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Cover photo: An 85 year old woman who knows how to heal the evil eye with a charm.
Photo by György Takács, Csíkbánkfalva (Bancu), Harghita County, Romania, 2007.

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Éva Pócs – María Palleiro

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Our volume is based on lectures of the international conference on *Verbal Charms and Narrative Genres* held in Budapest on October 12–15, 2017, whose primary goal has been to bring close together these two distinct areas of folkloristic research – charms and belief narratives – as well as to establish fruitful links between the scholars who are working at present in each of them. It is worth pointing out that this has been the first meeting organized jointly by two committees of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR): the one focused on *Charms, Charmers and Charming* and the other, the *Belief Narrative Network,* both of which have organized many international events in their own right. In addition to folklorists, many other scholars representing related disciplines – anthropologists, medievalists, literary historians, historians of religion, as well as specialists in Germanic, Slavic, Baltic and Balkan studies – joined the Conference. Studies were submitted by nearly half of the more than 30 conference attendees from Eastern and Western Europe, as well as from Asia, America, and Australia. As we affirmed in the call for proposals, "Through collaboration, we would like to conduct a parallel examination of Eastern and Western European folklore from the Middle Ages to the present, and also to examine phenomena from Christian and non-Christian, elite and popular, literary and oral traditions." In this sense, our conference has boosted interdisciplinary co-operation, as it can be seen in this volume.

The book has been structured around the three major, pre-determined topics of the conference. These three groups of articles explore the possible ways in which charms (and related genres: prayer, blessing, curse, threat) as well as belief narratives and other narrative folklore genres (religious legend, fairy tale, heroic epic, etc.) are related. Each of these topics is represented by several articles from different geographic locations and disciplinary perspectives, with diverse methodological approaches, shedding light on distinctive layers of the networks of folklore genres. What *Haralampos Passalis* writes about his own research applies to the objectives and results of each study here presented: "Although belief narratives and charms are regarded as two different folklore genres with

different modes of transmission, performance and function, they are both in a constant dialectical relationship, yielding mutual feedback."

1. The articles of the group titled *Verbal Charms in the Context of Narrative Genres* show the diverse contexts of charms in terms of their various related and narrative genres. A relevant aspect of *Bernadett Smid*'s analysis is the use of a Catalan version of the so-called *St. Cyprian prayer* as a charm. This multidimensional approach also touches on other aspects of the social and narrative context of verbal charms. Based on the textual and gestural elements of the charm in the surviving records of a 16th-century Inquisition trial of a hermit, the article attempts to trace the written sources of the hermit's healing prayer, thus extending the genre connections toward elite literacy. *Laura Jiga Iliescu*'s study analyzes the different manifestations of the mythical context of St. Elijah, the "meteorologist saint", in Romanian folklore. In doing so, the author attempts to uncover the hidden and obvious (via common textual motifs) connections of charms to other narrative genres. She is right to conclude that charms and other religious/magical genres are different expressions of the same worldview, knowledge, motif stock, and therefore one cannot be understood without the other. *Ekaterina V. Gusarova*'s contribution examines the figure of another saint – a protagonist in several folklore genres in the Mediterranean and East-European regions of the Eastern Church through the Ethiopian Coptic versions of the legend of *Saint Sisynnios*. The author's meticulous philological analysis reveals a peculiar type of relationship between legend and charm – known mainly in the Christian and Muslim Middle East – where a written version of a legend is used as an amulet (i.e., a protective charm).

The most common version of the textual link between legend and charm is the incorporation of legendary healing stories into charms, as their *historiola* (a sacred example or analogy for promoting the success of the current healing charm). *Nicholas Wolf*'s article on the role of Irish saints in charms presents a less common version of these links, where it is not the motifs of common Christian legends that are found in charm types prevalent throughout Europe, but mainly this role falls on national saints (Columcille, Bridget, Patrick). *Katherine Leach*'s study also takes us to the Celtic language area, in which the author analyzes the types of Welsh medieval to early modern narrative charms. By examining the temporal changes in three international charm types *(Longinus, Three Good Brothers, Flum Jordan),* she captures the changes in their relationship to religion, magic, and healing. At the same time, she observes the increasing penetration of religious narratives into charms that have become increasingly more Welsh than Latin.

In addition to their immediate relatives of the "religious/magical" genre, some textual motifs – or even types – of verbal charms appear throughout Europe in more distantly related narrative genres, such as fairy tales and epic songs. In this case, the "original", "real" magical situation is only present indirectly, on a different semantic level. In her multifaceted analysis, *María Palleiro* examines the use of charms as magic formulas in the Argentinian tale of 'John the Lazy', collected in fieldwork. She analyzes as well the motif of the divine origin of a charm received in a dream known from several narrative genres. In this context, she suggests interpreting this charm embedded in a tale as a speech act, that is to say, using Urban's terms, as a "speech about speech in speech about action" (Urban 1984). *Kinga Markus Takeshita* gives firstly a brief preliminary overview of Iranian folklore research, secondly presenting some examples, especially from the Shahname national epic poems. In this way, she lays the foundation for a study

which extrapolates the texts of charms and invocations or prayers used as charms, as well references to their use from linguistic data,

In European folklore, there is a separate genre category of origin legends, about the origins of charms, which represents itself the relationship between these two interdependent genres. In this sense, *Haralampos Passalis'* article deals with the Greek variants of a charm against abdominal diseases *(The Good Master and the Evil Housewife),* known primarily in the Eastern Mediterranean. Its *historiola* about Christ the Healer includes the origin legend of the charm embedded in a story of a successful healing, according to which Christ taught the healing charm to the protagonist of the story who had an abdominal ailment. This, as a speech act embedded in a speech act – quoting Urban's above mentioned words cited by Palleiro: "speech about speech in speech about action" – increases the effectiveness of the current healing act.

2. This volume represents some of the many options available on the theme of *Verbal charms and belief narratives: comparative aspect.*

Aigars Lielbārdis explores the ways and instances the devil appears in charms and in some other genres of Lithuanian folklore, focusing on the motif of "the devil struck by lightning". Like other authors of this volume, he notes that "texts from different genres complement each other by providing missing narrative fragments and aspects of meaning." This study confirms that a joint examination of a belief legend and a charm type that share a mythical background can be the key to fully exploring/understanding their mythic deep structure. As the previous author, also *Edina Dallos* centers her analysis on the various shapes a mythical entity can take, emphasizing the geographical/regional aspects of the comparison. In this way, she examines the representations of *Albasty* – a demon of the Turkic peoples that menaces childbearing women and newborns – in various genres, and analyzes the regional differences in a belief legend and a charm that share a mythical background on the Eurasian steppe and in the Volga region.

Vita Džekčioriūtė-Medeišienė's approach to Lithuanian child-threatening mythical creatures known from traditional culture moves slightly away from the genre of "real" (magical) charms towards child-frightening threats, focusing her analysis in threatening expressions that contain both real and fictitious creatures. Examining these mythical creatures is also useful for the study of characters that are often identical in charms, even though child-threatening expressions cannot be considered verbal magic *par excellence*. When comparing belief narratives and incantations, *Danijela Popović Nikolić* focuses her attention on genre-specific forms of textual representations of human contact with the supernatural. Her main question is how similarly or differently the common mythical background – the dangerous nature of traversing between the human and the demonic world – is expressed in these two genres, and what kind of correlation can be found between charms and belief narratives in this regard (e.g., which various transformed versions of verbal charms – swearing, cursing, command, reproach – appear in belief narratives dealing with encounters with demons as a "genre within a genre").

3. *Belief narratives about charmers and charming* are rarely the subject of scientific analysis. In this sense *Smiljana Đorđević Belić*'s article, based on Serbian data collected in fieldwork, captures this topic – also important in terms of genre relations. Like Popović Nikolić, she also focuses the attention on supernatural communication. Her analysis also addresses how motifs of the supernatural, the afterlife, and eschatology survive in the texts while such narratives change and get secularized, and what their role is in terms

of the community role and identity of the healers. Finally, *Emese Ilyefalvi* examines the threats found in the records of 17ᵗʰ–18ᵗʰ-century Hungarian witch trials, primarily from the perspective of the place of these texts in the forthcoming Digital Database of Hungarian Verbal Charms. Using the results of historical speech act research, she comes to the conclusion that these threats can in some sense be perceived as charms, and their context – stories of bewitching and healing heard as part of court discourses – is a special type of belief narrative. The author thereby contributes to the clarification of the relationship between belief narrative and verbal magic.

We deem that the conference on which this volume is based has indeed helped to bring close together folklorists and specialists in other disciplines, belonging as well to different geographic and cultural locations. In this sense, the volume is a testimony to the fruitfulness of sharing ideas and research on common issues. As several authors of this volume concluded: it is impossible to penetrate the deep structures of belief narratives without understanding the textually related genres such as charms; and that is certainly true vice versa. We recommend our book to all folklorists and scholars of related disciplines, as a proposal of encouraging further collaboration.

Budapest – Buenos Aires, January 2020

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Piety, Practices of Reading, and Inquisition.
A Catalan Saint Cyprian Prayer
from 1557 and Its Context[1]

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Abstract: The author of this article focuses on a defendant of an Inquisition trial (1641–1644) and its sources, namely a healing hermit and the Saint Cyprian prayer, published in Catalan in 1557 and used by the hermit as a verbal charm. Beyond the philological and folkloristic study of the prayer text, this paper presents the vulgarisation of reading skills and the realization of reading practice in a specific social context in the Principality of Catalonia. The author uses the most important and relevant theological literature of the period and the attestations of the trial as keys of reading. She pays special attention to the context of prayer and its actual social use. Her aim is to analyse the textual elements and gestures of the healing rite; hence, she investigates the probable readings of the healing specialist, which makes possible to reach a deeper understanding of the hermit's role as a cultural mediator.

Keywords: popular healing, charm, prayer of Saint Cyprian, reading practices, Catalan popular culture, 17th century, Inquisition, Solsona

> "Reading is always a practice embodied in gestures, spaces, and habits."
> (CHARTIER 1992:51)

INTRODUCTION

Researchers of the history of reading have drawn attention to the fact that prints and chapbook publications found their way into the life of the "people" in many ways. Some of the authors treat this kind of "popular" literature as literary sources and call for a thematic

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content analysis, while others suggest a more thorough examination of the sociocultural context of the authors and users. But whose view of the world is represented in the sources analysed by the studies? Natalie Zemon Davis mentions in her summarising work that due to the lack of direct data, it is difficult to assess how village readers received, for example, the stories of the books with a blue cover *(Bibliothèque bleue)*.[2]

   Printing is more than technological determinism, as it has created new communication networks and provided new choices as well as new tools for the creators and distributors of texts (Davis 2001:169). Literacy and the spread of printed religious texts in vulgar languages enabled, among other things, vernacular forms of the practice of piety for the wider public. Paradoxically, at the same time, this meant a significant loss of control for the Catholic Church in the Early Modern era, since it carried the possibility of multiple ways of reading and interpretation. In the words of Michel de Certeau, we may think of reading not as a passive activity but as a creative practice *(lectio)* during which the reader strolls within a ready-made system, just like in the built structure of a city or a shopping centre (De Certeau 2000:181).[3] In light of this approach, every single reading changes its own object, too. Being a structure of signs, written text offers the reader the opportunity to attach meaning to it, and in this sense, the text is the construction of the active reader(s). This allows for the creation of another, new meaning in the course of reading, which is different from the original purpose of the author. Readers separate the text from its origins and reorganise its various textual elements and parts: they meander in the text and attribute a different meaning to the sentences. Furthermore, despite being in the territories of the author, they use their own tactics and tricks during the game (De Certeau 2000:182). According to this theory, reading is a sort of "poaching", since it creates a different interpretation besides the only orthodox and legitimised one created and authorised by the author, the publisher, or, occasionally, the commentator. Therefore, reading is also interpretation; if we accept that we also need to realise during examining texts that the typical texts of a given era are connected to the ways they were used and read in different ways, that is, in their (sometimes changing) context. Natalie Zemon Davis also emphasises that the researcher should extend the thematic analysis of texts with data related to the readers *(audiences)* of the book and the recommended, imagined, or ideal receivers *(publics):* instead of treating the printed book merely as a source of thoughts and images, seeing it also as a carrier of relations (Davis 2001:171).[4]

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[2] The term blue library refers to a type of ephemera and popular literature published in Early Modern France between c. 1602 and c. 1830, comparable to the English chapbook and the German Volksbuch.

[3] Natalie Zemon Davis uses a similar metaphor: "When a peasant read or was read to, it was not the stamping of a literal message on blank sheet; it was the varied motion of a 'strange top' (to use Jean-Paul Sartre's metaphor for the literary object) set to turning only by the combined effort of author and reader." See Davis 1981:71

[4] The author sees complementary data enabling the use of this method apart from small details on the pages of the original publications, for example, in studies on literacy and dialects, accounts and notes about ownership, price, authorship, and the publishers' principles related to the books, as well as sources on the habits and social life of peasants and artisans. Ab the authors who developed the method, see Davis 2001:171, and a few French examples on page 169. Hereby, these are not discussed in further detail.

In his works on the culture of reading, the French cultural historian Roger Chartier draws attention to the diversity of characters, temperaments, various abilities, age, and expectations on the one hand (Chartier 2011b:162), and the reading practice of different social groups on the other (see, for example, Chartier 2011a:335). He introduces the latter thought in connection with *La Celestina,* a popular "tragicomedy" by the Spanish Fernando de Rojas first published in 1499, also observing how certain ways of use truncate a work of art and deprive it of its real meaning (Chartier 2011b:163). As aforesaid, it seems reasonable to examine a written text in a complex way, including its materiality, material form, textual quality, and orally realised character – the social implications of reading beyond the text itself. For instance, the significance of social reading and the consequent social effect of the text are both to be examined. Besides quantitative data, we have a remarkably low number of examples that would help us see the impact of reading on individuals, their view of the world, or their closer or wider environment. These sources provide the researcher an insight into the inner world and social environment of the users of the texts. The work of microhistorian Carlo Ginzburg has been a unique and much-quoted example in the field of "popular" reading for decades. The author examined the Inquisition trial of a heterodox miller in the Middle Ages, from which we learn how the readings of Menocchio – a miller from Friuli – shaped his view of the world. His case derives from two great events: the invention of printing and Reformation. According to Ginzburg, the case of this miller provides an example of how the monopoly of scientists in the field of literary culture came to an end (Ginzburg 1992:XXIV).

Menocchio as a "popular reader" was unique not because of the few readings he knew, but because of a peculiar way of reading and interpretation with which he enlisted the texts he came upon in the service of a popular cosmogony with a special colouring (Chartier 2011:337).[5] His thinking and his view of the world is known from testimonies in Inquisition trials. From these, it turns out that certain elements of his views were welcomed by his close community as well. His reading practice became important because of its proven social dimension – and not because of its peculiar character – and the main problem for the church was how the miller of Friuli as a reader interpreted his readings, and how much he deviated from the official church dogmas. Although the aim of the publishers and authors with the orthodox texts was to serve the intensification of religious beliefs, the publications allowed for alternate, popular readings, thus becoming suitable for "poaching". Scientists of the history of reading have emphasised the significance of the exploration and interpretation of reader communities beyond the texts themselves based on similar phenomena: these communities used the texts with a special interpretation, alongside various practices and reception strategies (see Pérez García 2002:251). Through all of the above, the author wishes to highlight the necessity of exploring the social horizon in the historical study of reading – beyond the textual aspects, the examination of the interpreting individuals and communities and their special reading practice. As it can be seen in the example of Menocchio, the fortunate researcher may gain access to these practices through qualitative data of Inquisition trials.

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[5]   *The Cheese and the Worms* was first published in 1976 in Italian; the English translation in 1980, and the Hungarian in 1991.

The aim of the present study is to explore how and in what intellectual, social, material, and gestural context a specific prayer published in the form of a printed "small booklet" (mentioned in the trial as *librito,* i.e., small book) was used by a certain healing specialist from Spain (León) named Hiacinto (Jacinto) García in Solsona, a rural town in the 17th-century Principality of Catalonia. After having published the Catalan print from 1557 and having analyzed its content, the study attempts to contextualise the text based on the reading and healing practices, unique ritual text use, gestures, and personal textual microcosm of the healing specialist. The text of the prayer, published two years before its official ban by the Catholic church, survived in the documentation of an Inquisition trial taking place between 1641 and 1644 as a piece of material evidence brought in against the defendant.[6] The Holy Inquisition started a procedure against the hermit because of the use of the superstitious prayer itself, which has survived thanks to that legal case. Some of the questions raised by the study are related to the world of the text, while others deal with the ways of use and reading. In deciphering the latter, the testimonies of the trial are used as the main source. This could help to understand how and with what purpose this hermit used the prayer of Saint Cyprian in a town community, what kind of common system of notions authorised him to do that, and in the frame of what ritual *momenta* he put the text into operation – considering the statement of Chartier introduced above: the meaning of a text is also affected by the ways people read it (CHARTIER 2011a:342). Furthermore, the study aims not to talk about "the people" in general, but, as far as the data of the sources allow, to present social or interest groups consisting of identifiable individuals connected to each other. For this purpose, the testimonies of the Inquisition trial and other complementary Catalan, Spanish, and Latin sources are used. The final part of the present work may also be called a case study. However, before moving on to the contextual examination, it is important to introduce the debates related to the ancient prayer based on ecclesiastic sources in Spanish from the Early Modern times, as well as to present cultural historical facts related to Cyprian, the decanonised saint of the prayer, and to raise some related questions.[7]

The wider context of the study is seen in a common European process in which the church aimed to "purify" certain medieval practices and related concepts, such as prayer, benediction, and exorcism. This aspiration gained an even greater momentum after the Council of Trent,[8] while it resulted in the need for drawing the boundary between religion and non-religion (magic and science).

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6   Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB) 16/1C. XVIII-9. Processo de fe contra el ermitaño de San Bartholomé del termino de la ciudad de Solsona, Fra Hiacinto García (Religious trial against father Hiacinto García, the hermit of Saint Bartholomew hermitage near the town of Solsona)

7   The author would like to hereby express her utmost gratitude to the members of the East-West Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, especially to Éva Pócs, Judit Kis-Halas, Gábor Klaniczay, and Dániel Bárth, for the ways they helped and promoted her work with their professional advice, comments, and insights during several meetings and conferences.

8   The process includes several subtopics, only a few of which are mentioned in the footnotes, in order to touch upon the international interpretation of the topic. One of the closely related subtopics, as it becomes obvious in connection with the prayer mentioned, is exorcism, which has been discussed more frequently in the past few years, primarily in the context of cultural history. Studies by Moshe Sluhovsky proved that obsession was one of the most important hermeneutical issues for the church between 1400 and 1700. Exorcism, which had been an unregulated and trivial procedure in the Middle

DIFFERENT READING PRACTICES:
THE PRAYER IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

Below, related to the topic of the study, this study presents examples for the use of prayers and prayer texts themselves from the Iberian Peninsula of Early Modern times, after which a specific type of prayer, Saint Cyprian's prayer is introduced. The Catholic Church started to draw attention to the "mistaken" and "wrong" nature of the prayer in the period discussed. At the time, the texts meant for religious use, serving to enhance devotion, was a peculiar problem on the Iberian Peninsula, both in terms of content and social aspect. Clerical works in demonology and theology prove that serious heretical offence could occur with the use of religious texts, whether in manuscript or print (PEÑA DÍAZ 2015:79). Their popularity and relentless utilisation may be explained by their function for the new and old Catholic communities. Whether read out, said, performed ritually, or worn on the body, the texts could enhance individual protection from illnesses, or keep away any other physical or psychological problem, as well as individual or community crisis. The church started to put a strict ban on these and similar practices, regarded as sinful, on the Iberian Peninsula in the middle of the 16th century. One of the most influential representatives of the church prohibitions was the Spanish mathematician-theologian Pedro Ciruelo (1470–1548). His treatise, *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechizerias* (Reprobation of all superstition and witchcraft)[9], first published in 1530 in Salamanca, was printed eight times between 1538 and 1628, and already the first edition gained a reputation beyond the local.[10] In this work, the author presents and denounces various magical and "superstitious" practices. Among them, he mentions not only oral practices but also ones

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Ages, became a liturgical action controlled by the church. The change involved the modification of the exorcist's role: from a health specialist, this person became the explorer and decipherer of inner psychological processes. In the practice of exorcism, Sluhovsky sees nothing elt a linguistic construct that interprets the spiritual process and the related physical-somatic symptoms together, examining the process in a hermeneutical framework (SLUHOVSKY 2007:1–2). Let us also consider a quote from another author, Keith Thomas, who examined the period between 1500 and 1700 in England. His central question is what caused the decline of the belief in magic in the mentioned period. Chapter 5, on prayer and prophecy, is closely related to the topic, such as the part dedicated to the topic of magic (magical healing, specialists, and the relationship between popular magic and religion). See THOMAS 1991:133–178, and 209–332. Stuart Clark also treats the relations of the church and magic with a special focus when presenting the history of Early Modern witchcraft (see CLARK 1997:458–459). The list could go on; however, the aim of the present study is to outline a broader European context instead of giving an overview of science history.

9   The English translation of the work of Ciruelo appeared in 1977 with this title: *A treatise reproving all superstitions and forms of witchcraft.*

10   CIRUELO 1538. This is not the date mentioned in the Bibliography, The convert theologian-mathematician was born in Daroca, Aragon (Spain). He started his studies in Zaragoza and moved to Salamanca around 1482 to learn the seven liberal arts from the famous university professors. In 1492, he travelled to Paris, where he studied theology and taught mathematics for more than 10 years. After he returned to Spain, he gave lectures on Thomist philosophy at the University of Alcalá de Henares, which had been founded recently. In 1514, he published a manual meant for priests with the title *Arte de bien confesar (The Art of Confessing Well).* It was published 22 times until 1560, which shows how much more popular it was than similar works of other contemporary authors on the topic. Besides his works about witchcraft and superstition, he published ten further works in theology and philosophy, and he was the first to publish a mathematics coursebook in Spain. He also translated texts from Hebrew to Latin (TAUSIET 2004:191–192).

related to literacy – for example, the massive use of healing cards, which was widespread in a geographical sense as well.[11] Contemporary sources from the whole territory of the Iberian Peninsula prove that, in parallel with the vulgarisation of reading and writing, certain new practices emerged that opened a door to modern solutions and communicative forms as yet unknown in the ancient field of magic (Marquilhas 1999:125).

The question of right and wrong prayer texts appeared in the discussion of "superstitious" wrong deeds in demonological works. The importance of the redefinition, "purification" and control of prayers is further proven by the lists of banned Early Modern books: the indexes. These publications name a dozen prayers that are considered by the Catholic Church from Spain, Portugal, and Rome and by the Inquisition as non-desirable or to be "expurgated" and corrected. The indexes published after one another notoriously list the same prayers, calling for their ban or modification. Currently, the text of six types of "popular" prayers is known. All of them were written in vernacular languages, and some were circulated also in books of hours. These texts only contained theological mistakes in terms of content, not structure.[12] The ban of the church on the prayers was probably encouraged by the magical purposes detailed in the instructions for using the texts, as well as by the popular practices related to chanting the prayers of various saints.

Hereby, the study overviews how contemporary sources describe a prayer classified as dangerous, one to be banned or at least corrected. To answer that question, excerpts from the *Confessionario* by Pedro Ciruelo – the above-mentioned instructions on confessing and hearing confessions – will be presented.[13] Ciruelo attaches the label of superstition and idolatry to those "futile ceremonies" which "vain ceremonies that many simple people perform for the sake of indiscreet devotion, although seeming saint and good,

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[11] The peremptory treatise of Ciruelo was published a year after Franciscan friar Martín de Castañega's work, titled *Tratado muy sotil y bien fundado de las supersticiones y hechizerias y vanos conjuros y abussiones, y otras cosas al caso tocantes, y de la possibilidad y remedio dellas* (Detailed and thorough treatise about various superstitions, charms, futile conjurations and machinations and other such things as well as their remedy about superstitions, witchcraft and vain spells as well as machinations, along with other related things and the possibility and remedy of them" is the literal translation from Spanish). Both authors wrote their treatises with a similar purpose: to provide a didactic argumentation on what is prohibited and what is allowed in magical and superstitious activities. Their sources were also similar: they used the Bible, as well as the writings of Saint Augustine, Saint Isidor of Seville, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and Jean Gerson, the rector of the University of Paris, whose work denouncing superstitions had been published earlier. Both Ciruelo and Castañega regard flying and shapeshifting of witches as the deeds of the demon, and, as in the spirit of reform, they both condemn the use of various charms in healing practice, including priests. However, the work of the Franciscan friar had been soon forgotten, while Ciruelo's treatise served as a foundation of the dominant clerical reform discourse of the Spanish and Catalan areas in the 16th–17th centuries. In Solsona, the town exe present study examines, it was published again in 1628 with a new, updated foreword, and it continued to serve as a primary source of reference throughout the 17th century (Ciruelo 1628). However, in the course of the 17th century on the Peninsula, the role of Ciruelo's treatise was gradually passed on to the work of Martín Del Río, *Disquisitiones Magicae libri sex* (Six Books on Disquisitions about Magic), published in 1599–1600 (Tausiet 2004:192). For more details about the two authors, see Tausiet 1994.

[12] Further on the topic, see the doctoral work of Londoño Marcela, which overviews indexes listing 16th- century books prohibited by the church and discusses prayers appearing in the books (Londoño 2014).

[13] Ciruelo 1544. (The first edition was published in Alcalá in 1524.)

however, when said with such purposes, they are vain and evil".[14] In order to confine the use of these prayers, Ciruelo recommends the confessors to ask the believers whether they know prayers "that have to be said on specific days and at certain hours, repeated a certain number of times". The confessors are aided in recognising these prayers by the fact that they promise that in case one keeps to the ceremonies as described, they shall be rewarded with special favours by God.[15] The author of the confession instructions details the nature of the mentioned "futile ceremonies" as well. For example, during these, believers use candles. The joint purpose of saying the texts and the connected ritual elements is for the believers to secretly receive some kind of grace or reward. The most important problem, according to Ciruelo, stems from the fact that all that is realised with the help of the devil, not of God.

The other reprehensible practice mentioned by Ciruelo is the technique of *ars notoria* that was widely known in the Middle Ages, relevant here as it occasionally also included prayer texts. Preparation is needed before using these practices: the magician, after having gone through fasting and periods spent in silence for physical and spiritual purification, says a series of prayers for several weeks, while he calls the angels to help him acquire certain abilities. These texts originally served a more efficient memory, rhetorical skills, and the fast acquisition of the Seven Liberal Arts, i.e., medieval sciences, therefore one may assume a group of university students and lecturers behind them (LÁNG 2007:48–49). Other similar texts serving divination purposes enabled the user to get to know the date of their death, or they promised forgiveness for as long as several years (LONDOÑO 2014:685). In *ars notoria,* there are no demons or damaging and self-serving purposes. The texts often emphasise the importance of the physical and spiritual purification of the user. Due to this, their medieval users could rest assured that their activity pleased God (LÁNG 2007:111). Probably in connection with this function, Ciruelo emphasises in his 16th-century Confession Mirror that this "practice or offshoot entices man with the promise that he learns all arts and sciences of the world within a short time, as long as he fasts and prays in the given day and hour (…)", "behind which may be nothing else but the manoeuvrings of the evil soul". Ciruelo warns that paying too much attention to mundane things is a sin in itself.[16]

In 1559, a few years after the publication of Ciruelo's Confession Mirror, Saint Cyprian's prayer appeared on the index – the list of banned Spanish texts – as an expressly prohibited prayer, and it was listed as well by a Portuguese index as non-desirable in 1561 (LONDOÑO 2014:685).

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[14] "las vanas cerimonias que muchas personas simples por indiscreta deuocion hazen diziendo algu[n] as oraciones que de si parescen sanctas, y buenas mas dichas con las tales obserua[n]cias vanas son peruersas" (CIRUELO 1544:42).

[15] "que limitan ciertos días, y horas y vezes en que se ha de dezir alguna oracion: prometiendo que guardadas aquellas cerimonias se alca[n]çaran tales o tales gracias de nuestro señor" (CIRUELO 1544:43).

[16] "arte o desco[n]cierto promete en breue espacio de tie[m]po alcançar el hombre a saber todas las artes y sciéncias del mundo: haziendo ciertos ayunos, y oraciones en determinados dias y horas" "no puede ser sino infusion del spiritu maligno." (CIRUELO 1544:43). [practice or offshoot entices man with the promise that he learns all arts and sciences of the world within a short time, as long as he fasts and prays in certain days and hours, (…) behind which may be nothing else but inspiration of the evil soul, [and it is a sin to put] too much desire in the goods of earthly world.]

CYPRIAN, THE MAGIC(IAN) SAINT

What do we know about Saint Cyprian, to whom people of the Iberian Peninsula addressed their prohibited prayers in the Early Modern period? His much-debated life story includes magical elements itself. Thus, it is no coincidence that he played an ambivalent role in folk piety for centuries, and his judgment by the church generated a debate that also lasted for centuries.

Cyprian's prayer appearing in the mentioned indexes is not related to the bishop of Carthage, but to Saint Cyprian of Antioch, who lived at the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries, working as a pagan magician before his conversion.[17] His historical authenticity was long debated by hagiographers. Early sources remember him as the bishop of Antioch who died as a martyr. However, modern historians of the Western church even doubt his existence, and regard many of his life events as a part of folklore and apocryphal legends. In any case, the cult of Saint Cyprian bloomed among the believers of the Western church for centuries, and his figure was associated with functions of removing malefices.

According to apocryphal sources, Cyprian studied his profession in India and Egypt, and he became a renowned magician. He engaged in love magic, weather magic, divination, and necromancy, and, according to popular belief, he prepared love potions, used charms and magic spells, collected magical writings, and was able to create storm and rain, as well as to evoke the souls of the dead from the beyond. The apocryphal sources tell a story in which a young man came to Cyprian and asked him to help obtain a Christian virgin named Justina for a pagan youth. Cyprian evoked demons and sent them to attack her, but the girl stood up against them with the power of faith and the cross. Seeing that faith comes with an even greater power than demons, Cyprian converted to Christianity and burnt his magical books. He was baptised by bishop Anthimus and died as a martyr on 26 September 304, together with Justina, during the persecution of Christians under Roman emperor Diocletian. They were both tossed into a boiling cauldron, which they miraculously survived, and were eventually beheaded as martyrs. The legend of their lives exists in Latin, Greek, Syrian, and Ethiopian versions.[18]

Their reputation took a different course in the Western and the Eastern churches, and the sources related to them were treated rather differently. Their celebration days appeared in the calendar of the Roman Rite from the 13th century until 1969, when they were deleted because of the insufficiency of sources (See PAUL VI. 1991), and in 2001, their names were removed from the official list of martyrs of the Church of Rome as well. Their textual tradition, which evolved and survived for a long time, served too as a source for the Faust-legend.

The early hagiography of the saint was studied by Hippolyte Delehaye, who demonstrated the fatal philological mistake for which the Western church started to question the figure of Saint Cyprian, even doubting his historical authenticity and his very existence. Analysing the historical sources, Delehaye pointed out how the figure of Saint Cyprian of Antioch became contaminated with that of Saint Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, shortly after his alleged martyrdom, from the 3rd–4th centuries on (DELEHAYE 1921).

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[17]   There are also examples of confusing the two saints in the early sources.
[18]   Their tradition is still alive in the Orthodox Church: their intervention is requested against possession by devil and black magic. Further discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Saint Gregory of Nazianzus was the first Christian author among the early fathers of the church to merge the figures of the two saints into one in the 4th century (379) in his sermon, *Oratio in laudem sancti martyris Cypriani,* which he probably delivered on 3 October 379 (*D. Gregorii Nazienzi cognomento theologi opera omnia…* 1. 1583:487–494). Prudentius made the same mistake in *Peristhephanon* at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries (Perist. XIII, 21–33) (Leonardi et al. 2000:501), and it also occured in medieval sources. At the end of the 4th century, Cyprian's legend was passed on in three different episodes. The manuscripts titled *Conversio* include the events after Cyprian's conversion, the *Confessio* carries the purpose of authentication, aiming to relate the real nature of the conversion – Cyprian tells in detail in first person singular how he became a magician – while *Martirium* tells how Cyprian and Justina were captured and beheaded. The three textual traditions were most probably linked in the early 5th century (Sowers 2012:224). At this time, Aelia Eudocia, the wife of Byzantine emperor Theodosius II, wrote a poem about the life of this saint in hexameters.

As observed above, the development and reception of the legend was different in the Eastern and Western churches. In the 10th century, Symeon the Metaphrast included certain events of the saint's life in his ten-volume *Synaxarion* written in Greek. Regarding Roman Christianity, Jacobus de Voragine included Cyprian's story together with Saint Justina in his *Legenda Aurea* in the 13th century (1260–1267).[19] Despite the fact that Justina's cult was proven to be blooming in Piacenza, Northern Italy, in the 9th century,[20] the story of the two saints, Cyprian and Justina, is only traceable with interruptions for long centuries.

Sources are missing especially after the 13th century, and thus, there is no explanation yet for how Cyprian became a popular saint related to magical practices in Scandinavian and Iberian territories. Cyprian's figure played a significant role, especially in these two areas, in manuscripts and prints of the Early Modern period. His cult became part of the popular culture of the era, and he was well-known on the Iberian Peninsula in the 17th century as well. There is evidence for this: Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Spanish poet and playwright, wrote a pious and cheerful play titled *The Wonder-Working Magician (El mágico prodigioso)* about the story of Saint Cyprian and Justina in 1637. In this work meant for entertainment, the theme of alliance with the devil is present already. The comedy was first performed in front of believers at the procession on the Lord's Day in Yepes. Based on this, the position and the attitude of the Church in connection with Cyprian has been ambivalent in the 16th–17th centuries. His prayer was forbidden already in the 16th century; at the same time, the popularity of the saint was seen and respected, allowing his celebration. So popular this cult became that the loved and patronised playwright of Phillip IV received permission for a grandiose, festive show of the comedy popularising the saint, supposedly in front of an awed audience.

The church ban on the use of the prayer, however, was present throughout the 16th–17th centuries. It is important to consider, however, that "censorship did not mean a sharp line between permitted and prohibited; it was much more like a territory where heretical and 'orthodox' traits met, and public and private spheres were blended" (Peña Díaz 2015:17).

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[19] English translation: https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/goldenlegend/GoldenLegend-Volume5.asp#Justina.

[20] About its role in local liturgy in the Middle Ages, see Møller Jensen 2012.

Censorship is something that draws attention to the stubborn and widespread persistence of certain popular folklore practices.

Another important layer of the history of texts related to the saint, not discussed here in detail, consists of black books or grimoires, which spread in great numbers in French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Scandinavian territories in the Early Modern times.[21] In Southern France, a belief existing at least from the late 15th century affirmed that there was an existing magic book related to him *(libro de San Cipriano, or ciprianillo),* which contained various magical practices. In the 17th century, several priests were summoned before the Saint Court in Galicia because they had used or copied the infamous Saint Cyprian book for treasure hunting, exorcism, and for saying several dubious *coniurationes* (conjurations).[22] These trials deepened the popular belief that Saint Cyprian's book was kept safe and copied secretly in various monasteries. In these sources, the magic book is closely associated with sorcery, and its possession or application repeatedly appeared as a serious charge in the Inquisition trials of the Early Modern Period.[23]

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[21] According to an apocryphal legend, when Saint Cyprian converted with an honest heart, not all of his books were destroyed, but one of them survived, and has been circulated in copies up to the present days. There are several Cyprian books *(ciprianillos)* known in Portuguese, Spanish, and Scandinavian languages, all of which claim to be "the real one". Saint Cyprian of Antioch also appears in the works of the founder of theosophy, Helena Blavatsky. The cult related to the saint's character and, at the same time, the publication of the related texts revived in the 19th century. (According to another related legend, the saint never stopped exercising his magical practices, but, after he converted to Christianity, he secretly used his magical knowledge to serve Christians.) The printed products used all kinds of authentication methods to be regarded as ancient Cyprian magic books. Probably the same happened to a 19th-century Latin magic book titled *Cyprien Mago ante Conversionem*, which dates "itself" back to 1460 (see Skinner – Rankine 2009:15). Owen Davies has not been able to trace any surviving copies of the referenced "book", and the author thinks that it might have been a local *Bibliothèque bleue* publication. See Davis 2009:115. Numerous Scandinavian manuscripts have been preserved as well: for example, a Norwegian manuscript from the 17th century titled *Cyrianus Konstbog (Cyprian's Art Book),* which is a 33-sheet, 66-page source by an unknown author that can be found in the library of the University of Oslo (see Ohrvik 2012). Several grimoires including incantations, charms, and recipes in Norwegian are known, apparently written by Saint Cyprian. Most of these refer to a fictitious source from 1520 (or 1772), from Wittenberg, and there are several manuscripts in Danish from the same source as well. Their common trait is that they contain fortune- telling formulas, healing texts, recipes, and charms (for example, for protection against witches). According to these sources, Cyprian was a Dane, who lived on an island and had such an evil character that even the devil expelled him from hell and sent him home. Apparently, he wrote nine (!) books, full of charms. These were copied by a friar in three (or nine) copies, and they were circulated all over Scandinavia. This explains why (Saint) Cyprian's figure is so important in the Norwegian charms. The author of the manuscript mentioned is certainly an educated person, thus not related to popular culture (Ohrvik 2012). Similar magical texts can also be found in Latin-America with Spanish-Portuguese conveyance.

[22] For a few examples collected and summarised, see Barreiro 1885. Facsimile edition: 2010, La Coruña.

[23] In spite of that, we have rather little information on the Early Modern manuscripts in Spanish, unlike the contemporary sources written in Danish or Norwegian.

EARLY MODERN VERSIONS OF SAINT CYPRIAN'S PRAYER
IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The popularity of Saint Cyprian of Antioch on the Iberian Peninsula is supported by sources from as early as the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods. As we can rely primarily on printed sources from the Early Modern period, it seems obvious that the text could have spread among the emerging bourgeoisie and the literate lower social groups. At that time, the prayer of Cyprian has probably been circulating in large numbers in vernacular language(s) in printed form in Italy and on the Iberian Peninsula. From that time on, instead of the Cyprian grimoires well known from Scandinavia, the study was focused exclusively on Saint Cyprian's prayer, hoping that its philological contributions allow for a better understanding of the history of the saint's cult, as well as how the texts and motifs have been passing on for centuries.

As of that moment, we know four different versions of Saint Cyprian's prayer from the Early Modern Period through popular texts.[24] The earliest version was found in *Biblioteca Colombina* (cca. 1512) (Londoño 2014:683–693),[25] the library of Hernando Colón (son of Christopher Columbus). This undated, 10-page text written in vulgar language, titled *La Oratione de Santo Cipriano Volgare,* was preserved in a book with mixed content. The possessor's note on the last page proves that the owner bought it in Rome in October 1512, so the text itself must date from before then.

Chronologically, the second version was already written in Spanish, published and presented by Javier Itúrbide Díaz (Itúrbide Díaz 2010:333–345). Its title is *Oración devotísima de San Cipriano* (A very devotional prayer of (to) Saint Cyprian), and we have slightly more data about its use and origins. This prayer was published significantly later than the previous source, between 1631 and 1634, by Cristóbal Lasterra, a priest from Navarra, who also mentioned in the publication that he translated the text from Latin.[26] When examining this translation, we have to consider a change in the aim of the publication: in the transition from one printed version to another, the text is modified just like its market accessibility, its target audience, and thus the context of possible readers and actual reading practices. The translator, priest Cristóbal Lasterra, came from an impoverished noble family and studied theology at the University of Salamanca. He worked in Navarra and became a commissar of the Inquisition. It is known that he published an 82-page book on storm dispelling and exorcism in Latin, *Liber exorcismorum cum adversus tempestates et daemones,* in 1631 in Pamplona. It is known

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[24] The present study does not discuss the versions found in magic books, although the different editions of the grimoires titled *Enchiridion Leonis Papae serenissimo imperatori Carolo Magno…* include important versions as well. The topic of magic books is to be discussed in detail in a future study by us. The Mainz edition of the mentioned grimoire attributed to Pope Leo III from 1663 does not include Cyprian's prayer; however, the editions published in Rome in 1660 and in Ancona in 1667 do include it. The latter was written in Latin (see pages 142–153, *Oratio Sancti Cypriani*), and the former, in French (see pages 107–115, *Oraison de Saint Cyprien*); thus, the journey of the text needs further examination, and hopefully, more details are to be revealed in the future.

[25] The content of the text is being mentioned without including the text itself. The source can be found in Biblioteca Colombina (Sevilla). BCA Capitular y Colomb. Sign: 14-1-10(21).

[26] His biography and works are known thanks to the research carried out by Javier Itúrbide Díaz. See Itúrbide Díaz 2010.

from the cover of the chapbook printed later, which included Saint Cyprian's prayer, that the prayer originally came from this ritual book written in Latin and which was intended for clerical use and translated into Spanish by Lasterra himself. Apart from the Latin ritual text, this exorcism manual included prayers as well, Saint Cyprian's being one of them (fol. 68). We may consider this Latin text as the third version of Saint Cyprian's prayer text, although it is only known by reference.

Despite being an active member of the local Inquisition, Lasterra did not take into consideration that before the manual on exorcism was published, Cyprian's prayer, which he translated, had been listed in several *Index*es for over 70 years before the publication of the text. As a commissar of the Holy Inquisition, his tasks included the inspection of local religious practices, collecting information about believers, hearing witnesses in suspicious cases, implementing arrests, as well as regular checks (Compare: HENNINGSEN 1988:41). Although a "guardian" of religious life, he enabled the popularisation and spread of the prohibited Cyprian prayer in vulgar language by publishing the text in the first half of the 17th century. It is curious that despite multiple bans on the text, the prefect responsible for the diocese of Pamplona sanctioned the publication of the Latin-language manual. He justified this decision by saying that he found the book especially useful for priests (ITÚRBIDE DÍAZ 2010:341). Thus, it was originally meant for ritual, or at least clerical use.

Based on its content, the Saint Cyprian prayer was used in cases of persistent drought or weather conditions threatening the crops; the parts of the text related to fertility and giving birth are linked to this function. Although the Cyprian prayer chapbook taken from the exorcism manual and meant for mass distribution was printed in the workshop of Martín Labayen in 1632, around the time it was banned again by the church *(Index Librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum),* there is an explanation for why it did not fall victim to censorship. The smart typographer cunningly took out the church permission from the Latin exorcism book titled *Liber exorcismorum* and published the prayer as a separate print *(pliego de cordel)*[27] along with the permission (ITÚRBIDE DÍAZ 2010:339). Thus, the use and distribution of the text became possible among every social group. It will become obvious further on that the aim of the text is to include even the illiterate in the audience.

This same prayer text by Lasterra was brought to the qualificators of the Inquisition in 1634, and thus it was examined by priests of the Jesuit order, who gained a growing political and intellectual influence in the age of Baroque and Counter-Reformation. The text was thoroughly analysed by five Jesuit priests of the Imperial College of Madrid *(Colegio Imperial de Madrid).* On 22 December 1634, they unanimously declared that Saint Cyprian's prayer was unworthy of use for various reasons. The position stated that the text was swarming with anachronisms, inaccuracies, and "superstitious" details (e.g., mention of the devil, putting malefice on enemies, etc.). Moreover, due to several "insolences", it cannot be attributed to Saint Cyprian.

The fourth, once again Spanish-language version of Saint Cyprian's prayer was also published separately. It can be found in the *Bibliotheque Nationale de France,* and its title, similarly to the previous version, is *Oración devotísima de san Cipriano* (A very devote prayer of (to) Saint Cyprian). The date of publication is unknown. Regarding both

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[27] "Pliego de cordel" in Spanish is a specific channel for printing popular literature, not only a "separate print" but also a cheap booklet which circulates easily among the people.

font and content, it is identical to Cristóbal Lasterra's version; they are philologically parallel.[28] So far, we have been familiarized with four versions of the text: three in Romance languages and one in Latin.

THE CATALAN VERSION FROM 1557

The text presented here as the fifth version has not been published so far. In a chronological order, this is the second Saint Cyprian prayer written in a Romance language from the Early Modern period, and thus far the only typological parallel in Catalan.

The author of this article found the Catalan version of the prayer in the Barcelona City Archive, in the Inquisition trial materials of Hiacinto (Jacinto) García, a hermit from Benavente (in the Kingdom of León of the Crown of Castile) (AHCB 16/1C. XVIII-9). The trial materials include the correspondence of the Inquisition commissar of Solsona, a town in the contemporary Principality of Catalonia, with the inquisitor of the Barcelona Court, as well as the testimonies of the witnesses and various documents of the hermit. Among these, the present study discusses Saint Cyprian's prayer, which fits into the chronological order introduced above, the ownership, reading, and use of which had a fatal impact on the hermit's life. The print is outstanding in the sense that it is significantly smaller than the other known Cyprian prayers. It is hardly bigger than an open palm, allowing its owners to carry it easily with them. The tiny chapbook that turned yellow includes a woodcut depicting Saint Cyprian and was published in 1557 by the widow of a printer named Carles Amorós, together with other prayers.

The printer's will reveals that he was originally from the County of Provance (LLANAS 2002), and that his family name was Bolós. In France, the larger centres of book printing that emerged in the first half of the 16th century – Paris, Lyon, Rouen, Toulouse, Poitiers, Bordeaux and Troyes – had been consolidated by this time. In the middle of the 16th century, there were press companies in around 50 towns, and the number rose relentlessly. Entrepreneurs and merchants dealing with commerce and publishing did not have such a strict control over the economic operation of the industry as they did after the religious wars. At the time, simple printer artisans could decide for themselves what was profitable and worth printing (DAVIES 2001:172). The above-mentioned printer from Provence, Carles Amorós, studied in France. He probably heard from French booksellers working in Barcelona that the city was an ideal place and a profitable market for a printer. Thus, he settled there as early as 1498, and indeed, he had barely any competition. In 1505, he bought printing equipment from a Girona boot maker and started to work with it independently. He opened his own workshop in the beating heart of the city, in Portaferrissa Street branching off the famous promenade La Rambla, and soon he owned the most important local printing house of the first half of the 16th century. From the period between 1507 and 1548, ninety titles have been associated with his name to date. These products served the most diverse market needs: they included official publications, Catalan historical works, literary works, publications for pious practices, as well as various popular readings of the time. His publications also document the transition from Gothic to

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[28] BnF (Bibliothèque nationale de France) http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k851256q/f1.image (accessed October 10, 2017).

Roman font style. His business success was guaranteed by small prints delivered in great numbers: cards, fans, and various engravings, that is, popular paper products published in large numbers, of which very few copies survived for posterity. The majority (52%) of the works published by Carles Amorós were in Catalan, 33% in Latin, and 15% in Spanish. These numbers reflect the language use of the audience that he envisioned.

The printer got married three times. He returned to his homeland in 1549 as an old man, and this was his last journey. The publication of Saint Cyprian's prayer in Catalan proves that after his death, his widow took over his business and continued to publish print products in Barcelona. It is not known whether his widow decided to publish new texts or promoted the reprinting of old ones.

Since there is no known Catalan text parallel to the examined Saint Cyprian prayer, and, considering the Early Modern versions of the text, it can be regarded as an early source. The author of this paper hereby publishes the transcript of the text[29] and its English translation.[30]

"La oració
de Sant Cebria, y lo Euangeli de Sanct Joan, y los setanta dos noms de la verge Maria, y los set versos de Sanct Bernat, y lo Psalm Quicunque Vult.

[1v] Com Cebria fonch conuertit a nostre Senyor Deus e fonch be instruit e informat en la sancta fe catholica e sabent en les sanctes escriptures y en la sancta theologia, e molt inflamat en la amor e caritat de nostre senyor deu Iesu Christ y del prohisme: y Cebria pensant en la malicia y enueia del diable, y en los grans maleficis que fan los mals homens e males dones los quals son membres del diable, e ab los arts turmenten e vexen los seruents de deu en diuerses maneras: de manera que sabent fent Cebria [2] los grans maleficis que·s fan vuy en dia ordena aquesta oracio la qual deu esser dita per tres diumenges, e cada diumenge tres vegades. E te tal virtut que tota persona qui la portara ab si ab bona deucio, ho la legira ho la fara legir iames del dimoni sobrat sera, ni enemichs no li poran fer mal. E si alguna dona pregarya [sic! 'prenyada'] la aporta ab si sia certa que nose affollara mijancat aquestes sanctes paraules y si va de part, e la facia legir o que la tingua en son poder tantost sera desliurada, e la creatur['a'] no sera sorda,

ni muda, ni contreta, ni lunatica ni endemo[2v]niada, e val contra totes metzines e fetilleries, factures y encantaments.

