

M.A. THESIS LINGUISTICS (2014-2015) - LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

Balto-Slavic Charms

A Catalogue of Poetic Devices

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Abstract

This study is a catalogue of the poetic devices of curative charms from the Balto-Slavic tradition. The previously untranslated ideas of Russian scholars such as V.N. Toporov, T.V. Toporova, M.V. Zav'jalova and T.A. Agapkina regarding the ritual pragmatics of the charm are referenced and explored. Both Toporov and Toporova have contributed to the reconstruction of an Indo-European ritual by providing Balto-Slavic examples of the "Hero Kills Dragon" and "Bone to bone..." formulae, and in addition have suggested other possible inherited formulae within the Balto-Slavic tradition; however the latter are considered too tenuous at this stage to be treated in depth by this thesis.

Keywords

Ritual Pragmatics – Balto-Slavic – Oral Magic – Stylistics

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Introduction

The verbal charm is the practical application of the conception of an illness or enemy as susceptible to the spoken word (Campanile 1977:94). The words used are elevated by various poetic devices; what Watkins calls “embellishments of sound, meaning and word-order” (Watkins 1995:55) transform ordinary speech into “a work of art” (Jakobson 1981:18). The charm is the use of this elevated status of a speech-act for a magical, practical purpose; bringing about a change upon the environment.

The distinguishing feature of the charm amongst other forms of verbal art is its “self-sustaining”, complete and succinct nature (Zav’jalova 2006). Semantically, notions of finality and completeness are common, as well as various stylistic figures of repetition, unifying both sound and meaning. This self-sustainability is necessary for the effectiveness of the charm to function as a performative act. The words spoken perform the same role as the ritual action used in more primitive cultures and their force must be as powerful and complete as the real-life, physical actions they mirror.

In addition, the self-sustainability of the charm allows for infinite variations of associative links, based on an otherwise impossible logic. The charm, as an autonomous device, has complete control over its components and therefore defines its own logic. Pragmatically, this means that any deficiency it deals with can be overcome. This web of associative links makes up the charm universe; a system which only occasionally, and largely superficially, borrows from other, more penetrable folklore genres. In the same respect, the higher stylistic devices found in other genres are uncommon in the charm, whose domain is the domestic, informal and private landscape, and which therefore tends to contain the most simple and primitive poetic devices.

The private and informal nature of the charm has, according to V.N. Toporov and T. Elizarenkova amongst others, made it less susceptible to development than other genres; the private world and everyday life of the average individual in many societies has remained stable for millennia until relatively recently. Indeed, Elizarenkova speculates that the roots of the Atharvavedic charms are from the most distant past, given their typological parallels in the early folk history of other ancient civilisations (Elizarenkova 2005:2).

The target of the charm, given this self-sufficiency and “intimacy” (Toporov 1993:6) is commonly an illness or being posing a threat only to the individual i.e. fever, as opposed to the plague (a ‘communal’ disease); or a snake as opposed to draught or famine. Clearly, aside from the therapeutic and psychosymptomatic benefits of oral magic, the charm bears no medical effect on the illness, meaning the most serious ailments are not generally targeted. Instead, perhaps the primary reason for the charm’s universal longevity, the main targets are those ailments which improve or disappear with time (e.g. toothache; warts; open wounds) (Thomas 2003:247).

The motifs and formulae of the charm are also unofficial in nature. The Lithuanian and Belarusian charms of this work show the workings of a practice less affected by larger society and official religion, with Christianity and its imagery featuring mostly as a superficial addition to their more ancient formulae.

Most of the charms of this thesis are from folklore collections made in pre-1914 rural Belarus and Lithuania, two Balto-Slavic regions notable for the survival of a sedentary, agricultural society with rich folkloric traditions. As a rule, the poetic devices of the Lithuanian charms are more direct and basic, with less influence from other poetic genres; a probable sign of their more archaic nature. The Belarusian charms are nonetheless useful in their demonstration of the pragmatics of more

elaborate stylistic devices; an important factor in the effectiveness of the spoken charm, due to the therapeutic benefits of oral poetry.

The poetic devices identified in Balto-Slavic charms are catalogued into 4 general sections: 1) semantics; 2) enumerations; 3) stylistics and 4) those charms exhibiting possible Indo-European features. Each section contains a list of devices, explaining how the device functions within a ritual context, with comments on the distribution of each device within the Balto-Slavic linguistic tradition, and translated and transliterated excerpts from the primary sources.

Semantics

The healing incantation, as originally performed, was accompanied by a magical rite or ceremony, accompanied by spoken words; a ceremony involving the 'getting out' of the disease, which was seen as a physical, often animate being within the body (Zguta:1978). In his observations of the

magical rites of the Pul Eliya villagers in Ceylon (what is now Sri Lanka), E. Leach noted that although the power of the incantation “is in the ‘words’, these words only become effective if uttered in a very special context of another action” i.e. the ceremony (Leach 1966:407). Other charms hint at what these removing actions could have been: washing, licking off, gnawing, scratching, squeezing, biting out, etc. The traces of these ceremonial actions are shown in section 1.4.1. of this chapter. As magical practice developed from ceremonial to symbolic ritual, the magical rite was gradually reduced to a spoken, performative formula, sometimes accompanied by simple, physical gestures. The accompanying verbal formula to the original ceremony thus evolved into a self-sustaining, magical device; built around a central performative utterance (the symbolic action), which, still pertaining to the requirements of ceremony, would only be effective if said under the correct conditions (Tambiah 1968:179).

These conditions can be physical and/or verbal; the latter including the metaphysical journey to the sacred altar where the incantation will take place (2.3.2.) and the former including Christian and Pre-Christian formulae etc., which appear at the beginning or end of charms. Descriptions of the physical conditions necessary for the incantation to work, in contrast, come in addition to the charm and are not included in all Balto-Slavic charm collections. What evidence is available of these non-verbal acts of preparation however, paints a vivid picture of the still-persistent ritual beliefs in the villages of 19th/20th century Lithuania, Belarus and Russia.

1.1. Conditions

1.1.1. *Night and day*

It is tempting to assume that these incantations rely on the power of the sun god *Saulė* in order to be effective.

(Lit.) ...Saula šviasibi, tau blagibė, man geribė. Kur buvai, tir vel eik. (Mansikka 1929, no. 37)

...Sunlight, to you evil, to me goodness. Where you were before, to there you shall return. (Against snakes)

On bread and salt. When the man has been bitten at night, say the charm at night, when he has been bitten in the day, say it in the day.

(Lit.) Kirmelė pyktoja, iš kur išlindai, ten vel įlisk, žmogui škados nedaryk. (*Trys syk sakyk ir po 3 k. "Sveika Marija"*) (Mansikka 1929, no. 74)

Evil worm, from where you have crept out, crawl back inside there again, do not harm the man. (Against worms)

(Say three times and say 3 Hail Marys) Say it when the sun shines at day, at night it doesn't work.

1.1.2. *In one breath*

Given that this charm is for the stopping of bleeding, an active, visible ailment, the requirement for the words to be spoken very quickly may have arisen in order to distract the patient from the blood and to focus on the impressive feat of the entire charm being spoken in just one breath.

(Lit.) Kaip Viešpats Jezus mire an kryžiaus, apstoja vanduo tekančysai begęs, testa apstoja šito žmogaus kraujas begęs. (*Vienu kvapu atkalbėjus dustert*) (Mansikka 1929, no. 26.)

When the Lord Jesus died on the cross, the running water stopped flowing; may the blood of this man stop flowing. (**Say this in one breath, then exhale slightly**).

1.1.3. On the wind

(Lit.) Nuo akių užkalbant, **visuomet reikia kalbėti ir nuo vėjo**; kai kalbi nuo akių ir jeigu yra kalbama tik nuo akių, tai ima skaudėti žandai ir žiova, o iš akių pradeda tekėti ašaros (Balys 1951, no. 491).

When they charm against the evil eye, **it is always necessary to also speak against the wind**; if you speak against the evil eye and only against the evil eye, then the cheeks and the throat start to hurt, and tears begin to flow from the eyes (Against the evil eye).

(Lit.) **Oran išėjai, un vėjo i reik žadēt** (LTR 4813((65)).

Go out into the open air, and say the charm on the wind

1.1.4. 3 times

The universal belief that the number three has magical properties is present in Balto-Slavic charms.

(Lit.) Kaip upelė bėgdama bėgus sustoja, kad taip mano kraujalis sustotų bėgęs. (**Neatsidusus 3 kartus**) (Manskika 1929, no. 35)

Just as the river current stops flowing, so shall my blood stop flowing. (**3 times in 1 breath**) (Against bleeding)

(Rus.)... ..i gorjačaja krov' vstala vo věki věkov". **Amin'. Amin', Amin'.**

Skaži tri raza i pljun' v' raz" troju po troju (Vinogradov 1907, no. 39)

...and the warm blood stayed in place forever and ever. **Amen. Amen. Amen.**

Say three times and spit on the ground three x three times. (Against bleeding)

(Lit.) Stok kraujas, kaip upė Jordano, kaip šventas Jonas krikštijo Kristusą Poną. (**Taip kalbant žegnotis, 3 kartus taip daryti.**) (Manskika 1929, no. 29)

Stand still, blood, like the River Jordan, as Saint John baptised Holy Jesus. (**When saying this, make the sign of the cross- do this 3 times**) (Against bleeding)

1.1.5. Burying in the earth

(Lit.) **Pirmąkart pamatęs ta liga sergant, reikia greitai perpjauti nykštį dešinės rankos, krauju patepti lūpas, krūtine, kojas ir rankas. Paskui kraujo lašą nunešti ant kapinių ir pakasti žemėn. Pakasus pasimelsti ir pasakyti:** Čia tavo vieta, ir lauk to, iš ko išėjai! (**Tuomet ligonis pagis**) (LTR 904(21)).

The first time the ill person sees this illness, he needs to quickly cut the thumb of the right arm, put the blood to the lips, the breast, the feet and the hands. Then a drop of blood is taken to the graveyard and is buried in the ground. Having buried it, pray and say: "Here is your place, and wait for that from which you came! (**Then the ill person will get better**) (Against epilepsy)

1.1.6. Fire

In Lithuanian ritual, fire, like water, has purifying properties and is used to symbolically 'burn up' the power of the disease, which has been transferred by sympathetic magic to a dispensable, household object (Zguta:1978).

(Lit.) Kai spuogas ant liežuvio atsiranda, **tai į degantį pečių triskart meta ugnin druskos žiupsnelį** ir triskart sako metant... (LTR 2235(167)

When a pustule appears on the tongue, **throw a pinch of salt onto a hot fire** three times and say three times... (Against a pustule)

(Bel.) **Pečku zatapic', a kiški ne adčynjac' i kazac'**: Krysky-varyski, idzice za parog, dajce dziczjaci spakoj. Načnički-sjastryčki, idzice z agnëm i z dymam, a dajce dziczjaci spakoj. (Bartašević 1992, no. 1182)

Light the oven but don't open the chute and say; rats-thieves, go over the threshold, give the child peace. *Načnički-sjastryčki* (bat-sisters- *epithet for rat*), go with fire and with smoke, and give the child peace. (Against rats)

1.2. Physical gestures

1.2.1. Sun

(Lit.) Numirėlio kaulą paėmus trinti **priešsauliui** aplink navikaulą sakyti: Kaip numirėlio kaulas, kad taip navikaulis būtų numiręs (Manskika 1929, no. 12)

Having taken the bones of a dead person, one should, **facing the sun**, rub the cyst and say 'As are the bones of the dead, so should also the cyst be dead' (Against a cyst)

(Lit.) Aplink bambą **prieš saulę** sukant pirštu: "Kad užmirštum, kad nustotum". (Manskika 1929, no. 152)

Rotate with the finger around the navel **against the sun**: "So that you forget and cease to be" (Against colic)

1.2.2. Spitting on the ground

(Lit.) Su dviem pirštais apibraukė kap aštūnis, **spjaūna ont žemes**- "Aik ont žemes, kuo pre žmuogaus kabinies..." (LTR 3510(49))

They circle two fingers around the remaining eight. **They spit on the ground**; "Go to the earth, that which has attached itself to this person..." (Against erysipelas).

1.2.3. Making the sign of the cross

The Christian act of crossing oneself is required in charms that are otherwise pre-Christian in imagery and motifs (it is part of the "I will arise..." formula). It serves as a physical parallel to the affirmative formulae listed in 1.3. The decisive, swift movements of the hand mirror the conclusive rhythms of the verbal formulae, as well as providing a visible representation of the semantics of the words spoken.

(Lit.) ... Ir tu kraujas turi cze apsisot per Wieszpati Jezusa, Sunu Diewo Motinelės, Jo kuno Garbingiausio ir szwientos traiczės ir aniolu Szwentuju ir Dwases Szwen... - Wardan Diewo Tewo - ir Sunaus - ir dwases szwentos. Tewe musu. Amen. (**Kur kryžiukai, ten žegnot.**) (Manskika 1929, no. 28).

... And you, blood, shall stay in the Name of Lord Jesus, the Son of the Mother of God, his most Holy Body and the Holy Trinity and the Holy Angel and the Holy Ghost and in the Name, in the Name of God the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, our Father, Amen. (**Cross yourself**)

(Lit.) **Peržegnot.** Lygioj pievoj užaugo dvi rožės: viena balta, kita raudona; raudona nunyks, e baltoji uždigs. Amen. (3 kartus) (**Peržegnot.** Sveika Marija) (Manskika 1929, no. 110)

Cross yourself. Two roses grew on a flat grassy field: one white and one red; the red withered, but the white will grow. Amen (3 times). **Cross yourself.** Hail Mary. (Against erysipelas)

1.3. Verbal formulae

In order to ensure that the central, performative utterance of the charm is sacred, and therefore guaranteed to bring about the intended effect on the environment, verbal formulae are pronounced at the beginning and/or the end of the text. The majority of these formulae are familiar Christian declarations e.g. 'Amen', fulfilling the same role as in Christian prayers. The presence of such declarations in charms that are otherwise untainted by Christian imagery however, shows that oral magic (disapproved of by Christian authorities) was still an active, organic practice, open to contemporary influences, at the time of their collection. It seems that the imagery of the established religion was welcomed as an additional guarantee of magical protection, not in opposition to, but as an 'extra layer' added to the older folk beliefs.

1.3.1. Christian formulae

1.3.1.1. 'In the name of the Father'...'Amen'

Many charms are framed by the pairing formulae 'In the name of the Father' and 'Amen';

(Rus.) **Vo imja Otca i Syna, i Svjatago Duxa.** Ugovarivaju ja az"..." i vo věki věkov" **Amin.** (Vinogradov 1907 no. 18)

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. I beseech... forever and ever, **Amen.** (Against the evil eye)

1.3.1.2. 'Amen'

'Amen' said three times and without the introductory 'In the name....' is a common formula in Lithuanian charms:

(Lit.) Žema žemynela, un pirkeles upele, un tos upeles aniolas švintasai. **Amen, Amen, Amen.** (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, no. 4)

The earth the little earth, in the hut a river, in the river a holy angel. **Amen, Amen, Amen.** (Against snakes)

1.3.1.3. By the X of a sacred character

(Lit.) ...Mirusis gyvų nog skaudos tegul išgelbėja. Švento Jono patarimu, mano liepimu, pono Džievo leidzimu tegul būna tep. Amen, amen, amen. (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, X)

...Let the patient be saved from this pain. By the council of Saint John, by my orders, by the permittance of God let it be so (Against pain).

1.3.1.4. Slave of God

An extremely common formula in East Slavic charms is 'slave of God'- used to refer to the individual receiving the magic of the charm i.e. the patient. It seems almost obligatory in this charm tradition to mention at some point in the text the recipient of the charm, usually as 'Slave of God' first, then by his Christian name. This practice makes the charm more inclusive and participatory for the recipient, and perhaps aids his recovery, given the personal, bespoke nature it acquires at the mention of his name (if the charm has been cast especially for him, with God, the Saints, the elements etc. present, he would have more faith in its effectiveness).

(Bel.) Esc' na sinim mory kamen', paūlinae pjaro. Jak tamu kamnju naverh ne ūsplyvac', paūlinamu pjaru na dno ne ūpadač', tak **rabe božaj (imja)** gryžy ne byč', pa kasci ne hadzic', kasci ne lamic', sēra ne tamic', žylak ne maric', vočak ne cjamnic', galovački agnēm ne palic', u vobmarak ne vadzic' (Bartašević 1992, no. 762)

In the blue sea there is a stone, a peacock feather. Just as this stone does not float up to the surface, the peacock feather does not fall to the seabed, so this **slave of god (name)** will no longer have a hernia, it will not travel through the bones, will not make the bones ache, will not wear out the heart, will not exhaust the tendons, will not darken the eyes, will not set the head on fire, he will not be led into a swoon (Against a hernia)

(Bel.) **Rab božy Saška** na svet naradzišsja, sonejkam asvjacišsja, mesjacam abgaradzišsja.....(Bartaševič 1992, no. 1229)

The slave of God Saška was born into this world, lit by the sun, made glad by the moon... (Against various diseases)

1.3.1.5. *Hail Mary*

A Catholic declaration, encountered only in Lithuanian charms.

Ėjo Ponas Jezus per upę Cedrą ir kaip tas vanduo sustojo, kad šito žmogaus kraujas taip sustotų. 3 **'Sveika Marija'** (Manskika 1929, no. 30)

Lord Jesus went over the river Kidron, and as the waters stopped flowing, may the blood of this man stop flowing. Afterwards, **3 Hail Marys** (Against bleeding)

Ėjo Jezusis per upį: stovi unduo, stovėk tap kraujas. **Sveika Marija**. (Manskika 1929, no. 33)

The Lord Jesus went over the river, the water stood still, may also the blood stay still. **Hail Mary**. (Against bleeding)

1.3.1.6. *Other Christian formulae*

(Lit.) Prašau Viešpat Jėzau Kristau į pagalbą. Inkand tą gyvulį gyvatė. Sako Viešpat Jėzus taip: Ne aš tave mušu, nei mano giminė, tai tave muša visi šventieji. **Pragaro galybė, pragaro galybė, pragaro galybė**. (Manskika 1929, no. 39)

I beg you, Lord Jesus Christ, to help. The snake bites this animal. Lord Jesus Christ says this: Not I beat you, nor my relatives, may all the Saints beat you. **The power of hell, the power of hell, the power of hell**. (Against snakes)

(Lit.) ...atgal kaulą į savo vietą, kur Dievs tave sutvėręs. **Ai Jėzau, ai Jėzau!** (Balys 1951, no.479.)

...back bone to your place, where God created you. **Oh, Jesus, oh, Jesus!** (Against dislocation)

1.3.2. *Pre-Christian formulae*

1.3.2.1. *Key and lock*

A Russian affirmation formula, the key and lock (**ključ i zamok**) symbolically lock up and safeguard the power of the words just spoken.

(Rus.)...Bud'te vy, moi slova, krėpki, **v" ključ i v" zamki**, i vo vėki vėkov". Amin'. (Vinogradov 1907, no. 128)

Be strong, my words, **in key and in lock**, forever and ever, Amen. (Against the evil eye in children)

(Rus.) Ėš'te mox", a ne menja! Slovo moe krėpko. **Ključ, zamok"**, Amin', amin', amin'. (Vinogradov 1907, no. 70)

Eat the moss, and not me! My word is strong. **Key, lock**. Amen, amen, amen. (Against fleas, bedbugs, cockroaches and other insects)

The key and lock metaphor is elaborated in this charm (to be said over water):

(Rus.) ...zuby ne bolěli věk" po věku, ot' nyně do věku. Těm" moim" slovam" **ključ' i zamok" i ključ' v" vodu, a zamok" v" goru.** (Majkov 1867, no. 3)

...for the teeth to not hurt forever and ever, always and ever. To these words of mine **the key and the lock; the key into the water, and the lock onto the mountain** (Against toothache)

1.3.2.2. *Vo veki vekov*

Many Russian charms end with the affirmative formula 'forever and ever' (*vo veki vekov*'), as seen in the examples above. This formula also appears in Lithuanian- the lexicon is etymologically unrelated to the Russian, but semantically the affirmation is equivalent.

(Lit.) Žemyte žemė, neturi valios ant šios žemės (3 kartus). Kam mano juodų karvelį sutraukei? **Kaip buvo iš pradžių, tegul bus visados.** (Manskika 1929, no. 69)

The earth-ness of the earth, you have no power on this earth (3 times). Why have you torn up my black cow? **As it was in the beginning, so let it always be** (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Ėjo Ponas Jėzus keliu, norėjo jį šunes suėšč. Jis griebė akmenį, **ant amžių amžinųjų** (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, no. 31)

The Lord Jesus walked along the road, the dogs wanted to eat him. He grabbed the stone, **for ever and ever** (Against dogs)

1.3.2.3. *By the X of a divine character*

(Lit.) **Saulės vardu, perkūno grousmu** tau, drugy, insakou, tavi varou nog žmoniu, nog gyvulių, nog poukščių, nog kiekvieno gyvo garo... (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, XVI)

By the name of the sun, by the thunder of Perkunas (the Lithuanian god of thunder), I order you, fever, I drive you from people, from animals, from birds, from any living soul... (Against fever)

1.3.2.4. *'I will arise'*

The elaborate, enumerative 'I will arise...' formula serves the same purpose as the much shorter introductory formulae listed above; that of establishing the sacredness of the spell about to be cast, of setting up the correct conditions for the magic to be released through the power of the word. This formula is analysed in detail in 2.3.2.

1.4. Charmer or Charmed as actor

The original ritual reflected in the charms was a physical, tactile act, very much in accordance with the central medical belief that disease was a being within the body, requiring not simply expulsion, but to be physically diminished by scratching, biting etc.

The verbal formula eventually became an independent magical device, no longer centred around the ritual action, but using various types of performative utterances to implement a change over the environment. As the charm tradition developed, some texts became complex and elaborate, as they moved further away from the original incantation. The original physical act, however, is still very present in some Balto-Slavic charms, particularly in those combatting visible, external diseases or injuries (e.g. warts, tooth rot, herpes, bleeding) or actual beings (e.g. worms, snakes). Zav'jalova (2006:70) refers to these simple, more 'primitive' charms as "spell charms". The reason for the lack of development in the magical treatment of external ailments or protection against dangerous creatures is for the simple reason that they always were, and continued to be, real, visible objects. It

seems unlikely that the presence of a visible object would be ignored when treating it. Whereas the treatment of less visible ailments became a more abstract, symbolic 'expulsion', more reliant on the autonomous verbal formulae (to be listed in this section), and on the imagination of the patient. The effectiveness of these 'spell charms', in contrast, continued to be enhanced by visual dramatics. This can be deduced by the fact that these charms are built around a verb in the 1st person- they are therefore likely to reflect the actual actions of the individual performing the charm¹. These "spell charms" can be divided into two categories: those that describe an ongoing unambiguous repetitive action using sympathetic magic, that is, performing the actual act described in the text (using a present tense 1st person verb), on a dispensable household object; and performative 1st person verbs describing the ongoing act of casting the spell onto the personified disease or enemy.

