Incantatio

An International Journal on
Charms, Charmers and Charming

http://www.folklore.ee/incantatio
Print version
Issue 5
2017

ISNFR Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming

Incantatio

An International Journal on
Charms, Charmers and Charming

Issue 5

Editor: Mare Kõiva

Tartu 2017

Editorial contacts:
http://www.foklore.ee/incantatio
incantatio@folklore.ee
Vanemuise 42, Tartu 51003, Estonia

Supported by and affiliated to the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies (CEES, European Regional Development Fund) and is related to research projects IRG 22-5 (Estonian Research Council) and EKKM14-344 (Estonian Ministry of Education and Research).

EUROPEAN UNION
Regional Development Fund
Investing in your future

Indexed by the MLA International Bibliography.

ISSN 2228-1355

Contents

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017

Беларускі фальклор : Матэрыялы і даследаванні: зб. навук. прац. [Belarusian Folklore: Materials and Research]. Галоўны рэдактар Т. В. Валодзіна. Вып. 1–4. Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2014–2017. (Taćciana Valodzina/Tatiana Volodina)

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Reports

Charms, Charmers and Charming. International Conference (Pécs, May 15–17, 2015)

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The fifth issue of the journal Incantatio continues the publication of research articles on the broad scope of charms and charmers. This time the painstaking peer-review process selected five articles from the dozen submitted. The issue include analyses of written charming tradition and investigates chromatic beliefs and the colour system of charms. The topography of investigations covers Baltic, Balto-Finnic, Finno-Ugric and Slavic traditions.

Toms Ķencis (Rīga, Latvia) introduces a rare written Latvian fever charm featuring maidens dancing on ice. The research follows the transformation of the motif which dates back to the first half of the first millennia AD and its transmission from Syria to the Western Slavonic regions and thence to Latvia.

Tatiana Agapkina (Moscow, Russia) analyses the interconnections between texts and rituals in the example of spells against worms in wounds. The article focusses on the symbolism of spells, their motives and language as formed at the intersection of a ritual, folklore imagery and speech.

Natalia Glukhova (Yoshkar-Ola, Mari) showcases the stylistic characteristics of Mari incantations known as *шӱведыме мут*. Among their expressive means and stylistic devices, Mari incantations are rich in syntactic and stylistic means and folklore tropes. The study is based on a collection of approximately 500 incantations from different sources.

Tatiana Panina (Izhevsk, Udmurtia) analyses the colour concepts and symbolism of Udmurt healing rituals and charms. The study outlines the folk classification of medical conditions based on colour characteristics.

Irina Vinokurova (Petrozavodsk, Karelia) uses 35 Vepsian incantations devoted to snakes (published sources, archival and field materials) to delineate the structure of snake words and outline the symbolic differentiation of snakes by colour.

The issue also presents some reviews of recent books and describes the charm conference organised by Eva Pocs in Hungary.

I am very grateful to all of the authors of the research articles. My thanks also go to the anonymous reviewers of the articles and to the editorial board of the journal for their support. Special thanks to Jonathan Roper for polite and patient linguistic corrections.

Mare Kõiva, Tartu

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Panina

"RED GROWTH, YELLOW GROWTH, WHITE GROWTH…": CHROMATIC BELIEFS IN UDMURT FOLK MEDICINE AND HEALING CHARMS

Tatiana Panina

Traditional culture is one of the key factors influencing our colour perception. The present article aims to analyse the colour concepts and symbolism of Udmurt folk medicine, in particular, healing rituals and charms. Consideration is given not only to the most widespread hues and their specific meanings within magic folk poetry, but also to the combination of colours, which fulfils an important role in emphasizing the efficacy of verbal means of magic. Additionally, the study demonstrates the folk classification of medical conditions based on colour characteristics. It is concluded that colour semantics entirely depends on the pragmatic objectives of healing rituals and charms.

Keywords: Udmurts, Udmurt folklore, folk medicine, healing rituals, verbal charms, colour symbolism

INTRODUCTION

The Udmurts are one of the Finno-Ugric peoples and live mostly in the rural areas of the Udmurt Republic, which is situated in the eastern part of the Eastern European Plain between the Kama and Vyatka rivers. Compact groups of Udmurts also inhabit the bordering regions, such as Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Mari El, Perm Krai, and Kirov Oblast. The Udmurts have succeeded in preserving their language and original intangible culture. Verbal charms, which are an essential part of the Udmurt traditional culture, are of great significance for researchers as they contain traces of an archaic world view and represent ancient folk beliefs. Charms are still regarded as sacral texts by the Udmurts, and therefore they are mostly kept secret so they will not lose the magical power attributed to them.

A survey of recorded verbal charms demonstrates that the overwhelming majority are devoted to healing. In the Udmurt language they are known as *пеллялькон* or *пеллялькон кыл*, which literally mean 'a word to blow (on a patient)' as the process of charming diseases away suggests that healers blow

on their patients while whispering the magical texts. The healing charms are supposed to cure generally those medical conditions which are believed to be caused by demons of another world, evil sorcerers, or ordinary people who can either intentionally or unintentionally bring about ill health. Besides, Udmurt healing charms are also widely used to treat some medical problems attributed to non-supernatural causes, for example, warts, sties, abscesses, and bleeding. But there is one notable exception – in Udmurt folk medicine it is strictly forbidden to use charms for such infectious diseases as smallpox, measles, fever, and influenza, as verbal formulae in the mentioned cases are considered to be either powerless or even able to cause irreversible harm to patients.

Charming diseases away is still a living cultural phenomenon among the Udmurts. Up to the present day the practice has survived mostly among the rural population, but even some people living in cities do not neglect to seek charmers' help, especially when official medicine fails to cope with an illness. It is worth mentioning that, regrettably, thus far no collections of Udmurt charms have been compiled as a separate book. The sacral formulae are widely scattered in published and unpublished sources. Moreover, there is relatively scanty data available on this topic compared to other folklore texts. Thus, before starting the present research, I faced the challenge of collecting every piece of obtainable information about Udmurt healing rituals and charms. This paper is based on three different groups of sources. First, I have looked through manuscript collections stored at the folklore archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature (Izhevsk, the Udmurt Republic), the Udmurt State University (Izhevsk, the Udmurt Republic), and the Korolenko Glazov State Pedagogical Institute (Glazov, the Udmurt Republic). Second, charms for medical purposes and descriptions of healing rituals were collected from the published works by Udmurt, Russian, and foreign researchers of the late 19th century–the early 20th century (G. Y. Vereŝagin, P. M. Bogajevsky, I. Vasil'ev, B. Gavrilov, B. Munkácsi, Y. Wichmann, N. G. Pervuhin, I. S. Miheev, K. Gerd, etc.). Materials provided by contemporary scholars in their research on Udmurt folk medicine are also of great significance as they demonstrate the present-day tradition of charming (V. V. Napolskih, T. G. Minnijahmetova, E. N. Zaitseva, E. V. Chirkova). And finally, the paper is based on data I collected during my field work while interviewing the native speakers in different areas of the Udmurt Republic in the early 21st century.

THE CONCEPT OF COLOUR IN UDMURT FOLK MEDICINE AND HEALING CHARMS

The study of any cultural phenomena is inconceivable without analysis of its characteristics and attributes, for example, colour, which is not just a natural visual attribute, but rather a distinguishing feature which conveys specific meaning. In folk heritage it is supposed to be one of the most ancient symbols. Traditional culture is one the most important factors influencing our colour perception; therefore, research into chromatic folk beliefs has great significance for understanding the specifics of colour discernment. Moreover, colour concepts within folklore texts are thought to be some of the most valuable sources of information to investigate ethnic features of any indigenous society. Different folklore genres are known to retain unequal volume of cultural information, for example, more archaic texts, including verbal charms, have managed to preserve a number of basic mythic concepts. The study of chromatic beliefs in folk medicine and healing charms, in particular, reveals additional details in the traditional Udmurt world view and uncovers new semantic meanings provided by folklore texts.

In Udmurt ethnomedicine the concept of colour is principally developed in folk medical terminology: *ӟужектон* 'jaundice' is a substantive which originates from the verb *ӟужектыны* 'to become yellow', *кызымак* 'measles' comes from the Common Turkic stem *qurg'- 'to become red' (Ahmet'janov 1988: 100). Furthermore, while characterizing illnesses and evil spirits, the adjective *сьӧд* 'black' is rather widely used in the Udmurt language, for instance, *сьӧд пери* 'a black demon' (Vasil'ev 1906: 187), *сьӧдкыль* 'plague' (literally: 'black disease'), and *сьӧдпотос* 'a black abscess' (Munkácsi 1887: 181).

The typical examples can be found in many other languages, for instance, the English word *jaundice* comes from the Old French *jaunice* 'yellowness', from *jaune* 'yellow', the Russian terms *желтуха* 'jaundice' and *краснуха* 'German measles' are derived from the adjectives *желтый* 'yellow' and *красный* 'red' respectively, and the Czech word *růže* 'erysipelas' originates from *růžový* 'pink' as the common symptom of the disease is a pink-coloured rash on the skin.

Moreover, in Udmurt folk medicine colour is the main criterion for classifying illnesses belonging to one group. According to one of our respondents, *сургубат* 'a swelling, growth, tumour' can be of different colours and twelve chromatic shades can be counted:

> Горд сургубат, ӟуж сургубат, тӧдьы сургубат, пурысь сургубат, сьӧд сургубат, ну дас кык пӧртэм со.
> *Red growth, yellow growth, white growth, grey growth, black growth, well, it can be of twelve types.*[1]

When asked to explain the difference between those types of growths, the interviewee could not provide more detailed information and said that this is what is popularly believed. The archive collections also mention such forms of jaundice as *сьӧд ӟужектон* 'black jaundice', *тӧдьы ӟужектон* 'white jaundice', and *ӟуж ӟужектон* 'yellow jaundice'.[2]

The above-mentioned classification of illness is typical of not only the Udmurt tradition, but of many indigenous cultures as well. However, as opposed to the Udmurt material, the idea of illness as 'a multicoloured being' is mostly provided only in verbal charms which are supposed to be able to preserve intracultural information in maximally compressed form (Šindin 1993: 108). For instance, an English healing charm refers to barnguns of different colours:

> There were three angels come from the west, to cure [---] of the barngun, white barngun, red barngun, black barngun [---]. (Davies 1996: 25)

Polish charms for medical purpose do not provide a description of the illness's appearance, but some medical conditions are ascribed specific colours, for example, *macica* 'abdominal pains' can be yellow, red, green, and cornflower blue (Nebžegovskaja-Bartminskaja 2005: 313). The Komi-Zyryan healing charm, which circulates in mangled Russian language, is also worthy of mention:

> Сиверный **чорнэй** [*hereinafter the words are highlighted in bold type by the author of quotation.* – T. P.] бык полденный **краснэй** бык утренный бык вечерный бык чорнэй грыжа краснэй грыжа жолтэй грыжа синей грыжа белэй грыжа сякэй грыжа неси за синей горы, за окаян-море, за чорный лесы задолы и загреки (Uljašev 2011: 227).
> *The north black bull, noon red bull, morning bull, evening bull, black hernia, red hernia, yellow hernia, blue hernia, white hernia, any hernia, take [them] away to the other side of a blue mountain, to the other side of an ocean and sea, to the other side of the black forests, to the other side of the valleys, and to the other side of the rivers.*

FORMULA OF 'THREADING COLOURS' IN UDMURT CHARMS

Researchers note that using colours to classify medical conditions is typical of all Slavic charms. The specialist in Serbian folk culture L. Radenkovič introduced the term 'threading colours' to describe the phenomenon of listing chromatic features of ailments in healing incantations (Radenkovič 1989: 123).

In contrast to Slavic charming tradition, where the formula of 'threading colours' is characteristic of many functional groups of charms, in Udmurt folk

medicine it is used only in charms for the evil eye and witchcraft and composes the key part of those verbal means of magic:

> Сьӧд синмыныд, горд синмыныд, ӵуж синмыныд, вож синмыныд куке сьӧд мунчоез, огпол учкыса, тӧдьы ке карид, соку (нимзэ верано) син мед усёз.
> *When you have a look at a black bath-house with your black eyes, red eyes, yellow eyes, and green eyes and make it white, only then you will be able to cast the evil eye on (the name of the patient)*. (Perevozčikova 1982 (1): 148–149)

> Ӵуж муртлэн, горд муртлэн, сьӧд муртлэн, тӧдьы муртлэн син усем талы. Кызьы нимыз? Куке вумурт чиньыез ӧгыны шедьтӥзы, соку талы син мед усёз. Тьфу, тьфу. Эмез-юмез та медло!
> *A yellow person, a red person, a black person, and a white person have cast the evil eye on this human. What is his/her name? When they are able to chop a stone finger, only then they will be able to give the evil eye to this person. [Spitting twice]. May it be cure-remedy!*[3]

> Куке лыз, вож, сьӧд, курень синъёсыз тодӥд; куке сизьымдон сизьым нюлэскись писпу йылэз тодӥд; куке возь вылысь сизьымдон сизьым турлы сяськаез тодӥд; куке пӧсь корт, пӧсь из вылэ сялӟыны быгатӥд – соку син мед усёз (нимзэ верано со муртлэсь).
> *When you know [all] blue, green, black, and brown eyes; when you know [all] treetops from seventy-seven forests; when you know seventy-seven different kinds of wildflowers; when you are able to spit on hot iron and a hot stone – only then you will be able to cast the evil eye on (the name of a sick person).*[4]

Moreover, the phenomenon of listing an evil person's eye colours was believed to have magic powers to cure the sick. For instance, a healing charm can only comprise the announcement of possible causes of a patient's illness:

> Син усьыку, тазьы верано шуыса кылэме вань: «Лыз син усем, сьӧд син усем, вож син усем» шуыку, гурыме пыласькем вудэ пазяно. Озьы куинь пол вераса пазьгоно.
> *I have heard that when somebody receives the evil eye, one should say: 'A person with blue eyes has cast the evil eye* [literally: blue eyes have fallen down [on the patient]–T.P.]*, a person with black eyes has cast the evil eye, and a person with green eyes has cast the evil eye' and dash the water that a sick person washed with into a stove. One should repeat the charm and dash the water three times.*[5]

> Ӵуж синь усем, вож синь усем, лыз синь усем, сьӧд синь усем. Кӧче гынэ синь вань – ваньмызлэн синьмыз усем!
> *A person with yellow eyes has given the evil eye, a person with green eyes has given the evil eye, a person with blue eyes has given the evil eye, and a person with black eyes has given the evil eye. People with whatever colour eyes have given the evil eye!*[6]

In some verbal charms this formula could appear only in the final part of the text and was aimed to increase the efficacy of the healing rite:

> Куке гур вылэ гон потйз, сокы мед син усёз та адями вылэ но; куке андан вылэ синзэс уськытозы, сокы мед синзэс уськытозы та адями вылэ но; куке пылез кырымтыр кырмын быгатод, сокы син мед усёз та адями вылэ но. Ӵуж син, вож син, тӧдьы син, сьӧд син, горд син.
> *When fur grows on a stove, then may this person receive the evil eye; when they give the evil eye to steel, then may they give the evil eye to this person; when you are able to clutch a fistful of dust, then may this person receive the evil eye. Yellow eyes, green eyes, white eyes, black eyes, and red eyes.*
> (Vereŝagin 1889: 38)

> Ӵуж син, вож син, чагыр син, лемлет син. Эмез-юмез та медло.
> *Yellow eyes, green eyes, blue eyes, and pink eyes. May it be a cure-remedy.*[7]

In Udmurt healing rituals, threading evil eye colours through charms intends to identify every possible person who could consciously or unconsciously harm other people. It is regarded as a specific way of revealing who is to be blamed for problems with health. Establishing the cause of illnesses is supposed to be one of the most significant elements of folk healing rituals. The following verbal charm also pursues the aim to list all imaginable people and beings who can cast the evil eye:

> Пиёсмурт урод синмын учкем, кышномурт урод синмын учкем; ӟуч урод синмын учкем, ӟуч кышно урод синмын учкем; пор урод синмын учкем; тушмон урод синмын учкем.
> *A man possessing the evil eye glared [at the patient], a woman possessing the evil eye glared [at the patient]; a Russian man possessing the evil eye glared [at the patient]; a Russian woman possessing the evil eye glared [at the patient]; a Mari person possessing the evil eye glared [at the patient]; an enemy [demon] possessing the evil eye glared [at the patient].*
> (Munkácsi 1887: 182–183)

It is noteworthy that the formula first mentions people of the local environment, second, representatives of other cultures perceived as hostile population, and finally, beings of the alien environment, including supernatural ones.

Unambiguously, colour in magic folk poetry is not just a neutral colour characteristic which lacks symbolic meaning. Adjectives describing eye colours in charms are discerned as neutral only when they are used separately. But if they are brought together in one sentence or text, the combination of colours emphasises their negative connotations as, for example, in the traditional formula *сьӧд син усем, горд син усем, вож син усем, ӵуж син усем*, which states literally: 'black eyes have fallen down [= harmed the patient], red eyes have fallen down, green eyes have fallen down, and yellow eyes have fallen down'. Listed in one sentence, colours become synonymous with each other and compose one semantic sequence, that is 'black = bloodshot = bilious' (Vladykina 2008: 84). Additionally, the Udmurt healing charms allude to such atypical and unnatural eyes as *лемлет син* 'pink eyes', *ӵуж син* 'yellow eyes', and *тӧдьы син* 'white eyes', which reflect not actual eye colours but rather their symbolic implication. Added to the discussed colour chain, they continue the above-mentioned semantic sequence (blue/cold/dead = pink/unnatural/alien = white/blank/lifeless), dramatizing the situation and emphasizing the sacrality of the charm.

Colours brought together create a variegated picture, but multicolouredness is considered as a negative attribute in many indigenous cultures (Sagalaev 1990; Nevskaja 1993; Uljašev 2011), including the Udmurt tradition. Brindled animals are believed to be representatives of another world, which is why it was prohibited to sacrifice them to the gods inhabiting the skies, whereas it was perfectly acceptable to offer up pied geese and ducks to *Lud*, the god of wildlife (Šutova 2001: 81). In Udmurt historical legends it was a piebald horse that was responsible for the death of a hero, defender of the Udmurts from their enemies (Vladykina 1998: 184–185). According to folk beliefs, a cuckoo flying towards a farmstead bodes ill (Vladykina 2009 (2): 278). Researchers conclude that multicolouredness is attributed negative interpretation due to the stereotype of mythological perception of colours. The other, invisible, world was associated with the unknown and with wildlife, which is visually recognized as a polychromatic picture.

The analysed characteristic is a permanent attribute of illness spirits as well. The Khanty, for example, believed that the smallpox demon *Ves Yung* looked like an ugly person wearing horrible parti-coloured clothes. In order to propitiate it, the Khanty hung a colourful piece of clothing on a bird cherry tree (Kulemzin 2000: 118). The Bashkir imagined that illnesses resembled magpies and fever wore a hat made of lynx fur (Nikonova 2000: 20). The Balto-

Slavic languages also provide evidence that illnesses were parti-coloured beings (Nevskaja 1993: 176–177).

COLOUR SEMANTICS IN UDMURT HEALING CHARMS

In folk beliefs colour is considered to be a characteristic which is attributed specific symbolic meaning. This part of the paper aims to analyse colours mentioned in Udmurt healing charms and their implications. A quantitative analysis of the magical texts reveals that the most commonly used colour in Udmurt incantations is black. This achromatic characteristic is rather typical of Udmurt folklore. However, unlike other folklore genres, in healing incantations, black expresses a relatively unambiguous and monosemantic meaning. In the vast majority of charms, black is the major characteristic of the underworld which is believed to exist simultaneously with our world and to resemble its physical environment, but is black in hue:

> Шунды сьӧры куштэм аӟдагиез, дас кык дьыро аӟдагиез куке вал карыса, дас кык дьыраз сермет поныса, вылаз пуксьыса, сьӧд Камез котыртыны быгатйд, сокы сиёд тон мынэсьтым сюлэмме.
> *When you are able to turn a twelve-headed serpent thrown far behind the sun into a horse, to put a bindle on its twelve heads, to mount it, and to ride it around the Black Kama River, then you will eat my heart.*
> (Munkácsi 1952: 160–161)

In the Udmurt culture the Kama River is only known as *Тӧдьы Кам* 'The White Kama' and associated with a great/sacral river. A dichotomous contrast between *Сьӧд Кам* 'The Black Kama' and *Тӧдьы Кам* 'The White Kama' correlates with the concept of death- and life-giving water (Vladykin 1997: 198) and may be considered as evidence of the idea that originally the world was believed to be divided not into three parts (upper, middle, and lower), but rather into two structures (the human world and the other world) (Vladykina 2009 (1): 102). Moreover, black is the main attribute of creatures inhabiting the underworld/underwater world:

> Мора шорын сьӧд ош сылэ, солэн сюр вылаз свеча жуа. Куке солэн сюр йылаз тылъяра луиз ке, соку тылъяра мед луоз.
> *There is a black bull in the middle of a sea, and a candle burns on its horns. When its horns burn, then may the patient suffer burns.*[8]

> Сьӧд ты пушкын сьӧд чорыг. Сьӧд чорыглы куке син усёз, соку син мед усёз.