Oratio

En nom del pare e del fill e del sanct esperit. Amen. Io Cebria seruent de nostre senyor Iesuchrist posi lo meu seny e la mia memoria al alt e sobira e loable Deu omnipotent veent la mia maliciae los mals arts los quals lo de primer fehia enuia sobre mi la potestat del diable, empero ab lo seu nom me defensaua' e per lo meu gran peccat no plouia, ni la terra no donaua son fruy['t'] e les dones prenyades se affollauen, e los peixos coses de nadar y axi totes les coses de la mia [3] malicia eren ligades e per·so ara Deu meu prech te molt per la tua sancta dilectio que rompes los nuus e tos los ligaments y enuia pluía sobre la terra, e tots los arbres donen lur fruit e los peixos de la mar sien desligats, e totes les coses que son en ella e nengun mal esperit e[n] ells no puga aturar, ni en aquells ho en aquelles que aquest scrita portaran ho legiran, ho legir faran sien desliurats de tot mal, e profiten lurs persones e los lurs pensaments e los lurs fets i ferms en tot be, e tu senyor los vulles desliurar del poder del diable, e dels seus aguayts, e asso per lo teu sant nom [3v]glorificat en lo cel y en la terra, aquesta oracio fonch senyada per tu Emanuel que es Deu lo Pare e Fill e Sanct Esprit sies tostems ab mi seruent teu. Y placiet posar la tua Sancta Madre a sobre aquell home ho aquella dona que la aportara ho la legira ho la fara legir, ho la tindra en la casa sua ho en los seus bens. E mes te prech senyor Iesuchrist que formares Adam en paradis terrenal en lo comensament del mon, e feres en terra lo gran flum del qual hixen los quatre rius, Grison, Erison, Tygris, Eufrates, dels quals tot lo mon se rega, e restaurares a mi del diable maligne que [4] nengun mal esprit ni mala cosa no pugan contra aquesta teu seruent ni en nenguna de les coses sues noure ni enemics visibles o invisibles no li pugan noure o fer dany, o tu senyor, ver Deu lo vulles defensar e guardar de tot mal, e per la tua sancta virtut molt alt Deu, sien salues totes les coses sues, e la sua persona sia bona e tot los membres seus de la sobirana part del cap fis als pe['us'] dis e de fora de aquest seruent sien sancts e drets e sens lesio tots los sancts angels benys [sic!] que son dels nou ordens anomenas Seraphins, Cherubis, Trons dominacions principats ['principals'] potestats [4v] virtuts angels, archangels sien en la sua ajuda guarda y defensio, y placia a tu senyor desliurar e absolre lo teu seruent e les coses sues per les oracios dels angels mille milia miliu, que son dits versos que tot lo mon de tots los aguayts e tentacions del diable, lo qual no li puga noure en nengun loch ahon sia fet algun ligament ho actura ni blasfemia no li puga noure per la oracio de nostre Senyor Deu Iesuchrist e la pregaria de tots los sancts, e per la oratio de totes les sanctes, e per la humilitat dels pelegrins e per la bondat de Adam, e per lo teu angel del sacrifici de Abel e per la [5] castedad de Ioseph, e per la bondat de Rachel, e per la fe de Adam e per ligament de Ysach que tu Senyor restaurares, e per la obediensa de Melchisedech, per la dilectio e humilitat de Moyses, e per la oratio e glorificacio de Zacharies propheta, e per la mantinensa de Ieremies, e per los prophetes que no dormen abans lohen a tu, Senyor continuament e per la altitut dels cels, e humilitat de la mar fundable, e per los fundaments dels abissos e per les sanctes reuelacions e per les lengues dels sancts quatre euaugelistes ['evangelistes'] que ells me ajuden, e per la veu dels angels, e per los sermons dels sancts apo[5v]stols, e per aquells que vee lo propheta Moyses, e per la resplandor de les luminaries, e per tots los seruents dels teus sancts, e per la tua sancta natiuitat, e per lo teu sanct baptisme, e per la sanctissima veu que fonch cantada sobre tu dient "Aquest es lo meu fill amat, e molt me plau que tota la gent lo temen" e prech-te per aquells sinch milla homens que sadollares en lo desert, e per tu, Senyor Iesuchrist que feres de la aygua vi, e resuscitares a Lazar del moniment. E feres trespassament en la mar e feres lo vent cessar, e

anares ab los teus amichs sobre la aygua, fores crucificat e soterrat e [6] resuscitat al tercer dia, e per la marauellosa ascensio tua per la tramesa del espirit per la consolacio dels pelegrins, e per tots aquells que amen a tu, Senyor sien destruydes totes les sacios e tots els ligaments los quals son ho seran fets contra aquest seruent teu ho en sos bens, ho en les coses sues. E tu, Senyor los volles defensar per la present oracio sancta e per les virtuts que aci he escrites jo, Cebria per lo manament de Iesuchrist que feres totes les coses, e per les sanctes paraules que tu, Senyor digueres en la creu com prengueres mort cruelment per saluar lo humanal linatge. Prech-te que et placie que si alguna [6v] factura o aligadura es feta en or ho en argent ho en altra cosa, en la persona de aquest seruent teu no li puga noure ni fer dany, e si alguna dona la legira ho la fara legir ho la tendra en casa sua ho sobre si la aportara en camp ho en casa ahon aquesta oracio sera sien tots los ligamens destruits que li sien fets per les sanctes virtuts damunt dites per algun christia ho lech ho saxarahi o altra persona no li puguen noure ni fer mal ni enemichs visibles ho inuisibles en totes maneres sien salues e los dits ligaments sien absolts per tu senyor omnipotent. E per lo sanct nom teu lohat e glorificat: ho en pe[7]dres ho en aygua ho en riu ho en mar ho en cor de ocells ho de animals ho de peixos ho en cabells ho en sus ho en jus, en camp, ho en vinya ho en arbre ho en lumaner ho en carrera ho fora carrera ho en altre loch. En acer ho en metal ho en vidre ho en qualseuol altra cosa que sien fetes aquestes ligadures ho factures de tot sien absoltes e desfetes que no puguen fer dany en aquest seruent teu, ni en los bens seus ho en les coses bones, ni mals esperits ni mals homens, ni males dones, ni enemichs visibles o inuisibles, ni nengunes males coses no li pugen noure, ni fer dany en la anima, [7v] ni en lo cos, ni a bens seus, ni en la sua casa de aquest seruent teu, e sia desliurat e absolt de males obres per virtut de aquesta sancta oracio, e per los teus sancts noms glorificats de Deu Abraham, de Deu Isach, de Deu Iacob, e tu, Senyor dona-li la tua dilectio y conserue'l en aquella per los noms de sanct Miquel, sanct Gabriel e sanct Raphael. E per totes les nou ordes dels angels. E per tots los prophetes, Ieremies, Dauid, Isayes, Daniel, Micheas, Ezechies. E per tots los sancts patriarches, Abraham, Isac e Iacob. E per los dotze Apostols sanct Pere, sanct Pau, sanct Andre, sanct Thomas, sanct Jaume, sanct Phelip, [8] sanct Bartholmeu, sanct Jaume, sanct Joan, sanct Simon. E per los quatre euangelistes Marc, Matheu, Luc e Ioan, e per les oracions dels angels beneyts e per tots los martyrs sancts, sanct Esteue, sanct Lorens, sanct Vincent e per los sancts confessors, sanct Syluestre, sanct Dionis ab los companyons sanct Marti, e per los doctors e sancts Sanct Agosti, Sanct Ambros, Sanct Hieronym, e per la corona de les vergens, sancta Maria, sancta Tecla, Sancta Eulalia, sancta Catharina, e totes les vergens que sonen la gloria de Paradis deuant tu, Senyor. E per lo sacrifici lo qual tu senyor feres pera saluar lo humanal linatge, e per los sancts noms [8v] per les sanctes oracions que son en lo libre Missat [sic!] sia absolt e desligat aquest teu seruent e tots be['n']s seus de tota mala vista e ligadura de tots los aguayts e tentacions del maligne esprit, e de tots sus ennemichs visibles ho inuisibles, e per lo sant nom de tu, Senyor Deu, lo Pare e Fill e Sanct Sprit. Io, Cebria de part de nostre Senyor Deu Iesuchrist e per la virtut que no te comensament ni tendra fin, e per la tua maiestat virtuosa expellesch lo mal esperit e totes males persones en nenguna manera no hagen poder en loch ahon aquesta oracio sia posada, e sia absolt nengun no'l puga noure, e sia[9] guardat de aquel axi com los tres infants, Sidrach, Misach e Abdenago, que no li puguen fer nengun mal en la casa, ni nengun mal aduersari, no'l puga noure, e tu, Senyor los defen per les plegaries damunt dites e vingua sobre lo esperit maligne tanta de maldictio que tu, Senyor lo destruesques e·l metes en tenebres' y de aqui a dauant estiga que no fassa mal per la veu que fonc oida en lo mont de Sinay que fonch illuminat per la tua sancta claror e per la sancta hostia que lo preuere consagra en la Sancta Esglesia e per la tua preciosa sanch que tu, Senyor

escampares que tots [9v] aquells que aquesta sancta oracio tendran, sien guardats de tots periles infinita secula seculorum, Amen."

[The prayer of Saint Cyprian, and the Gospel of Saint John, and the seventy-two names of Virgin Mary, and the seven verses of Saint Bernard, and the Psalm *Quicunque Vult.*

[1v] As Cyprian was converted to our Lord God and became well instructed and informed in holy Catholic faith and knowledgeable in the holy scriptures as well as in holy theology, burning in holy fire with love and benevolence towards our Lord God Jesus Christ and towards his brothers in Christ: and since Cyprian was aware of the malice, and envy of the devil, and the great malefices put on others by bad men and women who are fellows of the devil and with evil deeds torment and pester the servants of God in different ways; Saint Cyprian, knowing [2] the great malefices that are used today, orders this prayer to be said through three Sundays, and three times each Sunday. And it has such a virtue that all the people who carry it with good devotion, or read it or have it read, will never be defeated by the devil, nor the enemies can harm them. And if a pregnant woman takes it with her, with the help of these holy words she can be sure that she will not miscarry, and if she goes into labour, and has this read to her or has it in her possession, as soon as she delivers her child, the creature will not be deaf, dumb, paralytic, lunatic, or possessed; the prayer is also effective against all poisons and sorcery, malefices and enchantments.

Prayer
In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen. I, Cyprian, servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, put my sense and my humble self in front of the high and sovereign and praiseworthy God Almighty, (who), seeing my malice, as well as the evil deeds that I used to do, sent the power of the devil upon me but with his name defended me; and because of my great sin, it did not rain, nor did the earth bear fruit; and pregnant women miscarried, and fish and swimming beings and thus, all the beings of my [3] malice were bound, and that is why now, my God, I beg you for your holy love that you break the clouds and all the bonds and send rain on the earth, so that all the trees bear fruit and the fish of the sea are liberated together with all the beings that are placed in the sea, and that no evil spirit can dwell in them, nor in those men or women who carry this writing with them or read it or have (somebody) read it; may they be free from all evil and may their persons, their thoughts and their deeds and firmness benefit from all good, and you, Lord, free them from the power of the devil and its ambushes; and this, by your holy name [3v] praised in heaven and on earth, this prayer was taught by you, Immanuel that is God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, may you be with me, your servant, all the time. And if it pleases you, place your Holy Mother over that man or that woman who carries it with them or reads it or has (somebody) read it, or keeps it in their house or within their goods. And besides, I ask you, Lord Jesus Christ, who created Adam in the earthly paradise at the beginning of the world, and created the great flow (of water) on Earth from which the four rivers Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates were born, from which the whole world gains water: save me from the malevolent devil and that [4] no evil spirit or bad thing can harm this servant of yours or any of his things, nor visible or invisible enemies can harm him or do harm to him, and you Lord, veritable God, defend him and keep him from all evil, and by your holy virtue, the highest God, may all his things be saved and his person be good, and may all parts of this servant, from the upper part of the head to the feet, inside and outside, be holy and right and without injury; and all the good holy angels of the nine orders named Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Principalities, Dominions, Powers, Virtues, and Archangels help, guard and

defend him; and if it pleases you, Lord, to liberate and release your servant and his belongings by the prayers of the angels *mille millia millium,* which are the verses said in order that all the ambushes and temptations of the devil which are on earth cannot harm him in any place where they are used used to be some bond or machination, nor any blasphemy made can harm him, by means of the prayer of our Lord God Jesus Christ and the prayer of all saints; and by the prayer of all the saints, and by the humility of the pilgrims and by the goodness of Adam, and by your angel of Abel's sacrifice and by the chastity of Joseph, and by the goodness of Rachel, and by the faith of Adam and by Isaac's bonds that you, Lord, restored, and by Melchisedech's obedience, by the affection and humility of Moses, and by the prayer and glorification of the prophet Zechariah, and by the persistence of Jeremiah, and by the prophets who do not sleep but praise you, Lord, continually, and by the height of the heavens and the humility of the seabed and by the bases of the abysses and by the holy revelations and by the tongues of the four holy evangelists, may they help me, and by the voice of the angels, and by the sermons of the holy apostles, and by those seen by the prophet Moses, and by the brightness of the lights, and by all the servants of your saints, and by your Holy nativity, and by your holy baptism, and by the most holy voice that sang above you saying "This is my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased, whom all people fear", and I beg you for those five thousand men that you satiated in the desert, and for you, Lord Jesus Christ, who turned water into wine, and raised Lazarus from the dead. And you crossed the sea and stopped the wind, and walked with your friends on the water, you were crucified and buried and [6] resurrected on the third day, and by your miraculous ascension, by the sending of the Holy Spirit, by the consolation of the pilgrims, and by all those who love you, Lord, may all the machinations which are or will be done against this servant of yours or in his goods or to his belongings, and may all the bonds be destroyed. And you, Lord, defend them by the present holy prayer and by the virtues that have been written here by me, Cyprian, by the commandment of Jesus Christ who created all things, and by the holy words that you, Lord, said on the cross when you died in a cruel way to save the human genealogy. I beg you if it pleases you that if any [6v] machination or bond is made of gold or silver or something else, it cannot harm the person of this servant of yours, and if any woman reads this prayer or has it read or keeps it in her house, or takes it with her to the field or home, wherever this prayer could be, may all the bonds that were made by some Christian or lay or Saharan or another person be destroyed by the holy virtues said above, neither visible nor invisible enemies can harm him or do harm to him, they will be saved in every way, and said bonds will be released by you, omnipotent Lord. And by your holy name praised and glorified: either in [7] stones, or in water or in the river or in the sea, or in the choir of birds, or of animals, or of fish or in the hairs, above or below, in the countryside, in the vineyard or on a tree, or in a lamp or on the road or outside the road or elsewhere. Whether should them be made of metal or glass or any other thing from which these bonds or spells are made, may them be dissolved and undone, so that they cannot harm this servant of yours, nor to his property, goods and belongings, neither bad spirits nor bad men, nor bad women, nor visible or invisible enemies, nor any bad thing can harm him, nor harm him in the soul, [7v] neither in the body, nor in his goods, nor in the house of this servant of yours; and they may be freed and acquitted of evil deeds by virtue of this holy prayer, and by your holy glorified names of God Abraham, of God Isaac, of God Jacob, and you, Lord, give them your holy love and keep them in it by the names of Saint Michael, Saint Gabriel, and Saint Raphael.

And by all nine orders of the angels. And by all the prophets, Jeremiah, David, Isaiah, Daniel, Micah, Ezekiel. And by all the patriarch saints, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And by the twelve Apostles, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Andrew, Saint Thomas, Saint James, Saint Philip, [8]

Saint Bartholomew, Saint James, Saint John, Saint Simon. And by the four evangelists, Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John, and by the prayers of the blessed angels and by all the holy martyrs, Saint Stephen, Saint Lawrence, Saint Vincent, and by the saint Confessors, Saint Sylvester, Saint Dionysius and all his companions, by Saint Martin, and by the doctors and saints, Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, and by the crown of the virgins, Saint Mary, Saint Thecla, Saint Eulalia, Saint Catherine, and all the virgins that sound the glory of Paradise before You, Lord. And by the sacrifice that you, Lord, made to save humanity, and by the holy names, [8v] by the holy prayers that are in the book of the Mass, this servant of yours and all his goods will be acquitted and released from all evil eyes and bonds, from all the ambushes and temptations of the evil spirit, and from all their visible and invisible enemies, and by your holy name, Lord God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit. I, Cyprian, on behalf of our Lord God Jesus Christ and by virtue that will not start or end, and by your virtuous majesty I expel the evil spirit, and no bad people will have power in any way wherever this prayer is placed, and [they shall] be acquitted, that no one can harm them, and be [9] saved from that, like the three infants, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who cannot suffer any harm in the house, nor any evil enemy can harm them, and you, Lord, defend them by the prayers said above, and so many maledictions will come upon the evil spirit that may you, Lord, destroy it and put it in the darkness and from now on it will be there so that it does not do any evil; by the voice that was heard in the Mount Sinai that was enlightened by your holy clarity and by the holy host that the priest consecrates in the Holy Church and by your precious blood that you, Lord, shed for all [9v] those who have this holy prayer, may they be saved from all dangers forever and ever, Amen.]

In terms of content, the text is identical to the four Saint Cyprian prayers[31] introduced above (Compare: Londoño 2014:690). Thematic-motivic as well as narrative units of the Early Modern Cyprian prayer type are introduced below based on the Catalan version published here. The logic of segmentation is provided by the arrangement of the text units bearing different magical-religious functions.[32]

    1. Contrastive conversion story. Recognition of God's benevolence in contrast with the malignancy of the devil as responsible for human suffering. The heading is directly followed by an apocryphal legend. The contrastive conversion story of the former magician: Cyprian – now a good Catholic – recalls his life and his harmful magical activities before the conversion. The saint (Saint Cyprian) admits that the devil has been the source of all troubles up to this day, and his fellows pester men and women in various harmful ways.

    2. Use. The metalinguistic part referring to the use and effects of the prayer stands out from the text. According to this part, it must be said performed three times on three Sundays – like a *novena*. It is made clear that the text can be used as an amulet: literacy is not important, since the power of the text lays in the fact that it works if one reads it out or simply carries it with them. This part makes obvious that the text is meant for a broad

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[31] The present approach does not engage in genre issues, as that would lead far beyond the scope of the study. Based on the heading, the text is named "prayer", although there can be found connections with other genres as well.

[32] Dániel Bárth wrote a comprehensive study on the similar purpose, thorough examination, and research history of Hungarian language peasant charms, church benedictions, and exorcisms. He himself introduced permanent and compulsory elements of benediction ceremonies, their structure, and the related liturgical text types, in comparison with peasant charms (Bárth 2010:91–100).

audience. The possibility of using the text as an amulet, as well as reference to the magical power of the written text, appears several times. The amulet function also explains why Carles Amorós' version was so tiny. It is important to note that its format is not related to the ban on the text, since the first formal Index was delivered by the Roman Inquisition in 1559, two years after the chapbook was published. Its size probably enabled its users to carry it with them, or to keep it at home, close at hand, in case of any individual crisis. It also turns out from this part that the main purpose of the text is removing malefice and helping women in giving birth (if the text is read out or the woman keeps it close when giving birth, the newborn will not be deaf, mute, lunatic, or possessed by the devil). It is also recommended for stopping droughts, or against the evil eye, charms, any kind of malefice, and visible or invisible enemies. (The identification of the users in the different versions may have varied based on current individual-historical crises; for example, its efficiency against plague and bad air, not mentioned in this Catalan version, is present in parallel texts.)

3. Making the sign of the cross. The actual prayer starts at the third text unit (*Oratio,* [2v]), with a part referring to the ritual gesture of making the sign of the cross. This strengthens the effect of the Cyprian prayer as a blessing action.

4. Presenting the actual situation of shortage. Cyprian prays to God in first person singular, admitting that the current state of drought or infertility is due to his own sins; there are no crops, and women giving birth have difficulties: all of this is caused by some kind of a bond or malefice.

5. Invocation and use. In order to solve the situation of shortage, Cyprian asks God or Jesus to dissolve the bond, to dispell all evil, and free the person from the power and manipulations of the devil. He asks as well for Mary's protection over the person carrying the prayer with them, reading it out or having it read out, or keeping it at home.

6. Invocation. Further request for protection by God or angels against visible and invisible enemies, as well as praise of God and his deeds, so that no bond or verbal harm can affect the person.

7. Listing the powers of the malefice-removing effect. The text first mentions the power of the Lord's Prayer and other prayers, then lists Biblical characters and their typical features. The function of the long list of phrases is intensification, by which evil forces are deterred. This narrative tool boosts the effectiveness of the text and the power of the rite. After that, the power of Jesus' miracles is discussed (referring to the wine miracle at the Marriage at Cana and the raising of Lazarus), which are analogous images of prosperity after deprivation. This narrative segment may be seen as connected to textual elements of a certain type of church ceremony order, where the exorcist priest supports his power by invoking the names, attributes, and Biblical deeds of God.[33]

8. Request and invocation. A repeated request is added for the dissolution of the bond, and an invocation to God, who saved humanity through dying on the cross; this time asking for protection with the power of Saint Cyprian's prayer.

9. The topography of the malefice. (Asking for protection against visible and invisible enemies for the person using the malefice.) The previous part is complemented by the listing of the topography, nature, and possible localisation of the malefice, which may be related to the magical belief saying one has power over whatever one knows. The text

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[33] For more details on the topic, see BÁRTH 2010:97.

also lists the possible material of the malefice, which can be gold, silver, etc. Then, after the insertion of the metatextual part, further materials are listed, such as rock, river water, sea, birds, animals, fish, etc.[34] These topics are followed by the part of the text aimed at the dissolution of the bond, break, or malefice in body and soul.

10. The positive effect of the prayer and its consolidation. To achieve more rhetorical efficiency, this part is based on listing Biblical figures and angels. Phrasing the dissolution once again serves the same purpose. Besides, invocation of the deeds of God and Jesus, as well the names of saints, angels, archangels, and prophets appear in order to deter the evil entity (in case of exorcisms, the demon), carrying the malefice (Compare: BÁRTH 2016:245).

11. Making the sign of the cross.

12. Expelling the evil: exorcism part. After referring to the gesture of making the sign of the cross, Cyprian, in first person singular, with the power of Jesus and aided by godly virtue and dignity, expels the evil spirits and persons with the help of the prayer. It is mentioned here as well that the text functions as an amulet in the house where it is kept. Devastation avoids the users, just like in the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in Daniel, who did not burn in the heated furnace (Daniel, chapter 3). Cyprian asks God to eliminate evil and put it into the depths of darkness, so that it cannot do harm again. The intensity of the effect is strengthened by various phrases and images expressing godly power and sanctity.

13. Clause, the amulet-like protection. This part affirms that everyone who carries this prayer with them should be protected from all dangers.

The exploration of the textual relations of the Saint Cyprian prayer to church benedictions and exorcisms documenting conveyance and reception belongs to the future. However, metadata of certain versions of the prayer type give a different shading to the moment when the layman specialists engage in healing and malefice-removing activities.

MAGICAL READING METHODS. THE USE OF SAINT CYPRIAN'S PRAYER IN THE 17TH CENTURY

In the course of the local conflict, which widened in 1641 as a consequence of the use of the Catalan prayer introduced in the study, the church was able to strengthen its contemporary position against "superstitious" deeds and provides a demonstrative example related to tolerated and condemned or banned paraliturgical activities and texts. Here we introduce only the early phase of the source trial, the elements of which provide insight into the use and context of Saint Cyprian's prayer in the 17th century. Below, the peculiar text using practices of the hermit Hiacinto *(Jacinto)* García are presented, along with the role he played in his community.[35] His activities were mostly related to healing the residents of the town, and his name is first mentioned in the testimony of a local widow.

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[34] Here we may refer again to a certain type of *ordos:* i.e., texts for expelling demons, which sometimes provide a lengthy description of the possible places of the malefice. For an actual related example, see BÁRTH 2010:97.

[35] He signed his testimonies as "Jacinto García", and therefore, the study hereafter uses this form of his name.

On 25 or 26 July 1641 – on Saint James' or Saint Anne's Day – in the city of Solsona situated in the Principality of Catalonia, Elisabet Vilaginés, the widow of Antoni Vilaginés, visited the peasant Pedro Villaró, who was lying seriously ill in bed. Upon entering the house, she saw the hermit living in the Saint Bartholomew hermitage near the city standing next to the sick man with a book in his hands, reading out something. The 60-year-old Elisabet did not understand the text;[36] she only understood that the hermit was talking about sorcerers *(hechiceras),* and she also remembers that he lit a candle and put out its flame in a bowl of water.

Elisabet Vilaginés was the first to testify in the case of the hermit on 28 December 1641. However, Joan Codina, a canon of Solsona, had already gained information about the activities of the hermit. As commissary of the Holy Court, he addressed the Inquisition court of Barcelona in a letter on 29 November 1641. His letter was received four days later by the assigned inquisitor, Domingo Abbad y Huerta, who had 20 years of practice in judging and had just reached the peak of his career. The letter gave word about a hermit of the Saint Bartholomew hermitage a quarter of a mile from the town of Solsona, who healed all kinds of "uneducated and plebeian persons"[37] with a rather suspicious prayer. The canon had witnessed with his own eyes that this prayer of Saint Cyprian written in the vulgar language, i.e., not in Latin, could be found on the list of publications to be expurgated or corrected. He asked the hermit for the chapbook, but he refused to fulfil his rather emphatic request. Seeing the insolence and disobedience of Jacinto García, the canon used his means freely to obtain the print containing the prayer. The hermit claimed that he had lent it to somebody, who confirmed it, adding that they had afterwards burnt it without any permission or authority. As his behaviour only strengthened the suspicion against him, Joan Codina wished to search the hermit's "books", to make sure that he was not hiding anything that could prove dangerous to the Catholic faith. He also informed his Excellency that the hermit living in the hermitage on the high hill healed women and encouraged them to climb the steep road on several previously designated days in a row.

On December 8th, the canon composed another letter to the inquisitor, informing him that the hermit used candles and maybe holy water during healing, and at the same time recited one of the gospels and uttered superstitious words. In his reply, Domingo Abbad y Huerta gave Joan Codina clear orders to extensively interrogate everyone the hermit

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[36]   In her testimony, Elisabet's age is indicated like that of every other witness in the time "approximately" 60 years. In the 17th century, witnesses gave their age as they estimated it; this makes the said and written data merely an approximation, to be further specified based on birth certificates. In the case of Elisabet, her actual age was 54 in 1641. Based on the Solsona registry, she was baptised on 10th September 1587, her father was a peasant named Joan Olivelles, and her mother's name was Isabet. The child was baptised as Isabet (source: ADS, Parroquials, Solsona, s. n., 158). She first got married at the age of 21, on 24 November 1608, to a peasant called Pere Viladecamps (elsewhere: Viladecans) from Riner (Reiner), in the chapel of the Monastery of Our Lady in Solsona *(Capella de Nostra Senyora de la Claustra)* (Source: ADS, Parroquials, Solsona, s. n., 20v.). After her husband died, she was remarried in 1620 to a smith named Antoni Vilaginés, also a widower (source: ADS, Pia Unió, nº 95b). The present study uses the Catalan form of the names of local people, although the first part of the trial was written in Spanish – the official language of the contemporary administration. The author would like to express her gratitude to Josep Porredon, the knowledgeable expert of the Diocesan Archives of Solsona, for always providing effective and thorough help with the archives.

[37]   "Personas idiotas y de poco ser."

had healed in such a way, and to inform him immediately should he learn anything else. Thus, more than a dozen persons involved testified about Saint Cyprian's prayer and the related healing practices of the hermit in Solsona in front of the canon, and later in front of the higher Inquisition authorities.

THE HERMIT'S PATIENTS

In the winter of 1641, the Holy Court officially turned its attention towards Jacinto García. In relation to his activities, fifteen witnesses appeared in front of commissary Codina by January 12th 1642. As eyewitnesses or persons concerned, they gave a most detailed account of how the hermit had healed their relatives or acquaintances. The witnesses had reason to be fearful: many of them only admitted after repeated questions that they knew why the canon had summoned them. Had they actively participated in any kind of superstitious deed, they could have easily got into trouble themselves. Joan Codina summoned one by one the town residents, who gave account of altogether six healing cases related to García during the secret hearings. Among these, the healing of plague, leg ache, a hand wound, and other, unnamed diseases were mentioned.

Although only a small number of people were questioned, it is worth asking what social layer could have turned to the hermit. The patients testifying were mostly peasants and artisans, with an especially high proportion of wool beaters.

The testimonies given by the witnesses varied in terms of detail, depending on who the actual patients were: the witnesses themselves, their relative or acquaintance, or if they had only heard about the activities of the hermit. One thing is for sure: it was not merely occasional aid. Even the local priests knew that the hermit was a well-known and acknowledged healer all around Solsona and even outside the town. More than half of the witnesses mentioned that the activity of Jacinto García was *vox populi (es voz pública),* and everyone knew that he healed with prayers and gospels.

According to the testimonies, he read out from a book,[38] and what he read was Saint Cyprian's prayer and a gospel from the same print. Although he read it out (somewhat) loud, the patients did not understand the Latin and Spanish parts of the text. The mother tongue of García was Spanish, and we cannot know for sure how well he spoke Catalan or what his accent was like. The scribe wrote the records of the first phase of the trial in Spanish because of the contemporary centralisation of imperial procedures. However, the main reason of incomprehension by the testifiers might not have been the language barrier, since Cyprian's prayer was said in Catalan, the language primarily used among the people of the town. The explanation might be the ceremonial way of performing the text: not fully comprehensible and supposedly semi-loud reading, quiet speech, closed

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[38] It is worth mentioning here that reading out loud bears a considerable acoustic and motoric code as well. In the Early Modern period, the act of reading involved the sounding of phonemes at a certain volume, as well as vocality and the visible movement of muscles resembling chewing (De Certeau 2000:188). This also relates to the Zumthorian idea that medieval written texts should be interpreted together with their contemporary vocality, that is to say, voice used to belong to the world of literacy like some sort of an acoustic performance. This statement also applies to the Early Modern period. See for example: Zumhtor 1983.

body posture, turning one's back to the people present, the numerous ritual tools, and the delivery that was hard to follow; since the patients were hardly able (or willing) to recall anything even from the content of the Catalan text. It might easily be the case that they did not want to mention longer textual elements, since it would have carried the risk of complicity. One of the parts they mentioned was when the witches bound the clouds. Binding the clouds and infertility due to drought is mentioned two times in the prayer text: on pages 2 and 3; first as a consequence of Cyprian's sins, and later as a prayer to God to dissolve the bond from the clouds. It is interesting that, according to certain testifiers, witches bind the clouds in the text. This idea is not present in Cyprian's prayer. Thus, mentioning witches in the testimonies means a locally adapted element of the content. The testifiers recalled no other parts of the text and connected the use of it exclusively to the hermit as a healing specialist.

THE HEALING PRACTICES OF JACINTO GARCÍA

Although we know from the witch trials that deeds attributed and practices actually carried out were not necessarily identical (Compare: BLÉCOURT 2008:297), the unanimous testimonies allow us to reconstruct a general scheme that may be regarded as an individual magical-ritual practice, which was probably applied by the hermit in case of various diseases with smaller or greater changes. What follows is an overview of the written and read texts and gestures that accompanied his healing activities, most of which were confirmed by the hermit himself in his testimony.

   Some of his patients had to visit him through nine mornings with an empty stomach at the hermitage, where he carried out his healing rites.[39] The patient had to kneel, and the hermit held a cross in his hand, worshipped by the patient. Meanwhile, García was reciting the Gospel of Saint John and Saint Cyprian's prayer, and lit a candle.[40] He kept (probably) holy water in a bowl, which he occasionally poured into his mouth and scattered it on the sick body part from there. He put out the candlelight in the bowl. He admitted to having also said three masses: one for Saint Sylvester, one for Saint Cyprian, and one for Saint Cecilia. In addition, during the nine days when he was curing the patients, he made a text amulet, a *breverl* (*nómina* or *albaran* in contemporary Spanish) for them, beginning with the words "Qui verbum caro factum est…".[41] He placed a mixture of hemp-agrimony, rosemary, and rue in the *breverl*, and told the patients to carry it with them. The use of amulets bringing good luck and helping in recovery was clearly forbidden by Pedro Ciruelo's treatise on "superstitions" already in the 16th century. Ciruelo's above-mentioned work was published again in 1628 in Barcelona, based on the permission and recommendation of the bishop of Solsona himself. The trial

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[39] At this point, let us recall the recommendation for use in the written text: "deu esser dita per tres diumenges, e cada diumenge tres vegades." [to be said on three Sundays, and three times on each Sunday.]

[40] The excerpt from the Gospel of Saint John can also be found in the hermit's chapbook, directly following Saint Cyprian's prayer. "In principiū erat verbū…" [In the beginning it was the Word…] This text can be found in several exorcism manuals of the era. Father Rókus, the exorcist of Zombor, liked to use it as well. Compare: BÁRTH 2016:248.

[41] "And the Word was made flesh…" (Literal from Latin: "That the Word…").

also documents that the local priests regarded the work as reference in religious cases in 1641 (Ciruelo 1628). One of them even lent Jacinto García the treatise published a few years before the case, so that he could learn from it and no longer go astray.

It is known that the hermit was literate. Considering the nature of his own healing rite, he probably knew the exorcism manual of Hieronimo Mengo (or Menghus/Girolamo Menghi), *Flagellum daemonum,* which was widely known, read, and used in Europe at the time (placed on index in 1709). The book saw several editions from the 16th century on. The *breverl* beginning with the words *Qui verbum caro factum est*… can be found on page 374 of the 1584 edition and on page 207 of the 1604 edition, together with accurate instructions of use in Latin, including gestures and texts to be said in order to attain the purpose. The aim of the rite is to exorcise demons that pester people.[42] Although this book was not found in the hermitage during the trial, there were a lot of other writings copied from books and manuscripts. Thus, no one knows the number of copies preceding the Latin text included in the trial documentation, copied with mistakes and words crossed out here and there — which is the *breverl* itself without the instructions.

What was García's primary sin? The justification of the church related to the healing was that the hermit did not have the permission of the church to do consecration or exorcism. Despite the position of the church, one might raise the question of why the patients turned to the hermit. It is especially interesting, because he was not the only option to go to in case of illnesses or any harm they suffered. Based on information from archival sources, the number of doctors, surgeons, and pharmacists was particularly high in Solsona and its surroundings in the 1600s, mostly thanks to the Pallerès dynasty (See, for example, Coromines i Balletbò 1994). In the first half of the 17th century, and at the time of the trial, even a pharmacy operated in the town. Doctors, herbalists, priests, and pharmacists were easily accessible for the residents of the town, which was an episcopal centre. And yet, Jacinto García claimed in his testimony that the doctors had abandoned these patients.

One might get closer to the answer through contemporary popular thoughts about illnesses and troubles. The community enlisting the services of the hermit may have implicitly expected the same approach that also drove the idea of witchcraft for centuries. According to this, any internal or external trouble, that is, physical or mental illness, damages affecting the household, the economy, or the food structure, as well as bad weather, all emerge as a consequence of an evil spell. And behind these malefices were actual persons possessing wicked powers, together with their hostile feelings (envy, conflict). This idea is supported by the text of the prayer on the one hand, and, on the other, by the local pathology and popular diagnosis unfolding from the testimonies. Based on these, illness is created as a consequence of consuming a *metzina* (poison), which is sent into the household by a harmful person with some food (in the actual trial, a pot of rice and wine), as a consequence of envy. These harmful persons were mostly women who could be identified through divination. Thus, Jacinto García acted as an intermediary, a specialist coming from outside the local society, and he was ruined because he accused the above-mentioned Elisabet Vilaginés, an influential woman in

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[42] For example: "Deinde acsipe fal exorcizatum & benedictum, cerum avei Pascualis, vel aliam benedictam & rutam benedictam ropria benedictione positu supra folio 43 etc." Mengo (Menghi) 1584:375, or "Adjurationes formidables, potentissmas, & efficaces in malignos spiritus fugandos de oppressis corporibus humanis" Mengo (Menghi) 1727:298.

clerical circles, of witchcraft. Or, maybe, she was accused by other people of the town (more than one), who transmitted this responsibility to the hermit in their testimonies, since he consequently denied that he would have said such things and named the community as the accuser.

Healing by Jacinto García could actually also work without the identification of the agent, and most of his remedies bear the marks of Catholicism: he used holy water, blessings, incense, and the rites of exorcism for natural and supernatural problems alike (Compare: BLÉCOURT 2008:298). He should have obtained the permission of the church for that, but he acted without it. Jeroni Bodies, a priest of the Solsona Cathedral, had known about it from the beginning, and he voiced his displeasure in one of his testimonies. He mentioned that the hermit dispelled storms without any kind of permission.[43]

The last section of the present paper provides a short overview of what we know about the life of the healing hermit. He mentions in his own testimony that he was born in Benavente around 1604. His father was a lawyer named Gaspar García, and his mother, María de Madrid. They both lived in Benavente, but the hermit had no closer information about them at the time of the trial. He had twelve siblings: ten brothers and two sisters, who both died before they could have got married. One of his brothers was the secretary of the Holy Court of Toledo. With regards to his origins, he claimed to be "clean": he was not a "born-again Christian", as all his direct and collateral relatives were "old Christians with an impeccable reputation and good life", not converts. None of them had ever stood in front of the Holy Court. He regularly confessed and took part in Communion, and the archbishop of Ovideo had celebrated his confirmation; and, just before giving his testimony, he had confessed and took part in Communion in the Saint Dominic Monastery in Balaguer, in the Principality of Catalonia. He could read and write but never attended the university.

So, the hermit stood in front of the court as a stranger from a distant place, but following the official religion: a defendant not threatening the integrity of the empire by his origins. He firmly stated that he had never held a conversation with anyone who would have been suspicious in terms of faith. At the age of 18, he left his home to do seasonal work (harvest) in Palencia, where he spent three months while serving in the Saint Augustine Monastery. Afterwards, he went to Aragonia, and, after a short stay there, arrived in Catalonia and started his activities in Solsona.

He had compiled his healing techniques on the basis of several readings. Apart from the prayer, the gospels, the exorcism text, and religious literature, he had also read a medical book, the title of which he did not remember, but he could recall that smoking certain herbs was good for getting rid of body fluids. He also used the tools of magical rituals in his method (fasting, using oil for healing, putting out a candlelight as an analogy of removing the harm), procedures that were mostly inspired by his readings. He regarded himself a humble Christian and made sure to include the defensive discourse of commitment to piety and healing in his testimony. As he said, "I did not do all of these to offend our God, our Lord, or our holy Catholic faith, but out of piety and a deep faith;

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[43] He was probably referring to the use of the Gospel of Saint John mentioned above, which at the time also served as a conjuration for keeping storms away.

and if I could heal patients with the blood running in my veins, I would do so, rather than offending our holy Catholic faith – if not, may the black earth devour me".[44]

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

We do not know how Jacinto García obtained that tiny chapbook published in 1557 that he used for healing in the first half of the 17th century. He may have received or bought it during his many journeys in the Principality of Catalonia, and he might have used it in other towns as well, before he moved into the Saint Bartholomew hermitage near Solsona. The Inquisition did not ask him about that. The present study discussed four philological parallels of the printed text that he used and placed them in context with the help of contemporary sources and trial details.

Through his activities, we saw an Early Modern example for the personal, ritual-magical use of reading. Owning the text, he acted in the function of a specialist in an urban community, and he was not the only one on the plural health and medicine market. (See Sallés i Planas 2008.) He gained his knowledge from various sources, and he probably knew the ceremonial books of the era based on the Latin rite, as well as other popular readings that provided him with inspiration. According to his testimony, he was a reading-writing person. He did not remember the title of his books and readings; however, the nature of his manuscripts and notes provides an insight of his inner world. His peculiar fabrications made him authentic and attractive in the eyes of his patients for a while. The course his life took afterwards will be discussed in further writings by the author.

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[44] "y esto no lo hacia por ofenssa de Dios nuestro Señor, ni por offensa de nuestra Santa Fe Catholica, sino por más deuosión y mas fe y si con la sangre de sus venas les puediera sanar a los dichos enfermos, les sanara y que antes que este hiciesse cosa contra la Santa Fe Catholica, se quisiera ver consumido bajo muchos estrados de tierra."

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ARCHIVE SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADS Arxiu Diocesà de Solsona
AHCB Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

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St. Elijah and the Fairies.
Understanding a Charm Through Legends[1]

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Abstract: The images, characters, and events featured in a charm enter into mutual, organic relations with other images, characters, and events that are not explicitly included in the given text but contribute implicitly to the overall significance of the charm. The aim of the current article is to reveal the unspoken components of St. Elijah narrative file embedded in the deep horizon of beliefs and knowledge implied by a given charm. Following the charm step by step, I point out items that imply the unvoiced – but still present – level of images and beliefs taken from the non-charming narrative corpus.

Keywords: charms, St. Elijah, folk beliefs, fairies, meteorology, magic therapy, Romanian folklore

As a strong biblical character, St. Elijah (who is present in both the Old and New Testaments and also suggested in the Apocalypse) is the protagonist of a rich canonical and apocryphal legendary corpus developed in Hebrew, Christian, and Muslim traditions through written, oral, and figurative means. At least in the case of Romanian folklore, this corpus is still active. Recently I wrote a typological monograph of St. Elijah's profile in Romanian folklore, which I hope to be useful for further comparative studies dedicated to this figure with a trans-cultural and trans-religious presence. It is not my intention to further develop the topic here, but a brief description might be useful for a better understanding of the charm my article deals with.

The research will be published as a book (typology, comments, corpus of texts) in early 2020. Here is the typological scheme: I – St. Elijah is a religious vindicator and revenger

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through the mediation of celestial fire.[2] His actions lead to indirect meteorological effects; II – St. Elijah promotes monotheism and baptizes pagan communities; III – St. Elijah, pluvial mediator, stops and brings rain as well; IV – Still alive, St. Elijah is taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire pulled by horses of fire, where he will remain until doomsday; V – St. Elijah supports the pillars of the earth; VI – St. Elijah is an agent of cosmogony; VII – St. Elijah is a divine messenger who reclaims/steals the contract *(zapisul)* between God and Satan / who got the solution for humanity's salvation (from the devil) ("when a maiden gives birth"); VIII – St. Elijah regains the signs of divine authority that had been stolen by Satan from heaven: the sun, the moon, the stars, heaven's keys, the judgment seat; IX – St. Elijah is an apocalyptic warrior who fights against the Antichrist. Elijah's blood will make the earth burn. The igneous nature of St. Elijah;[3] X – St. Elijah has great power and a hot temper that lead to excessive actions, endangering the world's balance. St. Elijah's power is diminished by God, who paralyses his right hand (hence he is left-handed). XI – St. Elijah commits a crime against his parents. His penitence absolves him. He asks God to give him arms (thunder, light) to punish devils; XII – St. Elijah has different roles (wagoner, shepherd, thief, soldier, master of skinners, etc.), all having in common the idea of itinerancy. He travels accross the sky with his carriage, he travels/ flies from sky to earth, etc.; XIII – St. Elijah rewards good people. St. Elijah's nature blends human and angelic features and functions, while his actions have meteorological secondary consequences: thunder, lightning. Among Romanians, the belief that St. Elijah fights against earthly water dragons is not very widespread. But he can control the ones in the sky whose nature is a mix of fire and water.

Obviously, Elijah's figure combines biblical episodes (developed or almost totally transformed) with other traditions. Concurrently, St. Elijah is the receiver of collective prayers for rain — raised by the priests in a liturgical context. This represents a ritual reiteration of the Old Testament episode relating to the three-year drought followed by a rain given by God in answer to Elijah's asking.

Looking at the Romanian folklore, within the corpus of 445 variants I worked with, around 91% belong to legend genres, while the other 8% are Christmas ritual songs. More or less unexpectable – since he is mostly active in meteorological or cosmic affairs on the one hand, and receives collective (not individual) prayers on the other hand – I found St. Elijah as a protagonist of four *therapeutic* and *individual* charms (possibly more, but not many). Here is *The one of fairies:*[4]

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[2] For Romanians, as for other Orthodox and South European Christians, St. Elijah is mostly represented as a warrior against devils – a demonization of the 450 priests of Baal and 400 prophets of the goddess Asherah defeated in the name of the one true God (1 Kings 18:20–40) on Mount Carmel, later massacred by Elijah himself: Elijah chased them through the air or on the sky road, driving a carriage, probably the same in which he has been raptured, and lashed them or stabs them with his arrow. This theme has iconological representation in the Romanian, Eastern Slavic, and Balkan areas.

[3] He is an agent of miraculous water and fire cohabitation (thunder and rain together, burning water, baptizer through water and fire, etc.). According to Menologues, Elijah was fed with fire by angels when he was a baby, hence his blood (water-based) has a celestial igneous nature.

[4] Recorded in Hodac, Mureş County.

"Beyond the sea
There were all the saints,
There were all the fathers lunching,
They were eating
Around a beautiful table.
Then Ilie, Saint Ilie walked outside.
And heard coming from below
Nine *strigoi*
With nine arrows in their mouths,
With nine diseases in their hands.
– Where are you going?
– We are going to Ion,
To drink his blood,
To eat his bones and flesh!
– You won't go there,
But you will go back.
Because if you won't go back,
Then I will curse you
With the name of the Father!
Ion will remain pure,
Luminous
As the Mother, who gave him birth,
As the Lord, who created him" (Muşlea 2004:394).[5]

The images, characters, and events featured in the charm enter into mutual, organic relations with other images, characters, and events that are not explicitly included in the given text but implicitly contribute, as a belief background, to the overall significance of the charm. This article aims to reveal the unspoken components of St. Elijah narrative file, embedded in the deep horizon of beliefs and knowledge implied by this very charm.

Which of his features – as asserted by the hagiographic accounts – are activated by this charm in order to achieve the desired effect? In other words, what recommends St. Elijah as protagonist of this therapeutic charm? The implicit and explicit meanings of the charm are in relation with the other protagonists of the story, namely those against whom St. Elijah acts. In fact, only within this relation can Elijah's dynamic profile be entirely revealed.

Hereinafter, following the texts of the charms step by step, I will point out some items that imply the unspoken – but still present – level of images and beliefs taken from the non-charming narrative corpus and activated during the performance of "saying" the charm.

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5   Ro. "Hăl din Iele. / Dincolo de mare, prânzea tăţ sfinţî, / Tăt părinţî; / Prânzea şi amni'eze, / Frumoasă masă-ave. / Iesă Ilie Sânt Ilie pân-afară / Aude viind d'in jos / Noo strigoi, / Cu noo săjeţ în gură, / Cu noo nepu'inţ în mână. / – Da' voi un'e mereţ? / – Noi la Ion merem. / Sânjele să i-l bem, / Oasăle şî carnea să i le mâncăm! / – Acolo nu mereţ, / Şî napoi vă-nturnaţ, / Că de nu ve-ţ înturna, / Ieu cu numele Tatălui v-oi blăstăma! / Ion să rămâiă curat, / Lumn'inat, / Ca maica şe l-o dat / Şî ca Domnu şe l-o lăsat."

THE TABLE IN PARADISE

"Beyond the sea
There were all the saints,
There were all the fathers lunching,
They were eating
Around a beautiful table."

The table in Paradise motif also represents the opening of a certain group of Romanian Christmas ritual songs [Ro. *Colindă,* Eng. *Carol*]. Here is one example attested in the same area with the charm discussed:

"(…) there is a silk table,
'Round the table there are chairs.
Who sit on the chairs?
There sit all the saints.
All of them are drinking and lunching
The entire summer day.
In the evening
There came an epistle!
Judah entered the heaven."[6] (Navrea 2012:88–89)

The plot of the *colinda* shows St. Elijah regaining either the moon and the sun, or the marks of divine authority (the judgment seat, the keys of heaven), which have been stolen by the devils, who moved them to hell; consequently, heaven remained dark and hell turned light (type VIII in my classification).

The *colinda* is performed during two coinciding, symbolically interrelated events: Jesus' birth and the fragile moment of winter's darkest day. Equipped with weapons like the cannon and the bow with arrows that God gave him, Elijah recovers the divine objects of authority and, implicitly, the balance between light and dark. The *similia similibus* transfer from the *colinda* to the charm is implicit: placed at the very beginning of our charm, the motif anticipates the evolution of the given dangerous situation of disease – a consequence of evil entities' attack on the patient's equilibrium – towards healing, namely a clean (light), balanced body: "Ion will remain pure, / Shiny / As the Mother, who gave him birth, / As the Lord, who created him".

THE REALMS OF THE INVADERS

"St. Elijah conjures the *strigoi:*
– You won't go there,
But you will go back,

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6   Ro: *"Scris-o Domnul, me* (sic!) *ce-o ma scrisu? / Scris-o masă de mătasă. / Prejur mesei sunt scaune, / Da pe scaun cine şede? / Şedu, şedu toţii sfinţi, / Tăt îşi beau şi-şi dăluescu / Cât îi ziua de vară. / Când îi colea de cu sară / Şi greu verşu de le picară! / C-o d-intrat Iuda în raiu."*

> 'Cause if you won't go back,
> Then I will curse you
> With the name of the Father."

Elijah doesn't threaten them with thunder, guns, or arrows, but with God's power ("with", not "in" the name of). He doesn't act as a meteorological saint but, consistent with his Biblical role, as a defender of the monotheistic faith in the only Lord the Father.

"Back" means somewhere "down", since the charm also asserts that when the saint walked outside, "he heard" them "coming from below". This spatial organisation of the world into two antagonistic realms ("up" is the saints' table, "down" are the evil entities) resonates with the above-mentioned Christmas *colinda:* as heaven has been invaded and usurped by devils and attempt to interchange hell with heaven (they move heavenly marks to hell), so have the *strigoi* left the space they belong in (below) and attack the victim's body; the curative process consists of sending them back to the space they came from. But what space is that?

THE PATHOGENIC AGENTS

> "We are going to Ion
> To drink his blood,
> To eat his bones and flesh!"

Among Romanians, such deeds are often attributed to revenants, also called *strigoi,* souls that are not entirely integrated into the realm of the dead – in folkloric parlance, the dark world [Ro. *lumea neagră*] – and invade the space of the living, namely the white, light world [Ro. *lumea albă*], in order to take new souls with them. But in the area the charm was recorded, the term *strigoi* mostly means living humans, men or "women like us (…) [but] with tail on their back or under the armpit"[7] (Muşlea 2004:351). They mainly magically steal the cows' milk and the soil's fertility, and have the strongest power on the eve of St. George's holiday. Other entities well documented in Southeastern and Central Europe also have relevance. For example, the snake or cow shape these "milk-stealing witches" may take in Slovakian and East-Hungarian legends about "the devil hiding among cows from St. Elijah's lightning arrow" (Pócs 1995:367), or legends that also show them riding a cow, are not common in Romanian folklore.

The Romanian *strigoi* issue is broad and, as far as I know, a detailed description or systematization of them is not yet available for non-Romanian readers (there is, however, a scientific bibliography on them). Such a task would be beyond the scope of this article, so I just want to underline, first and foremost, the distinction between dead and live *strigoi* (witches). Both are characterized by a profound relation to vital fluids – blood, milk, water – whose absence leads to imbalances, expressed in animals' loss of fertility, the soil's lack of moisture, and humans' weakening health (or even death)[8] – all due to thirst.

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7   Recorded in Ibănești Pădure, Mureș County.
8   For more on this, see the discussion launched in 1960 by Bošković-Stulli and further developed by Monika Kropej (Kropej 2012:42–43).

Related to the characters of the charm I am analysing here, their status is ambiguous: on the one hand, they drink the victim's blood, as the death *strigoi* do, and on the other, they behave like demons of disease. Although the corpus of legends and beliefs about St. Elijah, namely the unspoken level of the charm, does not show this saint fighting with the death *strigoi,* nor with those who steal the cows' milk or the ground's fertility, but with a certain subcategory of live *strigoi* that could be named *weather strigoi:* they steal and stop the rain and retain water (type III.3.5 in my classification). More or less contradictory, they are also described as causing uninterrupted rains and hailstorms. In both situations, St. Elijah counteracts them and re-establishes the meteorological equilibrium: he either brings the rains back after a long drought,[9] or, during hailstorms, he splits the ice stones produced by the *strigoi*.[10]

At a more complex level of interpretation of St. Elijah's figure, which exceeds the thematic frame of this article but has some relevance for our charm, we would mention the (few) legends attested to in north-western Moldavia and north-eastern Transylvania that present him in a mythological hypostasis: he is the master of a giant celestial animal, an ox or a bull, whose running on the sky road leads to extraordinary meteorological phenomena. During tempests, people went outside the house and, together with certain small ritual gestures, howled: "Ho, Ilie, stop/calm down your bull!" (Voronca 1998 [1903]:149). In this regard, St. Elijah gets the attributes of a weather wizard (Pócs 1995).

Most probably, the nine *strigoi* involved in the events of the quoted charm have almost nothing to do with meteorology. Instead, we may presume a mechanism similar to the one in the beginning of the text, where the cosmological allusion anticipates the efficiency of the charm: meteorology works as a therapeutic metaphor. Through repetition, the charm increases its efficacy. In other words, the text makes indirect reference to the weather *srigoi* of the corpus of folk beliefs, those *strigoi* against whom St. Elijah wins each battle, but the entities referred to are, in fact, the pathogenic agents of the disease, which have to be deactivated.

THE ARROWS

"There came
(…) nine strigoi
with nine arrows in their mouths,
With nine diseases in their hands."

Firstly, there might be a reference to certain funeral gestures performed by women in order to prevent a dead person from coming back as a revenant [Ro. *de-strigoire*], or in order to avert the evil actions of presumably dead *strigoi:* they prick with pointed objects the defunct's fingers or ears, stab spindles in the tomb of an alleged *strigoi*. In this regard, the pathogenic agents do indeed seem to be dead *strigoi* armed with the very weapons used by women against them.

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[9]   At his turn, Elijah can stop the rains.
[10]   Elijah acts alone or in tandem with Archangel Michael or St. Peter.

But, exploring the narratives of St. Elijah, the arrows mentioned in the charm are rather counteracted by the arrows Elijah himself uses against demons. Elijah's arrows are considered therapeutic remedies against sharp pains or joints (type I.4.5.1. in my classification): "When he thunders, he uses the three-score arrow, the glassy one. It enters the ground nine fathoms deep. After nine years, it emerges from the ground. The one who finds it keeps it, and when he or she feels stitches in the body, puts it in a glass of water, then drinks that water and turns healthy. The arrow is the length of a finger" (Muşlea – Bîrlea 2010 [1970]:362).

THE FAIRIES

The transcribed charm represents only the verbal component of an assortment of gestures and mechanisms performed in certain contexts, which remain obscure. Neither are the very diseases against which the charm is supposed to be efficient. The fact that it is called "The one of fairies" [Ro. *Hăl din Iele*] indicates that the charm points to a certain affliction caused by these fairies and not at all by death *strigoi*.

The imaginary portraits of the *Iele* (also named "The Holy Ones" [Ro. *Ale Sfinte*]*,* "The Beautiful Ones" [Ro. *Ale Frumoase*]*,* "The White Ones" [Ro. *Ale Albe*]*,* "The Fairies" [Ro. *Măiestrele*]), as configured through supernatural encounter narratives (I have chosen this category because the charm I analyse also narrates such an encounter) and other legends, include certain constants: they are maidens who appear only during the aestival season and only in groups, walking or floating (they have no wings) through the air, playing wind instruments, dancing in a circle above-ground to music played by a young abducted boy who is urged to play until he is totally weakened. The *Iele* avoid domestic spaces, preferring the forest, the crossroads between lands, and the ruins outside settlements; in turn, humans have to stay away from these places. As in the case of St. Elijah, their nature combines fire (after their dance, the spot on the ground remains burnt) and water elements (they drink from certain abandoned fountains, which are forbidden to humans). According to an interesting group of etiologic legends created in connection with the Romanian versions of the *Alexander Romance,* the *Iele* are human: in the episode which describes Alexander's visit to Makaron Island (akin to the Earthly Paradise) inhabited by a religious community of naked men *(Gymnosophists, Nagomudres),* their king, Evant, offered Alexander a bottle with the miraculous water taken from the well under his throne: when one drinks a sip, he/she grows young again, to the age of 30 (Cartojan 1922:87). Yet, Alexander died at the age of 33, poisoned by two of his officers. In a manuscript copied around 1800, the scribe has inserted a legend he learned from oral tradition, which explains why Alexander didn't use the water in order to escape death: "some people say that Alexander's servants drank this water and they are still alive and will never die until the Doomsday" (Gaster 1883:28–29). The legends – spread over the entire Romanian territory – have been transmitted through a written series of copies and orally as well.[11] All variants classified by Tony Brill as type 13244 are structured around the narrative nucleus of the stolen water.

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[11] For a detailed discussion of this oral/written process of the creation and transmission of folk legends, see *The written text's ambiguity and the creation of oral narrative structures* (Jiga Iliescu 2006, chapter II).

"When Alexander wanted to drink, he found the bottle empty, because his servants drank it and immediately flew through the air: this is why they are also called Şoimane" (Brill 1965: 224).

It is noteworthy that some Transylvanian and South Romanian charms named "Şandru's Maidens" as magical agents of disease [Ro. *Fetele lui Şandru*]; the name *Şandru* [Hungarian *Sándor*] comes from Alexander. Owners of knowledge of sacred provenance, made possible by the miraculous water they stole, the *Iele* are associated with the magical and empirical science of herbal therapeutic remedies. Figures of ambiguous sacredness (evil/helpful), in special circumstances (sometimes through a dream) they might reveal to humans the very places of medicinal herbs. But in the region where the charm has been recorded, the *Iele* are integrated in the larger category of charmers:

"They are *bosorcăni*. They live in deserted forests, where black roosters do not crow, where black cats don't call. They are sent by God to stab you" (Muşlea 2004:242).

