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BOOK REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Members of ISFNR Charms, Charming and Charmers working group has studied data from different eras and regions including texts, material objects such as amulets, religious norms and practices, and incantations. Different periods and regions have their own specific variations, intertextual transmissions, poetic and linguistic realisations, text types and motifs. The diversity of charm research is highlighted through published monographs, dissertations and articles. At the same time, databases have been developed in several countries, the creation of which stems from personal initiatives and the research needs of scholars with digital collections and databases being opened in Hungary, Latvia, Romania, Russia (Vepsian material), Belarus, and Estonia. Several novel techniques to assist in content analysis were used alongside quantitative research.

One aim of the journal is to introduce novel theoretical results in the field, and at the same time give the floor to smaller linguistic spaces and, accordingly, to the results produced by these researchers.

Charms are a syncretic form of culture. Such forms are created within the cultural processes occurring in living communities, and within active human communication both in the past and the present. The introduction of scientific works have led to the demonstration of different approaches to the study of charms, highlighting new aspects of this essentially universal or at least largely comparable phenomena. These works have led to different schools and researchers offering their own systematic and theoretical approaches to the data as well as observations of the changes in these processes with emphasis is on various aspects of charming and the charmer in the broader sense.

Research papers published in smaller languages are often out of the reach of the English-speaking reader. The preservation of linguistic diversity is an important but taxing task. As a researcher and a representative of a small language, one has the responsibility to cover topics at a high level as well as collecting, systematising and interpreting subject matter. Further, there is the need to mediate this knowledge to other scientists and a wider circle of interested actors.

This time *Incantatio* focuses on the Udmurts, including the Udmurt community living in Bashkortostan and the Bashkirs of Bashkortostan. The Udmurts (a Finno-Ugric group of approximately 500,000 people) live east of the Urals on the banks of the Kama and Vyatka rivers and their tributaries. About half of the populated Udmurt territory is covered with forest, the rest is arable land. Two-thirds of Udmurts reside in the Udmurt Republic with the remainder living in Bashkortostan, Tatarstan,

Perm and Kirov regions, and the Mari El Republic; in Siberia, etc. Some Udmurts left elsewhere starting in the 16th century when escaping from the Orthodox Church, war and taxes.

In Udmurtia, but especially outside the main Udmurt area, older religious customs, song culture and narratives were preserved. Udmurt folklorists have contributed, generation after generation, to the collection of Udmurt material, and to the linguistic, ethnographic and folkloric study of the collected material. Tatiana Vladykina has been engaged in the study of Udmurt charms, prayers, riddles, calendar customs and mythology. In her article, she looks at the names of stars, which are usually based on mythological cognition. Along with the sun and moon the stars have been used as metaphors in Udmurt song culture, prayers and charms for centuries.

Dreams are an area where the experiences and interpretations of religious professionals and lay people meet. Tatiana Minnijakhmetova's study focuses on the process of dream telling in Udmurt communities, and how the very situation of telling a dream becomes ritualistic. Dreams are also signs that provoke particular reactions from dreamer and listeners.

Reader will find a classification of magical activities in Tatiana Panina's paper, which analyses the actional code of Udmurt healing. Panina's proposed classification is based on the system developed by Elena Levkijevskaya for the study of Slavic protective amulets.

Bashkiria is located in the southern part of the Ural Mountains; most of the territory is in Europe with a small area in the east geographically belonging to Asia. The oldest signs of human activity date back to the Paleolithic period between 200,000 and 100,000 years ago. Many peoples migrated to the region from the 16th century, because of Orthodoxy, war,and taxes. The Udmurts of Bashkiria have preserved their holy places, original animistic religion and language to a significant degree. This is why various sacrificial rites continued successfully through different ideological periods and why there were still practicing sacrificial priests in the 1990s and later, as Ranus Sadikov writes in this issue. His article is devoted to the consideration of the current state of the priesthood in the Trans-Kama (Eastern) Udmurt tradition. Sadikov shows that since the revival of religious traditions in the 1990s, significant changes have taken place in the organisation of priests' activities, and how this is dictated by the modern realities of life.

Zifa Khasanova describes the customs of the Bashkirs, a Turkish-speaking Muslim nation. She studies the magical means (amulets, incantations) the Bashkirs used and still use to protect domestic animals in the Republic of Bashkortostan, looking at the period between the middle of the 20th and early 21st centuries. Magic items and amulets continue to preserve traditional methods of magical protection of livestock, with people even ordering such items on the internet today.

Ekaterina Kulikovskaya focuses on the intentionality and addressness of performative verbs in Russian incantation texts using Speech Act theory. Intentionality is characterized by a focus on objects of the real world or relatedness to them. Intention is associated with the emotional, psychological state of the speaker. The author demonstrates that the charm addressee is not only a real, or even supernatural person, but also an inanimate object. This object is incantated by a performative.

Some of the articles deal with the problem of traditional healers and witches and the transmission of their knowledge. Tatiana Agapkina examines the peculiarities of the transfer of the charms among East Slavic healers. In the second part of her article Agapkina explores the rules of healing when incantations are used as a magical tool, describing types of healer as well as regulations concerning charming practice.

Mare Kõiva looks at the features characteristic of 19th century and beginning of 20th century folk doctors in northern Estonia, where the decline in certain medical techniques (hirudotherapy, folk treatments using cupping) changes in light of massage and hydrotherapy. 'Official' medicine's consistent dialogue with innovation, the influence of esoteric movements and self-improvement and experimentation with various techniques are evident.

Heather A. Taylor examined charms against thieves in medieval English manuscripts. By identifying instructions for the practitioner contained within the texts and their associated rubrics, Taylor imagines how the performance of these charms may have looked in practice, and how, in some cases, there is a parallel with the parish ritual of 'beating the bounds'.

Mare Kõiva

UDMURT HEALING RITUALS. SEMANTIC MODELS OF THE ACTIONAL CODE

Tatiana Panina

Head of the Department for Foreign Languages, Izhevsk State Medical Academy, Izhevsk, Udmurtia

Email: tipanina@mail.ru

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to analyse the actional code of the Udmurt healing rite, considered as a cultural text. The scientific novelty of the work lies in the fact that the ritual actions of the healing rite are classified into groups according to the particular method of achieving the goal involved, something which takes into account the semantics of its actional component. The proposed classification is based on the system developed by E. E. Levkiyevskaya in her study of Slavic protective amulets. As a result of the analysis, the author has identified the main semantic models manifested in the elementary semantic units and motifs. The semantic models under consideration are divided into three groups: the first group combines ritual actions aiming at establishing contact, the second one contains actions intended to have impact on the source of the disease; and the third encompasses actions aimed at giving a patient an invulnerability to the disease. The analysis of folklore and ethnographic material reveals that motifs of the semantic models belonging to the second group were the most widespread ones, something which is accounted for by the fact that the concept of the fight between two opposing forces underlies most Udmurt healing rituals that involve performing an incantation against the disease.

Keywords: Udmurt folk medicine; healing rite; actional code; semantic model; semantic motif, incantation.

INTRODUCTION

The relevance of studying the kinetic code of the Udmurt healing rite is in the fact that movement is one of the most important and most significant components of the ritual. The theoretical basis of the study is provided by works of representatives of the Moscow ethnolinguistic school (N. Tolstoy, S. Tolstaya, E. Levkievskaya) and the

works of leading scholars on the questions of semiotic systems in traditional culture (V. Toporov, A. Baiburin, T. Tsivyan).

Researchers note that the actional component of any ritual lies its logical and structural core (Tolstaya, 1996: 89) and will be older in its origin than the verbal component: verbal accompaniment often acts as a means of dubbing, a footnote or commentary, a kind of 'prosodic'; subsystem attached to the main nonverbal system (Toporov 2010: 22). The main sources of the study were archival materials from the manuscript collection of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature; the folklore and dialectological collections of the Institute of Udmurt Philology, Finno-Ugric Studies and Journalism of the Udmurt State University, as well as the author's field recordings collected in the early 21st century.

SEMANTIC MODELS AND MOTIFS

The set of kinetic elements that make up the Udmurt healing ritual is diverse. For the convenience of our analysis a certain classification will be required. Depending on who performs certain actions, the actional components of a healing ritual can be divided into two main groups: the actions of the verbal healer/charmer and the actions of the person being healed/patient (Stadnik 2000: 31). In cases where patients charm their medical conditions themselves, the kinetics of the healer coincides with the kinetics of the person being healed. This principle of classification allows us to categorise the ritual actions, but does not reveal their inner essence. The most appropriate classification for analysing the actional code is the system proposed by E. Levkievskaya (2002), which she developed while researching the semantics of protective amulets. For the convenience of classification, which is based on the means of achieving the goal, the researcher introduces the term *semantic model*, the embodiments of which are *semantic motifs* – "predicate units containing constant semantics, steadily recurring in texts and having forms of expression fixed in tradition" (Levkievskaya 2002: 11).

The analysis of the available folklore and ethnographic data shows that the ritual actions of the Udmurt healing rites can be divided into three groups. The first group is aimed at establishing and achieving contact; the second intends various effects on the source of the disease; and the third is focused on patients themselves: endowing them with those properties that will make them invulnerable to the disease.

The first group of ritual actions forms the semantic model **contact**, which contains four semantic motifs: **establishing contact, invitation, supplication,** and **sacrifice.** Within this group, a connection with the disease is established in order to exert further influence upon it, or, on the contrary, to avoid further negative consequences from contact.

One of the motifs of this group **– establishing contact** – is directly related to the spatial and temporal codes of the healing rite. This semantic motif includes any movement towards boundary places in the transitional or dark times of day. For example, the healer and the sick person approach the threshold, the entrance to the

cellar, the window, and come to each other after sunset, at midnight, before dawn. In this context, movement without locative and temporal parameters is deprived of its ritual status.

The semantic motif of **invitation** can be found in the verbal formulas of the healing rite *urt kuton* ('catching the soul *urt*'). The motif of **supplication** is realised while following certain rules of behaviour, for example, in order to propitiate certain spirits of infectious diseases and thereby avoid more serious consequences, one should not make noises, swear, or do dirty work (Panina 2013; 2016). Closely related to this motif is the motif of **sacrifice**, which involves the ritual feeding of hostile disease-spirits, dead ancestors, and the spirits of the surrounding space, which is a particular way of releasing the patient from the influence of the latter through propitiation and the ingratiation of their favour.

The second group of ritual actions is represented by four semantic models: **neutralisation of the disease**, **striking back the disease**, **expelling the disease**, and **destroying the disease**. Within the framework of the proposed classification, this group is the most extensive, since the majority of Udmurt healing rituals involving charms are based on the concept of the struggle between two opposing forces, both at the actional and the verbal levels.

The therapeutic rites of the semantic model **neutralisation of the disease** are aimed at giving the bearers of danger such a state (and properties), that does not allow them the opportunity to manifest their dangerous qualities (Levkievskaya 2002: 62). The mechanism of influence consists in modelling the behaviour of the disease with the help of magical means.

In the Udmurt healing rituals, this model is represented by the motif of **making the disease incapacitated**. For example, fire was cut over the burnt place with the help of special blue-coloured pebbles (*lyz köl'y*). The illocutionary purpose of this action is expressed at the verbal level:

> *Ta tyl kyd'yoke koshkyn ug bygaty no, solen no tylyaraez kyd'yoke medam völsky*
>
> This fire cannot go any further, let the patient's burn not spread further
>
> (AFR 2009, village of Sep, Igrinsky district, UR)

The next model – **striking back the disease** – like the model of **neutralisation of the disease**, is not commonly found in Udmurt healing rites. This is explained by the desire not only to fight back or neutralise the disease, but also to get rid of it, once and for all. The main goal of the action series of these semantic models is to prevent the further spread of the disease, which is reflected in the motifs of **covering/closing the eyes of the disease** and **surrounding the disease**. For example, the first of them is realised in the following way – to remove the evil eye from the goslings, they are sprinkled with water, which all family members washed their faces with in the morning, with the words:

> *Ta pozh, chylkyt övöl, med votsaloz, pytsaloz so ad'yamiles' s'inyosse, kudiz
> l'ek uchkiz ta pichios shory*

> This (water) is dirty, unclean, let it cover the eyes of those people who looked
> at these little ones with anger

> (AFR, 2005, village of Ukan, Yarsky district, UR)

The second motif is found in the ritual for healing such skin disease as *lichen planus*:
to prevent from spreading it further on the body, the affected place was circled with
a silver coin (Mikheev 1926: 45).

The next two models – **destroying the disease** and **expelling the disease** –
are the most drastic and most common ways of dealing with medical condition. The
former combines ritual actions that symbolise the elimination of a person's painful
condition through the elimination of the disease, such as *kuin' lul* ('three souls *lul'*).
The key motif in the treatment of this childhood disease is the motif of **trampling** it:
the healer steps lightly with their heel on the baby's chest and abdomen (AFR 2009,
village of Sep, Igrinsky district, UR) or presses an old trampled shoe on their chest
(FDA UdSU, Sayfutdinova T. 2000/01, Bashkortostan, Kushnarenkovsky district,
village of Kanly, p. 10). This motif also appears in a ritual against the evil eye – the
water remaining after certain ritual actions is poured into the lower corner of the
doorway or onto the door hinges, and then the door is slammed shut with the words:

> *S'inus'emze tatchy pachkatis'ko*

> [I press the evil eye down here] (Nikolaeva 2011: 85).

In case of *panaris*, the inflamed finger is pressed with a table leg (FDA UdSU, Kulikova
A. 2000/01, Zavyalovsky district, village of Bolshaya Venya, p. 14).

This motif is close to that of **crushing/grinding the disease**. A barley ear, on
which the disease is transferred, is subsequently rubbed against the wall (Mikheev
1926: 48); to treat hernia in a child, the healer goes to an aspen tree before dawn and
cracks an egg wrapped in dirty nappies against it.

In addition to the above motifs, the model under consideration also includes the
motif of **cutting/cutting out the disease**, which prevails in the treatment of such
medical conditions as tumour, boil of hernia: they can be circled with a kitchen knife
(AFR, 2009, village of Sep, Igrinsky district, UR) or a veterinary knife (AFR, 2006,
village of Sep, Igrinsky district, UR). In case of fright, the healer passes a knife and
a knife-grinder over the heart area from top to bottom (FDA UdSU, Maksimova L.
1999/2000, Debessky district, village of Uyvay, pp. 31-32).

The next motif of this model is determined by the action of **stabbing/piercing**.
Thus, to cure stye, stabbing movements were used to touch the sore spot with the
tips of scissors (RA UIHLL, F. 762, N. 20, S. 14). The words of the charm were whis-
pered on salted water or *kumyshka* (homemade vodka) with a piece of sugar. The
charmer alternately blew, spat, and stirred it with the sharp ends of scissors. Before
the patient drank it, the scissors were thrown with such force that their sharp ends

stayed stuck in the floor (Ilyina 1926: 64). This motif is echoed by the motif of **chopping the disease**.

The transfer of properties and qualities of the used attribute to the disease (in most cases the fundamental attribute is dryness) is concentrated in the motif of **drying the disease**, which is found in the ritual of treatment for a stye. An inflamed eye was touched with a dried barley grain (FDA UdSU, Korepanova T. 2003/04, Igrinsky district, village of Ludoshur, p. 6), or circled it with a coal (FDA UdSU, Lekomtseva A., 1998/99, Kezsky district, Kez, p. 8). Having touched a dry ray to the flame, they put it around an abscess, boil, or furuncle with the words:

> *Kötshe ke ta kös chag kuas'memyn, oz'y ik ta pös'ky med kuas'moz*
>
> [As this dry ray has dried up, so let the boil dry up]
>
> (RA UIHLL, F. 199, S. 240).

The named series of motifs complements the motif of **burning the disease**, which is found in the treatment of various diseases. For example, a stye is circled with barley grains that are later thrown into a burning furnace (FDA UdSU, Lekomtseva A. 1998/99, Kez district, Kez, p. 8); in order to treat the evil eye, a pinch of salt is taken and circled three times over the patient's head counterclockwise, while reciting a charm, the salt is then thrown into the fire (FDA UdSU, Kryuchkova N. 1996/97, Kizner district, village of Kizner, p. 12–16); three matches are lit and alternately circled round the head of the jinxed child (FDA UdSU, Anfionova N. 1997/98, Alnashsky district, village of Piseevo, p. 23–24). The thread used for tying warts is thrown into the fire (AFR, 2008, village of Sep, Igrinsky district, UR); a child sick with *punykyl'* (literally 'dog's disease') was put into a warm stove, ordering the disease to bake/burn/disappear.

The semantic motif of **extinguishing the disease** is realised in healing rites for burns.

Hot coals were extinguished in water, then the burnt places were moistened with it (Mikheev 1926: 46–47). The burn was circled with the ring finger with the words:

> *In kiz'il'i, zor pil'em, kuke vu pytsis' pen'ez sutidy ke, soku mon s'otko sutny. Ton - tyl, mon - vu, mon tone kyso*
>
> [Heavenly stars, rain clouds, when you burn ash from the bottom of the sea/river/lake, then I allow you to burn. You are fire, I am water, I will extinguish you] (FDA UdSU, Shocheva T. 2000/01, Malopurginsky district, village of Malaya Bodya, p. 8).

The final motif in the semantic model of **destroying the disease** is the motif of **rotting the disease**. In order to berid of warts, knots were tied corresponding to the number of warts the sufferer had, and the thread was then thrown into rainwater running down the gutter from the roof, buried in manure, in the ground, tossed into the cellar or under the bath shelf.

The semantic model of **expelling the disease** is represented by a wide range of actions aimed at expelling the disease not only from the patient's body, but also from this world. Depending on the locus, time, and method of expulsion, the following motifs are found within this model – **expelling the disease to the other world, returning the disease to its sender, expelling the disease to an external object or to an impossible future, scaring the disease away**, and **expelling the disease by spitting or crossing, with smoke or water.**

At the action level, the motif of **expelling the disease to the other world** is represented, for example, in calendar rites of exorcising evil spirits / illnesses. This motif is often realised in healing rites: an aspen tree, which was used to treat sprains in horses, was carried outside the village around midnight. Barley grains, on which the disease is transferred, are thrown outside the gate (FDA UdSU, Baimurzina S. 1993/94, Malopurginsky district, village of Aksakshur, pp. 18-20) or thrown over the shoulder (Kelmakov 1981: 42). In traditional culture, environment is known to be characterised by apocentricity: a human being is the initial point of reference. By throwing grains over the shoulder, a person also frees themselves from the disease by sending it outside their world.

The motif of **expelling the disease to the other world** is directly related to the motif of **returning the disease to its sender**. It is commonly found in rites against jinx and evil eye, in which the main role is given to water as it is believed to pass information. Thus, in the case of the evil eye, one first washes the windows on the street side, the handles of the front door and/or gates, then, having soaked one's hands with this water, pass them over the sick child's chest (Minniyakhmetova 2003: 60), head and abdomen, after which the water is splashed out of the door (FDA UdSU, Nabieva V. 2000/01, Bashkortostan, Kaltasinsky district, village of Kachak, p. 2) to return the evil eye to its senders. The washing of the abovementioned objects is also not accidental. Being border zones between this and the other world, they are, first of all, subject to negative influence.

The motif of **expelling the disease to an external object** is realised by the following actions: barley grains were brought to the inflamed eye (Kelmakov 1981: 42) or passed around the sore place (FA UdSU, FE-1975, Mozhginsky district, village of Starye Yuberi, N. 5, S. 18) or an ear (Mikheev 1926: 48); a stye was touched with a finger first, then with a dry twig (FA UdSU, Nagovitsyna I. 2002/03, Balezinsky district, village of Lyuk, p. 22). Warts are symbolically transferred to a thread (knots are tied on the thread, the total number of which corresponds to the number of warts). A child suffering from *punykyl'* (literally 'dog's disease') was dragged through a huge ring-shaped bread roll, which was later put around the dog's neck, supposedly passing the disease onto it. It was believed that if the dog died, the child would recover (FDA UdSU, Ivanova V. 2000/01, Kez district, village of Ludyag, pp. 15–17).

The most widespread motif of Udmurt healing rites is that of **expelling the disease to an impossible future**. It is mainly realised by the formulas of the impossible, which are common in Udmurt charms. They express the idea that evil spirits are not able to meet the conditions set by the charmer. With their help the disease is sent away to the distant future, which is believed to never come. For instance, the burnt place is circled with a coal:

Kuke dzazeg tölpuzy' tyl potiz ke, soku med sutis'kod. T'fu!

[When fire appears from the goose's wind egg, then let the burnt place ache. Ptui!] (Napolskikh 1997).

One of the ways of warding off diseases and evil spirits comes in the motif of **scaring the disease away**. When someone was ill, Udmurts used to hit the walls with a freshly cut rowan stick (RA UIHLL, F. 187, S. 142); fever was scared away by shooting from a gun; a stye was shown mildly obscene gesture *kukish* (the 'fig' sign) (AFR, 2008, village of Sep, Igrinsky district, UR). A 'fig' sign is also commonly used for protective purposes: it is believed that when meeting a sorcerer, this gesture may protect people from the jinx. The evil spirits known as *peri* can be scared off by showing one's genitals or a bare bottom (Shutova, Kapitonov, Kirillova *et al.* 2009: 206). At the verbal level, the motif of **scaring the disease away** is expressed by various kinds of threats, swear words and obscene language.

It should be noted that in most cases the pronunciation of incantation was followed by a threefold spitting, in other words, realising the motif of **expelling the disease by spitting**. Its semantics also changes depending on whom it is directed at, whether at the diseae-spirit or the patient. Thus, if the spit is directed at the evil spirit, the action symbolises forced removal:

S'iis'ez-uyis'ez s'alas'ko: t'fu, t'fu, t'fu!"

[On the one who eats-drinks (the sick person), I spit: ptui, ptui, ptui!] (Munkácsi 1952: 152–153).

If the spit is directed at the patient, then it is believed to provide the patient with protective properties.

The motif of **expelling the disease by crossing (making the sign of the cross)** has the semantics of expelling the disease, on the one hand, and on the other hand, of creating an obstacle. In healing rituals, the act of crossing first of all implies expelling the disease, as it is considered to result from the negative influence of the forces of evil. In protective rites, by contrast, the semantics of an obstacle comes to the fore: there is an acute need to protect people from potential danger. The semantics of securing goes back to the universal symbolism of the cross (Levkievskaya 1999: 260). In mythopoetic and religious systems, the cross is presented as the most ancient sign of a sacred character, as a symbol of fire, sun and eternal life. In modern society it is a symbol of Christian faith. In Udmurt healing rites, the act of crossing is not always performed according to the canons of the Orthodox Church. For example, a stye is crossed with the ring finger (FDA UdSU, Dryakhlova N. 1997/98, Mozhginsky district, village of Nizhnie Kvatchi, pp. 12–13) or with a fig sign (FDA UdSU, Komarova L. 2002/03, Zavyalovsky district, village of Verkhniye Zhenvay, p. 18–19). When treating the evil eye, water is crossed with a knife, which is then sprinkled on the baby (Nikolaeva 2011: 85). In the case of a strain or dislocation, the healer first crosses

the bench with a needle and scissors, and then the sore place (FA UdSU, FE-1975, Mozhginsky district, village of Vuzh Yubera, vol. 5, fol. 17).

The motif of **expelling the disease with smoke** is found both in protection and healing rites. Smoking is a universal magical act. In Udmurt ethnomedicine, the smudging ritual was mainly used to cure fright, the evil eye, and jinx. The disease was expelled by pungent smoke. The main attributes were objects of high semiotic status, such as juniper branches, Maundy Thursday salt, and incense. In addition, cobwebs, a wasps' nest, or the hair/fur of the supposed offender were set alight.

One of the common motifs in healing rites is the motif of **expelling the disease with water**. Thus, when the evil eye was suspected, a child was washed with clean water. This method of treatment was limited to the action only and did not require any verbal charms. The symbolism of this action is determined by the semantics of water which is based on - firstly by its natural properties (freshness, transparency, ability to cleanse, wash away) and, secondly by mythological ideas about its connection with the other world. Water is believed to *wash away* the disease, *carry it away*, *separate it* from the sick person. A jinxed child is sprinkled three times with clean water, saying:

> *Gord, töd'y, s'öd kysyem murtyoslen uchkemzyles' s'inkyl'izes ul'l'as'ko*
>
> [I expel the evil look of red-haired, blond-haired, dark-haired people]
>
> (FA UdSU, FE-1991, Yarsky district, N. 1, S. 21).

Objects with sacral or high semiotic status enhance the purifying properties of water. An icon and/or the table corners were rinsed with water and then sick child's hands and face were washed with it (RA UIHLL, F. 742, N. 6, S. 5). The evil eye and fright are washed away with water kept underground for twelve days (FA UdSU, FE-1993, Kezsky district, village of Gya, N. 3, p. 39).

The last group of ritual actions is embodied in the semantic model of **apotropaisation** (giving the patient properties that make them invulnerable to the disease). It unites actions which are aimed at giving the patient special properties that will make them immune to the disease. The vector of the action is directed not at the disease, but at the patient themselves.

This model in the Udmurt tradition is represented by two motifs. The first one is the motif of **simulating the situation of symbolic rebirth**. It is based on the belief that the sick person is born again and returns in a new, healthy state, achieving a status which protects them from the further impact of the disease. An infant suffering from *punykyl'* (literally 'dog's disease') was placed into a warm stove (RA UIHLL, F. 199, S. 240). If a child cried incessantly, he/she was put on an old worn-out undershirt and pulled through a split aspen branch, and then changed into clean underwear (FDA UdSU, Zlobina V. 2002/03, Uvinsky district, village of Bolshoy Zhuzhges, p. 16). A sick baby was also pulled through a huge ring-shaped roll, which was baked specially for the healing rite (FDA UdSU, Markova F. 1992/93, Malopurginsky district, village of Aksakshur, p. 12). In the northern districts of Udmurtia, a frail child with stunted growth was put onto a litter, then their new godparents *brought them back* into this

world with a *new* status – as a healthy child. The sick baby was *sold* to a stranger or neighbour or to someone whose children have excellent health.

The other motif of this model is aimed at **simulating the state of patient's invulnerability**. The main tool in achieving this goal is the word. Thus, the healer whispers an incantation over water, which is then sprinkled on the patient and given them to drink. It is believed that the magical power of the verbal charms can be transferred to the water, or any other object, therefore the property of invulnerability encoded in the incantation can be transferred to the patient as well. Washing with holy water is considered to be one of the surest ways to protect a sick person from the subsequent negative effects of the evil eye.

The proposed classification must remain conditional, because one and the same action will have a wide range of symbolic meanings. The semantics of each ritual action will depend, for example, on the situational context and on whom it is directed at. If it is directed at a sick person, then it is aimed at making them invulnerable to a medical condition, if it is directed at a disease, then at expelling and destroying the illness. Thus, for example, the ritual of smudging can be considered both as a peculiar way of expelling the disease with pungent smoke and as a way of protecting a patient by means of ritual purification; a healer can spit on a patient in order to make them *unappealing* for the disease and to avert evil (disease, evil eye, jinx), but spitting is at the same time one of the most widespread ways of expelling the disease. The expelling and apotropaic functions of ritual actions are often inseparable in the context of a healing process.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis of the actional code of Udmurt healing rites in accordance with the relevant way of achieving the goal has allowed us to identify a number of basic semantic models of Udmurt healing rites, which can be conditionally divided into three groups. The first group comprises actions which belong to the semantic model **contact**, the second group – **neutralisation of the disease**, **striking back the disease**, **repelling/expelling the disease**, **destroying the disease**, and the third group – **apotropaisation**. The motifs of the semantic models of the second group are the most widespread, which is due to the fact that the majority of Udmurt healing rituals of charming diseases away are based on the concept of the struggle between two opposing forces, which is most often represented by the *pellaskis'* (healer) on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the disease-spirit / otherworldly forces. Although the division into models and motifs helps to identify elementary semantic units of the folklore text, it does not give a complete picture: one and the same healing rite is quite often presented as a complex of complementary motifs, which contributes to increasing the sacral level of the whole text. It is also important to note that the meaning of the ritual action is closely connected with all the components of the rite: symbols belonging to different ritual paradigms (and thus having a different plan of

expression) are often synonymous in terms of content, repeating simultaneously the same meaning in different ways.