> *There is a black fish in a black lake. When the black fish receives the evil eye, then may the patient receive the evil eye.* (Perevozčikova 1982 (2): 95)

Folk beliefs about illnesses and evil spirits as black beings influenced the choice of sacrifice which was offered to the demons of the underworld. In the case of illnesses, especially outbreaks of diseases, the Udmurts used to immolate black domestic animals (bulls, sheep) or birds (chickens) to propitiate spirits and gods responsible for poor health.

The majority of creatures mentioned in Udmurt healing charms–insects, birds, and animals–are of the darkest colour: the black butterfly, black raven/crow, black starling, black cockerel, black hen, black gull, black heron, black goose, black hedgehog, black frog/toad, black snake, black horse, black stallion, black cat, black goat, and black bear. Black is a unifying core which provides one semantic meaning to all of these beings.

It should be noted that the symbolism of the colour black is developed differently in Udmurt folklore genres. In recruit tunes, for instance, a black raven is a transcendental sign of approaching death, trouble, and grief, highlighting the tragedy of the situation when a conscripted soldier leaves his home and village (Arzamazov 2010: 52–53). But in the healing charms black is a marker of the underworld, emphasizing the status of the zoomorphic personages. Dependence of colour connotations on folklore genres was also studied by researchers of Russian traditional culture. Such symbolic meanings of black as death, grief, misfortune, and sorrow are typical of Russian folklore, but not of Russian verbal charms. In the magical texts black implies danger, remoteness, and the other world. Additionally, it composes part of the phrase 'a black liver' which is specific only to Russian charms for medical purposes, and while describing the human body it symbolizes the locus of the disease (Gul'tjaeva 2000: 11).

In the Udmurt charming tradition black hardly ever expresses its literal or primary meaning and denotes actual properties of the described objects. Moreover, it is rarely used within common folklore expressions in verbal charms. The main function of the colour black is related to the pragmatic objectives of the charm, that is, to defeat the illness spirit by demonstrating its weakness to fulfil conditions laid down by the charmer. As a rule, these conditions express impossibility to change the established world order, including the existing colour properties of objects:

> Сьӧд синмыныд, горд синмыныд, ӵуж синмыныд, вож синмыныд куке сьӧд мунчоез, огпол учкыса, тӧдьы ке карид, соку (нимзэ верано) син мед усёз;

Сьӧд синмыныд, горд синмыныд, ӵуж синмыныд, вож синмыныд куке сьӧд гондырез, огпол учкыса, тӧдьы ке карид, соку (нимзэ верано) син мед усёз;

Сьӧд синмыныд, горд синмыныд, ӵуж синмыныд, вож синмыныд куке вылын ветлӥсь сьӧд ӟазегез, огпол учкыса, тӧдьы ке карид, соку (нимзэ верано) син мед усёз;

Сьӧд синмыныд, горд синмыныд, ӵуж синмыныд, вож синмыныд та дунне вылын кудмында сьӧд вань, сое огпол учкыса, тӧдьы ке карид, соку (нимзэ верано) син мед усёз.

When you turn a black bathhouse into a white one, glancing at it with your black eyes, with your red eyes, with your yellow eyes, and with your green eyes, then may (the name of the patient) receive the evil eye;

When you turn a black bear into a white one, glancing at it with your black eyes, with your red eyes, with your yellow eyes, and with your green eyes, then may (the name of the patient) receive the evil eye;

When you turn a black celestial goose into a white one, glancing at it with your black eyes, with your red eyes, with your yellow eyes, and with your green eyes, then may (the name of the patient) receive the evil eye;

When you turn everything that is black in the world into white, glancing at them with your black eyes, with your red eyes, with your yellow eyes, and with your green eyes, then may (the name of the patient) receive the evil eye. (Perevozčikova 1982 (1): 148–149)

The second most common colour in the Udmurt healing charms is white, which originally symbolized cleanliness and whiteness. In spells for skin diseases such as *кормос* 'scabies, an itch', *тэйсе / тэльсе* 'cancer, a malignant tumour; a boil/abscess', *потос* 'an abscess, furuncle; a malignant tumour' the term *тӧдьы* 'white' correlates with the word *югыт* 'white/light/bright' and receives additional semantic meaning, namely 'clean/healthy':

Тоуэзь люгыт, кизили люгыт: тауэн чыртйез но люгыт!

The moon is bright, stars are light: this person's neck is also bright / clean! (Wichmann 1893: 179)

Шунды люгыт, тоуэзь люгыт, кизили люгыт: та муртлэн потосэз эбӧу ни!

The sun is bright, the moon is bright, stars are bright: this person has no abscess anymore! (Wichmann 1893: 177)

Ошмес люгыт, тоуэзь люгыт: со люгыт та муртлэн чыртйяз мед люгдоз! Тэйсеэз эбӧу ни!

> *The spring is bright / clean, the moon is bright: may their brightness light this person's neck! He / she has no abscess anymore!* (Wichmann 1893: 180)

In Udmurt folklore texts white implies irreality and sacrality. In contrast to black, which is the major colour characteristic of the underworld, white is the main characteristic of the upper, celestial world:

> Волгалэн-моралэн вожаз вож кыз вань. Со кызлэн выжыяз тӧдьы ошмес вань. Куке со тӧдьы ошмесэз быдтӥд, сокы та адямиез ведна!
> *There is a green spruce at the mouth of the Volga River-sea. There is a white spring under the spruce. When you destroy the spring, then you will be able to bewitch this person!* (Munkácsi 1887: 177–178)

> Тӧдьы Камез вамэн ӝуаса потэмед ке луиз, сокы мед ӝуалоз (висись муртлэсь нимзэ верано).
> *When you are able to turn to fire and walk through The White / Sacral Kama, then may (the name of the patient) suffer burns.*[9]

Requirements which the illness has to satisfy clearly evidence that it is powerless and helpless to damage any object of the upper world, as they are considered sacred:

> Куке шаплы шурлэн уллапал пунгаз вуид ке, отйсь тӧдьы гӧгӧрсиньлэсь йӧлзэ ке вайид, качиез мон сяйин пунгит ке ньылйд: соку си-ю та адямиез!
> *When you reach the mouth of a fast river, bring some milk of a white dove therefrom, and swallow scissors point-first like I do"; then eat and drink this person!* (Munkácsi 1952: 152–153)

The illness demon is ordered to find a white dove in the lower part of the river, i.e. the underworld, which is beyond the bounds of possibility as it does not inhabit that place.

The symbolic meaning of the colour white is also developed in attributes of healing rituals, but its semantics directly depends on the type of the conducted rite. An infant who had poor health, often felt unwell, and constantly cried was supposed to have been substituted by a fiend. The healing rite was aimed at returning the replaced healthy baby to its family:

> Уйшор уйин пиналэз куто, дӵсяло-кутчало но нуса кошко парсь кыллем интйе. Со пиналлэн мумиз, собере пелляськись кышно луэ на. Парсь кар дйне вуса, отысь парсьёсты улляло. Со парсь бервылэ пиналэз выдтыло куинь пол. Отын пелляса-мараса, пиналзэс бинялто миськем тӧдьы дйсен. Озьы вырса, кошко гуртазы, гуртэ ик вуытчозязы, нокин шоры но уг куарето.

> *At midnight a sick baby is clothed and taken to the place where pigs are kept. The mother of the infant and a female charmer [participate in the ritual]. They reach the pigs and drive them away. They put the sick baby in the pigs' place three times. At the end of the rite, they wrap the infant in clean white clothes. Then they go home and on their way they utter no sound.*[10]

This example emphasizes the possible ways of treating substituted children: symbolical/ritual defilement of the baby implied that *шайтан* 'the fiend' would not tolerate such cruel treatment of his child and would take him/her back, returning a healthy human one; ritually wrapping the infant in clean white clothes highlights the idea of his/her rebirth and transition from the state of being sick to a good physical and mental condition.

In Udmurt folk medicine white is generally used in one functional group of magical texts: verbal charms for bleeding. The most common objects of this colour are a white stone, a white linden stick, a white chimney, and white wood:

> Куке тӧдьы пуппылэн вирыз потйз, соку мед потоз. Куке тӧдьы муръёлэн вирыз потйз, соку мед потоз.
> *When a white linden stick starts to bleed, then may [a patient / cut / wound] bleed. When a white chimney starts to bleed, then may [a patient / cut / wound] bleed.*[11]

> Куке тӧдьы пыппылэн вирез потйз, соку вир мед потоз. Куке тӧдьы жӧккышетлэн вирез потйз, соку вир мед потоз. Куке тӧдьы зарезь шукылэн вирез потйз, соку вирез мед потоз.
> *When a white linden stick starts to bleed, then may [a patient / cut / wound] bleed. When a white tablecloth starts to bleed, then may [a patient / cut / wound] bleed. When white sea foam starts to bleed, then may [a patient / cut / wound] bleed.*[12]

Healing charms for bleeding implicitly demonstrate opposition between two hues–white and red. In indigenous cultures they compose an antonymous pair: white generally stands for such characteristics as clean/bright/celestial/sacral and red commonly implies coloured/unclean/dirty/otherworldly concepts (Belova 1999: 647). However, in the above-given formulas the analysed colours are attributed ambivalent meanings: red symbolizes life/full-bloodedness and white implies lifelessness/deadness/dryness.

A further analysis of the colour concept *горд* 'red' reveals that it is very scantily present in Udmurt healing charms. The situation was noted to be typical of most Udmurt folklore genres: in contrast to other hues, red is quantitatively less representative and is predominantly spread in minor folklore genres (Ar-

zamazov 2010: 59). Disregarding incantations where colours are combined to create polychromatic images, red is used only in two cases. First, red has no symbolic meaning and stands for a real visual characteristic:

> Тӧдьы пуппылэн куке вирыз потйз, тӧдьы излэн куке вирыз потйз, горд кузьылилэн куке вирыз потйз, соку тынад вирыд мед потоз.
> *When a white linden stick bleeds, a white stone bleeds, and a red ant bleeds, then may you bleed.*[13]

Second, red is used to describe not a real animal, but rather a mythological image of a bull, which was originally associated with the underworld and personifies water (Vladykin 1994: 77–80):

> Шунды ӝужанын горд ош сылэ, со ошлэн куке сюр йылаз тэльсе потйз, сокы тыныд тэльсе потоз.
> *There is a red bull in the east. When an abscess appears on its horns, then may you have an abscess.* (Zaitseva 2004: 192)

The bull's red colour in the verbal charm can be regarded as a distinguishing characteristic of a chthonian belief creature that is associated simultaneously with the productive power of the earth or water and the destructive potency of the netherworld. It is noteworthy that the red bull inhabits the east, which according to traditional world view corresponds to the concept of the starting point, origin, birth, and resurrection. In the Turkic cultures, for instance, red corresponds with new-born babies and dead ancestors, and with birth and death (Gabyševa 2009: 57).

Correlation between the red bull and the earth is also observed in an Udmurt custom to sacrifice a red animal to the god of the earth known as *Мукылчин* / *Мукылдысин* / *Мукылчин Инмар* (Munkácsi 1952: 123). The red chromatic code is not just a visual index – its semantics is determined by Udmurt mythological beliefs. In Udmurt folklore texts an image of the red bull is attributed additional symbolic meaning. For example, in folk riddles and idioms the metaphorical expression *горд ош* 'a red bull' symbolizes fire, blaze and flames (Arzamazov 2010: 59). For comparison, in Slavic verbal charms red stands for, first, the attribute of mythological personages, some animals, and illnesses; second, some objects belonging to the above-mentioned beings; and, third, some parts of the space where evil spirits are expelled (Radenkovič 1989: 136).

In Udmurt healing rituals red exhibits one of the distinguishing characteristics of applied objects. For measles, for example, a red piece of cloth had to be wrapped around a child's wrist (Zaiceva 2004: 148). The custom can be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, according to the principle of curing like with like, the Udmurts might have believed that the red patch

could 'take away' the redness of a baby's skin. On the other hand, in compliance with Udmurt folk beliefs, red is attributed apotropaic properties and is perceived as an effective cure for illnesses and the evil eye. In order to protect a new-born baby from the evil eye, for instance, a red thread or yarn was tied around the infant's right wrist (Gerd 1993: 55), or a red bead sewn on the baby's clothes was believed to protect them from rubella (Minnijahmetova 2003: 50). To charm sties away, a patient or charmer touches an infected place with their ring finger and says:

> Толэзь бертэм, шунды бертэм, кытысь ке лыктэм, отчы мед бертоз, мед кошкоз.
> *The moon has returned, the sun has returned. May the sty go back to the place where it came from*.[14]

At the final part of the ritual the ring finger on the left hand is tied with a red thread or yarn if the right eye is inflamed, or the ring finger on the right hand if the sty is on the left eye. The first part of the ritual aims at making the swelling go back to its 'home', the place where it came from. It is done with the help of the ring finger, which is attributed a specific function and ability to establish communication between the human and the other worlds in folk culture (Levkievskaja 2004: 616). Tying a thread around the finger is intended to protect a patient from potential illness in the immediate future as the taken action symbolizes the creation of impenetrable barriers which can prevent the disease from recurring. If a wrist hurt and ached, a bracelet made of red woollen rings should be worn (Vereŝagin 2000: 27). The colour red amplifies the thread's apotropaic function. The high semiotic status of the colour red in folk medicine is explained by beliefs according to which red as the colour of blood is associated with life. In traditional cultures interpretations of chromatic characteristics are based on, first, the correspondence between colours and the oppositions goodness – evil and life–death, and, secondly, on objects' connotations and assessment (Tolstaja 2002: 16).

In Udmurt charming tradition the red colour is opposed to black by analogy with the opposition weak/powerless and strong/powerful. The best charmers are believed to be people who have black hair, while red-haired people are prohibited from using spells because they are considered to be powerless to charm diseases away and charming practice even can harm them.[15]

In Udmurt incantations for medical purposes the traditional colour epithet *ӵуж* 'yellow' is the third most common hue after black and white. But it should be mentioned that this colour characteristic has gained widespread use due to healing charms for jaundice. The situation is generated by the principles of imitative magic. For example, patients suffering from jaundice were supposed

to eat a yellow butterfly (Miheev 1926: 47) or a yellow flower, or to drink an infusion made with yellow camomile,[16] believing that the yellow colour of the objects could take the disease away.[17] Typical examples of treating jaundice can be found in many indigenous cultures. The Slavic peoples, for instance, suggested that not only yellow butterflies and plants with yellow flowers, roots, and juice had curing properties, but also yellow objects and chickens with yellow legs (Usačeva 1999: 202). The same beliefs underlie the Udmurt apotropaic magic: an amber bead was sewn on a new-born baby's clothes as an amulet against jaundice (Minnijahmetova 2003: 50).

Currently all Udmurt verbal charms for jaundice retain the concept 'yellow'. In the majority of cases it emphasizes the impossibility to satisfy imposed conditions. In some magical texts it is achieved due to mentioning non-existing realia:

> Сари гондырлэн вылаз куке пукыса, куке ворттылйд, куке шедьтйд, соку пыр. Ӵуж чечеглэсь куке йӧлзэ кыскыса поттйд, куке сектаны шедьтйд ке, соку пыр. Ӵуж пужымлэн килез кызьы ке тӧласа кошке, озьы ик мед кошкоз.
> *When you are able to mount a yellow bear and ride it, then may the person develop jaundice* [literally: then enter the person]. *When you are able to milk a yellow wagtail and give it to drink [to the patient], then may the person develop jaundice. May jaundice leave the patient like tiny particles of yellow pine bark flying away with the wind.*[18]

Other healing charms present the evidence that illness is not able to change the existing world order:

> Сизьымдон но сизьым сьӧд валлэсь быжэ, ӵужектон причча басьтыса, чисто ӵуж кариз ке, соку сое мед ӵужектон басьтоз. Сизьымдон сизьым сьӧд кырныжез ӵужектон причча чисто ӵуж кариз ке, соку сое мед быгатоз ӵужектыны.
> *If jaundice turns seventy-seven black horses' tails yellow, then may the patient suffer from jaundice. If jaundice turns seventy-seven black ravens yellow, then may the patient suffer from jaundice.*[19]

In Udmurt incantations yellow is also presented as the colour of the upper/heavenly world:

> Ин пилем вылын пар ӵуж уж вань. Со ужез куке веднаны шедьтйд, сокы та адямиез ведна!
> T*here is a pair of yellow stallions above the clouds. When you are able to bewitch those stallions, then bewitch this person!* (Munkácsi 1887: 177–178)

The colour epithet *ӟуж* 'yellow' correlates with other attributes which are widespread in healing magical texts, such as iron, copper, brass, silver, and golden. They are all ascribed similar semantic meaning that is inaccessible, unapproachable, and safeguarding (Vladykina 1998: 82):

> Инмарен но пилемен вискын зарни бурдо душес улэ. Куке та зарни бурдо душесэз веднад ке, сокы та адямиез ведна!
> *There is a hawk / kite with golden wings between the God and clouds. When you bewitch this golden-winged hawk / kite, then bewitch this person!* (Munkácsi 1887: 177–178)

> Чиньыись азвесь зундэслы куке синь усёз, сокы синь мед усёз тауы!
> *When a silver ring worn on a finger receives the evil eye, then may this person receive the evil eye!* (Wichmann 1893: 173)

> Туй кульчо пыртӥ куке потыны шедьтӥд, соку сётйсько.
> *When you are able to get through a brass ring, then I will give [the patient to you].*[20]

However, in other Udmurt folklore genres, for example, folksongs, the colour yellow is deployed to express psychoemotional conditions (solitude, loneliness, melancholy), and to demonstrate beauty, wealth, and riches (Arzamazov 2008).

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, colour symbolism entirely depends on pragmatic objectives of healing rituals and charms. In the majority of cases colour epithets are attributed a symbolic meaning and provide specific semantic information, which helps to emphasize the given idea and to vividly express thoughts. The study demonstrates that Udmurt verbal charms provide additional symbolic interpretations which may differ from widespread folklore semantic connotations. The most common colour epithets used in Udmurt healing charms appear to be achromatic hues of the luminous spectrum such as black and white. The conclusion does not seem surprising, considering the fact that in traditional culture those two colours equally correlate with the invisibility of the other – inhuman – world. Red and yellow are used rather sporadically. The other colour concepts (blue, light blue, brown, green, grey, and pink) are mostly deployed in the formulae of 'threading colours' which emphasize not a separate colour, but rather their combinations, contributing, thus, to the creation of multi-coloured pictures. And only in exceptional cases colour as an object's natural visual characteristic is used in a denotational sense, developing no additional meanings. However, even in those cases colour fulfils a valuable function, that is, to adopt and develop

an idea that as evil spirits are powerless to change the colour of real objects, they are unable to threaten the existing world stability.

NOTES

[1] Mrs. Romanova K., aged 80, the village of Sep, Igra Region, Udmurtia, 2007.

[2] Folklore and Dialectological Archives of Udmurt State University. A copybook by Eshmakova N. V. pp. 9–10. The village of Uzei-Tuklya, Uva Region, Udmurtia. 2003–2004.

[3] Folklore Archives of Udmurt State University. Copybook 7. pp. 33–34. The village of Starye Yuberi, Mozhga Region, Udmurtia. 1975.

[4] Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. File 1381. Sheet 2.

[5] Folklore and Dialectological Archives of Udmurt State University. A copybook by Romanova E. N. pp. 15–16. The village of Vishur, Mozhga Region, Udmurtia. 1997–1998.

[6] Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. File 727. Copybook 2. Sheet 4.

[7] Folklore Archives of Udmurt State University. Copybook 1. p. 38. The village of Yugdon, Selta Region, Udmurtia. 1980.

[8] Folklore and Dialectological Archives of Udmurt State University. A copybook by Shklyaeva E. A. p. 4. The village of Kabachigurt, Igra Region, Udmurtia. 2003–2004.

[9] Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. File 519. Sheet 170.

[10] Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. File 519. Sheet 288.