In northern Transylvania, the word *bosorcăn,* with Magyar etymology, means sorcerer; in this regard, *bosorcani* are partially synonymous with the so-called live *strigoi,* in turn designated as a certain category of wizards (see above). We also noticed an important element for our analysis: the *Iele* are armed with arrows, as is St. Elijah. But while Elijah's arrow is a therapeutic remedy, the fairies' ones make humans sick, as in the case of our charm. The "Mild Ones" [Ro. *Milostivele,* another euphemistic term for *Iele*] are like that: they come to the human, at the hand or at the leg, and they thrill him/her and the hand becomes painful and he/she gets headaches and, in about nine days, the spot starts to swell. As if they bit you" (Muşlea 2004:242).

It is probable that the disease cured through our charm is rheumatic fever, with bites and stitches. This supposition is in concordance with a very widespread corpus of belief narratives according to which fairies punish with rheumatic diseases, partial paralysis, and epileptic seizures unvigilant people who enter the burned spot where the *Iele* danced, enter their wind, or drink water from their fountain (!), or break any other rules that mediate human contact with the fairies. In the south of Romania (in the 18th century the ritual was also found in eastern Romania), the fairies' diseases are ritually cured by the *căluşari* dance performed during Pentecost week. In Transylvania, where the charm transcription comes from, the *căluşeri*[12] have no thaumaturgical functions. Charms against diseases provoked by the *Iele* are found over the entire space inhabited by Romanians, including the areas where the *căluşari* dance can be found.

The Romanian emic expression for a fairies' attack is "taken by *Iele*" [Ro. *luat din Iele*], which means to be abducted by them through the air. One of the symptoms is that the human walks very fast as an ecstatic state of mind. The expression "taken by the wind" is also found (Şăineanu 2012 [1886]:70, 86), indicating apoplexy and communication with the spirits. "The *Iele* are the masters of the wind, who fly through the air" (Şăineanu 2012 [1886]:105). We remember St. Elijah's ascension through a whirlwind (type IV in our classification): "then it happened, as they continued on and talked, that suddenly a chariot of fire "appeared" with horses of fire, and separated the

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12   Apart from the *căluşari,* the *căluşeri* also dance on the festive occasion of Christmas.

two of them; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 Kings 2:11). Elijah (and not other figures) fighting against fairies is thus further explained: they share the same aerial space and, concurrently, the *Iele* provoke wind tornados, strong meteorological (and supernatural) phenomena, with dangerous potential for humans (in this respect, the windy fairies share some attributes with the weather *strigoi*).

CONCLUSION

Through my analysis of a certain charm, I aimed to reconstruct, at the imaginary level, the assortment of beliefs which remained un-spoken by the actual "text" of the incantation, but which are mentally evoked and activated during its performance, having the role of increasing the magical effects of the charm. Even if the charm is not supposed to have meteorological effects, its background and allusions are meteorological. I identified folk legends about St. Elijah expelling demonic beings, which are meteorological metaphors that convey the real reference of the charm – not the weather, but individual human illnesses and their healing.

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The Legend of St. Sisynnios in Ethiopian Charms: Interconnection with His Life

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Abstract: The legend of St. Sisynnios has been widespread in both Christian and popular Ethiopian tradition up to the present time. It exists in the form of written texts in the Ge'ez language, inserted in so-called magic scrolls among other closely connected texts of both magical and religious character. These scrolls have a protective function, and St. Sisynnios is venerated by the Ethiopian Church. There are two versions of his life. The shorter one comprises part of the Synaxarion whilethe longer one is included in a corpus of hagiographical compilations entitled "The Lives of the Martyrs". Both of these were translated from the Arabic prototype, borrowed from the mother Coptic Church of Alexandria. There is a notable interconnection between the legend in the amulets and the religious texts. It is unknown whether the text of the legend once existed in form of verbal charm or not. In any case, different elements of the saint's life passed to the legend. Some have remained unchanged while others have undergone transformations or lost some elements. It is important to study different elements of the legend using the examples conserved in the available manuscript scrolls. Analysis of these interconnections and the evolution of the text constitutes the basis of the present research.

Keywords: St. Sisynnios, legends, Ethiopian Synaxarion, Coptic Synaxarion, witches, manuscripts, magic scrolls, traditional medicine

The legend of St. Sisynnios is a common plot present in different cultures all over the world[1] and is also an integral part of Ethiopian apocryphal literature. The story of his life was adopted as a part of the corpus of religious literature borrowed from the mother Coptic Church.[2] The translation of religious literature to Ge'ez began after the 4th century, with the arrival of the Christian faith in the Horn of Africa and the acceptance of Christianity as an official religion in Axum. As far is the text of St. Sisynnios' *Vita* is

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[1] A detailed overview of the legend in different traditions has recently been realized by a group of authors (see L'AVIANSKII et al. 2017).
[2] This fact is confirmed by the absolute identity of the Arabic and Ethiopic texts of the *Vitae* of the Saint.

concerned, it is highly likely to have been translated in the 14th–15th centuries, as taken from the Arabic version, when the language took the place of Coptic in the Church of Alexandria. Soon thereafter, the text entered local tradition, both literal and oral.

The *Vita* narrates the battle between the saint and the evil female force called Wurzelya. The legend has survived up to our days due to its transmission in written form. Its material support is represented by protective amulets, mostly in form of scrolls, which were usually worn on a textile lace around the neck or mounted on a wall in dwellings.

The wearing of such kind of amulets is one of the magical practices generally widespread among Ethiopian Christians. The scrolls were used by the majority of Ethiopians in spite of the fact that magic was obviously prohibited by the Church and a severe punishment was decreed for fabrication of the scrolls and filling them with the texts. In Ethiopia, the magic itself had numerous Christian characteristics. It implied the obligatory presence of texts written in the old Ethiopic language Ge'ez and in artistic decoration, which mostly comprised subject matter of Christian origin. Extracts from Holy Scriptures were alternated by texts of purely magical character (comprising the names of demons, magical letters non-existent in the alphabet etc.). As the language was no longer in use (at least from the beginning from the 13th century), it was incomprehensible for the absolute majority of the people. Hence, the scrolls were not destined to be read; instead, the physical presence of the written text was their main semantic load. It was believed that all illnesses and accidents were caused by ghosts and demons and that the amulets protected people from such evil forces. The moment when the relative oral tradition (legend) was created and when it was transformed in written form to continue its existence on the parchment scrolls exclusively is unknown.[3] Nowadays, the legend is no longer prevalent among the people and it is not part of modern folklore.

The scrolls were used by both men and women. The female amulets had to protect women from problems connected to the pregnancy, childbirth and bleeding in the womb. The St. Sisynnios legend was normally included in such scrolls as it describes the victory of the saint over the witch who used to kill new-born children by sucking out their blood and to provoke bleeding in the womb's of their mothers.

The legend includes the first part of the official *vita* of the saint, modified in a certain way.[4] In both the *vita* and the legend, the saint fights with the female killer of the children (the sister of the saint in the *vita,* and a witch in the legend).

The plot of the vita is as follows. A man called Sisynnios lived in Antiochia in the times of the Emperor Diocletian. He leaved his native city and upon returning later realized that his sister gave birth to a girl, killed the baby and sucked its blood.

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[3] Parchment scrolls, worn or mounted in houses (sometimes with extensive humidity) were easily damaged and corrupted. Sometimes they were put in the tomb of a deceased person (for reasons of protection – a common tradition for the north-eastern African peoples such as the Egyptians and Nubians). Few parchment scrolls anterior to the 17th century have survived.

[4] The text of the *vita* arrived in Ethiopia from Coptic tradition and was then translated from the Arabic language into Ge'ez. The short versions of the Synnaxar texts are equal. See edition of the text in: Colin 1995. For Arabic version see: Basset 1922. The extensive version, included in the collection of hagiographyc texts known as Gedla Same'etat *(Vitae of the martyrs)* (Bausi 2005). The main difference is that the long version includes a detailed descriptionof all the tortures of the saint.

After that she gave birth to a boy of an unhuman appearance. Moreover, she then began killing new-born children all over the country. The saint kills the witch and her child (as he is a son of the Devil) and her husband (as he is possessed by the evil forces).

In the longer version, the father of Sisynnios is from a close circle of the emperor. Sisynnios is sent to Nicomidia, where he becomes Christian. Coming back to Antiochia, he realizes that his sister gave birth to a girl, killed the baby and sucked its blood. Moreover, she was able to take the form of a bird or a snake. She then gives birth to a boy of an unhuman appearance. The saint kills the witch, her child and her husband. When the father of Sisynnios finds out about his son's deed (the fact that he killed his sister, the child killer, her child and husband), he brings him to Diocletian for punishment. Diocletian is a pagan and he tries to make Sisynnios offer sacrifices to the gods in sanctuaries, but the gods break in the presence of Sisynnios. Then Sisynnios is tormented, tortured and finally killed. His soul is immediately taken by the angels and ascends to the Heavens.

Presumably, once the vita once entered popular tradition, it was then modified and in course of time lost some parts of the narration while others were elaborated. In approaching the texts conserved in the manuscript scrolls, it must be faced the problem of various lacuna in the text and damaged sections which make understanding of the general line of the narrative difficult. A comparison of a number of copies makes it possible to reconstitute the following sequence of events. A man called Sisynnios (St. Sisynnios) gets married and one or two children are born to his wife, but a witch called Wurzelya comes to the wife of the man and kills the baby. The wife is crying. Sisynnios hears her lamentation and asks her about the reason for her crying. She relates what has happened and the saint begins searcing for the witch. On his way, he meets an old lady, asking her about the location of Wurzelya. She replies that the witch is in the forest (garden) in front of him. The saint enters the forest and finds Wurzelya under a tree surrounded by an army of evil forces (ghosts). The saint dismounts from his horse, gets on his knees and addresses a prayer to the Savior, asking him for help in killing the witch to prevent her killing babies. A voice from the Heaven gives him permission to do everything he desires with Wurzelya. Therefore, the Saint mounts his horse, takes his sword in his right hand and pierces her side.

The end of the story differs greatly from one manuscript to another. These include the following variants. First: Wurzelya is killed. Second: Wurzelya is killed and swears by the names of the Archangels not to come close to houses where children are born, nor to approach their mothers or any location where the prayer (legend) of St. Sisynnios is read (written down). Third: Wurzelya's side is pierced, but she does not die, swearing not to kill new-born children and not to come close (see the second variant above). Wurzelya promises to go to the church and to become a good Christian. Consequently (and constantly), the saint becomes the protector of the new-born children and women in childbirth. These three variants of the plot, with slight differences, are common to the absolute majority of the manuscript scrolls containing the legend. Only one attested scroll stands apart.[5] Here, the beginning of the story presents new, lively details concerning the scene of the mother's meeting with the witch, highlighted by dialogues and actions.

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[5] Manuscript parchment scroll, Eth. 119 from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russia). 17th–18th century; contains magical prayers and the legend of St. Sisynnios.

The existence of different versions of the narrative confirms that the legend passed through a long process of evolution in popular use and as a product of the *kalam* of copyists within the rich literal tradition maintained by Ethiopian scribes. Having analysed dozens of texts and research studies dedicated to the legend, the initial core of St. Sisynnios legend is still not very clear. It could have been short in the beginning and then enhanced with additional details over the centuries of its existence or, on the contrary, derived in a longer version from the *vitae* of the saint. In this case, the plot could have transformed in the process of oral transmission. On the other hand, the folklore version could have been derived not from oral transmission, but instead in the process of multiple copy-making, with the relative additions and corrections (and mistakes or omissions) of the scribes.

St. Sisynnios is one of the equestrian Saints widely respected in Ethiopia.[6] Even so, his images are not as popular as those of the Archangel Michael or St. George the Victorious. Consequently, it is not much what can be said about his iconography. Images of the saint are rarely included in the scrolls or depicted on the altars of churches. On the basis of the few available examples, it can be concluded that the main principle of the iconography is identical to that of St. George. The horse is white and he carries a spear in his right hand. Only the evil force under the hooves is different. St. George kills the serpent (dragon) and St. Sisynnios kills the female witch. Visual representations, though rare, are always solemn and bright.[7] They illustrate the victory of good over evil, the central motif of the Christian faith. The evil forces are defeated, often by the sword.[8]

It is worth mentioning that Ethiopians are generally prone to superstition and magical practices. In the countryside – but not exclusively there (!) – people often fear evil forces, consult fortune tellers and so-called sorcerers and order the fabrication of protective scrolls. The scrolls, fabricated for tourists as souvenirs, sometimes represent archaic features in both contents (copied from a much older prototype) and the manner of writing. Today they are rarely worn on necklaces, but are mounted instead in a house.[9] Since the scrolls are often made for tourists, the St. Sisynnios' legend continues to be used in written form in Ethiopia.

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[6] See for instance: BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA 2005.
[7] Ethiopian fine art is quite schematic, symbolic in character and idiosyncratic. It stands apart both from the general Christian tradition (though developed under the Byzantine influence) and from local African art. To perceive it in a proper manner, one requires a special approach and preparation.
[8] Frequently, one sword is depicted stuck in the body of Wurzelya and another in the right hand of the Saint. This illustrates the wish of the Ethiopians not to leave the saint alone, unprotected, with no weapon, always ready to fight evil (an ingenious way!). Another similar example – the icons of St. Takla Haymanot. According to his vitae, he lost one leg at the end of his life. Out of compassion for this saint, Ethiopian painters depict his leg nearby, him standing on one leg.
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Native and Non-native Saints
in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century
Irish-Language Charm Historiolas

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Abstract: An examination of surviving healing charm texts originating in Ireland between 1700 and the mid-nineteenth century suggests a strong link between the contents of this corpus and a select few national saints (Columcille, Bridget, and Patrick) and international Catholic religious figures (Christ, Mary, and the Apostles). By contrast, local Irish saints, which otherwise figure so prominently in religious practices of the time, are significantly underrepresented in the Irish charm corpus of this time period. This essay looks at the long-term status of highly localized saints in religious and medical discourse, the effect of church centralization in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and the rise of select national saints as factors in this feature of the Irish charms.

Keywords: Irish charms, Irish saints, eighteenth-century charm practices, nineteenth-century charm practices, Saint Columcille, medical charms, healing charms

Discussion of religious figures appears consistently in surviving charm examples from the medieval period to the present, with key Christian figures such as Jesus, Mary, and the saints featuring heavily in the European corpus from which many of the readily identifiable international charm types have been derived. One of the most widely circulated charms, for example, the Super Petram type, features Jesus assisting St. Peter, who has been struck by toothache, by enabling his removal from a marble or stone seat. Another, the *Crux Christi* type, centres on the parallels between the trembling of Christ as he neared crucifixion and the shaking induced by fever to enable the curing of the patient's illness. The prevalence of *historiolae* in charm texts, in which short descriptions of events or actions seem to symbolize the loosening of illness from the afflicted or the blocking of sickness in the first place, was particularly suited to the popularity of saints' lives in European culture, epitomized by texts such as the *Legenda Aurea,* or *Golden Legend,* by Jacobus de Voragine, compiled in 1275 in manuscript form and one of the most popular printed books by the fifteenth century. The format of these lives, with collated short episodes of saintly deeds, closely echoes many of the similarly short episodes that lie at the centre of charm texts featuring such figures.

In Ireland as well, Christian figures, including saints, were a salient aspect of the charm corpus that has been compiled, spanning the ninth (and possibly earlier) to the twentieth centuries. Indeed, we might expect saints – and local saints in particular – to feature heavily in the Irish corpus given the sheer number of native holy figures that populated the medieval Irish landscape. In this, Ireland was not alone, as the proliferation of local saints across the landscape of Rome-centred Christendom, particularly in early Christian times, is well known to scholars. As anthropologist Lawrence Taylor has noted, however, Ireland also had in common with other more fringe geographical locations in Christian countries the tendency to focus on eremitic monasticism, with its love of harsh, barren environments as a place to site monasteries or engage in ascetic isolation (TAYLOR 1995:40–41). From these monks were derived the dense legions of early Irish saints, often as many as one or two per locality, in a focused cult of sainthood that usually included an associated holy well and a community of adherents that T. M. Charles-Edwards has suggested evolved into the parish in the late medieval period (CHARLES-EDWARDS 2004:81).

A few features of this slate of thousands of saints are relevant to the larger question of religious figures in charms, in particular because of the contrast between their large numbers and the relatively limited number of Christian persons that appear in exemplars of the later charms. There is the mobility and rootlessness of these saints, a function, as Taylor notes, of their origins in a tribalistic people driven by animal-husbandry, such as was prevalent in early Irish society of the ancient and medieval period. In fact, to this day only a handful of Irish individuals received sainthood through an official process. Instead, they achieved sainthood through local church acclamation in the period pre-dating the creation of centralized Roman entry points to canonization. Moreover, their hagiographic accounts are filled with discussions of wild adventures and endless wanderings undertaken by the saints, more akin to Irish hero-tales of the famous Ulster or Fenian cycles than to those of the later Italian-centred church. So limited was the reach of these saints that in some cases they do not appear in any surviving episodes in the Lives. Nor have they more than a single church (or *cille*) associated with them, suggesting that their renown extended no farther than the intensely local population who provided participants for the religious figure's cult.

Despite this local reach, all of the ingredients would appear to be in place for these religious figures to serve as protagonists in charm *historiolae*. Local Irish saints worked numerous healing miracles in the accounts of their lives, and their personalities strike modern ears as robust, almost warrior-like figures adept at vanquishing enemy forces that threatened the early Christian community, whether sickness or disbelief. The imagery of blockage, release, and striking at sickness so common in charms would seem to be a perfect match for these saints. Nevertheless – and this comes to the heart of this essay – the surviving charm corpus does not strongly feature Ireland's local saints, at least not when we come to the charms of the modern period, from 1700 onward. By contrast, local religious figures, whether Christian or pre-Christian, were not unknown in the surviving medieval corpus. The *c.* ninth-century St. Gall codex and the tenth- or eleventh-century Stowe Missal, for example, cite the deity Goibniu, a metal smith Celtic god akin to Vulcan; the native healer Dian Cécht; and Saint Íbar (STOKES – STRACHAN 1975:2:248–49; TUOMI 2013; BORSJE 2012:204–206; 2016:40). A native healer from the Ulster hero cycle is indirectly referenced in an impotency charm of medieval provenance, and Saint Áed in an early Latin-language charm for headaches (BERNHARDT-HOUSE 2007; CAREY

2004:19–21; BEST 1952:32; SCHLUTTER 1899:71–74; STOKES 1890:324). Even for this early period, however, non-Irish figures like Christ and Paul, and even Old Testament names such as Isaiah, Solomon, and Abraham, appear as often in the surviving examples. In addition, later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century charm texts seem to exhibit a trend toward non-local figures – though further research is needed – with abundant references to St. Luke, Mary, and the trio of Irish national saints, Bridget, Patrick, and Columcille, but not the local saints who otherwise figure so prominently in Irish folk healing and belief cultures.[1]

   For the modern charms of the last three hundred years, a similar focus on Christ, Mary, the Apostles, and the Irish national saints Bridget, Patrick, and Columcille is also noticeable. I have not found any mention of a locally based saint among the 79 charms I have examined in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish-language manuscripts to date, nor do they appear among the first lines of charms catalogued in other studies of Irish charm types.[2] This would indicate that of a corpus of over 300 charm texts, and likely closer to 350 or 375 once the handful of charm reliquaries is fully examined, the number of religious figures with local (as opposed to national) connections among the surviving Irish charm texts of the modern period will be disproportionately small or nearly non-existent. This is not to say that specifically Irish themes do not exist in the corpus – Irish place names and family names are referenced, for example – but that charm texts of this period tend to be, by and large, a question of generically international *historiola* combined with a strong focus on the three national saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columcille.

   On one level, this should not be a surprising state of affairs. The larger Irish historical context concerning religious developments in the two centuries leading up to 1900 mitigated strongly against the featuring of local saints in religiously tinged, more general cultural practices. Most saliently, local saints had all too often been side-lined by the early modern, and certainly by the modern period, by the growing cult dedicated to the national saints cited above, not to mention the generic Christianity symbolized by figures like Christ, Mary, and Peter. Taylor, for example, citing the work of William Christian in the 1970s on similar displacement of local saints in the Spanish context, and Peter Harbison's investigation of the transference of the object of local pilgrimages and other rituals away from early Christian and pre-Christian figures, highlights this trend toward nationally recognized individuals such as Columcille. This shift, in turn, had its ramifications for healing practices, most notably the holy wells that were dedicated to saints and possessed healing properties for those who performed *turas* (penitent rounds) at the well sites and ingested the waters (TAYLOR 1995:43–45). With the arrival of the so-called Irish Catholic "devotional revolution" of the nineteenth century, and with it an even greater emphasis by church officials on alternate, respectable forms of religiosity, the wells were subject to scrutiny, and in many cases closure, by religious authorities. The

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[1] CARNEY – CARNEY 1961:144–145. Note also the alternate translations for aspects of these charms offered in STIFTER 2007.

[2] The majority of these charms have been located in the Gaelic manuscript collections of the National Library of Ireland and Royal Irish Academy (RIA). The RIA manuscripts have also been the source of a catalogue of charms found within this collection by CHAMPAGNE 2001. Additional charms have been identified in print publications, most notably HYDE 1972.

preferred alternative in this period – private prayer, mass attendance, and internationally recognized chapel-centred forms of worship – represented yet another denial of local saints in favour of internationally acceptable prayers and liturgical responses based around Marian, or at least canonically recognized, figures.

The overall transformation in Irish Catholic religious practices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – particular in the latter as the loosening of legal restrictions on Catholic property ownership paved the way for a strong program in church building and clerical instruction, both essential to a reassertion of centralized control over expressions of religiosity – were not the only factors that may have influenced the forms that charms in Ireland took in this period. The Irish church was increasingly clerically dominated and universalized (owing to its centralization) in its characteristics. It was also increasingly Marian as mainland European interest in such devotions, cemented by the apparition at Lourdes in 1858, consolidated strength. The popularity of the Sodality of the Children of Mary and the Marian characteristics of the Catholic parish mission movement that took hold in Ireland in mid-century contributed to the growth of these forms of worship in Ireland (Donnelly 1993). With so much focus on Mary, local religious figures were once again prone to displacement, and we might expect the same among surviving charms texts.

The final development in the modern period, with antecedents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which contributed to the elevation of saints such as Patrick, Bridget, and Columcille, was the perpetuation of a new generation of Tridentine publication of saints' lives and catechetical treatments of Catholic practice that performed precisely this service. As Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie have explained, the need for enthusiasts of the Irish place in global Catholicism to ensure the prominence of Irish saints in a new world of verifiable miracles and established lines to canonization meant a flurry of activity to reshape these three saints as representative of the great tradition of Irish Christianity for a post-Trent audience. Thus, key publications by Thomas Messingham and John Colgan on the lives of saints served to expand on the repertoire of miracle-workings by Patrick, Bridget, and Columcille, and also to elevate their position as native missioners for the Irish Catholic church over others (Cunningham – Gillespie 1995:90, and 93–97). Given that these written lives experienced considerable popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth century within the very same Irish-language manuscripts that contain so many of the existing charm exemplars, it would seem natural for these saints to be so much more intimately connected with charm practices than the thousands of other Irish saints that might have figured in the corpus.[3]

Columcille seems to receive strong attention in the surviving charm corpus of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He can be identified in at least a dozen charm instances, a larger concentration than that of either St. Patrick or St. Bridget. A late-eighteenth-century manuscript assembled by Fearghal Ó Raghallaigh in either County Meath or County Cavan in the 1790s provides one such example in a charm for a mote in the eye:

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[3]   On the popularity of Patrick, Bridget, and Columcille in the Irish-language writing of these two
      centuries, see Wolf 2014:199–201.

"Othra chuir Muire le súil Cholum Cille, air bhroth, air bhrínnin, air cholg, air choinnlíon, air sgúaba láir, ar smár [? smál?] líon, air duradan, no nídh air bith eille, iaruim ar rúgh na ndíuil [sic] cebe ta inn do thsúil go ceasaidh sé inn mo bhéul" (British Library MS Egerton 155, art. 17).

[A charm that Mary put on the eye of Columcille, on the hot eruption(?), on a spine, on a stalk, on a floor broom, on a blot of linen, on the mote, or anything else, I ask (…) whatever is in your eye to be transferred to my mouth.]

Remedies for thorns, dog bites, toothaches, and especially eye ailments are the charm functions most well-represented in the Columcille charms, all of which fall within medical themes. This focus on healing capabilities is in keeping with the trends that accompanied the general rise of the cults of saints Bridget, Patrick, and Columcille in the Tridentine context. Modern hagiographical understandings of these figures likewise focused on their miraculous powers, prophetic abilities, and, in the case of Patrick, patriarchal position as representative of the Irish Church. All three saints acquired a strong following in folklore practices in general, as in the widespread use of the protective straw objects known as *cros bride,* or St. Bridget's cross.[4]

Columcille in particular acquired a reputation as an effective saint to receive petitions for healing as well as harm (Lacey 1997:95). Born by all accounts in Donegal in the early sixth century, and alternatively known as Saint Columba, the saint was a member of the powerful Uí Néill family that would completely dominate the northern Ulster province of Ireland until the early seventeenth century. Fostered by a priest, and thus clearly intended for the church at an early age, Columcille is believed to have founded his major monastic settlement on the island of Iona off the coast of Scotland around 563. His principle biographies are the Latin life written by Adomnán, an abbot of Iona, in the late seventh century, and the expansive Irish-language modern life written by Magnus Ó Domhnaill in the sixteenth century. Tellingly, whereas Adomnán's life had been sparse on biographical details and focused on his piety and prophecies, offering an impression of a firm monastic founder and even a figure prone to anger, Ó Domhnaill and his team of scholars assembled what has been deemed an "encyclopedic" compendium of everything known or believed about the saint (Breen 2009; Lacey 1997:93). Thus, it is the later life that has been packed with all manner of miracles, activities, and events, and where more fruitful connections between the themes and functions of the charm corpus and Columcille's life can be uncovered.

One episode from the life by Ó Domhnaill resonates with the frequent association of Columcille with charms cures for the eye. In this episode, a member of the religious community comes to Columcille while he is resident in Scotland, seeking a remedy for the ailing eyes of his mother and sister. The saint prescribes placing salt that he has blessed in water and applying that water to the eyes, yielding a restoration of their health. The salt is then described as having further protective powers against fire, such that the vessel in which it has been kept survives a devastating fire that occurs days after the healing. A magic salt that cannot succumb to fire is also described in the life by Adomnán, but whereas certain themes in that story – the receiving of the blessed salt by two women,

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4   On St. Bridget crosses, see O'Dowd 2015.

for example – were clearly adapted by Ó Domhnaill, the power of Columcille to heal eyesight does not appear in the earlier life (O'KELLEHER – SCHOEPPERLE 1994:275; REEVES 1874:42–43). While this episode is by no means replicated in the charm corpus – in fact, in the most common eye ailment charms discussing Columcille, as in the one offered above, it is Mary who applies the remedy to Columcille, not the reverse – it does give an indication of the medical powers that were believed to have accrued to the saint, especially by the later period.

In the final estimation, instances of religious figures as an indicator of the mobility of charms is no different from the presence of other entities, like place names. That few local saints appear in the Irish charm texts in contrast to the frequent appearances of Bridget, Patrick, and Columcille strengthens our sense that charms – or at least the examples that survived in charm texts – by their nature moved long distances in their transmission, necessitating (or inserting) nationally or internationally known persons in place of hyperlocal figures. This does not necessarily exclude the presence of local religious figures in some charms that simply have not survived, and we should trust that a charm text that persists may very well be more likely to have been transmitted more often and at greater distance, enabling such endurance. Still, that conclusion also reinforces the prevalence and popularity of the surviving charm texts precisely because of their mobility, again affirming our sense that it was generic and universal figures who were most favored in the later charms. The dominance of Patrick, Bridget, Mary, Columcille, Peter, Luke, Paul, and Christ in the Irish charms also hints that many had taken the form found in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century corpus at a relatively recent date, given the rise of Marianist cults and of the saintly Irish trio in the early modern and especially the post-1700 period. Once again, charms prove to be at the same time extremely ancient in their roots and persistence, and yet always mutable and contemporary in their content and use.

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Narrative Charms in Late Medieval and Early Modern Wales

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Abstract: In this article I will consider the general development of Welsh narrative charms from the earliest examples (late fourteenth century) up to the first decades of the Early Modern Era in Wales (mid-to-late sixteenth century). I will focus on the most common narrative charm types of this time: those that feature the motifs of Longinus, the Three Good Brothers, and Flum Jordan or Christ's birth in Bethlehem. The development of these charms over time can provide insights into changing attitudes in Wales towards healing, religion, superstition, and even language. By the onset of the Early Modern era, Welsh narrative charms were increasingly subject to rhetorical expansions of the religious narratives that constituted the efficacious component of the charm. Additionally, by the end of the fifteenth century and into the early sixteenth, charms that once commonly featured Latin as the predominant language demonstrated an increased preference for the vernacular.[1]

Keywords: Celtic Studies, Welsh, charming, healing, narrative charms, medieval, early modern

INTRODUCTION

In 1594, Gwen ferch Ellis became the first person in Wales executed for witchcraft.[2] Known locally as a healer, it was Gwen's association with healing charms that played a part in implicating her in the charges of witchcraft. The evidence against Gwen included a Welsh charm, apparently written backwards, found inside the home of a prominent local family engaged in a dispute with a woman connected to Gwen. When asked by the court if she used charms, Gwen admitted to charming in order to heal sick men,

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[2] For more on Gwen's trial, along with trial documents of other witchcraft and witchcraft related legal cases in Wales, see SUGGETT 2019. See also SUGGETT 2008.

women, and children, along with animals. Another piece of evidence used against her was her proven ownership of at least one copy of the Gospel of John, which was itself often used as a charm.[3] Nearly a century before Gwen obtained her copy, the *In principio* of the Gospel of John was recorded into at least two separate Welsh manuscripts in a way that clearly indicates that these texts functioned as healing charms.[4] Cases such as Gwen's demonstrate the idiosyncratic ways in which healing practices were regarded throughout history as well as the instability of the boundaries between medicine, magic, and religion. During Gwen's lifetime – the first decades of the Early Modern Era in Wales – healing charms were routinely copied into manuscripts that featured medical writing, religious works, and other poetry and prose. For Gwen, however, association with certain healing charms led to her conviction and ultimate death.[5] In general, the charms of this epoch display remarkable continuity from the charms of medieval Wales, although their structure and function were adapted to a considerable degree – most noticeably over the course of the later fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century. This article will present some of the most commonly used narrative charms from later medieval Wales up to the beginning of the early modern era, taking into consideration the ways in which the structure and function of narrative charms changed over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6] It is fairly clear that the later narrative charms appearing in Welsh manuscripts display a propensity for expanded rhetoric within the biblical narrative while also demonstrating a decline in the inclusion of Latin as the fifteenth century draws to a close and the sixteenth century commences.[7]

  Narrative charms most often feature *historiolae:* short narratives about Christ, saints, biblical characters, or events from religious or mythological cycles. The tales create a connection between the past narrative and the situation of the patient or charm-user

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[3] The Prologue, or the *in principio,* was used in the Middle Ages by Mendicant Friars when begging, but it was also used as a charm to drive out demons, bad dreams, and even to cure epilepsy, often referred to as *morbus Sancti Johannis.* In the late twelfth century, Gerald of Wales stated that the ignorant people of his day believed that the *in principio* could exorcise demons. Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, ed. J.S Brewer, Rolls Series, 1862, Vol II p 129. See also R.A Law in P.M.L.A Vol XXXVII (1922), 208–215 and E.G.CF Atchley in *Trans. St Pauls Ecclesiol Soc.,* Vol IV (1896–1900), p 161–176.

[4] In both cases, the *in principio* is found among and between healing charms and medical remedies. Additionally, rather than being translated into Welsh, or written in Latin with Latin orthography, the *in principio* was written orthographically in Welsh, though it remained essentially Latin, a point I will return to later. Rather than translating it into Welsh, which would have been pretty standard for a religious work of that time, the text was kept in Latin, but written in Welsh orthography, transliterated, or transcribed, for or by someone unfamiliar with Welsh. The ways in which the text was transmitted in these instances, along with the manuscript context in which they are found, indicate quite clearly that they functioned as healing charms in both cases.

[5] Social class was also a factor in Gwen's case, and, as Richard Suggett has demonstrated, it should be noted that Gwen would have most likely been allowed to live in peace and under the radar had it not been for the involvement of (and threat to) a wealthy local family. See SUGGETT (2019) for more.

[6] Scholars of Welsh history typically view the Laws in Wales 1535–1542 as the time of transition from medieval to early modern.

[7] There is a fairly significant disparity between extant sources from the earlier period (late fourteenth century/early fifteenth century) and those of the later period (mid fifteenth century to the early modern era). Nevertheless, there is a discernible development in the Welsh charms, most notably in those that can be classified as "narrative charms".

in the present. The power of a narrative charm lies in this perceived link between past and present, and the virtue and potency of the charm is in its ability to dissolve the boundaries between narrative past and present reality. In other words, the circumstances of narrative parallel the situation in the present and will affect the present through a sort of homeopathic magic.[8] In the medieval narrative charms of Western Europe, the *historiolae* were often biblical or apocryphal episodes that became identified with a particular malady. For example, many charms to stop bleeding use the motif of the waters of Jordan standing still when Christ was baptized. The efficacy of this charm depends on the link between the power of the Christian imagery and the present condition of the patient. As Lea Olsan points out, healing charms in medieval Christianity are most often found when a primary feature of the ailment coincided with a culturally charged image that could be effectively expressed as a charm. A specific charm motif is associated with its symptom by a specific image or word – what Lea Olsan calls the "semantic motif" of a charm (OLSAN 2004). As she has pointed out in her work on verbal charms in England, the existence of a medieval charm (or prayer) to cure an ailment probably depends less on the inherent nature of the medical condition than on the cultural perceptions of the disease or symptom (ibid.). The ways in which charms are ingrained in cultural memory rely on the "indexical relationship" between symptoms associated with specific motifs that are used as a cure (ibid.). According to Olsan, the language of a charm enables the simultaneous representation of a sacred past, living predicament and future expectation (ibid. See also OLSAN 1992).

WELSH MANUSCRIPT SOURCES AND CHARMING TRADITIONS

Before examining specific Welsh charms, it will be useful to provide a very general context for Welsh manuscript production in the Middle Ages. The earliest manuscripts containing Welsh texts date from the middle of the thirteenth century. Before that, there are few examples of written Welsh, primarily found as *marginalia* and fragments. There are few early medieval manuscripts extant from Wales. No more than twenty manuscripts, including fragments, survive from Wales between the eighth and twelfth centuries.[9] For the whole of the medieval period, it is estimated that only about 250 manuscripts survive from Wales, and only about 160 surviving manuscripts from that period are in Welsh (HUWS 2000). These texts include the earliest collections of Welsh poetry, Welsh legal texts and prose. The period from 1250 to about 1400 resulted in approximately eighty books in Welsh, including fragments and incomplete books (HUWS 2000:40). Of these eighty or so Welsh books, five feature significant medical writing: four are dedicated medical manuscripts, and another compilation of various Welsh material features large sections on medicine. It is almost entirely from these early medical books that we get our

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[8] For more on narrative charms see BOZÓKY 2013:101. Many thanks to both Lea Olsan and Katherine Hindley for several stimulating discussions of narrative charms in the Welsh and English traditions. The work of both of these scholars has informed my own work on the Welsh charming tradition.

[9] ibid. The earliest surviving Welsh book is the 8th century Gospel of St. Chad, at Litchfield Cathedral.

earliest Welsh charms (prior to approximately 1400).[10] We are thus slightly limited by the relatively small sample size of charms available to us in Welsh manuscripts before the mid-fifteenth century, at which point charms burst onto the scene, either due to an explosion in popularity, or an increase in the output of the types of manuscripts that included charms among their texts.

Most Welsh charms are found scattered throughout the pages of composite manuscripts that feature medical writing, along with religious prose and poetry, and other miscellanies. There are only two dedicated books of medicine that feature considerable collections of charms, and both of these manuscripts represent the two largest collections of Welsh charms in any manuscript from the period in question.[11] One, Cardiff Ms. 3.242 (c. 1375–1400), features a collection of about a dozen charms in Welsh, of which about half are narrative charms. These narrative charms include significant Latin text and use popular European narrative charm motifs such as Christ's crucifixion under Pontius Pilate (for tertian ague), Felix Apollonia (for toothache), and Longinus for bleeding. All of the Welsh charms of Cardiff Ms. 3.242, narrative or not, feature operative Latin words or phrases which derive from the Christian liturgy. This manuscript also features an equal amount of purely Latin charms with no headings or directions in Welsh. All of the Latin charms in this manuscript are narrative charms of the types common to medieval Europe and England. The second dedicated book of medicine to feature a significant collection of charms in Welsh is National Library of Wales Peniarth Ms. 204, a composite manuscript of several medical texts from the second half of the fifteenth century up to the mid-sixteenth century, all brought together in their current form at some point in the sixteenth century (Daniel Huws, unpublished book manuscript, accessed with the assistance of Catherine McKenna, Harvard University, and *Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru,* Aberystwyth.). The charms in this manuscript date from the early to mid-sixteenth century and are mostly narrative charms, though they are less similar to the commonly circulated narrative charms of medieval England and Europe.

For the most part, charms were copied into Welsh manuscripts in a seemingly indiscriminate manner. They were often included in sections that featured medical recipes, as would be expected, but they were also often dispersed among religious poetry and prose, or in whatever space would accommodate them in a given manuscript. However, they are less frequently included as *marginalia,* and when it is clear that they were added by a later hand, they are most frequently added onto unused pages at the beginnings and ends of quires. There are relatively few Latin-only charms in Welsh manuscripts. Most of them that use Latin as the primary language are at the very least tagged with a Welsh heading that alerts readers of the charm's purpose. Additionally, they most often feature closing directions in Welsh, pertaining to the practical application and/or performance of the charm. The charms often feature some minimal rubrication in which the tag or heading is featured in red ink. Most charms in Welsh manuscripts

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[10]   There are a few late fourteenth-century charms found in later manuscripts, having at some point been bound with the later texts.

[11]   Here I consider a collection of ten or more charms to be a "significant collection". Most manuscripts with charms feature anywhere between one to five charms, and they are often not found in direct succession of each other as they are in the case of Cardiff 3.242 and National Library of Wales Peniarth Manuscript 204.

feature large crosses between the operative words or phrases, which is fairly common in other charming traditions of medieval Western Europe. These crosses likely indicate the point at which the performer of the charm was meant to make the sign of the cross over the wound or person receiving it. On the whole, copyists seem less inclined to include these specific types of crosses in later Welsh manuscripts of the early modern era, at least as far as I have observed. Another notable feature of Welsh charms is the distinct lack of herbal medicine that accompanies the charm. In fact, I can recall only a few charms from the period in question that also feature herbal medicinal advice within the overall text of the charm. In manuscripts that feature charms and herbal remedies for the same ailments, it is uncommon to find them in direct succession.

Charm types vary among Welsh manuscripts from the medieval to early modern eras. Vernacular narrative charms are popular, as are verbal charms which feature operative words and phrases taken from the Christian tradition. Verbal charms for the bites of snakes and dogs, along with narrative and non-narrative charms fot toothache, narrative charms for bleeding and general blows and wounds are the most prevalent. There are a handful of complex charms for protection from the evil eye, bewitching or greed, along with charms for various other medical ailments, such as scrofula, abscesses on fingers or toes, and epilepsy. Interestingly, the narrative charms for epilepsy that exist in Welsh manuscripts are never in Welsh, but instead are written in English or Latin, and all include the Three Kings narrative motif. Generally, the charms of Welsh manuscripts are completely in the vernacular, or they are dual-language charms that display the heading and directions for practical application in Welsh, while the operative words are in Latin. There are relatively few English charms in Welsh manuscripts, and these tend to be exclusively for epilepsy or staunching blood. The majority of charms from medieval and early modern Wales focus on the staunching of blood from a wound, or the general healing of a wound. There has been only one published study of medieval Welsh healing charms: a very helpful general sampling, in Welsh, of a handful of charms and prayers found within medieval and early modern Welsh manuscripts (Roberts 1965). I hope that this paper will contribute in some small way, providing an overview of some of the most common narrative charm types in the Welsh tradition before the onset of the modern era.

THE LONGINUS CHARM TYPE IN WELSH MANUSCRIPTS

Of all the charms for blood loss and general wound healing, the most prevalently copied charm type was the Longinus motif, which was common in Western Europe and continued to be used well into the early modern and modern periods.[12] This charm type is among the earliest Welsh examples of healing charms, and its transformation over time yields interesting insights into the changing function of the charm and the preferred use of the vernacular over Latin, which becomes most apparent from about the early-to-mid sixteenth century. The earliest extant Welsh Longinus charm is found in Cardiff Ms. 3.242, the late fourteenth-century medical manuscript briefly outlined above, which features two

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[12]   While my focus is on Welsh healing charms up to about 1600 at the latest, Owen Davies has presented some fascinating charms circulating in Britain in a later era. For more see Davies 1996.

large collections of charms: one in Welsh and one in Latin.[13] In this manuscript, the Welsh charms are generally grouped together, as are the Latin, though the two collections are kept separate. While all of the Latin charms in this particular manuscript are narrative, only four of the vernacular Welsh healing charms conform to that genre.

> "Rac gwaetlin o wythien mal o le arall ysgriuenna y geireu hynn: Longeus miles latus domini perforauit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua + In nomine patris stet sanguis + In nomine filii restet sanguis + In nomine spiritus sancti non exeat gutta. Ter fiet ista benedictio et restet sanguis." (Huws, unpublished.)

> [For bleeding from a vein or from another place, write these words: the soldier Longeus pierced the side of the Lord and blood and water immediately flowed out + In the name of the father let the blood stop + In the name of the son let the blood stand firm + In the name of the holy spirit let not a drop escape. Thrice let this blessing be done and let the blood stop.][14]

As is fairly typical of the earliest healing charms in Welsh manuscripts, the charm uses Latin for the words of power, while the heading and the directions for the application of the charm are in the vernacular. What sets this charm apart from similar, contemporary Welsh-Latin charms is that the scribe did not revert to Welsh for the final directions pertaining to the recitation and practical use of the charm, which is the standard for such dual-language charms in Welsh manuscripts. This is one of the very few times in which the instructions are given in Latin, and it is notable that this manuscript features medical writing not only in Welsh, but in Latin and even Anglo-Norman French.

Another quite early Welsh example of the Longinus narrative charm is found in National Library of Wales Ms. Peniarth 47, which itself partly dates to the mid or late fourteenth century, though the charms, found on the last page of the manuscript, are likely fifteenth-century additions. This composite manuscript primarily features historical writing in Latin and Welsh. The charms are found alongside Welsh texts that focus on prophecy and instructions for diet and bloodletting. The Longinus charm here is unique, at least within the Welsh tradition, for its fusion to a purely Latin charm, also for staunching blood. The Latin charm uses the motif of Nicodemus pulling the nails from Christ's wound on the cross – the only known use of this motif in a Welsh manuscript – and is written entirely in Latin, including the heading and directions for application of the charm. On the page, the Nicodemus charm flows naturally into the Longinus charm, and it is only due to the rubricated Welsh heading added on the right margin beside the start of the Longinus text where we can discern that the scribe at least saw these as two separate charms, or at least separate components. While the Nicodemus charm is fully Latin, including the rubricated heading, the Longinus

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[13] For an edition and translation of this manuscript, see JONES (1955–1956), though she tends to omit significant parts of the charm texts, namely the "prayers" and "prayer-like" lines of the charms. More recently, Diana Luft has undertaken a new study of this manuscript and has generously shared some of her own transcriptions and translations for comparison. Additionally, the staff at the Cardiff Central Library, in particular Lesley Jenkins, graciously made the manuscript available for me to consult on very short notice.

[14] All translations are my own.

charm is rubricated via the Welsh marginal title *rac gwaetlyn* (for bleeding). The charm is then given in Latin, in the main body of text:

> "Longius ebreus miles latus domini nostri jesu christ perforavit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua. Sanguis redemtionis et aqua baptisivatis. In nomine patris + cessat sanguis + In nomine filiis restat sanguis + In nomine spiritus sancti amplius non exeat sanguis." (National Library of Wales Ms. Peniarth 47 iii, page 31.)

> [The Hebrew soldier Longinus pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ and blood and water immediately ran out. The blood of redemption and the water of baptism. In the name of the father + the blood ceases[15] + In the name of the son the blood stands firm + In the name of the Holy Spirit let the blood not run out any more.]

Immediately following, in the main body of text, is another rubricated heading entitled *rac gwaetlyn hevyt* (also for bleeding), which contains the typical Welsh directions concerning the application of the charm, including how many times to recite certain prayers.

> "Rac gwaetlyn hefyt. Ysgrivenner wrth penn ywch y geireu hynn: a + g + l + a teir gweith a thri phader a thri ave maria."

> [Also for bleeding. Write on (the) forehead[16] these words: a + g + l + a three times and three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias.]

Although this seems like a possible additional charm, I read it as a continuation of the Latin charm above. In dual-language Welsh and Latin healing charms, the directions for the performance and application of the charm typically come after the operative Latin words of the charm. Most often these charms do not include special additional rubrication or distinction as seen in the charm above, although this does occur on a few occasions. It seems, however, that on this page the scribe was perhaps unable to distinguish the end of one charm and the beginning of the next, or it may suggest that such distinctions were of no real consequence to the scribe.

The Longinus charms above represent the earliest attested Welsh forms of such charms (late fourteenth and early fifteenth century). This is possibly the oldest Welsh version to associate the blood with redemption and the water with baptism or cleansing. The earliest Welsh Longinus charms are generally short, and use Welsh sparingly. Despite the heavy use of Latin operative words and phrases in many of these earlier Welsh charms, the Longinus motif is not found as a solely Latin charm, nor in an exclusively Latin context,

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[15]   It is perhaps of note that this verb, in the Latin, and the following verb, were not given in the subjunctive, as was the case in the charm above (and as is the case in the last verb of this current charm). Perhaps this was simply a mistake on the part of the copyist or the text he may have been copying from, or perhaps it is indicative of the copyist's level of familiarity with Latin.

[16]   Or, 'above the head'.

in Welsh manuscripts, as is the case with some other Latin narrative motifs.[17] Rather, the earliest Longinus charms feature Welsh headings and instructions. However, the Welsh Longinus charm type undergoes a distinct change that seems to begin around the later fifteenth century and continues well into the sixteenth. An early sixteenth-century version of the Longinus charm type reads thus:

> "I stopio gwaed. Longyns marchoc evrddol ebrv a roddet i wayw ruddevydd yn i law I yllu stlus yr Arglwyd ni Iesu crist oni ddoedd frwd o waed ir yn prynv ni oni ddoeth frwd o ddwr er yn golchi ni. Da di waedd gwstadta di waed croes crist waed rag na roedtech di mwy .N. et postea dicat pater noster et ponit folium de vrtica in lesione: I ystopio gwaed vn supra." (National Library of Wales Ms. Llanstephan 10, page 15.)

> [To stop blood. Longinus the dubbed Hebrew knight put his reddened lance in his hand to pierce the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that a stream of blood came out in order to save us, and so that a stream of water came out in order to cleanse us. Let your blood be good, let your blood stop. (By the) blood of Christ's cross, blood, do not run out more, N[omen]. And then let him say a Pater Noster and put a leaf of nettle in the wound: to stop blood above.]

This charm, which dates to the early sixteenth century, reveals the onset of the trend of rhetorical expansion and amplification of the Longinus narrative. Here, he is not referred to by the Latin title *Longinus miles,* but by the expanded Welsh epithet *Longyns marchoc evrddol ebrv,* 'Longinus the dubbed Hebrew knight'. The charm also expands the narrative pertaining to the piercing of Christ's side, and from this point onwards this charm-type always specifies that he pierced Christ's side with his reddened or bloody lance. Although this charm is representative of the ways in which Longinus charms began to change, there are a couple of aspects that are unique to it. It is extremely rare that a Welsh charm reverts to Latin from Welsh in order to present the instructions for the practical application of the charm. The Latin charm discussed earlier, from Cardiff Ms. 3.242, delivers the instructions in Latin, but since it is entirely in Latin, we might expect the directions to follow suit. In the sixteenth-century charm above, the copyist only uses Latin in order to instruct that certain prayers be said, along with an accompanying herbal prescription. Additionally, this is one of very few charms that offers any sort of herbal medicinal advice within the charm. It is found within a manuscript that consists mostly of medical writing, along with some religious prose and poetry. The text is almost entirely in Welsh, accompanied by a few pages of English medical recipes.

Longinus charms are routinely adapted and their general structure and forms develop throughout the sixteenth century, broadly displaying a distinct focus on the vernacular over Latin and a marked tendency for rhetorical expansion. Two Longinus charms, along with a shorter charm to stop bleeding that uses the Christ born in Bethlehem motif, are included in one manuscript from the second half of the sixteenth century, National Library

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[17]   For example, some charm types only exist in Welsh manuscripts in Latin contexts. A Latin charm for an eye blemish features the only use of the Nichasius motif that I have thus far uncovered in Welsh. Similarly, the charms that feature Peter sitting on a stone, or in the gates of Galilee are specific Latin charms that were not, for whatever reason, featured in vernacular charms in Welsh manuscripts.

of Wales Ms. 873b, a collection of religious and moral texts with some astrological and medical writing. The first Longinus charm reads:

> "Llyma sswyn i stopio gwaed brath nai ddyrnod. Mi a y swyna y ty waed val yr ygorodd loyngyt farychoc yrddol o ebriw ar gwayw ryddefydd ar ysdlys Jesu Grist yn Harglwydd ni, oni a ddeth or brath ddwy frwd: un o waed er yn prynu ni ac un o ddwfwr er yn golychi ni. Yr wy yn gorychymyn iti, waed, ystopo. Yn enw y tad ar mab, na cherdda di, waed. Yn enw yr ysbryd glan nag ystoc, waed. Yn enw y tad a'r mab a'r ysbryd glan. A dwaid swyn hwnn tair gwaith a henwa y dyn i bo y waed yn kerdded a dod dy law ar y ben a dowaid v pader a ffymp afi mareia a chredo er yn rydedd yr pymp archoll prynysinal a ddioddefodd yn harglwydd ni jesu grist er tyny enaid dyn o kaethiwed yffern." (National Library of Wales Ms. 873b, page 35.)

[Here is a charm to stop blood from a bite or blow.[18] I charm you, blood, just as Longyt (Longinus) the dubbed Knight from Israel cut the side of our Lord Jesus Christ with the reddened lance, until two streams came from the wound: one of blood in order to redeem us and one of water in order to cleanse us. They command you, blood, to stop in the name of the father, and [in the name] of the son do not flow, blood. In the name of the holy spirit do not stir, blood. In the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit, and say this charm three times and name of the person whose blood is flowing and bring your hand upon his head and say five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias and a Chredo in honour of the five redeeming wounds and the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ in order to pull the soul of man from the bonds of hell.]

Later in the same manuscript, the scribe provides a similar version of this charm.

> "Llyma swyn ysdopio gwaed dyn. Mi a swyna i ti waed val yr atores lownyslo farchoc yrddol or briw ar gwayw ryddefydd ar ystlys Jesu Grist yn harglwydd. a fond addoeth or brathay ddwy ffrwd, un o waed er yn pryny ar un llall er yn golychi mi, a orychmyna iti waed ystopio yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan nac ystoc wayd, yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. A dowaid y swyn yma dair gwaith a henwi y dyn y bo y waed yn kolli a rhoi i law ar y ben a dwedyd v pader a ffym afi mareai er anrydedd yr v arycholl pen a oedd ai gorff yn harglwydd ni jesu grist er tyny enaid dyn o yffern." (National Library of Wales Ms. 873b, page 251.)

[Here is a charm to stop blood of a man. I charm you, blood, just as Longinus the dubbed knight from Israel pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ with his reddened lance. And from the wounds came two streams, one of blood in order to redeem us and another in order to cleanse us. And I command you, blood, to stop, in the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit. Do not stir, blood, in the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit. And say the charm here three times and name the man whose blood is flowing and put your hand upon his head and say five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias in honour of the five wounds when they were upon the body of our Lord Jesus Christ in order to pull man's soul from hell.]

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[18]   Both words used here indicate a wound from which the skin is pierced. *Brath* means bite, but also a piercing or stabbing. Similarly, *dyrnod* means a blow, but in the sense of a cut or gash-a blow that significantly pierces the skin.

Both of these charms include a direct adjuration to the blood while continually identifying and addressing the blood. Additionally, these charms explicitly identify themselves as a charm *(swyn)* in the heading, and they use the verb *swyno,* 'to charm', whereas earlier charms do not typically call themselves a charm or use vocabulary that specifically relates to charming. By the early sixteenth century, charms typically identify themselves as such, using *swyn,* and their language tends toward threatening or challenging the disease or its cause, differentiating themselves from earlier ones. These changes coincide with a linguistic shift as well, and at this point they most often tend to be transmitted entirely in Welsh, with very minimal Latin.