NOTES

AFR – author's field recordings

F. – file

FA UdSU – Folklore archive of the Institute of Udmurt Philology, Finno-Ugric Studies and Journalism of Udmurt State University

FDA UdSU – Folklore and dialectological archive of the Institute of Udmurt Philology, Finno-Ugric Studies and Journalism of the Udmurt State University

FE – folklore expedition

N – notebook

p. – page

RA UIHLL – Research Archive of Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Udmurt Federal Research Centre, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

S. – sheet

UR – Udmurt Republic

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BIO

Tatiana Panina (PhD) is the head of the Department for Foreign Languages at Izhevsk State Medical Academy. She is interested in traditional Udmurt culture, more precisely in folk medicine, incantation tradition, and dreams. She is the author of the book on Udmurt healing rites and verbal charms *Slovo i ritual v narodnoi meditsine udmurtov* [The word and ritual in Udmurt folk medicine].

ORCID: 0000-0003-0743-1391

COSMOGONIC CONCEPTIONS OF THE UDMURT PEOPLE IN NAMING STARS AND THEIR IMAGES IN FOLKLORE

Tatiana Vladykina

Department of Research in Philology, Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature, UdmFRC UB RAS, Izhevsk, Russia

tgvladykina@mail.ru

Abstract: The cosmogonic concepts of the Udmurt people can be detected through the names of stars, the names of which are usually based on mythological cognition. Additional and very significant information about space objects is contained in folklore texts. The images of stars are included in a stable triad of heavenly bodies along with the sun and moon. Their constant feature is 'bright' light, opposed to images of negative energy, forces of darkness – diseases or sorcerers. Therefore, images of stars are frequently used in charms, where they are presented as an insurmountable barrier to those who do evil. The stars, along with the sun and moon, became metaphors and comparisons in the song culture, prayers and charms of the Udmurt people. They are used as analogies in the characterization of family and kinship ties, testifying the relationships within the clan. The stars and constellations, when seen as symbols of unattainability and indivisibility, are a kind of guarantor of stability of the world.

Keywords: stars, stars in folklore, cosmogonic concepts, naming of stars, charms, triad of heavenly bodies, the Udmurt people.

Cosmogonic representations are one of the important components of the mythological picture of the world of any nation. The images of heavenly bodies – the sun, moon and stars – are the basis of the foundations of the entire system of ideas about the universe, which, in relation to the Udmurt worldview, can be reconstructed according to the nominations of heavenly bodies and their images in folklore.

The stars in Udmurt folklore are a permanent component of the cosmic triad along with the sun and moon. Their main feature is **light**: "…*shundy lyugyt, tolez' lyugyt, kizili lyugyt*…(The sun is bright, the moon is bright, the stars are bright…)" (Wichmann 1893: 179). Stars (*kizili*) are the symbol of multiplicity, uncountability, the constellation *in kizili syuros* is a symbol of indivisibility and unattainability. The light of star clusters-constellations, their innumerable multitude, their indivisibility makes them one of the guarantors of the stability of the world, its integrity, therefore the desire to "count / destroy the celestial stars / constellations" in charms is given as

an impossible condition to an otherworldly force (disease / sorcerer): "…*In kidz'ililes' syurosse… siny-yuny ke byttid, soky si-yu ta adyamiyez…* (Munkácsi 1887: 178) (…The constellation of heavenly stars … destroy (lit.: eat-drink) when you can, then destroy this man …)"; "*Siz'ymdon siz'ym kizili mynam yyr yylam, soye bydtid ke, soku bydty ta adyamiyez*" … ("Seventy-seven stars above my head, when you destroy them, then destroy this man" (Wichmann 1893: 185, №21).

One of the images of stars that have now been eroded in contemporary society is the image of pillars supporting the firmament. This image is more clearly correlated with the sun in the riddle "*Bydes dunnely gord yubo*" ("The red pillar for the whole world") (Riddles 1982: 214). But, judging by the texts of spells, "the number of heavenly pillars is great, (as) the number of stars is great" (Khudyakov: 8), and it was believed to be known only to initiates, 'knowledgeable' people who included this image in the spell formula to strengthen protection from negative circumstances, drawing an implicit parallel between the images of stars and pillars.

To date, linguistic researchers have identified more than 50 Udmurt cosmonyms (Kirillova 2010; Kirillova 2016), which include the names of individual stars or constellations. Among them, for example, Venus / Zarnitsa – *Saktonkizili / Dz'ardonkizili, or* Star of Dawn / *Chulpon*, Orion – *Tarazi kizili / Tarazi*, Pleiades – *Sherpuzh kizili* (the Constellation of the Sieve), etc. The analysis of the names of the stars allowed us to identify the basic principles of their nomination by the location of the stars, the relative time of appearance in the sky visible to man, the number of stars in the constellation, the relative size of the object, association with any item of household, bird, animal (Kirillova 2011). It is noted while even if there is a concept of a constellation in the definition of a *cluster* of stars (*ogazeyas'kem, syuros, suz'yet*) in the proper names of constellations, as a rule, only the word *kizili,* or 'star' is used, and on this basis, it is concluded that in the Udmurt language, stars do not differ from constellations. But this statement, in our opinion, does not consider the nuances of the Udmurt language, where the use of the plural with collective nouns can be represented without any morphological indication, and in relation to the heavenly bodies, this curious fact is found only in translations. The concept of *kizili* ('star'), thus, can denote both a single object and a combined set. The constellation Ursa Major, for example, has several names: *Tshözh kar* "Duck's Nest", *Baddz'ym koby* "Big Ladle", *Kuz'-byzho-kizili* – lit.: "Long-tailed Star / Long-tailed constellation / Constellation with a long tail". This row can be supplemented with a variant of the "Long Tail Star". But such meanings, as it turns out, are applicable to cosmonyms formed considering only the external appearance of the constellation. If the cosmonym is formed considering the location of the object, as for example, in the case of another name for the Big Dipper, "*Yyryyl-kizili* [suros]" (Above the head [located constellation]), then the perception of this name causes difficulties. At the same time, it is the translation that makes it possible to clarify the meaning of the cosmonym: "Stars above your head" is the entire starry sky, "The star above your head" as the main one is the North Star. Therefore, *Yyryyl-kizili* in relation to the Big Dipper should mean "The Head / The Main Constellation", which does not contradict the significance of this celestial object for our northern latitudes.

Another variant of the name was found in the riddles, at the head of which is a metaphorical image in the likeness: "*Yyr yylyn dzhök kuk. – Dzhökkuk-kizili*" (Above the head is a table leg. – The constellation of the Big Dipper, or, literally ;Constellation-the-Legs-of-the-Table'). The metaphor of the riddle, in our opinion, is a kind of "rolled-up myth" containing the idea of a Heavenly House, in the sacred locus of which there is an altar table corresponding to the table in "the red corner" of the peasant hut (Vladykin 1994: 71). Judging by the answer, the question part of the riddle has undergone some metamorphoses, having lost the epithet ин – 'heavenly' in the image [*in*]*dzhök kuk* (leg of [**heavenly**] table)=*dzhök kuk* (table leg), as in a case with *ingur* = *gur* "heavenly furnace=furnace" in the meaning of 'the firmament' / 'the eternal vault'. Researchers of cosmonyms in the languages of the peoples of Siberia correlate the Udmurt term *dzhök kuk / dzhök kuk kizili* with the names of constellations, in the semantics of which there are concepts of "having legs (supports)" (Anikin 1991: 39-40); the Udmurt nomination of the Big Dipper *Siz'ym kizili* "Seven Stars / Seven Stars" («Семь звёзд / Семизвездие») also correlates with the 'Siberian' variants (Ibid).

The loss of the attributive epithet *in* ('heavenly') in the perception of the firmament as a 'heavenly furnace' led from macrocosmic proportions to microcosmic, which is why celestial objects acquired a quite close, 'homely' appearance: stars (round muffin cakes (*biskyli / kömech / yuacha*), small muffin balls-*shekera, perepechi*) along with the sun and moon (loaf of bread, *shanezhka*) were "inserted" into a home oven. The abundance of cookie images in the image of the heavenly bodies, of course, is not accidental. The identity of space and home is the main 'world–building' idea of almost all times and peoples: "Home as the world, the world as home – this metaphorical identity largely determines the system of traditional worldview" (Traditional worldview ... 1988: 61; see also: Gemuev 1990). Poetic images of the sun, moon and stars in the form of various kinds of cookies in riddles are also recorded in Russian folklore. But if we analyse the territory of distribution of these texts, we will find that they were recorded mainly in the area of contact with the Finno-Ugric peoples, in particular, on the territory of the Perm or Vyatka province (Mitrofanova 1968: 18–21, 165–166), basically the stars and the moon in the Russian tradition are likened to grains (peas / millet) scattered on the field / bed curtain / bast mat, sheep on pasture under the supervision of a 'horned' shepherd, which seems more typical of the East Slavic tradition.

The most convincing oath that Udmurt gave in convincing someone of his rightness was the one where, in addition to the Supreme God, heavenly bodies and his native land were mentioned: "*Inmar ponna, shundy ponna, tolez' ponna, tyle ponna, lyёgono mu"yeme ponna, az' ulone ponna – ta uzhez öy kar!*" (I swear by God, I swear by the sun, I swear by the moon, I swear by fire, I swear by the earth I walk on, I swear by my future life – I did not do this!) (Munkácsi 1887: 192); «*Inmar ponna!.. Nyan' ponna!.. Shundy ponna!.. Tolez' ponna!.. Kizili ponna!* (I swear by the Lord... by bread... by the sun... by the month... by the stars)" (Vereshchagin 1995: 92).

The favour of the heavenly bodies to a person, their influence on his fate is traditional in folk culture and constitutes a fundamental moment in mythopoeic perception. And, if in more archaic genres, ætiological motives prevail, then in later ones, moral attitudes become the predominant ones. Heroes are rewarded for their moral quali-

ties. In this sense, a fairy tale is typical, in its characteristics close to the legendary and novelistic at the same time:

> *Once upon a time there was a little girl in the world. When she was seven or eight years old, her parents died, and she was left homeless. There was no one to give her water – to feed, clothe, warm her. Apart from the poor clothes and the poor handkerchief, she didn't have anything. She had to beg. One day, a kind man gave her a piece of bread. She left him, and another hungry beggar came to meet her.*
>
> *"Daughter, give me a piece of bread, I'm very hungry," the beggar began to ask her for a piece of bread. The girl gave him all the bread and said, "Eat, Grandpa, you're welcome!"*
>
> *They say she went further. Went and went, they say, and it was getting late. A guy comes to meet her.*
>
> *"Give me something to cover my head, my head is freezing! – the guy asked. The little girl gave him her only handkerchief and went on, they say.*
>
> *Suddenly, stars began to fall on her from the sky and turned into silver coins. The girl was delighted and began to collect them (*Vatka no Kalmez: № 8).

'Nominal' constellations and individual stars in folklore texts are not so common, but are rather found in highly original comparisons in the associative parallelisms of songs. The time after midnight, for example, is determined by the position of the Big Dipper, which received another version of the name in the text below:

> *Tunne dzhyt kuazed tuzh kez'yt,*
> *Vay, urom, pas'te: kynmis'ko.*
> *Siz'ym-kizili byzhze berykte,*
> *Vay, urom, kide: pyris'ko* (Munkácsi 1952: 339, №125)

> The weather is cold tonight.
> Give me your fur coat, my friend: I'm freezing.
> Constellation-of-Seven-Stars turns its tail [night is coming to dawn],
> Give me your hand, my friend, [to say goodbye]: I'm coming [home from a walk]

The cosmonym "Tail of the Constellation of Seven Stars", which is included in the song, seems to us to be a peculiar combination of two 'starry' images: a certain 'tailed' beast and a visual cluster of a certain "number" of star objects.

The Milky Way, known as *Luddz'azeg-lobdz'on-syures* /*Luddz'azeg-syures* / *Kyrdz'azeg-syures* "The road of Flight of Wild Geese" / "The road of Wild Geese" in folklore texts, is used to denote an unattainable height and a spatiotemporal designation of a long-distance road:

Lud-dz'azeg-syures tuzh vylyn,
Shundy ke potoz, ug addz'is'ky.
Anay, milemyz tuzh sagynod,
Asles'tyd pide ud addz'y

The Road-of-Wild geese is very high,
The sun is not visible when it rises.
Mother, you will miss us,
But you won't see your son.
(Munkácsi 1952: 323, №73).

Zhyngyr no zhangyr mi lyktim,
Syala no chibdya syuresti.
Mi tatys' kyti bertomy?
Luddz'azeg-Lobdz'on-Syuresti

We arrived to the sound of bells,
Along the road where the grouse whistles.
How are we going to leave here / which way?
Along the [Constellation-] The Road-of-the
…-Wild Geese [guided by the constellation]
(Munkácsi 1952: 312, №34).

The peculiarity of the images in the last text relate to the wedding ceremony, when the groom's guests comment on their arrival using the stable metaphorical imagery of wedding songs: the female grouse *syala* is the bride. By the call-up whistle of the 'forest hen' the road to her parents' house was found. They will fly away to distant lands, like a flock of geese with a young goose bride, the landmark will be the constellation of the same name – the Road-of-Wild-Geese.

Oy, kuaz' saktoz, kuaz' saktoz,
Kuaz'yësyz Chulpon saykatoz.
Ti tuganenym, todem bere,
Lyukis'kontem bur kime syëtsal

Oh, weather-nature is dawning, weather-nature is dawning,
Venus-Chulpan awakens the weather-nature.
To you, my dear ones, if you knew [about the breakup],
I would have given my right hand so as not to be separated.
(Munkácsi 1887: 296, №216)

The associative parallelism of the last example is built on deep connections of comparison according to the principle of psychological parallelism: relatives would not like to be separated (a handshake is a symbol of unity) in the same way as the dawn and the star Venus appearing in the sky in the predawn hours are inseparable.

The Udmurts' ideas about the connection of stars with the human world can be considered typical. At the same time, the belief about the stars as celestial counterparts of the human soul is usually found in parallel with the image of the butterfly soul:

> *In kiziliye, vu vyl bubyliye,*
>
> *Kylyёz* [,] *kaltak* [,] *vadz'kem yёz-kalyke!*
>
> My heavenly stars, above the river are my butterflies.
>
> They will stay, kaltak [unhappy me /unhappy them],
>
> my peers are friends!
>
> (Munkácsi 1887: 200)

> *Inmyn gine kizili, vu vylyn bubyli.*
>
> *En lyuky, In'mare, milemdy as vordylem nylpiosmyles'.*
>
> There are stars in the sky, and butterflies above the river.
>
> God will not separate us from the children we have raised.
>
> (Boikova, Vladykina 1992: №16)

The belief in the existence of a soul in the form of a star can also be traced in the stable collocation *kizili usiz* – lit.: "the star fell [noted – ***T.V.***]"; this is how they say about a paralyzed person, i.e. immobilized, but not yet dead, but already 'spiritually devastated'. The condition of paralysis in cattle was explained by the same circumstance (Vereshchagin 1995: 81)

The presence of more common statements about someone's death at the moment of the fall of a star ("*Vylis' kizili usiz ke, kin ke kulem, dyr, shuo* (If a star falls from a height, someone died, they say)" (Munkácsi 1887: 29, No.166) can be considered, apparently, as due to the influence of something which is universal for in Slavic mythology (and in European mythology more broadly), the belief in stars as the souls of people (Vinogradova 1999: 146).

Comets were considered a bad omen *byzhokizili* – lit.: 'tailed stars': "The world should expect some kind of misfortune. Misfortune will be greater in the direction where the comet will turn" (Vereshchagin 1995: 80); *In'myn byzho kizili vetliz ke, ya zhugis'kon, ya dunne byron luoz, shuo* (If a tailed star appears in the sky, or war, or the end of the world = peace will be)" (Munkácsi 1887: 29, No.167).

The northern Udmurts associated the heavenly flashes, the heavenly fire of *invozho* with the flight of evil spirits: "*Uin invozhoez addz'id ke, "oste!" shu: so kulem vedinlen lulyz, adyamiles' lulze bas'tyny oz'y vetle* (At night, if you see an инвожо, say "Lord!": this is the soul of a deceased sorcerer coming for the souls of the living)" (Munkácsi 1887: 6, №40).

A very rare image of the *lek kizili* 'evil / angry star' is mentioned in the prayer-spell *kuris'kon* of the northern Udmurts. Appealing to the supreme gods Inmar and Kyldysin, they ask for protection from the effects of the 'evil fire-flame' and the 'evil star' *("…lek tylles'-pules', lek kizililes' med uty*ĕz*-vordoz…")* (Wichmann 1893: 132, №15). This image, obviously, can be associated with the concept of evil fate and in this sense correspond to the ideas of "being marked with a star" ((*kizili usiz / kizili usy*ĕz = «the star has fallen / the star will fall" = paralyzed / paralyzes). Today, this expression has practically disappeared from everyday life, just like the adequate expression *peri shukkiz* – lit.: "evil spirit / *peri* struck."

In folklore texts, images of stars are often found in the inseparable triad "sun–moon–stars" typical of spells, as well as in comparative constructions in song texts, which creating an original metaphorical picture of 'heavenly' and 'earthly' family-kinship relations:

> *Milyam, milyam mar mumyyĕs, mar mumyyĕs?*
>
> *Tshuknala, tshuknala dzhuzham tyr shundy kades' ik vylillyam.*
>
> *Milyam, milyam mar bubyyĕs, mar bubyyĕs?*
>
> *Dzhytaze, dzhytaze dzhuzham tyr tolez' kades' ik vylillyam.*
>
> *Milyam, milyam mar nyunyayĕs, mar nyunyayĕs?*
>
> *Dzhytaze, dzhytaze dzhuzham tyr kizili kades' ik vylillyam…*

> Our yes, our mothers, what kind of mothers / what are our mothers comparable to?
>
> In the morning, our mothers look like the rising bright sun in the morning.
>
> Our yes, our fathers, what kind of fathers / what are our fathers comparable to?
>
> In the evening, our fathers look like the bright moon that entered in the evening.
>
> Our yes, our older brothers, what kind of brothers / what are our older brothers comparable to?
>
> Our older brothers look like in the evening, the bright stars that have risen in the evening …
>
> (Molotkova 1925: No. 2).

The stars in folklore texts, just like the sun and moon, are not so much astronomical objects with their specific names (i.e. cosmonyms), but images of the wholeness of the universe, the main components of an unattainably distant celestial world, beyond the control of man:

> Tolez'ly kuke sin usyĕz, soku med usyĕz sin taly!
>
> Kiziliosly kuke sin usyĕz, soku med usyĕz sin taly!
>
> Shundyly sin usyĕz, soku med usyĕz sin taly!

> When the moon is jinxed, then only it will be jinxed!
>
> When the stars jinx it, then they only jinx it!
>
> When the sun is jinxed, then only jinx it!
>
> (Wichmann 1893: 173, №4d).

In the general picture of the universe, however, they are correlated with the spatial and temporal parameters of a person's physical life, his fate and health. Their constant epithets are *yugyt* – "bright", *tyr* – "full" – semantically close to the concept of **unfading light, whole, healthy / full-blooded**:

> …*Tyr shundyyez, tyr tolezez ogpala beryktemed luiz ke, inmys' kizililes' lydze-chotse todid ke, kyrymad kyrmemed luiz ke, ton soku sisa vetly ta visisez!*
>
> (The full-bright sun, the full-bright moon to turn back if you can, the number, amount of heavenly stars to count if you can, squeeze them in your hand if you can, then you will [only] eat-destroy this man!)
>
> (Wichmann 1893: 192, №35e)

> *Yugyt shundyyez tshoksany kuke vormoz ke, soky potos med potoz!*
>
> *Yugyt tolezez tshoksany kuke vormoz ke, soky potos med potoz!*
>
> *Yugyt kiziliyez tshoksany kuke vormoz ke, soky potos med potoz!*
>
> *Shundy yugyt, tolez' yugyt, kizili yugyt: ta murtlen potosez övöl ni!*
>
> Close the bright sun-put it out when the [sorcerer / enemy-*vorog*] overcomes, then let the abscess appear!
>
> Close the bright moon-put it out when the [sorcerer / enemy-*vorog*] overcomes, then let the abscess appear!
>
> Close the bright stars-put out when the [sorcerer / enemy-*vorog*] overcomes, then let the abscess appear!
>
> The sun is bright, the moon is bright, the stars are bright: this man has no abscess anymore!
>
> (Wichmann 1893: 177, №11c)

In the picture of the universe of the Udmurts, the stars, thus, were significant cosmic objects along with the sun and moon. The objectivity of their existence was associated not only with the fullness of outer space, but also with the inviolability of the existence of the entire physical world and the vulnerability of the life cycle of human being.

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BIO

Tatiana Vladykina is (PhD hab) a professor and leading researcher at the Udmurt Institute for Research in History, Language and Literature (Udmurt Federal Research Centre of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences). She has covered the range of topics in Udmurt folkloristics, especially mythology, specialising both in genre and in the treatment of the most important topics across genres.

TIME AND SPACE IN DREAM TELLING: THE UDMURT EXAMPLE

Tatiana Minniyakhmetova

Independent Researcher, Innsbruck, Austria
Email: minnijah@hotmail.com

Abstract: Dreams and the telling and retelling of dreams are popular customs in people's daily lives. This study focuses on the process of dream telling, which implies time and space, and how the situation of telling a dream becomes ritualistic.

The content of a dream is very important (it can be good or evil) and therefore it is believed and perceived that dreams are signs that both dreamers and listeners will follow. The article will consider these ideas according to the traditional world-view of the Udmurts.

Keywords: dreams, telling of dreams, meaning of dreams, time and space in dream telling, Udmurts

The study of dreams, the telling and retellings of dreams, and narratives about dreams is just a grain of the traditional knowledge and wisdom of an ethnos. It is not a popular and developed subject of study and has not yet received wide or comprehensive examination in folkloristics, ethnography, ethnology or anthropology. Certainly, there are numerous publications dealing with this topic in its diverse aspects, for example dreams as a manifestation of the unconscious, dreams as a manifestation of the irrational, and hallucinations are represented in primarily psychoanalytical research, although in some cases using ethnic examples. However, these studies do concern various aspects of dreams, some approaching the interpretation of dreams from the point of view of the cultural context of the dreamer.

There are different points of view and methods of approach to the study of dreams and dreams as a cultural phenomenon. According to Russian scientists, the images and plots of dreams and the way people feel about dreams largely depend on the type of culture that interprets the dream. At the same time, the rules of the dream narrative genre are constant in space and time (Lotman 1993: 119–126; Uspenskij 1994: 35–37).

There is a proposed idea that dreaming, or at least an ingenuous vision of dreaming, is an individual experience, but that the telling and retelling of dreams is a collective experience (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1993: 213–217).

Hence, folkloristic and ethnological studies of folk interpretations of dreams are a perspective approach to the reconstruction of mythological notions as researching methods of logic and dynamic of traditional worldviews and perceptions of an ethnos or a group of kindred nations. The cultural context of an ethnos plays a significant role in the nature of dreams, defined as the cultural patterning of dreams (Lincoln 1935; Devereux 1951).

I adhere to the opinion that a dream is an expression of cultural diversity which absorbs and reflects the unique spiritual experience and diverse practices of humanity. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the religious views and confessional differences of the ethnic or cultural group (dreamers), which create significant differences both in the content of the dream and in its motifs of interpretation and meaning. In addition, we must take into account the individual experience of the dreamer, his or her ability to express the dream in words or retell other people's dreams.

This study is based on Udmurt folk material that focuses on the features, perception and understanding of dreams among the Trans-Kama diaspora group, followers to a particular set of traditional beliefs. One of the ideas of the topic is considering "the conception of space always refers to some extent to the conception of time; any orientation in space presupposes orientation in time, and vice versa" (Minniyakhmetova 2016: 56). In this regard, these dimensions, time and space, play an important role in the process of dream telling, a situation which itself becomes ritualistic. In the telling of dreams, the content of the dream itself is important, for the understanding and comprehension of which a deep knowledge of "the logic of the Udmurt folklore world-text itself" (Vladykina 2018: 5) is necessary.

The topic of studying dreams in Udmurt folklore studies and ethnology has not been developed, and in many of its aspects the issue is not considered. Studies of dreams have been published, in which scientists have used dream ideas to reconstruct mythological conceptions about the soul or souls, death, the image of deceased ancestors and contact with them, the other world and the relationship between the worlds of the living and the dead. There are folk explanations of dreams in some studies with most of the remarks and ideas about dreams concerning how in dreams it is possible to foresee the future and what the dreamer or others should expect in accordance with the meaning of the dream (Harva 1911: 126; Khristolyubova 2003; Minniyakhmetova 2008; Sadikov 2008: 153; Anisimov 2017: 73–79; Anisimov, Toulouze 2021). Some publications discuss the notion that it is possible to control or manipulate dreams. Nevertheless, there are no studies that consider the phenomenon of dreams from different points of view by taking into account primarily Udmurt folkloristic and ethnographic material.

In Udmurt folkloristic studies, dream telling is a ritual behaviour not only of the dreamer him- or herself but also of the listener or listeners. The telling or retelling of dreams should be kept in mind with dreams, and their told and retold versions, considered a specific narrative by the dreamer and others. In the Udmurt language the word 'dream' is *vöt / ujvöt* (dream/night+dream or sleep), the process of telling a dream is *vöt / vötez / ujvötez veran* (dream/night dream telling or narration). A dream told as a narrative is defined as *vöt* (dream) or *veram vöt* (told dream). A dream does not mean anything to others if it has not been told or retold by a dreamer or others to

somebody else. Actually the telling of a dream means creating a kind of a verbal story, a transformation of what one saw in the dream. The retelling of the same dream by others is transmission of the heard dream or of its interpretation. One cannot describe in detail one's own or someone else's dream, and one cannot add one's own fantasy to dream content by telling about a dream with the intention of clarifying the meaning. Every dreamer, in telling his or her dream or retelling a dream, concentrates on the plot (if there is any plot or motif in the dream at all) as a whole, or on some particular expressive moments and details of the dream. But in some dreams different things, objects or actions (in general, they are all symbols), are concentrated and are not connected with each other in any way. In this dream no explanation can be found and no thematic decoding or goal can be found. We can simply name the symbols from this dream, what was seen at the beginning, the second time, etc., and in this case, in talking about this dream, we try to give explanations and meanings of the symbols and consequently try to find possible causes and motifs for connection. However, dream interpretation means finding hints, speculating, and guessing probability for only some meanings, since "one dreams of many images that relate to each other in different ways" (Lazareva 2020: 14).

The Udmurt have no special dream interpreters. And not everyone is able to describe their dreams or, even more so, give an explanation or shed light on the meaning. In fact, a person's ability to tell dreams is related to real life values and experiences, and, in addition, the skills of the story/dream teller and the gift of speech. Knowledge and experience interpreting the meaning of dreams programs a person's behaviour (here I proceed from the idea by Y. M. Lotman "a dream as a reserve of semiotic uncertainty, vagueness") (Lotman 2000: 126). But a dream needs an interpreter. In the family, the main interpreters are usually the older members of the family, who have both life experience and an understanding of dream symbols. Adults are able to tell their dreams more or less clearly. With children's dreams, older members of the family can ask the child leading questions for a more detailed insight into the meaning. In each case there is great difficulty in communicating with the dreamer whose dream language can only be understood by themselves. Dreams are very individual and it is impossible for anyone to penetrate someone else's dream.

Time and space in the telling of narratives is an unexplored issue in folklore studies in general. In the Udmurt culture, time and space create certain limits to storytelling and especially to dream telling, although there are some exceptions to traditional norms in modern urban culture. As for dreams, we can talk about time and space as dimensions in the narration of dreams. This means that in the process of telling dreams, the dimensions of both time and space become a special status, they become ritualistic and ritualised. This traditional feature of time and space is practiced in all day-to-day and ritual situations. To understand this thesis, let's give a few examples. For instance, in everyday life, one cannot eat at night. However, those attending a wedding ceremony must eat and drink from the evening to the next morning, i.e. all night. The same situation is observed in rituals of commemoration for deceased ancestors, when participants must entertain each other and treat themselves until midnight. Another example is that there is a widespread opinion that one cannot eat in the sauna, although when a stove was laid in a newly built sauna (meaning

a traditional Udmurt bathhouse with a stone stove), first of all the stove should be heated and pancakes should be baked in it, which should be given to family members.

