

**TRINITY COLLEGE • THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN**

**COLOUR TERMS IN RUSSIAN HEALING CHARMS AS  
EXPRESSIONS OF ILLNESS AND HEALTH**

Doctor of Philosophy Degree

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## Declaration

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## Abstract

Healing charms have been in use for more than a thousand years and are part not only of Russian folklore, but also of the Russian folk healing system.

This thesis explores the semantics of colour terms in healing charms, where these charms are conceptualised as part of the healing knowledge of the Russian people and as such exemplify the concepts of illness and wellness in that folk tradition. This study focuses on a selection of healing charms from Northern Russia as this archaic Slavic area is an important part in the Slavic ethnogenesis. The thesis examines the evaluative and symbolic meanings of colour terms in the research data and their broad spectrum of connotations in the healing charm texts. It documents and interprets the way the participants in the healing process attempted to make sense of the world in its complexity and depth through healing words and actions.

Combining Anglophone and Russian-speaking scholarship, the study is based on two main academic fields: folkloristics and colour semantics. It also draws on the fields of medical anthropology, literary studies, and linguistics. This facilitates the exploration of colour terms within the framework of both the Russian folk worldview and the charm world, while also analysing charm language as speech act.

This study adopts Berlin and Kay's (1969) four primary criteria for Basic Colour Terms as well as Davis and Corbett's (1995) elicitation and mapping procedures. These enable us to carry out an in-depth investigation of colour terms in healing charms and to uncover the cultural and medical significance of references to colour in these texts.

This thesis offers new insights into the semantics of colour terms as part of healing knowledge and their functioning in the process of healing.

This thesis also offers English-speaking scholars the opportunity to become acquainted with a corpus of Russian healing charms from Northern Russia since very few charm texts have been published in English translation.

## **Acknowledgement**

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. MOTIVATION

In traditional Russian culture, healing knowledge and processes performed an important social function for the whole community. It was a harsh world, believed to be ruled by spirits and other supernatural forces. People learned to adapt to this hostile world, learned to appease maleficent forces and thank benign ones. Verbal charms were part of this process, a way of coping with misfortunes, illnesses, and the anxieties of everyday life. Healing charms formed an important part of people's healing knowledge and, as such, played an equally important role in the healing process, along with the ritual actions and auxiliary aids used in the rituals. This study addresses and seeks to understand the presence of colour in healing charms as concepts of illness and health.

The question we address in this thesis is: do colour terms have any significance in the representation and description of illness and health in healing charms in Russian folklore? Do they form a part of the healing process as a whole?

My interest in this subject began with a personal experience from my childhood.

I was about 5 years old when I had an acute pharyngitis. My illness caused great concern to my family as not only were my tonsils red, swollen and inflamed, but the outer lymph nodes in my neck were also swollen to the size of a small egg. It looked like I had small lumps on both sides of my neck.

It was the early 1980's, the middle of the summer. We lived in one of the republics of the Soviet Union, in a small town where everyone knew each other. There was a routine to life there.

People went to work, children attended school, the town had many gatherings for both the adults and the children.

At that time, it was official Party policy that religion was not practiced in the Soviet Union. However, away from the big cities, small churches still existed and were attended in secret. Like churches, so-called healers or *babki* (literal translation – old women) existed in secret. These women (they were mostly middle-aged or elderly women) were difficult to find, because the state had banned such 'treatments', so only by making inquiries among trusted people could one find the way to the healer's house.

When I got sick, I was taken to a doctor who initially tried to treat me with anti-inflammatory pills, later switching to antibiotics when the first approach to treating my throat and neck was unsuccessful. Antibiotics also did not give the desired results, and the doctors recommended my family to agree to an operation, because the swollen throat caused me a lot of pain and I felt as if I was choking. As a last resort, it was decided to take me to a healer, whose location my family managed to find by asking acquaintances and friends from all over the region.

To get to the healer, first, we had to go to the main city of the district. Once we got there we had to go to another part of the city where, after passing the city hospital, a little country road took us out of the city. I still remember this trip on a warm summer day. I remember we passed the bakery; the air was full of the smell of freshly baked bread. I remember the dusty country road, birches on the left side of the road. The next thing I remember is that I was sitting on a chair in the middle of a medium size room. It was a typical room in a country house, scarcely furnished, which seemed unusual to me. I remember being very worried and probably excited at the same time but not scared. I do not remember what the healer looked like, but I remember she was wearing a dark headscarf and a white apron. I also remember her hands. They were an old woman's hands, wrinkled, hard-working hands with fingers affected by rheumatism. I remember her drawing circles around my lymph nodes on my neck with her index finger. I remember her breath on my hair when she was whispering 'words'. The room was quiet, and after this procedure had gone on for some time, I calmed down and tried to listen to what the healer was saying. I did not hear anything specific because she whispered the words quickly in a local dialect. I just remember a few words: the mother of god flew on a gold ... over the seas.

That is all I remember from my trip to the healer. I do not remember if it did me any good, but I did not have surgery and I eventually recovered. However, this walk to the healer left such an impression on me that to this day the healers, their 'words' and the methods of healing interest me. I was a little scared child who did not understand anything, so there was no way to influence and cause a placebo effect on me at the time. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the healer helped me. It could have been another medicine that eventually cured me.

Later, my interest became academic and scholarly. My first study of this field asked the following question: what factors influenced the form, function, and the use of healing charms in the last millennium in Russia (*Какие факторы повлияли на форму, функцию и использование медицинских заговоров в последнем тысячелетии в России*). My starting point was the question: why was belief in traditional medicine and healing in Russia so

persistent that it managed to survive into the 21st century despite Christianization in the early Middle Ages, secularization following the reforms of Peter the Great and Soviet atheistic ideology. In my previous research I identified a number of factors which may have contributed to this endurance, two of which I consider particularly important: the first was people's spiritual quest in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet system; the second was the need for hope. First, it was possibly because of a 'faith vacuum': the spiritual worldview of medieval Russia provided an alternative model of an individual's place in the social world. Indeed, during the years of *perestroika* (1980s), many phenomena that had existed before the revolution but had been forbidden in Soviet times gained great popularity. Secondly, the survival of healing charms might be accounted for by the fact that they were perceived as a last resort to people when all the rest failed them.

From a cultural and historical perspective, healing charms exemplify an ancient worldview that has survived to this day and to some extent meets people's spiritual needs. Healing charms are widely used and available to anyone, and in addition to their cultural value as a folklore genre, they 'possess' some secret power that so many believe in, power that gives and maintains hope in people.

The following questions remain which are central to this thesis. If people still rely on the use of healing charms as the last hope, what exactly is a healing charm? What does it consist of and how does it 'work' as part of a healing process? What language does it use? Do colour terms play a role in healing words and actions?

## 1.2. INTRODUCTION TO THE CORPUS OF HEALING CHARMS USED IN THIS THESIS

A collection of Russian healing charms and incantations recorded during folklore expeditions to the Russian North between 1953 and 1993 and published in 1998 under the title *Русские заговоры и заклинания* (*Russian Charms and Incantations* [author's translation], ed. V. P. Anikin) provide our source data. The collection contains 931 healing charms.

This thesis continues a previously developed line of inquiry in the research of healing charms. It builds on work already done by scholars but takes it further and extends the subject in question taking more factors into consideration.

### 1.3. AIM, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS

According to Alan Dundes, the 'basic underlying structure of folkloristic research is identification and interpretation'.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this thesis is to analyse healing charms as expressions of illness and health in order to establish the functioning of colour terms in that context. Our principal objective is to focus on the language of healing charms. We examine whether the different segments of the formulae of expelling or fighting illness suggest the motivation behind the colour terms in healing charms.

In this study healing charms are considered not as a minor genre of vernacular literature with a rich language and literature, but as an active part of the healing process and healing knowledge. They are performatives focused on healing, as well as illustrating the folk concepts essential to the positive outcomes of the process.

This study stresses the importance of the language of the healing charms. Language is seen as a form of action. We examine what Fraake Good calls semantic illness network, which is 'network of words, situations, symptoms and feelings which are associated with an illness'.<sup>2</sup>

Through an examination of the multileveled structure of the world in Russian (healing) charms, the conceptualization of the folk models of illness, its causations, curative, and restorative actions, and narrowing down to the particular literary devices, we illuminate the motivation behind the colour terms in our corpus of healing charms.

The main research questions in this thesis are:

1. What is the motivation behind the presence of colour in healing charms? (Chapter 4, pp. 122 - 129)
2. How are colour terms inscribed in the folk concepts of illness and health? (Chapter 2, pp. 44 - 46)
3. To what extent does the poetical part of folklore language in the healing charms affect the practical/healing part of the charm text? (Chapter 4, pp. 117 - 133)

In order to address these questions, the thesis:

1. Describes the folk model of the world embedded in the healing charms.
2. Identifies and characterises the concepts of illness and health in the folk healing system.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Meaning of Folklore: The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes*, ed. Simon J Bronner (Utah State University Press Logan, 2007), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> As quoted in Young, A, "The Anthropologies of Illness and Sickness," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (1982): p. 40.

3. Outlines the core elements of the healing charm text.
4. Analyses colour terms in the research corpus and asks the following questions:
  - i. Which colour categories are most/least represented in the research corpus? (Tables 3.1 and 3.2)
  - ii. Which colour terms and shades are most/least represented in the research corpus? (Appendix A)
  - iii. Which colour terms most often qualify a given referent? (Appendix H)
  - iv. Which colour terms (if any) dominate in each of the 18 sub-groups of illnesses and ailments? (Appendix G)
  - v. Which referents are most often qualified by a given colour term or shade? (Appendix H)
  - vi. Assuming that all terms in folk texts are value-laden, are the evaluative connotations of each of the colour terms and shades consistent across the corpus? (Appendix I)
  - vii. Is there evidence to suggest that each colour is assigned a value? If so, is each colour consistently assigned a positive, neutral, or a negative set of connotations? (Appendix I)

The data retrieved from the charm texts is configured in a number of Tables and Appendices (represented in brackets) in order to provide a basis on which to answer these questions.

The overall objective of the thesis is to go through, what A. Dundes called 'poetics and projections' and reach 'the rationale of fantasy'.<sup>3</sup> This investigation marks a movement away from the merely descriptive towards the interpretive, including all the segments/participants in the linguistic process of a charm text, bearing in mind the psychological and social aspects rooted in the folk healing system.

#### 1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is composed of five chapters and nine appendices.

Chapter One, the Introductory Chapter, introduces the subject matter and the structure of this thesis.

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<sup>3</sup> *The Meaning of Folklore: The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes*, p. 23.

Chapter Two, the Literature Review Chapter, is divided into four parts. Part One is an overview of the major theoretical perspectives in one of the fields relevant to this thesis, folkloristics. It reviews the history and development of the field of folkloristics in Russia and examines scholarly treatments of the language of folklore, with a particular focus on the structure and components of the language of healing charms. Part Two of this chapter reviews the development and paradigmatic changes in the interdisciplinary field of colour semantics since the beginning of the 20th century in English-language and Russian-language scholarly traditions. The aim of this review is to see how these two scholarly traditions complement each other in the specific dimension of colour terminology and categorization in the Russian language and folklore. It demonstrates how a broad appreciation of their differences and similarities can contribute to our understanding of colour vocabulary in the genre of charms in Russian folklore. Part Three returns to studies of Russian folklore with a particular focus on studies of colour terms in folk texts. It also introduces two important concepts regarding the meaning of colour terms in Russian language – the Radiance Concept and the Concept of Evaluative Meanings. Part Four introduces three of the better-known studies that are based on the same charm collection as the current research. Each of these studies has contributed to refining the research questions in this thesis and its methodology.

Chapter Three, the Methodology Chapter, identifies and justifies the methodology and main approaches used in this study. It describes the source data, its content, and limitations. In this chapter we focus particularly on the processes and criteria used to generate the research corpus from the source data; we detail the processes employed to categorise, organise, and systematize the research corpus.

Chapter Four, the Results and Analysis Chapter, provides an analysis of the research data generated by applying the methodologies outlined in Chapter Three. Some of these data are included in tables and charts within the chapter, some are supplied in the Appendices. The main consideration in assigning where data are located is ease of reading.

Chapter Five, the Conclusion, comments on the findings and discussion, and summarises suggestions and recommendations for future work.

## 1.5. TECHNICAL ASPECTS

Unless otherwise indicated all translations of primary and secondary sources are mine, the author's.

In the body of the thesis all secondary sources are quoted in the language in which the text was written. Russian-language citations are translated and provided in square brackets. In the body of the thesis source material is quoted in Russian, but a translation is provided in the Appendices. Where reference is made to a lexeme, morpheme, or phrase from the research data in the body of the thesis, a translation and a transliteration of the lexeme, morpheme or phrase are provided. The transliteration is supplied in italics.

Transliteration and translation conventions. This thesis uses an adapted version of the ALA-LC transliteration scheme when transliterating extracts from the source material. ALA-LC is a set of standards for the romanization, or representation of texts in other writing systems using the Latin alphabet. This label includes the initials of the American Library Association (ALA) and the Library of Congress (LC).<sup>4</sup> The adaptation of this scheme in this thesis affects the representation of the letters ц, ю, я which by rights should have a diacritic above the combination of letters ts, iu, ia.

Where proper nouns have conventionally accepted transliterations, these are used.

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<sup>4</sup> See <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsr/romanization/russian.pdf>

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0. AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER

This is a study of colour terms in healing charms not as a literary component of Russian folk culture, but as part of the healing process in traditional Russian medical culture.

In this thesis the Literature Review Chapter situates this research in broader scholarly contexts and helps explore core concepts which are drawn on in later chapters. This chapter is divided into four parts each of which reviews scholarship in the fields of (1) Russian folk culture, (2) the semantics of colour and (3) colour in Russian folk culture, and (4) studies of the source corpus. They also discuss and analyse research from other fields: medical anthropology, literary studies and a new field in Russian philology called lingo-folkloristics that focuses primarily on the language of folklore when discussing the cultural interpretation of illness and the language of healing charms. Since the subject matter of this thesis is healing charms of Northern Russia, this study also sets in dialogue of two different academic traditions, English- and Russia-language scholarship. These traditions sometimes diverge and sometimes intersect in their methods, conceptual frameworks, perspectives and even in the language they deploy.

#### 2.1. PART ONE: RUSSIAN FOLK CULTURE

The core question in Part One of this chapter is 'What is a healing charm?'. In order to understand the importance and the broadness of charms, we review scholarship which also explores the following questions:

1. What is a folk worldview?
2. How did the Russian folk worldview conceptualise and categorise disease?
3. How can one characterise the language of healing charms?

Part One provides an overview of research into the cultural context in which to situate the analysis of colour terms in healing charms.



### 2.1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY OF CHARMS

Folklore and its genres have been a question of interest in a wide range of fields in Russia. Research into different folklore genres has a long history. The term 'folklore' itself can be understood in two ways – a narrow and a wide sense. In the narrow sense, folklore consists of phenomena that have a verbal component. In the wider sense, it includes folk dances, traditional crafts, festivals etc., regardless of whether they do or do not have a verbal component. In the narrow sense, folklore is studied in the fields of philology, along with literary criticism and linguistics; in the wider sense it is studied within the fields of ethnography, ethnology, cultural and social anthropology.<sup>5</sup>

Since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and almost to the present day, the field of folkloristics in Russia has developed four directions. The first direction is the study of living traditions, the collection and categorisation of folklore texts that are still in existence, with special attention paid to the personality of performers and their craft. The second direction focuses on historical poetics and comparative studies. The third direction is concerned with the field of ethnolinguistics and lingo-poetics. Another direction, the structural-semiotic study of folklore was added to existing ones in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The founder of this branch of folkloristics was the Soviet folklorist and scholar Vladimir Propp (1895 – 1970).<sup>6</sup> This thesis draws on developments in each of these strands.

Each folklore genre has its own function which in turn determines both common and distinctive features of the genre.<sup>7</sup> In the complex body of ritual folklore, spells and charms constitute one of the largest components of oral poetics. The genre of charms is an oral genre that may be distinguished from other genres by virtue of containing explicit directions for performance.<sup>8</sup> Another distinguishing feature of the genre of charms is their use of religious and magic language. Since the use of this type of language is closely connected with the folk worldview that is embedded and expressed in (healing) charms, this connection is described and discussed later in this chapter. Sometimes the genre of charms is also called a minor form of folklore.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Топорков А. Л., "Фольклористика в междисциплинарном диалоге," in *Труды Отделения историко-филологических наук РАН*. 2015, ed. В. А. Тишков (Москва: 2016), pp. 23-25.

<sup>6</sup> Топорков, "Фольклористика в междисциплинарном диалоге," pp. 23-25.

<sup>7</sup> Peric-Polonijo, T., "The Functions of Oral Lyrical Poems," (A, 1993), p. 313.

<sup>8</sup> Klyaus, V., "On Systematizing the Narrative Elements of Slavic Charms," in *Charms, Charmers and Charming* (Springer, 2009), pp. 3-13.

<sup>9</sup> *Малые формы фольклора*, ed. Татьяна Николаевна Свешникова (Москва: Восточная литература РАН, 1995), Исследования по фольклору и мифологии Востока.

Given the diversity and the number of charms in Russian folklore, they have been divided into many subgroups. They have been classified according to their functions (for example, healing charms, love, and agricultural charms, etc.). The largest subgroup in the charm genre consists of healing charms.<sup>10</sup>

A great amount of work has been devoted to the charms and charm traditions as well as new interpretations of the specifics of this folk genre. For instance, Kharitonova (1999) based her investigation on 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century folklore material. She examined the use of charms in everyday life and concluded that the most important elements of charms are rhythm and intonation. Konovalova (2009) analysed the semantics, suggestive and synthetic aspects of Slavic and Russian charm texts and described them as lingo-cultural phenomena. Extensive research on the similarities and distribution of motifs in healing charms was done by Agapkina (2003); the diversity of charms in written sources was investigated by Toporkov (2010).

Onegova, Razumovskaya and Smirnov (1998) investigated aspects of charms' diversity and usage in Northern Russia.<sup>11</sup> In 1989 Radenkovich carried out research on colour symbolism in Slavic charm texts where she analysed 2100 charms. Research has been done on prototypical and stereotypical colours in Slavic folklore by Ludmila Popovic (2012). A number of studies have focused on colour symbolism in wedding charms (Krashennikova, 2011), the moon and the colour yellow in healing charms (Chyoha, 2008), and the meaning of the colour black in the Slavic people's worldview (Belova, 2009).

To date, several studies have examined the position and use of colour terms in Russian culture, folklore and (healing) charms (Zlydneva, 2002; Kezina, 2008; Tarakanova, 2012). These scholars highlighted the historical development and symbolism of colour terms within the charm genre and its different subgroups. In recent years, a few authors have attempted to explain the presence of colour in different folklore genres (Vedernikova, 1980; Gerasimenko, 2012; Shesterkina, 2015). Recently Kezina (2013) investigated colour semantics in Russian *govor* (dialect). Borisova (2013) described the methods and results of her psycholinguistic experiments aimed at revealing the visual impact of words denoting

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<sup>10</sup> Toporkov, A, Agapkina, T, "Charm Indexes: Problems and Perspectives," (The Power of Words. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Нерознак В. П, Иванов В. В, Свешникова Т. Н, Толстой Н. И, Топоров В. Н., ed., *Этнолингвистика текста. Семиотика малых форм фольклора. Тезисы и предварительные материалы к симпозиуму* (Москва: Институт Славяноведения и балканистики, 1998).

colour on the subconscious. However, despite the considerable number of studies that have been done within this framework, there has not been a general work that has attempted to identify the functions of colour in healing charms as part of healing process.

### 2.1.2. WHAT IS A HEALING CHARM?

Pagan beliefs in Russian spiritual culture were diverse and multifaceted. The value of charms lies precisely in the fact that they make it possible for us to understand and explain some of the fundamental principles of the folk worldview. Russian healing charms unveil people's allegiance to both the ancient pagan gods and the spirits and saints of the Christian church that are relative 'newcomers' to the charm universe. In charm 'words' and the actions that accompany them, there are many elements of magical thinking based on the culture's worldview. Healing charms provide a perspective which shows how social and cultural structures came to conceptualise and formulate illness and disease and how the culture utilized charms to account for why illnesses occur.<sup>12</sup>

In recent years, there have been an increase in the number of studies on charms, spells, and incantations. Interest in the genre of charms in Russia was generated not only by their archaic poetic forms, but also by the belief that charms have an inexplicable power over the human mind. This may account for why this genre, as part of Russian spiritual culture, has survived changes in social structures and ideologies, persecution by the church, and later suppression by the official Soviet system. As R. Wigzell observed, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, beliefs in all aspects of the irrational increased hugely in popularity.<sup>13</sup>

However, there is a degree of fluidity around the terminology used in relation to charms. Many researchers in the English-language tradition, be it in relation to the Russian folk tradition or more broadly speaking, do not draw a distinction between spells, charms, and incantations and/or their Russian-language near synonyms: наговор [*nagovor*], проговор [*progovor*], одговор [*odgovor*]. These lexemes, like the English-language word 'spell' and the Latin word 'murmur', reference the notion of speech in their morphology (although many charms also describe accompanying actions).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Alver, B. G, "The Bearing of Folk Belief on Cure and Healing," *Journal of Folklore Research* 32, no. 1 (Jan. - Apr., 1995).

<sup>13</sup> Wigzell, F, *Reading Russian Fortunes. Print Culture, Gender and Divination in Russia from 1765* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 41. See also W. F. Ryan, "Magic and Divination. Old Russian Sources," in *The Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture*, ed. Bernice G. Rosenthal (Ithaca, United States: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 52-53. Also, Топорков, "Фольклористика в междисциплинарном диалоге," pp. 38-41.

<sup>14</sup> Ryan, W. F, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: an Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), p. 165.

As we will see from the following definitions, researchers highlight different aspects of charm texts. Some focus on their function, others on the context of their use, yet others on their form or content. In Russian folkloristics there are many definitions of the term 'charm'; variations tend to depend on the subject matter and focus of the research. N. Poznanski (1917) defined a charm as a verbal formula that originally served as an explanation for a magic rite. E. Eleonskaya (1912) described a charm as a simple expression of a wish, sometimes expressed as a comparison. N. Konovalova (2009) wrote that a charm is a suggestive text that is inextricably linked with a particular situation and its impact on an object.

Jonathan Roper focuses particularly on the function of charms: 'verbal charms, or what are now commonly known as "spells", could be defined as traditional verbal forms intended by their effect on supernature to bring about change in the world in which we live.'<sup>15</sup> R. Gordon, in his article *The Healing Event in Graeco-Roman Folk Medicine* (1995), focuses on a distinction between charms and incantations: "'charms" (allusive, pregnant, not meant to be fully understood, orally composed and transmitted, mainly focused on the act of healing), "incantations" (explicit, elaborated and concrete, often the creation or re-creation of a professional practitioner).'<sup>16</sup> According to Sokolova, the main distinction between charms and spells is their role in the lives of people or in a community in general. She wrote that

'it was from the original charms that spells and formulas of a more complex structure, developed. Like charms, spells expressed desire or demand, which, in the opinion of those who uttered them, would materialize. However, the role of spells in the peoples' everyday life was fundamentally different from that attributed to charms. The principal sphere of the application of spells was private life.'<sup>17</sup>

The function of charms is therefore to effect change. In this thesis we use W. Ryan's definition as a basis for understanding the function of a charm: 'Zagovor is essentially a magic formula the aim of which is to fulfil the wish of the person employing it, to afford protection, or to exorcise an evil spirit (which may be identified as or personify an illness) or harm an enemy or rival'.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Roper, J, "Towards a Poetics, Rhetorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms," *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 24, no. 23-24 (2003): p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> As cited in Versnel, H. S, "The Poetics of the Magical Charm," in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed. Paul Alan Mirecki, Meyer W. Marvin (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2002), p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> Sokolova, V, "Functions of Spells and Charms in Social and Everyday Life: a Case Study of Eastern Slav Folklore.," in *The Realm of Sacred: Verbal Symbolism and Ritual Structures*, ed. Mahapatra Sitakant (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 117-18.

<sup>18</sup> Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: an Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*, pp. 166-67.

This definition clarifies that the change effected impacts on the well-being of someone other than the speaker of the charm. Indeed, in the literature about the genre of charms in general the term 'charm' tends to be used to refer to the practices of healing. Jonathan Roper argues that the majority of charms fall under the area of folk medicine. He also points out the meaning of 'to charm' given in the Dictionary of Newfoundland English (1) and the English Dialect Dictionary (2) where 'to charm' means (1) 'to cure an ailment by paramedical means' and (2) 'to cure some disease by a supposed supernatural cure, to bewitch'.<sup>19</sup>

The two strands of Klyaus's study focus on charms both as part of the healing knowledge of a given ethnos, and on the other hand as structured texts.<sup>20</sup> First, as part of the repertoire of traditional healing practices, charms were connected not only with rituals and actions along with ritual objects, minerals and herbs; they also opened a window onto the concepts of health, healing, and illness that were echoed.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, as examples of oral poetry in general, healing charms are structured around oppositions like life/death, male/female, order/disorder etc.

Klyaus argued that the opposition in healing charms is one of the characteristics of charms and can be observed on several levels, 'functional and occasional, and, on the textual level, in motifs, plots and plot situations, as well as in other narrative elements.'<sup>22</sup> Healing charms consist of both, 'ritual words' and 'ritual actions'.

W. Ryan also focuses on a charm's structure:

'Zagovory may be of any length from a sentence to several pages of text and can be astonishingly varied and imaginative in context. They do nevertheless tend to follow certain structural patterns, although not all elements are necessarily present in each spell, or always in the same order.'<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Roper, "Towards a Poetics, Rhetorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms," p. 7; p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> Klyaus, "On Systematizing the Narrative Elements of Slavic Charms," p. 72.

<sup>21</sup> The debate about the healing charms as part of medical knowledge has gained new prominence with many arguing about its medical efficacy in some recorded practices. See Lang F. Jonathan, DuBois A.

Thomas, "Johan Turi's Animal, Mineral, Vegetable Cures and Healing Practices: an In-depth Analysis of Sami (Saami) Folk Healing One Hundred Years Ago," *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 9, no. 1 (2013): pp. 9-57, <https://ethnobiomed.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1746-4269-9-57>. See also *Folk Medicine. The Art and Science.*, ed. Steiner Richard P (Washington, DC: American Chemical Society, 1986), pp. vii-viii; pp. 153-54.

<sup>22</sup> Klyaus, "On Systematizing the Narrative Elements of Slavic Charms," p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: an Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*, p. 35.

Pamela Davidson concurs with Ryan's view and adds that 'since charms consisted of magic words, their structure, especially the opening and concluding formulae, conformed to fixed patterns.'<sup>24</sup>

In his analysis of the structure of charms within their universe (*универсум*), Shindin (1993) argued that a charm's universe consists of a set of universal semiotic oppositions which can be reduced to two correlated oppositions, such as we/others. Shindin (1993) concluded that charms have a trinomial structure. This structure consists of three endeavours:

1. Leaving home.
2. Moving to/on sacred space.
3. Meeting with a representative of another world.<sup>25</sup>

Shindin also emphasised the importance of the Centre of the World (*центр мира*) within the charm structure: 'Центр мира – одно из ключевых понятий для всего корпуса заговорных текстов, ориентированных на высшие сакральные ценности архаического коллектива' [the Centre of the World is one of the key concepts in the charm corpus that focuses on the highest sacred values of archaic society].<sup>26</sup>

T. Agapkina (2010) examined the motifs of East Slavic charm texts and explored the structure of the charms' universe as one of such motifs where she refers to the Centre of the World as the mythological centre of charms. In her study Agapkina defined the mythological centre as a place where somebody is performing a healing function. This somebody is the one to whom the patient/healer is appealing for help or for the expulsion of a disease.<sup>27</sup> She also distinguished and described three distinctive levels of the mythological centre. The first level is the landscape area where the action takes place. This area includes the sea and the fields, forest, and other stretches of land. They are

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<sup>24</sup> Davidson, P, *Russian Literature and its Demons* (Berghahn Books, 2000), p. 71.

<sup>25</sup> С. Г. Шиндин, "Пространственная организация русского заговорного универсума: образ центра мира," in *Исследования в области балто-славянской культуры. Заговор*, ed. Свешникова Т. Н., Иванов В. В (Москва: Наука, 1993), pp. 108-12.

<sup>26</sup> Шиндин, "Пространственная организация русского заговорного универсума: образ центра мира," pp. 108-12.

<sup>27</sup> Т. А. Агапкина, "Сюжетный состав восточнославянских заговоров (мотив мифологического центра)," in *Заговорный текст. Генезис и структура.*, ed. Свешникова Т. Н, Невская Л. Г, Топоров В. Н. (Москва: Индрик, 2005), p. 247.

underdeveloped, endless, and remote loci in the East Slavic folk universe. Sometimes loci of this level can be supplemented or even replaced by other landscape objects such as islands, mountains, and rivers. The second level includes pre-Christian sacred and cultural objects of natural origins such as stones, trees, or man-made objects like churches, monasteries, houses etc. The third level, at the very centre of this mythological universe is a mythological or sacred character who possesses healing abilities and who is able to comfort and expel the evil spirit.<sup>28</sup>

To summarise: healing charms are highly structured speech acts performed by a speaker who is called upon to effect a change on the physical wellbeing of an other. The speaker effects this change by narrating a journey through an imagined mythical landscape to the Centre of the World. Charms are not only expressions of magic words, they also evoke and invoke a world of its own, with its structure, rules, and meanings.

This study focuses on the words of charms only, but we must consistently bear in mind that the ritual actions are a complementary and inseparable part of the healing process.<sup>29</sup>

### 2.1.3. WHAT IS A FOLK WORLDVIEW?

Lakoff (1987) argued that people employ cognitive models in order to understand the world.<sup>30</sup> Accordingly, to employ those models, people must turn to what Lakoff calls 'imaginative capacities' to create their 'social reality'.<sup>31</sup> In general, the folk worldview, like charms themselves, is created from oppositions. These oppositions (light and darkness, giving and taking, life and death, resurrection, and destruction, male and female) are value-laden.<sup>32</sup> Apart from these oppositions, there are also different coding systems within the folk model of the world. These coding systems may be formed from objects, characters and other divisions or parts of the world. There are such coding systems as astral, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, numeric and others. Each of them has its own defined area of functioning and their coexistence in the folk model of the world assumes a hierarchical classification.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Агапкина, "Сюжетный состав восточнославянских заговоров (мотив мифологического центра)," pp. 247-71.

<sup>29</sup> Versnel, "The Poetics of the Magical Charm," p. 107.

<sup>30</sup> Lakoff, G, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind* (Chicago/London: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 118.

<sup>31</sup> Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*, p. 309.

<sup>32</sup> Kerewsky-Halpern, B, "Watch Out for Snakes! Ethnosemantic Misinterpretations and Interpretation of a Serbian Healing Charm," *Anthropological Linguistics* 25, no. 3 (1983): p. 321.

<sup>33</sup> Неклюдов, "Картина мира в медицинских заговорах," no. March 2015.  
<http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/folklorelaboratory/AL1.htm>.

The concepts of a people's worldview are central to understanding the genre of charms. In the broadest sense, the folk worldview in the genre of charms can be viewed as a synthesis of knowledge about the world. When talking about the folk worldview, we draw on the definitions given by two Russian scholars: Shindin and Nekliudov. Shindin described the folk worldview as the sum of simplified representations of the world.<sup>34</sup> In his understanding, the folk worldview is perceived and comprehended as the interaction of humans and their surroundings, or as a

result of acquired information about people's place in the world. Nekliudov stated that the formation of the folk worldview happens in two stages: the first stage sees the raw data received by the senses; the second stage decodes this data using sign systems, first of all, language.<sup>35</sup> The folk worldview expressed in the genre of charms and folklore in general is a closed space where the number of events taking place are limited and measured, where humans are devoid of individuality and are an integral part of this closed system. The manifestation of the folk worldview can be observed in different parts of charms. They display the ways people learn about the world, experience it through their senses, and build their reality based on the assessment of certain objects and phenomena they have encountered. Furthermore, according to D'Andrade, 'interpretations made about the world on the basis of the folk model are treated as if they were obvious facts of the world.'<sup>36</sup>

The folklorist P. Skaftymov observed that there is a certain indirect reflection of the real world imbedded in the folklore texts. He called it the creative distortion of life.<sup>37</sup> Dmitrieva (2004) argued that the archetype of the structure of the 'real' physical world is a reflection of beliefs about the 'other, upper' world.<sup>38</sup> Whichever it may be, it is essential to understand that the folk world is a world of the norm, the proper and correct (*мир нормы, мир должного и правильного*).<sup>39</sup> This is an ordered world. Order, harmony, and correctness are an essential aspect of the functioning of charms.