[11] Folklore Archives of Udmurt State University. Copybook 3. Sheet 3. The village of Loloshur-Vozhi, Grakhovo Region, Udmurtia. 2003.

[12] Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. File 1381. Sheet 2.

[13] Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. File 1381. Sheet 2.

[14] Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. File 519. Sheet 170.

[15] Mrs. Korepanova G., aged 76, the village of Sep, Igra Region, Udmurtia, 2007.

[16] Mrs. Korepanova G., aged 76, the village of Sep, Igra Region, Udmurtia, 2007.

[17] Mrs. Ivanova Z., aged 86, the village of Puzhmez, Kez Region, Udmurtia, 2004.

[18] Folklore and Dialectological Archives of Udmurt State University. A copybook by Eshmakova N. V. pp. 4–5. The village of Uzei-Tuklya, Uva Region, Udmurtia. 2003–2004.

[19] Folklore and Dialectological Archives of Udmurt State University. A copybook by Shklyaeva E. A. p. 10. The village of Kabachigurt, Igra Region, Udmurtia. 2003–2004.

[20] Folklore Archives of Udmurt State University. Copybook 15. pp. 30–31. The village of Bolshaya Kibya, Mozhga Region, Udmurtia. 1977.

REFERENCES

Arzamazov, Aleksei A. 2008. Iz opyta germenevtičeskoj rekonstrukcii udmurtskih fol'klornyh edinic *ӥuž* i *vož.* In: *Vestnik Udmurtskogo universiteta. Istoria i Filologia.* 2008: 1, pp. 117–129.

Arzamazov, Aleksei A. 2010. *Fenomen vizual'nogo v sovremennoj udmurtskoj poèzii: (opyt analiza tvorčestva P. M. Zaharova.* Izhevsk: Udmurt State University; Udmurtian Institute of History, Language and Literature, Ural Divison of Russian Academy of Sciences.
http://elibrary.udsu.ru/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/6547/2011408.pdf
Last accessed September 3, 2016

Akhmet'janov, Rifkat G. 1988. *Obschaia leksika material'noi kul'tury narodov Srednego Povolzh'ia.* Moscow: Nauka.

Belova, Olga V. 1999. Krasnyj cvet. In: *Slavjanskie drevnosti: Ètnolingvističeskij slovar'.* Vol. 2. : D (Davat') – K (Kroški). Moscow: Meždunarodnye otnosenija, pp. 647–651.

Davies, Owen 1996. Healing Charms in Use in England and Wales 1700–1950. In: *Folklore*, Vol. 107, pp. 19–32.

Gabyševa, L. L. 2009. Tradicionnaja cvetosimvolika tjurkskih narodov: krasnyj cvet. In: *Aktual'nye problemy sovremennoj fol'kloristiki: Materialy meždunarodnoj naučno-praktičeskoj konferencii (Kazan', 29 ijunja 2009 g.)*. Kazan: Alma-Lit, pp. 56–58.

Gerd, Kuzebai 1993. *Čelovek i ego roždenie u vostočnyh finnov.* Helsinki: Suomalaisugrilaisen seuran toimituksia.

Gul'tjaeva, N. V. 2000. *Jazyk russkogo zagovora: leksika: Avtoref.* Ekaterinburg: Ural State University Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/10995/31613

Kulemzin, Vladislav M. 2000. Ves Jung. In: *Mifologija hantov.* Ènciklopedija ural'skih mifologij. III. Tomsk: Tomsk University Press, pp. 118–119.

Levkievskaja, E. E. 2004. Palec. In: *Slavjanskie drevnosti: Ètnolingvističeskij slovar'. Vol. 3: K (Krug) – P (Perepelka).* Moscow: Meždunarodnye otnosenija, pp. 616–618.

Minnijahmetova, Tatjana G. 2003. *Tradicionnye obrjady zakamskih udmurtov: Struktura. Semantika. Fol'klor.* Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Miheev, I. S. 1926. Bolezni i sposoby ih lečenija po verovanijam i obyčajam kazanskih votjakov. In: *Votjaki: Sbornik po voprosam èkonomiki, byta i kul'tury votjakov*. I. Moscow: Central'noe izdatel'stvo narodov SSSR, pp. 41–48.

Munkácsi, Bernát 1887. *Votják Népköltészeti Hagyományok*. Budapest: Magyar tudományos akadémia**.**

Munkácsi, Bernát 1952. *Volksbräuche und Volksdichtung der Wotjaken*. Volume 102 of Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen seura.

Nebžegovskaja-Bartminskaja, S. 2005. Šla boljačka s Bolentina… Konceptualizacija bolezni v pol'skom jazyke i v pol'skih narodnyh zagovorah. In: *Zagovornyj tekst: Genezis i struktura.* Moscow: Indrik, pp. 309–325.

Nevskaja, L. G. 1993. *Balto-slavjanskoe pričitanie: rekonstrukcija semantičeskoj struktury.* Moscow: Nauka.

Nikonova, Ljudmila I. 2000. *Ot Adama i Evy – do naših dnej: (Očerki narodnoj mediciny mordvy)*. Saransk: Mordovskoe knižnoje izdatel'stvo.

Perevozčikova, Tatjana G. 1982 (1). K voprosu ob udmurtskom narodnom stihosloženii. In: *Ob istokah udmurtskoj literatury: Sbornik statej.* Izhevsk: UIIJaL, pp. 145–151.

Perevozčikova, Tatjana G. 1982 (2). O svjazi udmurtskih zagadok s drugimi žanrami fol'klora. In: *Fol'klor narodov RSFSR*. IX. Ufa: Baškirskij Gosudarstvennyj Pedagogičeskij Universitet*,* pp. 91–97.

Radenkovič, Ljubinko 1989. Simvolika cveta v slavjanskih zagovorah. In: *Slavjanskij i balkanskij fol'klor: Rekonstrukcija drevnej slavjanskoj duhovnoj kul'tury: istočniki i metody.* Moscow: Nauka, pp. 122–148.

Sagalaev, A. M. & Oktjabr'skaja, I. V. 1990. *Tradicionnoe mirovozzrenie tjurkov Južnoj Sibiri: Znak i ritual*. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Šindin, S. G. 1993. Prostranstvennaja organizacija russkogo zagovornogo universuma: obraz centra mira. In: *Issledovanija v oblasti balto-slavjanskoj duhovnoj kul'tury.* Moscow: Nauka, 1993, pp. 108–127.
http://www.inslav.ru/images/stories/pdf/1993_Zagovor.pdf
Last accessed September 3, 2016

Šutova, Nadežda I. 2001. *Dohristianskie kul'tovye pamjatniki v udmurtskoj religioznoj tradicii: Opyt kompleksnogo issledovanija.* Izhevsk: UIIJaL.
http://udnii.ru/files/stat%60i/Shutova_Dochristianskie%20kultovye%20pamjatniki_.pdf
Last accessed September 3, 2016.

Tolstaja, Svetlana M. 2002. Kategorija priznaka v simvoličeskom jazyke kul'tury. In: *Priznakovoe prostranstvo kul'tury*. Moscow: Indrik, pp. 7–20.
http://www.inslav.ru/images/stories/pdf/2002_Priznakovoe_prostranstvo_kultury.pdf
Last accessed September 3, 2016

Uljašev, Oleg I. 2011. *Hromatizm v fol'klore i mifologičeskih predstavlenijah permskih i obskougorskih narodov.* Ekaterinburg: Uralic Branch of Russian Academy of Science.
http://cnb.uran.ru/userfiles/211341.pdf

Usačeva, V. V. 1999. Želtuha. In: *Slavjanskie drevnosti: Ètnolingvističeskij slovar'*. II. 2: D (Davat') – K (Kroški). Moscow: Meždunarodnye otnosenija, p. 202.

Vasil'ev, Ioann 1906. Obozrenie jazyčeskih obrjadov, sueverij i verovanij votjakov Kazanskoj i Vjatskoj gubernij. In: *Izvestija OAIÈ.* Kazan: Tipo-litografija imperatorskogo universiteta. Vol. 22, 3rd ed., pp. 185–219.

Vereŝagin, Grigori E. 1889. *Votjaki Sarapul'skogo uezda Vjatskoj gub.* St. Petersburg: Tipografija I. N. Skorohodova.
https://vk.com/doc289864153_437078337?hash=ad4693687a388c0406&dl=dc1b31f26996de35a1
Last accessed September 3, 2016

Vereŝagin, G. E. 2000. *Sobranie sočinenij.* Vol. 3: 2. Ètnografičeskie očerki. Izhevsk: UIJAL.
http://elibrary.unatlib.org.ru/handle/123456789/3976

Vladykin, Vladimir E. 1994. *Religiozno-mifologičeskaja kartina mira udmurtov.* Izhevsk: Udmurtia.
http://elibrary.unatlib.org.ru/handle/123456789/4520
Last accessed September 3, 2016.

Vladykin, Vladimir E. 1997. Udmurty i reka Kama: Opyt rassmotrenija ètnokul'turnoj sootnesennosti. In: P*riroda i civilizacija: Reki i kul'tury: Materialy konf.: Posvjaŝ. 100-letiju vyhoda v svet 1-go rus. izd. kn. vydajuŝ. učenogo L. I. Mečnikova*. St. Petersburg: Kunstkamera, pp. 195–199.

Vladykina, Tatiana G. 1998. *Udmurtskij fol'klor: problemy žanrovoj èvoljucii i sistematiki.* Izhevsk: UIIJaL.

Vladykina, Tatiana G. 2008. Mifologija vizual'nogo i akustičeskogo v kommunikativnom povedenii udmurtov. In: *Vestnik Udmurtskogo universiteta*. Vol. 1, pp. 83–87.

Vladykina, Tatiana G. 2009 (1). Kartina mira udmurtov v zerkale jazyka. In: *Aktual'nye problemy sovremennoj fol'kloristiki: Materialy meždunarodnoj naučno-praktičeskoj konferencii (Kazan', 29 ijunja 2009 goda)*. Kazan: Alma-Lit, pp. 102–104.

Vladykina, Tatiana G. 2009 (2). Fauna v cvetovoj simvolike mifologičeskih predstavlenij udmurtov. In: *Mnogojazyčie v obrazovatel'nom prostranstve: Sb. statej k 60-letiju professora T. I. Zeleninoj.* I. Moscow: Flinta; Nauka, pp. 277–279.

Wichmann, Yrjo 1893. *Wotjakische Sprachproben.* I. Lieder, Gebete und Zauberspruche. Helsingfors: Suomalainen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Zajceva, E. I. 2004. *Narodnaja medicina udmurtov v konce XIX – pervoj treti XX v.* Avtoreferat. Izhevsk: Udmurt State University Press.
http://elibrary.udsu.ru/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/1750/04_08_006.pdf?sequence=1
Last accessed September 3, 2016.

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Kencis

SALOME ON ICE: A CASE OF A RARE LATVIAN FEVER CHARM

Toms Ķencis

Published in 1881, a Latvian fever charm featuring maidens dancing on ice serves as a source for research into three directions of verbal charm scholarship. It marks the north-western border of transmission of certain motifs found in the charm, which date back to the first half of the first millennia A.D. It also allows the transformation of these motifs to be tracked adapting to religious and magic traditions *en route* from Syria through Byzantines and Western Slavonic regions. Last of all, it illustrates mechanical dissemination of a charm text, related to institutional practices of the discipline during the interwar period.

Keywords: transmission, migration, demons, fever, healing

DEMONIC GENEALOGY

In Gospel accounts of the death of John the Baptist (Mark 6:14–29, Matt 14:3–11), King Herod Antipas' wife Herodias tricks him into killing John with a promise to her daughter after she had danced in front of his guests. Herodias' daughter is identified as Salome by Jewish historian Titus Flavius Josephus (XVIII, V: 4). While the depiction of the act became popular in Classical paintings, two motifs of the story gained prominence in vernacular legends, prayers and their derivatives: a symmetric punishment (i.e. beheading) of the corresponding female villains, and dancing as a demonic feature (cf. Agapkina 2010: 718–19). For example, in some Coptic legends Salome is swallowed by earth and an angel appears and cuts her head off; several Old Slavonic texts also refer to sinking into earth/hell as a punishment for Salome or others of her kin. Later, dancing appears as a characteristic of *triasavitsy*, Russian fever demons in examples of Russian and Belarusian vernacular healing prayers.

In searching for the origins of this motif, a particularly interesting text would seem to be *Letter of Herod to Pilate,* a text found in Greek and Syrian in a manuscript that dates back to the fifth or sixth, seventh century (Reid 1907: 1263; Grüll 2010: 160). It refers to Herod's daughter drowning. In English translation the text runs:

> I am in profound grief, as the divine Scriptures say, over the things I write you. Surely you too will grieve when you hear what has happened. My beloved daughter Herodia was killed while playing by the water, when it flooded over the bank of the river. For suddenly the water rose up to her neck, and her mother grabbed her by the head to keep her from being swept away by the water. The head of the child was severed, so that my wife held only the head, while the water took the rest of her body. (Ehrman & Pleše 2011: 525)

Agapkina notes that the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the Byzantine historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, written in fourteenth century, features (Book I, Ch. XX) a version of story where Salome falls into the river in winter; she hangs there, with dance-like movements, trying to stay on the water, until a sharp piece of ice cuts her head off:

> But such was the perishing of her daughter (it is indeed good to remember). In the winter (solstice), she had to go somewhere and cross a river, as the latter was covered and bound in ice, she crossed it on foot. But the ice is broken (and not without God's knowledge it happened), and she immediately sinks in up to her head, and pushing her legs, slightly moving herself she dances not on the ground but in the water. Though afterwards also injured, the head is cut off from the rest of the body by ice plates created by frost, not by a sword. Dancing, she meets her death from ice; and for everyone seeing this view, this miserable head reminded what she had done.[1]

The legend about the multiple beheaded daughters of Herod was spread in written and consequently also oral tradition from the Greek and Byzantine lands into the recently Christianized East and South Slavonic territories. Will Ryan refers to an impressive list of authors who had described widespread identification of the Russian female fever demons called *triasavitsy* and daughters or sisters of Herod, absent, as such, in Greek magical tradition (Ryan 2005: 43, cf. Ohrt 1987: 1462). Such variants are encountered in Ukrainian apocrypha of the eighteenth century, manuscripts, icons and folk prayers from Western Russia, as well as in Belarusian legends, the latter also featuring Salome's beheading by river ice (Agapkina 2010: 719–20).

LATVIAN FEVERS

Fever as a common disease or symptom is to be encountered in various genres of Latvian folklore: verbal charms, beliefs, and folktales, but the healing context

usually is shared only by charms and beliefs. However, in Latvian lore, fever is usually a male figure, appearing alone. Semantic cross-genre reconstruction shows that the fever is mostly related to the figure of a folk devil and might be traced back to its original manifestation as a demonic rider (Ķencis 2011: 171). As such, it is hardly related to the Russian *triasavitsy*; still, from about the 514 records[2] of Latvian fever charms in the Archives of Latvian Folklore, there are 67 examples of the same fever charm with only slight variations, and this charm features maidens dancing on ice. The context of healing the fever, a set of distinguishable interrelated semantic and structural features – action, gender, location, perishing – as well as its striking difference from all other Latvian fever-related narratives suggest that this particular charm might have been originated from West-Slavonic vernacular prayers, and have lost its apocryphal features and its references to Orthodox cult of saints in the course of migrating to a different linguistic and religious environment. Therefore the verbal charms, functioning in the same healing context of fever, in the Latvian (i.e. a non-Slavonic, Indo-European) language and dominantly Lutheran context bear only a structural resemblance that marks the north-western border of distribution of prayer motifs featuring daughters of Herod.

THE FIVE MAIDENS' CHARM[3]

> Izej, tu glévais drudzi, pī līlas upes tilta, paskatīs lejas pusé: upé tur pīcas sárkanas jumpravas danců uz ledus gabalīm, – tur tu skatijīs, tur tu palīc! Pazūd jumpravas, izkūst ledus gabali, izņìkst gļévais drudzis. Dīvs Tévs.....
> *Go, you coward fever, to a bridge over a great river, look downwards: in the river there are five red maidens dancing on pieces of ice; there you looked, there you stay! The maidens disappear, the pieces of ice melt, the coward fever perishes. Our Father...* [4]

Transmission from a Slavonic language environment might also be suggested by two linguistic-semantic particularities: first, the cowardice attributed to fever at the opening of the charm, and second, the descriptor "red" attributed to the dancing maidens. Both are non-typical figures in the corpus of Latvian charms, and, after consulting with the Latvian charm specialist Aigars Lielbārdis, I would suggest that these two features are a result of a mis-translation from Russian. 'Coward' in Russian is *трусливый*, which bears close resemblance to *трястись* 'to shake', the word which from the Russian fever daemons called *triasavitsy* have received their name (cf. Ryan 2005: 38). Of course, cowardice and fear are also semantically related to shaking, as shown by the popular

Latvian figure of speech "to shake from fear". The second feature – the redness of the maidens – is explicable in an even more straightforward manner. It is based on the polysemy of the Russian proper noun 'red' *красный*, which until the seventeenth century denoted beauty. So, most probably the original source of this Latvian charm featured "shaking fever" or "fever that makes one shake", rather than "coward fever", and "beautiful maidens" instead of "red maidens".

This particular charm is preserved in 67 records (out of 514 fever charms) in the charm collection at the Archives of Latvian Folklore. This might suggest a wide distribution; however, this was one of five fever charms published in the first academic edition of Latvian charms (Brīvzemnieks 1881) and that, keeping in mind that the very similar punctuation and wording exist in the majority of all 67 records, might suggest later distribution exactly from this source. All the records are so similar that they lack the natural variation that usually occurs even in a single charmer's repertoire over a short period of time (see Roper 1998). A reason for this might be the fact that a huge number of recorded Latvian charms (in total more than fifty-four thousand) is mainly a result of a campaign-type collection of charms by the Archives of Latvian Folklore during the interwar period, involving teachers, students, and schoolchildren (Lielbārdis 2012; 2013). Schoolchildren, eager to fulfil tasks given by their teachers, often cheated on collecting the material, and instead of going "in the field", submitted charms copied from Brīvzemnieks' book or other published sources in Latvian, which, according to Straubergs, amounts to about 80 publications up to 1926 (Straubergs 1939: 200). Such copying is clearly manifested in the orthographic specifics of charms published in 1881, which appear again and again in charms sent from schools to the Archives of Latvian Folklore half a century later (Lielbārdis 2012: 81). However, along with this one Brīvzemnieks published five more fever charms, and only one of them – the graphic *abraka* formulae – was later recorded in some 43 records in fever charms register, along with 119 longer *abracadabra* records. Even if this disproportionality can be explained with overall frequency of *abracadabra* charm in Latvian tradition, it sheds no light on question why the *Five Maidens' charm* was collected in 67 records after appearing in print, but that the other four published narrative fever charms appear only six, four, three and seventeen times respectively. Leaving aside the possible correlation between a charm's dramatic or literary qualities and its popularity among practitioners of charming, the comparatively recent distribution of *Five Maidens' charm* from the printed source does not exclude the fact it might be a part of healing practice after 1881. An illustrative example is found in a notebook of an anonymous cow-herder who worked for the Baron Zass, collected at Taurupe district 1936 by a notorious correspondent of Archives of Latvian Folklore Oļģerts Bērziņš (manuscript no. 1341, entries 31207–31655).

The charmer's notebook is among hundreds of other also includes *Five Maidens' charm* (entry no. 31375), copied from Brīvzemnieks' edition even down to letters P and S (transcribed as P and Z), which were printed in Brīvzemnieks' book to indicate that the original *Five Maidens' charm* was contributed by Jānis Pločkalns (P) from Skrunda (S) district. This charmer's notebook is unique, as at the end of the book, there is a list of the charmer's patrons in years 1913 and 1914. The list refers to cattle-related problems and the diseases faced on the peasant farms. Although the author has not indicated which charm was used in which particular case, the notebook seems to be rather solid proof of the re-circulation of charms from written sources around this period.

It also remains a mystery how this charm came to Latvia. Before its publication it was sent to Brīvzemnieks by his chief contributor Jānis Pločkalns. He was a wealthy and educated peasant from Skrunda rural district in Western part of Latvia, who gathered and sent more than 200 charms – more than a quarter of all 717 charms later published by Brīvzemnieks (1881). His contribution consists of charms collected by himself and by his mother Anna Pločkalne, who was a charmer. Interestingly, the latter participated in collecting of charms by exchanging her charms with other charmers of district. This exchange of charms was successful partially for the reason that she was regarded as a rather powerful charmer and her charms therefore were "more valuable" magically (Lielbārdis 2009: 112). Regrettably, further indications of whether the *Five Maidens charm* was her own charm or one gained in exchange are absent. Therefore only the fact that *Five Maidens' charm* was present in the Skrunda District prior to 1880 remains to us.

