkov (2003), nor in Toporkov's *Russkie zagovory* (2010), although both in these books and elsewhere it is possible that *kilá* is subsumed under spells for *gryzha*, the more common word for hernia.[4]

Fortunately for my argument, at least one much older charm for a *kilá* survives: Nikolai Iakovlevich Novombergskii, the legal historian who examined 17th-century Russian legal records for information about witchcraft, has published the following charm ("*kil'nyi stikh*") from a trial transcript of 1646; it will supposedly cure a *kilá*:

> На морѣ-окіянѣ, на островѣ Буянѣ стоитъ сыръ дубъ крѣпковистъ, на дубу сидитъ чернъ воронъ, во рту держитъ пузырь и слетаетъ съ дуба на море, а самъ говоритъ: ты, пузырь, въ водѣ наливайся, а ты, кила, у него развымайся.
>
> On the Ocean Sea, on the isle of Buyan, there stands a moist strong oak, on the oak sits a black crow, in his beak he holds a *puzyr'* (either a bladder or a small bottle) flies down from the oak to the sea and he says: you, bladder, fill up with water, and you, *kilá*, disperse. (Novombergskii 1906: 66, 99)

This is a fairly standard type of short charm in Russia – the ocean-sea, the mythical island of Buyan, and the oak tree, are standard introductory elements of a historiola; and the strong oak tree (often with the adjective *bulatnyi*, steely, of steel) is a phallic symbol which is a common element in charms against impotence (Toporkov 2005: 338–9). The action described imitates the result desired. The charm may be incomplete – no final affirmation at the end or religious element is recorded. The spell is consistent with *kilá* in the sense of hydrocele but the context is not clear.

A general anxiety in 17th-century Russia about impotence caused by witchcraft was graphically described by Samuel Collins, the English physician of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich at the end of that century (Collins 1671; Cross 1971: 114):

> Seldom a wedding passes without some witch-craft (if people of quality marry), chiefly acted, as 'tis thought by nuns, whose prime devotion tends that way. I saw a fellow coming out of the bride-chamber, tearing his hair as though he had been mad, and being demanded the reason why he did so, he cry'd out: I am undone: I am bewitched. The remedy they use is to address themselves to a white witch, who for money will unravel the charm, and untie the codpiece point, which was this young man's case; it seems some old woman had tyed up his codpiece point.

This passage, and the topic of impotence, is relevant to the argument because Novombergskii, whom I have just mentioned, also describes a court case in 1647 when a man and a woman were convicted of using witchcraft to inflict both *kilá* and *nevstanikha* (erectile failure) (Novombergskii 1906: 99). Here the linking of witchcraft with two words denoting problems with the male genitals in a purely Russian source reinforces my contention that the word *kilá* in late Old Russian denotes not just a swelling, as in modern Russian, but specifically a swelling of the testicles caused by witchcraft, and that the meaning of the word *kilá* as given by the two English travellers in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in their glossaries of Russian is accurate.

CONCLUSION

On the evidence of Jerome Horsey, Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible) in the second half of the 16th century suffered from a large hydrocele or swelling of the testicles, or more accurately the scrotum, and, on the evidence of two English visitors to Russia, Ridley and James, just a few years after Ivan's death, this condition was called *kilá* in Russian and was thought to be inflicted by witchcraft. I think it is a reasonable hypothesis that Ivan, a man with a known interest in magic and an employer of magicians, must have been aware of this and would in all likelihood have expected one of his attendant witches to cure his *kilá* with a charm. There is at least one recorded charm against *kilá* which dates from the seventeenth century, and a court case record from the same period, both of which are consistent with Ridley and James's interpretation of the word. The word *kilá* in later periods lost the specific meaning of hydrocele but retained its probable original sense which covered a fairly wide variety of conditions involving swelling of various body parts and not just the testicles. However, the belief that *kilá*, even in these wider senses, is inflicted by witchcraft has survived up to the present time, and now flourishes on the Internet.

NOTES

[1] For a history of these see Simpson 1994, and Oates and Wood 1998.

[2] For some discussion see Simonov 1986: 79–80. Simonov also entertains the possibility that, besides Bomel, Ivan IV may have been inclined towards to astrology by Ivan Peresvetov from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania who wrote political tracts to Ivan and possibly drew up a horoscope for him – Simonov 2001: 298–300). There is also evidence that Ivan IV had read the Russian version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* which makes a strong case for astrology as a necessary science for monarchs – Ryan 1999: 399.

[3] Iudin 1997: 98, lists *kilá* among the conditions for which these could be invoked in prayer. Ss. Nicholas and Michael are general-purpose saints who were very widely prayed to; St Panteleimon was often invoked as a healing saint – he had been an imperial physician in the late 3rd century and was martyred in the persecution of Diocletian. It is not clear if *kila* in these charms is in fact a hydrocele. Baba Yaga was the demonic witch of Russian folklore.

[4] For example, in Anikina 1998: 253, where several verbal and non-verbal charms referring specifically to *kilá* are grouped with similar charms for *gryzha*. One of these (no. 1544) lists twelve different kinds of *kilá* afflicting all parts of the body, from which one may conclude that in fairly recent popular belief a *kilá* could be almost any kind of swelling or abscess. Agapkina similarly includes *kilá* with *gryzha* in her chapter on charms against *gryzha* in Agapkina: 2010: 293–314. Neither gives *kilá* specifically in the sense of "hydrocele".

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TYPOLOGIE DES FORMULES MAGIQUES

Claude Lecouteux

This paper provides information on magical formulas in both medieval and near-contemporary charms, based on a corpus of more than 1000 formulas, and tries to give a typology.

Key words: oral and written formulas; pagan formulas; Christian formulas; vocabulary of the formulas

Une formule magique est un ensemble de mots et/ou de signes permettant de réaliser l'irréalisable en faisant appel à des forces surnaturelles représentées par Dieu, les dieux, les représentants de la foi chrétienne (apôtres, saints, etc.), les démons[1], les anges planétaires ou décaniques (Lecouteux 2004 : 167 *passim*) et les esprits. Au XVI[e] siècle, en Angleterre, on invoque même les fées (Scott 1584 : XV, 10).

La formule convoque ces puissances numineuses et les force à agir dans le sens voulu. La convocation, plus exactement la « citation », est un ordre auquel ils ne peuvent se soustraire, car le verbe est tout puissant. Si l'on sait à qui s'adresser, si l'on possède un nom, la formule est encore plus efficace. Mais certains mots isolés peuvent posséder autant de force qu'une formule, et il est notable que le vocable magique se rencontre souvent au début ou à la fin des charmes, revêtant la valeur d'un impératif, au même titre que l'omniprésent *fiat*, répété trois fois.

Les formules reposent sur des assonances (*kalepiis avalapiis*), des allitérations (*max*, *nax*, *pax*), des anaphores (*magula magulus*), des répétitions et des variations (*ala drabra ladra dabra rabra afra brara agla et alpha omega*)[2] ; elles font un large usage de l'homéotéleute (*mala magubula*). Tout cela leur confère un aspect rythmé, mélodique, celui d'une psalmodie, d'une mélopée, ce que rendent les verbes *incantare* et *incarminare*, le norrois *runa* et l'allemand *raunen*. En norrois, le charme se dit *galdr* (ags. *gealdor*[3]), sur le verbe *gala*, « chanter[4] », et en vieux haut-allemand, un des termes est *galdar* / *galster*[5] ; dans cet idiome, nous avons *bigalan*, « ensorceler, enchanter », littéralement « chanter près de » (Wesche 1940 : 40 sqq.).

Le rythme produit par les moyens linguistiques cités me semble déterminant. Du reste, dans la description d'une séance de nécromancie en Islande au XI^e^-XII^e^ siècle, l'accent est mis sur la diction, et tout cela rappelle les rituels chamaniques (Gravier 1955 : chap. 4). Les charmes grecs déjà vocalisent ainsi par de longues séries de voyelles[6].

Les formules se sont essentiellement transmises par le canal de l'écriture, ce qui ressort, inter alia, du mélange de caractères latins et grecs, ce qu'illustrent des charmes anglais (Storms 1948 : n° 32 ; 59) et scandinaves, parfois hébraïques (Lecouteux 2005 : 128 ; 131), comme dans un sachet accoucheur auvergnat, et des runes (Beckers 1984 ; Bang 2005 : n° 1085 et 1128 ; Saemundsson 1992 : n° 18, 27 et 44). Des erreurs de lecture et de transcription les ont rendues inintelligibles. En outre, celles qui nous sont parvenues témoignent, du moins pour les formules chrétiennes et mixtes, d'une interaction permanente entre écrit et oral. Certains charmes attestent des transcriptions d'ordre quasi phonétique, et nous pouvons nous demander si un auditeur n'a pas tenté de s'approprier le charme récité et sa formule. On sait que les ménagers et autres livres domestiques ont compilé toutes sortes de recettes, dont des charmes, sanitaires et médicaux le plus souvent, le *Mesnagier de Paris* (*Le Mesnagier* 1994 : 471, 789) et le *Hausbuch* de Michael de Leone[7] l'attestent.

Les caractéristiques essentielles des formules non chrétiennes sont leur obscurité. Elles mêlent des mots de diverses langues et, pour être magiques, il suffit qu'ils appartiennent à un idiome étranger à l'opérateur. L'allemand devient ainsi magique dans quelques charmes scandinaves (Bang 2005 : n° 1085 ; Ohrt 1921 : n° 821). La diversité des langues de ces noms s'explique si l'on se souvient du mot d'Origène (vers 185–253) : « Les noms qui possèdent une puissance dans une langue, la perdent lorsqu'ils sont traduits » (*Contre Celse* I, 45).

Quel que soit le type de charme, le latin y joue un rôle primordial. Il est d'autant plus magique qu'il est défiguré au point d'en devenir incompréhensible, semblant avoir été transcrit phonétiquement. Le Credo et le Pater noster, tout ou fragment, se transforment ainsi en formules magiques. Sur une amulette du VI^e^ siècle contre la fièvre, se lit en effet : ΧΣ (le Christ) est apparu / ΧΣ a souffert / ΧΣ est mort / ΧΣ est ressuscité / ΧΣ est enlevé (au ciel)… (Boswinkel – Pestman 1978 : 98), ce qui est une partie du Credo ; en Norvège, nous avons : *Kredor nijande potamen* (Bang 2005 : n° 1337c). Mais le grec donne quelques formules simples comme παραπαραπαρα dans un charme danois (Ohrt 1921 : II, 120), ou des mots qui s'insèrent dans les charmes (*Panthon*, *Diaton*, *usion*, *on,* etc.).

D'autres formules sont des fragments des ces prières écrites à l'envers. Pour transformer une prière en formule magique, il suffit de la réciter à rebours lors de l'opération, procédé encore utilisé en Islande au XIX^e^ siècle.

Je laisserai de côté la magie dite cérémonielle, qui est représentée par la tradition salomonienne, *Clavicula maior* et *minor*, *Liber iuratus*, *Ars notoria*[8], etc., car les formules prennent la forme de longues oraisons faites de dizaines de mots à consonance grecque, hébraïque et latine.

Les formules se répartissent en deux grandes familles : celles pouvant être dites et celles qui ne le peuvent. Dans la première, nous pouvons, *cum grano salis*, distinguer 3 types.

FORMULES ORALES

1. Les formules chrétiennes tirées de la Bible et de la liturgie ; elles sont communes à toute l'Europe occidentale et septentrionale. On les trouve dans les oraisons magiques, la iatromagie et les charmes. En voici des exemples :

> *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*[9]
> *Jesus autem transiens* (Luc 4, 30)[10]
>
> *Crux Christi reducat*[11]
> *Christus natus, Christus passus, Christus cruxifixus, Christus mortuus*[12]
> *Os non comminuetis ex eo* (Jean 19, 36), censée guérir le mal de dent (Ohrt 1921 : n° 443)

Dans ce type, nous avons des formules cumulatives, composées d'épiclèses – noms, épithètes et d'attributs – du personnage invoqué ; ainsi on met en œuvre sa *virtus*, car *nomen est numen*. Les noms de Dieu, etc., sont énumérés, comme dans les litanies. On en trouve un bon exemple dans le *Bref du Pape Léon*, adressé à Charlemagne, et dans les oraisons et charmes faisant appel aux 72 noms[13]. Notons qu'il faut les écrire avec des croix, comme le précise un manuscrit : *ista nomina scribantur cum cruce* (Hunt 1994 : 348).

2. Les formules païennes, dont une partie s'est transmise par Marcellus de Bordeaux, les Cyranides, le *Picatrix*[14], plus généralement, par les codex de médecine et de pharmacie, et même par des traités d'agriculture, comme celui de Caton l'Ancien (234–149 av. J. C.) où nous rencontrons *Motas Vaeta Daries Dardares Astataries Dissunapites*, dont on retrouve des fragments aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles sous la forme : *Danata Daries Dardaries Astraries*[15]. Notons que dès le XI^{e} siècle l'influence de traités médicaux d'origine grecque se fait sentir en Angleterre dans le *Leecebok* et les *Lacnunga*[16]. Des fragments de prières grecques incomprises, comme *Stomen calcos* (Singer 1917) et *Eulogumen patera* (Franz 1909 : II, 578 ; Storms 1948 : n° 61), deviennent des formules magiques païennes.

3. Les formules mixtes où des mots magiques s'introduisent dans les formules chrétiennes et les renforcent. C'est le cas d'*Agla*, de *Sator Arepo*. Ce type a occupé une place importante dans les traditions populaires.

FORMULES ÉCRITES

La deuxième famille est la plus diversifiée et la plus mystérieuse, car elle se compose de lettres, de signes appelés *caracteres*, *nomina barbara* et *ephesia grammata* (Ogden 1999 : 47 ; Peterson 1921 ; Bohak 2003) – les Grecs rapprochèrent *ephesia* d'une inscription du temple d'Artémis à Ephèse alors que, sans doute, le vocable vient du babylonien *epêšu* qui signifie « envoûtement. » Cette famille forme le gros des inscriptions des amulettes et phylactères, qui se rencontrent en grand nombre dans les papyri magiques grecs. On peut supposer que les formules composées de lettres résument l'essence d'un charme, en sont le noyau dur, dont la forme a été spécialement choisie pour tenir sur une petite amulette faite de tous les supports possibles : parchemin et papier, bois et métal – dont le plomb, comme les tablettes de défixion de l'Antiquité classique –, hostie, pomme, etc. Il n'est pas impossible que les successions de lettres aient possédé une fonction mnémotechnique, rappelant à l'opérateur la formule à prononcer. La présence d'abréviations latines qui se rencontrent d'habitude dans les manuscrits médiévaux parle en faveur de cette hypothèse.

Nous en distinguons 8 types :

1. Les successions de lettres qui sont parfois l'initiale de versets ou de passages de la Bible, à l'image du Psaume 119 et des Proverbes 31, 10 sq. La *Bénédiction de Zacharie* (Gompert 1918) et celle de saint Benoît[17] en sont une belle illustration. Les paroles du Christ (Luc 23, 46) *Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum* son notées PIMTCSM ; qui ne connaît le Nouveau Testament par cœur n'en devinera jamais le sens.

2. Les abréviations, comme le tétragramme (IHVH), le *titulus triumphalis* du Christ (INRI), le monogramme du Christ (IHS), les noms des rois mages (CMB) (Wackernagel 1876 : 611), *consummatum est* (= CE)[18], et celles, courantes de formules de prières[19]. Le charme de sainte Agathe s'écrit ainsi : MSDHDEPL (=*Mens sancta, Spontaneus honor Dei et Patria Liberatio*).

3. Les mots tronqués, dont on ne donne que la première syllabe ou dont on omet les voyelles, ou des mots, des prières à l'envers (Árnason 1862–1864 : I, 3l7 sqq.). Dans une conjuration contre un voleur, on lit : *Dnaa. Gilleh. Go Nøs, Redaf Dug* (Bang 2005 : n° 1377), c'est-à-dire : « gud fader, søn og hellig aand » (Dieu le père, le Fils et le saint Esprit).

4. Les lettres initiales de vocables forment parfois un nouveau mot qui condense toute une phrase ; c'est le cas d'*Agla* (Lecouteux 2001), d'*Ananizepta* (Seligman 1921) et d'*Ablanathanalba* (PGM XXXIII, 1–25 ; XXXVI, 211–30), de *Jebela* (= *Job der lak in dem miste*, « Job gisait sur le fumier ») (*Anzeiger :* 279, n° 3).

6. Les lettres formant un mot dépourvu de sens, utilisé comme formule réductrice en magie sympathique ou analogique : en en retranchant les lettres une à une, on réduit la maladie que l'on veut guérir. Le mot le plus connu est *Abracadabra* (Deonna 1944), parfois crypté en remplaçant les A par des H (*Albertus Magnus :* 1, 222), Marcellus connaît *Sicycuma*[20], mais il en existe bien d'autres, comme *Calamaris* (Ohrt 1921 : II, 110–112 ; Espeland 1974 : n° 28) et *Oipilu* (Bang 2005 : n° 1056) en Scandinavie.

À l'inverse, les formules croissantes sont rares.

7. Viennent les signes. Ils sont empruntés à des alphabets forgés sur le grec et l'hébreu, comme ceux attribués à Apollonius de Tyane[21], ou à des alphabets dont les lettres sont calquées sur les constellations du ciel, comme l'écriture céleste et celle dite de Malachim[22], et les deux alphabets de Salomon[23] par exemple. On les rencontre principalement dans des traités traduits de l'arabe en Espagne dans la seconde moitié du XIII^{e} siècle. Jusqu'au XVI^{e} siècle, ces alphabets sont à peu près stables, puis on en rencontre de nouveaux, la charnière étant représentée par la *Stéganographie* de l'abbé Trittheim.

8. Les formules mêlant lettres et signes[24].

Pour conclure, je soulignerai un point qui me semble important. Les charmes d'Europe centrale et orientale comportent peu de formules à ma connaissance. Emanuela Timotin en a relevé deux dans ses travaux (Timotin 2009). Pourquoi en est-il ainsi ? La religion a dû jouer un rôle déterminant. Ce ne serait guère étonnant car ce sont en grande majorité les clercs qui ont recopié et diffusé les charmes. Jusqu'au XIX^{e} siècle, on les tint pour des magiciens, Agobard de Lyon (778–840) y fait déjà allusions, les pénitentiels blâment les prêtres qui utilisent les charmes et font des amulettes[25], et les traditions populaires le confirment[26]. En outre, la part très importante que prennent Bible et liturgie dans les charmes et dans la constitution de formules et oraisons dont la structure décalque celle des prières chrétiennes ouvre une intéressante perspective, celle de la religion comprise comme magie. Il faut donc considérer ce complexe en athée, position indispensable si on ne veut méconnaître la mentalité sous-jacente aux charmes. Dès lors, le christianisme ressort comme une religion à mystère illustrée par la messe et la transsubstantiation, voire par les litanies. Il est donc normal d'en utiliser les éléments pour obtenir ce que l'on demande, ce qui n'empêche pas

de se tourner en même temps vers les anciens dieux (Saemundsson 1992 : n° 33 et 44) ! Dans un charme islandais utilisant une rune non identifiée, se lit :

> Ægishjálm er eg ber á millum augna mér. Reiðin renni, stríð stemmi. Verði mér svo hvör maður feginn sem María varð fegin sínu[m] signuðum syni þá hún fann hann á sigurhellunni. Í nafni föður og sonar og anda heilags
>
> Je porte un heaume de terreur (*Ægishjálmr*)[27] entre mes yeux. Colère disparais, inimitié arrête ! Que chaque homme devienne bon envers moi comme Maria fut bonne envers son fils bénit quand elle l'a trouvé sur la dalle de victoire. Au nom du Père et du Fils et du Saint-Esprit. (Saemundsson 1992 : n° 41)

Bel exemple de mixte pagano-chrétien !

NOTES

[1] Cf. *le Testament de Salomon* dans Lecouteux 2005 : 66–70.

[2] van Haver 1964 : n° 270.

[3] En anglo-saxon, le terme entre dans des composés avec les vocables « mot » et « chant » (*gealdorword*, *wordgealdor ; gealdorleod*, *gealdorsang*).

[4] L'adjectif *galinn* signifie « enchanté, hors de sens ».

[5] Les autres étant *garminon* et *spell*.

[6] Cf. par exemple Bonner 1950 : n° 2.

[7] Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. Ms. 731 (XV^e siècle), fol. 211r°-225v°.

[8] Véronèse 2007 ; *Ars notoria* 1657 ; Hedegård 2002.

[9] Franz 1909 : II, 87 ; 96 ; 106 ; 49 ; Ohrt 1921 : n° 266 ; 269 ; 329 sq. ; 1087 ; 1144 ; 1156 ; Braekman 1997 : n° 49 ; 73 ; 101 ; 148 ; 151 sq. ; 164 ; 234.

[10] Braekman 1997 : n° 267 ; 272 ; 277 ; Hunt 1994 : 94 ; Ohrt 1921 : n° 230 ; Arnaldus de Villanova fol. 302 r°.

[11] Berthoin-Mathieu 1996 : 140 ; 162 ; 166 ; 178 ; 204 ; 218 ; Ohrt 1921 : n° 924.

[12] Lecouteux 2005 : n° 278 et 284 ; Storms 1948 : n° 27 ; Berthoin-Mathieu 1996 : 62 ; 130 ; Braekman 1997 : n° 78.

[13] Deux rédactions chez Aymar 1926 : 331 et 339 ; une autre British Library, ms. Sloane 2584, fol. 45 v°.

[14] *Marcelli de medicamentis* (éd. Niedermann 1916) ; *Textes latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides* (éd. Delatte 1942) ; *Picatrix* (éd. Pingree 1986).

[15] Par exemple chez Frommann 1675.

[16] Cockayne, in : *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft in Early England*.

[17] VRSVSMV / SMQLIVB / CSSML / NDSMD. Villiers 1989 : 81 sq. ; Franz 1909 : II, 107.

[18] Scott 1584 : XII, 18 ; Braekman 1997 : 147 ; 12 ; 13 ; 18 ; 164 ; Ohrt 1921 : n° 173 ; *Dragon noir :* 165 ; *Enchiridion Leonis papae*, Ancône, 1667 : 104 ; Thiers I, 377 ; 413. Ohrt 1921 : n° 267 ; van Haver 1964 : n° 682.

[19] « Au nom du Père, du Fils et du Saint Esprit » s'abrège ainsi en allemand : I.N.G.d.V.d.S.u.d.hl.G. ; dans les charmes néerlandais, W.g. (*West gegroet*) est le début de la Salutation angélique.

[20] Marcellus : chap. 10 ; Heim 1893 : 491.

[21] Reproduit chez Blaise de Vigenère 1587.

[22] Reproduit chez Lecouteux 1996 : 22.

[23] Reproduit chez Blaise de Vigenère 1587.

[24] Comme : oGooeee lo ce 9 ♀ vo766 IGIG 66 (Hervé 1916 : 364) ; X M O Θ X A ρ † † ε A 4 λ a L x z v 8 V ν (Ohrt 1921 : II, 130).

[25] Wasserschleben 1851 : 272 ; 335 ; 356 ; 480 *passim*.

[26] Cf. Pourrat 2009 : 417 ; 422 ; 661 ; 1199.

[27] Dans la mythologie germanique, le dragon Fafnir est le possesseur du heaume de terreur.

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VERBAL CHARMS FROM A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN MANUSCRIPT

Andrei Toporkov

The article publishes nine Russian magical texts translated into English. All of them are taken from the Olonets Codex, a collection of charms dating back to approximately the second quarter of the 17th century. The collection of charms found in the Olonets Codex is unparalleled both in its scope and in its thematic diversity – not only for the seventeenth century, but perhaps within the whole corpus of Russian charm manuscripts.