From the later fifteenth century and well into the sixteenth century, Welsh narrative charms consistently show signs of rhetorical expansion and/or vernacularization. A final example of a Longinus charm from around the second half of the sixteenth century is found in National Library of Wales Ms. Peniarth 204, a Welsh manuscript featuring medical texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This charm was added to the first empty pages of the manuscript by a sixteenth-century scribe.

> "Llyma swyn y stobio gwaed brath nev i ddynion. Gwnaf i iti, waed, fal ir agores lonsivr y marchog vrddol dall o wlad yr Ebriw a'r gwaiw ruddefvdd yn ystlyss Iesu Grist yn harglwydd ni yni ddoeith dwy ffrwd, vn o waed er yn pryni ni ag vn o ddwr er yn golchi ni. Gorchymvn iti, waed, estobio yn enw'r dad, yn enw y mab. Na cherdda di, waed, yn yr Ysbryd Duw Glan. Nac ysgog di, waed, nag o gig nag o gnawd nag o ie nag o with. Yn enw dad, yn enw a'r mab a'r ysbryd dyw glan. A dowed y swyn yma deir r gwaith a heward yn y bor(e) swyn iddo y waed yn kolli a dyrro dy law ar i ben o byddi di yn gallu krydda ef a dowaid v bader a ffumb afi meria er anrydedd yr v archoll llydan a ddioddefodd yn harglwydd y ni iesv grist er brynv yr holl cristynogion y byd amen." (National Library of Wales Ms. Peniarth 204, page 1.)

> [Here is a charm to stop blood from a wound upon people. I will do to you, blood, just as Lonsiur (Longinus) the blind dubbed knight from the land of Israel pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ with the reddened/bloody lance, so that two streams came, one of blood in order to redeem us and one of water in order to cleanse us. I command you, blood, to stop in the name of the Father. In the name of the Son, do not flow, blood. In [the name of] the Holy Spirit of God, do not stir, blood, not from flesh nor from skin nor from tendons nor from veins. In the name of the Father, in the name of the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God. And say this charm three times with care in the morning. A charm for blood loss. Thrust your hand on his head if you are able to touch him and say five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias in honour of the five extensive wounds that our lord Jesus Christ suffered in order to redeem all the Christians of the world, Amen.]

This charm is one of the earliest Welsh examples I have found that mentions the tradition of Longinus being blind. It also displays the propensity for rhetorical expansion that was so common to this time. These sixteenth-century charms stand in sharp contrast to the earliest Welsh manuscript Longinus charm. Typical of later medieval Welsh charms, this one features direct addresses, conjurations, and adjurations to the malady – in this case, the blood flowing from the wound. The rhetoric of this charm threatens the wound, and the central speech act becomes the command to the malady or source of disease, along with the rhetoric of the narrative itself, which links the religious past to the reality of the present.

THREE GOOD BROTHERS, FLUM JORDAN,
AND CHRIST BORN IN BETHLEHEM

Although the Longinus motif is the most commonly used charm type for blows and wounds found in Welsh manuscripts of the later Middle Ages and through the onset of the early modern period, there are numerous examples of other popular motifs for stopping blood and for general wounds which include the Three Good Brothers Motif, Flum Jordan, and Christ born in Bethlehem. I have found two examples of the Three Good Brothers charm in Welsh manuscripts from the period in question. The following version comes from National Library of Wales Llanstephan Ms. 2, a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of religious, didactic, and narrative prose. The charms however, are likely from the end of the fourteenth century.[19]

> "O dri broder da pa le yr ewch chwi. Ni a awn heb wynt y uynyd olivet y geffiaw llysseuod y iacha braetheu. O dri broder da ymchwellwch dracheuyn a chymerwch oel wlyf ag wlan du a gwyn wy a dodwch wrth y bratheu a dywedwch yswyn hwnn. Mi a thynghedaf di vrath drwy rat a grym y pump archoll y rai a vuant yngwir diw ag wir ddyn ac ae kym[er]th yn y santeidia gorff er yn prynu ni. A[c] er y bronnau y rai aduneist di iessu gr[ist] hy[d] na doluryo ac na ddrewo ac na vo dr[wg] arogleu gan y brath hwnn mwyn noc y gan dy vratheu iessu grist namyn byt iachedic megis yr yachassant dy vratheu di iessu grist. Yn enw y tat ar mab ar ysbryt glan. A chanet tri phader er enryded yr goronn drayn + [ ] ben yr arglwd [remainder has either been erased or is heavily faded]." (National Library of Wales Ms. Llanstephan 2, page 346–347.)

> [O three good brothers where are you going. We are going, they said, to Mount Olivet to get herbs that heal wounds. O three good brothers, turn back, and take olive oil and black and white wool and put them on the bites and say this charm.
> I adjure you, wound, by the grace and strength of the five wounds that were upon the true God and true man, which he received in his most holy body in order to redeem us. And by the breasts that suckled you, Jesus Christ, let this wound not hurt nor rot nor putrefy anymore than your wounds did, Jesus Christ, but let it be healed just as your wounds, Jesus Christ. In the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit. And sing three Our Fathers in honour of the crown of thorns + [ ] head of the lord…]

The last lines of the charm have either been erased or have faded heavily. Situated between a dual-language charm in Welsh and Latin for a whitlow or felon and a Latin *Petrus Super Petram* charm type for fever, this charm interestingly specifies that it should be sung or chanted. The Welsh verb here is *canu,* and though its primary meaning is 'to sing', it can also mean 'to chant, intone', and even 'to say' and 'to compose' (Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, available online at http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk.). Both Welsh examples of a Three Good Brothers charm use *canu,* and to my knowledge they represent the only two examples of Welsh charms using this verb. The two charm variants are nearly identical, with the only real variations appearing at the beginning and end of the charm.

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[19] Huws, Daniel unpublished book manuscript, accessed with the assistance of Catherine McKenna, Harvard University, and *Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru,* Aberystwyth.

The second version, from the fifteenth century, begins by identifying itself explicitly as a charm *(swyn),* and goes on to explain that it was made by Jesus Christ and shown to the three brothers. This version of the charm comes at the end of a section of religious prose consisting mostly of hymns and prayers to certain saints. The use of the verb *canu* is interesting in this context as the hymns and prayers in the texts surrounding the charms would have had a natural emphasis on singing or chanting. Additionally, given its content, this charm, which says it was made by Jesus himself, fits well into a series of hymns and prayers.

Both manuscripts that feature a Three Good Brothers charm also feature a charm for a whitlow or felon. Both versions of this charm are also virtually identical, although the fifteenth-century version displays an interesting variation that encapsulates the shift in attitude towards the use of vernacular in charms. While the fourteenth-century charm for a whitlow or felon is overall shorter and more direct, featuring a fair amount of Latin, the early fifteenth-century version stipulates that it can be done in Latin or Welsh. This slightly later version displays the typical expansion and emphasis on the vernacular over Latin, though it does include a handful of Latin words and corrupt phrases.

Other narrative charms for bleeding and wounds commonly found in Welsh manuscripts include the motifs of Christ's birth in Bethlehem and his baptism in the river Jordan. National Library of Wales Ms. 873b also presents an additional charm to stop blood. This charm follows the Longinus charm, but its title suggests it was conceived as a completely separate charm, rather than an extension of the Longinus charm.

> "I attal gwaed. Gwna groes ar gyfer y gwaed drwy y geiriay hyn yn enw y tad ac velly kyn wired ageni jesu ymethlem ai vedyddio yn yrddonen ac val y safodd y dwr sa dithe ac nag yscoc waed yn enw gwelie yr arglwydd yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan." (National Library of Wales Ms. 873b page 36.)

> [To stop blood make a cross over the blood together with these words: in the name of the father and thus as truly as Jesus was born in Bethlehem and was baptized in the Jordan and just as the water stood still, so (shall) you, and do not stir, blood, in the name of the wounds of the lord, in the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit.]

This charm does not explicitly instruct the user to speak or write, but it seems likely that the words were meant to be spoken as the sign of the cross was being made over a bleeding wound. A similar charm is found in National Library of Wales Ms. Peniarth 53, consisting primarily of a collection of Welsh and English poetry from the late fifteenth century.

> "Y stopi gwayd. Yn gynta gwna groes ar yr archoll gan ddywedyd y fendith honn; jn nomine Patris et Filij etc. Kyn gywired ac y ganed Mab Dyw ym Bethelem ac y bedyddywyd yn dyfwr Jordan a chyn gywired ac y safwys y dyfwr, saf dithey waed. Jn nomine Patris etc., a dyweid pump Pader pymp Ave Maria a thr[ ] er ynrydedd yr pump archoll gan veddyleid am y ddioddei[feint]." (National Library of Wales Ms. Peniarth 53, page 83.)

> [To stop blood. First make the [sign of the] cross upon the wound while saying this blessing: in the name of the Father and Son etc. As truly as the Son of God was born in Bethlehem and was baptized in the water of the Jordan and as truly as the water stood [still], thus [shall] your blood.

> In the Name of the Father etc. and say five Our Fathers, five Ave Maria and three [ ] in honour of the five wounds while thinking of his suffering.]

This charm fuses the motifs of Christ's birth in Bethlehem and his baptism in the River Jordan, drawing parallels between the stopping of the waters of Jordan and the stopping of the patient's blood. It creates a link between the veracity of Christ's birth in Bethlehem and the veracity and efficacy of the charm. This charm is shorter than contemporary Longinus charms, but I have found that the charms which use the motifs of Christ's birth or Baptism do not tend to appear in the very early manuscripts with charms. Additionally, the narrative does not undergo the same amount of expansion that the Longinus narrative experiences. These shorter charms for stopping blood also tended to be copied in Welsh, with very minimal Latin, if any at all.

One of the most fascinating Welsh narrative charms for stopping blood features the fusion of the Longinus and Flum Jordan motifs, which was common in medieval Europe, but not as prevalent in Welsh manuscripts. The charm, from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, begins in Welsh with the identifying heading, and similarly ends in the vernacular with directions for the recitation of the prayers, yet the majority of the charm is Latin. Although the presence of a dual-language charm is quite common, what makes this one stand out is that although it is Latin, it is written, orthographically, as Welsh.

> "Llyma swyn i attal gwaed [ ]us miles ebreus latus [ ]cia perfforavyth ieth [ ]sewyth sangwius [   ]wnys ieth akwa baptysmatys yn nomyni pa + trys ieth fy + liei ieth ysbrytys + sawntei amen yn nomyni pa + trys sessyth sangwivs yn nomyni fy + liei ysbrytus + sawntei non ecsiath sangwius kweia kridimws koth sawnta maria mater domynei nostrei jessuw kristi viri ynfontem genuwyth jesswm krystwm + ieth seikwth restityth akwa jordanys kwan babtyssatus iest jessus krystus sic tvwi vini kwi sangweini sunt plini yn nomyni pa + trys ieth fy + liei ieth ysbrytus + sawntei Amen. a dyw[aid] dri fader a thri Avi Maria." (National Library of Wales Manuscript Peniarth 205, page 8–9.)

> [Here is a charm to stop blood. [Login]us the Hebrew soldier pierced the side [of Christ with his spear] and [ ] the blood [of redemption] and the water of baptism. In the name of the father + let the blood cease. In the name of the son + and holy spirit + let the blood not run out. We believe that Saint Mary (was) the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, (and) truly bore the infant Jesus Christ + and thus as the water of the Jordan stood still when Jesus Christ was baptized, so too shall your veins and blood be full, in the name of the father + and the son + and the holy spirit + Amen. And say three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias.]

This is not the only case in which a Welsh manuscript presents a charm in Latin using Welsh orthography. There are, to my knowledge, at least two other instances – both straddling the divide between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries – in which charm texts were written out in this unique orthography. In both cases, the *in principio* of the Gospel of John was used as a charm, and the Latin of the text was written using Welsh spelling and orthographic conventions. Although texts of the gospels were translated into Welsh, when they existed in a way that indicates they functioned as a charm, it appears that they would more commonly remain linguistically Latin, but written using Welsh orthographical conventions. Perhaps the scribes here were

trying to create an element of mystery or esoteric secrecy (though admittedly this is pure speculation). The more likely case, however, was that these unique texts circulated in a context in which some users would not have known Latin, and would therefore have needed a guide to pronounce the Latin words of the charm correctly. Texts such as these can provide valuable clues regarding the attitudes or anxieties over using Latin versus the vernacular in texts that were used for healing (in addition to providing scholars with insights into how Latin was pronounced in fifteenth/sixteenth century Wales). These texts are undeniably Latin, but circulated in a context in which readers or users would not have known Latin and would have had no access to formal training in the language.

CONCLUSIONS

Although narrative charms exist in Welsh for other common ailments such as fever, toothache, scrofula, and even protection against the evil eye, bewitching, and greed, the most common ones are those intended to stop bleeding and to heal general blows and wounds. An analysis of the charms presented in this essay uncovers several observations that might allow for insights into the changing social contexts surrounding traditions of healing and charming. If we consider the ways in which the scribes referred to the charms themselves within the texts, an interesting pattern emerges. Almost none of the earliest charms of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries specifically refer to themselves as such. Instead, they begin with the same brief, formulaic opening as the herbal remedies: *Rac x* (Against x), or, *i x* (for x). By the mid sixteenth century, charms were more commonly labelled using the formula *llyma swyn* (here is a charm), and sometimes even *llyma gweddi* (here is a prayer). This demonstrates the degree to which healing charms encompass elements of magic, religion, and science, while also highlighting the ambiguous nature of the boundaries between these spheres and drawing attention to the problematic nature of any attempt to strictly define such categories.

The narrative charms, in Welsh, for stopping blood and healing wounds, are fairly consistent with other traditions in English and Latin, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest manuscripts use Latin in a way that is consistent with charming traditions throughout medieval England and Europe. Often, the charm begins in the vernacular, describes what the charm is effective against, and sometimes gives specific instructions to prepare various medical potions or ointments, though that is typically not the case with Welsh charms, which almost never offer any herbal medical advice within a charm. Then the user of the charm is instructed to write or say certain operative rhetorical units that contain within them the power to heal. These words can narrate a specific *historiola,* or they can be strings of alliterative or rhyming words rooted in Christian tradition (or sometimes the traditions of other religions). The operative words are most often presented in Latin or Latinate forms. Welsh charms from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tend to follow this pattern. However, there is a noticeable departure, starting around the beginning of the sixteenth century and becoming most noticeable by the mid sixteenth century, at which point the charms are most often found completely in Welsh with no Latin. Along with the shift from Latin to the vernacular, we see a shift in the focus from writing to speaking. In general, dual-language Welsh-Latin charms that favour Latin tend not only to be shorter, but also to focus on the written word as part of the practical application of the charm. When

the charms are entirely or mostly in the vernacular, they most often specify that something should be spoken rather than written. When they emphasize or feature Latin more heavily, they nearly always instruct the user to write (see Appendix One).

The record of very early Welsh charms is scant, and unfortunately the sample size of early Welsh charms (in Latin as well as the vernacular) is not large enough to pinpoint a more specific date for vernacularization. However, it is clear from the extant evidence that the late fifteenth century is important in the copying and transmission of Welsh charms. As the process of the vernacularization of the charms gets underway, they undergo expansion of the rhetoric surrounding the religious narrative incident, along with an increased preference for Welsh over Latin, often losing the Latin entirely. The operative words of the narrative charms are the words of the narrative itself, not the Latin of earlier charms, and their power is derived from those words and from the prayers that the charm instructs the user to say.[20]

Although my conclusions regarding the significance of this shift are preliminary, it is worth noting that this increasing preference for the vernacular in Welsh charms, especially those that feature religious narrative or references, coincides with the earliest translations of the Bible into Welsh and a generally increasing interest in the vernacular at a time when the use of Welsh in any official capacity had been expressly prohibited by England in Acts of Parliament from 1535 and 1536. However, Protestant Humanist efforts in Wales during the mid sixteenth century led to the first Welsh publication of the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer in 1567 and the first complete translation of the Bible in Welsh in 1588. It is within this context of social and religious change, and an increased concern with the vernacular, that we see the most drastic development in Welsh healing charms. From this time on, the charms become distinctly more "Welsh", possibly in response to the severe restrictions placed upon the use of the Welsh language by England. An in-depth study of the Welsh healing charms and how they use language can shed light on the tensions between not only Welsh and Latin, which is often perceived as the more learned language, but also between English and Welsh. The shift from these stark dichotomies to the primacy of the vernacular can further illuminate the nuanced tensions between England and Wales during various periods of social, political, and religious reform. Conversely, it can also highlight the ways in which the rich network of textual transmission and exchange continued across the Anglo-Welsh border.

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[20]   Welsh narrative charms that belong to the wider English and European tradition (Longinus, Flum Jordan etc.) often do not feature the elaborate strings of operative words or phrases that are sometimes labelled as 'gibberish'. Rather, in Welsh charms, these long strings of words and phrases are most prevalent in charms of general protection and in charms for ailments where the charm type does not display much continuity or consistency with wider charming traditions outside of Wales.

Tabel 1. Appendix One: Analysis of the structure and function of the charms surveyed above

Manuscript	Date	Purpose	Heading	Language	Motif	Operative Action
Cardiff 3.242	c. 1375–1400	staunch blood	Rac (against...)	Latin; Welsh	Longinus	ysgrifennu (write); facio
NLW MS Llanstephan 2	late 14th/early 15th c.	wound healing	none	Welsh	Three Good Brothers	canu (sing, chant)
NLW Peniarth 47	15th century	staunch blood	Rac (against...)	Latin; Welsh	Longinus	ysgrifennu (write)
NLW MS Llanstephan 3	15th century	wound healing	llyma swyn (here is a charm)	Welsh	Three Good Brothers	canu (sing, chant)
NLW MS Peniarth 53	15th century	staunch blood	I (to...)	Welsh	Flum Jordan; Christ born in Bethlehem	gwneud croes (make cross); dowaid (speak)
NLW MS Llanstephan 10	c. 1515	staunch blood	I (to...)	Welsh; Latin	Longinus	dicat; ponit
NLW MS Peniarth 205	late 15th/early 16th	staunch blood	llyma swyn (here is a charm)	Welsh; Latin (orthographically Welsh)	Longinus; Flum Jordan	dowaid (say)
NLW MS 873b	16th	staunch blood	I (to...)	Welsh	Flum Jordan; Christ born in Bethlehem	gwneud croes (make cross); [implies speaking words]
NLW MS 873b	16th c.	staunch blood	llyma swyn (here is a charm)	Welsh	Longinus	dowaid (say); dod llaw ar ei ben (bring hand to his head)
NLW MS 873b	16th c.	staunch blood	llyma swyn (here is a charm)	Welsh	Longinus	dowaid (say); henwi (name); rhoi llaw ar ei ben (put hand to his head)
NLW MS Llanstephan 181	1556	staunch blood	llyma swyn (here is a charm)	Welsh	Longinus	dowaid (say); croesi (cross)
NLW MS Peniarth 204	16th c.	staunch blood	llyma swyn (here is a charm)	Welsh	Longinus	dowaid (say); dyrro llaw ar ei ben (thrust hand to his head)

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Charms and Wands in *John the Lazy:*
Performance and Beliefs
in Argentinean Folk Narrative

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Abstract: "Virtue wands" do appear in Argentinean folk narrative as useful devices used by the hero to achieve his dreams. Using the correct charm and waving his wand, the Argentinean folk hero John the Lazy manages to marry the princess and to live without working. Charms show in this way how to do things with words, pronouncing the proper words in the right situation. In this presentation, I deal with the formulaic use of a magic charm in this Argentinean folktale, collected in fieldwork in 1988. This charm deals with an invocation to the "Wand of virtue" given to the hero by God`s mercy, whose proper use shows the performative force of language. The tension between the absence of effort and the need of working is solved in this tale in a world of dream, in which the real effort is to learn how to use the correct words. Social beliefs in the supernatural are expressed in this tale, in which the wand is a God`s gift that allows the hero to avoid struggling. But the main gift is actually the knowledge of language which permits the hero to make an accurate usage of formulaic discourse, structured in the charm in an epigrammatic way. In this way, I propose a metapragmatic consideration of such charms that, as Urban (1989) says, deal with "speech about speech in speech about action". In the Argentinean context in which I collected this folktale, the hero is the young son of a rural peasant family, poor and struggling, like the narrator and his audience. The lazy poor boy who marries the princess thanks to the force of the dreams shows how the language is the key both to repair social gaps and to restore collective order.
Keywords: charms-wands, belief narratives, performance, Argentina

INTRODUCTION

In this presentation, I will analyse the formulaic use of a magic charm in an Argentinean folktale, dealing with an invocation to a "wand of virtue", the proper use of which shows the performative force of language. Thanks to this charm, everyday struggle is solved in a world of dream, in which the most important effort is to learn how to use the correct words. Social beliefs in the supernatural are expressed in this tale, in which the wand is a God's gift which allows the hero to avoid struggling. The main gift is actually the

knowledge of language which permits the hero to make an accurate usage of formulaic discourse, structured in the charm in an epigrammatic way. From a meta-pragmatic perspective, and in the words of Greg Urban, such a charm deals with "speech about speech in speech about action" (URBAN 1984).

In the Argentinean context in which I collected this folktale, the hero is, like the narrator, the young son of rural peasants, poor and struggling. Paradisiac motifs do appear in this tale, reframed in the narrative plot, which expresses the force of believing in the supernatural, not only to solve the problems of everyday life, but also to reach the most incredible dreams, metaphorised in the form of a princess. The poor, lazy boy who marries the princess shows how language is the key to both repair social gaps and restore collective order, even in a difficult context.

CHARMS AND CHARMINGS: SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

"Virtue wands" are used in Argentinean folk narrative as efficient devices to make dreams come true.[1]

By pronouncing a charm and waving his wand, the Argentinean folk hero John the Lazy manages both to marry the princess and to live without working. In this way, charms are a clear example of "how to do things with words" (AUSTIN 1982), since they reveal the performative power of verbal discourse (KAPALÓ – PÓCS – RYAN 2012). In fact, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English* includes charms under the entry of "performative practices" enacted "on demand". The syntactic and lexical construction of a charm is based on a sequential repetition of words and structures fixed in a formulaic configuration, and such sequential repetition of words and actions, with a performative effect, is also a distinctive feature of ritual discourse (RAPPAPORT 1992).

Indeed, the power of words in incantations consists of a larger ensemble of ritual procedures, such as gestures. In the tale I am dealing with, the gesture of waving the right hand, made by the narrator to imitate the movement of waving the wand, is essential to the performative efficacy of the charm, along with the intonation of a repetitive formula. In this way, words act as linguistic tools, consisting both of syntactic and semantic strategies, displayed with rhetorical procedures as repetitions and enumeration, with the mediation of supernatural forces, such as heavenly beings (PÓCS 1999). All these strategies are used by the narrator in the tale "John the Lazy", in which heavenly forces

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[1] Although in this presentation I focus attention only on one oral version of this tale type, most of the considerations are based on the analysis of a corpus which comprises more than 150 versions collected in the course of fieldwork in La Rioja, Argentina, from 1985 to 2010, published in PALLEIRO 1990; 1992; 1998; 2011; and 2016. In the versions of this corpus classified as marvelous tales, the presence of a "wand of virtue" is rather frequent.

are represented by the personification of God in the form of a fish,[2] invoked by the hero each time he pronounces the charm.

The formulaic nature of charms is not merely a stylistic matter since, as aforesaid, charms also have a performative effect, as can be seen in the folktale I deal with, in which the formulaic expression "Wand of virtue that God gave me" acts as a leit-motif with the power of causing certain actions in the narrative plot. Such formulaic structure includes the invocation of a magic object, the wand, personified as a receiver, in a second person who acts as the addressee of the message. This is the distinctive feature of the magic function of language, as described by Roman Jakobson (Jakobson 1964).

Among the elements of charming and incantation, Edina Bozóky lists:

1) the naming of the object of the charm (the wand, in this tale), 2) the conjuration (here, the command introduced by the causative form "let"); 3) the nomination of the helping powers (God himself), 4) actualization of the object by comparing it to other precedents (in this case, the wand "of virtue, that God gave me", which implies a comparison with other kinds of wands), and 5) dramatization in terms of religious or Biblical discourse, such as the acting out of the scene performed by the hero and by the fish personified (Bozóky 2003).

Like Éva Pócs, Bozóky also calls attention to the vocal effects of incantations – rhythmical forms, rhymes, alliteration, repetition, anaphora, "stream of words".[3] Almost all of these elements can be identified both in the charm I am dealing with and in the narrative discourse that serves as the co-text of the charming formula, which acts as an enchantment whose performative force lies in repetition connected with a triple reference to three wishes. As a matter of fact, the hero John the Lazy repeats the magic enchantment three times, and such triple repetition causes and ensures his marriage with the princess.

The development of action is thus generated by this charm. Every time that an obstacle rises up, the force of the formulaic words manages to solve every conflict. In such a way, the charm has not only a stylistic, but also a structural function in the narrative plot. The axis of the folktale is the power of magic objects to transform the hard, daily reality which compels poor peasants to go out to the forest to fetch some wood in an opportunity for a magical encounter with a princess. Such power, concentrated in the "wand of virtue", needs a charm to be activated.

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[2] It is worth mentioning that zoomorphic representations of supernatural forces are part of collective beliefs in Argentinean rural communities visited during my fieldwork. A clear example of zoomorphic representations of supernatural forces is the "Salamanca" rite, the climatic point of which is the deal with the Devil, where evil forces are represented in the shape of different animals, such as a pig, a dog or a goat. In such a rite, human beings are expected to interact with evil forces before meeting the "great Devil", described as a zoomorphic combination of different animals. The sequential steps of this vernacular rite have been narrated by the local artist Marino Cordoba, who recreated them in a series of ceramic statues as a visual representation in pottery, then explained in verbal discourse (Cordoba in Palleiro 2016). Nowadays, such iconic representation in pottery statuettes are exhibited in the Folkloric Museum of La Rioja, Argentina and one of them in the Devil Museum of Kaunas, Lituania.

[3] Both Pócs (1985–1986) and Bozóky (2003) illustrate the mechanisms that lend a special power to the words in incantations – such as "abracadabra" – which are also connected with the aforementioned magic function of language (Jakobson 1964).

CHARMS AND VERNACULAR BELIEFS

In this tale, the hero obtains the wand thanks to the fish, which is a metaphorical representation of Christ, whose iconic animal image is the one of a fish. Thus, such a gift can be considered as a sort of heavenly reward for having helped an undefended little fish to return to the water. However, since the hero asks God to repay him for the help, the *"do ut des"* is the principle that guides all performative actions of the magic "wand of virtue". Magic as taught in the canonic regulations of the Roman Catholic Church to which the narrator belongs has nothing to do with institutional religion. In everyday life and vernacular beliefs, however, such distinctions are not so clear, as the tale itself shows.

There is also an intertextual gap between charms in their contextual performance and the registered form of the narrative text. Bridging this gap between orality and literacy is an unavoidable task when dealing with any oral text, but especially in this one, in which the charm, associated with the wand of virtue, is rooted in contextual beliefs regarding a reward given by the Christian God for having accomplished good actions. Such religious beliefs overlap with other local ones involving performative practices, such as charms.

THE TALE TYPE AND THE NARRATOR'S VERSION

The version I am dealing with, collected throughout fieldwork in Banda Florida, La Rioja, Argentina, on July 21st, 1985[4] from the young narrator Fernando Páez, shares some thematic elements with ATU Tale Type 675, "The lazy boy", filed under the matrix "John the Lazy".[5] At the time I collected this version, its narrator was aged twelve, almost an adolescent, who had heard this version orally from his parents and grandparents. As a reminder, the thematic description of ATU 675 is the following:

> "A lazy stupid boy releases a fish (frog, serpent, supernatural being) which gives him the power to make all wishes come true. The lazy boy then makes an axe cut trees by itself, water carry itself, a wagon move itself, an oven carrying him, etc. When the princess laughs at him, he wishes her pregnant (from eating an apple, etc.) She does not know the father of the beautiful child. The king orders a test of paternity, and the child picks the lazy boy out as father (by handing him an apple, ball, golden ball).
> (…) The young man wishes to be beautified and makes a castle appear next to the king's"
> (Uther 2004:1:371)

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4   Later on, in 1988, I collected another version of this folktale from the same narrator, but I chose this first one to analyse here since the narrative function of the charm is more relevant. In the second register, the narrator provided a summarized version, probably assuming that the receivers had already heard the previous one, narrated three years before.

5   Palleiro 1990; and 2016. As I will explain later on, this criterion of classifying the versions under narrative matrices instead of tale types allows us to assemble fictional tales, along with legends, local cases and other belief narratives in the same matrix (see Palleiro 2004). At present, I am working on the project of elaborating an Argentinean Index of Tale Types, also filed into narrative matrices in order to show the incidence of belief narratives in transforming thematic, structural and stylistic folk narrative patterns (Palleiro 2020, forthcoming).

The Argentinean version contains some thematic features of this tale type, the thematic description of which emphasizes the power of wishing. The text of the folktale, as narrated by Fernando Páez, is the following:

“This is the story of John the Lazy.[6]

Once upon a time there was a lazy boy, who didn’t want to work. So lazy he was that all the people in the village called him “John the Lazy”.

Pedro Ordimán…[7] that is to say, John the lazy lived all alone with his mother, far away from town, in the countryside.

One winter day, it was very cold, and the mother had no more fire sticks to light the fire. So she called John, and asked him:

– John, could you please go to the forest to bring me some wood, some fire sticks?

– Oh, no, because I’m so lazy! – he replied.

After a while, the mother asked him again to go to the forest to gather some wood, some fire sticks, and John refused once again, because he was altogether too lazy.

At last, the mother began crying with cold, so this time John decided to go out to the forest to gather some fire sticks, some wood.[8]

That we get wooden sticks from the forest, to light the fire in winter. [The narrator makes the gesture of pointing with his right index finger to a set of trees, which can be seen from the place where he is performing his narrative discourse.]

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[6]   Both in the transcription in Spanish and in the translation into English I have tried to maintain the distinctive features of oral style, such as anaphoric repetitions, rhythmical prose, corrections and even gestures, registered in notes added in the narrative text. It is worth underlining, in this sense, the anaphoric use of “That” at the beginning of the sentence, as a dialectal use of colloquial Spanish of Northwestern Argentina, as well as the polysyndetic use of “And” and “So”.

[7]   “Pedro Ordimán” is a dialectal Spanish phonic transformation of “Pedro Urdemales” (whose literal translation is ‘Peter who invents tricks’). Pedro is a well-known trickster of Hispanic and Latin American folklore. It is worth pointing out that in my corpus of Argentinean folk narrative (PALLEIRO 1990; 1992; 1998; 2011; 2016) I collected different versions in which Pedro Ordimán is presented as a healer with supernatural powers. The main tools that he uses to heal are verbal charms and other *formulae*. In fact, in many tales, Pedro acts as a healer with the supernatural aid of Jesus and the saints. For instance, in the tale entitled “Pedro Ordimán y los dos riñones” (‘Peter Ordimán and the two kidneys’), different versions of which I analysed in PALLEIRO (2001; 2016), Pedro is presented a healer whose success in curing a princess deals with the right use of language. Jesus and the saints warn him against using “bad words” as a *sine qua non* condition to obtain the desired result of healing the princess. This version could also be considered a metanarrative discourse, the focus of which is the proper use of language. The narrative series “Pedro Ordimán and the miraculous healings” is well-known in the peasant community of Banda Florida, where I registered “John the Lazy”, and this is probably the reason why the narrator associates John the Lazy with Pedro Ordimán.

[8]   It is worth noticing the repetition of similar clauses, such as “some wood, some fire sticks” or “into the little mud, into the stream”. This is a distinctive feature of indigenous oral discourse, frequently used in poetic speech of Latin American aboriginal cultures such as the *nahuátl* and the *quechua*. This resource, called “diphrase” or “biphrase” (*‘difrasismo’,* in Spanish), is connected with a worldview in which each aspect of the life is ruled by the convergence of two complementary principles, like the sun and the moon, the man and the woman (GARIBAY 1940; LEÓN PORTILLA 2006).

So John went out, and while he was walking into the forest, he found an almost dry stream, a little mud,[9] which happened to be on his way.

He was about to jump to reach the other shore, when he heard a soft voice.

– John! – the voice said. – Please, give me some water! I'm dying of thirst!

John looked everywhere to find out where the voice was coming from, but he couldn't see anyone. So distracted he was looking everywhere that he slipped into the little mud.

And there, in the little mud, he found a little fish speaking to him.

– John! Please, give me some water!

– Oh, no! I won't give you any water, because I'm so lazy.

– Come on! Throw me back into the water! Why don't you give me some water? Haven't you seen that I belong to the water? – the fish said.

– Oh, no, I won't give you any water, because I'm so lazy! – John repeated.

The fish went on asking and asking. And so much he insisted that finally John gave him some water, and he threw him into the little mud, into the stream.

When the fish was already safe in the water, John told him:

– Since I have saved you, now you must pay me!

The little fish was God, so he decided to reward John the Lazy because he had helped him. As a reward, he gave John a magic wand of virtue with the power to grant him any wish.

So John went on his way. And he began walking across the forest, until he felt tired.

And when he was very, very tired, he said aloud:

– I am too lazy to go and gather all the fire sticks, all the wood!

And then he remembered the wand of virtue, and he said in a loud voice, almost shouting: Little wand of virtue, that God gave me, let a cart and many truckloads of wood appear right now! And let the wood take me back to my mother's house! [The narrator makes the gesture of waving the wand with his right hand.]

So a cart suddenly appeared, with a large pile of fire sticks on the top.

So John got into the cart, and the self-moving cart rode him on his way home, across the forest, until he arrived to the village.

Before returning to his mother's house, he decided to go for a walk round the village. But then he made up his mind, and he decided to visit the village riding the magic cart.

And in that village, there was a castle. That was the king's castle.

And when John passed by the castle, just there, in the balcony, he saw the princess looking by the window.

When the princess saw John the Lazy standing on the wood, she started laughing.

She was laughing, the princess. She was laughing at John the Lazy, since she had seen him sitting on top of the wood.

As the story tells, this sight of the princess laughing made John very angry. So angry he was that he said aloud:

– Little wand of virtue, that God gave me, let the king's daughter become pregnant right now! [The narrator makes the gesture of waving his right hand.]

Then he turned back, and he went on his way home, sitting on the top of the wood, inside the self-moving cart.

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[9] The expression "little mud" to allude to a muddy pool is a queer form, even in Spanish, used by the narrator as a metonymic strategy. Such cumulative use of queer expressions, as well as the use of diminutive forms, constitutes the hallmark of his poetic style.

So he arrived to the house. And there, in the house, he found his mother, and he gave her all the wood. And in this way, the mother lit the fire, so she was not cold any more.

In the meantime, the king's daughter became ill. And his father called many doctors, but no one could find out what was going wrong with her, until a healer from another town arrived to the palace.

And the healer saw the princess, and then he went to speak to the king, and he said:

– Your daughter is not ill but pregnant. And she will only get well when the child will be born. And he will be holding a golden apple…no! a golden orange in his hand. And the one to whom the boy will give him the orange, he will be his father, and he will marry your daughter!

And, as the story tells, when the pregnancy came to the end, the little child was born, with a golden orange on his right hand.

Then the king called all the young men of the kingdom, and he invited them to the palace to see the child. And all of them went to see the child, but none of them got the orange from the child's hands.

At last, when there was no one left, the king remembered John the Lazy, and he said:

– The only one who didn't come here is that rascal, John the Lazy.

So the king's men went to look for John the Lazy, whose house was far, far away from the palace. And when they arrived there, they told him:

– John, you must go to the palace, to see the new born child!

But John answered:

– How can I go to palace, if I am so poor, and I have no proper clothes to wear?

But suddenly he remembered the little fish, and he asked:

– Little wand of virtue, that God gave me, let the best suit appear here, right now! [The narrator makes the gesture of waving the wand with his right hand.]

And at that very moment, an elegant suit appeared on his chair.

So he put on his new suit, and dressed in such a way, he went to palace to meet the king and the new born child.

And, as soon as he arrived to palace, the new born child saw him, and he stretched his arms, handing him the golden orange.

And then the king said:

– Since you are the little child's father, you must marry my daughter right now!

So he sent his men to warn his daughter. And in the meantime, he took John the Lazy to church. After a while, the bride arrived, and the marriage took place.

And when the ceremony came to the end, John the Lazy commanded:

– Little wand of virtue, that God gave me, let a house and a car appear right now, with a box full of jewels in it; everything, made of gold and silver!

And just there, in front of the church, a car suddenly appeared.

So John got into the car with his wife and the new born child, and he drove them all straight home.

And they all went to the new palace and there, at the entrance, he found a box full of jewels, all made of gold and silver.

And all the people were very surprised, since John the Lazy was so poor.

Then, the king asked him: – John, let us come in to see your house, where you will live with my daughter!

And they all entered the new house, since John the Lazy invited all of them, so everyone could see the new house.

And John the Lazy went ahead, and behind him, the princess with the little boy in her arms and then, the king and the queen.

And backwards, behind all of them, all the folks, all the neighbours and the village people as well, they all went to see the new house of John the Lazy.

And there, John's mother was waiting at the door for the people to arrive.

And when they went into the house, they all saw how luxurious it was, with all the doors and windows made out of gold and silver.

And so, John invited them all to go inside the palace.

And when they all went inside, the king was very happy to see how beautiful the palace was. So he decided to live there, with the queen, in the other side of the nice palace.

And then, a big celebration took place there, since all was already prepared for the party to begin.

And all of them have been celebrating during the whole day, singing and dancing, eating *empanadas* and drinking good red wine.[10]

And so they lived happily ever after.

And so the story finishes." (PALLEIRO 1990:21–26)

THE CHARM AS THE AXIS OF THE SEQUENTIAL STRUCTURE

Along with the common thematic features of the aforementioned tale type ATU 675, this version also presents structural and stylistic ones corresponding to the matrix "The lazy boy". I deem the matrix as a set of thematic, structural and stylistic features common to different versions of a folktale, identified by intertextual comparison (PALLEIRO 2004). This concept, rooted in Mikhail Bakhtin's characterization of discursive genres (BAJTIN 1982), adds structural and stylistic features to the thematic regularities of the tale types.

The matrix I am dealing with has its thematic focus in the supernatural help that the hero, John the Lazy, receives from a grateful fish in reward for having saved him from dying in the dry earth. According to the laws of three and of the repetition, which are part of the epic laws of folk narrative identified by Axel Olrik when studying the structure of folktales, the structure of this tale is based on three parallel sequences, in which a lazy boy manages to accomplish different tasks with the help of a magical wand (OLRIK 1992). On the other hand, the main rhetoric strategy is the repetition of a charm introduced by the formulaic form: "Little wand of virtue that God gave me, let..." which the protagonist pronounces while waving his wand. As already mentioned, the given charm is the axis of this folktale since both the supernatural help and the sequential action depend on the verbal action of pronouncing this formulaic structure correctly. From this standpoint, the narrative can be considered as a meta-pragmatic discourse dealing with the power of words.

The initial sequence is the request of the mother, who asks John the Lazy to bring her "a few wooden sticks" to light the fire in the cold season. The rascal at first refuses this request because of his laziness, which makes him avoid any effort to accomplish any kind of work. Following the pattern of the aforementioned law of three, formulated by Olrik

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[10] *Empanada* (plural *empanadas*) is a typical Argentinean food, which can be described as a sort of meat pie. Etymologically, it means "food put into a roll of bread".

as a structural principle of the folktale, according to which folk narrative has a preference for the number three not only for characters and objects, but also for successive episodes, the mother repeats this request for three times, until, at last, the youngster agrees to go to the forest to look for the wooden sticks. Such triple formulaic repetition aids cohesion and also serves as a mnemonic resource, which helps both the narrator and the audience to remember the narrative plot when the tale is being performed orally.

The second sequence is the encounter with the little fish, in which, on his way across the forest, the hero happens to meet this personified animal imprisoned "in a little mud", after which the fish begins speaking. As mentioned, the fish asks the young guy to give him some water to drink and to help him to return to the water. Once again, according to the triple structure, John denies such request three times since he is too lazy, but at last he accepts. He then gives the fish some water and throws him back in a stream. This sequence presents an evident parallelism with the previous one, in which the two first parts consist of a denial, the third one being an acceptation to satisfy the request both of the mother and of the fish. Such parallelism is a stereotyped strategy of folk discourse, connected with the law of repetition, which provides the narrator a structural pattern to organize episodic development.

The climatic sequence is the one of the three wishes and the magic wand, in which, as a reward for having saved him from dying outside the water, the personified little fish, representing God, gives John the Lazy a wand of virtue with the power to grant him any wish when pronouncing a charm. In this way, the charm becomes the axis of the narrative action. Consequently, the allusion to this magic object makes room for "the three wishes", which are the structural axis of the sequence. John's first wish is to obtain fire sticks for his mother. Thanks to the charm, the wand begins working and the fire sticks with the power of self-transportation to his mother's house suddenly appear. The second micro unit deals with the encounter with the king's daughter: the princess sees John the Lazy standing on the fire sticks inside the cart, and she starts laughing. This action provokes anger from John, who asks the magic wand, as a second wish, to make the king's daughter become pregnant. Every time this charm is pronounced, the verbal request is underlined by the gestures of the narrator, imitating those of the hero, and such gestures are relevant to the correct performance of the charm.

Later on, the third wish is accomplished in the micro sequence in which the self-propelled cart takes John the Lazy back to his mother's house, where he gives her the wood as requested. This ending shows the power to do things with words by means of a charm, thanks to which the lazy boy accomplishes his task of obtaining the fire sticks without the effort of everyday struggle, as if he were in Paradise. These paradise motifs, such as obtaining benefits without any effort, are similar to the *adynata* or *impossibilia* topics. A clear example of this is the self-moving chart, whose action of transporting objects and persons without being guided is impossible in the real world (Van Houwelingen 2010). Transported back home in such a way, the hero avoids working and prevents the danger of getting ill for the lack of a warm fire by means of the charm, which turns out to be a performative practice enacted on demand, as underlined by the aforementioned *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*.

In the following sequence, the climax of which is the child's birth, the king's daughter becomes ill and only one out of many doctors discovers that she is pregnant. Actually, he is not a doctor but a healer, who announces to the king that a child will be born nine

months later, with an orange in his hand. He adds that the one to whom the child will give the orange, that one will be his father. It is worth noting that in this Argentinean peasant community healers are almost more reliable than doctors in discovering the origin of certain diseases, such as the "evil eye", which consists of staring "hard" at a person with the aim of wishing him or her some danger. Healers have the power to cure such diseases by pronouncing certain charms, which have an important role in Argentinean rural communities, such as Banda Florida. Thus, as can be seen, the charm reflects some aspects of the cultural background of this context.[11]

The sequence of the birth makes room for the recognition of the child's father, in which the king summons all the young men of the kingdom so they can visit the new born child. All the young men obey the order and go to meet the princess, with the exception of John the Lazy, who does not want to go to the palace because he is poor and has inadequate clothes. As previously mentioned, however, he solves this problem by asking the wand of virtue to provide a suit and proper clothes. In this sequence, the narrator inserts another series of three wishes, completed in the next episodes with the requests for a car, jewels and a palace.

While the first series has been connected with the domestic atmosphere of everyday life, this second one is connected with a royal atmosphere. When the charm is pronounced, the suit and the clothes magically appear. Thus, John the Lazy goes to palace and, as soon as he approaches the new born child, he hands John the orange, with the gesture of opening his arms reproduced by the narrator. In this way, John the Lazy marries the king's daughter and, once again, gestures and words, codified in a charm, contribute to making a dream come true.

Since he has married the princess, John asks the wand of virtue to produce a car, as well as a great palace and jewels "all made of gold and silver". Thanks to the power of words, the palace suddenly appears with the jewels inside. Attracted by the luxury of this new palace, not only the princess but also the king and the queen go to live there, in the residence of John the Lazy and his wife. Thus, a supernatural aid, materialized in the delivery of a magic object activated by the charm, allows the hero to accomplish all his desires and to marry the daughter of the king. In such a way, the story provides the restoration of the final order, broken by the poverty and the initial laziness of the hero. This restoration is achieved with the marriage and the change of residence, which protects him and his family against suffering hunger and cold, as a result of the performative efficiency of the charm. Like this, the sequential development clearly shows how the development of the narrative action is due to the force of the charm.

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[11]   Another charm I registered in the same context from some elder friends and neighbours of this young narrator is one which has to be pronounced three times on three consecutive nights while looking steadily at the moon: "Little moon, little moon, give me your good [luck] and take all bad [luck] away from me". Preferably, this charm must be enunciated on nights of clear moonlight, to propitiate good luck. I also heard this charm in another zone of the Argentinean province of La Rioja, named Aimogasta, in 1985, 1988 and 1999. In fact, these kinds of charms, used to attract good luck, are very common in Northwest Argentinean rural communities.

RHETORIC CONSTRUCTION AND FORMULAIC STYLE

As previously mentioned, both the narrative structure and the rhetoric construction of this narrative are based on the repetition of three parallel situations, the origin of which is the set of requests made by the hero to the "wand of virtue" — which serves the function of a magic object. Since this magic object has been given to the hero by a divinity, it has religious value as well. Besides, there is a metaphorical identification of the fish with the Christian divinity, also related to local beliefs. Regarding this metaphorical identification, it is worth remembering the connection between "Jesus" – considered by Christian religion as the son of God – and the Greek term "ichthys", which means 'fish'. Thus, there is a symbolic condensation of the attributes of the fish with those of a supernatural power, linked with the social beliefs of this peasant community.

The distinctive feature of this tale, therefore, is its repetitive style, with an accumulation of sequential units adjusted to the aforesaid "law of triple repetition of parallel situations" (Olrik 1992). Such units are linked together by an additive mechanism, expressed through the anaphoric use of connectors such as "And", "Then" and "So", in an initial position, with a poly-syndetic effect of emphasis. Another stylistic hallmark of this young narrator is the cumulative use of diminutives with an affective value ("little fish", "little child", "little wand").

Fernando Páez also appeals to the formulaic use of invocations, whose performative value is linked, as already mentioned, with the magic function of language (Jakobson 1964), according to which the magic object acts as a receiver of the invocation. Such performative use is the clue to the interpretation of this folktale, based on the repetition of the charm "Little wand of virtue that God gave me, let [the object of desire] appear". Such formulaic oral style confirms how the request contained in the charm can be intensified by means of linguistic tools, which comprise both syntactic and semantic strategies, displayed with rhetorical procedures like repetitions and enumeration (Pócs 1999; 1985–1986; cit. by Klaniczay 2012). These *formulae* serve the function of mnemonic strategies as well, to help the narrator remember the sequential order of narrative discourse.

The deployment of dialogue gives a polyphonic, theatrical nuance to the narrative speech. Yet another distinctive feature of the narrator's style is its colourful lexicon, with abundant use of local terms, such as the collective noun "truckload", with a hyperbolic value. Even the specification "Wand of virtue" is a local use, referring to vernacular social beliefs, which tend to associate specific magic objects such as the wand with abstract values like "virtues", connected with the semantic field of Catholic religion. All these discursive strategies emphasize the mediation of supernatural forces, such as God, invoked in the charm.

The adequate use of these resources reveals the performative ability of the narrator, who achieves an effective reception, manifested in smiles and gestures of attention from the audience, as recorded in field notes.

TEXT, CONTEXT AND TEXTUALIZATION

When considering problems in the translation and textualisation of charms, Maria Eliferova (Eliferova 2011) warns against the difficulty of a literal translation in written

discourse, contradicting the academic tradition which tends to affirm that the more literal a translation is, the better it is. In his oral discourse, the young narrator Páez uses untranslatable phonic resources, such as vowel elongations, along with proxemic and kinetic resources, such as gestures. He also stresses the intonation of discourse by pronouncing the charm in an acute register with a rhythmic modulation.

The same oral style characterizes the entire narrative discourse, its distinctive features being the cumulative reiterations of phrases like "Oh (…) because I am so lazy!", along with repetition of the charm, whose alliterative effect cannot be translated into English: *"Varillita de virtud, que Dios me dio"* ('Wand of virtue, that God gave me'). In this way, the verbal speech is emphasized by both verbal and non-verbal actions oriented to commanding the "wand of virtue" so that the hero can make his dream come true with the performative force of the charm.

The analogical association between text and context is another stylistic hallmark of this folktale, textualization of which requires explanatory notes to register the deictic gestures of the narrator. This is how, in his reference to the "fire sticks", Páez establishes a connection between the fictional narrative world and the real one of his daily environment, in a clause that serves as an explanation, reinforced by the deictic gesture of pointing out to some elements of the referential context ("That also here we get wooden sticks from the forest, to light the fire in winter [The narrator makes the gesture of pointing out to a set of trees, which can be seen from the place where he is performing his narrative]"). In fact, the environment where I collected this folktale is a peasant community in which people do collect wooden sticks to light the fire, as the narrator emphasizes in the aforementioned explanatory clause, which interrupts the narrative sequence. This clause serves the function of shifter, which connects the text with the social context.

The narrator employs updating strategies as well, like the allusion to contemporary elements such as "the car", in an overlap with the royal atmosphere of medieval palaces. Such overlapping is connected with the principle of the addition of heterogeneous semantic units, considered by Jan Mukarovsky as a distinctive feature of the folk message (Mukarovsky 1977). In this way, the narrative matrix shows an intertwining between the utopic world of dream – articulated with paradisiac motifs as the one of a provident divinity who helps the hero to live without any effort[12] – and anchorage in a peasant Argentinean context, where his struggling mother lives in a poor house in the country where she risks freezing to death if nobody brings her wood to light the fire. By using the correct words in the correct situation, the hero manages to make his dreams come true, even in this hard context. The charm helps him to accomplish every desire, such as marrying the princess and getting a beautiful car and a luxurious palace, along with basic issues such as wood to light the fire, in an interlacing between daily needs and royal objects. Such interlacing of dissimilar objects relates to the aforementioned principle of adding heterogeneous semantic units in folk art (Mukarovsky 1977), which also shows the importance of apparently irrelevant details in the construction of the narrative message.

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[12] For further considerations regarding paradise motifs, see Van Houwelingen 2010.

THE METANARRATIVE DIMENSION

In the opening clause, the narrator presents the tale as a "story", thus classified as a fictional discourse. Such metanarrative classification is reinforced by the use of the formula "Once upon a time" and by the repetitive form "as the story tells". These fictionalization devices legitimate his individual discourse with the polyphonic framework of previous stereotyped speech acts.

Another metanarrative clause is the one in which the narrator makes the corrections of "orange" instead of "apple", referring to the magic sign of recognition ("...holding a golden apple…No… a golden orange..."), and the one referring to the name of the hero, presented at first as the famous Hispanic trickster "Pedro Ordimán" and then replaced by "John the Lazy" ("Peter Ordimán …that is to say… John the Lazy …"). In this last correction, both names refer to typical distinctive features of a folk hero (John the Lazy, Peter who invents tricks). These corrections act as indexical signs of a stereotyped folk narrative code, which includes standardized characters like these folk heroes, and magic objects, such as the wand, the golden orange or the golden apple. The narrator uses such stereotyped patterns in a dynamic counterpoint to contextual updating resources. These and other narrative strategies are the stylistic hallmarks of this version, in which poetic elaboration reveals the aesthetic ability of the narrator, in a tension between stereotypes and variations, oriented toward contextualizing the narrative matrix in the local environment.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this Argentinean folktale, the charm is the verbal door to a fictional world, in which every daily struggle is transformed into perfection by the magical force of wishing. The ritual use of words transforms the hard reality in a perfect possibility. In fact, the protagonist pronounces the verb "Let", and this causative form leads the sequential action to the fictional world of fairy tales. Historic circumstances are thus transformed into a utopic atmosphere of kings and princesses, still anchored in the local context. In such a way, the narrative speech expresses the cultural identity of a group, recreated by the individual talent of the narrator, who achieves the result of creating the charming atmosphere of a fairy tale.[13]

Pronouncing the charm in the right way and in the right situation is the key to solving every problem in each sequence, which means this tale can be considered as a metanarrative discourse since, as mentioned above, it deals with "speech about speech in speech about action" (URBAN 1984).

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[13] For further considerations regarding authorship in folk discourse, see BAUMAN 2004.

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Iranian Belief Narratives and Verbal Charms. A Preliminary Survey

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Abstract: The role of charms in Iranian belief narratives remains largely unexplored. Hereby, I attempt a preliminary survey. First, I examine the text of the Iranian national epic, the *Shahname* of Ferdowsi (X–XI century A.D.), in which the word *afsun* denotes charm or magic spell. In contemporary folktale texts (I mainly rely on the voluminous *Dictionary of Iranian Folktales*), an Arabic loan-word *verd* (which also means a kind of prayer) is used to mean a charm which facilitates supernatural results such as shape-shifting, transformation or miraculous healing. Ritual prayer *(namaz)* and supplication *(do'a)* also function as charms in folk narratives. I also give a brief overview of the Iranian folklore scholarship.