1.4.1 Sympathetic magic

1.4.1.1 Biting

(Lit.) Kremć, kremć, **kremtu, kremtu**. Kremć, kremć kad iškrimstum. Riš, riš, **rišu, rišu**, riš, riš, kad išrištum. (Reikia rišti raudonas mylinis siūlas 9 x 3 margeliais ir kąsti). (Manskika 1929, no. 139)

Bite, bite, **I bite, I bite**. Bite, bite, so that you bite off. Bind, bind, I bind, I bind. Bind, bind, so that you bind off. (One should knot, bind and bite 9 x 3 a red woollen thread.) (Against a hernia)

1.4.1.2 Sewing

(Lit.) Sėdžiu ant baltų marių **siuvu baltą karūną**, kad šitoji rona taip pabaltų, kaip toji karūna (Balys 1951, no. 512)

I sit by the white sea, **I sew the white crown**, so that this wound whitens, like the crown (Against bleeding)

(Lat.) Strauja tek Daugaviņa, ka nevar noturēt; **stiepjū zaļu dzīpariņu**, noturēju Daugaviņu. (LD 34155)

Fast flows the Daugavina, it can't stop; **I pull the green thread**, I stopped the Daugavina. (Against bleeding)

This Lithuanian charm against bleeding makes the sympathetic magic explicit; in this less-developed magic ritual, the analogy works as a flow from a real, visual action to the desired outcome, whereas in more abstract charms (as listed in 1.9.), the transition is from a stated fact (to be imagined by the recipient) to the desired outcome.

(Lit) Mezgu mazgelį ne vienu, ne antrų, ne tračių, ne kecvirtų, ne penktų, ne šeštų, ne sapcintų, ne aštuntų, ciktai devintų. **Kap šitų raikštelį mazgiou mazgeliais, taip mazgau rišu tavy, NN kraujas**, aš tau insakou, iš kūno nebėk, saulės nemacyk, šviesai nesirodzyk. Švento Perto raktu tavi rakinu, Dziewo vardu tavi užkeikiu, sustok. (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, IV.)

I knit not one knot, not the second, not the third, not the fourth, not the fifth, not the sixth, not the seventh, not the eighth, only the ninth. **As I tie this lace with knots, so I knit, I tie you, blood of N**, I order you, do not flee from the body, do not look at the sun, do not show yourself to the light. With the key of Saint Peter I lock you up, in the name of God I conjure you, stop yourself. (Against bleeding)

1.4.1.3 Burdock root = worm

In Lithuanian sympathetic magic ritual, the thistle of the burdock root represents the worm (the two objects are not dissimilar in appearance and both come from the soil).

(Lit.) **Palenkus dagilio viršunėlę prispausti akmenuku ir sakyti:** “Dagilis, dagilis, kai tu man išgydysi karvį, as tave paleisiu” (Manskika 1929, no. 83)

After bending the tip of the thistle to the earth, press it onto a stone and say “Thistle, thistle, if you will heal this cow for me, I will let you go” (Against worms)

(Lit.) **Dagilėl,** mielasai, **prilinkiu aš tavi,** kad išbirėtų kur yr kirmėlių. Aš tavi atleisiu, e kad neisbirės vė priinksiu. (Dagilį ar notrelę prilenkiant) (Manskika 1929, no. 85)

Little thistle, love, **I press you down,** so the worms, wherever they may be, will also be shaken off. I will let you go, but if they are not shaken off, I will press you down again. (One thistle or burdock being pressed down) (Against worms)

The patient takes on the active role in this charm; the combination of simultaneous speaking and action activates the magic:

(Lit.) **Aš dabar matau jauną Mėnulį ir kandu ant mano apmirusio danties.** Vardan Dievo Tėvo ir Sūnaus ir Šventosios Dvasios (Balys 1951, no. 83.)

I now see the young moon and bite my gangrenous tooth. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. (Against toothache)

1.4.1.4 *Tooth outside mouth = painful tooth inside mouth*

(Lit.) Trinu trinu dancį in dancį. Trinu dancį svaikų in dancį skaudancį. Trinu dancį mirusio in dancį gyvo. Džievo leidzimu, mano liepimu, švento **Jono patarimu tegul pasiima sopolį dancis, kur mano rankoje, iš to dancio, kur N dėsnoje. Mirusis gyvų nog skaudos tegul išgelbėja.** Švento Jono patarimu, mano liepimu, pono Džievo leidzimu tegul būna tep. Amen, amen, amen. (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, X.)

Rub, rub a tooth for a tooth. Rub the healthy tooth for the painful tooth. Rub the dead tooth for the living tooth. By the permission of God, by my orders, by the council of Saint John **let the pain be taken from the tooth, which is in my hand, which is in the gum of N. Let the patient be saved from pain.** By the council of Saint John, by my orders, by the permittance of God let it be so. (Against toothache)

1.4.1.5 *‘Gnawing the gryža’*

In both the Lithuanian and the Belarusian tradition, an internal hernia/rupture (Lit. *grižius*; Bel *gryža*) is ‘treated’ by performative verbs describing eating e.g. ‘to bite’, ‘to chew’. These carry the same meaning as the verb ‘to gnaw at’ (Lit. *graužti*; Bel. *gryzac*). The phonetic similarity of these two words has resulted in many variations in word-play (see Chapter 3), and is reflected in the semantics of both Lithuanian and Belarusian “spell charms”; (In order to correctly reflect the phonetic similarity and personification of the hernia/rupture, it has not been translated from the source language)

(Bel.) Gryža-gryžišča, vaz’mi Tanina znudzišča. Ty kaza, ja voŭk, ja ne abedala, ja ne snedala, ja esci haču. **Gam, gam, ja cjabe em.** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 764)

Gryža- gryžišča, (augmentative epithet of gryža) take away the disease from Tanya. You are a goat, I’m a wolf, I haven’t had dinner, I haven’t eaten, I’m hungry. **Yum, yum, I eat you.** (Against a hernia)

(Bel.) Gryžu, gryžu, **ja cjabe gryžu** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 711)

Gryžu, gryžu (voc.case), **I gnaw at you.** (Against a hernia)

(Lit.) **Ku kundzi?- Grižiu-** Kunć, kunć, kad nukustum. **Ku risi? – Grižiu-** Riš, riš, kad nurištum. **Ku grauži? – Grižiu-** Grauž, grauž, kad išgraužtum. (Manskika 1929, no. 133)

What do you bite? – The gryža. Bite, bite, so that you bite off. **What do you bind? The gryža.** Bind, bind, so that you bind up. **What are you gnawing? The gryža.** Gnaw, gnaw, so that you gnaw away. (Against a hernia)

1.4.2. Performative verbs 'casting a spell'

The curing of an ill person in Balto-Slavic folk medicine involves, as already stated, the expulsion of the disease from the patient's body and/or the subsequent banishment of the disease to another world. The performative verbs at the centre of "spell charms" fulfil this role of expulsion and banishment; the driving force of these shorter, more primitive charms is this action, performed by the individual casting the charm. The more abstract devices of epic tales and direct intervention from sacred characters are more detached from the original ceremonial act, whereas these spell charms are nothing more than the wise man/woman directly engaging with the personification of the disease, through the verbalisation of the magic ritual of expulsion and banishment. For this reason, the performative verbs of spell charms are in the present tense and the desired outcome of the charm is realised in the very moment that the spell is cast.

This act of communication to the disease can be split into two semantic categories- verbal acts i.e. conjuring, beseeching, the disease out of the and away from the patient body (the intended result being the disease actively fleeing), with a **direct appeal** to the disease, and the verbalisation of the act of expelling the disease- the disease being actively **expelled** e.g. driven away, chased away. All verbs are in the 1st person.

1.4.2.1 Direct appeal

1.4.2.2 Dominant

'I command'

(Lit.)...Per Panelės švenciausios skousmų **liepiu tau-** sustok, iš gyslų NN nevarvėk (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, 1.)

..through the pain of the Blessed Virgin **I command you:** stay, from the veins of NN do not flow (Against bleeding)

'I order'

(Lit.)...NN kraujas, **aš tau insakou,** iš kūno nebėk, saulės nemacyk, šviesai nesirodzyk... (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, IV.)

I tie you, blood of N, **I order you,** do not flee from the body, do not look at the sun, do not show yourself to the light...(Against bleeding)

1.4.2.3 Equal

'I call'

(Bel.) Gad-gadzica, gadava caryca, ja vas usih znaju, **usih na imja nazyvaju:** čorna-čarnavata, žoūta-žaūtavata... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 351)

Snake-snake, snake queen, I know you all, **I call you all by name;** black-blacky, yellow- yellowey... (Against snakes)

The device of calling by name every type of disease or enemy is analysed in more detail in chapter 2.

1.4.2.4 Subserviant

'I beg'

(Bel.)...Vot **ja prašu cjabe**, Adarenadzinja; vyn' ty svoj zub... (Bartaševič 1992, no. 368)

Adarenadzinja. **I here beg of you**, Adarenadzinja (epithet of the snake queen²), take out your tooth (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Saldzija bitelė, šviesija žvaigzdelė, **atprasau...** (Manskika 1929, no. 55)

Sweet bees, bright little stars, **I beg of you...** (Against snakes)

It should be noted that the verb 'to beg' in the Belarusian and Lithuanian examples above share the same Balto-Slavic root **proš-ei/i-* 'to ask' (>PIE **prok-eie-* 'to ask') (Derksen 2007:s.v. XXX).

'I implore, beseech'

(Lit.) *atmaldau* < Balto-Slavic **mold-* 'to ask, pray' <PIE **moldh-* (Hitt. *māld-/mald-* 'recite, make a vow') (Derksen 2007:s.v. XXX).

(Bel.) Astuda-čuda, **ja cjabe znaju, umaŭljaju, uklikaju** z čyrovanae kryvi, z belaj kasci, z žoŭtaga mozgu, z salodkaga mjasa. Adsylaju za krutyja gory, za gustyja bory... (Bartaševič 1992, no. 737)

Astuda-čuda (epithet for a chill), **I know you, I implore you, I call you** from the red blood from the white bones, from the yellow marrow, from the sweet flesh. **I send** you to the steep mountains, to the thick forests (Against a chill)

(Bel.)...ja ž vas **umaŭljaju**, na cjakučyja rėči ssylaju (Bartaševič 1992, no. 842)

I implore you, to the flowing river I send you (Against inflammation)

(Lit.) Saldzija bitelė, šviesija žvaigzdelė, **atprasau, atmeldžiu, aš tavi apmaldau**, juodo plauko, juodo plaukelio neklūdyk. (Manskika 1929, no. 55)

Sweet bees, bright little stars, **I beg of you, I beseech you, I implore you**, touch the black hair, not not the black hair (Against snakes)

'I conjure'

A series of performative verbs relating to a specifically magical verbal act are common in both Lithuanian and Belarusian spell charms.

I conjure, curse (lit.- to cast a spell on)

This concept is strongly associated with the charm ritual in the Balto-Slavic tradition (Lit) **užkeikmas**- and Bel. **zaklinanie**, both meaning 'spell, incantation' derive from the verbs (Lit.) **užkeikti** and (Bel.) **zaklinac'**.

Lit. (**už**)**keikti** 'to cast a spell, 'to exorcise', to conjure'; **užkeikmas**- 'spell, incantation'.

Bel. **zaklinac'** 'to cast a spell, to conjure, to exorcise by means of an incantation'; **zaklinanie** 'spell, incantation';

Another common performative verb carries the meaning 'to say a charm', to invoke';

Lit. **užkalbėti** 'to say a charm, to incant, to invoke, to exorcise'; **užkalbėjimas** – 'charm, incantation'.

Bel. **zagavaric'** – 'to invoke, to incant'; **zagavor** – 'charm'.

² Agapkina 2010:59.

The above verbs are the most common of the performative verbs in both the Lithuanian and Belarusian traditions.

(Lit.)...**keikiu aš** tave, kad tu eitum ant Dievo sūdo į sausus miškus, į tyrus, kad nesopėtų ir netintų-
keikiu aš tave. (Manskika 1929, no. 47)

I conjure you, that you walk before the Court of God, into the arid forests, into the wilderness, so that you do not cause harm or do bad deeds, **I conjure** you (Against snakes)

(Bel.)...budu gadzju **zaklinac'** jasnym soncam... (Zav'jalova 2006:108)

I will **conjure** the reptile with the bright sun... (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Ateina kirmėlė iš didelės girios per gilią upę: išsikaš sau duobę. Ak, tu balta galva, **atkalbu aš tave** (Cicėnas 1934, no. 384)

The worm comes from the big forest through the deep river, it digs itself a hole. Oh, you, white head, **I conjure you** away. (Against snakes)

(Bel.) ...**Zagavaruju ja** zuby gnilėja, a stanavicesja zuby staljanėja (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 612)

...**I conjure** the rotting teeth, and you teeth become steel (Against toothache)

(Bel.) Kroū **zagavaraju**; žylu zamaūljaju... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 501)

I conjure the blood, I beseech the sinew...(Against bleeding)

1.4.3. Performative verbs: actively expelling the disease

The above charms are examples of communicating with the disease or enemy, in order to gain power or influence over it. In some charms, the autonomy held by the target is emphasised- it is encouraged to itself perform the intended outcome. Having been detected within the human world, or having been removed from the human body, it is now compelled to remove itself from within the range of humans, and into the 'otherworld' (with the exception of blood which, of course, must stay in the body). In other charms, however, the speaker remains in control of the action, and performs this banishment to the 'otherworld' himself.

e.g. (1st performative utterance) **I implore you**, (the speaker now has control) (2nd performative utterance) **to the flowing river I send you**.

These secondary performative verbs often contain prefixes meaning 'out', 'away' etc., which, when repeated create a compact, rhythmic (and therefore soothing) charm, with the emphasis being on the most important meaning- the moving *away* of the disease.

1.4.3.1. 'I chase (away)'

(Bel.)... (**budu**) na zjalėnyja lugi **vyganjac'** i na na ščyryja bary, i na toūstyja drėvy... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 737)

I will chase you away out to the green meadows and to the deep forests, and to the thick trees (Against a boil)

The prefix '**vy**', here added to the verb of motion '**gnac**' 'to chase', indicates a motion outwards; out of the vicinity.

(Lit.) Saulės vardu, perkūno grousmu tau, drugy, insakou, **tavi varou** nog žmonių, nog gyvulių, nog poukščių, nog kiekvieno gyvo garo... (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, XVI.)

By the name of the sun, by the thunder of Perkunas, I order you, fever, *I drive you from* people, from animals, from birds, from any living soul... (Against fever)

1.4.3.2. 'I send (away)'

(Bel.) Ja cjabe prašu, umaŭljaju, za nicyja lozy *adpraŭljaju*...dze sonca ne svecic, vecer ne vee... (Bartašević 1992, no. 790)

I beg you, I admonish you, and to the low vines *I send you*, where the sun does not shine, where the wind does not blow (Against zalatnika (scrofula))

'*adpraŭljac*' – to send away from a given point ('*ad*'- away from a given point)

(Bel.) Ja ž vas umaŭljaju, na cjakučyja rěči *ssylaju* (Bartašević 1992, no. 842)

I implore you, to the flowing river *I send (you)* (Against plica (a skin disease))

1.4.3.3. 'I drive (out)'

(Bel.) Aŭginnja i Maryla, sadzjaržajce svaju sjam'ju. Esli ne budzece sadzjaržac', *ja vas vyvedu* na kamennuju garu... (Bartašević 1992, no. 298)

Avginya and Maryla (snake deities), support your own (!) family. If you will not support (them), *I will drive you out* to the stony mountain... (Against snakes)

1.4.4.4. The individual defeats the ailment, but with the help of a sacred character

Belarusian charms of this type represent a transitory stage between independent actions (with no outside help) and the full responsibility of the charm belonging to the sacred character. The charm is therefore no longer wholly self-sufficient, now relying on divine power as well as its own. The Lithuanian charms listed above show an earlier stage of development of the progress of the charm.

(Bel.) Zalatničok-padymačok, ja cjabe prašu, *ugavaraju božymi slavami, gospodnimi hvalami*, vjarnisja, na mesca stan', kascej ne lami, sérca ne sušy, na spinku ne apadaj, bok ne zakladaj, pad grudzi ne padpadaj (Bartašević 1992, no. 787)

Little scrofula-swelling, I beg of you, *I conjure with god's glory, the lord's praises*, return, stay in your place, do not torment the bones, do not dry up the heart, do not fall on the back, do not fill up the side, do not fall under the breast. (Against scrofula)

1.5. Direct appeal to disease

In many of the above examples, the charm revolves around the magic power the speaker has gained and the action he takes with this power. In this respect, this type of charm maintains a strong *connection* to the original ceremonial act- the individual simulating the removal of the target, with the target being a *passive*, albeit self-aware and living object. The magic word in the above charms is enough to render the disease passive and to simultaneously or subsequently remove it. In other charms, however, the autonomy of the disease is emphasised- it is a self-determining, personified organism and in order to gain effective influence over it, the speaker needs to communicate on more equal terms with it. He uses varying methods of communicative dialogue to influence the disease or its personified analogy into complying with his demands and *actively* removing itself from the area (body/human environment) into which it has intruded. Thus, the central performative act of the charm has become a communicative act: reliant on dialogue as opposed to described action.

1.5.1. Types of communicative acts

1.5.1.1. Commands

Direct commands to the target in the imperative are common in both the Slavic and Baltic charm traditions:

(Lit.) Aklas gimei, aklas gaiši ir **manęs nekliūdzyk**. (Manskika 1929, no. 91)

Blind you were born, blind you will die, **do not touch me**. (Against dogs)

(Bel.)...**Gin', prapadzi, z cela syjdzi** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 697)

...**Disappear, vanish, get out of the body** (Against boil/abscess)

1.5.1.2 Threats

(Lit.)... Ak tu, kirmele- gyvate! **Aik, passim sava gyvonj, aba aš ainu laukan, paimsiu iš akmenia vugnies, iš gaidžia krauja ...**

... Ah, you, worm- snake! **Go, and take your sting, or I'll go to the country, I'll take fire from the stone, and blood from the rooster;** (Against snakes)

(Bel.) Nja budzeš ža ty vyhadzic', skula-skulica, **vaz'mu dvanaccac' prutoŭ i dvanaccac' igol, budu skulicu kaloc' i paroc', seč i rubac', na zjalėnyja lugi vyganjac'**... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 680)

If you are not going to leave, *skula-skulica* (epithet, personifying the boil), **I will take twelve sticks and twelve needles, I will prick and thrash, flog and hack; I will drive out to the green meadows** ... (Against a boil)

1.5.1.3. Bargaining

(Lit.) Vilke, vilke, išlysk iš akių, **aš tau duosiu maišą pinigų ir maišą rugių** (Manskika 1929, no. 19)

Wolf, wolf, crawl out of the eye! **I'll give you a bag of money and a bag of rye"** (Against a sty)

(Bel.) Kryksy, kryksy, daruju **ja vas hlebam-solju, belaj rubašackaj, krasnym pajasočkam- darujcja majgo deicjaci dobrym zdarouem i snom!** (Bartašėvič 1993, no. 48)

Rat, rat, **I'll give you bread and salt, a white shirt, with a red belt, give me my baby's good health and sleep!** (Against rats)

1.5.1.4. Coaxing and flattery

(Lit.) Tu, gyvate. Tu, **graži paukštyte**, Tu ten gera būk, Niekam gailos nedaryk. (LKAR 18(52))

You, snake, you, **beautiful bird**, you will be good, you will hurt nobody. (Against snakes)

(Bel.) Ja...za nicyja lozy adpraŭljaju, dze sonca ne svecic, vecer ne vee, dze ptaški ne daletavajuc'. **Tam tabe zalataja pascel'ka, tam tvoj bac'la i maci buduc' cjabe pavažaci, pannaju nazyvaci** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 790)

I send you, to the low vines where the sun does not shine, where the wind does not blow, where the birds do not fly. **There, there is a golden bed for you, there your father and mother will respect you, will call you a maiden** (Against scrofula)

1.6. Request for help

This represents a transitory stage between those charms whose central performance is the full responsibility of the individual, to those in which a third party is requested to take this responsibility. The speaker appeals for aid in the carrying out of the performance from a Biblical figure:

(Bel.) Pamažy mne, Boža, **Ganne padnimku ūgavarazi**. (Bartaševič 1992, no. 789)

Help me, God, help **Anne conjure the swelling**. (Against scrofula)

(Lit.) **Prašau Viešpat Jėzau Kristau j pagalbą** (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, no. 19)

I beg Jesus Christ for help (Against snakes)

1.7. Appeal to a divine character

If the development of the charm is to be seen as a linear progression from its original role as an accompaniment to a ritual act to that of an unofficial prayer (Zav'jalova: 2006), then this next set of charms marks a significant stage. A semantic shift occurs, as a result of which the main actor of the charm is no longer the individual, but a third party- a pre-Christian deity or a Biblical figure. The voice of the performer of the charm is still present, but now he appeals to the sacred character to perform the central act instead of doing it himself.

(Lit.) Sauliula, mėnasėli, šviesyja aušrela, gražyja švenčiausia **Panela, atimk man šitų sopulį** (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, no. 1)

Little sun, little moon, bright dawn, beautiful **Virgin Mary, take this pain away from me** (Against snakes)

(Lit.) **Šventoji Gabieta, sergėk mano namus nuo ivairių nelaimių** (Balys 1951, no. 295)

“Saint Gabin, save our house from various misfortunes”

(Lit.) **Švintas Jokūbai, atimk sojį nuo NN**. Yra in dungaus dvi žvaigždes seserys: viena Polia, kita Lidia. (Manskika 1929, no. 118.)

Saint James, take away the pain from N. There are two sister stars in the sky; one is Polya, the other is Lidia. (Against erysipelas)

(Lit.) **Jaunas Mėnulim dangaus karalaici, sergėk mane** nuog ugnies degimo, nuog vandens skendimo ir nuog dantų skaudėjimo. (Balys 1951, no. 81)

The young moon, heavenly prince, save me from burning in fire, from sinking in water and from toothache.

1.8. Divine character performs the magic

In these charms, the speaker's role has been diminished to that of a narrator. The burden of performing the central act now rests solely with the sacred figure. The act itself remains the same, that is, still existing as a verbal accompaniment to a now-symbolic ritual act. It has nonetheless become more abstract in that it is symbolically performed wholly within the mental imagery conjured by the speaker's words. To make the leap of imagination from believing that the magic has been carried out by the individual (presumably) within the same room to believing that a spiritual presence has carried it out clearly requires not only a heavy dose of faith, but also of religious or folkloric knowledge. In this respect, the encyclopaedia of sacral characters and stories that appear in the world of the charm provides insight into the history of folk religion of the region studied. To see a particular saint take up the same role within a charm as previously held by a pagan deity is interesting from the point of view of comparative IE mythology.

1.8.1. Divine characters eliminate the disease

These charms can be 'told' in the present tense, drawing power, as in the above charms, from the ongoing magic;

(Bel.) Esc' na sinim mory kamen', na tym kameni prystol staic', na tym prystole dvanaccac' kub vina nalita. **Sam Bog sjadzic', umaljae, Nasvénčaj matki dapamagae, use boli adganjae** (Bartašević 1992, no. 692)

There is a stone in the blue sea, on that stone stands a throne, on that throne twelve urns of wine are poured. **God himself sits** (there), **he pleads, he helps the Virgin Mary, he drives all the pain away** (Against a boil)

(Lit.) Šventa Pana Marija šiaukiames mes in tavo šventu loskeli. **Ratavoji visų sviety, ratavok mani jaunų griešnykj**, apguldyk vocj kunigj kaltunų. Kaip guli akmenelis ant daiktelio ant vietelės, kad taip gulėtų vocis, kunigė, kaltunas nepaskelt. Ir tos dušėlės, katros numirė vocu, kunige kaltunu pamačnos butų. Sveika Marija. (Manskika 1929, no. 157)

Blessed Virgin Mary, we call upon your holy mercy. **You are saving all the world, save me, young sinner**, put the ulcer, the colic, and the plica in its own place. As the stone is in its own place, so should also the ulcer, the colic and the plica lie and not get up. And those souls, on which the ulcer, the colic and the plica died, may help. Hail Mary. (Against ulcers, colic and plica)

(Bel.) Carskija dzvery admykajucca, mirskija zamki zamykajucca. Išla **Boža mac'** darogaju. Sustrakae **Isus Hrystos**:

-Kudy idzeš, **Boža maci**?