Key words: Russian charms, manuscripts, 17th century, Karelian-Vepsian language

This article publishes nine Russian magical texts translated into English. All of them are taken from the Olonets Codex, a collection of charms dating back to approximately the second quarter of the 17th century. We have called it 'the Olonets Codex' (henceforth OC) because it apparently originated from the territory of the former Olonets province of North Russia, though the exact location where it was compiled cannot be traced. Today it belongs to the Manuscript Department of the Russian Academy of Sciences Library in St Petersburg (no. 21.9.10. Sev. 636). The collection of charms found in the OC is unparalleled both in its scope and in its thematic diversity – not only for the seventeenth century, but perhaps within the whole corpus of Russian charm manuscripts.

The manuscript was found in the mid-1870s and partly published in 1876 by L. L. Malinovskii, a teacher at the Petrozavodsk church school. In 1913, the famous codicologist V. I. Sreznevskii published a description of the manuscript alongside with a larger selection of texts, apparently unaware of the earlier publication by Malinovskii (Sreznevskii 1913: 196–202, 481–512). However, neither his edition nor the less accurate one by Malinovskii could give folklore scholars any idea of what the complete OC was actually like. It was only in 2010 that the complete critical edition of the OC, containing a preface and substantial apparatus, was published (Toporkov 2010: 37–310).

According to our estimation, the OC consists of 130 separate charms. As mentioned before, they were first described and indexed by V. I. Sreznevskii (Sreznevskii 1913: 196–202). In the current edition of the manuscript this indexing did not undergo significant changes (Toporkov 2010: 90–144). Sreznevskii's text numbers are used in this publication (No. 4, 18, 44, 45, 76, 90, 98, 116v, 122).

V. I. Sreznevskii gave each text a conventional name which included an indication of its function; except for one or two cases, these names are not changed in the current publication of the manuscript. In our publication they are written in italics before the text itself. It should be noted that some magical texts could be used in different situations, so in many cases the indication of their function is arbitrary. For example, Charm No. 7 (in manuscript, No. 98) is indicated as "Verbal charm against evil charms" in the Russian edition. Probably the same text could be used as a hunter's success charm and in some other situations. Charm No. 5 (in manuscript, No. 76) is called "Verbal charm against wounds and strokes" in the Russian edition. We can assume that it was used during forest work and military activities.

The OC includes 90 charms in the Russian language. As well as the charms, the OC has so-called *приговоры* (short magical texts which accompany some practical and ceremonial activities) and non-canonical prayers. Some entries include practical and superstitious procedures which were not supposed to be pronounced verbally.

Some charms of the OC include prayerful formulas, such as "God, Bless Me, Father", "In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit", "For ever and ever", "Amen!" and some others. In general, the OC it is typical of the Russian charm tradition of the 17–18th centuries, when charms were actively interacting with non-canonical prayers (Toporkov 2008b).

Functionally, the 90 Russian verbal charms fall into four general categories: 1) healing charms (33 entries); 2) protective charms (35 entries);[1] 3) regulative charms concerning social or personal relationship (15 entries); 4) charms related to economic activities such as farming (7 entries). In the current publication we have included 4 healing charms (No. 1, 3, 4, 6; in the manuscript No. 4, 44, 45, 90), 4 protective charms (No. 2, 5, 98, 116v; in the manuscript No. 18, 76, 98, 116v) and 1 love charm (No. 9, in the manuscript No. 122).

If judged by structure and semantics, the OC can be divided into 5 groups of entries: 1) narrative charms, 2) charm-requests addressed to supernatural creatures, 3) charm-comparisons, 4) non-specific charms including formulas of different types, and 5) dialogue charms. The most numerous group of entries in the OC is narrative charms (68 entries). In this publication 8 narrative charms and 1 dialogue charm are included (No. 4, in the manuscript No. 45).

In the fullest version, the OC entries comprise 3 elements: 1) heading, 2) instruction and 3) the text of the charm or prayer. None of the elements is obligatory and can be absent. The heading usually indicates the function of the text and sometimes even its type and genre characteristics. In most cases the OC charms are called "words", sometimes "charms" and "prayers". The instruction lets the reader know when, where and how this or that charm should be pronounced, what should be done and which things should be used.

Besides the Russian texts, the OC contains eleven charms in Karelian or Vepsian (the difference is slight and can be described as dialectal). Of these, nine are full-text individual charms and two are short formulae incorporated into fundamentally Russian texts. The interpretation of the non-Russian OC texts is problematic, and the editorial solution in *Russkie zagovory* was to duplicate the Karelian charms in an appendix, with a Russian translation and linguistic apparatus (Toporkov 2010: 286–310). This was prepared by A. S. Myznikov, a recognized authority on the Baltic-Finnic languages.

At least partially, the OC charms were used in a mixed two-language environment. It is interesting that some texts were written in the Karelian-Vepsian language, but the instructions to them were in Russian. It seems to have been assumed that the reader was bilingual and could read the instructions in one language and pronounce the texts in another language.

The Russian charm tradition, evident in the OC, was strongly connected with the magical traditions of the Karelian and Vepsian peoples. The interaction and influence was reciprocal, i.e. Russian charms influenced Vepsian and Karelian charms, and vice versa, Karelian and Vepsian charms had an influence on the Russian charms.

Many striking details of Russian charms of the 17th century could have originated in Karelia or Vepsia. For example, the motif of the "divine character riding from the sea" (No. 7, 9; in the manuscript, No. 98, 122), the image of a golden beetle with a golden bow and arrows (No. 8; in the manuscript, No. 116v), the image of a golden squirrel on a golden pine (No. 7; in the manuscript, No. 98).[2]

While preparing Russian OC texts for publication, we faced a series of linguistic problems. The OC texts include unique lexical elements which have never been met in other sources; e.g. the word *вомра (vomra)* (No. 9; in the manuscript, No. 122). A series of words and phrases have dubious meaning; e.g. the formula: *и пойдет то доброе сало по всем суставам и по всем жилам и улусам человеческим* (*the fat shall move along all joints, veins and parts of the human body*) (No. 8; in the manuscript, 116v). Some words from the OC today have another meaning, which can lead to their incorrect understanding by the modern reader; e.g. the word *притча* (*parable*) (No. 2; in the manuscript, No. 18).

All such cases are discussed in detail in the notes to the Russian edition of the OC. In this paper we have briefly commented on the meaning of these words.

In many OC entries we encounter rhythmical or metrical organization, cases of syntactic parallelism and different types of vocal repetitions (including rhymes and alliterations). Let us take fragments of two Russian charms as an example. In our compilation they are translated into English:[3]

> "...и *отмыкают* тридевять замков, *отворяют* тридевять храмов и *пущают* меня, раба Божи(я) имярек, в тридевять храмов, и *одевают* меня, раба Божия, ризой своею Пречистыя Богородица... и *впущают* в тридевять храмов и *затворяют* тридевять храмов, и *замыкают* тридевять замков..." (Toporkov 2010:128–129)[4]

> "Есть море *окиян,*[5]
> едет из окияна моря | человек *медян*;
> и кон(ь) под ним *медян*,
> (и лук) *медян*,
> и стрел(ь)е *медное*;
> и тянет *крепок* лук | и ст(р)еляет *метко*.
> На мху стоит | сосна *золотая*,
> на сосны золотой | белка *золотая*.
> И пострелит *медной* человек | *белку* золотую
> и *вынимает* у ней | сердце *булатное*,
> росколет *на трое*,
> *наговаривает и заговаривает* | трои слова щепотные" (Toporkov 2010: 128–129)

Many OC charms start with the formula: "There is a holy sea-ocean, in the sea ocean there is a white stone"; this formula is used about 30 times in the OC and it has a lot of variants (Toporkov 2002: 354–357). In this compilation the formula is used in 7 entries (No. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; in the manuscript No. 4, 18, 76, 90, 98, 116v, 122).

The so-called transparent sympathetic epithet is typical of the charms. In the text it can be found several times. It unites with different nouns; e.g. in Charm No. 7 (in the manuscript No. 98) the adjective *медный* (copper) is met with 3 times and the adjective *золотой* (gold) – 3 times. In the love charms the adjective *gold* is found 14 times (No. 9; in the manuscript No. 122). Similarly, the numeral *тридевять* (three-by-nine) is used several times in 2 charms (No. 2, 9; in the manuscript No. 18, 122).

From the paleographic and linguistic data, together with particular points in the manuscript's contents, one may reasonably conclude that the OC was compiled in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, somewhere near Lake Onega or in south Karelia – that is, in the area of the more intensive contact between Russians and Karelo-Vepsians.

It seems probable that, rather than being copied from a single original, the OC was compiled gradually, through the occasional addition of new texts from multiple sources (recovered memories of older texts, new texts based on conventional formulae, acquiring new texts from other people or manuscripts sources etc.).

The OC is designed to help a person in almost any difficult situation in one's private or public life: disease (wounds, bleeding, toothache, hernia, fever, dislocation of joints, babies' crying or insomnia), childbirth, alcohol addiction, hunting and grazing, timber felling, trial, contact with authorities, wedding, fist fights etc.

From what the charms were intended to achieve, one can deduce that the compilers of the OC made their living in economic activities typical of North Russia, such as breeding livestock (mostly horses and cattle), and hunting or other forest-related activities. A deep insight into the everyday life of the OC compilers can be obtained from the sequences of charms relating to stockbreeding, hunting or forestry. A particular trait of the OC is its detailed descriptions of the rites accompanying many of the texts. They specify where, when, and exactly how a charm should be performed, and what accompanying actions and/or objects are necessary to give it full efficacy.

The ultimate task of the present publication is to acquaint English-speaking scholars with a corpus of authentic seventeenth-century Russian charms, since very few texts of this kind have hitherto appeared in English translation.[6]

1. *No. 4, Folio 3v–4r. Against bleeding.*

In the sea, in the ocean lies a blue sea, in that sea of ocean there is an *otlater* stone,[7] on the stone there sits a fair maiden with two heads, she is sewing up and charming up[8] the wounds of [*the name of the person*] the servant of God, arrow wounds, spear wounds, scimitar wounds,[9] axe wounds, knife wounds, charming up the 74 veins and sewing up all with red silk thread. And her needle has no eye. And she has dropped her needle into the blue sea into the ocean. A raven comes, catches the needle by its thread[10] and brings it away to the Mount of Sinai. This needle cannot be found in the mountains, this servant of God's wounds are not bleeding any more.

Say this prayer at new, full and old moon – on any day and any hour.

2. *No. 18, Folio 9r–9v. Against wizards, evil people and evil charms.*

Say this on St John's Friday,[11] in the morning, upon a padlock.

O Lord, bless me, O Father. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Here I am, servant of God [*the name of the person*], I will get up with a blessing, I will go out with a sign of the cross, I will put on the bright sun, I will girdle it with the light dawn, I will pin it with many stars, I will take the young light moon in my hand, and I will go out to the open field, and I will meet my guardian angel and the Most Blessed Mother of God, and pray and weep: 'Protect me with thy protection and with thy wings[12] and shield me with thy robe from the wizard and the witch, from the sorcerer and the sorceress, and from any mischievous people, and from any mischief[13] on water and on earth'.

There is a holy sea ocean // (Folio 9v), on the ocean sea there is a black island, on the black island there is a white stone, on the white stone there are three-by-nine[14] temples, God's churches; on the three-by-nine churches there are three-by-nine locks, for the three-by-nine locks there are three-by-nine keys, and the three-by-nine keys are held by three-by-nine apostles; and from those three-by-nine churches a gold ladder going high up to the Heavens, and down the gold ladder, from heaven high and fair, come to me, servant of God [*the name of the person*], my guardian angel and Our Mother Lady, the Ever-Virgin, and they go to the three-by-nine apostles, and take from the three-by-nine apostles the three-by-nine keys, and unlock the three-by-nine locks, and open three-by-nine churches, and let me, servant of God [*the name of the person*], in the three-by-nine churches, and shield me, servant of God, with the robe of Our Lady the Ever-Virgin, from any foe and evil-doer, and from a wizard, and from a witch, and from a sorcerer, and from a sorceress, and from an evil charmer, and let me in the three-by-nine churches, and close the three-by-nine churches, and lock the three-by-nine locks; and Our Lady the Ever-Virgin takes the three-by-nine keys and hands them to the three-by-nine apostles, and commands my guardian angel to guard me from any foe and evil-doer, and from any mischief, from the one of the water, and from the one of the earth, and from the one of the underworld, and from the one of the woods, and from the one of the winds, and from the one that is sent; my guardian angel takes the three-by-nine keys and drops them down into the ocean sea. Here is the key and the lock for these words. Amen.

3. *No 44, Folio 20v Against toothache.*

On the same, on teeth.

There is a dry tree in the vale and a worm in my teeth. Ivan, Ivan, go and ask Lazarus who's been dead four days, if his teeth ache. As a dead man's teeth seek to ache, so may [the name of the person] the servant of God feel no toothache, now and forever, and to the ages of ages. Amen.

Say this thrice.

4. *No. 45, Folio 20v Against toothache.*

If one's teeth ache: go into the wood, find a rowan tree growing over an anthill, and take out its heartwood, and ask it: Rowan, do thy roots or flesh ache? So may the teeth of [the name of the person] the servant of God, not ache forever.

5. *No. 76, Folio 27v – 28r Against wounds and strokes.*

I will get up with a blessing, I will go out with a sign of the cross, out of my house through the doors, out of my gate through the gate, with his father's mercy (forgiveness) from my father, with a blessing from my mother. And I, [the name of the person] the servant of God, will go to the open field, I will go to the shore of a blue ocean sea. And in the blue ocean sea, there is a blue stone, and on the blue stone there sits Our Lady the Ever-Virgin, with angels and archangels. Our Lady the Ever-Virgin, shield me, [the name of the person] the servant of God, //(Folio 28r) with thy holy and honoured robe from any wood: from cedar, from *pevga*,[15] from cypress, from juniper, from oak, from elm, from birch, from rowan, from pine, from bird-cherry, from honeysuckle, from fir, from alder, from hazel, from aspen, from dog rose, from buckthorn, from splintered wood and from slivered wood,[16] and from maple, and from linden, and from willow, and from poplar, and from elm, and from meadowsweet, and from any kind of wood, and from any fruit on earth, and from a stone, and from a sword, and from a spear, and from any iron, and from any bone of any beast or cattle, and from firearms. And quoth the Most Blessed Mother of God: 'Rise, rise, [the name of the person] the servant of God, do not weep, I will shield thee, [the name of the person] the servant of God, with my holy robe, from any wood and any fruit on earth, from stone and iron, and from any bone of any beast or cattle, and may thou, [the name of the person] the servant of God, be hurt by any wood and any earthly fruit, by stone and by a sword, and by a spear, and by any firearm, no sooner than they break through my holy and incorruptible robe; and I pray my Son, Our Lord, so that thou wert guarded by God's dexter arm forever. Amen.[17]

6. *No. 90, Folio 32r Against babies' rupture.*[18]

There is a holy sea ocean, amid the sea ocean there is a white stone, on the white stone there are two rowan trees, two leafy ones, between the two leafy rowans there is a gold cot, in the gold cot there is a babe lying, ruptured by a rupture. And thou, rupture, don't rupture this babe, [*the name of the baby*] the servant of God, rupture, thou rupture, mare's bone and dog's bone, and go, rupture, away from this babe [*the name of the baby*] to the dark woods, beyond moors and marshes impassable. Our merciful Lord Saviour and His Mother the Ever-Virgin, and St. Nicolas, and all saints, cling, our lords, to these good words and relieve the babe from the evil, from the rupture.

Say this thrice upon seed oil or tar.

7. *No 98, Folio 33r – 33v Against evil charms(?).*

The ailment words, against harm.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. There is a sea ocean, and from the ocean sea rides out //(Folio 33v) a copper man, on a copper horse, with a copper bow, with copper arrows; and he pulls the strong bow and shoots well. There is a gold pine-tree growing on the moss, on the gold pine tree there is a gold squirrel. And the copper man shoots the gold squirrel, and takes out its steel heart, and splits it in three, and says three ailment words. For ever and ever. Amen.[19]

8. *No 116v, Folio 39r Against sickness and evil charms.*

There is a gold sea, in the gold sea there is a gold stone, in the gold stone there sits a gold man, the gold man has a gold bow in his hands, and the gold bow has a gold arrow, and by this gold arrow he has shot a gold aurochs bull,[20] and in the gold aurochs there is good fat. This fat is good against any evil, the one that is dead and the one that is live, that of water and that of woods, and this fat is good spread around every joint [or: body part], and every sinew [or: home], and every parish;[21] to servant of God [*the name of the person*], for health; to the sea, for glory; to me, for memory.

9. *No. 122 A love charm.*

There is a blue cloud, and under the blue cloud there is a blue sea, and in the blue sea there is a gold island, and on the gold island there is a gold stone. And

the gold stone will be moved, and out from under the stone the three-by-nine brothers will come, who wear a single pair of shoes, who are girt with a single girdle, capped with a single cap; they will carry three-by-nine axes and three-by-nine hatchets; they will go walking around the island, and they will find three-by-nine gold oak trees, of which the roots are gold, and the stems are gold, and the boughs are gold, and the whole of those oaks is gold; and the three-by-nine brothers will begin to strike the three-by-nine oaks with the three-by-nine axes, with the three-by-nine hatchets, on the three-by-nine sides. And out of the sea will come a man of a ripe old age, and he will ask the three-by-nine brothers: 'Why are you felling the oaks?' – And the three-by-nine brothers will answer: 'It's time to build a gold smithy, it's time to make a gold furnace, and it's time to burn oak charcoal in the gold furnace, so that copper and iron stick and blend together; so the hearts of the *vomra*[22] [*the name of the woman*] the servant of God, and [the name of the man] the servant of God, stick and blend together, her youth, and temper, and lust, // (Folio 43v) of her arms and of her legs, in lechery;[23] it's time to forge gold keys and locks in this furnace, to lock up the heart of the *vomra* [*the name of the woman*] the servant of God, together with the heart of the *vomr*[24] [*the name of the man*] the servant of God, her youth, and temper, and lust, of her arms and of her legs, bones and joints, and blood, in lechery'. As hot as the oak charcoal burns in this gold furnace, so may the heart of the *vomra* [*the name of the woman*] the servant of God, smoulder at me, [*the name of the man*] the servant of God, her youth, and temper, and lust, of her arms and of her legs, bones and joints, and blood. And the three-by-nine brothers locked up her heart with the three-by-nine locks, with the three-by-nine keys, the heart of the *vomra* [*the name of the woman*] the servant of God, together with those of [*the name of the man*] the servant of God, their youth, and temper, and lust, of their arms and of their legs, bones and joints, and blood, for [the time] when the moon is new, and when old, and when gibbous, and at every hour, and they locked up the heart of the *vomra* [*the name of the woman*] the servant of God, together with those of [*the name of the man*] the servant of God. And the three-by-nine brothers went up in the air, and they flew beyond three-by-nine hills, and no one can find those three-by-nine brothers, neither an old elder nor a young youth,[25] for ever and ever. Amen.[26]

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NOTES

[1] The charms are aimed against the potential possibility of malefic magic. However, the same charms can be used as healing charms in case the person has already fallen ill, and as protective charms if he is healthy but there is fear that in near future he might fall ill (for example, if caused by malefic magic). That's why it is possible to use some charms as healing charms (for example, No. 7, 8; in the manuscript No. 98, 116v).

[2] Ref. (Toporkov 2008a).

[3] Rhyming words are given in italics.

[4] In this edition No. 2; in the manuscript No. 18.

[5] The division between poems is conventional. In this edition No. 7; in the manuscript No. 98.

[6] Maria Eliferova is the translation consultant.

[7] *Otlater* (also *olater*, *alatyr'*, *latyr'*, *latar'*) is a mythical stone appearing mostly in charms.

[8] A possible solution for the original *zashivaiet i zagovarivaiet.*

[9] In the original text: прикос кривой сабли, literally: "a wound caused by the unexpected sabre stroke".

[10] In the original text: лечит ту иглу за нить, where лечит (heals) is probably mistakenly used instead of ловит (catches).

[11] 'St John's Friday' is the Friday of the week in which St John's (Midsummer) Day falls.

[12] In the original text: Покрой меня кровом своим и крылома своима (Protect me with thy protection and with thy wings); this text dates back to the Book of Psalms and liturgical poetry; compare "... в крове крилу твоею покрыеши мя ..." (in English version: "… I have set the LORD always before me: because [he is] at my right hand, I shall not be moved …" (Psalm 16:8), "... сохрани мя под кровом Твоим и в сени крилу Твоею" (protect me under thy roof and under thy wings) (Thanksgiving Prayer of the Divine Communion, the second prayer of Basil the Great).

[13] In the original text: от всякой злой притчи; literally: from any sudden illness caused by malefic magic.

[14] I.e. 27 (a common numerological formula in all kinds of Russian folklore, including fairy tales).

[15] The scribe uses a biblical Church Slavonic word borrowed from Greek πεύκο 'pine'.

[16] In the original text: от рощепа и от нащепа; literally: from split tree (twice).

[17] In the original text the *Amen* word is written in secret code.

[18] 'Rupture' (Russian *gryz'*) might be either hernia or any sharp pain. The original charm is based on word play between the noun *gryz'* and the verb *gryzti* ('to gnaw').

[19] In the original text the *Amen* word is written in secret code.

[20] In the original text: злата тура; literally: the gold aurochs.

[21] In the original text: и пойдет то доброе сало по всем суставам и по всем жилам и улусам человеческим... The original *zhilam* can be understood as dative plural for both *zhila* ('sinew', 'vein') and *zhilo* ('dwelling', today's Russian *zhil'ë*). Both words are in fact derived from the same *zhi-* root meaning 'life'. By this word play, the initial meaning ('the aurochs fat will be applied to all of [thy] joints and sinews') shifts to: 'the aurochs fat will be distributed around all homes and parishes'.

[22] A *hapax legomenon*; it could mean either 'so-and-so' or 'beloved' (Toporkov 2010: 276–277).

[23] In the original text non-translatable word construction: межручные и ножные в прелюбодейном деле.

[24] Apparently the masculine form for *vomra*.

[25] A pleonastic construction in the original: not for an aged aged man, not for young young man.

[26] In the original text the *Amen* word is written in secret code.

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MARIA LACTANS AND THE THREE GOOD BROTHERS. THE GERMAN TRADITION OF THE CHARM AND ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT

Eleonora Cianci

This paper investigates a single motif embedded in the German version of the *Three Good Brothers Charm*: the oath on Mary's milk. The charm for wounds has a very rich manuscript tradition and an incredible number of different versions in several languages due to a (plausible) parallel oral tradition; however, although each manuscript seems to arrange the motif pattern in a different way, it is possible to trace a kind of recurring layout. The reiteration of Mary's milk in the different versions reveals a very old cultural tradition and a developing symbolic meaning of the Virgin in the Middle Ages.

Key words: *Maria lactans*, Dri guot bruoder, *Tres boni fratres*, Three good brothers charm, verbal charms, *Wundsegen*, swearing by the milk

The German version of *Three Good Brothers* charm is preserved in 26 manuscripts, each one showing a more or less essential difference in their motif selection, in their specific elements and in their language. The oldest German manuscript version dates back to the 13th century (see the transcription of München BSB clm. 23374 below), whereas the most recent one was written in the 17th century (Karlsruhe, *Badische Landesibibliothek*, cod. St. Blasien 49, f. 547r). The language of the 26 manuscript variants differs in lexical choice, in dialect forms and in phonological discrepancy because of the geographic scattering of the text over the whole German speaking area and the approximately four to five centuries involved.[1]

The charm is intended to cure any kind of wounds and can be divided into three main parts and many other sub-elements. Because of its rich motif-texture it has been defined as '*Sammelsegen*' (Ebermann 1903, see also Ebermann 1916) and has been subject to a recent investigation on some key historical elements[2] (Olsan 2011). Another comprehensive study, which is still in progress and should be published in a few months, will provide the complete transcription and description of all the manuscripts containing the German version of the charm, the comparison to the other versions (Latin, Italian, Spanish, English,

Dutch and so on[3]), the analysis of the language and of every variant in the manuscripts and the selection and display of the motifs. As the title shows, this paper will instead enquiry on a particular element, starting from the analysis of the text and its German variations.