Why does this happen? Why does a taboo lose its power? Here we should consider the phenomenon of transformation of dimensions, i.e. both space and time are transformed into ritual space and ritual time. Thus, ritual prescriptions begin to operate. Similar transformations are observed in the process of dream telling, when time and space also pass into ritual status.

Dreams and dream telling in everyday life play a significant role in Udmurt society to this day. It is generally believed that one needs to tell family members about one's dreams, and for this one needs to know the right time and the right place. First, here we will point out the taboo against dream telling at night, while in the sauna, visiting the cemetery, being near the deceased, visiting others or when in someone else's house.

Usually, dream telling is done in the morning while preparing or eating breakfast. As a rule, this happens at the stove in the female part of the house or at the dining table, which is in most cases located in the same female part of the house. There are some differences in the interpretation of dreams and omens among family members. If a father or grandfather had a dream, he will tell his dream to his father or son, or his wife. But if mothers or grandmothers have a dream, they will discuss it with each other and will not tell their dreams to their husbands. As a rule, children tell their dreams to their mother or grandmother. These cases demonstrate the gender aspect of the Udmurt dream telling tradition, although they are also observed in the dream telling traditions of other Finno-Ugric peoples (Sharapov 1995: 192).

Usually, in every culture, there may be some exceptions to the rule, as in the tradition of dreaming among the Udmurt. For example, if there was no one family or clan member at breakfast (i.e., a dreamer was alone having a breakfast) who could listen to the dream or dreams the dream(s) were not told in the morning of the same day. But if one needed to tell a dream on the same day, then one can do so even though the time is not right for it or if the night has come. So, in this case, one should address the dream to the stove with the words "*Gurly veras'ko*" ('I am telling the stove'). In fact, the dreamer tells his or her dream to a family or kinship member.

In general, for the Udmurt tradition both good and bad/evil dreams are characteristic. Based on this idea, one can react to a dream in one of two ways, i.e. by neutralising the expected consequences of bad dreams, or by actualising the desired results of good dreams. Logically, most reactions are associated with bad dreams or concern dreams that portend negative consequences. The performance of special ritual actions helps to get rid of the negative consequences of a bad dream. At the same time, everyone uses special words or verbal formulas when trying to protect themselves from the stories told and the development of consequences from their own dreams. Women play a prominent role in the actions of family members, in the listening dreams and interpretation of dream meanings, and in rituals performed to prevent so-called terrible consequences. These customs are still practiced today. When performing these actions, everyone must strictly observe spatial and temporal boundaries.

If the dream predicts something very negative, the mother or grandmother will take some precautions to avoid an unwanted omen. For example, a female family member will bake some food and 'feed' a person (usually a deceased female or another

dead family member, i.e. an ancestor) who visited him or her in a dream. If several females (who are also deceased) are 'seen' in a dream, a female from the family also prepares food and gives a few pieces to the dog, accompanied by words demanding that woman who visited in the dream leaves her or her family alone. This reflects the concept that by feeding dogs, female ancestors are warned to leave the dreamer alone. This is a way of telling ancestors not to destroy the peace in the family by taking someone to the other world. In other words, if a female or females appear in a dream, it is a bad omen suggesting that the dreamer or one of the dreamer's family members may die in the near future. "By feeding their female ancestors people try to avoid the fulfilment of these omens" (Minniyakhmetova 2008: 95). And this once again confirms the idea that "dream is one of the channels of communication with the 'other' world" (Pchelovodova 2013: 56). These actions, provoked by the meanings of dreams, indicate that dreams occupy an important place in the worldview of the Udmurt people.

The use of verbal formulas as ways to protect against negative consequences seen in dreams is common to all local and diaspora Udmurt groups. For example, when talking about a bad dream, one says "*Sjuresyz ogpalan med luoz*" ('Let it be far from me'; lit. 'Let the direction of the road (of the bad consequences of the dream) be away (from us)'), or another example "*medaz gozhty/gozhtymtäez*" ('Let it not be predestined/let it not be fate'). In these cases, formulaic expressions are very often used, representing an effective psychological method of avoiding stress. In my opinion, the following verbal formula is poetic and, apparently, is the oldest variation of verbal formulas. Thus, after the narration of the dream, if the meaning of the dream was seen as portending something negative, the dreamer or narrator of the dream should say "*Vötlän chyrtyez kuro zökta gynä, pe. Äjbet pala ke tilad, äjbet pala, pe, koshke. Alama pala ke tilad, alama pala, pe, koshke.*" (lit. 'The neck of a dream is as thick as a straw'. If someone wants the meaning of the dream to be positive/good, it will turn in a good way. If a person wants the meaning of the dream to be bad, then it will be bad' (i.e. according to the meaning of the dream, one can expect good or bad consequences, and one needs to try to change the expected consequences). These verbal expressions are very important 'tools' to protect against the negative consequences arising from the meaning of the dream.

The Udmurt, as a rule, should not tell their dreams outside the home or to visiting strangers. This opinion is popular and is associated with the belief that the meaning of the dream can influence and reflect on visiting family members. This idea suggests that the dream is necessarily connected with members of the kinship group, both living and dead.

One thing to consider here is that there are large families but also people living alone who have no one to tell their dreams to, in which case dreams will be told to relatives. Usually, in such cases, this person should tell the dream at home when one of the relatives visits. Of course, in this case, too, this must be done strictly according to the rules, i.e. in observance of gender and age differences, and temporal and spatial restrictions.

In some cases, I have noted the connection between the tradition of telling dreams and the stove. In the traditional Udmurt worldview, the stove is both a channel be-

tween the upper deities and the dead ancestors who have gone to the underworld. It seems here that we must consider the connection of the dream, and perhaps its origin also with the influences of external superficial forces, such as the spirits of deceased ancestors and deities. However, I am of the opinion that dreams are related to ancestors. This opinion is confirmed by the following observations.

Firstly, as noted above, if one has a dream, the meaning of which predicts some negative consequences, one applies to one's deceased ancestors for help and support. Secondly, in the morning one should tell one's dreams. The dreamer and the dreamer's relatives then have the opportunity to avoid the expected bad consequences during the day, or the dreamer can take some action to fulfil the positive expectations of the dream during the same day. The best time for this is early in the morning. Thirdly, if the dreamer has to tell his dreams that evening, i.e. after sunset, the dreamer applies to the stove. Perhaps this act could be interpreted or associated with deceased ancestors who are among the living after sunset and 'listen' to the narrator of the dreams. Therefore, the dream must be addressed to the stove, which is both creator and protector, and which can regulate the consequences of the meaning of the dream(s). The idea a taboo on dream telling after sunset because the dead are among the living seems likely; the same taboo exists to forbid dream telling in cemeteries or near the deceased. Thus we can connect the idea of the origin of the dream and the influence of the consequences of the dream with dead ancestors. Perhaps this is why the process of dream telling turns into a special ritualised action when time and space change their status.

Based on these examples and on this analysis, I would suggest the following conclusions:

– A dream is something very intimate and personal, something that needs to be protected from others, especially from strangers. Dreams should not be revealed to strangers;

– A dream is something related to the dreamer's relatives;

– Dreams are associated with the deceased, and primarily with deceased relatives;

– When telling and talking about dreams, one should take into account the listeners and the spatial and temporal dimensions of the telling situation;

– Dreaming, dreams, and dream telling is connected with the stove, the channel of communication between the upper and lower worlds;

– The dependence of these dimensions indicates that a dream is a special phenomenon, and the telling of dreams is perceived by the Udmurt as a special situation, i.e. the very situation of telling a dream becomes ritualistic.

Such a peculiar intimate phenomenon can have its own cultural context, on the basis of which it is possible to shed light on the meaning and significance of dreams. Some informants are inclined to believe that the dreamer finds him- or herself in another dimension when dreaming. This thesis has also not yet been considered in scientific research.

Here, for this study, the discussed examples and interpretations from modern life practice among pagan Udmurts or followers of traditional folk or ethnic religion were recorded. But Orthodox Udmurt will have a different interpretation, and have different motifs and meanings for the same dreams and dream symbols. Thus, we can conclude that religious views and confessional orientations play an important role in the context of dreams. Of course, here it is necessary to take into account the social environment and upbringing of a person as the family plays a significant role in the formation of personality.

At present, research on the semiotics of culture shows that folk interpretations of dreams are a stable universal mechanism for the transmission of a system conditioned by ethnic ideology or worldview (Uspenskij 1994: 35–37; Tolstoy 1993: 89–96). According to the Udmurt traditional worldview dreams have an active magical power that affects the fate of the dreamer and the dreamer's relatives. The telling and retelling of dreams is a constantly developing custom that occupies a special place and belongs to the living intangible heritage of this ethnos.

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BIO

Tatiana Minniyakhmetova is a candidate of historical sciences (ethnography, eth-nology and cultural anthropology) and PhD of comparative folkloristics. Her interests are the folk beliefs and ritual practices of the Udmurt, and the semantics of Udmurt ritual terms and expressions. She is an independent researcher.

E-mail: minnijah@hotmail.com

INNOVATIONS IN THE EASTERN UDMURTS PRIESTHOOD

Ranus Sadikov

Leading research fellow of the R.G. Kuzeev Institute for Ethnological Studies – Subdivision of the Ufa Federal Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IES UFRC RAS), Ufa, Republic of Bashkortostan, Russia
Email: kissapi@mail.ru

Abstract: This report, based on the author's field materials, is devoted to the consideration of the current state of the priesthood of the Trans-Kama (Eastern) Udmurts. It is shown that since the 1990s, with the revival of religious traditions, significant changes have taken place in the organization of the priests' activities, dictated by the modern realities of life. The main criterion for their choice was the presence of positive moral qualities, in some cases their belonging to the "priestly family".

Keywords: traditional religion, priests, contemporary situation, Eastern Udmurts.

The basis of the spiritual life of the Eastern Udmurts living in Bashkortostan and the Perm Region is their traditional religion. The guardians of their sacred knowledge, are, as in the past, the priests – servants of the traditional cult, responsible for conducting public and private religious events. The issues of the history and current state of the Udmurt priesthood are considered in sufficient detail in the ethnographic literature devoted to the traditional religion of the people. In recent years, dedicated works on this topic have appeared (Sadikov & Danilko 2005; Shutova 2010; Saberov 2015; Toulouze & Niglas 2017). This article discusses the identification of traditions and innovations amongst the institution of Priesthood among the Eastern Udmurts in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.[1]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the cult was served by several categories of priests and their assistants. The conduct of village-wide agricultural prayer-sacrifices was guided by *vösjas'* (*vösjas'kis'*)/*kuris'kis'*, *tylas'* and *partchas'*. The duties of *vösjas*/*vösjaskis'* ('priest', literally 'the sacrifing priest' in Udmurt) included the recitation of prayers and the guidance of the ritual process at the sacrifices by the *vös*/*vösjaskon*. An odd number of priests took part in them, usually three, the main one among them was called *badzym vösjas'* ('the chief priest'). A *kuriskis'* (the 'praying man' literally 'saying a prayer' in Udmurt), led the prayers with none of the

bloody sacrifices of the *kuriskon*. Moreover, both terms used to refer to priests were interchangeable and were synonymous. A *tylas'* (literally 'throwing into the fire' in Udmurt), was an assistant priest, who watched the sacrificial bonfire, and, to judge by their name, threw pieces of food intended for heavenly deities into the fire. A *partchas'* (literally 'skinning the carcass' in Udmurt) stabbed and skinned the sacrificial animal. These ministers of worship were chosen at a village gathering. Special requirements were imposed on *vösjas'*: they could only be a socially-respectable, married man, over forty years of age, who was versed in the rituals and who knew the prayers – *kuris'kon*. (Sadikov 2008: 190). They usually performed their duties until their death, after which a new priest was chosen (Sadikov 2008: 190). Informants note that the priests, as a rule, prepared their successor themselves: they took notice of smart children and brought them with them to sacrifices, where they could learn rituals and prayers.

The cult of the wrathful deity *Lud*, which requires propitiatory sacrifices, was served by special priests *lud/keremet utis'/kuzë* ('guardian/master of the sacred grove'). According to informants, they had the right to direct sacrifices at this sanctuary only, but could by no means say prayers in honour of the supreme god *Inmar* or other celestial deities, because the prayers should not be "mixed up". The position of *lud utis'* / *kuzë* was hereditary, after his death it passed to the eldest son. If he did not have heirs, then the position passed to one of his assistants (*partchas'*). They kept order in the sacred grove of *lud/keremet* and conducted public and private sacrifices there. There were as many *lud utis'* in a village as there were sacred groves. Each priest would only pray in his own grove (Sadikov 2008: 57).

The prayers in the ancestral sanctuaries – *kuala* – and the veneration of ancestral deities *voshshud* were led by *kuala utis'/kuala kuzë* ('keeper/master of kuala') – a member of the clan, who was entrusted with priestly functions. This position was also hereditary, i.e. in the event of the death of *kuala utis'*, his son took his place.[2] If there was no heir, then the position passed to one of his male relatives (Sadikov 2008: 75). The priests of the ancestral sanctuary and the sacred grove were also helped at their prayers by their assistants, *tylas'*, who watched the fire, and *partchas'*, who stabbed sacrificial animals. The family and ancestral prayers *kuris'kon* were conducted by the householders and the eldest members of the family.

In the Soviet years, the traditional succession of priestly knowledge was broken. With rare exceptions, young people, did not want to engage in such "remnants of the past" for fear of ostracism and punishment from the school and the Komsomol organization. Some of the priests, under threat of persecution, stopped their religious activities. But most of them, remained committed to the traditions of their ancestors, continued to fulfil their duties. For example, in the village of Kasiyarovo in the Burayevsky district of what then was the Bashkir ASSR, the senior priest, Temirgali Nuriev (born 1905) was a great connoisseur of religious traditions. After the death of the *keremet kuzë*, he was forced to hold prayers also in the sacred grove, although according to tradition this was not meant to be done. Islam Armanshin was an experienced priest in the village of Nizhnebaltachevo in the Tatyshli district of the BASR, he was also a *kuala utis'* in the sanctuary of the family of *žumja*. As a rule, during the period of "developed socialism", the Udmurt priests worship were elderly people.

After their death, the sacrifices usually stopped due to a lack of successors. By this time, the householders had also lost their religious skills, and village priests began to conduct prayers at family celebrations.

Fundamental changes in this area of the spiritual life of the Trans-Kama Udmurts occurred in the 1990s, when, due to the liberalization of public consciousness, the process of revitalizing their traditional religion began (Sadikov & Toulouze 2017: 98). By this time, some experienced priests remained alive, who had received their knowledge from previous ministers of the cult, i.e. by priestly succession. Among them, it is necessary to mention the names of Minnigali Ziyangirov, born in 1920, from the village of Asavka Baltachevsky; Galim Galyakhmetov, born in 1929, from the village of Mozhga of Yanaulsky; Habibyan Tuktakiev, born in 1931, from the village of Vyazovka; Nazip Sadriev, born in 1930, from the village of Malaya Balzuga; Rais Rafikov, born in 1948, from the village of Novye Tatyshly in Tatyshlinsky district and others. Nazip Sadriev, well-known *vösjas'* in the Tatyshlinsky district of the Republic of Bashkortostan, stands out from the noted persons for his ascetic activities. According to him, since childhood he had attended village prayers since childhood. At a more mature age, he began to observe the actions of the priests and to listen to the prayers. He began his career as a minister of worship, first as an assistant priest, and then as the chief priest, in 1954, aged 24. Over the next sixty years, he organized the annual village (*gurt vös'*), inter-village (*kuin gurt vös'*) and district (summer and winter *mör vös'*) sacrifices. At the request of fellow villagers and residents of the district, Sadriev also conducted religious rituals of the family and ancestral circle (at weddings, the send-offs of conscripts to the army, namings, house-warmings, etc.). In the 1990s, he was often invited to other Udmurt settlements in Bashkortostan as a consultant in the revival of public prayers (Sadikov & Danilko 2005: 232].[3]

The vigorous resumption of public prayers in almost every settlement of the Trans-Kama Udmurts meant the problem of choosing new priests became acute, since the traditions of priestly succession had already been broken. There were no uniform principles in dealing with this problem - in each locality, this issue was resolved in a different way. The main criterion for choosing a position of *vösjas'* was the presence of positive moral qualities in the applicant. He had to be an authoritative and respected man in rural society, preferably married, without any bad habits, and someone who respected cleanliness. In some cases, an important criterion for the selection of new priests was their belonging to the "family of *vösjas'*", i.e. the presence of cult ministers in their family in the past. The method of approval for the position of a priest differed widely - they might be chosen, appointed, or be self-starters. Some specific examples now follow.

In 2012 in the village of Malaya Balzuga, in the Tatyshli district, an elderly priest Nazip Sadriev appointed a young man in his stead, namely, Fridman Kabipyanov, born in 1978, a married music teacher. As he was at that time not yet forty years old, i.e. he had not achieved the minimum age that, according to older informants, a person must pass to become a priest. Apparently, the choice of the old priest was because the candidate had good organisational skills, a fine musical voice and was distinguished by his decent behaviour. He learnt priestly skills while conducting prayers, and the order and correctness of rituals was taught to him by the assistants of the priest (*pöras*) Fizelkhan Mukhametzyanov and Alexandr Minnigaraev, who

served in this capacity even under the old *vösjas'*. Nazip Sadriev, despite his advanced age, also attends village prayers and monitors the correctness of its conduct. At the district prayers, F. Kabipyanov performed ritual actions for older 'colleagues'. The prayer he uttered at praying rituals is recorded from the words of a previous priest.

In the village of Novye Tatyshly, in the Tatyshlinsky district, one of the *vösjas'* is Rais Rafikov, born in 1948, now a pensioner, formerly a mechanic, whose father was a priest. Since childhood, he and his father attended various sacrifices, participated in private prayers, learned all the ritual actions well and learned his father's prayer. He began his priestly career around 1992 at the request of N. Sadriev. Rafikov is the senior priest at the district prayers *mör vös'* of the Tatyshli Udmurts on the right bank of the river Yug, held in summer and winter in the village of Novye Tatyshly. The second priest[4] until 2017 was Salim Shakirov, born in 1938, retired, former clerk, who was appointed a priest on the advice of R.B. Galyamshin, head of the Udmurt National Cultural Centre of the Republic of Bashkortostan. He did not come from a family of priests, but had organisational skills and held authority among his fellow villagers. The two priests very harmoniously divided their duties among themselves: the first dealt mainly with the ritual side, the second was responsible for financial and organizational issues: collecting money and cereals, buying sheep, etc. After the death of S. Shakirov, Zinnat Dautov, born in 1957, a retired mechanic and driver on a collective farm, became a priest at the request of R. Rafikov. Before that, he was an assistant to the priests.

In the village of Aribash, Tatyshlinsky district, Alexey Garaev, born in 1947, a pensioner, a former teacher, who then became a priest, was the initiator of the revival of public prayer. Besides him, there are two more ministers of worship, i.e. altogether there are three, according to the number of tribal groups (*poska, chud'ja, tuklja*), living in the village. As a village prayer, *keremet vös'* was revived here, the traditions of which are followed to this day: only men participate, though elderly women server as assistants. At the event, sheep are sacrificed, and they pray with *kuarnjan'* (unleavened cakes).

Yevgeny Abdullin, born in 1965, an accountant at a local agricultural enterprise, serves as a priest in the village of Nizhnebaltachevo, Tatyshlinsky district. Due to his excellent priestly skills, he is the 'senior' among other priests of the Udmurt villages of the district living on the left bank of the river Yug and conducting joint district prayers: summer and winter *mör vös'* and *bagysh vös'* prayers. Before the priestly ministry, he was an assistant, and had received knowledge from the previous priest.

The Udmurts of the Tatyshli district also retain the ancestral principle of choosing priests. Here, descendants of former priests sometimes become *vösjas'*, although they may have little continuity of priestly knowledge, i.e. they did not or could not adopt the experience of their priestly ancestors. For example, in in the villages of Kyzylyar and Verkhnebaltachevo brothers Boris and Vladik Khazimardanov are *vösjas'* – they are the grandchildren, albeit through the female line, of a priest from the village of Nizhnebaltachevo, Islam Armanshin.

In the village of Altaevo, in the Buraevsky district of the Republic of Bashkortostan, the current *badžym vösjas'* is Anatoly Galikhanov, born in 1962, a former teacher, was elected to a position at a village meeting in 2004. He was chosen due to his authority

among the local population and high moral qualities. He is one of the active religious figures of the Trans-Kama Udmurts, one of the initiators of the revival of their main prayer *elen vös'*, and he has created a website dedicated to the traditional religion of the Udmurts. Before him, Sharafgali Yalalov, born in 1928, a retired paramedic, who is something of a local historian, served as priest. In the 1990s, on his own initiative, he revived the decayed tradition of holding an annual communal village prayer. He was chosen as a priest at a meeting of the old-timers of the village.

In 2014, sacrifices were resumed in the village of Kasiyarovo in the Buraevsky district, where the initiator was Ramai Nigamatshin. He was born in 1939 and is now a pensioner, having been a mechanic, and is a respected person in the village. The previous priest T. Nuriev addressed him with a request to continue his work before his death, and he duly became the *kurisykis'*. But it was only after a long time that this request was fulfilled. In 2017, after the death of the new *vösjas'*, the religious functions of the village society were entrusted to Reval Farkhutdinov, born in 1959, who is distinguished by his calm character and absence of bad habits.

In the village of Asavka in the Baltachevsky district, Vladimir Galiev, born in 1971, began his ministry as a priest in 2016. A formers priest, Galiakhmet Minniakhmetov, born in 1941, decided to leave this position due to old age. He and his assistants, elderly people, decided to transfer the position to the young ones. For this purpose, they went around the village, asking who would agree to become the new priest. V. Galiev expressed his consent, and for a year he participated in sacrifices as an assistant, where he was taught priestly knowledge.

If at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century, we may note a revival of the institution of priests of public village prayer-men, but should also state that the other categories of priests, the keepers of the sacred grove and the sanctuary of *kuala*, have practically ceased to exist. Only a few villages still hold prayers and sacrifices related to *lud/keremet* and *kuala*. In the village of Altaevo in the Buraevsky district, representatives of the Kaksia clan annually arrange a *kuala kuris'kon* ('prayer in the kuala') in the spring and autumn at the site of their former sanctuary. The *kuris'kis* Galiakhmat Khaziakhmatov, born in 1936, began participating in the ceremony in 1958, after returning from military service. At that time, the ceremony was led by his brother Fazli, who became a worshipper in *kuala* in 1948, after the death of his father Haziakhmet. Due to his advanced age, the priest wants to stop holding prayers in *kuala*, but there is no one to continue his work – his son lives in the city, there are also no men left in the family who want to do this in the village. In the village of Votskaya Oshya of the Yanaulsky district, the priest of the fenced sacred grove, or *lud,* is Rafik Kisametov, born in 1973. Since 1995 he has been conducting the annual summer and autumn sacrifices of the *lude pyron* ('entry into the lud'). Priestly knowledge was passed on to him by his maternal grandfather, Sadretdin Ibrayev. The priest of Lud is not related to the village prayers held once a year, where Arkady Urakbayev, born in 1949, is the *vösjas'*. Sacrifices in the groves of *keremet* are also carried out in the villages of Kizganbashevo of Baltachevsky and Aribash of Tatyshlinsky districts.

Currently, among the ministers of worship, new categories of persons can be identified, which, according to sources, did not exist in the past. Firstly, this is *vös'*

kuzë ('the master of prayer'), who deals with all financial and organizational issues of conducting sacrifices. In the village of Novye Tatyshly in the Tatyshli district, the *vös' kuzë* was considered to be S. Shakirov, who was also a *vösjas'*. In the 1990s, Rafik Khamidullin, the former chairman of the collective farm, one of the village activists, performed the functions of the prayer master.

Garifulla Garifanov, a resident of Nizhnebaltachevo village, born in 1947, retired, former chairman of the village Council, is a member of the left-bank group of Tatyshlinsky Udmurts. At the request of the residents, he deals with the organization of the district prayers of *bagöz vös'* and *mör vös'*, in his village – the village *gurten vös'*. He is responsible for collecting money and buying sacrificial animals. Having authority among the priests, he skilfully organizes their activities, although he does not perform any ritual functions himself. If necessary, he "appoints" new priests. There are also *vös' kuzë* in some other localities where they serve the holding of village prayers.

All in all, it can be considered that the appearance of the *vös' kuzë* in Tatyshlinsky Udmurts is a later phenomenon, and it was due to the process of revitalization. If in the old days the priests themselves dealt with both financial and organizational issues, at present, when a revival of religious traditions occurs, some charismatic leaders, being at the head of the movement for the revival of religious traditions, do not become priests themselves. In this case, with their consent, the priests are persons whose main advantage is regarded as their "priestly" origin. In those places where the priests themselves have good organizational qualities, as a rule, there are no *vös' kuzë* anymore.

Another category of persons associated with the cult is *vös' korka utis'*, the 'keeper of the house of worship'. For example, in Novye Tatyshly, Habrislam Habibyanov (born in 1939), whose estate is located next to the sanctuary. His duties include looking after the territory of the sanctuary and the prayer house itself, the keys to which are in his possession. He keeps cauldrons and other ritual accessories, valuable in material terms, at home.

Back in 2012, there was an attempt to organize an association of priests of the traditional religion of the Eastern (Trans-Kama) Udmurts, initiated by the *vösjas'* from the village of Altaevo, A. Galikhanov. On January 25, 2019, at the suggestion of the Chairman of the National Cultural Centre of the Udmurts of the Republic of Bashkortostan, Salimyan Garifullin, a "Meeting of worshippers of the traditional religion of the Trans-Kama Udmurts" was held in the village of Novye Tatyshly in the Tatyshli district. The Udmurt priests from Bashkortostan and Perm District who gathered at the event discussed the most pressing issues of their activities and chose the organizing committee for the creation of the "Religious Council" – *Vös' kenesh* association (Baidullina 2019). Thus, village priests play a significant role in the spiritual life of the Trans-Kama Udmurts, being the keepers of cultural heritage. Since the 1990s, significant changes have taken place in the organization of their activities dictated by modern realities of life.

1. Priest vös'ias'kis' Nazip Sadriev from Malaya Balzuga village, Tatyshlinsky district of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 2017. Photo by Ranus Sadikov.

2. Khabrislam Khabibyanov (the custodian of the house of prayer vös' korka utis') and Rais Rafikov (vös'ias'kis') from Novoe Tatyshly, Tatyshlinsky district of the Republic of Bashkortostan. 2018. Photo by Ranus Sadikov.

3. Priests at the elen ʋös' prayer (on the right: Nazip Sadriev, in the center is a priest from the village of Altaevo, Buraevsky district, Anatoly Galikhanov), Kirga village, Kuedinsky district, Perm region, 2010. From the photo archive of A. Galikhanov.

4. Priest vös'ias'kis' Evgeniy Adullin from the Nizhnebaltachevo, Alga village, Tatyshlinsky district of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 2013. Photo by Ranus Sadikov.

5. Meeting of worshippers of the traditional religion of the Zakamsk Udmurts. 25 January 2019. Novye Tatyshly village, Tatyshly district, Republic of Bashkortostan. Photo by Anna Baidullina.

NOTES

[1] The main sources in the writing of this article were the author's field materials, collected during joint expeditions of the R. G. Kuzeev Institute of Ethnological Research of the UFIC RAS (Ufa) and the University of Tartu (Estonia) between 2013 and 2018.

[2] Probably the youngest, because according to the 'custom of the minority', common among the Trans-Kama Udmurts, it was the youngest who inherited the farm, in this case, and the ancestral *kuala*.

[3] In 2016, N. Sadriev was awarded the prize of the Kindred Peoples Program "Tree of the World" (Estonia) for his long-term activities to preserve and revive the religious traditions of the Eastern Udmurts.

[4] Since Novye Tatyshly is a large settlement, there were traditionally two senior priests here.