-Idu ū cērkaūku ključykaū brazi, Eve cela zamykaci, na svet mladzenca ne puskaci (Bartašević 1992, no. 1111)

The royal doors are unlocked, the profane locks are locked. **The Mother of God** walked along the road. She met **Jesus Christ**:

-Where are you going, **Mother of God**?

-I'm going to take the key to the church, to lock the body of Eva, to not let the baby into the world (For a full-term birth)

The past tense is more common however, strengthening the vital sense of completeness needed to fulfil the charm's role as a self-sustaining magical device:

(Lit.) Ėjo **Viešpat Jėzus** per kalnus, per miškus, išėjo j vieškelj, sutiko žmogų ligotą.- Žmogau, kas tau skauda? - skauda man, skauda rožė. Prašau, **Viešpats Jėzau Kristau**, pagydyk mano tą ligą. **Viešpats Jėzau Kristau**, papūsk; **Viešpats Jėzau Kristau**, peržegnok. Sako **Viešpats Jėzus Kristus**: - **Sukalbėk penkis poterius prie penkių Kristaus žaizdų** (Balys 1951, no. 407)

The Lord Jesus went over the mountains, through the woods, he arrived at the gravel road, he met the diseased man. – Man, where does it hurt (what is hurting you)? – The *roža* hurts, it hurts me. I beg of you, **Lord Jesus Christ**, cure this illness of mine. **Lord Jesus Christ**, blow, **Lord Jesus Christ**, make the sign of the cross. **Lord Jesus Christ said:- Say five prayers to the five wounds of Christ.** (Against erysipelas)

As Zav'jalova has pointed out, the Lithuanian charms of the above type represent a less-developed stage in that the ill person becomes a character in the 'story' of the charm (Zav'jalova:134). This

active participation of the individual, whether the afflicted person or the speaker, is less detached from the original physical act, in that the individual still plays some kind of role in the proceedings. The responsibility for the performative act still belongs to the divine figure, however, as in the above charm in which the central act is the command from Jesus.

1.8.2. Heading

The following charms feature no participation from the speaker or ill person and therefore represent the next stage in the progression of the charm from spell to unofficial prayer;

(Bel.) Išla **mamka Pračystaja** pa Sijan'skaj garè, svjatuju vadu nasila, **i raba božaga zmyvala, i baljačku vyganjala**, svjarbučuju, kaljučuju, baljučuju, abkladnuju, abložnuju (Bartašević 1992, no. 670)

The **Holy Mother** walked over Mount Zion, she bore holy water and **washed the slave of god**, and **drove out the sores**; the itchy, the scratchy, the painful, the spreading, the swelling. (Against boils)

Note the parallels with the less-developed spell charms ('to drive out' – *vyganjac*'), the notable difference being who performs these 'removing' actions.

(Bel.) Išla **svjataja Pračystaja** z usimi svjatymi apostalami, njasla zalatyja zamki, sjarèbranyja ključy, **zamykala raby božyja žyvaty da pary** (Bartašević 1992, no. 1102)

The **Holy Mother** walked with all the Holy Apostles, she bore golden locks, silver keys, **she locked the slave of god's womb for now** (For the protection of a fetus)

(Bel.) Išoŭ **Isus Hrystos** i **mac' Pračystaja** po polju, pa šyrokaj daline, pa sinemu kamennju, pa čornamu kramennju. **Isus išoŭ** pervy, a **mac' Pračystaja išla, vjarnulasja**- i ŭ raba božaga (imja) usjakija boli minulisja (Bartašević 1992, no. 1237)

Jesus Christ and the **Virgin Mary** walked through the field, through the wide valley, over the blue stone, over the black flint. First went **Jesus Christ**, and then went **the Virgin Mary**, and **she returned**- and all the pain of this slave of God (name) passed. (Against all disease)

(Bel.) Išoŭ **Gaspodz'** iz nebesa, **baran** iz-za mora. Systrélisja na kalinavym mastu. **Znjaŭ Gaspodz' iz barana runo i zatykaŭ kryvavae ždralo** (Bartašević 1992, no. 504)

The **Lord** came from heaven, **the ram** from over the sea. They met on the swamp-elder bridge. **The Lord took the fleece from the ram and plugged the bloody mouth**. (Against bleeding)

(Bel.) Išoŭ sam **Gaspodz'** darogaju, nės try nažy staljanyh i tryh svjačy vaskavyh, nažami **prapazaŭ**, svjačami **pražygaŭ, u Aleny bol' vynimaŭ** (Bartašević 1992, no. 1230)

The **Lord** walked along the road, he carried three steel knives and three wax candles, with the knives **he cut through**, with the candles **he burnt through, he took away the pain from Aljona**. (Against pain)

1.8.3. Divine characters engage with the disease

(Bel.) Išoŭ Bog darogaju i sustréŭ koljuku.

-Kudy ty idzeš?

-Idu kaloc' i paroc'

-Idzi ŭ cėmny les, tam staic' čorny vol, idzi, kali i pary, **a etaga čalaveka (imja) ne kali i ne pary** (Bartašević 1992, no. 1260)

God walked along the road and met a thorn.

-“Where are you going?”

-“I’m going to prick and to thrash”

-“Go to the dark wood, there stands a black ox, go, prick and thrash, **but do not prick and thrash this person** (name). (Against *gumbas*)

1.8.4. Description of the incident with the divine character

The burden of the disease takes on new dimensions in this device (only in the more elaborate Belarusian charms) in which the sacred character both endures the ailment and is cured (either alone or with the help of another divine character), forming a self-sustaining and complete story with a satisfying and happy ending.

(Bel.) Išoŭ **Isus Hrystos** ceraz kalinavy most, skaloŭ nožačku na svizenu igolečku, vjarnuŭsja nazad- **ni kryvi, ni jatrasci** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 503)

Jesus Christ walked across the swamp-elder bridge, he pricked his nose on the hanging thorn, he returned - **no blood, no swelling** (Against bleeding)

(Bel.) Išoŭ **Bog** ceraz vjaliki roŭ, parėzaŭ nagu ab ŭorstkuju travu. **Boŭaga macer** prybjaŭala, paradak rane davala, ranu šaŭkovaj travicaj peravjazala. Jak astanavilsja sėrca ŭ pakojnika, **astanavisja kroŭ alaja ŭ raba Boŭaga (imja)**. Amin’ (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 495)

God walked across the great ditch, cutting his nose on the rough grass. The **Mother of God** came running, she tended to the wound, she tied up the wound with silken grass. As the heart stayed in repose, **the scarlet blood of the slave of god (name) stay in place!** Amen. (Against bleeding)

1.8.5. Epic-style charms

The following is an example of an elaboration on the above ‘story’ charms. The description of the sacred character engaging with the disease borrows not only the style of epic folk tales (Zav’jalova:17) i.e. with a beginning, middle and end, but also the geography and characters of the epic tradition. Unlike in other folklore genres, inter-genre borrowings are rare in the charm tradition and therefore these epic-style charms are distinctive and immediately recognisable, especially for Lithuanian charms given their tendency to be short and direct. It should be noted that while the style is distinctive, the central oral magic of these charms uses the standard devices (often several in combination) listed in this section:

(Lit.) Jojo švaistikas per lygŭ laukŭ, per ŭaliŭ gyriŭ. Jo ŭirgas koja gyvatę pamynė, per vidurj sutrinė. Gyvatė raitosi aplink kojas, vyniojasi, aukščiau kulno ŭirgŭ kanda ŭirgui ŭaizdŭ daro, ŭirgo kraujŭ nuodija. Ŗirgas ŭvengia, šventam švaistikui skundėsi, švaistikas nuog ŭirgo nusėdo, gyvatei kalbėjo. **Aš tave uŭgavau, tu mane uŭgavai. Atleisk man, dovanok man, ir aš tau atleidŭiu, dovanoju. Per švaistiko ŭodŭius dovanok N. atleisk, kaip ir tave gyvŭ atleido.** (LTR 3477(145))

švaistikas galloped through a flat country, through a green forest. His horse’s leg stepped on a snake, splitting it in two. The snake wrapped itself around the hoof, twirling itself, biting the horse’s other hoof, wounding the horse, poisoning its blood. The horse neighs, moaning to Saint švaistikas, švaistikas dismounted the horse, and spoke to the snake. **I touched you, you touched me. Forgive me, pardon me, and I will forgive you, I will pardon you. Through the words of švaistikas pardon N, forgive, as you were forgiven alive.** (Against snakes)

1.9. Appeals to the universe

The following sets of charms are based on the logic of oral magic and the power of the spoken word. Unlike those listed above, these charms feature as their central act no explicit performative act or appeal (i.e. 'getting out', communicating with the personified disease etc.), but instead answer to, and make appeals to the underlying universal logic from which the word gains magical power. As expected, many of the Lithuanian examples are simpler and probably more archaic. They are short, concise spells with no need for the enumerative descriptions, *historiolae* or anything more elaborate than the most basic stylistic devices as seen in the Belarusian charms of this type (Zav'jalova: 18) The Lithuanian examples can be seen as 'stripped down' magical devices, built around the unchanging principles of the universe.

1.9.1. Abracadabra

This ancient device is perhaps the most simple of any form of oral magic in that the speaking of the word itself, and nothing else, can bring about a desired effect on the environment (Zav'jalova:18). Examples of this device are in 3.2.

1.9.2. Power of the name, word

These charms are an example of the simple device of naming objects or names which bear magical power, with the implicit intention that the name itself will bring about the intended effect on the enemy. The names of these powerful objects are generally listed as part of enumerations (2.3.1.), however the last charm uses only one name.

(Lit.) Saulė, mėnuo, šešėlis...(Balys 1938, no. 447)

Sun, moon, shade... (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Pamatęs gyvatę sakyk- Kregždytė gražioji (jai tas vardas patinka, ji tuomet nepyksta ir nekanda) (Elisonas 1932, no. 108)

Seeing a snake in the woods, say- "The pretty swallow" (she likes this name, then she will not get angry and bite.) (Against snakes)

1.9.3. Power of objects

This device differs from 1.9.2. only in that more information is required to activate the power of the object listed. The name is not enough; validation of the object's power must also be spoken:

(Lit.) Dangus Jezau, saulė Jezau, žeme Jezau, rasa Jezau. Amen Jezau Kristau. (Manskika 1929, no. 82)

The sky, o Jesus, the sun, o Jesus, the earth, o Jesus, the dew, o Jesus. Amen Jesus Christ (Against snakes)

(Lit) Saulė kairėn, saulė dešinėn, o gyvatė- užpakalin (*Lietuvių Tautosaka*, no. 9296)

Sun to the left, sun to the right, but snake behind (to the back). (Against snakes)

Both of the above charms are treated in the chapter on enumeration, focusing on the accumulation of these magic names, words and phrases. Alone, the above objects are nonetheless powerful; the sun goddess is amongst the most powerful deities in Lithuanian mythology.

1.9.4. Associative links

The world of the charm is sustained by a system of all-encompassing associative links, which arises out of the need to categorise the world around us; according to Levi-Strauss, an essential and universal need (Levi-Strauss XXX:7). The significant feature of this system of links is its dynamism-connections can be made between signifiers, built on common features which defy rational everyday logic; even the most tenuous link can be made as part of this all-encompassing structure. The

creation of this structure is an essential and instinctual response to the chaos of the natural world and its dynamic nature allows for any change of state to be made. Zav'jalova explains that this world of defiant and seemingly random associations is equivalent to a child's first navigations into the chaotic world outside of himself; instinctual, visual associations are made such as the grouping of objects by proximity, shape etc. In the context of the charm, chaos is the disease and the breach to the system it represents; a "lost imbalance", a deficiency which can always be fulfilled due to the dynamism of the system of links (Zav'jalova 2006:13)

The following charms demonstrate this system of associative links and are built around the principle "Object A has the properties of A; object B has the properties of B; therefore object C must have the properties of C", with the unexpected link being made between C (the desired outcome of the charm) and the previous statements. The magical power is generated by the stating of the true facts (A and B), and the logic of the charm universe dictates that this truth is transferred to the final statement.

The associations in the Lithuanian charms are as a rule between objects, and between actions in Belarusian. The 'A and B' statement of the first Lithuanian example is interesting in that the associative links within the statements themselves appear random (milk and sun).

(Link- unclear)

(Lit.) Saulės pienas, akmenia kraujas, saulės aptemimas, **krauja nustajimas** (Manskika 1929, no. 21.)

The milk of the sun, the blood of the stone, the eclipse of the sun, **the stopping of blood**. (Against bleeding)

(Link- without)

(Lit.) Akmuo ba šakny, Sveika Marija. Paukštis ba pieno, Sveika Marija. **Kirmala ba kramslo**, Sveika Marija- (Manskika 1929, no. 76)

A stone without roots, Hail Mary. A bird without milk, Hail Mary. **A worm without cud**, Hail Mary. (Against snakes)

(Link- still river= still blood)

(Lit.) Ugniavystas kraujas, paparčio žiedas. Aprimo upė. **Tegul šitas kraujas nustos tekėt**. (Manskika 1929, no. 22)

Fiery blood, the flower of fern. The river has settled. **Let this blood stop flowing**.

(Link, leaving the tree/tooth)

(Bel.) Staic' dub, u dube smol', **kab iz zuba vyšla bol'** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 633)

There stands an oak, in the oak there is resin, **may the pain exit the tooth**. (Against toothache)

(Other links)

(Bel.) Na mory, na kijani, na vostravi na Bujani staic' drėva, na tom drėvi car voran sjadiz'. Car voran, nja karkni, **i kroū u raba božaga nja kani**. Amin. (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 487)

In the sea, in the ocean, on the island on Buyan stands a tree, on that tree sits king raven. King raven, do not caw, **and the blood of the slave of god would not disappear!** Amen. (Against bleeding)

(Lit.) Ējo Jēzus per aukštus kalnus, per dzidelius miestus ir aš ejou. Jezaus nekliudė ir mani nekliudys... (Manskika 1929, no. 95)

Jesus went over the high mountain, through big cities, as I went. **They did not touch Jesus, and they will not touch me...** (Against dogs)

(Link- weak and loose enough to be blown away)

(Latvian) Saules taks iet pa jūru, uz to taku dzelzs stabs, uz to stabu dadža lapa. Dadža lapa, tevi duršu, - **liesas maita, tev būs sprāgt** (Treilands 1881:141)

The trail of the sun goes across the sea, on that trail is an iron pike, on that post is a thistle leaf. Thistle leaf, I prick you, - **damn spleen, you will blow away.** (Against pain in the spleen)

1.9.5. As is 'A', so is 'B'

This is the more explicit parallel to the above examples, in which the device of making associative links is verbalised with the universal formula "as is....so may...." The "as is" is sometimes missing, but the comparison is still clear.

(Lit.) **Kap** guli akmenėlis užnėmėš mariose, **Ka** tep užnemt mano rožė! (LTR 6467(384)).

As the stone lies numb in the sea, **may** my erysipelas grow numb (Against erysipelas)

(Lit.) **Kaip** šitas stalelis sudžiūvėš, **tegu** ir ana sudžiūsta LTR 3585(413)

As this little table is withered, **let** you wither. (Against herpes)

(Bel.) Maladzik malady, tvoj rozum zalaty. **Jak** tabe vek zjamli ne byvac', **tak** vek haj mae zyby ne baljac' (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 620)

Young moon, your mind is golden. **As** you are never on the earth, **so** may my teeth never hurt (Against toothache)

(Bel.) Na mory, na kijani ros drėva kuparos, z kamlja i da verha gallėm apus'ciūsja. A na sinim mory ljažyc' sinej medzi kamnjan', **jak** gėtamu sinju-medzju kamnjanju naverh nja ūsplyvacı, **kad** i tak rabe božaj mladzenca ne svergac'... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 1101)

In the sea, on the ocean grew a (copper) tree, brushwood descends from the tops to the trunk. In the blue sea lies a blue copper stone. (Just) **as** this blue copper stone does not float up to the surface, **so** this baby of this slave of god is not cast down... (For the survival of a fetus)

(Lit.) Akmuo be krauja, šventa dvasia be grieko, tegu būna ta žaizda Petru be skausmo ir be kraujo ir nustoja skaudėt (LTR 5435(107))

A stone without blood, a holy soul without sin, may the wound of Peter be without pain and without blood and cease to hurt. (Against blood)

1.9.5.1. Implicit 'as...'

(Latvian) Izniksti, izdilsti **kā** vienas dienas garums, **kā** vecs mēness, **kā** zvīrgzda akmens, caur žogu sviežot (Treilands 1881:141)

Perish, disappear **like** the length of one day, **like** the old moon, **like** gristle from a stone, thrown over the fence (Against pain in the joints)

(Latvian) Sāpes, visas sāpes, dilstat **kā** vecs mēnensis, sakalstat **kā** purva niedre, izdēdat **kā** vecs mironis! ((Treilands 1881:140)

Pain, great pain, grow smaller **like** the dying moon, wither away **like** marsh reed, perish **like** an old corpse! (Against pain)

1.9.6. Specialised analogies

Both Lithuanian and Belarusian charms contain elaborations of some particular analogues, based on general observations of the natural world, or on the Christian manuscript tradition. These include:

1.9.6.1. Moon

The Belarusian analogy between a bright, young moon and a healthy tooth (the young moon is also an ambassador to the world of the dead, and its permanent home in the heavenly world serves to encourage the tooth to remain in its place (the mouth) (Zav'jalova 2006: 111).

(Bel.) Maladzik malady, tvoj rozum zalaty. **Jak** tabe vek na zjamli ne vycac', **tak** vek haj mae zuby ne baljac' (Bartaševič 1992, no. 620)

Young moon, your mind is golden. **As** you are never on the earth, **so** may be teeth never hurt (Against toothache)

(Bel.) Maladzik ty malady, i byŭ ty na tym svece? – Byŭ. – A ci baljac' u mērtvyh zuby? – Ne, ne baljac'. – **Tak** njahaj i ŭ Bici ne baljac'. (Bartaševič 1992, no. 608)

Young moon, were you in that world? – I was. – And do the teeth of the dead hurt them? – No, they do not hurt. – **So** may they then not hurt Bica. (Against toothache)

1.9.6.2. Jesus and the River Jordan

The analogy between the waters of the River Jordan stopping/being commanded to stop and the stopping of bleeding is common in the charms and oral magic of many Christian areas and spread throughout the medieval world as part of the manuscript tradition. This motif has its origins in two passages from the Bible; the Gospel of Matthew (3:13-17) in which the baptism of Jesus is described, and the Book of Joshua (3:16-17) which describes the River Jordan stopping when crossed over by the Israelites. These two actions do not feature together in the Bible, and were only assimilated in secondary ecclesiastical texts. The overtly Christian imagery however, could be later incarnations of more ancient blood-stopping charms, given the magical properties of water in many pre-Christian mythologies, including Slavic and Baltic. (Ilomäki 2011:122-125) The 'Christian version' of the motif is more common in the Lithuanian charm tradition and in Catholic areas in general, perhaps due to the significance and grandiose ceremony of the baptism ritual within Catholic Medieval Europe.

This Lithuanian charm contains the 'full set' of actors and actions, as seen in various European and Near Eastern charm traditions. (Skemer 2006:208)

(Lit.) Kaip šventas Jonas krikštino **Poną Jezusį** an **Ardono**, ant to čėso **susto vandenai; tegul sustoja šito žmogaus kraujas** akmeniui. Peržegnoti. (Manskika 1929, no. 32)

When St. John baptised **Lord Jesus** in the Jordan, the **water stood still; may the blood of this man stand still** like a stone. Make the sign of the cross. (Against bleeding)

In the above charm, the 'like a stone' is an addition, to strengthen the magic of the central analogy.

Many other charms related to this formula show variations on the original theme;

(Lit.) Taip **perstos Jordonas** upė **tekėjus, kaip Pono Jezusio kraujas** (Manskika 1929, no. 31)

Just as the **River Jordan** will **stop flowing, so also will the blood of Jesus Christ.**

(Lit.) Kaip ėjo **Kristus** per **Juordaną**, kaip kis gyveno tyruose, **ir tuomet nustos teket**. (Manskika 1929, no. 24)

As **Christ** crossed over the **Jordan**, as he lived in the desert, **so the blood will stop flowing**.

This Belarusian example is not directed against bleeding, but the the Biblical imagery is present:

(Bel.) Išoŭ **Hrystos** čeraz **raku lardan'**, skazaŭ rake lardan": **stan'**, a **ty, zub, baleb' perastan'** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 632)

Christ walked over the **river Jordan**, he said to the river Jordan; **stop, and you, tooth, stop hurting** (Against toothache)

1.9.6.3. *Oak staying in its deep roots = fetus remaining safe in the womb (Belarusian)*

(Bel.) Jak dub na korani njadvizym, njadrušym, tak u raby božaj njadvizyma, i z svajgo mesta nja trogaetsja (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 1107)

As the oak in its roots is still, does not move, so this slave of god is still, does not move, and doesn't reach out from its place. (For the protection of a fetus)

1.9.6.4. *Roža = rose*

The comparison between the skin disease erysipelas and the rose is extremely common in both Slavic and Baltic charms and is built around the phonetic similarity of the two words:

(Lit.) Ėjo Viešpats Jėzus per pievų ir nešės rankoj 3 **rožes**: vieną pametė, kita nupuolė, trečia paci pragaišol **pragaišk ir tu rože** (Manskika 1929, no. 104)

The Lord Jesus went across the meadow and picked by hand 3 roses; he lost one, the second fell, the third disappeared by itself; **you disappear also, rože** (erysipelas)

(Bel.) Išoŭ Hrystos pa polju, nės **try rozy**, adna akamjanela, drugaja adzervjanela, trėccja zginela, zgin' **i ty, bol', njačystaja roža** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 720)

Christ walked through the field, he carried three roses; one turned to stone, the second turned to wood, the third disappeared, **and you disappear, disease, wicked roža**.

This phonetic similarity allows for wordplay and other stylistic devices, which are explored in Chapter 3.

1.9.6.5. *Rus. corpse= healthy tooth (stiff, numb)*

(Rus.)...kak" vo grobė **mertvec"** ležit", **okostenėvši i omertvėvši, tak"** by u **menja**, raba Božija (imja rek"), **zuby zakostenėli i omertvėli**... (Vinogradov 1907, no. 43)

...as in the coffin the **corpse** lies, **stiffened and deadened, so would my teeth**, slave of God (name of the speaker), **stiffen and deaden**... (Against toothache)

Bel. falling silk = bleeding (Agapkina 2010:125)

(Bel.)...Praduc', vypradajuc' i ūzory nabirajcja, i **krasnaga šoŭku na zjamliju ni ūranajcja**, i z zjamli ni padymajcja! **U raba krovi ni byvac'**! (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 466)

...They spin, they spin out and they weave patterns, and **they do not let the red silk fall**, and it does not rise from the ground! **This slave will not bleed!** (Against bleeding)

1.9.7. *Combinations and collages*

The categories above are examples of magic devices in isolation. Some are complete charms which use one single device and others have been taken from longer charms. Many charms, particularly Belarusian charms, use many of the above devices in sometimes elaborate combinations, e.g:

(Bel.) Išoŭ Isus Hrystos ceraz kalinavy most... *Kroŭ zagavaraju, žylu zamaŭljaju*, kamar kusae, vjabra zarastae. Sejala dzeŭka rožu, roža ne ŭzyšla, *što z Tazjaninae žylki kroŭ ne pajšla* (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 501)

Jesus Christ went over the bridge. *I conjure the blood, I impel the sinew*, the gnat bites, the willow grows. The wench sowed the *roža*, the *roža* did not rise, *may the blood from Tanya's veins not flow*. (Against bleeding)

(Lit.) Persižėgnosiu, nueisiu ant mėlynų marių, mėlynose marėse guli baltas akmuo. *Paimsiu auksines žirkles, iškapinėsiu ten skausmą*. Kaip mėlynose marėse vanduo nestovi, *taip sopulys neskauda*. Pirklieji akmenys, baltosios šaknys. (Manskika 1929, no. 141)

I cross myself, I go to the blue sea, in the blue sea lies a white stone, *I take golden shears and will cut the disease out*. Just as the water in the blue sea does not stand, *so the illness of N will not hurt*. Grey stone, white roots. (Against all diseases)

1.10. Here vs. there

The final non-communicative device to be analysed is the act of emphasising that the target of the charm has invaded the human world, and must return to its otherworldly origins. This emphasis can be followed up by the physical act of expulsion, or by the animate target feeling compelled to return to its home, through threats etc.- both outcomes have been discussed above. This section looks at the different expressions of the target's unwelcome presence within the body or human environment. This device is therefore not the central performative act of the charm, but rather an underlying language, assertively defining and emphasising the unbreachable borders between this world and the underworld. The features of the underworld are often enumerated, as explored in Chapter 2.