The oldest German version of the charms dates, as already has been said, back to the 13th century, although there have been differing assessments (Olsan 2011: 55 gives a short summary of the problem). Here is a transcription of the text[4] from the original manuscript (description in Cianci 2004 133–135):

> In de*m* name*n* des vat*ers* und des sun*u*s . und des hailige*n* gaistes . am*en* . Dri gu*o*t pru*o*der gienge*n* aine*n* wech . da bechom in unser herre jhes*us* chr*istus* . und sprach wa*n*ne vart ir dri gu*o*t pru*o*der . Herre wir varn zaine*m* p*er*ge . und su*o*che*n* ain chru*o*t . . des gewaltes . daz iz gu*o*t si . zaller slath w*u*nde*n*, si si geslage*n* od*er* gestoche*n* . od*er* swa vun si si . do sprach . unser h*e*rre jhes*us* ch*ristus* . chomet zu*o* mir, ir dri gu*o*t pru*o*d*er* . und swert mir bi dem . cruce gu*o*te*n* . und bi d*er* milch d*er* maide sanct marie*n* . daz irz enhelt . noch lon emphahet . und vart hinz zu*o* de*n* mont olivet unde nemt ole . des olep*o*umes . und scaph wolle . und leget die . uber die w*u*ndi*n* und sprechet also .
>
> De iud longin*us* d*er* unsern herre*n* ih*esu*m chr*istu*m stach in die site*n* mit de*m* sper . daz en eitert nith . noch gewa*n* hitze . noch enswar . noch enblu*o*tet zevil . noch enfuelt . also tu*o* disiu w*u*nde . diu enblu*o*t nith zevil . noch eng*e*wane hitze . noch enswer . noch enharter . noch enfu*o*el die ich gesent hab . In de*m* name*n* des vaters . und des suns . und des hailige*n* gaist . Am*en* . Sp*r*ich den sege*n* dristunt und also manige*n* pat*er* n*oste*r und tu*o* nith mer . wan als hie gescribe*n* si. (Bavarian, 13th c., my transcription from the manuscript Clm. 23374, f. 16v)

While looking for a powerful herb, which can heal every kind of wound, the three good brothers meet Jesus and have a short dialogue. Jesus advises them to give up their herb-seeking and sends them to the Mount of Olives, where they would find oil and wool needed to heal the wound together with the Longinus formula. Before telling this, Jesus has the brothers swear that they will not keep the remedy secret and that they will not earn any money for performing it.[5] The oath is sworn on the crucifix and on Mary's milk.

If we take a closer look at this last motif, which is omitted in some variants, we may wonder at the bare presence of an oath in this dialogue, since Christ has actually forbidden any kind of oath-making in the New Testament, but we may also acknowledge the central role of oaths among the Germanic people. As it will be shown below, most versions give directions to swear on the cross/

crucifixion *and* on Mary's milk, both powerful symbols. Although 'swearing on the cross' may still be intelligible, what about the milk?

When I first considered editing this text I was impressed by this very item, and I supposed it might have been a word error by the copyist, writing and translating *'intacte virginis'* as *'in lacte'* and then in German *'by der Milch der Frowe'*.

See the following Latin version:

> Jurate mihi in crucifixi Christi et **intacte virginis** quod in abscondito eatis, neque mercedem accipiatis [...]
> *Swear to me by the crucified Christ and by the* ***untouched Virgin*** *that you will not hide it, nor take money* [...] (St. Florian, cod. XI 119, initial leaf, 13th century, see Schulz 2003: 68)

and compare to the following one:

> Iurate mi*hi* p*er* **passion*is*** ih*es*u ch*rist*i et ***per*** **lac v*ir*ginis maria** ut i*n* absconditis no*n* dicatis ut in m*er*cedem in de no*n* recipiatis [...]
> *Swear to me by the* ***passion*** *of Jesus Christ and by the* ***milk of Virgin Mary*** *that you will not say it secretly, nor gain any money from it* [...] (München, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,* clm. 18921, f. 47v, 14th century)

What I held to be a scribal misunderstanding disclosed in fact some surprising cultural issues; the copyist was yet very well aware of the ancient tradition of an oath by the Virgin Mary's milk.

One of the first pieces of evidence of the milk of the Virgin associated with swearing and with a magical treatment against bleeding appears in a Latin charm, together with the other well-known Jordan motif:

> †**Coniuro** te, Iohannes, per **lac** sancte Marie, sicut stetit flumen Iordanis, sic stagna sanguinem, de quocumque loco corporis exierit.†.
> †*I* ***conjure*** *you, John, by the* ***milk*** *of Saint Mary, as the river Jordan stood, so may the blood rest, from whatever part of the body it comes.* †. (Bern, *Rotolus di Moulin*, lines 800–809, 12th century)

However, not all the German versions of the Three Good Brothers charm contain the oath, in many cases Jesus tells the brothers only how to perform the remedy without asking them to swear, for instance in: Augsburg, cod. III.1. 2° 42, f. 97rb (15th c.), Heidelberg, cod. pal. germ. 264, f. 81v-82r (16th c.), Heidelberg, cod. pal. germ. 266, f. 128r (16th c.), Heidelberg, cod. pal. germ. 266, f. 128r (16th c.), Karlsruhe, cod. Pap. Germ. LXXXVII, f. 21r (17th c.), Karlsruhe, cod. St. Blasien 49, f. 547r (17th c.) and München, oct cod. Ms. 354, f. 75r (15th).

It may also be worth reminding ourselves that an oath must be sworn on something regarded as very important. A brief digression on historical matters concerning the beginning of a nursing mother cult may help explain the reason for the importance of the milk.

One of the earliest significant expressions of this theme comes from Egyptian religion, where Isis, Osiris's sister and wife, the Goddess of fertility and motherhood, is often illustrated sitting on her throne nursing her son Horus. In Egyptian 19th dynasty papyrus rolls containing charms and rituals, Isis's milk is often described as 'holy' or 'sacred' (Janowski/ Wilhelm 2008: 303–304). The first written source of the cult of Isis dates as far back as the 3rd millennium B.C. (2nd dynasty), while the first visual source belongs to the 17th century B.C. where Isis is already shown as a nursing mother (Langener 1996: 94). Horus was considered God, too, since Isis had been made pregnant by God. Afterwards, the Goddess breastfeeding the Pharao became an iconographic *topos* (Langener 1996: 92–93) and spread slowly over Mediterranean area. Due to the first contacts between the Romans and the Egyptians (2nd century B. C.) and later (1st century B. C.) to the Roman conquest of Egypt, there was a growing interest in pagan temples in the Roman Empire and some temples dedicated to Isis were built in Roman territories (Langener 1996: 97–98). It happened first in Italy, where the two cultures began to meet and to merge (see for example the oldest known image of a Madonna with the child at the Catacombs of St. Priscilla which dates from the 3rd century: Warner 1976: 192–193), and then in Egypt, where the Coptic Orthodox Church (established by Saint Mark in the middle of the 1st century) led to a slow transformation of older deities and temples into Christian churches. Very well-known examples are the Coptic *maria-isis lactans* images in Bauwit and in Saqqara of the 6th-7th century (Langener 1996: 148–161), as well as the 4th century wall paintings from the archaeological site Karanis (south Cairo, see Müller 1992: 158, http://www.umich.edu/~kelseydb/ Karanis/ KM4.2990_isis.gif). The worship of Isis was so deeply rooted and her temples so widespread that in the first centuries of Christianity many attempts were made in order to ban the cult and to modify the temples. The devotion lived on till the 6th century (Langener 1996: 99) and reached almost all of the Roman Empire. Between the 2nd and the 4th century also the *Germania Romana* knew the Isis cult and many churches dedicated to Virgin Mary were built there on the basis of older Isis temples (Langener 1996: 97–119).

While in Medieval Christian visual art many images of nursing Mary appeared, as well as many legends of Mary's milk, the old Egyptian myth of Isis gradually vanished leaving *Maria Galaktotrophusa*, *Maria lactans* as the only very well known existing symbol (Langener 1996: 275–276). Paintings showing *Maria lactans* can be actually seen all over Europe: in Italy there are many

famous and some almost unknown images such as in *Chiesa rurale della Madonna del latte* in San Benedetto del Tronto (AP) or in *Cattedrale di Atri* (TE).[6]

Evidence of the importance of the emblematic power of the milk can of course be found also in the Bible (both Old and New Testament), for example *Exodus 3,8* being a symbol of fertility, wellness and love, or in *Genesis 49,12*, being a sign of innocence. Special devotion was paid to Mary and to symbols like the 'land of milk and honey' by eastern Christians and Muslims in the Holy Land, who had a strong influence on Europeans through pilgrimage, trade and crusades during the Middle Ages (Rubin 2009: 169–173).

The idea and the vision of the nursing mother became slowly a symbol of protection and of redemption and developed later into the notion of a *unio mystica* rather independently from the New Testament.[7] On the other hand, Mary's milk is connected to Christ's blood. One of the first records of an ideal association of milk and blood is attested in the *Acts of Paul* (3, 5): when a soldier cut off Apostle Paul's head, milk spurted on his cloak, as symbol of Paul's innocence. This mental connection became stronger in the Middle Ages, as confirmed in later Christian imagery by the famous picture *Miracle of Lactation*, which shows Bernard of Clairvaux (11th-12th century) being nursed by the Virgin (Zierhut-Bösch 2008: 160–164). In another illustration of the 15th century Mary shows Christ the breast with which she nursed him and Christ shows God the wounds he received at the Crucifixion (*The Holy Kindred*, Köln, Wallraf-Richard Museum, see Heal 2007: 33–34). This very image was later on strongly condemned by Luther and the Protestant Reformation, who criticized pilgrimages, superstitions, relics, as well as the cult of the Saints and of Mary. However, although Luther attacked the relic's commerce and the cult of Mary he recognized the Virgin as the Mother of God, so post-Reformation Germany developed a special devotion towards Mary and the relationship between Christ and his human Mother became a central topic in Lutheran Germany.[8]

The relationship between milk and blood has been made possible by a simple concept, the Church community is fed by the sacred milk of Jesus' words and body as Jesus was fed by his Mother's milk. Indeed, Mary gave life to Jesus, Jesus created the church through his sacrifice on the cross, by offering his blood. In this way, Mary feeds the holy bread and nurses the Church (Langener 1996: 246–252, Walker Bynum 1982: 115, 121–122). Jesus hangs first from his mother's breast and later from the cross, so Mary's breast can be compared to the tree of life. Milk, blood and the cross are thus often combined together in Medieval imagery and of course in the Three Brothers Charm, too (see below).

In the first centuries of the Christian Era the idea of the sacred milk associated with the sacred blood has an increasing influence on people's imagination. The power of this symbol, as well as Christ's blood, and its supernatural strength

have been revealed by many 'milk relics' found or attempts to look for them in order to cure or to solve problems.

In the following German versions of the charm, blood, wounds and milk come together in the oath:

> Er sprach: chniet nider auf ewer chnie vnd swert mir pei dem **plued** unseres hern und pei der **milch** unser fraun [...]
> *He said: kneel down on your knees and swear to me by the **blood** of our Lord and by the **milk** of our Lady* [...]. (Graz, cod. 1228 f. 81v, last page, 14th c.)

> Er spr*a*ch gan uf dem berr ze monten oliveti un*d* swerr uf den funf **wunden** unsir herre un*d* der **milch** sante marien [...]
> *He said: go to the mount of Mount of Olives and swear by the five **wounds** of our Lord and by the **milk** of Saint Mary* [...]. (Heidelberg, cod. pal. germ. 214, f. 17vb, 14th c.)

However, in the following example, the five wounds of Jesus are combined with the *pure Virgin Mary* ('reynen maghet marien'), without any hint to her milk:

> bei der reynen maghet **marien**. by den uiff **wunden** unser heren [...] (Kassel, 4° ms med 10, f. 13r, 15th c.)

According to Christian belief, since Mary ascended to Heaven in her spirit *and* her body, there are no parts of the body left on earth, so the only relics of the Virgin are some drops of her milk, her shoe and some parts of her garments.[9] According to an old legend there are still milk-stains on a robe, due to breast-feeding (Rubin 2009: 61). The importance of the milk as a healing relic is also attested from the notices of stolen relics, as happened for example in 1698 in Michaelskirche at Lüneburg (North Germany), where a silver bottle containing the precious milk was stolen.[10] The trade in relics was highly developed in the Middle Ages, among the 'best sellers' there were parts of the Holy Cross and bottles containing Mary's milk, the latter being considered a powerful healing device throughout the 15th century (Thorndike 1934 vol. IV: 328–329). After pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the relics belief spread all over Europe and Mary's milk was really believed to perform miracles. As a matter of fact, in Bethlehem there is also the well-known *Milk Grotto*: an old legend says that here, while Mary was breastfeeding Jesus, some drops of her milk fell down on the stone floor and the whole cave turned white. As early as the 4th century women of all faiths started coming to the Grotto to pray and later many pilgrims came back to Europe with a liquid obtained from the soft limestone walls and sold it as precious Mary's milk relics.[11] Today, the Grotto is still sought as pilgrim-

age spot by mothers who don't have enough milk in their breast or by women wishing to become pregnant.[12] Being herself a miracle (virginity, conception, assumption), the idea of Mary performing miracles became a classic motif in Medieval imagery and stories about miraculous healings were compiled. *De laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae* by William of Malmesbury (12th c.) contains for example an account of how Fulbert of Chartres was cured by Mary's milk (Rubin 2009: 182–183). Alchemists of the 14th and 15th century also pretended to create an extraordinary potion named *lac virginis* which had many different uses (Thorndike 1934: III, 366–367).

Many attacks were made on the commerce in (fake) relics, a significant example of which are the sermons of S. Bernardino da Siena in the 15th century (Montesano 1999: 41–42), who also quotes an Italian version of the Three Good Brothers charm while criticizing its use.

The importance of Mary's milk as a relic throughout the Middle Ages is then very well attested by historical and textual sources: here in our charm Mary's milk is being used as a relic by which to swear an oath.

The value of swearing among Germanic people in their traditional oral culture is very well known; what is more, using relics as oath objects is a very old practice among Christian people. As a result, in Christianized Medieval Europe an oath taken on something powerful such as a relic is considered to be more persuasive and it acquired even more relevance during the Carolingian Age, as Charlemagne wanted to reinforce the links with Rome and the new spiritual foundations of his Empire (Geary 1994: 192).

Mary's milk as well as human or animal milk has also traditionally been used because of its healing and magical power, not only by means of it as therapeutic factor in ancient medicine, but as an 'ingredient' in medical charms too, for instance in a Coptic fragment of a papyrus of the 9th century to protect a mother (Langener 1996: 254–259, see also Bächtold-Stäubli: 268–283).

In German tradition Mary's milk is also used as an 'ingredient' of a charm for a surgical stitch; recalling it renders the operation painless:

> Die **milch** vnsre frauwen, der reyner megde, ist gegangen in dem monde vnsres lieben herren Iesu Christi, als durchge die nalde die wange in dem namen vaters und des sones vnd des heylgin geystes.
> *As the **milk** of Our Lady, the pure virgin, went to the mouth of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ so does the needle through the cheeks in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.* (Marburg, Hs. B. 20, f. 111r, beginning 15th c., see: Spamer CBS 134)

In the following variant, on the contrary, there is no hint of milk: the three brothers have to swear by God and by the Virgin:

> so pwit ich ewch pay **got** und unsser **frawen** das ir den seg*e*n for niema*n*d v*er*hellend [...]
> *So I order you by **God** and our **Lady** not to hide the charm from anybody* [...], (Dresden, ms. M. 180, ff. 83v- 84r, 15th c.)

as well as in the following examples:

> nun knit nider fur **marya** und sprecht das ir welt den segen weder v*er*hall*en* noch v*er*stel*en* [...]
> *kneel down now for **Mary** and say that you will not hide the charm nor sell it* [...]; (München, oct cod. Ms. 354, f. 67v, 15th c.)

> do sprach unser lieber herre Jhesus Crist geet hin ir pru*e*der all drei swert mir pey **sand Marien** und pey dem **heilgen Crist** das ir es vor niemancz helt und kain miet dar umb enpfacht [...]
> *So spoke our beloved Lord Jesus Christ: go there, all you three brothers and swear by **saint Mary** and by **holy Christ** that you will not hide it from anybody and that you will not take reward from it [...].* (Wien cod. 2999, f. 279v, late 16th c.)

Sometimes there is no remark on the milk, but there is a special mention of the mother:

> Er sprach ich beswer iu*e*ch by der frien by miner **muoter** marien daz irs [...]
> *He said: I conjure you by my mother, the free (blessed) Mary, that you* [...]. (Wien, cod. 2817, f. 37r, 14th c.)

The oath on the milk can be associated with the cross or the crucifixion as in:

> Er sprach: get her vn swerit bi deme **crvce** vnsirs herren vn bi der **milche** vnsir frauwen, daz ir iz nit en helit noch keynen lon dar vmme in nemit.
> *He said: come here and swear by the **cross** of our Lord and by the **milk** of our Lady, that you will not keep it secret nor take a reward for it*; (Hamburg cod. 99 in scrin. p. 11, end 14th c.)

> Nu swert per **crucifixum**, Des vil guoten gotes sun, Unt bî der **milche** der frîen, Sîner muoter sante Merîen [...]
> *Now swear by the **crucifix** of the best son of God and by the **milk** of his Mother, the free Saint Mary* [...]. (London cod. Arundel 295, f. 117r, 13th c.)

> So swert [...] pey dem **chreuez** ge- ih*esu*s christ und pey d*er* minget **sand marien** ran [...]
> *So swear [...] by the **Cross** of Jesus Christ and by the pure **Saint Mary**.* (München cgm. 430, ff. 59v-60r, 15th c.)

> Swert mir ainen ait pey dem ***cru*cifix** und pey d*er* **Milch** d*er* Meid.
> *Swear to me an oath by the **Cross** and by the **milk** of the Virgin.* (München clm. 18921, f. 47v, 14th c.)

> Chomet zu*o* mir, ir dri gu*o*t pru*od*e*r* und swert mir bi dem **cruce** gu*ot*e*n* und bi d*er* **milch** d*er* maide sanct marie*n* [...]
> *Come to me, you three good brothers and swear by the good cross and by the milk of the pure Saint Mary* [...]. (München clm. 23374, f. 16v, 13th c.)

> by der milten **Marien** und by dem fronen **crüz** unsers herren [...]
> *by the virgin **Mary** and by the blessed **Cross** of our Lord* (Stuttgart cod. med. et phys. 4°. Nr. 29, f. 25r, 15th c.)

Compare those to the following Latin version:

> venite p*ost* me *et* iurate m*ihi* p*er* ***cr*ucifixu*m*** et per **lac** beate marie ut n*on* i*n* abscondito dicatis nec mer*cedem* accipiatis
> *Come with me and swear to me by the **Crucifixion** and by the **milk** of the blessed Mary that you will not pronounce it secretly nor make profit from it.* (München, clm. 19440, p. 282, 12–13th c.)

Crucifixion is associated with the Virgin without mention of the milk in the following Old Italian version:

> Voi mi prometterete per la santa **crucifissione** e per la vergine **Maria**, che nascoso nol terrete e prezzo non ne torrete.
> *Swear to me by the holy **crucifixion** and by the Virgin **Mary**, that you will not hide it, nor gain any money from it.* (Roma, *Biblioteca Corsiniana*, cod. B. 18 (147), 14th c.)

In other versions the word *spünne* or *spuni* is used which means 'milk', but also 'breast' (the noun is related to the MHG verb *spünnen* 'to suck'):

> Er sprach swert in got <in got> daz ir sein nicht lön enphahet vnd daz ir sein vnhëlleich seit vnd pey dem **spünne** der müter sand Marien.
> *He said: swear by God that you will not take a reward and that you will not keep it secret and by the breast milk of mother saint Mary.* (London, cod. Add. 28170, f. 113v, 15th c.)

> Ich beschwer bi der hailigen **spuni** unser frowen un bÿ dem hailligen [*empty space*] unsers herren
> *I swear by the sacred breast of our Lady and by the holy [–] of our Lord.* (Solothurn , ms. S 386, f. 85v, dated 1463–1466)

A special emphasis given to Mary's breast, in relationship to Christ's wounds, is shown in the following Latin version as well:

> Co*n*iuro te vulnus, p*e*r vi*r*tutem qui*n*q*ue* **plaga*rum*** d*omi*ni no*s*tri ih*es*u *christ*i, *et* per vi*r*tutem **Mamilla*rum*** beate M*ari*e vi*r*ginis
> *I conjure you wound, by virtue of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ and by virtue of the breast of the blessed Virgin Mary*. (London, Add. 33996, f. 138v, 15th c., Schulz 2003: 69)

The different versions show a recurrent relationship between Mary's milk, blood, Jesus' wounds and the Crucifixion – combined in different patterns. This is not only a feature of the *Three Brothers Charms*, but a crucial topic of the Middle Ages. Indeed, the main symbol of God's love for humanity is the cross. In Christian visual imagery and the Crucifixion developed from shameful death into a symbol of love and redemption, a sacrifice meant to remove all barriers between God and humans so that it became the most sincere proof of God's love. This love and care for human beings are also expressed by Mary's lactation. In many *Maria lactans* images the Virgin shows her breast as she is nursing Christ, while Christ displays his wounds to the Father, both pleading for mercy for humankind.

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NOTES

[1] For further details on the manuscript tradition of this charm and of the Old High German charms, see Cianci 2007, Haseli 2011, Hellgart 1988, Hellgart 1997, Kade 1889, Stuart/ Walla 1987; for an analysis on the relationship between manuscript tradition and performance of the charms (literacy vs. oral tradition) see Acker 1998, Cianci 2008, Klein 2008, Olsan 1992, Schaefer 1992, Schnell 2008.

[2] Here is a small selection of studies and early transcriptions of the Three Good Brothers charm: Birlinger 1880, Denecke 1979, Dietrich 1867, Hälsig 1910, Hampp 1961, Hoffmann 1840, Köhler 1868, Kuhn 1864, Mone 1834, Morel Fatio 1879, Pfeiffer 1854, Pradel 1907, Schönbach 1875, Wagner 1862.

[3] On other versions of the charm, see: Latin: Köhler 1868, Köhler 1900, Ohrt 1927, Ohrt 1937, Leyser 1840, Czerny 1873, Italian: Amati 1968, Astori 2000, Baldelli 1956, Bronzini 1982, Giannini 1898, Novati 1910, English: Hunt 1990, Heinrich 1896, Priebsch 1894, Roper 2005, Olsan 2011, Dutch: Braekman 1997, Haver 1964, Schröder 1999.

[4] See also Holzmann 2001: 220 and Olsan 2011: 67.

[5] For further details on oil as a healing remedy, see Janowsky/ Schwemer 2010: 84–90; about the figure of Longinus see Dauven van Knippenberg 1990, Orsola 2008; on the oath, see Agamben 2008, Giordano 1999.

[6] Polia 2004: 361, for other famous paintings see also: Bonani/ Baldassarre Bonani 1995, http://www.art-breastfeeding.com.

[7] See Zierhut-Bösch 2008: 160–162 for further details.

[8] See Heal 2007: 53–109 for further details.

[9] For further details see Angenendt 1997: 217–225.

[10] For further information, see Bächtold-Stäubli: 249.