CONCLUSION

This Latvian case shows the route over 3000 kilometres and almost 2000 years long between events that occurred under the reign of Herod Antipas in Galilee during the first decades of Common Era, manuscripts composed some six centuries later in Syria, Byzantine church history about eight more centuries later, Slavonic vernacular prayers of the eighteenth century and Latvian fever charms collected at the second half of the nineteenth century. Though the impressive temporal and spatial distances are involved, the only thing that can be established on more or less scholarly grounds about echoes of tale of Salome in Latvian folk traditions is manifested in a single verbal charm against fever. As such *Five Maidens' charm* may mark the ultimate North-Western border of distribution of fever lore related to female demons. Sixty-seven records of this charm have almost certainly originated from a single printed source, a collection of charms published after the fieldwork and collaborative efforts of folklore

collectors in 1881; therefore, it cannot be regarded as typical of the charming tradition of Latvia, at least not prior to the date of its publication. However, any archival research has significant limitations; therefore, the opposite possibility must be considered too, as well as the possibility that this charm is just a historical curiosity, brought to light by accident, dropped in Latvia by some unknown traveller. There is also some support for the hypothesis of a rather recent migration from Slavonic/Orthodox to Latvian/Lutheran culture due to the fact that such charm is absent in charms collected in neighbouring Lithuania, which is mostly Catholic, however (cf. Vaitkevičiene 2008, which has a fine selection of magic texts common for both Latvian and Lithuanian traditions and, as such, significantly characterizes shared magical texts prior to the same nineteenth century).

NOTES

[1] Translated from Latin to Latvian by Jānis Plaudis at the University of Latvia.

[2] According to the current system of classification.

[3] My identification.

[4] Brīvzemnieks (1881: 146), charm no. 296. Also type 5 in the Archives of Latvian Folklore's charms collection, fever section. Collected prior to publication (but no earlier than 1867) in the Skrunda District, western Latvia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research for this article has been supported by project no 1DP/1.1.1.2.0/13/APIA/VIAA/042. Funded by the European Social Fund of the European Union.

REFERENCES

Agapkina, Tat'jana 2010. *Vostočnoslavjanskie lečebnye zagovory v sravnitel'nom osvešenii. Sjužetika i obraz mira*. Moscow: Indrik.

Brīvzemnieks (Treiland), Fricis 1881. *Материалы по этнографии латышского племени.* Moscow: C.P. Arxipov. Collection of charms in the Archives of Latvian Folklore.

Ehrman, Bart. D. & Pleše, Zlatko 2011. *The Apocryphal Gospels. Texts and Translations.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Grüll, Tibor 2010. The legendary fate of Pontius Pilate. In: T. Bekker-Nielsen, M. Pade (eds.). *Classica et mediaevalia: Danish Journal of Philology and History*, 61: pp. 151–176. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
http://www.mtp.hum.ku.dk/cgibin/PDFmedopenaccess/Classica_et_Mediaev_61_0_9788763538114.pdf
Last accessed: September 7, 2016.

Josephus, Titus Flavius 93–94 CE. *Jewish Antiquities*.
http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/josephus/ant-18.htm
Last accessed: September 7, 2016.

Ķencis, Toms 2011. Latvian Fever Charms: Comparative Coordinates and Cases. In: T. A. Mikhailova, J. Roper, A. L. Toporkov, and D. S. Nikolayev (eds.). *Oral Charms in Structural and Comparative Light.* Moscow: Probel-2000, pp. 166–172.

Lielbārdis, Aigars 2009. 'Latviešu buramvārdu vācēji, pieraksta vietas un tekstu raksturs Friča Brīvzemnieka krājumā "Материалы по этнографии латышкого племени."' *Letonica* 19: 108–125.

Lielbārdis, Aigars 2012. *Latviešu buramvārdu tradīcija*. Riga: University of Latvia PhD thesis. Unpublished.

Lielbārdis, Aigars 2013. 'Latviešu buramvārdi'. *Daba un vesture 2014: 84–7*. Ohrt, Ferdinand. 1930 . Fiebersegen. In: Hoffmann-Krayer, Eduard & Bächtold-Stäubli, Hanns (eds.). *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens,* vol 2: 1460–8. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Reid, George J. 1907. Apocrypha. In: Herbermann, Ch. G. (ed.). *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1. New York: Robert Appleton.

Roper, Jonathan 1998. Charms, Change and Memory: Some Principles Underlying Variation. *Folklore: The Electronic Journal of Folklore,* 9: 51–70.
https://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol9/pdf/charm.pdf
http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF1998.09.charm
Last accessed: September 7, 2016.

Ryan, Will 2005. Ancient Demons and Russian Fevers. In: Burnett, C. and W. F. Ryan (ed.). *Magic and the Classical Tradition,* 37–58. Warburg Colloquia no. 7. London: The Warburg Institute.

Straubergs, Kārlis 1939. *Latviešu buŗamie vārdi.* Vol 1. Riga: Latviešu folkloras krātuve izdevums ar Kulturas Fonda pabalstu.

Vaitkevičienė, Daiva 2008. *Lietuvių užkalbėjimai: gydymo formulės* [= *Lithuanian Verbal Healing Charms*]. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.

Xanthopuli, Nicephori Callisti 1553. *Scriptoris uerè Catholici, Ecclesiasticæ historiæ libri decem & octo …* Basileae: Ex Oficcina Ioannis Oporini.
http://rara.ch/zuz/ch16/content/pageview/13213591
Last accessed: September 7, 2016.

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Glukhova

POETICS OF MARI INCANTATIONS

Natalia Glukhova

This article sets forth the stylistic characteristics of Mari incantations (*'шӱведыме мут'*), which constitute an integral part of Mari spiritual culture. The texts of charms represent a rare phenomenon due to the long history of their existence and their peculiar language features. At the same time, the tradition of magical texts can still be observed today. A sample of approximately 500 incantations from different sources allowed them to be divided into six groups. They differ in compositional structure, temporal characteristics, and expressive and stylistic devices. The latter is the object of study here. The research shows that among various expressive means and stylistic devices, the incantations are rich in syntactic stylistic means and folklore tropes. This choice of means can be explained by the 'laws' of oral presentation of magical texts and their pragmatic aims.

Keywords: expressive means, folklore tropes, incantations, informational content, pragmatic aim, stylistic devices, syntactic stylistic means

INTRODUCTION

Texts of the Mari incantations *'шӱведыме мут'* have interested scholars due to their compositional and informational characteristics (Sebeok 1974; Sebeok and Ingemann 1956). The aim of this paper is to define their stylistic potential, and to reveal their expressive means and stylistic devices, those qualities which make incantations a unique phenomenon in spiritual Mari culture (cf. Glukhova 1995: 115–122).

Interest in esoteric components of many cultures has not ceased since the 1980's. There are many original works analysing peculiar aspects of charms in different cultures (Kõiva 1990; Roper 2003: 7–50; Kropej 2003: 62–78). The notion of 'text' – and here we refer to incantations as texts – has been the centre of attention of many schools of thought since the 1980s. Nevertheless, the approaches to the analysis of text and attempts to define it differ greatly. A short message or a piece of information encoded in a linguistic form can be called a text whether it consists of several phrases, a whole book or a novel, as determined by representatives of different schools of text linguistics, pragmalinguistics or linguo-stylistics.

Despite the controversial treatment of this notion by different scholars, a good consensus exists amongst them as to a text's communicative functions and pragmatic goals (Fowler 1967: 1–29; Leech 1983; Leech 1987: 76–88; Niro 1974: 85–93; Dijk 1982; Dressler 1972; Leech 1983; Leech and Short 1981; Phillips 1985; Prucha 1983).

A text possesses certain features which permit it to be treated as a whole unit, an entity, and differentiate it from a string of separate sentences. Despite a multiplicity of approaches to texts, their dominant characteristic traits are: informational content, integrity, interdependence of the components, coherence, a uniting idea, and one general aim (Phillips 1985; Galperin 2012). A text, therefore, is regarded as a semantic unit which forms a unified and coherent whole united by a pragmatic aim.

Mari esoteric texts have clear-cut pragmatic goals. This view is shared in this paper through a focus of attention on the poetic aspect of texts, that is, their expressivity. According to pragmatic aims, Mari charms are classified into six types: 1. incantations for healing a) people and b) animals; 2. incantations protecting from witchcraft aimed at a) people, b) animals and c) plants and objects; 3. counter incantations and incantations against witchcraft practiced on a) people, b) animals and c) plants and objects; 4. incantations changing interpersonal relationships among people, spoiling or changing them for the better; 5. incantations bringing good (benefit or profit) to a) people, b) animals and c) plants; and 6. incantations inflicting evil on a) people, b) animals and c) plants (Glukhova 1996: 10).

An overview of the currently available scholarly literature shows the absence of a unified and generally accepted interpretation of incantation. Here we offer a working definition of this folklore genre. A Mari incantation – *shüvedyme, shüvedyme mut* – is an oral, rhythmically organized verbal formula of considerable length, containing a wish, a will or a command. It is employed in a ritual situation and is believed to produce a desired effect under certain conditions because of the magical power both of the word and the person who uses it with definite pragmatic goals.

Different types of texts are marked by different parts of their composition and by their structure. The constituent parts are called supra-phrasal units. They represent combinations of sentences, presenting a structural and a semantic whole with one topic sentence which determines the subject matter of each of them, united by one rhythmic pattern. Mari incantations differ from each other structurally within the wide range of patterns, from complete (having all components of the ritual text) to partial texts (having the most necessary magic text elements) (Glukhova 1997: 12–13). Both complete and incomplete patterns of texts are in everyday use in Mari El.

METHODS AND MATERIAL. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

At the initial stage of the research, approximately 180 folkloristic texts were collected during the folklore and ethnolinguistic expeditions of the author to different regions of the Republic of Mari El between 1992–1997 and 2008–2013. During field expeditions the main methods used were the observation and interviewing of a considerable percentage of the village inhabitants in every region of the republic, as well as participation in some magic rituals aimed at improving health and relieving stress. The interviews were carried out both with the help of questionnaires that concerned different spheres of Mari traditional culture and without, during unstructured conversation on different topics in an informal atmosphere. The interviews of the informants, mainly local 'tradition bearers', were carried out according to a standard procedure in order to enable comparison between the collected texts.

The next stage included the enrichment of the gathered collection with published texts or by texts from the archives. Then approximately 500 incantations were read and analysed syntactically, semantically and statistically with the aim of determining expressive means and stylistics devices – folklore tropes – as well as their number.

Before defining their syntactic stylistic compositional devices, incantations were analysed from the point of view of grammar: different types of word combinations were discerned and described, and typical types of simple and complex sentences were revealed. The objective of this stage was to show the stylistic potential of both word combinations and sentences.

Stylistic devices or folklore tropes were determined and analysed with the help of componential and contextual types of analysis. The quantitative approach to investigation showed that dominant style markers on a syntactic level are *parallel constructions*, different *types of repetition, enumeration* and *antithesis.* Among folklore tropes, *sustained* and *simple similes*, *tautological epithets*, and *folklore hyperbole* can be considered to be the leading stylistic markers.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Syntactic Expressive Means

An incantation, like any folklore text, has a format which is consistent and repeatable. Texts of charms existed only in spoken (phonic) realization of the Mari language before they were recorded by different scholars during different

periods from the end of the 19th century. Oral text structure is characterized by certain peculiarities depending on a person's ability to organize, remember and reproduce the contents of the text. Therefore, oral texts must be well structured and semantically organized to be easily remembered and transmitted from one generation to the next.

The main principles of text organization have already been described in relation to oral narratives (Siikala 1990: 14–35). The following key points which help to memorize and reprocess the Mari incantation texts can be mentioned here: 1) the pragmatic aim of each text; 2) the selectivity of the lexis connected with pragmatic aims and showing its informational content; 3) a non-linear characteristic of informational content development; 4) constant 'feedback' of a series of events; 5) a limited number of compositional expressive stylistic devices and their specific combination; 6) a restricted set of stylistic devices and a particular way in which they are accumulated (Glukhova 1997: 13).

Expressive means at the syntactic level fulfil their stylistic functions if they are based either on expansion or reduction of basic syntactic patterns. A simple extended sentence having all sentence components may be considered as a 'basic model'. Complex, compound and asyndetic compound sentences will be regarded as basic if they contain short, simple independent clauses.

Simple sentences are considered to be short if they contain from two to six words. If sentences contain more than six words, they are considered to be long sentences. The examined texts have shown that the stylistic means in Mari incantations on a syntactic level are based on the *lengthening* of the basic scheme: the most typical are long and super-long sentences. In incantations they are: 1) simple extended sentences with homogeneous parts and 2) complex sentences with extended subordinate clauses of comparison, condition or time with homogeneous parts in them. A combination of many simple sentences – sentences with chains of homogeneous parts combined into a complex unity – has a rich, stylistic potential. Stylistic effect is achieved within complex sentences of different types with the help of structural interrelation or juxtaposition of a number of simple sentences with syntactically complicated patterns. Expressivity appears as a result of the interrelation of adjacent independent clauses within a sentence or separate sentences within a text fragment.

The most prominent and widely used compositional syntactic devices in Mari charms are: *the lexico-syntactic type of repetition, enumeration, parallel construction (complete,* or *balanced, and incomplete), syntactic repetition* and *anadiplosis and antithesis.* We shall discuss only some of these.

1.1. Types of repetition

The lexico-syntactic type of repetition occupies the first place among expressive means and exists in several varieties. One group of repetition is *linking* (or *anadiplosis*): the last word of one part of an utterance is reiterated at the beginning of the following part. In the charm *'Shüm poshartyshym shörymö'*, which aims to prevent heart disease (in some parts it coincides with the text *'Araka jümashym shörymö'* which aims to treat alcoholism) some supra-phrasal units are based on this device:

> Shij erash, shij erash körgyshtö shij pechke, shij pechken körgyshtyžö shiij agytan, shij agytanyn körgyshtyžö shij muno.
> *A silver lake, in the middle of the silver lake there is a silver barrel, in the middle of the silver barrel there is a silver rooster, in the middle of the silver rooster there is a silver egg.* (Glukhova, 1992: 33)

This compositional structure is called *chain repetition*. Another example of this device:

> Er keche lekmashte Osh Viche, Osh Viche pokshekne pünchö kashka, pünchö kashkam… luktyn kertesh gyn, tunam myi vashtareshem tumanlen kyren kertshe!
> *River Vyatka at the early sunrise, in the middle of the river Vyatka there is a pine stump… let him beat me stepping forth against me only then when he gets this pine stump out of the river!* (Petrov 1993: 141)

1.2. Enumeration

Another stylistic device on the syntactic level is *enumeration.* Separate things, different properties and actions may be mentioned one by one in a sentence. Examples of enumeration are found in every charm. In our texts the dominant types are *verb* and *noun* enumeration. In the following examples 'against bewitchment' it is vividly illustrated:

> Indesh chyra dene lümegozh, pyzle voshtyr, shuanvondo voshtyr dene osalym pokten luktam.
>
> Shörmychym nalyn (1), osh maskam (…osh pirym, osh ryvyzhym, osh meraŋym…) chodyra gych kuchen konden (2), shogavuiym kychken (3), kunam möŋgeshla kural kertesh (4) tunam izhe osalym purten kertshe!
>
> Shymlu-shym türlö oshmam kunam ik minut-sekundyshto pyrchyn-pyrchyn shotlen pytaren kertesh, tunam izhe myi dekem osalym purten kertshe!

I'll drive away the bewitchment, evil spirit, with the help of a fire of nine splinters, with the help of the juniper twig, mountain ash twig, sweetbrier twig.

Let the sorcerer be able to cast spells when s/he is able, having taken the bridle, to bring a white bear (… a white wolf, a white fox, a white hare…) from the forest, to harness it to the wooden plough, to plough the furrow back!

Let the sorcerer be able to bewitch me, when s/he can count seventy-seven different grains of sand one by one in a minute, in a second! (Glukhova 1992)

The enumeration of the verbs shows that they are linked together in a certain operation. The sequence of actions and specific interdependence of the enumerated types of activity help to create an occasional semantic field in this text.

1.3. Parallelism

The important requirement in parallel construction is a similar structure in parts of sentences in close succession or in two or more sentences of the utterance.

In the chosen incantations parallelism has two modifications: complete (balanced) and incomplete. Balance can be represented by identical structures throughout the whole text or at least within a certain part of it. Thus, in the following example, balance in the text *'Symystaryme'*, (a charm which aims to evoke love), is based on the usage of one and the same main clause throughout the whole text and structurally uniform subordinate clauses:

Kuze imne chomažym yshten nula, jörata, tuge myjym shümžö-kylže jöratyže!

Kuze ushkal prezym yshten nula, jörata, tuge myjym shümžö-kylže jöratyže!

Kuze shoryk pacham yshten nula, jörata, tuge myjym shümžö-kylže jöratyže!

Kuze pij igyzym yshten nula, jörata, tuge myjym shümžö-kylže jöratyže!

As a horse brings forth a foal, licks it clean, likes it, so let him love me with all his heart too!

As a cow brings forth a calf, licks it clean, likes it, so let him love me with all his heart too!

As a sheep brings forth a lamb, licks it clean, likes it, so let him love me with all his heart too!

As a dog brings forth its puppies, licks them clean, likes them, so let him love me with all his heart too! (Gorskaja 1969: 37)

In the next example balance is achieved with the help of the same *structural patterns both in the main clause and in the subordinate clause:*

Apshat shondal gych kunam ßür lektesh, tunam iža ner gych ßür jögyžo. T'fu! T'fu! T'fu!

Kü kuryk gych kunam ßür lektesh, tunam iže ner gych ßür jögyžo. T'fu! T'fu! T'fu!

Komaka pundash gych kunam ßür lektesh, tunam iže ner gych ßür jögyžo. T'fu! T'fu! T'fu!

ßozak pundash gych kunam ßür lektesh, tunam iže ner gych ßür jögyžo. T'fu! T'fu! T'fu!'

When blood flows from the locksmith's anvil, only then let it flow from the nose. Pah! Pah! Pah!

When blood flows from the stone mountain, only then let it flow from the nose. Pah! Pah! Pah!

When blood flows from the oven base, only then let it flow from the nose. Pah! Pah! Pah!

When blood flows from the forge base, only then let it flow from the nose. Pah! Pah! Pah! (Evsevjev 1994: 164)

In the corpus of the analysed texts separate charms or parts of them are aimed only at one goal – at *dissolving evil*. These texts are fundamentally based on balance:

Er ÿžara kuze shulen kaja, tugak shulen kajyže!

Kas ÿžara kuze shulen kaja, tugak shulen kajyže!

Er tütyra kuze shulen kaja, tugak shulen kajyže!

Er lups kuze shulen kaja, tugak shulen kajyže!

Let it (evil) melt away like the morning dawn!

Let it melt away like the evening dusk!

Let it melt away like the morning mist!

Let it melt away like the evening dew! (Petrov 1993:133)

Yet not all of the analysed texts are based on balance. Other charms have incomplete parallel constructions as in the text protecting the user from evil:

Maskalan shincha kunam ßožesh, tunam iže shincha ßochsho!

Pirelan shincha kunam ßožesh, tunam iže shincha ßochsho!

Ryßyžlan shincha kunam ßožesh, tunam iže shincha ßochsho!

Toi ßedram shincha kunam ßožesh, tunam iže shincha ßochsho!

užar shincha, kande shincha, shem shincha, sur shincha, ske jüžym ske paremdyže. T'fu!
Let the evil eye bewitch me only when it bewitches a bear!
Let the evil eye bewitch me only when it bewitches a wolf!
Let the evil eye bewitch me only when it bewitches a fox!
Let the evil eye bewitch me only when it bewitches a tin bucket!
Let green eye, blue eye, black eye, grey eye, heal with its own spirit! Pah!
(Glukhova 2008: 12)

The first three sentences form a complete balance. In the fourth sentence, the subordinate clause differs from the previous sentences as the object comprises the noun phrase. The use of the phrase makes this sentence longer, thus changing the structure into incomplete parallelism. Among syntactic expressive means in the analysed texts, lexico-syntactic repetition takes the first place (69%), then enumeration (16%), followed by parallel constructions (10%). The remaining 5% fall into the categories lexical repetition and antithesis.

2. Tropes

Among the leading tropes in the analysed incantations are epithets (82%), hyperbole (11%), and simile (7%).