The targets of these expressions tend to be either snakes or internal ailments (i.e. unseen), in contrast to external and visible ailments such as styes, warts, skin diseases etc. which as a rule undergo more primitive, spell-like treatments. The imagined sinister origin of internal diseases is maybe the result of human imagination and fear when confronted with dangers of an unknown source and unpredictable nature. As for very visible snakes, perhaps they undergo the same treatment as internal diseases due to their tendency to hide in and strike from the undergrowth of fields, woods etc.

1.10.1. *The enemy has crossed the threshold*

(Lit.) Žemė, žemybė, pyktie, pyktybė, kur tu uliojai, *ko per slinkstį dabojai*, eik ir vel ty, kur buvai... (Manskika 1929, no. 61)

Earth, baseness, evil, anger, where you roam, *why do you cross over the threshold?* Go back then, to where you were... (Against snakes)

1.10.2. *Emphasis on lack of life in otherworld (thereby protecting all living things from the enemy)*

(Bel.) za nicyja lozy adpraŭljaju, *dze sonca ne svecic', veter ne vee, dze ptaški ne daletavajus'*... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 790)

...to the low vines I send you, *where the sun does not shine, where the wind does not blow, where the birds do not fly*... (Against scrofula).

(Lit.)... išeikite is to žmogaus (vardas), eikite per sausus miškus, per baisias balas, per Dievo jėgą, **kur žmonės nevaikšto** (LTR 625888)

The fear of a cat, a dog, the wind, fire, leave this person go through the dry woods, through the frightening woods, through the power of God, **where people do not walk**. (Against fear)

1.10.3. *The enemy arose in the otherworld, therefore it should return there*

(Lit.) Tau blagibe, man geribė. **Kur buvai, tir vel eik**. (Manskika 1929, no. 37)

To me goodness, to you badness. **Where you were before, to there you shall return**. (Against snakes)

(Lit) ...insakou, tavi varou tj, **iš kur tavi vėjas atpūtė**, giliosna balosna, tamsuosna raistuosna, kur žmonės nevaikščioja, kur gyvuliai nebraidžioja, poukščiai nelakioja... (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, XV).

I order you, fever, I send you there, **from where the wind blew you**, to the deep swamps, to the dark bogs, where people do not walk, where animals do not roam, where birds do not fly (Against fever)

Enumeration

The universal practice of enumeration in the oral magical tradition is based on the primitive belief that the mere mention of a specific word under the right circumstances can release its magical power to bring about a change to the exterior environment. The accumulative speaking of many similar words or phrases can therefore create an increasingly powerful effect on the perceived enemy.

2.1. Simple Enumerations

Some of the most concise and possibly most archaic of Lithuanian charms are built around this archaic device:

(Lit.) **Saulė** kairėn, **saulė** dešinėn, o **gyvatė**- užpakalin

Sun on the left, **sun** on the right, but **snake** behind. (*Lietuvių Tautosaka*, no. 9296)

(Lit.) **Dangus** Jezau, **saulė** Jezau, **žeme** Jezau, **rasa** Jezau. Amen Jezau Kristau. (Manskika 1929, no. 82)

The **sky** of Jesus, the **sun** of Jesus, the **earth** of Jesus, the **dew** of Jesus. Amen Jesus Christ (Against snakes)

The fact that the above charms are both directed against snakes, as well as their brevity and directness hints at their ancientness (Zav'jalova 2006:63).

The conciseness of these Lithuanian charms allows the central idea of the enumerative device to be clearly recognised and understood. The speaker is demonstrating his knowledge of the world; he knows where things are and where things should be. This knowledge 'activates' the magic of the word, i.e. in the first charm, the accumulative power gained from the knowledge of the listed positions of the sun, which are universally known to be true, shifts to the last statement, it becomes another truthful fact and the snake is removed.

2.2. 'As is A, so must be B'

This analogical process is made explicit with the use of the 'As is A, so must be B' formula. The idea shown in 1.1. is expanded and the enumeration becomes more stylised through the repetition of the preposition 'as' (Lith. *kaip*, Rus. *kak*, Bel. *jak*).

(Lit.) Kaip ėjo Kristus per Juordaną, kaip jis gyveno tyruose, ir tuomet nustos teket.

As Christ crossed over the Jordan, as he lived in the desert, so the blood will stop flowing. (Against bleeding) (Manskika 1929, no. 20)

(Rus.) Kak" zvezdy ot" bujnago vetra pomerknut", tak" by u moego supostata serdce i usta by u nego pomerkli: i kak" mertvyj onemel", tak" by tot" moj supostat" onemel' i ne vozmog" by protiv" menja glagolati; i kak" mertvyj na svet" ne zrit", tak" by i tot" moj supostat" ne vozmog" by na menja zrit" i protiv" menja glagolati, raba Božija (imja reka). Amin". (Vinogradov, no. 13)

As the stars from stormy wind fade, so would the heart and mouth of my enemy fade; and as the dead became dumb, so would my enemy become dumb, and would not be able to speak against me; and as the dead do not see the world, so my enemy would not be able to see me and speak against me, slave of God (name of the speaker). Amen. (Against an enemy)

The consecutive facts enumerated in these charms are, as in 1.1., known by all to be true.

In fact, in both examples, a denial of the listed facts would be taboo-to question the events of the life of Jesus would be sacrilegious, and to question whether the dead are truly dead could have been considered dangerous in superstitious agricultural Russian society. The inability, therefore, to deny the truth of the 'A' facts transfers to the recipient of the effect of 'B'.

2.3. Encyclopaedia

More examples of the 'As is A, so must be B' device are discussed in 1.9. , but the focus here is the use of multiple statements or words, which often present what V.N Toporov calls an "encyclopaedia" of objects (Toporov 1983:10). The universe of the charm is a self-sustaining world, independent of references to other folklore genres, providing its own "completeness of composition", and organising its own sacral geography. The reason behind this self-sustainability is the power it gives the speaker over the environment, through holding all-encompassing knowledge of its every part. The lack of references to other genres means that everything in this world is self-contained and the speaker, through encyclopaedic enumeration, demonstrates his mastery over everything within it. As Toporov explains, "only in this 'complete' world can one always find the means to fulfil deficiencies." (Toporov 1983:11) In other words, the logic of the charm dictates that a malevolent force which arose within the charm universe, is 'trapped' by the control the enumeration demonstrates. The trapped force is defeated by its opposing force, which is always present in the antonymic world of the charm.

The encyclopaedic charm enumerates the charm universe; this can include lists of natural objects; landmarks; chronological lists; sociological lists; lists of the elements; deities and (2.3.7.), the classification of types of disease or of the parts of the human body.

2.3.1. List of natural objects

This Belarusian charm against snakes is a basic enumeration of all living beings contained within the earthly realm-the middle section of the three-tiered world of the charm, situated between the heavenly realm and the underground realm (Zav'jalova 2006:124).

(Bel.) syraja zjamlja ūsiah nas sadzjaržaes', **pravaslaŭnyh hrystcijan**, i **zvyaroŭ i gadaŭ**, i **ljatučyh i bjagučyh, paŭzučyh**...(Bartašėvič 1992, no. 401)

Mother Earth contains us all; **orthodox Christians**, and **wild beasts** and **reptiles**- and **those who fly** and **those who run**, and **those who crawl** (Against reptiles, adders)

In the above charm, the chaos of the natural world is brought under control through categorisation (Levi Strauss 1962:6). The reptiles appear at the end of *line* for emphasis, as they are the object of the charm; they cannot escape the control of the personified earth deity.

The following enumeration establishes the full tripartite hierarchy- the epithet of 'king' is symbolic of the order and power the three objects contain together. In the Belarusian worldview, a healthy tooth (the desired outcome of this charm) is analogous with a clear, white moon, yet for the magic to work, the full hierarchy and not just the mention of the white moon must be listed (Zav'jalova 2006:112);

(Bel.) Esc' na svece **try caryki: jasny mesjac** na nebi, **sini dub** na zjamle, **čorny kamen'** u vadze (Bartašević 1992, no. 609)

There are **three kings** in the world; the **clear moon** in the sky, the **blue oak** on the ground, the **black stone** in the water (Against toothache)

This Lithuanian charm enumerates the objects of the heavenly domain (mixing both Christian and pre-Christian imagery), whose power the speaker enlists before demonstrating to the snake his extensive, ordered knowledge of its behaviour and habitats within the natural world:

(Lit.) Nepriims tavęs Dievas, nepriims tavęs **saulé**, nepriims tavęs **mėnuo**, nepriims tavęs **žvaigždės**. Neprisiglausi tu nei **ant samanų**, nei **po samanom**, nei **ant krūmo**, nei **po krūmu** (LTR 3585 (442)).

God will not accept you, **the sun** will not accept you, **the moon** will not accept you, **and the stars** will not accept you. Do not hide neither **in the moss**, not **under the moss**, neither **in the bush**, nor **underneath the bush** (Against snakes)

2.3.2. Landmarks- "topological lists"

Particular to East Slavic charms³ is an enumerative charm style depicting a journey (usually of the speaker) through a sacral landscape composed of three realms. The hierarchical list begins at the 'profane' realm, represented by a building typical of the ordinary human world- the intermediary realm, either a field, bridge, road or sea, and the endpoint of the journey- the sacral realm. The sacral realm is almost always an altar or white stone, but can also be a tree or a church, on an island named '*Bujan*' in the "blue sea", or a mountain named '*Zion*'. In this final realm, the objective of the charm is realised. From the point of view of the sufferer, the subject has directed himself from the ordinary sphere towards the sacred centre of the world, where the magic act needed to eliminate the disease/deficiency can be carried out, sometimes with the help of a sacred character.

e.g:

(Rus.) Vo imja Otca I Syna I Svjatago Duxa, amin'. **Stanu ja, rab" Božij (imja rek"), do shxot" solnca, stanu blagoslovjas' i pojdu perekrestjas'; vyjdu v" čistoe pole, v" široko razdol'e. V" čistom" pole, v" širokom" razdol'e ležit" běloj kamen' Latyr'**. Pod" tēm" bělym" kamnem" ležit" ubogij Lazar'. To ja, rab" Božij (imja rek") sprošu ubogago Lazarja: <Ne boljat" li u tebja zuby, ne šepit" by ščeki, ne lomit" by kosti?>. I otvėt" deržit" ubogij Lazar'- <Ne boljat" u menja zuby, ne šepit" ščeki, ne lomit" kosti. Tak" by u menja, raba Božija (imja rek"), ne bolėli by zuby, ne šepili by ščeki, ne lomyli by kosti - v" den', pri solncė, noč'ju pri mėsjacė, na utrennoj zori, ne večernej zori, na vsyak" den', na vsjakoe

³ This motif is found occasionally in Lithuanian charms, but the lexicon used, as well as the addition of an epic element (unknown in the Lithuanian tradition) suggest it has been borrowed from East Slavic. (Agapkina 2010:34)

vremja. Těm" moim" slovam" bud' ključ' i zamok". Vo imja Otca i Syna i Svjatago Duxa, amin'. (Majkov 1867, 67)

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, amen. **I will arise, slave of God (name), before sunset, I will arise blessing myself, and I will walk crossing myself; I will walk to the open country, to the wide expanse. In the open country, in the wide expanse lies the white stone-Latyr.** Under that white stone lies poor Lazarus. And I, the slave of God (name) will ask of poor Lazarus: "Do your teeth not hurt you, do your cheeks not swell up, do your bones not ache?" And poor Lazarus held the answer: "My teeth do not hurt, my cheeks do not swell, my bones do not ache". And so, by me, slave of God (name), my teeth should not hurt, my cheeks not swell, my bones not ache- by day, before sunset, at night before the moon, at the morning dawn, at the evening sunset, all day, every day, at every hour, at all times. To my words the key and the lock. In the name of the Father and of the Sun and of the Holy Ghost, amen. (Against toothache)

(Rus.) **Stanu blagosloves' i pojdu perekrestes' iz dverej dver'mi, iz vorot vorotami. Pojdu ja, vyjdu ja v čistoe pole. V čistom pole stoit derevo.** U etogo dereva Xrista ubivali, v ruki, v nogi gvozd'e kolotili. Bujnu golovu šatrom prolomili. U Isusa u Xrista ne bylo ni rany, ni krovi, ni boli, ni šipoty, ni lomoty i ni sinej opuxoli. I tak u raba Božija (imja rek) čtoby ne bylo ni rany, ni krovi, ni boli, ni šipoty, ni lomoty, ni sinej opuxoli (Majkov, no. 14)

I will arise, blessing myself, and I will go, crossing myself from door to door, from gate to gate. I will go, I will go out to the open country. In the open country stands a tree. At this tree Jesus Christ was killed, into his hands, into his feet they pounded the nails. They beat in his feverish head. Jesus Christ had no wounds, no blood, no pain, no prickling, no aching, and no blue swellings. And thus this slave of God (name) would have no wounds, no blood, no pain, no prickling, no aching, and no blue swellings. (Against scrofula)

The effectiveness of this device lies in the suspense gradually built up by the enumerative description of the journey. As Toporov explains, "the objects... become more and more sacred as the journey progresses, to the most sacred locus of all." (Toporov 1986:253). It is in this sacred environment that the central function of the charm is fulfilled. According to Y.M. Sokolov, the transition from "profane" to "sacred" is emphasised by the change in imagery- from the "general to the private, a descent from the wide to the narrow, from the universal to the individual description of nature- we see a change in perspective, from the more remote but vast images that make up the background picture, we see a gradual approach to the specific".(Sokolov 1926:40-41). This effect, along with the steady and rhythmic repetition of words (door to door, gate to gate) must create in the imagination of the sufferer, vivid and perhaps hallucinatory imagery. Indeed, an altered state of mind must be an aim of the speech, in order for the 'purification' of the final magic act to have an effect. Keith Thomas, in his study on magic in Early Modern England, stresses the importance of the mind in bringing about cures for relatively minor ailments- "The cunning man's greatest asset was his client's imagination; and, in view of what is known today about the potentialities of any cure in which both doctor and patient have complete faith, its power cannot be disregarded" (Thomas 2003:248).

It is important to note that the charms shown in 2.3.2. are some of the most complete examples, found mostly in collections of Russian charms. The Russian charm tradition is considered the most 'developed' of the East Slavic/Baltic material, meaning it has taken on many stylistic features from the Folklore Epic tradition, hence the more complete story of the 'I will arise' type. This more fixed style of the Russian charms makes less room for the varied and innovative poetic devices which are widespread in the less 'developed' Lithuanian and Belarusian traditions, and the attention of this

thesis is therefore on the latter. The sacral geographical features listed below, in particular the oak, stone and blue sea feature extremely frequently in the non-Russian material but as fragments, rather than as part of the full 'I will arise...' journey. The 'complete', enumerative charms of the Russian tradition should be seen as the result of a more formal assembling and organisation of the sacred geography of the Proto-Slavic, and perhaps Proto-Balto-Slavic religion.

2.3.2.1 *The Individual landmarks*

1st realm

This 'profane or sinful' (Toporov 1993:7) realm contains the least variation in objects. A symbol of the ordinary, non-magical world of humans is required. This can be a feature of a town (**doors, gates**), a **cottage** (*izba*), or a non-descript river or sea (in contrast to the mythical epithet-bearing sea of the magical realm) (Agapkina 2010:36). The mark of agriculture is sometimes present in this area- the cottage (*izba*); farmyard gates; fence; threshing floor and well are sometimes mentioned (Zguta:1978.)

2nd realm

This realm is a transitory landscape, marking the boundary between the profane and the sacral. This realm can serve either as a place the subject passes through, or which contains the central point of the charm.

The most common feature of this middle region is the 'open field' or '**open country**' (*čistoe pole*). According to A.V. Judin, the field is, unlike the 'doors' or 'cottage' of the first realm, not a real place, but already a feature of the magical world; "a transitive region between two worlds" (Judin 2005:20). Supporting this observation is the fact that in much of the charm material, the subject 'goes out' (*vyxodit*) to the field, implying an exit from one region to another.

The field most often features as a region to cross through, but in some charms it contains the object of the central, sacral realm:

(Rus.) Vstanu ja, rab Božij (imja rek'), blagoslavjasja, **vyjdu ja v čistoe pole. V čistom pole stoit belaja berëza**, na nej sidit Nagaj-Ptica. Ona zaplavyvaet, zakljavyvaet, zagovarivaet vsju grudnuju, požil'nuju, poželčnuju grudnicu. (Kurec 2000, no. 89)

I will arise, the slave of God (name of the appellant), **I will go out to the open field. In the open country stands a white birch**, in the birch sits Nagaj-bird. It starts to spit at, starts to peck at, starts to conjure all the breast, the vein, and the mastitis (Against mastitis (swelling of the mammary glands, common in breast-feeding women)

The **forest** (*les*), **eastern side** (*vostočanaya storona*), **island** (*ostrov/vostrav*), **sea** (*more*), **mountain** (*gora*), and **river** (*reka*) all feature as the transitory region, sometimes containing the sacred object representing the centre of the world, sometimes as landmarks on the journey to the centre:

Forest

Interestingly, the forest only appears in Belarusian charms of this type, in opposition to the field or sea of its northerly parallels (Agapkina 2010:43);

(Bel.) **U cěmnyh lese** stajala hatka, u toj hatcy Božaja matka. Jana ne ūmèla ni šyc', ni prac', ni tkac', a tol'ki nudu zagaravac'; z kascej, mascej, z sinih žyl (Štėjner, Novak 1998, no.628)

In the dark forest stood a hut, in that hut was the Virgin Mary. She knew not how to sew, nor how to spin, nor how to weave, only how to conjure the sadness out, from the bones, from the flesh, from the blue veins. (Against melancholy).

Eastern side

(Rus.) Vstanu ja, rab Božij (imja rek), i pojdu iz dverej dver'mi, iz vorot vorotami, pod vostok, **pod vostočnoj storonu**...

I will stand, the slave of God (name of the speaker), and I will walk from the doors through the doors, from the gates through the gates, under the east, **under the eastern side**... (Love charm) (Majkov 1867, no. 14)

Island

Na mory, na kijani, **na vostravi**, na Bujani staic' drèva, na tom drèvi car voran sjadic'. Car voran, nja karkni, i kroù u raba božaga nja kani. Amin. (Bartašévič 1992, no. 487)

In the sea, in the ocean, **on the island**, on Buyan stands a tree, on that tree sits king raven. King raven, do not caw, and the blood of the slave of god would not fall / disappear. Amen. (Against bleeding)

The island is often named '*Bujan*'; the pre-Christian name of a mythical island (Agapkina 2010:43)

Sea

(Rus.) Stanu ja, rab" Božij Vasilij, po utru, blagoslovjas', pojdu, perekrestjas', iz" vorot" v" voroty, v" čistoe pole, v" širokoe razdol'e, **na sinee more**, na svjat" ostrov"; na tom ostrově...(Vinogradov 1907, no. 56)

I will arise, the slave of God Vasili, in the morning, blessing myself, I will go, crossing myself, from the gate to gate, to the open country, in the broad expanse, **in the blue sea**, on the holy island; on that island... (Love charm)

Blue is the most common epithet to go with sea, but also used are **black** (*čěrnoe/čornoe*), **sacred** (*svjatoe*), **quiet** (*tihoe*), **northern** (*severnij*), **big** (*bol'soe*) **eastern** (*vostočnoe*) and **far** (*dal'noe*).

The epithet '*more-ocean/akean* (sea-ocean) is common, particularly in the Belarusian charms of this type- which is inconsistent with real-life geography.

Mountain

(Bel.) Na Sijanskaj **garè** staic' dub. Na tym dubu...(Bartašévič 1992, no. 1156)

On **Mount Zion** stands an oak. On that oak... (Charm for sleep)

River

(Rus.) Vstanu, blagoslovjas', pojdu, perekrestjas' iz" dverej v dveri, iz" vorot' v" vorota, v" čistoe pole. V" čistom" pole tečet" **rěka** medvjanaja, berega zolotye...

I will arise, blessing myself, I will walk, crossing myself, from door through door, from gate through gate, to an open country. In the open country flows a sweet-smelling **river**, the riverbanks are gold... (Against a hernia) (Vinogradov 1907, no. 37)

Central sphere- altar.

The subject of the charm directs themselves to this final destination; the "altar at the centre of the world"(Toporov 1993:7); an object of ritual where the verbal magic is performed, which can take multiple forms e.g. analogy, appeals to the personified disease etc., as discussed in Chapter 1. The focus here is on the location- the final object of the enumeration, where this act takes place. T. Agapkina has categorised the 'options' for this object of ritual into two clear groupings- Pre-Christian and Christian-influenced.

Pre-Christian objects;

A **stone** (*Balto-Slavic* *(?)*akmen*)

(Rus.) Na more, na okianě ležit" Latyr" **kamen'**; na tom" **kamně** sidit" děvica: zolotoj grebešok", šelkovyj uzelok"...

In the sea, in the ocean lies the Latyr **stone**; on that **stone** sits a maiden; with a golden comb, a silk knot...(Against a cut finger) (Vinogradov 1907, no. 68)

(Lit.) Persižėgnosiu, nueisiu ant mėlynųjų marių, mėlynose marėse guli baltas **akmuo**. Paimsiu auksines žirkles, iškarpinėsiu ten skausmą. Kap mėlynose marėse unduo nestovi, taip Jonui (vardas ligonio) sopulys neskauda. Pilkieji akmenys, baltosios šaknys, pilkieji **akmenys**, baltosios šaknys (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, no. 84)

I will cross myself, I will go to the blue sea, in the blue sea lies a white **stone**. I will take the golden shears, there I will cut out the pain. As water does not stand, so Johan's pain will not hurt. Grey **stones**, white roots, grey stones, white roots. (Against hernia).

(An example of a borrowed charm from East Slavic)

(Pol.) Na tem morzu biały **kamień** pływa, na kamieniu sam Pan Jezus odpoczywa (Kotula 1969, no. 440)

In this sea a white **stone** floats, on the stone the Lord Jesus himself rests

The stone is by far the most common 'option' for the location of the magic act; due to its role as the pre-Christian 'altar' (Agapkina 2010:45).

Tree

(Bel.) Na mory, na Kijani ros **drėva**, z kamlja i da verha gallēm apus'ciūsja...

In the sea, in the ocean grows a **tree**, brushwood descends from the tops to the trunk. (For the protection of a fetus) (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 1101)

(Bel.) Staic' **dub**, u **dube** smol', kab iz zuba vyšla bol'. (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 633)

There stands an **oak**, in the **oak** there is resin, may pain exit the tooth. (Against toothache)

(Rus.) Na čistom poli stoic' **gruša**, pod toj **grušaj** stoic' loža...(Romanov 1891, no. 297)

In the open country stands a **pear tree**, under that **pear tree** stands a bed...(Against snakes)

The tree is very common in charms against snake bites. Appeals are made to the king of the snakes, who lives in an oak tree (Agapkina 2010:51):

(Bel.) Na mory na sinim stajaŭ **dub dubovaty**. Pad tym **dubam** ljažaŭ gad gadavaty. Gad-gadzica, gadava caryca... (Bartašević 1992, no. 351)

In the blue sea stands an **oak-oak**. Under that **oak** lies a snake snake. Snake-snake, snake queen... (Against snakes).