[11] See Sered 1986: 9–11 and Bagatti 1952: 245–247 for a detailed description of the cave, Barton 1904: 178 and Bagatti 1952: Tavola 54, fot. 116 for the devotional cakes made from the wall's dust.

[12] A small packet of milk powder can be bought for only one or two dollars, see: http://www.sacred-destinations.com/israel/bethlehem-milk-grotto.htm.

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2. Dresden (D), *Sächsische Landesbibliothek,* ms. M. 180, ff. 83v- 84r (15th c.);
3. Frankfurt am Main (D), *Staats-Universitätsbibliothek,* ms. Germ. quart. 17, f. 270ra (15th c.);
4. Graz (A), *Universitätsbibliothek,* cod. 1228, f. 81v (last) (14th c.);

5. Hamburg (D), *Staats-Universitätsbibliothek,* cod. 99 in scrin. p. 11 (13th-14th c.);
6. Heidelberg (D), *Universitätsbibliothek,* cod. pal. germ. 214, f. 17vb (14th c.);
7. Heidelberg (D), *Universitätsbibliothek,* cod. pal. germ. 264, f. 81v-82r (16th c.);
8. Heidelberg (D), *Universitätsbibliothek,* cod. pal. germ. 266, f. 128r (16th c.);
9. Heidelberg (D),*Universitätsbibliothek,* cod. pal. germ. 266, f. 129v (16th c.);
10. Karlsruhe (D), *Landesbibliothek,* Cod. Pap. Germ. LXXXVII, f. 21r (17th c.);
11. Karlsruhe(D), *Badische Landesbibliothek*, cod. St. Blasien 49, f. 547r (17th c.);
12. Kassel (D)*, Universitätsbibliothek*, 4° ms med 10, f. 13r (15th c.);
13. London (GB), *British Library,* cod. Add. 28170, f. 113v (15th c.);
14. London (GB), *British Library,* cod. Arundel 295, f. 117r (13th c.);
15. München (D), *Universitätsbibliothek,* oct cod. Ms. 354, f 67v (15th c.);
16. München (D), *Universitätsbibliothek,* oct cod. Ms. 354, f 75r (15th c.);
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19. München (D), *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,* clm. 23374, f. 16v (13th c.);
20. Praha (CZ), *National Library,* cod. XVI G 23, f. 28v (14th c.);
21. Solothurn (CH), *Zentralbibliothek,* ms. S 386, f. 85v (15th c.);
22. Stuttgart (D), *Württembergische Landesbibliothek,* cod. med. et phys. 4°. Nr. 29, f. 25r/8ab (15th c.);
23. Wien (A), *Österreichische Nationalbibliohek,* cod. 10632, f. 6r (16th-17th c.)
24. Wien (A), *Österreichische nationalbibliohek,* cod. 2442 [med. 108], f. 10r (12-13th c.);
25. Wien (A), *Österreichische Nationalbibliohek,* cod. 2817, f. 37r (14th c.);
26. Wien (A), *Österreichische Nationalbibliohek,* cod. 2999, f. 279v (late 16th c.).

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München*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,* clm. 19440, p. 282 (Latin, 12-13th c.);
Roma, *Biblioteca Corsiniana*, cod. B. 18 (147) (Italian, 14th c.);
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TERMES ALBANAIS POUR “INCANTATION”

Cătălina Vătăşescu

L’auteur propose une liste des termes albanais faisant partie du champ sémantique du « charme » et de celui de l’« écartement des conséquences défavorables des charmes ». Les mots concernent les formules incantatrices, les actions (tant nuisibles que bienfaisantes) et les gestes qui les accompagnent, ainsi que les désignations des personnes qui prononcent les incantations et qui accomplissent les actions magiques.

Le lexique du domaine des charmes en albanais s’avère ancien et riche. Il comprend des termes autochtones, des emprunts anciens faits au grec et au latin. Les mots en question sont la base de nombreux dérivés.

L’analyse met en évidence une série de similitudes entre l’albanais et le roumain.

Mots clés: incantation, charme, champ lexical, terminologie, langue albanaise

Notre but est de dresser une liste compréhensive des termes albanais faisant partie du champ sémantique du « charme » et de celui de l’« écartement des conséquences défavorables des charmes ». Il s’agit des noms donnés aux formules incantatrices, des noms donnés aux actions (nuisibles ou bienfaisantes) et aux gestes qui les accompagnent, ainsi que des noms désignant les personnes qui récitent les incantations et qui accomplissent le rituel magique.

L’acte nuisible à quelqu’un, dû aux forces maléfiques, surnaturelles d’autrui, porte en albanais plusieurs noms, la synonymie étant assez riche.

Le terme ***magji*** « magie ; enchantement » a une famille nombreuse : *magjeps* « ensorceler quelqu’un », *magjepsje* « ensorcellement, enchantement », *magjepsur* « enchanté », *magjetore*, *magjereshë* et *magjistricë* « ensorceleuse », *magjistar* « ensorceleur », mot duquel dérive *magistarí* « ensorcellement »[1] ; l’action peut être nommée aussi à l’aide d’une locution construite avec le verbe *bëj* « faire » : *bëj magji* « ensorceler »[2]. De cette locution résulte le nom composé *magjibërës* « ensorceleur ». Selon G. Meyer, alb. *magji* provient du gr. *μαγεία*[3].

L’action malfaisante peut être désignée aussi par ***shortí*** « sorcellerie, magie », un féminin dérivé à l’aide du suffixe *-i*[4]. Le mot de base, *short*, conserve le sens de l’étymon latin, *sors*, *sortis*[5]. La famille du mot *short* se trouve à la rencontre de deux sphères sémantiques, la sorcellerie et le présage, la prédiction. À l’encontre

du roumain, qui continue du latin le terme *sors* avec le sens « destin, fortune », l'albanais utilise pour ce sens un autre emprunt fait au latin, *fat* (< *fatum*). Le mot albanais *short* désigne la petite baguette employée pour deviner le futur. Le sens, en latin, en était « tirage au sort » et, par extension, « consultation des dieux » ; d'ici, s'est développé le sens « destin », inconnu en albanais, exclusif en roumain. Du terme de base *short* se sont formés *shortí* « sorcellerie » et *shortar* « magicien »[6]. On pourrait y ajouter que, de même, l'albanais a probablement emprunté au latin le terme *sortilegus* « prophétique ; prophète », terme qui, a son tour, dérive de *sors*, *sortis* et que l'albanais peut avoir conservé dans le dérivé ***sherrëgjí***[7], avec le sens « charme ». Les langues romanes n'ont pas hérité *sortilegus*[8].

Un autre terme d'origine latine, ***shtrigë*** n. f. (le masculin, *shtrig*, articulé *shtrigu*, est moins fréquent), a le sens « sorcière, magicienne » (l'autre sens du mot est celui de l'étymon, « loup garou, vampire ») (FS 1980, s. v.)[9]. La conservation de la consonne *-g-* entre les voyelles témoigne d'un emprunt assez tardif (Çabej 1934 : 231 ; Lambertz 1970 : 501–502) ; autres termes de la famille : *shtrigâ* n.m. « ensorceleur ; homme malfaisant », *shtrigû* « celui qui jette le mauvais œil »[10], *shtriginí* « sortilège »[11].

Parfois fonctionnant comme synonyme de *magjí*, le terme ***mëngjí*** a le plus souvent le sens opposé : « traitement à l'aide des plantes afin d'écarter les conséquences fâcheuses de la magie à mauvaises intentions » (FS, 1980, s. v.) et représente l'antonyme de *magjí*. Le verbe dérivé, *mëngjis*, signifie « guérir un malade en utilisant des plantes » et sert de base pour le nom d'agent *mëngjistar* « exorciseur ».

En suivant E. Çabej, *mëngjí* provient de la variante *mjegí* du mot *mjekí*, qui s'est formé à son tour du nom *mjek* < lat. *medicus* (Çabej 1976, I : 346). Edith Durham observait déjà, dans la première moitié du siècle passé, la puissante tradition chez les Albanais de la liaison ancienne entre la médicine populaire et la magie[12]. Le terme albanais de base, *mjek*, qui désigne la personne qui accomplit l'action d'écartement des conséquences nuisibles des sorcelleries (Hahn 1854 : 72, 159, 164), est issu du mot latin *medicus*, dont les dérivés faisaient partie du vocabulaire de la magie : *medicus* adj. « guérisseur, magique », *medicatus* n. m. « philtre, potion magique » (Guţu 1983, s. v.). Dans le dialecte guègue, *mjek* désigne aussi l'action bienfaisante, dans l'expression *baj mjek* « prononcer d'incantations » (Hahn 1854 : 159, 164). L'agent en porte le nom *mjektar*, féminin *mjektare*, ou, même, *mjek*, synonyme de *magjistar* (Hahn 1854 : 159, 164 ; Jankaj 1977 : 325) ; de même, *mjekës* (FS 1980, s. v.). Dans la langue actuelle, *mjek* est le seul terme pour la notion moderne de « médecin ».

Il est intéressant de noter dans cette série de synonymes le syntagme ***distar*** *me magji* (Tirta 2004 : 326), syntagme formé du dérivé *distar* du verbe

di « connaître, savoir » et du nom *magji*, précisant la sorte des connaissances en question ; le mot *distar*, avec les variantes *dies*, *dijetar*, est employé souvent sans aucune détermination[13].

Les formules curatives sont assez souvent nommées ***namatisje***, terme qui a dans la langue actuelle, à ce qu'il paraît, la fonction de désignation générique pour les mots et les expressions magiques[14]. Ces formules accompagnent l'emploi des simples. Les simples elles mêmes peuvent être préparées par la récitation rituelle des mots spéciaux. L'action de réciter les mots magiques à fonction curative est indiquée par le verbe *namatis* (FS 1980, s. v.), dont *namatisje* dérive. Les incantations sont prononcées en murmurant (Durham 1990 : 512, 514). On associe souvent dans un syntagme presque figé le verbe et le nom : *mërmërit nomatisje*. L'origine de ces mots, à ce que nous sachions, n'a pas été étudiée[15]. Il est possible qu'il soit un rapport entre la famille du mot appartenant au champ des charmes et la série des termes appartenant au champ de la malédiction, à savoir le nom *nëm* (et les variantes *nam*, *namë*) (Hahn 1854 : 253), les verbes *nëm*, *nëmësoj*, le nom d'agent *nëmës* (FS 1954, s. v. ; Hahn 1854 : 178). L'origine de *nëm* est très probablement indo-européenne (Demiraj 1997 : 293). Il est permis, peut-être, de supposer que de ce terme de base, *nëm*[16], a été créé le verbe *namatis*, ayant le sens « maudire », proférer des malédictions à l'adresse de celui qu'on accusait d'avoir produit des malheurs par le charme ; de ce verbe on a créé le nom *namatisje* « incantation »[17].

Un autre terme ayant une fréquence importante est le verbe ***ysht*** « ensorceler », duquel s'est formée une riche famille de dérivés : *yshtar*, *yshtës* « sorcier », *yshtarí* et *yshtje* « magie », *yshtur*(*ë*) « formule, mot à prononcer, rituel à accomplir »[18]. Selon Vl. Orel, il s'agit d'un mot autochtone, comparable du point de vue sémantique au lat. *augurare*, *auspicare* (Orel 1998 : 519).

À la fin de cet inventaire provisoire, il faut mentionner l'emploi du nom ***këngë*** « chant, chanson » dans le domaine de la sorcellerie. Il est connu que le roumain et l'albanais sont les seules langues à avoir conservé par voie populaire, et non pas savante, le terme latin *canticum* (pl. *cantica*) (le roumain comme mot hérité – *cântec* –, l'albanais comme emprunt). Il faut souligner que l'albanais et le roumain préservent également le sens magique secondaire du mot latin. Les verbes (alb. *këndoj*, roum. *a cânta*) conservent à leur tour le sens magique de l'étymon latin (*cantare* « ensorceler ; faire rompre le charme » ; voir Guţu 1983, s. v.). Il faut retenir une autre correspondance intéressante. Au mot roumain hérité *a descânta* « écarter les conséquences d'un ensorcellement, faire rompre le charme » (< lat. *discantare*, ap. Candrea–Densusianu 1907–1914, no. 357) correspond en albanais une formation ayant la structure presque identique et le même sens : *përkëndoj ;* le préfixe *për-* et la préposition *për* « pour, de » ont des formes identiques et en roumain, le préfixe *de*(*s*)- et la préposition *de* ont de

même des formes très proches (Vătăşescu 2007). Le dérivé nom d'agent existe encore : *përkëndonjës* (Mann 1948 : 371) *: descântător*. Il est intéressant de noter qu'il existe un autre dérivé à l'aide du préfixe *për-*, dont la base est *ysht*, le terme propre pour le sens « prononcer des formules incantatoires » que nous avons présenté : *ysht* « ensorceler » / *përysht* « guérir »[19]. Cette pair de termes opposés confirme l'existence du modèle *këndoj* / *përkëndoj*. Il faut noter dans ce contexte le verbe du dialecte tosque *shpërkëndoj*, ayant le sens « chanter encore une fois afin d'affaiblir le pouvoir de la première exécution »[20].

Il y a plusieurs données qui nous permettent de supposer la possibilité de poursuivre la terminologie spécialisée des actions maléfiques par rapport à celle des actions remettant en ordre l'univers menacé par des activités nuisibles. Pourtant, pour l'instant, nous considérons que l'opposition est moins nette en albanais qu'en roumain, où les structures lexicales de deux sphères se sont mieux organisées.

Il faut prendre en considération aussi, afin de réaliser un inventaire presque complète des mots du champ des charmes et des incantations, les sens secondaires des mots usuels : *mbyll* (= fermer) « rendre impuissant par sortilège » : *mbyll fatin*[21], *lidh* (= lier) : *lidh magji* « ensorceler quelqu'un » *i kishte lidhur magji dikujt* (FS, 1980, s. v. *magji*, *-a*).

Une recherche ultérieure devrait avoir comme but une synthèse des informations[22] sur les situations dans lesquelles le mental collectif et populaire conçoit la manifestation des forces nuisibles et des pouvoirs favorables, ainsi que les formules incantatoires, l'inventaire des gestes, des plantes et des objets utiles, les personnes possédant des habilités magiques, la transmission de cet héritage.

Nous avons essayé de montrer que le lexique albanais des charmes est ancien et riche. Il y a des termes autochtones, des emprunts anciens faits au grec et au latin, et les mots en question ont donné naissance à de nombreux dérivés. Il est intéressant de fixer les voies de comparaison avec les autres langues du Sud-est de l'Europe. Une série de similitudes, que nous avons indiquées, peuvent être établies avec le roumain[23].

NOTES

[1] FS 1980, s. v. ; Newmark 1999, s. v. ; voir aussi Hahn 1854 : 65.

[2] La construction albanaise correspond du point de vue syntaxique au roum. *a face farmece cuiva.* Roum. *farmec*, *farmăc* (pl. *farmece*) provient du lat. pop. **pharmacum* (**farmacum*), à son tour emprunté au gr. *φάρμακον* « poison ; remède dont l'administration est accompagnée par des gestes et des formules incantatoires » (DA, s. v. ; Mihăescu 1966 : 51), étant le seul représentant du mot latin dans les langues romanes

(Puşcariu 1974 : 158 ; Coteanu *et alii* 1969 : 171 ; voir aussi Sala – Dănăilă 2010, s. v.). La forme albanaise ancienne *farmëk* pourrait à son tour provenir du latin (Ashta 1966 : 163) ; la variante actuelle *farmak* vient plutôt directement du grec (Mihăescu 1977 : 190). Les deux variantes albanaises conservent le sens « poison ». En roumain, le verbe *a fermeca* a le sens « ensorceler », tandis qu'en albanais, *farmakos* signifie « empoisonner ». On peut observer que le roumain et l'albanais partagent les deux sens de l'étymon. Pour la discussion sur l'opposition en roumain entre les termes *farmec* et *descântec* voir Timotin 2010 : 16 *sq*.

[3] Meyer 1891 : 253. Le verbe *a amăgi* « ensorceler », en ancien roumain (en roumain actuel le sens est « tromper quelqu'un »), a été expliqué d'une forme latine **admagire* (< **magire* < a. gr. *μαγευω*) (Densusianu 1975 : 198 ; Mihăescu 1966 : 54). À la même famille étymologique (lat. **manganeare* « ensorceler » < gr. *μαγγανευω*) doivent être rapportés le mot roum. *a mângâia* vb. « caresser ; réconforter » et le terme alb. *mëngji* n. f. « simples, plantes médicinales ; sortilège » (FS, 1954, s. v.), dont nous parlerons plus loin (Mihăescu 1993 : 321 ; Çabej 1982 : 104). Il faut mentionner ici l'ancien roum. *măngănie*, synonyme de *fapt*, *făcătură* « ensorcellement » (DA, s. v. *fapt*).

[4] Le nom *shortí* est formé de la même manière que *mjekí*, auquel nous reviendrons plus loin, et de *magistarí* « ensorcellement » que nous avons déjà mentionné. Le modèle est bien représenté comme on le verra plus loin.

[5] Comparer le mot albanais emprunté au latin avec le mot roumain hérité *sorţi*, f. pl. dans l'expression *a trage la sorţi*, fr. *tirer au sort*.

[6] Le dérivé albanais nom d'agent *shortar* correspond comme structure au terme français hérité *sorcier* « diseur de sorts » issu du lat. **sortiarius* (Dauzat-Dubois-Mittérand 1964, s. v.).

[7] Pour le rôle du suffixe *-í* voir là-dessus *shortí*, *magistarí*.

[8] Le terme français *sortilège*, par exemple, n'est pas hérité ; voir Pellegrini 1980 : 43 ; Mihăescu 1993 : 61.

[9] Hahn 1854 : 65, 127. E. Durham (1990 : 511) observe que, selon la tradition vive encore au début du XX^e^ siècle, les résultats des actions maléfiques de la sorcière ne peuvent être annulés que par elle-même. Le texte suivant représente la traduction récente en albanais de l'original anglais, mais nous l'avons retenu pourtant à cause de son lexique : *Vetëm ajo shtrigë që e ka bërë magjinë mund edhe ta prishë* « Seulement la sorcière (*shtriga*) qui a accompli l'acte magique (*magji*) peut aussi le rompre, le briser (*prish* = gâter) ». Il est intéressant de retenir la construction *bën magji* (que nous avons déjà mentionnée) et son antonyme, *prish magjinë* « rompre la sorcellerie ». Cette dernière construction fixe a des synonymes : *largon magjinë* « éloigner, écarter la magie », *heq magjinë* « écarter la sorcellerie » (Godin 1930, s. v. *entzaubern*) (*heq* = tirer, retirer). Pour le rôle négatif de la sorcière (*shtriga*), voir aussi Krasniqi 1985 : 140 sq. Un intérêt significatif pour les moyens de la guérison magique (*magische Heilung*) a montré J. G. von Hahn, qui a enregistré un très riche matériel (Hahn 1854 : 143–173).

[10] Voir FS 1954, s. v. Le mot roumain hérité *strigă* signifie aussi « sorcière » (Coteanu 1969 : 171 ; Mihăescu 1993 : 202, avec bibliographie). Le verbe dérivé *a strigoia* a le sens « ensorceler » (Puşcariu 1905 : 152 ; DA, s. v.). De même, *strigare*, la forme longue de l'infinitif du verbe *a striga* (< lat. **strigare* [< *striga* = *strix*] ; Coteanu et alii 1969 : 168) a dans les incantations le sens « ensorcellement » (voir les textes analysés par

Densusianu 1968 : 236, 278, 292, 341 ; Rosetti 1975 ; Golopenţia 2007 : 98 ; Timotin 2010 : 172, 386), que l'étymon avait aussi (voir Vătăşescu, 2011, avec bibliographie).

[11] Dans son dictionnaire de 1635, Bardhi utilisait le terme albanais *shtriginia* (variante guègue) afin de traduire le mot latin *praecantatio ;* voir Roques 1932, s. v. *praecantatio*.

[12] On peut trouver dans la traduction albanaise des écrits d'Edith Durham (Durham 1990 : 513) les considérations suivantes : « *Në shqipen* ***magjistari*** *quhet* ***magjistar*** *ose* ***mengjistar****. Për magjinë thuhet edhe* ***mengji****, dhe* ***mengjia*** *është gjithashtu një ilaç. Në kohët e vjetra mjekësia dhe magjia ishin e njëjta gjë"* (En albanais l'ensorceleur porte le nom de **magjistar** ou **mengjistar**. La sorcellerie est nommée aussi **mengji**, mais **mengji** est aussi le nom pour remède, médicament.

[13] Jankaj 1977 : 325. Tirta (2004 : 26) fait la précision importante que ce nom désigne la personne qui fait rejeter les conséquences des actions magiques malfaisantes.

[14] FS 1980, s. v. ; dans la traduction du texte de Durham (1990 : 512), on trouve la variante *nomatisje ;* la même variante chez Lacaj-Fishta 1966, s. v. *cantio, -onis*, traduit par *nomatisje*.

[15] Tous ces termes sont absents du dictionnaire de Orel 1998.

[16] Il faut observer que FS, 1980 enregistre l'homonyme (?) *nam*, avec le sens "renom, bon renom, mauvais renom ; bruit, rumeur". Il nous est difficile de saisir les rapports entre tous ces termes ; voir aussi Hahn 1854 : 79.

[17] Cette interprétation trouve un appui dans le commentaire que Mark Tirta donne aux actions et aux formules destinées à guérir l'épilepsie. Dans son commentaire, il nomme malédiction (*mallkim*) les formules prononcées par la guérisseuse (Tirta 2004 : 326).

[18] FS 1980, s. v. Hahn (1854 : 91) explique le nom *ysht* comme formule prononcée contre le mauvais œil.

[19] Godin 1930, s. v. *entzaubern*.

[20] Tase 1941 : 173. L'exemple donné concerne un prêtre qui reprend la messe, parce qu'il n'est pas content de la manière dont il a été récompensé. L'explication de l'auteur est "il chante encore une fois la messe, ainsi disant pour lui en amoindrir la force devant Dieu".

[21] Tirta, 2004, p. 25. À cette expression, dont la traduction littérale est "fermer sa fortune, (en empêchant son mariage)", correspond en roumain le verbe *a lega* (*a lega cununiile*).

[22] Les informations sont éparses dans des sources diverses et intéressantes : glossaires de mots régionaux, enquêtes ethnologiques, textes populaires, recherches dues aux premiers savants qui se sont occupés de la civilisation albanaise, etc.

[23] Il faut souligner, par exemple, que dans le cas du roumain, comme le remarque Brâncuş (2008), le domaine lexical de la « sorcellerie" est partagé entre trois termes génériques appartenant à trois couches étymologiques différentes, latine, grecque et slave (*descântec*, *farmec*, *vrajă*). La couche slave, de même que dans le cas de la terminologie chrétienne, semble absente en albanais.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

DA – Academia Română, *Dicţionarul limbii române*, A–C, D–De, F–L, Bucureşti, 1913 *sq*.
FS 1954 – *Fjalor i gjuhës shqipe*, Tirana, 1954.
FS 1980– *Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe*, Tirana, 1980.

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GET DR CLAGUE. DR JOHN CLAGUE AS COLLECTOR OF MANX CHARMS

Stephen Miller

Dr John Clague (1842–1908) was a medical practitioner in the Isle of Man as well as a folklore and folk song collector. His mother was a herbal healer as was Clague before commencing his medical studies. Clague's posthumously published reminiscences in 1911 contain the largest collection of charms (13) published to date as well as details of his encounters with charmers and healers during his rounds. Published with facing pages of Manx Gaelic and English (the two languages of the Island in this period) the question arises as to which language the charms were originally collected in. Surviving is a manuscript notebook containing texts of six of the charms; two others are known in Manx from earlier church court records. Clague's collecting does not exhaust the material for the Island. There is one other contemporary collector, namely Sophia Morrison, whose manuscript material remains inedited and unpublished. Other material that remains to be examined are the printed and manuscript collections of the Manx National Heritage Library, especially the Manx Museum Folk-Life Survey. It is hoped that all this material can be gathered together at some date in a charm catalogue allowing its use by the wider community of charm scholars.