2.1. Epithet

An *epithet* is a trope based on the correlation of logical and emotive meaning in the adjective expressing a quality or attribute. Epithets are employed to characterize specific properties of the objects evaluating them. In the examined incantations there are two groups of epithets: tautological (traditional) and explanatory. They are expressed by: 1) qualitative adjectives, 2) relative adjectives, and 3) nouns playing the role of relative adjectives or words of undifferentiated semantics. All these groups are equally represented in the investigated material.

Qualitative adjectives in the function of epithets are used mainly in the positive degree:

Shem (joshkar, narynche, užarge) ßüdyshtö shem (joshkar, narynche, užarge) shargüm shinchapunžo dene kunam nalyn kertesh, tunam iže shincha ßochsho!
When in the black (red, yellow, green) water he (the sorcerer) is able to pick uptake a black (red, yellow, green) pebble with his eyelashes, only then let him bewitch me with the evil eye! (Shaberdin 1973: 8)

And again in this extract:

> Osh jeng, os tengyžyshke kajen, osh oshmam konden, sholagaj kandaram punen kertesh gyn, tunam iže ... shincha ßožen kertshe!
> *If the white man is able to go to the white sea, to bring some white sand, to twine the rope of the left twining, only then let him be able to bewitch me with the evil eye!* (Glukhova, 2008: 52)

Structurally, epithets in the analysed incantations are classified into *simple single epithets* and *compound epithets*. Furthermore, in some texts, chains of epithets may occur. Simple epithets are expressed by qualitative adjectives, as was shown in the previous examples. *Relative adjectives* are also quite often used as epithets:

> Choman ßül'ö kuze shke chomažym jörata, tuge myjym jöratyže!
> Pachan shoryk kuze shke pachažym jörata,
> tuge myjym jöratyže!
> *As a mare with a foal likes its foal, let him love me too!*
> *As a sheep with a lamb likes its lamb, let him love me too!* (Gorskaja 1969: 14)

Epithets expressed by nouns are numerous in the examined material:

> Chodyra shordo shörtn'ö shinchyr dene shörtn'ö mengesh kylten shogalten, merang üj dene omdykten, shörtn'ö kümažysh lüshten, shörtn'ö kümyž-soßla dene 77 türlö kalykym ik minutyshto pukshen-jükten kunam kertes, tunam iže ushkalyn onchylym nalyn kertshe!
> *When he is able to tie a forest elk with a golden chain to a golden pole, to soften its udder with hare's butter, to milk it into a golden dish, in a minute, to feed 77 different peoples on golden plates with golden spoons, only then let him be able to take my cow's first milk!* (Shaberin 1973: 20)

Compound epithets are built on a more complicated pattern, as is seen from the following examples: *shij-tükan üskyz* 'a bull with silver horns' and *shörtn'ö -punan ushkal* 'a cow with golden hair'. In the analysed corpus of incantations epithets maybe organized in certain chains: *tale tütan mardež* 'strong hurricane wind', *püsö pulat kerde* 'sabre made of Damascus steel', etc.

2.2. Hyperbole

The incantations examined for this study are rich in *hyperbole*, which is a stylistic device commonly known as a deliberate overstatement or exaggeration.

Therefore, any described feature inherent in the object, different phenomena or even whole situations can be exaggerated.

Texts may contain simple hyperbole as seen in the following passage:

> Mündyr üžaram kunam posharen kertesh, tunam iže posharen kertse!
> Er-kechym kunam posharen kertesh, tunam iže posharen kertse!
> *When he [the sorcerer] is able to bewitch a far-away dawn, only then let him be able to bewitch me!*
> *When he is able to bewitch the morning sun, only then let him be able to bewitch me!* (Porkka 1895: 32)

Hyperbole in this text appears due to the understanding of apparent discrepancy between the normal flow of events and imaginary situation depicted in the incantation. Hyperbolical situations in the texts can include two or more exaggerated conditions which are practically impossible to accomplish:

> Pyrys den pij kunam ßash öndal malen kertesh, tunam iže Vasli den Anna pyrl'ya ilen kertysht!
> Pire den maska kunam ßas öndal malen kertesh, tunam iže Vasli den Anna pyrl'ya ilen kertysht!
> *When a cat and a dog, having embraced each other, can sleep together, only then let Vasilii and Anna live together!*
> *When a bear and a wolf, having embraced each other, can sleep together, only then let Vasilii and Anna live together!* (Gorskaja 1969: 19)

The most typical overstated circumstances in the examined material are connected with the time of specific actions and the number of conditions to be carried out:

> Shymlu shym türlö mlande ümbalne nylle ik choman ßül'ö shke chomažym ik minutyshto shke pomyshkyžo kuze pogen nalesh, tugak tudynat shüm- mokshyžo ik minut žapyshte myjyn mogyrysh saßyrnyže!
> *As in a minute in seventy-seven different countries forty-one mares gather their own foals, let his heart/liver stick to me in a minute!* (Gorskaja 1969: 25)

In the next example – *Loktysh dech* 'Against Witchcraft' – the stress is laid on the number of conditions:

> Shörtn'ö üshtym üshtalynat, shörtn'ö tovarym chykenat, shörtn'ö meŋgym ruenat, shörtn'ö meŋgym kerynat, shörtn'ö pidyshym pidynat, shörtn'ö pechem pechenat, shörtn'ö imn'ym kychkenat, shörtn'ö omytam

chiktenat, shörtn'ö örynchakym pyshtenat, shörtn'ö pügym rualynat, shörtn'ö sapkeremym pushtenat, shörtn'ö shagavui dene kuralynyt, shörtn'ö urlykkomdo dene üdenat, shörtn'ö tyrma dene tyrmalenat, shörtn'ö shurno shochyn, shörtn'ö sorla dene türedynyt, shörtn'ö kyltam yshtenat, shörtn'ö orvash opten naŋgayenat, shörtn'ö idymysh shörtn'ö shagesh shörtn'ö kavanym yshtenat, shörtn'ö idymymsh voltenat, shörtn'ö agunysh shyndenat, shörtn'ö idymysh luktyn, shörtn'ö sapondo dene kyrenat, shörtn'ö üshtervoshtyr dene üshtynat, shörtn'ö kolmo dene pualtenat, shörtn'ö meshakysh optenat, shörtn'ö vaksh deke naŋgayenat, shörtn'ö vakshküesh shörtn'ö lozhashym ioŋyshtenat, shörtn'ö shokte dene shoktynat, shörtn'ö ruashvochkesh shörtn'ö ruashym lugenat, shörtn'ö koŋgash shörtn'ö kindym küktenat, shörtn'ö üstembake luktynat, shörtn'ö kümyzh-sovla dene kunam pyrlya jüyn-kochkyn kertat tide kindym yshten shukten, tunam izhe myiym lokten kert!
Only then can you bewitch me when, having put on a golden belt, and having stuck (into a golden belt) a golden axe and having felt a golden pole, and having put up a golden pole, and having fastened it by a golden band and having enclosed the space by a golden fence and having harnessed a golden horse, and having put on a golden horse's collar, and having saddled it with a golden saddle, and having put on a shaft bow, and having tied up golden reins, and having ploughed with a golden plough, and having sown from a golden basket, and having harrowed by a golden harrow, and, after the golden corn has been ripened, having reaped by a golden sickle, and having bound a golden sheaf, and having placed it on a golden cart, and having made a golden stack on the golden perches on the golden threshing ground, and having lowered it on the golden threshing ground, and having placed it into a golden barn for crops, and having carried it out onto the golden threshing ground, and having thrashed it with golden flails, and having swept it with a golden broom, and having raked it up with a golden shovel, and having filled golden sacks, and having brought it to a golden windmill, and having ground it to golden flour by the golden millstones, and having screened it by a golden sieve, and having kneaded golden dough in a golden trough, and having put golden firewood into a golden oven, and having baked golden bread in the golden oven, and having put it out onto a golden table, together with me you can eat the baked bread from golden plates and dishes! (Petrov 1993: 48–49)

Enumerating several conditions and using hyperbole, therefore, does not only serve as a simple separate stylistic device in incantations. Hyperbole appears to be the text's constituent factor.

In addition to simple and sustained hyperbole, *numerical hyperbole* is of particular interest in the examined material, for example, in the incantation '*Razymym shörymö*' (Against Rheumatism):

> 77 türlö ßüdysh kajen, 77 türlö küjym kudalten, 77 türlö rožym shüten küeshyže, tushan 77 türlö mengym keryn, 77 menge ßujyshto 77 türlö imym kerlyn ... ik shagat, ik minutyshto tache kechyn imyshke shogalyn, shüsken-muren kunam kertes, tunam iže (tide ajdemym) kochkyn-jüyn kertshe!
> *When it [the spirit of rheumatism] is able to get into 77 waters, throw 77 different stones, make 77 different holes, put 77 poles into these holes, put 77 needles into the bases of these 77 poles ... and then, staying on these needles for an hour and a minute, to whistle and sing, only then let the spirit of rheumatism be able to drink and eat (this man)!* (Petrov 1993: 83)

Such numerals as 'one', 'seven', 'nine', 'eleven' and 'seventy-seven' are amply used in the texts. They are considered to be magical among Finno-Ugrians (Petrukhin 2005: 269).

Complex numerals are also used in the incantations. A good example is a passage from the incantation '*Shulymo*' (Evil Dissolving):

> …77 türlö mlande ßalne er pokshym kuze shulen kaja, tugak shulen kajyze!
> 77 türlö mlande ßalne er tütyra kuze shulen kaja, tugak shulen kajyze!
> 77 türlö mlande ßalne er lups kuze shulen kaja, tugak shulen kajyze!
> 100, 99, 98, 97, 96, 95, 94, 93, 92, 91. Nimat uke!
> Loktysh, poshartysh, ovylymo, shinchavochmo, jylmepuryltmo, marii cher, rush cher, koshtyra, nimat uke!
> *…How the morning hoarfrost disappears in 77 different lands, let his sorcery disappear!*
> *How the morning mist disappears in 77 different lands, let his sorcery disappear!*
> *How the morning dew disappears in 77 different lands, let his sorcery disappear!*
> *100, 99, 98, 97, 96, 95, 94, 93, 92, 91. Nothing is here.*
> *There is no sorcery, no taint (damage), no evil eye, no evil tongue, no Russian disease, no Mari disease, no skin disease, nothing!*
> (Petrov 1993: 133)

The last passage is repeated nine more times. The numerals are also reiterated nine times, each time reduced in/by ten units.

2.3. Simile

The investigated incantations are rich in similes, too. Simile is a device whereby two concepts are imaginatively and descriptively compared, leading to the intensification of one of the features becoming prominent. Structurally, similes are figurative language means with an explicitly expressive referent and agent – the first and second components of the device. A simile has formal elements showing comparison in its structural pattern: they are connectives, usually postpositions or conjunctions: *gaj, semyn; kuze ...tuge /tugak.* In the majority of the investigated incantations similes are based on comparison but not on the contrast of different phenomena of reality.

Analysis of the incantations showed that on grounds of expediency it is necessary to classify figurative comparisons into *simple similes* and *sustained similes* (or *situational similes*). This taxonomy reveals a qualitative difference in the complex character of these objects of analysis, on the one hand, and on the other, it corresponds to grammatical differences in their syntactic structures.

A large group of incantations is based structurally and semantically on the situational simile, which has a specific linguistic form. It has grammar indicators – two conjunctions: *kuze* (as) in the subordinate clause and *tuge* / *tugak* (so) in the main clause. The situational simile retains some features of a simple simile. It becomes apparent when a verb (predicate) in the subordinate clause is not semantically independent but is closely connected with a verb (predicate) in the main clause. Manifestation of such semantic ties is the repetition of one and the same verb in both parts of the complex sentence:

> …Shochmo keche kuze nöltesh, tuge tide eŋyn kapshe-kylže, kidshe-jolžo nöltshö!
>
> Kushkyzhmo keche kyze nöltesh, tuge tide eŋyn kapshe-kylže, kidshe-jolžo nöltshö!
>
> Vÿrgeche keche kuze nöltesh, tuge tide eŋyn kapshe-kylže, kidshe-jolžo nöltshö!
>
> Izarnya keche kuze nöltesh, tuge tide eŋyn kapshe-kylže, kidshe-jolžo nöltshö!
>
> *…As the sun on Monday rises, so let this man's body, arms-legs also rise!*
>
> *As the sun on Tuesday rises so let this man's body, arms-legs also rise!*
>
> *As the sun on Wednesday rises so let this man's body, arms-legs also rise!*
>
> *As the sun on Thursday rises so let this man's body, arms-legs also rise!*
>
> (Petrov 1993: 128)

Sometimes the verbs in both parts can be contextual synonyms, as is seen in the following extract:

> Shopke lyshtash kuze kushtylgyn kaja, tugak myjyn imnem kushtylgyn modyn kynel koshtsho! T'fu!
> *As the aspen leaf lightly rises falling from the tree, so let my horse, lightly rising, playfully go! Pah!* (Evsevjev 1994: 175)

It is interesting to note that simple and sustained similes and hyperboles create the concepts of *impossibility* (*improbability)* and *inevitability* of events and actions. Their usage reveals the intuitive nation's knowledge of several concepts from contemporary probability theory (Glukhova and Glukhov 2008: 108–118).

CONCLUSION

This paper has considered the salient textual features of Mari incantations, revealing stylistic markers on the syntactic and lexical levels of this folklore genre. The combination of known approaches and techniques has made it possible to obtain valuable information on the expressive character of the folklore style of these ancient esoteric texts.

Folklore texts, being complex phenomena, demand different lines of approach because they can be viewed as an oral performance, on the one hand, and as a written text, on the other. This dual character has required a particular manner of analysis and the implementation of a theory of composition.

Well-established techniques such as componential and contextual analyses yielded a variant of pragmatic-semantic classification, according to which six types of texts cover practically all the spheres of human activity. The areas of text application have been obtained by these techniques.

Composition theory, which has a considerable promise as a means of revealing text properties, has been extended to the examination of charms. Treated as compositionally organized entities, incantations have revealed stylistically relevant structural characteristics. A predominance of structural, stylistically distinctive traits over lexical and semantic characteristics is testimony to their crucial role in text composition. Their prevalence is an aid to better memorization and text reprocessing. What is more, it shows the specific style quality of this genre of Mari folklore.

Stylistically significant features in incantations occur at each of the levels traditionally distinguished in linguistics. A distinctive type of rhythm, approximating the rhythm of syllabo-tonic verses, a morphological kind of rhyme, alliteration and assonance, and onomatopoeia, reflecting certain aspects of real-

ity, are phonological stylistic markers in charms and compositional phonological stylistic devices. They have all been described in the author's previous works.

Syntactic devices, showing external relationships in sentences, supra-phrasal units and whole texts are based on the expansion of the basic sentence patterns and are of great stylistic importance. Actual parallel construction, enumeration, chain-repetition and anadiplosis represent compositional syntactic stylistic devices.

Compositional stylistic devices, especially syntactic ones, communicate a consolidating effect to the parts of the texts, bringing strict regularity and order into the structural scheme of the utterance; it enhances the general aesthetic impression. It is accomplished by a variety of repetition types.

Repetition on the syntactic levels is intimately connected with the lexical types of repetition. The combination of these types creates lexical and semantic homogeneity of the text and makes new syntactic, lexical or semantic components more prominent against the background of the reiterated elements. Thus repetition fulfils a background function.

Semantic stylistic means characterize objects, actions and phenomena, showing an evaluating attitude of the community towards them (fixed, through epithets); throw an unexpected light on the compared objects (similes, metaphors); and show different situations and things in their untrue dimensions (hyperbole).

These stylistic devices have one point in common: they bear an imprint of the collective imagination. Consequently, they can be called 'folklore epithets', 'folklore similes', 'folklore hyperbole' or 'folklore metaphors'.

The stylistic folklore devices of each level enumerated above demonstrate the high linguistic culture of their creators and the highly developed Mari people's verbal art.

The language of incantations reflects humans' closeness to nature and to the surrounding landscape. It shows that some of the most fundamental activities of humans are inextricably entwined with their natural environment. Worldview is reflected in the intuitive notions contained in the examined incantations.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Evsevjev, Timofey 1994. *Kalyk oipogo* [Folk wisdom]. Yoshkar-Ola: Marii kniga savyktysh.

Glukhova, Natalia 1992–1997. *N. Glukhova's notes from field expeditions into New-Toryal and Morki regions.* Informants: Kolgasheva Anastasiya Ivanovna (1922), Shabalina Alevtina (1972), Vasilyeva Anastasiya (1935).

Glukhova, Natalia 2008. *N. Glukhova's notes from field expeditions into Volzhsk region.* Informants: Sokolova Marina (1989), Dubnikova Galina (1948).

Gorskaya, Vera 1969. *Nauchnyi rukopisnyio fond. Zametki OP* 1. N 942. Mariiskii Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institute yazyka, literatury i istorii imeni V. M. Vasilyeva [Scientific manuscript foundation. Notes OP 1. N 942. Mari Scientific Research Institute of Language, Literature, and History named after V. M. Vasilyev].

Petrov, Valerii 1993. *Mari u*: *Türlö loktymo, cher, muzho vashtaresh shüvedymash.* [Mari magic: different charms against witchcraft, diseases and prevention of evil]. Yoshkar-Ola: Marii kniga savyktysh, pp. 41–142.

Porkka, Volmari 1895. *Volmari Porkka's Tscheremissische Texte mit Übersetzung.* Herausgegeben von Arvid Genetz. Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne (Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja) XIII$_{1.}$ Helsingfors.

Shaberdin, Ivan 1973. *Nauchnyi rukopisnyio fond. Zametki OP 2*. N 830. Mariiskii Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut yazyka, literatury i istorii imeni V. M. Vasilyeva [Scientific manuscript foundation. Notes OP 2. N 830. Mari Scientific Research Institute of Language, Literature, and History named after V. M. Vasilyev].

LITERATURE

Arnold, Irina Vladimirovna 1990. *Stilistika. Sovremennyj anglijskij jazyk*: *stilistika dekodirovaniya*. Moscow: Prosvesheniye**.**

Arnold, Irina Vladimirovna 1999. *Semantika. Stilistika. Intertekstual'nost'*. Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg State University.

De Beaugrande, Robert and Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1981. *Einführung in die Textlinguistik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Dijk, van Teun A. 1992 [1982]. *Text and Context. Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. London; New York: Longman.

Galperin, Ilya Romanovitch 2012. *English Stylistics*. Moscow: Librokom.

Glukhova, Natalia 1995. Rhythm in Mari Charms and Its Geometric Interpretation. In: *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen*. Hamburg, 1995. Bd. 16/17, pp. 115–122.

Glukhova, Natalia 1997. *Structure and Style in Mari Charms*. Szombathely: Berzsenyi Dániel Tanárképző Főiskola.

Glukhova, Natalia & Glukhov, Vladimir 2008. Expressions of Impossibility and Inevitability in Mari Charms. In: Roper, Jonathan (ed.). *Charms, Charmers and Charming in Europe*: *Materials of the International Conference of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 108–118.

Kõiva, Mare. 1990. *Estonskiye zagovory. Klassifikatsiya i zhanrovyie osobennosti*: Avtoreferat. [Estonian charms. Classification and genre characteristics. Abstract of Ph.D dissertation in Philology]. Tallinn: Institute of Estonian Language and Literature.

Kropej, Monika 2003. Charms in the Context of Magic Practice. The Case of Slovenia. *Folklore: The Electronic Journal of Folklore,* 24: pp. 62–77. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2003.24.slovcharm https://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol24/slovcharm.pdf

Leech, Geoffrey 1980. *Explorations in Semantics and Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Leech, Geoffrey 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. London, New York: Longman.

Leech, Geoffrey 1987. Stylistics and Functionalism. In: *The Linguistics of Writing. Arguments between Language and Literature*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 76–88.

Leech, Geoffrey & Short, Mick 2007. *Style in Fiction. A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*. London: Longman.

Petrukhin, Vladimir 2005. *Mify finno-ugrov* [Finno-Ugrian Myths]. Moscow: Astrel'; ACT Tranzitkniga.

Phillips, Martin 1985. *Aspects of Text Structure: An Investigation of the Lexical Organisation of Text.* Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Prucha, Jan 1983. *Pragmalinguistics: East European Approaches.* IV: 5. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Roper, Jonathan 2003. English Orature, English Literature: the Case of Charms. In: *Folklore: The Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 24: pp. 51–62. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2003.24.engcharm https://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol24/engcharm.pdf

Roper, Jonathan. 2003. Towards a Poetics, Rhetorics, Proxemics of Verbal Charms. In: *Folklore: The Electronic Journal of Folklore,* 24: pp. 7–49. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2003.24.verbcharm https://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol24/verbcharm.pdf

Sebeok, Thomas A. & Ingemann, Francis 1956. *Publications in Cheremis*. *The Supernatural*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 22. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Sebeok, Thomas A. 1974. *Structure and Texture. Essays in Cheremis Verbal Art.* De Proprietatibus Litterarum, Practica, no. 44. Paris: Mouton.