Keywords: Shahname, Iranian belief narratives, afsun, verd, Islamic prayer as charm

INTRODUCTION

Iranian belief narratives are of great antiquity and can be traced back to at least the first millennium B.C. The sacred texts of Zoroastrians, the Avesta, the Old Persian inscriptions and references from the works of Classical Greek and Roman authors such as Herodotos, Xenophon, Chares of Mytilene, Aelian, Ammianus Marcellinus and the Syriac Acts of the Martyrs from the later Antiquity, contain large amounts of pre-Islamic data.

My own investigation hereby focuses mainly on post-Islamic materials, the so-called national epic of Abu al-Qasem Ferdowsi, the *Book of the Kings (Shahname),* as well as belief narratives from the monumental contemporary collection of Iranian tales, *The Dictionary of Iranian Folktales (Farhang-e Afsaneha-ye Mardom-e Iran),* which has been edited by Ali Ashraf Darvishian and Reza Khandan in a multi-volume enterprise during the last few decades of our era.

THE *SHAHNAME*

The national epic, which was composed by Abu al-Qasem Ferdowsi (A.D. 940–1020), is a poetic work of imposing length and quality, consisting of sixty thousand rhyming verses

composed in Classical New Persian and based on ancient written and oral sources. It is relatively well edited and studied both by Iranian and foreign scholars[1] and has greatly influenced the heroic literature of neighboring people (Central Asian and Ottoman Turks, Armenians, Kurds).

Ferdowsi's world-view is clearly monotheistic: the ancient kings and heroes of Iran usually invoke God's name and attributes (world-creator, etc.) in their desperate fight against demons *(dev)* and witches *(jadu, zan-e jadu, afsungar)*.

Magic (jadu, afsun) is not without importance in the world-view of the epic. While *afsun* (which is etymologically derived from the Middle Persian verb *afsudan,* "to enchant" or "protect with a spell"), is an ambivalent term, meaning a spell which can be taught by an angel[2] and may save a life, the word *jadu,* on the other hand, clearly denotes "black", i.e., harmful magic. In addition, the very word "magic" carries special connotations, as etymologically it means a certain priestly class in ancient Iran, or more commonly "wise man", "sage".

In Ferdowsi's epic, distinctions between the realms of Good and Evil are not as sharp as in Zoroastrian literature. The great heroes and kings of the Shahname are frequently caught between conflicting values of honor and self-preservation, when they fight their continuous fratricidal wars against Turan (the north-eastern neighboring empire), Rum (the Western peoples, Greeks, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines) and "vassal" countries (Sistan, Mazanderan).

IRANIAN POPULAR LITERATURE

The huge corpus of Iranian Islamic belief narratives which were preserved in medieval chronicles, popular epics, books of anecdotes and hagiographical literature, has still not been fully utilized by contemporary researchers, though the pioneering studies of M.J. Mahjoub deserve to be mentioned (MAHJOUB 2014).

Iranian oral tradition and folk customs have received more attention from both foreign and Iranian scholars during the last hundred years. The studies of A. Christensen, H. Massé, S. Hedayat, and L. P. Elwell-Sutton, dating from the first half of the 20th century, and more recently those of S. A. Enjavi-Shirazi, U. Marzolph and M. Omidsalar, among others, widen our perspectives on the understanding of the shared heritage of story-telling in the Near and Middle East and South-West Asia (Cf. MARZOLPH 1984:306–311).

POPULAR PIETY AND SUPERSTITION
IN IRANIAN CONTEMPORARY BELIEF NARRATIVES

Relying on some hundred texts selected from the multivolume collection of A. Darvishian & R. Khandan, *The Dictionary of Iranian Folktales* (afterwards DIT) and also a collection by the late S.A. Enjavi-Shirazi, I will hereby attempt to give a brief

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[1] For a detailed discussion and bibliography see MARKUS-TAKESHITA 2015.
[2] In the chapters of the primeval kings it means God-given spell, incantation, cf. the chapter of King Tahmuras, verses 27, 37; the chapter of Zahak, 278–291; the chapter of Faridun, 196–202.

description of the use of verbal charms and other means of asking for supernatural help in a few folk narratives, fairytales and legends.

The ancient Persian word for magic spell, i.e., *afsun,* which was often used by Ferdowsi, seems to be absent in folk narratives. The word which usually means "charm" in these texts is the word *verd,* an Arabic loanword. While in the definition of H. Algar, *verd* can be a kind of prayer (ALGAR 1996), in the opinion of M. Bagheri, *verd* in folktales is used as the nonsense word of a conjurer (like *hocus-pocus* in European tales) (Professor Mehri Bagheri, personal communication, 2018). In our above-mentioned texts, *verd* is sometimes used by a magical helper to perform impossible tasks for the heroine (DIT, vol.7. *Green Ali,* 36–37. ATU 425 B.; DIT, vol. 7. *The Three Sisters,* 431). Frequently, *verd* is used in cases of shape shifting or the transformation of men into animals, such as a dog or a donkey (ENJAVI-SHIRAZI 2005:240–241), or a hen, a deer (DIT, vol. 17. *Two Dervishes,* 341; *Enchanted Garden,* 382), a monkey (DIT, vol. 18. *Enchanted Spring,* 217), etc., or transformation into inanimate objects.[3]

Verd is used by sorcerers, witches, demons, fairies and wise women (Cf. ENJAVI-SHIRAZI 2005:241; DIT, vol. 17. *Enchanted Spring,* 219; DIT, vol. 18. *Enchanted Garden,* 384), and above all, by dervishes, who in folktales seem to be endowed with great magical, but often sinister powers, as in several versions of the tale *The Magician and His Pupil,* ATU 325 in the collection.

Verd also can be taught to human beings under certain conditions, cf. the tale of *The Daughter of Dal*[4] (i.e., *foster-daughter of a legendary bird*), in which an egg and rags can be transformed into a baby by the verd-chanting of a childless woman (DIT, vol.18. 460).

In these belief narratives, prayers – both the obligatory ritual prayer (Persian *namaz*, equivalent of the Arabic *salat*) and the supplication *(do'a)* – are said in certain desperate cases to achieve miraculous results for humans, such as reviving the dead (DIT, vol.7. *Sam and Malek Ebrahim,* 30; DIT, vol.7. *The Stone of Patience,* 242, 261, ff), transforming inanimate objects (doll, dough figure) into living maidens (DIT, vol.3. *Four men and the miracle,* 416; DIT, vol.18. *The Dough Girl,* 495), rejuvenating the old (DIT, vol.7. *Sam and Malek Ebrahim,* 30), healing the blind (DIT, vol.3. *Jamjame,* 225) and opening the enchanted gate (DIT, vol. 3. *The Lazy Boy,* 137).

The use of magic objects is also often accompanied by prayers. In the Kurdish tale of *Toli Hazar (The princess whose finger can be seen only at the price of thousand pieces of gold),* the stick and the table cloth provides food, when prayer *(do'a)* is said over them (DIT, vol. 3, 117).

In the story of *The Lazy Boy under the Apricot Tree,* the seal of Solomon placed under the tongue makes every wish come true, if the protagonist simultaneously performs the obligatory Islamic prayer and a supplication (DIT, vol. 3, 155).

In the tale of the *Cup bearer,* the carpet can fly with its owner in any direction, if he pronounces the Quranic verse 61/13, "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful, the help is from God, the victory is near".[5]

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[3]   a needle, *Green Ali,* 36; a stone, *Sorcery,* DIT, vol. 18. 122.
[4]   Dal is a legendary bird in some southern Iranian folktales. In most traditional narratives and above all in the *Shahname,* Simorg is the magical (and maternal) bird helper.
[5]   DIT, vol. 7., 62. For Quranic verses used as charms, see DONALDSON 1938: chapters XVI and XXVI.

CONCLUSION

It can be said that charms (*afsun, verd,* and, in a certain sense, ritual and supplicatory prayer) have an important role in Iranian belief narratives. They are taught by miraculous helpers (saints, prophets, wise old men and women, dervishes) in accordance with Islamic tradition.

Traces of pre-Islamic beliefs also subsist. Ogres and demons *(dev),* witches *(jadu)* and fairies (*pari,* who are a sort of nature spirit, most notably "She of the Forty Tresses" Chehel Gisu, the femme fatale of Iranian fairy tales) are encountered and usually overcome by human heroes and heroines.

With the help of the ATU Index (UTHER 2011) and Stith Thompson's Motif Index (THOMPSON 1955–1958), more in-depth studies can be done in this promising field.

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The Etiology of a Disorder (Dis-ease) and the Restoration of Order (Therapy). A Case of a Greek Belief Narrative Connected with Charms against Abdominal Diseases

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Abstract: Although belief narratives and charms are regarded as two different folklore genres with different modes of transmission, performance and function, they are both in a constant dialectical relationship, yielding mutual feedback. One of the main forms of this interactive relationship concerns the etiology of a dis-ease (construction of a dis-order, i.e. belief narratives) and its therapeutic treatment (restoration of order, i.e. charms). This relationship between the cause of diseases and their treatment is clearly reflected in a Christian content belief narrative closely associated with incantations used to heal abdominal diseases. The basic personage embodying this belief narrative – registered in many and different areas of Greece – is the figure of a monk or Christ himself, who, often disguised as a beggar, is hosted by a family. Violations of both religious norms associated with fasting and social ethics connected with accepted behaviour towards a guest have as a result the manifestation of an abdominal disease, which eventually the monk or Christ treats using an incantation. This article shows that the parallel analysis of legends and charms, where possible, is necessary since it can provide useful information, not only on the ways by which the charm text is produced and reproduced, but also on the position and status of the genre in the context of a wider folk religious system. Furthermore, it could contribute to the understanding of the charm text, without which the knowledge of the belief narrative is often incomprehensible, if not nonsensical.

Keywords: Greek charms, belief narratives, kind landlord, cunning landlady, monk, folk religious system, abdominal diseases

INTRODUCTION

Belief narratives or, according to Bascom (Bascom 1965:4), legends and charms, constitute two different folklore genres with distinctive characteristics, ways of transmission, performance and function. The study of their relation is usually unexplored by researchers of both genres and is partially focused on one category of charms; narrative charms, also known as *historiolae*. This is not by accident, since this charm type is closely associated with the fact that the belief in the efficacy of magic lies on narratives and myths, comprised of descriptions of magical events that have occurred in the distant

past and offer solutions to critical situations. Such narratives, however, do not appear as autonomous texts, independent of charms, but are closely related to charms and are in fact charms themselves. The myth of Osiri and Isida is a typical example of such a case, as it exists only as ritual verbal magic (FRANKFURTER 1995:472), along with the text known to researchers as the exorcism of Gello or Saint Sisinnius' prayer (PASSALIS 2014). Thus, they are myths of magic, as stated by Malinowski as well, and they exist only within the boundaries of magic (MALINOWSKI 1954:141).[1] According to Nadel's arguments, this is due to the fact that magic is closely related to myth. Consequently, whenever a form of magical practice occurs, a mythology/legend simultaneously appears to justify and sustain the efficiency of magic (NADEL 1968:191).

While the narratives of the *historiola* type have been studied and attracted researchers' interest (PASSALIS 2011a; 2016:237–246), the relationship between charms and belief narratives remains unexplored. This is not surprising as the documented belief narratives connected with charms and the evidence we hold from recorded ethnographic data are, at least in Greece, rare and inadequate to promote a consistent study. Such scarcely recorded data in most cases comprise belief narratives which are connected to the first occurrence and transmission of charms, associating their origin with a sacred figure of high authority, thus validating their effectiveness[2], or refer to restrictions of secrecy (transmission and performance), establishing their possession (factor of ownership) onto individuals responsible for their performance.[3]

The study of both genres, legends and charms, whenever and wherever possible, is considered vital and may contribute to a holistic approach, enlightening elements of a wider contextual frame within which both genres are produced and reproduced. The study of this interpretive frame is a basic prerequisite for the comprehension of the genres of folk oral literature.[4] Regarding charm studies in particular, it could be said that since the aim of the verbal part of the genre is neither to transmit information nor narrate something, its analysis has to be based on a full comprehension of the consequences that the words allegedly have. Accordingly, their interpretation depends on their integration within a framework of cultural and symbolic relations. Those relationships include the connections between verbal magic and healing, the role of the supernatural world in human life, faith in the power of words, the beliefs of traditional culture regarding the order of things in the world along with the practices and methods used for their adjustment into this order.

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[1]   Cf. MALINOWSKI 1954:74; 1965:223 (primeval texts).

[2]   Cf. "According to the mythical system of verbal charm transmission, secret and sacred knowledge is passed down by word of mouth through the Virgin Mary, the saints or the angels (...) Moreover, in that type of narrative charm with a 'historiola', where a mythical event or encounter is described, the sacred person (Christ) is described as transmitting the verbal part orally to the saints" (PASSALIS 2011b:12).

[3]   Cf. It is worth mentioning also the case of one female charmer who refused to share the secret text of a charm against ants because, as she believed, "the moment she breathes her last, all the ants will gather around to feast on her body" (PASSALIS 2011b:9).

[4]   According to FOLEY 1992: 276: "To ignore the immanent context is to force situated words out of their natural significative setting - obviously a crippling and artistically violent reorientation". Cf. also the notion of "implicit meaning" (HERZFELD 1981:123), "traditional referentiality" (FOLEY 1991:7, 38–60) and "expressive ecology" (FOLEY 2005:27). For the dependence of the effectiveness of the charms on contextual factors such as a) the power of the verbal part, b) the power of the performer c) the attitude of the ritual powers, d) the connection with religious and mythological tradition and e) the accompanied rituals, see LUDWIG 1987:147.

THE CHARM AGAINST ABDOMINAL DISEASES

The significance of examining charms and legends together, especially for the researchers of charms, is evident in the text documented in this study. It is a charm used against diseases of the abdominal area (pain in the intestines or abdomen) (See also Ionas 2007:A:41) which is widespread in various parts of Greece: Lefkada (Kontomichis 1985:93),[5] Paros (Stellas 2004:41–42),[6] Megara (Vlachou 1959:548),[7] Cyprus (Loukas 1974:54–55),[8] Ksirochori (Rousias 1912–1913:499),[9] Athens (Politis 1931:709);[10] Crete (Lenakakis 2007:117).[11] This type of charm is not only used against relevant human diseases but also, to a lesser extent, against animal ailments (Kontomichis 1985:93; Ionas 2007:B:85–87). Characteristic of the expanded use of this charm is the fact that in Cyprus 53 variants are published in the Σώμα των Κυπριακών Επωδών [Corpus of Cypriot Charms] (Ionas 2007:A:42–44, B:63–87).[12]

It should be also noted that in the contextual framework of the charm, the use of a knife with a black handle is documented. The charmer waves the knife around, forming the mark of the cross (Ionas 2007:B:79, 81, 85) over the abdominal area of the sick person (Ionas 2007:B:63, 73, 78) or over the chest (Ionas 2007:B:63), simultaneously chanting the words of the verbal part. In other cases, a reed with three knobs is used, or a three- inch stick of styrax officinalis (Ionas 2007:B:62), or a piece of yew (Ionas 2007:B:86), while there are also narratives which indicate that during the charm, three olives and burnt bread are placed on a plate (Ionas 2007:B:67, 83). The use of the knife and of the olives is also documented and embedded in the narrative, as will be discussed later on. In Crete, as the charmer performs the ritual, he takes three pebbles, forms the sign of cross on the abdominal area and throws one behind the patient, the second towards the left and the third to the right (Christodoulakis 2011:201). There is no apparent differentiation in the ritual (Ionas 2007:B:62, 85) whether performed on humans or animals, although there are instances when instead of a knife with a black handle a stick from a plant (*styrax officinalis*, στερατζία) or yew is used to thrice hit the

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[5] Lefkada: http://lefkadamia.blogspot.gr/2013/01/gia-ton-strofo.html (accessed November 6, 2019).

[6] *Τ' αντεροφά* [for the pain in the intestines].

[7] *Διά το κόψιμο* [for diarrhea].

[8] *Περί καρδιακών πόνων* [For pains in the intestines]; Philipppou 1912–1913: 530; *Για τον πόνον της καρκιάς* [For pain in the belly]; Ionas 2007:A:42–44, B:63–87; *Γητειά για τον πόνο της κοιλίας, των εντέρων, για τον καρκιόπονον* [Charm against the abdominal pain, pain in the intestines, stomach ache].

[9] *Γήτεμα για πόνο τς καρδιάς* [Treatment for the abdominal pain].

[10] *ξόρτσι σε κωλικόπονο* [Charm against the abdominal pain].

[11] *Για τον κοιλόπονο* [Against the stomachache]; Christodoulakis 2011:201, 202; *αφαλός* [For the navel].

[12] It seems that this type of charm – as well as the corresponding legend which will be discussed later – with the expected variations in content and structure, is widespread and quite common in Central and South East Europe. According to Pócs 2014:895 (transl.): "Besides the Italian data, we also know of sporadic Romanian, Croatian and Serbian variants, which show that once this type of charm may well have been considerably more widespread in the Mediterranean region and Central and Eastern Europe. We are hoping that later exploration of the material in the Balkans will complete this currently incomplete picture." It is also worth mentioning that this charm type, according to Barbara Hillers' (Hillers 2019, 81–82), is well known and popular in Ireland as well as in Gaelic Scotland.

sick animal (Ionas 2007:B:85, 86). In some cases, the combination of magical methods with the practical ones against the disease is documented: recitation of the charms along with drinking a glass of wine, which the patient consumes after the treatment (Ionas 2007:B:65), or applying oil or ethanol on the belly (Ionas 2007:B:72).

The typical structure for the charm of this type has two standard parts.[13] The first one includes the objective element of the charm – objektives Element, according to Ohrt (Ohrt 1935–1936. See also Passalis 2016:117) terminology – which appears in the form of a narrative. In the second part, the subjective element (subjektives Element) appears as a command on the personified pain in the abdominal area. Two of the most relatively complete versions of this type of charm, one from Cyprus and the other from Paros, are presented below:

"Νοικοκύρης αγαθός,	[The landlord kind
πονηρή νοικοτζυρά,	the landlady cunning,
λάρδον εμαείρευκεν,	pork she cooked,
φάκον επαρασώνωννεν.	yet lentils she served.
Έναν φτωχόν καλοήριν,	A poor little monk,
πέντε ελιές εις το σκουτέλλιν	five olives on the plate,
μιαν κόρταν ψουμίν καμένον,	a piece of bread burnt,
τζαι το κρεβάτιν του κληματένον,	his bed made of vine,
τζαι το μαουλούτζιν του πετρένον.	of stone his head bed had.
Τα μεσάνυχτα επίασέν την ο πόνος.	At midnight she felt pain.
Έβκα, πόνε της καρκιάς	Get out, pain in the belly
τζαι πόνε των αντέρων,	and pain in the guts,
τζ' ο Χριστός σε κατατρέσει,	Christ chases you
με το δίστομον μασαίριν,	with a double edged knife
εις το δεξιόν του σέριν.	on his right hand.
Εις το όνομον του Πατρός	In the name of the Father
και του Υιού	and of the Son
και του Αγίου Πνεύματος, Αμήν."	and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.]
(Cyprus, Ionas 2007:A:42)	

"Αγαθός ο ν'κοτσύρ'ς,	[The landlord kind,
πονηρή η ν'κοτζουρά.	the cunning lady,
Φάκον εμαγείρευγε,	Lentils she cooked,
χέρον απογεύτηκε,	pork she ate
χέρον εξεκένωσε.	and defecated pork.
Ψωμί φέλι εμέρασε.	A slice of bread she offered.
τρία λίγδια στ' απλαδένι.	three small olives on the plate.

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[13] Cf. for this type of charm Pócs 2014:895 (transl.): "The specific action narrated in the charm (looking for shelter, punishing the heartless host and then curing them) sets it apart from all other types of epic charms recording encounters between the healer and the sufferer, even though one of the cores of the narrative (one holy person asks the other to perform healing) fits in well with what constitutes the second group of 'encounters' in Ferdinand Ohrt's own system which he defined by the title *Encounter with the healer*".

Στσι βίτσες απλωστάργιασε,	On sticks she lay,
ο χόχλαδας προστσέφαλος.	the pillow made of stone.
Η μουνουτσ'θχιά ξαπόμεινε	The bed in the guest house unused.
Φεύγα, φεύγα, εντρυφά,	Go away, pain from the belly,
ο Χριστός σε κυνηγά	Christ chases you
με την άργυα ντου μαχαίρα	with his silver knife
τσαι με τη χρουσή ντου χέρα."	and his golden hand.]
(Paros, Stellas 2004:41)

The objective element begins with a reference to a group of people, including two figures: the man and the lady of a house. The adjectives accompanying the two figures reflect the difference between them. On the one hand, there is the man of the house, who in most cases is characterized as 'kind/naive/benevolent' *(αγαθός)* (Loukas 1974:54; Ionas 2007:A:42, B:63, 66–71, 73, 74–78, 80–84, 86; Stellas 2004:41; Christodoulakis 2011:201–202; Politis 1931:7; Rousias 1912–1913:49; Vlachou 1959:548) and in some others as 'discreet' *(βρόνιμος)* (Ionas 2007:B:64), 'polite' *(ευγενικός)* (Ionas 2007:B:72) or 'sensible' *(γνωστικός)* (Lenakakis 2007:117). On the other hand, there is the landlady who is characterized in most cases as 'cunning' *(πονηρή)* (Loukas 1974:54; Ionas 2007:A:42, 43, B:63–66, 69, 70, 72–78, 80, 81–84, 86; Stellas 2004:41; Lenakakis 2007:117; Vlachou 1959:548; Loukas 1974:54–55; Rousias 1912–1913:49; Politis 1931:70) and in one case as 'insidious' *('πίβουλη)* (Christodoulakis 2011:201–202). There are also cases in which the two figures do not differ and both are described negatively (cunning the landlord, cunning the landlady)[14] or both positively (the landlord kind, the landlady kind).[15] Nevertheless, those instances are rare and are due to the expected modifications of the text during the verbal transmission and performance of this type of charm. It is therefore noteworthy that there is no variation including a reverse of roles, that is to say the man of the house is cunning and the lady kind.

What directly follows the presentation of the hosts is the reference to activities related to cooking and offering of food. The food, on one hand, is associated with affluence and is cooked on special occasions - pork, rabbit/hare or meat in general - and is, on the other hand, connected with common, everyday food in agricultural regions, such as legumes, lentils or beads:

"(...) Φάκον εμαγείρευγε, χέρον απογεύτηκε (...)" (Stellas 2004:41)
[lentils she cooked, pork she ate and she was pleased];

"(...) κούκους (κουκιά) εμαγέρευγε, λαρδίκες (=κρέας) τόνε τσίτωνε (...)" (Vlachou 1959:548)
[beans she cooked, meat she defecated];

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[14] "Πονηρός ο νοικοτζύρης, πονηρή η νοικοτζυρά" (Ionas 2007:B:70, 71, 73).
[15] "Νοικοτζύρης αγαθός, νοικοτζυρά αγαθή" (Ionas 2007:B:700); see also Ionas 2007:B:74; Kontomichis 1985:93.

"(...) φάκον εμαείρεψε, λάρδον παραχένωσε" (Loukas 1974:54–55)
[lentils she cooked, salty pork she defecated];

"(...) άφχου (στάρι ή είδος οσπρίων) έβραζε, σφαχτό ποδάρι μέσα (...)" (Rousias 1912–1913:49)
[grains or type of legumes she boiled, slaughtered animal leg inside];

"(...) Τράγον εμαγείρευε (...)"[16]
[male goat she cooked];

"(...) κούκους εμαγέρευκε, λάδι παρατσίνωνε (...)" (Politis 1931:70)
[beans she cooked, oil she defecated];

"(...) λαγόν εμαγέρευγε, φάκον εκατέβαζε (...)" (Christodoulakis 2011:201)
[hare she cooked, lentils she defecated].

At the same time, those types of food are related to the dietary restrictions and prohibitions (fasting) connected with the religious system that determines dietary habits.

What follows the report of food is the third dramatic persona of the narrative, presented as a monk. This person undertakes the role of a victim. Distinctively, the monk is always portrayed as poor - with both meanings of the term 'poor fellow' and 'has not got the basics to live' (Ionas 2007:A:42, 43, B:64, 66, 71–75, 77, 78, 81, 83, 84, 86), while in most of the above instances he is referred to in the diminutive form καλόηριν [little monk] (Ionas 2007:A:42, B:62, 66, 71, 73, 75–78, 80, 83, 85, 86). It is worth mentioning that the figure of a monk is mainly found in charms from Cyprus, whereas there is no report of this persona in charms originated in other areas of Greece (Christodoulakis 2011:201; Lenakakis 2007:117; Politis 1931:70; Rousias 1912–1913:49; Stellas 2004:41, 42; Kontomichis 1985:93).

Following the presentation of the monk, there is a reference to another list of food offered to him (Ionas 2007:B:63). In almost all cases, this list includes: two (Lenakakis 2007:117), three (Rousias 1912–1913:49; Ionas 2007:B:64, 67; Christodoulakis 2011:201–202) or in most cases five olives (Loukas 1974:54; Philippou 1912–1913:530; Ionas 2007:A:42, 43, B:63–86; Vlachou 1959:548). It is often enriched with the listing of other types of food that all belong to the category of trivial or even ruined food: thin slice of bread *(ψωμί φέλι)* (Stellas 2004:41, 42), half bread burnt *(μισόν ψουμίν καμένον)* (Ionas 2007:B:72) or scorched *(συγκαμμένον)* (Ionas 2007:B:72), burnt slice of bread *(ψουμίν κόρταν/κορτίν/ κορδίν καμμένον)* (Ionas 2007:A:42, 43, B:64–70, 73–81, 83–86; Loukas 1974:54), dry burnt bread *(ξερόν ψουμίν καμμένον)* (Philippou 1912–1913:530; Ionas 2007:B:84), cheese full of worms *(τυρίν σαρατζιασμένον)* (Ionas 2007:B:64, 69, 70, 72, 73), bitten cheese *(χαλλούμιν δακαμένον)* (Ionas 2007:B:72), rotten onion *(κρομμύ(δ)ιν σαπημένον)* (Loukas 1974:54; Ionas 2007:A:43, B:64, 66–69, 72, 74–78, 82, 85) or stinky *(βρομισμένον)* (Ionas 2007:B:80, 87).

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[16]   http://lefkadamia.blogspot.gr/2013/01/gia-ton-strofo.html (accessed November 6, 2019).

Subsequent is an extra list which does not include food, but sleeping conditions. These conditions appear to be demeaning and insulting towards the guest, whom the hosts ask to sleep on vines (bed made of vines) *(κρεβάτιν κληματένον)* (IONAS 2007:A:42, B:64–66, 74, 78; LOUKAS 1974:54), *κλήματα 'χε στο κρεβάτι* (LENAKAKIS 2007:117), *κλήματα στην κλίνη* (CHRISTODOULAKIS 2011:201), *κλήμα(τα) τα στρώματα* (POLITIS 1931:70; ROUSIAS 1912–1913:49), *βίτσες* [sticks on the mattresses] (STELLAS 2004:41)) or on the ground *(χωματένον)* (IONAS 2007:B:70, 71, 73, 75, 86) or the marble floor *(μαρμαρένον)* (IONAS 2007:B:83) having marble as a pillow *(μαξιλάριν μαρμαρένον)* (IONAS 2007:B:64) or stones *(προσσέφαλον πετρένον)* (IONAS 2007:B:67, 73, 81, 83), *μαουλούτζιν/-κιν του πετρένον* (IONAS 2007:A:42, 43, B:67, 68, 76, 77, 86), *μαγλούκα πετρένη* (IONAS 2007:B:71), *πέτρα μαξιλάρι* (LENAKAKIS 2007:117), *πέτρα προσκεφάλι* (CHRISTODOULAKIS 2011:201), *λίθος ο προτσέφαλος* (STELLAS 2004:42), *πέτρα προυσκέφαλο* (ROUSIAS 1912–1913:49), *πέτρα τσεφαλώματα* (POLITIS 1931:70), soil *(μαουλούτζιν/-κιν χωματένον)* (IONAS 2007:B:74) or pebbles *(χόχλαδας προστσέφαλος)* (STELLAS 2004:41) and cover himself with a cover made of vines *(πάπλωμαν κληματένον)* (IONAS 2007:A:43, B:68–69, 70–75, 77), threads *(πάπλωμαν νηματένον)* (IONAS 2007:B:76), copper *(πάπλωμαν χαρκωματένον)* (IONAS 2007:B:85, 202) or bags *(σακί σκέπασμα)* (ROUSIAS 1912–1913:49).

The subjective element (subjektives Element) in the second part of the charm is presented as a command addressed to the personified source of pain and expressed through the imperative form of two basic verbs: get out *(βγες)* and go away/leave *(φύγε)*. This command is often enhanced by an additional element, which involves the sacred power. Christ is presented to chase the personified disease: Christ chases away the pain in the intestines holding a silver knife in his right hand.

"Φύγε, πόνε των αντέρων,	[Leave, pain in the intestines,
ο Χριστός σε κατατρέσει	Christ chases you
με το δέξιόν του σέριν ,	with his right hand,
με το αρκυρόν μασαίριν,	with the silver knife,
τζαι τζει που να ορτώσει,	and when he reaches you,
τζειαμαί σε κατακόβκεις"	instantly, he cuts you into pieces.]
(IONAS 2007:B:64)	

There are alterations and modifications among variants in this part as well. These differentiations involve the means and the way of chasing: double edged *(δίστομον μαχαίριν και με την χρυσήν την λόγχην)* [with two edges knife and golden spear] (IONAS 2007:B:65), silver spear *(αργυρήν λόγχην)* (IONAS 2007:B:65), holding the silver knife and the cross *(με το αρκυρόν μαχαίρι και με το σταυρόν στο σέρι)* (IONAS 2007:B:72), with the twelve Gospels and his holy hand *(με τα δώδεκα Βαγγέλια και το άγιο ντου χέρι)* (LENAKAKIS 2007:117), with the leg and the hand and the silver knife *(με τον πόδα με την σέραν, τζαι με τη αργυρήν μασαίραν)* (IONAS 2007:B:82), with his silver knife and his golden hand *(με το αργυρό μαχαίρι και με το χρυσό του χέρι* (POLITIS 1931:70)*, με την άργυα (=αργυρή) ντου μαχαίρα τσαι με τη χρουσή ντου χέρα)* (STELLAS 2004:41), with the double edged knife and the golden spear *(με το δίστομον μαχαίριν και με την χρυσήν την λόγχην)* (LOUKAS 1974:54–55), with the silver knife and his right hand *(με την αργυρή μαχαίρα τσαι με τη δεξιά του χέρα)* (VLAXOU 1959:548).

The charm ends with a typical phrase which is in the form of a) reference to the Holy Trinity,[17] b) a simile "just like ….so",[18] or more rarely c) a combination of a and b (IONAS 2007:B:84).

The documented material and the comparative study of the variations allow us to perceive a minimum of textual meaning, which is though inadequate to accomplish a satisfactory comprehension of the context in the charms of this type. Furthermore many parts of the charm are ambiguous and require further clarification. Why is the landlord characterized as kind/naïve whereas the landlady is cunning? What is the purpose of naming certain types of food and referring to sleeping conditions, and also how are these elements connected with narrative? What is the relationship between the monk and the main characters? As it has already been mentioned, the reference to the monk is sometimes omitted. The textual relation between the objective and the subjective element of narration, which includes the command of removing pain, is loose, not to mention absent, while in some charms it has been omitted (PHILIPOU 1912–1913:530; ROUSIAS 1912–1913:49; KONTOMICHIS 1985:93; IONAS 2007:B:68). It is not evident which person is sick and why. Only in one variation is there a reference to *«έπιασε πόνος την νοικοκυρά»* [At midnight she [the landlady] felt pain]) (IONAS 2007:A:42), while another variation mentions «at midnight he felt pain» *(μέσα στο μεσ᾽άνυχτον έπκιασέν τον ο πόνος)* the poor little monk» *(το φτωχόν το καλοήριν)* (IONAS 2007:A:43). In any case, it is evident that we have to deal with an elliptic text, partly readable and in some variations totally illegible or even incomprehensible (IONAS 2007:B:77).

THE BELIEF NARRATIVE

The parallel analysis of the charm examined here and the belief narrative with which it is related responds to all the previous questions. The belief narrative, which allows the decoding of the obscure and illegible parts of the charm, is encountered in different areas of Greece: Cyprus (IONAS 2007:A:42), Athens (POLITIS 1931:70), Lefkada,[19] Paros (STELLAS 2004:41–42), Megara (VLACHOU 1959:548–549), Cyprus (LOUKAS 1974:54–55; PHILIPPOU 1912–1913:530), Ksirohori (ROUSIAS 1912–1913:49), Crete (ANAGNOSTAKIS 1932–1933:4; POLITIS 1931:71 note, LENAKAKIS 2007:117).[20] The number of this particular narrative, although inadequate, is indicative of its popularity and lets us study the relationship between charm and legend. It is certain that further research in archives will increase this number considerably.

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[17] *"Εις το όνομα του Πατρός και του Υιού και του Αγίου Πνεύματος..."* [In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit] (IONAS 2007:B:64, 65, 68, 69, 70–86).

[18] *"σαν τρέχουν τ᾽άστρα, σαν τρέσει ο ήλιος, σαν τρέσει η Παναγιά με τον Μονογενήν της, έτσι να* τρέξει το κακόν από" [just like the stars run in the sky, just like the sun runs, just like the Holy Mother runs towards her only son, so shall the evil leave from] (IONAS 2007:B:77); *"σαν τρέσει ο ποταμός σαν τρέσει το φεγγάριν, σαν τρέσει ο ήλιος και πα στην μάναν του, έτσι να τρέσε το κακόν από το δούλον του Θεού... (τάδε)"* [just like the river runs, just like the moon runs, just like the sun runs and goes to his mother, so shall the evil go away from the servant of God] (IONAS 2007:B:80).

[19] http://lefkadamia.blogspot.gr/2013/01/gia-ton-strofo.html   (accessed November 6, 2019).

[20] The same narrative, despite its relation to a different charm, is also documented on the island of Milos (VICHOS 1960), and Kea (SPYRIDAKIS 1960).

It should be noted that the available documented narratives feature variations and modifications from area to area, as far as their extent and specific elements of their text are concerned. In all cases, however, the legends follow a consistent structure that can be clearly understood. The following texts, one of Megara and one from Crete, are two of the most representative variants;

"Μια φορά πέρατσε ο Χριστός 'πό ένα σπίτι τσαι 'καμε το ζητιάνο. Έβραζε η νοικοτσουρά τσαι κουτσία τσαι τη μπαρακάλετσε να ντου δώσει ένα πιάτο 'πό τα κουτσία, όχι από το κρέας, γιατί ήτανε Τετράδη ή Παρασκευγή. Για ινάτι του Χριστού έπαιρνε ξαργού το κουτάλι 'πό τα κουτσία τσαι το βούτατε στο κρέας. Ο άντρας της το βράδυ της είπε: δώσε του χριστιανού ένα πιάτο φαΐ τσαι 'τσείνη δε ντου 'δωτσε. Δώσ' του ρούχα να πλαγιάσει, 'τσείνη δε ντου 'δωτσε. Επειδή ο άντρας της τη στεναχώρεψεμ, του πήγε πεισματικά ψωμί καημένο τσαι ελές τσαι κλήματα τσαι λιθάρι για στρώμα τσαι προτσέφαλο. Τη νύχτα έπιασε το παιδί της κόψιμο. Είπε πάλι ο άντρας της: "Να μιλήσομε του χριστιανού μη γκαλιάσει τσαι ξέρει καμιά γιατρειά να κάμομε το παιδί μας καλά". Πάλι τονε αρχίνησε τον άντρα της, αλλά ετσείνος πήγε τσαι τονε παρακάλετσε. Τότες ο Χριστός του είπε: "Πάρε ένα μαυρομάνικο μαχαίρι τσαι τρία κλήματα τσαι βάν' τα πάνω στο παιδί". Τσαι πήγε ο Χριστός τσαι είπε: Αγαθός ο νοικοτσύρης, πονηρή νοικοτσουρά (…) Τσ' α σε φτάσει, αλί 'πό σένα." (Megara, VLACHOU 1959:549)
[Christ once visited a house as a beggar. As the housewife was boiling broad beans, he begged for a broad beans plate, not meat, as it was Wednesday or Friday. Her stubbornness made her dip the spoon from the broad beans to the meat on purpose. Her husband told her in the evening: "Give the poor man some food" but she did not. "Give him clothes to fall in bed", but she didn't. As her husband made her feel angry, she deliberately gave him burnt bread with olives and vines as a mattress and stone as a bed head. During the night, her kid suffered from diarrhea. Her husband said again: "Let's talk to the poor man in case he knows any treatment to heal our kid". Despite her repeatedly grumbling to her husband, he begged him (the beggar). Then Christ said; "Virtuous the landlord, cunning the housewife (…) and when Christ comes to the point where you are, alas"]

"Κάποτε ο Χριστός, προσποιούμενος τον επαίτην επήγε εις μίαν οικίαν και εζήτησε φιλοξενίαν, της οποίας ο νοικοκύρης ήτο αγαθός και η νοικοκυρά πονηρή. Η νοικοκυρά εμαγέρευε λαγόν. Ο άγνωστος την ερωτά τι ψήνει κι αν θέλει να του βάλει να φάγει λίγη μαγεριά. Εκείνη του λέγει ότι ψήνει φακή, αλλά είναι άψητη. Του έδωκε ένα κομμάτι ψωμί με λίγες ελιές κι έφαγε, κατόπιν τον κοίμισε στα κλήματα με πέτρα προσκεφάλάδι. Σαν εκοιμήθη ο Χριστός εκατέβασε το τσικάλι και έβαλε να φάνε και ο λαγός είχε γίνει φακή. Τη νύχτα έπιασε μητρόπονος την πονηρή νοικοκυρά κι ο Χριστός άμα ήκουσε τις φωνές εσηκώθη και την γήτεψε και έγιανε κι ύστερα έφυγε. Ύστερα το κατάλαβαν πως ήτο ο Χριστός." (Crete, ANAGNOSTAKIS 1932–1933:4)
[Once Christ, pretending to be a beggar, asked to be hosted in a house where the landlord was virtuous and the housewife was cunning. The housewife was cooking a hare. The stranger asked her what she was roasting and if she would like to offer him some homemade food. She told him that she was cooking lentils soup, but it was still raw. He ate a piece of bread with some olives that she gave him; then he was offered to sleep on the vines with a bed head of stone. When Christ fell asleep, she laid the table, but the hare had turned into lentils soup. During the night, the cunning housewife suffered from stomach ache and when Christ heard her cry, he got up, healed her and then he left. Later on, they realized that he was Christ himself.]

Almost all the variants belong to the same framework, with minor changes which do not disrupt the basic pattern. The characters are classified into two groups. The first one includes the landlord and the housewife and the second group includes the guest, while in some variants there is also the sick family child (Vichos 1960). In most variants, however, the disease afflicts the housewife herself rather than the child:

“Στ’ αμεσονύχτι, στηέται τσαι ήπγιασε χορό στο Μαρουσώ ο ντεροφάς (ο εντεροφάγος). ’Πό το γερό μπονότσοιλα τσαι τη γκολοσφεδονία ήπεσε η τσουρά τσ’ αποθαμού” (Paros, Stellas 2004:41)
[At midnight, Marouso was afflicted by an awful and terrible pain. The severe pain almost drove the lady to death]

There is also a variant from Crete, where the sick person is the landlord:

“Τη νύχτα όμως έπχιασε πόνος το νοικοκύρη απού τσι φακές και δεν εκάτεχε η γυναίκα ντου είντα να του κάνει” (Lenakakis 2007:117)
[During the night, the landlord suffered from pain because of the lentils soup and his wife had no idea what to do]

These legends clarify all the illegible elements of the aforementioned charm. Firstly, they define the characters appearing in the majority of the independent charms: the benign landlord, the cunning housewife and the poor monk. These references are sufficiently explained in the main narrative, while in the charms they are not. The cunningness and the negative description of the housewife is related to the fact that she usually withholds the main meal of the family[21] and offers the guest some poor quality food, ranging from a humiliating meal (lentils soup, fava bean soup, three or five olives on the plate etc.) to even letting him starve in some variations.

The rude behaviour of the housewife totally contradicts the kind behaviour of her husband:

“Ότ’ ήφευζε ο τσύρης για τα χτήματα, τον απαντά απάνου στη στραθχιά. Το γκαλοδέχτη τσαι τον έπερε στη γκατ’τσα ντου να ξωμείνει τσαι να ξαποστάσει. Λέει στ’ απόκουρφα τση τσουράς του: – Θωρ’ς δα Μαρ’σω. Καρατάριζε τον άι γέροντα (…) Τσ’ ήφυε για τσι δούλεψές ντ’” (Paros, Stellas 2004:41)
[When the landlord set off for his land, he came across him. He welcomed him and took him home to rest and if he wanted, he could even stay overnight. He secretly asks his wife: – Look Mar’so. Take care of the holy old man (…) and he left for his work]

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[21] “Η νοικοκυρά εμαγέρευε λαγόν. Ο άγνωστος την ερωτά τι ψήνει κι αν θέλει να του βά’λει να φάγει λίγη μαγεριά. Εκείνη του λέγει ότι ψήνει φακή, αλλά είναι άψητη” [The housewife was cooking hare. The stranger asked what she was cooking and if she was willing to offer him a cooked meal. She told him that she was cooking lentils soup, but it was not ready yet] (Anagnostakis 1932–1933:4).

In many variants the husband condemns his wife's rude and offensive behaviour:

"– 'Ευλογημένη', της λέει ο άνδρας της, 'ξένος, άνθρωπος ήτανε, δεν τον έβανες μέσα στο σπίτι;' – 'Μπα! Πού θα βάλω τέτοιον άνθρωπο στο τραπέζι μου!' λέει εκείνη. – 'Να που μας έφεραν λίγα κουκιά, του τα βαίνουμε, τρώει'. Τι να κάμει ο άντρας της, για ν' αποφύγει την γρίνια, την άφησε κι εκείνη έκαιγε λάδι να ζωματίσει πιλάφι. Λοιπόν του έδωσε τους κούκους και ένα κομμάτι ψωμί" (Politis 1931:710)
[– "Blessed you" her husband tells her, "he was a stranger, didn't you host him?" – "No way! How can I dine with such a man!" she replies. – "Here are some fava beans that we were given, we will offer him and he will eat them". Her husband left her, in order to avoid her moaning, while she was heating oil to cook pilaf. So, she offered him the fava beans and a piece of bread]

The positive and kind behaviour of the husband as well as the negative, rude behaviour of his wife is documented not only in the provision of food but also by the overnight conditions which are offered to the guest. The following excerpts of some variants certify and demonstrate not only the negative behaviour of the wife but also the objection of her husband, who finally does not manage to impose his opinion on her:

"Δεν άκουε τον άντρα της που της έλεγε να δώσει στο γέρο να φάει. Τελευταία με την κακία της είπε να του δώσει τις ελίτσες να φάει και τον έβαλε και στα κλήματα να κοιμηθεί. Κ' έβαλε και μια πέτρα μαξιλάρι" (Vichos 1960)
[She disobeyed her husband, who told her to give the old man some food. Finally, full of evil, she decided to give him olives to eat and to sleep on the vines with a stone bed head]

"Τον ήβανε στο μεγατζέ. Για φαΐ, του 'στησε τρία λίγδια στ' απλαδένι τσ' ένα φελί ψωμάτσι. Για τσοίτη, του στησε απλωσταργιά μι' αγκάλη από τα κλαδέματα τσ' αμπελιάς. Για προστσέφαλο, ''να γερό χόχλαδο ξεφτερνια'σμένο οφτ'χός" (Paros, Stellas 2004:41)
[She offered him the warehouse (to sleep). As for food, she gave him three small olives on a small plate and a little slice of bread. (As for bed) she spread an armful of vine sticks. As for bed head, a big pebble, luckily without any edges and points!]

The aforementioned quotations sufficiently explain and clarify illegible parts of the charms, concerning not only food but also overnight and survival conditions.

The consequence and punishment for such behaviour is the appearance of a disease which is related, not at all randomly, to food consumption, and it concerns abdominal problems, pain or even diarrhea. However, this disease does not afflict the starving guest, but a family member and mainly the housewife. The guest is asked to cure this disease because of the intervention of the husband, who addresses him in order to provide help. This is the third character, which appears in most charms in the form of a poor monk:

"Ένας καλόερας, αποκαμένος 'π' το δρομί, τα' αφάωτος, επέρνα ''πό μνιά κατ'τσα (από 'να αγροτόσπιτο)" (Paros, Stellas 2004:41)
[A monk, tired of walking and hungry, passed by the farmhouse]

The role and the function of the guest are explicitly clarified in the legends where he appears, not only as a monk, but often in the form of a poor man or a beggar, identified with Christ:

"Μια φορά πέρασε ο Χριστός και έκανε το Ζητιάνο" (Megara, Vlachou 1959:549)
[Christ once came by as a beggar]

"Όταν ευρίσκετο ο Ιησούς Χριστός εδώ κάτω εις την γη, εγύριζε τον κόσμο σαν φτωχός, διά να ιδεί την καρδιά του καθενός, ποίος ήτο καλός, ποίος κακός" (Politis 1931:71)
[When Jesus Christ was on Earth, he wandered around the world as a poor man, in order to have an insight into everyone's heart, those who were kind, those who were evil]

"Κάποτε ο Χριστός, προσποιούμενος τον επαίτην επήγε εις μίαν οικίαν και εζήτησε φιλοξενίαν" (Anagnostakis 1932–1933:49)
[Once Christ, pretending to be a beggar, visited a house and asked to be hosted, the landlord was kind and the housewife was cunning]

The identification of the poor monk, beggar and stranger with Christ, is not random. The belief that a holy person, mainly Christ, can appear in the form of a beggar, poor man etc. in order to check the people's faith is quite popular in the context of the folk religious system. The following ethnographic testimonies from Paros are characteristic of the popularity of this belief, closely related to legend:

"Καλόερας. Με το πιστευτό ότι στη μορφή και στην πνευματική του παρουσία, αντικατοπρίζότανε ο ίδιος ο Χριστός, που ήθελε να δοκιμάσει την προαίρεση των ανθρώπων" (Stellas 2004:42)
[Monk. Believing that Christ himself was reflected in the form and the spiritual presence of a monk, aiming at testing people's intention.]

ETIOLOGY AND THERAPY OF DISEASE

The aforementioned narratives belong to the category of "legends", according to the definition of this folklore genre of the American folklorist William Bascom (Bascom 1965:3). One of the basic characteristics of legends is that they were believed to be real by people who lived in so-called traditional societies. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the belief narrative discussed here, along with other similar narratives, belongs to the sphere of myth; and as we all know, myths use symbolic and allegorical language, not literal. The American mythologist Joseph Campbell (Campbell 1988:22–23), who is predominantly a researcher of myth and its function, refers to the "sociological function" of myths, which aims at validating and enhancing certain social norms and *statu quo,* and to the "pedagogical function", which focuses on teaching a specific human way of life. Therefore, in a large number of folk narratives we observe that people's fear of violations of socially acceptable rules is indirectly expressed, though, in terms of its general structure, an allegorical narrative.

Knowing the specific belief narrative is quite useful since it not only facilitates sufficient comprehension of the charms, but also associates the text with a network of contextual

elements that are connected to the wider cultural frame within which the incantations are produced and reproduced. The belief narratives integrate the cause of the disease. This relies on violating taboos and rules of ethical conduct, which aims at avoiding potential deviant behaviour as well as at enhancing social solidarity towards people in a crucial situation, whether it is about foreigners or socially and financially disadvantaged groups. This mechanism is based on and supported by a traditional religious cosmology that associates these groups with a sacred figure of high authority, Christ himself.

The narrative under examination also includes customs and rules which refer to dietary taboos. Such dietary prohibitions are connected to avoiding certain kinds of food, especially during days of fast as defined by the religious system of traditional Greek society, like Wednesday and Friday, when consumption of meat ought to be avoided:

> "Μια φορά πέρατσε ο Χριστός 'πό ένα σπίτι τσαι 'καμε το ζητιάνο. Έβραζε η νοικοτσουρά τσαι κουτσία τσαι τη μπαρακάετσε να ντου δώσει ένα πιάτο 'πό τα κουτσία, όχι από το κρέας, γιατί ήτανε Τετράδη ή Παρασκευγή" (Megara, Vlachou 1959:549)[22]
> [Once, Christ came by a house pretending to be a beggar. The lady of the house was cooking broad beans so he asked her to offer him a plate of broad beans, not of meat, because it was Wednesday or Friday]

The violation of those restrictions in combination with the attempt to deceive the monk is considered to be a sin and is punished by turning the meat into lentils:

> "Σαν εκοιμήθη ο Χριστός εκατέβασε το τσικάλι και έβαλε να φάνε και ο λαγός είχε γίνει φακή" (Anagnostakis 1932–1933:40)
> [When Christ fell asleep and she served food, hare had been turned into lentils]

> "Η γυναίκα εδέχτηκε και ύστερα την ερώτηξε είντα μαγειρεύει. Αυτή του 'πενε πως ψήνει φακή, ψώματα, γιατί εμαγέρευγε κρέας (…) με το που το λέει γίνεται το κρέας φακή" (Lenakakis 2007:117)
> [The woman agreed and then he asked her what she was cooking. She told him she was cooking lentils, but she lied to him, because she was cooking meat (…) the minute she told the lie the meat turned into lentils]

Her being sick is the ultimate punishment for her negative behaviour, which is considered to be a sin.

Some collectors of folkloric data are familiar with this belief narrative and explain the incantation by stating: "The charm (…) is based on the following myth. Christ disguised as monk requested accommodation from a priest whose wife was capricious and mean/evil. She took no care of Christ and as a result that very night she suffered from colic. They asked Christ to cure her and so he did. Afterwards, Christ disappeared and it was then that the priest realized he was not a common foreigner, but Christ himself." (Ionas 2007:A:42 (transl.) "The chant derived from this legend. Once Christ, pretending to be a beggar (...). Then they realized it was Christ." (Crete, Anagnostaskis 1932–1933:40

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[22] A similar case is documented in Stellas 2004:41.

(transl.)) It is also worth noting that a folklorist from Paros characteristically calls this kind of collected material a mixed genre, which does not follow the restrictions of transmission and the performance of charms (STELLAS 2004:42). That is to say, it neither requires special users nor a secret transmission and performance.[23]

Nonetheless, we observe a considerable amount of independent charms documented without a supplementary comment nor a reference to the belief narrative they associate with. These independent charms maintain all the basic traits of the genre, the restrictions on transmission and performance, and are used as treatment for the diseases in the abdomen area. It is still uncertain whether the absence of a correlation is due to insufficient documentation of the available folk texts or there is indeed ignorance of this narrative. It seems, however, that the specific incantation follows a second method of transmission: it is based on a legend, but in the process it becomes independent and follows the rules and principles that apply to the transmission and performance of charms. The illegibility of the text does not seem to worry researchers since nonsensical words and elliptic content are considered to be one of the main characteristics of the verbal magic. Besides, contrary to legends, comprehension of the charm is irrelevant to its assumed efficacy (PASSALIS 2016:218–20).

CONCLUSIONS

The comprehension and legibility of the incantations examined in this paper would not be satisfactory without the knowledge of corresponding belief narrative to which they are closely connected. Such knowledge clarifies the verbal part of the charm, turning it from an illegible and inconsistent text into a comprehensive, readable one. Despite being quite different genres, the belief narratives and the charms are interrelated here in a functional, supplementary way. What is documented in the legend is the explanatory and justifiable model which clarifies the cause of the disease, rooted in the violation of rules. Hence, it is not only an explanatory model for provoking a disease, but also an example of warning against potential deviant behaviour. In this way, the social norms connected with acceptable behaviour towards guests are validated, thus reinforcing social solidarity towards people in need, such as the foreigners, the poor and beggars. The charm thus constitutes the therapeutic method of restoring a disorder caused by the violation of norms connected with the acceptable religious behaviour. What we see here is that charm and the belief narrative coexist as a whole entity that is functional within the framework of traditional Greek culture. Are there other cases of charms connected to belief narratives in such an integrated way yet to be examined? Further study could probably shed light and contribute to a more holistic approach to both genres.

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[23]   The relation and the close connection between charm and the relevant legend have also been noted by other researchers of European charm. Cf. PÓCS 2014:895 (transl.): "However, due to further motifs of the *historiola,* this charm shows connections mostly with other genres, primarily with legends that represent Christ and St. Peter wandering on earth. In her relevant analysis, Tekla Dömötör traces this charm back to an Egyptian magical text: the goddess Isis walks on Earth and a rich woman refuses to give her shelter. Isis strikes her child down with a disease, but then takes pity on the child and teaches the mother a healing charm. Dömötör lists parallels from Southern Italy based on Ernesto de Martino, to which we may add further data from Sicily".