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<sup>34</sup> Шиндин, "Пространственная организация русского заговорного универсума: образ центра мира," pp. 108-28.

<sup>35</sup> Неклюдов, "Картина мира в медицинских заговорах."

<sup>36</sup> D'Andrade, R, "A Folk Model of The Mind," *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* (1987): p. 113.

<sup>37</sup> As quoted in А. Т. Хроленко, *Введение в лингвофольклористику* (Москва: Флинта: Наука, 2010), pp. 89-90.

<sup>38</sup> И. Н. Дмитриева, "Языческие мотивы в системе русской народной культуры XIX века (на примере заговоров)" (2004), pp. 12-18.

<sup>39</sup> С. Е. Никитина, *Цели описания. Выбор модели*, (Москва: Наука, 1993), [http://philologos.narod.ru/nikitina/Part\\_12.htm](http://philologos.narod.ru/nikitina/Part_12.htm).



This order accounts for the many alogisms in the language of charms (analysed in detail in the last section of this chapter). It helps to explain why, for instance, ugly girls who are covered in scabs remain beautiful, why a sharp sword still might need to be sharpened. This construction of a world defined by its norms also accounts for the fixed epithets in charm texts as part of the linguistic means to illustrate the folk world. The functions of the fixed epithets in the charm texts are to present a subject every time as it should be, according to its nature and purpose, that is, at once conforming to and confirming the norm of the folk world. This may be contrary to the particular situation described in a charm text but underneath it all, an ordered and ideal world of norm is present and described through the poetic devices. Consequently, the girl is always beautiful, a sword is always sharp because otherwise it would not be a sword, even if it needs to be sharpened.<sup>40</sup>

We need to ask whether, and if so how, expressions of colour, be they in fixed adjective-noun collocations or not, reflect the norms of this world. We also need to explore what values (if any) are assigned to individual colours in the charm world.

#### 2.1.4. HOW DID THE RUSSIAN FOLK WORLDVIEW CONCEPTUALIZE AND CATEGORISE DISEASES?

As a background it is important to point out the use of two concepts, that of illness and disease. In this thesis we use the word illness, rather than disease, when describing an ailment following the distinction made by Alver: 'Disease is viewed as the biological disturbance in the body, while illness refers to the cultural and social meaning attributed to the disorder'.<sup>41</sup>

In many cultures, based on their animistic beliefs, ancient people imagined illnesses and diseases as living beings, as some kind of external, harmful substances, penetrating the body.<sup>42</sup> They were perceived as living beings having anthropomorphic characteristics and their own specific personalities made up of characteristic bodily symptoms, signs and (sometimes) their 'location' on human body. The reason for 'viewing [something] as entity', argues Lakoff, is the fact that it 'allows us to refer to it, quantify it, identify it as a

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<sup>40</sup> Никитина, *Цели описания. Выбор модели*.

<sup>41</sup> Alver, "The Bearing of Folk Belief on Cure and Healing," p. 25.

<sup>42</sup> В. В. Усачева, "Словесные формулы в народной медицине славян," in *Этнолингвистика текста. Семиотика малых форм фольклора.*, ed. Нерознак В. П, Иванов В. В, Свешникова Т. Н, Толстой Н. И, Топоров В. Н (Москва: Институт славяноведения и балканистики АН СССР, 1988), pp. 88-89.

particular aspect of it, see it as a cause, act with respect to it, and perhaps even believe that we understand it'.<sup>43</sup>

There is a link between illness, cure, and culture. Beliefs about the origins of illness, responses to disorders through trial-and-error, the formation of an understanding about healing and its place in peoples' lives and the world constitute a folk healing system.<sup>44</sup> Folk models of illness and disease are specific to the cultural settings, the cosmology of the culture, from which they emerge. As David Landy (1977) noted, 'theories of disease, including etiology, diagnosis, treatment, and amelioration or cure, all are part of the cultural repertory and equipment of human groups'.<sup>45</sup> A folk healing system is specific to a particular culture or particular geographical place. Each folk healing system is a 'specific cluster of symptoms, signs or behavioural changes recognized by members of the cultural groups' and these clusters usually have a 'range of symbolic meaning – moral, social and psychological'.<sup>46</sup> These systems can be described as equilibrium-based therapeutic systems.<sup>47</sup>

As we saw in the previous section, balance is a very important concept in the folk worldview. Balance is harmony. It means that there is harmony in human relationships, harmony with the supreme force. Harmony is believed to be the basis of the natural order of the world and the universe. Illness and disease are a disruption of balance, harmony; it was conceptualised and represented as a deviation from the norm, the standard.<sup>48</sup> Illness and disease were an offense against order. In the folk worldview, the conceptualization of order (health) and disorder (illness) is based on the complex relationship between the physical world and supernatural world. In his analysis of medicine as an ethnographic category, L. Glick observed that in almost all traditional health systems the most important fact is the underlying cause or origin of illness.<sup>49</sup> The main causes of illness, according to the folk worldview were:

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<sup>43</sup> Johnson, M, Lakoff, G, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 26.

<sup>44</sup> Wing, D. M, "A Comparison of Traditional Folk Healing Concepts with Contemporary Healing Concepts," *Journal of Community Health Nursing* 15, no. 3 (1998): p. 144.

<sup>45</sup> *Culture, Disease, and Healing. Studies in Medical Anthropology*, ed. David Landy (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1977), p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Helman, C. G, *Culture, Health and Illness: an Introduction for Health Professionals* (London: Butterworth- Heinemann Ltd, 1990), pp. 234-35.

<sup>47</sup> Loustaunau, M. O, Sobo, E. J, *The Cultural Context of Health, Illness, and Medicine* (Bergin & Garvey, 1997), pp. 78-82.

<sup>48</sup> Lupton, D, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004), p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> Glick, L. B, "Medicine as an Ethnographic Category: the Gimi of the New Guinea Highlands," in *Culture, Disease, and Healing. Studies in Medical Anthropology*, ed. David Landy (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1977), p. 61.

- a. The moral dimension of illness resulting in punitive illnesses, caused by divine/supernatural punishment (Landy, 1977:4; Lieban, 1977:24-25; Levi-Strauss, 1977:446; Lupton, 2004:86, 98).
- b. Illnesses caused by the ill will of other beings (Landy, 1977:4; Glick, 1977:59; Lupton, 2004:86).
- c. Illnesses due to natural cause.

Robert Huff (2002) also noted that researchers in the field of folk medicine have classified folk illnesses into four categories: the patient world (illnesses over which the patient has some control), the natural world (animate and inanimate factors, such as viruses, animal bite etc.), the social world (illnesses caused by interpersonal conflicts, witchcraft and sorcery), the supernatural world (illnesses caused by sinful behaviour towards spirits and ancestors).<sup>50</sup> To the list of potential folk illnesses in the social world category, Deborah Lupton (2004) also added satanic and demonic possession as well as *maleficium*.<sup>51</sup>

People are creative and depending on their environment and socio-cultural systems, they create explanatory systems to describe the body and its functions. As Loustaunau and Sobo have pointed out, health systems have always had ideas about the body and how it works.<sup>52</sup> The majority of health systems take the whole body when assessing illness and disorder and maintain an idea of bodily balance. Folk health systems were concerned not only with keeping the physical body healthy and balanced but also with the wellbeing of mind, 'the conscious, interactive self'.<sup>53</sup>

Imagery representing healthy and the sick bodies in healing charms reveal the folk concepts of illness and their socio-cultural dimensions. These concepts take into account not only the physical body, but also social interactions in the community, as well as 'cosmological concepts and nonorganic elements'. Through these interactions, people learned ways of keeping the body and mind in good order by keeping with the 'recommended social and moral order'.<sup>54</sup> A clean body and the idea of cleanliness are central to the concept of health, balance, and order. The

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<sup>50</sup> Huff, R. M, "Folk Medicine," in *Encyclopedia of Public Health* (Online: The Gale Group Inc, 2002). <https://www.encyclopedia.com/medicine/divisions-diagnostics-and-procedures/medicine/folk-medicine#1G23404000348>.

<sup>51</sup> Lupton, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies*, p. 86.

<sup>52</sup> Loustaunau, *The Cultural Context of Health, Illness, and Medicine*, p. 78.

<sup>53</sup> Loustaunau, *The Cultural Context of Health, Illness, and Medicine*, p. 86.

<sup>54</sup> Loustaunau, *The Cultural Context of Health, Illness, and Medicine*, pp. 82-86.

maintenance of body boundaries was associated with balance and harmony not only in the body but also in society.<sup>55</sup> The body is the site through which balance and imbalance, order and disorder, reasons for illness can be interpreted. 'The sick body is a meaningful text', wrote D. Lupton.<sup>56</sup> The body is also the means of restoring balance and order in the patient and society, back to normality and harmony.

Healing charms not only describe the causes and symptoms of illness as a disruption of the physical and moral balance of the body and the world but also include the cure in order to bring balance to the body, household, society, and the world. In the healing process, the most effective way of getting rid of illness was banishing it, sending it away, ordering it to leave the body and/or the village. Such charm formulae would contain imperatives 'get out', 'leave', 'go away'. Many charm texts contain the combination of banishing and transferring formulae where the illness is transferred onto a tree, another person, into the earth, a river, the beyond. The majority of the healing charm texts, depending on the type of illness, are directed to the description of the visible symptoms or consequences of illness.

In folk healing practices, one of the main principles is *similia similibus curantur* (likes are cured by likes) which expresses the law of similarity and is reflected in the language of the healing charms.

#### 2.1.5. HOW HAS THE LANGUAGE OF HEALING CHARMS BEEN CHARACTERISED?

There are a number of perspectives from which the language of charms has been analysed: within the tradition of folklore studies the language of charm texts is studied as part of the poetics of folk material and in particular oral poetry – this tends to be culture/language specific; from a broader perspective the language of charms intersects with all language which purports to have magical properties, and the language of magic and the language of prayer in turn have common elements. From both these perspectives, the language of charms is contrasted to the language of everyday speech.

In Russia, the modern period of the study of the language of folklore began in the 1940s and 1950s. It is associated with the names of P. G. Bogatyrev (1893 – 1971), A. P. Evgenyeva (1899 – 1985), I. A. Ossovetsky (1908 – 1995) and others. After some time, it was determined that the study of folk language should become the subject matter of a distinct philological discipline,

<sup>55</sup> Lupton, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies*, p. 84.

<sup>56</sup> Lupton, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies*, p. 106; p. 91.

later named lingo-folkloristics. The term 'lingo-folkloristics' was proposed by the Kursk scholar A. T. Khrolenko (b. 1938) in 1974 when two books on lingo-folkloristics were published.<sup>57</sup> This new discipline was to characterise the functioning of language in folklore texts using linguistic and folkloristic research methods. The need for a special academic discipline devoted to the study of the language of folklore was seen not only as a means to gain new knowledge about the nature of the language of folklore but also as an academic discipline that would fashion new integrated approaches to the study of oral poetry more generally. The subject of the discipline is the nature of the language of folklore, the relationship between language and poetics in folklore, the style, and the psycholinguistic aspects of the language of oral poetry.<sup>58</sup>

The concept of folk language was defined in various ways. Linguists consider the language of folklore a super-dialectal (*наддиалектный*) form of language; folklorists, on the other hand, understand the language of folklore as a set of formulas with rules governing their relationships, which they term a poetic grammar. In this thesis, we understand the language of folklore in the linguistic sense as a distinct style of language, in contrast to the language of fiction, science, business etc.<sup>59</sup>

According to I. A. Ossovetsky (1979), the language of folklore has a set of different levels of idiomatic units that go far beyond a single particular language system or dialectal language. This set of idiomatic units allows one to interpret folk language as a special immanent, closed system or artistic, creative language that is not comparable with either any particular accent or dialect, nor the dialectal language as a whole.<sup>60</sup>

Understanding a folk text implies the ability to correlate the set of elements of the folk world with a variety of symbols in the folk world. In his introductory work on lingo-folkloristics, A. Khrolenko (1974) argued that the folklore world has a multicomponent nature and inner antinomy. He also contended that each carefully selected, centuries-old folk word has its mandatory connotative content. It has a visible or textual part as well as invisible or trans-textual part (*За каждым тщательно отобранным в многовековом использовании Народнопоэтическое слово, как айсберг, состоит из видимой*

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<sup>57</sup> (1) *Проблемы лингвофольклористики к вопросу о комплексном подходе к изучению языка фольклора* (1974); (2) *Что такое лингвофольклористика?* (1974)

<sup>58</sup> А. Т. Хроленко, *Язык фольклора. Хрестоматия* (Москва: Флинта: Наука, 2006), pp. 5-6.

<sup>59</sup> Хроленко, *Введение в лингвофольклористику*, pp. 94-104.

<sup>60</sup> И. А. Оссовецкий, "О языке русского традиционного фольклора," *Вопросы языкознания* 5 (1975): p. 204.

фольклорным словом стоит обязательное коннотативное содержание. (текстовой) и не видимой (затекстовой) частей).<sup>61</sup> Folklore connotations are different from connotations outside the folklore text. Outside the language of folklore, connotations are, to a certain extent, arbitrary and are not part of a closed system. In folklore, connotations are conditioned by the entire system of the folk world. This is possible because each folklore word carries an inner and stable association with a particular set of folk images and situations. Folk language not only refers to concepts and realities, but also produces semiotic oppositions; it not only builds the folk world but also evaluates it. There is a specific evaluative component embedded in the semantic structure of the folk world (and its words). This evaluative component dominates and sometimes even neutralises the primary meaning in words such as 'light', 'heart' and others.<sup>62</sup>

What poetic devices are frequently used in the charm language? In his analysis of folklore, V. Propp (1984) examined the differences and similarities between folklore and literature. Propp pointed out that both disciplines are a verbal art and while there are genre-specific as well as overlapping functions and methods, there is one particular thing that sets folklore apart – it has a distinctive poetics. Moreover, Propp wrote that each folklore genre is characterised 'by a special relation to reality and by a method for its artistic representation'.<sup>63</sup>

People compared their everyday lives with nature, its cycles, and rhythms, and this is clearly preserved in the language. People's lifestyles, their attitudes to nature and its phenomena determined the presence of a large number of figures of speech in the language of charms.

Epithet is the term used to refer to a word or a phrase that describes an attribute or quality of a person or object. Epithets are especially relevant in folklore, including healing charms. It is one of the poetic devices in Russian oral poetry where the most ancient meanings can be discovered.<sup>64</sup> Epithets in oral poetry have preserved archaic concepts, symbols, and connotations of words. James Bailey (1988) observed that the language of Russian folklore

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<sup>61</sup> Хроленко, *Введение в лингвофольклористику*, p. 94.

<sup>62</sup> Хроленко, *Введение в лингвофольклористику*, pp. 94-104.

<sup>63</sup> Propp, V, *Theory and History of Folklore* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 6; p. 49.

<sup>64</sup> Moroni, E, "Between Orality and Literacy: Parallelism and Repetition in Russian Folk Epics and Their Challenge to Translation," *Bergen Language and Linguistics Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010): p. 19.

forms 'a distinctive and perceptible subcode of present-day Russian'.<sup>65</sup> According to Evgenyeva (1953), epithets are a means of clarification and suggest 'the concrete, real quality of the object, serve the purpose of disclosing the theme, and carry a high semantic load'.<sup>66</sup> For example, an adjective-epithet gives an accurate visual or other description or focus to a noun, forcing a listener or a reader to see and perceive the subject as is necessary for the narrative.<sup>67</sup>

Fixed epithets in folk texts have a particularly important role. V. Propp (1958) observed that fixed epithets express people's worldview and their attitude to the world. They are used to express what people considered to be a necessary and continuous attribute of something or someone in folk poetry. This attribute or feature is used again and again not because of a lack of creativity but because the absence of this attribute/feature would make the use of a word in oral poetry quite impossible:

Постоянный эпитет применяется для признаков, которые народ считает постоянными и необходимыми и которые он повторяет не вследствие творческого бессилия, а потому что вне данного признака предмет в эпической поэзии невозможен.

[A fixed epithet is used for attributes which the people consider constant and essential, and which are repeated not because of a lack of creativity, but because without that attribute reference to the object in question would be impossible in epic poetry] ).<sup>68</sup>

W. E. Brown wrote that the stylistic devices that are extensively used in many folklore genres are, what he called, standard epithets, such as ясные очи/*yasnye ochi*/bright eyes, белые руки/*belye ruki*/white hands, серый волк/*seryi volk*/grey wolf.<sup>69</sup> In 1980, a good

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<sup>65</sup> Bailey, J, Ivanova, T, *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics* (New York/London: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 1998), p. xxvii.

<sup>66</sup> *Очерки по истории русского народного поэтического творчества X - начала XVIII веков*, ed. Адрианова-Перетц В. П., Лихачев Д. С., Астахова А. М., Дмитраков И. П., 3 vols., vol. 1 (Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1953), p. 139.

<sup>67</sup> Хроленко, *Язык фольклора. Хрестоматия*, p. 200.

<sup>68</sup> В. Я. Пропп, *Русский героический эпос*, vol. 2 (Москва: ГИХЛ, 1958), p. 201.

<sup>69</sup> Brown, W. E, *A History of Seventeenth-Century Russian Literature* (Michigan: Ardis Publishers, 1980), p. 81.

compilation of articles about epithets in different folklore genres, their genesis and status were presented in a collection called *Эпитет в русском народном творчестве* [*The Epithet in Russian Folklore*]. In the introduction to the book N. I. Kwartsov examined two artistic systems within folklore: the traditional and the contemporary. He observed that it is important to take into consideration the differences between common epithets in the oral tradition and epithets specific to different genres. It is also important to distinguish traditional, permanent epithets and rare or new epithets.<sup>70</sup> Kwartsov also emphasized the ideological and aesthetic role of epithets, their function to enhance the visual and auditory impressions, emphasising the features of space, time, and movement.

In addressing the question of difference in the functions of epithets in different folklore genres, V. Sokolova (1981) concurred with V. Propp's view that the relation to reality determines these differences. The differences are created by the interaction of life and folklore, the portrayal of life's phenomena and events as well as the historical reality illustrated in different folklore genres. In her analysis of the presentation of reality in folklore, V. Sokolova examined the relationship between reality and the sphere of life that each folklore genre describes and draws its subject matter from. Sokolova stated that:

‘каждый жанр отбирает из общего устно поэтического национального фонда то, что соответствует его основной функции и изображаемому им материалу. Специфичны для любого жанра его основные образы и приёмы их характеристики, сюжеты, мотивы и композиция, посредством которых оформляются жизненные ситуации и конфликты, характерные для данного жанра

[each folklore genre selects from the corpus of national oral poetry what corresponds to its main functions and the material it depicts. Each genre has its main narratives and modes of expression, its plots, motives and composition through which life situations and conflicts specific to a particular genre, are formed]'.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Эпитет в русском народном творчестве.*, ed. Кравцов Н. И, Аникин В. П, Селиванов Ф. М. (Москва: Изд-во Московского ун-та, 1980), p. 7.

<sup>71</sup> В. К. Соколова, "Изображение действительности в разных фольклорных жанрах (на примере соотношения преданий с историческими песнями и быличками)," in *Русский фольклор*, ed. А. А. Горелов (Ленинград: Наука, 1981), p. 37.



Context plays a critical role in understanding words in oral poetry. It is evident from the following examples that the language of different folk genres, along with the genre of charms, contains similar epithets, formulas, and patterns. For example, E. Moroni (2010) describes the language of oral poetry as being 'highly formulaic based consistently on parallelism and repetition, which can hardly find adequate equivalents in other linguistic systems, since lexical and semantic units reflect symbols and metaphors deeply embedded in Russian traditional folk culture'.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, in his study of Russian folk songs Vernadsky (1944) gave this detailed description of folk language. He observed that:

'the basic remains the same: the same turns of phrase; the same images, metaphors, epithets; the same traditional combinations of words, forming, one might say, verbal cords. For instance, the sea is always 'blue sea', the fields are always 'open fields'. Youth and maiden are never mentioned otherwise than as 'worthy youth' or 'fair maiden'. In fact, nearly each word has its invariable epithet: white hands, blue flowers, silken grass etc. among other characteristic devices one can mention fixed combinations of certain nouns, which always appear paired together, repetition of certain words from one line of the song to the next'.<sup>73</sup>

Moroni and Vernadsky's studies demonstrate the similarities found in different folk genres and indicate that the genres of oral traditions employ the same poetic devices.

We can conclude that while many different folklore genres employ similar epithets, there are also epithets and functions specific to a particular folklore genre. Epithets like 'pretty maid' [*красная девица*], 'dark blue sea' [*синее море*], 'black steed' [*вороной конь*], 'hazel steed' [*карий конь*] are found in many folklore genres. But some of the common epithets may have a different meaning in healing charms. For example, the epithet 'white body', while describing the standard of human beauty, may provide the additional meaning of a healthy body as opposed to a body ravished by diseases (described in healing charms as sisters or brothers of different colours). Another illustrative example of the different functions of the same epithet in the healing charm is the epithet 'hazel steed'. In the analysis of figurative and literal language of the healing charm for wounds and bleeding by Patricia Arant (1975), the horse is not identified as a representation of power, beauty, and loyalty by the hero's side as in other genres but with blood. This is how Arant described the comparison:

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<sup>72</sup> Moroni, "Between Orality and Literacy: Parallelism and Repetition in Russian Folk Epics and Their Challenge to Translation," p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Vernadsky, N, "The Russian Folk-Song," *The Russian Review* 3, no. 2 (Spring, 1944): pp. 94 - 99.

'the blood is identified with a horse, whose galloping and standing still is compared to the blood's flowing and coagulating. But analogy most clearly is based on color. When the blood is commanded not to pour, it is described as a red roan, the color of blood when it flows. When the blood is directed not to drip, the color of the horse changes to bay, the color of blood when it dries. Probably the most important features are the colors red and brown, which horses share with the bleeding wound. This common quality of color which changes from light to dark would seem to insure healing'.<sup>74</sup>

To sum up: the language of folk culture is deeply semiotic and symbolic. Symbols can be either linguistic units, actions, or things, or even the type and colour of clothes. Symbol-phrases and images in the oral tradition point to deep traditional meanings in folk culture. Within this closed linguistic world, many word-symbols can be used to communicate one folk concept and, *vice versa*, one word can express a range of symbolic meanings.<sup>75</sup> This is far removed from the language of everyday speech, including the everyday speech of those who recite (or recited) texts from the oral tradition. Some of the differences identified by M. Speransky (1917) and Khrolenko include the following:

- semiotic patterning within a closed system,
- evaluative connotations ascribed to words within that system,
- dialectal features,
- archaisms,
- wide range of poetic devices,
- genre-dependent features,<sup>76</sup> such as the consistency, but ambivalence, of fixed epithets.

The language of charms must also be considered as an example of magical language. In his study on the social theory of magic, Lawrence O'Keefe saw the universe divided into two kinds of magic – magic in the 'strict' and 'weak' senses. We focus on magic in the 'strict' sense because it includes medical magic with its curative spells and charms.

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<sup>74</sup> Arant, P, "Figurative and Literal Coupling in Russian Oral Traditional Genres," *The Slavic and East European Journal* 19, no. 4 (Winter, 1975): pp. 411-20.

<sup>75</sup> Никитина, Цели описания. Выбор модели.

<sup>76</sup> As quoted in Хроленко, Введение в лингвофольклористику, p. 192.

How is magic effected in the language of healing charms? According to Agrippa, words have power and when delivered correctly, they can 'convey the virtue of the speaker and powerfully change not only the hearers but also other bodies and things that have no life'.<sup>77</sup> According to Bronislaw Malinowski, practitioners use words they consider magic to gain access to the higher powers and use these powers. Magic is defined by M. O. Lousstaunau and E. J. Sobo (1997) as an 'attempt to manipulate the forces of nature to obtain certain results' where magic puts 'supernatural pressure on nature so that things that wouldn't normally happen do'.<sup>78</sup> According to W. Covino (1994), 'the magical universe comprises a plurality of forces and powers that are all related', and in this universe the success of a charm depends on the 'right balance of desires, emotions, unconscious motivations, socioeconomic and political forces, and natural forces'.<sup>79</sup>

The magic act almost always comprises the use of language. Indeed, words are an equally if not more important part of the magic act than its non-verbal parts. Belief in the power of words allows their users to trust that these words give them access to or an ability to access and influence magical powers.

What are the linguistic characteristics of magical language? One of the most characteristic features of magic language is 'strange and incomprehensible sounds, words, phrases, originally used as autonomous instruments to add power to the magical act, 'to make it work'. According to Versnel, '[they further developed] into acclamations or exhortations to raise (or compel) divine forces to activity'.<sup>80</sup> These elements of magic language can be observed in the language of healing charms where appeals or a demand to the spirit gods involve archaic and sometimes incomprehensible words that might sound like gibberish to both the healer and the patient.

Frequently charms addressing the object (illness, disease, infection) contain phrases that we could describe as nonsense. Furthermore, it was believed that repeating words, even those that sound gibberish to both patient and healer, might have some meditative and even soothing effect.

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<sup>77</sup> As quoted in Covino, W. A, *Magic, Rhetoric, and Literacy. An Eccentric History of the Composing Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 48.

<sup>78</sup> Lousstaunau, *The Cultural Context of Health, Illness, and Medicine*, p. 99.

<sup>79</sup> Covino, *Magic, Rhetoric, and Literacy. An Eccentric History of the Composing Imagination*, p. 14; p. 120.

<sup>80</sup> Versnel, "The Poetics of the Magical Charm," pp. 11-12.

In the magic universe physical and spiritual bodies connect and interact with each other, through analogy, things resemble things. And 'to know a thing means to know all of its resemblances'.<sup>81</sup>

Just as folk language differs from the everyday language of its practitioners, so does magical language differ from the language everyday speech. As Odgen and Richards argue: magic language is emotive language that converts words into symbols as opposed to scientific language that uses precise words to describe objective reality. Magic language also differs from everyday language by its mystery and exclusivity. Since it relates to a reality that can be guided and influenced through words and action, magic language contains and deploys specific phrases, forms, word choices, and archaic word forms.

Whilst markedly different in its form and function from everyday and scientific language, magic language does share characteristics often ascribed to religious language, or the language of religious ritual. Over the centuries, ancient beliefs, as well as the charms and rituals associated with them, acquired additional layers, and it is difficult to determine what these later additions are and what elements in healing charms are truly archaic. After the Christianization of Rus', charms acquired Christian elements and the names of Christian saints mingled in charms with the names of the pagan deities.<sup>82</sup> V. Propp (1984) suggested that 'the old and the new can exist not only in a state of unresolved contradiction; they may also enter into hybrid formations.

Folklore and religious ideas are full of such hybrids'.<sup>83</sup> We may say that healing charms are such hybrids, containing a mixture of religious and magical language illustrated by the incorporation of canonical and non-canonical prayers and other Christian elements into the archaic charm corpus.

Magical language shares many of the properties of the language of prayer, of the language of religion. One such feature is what W. Keane called linguistic recourses – textual features that incorporate ritual register, different lexical items for the same word in colloquial and ritual speech, elements that are borrowed from other languages, euphemisms, metaphors as well as opaqueness of meaning and semantico-grammatical parallelism.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Covino, *Magic, Rhetoric, and Literacy. An Eccentric History of the Composing Imagination*, p. 43.

<sup>82</sup> Ryan, "Magic and Divination. Old Russian Sources," pp. 52-53.

<sup>83</sup> Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>84</sup> Keane, W, "Religious Language," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): p. 53.

A religious mindset is predicated on there being forces that are more powerful than humans and that it is beyond humans' power to influence them. Humans are humble before such powers and, before appealing to them or taking an action, they need to adopt 'a moral stance that is pleasing to the higher power(s)'.<sup>85</sup> This humility is reflected in the healing charm language when a practitioner or a healer appeals to Christian saints in order to gain their help before ordering the disease to go, threatening it with god's wrath if it does not follow orders. The use of the canonical and non-canonical prayers present in some healing charms are thought to let a speaker obtain 'special' powers after citing these authoritative words or to acquire assistance from the god(s). According to W. Keane (1997), 'religious language is deeply implicated with underlying assumptions about the human subject, divine beings, and the ways their capacities and agencies differ'.<sup>86</sup>

The distinction between magic and religious language is illustrated in the healing charm language by displaying different attitudes of those addressing the higher power. As stated by W. Keane, in some traditions the prayers were shaped by the human regard to the powers they addressed.<sup>87</sup> Bunzel wrote that some people 'do not humble themselves before the supernatural; they bargain with it'.<sup>88</sup> Loustaunau and Sobo summed it up: 'magic does, religion asks'.<sup>89</sup> These two aspects of addressing the supernatural forces, humbling, and demanding one, are both present in the language of the healing charms in the source data. The mixture of elements of magic and religious language in healing charms suggests two worldviews combined together. The portrayal of these two worldviews is successfully blended together through different language resources in the healing charms. Taken as a whole, words in charm texts were believed to possess both 'magical' and 'theurgic' powers. Practitioners and healers, while being Christians, would not see using healing charms or charms in general as witchcraft or anything anti-Christian. They believed that God grants a practitioner or a healer the ability to use these powers.

To sum up, the differences between the genre of charms and other folklore genres are as follows: 1) the sphere of their usage, individual (healing charms) versus collective needs (folklore genres employed in agricultural rituals and economic activities); 2) the modes of communication employed in healing charms (appealing to and imploring the help of a

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<sup>85</sup> Loustaunau, *The Cultural Context of Health, Illness, and Medicine*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>86</sup> Keane, "Religious Language," p. 49.

<sup>87</sup> Keane, "Religious Language," p. 55.

<sup>88</sup> Bunzel (1932b:618) as quoted in Keane, "Religious Language."

<sup>89</sup> Loustaunau, *The Cultural Context of Health, Illness, and Medicine*, p. 99.

higher power beyond the human realm), 3) the features of magic and religious language incorporated in the healing charms which 'participants consider different from everyday speech'.<sup>90</sup> In both magic and religious language there is the need to be explicit, where language is 'deeply implicated with underlying assumptions about the human subject, divine beings, and the way their capacities and agencies differ'.<sup>91</sup>

The purpose of Part One of this chapter is to map the coordinates of scholarly work relating to the tradition of healing charms, and more particularly healing charms in the folklore of the Russian North. This exercise identifies a number of key concepts and raises a number of questions which helped refine the core research question and shape the methods required analyse the data. These include the following:

1. How does the folk culture of the Russian North represent illness and how does it represent wellbeing?
2. What place do colour terms play in representations of illness and disease?
3. Are certain colours associated with health and others with illness?
4. Are certain colours associated with specific illnesses? Are certain illnesses associated with specific colours?
5. Do colours function in a system of binary opposites?
6. Are certain colours associated with specific causes of illness? (Divine retribution, the ill will of others, natural causes)
7. Given that no terms are value-free in the folk world, what value do colour terms have? Are these values stable across the corpus of charms? what does that reflect about the culture of health/illness?
8. How is the healing process represented in charm texts?
9. Are certain colours associated with distinct parts of a charm's tripartite structure? or with a specific level in Agapkina's system?
10. Is the Centre of the World coloured?
11. How does the functioning of colour epithets in healing charms differ from their functioning in other folk genres and/or other types of charms?

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<sup>90</sup> Соколова, "Изображение действительности в разных фольклорных жанрах (на примере соотношения преданий с историческими песнями и быличками)," p. 118.

<sup>91</sup> Keane, "Religious Language," pp. 48-50.

## 2.2. THE SEMANTICS OF COLOUR

The central questions in Part Two of this chapter is 'What is colour?' and 'How have colours been categorised by scholars?'. We review studies of the semantics of colour in Anglophone and Russophone scholarship and explore how each of these traditions has conceptualized and categorised colour. This review leads to the discussion of two distinctions which are of considerable importance in this thesis: the linguistic universalist versus relativist debate which exercises Anglophone discussions, and the concepts of radiance and evaluation which are seminal to Russophone research.

This chapter provides a conceptual and theoretical framework which informs the study of colour in subsequent chapters.

### 2.2.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY OF COLOUR SEMANTICS

The notion of colour is created in our heads by the brain that brings concepts into existence from visual information the brain receives. Therefore, not all see colour in the same way. In terms of our perceptions, we have a subjective mental model of the world, and language is a tool to express and communicate this model to others.<sup>92</sup> What is the relationship between language, thought and culture? How can language shape our thoughts and our worldview, and to what degree? Those questions have been the subject of scientific debates over the years and became the principle subject matter in Western linguistics in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For decades linguists, psychologists, anthropologists, and scholars in other fields examined the different and diverse ways in which humans experience and describe colour. After years of research and analysis of empirical data about the colour spectrum and colour categorization in different languages, the field of colour semantics has become interdisciplinary in nature.