Siikala, Anna-Leena 1990. *Interpreting Oral Narrative*. [Revised and translated edition of "Tarina ja tulkinta. Tutkimus kansankertojista"]. FF Communications 245. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Agapkina

CHARMS AGAINST WORMS IN WOUNDS: THE TEXT AND THE RITUAL

Tatjana Agapkina

The article traces the origin of the Eastern and Western Slavic spells against worms in wounds as a result of intersection of the believes, folk motives, magical acts, and the dialectal words.

Keywords: spells, Slavs, folklore, ritual, diseases of livestock, dialectal speech

In the magical folklore of the Eastern and Western Slavs, as well as of the Germanic tribes, short verbal charms are known that are said over a wound that has gone septic and in which fly larvae, or even worms, are to be found. Most often such charms are cast over farm animals (horses, cows, sheep, pigs), but sometimes, though less frequently over people.

There are several types of charms against worms in wounds in Slavic folklore. In some of them, the worms are invited to a wedding in the hope that they will leave the body of a sick animal; another type of charm implements the countdown model (usually from 9 to 0), which symbolizes decrease/reduction and, in the end, reduces the disease to zero; the third type of charms is based on the motif of taking the worms out of the body of the sick animal in a subsequent manner, starting from its head and finishing with its paws or tail. The main narrative types of charms against worms have recently been reviewed by Tatiana Volodina on the basis of the materials related to Eastern and Western Slavic and Germanic charms (Volodina 2012). She has managed to find a connection between Slavic and Germanic texts and to follow their dynamics in time and space.

In addition to these narrative types, the Eastern and Western Slavs know a further group of charms against worms in wounds. These charms are accompanied by a small ritual. Essentially, a person (a healer) finds a certain plant, bends its top to the ground, and utters a brief charm. By addressing the plant, the person who says the charm is asking it to remove the worms from the wounds by promising to release the plant if it helps, and if it does not, by threatening to keep it forced down against the ground. This ritual has not been properly researched yet, although in the literature concerning Slavic ethnobotany it is referred to repeatedly (see: Zelenin 1937: 605; Kolosova 2009: 245–246).

The ritual and short charms that accompany it have been recorded since the 18th century until recently. There are also reports of them having been known to the Czechs, Moravians, Poles, Lithuanians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Russians. The following are available at our disposal:

– 8 Eastern Czech and Moravian charms;

– 8 Polish charms from the territory of Poland and at least 1 from Lithuania;

– between 6 and 10 Lithuanian charms: D. Vaitkevičienė cites at least 6 texts that help get rid of worms and several similar charms which people used to say to protect themselves against other diseases (Vaitkevičienė 2008, Nr. 28–41); M. V. Zavjalova simply mentions that more than 10 texts addressing a thistle against worms were recorded in Lithuania (Zavjalova 2006: 227);

– 6 Ukrainian charms;

– 4 Belorussian charms (one more is known that was published in Dobrovolskii 1, p. 211, nr. 2, but it cannot be regarded as authentic);

– 20 Russian charms from the territories of Povolzhye (Volga Region), Central and Southern Russia.

And the last thing to mention is the geography of the ritual. This ritual is actively represented in Moravia, but it seems that it does not exist in Slovakia; it is widely represented in Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine (mainly in the west and south-west), but is little known in Belarus; in the extensive territory of the European part of Russia this ritual is spread all across the area, except for the Russian North. Such uneven distribution of the charm ritual we are interested in among the Slavs is most likely indicative of the fact that its origins should probably be sought for outside of the Slavic tradition. In any case, two circumstances should be taken into account: firstly, the fact that in the Germanic tradition, as we have already mentioned, several other types of charms against worms are known, and secondly, rituals of bending a thistle down to the ground, similar to the Slavic ones, were recorded in Eastern Prussia in particular, in the area of the intersection of the Germanic, Slavic, and Baltic populations (see: Mannhardt, Heuschkel 1904/1: 15 and remark 2).

The oldest of the charms we know so far that is related to this ritual dates back to 1700 and was found a Czech book on herbal medicine. In this charm someone calling himself 'Jan' requested that a thistle release someone called Dorota from worms:

> Ve iménu Boha Odce, Boha Syna, Boha Ducha Svatého. Já Jan shejbám tě, zakrývám tě, mořím tě, bodláče, dokud' nedobydeš Dorotě červa z její hlavy, z jejho těla, z jejho ze všeho oudu. Toho mi dopomáhej Bůh + Odtec, Bůh + Syn, Bůh + Duch Svatý, všejeden Hospodin, jeden Bůh od věků na věky. Amen.

> *In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I, jan, am going to hit you, to torment you, the thistle, until you release Dorota from the worm and take it out of her head, her body, and all of her limbs. Please help me, Father, Son, the Holy Spirit, the One and Only God since the beginning of time and for good*. (Směs 1912: 206)

And even though this charm directly refers to a human, in the Slavic sources of later periods this ritual as well as the charm formulae included in it, were more typically used in relation to sick animals, such as horses, although sometimes they were indeed said over a human (who had worms or larvae in his or her wound or teeth); on rare occasions such charms were said over garden and field crops (cereals, cabbage, etc.) that had been struck by caterpillars and other insect pests. Let us have a closer look at the ritual and the texts that accompany it.

TIME, PLACE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES THAT ACCOMPANY THE RITUAL

Just like any other magical practice, the expulsion of worms from wounds is ritualized in its particulars. This ritual is usually carried out at dawn before the sun rises, but sometimes also at sunset; occasionally the ritual is done repeatedly morning and evening over three days; if the cattle is black, then the plant is bent westwards, and in other cases – eastwards; the plant is forced against the ground with a special, usually flat, rock obtained from underneath a drainpipe, etc., and after the plant is loosened, the stone is placed back in its original location; while practicing the ritual, sometimes the animal is taken closer to the plant, although most often this is not the case; in the charms that are said over the animal, the colour of the animal must be described as well as other distinguishing features, and the spot on the body where the suppurated wound is found is pointed at, like, for example, in the following Belarusian charm:

> Dziwanna… kab ty… karowie burej z rany u pachwinie wyhnała czerwi
> *So that you, Dziwanna, … would expel the worms from the belly of the brown cow*. (Wereńko 1896: 226, Vitebsk Governorate)

An analogue of this was also found in Russian:

> Репейник, репейник, выведи червей из правой ноги у коровы шерстью черной, а рога калачом.
> *Burdock, burdock, take the worms out of the right leg of the cow with black hair and rounded horns*. (Borisovskij 1870: 20, Nizhny Novgorod Governorate)

However, the most curious thing is that many descriptions mentioned that a blooming plant must be used for the ritual (Talko-Hryncewicz 1893: 284; Korovashko 1997, No 61, and others). This means that here we are dealing with the seasonal association of a remedial ritual, i.e. it can only be done in summer time, in the short period when certain plants are in bloom. It is no coincidence that this magical procedure was called *Лечить барана летом от червей* 'to deworm a sheep in summer' (Serebrennikov 1918: 24, Perm Krai). A calendric determination for remedial rituals is quite unusual and is definitely worth notice. Furthermore, it makes us think about such a phenomenon as the annual calendar of the healing and veterinary practice, which is similar to seasonal calendars of household and field activities.

SELECTING THE PLANT AND ITS PERSONIFICATION

Thorny weeds are often used as a magic tool in rituals; see such phytonyms as: Czech *bodlak,* Pol. *oset,* Russian *мордвин, татарин, репей, чертополох* and others. These phytonyms are not the name of separate types, but, as a rule, are common terms for thorny weeds that belong to different genera (on this phenomenon, see: Kolosova 2009: 234). Occasionally the nettle, which is a stinging plant that can also be used as an apotropaion, just as thorny weeds can, is also addressed in charms. This is mainly true of the Ukrainian and Belarusian traditions, and sometimes also of Poland. Charms addressed such a plant as *коровяк* (Lat. Verbascum): Pol. *dziewanna*, Bel. dial. *дзіванна, дзівонна* (Sloŭnik belaruskih gavorak 1980, 2: 50), Ukr. dial. *дивина* (SUM 2: 270), which is regarded as a medical plant, but which is neither thorny nor stinging. Also, in one Belarusian charm *бульняк* (*bulnyak*) (Bel. *быльнік*) is mentioned, while one of the Russian charms mentions *чернобыл* (*chernobyl*) – both dialectal words meaning 'wormwood' (Lat. Artemisia), a plant which has a strong smell and is also used in magic apotropaically. Finally, the Russian charms refer to the plant they are address merely as *grass*.

The selection of the plant is not only determined by its botanical genus. If the charm deals with a thistle, the plant with a large head or with an odd number of heads is selected, the sex of the animal is focussed on: male parents are healed by the male form of mullein, while female parents are healed by the female form (Rokossowska 1900: 461, Volhynian Governorate).

Charms display a tendency towards "forming" the personal characteristics of a plant (to which the charm is addressed) – mainly by means of various supplementary terms (e.g. personal names, kinship terms, titles and other signs of social status, etc.), which specify the object of personification. At the same time, this trend manifests itself in different traditions in various ways.

As it appears from the charms, the Russians attribute high social status to the plant (thistle, mullein), hence the address, such as

> Ты царь трава Чертополог; Царь татарин! Царь мордвинник! Ты трава царица; Князь татарин, стоишь ты на князьями выше всех и над царями выше всех; Татарник, татарник, боярин!
> *You are the Grass Tsar – the Thistle; Tatarin Tsar! The Mordvinnik Tsar! You are the Grass Tsarina; Tatarin Prince, you stand above all of the princes and above all of the tsars; Tatarnik, tatarnik, the boyar!*

Sometimes kinships terms are used in the address to the plant: *Матушка крапивушка, святое деревцо! Матушка трынь-трава* 'Mother nettle, the holy tree! Mother *tryn-trava*' The Polish and the Ukrainian traditions use propitiatory and respectful forms when addressing the plants, such as *Prześliczna panno, piękna dziewanno* 'Beautiful pani, beautiful mullein', *Mój panie oście* 'my thistle pan', *Dzivanie, moj dobry Panie* 'Mullein, my dear pan', *Дыванна-панна*, etc. We have not found similar addresses in the charms of the Czechs and the Moravians.

ACTIONS WITH THE PLANTS, THEIR SYMBOLISM, TYPOLOGICAL PARALLELS

As we have already mentioned, the plant that the charm addresses is often threatened, and the threat is expressed both verbally (in the charm) and in the form of actions: the plant is bent down to the ground, and its head is pressed against the ground in one way or another – it might be tied down by the stem, pressed against the ground with a stone, or pinned into the ground with a stick.

The charm usually contains a mere threat:

> Dzivanie, moj dobry panie, wypędz z kapusty robaki. Kiedy wypędzisz odpuszczu, a nie wypędisz, nie odpuszczu.
> *Mullein, my dear pan, expel the worms from the cabbage. When you do so, I will release you, and if you do not, I will not.* (Vaitkevičienė 2008, No. 1613, a Polish charm recorded in Lithuania)

> Tatarin, tatarin, if you expel the worms, I will let you go, and if you do not, I will break you! (Pjatnickij 1873: 226, Tula Governorate).

But sometimes the actions performed on the plant may have a symbolic meaning. In this case, forcing the top of the plant against the ground has various possible designations:

– "to break/cut off/rip the head off the plant": as in the western Czech charm

> Bodláčku, ja tobě tvou hlavu zlomím, pod kámen ti ji vložím, nepustím tebe, až mně nevyženeš z mého hovada červy z jeho místa.
> *Thistle, I will break your head and put it under the stone, not release you until you expel the worms from my animal and the place where it lives.* (Adámek 1900: 236)

the Belarusian charm

> Чуешь, крапиво: се не выпадут робаки из червонного вола, я тоби голову здойму.
> *Can you hear me, nettle: if the worms do not fall out of the red bull, I will rip your head off.* (Zelenin 1914: 440)

– "to lock the plant in jail": as in the Moravian charm

> Pcháčo, bodláčo… Tebe já zavírám do žaláře a spíš ti nepropustím, dokaď tech červů z ráne nevyženeš.
> *Thorn, thistle... I´m locking you in jail, and I will not release you until you expel the worms from the wound.* (Bartoš 1892: 272)

– "to foredoom the plant to torture": as in the Polish charm

> Dotąd cię będę męcył oście – dopokąd nie wyjdą z mojej krowy goście.
> *I am going to torture you until the unwanted guests leave my cow.* (Siarkowski 1879: 57)

– "to eradicate the root and the genus of the plant", i.e. to eliminate the plant and all of its future "offspring": the Russian charm

> Burdock, burdock… unless you expel the worms, I will eradicate you and all of your subgenera. (Borisovskij 1870: 20)

The ritual can involve reverse actions, too, if the plant does what is requested and expels the worms. It is believed that when the worms disappear, and the wound is clean, then the plant has to be untied, and the stone removed, so that it can straighten up again, which is said in the Russian charm:

> Матушка крапивушка, святое деревцо! Есть у меня р.Б. и.р., есть у него в зубах черви и ты оных выведи; ежели не выведешь, то я тебя высушу; а ежели выведешь, то я тебя в третий день отпущу.
> *Mother nettle, the holy tree! I have the r.B. i.r., and it has worms in its teeth, and you should expel them; if you do not, I will dry you up; if you do, I will release you on the third day.* (Afanas'ev 1872: 77)

With this, the plant is not only "released" from confinement but is also thanked for help:

> Bodláčko, já tebe propóščím z tvýho vězení a děkujo ti za to zpomožení.
> *Thistle, I am releasing you from your confinement, and I am thanking you for your help.* (Bartoš 1892: 272)

People used to believe that if you did not release the plant, the cattle would suffer, get sick, or die.

In the Moravian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Belarusian charms, no imperative is used when addressing the plant with a request to expel the worms: the charms simply say that the healer will not release the plant until the worms leave the wound (*leave, fly out, spill out*):

– the Moravian charm

> Kopřivo, já tě zlámo hlavičko, aby vepadale naši bily svince červi z vocaso.
> *Nettle, I will break your head if the worms do not fall out from underneath the tail of our white piggy.* (Bartoš 1892: 272, translation: Velmezova 2004, No. 297)

– the Polish charm

> Oście, oście, dotąd cię nie puszczę, póki z tego zwierzęcia nie wylecą goście.
> *Thistle, thistle, I will not release you until the unwanted guests fly out of this animal.* (Biegeleisen 1929: 468)

– the Ukrainian charm

> Поти тебе так буду держати, поκі у Н… не выпаднут› черві.
> *I will hold you like this until the worms ..... fall out of N.* (Talko-Hryncewicz 1893: 284)

– the Belarusian charm

> Oto ja ciebie zginam dziewanno na zachód słońca, i póty cię nie puszczę, aż nim u (тут указать вид животного и масть) nie wypadna robaki.
> *I am bending you, mullein, westwards, and I will not let you go until the worms fall out of the (colour) animal.* (Szukiewicz 1910: 123)

There is a completely different situation in the Russian tradition, where the plant is addressed in imperative mood, ordering it to expel the worms from the wound. To express this order, three verbs are used in Russian charms: *to lead out, to expel* and *to bend down / turn down*. And while the verbs *to lead out* and *to expel* are quite clear in the context of the charm and express the idea of the forced expulsion of the worms from the wound (*to lead the worms out, to expel*

the worms), the verbs *to bend down / break off* are not that clear in expressing this idea. Some uncertainty of its meaning is mainly related to the fact that in charms, this verb can have two objects – a plant and the worms.

In a number of examples, *to bend down* refers to the name of the action done by the person who is doing the ritual: the person approaches the plant and bends it to the ground but does not break it (i.e. *bends it down*). Focusing on this meaning ("to bend down the plant without breaking it"), the ritual has been named "bending down the plant", for example, *bending down the grass* (Dal' 1845: 40).

In other cases, the verb "to bend down" means the action a thorny plant is supposed "to do" in relation to the worms in the wound, and the object of this action is not the plant, but the worms: *Матушка трынь-трава, заломи червей у такой-то коровы* 'Mother *tryn-trava*, break the worms off the cow' (Gusev 1893: 323). This meaning is also expressed in ritual terminology, and, in the result, the ritual gets the name of, for example, *breaking the worms off the mordvinnik*, where *the mordvinnik* is one of the names of the thistle (Sadovnikova 1874, No. 40, Simbirsk Governorate). We would like to draw attention to the fact that in the Russian dialects, the structures of the preposition *na* 'on' with a noun in the accusative case (a noun that is having something done to it) corresponds to the structure in the instrumental case without a preposition in the literary language (i.e. the instrument by or with which the subject achieves or accomplishes the action); so, here the noun in the accusative case performs the function of the action instrument (SRNG 1983, 19: 97). Thus the name of the ritual of *breaking the worms off the mordvinnik* means to expel or to eradicate the worms with the help of the *mordvinnik*.

It is not without reason that we have had trouble trying to define the exact meaning of the verbs *to bend down / break off* in the charms we have considered above. On the one hand, as we have already said, in the Russian charms, *to bend down / break off* alternates with the verbs *to expel* and *to eradicate*, which is why this verb can have a meaning similar to eradication or expulsion of something or someone. As a rare parallel to the usage of the verbs *to bend down / break off* with the meaning of *to expel* or *to remove* we would like to cite the Belarusian expression *заламіць русалку асінаю* 'to break off a mermaid with an aspen', which means "to expel a mermaid with an aspen" (the aspen was regarded as a strong apotropaion). This is how the seasonal demon "*the mermaid*" was referred to in Belarus when it was expelled so that it would not break spikes in the field nor ruin the harvest. In particular, this dialectal expression appears in the Belarusian song sung on Trinity Sunday:

Правяду русалку, правяду,
Да й асінкаю заламлю,
Каб тая русалка не хадзіла,
Майго жыта не ламіла
(Vesnavyja pesni 1979, No. 284, Gomel Region).

On the other hand, in some Russian dialects, the verbs *to bend down / break off* have such meanings as "to break, to ruin the integrity; to destruct, to make useless, to spoil; to eradicate, to destroy; to kill, to tear to pieces, to cripple" (Pskovskoj oblastnoi slovar' 1995, Vol. 11: 308), i.e. gravitating towards the idea of destruction and annihilation. To that end, the expression "*to break the worms off the mordvinnik*" could be interpreted as "to eradicate the worms with the help of a thistle".

In addition to changing the object of the action (*to bend down / break off the worms*), in the texts of the Russian charms the verbs *to bend down / break off* involve other words that contain the same root in the lexical and notional game. In the result, in one single charm one can come across such pairs as *заломить* and *сломать*, *заломить* and *отломить* (all of these words have the same root and mean *to bend down / break off)*:

На море, на океане, на острове Буяне растет Мордвин трава. Мордвин трава, заломи червей. Если не заломишь, то я тебе голову сломаю.
Mordvin grass grows in the sea, in the ocean, on the Buyan island. Mordvin grass, break off the worms. (Bulusheva 1994: 64, Saratov Governorate)

Бульняк-бульнячына, белая на табе цвяцина, загну тябе, заломлю тябе, покуля у моёй скотины, чорной шарстины, черви повысыпаютца, а тогды разогну тябе, отломлю тябе.
Wormwood, you are white, I will be bending you down, I will be breaking you off until the worms fall out of my cattle, which is black in colour, and then I will release you. (Romanov: 135, No. 56, Mogilev Governorate)

Such building up of verbs united by the meaning of destruction and eradication (*to break* means "to destroy, to tear apart") intensifies the cumulative magical effect of charms and the ritual on the whole.

In a wider typological sense, the ritual of "breaking off" the worms can be regarded as an individual case of using the threatening strategy in relation to plants, which fits into a wider context of magical rituals. The plant is addressed with a threat, and relevant actions are done in order to "make" this plant release a human or an animal from a disease or some other evil. For example, in Montenegro, during an attack of fever, the tops of blackberry branches were forced against the ground, with the charmer saying: *kad mene pušte groznice,*

tad ću ja vas pustiti 'when the fever releases me, I will release you' (Usačeva 1988: 91). In Belarus (Vitebsk Governorate), when something was stolen, the owner tied up and forced a handful of grass to the ground, and then pressed it down with a stone, hoping that it would help him to get back what had been stolen (Nikiforovskij 1897: 85).