Bush

(Rus.) Na mori na Kijani, na bystrym bujani stoic' lipovj **kust**...(Romanov 1891, no. 107)

In the sea, in Kijan, in the rapid storm stands a lime **bush**

Hut

A less common non-Christian object is a house or **hut**, found only in Belarusian charms:

(Rus.) U cëmnyh lese stajala **hatka**, u toj **hatcy** Božaja matka...(Štėjner, F, Novak 1998, no. 628)

In the dark woods stood a **hut**, in that **hut** was the Virgin Mary.

Christian objects of ritual

Church- cerkov'

(Rus.)...V okeane-more stoit Gospodnij ostrov, na ètom ostrove svjataja **cerkov'**,v ètoj **cerkvi** na zolotom prestole Presvjataja Bogorodica (Krašeninnikova 2001, no. 16)

In the ocean-sea stands the Lord's island, on this island is a holy **church**, in this **church** on a golden throne is the Holy Mother of God.

Chapel

(Bel.) Na Sijanskaj garè staic' **kascël**. U tym **kascèlè** prastol.(Štėjner, F, Novak 1998, no. 426)

On Mount Zion stands a **chapel**. In that **chapel** is an altar.

2.3.3. Chronological lists

The intention to create a "complete world" can encompass other dimensions. In listing all possible measurements of time, the speaker demonstrates his vigilance and omnipresence to the perceived enemy, leaving the disease/deficiency with no choice but to react to the power of the magic.

(Lit.) Eik iš NN, grižiau; tu čia nebuk, tu cia nesėdėk, eik in mėlynų marių, in pilko akmenio. Amen pa **šiai dienai**, amen pa **šiai adynai**, amen pa **siai minutei**. Grauž, grauž, kad išgraužtum. Ku? Griziu. (Manskika 1929, no.142.)

Get out of NN, hernia, you should not be here, you should not sit here, go to the blue sea, to the grey stone. Amen to **this day**, Amen to **this hour**, Amen to **this minute**. Gnaw, gnaw, so that you gnaw away. What? The hernia. (Against a hernia)

(Bel.) Agon', agon' garučy, baljučy, tabe makrata, a mne suhata, pa ety **čas**, po etu **minutu**

Fire fire, burning, painful, to you moisture, but to me dryness- at this **hour**, at this **minute** (Against a rash on the lips) (Bartašević 1992, no. 734)

(Rus.)...ne lomilo by kosti- v' **den'**, pri **solncě**, **noč'ju** pri **měsjacě**, na **utrennoj zori**, na **večernej zori**, na **vsjak" den'**, na **vsjak" čas"**, na **vsjakoe vremja**. Těm" moim" slovom" bud' ključ' i zamok".... (Majkov 1867, no. 69)

... my bones not ache- by **day**, before sunset, at **night** before the **moon**, at the **morning dawn**, at the **evening sunset**, **all day**, **every day**, at **every hour**, at **all times**. My word in key and lock...

2.3.4. Lists of items of community relevance

This categorising device is the opposite of the listing of diseases/enemies. Nevertheless, this listing of objects requiring protection works by the same principle; the speaker gains power by enumerating the complete set of valuable items.

(Lit.) *drugy, insakou, tavi varou nog žmoniu, nog gyvulių, nog poukščių, nog kiekvieno gyvo garo...*

I order you, fever, I drive you from **people**, from **animals**, from **birds**, from any **living soul** (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, XVI)

(Lit.) Miela dievaite, Gabjauja, mes kaip reikiant kalbėjome tau maldas, būk maloninga, mūsų dievaite, laimink **mus**, mūsų **vaikus**, mūsų **šeimą**, **trobėsius** ir **kambarius**, **gyvulius**, **javus** ir t.t.

Kind goddess Gabin, as expected, we spoke to you in prayer, be good, our goddess, bless **us**, bless our **children**, bless our **family**, **buildings** and **rooms**, **cattle** and **bread**. (To Gabin)

(Rus.)...i tak" by tot" rab" Božij do menja, raba (imja reka) byl" dobry, i kak" **rod"** i **plemja** I vsego **dětki** život do věki věkov". Amin". Amin" Amin"... (Vinogradov 1907, no. 11)

...and so would this slave of God (be) good to me, slave (name of the speaker) and as **race** and **tribe** and of all its **children** live forever and ever. Amen. Amen. Amen.

The second charm shows interesting parallels with the following Avestan hymn, however a major difference between the two is the order in which the valuable items are listed. The Russian charm is top-down hierarchical, whereas the items in the Avestan hymn are in the inverse order:

Yt. 13,65:

hauuāi kaciṭ **nāfāi**

hauuaiāi **vīse**

hauuāi **zaṅtauue**

hauuaiāi **daiṅhauue**

everyone for their own **family**,

everyone for their own **settlement**,

everyone for their own **clan**,

everyone for their own **country**.

2.3.5. Lists of the elements and their actions/uses

In this pair of charms, the complete set of heavenly elements must be listed, along with their established powers. It is tempting to see the first charm as an earlier incarnation of the second, the Biblical characters of the latter being an addition to the pre-Christian imagery of the former. In both

examples, the context and sentence structure is repetitive throughout, with variation only in the individual components.

(Bel.) Ne vynes' svaë žala, ne pašleš svaih slug, pašlju na cjabe try groznyja tučy; adnu **vagnjauju**, a druguju **vadzjanuju**, trëccju **kamjannuju**; **agnëm** spjakec', **kamen** zab'ec', **vadoj** pal'ec'- koran' vykipic'; ne vozmeš, Gaspodz' na cjabe našle try tučy; pervuju tuču- **kamnem** zab'e, druguju- **agnëm** spale, trëccju- **vetram** sadz'me (Zav'jalova 2006:117)

If you do not take out your sting, do not send your servants, I will send three terrible storm clouds to you; one of **fire**, the second of **water**, the third of **stone**; you will be burned by the **fire**, beaten by the **stone**, rinsed by the **water**- the root will be boiled; If you do not take, Lord will send three storm clouds to you, the first storm cloud will beat you- with **stone**, the second- with **fire** will burn, the third- with **wind** will blow away. (Against snakes)

(Bel.) Mihaila arhanela- ën cjabe **gromam** zab'ec', **malannëyu** spalic', **bujnym vetram** popel raznjasec'; našlec' Gospadzi try tučy groznyh: adnu **kamjannuju**, druguju **vitravuju**, trëccju **agnjauju-agnëm** pupalic', **kamin** razab'ec', **vëtrym** popil raznjasec'. (Zav'jalova 2006:124)

Archangel Michael- he will kill you with **thunder**, with **lighting** he will burn, with the stormy **wind** he will spread your dust; The Lord will send down three storm clouds; one of **stone**, the second of **wind**, the third of **fire**- you will be burned up by the **fire**, smashed by the **stone**, the **wind** will spread your ashes. (Against snakes)

2.3.6. Lists of deities/saints

(Lit.) Urvine, negadink žmonių! Tegul tavo galybę atima **keturi vėjai: šiaurinis, pietinis, vakarinis ir rytinis**. Tegul tavo galybę atima **Mozės lazda** (su kuria iš **akmens** padarė **vandenį**). Kaip išdžiovino jūra, tegul tavo galybę atima. **Saulė** tegul tave nešviečia, **mėnuo** tegul tave nešviečia. Tegul iškeikia tave **dangus**, iškeikia **žemė**, iškeikia tave **vanduo**, iškeikia ugnis, tegul iškeikia tave visi **šventieji ir Švenčiausia Motina** (Elisonas, 1932, no. 49).

Cave-dweller, do not corrupt people! May your power be taken away by **four winds**: the **north wind**, the **south wind**, the **west wind** and the **east wind**. May your power be taken away by the **staff** of **Moses** (which made **water** from **stone**). As the sea dried up may your power be taken away. May the **sun** not **shine** on you, may the **moon** not **shine** on you. May the **sky** curse you, may the **earth** curse you, may the **water** curse you, may the **fire** curse you, may all the **saints** and the **Holy Mother** curse you. (Against snakes)

(Bel.)...My pašlëm **svjatogo Jagoryja** z vojstrym mjačom, **svjatago Mikalaja** z žarkim agnëm, **svjatogo Mihajla** z doŭgim kap'ëm...(Zav'jalova 2006:117-8)

...we will send **St. George** with his sharp sword, **St. Nicholas** with his hot fire, **St. Michael** with his long spear.

(Lit.) **Saulės vardu, perkūno grousmu...** (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, XVI)

By the name of the **sun**, by the thunder of **Perkunas**⁴, ...

2.3.7. List of body-parts

Enumerations of the body-parts; moving upwards from the bottom of the body; downwards from the top; in random sequence or in a fixed, idiosyncratic sequence are common in Belarusian charms, but do not appear to be a feature of Lithuanian charms, with the exception of the Indo-European

⁴ Perkunas (Proto-Baltic **Perkūnas*) is the Baltic thunder god.

body-part formula, to be discussed in Chapter 4. This can be explained by the above-mentioned brevity of Lithuanian charms enumerations of body parts are generally long and consist of many components.

The enumeration of the parts of the body is a universal practice in ritual magic (Tambiah 1968:190) The accompanying action (presumably touching each part as it is spoken), according to Roman Jakobson “lends realism to rite” (Tambiah 1968:191); the principle behind this action is that the magic is transferred to each listed constituent. The double effect of action and speaking is, of course, a method in many types of charms, but from the perspective of the patient (whose willingness to believe he is being cured is essential) whose body is being touched, this ritual must be all the more convincing for its thorough, complete, personal aspect, combined with the rhythmic enumeration he is hearing.

As with other encyclopaedic charm types, these enumerations present complete sets of constituent parts, perhaps reflecting the primitive belief that an object neglected to have been mentioned could escape the effect of the spell (Sokolov 1945:135).⁵

(Bel.) Tam na sinim mory, try dzjavicy, rodnija sjastrycy, vy ž ne guljajce, z mora vadu vyganjajce, z (imja) boli vyganjajce – z **galavy**, **žyl**, **ruk**, **nog**, z **vačėj**- na vecer puskajce... (Bartaševič 1992, no. 717)

There, in the blue sea, three girls, sisters, do not walk, run away from the sea water, drive out the pain from (name) , - from the **head**, the **veins**, the **hands**, the **legs**, from the **eyes**- let yourself into the wind (Against erysipelas)

(Bel.) Vydzi ty, skula, z **kascej**, z **mjascej**, z jaryh **ačej**, z bujnija **galavy**, z žoūtyja **kryvi**, z ryžaga **mjasa**, z rumjanaga **lica**, i z **ruk**, i z **nog**, i z **galavy**, i z usih **žylačak** raba božaga (imja...) (Bartaševič 1992, no. 672)

Leave, boil, from **bone**, from **flesh**, from bright **eyes**, from stormy **head**, from yellow **blood**, from the red **flesh**, from ruddy **face**, and from the **hand**, from the **leg**, and from the **head**, and from all the **veins** of the slave of god (name). (Against a boil)

2.3.7.1. *Belarusian formula*

The primitive medical belief that the disease was an animate being, living within the body pervades throughout the Balto-Slavic charm material. This being was thought to be benign as long as it remained within its rightful place within the body; e.g. diseases associated with the stomach were believed to have ‘walked out’ of the stomach, causing pain throughout the body (Zav’jalova 2006:153).

This belief is present in the Lithuanian material,

(Lit.) Gumbas turi savo dvarų. Išsikačiosk, išsivaliok ir in daikto atsistok (Manskika 1929, no. 155)

The swelling has its own yard. Pump yourself out, drag yourself out, and stay in your place.

; but the Lithuanian example lacks the enumeration describing the unwanted roaming of the disease and the havoc it causes throughout the body, around which a Belarusian formula has developed. The formula is as follows;

The disease:

moves through (*hadic' pa*) the **bones** (*kasci*) and causes them to **ache** (*lamic'*)

wears out (*tamic'*) the **heart/vein** (*sèrca/žyl*)

darkens/troubles the **eye** (*vočka/glaza*)

burns*/disturbs the **head** (*galava*);

(Bel.) Esc' na sinim mory kamen', paŭlinae pjaro. Jak tamu kamnju naverh ne ūsplyvac', paŭlinamu pjaru ne dno ne ūpadac', tak rabe božaj (imja) gryžy ne byc', pa **kasci** ne **hadzic'**, **kasci** ne **lamic'**, **sèrca** ne **tamic'**, **žylak** ne **maryc'**, **vočak** ne **cjamnic'**, **galovački** agnëm ne **palic'**, u vobmarak ne vadzic' (Bartašević 1992, no. 762)

In the blue sea there is a stone, a peacock feather. Just as this stone does not float up to the surface, the peacock feather does not fall to the seabed, so this slave of god (name) will no longer have a hernia, (it) will not **move through** the **bones**, will not cause the **bones** to **ache**, will not **weary** the **heart**, will not **wear out** the **tendons**, will not **darken** the **eyes**, will not **smoke out** the **head** with fire, will not lead into a swoon (Against a hernia)

(Bel.) Roža-ražyca, krasnaja dzjavica, pry mi moj duh, lëgki moj duh, lëgen'ki...**tabe tut ne byc'**, roža, ne žyc', ne byvac', **kasci** ne **lamac'**, **žyl** ne **tamic'**, **sèrca** ne **sušyc'**, **karyh glaz** ne **smucic'**, **galavy** ne **šumic'** (Bartašević 1992, no. 717)

Roža-ražyca, beautiful girl, accept my spirit, my spirit is light, very light **You should not be here**, *roža*, not live, not exist, not to make **bones ache**, not to **wear out** the **vein**, not to **dry out** the **heart**, not to **trouble** the **brown eye**, not to **disturb** the **head**. (Against erysipelas)

(Bel.) **Tut tabe ne byvac', tut tabe ne guljac'**, u rab božaj Ganny **kascej** ne **lamac'**, **garačaj kryvi** ne **razlivac'**, **sèrca** ne **znabic'**, pa **kascjam** ne **hadzic'**, **kasci** ne **lamac'**, ne **targac'**, ne balec' i navek zanjamec' (Bartašević 1992, no. 712)

You should not be there, you should not walk there, you will not cause the slave of god Hannah's **bones** to **ache**, you will not **pour** out the **hot blood**, you will not **chill** the **heart**, you will not **move through** the **bones**, you will not cause the **bones** to **ache**, will not hurt and will grow numb for ever (Against erysipelas)

2.3. Enumerative- gradation

2.3.1. Increasing gradation

This device, like many others found in charms, is familiar in that it relies on identical methods to those used in the playground by small children, both being based on a primitive understanding of the logic of the universe. The speaker asserts dominance over the enemy with pre-emptive verbal strikes, making it known that any enemy force will be defeated by a stronger, omniscient force. In the following charm, the high and elaborate number spoken cannot be countered, like the "infinity" of childhood games.

(Rus.) Usov', ty, usov' koljučaja,

Ty menja koleš' raz", ja tebja- dva;

Ty menja- dva, ja tebja –tri;

Ty menja- tri, ja tebja- četyre

...

Ty menja –devjat', ja tebja- devjanosto devjat', sto, pjatsot' i tysjaču. (Vinogradov 1907, no. 81)

You, barb, prickly barb.

You prick me once, I (prick) you- twice,

You me twice, I you three times,

You me three, I you four times etc

You me eight, I you nine; you me nine, I you ninety-nine, one hundred, five hundred and one thousand.

2.3.2. *Decreasing gradation*

The physical diminishing of the enemy is verbalised in this well-known and universal device:

Turėjo šventas Jobas devynias kirmėles, iš devynių aštuonias, iš aštuonių septynias, iš septynių šešias, iš šešių penkias, iš penkių keturias, iš keturių tris, iš trijų dvi, iš dviejų vieną, iš vienos nevienos (Manskika 1929, no. 87)

The Holy Job has 9 worms, from nine were eight, from eight were seven, from seven were six, from six were five, from five were four, from four were three, from three were two, from two was one, from one was none. (In one breath, then blow)

(Croatian)

Ajte uroci u potoci!

što ste oči izbučili?

što ste kosu nastržili?

što ste zubi izkezili?

Ja sam za vas spremio devet noža,

Čmokorane da vas pokoljem.

Od devet osa, od osam sedam,

Od sedam šest, od šest pet,

Od pet četiri, od četiri tri,

Od tri dva, od dva jedan,

Od jedan nijedan! (Conrad 1983:82)

Go, spells, to the streams! Why have you puffed up the eyes? Why have you messed up the hair? Why have you bared the teeth? I have prepared for you nine knives, blackmantled ones, to kill you. From nine eight, from eight seven, from seven six, from six five, from five four, from four three, from three two, from two one, from one, none!

2.4. List of the features of the 'otherworld'

The dichotomy between 'here' and 'there' is also explored in chapters 1 and 4. The focus in this chapter is the enumerative description which often forms part of this device. To simply expel the disease or enemy to an unspecified location is too vague and not as effective as describing in detail the place of exile, thereby emphasising its realism. This place of exile is usually somewhere extremely remote and distant (Roper 2004:24); with landmarks of exaggerated qualities. The enumeration of these landmarks emphasises their lifelessness while implanting a detailed, gradual build-up of imagery in the listener's mind; inducing him to believe in the reality of the described place. E.g.:

(Rus.) Tut tebě ne byt', tut tebě ne žit'; **byt' tebě po bolotam", po gnilym" kolodam", za temnymi lěsamí, za krutymi gorami, za želtymi leskami.** Tam" tebě byt', tam tebě ložit'. (Vinogradov 1907, no. 94).

You should not be here, you should not live here; **be by the bogs, by the rotten logs, beyond the dark woods, beyond the high mountains, beyond the yellow groves.** There you should be, there you should lie. (Against scrofula)

(Bel.) ...usju šumu i balesc' z galavy (imja) vymae i njase ěn **na mha, balata, na nicyja lozy, na krutyja gory, na žoŭtyja pjaski, na cĕmnyja ljaski, na moh, na balota, na gnilyja kalody...**(Bartašėvič 1992, no. 1225)

all plague and disease is taken from the head of (name)... and is carried **to the mosses, to the swamps, to the low vines, to the high mountains, to the yellow woods, to the dark woods, to the moss, to the swamp, to the rotten logs...**(Against all diseases)

This distant place takes on features of a mythical world; an antilocus where events or phenomena occur in a reverse way to 'this' world (ibid):

(Bel.) Idzesja vy, zglaz-uroki, na mhi, na **baloty, na topkija aržavnnja, na nicyja lozy, na gnilyja kaldody, na suhija ljasy, na žoŭtyja pjaski, na bujnyja vjetry, na neadčynjanyja dzvery, na nihryščonuju zjamlju, dze sonca nja grėci', dze vjetry ne vejuc', dze peŭni ni spjavajuc i gusi ne kryčac' i sabaki nja brėšuc', i ptuški ni pjajus', i z'vjary nja bėgaic', i ljudzi nja hodjuc'** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 872)

Go, you evil eye, **to the moss, to the marshes, to the firey swamps, to the low vines, to the rotten logs, to the dry woods, to the yellow sands, to the stormy winds, to the unopened doors, to the unbaptised earth, where the sun doesn't warm, where the winds do not blow, where the cocks do not crow and where the geese do not shriek and where the dogs do not bark, and where the birds do not sing, and where animals do not run, and people do not roam...** (Against the evil eye)

This device relies on the steady, rhythmic pattern of numerous enumerations and is therefore no found in Lithuanian which favours shorter charms.

3. Stylistic Devices

3.1. Figures of Repetition

Devices of repetition within a charm help to create a self-referencing, and therefore closed and conclusive structure (Zav'jalova 2006). Any uncertainty would lessen the power of the magic word; the charm is comprised of confident assertions, creating a formidable energy in the face of the perceived foe. Foley has named this energy "an incantatory force", created in part by word and morphemic repetition (Foley: 1991) which as well as transferring into the mind of the charm's receiver powerful and forceful imagery, soothes and calms him with its steady, repetitive and rhythmic tones.

The examples of figures of repetition (and of all stylistic poetic devices) feature more Lithuanian charms than Slavic, as the former tradition tends more towards simpler combinations of words and sounds. Indeed, Lithuanian charms are built to a larger extent around the words themselves (phonetics, rhythm, alliteration) and in this respect can be seen as maintaining a stronger connection to ancient practices of oral magic. In other words, to borrow the Russian term, Lithuanian charms should be seen more as *zaklinanija* 'spells' than *zagovory* 'charms'. The structure and semantics of a charm are more fixed and therefore allow less room for the figures of repetition catalogued in the section;

3.1.1. Repetition of prepositions at a distance

(Rus.) **В** восточной стороне; **в** небě месјац', **в** дубě чєрв", **в** more kamen' (Vinogradov 1907, no. 43.)

On the eastern side, the moon is **in** the sky, the worm is **in** the oak, the stone is **in** the sea (Against toothache)

(Lit.) Jaunas Mėnuli, dangaus karalaici,

sergėk mane **nuog** ugnies degimo, **nuog** vandens skendimo ir **nuog** dantų skaudėjimo. (Balys 1951, no. 81)

The young moon, heavenly prince, save me **from** burning in fire, **from** sinking in water and **from** toothache (Against toothache)

3.1.2. Polyptoton at a distance

(Rus.) Idet' kon' kar', čelovėk' idet' **star**"; idet' **staraja** baba, vedet' **staruju** sobaku... (Vinogradov 1907, no. 39)

A bay horse is walking, an **old** person is walking; and **old** woman is walking, leading an **old** dog; (Against bleeding)

3.1.3. Polyptoton in contact

(Lit.) Saulė saulės, mėnuo mėno, kirmelė kirmelės (Manskika 1929, no. 63)

Sun of the **sun**, **moon** of the **moon**, **worm** of the **worm** (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Saulė- saulės, mėnuo- mėno, kirmelė- kirmelės, vaikščiojo per rasų, kad vaikščioja tevaikščioka, juodam plaukui tegul nevodyja, neiškadyja (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, no. 8)

Sun- of the **sun**, **moon-** of the **moon**, **worm-** of the **worm**, it went through the dew, to go, let it go, let it not harm the black hair, not bother (Against snakes)

(Bel.) Ne ja **govorju**, **govorit'** istinnyh Hristos' i sama Mat' Presvjataya Bogorodica. (Vinogradov 1907, no. 39)

I **speak** not, **speaks** Christ and the Most Holy Virgin Mother. (Against bleeding)

3.1.4. *Polyptoton in contact (positive + comparative + superlative)*

(Lit.) **Juodas, juodesnis, juodžiausias**, duok man, Viešpats Džieve, gerų stiprybj (LTD, 449)

Black, blacker, blackest, give me, Lord God, strong force (Against snakes)

3.1.5. *Polyptoton and repetition of prepositions at a distance*

(Rus.) Vstanu, blagoslovjas', pojdu, perekrestjas', iz" **dverej** v" **dveri**, iz" **vorot**" v" **vorota**, v" **čistoe pole**. V" **čistom**" **polě** ryba... (Vinogradov 1907, no. 42)

I will arise, I will bless myself, I will walk, I will cross myself, from **doors** to **doors**, from **gates** to **gates**, to the **open country**. In the **open country** there is a fish... (Against hernia)

3.1.6. *Polyptoton on distance and repetition of prepositions + framing*

(Rus.) Šol" batjuška, istinnyj Hristos, **po** lugam", **po** poljam", **po** goram", **po** bolotam" i **po** topjam"; nes" on" s" Sobj tri **cvět**"-**rozy**. Pervyj **cvět**" **roza** spojžala, vtoroj **cvět**" **roza** posohla, tretij **cvět**" **roza** obletěla. Kak" trěti **cvět**"-**rozy** iznistožilis', tak" by i... (Vinogradov 1907, no. 97)

The Father, the true Christ, walked **through** meadows, **through** fields, **through** mountains, **through** bogs and **through** swamps; he carried three **rose flowers**. The first **rose flower** withered, the second **rose flower** dried up, the third **rose flower** fell. As these three **rose flowers** etc... (Against erysipelas)

3.1.7. *Repetition of a single word in contact*

(Bel.) Mihailu arhangelu: **zakrojte, zakrojte** menja (Vinogradov 1907, no. 57)

(I pray to) Archangel Michael: **cover, cover** me... (Against an evil person)

(Lit.) Suku suku, ratu ratu... (Balys 1951, no. 478)

I will twist, I will twist, all around, all around (Against dislocation)

(Lit.) **Tyra tyra tyra** dūšėlė. Pono Dievo angelas šią ligą perplėš (Manskika 1929, no. 83)

Pure pure pure soul. Angel of the Lord our God here will break up the illness

Zav'jalova has remarked that the symbolic strength the repetition creates can be enhanced by increasing the quantity of repetitions. Aside from a simple repetition of two (as seen above), tautological pairings, (to be discussed below), the key numbers are three and nine. Many shorter charms are required to be repeated in full three or nine times (see 1.1.4.), and sometimes a single word repeated nine times is part of the charm:

(Lit.) Ak tu, gyvate, gyvate, nekąšk keltuvos nei žmogaus. Nepriims tavęs dievas, nepriims tavęs saulė, nepriims tavęs mėnuo, nepriims tavęs žvaigždės. Neprisiglausi tu nei ant samanų, nei po samanom, nei ant krūmo, nei po krūmo. **Tu gyvate, tu gyvate, tu gyvate, tu gyvate, tu gyvate, tu gyvate, tu gyvate, tu gyvate, tu gyvate.** (LTR 3858(442)).