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BIO

Ranus Sadikov, PhD (history), leading researcher at the R.G. Kuzeev Institute for Ethnologic Research (separated structural subdivision of the Ufa Federal Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences). His area of research encompasses history, ethnography, folklore, and folk religion, most especially the historical formation of the ethnoterritorial groups of Finno-Ugric peoples in Southern Urals, the ethnographic features of Udmurt, Mari, Mordvinian and Estonian cultures in Southern Urals, and the anthropology of traditional religions and sacred places.

PROTECTION OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS AMONG BASHKIRS

Zifa F. Khasanova

Researcher at the Ethnology Department, of the R.G. Kuzeev Institute for Ethnological Studies – Subdivision of the Ufa Federal Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IES UFRC RAS), Ufa, Republic of Bashkortostan, Russia.
Email: Zifa.83@mail.ru

Abstract: The aim of the research is to study and analyse the magical means of protection of domestic animals among the Bashkirs on the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan in the middle of the twentieth and early twenty first centuries. In this article the author considers various types of magical means of protection of domestic animals amongst the Bashkirs living in the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan. Bashkirs used amulets, metal objects, natural stones, etc. to protect pets from evil spirits and diseases. It has been revealed that magical items and amulets, which appeared in the deep past, are firmly rooted in the ritual practices of the Bashkirs and have not lost their significance even till the present day. As the author's field materials were collected from different territorial groups of Bashkirs have shown, at present they continue to preserve traditional ways of magical protection of livestock. In recent decades, the Bashkirs have started to use various means and amulets found on the Internet.

Key words: Bashkirs, domestic animal, magic, amulets, verbal charm.

The Bashkirs, who in the past were nomads, had a variety of religious-magical methods of protection, prohibitions, and omens connected with cattle breeding. They were intended to ensure safety (*кот; кот китмәһен өсөн* 'wellbeing') and to increase the number of livestock, as well as to scare away spirits of diseases and evil forces. For this purpose, the Bashkirs used amulets (skulls of horses, cows, rams, bears, wolves, branches of juniper, rowans, oregano) and natural stones. They also believed in the protective value of brightly coloured textile shreds, which were woven into the horse's mane. In spite of the fact that many ethnic features of Bashkirs' culture have been levelled out, many magical ways of protecting domestic animals are still preserved.

The aim of the research is to study and analyse the magical means of protection of domestic animals among Bashkirs on the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan in the middle of the twentieth and early twenty first centuries.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The source of the study was the author's field materials collected during the fieldwork expeditions in the southern, south-eastern, western, south-western, north-eastern regions of the Republic of Bashkortostan in 2017, 2019, as well as the materials of the Scientific Archive of the UFIC RAS, where photographs and reports of expedition trips of the UFIC RAS staff of different years are kept. Furthermore, the materials of ethnographic collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the UFITC RAS, collected from different districts of the Republic of Bashkortostan, Perm, Kurgan and Sverdlovsk regions, were also studied.

In conducting field research we used the method of traditional ethnography: in-depth interview, observation, and photographing. The interviews were conducted in the Bashkir language, which made it possible to record local names of magic items and to identify local specifics for certain groups of Bashkirs.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Magical means of protection of domestic animals among the Bashkirs were touched upon in the monographs of Bashkir ethnographers and folklorists: F. G. Khisamitdinova (2011), M. N. Suleymanova (2005), F.F. Ilimbetov and A.F. Ilimbetova (2012), as well as in the expeditionary materials of the folklore department of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the UFITC RAS, in published form (*Expedition materialdary 2004)*. One of the volumes of the multivolume scientific publication 'Bashkir Folklore' on ritual folklore contains a small section on amulets and folk magic (Bashkir Folklore 2010). It includes field materials collected by scientists, participants of expeditions, and manuscripts from the fonds of the scientific archive of Ufa. In this article, the author summarises the materials on the means of traditional magic of the Bashkirs related to the protection of domestic animals.

Animal amulets used by the Bashkirs to this day have ancient roots. They are confirmed by archaeological materials, as well as mythological representations and oral folk art. According to archaeological excavations in the southern Urals from the Bronze Age to the late Middle Ages, burials contain horses, parts of horse equipment (stirrups, psalias, bone and metal bridles), amulets made of animal bones, as well as metal overlays on clothes with images of bears, horses, and other animals (Bader, *et al.* 1976: 16-33). In the mythological beliefs of the Bashkirs, the horse, ram, cow, wolf, bear are cult animals and are believed to possess supernatural powers (Ilimbetova and Ilimbetov 2012: 25). Many epics, legends, fairy tales, where animals acted as patrons and protectors of people, have been recorded in oral folk art. Therefore, the use of various body parts of totem animals as amulets is a very logically justified phenomenon.

Animal amulets were widespread among many groups of Bashkirs living in the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan and beyond. They were used even when cattle did not breed, in accordance with the belief that animals were influenced by people's bad words. In order to protect livestock, the bones of domestic and wild animals were hung in the farm. In order to have a litter (*малдар атрьын өсөн*), they used the skull of a horse, cow, ram (PMA 1). They were placed on poles or on a hedge, pointing towards the yard (*кәртәгә карай*) (PMA 3). Amongst the Dem Bashkirs, the skull was placed outside the barn so that the animal's 'look' was directed at those who entered the yard: '*Бер үгеззең башын азбарға ингән ергә кағып куйзык. Ул баш тыш якка карап тора*' (PMA 4). In the south-eastern part of the republic (the Baymaksky district), animal skulls were strictly directed towards the Kaaba (PMA 2). The Bashkirs had the following belief about rams' skulls with horns: "The more horns and more curls they have, the more reliable they are" (PMA 5).

Animal skulls were used not only to protect livestock and the farm as a whole, but also to protect apiaries. To protect against the evil eye, animal skulls were placed on a deck or a beehive or hung on poles.

A ram's head with horns or horns were often used as a magical means of defence. The horns were attached to the walls of farm buildings and to the fence of apiaries. The Bashkirs living on the Inzer and Kyzyl rivers still practice this custom (Fig. 1). The informants say that they do it to keep prosperity (*кот*) from leaving the yard. When installing the amulet, the mullah reads a prayer (PMA 8; PMA 10).

Fig. 1. Horns of rams nailed on the wall of a farm building. RB, Beloretsky district, in the village of Gabdyukovo. Photo by the author, 2010.

The first vertebra of a sheep (or a ram) can also be used as a magical object with a protective function, preserving prosperity. They were hung on the wall of outbuildings or fences (PMA 1; Fig. 2).

These bones are still used in many regions of the republic. Thus the Dem Bashkirs say: "We hang it inside the barn, sometimes several pieces are collected. And on the wall of the yard we hang them, they protect prosperity" (*Азбарға муйын сөйәген тағабыз, бер нисәһен тәнкә кеүек тезәләр. Коймаға ла әләбез. Кот сақсыһы ул*) (*Expedition*

materialdary 2004: 88). The north-eastern Bashkirs believe that these objects "wish animals to be fertile and multiply, and the next year they could be slaughtered" (*Икенсе йылда ла ошо ерҙә һуғымдың булыуын теләп тора*) (PMA 6). The south-eastern Bashkirs believe that the vertebrae of an animal "wishes that troubles would go away" (*салыу һөйәген элеп ҡуйһаң, ауырыу килмәй*) PMA 8). There were cases when the magic item was tied on the neck of cattle with a rope (*мин бәләкәй саҡта бер һыйырҙың муйынына муйын һөйәген таҡҡандарын иҫләйем*) (PMA 9). In the author's opinion, the use of this object for magical purposes is connected with the fact that this is the place where the life-line of the animal is cut during the stabbing of cattle. Probably, that is why the first vertebra was left in the farm, so that the soul of the animal remained and contributed to the increase of the livestock.

The Bashkirs still have a reverent attitude toward the bones of domestic animals. They try not to throw them away, collect them and bury them in the ground. And between the 1940's and 1990's they were used to make laundry soap (PMA 15).

The Chuvashs of Bashkortostan also believed that the first vertebra of an animal has a powerful protective force. As an amulet it was hung on the wall of a barn or a dwelling house. A similar tradition was also characteristic of the peoples of Central Asia, such as the Turkmen (Vinnikov 1969: 272) and the Uzbeks (Shanyazov & Islamov 1981: 42).

Fig. 2. The first vertebra of an animal on the wall of a barn. RB, Abzelilovsky district, Askarovo village. Photo by the author in 2019.

Besides the bones of domestic animals, the Bashkirs used the bones of wild animals, primarily those of the wolf and bear, as amulets. These animals were seen as mythologised creatures, and perceived by the Bashkirs as masters, the patrons of hunters and livestock, and so on. For example, in the epic *Ural-batyr*, the bear is of human origin. In order to breed livestock, the Bashkirs buried a bear skull or hung it on poles in the cattle yard (Khisamitdinova 2011: 41). A wolf's tail, or wolf hair, was hung in the stable (or in the barn) in order to protect livestock from evil forces. The skull of a wolf, as well as that of a bear, could be buried under the threshold of

a barn or under the gate (Khisamitdinova 2011: 122). In the south-eastern part of the Republic, a wolf leg-bone (from the knee) was used as a house protector (*Мейес башында ята ине атай өйөндә*) (PMA 5).

The Bashkirs used to display or hang the skull of a bear or a wolf in apiaries for the same purpose, believing that they repelled bee diseases (Khisamitdinova 2011: 41).

It is noteworthy that Bashkirs made the front bow of the saddle in the form of animal heads (horse, bear), birds (duck) or snake (Fig. 3). According to folk beliefs, they protected both the animal (horse) and the owner. Nowadays this tradition is practically lost and remains only in the memories of old residents.

Fig. 3. Wooden saddle. The image of a human face is scratched on the front bow. RB, Abzelilovsky district, Askarovo village. Askarovo Museum of Local History. Photo by the author. 2019.

Bashkirs, like many peoples of Russia, have long had a belief in the magic of metal. Metal symbolises strength, fortress, hardness and invulnerability. All iron objects are used in protective and purifying magic. Bashkirs still use sharp iron objects to protect livestock and farms practically throughout the republic. Thus, knives, axes, scythe fragments, pitchforks (without cuttings), sickles are stuck into the walls of the barn. Sometimes they are placed on the threshold of the room before locking up the doors for the night. The informants themselves explain this action by the fact that thanks to this, the 'black forces' do not approach livestock and do not disturb them in the dark. They try especially hard to protect cows before and after calving (PMA 10); PMA 11). The same tradition was found among the Eastern Slavs:"Bringing newborn calves into a warm room – put an iron object under the threshold" (Zhuravlev 1994: 44).

The Bashkirs of the south-eastern part of the republic also use metal objects to preserve well-being (*кот китмәһен өсөн*) (PMA 2); PMA 10). They specially set on a wooden pole from 3 to 5 metres high amongst the household buildings, and on it they fasten a used iron scythe with its point upwards. They attempt to make the scythe point towards Mecca (Fig. 4). When it is installed, the village mullah is invited to recite a prayer (*аят*) from the Holy Koran. This action represents the Bashkirs' belief in the power of metal and the power of prayer. In the Baymak district of the Republic

of Bashkortostan they believe that an iron scythe protects not only from "evil spirits, but also Baba Yaga (*мәсекәй әбейзән*)". There is a belief that when they 'fly' to the house at night and sit on the scythe by accident, they will damage their 'tail' and fly away in a hurry (PMA 11).

Fig. 4. A scythe directed towards the Kaaba. RB, Abzelilovsky district, in the village of Khamitovo. Photo by the author 2019.

The author of these lines was also spoke about the use of scythe and horseshoe to protect domestic animals by the Bashkirs of the Ishimbay district of the Republic of Bashkortostan: "In recent years, my horses suffered from various diseases. I took an old scythe, a horseshoe and invited the mullah. He read a prayer. After that I hung up these amulets and the illnesses went away" (*Бер йылы минең атым зыянлап тик торзо. Шунан мин даға, салғы укытып куйзым. Ауырыузар китте*) (PMA 7).

Horseshoes, as a rule, were nailed on the threshold, at the entrance to the cattle yard, or over the doors of outbuildings. It was strictly observed that the horseshoe had been used for its intended purpose as a horseshoe, and had actually been on a horse's hoof (*Ат дағаçын тупçаға каçаклайçың*). Doing so may cause the device to break (*Юлда, ер өçтөндә табылған булырға тейеш*) (*Expedition materialdary* 2004: 75). As the informants remark, the horseshoe should be found on the surface of the ground.

It is also important to note that when Bashkirs nail a horseshoe, they always say:

Шайтан килмәһен өсөн,

Хәрәм кермәһен өсөн,

Тел-теш баçмаһын өсөн,

Бәрәкәт каçмаһын өсөн!

So that the shaitan does not come,

So that the unlawful may not enter

So that gossip and gossip won't prevail,

That prosperity does not leave!

(Khisamitdinova 2011: 145).

The Bashkirs still believe in the protective function of a horseshoe. If they do not find a real horseshoe, they replace it with a metal object similar to it. During our fieldwork, we met quite a few such cases. The Bashkirs believe in the magic power of this object and believe that it scares away cattle diseases and the evil forces that torment cattle and take milk away from the cows, kill young animals, etc. (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Imitation of a horseshoe on a pole. The Republic of Bashkortostan, Abzelilovsky district, Burangulovo village. Photo by the author in 2019.

The Bashkirs still believe in the protective value of brightly-coloured objects. The Bashkirs assume that not only people, but also animals can be jinxed. To protect animals from the evil eye, they wove bright multi-coloured cloths into the mane of horses, and before calving they tied a red cloth to the cow's tail (PMA 8). The north-eastern Bashkirs used three-coloured fabrics (PMA 6), while the south-eastern Bashkirs used only one-coloured cloth: 'we tie a red cloth around the neck of a newborn animal so that the genie would not change it for his own' (PMA 12). This tradition is typical for many peoples of the Ural-Volga region, for example, also the Udmurts (Minnijakhmetova 2003: 153).

For protection against diseases, troubles and misfortunes, Bashkirs tied a triangular-shaped *бетеү* on the horns of cattle and on the mane of horses (PMA 13). *Бетеү* is a record of prayers of *аятов* (a structural unit of the Koran) in Arabic.

The Bashkirs also used sonic magic to expel evil forces from the courtyard or household buildings. They were extracted by hitting a metal utensil with an iron object. To perform the ritual one had to go round the courtyard and make several circles, making noise. After that, all iron objects that had been used were thrown into landfill. It is considered that they have become 'unclean' and cannot be used in everyday life (PMA 14).

F.G. Khisamitdinova and M.N. Suleymanova note that trees and bushes, primarily juniper and rowan, were also endowed with apotropaic properties. According to Bashkir beliefs, rowan is considered to be an effective remedy against evil spirits. Rowan 'buttons' made of dried berries were woven into the wool of sheep and goats (Suleimanova 2005: 23). Rowan twigs or dried berries were tied to pregnant cows and

young pets (Khisamitdinova 2011: 276). In order to protect from evil spirits, rowan branches were plugged into different places on the walls of barns and outbuildings. In addition, they were tied with rope to the horns of cows and sheep to protect them from the evil eye (PMA 15). According to the Bashkirs, juniper had the same power. Juniper branches were stuck or nailed to the walls of cattle sheds. In the Zilair district of the Republic of Bashkortostan, juniper branches are used to drive out cattle and beat young animals. The purpose is to drive away diseases and prevent the death of cattle (Khisamitdinova 2011: 80).

Juniper branch in combination with various herbs, or chaga, is used for the fumigation of houses, cattle yards and apiaries. The corners were fumigated especially carefully, as it was believed that 'unclean forces' dwell there. F.G. Khisamitdinova writes that fumigation is used as a way of cleansing the evil forces as well as in healing magic (Khisamitdinova 2011: 55). Therefore, newborn foals, calves, lambs were fumigated with smoke from smouldering wool or rags to ward off the evil eye. In case of diseases of domestic animals they got a 'cleansing fire' (with a cresal') and used it to smoke all animals and cattle rooms (Khisamitdinova 2011: 55). Siberian Tatars also consider rowan and juniper as shrubs with magical powers (Valeev 2022).

Bashkirs widely used salt, over which the mullah read a prayer, to ward off the evil eye. Salt was pre-dissolved in water and then sprayed on domestic animals, washed the udders of dairy cows that were 'jinxed', etc. (PMA 13). In the Burzyan district of the Republic of Bashkortostan, salt dissolved in water is not touched with hands, but only splashed on the animal with a birch broom (PMA 16).

To avoid catching diseases and misfortunes, the Bashkirs also protected dairy products. In the past, stone amulets were tied to the milk-pit to protect it from them. Such artefacts are kept in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the UFIC RAS (OF No. 888–5, 421–15, 420–40) (Fig. 6). This shows that the Bashkirs have been worshipping stones and mountains since ancient times. In the author's opinion, appealing to the power of stone as an amulet is a very ancient and stable tradition of Bashkir folk magic.

Sometimes a newly born calf, lamb, foal, as well as children are marked on the middle of the forehead with soot or charcoal. It is believed that the 'bad' look lingers on it and loses its harmful power.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, the magic objects and amulets, which first appeared in the deep past, are firmly rooted in the ritual practice of the Bashkirs and have not lost their significance up to the present day. As the author's field materials collected from different territorial groups of the Bashkirs have shown, the Bashkirs continue in the present day to preserve traditional ways of magical protection of livestock. They use amulets of animal and vegetable origin, fumigate them with herbs. And salt, over which the mullah reads a prayer, is often used. Metal objects were also widely used – a horseshoe found on the road (sometimes it was replaced by a similar metal object), scythes, pitchforks,

etc. Bashkirs used amulets – *бетеү* – as a favourite means of protection from the evil eye and 'evil forces'. In recent decades, Bashkirs have started to use various means and amulets found on the Internet.

SOURCES

PMA1 = PMA. 2019. Author's field materials Republic of Bashkortostan, Abzelilovsky district, Askarovo village. Recorded from M. Sh. Nurgalina, born 1927.

PMA 2 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Baymak district, in the village of Verkhnetagirovo. Recorded from S. G. Nurgalina, born 1928.

PMA 3 = PMA. 2019. Chelyabinsk region, Arkaim settlement. Recorded from I.I. Davletkulov, born 1956.

PMA 4 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Alsheevsky district, in the village of Idrisovo. Recorded from R. S. Muftieva, born 1957.

PMA 5 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Baymak district, in the village of Aminevo. Recorded from S. A. Bayazitva, born 1955.

PMA 6 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Duvansky district, in the village of Starokhalilovo. Recorded from M. D. Khusainova, born 1964.

PMA 7 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Ishimbayskiy district, in the village of Kulgunovo. Recorded from M. M. Mustafin, born 1963.

PMA 8 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Abzelilovsky district, in the village of Saitkulovo. Recorded by Y. I. Gimalova, born 1937.

PAMA 9 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Baimaksky district, Temyasovo village. Recorded by S. G. Valeev, born 1934.

PMA 10 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Beloretsk district, Shigaevo village. Recorded from A. A. Salmanova (Galiullina), born 1942.

PMA 11 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Baymak district, in the village of Kuseyevo. Recorded from V. R. Latypova, born 1969.

PMA 12 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Abzelilovsky district, in the village of Saitkulovo. Recorded by Ya. Y. Kamalova, born 1960.

PMA 13 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Abzelilovsky district, in the village of Utyaganovo. Recorded from H. Sh. Abubakirova, born 1943.

PMA 14 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Baimaksky district, in the village of Ishmukhametovo. Recorded from A. D. Buranova, born 1952.

PMA 15 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Baymak district, village Tubinsk. Recorded from G. M. Gibadatov, born 1957.

PMA 16 = PMA. 2019. Republic of Bashkortostan, Burzyansky district, in the village of Abdulmambetovo. Recorded from R. A. Usmanova (Shigapova), born 1963.

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BIO

Zifa F. Khasanova, PhD (History), Researcher of the Ethnography Department, of the R.G. Kuzeev Institute for Ethnological Studies – Subdivision of the Ufa Federal Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IES UFRC RAS), Ufa, Republic of Bashkortostan, Russia.

Email: Zifa.83@mail.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-3479-5804

FEATURES OF THE TRANSMISSION AND READING OF INCANTATIONS AMONG THE EASTERN SLAVS

Tatiana Agapkina

Principal research fellow, Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
E-mail: agapi-t@yandex.ru

Abstract: This article examines the characteristicss of charms transmission among East Slavic healers. The tradition of passing on charms from the older generation to the younger, both inside and outside the family, and the trend of transferring magical knowledge for free, as well as the practice of limiting the transfer of especially important fragments of incantations (the so-called 'locks' or 'fixings') is highlighted in this piece. In the second part of the article, the author explores the rules of the healer's treatment with a charm as a magic tool: the attitude to a verbal charm as a material object, the practice of restoring the power of charms, the types of healer, as well as the regulations governing the choice of incantation object.

Key words: verbal charms, healer, types of healer, connections between healer and patient

Integral to the practice of charming are the healer's knowledge, the conditions and rules of how this knowledge is applied, and most especially the words of the charm texts. At the same time, verbal charms are a popular topic within the mythological stories and beliefs known to the Eastern Slavs[1]. A commonplace of this evidence, or rather, the ideological basis for the evidence, is the fact that a healer or a witch doctor must transfer their knowledge to another person before their own death. At the same time, while healers who practiced healing techniques during their lifetime, such a transfer of knowledge was perceived primarily in terms of duty, and if this duty was not fulfilled, it was seen as a violation of the rules (with no far-reaching and severe consequences for the guilty), then for sorcerers, witches and other 'knowledgeable' people who engaged in malicious activities, transmission of this knowledge was the only way to get avoid a long and painful agony. Thus it was that they resorted to a wide variety of methods, even including deceptive methods of transferring witchcraft, sometimes to a random and unsuspecting person. These differences are especially noticeable when analysing mythological stories about the death of healers and of

sorcerers (in the first case, emphasis is on the fact of transmission, in the second on the agony of death), although it is evident that the dividing line between these cases remains quite blurred.[2]

At the same time, the obligation of this act itself did not mean that when transferring knowledge and texts, great importance was also attached to the will of the healer, as well as that of their chosen successor. It is known that if it was a question of transferring handwritten charms contained in sacred notebooks (or on sacred sheets), then they, and the texts written on them, only had power when they fell into the hands of the person the healer intended them for; if they should come to another person, they lost their power, as per this contemporary piece of evidence from Karelia: "Well, there, a piece of paper written … and the release is also written on paper. If that's all and I'll die, give it to this person. That's all. And if you give to someone else – it's useless…" (Etnologicheskii arkhiv).

If the healer did not want to pass on knowledge to anyone, or no-one dared to accept it, then before death he or she would speak the charms' words over spoons (Jeleonskaia 1994: 224), over an aspen log (Etnologicheskii arkhiv), over water (Agapkina 1994: 82), or over a stone, "agony beat her against the side of the body… no-one accepted her words, she had to put them on a hot stone, a stone was brought from the stove, from the bathhouse, and she pronounced all her words on the stone when she came … to consciousness…" (Etnologicheskii arkhiv). "when this person dies, if she knows a lot of words, she should spit it out on a broom. That's how she spits, talks and spits…" (Etnologicheskii arkhiv). That is, the practitioner sought to get rid of the knowledge one way or another.

The transfer of the art of healer and of their incantations was usually carried out within a certain co-ordinated system, in which such oppositions as friend–foe, senior–junior, male–female and first–last played an organising role. This transfer of knowledge, including the incantations themselves, was carried out in various ways, although the most common form was that of inheritance, which is explained by the understanding of the charm both as secret and professional knowledge. There was a widespread belief that incantations could not be communicated to an outsider, but could only be passed on to relatives, and only at the end of life; diseases and other misfortunes awaited the violator of this rule (Sobolev 1914: 15 for practices in Vladimir Gubernia). For example, in the Kharkiv Gubernia, the treatment of rabies was considered almost as a professional occupation, and therefore the secrets of this were passed down through families of practitioners from generation to generation.

> The belief that by passing on their 'remedy' to others, they weaken themselves is also widespread among healers. By 'charming' various diseases, witch-healers, pass on their words to their daughter, a relative, and then not directly, but through a child and only when they reach old age. The old woman speaks loudly her words and prayers to the child, who, of course, does not understand anything, and at the same time the trainee is standing in the hall at the open door and listening. The drugs used in the treatment of rabies are an even greater mystery and constitute the pride of the family (Ivanov 1886: 136).

The art of healing passed almost exclusively from the elder to the younger, regardless of whether this transfer was carried out by inheritance or not, and compliance with this requirement was always and everywhere given priority. An age difference suitable to 'teacher' and 'pupil' was the most important principle of transmitting the tradition, as is evident in these instructions from northern Russian healers: "You cannot teach someone older than yourself" (Kulagina: No. 113, Kostroma region); "Do not speak to older ones than yourself, there will be no strength" (Smirnov and Iljinskaia 1992: 21, Arkhangelsk Gubernia). A. Leopoldov, publishing a handwritten incantation to deal with 'infirmity' in horses, accompanied it with a narration of how, while peeping at this incantation written on a piece of paper, enclosed in a book in the house where he happened to be, he was caught in the act by the owner of the house. The latter expressed evident displeasure with what he saw, and then asked the guest how old he was. In response to the direct question, why did he need to know the age of his guest, the host explained: "If I pass the incantation on to someone younger, then it will benefit both him and me, and if to someone older, then it will only benefit him, but it will lose its effect for me" (Leopoldov 1868: 2, Saratov Gubernia). The role of the age factor in incantational and wider knowledge of magical practitioners is also indicated by the fact that in disputes between two healers (where, for example, one might have caused damage to or bewitched a person, and the other be called upon to remove the magical harm), the older one will inevitably be the winner (Sposobin 1844: 203, Vladimir Gubernia).

In order to learn and adopt the craft of healing, it was considered necessary not only to be younger than one's 'teacher', but also sometimes to be the first or last child in the family. See, for example, this evidence from the Belarusian and Ukrainian Polesie:

> "That woman who told me, investigated. "Are you, Varka, the eldest or the youngest [in the family]?
>
> I say, "the youngest."
>
> "Here you can take over, as I will only help the oldest"
>
> (Polesskii arkhiv, Zabuzhye village, Volynsk region)

"The youngest could study incantations… I'm the youngest – I can study, and I can acquire it. And to the oldest…" (Polesskii arkhiv, Oltush village, Volynsk region). The involvement of the first and last child in the family in therapeutic magical procedures (for example, 'gnawing' a hernia or 'trampling' a strained back) was widely practiced in various East Slavic regions, although it was not always revealed to them.

In this regard, the description of the *utina* treatment ritual from the Perm region, in which all the children of the patient, from the eldest to the youngest, took part, is very expressive. When the mother's back ached, a healer was called to her. She laid the patient across the threshold, and her eldest child stood up over her, holding an axe in one hand and holding on to the door frame with the other. All the other children stood behind him, right down to the youngest, who played along within the

traditional *utina* treatment ritual dialogue, which featured phrases like "What do you cut?", "I cut Utin.", "Cut deeper, so that it will not come for a century." At the end of the dialogue, the oldest child gently hit his mother on the back with the butt of the axe (i.e. the thick end of the axehead); a healer, who was present, and whole organised the whole event, did not intervene at all (Skromnyi 1897: 3). The involvement of the whole family in the treatment most likely symbolises the integrity of the time continuum, its inviolability, magically projected onto the life and health of a patient who was a member of the same family.

Within the family, however, the transfer of knowledge could be move not just from parents to children, but also along more distant lines of kinship. For example, in a legal case from the beginning of the eighteenth century, filed at the provincial chancellery of Arkhangelsk, among the things a certain Vasily Bakov reported during interrogation was that that "his late uncle Leonty, who died childless, taught him this magic" (Popov 1877: 12).

Within the framework of the transfer of the art of healing by inheritance, another principle, contra-sexual transfer occasionally manifested itself. Thus, R. G. Pihoya notes that in the Urals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the knowledge of the healer (*volkhva*, *shepotnika*, *portuna*, etc.) could be passed on by inheritance, and by special training; if it was inherited, however, then it certainly went from mother to son, or from father to daughter (Pikhoia 1987: 227). The same tradition was recorded in the Perm region in the nineteenth century by the local doctor D. Petukhov, who pointed out that when transmitted in another way, "the secrets of witchcraft … lose their force and become powerless" (Petukhov 1864: 186). The practice of transferring knowledge from man to woman and vice versa was noted in Ukraine in the nineteenth century (Ivashchenko 1876: 4).