Research has analysed the languages of different people, of societies at different technological levels to gain insights into their worldview and understand the way they conceptualise their surroundings and, of particular relevance to this thesis, the colour domain.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Hipkiss, R. A, *Semantics. Defining the Discipline* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995), p. x.

<sup>93</sup> Biggam, C. P, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

There is a large volume of published studies describing the role of colour in culture and language. As Marc Bronstein (1975) stated, 'how men see color and how they discuss it represent topics of long-standing anthropological, linguistic and psychological inquiry'.<sup>94</sup>

Colour is differently conceived and perceived even within one culture; colours should by rights be studied within the context of a given culture as perceptions and interpretations of colour are filtered through language. Language is a way of encoding and decoding the given information;<sup>95</sup> every language has its own specific ways of surveying and describing different concepts and situations. A. Wierzbicka (1992), when describing language and its functions, asserts that 'language does not reflect the world directly: it reflects human conceptualisation, human interpretation of the world'.<sup>96</sup> She argues, that many uses of language are not about pragmatic communication but about negotiating and expressing meaning. One way in which we conceptualise and categorise the world can be observed and examined through the conceptualisation and categorisation of colour domains in different languages.<sup>97</sup>

The field of colour semantics has been multidisciplinary since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Years of cross-cultural investigation and research has helped to combine within the field of colour semantics such disciplines as psychology, cognitive linguistics, anthropology, and folklore. Deborah Lupton (2004) stated that a 'blending' of boundaries among many disciplines has taken place in the last decades and with the rise of what she called 'the linguistic turn' when the attention of scholars in many fields turned to language and 'discursive processes'.<sup>98</sup> This thesis follows in that tradition to investigate what colours mean in the healing charms of Northern Russia.

Research in colour categorisation and colour naming has two major directions.<sup>99</sup> The first strand comprises the empirical verification of two dominant hypotheses in the field of colour semantics, namely, the Sapir-Whorf (1920s and 1950s) hypothesis and the Berlin & Kay (1969) hypothesis. The second direction relates not only to the linguistic aspect of colour terms but also to colour terms as the subject matter of vision research or the neuro-

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<sup>94</sup> Bornstein, M. H, "The Influence of Visual Perception on Culture," *American Anthropologist* 77, no. 4 (Dec., 1975): p. 774.

<sup>95</sup> Apresjan, Y, Lehrman, A, *Lexical Semantics: User's Guide to Contemporary Russian Vocabulary*, vol. 13 (Ann Arbor: Karoma 1992), p. xiii.

<sup>96</sup> Wierzbicka, A, *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition. Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 3; p. 7.

<sup>97</sup> Taylor, R. J, *Linguistic Categorization. Prototypes in Linguistic Theory.*, 2nd edition ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

<sup>98</sup> Lupton, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies*, p. 5.

<sup>99</sup> Witzel, Ch, "Color Naming," (2008).

[http://www.allpsych.unigiessen.de/chris/documents/color\\_naming.pdf](http://www.allpsych.unigiessen.de/chris/documents/color_naming.pdf).



physiological aspect of the colour research. This thesis limits its discussion to the linguistic aspect of colour perception and categorisation.

### 2.2.2. COLOUR SEMANTICS IN ANGLOPHONE SCHOLARSHIP

The middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the idea of evolution not only in biological sciences but also in humanities approved and accepted. In Europe this idea, in what we currently understand as the field of colour semantics, was principally linked with the name of William Gladstone (1809 – 1898) who was an enthusiastic Greek scholar. His ardent interest in Classics led him to examine Homer's colour vocabulary where he concluded that 'color language reflects color perception'.<sup>100</sup> He went on to provide an explanation for differences between Homer's colour vocabulary and colour terms in contemporary English, proposing that human colour perception must have been constantly involving from antiquity to the present days. His work was criticized by a number of scholars, particularly by a follower of Darwin's theory of natural selection, Grant Allen, who stated that human colour perception is linked to neuro-physiological development, whereas colour terms are created and incorporated in culture when culture has a need for them. Like Gladstone, H. F. Magnus (1842 – 1907), a professor of ophthalmology from Germany, believed that the colour vocabulary of ancient literature indicated the state of human vision at the time when the ancient literature was composed. His conclusion was that colour perception and colour identification are different concepts.<sup>101</sup> Another intellectual, interested in examining colour terms and colour concepts was a British anthropologist, ethnologist and psychiatrist, W. H. Rivers (1864 – 1922). While travelling across Africa, Australia and India, he carried out various tests and experiments on colour perception and categorizations by natives. He concluded that colour perception of natives was relatively fixed and that colour vocabularies do differ to some degree.<sup>102</sup>

The evolutionary view gained strength in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the appearance of linguistic relativity theory that incorporated cultural and linguistic relativism. The idea that language and thought are interconnected goes back to the Classical civilizations, but in the field of colour semantics the ideas is primarily associated with the German scholar Wilhelm von Humboldt and two American scholars Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. We take them as the starting point for this brief overview of scholarship relevant to this thesis.

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<sup>100</sup> As quoted in Bornstein's *Hue Categorization and Color Naming*, p. 5.

<sup>101</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour: A Historical Approach*, p. 15.

<sup>102</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour: A Historical Approach*, pp. 15 – 17.

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe the philosopher and linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt (1820) argued that language is an involuntary activity created by human mental power. He pointed out that the diversity of languages in the world is not a function of different sounds and signs but rather of the diversity of world views expressed in languages. He went on to attest that the diversity of worldviews is the 'reason and the ultimate purpose of all investigation of language'.<sup>103</sup> Humboldt attempted to outline the structure of languages and, accordingly he argued that this structure consists of two components: an external and an internal form (or 'soul' and 'intellectual' form of language). Studies of the external part of language demonstrate how language arranges its sounds into meaningful parts that follow the grammar rules of a language. The internal or intellectual part, on the other hand, can be further divided into two or more components. Those are 'the universal forms of intuition and the logical ordering of concepts and laws for expressing in language the minds' concepts and its inner conceptual form'.<sup>104</sup> It follows that, on the one hand, conceptual and linguistic forms of languages are universal but, on the other hand, languages remain very different and diverse.

And since languages, being diverse in their structure, are involved in shaping human cognition, Humboldt concluded that 'there resides in every language a characteristic world view (*Weltansicht*)' and to learn a new language means to acquire a 'new standpoint', although it is only a new point of view from within the worldview of the 'old' language(s).<sup>105</sup>

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the appearance of the theory of linguistic relativity that incorporated cultural and linguistic relativism. The anthropologist and linguist Edward Sapir was particularly interested in language categories, their structure and organisation, the way meanings are constructed and how they affect speakers' perception and conceptualisation. The interconnection of culture and personality was Sapir's main interest, and he provided many original and even provocative insights to the field of social sciences. He believed that since different languages view reality differently, it follows that the speakers of different languages understand reality differently. In one of his classic studies (1949) on the problems of cultural anthropology, linguistics, and psychology, he suggested that the 'real word' is to a 'large extent unconsciously built up on the language

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<sup>103</sup> As quoted in Manchester, M. L., *The Philosophical Foundations of Humboldt's Linguistic Doctrines*, vol. 32 (John Benjamins Publishing, 1985), p. 68.

<sup>104</sup> Humboldt, W., *On Language: on the Diversity of Human Language Construction and Its Influence on the Mental Development of the Human Species*, ed. Michael Losonsky (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. xiii.

<sup>105</sup> Humboldt, *On Language: on the Diversity of Human Language Construction and Its Influence on the Mental Development of the Human Species*, p. xvii.

habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached'.<sup>106</sup> To Sapir, language was a social and cultural construct.

In the 1930s Sapir met his future student Benjamin Lee Whorf who at the same time was an amateur linguist interested in the relationship between thought, language, and culture. Whorf examined Native American languages to determine how different languages affect the speakers' perception of the world. Both Sapir and Whorf engaged in further developing their views on the language, culture, thought relationship in more systematic ways. Whorf questioned the linguistic construction of language and provided empirical examples of the influence these linguistic constructions have on speakers' beliefs and behaviour. His work and views on the effects and relation of language and thought became known to a wider audience after his death in 1941 when his followers gathered his research and published his major writings under the title *Language, Thought and Reality* (1956). One of his best-known quotes on cultural and linguistic relativism explains that

'we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees'.<sup>107</sup>

Whorf's idea was that the language shapes and represents a thought in a way that is peculiar to the people that use it.<sup>108</sup>

The key aspect of Sapir's and Whorf's ideas was the language's influence on our thinking and perception. These ideas are now known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Since its

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<sup>106</sup> Sapir, E, *Culture, Language and Personality: Selected Essays*, vol. 342 (University of California Press, 1985), p. 69.

<sup>107</sup> Whorf, B. L, *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, ed. John B. Carroll (Cambridge, MA: Technology Press of MIT 1956), p. 213.

<sup>108</sup> Hipkiss, *Semantics. Defining the Discipline*, p. 7.

formation and publication, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has caused controversy, debates and generated research in many disciplines and fields. To summarise, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis maintains that 'language and culture are wholly relative, and that culture is wholly shaped by language'.<sup>109</sup> Although this hypothesis bears the name of Sapir and Whorf, it is important to remember that neither of them officially formulated the hypothesis nor did they provide empirical data for it. After detailed study of their writings on linguistics and culture, researchers have identified two main concepts that have been named a weak and a strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The weak version (or linguistic relativism) states that language influences our perception of the world, in the strong version (or linguistic determinism) language determines the way one interprets the world.<sup>110</sup> Whorf called his own theory 'a new principle of relativity' and concluded that language determines one's worldview and mental discourse.<sup>111</sup>

Since its formulation, the Sapir-Whorf theory has drawn many objections and criticism regarding its claim that our language shapes how we perceive and categorise things we observe around us. Linguists, anthropologists, and scholars in other disciplines interested in these ideas have conducted out experiments and research in their respective fields to prove or disprove the linguistic relativity hypothesis.

In the early 1950s one of the first psychologists to pursue linguistic relativity research, Eric Lenneberg, called the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis into question and critiqued concepts which were fundamental to the hypothesis. He argued that, although different languages describe ideas and concepts differently, the meaning of these ideas and concepts are equivalent for speakers of different languages. Lenneberg's main criticism, however, was the lack of empirical evidence for the theory, showing the connection between language and thought. Subsequently Lenneberg and the psycholinguist Roger Brown decided to test the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. They both believed that, notwithstanding different language traditions, the objective reality of the world is the same for all speakers. They wanted to test whether different languages arrange and decode the same concepts differently and whether these differences affect behaviour. What is remarkable about this experiment is that it was the first study investigating the linguistic relativity hypothesis involving colours. John Taylor

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<sup>109</sup> Casson, R. W, *Language, Culture, and Cognition: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1981), p. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, pp. 17-19. On linguistic relativity see David D. Laitin, *Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 139-62. See also Julia M. Penn, *Linguistic Relativity Versus Innate Ideas. The Origins of the Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis in German Thought* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1972), pp. 13-32.

<sup>111</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, p. 214. See also Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*, pp. 328-35.

(1995) acknowledged almost forty years after this study that 'in many respects colour terminology provides an ideal testing ground for theories of categorization'.<sup>112</sup> The results of Lenneberg's and Brown's experiment supported the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf theory.

On the other side of the ideological divide, a typical example of linguistic universalism was the hypothesis put forward by Berlin and Kay (1969) who later wrote that the idea of universality in colour terms had already been theorised about in linguistics but had never fully been explored or defined. They studied colour terms in different languages and found that, despite the diversity and differences in colour terminology across languages, there are some shared underlying universal elements of basic sets of colours. The hypothesis put forward by Berlin and Kay stated that languages share all or part of the colour spectrum, and they called these shared semantics denoting colours basic colour terms (BCTs). In a given linguistic group these BCTs are acquired over time and in a set of order which Berlin and Kay named the evolutionary sequence. To distinguish basic colour terms from non-basic terms, Berlin and Kay identified four primary criteria:

1. It must be monolexemic.
2. It must be psychologically salient.
3. It cannot be a part of a composite.
4. Its usage cannot be restricted to a narrow set of objects.

Psychological salience in this thesis is understood to reference the most frequently and broadly used colour terms in a given language. If there was any doubt whether a colour term was basic or not, there were four secondary criteria could be applied.<sup>113</sup> Since some BCTs seemed more basic than others, there was a further division into primary and secondary BCTs. It also transpired that the primary or more basic BCTs correspond with the six primaries which the German physiologist Hering had identified. Indeed, Hering proposed that human vision is based on colour opponency and that there are three colour opponency pairs in all (black vs. white, red vs. green, blue vs. yellow).<sup>114</sup>

Berlin and Kay's evolutionary sequence represents the development of basic colour terms and shows how languages develop through seven colour categorisation stages acquiring

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<sup>112</sup> Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization. Prototypes in Linguistic Theory.*, p. 2.

<sup>113</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, pp. 21-41. See also Sarapik Virve, "Red: The Colour and the Word," *Folklore* 3 (1997): p. 5, <https://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol3/red.htm>. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>114</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, pp. 21-22.

additional BCTs in a partially fixed sequence. The original evolutionary sequence (1969) was as follows:

[white/black] -> [red] -> [green/yellow] -> [yellow/green] -> [blue] -> [brown] -> [purple/pink/orange/grey].<sup>115</sup>

According to Berlin and Kay, there are two to eleven basic colour terms in each language leading to the conclusion that 'color categories are similar across languages and are restricted to a set of eleven basic color terms'.<sup>116</sup> These BCTs cover all parts of the colour spectrum in a given language. However, they also admitted that there are exceptions when a language has 12 basic colour terms (for example, Russian, Hungarian, Korean). Berlin and Kay argued that the evolutionary sequence predicts and interprets the development of colour categories through time. In a case when a language has fewer than 11 BCTs, those colour terms would not be random. If a language has two basic colour terms, they would be black and white; if there are three BCTs the third would always be red etc. This hypothesis also outlined the fact that less technologically developed societies have fewer BCTs. Such societies add additional colour terms along with technological development. There seemed to be a correlation between the technological development and cultural complexity of societies.<sup>117</sup> To determine the accuracy and validity of Berlin and Kay's hypothesis, the World Colour Survey was carried out in 1976.

The colour naming data from 110 languages was collected and examined. They concluded that the colour lexicon of a language does not affect the perceptual system of people. On the contrary, the perceptual system restricts language, and particularly, colour categorisation. The results of this survey led to some important changes to the original hypothesis.<sup>118</sup> In the later stages Kay and McDaniel (1978) further elaborated the original hypothesis. They reviewed the original theory and added the neurophysiological aspect that was absent before. They argued that the basic colour terms are inherent and that there are some common pan-human neurophysiological processes that govern colour perception and are

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<sup>115</sup> Colour grey has sometimes been called a 'wildcard' because it can emerge at any stage between stages 3 and 7. See Rakhilina, E. V, Paramei, G. V, "Colour Terms: Evolution via Expansion of Taxonomic Constraints," in *New Directions in Colour Studies*, ed. Carole A. Hough, Carole P. Biggam, Christian J. Kay, David R. Simmons (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011), p. 122.

<sup>116</sup> Webster, M. A, Kay, P, "Individual and Population Differences in Focal Colors," in *Anthropology of Color: Interdisciplinary Multilevel Modeling*, ed. Galina V. Paramei, Robert E. MacLaury, Don Dedrick (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007), p. 30.

<sup>117</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, pp. 58-84.

<sup>118</sup> Kay et al., *The World Color Survey* (CSLI Publications Stanford, California, 2009). World Colour Survey (WCS) archive data can be accessed at [www.icsi.berkeley.edu/wcs/data.html](http://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/wcs/data.html)

‘the basis of the universal patterns in the meanings of the basic colour terms’.<sup>119</sup>

After the publication of Berlin and Kay’s universalist hypothesis there were numerous objections and strong criticism from the supporters of linguistic and cultural relativity. The theory was also vigorously challenged in recent years by a number of scholars. Collier (1973) pointed out that in their original work Berlin and Kay had failed to address the bias in choosing and organising their colour data in the results of the study. Many drawbacks of the methodology were identified, such as the fact that many languages of the experiment were represented only by one subject, or that the subjects taking part in the experiment were students in the US, away from their native language environment. It was pointed out that this fact might have influenced the usage of the colour vocabulary of their native languages. Saunderson and van Brakel’s (1988) critique was directed at Berlin and Kay’s assumptions, such as whether all cultures have a concept of ‘colour’ and whether exceptions to the evolutionary sequence should not be explained outside the evolutionary sequence hypothesis because people have different culture and colour concepts.<sup>120</sup> John A. Lucy (1998) criticised Berlin and Kay’s supposition that their chosen colour material should encode colour information, leaving aside those instances where colour terms contained different information than colour information that could have provided the evidence for linguistic relativity. The Universalists have also been criticised for suggesting that those societies that have fewer basic colour terms can be thought of as primitive. Some critics of the evolutionary sequence have pointed out that it suggests that there is a connection between a given society’s technological advancement and the number of BCTs. Another point of critique was about Anglocentrism as one of the problems with the terminology of research of the colour spectrum thus eliminating some potentially important and significant aspects of colour from non-English colour categories.<sup>121</sup> In her criticism of semantic universals of colour terminology, Anna Wierzbicka (1996) is quite straightforward saying that ‘in all cultures, people are interested in “seeing” and in describing what they see, but they don’t necessarily isolate “colour” as a separate aspect of their visual experience’.<sup>122</sup> She concluded that there are universals of ‘seeing’ which can be observed and examined in the world’s existing languages but ‘there can’t be any colour universals’.

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<sup>119</sup> McDaniel, C, Kay, P, "The Linguistic Significance of the Meanings of Basic Color Terms," *Language* (1978): p. 611.

<sup>120</sup> Saunders, B, Van Brakel, J, "Re-evaluating Basic Colour Terms," *Cultural Dynamics* 1, no. 3 (1988): p. 368.

<sup>121</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, pp. 85-95.

<sup>122</sup> Wierzbicka, A, *Semantics: Primes and Universals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 287. *Colour. A Historical Approach*, p. 72; 75; 81; 82.

As was mentioned earlier in this section, not only the hypothesis of semantic universals but also the theory of the evolutionary sequence has changed since 1969 and has received a substantial role in the considerable amount of criticism.<sup>123</sup> Nonetheless, as Biggam (2012) noted, two main principles of these theories have remained unchallenged: first, Hering's six fundamental primaries (black, white, red, green, blue, yellow) and the assertion that colours 'either alone or in combination, appear to represent perceptual landmarks for humans, and play a cognitive colour systems of most of the world's societies';<sup>124</sup> secondly, the theory that societies acquire basic colour terms in a fixed order and, once acquired, these BCTs are rarely lost.

Although the two hypotheses of linguistic universalism and the evolutionary sequence have been criticised over the years, nobody has been able to disapprove them completely. When Webster and Kay (2007) reviewed the situation in the field of colour semantics, they observed that, while there have been many counterarguments and criticism of Berlin and Kay's theories, the similarities of 'a remarkably consistent structure of colour categories' across many languages have been seen by many as strong evidence 'for universal tendencies in colour experience that are shaped by common perceptual processes'.<sup>125</sup>

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the original Sapir-Whorf hypothesis underwent a process of review. New approaches in cognitive linguistics and psychology as well as linguistic anthropology indirectly generated a change of intellectual climate and opinions towards the intermediate positions between cultural/linguistic relativity and universalism. A new recognition of language diversity and cultural differences renewed an interest in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. This new-found interest in linguistic relativism has been named the Whorfian Renaissance and it is more than a suggestive framework for subsequent research and experiments.<sup>126</sup> Yet this renewed interest in the hypothesis did not mean that the original and somewhat naive approach to the studies of linguistic relativity in the early period was to be continued. More recent studies of linguistic relativity have, first of all been based on much greater knowledge about languages, mental processing, and behaviour, and secondly, they have increased the precision and range of the research. There is no question of proving or disproving linguistic and cultural relativity. Rather, researchers are interested in the correlation and connection between thought, language, and culture. While acknowledging the underlying universals, shared by cultures and languages, researchers

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<sup>123</sup> The development of the evolutionary sequence is described in detail in Biggam, *The Semantics of*

<sup>124</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, p. 85.

<sup>125</sup> Webster, "Individual and Population Differences in Focal Colors," p. 29.

<sup>126</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, p. 107.



are focusing more on meaning and discourse, and human development in the social and cultural environment.

Another approach based on a weak version of the hypothesis is through experimental data, showing that linguistic relativity is relevant in such domains as spatial cognition, use of the language and colour perception. Recent studies (Gilbert et al. 2006, Davies et al. 2007, Winawer et al. 2007, Robertson et al. 2008) have shown that colour perception is susceptible to linguistic relativity when processing through the left-brain hemisphere. It was suggested that the left side of the brain relies on language more than the right side. This new research has shown that language may influence how people perceive the world and colours. Today we also know that there are languages with more than 11 BCTs.

Many researchers in the West have extensively investigated the Russian language. The main reason for interest in its colour system is because it does not fit into Berlin and Kay's BCTs hierarchy. Extensive studies have been carried out exploring this exception to the original assertion (Morgan and Corbett, 1989; Davis and Corbett, 1994; Paramei, 2005, 2007; Rakhilina 2000, 2007).

Russians distinguish between light blue (голубой [*goluboi*]) and dark blue (синий [*sini*]). The basicness of these two terms has been an ongoing source of experiments and discussions. The research provides evidence for the basic status of both of these colour terms. For instance, Jonathan Winawer (2007) of Massachusetts Institute of Technology conducted an experiment where he presented three blue squares to English and Russian speakers. Two of these squares were identical shades of blue while the third one had a minor difference in colour. The speakers were asked to pick out two identical squares. The Russian speakers performed this task much quicker than the English speakers because the English speakers did not have the distinction between light blue and dark blue. When commenting on this experiment, Winawer said that 'the critical difference in this case is not that English speakers cannot distinguish between light and dark blues, but rather that Russian speakers cannot avoid distinguishing them; they must do so to speak Russian in conventional manner'.<sup>127</sup>

Language represents social reality, but it also constitutes a kind of social reality in itself. The aim of this thesis is to understand colour terms in the social/cultural reality of Russian

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<sup>127</sup> Winawer et al., "Russian Blues Reveal Effects of Language on Color Discrimination," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104, no. 19 (2007): pp. 77-80.

healing charms from a relativist perspective or, what Virve (1997) terms, 'the insider's viewpoint on language'.<sup>128</sup>

We will use Berlin and Kay's four primary criteria in defining basic colour terms to determine which terms to include/exclude from the source material in our research corpus (see Methodology Chapter, selection criteria). But we also remain cognizant of the fact that lexemes used to express, for instance, red-ness, may not be constant through time or space. Indeed, the lexeme in Modern Russian which most usually equates to the English-language lexeme red (красный [*krasnyi*]) was only introduced into Russian in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whereas our source material has its roots centuries prior to that. We need to work out a scheme for including what we call shades within a colour category; to do so we adapt the Berlin and Kay BCTs to refer to colour categories (such as red-ness, blueness, etc.). As we will see in the next section of this part of the Literature Review, linguo-culturological studies of colour semantics in the Russian scholarly tradition have attempted to determine into how many broad colour categories one might group related shades.

### 2.2.3. COLOUR SEMANTICS IN RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE SCHOLARSHIP

When the idea of linguistic and cultural relativity was forming in Western linguistics, changes were taking place in the Russian Empire. The October Revolution of 1917 had led to the formation of a new state, the Soviet Union. Fresh out of the turbulent and tumultuous revolution, the new state began to incorporate Marxist ideas in many spheres of life, including academia and the field of linguistics.<sup>129</sup> The sovietisation of different aspects of the sciences began as early as the late 1920s and at that time Soviet linguists viewed languages as a social phenomenon.<sup>130</sup> In his review of the situation in Soviet linguistics from the 1920s through the 1950s and its acceptance (or lack thereof) of Western linguistic ideas, Mika Lähteenmäki (2014) observed that the process of sovietisation in science was understood 'as a conscious process of revolutionising and rebuilding the sciences on the basis of Marxist-Leninist

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<sup>128</sup> Virve, "Red: The Colour and the Word," p. 9.

<sup>129</sup> Ellis, J, Davies, R. W, "The Crisis in Soviet Linguistics," *Soviet Studies* 2, no. 3 (Jan., 1951): p. 210.

<sup>130</sup> Uhlik, M, "Simmering in the Soviet Pot: Language Heterogeneity in Early Soviet Socio-Linguistics," *Studies in East European Thought* 60, no. 4 (Dec., 2008): pp. 285-93.

philosophy, as opposed to earlier “bourgeois science”.<sup>131</sup> The most important features of early Soviet linguistics were the creation and development of a new type of linguistics based on Marxist ideas and the creation of new alphabets for the many ethnic groups which had been incorporated into the Soviet Union and lacked a written language. Katya Chown (2010) wrote that the new ‘half-literate multidialectal and multilingual Soviet community’ was in urgent need of improving cross-community communication which gave rise to applied linguistics and ‘other language-related research fields that fed into it’.<sup>132</sup>

As Matthews (1995) pointed out, a new stage in the development of Soviet linguistics began in the second part of the 1950s. Although there still was an ideological standoff between Soviet and Western linguistics, it did not prevent the translation and publication of Western linguistic compilations. Moreover, linguists were more than encouraged to return to the traditions of pre- revolutionary Russian science and linguistic thought and ‘familiarise themselves with the theoretical achievements of contemporary Western linguistics, particularly, structuralism while it was nonetheless emphasised that their theoretical innovations must be based on Marxist- Leninist philosophy’

This was the situation in Soviet linguistics by the early 1960s. Even if contemporary Western linguistic thought was favourably received in the Soviet Union, the ideology and political climate in the country caused Soviet linguists to take a different direction in the study of cultures and languages that was based on the Soviet ideology and a Marxist theory of linguistics. While appreciating and working within the major linguistic theories of Western linguistics and science, Soviet linguists took a different approach towards language and culture, particularly towards the relativity of Russian language and culture. It should be added that a similar situation existed in the field of folkloristics where the coalescence of folklore and colour semantics became a subject matter of research.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Lähteenmäki, M, "The Soviet Reception of Edward Sapir's Linguistic Ideas From the 1920s to the 1950s," *Russian Linguistics* 38, no. 1 (2014): p. 48, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11185-013-9123-9>.

<sup>132</sup> Chown, K, "Linguistic Determinism and the History of Early Soviet Language Planning / Лингвистический детерминизм и история раннего советского языкового планирования," *Russian Linguistics* 34, no. 2 (2010): p. 140.

<sup>134</sup> On folkloristics in the Soviet Union a good source to start with is Miller, Y. D, *Folklore for Stalin: Russian Folklore and Pseudo-Folklore in the Stalin Era* (London: Routledge, 1991). See also Tupits, A, "Data Collecting and Research of Folk Medicine in Estonia During the Soviet Era," *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 2, no. 2 (2008).

Since the middle of 1990s, in the post-Soviet academia, there has been a steady increase in publications in the traditions of neo-Humboldtianism. The basic idea of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that different people have different worldviews and national characters, are taken as a given in the publications of the proponents of this idea; this neo-Humboldtian trend in Russian linguistics and culturology, as discussed in Pavlova et al. (2010), is both influenced and critiqued by Wierzbicka.<sup>135</sup> Though authors agree that ‘Russianness’ is a dynamic and influential construct in culture and language,<sup>136</sup> many of the works are based in ethnolinguistics and examine the “concepts” which are considered as ‘constitutive of the “Russian mentality”, or untranslatable key words which are presumed to exemplify national characteristics of the Russian people.<sup>137</sup> The methodologies for identifying such words include comparative frequency counts in national language corpora and analyses of lexemes in proverbs and sayings. This theory is predicated on the legitimacy of terms such as [*national character*], [*national mentality*] and [*Russian uniqueness*]. The assumption underlying such works is that ‘key words’ are by definition untranslatable, that words encode an/some invariable component and that every language community fashions a homogeneous view of the world as determined by these key elements in their language. This essentialism in the construction of a nation (we leave aside a discussion of the logical possibility, let alone reality, of a single monadic nation) and its worldview alongside the determinism in the putative relationship between language and thought are hugely problematic.

It is important for the reader of this thesis to understand how extensive and nearly all-pervasive this tradition is in contemporary Russian-language linguistics and culturological scholarship. As one of the aims of this thesis is to situate our research question in the context of both the English-language and Russian-language scholarly traditions, it is imperative that the reader be aware of the assumptions underlying many of the works cited and discussed in the pages to come. That the Western and Eastern scholarly traditions do not lie comfortably together is part and parcel of the dynamic of this thesis which the reader (and author) have to contend with.

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<sup>135</sup> Pavlova, A, Bezrodnyj, M, *How to Catch a Unicorn? The Image of the Russian Language from Lomonosov to Wierzbicka*, p. 80, p. 82.

<sup>136</sup> Келли К. Рецензия на книгу А. А. Зализняк, И. Б. Левонтиной и А. Д. Шмелева “Ключевые идеи русской языковой картины мира”: Сборник статей/сост.: А. В. Павлова. – СПб.: Антология, 2013.

<sup>137</sup> The list was started in 1916 by Nadine Jarintzov in *The Russians and Their Language* and includes dozens of so-called ‘untranslatable’ words.

The field of colour semantics in Russia is not as defined and chronologically continuous as the field of colour semantics in Anglophone scholarship. Russophone studies in the field of colour semantics are not primarily focused on proving or disproving linguistic universalism or the weak version of Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Most focus on the categorisation of colour terminology from various vantage points.

Currently, there are several directions of research in the field of colour semantics in Russia. Some of them have been developed since the late 1960s, others have emerged since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It should be noted that the division into different areas is to some extent arbitrary. Indeed, a study may include more than one approach in the analysis of colour terminology and semantics.

The main directions of research in colour semantics are as follows:

- a. Historical-comparative research deals with a detailed analysis of colour vocabulary, identifying and determining the significance of colours to different people and ethnic groups within their linguistic and cultural traditions. In recent years, there has been a marked increase in comparative studies of colour terms in different languages (Kezina, 2008; Shesterkina, 2011; Devickaia, 2013).
- b. The evolutionary approach in colour semantics deals with colour names in terms of their origin, meaning, and usage. This approach involves the study of the history of individual colour terms or groups of words denoting colour. It is also the study of the formation and development of colour names as well as their morphology in a given period in the development of the language. Researchers also actively explore dialects that provide them with extensive material enriching our understanding of variations of colour names, about the laws governing the usage of these words. Furthermore, linguists and scholars in different fields are also interested in locating primary semantic elements or a factor that would allow them to describe in detail the history of the semantics of words denoting colour (Granovsku, 1964; Bakhilina, 1975; Kuznetsova, Vasilevich, Mishchenko, 2004; Normanskaia, 2005).
- c. The main subject of the psycholinguistic approach is human colour vision and colour perception. Colour here is treated as an aspect of spiritual creativity (*духовное творчество/dukhovnoe tvorchestvo*) and, therefore, this approach explores not only individual colour terms and their semantics but also the emotional influences of a particular colour or a combination of colours on the human psyche. The

psycholinguistic approach in the field of colour semantics is primarily experimental.<sup>138</sup> The psycholinguists R. M. Frumkina, A. I. Belov, A. P. Vasilevich have studied and examined the 'world' of colours, that is, colour naming, the importance of colour meaning, including their symbolic meaning. For example, Vasilevich (1987) conducted a series of experiments on the colour lexicon where the results (published in *Исследования лексики в психолингвистическом эксперименте/An Investigation of Nomenclature Lexicon in a Psycholinguistic Experiment*) supported Berlin and Kay's linguistic universalism and what is even more revealing, is that they arrived at the same results by different routes. Vasilevich noted that the purpose of such experiments for linguists and scholars in other fields is to 'negotiate' the categorisation and classification of colour names and choose one common and stable term that can be used across many disciplines.<sup>139</sup> Vasilevich (2007) explored the origins of some colour words but specified that he would not attempt to explain why these colour names had been adopted in the language. He distinguished four possible ways of acquiring new colour terms in a language:

1. Naming colourful objects. For example, instead of describing an object as white 'as milk' or red 'as blood', the adjectives milky and bloody came into existence. Some words lost their original etymological connection and began to function as abstract colour words (сиреневый/*sirenevyy*/lilac, малиновый/*malinovy*/crimson).
2. Borrowing (оранжевый/*oranzhevy*/orange, фиолетовый/*fioletovyy*/violet, алый/*aly*/scarlet, пурпурный/*purpurnyy*/purple).
3. Development of new compound words (фиолетово-красный/*fioletovo-krasny*/purple red, небесно-голубой/*nebesno-goluboy*/celestial blue).
4. Acquiring new meanings for colour terms in advertising.