Oh you, snake, snake, do not bite neither animals, nor man. God does not accept you, the sun does not accept you, the moon does not accept you, the stars do not accept you. Do not hide neither on the moss, nor beneath the moss, neither on the bush, nor under the bush. **You snake, you snake, you snake, you snake, you snake, you snake, you snake, you snake** (Against snakes)

The above charm is also demonstrative of the symbolism of even and odd numbers in Baltic charms. The scheme of repetition is as follows:

2 x 'snake'

2 x 'do not bite X'

4 x 'X does not accept you'

4 x 'Do not hide on/underneath X'

9 x 'you snake'

According to Zav'jalova, even numbers represent a conclusion- a closed structure, capable of withstanding the penetration of outside 'evil' force, thereby strengthening the benevolent force of the facts stated (Zav'jalova 2006:91). This 'conclusive' structure comes from the rhythmic harmony of even numbers and can be clearly recognised in children's rhymes and songs. In contrast, the symbolic fate of the snake is left open-ended- the uneven number represents a transitory state. The snake's existence in the imagined reality of the charm is uncomplete and unstable, it can therefore be removed. The opposition of even and odd numbers can also be seen in this charm:

3.1.8. Repetition of a single verb in contact + epiphora + prefix alternation

(Lit.)Saulė **sukas?** - **sukas**, žemė **sukas?**- **sukas**, mėnuo **sukas?**- **sukas**, duntis **suka?**- **suka**. Kad tau gvatė visus duntis **išsuktų** (LTR 3641(429))

Does the sun **spin?**- it **spins**, does the earth **spin?**- it **spins**, does the moon **spin?** It **spins**- does the tooth **blister?**- it **blisters** May the snake **unscrew** all your teeth. (Against toothache)

3.1.9. Repetition at a distance of prepositions + complex epiphora

(Rus.)Po~~ju~~, perekrestjas',

V'' čistog pole,

Na sineg more.

V'' čistom'' polě,

Na sinem'' more (Vinogradov 1907, no. 17)

I will arise, crossing myself,

To the **open country**,

To the **blue sea**

In the **open country**

In the **blue sea** (Against toothache)

3.1.10 Diminutive pairings

Repeating a word with a diminutive suffix is a common device, creating a rhythmic and conclusive structure on a stylistic level, while simultaneously belittling the personified disease on a semantic level (the suffix can carry the meaning of 'little' or can personify the object):

(Bel.) Dobry dzen' tabe, skula, ty skulav**ic**, sinjaja sinjav**ica**, belaja belav**ic**, čornaja čarjav**ic**, skula ž ty krasu**ha**, bjalu**ha**, čarnu**ha**... (Bartašević 1992, no. 672)

Good day to you, boil, you little boil, you little blue boil, you white white thing, you black black thing, boil you are so red, so white, so black... (Against a boil)

(The suffix *-ic* has disparaging connotations.)

(Lit.) Gad, **gadzica**, juodaja gyvatalė, išpauzei iš liepos krūmo, galva raudona, uodega geltona. Plaukei per marion... (Manskika 1929, no. 71)

Snake, little snake, black snake, crawl out from a Linden bush, the red head, the yellow tail. Swim across the sea.. (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Čiužu čiuž**ute**, šlamu slam**ute**: kam pasmaugei mano dukterį ir padėjai po akmeniu kaip sūrį? (*Lietuvių Tautosaka*, 9289)

Rustling-rustler, swishing-swisher: why did you suffocate my daughter and put (her) under a stone like cheese? (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Liga, liegėl, korva, karvala... (Elisonas 1932, no. 6)

Disease, little diseases, cow, little cow (Against snakes)

3.1.11. *Anaphora*

(Lit.) Saulė kairėn,

saulė dešinėn,

gyvatė- užpakalin (*Lietuvių Tautosaka*, 9296)

Sun on the left, **sun** on the right, but snake behind (Against snakes)

(Lit.) **Kad tu** prapultai, **kad tu** išnyktai, ir daugiau nedygtai (Manskika 1929, 6)

May you disappear, **may you** vanish and grow no more. (Against a wart)

3.1.12. *Repetition as framing*

(Lit.) **Aš** ištraukiu **visus skausmus per** erškėčių karūną , **per** dagilių krūmą, **aš** traukiu **visus skausmus per** akmeną (Balys 1951, no. 479)

I take out all the poison through the thorny crown, **though** the thistle bush, **I take all the poison through** the stone.

3.1.13. *Epiphora*

(Lit.) Marga, juoda ar mėlyna, **čižanina!**

Raudonamargė, žalamargė, **čižanina!**

Raudonoji, šėmoji, žaloji, **čižanina!** (Manskika 1929, no. 41)

Mottled, black or blue, **siskin!** Red-mottle, brown-mottle, **siskin!** Red, ashen, brown, **siskin!** (Against snakes)

(Bel.) Šyla panja, vyšyvala, u ej žylki **ne stala**, a ũ Nadzi patnicy **ne stala** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 1264)

The maiden sewed, embroidered, she **did not get** strands, and Nadia **did not get** heat rash (Against heat rash)

3.1.14. *Figura etymologica in contact*

(Lit.) **žemės žemybe, dangaus dangybe**, gyvatės **piktybe**, Ataduok mūsų gėrybj, Imk savo **piktybj**. LTR 3863 (131)

The **earthly earthliness**, the **heavenly heavenliness**, the **wickedness** of snakes, give out our goodness, take our **wickedness**. (Against snakes)

In the above charm, the deadjectival nouns *žemybe*- 'earthliness' and *dangybe*- 'heavenliness', Zav'jalova has pointed out, have been artificially created for the purpose of the charm, replacing the standard literary deadjectival suffix for 'earth' and heaven'; *-um. piktybe*- 'wickedness' is the standard deadjectival form for *piktas*- 'wicked', and analogy with this suffix makes the charm more harmonious and unified. Another reason for the repetition of the suffix *-yb* could be that it has more abstract connotations than the expected *-um*, perhaps as a way of opening up the imagination of the charm's recipient. If he accepts the existence of the new, more abstract concepts unlocked in the invention of new words, he is more willing to accept the power of the magic formulas spoken (Zav'jalova 2006:79-85)

(Bel.) **Mastym masciliša**, kostački, žylački ūmesta shadzilisja (Bartašević 1992, no. 561)

Bridged by bridges, the bones, the sinews came together (Against a sprain)

(Lit.) **Griaudžia griausmas, žaibai žaibuoja**, krenta rūdys, žaidai byra, dievo žodžio niekas negal pergalėt. Nereikia nieko bijot- nei akių kokių, nei kokių padėjų- nei pilkų, nei juodų, nei mėlynų, nei rudų (Manskika 1929, no. 181)

The **thunder thunders**, the **lightning flashes**, the summer lightning falls, the flowers fall, no one can overcome god's word. There is nothing to fear- neither someone's eye, not someone's deed- neither grey, nor black, neither blue, nor brown (Against the evil eye)

(Bel.) Šaukovym šnuročkam padperažysja, zalatymi **zamkami zamknisja**, u makava zernejka syjdzisja i nikoli bol'sh ne razvisja (Bartašević 1992, no. 800)

With silken lace it is propped up, with golden **locks** it is **locked**, the seed is in the poppy and will never grow bigger (Against scrofula)

3.1.15. *Figura etymologica at a distance*

(Lit.) **Piktoji** gyvate, atsiimk **piktybę** savo nou N!-

Evil serpent, take your **evil** away from N!

3.1.16. *Repetition of suffixes*

The repetition of a single suffix throughout a charm creates a balanced and self-sustaining structure. The frequently repetition of the suffix is rhythmically harmonious and sounds complete and soothing to the listener, as well as unifying the narrative of the text (Zav'jalova 2006:79-85).

Lit. Sauliula, mėnasėli, šviesyja aušrėla, gražyja švenčiausia Panėla, atmik man šitų sopulį (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, 9)⁶

Little sun, little moon, bright dawn, beautiful Virgin Mary, take this main away from me (Against snakes) (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, 9)

(Lit.) Čystas vandenėlis, Čystas akmenėlis, Kad mano būt čystas kūnėlis (LKAR 53 (1320)

⁶ Underlining by Zav'jalova

Pure water, pure stone, may my body be pure

(Lit.) Ajo Panelė Švenčiausia per lonkelius, pataikė kojali in akmeneli, numušė mažų piršteli, aptaškė akmeneli kroujaliu (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, XI)

The Virgin Mary walked over pools, she hit her foot on a stone, she bruised her little finger, she sprayed the stone with blood (Against blood).

(Lit.) Ėda riemuo, riemenelis, Kaip vilkas avelė Kaip ožka žolelė Kaip žuvis žuvelė (LTR 5678(296)).

The heartburn eats me, little heartburn, like the wolf eats the little sheep, like the goat eats the little grass, like the fish eats the little fish (Against heartburn)

As well as belittling the disease (as above) some suffixes serve to aggrandise the object. In the context of the charm, this serves to exaggerate the negative qualities of the described disease;

(Bel.) Čuma-čumišča, bedz'ma-bjadz'mišča... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 1257)

Plague-great plague, witch – great witch... (Against plague)

In this example, the analogical purpose of suffixation (i.e. belittling/exaggerating the negative attributes of the disease/enemy works in combination with the rhythmic patterns the suffixes create:

(Bel.) Na mory na simim stajaū dub dubovaty. Pad tym dubam ljažaū gad gadavaty. Gad-gadzica, gadava caryca, ja vas usih znaju, usih na imja nazyvaju: čorna-čarnavata, žoūta-žaūtavata, belavata, belavata, sera-seravata, krasna-krasnata... (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 351)

In the blue sea stands an oakish-oak. Under that oak lies a snake-ish-snake. Snake-snake, snake queen, I know you all, I call you all by name; black-blackish, yellow-yellowish, white-whitish, grey-greish, red- reddish... (Against snakes)

3.1.17. Repetition of prefix

(Lit.)Saldzyja bitelė, šviesija žvaigzdelė, atprasau, atmeldžiu, aš tavi apmaldau, juodo plauko, juodo plaukelio nekliūdyk.

Sweet bee, bright little star, I beg of you, I beseech you, I ask you, touch the black hair, not the black hair! (Manskika 1929, no. 179)

3.1.18. Alternation of prefix, repetition of root

(Lit.)Vienų iššižadu, Kitų prisižadu... (LTR 3863(88))

Some I call **away**, others I call **up**... (Against the evil eye)

(Lit.) Vienas padyvija, trys atadyvija... (LTR6166(109)).

One is envious, three are unenvious; (Against the evil eye)

3.1.19. Perforating epithet

In the Belarusian tradition, the epithet 'golden' is attached to the disease scrofula; the folk name of the disease is even etymologically related to gold: ('gold'- *zalata*; 'golden'- *zalatny*; 'scrofula-*zalatnika*). In this example, the epithet 'golden' 'perforates' throughout the text, binding otherwise unrelated imagery to create a complete, self-sustaining charm whose harmony and unity strengthens its "incantatory force" (Zav'jalova 2006:42)

(Bel.) Ty, **zalatniku**, u plečy ne ũljagaj, bakoŭ ne zaladaj, nizka ne apadaj, pad grudzi ne padvaračaj. Stan' na mescečku, na **zalatom** krëslečku, tut cjabe matka radzila, na mesca pasadzila, jana ž cjabe ũmaŭljala, pannaju nazывala. Tady ty hadziŭ, tady ty bušavaŭ, jak ty majgo duhu ne čuvaj, a cjaper ja cjabe prašu, umalaju, za nicyja lozy adpraŭljaju, dze sonca ne svecic', veter ne vee, dze ptaški ne daeltavajus', Tam tabe **zalataja** pascel'ka, tam tvoj bac'ka i maci buduc' cjabe pavažaci, pannaju nazывaci (Bartašević 1992, no. 790)

You, **gold** (epithet for scrofula), do not lie by the breast, do not fill up the side, do not go down low, do not boil up under the breast. Stay in your place, in the **golden wing**, there, mother gave birth to you, she put you in place, she admonished you, she called you a maiden. Go there you, be there, as you do not hear my soul, and now I beg you, I admonish you, to the low vines I send you, where the sun does not shine, where the wind does not blow, where the birds do not fly. There, there is a **golden** bed for you, there your father and mother will respect you, will call you a maiden (Against *zalatnika*–scrofula).

Longer, more 'developed' Belarusian charms such as the one above maintain their unity and coherency through a stylistic technique known as "word-weaving", the structured, rhythmic repetition of syntagma within complex texts. This device brings order to otherwise disorderly texts, an action hopefully mirrored in the symbolic universe being conjured. The order brought to the chaos of the charm will bring about order over the chaos that has allowed the disease to temporarily take over.

e.g:

(Bel.) Roža, ražyca, krasnaja dzjavica, **prymy** moj duh, lëgki moj duh, lëgen'ki, z padzivu, vetru, z prygavoru. Tabe tut, roža, ne žyc', ne **byvac'**, kasci ne lamac', žyl ne tamic', sërca ne sušyc', karyh glaz ne smucic', galavy ne šumic', Tabe, roža, tut ne byvac'. Tam, na sinim mory, try dzjavicy, rodnya sjastrycy, vy ž ne **guljaice**, z mora vadu vyganjajce, z (imja) boli vyganjajce- z galavy, žyl, ruk, nog, z vačëj- na veter puskajce. K čornamu moru pušaj rožu čornuju, sinjuju, krasnuju, zjalënuju, žoŭtuju, vetranuju, prygavornuju. Staić dub, na tym dube sjadic' arol. Arol, arol, arol, **prymy** mae slava. Tvae kosci zalatyja, tvae kryllja daragija, tvae glaza zalatyja, **prymy, prymy, prymy** rožu zjalënuju i vadu ključavuju. Jak gëtaj vadze tut ne **guljac'**, tak gëtaj rožy ũ (imja) ne **byvac'**, galavy ne znabic', kasci, ne lamic', sërca ne sušyc', karyh glaz ne smucic', žyl ne tamic'. Amin'. (Bartašević 1992, no. 717)

Roža-ražyca, beautiful girl, **accept** my spirit, my spirit is light, very light, from surprise, from the wind, from condemnation. You are here, *roža*, not to live, not to **exist**, not to break bones, not to weary the vein, not to dry out the heart, not to trouble the brown eye, not to disturb the head. You, *roža*, will not **exist** here. There, in the blue sea, are three girls, sisters, you do not **play**, run away from the sea water, from (name) pain run away- from the head, the vein, the hand, the nose, from the eye- let go into the wind. Towards the black sea ... the black, blue, red, green, yellow, windy, surprising *roža*. An oak stands, on that oak sits an eagle. Eagle, eagle, eagle, **receive_receive** my glory. Your bones are golden, your wings are precious, your eyes are golden, **take, take, take** the green *roža* and the spring water. As this water does not **play**, so this *roža* of (name) does not **exist**, it does not... the head, it does not break the bones, it does not dry out the heart, it does not trouble the brown eye, it does not weary the vein. Amen.

3.2. Repetition of syntagma

3.2.1. At a distance

In these examples, the repetition of short, direct statements maintains a coherent link throughout the charm:

(Lit.) **Dangaus gerybė, žemės blogybė.** Paim' iš dangaus gerybę, duo' žemės blogybė velnian (Cicėnas 1934, no. 385)

The **good of heaven**, the **evil of the earth**. Take the **good of heaven**, give the **evil of the earth** to the devil (Against snakes)

3.2.2. *Repetition of syntagma in contact*

(Bel.) I roža, **gin'-prapadzi, gin'-prapadzi, gin'-prapadzi...** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 727)

And *roža*, disappear-vanish, disappear-vanish, disappear-vanish. (Against *roža*)

(Lit.) **Kirmėlės nuo bambėlės,**

kirmeles nuo bambėlės (Manskika 1929, no. 174)

Worms out of the navel, worms out of the navel (Against worms)

3.2.3. *Repetition of syntagma with variation of actors + repetition of syntagma at a distance*

(Lit.) Aukseli, sidabrėli, **eik namulio gulcie. Saulė eina, mėnas eina**, niekam bliedos nedaro,- eik namulio gulcie, **eik amulio gulcie, eik namulio gulcie.** Amen, amen, amen. (Manskika 1929, no. 66)

Little goldie, little silver one, **go to the house to sleep; the sun rises, the moon rises**, do anyone any harm (?). **Go to the house to sleep, go to the house.** Amen. (Against snakes)

In the following example, the actor in each statement changes, but the continued repetition of the action itself keeps the charm organised and forceful. The tension accumulates throughout the charm, as the multiple objects set against the snake are listed, aided by the steady, rhythmic repetition of the action. The final statement is a slight variation on those preceding it (*hates you > hate you*); a stylistic emphasis, made even more striking semantically by the personal tone the charm takes.

(Lit.) Ažužadu nuo kirmėlės baltam arkliai. **Nekenčia tavęs saulė, nekenčia tavęs mėnuo, nekenčia tavęs žvaidždės, nekenčia tavęs dangus, nekenčia tavęs pati, nekenčia tavęs vyras, nekenčia tavęs vaikai, nekenčia tavęs visa pamilija, ir aš tavęs nekenčiu.** Amen, amen, amen (Zav'jalova 2006:161)

I charm from the worm of the white horse. The sun **hates you**, the sky **hates you**, the wife **hates you**, the husband **hates you**, the child **hates you**, the family **hates you**, **and I hate you**. Amen, amen, amen (Against snakes)

3.2.4. *Repetition of syntagma with polyptoton*

(Rus.) Zakrojte, menja, raba Božija (imja rek"), svoimi netlěnnymi rizami ot" **vsjakago zlagu, lihago čelovėka, ot" supostat" supostata, ot" vsjakija zlyja, lihija krovi...**(Vinogradov 1907, no. 88)

Cover me!, the slave of God (name of the speaker) with your incorruptible vestements, from **all evil, vindictive** people, from (my) foe being my foe, from all **evil, vindictive blood...**(Against enemies)

3.3. Phonemic repetition

The repetition of sounds within a charm is extremely effective in achieving the state of self-sustainability required for the efficiency of the verbal magic. The frequent appearance of one sound throughout a charm serves as a unifying thread which binds meaning and gives to the listener the impression of a force of permanence and self-sustaining strength. On a semantic level, devices such as alliteration, consonance and assonance mark, or "activate" the key, performative words of the text, allowing the listener to make otherwise unexpected links and assumptions (e.g. the

strengthening of links between objects joined in analogy) (Fabb 1997). When one phoneme is consistently repeated throughout a text, the 'activated' words are already expected by the listener, which means the intended associative links are accessed more quickly than in a non-marked text, meaning the interpretation of the text and its links occurs more quickly and effectively. On a stylistic level the rhythm generated by the repetition of stress patterns creates a soothing, aesthetic and even hypnotic effect on the listener. The combined effects of sound patterning build, in Foley's words, an "incantatory force", claimed by some to be capable of some level of healing through the psychosomatic process (Carson Williams 2011:34-36) (it is important to remember that the thought-system of the listener i.e. his faith in the reality of magic is as important as the impressive poetic force of the charm.)

Poetic devices based around the repetition of phonemes and sound imagery are much more widespread in Lithuanian charms, due to their simpler and more basic nature, being less developed and therefore less detached from the original ritual. The influence of other folklore genres, namely the epic, on Belarusian charms makes devices built around sound less common, however the two traditions do share a number of identical devices, namely the motifs for the curing of erysipelas and hernia, and use a similar specialised set of sounds in the naming of snakes (Zav'jalova 2006:93).

3.3.1. Alliteration

The universal stylistic device of alliteration clearly and effectively emphasises the most semantically significant words of a text (Bremer 2011:77), in a way the listener finds aurally agreeable or amusing. The listener thus gains aesthetic pleasure while absorbing the key, highlighted information marked by the expressive poetic language. Of all the devices of phonemic repetition, alliteration perhaps is the most effective in "captivating its audience" due to the repeated phoneme's position at the front of the marked word by creating an "initial impact" According to Fabb, unlike rhyme when the repetition occurs only at the end of a line, alliteration requires close proximity between words. This close proximity of repeated sounds creates a "unifying aural effect" throughout the text. In the context of charm, this "phonetic bond" between the key words of the text can be metaphorically associated with the central action of the charm, most notably in the motif of 'gnawing at the *gryža*'. As well as allowing for this kind of sound symbolism, the phonetic bonds created by alliteration enhance the crucial sense of unity and permanence which serve to strengthen the powerful impression of the charm. As well as soothing the listener, the simple, poetic aestheticism of alliteration, like rhythmic devices, gives the charm a sense of ancientness and longevity, as well as of completeness which is crucial for the charm as a symbolic completion of the act of expelling/removing the disease (Carson Williams 2011).

(Lit.) Stok **kraujas**, **kaip** upė Jordano, **kaip** šventas Jonas **krikštijo Kristusą** Pona. (Manskika 1929, no. 29)

Stand still, **blood**, like the River Jordan, as Saint John **baptised** Holy Jesus. (Against bleeding)

(The strength of the charm is derived from the holy act of the baptism of Jesus in the river Jordan; the alliteration is only in immediate succession when describing this action).

(Lit.) Kaip **šitas stalelis sudžiūvęs**, tegu ir ana **sudžiūsta** (LTR 3585(413))

As this little table withers, so may that **wither** (Against herpes)

3.3.1.1. Alliterative thread

In longer charms, the repetition of an initial sound throughout the text serves as a unifying thread.