Along with inheritance, extra-familial transmission of healing skills was also practiced, with the rule of transfer to someone younger than the healer once again being strictly observed. It was also believed that the number of pupils a healer had should be limited: in Transbaikalia, for example, a healer could have no more than nine pupils (Loginovskii 1904: 30). In the middle of the eighteenth century, Altai peasant Artemy Sakalov informed those who interrogated him that "he, Sakalov, learned at a young age ugly words from an unknown person for a fee...", and during his "studies" he allegedly had several teachers: "From childhood he began … learning the divine words from an alien person, attached to God, asking him for help in how to get to the beginning and be wise" (Pokrovskii 1979: 53).

In the later incantation tradition, traces of such an extra-familial failure can be seen in the Polesie incantations, where the motif of "gratitude to the deceased healer who transmitted this charm" occurs. For example, "I start reading and say: "Thanks to Aunt Tatiana, that she knew and pointed me out" (Agapkina and Levkijevskaia and Toporkov 2003: No. 337).

Regarding witchcraft, several other cases are often described, specifically the teaching of witchcraft techniques (or methods), designed, so to speak, for a single use. In 1752, in Moscow, a Detective Order heard the case of the 'yard-wife' Irina Ivanova, who tried to put a powdered dried frog crushed in the drink of her mistress, the wife of the Senate secretary Stepan Alekseev, so that the lady would wither and die. At the

same time, she confessed to the master that "she was taught that evil from a peasant sorcerer, with whom she had lived for a while" (Jesipov 1878: 235).

In such situations, the teacher–pupil pair is replaced by a seller–buyer pair, because the seller could receive remuneration for the transfer of a particular technique or means. A similar method of acquiring a magical tool or magical knowledge was widely practiced, of course, later on in situations where a person in a difficult situation (including in relation to a certain third person) turned to a sorcerer or other 'knowledgeable' person for help (and acquired, for example, the means of love magic, damage, or a rewritten incantation). At the same time, in a huge number of other sources, the acquisition of healing skill for money was considered unacceptable. Thus, according to materials from the Poltava Gubernia, none of the healers allowed the transfer of incantations for selfish purposes, as this involved the danger of losing the "miraculous power of the word and ritual" (Ivashchenko 1876: 4).

The second aspect that will be discussed in the article concerns the rules of reading and/or pronouncing incantations by healers, as well as treatment using them. The peasants believed deeply in the power of charms and therefore very often resorted to the help of healers and sorcerers, sincerely believing that the success of treatment depended on how accurately the rules of charming were followed. The following was written by D. Berezhkov, from Vladimir Gubernia, a correspondent of the Russian Geographical Society, in the early 1850's:

> If there is no benefit from incantations, then the reason is either someone not knowing the incantation properly, or the omission of something from the accompanying actions. If everything necessary is done – the words are true, the rituals are observed – then the benefits of the incantation are amazing! They charm maggots from wounds, they charm toothache, bleeding, and what then? Maggots disappear, teeth don't hurt, blood stops (Agapkina 2023: 24).

The rules for charming, as well as the rules for reading them, varied greatly. Handwritten prayers had to be kept wrapped in clean rags: "When he wakes up and does not wash his hands, he will never dare to touch them: touching the amulet (bypass prayer) with unclean hands means his destruction" (Kharitonov 1847: 149, Archangelsk Gubernia). It was necessary to speak the incantation as usual without a break, at the end of a month, on an empty stomach, and observing the rules of "preservation" of the word, for which the chimney or door was closed so that the word was not blown away by the wind (Adonjeva and Ovchinnikova 1993, No. 135, Vologda region). Here is how P. Ivashchenko described such rules for reading incantations:

> In order for whispering to have a meaning assigned to it, it is necessary to observe strictly the integrity of the text, three-fold, nine-fold and three-nine-fold pronouncement of it is required, otherwise there will be no help. Its strength depends even on the pronouncement of the known part of the whisper without breathing (*ne oddixajuchi*), i.e. without pausing to breath...
>
> (Ivashchenko 1876: 3)

He continues:

> it is necessary to say three or ten words in one breath, otherwise it will not help. You need to whisper quickly. You cannot turn words over: turning words over, whisper to Jews or pigs (Ivashchenko 1876: 3).

There was a strict rule in healing practice of keeping incantations secret. Healers believe, for example, that "it is necessary to speak quietly so that no one hears the words" (Valevskaia 2002, vol. 1: 596, No. 17, Novgorod region); that the ritual loses its power and the effect of the words diminshes if someone is present when the incantation is read (Berdiajeva 2005: 292); that the healer should recite the spells very quietly, because if a person younger than the healer hears them, they will cease to work (Iljina 2006: 42, Russian North); that "having proclaimed a charm publicly, you yourself lose the ability to spell, and hencefoth will grumble some impotent words" (Luganskii 1845: 250), etc. However, sometimes the ban on transmission applies only to the most important words, specifically the *fixing*, the 'lock', i.e. the final words of the incantation that act as if to lock it. As the collector notes, after a long incantation was recited "on the *prich*" (*pritka*, a suddenly-sent disease), "the key (fixing) words follow, but I could not get them out of the witch. She says, 'I can only say the key words before I die to someone who takes up this craft'" (Kurets 2000: No. 311, Karelia).

Incantations, like magical words in general, have traditionally been understood as being 'material', substantial, having a material nature. And as material objects, they were subject to the destructive influence of time, which was reflected in the rules for dealing with incantations. It is known that the incantation remained in force only until the death of the healer, and that afterwards the pain or illness returned to the patient (Manzhura 1894: 189, Yekaterinoslav Gubernia). According to Voronezh beliefs, the former patients of a deceased healer who treated them for toothache "begin to suffer from it at a time when the healer's body had completely decomposed"; to continue the healing process they had to get a bone from the cemetery and rub the sore tooth (Selivanov 1863: 84). However, there is evidence of incantations created "on death", i.e., until the end of life, which ceased to operate only in the event of the patient's death (Sposobin 1844: 203, Vladimir Gubernia).

In the Russian North, people believed that incantations lost their potency over the year. Therefore, to restore the power of the incantations they should be "corrected" by regular re-reading. In the Vologda Gubernia, a healer read them every year on Maundy Thursday after midnight and before sunrise (Agapkina 2023: 130). According to evidence from the beginning of the nineteenth century, "if words are spoiled, then on the Maundy Thursday, before sunrise, having got up before dawn, bring water and talk water. Words that you know, and drink water, they will take it" (Turilov and Chernetsov 2002: 293).

The words of a incantation, understood as a material entity, can be transferred to another material object, literally spoken onto it, such as spoken water, wine, bread, etc. In the Arkhangelsk Gubernia, a healer performed such a trick on salt: the sorcerer poured a little salt into a cloth and, uttering a shrill and lingering cry, lifted the

cloth, brought it to his mouth and, whispering 'words' against the disease, spat into the salt three times; this salt was stored for a year, and if necessary such 'spat' salt was diluted in water and given to a patient to drink (Popov 1911: 2).

Of course, the personality of the healer was also of great importance in the success of the treatment. The first and main requirement for him was, of course, age: mainly older men and women performed the treatments, and in relation to the latter there was an almost universal rule that menstruation had to have ceased. Before reaching this age, a woman had no right to perform treatments (Shambarajevskii 1862: 277, etc.). It was also considered mandatory for a healer to have teeth (Sujeverije i predrassudki 1885: 683, Olonets Gubernia).

According to materials from nineteenth-century Ukraine, there was a fairly clear distinction between healers who differed both in their skills and in the peculiarities of social behaviour. One large group consisted of women healers, who possessed incantations and healing techniques and could cope with fairly common ailments like bleeding, toothache, "uraza" and erysipelas. These women inherited their knowledge from their mothers and mothers-in-law and there were usually several of them in every large village. They did not differ in any important regard from most other villagers (i.e. they led the same traditional way of life) and they received a modest reward for their labours. Others, most often old men (and, less often, women), healed complex diseases and accidents (animal rabies, snake bite, etc.). They usually passed their knowledge onto their beloved sons, relatives or godparents, and in their absence to an outsider who took care of them. There were few of them (not every parish had such specialists), so they usually came from afar; for their labour and help, they took a comparatively significant reward of food or even money, so they did not need to engage in agriculture, since they were fed by their craft (Kovalenko 1891: 147–148; Shambarajevskii 1862: 276).

This division of healers into two groups was also noted among the Terek Cossacks, and it is especially noticeable that it was the narrow specialisation and 'professionalism' of the healers of the second group that allowed them to take payment for their labour in the form of money (as well travelling around the villages offering their services), while ordinary healers did not accept monetary payment, being convinced that it was sinful, and that the prayer or charm would have no power in such circumstances (Baranov 1899: 173). In general, the issue of remuneration for healers was resolved in different places in different ways, determined by local traditions and superstitions. Thus, in the Gomel region a healer explained that she treats her 'own ones' (i.e. fellow villagers) for free, because she would be "ashamed" to take money from them. But if someone else came to her from further afield, she must accept money from them: "they say, if you don't take a fee, then treatment won't help me" (Tsiapkova 2016: 391).

However, the specialisation of healers could be carried out on completely different grounds. Among the very same Terek Cossacks, healers could be divided into two groups: some resorted to prayers and treated illnesses and other accidents, i.e. God helped them; others used such incantations as a 'dry spell' or a charm against the court, that is, they acted with the help of the devil (Baranov 1899: 174).

There was also a hierarchy among the healers, with healers seeking to raise their status by resorting to special magical techniques. In the Ukrainian Carpathians in the early twentieth century, the Hutsuls recorded a special ritual that contributed to this. When starting Christmas dinner, the healer went up the stairs and said: "*Yak pidvalina vischa vid zemlya.... Yak skina vischa vid pidvalini... Yak dah vischa vid hati, so abi i irsheniy buy may goloyniy strilets (bailnik, vidma, healer) over the usma strilts (etc.) at the tsalim sviki*" (Once the foundation is higher than the ground ..., as the wall is higher than the foundation ..., as the roof is higher than the hut, so the baptised one would be the main healer over all healers in the whole world) (Onyshchuk 1912: 19).

The success of healing, including healing with incantations, depended on the patient to whom these incantations were addressed. Treating Jews was forbidden everywhere, for example: "You can't help the Jews with prayers, otherwise if you're happy to give to a pig and the Jew you won't be able to help our people" (Romanov 1891: 93, No. 116, Belarus). See also the Ukrainian belief that the power of incantation would be lost if a healer read it over a Jew (Manzhura 1894: 189). Some rules concerning the transfer of magical knowledge were also projected onto the ill person, in particular, as mentioned above, it was believed that only a person who is younger than the healer can be successfully treated (Valevskaia 2002, vol. 2: 336, Pskov region).

One final remark. For the treatment to achieve a positive result, the healer had to follow certain rules for dealing with the object to which the incantation was directed, onto which he read the charm. Most often, such objects were plants and animals. The main rule was not to harm the object of the spell. "Rare healers in the Minsk region were able to treat snake bites, this knowledge was considered especially sacred…", as T. V. Volodina noted, based on materials from the Minsk region. Moreover, special rules were imposed on the healer, for example, he was completely forbidden to kill a snake. "They pray for a snake, and if you kill a snake, prayer will not help much, because it is very difficult to ask for help after it has been killed. If the snake stays alive, bites and crawls, then the spell will help, and if you kill it, then it is too difficult to ask, then the spell will not help" (Valodzina 2011: 629). In the rituals of ridding livestock of the maggots that might grow in wounds, the healer read charm over a prickly plant (most often, burdock), and pressed the plant against the ground using a stone, thereby 'forcing' this plant to rid the animal of maggots and promising that as soon as they disappear, the healer will release the plant from the stone. An obligatory condition for the success of such a ritual is that the healer who does it should never harm this plant, neither breaking nor cutting it (Szukiewicz 1910: 124, Vilna Gubernia). The rules of treatment in traditional rituals for the treatment of toothache involving trees were similar. According to East Slavic beliefs, a person suffering from toothache could be rid of it forever by asking for help from a rowan tree. To do this, it was necessary to go to the tree, kneel in front of it, pray, kiss it and promise not to harm it by eating its berries or breaking its branches, nor by chopping or burning it: "…it is good to put a piece of rowan tree in a sore tooth, but after that you can no longer chop or break this tree. Otherwise, the pain will come back again" (Kopernicki 1887: 215, Kiev Gubernia).

In conclusion, we note that the tradition of transmitting the healer's knowledge and especially verbal charms, known to the Eastern Slavs, occupies an intermediate position between quite traditional 'training programs' adopted, for example, by practicing herbalists on the one hand, and folklore stories about rituals of initiation into sorcery or witchcraft, on the other hand.

In addition, if we look at the practice of knowledge transfer in a broader context, and compare it, for example, with the richer South Slavic folklore tradition, it becomes obvious that the Eastern Slavs have little evidence of the transfer of incantation texts, and speak more often about the transfer of magical knowledge as such, whilst among the South Slavs, the teaching the craft of incantations and transmitting incantation texts are topics, as such.

NOTES

[1] On the traditions of transmission and existence of incantations, see Smirnov 1988; Arsenova 2002; Novikov 2009: 521–542. Interesting materials on this topic, extracted from investigative cases of the eighteenth century, are given in the monograph by E. B. Smilianskaia (Smilianskaia 2003: 80–86 et seq.).

[2] For the transfer of knowledge by sorcerers, see, in particular Vinogradova and Levkijevskaia 2010: 313–317.

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BIO

Tatiana A. Agapkina is a Doctor of Letters, and principal research fellow, at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Her main field of research is connected with incantations, theory of folklore, folk calendar, and mythology. She is the author of several articles and monographs. See also her page: https://inslav.academia.edu/TatianaAgapkina

ORCID: 0000–0001–8098–7471

INTENTIONALITY AND ADDRESSNESS OF PERFORMATIVE VERBS IN RUSSIAN CHARM TEXTS

Ekaterina Kulikovskaya

Pushkin Leningrad State University
e-mail: kulikovskaya.eka@yandex.ru

Abstract: The performativity of charm texts as sacred ritual texts is well studied in folk studies, ethnography and linguistics. The core of performative texts is performative verbs. However, there is no clear boundary between performative verbs and other verbs in performative use. There are performative verbs ('I beg,' 'I conjure,' 'I swear,' 'I curse') and non-performative verbs ('I tie,' 'I cut,' 'I drive out,' I clear') in charms. In this article, I distinguish between them using two concepts of Speech Act theory: Intentionality and Addressness. A result of my work is the classification of Russian 'charm verbs'. The material is Russian charms in compilations from 1860s till 2000s.

Keywords: Performative verb, charm, spell, Speech Act theory, intention, illocutionary act, illocutionary goal, illocutionary force, ritual communication

INTRODUCTION

During the magic ritual speaker uses a specific text. This text is called a 'charm text' or a 'spell. The use of this text is a performative act in which a person does not describes but creates the world. Hence, we call this text 'performative text' or 'performative utterance', or 'performative'. The performativity of verbal charms as sacred ritual acts is related to performative conventions (or 'felicity conditions') of performative utterances which are met in oral charms. A charm act cannot be true or false. It can be only successful or unsuccessful (Austin 1962). Success is determined by the observance of certain conditions: the right place and time for the ritual, the personality of the speaker, who is endowed with the authority of a wizard/witch (Moroz 2012; Khristoforova 2010). Performativity requires the belief in the achievement of the ritual goal and an addressee as a required participant in communication: for example, the name of the addressee – the supernatural power that the person invokes,

is invoked in spell texts, but is not mentioned in, for example, courtrooms when the accused is requested to pronounce a spell (Ilomäki 2019). The goal of a charm text is the transformation of the person's mental state and social reality around him/her.

Various aspects of charm performativity are currently being studied: for example, Maarit Viljakainen explains performativity of a charm by the presence of a communicative person in texts (Viljakainen 2011: 203), Deniver Vukelić considers Croatian curses as performative speech (Vukelic 2019: 69); Davor Nicolić describes charms with the pragma-linguistic approach, with the goal of considering the structure of a ritual as a sequence of rational argumentative techniques to achieve the effect which a speaker wants (Nicolić 2019: 89).

The result of the performative act, according to the speaker's opinion, should be the transformation of the dream into reality: "Magical procedures, as we see, have two logical steps. The first step is the approval of the topic: a certain quality is introduced, metaphorically named by a sign, created in the process of a magical act. The second move is a performative act, due to which the approved quality is assigned to objects of the real world, which is accomplished by converting the latter into iconic signs, the content of which becomes the same quality" (Adon'eva 2014: 395). As we see, ritual performativity is not limited to pronouncing the text: the text can be accompanied or completely replaced by actions. So-called 'abracadabras' can be pronounced instead of texts-with-meaning. In abracadabras, the words themselves are the only referent (Meyer, Mirecki 2002: 10). It also may be a magical performative object (Strother 2000).

The dominant approach to the study of the performativity of charms is a communicative, or socio-interactive one. A performative ritual act leads to the formation of the certain world image among the participants of the interaction, because of the changed communicative attitude. Charms look like one among many forms of ritual communication, along with divination, liturgy, prophecy, auto-training, etc. (Romanova 2001; Romanov, Romanova, Fedoseeva 2013). However, in addition to this approach, there is another method of studying performative utterances with the focus on the lexical and semantic characteristics of a performative verb. It means focusing on the features of its semantic compatibility, the presence of certain performative semantic components, etc. (for example: Koshmider 1962; Apresyan 1986; Krasina 1999, Kustova, Paducheva 2003; Mikheev 2003; Hlebec 2015). It is the performative verb that is at the core of the performative utterance-action.This thesis has been proved more than once: for example, Paul Amrhein, on the basis of experimental results, has shown that the understanding of a speech act directly depends on understanding of a speaker's intention as expressed by a verb (Amrhein 1992: 780). By a performative verb, they usually mean a verb in an explicitly performative type: active voice, first person singular, present indicative, having semantics of speech action and instigating a speech act. Such performatives are called 'explicit (canonical)'.

Given the above, we can describe verbal charms as the intersection of communicative and lexical-and-semantic performativity. On the one hand, with the help of a charm, despite its semantics, the action is not described, but performed; on the other hand, canonical, especially speech act, performative verbs expressing the speech action performed by means of a charm are widespread in verbal charms. Performativity as a category is lexicalized in spells by verbs in the performative form. The descrip-

tion of the semantics of charm performative verbs can make a serious contribution to the study of magical performativity. The relevance and novelty of this paper are determined by this fact.

However, when considering performative verbs in charms, I need to solve a serious methodological problem. Elena Levkievskaya notes that in charm texts we often find "the use of verbs as performatives which are not performative in everyday speech" (Levkievskaya 2002: 224). So, in saying: "I will block the skins with evil eyes", the speaker does not describe his actions, but performs them. By using non-performative (not meaningful verbal actions) verbs in explicit form, the speaker, nevertheless, does not state the fact of action, but uses the apotropaic function of words. Maria Zavyalova also makes this observation: "... usually, the actions of the person who is talking, realizing the needed action at the moment, are expressed in the form of the present tense [...]. These actions are basically performative verbs" (Zavyalova 2006: 70). Therefore, in charms the boundaries of the performative verb are expanded: not only explicit verbs are considered as performatives, but also such verbs as 'I open', 'I kill', etc. The problem that I see is the definition of criteria for selecting performative verbs. This is one of goals of this paper. Another goal is description of charm performativity by using two concepts of Speech Act theory: Intentionality and Addressness.

So, I analyzed not only canonical but also non-explicit charm performatives. I picked up verbs in form of active voice, first person singular, present indicative, with speech act and another semantics. The material is verbs from compilations of Mai kov (1869) and Bolonev (1997). Also I used some material from the newest compilation *Magical practices of the North Russian villages: charms, amulets, healing rituals* (2020).

There are two directions of the classification I built: Intentionality and Addressness. Before description of results, I want to underline that all performative verbs I analyzed here are causatives. There were some theoretical observations about connection between performativity and causativity (Kordi 1985; Shustova 2010). Among causative verbs, there are 'information modifying' verbs. They can be used with performative ('I apologize to you') or non-performative ('I apologized to him') function. In this paper, I do not try to describe all causative features of performative verbs but pay my attention to Intentionality and Addressness.

INTENTIONALITY

One of the main directions of research in the field of the theory of speech acts is Intentionality. John Searle considers the concept of Intentionality as "a property of many mental states and events through which they are directed to objects and state of affairs of the external world" (Searle 1987: 96). Intentionality is characterized by a focus on objects of the real world or relatedness to them. Intention is associated with the emotional, psychological state of the speaker. Searle identifies several mental states with Intentionality: these are states such as fear, faith, hope, desire. A state is intentional when it has a reason: non-intentional, when you cannot ask the question 'What does this state refer to in the real world?'. According to Searle, the basic

intentional states of consciousness correspond to a certain limited set of speech acts (statements, directives, obligations, declarations, expressives).

The category of Intentionality came into linguistics as part of the terminological apparatus of the theory of speech acts. The main object of linguists researching in this direction is the study of the intentional language (especially the so-called 'mental predicates') and the intentional component of the meaning of the statement. Canonical performative verbs are lexical means of expressing Intentionality. Grammar and syntactic means are also possible. For example, Alexander Bondarko was engaged in research of intentional grammar (Bondarko 2001: 4). My focus is on only lexical-and-pragmatic approach.

In semantics and pragmatics there are various researchers' concepts of Intentionality. For example, Julia Kutsevich considers intentional words as lexemes with the meaning of one of the seven stages of volitional action: desire, intention, decision, planning, preparation, attempt and implementation (Kutsevich 2015: 118). Kutsevich places intentional words in a separate lexical-semantic group (based on English). Svetlana Shustova thinks that Intentionality is a mandatory component of a causative situation. All causatives, according to Shustova, are intentional verbs.

For my paper I need to distinguish between Intentionality and an intention. Searle does this, with the note: "an intention to do something is just one form of Intentionality" (Searle 1987: 98). As Svetlana Moshcheva says, "Intentionality is a fundamental aspect of the speech mechanism and the speech it produces; a communicative intention represents the concrete goal of the utterance, reflecting the needs and motives of the speaker, motivates the speech act, places at its core and appears in the intentional sense, which has a variety of ways of linguistic expression in utterances" (Moshcheva 2015: 41). For comparison: "Individual speech acts are integrated into a coherent text based on global, textual intention. It is the global intent that forms the Intentionality of the text" (Effective verbal communication (basic competencies) 2015: 190).

There are three main concepts of Speech Act theory which are associated with terms 'Intentionality' and 'intention': 'illocutionary force', 'illocutionary act', 'illocutionary goal'. An illocutionary act is an act with Intentionality and Conventionality unlike a locutionary act. An explication (projection) of an illocutionary act's direction is an illocutionary force (Krasina 2006: 20; Romanov 2006). The illocutionary goal is interpreted as "a mental act which the speaker seeks to accomplish, or a mental state in which the speaker intends to bring the listener" (Wendler 1985: 243).

In studying of Intentionality of charm performative verbs, I will distinguish between:

> 1) Global Intention or Intentionality of a text. This is a main reason to use magic for solving speaker's problem,

> 2) A communicative intention of a charm act,

> 3) A charm illocutionary force as a projection of an illocutionary act on a charm,

> 4) Illocutionary forces of illocutionary acts of which a charm consists,

5) An illocutionary goal of a charm,

6) Illocutionary goals of illocutionary acts of which a charm consists,

7) Illocutionary goals of performative verbs as a function-potency which contains in verb's semantics.

A reader cannot know the Intentionality (Global Intention) of a charm text. In reading, we deal with a written fixation of the illocutionary act. We do not study an act itself. Nevertheless, the aspect of Intentionality pointed out by Bondarko, emphasizing that Intentionality has two sides: "1) the aspect of the actual connection with the intentions of the speaker in the act of speech, with a communicative purpose, with the purposeful activity of the speaker, that is, with what he wants to express in the given conditions of communication, is an aspect 'actually intentional'; 2) the aspect of the semantic informativeness of certain elements of the PST, the ability of a given linguistic value to be one of the components of the transmitted and perceived meaning" (Bondarko, ibid), allows us to understand the speaker's Global Intention. The Global Intention of a charm appears as a kind of a problem or a need that needs to be satisfied; this intention is supra-individual and belongs to the collective subject. A communicative intention of a charm is more detailed by an explication of an illocutionary force which determines a type of an act. It is illocutionary force that is always known for a speaker. A speaker always knows what he does: love spells or curses, healing charms (and for what disease), charms for success in hunting, fishing, ploughing.

A charm illocutionary act consists of a sequence of illocutionary acts, each of which has its own illocutionary force and micro-goal. For example, the goal of micro-acts of blessing, baptizing is preparing for main ritual action. The function of appealing, bowing is addressing to a supernatural force (creature). Most of all I was interested in illocutionary dominant and its correlation with a main goal of a charm text. We can examine this.

As mentioned before, the Global Intention of a charm is a mental intentional state which causes a speaker to use a magical text. Intentionality always has a relation to real world's objects and states. In folklore, this relation has some special features. A cause of speaker's mental state may be a curse, an evil eye. A cause of diseases may be anthropomorphic creatures: *kriksy*, *plaksy*, 'Thirteen fevers, Herod's daughters'. Hence, for solving a problem, a speaker does things by traditional, magical way, using spells and magical rituals. A speaker can operate in three main ways: 1) text only, 2) action only, 3) text and action. In all these ways there are some ritual action: tying, throwing, burying and so on, but in ways №1 and №3 a speech act goes instead or with an action. A speech act is built around a performative verb in which semantics there is a component 'intention, result'. A type of a result is classification basis for charm performative verbs.

Comparing an illocutionary goal of each act which leads to a result that the speakers want and the illocutionary goal of whole charm, I found some kind of multidirectionality. For example, verbs of damage may be used for healing. The change of intention

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shows a special relation between verb's and text's pragmatics built on the basis of symbol connection between a goal and an action and saved in mentality and folklore. I compared illocutionary goals of performative causative verbs (in explicit form) and illocutionary goals of charm texts in which these verbs are used. My analysis shows that all charm performative causative verbs are divided into four groups:

1) Verbs with an illocutionary goal as a way of charm goal achievement,

2) Verbs with an illocutionary goal equals a charm goal,

3) Verbs with an illocutionary goal equals a speech act goal but unlike a charm goal,

4) Verbs with an illocutionary goal equals a communicative speaker intention.

Most of charm performative verbs are of first group. Their illocutionary goals is the main means of charm-goal achievment. The antropomorphic disease nature demands some damage for an illness to get rid of it, so damage verbs are used for healing: to get rid of hernia (*gryzha*) it should be bitten to death (*zagryzt'*). These words have same word root. Sometimes not disease is destroyed but something else: for example, rheumatics ('lomota') can be defeated by laying down ('zalamyvat") a blade of grass:

> Къ jetoj travѣ chuprynѣ prihozhu i nato ja zalamyvaju, chto ona u raba Bozhija (imja rekъ) izъ ruki (ili nogi) vygnala pritku i lomotu, i vsjakuju bolѣznь, i semdesjat'-tri travy vsѣ priryvaju i cvѣty prilamyvaju, i vъ chelovѣkѣ semdesjat'-tri sustava; amin.

> *I come to this grass and I'm laying down that she, at the servant of God (name), drove out his/her arms (or legs) and brought out the evil eye and ache, and all illness, and seventy-three herbs I tear off and lay down flowers, and seventy-three joints; Amen.*

These verbs also have same root. This creates associative metonymic relationship between a verb and an action. That allows this speech-action to be a way of goal achievement.

The second group consists of verbs in which an illocutionary goal is literally formulated, without metaphor or metonymy. For the purifying of a baby from curses in the bathhouse, a speaker says: 'I steam you' (*parju*), declaring a sense of action: not only purifying a body, but also deleting curses, evil eyes. Pronouncing such verbs gives to an action more sense. It is not an accident that these verbs are often used in spells which go with actions of fishing, hunting, agricultural working.