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The Devil in Latvian Charms and Related Genres

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Abstract: In Latvian folklore, the Devil is a relatively common image, represented in all the genres. This paper analyses the verbal charms that mention the Devil or Thunder together with the motif of pursuing the Devil. The corpus of charms consists of texts taken from the first systematic collection of Latvian charms, published in 1881. Examples of charms are accompanied by a comparative analysis of folk legends and beliefs. There are correspondences in charms, legends and beliefs regarding the appearance and traits of the Devil as well as his activities and dwelling places. These genres also share the motif of pursuing the Devil. Texts from different genres complement each other by providing missing narrative fragments and aspects of meaning. In the legends and charms, black and red dominate in the Devil's appearance, and the Devil can also appear in the form of animals. The Devil's activities and presence are linked with the origins of evil and associated with a variety of diseases which, like the Devil himself, are overcome by similar techniques. These legends and beliefs help us understand the similarities expressed in the charms, deepen and expand the semantics of the images, and explain the associative links and anchoring of specific actions in the broader folklore material. The plot and length of texts in charms are determined by the specific style, structure, and function of this genre. Therefore, content is not expanded in detail; instead, only key figures or images, the foundation of the plot, and its most important elements are mentioned. The comparative material found in legends and beliefs provides more in-depth explanation of the concise messages expressed in the charms.

Keywords: Latvian verbal charms, folk legends, folk beliefs, Devil, pursuing the Devil, Thunder

INTRODUCTION

The Devil is a relatively common image in Latvian folklore. Although he is not often mentioned in charms, and due to the relatively short form of the genre, not all of the features and expressions of this character are understandable. When compared and supplemented with material from other genres, the Devil's character and actions in charms

becomes clearer. When unnamed, the Devil also exists as the concept of "evil" and is associated in the charms with misfortunes and various diseases, which are overcome or repelled using similar techniques, text structures, and content.

Pursuing the Devil, with Thunder trying to kill him, is a known motif in Latvian charms. In an effort to escape, the Devil hides in the water, in the swamp, under an oak tree or a stone. This is also a familiar motif in the folklore of other nations, as evidenced by the international index of folktales, such as ATU type 1147 (UTHER 2004:48). Based on plot similarities in the folklore of various European peoples as well as etymological parallels of the words "God", "Devil", and "Thunder" in different languages, the texts related to this motif have been linked to Proto-Indo-European mythology. In Latvian culture, the theme of the battle between God and the Devil was updated during the period of national romanticism in the second half of the 19th century, as if seeking to recreate a lost myth from a scattered fragment (LAUTENBAHS-JŪSMIŅŠ 1885). During the interwar period, the folklorist Pēteris Šmits attributed the theme of the battle between the Devil and Thunder to an ancient myth (ŠMITS 1926:48), pointing out that they had been preserved in Latvian folklore since Proto-Indo-European times (ŠMITS 1926:108). The development of this theme in the context of Indo-European mythology gained more visibility with the works of semioticians Viacheslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov, who also used examples from Latvian folklore to justify the existence of the myth (IVANOV – TOPOROV 1974:4–179).

The wide distribution of this theme in Latvian folklore is indicated by the 15 volumes of Latvian folktales and legends compiled by Šmits (ŠMITS 1925–1937). Volume 14 contains only texts referring to the Devil's activities, appearance, dwellings, etc.,[1] including the chapter "Thunder Persecutes the devils", which comprises 21 variants of this theme.[2] References to other texts related to these characters in Latvian folklore are found in the Latvian folktales type index compiled by Kārlis Arājs and Alma Medne (ARĀJS – MEDNE 1977).

This study analyses the texts of Latvian charms that mention the Devil, Thunder, and the motif of pursuing the Devil. The verbal charms are supplemented by materials from other folklore genres (legends and beliefs) that share a similar plot and describe the Devil's appearance, activities, and dwellings, thus explaining the message in the charms more extensively. For the purposes of this analysis, the corpus of charms consists only of the texts published by Fricis Brīvzemnieks in the 1881 edition of "Ethnographic Materials of the Latvian People" (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1881) in the chapter "Latvian Charms and Spells".

CORPUS AND TEXT SELECTION

"Ethnographic Materials of the Latvian People" by Brīvzemnieks is the first comprehensive publication of Latvian charms. Brīvzemnieks began collecting materials for this edition in the spring of 1869 on an expedition to Latvia funded by the Society of Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography in Moscow. Many of the people he encountered during the expedition became folklore collectors themselves

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[1] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/Velni (accessed October 21, 2019) Here and herafter examples are taken from bilingual text corpus of Pēteris Šmits' *Latvian Folktales and Legends* (Vol. 13–15).

[2] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/P%C4%93rkons_vaj%C4%81_velnus (accessed October 21, 2019)

and in later years sent folklore materials to Brīvzemnieks in Moscow. Among them were teachers as well as farmers. In 1877, a few years before the publication of the collection, Brīvzemnieks also published calls in the Latvian press to collect folklore (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1877). The 1881 edition refers to 50 collectors of charms and contains a total of 717 text units. After its publication, the most diligent collectors of folklore received the edition as a gift, and the publication could also be purchased. Thus, the texts published in the edition returned to active and wider circulation among the people, and later, in the 1930s, along with the folklore collections of school pupils and university students, the texts arrived at the Latvian folklore archives. Brīvzemnieks' collection of charms has had a significant impact on the Latvian charming tradition and the text corpus of the Archives of Latvian folklore,[3] and therefore only the texts published in the 1881 edition are used in this study to analyse the characteristics and function of the Devil's image.[4]

The majority of charms published in the Brīvzemnieks collection have come from the western Latvian region of Kurzeme (Courland). More than 200 units of text were sent by Jānis Pločkalns from the Skrunda area, and this is the largest collection of charms in the collection published from a single collector. Pločkalns was an educated farmer and has often clashed with the local Tsarist Russian administration, even to the point of being arrested. He was helped in his collecting efforts by his mother, Anna Pločkalna, who learned to write in her 60s so she could send folklore materials to Brīvzemnieks in Moscow. Up until that time, however, the illiterate woman would visit local charmers and learn their charms by heart. Having returned home, she repeated them to her son, who wrote them down. Having also been a popular folk healer and wisewoman herself, she taught others the charms she knew in return for the formulas she received (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1881:V).

For the analysis of the Devil's image and actions, I have used 37 texts from the Brīvzemnieks collection. These include as well charms that mention the name of the Devil or Thunder while also clearly revealing the pursuing or chasing away of the Devil. Likewise, these include texts in which the Devil has been replaced by a "black man" or a "big man", and texts in which pursuing is only partially revealed, mentioning only certain details, such as the driving of disease into the seaside. Also included are charms in which Thunder hounds a specific disease (fever, abscess, stabbing pain, swelling), envious person, or witch. Although there are more texts in the charms collection in which a deity overcomes misfortune, evil, or sickness, not all of them contain an obvious motif of pursuing the Devil. Texts in which a Biblical figure (God, Jesus, Mary, etc.) drives away evil spirits or disease are not included in the analysis.

Seventeen of the thirtyseven texts were provided by Pločkalns. Because a large number of charms in which the Devil is driven away come from a single collector, these texts could be viewed as a specific feature of the repertoire of a single charmer. However,

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[3] http://www.garamantas.lv/en/classification/1194275/Latviesu-buramvardu-digitalais-catalogue-Dr-philol-Aigars-Lielbardis (accessed October 21, 2019)

[4] For more about Brīvzemnieks' expedition, his charms collection and its influence on the corpus of charms held at the Archives of Latvian Folklore, see LIELBĀRDIS 2017. Brīvzemnieks' 1881 publication is available online in the Digital Archives of Latvian Folklore http://www.garamantas.lv/en/collection/1167225/Fricis-Brivzemnieks-Latviesu-etnographic-materiali-1881 (accessed October 21, 2019).

given that Pločkalns' mother collected charms from other local healers as well, the range of the theme is expandable. Brīvzemnieks did not indicate the origin of four of the texts, and three texts were sent from places other than western Latvia (see map).
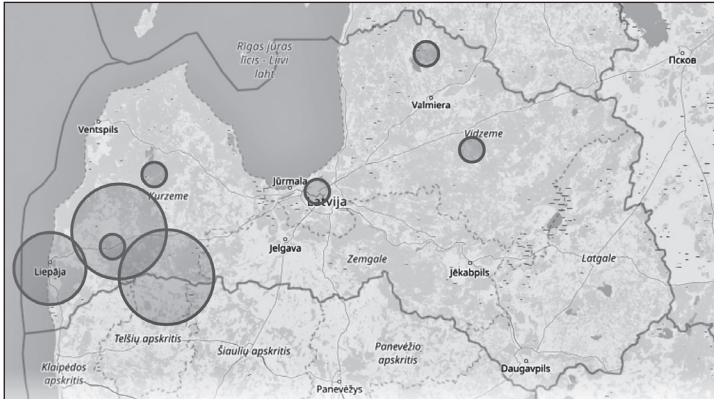
Figure 1. Places from which texts including the motif of pursuing the Devil were contributed to the 1881 collection compiled by Brīvzemnieks. Map retrieved from the Digital Catalogue of Latvian Charms section of the Digital Archives of Latvian Folklore.

THE DEVIL'S APPEARANCE AND TRAITS

Several layers of concepts and preconceptions have converged in the character of the Devil in Latvian folklore. The Devil is God's associate in creating the world, but he is also a gullible custodian of money, hiding it under a stone or in a cave or lake; in addition, he is also the figure persecuted by the God of Christianity who can be scared away by reciting the Lord's Prayer or making the sign of the cross. From the master of dead souls, the Devil also evolved into the guardian of the gates of hell, and in the youngest layer of folklore, his appearance and behaviour are described as similar to those of the German land-owning classes. Typical features of the Devil are horns, tail, animal leg, and glowing red eyes: "The Devil is said to have fiery eyes, two horns on his forehead, one horse leg and one rooster leg, and a big tail in back" (Šmits 1941:1944). In folk legends, black and red dominate the Devil's appearance; he can also appear in the form of various animals, such as a dog, cat, hare, ram, goat, bird, etc. In charms, the Devil is not always named directly, and euphemisms are used instead, such as a "black man":

> Charm against nightmares and fright
> "Liels vīrs stāv liela meža malā, liela ozola nūja rokā. Melns vīrs iet pa ceļu, gara aste pakaļ velkas; tas tevi dzen projām uz jūru, – tur būs tev palikt. Veca sieva iet pa ceļu, gara aukla pakaļ velkas; tā tevi piesies pie bērza saknes. – Iekš tā vārda …" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:121).

[A big man stands at the edge of a large forest, a big oak stick in his hand. A black man walks down the road, a long tail trails after him; he drives you off to the sea – there you shall stay. An old woman walks down the road, a long string trails behind her; she will tether you to the root of the birch. – In the name …]

Charm against nightmares and fright
"Melns vīrs, melns zirgs stāv kārklu krūmā – dzelzu cepures, dzelzu kreklis, dzelzu zābaki. Iznīkst melns vīrs, iznīkst melns zirgs, iznīkst kārklu krūms! Iekš tā vārda …" (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1881:121).

[A black man and a black horse stand in an osier bush – iron hats, iron shirt, iron boots. The black man withers, the black horse withers, the osier bush withers! In the name …]

Brīvzemnieks pointed out that people were reticent to call the Devil or other evil creatures, such as the wolf or snake, by their real name, particularly during Lent (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1881:159). Some folk beliefs also state that if the devil is mentioned, he appears: "The word 'devil' cannot be mentioned, because otherwise he may appear in his true appearance" (ŠMITS 1941:1945). This is probably the reason why the Devil is not always named in charms. Folk legends also mention a black gentleman riding in a carriage with a varying number of horses and a dog running beside him. "Black man" may also be a literal description of the Devil's appearance:

"When I was still herding livestock at Rukmaņi in Aumeisteri Parish, I saw the Devil himself drive by. It was about noon when I suddenly noticed a stately carriage driving down from Dambis Hill and three beautiful horses ahead of it. Dambis Hill is as steep as a roof, but the Devil was driving down it. The carriage had glass windows, and the Devil was sitting inside, completely black, a shiny hat on his head, and there were two proud ladies with blue veils sitting beside him. A big black dog ran ahead, as big as a colt, and it shined like an otter. The dog didn't even look at our dogs. He ran on, his tongue hanging out over his teeth. The Devil drove away and turned into the woods."[5]

The colour red is also associated with the Devil, who may appear as a red dog or red cat. The following examples can be found in both Lithuanian and Estonian folk legends (VĖLIUS 1987:44; VALK 2001:110). This helps us understand charms in which a red wagon, red horses, or a red dog are mentioned:

Charm for the eyes
"Sarkani rati, sarkani zirgi, sarkans kučieris, sarkana pātaga, sarkans suns pakaļ tek. Lai iznīkst kā vecs mēnesis, kā vecs pūpēdis! (Šie vārdi trīs reiz teicami.)" (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1881:128.)

[Red carts, red horses, red coachman, red whip, red dog running after him. Let it die like an old moon, like an old puffball! (These words must be repeated three times.)]

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5   http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140102012 (accessed October 21, 2019)

Charm against swelling

"Trejdeviņas sarkanas karītes skrej pa ceļu, trejdeviņi sarkani zirgi skrej priekšā, trejdeviņi sarkani kučeri priekšā, – sarkana cepure, sarkanas drēbes, sarkana pātaga, sarkani cimdi, sarkanas grožas – klačo, plikšina, saplakstina pumpumu, briedumu – tas (vārda) nelaimi slāpē, tas (vārda) nelaimi slāpē" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:129).

[Three-times-nine red carriages are running down the road, thrice-nine red horses in front of them, thrice-nine red drivers in front of them – red hat, red clothes, red whip, red gloves, red reins – babbling, patting, flattening the swelling – it smothers (name's) sickness, it smothers (name's) sickness.]

Charm for the salivary glands

"Sarkana karīte skrej pa ceļu, seši sarkani zirgi priekšā, seši ormaņi; sarkans sunītis guļ uz ceļa saritinājies. Ņem to pātagu, cērt to pātagu, – lai iznīkst kā pērnais pūpēdis, kā vecs mēnesis, lai paliek tas lopiņš (v. cilvēks) pie pirmās veselības!" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:139.)

[A red carriage runs down the road, six red horses in front, six cabbies; a little red dog sleeps curled up on the road. Take that whip, lash that whip, let it be killed like last year's puffball, like an old moon, may the beast (or person) be in the best of health!]

Although the Devil is not mentioned by name in these cases, there is a correspondence between the mention of red and the description of the action revealed in the legends. The Devil is linked with the red colour, and this relationship is represented in the relatively extensive legend material. Red in clothing, objects, or body parts is one of the special features that allow a pedestrian or driver to be identified as the Devil's embodiment:

"A man once saw an ornate black carriage on his way to Jaun-Jelgava, a black gentleman sitting inside. The carriage stopped when it reached the man, and the black gentleman told him to step inside, he'd give him a lift. The man was ready to climb into the carriage when he saw two little red horns under the gentleman's cap. The man remembered to make the sign of the cross. There was a whirlwind, something splashed in the lake, and there went the black gentleman with his carriage."[6]

While studying the Devil's manifestations in Estonian folklore, Ülo Valk has listed how often and in which animal shapes the Devil appears in legends (Valk 2001:105). The Lithuanian folklore researcher Norbertas Vēlius has also listed the Devil's transformations in the form of domestic and wild animals (Velius 1987:42). The animals the Devil is transformed into often have something specific that distinguishes them from ordinary creatures:

"Yes, and as he rode along the shed, a small black dog with a very large head ran out of it. It didn't bark at all but went for his feet, looking to get up on the horse's back. He pulled his feet up on the horse's back and began to ride as hard as the horse could, but then the dog turned into a cat and jumped up on the horse in a single leap and landed behind the horseman."[7]

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[6] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140102011 (accessed October 21, 2019)
[7] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140303003 (accessed October 21, 2019)

The Devil's manifestations as a dog or cat have the peculiarity that, within the same narrative, he can change his shape:

> "Here, while passing the lower congregation's cemetery, he sees a black creature, like a wolf, come running out of the cemetery and heading in a big arc towards the road and the driver. He had no fear, let it run! But the black beast became smaller and smaller, already the size of a dog. Finally, having approached to about two or three ells in front of the horse, it became the size of a cat."[8]

It was believed that:

> "The Devil is a black man with a cow's legs and long claws on his hands. When it thunders, he turns into a black cat and hides from humans. In wells, he sometimes turns into a fish. When a woman pulls him out and wants to grasp him with her hand, then he disappears" (Šmits 1941:1944).

For comparison, a charm text:

> Charm against madness.
> "Jūrmalas Piktulis, murzīts kā runcis, neatron grāpīša paceltas malas, cilvēkā (v. lopā) iešavās, plēzdamies moca, mana gan Pērkonu tuvu uz pēdām. Skrej ārā, lupatiņš! Reizu tev teicu, – vēl vienu reiziņu, klausies, ko tev saku! Ja vēl tu neklausi, Pērkonu saukšu, – tad zini ka tev būs sprantā ar guntu, kā zemē grimdīsi deviņas ases! (Tā septiņas reizes jāteic un jāvelk tādas septiņas zīmes: (...) Ja svētdienā vārdo, tad riņķis pa priekšu jāvelk ar pirkstu vaj uz lopa, vaj uz cilvēka miesu; kad pirmdienu – tad pirmais spieķis no augša un t. j. pr.– ar sauli. Pussvētu taisāms pa priekšu mazais riņķis vidū.)" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:369.)

> [Seaside Angryman, dishevelled as a tomcat, finds not the upper edges of a pot, enters man (or beast), tosses and turns, senses Thunder close by. Run out, ragamuffin! I told you once, and one more time, listen to what I say to you. If you're not listening, I'll call Thunder, you know you'll get it in the neck with lightning, so that you'll sink nine ells in the earth! (And seven times it must be said, and the following seven marks must be drawn:[9] If the charm is said on a Sunday, one must draw a circle with a finger either on the animal's or the human's flesh; if on a Monday, the first line on top, and so on, in the direction of the sun. On a Saturday the small circle must be made first in the middle.)]

In his publication on charms, Brīvzemnieks commented on this text, pointing out that the Devil hides under an overturned pot during thunder (Brīvzemnieks 1881:154). Both this example of a charm text and Brīvzemnieks' comment relate to a wider set of legends and beliefs explaining that an overturned pot must – or must not – be left in the courtyard during storms, where the Devil can take refuge (or not) when he is chased by Thunder. If the Devil doesn't find a place to hide, he can "run into" a man, animal, or house, or hide

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[8] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140303012 (accessed October 21, 2019)
[9] Current sign is available at http://www.garamantas.lv/en/file/1167516 (accessed November 28, 2019)

in human clothes or in the appearance of a nearby animal, and it is therefore necessary to drive cats and dogs out of the house during thunder so that lightning does not hit the house.

The Devil might also appear as a creature vaguely resembling something:

> "This once happened to me in the Milnas Forest. I was walking through the pines in the very middle of the day. As I entered the forest, a black something – not really a cat nor a dog – started getting under my feet, and on and on. Now I could no longer go forward or back. But as I invoked the name of God, it suddenly disappeared."[10]

When compared to certain charm texts, the above legends play an important role in revealing the semantics of the images in charms and help to make sense of the formula text itself. By looking at the examples of charms against pains, the legend texts extend the field of meanings, revealing similarities with the transformations of the Devil found in the above-mentioned material:

> Charm against pains
> "Paņēmu skalu – nodūru velnu, atskrēja melns suns – nokoda sāpes, atskrēja melna kaķe – pārkoda sāpes, atskrēja zaķis – pārkoda sāpes" (Brīvzmnieks 1881:128).

> [I picked up a splinter – I stabbed the devil. A black dog came running – he bit off the pain. A black cat came running – she bit through the pain. A hare came running – he bit through the pain.]

> Charm against nightmares and fright
> "Pārlauz skalu, atskrej zaķis – nodur zaķi: nobaidi to ļauno garu projām, lai paliek vesels bērniņš! Dievs Tēvs …" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:122).

> [Break a splinter, the hare comes running – stab the hare, scare that evil spirit away so that the baby be healthy! God the Father …]

As in the above-mentioned legend, the Devil grows smaller in these charms. This reduction of pain by association (from greater to less to total disappearance) is also found in other examples of charms, e.g., by counting from one to nine and then back. The following method is also applied in the case of horse colic:

> Charm against horse colic
> "Bērais! Velns brauc pa smilkšu kalnu deviņiem melniem zirgiem; velns brauc pa smilkšu kalnu astoņiem melniem zirgiem; velns brauc pa smilkšu kalnu septiņiem melniem zirgiem, (…), velns brauc pa smilkšu kalnu vienu melnu zirgu. Jēzu, nāc palīgā pie bērā zirga spalvas! Dievs Tēvs …" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:151).

> [Bay horse! The Devil drives nine black horses across the sand hill; the Devil drives eight black horses across the sand hill; the Devil drives seven black horses across the sand hill, (…) the

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[10] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140303011 (accessed October 21, 2019)

Devil drives a single black horse across the sand hill. Jesus, come to help by the bay horse's coat! God the Father …]

Similarities can be found when comparing the Devil's looks, actions, and the conditions of his appearance in charms with those in legends and beliefs. Legends and beliefs reveal the colours of the Devil (black, red), his ability to turn into different animals, and his movement in a horse-drawn carriage. Such situations are also mentioned in charms, although they do not contain a plot, are often fragmentary, and do not necessarily mention the Devil's name. Cross-matches show the existence of similar ideas in different folklore genres (or beyond their boundaries), adapting the content to the style of expression of each genre.

PURSUING THE DEVIL

The motif of pursuing the Devil is relatively common in legends and beliefs as well as in charms. In cosmological legends, God and the Devil create land and the animals, work together, or try to trick or scare each other. There is often some sort of disagreement between God and the Devil. They may have a dispute or resentment, or the Devil might have done something to make God decide to kill him by throwing a stone at him. To accomplish this, God often sends Thunder:

> "The Devil lives happily in the middle of that lake, but there is swamp all around the lake. So God sent Thunder. But as soon as the Devil sees Thunder, he shifts into a cat. And like a cat, he jumps into the lap of a shepherd girl and lives on. Then God decides to kill the Devil. The Devil was counting money on Zaḷumu Hill (Green Hill). God grabs a big, big rock and hurls it at the Devil. But guess what? He leans sideways, the rock misses, and the Devil jumps in the swamp."[11]

In another legend, a fox teaches the Devil how to hide from Thunder. The Devil escapes into the sea and beneath a rock:

> "From the thunder blast he [the Devil] too had some harm: the rock under which he had slithered fell onto him so that he could not get out at all, and he is still bound there to this very day."[12]

The motif of pursuing the Devil is also common in charms. Thunder drives him off or tries to kill him by blasting him or throwing thunderbolts at him:

> Charm against nightmares and fright.
> "Es viena kristīta sieva, kā kristīta baznīca, es atsaku tiem velniem visiem; es viena kristīta sieva, es izdzenu tos velnus visus; es viena kristīta sieva, es nodomu tos velnus visus trejdeviņiem Pērkoniem, trejdeviņu Pērkonu lodēm, lai viņus sasper jūras dziḷumā, lai jūras daḷas viņus saēd, sagremo!" (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1881:123.)

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[11]   http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140121001 (accessed October 21, 2019)
[12]   http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140121001 (accessed October 21, 2019)

[I'm a christened woman, christened in church, I reject those devils all; I'm a christened woman, I drive those devils all out; I'm a christened woman, I give those devils all to thrice-nine Thunders, thrice-nine bullets of thunder, so they be smashed in the deep sea, so they be eaten and digested by the sea-parts!]

Instead of the Devil, Thunder also pursues diseases or evil spirits:

Charm against swelling
"Trejdeviņi Pērkoni nāca no jūras, trejdeviņas dzelzu lodes – sper to pumpumu apakš akmeņa, – tas cilvēks paliek pie pirmās veselības" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:129).

[Thrice-nine Thunders came from the sea, thrice-nine iron bullets, kicking that swelling under a rock – the man returns to his original health.]

Charm for milk, cream and butter
"Nāk mans pieniņš no Liepājas, nāk mans pieniņš no Jelgavas, nāk mans pieniņš no Rīgas, nāk mans pieniņš pa visiem ceļiem, nāk mans pieniņš pa visiem takiem, nāk mans pieniņš no jūras, nāk mans pieniņš no visiem ezeriem, nāk mans pieniņš no visiem avotiem, nāk mans pieniņš no visām upēm, nāk mans pieniņš no visām attekām, nāk mans pieniņš no malu malām, nāk mans pieniņš no atteku attekām. Nu Dēkla, Laima sēd kalnā, kupā mans pieniņš, kreimiņš kupata kupā. Dzen, Pērkona lode, zibenē tos ļaunos garus no maniem lopiem nost! Iekš tā vārda …" (Brīvzmnieks 1881:163–164).

[Comes my milk from Liepāja, comes my milk from Jelgava, comes my milk from Riga, comes my milk from all the roads, comes my milk from all the paths, comes my milk from the sea, comes my milk from all the lakes, comes my milk from all the springs, comes my milk from all the rivers, comes my milk from all the river branches, comes my milk from everywhere, comes my milk from all branches of the river branches. Now Dēkla, Laima are sitting on the hill, come my milk, come my cream, come. Chase, Thunder's bolt, shove those evil spirits away from my cattle! In the name …]

The bolt (or bullet) of thunder or rock is sometimes replaced by arrows in charms:

Charm against nightmares and fright
"Joda māte, Joda tēvs brauca baznīcā lieliem ratiem, melniem zirgiem; satiek uz ceļa jūtēm – nāk no jūras trīs sulaiņi trejdeviņām bultām. Tur tevi sašaus, tur tu iznīksti, izputi, kā vecs pūpēdis, kā vecs mēnesis! Dievs Tēvs …" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:120).

[The mother of the Black One and the father of the Black One drove to the church in a big cart with black horses; as they're heading out, they meet three servants with thrice-nine arrows coming from the sea. There you're going to be shot, there you'll perish, you will crumble like an old puffball, like an old moon! God the Father …]

These thunder or iron bolts (or bullets), including arrows, are related to both the natural phenomenon and to the archaeological material. A legend says, "But if Thunder itself ever strikes a place, then an arrow or a round stone is left behind. This thunderbolt could

cure various diseases".[13] Associations with thunder bolts and arrows may be caused by sightings in nature such as ball lightning, but polished stone axes have also been regarded as thunderbolts or arrows (Urtāns 1990:4) and are claimed to possess healing powers even today.

As he flees, the Devil hides in lakes, caves, rivers, or also under a rock: "Once a forester went to the woods and saw the wicked one in a lake. He ran out of the lake and sat on a rock and flipped the finger up towards Thunder. But Thunder kicked him, and he ran into the lake".[14] A rock is the place where the Devil tends to sit and sometimes to sew. The Devil's treasures are hidden under the rock, or, in other cases, the rock is an entrance to another world. In the charms, a rock is associated with the Devil's place of residence and the place where diseases and evil are sent:

> Charm against a whirlwind
> "Velna māte peld pa jūru caur deviņu akmeņu starpu. Peldi, velna māte, es jau sen tevi gaidu; es tevi atsiešu atmuguris ar pūdētu lūku; es tev piekalšu pie pelēka ruda akmeņa; es tevi piekalšu ar tērauda naglām, atpakaļ atnīdēšu. Tur tu guli, tur tu pūsti, tur tu paliec mūžīgi: vairs tā lopa veselību nemaitāsi" (Brīvzemnieks 1881: 156).

> [The Devil's mother swims across the sea between the nine rocks. Swim, Devil's mother, I've been waiting for you a long time; I'll tie you backwards with a rotten bast string; I'll nail you to a grey-red stone; I'll nail you with steel nails, stamp you out. There you lie, there you rot, there you stay forever: you will no longer spoil the health of that animal.]

> Charm against nightmares and fright
> "Sprūk, sprūk! zogu, zogu! Caur sētu, caur sētas posmiem, pie ruda akmeņa! Tur tevi zibens sitīs pa deviņi asi iekš zemes" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:122).

> [Dodge, dodge! I steal, I steal! Through the fence, through the fence sections, to the red rock! There you will be struck by lightning, nine fathoms into the ground.]

In some texts, malice, diseases and envious people are sent to the sea or seaside, where they must sift or scrape sea stones and pebbles:

> Charm against envy
> "Kas bez rokām, kājām skrej, lai tas skrej uz jūr', uz jūrmali, lai sijā sīkas olas, akmeņus! (Vārds) skrej uz Jodu pili, Jodu suņi nepajuta, jodu māte vien pajuta. Cik rozīšu dārziņā, tik zvaigznīšu debesīs. Dievs Tēvs …" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:172).

> [Who runs without hands, without feet, let him run to the sea, to the seashore, to sift through tiny pebbles and stones! (name) run to the Palace of the Black Ones, their dogs didn't notice, only the Black Ones' mother noticed. As many roses in the garden, so many stars in the sky. God the Father …]

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[13] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/130401001 (accessed October 21, 2019)
[14] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/130401007 (accessed October 21, 2019)

Charm against cough

"Kāsi, ej ārā! Tu kāsi no (vārda), nekasi (vārda) miesas! Kāsi, ej ārā! Tu kāsi no (vārda), nekasi (vārda) kaulu! Tu kāsi no (vārda), nekasi (vārda) sirdi! Ej gar jūru, kasi jūras olas, kasi jūras smiltis: tās tev gardākas, ne kā (vārda) miesas. Nenāc mājās – suņi, kaķes tevi saplosīs, suņi kaķes tevi saplosīs" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:124).

[Leave, cough! You cough from (name), don't scrape (name's) flesh! Leave, cough! You cough from (name), don't scrape (name's) bone! You cough from (name), don't scrape (name's) heart! Go along the sea, scrape the sea pebbles, scrape the sea sand: those are more delicious to you than (name's) flesh. Don't come home – the dogs and cats will tear you up, the dogs and cats will tear you up.]

In Latvian folklore, the word "sea" can also denote a place containing a lot of water, such as a lake. The seaside or sea sand can be linked both to the dwelling place of the Devil (the lake) and to sand and stones as barren places or substances. In Latvian folklore, the sea is also associated with the world of the dead, also known as the land behind the sun (Drīzule 1988:89).

In some texts, Thunder may be replaced by an "old man", such as in the charm against a boil. In both charms and other genres of Latvian folklore, "old man" is also synonymous with God:

Charm against abscess

"Vecs vīrs iet gar jūru, tērauda zobens rokā; sit trumu pušu – trums skrej dziļā jūrā, jūras dziļās smiltīs, jūras dziļās olās – tur vērpj, tur tu šķeterē" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:135).

[An old man walks along the sea, a steel sword in hand. He cuts the boil, the boil runs into the deep sea, into the deep sand of the sea, into the deep pebbles of the sea, spinning there, there you twist skeins.]

Thunder also drives disease and evil deep into the ground:

Charm against horse colic

"Sargājies melnais lops! Kas tur nāk, kas tur nāk? Nāk pa jūru deviņi Pērkoni rūkdami sperdami. Tie tevi saspers pa deviņi asi zemē iekšā, iekš zemes bez gala! Iekš tā vārda …" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:151).

[Beware black beast! Who comes there, who comes there? Nine Thunders come across the sea, rumbling and striking. They'll kick you nine fathoms into the ground, into the earth without end! In the name…]

Charm against nightmares and fright

"Atstāj nost, lāstu maiss! Dod vietu Svētam Garam! Nāks no jūras trīsreiz deviņas zibenes, trīsreiz deviņi pērkoni; tie tevi spers, tie tevi sitīs pa trīsreiz deviņi asi, pa trīs reiz deviņi jūdzi iekš zemes. Tur tavs tēvs, tur tava māte, tur tavi brāļi, tur tavas māsas, tur tu pats, tur tu iekš paliec, mūžam augšā necelies, – kamēr šī saule, kamēr šī zeme – bez gala. Amen" (Brīvzemnieks 1881:121).

[Lay off, curse bag! Give room to the Holy Ghost! Three-times-nine lightnings, three-times-nine thunders come from the sea; they'll kick you, they'll beat you three-times-nine fathoms, three-times-nine miles into the ground. There your father, there your mother, there your brothers, there your sisters, there yourself, there you stay, never get up, while this sun, while this earth – without end. Amen.]

In charms, the origin of evil is associated with the Devil, and with his presence in the form of an illness. By invoking or threatening the Devil with Thunder, it is possible to get rid of the misfortune: it is destroyed or sent back to a rock or under it, underground, or to the sea. In the charms of other ethnic groups, the rock is a location, associated also with the unliving, with barrenness, as well as with the dwelling place of evil (PÓcs 2009: 36). Driving a sickness into water or to the seashore is also known in Lithuanian (VAITKEVIČIENE 2008:80) and Slavic charms (AGAPKINA 2010:117), where sickness remains, diminishes, or is forced to do some senseless or long-term action such as sleeping, shifting or scraping sea stones. The meaning of the seashore as an empty, barren, and abandoned place is also underscored by the wording of the following charm, which gives a more detailed description of it:

Charm for the salivary glands
"Kas bez kājām, rokām skrej, lai tie skrej uz jūru, jūrmali, lai sijā sīkas olas akmeņus. Dievs Tēvs … Ceļa tēvs, ceļa māte, saules teka, (vārdam) atdod (vārda) veselību. Viņš piedzimis bez vārda, bez krekla, bez kristībiņas. Māte deva krekla, krusttēvs vārdu, baznīckungs kristībiņu. Lai tie skrej uz jūr', uz jūrmali, kur nedzird ne gaili dziedam, ne cilvēku runājam, ne cūku rukstam, ne zirgu zviedzam, ne govi maujam, ne zosi klēgājam, ne aitu brēcam… Pie trejdeviņiem kokiem, pie ozoliem, liepām, bērziem, alkšņiem, priedēm, eglēm!.. Un tā lai iztek kā liepas celma pelni ar smalku lietu notek, Un tad ja jūs ar labu neiesit, tad es jūs ar īleniem, nažiem nobadīšu un noduršu. Tad jūs izvelkaties kā pūta pa nāsīm, kā dūmi pa pirkstu galiem. Trīs Jāņu brāļi, trīs līki bērzi. Dievs Tēvs …" (BRĪVZEMNIEKS 1881:139).

[Who run without hands, without feet, let them run to the sea, to the seashore, to sift through tiny eggs (pebbles), stones. God the Father … The father of the road, the mother of the road, the sun's path, give (name) (name's) health. He was born without a name, without a shirt, without christening. Mother gave him a shirt, godfather gave him a name, the church master (cleric) gave him christening. Let them go to the sea, to the seaside, where no roosters can be heard crowing, no human speaking, no pig grunting, no horses neighing, no cows mooing, no geese honking, no sheep bleating... On to the thrice-nine trees, to the oaks, lindens, birches, alders, pines, spruces! And so let it run out like the ashes of a linden stump washed by fine drizzle. And if you do not leave on your own now, I will stab you with awls and knives and kill you. Then you pull out like air from the nostrils, like smoke through the fingertips. Three brothers of Jānis, three crooked birches. God the Father…]

Sickness and misfortune can also arise from an encounter with the Devil:

"Once a lass went through the woods shortly before midnight. It was very dark. The lass was very afraid, and she rushed on quickly. A red man suddenly came out of the woods and walked over to the lass, pressing close to her right side. She nevertheless went home, but the next day

she was sick. Her right side hurt terribly. Having been bed-bound for a long time, the lass died. The story is that this man was the devil himself."[15]

This example of a legend shows that sickness originates, and is connected, with the Devil. In charms, Thunder is also appealed to in cases where the disease is known, such as stabbing pain, swelling, boils and abscess:

> Charm against stabbing pain
> "Dūrējs dur – man bail! Trīs Pērkoni lai nosper! + Dūrējs dur – man bail! Deviņi Pērkoni lai nosper!+ Dūrējs dur – man bail! Trejdeviņi Pērkoni lai nosper! + (Cik pērkoni sakāmi, tik krusti metami.)" (Brīvzemnieks 1881: 125.)

> [The stabber stabs – I'm afraid! May three Thunders strike it! + The stabber stabs – I'm afraid! May nine Thunders strike it! + The stabber stabs – I'm afraid! May thrice-nine Thunders strike it! + (Each time Thunder is named, make the sign of the cross.)]

> Charm against abscess
> "Mūc, trums! Mūc, augons! Mūc visa neleime! Kur tu nāci, tur esi! Te tevi raustīs, te tevi plēsīs, te tev laba nedarīs! Mūc mūc uz jūru, rozies jūras smiltīs, – tur tava vieta, tur tu guli! Pērkons nodzenās ar deviņiem dēliem. Iznīksti kā vecs mēnesis, kā vecs pūpēdis, kā rīta rasa!" (Brīvzemnieks 1881: 135.)

> [Scram, tumour! Scram, boil! Scram, all misfortune! Go where you came from! Here you'll be shaken, here you'll be ripped, here you'll see no good! Scram, run to the sea, dig into the sand of the sea – that's your place, lie there! Thunder will run you down with [his] nine sons. Dwindle like an old moon, like an old puffball, like the morning dew!]

From the examples provided, it is evident that individual episodes of the motif of harassing the Devil appear both in charms and legends. Thunder alone or with his sons (charms against tumours and stabbing pain) or as an old man (charms against abscess) persecutes the Devil. In charms, the Devil is not always called by his name; sometimes he is referred to as Seaside Angryman, the Black One, or as the personification of diseases, such as "abscess" or "boil". Sickness is associated with the Devil's influence or incarnation; diseases are exiled to an empty and barren place such as the sea or seaside. In both legends and charms, one of the Devil's homes and hiding places is a rock, where he is ordered to go or where he flees to escape Thunder. Similarly, the means used to pursue the Devil – iron/stone bolts/arrows – have the same meaning and use both in legends and beliefs as well as in charms. Thus, the motif of pursuing the Devil is complementary in the different genres of folklore and allows for a better understanding of the short and sometimes fragmented messages expressed in the texts of charms.

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[15] http://pasakas.lfk.lv/wiki/140114007 (accessed October 21, 2019)

CONCLUSION

The time when Brīvzemnieks' collection of charms was compiled and the texts for it were collected marks the boundary between the oral and written tradition as well as the point of contact between two religions in the charming tradition and the preconceptions of the people. On the one hand, the first half of the 19th century was a time when, in addition to growing literacy levels among the population, charms were also increasingly disseminated in handwriting, translated mainly from German, and fragments of religious songs and prayers were also used as charms. On the other hand, this was a time when national self-confidence was awaking in society and the search for identity-affirming cultural values and symbols began, trying to get rid of foreign cultural, including Christian, layers.

Brīvzemnieks wrote about his two grandmothers in the introduction to the section on charms. Both women were said to have been charmers. One treated sickness with the old or "strong" formulas, and the other used words from a book. The former was considered more effective in comparison to the charms taken from books. Brīvzemnieks himself also screened the texts when compiling his collection, leaving unpublished those charms directly borrowed from prayer books and hymnals (Brīvzemnieks 1881:113).

The corpus used in this study shows that the oral tradition was relatively strong in the second half of the 19th century. The charms involving the motif of pursuing the Devil and descriptions of the Devil's and Thunder's activities correspond with the local tradition and are not represented in the handwritten tradition that largely related to the texts of European Christianity. On the whole, Brīvzemnieks' collection mainly reveals the charming tradition of western and central Latvia; it includes no charms from the eastern part of present-day Latvia. The motif of pursuing the Devil can thus be localised in the charms of western Kurzeme, from which most of the thematically related texts also come. However, because the examples of beliefs and legends used as comparative materials are not only from Kurzeme, the geography of the ideas in these genres is broader.

Legends and beliefs help us understand the similarities in charms, they deepen and expand the semantics of the charm images, and explain the association and connection of certain actions in the broader folklore material or in the preconceptions of people in the more distant past. Material belonging to different genres complements and forms a field of notions both within and outside the boundaries of each genre. Dan Ben-Amos pointed out that "any historical changes and cultural modifications in forms of folklore are just variations on basic structures that are permanently rooted in human thought, imagination, and expression" (Ben-Amos 1976:37). Mikhail Bakhtin also expressed similar thoughts in his study of speech genres, stating that notions and symbols are rooted in a common language usage (Bakhtin 1979:238). Thus, the traditional separation in folklore genres does not play a decisive role in the analysis of the Devil's image and the motif of pursuing him, because the classification of oral or written forms within one genre is often purely scientific.

In most cases, the motif of pursuing the Devil in legends is identical to that mentioned in charms. Although the material analysed above does not allow for the making of assumptions on the origin of one or another material as primary in relation to the other, it does provide justification that they both include and use the same folklore material as well as similar concepts and understanding. Legends explain the functioning of mythological

creatures, the relationship between them, and their dwelling places, whereas in charms this knowledge is perceived as self-evident and there is no need for a wider, more detailed explanation of the etymology of an entity, matter, or event.

As one of the elements of the narrative structure, plot also forms the message expressed in charms, which, through its characters and their actions, links the reality of the present (the performance of the charms) to the reality of the text (the pursuit of the Devil). It is believed that the specific style, structure, function, etc. of this genre determines the description of a situation and the length of the text encountered in charms. Therefore, plots are not expanded in detail in charms; instead, only key figures or images, the basic foundation of the plot, and its most important elements are mentioned. Reducing the text also limits the meanings, but at the same time it confirms the existence of concepts outside the genre and the knowledge of its users. Assuming that the motif of pursuing the Devil was understandable and functioned in an oral tradition simultaneously in charms and in other genres, a greater healing effect could be achieved if the similarities, associations, and orders were understood by both the charmer and the sick person (if human). Consequently, saying the charms out loud during the performance would be self-evident.

By comparing proverbs and folktales, Latvian folklorist Elza Kokare concluded that the coherence between the two genres could also have a genetic character. The origin of relatively many proverbs can be attributed to folktales or anecdotes, in which they occur both as agents of a separate theme, a plot episode or even an entire folktale, and as laconic formulations of the lessons learned (KOKARE 1977:108). Linda Dégh has compared legends and beliefs and has come to a similar conclusion. She explains that the short genres of folklore (beliefs, paremias) are closely associated with or derived from longer folklore genres such as legends: "... it becomes clear that folk belief is part of any legend, therefore there is no need to maintain the term 'belief legend'. Belief is the stimulator and the purpose of telling any narrative within the larger category of the legend genre..." (DÉGH 1996:33). From the examples analysed in this article, it appears that the shorter message of charms is explained in more detail by the legends and beliefs. Consequently, in the case of charm texts, the assessment of similar themes in the context of other genres is essential, including supplementing them with comparative material from other cultures and languages.

Because nearly half of the charm corpus used in this study that refers to the pursuing of the Devil by Thunder was contributed by a single person, Jānis Pločkalns of Skrunda, it is possible to raise suspicion of falsification or creative writing on the part of the contributor. In addition, the second contributor (four units), Jānis Kungs, whose collected charms contain close similarities to the texts of Pločkalns, was a friend of Pločkalns. This may also lead to suspicion of borrowing texts or even the creation of new texts in the name of national romanticism or the existence of Latvian ancient myths, thus playing a joke on both Brīvzemnieks and future readers.[16]

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Albasty:
A Female Demon of Turkic Peoples

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Abstract: *Albasty* is one of the most commonly known malevolent beings among Turkic peoples from the Altay Mountains via the Caucasus and up as far as the Volga River. This article focuses on Turkic data from the Volga region (Chuvash, Tartar, Bashkir) and the Eurasian Steppe (Kazak, Kyrgyz, Nogay, Uzbek). Various areas can be ascertained on the basis of verbal charms and folk-belief narratives. On the Eurasian Steppe, for example, *Albasty* was first and foremost a puerperal demon. In this territory, specialists (*kuuču*) were called in to keep away or oust the demon at birth. Many recorded legends and memorates concern healing methods and the process of becoming a healer. In contrast, epic texts or narratives are rarer,in the Volga region, yet there are certain verbal incantations against the *Albasty,* which here is rather a push or disease demon.
Keywords: Turkic beliefs, Turkic folklore texts, Turkic demonology, folklore of Inner Asia

In this paper, I will endeavour to give an overview of a mythical creature, the concept of which is widespread among most Turkic peoples. This belief has a long history and can also be evidenced in the myths and beliefs of peoples neighbouring the Turks. No other Turkic mythical beast has such extensive literature devoted to it as the *Albasty*. Although most relevant literature deals with the possible etymologies of the term, there are plenty of ethnographic descriptions available as well. Unfortunately, few original texts exist in the case of the latter, but there are many summaries and interpretations.

Among Turkic peoples, the daemon *Albasty* can be found in four large areas: on the Eurasian steppe, among Turkic peoples in Siberia, in the region of the rivers Kama and Volga, and especially in the middle and northern regions of the Caucasus Mountains. However, this daemon is not familiar to the Oguz peoples (Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmenian), although a similar creature is designated by other names, such as *al,* or *yarım adam*.

The first part of the paper outlines the possible etymologies of the word *albasty*. Although it has no officially accepted etymology as of yet, the term is nevertheless ethnographically relevant.

Most Turkologists interpret *albasty* as a compound word, as its second part, *bas-ty* – 'push-ed' – can easily be understood in Turkic languages. The meaning of this word

shows a clear semantic match with the push-daemon (incubus, succubus) function of the creature. As for the first part of the compound *(al)*, five explanations have been proffered in print so far, several of which regard it as being of Turkic origin, while some scholars regard it as of Iranian origin. According to its Turkic etymology, *al* can mean 'red' (RÄSENEN 1969:14); a word with the same meaning already existed in Old Turkic (CLAUSON 1972:120–121). This theory is reinforced by the fact that in Kyrgyz and Kazakh, there is also a *kara-basty* i.e. 'black-pushed' version alongside the *al-basty* (1888:14; ABRAMZON 1949:95; BAIALIEVA 1972:95; TOLEUBAEV 1991:47–48) – although it is only found in a few sources and may have a folk-etymological background. However, this supposition is weakened by the fact that in mythical texts referring to the *albasty*, the colours associated with this concept are yellow and black in almost all areas, e.g. the colour of the *albasty*'s hair or the distinction made among the Kirghiz and Kazakh between two kinds of *albasty*: the more dangerous black one and the less dangerous yellow *albasty* (MIROPIEV 1888:14; KUSTANAEV 1894:48). However, since the āl is also an Iranian mythical concept – which can be found in several Iranian (and some Oguz-Turkic) languages (e.g. HAFNER 1986:345; JOHANSEN 1959:303) and is similar to the Turkic *albasty* in its function – several scholars consider the prefix *al-* to be of Iranian origin (ANDREEV 1953:76–79; BENVENISTE 1960; 1953:65–74; AHMET'IANOV 1981:17). We can certainly discard the suggestion that the Turkic word *el*, meaning 'hand', is hidden in the prefix (NASYROV 1880:251; KOBLOV 1910:436), as this poses serious phonological problems. Another approach takes as its starting point the Old Turkic word *al*, meaning 'front'; thus, the name of the mythical creature would be a compound word meaning 'pushed in the front' (OSTROUMOV 1892:12–13; MAKSIMOV 1876:27; NASYROV 1880:251; KOBLOV 1910:436). There is also the possibility of a form *alp+basty* (ASHMARIN 1994:I:164), where the prefix had two different early meanings in Old Turkic: 'brave/heroic', referring to humans, and 'heavy, hard, danger(ous)', referring to inanimate objects (CLAUSON 1972:127–128).

Some linguists of Iranic languages propose an entirely different starting point, the form *almasty*, which is not a compound word. Moreover, they regard the sound *-m-* in the second syllable as the starting point instead of the sound *-b-*. This form can indeed be found in some Turkic languages and dialects (for example in Karachay-Balkar and Tuva), although far less frequently than the *albasty* version.[1] They trace the form *almasty* all the way back to the ancient Babylonian form *lamaštu,* which would have entered Turkic languages through Iranic languages (KLIMOV – EDEL'MAN 1979:60–63; RASTORGUEVA – EDEL'MAN 2000:309). Although this proposition does not deserve to be rejected immediately, the word initial *a-* sound of Turkic 'data' cannot be a Turkic development because an *a-* prosthesis would never have been prefixed to a first syllable *la*.

As for the ethnographic data regarding the *albasty* beast, this paper presents it from two distinct aspects. One is regional; that is to say, presented as a concept typical of specific areas on the basis of available data. In addition, the contamination of the concept by other mythical creatures will also be addressed.

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[1] Actually, there is indeed a /b/ – /m/ sound alternation in Turkic languages.

Among Turkic steppe peoples (Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Nogai), the term *albasty* essentially covers three different concepts. According to the most widespread of these, the *albasty* is a puerperal daemon, dangerous for mother and baby alike, one who may even cause an expectant mother's death during childbirth. Major summaries almost unanimously describe the *albasty* as both a long-haired and tangled-haired, large-breasted female figure who throws her breasts over her shoulders (Valikhanov 1904:277; Dyrenkova 2012:240; Kereitov 1980:122; Taizhanov – Ismailov 1986:117). In the majority of mythical stories about the puerperal daemon and protection against it, however, it usually appears in the form of an animal (dog or ram), carrying human lungs in its mouth and looking for some flowing water (river or stream) to throw the lungs into (Poiarkov 1891:41; Baialieva 1972:96–98). According to the belief, the *albasty* takes out the lungs of a woman giving birth, but the victim does not die until the daemon throws the lungs into the water. Some legends claim that the daemon can be stopped before it finds water and the mother saved (Miropiev 1888:9–13). Only people with special abilities are able to recognise the *albasty* (Poiarkov 1891:43; Naumova 2016:67), and they are also able to defeat it. The *albasty* must be severly beaten and made to flee (Divaev 1896:43–44; Baialieva 1972:97). Among the Kyrgyz and the Kazakh, the person chosen to perform this act is not always the *baksï* (a local word for shaman), although there are stories about an "*albasty*-exorcist" by that name. However, the person most suitable for this task is the one called *kuuču* (e.g. Dyrenkova 2012:233) – the word *kuuču* being a derivative of the verb *kuu-*, meaning 'drive (out), herd, expel' (Iudahin). Among the Kyrgyz, there are sources claiming that although the *baksï* is able to drive out the less dangerous yellow *albasty* (which primarily causes diseases), this does not apply to the more dangerous black *albasty* (the actual puerperal daemon) (Basilov 1994:56). Only the *kuuču* is able to drive out the latter. Several stories (all of which are first-person accounts, some recounted by the *kuuču* himself) talk about how someone becomes a *kuuču*. Almost all of these claim that it was by chance that they realised they had a special skill. For example, when they see an animal, carrying human lungs, they immediately know that it is an *albasty* (Miropiev 1888:10–15). This recognition is mutual, as the given *albasty* can also identify individuals who recognise it and are thus able to defeat it. Therefore, it sometimes happens that no fight ensues at all and the *albasty* does not even have to suffer a beating because as the *kuuču* reaches a house where a woman giving birth has just been attacked by the *albasty*, he merely greets those inside saying, "The hero has arrived!" causing the *albasty* to flee immediately (Baialieva 1972:97). There is also a source mentioning that a *kuuču* only sent his clothes to the house where the woman was giving birth, which was enough for the birth to proceed without any problem (Baialieva 1972:97; Abramzon 1949:99).

"There is also a story in which Suleimankul tells of how he became a *kuuču*:
One night, on my way home from a visit, I stopped behind a big poplar tree. From there I saw a great fire burning in the distance. Two *albasty*s were playing around the fire. I went closer and they did not notice me. I grabbed one of them and started to beat it hard. It yelled in a human voice:
'I am dancing around, Suleiman Ake,
I am not going to the place
You are going!

Let me go!'
I did not let it go and carried on beating it. Then it gave me one of its hairs. Then I let it go. That was the time I became a *kuuču*." (Baialieva 1972:96)

According to another belief that is prevalent on the steppes, the *albasty* is a push-daemon, so-called because it pushes people at night while they sleep, appearing in the form of a man or woman or, in certain cases, even an animal. In the sources, it is typically a small-sized human (about three feet tall), often with long, tangled hair (Snesarev 1969:32; Baialieva 1972:98–100). There are several beliefs concerning the *albasty*'s hair. One of them claims that whoever obtains a strand of its hair will have power over it, as happens in the story above. Another version is that by possessing one of its hairs, the *albasty* can be forced to perform household chores, which it will do until its hair is returned (Kereitov 1980:122). This concept of the *albasty* working around the house is not dissimilar to its third form, which has integrated some characteristics of house or stable-daemons. According to these ideas, the *alpasty* rides the horses at night until they foam at the mouth, and at other times plaits their manes (Snesarev 1969:32). Among steppe-dwelling Turkic peoples, there are relatively fewer data on the latter. It is typical, however, that such an *albasty* cannot be defeated by beating, nor by getting hold of a strand of its hair. Instead, one must take and hide the book the *albasty* carries under its arm so that it cannot find it. In these stories, the book taken from the *albasty* brings wealth to the host (e.g. Taizhanov – Ismailov 1986:117).

Among Turkic people in Siberia, where the practice of shamanism continued until the first third of the 20th century, there are in essence two related concepts about the *albasty*. On one hand, it is an evil spirit bringing diseases to people, mainly psychiatric diseases and insanity (Anohin 1924:6), and on the other, its role is related to the shaman's activity. For shamans, the *albasty* plays a part in diseases during their initiation, and its name also occurs among the shaman's helping spirits during their activity (Vitashevskii 1918:166; Basilov 1994:59). Yakut shamans are sometimes divided into two groups, one of which is the *ayï* ('good, holy'), and the other is the *albaasï*, 'the shaman of evil spirits and devils' (Ksenofontov 1930:113). These characteristics sometimes also occur in the steppe areas, where certain forms of shamanism (mainly the *baksy*s, who had a healing function) were still extant at the beginning of the 20th century. An example of this was recorded in Horezm, which is interesting both from a linguistic and a religio-ethnological aspect: a professional reciter of the Koran, who was also recognised as a healer, provided information of a shaman song, the invocational part of which mentions the names of some 108 angels, spirits and saints, with the name *alpasty* among them (Murodov 1975:100–118). The linguistic interest of the text itself is that one part of it is in Uzbek and the other part in Tajik. These two languages are not even related to one another, Uzbek being a Turkic and Tajik an Iranic language.