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<sup>138</sup> Е. В. Рахилина, "О семантике прилагательных цвета.," in *Наименование цвета в индоевропейских языках: Системный и исторический анализ.*, ed. Василевич А. П. (Москва: КомКнига, 2007), pp. 29- 39.

<sup>139</sup> А. П. Василевич and В. Н. Телия, *Исследование лексики в психолингвистическом эксперименте: на материале цветообозначения в языках разных систем* (Москва: Наука, 1987), p. 134; 09.

- d. The comparative approach examines similarities and differences in the colour spectrum in different languages, identifies national, cultural, and linguistic features of words denoting colour, explores different conceptual categories of the world and their interpretation in a variety of languages (Makeenko, 2001; Kul'pina, 2001).
- e. The cognitive approach examines the adjustability of colour terms within social, ethnic, and linguistic discourse. One of the subjects of the cognitive approach is the understanding of the 'language worldview' (*языковая картина мира*) of different language communities as well as establishing colour prototypes. This approach is intricately linked with the semantic approach and, additionally, deals with the emotional and mental perception of colours (Rakhilina, 2000).
- f. The grammar approach examines the morphological and syntactic features and characteristics of words denoting colour (Kaibiyainen, 1966).
- g. The lingo-culturological approach examines ways of mutual influence of language and culture. Since the development of this discipline in 1990s, many scholars have investigated the colour domain and colour categories in Russian language from a lingo-culturological perspective. For example, Ivarovskaia (1998) distinguished 10 basic colour terms: white, black, red, blue, green, yellow, brown, grey, orange, and purple. Note that she did not identify two blues. This categorisation is based on the principle of semantic field (*семантическое поле*).<sup>140</sup> Frumkina (2001) distinguished 9 colour categories in the Russian language that would allow one to identify the colour category of words that are most similar to each other (red, scarlet, crimson etc.). It would also help to assign a place to each colour name (what we are calling shade) within semantic relationships of a given category.<sup>141</sup>

### 2.3. SEMANTICS OF COLOUR AND FOLKLORISTICS

This section returns to the field of folkloristics and examines studies which focus on the semantics of colour in folk texts.

As was discussed in Part One of this chapter, healing charms were used to achieve a particular goal: to protect oneself, one's family and community from evil, to cure and heal physical and mental illnesses, to restore balance in the body and the universe. Healing

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<sup>140</sup> В. И. Иваровская, "Лексическое значение цветowych прилагательных в синтагматико-парадигматическом и словообразовательном аспектах," *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета* 2: pp. 104-09.

<sup>141</sup> Р. М. Фрумкина, *Психолингвистика* (Москва: ИЦ" Академия" 2001), p. 72.

practices were derived from the folk worldview, people's observations of everyday events. The medical culture exemplified in charm texts was based on people's observations of causal relations between two or more phenomena, such as a tree falling during a storm or a blow resulting in a bruise, fracture or even death. External forces were bestowed with a set of personality traits and signs. Illnesses and diseases were considered external, hostile, and malignant living beings that tried to penetrate the human body and make it sick. It was a complex blend of archaic, pagan, Christian outlooks intertwining with experiences passed down through the generations.

Colour terms carry an important aesthetic and semantic function in national folk traditions. V. Propp (1984) wrote about each genre's specific relation to reality and its representation.<sup>142</sup> Colours filled people's everyday lives. However, it is mostly out-of-the-ordinary events in life that directed greater attention to one's surroundings and the range of colours therein. Indeed, as Virve Sarapik (1997) noted, 'everything concerning diseases and magic actions is also quite novel and worth mentioning. Colours surround us from morning till night, and therefore it is only on extraordinary occasions when they are somehow striking that a human being is mindful of them'.<sup>143</sup>

Some researchers have explored the semantic development of colour terms in folk material (Kezina, 2013), the characteristics of particular colour(s) in different folklore genres (Shesterkina, 2011), colour frequency and their meaning in charm texts (Malysheva, 2001) as well as colour symbolism in folk texts. A psycholinguistic experiment conducted by Irina Borisova (2013) was designed to discover the mental representation of colour terms found in charm texts on the subconscious. The material for the experiment was two opposite subgroups of charms: charms for invoking love and charms for decreasing love. Borisova divided words denoting colour into direct and indirect colour terms. Direct colour terms are adjectives describing colour – red, black, white etc. Indirect colour terms contained in their semantic structure an associative meaning with direct colour names. For example, blood associates with colour red, grass – with the colour green and so on. Direct colour terms often carry symbolic meanings. The psychophysiological interpretation of the visual effects of colour on people was grounded in an argument that they initiate mental processes that, in turn, lead to changes in physiological states.

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<sup>142</sup> Propp, V, "On the Historicity of Folklore," in *Theory and History of Folklore*, ed. Liberman Anatoly (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 49.

<sup>143</sup> Virve, "Red: The Colour and the Word," p. 13.



The results revealed a common colour set for each of the subgenres. It demonstrated that the number of direct colour terms exceeded the number of indirect colour terms. What is interesting about this experiment is that the dominant colour terms in love charms were red, white, dark blue, light blue and black. The dominance of the colour red corresponded to the

intensity of emotions and feelings of love and passion. Words denoting the colour white were more frequent than the colour black, but black had an important function as it was a catalyst that intensified the colour red. Within the love charm framework, the colour white had the effect or role of light and reduced the devastating force of the colour black. This study revealed that the colour blue is mainly used in the beginning and the end of the charm suggesting that the

purpose of this colour is to put a person's mind in a calm state and strengthen 'the result' of the charm. The dominant colour set for charms for decreasing love or even love addiction, on the one hand, were black, white, green, and red (note the opposite places of the first and the last colour as compared to the colour set in love charms). It is not surprising that the colour black is the dominant colour in this category because, as this experiment confirmed, black evokes negative emotions. The colour white had mainly a neutral function, while the colour green expressed through indirect colour terms had a 'calming' effect, a 'cooling down' function in relation to the colour black. The colour red expressed mostly negative emotions – aggression, dislike, irritation, and danger.<sup>144</sup>

Folklore provides a valuable and rich source of data for linguists and scholars investigating colour symbolism and identifies the most significant colour concepts embodied in the language of the oral tradition. The analysis of folk texts helps us to understand why a colour term contains a certain symbolic meaning. Colour symbolism has remained one of the main subjects of studies that examine the relationship between colour and the human psyche.

The societal motivation to observe the world and preserve the observations allows researchers to trace the etymology of the colour terms that have been part of the description of the world. In the next Sections we are examining two particularly important concepts in Russian scholarship

— the Radiance concept and the concept of evaluation — before making a few general observations about the etymology of basic colour terms.

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<sup>144</sup> И. Н. Борисова, "Магическая сила заговора: цветовая гамма текста," *Педагогическое образование в России*, no. 6 (2013): pp. 106-08.

### 2.3.1. THE CONCEPT OF RADIANCE

The concept of radiance discussed in this section is indebted to L. Popovic (2007). In this discussion I retain the now-outdated notions used by Popovic and also provide, where appropriate, the Indo-European roots as expressed in Derksen's *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon* (2008) and/or Kümmel et al. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (LIV) (2001).

The cornerstone of L. Popovic's (2007) argument is that the etymologies of most basic colour terms suggest that they developed from the meaning 'shine' or 'flash'.<sup>146</sup> The two colours which best support her claim are the colours white (белый/*belyi*), derived from the Indo-European \*bhā – 'to radiate, to shine, to glare', or \*b<sup>h</sup>elH- 'shining, white' (Derksen, 2008:40) and dark blue (синий/*sinii*), derived from the Indo-European root \*skei- which is also connected to glare and radiance, \*skeH(i)- 'to shine' (LIV, 2001: 546). Whereas Popovic posits that the adjectives yellow, green, gold (жёлтый/*zheltyi*, зелёный/*zelenyi*, золотой/*zolotoi*) were derived from the Indo-European root \*ghel-, \*ghol- which she claims were expressive of radiance, the original meaning in Proto-Indo-European of the reconstructed root \*g<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>- in Derksen (2008: 541, 547, 565-566) is summed up as 'colour of wavelength between c.550 – c. 500 nanometers'. Thus, Popovic's case is not as clear cut as might at first appear.

According to Popovic, the colour rosy, ruddy (румяный/*rumianyi*) is derived from the Proto-Slavic root \*roud-, which she posits is also connected to 'radiance'. This is, however, contestable as the Indo-European root \*h<sub>1</sub>reud<sup>h</sup>- simply denotes 'red', without any reference to radiance.

Popovic further maintains that the absence of radiance makes a colour 'bad'. According to Popovic, the colours – white, ruddy (and gold) – which are frequently used in Russian folklore, provide a 'positive aesthetic homogeny' of folklore texts.<sup>147</sup> This view of 'radiance' and 'shining' is to some degree supported by Agapkina. In her discussion about the mythological centre of the folklore text, she examined the sacred natural and man-made objects associated with this centre in healing charm texts. One of the sacred objects frequently mentioned in the healing charms is a stone that is usually located in the middle of the ocean/sea/field. In the majority of cases, its name is (*A*)*latyr*. Agapkina references the

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<sup>146</sup> Popovic, L, "Prototypical and Stereotypical Color in Slavic Languages: Models Based on Folklore," in *Anthropology of Color: Interdisciplinary Multilevel Modeling*, ed. Galina V. Paramei, Robert E. MacLaury, Don Dedrick (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007), p. 405. See also В. В. Колесов, *Слово и дело. Из истории русских слов* (Спб: Изд-во С.-Петербург. ун-та, 2004), p. 551.

<sup>147</sup> Popovic, "Prototypical and Stereotypical Color in Slavic Languages: Models Based on Folklore," p. 405.

etymological research of O. N. Trubachev (1980) and V. V. Martynov (1981) who hypothesised that the name of the stone as well as fixed colour epithets describing the stone (бел/*bel*/white, бел-горюч/*belgoriuch*/white-hot/burning) are either inherited from words of Indo-European origin or borrowed from an Iranian language and convey the sense of 'shining', 'fiery, burning'.<sup>148</sup> Agapkina also pointed out that the most frequently used colour terms with the word 'stone' – white, grey, gold, as well as the word 'burning' (горючий/*goriuchiĭ*), constitute a single semantic field where the meaning of the word 'light' is derived from the words 'white/grey', 'gold' and 'burning', indirectly supporting the meaning of 'brilliance' and 'radiance'. Agapkina claimed that this semantic field is also connected to the archaic concept of 'sacred'.<sup>149</sup> Thus, the description of the stone in the charm text is projected to some sacred place thought of as the middle of the world.<sup>150</sup>

This concept of radiance is useful when looking at colour terms which describe emotional and physical changes in a body's surface. For example, the colours describing facial changes associated with emotions are red (anger, shame, passion when one's face becomes flushed with redness), rosy (healthy, happy face), white (sudden shock) etc. Physical changes influenced by internal (illness) or external factors (change of temperature, lack of oxygen etc.) are visible on one's skin. The change of colour on a person's face was due to increased or decreased blood flow.<sup>151</sup> Additionally, physical changes could be observed in different life situations: skin that is slightly flushed with blood has been described in healing charm texts as *румяный* (rosy) and suggested healthy lungs and a strong heart, whereas people who had certain illnesses that affected the blood vessels or internal organs, may have appeared pale, their skin would appear less rosy. L. Popovic (2007) argued that the concept of healthy skin colour for people in a temperate European climate is white and ruddy and that the loss of the radiance in the description in the skin indicates unhealthy white (mortuary white or white-pale without radiance) or red (high blood pressure).<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> As quoted in Агапкина, "Сюжетный состав восточнославянских заговоров (мотив мифологического центра)," pp. 258-59.

<sup>149</sup> Злыднева, "Белый цвет в русской культуре XX века," in *Признаковое пространство культуры*, ed. Толстая С. М. (Москва: Индрик, 2002), p. 426.

<sup>150</sup> Агапкина, "Сюжетный состав восточнославянских заговоров (мотив мифологического центра)," pp. 258-59.

<sup>151</sup> Rakhilina and Paramei, "Colour Terms: Evolution via Expansion of Taxonomic Constraints," p. 124.

<sup>152</sup> Popovic, "Prototypical and Stereotypical Color in Slavic Languages: Models Based on Folklore."

### 2.3.2. THE CONCEPT OF EVALUATION

Evaluation is an essential feature of a colour term. According to Kezina (2008), all colour terms in the Russian language have or have had evaluative connotations. The origins of the value encoded in colour terms go back to the ancient times when objects and phenomenon were evaluated according to their value in people's lives. This evaluation was either positive or negative and was configured in pairs: weak/strong, big/small etc. These evaluative occurrences can be traced in folklore texts that have preserved the early semantics of colour terms. Some colour terms in present-day Russian have not retained their original evaluative element or have acquired opposite evaluative connotations in their semantics.<sup>153</sup>

In early written sources, the few colour terms present were used not to describe things but to compare.<sup>154</sup> The main colour terms' function was to emphasise the exceptional or particular qualities of whatever was described. Moreover, objects were depicted in terms of these defining characteristics or in terms of an ideal, set up by a narrator or a society in general. For example, a well-known folklore adjective-noun collocation 'grey wolf' in early texts did not describe the colour of the wolf; rather, it emphasised the main quality of the beast – speed. When the narrator of the *Tale of Igor's Campaign* speaks about a black raven or grey wolf, he does not attach any meaning to colour. According to Panchenko, these are merely symbols, syncretic representations.<sup>155</sup>

We now examine the evaluative meanings of the most frequently used colours Russian folk texts:

**White.** In his analysis of colour terms in Old East and South Slavic literature, Panchenko (1968) pointed out that the most common colour term in the written sources of the time was the colour white. It was the colour of beauty. It was also associated with light; the colour white and light were often interchangeable.<sup>156</sup> Kapiani (2009) concurred with Panchenko and argued that colour white is a constant feature of the Slavic poetic language going back to ancient times; it contains evaluative connotations in its semantics with the meaning 'beautiful, best, worthy, heroic, lovely, saint, sacred, daring'. This colour term is used when describing the good qualities

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<sup>153</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветообозначений в русском языке в сопоставлении с другими языками," *Гуманитарные науки. Филология*, no. 3 (2008): pp. 99-101.

<sup>154</sup> А. М. Панченко, "О цвете в древней литературе восточных и южных славян," in *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы*, ed. Лихачёв Д. С. (Ленинград: Наука, 1968), p. 7.

<sup>155</sup> Панченко, "О цвете в древней литературе восточных и южных славян," pp. 7-13.

<sup>156</sup> Панченко, "О цвете в древней литературе восточных и южных славян," p. 11.

of people and objects.<sup>157</sup> According to Khrolenko (2010), there were 7 primary meanings of the colour term white in Old Russian sources: 1) colour white; 2) light, clear, transparent; 3) clean; 4) related to 'whiteness' (white treasury); 5) exempt from feudal duties; 6) not tonsured for monastic life; 7) immaculate, sinless. There are also numerous cases of synonymous substitutions of a word with the colour term white. For example, instead of 'wide' in wide yard, the colour term white may be used.<sup>158</sup>

The colour white was considered an equivalent of transparency and emptiness. It also carried the meaning of totality.<sup>159</sup> Shesterkina (2011) listed the following evaluative meanings of the colour term white: clean, neat, pure, unblemished, beautiful, prosperity, joy, good, self (vs others), good omen.<sup>160</sup>

The colour white is especially important in Russian culture which is evident from folklore texts where the white-red-black colour triad takes central place.

**Black.** In the Pan-Slavic language the group of words with the meaning 'black' was represented by two adjectives: \*сьгнъ (чёрный/*chĕrnyi*/black) and \*ворнъ (вороной/*voronoĭ*/raven).<sup>161</sup> Both adjectives are frequently used in healing charm texts and have been preserved and are used in present-day Russian. The colour term raven is derived from the word 'crow'.

According to Kezina (2008), the following evaluative meanings are associated with the colour black:

1. People:

- a) Their origins – simple, insignificant (*black bone, black people, black girl*).

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<sup>157</sup> Шестеркина, "Концепт "цвет" (белый): на материале русских и немецких паремий," *Вестник Балтийского федерального университета им. И. Канта*, no. 2 (2011): p. 63.

<sup>158</sup> Хроленко, *Введение в лингвофольклористику*, pp. 137-38.

<sup>159</sup> Злыднева, "Белый цвет в русской культуре XX века," p. 425. See also Л. Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," in *Славянский и балканский фольклор. Реконструкция древней славянской духовной культуры: источники и методы/АН СССР*, ed. Толстой Н. И. Агапкина Т. А (Москва: Наука, 1989), p. 128.

<sup>160</sup> Шестеркина, "Концепт "цвет" (белый): на материале русских и немецких паремий," pp. 62-70.

<sup>161</sup> Суворцова, "Выражение цветовых значений в общеславянском языке" in *Этимологические исследования по русскому языку*, ed. Н. М. Шанский (Москва: Издательство Московского университета 1976), p. 139.

- b) Their appearance – dirty, untidy, ugly (*black face, black wench*) and beautiful (*black eyebrows*).<sup>162</sup>
  - c) Spiritual qualities of a person – malicious, low, cunning, bad (*black soul, black conscience, black heart*).
  - d) Their labour – physically demanding, dirty, not requiring special skills or knowledge (*black labourer*).
2. Evaluation of certain forces in society: hostile, non-Christian (*black tsar, black raven*), antagonistic, reactionary (*black force*), sorcerer, witchcraft, associated with evil forces (*black magic*).
  3. Evaluation of objects:
    - a) Their purpose – everyday, casual (*black chests*), well dressed, festive (*black hat*), mourning (*black curtains*), secondary, auxiliary (*black door, black yard, black porch*).
    - b) Quantitative assessment – many, much (dense *black forest*).
    - c) Impressions on a person – ominous (*black cloud, black river*).
  4. Evaluation of illnesses/diseases: destructive, debilitating, deadly (*black death, black pox, black pestilence*).
  5. Evaluation of time, fate etc. – gloomy, hopeless, hard (*black boredom, black fate, black day, black life*).<sup>163</sup>

The colour black has the most specific and unambiguous symbolism.<sup>164</sup> It is mostly associated with darkness, negativity, and earth. As can be observed from the above examples, in folk aesthetics the colour black has positive meaning when talking about eyes and eyebrows.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> *Black liver* features in the list of healthy body (Chapter Four). Since all other attributes of the body is positive in the list, we assume that black liver carries a positive evaluative meaning.

<sup>163</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветообозначений в русском языке в сопоставлении с другими языками," pp. 102-03.

<sup>164</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 128.

<sup>165</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветолексем и её актуализация в славянских языках," *Российский гуманитарный журнал* 2, no. 4 (2013): p. 364.

**Red.** Because of the considerable amount of analysis of the colour red in the Russian language already conducted in both English language- and Russian-language scholarship, we narrow down the discussion about the colour red to three main points:

1. The red-ness colour category and its shades.
2. Changes in the expression of red-ness through history.
3. The evaluative meanings of shades within the red-ness colour category.

1. At any time in the history of the Russian language, the colour category representing the colour red, and its shades has always been the largest group of colour terms. The reason behind the following detailed discussion of the red colour category is to examine the shades that are used in folklore texts and important to this analysis. We need to clarify that some colour shades are derivatives from a singular root but with different suffixes. It is very challenging to translate these into English. Hence, in some instances, only a few near synonymous 'representatives' of these shades are included in the discussion. This does not affect the comprehensive analysis of the colour red in this study. The archaic and still active shades that are present in the research data of this thesis are highlighted in bold.

Kezina (2009) suggests that expressions of red-ness in its various guises derive from three Indo-European roots: 1) \*beg:bog, 2) \*rau:ru, 3) \*ker:kor.<sup>166</sup>

1) \*beg:bog root is represented with the following shades of red: **багp/bagr**, **багряный/bagrianyĩ/scarlet**, **багровый/bagrovuyĩ/crimson**, **багряновидный/bagrianovidnyĩ/purple**, dark red (Lat. *Purpurea*). Originally, these epithets conveyed the colour of a glowing fire. They also meant 'bright red, colour of blood', and in some Russian dialects they meant 'dark-red, but more "thick" red, scarlet without blue pigments'.<sup>167</sup> Two things regarding the meaning of this colour term are important to mention: first, its archaic synonyms were colour terms meaning: 'bright red, purple, colour of blood', and 'reddish-brown' (colour of fur). Secondly, it also had a meaning 'greyish-brown, fulvous' (when talking about 'a breed' of animal (horse breed, fulvous sheep)), and 'dark blue, light blue' as well as 'motley'. The meaning of 'dark blue' and 'light blue' have been preserved in dialects, but 'motely' has disappeared from the present-day Russian language altogether. The important fact is that the evaluative

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<sup>166</sup> Кезина, "Микросистема красного цвета в истории русского языка (семантический аспект)," *Гуманитарные науки. Филология* 1, no. 9 (2009): p. 84.

<sup>167</sup> Кезина, "Микросистема красного цвета в истории русского языка (семантический аспект)," p. 84.

meaning of the colour багряный/*bagrianyĩ*/scarlet is 'beautiful'. Other derivatives like багродный/*bagrorodnyĩ* and багрянородный/*bagrianorodnyĩ* meant 'royal'. In some dialects the word 'rich' (богатый/*bogatyĩ*) is related to 'scarlet' (багряный/*bagrianyĩ*) meaning 'good, beautiful, big'.<sup>168</sup>

2)\*rau:ru has been preserved in some European languages (English 'red'). Slavic languages have preserved the Indo-European root \*rudh- to convey various shades of red-brown and brown, not red – **рыжий/ryzhii/ginger**, рудый/*rudyĩ*/colour of blood, yellowish-red, **русый/rusyĩ/light brown**, **румяный/rumianyĩ/rosy**, редрый/*redryĩ*/ginger, reddish-yellow. There are no evaluative meanings associated with these shades; they were not generally represented in ancient sources. For example, рудый/*rudyĩ*/colour of blood did not exist in written sources until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These shades rarely appear in Old Russian written texts or oral poetry. When they do, they appear in their modern meaning and are linked to certain specific objects. For example, **русый/rusyĩ/light brown** is associated with hair, **румяный/rumianyĩ/rosy** was linked with face and **рыжий/ryzhii/ginger** was used to describe the breed of a horse, later it came to describe hair.<sup>169</sup>

The Indo-European root \*ker:kor is represented by the following colour terms and shades: чермный/*chermnyĩ*/red, червлёный/*chervlěnyĩ*/dark red, **черёмный/cherěmnyĩ/red, redhead**. What is interesting about these shades is that word чермный/*chermnyĩ*/red was a bookish word used mostly with the word 'sea', as well as royal princes' proper names. Also, the Old Russian root \*чърмьнъ/*ch'rm'n*" comes from the word \*чърмь/*ch'rm'* meaning 'worm'. Surovcova (1976) identified червлёный/*chervlěnyĩ*/dark red as derived from the word meaning 'bright-red worm'. While any associations with 'worm' have been lost, Bulakhovski suggested that the colour term comes from the *coccus ilicus* and *coccus polonicus* worms because the purple-red colour was produced from these worms.<sup>170</sup> Kezina identified a wide range of meanings for these shades that overlap with the colour terms of different Indo-European roots: red, incarnadine, fiery-red, ginger, gold, scarlet, crimson, orange.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Кезина, "Микросистема красного цвета в истории русского языка (семантический аспект)," p. 85.

<sup>169</sup> Кезина, "Микросистема красного цвета в истории русского языка (семантический аспект)," pp. 85-87.

<sup>170</sup> Суровцова, "Выражение цветовых значений в общеславянском языке " pp. 148-49. See Anna Wierzbicka, "The Meaning of Colour Terms and the Universals of Seeing," in *Semantics: Primes and Universals* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 314. See also Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 132.

<sup>171</sup> Кезина, "Микросистема красного цвета в истории русского языка (семантический аспект)," p. 87.



As we have seen the red colour category was rich in shades, possibly because it is one of the most visible colours that stands out from its background. It is also the most emotionally charged primary colour. The visual sensation of the colour red has made it one of the most frequently used colours in healing charms, along with the colours white and black.

Radenkovich (1989) pointed out that the red colour category is associated with fire, blood, and vulva.<sup>172</sup> Wierzbicka (1996) described the colour red as a symbol of danger and warning, associated with fire and blood.<sup>173</sup> Along with fire and blood, Virve Sarapik (1997) also added the association with the sun.<sup>174</sup> Wierzbicka also noted that the colour red does not have an invariable environmental model (like the colour blue for the sky, or green for grass). It presumably does not have invariable evaluative connotations either.

2. As was mentioned earlier, the colour red category has gone through significant changes in the history of the Russian language. According to Kezina (2009), words describing different shades of red occurred along with the colours white and black in the written sources as far back as the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century a new colour term for red (красный/*krasnyĭ*) appeared and quickly forced out the old pan-Slavic colour terms describing different shades of red. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century *красный* (red) is already widely used and by the end of the century it had become the dominant colour in the red colour category. The origins of this colour term are not clear. The accepted explanation given by O. Trubachev (1985) is that the stem \*krasa can be translated as 'colour red (blush, glow) of the face', 'bloom, colour (of plants)' and 'beauty' derived from the meaning 'colour of life'.<sup>175</sup>

3. When speaking about the evaluative aspect of the colour term красный/*krasnyĭ*/red, it is no surprised to see a broad spectrum of associations:

1) Evaluation of people:

a) the importance of children to parents, especially if s/he is the only child (*red child, red son etc.*),

b) wellbeing (red = 'happy'),

c) height, growth (red = 'big, large'),

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<sup>172</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 132.

<sup>173</sup> Wierzbicka, "The Meaning of Colour Terms and the Universals of Seeing," pp. 315-16.

<sup>174</sup> Virve, "Red: The Colour and the Word," pp. 11-12.

<sup>175</sup> Кезина, "Микросистема красного цвета в истории русского языка (семантический аспект)," pp. 88-103.

d) strength, health (red = 'strong, healthy'),

e) person's business qualities (red = 'glorious, famous, active, energetic, capable').

2) Evaluation of objects:

a) appearance (red = beautiful) – red city, red coast,

b) quality (red = best, excellent) – *red* chicken, *red* flax, *red* day, *red* hut.

These evaluative meanings demonstrate the values with which people associated this colour: health, happiness, procreation.<sup>176</sup>

The role of the colour triad white-red-black is significant because it carries deep mythological meanings and information passed through generations, reflected in oral poetry and everyday household items. Radenkovich (1989) acknowledged the importance of this triad, especially the colour red, in charms. She pointed out that the colour red takes an intermediate position in this triad which grants it a special mythological symbolism in charms. It also connotes transition: from night to day, from illness to health etc. She argued that the intermediate position of the colour red also corresponds to the position taken by 'shadow' in another triad: light-shadow- dark, where shadow is connected to both, light and dark. In the charm texts this triad is expressed as follows: day – morning before the sunrise/evening after the sunset – night. Here early morning and late evening play an intermediate role.<sup>177</sup>

**Yellow.** The colour yellow is thought of as a light and warm colour. Like other colours in the Russian language, it has evaluative meanings. Having said that, this colour term has limited interoperability and is not frequent in charm texts. The Indo-European root \*ghel- that we discussed earlier in the Radiance section links the colour yellow to the meanings 'to shine, glitter' and 'green'. The colour term yellow also has evaluative meanings of 'light, beautiful' when talking about a person's appearance, especially describing a person's hair – жёлтые кудри/*zhěltye kudri*/yellow curls, an expression frequently used in Russian folklore.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветообозначений в русском языке в сопоставлении с другими языками," р. 103.

<sup>177</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," р. 131.

<sup>178</sup> Н. Б. Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке* (Москва: Наука, 1975), pp. 81-82.

Panchenko (1968) argued that in this expression – yellow curls – the colour yellow indicates ethnicity and not hair colour.<sup>179</sup> Gerasimenko (2012) pointed out that because of geographical and demographic conditions, people with light hair colour were assumed to be correctly described in the texts. Moreover, the colour terms yellow, gold, and light brown (русый/rusyĭ) were interchangeable and were identified with the meaning 'light' when describing the attributes of beauty.<sup>180</sup> Kezina (2013) also linked the colour terms yellow and gold with the meaning of 'beautiful, beneficial' which is evident in other Slavic languages and in Russian dialects where the colour term gold means 'good, clear' (when talking about the weather). Other dialectal meanings include 'gold stream' meaning 'water that does not freeze in winter', or 'gold rain' meaning 'timely, beneficial, contributing to the growth of plants'.<sup>181</sup>

The colour yellow also has negative connotations. Radenkovich (1989) argued that the colour yellow dominates in nature in autumn and is the last threshold before the darkness of winter comes, therefore the colour yellow may be also connected with the Other World, the Beyond. She also made a connection between yellow and the skin colour of the dead. Another interesting observation made by Radenkovich was that the mythological creatures who carry souls to the Beyond or have a connection with the world of the dead appear in yellow or gold.<sup>182</sup> This connection is frequently used in the charm texts.

The colour yellow also means 'dark'. Since yellow has a limited number of associations with other words in the charm discourse, the best means to investigate its negative connotations associated with the meaning 'dark' is by analysing one of the most frequently used adjective- noun collocations in the charm texts: жёлтый песок/*zhěltyĭ pesok*/yellow sand. Gerasimenko (2012) argued that in ritual texts this collocation creates an association with the mythological image of damp earth (сырая земля/*syraia zemlia*) – another frequently used epithet in Russian folklore – and evokes the motif of burial. The same epithet is also present in various infernal descriptions of transformation and mysteries, as well as symbolic mythical actions and reincarnations. Gerasimenko also identified yellow as 'dark' in those charm texts when yellow animals (dogs, roosters,

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<sup>179</sup> Панченко А. М., "О цвете в древней литературе восточных и южных славян," in *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, ed. Лихачёв Д. С. (Ленинград: Наука, Ленинградское отделение, 1968), p. 12.

<sup>180</sup> Герасименко, "Семантическая структура колоратива желтый (на материале языка русского фольклора)," *Наукові записки. Серія "Філологічна"*, no. 24 (2012): p. 42.

<sup>181</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветолексем и её актуализация в славянских языках," p. 363.

<sup>182</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 139.

chickens) as well as a *yellow* man [author's italics] are able to cast out diseases.<sup>183</sup>

There are other negative meanings of the colour term yellow preserved in dialects: 'nasty scolding, full of hardship and deprivation, unhappy, evil, miserable'.<sup>184</sup> Yellow sands is also the place where evil spirits are cast out to. Since in the archaic traditions the colour term yellow could initially be used to express the meaning of 'dark', its meaning could not have differed greatly from the meaning of 'black'. In some cases, the colour yellow was endowed with the meaning of 'unknown' and 'mysterious'. However, once the colour term yellow acquired the semantics of light colour, it began to convey and was identified with light brown (*русый*), gold (*золотой*), and white (*белый*).<sup>185</sup>

**Gold.** The colour gold can symbolise wealth and power. According to Radenkovich (1989), the colour gold is associated with light and, in this semantic capacity, invites one to think of icons where the gold is a (pale) reflection of the sacred.<sup>186</sup> According to Kezina (2008) when it describes the physical material it lacks 'real' colour meaning.<sup>187</sup> We return to this later in the thesis when discussing inclusion and exclusion criteria in the generation of the research corpus.

On the other hand, in Russian folklore the colour term gold along with the word 'fire' are linked to the Underworld.

**Green.** The colour green is another interesting colour with both positive and negative evaluative connotations. And like the colours described before, we may call the colour green a 'chthonic' colour, that is, one related to the Underworld, the Beyond.

The environmental model for the colour green is grass, vegetation. Seasonal changes make the vegetation disappear and re-appear, so the colour green is associated with changeability. In the charm discourse, green is also identified with open spaces where the evil powers reside. These spaces pose a risk to humans and are best avoided.<sup>188</sup> In some dialects the colour green has negative connotations: 'inexperienced', 'amiss, bad'.<sup>189</sup> There

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<sup>183</sup> Герасименко, "Семантическая структура колоратива желтый (на материале языка русского фольклора)," pp. 41-42.

<sup>184</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветолексем и её актуализация в славянских языках," p. 363.

<sup>185</sup> Герасименко, "Семантическая структура колоратива желтый (на материале языка русского фольклора)," p. 43.

<sup>186</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 139.