Verbs of the third group name illocutionary acts. These are acts of appeal, swearing, renouncement, wedding's beginning (*otpusk*). These acts are repeated parts of charms. They do not depend on the charm's goals. They have their own goals. For example, most of rituals have introduction: transgression from profane state to the sacred one.

Verbs of opening and closing are very important. The directive and behabitive verbs are used for effective communication with supernatural forces.

Verbs of the fourth groups are special. In these verbs, the Global Intention is formulated. By these verbs, a charm speech act is opposite to other speech acts. These verbs are 'I charm' or 'I speak' (*zagovarivaju, otgovarivaju, peregovarivaju*):

> Ugovarivaju raba Bozhija (imja rekъ) otъ cingi i lomoty, zubnyja shhemoty.

> *I charm the servant of God (name) from scurvy and aches, toothache.*

They mean 'charm by spell words' and have different prefixes with meaing of 'action for a result', 'another action', 'action to put away something' and so on. Thereby, despite intentional multidirectionality, a micro-goal achieved by a verb in which an illocutionary dominant is formulated as a main way of achieving a charm goal and an explication of its illocutionary force. It would seem that performative verbs with a speech action's semantics and those without it are pragmatically marked ways of illocutionary goal explication. This goal was named as a 'creative goal' by Levkievskaya. In charms, there are no meaningful difference between speech action and other performative verbs. They all are performatives. However, I found some differences which depend on illocutionary goals. Speech act performatives do not express a goal of whole charm text. Except verbs of fourth group, they name illocutionary acts as parts of charm texts. In contrast, verbs of action (non-speech) may express a goal of whole text.

Nevertheless, a pragmatically marked performative verb is not required for a ritual. Also it must be remembered that a charm text may contain more than one illocutionary dominant or express an illocutionary goal with another ways. A verb only points to oral explication of an illocutionary force of an act.

ADDRESSNESS

The actant structure of an explicit performative verb assumes, as a rule, the presence of an addressee actant. Addressing is considered an integral property of performative utterances. According to Doychil Voivodich, most speech verbs have obligatory valency relations, which are limited to the use of the object / addressee in the singular or plural: "with the performative use (utterance) of these verbs there is no need for an explicit expression of control (i.e. object-recipient in the form of a personal pronoun (you / you and in the corresponding case form), due to the fact that a performative utterance is usually addressed to the addressee as a direct (i.e. uniquely defined) speaker's interlocutor, and that performative (like other transitive) verbs always (even with the formal absence of a complement conducive to the implementation of the optional valency) have a sign of transitivity or the so-called object intention" (Voivodich 1999: 74). According to Elena Komleva, "a speech act is sent to the addressee, the acting

illocutionary force, perlocutionary effect is oriented to the addressee, the response is expected from the addressee" (Komleva 2009: 120).

It is understandable that researchers studied primarily the Addressness of performative verbs, considering this from the point of view of the theory of the functional-semantic field. According to the point of view of Oksana Rossolova, performative verbs are, depending on the type of verb, at the near or more distant periphery of the 'You-category', being one of the means of expression of this category. All performative verbs are semantically united by the fact that "an action they call always has the property of being directed to a listener" (Rossolova 2011). Besides, Rossolova thinks that speech actions cannot be operated for a speaker him/herself, without thinking about any addressee reaction. Hence, Addressness is one of the based features of performative utterances, with autoreference and non-verifiability.

Performative verbs are used in charms to regulate communicative interaction. Despite the actual absence of the addressee, the stable structure of the speech act with a performative basically reproduces this act, creating not only an image of the supernatural addressee, but also a communicative frame that includes an idea of an addressee in the community, functions of an addressee, the relationship between an addressee and the traditional community a speaker belongs to, the hierarchy of relations that a charmer wants to build for the success of his/her illocutionary act.

The role of the addressee (in a substituted or unsubstituted form) is assumed not only by verbs of appeal, but also by other types of charm performatives. 'I bow' is impossible without the addressee role; 'I submit', too. 'I curse you' also has an addressee, but of another type: not receiving the message, but affected by the speech affect. The change of actant is interesting in acts with 'I charm you'. In this case, an animated, real or virtual, addressee (if he or she should exist) is not an eligible participant of communication, but an object affected by direct suggestion. This is unique for magical discourse. *Zagovarivat'* has another meanings in Russian: 'to start speaking', for example. But only in charms it may be used in the meaning 'I charm you'. It is clear from utterances kind of 'I charm the snake bite' or 'I charm the blood'. This type of Addressness is related to the interpretation of speech as an instrument for a direct action. It also associated with an image of diseases as some anthropomorphic creatures able to understand the speech.

Another charm verbs, which don't mean any speech action, usually have the meaning of the action with an object, animated or not. For example:

> Utverzhdaju poklazhu siju na kamně Alatyrě, zamokъ otmykaju vъ nebě, kljuch' vъ morě.

> *I affirm the luggage for the stone Alatyr, I unlock the lock in the sky, the key in the sea.*

> S raby (imjarek) nechistuju silu vygonjaju: s kostej – lomotu, s golovy – zharo-bu, s nutra – znobotu, chtoby ne hodila, ne lomila, ne tomila, ne raspalivala

> *I drive out evil spirits from a servant [name]: from bones – chunk, from my*
> *head – chills, from the inside - chills, so as not to walk, break, languish, not*
> *burn.*

In the second example the inanimate object takes the place of the verb actant. However, the suggestion affects a person, at the level of a communicative act.

A speaker him/herself may be an object of the charming: for example, in verbs 'I wash myself', I wipe myself', 'I cloud myself', 'I cover myself'.

This is our charm verbs classification based on Addressness:

1. Verbs with a targeted focus on an addressee (I pray, I call, I ask, I order, I remember, I appeal, I bow).

2. Verbs with a targeted focus on an object and an addressee (I charm, I curse).

3. Verbs with a targeted focus on an object

3.1. Verbs with an orientation to an animate / anthropomorphic object (I chase, I send, I shoot, I cut, I chop, I tame, I smoke out, I steam, I gnaw, I stab, I crack);

3.2. Verbs with a focus on an inanimate object (I scoop up, I place, I break, I tear down, I lay, I unlock, I draw a circle, I enclose, I load a gun, I bury, I stompe, I stick, I blow, I pin, I pick, I take, I let go, I lock).

4. Verbs with a targeted focus on a speaker him/herself (I surrender, I refuse, I charm myself, I enclose myself, I go to bed, I wash myself, I wipe myself, I dress myself, I clothe myself, I cool myself, I equipe, I can, I cross/bless myself, I help myself).

So, Addressness in a charm text is not required *per se*. In magical discourse, a unique situation is modeled: through a word, an impact is made on an inanimate object. Therefore, a performative act, directed not at a creature that can hear, think and respond (even hypothetically), but at an object on which some physical action can only be performed, is drawn up not by a verb of speech, but by a causative verb of influence on an object with the aim of changes.

The idea of direct influence by the help of words, without persuasion, suggestion, request, etc., creates an intermediate option when a charm is applied to a person who acts as an affected patient; he/she may be a speaker him/herself. Charms demonstrate the features of auto-communication, where there is only a virtual addressee or animate object to which a speech act is addressed. The function of such a patient is to perceive not verbal information, but the verbal-magical effect directed at him/her. A large number of auto-addressed verbs indicates the intention of the person's internal transformation, which manifests itself not so much as suggestiveness, but rather as auto-suggestiveness of charm texts.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of charm Intentionality and Addressness shows some special patterns of the charm intentional and address targeting which are regularly repeated. Firstly, it was revealed that a charm intention does not equal to an intention of a main communicative act. Sometimes it seems to be directly opposite. Of course, ways of the symbolic and metaphorical connecting between ritual speech and objects and people, accidents and objects of real world are studied many times, but the description in these terms has its meaning for application Speech Act theory to charm texts. Secondly, it was shown that charm texts demonstrate another type of Addressness than usual performative utterances. The charm addressee is different: it is not only a real, or even supernatural, person, but also an inanimate object. This object is incanted by a performative.

The communicative features of charms are interesting in themselves. But they also can become a cause of semantic changes of words. The applicability of the term 'performative verb' in charms is very broad. The canonical, explicit performative of a speech action is only one, bright, side of charm performativity. What is hidden is verbs of physical and another action, if it has some intention and a special addressee. The research in the field of Speech Act theory allows us to divide charm performatives into lexical groups and to distinguish between non-performatives in performative use, potential (or semi-) performatives and canonical performatives. This will be the subject of my researches in future.

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BIO

Ekaterina Kulikovskaya works as a tutor at Pushkin Leningrad State University's Faculty of Philology where she teaches courses in linguistics, copywriting, and PR. She holds a Ph.D. in linguistics, with her research on "Semantics of performative verbs in Russian charms". Additionally, she collaborates with the "Spiritual Culture of the Russian North" archive of Saint Petersburg State University. Ekaterina is also an avid gatherer of Russian North folklore and has assembled her own collection of recorded charms.

email: kulikovskaya.eka@yandex.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-1489-3562

BRINGING PROTECTION HOME: SPATIALLY MAPPING THE PERFORMANCE OF MEDIEVAL CHARMS AGAINST THIEVES

Heather A. Taylor

A researcher in the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Kent, Canterbury UK
e-mail: heatheralexandrataylor@gmail.com

Abstract: This article examines charms against thieves in medieval English manuscripts that make explicit mention of the domestic residence and its environs. In doing so, it considers a particular medieval anxiety around transgression of the property's boundary lines. By identifying instructions for the practitioner contained within the texts and their associated rubrics, the article imagines how the performance of these charms may have looked in practice, and how, in some cases, there is a parallel with the parish ritual of 'beating the bounds'. It argues that the performance of these charms creates a relationship between the practitioner, the words of the invocation, and the space in which the charms are recited, and that this performance is a means of asserting ownership and exerting control over the domestic residence, as well as averting the danger posed by potential thieves.

Keywords: charms against thieves, performance, theft, domestic property, medieval.

INTRODUCTION

Therewith the nyght-spel seyde he anon-rightes
On foure halves of the house aboute,
And on the thressfold of the dore withoute;
'Jhesu Crist and Seinte Benedight.
Blesse this hous from every wikked wight,
For nyghtes verye, the white *pater-noster*!
Where wentestow, Seinte Petres soster[1]

In Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, John the Carpenter is provoked into an anxious frenzy by the apparently supernatural slumber of his lodger Nicholas. He performs the sign of the cross and recites a charm, a 'night spell', otherwise referred to as the White Paternoster. Hurrying to each corner of the house as he chants, he weaves a protective web around the entire property with his words. John's recourse to a charm for protection is deployed here to comedic effect; his panicked reaction to Nicholas's feigned loss of consciousness serves to highlight his credulity, while his anxiety over the transgression of his property's boundary lines is ironic in light of the transgression he is actually facing inside the walls: an adulterous liaison between his wife and his lodger. Ryan Perry has argued that the 'spiritual inadequacy' embodied by the carpenter in this performance, and his admission that he has scarce knowledge of Christian devotional practice beyond learning his creed, is commensurate with his position among the lower strata of society (Perry 2011: 421). Julia Boffey, too, notes that such "doggerel spells" are apt in "the mouths of simple, unlearned characters from whom we would hardly expect a rhyme royal stanza or a roundel" (Boffey 2010: 40). But the use of charms is not restricted to Chaucer's socially inferior characters. In *Troilus and Criseyde* when Troilus appears sick, a number of elite Trojans claim to be able to heal him: "in this manere/Men curen folk; this charme I wol ȝow lere", demonstrating that even those in court society made recourse to charms.[2] This may reflect Chaucer's own ambivalence towards the use of charms, or otherwise simply mirror the world in which he was writing, where charms were ubiquitous and used across all strata of society.[3] I do not cite this passage from *The Miller's Tale*, however, in order to analyse Chaucer's stance on charms, nor to critique the proficiency of John the Carpenter's devotional practices, but instead to reflect upon how the description of John's recitation of the White Paternoster provides us with a rare insight into the medieval performance of a charm to protect the domestic space.[4]

The literary depiction of John blessing each of the four 'halves' of the house, encompassing every corner, as well as the threshold and the door, in a kind of protective forcefield, makes clear that the structural form of the house itself is an integral component in the performance of the charm. Furthermore, the combination of speech and movement presented here demonstrates that the performance of the charm is not just concerned with the spoken word, but that it requires physical movement and an active engagement with the surrounding environment in order to be deployed effectively. This essay will examine the textual evidence of practices like the one performed by the carpenter in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* – more specifically, charms against thieves – to identify the clues they provide for their own performance, and how this is specifically situated within the domestic space and its environs. By analysing both the words of the charms themselves as well as the directions for the practitioner which are often present in an accompanying rubric, it will demonstrate that the charm's power is activated, not simply through the use of powerful or efficacious words, but through a physical embodiment of the charm which triangulates a relationship between space, movement, and speech in order to implement a certain type of protection.

The performative nature of charms is universally acknowledged: it is an intrinsic part of their definition as an "oral performance to accomplish a purpose by means of performative speech in a ritual context" (Olsan 1999: 403). This performative aspect is further connoted by the small rubricated crosses which frequently intersperse the words of charms in manuscripts, indicating to the user or practitioner that they should cross themselves or the patient at those particular moments of the invocation (Klaassen 2019: 21). Lea Olsan and Peter Murray Jones employ the term 'performative ritual' to describe a range of practices, including charms, to aid childbirth and conception, noting that such rituals are performed to be effective at that particular moment, but that efficacy is instigated by drawing on the tradition and accumulation of all the previous performances of the ritual (Jones and Olsan 2015: 409–410). However, the performative nature of charms against thieves as a particular genre, or subset, of charms in general has yet to be examined. Generally, their study has instead been restricted to an examination of their prominent motifs, and to identifying potential lines of transmission and evolution. T. M. Smallwood, for example, investigates one of the simplest and most commonly occurring charms for theft, which he labels the 'God was born in Bethlehem' charm, inspired by the phrase which serves as the first line of the text in all surviving examples (Smallwood 1989). Smallwood traces the transmission and evolution of this charm, identifying a number of different derivatives, particularly by following the trajectory of one key motif, that 'neither wolf nor thief' was present at the nativity. The chronology of this exploration begins with an Old English example and ends with a creative re-working of the text found in an early seventeenth-century manuscript. Smallwood's investigation reveals that the charm split into two branches during at least one moment in its transmission, leading to the mention of the wolf dropping out of use in one chain of texts, but continuing to circulate in another.

Like Smallwood, Stephen Stallcup records and analyses various examples of just one text, in this case a ritual to identify a thief, frequently referred to as the 'Eye of Abraham' charm (Stallcup 2015). This particular practice involves painting an eye on a wall, gathering those whom you suspect before it, and hammering a nail into the painting, causing the eye of the guilty party to weep and water. This experiment has a surviving analogue in a fourth-century Greek papyrus, but the earliest Middle English example occurs in the mid-fifteenth century manuscript now known as London, British Library, Additional MS 34111 (Stallcup 2015: 25–26). Stallcup identifies and prints five different versions of this charm, but he acknowledges that it is as yet not possible to determine a chronology for these five texts, nor a stemmatic relationship between them (Stallcup 2015: 26).

This essay will not select the texts for discussion based on their prominent motifs, as Smallwood does with the 'God was born in Bethlehem' phrase, or Stallcup does, with the illustration of the Eye of Abraham; instead the charms presented here are united by the fact that they make reference to the location in which they are to be performed, specifically, the domestic residence and its immediate surroundings.[5] It may seem obvious that domestic property would serve as the primary locus for a charm against theft, but this is not always the case. The range of charms against thieves in circulation in the medieval period spoke to a number of circumstances in which theft

could occur. For example, there are many other such charms which, instead, make provision for protection while travelling. Indeed, a fifteenth-century charm against theft in British Library, Sloane MS 56 makes clear that the user is seeking protection from robbery while on the road, rather than burglary at home.[6]

> this wordis þu shal say
> be þu in towne wodde or way
> If any þeffe þe robbe or reve
> of any goode þat ben þe leve.
> Ne stirre he no mor þan the stone
> stot on footte motte þer ferrere goone
> Til ihesu have done his wrethe
> þat of sorowe is best leche.[7]

By homing in on texts which make specific reference to the domestic residence and its surrounding land, I will demonstrate that there is a category of texts which speak to a particular fear or anxiety of the medieval practitioner, one which centres around transgression of the property's boundary lines. Furthermore, identifying a specific location for performance allows us to begin to reconstruct how this performance might have looked in practice. This moves the study of these texts out of their written, or manuscript, contexts; moreover, it offers us the opportunity to make comparisons with other rituals, such as the church-sanctioned parish ritual of 'beating the bounds', which will be discussed in due course.

THE HOME AS THE EPICENTRE OF PROTECTION

Several surviving charms against thieves include linguistic cues which make clear that they are intended for deployment specifically within the domestic space. A number of charms for theft have been recorded in a manuscript from the turn of the fifteenth century, now known as British Library, Sloane MS 2584. One of these incorporates the domestic application of the ritual into the overarching purpose, or utility, that it is ascribed through its title. Rather than being assigned the descriptor '*carmen contra latrones*' as is common, it is introduced as '*coniuracio bona pro latronibus venientibus ad domum*': a useful charm for thieves coming into the house.[8] Similarly, a short, sixteenth-century charm in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 1378 describes its purpose as "[t]o binde a house a gaynste theffes".[9] The phrasing of the title here suggests that it is the house which is the object of the charm, rather than the potential thief, who is usually the more common target for 'binding' or immobilising.[10] Other charms instead reveal that the house is the primary locus for defence through the wording of the invocations themselves. A text in Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R. 14. 45 (916) uses the word 'house' three times in its invocation:

> Hous I the be ken to þe best þat ys in hevyn oure lorde hymselve and hys apostyllys xij God and seynt Clere and seynt rechere seynt crystofyr and seynt benedicte kepe thys hous and thys place thys ny3ght yff there any mann woman or chylde by hous or place þat hathe eny spyte to the he stonde as styll as stone on hyll as stone on more as dede mann on flore.[11]

A curious fifteenth-century text that survives in British Library, Sloane MS 3556 makes reference to the home, but subsequently it refines the epicentre of protection even further. Granular in its detailed description of the domestic space, it paints a tableau of the practitioner's bed surrounded by five divine or supernatural agents: Saints Peter and Paul, the Archangel Michael, God, and the Virgin Mary, primed to waylay any would-be-thief.

> Erliche in a mornynge was I of my bedde, I fonde cristis hi3e name wryten on my nebbe. hit is sooth hit is no lees / mi3chel and marye and seint Col[…] he schal wise me the weie to seint Thomus that he mot be my leche in to domesdaie / I wente forth by the grene weie. Þer I mette our ladie soore wepinge. Sche bar here sone upon here arme toward naylyng/ peter bere me lorde quod he y dar not whie so peter lorde for these þeefis / peter alle þese thefis stille schal thei stonde. As stif stake doth in londe. ffor þei can so manye wordis as I canne/ peter that schal neuer be. lete hem stonde til I bidde hem goo/ as stille schal þe thefis stonde as stif stake stonte in londe for y bydde hem goo/ peter that schal neuer be lete hem stonde til y bidde hem goo/ ffrom home I schal goo thys place I wil be sette 3if enie thef heere with þou come my kynde catel or good to fette/ I set the holye goost hem bi fore these thefis for to lette. marchus. matheu. luke. And Ion/ that beth the foure gospeleres closid in oon the fader and the sone/ closid in oo[n] god-hede. As clerkis in here bokys doo rede/ peter at the heed poule at the foot, mi3chel a mydde/ God and seynt marie stonde to fore my bedde the thefis for to lette. These wordis that y haue seid heere schal bynde these thefis so soor as dyde seint Barthilmewe þe deuyl with his berde so hoore/ The deuyl he bonde but neuer he lete/ But doun he trad him under his ffeet/ I schal bete men thus and bynde men thus of wikkyd mood and all thoo that wolde me oþer than good/ In the vertue of cristis preciouse blood. And with vertu of the masse and all þe wordis more and lasse/ In the vertu of gras. erthe. and ston/ and goddis bodie to leve upon I wis þere was neuer god but on neuer was nor neuer schal be/ hit is the fadir. sone. and holie goost that beth yloke in Trinite ffirst be he at our comynge. and sithe at our endynge/ In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.[12]

This text is unusually long in comparison to other texts of this genre and combines motifs from a number of other charms against thieves that usually circulate independently in the manuscript tradition, as well as other short popular rhyming prayers. For example an eighteenth-century antiquarian project, which provides a commentary

on certain extracts of early printed texts, makes note of some handwritten "popish rhimes" that occupy the margins of a printed *Horae* from 1502. One of these rhymes possesses a clear intertextuality with the Sloane MS 3556 charm in its narrative of the Virgin weeping for her crucified son "by the grene weie".

> The little Credo
> I mett with our lady in a greene way
> With a stocke and a locke I say
> Shee signed full soare for her deare sonne
> Which was nayled through hande
> And foote to his brayne panne
> Well is the man that this creede canne
> His fellowe to teache
> To heauen he shall reache.[13]

Similarly, where the Sloane MS 3556 charm draws on the virtue of the Mass, as well as the virtues of grass, earth, and stone, it is possible to recognise elements of another shorter charm against thieves, such as this one found in British Library, Sloane MS 2457:

> For metyng of theues saie thou this charm that suwid. Lord god in trinite fader and sone and holy gost y worschiped mote ʒe ever be and as wise as y leue an on god that is in persones thre. and boren of a maiden clene and fre so mote ich euer ysaued be. And by thi grace and by thi myʒth saue me bothe day and nyʒth. And in the vertu of thi rith arm saue and defende me fro al harm. And [be the vertu of that hie masse] þat euer was y saide more and lasse. And be alle the uertues of .word. ston. gras. and tre. And al other vertues that euer may be. That ʒif ther ben any fon aboute me to roben. or to slon pouwer hafe thei non a-wei to gon. bot stille thei stonden as any ston til thei haue leue of me as wis as þou hongedest on the rode tre. Ihesu crist þou grante me this as wis as thou art kynge in heuene blis. amen amen lord y be seche now the.[14]

The Sloane MS 3556 text is unique; it is the only extant witness for this exact version of the charm, perhaps a written record of one particular iteration that was in oral circulation at the time, or otherwise a creative endeavour by the scribe, who amalgamated a number of protective texts in order to maximise the charm's power. [15] It contains another significant phrase which shows evidence of intertextuality with other charms against thieves: "ffrom home I schal goo thys place I wil be sette ʒif enie thef heere with þu come my kynde catel or good to fette/ I set the holye goost hem bi fore these thefis for to lette." This phrase directly correlates with a text that is usually referred to as the 'St Bartholomew' charm against thieves, and which in fact also incorporates the motif used later on the in the Sloane text of St Bartholomew

binding the devil.[16] This particular passage consolidates the home as the locus for performance, while providing an insight into the belongings the practitioner is most afraid of losing: livestock, as well as other material possessions. But it is the words "be sette" that are of particular interest. This phrase, also commonly found in Middle English more generally as one word, 'bisette', carries several meanings, but the most relevant here is 'to surround or envelope'.[17] The text suggests that the practitioner will deploy the charm immediately prior to leaving the house, but that more specifically, their performance of the charm will cover – or envelope – the domestic residence with a sphere of protection. Here, we return to the idea that the words of the invocation possess the power to create a forcefield around the property, and I will now consider how movement, in combination with spoken words, can be understood to anchor this forcefield in place.

WEAVING A WEB OF PROTECTION WITH WORDS

A second charm against thieves in British Library, Sloane MS 2584, includes the supplication: "God and seint trinite, saue alle þinges þat is me lof, wiþinne þis hous and without and alle þe way aboute. I be teche God to day and to nyȝt and to seint feyþolde þat he kepe us and oure hom from alle manere of wyckede enemys and þeues."[18]

As with the texts cited above, the references to 'hous' and 'hom' make clear the practitioner's concerns for their domestic property, but the language used here also allows us to begin spatially mapping the performance of the charm. The construction of the phrase "wiþinne þis hous and without" suggests that the charm could be performed from inside the property, in anticipation of a threat. The continuation of the phrase then extends the defence beyond the four walls of the house to encompass the full residential plot, "alle þe way aboute". Here perhaps, the practitioner stands at the centre of the web of protection, using the words of the invocation to propel the property's defence, a nascent shield that can be expanded and stretched, as far as is desired. But by verbally touching on the different areas the charm will protect, the construction of the supplication allows us to imagine that the charm may have in fact been performed while circulating the property, crossing the threshold to encompass both the interior and exterior of the house, much like John the Carpenter does when performing his own night spell.

The imperative to encircle the property in order to deploy the charm is more explicit in an early sixteenth-century charm against theft – more specifically the theft of clothes – found in British Library, Harley MS 2389, which indicates that there is a link between the recitation of the invocation and the spatial performance of the charm.[19] "To save your clothes from stealynge all nyght: Jasper, Melcher, and Balthasar: stand ye my enemis, even as the sterr stode ouer Bethelem where Jesus was. Say this thrise goynge by the hedge over nyght."[20]

The injunction to circulate the perimeter, or 'hedge', of one's property while repeating the invocation, which here calls on the supernatural agency of the three magi, suggests that movement is imperative to the efficacy of the charm. The spoken words

may have power, but that power can be considered transient unless it is anchored in place through movement: movement creates a relationship between the words of the invocation and the location that they are designed to protect. In circling the property while performing the charm, the words of power integrate with the space the practitioner moves through.

While the performance of the charm imbibes the boundary lines with a protective power, this power has more active defensive qualities too: it will force the prospective thieves to 'stand', thus frustrating their attempt to break and enter. This concept is further propagated by the instructions of a third charm for theft in Sloane MS 2584. The Latin charm, in full, draws on several common narratives and phrases found in charms against thieves, including mention of Dismas and Gismas, the two thieves crucified beside Christ, and the citation of a particular line from Luke 4:30, "*Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*".[21] The words of the charm are proceeded by directions for its use: "*hoc carmen dico ut non perdam mea furto. Hos versus dicas circa domum vel faldam et si latrones intraverunt non exient donec precipis.*"[22] As with the text in Harley MS 2389, here too, the instructions make explicit that the performance of the charm requires a perambulation of the property as well as the recitation of the invocation.

This requirement to circulate the boundaries of the property draws an interesting parallel with the custom of 'beating the bounds'. Probably inspired by the processional walks that marked specific moments in the liturgical calendar, particularly Rogationtide, ceremonial perambulation had been practiced since the early days of Christianity in England (Gittos 2013). By the later medieval and early modern periods, these open-air processions had evolved in some communities to become concerned with demarcating the territorial boundaries of a parish (Hindle 2016). Not only was there a process of delineation at play, in which communities, in a way, defined and described themselves through this process of circumscription, but the performative raising of banners, handheld crosses, and ringing of bells, accompanied by the chanting of psalms and recitation of passages from the gospels which formed part of the processional activity, was designed to expel evil spirits, disease and sickness (Walsham 2011: 252–273; Hindle 2016: 206). Thus, we can understand these charms against thieves which require the perambulation of the domestic residence as a sort of microcosmic reproduction of this church-sanctioned ritual. In the physical performance of the charm, the practitioner is delineating the boundaries of their own property: their ritual procession around the parameter is as much a statement of ownership, or a territorial inscription, as it is a defensive tactic. Meanwhile, the recitation of the charm and its efficacious words, often calling on supernatural agents for assistance, mirrors the performances that accompanied beating the bounds, where the words of the psalms and the gospel were understood to drive away evil.