Key words: Isle of Man, Manx Gaelic, English, Dr John Clague (1842–1908), Charm Collecting, Late 19th Century

INTRODUCTION

In 1949, Charles Corrin, a former blacksmith in the Isle of Man, was interviewed by the Manx Museum Folk Life Survey and recalled both charming and Dr John Clague:

> Once a man servant of Balladoole, Faragher, cut his hand deeply another told my brother "Well, Johnny, I would never believe it before but I've got to now as I have seen it done. I saw Faragher cut his hand nearly half an inch deep and it bled as never I saw before. 'Get Dr Clague,' I shouted. But they said he'll be dead before Dr Clague gets here. 'Get John Gale in the field there.' (Gale was the local preacher.) Gale stopped the plough. 'Yes, yes,' he said, 'go back, he'll be alright.' When Dr Clague came later and looked at Faragher's hand he asked him if he'd been to Johnny Gale.

> 'Yes,' said Faragher. 'Yes,' said Dr Clague, 'they're useful people, John, but they used to burn them for witches. Tie that hand up and don't disturb it for 21 days or you'll bleed to death.' So he tied it up and when he unwrapped it 21 days later, there was no mark there. Johnny Gale came into the smithy two days after he had done this, and my father said 'We have enough cuts at the smithy here, Gale, thou had better tell me your secrets.' 'It is not with black arts, but faith healing—I am a preacher and use holy words, but if I told thee, John Corrin, or Charlie there, I would lose my power.'"[1]

The Isle of Man is situated in the Irish Sea, between Ireland and Great Britain in the British Isles. Its vernacular culture (both in Manx Gaelic and English) has been collected and reasonably well documented but these materials are little known due to the usual issues in folkloristics of access in both bibliographical and physical terms to the material. As regards the collecting and noting of Manx charming practices two figures are of note, Dr John Clague and Sophia Morrison, folklorists and folk song collectors active at the turn of the nineteenth century. The interest here is in the first of these figures, namely Clague.

DR JOHN CLAGUE (1842–1908)

Clague was born 10 October 1842, the son of Henry Clague, a tenant farmer of Ballanorris, Arbory.[2] His mother was Elizabeth, the niece of Archibald Cregeen, the "Kirk Arbory Lexicographer."[3] He was educated at Ballabeg school before attending, first the Old Grammar School in Castletown, and then King William's College, just outside the town, as a day boy.[4] His obituary reported that his education at KWC had been paid for by the Rev. Harrison of Jurby as well as his medical studies (Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. a.). Kewley set the record straight in a letter written to J.E. Quayle in 1939:

> Some years later the Doctor and his father were much hurt by a report that he had been sent to King William's College and to Guy's Hospital by money which Parson Harrison had provided for this purpose. There was no foundation for this unkind gossip. The Doctor was educated entirely at his father's expense.[5]

Clague was educated at Guy's Hospital, London, where he was First Prizeman and Exhibitioner in 1870. He was admitted as L.S.A. (Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries) in 1872,[6] as L.R.C.P. (Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians) in 1873,[7] and, that same year, as M.R.C.S. (Member of the Royal College

of Surgeons).[8] According to Sir William Gull, "Clague was the cleverest man who had passed through Guys while he was at the head of that institution" (Quayle 1937: 243). His medical education did not come cheap, his studies reportedly costing his father the considerable sum of £1,000 (Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. a).

He returned to the Island in 1873 and began to practise from the family farm at Ballanorris.

> At first he had uphill work, In those days there was a big colony of one-horse aristocrats in Castletown, and they were disposed to look down upon or ignore the modest practitioner who had practically come from the plough, and whose forebears were so well-known in the neighbourhood. (Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. a)

He married that same year, Margaret Eliza, the only daughter of Henry J. Watterson of Colby, Captain of the Parish, and one-time member of the House of Keys for Rushen Sheading. They were no children from the marriage.

It was with the departure of Dr Thomas Wise in 1874 that proved to be Clague's opportunity (Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. a). He managed to succeed to many of his appointments, becoming the medical officer at his old school, King William's College, the surgeon to the Castle Rushen Goal in Castletown, the medical officer to the garrison in the town, the surgeon to the Royal Naval Reserve, and, eventually, Surgeon to the Household.[9] He was also the doctor to a number of Friendly Societies. At his funeral, "[a]ttired in black sashes, a deputation from the Harbour of Peace Lodge of Oddfellows (Port St Mary) walked in the procession," Clague having been their medical officer for close on seventeen years (Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. c). Clague moved to Castletown and established a practise that ranged over the southern parishes of the Island. He was also a consulting physician and his patients came from all over the Island.

Eventually Clague succumbed himself to a severe illness in 1901 and he resigned from all of his official appointments. In 1903 he was unable to attend the annual general meeting of the Manx Language Society, "I have not been able to get to Douglas during the summer, and I shall not venture to do so during the cold weather."[10] Though even after 1901, he continued to see patients and hold consultations as Sarah Gelling noted in her diary for 1902:

> […] afternoon, went with Lizzie Kennaugh, Annie with us to get Dr Clague's opinion about Mr Clucas & operation. he seemed to think it was the proper thing to do, but seemed doubtful of success owing to his age.[11]

In fact, on the very day he died, "[h]e had interviewed and prescribed for a patient only a few minutes before he was suddenly called away."[12]

J.E. Quayle, who had helped in some capacity as a young man when Clague was folk song collecting recalled him so:

> A round, somewhat portly figure, rather below medium height, with a keen fresh-coloured face, clean shaven, except for the usual side whiskers, stiff hair brushed straight up, firm well-shaped and sensitive hands (real surgeon's hands), a hearty friendly manner, with a keen sense of humour and an infectious laugh—altogether a very human personality. He was a physician of almost uncanny gifts, and a man of many interests; the Manx language, folk lore, folk songs, theology, mechanics and music all came within the circle of his orbit. My earliest recollections of him go back to a time when I was a small boy, I used to see his familiar figure seated in a high dog-cart, and always smoking a large pipe, being driven around by his man, Charles who was, in his own way, an original like his master—the dog-cart was succeeded by a kind of pill box on two wheels, which I have always thought must have been designed by himself, as I have never seen its fellow. (Quayle 1937: 241–242)

His coachman was Charles Clague, who was his second cousin, and also a singer who contributed to Clague's folk song collection. The pair had a shared interest in growing and exhibiting chrysanthemums, where they regularly swept the board of prizes (Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. a). Clague himself also had a passion for wrought ironwork (Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. a). He was forced to give up playing the violin due to a slight accident to one of his hands.[13]

"THE CAUSE OF MY BEING A DOCTOR"

A medical career did not beckon at first, Clague working for many years on the family farm after leaving school. The catalyst for his medical career, as he wrote himself, came one harvest when there was an accident:

> When the last load was brought home it was called the "stook of brimmin," and if there were two or three carts in the field together they would strive with one another which would be first, because they did not like to be called the "stook of brimmin." It was an accident in this strife to a young man who fell off a cart and broke his leg when he was driving across a clash that was the cause of my being a doctor.
>
> He fell off the cart when it was late in the afternoon, and he was carried home, and I set the bone. On the morrow I went for my friend William

> Clucas, The Strang, a bonesetter of great repute. He advised my father to send me to Guy's Hospital, London, and I went the same week that the young man was for getting out of bed. (Clague: 79, 81)

In these early years, Clague had been acting at times as a charmer himself, as his obituary stated, "[i]ndeed there are people yet living who remember the youth treating his fellows with the simples to be found growing in the Welds and hedgerows of Kirk Arbory."[14] This knowledge came from his mother, as Charles Corrin once again recalled: "Dr Clague's mother could cure by charming. She cured Tommy Doran's lame leg with tramman berries."[15] It also came from other charmers as he was to later recall himself:

> The charm goes by heirship, and if there is not an heir, the nearest person is to get it, or the next of kin.
>
> I remember an old man, John Kelly. He was making a charm to stop blood, and he came to me, when I was a boy, and he gave the charm to me, and he said I was the nearest relation to him. He gave me a piece of paper, and the charm was written on it. He said to me, "Write it out, and do not show it to anybody." If I should be wanting to give the charm to any other person, I must do the same, and I must not give it to any *man*.
>
> I did as he wanted me, and I have the charm yet. He said he had used it many a time.
>
> The charm must always be given to one of the opposite sex otherwise it will lose its power. (Clague: 115, 17)

This was John Kelly of Cronk-shynnagh and the incident took part in 1860, when Clague would have been 18 years old and the charm was passed to him as he was the closest relative to him:

> He told me he had proved it hundreds of times, and that the blood always stopped. I thought it would have stopped whether he would have "said the charm" or not. It gave an easy mind to the person whose blood was running. (Clague: 135)

This scepticism was not to leave him, but only as regards verbal charming, as has been recorded:

> There was never such a good doctor in the Island as Clague, for he was getting the cures and charms from the old people, and using them, too, whenever he could, and he would say they were doing more good than all the drugs he learnt about in London. He was learnt at a real bonesetter, too, when he was lumper [young], and he was able to show these London doctors lots they didn't know. (Douglas 1966: 31)

COOINAGHTYN MANNINAGH: MANX REMINISCENCES (1911)

"I am medical practitioner in Castletown, and have extensive practice both in that town and the neighbouring parishes" Clague declared in 1879, "My practice carries me through the parishes of Santon, Rushen, Arbory, and Malew." (Isle of Man Government 1879: 61 col. a, 62 col. a.) It was to be in these southern parishes in the Island that Clague would make his folklore and folk song collections. His lifetime saw the increasing Anglicisation of the Isle of Man as Manx Gaelic fell into disuse and became increasingly confined to just the elderly and the geographical margins of the Island.[16] As to Clague's own competence in Manx, he wrote to Edmund Goodwin in 1899, that:

> I should tell you that I am able to speak Manx fairly well, that is, I can converse with any one on any ordinary subject, but I should not like to make a very long speech, though that would be due to want of practice. My chief practice in speaking is on matters relating to my own profession, as I always speak in Manx to those who understand it.[17]

The previous month he had subscribed to the appeal for printing the Manx lessons of the Peel Association, writing "you can put my name down for two guineas."[18] In the same letter he also remarked, "I soon left off looking at O'Growney as I found it was interfering with my Manx,"[19] showing an interest in Irish Gaelic. He also mentions "I am still working at idiomatic Manx and the Irregular Verbs."[20] Whether this is a reference to his study of the language or its collecting is unclear.

Nothing of his collecting was published in his lifetime, but some of his material would later appear in a memorial volume to his name edited by his life-long friend, the Rev. John Kewley, and published by the Manx Language Society for which he had once served as President.[21] This book was a bilingual one with facing pages of Manx Gaelic (verso) and English (recto). *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh* has a range of material within it and one of its chapters is titled "Charms and Cures" and whilst short it contains accounts of Clague's own encounters with charmers and their techniques both in youth and when in practice as a medical practitioner. There is also a run down on typical herbal cures and simples. These top and tail a section that contains a number of verbal charms, some thirteen in total, the largest printed collection that we have for the Island.

The question soon arises which language were the charms collected in, Manx or English—in short which linguistic tradition was Clague collecting them from? Fortunately, there exists a notebook that contains the bulk of the folklore notes that he later worked up into *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh*. It is a diary for 1892, pressed into usage as a rough notebook.[22] It does not have the look of

a record of fieldwork as it does have an (admittedly) loose thematic structure in its contents. As to the date when Clague was actively collecting, the decade of 1890 seems a reasonable conclusion on the evidence of the notebook. The contents are difficult to read as Clague's handwriting is small and he uses an abbreviated style; many of the entries are now faded and often can only be made out by using the relevant printed page from *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh*. The existence of the notebook crucially allows us to see in which language they were originally recorded.

Despite having been given a blood stopping charm he was sceptical as mentioned already. He recalls two incidents, one of which he was definitely involved in:

> I once saw a man with his foot cut very badly by falling before a horse machine for reaping. He at once sent for a man who had a charm to stop blood. He was not able to do it, and the man and the charmer came on as fast as they could to the doctor. The charmer "said the word" two or three times, but the blood would not stop. I tied the artery, and that did better than the charm. The man who was cut felt better because the charmer was with him, because he was not so afraid. (Clague: 125)
>
> I knew another man who had cut his hand badly with a sickle when he was cutting some grass. He went to another charmer, who had the charm to stop blood. He worked all day to see if it would stop, but it would not stop. A bandage properly put on stopped it at once. (Clague: 125)

THE CHARMS AS COLLECTED BY DR CLAGUE

Thirteen charms are printed in *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh*, the greatest number (4) are blood stopping charms. Then there are single charms to cure, respectively, enlarged glands, the King's Evil, "looseness" (diarrhoea), mumps, ringworm, sprained joints, a stye, and a charm to get blood and one to remove warts. The table under shows which charms are recorded in Clague's surviving notebook:

Table 1. The Clague notebook (MS 952 A)

CHARM	MS 952 A
Blood stopping (4)	English (1)
To get blood	Not present
Enlarged glands	English
The King's Evil	Not present

"Looseness"	Not present
Mumps	Manx
Ringworm	Manx
Sprained joints	Manx
Stye	Manx
Warts	Not present

Of the thirteen charms, just six are present and of those, two are in English. As ever, there is lost material to contend with here in this case. The blood stopping one is that given to Clague by John Kelly and as it was stated that it was written on paper it is not surprising that it is in English as there was no written usage of Manx bar *carvals* or self-composed Christmas carols. The printed presence of the language consisted of liturgical and spiritual material. Clague is not attempting a deception here – rather this is a patriotic exercise by him to record his reminiscences in Manx.

Naturally, this does raise the difficulty with the *verbal* material of interest that appears in *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh* of determining the language of usage. However, of the six charms in the notebook, four are indeed in Manx on the evidence of Clague's own collecting. Of the seven not present in any language, two of the charms are known in Manx as evidenced in cases before the church courts in the Island in the early 1720s. One of the blood stopping charms (see Clague Collection [10] below) was used by Dan[iel] Kneale in Santan in 1722 and entered into the record of the proceedings of the court (see Appendix (i)).[23] The charm for "looseness" (see [13]) is known from 1713, when it was taught to Joney Kneal [Jane Kneale] by Alice Cowley when she was plucking some herbs in order to make a charm such that she could find a husband (see (ii)).[24] What is needed is to find in other collections these charms in Manx to confirm either a present or past circulation in that language. So future research will require examining the material gathered by Sophia Morrison (and others). Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that what has been presented here will be a starting point for wider research on the study of verbal charming in the Isle of Man as well as adding the name of Dr John Clague to the list of charm collectors and making the material in *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh* wider and better known.

THE CLAGUE COLLECTION OF CHARMS

[1] CHARM TO STOP BLOOD (Clague: 135)

"O Lord, hear my prayer in Thy righteousness.
Give ear to my prayer in Thy faithfulness.

Sin first began in Adam and Eve.
And in Thy sight I now charge
This blood to be stopped. Amen."

OALYS DY CHASTEY FUILL (Clague: 134)

"O Hiarn! clasht rish my phadjer ayns Dty ynrickys.
Cur geill da my phadjer ayns Dty irrinys.
Ren peccah goaill toshiaght ayns Adam as Aue.
As ayns Dty hilley ta mish nish sumney yn uill shoh dy ve castit. Amen."

CLAGUE'S COMMENTARY (Clague: 135).

I got this charm from John Kelly, Cronk-shynnagh, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty, for I was his nearest relation.

He told me he had proved it hundreds of times, and that the blood always stopped. I thought it would have stopped whether he would have "said the charm" or not. It gave an easy mind to the person whose blood was running.

Note: Recorded only in English in MNHL, MS 952 A.

[2] CHARM FOR SPRAINED JOINTS (Clague: 137)

Say the Lord's Prayer.

Now say three times,

"In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.
Christ went to the rock
To heal a sore neck;
And before Christ reached the ground
The sore neck was better.
Be whole each vein, and be whole each sinew, and be whole each sore, and be whole each nation of the world, and may that part be quite as well as any foot there was not anything doing on it.*
Lord give a cure. God give a cure to him."

* *ie*, there was nothing the matter with it.

OALYS SON JUNTYN SHEEYNT (Clague: 136)

Abbyr padjer y Chiarn.

Nish abbyr three keayrtyn, "Ayns ennym yn Ayr, as y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo."
Hie Creest gys creg
Dy laanaagh ey mwannal eig;
As my rosh Creest yn laare,
Va'n wannal eig ny share.

Bee slane dagh cuishlin, as bee slane dagh feh, as bee slane dagh cron, as bee slane dagh ashoon jeh'n theill, as dy ve yn ayrn shen kiart cha mie myr cass erbee nagh row red erbee jannoo er.

Hiarn, cur couyral. Dy chur Jee da couyral."

[3] CHARM FOR AN ENLARGED GLAND (Clague: 137)
Nine pieces of iron put across each other over the swelling nine times, saying, "Melt away as mist on the mountains, and as the sea on the shore. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

PISHAG SON FAIRAG (Clague: 136)
Nuy meeryn dy yiarn currit tessen er y cheilley harrish yn att nuy keayrtyn, as gra "Lheie ersooyl myr kay er ny sleityn, as myr keayn er y traie. Ayns ennym yn Ayr, as y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo."

Note: Recorded only in English in MNHL, MS 952 A.

[4] CHARM FOR THE MUMPS, OR LITTLE TONGUE (Clague: 139)
Say the Lord's prayer.

Now say three times, "In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

If it is the mumps or sore throat,
Or the little tongue,
I will lift thy head, I will lift thy head.
God will lift, Mary will lift, Michael will lift.
Me to say, and God to do it.
Thus Christ went on the bridge.
I will lift up thy joints, sinews and blood."

YN PISHAG NY MUMPYN, NY CHENGEY VEG (Clague: 138)
Abbyr padjer y Chiarn.

Nish abbyr three keayrtyn, "Ayns ennym yn Ayr, as yn Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo.
My she ny mumpyn, ny scoarnagh ghonnagh,
Ny yn chengey veg,
Troggyms seose dty chione. Troggyms seose dty chione.
Troggys Jee, troggys Moirrey, troggys Maal.
Mish dy ghra, as Jee dy yannoo eh.
Myr shen hie Creest er y droghad.
Troggyms seose dty yuntyn, fehyn as fuill."

[5] CHARMS FOR WARTS (Clague: 139)
There was a piece of woollen thread, and a knot was put on it for every wart, and placed in a grave.

"Funeral, funeral, going to the church.
Bring my warts with thy own warts.
In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

OALYS SON FAHNAGHYN (Clague: 138)
Va meer dy snaie olley, as va cront currit er son dy chooilley fahney, as currit ayns oaie. "Oanluckey! Oanluckey! goll gys y cheeill,
Cur lesh ny fahnaghyn aym marish ny fahnaghyn ayd hene.
Ayns ennym yn Ayr, as y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo."

[6] CHARM FOR THE RINGWORM (FIRE OF GOD) (Clague: 141)
Nine knots (joints) of barley straw, dried and ground (crumbled) by the finger, and then mixed with fasting spittle, and put on the ringworm three times.

"Split ringworm, hot fire of God.
Don't spread any more, don't spread any wider.
In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

OALYS SON YN CHENNEY-JEE (Clague: 140)
Nuy juntyn dy choonlagh oarn, chirmit dy vleh lesh ny meir, as eisht mastit lesh shelley hrostey, as currit er yn chenney-Jee three keayrtyn.

"Scolt y chenney-Jee, chenney-Jee cheh.
Ny skeayl ny smoo, ny skeayl ny shlea.
Ayns ennym yn Ayr, y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo."

[7] CHARM FOR A STYE (Clague: 141)
The stye was to be touched easily about it with a big yellow brass pin, against the sun when the first part of the charm was said, and with the sun when the last part was said (repeated). The charm was repeated three times.

"Stye one, stye two, stye three, stye four, stye five, stye six, stye seven, stye eight, stye nine."

"From nine to eight, from eight to seven, from seven to six, from six to five, from five to four, from four to three, from three to two, from two to one, from one to nothing."

PISHAG SON LHEUNICAN (Clague: 140)
Va'n lheunican dy ve ventyn rish dy aashagh mygeayrt y mysh lesh freeney prash, noi yn ghrian tra va'n chied ayrn jeh'n oalys grait, as lesh yn ghrian tra va'n ayrn s'jerree grait. Va'n oalys grait three keayrtyn.

"Lheunican 'nane, lheunican jees, lheunican three, lheunican kiare, lheunican queig, lheunican shey, lheunican shiaght, lheunican hoght, lheunican nuy.

Veih nuy gys hoght, veih hoght gys shiaght, veih shiaght gys shey, veih shey gys queig, veih queig gys kiare, veih kiare gys three, veih three gys jees, veih jees gys 'nane, veih 'nane gys veg."

[8] TO STOP RUNNING BLOOD (1) (Clague: 143)
Three religious men came from Rome—Christ, Peter and Paul.

Christ was on the cross, and His blood was shedding, and Mary on her knees by Him.

One of them took the man charmer in his right hand, and drew a criss-cross + over him.

DY CHASTEY ROIE FOALLEY (1) (Clague: 142)
Haink three deiney crauee voish yn Raue, Creest, Peddyr, as Paul.

Va Creest er y chrosh, as va'n uill Echey shilley, as Moirrey er ny glioonyn eck Liorish.

Ghow fer jeu yn er-obbee ayns e laue yesh, as hayrn Creest crosh + harrish.

[9] TO STOP RUNNING BLOOD (2) (Clague: 143)
Three young women came over the water.

One of them said, "Up."

Another said "Wait."

The third one said, "I will stop the blood of man or woman."

I to say, and Christ to do it.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

DY CHASTEY ROIE FOALLEY (2) (Clague: 142)
Haink three mraane aegey harrish yn ushtey.

Dooyrt unnane jeu, "Seose."

Dooyrt 'nane elley, "Fuirree."

Dooyrt yn trass unnane, "Castyms fuill dooinney as ben."

Mish dy ghra, as Creest dy yannoo eh.

Ayns ennym yn Ayr, as y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo.

[10] TO STOP RUNNING BLOOD (3) (Clague: 142)
Three Maries went to Rome, the spirits of the church, and the spirits of the houghs, Peter and Paul.

One Mary of them said, "Stand."

Another Mary of them said "Walk."

Another Mary said, "Stop this blood, as the blood stopped (which) came from the wounds of Christ."

I to say it, and the Son of Mary to perform it.

DY CHASTEY ROIE FOALLEY (3) (Clague: 142)
Three Moirraghyn hie gys yn Raue, ny keymee, ny cughtee, Peddyr as Paul.

Dooyrt Moirrey jeu, "Shass."

Dooyrt Moirrey jeu, "Shooyl."

Dooyrt Moirrey elley, "Dy gastey yn uill shoh, myr chast yn uill haink ass lhottyn Chreest."

Mish dy ghra eh, as Mac Voirrey dy chooilleeney eh.

[11] CHARM FOR THE KING'S EVIL (Clague: 144)
"I divide it in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Whether it be the evil, or the king's evil, divide this evil, spread this evil on the sands of the sea."

PISHAG SON Y ROIG (Clague: 145)
"Ta mee rheynn eh ayns ennym yn Ayr, as y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo.

Edyr eh ve roig, ny roig yn ree, dy jean y chron rheynnit shoh, skeayl yn dourin shoh er geinnagh ny marrey."

[12] CHARM TO GET BLOOD (Clague: 144)
"Springing back the black blood as the short black looseness. I will take it, and I will have it. I shall see it, and I shall not give heed to it any more."