<sup>187</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветообозначений в русском языке в сопоставлении с другими языками," p. 102.

<sup>188</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 139.

<sup>189</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветолексем и её актуализация в славянских языках," p. 264.

is an interesting collocation used only once in the research data: зелёное вино/*zelënoe vino*/green wine. Surovcova (1976) suggested that this meaning comes from the Slavic зелья/*zely*, зелень/*zelen'*, злакъ/*zlak*" meaning 'green, unripe grapes, wine from unripe grapes, wine'.<sup>190</sup> In Dahl's (1955) Dictionary 'green wine' is defined as bread wine, mostly referenced in songs and fairy tales.<sup>191</sup> When talking about positive and negative evaluative meanings in the Russian language, the colour term green has predominantly negative evaluative meanings.

**Dark Blue and Light Blue.** The most debated colour terms in the Russian language – dark blue (синий/*siniĭ*) and light blue (голубой/*goluboi*) both have aesthetic and ethical ambivalence. The environmental model for dark blue is usually the sea; for the colour light blue it is the sky. As was discussed in the Radiance section the colour dark blue is linked to the meaning 'glare, radiance'. The range of its use is quite narrow. When describing physical symptoms, dark blue suggests frozen, lifeless. In Russian dialects when the colour dark blue is combined with the word 'clothes' it has positive connotations, meaning 'festive clothes' even if the clothes are not dark blue.<sup>192</sup> In the healing charms the most frequently used colour epithet is 'dark blue sea' (синее море/*sinee more*). Radenkovich (1989) argued that it is also the place where the evil forces are cast out to, where chthonic creatures live.<sup>193</sup> Panchenko (1968) pointed out that as part of a symbolic system, the colour dark blue might have meant 'black' ('dark blue wine', 'dark blue frog').<sup>194</sup>

**Grey.** The colour grey is associated with ash and darkness.<sup>195</sup> It is a mixture of two opposite colours – white and black, so sometimes it can appear as an intermediary. The colour term grey also means 'dull, murky' (when talking about the weather). Surovcova (1976) pointed out that the colour grey belongs to the same group of words as the colour dark blue (синий/*siniĭ*) and 'to shine' (сиять/*siiat*').<sup>196</sup> Another word denoting colour from the same root is сивый/*sivyĭ*/ash grey, light grey that has a limited use in the healing charms. According to Dahl's Dictionary, сивый/*sivyĭ*/ash grey, light grey is used to describe fur or the colour pattern of horses.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Суровцова, "Выражение цветовых значений в общеславянском языке" р. 152.

<sup>191</sup> В. Даль, "Толковый словарь живого Великорусского языка," (Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей, 1955), Vol.1.

<sup>192</sup> Кезина, "Оценочность цветообозначений в русском языке в сопоставлении с другими языками," р. 101.

<sup>193</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," р. 138.

<sup>194</sup> Панченко, "О цвете в древней литературе восточных и южных славян."

<sup>195</sup> Панченко, "О цвете в древней литературе восточных и южных славян," р. 140.

<sup>196</sup> Суровцова, "Выражение цветовых значений в общеславянском языке" р. 142.

<sup>197</sup> Даль, "Толковый словарь живого Великорусского языка," Vol. 1.

**Light Brown.** We have already discussed the colour term *русый/rusyi/light brown* in this section. It was mostly used when describing the colour of fur, a horse breed or hair colour.<sup>198</sup> Surovcova stated that the colour light brown when used together with the word 'face' had the meaning of 'dark, tanned, rosy-black'. This meaning of the colour light brown is interesting in relation to the charm text number 1653 where a fair maiden is described as having a golden face and holding a light brown needle:

*В чистом поле на камению сидит девица – золотое лицо, русова иголка в руках,  
шёлкова нитка в ушах, зашивает рану у рабы Божьей.*

[In the open field on a stone sits a maiden with a golden face, and a light brown needle in her hands, silk thread in her ears, she is sewing up the wound of the servant of God [the name of the person]].

However, in the Comments section of the source text, compilers of the collection remarked that there must have been a mix-up and it should read, 'maiden with a light brown face, a gold needle in her hands'.<sup>199</sup> However, this would be an unusual description of a maiden's appearance because in the majority of the charm texts, a (fair) maiden is described as rosy and beautiful.

**Rosy.** Another rarely used but interesting colour term is *румяный/rumiany/rosy*. Many researchers share the opinion that while it is difficult to define this colour (as it is a mixture of the colours white, red, and pink), it has some evaluative meaning. This colour term is used to describe the colour of a healthy, fresh face.<sup>200</sup>

**Scarlet.** The colour term *алый/alyi/scarlet* appeared in the Russian language in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>201</sup> Dahl's Dictionary specifies that in some dialects the colour term scarlet is used when talking about objects or describing a nice, pleasant colour.

#### 2.4. STUDIES BASED ON THE RUSSIAN CHARMS AND INCANTATIONS – MAIN QUESTIONS AND FINDINGS

Since the research corpus is drawn from only one source, a collection of Russian charms

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<sup>198</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 132.

<sup>199</sup> *Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг.*, ed. Аникин В. П. (Москва: Издательство Московского университета, 1998), p. 402.

<sup>200</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, p. 132.

<sup>201</sup> Ю. А. Климова, Субботина И. М., "Формирование системы цветообозначений в русских именах прилагательных," [Formation of Color Categorization System in the Russian Adjectives.] *Apriori*, no. 2 (2014): p. 4, [www.apriori-journal.ru](http://www.apriori-journal.ru).

and incantations, we discuss three of the most recent studies by Russian researchers based on the same source. The reason for doing so is to see what research questions they asked, their methodology and findings, and how these studies partially dovetail with the questions and research objectives of this thesis.

#### 2.4.1. MALYSHEVA'S STUDY (2001)

The first study based on the collection was conducted by L. A. Malysheva (2001) and is published on the website of the Centre for Typological and Semiotic Folklore studies of the Russian State University for the Humanities.<sup>202</sup> The subject of her study was an analysis of the features and characteristics of words denoting colour; the main focus of the study was colour names in charms. She ascertained that there are 582 charms containing a colour name(s), that is, 25% of all the charms (in total there are 2464 charms in the collection).

Malysheva introduced the research material and then proceeded to the results without elaborating her methods or the procedures that would allow the readers to follow the process of accessing and assessing the data. Malysheva documented the different usages of colour terms and gave a short explanation for the possible functioning of colour terms in context: for instance, where different colour terms were linked to one particular object in the same charm or where colour is present not only in the adjective characterising a person or object, but also in the person or object itself (*алые румянца/alye rumiantsa/scarlet ruddy faces*).

Malysheva's study also addressed the frequency of colour terms in the charms. Here again, she did not offer an explanation for how these results had been generated, nor did she provide a review of the frequency of each colour. She provided information on the colours white, which, according to Malysheva, is the most frequently used colour (mentioned 370 times) in the charms, followed by (in descending order) red, black, dark blue, grey, green, and yellow. These basic colours are followed by (with regards to their frequency) various colour shades: *алый/alyi/scarlet*, *вороной/voronoï/raven*, *черёмный/cherëmnyï/vinous*, *бордовый/bordovyï/burgundy*, *розовый/rozovyï/pink* etc. Mentioned only once were words with colour connotations viewed as indirect colour terms: *дымчатый/dymchatyï/smoky*, *глинястый/gliniastyï/muddy*, *сивый/sivyï/greyish*, *вишнёвый/vishněvyï/cherry* etc. The colour category red included the largest number of

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<sup>202</sup> Малышева Л. А., "Символика цвета в русских заговорах и заклинаниях," (2001). <http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/folklorelaboratory/Malyshev.htm>.

shades. The researcher concluded that in total there were 34 colours referenced in the charm texts.

The study further addressed the question of the symbolic meanings of the colour black and variegated colour (пёстрый/*pěstryĭ*). Malysheva argued that the colour black is associated with the evil spirits and the places these spirits occupy: forests, the sea, mountain ash trees. The author concluded that an analysis of recurrent referents of the colour black yields some quite surprising results: chicken, snake, evil eye, diarrhea, erysipelas, hair, eyebrow, bear, and one of the most common referents of colour black – raven (чёрный ворон/*chěrnyĭ voron*). An interesting detail about the black raven in folklore is that in most case it is a representative of the Underworld; it is a messenger. The Underworld world is associated with darkness or the colour black.

As for the variegated colour, Malysheva defined it as a colour with both positive and negative connotations. She pointed out that a variegated colour is mostly used when describing cattle. Its derivatives are used as nicknames for cows and chicken which connote the positive values of the colour. The negative connotations are associated with the notions of falsehood, deceit, unreliability. The most frequent referent for adjectives denoting a variegated colour is a snake.

Despite its shortcomings, this study illustrated the importance of colour terms in charms and suggests a link between the use of colour terms and the emotive and psychological aspect of healing charms.

#### 2.4.2. KONOVALOVA'S STUDY (2004)

Another study based on the *Russian Charms and Incantations* was Konovalova's research about the linguistic representation of the syntactic structures of sympathetic magic in healing charms. Particular attention was paid to the correlation between words and actions because this correlation is regarded as a specific communicative and pragmatic action where the speaker employs the sacred texts to apply various types of magic in order to get the desired results. The main mechanism to achieve the suggestive effect in the charms is the principle of sympathetic magic.<sup>203</sup> The concept of sympathetic magic lies in the ability of one subject to impact another subject on the basis of their resemblance or common functions.

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<sup>203</sup> Леви-Брюль Л., "Первобытное мышление.," in *Психология мышления*, ed. Петухова В. В., Гиппенрейтер Ю. Б., (Москва: Издательство МГУ, 1980).



The author stated that a typical example of sympathetic magic in the charms is a description of some event (sometimes a sacred one), and one of the most common and firmly established formulas to display it in the spells and charms is a comparison. Konovalova distinguished 7 types of comparison in healing charms. Many charms also contain a dialogue with supernatural forces to engage their help and achieve the desired result. Usually, these dialogues are not accompanied by the so-called figure of silence (or unspoken comparison) where silence acts as a kind of taboo about uttering the name of the disease.

Along with comparison, parallelism is one of the characteristic features of healing charms. This may involve the repetition of the last word or group of words creating a certain rhythmic and melodic pattern in the text in order to reach maximum effect. Sympathetic magic is most evident among phenomena, objects or actions that are similar in any respect. This similarity may be limited to only the consonance of words or names. The presence of a large number of different rhymes in the charms comes as no surprise. These can be reduced to two basic types of rhymes: semantic rhymes and non-semantic rhymes.<sup>204</sup> Another linguistic means employed in the representation of sympathetic magic are personification and anthropomorphism.

In this analysis of the syntactic structures of healing charms, Konovalova concluded that in terms of synchronicity, charms are distinguished by their 'frozen' structure, composed of stable formulas containing relatively unaltered lexical units. Linguistic analysis of these structures revealed a deep mythological and poetical meaning. The analysis also assessed the main aspects of the interaction of nature and man. These aspects are important in terms of archaic and mythological thinking because the ancient worldview was defined by a belief in the magic powers of words. Naming an object, or action, or phenomenon was as significant as the magical actions themselves.

The shortcoming of this study was the research material. The author offered no explanation of what healing charms she had selected and why. In the source corpus *Russian Charms and Incantations*, there is a chapter containing charms for children, including childhood illnesses. It was unclear whether the author had included those charms in her study.

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<sup>204</sup> Schippers, A, "'Semantic Rhyme' (Parallelism) in Andalusian MUWAŠŠAHĀT," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi Nuova Serie, Arabic Poetry: Studies and Perspectives of Research* 5/6 (2010): p. 177. , where 'semantic rhyme refers to recurrent motifs and similarities in content and identical grammatical structures in poems'. See also M. McKie, "Semantic Rhyme: a Reappraisal " *Essays in Criticism* 46, no. 4 (1996).

### 2.4.3. NEKLIUDOV'S STUDY (2001)

This brings us to yet another study of healing charms that is partly based on the *Russian Charms and Incantations*. The third chapter of this study is dedicated to the analysis of three types of childhood illnesses.<sup>205</sup> Each of the childhood illnesses is illustrated with examples from the chapter related to childbirth and childhood illness (*Детские заговоры*) in the source material. The research material is healing charms that 'deal' with peoples' illnesses only. The study has four parts, and the main objective is to analyse illnesses described in the healing charms as mythological characters. As stated by Nekliudov, many studies investigating the variety and functions of mythological characters, have overlooked the analysis of illnesses as active characters in charms. Furthermore, there is no comprehensive study devoted to the portrayal of illnesses as mythological characters. The author argued that in general there are 5 types of characters functioning in the healing charms: a patient, a healer, the source of the illness, illness itself, and a (sacred) helper/assistant. As any mythological character, illness has a certain set of characteristic features. However, not all illnesses and diseases are personified, not all of them has a fixed image. Nekliudov stressed the importance of selecting and classifying all the possible characteristic of the illnesses described in the healing charms and categorising them in a scheme designed for this purpose.

The author also discussed the importance of the names given to the illnesses, the usage of proper names when addressing the illness and the reason for the variety of their names. The distinguishing feature of the illnesses are sometimes encoded in their name. In the third chapter of his study, called 'Representation of Illnesses in the Charms' (*'Образы болезней в заговорах'*), Nekliudov selected the most common and 'personalised' healing charms to validate the description and detailed examination of the representations of the illnesses in the healing charms. He also briefly discussed the epithets occurring in the charms. The epithets did not occur as the names of the illnesses, but they still were an integral part of naming a disease.

Epithets characterised illnesses according to their habitat (headache, toothache), their external features (beautiful, old), their functions or actions (harmful, evil). Such evaluative epithets play an important part in the poetic language of the charms and often contain colour terms.

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<sup>205</sup> Неклюдов, "Картина мира в медицинских заговорах."

Nekliudov's study provided an important insight to advance the understanding of colour terms in healing charms.

Each of these studies offered a different perspective on two main points of this research – colour and illness. Malysheva's study on the frequency of colour terms and their referents generated the overall colour vocabulary of the charm collection. Nekliudov's study provided a deeper insight into the role and characteristics of illnesses in the healing charms which is particularly interesting as our research question investigates the healing charms as the concepts of illness and health and a part of healing process. Konovalova's study touched another important aspect of this research objective: namely, the belief in the power of words as well as the presence and functioning of poetic devices in healing charms.

## 2.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this Literature Review Chapter was not only to review and examine the main theoretical developments and current research in the fields of folkloristics and colour semantics in both the Anglophone and Russian scholarships. We can be in no doubt about the status and importance of healing charms in the Russian folk traditions (past and present) or about the rich, diverse, and coded language embedded in the charm texts. Without this knowledge, it would be impossible to comprehend the status and the meaning of colour names in the healing charms.

We can summarise the main features of our discussion of scholarship relevant to this thesis in the following three propositions:

1. **World of charms:** The primary features of the charm are the physical and mental representation of the folk world described in them. The physical structure of the charm universe has a trinomial structure expressed in three motions or actions. The third motion, the meeting with a representative of the Other World, takes place in the mythological centre of the charm which itself is divided into three loci. The third, most inner locus, coincides with the meeting point of the healer and the helper. The mental representation of the folk world embedded in the charms illustrates: first, the three worlds: heaven (the home of the Christian saints), the human realm, and the Underworld or the Other World, described in the charms as the world where illnesses live. The mental world of the charm has also a trinomial structure. Secondly, it is the world of norm, order, and balance, built by many coexisting coding systems and semiotic opposites.
2. **Ill-health and well-being:** Illnesses are the visible signs of disruption to the order,

not only in the body of the sick person but also in society, and the world itself. Therefore, it must be removed at all costs and the balance of the body and the world must be restored. This disruption of the order, this deviation from the norm is expressed through body imagery. The body is the text the healer reads, interprets, and heals. Since the illness is visible only through the body, through the variety of symptoms observable by the healer and society in general, these symptoms are expressed in the language of healing charms through accessible linguistic means that also portray the order, the traditions, and the views of the folk world. The language of illness sometimes clashes with the language of order and harmony, expressed in epithets or other specific folklore units corresponding to different semiotic categories.

3. **Colour terms.** The high status of colour in Russian language and folklore is demonstrated in many studies (Alimpieva, 1989; Zlydneva, 2002; Chistiakova, 2003; Lycenko, 2004). Colour terminology in the Russian language has sparked great interest not only among the Russian scholars and linguists but also their colleagues abroad. Russian is one of the few languages that does not conform to Berlin and Kay's hypothesis of 11 BCTs. Studies of colour within cultural settings reveal not only the status of colour in the said culture but also the influence of the language on people's worldview and behaviour.

The next chapter, Methodology Chapter, documents the generation of the research data from the source data.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0. AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter charts the stages undergone in selecting, sifting through, filtering, and organising the research corpus in order to generate data sets which can be analysed and discussed. The first stage was to think through a research strategy that would allow us to explore the research problem in a systematic way. Indeed, according to Saunders et al. (2007), the most important aspect of choosing the right research strategy is whether this strategy enables the researcher to answer his/her research question.<sup>206</sup> Our strategy is outlined in 3.1. In Section 3.2. we discuss the choice of source material, its strengths, and weaknesses and finally the process whereby a portion of the whole corpus was to become what we term the research data. Section 3.3. documents the principles underlying the generation of raw data (colour terms and their referents), the process itself and the rationale for quantifying the raw data. In this Section we also look more closely at the structure of healing charm texts in order to provide a framework in which to investigate a possible functioning of colour in healing process.

#### 3.1. RESEARCH STRATEGY

By analogy with the methodology usually associated with case studies, we are following up on previous research conducted on the basis of healing charms collected in Northern Russia between 1953 and 1993. The phenomenon the current study is concerned with is explored from a new perspective; therefore, the strategy must allow an extensive, in-depth exploration, and understanding of this phenomenon.

Yin (2003), Wisker (2008), Kumar (2011) argued that a case study strategy is especially useful in research that aims to explore an area where little is known. A case study deals with a particular, narrowed-down research problem. It aims to bring full understanding to a complex issue through a thorough and detailed contextual analysis of a sample and of relationships within this sample. Gary Thomas (2011) stressed the importance of this strategy in researching

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<sup>206</sup> Saunders, M, Lewis, P, Thornhill, A, *Research Methods for Business Students*, 4th ed. (Essex, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), p. 135.

something in its 'completeness, looking at it from many angles'. He provided a concise and helpful overview of the case study, its purpose (intrinsic, exploratory etc.), possible approach (testing a theory, interpretive etc.) and its process (sequential, diachronic etc.).<sup>207</sup> Bent Flyvbjerg (2013) defined the case study as 'intensive analysis of individual units' and claimed that the in-depth knowledge gained through a case study can be more valuable than 'the vain search for predictive theories and universals'.<sup>208</sup>

We have examined a few key studies related to our topic of interest, that is colour terms in healing charms. Some of the questions identified in these key studies concluded with new questions inviting further research. The exploratory, in-depth nature of enquiry and the need to explore and test a phenomenon from a new perspective make a case study the most appropriate strategy for the current study.

Wisker (2008) argued that an exploratory study is commonly used when new knowledge is sought. It aims to explore and interpret a new approach to research data, give or clarify a new understanding of a problem. Robson (2000) stated that an exploratory study is a 'valuable means of finding out "what is happening"; to seek new insights; to ask questions and to assess phenomena in a new light'.<sup>209</sup> We are concerned with exploring the (possible) relationship between colour terms in healing charms and the healing process (words and actions).

Interpretivism is an epistemology where the basic assumption is that the 'social world is *constructed* by each of us differently with words and events carrying different meanings for each person and each situation'.<sup>210</sup> This worldview emphasises the point of view of the subjects under consideration in the context of their lives. Saunders et al. (2007) stressed the importance of the empathetic stance every researcher must adopt in order to understand the world of research subjects and their points of view about this world.<sup>211</sup>

The current study adopts interpretivist assumptions for a couple of reasons. Firstly, because of the specificity of the research question: this study addresses a question about a

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<sup>207</sup> Thomas, G, *How to Do Your Case Study. A Guide for Students and Researchers*. (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2011), p. 23; 93.

<sup>208</sup> As quoted in *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, eds. Denzin, K. N, Lincoln, Y. S (London: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2013), p. 52.

<sup>209</sup> As quoted in Ritchie, J, Lewis, J, McNaughton, N, Carol, O. R, *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (Los Angeles Sage 2013), p. 133.

<sup>210</sup> Thomas, *How to Do Your Case Study. A Guide for Students and Researchers*. , p. 51. See also Ritchie, J, Lewis, J, *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 2003), pp. 16 - 17.

<sup>211</sup> Saunders, *Research Methods for Business Students*, pp. 106 - 07.

particular aspect of one of the Russian folklore genres from only one region in Russia – the north of Russia; secondly, because it is a thesis about how a particular population thinks and how that thinking impacts on their healing practices; thirdly because it aims to interpret and understand meanings within the worldview of this population, namely the meaning of colour terms in charm texts and the impact they might have on healing actions.

In this thesis we are concerned with the textual reality and social actions that are exemplified in the speech and behaviours of healers. We are interested in the reality constructed by healers in and through the healing process. This interest in feelings, beliefs, and thoughts, and how people experience and communicate them is consistent with an interpretivist position. Indeed, as noted by Saunders et al. (2007), it is important to explore the subjective actions of social actors in order for the researcher to understand the motivation and the result of these actions.

This thesis, therefore, falls within a social constructivist approach. Reality is seen and interpreted as something constructed and based on people's world view; it is accessed through experiences and interpretations of people's feelings, beliefs, and thoughts. The aim of this research is to capture and interpret the way the actors in the healing process attempted to make sense of the world in all its complexity and depth through words and actions.

In this thesis we use an inductive approach. We generate and analyse the data available to us and on the basis of that data anchor discussion and fashion hypotheses. Saunders et al. (2007) described the inductive approach as a theory building process where evidence is collected first, and a theory or hypothesis is then built from the collected data – 'theory would follow data'.<sup>212</sup> Thus, the research begins with a specific observation and measures. It is then from detecting some sort of pattern that a hypothesis is developed. Ritchie et al. (2013) called induction a 'bottom-up' process through which 'patterns are derived from the observation of the world'.

This is considered the most appropriate approach to develop rather than test a theory/theories. Whilst we are hoping that the presence of colour terms in our corpus of healing charms is motivated and patterned, we are not assuming that this is the case. And we are certainly not in a position to interpret or account for their presence of patterning.

In this study we use both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Once we have generated our research corpus (see Section 3.2.) we organise and schematise the research data in

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<sup>212</sup> Saunders, *Research Methods for Business Students*, p. 118.

such a way as to facilitate (a) the exploration of meanings, beliefs and values and (b) inductive

analysis of that data in order to build from the particular to general themes, and to interpret the meanings of data (see Section 3.3).<sup>213</sup> We are interested in what Coffey and Atkinson (1996) describe as ways ‘in which social actors produce, represent, and contextualize experience and personal knowledge through narratives or other genres’, namely ‘storied qualities of qualitative textual data’.<sup>214</sup>

An approach involving the collection (in our case generation from an existing corpus), analysis, and interpretation of data is appropriate because the semantics of colour in healing charms need to be interpreted and explained. The methods of selecting, organising, and analysing are used to capture the essential elements and features of charm texts and to reveal the belief system, assumptions, and the purpose that are integrated into this cultural and linguistic phenomenon.

But our approach is not entirely qualitative. There is a quantitative component. According to R. Kumar (2011), the quantitative approach is applied if the research objective is to ‘*quantify the variation* in a phenomenon, situation, problem, or issues and <...> if the analysis is geared to ascertain the *magnitude of the variation*’.<sup>215</sup> Accordingly, a quantitative approach allows one to test a theory, find cause and effect relationships among research variables and examine them.

Quantitative measures are applied in this study to quantify the qualitative data and help analyse it. This approach gives a more comprehensive and detailed representation of the data. In this thesis we count:

- i. the occurrences of each colour category/colour term/shade (in the corpus as a whole and by region)
- ii. the referents qualified by colour terms, and the number of occurrences of each adjective-noun collocation

According to R. Kumar (2011) there is a recognition in social sciences that both approaches are important to conduct a good research study. Creswell (2014) and Dominguez and Holstein (2014) noted that bringing together the strengths of both approaches provides not only a more complete understanding of the research problem but also compensates for the weaknesses of either approach alone. The assumption underlying the use of mixed method

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<sup>213</sup> Creswell, J. W, *Research Design* (London: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2014), p. 4.

<sup>214</sup> Coffey, A, Atkinson, P, *Making Sense of Qualitative Data. Complementary Research Strategies* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc, 1996), p. 54.

<sup>215</sup> Kumar, R, *Research Methodology. A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners* (London: SAGE Publications, 2011), p. 12.



approach is that it allows and helps the researcher to use multiple methods of data collection. It allows the researcher to back up one set of findings from one set of data collection methods underpinned by one methodology with another different method underpinned by another methodology.

However, Dominguez and Hollstein (2014) argued that a mixed method approach is not merely the addition of one research approach to another. Three conditions must be met in order for a study to be a mixed methods study: 1) both qualitative and quantitative data should be included in the study, 2) qualitative and quantitative data analysis strategies must be applied in the study, and, most importantly, 3) there must be at least one stage of the integration of either data or data analysis or results.<sup>216</sup>

A cross-disciplinary approach is adopted in the current research. Furthermore, this study takes what Kumar (2011) called a qualitative-quantitative-qualitative approach to research. The process involves gathering qualitative data first, next looking at the quantitative results to identify patterns, then going back to qualitative approach to explain the patterns in the retrieved data. The study prioritises the qualitative approach because the focus is on exploring and understanding phenomena in the social world. The current research examines a well- defined area in Russian folklore from a new perspective. The research is undertaken to explore the possibilities of a new interpretation of the research data. As such, using the qualitative- quantitative-qualitative approach helps to use different data organisation techniques within one study.

To sum up, the current study employs an inductive approach where the source corpus is first selected; then the research data is extrapolated from this source material to generate the research corpus; key items are retrieved from the research corpus, categorised and (where appropriate) quantified; hypotheses are built on this foundation.

Before deciding the details of the research design, it was necessary to choose a source corpus.

## 3.2. SOURCE AND RESEARCH DATA

This section examines the reason for choosing the research data for this study, its structure and content.

### 3.2.1. SOURCE DATA SELECTION

The research material in this study is drawn from one source. Although many researchers

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<sup>216</sup> *Mixed Methods Social Networks Research. Design and Application.*, eds. Domínguez, S, Holstein, B. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 5.

have been cautioned that 'a colour semantic study which is too small in scope is likely to yield misleading results', the reader should bear in mind that it is beyond the scope of this investigation to examine the colour terms in healing charms from all the regions of Russia.<sup>217</sup> The material would be too vast, broad, and diverse for one study such as this. This corpus may represent features common to folk material of other regions and areas in the European part of Russia because healing charms like any other folklore genre are part of traditional culture, and charms of Northern Russia together with Central Russia form a separate independent motif tradition.<sup>218</sup> But, equally this corpus may be singular in some aspects of the functioning of its colour terms. That is work which needs to be undertaken by others.

Our research data were limited to a collection of Russian charms and incantations that were recorded during folklore expeditions to the Russian North between 1953 and 1993, published in 1998 under the title *Русские заговоры и заклинания* (*Russian Charms and Incantations*, edited by V. N. Anikin). The observations and field notes made by different expeditions and researchers were combined in one collection based on the fact that they have the same geographical scope. According to Saunders et al. (2007), this kind of data where the 'possibility of reanalysing data that have already been collected for some other purpose' is called secondary data.

This collection was deemed appropriate as a source for the current thesis for four primary reasons. First, because of the importance of the region where the material was collected and recorded. The Russian North is one of the archaic Slavic areas and an important part of the Slavic ethnogenesis.<sup>219</sup> As such, this region has been a productive location for research to folklorists, ethnographers, and scholars in other disciplines. Professor and ethnographer Olga Cherepanova (1983), while investigating the mythological vocabulary of the Russian North, described the region as a place where archaic notions and ideas have been preserved due to the relative isolation of the region, the inaccessibility of some of the areas in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as well as the close proximity of different dialects. This is the territory of the Northern Russian dialect with some adjoining regions where Central Russian dialects are found.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, p. 112.

<sup>218</sup> Agarkina, T, "Charm Indexes: Problems and Perspectives," pp. 3 - 9.

<sup>219</sup> Н. И. Толстой, *Избранные труды. Том I. Славянская лексикология и семасиология* (Москва: Языка русской культуры, 1997), p. 297. See also Н. И. Толстой, *Языки и народная культура* (Москва: Индрик, 1995), pp. 41 - 60.

<sup>220</sup> О. А. Черепанова, *Мифологическая лексика русского Севера* [Mythological Vocabulary of the Russian Northern Folk Nations], ed. Ельчева А. Н. (Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского университета, 1983), p. 7.

Secondly, one distinguishing feature of the body of the charms and incantations in the Russian North was their acquiring and incorporating a new and distinctive type of charm from around the 17<sup>th</sup> century, one which contained one of the most common and widely used formulas in charm texts. Folk charms, canonical and non-canonical prayers functioned alongside one other and, while this region shares many types of charms (with respect to their functions and main motifs) with other regions of Russia, this particular charm type is mostly typical of the Russian North and absent in the south of Russia. The researcher and folklorist Andrei Toporkov (1999) described this type of charm as one beginning with the formula '*I arise blessing myself, I go out crossing myself*'. These charms describe how the protagonist goes to the sea or into the open field (*чистое поле* – one of the most frequent adjective-noun collocations in the charms), meets some mythical personage there and brings a request to it. These charms are characterised by the presence of a subject, the motif of a 'mythological centre', images of the protagonist, a mediating personage and an addressee, and a description of the location in space.<sup>221</sup>

The third reason for selecting this corpus is the number of previous studies that have been done on this particular collection of charms. Other researchers have selected different sections of the collection for their research to answer questions not only about colour terms and their function in the charms, but also other aspects of the charm text.<sup>222</sup>

Finally, healing charms constitute the most diverse and significant section of this publication. Over centuries healing charms along with ritual actions were the only practical means of medical help, that is why the number of healing charms is so significantly greater than other groups of charms in the collection.

### 3.2.2. DRAWBACKS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE SOURCE DATA

The source data is representative of both the Russian charm tradition and the local charm tradition of the Russian North. The Collection has already been collected, compiled, published, and in some cases, researched and analysed. The biggest drawback is its data quality. First, as researcher, I have no control over how the data was collected and what type of controls for extraneous variables were put in place. We are taking the data collected by others and analysing it to draw our own conclusions and answer our own research questions.

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<sup>221</sup> Toporkov, A, "Russian Love Charms in a Comparative Light," in *Charms, Charmers and Charming. International Research on Verbal Magic.*, ed. Roper Jonathan (Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 125.

<sup>222</sup> See Section 7 of the Literature Review Chapter, Part Two.

Another drawback is the inconsistency of the data. While the additional information of the Charm Collection provides the names of the performers (and the researchers), their age, location, and their individual contribution to the collection as well as the years and areas visited, there is no particular structure or continuity in the collection process: there is a lack of consistency in the collection procedures through the years. It is not clear why some places were visited only once while a number of other areas were visited more than two or three times. This leads to an uneven amount of collected material across regions. The same goes for the performers and their repertoire. This brings us to another limitation of the research material: even the same performer's testimonies may not be recorded consistently from one interview to the next. There is no way of telling how charms were transmitted, whether they were handed down orally or in written form through the generations within the same family, or whether the charm texts were derived from earlier sources outside the family, by copying and re-writing, for instance, available manuscript versions of the charm texts. More precise and detailed information would allow one to measure the differences and similarities of the charm repertoire more accurately within the same region but in different areas. It would also demonstrate the differences and changes in local dialect and charm traditions and the style of performers through the years.

### 3.2.3. FROM SOURCE DATA TO RESEARCH DATA

The charms in the source material are classified by their themes and, accordingly, their functions. They are divided into 9 sections. The corpus of research material, on the other hand, is based on the section called *Healing Charms* [*Лечебные заговоры*].

There are 931 charms in this section and each charm is assigned a number. The first charm of the section is number 1369 and the last one number 2300.

The charms in the source material are further sub-divided into 31 subgroups which vary greatly in size. Many subgroups, such as [charms] *Against headaches, Against pain in arms/legs, Against dog's bite, Against alcoholism* contain no more than ten charm texts. A subgroup of charms against burping and hiccups contains only two charms.

Many charm texts include a description of actions one must perform before, during and after uttering the words.