Enchanting the boundaries of one's property, however, did not just have a protective effect but, as mentioned above, also had more offensive properties. The Harley text cited previously is designed to halt the would-be-thief before they can break in; we can imagine that the performance of the charm aims to create an invisible but impenetrable bubble surrounding the property. Meanwhile, one text in Sloane MS 2584 allows the perpetrator entry, but once they enter they will be trapped inside

until permitted to leave (*donec precipis*), affording the victim the opportunity to identify their assailant and, if desired, exact revenge. A fifteenth-century charm found in British Library, Sloane MS 2457 is enacted through a similar process of encircling the property, but the protective shield it creates has a different effect on the potential thief. The invocation itself is in Latin, but it is preceded by a Middle English rubric which informs the practitioner:

> ȝif any man be so vn-sele
>
> That wold thi good stele
>
> Thi schep that ben in thi fold
>
> ȝounge other the hold
>
> Other any other good þat is in feld
>
> With this oureson þou schalt it scheld
>
> Al round thou schal gon a-bout
>
> Be it with-inne hous other with-out
>
> And this oureson þou saie with deuocion
>
> And þen a-non as the thef is com
>
> Al round a-bout he schal gon
>
> Al the nyȝt be seint Ion
>
> And power he schal haue non
>
> Awei þenne forto gon.[23]

Here, the text specifically uses the word 'scheld' or shield to describe the protective quality of the enchantment, which will surround whichever parts of the property the practitioner encircles as they perform the charm. However, there is an interesting mirroring effect at play between the performance of the practitioner and the effect this shield will have on the perpetrator. The rubric instructs the practitioner to circumscribe the perimeter of the property – "Al round thou schal gon a-bout" – while reciting the invocation. If a thief does attempt to transgress this boundary created by the practitioner, they will not simply be paralysed in place until the victim returns home but instead, mirroring the movement of the practitioner in their deployment of the charm, will be compelled to circle the property – "Al round a-bout he schal gon" – until the owner returns home and can exact justice. Through this mirroring effect, there is a kind of irony in the way that the would-be-thief is made to respect the boundary lines delineated by the practitioner: compelled to circumscribe them indefinitely while unable to transgress them.

This retributive element of the charm might be described by a modern reader as 'karmic', but this is not the only instance where such a practice seeks to enact retribution or punishment. As mentioned above, there is an implicit threat in the third text cited from Sloane MS 2584, in which the perpetrator is trapped inside the property until the victim returns. But other texts discussed here are more explicit in their desire for justice. The Sloane MS 3556 text asserts: "I schal bete men thus

and bynde men thus of wikkyd mood and all thoo that wolde me oþer than good". The Cambridge, Trinity College charm draws a sinister comparison between the immobilised thief and a corpse: "he stonde as styll as stone on hyll as stone on more as dede mann on flore". The desire for punishment revealed by these texts reflects an anxiety over the invasion of the domestic space, one that goes beyond the fear of losing material goods and becomes personal. Barbara Hanawalt's in-depth study of fourteenth-century court records finds that robbery and burglary had a higher conviction rate than the majority of other felonies (Hanawalt 1979: 60). She suggests that these are crimes in particular which the public fear: while robbery carries with it the threat of physical harm, burglary is more than a property crime, it is an invasion of privacy, the exposure of the intimate and interior parts of a dwelling place which are not intended to be made public (Hanawalt 1979: 60). Modern studies in psychology too, support the notion that the psychological impact of burglary cannot be underestimated (for example, Beaton et al. 2000). Recent scholarship suggests that burglary should be seen as an interpersonal crime, rather than a property one: it carries with it a sense of violation and challenges the victim's feeling of control over their own territory, by extension affecting their feeling of identity (Harsent and Merry 2018). Thus we can perceive a duality in the performance of charms against thieves within and around the domestic property: there is both an assertion of control, in which the practitioner's relationship with their personal property is cemented, as well as an attempt to avert the psychological damage caused by an invasion of privacy, alongside the loss of material goods.

In a recent consideration of the place of magical tricks and illusion in medical manuscripts, Hannah Bower notes that these tricks often make reference to the house as the locus for performance, while such specific allusion to the domestic space is unusual in recipes of a more medical nature (Bower 2022: 202). While Bower's analysis focuses on practices of a more playful, rather than protective or defensive nature, her observation – that naming the house as a central locus for these practices plays on notions of the vulnerability of the threshold, and is provocative in the face of typical anxiety around exerting control over the domestic space – provides an interesting point of comparison with charms against thieves. Comparing the 'carnivalesque energy' of these magic tricks with medieval fabliaux that also centre around the household – including *The Miller's Tale* – Bower suggests that the 'circumscribed, ordered, and hierarchal domestic settings make the overturning of order more palpable. In both the recipes and the fabliaux, then, the violation of social, sexual, and conceptual thresholds is mapped onto the imagined violation of physical ones' (Bower 2022: 202–203). In this way, the physical threshold becomes representative of more than just a barrier between the would-be-thief and material goods, it is conflated with the social and psychological boundaries of the victim. Thus we come full circle, returning to John the Carpenter, the fabliau character whose concerted efforts to protect his domestic threshold correlate with, or respond to, (albeit in a ridiculous fashion) the violation of the social and sexual thresholds which the two other occupants of the house are planning to commit. But we can assume that Chaucer was only able to successfully deploy the Carpenter's night spell to comedic effect because the practice it portrayed resonated with his intended audience. We can assume that they recognised the night

spell as part of a corpus of ritual practices designed to protect the home, of which the texts discussed above would have formed a part, and in which they identified the attempt to exert agency or control over the domestic setting as an act that was at its most emphatic when it combined the recitation of an invocation with the physical perambulation or demarcation of the property's boundary lines.

CONCLUSION

All of the charms cited above explicitly reveal the domestic residence to be the primary locus for their performance. A closer examination of the language of these charms and their accompanying rubrics affords us a number of critical insights. In noting the words used to describe the objects to be protected, we can identify the items and possessions that a medieval household may have been most anxious to retain: clothes and household goods, sheep, cattle, and other livestock. This tallies with medieval records of the items most commonly lost to theft (Hanawalt 1979: 71). Further to this however, we can begin to conceive of how these charms may have been performed. While some charms are less explicit about their contexts for performance, indicating only that they are specific to the domestic residence through references to the house and home, others provide clear instructions which allow us to reconstruct how they may have been enacted. The circumscription of the property's boundary lines mirrors many elements of the medieval custom of beating the bounds, suggesting the appropriation and adaptation of this ritual performance on a microcosmic level. Furthermore, it reveals a similar assertion of ownership and the same desire to create a kind of protective forcefield around a property as that connoted by the ritual of beating the bounds.

Reconstructing the performance that is implied by the words of the text also permits us to consolidate the intrinsic link between words and action, and to understand how the two in collaboration can enact an effect that words alone might not necessarily deliver. Circulating the property while reciting the charm creates a relationship between speech, movement, and location, anchoring the protection in place. Finally, by examining the way in which the protective forcefield also possesses offensive properties which produce a number of different effects on the would-be-thief, and by identifying the implicit or explicit threat of retaliation that is present in many charms against thieves, we gain a deeper insight into the practitioner's anxiety around transgression of the threshold. In the implied desire for retribution, we get a sense of the shame that such an invasion of privacy might provoke. Such a focused study on charms which cite the house as the locus for performance allows us to move the examination of these texts beyond their manuscript contexts, to infer what they reveal about the practitioner's relationship with their domestic space, and to imagine and reconstruct how the charms might have looked in practice during the medieval period.

MANUSCRIPTS

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.14.45(916)
London, British Library, Additional MS 34111
London, British Library, Harley MS 2389
London, British Library, Sloane MS 2457
London, British Library, Sloane MS 2584
London, British Library, Sloane MS 3556
London, British Library, Sloane MS 56
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 1378

NOTES

[1] Geoffrey Chaucer. The Canterbury Tales. Fragment 1, lines 3480 – 3486. All citations of Chaucer taken from Benson, L. D. (ed.) The Riverside Chaucer, 3rd edition 1988. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

[2] Geoffrey Chaucer. Troilus and Criseyde. Book II, lines 1578 – 80; see also Smallwood 2004: 12.

[3] This is supported by the manuscript evidence of the Middle Ages: Lea Olsan for example has demonstrated how charms were used by many types of medical practitioner, including university-trained physicians who practiced at court, see Olsan 2003.

[4] Much ink has been spilled analysing the use of magic, though predominantly necromancy, astrology, and illusion, in Chaucer's works, but as Daniel Pigg notes, it is important not to cede to the well-known fallacy of literary scholarship, in which assumptions are made about the author's stance on a topic based on the way it is portrayed in their writing or described by their characters, see Pigg 2017: 507.

[5] George Keiser too, for example, categorises these charms based on their most prominent motif in Keiser 1998: 3874–3876. Chiara Benati on the other hand provides a summary of much of the existing scholarship on charms against thieves, categorising them according to their purpose, i.e., to prevent theft, to stop the thief in the act, or to identify a thief after the fact, see Benati 2017.

[6] In the Middle Ages, robbery, burglary, and larceny were treated as three distinct forms of theft: whereas larceny specifically indicated the felonious act of removing goods from a property, burglary, while similar, was differentiated in legal terms by the specification that it involved breaking into a property, as well as carrying away goods and chattels. Robbery, on the other hand, indicated physical violence to a person in order to steal their property, often through a surprise attack, and could happen either on the road or within a person's home, see Hanawalt 1979: 64–113.

[7] Folio 100r; transcription in Sheldon 1978: 133–134.

[8] London, British Library, Sloane MS 2584, folios 74v–75r.

[9] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 1378, p. 83.

[10] As we will shortly see, usually the 'binding' element of these charms is directed towards the thieves, who will become immobilised.

[11] Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 14. 45 (916), p. 118; my transcription, capitalisation reflects that found in the manuscript.

[12] London, British Library, Sloane MS 3556, folio 8v; my transcription, the text has seemingly been inserted on a blank folio by a subsequent user of the manuscript (though still in what appears to be a fifteenth century hand) as it is upside down; though the text approximates verse it has been written out by the scribe as prose with the line breaks indicated, this is reflected in the transcription. A small stain prevents full transcription of the first saint mentioned.

[13] Printed in Ames 1812: 108–109.

[14] Folios 8v–9r, my transcription; the phrase "be the vertu of that hie masse" has been scratched away, but is readable with the use of ultraviolet light.

[15] I have not identified an analogue text in my database of over 130 charms against thieves. While the Sloane MS 3556 features passages from other common charms against thieves, there are no close matches for the Sloane charm in full.

[16] For a list of manuscripts which contain this particular charm see Keiser 1998: 3874–3876. For a transcription of one version of this charm found in Sloane MS 2584 see Gray 1974: 66.

[17] See 'bisetten' in Frances McSparran et al. (Eds.) 2000–2018. Middle English Compendium. University of Michigan Library. Accessed online at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/, last accessed December 2022.

[18] London, British Library, Sloane MS 2584, folio 73v; my transcription.

[19] Clothes often featured among stolen items listed in medieval court records pertaining to burglary, see for example Hanawalt 1979: 95–96.

[20] London, British Library, Harley MS 2389, folio 26r; transcribed in Bühler 1962: 48.

[21] For more on these two motifs or phrases, see Benati 2017: 151, 153.

[22] I say this charm so that I will not lose my [things] by theft. Say these lines around the house or farm and if robbers enter they will not leave until they are told, London, British Library, Sloane MS 2584, folios 74r-v, transcription and translation my own; the word 'faldam' here appears to be a Latinisation of the Old English word 'ffald' becoming the Middle English 'fold' – an enclosure for sheep and other domestic animals – showing interesting ties with the vernacular in spite of the Latin language of the charm: see 'falda' in du Cange, et al. 1883–1887. Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis. éd. augm. L. Favre, Niort: t. 3, col. 402a. Accessed online at http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/FALDA1, and 'fold' in Frances McSparran et al. (eds.) 2000–2018. Middle English Compendium. University of Michigan Library. Accessed online at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/ both last accessed December 2022.

[23] London, British Library, Sloane MS 2457, folio 7v; transcription as provided in Bühler 1958: 371–372.

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BIO

Heather A. Taylor is a researcher in the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Kent, Canterbury (UK). Her work examines 'non-medical' charms and experimenta in late-medieval manuscripts, particularly those which address social concerns, and explores how these resonate with out broader understanding of social attitudes and anxieties in the later Middle Ages.

e-mail: heatheralexandrataylor@gmail.com

HEALERS: WHO ARE THEY?

Mare Kõiva

Research professor, leading researcher, Department of Folkloristics, Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu, Estonia
Email: mare@folklore.ee

Abstract: The article discusses changes in healers' healing tradition, explanatory models, use of written and published traditions. During the past century, healers used and integrated knowledge from different schools. Another significant trend rising to the fore highlights the importance of local folk medicine, which emphasises traditional values and creates novel cultural interpretations. To characterise the changes, the article introduces four healers, ranging from a half-mythic witch-herder to the healers-innovators of medical methods and local culture.

Keywords: explanatory models, published books of magic, charm, folk medicine, healer

INTRODUCTION

Traditional healers played an important role in society at the beginning of the 20th century, although knowledge about the extent and nature of their healing is unfortunately generally indirect. Data can be reconstructed to a certain extent from charms and collected folk medicine texts, including legal documents, although more general details of the system of healing, health, service providers and service users are approximate and partly obscured by the interests of the representatives of official medicine. General practitioners' treatment and home care still covered an important part of the population's health needs and access to health services in the early 20th century, given the general socio-economic circumstances. The formal medical system had different expectations: as the dominant, regulatory, system, it wanted to regulate a share of the market, and still does. And so, unfortunately, knowledge of the personalities of healers is mainly limited to impressions, relying largely on folkloric narratives and beliefs (more about folkloristic fieldwork Alver, Selberg 1987; Alver 1990).[1]

Thus, the relationship between home treatment, treatment provided by a therapist (i.e. a visiting therapist) and official medical practice is still fragmented. For

this article, I used data from folklore archives based on the subjective perceptions of patients and observers, often formulated in narrative form, and interviews. Working through the records of several famous witches (The Witch of Äksi, Kaika Laine, Vigala Sass, Gunnar Aarma, etc.), one type of mediator emerges: storytellers with the skill to construct the oral biography of a person based on what they know. This can be impressively factual (see Kõiva 2014). To a lesser extent, healers have been archival correspondents (Kõiva 2017, 1989), or have told folklorists about their self-perceptions, in which case it is possible to look more closely at the development of a person, their actions and their own representations.

The data on influences are also indirect. It can be difficult to establish in which world these healers lived, which (cultural) texts influenced them, how they were influenced by newer spiritual currents from the folk forms of spiritualism to the results of Madame Blavatskaya and other theosophists as well as the influences of various doctrines and religious currents that moved through Estonia before and especially after the Russian Revolution of 1917 (Godwin 1994). We can see these influences on folk doctors through the vocabulary and methodology they used. In this article I use mixed data, i.e. narratives from folklore archives, doctors' diaries, and in some cases information about these healers from historical archives.

THE DATA

I used as a division the healers/witches known in family circles, and these who known to a whole village or group of villages, i.e. people well known enough that people visited them from other parishes or cities (Kõiva 1995). De Blécourt writes that in a small community, there is probably only one well-known witch, apart from others who are only labelled as such within a small circle (De Blécourt 1999: 4; 1992), two or three in Slovenia (Mencej 2017: 11 ff), but in our region we have the situation where *nõid* ('witch') has a variety of meanings, including sage, wise one, doctor and many more (Laugaste 1937). Laugaste's list consists of 90 different names, meaning that almost all subcategorise are listed. This situation resembles the Sci-Fi stories written by Ursula LeGuine where people overcame their limits by using personal power and knowledge for healing and magic.

Similar to religious pluralism, medical pluralism was also common among healers, especially at the beginning of the 20th century. Although treatment from apothecaries and biomedical doctors become increasingly accepted, belief in other explanations for illness and misfortune remain widespread. In spite of these challenges, there is still widespread interest in exploring medically pluralistic models of treatment.

EXPLANATION MODELS

Almost all healers used some of the old explanations or archaic aetiologies for diseases, seeing them as originating from earth, water, wind, fire, sauna, as well as from the spirits of diseases that remained in circulation for a long time, although the diseases

may have been a God-appointed and important model of explanation that said diseases are caused by other people. A common explanation still associated disease with the concept of *viha* (anger; originally green, impure, bitter, poison, hostility, as well as the origin of the disease), which was attributed to many living and inanimate beings. Being exposed to anger caused social unhappiness, while getting angry caused inflammation and disease. In addition to people Anger was attributed to the soil or the land, or to beer, milk, yarn and many other objects.

Diseases could also be **sent away by wind, water or fire**, or carried **back to the ground**, to a **person wishing evil** or **to an animal** that caused the disease. That is, the disease was sent back to its place of origin. Diseases could be transferred to natural objects using healing words. Water used to wash the sick place was poured into the transmission site, while objects that had been in contact with the focus of disease were left at the transmission site. The disease was described as developing and immobilised, images of comparison were created with the mythical world, the disease was sent to the deserted place from which it came, or to the person who caused the disease. Words were adapted and re-addressed as needed: the addressee was changed, the wording was adjusted, individual verses or groups of verses were changed so that they fit each specific case. When the symptoms and course of diseases were similar in humans and animals, they were treated with the same techniques, substances and spells.

BOOKS AND LITERARY INFLUENCES, ABILITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

According to his daughter and local correspondent Aleksei Tustit, the healer Tiitsu Seiu had a lot of books in foreign languages at home as well as homemade tinctures and herbs. He also liked to make ointments. One source of knowledge was a German-language magic book, the 'Seventh Book of Moses', which he studied with interest and consistency. It was also from there that he obtained the SATOR charm, which he used to cure erysipelas, snake bite and other trauma. SATOR was particularly popular in Estonia as an incantation against erysipelas (Kõiva 2019) as was also used in Latvia (Lielbardis 2020). There was other magical literature at home, but Seiu stressed, when talking about them, that books of this kind contained everything. Some were not fit for human consumption. As an example this, he told of a method of becoming invisible by boiling a black cat.

In one of his letters, he talks about ordering literature from Germany, and also about the situation in his family as his wife didn't like sitting and reading at home: "I have often ordered chemistry and technical books from Germany, and I have written my own name on them, and the title the Epistle Book, or the Book of Preaching. Otherwise, I have no permission to read any of the literature. It's the same with writing: I often write for the Folklore Archives, but I say I write epistles and sermons. And if I have good sermons, maybe I will become a preacher, then I can eat standing up. My wife said: 'You don't believe in God and the church.' But I answer that no teacher

(priest) believes himself, but sends others heaven by blessing and reading good sermons, then the wife remains silent and I continue to write without interference."

At the beginning of the 20th century the question of religion was syncretic and Seiu's folklore collections are often written during church holidays. Aa local correspondents reported, he accompanied his family to church and played the accordion at home.

The relationship with God is complex and intertwined, as we can see from her vision while suffering lung disease. His healing ritual also contains several traditional Christian elements (kneeling, uncovering the head, addressing God). Reflections on faith are characteristic of a modernising society in general, as is the struggle between different experiences and attitudes. These reflections are a kind of multiversality that can be paralleled by the religious reflections of the charters of writers such as Henrik Ibsen or Anton Hansen Tammsaare.

The same healer describes how he was dying and saw a black eagle, and later a white eagle.

> I read the prayer, the black eagle pulled away and the white one a little bit too, the yellowish angel came and fell in my place, his back right against me, I couldn't see his face, as if he had a human head. I thought, 'Death is not coming yet!' After a little while it disappeared from me again, and I stayed up for a long time before falling asleep. It was a pitch black night: there was no light at the window, no light in the room. That night I slept better than before. I was still lucid, just as I slept I had all sorts of dreams, whether my eyes were closed or open at the time of the vision I really don't remember.

> The next morning I sent for the priest, had God's grace given me, which I had not had for fifteen years, and I began to get better, and I am still alive today, and have been to table church myself a couple of times in these nine years. Taking this and all the other visions and hearings together, I do not want to believe that man has an immortal soul, and that scripture, the work of men, is sacred truth. (Kõiva 1989)

Nevertheless, an episode of illness ends with a return to the church, though not with active membership. Relations with the church were syncretic in the early 20th century, i.e. between the various branches of Protestantism, the doctrines of the Brethren, and those who had converted to the Orthodox Church in the mid-19th century. Debates about the church and its doctrine, and comparisons between different denominations, were part of the process of self-determination. A noteworthy feature of this story was the existence of universal symbols and their translation.

> Following healers' actions, responses, and judgments we can see that they are not simply empirically conditioned or automated, but rather intellectualised subjects self-reliant in their judgments. The social background that healers came from incorporates understandings of conventional customs, usages, and intuitions, helping them grasp things that, although sometimes unarticulated, allow us to formulate explanations when challenged (cf. Tay-

lor 1995: 168). For example, Tiitsu Seiu describes his healing ritual as an intellectual construction that has a shared background:

In Saaremaa, I saw someone reading these words against erysipelas (rose), and I, first of all for laughter, thinking it an idle laughter, even taking off my hat, began to write these words against rose and a snake bite, and the help was immediately noticeable. I am now famous in the neighbourhood for this work, and after the first time I also began to draw a circle around the illness, anticlockwise three times, while secretly reciting to myself, "O Lord, if it be thy holy will, still this pain." So that despite not believing in God at all, the effect was there. (Kõiva 1989)

There are hundreds of records in the archives that show how northern Estonia and Virumaa regions were influenced by urban culture, from where fortune tellers, palmists, hypnotists, masseurs and miracle doctors arrived in the villages during the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, as well as during the Soviet period (Kõiva 1992, 1996),. It is also interesting to check how people got the addresses of healers. Oral communication was important in this as were newspapers and even the Kuremäe Nunnery, where some people, coming from far, for example, stopped to get advice on how to find healers who could help them[1]

TRAVELLING HEALERS, VILLAGE HELPERS

Next to the travelling merchants some men travelled from village to village helping, for example, to destroy cockroaches and other parasites. From the city of Rakvere, The Death of Cockroachs made rounds to repel insects carrying a sign on his hat.

Several itinerant healers were born in Virumaa and returned periodically to give temporary healing or divination sessions, a phenomenon we can view as a form of multilocal living. One example is the clairvoyant and palm reader Vitsa Mari, who travelled with a whip in her hand, giving rise to her nickname Mari the Whip). Mari lived in Tallinn and regularly visited Virumaa to give palm readings for locals there.

Treatment was carried out using symbolic objects that had religious, historical or emotional value. For example, for medical treatment Marie Rosenblatt used palm-sized silver money received from Tedre Ants, who brought it from the Turkish war. Some silver (in folklore *silver white*) was scraped off and mixed with saliva, and Marie whispered words over the diseased place (KKI 41, 318 (4) < Kadrina, 1964). Rosenblatt used a symbolic rite to treat skin diseases, combining word power with religious information about saliva as a breath concentrate and a recognised remedy, adding the healing power of a universally functioning silver object. In this particular case, the authority of the historical object added value to the silver, while again we can see the interesting intellectual construct made by healer.

The village healers of the 19th and early 20th centuries included 'bone healers', i.e. sprain healers, country women who practiced cupping, blood-letters, midwives and tooth extractors. Some of them had kin heritage and some learned on the short

medical courses. Virumaa Lõetsa Villem (Villem Epner, b. 1881) was known for treating sprains and traumas, learning from his father how to treat fractures in animals and humans, set joint dislocations and treat muscle sprains. Kriina Mari and Mart Kaasik from Maetsma, Liisa Tammesalu from Sahargu, Mihkel Kruut from Edivere village and many others also treated sprains. A man from the village of Savala, born in Lüganuse, Jaan Iisküll with the nickname Bone-setter Jaan and Savala Jaan (the name comes from the place), was so well known and famous that the learned doctors sued him. Jaan was subjected to tests of professional knowledge, but as many healed people stood witness for him, he was allowed to continue with his occupation. According to folk tales, Savala Jaan knew how to put a hip bone in place and put broken bones in a splint. He was said to have learned wisdom from an old wise man named Isaac, whom he had visited to heal the rot caused by a snake bite. Both of Jaan's sons learned the bone-setting skills from him.

Healers with cups and blood-letters mainly belonged to the economically poorer people. In 1846 a ban came into place on the publication of the moon phases in order to find suitable times for cupping (Annus 2000), although cupping began to lose its importance only after the Second World War. Among the well-known folk singers of Virumaa, Viru Mai or Krassmann's Mai practiced cupping, and also knew how to treat animals (KKI 25, 45 (1) < Jõhvi, 1957). She got the nickname Kutsi (Doggie) Mai from singing regilaul sitting on a fence, where dogs gathered to listen to her. Singers Ann Konsa and Tääde Liisa from Atsalama village, Tauli Anne from Kantküla, and others, were also blood-letters and cup healers. The names of many are not known because people knew them by their professional names (Kupu-Kadri, Kupu-Kaarli, etc.), so they were talked about and written about as cupper + name and their real names sank into oblivion.

Here we recall another cupper Ieva Kurat (which means Ieva the Devil), who apparently knew how to turn the wind during a fire and thus extinguish it. The story about Ieva was told by Maarja Amba, a singer from Illuka in Iisaku parish who also knew how to heal and knew unique magic words. Her recollection of Ieva reveals the life of cuppers and introduces the tools they used.

> Ieva Kurat was an old maid, a bit promiscuous. Drank a lot of vodka and roamed about with men…. She always had money to buy vodka, she was a cupper. She went around a lot, there she went to the Russian side in Vihtse and still earned five kopecks on the horn. A young boy had put eighteen horns on his back and then jumped into the river, into the river Vihtse. The horns all came off and disappeared, Ieva missed the horns. Then she tried to get new ones; I also gave old animal horns from here. Ieva cut off the thin end, put a raw hide, or pleura, on it, and poked thin holes with a needle. Thus, the new cup horns were back again.
>
> Cupping is used against bad blood. If the head or neck vessels hurt, or when bleeding. Kriisa Katri cuts with a knife, it hurts, but Ieva had a machine, it created a hole. (ERA II 166, 117/8 (32) < Jõhvi parish, 1938)

Local women acted as midwives, some of whom had been trained in courses and who, apart from helping mothers give birth, had other medical knowledge or knew how to prepare medicines, such as Sibula Mari from the village of Vitsik. Roosi Miili (the nickname Roos (Rose) is associated with erysipelas while Miili is short for Emily), a midwife from the village of Ohakvere, was also known as a rose inflammation doctor and sprain healer. Her medical techniques were old-fashioned: words were read over the rose and black sheep's wool was put onto it; black yarn was tied around a *nari* (inflammation of the tendon sheath) to accompany these words.

Colourful stories have been told about Juuli Juuli, a charmer from Finland, a person of poor fortune who, if insulted, could send death to a person or animal. Juuli was feared because it was said that her charms came true.

Loviisa Mahmastol, a singer and healer, kept the old customs for a long time. When planting cabbage, she placed a stone on top of the vegetable bed in the belief, based on analogy magic, that the cabbage heads would be as strong as the stone. When making bread she hid the bread-making from the eyes of strangers as the influence of a stranger on bread-making was to be avoided. Loviisa treated erysipelas and domestic animals but possessed another skill less practiced in the 20th century, that of reconciling troubled married couples. Loviisa Mahmastoli's native language in her childhood was Russian, and possibly some of these customs came from Russian Baltic Finnic culture.

New and old traditions were mixed when searching for a thief, for example cards were laid and the thief was seen in a photograph or in magnetised water. Jaan Rebane from Jõhvi was a skilled thief spotter who also treated toothache and erysipelas using words. He was also a blood-letter and could cause bodily trouble to an angry enemy using words and rituals.

Pouliine Kiiver, a singer from Iisaku Metsküla village, tells the story of visiting Rebane, which is especially figurative in that the move was driven not by necessity, but by pure human curiosity. At the same time we can see that Rebane is governed by patterns of appropriate action that conform to an accepted sense of what is fitting and right. Agents with this kind of understanding recognise when they or others behave wrongly, although to some extent he was still obliged to do what client asked him to do. Only the end of story – 'do you want to see the back of the man' – can be interpreted as his intellectual opinion, and could also be an act of mocking the visitor:

> There was a man living in Jõhvi, Rebane, and he also did tricks, now he's dead. He medicated with earth herbs, and if something was stolen from someone, then he let this person look into a glass of water – the figure of the thief came into it, you could see, no matter was he known or unknown. I was interested in it, I went to Jõhvi, looked for Rebane. A man and a woman came out of his house, got on the wagon and drove away, so I was left alone with Rebane. His ceiling and walls were filled with bunches of plants, all kinds. Then he said, "What do you have?" "There is something to talk about. My servant got a child, I want to find out with whom, she herself does not disclose it."
>
> He said, "Let her know herself, what need is to know?"

I demanded to know "Do you think about your husband?"

"Not at all. I just want to know who this has happened to."

"All right, then."