PISHAG DY GHEDDYN FUILL (Clague: 145)
"Farraneagh yn uill ghoo, myr yiare buinnagh dhoo. Goyms eh, as bee eh aym. Vaikym eh, as cha derym geill da ny smoo."

[13] CHARM FOR LOOSENESS (Clague: 144)
Philip was king of peace, and Bahee his wife, and she would swear to God that he would never want young or old. I will take the true sprite and cast from me the black short looseness, and I will take it, and I will have it, and I will never be sick of the painful looseness.

PISHAG SON YN VUINNAGH (Clague: 145)
Va Philip ree ny shee, as Bahee yn ven echey, as yinnagh ee breearrey gys Jee nagh beagh eh dy bragh laccal er aeg ny shenn. Goyms fynn firrinagh jiooldym voym yn doo yiare buinnagh, as goyms eh, as bee eh aym, as cha bee'm dy bragh dy dhonney yiare buinnagh.

APPENDIX

(I) ALICE COWLEY'S CHARM WHEN PLUCKING HERBS (1713)

And says further, that Joney Kneal told her, that the above Alice Cowley demanded 7^{d} from her to put into the Earth where she gathered some Herbs, to procure her a Husband, & that she used some Words at the plucking of the Herbs, which she taught the said Joney Kneal to this purpose—Phillip va Ree ny Shee, as Bahee er y Ven; as Yinnagh ee Brearey gys Jeeh, nagh beagh dy Bragh Lachal er Aig, ny shen. Goym y' ffyn firrinagh, as Juyldym vome yn Doo Yarbunagh, as goyms e', as bee e' aym, as cha beem dy bragh donna Jiar bunagh: with much more, which this Deponent cannot recollect.

Jane Curlet

Source: MNHL, *Liber Causarum* for 1713, see examinations taken 26 February of Jane Curlet [Corlett] of Jurby.

(II) DANIEL KNEALE'S CHARM TO STOP BLOOD (1722)

Daniel Kneal's Charm, to stanch y^{e} Horse's Bleeding.

Tree Moiraghyn hie d'yn Raue,
Kemy, Cughty, Peddyr, as Paul,
Doort Moirre jeu, Shass,
Doort Moirrey jeu, Shooyl,
Doort Moirrey elley, Dy gast
yn 'Uill shoh, myr chast yn 'Uill,
haink as Lottyn Chreest:
Mish dy ghra eh, as Mac Voirrey
dy chooilleeney eh.

Source: MNHL, *Book of Presentments* for Santan, 2 September 1722.

NOTES

[1] Interview with Charles Corrin, 1949, MNHL, MXMUS FLS CC/C, 6.

[2] The farm was, in fact, in family hands, being owned by his brother. For a history of the Clague family, see Cowin (1980). See too the letter from the Rev. John Kewley to J.E. Quayle, 16 January 1939, MNHL, MS 1397 A.

[3] Editor and compiler of the first Manx Gaelic dictionary; Cregeen (1835 [but 1837]).

[4] See "Entrances in January 1854." Henderson (1928: 67).

[5] Letter from the Rev. John Kewley to J.E. Quayle, 16 January 1939, MNHL, MS 1397 A. This was written to correct mistakes that Quayle had made in his article from 1937. See Quayle 1937.

[6] "The following gentlemen passed their examination in the science and practice of medicine, and received certificates to practise, on Thursday last: […] On the same day the following gentlemen passed their primary professional examination: John Clague, student of Guy's Hospital." Anon, "Apothecaries' Ball," *The Times* 20 January 1872.

[7] "The following gentlemen were on Monday last admitted Licentiates of the College […] Mr John Clague, Castletown, Isle of Man, having passed in medicine and midwifery, will receive the College licence on his obtaining a qualification in surgery recognised by the College." Anon, "Royal College of Physicians," *The Times* 18 December 1872.

[8] "The following gentlemen, having undergone the necessary examinations for the diploma, were admitted members of the College at a meeting of the Court of Examiners on the 23d inst., viz. […] John Clague, L.R.C.P. lond. and L.S.A. Castletown, Isle of Man, of Guy's Hospital." Anon, "Royal College of Surgeons," *The Times* 24 January 1873.

[9] In other words, the Lieutenant Governor's doctor.

[10] Letter from Dr John Clague to Sophia Morrison, 4 November 1903, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1

[11] Entry for 8 September 1902, diary for 1900–03 kept by Sarah E. Gelling (1874–1951), Glentraugh, Glen Glentraugh, Santan, MNHL, MS 9229/1/2

[12] Rev. John Kewley, "Introduction," *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh: Manx Reminiscences By the Late Dr John Clague* (Castletown: M.J. Backwell, n.d. [but 1911]) x.

[13] Quayle 1937: 243. No reason is given but one wonders if it resulted from his metal working.

[14] Anon, "Death of Dr Clague," 7 col. a. Arbory is the parish in which Clague was born and brought up.

[15] Interview with Charles Corrin, 1949, MNHL, MXMUS FLS CC/C, 6.

[16] For a study see Broderick (1999); Miller (2007).

[17] Letter from Dr John Clague to Edmund Goodwin, 4 April 1899, MNHL, MS 2147/2 A.

[18] Letter from Dr John Clague to Sophia Morrison, 16 March 1899, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1.

[19] Letter from Dr John Clague to Sophia Morrison, 16 March 1899, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1.

[20] Letter from Dr John Clague to Sophia Morrison, 16 March 1899, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1.

[21] Clague, *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh: Manx Reminiscences By the Late Dr John Clague*.

[22] Notebook of Manx Folk Lore compiled by Dr John Clague, undated [but 1892 or after]. MNHL, MS 952 a.

[23] MNHL, *Book of Presentments* for Santan, 2 September 1722.

[24] MNHL, *Liber Causarum* for 1713, see Examination taken 26 February of Jane Curlet [Corlett] of Jurby.

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CONTEMPORARY CHARMS AND CHARMING IN ADJARA, GEORGIA

Jonathan Roper

This paper documents some charms recorded by the author in Adjara, Georgia, in 2006 (mostly for children's ailments), and attempts to compare them with previously-recorded charms where appropriate. It also comments upon details of the charmers involved and their charming, as well as (briefly) on the method of filming imitations of charming in cases where real charming cannot be filmed.

Key words: healing charms, Georgian charms, Adjara, video-documentation, imitations of charming, methodology of documenting charms and charming

Adjara forms the southwestern-most part of Georgia. It is bordered to the south by Turkey, and on the west by the Black Sea. While the coastal towns of Batumi and Kobuleti are warm, humid and rainy, the mountain gorges of the interior are more temperate. During the summer of 2006, through the good offices of the Folklore Department of Batumi University (especially Giorgi Makharashvili) and the Folklore Department of the Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature (especially Mary Tsiklauri), I was fortunate enough to visit two of the mountain gorges: Mareti and Machakhela. The main goal of the expedition was to record *Märchen* on video – something we did succeed in doing. We were also however able to document something of the contemporary charming practices current there especially in those areas far from any professional bio-medical aid, such as clinics. Given that there is little material available in languages other than Georgian on Georgian verbal charms (notable exceptions include Tsiklauri and Hunt (2008) and Gagulashvili (1983)), I offer the following details primarily for documentary purposes.

Adjara is a multi-confessional area. It had been a Christian area for well over a millennium, when a process of Islamicization began, following its conquest by the Ottomans in 1614. However, the loss of the area by the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire in 1878, and its subsequent history as part of the briefly independent Georgian state, the Soviet Union, and newly independent Georgia have reduced the influence of Islam. The coastal towns have long been predominantly Christian, and while many of the mountain-dwellers

remain Muslim, there is a currently a process of Christianization going on in the countryside: we met various families in which the grandparents were Muslim and the grandchildren Christian. The relative shallowness of Islamic influence upon the "Muslim Georgians", as they were once known to census officials, is perhaps indicated by the fact that the drinking of wine is universal in the mountains (as indeed it is the rest of the country).

In any event, the impact of the religious history of Adjara seems to have been a less significant element upon the charm-repertoire of the area than it has elsewhere in Europe, as there is rarely any Christian or Islamic content (apocryphal or otherwise) in the words of the charms. This may related to the formal features of the charms current here: whereas in many places it is narrative charms that contain the highest degree of religious (or para-religious) material (see, for example, Roper 2005: 90–131), in general Georgian charms are direct addresses, often with reduplicative invocations and banishment formulas. Having said that, there was clearly a highly religious aspect to the material of one of the five charmers we met, who used Turkish (and even some Arabic) texts from a chapbook, *Yasin Tebarake* as part of her healing practice, which she herself described as "praying". The booklet, which she had bought when visiting Turkey, was made up of *sura* (i.e. verses) from the Koran and the Hadith.

In a straggling village in the Machakhela gorge, we found the aforementioned Islamic folk healer, and two elderly women who both knew two charms each, against migraine and evil eye. But the data I wish to concentrate on in the rest of this report is that which we found in a village in the Mareti gorge. We were able to video-record *imitations* of charming from two women (with various younger members of their families, or colleagues, playing the patient) as well as the words of the charms. While this does not amount to footage of the charms being used in reality, such footage allows us to see the integration of the charms and the charming. Though this integration is not replicable in the form of a written article, there still may be points of interest gained from it that we can include here. It can also be noted that we were not asking the charmers to play out something that was a memory from the dim and distant past: one of the charms had been used the day before we came.

The two women in question, here referred to as A and B, were sisters-in-law. In accordance with the convention of the contrasexual transmission of charms, their father-in-law, who was not able to pass the charms on to his two sons, passed them on to his two daughters-in-law. Perhaps wishing to avoid dissension, he split his heritage, giving three charms to his elder daughter-in-law, and two to the younger.

The three charms known by A, who was then 43 years old, and who in western terms would be described as a "housewife", covered a broad spectrum of

conditions. The first of these was against "running ache", which in practice can encompass toothache, joint-ache and "breast-ache". The words ran as follows:

Ku, ku, kurkumelav, piragmartav, pirchagmartav, chonchorico,
Ku, ku, kurkumela, up-mouth, down-mouth, chonchoriko,
Pekhs michveneb, pekhs mogchrio, rasats michveneb mas mogchrio,
If you show me your feet, I shall cut your feet, whatever you show me, I will cut,
Agchri, dagchri, shavtarian danit,
I will cut you up and down with a black-handled knife
Gagitan, migtsem arsianis qars, niavs,
And give you and render you to Arsiani's wind and breeze
Dzvalshi tu khar, dzvalshi gamoi,
If you sit in bone, come out from bone,
Bilshi tu khar, karshi gamoi,
If you sit in flesh, come out from the door,
Tsadi momshordi ku qaro,
Go, leave me, ku wind!
Tokh-Najakhs misi Tari ergebodes
Let the spade-axe suit its handle!
Chemi sitkhvats shen gergebodes.
And let my charm suit you!

Notes:
Ku = ache (this sense however is restricted to the register of charm-language)
Arsiani = a high mountain peak in Turkey (known as Yalnızçam in Turkish)

As with so many Georgian charms, this is a direct address. The narrative charms (which ascribe the conjuration to a powerful religious or mythological figure rather than to the charmer themself) found through much of the rest of Europe, are not typical of the Georgian charm record. This charm begins by addressing the illness in what can be considered as two three-part invocations: "Ku, ku, kurkumelav" and "piragmartav, pirchagmartav, chonchorico". Such tripartite invocations are common internationally – to give just one example, we can compare the Old English charm beginning "Wenne, wenne, wenchichene". As with "Ku, ku, kurkumela", the disease is named twice, and then in the third member of the invocation the name of the disease is compounded with other elements, making a nonce formation (or perhaps, a now-incomprehensible archaism, or at least, and more importantly, the impression of a now-incomprehensible archaism). The second three-member invocation here is of a somewhat different form, but shares the feature of close identity between its first two members.

Having addressed the ache, the charmer then threatens it. The threats to cut the disease can also be seen as forming a three-member group, each successive component growing in word-length and in magnitude of the threat (cutting feet, cutting whatever's shown, cutting up and down with a specific knife and expelling to a distant and dissipating element). Following the threat, the charm builds to a tripartite expulsion formula. The three members here also grow in strength: while the first two involve imperatives, they are couched in a conditional frame ("if you sit"), whereas the third is an unmitigated command: "Go". There is also a movement in space: the first member refers to the possible presence of the ache in the bone, the second to its possible presence in the flesh (flesh is still of the body, but less inward than bone), and the third to its future location outside the body. This high point is followed by a ratification, which closes the charm. The persistent presence of three elements in the subsections of the charm suggests that three is the *organizing number* (Roper 1998: 58–9, 61) for this charm. While the free nature of the charm up till now has been one of rhythmical prose rather than verse, the ratification snaps shut like a rhyming couplet. Indeed "gergebodes" is remarkable for rhyming with "ergebodes" in all four of its syllables. The handle alluded to in the ratification is the handle of the black-handled knife mentioned earlier in the charm. In equating it with the handle of an axe or hoe, it is being cast as an effective tool of work and cultivation. This 'black-handled knife' is not a literary conceit, the charmer makes crosses directly in front of the patient's face with a black-handled knife as the words are being said. The stipulation that the knife have a black handle is also in evidence in other genres of Georgian folklore, where it generally is attributed with having a protective force.

Charmers do not normally tell others the words of their charms in this (and many other) traditions, usually with the proviso that if they do, they will lose the power to practice them. However, when Tsiklauri explained that our interest in the charms was that of "scientists", A and B had no inhibitions in telling us the words. This raises the interesting question of how much charmers keep their knowledge secret in order to prevent the emergence of local competitors, and use the notion of potential loss of power as an acceptable explanation for this, rather than being truly fearful of losing their power.

Here, as elsewhere, the video evidence, even though it was of an imitation, supplemented the evidence of our handwritten notation of the charm text, in other words we had information about the charming as well as the charm. As the video shows, at each performance this charm was said three times over. But as well as three being the *threshold number* (Roper 2005: 56, 75–6) of the charm, the charm had to be performed three times a day over three days (a total of twenty-seven instances). The video also reveals that at the culmination of

each of the three repetitions of the charm, the charmer respectively a) spits on the face of the patient, b) taps the teeth of the patient with the black-handled knife, and c) blows on to the face of the patient. This very charm had been used the day before we came on the younger sister of the girl who served as the patient in the re-enactment. The girl, who was a relative, and about eighteen years of age, had been suffering from toothache, when at the suggestion of A, she was been charmed. Within half-an-hour she reported that the toothache had disappeared.

The second of A's charm was for a common ailment affecting infants, 'Sakmatsvilo':

> Bedo, bedo, bedniero, samartvilo, mshveniero,
> *Fate, fate, fateful, to be martyred, nice,*
> Auare, dauare, sagamoze gauare,
> *Go back and forth, visit in the evening.*
> Adikhar, chadikhar, sagamoze tsadikhar,
> *You're going back and forth, you're going away in the evening.*
> Achreldebi, dachreldebi, am kitkhvit shen gatkheldebi,
> *Your will become multi-coloured, by the force of the charms you will be reduced,*
> Tavi, pekhi chamogikhma, am kitkhvit Tavi mogikvda,
> *Your head and foot have dried. By this charm you are dead,*
> Samartvilo, Amin!
> *To be martyred, Amen!*

I will not go over this charm in great detail, but we can note that sound repetition is to be found within every one of its lines (**Bedo**, **bedo**, **bed**nier**o**; **Auare**, d**auare**, sagamoze g**auare**; **Adikhar**, ch**adikhar**, sagamoze ts**adikhar**, etc.) and also between lines ('sagamoze' and 'samartvilo' in lines two and three share the same number of syllables, their position as the penultimate word in the line, as well as several sounds: the initial 's', the 'a', and the 'm'). 'Samartvilo' is perhaps the charm's key word, it literally means "to be martyred", but it was explained to us as being a synonym for "sakmatsvilo", the ailment the charm is aimed at tackling. We can also note here again a link between words in the charm (in this case, the visit of the disease in the evening, and its going away in the evening) and the stipulations governing the charming (which had to take place as the sun was going down, i.e. at the onset of evening). Some might be tempted to draw a parallel here between the diminishing (the drying up, indeed) of the disease and the waning of the sun, but such an analogy is complicated by another of the stipulations governing the charming here, namely that it is best

performed during the new moon, a time of increase rather than of waning. We can also note that this is another charm that needs to be repeated three times.

A's final, and shortest, charm was intended for skin diseases generally affecting children and teens, such as acne and pimples, and ran as follows:

Chiav, chiav, tavi amoke,	*Worm, worm, lift your head,*
Dedo chiav, tavi chake.	*Mother worm, drop your head.*

Once again we have a direct address, and again we have repeated sounds, four examples of '-av' and three of 'ch-'. However, the video evidence showed us that for this procedure (as for many others), the charming begins long before the charm proper does, and continues long after it. To begin with, garlic, a scarf and a razor blade had to be hunted out. After the charm had been said, the garlic would be crushed, mixed with earth, rubbed onto the acne, and the acne was then shaved with a razor blade. This has to be done on three days, beginning on a Sunday, and then repeated on the following Monday and Tuesday. But this is not to be just any Sunday, but a Sunday when the moon is on the wane (the waning of the moon presumably to be reflected in the longed-for waning of the acne, and perhaps with the dropping of the head of the mother worm mentioned in the charm). Thus we have an interesting combination of features: the importance accorded to Sunday may be a para-Christian feature, whereas the importance accorded to the waning of the moon, comes from a belief system independent of Christianity.

B was also in contemporary western terms a "housewife", and had never worked outside of the home. She had married the younger of the two brothers, and was 32 years of age when we visited her and her sister-in-law, who lived close to each other in the same village. She had learnt two charms from her father-in-law, one against migraine, the other against evil eye, the two most common conditions now addressed by charms to judge from our fieldwork.

The first of B's charms was as follows:

Shakiki shemogchvevia,	*Migraine used to visit*
Satibisa bolosa,	*At the end of our field*
Ise chamda qvishasa,	*It ate sand*
Rogorts khari tivasa,	*Like an ox eats hay*
Gautskra tsminda giorgi,	*Saint George got angry with it*
Gaipara dilasa.	*And it did a bunk in the morning.*

Again this is an actively used charm – B had used it on her sister-in-law A the night before we arrived. It is worth noting that although this is a supposedly Islamic context, we find mention of 'tsminda giorgi', Saint George (the patron saint of Georgia), no doubt due to his national symbolic importance. Of all five

charms we recorded here, this was the closest to a narrative charm. The narrative tells how migraine was banished by Saint George, but there is not subsequent section in which this 'epic precedent' is applied to the current situation. This charm-type has been recorded before in Georgia, for example as evidenced in Tsiklauri and Hunt 2008: 267 (ultimately from Mosulishvili 1992: 15). The only verbal difference between these texts comes in the third line, where the migraine eats 'iron' (*rvina*) in the earlier version rather than 'sand' (*qvisha*) as in our version. Yet, as often happens, while these two charms are similar the details of the charming in each case differ widely. We often find the reverse too, that similar charming procedures accompany radically different charm texts.

In B's practice, she would take a needle threaded with white thread, rub it firmly down the forehead of the patient (without breaking the skin of course) in a series of diagonal line pivoted round the gap between the eyebrows, and then would make diagonal crosses over that gap between the eyebrows. In the charm in Mosulishvili (1992), the charmer would, after saying the words, tie a silk handkerchief containing stinging nettle (salted, ground up, and wet with wine) to the sufferer's forehead. We can of course see some common feature to these disparate practices in the fact that both these attempts to charm away headache involve attention to the patient's forehead.

B's second charm was against evil eye:

Shavi tvali gaskda,	*Black eye split,*
Shavi tvali amovarda,	*Black eye dropped out,*
Davchekhe, davkepe,	*I cut it, I mashed it,*
Vali qotanshi chavkare,	*And threw into the clay pot,*
Dugs, poponobs,	*It is boiling, bubbling.*
Meris satvali,	*Into Mary's overlooker's*
Gulsa lakhvari,	*Heart: a spear!*
Zetsas tvali,	*In heaven – the eye.*
Gulsa lakhvari,	*In the heart – a spear.*
Tsoudga tvali,	*Let the eye drop out,*
Doudga tvali.	*Let the eye go blind.*

This charm begins with four lines recounting, in the past tense, the violence that the evil eye (in practice the source to which otherwise irremediable or unidentifiable illnesses and misfortunes are ascribed to) has undergone. There is then a shift to the present tense, where the eye that has been thrown into a clay pot and is boiling in that pot. Then the charmer commands a spear to enter the heart of the ill-wisher. 'Mary' here is not the Virgin Mary, but simply the name of the person playing the role of patient in this case, and Mary's 'overlooker' is the person who has cast the evil eye on her. The twin sources of

evil, the eye and the heart, are then addressed once more, and the wish that a spear enters the ill-wishing heart is repeated.

We are finally left with the sense, not unusual in sets of words intended to deal with the evil eye, that the text is more curse than charm, especially when we consider the final two lines 'Let the eye drop out/ Let the eye go blind'. In fact, the last six lines form a tight unit all ending with three syllables of the form a(C(C))va[l/r]i, where a bracketed capital C stands for any optional consonant, and [l/r] means either 'l' or 'r'. Sound repetition is almost at the maximum in the final two lines which also provide us with the fourth and fifth example of the text's key word *tvali*, eye (or the fifth and sixth examples, if we count its occurrence in the compound *satvali*). It is tempting to designate these last two lines as a couplet, but Georgian researchers characterise their charms as non-metrical, being rather either in free verse or rhythmical prose (Tsiklauri, personal communication, 2010). The charm can be compared with charm text no.12 in Tsiklauri and Hunt 2008: 270, which is also intended to deal with the evil eye. While the content of these two evil-eye charms varies quite significantly, they share something in terms of general structure, as well as the 'spear into the heart' motif.

We were told this charm later in the day than the first four, and so did not manage to film it. However as regards the charming, this is yet again a charm that should be said (whispered in fact) three times over, followed at the end by three blows to the patient to 'fix' the charm. As so often with charms intended to diminish something, this charm is, B told us, most effective when the moon is on the wane.

Other researchers have touched on the beneficial, if sometimes problematic, role that the filming of charming can play (Kljaus 2002, 2004). Overall, the technique used here of filming imitations of charming is a useful one, especially if it is of charms still in active use, and done by people who will go away, rather than set themselves up as rival charmers in the neighbourhood (for possessing a charm, although not knowledge that is directly remunerative, is still an important part of the possessor's cultural capital). It is also useful in documenting a procedure which would seem to be on the decline. One sign that the practice may be in decline is the fact that despite the still-current rule of the contra-sexual transmission of charms, all of the charmers we met were female. Although our sample size cannot be described as anything other than tiny, we would nevertheless expect to find a roughly equal number of charmers of each sex in a situation where the tradition is active and its transmission has not yet begun to break down. The absence of male charmers may indicate that men are not now taking up the practice.

The range of charms that a researcher such as Mosulishvili was able to document was broad, encompassing illnesses such as head colds, scab, haemorrhages, migraines, cow diseases, lumbago, warts, hiccups, burns, hydrophobia, erysipelas, the evil eye, and nightmare. From being seen as suitable for use against such a wide range of ailments, charms have now been reduced to a limited niche – in our admittedly limited search, we found that most of the charms were for headache and evil eye (this latter set of charms is not likely to lose its popularity until such time as the folk aetiology of disease and misfortune ceases to retain the concept of the evil eye). The remainder of the charms we found were mostly for children's ailments, which may be another sign of the relative marginalisation of the practice. It may very well be that biomedical treatments (and possibly also traditional non-magical remedies) have taken over from charms in the realm of such ailments as burns, haemorrhages, head colds, etc. Given current economic and technological changes, biomedicine is only likely to expand its presence in the medical marketplace of even these mountain gorges.