(Lit.)Kauke, kauke, tavo pirštu dancį trinu, tavo vardu **kirmėlį** marinu, **kad** ji arba padvėstų arba iš N dantų iššliuštų ir aitų in sousus medžius, in **kietus** akmenis. **Kap** tu šitų pirštų metei, tegul pameta N dancis **kirmėlė, kuri** jį kamuoja. Džievo leidžimu, mano liepimu, **kirmėlį** pasimk, pasimk, pasimk (Krėvė-Mickevičius 1926, XI)

Kaukas, Kaukas, (Lithuanian house spirit), rub the tooth with your finger, with your name I exterminate the **snake**, so that he or the croak, or out of N's tooth crawled and went to the dry trees, to the **hard** stone. **As** you threw this finger, let the teeth of N throw this **snake**, which torments him. By the permittance of God, by my command, seize the **snake**, seize, seize (Against toothache)

(Li.) Ak aš esmu ne marios, ne mariose **stoviu, stoviu** upėj, unt **tos** upės **stalas**, unto to **stalo** balta **skotertis**, unt **tos** baltos **skoterties** trys torelkos **stovi**, unt tų trijų torelkų trys peiliai su bulavom **stovi**, už to **stalo** sėdi Ponas Jezusis Kristusis. NN (Jonukas) nežinomas jima peilį su bulavu, pjauna macicų, unt šitos minutos pribuvo Panelė Švinčiausia **su šilkinu siūlu**; siūlas trūkite, macica paskavokite po **šitam** česui, po **šitai** minutei...(Manskika 1929, no. 160)

I am not in the sea, do not stand in the sea, I stand in the river, in the river is a table, on that that table is a white tablecloth, on that white tablecloth sit three plates, on those three plates stand three sharp-edged knives, by the table sits our Lord Jesus Christ. N unknown takes the sharp-edged knives, cuts the (macicu), at this moment the Blessed Virgin arrived with a silk thread; the thread breaks, the *matica*, (stays in its place at this hour, this morning and this evening ... (Against colic)

3.3.1.2. *Alternation of two alliterated sounds*

Tu, **gyvate**, Tu, **grazi** paukstute, Tu ten **gera** buk, Niekam **gailos** nedaryk (LKAR 18(52))

'You, snake you beautiful bird, you will be good, you will harm nobody'

Maladzik malady, tvoj rozum **zalaty**. Jak tabe **vek** na **zjamli** ne byvac', tak **vek** haj mae zuby ne baljac' (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 620)

Young moon, your mind is golden. As you are never on the earth, so may be teeth never hurt (Against toothache)

3.3.4. *Assonance*

3.3.4.1. *As framing*

(Lit.)**Pele, pele**, te tau kiaulinis (dantis), duok man **geležinį** (*Lietuvių Tautosaka* 1968, 9932)

Mouse, mouse, to you a bone tooth, give me iron (Against toothache)

The moderate to strong vowel reduction to 'a' known as *akyannye* is present in all Belarusian dialects and allows for longer charms with consistent assonance of *a*:

(Bel.) Es' na sinim mory kamen', **paūlinae** pjaro. **Jak tamu** kamnju **naverh** ne ūsplyvac', **paūlinamu** pjaru **na dno** ne ūpadac', **tak rabe** božaj (imja) gryžy ne byc', pa **kasci** ne hadzic', **kasci** ne lamic, **sèrca** ne **tamic'**, **žylak** ne **maryc'**, **vočak** ne **cjamnic**, **galovački** **agnëm** ne **palic**, u **vobmarak** ne **vadzic'** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 762)

In the blue sea there is a stone, a peacock feather. Just as this stone does not float up to the surface, the peacock feather does not fall to the seabed, so this slave of god (name) will no longer have a hernia, do not travel through the bones, do not make the bones ache, do not weary the heart, do not wear out the tendons, do not darken the eyes, do not smoke out the head with fire, do not be led into a swoon (Against a hernia)

3.3.4.2. Alliteration with assonance

(Bel.) Vy ũse balezni, vyhdzice z (imja) von, a to ja vas u **zjamlju zaryju**, na agni spalju... (Bartaševič 1992, no. 1234)

All you diseases, get out of (name) or I will bury you in the earth, burn you in the fire... (Against all diseases)

(Lat.) Sieva sēd **kalnā**, **deviņas** rozes rokā- sešas košas, **trīs novītusčas**; sieva slikt **jūrā**, noslikt **ar visām** (rožu vārdi)

A woman sits on a mountain, nine roses in her hand, six of them bright, three of them withered; the woman sinks in the sea, she rolls with all the roses (Against erysipelas)

3.3.6. Consonance

(Lit.) Ėjo Jėzusis **per** Cedrono **upj**, nusis**piove** tris kartus **upėm** tak **upėj** seilė **prapuolė**, kad **prapult** ant svieto visos **pyktybės**, (Manskika 1929, no. 56)

Jesus went **over** the **river** Kidron, and **spat** three times into the **river**, in the **river** the spit **disappeared**, may all the **evil** in the world **disappear**. (Against snakes)

(Lit.) Aukseli, **sidabrėli**, eik **namulio** gulti; **saulė** eina, **mėnuo** eina, niekam **škados** nedaro, eik **namulio** gulti, eik **namulio** gulti. (Manskika 1929, no. 66)

Little goldie, little silver one, go home to sleep; the sun rises, the moon rises, do anyone any harm (?). Go home to sleep, go home to sleep. (Against snakes)

3.3.7. Rhyming

Short, compact rhymes as seen in the following examples, help to create the sense that the charm is a coherent and stable incantatory force, capable of bringing about the intended effect on the environment. More elaborate rhyming is seen in the longer Belarusian charms, but as a poetic device it is less-favoured than the more 'captivating' alliteration:

In these two Belarusian charms, the name of the disease rhymes with the means of its eradication;

Lišaju, lišaju, ja cjabe **rašaju** (Bartaševič 1992, no. 744)

Shingles, shingles, I will deal with you (Against shingles)

Dub, dub, vas'mi maladzenca cėmėnny **zub**... (Bartaševič 1992, no. 641)

Oak, oak, take from the young one the dark (rotten) **tooth**. (Against toothache)

In the following Lithuanian charm, associative, unifying links are built on the phonetic similarity of the two verbs 'to purify' (*skusti*); 'to bite' (*kusti*):

(Lit.) Kaip šita žalioji varlė **skusta**, taip šita juoda karve **kūsta**; kaip ši žalioji varlė **neskusta**, taip ši juoda karvė **nekūsta** (Balys 1951, no. 386)

As this green frog is **purified**, so this black cow is **bitten**; as this green frog is **not purified**, so this black cow is **not bitten**. (Against snakes)

(Bel.) Staic' dub, u dube **smoľ**, kab iz zuba vyšla **boľ** (Bartaševič 1992, no. 633)

There stands an oak, in the oak there is **resin**, may the pain exit the **tooth**. (Against toothache)

3.3.7.1. More elaborate rhyming

(Bel.) Kryskys- načnicy, dzjannyja, večarnyja, palunočnyja, idzice na mhi **zybučyja**, na vody **bjagučnyja**, dze **ljul'ki**, **zybki**, raznyja **napitki**. Tam pice, **guljajce**, na raba božaga mladzenca Andrušku **zabyvajce** (Bartašević 1992, no. 1137)

Rat- night, daytime and evening, midnight, go to the **bog** moss, to the **running** water, where there are **cradles**, **cots**, things **to drink**. Drink there, **walk around**, **forget** the slave of God baby Andruška. (Against rats)

(Rus.)

Vot idu ja k" vam" **gost**":

Moe tělo, kak" **kost**';

Moja krov', kak" **smola**;

Ėš"te moh", a ne **menja!** (Vinogradov 1907, no. 70)

So I come to you, (as a) **guest**;

My body, is like **bone**;

My blood, is like **resin**;

Eat the moss, and not **me!** (Against fleas, bedbugs, cockroaches)

(Bel.) Oj, **roža**, **roža**, ne budz' ty **goža**. Tadz ty **hadzila**, tadzi ty **tamila**, jak ja cjabe ne znala, jak ja cjabe znaju, ja cjabe **ŭprašaju**, ja cjabe **ŭmaljaju**, agnëm **vypaljaju**, na sinjæ mora **pasylaju**...(Bartašević 1992, no. 711)

Oh, **roža**, **roža**, do not be **beautiful**. There you **went**, to there you **tamila**, how I did not know you. How I know you, I **question** you, I **beg** you, with fire I **burn** you, to the blue sea I **send** you. (Against erysipelas)

3.4. Other stylistic devices

Whereas Belarusian charms show influences from more formal poetic genres, these simple, direct Lithuanian charms rely on minimalist devices that nevertheless mark the language spoken, thus ensuring the magic is effective. The rhythmic organisation of these spell-like charms is not so much for aesthetic purposes as pragmatic; the primary purpose, that of directly bringing about a change to the environment remains the dominant feature of the charm (Zav'jalova 2006:292). The magic lies in the ancient belief in the power of a specific sequence of sounds, in most cases independent from their semantic understanding the most clear example of which being the *abracadabra* charm (which features only once in Belarusian). In other words, sound-play, was impressive and 'mystical' enough as an independent device, separate from meaning, to convey the impression of bearing magical power. In this respect, when spoken in the correct, ritualised conditions to a vulnerable, faithful listener, what may seem to the modern reader as infantile word play was in fact an impressive and pragmatic device, by either being 'other' entirely (abracabra), or by taking the normal and transforming it into something 'other' (wordplay). There is therefore no need for more elaborate or more stylised devices; the alternation and switching of wordplay activates the words and the charmer is able to perform a simple, short and highly effective act, what Zav'jalova calls "short and sharp oriented attacks" (Zav'jalova 2006:88-89):

3.4.1. *Abracadabra*

Unlike *abracadabra* charms that were written down on paper, to be swallowed by the afflicted person, exclusively oral charms sometimes contain amongst the nonsensical words, some coherent words:

(Lit.) B + D + Z + K + Z + K + B + D + Z + OO + K. Bint sebuskat, maonet. **Jėzus Marija, Juozapai šventas** (Against bleeding) (Balys 1951, no. 519)

Kristus. Bertus. Zebus. Marinet. Marija. Juozapas. Amen. Amen. Amen. (Against bleeding)

The unintelligibility of the *abracadabra* device means one charm could be used against any disease, however in Lithuanian, the popularity and widespread use of *abracadabra* meant that certain charms of this type were assigned to set afflictions.

(Lit.) Deus meus camineus// crocromia gumberia//petelicta Sancta Maria (Against a cut in the stomach)

Charms of this type against toothache begin with the following instruction;

Put the finger on the painful tooth and say 'in Mohameden';

(Lit.) A uzi-l bie-la-hi-l bez me-la-hi va-chi-li-ra-chim (Stukenaitė-Decikienė 1941, no. 64) (Against toothache)

There is a single example of the *abracadabra* device in Belarusian;

(Bel.) **Šopat, ropat, gubam, zubam, žaram, jaram, jarus-** von (Bartaševič 1992, no. 440)

Šopat, ropat, lips, teeth, fever, heat- out. (Against rabies)

3.4.2. *Wordplay*

In this simple and direct Lithuanian charm, the word for mouse, to whom the spell is directed, alternates with the word for lindenberry, the first syllable of which is the inverse of mouse.

(Lit.) **Pele, pele**, te tau **liepą**, duok man kaulą (Balys 1951, no. 445)⁷

Mouse, mouse, here is a linden berry for you, give me a bone (Against toothache)

In this charm, the sounds *n*, *g* and *r* are repeated twice, then inversed in the final word, with the voiced velar plosive replaced with its voiceless equivalent:

Scheme- *n – g – r, n – g – r x 2, k – r – n*

(Lit.) **Nugaruoi' tu, negare akivaron** (Cicėnas 1934, no. 298)

You, vanish into thin air, not steam, in a bog (Against herpes)

3.4.3. *Phonetic symbolism*

To gnaw at the gryža

A specialised motif against a hernia; Bel. *gryža*, Lit. *gryžius* makes use of the etymologically related verb 'to gnaw'- Bel. *gryzci*, Lit. *graužti*. In accordance with the primitive belief that the disease was

⁷ Charm and observations from Zav'jalova (2006:89)

an animate being, causing harm to the body from within and by its own accord, the hernia came to be known as ‘gnawer’. This origin is hinted at in this Belarusian charm:

Gryž’, ne gryzi mae cela. Ja koška, a ty myška. Gam, z’em (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 776)

Hernia, do not gnaw at my body. I am a cat, and you are a mouse. Yam, I’ll eat (you).

In most charms using this motif, however, the hernia is not the subject, but the object of the gnawing. The phonemes of the verb *gryzci/grauži*, (g-r-ž), particularly the sibilant fricative and the alveolar trill, when repeated, mimic the grinding, slow repetitive action of gnawing itself. This motif can thus be exploited inventively and highly effectively by both language traditions, in various alliterative constructions, making full use of sound imagery and wordplay:

(Bel.) **Gryžu**, gryžu, ja cjabe **gryzu** (Bartašėvič 1992, no. 771)

Hernia, hernia, I will gnaw at you.

(Lit.) **Grauž gryžiu**, da **grauž geriau** (Manskika 1929, no. 148)

Gnaw at the hernia, gnaw better.

Zav’jalova has noted that in the above charm, the scheme *g- r- ž, g- r- ž, g- r- ž, g- r* is in fact a phonetic representation of the intended effect of the charm; in the final word, the *ž*, the third sound, has disappeared; the hernia itself should through analogy also diminish (Zav’jalova 2006:90).

The following charm works in the same way, with the addition of the use of the cross (*križius*) as an opposition to the hernia; a word that luckily bears significant Christian power, as well as being identical to the hernia with only the initial velar plosive being unvoiced:

(Lit.) Tu **Gryžius**, as **križius**, tu bėgsi, aš kųsiau, kai kųsiau, nukųsiau. Am, am, am (Manskika 1929, no. 132)

You are the hernia, I am the cross, you shall run, I shall bite you, if I bite, I’ll bite off. Nom, nom, nom. (Against a hernia)

The benevolent cross is the remaining figure at the end of the charm, and the hernia has been diminished;

g- r- ž- s, k- r- ž, - s, g- s, k- s, k- s, k- s.

In this final example, the word ‘hernia’ is not spoken, but instead, several performative verbs are used which in combination spell out the sounds corresponding to name of the targeted disease (Zav’jalova 2006:90):

k, r, s, š = gryžius.

Kremć, kremć, kremtu, kremtu. Kremć, kremc kad iškrimstum. Riš, riš, rišu, risu, ris, riš, kad išrištum. (Reikia rišti raudonas mylinis siūlas 9 x three margeliais ir kąsti.)

Bite, bite, I bite, I bite. Bite, bite, so that you bite off. Bind, bind, I bind, I bind. Bind, bind, so that you bind off. (One should knot, bind and bite 9 x 3 a red woollen thread.)

3.4.4. *Behagel’s law of increasing terms*

(Lit.) Gumbas turi savo dvarų. **Išsikačiok, išsivaliok ir in daikto atsistok.** (Manskika 1929, no. 155)

The colic has its own domain. **Sway yourself, toss and turn and stay in your domain** (Against colic)

(Bel.) ...astanavicjas' na svae na mesta, na zalatoe krésla. Jak kim ryba na mory na baicca ni mučy, ni hmary, tak i ty, raba božaja, nja bojsja **ni ūbivannja, ni valjannja, ni čyžolaga padymannja...** (Bartašević 1992, no. 1107)

... stay in their place, on the golden wing. As the fish in the sea fears not torment nor storm clouds, so you, slave of god, fear not **beating, nor fulling, nor heavy lifting** ... (For a full-term pregnancy)

(Bel.) Idzi ž ty, skula, **na mahi, balaty, na nicyja lozy** (Bartašević 1992, no. 672)

Go then, boil, **to the moss, the swamp, to the low vines** (Against a boil).

4. Conclusion- Indo-European formulae

Both the Slavic and Baltic oral traditions contain a series of charms of a clearly Indo-European character. To claim that the formulae of these related charms are the *original* content of an Indo-European poetic language, however, is considered by some to be too permissive (Toporov 1969:409). The most famous example of an Indo-European healing charm is that of the uniting of bone with bone etc. The original motive, or “pragmatic intention” (Toporova 1996:109) behind this charm formula, as V.N.Toporov noted, could well be reflective of a universal ancient medicinal doctrine (Toporov 1969:108), as could the listing of types of snakes (the enumeration of the parts of an enemy is certainly a universal magic practice, as explored in Chapter 2). Nevertheless, in spite of such doubts on the IE exclusivity of such formulae (more typological research is required to prove these doubts), reconstructions of the Proto-Indo-European *versions* of these formulae have been made; some not just on a formulaic level, but also morphologically. The fact that the “pragmatic intention” of the formulae was most likely universal does not detract from what Calvert Watkins called the “Indo-European touch” (Watkins 1995) that they bear. In other words, although the motifs may be universal, the formulae employed to express them is exclusively, and decisively, Indo-European.

Therefore, this section is concerned only with the presentation of the relevant Balto-Slavic charms, as an addition to those of other IE branches already recognised as containing inherited motifs and formulae.

4.1. Uniting bone with bone...

The Balto-Slavic tradition has many examples to offer to Adalbert Kuhn’s well-known comparison of the OHG and Vedic charms for treating serious injuries, the pragmatics of which being the uniting of one part of the body to another, joining all the affected constituents into one, so that together they can simultaneously be cured (Toporov 1969:107):

Atharvaveda, IV, 12, 3-5

sám te majjā majjñā bhavatu sám u te páruṣā páruḥ
sám te māmśasya vírastam sám ásthi ápi rohatu
majjā majjñā sám dhīyatām cármaṇā cárma rohatu
ásṛk te asthi rohatu māmśam māmśéna rohatu
lóma lómnā sám kalpayā tvacā sám kalpayā tvácam
asṛk te asthi rohatu chinnám sám dhehy ośadhe

Let marrow come together with marrow, and your joint together with joint, together what of your flesh has fallen apart, together sinew and together your bone.

Let hair be put together with hair. [The ro/uru-plant] shall fit together skin with skin. Let your blood grow with blood; let flesh grow with flesh (Griffiths & Lubotsky 2000:196-210)

Old High German, from the 2nd Merseburg charm

Phol ende Uuodan vuoron zi holza
 nu uuart demo Balderes volon sin vuoz birenkit
 thu biguol en Sinthgunt Sunna era suister
 thu biguol en Friia Volla era suister
 thu biguol en Uuodan so he uuola conda.
 sose benrenki, sose bluetrenki, sose lidirenki.
 ben zi bena, bluet zi bludoa
 Lid zi geliden, sose gelimida sin

Phol and Wodan were riding to the woods, Balder's foal wrenched his foot. Sinthgunt conjured it, sister of Sunna; Frija conjured it, sister of Folla; Wodan conjured it, as well as he could. As bone-wrench, so blood-wrench, so joint-wrench. Bone to bone, blood to blood, joint to joint, so be they joined.

Cognates of this formula within Balto-Slavic were compiled by V.N. Toporov in a 1969 article. The examples from the Balto-Slavic tradition are consistent with the specifics of the ancient Indo-European formula- the ritual pragmatics behind the formula are present (the appropriate anatomy (with shared etymologies); the act of uniting one to another; the use of the dative and instrumental cases and finally the prepositions conveying convergence or joining together):

Russian:

Shoditesja kos'ti s kos'tjami, sustavy s polusustavami... (Romanov 1891)

Bones unite with bones, joints with half-joints (symphysis)

Belarusian:

sustavka s sustavkoj syjdzisja i celo s celom zroscisja, krov' i s krov'ju zbjažisja. (Romanov 1891, 131)

joint with joint be united and body with body grow together, blood with blood move togethert.

Czech: Maso k masu, kost k kosti, krev k krvi, voda k vode (Erben 1860:57)

Flesh to flesh, bone to bone, blood to blood, water to water.

Slovak: Sejdiž se kost' k kosti, kloub k kloubu, srst k srsti (Köhler, 2008:404)

Set bone to bone, joint to joint, hair to hair.

Latvian: Griežās miesa pie miesas, spiežās kauls pie kaula, griežās veselība pie veselības (Trejland 1881:235)

Twist flesh to flesh, force bone to bone, twist health to health

Commented [S1]: Bibliography

Latvian: Kauliņi pie kauliņim, dzīslīņas pie dzīslīņam, druopstiņas pie druopstiņam, stiegrīņas pie stiegrīņam. (Trejland 1881:241)

Bone to bone, nerve to nerve, *druopstiņas* to *druopstiņam*, tendon to tendon

Of the constituents of the Vedic “canonical beast”⁸ (the body parts of which form the Indo-European charms), compiled by S. Jamison and believed to be inherited from Indo-Iranian, the Slavic examples contain several cognates (Jamison 1986:172). (See footnotes for table)⁹

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The verb corresponding to ‘unite, join’, identified by Toporov as a feature of this Indo-European formula, is present in the Slavic examples:

(Rus.) *shoditesja* kos’ti s kos’tjami : *shoditesja* = s ‘with’ + *hodit’* ‘go’

(Bel.) *sustavka* s *sustavkoj syjdzisja* : *syjdzisja* = s + *icuj* ‘go’

4.1.1. *Historiola*

Another feature shared by both the Germanic and Balto-Slavic sources is the introductory *historiola*, composed of a powerful, sacred (pre-Christian or a Christian counterpart) figure, travelling on a

⁸ Watkins 1995:525

⁹

English	Vedic	Slavic	Baltic	Balto-Slavic	PIE
HAIR	lóman				
SKIN	tvác				
BLOOD	ásrk	krŷ	kraūjas	*kruH-, *krouio	
FAT	médas				
FLESH	māmsá	mēšo	mēsà	*mēns; *mēnsa? *mēms-om	*mēms-om
SINEWS	snāvan	žila	gýsla	*gī?(s)laʔ ¹	
BONE	ásthi	kōstb	kaulas ²		*h ₂ ost-
JOINT	páruṣ	Rus. <i>sustav</i>			
MARROW	majján	mōzgb	smēgenys	*mozg-o-	*mosg ^h -o-

¹ Possibly cognate with Lat. *filum*.

² Meillet regards the ‘k’ as a prefix, thus linking ‘kōstb’ with PIE. ‘*h₂ost’ (Skt. *ásthi*), although this etymology remains hypothetical. Kortlandt has dismissed the hypothesis that the ‘k’ is the reflex of the initial laryngeal of PIE ‘*h₂ost’ in an Indo-European substratum language (Kortlandt 1997:47). Otherwise, ‘kōstb’ is cognate to the otherwise isolated Latin *costa* ‘rib’.

steed, often bay in colour, to a specific destination (a forest, mountain or sea) (Conrad 1989:423). Either the horse or its rider trips or gets caught, either on a bridge or on the path. The subsequent injury to the foot or hoof is cured by the 'bone to bone' formula, the idea being that the foot of the person or animal will be aided by the power of the 'happy ending' of the charm.

Compare;

Phol, ende Uodan vuorun zi holza
du uuart demo Balderes volon sin vuoz birenkit

Phol and Wodan were riding to the woods,
Balder's foal wrenched his foot

with;

(Bel) Ehaų Sus Hristos na svoem hrabrom koni i Sijans'kuju goru; na Sijan'skoj gore stoic' kalinovyj most; na tym kalinovym mosti svoju hrabruju kon' nogu ups'ciu kalinovu mos'nicu prolomių...(Romanov 1891, 77)

Jesus Christ rode on Mount Zion on his brave horse, on Mount Zion stands an elder bridge; on that elder bridge his brave horse's foot having stumbled, having broken the elder bridge...

(Lit.). Ėjo Kristus per tiltą ir jlužo tiltas ir įkrito Kristaus koja. Nuėjo Kristus sveikas, neskauda koja; kaip Kristui neskauda koja, taip neskauda NN. (Manskika 1929, no. 123)

Christ went over the bridge and the bridge broke and the foot of Jesus fell into it. Christ carried on healthily, the foot does not hurt; as it does not hurt Christ, so it should not hurt NN.