In addition to individual cases, many examples of using the threatening strategy in relation to plants were recorded in the Eastern Slavic tradition. In particular, we are dealing with the charms that are said when someone suffers from throat diseases (mainly with flu), many of which are called *глот, глотанец, дубоглод(т)*, etc. ('throat disease'; all of these words have the same root as the word *горло* meaning 'throat' in Russian (SRNG 1970, 6: 201–202; 1972, 8: 238–239, Mid. Rus. *глотать, глотка* 'throat'). As a rule, these charms address an oak, which is requested to "take away" a throat disease, by threatening that otherwise harm will be done to the tree. Here is a typical charm of such kind:

> Дуб, дубанец, добрый молодец, возьми с имярека глотанец! А не возьмешь, проглочу с ветками и с кореньями.
> *Oak, the good lad, release this Jane / John Doe from throat disease. If you do not, I will swallow you, your branches and your roots.* (Gorbunov 1894: 3, Orenburg Governorate)

The Eastern and Western Slavic charms against worms in wounds considered above are peculiar in methodological respect, since they show that the symbolism of charms, their motives and language are formed at the intersection of ritual, folklore imagery, and dialect speech.

REFERENCES

Adámek, Karel Vaclav 1900. *Lid na Hlinecku.* I. Praha: Archeologická komisse při České akademii císaře F. Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění.

Afanas'ev Aleksander N. 1862. Neskol'ko narodnyh zagovorov. In: *Letopisi russkoj literatury i drevnosti.* Vol. 4. Moscow: Izd. N. S. Tihonravovym, pp. 72–80.

Bartoš, František 1892. *Moravský lid.* Sebrané rozpravy z oboru moravské lidovědy. Telč: Nákl. E. Šolce.

Biegeleisen, Henryk 1929. *U kolebki. Przed otarzem. Nad mogiłą*. Lwow: Instytut Stauropigjański.

Borisovskij, A. I. 1870. *Primety, obyčai i poslovicy v pjati volostjah Nižegorodskogo uezda*. Vol. 3. Nižnij Novgorod: Nižegorodskij statističeskij komitet, pp. 197–225.

Bulusheva, Elena 1994. Zagovory v fol'klore Saratovskogo Povolž'ja. Zagovory. Saratov. *Saratovskij vestnik.* Vol. 4, pp. 1–65.

Dal', Vladimir I. 1845. O poverijah, sueverijah i predrassudkah russkogo naroda. In: *Illjustracija*, No. 16. Sankt-Peterburg, pp. 250–251.

Demodivich, P. P. 1896. Iz oblasti verovanij i skazanij belorusov. In: *Ètnografičeskoe obozrenie*, No. 2–3. Moscow, pp. 107–145.

Dobrovolskii, V. N. 1891. *Smolenskij ètnografičeskij sbornik.* Vol. 1. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografija E. Evdokimova.

Gorbunov, Ja. 1894. Selo Romanovskoe, zagovory, svadebnye i drugie obrjady sredi žitelej ètogo sela. In: *Orenburgskij listok*, No. 200, pp. 2–3.

Gusev, A. 1893. Pover'ja, prazdniki, pesni i skazki v st. Ardonskoj Terskoj oblasti. In: *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kavkaza*. Vol. 16. Tiflis: SMOMPK, pp. 317–366.

Kolosova, Valeria B. 2009. *Leksika i simvolika slavjanskoj narodnoj botaniki. Ètnolingvističeskij aspekt.* Moscow: Indrik.

Korovashko, A. A. 1997. *Nižegorodskie zagovory (V zapisjah XIX–XX vekov)*. Nižnij Novgorod: Izdatel'stvo Nižegorodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta.

Maikov, Leonid N. [1869] 1994. *Velikorusskie zaklinanija.* Zapiski Imp. Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obŝestva po otdeleniju ètnografii. 2nd ed. A. K. Bajburin (ed.). Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo evropejskogo doma.

Mannhardt, Wilhelm & Heuschkel, Walter 1904. *Wald- und Feldkulte. Mythologische Untersuchungen*. Bd. 1. Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstamme. 2 Auflage. Berlin: Borntraeger.

Nikiforovskij N. J. 1897. *Prostonarodnye primety i pover'ja, suevernye obrjady i obyčai, legendarnye skazanija o licah i mestah... v Vitebskoj Belorussii*. Vitebsk.

Pjatnickij, Ar. 1873. Sueverija, pover'ja i primety, zagovory, lečenija i gadanija. In: *Pribavlenie k Tul'skim eparhial'nym vedomostjam,* No. 6. Tula, pp. 223–229.

Pskovskoj oblastnoj slovar' 1995. Vol. 11. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta.

Rokossowska, Z. 1900. Zamawiania ("zmowlania") we wsi Jurkowszczyźnie w pow. Zwiahelskim. In: *Wisła.* T. 14. Warszawa, pp. 458–461.

Sadovnikov, Dmitri N. 1874. Ètnografičeskie materialy Povolžskogo kraja. In: *Simbirskie gubernskie vedomosti.* Čast' neoficial'naja. No. 34, No. 40. Simbirsk.

Siarkowski, Władysław 1879. *Materiały do etnografii ludu polskiego z okolic Kielc*. Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej. Cz. 2. Vol. 3. Kraków: Polskiej Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie, pp. 3–61.

Směs 1912. Český lid. *Etnologický časopis.* Vol. 22. Praha, pp. 204–207.

Szukiewicz, Wandalin 1910. Niektóre wierzenia, pszesądy i zabobony ludu naszego, legendy i podania. In: *Kwartalnik litewski.* Vol. 4. Wilno: Stow. Naucz. Polskiego, pp. 111–124.

Sloŷnik belaruskih gavorak 1980, 2. *Sloŷnik belaruskih gavorak paŷnočna-zahodnjaj Belarusi i jae pagraničča.* Vol. 2. Minsk: Akadèmïja Navuk Belaruskaj SSR.

Serebrennikov, Valentin N. 1918. Narodnye zagovory, zapisannye v Ohanskom uezde Permskoj gubernii. In: *Kružok po izučeniju severnogo kraja pri Permskom universitete*. Perm', pp. 1–28.

SRNG = *Slovar' russkih narodnyh govorov*. 1– . F. P. Filin, *et al.* (Editor-in-Chief). Leningrad-Moscow 1965–.
https://iling.spb.ru/vocabula/srng/srng.html

SUM 2 = *Slovnik ukraïns'koï movi*. 1971, Vol. 2. Kiïv: Naukova dumka.

Talko-Hryncewicz, Julian 1893. *Zarys lecznictwa ludowego na Rusi południowej*. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności.

Usačeva, Valeria V. 1988. Slovesnye formuly v narodnoj medicine slavjan. In: *Ètnolingvistika teksta. Semiotika malyh form fol'klora*. 1st edition. Moscow, pp. 88–92.

Vaitkevičienė, Daiva 2008. *Lietuvių užkalbėjimai: gydymo formulės* [Lithuanian verbal healing charms]. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.

Velmezova, Elena 2004. *Češskie zagovory. Issledovanija i teksty*. Moscow: Indrik.

Volodina, Tatjana 2012. Zagovory ot červej v rane – belorusskaja tradicija na evropejskom fone. In: *Zajedničko u slovenskom folkloru.* Beograd, pp. 93–107.

Vesnavyja pesni 1979. *Belaruskaja narodnaja tvorčasc': Vesnavyja pesni*, Vol. 11. Instytut mastatstvaznaŭstva, ètnahrafii i fal'kloru. Minsk: Navuka i tèhnika.

Wereńko, F. 1896. Przyczynek do lecznictwa ludowego. *Materiały antropologiczno-archeologiczne i etnograficzne*. Vol. I. Kraków: Naklodem Akademii Umietnosci, pp. 99–228.

Zavjalova, Maria V. 2006. *Balto-slavjanskij zagovornyj tekst. Lingvističeskij analiz i model' mira*. Moscow: Nauka.

Zelenin, Dmitri K. 1914. *Opisanie rukopisej Učenogo arhiva Imperatorskogo Russkogo geografičeskogo obŝestva.* 1st edition. Petrograd: Tipografija A.V. Orlova. http://lib.rgo.ru/reader/flipping/Resource-2311/002_R/index.html

Zelenin, Dmitri K. 1937. Totemy-derev'ja v skazanijah i obrjadah evropejskih narodov. *Trudy instituta antropologii, arheologii, ètnografii.* T. XV, v. 2. Ètnografičeskaja serija. Moskva; Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Vinokurova

SERPENT SYMBOLISM IN VEPSIAN INCANTATIONS

Irina Vinokurova

Incantations are a little known and virtually unstudied genre of Vepsian folklore. About 35 incantations devoted to snakes were derived from published sources, as well as from archival and field materials. These texts formed the basis for the present study.

An inherent feature of most Vepsian incantations is the listing of the kinds of snakes differing in coloration. During the study, 23 texts where snake colours are mentioned were found. Their analysis indicates that all texts mention, usually in the first place, the black colour – 23 occurrences, the second and third positions occupied by the motley (22) or grey (17) coloration.

Keywords: colour, incantation, snake, Vepsian incantation

Even in cursory acquaintance with different spheres of Vepsian traditional culture one's attention is drawn to the ubiquity and abundance of various animal images. They are part of the ideas about space and time, views on nature and disease, of demonology, of various rites, and of the graphic and verbal systems; they represent the physical, emotional, intellectual and other qualities of people. This listing alone proves how important it is to identify and study Vepsian national perceptions of the animal world. Being an especial component of Vepsian traditional worldview, they can help us considerably in advancing its study.

In contrast to many other Finno-Ugrians, Vepsians became an object of scientific research only after a significant delay – in the second half of the 19th century, which was many years after their "discovery" by A. Sjögren in 1824, when their culture was already much "Russified" and impacted by urbanization, and many of its distinctive phenomena and even whole spheres had been lost for good. This is especially true for Vepsian mythology. For instance, no cosmogonic myths common among other Finno-Ugrian nations, such as myths about a waterfowl diving to the bottom of the ocean to get earth, or about the creation of the world from an egg lain by a bird, have been recorded from Vepsians (cf Vinokurova 2015). Neither do they have aetiological myths, relating to the behaviour and appearance of animals, so we can only assume they are present in an "implicit" form in some areas and genres of folk culture. At present, one has to take all potentially available sources into account in order to reconstruct

the faunal world in mythological and religious perceptions; and there are very few of such sources left for the Vepsians (Vinokurova 2006). Furthermore, while some documents would be more valuable and true, others will be less so. One of the sources for studying mythology is incantations – fixed texts with specific starting and final formulae, many of which have been strongly influenced by Christian prayers.

Incantations are a little known and virtually unstudied genre of Vepsian folklore. Texts of Vepsian incantations recorded in manuscript and in print contain images of the following animals: snake, toad, louse, as wellas domestic animals, such as horse, bull, rooster, cat and dog. This paper deals with that group of incantations which feature the image of the snake – a key group in any mythological system – with the aim of discovering traditional Vepsian ideas relating to this reptile.

About 35 incantations devoted to snakes were assembled from published sources (including 10 texts from various Finnish editions not easily accessible to the Russian reader), as well as from archival and field materials. These texts form the basis for the present study.

Vepsian incantations against snakes are highly variable in structure. Two chief groups can be distinguished among them. The first one (presumably an earlier one, which is also characteristic of Estonian and Finnish incantations) is three-tiered, made up of 1) the definition of the kind of snake; 2) the definition of snake habitats; and 3) an order, threat or request to make the snake's bite harmless. For example:

Must gad	*The black vermin*,
Ġonoikaz gad	*the striped vermin,*
Kus sinun kodi?	*Where's your home?*
Kodi om penzhannau.	*Home is under shrub.*
Mina mänen i rikon	*I'll go and kill*
Sinun tatan i maman.	*Your mother and father.*
I rozorin kaiken kodin sinun.	*I'll ravage all of your home.*

(Setälä, E. N. & Kala J. H. No. 151, collected in the village of Shimozero)

The second group of incantations always feature an introductory formula with a description of the charmer's route to the world of magic powers, across a number of borders and regions. For example, an incantation recorded from the village of Korbinichi, in the Tikhvin District of the Leningrad Region, reads as follows:

> Nouzen, blagoslovväs'. Lähten puhthaha pöudha. Puhthas pöud oma madoižed pezad. Rusttaiden madoiden, kir'jävan madoiden, hahkoiden madoiden, mustoiden madoiden puutan. Nened pezad pästan tul'jädme.
> *I'll rise and ask for a blessing. I'll go to the clear field. There are snake nests in the clear field. I'll burn the red snakes, motley snakes, gray snakes, black snakes. I'll scatter the nest ashes in the wind.*
> (PMA Tihvin district of the Leningrad Region, Korbinichi village, June 1994, informant A. D. Silina)

This second group of incantations has apparently appeared in the Vepsian environment under the influence of the Russian population. Researchers believe this kind of introductory formula is characteristic of East Slavic incantations only (Yudin 1999: 200).

No matter what their structure may be, however, an inherent feature of most Vepsian incantations is the listing of the kinds of snakes differing in coloration. In the course of the study, 23 texts where snake colours were mentioned were found. Their analysis indicates that all texts mention, usually in the first position, the black colour – 23 occurrences, the second and third positions are occupied by motley (22) or grey (17) coloration, copper or white colours are mentioned 12 times, red and yellow – 6 times. The colours found least often are blue (2), pink and green (1) (see table).

One can assume from these data that Vepsians probably had a classification of snakes by skin colour. Fragments of informants' stories testify to its former existence. The kind of answer usually given to the question about what snakes there are ran like this:

> Vsäkijäd madad oma: must mado, hahk, vasńe. Vaśk' – nece medänka. Nece huba mado.
> *Snakes can be of different kinds: a black snake, a grey one, a copper one. A copper snake is the smooth snake. It's a bad snake*.
> (Fond IJaLI, No. 3662/3. N.A. Gerasimova, born 1925, Pankratovo village at Babaevski District of Vologodskii Region)

Further evidence for this assumption can be found also in materials gathered by other researchers who did not focus on the issue specifically. Thus, the "Dictionary of the Vepsian Language" gives the following expression:

> Magadad oma kijavad i mustad.
> *Snakes can be motley and black*.
> (Zajceva & Mullonen 1972: 314)

Color	Incantation source											
	A1	A2	S,K	K1	K2	SP1	SP2	R	T1	T2	S1	S2
Black	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	3	2	3	1
Motley	2	3	2	3	3	3	3		4	3	4	2
Grey		2		2	2	1	1	5	1			
Coppery	3			4				4			5	
White						2	2	1	2	1	2	
Yellow				5							1	
Red		4			4			3				
Blue												
Rosy												
Green												
Golden												
Silvery												
Fiery												

Table 1. Frequency of snake colors as mentioned across Vepsian 23 incantations. The numbers indicate how many times a color is mentioned in an incantation.

Text sources:

A1 – Ahlqvist 1861: 64.
A2 – Ahlqvist 1861: 65.
S, K – Setälä, Kala 1951, No. 151.
K1 – Kettunen 1925: 139.
K2 – Kettunen 1925: 145.
SP1 – Sovijärvi, Peltola 1982: 33.
SP2 – Sovijärvi, Peltola 1982: 34.
R – Rainio 1973.
T1 – Turunen 1956: 191.
T2 – Turunen 1956: 192.
S1-S9 – *Sääski S.*, SKS No. 3576, 3578, 3585, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3593, 3594.
P1-P3 – *Perttola J.*, SKS No. 356, 366, 367.
PMA – informer A. D. Silina, 1922, village Korbinichi

Color	Incantation source										
	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	P1	P2	P3	PMA
Black	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Motley	4	4	3	11	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Grey	2		2	12	4	4	2	2	2	3	3
Coppery	3		6	3	5	2	4		4	4	
White		2	8	6	2		5	4			
Yellow	6	3	5	7							
Red	5		4								1
Blue			7	8							
Rosy				9							
Green				10							
Golden				1							
Silvery				2							
Fiery				4							

The Finnish researcher Sääski has a record of the following informant's utterance:

> Käärmiit (Finnish) oli must gad, kirjav gad, hahk gad (haarmaa – Finnish) i vaśńe gad.
> *Snakes can be: black vermin, motley vermin, grey vermin and copper vermin.*
> SKS, *Sääski S.*, No. 3581, Vehručej Prionežskii district, Karelija; U. Anikeeva, born 1881.

In folk narratives, four types of snakes are usually distinguished – black, grey, copper, and, less frequently, motley ones. These are the colours that prevail in Vepsian incantations.

Different beliefs are related to snakes of different coloration. For example, Vepsians living in Prionezhje have observed that black snakes come out before rain (Makar'ev, Stepan A. Vepsskij fol'klor: AKNC, f. 26, op.1, No. 15, l. 188). Vepsian beliefs often contain oppositions between snakes differing in colour: a black snake is better than a grey one. For example, "if the first snake you see in spring is black, life that year will be good, if it's grey – life will be grey" (Fon.

IJaLI, No. 3420/18, M. S. Triškina, born 1927, Pjažozero Babaevskii District of Vologodskii Region). Or: the first encounter with a black snake bodes one well, with a grey one heralds the receipt of bad papers (PMA, August 1994, E. E. Jakovleva, born 1911, Jaroslaviči village in Podporožskii District of Leningradskii Region). It is curious that the black colour in mythology usually has an unambiguously negative sense, whereas the colour grey is ambivalent. The above beliefs are presumably due to certain colour-related value orientations of Vepsians.

Being an essential ethnic trait in the Vepsian "snake" classification, colour has also left a mark on other ideas of this people about snakes. Much significance was attributed by Vepsians from the Tikhvin District, Leningrad Region, to snakes seen near the dwelling. One could not kill such a snake for it was considered the master spirit of the cattle shed, and its extermination was thought to cause misfortune to the cattle. In some documented statements, the kinds of snakes that could not be killed near a house were specified. A black snake could not be killed, unlike a grey one.

The perception of the snake (grass snake) as a protector of the house was quite common among peoples of Western Europe, as well as amongst Slavs and the nations living around the Baltic Sea (Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Izhorians, Votians, Finns, Swedes) (Honko 1962: 285; Lurker 1987: 371, Hiiemäe 1986: 100). Upon reaching the local group of Vepsians, this typological phenomenon was apparently partially adjusted to the people's ethnic tradition concerning black and grey snakes.

One can assume that in earlier times Vepsians used to have healing rites for snake bites with actions, objects and words differing dependent on the colour of the "offending" snake. Their decrepit fragments were discovered in handwritten sources. For example, according to the Finnish researcher, Perttola, charms against snake bite among Prionezhje Vepsians were sometimes directed towards a piece of cloth (black, grey or multicoloured) of the same colour as the snake (SKS, Perttola J., No. 468).

Traces of the folk classification of snakes by colour and corresponding bite treatment methods can also be discerned in the beliefs of the neighbouring Russian population. For example, people in the Starorusskii District, Novgorod Region, believe "there are twelve sorts of snakes: red, and grey, and green, from water and edge, from field and from yard. If a vermin bites, one must know which one it was to attack the same colour, otherwise nothing can be done" (Čerepanova 1996: 103). This fragment shows that in North Russian beliefs, differentiation of snakes by habitat is added to their classification by colour. The same phenomenon can be seen in Russian incantations. In general, however,

appellation by snake colour is not so typical of Russian incantations as it is of Vepsian ones. The "locus" trait is more frequent there, sometimes in combination with another one: the "method of movement". Our observations are confirmed by the conclusion of Gura that the locus and the method of movement are significant traits in the perception of snakes for all Slavonic peoples (Gura 1997: 20, 319). Data produced by M. V. Zavyalova in the course of an comparative analysis of Lithuanian and Russian incantations against snakes also fit into this framework: rich definitions of snake coloration are present in Lithuanian incantations, but are not typical of Russian ones (Zavjalova 2000: 206).

Indication of the snake habitat, always placed after indication of the colour, was found in 16 Vepsian charm texts. It had three representations: as a serpent epithet; as its "home"; as the space the charmer threatens to ruin or drives the disease to. The snake habitats mentioned most frequently were the willow carr, rocks and fences. Analysis of the loci has shown that they all act as markers of the world of the dead the serpent belongs to.

In one of Vepsian incantations, the willow is called *gadan kust* 'vermin's shrub' (SKS, Perttola J., No. 366). The connection between serpent and willow can also be traced in Lithuanian and Russian incanting and spell-casting verses. Researchers note that willow is the tree of weeping and sorrow is many cultural traditions. Because of their "sadly" drooping branches, "weeping" willows are considered a symbol of death and planted in graveyards (Tresidder 2001: 125). Besides, willow's bendable branches were associated with the snake. Evidence of the fact that Vepsians had such ideas can be found in the Vepsian incantation *pajukeran kiškaidan* 'I shall pierce the willow ball'.