The healing charm section includes subgroups of charms associated not only with physical wellbeing but also with emotional and mental health. Since the nature of illnesses was not always clear and sometimes the only definite indication of sickness was the person's depressed state of mind, the whole set of sick person's sad, depressing thoughts and painful

feelings was called melancholy, yearning, sorrows (Russian *тоска/toska*). Thus, there is a large subgroup of charms against melancholy and sorrows, as well as a group of charms against the Evil eye (*сглаз/sglaz*). One more subgroup needs to be mentioned. This is a subgroup of charms that is used during the gathering of herbs. Since herbs were a vital part of the healing process, cures and remedies that were used in healing, the charms of this subgroup were also included in the healing charm section by the editors of the collection, and we maintain this arrangement in the current thesis.

As was discussed above, the charm collection that is the source material was divided into nine sections and 31 subgroups, each dedicated to a specific disease or a few similar diseases or infections. However, only 18 of the subgroups contain charms with colour terms and therefore only 18 subgroups have been included in the research corpus.

One of the challenges in analysing the functioning of colour terms in many subgroups was to understand the exact nature of some of the diseases and other ailments because a number of them were referenced by their old, local, or dialectal name. The list below shows the diversity of ailments that healers cured or attempted to cure (where healing charms were part of their therapeutic repertoire).

18 subgroups containing charms with colour terms are:

1. От головной боли/Against headache.
2. От глазных болезней/Against eye infections.
3. От болезни ушей/Against ear infections.
4. От зубной боли/Against toothache.
5. От боли в спине, суставах/Against backache, joint pains.
6. От грыжи, килы/Against diarrhoea, hernia.
7. На кровь, раны, ураз/Against bleeding, wounds, cuts, blows.
8. При ожоге и от жара/Against burn, high temperature.
9. На летучий огонь, своробу, шипицу/Against streptoderma, scabies, palmer and plantar warts.
10. От лихорадки/Against fever.

11. От волоса/Against felon finger.<sup>224</sup>
12. От рожи/Against erysipelas.<sup>225</sup>
13. От чирья/Against furuncle.<sup>226</sup>
14. От змеиногo укуса и при укусе/Against snakebite and being bitten.
15. При мытье/When taking water procedures.
16. От сглаза/Against the Evil eye.
17. От тоски/Against melancholy, yearning.
18. От всех болезней/Against all illnesses and diseases.

The research data is supplied in the Appendices: Appendix B. The charms are listed in the order in which they are provided in the source data; the numbering used in the research data corresponds to that used in the source data. All the charms have been translated.

#### 3.2.4. MORE ABOUT THE RESEARCH DATA

Before moving on to a discussion of the strategies deployed once the research data had been finalised, we briefly consider an issue which impacts on both the source and research data: namely, variants of the same charm in some subgroups. These for the main part are localised versions and variants of the same charm texts. Agapkina and Toporkov (2011) argue that there are two characteristic features of folklore texts - variation and improvisation. These, they contend, are closely connected, because improvisation is directly related to the variability of the folklore texts.<sup>227</sup> This is what Agapkina (2010) called 'комплексная текстология фольклора' ['complex text discourse of folklore']: diversification is an essential characteristic of folklore and is represented through the text variations that are geographically, historically, and socially diverse.<sup>228</sup>

<sup>224</sup> A finger abscess deep in the palm side of the finger.

<sup>225</sup> Erysipelas is a bacterial infection in the upper layer of the skin characterised by a raised, bright red rash typically on the face or legs.

<sup>226</sup> A boil, also called furuncle is an infection of the hair follicle.

<sup>227</sup> *The Meaning of Folklore. The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes*, ed. Bronner Simon J (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2007), pp. 22 - 23.

<sup>228</sup> Т. А. Агапкина, *Восточнославянские лечебные заговоры в сравнительном освещении: Сюжетика и образ мира*. (Москва: Индрик, 2010), p. 19.

Jonathan Roper concurred with Agapkina's viewpoint, adding that ecotypification, 'the process whereby adaptations are made to make them the item of folklore to conform to local prejudices, ecology, to feature local heroes, use local dialect etc.' is one of the main factors for a great number of versions and variants of the same text of folklore'.<sup>229</sup>

This reflects one of the factors mentioned in our discussion of the limitations of the source data: the differences between methods applied by researchers in the process of collecting the folk material in the field which J. Roper called scribal idiosyncrasies or scribal error. These variations and dissimilarities may result from different practices in lineation, punctuation, the compounding of words, different conventions of what contextual data to surround the charm with, and sometimes from transcribing at one time in the standard form of a language but using a dialectical or phonetic transcription elsewhere.<sup>230</sup>

The third factor has already been mentioned earlier. It is a performer's improvisation. This is relevant because the tradition of performance and its place in performer's memory varies between different locations and different performers. Thus, the rhythmic patterns of the texts and pronunciation are variables across different performers in the same region or even area. As Roper argued: 'for a charmer, having a feel for a particular charm-tradition (as opposed to just knowing a charm or two) is a matter of feeling and meeting the demands while in performance'.<sup>231</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the linguistic differences (similar motifs or themes expressed by different modes, such as a dialogue, narrative, imperative etc.) or the same motif expressed in different variants and localised versions. While the subgroups and the context of the colour terms are important to this investigation, the significance of the variants of the same charm is not a primary concern. As noted by Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern (1983), 'in oral traditional culture, there is no correct version as it is told at the moment'.<sup>232</sup> In this thesis we treat variants as discrete charms.

Once the research corpus had been finalised, we needed to think through the best ways of filtering, organising, and presenting the data so that analysis and discussion were possible.

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<sup>229</sup> Roper, J, "Charms, Change and Memory: Some Principles Underlying Variation." <http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol9/roper.htm>. See also Von Sydow's similar notion that the various forms of folk narratives when migrating from one location to another acquire features characteristic to a particular region and its people. In C. W. Von Sydow, "Geography and Folktale Oicotypes," in *International Folkloristics: Classic Contributions by the Founders of Folklore* ed. Alan Dundes (Maryland, US: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 137 - 53.

<sup>230</sup> Roper, "Charms, Change and Memory: Some Principles Underlying Variation."

<sup>231</sup> Roper, "Charms, Change and Memory: Some Principles Underlying Variation."

<sup>232</sup> Kerewsky-Halpern, "Watch Out for Snakes! Ethnosemantic Misinterpretations and Interpretation of a Serbian Healing Charm," p. 313.

### 3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

This study addresses the presence and meaning of colour terms in healing charms as expressions of illness and health and part of healing knowledge. An Exploratory Sequential Mixed Methods Design is used, it involves collecting qualitative data from the research corpus that includes 931 healing charm texts containing colour(s).

The first problem is to clarify which colour terms were to be included or excluded in the study (3.3.1.). Once that had been done, we could move on to the exercise of data retrieval. This included the following processes:

1. A colour term search (3.3.2.)
2. Retrieval of referents, qualified by a colour term (3.3.3.)
3. Quantifying the above (3.3.3.)
4. Analysis of the structure of charms (3.3.5.)

#### 3.3.1. SELECTION CRITERIA

Prior to conducting a word search, we need to establish inclusion and exclusion criteria and briefly explain terms denoting colour that were included from the research data. The analysis conducted in this thesis is anchored in Berlin and Kay's model and the theoretical assumptions underpinning it.

Our starting points in determining which references to colour to include were the four primary criteria suggested by Berlin and Kay to identify Basic Colour Terms:

1. It must be monolexemic (3.3.1.2.)
2. It must be psychologically salient (3.3.1.3.)
3. It cannot be a part of a composite (3.3.1.2.)
4. Its usage cannot be restricted to a narrow set of objects

(3.3.1.3.) To these criteria we added three additional criteria:

5. It must be a direct colour (3.3.1.4.)
6. It must unequivocally denote colour (3.3.1.5.)
7. It need not denote a single colour (3.3.1.6.)

Each of these criteria needs some further discussion and refinement. We take 1. and 3.



together, then 2. and 4. together, and then the rest. But prior to that we discuss how we cope with the many reds that are in the colour category red-ness in order to clarify how this thesis copes with the number of shades within each colour category. (3.3.1.1.)

### 3.3.1.1. COLOUR CATEGORIES, BASIC COLOUR TERMS AND SHADES

As discussed in the Literature Review Chapter, Part One, Berlin and Kay's (1969) language universals hypothesis states that there is an inventory of eleven colour terms that have been identified and recognised as the most recurrent across a great number of languages.<sup>233</sup>

However, the actual colours represented by these colour terms may not be the same in different languages; there may be multiple shades within one colour category just as there may be multiple categories in one language where there is only one in English (as was discussed in relation to light and dark blue BTCs when comparing Russian and English colour terms). The categories and the terms are a function of the language we have been brought up speaking, therefore it is expected that different languages have different categories.<sup>234</sup>

Many of the shades mentioned in the research data have disappeared from the Russian language; a few of them are used for poetic or stylistic purposes only. Sometimes newer colour terms have overtaken some of the old meanings but are used in different contexts. To allocate different shades to a particular colour category, we use the following dictionaries:

1. В. Даль. *Толковый словарь живого русского языка. The Dictionary of the Russian Language* by Vladimir Dahl (known as Dahl's Dictionary, 1955).
2. *Толковый словарь русского языка Ушакова. The Dictionary of the Russian Language under the editorship of academic Dmitry Ushakov* (2012). This is one of the major dictionaries of the Russian language incorporating many lexicographic works of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century.
3. Derksen, Rick, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden Indo- European Etymological Dictionary Series, Volume 4. Brill: Leiden-Boston (2008).

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<sup>233</sup> Webster, "Individual and Population Differences in Focal Colors," pp. 29 - 55.

<sup>234</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, pp. 86 - 108.

4. Kümmel et al. *LIV Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert (2001).

These dictionaries are used not only to help us allocate shades to a particular colour category, but also to obtain all the dialectal examples of the colour terms in the study, particularly those that are specific to the Northern region of Russia.

In Table 1, the colour terms represented in the research data have been listed and grouped according to the colour categories in the Russian rainbow. The order of the basic colour terms in the table is represented by the frequency of each colour category in the charm texts and not by the evolutionary sequence (1969) proposed by Berlin and Kay [white/black] – [red] – [green/yellow] – [yellow/green] – [blue] – [brown] – [purple/pink/orange/grey].<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Kay, P, Berlin, B, *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1991).

**Table 1. Colour Categories, Basic Colour Terms and Shades in the Research Data**

	<b>Colour Category</b>	<b>Occurrences of Colour Category in the Research Data</b>	<b>Basic Colour Terms and Shades in the Research Data</b>
1.	<b>Whiteness</b>	144	Белый/ <i>belyi</i> /white Русый/ <i>rusyi</i> /blond, fair, light brown
2.	<b>Redness</b>	110	Красный/ <i>krasnyi</i> /red Алый/ <i>alyi</i> /scarlet Черёмный/ <i>cheremnyi</i> /dark red, reddish yellow Рыжий/ <i>ryzhi</i> /ginger Румяный/ <i>rumianyi</i> /rosy Бордовый/ <i>bordovyi</i> /burgundy Багровый/ <i>bagrovyi</i> /crimson Вишнёвый/ <i>vishnevui</i> /cherry red
3.	<b>Blueness</b>	101	Синий/ <i>sinii</i> /dark blue
4.	<b>Blueness</b>	5	Голубой/ <i>goluboi</i> /light blue
5.	<b>Blackness</b>	96	Чёрный/ <i>chernyi</i> /black Вороной/ <i>voronoï</i> /raven
6.	<b>Yellowness</b>	33	Жёлтый/ <i>zheltyi</i> /yellow Золотой/ <i>zolotoi</i> /gold
7.	<b>Greyness</b>	28	Серый/ <i>seryi</i> /grey Сивый/ <i>sivui</i> /ash grey Мышастый/ <i>myshastyi</i> /bluish grey
8.	<b>Greenness</b>	21	Зелёный/ <i>zelenyi</i> /green
9.	<b>Brownness</b>	21	Карий/ <i>karii</i> /hazel, light brown Саврасый/ <i>savransyi</i> /bay Подласый/ <i>podlasyi</i> /fox colour, reddish brown Бурый/ <i>buryi</i> /fulvous, greyish brown
10.	<b>Pinkness</b>	1	Розовый/ <i>rozovyi</i> /pink
11.	<b>Purpleness</b>	0	
12.	<b>Orangeness</b>	0	

The research data shows that out of 12 Russian basic colour categories, two are absent from the charm corpus – orangeness, and purpleness.

Colour terms for mixed red and blue, blue, and red or pink and blue, blue, and pink appeared rather late in the Russian language. By the end of the 18th century the shades violet, purple and lilac were borrowed from French. None of these shades are represented in the healing charm texts. However, this does not mean that in the Russian language there were no colour terms describing mixed red and blue colours, such as the ones categorised the Redness category – багровый/*bagrovyy*/crimson, bluish red and вишнёвый/*vishnëvyi*/cherry red. Bakhilina (1975) grouped these colour terms in the red colour category when examining the historical development of colour terms in the Russian language.<sup>236</sup> I retain this categorisation in the current study.

Orangeness is not represented. This is another colour term that appeared late in the Russian language (in the 2nd half of the 18th century). Before the appearance of this colour term, there were other shades representing this category in the Russian language. There is one colour term in the research data, рыжий/*ryzhii*/ginger, describing a mixture with the colour red that could belong in this category. Bakhilina (1975), however, placed this colour term in the colour category redness when discussing early colour terms in ancient manuscripts, based on the roots \*bagъr- and \*rudh-.<sup>237</sup> I keep this categorization in this study.

In the colour category brownness, modern Russian's Basic colour term brown is missing; the colour category brown, however, is represented by four shades – hazel, bay, reddish brown/fox colour, and fulvous.

The colour category red-ness is represented by seven shades making it the largest representation of colour terms in the research data. The colour category red-ness is followed by the colour category brown, which is represented by four shades and then the colour category greyness with two shades. Each of the colour categories white, black, and yellow are represented by a basic colour term and one shade. The rest of the colour categories (dark blue, light blue, yellow, green, pink) are not represented by any shades.

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<sup>236</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, pp. 31 - 33; 80 - 81.

<sup>237</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, pp. 30 - 34.

### 3.3.1.2. MONOLEXEMIC AND COMPOUND REFERENCES TO COLOUR

Whereas the rule of thumb is that only monolexemic colour terms are included in the research data, there are a number of compound nouns in the research material which include a morpheme referencing colour. To avoid the problem of inconsistency and confusion about which compound words are included in the research data and which compound words are ruled out, it was determined that:

1. where the morpheme denotes a colour, the compound noun is retained within the research data and is treated in the same way as Epithet + Referent noun phrases,
2. where the connotations of the morpheme in question extend beyond reference to colour, the compound noun is not included in the research data.

This led to the inclusion of the compound nouns: 1) Жена-красноголовка (2155, 2202) and 2) Жена-черноволокса (2172). Example 2 is quite straightforward, meaning [someone] with black hair, thus *hair* is also included in the data as a referent for the colour black. In example 1 the word *головка/golovka* in the compound *красноголовка/krasnogolovka/* (*красная/krasnaia/red* + *головка/golovka/head*) looks like a diminutive of *голова/golova/head* and therefore the compound noun would refer to a red-headed woman, as in the examples above. However, the Ushakov's Dictionary mentions that the word *головка/golovka* can mean headdress or headscarf worn by peasant women, usually married ones.<sup>238</sup> Accordingly, we classify the word headscarf as one of the referents for the colour red. The compound nouns Жена-белоголовка (2152, 2181, 2199) (*белоголовка/belogolovka* (*белая/belaia/white* + *голова/golova/head*) and Баба-беловоловска (2280) (*беловоловска/belovoloska* (*белые/belye/white* + *волосы/volosy/hair*)) have the meaning of someone with blonde, light, fair hair. However, because of the vagueness of the meaning of the colour term white in this case (as it does not make the distinction between white and blonde, fair) these compound nouns are not included in the research corpus. Another rationale for distinguishing between these two colour terms from the same colour category is the frequent association and usage of colour term *русый* (fair, light brown) in collocation with the word *hair* in folklore texts, thus differentiating it from the symbolic meaning of light, blond hair in *белоголовка/belogolovka*.

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<sup>238</sup> A peasant married woman wears a red headscarf (*красный повойник*) entwined around the head. Д. Н. Ушаков, "Толковый словарь современного русского языка," (Москва: Аделант, 2012).

On the other hand, the compound noun *девка-чернавка/devka-chernavka* in charm 2173 that seems to denote colour is more problematic: (*черн-/chern-* is the root of the word *чёрный/chërnyĭ/black*). Ushakov's Dictionary explains that this expression is often used in wonder tales and means 'someone with dark skin'. Efremova's Dictionary gives us a similar explanation: 'someone with darker skin' but goes on to add 'a servant who does all the manual, unskilled work' (*чёрная работа/chërnaia rabota/black work*).<sup>239</sup> This explanation of the morpheme *черн-/chern-* extends the use of this term beyond the colour spectrum and for that reason this example is not included in the research data as an example of a word denoting colour.

### 3.3.1.3. PSYCHOLOGICAL SALIENCE AND RANGE OF REFERENTS

These two criteria are grouped together as they both invite one to examine and interpret discrete lexemes using contextual clues.

As was discussed in the Literature Review Chapter, the language of folk texts, and therefore of charms, is highly patterned and convention-ruled. One has to assume that references to colour are motivated within the poetics of the genre, in the same way they would be in any folk text. They are, therefore, psychologically salient. But does that motivation extend to their functioning in the healing process? We return to that question in the Discussion Chapter.

The range of referents qualified by colour terms emerges as our analysis develops.

### 3.3.1.4. DIRECT AND INDIRECT COLOUR TERMS

The source data includes direct and indirect colour terms. This study, however, limits itself to direct colour terms because the inclusion of all the indirect colour terms in the data would make the scope of the study too broad. All words and phrases with indirect colour connotations of any degree (smoky, copper etc.) have, therefore, been excluded.

On the other hand, all parts of speech which directly reference colour have been included: nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. While the majority of references to colour in the

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<sup>239</sup> Т. Ф. Ефремова, "Новый словарь русского языка. Толково-словообразовательный," (Москва "Русский язык", 2000), Dictionary [https://www.babylon-software.com/free-dictionaries/Efremova\\_Russian\\_Explanatory\\_Dictionary/47216.html](https://www.babylon-software.com/free-dictionaries/Efremova_Russian_Explanatory_Dictionary/47216.html).

research material are expressed in adjectives, there are three noun forms in three charms, twelve verbal forms in five charms, and one adverb in a charm text against the Evil eye. These are listed below.

A full translation of the charm texts is provided in Appendix B. Colour terms in the charm texts are in italics.

#### 1. nouns referencing colour in the charms:

- i. **1623.** <...> В чистом поле два брата-*румянца*.
- ii. **1958.** <...> Под тем дубом-скородубом лежит камень-*белорус*. Под тем камнем- *белорусом* лежит змея-скорупеха. This example is particularly interesting due to a compound colour term *белорус* consisting of *бел* (*белый*/white) and *рус* (*русый*/blond, fair). In this charm text *рус* is translated as blond, fair by association with *русый волос, бело тело* (blond, fair hair, white body) in the last sentence of the charm.
- iii. **1995.** <...> Моё лицо – *белильце*, мой лоб – *зеркальце*.

#### 2. verbs referencing colour in the charms:

- i. **1821.** <...> Не *красней*, не *бурей*, не *желтей*, не *черней*, чтобы зацахло, *почернело*, чтобы кости не скомнули, чтоб жилья не тянуло, чтобы тело не хрупело, было чистенько, было беленько, гладенько.
- ii. **1852.** <...> *почернел* бы прыщ в чёрный уголь.
- iii. **1853.** <...> не цвела и вперед не шла, *зачернела* бы, как черный уголь.

The next two examples of colour verbs are difficult to understand because of either dialectal factors or scribal errors when writing down the performer's repertoire.

- iv. **1993.** Господи Иисусе, моюся – *белюся*, на воду – *синила*, на мое лицо – *белила*, на рабу Божью (имя) – красота, а на ребят – сухота.
- v. **1994.** На воду – *синита*, на меня – *белило* <...>.

3. While it would appear that the last colour term in the following charm text is an adverb, its meaning is unclear. It is a charm against the Evil eye. It addresses and entreats the water (addressed here as Queen of the seas (*Морская царица/morskaia tsaritsa*) to wash all the symptoms off the sick person's body. The healer relies on the power of the water spirit and orders the symptoms caused by the Evil eye to go away.

- i. **2138.** <...> Сколь *красно* пришли – столь назад идите к старому хозяину.

The interpretation of *красно* (red) as *красиво* (beautiful) would be illogical because the appearance and disappearance of an illness does not strike one as being something beautiful. It may be assumed that the symptoms of the disease manifested themselves as something red (red spots, red patches, red rash) on the body. The translation of the line would be something to this effect: as *red* (spots, patches, rash) you came so as *red* you go away. For that reason, this example has been included in the data.

### 3.3.1.5. TERMS WHOSE PRIMARY DENOTATION MAY, BUT NEED NOT, BE COLOUR

There are two problematic words with colour connotations in the research data: gold (*золотой/zolotoj*) and silver (*серебрянный/serebriannyj*, *серебристый/serebristyj*). In the majority of cases gold and silver are not treated as words denoting colour, and therefore not included in the research data, because they denote the value and the material of physical things made from the metals gold and silver. The following examples show the description of material objects made of gold and silver:

**1396.** <...> в океане-море стоит *золотой* престол (a throne made of *gold*), на *золотом* престоле сидит Жилин муж.

**1645.** <...> в окияне-море стоит *золотой* камень (stone of *gold*). На этом камне сидит Пресвятая Богородица. Сидит и зашивает *золотой* иголкой (*gold needle*), шелковой ниточкой ножовые порезы, топорные посеки.

**2136.** Мелка *золота* источника (*life-giving spring/well*), бежишь по пенью, по кореню, по белому камению.

In the rest of the charm texts (particularly those describing a (new) moon), gold and silver are considered to be words denoting colour because they clearly do not describe something made of gold or silver. They describe the brightness, luminosity, and colour of their referent. For example:

**1412.** Свят злат месяц (*gold moon*), *золоты* твои рога (*your gold horns/crescents*), был ты за горами, был ты за долами.

**1652.** <...> В чистом поле на камению сидит девица – *златое* лицо (*face shining like gold*), русова иголка в руках.



### 3.3.1.6. SPECKLED OBJECTS

The research data also includes colour terms that express one or more coexisting colour or mixed colours (for example, skewbald or mottled) in a single lexeme.

**Table 2. Colour Categories, Basic Colour Terms and Shades in the Research Data (cont.)**

<b>Colour Category</b>	<b>Occurrences of Colour Category in the Research Data</b>	<b>Shades in the Research Data</b>
<b>Mixed colours</b>	9	Рябый/ <i>riabyi</i> /mottled Перепелесый/ <i>perepelesnyi</i> /variegated colour, synonym of <i>нестрый</i> Пёстрый/ <i>pëstryi</i> /variegated colour, different colour zones Пегий/ <i>pegi</i> /piebald, skewbald*

### 3.3.2. COLOUR TERM SEARCH

The procedure adopted in this thesis is similar to the procedure adopted by Davies and Corbett (1995) which was in turn adapted from the original Berlin and Key procedure.<sup>240</sup> Davies and Corbett used an elicitation task to elicit the most salient colour terms, followed by a mapping procedure and a list task to establish the salience and the frequency of each term. In this thesis all the Russian basic colour terms and shades were manually retrieved, as were all the referents associated with each colour and shade.

Given the relatively small size of the research data, a manual key word search was deemed appropriate. This method is particularly useful and more efficient for smaller samples. One of the advantages of this method is that it ensures that all relevant data is retrieved, and problems of irrelevance and inaccuracy avoided. The process of data search and selection can be repeated several times to avoid and remove any errors. The disadvantage of this method is that it cannot be applied to larger samples.

The results of generating the colour vocabulary of the research data obtained from 931 healing charms in the source material are as follows:

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<sup>240</sup> Greville, C, Davies, I, "A Practical Field Method for Identifying Probable Basic Colour Terms," *Languages of the World* 9, no. 1 (1995).

1. There are 240 healing charms containing one or more colour terms and shades. This amounts to approximately 25% of all the healing charms in the source material.
2. There are 29 colour terms and shades across the 240 healing charms. (See Table 3. below, where the colours and shades are listed in order of the frequency of their use)
3. References to colour such as we have limited it occur 569 times.

**Table 3. Colours and Shades Represented in the Research Corpus**

1	Белый/ <i>belyĩ</i> /white
2	Синий/ <i>sinĩ</i> /dark blue
3	Красный/ <i>krasnyĩ</i> /red
4	Чёрный/ <i>chĕrnyĩ</i> /black
5	Серый/ <i>seryĩ</i> /grey
6	Жёлтый/ <i>zhĕltyĩ</i> /yellow
7	Зелёный/ <i>zelĕnyĩ</i> /green
8	Карий/ <i>kariĩ</i> /hazel
9	Алый/ <i>alyĩ</i> /scarlet
10	Золотой/ <i>zolotoĩ</i> /gold
11	Рябый/ <i>riabyĩ</i> /mottled
12	Голубой/ <i>goluboĩ</i> /light blue
13	Вороной/ <i>voronoĩ</i> /raven
14	Русый/ <i>rusyĩ</i> /blond, fair
15	Черёмный/ <i>cherĕmnyĩ</i> /dark red, reddish-yellow
16	Рыжий/ <i>ryzhĩ</i> /ginger
17	Саврасый/ <i>savrasyĩ</i> /bay
18	Подласый/ <i>podlasyĩ</i> /reddish-brown
19	Румяный/ <i>rumianyĩ</i> /rosy
20	Бурый/ <i>buryĩ</i> /fulvous, greyish-brown
21	Бордовый/ <i>bordovyĩ</i> /burgundy
22	Багровый/ <i>bagrovyĩ</i> /crimson
23	Сивый/ <i>sivyĩ</i> /ash grey
24	Мышастый/ <i>myshastyĩ</i> /bluish-grey
25	Пегий/ <i>pegĩ</i> /piebald

26	Розовый/ <i>rozovyĭ</i> /pink
27	Пёстрый/ <i>pěstryĭ</i> /variegated colour, different colour zones
28	Перепелесый/ <i>perepelesyĭ</i> /variegated colour
29	Вишнёвый/ <i>vishněvyĭ</i> /cherry

### 3.3.3. RETRIEVAL OF REFERENTS, QUALIFIED BY A COLOUR TERM

The context of colour terms is important in establishing the associations and supplementary meaning (if any) of the words. As Stamenov (1992) stated ‘in the sense that the knowledge of dictionary meaning of words without knowledge about the areas of experience described may result in “weird practices”’.<sup>241</sup> Context offers better comprehension of this knowledge and allows us a glimpse into the cultural and linguistic processes and the healing traditions of the Russian people. For this reason, the second procedure was to examine the specific and broad context of those colours and shades that are part of the colour vocabulary of the research data.

According to Biggam (2012), ‘the colour denoted by a particular term is often greatly affected by a piece of information which has been supplied for the whole context of the event, story or phenomenon’.<sup>242</sup> The purpose of the examination and retrieval of the immediate referents of colour terms and shades is to interpret more accurately the denotative and connotative meanings of the colour names and shades in the charm texts.

Once this exercise had been completed it became apparent that the referents fell into five semantic fields. The first two are of immediate relevance to this thesis: *Illness* and *Parts of the body*. The second two are less obviously relevant to health culture but may well be relevant to the structuring of charms and or the perceived causes of illnesses: *The animal kingdom* and *The natural world*. The final category includes any referents which fail to fit into any of the above semantic fields: *Other*. Table 4 lists the referents within each of these categories.

As the semantic field *Other* includes all the referents that could not be categorised into the four others, it represents a broad variety of words mentioned, each of which occurs relatively rarely in the charm corpus. The most repeated of these words is ‘world’ (6 occurrences with the colour term white); none of the others occur more than 3 times with their respective colours. This category includes referents that might have been placed in

<sup>241</sup> *Current Advances in Semantic Theory*, vol. 73, ed. M. I. Stamenov, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 1992), p. 9.

<sup>242</sup> Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour. A Historical Approach*, p. 118.

other categories, but because of the choice of lexemes in a given charm, they were placed in the *Other* category. So, for instance, the referents 'sister' and 'brother' were categorised as *Other*, though in many charm texts diseases (1758, 1759) and snakes (1764, 1962, 1966) are addressed as 'brothers' and 'sisters'.

**Table 4. Semantic Fields into Which Referents are Grouped**

<b>Illnesses</b>	<b>Parts of the Body</b>	<b>The Animal Kingdom</b>	<b>The Natural World</b>	<b>Other</b>
Bruising	Blood	Ants -(anthill)	Birch	Axe
Diarrhoea	Body	Bear	Dawn	Belt
Disease	Bones	Chicken	Grass	Brother
Erysipelas	Brain	Crow	Meadow	Chalk
Evil eye	Cheeks	Horse	Moon	Claws
Furuncle	Chest	Mare	Moss	Coal
Swelling	Eyebrows	Pike fish	Oak	Crown
Wound	Eyes	Snake	Oakwood	Fabric
	Face	Swan	Pine tree	Footwear
	Girl	Worm	River	Fur
	Gums		Sand	Hat
	Hair		Sea	Headscarf
	Hands		Snow	Horns
	Liver		Spring	Iron
	Lungs		Star	Island
	Man		Stone	Lining
			Sun	Milk
			Water	Mud
			Wild ash	Needle
				Oars
				Old man
				Paper
				Ribbon
				Rune
				Shore
				Sister
				Snow

				Street
				Tablecloth
				Tail
				Thread
				Stomach
				Wine
				World

### 3.3.4. QUANTIFYING COLOUR TERMS AND THEIR REFERENTS

The two first procedures – the colour retrieval and the immediate referent retrieval procedures – in effect took place at the same time. The third procedure quantified the number of colour terms and shades, their types and forms, their frequency, the number of referents of each colour term and shade within the body of the research data, particularly within every subgroup that contains colour terms.

If there is a colour term(s) or shade(s) in a charm text, all its occurrences are counted whereas a referent is counted only once, even if it appears more than once in a given text. The reason for counting colours and shades in this way and referents differently is that the primary focus of this study is the frequency of colour terms, not the referents associated with them. For example (the colour terms and their referent are in italics; for the full translation of the charm text, see Appendix B, in Appendices p. 34):

**2027.** Стану я, раба Божья Таисия, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверейми, из двора воротами, выйду я на широкую улицу, под восточную сторону, где *красно солнышко* (red sun), где *зелёная зорушка* (green dawn). *Красным солнышком* (red sun) умоюсь, *зелёной зарей* (green dawn) оботрюсь. Столь я буду хороша, как *красное солнышко* (red sun), столь я буду нарядна, как *зелёная зорушка* (green dawn).

We count the colour terms, and their referents as follows:

- 1) The colour term *красное/krasnoe/red* – 3 times
- 2) The referent *солнце/solntse/the sun* – 1 time
- 3) The colour term *зелёная/zelënaia/green* – 3 times
- 4) The referent *заря/zaria/dawn* – 1 time

### 3.3.5. FILTERING, ORGANISING, AND TABULATING THE DATA

As was discussed in Literature Review Chapter, a healing charm has a trinomial structure that includes 3 endeavours: leaving home, moving on/to sacred space, and meeting with a representative of another world.

The basis of most healing charms is a journey from a certain locus (usually 'home', 'my side of the fence' etc.) to the sacred centre where the reward or payment occurs (recovery from illness, fulfilment of wishes). The texts therefore contain explicit or implicit reference to the point of origin, the landscape travelled, and the destination. This journey is illustrated in the following examples which are selected to illustrate each of these loci.

Point of origin.

*"Пойду, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из избы в двери, из дверей в ворота <...>".*

*(1393. Against ear infections)*

*"Стану я раба Божия (имя), благословясь. Пойду, перекрестясь, из ворот в ворота <...>".*

*(1441. Against toothache)*

Landscape travelled.

*"<...> пойду в чисто поле, погляжу на все четыре стороны <...>". (1393. Against ear infections)*

*"Пойду в чистое поле, в широко раздолье под светлый месяц, там лежит мёртвый мертвец <...>". (1441. Against toothache)*

Destination.