This is an extremely common introduction/premise for charms of this type (Against dislocation or other such injuries). Recent research has shown that this motif is more likely to be a loan from Germanic folklore, as opposed to an inherited formula, as previously thought by Toporov. This conclusion was reached to the fact that the motif was originally only present in Slavic and Baltic areas in contact with Germanic-speaking areas (West-Slavic areas- mainly Poland and Bohemia and South Slavic- Slovenia), and later made appearances only in East Slavic areas bordering the West Slavic areas (Agapkina 2011:70). The chronology of this 'charm migration' is as follows:

- First record in Germanic- 10th century
- First record in West Slavic- 16th century
- First record in East Slavic (only western areas, bordering Poles and Czechs)- 19th century.

This motif is also present in the charms of the Gaels of the Western Isles of Scotland; another area in direct geographical and cultural contact with the Germanic tradition (Carmichael 1992).

4.2. How to Kill a Worm

The Vedic enumeration of body parts, as featured in the above formula, is also the foundation of another Indo-European formula- that of the exile of the worm from the body. For Watkins, the worm of the Indo-European charm is simply a manifestation of the snake of the Indo-European myth. This is clearly a distinct motif in that although the same body-parts are enumerated, the order in which they are listed is in reverse:

Against worms;

(OHG): Gang ut, Nesso.../uz fonna marge in deo adra, vonna den adrun in das fleisk, uz fonna demu fleiske in daz fel,/fonna demo velle in diz tulli (Merseburg)

“Go out, outside, Nesso,.../from the bone marrow to the veins, from the veins to the flesh, from the flesh to the skin, from the skin to nail

Pro nussia-

Ut fan demo marge an that ben,

Fat themo bene an that flesg,

Ut fan themo flesge a thia hud,

Ut fan thera hud an thesa strala!

Drohtin, uuerthe so

Out from the bone marrow to the bone,

From the bone to the flesh,

Out from the flesh to the hide,

Out from the hide to the *strala*

Drohtin, uuerthe so

AV II, 33, 1: akṣībhyaṃ te nāsikābhyaṃ kārṇābhyaṃ chúbukād ádhi

yákṣmaṃ sīrṣaṇyāṃ mastīškāḥ jihvāyā ví vṛhāmi te

From both thy nostrils, from both eyes, from both thine ears, and from both thy chin, Forth from thy brain I root Consumption seated in thy head. (Griffiths)

This motif of exile through the body via a succession of enumerated body-parts is shown in the following Slavic examples. The specific IE list, as compiled by Jamison, features in these two Russian charms:

(Ukr) Von červ', von robak, iz sěgo nohy, iz sěgo rog, iz sěgo kosti, iz sěgo krovi, iz sego tela, iz čotyry desjaty sustavov! (Toporov 1969:418)

Out worm, out worm, from the leg, from the horns, from the bones, from the blood, from the body, from the 40 joints!

Stegni po beloј šersti, ot šersti do koži, ot koži do **mjasa**, ot **mjasa** do **kosti**, ot **kosti** do **mozgu**, i podite po svoim tropam... (Majkov 1867, 289)

Whip upon the white wool, from the wool to the skin, from the skin to the **flesh**, from the **flesh** to the **bone**, from the **bone** to the **marrow**, and go on your way

The remaining examples (taken from Tatjana Toporova's study of Germanic charms) share with the OHG and Vedic examples the loose motif of worms being compelled to exit, or being forcibly removed from, the body of a beast, in this case via a more generic set of body-parts (Toporova 1996:109).

(Rus.) Progonjajut zlogo, lihogo noktja issarki v grivu, iz grivy v spinu, iz spiny v okoroka, iz okorokov v nogi, iz nog v kopyta...(Majkov 1867, 195)

They chase away the evil, the wicked *nogot* (neurological disease effecting horses) *issarki* to the mane, from the mane to the back, from the back to the leg, from the leg to the foot, from the foot to the hoof...

(Rus.) Vse dvenadcat' noktej pogoni v golovu, iz golovy v prisk", iz prisku zatri, sgruzi v zemlju... (Toporov 1969:416)

All twelve *nokti* chase to the head, from the head to the *prisk*, from the *prisk rub*, unload into the ground.

This Lithuanian charm shares with the above examples the basic motive; that of the removal of the enemy from within to without:

(Lit.) Kirmélés nuo bambélés, kirmeles nuo bambélés (Manskika 1929, 174)

Worms out of the navel, worms out of the navel

4.2.1.

For Toporov, Indo-European charms involving the exile of worms from the body form part of a larger "semantic-syntactic" group; as shown in this (re-ordered) scheme (Toporov 1969:415):

1. The categorisation of the worms: the number of them (normally nine)
2. The categorisation of the worms: colour
3. The motif of the worm's exile
4. An appeal for the smiting of the worm.

4.2.1.1. Lexical comparison of 'worm' across IE. ?????

Russian- červ'
Lithuanian- kirmis
Slavic- čъvъ
Sanskrit- kṛmi
Irish- cruim
Germanic- wurm
Latin- vermis

4.2.1.2. Toporov's scheme for the treatment of the worm, with examples from Balto-Slavic

-The categorisation of the worms: number (normally nine).

(OHG) Gang ut, nesso, mid nigun nessiklinon (Merseburg)

Go out, nesso, with nine little nessos.

(OE) Ic ana wat ea rinnende,/ þær þa nygon nædran nean behealdað (59-60)

I alone know the flowing river,/next to it there live nine snakes .

Der worme sind negen...(Toporova 1996:416)

There are nine worms

The Slavic examples include the eradication of the worms through the universal formula of negative gradation:

(Bel.) Čoren voron, ci mnogo ŭ cjabe čarvej?- Dzevjac', a z dzevjaci vosem, a z vos'mi sem, a s semi šes' a s šas'ci pjac', a s pjaci čatrye, a s čatryeh tri, a s treh dva, a z dvuh odzin, a s odnogo nigodnago (Romanov 1891, 58.)

Black raven, have you many worms? – Nine, and from nine eight, and from eight seven, and from seven six, and from six five, and from five four, and from four three, and from three two, and from two one, and from one none.

(Rus.) červy, tut vas desjat', iz desjati devjat', iz devjati vosem..., iz ognogo i odnogo! (Toporov 2006)
There are ten worms, from ten nine, from nine eight..., and from one not one!

(Czech)

Svatý Petr leži v hrobě,
Devět červů má při sobě
Osm červů má při sobě...
Žádného červa má při sobě

St. Peter lies in his grave,
There are nine worms
There are eight worms...
There are no worms
(Erben 1860:58.)

(Lithuanian);

Turėjo šventas Jobas devynias kirmėles, iš devynių aštuonias, iš aštuonių septynias, is septynių šešias, iš šešių penkias, iš penkių keturias, iš keturių tris, iš trijų dvi, iš dvių vieną, iš vienos nevienos. (Manskika 1929, 34)

St. Job had nine worms, from nine eight, from eight seven, from seven six, from six five, from five four, from four three, from three two, from two one, from one, none.

-The categorisation of the worms: colour/habitat

AV, V, 23, 9:

triširšāṇaṃ trikakúdaṃ krímiṃ sārāṅgam árjunam
 śṛṇāmy asya pṛṣṭīr āpi vṛścāmi yác chíraḥ

The worm with three heads and the one with three skulls, the speckled, and the white -I crush his ribs and I tear off his head

(Mid. Dutch) **3 wasser wit, 3 wasser zwart, 3 wasser roet.** God ende die sente Job sla dese 9 vilre alle ter doet

Three were white, 3 were black, 3 were red. God and St. Job *slay* these nine worms to death.

(Rus.) Ograzhdaet i ogorazhivaet ot **ser'ja** červi ot **belyja** červi, ot **lesnyja, blotnyja, listovyja, korennovyja.** Goj esi ty, **seraja** červ', **lesnaja, blotnaja, listovaja, korennovaja** (Majkov 1867, 204)

(He) protects and defends from the **grey** worm and from the **white** worm, from the **wood**, the **swamp**, the **leaf**, the **root** worm. Be healthy, **grey** worm, **wood, swamp, leaf, root** worm

(Rus.) Matuška zmeja škuropeja, vynimaj svojih detok: kolodnyja, bolotnyja, lesovyja, letučija, polzučija, borovyja, podmožnyja, podkonečnyja... (Majkov 1867, 177)

Snake mother Škuropeja, take away your spawn: the log (snakes), the swamps (snakes), the wood (snakes), the flying (snakes), the crawling (snakes), the upland (snakes), the undergrowth (snakes), the (under horse?) snakes...

The enumeration of all the habitats of the disease or enemy is in fact very widespread in both Baltic and Slavic charm traditions (Chapter 2), particularly in charms against snakes. Given the fact that categorisation of the target of oral magic is a universally attested device (Tambiah 1968:191), and that the venomous snake is a danger to many areas, its frequent manifestations in the Balto-Slavic tradition are to be expected and should perhaps not be grouped together with this more specific worm-based enumerative device.

(Latvian) Lai būtu kāds būdams: balts, dzeltens, melns vaj sārkans – nomirsti nost, tu tārps!

Whatever you may be: white, yellow, black or red- die! You worm!

-The motif of the worm's exile

Described above (4.2.)

An appeal for the smiting of the worm (by a specific instrument or person)

This refers to the PIE mythological tale of the killing of a dragon by a sacred hero (Indra, Wodan, Perkunās, St. George etc) using fire, a stone, a club or thunder. In several of the following motifs, the specifics of the myth are present, with the exception of the enemy itself which manifests as a snake;

AV II 31, 1:

Indrasya yā mahi dṛsat kṛmer viçvasya tarhanī/
rayā pinasmi sam kṛmīn

With Indra's great mill-stone, that crushes all vermin, do I grind to pieces the worms (Bloomfield)

AV II 31, 1:

asyendra kumārasya kṛmin dhanapte jahi

O Indra, Lord of Wealth, kill the snake of this boy! (Griffiths)

(OE) Wyrm com snican, toslat he man;/ ða genam Woden VIII wuldortanas,/sloh ða þa næddran,
ðæt heo on VIII tofleas (Nine Herbs Charm)

The snake crawled, he killed man/ then Wodan took the nine miraculous branches,/he smashed
the snake/so that it scattered into nine pieces.

(Rus.) Ё́ж же ты, змея скорпея, ја пришел к тебе с ну́ждою- S kakoju? – Najdi tu zmeju, kaja ukusila raba
Božija...- Ја, govorit, ne pojdu- A ја teba gromom ubju- Ја ot groma sprjačus' v zemlju (Majkov 1869,
no. 178)

Hey, you, skorpeja snake, I came to you with a need. –With what need? –Find the snake, that bit this
slave of God. I declare that I will not go- Then I will smash you with thunder- I will hide from the
thunder in the ground.

(Rus.) Oj ty, skrupika-zmeja, ujmi svoih detišev" ...A to budu Mihajle Arhangelu prosit': bog gromom
ub"et/ Ognem sožžet! (Majkov 1869, no. 374)

Hey, you, skrupika -snake, take away your children... Or I'll ask Archangel Michael, that God will kill
you with thunder/ With fire he will burn (you)!

As seen above, the magic number nine is integrally linked to the Indo-European worm and the
original dragon-slaying myth; playing, as Toporov (1969) as stated, as integral a role in the
reconstructed myth as the divine slayer, his weapon and the dragon. The following Lithuanian charm
is considered by Toporov to be a manifestation of the myth, with the dragon character having
developed into the motif of the nine sons of Perkūnas;

Perkūnas turi devynis sūnus. Kai jis ant jų užpyksta, tai jis juos veja ir keikia. Nuo to kyla audra ir
perkūnija (Balys 1937, no. 384)

Perkunas has 9 sons. When he is angry at them, then he pursues them and curses. From this rises a storm and lightning.

According to Toporov (1969:416), the nine sons of the Lithuanian thunder god Perkūnas were originally the nine worms, as seen in the above charms.

4.3.

The following comparisons were made by Tatjana Toporova in her 1996 study on Germanic charms. Unlike in the above analysis, the goal of these comparisons is not the reconstruction of an ancient Indo-European ritual formula, but rather the analysis of any similarities between the IE branches, in their expression of universal ritual and worldview. The 'bone to bone' and 'slaying the dragon/worm' formulae may well be the manifestation of universal motives, but even if this is correct, they are highly specialised and stylised, with strong, clear connections across the branches of the language family. The comparisons of this section, on the other hand, provide us with more of an insight into the essential nature and pragmatics of the magic charm, while simultaneously allowing to become more familiar with how the goal and implementation of the charm is expressed in the Indo-European (especially Slavic and Germanic) tradition. The similarities, although at times tenuous, in amongst such universal, primitive *pragmatics* as dualistic categorisation, demonstrate the distinguishing and binding features of the Indo-European magic ritual tradition.

4.3.1 *Locus vs. Antilocus*

The universe of the charm contains a dichotomy between where the target of the charm shouldn't be, and should be. The former, from which the disease or enemy is compelled to flee, is described with imagery of humanity, light and holiness. The latter; the place to where the target must go is the antithesis of this; either no life is present at all, or only evil forms of life dwell there. Balto-Slavic expressions of this dichotomy, with no specific cognates, are explored in Chapter 2.

With regards to the Indo-European expression of this 'locus vs antilocus', Toporova has noticed one distinguishable motif; that of the target of the charm belonging in, and being sent to the mountain, as a feature of the 'other world' of darkness and non-life.

This possible motif can be seen in one of the Atharvavedic hymns targeted at the worm:

AV II, 31, 5:

Ye kṛmayāḥ parvateṣu vaneṣv osadhiṣu paśuṣv apsv antaḥ
Ye asmākam tanvam āviviśuḥ sarvaṃ tad dhanmī janima kṛmiṇām

The worms that are within the mountains, forests, plants, cattle, and the waters, those that have settled in our bodies, all that brood of the worms do I smite. (Griffiths)

In which the habitats of the spell's enemy target are declared, and emphasised as their rightful dwelling-place by the subsequent declaration, that those who are to be found in the wrong place i.e. within the human realm, are to be killed.

This AV hymn against the evil-spirits, the *kanvas*, directly appeals for the exile of the target into the mountains:

AV II, 25, 4:

girím enāñ á veśaya káñvān jīvitayópanān
 āṃs tvāṃ devi pṛśniparṇy agnīr ivānudáhann ihi

(These Kanvas, the effacers of life), drive into the **mountain**; go thou burning after them like fire, (O goddess Prisniparnī!) (Griffiths)

Similar in content is this Old English charm, in that the mountain is featured as the single representation of the other world, to which the target is sent:

(12, 1-4):: Wenne, wenne, wenchickenne,/her ne scealt þu timbrien, ne nenne tun habben,/ac þu
 scealt north eonene to þan nihgan **berghe**,/ þer þu hauest

Swelling/tumour, swelling, little swelling,/here you should neither build, not own a dwelling/ but you should (go) from here to the north to the nearest **mountain**/ you live there.

(OE)(4, 27) Fleoh þer...on **fyrgenheafðfe**

Run there to the **mountain peak**.

The example provided by Toporova mentions the mountain (*gora*) only as a locus beyond which the enemy must live, amongst other dark places:

(Rus.) *Tut tebe ne byt', tut tebe ne žit'*: byt' tebe po bolotam, po gnilym kolodam, za temnymi lesami, **za krutymi gorami**, za želtyimi peskami. *Tam tebe byt', tam tebe požit'* (Majkov 1869, no. 94)

Here you should not be, here you should not dwell; you will live by the swamps, by the rotten logs, beyond the dark forests, **beyond the steep mountains**, beyond the yellow sands. **There you will be, there you will dwell**.

(The dichotomy between the holy and the unholy is expressed poetically and effectively in this charm; with the emphasis on two simple words- "here" (*tut*) and "there" (*tam*); this contrast mirrors that of the above Anglo-Saxon charm (*her* vs. *þer*). Thus, the two traditions are similar not only on a semantic, but also a formalistic level (Toporov 1993:111).

Many other charms from the Baltic and Slavic traditions, not provided by Toporova, express this motif; the following two in a way perhaps more similar to the Germanic and Atharvavedic examples, namely in that the mountain does not feature as part of a more lengthy enumeration of features of the otherworld, but as one of a pair of features. The frequent occurrence of the mountain in such pairs, combined with its popularity in the traditions of other IE branches, gives the impression that it is a central and, in the context of textual reconstruction, perhaps original and ancient marker of the other world within Indo-European mythology:

(Serbian or Serbocroatian)

basma od Cumu i koljeru//Cuma i koljera//Neka idu **u goru i vodu**//Gde petlovi ne poju//Gde mačke ne mauču//Gde pceta ne laju//Gde koze ne vreštu//Gde ovce ne bleju//Gde svinje ne skuču//Gde konji ne vištu//Gde goveda ne rovu//Gde ljudi ne govoru//Gde zاعي ne vreštu//Gde lisice ne

laju//Gde kurjaci ne vijuju//Gde medvedi ne riču//Cuma I koljera neka idu //U tu pustu goru//U duboku vodu//Koja kraja nema

Plague and cholera, let them go to the **mountain and water**, where cocks do not crow, where cats do not meow, where dogs do not bark, where goats do not scream, where sheep do not bleat, where pigs do not grunt, where horses do not shriek, where cattle do not bellow, where people do not speak, where rabbits do not scream, where vixen do not bark, where wolves do not howl, where bears do not roar. Plague and cholera let them go, **to that barren mountain, to the deep water**, which has no end. (Translation J.Conrad 1983)

(Bel.) Astuda-čuda, ja cjabe znaju, umaŭljaju, uklikaju z čyrovanae kryvi, z belaj kasci, z žoŭtaga mozgu, z salodkaga mjasa. Adsylaju **za krutyja gory, za gustyja bory** (Bartašević 1992, no. 737)

Astuda-čuda (epithet for a chill), I know you, I implore you, I call you from the red blood from the white bones, from the yellow marrow, from the sweet flesh. I send you to the **steep mountains, to the thick forests** (Against a chill)

There are numerous other Slavic charms in which the mountain appears as a component of an enumeration of features the otherworld:

(Bel.) Uroki, uroki, ljacice na saroki, na zjalėnyja ljasy, na ņumlivyja gai, **na gory**, za mory, u glybokija nory. Zabyvajce sceŭki-daroŭki da naņaj hacinki-staroŭki. Naņu Tan'ku ne čapajce, lepņ u poli vy guljajce (Bartašević 1992, no. 981)

Evil eye, evil eye, fly to the magpie, to the green woods, to the rustling trees, **to the mountains**, beyond the sea, beyond the deep holes. Forget the trail-road to our little old house. Do not touch our little Tanya, better to play in the field. (Against the evil eye)

(Bel.) Syjdzci, kaŭtun, na dubočaak, na kljanočaak, na javaročaak; syjdzci, kaŭtun, na hvojačka, na elačka, na bjarozačkaul syjdzci, kaŭtun, na ljasinačka, na lozačka, na brusničačka, syjdzci, kaŭtun, na vysokija ljasa, **za krutyja gory**, za glybokija Dunak, za ņyrokija meŭy, dze nihto ne hodzić dze nihto ne tupae...(Bartašević 1992, no. 839)

Go down, plica, to the oak, to the maple, to the sycamore; go down, plica, to the pine, to the fir, to the birch go down, plica, to the woods, to the vine/willow bush, to the foxberry, go down, plica, to the high forest, **to the steep mountains**, to the deep Dunai, to the wide borders, where no one walks, where no one roams... (Against plica)

In addition, in both Baltic and Slavic charms, the mountain is the 'official' dwelling place of the Snake goddess (who takes several forms and names) her servants, and is the source of their offspring ('normal' snakes) [in other charms, the home is a nest on an island across the sea, there appears to be no particular link with the mountain, it simply means 'far away']. Whether or not this piece of Slavic mythological geography is inherited is not relevant for this study, but two of the clearest examples have nonetheless been translated for interest's sake:

(Bel.)Svjataja Pračystaja Boŭ'ja maci po polju hodzić, ņukae, a ŭ jaje sam Gaspozď pytae: <Čago ty hodziņ ņukaeņ?> <Hadŭu, ņukaju ņkurapei-zmjai>. **ņkurapeja-zmjaja na vysokaj garė**, pad sinim kamenėm. Adna-ņkurapeja- drugaja- Pelageja, trėcja- Kacjaryna. Radzili jany pa dzevjac' dačok raznye zmei: lesavuju, paljavuju... (Bartašević 1992, no. 301)

The Holy Mother of God walks through the field, searching, and in the field, the Lord himself asks her "For what are you walking, for what are you searching? "I'm walking, I'm searching for the ņkurapei

snake.” **The Škurapei snake is on the high mountain**, under the blue stone. One is the Škurapei, another is the Pelageya, the third is the Kacyaryna (Catherine). They gave birth to nine daughters, nine different snakes; the wood snake, the field snake...(Against snakes)

(Lit.) Yra Egerų **kalnas**, tame kalne ažuolas ir ten gūžta. Toje gūžtoke trys slūgos: Karalina, Katrina ir Marcelina. (Manskika 1929, no. 27)

There is a **mountain** called Erega, on that mountain is an oak, and in the oak is a nest. In that nest are three maidservants: Karalina, Katrina and Marcelina (Against snakes)

4.3.

The Germanic and Slavic traditions share methods of expression of a major preoccupation of pastoral society; the wolf. Both sexes of this enemy are listed in the following charms:

Germanic:

(OHG.) Daz in **uuolf** noh **uulpa** za scedin uerdan ne megī..

May neither the **wolf** nor the **she-wolf** cause them harm.

Slavic:

(Rus.) I kak že vo svjatom grade Ierusaleme grob Gospoden’ na zemli ne byvaet, tak by u moego stada korov”ego, konnogo i oveč”ego... ne byvat’ **volku** i **volčicce**, naslannyh ot lihogo čeloveka...(Majkov 1869, no. 285)

And as in the holy city of Jerusalem the Lord’s tomb is not in the ground, so would a **wolf** and a **she-wolf** not be amongst my flock of cows, horses and sheep, sent from an evil person.

4.3.1

The motif of smashing a stone, under which an enemy is hidden, by a divine figure. (Ivanov, Toporov, 1974: 96)

Germanic:

PS 2: Doner dutīgo.../Dô quam des **tiufeles sun** uf Adames bruggon/ unde **scieta** einen **stein** ze wite

Merciful Thunder../Then came the **son of the devil** to Adam’s bridge/and he smashed the stone into flakes

Slavic:

Nastupaet k tomu belomu kamnju **svjatyj Egorij** hrabryj...**rasbivaet** tot belyj **kamen’** na četyre časti, rassylaet teh zverej po vsem četyrem stranam (Majkov 1867, no. 16)

Brave **St. George** comes to the white stone... he **smashes** that white **stone** into four parts, he dispatches those wild animals over all the four countries.

4.3.2 The motif of the return of cattle, expressed with antonymic predicates:

Germanic:

(2, 3-6):- **feoh to findanne**, *næs to oðfeorganne/* **and to witanne**, *næs to oðlædanne/and to lufianne*, *næs to oðlædanne*

To find cattle, *and not to steal them*, **and to watch over them**, *and not to harm them/and to love them*, *and not to harm them*.

Vedic:

AV II,26.1: ehā **yantu paśávo** yé pareyúr vāyúr

Hither shall come the cattle *which have strayed to a distance...* (Griffiths)

AV IV, 21, 4: **urugāyám ábhayaṃ** tásya tá ánu gávo mártasya ví **caranti** yájvanah

These Cows, the cattle of the pious worshipper, **roam over wide-spread pasture** *where no danger is*. (Griffiths)

Slavic:

(Rus.) "Zagovarivaju ja...sej zagovor nad moim tabunom". Kak muraši gde *ni hodjat, ni guljajut, a prihodjat i ne otlučajutsja ot svoego gnezda*- tak by moi dobrye koni...*ne vyšli by iz sego kruga...*

I conjure...this charm over my herd. As ants *do not stray, do not roam, but stay in* and *do not leave their nest*- so would *my good horses...not leave their range*.

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