Piles of rocks mentioned in incantations against snakes are also a kind of grave symbol. In folk cosmology, stone is often interpreted as a symbol of the dead nature, immobility and death (Tolstaja 1999: 255). It suffices here to recall the stone burial mounds erected by ancient Ves (10th to early 13th cent.). At the same time, stone, like willow, was related to the snake. This fact is evidenced by the Vepsian belief that one cannot kill a snake with a stone because it is the snake's "Godmother", and the only effective weapon is an alder stick (Fon. IJaLI, No. 3666/44, E. V. Vinogradova, born 1933, Prokuševo village, Boksitogorsk District of Leningrad Region).

The phrases *aidružus* 'in a ruined fence' or *aidan al* 'under the fence', often found in Vepsian charms, also combine the ideas of serpent symbolism and snake habitats. The fence, which reminds one of the snake's long body, was perceived as the border between "native" and "alien" worlds. As many peoples believed, the border, in the form of a fence, gate, door or threshold, was the place where evil spirits resided, and its crossing was therefore always furnished with vari-

ous safeguarding actions (Vinokurova 1996: 62). The epithet "ruined" – which was applied to the word "fence" most often – was not accidental either: there can be no life in ruins.

Many Vepsian incantations contain a motif where people threaten to burn the whole serpent tribe and scatter the ashes in the wind. For instance: "We shall burn your native home to the ground, we shall reduce it to ashes". The motif is supported also by beliefs. According to the informers, a killed snake was to be burnt – "like destroys like".

Thus, many motifs found in Vepsian charm texts (the differentiation of snakes by colour; the close affiliation of snakes to the underworld and specific loci such as stones, shrubs, fences, etc.; the fire-related nature of the snake) have been supported throughout in the beliefs and rites of Vepsians. All these facts prove that incantations are an additional, yet very important source of information for reconstruction of mythological ideas.

SOURCES

Fon. IJaLI, – Sound archives of the Karelian Institute of Literature, Language and History.
PMA – manuscripts of the Karelian Institute of Lietarture, Language and History.
SKS – manuscripts of Finnish Literary Society.

REFERENCES

Ahlqvist, August 1861. Anteckningar i Nord-tschudiskan. In: *Acta societatis scient. Fennicae*, No. 6. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura, pp. 49–113.

Čerepanova O. A. 1996. *Mifologičeskie rasskazy i legendy Russkogo Severa.* St Petersburg: St.-Peterburgskii universitet.

Gura, Aleksandr V. 1997. *Simvolika životnyh v slavjanskoj narodnoj tradicii.* Moscow: Indrik.

Hiiemäe, Mall 1986. Ob otnošenii k životnomu miru v narodnyh verovanijah èstoncev i v karelo-finskom èpose "Kalevala". In: *"Kalevala" – pamjatnik mirovoj kul'tury*. Petrozavodsk: IJaLI.

Honko, Lauri 1962. *Geisterglaube in Ingermanland*. FFC 185. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Kettunen, Lauri 1925. Näytteitä etelävepsästä II. In: *Suomi,* V: 4. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Lurker M. 1987. Snakes. In: M. Eliade (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 13. New York: MacMillan.

Rainio J. 1973. Vanhaa äänisvepsäläistä lääkintätietoa. In: *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja*, 53. Porvoo; Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 289–312.

Setälä, E. N. & Kala, J. H. 1951. *Näytteitä Äänis- ja Keskivepsän murteista*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Sovijärvi, A. & Peltola, R. 1982. *Äänisvepsän näytteitä.* Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Tolstaja, Svetlana M. 1999. Kamen' v obrjadah i verovanijah slavjan. In. *III Kongress ètnografov i antropologov Rossii. Tezisy dokladov*. Moscow: Institut ètnologii i antropologii RAN.

Tressider, Jack 2001. *Slovar' simvolov.* Moscow. http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Culture/JekTresidder/index.php

Turunen Aimo 1956. Über die Volksdichtung und Mythologie der Wepsen. In: *Studia Fennica,* 6. MEML II. Helsinki, pp. 169–204.

Vinokurova, Irina 2006. *Životnye v tradicionnom mirovozzrenii vepsov (opyt rekonstrukcii)*. Petrozavodsk: Izdatel'stvo PetrGU, 2006. 448 pp.

Vinokurova, Irina 2015. *Mifologija vepsov: ènciklopedija.* Petrozavodsk: Izdatel'stvo PetrGU.

Vinokurova, Irina J. 1996. *Tradicionnye prazdniki vepsov Prionež'ja (konec XIX – načalo XX v.)* Petrozavodsk: Izdatel'stvo PetrGU.

Zajceva, Nina & Mullonen, Maria 1972. *Russko-vepskii slovar'*. Leningrad: Nauka.

Zav'jalova, Maria V. 2000. Model' mira v litovskih i russkih zagovorah "ot zmei" (sopostavitel'nyj analiz). In: *Balto-slavjanskie issledovanija*. 1998–1999. XIV: Moscow: Indrik.

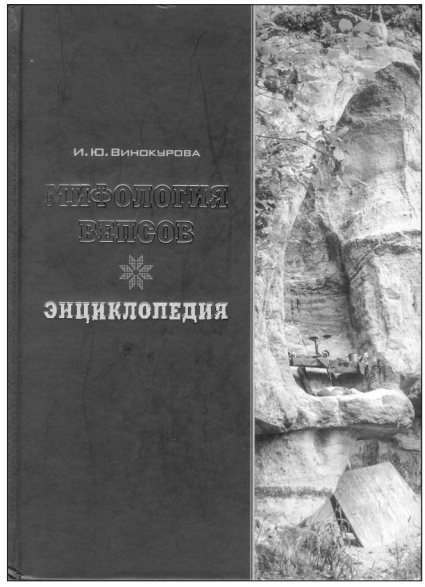
Yudin, A. V. 1999. *Russkaja narodnaja duhovnaja kul'tura*. Moscow: Vyšaja škola.

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_BookReview

BOOK REVIEWS

Vinokurova, Irina Iur'evna. *Mifologiia vepsov. Entsiklopediia*. [*Encyclopaedia of Vepsian Mythology*]. Petrozavodsk: Izdatel'stvo PetrGU, 2015. 524 pp.

For centuries, mythology has been considered an important characteristic of culture and there are only a handful of nations whose mythology heritage has been given a general encyclopaedic overview. The circle of mythology nations now also includes the small Vepsian nation who speak a Baltic-Finnic language and who number 5936 people according to the Russian census of 2010. Vepsians mainly live on the south-west shore of Lake Onega and in the Veps uplands



amidst forests and lakes. The collection of Vepsian traditions and language started in the 19th century, but researchers admitted even then that this small nation was quickly becoming Russified. The main collecting and research work took place in the 20th century. Karelian-Petrozavodsk researchers and amateur historians as well as academics from St Petersburg and Finnish and Estonian researchers in the field of humanities systematically collected and recorded the Vepsian language, ethnographical materials and folklore. The archive of the Karelian Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History of the Russian Academy of Sciences is the central archive of Vepsian-related materials, including

the contributions made by Irina Vinokurova, the author of the encyclopaedia, who has published articles and books on nearly every aspect of Vepsian culture.

Researchers on Vepsians comprise an array of leading scientists: Nikolai Bogdanov, Vladimir Pimenov, Maria Zaitseva, Maria Mullonen, Anna Kosmenko, Zinaida Strogalštšikova, Nina Zaitseva, Viktor Lapin, Ljudmila Korolkova, Igor Brodski, Madis Arukask, Kristi Salve, Marje Joalaid, Vaina Mälk, Taisto-Kalevi Raudalainen, Ada Ambus and others. Previous Estonian works on Vepsian folk culture are scattered throughout various publications, but Madis Arukask has taken it upon himself to put together a joint collection of papers by Karelian and Estonian researchers entitled 'Uurimusi vepsa rahvausust' (*Papers on Vepsian folk beliefs)* (http://www.folklore.ee/rl/pubte/ee/sator/sator16/), which also features Irina Vinokurova, the author of the mythology. We would also like to highlight linguist Nina Zaitseva, listed above, who has worked incredibly hard for the creation and implementation of Vepsian literary language, and not just as a scholar, but in engaging in the creation process of the language in the 1980s. Her tireless efforts as the head of the working group for Vepsian literary language resulted in the creation of a Vepsian-language newspaper, *Kodima*, for which she acted as editor-in-chief. She has translated the Karelian-Finnish epic poem *Kalevala* into Vepsian and in 2012 she published an important cultural landmark, the Vepsian epic poem *Virantannaz*.

Irina Vinokurova's 'Mythology of the Vepsians: an Encyclopaedia' is important from the viewpoint of Vepsian culture, as a good example of the level of contemporary research, but also a significant landmark in the field of international comparative mythology. The preparation process of this encyclopaedia started as part of the 1994 international project 'Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies', which also determines the structure and content of the publication. The need to provide a much broader picture of higher mythology became evident when preparing the edition on Komi mythology (*Мифология коми*, published in Russian in 1999). Essentially, the publication turned out as an encyclopaedic introduction of Komi folklore, mythology and religion. The edition of Vepsian mythology also contains introductory chapters providing an overview of the history, language and culture of Vepsians, the research history of their religion and primary researchers, as well as numerous general concepts. It also encompasses a wider range of religious and folkloristic material.

The general overview of mythology presents the layers of Vepsian religion and highlights the effect of Christianisation on concepts related to folk culture. The overview of cosmogony introduces creation myths – the world being created from a bird's egg; attention is given to dualistic creation myths. Cosmography also comes under closer inspection – central concepts such as spirit manifestations, the afterlife and fairies. In accordance with precious works on

Finno-Ugric mythology, Vepsian tradition has also placed emphasis on such practices as sacrifices, celebration of special dates, and animals and birds as important parts of the mythological worldview; it introduces the institution of witches and sages. We should point out that Vinokurova has written a number of studies and overviews on special dates and in 2006 also published a lengthy and unique monograph focussing on folklore and religion related to animals.

The main body of the monograph comprises 369 keyword articles that follow the general fields mentioned above and wherein the task of the researcher was to prepare the keywords based on fragmentary historic reports and the allowances enabled by the material that was collected in previous centuries and influenced by Christianity. The keywords seem to display the options provided by Vepsian material in sufficient versatility. We can find interesting information about the elaborate system of fairies, about *lemboi* and *rahkoi,* the concept of God and the mythical entity Sünd. Sünd denotes a Christian God and Jesus, a dead ancestor and the mythical forefather of the tribe, constituting a fascinating religious mixture.

The work provides an interesting overview of healers/witches (*noid, noidad, t'edai*), persons who were considered to exist between the spirit world and the world of humans and who were traditionally believed to have supernatural powers. Witches who lived as peasants did both good and bad deeds, and according to Vinokurova, witches were generally – and as late as the 1930s – older men. The mass repressions that started in the 1930s and World War II caused a great transformation by changing the demographics of the villages and leading the profession of witches to be slowly transferred to older women, whose primary task was now healing and to a lesser extent also love magic. (A similar transformation has also been observed by several researchers in the practice of the Vepsian Orthodox Church, where women took over the roles of clerics and conducted various religious practices.) There was at least one witch (*ak, bab*) active in every Vepsian village as recently as the late 20th century. Well-known mythical motifs include so-called wedding witches who were charged with protecting the people at a wedding and the bride and groom from evil and also preventing them from being turned into wolves or bears. It was also believed that witches with more power could contact the forest spirits (*mechine*) and speak with them to ask for their assistance in finding missing people and animals or protecting cattle.

The *arbui* has had a remarkable role in the community – in the 15th and 16th centuries he served the function of an elder and organiser of prayers, resolving important issues in the community. Today, the term carries the narrow meaning of a fortune-teller. Similarly to other nations, the Vepsians were familiar with people who had the so-called evil eye or evil word.

There is a shorter overview of spells provided under the keyword for witches, highlighting the term *puheg* to signify verbal healers. This term indicates a kind of blowing that accompanied the magic words; other terms also point to performative traits such as mumbling the words or spitting them out, as it were. Spells were attained either through a succession line or directly from the witch itself. Texts were passed on through verbal tradition as well as by rewriting them. Additionally, the witches were not permitted to pass on magic words when still practising themselves because it was believed that the power of the words would disappear when people lost teeth or when they were passed on prematurely. At the same time, the beliefs stressed the importance of passing on spells to the next healer; not doing so was said to cause the witch to suffer a tortuous death.

Illustrative photos and figures have been added for clarification, including of sacred places and traditional celebrations related to the calendar and the cycle of life.

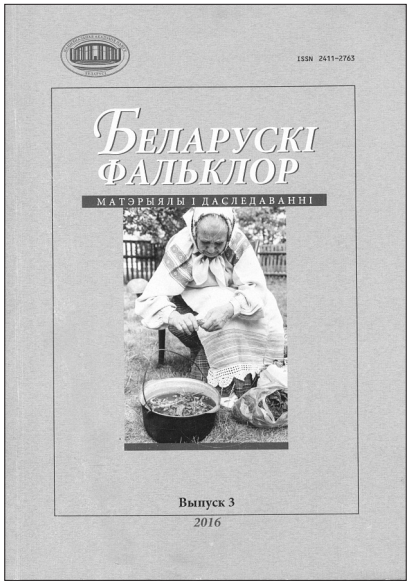
Mythological terms in the encyclopaedia are given in Veps in Latinised form, which is a good decision when taking into consideration the Veps language. There is an index/concordance table for finding terms in Veps and in Russian, a list of references and archive materials, a list of abbreviations and a list of place names at the end of the publication – all the classical elements of academic publications. Since the encyclopaedic work was issued by the press of the Petrozavodsk State University it can easily be purchased from their website (http://press.petrsu.ru/UNIPRESS/ Magazin.html).

The scientific value of 'Vepsian Mythology' is immeasurable, seeing as it is an emblematic publication whose use will prove beneficial to researchers of mythology, academic scholars and a wider circle of interested people. The translation of this masterpiece into English and other languages is vital in order to increase its circulation. As such, the publication is a kind of *axix mundi* of Vepsian culture.

Mare Kõiva
Estonian Literary Museum

Беларускі фальклор : Матэрыялы і даследаванні: зб. навук. прац. [*Belarusian Folklore: Materials and Research*]. **Галоўны рэдактар Т. В. Валодзіна. Вып. 1–4. Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2014–2017.**

The academic publication *Belarusian Folklore: Materials and Research* has been issued since 2014 on the initiative of Belarusian folklorists. The collection was started by Taćciana Valodzina/Tatjana Volodina and is put together in the Department of Folklore and Slavic Folk Culture of the Centre for Belarusian Culture, Language and Literature at the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus.



The four volumes that have been published to date introduce studies of Belarusian folkloristics and topical issues and try to find new approaches to Belarusian folklore. In addition to the researchers at the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus, the list of authors includes scientists from various Belarusian universities and neighbouring countries.

The publication contains the following: 'Studies', 'Ethnolinguistic atlas of Belarusian folklore', 'Belarusian folklore in foreign publications', 'From folklore collections', 'Records of expeditions', 'Belarusian folklore abroad', 'Reviews' and 'Our jubilarians'.

The 'Studies' heading is thematic. While the papers in the second volume were dedicated to Belarusian calendar rituals – the tradition of disguising oneself as the Bush during Pentecost – the third volume takes a look at Belarusian incantation traditions. The past few decades in particular have shown a notable increase of interest in this type of folklore, and in this publication too, Belarusian, Russian and Polish scholars highlight new aspects of spells and facts related thereto that have not previously been elaborated on. Authors include such names as T. Volodina and T. Agapkina.

The fourth volume presents papers focussed on ethnology. The theoretical section features an introduction to a novel research method employed by Belarusian researchers – the ethnolinguistic atlas of folklore. Readers can familiarise themselves with the giant that 'sprouted from the ground', names for the evil eye, traditions for St George's Day and the forms in which water nymphs can appear. Corresponding distribution maps have been added to the articles.

Readers can find important information under 'Belarusian folklore in foreign publications', which contains translations of rare publications. For example, the work of Bulgarian scientist F. Badalanavai-Heller on Belarussian folklore, originally published in *New Zealand Slavonic Journalis* (2003), has been republished.

The subcategory dedicated to folklore anthologies publishes unique records from the archive on folklore and cultural heritage of Slavic nations of the Centre for Belarusian Culture, Language and Literature. This includes publications of the writings of A. Smolich, J. Drozdovich, A. Antsukevich and others.

Every issue also presents materials from expeditions. Works of experienced collectors (G. Lopatin, T. Kuharonok, T. Tjapkova and others) are accompanied by the recordings of beginners. Data saved from the Belarusian diaspora holds a prominent position: Białystok (G. Haritonjuk-Mihei), Pskov (T. Tjapkova), Brjanskimaa (P. Tsalka), Latgale (S. Sahharova) and Lithuania's Vileni municipality, which are primarily home to Belarusians. (J. Vnukovich).

The collection also publishes reviews and overviews of important scientific events. The section dedicated to jubilarians pays its respects to notable researchers of Belarusian folk culture former from the past (Paul Špilevsky, Maksim Goretski, Mihhail Grinblat) and present (Lii Solovei, Arsen Lisa).

The collection *Беларускі фальклор: Матэрыялы і даследаванні* has received favourable feedback from colleagues. The editorial board plans to expand the number of authors and publish archive materials that are not readily available and discussions on folkloristics.

Taćciana Valodzina/Tatiana Volodina

https://doi.org/10.7592/Incantatio2017_Reports

CONFERENCE REPORT

'CHARMS, CHARMERS AND CHARMING. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE (PÉCS, MAY 15-17, 2015)

The academic field of verbal charms is covered by the periodic 'Charms, Charmers and Charming' conferences, which bring together new topics and methods in the field. This year a three-day international conference was organised by the Pécs Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The city gathered together and hosted almost 40 speakers from many European countries. The presentations covered verbal magic from the Late Antiquity to the present day. I cannot mention all of the presentations, but will list just some of the thematically rich and multifaceted papers. Promising theoretical tools were demonstrated by Davor Nikolić who suggested using rational argumentation techniques in the study of verbal charms and demonstrated some common argumentative traits in European Christian charms. Henni Ilomäki discussed the differences between oral and literal charms, while Aleksandra Ippolitova talked about plant-picking charms in Russian herbalist manuscripts from the 17th-20th centuries.

New parallels were drawn from Antiquity traditions: Ida Fröhlich described the blessing and cursing formulae of 7th-century Neo-Assyrian treaty or covenant documents and the links of these texts to amulet-type texts and apotropaic practices. Erica Hunter showcased Syriac prayer-amulets among some 519 Syriac fragments discovered at a monastery site near Turfan and the transmission of texts that continued until as late as the 19th century in northern Iraq.

In the section dedicated to the medieval tradition, Jacqueline Borsje presented the eastern roots of a medieval Irish charm for healing the eyes, Eleonora Cianci analysed medieval German love charms and their parallels and Maria Eliferova introduced charms (*galdr*) incorporated into legendary sagas.

Some of the presentations were dedicated to charmers, the transmission of knowledge, professionals who acted as charmers and ethnic groups in the role of mediators. Those examined were the Romanian priest as charmer in Transylvania during the 19th century (Simion Valer Cosma); Ell Savisik (1837-1927), known as Serva Ell, a charmer who used written and oral traditions whose notebook with incantations passed from person to person before being copied for the Estonian Folklore Archives in 1971 (Mare Kõiva); and the shepherd as charmer in the Carpathian region and the transmission of knowledge of charms (Laura Jiga Iliescu). James Kapalo and Olga Khristoforova looked at contemporary data: Kapalo spoke about the mixed and intertwined traditions

of the Gagauz (a Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian minority in Balkan and south-eastern European countries) and the role of the Gagauz as cultural mediators across ethnic, religious and linguistic boundaries; while Khristoforova analysed the traditions of the Old Believers in the Verkhokamie region.

There were also talks on the symbiosis of verbal magic and the visual arts; condemnation and punishment; charmers and their clients in Bulgarian and Ukrainian iconography; 18th- and 19th-century visual representations of witchcraft (Betea Raluca); the small group of Russian charms in which Saint Clement of Rome is one of the personages; and the influence of hagiography and iconography on charms (Liudmila Fadeyeva).

Theoretical papers provided a new and broader overview of charming processes, including Emese Ilyefalvi's paper examining the relationship between taboo words, swearing, threats and charms in 20th-century Hungarian practice.

The conference covered all of the main areas of charm research. Characteristic of the scholarly event, all three days in Pécs were marked by friendly discussion, exceptional papers and learned debate.

Andres Kuperjanov
Estonian Literary Museum