In the mythology of some Siberian Turkic areas, the *alpasty* appears as a kind of female forest spirit who enters into a sexual relationship with men logging or hunting in the forest (Dyrenkova 2012:233–234).

The Turkic peoples of the Volga-area can be divided into two large, linguistic groupings. Tartar and Bashkir belong to the Kipchak languages (just as Kazakh and Kyrgyz, already mentioned), whereas Chuvash constitutes a separate branch among Turkic languages, with numerous special characteristics.

In the case of the Bashkirs, sources from the late 19th – early 20th century describe the *albasty* as a long-haired female daemon attacking at night, her breasts long enough for her to throw over her shoulders (LOSSIVEVSKII 1868:28; RUDENKO 2006:271). When she shoved people at night, they were unable to breathe because the *albasty* stuffed her large breast into the victim's mouth. A 19th-century source mentions the tearing out of one of the *albasty*'s hairs, but here it no longer has a mythical background (LOSSIVEVSKII 1878:28). In this source, the pulled strand of hair is only the proof of the pushing that had taken place that night, and that the *albasty* is to blame. In the incantation used to "drive out" the *albasty,* mention is also made of breasts as one of the 'places' where the *albasty* is sent:

"Whence thou came from,
There thou should go
Go thou to rich breasts
Go thou to a light feather bed
Go thou to a stormy flood
Go thou and perish!
There is no place here for thee,
Whence thou came from,
There thou should go!" (HISAMETDINOVA 2011–2012:I:60)

Among the 'sending-away' type of Bashkir incantations known to us, there is no other instance of 'sending to breasts'.

Unsurprisingly, stories regarding the *albasty* are common among Bashkirs. For example, a text recorded in 1906 describes the old woman living next door as an *albasty,* who appears to the little boy home alone in the form of a little girl, and who is eaten by the family dog a few days later (HISAMETDINOVA 2011–2012:I:59).

Among Tartars, the *albastï* is notorious as a push-daemon who shoves people at night, either in their sleep or while they are awake. During this process, the person being pushed cannot move and feels heavy pressure around their heart and a choking tightness in their throat (NASYROV 1880:269; SZENTKATOLNAI BÁLINT 1875:149; KOBLOV 1910:437–438). A victim can escape the assault by moving his or her little finger (NASYROV 1880:269). According to material recorded among Christian Tartars, the *albastï*s mainly attack at Christmas, when they knock into people from the front and push them to the ground, putting their full weight on them, thus rendering them totally immobile (MAKSIMOV 1876:27). Some Tartar sources mention that the *albastï*s not only push people but also suck their blood (NASYROV 1880:251), and one or two sources also say that the *albasty* is a creature who drives horses and generates wind (MAKSIMOV 1876:29). There are also several different sources regarding the physical appearance of the *albasty*. Here, the long-haired, large-breasted woman so typical elsewhere is not so prevalent. Some sources describe it as a human-looking figure (KOBLOV 1910:437), but there are other descriptions likening it to a large haystack (MAKSIMOV 1876:27–29).

Among the Chuvash, to whom the *albasty* mostly appears in incantations (RODIONOV 2012:225–229), early 20th century sources had difficulties defining what the term meant. Essentially, three different models of the creature are known (ASHMARIN 1994:I:166). One of them claims that the *albasty* is a kind of evil which can attach to a person and cannot be more clearly defined. Another source says that the *albasty* appears as a maiden

to young lads and as a lad to maidens, and that one must not turn around when it leaves. If someone does so despite the prohibition, the *albasty* says "Do not tell anyone!" and assaults the person. Although the source is rather vague here, it might be related to the idea that the *albasty* only appears to be human from the front and has no back, leaving its entrails visible. Such a belief exists among the Tuva as well, where a creature appears as a boy to girls and as a girl to boys (KATANOV 1893:522). The *albasty* might have been infamous among the Chuvash[2] as a push-daemon, also referred to by some sources. If a person experienced intense pain in their bones or "was pushed" at night, even if this was attributed to the evil spirit by the name of *usal,* the *alpastă* incantation had to be employed. It is clear from the text of the incantation that the *albasty* can now only be interpreted as an evil spirit – one which is hard to describe and which appears in many different compounds:

"Wind *alpastă* /*alpasti*[3]
wealth *alpasti*
water *alpasti*
fiery *alpasti*
fiery *xayar*
fiery *sexmet*
fiery *usal*
returns to the meeting
dog *alpasti*
chicken *alpasti*
beast[4] *alpasti*
bath *alasti*
wind's *văpăr*
sun's *văpăr*
water's *văpăr*
dead man's *văpăr*
house *văpăr*
beast[5] *văpăr*
money *văpăr*
fiery *văpăr*
fiery *sexmet*
fiery *xayar*
fiery *usal*
returns to the meeting
between Pitĕr and Moscow

---

[2] Chuvash: *alpastă.*
[3] The word *alpasti* may be the third person singular, genitive form of *alpastă,* but in the present-day spoken Chuvash language, the word form *alpasti* also occurs (so it can also be a nominative case). Both possibilities are acceptable, as *alpasti* also occurs where it is certainly not a genitive case, for example: *vutlă alpasti* (fiery or fire *alpasti*), whereas below in parallel structures, certainly genitive case forms of *văpăr* occur (*văpri*).
[4] The Chuvash word *kayăk* refers to all non-domesticated beasts and birds.
[5] Non-domesticated animals (Chuvash *kayăk*).

there is a twelve-year-old girl,
go thou there!
Do not debate!
Do not contradict!" (Ashmarin 1994:1:166)

Of the other evil spirits in the incantation, the *usal* and the *sexmet* indicate 'bad, disease, difficulty, trouble', and *vupăr* is fundamentally a nocturnal push-daemon as well as the name of the witch in fairy-tales.

Because of the traditions above, it may also be worth noting that in present-day spoken Chuvash language, the word *alpastă* denotes somebody that has unkempt hair or a generally untidy appearance (Skvortsov 1982:31).

As a conclusion to this paper, it is important to note that some mythical creatures have either been mixed up with the *albasty* or show great similarities to it.

One of these sources mentions a creature not yet discussed here, typical in Turkish language areas, the *yarım adam,* which denotes 'half-human'. In Turkish, this is a puerperal daemon and also one that brings diseases to children, displaying a great likeness to the figures *Lamaštu-Lilith-Gello,* which are of Babylonian origin but are also recognised in South-Eastern Europe and in European Jewish beliefs. According to the story, Suleiman (Solomon) wanted to cast a *yarım adam,* which brought diseases to young children, into the fire. Responding to its cries for mercy, Suleiman settled for the following agreement: in the houses where Suleiman's prayer and the names of the 12 and a half *yarım adam* are written, the *yarım adam*s will harm neither the host, nor his wealth, nor the cradle (Mészáros 1906:26).

This parallel is especially interesting because the Bashkirs also recognise a half-human mythical creature called *yarïmtïg,* who is basically a forest spirit. In an early twentieth-century source, however, the *yarïmtïq* is described as a hairy creature with the ability of seeing into the future and a love for riding horses; not just riding them, in fact, but mercilessly so until they foamed at the mouth. According to several scholars, in the Bashkir language the name *yarïmtïq* is only widespread in certain areas and is identical to the forest daemon called *šürale* in other places. The name of the Bashkir *šürale* also exists in the Kazakh language *(sorel)* and, according to some sources, this forest daemon is the *albasty*'s husband (Valikhanov 1904:277). The name "half-human", on the other hand, can be related to the creatures that only appear to be human from the front, but which in fact seem only half-human as they have no backs, rendering their innards visible.

When studying both steppe Turks and Bashkirs, several scholars have identified the mythical creature called "yellow (or blond) girl" *(sarï qïz)* with the *albasty*. The reason for this identification could be that the *albasty* is a yellow-haired or blond-haired creature. However, this identification is not satisfying, even though the two creatures do indeed have similar features. The *sari qïz* primarily appears in shamanic songs in the texts of steppe Turkic peoples as one of the spirits assisting the shaman (e.g. Divaev 1899:314; Verbitskii 1893:55) but is not widespread either as a pusher or a puerperal daemon.

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Child-threatening Mythical Creatures in Traditional Lithuanian Culture: Between Real and Constructed Threats of the Mythical World

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Abstract: The article presents child-threatening mythical creatures, their expressions and functions in Lithuanian folklore. Threats of the mythical world can be divided into two groups: *real* and *constructed* threats. The ones of the first group, real threats, are perceived as threats to children by adults. Real threats arise from two types of representations of the mythical world: mythical creatures and mythologised persons. The second group, constructed threats, is the is the phenomenon in which adults use folklore narratives to evoke fear in children, but adults do not perceive those narratives as real threats. Three types of folklore genres were used to frighten children: fairy tales, folk legends, and short, frightening expressions. This article focuses on the latter. The research analyses Lithuanian customs, beliefs, and narratives from the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

Keywords: Lithuanian folklore, child-threatening mythical creatures, real threats, constructed threats, frightening expressions

INTRODUCTION

This article examines representations of the mythical world that are considered a threat to infants and small children in traditional Lithuanian culture. Data used in this research focus on child-raising practices, beliefs, and short narratives found in rural communities of Lithuania in the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. This period in the rural culture of Lithuania is usually referred to as *traditional culture*.

The ethnographic material comes from the following Lithuanian archives: Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Lithuanian Institute of History (LII ES), Catalogue of Lithuanian Beliefs at the Lithuanian Institute of History (LTA), Lithuanian Folklore Archives at the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore (LTR, LTRF [audio records]), Archives of the Department of Cultural Studies and Ethnology at Vytautas Magnus University (VDU ER). Some material comes from published sources in which child-raising practices, customs, beliefs and narratives about mythical creatures,

or short biographical narratives about child-raising practices are discussed (Mažiulis 1936; Dulaitienė-Glemžaitė 1958; Jokimaitienė – Vėlius 1986; Marcinkevičienė 1998; Mickevičius 2009; Vaitkevičienė 2008; Kašėtienė – Kudirkienė 2016). Important sources of literature for this analysis of child-threatening mythical creatures were also research studies about children in traditional Lithuanian culture, folklore, and mythological worldview (Vėlius 1977; 1987; Astramskaitė 1993; Paukštytė 1999; Jasiūnaitė 2000; Račiūnaitė 2002; Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015).

The main theoretical approach to this research lies in the distinction between *real* and *constructed* threats of the mythical world. In this article, real threats are those which are perceived as real by adults. These threats are associated with the representations of the mythical world which may harm either adults or children, considering that children are more vulnerable and suffer from these threats more frequently. Constructed threats are the phenomena which are not perceived as threats by adults but are presented as mythical threats to children in the framework of socially (culturally) constructed norms of behaviour. Accordingly, this distinction determines the structure of the article. The first part introduces child-threatening representatives of the mythical world that, from the point of view of adults, may damage children. Then it discusses representatives of the mythical world used by adults to frighten children. The main criterion that delineates the two parts of the article is the adults' attitude towards and relationship with these representations of the mythical world.

REAL THREATS

According to Lithuanian folklore, real threats of the mythical world can be divided into two groups based on the source of danger: mythical creatures and mythologised persons. This section discusses the protection of children from danger and the implications of harm.

Mythical Creatures

In traditional Lithuanian culture, several types of mythical creatures were believed to be able to harm little children, especially newborn babies. One of these creatures is the *laumė* – a feminine mythical creature living near water, somewhat similar to fairies. It might be devil or witch as well. In this respect, witches function as mythical creatures, but they can also be members of human communities, as discussed below. Also, it was believed that newborn babies could be harmed by evil spirits.

In traditional Lithuanian culture, *laumės* are the most frequent mythical creatures considered dangerous to newborn babies. It was believed that they killed children, stole them, and swapped them with their own. The topic of stealing children is recurrent in one third of all legends that mention *laumės* (Vėlius 1977:100). The most dangerous period when a *laumė* could harm the child was before the baptism. During that time, the baby was not supposed to be left alone. The same characteristics apply to the devil and to witches; however, they are mentioned much less frequently in Lithuanian beliefs and narratives within the baby-stealing context. Nevertheless, it was believed that all these creatures could replace the baby with one of their own.

Numerous practices were used to protect children from the impact of mythical creatures. Some of them were ritualised and were related to other important rituals associated with "rites of passage". First of all, the sign of the cross was to be made on newborn babies immediately after birth (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:57; MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:97). Lithuanian legends frequently said that a *laumė* replaced the baby because the sign of the cross had not been made on him or her immediately after birth (MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:97). In the western part of Lithuania, newborn babies were sprinkled with sanctified water or fumigated with special herbs, or a rosary was put on the baby's neck immediately after birth (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:57). Another very important ritual, performed by midwives, was the first bathing of a newborn baby. It involved practices to protect the child from mythical creatures during this ritual. Certain artefacts were added to the water used for washing, e.g., sanctified herbs (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:58), branches of juniper or rowan (RAČIŪNAITĖ 2002:48; MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:99). These two plants were generally used in traditional Lithuanian culture for protection from various mythical creatures and evil spirits. Additionally, the sign of the cross had to have been made on the water to be used for washing (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:58; RAČIŪNAITĖ 2002:48). Some salt (RAČIŪNAITĖ 2002:48) or a silver coin could also be put in the water (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:58). After being used for washing, the water had to be poured out in special places, such as under the roof of the house, or places where nobody went (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:59). These actions were meant to avoid the harm of mythical creatures. For the same reason, some objects were kept close to a newborn baby's cradle or at the boundaries of the house; for example, the above-mentioned branches of juniper or rowan were kept near the infant or in the window (MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:99), the liminal place which can be used by mythical creatures to enter the house. In Western Lithuania, psalm books were kept near babies (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:69). To deter *laumės* from coming to the house, a ring of flax was put under the threshold (MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:99). The foremost means of protecting newborn babies, prevalent in the entire territory of Lithuania, was the requirement of not leaving the baby alone and ensuring that he or she was attended to by someone at all times. In the western part of Lithuania, a midwife or another woman considered as "experienced" looked after the baby throughout the night. In Southern Lithuania, this duty was fulfilled by young girls (MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:98). According to some narratives, a mythical creature swapped a child with another, or a child disappeared the moment a midwife fell asleep (MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:98). Another requirement was to keep a source of light on at all times (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:68; MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:98). It is highly significant that, notwithstanding some exceptions, these customs were followed until new-born babies were baptised. Therefore, baptism may be perceived as a means of protection, too, since the danger posed by mythical creatures declined after the baptism. Some beliefs and narratives indicate that mythical creatures were only able to swap children that were not baptised, and it was thus forbidden to take the child away from home before baptism (JOKIMAITIENĖ – VĖLIUS 1986:255). If the child could not be baptised in the church, even baptism at home – when a midwife would name the child – could provide some protection (MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA 2015:98). This points to the fact that the most important time when the child entered human society, was the act of initiation. Newborn babies were generally baptised during the first weeks after their birth (PAUKŠTYTĖ 1999:73). It was at that moment that the child got his or her name and

was considered human. Before the baptism, he or she was very close to the mythical world and could be considered as belonging to mythical creatures. Thus, baptism and giving a name to the child was the boundary where the child's social status changed (Astramskaitė 1993:128; Paukštytė 1999:75).

Another important aspect in the realm of real threats is the implication of the harm that could be inflicted upon children by mythical creatures, namely, when children were said to be stolen or replaced. So-called changelings were given additional names, depending on the mythical creature that replaced them, such as *laumiukai,* little devils, little witches (Vėlius 1987:223–224; Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:129). Lithuanian mythical legends also say that people could retrieve their real children by harming the replaced ones, usually by beating them. *Laumės* cannot stand seeing their children harmed, so they return human babies and take back their own (Vėlius 1987:103).

Changelings were said to have special features. Usually, these features distinguished such mythical babies from normal babies, and they were considered anomalies. Changelings were either very beautiful or very ugly (Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:129, and 132, and 138). They could grow unnaturally fast or could stop growing altogether, even if they ate a lot (Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:129, and 135, and 140). Such babies could be very intelligent or, just the opposite, they did not speak or walk during further stages of their life (Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:129, and 139). They had disproportionate body parts, such as huge eyes or a huge head (Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:135, and 136). Some body parts could also be deformed; for example, they could be bow-legged or have a hunched back (Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:136). Additionally, such babies could have extra body parts, they were very hairy, or had teeth at an age when children usually did not have any (Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:129, and 135). Moreover, they cried hard, and had a very unpleasant voice (Macijauskaitė-Bonda 2015:138). All these features certainly point to the conclusion that newborn babies with health problems and congenital anomalies were perceived as representatives of the mythical world.

Mythologised Persons

Another group of representatives of the mythical world considered as a source of threats to newborn babies and small children were members of the human community, namely, mythologised persons. It was believed that they had supernatural powers and could harm other persons, cattle, plants, or even objects. These mythologised persons included charmers, sorcerers and witches. In this case, witches were perceived not as mythical creatures but as members of a human community. Beggars and foreigners were also perceived as having dangerous supernatural powers. All such persons, as discussed below, were considered as dangerous to all members of the community, but little children were especially vulnerable to their threats. These threats included destructive charms on newborn babies and little children, and the phenomenon known as the "evil eye". The impact of the "evil eye" was associated with many common diseases in Lithuanian ethnomedicine.

Babies that had been impacted by charms and the "evil eye" were fussy, sleepless, cried hard or incessantly, and could even die (Dulaitienė-Glemžaitė 1958:384; Marcinkevičienė 1998:138; Mickevičius 2009:140). Several means of protection were

used to counter or eliminate the threat of charms and the "evil eye". The water from the first bathing of a baby was poured under the threshold or a furnace to avoid charms and the "evil eye" (Paukštytė 1999:59). Then, to protect a baby from the influence of witches and the impact of the "evil eye", his or her shirt had to be put on inside out during his or her first dressing ceremony (Paukštytė 1999:59, and 69; Dulaitienė-Glemžaitė 1958:405). Usually, and especially before the baptism, newborn babies were not shown to persons outside the family (Dulaitienė-Glemžaitė 1958:384). Sometimes the baby was kept in the dark with his or her eyes covered with a tissue (Vaitkevičienė 2008:519), and the cradle was covered with tissues to avoid the impact of the "evil eye" (Vaitkevičienė 2008:519).

Moreover, certain customs were followed before leaving for church to baptise the child; for example, some salt could be put in the corner of the baby's nappy. Also, the baby's godmother had to put a piece of garlic in her pocket. The baby was sprinkled with sanctified water or could be fumigated with sanctified herbs (Mickevičius 2009:127). The baby had to be passed through the shirt which the mother she had been wearing during birth (Dulaitienė-Glemžaitė 1958:407). These customs helped to avoid charms against newborn babies. They were very important because the journey from home to the church and back was a dangerous threshold period.

Children that had been harmed could be cured in many different ways, some of which were also used to treat adults or even cattle. The topic of healing practices is so vast that it would merit a separate study; nevertheless, several healing practices used to treat babies are mentioned here to demonstrate their variety. One such practice was fumigation with rye flour or sanctified herbs (Mickevičius 2009:140). Babies could also be passed through a horse-collar (LTA 2278/232). An adult had to lick a baby's eyebrows and spit three times after licking (Marcinkevičienė 1998:138). Incantations were also frequently used in such situations (Vaitkevičienė 2008:700). The baby was also taken to the priest, who would say a special prayer (Mickevičius 2009:140).

CONSTRUCTED THREATS

The other type of threats to small children in traditional Lithuanian culture was the one of the constructed threats of representations of the mythical world that were used by adults to frighten children. In this context, fear is one of the important factors influencing the psychophysical and social development of the child, and functions as a model for culturally regulating a child's behaviour. These constructed threats might reveal themselves in three forms: narration of fairy tales, narration of legends, and the use of short, frightening expressions. There are some differences among these three groups of folk expressions.

The narration of fairy tales took place during a special time. Usually, tales were told in the evenings. Some of the characters in fairy tales are the above-mentioned mythical creatures typical of Lithuanian folklore. They are *laumės,* the devil, and witches. The main feature in the narration of fairy tales is that fear is not perceived as a direct danger but as the aesthetic experience of fear.

Another type of folk narratives used to evoke fear in children was one of legends. As in the case of fairy tales, there was a special time for legend narration as well. But legends may differ from fairy tales in having more creatures. There are the same

laumės, the devil, and witches, which are typical of fairy tales. But one can also meet other subjects which, according to adults, can harm children. They are mythologised people, such as foreigners, beggars and sorcerers. As these subjects lived among community members, the experience of fear in this case is closer to reality but has still connections with the aesthetic experience of fear (Vėlius 1977:27). Another important aspect is that this type of folklore is associated with the above-discussed real threats, since legends appear as a reflection of the adults' worldview. However, in the case of constructed threats, legends function differently from the real threats because adults perceive them as real narratives.

The third type of constructed threats is the practice of frightening children. Such practice generally uses non-ritual expressions, although it may also involve some ritual aspects. These expressions are short, everyday warnings of danger containing a mythical worldview perspective typical in traditional Lithuanian culture in the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. This type of folklore is the best at revealing constructed threats. Such short, frightening expressions were more practical because they took less time than telling legends or fairy tales and were just as effective in terms of causing fear, as they were perceived as real threats by children.

It is not entirely clear which folklore genre these forms of frightening should be associated with. They are related to folk beliefs in terms of their typical structure and manifestations of the mythical worldview. However, the frightening presents a reaction to certain situations and circumstances, thus being similar to situational sayings. Quite frequently, such occurrences stem from a broader social and mythological background, being therefore capable of evolving into ritual-like imitation practices or folk legends containing elements of legend plots; for example:

> "When we were small, we were frightened by *Burlokas*. One said that he was wearing red shoes and was watching the children who lived in the village. If the children behaved well, he did nothing, but if the children behaved badly, if they were fighting or stealing from the neighbours' farms, after having waited for the older one to go away, *Burlokas* would come to the house where small children were, hide behind the furnace, and lie in waiting. As soon as the child approached the furnace, *Burlokas* would suffocate the child and drink its blood. That is why his shoes were red." (Marcinkevičienė 1998:147)

> "My sister Jadvyga wanted her brother Juozulis to tell her stories. She was constantly asking him to tell stories, even if he was tired. When he was sleepy or wanted to have a rest, he always told her the story about *Burlokas*." (Marcinkevičienė 1998:254–255)

Based on the subjects of the mythical world, four groups of expressions used to frighten children can be distinguished. The first group is a little different from the others and will not be widely discussed here. Suffice it to say that these expressions do not contain any mythical subjects. They are related to physical demise and mythologise body functions, such as: "Don't shout, you'll lose your lungs", or "Don't eat so much, your belly will cut your neck" (Kašėtienė – Kudirkienė 2016:82). These expressions can be found in the paremic group of texts, namely, situational sayings.

The three other groups in this classification include frightening subjects, which can be ranked according to the opposition between the *own* and the *alien*. In Lithuanian,

there are about one hundred and thirty names for such frightening subjects (Jasiūnaitė 2000:172). Children would be frightened with certain groups of "aliens" crisscrossing the country, such as Jews, Gypsies, or beggars (LII ES 208/126:597, 1073/50:88, 1108/15: 47, 508/43:82); for example, "The Gypsies are coming, and I will give you to them, and they will take you. You will have to live with them, to tell fortunes and steal chickens" (Marcinkevičienė 1998:147–148); "Children were afraid of beggars. If they saw one coming, they ran to hide behind the furnace or under the table. Their parents threatened them with beggars: they were told not to approach the well or the road, otherwise a beggar would catch them. Children were threatened by the beggars' appearance, too: they wore ragged clothes, they were lame and tired" (LII ES 341 (21), 65). The main feature of these passers-by was that they would carry a bag, and it was said that the bag was used to carry off disobedient children.

If any extraordinary member – sorcerer or healer – lived in the local community, he or she became the subject of frightening the children, too. It was said that a sorcerer could turn a disobedient child into an animal (LTRF cd 553-01, 594-06). The subject of the frightening expression could even be a neighbour living next door, especially if he or she had strange habits (LTRF cd 621-02).

Another group of expressions used to frighten children involved animals. However, the image of animals was less frequently used than that of humans. It was said that a dog (LKŽe: *ciucius*), a wolf (LII ES 853/2:5), or a bear (LII ES 508/26: 54) could come and take away or devour a disobedient child. Dangerous foxes could be living in the crop fields, so it was forbidden to go near these fields (LII ES 1517/5:5). Some frightening expressions with animals were used to protect children from dangerous places; for example, "To make children stay away from the well, one said that a catfish would catch them. The children were afraid of catfish, and they did not approach the well" (LII ES 508 (46), 88). Frogs lived in the water, and it was said that they were so mighty that they could draw the child into the water.

The last group, namely the one of the mythical creatures, is very diverse. Some creatures also appeared in legends intended for adults, for instance, the devil (LTRF cd 588-05; VDU ER 42/1: 5–6, no. 8) or *laumė* (LTR 2645/66; VDU ER 900:10, no. 53). Some of them were very specific, such as the resident of the dark – *baubas,* a Lithuanian equivalent of a bogeyman. Some could also live in the dark or in the water (LII ES 1519/1: 1; VDU ER 688: 1, no. 1), such as the amorphous creature *maumas* (Mažiulis 1936) and others. Here are several examples of frightening children with mythical creatures: "Children were threatened with bogeys or bugaboos because they liked playing peekaboo in the rye fields. Rye was quite high and children destroyed it. That's why it was said that *baubas* is lurking in the rye field" (LII ES 1519 (1), 1); "We were threatened with *rusauka*, which was strangely covered. We were threatened so that we would stay at home and would not go to the fields or to pick apples or something else" (LII ES 508 (16), 38). The diversity of mythical creatures, in the practice of frightening children was immense because adults used their imagination creatively to generate different creatures depending on specific situations. Nevertheless, some of them, as mentioned above, were stable and widely known in the entire territory of Lithuania.

There are several important aspects related to the practice of frightening children, whose main function is to form appropriate social behaviour through fear. Such practice also aims to protect children from dangerous places.

Another essential characteristic of frightening is a two-sided mechanism of action. There are two dimensions: sensory and mythological. The first one is related to reality as it is experienced through the sense organs, mostly visually and acoustically; for example, "We were threatened that *Sidaras,* a kind of devil, was in the water. When you looked into the water, you saw something there" (LII ES 508 (88), 171). This example shows that the form of the devil is not clear but the child sees rippling water and identifies this sight with the devil. Another example is *baubas,* which does not have a clear form and is associated with the dark. So the child knows about the presence of this creature from the dark; for example, "Mothers scared their crying or screaming children of one to six years old by pointing to the dark and saying, "Shut up, *bubis* will catch you!" (Basanavičius 2004:298)

The other important aspect of frightening is its mythological dimension created by the unknown, by a failure of the senses, or just by a limitation of experience. For instance, darkness, in which visual perception is limited, does nothing to help create an image of the above-mentioned mythological creature *baubas*, therefore it is amorphous. The unknown is associated with the concept of an alien. In children's frightening expressions, there are usually various aliens – from mythical creatures to representatives of certain social groups. The importance of the concept of an alien can be illustrated with the following example related to a well-known legend from the Middle Ages telling that Jews used Christian children's blood for making bread. It was said, "Don't run around before Easter because Jews are slaughtering children for their *matza.* They take their blood and mix it with the *matza* dough". We seemed to be scared, but if we met Mauškė or Medelis, the Jews we knew, even in the middle of the night, we wouldn't be scared of them. We were scared of some other Jews that lived somewhere else and didn't look like the ones we knew" (Marcinkevičienė 1998:147–148).

The mythical dimension alluded in the scaring practice is attractive for children, and its impact is less destructive than a confrontation with a real threat. So besides forming appropriate social behaviour through fear, the practice of scaring also develops a mythical worldview in children.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The analysed data reveal that in traditional Lithuanian culture, adults were convinced that mythical creatures and persons with supernatural powers could really harm children, and this harm were manifested in different pathologies. Therefore, various means of protection were used to avoid such damage resulting from real threats.
2. Real threats to children were the most dangerous until baptism. It is therefore implied that until this ritual was performed, the child was not considered human but rather a creature existing in-between two worlds – the mythical and the human. The representatives of the mythical world tried to take back the infant into their own world. The child joined the human world through baptism, and from the moment he or she was given a name, mythical creatures posed less danger to the child.
3. Constructed threats, or the practice of frightening, were used by adults to shape children's social behaviour and functioned as a means of protecting children. From the mythical perspective, the use of expressions to frighten children can be interpreted as separating the children from the mythical world.

4. Representations of the mythical world, perceived as real threats to little children, are transferred into constructed threats and appear as the subjects of expressions meant to frighten children. However, they fulfil a different function in this framework: they move away from being a real danger and become means of traditional pedagogy.

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Man Versus Demon:
Interconnections between Incantations
and Belief Narratives

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Abstract: The present paper examines the relationship between incantations and belief narratives, two types of oral genres based on human contact with the supernatural. Such contact attests to a dangerous disruption of the boundary between the human and demonic worlds and to the intensive efforts to reinforce it so that participants may return to the space they belong in. For this purpose, various verbal and nonverbal tools are used in belief narratives (gestures, objects, plants, sound or light signals, certain activities – such as walking backwards, placing a cap over the forehead, etc.). In contrast, incantations, an inseparable part of vernacular magical practices, rely solely on verbal communication with impure forces.

This paper will analyse the following aspects of interconnection between these oral genres: 1) the display of a genre within a genre – the presence of incantations in belief narratives, e.g., about dispersing hailstorm clouds; 2) the types of verbal communication with the supernatural in belief narratives (swearing, cursing, command, reproach) and their equivalents in incantations; 3) various motifs of protection from demons (counting the uncountable, using bodily fluids; thorn, fire, metal, broom, etc.). The consideration of shared elements in these genres that preserve the relationship with the mythological narrative include elements of the ceremonial context in which incantations are performed. I argue that some of these elements appear also in belief narratives, where they undergo a transformation.

Keywords: incantations, belief narratives, verbal charms, folk belief, demonology

One of the characteristics of oral literature, determined by the way it exists (its creation and performance), alongside the presence of variants, formulaicity, anonymous authorship, pragmatic usage, etc., is also the permeation of folklore genres. This complex phenomenon implies the existence of common elements that are adapted to the poetics of individual genres and their functions. In addition to themes, motifs, formulas, stylistic means, and procedures, common beliefs are also considered to be the shared elements of oral genres, although they themselves can have the status of a genre.

Numerous traditional beliefs[1] about the otherworld that exists in parallel with the human world, as well as the representations of otherworldly beings that live there, form the foundation of several genres of oral literature. Verbal charms, as "traditional verbal forms intended by their effect on supernature to bring about change in the world in which we live" (Roper 2003:8), and belief narratives, as stories about supernatural phenomena and beings/humans with supernatural powers (Milošević Đorđević 2000:174; de Blécourt 2013:364), are connected through a complex system of belief in the existence of a powerful magical force that can have an effect on humans.

Incantations and belief narratives are particularly focused on the contact between humans[2] and demons, the consequence of which is the harming of humans,[3] the endangering of their safety as well as identity. Besides the encounter, these incantations and belief narratives also refer to the need for and methods of defence, at the core of which is an awareness of the dangerous disturbance of the boundary between the two worlds,[4] and various actions aimed at returning the protagonists to the ones where they belong. A strong belief system about the existence of a world inhabited by otherworldly beings is based precisely on the depiction of this boundary that separates it from the one humans live in. Every otherworldly being's crossing into the human space is a real danger for its residents, and because of that, these beliefs contain a great variety of protective actions. Research, the results of which are presented in this paper,[5] is based on the hypothesis that such beliefs shape the thought and verbal expression of belief narratives[6] and incantations, also defining their mutual components. This research is based on materials collected in the Serbian territory (from the writings of Vuk S. Karadžić until the present days), including about 700 incantations (Radenković, L. 1982; Zlatanović 2007; Timotijević 1978) and around 800 belief narratives (Karadžić 1972; Zlatković 2007; Radenković, R. 1991; Marković 2004; Petrović 1999).

Even though incantations could be influenced by literary sources to a great extent (Toporov 1993:3–4), they belong to the folklore genres. Previous research pointed out that incantation permeates other forms of oral literature: ritual song, toast, curse

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[1] By belief, I mean the most basic substance of a unique, collective understanding of the world, the meaning of which we do not debate, nor do we need to interpret or prove it (Samardžija 2011:346), although it is a system that could be considered in its various parts or forms ("from customary actions or behaviours that bring about a desired outcome" to "fundamental concepts… that we learn through verbal narratives such as myths or through observation and interaction within our particular communities", Sims – Stephens 2005:56–57; see also: Mullen 1997:89–98).

[2] More precisely, in verbal charms, it is not only the contact between a human and a demon but also between a demon and a possessor of "higher" and specific knowledge.

[3] In healing rituals, injury is the initial impulse, in legends it is the final, the result of the encounter.

[4] Physically close to human, different demons "inhabit a world of their own, and human beings encounter them as the wholly other" (Liti 1994:13).

[5] This paper presents only the most frequent examples of interconnections between belief narratives and incantations, at all levels of analysis.

[6] "When an exciting description of a supernatural experience spreads from one district to another, it becomes schematic (unnecessary details are dropped and new details are added), and the spirits' activities, for example, become concrete and graphic. Although this product is no longer close to the original experience, it may nevertheless remain in harmony with the memorate tradition and a belief tradition of locality. Then it can be called a belief legend *(Glaubenssage);* its value as a reflector of folk belief is quite considerable" (Honko 1964:12). About belief as the foundation of belief narratives and superstition that turns a narrative into a fabulate, see: Mullen 1971.

(RADENKOVIĆ, L. 1996:68, 72), riddle, children's song, myth, epic poetry (VUKELIĆ 2014:245), and that there are elements that link a belief narrative to other prose genres (e.g., MILOSEVIĆ ĐORĐEVIĆ 2000; RADULOVIĆ 2012).

Taking into consideration the specifics of belief narratives and incantations (poetic/prose form, purpose, manner and circumstances of performance), I observed a few basic parameters that would help us establish their potential similarities and differences. We analysed chronotope, protagonists, relations between human and demon (the motif of encounter and the actions of demons, the way their activity manifests on humans, the motif of tragic mistake and defense: types of communication, action, and similar). I also observed the occurrence of one genre's existence in the other (adjustment, transformation, topic), as well as its permeation through other genres (swearword, curse).

CHRONOTOPE

The formulaic nature of the chronotope of belief narratives about demons implies a clear polarization of human and otherworldly times and spaces. Water, mountain, forest, rock, as undoubtedly marked *loci* of belief narratives, belong to demonic beings which usually reside there, and this is where men encounter them.[7] In incantations, there are, among other things, spaces into which demons are chased by charms, since their translocation to human spaces and contact with people cause sickness and other misfortunes. In narrative beliefs, the demons can be found in streams, around watermills, everywhere near water (RADENKOVIĆ, R. 1991:19), under stones (ZLATKOVIĆ 2007:490), in rocks, in a stone (fixed stone), in stone cities, in gorges (ZLATKOVIĆ 2007:537, 505, 546, 550); at crossroads, in willows (ZLATKOVIĆ 2007:495, 499, 529; for weeping willow, see: MENCEJ 1996). Example of incantation: "He scattered them on the water in the mount of Galilea, let them go to the fixed stone" (RADENKOVIĆ, L. 1996:80, 81), "Go to the mount... there you will find a green meadow, and in the meadow a maple tree" (RADENKOVIĆ, L. 1996:86), "in the blurred water, in the dark mount" (RADENKOVIĆ, L. 1996:198), "he sent them to Kamen-gora (Stone Mount)" (RADENKOVIĆ, L. 1996:93).

The spaces where encounters of man and demon happen in belief narratives and incantations are roads and crossroads,[8] fields, brooks, and such. Bridges are also seen as meeting points: in belief narratives, the souls of the drowned would appear on bridges (ZLATKOVIĆ 2007:539), and as *omaja* (apparition, folklore demon that could cast an illusion on man), midday apparitions (RADENKOVIĆ, R. 1991:26), and demons in animal shape – rabbit, goat kid, etc. (ZLATKOVIĆ 2007:546, 547). In incantations, the demon of sickness (named after the sickness it causes) also appears on a bridge:

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[7] It should be mentioned that in some narratives the space in which the demons reside coincides with human territory. The existence and operation of a witch, for example, is registered within the social area (town, houses), as is detection and inhibition (see: DE BLECOURT 2013; MENCEJ 2005:179): KARADŽIĆ 1972:301–305, s. v. *vještica, vukodlak ili vampir, vjedogonja ili jedogonja, mora.*

[8] "...tradition notions about the crossroads obtain semantic and poetic features of the road, the way of life, life's destiny. In folk imagination, the road at the crossing is interpreted as a border between two worlds: the world of the dead and the world of the living" (BRITSYNA – GOLOVAKHA-HICKS 2007:271).

"Probodi are coming from here,
Odovi are coming from there.
They have met each other on the bridge,
Odovi have come,
Probodi have drowned" (Radenković. L. 1996:205).

Departure for "no return" (incantations) (Radenković, L. 1996:151; "no return field", Radenković, L. 1996:70) semantically resembles the departure for the world of the dead, which is determined, for example in dirges, as a space of no return *(puti nedohodi),* and in belief narratives as the frequent locus of burial ground.

As an opposition to the human-like, there is also a geographical locality, usually the one which the community, for various reasons, considers as other and different (Germany, Bulgaria, etc.).

The time of the demon's appearance and performance, the so called anti-time, is in traditional culture predominantly at night, but the transition from day to night (late afternoon, night, dawn), as well as noon, and certain calendar times (holiday, season, etc.), are also marked within this time. In belief narratives, we can see all the forms mentioned above, as well as the time defined by some historical event, such as war (Popović 2012). An incantation also follows these encoded times of the appearance of demons and insists on the same time sequences as points at which they disappear:

"At what time you came,
at that time you should go.
If you came before dawn,
ou should go before dawn... at dawn,
at daybreak, after daybreak,
before noon, after noon,
before sunset, after sunset,
before dark, in the dark, after dark,
before midnight, at midnight, after midnight,
before roosters, with roosters,
before dawn, after dawn" (Radenković, L. 1996:136–137).[9]

THE INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN MAN AND DEMON. ACTORS. CONTACT. ACTS

Like human beings, also witches, dragons, wind, plague, black cow, black calf, black hen sitting with black chicks can be protagonists both in belief narratives and incantations. Some of them literally appear as opponents (witches, dragons, plague), some function as helpers (rooster, black hen sitting with black chicks), while some have ambivalent characteristics (dog, wolf). Humans and demons are in opposition and their contact is a threat. Even though the effect of this demonic force basically means binding a man,

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[9] There is a specific, isolated, coded time for uttering the verbal magic (day, week, month, and year) (Roper 2003:34; Radenković, L. 1996:160–176).

causing sickness, harm, or even death, the variety of manifestations in incantations is very wide and a little less so in belief narratives. What they share are the motifs of clouded consciousness, paralysis, blindness, unconscious wanderings, and fear. Examples of these are (in belief narratives): "She didn't know where she went" (Marković 2004:117); "As he went home, he immediately got sick from it, because they can pierce a man" (Marković 2004:119);

> "And he came to Jasenak and there he got caught in a wedding feast, a turmoil, a crowd, and couldn't reach his home. He walked! And yet he couldn't reach his home. And on he went, and when the day broke, he cleared his head a little, looked around – and realized he went all the way to Manastirak, that stream, he never went to his home, and he got sick and never recovered" (Marković 2004:141);

> "He couldn't find rest all day, he was all exhausted and ravaged, dead beaten and tired as if trampled" (Radenković, R. 1991:29); "At the stream, *osenje* got on his back (...) forced him up the stream, down the stream, up the stream, down the stream – he was all scratched and beaten" (Radenković, R. 1991:90).

In incantations:

> "He has the head but no reason,
> he has the eyes but no sight,
> he has the tongue but no speech,
> he has the hands but no deeds,
> he has the heart but no strength,
> he has the legs but no walk" (Radenković, L. 1996:101).

Meeting of man and demon often appear in relation to the motif of a tragic mistake, that is, the different shapes of disturbance to the demonic chronotope (night, water, fairies' circle) and the disturbance of demons (Vinogradova 2015): "On the road to Županjevac, there is a grove, and every year there is a circle around it. The fairies are said to dance around it. Everywhere the grass is nice, and there – it simply withers and shrivels, and is not to be treaded on. It is a fairies' kolo (dance)" (Marković 2004:114); "She treaded on the fairies' kolo, she said" (Marković 2004:117); "He left and danced with them and later got sick and remained so for a long time" (Marković 2004:114); "If he stirred the water / did it smash the dining table, did it beat the children / did it ruin the poems, did it break the circle dance" (Zlatanović 2007:514). Both genres in an almost identical way define the human responsibility for disturbing the norms:

> "The fairies forbade the water,
> you couldn't water the cattle,
> you couldn't wash the cloth,
> and I didn't know, so I watered the cattle,
> I washed the cloth,
> and encountered the fairies" (Radenković, L. 1996:102).

In a belief narrative, a grandmother explains to her grandchild why they had an encounter with a demon – "You are young, and you couldn't have known" (Radenković, R. 1991:26).

DEFENCE (MOTIFS: VERBAL COMMUNICATION, VOICE AND SOUNDS, EXCLAMATIONS, THREATS, ETC.)

Since it represents the defence itself, as a verbal part of a ritual complex where protection and healing are one of the basic functions (Toporov 1993:11), an incantation very often contains either images or expressions that attest to an encounter and defence of a man against an otherworldly being. Many actions performed in folk medicine belong to a system of protection from evil *per se:* from personified natural phenomena (wind, storm) to mythological creatures (Usatcheva 2000:59).[10] In belief narratives, there are also apotropaic actions in situations where the alienation and destruction of a demon is necessary. Such actions can be non-verbal, such as using bodily fluids (urine, faeces, or saliva), ignition, piercing with various objects, pulling a cap down, emitting sound and light signals, walking backwards,[11] using certain herbs (see: Levskievskaia 1999:51–52; Popović Nikolić 2016:76), sprinkling holy water (Kropej 2003:66), etc. In its own way, the incantation's text tells a story about this as well. Verbal forms, that is, the forms of communication with a demonic being, confirm the archaic perception of human voice as a substance that marks the space of this world (Levkievskaia 1999).

By its existence, as well as its amplified/weakened intensity, voice protects humans by banishing demons into a world where there are no human voices (such as a baby crying, a priest preaching, etc.), nor other sounds which characterize the human environment (Moroz 1995). Narratives about encounters with demons, as well as incantations, which are themselves a form of immediate verbal communication, show the use of human voice in a protective role. In belief narratives, speaking and keeping silence are seen as ways of protection, but also as the breaking of rules that causes human suffering (because of a human's ambivalent status at the boundary) (Usatcheva 2000:65). Speaking defends human territory, while being silent allows a human to protect himself in these demonic spaces, such as a tree with a treasure buried under it, a forest, or a cemetery (speaking taboo). At the same time, voice is mostly amplified in belief narratives, for example by shouting: "And then I shouted 'Milunija, I will pierce you with a poker!'" (Radenković, R. 1991:25); "He remembered that it was Vasa Drpnjin, the one who died, and shouted 'Go away, Vasa, let fire get you!'" (Radenković, R. 1991:32); "I shouted: 'What are you doing here?'" (Radenković, R. 1991:78); "He shouted out loud: 'You, vampire, move away from my oxen!' When he uttered the last word, the oxen moved by themselves and

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[10] As the foundation of the mythopoetic system, such understanding of evil and otherwordly appears in different folk genres as well. In fairy tales and epic poems, the boundaries between this and the other world, between human beings and demons, their acts and chronotopes, are also more or less clearly established. Instead the elements of such boundaries in verbal charms and belief narratives are directly related to practical action (in incantations for the purpose of healing and protection, in belief narratives as prophylaxis or direct, immediate protection).

[11] "And then I got scared, and backwards, and backwards, and failed to turn around (it is bad to turn around, you may find yourself under the spell) and so I entered the court backwards" (Radenković, R. 1991:28); "You go backwards not to turn your back" (Marković 2004:123).

didn't stop" (Radenković, R. 1991:106). This use of human voice is also indicated by the narrators' comments, the ones that represent a belief at the basis of the protagonists' actions in a narrative. These comments usually emphasize a certain norm and how it should be followed. It is about traditional knowledge put into practice: "When a man becomes a vampire, they should shout at him, shame him" (Radenković, R. 1991:62); "The Evil One (vampire) will vanish if you mention the wolf. You say: 'Go away, let the wolves get you!'" (Radenković, R. 1991:82–83).

An incantation requires different kinds of immediate communication with a demon; in most cases, it is whispered. This can be related to the fact that incantation is commonly used in so-called rehabilitative situations (Levskievskaia 2002), where there is a need to communicate with a demon that had already hurt a human (e.g., sickness demon). However, there are examples where incantation is used as a current apotropaic form and is pronounced loudly, in a shouting voice, as in belief narratives: verbal magic against hail clouds are characterized by pronouncing the content with amplified intensity (Zlatković 2007:480, 481).

The content transmitted to the otherworldly being, in both genres, can take the form of a command: (incantations) "This is not a place for you!" (Zlatanović 2007:504); "You are not wanted here!" (Radenković, L. 1996:134); (belief narrative) "Milica turned on the light and began to scold the vampire: 'Shame on you... run where you came from!'" (Radenković, R. 1991:62).

The command mostly asks for the dislocation of a demon, directing it to a place where the demon started its journey towards people: Let him go where he came from (Radenković, R. 1991:23). In incantations, this form is also used when the demon is prohibited from manifesting the symptoms of its actions: Don't use force!"; "Go, don't stay / go, don't hesitate!"; "Don't hurt, drink, don't fester, don't turn red, don't use force" (Zlatanović 2007:508, 504, 509).

These types of commands are sometimes followed by a threat with actions that cause the breach of a demon's integrity or even its destruction:

"Run away! There goes a fearful old woman
carrying a hot scoop! Run! She will burn your eyes
she will burn your teeth
she will burn your hands
she will burn your back" (Zlatanović 2007:509),

"I give you time 'till lunch / then I will send you fearful dogs: they will rend you to pieces" (Radenković, L. 1996:78), "The knife will strike you, the hawthorn will pierce you, the broom will sweep you. In belief narratives: I will pierce you with a poker, I am going to burn you!" (Radenković, R. 1991:62); for this purpose, fire and sharp objects are used as apotropaions (black leather-covered knife, axe, hoe, sword, needle, etc.), as are herbs (hawthorn), riffle bullets, etc.: "He will strike with nine rifles / he will kill with nine bullets / he will cut with nine sabres / he will stab with nine knives" (Zlatanović 2007:492), "Borko came and brought the basil, the God's arrow, the light broom, the hot poker, the sharp razor, and what he found, he cut it" (Radenković, L. 1996:88).

In belief narratives and incantations, what is also commonly seen is the use of bodily fluids (urine, faeces, saliva) as substances that have either defensive or destructive

effects (a demonic being, živak, a creature that resembles mercury, is destroyed by urination): "Then it struck me it had to be živak. I remembered, my grandmother told me about them, and she would squat down and wet the thing... As she did it, it didn't shine anymore, it was extinguished, as if the embers were put out. These živak, the damn things, you can only piss or shit on them to defend yourself" (Radenković, R. 1991:32; For incantations, see also: Radenković, L. 1996:89, 113). "'Nikonija, the dragon, chooses the finest woman, the purest, full-blooded. You should take pig's dung and rub yourself: chest, breasts, crotch, you stink everywhere...' As I did that, the dragon stopped coming to me" (Radenković, R. 1991:21). Some of them, such as saliva, are marked by the use of verbal invective followed by pronouncing the incantation (pu-pu).[12]

Parallel to commands, we can find pleas, as well as an emphasis on the spiritual relationship between human and demon:[13] "Fairies (vile samovile), / my sweet sisters" (Zlatanović 2007:498), "Dear fairies (vile samovile), if you are old, may you be mothers, if younger, may you be aunts, even younger, may you be sisters" (Zlatanović 2007:514), "'If you are female, good gracious sisters, good gracious daughters, bring my daughter remedy, I beg you, bring her remedy'. I repeat three times and put it down(...)" (Marković 2004:123). Similar expressions of polite behaviour can be seen in legends about expelling a vampire from a village (by deceitfully inviting him to be the best man or attend a wedding).

As Levskievskaia noted,[14] along with human voice as the strongest mark of this world, sounds from the immediate human environment have a similar function of marking human territory (sounds emitted by domestic animals – rooster, dog, cat, lamb, goat; or a bell and such). Belief narratives frequently use a rooster's crow, which marks a temporal border where human time begins (similarly to light signals, such as the appearance of sun at sunrise, which marks the time opposite to night, the anti-time that belongs to demons). In incantations, a rooster's crow is one of the segments of the formula which defines the space an otherworldly being is banished to:[15]

"where dogs do not bark
where cats do not meow
where roosters do not crow
where sheep do not bleat
where goats do not bleat

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[12] In a legend about St. Paul (Serbian variant), the devil king punishes the devil that brought the disease to the man. The king speaks words that are marked by disgust, and destroys the disobedient devil: "Ugh, you dirty bastard!" (Čajkanović 1999:258).

[13] Sikimić sets a hypothesis about polite form in Bayash prayer for the fairies as a sacral text: "Magical power has the effect of ordering only lower class demons, on whom the person doing the incantation imposes his/her own imperative will and orders them to withdraw. Higher category demons and deities are addressed only by way of supplication and prayers" (Sikimić 2007:176).

[14] (Levskievskaia 1999:51–52)

[15] In this type of formula, space is also determined by other parameters, not only by the absence of sounds: they include olfactory parameters ("where incense does not have scent"), action parameters ("where girls do not comb their hair,/where brides do not knead,/where ploughman does not plough,/ where digger does not dig,/where people do not cross with a cross"), spatial or other determiners ("under the peel of a tree, places where live people similar to demon in age, character and name").

where pigs do not oink
where horses do not neigh
where cows do not moo
where crows do not caw” (Radenković, L. 1996:69).

The motif of counting the uncountable, very frequent in incantation formulas (“She counted the leaves in the mount, and sand in the deep water, and she was not to come back until she did all that” (Radenković, L. 1996:108), “Whoever counted / the horse's coat / and the sheep's fleece / the mount's forests / and the sky's stars / that one should put a spell on Bora” (Zlatanović 2007:487), also appears in belief narratives, mostly in the ones that discuss vampires and the prevention of their return among people: “When the grandfather died, we put poppy seeds in his sock, and when we buried him, the grandmother placed the sock by the coffin and said: ‘When you gather these poppy seeds, then you come home!’ How could he, spilt seeds. No chance” (Radenković, R. 1991:98), “Then, they took a sieve of beans and let the grains from the grave to the river. The dead soul followed the beans and drowned in Krunimir's whirlpool” (Radenković, R. 1991:99).

In incantations and belief narratives, a dog appears both as a defender and as an aggressor. A charm announces an attack on a demonic being: “I will send the angry dogs/ they will tear you apart/ they will destroy you” (Radenković, L. 1996:78). In incantations, the same function is fulfilled by a wolf as well (“there come wolves the newborns, tearing usov apart” (*usov* is a demon of sickness that causes mastitis in human beings and animals) (Radenković, L. 1996:119). In belief narratives, a dog can feel the presence of an otherworldly being, signalling this by barking or by exhibiting unusual behaviour, and it attacks or destroys the demon. This type of activity is also seen in the context of its relation to swear words, a verbal genre also sometimes seen in belief narratives. By interpreting the semantics of the verb “bark”, Boris Uspenski shows the connection between barking and swearing – barking is equivalent to swearing (Uspenski 1994:88–89). Barking, biting, and swearing take the same position in the narrative structure and function – they chase away or destroy the demon: “The dogs were barking at a shadow and when they reached it, the shadow turned into aspic” (Serb. *pihtije,* ‘pork jelly’); “Delča said the swear words and a woman turned into aspic”; “And the dogs tore him apart and what is left now shakes like aspic” (Zlatković 2007:587, 491, 590). A dog behaves as a part of human surroundings, although sometimes it also appears as a demonic being. All of this points to the ambivalence of its status.[16] In belief narratives, this kind of a position is mostly seen in the storyline about a vampire that comes back to his family in a human-like shape (going to the meadow where they collect hay, a woman goes for water and is attacked by a dog that tears a part of her clothes, she comes back and tells her husband about it, he laughs and she can see the strings of her clothes stuck between his teeth (Radenković, R. 1991:54–55, see also: 51–52). In incantations, the demon of sickness is usually a rabid dog (Radenković, L. 1996:258; Zlatanović 2007:504).