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About the author

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BOOK REVIEWS

James Alexander Kapaló, *Text, Context and Performance. Gagauz Folk Religion in Discourse and Practice.* Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011, 352 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-19799-2

An extremely interesting contribution and a welcome addition to the study of a whole range of practices, such as charms, apocryphal texts, healing practices, prayers and so on, James Alexander Kapaló's book *Text, Context and Performance. Gagauz Folk Religion in Discourse and Practice* is concerned with that portion of the Gagauz population which inhabits the southern region of the Republic of Moldova. Past scholarship has focused on the ethnic origins of this population and the tension between its Christian faith and Turkish linguistic identity. As the result of its author's extensive fieldwork in the Republic of Moldova from 2005 to 2007, this study approaches the problem of this central dichotomy in Gagauz identity through the prism of daily religious practices.

Kapaló's research, historical in its scope, spanning from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty first, is also ethnographic in its approach. It debates on and probes into the 'folk' or 'popular' religion as a *locus* of linguistic struggle between and betwixt academic, national, political, religious, or, according to the author, 'elite' discourses (macro-level) and everyday struggle for access to the divine realm through interventionist practices and in competitive fashion with clergy (micro-level) practices. Key-points of this approach include: a) 'texts' connected, on the one hand, with the scholarly, ecclesiastic and political discourses and their contribution to the construction of Gagauz national identity and popular religious consciousness and, on the other, with the liturgical/canonical and lay/apocryphal tradition of Gagauz, b) the context of above mentioned texts within their social, historical and political frame and c) the role of the performance of these texts in creating, institutionalising and transmitting lay religious practices.

Kapaló's book meets all the criteria of a thoughtfully organised, well-structured research both from an academic and methodological point of view. The first part of the book includes *Note on Transliteration, Names and Toponyms*, a very useful *Glossary of Frequently Used Terms and Abbreviations in Gagauz and Russian*, followed by lists of Illustrations and Maps. An extensive and analytical introductory chapter also provides all the necessary information concerning the geographical area, its historical and political contexts and the aims and key points of the relevant research.

Chapter one on *Folk Religion in Discourse and Practise* deals with the theoretical dimension of the performative nature of the 'folk religious field'. After

an overview of folk religion as a separate field of study, the author proceeds to focus on issues regarding the political and ecclesial history and context of the formation of the field in East and Central Europe. Various theoretical points in relation to terminology of folk religion are discussed and special attention is paid to the dichotomy between folk and 'pure' religion which is based on both contested emic and etic categories. Moreover, the author emphasizes the primary role of language in religious rituals, discursive practices and the institutionalisation of religious facts. Key terms, such as 'text', 'context' and 'performance' and their relationship to religious language are duly explained. The chapter concludes with an analytical outline of the methodological issues applied in his empirical study of the Gagauz.

The discussion on the context of the relation among Gagauz language, identity and religious practise continues in chapter two on *Historical Narrative and the Discourse on Origins* through an overview of the historical political and religious discourses and narratives in the last 200 years of Gagauz history. The chapter traces the role of immigration along with that of geographical, social, economic and administrative dislocations as determining factors in the formation of the Gagauz minority of southern Bessarabia during the Russian-Turkish war of 1768–1774 up to the end of the Second World War. It then proceeds to examine the role of Orthodox priest Mihail Çakir and his contribution to Gagauz religious life and to the national independence movement, concluding with further developments in the post-Çakir years and in the Post-Soviet Era. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the role of national political, clerical and scholarly approaches in the historical construction of Gagauz religious identity and popular consciousness also emphasising the crucial importance of the link between ethnic / national identity and religious identity and practice.

Chapter three traces the recent history of the Orthodox Church in Gagauzia by demonstrating how Orthodoxy, through the institutions of religious practices of the Church, Liturgy and the scriptures, becomes the principle expression of "Gagauz identity" in the early decades of the twentieth century. Starting with an analytical discussion on the interrelation of religious practices and language, Kapaló moves on to explain how a 'linguistic capital' was created for the Gagauz language through the introduction of this particular language into religious life by means of translating the canonical and liturgical texts into the local idiom. Moreover, the problem of "liturgical literacy", along with the political connections with the Russian and the Rumanian Church and State are analytically taken up. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with an exploration of the position of the *Gagauz Language, Liturgy and Scripture in the Post-Soviet Era*.

Chapter four examines the construction of Gagauz folk religion as a field of practice through an exploration of other alternative practices which have existed alongside the officially established expression of Christian worship of the Church and which have been vehemently rejected by the official church. These practises, based on non-canonical texts, consist of a set of privately translated collections in notebooks (*tetratkas),* known as *epistoliyas* into the Gagauz idiom. These texts, which emerged after Moldova's incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1944 due to a total absence of an offical 'church' in most Gagauz communities, perform a number of functions in the Gagauz spiritual life (surrogate scripture on Sundays, healing and defensive rituals, protective talismans *etc*.). Based on this tradition, the author points out the crucial importance of Gagauz language 'texts' in terms of the authority and the establishment of lay institutions by highlighting the dual character of folk religion both as pure discourse and as a field of practice. Finally, it problematises once again emic/etic distinctions concerning official and folk religion and practises.

Another bipolar distinction associated with the field of folk religion and connected with political implications is the distinction between magic and religion, which is discussed in chapter five on *Healing and Divine Authority* through examining various healing practices in performance. In this chapter the author focuses on the context within which healings take place, and through the biographies and testimonies of Gagauz village healers (*ilacci*, *okuyucu)* explores how the traditions of folk and official Church healing practice coexist as bases of authority and agency in the religious sphere. Based on an analysis of the emic categories and lay healing practices he problematises inadequate and misleading scholarly distinctions between the protagonists of religion and practitioners of magic focusing on the significance of language and direct communication with the divine in the construction of the institutions of the folk religious field.

The bipolar relationship between 'religious ritual' and 'magical practice' and the role of language and performance in transcending this distinction, is further taken up in Chapter six on *Healing, Text and Performance* through the exploration of the texts of healing practices themselves. The author highlights the role played by words revealed directly to healers and explains how, through performance, these words of such divine agents as God (*Allah*) or the Mother of God (*Panaiya*) operate to establish and maintain the legitimacy of the institution of healing in the community. Moreover, extremely interesting for the study of charms (*okumaklar)* is in this chapter is the examination of *modus operandi* of Gagauz healing 'texts', the pragmatic and semantic levels on which they function, and, finally, the relationship among healer, patient and the divine agent that they invoke.

In chapter seven on *Prayer as Social and Cosmological Performance,* which focuses on the Gagauz prayer life, the author discusses how emic categories function within the community and how modes or prayer are constructed in performance demonstrating that the propositional content and the function of canonical prayers do not necessarily determine their actual use. Following this, this chapter explores the tradition of *toast-prayer*, a culturally ubiquitous public practice with powerful symbolic significance. Examining this particular type of Gagauz prayer the author points out the role of public performance in maintenance of social and cosmological relations and realities and problematises, based on speech act theory, the etic categorisations and distinctions drawn between magical and religious acts in scholarly, ecclesial and political discourses.

Another form of prayer, quite different from toast-prayers, that of 'archaic prayer', private and 'domestic' in nature, textually 'fixed', and primarily performed by women, is discussed in the book's final, eighth chapter, on *Archaic Folk Prayer amongst the Gagauz*. The author examines the construction of this genre of 'apocryphal' prayer, often referred to as 'folk' prayer, a characteristic example of which is *Panaiyanın duşu* (The Dream of the Mother of God), in bipolar terms between canon and apocrypha as well as between 'folk' and 'official' religion. Its textual motifs and formulae, context, transmission, reception and performance, along with the significance of the Gagauz idiom as the medium for the establishment of lay institutions, are also analytically explored. Etic distinctions, such as magic versus religion, prayer versus incantation, canon versus apocrypha and tensions between 'mediated' and 'unmediated' modes of intercourse with the divine are also discussed here as the author explores the formation of the genre in folklore scholarship, pointing out the significance of drawing distinctions between the discursive content and the contextual function of texts.

The concluding section is succeeded by three appendices of great interest, though without an English translation, on Gagauz Epistoliyas (app. 1), Gagauz Okumak and Exorcism Texts (app. 2), Archaic Prayers in the Gagauz Idiom (app. 3.). Of particular interest is the book's bibliographical section, carefully organized into sub-sections, another token of the author's meticulously well-researched work. The fist section includes the *Primary Sources* (Private religious tetratkas and papers in the Gagauz idiom, Religious Pamphlets and Booklets, Archival material), the second the *Works by Archpriest Mihail Çakir (Ciachir)*, while the third includes a number of "Other Published Sources." The book closes with an analytical, really useful and very-well organised index.

Finally, Kapaló's book constitutes exemplary research in terms of the way in which the fieldworker approaches the folk religious field, mediating successfully

across various scholarly defined categories and the lived experience of practices within their performative context. With considerable depth of argument and interpretative strength, the author offers a fresh methodological and theoretical perspective on 'folk religion' arguing, on the one hand, for the maintenance of the term as a descriptive category with semantic loading and associations connected to the political and contested nature of the object of study, while focusing on and revealing on the other, how scholarly discourses on 'folk religion' guide the local fieldworker's identification of what 'folk' religious practices are, thus actualising 'folk religion' in a given context. Last but not least, Kapaló's book, which constitutes the first monograph in a Western European language on the religion, history and identity of this under-studied European people, opens up such fascinating material for an international audience, giving thus the opportunity for further comparative studies.

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Т.А. Агапкина, А.Л. Топорков (ed.), *Восточнославянские Заговоры: Аннотированный Библиографический Указазатель* (East Slavic Charms: Annotated Bibliographical Index), Moscow: Пробел, 2011, 170 pp. ISBN 978-5-98604-286-2

I am dealing here with an important and much-expected publication on verbal magic. With its clearly organized and comprehensive content, *Восточнославянские Заговоры: Аннотированный Библиографический Указазатель* provides abundant information and makes significant scholarly contribution. A contribution that starts from the field of Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian charms, but also concerns every study of charms, verbal magic and popular religion. From my own professional experience, I can confirm the importance of such indexes in the research of South Slavic charms traditions.

The book is divided in six parts. It starts with a preface (pp. 4–7), where the editors present the scope of the index and the dimensions of the material, included within it. The book refers to East Slavic charms from the period from 1830s up to 2010, and published in several types of printed sources: general specialized collections of magical folklore, collections of regional folklore, publications in newspapers and journals, proceedings from witchcraft trials, ancient healing books and manuscript miscellanies. These charms are texts either recorded by folklorists and folklore collectors from authentic practitioners and

performers, or copied from manuscripts of different origin. The index only includes publications of charms with reference for the source. Thus, the preface clearly defines the borderlines and limitations of the presented material.

The editors' preface is followed by an overview of the previous publications of East Slavic charms (pp. 8–15). Focused and concise, this historical overview positions *Восточнославянские Заговоры: Аннотированный Библиографический Указазатель* among the different publishing contexts and their development.

After the list of abbreviations (pp. 16–17), comes the index itself (pp. 18–170). It includes 340 Russian, around 100 Ukrainian, and around 40 Belarusian sources, divided accordingly in three chapters. The publications in each chapter are arranged on chronological order. Each publication is described in eight points: name and full bibliographical reference; general description of the publication; place of the recording of the charms; time of the recording; information if the recording is written, oral or both; number and functions of the charms; general amount of the charms in the publication; commentaries accompanying the charms; information if the charms are published with any descriptions of their context, performance details, proxemics and paraphernalia.

To conclude, *Восточнославянские Заговоры: Аннотированный Библиографический Указазатель* is a well-organized, comprehensive and helpful book. Clearly, it represents an important step in the research of verbal magic. Even more, it is a precious reference volume, a good starting point and a solid foundation for research for a number of disciplines: from folkloristics and ethnology to cultural history and philology. And finally, this excellent book reminds that such bibliographical indexes of charms in other traditions are still very much needed.

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T. A. Agapkina, *Vostochnoslavianskie lechebnye zagovory v sravnitel'nom osveshchenii. Siuzhetika i obraz mira* (East Slavic Healing Spells in a Comparative Light: Plot Structure and Image of the World), Moscow: Indrik, 2010, 823 pp. ISBN: 978-5-91674-091-2

The fairly sudden revival of interest in the study of East Slav (Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian) magic and charms in recent years is impressive. This is very much to be welcomed because the quantity of recorded charms in the Slav world is very large, which makes them especially amenable to comparative and typological study. In particular we should welcome two new monu-

mental works on charms published by the Moscow publisher Indrik in 2010, perhaps not entirely by coincidence since their authors are a husband and wife who acknowledge each other's assistance in their prefaces. The two books are, however, quite different in content and methodology: Andrei Toporkov's book (see my separate review in this number of *Incantatio*), is concerned with the historical written charm tradition in a specific area of Russia and is primarily a large annotated corpus of written charm texts, while Tat'iana Agapkina's book is concerned with the typology, motifs and structures of healing charms, primarily from the oral tradition, and their place in the world view of the East Slavs, peoples who have close ethnic, linguistic and religious links.

As one might expect of one of the editors of the encyclopedia of Slavic folk culture *Slavianskie drevnosti*, Agapkina's book is intellectually very ambitious and attempts, convincingly I believe, both a sophisticated theoretical framework and detailed analyses of particular charm types.

In Part 1, after a thorough history of the study and publication of East Slavic charms (Introduction, pp. 9–25) ("The plot structure [*siuzhetika*] of East Slav healing charms"), Agapkina launches into a general analysis of her topic, and a definition of terms. The latter may be a little daunting for non-specialists in Russian literary theory and *fol'kloristika* in that it invokes Veselovskii and Propp and requires some understanding of the use of the Russian terms *tema, motiv* and *siuzhet*, and Agapkina's own use of the words *tema* and *siuzhetnyi tip* in a terminological sense.

The last mentioned term is exemplified in Agapkina's first chapter "Universal plot [*siuzhet*] types" (pp. 29–87) in which the first section is "Appeal to the sacral centre". This is the appeal to some magic object, personage, or creature [e.g. the King of Serpents] or demonic force to perform the healing function; this appears in more or less elaborate form (e.g. rising at dawn, washing, praying, going out into the open country (*chistoe pole*), or establishing some other sacral space – the ocean-sea, a magical island [e.g. Buian], where there may be a sacred stone [e.g. *alatyr'* or variants] or tree [often oak], where there is some person, often a saint) at the beginning of many East Slav charms and is the commonest "universal plot type". The second section of this chapter is devoted to another "universal plot type" entitled "The elimination of the illness". Both sections are analytical and taxonomic in character, and are illustrated with a wealth of examples and variants.

Chapter 2 (pp. 149–245) is entitled "Polyfunctional plots [*siuzhety*], motifs, formulas, and poetical devices". This is subdivided into "Magical enumeration"; "Dialogic ritual", "The motif of equal knowledge"; "Formulas of the impossible and their motifs"; "Flew without wings, sat without legs"; "No water from a

stone, no blood from the wound"; "The first sews, the second embroiders, the third charms the blood to stop".

Chapter 3 (pp. 248–565), "Plots and motifs of charms for individual illnesses", is divided into sections grouping particular types of illness: charms for infant insomnia and crying; charms for *gryzha* (often hernia, but also covering a rather wide range of medical problems usually involving swelling or abscess); charms for childhood epilepsy; charms for bleeding and wounds; charms for dislocations; charms for skin diseases; charms for toothache; charms for internal problems, especially of the womb (*zolotnik*, *dna*); charms for fever (the Sisinnius legend, *triasavitsy*, daughters of Herod etc).

Part II (pp. 569–677) is more discursive and is devoted to an analysis of the image of the world in East Slav healing charms. It discusses concepts of time and space, the other world, time as a factor in the magical process, the human body. It concludes with a chapter on "Plot structure [*siuzhetika*] of East Slav healing charms viewed comparatively" which compares East Slav charms with parallels among the West Slavs (Polish, Czech, Slovak and border areas), South Slavs (Serbs, Bulgarians) with some reference to Greek and Romanian charms. The chapter ends with a section on "Charms and the book tradition". This discusses the interaction of the distinct written and oral charm traditions, the importance of "apocryphal" prayers and biblical themes from Byzantine and South Slav sources, and the "folklorization" of these motifs.

Appended to the main text of the book (at pp. 681–788) is an important detailed study of the complicated ramifications of the Byzantine Sisinnius legend in the East Slav and South Slav manuscript tradition, and the long and elaborate charm prayer against the fever demons (*triasavitsy*), together with ten variants of the text of the prayer in the first redaction and fifteen variants of the second redaction, and thirty variants of the third short redaction, taken from both published and manuscript sources. This is a fascinating topic on which more remains to be discovered but this invaluable work by Agapkina has moved the subject a long way forward and is a sound basis for further research.

A final two short appendixes are entitled "The East Slav prayers against the *triasavitsy* and charms about the shivering Christ" and "South Slav prayers against the *nezhit* and Slavonic charms", both with texts.

It is hard to do justice to such a massive and detailed book in a review – so let me just conclude that this is a vast, erudite, and authoritative contribution to charm scholarship. It adds greatly to the store of texts available to scholars, it makes a serious contribution to charm classification, and it handles historical and linguistic data in exemplary fashion. My only regret is that it has no index.

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A. L. Toporkov, *Russkie zagovory iz rukopisnykh istochnikov XVII – pervoi poloviny XIX v.* (Russian Manuscript Charms from 17th to First Half of the 19th Century), Moscow: Indrik 2010, 830 pp. 14 illustrations.

This is a massive and invaluable addition by one of the foremost specialists in the field to the historical corpus of written Russian charms. As Toporkov emphasises in his introduction, charms in Russia are both a live tradition, with links to other areas of popular culture both Russian and non-Russian, and also a part of Russian manuscript culture going back at least four centuries. This wealth of material makes them a textual source of interest not only to specialists in charm studies but also to historians in many other disciplines, not least historians of language. The serious study of this kind of material is not new but it has grown substantially in recent years and is reaching a new level of maturity, of which this is a prime example in both erudition and scholarly method. We note that the author thanks his wife Tat'iana Agapkina in his preface; her comparative study of East Slav healing spells, primarily from the oral tradition, also published by Indrik in 2010, is of comparable size and importance and is reviewed separately.

Andrei Toporkov's major new work commences with an authoritative historical and theoretical introductory essay (26 pp.) which characterizes Russian oral and written charms, and in particular charm collections [*sborniki*], and summarizes the history of Russian charm study. It needs to be emphasized, as Toporkov does, that there is a distinction between oral and written charms which requires separate critical approaches.

The main section of the book contains some 500 charm texts of various types from 36 manuscripts written mainly in the contiguous former northern provinces of Olonets, Arkhangel'sk, and Vologda, with a few from Siberia, and dating from the 17th to the first half of the 19th century. Toporkov notes that the charms of this northern area are distinctive and have common characteristics which distinguish them from those of central and southern Russia, or Belarus' and Ukraine. In particular this northern area is relatively remote and historically conservative in culture and has a population which includes Finnic peoples and Old Believer fugitives from other parts of Russia, and some interaction is discernible.

The material of the main section is arranged according to source.

Part 1 (pp. 37–310) is devoted to the 'Olonets sbornik' (2nd half of the 17th c.). This has a 57-page historical and textological introduction, followed by the texts of the charms. Textual variants and corrections are noted in footnotes, and the text section is followed by no less than 135 pages of detailed comparative historical, textual and linguistic notes and commentary. This is followed

by a glossary of dialect and archaic words, and an essay by S. A. Myznikov on the Karelo-Vepsian charms in the manuscript, including texts, Russian translation and critical apparatus (pp. 286–310). Some of the Russian charms in this *sbornik* are presented in English translation in an article by Toporkov published elsewhere in this number of *Incantatio*.

Part 2 (pp. 313–422) contains charms from eight 17th-century manuscripts; Part 3 (pp. 425–652) contains charms from eighteen 18th-century manuscripts; Part 4 (pp. 655–784) contains charms from nine 19th-century manuscripts. These are presented in the same way, with commentaries at the end of each section.

The book ends with a typological index, an index of personal and place names, a list of manuscript sigla and archives, and a 30-page bibliography.

The book is well produced and a worthy addition to the impressive list of serious scholarly contributions to Russian cultural history issued by the Moscow publishing house Indrik.

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Charms, Charmers and Charming. International Research on Verbal Magic, edited by Jonathan Roper, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, 294 pp. ISBN 978-0-230-55184-8

The present volume represents a collection of nineteen researches dedicated to the study of charms, charmers and charming. Its editor, Jonathan Roper, is well known in the community of charm scholars: he authored the monograph *English Verbal Charms* (Helsinki, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2005; FFC 288), and, for several years, he has been constantly promoted the creation of a network of researchers interested in this field and of their publications. This volume relies on such endeavours, and comprises many contributions which were presented in two conferences held in London in 2005 and in Pécs in 2007. Its organisation in two parts (*Topics and Issues in Charms Studies* and *National Traditions*) echoes another volume edited by Jonathan Roper, entitled *Charms and Charming in Europe* (2004, Palgrave Macmillan).

Nine studies are gathered in the first part of the volume. Two of them focus on the expression of impossibilities in charms. Natalia Glukhova and Vladimir Glukhov discuss the Mari Charms in this respect (Expressions of Impossibility an Inevitability in Mari Charms, pp. 108–121), while Éva Pócs focuses on the

Hungarian charms, but takes into account a larger corpus of texts attested during a long period of time. The variety of texts analysed allows her to draw important conclusions on the long-lasting employ of this motif, on its presence in charms meant to cure certain diseases and on the contribution of the Christian themes to the various expression of impossibilities (Magic and Impossibilities in Magic Folk Poetry, pp. 27–53).

Laura Stark discusses various evidence dating from the 19th century regarding the means used in the rural milieu to protect and to strengthen the human body, and persuasively argues that the body was imagined as extremely 'porous' in the archaic communities (The Charmer's Body and Behaviour as a Window onto Early Modern Selfhood, pp. 3–16). Paul Cowdell's article provides with a diachronic description of the consistent structural elements of charms against rats and discusses their long use in relation with the information supplied by natural history ('If Not, Shall Employ "Rough on Rats"': Identifying the Common Elements of Rat Charms, pp. 17–26). On the basis of more than 500 Swedish snake charms preserved in documents of the 19th – 20th centuries, Ritwa Herjulfsdotter addresses the problem of the informants' and of the users' gender, and connects her results to previous discussions on similar Swedish charms of the 17th – 18th century (Swedish Snakebite Charms from a Gender Perspective, pp. 54–61). In a research based on charms from the Russian, Bulgarian and Ukrainian traditions, Vladimir Klyaus argues that the narrative character of a charm does not refer exclusively to the magical words, and discusses narration as at least "a function of the charm's broader performative or objective nature" (On Systematizing the Narrative Elements of Slavic Charms, pp. 71–86). On the basis of the hypothesis that the transmission of charms discloses that they were "socially, medically and doctrinally respectable", T. M. Smallwood analyses the variation of medieval English charms in order to reveal their inventiveness (Conformity and Originality in Middle English Charms, pp. 87–99).

In the second section of the volume, Andrei Toporkov illustrates the researches meant to re-establish the history of magic texts by a thorough analysis of the evolution of the formula "let her neither east nor drink", which is also present in the Russian charms (Russian Charms in a Comparative Light, pp. 121–144). Jonathan Roper discusses the frequency and the typology of the Estonian narrative charms and their relation to charms from other traditions (Estonian Narrative Charms in Europe Context, pp. 174–185). Daiva Vaitkevičenič debates on the relations between the Baltic charms, and analyses Lithuanian and Latvian texts based on invocations and comparisons, on dialogue structures and on narratives (Lithuanian and Latvian Charms: Searching for Parallels, pp. 186–213). Lea Olan focuses on a corpus of charms that circulated in manuscripts of one fifteenth-century medical recipe collection, and compares

the charms in the Leechcraft collections to charms in other recipe collections (The Corpus of Charms in the Middle English Leechcraft Reemedy Books, pp. 214–237). Mary Tsiklauri and David Hunt give an insightful overview of the words for 'charm' in Georgian and a structural description of the Georgian charms and classify them according to their aims and the conditions of their performance (The Structure and Use of Charms on Georgia, The Caucasus, pp. 260–272). Two studies focus on the tradition of charms and charming outside Europe: Verbal Charms in Malagasy Folktales; *Manteras*: An Overview of a Malay Archipelagoes' Charming Tradition (Lee Haring, pp. 246–259; Low Kok On, pp. 273–287).