He took a glass of water from the cupboard, rinsed it over with water. Took a bucket of water, brought water from the well, poured it into a glass, asked for my ring, dropped it into the middle of the glass, into the water. Then asked my name and the name of my mother, the name of the girl and the girl's mother. He took the glass in his hand, put it to his mouth and read loudly into the glass, everything I heard myself, the names of mothers and the names of daughters were also among them. Then he put the glass on the table, himself looked in for a little time, chuckled and pushed the glass in front of me: "Look well into the ring!"

I looked, saw nothing.

"Don't be afraid, look bravely!"

I looked. The figure of a small man was inside the ring. Wearing a brown jacket, I couldn't see his face.

He said, "Do you want to see the back?"

"I don't care. I want to see the place where they were together."

He read something and looked inside the glass again. It was our own house, with a sweep well in the yard.

First, I didn't want to look. I said, "There will be no obligation, I just want to follow the folk tale."

Then it started and I could see. He didn't take much money, and I thanked him. I drove home calmly. It is truly true. (KKI 31, 281 < Iisaku, 1960)

Lore indicates that the visits of hypnotists, eye healers, clairvoyants, card sages and fortune tellers caused excitement in the village. Hypnosis was used to a small extent by several folk doctors, sometimes included in the medicinal rite so that the sick person could not later determine whether the pain was taken away by words, the medicine received, or a short hypnotic sleep. Visiting hypnotists were highly honoured.

FOUR PORTRAITS

1. HUNDI KUSTAS, WOLF KUSTAS, WITCH HERDERS

Narrative lore relating to folk doctors is the same across almost all of Estonia, with the medical techniques mediated in them, the aetiology of diseases and the tales of the wise people having notable similarities. Stories found in Estonia about powerful witch herdsmen and shepherd doctors' repertoires is more Eastern and Slavic-influenced. The shepherds in eastern Estonia were men; they were in charge of the livestock of all the families in a village, which they had to protect and herd. The shepherd was usually chosen at a meeting of farmers, with one of the requirements

being that the shepherd should know herding magic and spells to ward off wolves. Along with socio-economic changes, the need for adult shepherds disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century, which caused the tradition to fall back into obscurity and this rich motif to fade away.

The legends and beliefs of witch herders extended from Virumaa to Tartu County and were known in the area of northern and eastern Estonia. The main characters of the tales were professional shepherds, holders of herding witchcraft, who were able to call out wolves or serpents. During quarrels between them, wild animals were sent to devastate each other's flocks. (Special wolf-witches, witches who were proficient in incantations, can also be found in the Swedish-influenced areas of western Estonia, where one person famous for this was Varg-Jaak, Jaak the Wolf, (see Kõiva 2017).)

Quite a lot of stories have been written about Hundi Kusta, who was a bachelor and who, according to legend, had a wolf whistle and a serpent whistle with which he could call these animals to him, as well as the corresponding charms. Kusta was able to lure out a worm that had invaded a person, cure erysipelas, stop bleeding, but also prevent water from boiling. Other important knowledge he had was how to heals wounds form whipping. The last public beatings of adult men took place in 1905 when the landlords called in the Russian army, the Black Hundred, to help quell Estonian riots. Taking away whipping pain, which not all healers knew, was an old 19th century skill used when landlord punished peasants. Kusta read words over those who were punished by beating.

There are also several stories of his skills being tested. This is common folklore in, for example, heavenly letters and manuscripts of charms (in Western Europe called the Black Book) or in charms against shooting or bullets: "I then brought the hoops and said that I wanted to feel if it could be without pain. He then hit the left arm once and his right arm twice – it didn't hurt." (KKI 24, 470 (8) < Jõhvi, 1958)

According to the lore, Hundi Kusta did not allow the killing of serpents, justifying his prohibition by stating that each building has its own serpent (ERA II 125, 111 (28) < Iisaku parish, 1935). There is an opinion in the older religious strata that the soul of a household fairy is a family member who had previously lived in a house or died in a house and could have been incarnated as a serpent (Loorits 1951: 243-244). Killing of serpents as prohibited by folk doctors, especially snake bite healers. This related to the folk code of ethics, while the ban was also treated as a kind of agreement between the doctor and the animal, a rule that belongs to the ethical discourses surrounding the profession of healer.

Kusta, who called the serpent after ordering, had to go through a tense situation based on a folk tale:

> Hundi Kusta then something mumbled to himself. And the serpent came. It immediately came into the rye seeds, the seeds moved in two directions, the seeds were a bit low, you could see how the serpent was crawling right along the path. Kusta stretched out his hand and the serpent coiled itself on the path. Where the men jumped up and shouted: "Kick up the serpent!"
>
> "Don't touch!" says Kusta, "it will be my death if you touch him."

> But the men don't listen to Kusta, they still squirm and shout: "Give the
> serpent pain! Why is he lying here!"
> Kusta said "shoo, shoo" twice and the serpent escaped. After that Kusta
> said to the men: "If you had touched it, it would have been my death."
> (RKM II 380, 232 < Iisaku, 1983.)

In Ida Viru County, a well-known eye healer, Piira Jüri, was a herder. He got his
nickname from his ability to draw imaginary boundaries with a stick around the herd
before leaving it. After reading the words, he left, but the animals, with the help of
this skill, remained in place and there were no accidents with them. In a fit of anger
or after a bet, he could conjure up any image in front of people's eyes: sometimes it
was serpents crawling out of the forest in hordes, other times it was water flowing
along the Kuremäe road, which forced women people on the road to raise their skirts
so that they wouldn't get wet. Both motifs are known all over Estonia as legends.

2. VIILIP KLAAS, A MAN OF MUSIC AND AN EDUCATION ENTHUSIAST

Viilip Klaas (22 Oct. 1857–20 May 1917) was a tailor, folk healer, poet, musician and
enthusiast of the education movement as well as a local correspondent for the folklore
archive. His biography is a real mixture of the typical and the peculiar. He had a
mobile lifestyle due to his profession as a tailor, hobbies in literature and music, and
brought innovations to the village community.

Klaas' family history talks about two sons being born to Jaan (1768–1837), who
first worked as a farm cottar and later as a tailor in Kõldu village, Kavastu commu-
nity, Haljala parish. Both sons also became tailors, tailor Rein and tailor Ants, and
lived in small houses next to each other on the edge of the village. The tailor Rein
(1809–1867) was the first in the area to have glass windows, so locals called him the
glass tailor ('klaasirätsep') to distinguish him from his neighbour. After the giving of
surnames in Estonia (1816), the entire family took the name Klaas.

The records sent to the Folklore Archives show that the fifth child of tailor Rein
and his wife Miina (b. 1824), a son Philip, was born on 22 October 1857. The manor
records from 1866 show a Philipp Klaas, and it is likely that he used Philipp before
then too. Rein Klaas died of an infectious disease when his son Viilip was ten years
old (RKM II 321, 154/66 < Haljala 1976). Viilip was interested in music from a young
age, learned to play musical instruments and practiced the trumpet in nearby forests:

> He attached music to the low branches of the tree and began to toot while
> on his knees. The road from Viilip's home led out of the village to the post
> road. One Sunday morning, Viilip was busy blowing instruments in the grove
> when some village women hurrying to church greeted him. The musician
> did not notice his surroundings. Soon a rumour spread in the village that
> the madman had been in the forest, kneeling on the ground in front of a tree
> and blowing a trumpet. (RKM II 321, 154/66 < Haljala 1976)

Viilip moved with his mother and sister soon after this incident to Kose parish for ten years to his elder brother Jaan. Here Viilip learned the tailor's trade and also married. After the death of his wife and child, Viilip first moved back to his home village, but then moved to Crimea[1] to his brother Peter. After falling ill, he returned from Crimea to his birthplace and again began to earn a living as a tailor. Apart from the tailor's trade, Viilip Klaas was a helpful and valued village doctor who treated the sick with water, water vapor, wraps, charms and herbs. Of the plants, he often used chamomile and made chamomile compresses. He used a bag of hot oats against pneumonia, compresses of mezereum bark against blistering disease (the then popular name for a tumour and several other serious diseases). In addition to his inherited traditional knowledge, he learned medical knowledge from publications.

Viilip's attitudes are characterised by the fact that he did not eat pork or fatty foods, but preferred vegetarian dishes. For his medical treatment, he received land in the village of Kõldu, where he built a small dwelling house. His fee was generally limited to butter and milk.

Photo 1. Viilip Klass, folk healer, folklore collector. Crop extracted from main photo, magnification approximately two times). From a group photo sent by J. A. Reepärg. ERA, photo 1226.

Viilip Klaas also sent poetry to the folklore archives, but his musical hobby is even more significant. He compiled a book of fifty musical pieces and taught young people how to play and write music, helped some young men in military service earn their daily bread as members of military bands. In his old age, Viilip Klaas played the violin at village parties and, when visiting farms, always carried a wooden flute in his pocket with which he loved to make music. He conducted the Kavastu Choir, created tunes for amateur plays, taught songs and also directed plays.

He died on 20 May 1917. The following line of events is confusingly similar to a classical folk tale motif, although it is told neither as fiction nor fantasy among local people. He bequeathed his house to his godson, while his old fur coat was bequeathed to a good acquaintance, a local bathhouse servant, with the wish that the new owner would keep the coat carefully. The idea of this desire was understood too late. The fur coat had already been given away to an old textile merchant (a travelling merchant, Seto by background), who sold pots brought from Võõpsu, bought up tekstiles and

took them to the Räpina paper mill. Viilip kept his gold and money sewn into this fur coat. The travelling merchant was sought, but to no avail.

3. JAKOB LOBJAKAS, MEDIATOR OF MODERN TREATMENTS

The spread of modern treatment techniques to villages can be clearly traced back to the beginning of the 20th century when a few esoteric teachings were spread on an extensive and initially poorly covered topic. Because of this we have insights into the use of innovative techniques on a case-by-case basis, using the notes of Julius Aleksander Reepärg (see more Kõiva 2017). In 1931, he went through a novel course of treatment, describing in his diary his treatment of and that of his family in detail as well as the conversations between him and the healer during treatment. These notes reveal the doctor's experiences and to some extent his worldview, as well as the healer's explanations and views of his patients, so-called folk doctor's patient lore (there is very little research on this interesting topic).

Jakob Lobjakas travelled from Tallinn to Virumaa to help local people. He had a house on the site, donated by a grateful female patient. In addition to the massage and so-called electrotherapy that the collector (a teacher in the local school) and his wife received for a couple of weeks, we learn the following about medical techniques:

> Here in the vicinity (Ahuaia, on Sakre Marta farm) there is a vessel masseur (vessel kneader), Mr Jakob Lobjakas, who is already about 80 years old. He has been treating people for about 50 years and healed many. His way of treating is 'luomulik', i.e. natural, as he himself calls it. With his fingertips, he locates the diseased areas in the veins and body, and then begins to knead and rub them well. If the vessels are soft, he lets electricity into the body. To do this, he has a small electric machine that he calls an "electric apparatus". If the disease is more severe, then in addition to kneading, use some other means (warm oat bags, warm bottles, which is also a part of local common knowledge) are used. 'Natural' is similar to medicating because it is not medical drugs that are used here, but the help is received so that the blood can run faster and then spread the disease bacilli. The human body must repair itself, is the credo of the healer. (ERA II 197, 427/31 < Haljala, 1938)

Let us continue with diary notes describing the procedures. On Saturday, 17 January 1931, Reepärg noted:

> After school, I went to Mr Lobjakas again, who gave me an electric bath. The water – boiled with various herbs – was about 30°. I was on my back in the bath, just my head out of the water. He put one electric bar into the water, he held the other in his hand, and through his hand let electricity into my head, neck, shoulders, etc. I also held a second bar on my body, which was, of course, out of the water at that time. When I was in the water, the elec-

trical pull seemed to be much stronger than otherwise. I was in the water for about 20 minutes, then the water also ran down my face. When after that I crawled under the blanket in bed, where I was further treated, water ran from my body for some time. It was a 'sauna' I haven't had before! He promised me another one. (ERA II 197, 427/31 < Haljala, 1938)

Photo 2. J. A. Reepärg records stories from Jaan Muruväli. ERA, photo 8111.

Reepärg worked as a schoolteacher and lived in the schoolhouse. He calls Lobjakas before the start of the sessions "there is a vessel kneader in the vicinity (in Ahuaia on Sakre Marta farm)", who uses some additional tools for more serious illnesses.

From the discussion between patient and healer it appears that Lobjakas has had contact with medicine, but for most of his life he has been active in other areas and in old age started to heal again. During state service Lobjakas was a vet in St Petersburg, and later traded as a travelling merchant with medical drugs while travelling around the country. During his life, he ran a shop, did masonry work, and held other occupations. His discourse on disease-health is peculiar, it contains old and new models of explanation: for example, the belief that if a person's blood is made to flow more quickly because of better work of the heart and veins, then the "little creatures of the disease" will move away from the sick place. To achieve this, massage and self-massage with the help of handy means are important. He further explains diseases by the so-called slime-like substance that accumulates at the ends of the bones, which, when calcified, causes ailments and which he can clean by rubbing. The electric therapy belongs to the fashion trends of the beginning of the century. He also uses hydrotherapy (Kneipp and kneipping were popular at the beginning of 20th century in Estonia). Lobjakas thought of the evil eye, and Earth and Wind, as the origins of disease. In general, however, the explanations are quite old and indicate a good knowledge of folklore, although in many ways he belongs among the so-called modern doctors who received complaints in newspapers (Jakob Lobjakas 1934). Again, we have reason to think about ethics and appropriate action as during curing sessions Lobjakas discussed patients sexual orientations and more, which might be one of the ways in which gossips spread in society.

4. ALLIKA ELLA

Ella Asnaurjan (1903-?) was a herbalist and human and animal healer. As a representative of the traditional line of healers, she had in mind the older techniques, the wisdom of her maternal grandmother. The Folklore Archive has the following description:

> When I was young, my stomach often hurt. My mother said to me: "Get in bed, spread your arms like a cross, spread your legs to both sides!" I stretched. Mother started measuring with her hand from the big toe of the left foot to the longest finger of the right hand, then from the big toe of the right foot to the longest finger of the left hand. In this way, she measured crosswise three times. Her hands had power. (RKM II 330, 242 (29) < Iisaku, 1983.)

E. Asnaurjan – known locally as Allika Ella – measured the bear's tracks with wax and separated three bands of *vaenuköis* (in folk belief the souls of dead people; actually trainds of gnat larvae (*Sciara militaris*), 'army worm', which move around in 15 cm long chains (Viires 2007; Hiiemäe 1984). According to folklore, untying a chain of worms gave the hands healing powers. Measuring a child (and also adults) is an internationally known traditional treatment technique.

Ella's sister Alma also possessed some medical wisdom:

> But then our Alma began to boil the medication herself, boiled the camomile and horsetails, boiled for five minutes. She cooled the potion, stuck a sick hand into it, kept it inside, I don't know how long. It was done for three days. Then the sick man pulled his hand up high like that. Then the other (Alma, I think) grabbed this swelling with her fingers, pulled it out with a jerk. There was such a tumour, in branches, with nine branches, as I remember. The hand was healed and it did not begin to grow elsewhere. (RKM II 380, 221/2 (29) < Iisaku, 1983.)

Ella had some knowledge of herbal medicine, but also knew how to treat complicated cases like cramps in the calf muscles and set bones in place, although she did not teach her knowledge to anyone else and kept it a secret. According to Ella, her grandmother had the so-called Monk's eye[3], or evil eye, with which she caused harm to people and animals (KKI 24, 130 (9) < Iisaku, 1957). This did not in the least prevent people from seeking help from her when they were ill.

In 1957 and 1958, while collecting folklore in north eastern Estonia, several folklorists encountered Ella. The reason was not the search for reports about her grandmother or mother, but the fact that she was a rare connoisseur of lore. At that time, more than 50 local stories were recorded from Ella, as well as songs. Later, she sent texts she had written herself to the archive. Folklorist Richard Viidalepp characterises her as a patient and good narrator (Viidalepp 2004).

Among other things, Allika Ella made predictions using hand lines and cards. She spoke of her talent as follows:

> There were a lot of people coming from far away, there was a woman from Slantsy. The nuns [from Kuremäe nunnery] sent her to me to hear what I would say to her. I have such a telepathic ability, don't know whether I have it now, but I had it before. You can talk to a person in many ways, but something in me forces you to speak in one way. Before you start predicting, talking to a stranger, you will immediately see what kind of person he or she is, what he or she loves and wants. (RKM II 330, 213 (21) < Iisaku, 1982.)

Photo 3. Ella Asnaurjan (left) with Kai Allikas and sister. Private collection,. AMERA, photo 8111.

Another characterisation of her talent is valuable because it shows her interpretation and the old and new explanatory models that she used: "I think that inside the Earth there are such forces, they convey further like radio. The stone has the power of attraction inside, the stone passed it on to me. I stood by the stone." RKM II 330, 213 (21) < Iisaku, 1983.

The latter explanation is characteristic of physicians of the second half of the 20th century and persons with miraculous abilities, who often associate their perceptions and knowledge with signals and influences emanating from nature. Ella Asnaurjan, according to folklore notes, also treated herself. We see that in one family, abilities were realised over generations in rather divergent directions.

According to beliefs, the profession of doctor was not at all easy but brought with it a difficult fate and suffering in old age. In the view of folklore carriers, abilities were lost as they lost teeth and their health deteriorated. Only a completely healthy and viable person could successfully heal and help others (Kõiva 1995; in Slavic cultures Agapkina in this volume, Mencej 2017, Blecourt 1999, etc).

DISCUSSION: WHO FOLK HEALERS ARE, IN THE MIDDLE OF SEVERAL WAVES OF GLOBALISATION

A symbol of the global new religious movement is the restoration process of earlier symbols and ethnic religion as a part of national culture, incorporating dialogue into the very notion of understanding and using healing skills.

In Estonia a memorial was built in 1990 under the leadership of the heritage protection movement and local heathens in Virumaa to honour the witch Kongla Ann, who was burnt in 1640 (Kongla Ann 2006). It is possible from the protocols of witch trials and church visits to know something of the activities of folk doctors during the 17th century.

The relationship between folk medicine and official medicine is flexible. The practice of folk medicine is universal in nature, it has integrated handy techniques from the official medicine and trends of the era. Various drugs are used and the techniques that have justified themselves in the tradition retain their place in this practice. An important role in shaping the use practices of folk medicine is played by specialists in their field, such as sages and doctors, who introduce innovations, venerate old knowledge and preserve older techniques.

The 20th century was marked by a more intense integration of new knowledge that came from the esoteric schools, printed books, alternative and complementary medicine. With the globalisation of culture starting in the 19th century many new cultural elements spread to Estonia, for example esoteric teachings, Chinese medicine, Ayurveda, music therapy, plant therapy, floral and aromatherapy, making healing ointments based on new trends, developing the holistic side of humans.

This process reveals a transitional area where knowledge of formal biomedicine, pluralistic alternative and complementary medicine is mediated into the general practice of folk medicine. Knowledge of folk medicine is enriched because of the process with new concepts, treatments and drug solutions. At the same time, not everything is integrated, the rest exists as an independent complementary practice. Cosmopolitan medicine (cf. Dunn 1976; Tan 1989) is a feature of formal institutional medicine and is characterised by the wide spread of Western medical information.

This is evidenced by treatment programs that are advertised as a continuation of traditional medicine: courses teaching the indigenous local sauna culture, plant therapy and healthy eating, self-immersion in natural places that allow recovery from urban stress, etc (Kõiva 2017a). At the same time, the old universal techniques of trained medicine can also be valued as a local indigenous tradition. For example, the Harmonikum Health Centre blog advertises several older therapies that have received new reviews: "We had our own methods of influencing the energy channels. One of them was honey massage, the other was old Estonian massage, massage of vessels, and the third is hirudotherapy [leeches]" (Lill 2017).

The cultivation, processing and marketing of medicinal plants means the invention of new plants into food culture and herbalism and the translation of plant knowledge into a different cultural space. For example, Katrin Luke Karepa's medicinal plant farm has become an important spiritual centre. Stressing the importance of plant

power, Katrin Luke provides new food plants (for example wild leek) and plant information (novel plant mixtures for making tea from domestic and foreign species, ointments based on spruce resin, etc.) in northern Estonia and more widely. She also participates as a phytotherapist in the study programs at the School of Indigenous Wisdom and Folk Medicine.
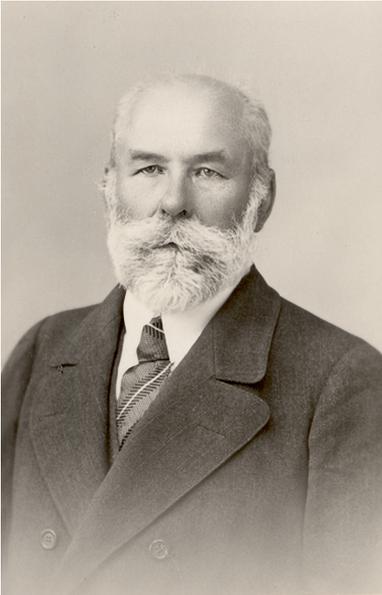

Photo 4. Aleksei Lesk. Photo from Estonian Folklore Archives.

Speaking about changes in official medical system, during the 20th century official medical system integrated services like cupping, bloodletting, dental treatment, joint placement, pain treatment, massage, hydrotherapy, and mud treatment (the list is much longer). It ment turn in folk medicine, there distance healing with prayers and incantation got bigger importance.

From the side of healers it needed adaptation, belief in the possibilities of folk medicine, empirical verification of knowledge and a creative and selective approach. Having discovered their healing abilities, many of them took the medical profession as their mission, testing and exploring the limits of their abilities. They made observations on the origin, nature and sequelae of diseases developing ethical standards appropriate to the profession (refraining from predicting calamities, insisting on helping all those in need, being selective about magic, etc.).

Belief in oneself and the supernatural was one side of the coin, the other side being the traditional beliefs that persisted and the difficult access to medical care at the time.

I would like to turn back to my favourite healer, Tiitsu Seiu, who, in his fifties, began to practice hypnosis and spiritualism, buying up books and observing what others were doing. He writes: "Sometimes I got the truth, sometimes I got lies." (Kõiva 1989) Like many healers he had also practiced identifying thieves using water, although this didn't work as he judged himself too weak because of failures using this technique. We can also see flexible borders between imagination, feelings and responsibility.

The majority of healers intellectually constructed their norms and duties, although they did this in collaboration with their community as a co-agent in the process. They were complicated personalities, with their good and bad sides, faith and truth.

NOTES

[1] The Crimean Estonians were an ethnic group of Estonians who migrated from Estonia to the Crimean peninsula in the Tauria Governorate of the Russian Empire during the 19th-century resettlement movement. According to August Nigol, in 1918 there were six Estonian settlements in Crimea; in addition, Estonians lived in several families in each town and in several Tatar villages. There are also many Estonians in bigger cities like Yevpatoria and Sevastopol. They also founded a small Estonian society (Nigol 1918).

[2] Larger comprehensive and systematic survey initiated by Dr Talvik, the head of the Tartu Psychiatric Clinic, in the 1930s (Kõiva 2022). Unfortunately the survey remains incomplete. Data were collected only for a few regions and are unanalysed and dispersed among several archives; some of the material is in private hands Kõiva 2022.

[3] Kuremäe Convent, located in the centre of Kuremäe, was established in 1891 and is the only functioning Russian Orthodox nunnery in Estonia.

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SOURCES

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BIO

Mare Kõiva is research professor of the Department of Folkloristics at the Estonian Literary Museum; her research area are charms, healers, and folk religion.

Email: mare@folklore.ee

ORCID: 0000-0003-3769-3878

BOOK REVIEW

Aigars Lielbārdis. 150. Kolekcija. Buramvārdi. Sērija: LFK krājums. IV / Collection 150. Charms. ALF Collection IV, Rīga: LU Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts, 2020, 216 pp.
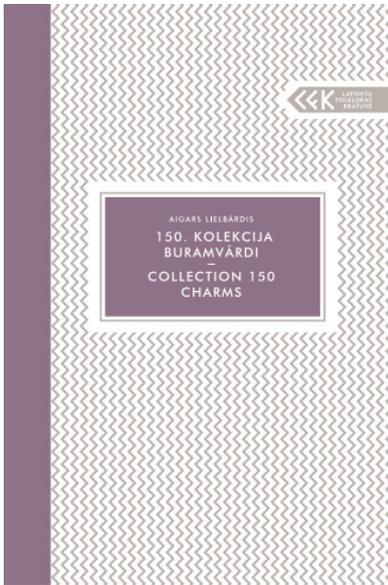
Aigars Lielbārdis' 'A Collection of Charms: Collection 150' presents an overview of Latvian research history into charms, giving the most important information on each type. The book is bilingual (Latvian with English translation) and is divided into two parts. The first part contains a history of Collection 150, which deals with the content and the specifics of Latvian charms. The second part is a catalogue of over 4,700 charms found in the collection (which was compiled between 1926 and 2019, although the oldest charm dates from 1860).

Anna Bērzkalne (1891–1956), the Latvian teacher and folklorist who founded the Archives of Latvian Folklore in 1924, initiated the collection of charms in Latvia, calling for help from schools and various organisations and collecting around 54,000 texts. The first publication of Latvian charms, also bilingual (Russian–Latvian), was compiled by Fricis Brīvzemnieks (or Fricis Treilands, 1846–1907) and contains 663 charms. An important landmark in the systematisation and publication of charms came with Karlis Straubergs' (1890–1962) publication of *Latviešu buramie vārdi* ('Latvian Charms') between 1939 and 1941. The number of recorded and published texts indicates that charms were important in healing, were well-known, and that the level of pre-war research was high.

Most of the texts in Collection 150 contain not only charms but also 'heavenly letters', a form brought to Latvia by the Herrnhut religious movement during the 18th century. These 'letters' consist of a celestial inscription with religious content, and at the end of the text, charms and descriptions of various folk remedies. Heavenly letter are handwritten pieces of paper that also contain some religious stories and a list of the happy and unhappy days throughout. In some instances people added their own charms at the end of these texts. Special rules applied to these letters that asked the

receiver to re-write and pass them on, making them similar to chain letters (also an old branch of written folklore that asked people to re-write a short text in give or six copies and send them to the friends, warning that not doing so could bring bad luck.

The first mention of a celestial letter in Latvia dates back to 1688. A document from the Riga City Archives states that a tailor brought the letter from Germany to protect people from fire and help during childbirth. The current book describes how soldiers took such documents with them when they left for military service and copies of the manuscript were found among the personal belongings of Latvian soldiers during the Second World War. This information is a good basis for comparative study of the protective manuscripts used in different parts of Europe.

Lielbārdis outlines how charms were used in many everyday areas of life both for healing, farming and balancing social relationships (for example love words and words against the evil eye), for communication with wild animals, or against accidents (such as fire). The size of the functional groups of spells gives an idea of what diseases and troubles were most important for people at that time. The charms spread in different forms, for example written charms with combinations of letters, crosses and circles; palindromes were also widespread. Especially popular were palindromes against fire and diseases such erysipelas. Charms against pain and bleeding, both of which allude to biblical stories, were also popular. Lielbārdis also introduces charms in the style of folk songs featuring Latvian mythological characters (Laima, Mara, the sons of God).

The work done by Aigars Lielbārdis is a good addition to study in the field, including new theoretical views on the oral and written tradition. He proposes that written incantations are more variable than oral ones because writing causes omissions or changes in words, orthography and accents.

The catalogue that makes up the second part of the book lists texts included in the collection with all kind of metadata: the original owner of the document, topographical data gained from the document, date of collection, etc. It is essential to note that Collection 150 covers only some of the known Latvian charms, one must also take into account the LFA incantation card index (LFK *buramvārdu kartotēka*), which currently holds references to 19,552 of the 54,000 collected texts (the index was initiated by Strauberg in 1926 and later supplemented).

The important result of Lielbārdis' book is a digital catalogue of Latvian charms (*Latviešu buramvārdu digitālais katalogs*) that covers Collection 150 and a digitised version of the card index. Lielbārdis' digital catalogue is searchable by categories such as functional group, type, motif, character, text.

Liisa Vesik