What is also included in some narratives is a reference to the ritual chasing away evil otherworldly beings that threaten or have already done harm to humans. Those types of segments usually appear as narrations about a ritual, which includes the incantation, but

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[16]   This animal is very close to the chthonic world, and to chthonic deities (as are the wolf and rooster) (see: Čajkanović 1994:102, 126).

also as narratives about the charm itself. This first form is especially characteristic of narratives with the motif of defence from hail or of the ones about an encounter with a fairy (ZLATKOVIĆ 2007:480–481; MARKOVIĆ 2004:123). The second form characterizes belief narratives where the narrative core (encounter–conflict–consequences) is enriched by a segment that includes an attempt to remove the conflict. In these examples, the narrator talks about the intentions of banning or at least weakening the demonic forces: "When her third child was born, aunt went to some old woman and told her how the Evil One set his mind on her children. The old woman told her to sit by her newborn for three nights in a row and swing a huge knife to chase the devil away from the bed. So she did, and her children didn't die" (RADENKOVIĆ, R. 1991:86).

> "Ow, I'm not well, grandmother Ikonija. I feel sick." "What's the matter, Raka?" "I don't know!" She quickly grabbed the grains, forty-two of them, threw the corn in the sieve and looked: "Alas, Raka, when you went there, the mare wouldn't move, and you wanted to go through by force!" He said: "It's true! The mare just neighed and moved backwards and kicked with its fore legs and I tried to pull onwards!" "Well, Raka, if you had gone through where you had wanted, you would have been dead! That was a fairies' kolo, and if you had stepped on it, you would have been dead, and the mare would have sensed it and stopped!" And she used her charms on him and cast the spell. And he felt relief (...) (MARKOVIĆ 2004:117).

It has been noted that, in some narrative sequences, incantations preserve the basic structural elements of belief narratives, sometimes even the entire structure. For example a man abandons his space, goes to pick up water during a forbidden time and in a forbidden place, gets in contact with an evil being and awakens the aggression aimed at humans and their environment:

> "The fairies forbade the water,
> you couldn't water the cattle,
> you couldn't wash the cloth,
> and I didn't know, so I watered the cattle,
> I washed the cloth, / and encountered the fairies.
> And the fairies burst with anger,
> and put my cattle to flight,
> and smeared my white cloth
> and tore it to shreds.
> I don't regret the cloth,
> but they hit me in the head,
> and struck me down,
> they took everything from me,
> and now I don't see my house,
> I don't recognize the people,
> that's why I cry and stumble in the river" (RADENKOVIĆ, L. 1996:102).

There are even examples of incantations in which this scenario is realized in both types of narration that define the belief narrative – as a memorate and a fabulate ("I didn't know / Mara didn't know") (RADENKOVIĆ, L. 1996:102).

INTERRELATIONS WITH OTHER GENRES

The features belief narratives and incantations share can also be found in other oral genres, in this case, in swearing and cursing. Just like barking, swearing functions both as a defence and an attack. This can be achieved by the way the swearing is uttered (with amplified intensity), but mostly by the content of the verbal utterance and its semantics (Popović Nikolić 2016:77). A frequent form of swearing uses an obscene verb that indicates sexual intercourse. In previous works, some researchers interpret the basic meaning of this verb as relating to the verb "to hit" (Mokienko 1994:60), and in this sense, the relationship between swearing and hurting a demonic being is logical (piercing, tissue destruction, and alike). There is a narrative in which we can witness the murder of an otherworldly being (the tendons below the knees are cut by a black leather-covered knife, Karadžić 1972:304). This is similar to the content of the traditional swearing that directs the action toward the knee of a demon: "May the old woman f..k you in the devil's knee" (Radenković, R. 1991:60), "I go outside and I shout: 'Hey, I f..k you in the devil's knee!'" (Radenković, R. 1991:81). Swearing results in the disappearance or destruction of a demon, and it is also registered as part of an incantation uttered at the moment of healing (Bajburin – Toporkov 1990:106). In incantations, we can see other forms of obscenities, mostly in images of enlarged genital organs, at the sight of which demons disappear, or, for example, in storm defence rituals (showing the naked body, exposing the genital area, see: Agapkina – Toporkov 2001:8, 11).

Cursing also has a simultaneous attacking and protective function, and thus it is sometimes considered in traditional culture as an alternative to swearing or other protective actions (making the sign of the cross, see: Čajkanović 1999:391): "You can defend yourself only if you make the sign of the cross, or swear, or curse" (Petrović 1999:78). In a belief narrative, by cursing, a man defends himself and puts a boundary between himself and a demon (devil: "I hope his home is far from ours", Karanović 1989). On the other hand, in incantations, a curse is usually directed at the total disappearance of the demonic being ("Drain from the top, dry from the roots, I hope you disappear without a trace", Radenković, L. 1996:114).

CONCLUSION

The intertwining of incantations and belief narratives can be found on different levels of organization and in different structural elements of oral "discourse". Since both genres are based on the representation of the parallel existence of two worlds whose overlapping is seen as a disturbance endangering harmony and order (the existence and life of human beings), mutual protagonists and their interrelationships are aligned with traditional beliefs. Their basic motifs, predominantly the ones referring to a wide variety of defences of the human world, are considered as more or less compatible (content, position in discourse, verbal organization). What sets these two genres apart is their form (prose/rhythmic structure), the context they belong to and where they happen (a ritual organized by collective or individual reason), and their basic functions.

The presence of various elements that function as a defence of human existence in different ritual manifestations and the oral forms they contain, as well as ones that do not

represent verbal segments of a ritual, witness the relics of distant relations between oral-artistic forms and magico-religious activities (MELETINSKI 2009). Mainly aimed at the defence of everything related to the existence of humans (birth, life, dying, flora, fauna), these elements have survived in various genres to a larger or smaller extent, depending on different factors. The genres themselves, to a different extent when compared to old or new writings, refer to the existence of a mutual model as their starting point – a belief in the existence of the otherworld, where beings hostile to humans live. The strong influence of this starting point has resulted not only in the preservation of the concept as such but also in various inter-textual connections between independent folklore genres.

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Reviews

MAGYAR, Zoltán: *A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa* [A Catalogue of Hungarian Historical Legends]. 2018, Budapest. Kairosz Kiadó. Volume I–XI. ISBN 978-963-662-951-9

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Zoltán Magyar's 12-volume type- and motif-index is a milestone in Hungarian legend research. Through decades of persistent collecting, fieldwork in unexplored regions, regular inventory of existing collections, review of professional and promotional publications, consideration of historical sources, and the inclusion of unpublished manuscripts by solitary scholars, he created an extensive archive. The material of the collection thus created is systematized into a catalogue. It was a recurring task in Hungarian folkloristics to catalog the genres of oral poetry and to survey the legend tradition. It was one of the subfields of this significant, multifaceted work that has been published: the systematization of the Hungarian historical legend tradition has been accomplished. The decades-long persistent work of a single professional has resulted in a significant handbook.

The legend is the most important among the folklore genres of small epics, characterized by variability, variety, local delimitation, and, consequently, type-clustering; that is, the legend is at once unique yet typical. There are types that are associated with only one region, while others are known nationwide, and many have international parallels. In the 1960s-70s, the international community of folklorists has set itself the goal of organizing legends according to a common criterion. When discussing the conceptual, methodological proposals and cataloging suggestions, researchers familiar with the national material presented a plethora of objections, disputing the plan. As a result, of the discussions, cataloging commenced, which in many countries lead to publications, while elsewhere the material is available in manuscript form. All of the completed legend catalogues were based on national characteristics and are therefore different. Recognizing the problems of systematization, researchers of folk traditions developed different systems in each country, although they all considered the systematization of German legends as an example. The publications released clearly demonstrate that the most adequate way of developing a system for the publication of the material is based on the characteristics of the folklore of a given people. Which is what Zoltán Magyar did: he surveyed the results of European legend research, became acquainted with domestic and international systematization principles and practices – which are not without internal contradictions – and then developed his own method. Of the many international antecedents, he utilized the methods of Bengt af Klintberg and Pirkko-Liisa Rausmaa, while in the index, he referred to Stith Thompson's still indispensable motif-index. In each case, he started out from the genre conventions of the historical legend, being mindful of how far a narrative can be considered a legend, historical legend, belief legend, or fairy tale. In addition,

during the systematization, he had to decide when and to what extent a text can be viewed from a historical perspective and when to classify it as a belief legend. It is an open issue in cataloging whether narratives about mythical heroes and supernatural phenomena are historical legends. Every specialist preparing a catalogue of legends has struggled with borderline cases and faced contradictions. Occasionally, one has to face the fact that folk poetry does not shape the message of the epic according to types or aesthetic categories – this is done by a specialist, and so the rigid categories must be broken. For researchers, the distance between reality and historical memory is a matter of fact. The tradition of what happened or supposedly happened may be associated with elements of morals or faith, and in cataloging may fit into two or even three thematic groups. In oral tradition, legends have survived independently of technical terminology, and common elements of local legends are sometimes linked to a specific person, other times generalized or linked to a geographic location or belief. In the legend cycle of the revolutionary war, for example, legends of miraculous escape are both belief legends and historical legends. Luckily, the motif-index eliminates the inconsistencies in the systematization method. The catalogue lists the variants of each type according to their geographical and regional order from west to east. Volume X, *Motif-index and bibliography,* provides a thematic grouping in alphabetical order. This is how the type- and motif-index listed in the nine volumes forms an integral unit.

Zoltán Magyar created the type- and motif-index based on a collection of 112,000 narratives. When creating the types and configuring the larger thematic units, he utilized the results of previous research and preserved the established vocabulary. This applies to the fundamental question of the research, the definition of legend and historical legend, and the boundaries of the genre. The fundamental theoretical questions are presented not at the beginning of the handbook but after the presentation of the results, in Volume XI, *The system and structure of Hungarian historical legends*. The material of the first nine volumes demonstrates that the author's starting point was not the definition of legend but a summary of the lessons of systematizing a huge body of texts. This is reflected in the entire structure of the completed catalogue. I repeat, Zoltán Magyar starts from data, not from theoretical definitions; he has organized thousands of texts in a way that anyone can recognize, with the help of the references, the various aspects, word usage, type names, concepts, motifs, and the different ways historical legends are connected to each other – the essence of oral tradition. The indexes of the tenth volume and the bibliography provide guidance to the Hungarian historical legend tradition. If a legend consists of many elements – e.g., about the conquest – the motifs and their parallels, the names of people, their local aspects will be found in the index, but not the full text.

How did Zoltán Magyar's present volume enrich Hungarian folkloristics? Folkloric creations that are associated with historical figures, events, or specific locations represent the historical consciousness of the community. By comparing the material of published national catalogues, it has become possible to compare the folklore of different peoples and to present the changes in historical consciousness, from origin myths to memories of recent events. The complex relationship between legends becomes apparent in the very first volume, in the organization of foundation legends. Numerous geographical names preserve the memories of historical events, the formation of castles, the establishment of temples, and various landscape groups. Volume I begins with data from Hungarian chronicles referring to the conquest of Hungary. This is followed by the lore of the origins

of a settlement, the construction of a castle, the foundation of a temple, the destruction/reconstruction of a village. The legend cycle of church construction is particularly rich, which is partly related to treasure tales. Legends usually reflect local historical consciousness, but sometimes they demonstrate that the inhabitants of geographically separate settlements are familiar with the same narrative. Consequently, not all of the data in Volume I, *Foundation legends*, can be considered "foundation" legends in the strict sense of the word, because they include treasure tales, narratives about nationalities and ethnic groups, and numskull tales. Occasionally belief elements add color to origin myths. The author also included the folklore of the origins of famous families and their crests in the foundation legend cycle.

The number of legends associated with historical names is very large, and they logically form an integral unit, so the second volume consists of two parts, essentially in the chronological order of when the individuals lived, from Atilla to the luminaries of the 20th century. In the folklore of famous historical figures, King Matthias is the most popular; considering the number of types, the Habsburgs-related verbal lore is more diverse than the Kossuth and Rákóczi legend cycles. However, if we consider the number of variants, the popularity of the Kossuth legends outweighs the Habsburg legend cycle. The objective information provided by the catalogue reveals new contexts. It is noteworthy that the folklore of Hungarian historical figures occasionally shows significant international parallels. In case the name and activities of the historical person can be linked to a larger theme, their tales are included in the third volume of the catalogue, where we find diverse groups, from dragon-killing heroes, brave female warriors, negative and ambivalent heroes all the way to Hitler, in ten thematic units. Here we find legends of the holy crown, although – in my opinion – these are closer to the theme of holy places and sacred objects, the legends of which are included in the fifth volume. Another big unit of historical legends, the folklore of wars, freedom fights, battles, social conflicts, cataclysms, revolutions and counterrevolutions, is found in the fourth volume. This volume is a rich compendium of the historical events of the 20th century, even though the number of publications and collections available is limited. Zoltán Magyar added little-known narratives to the catalogue and was the first to systematize the legends found in personal experience narratives. The scarce data, particularly on the folkloric aspects of the memories of 20th-century cataclysms, narratives about disgraced women and priests, prison experiences, lynchings, the legends of the Iron Curtain, and typical texts surviving in urban folklore, indicates that further work is needed in this area.

The fifth volume *(Legends, religious myths),* includes the types and motifs of religious myths and legends separate from historical figures. Legends about shrines, miraculous apparitions, persons with supernatural powers, angels, visions, and other religious subjects are organized into 17 groups. Only a small portion of the rich material of folk religiosity is included in the catalogue arranged by historical aspects, such as apparitions linked to specific geographic locations, miracles linked to specific shrines. Supernatural phenomena are an integral part of local legendary lore, which is why Marian apparitions were included in the catalogue not as belief legends but in their historical context. The sixth volume, the subject of which is *Crime and punishment,* contains predominantly belief legends. The themes of turning to stone, sabbath-breaking, false testimony, blasphemy, violation of Christian morality and expectations, and others has nearly 900 motifs in 12 major thematic units. When the complete Hungarian legend catalogue is

finished, narratives of the supernatural will undoubtedly be included among the belief legends.

The seventh – and most extensive – volume covers the prose tradition of *betyár* (outlaw) poetry. In Hungarian historical legend poetry as a whole, *betyár* legends form the richest, most varied and colorful thematic unit. Many outlaws are known by name from records, their lives recorded in testimonies, historical records, registers, and other documents, but there are some who are only known in the oral tradition by their pseudonym. *Betyár* poetry is a fine evidence of the constant changes taking place in folk poetry. Moreover, the Hungarian tradition is further expanded by the outlaws popular among the neighboring peoples, adding even more color to the already rich legend cycle. In addition to registering prominent outlaws by name, the events linked to them have also been typed. Thus, through stories of their origins, becoming outlaws, escapes, bravado, robberies, good deeds, lovers, enemies, helpfulness, prison life, and much more, the seventh volume of the catalogue becomes a colorful registry of the lives of the outlaws, providing an excellent arsenal for a new monograph.

In the eighth volume, the catalogue of *Treasure tales* is arranged into ten smaller groups based on the main characteristic motifs. Treasure tales are partly associated with historical figures, events, local landmarks, although they are predominantly belief legends. Hiding and discovering the treasure, guarding the hiding place, and helpful mythical animals and supernatural characters appear as characteristic motifs not only in legends but also in fairy tales. The relationship between fairy tales and legends is well illustrated by the concordance list. We know that the fairy tale catalogue has cataloged numerous legends and anecdotes, which is why genre boundaries had to be disregarded there as well.

The ninth volume, comprised of mixed topics, covers legends of other geographic phenomena, such as the origins of rivers, waters, caves, tunnels, stories of giants and fairies, or narratives of real-world problems, serfdom, land allotment, and hard-to-categorize topics. From mythical antiquity to historical social processes, memories of the gentry, communism, catastrophes, epidemics, and lawmaking all became the subject of oral tradition. The origin stories of waters, rivers, etc. that were partly included in the first volume, among the foundation legends, were included here based on new criteria, demonstrating the problems of cataloging. The heterogeneous aspects of thematic unit, type, subtype, topos, motif, historicity are difficult to reconcile.

Through this brief presentation, I illustrated the diversity of historical legends and trends in grouping. Indeed, historical figures, phenomena, and events from the age of the Conquest to the 20th century have persisted in memory in large numbers, with varying degrees of significance and frequency. This is well reflected in the catalogue. In cataloging, historical succession is a priority, but a thematic grouping independent of chronological order is also warranted, e.g., in the case of outlaw legends. It is clear from the catalogue that the folklore associated with geographical place names is significantly smaller than the collection of historical legends, even though treasure tales and legends are also part of the local tradition. In the tenth volume, type-, name-, and motif-indexes provide information on the richness, variability, and prevalence of legends. This enormous treasury of folklore, an archive comprising 112,000 texts, through its diversity of types and motifs organized in a catalogue, is evidence of the richness of Hungarian folk poetry and of the rural population's knowledge of history.

The final volume of the catalogue contains the author's studies on legend research, everything concerning the history and premise of the legend catalogue, the genre issues encountered in the course of the work, the distinctions between different sub-genres, and the many questions of heritagization. As mentioned above, this volume gives us an insight into the background of the work, the theoretical problems encountered, the concepts of hero types, and historical and regional articulation. Through decades of persistent and consistent work, Zoltán Magyar has developed a system of historical legends. Drawing on national and international literature and the work of his predecessors, he created his own method, which resulted in the extensive catalogue of legends just published. There may be objections to methodological, theoretical, or practical issues, but the work that has been accomplished is indisputably deserving of recognition. The great merit of the catalogue is a clear overview of the Hungarian historical legend tradition, as well as the fact that through a large amount of data, it represents the historical consciousness preserved in the oral tradition. And he did it all in a readable style, not in a dry gibberish language. The English translation of the types listed in the catalogue opened the door for international comparative folkloristic research. The correlation of Hungarian and international motifs was recorded in the concordance list, and even this simple form demonstrates the more distant connections of Hungarian folklore. The impatient researcher will not easily find the type or motif he or she is looking for at the moment in any catalogue. Difficulties in finding information are well illustrated by the criticisms of the Thompson motif-index. It is good to see that a shorter summary in English is in the works for FFC. We hope that with its various referencing methods, the catalogue of legends compiled by Zoltán Magyar will be an easy-to-understand, usable manual for folklorists and folklore enthusiasts alike.

The catalogue has a prestigious printing and editorial design, and it is a worthwhile work in terms of bibliography as well. Before one looks at the monotonous letters, the elaborately designed book binding provides a great experience. The cover was created by Mónika Koszta based on the decorations of the Reformed Church of Magyarköblös (Cubleșu Someșan) from 1778. The twelve details of the chancel painting provide a visual impression of the complex existence of folk tradition, evoking dimensions beyond legends. In addition to capturing moments of ethnographic collection, the 133 photographs published at the end of the final volume document the memories associated with historical legends, including the petrified footprint of St. Ladislaus' horse, the appearance of the angel, and Jacob's ladder. I can say without exaggeration that Zoltán Magyar's essential handbook has enriched ethnography, comparative folkloristics, historiography, as well as cultural studies.

Domokos, Mariann – Gulyás, Judit (eds.): Az Arany család mesegyűjteménye: Az Arany család kéziratos mese- és találósgyűjteményének, valamint Arany László *Eredeti népmesék* című művének szinoptikus kritikai kiadása. [The Folk Tale Collection of the Arany Family. A Synoptic Critical Edition of the Arany Family's Manuscript Collection of Tales and Riddles and László Arany's *Original Folk Tales*]. 2018, Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont – Universitas Kiadó – MTA Könyvtár és Információs Központ. 737. ISBN 978-963-9671-71-3

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The manuscripts of tales and riddles from the collection of the family of János Arany – one of the most significant poets of 19th-century Hungarian literature – and one of the most influential, classical Hungarian folk tale collections (László Arany: *Original Folk Tales,* Pest, 1862) were edited by Mariann Domokos and Judit Gulyás, two associates of the Institute of Ethnology at the Research Centre for the Humanities. The discovery of the handwritten collections of János Arany's wife (Julianna Ercsey), daughter (Julianna Arany), and son (László Arany) in the middle of the 20th century augmented our knowledge of 19th-century Hungarian textual folklore, for example through the registration of female recorders of tales, or through the later appearance of the handwritten texts in the literary and folkloristic work of János and László Arany.

László Arany's (1844–1898) *Original Folk Tales* (1862) came rather early in the series of folklore collections that also included Hungarian folk tales. Prior to this, there were four publications – two of them in German – which also included excerpts from Hungarian folklore. László Arany's work had a positive reception among contemporary critics, and he himself was a key figure in the discourse on Hungarian folk tales of the second half of the 19th century (he wrote comprehensive treatises and reviews of Hungarian folk tales, and from 1872, he was the co-editor, with Pál Gyulai, of the representative folklore series *Hungarian Folk Poetry Collection*).

In terms of the practice of critical editions of Hungarian folkloristics and literary studies, this volume is unusual in several respects. For an edition to offer a philological and textological treatment of manuscript and print versions of historical folklore texts, along with a detailed history of the origins and reception of the texts and the concurrent reflections and variants of the versions is considered a novelty in Hungarian folkloristic publishing. If we review the Hungarian historical folklore publications of the past nearly two hundred years, we do not see a unified editing concept: there are great differences between editions intended for different audiences, annotated and edited with different disciplinary approaches and rigor. Furthermore, a methodological paradigm shift in folkloristics can be observed in the 19th-20th centuries, which raised further textological issues. One such issue is the authenticity of 19th-century folklore publications, since at the time they did not publish the accurately recorded, verbatim form of a verbal communication but rather the edited versions of texts from different sources modified based on different – primarily aesthetic – aspects. So far, not many case studies have delved into these alteration procedures and modifications.

The main purpose of the editors of this publication is to show the text alteration procedures a folklore text being published goes through. In order to illustrate the process of text alteration, the manuscript and print versions of texts have been mirrored on two-page spreads, reflecting the practice of genetic critical editions that consider text variants to be equal. They also sought to provide a simultaneous presentation of the different versions of manuscripts stemming from various transcriptions (recorder's and subsequent modifications) (by means of indexing). This synoptic method is unique in Hungarian folkloristic editions, and it is also rare in literary editions. Mariann Domokos and Judit Gulyás considered Heinz Rölleke's Grimm edition published more than forty years ago (*Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm. Synopse der handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810 und Erstdrucke von 1812.* Herausgegeben und erläuert von Heinz Rölleke, 1975, Cologny Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer [The oldest fairy tale collection by the Brothers Grimm. Synopsis of the original handwritten version from 1810 and first edition from 1812. Edited and annotated by Heinz Rölleke]) as a precursor to their work, for the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812) [Children's and Household Tales] fairy tale collection of the Brothers Grimm is similar in many respects to László Arany's collection, *Original Folk Tales*, published in 1862. László Arany's collection can also be considered a written tale *(Buchmärchen)* because it contains folk tales that have undergone a writer's intervention, and its narrative mode is intended to represent the oral tradition. Moreover, its procedures of text formulation, canonization, and influences (popularization of fairy tale sujets, narrative mode) are similar to the German edition. At the same time, Mariann Domokos and Judit Gulyás did not follow the notation system and the continuous publication method of the German folk tale scholar Rölleke. In the case of *The Folk Tale Collection of the Arany Family,* they sought to match the content of the manuscript versions with those of the published text versions on the spreads, often using layout design to facilitate parallel reading and enabling the reader to follow along the text modification procedures.

Another interesting feature of the publication, as well as the result of serious philological work, is that it offers a collection of handwritten notes from different members of a family rather than a single person. It deserves special mention that most manuscripts were produced by the female members (mother and daughter) of the intellectual Arany family, most of them having been published in later editions with minor modifications. This is an interesting point because Hungarian research has little information about 19th-century Hungarian storytellers, especially female storytellers and recorders.

The result of ten years of work, the more than seven-hundred-page book has been penned by four authors: the core material – 34 tales and 79 riddles in manuscript and print versions – was edited by Mariann Domokos and Judit Gulyás, who also contributed a collaborative study of the origins and reception history of the collection, as well as annotated the fairy tale manuscripts. Literary historian Zoltán Hermann wrote a chapter on the methods of fairy tale publication and textualization procedures. Katalin Vargha, who is also a fellow at the Institute of Ethnology at the Research Centre for the Humanities, annotated the riddles. At the end of the volume, there are two useful addenda as an appendix: a table containing key data of the Arany family's tales (title of the print and manuscript version, recorder, manuscript reference, fairy tale type) and a 64-item list about the fairy tale volumes and re-publications released under the name of László Arany. This is followed by photographs of the members of the Arany family and of the manuscripts, followed by an English summary and index.

A longer introductory study by the authors, who have published several preliminary studies in recent years, addresses a number of issues, sometimes questioning the claims of previous research. We find out about the history of the adventurous discovery and identification of the manuscripts, the nature, properties, location, and origin of the manuscripts. Next up are biographical sketches examining the nature of the mother's (Mrs. János Arany, 1818–1885) and the female sibling's (Julianna Arany, 1841–1865) literacy. Domokos and Gulyás not only enumerate results that can be substantiated by data but also provide further research opportunities on the topic with further questions and aspects that have received less consideration to date. An interesting question is, for example, whether the recorders recorded their own repertoire of tales or the fairy tale repertoire of an unknown person. What role did the father, János Arany, play in shaping the collection? Or is it possible that it was originally János Arany's request that his family members record tales for an anthology intended as a textbook but eventually unpublished? What does the term "original" in the title of the collection mean or the "collected by" before the name of László Arany? Besides these questions, the introductory study also addresses the Arany family's repertoire of tales, János Arany's interpretation of tales, the publication of the manuscripts and their contemporary reception, as well as László Arany's interpretation of tales in the light of his later works. To address these issues, one of the authors' greatest resources was the correspondence of the members of the Arany family, the exploration and analysis of which was also a complex task. The annotations for the tales are inspiringly diverse, covering the manuscript details for each text, details of the recorder(s), 19th-century publication data (other than the *Original Folk Tales* collection, was it published elsewhere, in a textbook, or a broadsheet), and providing a genre and type definition and a detailed description of the 19th-century Hungarian variants of the specific tales. The annotations are followed by a glossary of names and terms and folklore references.

Today's folkloristic genre structure was not in place in the 19th century; in this period, riddles were also referred to as fairy tales, and they can be considered as functionally related because following a storytelling event, shorter, more entertaining folklore genres were also preformed in order to keep the listeners' attention. Similar practices can be found in other folklore collections of the period, although there is no data on the specific genre ideas and volume concepts of László Arany. Of the 79 manuscript riddles, 54 have been included in Arany's volume as well, the annotations of the riddles being slightly different from those of the fairy tales – here we find information on first appearances and variants, in addition to data about the manuscript and its recorder.

A result of ten years of work, this publication not only provides an opportunity for comparative textual research – its stated aim – but also opens up new avenues for research into mediality, women's roles, or even constructed national textual tradition.

OLOSZ, Katalin (ed.): Nagyszalontai népballadák és epikus énekek 1912–1919. [Folk Ballads and Epic Songs from Nagyszalonta 1912–1919]. 2018, Cluj Napoca: Kriza János Society. 474. ISBN 978-973-843-998-6

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This volume is an ethnographic collection based on an archival source, i.e., it actually exists in a dual mode: on the one hand, it is defined by the principles of preservation and rules of publishing of archival sources, and on the other, it provides a glimpse into an old ethnographic collection and the condition of the texts at that moment in time.[1] This hybrid phenomenon should not be too surprising as it is nothing new. Târgu Mureș's outstanding folklorist Katalin Olosz has recently published text editions that were the result of such salvage operations, all of them being ethnographic publications based on archival or database research, thereby outlining the format of a separate oeuvre. The number of these works has now been expanded by another piece, a volume that provides an opportunity to learn about the state of things from a century ago. Fortuitously aligned with the 2017 Arany anniversary, Katalin Olosz has now published an earnestly novel, nay – no exaggeration – sensational work: a collection that may owe its existence to Arany (more precisely, the Arany cult) but whose significance goes far beyond that. On the initiative of a high school teacher, Zsigmond Szendrey, and with the involvement of the students of the local state high school, a large-scale collecting campaign took place in Nagyszalonta between 1912 and 1919, primarily for the collection of epic folk poetry, which to this day has not been published in its entirety. This project has a special place in the context of ballad collection. After all, as noted by Katalin Olosz in the introductory study accompanying the book, such a large amount of epic folk poetry material has not been collected in any other settlement on the Great Plain, and Nagyszalonta would not have received such special attention if the village (which was not even a village...) had not had a famous son like János Arany. The fate of the collection clearly illustrates this untold provenance: after all, what was eventually published in the Hungarian Folklore Collection (for one volume was published as no. XIV in the series: *The Nagyszalonta Collection,* collected by the Hungarian division of Folklore Fellows in Nagyszalonta, edited by Zsigmond Szendrey with the assistance of Zoltán Kodály, published by the Kisfaludy Society, Budapest, Athenaeum, 1924) shows the result of a selection that sought to trace the precursors of Arany's ballads and poetry in the folk poetry material – i.e., only interested in the archaic. Consequently, almost all the material of the new-style ballads was left out of the volume, painting an uneven picture of Nagyszalonta's folklore. As a result of this solution, an important feature remained hidden, primarily because early 20th-century Arany-scholarship was interested in something else: at that time, the potential folkloric origins of Arany's works seemed very important, and that is

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what the contemporary scholars sought to present. Thus, they were looking for an old-style layer of ballads that might have influenced Arany, failing to pay attention to what seems to be really important from today's point of view and what this volume eloquently demonstrates: that Arany grew up surrounded by a living and productive folklore knowledge. Of course, folk ballads that could not have influenced Arany because they emerged around the time of Arany's death (or even after Arany's death), such as the ballad of the girl who fell into the thresher (pp. 307–309), may illustrate the process of the development of folklore, which also gives rise to important conclusions about Arany's earlier, childhood period: for Arany, the world of folklore was not an outdated world, a world that only existed in the stories of elders, but a living, constantly evolving and expanding, recent experience. Therefore, it is a very important development that Katalin Olosz is not presenting this material through such an ideologically grounded preliminary filter but by providing a glimpse of the former collection in its entirety, even embracing the contingencies resulting from the inexperience of the child-collectors and the 19th-century approach to folklore of their supervisor, Szendrey. It is a very significant revelation, even if it is understandable why the material remained unpublished at the time. Not only were those interested in the old-style ballads disappointed by some of the material that had been collected, the professionalism of the notation also left much to be desired. The accompanying study presents in a very thorough and convincing way how Zsigmond Szendrey, the initiator of the collection, tried to collect the epic poetry material in Nagyszalonta based on outdated principles, how unprepared and sometimes misguided his student collectors were, and how Kodály, who came to Nagyszalonta to supplement the collection, faced these shortcomings in the spirit of an entirely different concept of collection. And that the conflict between him and Szendrey eventually undermined the whole project. Of course, this was still the source of Kodály's material for his Nagyszalonta collection, which, fortunately, was published about a decade and a half ago: *Kodály Zoltán nagyszalontai gyűjtése* [Zoltán Kodály's Nagyszalonta Collection], compiled and edited for publication by Olga Szalay – Márta Rudasné Bajcsay, Budapest, Balassi – Magyar Néprajzi Társaság, 2001 (Magyar Népköltési Gyűjtemény [Hungarian Folklore Collection]. Új folyam. XV). And now that Szendrey's collection is finally published – despite its methodological inadequacies – the picture has finally become more complete. Katalin Olosz made a very good decision in publishing the collected material with the contingencies that Kodály had rightly criticized, for it is now an irreplaceable, long-lost folklore treasure.

The thorough text edition seeks to reproduce the textual state that the collector once recorded – though Katalin Olosz points out that Kodály's criticism was justified when he complained about the inaccuracies of the collection. Either because the amateur collectors were inaccurate in the dialectical rendition, or because they ignored the tune, and not only did they fail to record it but the text was written down based on prose dictation. Which, in fact, could result in serious rhythmic errors or text corruption. However, the editor did not try to correct all this – a hundred years later, it would have been a futile reconstruction effort anyway. After all, even Kodály, the contemporary did not succeed in making this correction.

The volume is accompanied by a very detailed and meticulous study, which describes a number of important and little (or inaccurately) known scientific historical contexts. From Zsigmond Szendrey's status to the ambitious but only partially realized plans

of the Folklore Fellows movement, or to such interesting dilemmas as to what led to the dramatic career collapse of Gyula Sebestyén, the editor of the Hungarian Folklore Collection, who played an important role in the publishing (or lack thereof) of this collection. I have already briefly mentioned one of the most important analytical aspects of the study: Zoltán Kodály, sent to Nagyszalonta to supplement the Szendrey collection, was supposed to supplement the missing tune collection, in which he did not succeed. Firstly, because it was already a methodologically highly problematic undertaking (retroactively searching for tunes of previously collected ballads), and secondly, because the different folklore perceptions and habitus of Szendrey and Kodály made collaboration almost impossible. Thus, Kodály's own collection paints a completely different picture of Nagyszalonta's folklore than the material published in this volume.

It is the publication's foremost value that Katalin Olosz is able to identify the students participating in the collection in the form of a database, and she even has information on some of the informants. This collection is a very important supplement to embed in any study, and similar virtues can be found in Katalin Olosz's previous editions (such as in the following: Sámuel Szabó: Erdélyi néphagyományok 1863–1884 [Transylvanian Folk Traditions 1863–1884], the scattered legacy of Sámuel Szabó and his collectors' circle collected, edited, introduced and annotated by Katalin Olosz], Budapest – Marosvásárhely, Európai Folklór Intézet [European Folklore Institute] – Mentor Kiadó, 2009).

The book also offers some major updates with respect to János Arany – just a bit elsewhere than the earlier scholarship was looking. A literary historian is perhaps most appreciative of these findings. Katalin Olosz's notes address Arany-related issues almost everywhere, but it may not be superfluous to comment on some of them, as these notes could have benefitted from a more deliberate engagement with the available literary history scholarship.

The Nagyszalonta collection includes the folk ballad *The Dead Groom* (pp. 115–116), which can be identified as a belief ballad and is partially in verse form with some prose bridges. In terms of its *sujet*, this is one of the important precursors of *Bor vitéz* [Wine warrior] – which, for example, is not mentioned in the notes. The text is a significant discovery because all parallels referenced to date in the available literature have their origins in literature (in fact, specifically world literature), a parallel in a local folk ballad, however, makes Arany's sensitivity to the subject matter more understandable. With the refined poetic form – unprecedented in Hungarian poetry – of the so-called "Malay pantun" that this ballad employs, Arany follows the example of Chamisso's poetry (i.e., a German literary model), and does not even attempt to follow the poetic form of fragmentary folk ballads or to imitate any form known in Hungarian folklore – that is, he considers the popular text merely as a starting point, not an end goal to be achieved. It would require a more critical comment to clarify whether Arany's poem can indeed be classified as a so-called Lenore type, as it is usually classified (although this is not a deficiency attributable to the volume, for *Bor vitéz* itself is not even mentioned at all). Namely, *Lenore*, having become a folkloristic type because of Bürger's famous poem, is only loosely related to Arany's poem (though it can be more accurately projected onto the folk ballad in this volume) and these differences deserve more careful consideration. After all, this is what allows us to grasp the individual, non-folklore-dependent character of *Bor vitéz* and thus bring us closer to Arany's poetic conception. I addressed this in a recent study (although the volume does not register this, yet it is not unsurprising, given

their parallel composition): Márton Szilágyi: Arany, Chamisso, Bürger: Arany János: Bor vitéz. In "Óhajtom a classicus írók tanulmányát": Arany János és az európai irodalom ["I Desire the Study of Classical Writers": János Arany and European Literature], ed. János Korompay H., Budapest, Research Centre for the Humanities – Universitas, 2017, 233–243. By the way, the emergence of this folk ballad is a major revelation as it suggests the likelihood of Arany's familiarity with the adaptation of the topic in a *sujet* commonly referred to as the Lenore version, and that besides Bürger's poem, this tradition may have been at his disposal as well – and in response, he created a completely unique ballad structure that is not even repetitive in itself.

The volume includes seven versions of the folk ballad *Three Orphans* (pp. 101–106). This could be a key to several Arany poems, and more specifically, it illuminates the psychological background of the texts that can be linked with Júlia Szendrey. It is very difficult to reconstruct Arany's view of Júlia Szendrey in its detail and nuances, but it is certain that the poet judged her in the light of her relationship with Petőfi: he accepted her with profound compassion as the bride of his friend, and was disappointed by the news of her second marriage, not even trying to understand the woman's arguments – not otherwise made public – for re-marrying. In any event, he never went as far as confronting Júlia Szendrey. (For more on this issue, see Emese Gyimesi: Szendrey Júlia és Arany János kapcsolata. "Ősszel": Arany János és a hagyomány [The Relationship between Júlia Szendrey and János Arany. "In Autumn": János Arany and Tradition], ed. Márton Szilágyi, Budapest, Universitas, 2018, 129–152.) Traditionally, literary history (and the wider literate public) has regarded the poem *The Soldier's Widow* as a poetic reaction to the news of the marriage; however, it is important to note that Arany never published this work in any journal, nor did he include it in any of his volumes in his lifetime. There are only two poems in Arany's entire oeuvre that may be related to this experience. On the one hand, the poem *Orphan Boy* (already included in the first, 1856 edition of *Minor Poems*), and on the other, the fragment called *The Widower's Orphans.* The seven different versions, included in Katalin Olosz's book under the heading *Three Orphans,* suggest that the folk ballad of children orphaned due to a new marriage was a well-known text in Nagyszalonta. These texts also clearly illuminate one of the aspects of Arany's composition method. In fact, *The Widower's Orphans* fragment shows that Arany made no attempt to imitate the form of the folk ballad, but instead wanted to attain a more detailed, epic narrative like the ones in his verse-tales. The work that appears to be related to these texts in its form and rhetorical structure, however, is *Orphan Boy,* which, in its content, is only loosely associated with the *sujet* of the folk ballad (according to its reception, no one considered this as a poem aimed at Júlia Szendrey, partly because of the recognizability of the folkloric precursor). So Arany was not actually attempting a precise imitation in this case either; rather, he immediately transformed a ready-made verse in order to create a different artistic structure. Regardless, a *sujet* familiar from the oral tradition may have very likely been helpful in composing a ballad that contains such a strong moral judgment.

The text of *The Husband Killer* (pp. 205–206) was already known, having been published by Zsigmond Szendrey at the time: *Sára néném* [Aunt Sára], Ethnographia 31 (1920), No. 1–6, 59–60. In this folk ballad, a woman named Sára tries to clean the bedsheets that were stained when her husband was murdered by ceaselessly washing them. It is not hard to recognize the ballad's *sujet* as the precursor to *Ágnes asszony*

[Mrs. Ágnes]. But nothing more than that, because in this case, too, it is Arany's artistic and not at all imitative composition that catches the eye. In fact, even the title of Arany's ballad reflects the well-thought-out metaphorical construction here, for perhaps it is no accident that instead of Sára, Ágnes became the title character of the ballad. The name choice may be related to the etymology of the name, the Latin word *agnus* meaning "lamb", which can simultaneously convey the guilt and victimhood of the protagonist (for my interpretation of the poem, which this point fits perfectly, see Márton Szilágyi: "Mi vagyok én?" Arany János költészete ["What Am I?" The Poetry of János Arany], Budapest, Kalligram, 2017, 227–229).

And coming back to the fact that Arany had been surrounded by a living tradition in Szalonta: text 124, *Rózsa Sándor, Rózsa Sándor hova lettél* [Sándor Rózsa, Sándor Rózsa where did you go] (pp. 233–234), is a folklorized poem of Arany's unrecognized as such by the editor, so this connection is not mentioned in the notes. Albeit, the situation is very interesting, considering that Arany did not include this poem in any of his volumes but did publish it in a pulp magazine in 1848. It was included in the publication that Arany offered to Bertalan Szemere for distribution: Szabadság zengő hárfája. A magyar fiatalságnak Arany János [Freedom's Sweet Sound. To the Hungarian Youth, by János Arany], Debreczen: Lajos Telegdy, 1849. There were two poems in this publication: the ones starting with [Haj, ne hátra…] and [Rózsa Sándor, Rózsa Sándor…]. The booklet and the poems published in it were virtually excluded from his oeuvre in Arany's lifetime (in the absence of re-publication), but their contemporary publication may have had a greater effect; for this, see István Seres: Karikással a szabadságért: Rózsa Sándor és betyárserege 1848-ban [Bullwhip for Freedom: Sándor Rózsa and his Company of Bandits in 1848], Békéscsaba, Békés Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2012, 168–170. I published the most recent autograph letter and its attachments that were sent to Szemere, although some of its elements were not previously unfamiliar: Márton Szilágyi: Egy többször elfelejtett (s újrafölfedezett) Arany-levél és vers-mellékletei [A Repeatedly Forgotten (and Rediscovered) Arany Letter and its Verse Attachments], ItK, 2018, Issue 2, 205–216. Therefore, in this case, the influence of pulp on the folklore of Nagyszalonta can be demonstrated from the perspective of half a century. It is also probable that, at least locally, it might have influenced Arany's attempt at popular education that he sought to accomplish at the time: to contribute sophisticated literary texts to the propaganda of the Revolution of 1848 and the ensuing freedom fight. It is also worth noting that what was current news at the time (in a peculiar and, of course, only temporary "about-face", Sándor Rózsa the outlaw becomes a freedom fighter) gets incorporated into folklore in a few decades' time as a quasi-outlaw poem, blending into the genre repertoire of the Great Plain bandit romance, as well as, of course, the by then concluded and legendized life story of Sándor Rózsa. This change of function is very interesting, even if the composition procedures of folklorization have left relatively little trace on this particular poem. And this process is greatly nuanced by the publication of prose narratives about Pista Fábián, as well as the publication of Zsigmond Szendrey's hitherto unpublished paper on Nagyszalonta outlaw ballads as an appendix.

And this question, as well as the mention of Pista Fábián, leads us to a very significant philological curiosity of the volume. Katalin Olosz rightly draws attention to the importance of Arany presenting himself to the public as a "collector of folklore" in 1851 (p. 349). He published a text called *Fábján Pista nótája* [The Song of Pista Fábján]

in the short-lived publication called *Remény* [Hope], edited by Imre Vahot (Vol. I, 1851, No. 6, pp. 334–336). István Fábián was a locally famous bandit in Nagyszalonta, and in his note to the poems, Arany said that the second text had been dictated by Fábián himself to a "town clerk" (i.e., town employee) after his capture, "as the communicator surely knows". Katalin Olosz reasonably concludes that this might be referring to Arany himself, meaning that the "communicator" and the recording "town clerk" may have been the same person. Dictation-based notation, which the commentary emphasizes, makes Arany's attempt comparable to one of the widely practiced but hard-to-define folklore collection methods of the era – after all, acquiring a text and retroactively writing it down from memory was one of the possible notation modes in the mid-19th century. Through the gesture of publishing, Arany made his direct connection to the outlaw ballads more apparent, even though there was virtually no trace of it in his oeuvre. The significance of Katalin Olosz's edition is that the poem's text itself and Arany's commentary on it can finally be read simultaneously and in context – even the critical edition did not accomplish this. However, I did not find this little source information in the critical edition; Arany's note (and only that) can exclusively be found in a rather obscure place, in the repository of the first volume of his correspondence: Arany János levelezése (1828–1851) [The Correspondence of János Arany (1828–1851)], ed. Györgyi Sáfrán – Gyula Bisztray – István Sándor, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975 (Arany János Összes Művei [The Complete Works of János Arany], vol. XV), 887. The poems themselves were not reproduced in the critical edition, though this, too, would not have been irrelevant. Therefore, they should be included in the forthcoming new critical edition, in my view at least in the appendix to the first volume of the poems.

Of course, these few remarks could hardly exhaust all of the abundant lessons of the Nagyszalonta ballad volume. Indeed, that was not my goal. I merely wanted to draw attention to a publication which is probably one of the most valuable achievements of the Arany Memorial Year, and which will provide new ideas for understanding the complex relationship between János Arany and the tradition of folklore for a very long time.

Pócs, Éva (ed.): *The Magical and Sacred Medical World*. 2019, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars. 525. ISBN 978-1-5275-2252-7

Anna J. Tóth
National Széchényi Library

The writings of the present volume are based on the papers of "The Magical and Sacred Medical World" conference organized by the Department of Ethnography of the University of Pécs in 2009. The aim of both the conference and the book was to give a more complete picture of the sacred and magical aspects of ethnomedicine. The subject areas of the studies embrace magical and religious concepts of health and illness, healing rituals, as well as divinities and places that carry a specific healing power. The authors examine the role these concepts play in society, religion and everyday life and their representations in folklore, art and literature; they adopt an interdisciplinary method,

applying the approaches of medicine, folklore and religious studies. The chronological horizon of the volume is wide; in addition to the modern research based on the authors' fieldwork, other studies are devoted to historical source materials from the antiquity to the modern age.

The volume is divided into four major thematic units dedicated to the issues of the disease, the healer, the healing divinity or saint, and the medicine. The studies of the first part place the focus on the different concepts of illness. The potential demonic cause behind a disease is what places the concepts of health and illness in a sacred context. The agent of this harmful influence can be a human being, a demon, or a dualistic being combining the qualities of both, e.g., a witch or a vampire.

Jean Riviere's study, *"Hag-riding": Demons of Desire or Symptoms of Disease?,* deals with the incubus demon causing nightmares (Mahr, mara) and the attitude with which this phenomenon was treated in the medical literature of early modern England. She presents the ways the concepts of demonic assault and mental illness coexisted and mutually influenced each other. Svetlana Tsonkova' writing, *Burnt without Fire,* examines a disease demon called *nezhit* that appears in medieval and modern Bulgarian charm texts. The *nezhit* and the narrative charms applied against him have close parallels in ancient oriental demons of the type of Lillith or Gello, but unlike them, the *nezhit* is a male figure. Laura Iancu *(World View, Religion and Disease in Magyarfalu)* summarizes the results of her fieldwork in a village in Moldova called Magyarfalu (Arini). She analyses the demonic entities called *rossz* (evil) and *nem tiszta* (not pure), which play a central role in the understanding of disease in this community. She describes the beliefs associated with these demons, the circumstances that make the evil influences especially strong, and the magico-religious efforts for healing. Katerina Dysa's study, *Magical Causes of Illnesses,* examines the beliefs related to diseases caused by witchcraft and to magical healings. While exploring source material from Ukraine and Poland, from the 17th and 18th centuries, she analyses the cases of performing *maleficium* and healing through the tensions and conflicts within these religious communities. Ádám Mézes' writing, *Georg Tallar and the 1753 Vampire Hunt,* focuses on the figure of the vampire as a cause of disease in the first half of the 18th century. A medical investigation was initiated by the Habsburg court in 1753 in reaction to the panic provoked by "vampire-attacks" among Rumanians and Serbs in the Bánát region. The leading physician, Georg Tallar, summarized his experiences in his work, *Visum Repertum,* a work that looked into the causes of the hysteria from the viewpoint of an intellectual of the Enlightenment. József Gagyi, in his study *She Condemned Me, so that I Die,* deals with the explanations given for diseases and their causes in the contemporary villages of Szekler Land. While alternative causations lived alongside each other, the community gave preference to a breach of taboo rather than an explanation of disease based on bewitchment.

The second part of the volume focuses on the person of the healer and his rituals, whether they be rural healers or elite clerical or lay healers. This part provides the broadest insight into its subject, embracing case studies from the oracle of Delphi to Vietnamese shamans and the healers of the post-Soviet region.

Christa Tuczay's writing, *Divination by Spirits and Spirit Mediumship in the Middle Ages,* deals with divination in trance as practiced in ancient Greece and in medieval German literature. The terminology used for persons healing and prophesying in mediumic trance came partly from Old and Middle High German, and partly it was

based on ancient Greek and Latin loan words, e.g., *pythonissa, engastromythia, ventriloquism*. Ane Ohrvik's study, *Understanding Medical Knowledge and Practice,* examines Norwegian magical manuscripts from the 18th–19th centuries called Cyprian-books or Black-books that contain charms and practical instructions for healing, and she analyses the roles of the different types of healers. Madis Arukask's writing, *Talking to Vepsian tedai,* describes the life, beliefs and magical practice of a contemporary Vepsian seer. Gábor Vargyas *(Magic and Counter-magic and the Social Position of the Bru Shaman-sorcerer)* deals with the ambivalence of the character of the shaman in the Bru tribe of Vietnam. While the figure of the shaman usually appears in scholarship as a benevolent helper, the potentials for healing and harming inevitably coexist, forming an inherent part of the social functions of the shaman. Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi's writing, *The Quran, Spirits and Bioenergy: On Heligious healing in Uzbekistan,* presents the resurgence of religious healing in Uzbekistan in the post-Soviet era. This revival was a reaction to the collapse of the health care system of the former Soviet Union which made modern medicine unavailable for major segments of the population. The study provides a description of the activities of several traditional healers who combine the use of the Quran in their practice with the terminology of modern Russian parapsychology.

The next two writings focus on the practice of official exorcism in the Church, which is functionally analogous to folk healing methods and may have been intended to provide an appropriate replacement for them. Dániel Bárth's study, *Benedictions Serving Early Modern Benedictine Medicine,* analyses a still unpublished manuscript of the Pannonhalma Abbey in Hungary written in the 17th century. The texts of the manuscript were categorized as mixed blessings, exorcisms, blessings against malevolent charms, and healing rituals. In the last group, the blessings were combined with the methods of homeopathic magic. In his study, Bárth publishes and analyses these latter texts and attempts to identify their author. Tünde Komáromi, in her study *Exorcism in the Trinity-Sergius Lavra,* summarizes the results of her fieldwork in Russia and presents the exorcisms practiced in a monastery near Moscow, giving a detailed description of the rituals and the participating clerics, touching on the role of exorcism in contemporary popular orthodoxy.

The third part of the volume focuses on the gods and saints who can restore health or punish the violation of norms with illness. Mirjam Mencej's writing, *Mythical Beings Punishing the Breaking of Taboos on Spinning,* deals with the goddess-like transcendent beings widely known in Europe who punish the violation of certain taboos, especially the prohibition of spinning on certain days, with disease or even death. This group includes Lucia, Perchta, Holle, the *Friday women* of the Slavic peoples, and, to some extent, the Fates of classical Greece. Emanuela Timotin's study, *Divine Healers in Romanian Manuscript Charms,* analyses the role of the healing saints in the MS charm-texts of the 17th-19th centuries. The most popular saints were Saint Cyprian of Antioch, Saint Nicetas, Saint Cosmas and Damian, and the archangels. In her study *Dream Healing: The Nocturnal World of Healing and Bewitchment,* Éva Pócs examines the role of dreams in a broader, pan-European perspective, highlighting cases of dream-healing that takes place spontaneously, without preparatory rituals linked to certain sacred spots; then she addresses the forms of ritual incubation, where the healer can be a god, the dead, or the fairies; and finally she deals with the dream world appearing in the legal documents of witchcraft trials. Albena Georgieva's writing, *Miraculous Healing at Sacred Places,*

presents the incubations and other healing rituals practiced in Bulgarian churches and monasteries, describing the rituals themselves and the related narratives.

The fourth part of the volume, while giving a glimpse into the toolkit of sacred and spiritual healing, guides us through the millennia of European magic. Three studies take their themes from antiquity: Nora Zergi's writing, *An Attempt to Identify Homer's "Moly" as Mandrake,* gives an explanation for a famous passage in Homer, where the god Hermes gives a plant called *moly* to Odysseus to neutralize Circe's potion. Based on the symptoms and the botanically precise descriptions of both the *moly* and the potion, the author pulls them out of the realm of myth and identifies them with real drugs.

Anna Tóth's writing, *Telesma and Stoicheion: Magical Statues in Byzantium,* presents a belief wide-spread in the late antiquity in Byzantium whose origins date back to Neoplatonic philosophy. According to this magical theory based on authentic philosophy, certain rituals can bestow statues in public spaces with the power to defend entire cities from diseases or natural disasters.

Ildikó Csepregi's study, *Pork as a Wonder Drug, or Religious Taboo as Magical Medicine,* examines a specific motif of incubation dreams that can be found both in pagan and Christian sources of the late antiquity, namely the cases where a saint or a divinity prescribes pork as medicine. Occasionally, this cure forces a Jewish patient to convert to Christianity, but pork as medicine was already present in the cult of Asclepius, as an instance of the theme where purification was enabled by means of an impure material.

The last two writings bring us back to the present. Judit Kis-Halas's study, *Soldiers of Christ on Earth and in Heavenly Jerusalem,* deals with so-called psychotronics or spirit-surgery based on case studies from Baranya county, Hungary. She describes the methods of this popular esoteric healing method, as well as its characteristic mythology and soul-concept formed under the influence of theosophy, which bears some shamanistic traits in the form of a spiritual journey to the heavenly Jerusalem. The last study, *Integrating Ancient and Modern Healing Concepts in Tandem Hypnotherapy,* is the work of psychiatrists József Vas and Noémi Császár; it presents a form of therapeutic hypnosis, which utilizes certain archaic elements of spirituality for medical purposes.

It is impossible, of course, to exhaust every possible aspect of such a ubiquitous topic in a single volume. However, the heterogeneous and colorful material provides a representative cross-section of contemporary European research, and it can bring the reader closer to the crucial questions of folk medicine.

Thematic Issue:

Verbal Charms and Narrative Genres

Guest Editors: María Palleiro and Éva Pócs

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