Through the important number of researches, covering various traditions, both European, and non-European, the volume represents a significant contribution to the study of charms, charmers and charming. Because it comprises numerous charms, all translated into English, it is a very useful tool for the specialists interested in such texts. Last but not least, through its focus on charms attested since the Middle Ages up to nowadays, the present book acquires a specific position in a research field dominated by studies dedicated to the ancient or to specific national traditions.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

"ORAL CHARMS IN STRUCTURAL AND COMPARATIVE LIGHT". INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT THE RUSSIAN STATE UNIVERSITY FOR THE HUMANITIES AND AT THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (MOSCOW, 27–29 OCTOBER 2011)

The conference "Oral Charms in Structural and Comparative Light", which took place on 27–29 October 2011 at the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow), was organized by the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR) Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming, the Marc Bloch Russian-French Center for Historical Anthropology, the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of the Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The main idea of the conference was to concentrate on the examination of one particular folklore genre, and, at the same time, to investigate a wide range of issues related to its geographic and historic boundaries and certain other problems connected with it. The research on charming is being carried out by a multi-departmental team from scientific disciplines, such as folklore studies, linguistics, history of literature (literary criticism), ethnology, psychology, etc. The following issues were discussed at the conference: geography and history of the charms tradition; the distribution of various charm types; the possibility of systematizing national charms corpora and of the charm-indexes elaboration; charms and analogous verbal forms (Christian prayers and prayer-like charms, apocryphal prayers, curses); charms in oral and manuscript traditions; magical inscriptions on various objects; medieval amulets with charms in the archaeological record; social functioning of the charm tradition; charms and their performers; the contribution of the Church and clerics to the diffusion of charms, differences between the Catholic and the Protestant Churches in this respect, as well as the Orthodox Church and non-Christian confessions; psycho-social sources of suggestion; how do charms work?; why are they relevant?; practices of "word-charming" in modern society; recording charming acts on video, and the relevance of these materials to charm studies.

The Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming aims to stimulate the charm and incantation studies of different countries, to develop the methods for their structural and typological description, to publish both international

and local charm indexes, and to work on scientific publications of charms texts and to create digital data-bases. Since its foundation in 2007, the Committee has been headed by Dr. Jonathan Roper (The UK/Estonia). The Committee members are Mare Kõiva (Estonia), Lea Olsan (USA), Éva Pócs (Hungary), Emanuela Timotin (Romania), Andrei Toporkov (Russia), Daiva Vaitkevičienė (Lithuania). During one of the conference's sessions it was decided that the Committee should be expanded and a new member, Haralampos Passalis (Greece), was chosen to join it.

Keeping its primary objectives in mind, the Committee regularly (not less than once in two years) organizes conferences and prepares their proceedings for publication. Previously, these conferences have been held in Pecs (2007), Tartu (2008), Athens (2009), and Bucharest (2010). Before the Committee was officially founded in 2007, two conferences on a similar subject had already been held in London (2003, 2005).

As a result of all the hard work done by the Committee during the previous conferences, the following books were published: Charms and Charming in Europe / Ed. by Jonathan Roper. Palgrave Macmillan, 2004; Charms, Charmers and Charming: International Research on Verbal Magic / Ed. by Jonathan Roper. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

The Committee members have prepared a description of the English charms repertoire for publishing, along with the scientific collections of Lithuanian, Romanian and Russian charms. On the Committee web-site one can find information about its current activities and about various publications on magic lore from different countries. (http://www.isfnr.org/index2.html). Here one can also use the annotated bibliography on some local charm traditions, such as Brazilian, Bulgarian, English, French, Gagauz, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mari, Norwegian, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Scottish Gaelic, Serbian, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Ukrainian. At the conference the first issue of the on-line journal Incantatio was presented (http://www.folklore.ee/incantatio/01.html).

During the preparations for the conference a collection of articles in the English language with the title page and the preface both in English and Russian was published:

Oral Charms in Structural and Comparative Light. Proceedings of the Conference of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR) Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming. 27–29th October 2011, Moscow / Editors: Tatyana A. Mikhailova, Jonathan Roper, Andrey L. Toporkov, Dmitry S. Nikolayev. – Moscow: PROBEL-2000, 2011. – 222 pp. (Charms, Charmers and Charming.)

Заговорные тексты в структурном и сравнительном освещении. Материалы конференции Комиссии по вербальной магии Международного общества по изучению фольклорных нарративов. 27–29 октября 2011 года, Москва / Редколлегия: Т.А. Михайлова, Дж. Ропер, А.Л. Топорков, Д.С. Николаев. – М.: ПРОБЕЛ-2000, 2011. – 222 с. (Charms, Charmers and Charming.)

This collection of articles is available on the internet both on the Committee web-site and on the following web-site: http://verbalcharms.ru/books.html. It is worth noting that some of the authors published in the book did not actually participate in the conference itself. In fact, seven authors, who gave in their papers for the collection of articles were not able to take part in the conference for different reasons. These were Svetlana Tsonkova, Ekaterina Velmezova, Tatiana Agapkina, Varvara Dobrovolskaya, Ritwa Herjulfsdotter, Katarina Lozic Gnezdovic and Gordana Galic Kakkonen. On the other hand, there were other seven participants in the conference who did not submit a paper for publication. These were Oksana Tchokha, Katerina Dysa, Éva Pócs, Elena Minionok, Maria Kaspina, Mare Kõiva, Anna Ivanova. Reports by Anna Ivanova and Elena Minionk can be downloaded on this web-site: http://verbalcharms.ru/books.html.

Here can also be found the Russian versions of the reports by Tatiana Agapkina, Ekaterina Velmezova, Tatiana Mikhailova, Andrei Moroz, Elina Rakhimova, Andrei Toporkov and Liudmila Fadeeva.

In the course of three days, the participants of the conference listened to 31 papers given by 32 participants, 15 of whom were representing Russia and the other 17 from foreign countries, such as Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Russia, Romania, Ukraine, the USA. They studied the issues connected with charming by analyzing the materials of Ancient, Medieval and Modern traditions. The geographic coverage of the folklore material was very wide, as far as the following local traditions were concerned: Old English, Bulgarian, Dutch, Egyptian, Estonian, Finnish, Greek, Hebrew, Hittite, Hungarian, Irish, Latvian, Mesopotamian, Roman, Romanian, Russian, Scottish, Syrian, Ukrainian. Although most papers were based on European material, some researchers also talked about Syrian Charms in a Near East context (A. Lyavdansky), incantations found in the Dead Sea scrolls (Ida Frohlich), Mid-Hittite incantations (A. Sideltsev). At the conference the following issues were discussed: the correlations between charms and prayers, the representation of charms in the iconographic sources, individual repertoires of various "magic" performers, the possibility of systematizing national charms corpora and creating digital data-bases dedicated to certain local traditions, etc. Several papers were accompanied by the demonstration of unique video materials, where the acts of charming were recorded (A. Ivanova, V. Klyaus, A. Liebardas).

The conference opened with A. Lyavdansky's report (Moscow, Russia) entitled "Syrian Charms in a Near East context". His paper described the different types of Syrian charms and the ways in which they functioned. Lyavdansky also traced their origin from even more ancient sources, such as Mesopotamian, Aramaic and Hebrew charm traditions. He concentrated on two particular formulae which represent two types of "borrowing" in Syrian charm tradition. The first formula *Gabriel on his right and Michael on his left* may have come to Syrian sources through an Arab tradition of charms by direct verbal borrowing. The second formula is found in a wide group of texts united by the same character: a "mother who strangles children", a demonic figure which is sometimes called "a child-stealing witch". This character appears to be well-known in the Ancient Near East charm traditions, so, in this case, it is not a formula but a concept that has been borrowed.

The next paper "Incantations in the Dead Sea Scrolls" was presented by a Hungarian specialist Ida Fröhlich (Budapest, Hungary). This paper was dedicated to the study of incantations coming from a fragmentary manuscript found in Qumran, in the library of a Jewish religious community. The manuscript contains four short compositions attributed to David, and identical with the four davidic songs written "for the afflicted", mentioned in another Qumran manuscript. The four songs were supposedly intended to be recited on the four days of the equinoxes and solstices.

Their common features are as follows: the naming of the danger, the summoning of the demon to depart, references to God (YHWH) as the source of magical power, references to the works of the creation as the proof of God's universal power, and references to the nether world (Sheol) as the place where the evil spirit will be exiled and bound. The paper aims at looking into the calendrical background and of the use of sacred blessings and incantations, and investigating structural characteristics of the compositions, their relationship with biblical blessings, and ancient Jewish amulet texts.

Tatiana Mikhailova (Moscow, Russia) presented her paper "Do not allow sleep or health to him who has done me wrong…: charms against thefts in Ancient Rome and Modern Russia". She has made a special impact on the way the proper names are used in this particular functional group of charms. She has also compared the verbal charms and the charms found in the manuscripts. Mikhailova has come to the conclusion that the functions of these two groups of texts were different. The charms from the manuscripts were mainly used to get back a stolen object and to prosecute the thief, whist the verbal ones were used to protect the charmer against the loss of his property, so they had a preventative function.

Isabelle Valloton (Gent, Belgium) in her paper "Charms against bites and stings in Europe and the Middle-East: suggestions for a comparative study" has been trying to reveal the similarities between the Russian charms against snake bites and the texts belonging to the Ancient Egyptian and the Mesopotamian charm traditions. She has shown that these texts have common motifs and themes and assumed that these, having been originally Near Eastern, were then borrowed by the Greeks and, finally, passed on to the Slavs during cultural contacts.

Haralampos Passalis (Thessaloniki, Greece) in his paper "Myth and Greek Narrative Charms: Analogy and Fluidity", based on Greek narrative charms, examined the ways in which this analogy and fluidity paradigm is structured and organized in order for the desired (healing) end to be successfully achieved. Narrative charms (*historiolae*) are characterized by analogy, but at the same time, also by fluidity between the different levels of the text structure and its performative context, as for instance, between the time when the mythic antecedent happened (*illo tempore*) and the present situation for which they are performed. Alternatively, the same pattern occurs between the mythic protagonists and the human agents of the present critical situation as well as between a past crisis already efficiently resolved and a new crucial situation which is to be solved.

The next participant, Oksana Tchoekha (Moscow, Russia) in her report "Greek charms against the "evil-eye": basic themes and their place in the general corpus of Greek charms" has examined some motifs and themes that are popular in Greek charms against the "evil-eye". These are "A cow licks its sick calf", "Jesus Christ talks to the Virgin Mary, who has been sick because the angels passing by had put the "evil-eye" upon her" etc.

Katerina Dysa (Kiev, Ukraine) presented her paper "Ukrainian charms of the late 17th–18th century on trial materials and manuscripts". She pointed out that a researcher of Ukrainian charms of the 17th–19th centuries it faced with a peculiar situation: charms are extremely rarely mentioned in the course of witchcraft cases' investigations in trial records and there are also not many notebooks with hand-written charms that we know from the 17th and 18th centuries. However, folklorists of the 19th century had the chance to write down charms in quite large numbers. Dysa turned to those few examples of late 17th–18th century charms that have survived and related them to those found by 19th century folklorists.

A Hungarian researcher Éva Pócs (Budapest, Hungary) in her paper "The generic boundaries between prayers and verbal charms" examined the generic boundaries that divide *prayers* from verbal *charms*, based on analysing the textual corpus of Hungarian charms. Within the functionally determined genre

of charms certain textual types show the formal and content characteristics of *religious prayers*, others manifest those of *magical charms*; and a third category also exists, that of *magical prayers*. In her paper she suggested defining these textual categories on the basis of content, form and function.

Liudmila Fadeeva (Moscow, Russia) in her paper "A Theme of Joy in Christian Canonical Texts and Charms of East Slavs" has studied how the theme of joy is represented in medical, love, social and utility charms**.** This theme is connected chiefly with Christian images (*the joy of our Lady about the birth and the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the gladness of angels about the rescue of the soul, etc.*). However it is not always a result of borrowing from canonical Christian prayers and hymns. Sometimes it gains an independent development. That is why it is very important to trace the connection of the proper plot's fragments with the prayer "Rejoice, O Virgin Mother of God", widely applied in sorcerer's practice, and mark that the ancient formula of greeting finds a specific semantic filling in the charms of different functional orientation.

The paper "Charms, Omens and the Apparitions of Storms in Maritime Tradition of Ireland" by Maxim Fomin (Coleraine, Northern Ireland) showed the significance of the motif "Appearance of fairies as a portent of drowning". Having defined the concepts of memorate and contemporary legend within the context of primarily Modern Irish Maritime tradition, he looked at the appearance of various supernatural beings and objects from the sea. The fishermen who were serious about such apparitions, were able to escape the storms or drowning that awaited all those who had no respect for the sea and its creatures.

Lea T. Olsan (Monroe, The USA/Cambridge, the UK) and Peter Murray (Cambridge, UK) in their paper "Charms and amulets for conception and childbirth" focused primarily on the spoken formulae, rituals, and artifacts, including birthing girdles, from England in the medieval and early modern periods. They looked at the social circulation of the charms and examined to what extent women's culture surrounding conception and childbirth, medical advice, folk tradition, and the medieval church were each involved in the ritual support of women and men hoping to produce healthy offspring. They aimed to identify the prominent formula types in circulation during these periods.

Maria Kaspina (Moscow, Russia) dedicated her paper "The charm against Evil Eye in Eastern European Jewish Tradition" to the discussion of the transformation of one charm plot in three different traditions, such as Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish tradition. She has focused on the real usage of this charm in modern Jewish Oral Tradition. It is important that this study was based on the field research done in Ukraine and Moldova between 2004 and 2011.

In his paper "Latvian fever charms: comparative coordinates and cases" Toms Kencis (Tartu, Estonia) described the various types of fever charms and their

geographical dissemination. He showed how the concept of fever is represented in folk beliefs, customs and narratives.

Next Andrei Toporkov (Moscow, Russia) presented his paper "The Visual Representation of charms against fever in the Russian Icons". He has shown how the theme "Archangel Michael defeats seven (or twelve) fevers" was represented in the Russian Orthodox iconography of the 17th–19th centuries and in the Russian verbal charms against fever. It is a unique case when a fragment of a charm was depicted in icons. The paper was based on the study of the well-known icons and some illustrated manuscripts, as well as the 19th century sources providing information about their social functioning. It examined the origin and the evolution of this iconographic type.

Then Emanuela Timotin (Bucharest, Romania) took her turn. Her paper "Gospels and Knots. Healing Fever in Romanian Manuscript Charms" focused on seven Romanian charms meant to heal fever, which are preserved in manuscripts written in the 18th – 19th centuries. The texts illustrated three charms-types: one is based on a Biblical fragment and two describe rituals based on tying knots, which take place at specific moments of the year. The paper compares the three charm-types, inquires whether their transmission is exclusively manuscript and discusses their relation with other charms against fever, as recorded both in the oral and in the manuscript Romanian tradition.

The next paper was "The Slavonic charms against "fright" in the structural and comparative light" by Irina Sedakova (Moscow, Russia). The paper studied a wide range of "traditional" medical issues connected with healing the so-called "fright", which is believed to be a sickness caused by this particular emotion. The way the "traditional" medicine treats "the fright" is conditioned by the folk beliefs about the impact it has on the human body. The "fright-vocabulary" and the magical means against "fright" (charms, rituals) are bound to the particular territories.

Then Andrei Moroz (Moscow, Russia) presented his report "Some Collateral Motifs of Herdsmen's "Release" Charms in the ritual and the mythological context". In his report, he examined 2 typical motifs ("twining a rope" and "stumps, roots and grey stones") in their connection to the ritual performed by the herdsmen and the traditional beliefs on this subject.

Maria Zavyalova (Moscow, Russia) was the next to share her paper "Saint Maidens – skin diseases in Latvian charms". In her paper, Zavyalova created a semiotic model of the "Saint Maidens'" images, in which, on the one hand, they symbolize skin diseases, and, on the other hand, they are independent mythological creatures.

The following report by Elena Minjonok (Moscow, Russia) "Healing and Magic Spells of the Eastern Siberian Villages" was based on the materials the

author had collected during the folklore expeditions in the Irkutsk Area in 2003–2006, 2008, and 2010. She described the "traditional" ways of treating illnesses that are still used in relatively new Siberian villages built between 1906 and 1916.

Maria Eliferova (Moscow, Russia) in the report "The translation of Russian XVII century charms of into English: methodological problems" listed those difficulties which she had faced when translating into English the charms from the Olonetsky collection dated the 2nd quarter of the 17th century. M. Eliferova assumed that for the successful translation of charm texts it is necessary to compare Russian and English cultural systems first and then to try to find the features of similarity.

Henni Ilomäki (Helsinki, Finland) in her paper "The Jordan-motif in Finnish Bloodstopping Charms" has tracked the history of penetration of this particular motif in the Eastern Finnish charms against bleeding. H. Ilomäki has shown that the motif of a Christian origin has appeared to have been incorporated into the Finnish medical charms as a result of cultural contacts between Finns and Swedes and other Christians of Northern Europe, and because of widespread beliefs in the magical properties of water.

In Maarit Viljakäinen's (Lappeenranta, Finland) report "How Miina Huovinen's incantations are structured" the repertoire of one charmer was examined. Miina Hauvinen (1837–1914) was believed to be a very strong sorcerer and possessed a rich charm repertoire. The Finnish researcher concentrated on Mina's medical charms and discovered, what elements they contain. She also analyzes Miina's own comments on his experience in charming.

Elina Rakhimova (Moscow, Russia), in her paper "Solar imagery of the incantations in Kalevala meter", examined the solar imagery, manifested through similes and verb metaphors. This kind of imagery is typical of charms aiming at the evocation of girl's marriage luck ("Lemmen nosto"). The concept of the Lempi, despite involving connotations of love, deals with a girl's beauty and attraction for many groom challengers. The same solar images are used to describe the bride in the glorifying songs in Kalevala meter. E. Rakhimova concluded that the solar imagery is used in hunters' incantations to describe the forest realm as well.

Then, Jonathan Roper presented his paper "Metre in the Old English 'Metrical' Charms". This paper addressed alliteration, line and strophe in the Old English charms and the relevance of *galderform*. As he noted, the metre of Old English 'Metrical' charms is decidedly irregular. The classical requirements of alliteration are not always met, and the absence of enjambment resembles forms outside the 'classical' tradition represented by *Beowulf* etc. Nevertheless, some stropheshave been discerned in such charms. Furthermore, following Snorri's

description of *galdralag*, there has been some debate about whether Icelandic (and other Germanic languages) had a specific charms-strophe, e.g. Lindquist reconstructed a common Germanic *galderform*.

Mare Kõiva (Tartu, Estonia), in her report "Letters from Heaven and Manuscript Incantation Collections", gave an analysis of so-called letters from heaven and written notebooks of spells and magic. "Letters from heaven" (*Himmelsbriefe*) was a Christian pseudo-epigraphic genre which included incantations. "Letters from heaven" were carried upon one's person as a means of protection. The letter was enhanced by adding healing words to the end. M. Kõiva compares incidence of incantation genres and complicated written formulae in the manuscripts and the origins of these manuscripts.

Anca Stere's (Bucharest, Romania) paper "Charms as a vehicle for political messages in communist Romania" focused on the ideological use of charms patterns during the communist period in Romania. The starting point of her article is the case of an amateur artistic brigade which performed a text of a charm "against snake bites" with its message and content completely changed so that it fitted the purpose of satirizing a certain aspect of the village life in "the age of communism". Thus, they declaratively had two purposes: "to fight against the old practice (i.e. the practice and belief in charms) by proving its ineffectiveness and to criticize people's unjust attitudes, in order to improve them." A. Stere assumed that the political command changed the function, message and the performance context of a text in order for the traditional pattern to support and convey the official ideological concepts, norms and ideas.

Next Jacqueline Borsje (Amsterdam, The Netherlands) presented her paper "Digitizing Irish and Dutch charms". This paper presented a pilot project, part of the research project on 'words of power' – words with which people believe to be able to influence and transform reality. These curses, blessings, spells, charms, incantations, and prayers are uttered to protect, to harm, to exert power, to heal and to inflict diseases. The pilot project consists of a database with Irish and Dutch 'words of power', which are represented in a multidimensional form and studied in a multidisciplinary and multilingual context. This paper charts challenges and possibilities encountered in this pilot project.

Andrey Sideltsev (Moscow, Russia) devoted his report "Aspect in Middle Hittite Charms" to a verbal aspect in mid-Hittite spells. The Hittite specific aspectual system consists of two forms: an unmarked perfective aspect and a marked imperfective aspect, which is usually, but not always, marked by a suffix. The researcher has proved that in Hittite blessings and damnations the verbal aspect is caused pragmatically. The imperfective aspect has positive connotations, whereas the imperfect has negative ones.

In the report "Field experiment as a way of revealing the levels of structure of a charm tradition" Anna Ivanova (Moscow, Russia) has noted that in the last three decades field folklore studies has been transformed into an independent discipline with its own purposes, problems and methods. According to A.Ivanova, one of its primary objectives is to reduce the inevitably arising "backlash" between internal and external points of view towards folklore. A. Ivanova has come to the conclusion that the charm tradition has at least three levels of system organization and integrity: avantexual, textual and supertextual.

Vladimir Klyaus (Moscow, Russia) in his report "The spell and charm tradition of the Argun river region: transformation and evolution in time" has shown how this territory was colonized by Cossacks and how the local charm tradition was formed in a zone of cultural contacts with China. In the first descriptions of this local charm tradition, relating to the middle of the 19th century, the active performing of love, medical, cattle breeding and other charms was documented. Now, despite population outflow from the Argun river region, the charm tradition continues to exist, whist undergoing essential changes: the charm repertoire of the Argun river region sorcerers declined, and sorcerers began to avoid performing complicated rituals. V. Klyaus assumed that the charm tradition of the Argun river region during the last 150 years has also changed in the same way, as have other local traditions of Russia.

Aigars Lielbardis (Riga, Latvia) presented his paper "The magic performance on Easter in Latvia: "the tying up the hawk". The presentation involved two parts: a paper and a documentary film "Anna the Flyer". Both of these were devoted to the Latvian Easter-time custom of "tying the hawk". This tradition belongs to the spring cycle of traditions ensuring protection, fertility, and success for the coming year. The hawk is symbolically tied up in the forest so that it will not kill chickens in the summer. At the time of binding, charms are uttered. The hawk must be tied up every year before sunrise on Good Friday.

The conference finished with a round table "New publications on charms and prospect verbal magic studies". Jonathan Roper summed up the conference and talked about the possibilities of further cooperation between specialists in folklore from different countries. It is Jonathan Roper who presented the first number of the on-line journal *Incantatio* devoted to the problems of studying various national charm traditions.

The review of new publications then followed. E. P. Kuznetsova presented the books "East Slavic medical charms in a comparative light: Plot structure and image of the world" (2010) by T. A. Agapkina and "Russian manuscript charms from 17th to first half of the 19th century" (2010), by A. L. Toporkov. Finally, D. I. Antonov reviewed the book "Demons and sinners in an Old Rus-

sian iconography. Semiotics of an image" (2010), written in co-authorship with M. R. Majzuls.

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