*"<...> пойду на широкую улицу, на божий свет <...>". (2082. Against Evil eye).*

A variety of different things are present in this sacred ritual chronotope: sacred objects (churches, temples, altars, sacred stones etc.), everyday objects that acquire a special status in this sacred space and the location of the Other world (where people do not go, birds do not fly, where plentiful feasts take place). According to Toporkov, the action of starting this journey from a place that is considered sinful is a journey already halfway done. Many charm formulae stress the importance of the beginning of the journey; it is characterised as deliberate and purposeful, not spontaneous. The purpose of the journey is to travel towards the final destination, towards the meeting because the idea of the meeting is internally connected with the idea of help, luck, and happiness. The meeting is mostly a happy event. This is what a patient and a healer embark upon when the healing procedure starts. The mind is focused on this journey and getting better, both physically, and

mentally. Yuri Lotman (1996) discussed the notion of the sacred in the popular mindset which is about leaving one's home and going on a pilgrimage. According to Lotman, any movement in geographical spaces acquires a religious and moral sense. A journey increases one's holiness. At the same time, the pursuit of holiness implies giving up a sedentary life and going on a journey. To break with sin implies a departure and spatial displacement.<sup>243</sup> So the final destination is not measured by geographical coordinates nor by a traveler's intentions but by his moral virtues. Geography acquires a symbolic value.<sup>244</sup> It seems that we can apply this notion not only to physical journeys but also to mental healing journeys.

The journey is full of meetings, they are the milestones which guide the traveler in the right direction. Fixed colour epithets are frequently used in the charm texts to highlight the typical features of the objects and phenomena, to enhance the visual imagery, to distinguish different features of space, time, and movement.<sup>245</sup>

Appendix C (The Healing Journey) presents charm texts that describe the full healing journey (leaving house – moving on/to – reaching destination/meeting with someone/something). The point of origin, point of departure is documented in the first column; the movement towards the journey's destination in the second column describes the different areas and actions; the destination (the third column) describes beings, creatures, items that are being placed there. Colour terms are presented in italics. The purpose of this table is to display the three main stages of the healing journey and to see whether there is a pattern and/or similarities in the descriptions of three stages. Another important aspect of Appendix C is to examine the usage of the colour terms in the description of the journey and to address the question: How are the colour categories and colour terms distributed through the healing journey?

### 3.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Methodology Chapter outlined the rationale for selecting the main approaches in this study, and the research strategies and procedures that were carried out to retrieve and organise the colour vocabulary of the charm corpus. A summary and results of the main findings and of the principal issues and suggestions which have arisen in this discussion are presented in the next, Analysis and Discussion Chapter.

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<sup>243</sup> Ю. М. Лотман, *Внутри мыслящих миров. Человек-текст-семиосфера-история.*, ed. Кузовкина Т. Д. (Москва: "Языки русской культуры", 1996), pp. 240 - 42.

<sup>244</sup> Лотман, *Внутри мыслящих миров. Человек-текст-семиосфера-история.*, pp. 246 - 49.

<sup>245</sup> Н. И. Кравцов, "К изучению эпитета в русской фольклористике," in *Эпитет в русском народном творчестве.*, ed. Кравцов Н. И, Аникин В. П, Селиванов Ф. М. (Москва: Изд-во Московского ун-та, 1980), pp. 8 - 11.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.0. AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER**

This chapter divides into three sections, each of which builds on the analysis and discussion of previous sections.

In Section One (4.1.) we analyse the raw data, generated by word and phrase searches in the source and research corpus. For the main part, the data is supplied in the Appendices; where it makes sense from the point of view of readability, some Tables have been included in the body of the Chapter. The central foci in the first section are the colour terms in the research data (their relative frequency and salience, their distribution geographically, the range of colours represented) and the referents to which colour terms or colour categories are assigned.

Section Two (4.2) hones in on the place of colour in the representation of health and illness in the healing charms. It asks how these texts represent a healthy body and explores which colour terms (if any) dominate in each of the 18 sub-groups of illnesses and ailments.

The final Section (4.3.) is concerned with the healing process and the place colours might play in that process. We explore whether the colour categories and colour terms are distributed through the healing journey in a meaningful way; we examine which cures for which illnesses and ailments are intrinsically linked to the presence of colour in a given charm.

In the concluding Section we draw the threads of this discussion together.

#### **4.1. THE RAW DATA**

##### **4.1.1. COLOUR TERMS IN THE RESEARCH DATA – FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE**

Table 1 and Diagram 1 document and illustrate the range and frequency of colours and shades in the research data. The frequency distribution of each colour and shade in Appendix A is expressed by the total number of occurrences and a percentage. For example, out of 569 colour occurrences, the colour white is mentioned 140 times, which is



24 per cent of all the colour occurrences in the healing charms. The reason for calculating the frequency of the occurrences of each colour and shade as a percentage of all references to colour is to represent the data in a more accessible and comprehensible form and to determine whether the colours are evenly distributed. In Table 1 colours and shades are ranked in descending order of frequency.

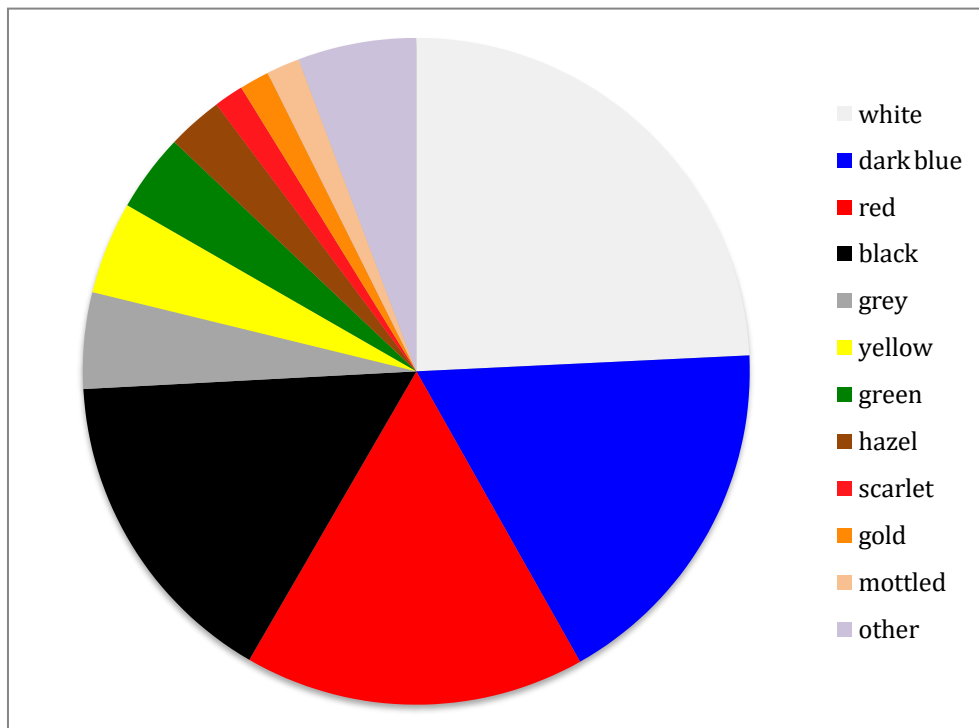
**Table 1. (based on Appendix A) Colour Terms and Their Frequency**

	<b>Colours and Shades</b>	<b>Frequency of Each Colour/ Shade</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
1	White	140	24%
2	Dark blue	101	18%
3	Red	93	16%
4	Black	91	16%
5	Grey	26	5%
6	Yellow	25	5%
7	Green	21	4%
8	Hazel	15	3%
9	Scarlet	8	1%
10	Gold	8	1%
11	Mottled*	6	1%
12	<i>Other</i>	35	6%
	TOTAL	569	

\* This category groups the four adjectives used to describe horse breeds (рябый/*riabyi*/mottled; перепелесый/*perepelesnyi*/variegated colour; пёстрый/*pěstryi*/variegated colour, different colour zones; пегий/*pegi*/piebald, skewbald; see Table 3.2.

Diagram 1 visually represents the colour vocabulary of the healing charms of the current study: it represents the frequency of occurrence of each colour term and shade.

**Diagram 1. Distribution of Colour Terms and Shades Across the Research Data**



The purpose of this first task, the retrieval process, was to establish the colour vocabulary in the research corpus. The first research objective was to determine the number and frequency of colour terms in the research data. This preliminary analysis showed the following:

- First, while the colour vocabulary of the research data is diverse and rich, the dominant colours are those that are called Basic Colour Terms in Berlin and Kay's work (1969). Nine of the twelve basic Russian colour terms are represented in the healing charms: white, black, red, green, yellow, dark blue, light blue, pink, and grey. The three colours that are part of the Russian basic colour term spectrum but are absent from the healing charms of the research data are: brown, orange, and purple. In her study on the history of Russian colour terms, Bakhilina (1975) stated that these colour terms appeared in the Russian language relatively late, on the evidence of their use in written manuscripts.<sup>246</sup>

<sup>246</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, pp. 230 - 47. The colour term brown appeared no earlier than the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the colour terms orange and purple did not emerge before the second part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century or even the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, respectively. Both orange and purple were borrowed words and for quite some time they were used only in written texts. They were both bookish words (*книжные слова*). Nevertheless, while the colour term orange expanded its usage and replaced other colour names of this colour category, the colour name purple was used in general and specialist literature, such as vocabularies of physics and minerology.

- Secondly, the colour terms represented in the research data can be classified in three categories:
  1. Colour terms and shades that occur frequently (white, dark blue, red, and black, which between them account for 74 per cent of all colour occurrences). Much of the discussion in this Chapter will therefore focus on these colour categories.
  2. Colour terms and shades which occur occasionally (grey, yellow, green, hazel, scarlet, gold, mottled, which account for 20 per cent of all colour occurrences).
  3. Other colour terms: the frequency of almost half of the colour terms (numbers 12 – 29 in Appendix A) is less than one per cent. These colours and shades account for 35 or six per cent of all colour occurrences in the research data. In order to avoid excessively and unnecessarily detailed data in the diagram, these colours and shades were grouped together and classified under the heading Other colours.

In the following section we examine one of the factors which might account for variations in the frequency of certain colours across the research data, namely the physical environment where they were collected.

#### 4.1.2. THE GEORAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COLOUR TERMS

To present the distribution and frequency of the research data, all healing charm texts were classified according to the place where they were collected.

Appendix E (Healing Charm Distribution by Region) includes the 931 healing charm texts in the source material collected in Northern Russia. The purpose of Appendix E is to look at the volume and ‘density’ of the healing charm distribution in the following nine regions: Arkhangelsk, Kaluga, Kirov, Kostroma, the Karelian ASSR (now the Republic of Karelia), the Komi ASSR (now the Komi Republic), Tatar ASSR (now the Republic of Tatarstan), Vologda and Voronezh. This gives us an overview of the geographical areas and the historic period in which the healing charms were collected.

Appendix F (Colour Terms, Their Frequency, and Their Referents by District) includes all

the districts that were visited, the years of the visits, the number of charms collected in each district and those of which reference colour, the colour terms retrieved, the number of times a colour term is mentioned, and the referents associated with each colour term. Appendix F shows us the source material of the colour vocabulary of the research data, and all the information related to its collection.

The purpose of this section is to address the following questions.

1. Are colour terms an essential component of healing charms? Are there some regions or districts in which the healing charms do not reference colour?
2. Are colour terms evenly distributed across regions and districts? Or are some regions or districts more colourful than others in terms of the number of references to colour and/or in terms of the range of colours referenced?
3. Does the frequency of occurrence of salient colours consistently mirror the frequency of occurrence in the research corpus as a whole?
4. What colour terms are salient in which districts? Do geographical features or topography account for the salience of colours in a given region?

**Are colour terms an essential component of healing charms? Are there some regions or districts in which the healing charms do not reference colour?**

The answer to this first question was alluded to in Chapter Three (3.2.2) when we drew a distinction between the source data (931 healing charms) and the research data (240 healing charms). The research data consists only of those healing charms which reference colour. As a mere c. 25 per cent of the source data references colour, we can safely conclude that colour terms are not a compulsory component of healing charms. So, for instance, there are no references to colour in the Kholmogorsky District/Arkhangelsk Region which contributes 22 healing charms to the source corpus.

**Are colour terms evenly distributed across regions and districts? Or are some regions or districts more colourful than others in terms of the number of references to colour and/or in terms of the range of colours referenced?**

The results displayed in Appendix F show that the Arkhangelsk region (15 districts) was visited more frequently than other regions. Not only were there repeated trips to the same districts (Verkhnetoyemsky, Kargopolsky, Leshukonsky, Onezhsky, Pinezhsky, Priozersky), but they also provided the largest number of healing charm texts containing a rich colour vocabulary. The rest of the districts were visited only once which may account for there

being fewer healing charm texts in the data. The Mezhesnky district is an exception: though it was visited only once (in 1975), it nonetheless contributed 66 charm texts to our corpus with predominantly basic colour terms in them.

The Arkhangelsk region borders the Kirov and Vologda regions, the Republic of Karelia, and the Komi Republic.

While the Kirov region is richly represented in the charm collection with 221 charm texts from five districts, it has a relatively limited colour vocabulary. No healing charms were recorded in the Darovsky district. The Podosinovsky district contributed 27 healing charms, but none of them contained any colour terms. Out of the 72 healing charm texts recorded in the Luzhsky district, only five referenced colour and these only mentioned three colour terms.

The Kaluga region is represented by nine districts and provides a varied colour vocabulary. The difference in the frequency and the number of charm texts varies greatly within the region. Two districts are particularly interesting: the Kuybyshev district is the most visited district of all and while it has not contributed the largest number of the charm texts (57), it certainly has given the most diverse colour vocabulary of the collection. The Kirov district is worthy of comment because, while there are only two healing charm texts from this district, the colour representation ratio to the number is rich – five colour terms occurring seven times.<sup>247</sup>

The other regions provide a moderate amount of charm texts (140 charms in six regions) and a limited range of colour terms (11 colour terms out of 29).

Is there any detectable rhyme or reason to these data? On the basis of the relatively small corpus to which this study is limited, it would appear that there is no meaningful patterning on the basis of geographical considerations:

- the number of references to colour is not a function of the number of healing charms in a given district (viz. the districts which each contribute two healing charms to the corpus, in which there are varying numbers of references to colour (Velikoustyugsky: 3; Makaryesvky: 1; Kirovsky: 7) and varying numbers of colour terms (Velikoustyugsky: 2; Makaryesvky: 2; Kirovsky: 2)). See also Table 2 which shows that the district with the highest average number of references to colour per charm is Sukhinichsky (30:10), is also the district with the 6th highest number of references to colour; the district with the lowest average number of references to colour per charm

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<sup>247</sup> Charms 1777, 1962.

is Verkhnetoyemsky (19:34) is the district with 8th highest number of references to colour. The district with the highest number of healing charms (Kargopolsky) has the 4th highest number of references to colour; the district with the highest number of references to colour (Kuybyshev) provides the fourth highest number of charms to the research data.

- the range of colour terms in the healing charms of a given district is not primarily a function of the number of references to colour in those charms; and *vice versa*, that the number of references to colour in the healing charms of a given district is not a function of the range of colour terms in those charms. The evidence of Table 2 demonstrates that, while the district with the most references to colour (Kuybyshev) does indeed have the widest range of colour terms, the data from other Districts shows no consistency of ratio between the number of colours and the number of references to colour. The district with the widest range of colours relative to the number of references to colour is Verkhnetoyemsky (7:19); the district with the widest range of colours relative to the number of charms is Leshukonsky (8:88)

**Table 2. Range and Number of Colours Referenced in Healing Charms (by District) \***

<b>District</b>	<b>Total Number of Healing Charms in the Source Data (Ranked in Descending Order)</b>	<b>Number of Discrete Colours Referenced in the Charms of a Given District (Ranked in Descending Order)</b>	<b>Number of References to Colour in the Charms of a Given District (Ranked in Descending Order)</b>
1. Kargopolsky	95 (1)	4. 16 (1)	4. 124 (1)
2. Leshukonsky	88 (2)	9. 15 (2)	3. 66 (2)
3. Mezensky	66 (3)	1. 13 (3)	2. 58 (3)
4. Kuybyshev	57 (4)	6. 10 (4)	1. 55 (4)
5. Verkhnetoyemsky	34 (5)	3. 9 (5)	7. 42 (5)
6. Onezhsky	33 (6)	2. 8 (6)	9. 30 (6)
7. Pinezhsky	29 (7)	5. 7 (7)	6. 24 (7)
8. Priozerny	18 (8)	7. 6 (8)	5. 19 (8)
9. Sukhinichsky	10 (9)	8. 3 (9)	8. 17 (9)

\* This Table limits its analysis to healing charms in which the range of colours is equal to or exceeds 8, and/or the number of references to colour is equal to or exceeds 15.

**Does the frequency of occurrence of salient colours consistently mirror the frequency of occurrence in the research corpus as a whole? Are the most salient colours relatively evenly distributed across districts?**

An overview of the colour representation in all the Regions presented in Appendix F is as follows: the colour white is the dominant colour in four out of nine of regions, followed by dark blue and black as dominant colours in two regions. In all nine regions taken together, the colour white occurs 140 times, dark blue 101, red 93, black 91 times.<sup>248</sup>

However, the relative frequency of colour terms when taking all healing charms as a corpus is not mirrored in their relative frequency at the level of district. Table 3 documents the relative frequency of the four most salient colours in districts which evidence a wide range of colour terms ( $\geq 8$  colours) in their palette. In Table 3 the numbers (1, 2, 3, 4 – 1 representing the most frequent, 4 representing least frequent) indicate the relative frequency of a colour in a given district.

**Table 3. Relative Frequency of Occurrence of the Four most Salient Colour Terms**

District	Relative Frequency of Occurrence of Colour Terms			
	White	Dark blue	Black	Red
Kuybyshev	2	4	3	1
Sukhinichsky	3		1	2
Verkhnetoyemsky	2	1	4	3
Kargopolsky	2	4	3	1
Leshukonsky	1	3	2	4
Mezensky	1	2	3	4
Onezhsky	1	4	3	1

The evidence of Table 3 indicates that no two districts exhibit the same order of relative frequency of these four colours. The colour red occurs more frequently than the other salient colours in three of the Districts (Kuybyshev, Kargopolsky and Onezhsky) and least frequently relative to the other colours in two Districts (Leshukonsky and Mezhenky). Dark

blue is the least frequently referenced colour in four of the seven Districts (Kuybyshev, Sukhinichsky, Kargopolsky and Onezhsky).

**What colour terms are salient in which districts? Do geographical features or topography account for the salience of colours in a given region?**

We limit this analysis and discussion to the colourful districts and regions. The dominant colour of the Kirov region's colour vocabulary is white (5), followed by black (2), dark blue (2), green (2), and scarlet (1). The dominant colours in the healing charms of the Arkhangelsk region are as follows: white (82), dark blue (79), black (51), red (50) followed by grey (13), yellow (10) and green (9). The most represented colours in the Kuybyshev district (the Kaluga region) are the basic colour terms red (33), white (27), black (19) and dark blue (10). The overall colour representation in the Kaluga region is as follows: white (41), red (40), black (29), yellow (13), followed by dark blue (12), grey (10) and green (9).

The dominant colour in the Arkhangelsk region, particularly in the Pinezhsky (25) and Mezheny (15) districts, is the colour term dark blue. The colour green is absent from all but three districts, namely, the Leshukonsky, Mezheny and Onezhsky districts. These three districts also include the colour yellow in their charm texts, whereas the Kargopolsky district, which contributes the largest number of healing charm texts to the research corpus, has neither green nor yellow in their charm texts.

It would appear that the absence of the colour green in certain districts of the Arkhangelsk region is not due to the geographical location of the region, or its subarctic climate with long and very cold winters and short and cool summers. The three districts where the colour green is present are located in different parts of the region: the Leshukonsky District is located in the northeast of the region away from the White Sea whereas both the Mezheny and Onezhsky Districts are located in the northeast and northwest respectively and border the White Sea. The Kargopolsky District where charm texts contain neither colour green nor yellow is in the southwest of the region and is rich with lakes and coniferous forests. It seems that the

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<sup>248</sup> These results are consistent with the results from Malysheva's study (2011) which was discussed in the Literature Review Chapter. In her study, Malysheva established that the colour term white is the most frequently used in all charms which reference colour in the charm collection. The results in Appendix F show the same frequency of colour terms in the charm texts but in a different descending order (white, red, black, dark blue, grey, green, yellow in Malysheva's study). The difference in the frequency might be explained by the slight difference in the research material: this study examines only the healing charms of the charm collection whereas Malysheva's research material was the whole charm collection. It follows that the number of healing charm texts was greater in her study than in the current research which might have impacted the salience and different frequency of the colour terms. Furthermore, it seems that different charm subgroups (healing charms, love charms etc.) might have slightly different associations with particular colour terms and thus, their usage and frequency. But this is beyond the remit of this section, and indeed of this thesis.



geographical location was not a factor in the presence or absence of certain colour terms in their healing charms.

Analysis of the data about the frequency and distribution of references to colour in the regions may be summarized as follows:

- colour terms are unevenly distributed across regions (and indeed across districts within regions).
- geographical location does not determine the presence or absence of colour terms. It might, however, influence the frequency of some colour terms but more research is needed to confirm this. The overview of the colour presence in the regions where source material was collected indicate that colour functions are more complex than merely describing topography, physical objects or phenomena and the relative insignificance of the denotative aspects of colour functions invites one to consider the symbolic values and broader interpretation of the meaning of the colour terms.
- one would have to broaden the scope of the analysis to hypotheses about factors other than geography which might contribute to the uneven distribution of colour terms across the research corpus (for instance, different healers might use colour differently).

#### 4.1.3. COLOUR CATEGORIES IN THE RESEARCH DATA

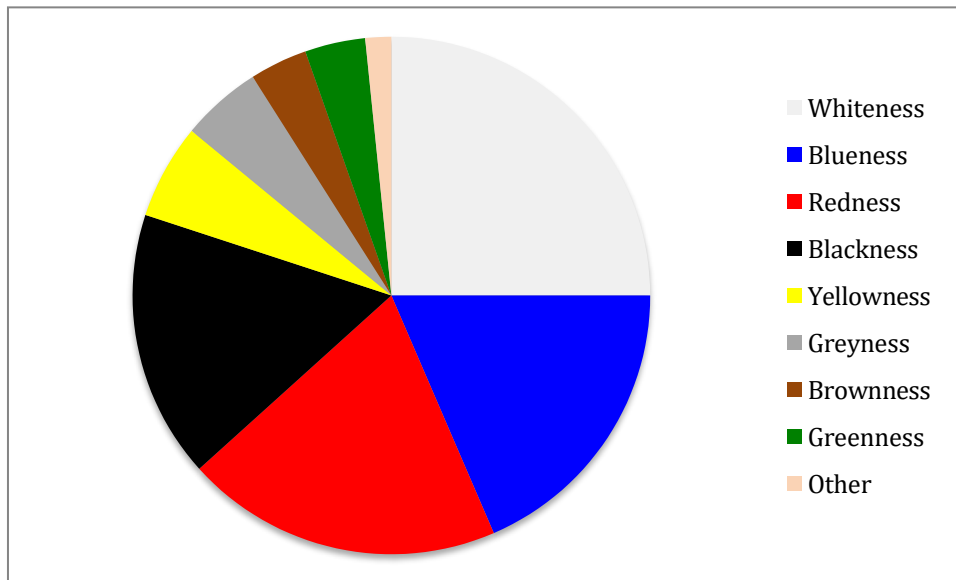
Table 3.1 (p. 77) and Table 3.2 (p. 83) in Chapter Three present an overview of the colour categories and their representation in the research data. In both Tables we see that some colour categories are represented by more colours and shades than others. There are two reasons for that. First, because of the geographical coordinates of the source (and therefore research) data: as was discussed in Chapter Three (Limitations and Drawbacks) some regions were visited more often than others which influenced the distribution and richness of the collected material. Secondly, because of variations in the sizes of the 18 medical categories into which the charms have been classified: some ailments are associated with more than one colour or shade. This is discussed below, in section (4.2.2).

As one can see from Appendix A and the accompanying Diagram 1, if one analyses the representation and distribution of colour categories in the research data, a pattern emerges similar to the data on colour terms.

**Table 4. Colour Categories and Their Frequency**

	Colour Categories	Overall Frequency	%
1.	Whiteness	144	25%
3.	Redness	110	20%
2.	Blueness	106	18%
4.	Blackness	96	17%
5.	Yellowness	33	6%
6.	Greyness	28	5%
7.	Greenness	21	4%
8.	Brownness	21	4%
9.	Other	9	2%
10.	Pinkness	1	0%
11.	Purpleness	0	
12.	Orangeness	0	

**Diagram 2. Distribution of Colour Categories Across the Research Data**



These data show that, just as there are four colour terms of particular significance to this thesis, so there are four colour categories of considerable significance: whiteness, blueness (light and dark), redness and blackness. The difference in the frequency of the occurrences of these four colours/colour categories is as follows:

- white (140) and whiteness (144), a difference of four occurrences,

- dark blue (101) and blueness (106), a difference of five occurrences,
- red (93) and redness (110), a difference of 17 occurrences,
- black (91) and blackness (96), a difference of five occurrences.

The example of difference between the occurrence of red and redness is a function of a number of factors. First, there is the relatively high number of shades within the redness category. We return to this below. Secondly, it could also be explained by the relative lateness of the introduction of what became the basic colour term *красный/krasnyĭ/red* (see pp. 52 – 53 in Chapter Two). Both of these factors may contribute to a third consideration, which increases the proportionality of this colour category in general, and is, as we will see, a certain instability in the colour epithets used with certain referents. So, while meadows are always green, and the sea is usually blue (and on some rare occasions black), blood is sometimes, but not always red. Having ascertained which colours and colour categories are most and least represented in the research data, we shift our focus to the referents they qualify. We are interested here in the following questions:

- what is the range of referents to which a given colour or colour category is assigned? (4.1.4.)
- are referents consistently attributed the same colour (are meadows always green)? (4.1.5.)
- what associative factors enrich the connotative values of colours (on the evidence of red)? (4.1.6.)
- what associations enrich the semantics of referents? (4.1.7.)
- are certain colour-noun collocations more or less prevalent in certain regions? (4.1.8.)

#### 4.1.4. WHAT IS THE RANGE OF REFERENTS TO WHICH A GIVEN COLOUR OR COLOUR CATEGORY IS ASSIGNED?

We discuss each of the colour categories in turn; they have been ordered according to their salience, as suggested by their frequency. This analysis examines the referents which each of the colour categories qualifies: the number of times a colour is used in relation to a given referent is provided where this is noteworthy (in excess of 10 occurrences) and the relative frequency of given colour+referent collocations is expressed as a percentage of the total number of occurrences of that colour (where this exceeds 50 per cent of the occurrences of that colour).

These data are drawn from Table 3.4. (Chapter Three, pp. 86 - 87)/Appendix H (Most Often Qualified Referents by a Given Colour Term or Shade), which provides an overview of the

diversity and frequency of referents for each colour term and shade. The first column represents all the colour names in decreasing order of their frequency in the data. The following columns group referents into five semantic categories: *Ailments*, *Parts of the body*, *The animal kingdom*, *The natural world*, and *Other*. We discuss astral phenomena as a subcategory of *The Natural world* category because astral phenomena represent important forces in the healing charms.

Referents that are not followed by a number are ones that appear with a given colour only once. As can be seen from Appendix H, out of 29 colour terms, 13 colours and shades have more than three referents. We discuss the most frequent referents for the 13 most frequently used colour names and shades.

**Whiteness** is represented in the research data by the basic colour term белый/*belyi*/white and a shade meaning blond, fair, light brown (*русый/rusyi*).

White has a high number of referents from both the *Parts of the body* semantic category as well as *The natural world* category. In the healing charms the colour white is primarily associated with the body (40/144 mentions, that is 27.6 per cent of all cases where the colour white is used), followed by hands and face. All references to various parts of the body account for 58 occurrences (41 per cent of the occurrences of white). We return to this use of the colour term white in the next part of this subsection when discussing the representation of the body in these texts. In the semantic category *The natural world* the most frequent referent is stone (16 occurrences or 11 per cent), which is usually found in the middle of the ocean or a sea or an open field. Sometimes this stone is referred to as (A)latyr or one of its variants.<sup>249</sup> The Mother of God, fair maiden(s) and other helpers are found sitting on the white stone. This frequent association of the colour white and the noun stone in the healing charms corresponds with the Radiance concept discussed in Chapter Two (p. 46) where the most frequently used adjectives (white, grey, golden, burning) with the noun stone constitutes a semantic category with the meaning 'light, brilliance' and 'radiance'. Referents in the two categories *The natural world* (stone, birch snow, sand) and *The animal Kingdom* (pike, mare, swan) between them account for 31 occurrences (22 per cent). Three ailments (Evil eye, diarrhea, erysipelas) are associated with whiteness (10 occurrences or seven per cent).

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<sup>249</sup> (A)latyr, 1643, 1658,1745; Zlatyr stone, 2155; Latyr stone, 1716.

As was discussed in the section on Evaluative meanings in Chapter Two (p. 48), the blond/light brown shade was typically used when describing the colour of fur, a horse breed and the colour of human hair; in the research data it is used to qualify hair, stone, and a needle.

This brief sketch of the referents to which whiteness is applied demonstrates that the basic colour term white and its referents have both positive, neutral, and negative associations. We discuss the complexity of this colour's semantics in section 4.3.3.

**Blueness** is represented in the research data by the two Russian basic colour terms: синий/*siniĭ*/dark blue and голубой/*goluboi*/light blue.

The colour dark blue is used to describe the natural environment (*The natural world*), such as the colour of water sources (seas (36 occurrences or 35 per cent) and rivers) as well as some symptoms of ailments (for example, tissue damage on the body such as bruises and swellings (12 occurrences or 12 per cent) in the semantic field *Illness*. The semantic categories with the fewest referents qualified by dark blue (*Parts of the body* and *The animal kingdom*) have only one referent each (man and snake). Another interesting observation can be made about the *Other* category where the referents are mostly pieces of clothing (hat, lining, footwear, belt). As was discussed in the Evaluative meanings of colour terms in Chapter Two, in Russian folklore festive clothes were called dark blue clothes even if they were not dark blue.

The colour term light blue first appeared as a shade of the dark blue colour and was used to describe the colour of fur in animals or horse breeds.<sup>250</sup> It is used only five times in the research data to qualify objects and phenomena: the Evil eye; a snake; an old man and oars.

**Redness** is the colour spectrum with the most shades. As was discussed in the Section devoted to the Evaluative meanings of colours in Chapter Two (p. 48) in any given historical period this colour category has always had the largest number of colour names and shades. According to Bakhilina (1975) in the early period (11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries) there were several main colour terms in this category, but we focus only on the eight colour terms/shades that are represented in the research data:

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<sup>250</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, pp. 35 - 36.



1. Красный/*krasnyĭ*/red;
2. Черёмный/*cherĕmnyĭ*/dark red, reddish-yellow, reddish-yellow;
3. Багровый/*bagrovyyĭ*/crimson;
4. Бордовый/*bordovyĭ*/burgundy;
5. Рыжий/*ryzhiiĭ*/ginger;
6. Румяный/*rumianyĭ*/rosy;
7. Вишнёвый/*vishnĕvyĭ*/cherry;
8. Алый/*alyĭ*/scarlet.

In the early period the different shades of red were most often used to describe the colour of clothing.<sup>251</sup> Later on *багровый*/crimson, bluish red was also used to describe the colour of the body or of skin after a blow or a strike. According to Wierzbicka, the mental image of the body conveys a conceptual link between fire, blood, and redness. The associations between those words are supported by such phrases as red-hot, red coals, fiery red.<sup>252</sup>

The shades other than the basic colour term *красный*/*krasnyĭ*/red are rarely used in the research data (three or fewer times) and not once do they describe clothing or the colour of bruised skin. *Черёмный*/dark red, reddish yellow was used only twice and both times it described a dark/hostile man. The shade *румяный*/rosy was used in one of the charm texts in the research data to describe two young men with rosy and healthy faces. Another charm text described blood as being rosy. *Вишнёвый*/cherry red, a shade of red used to refer to the colour of fruit, is used to qualify cheeks. The colour term *алый*/scarlet which was traditionally used to describe the colour of fabrics and jewelry, is represented in two semantic categories: *Parts of the body* and *The natural world*. What is interesting here is that the *Natural world* category has only one referent (star), so it is evident that the colour term scarlet was used primarily in the research data to describe parts of the body.

*Алый*/scarlet, is used in the research data nine times to qualify blood (5 occurrences or 55 per cent), lungs, a face, a man, and a star.

The basic colour term *красный*/red was used 93 times in the research data. Over the centuries since its introduction into Russian it had incorporated the denotations and connotations of other shades of red and had become the dominant colour in this colour category. In the research data the colour term red is mostly associated with the referent girl

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<sup>251</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, pp. 31 - 34.

<sup>252</sup> Wierzbicka, "The Meaning of Colour Terms and the Universals of Seeing," p. 315.





(or maiden) (22/93 or 23.7 per cent of all occurrences), followed by the sun (14/93 or 15.05 per cent of all occurrences), blood (8/93 or 8.6 per cent of all occurrences) and erysipelas (7/93 or 7.6 per cent of all occurrences). The colour term red has a broad variety of referents most of which are mentioned only once (furuncle; face, gums, body, stomach; sea, stone; thread, ribbon, fabric, shore, sister, brother); on the other hand, red does not have any referents from the animal kingdom (nor, indeed, do the shades scarlet, rosy, burgundy, pink, cherry red, dark red or crimson). This may be due to the fact that there were no red-furred animals or fish in the region. Most of the referents for the colour red are found in the semantic category *Parts of the body* (blood, eyes, face, gums, body).

Red-coloured items are frequently used in the healing process. According to Radenkovich (1989), a red thread or a ribbon has a wide range of symbolic meanings. It can be used to measure a border, or different objects, it can be a link between two communicators. As a chthonic element because of its red colour, it is also linked with the Other world.<sup>253</sup>

**Blackness** is represented in the research data by the basic colour *чёрный/chërnyĭ*/black and its shade *вороной/voronoĭ*/raven. The frequency of the colour black is testament to the significance of this colour in people's environment. The colour black is used to reference not only black, but also the colour of darkness. As was discussed in Chapter Two, healing charms contain both canonical and non-canonical Christian prayers, the names of Christian saints and general Christian symbolism. In the Christian symbolic system, the colour black, darkness, and associations with darkness and blackness, are connected to evil, unclean forces.

As will be discussed later in subsection (4.3.4.), there are standard phrases that are used to describe the human body in the charm texts. These include the colour-noun collocation black eyebrows; eyebrows is the most frequent referent for this colour term in the research data (19/96 or 19.8 per cent of all occurrences). The next referent most frequently used with the colour term black is the liver (13/96 or 14 per cent of all occurrences) from the same semantic category, *Parts of the body*; two equally frequent referents are the words snake and the Evil eye (7/96 or 7.9 per cent of all occurrences).

The shade raven was normally used to describe a horse breed: this is the case in the research data when four out of five times (80 per cent) raven is used to describe a steed or horse.

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<sup>253</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 134.

**Greyness** is represented in the research data by the basic colour term *серый/seryj/grey* and two shades, *сивый/sivyj/ash grey*, and *мышастый/myshastyj/bluish grey*. According to Bakhilina (1975), the colour term grey was rarely used, mostly it described the clothes of monks and in folk speech there is a popular adjective-noun collocation *серый волк/grey wolf*.<sup>254</sup> In the research data the colour term grey mostly refers to the colour of (a) stone (9 occurrences or 32 per cent). The animals it qualifies are a snake and a horse. Together with the shade *сивый/ash grey*, this colour category also describes illnesses (the Evil eye: 4 occurrences or 14.3 per cent; or erysipelas).

*Мышастый/bluish grey* is one of those colours in the research data that are used to describe snake skin; outside the charm corpus the colour term was used to describe a horse breed.

**Yellowness** is represented in the research data by the basic colour term *жёлтый/zheltyj/yellow* and the shade *золотой/zolotoj/gold*.

In general, the colour term yellow was used to describe the colour of clothes, fabrics, gemstones, plants as well as descriptions of people's appearance. In folklore it was used mostly to describe the colour of hair, usually in the adjective-noun collocation yellow curls (*жёлтые кудри*).<sup>255</sup> In the research data, the colour term yellow is mostly used to describe sand (13 occurrences or 40 per cent). As was discussed in the Section on the Evaluative meanings of colour terms (p. 48), this epithet was associated with the concept of 'darkness' and burial. Along with dark forests and the dark blue sea, yellow sands were used to reference the Other world, the lifeless world where people do not go, and the sun does not rise. Other referents of the colour term yellow were mentioned only once (diarrhoea, brain, snake, tail, stomach, sister), except for the Evil eye (four times).

The use of gold in the research data was introduced in the Inclusion and Exclusion Section (3.3.1.5) of Chapter Three. The colour term gold was mostly used in the charm texts against toothache when describing the (new) moon (6 occurrences or 75 per cent) visiting the Other world, the world of the dead.

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<sup>254</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, p. 38.

<sup>255</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, pp. 81 – 82.

**Greenness** is represented by only one colour – the basic colour term *зелёный/zelënyĭ/green*. In the healing charms the colour term green is used to describe the natural environment, such as grass, meadows, pine trees, oakwood (14 occurrences or 67 per cent). It is the seventh most frequently used colour term in the healing charms, and one of the colours used to describe objects and elements in the healing journey (oakwood, dawn, grass).

**Pinkness** is represented in the research data by the basic colour term *розовый/rozovyĭ/pink*. This colour term is used only once to reference the colour of blood.

**Brownness** is represented in the research data by four shades: *капуĭ/kariĭ/hazel*; *саврасый/savrasyyĭ/bay*; *подласый/podlasyĭ/reddish-brown*; and *бурый/buryĭ/fulvous*, greyish brown. In the Russian language there was a relatively large number of shades in the colour brown spectrum, to a large extent due to the economic needs of the people who wanted to differentiate between the shades of horses or different horse breeds. Around the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, hazel was used to describe eye colour; while the shade fulvous, greyish brown was used to describe the colour of animals.<sup>256</sup> In the healing charms hazel, roan, and reddish-brown shades in most cases describe the colour of horses (11 occurrences or 53 per cent) and the colour of a snake or snake skin (2 occurrences or 10 per cent). Interestingly, the fulvous, greyish brown shade is used once to describe the colour of blood. We return to this association between horses, snakes, and blood below (4.3.5.)

**The Other category** is represented by four shades: *рябый/riabyĭ/mottled*; *перепелесый/perepelesyĭ/variegated colour*, a synonym of *нёстрый/pëstryĭ/variegated colour* and *негуĭ/pegiĭ/piebald*. These are compound colours, mixtures of two or more colours that are difficult to categorise into one of the colour spectrums discussed earlier. *Рябый/mottled* is the most frequently used colour in this category (6 occurrences or 67 per cent). In the healing charms these colours mainly describe snakes (6 occurrences or 67 per cent), but outside of these data these adjectives are used to differentiate breeds of horses.

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<sup>256</sup> Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке*, pp. 208 - 09.

As was discussed in Chapter Two, all colour terms (whether the current colour terms or those colour terms or shades that have ceased to exist in the Russian language) may have both positive and negative evaluative meanings. As the brief summary of the range of colours and their referents above, the most widely used colour categories are those with the widest range of connotations and can attribute positive, negative, or neutral values to things, events, and phenomena.

The colour white, the most frequently used colour in the research data, mostly describes good, healthy, and positive things, like cleanliness and whiteness of the body. But it also describes the opposite of the clean and healthy – a white corpse.

Black, on the other hand, mostly has negative overtones (reference to illnesses: the Evil eye, diarrhoea, erysipelas, disease; infected parts of the body: liver, body, chest; the animal kingdom: snake, crow, worm, ants. But it qualifies some referents with neutral, direct meaning (black coal, black bear, black mud, black liver) and some others with a positive meaning – black eyebrows (19 occurrences 20 per cent), when describing the ideal of a fair maiden.

Red was used to describe the ideal of beauty and goodness of women and astral phenomena. On the other hand, it was used to describe the symptoms of illness and infections of the body. We return to the complexity of colour's connotative values below.

#### 4.1.5. ARE REFERENTS CONSISTENTLY ATTRIBUTED THE SAME COLOUR?

A significant number of referents are consistently qualified by the same colour epithet. So, for instance, a meadow – if it is any colour at all – is always green;<sup>257</sup> sand is always yellow;<sup>258</sup> eyebrows are nearly always black (though on one occasion they are white).<sup>259</sup>

The sea is usually dark blue.<sup>260</sup> The instances when the sea is a colour other than dark blue are interesting: they are examples of where the colour of some other phenomenon in the charm contaminates the sea. In the first example below, a red ailment turns the sea red; in the second, the blackness of the snake transforms all the landmarks in its environment (the sea and a stone) into black landmarks; in the third, the whiteness of the two lads pervades; in the final example, it appears to be the lack of luminosity which pervades.

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<sup>257</sup> 1769, 1770, 2131, 2138, 2139, 2238

<sup>258</sup> 2022, 2130, 2223, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2239, 2241, 2250, 2275

<sup>259</sup> 1425, 1488, 1759, 2134, 2138, 2139, 2147, 2148, 2172, 2177, 2178, 2183, 2202, 2225, 2250, 2265, 2266, 2277

<sup>260</sup> 1380, 1381, 1443, 1527, 1528, 1544, 1636, 1637, 1650, 1651, 1654, 1766, 1767, 1884, 2130, 2149, 2150, 2155, 2156, 2158, 2161, 2163, 2164, 2178, 2184, 2197, 2200, 2207, 2221, 2234, 2239, 2262, 2265, 2274, 2275

**1892.** Красный чирей с красного моря прилетел и сел рабу Божию (имя) на белое тело.

[A red furuncle flew from the red sea and sat on the servant of God [the name of the person]'s white body.]

**2273.** В чистом поле – черное море, в черном море – черный камень, под этим черным камнем есть черная лютая змея.

[In the open field there is a black sea, in the black sea there is a black stone, under this black stone there is a fierce black snake.]

**1589.** На Белом море, на острове, кургане сидели два молодца на белом камне.

[On the White sea, on the island, on the mound sat two fine fellows on a white stone.]

**2291.** Там за темными лесами, за черными морями, там сидит бабка. [There, beyond the dark forests, beyond the black seas, there sits an old woman.]

Whereas the referents discussed above have constant colour epithets, there are a number of referents whose colour range is worthy of note. The stone that is found in the middle of the sea is usually white or grey. One of the most common attributes of the stone, whether there is reference to colour or not, is *горючий/goriuchii/hot, burning, flammable*. This invites one to make a link between the stone's normal colours and the brightness and luminescence of embers. The stone can also be red (1599), black (1654, 2273) or dark blue (1652, 1777, 2158, 2184, 2211). As with the example of dark blue sea discussed above, the exceptions to the white/grey (and therefore luminous) norm can be accounted for by colour consistency within each charm text. In Charm 1599, the inferred redness of the blood infuses the thread and stone; in Charms 2158 and 2184 the dark blue hue of the sea permeates its surroundings:

**1599.** Красный камень, красна нитка. Красна нитка, урвись – кровь, уймись. Красна нитка урвалась, кровь унялась.

[Red stone, red thread. Red thread, break off, and you, blood, stop flowing. Red thread broke off, blood stopped flowing.]

**2158.** Есть синее море, на синем море есть синий камень, под синим камнем стоит щука зубастая и жорластая.

[There is a dark blue sea, in the dark blue sea there is a dark blue stone, under the dark blue stone there is a sharp-toothed and throaty pike.]

**2184.** В чистом поле – синее море, в синем море – синий остров, на синем острове – синий камень, на синем камню – синий мужик, у синя мужика – орлиные крылья.

[In the open field there is a dark blue sea, in the dark blue sea there is a dark blue island, on the dark blue island there is a dark blue stone, on the dark blue stone sits a dark blue man, the dark blue man has eagle wings.]

When discussing the colour patterns of horses in folklore, we noted repeatedly that colour is an essential characteristic of the animal, hence the high frequency of colour applied to the description of horses. In extra-textual reality the colours often used to identify breeds of horses were: *негуй*/piebald, *саврасый*/bay, *подласый*/fox colour/reddish brown, *нёстрый*/variegated colour/different colour zones, *перепелесый*/variegated colour/synonym of *нёстрый*. There are no examples of these colours being applied to horses in the charm texts.

This suggests that the colour terms associated with horses in charms exhibit a whole other symbolic dimension.<sup>261</sup> So, for instance, a white mare or horse is linked to the idea of the sacred since the horseman is usually one of the Christian personages, a saint.<sup>262</sup> There are three references to a white mare in the research data.<sup>263</sup> The colour most frequently attributed to horses in the research data is hazel: as we will see this colour is associated with blood.<sup>264</sup> We discuss this in the section below on the process of healing. The other colours attributed to horses are raven/black and grey.<sup>265</sup>

4.1.6. THE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN LIGHT, LUMINOSITY, HEALTH, AND THE COLOUR TERM RED  
Fair maiden (*красная девица*) is one of the most frequently used colour epithets in the research data. In both Dahl's Dictionary (1955) and Vasmer's Etymological Dictionary (1985), red is given as a secondary meaning of the word *красный*; its primary meaning is 'beautiful, fair'.<sup>266</sup> The fair (red) maiden is the folk ethical, aesthetic, and medical ideal of a healthy and beautiful young woman. According to Veselovski (1940), 'fair maiden' is a

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<sup>261</sup> Хроленко, *Введение в лингвофольклористику*, p. 110.

<sup>262</sup> Шестеркина, "Концепт "цвет" (белый): на материале русских и немецких паремий," p. 64.

<sup>263</sup> 1576, 1577, 1578,

<sup>264</sup> hazel mare: 1579; hazel steed: 1580, 1581, 1582, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1611, 1644, 1688,

<sup>265</sup> на вороном коне (1764; 1968; 2185; 2186); на сером коне (1966)

<sup>266</sup> Фасмер, "Этимологический словарь русского языка: в 4 т.," ed. Трубачева О. Н. (Москва Прогресс, 1964-1973). See also Даль, "Толковый словарь живого Великорусского языка."

tautological noun phrase where the words 'red (fair)' and 'maiden' both express the same idea of light and brilliance.<sup>267</sup> This colour epithet embodied the folk standard for beauty according to which the girl's or young woman's 'whiteness', rosininess and blush of the face were the epitome of healthiness and loveliness.<sup>268</sup> (No. 1652, 2210)

The association between light, luminosity, cleanliness, health and the colour term red/красный/*krasnyĭ* accounts for the seepage of this epithet to express the beauty and brightness of luminous objects, such as the sun (see below), and stars (though it is the shade scarlet/алый/*alyĭ* which is used in Charm 2082 to express redness). In these instances, it is the meaning of 'light' and not colour that conveys their beauty. For example, the recurring fixed colour epithet 'red sun' (*красное солнце*) is firstly bright, and only then beautiful (and possibly not red at all).<sup>269</sup>

The following extracts from Charms 2029, 2270, 2278 make the link between redness, beauty, brightness, and luminosity explicit:

**2029.** Всех я красивее, всех я больше, из яичка вышла, из народа выпятилась.  
Краше я светлого месяца, светлее красного солнышка.

[I am the most beautiful, I am better than others, I have come out of an egg, I stand out from the people. I am prettier than the bright moon, brighter than the red sun.]

**2270.** Пойду во чисто поле, под красное солнце, под светлый месяц, под чистые звезды, под полетные облака.

[I will go in the open field, under the red sun, under the bright moon, under the clear/pure/clean stars, under the flowing clouds.]

**2278.** Ты очищалась ясным солнцем, светлым месяцем, чистыми звездами и красными зорями.

[You cleansed yourself with the clear sun, bright moon, clean stars, and the red dawns.]

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<sup>267</sup> Веселовский, *Историческая поэтика* (Ленинград: Художественная литература, 1940), p. 74.

<sup>268</sup> Девицкая, "Символика красного цвета в русском и немецком сказочном фольклоре," *Вестник Адыгейского государственного университета* Серия 2: Филология и искусствоведение, no. 1 (114) (2013), <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/simvolika-krasnogo-tsveta-v-russkom-i-nemetskom-skazochnom-folklore>.

<sup>269</sup> Шестеркина, "Концепт "цвет" (белый): на материале русских и немецких паремий," p. 63.

#### 4.1.7. WHAT ASSOCIATIONS ENRICH THE SEMANTICS OF REFERENTS?

We have seen above that colours function in the symbolic world of the charms differently from how they might function in a work of realist fiction. Colour seeps out of one object into others; colours operate in a symbolic chain of associations, often on a luminosity spectrum. One must ask whether the same applies to referents. The most striking example of a referent which can take on various guises is that of the (fair/red) maiden. (Fair/red) maiden is often a form of address used by the healer in healing charms when invoking a number of natural phenomena: dawn (in seven charms),<sup>270</sup> the sun (in 18 charms),<sup>271</sup> water or a stream (in six charms).<sup>272</sup> Similarly, some symptoms of ill health like blood (1668, 1669) and erysipelas (1763, 1765, 1766) were addressed as fair/red maiden in instances when the healer appeals to blood to stop flowing or disease to leave the sick body. Similarly, in the following charm, the moon, an oak tree, and a whale, are conceived of as three brothers, each in their rightful habitat (in heaven, on earth and in water). When they are brought together, a cure will be effected. This charm illustrates that the symbolic value of an object or space and the relationships ascribed to them are of greater significance than the named object or space *per se*.

**1452.** Месяц – на небе, сер дуб – на земли, рыба кит – в воде. Когда они, три брата, сойдутся вместе, тогда перестанут болеть зубы у рабы Божьей Елены.

[The moon is in the sky, the grey oak tree is on earth, a whale fish is in the water. When they, three brothers come together, then the servant of God Elena's teeth will stop aching.]

Family members are also invoked in Charm 2185 where the healer implores the Ataman Kiyash and his wife to cast out the demons or powers over which they have control, who emanate from them and act in their stead. Brothers and sisters, sons and daughters are listed in the same breath as snakes and serpents, sorcerers and enchanters, unclean forces and possessed spirits. Familial ties cross not only the species boundaries (such as we conceive them in modern zoology), but also the boundaries between mortals and immortals, the material world, and the world of spirits.

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<sup>270</sup> 1372, 1373, 1736, 2024, 2272, 2291, 2292

<sup>271</sup> 1380, 1381, 1382, 1486, 1619, 1737, 1739, 2023, 2026, 2027, 2029, 2090, 2208, 2270

<sup>272</sup> 2135, 2140, 2141, 2144, 2278, 2279



**2185.** На море-океяне, на острове Буяне стоит площадный камень, на том камне лежит атаман Кияш, атаманиха Кияша. Я прошу вас, атаман Кияш, атаманиха Кияша, соберите всех своих змеев и змей, братьев и сестёр, сыновей и дочерей, колдунов и чародеев, нечистых сил и бесноватых духов.

[On the sea-ocean, on the island Buyan there is a square stone. On that stone lies ataman Kiyash and his wife Kiyasha. I implore you, ataman Kiyash and wife Kiyasha, gather up all your snakes and serpents, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, sorcerers and enchanters, unclean forces and possessed spirits.]

Water sources are often addressed as a mother figure: Матушка-вода/ Mother-water (2223); Матушка Мезень/ Mother Mezen (2225); Мать-река/ Mother-river (2226); вода-матушка/ water-mother (2150) — reminiscent of the way to which the earth is referred in healing charms and other folk texts: мать-земля/mother-earth (2229); Земля-мать/ earth mother (1578/2185); мать-сыра земля/mother-dry earth (1618). These associations with a mother figure invite association with the Mother of God, who is often invoked in the healing charms and asked to assist in a cure.

Sometimes water is addressed as *tsaritsa* or queen of the Sea (2238, 2131, 2138, 2238) or *tsaritsa*/queen of the Earth (2134).

The coupling of figurative and literal images is not limited to extended forms of address, in which natural phenomena are addressed or referred to as people. In the charm texts (as indeed in a number of other folk genres in the Russian tradition), blood is often coupled with a horse, as Arant discusses in her analysis of literal and figurative coupling in Russian oral genres.<sup>273</sup> We return to this later in our discussion of the healing process. Blood is also coupled with a thread [нить/ нитка/ ниточка] (usually a silk thread, but in one instance a red thread).<sup>274</sup>

#### 4.1.8. ARE CERTAIN COLOUR-NOUN COLLOCATIONS MORE/LESS PREVALENT IN CERTAIN REGIONS?

As was discussed earlier, the number of colour terms and their distribution in the nine regions is quite uneven. This aspect has also influenced the distribution and number of colour-noun collocations in the regions. Only two regions – Arkhangelsk and Kaluga – have more than four colour-noun collocations, whereas the rest of the regions have four or fewer colour-noun collocations, as can be seen in Table 5 below.

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<sup>273</sup> Arant, "Figurative and Literal Coupling in Russian Oral Traditional Genres," p. 415.

<sup>274</sup> 1599

**Table 5. Frequency of Colour-Noun Collocations in the Regions**

No.	Region	No. of Charms in the Region	Colour-noun Collocations	Frequency
1.	Arkhangelsk	454	Dark blue sea White body Red sun Blackeyebrows Blue swelling Grey stone Fair (red) maiden Yellow sand White stone Black liver Blue stone Hazel horse Blue bruise White hands White pike fish	41 31 16 15 12 11 10 10 9 8 7 5 5 5 5
2.	Kaluga	116	Fair (red) maiden White stone Black Evil eye Red erysipelas Red blood White body Hazel horse Yellow Evil eye Grey Evil eye Red dawn White world Blue erysipelas Green meadow Raven horse Black liver	15 13 9 9 8 8 6 6 6 5 5 4 4 4 4

3.	The Tatar ASSR	60	White stone	3
			Dark red man*	2
			Golden moon	2
			Golden horns	2
4.	Kirov	221	Dark blue sea	2
			White swan	2
			White body	2
			Scarlet blood	2
5.	Kostroma	2	Black eyebrows	1
6.	The Karelian ASSR	14	White body	1
			Black anthill	1
7.	Voronezh	3	Black Evil eye	2
			Grey Evil eye	2
			White Evil eye	2
8.	Vologda	11	Dark blue sea	2
			Blue stone	2
			White birch	2
9.	The Komi ASSR	50	Dark blue sea	4
			White hernia	2
			Black hernia	2

Most of the colour-noun collocations carry symbolic connotations that vary depending on their context. Colour-noun collocations were used with different intensity and regularity in the charm texts. There might be a number of reasons for this. As was discussed earlier, many colour names in the charms if matched with certain nouns, acquire different semantic overtones (for example, hazel horse meaning blood) that carry multi-layered traditional culture-specific concepts enclosed in them (fair (red) maiden, white birch, white world). On the other hand, in some cases, an adjective denoting a certain colour, described a real-life phenomenon or event (black eyebrows, black anthill, blue swelling). Another reason was a characteristic specific to the folklore language discussed in Chapter Two. For example, the repetition of the same epithet throughout a charm creates a particular kind of sacred speech and contributes to the rhythmic patterning of the text.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," p. 123.

Table 5 shows a high number of colour-noun collocations in the repertoires of the performers in the Arkhangelsk region. However, if we look at a charm number and the number of colour-noun collocations ratio, the Kaluga region's healing charm collection contains the highest number of colour-noun collocations. Some colour-noun collocations such as dark blue sea, white stone, white body, fair (red) maiden are present in more than two regions which indicate their popularity among the performers.

To sum up, the frequency of the colour-noun collocations in the regions (Table 5) depends on 1) the amount of collected data from the expeditions to a particular region(s), 2) the repertoire of a performer (for example, the 'motivation' behind the presence of a certain colour(s) in describing/healing a particular ailment may increase the number of colour-noun collocations in the repertoire of a performer).

#### 4.2. HEALTH AND ILLNESS AS STATIC CONCEPTS

In this section we analyse and discuss the insights revealed in the healing charms about the construction of illness and health in Russian folk culture. We start by determining how the charms represent the human body and in particular a healthy body (4.2.1). We then examine the use of colour in the representation of the illnesses grouped within the 18 sub-groups of the Collection (4.2.2) and in the representation of discrete ailments (4.2.3)

##### 4.2.1. CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE HUMAN BODY IN RUSSIAN FOLK MEDICAL CULTURE

In this section we discuss whether there is a potential practical rationale behind the application of colour terms to parts of the body in healing charms.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the Russian folk worldview conceived of the causes of illnesses as divine and supernatural punishment, natural causes, or the ill-will of another in the community. The symbolic associations of the causes and the severity of ailment could seriously affect the patient. Beliefs about the function and place of the body within the folk healing process often helps the victim of illness 'make sense' of what has happened and why.<sup>276</sup> The semantic category *Parts of the Body* revealed the thorough attention people displayed towards their bodies and how these bodies were described using a range of

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<sup>276</sup> Helman, *Culture, Health and Illness: an Introduction for Health Professionals*, p. 102.

colour terms. This semantic category documents all the body parts in the research data which are qualified by colour terms. On the basis of this evidence, we can construct a visual representation of the body within the charm discourse. The visual portrayal of the body is essential in our study because, according to Lakoff, 'our experiences with physical bodies (especially our own bodies) provide the basis for an extraordinarily wide variety of ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances'.<sup>277</sup>

In the folk healing process, the first step to success is to give as detailed a description as possible (of the body, symptoms, the world from where the illness is banished etc.). By examining how the body is visually represented on the basis of the research data, we can ascertain whether there is consistency in the healing charms that would indicate how people saw and perceived the human body in the cultural construction of the illness and health. In order to reconstruct the human body, we list below representations of the human body from the research data. The colour names within these descriptions are in italics, adjective noun phrases which reference the body, but which do not reference colour are underlined.

**1425.** Заговариваю зубы и выговариваю, вычитываю – из буйной головы, с ясных очей, из чёрных бровей, с горячей крови.

[I cure teeth and say healing words, I drive the pain out. I drive it out of an unruly head, out of bright eyes, out of black eyebrows, out of hot blood.]

**1441.** <...> Чур, мои зубы! Чур, мои губы! Чур, моё *белое* тело! Чур, моя *алая* кровь! [<...> *Chur*, my teeth! *Chur*, my lips! *Chur*, my white body! *Chur*, my scarlet blood!]

**1459.** <...> Будьте, мои слова, крепки, лепки, к *белому* телу, к ретивому сердцу, к *чёрной* печи (печени), к крови горячей.

[<...> Be, my words, strong, sticky, to the white body, to the zealous heart, to the black liver, to hot blood.]

**1485.** <...> С *белого* тела, с ретива сердца, из ясных очей, из *чёрных* (чёрных) бровей, из пятных жил, из-под коленных суставов.

[<...> from the white body, from the zealous heart, from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from spotted veins, from under the knee joints.]

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<sup>277</sup> Lakoff G, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 25.

**1763.** <...> вымаливаю тебя, рожа, из костей, из мостей, из буйной головы, из чёрной печени, из красной крови.

[<...> I beg you, erysipelas, get out of her bones, out of her body strength, out of her unruly head, out of her black liver, out of her red blood.]

**1767.** <...> я тебя изнуряю, я тебя изгоняю у рабы Божьей из ретивого сердца, из лёгких печеней, из белых грудей, из костья, из жилья, из ясных очей, из белых мозгов.

[<...> I wear you down, I expel you out of the servant of God [the name of the person]'s zealous heart, light liver, white chest, out of the bones, out of the veins, out of the bright eyes, out of the white brains.]

**1838.** <...> повянь на белом теле, на алой крови.

[<...> wither away, on the white body, in the scarlet blood.]

**1884.** В холодном углю огня нет, а в мёртвом теле души нет.

[There is no fire on cold coals, no soul in a dead body.]

**1968.** <...> заставь, змея Колупея, вынуть жало из скотины и из человека – из своего белого тела, резвой крови.

[<...> make them, snake Kolupeia, take their sting out of the livestock (such and such breed) and out of a man and his white body, frisky blood.]

**2134.** <...> из ушей, из ноздрей, из ясных очей, из чёрных бровей, из косков (костей), из всех спойков (места сбоев, сгибов у рук, ног, шеи и др.), из мозгов, из тридевять суставов, из тридевять надпятных жил.

[<...> from his ears, from his nostrils, from his bright eyes, from his black eyebrows, from his bones, from all his flexors (places of bend of the arms, legs, neck etc.), from his brain, from his three-by-ten joints, from his three-by-ten above-the-heel veins.]

**2139.** <...> из ясных очей, из чёрных бровей, из ретивого сердца, из буйной головы из костяной, из резвых ног, из белых рук, из всех сустав, из полусустав.

[<...> from his bright eyes, from his black eyebrows, from his zealous heart, from his unruly bony head, from his frisky legs, from his white hands, from all his joints, from all his half-joints.]

2155. <...> от *белого* лица, от ясных очей, от всех лёгких печеней.

[<...> blows from her white face, from her bright eyes, from her light liver.]

2178. <...> из буйной головы, из ясных очей, из чёрных бровей, из ноздрей, из ушей, из могучих плеч, из *белого* тела, из ретивого сердца, из *румяной* крови, из *чёрной* печени, из лёгких, из резвых ног.

[<...> from her unruly head, from her bright eyes, from her black eyebrows, from her nostrils, from her ears, from her mighty shoulders, from her white body, from her zealous heart, from her rosy blood, from her black liver, from her lungs, from her frisky legs.]

Based on these descriptions, we are able construct an image of the body and to note the emphasis on particular body parts. These are listed in the following Table: the colour references are supplied in the second column and non-colour qualities are listed in the final column.

**Table 6. Visual Representation of the Body Within Charm Discourse**

<b>Body</b>	моё <i>белое</i> тело (б) [my white body]	
<b>Soul</b>		в <u>мёртвом теле души нет</u> [there is no soul in a dead body]
<b>Head</b>		из <u>буйной головы</u> [from his unruly head]
<b>Brain</b>	из <i>белых</i> мозгов [from (his/her) white brain]	из мозгов [from (his/her) brain]
<b>Eyes</b>		с/ из / от <u>ясных очей</u> [from (his/her) clear eyes]

<b>Eyebrows</b>	из чёрных бровей (5) [from (his/her) black eyebrows]	
<b>Teeth</b>		мои зубы [my teeth]
<b>Lips</b>		мои губы [my gums]
<b>Ears</b>		из ушей [from (his/her) ears]
<b>Nostrils</b>		из ноздрей [from (his/her) nostrils]
<b>Face</b>	от белого лица [from (his/her) white face]	
<b>Heart</b>		из ревнивого сердца [from (his/her) zealous heart]
<b>Liver</b>	из чёрной печени [from (his/her) black liver]	из лёгких печеней [from (his/her) light liver]
<b>Breast/chest</b>	из белых грудей [from (his/her) white chest]	
<b>Lungs</b>		из лёгких [from (his/her) lungs]
<b>Bones</b>		из костей [from (his/her) bones]
<b>Legs</b>		из резвых ног [from (his/her) frisky legs]
<b>Arms</b>	из белых рук [from (his/her) white hands/arms]	
<b>Body strength</b>		из мостей [out of her body strength]
<b>Flexors</b>		изо всех спойков (места сроев, сгибов у рук, ног, шеи и др.) [from all his flexors (places of bend of the arms, legs, neck etc.)]
<b>Joint / knee</b>		из-под коленных суставов



		[from under the knee joints]
<b>Tendon / heal</b>		из пятных жил [from spotted veins]
<b>Shoulders</b>		из <u>могучих плеч</u> [from her mighty shoulders]
<b>Blood</b>	моя <i>алая</i> кровь из <i>красной</i> крови из <i>румяной</i> крови [from (my/his/her) red blood]	с <u>горячей крови</u> <u>резвой крови</u> [out of hot blood] [frisky blood]

According to the healing charms, a human body consists of, or is described as having the following body parts:

- i. A white body, white brain, white face, and white arms/hands.
- ii. Black eyebrows and a black (light) liver.
- iii. Scarlet, red, pink (hot) blood.
- iv. Mighty shoulders.
- v. An unruly head.
- vi. Clear, bright eyes.
- vii. A proud, zealous heart.

The other body parts are not modified either by colour or any other quality.

The archetype of a person presented in the charm discourse describes him/her as healthy, active, daring even (unruly head, zealous heart, hot blood), broadly built (man with mighty shoulders), lovely (girls and women with white, rosy faces, white hands, black eyebrows).

As demonstrated in the healing charm texts, the concept of being healthy is represented with the adjective noun phrase 'white body' which also has the meaning of a clean body. Indeed, in charms text 1736 this link between whiteness and cleanliness or purity is made explicit:

**1736.** Заря, зарница, красная девица, возьми свое огненное красное тело, отдай мое белое чистое тело.

[Dawn, you dawn, you fair maiden, take your fiery red body, give back my white clean body.]

If a healthy body is a white body, one may suppose that other colours that are present in the charm texts, have internal mental associations with illness and/or its visible symptoms.

#### 4.2.2. WHICH COLOUR TERMS (IF ANY) DOMINATE IN EACH OF THE 18 SUBGROUPS OF ILLNESSES AND AILMENTS?

In this section we are interested in the ways people formulated illness, and bodily symptoms or changed behaviour. Franke Good (1982) stressed the importance of language in describing and interpreting ailments: 'Human illness is fundamentally semantic or meaningful and ... all clinical practice is inherently interpretive'.<sup>278</sup>

If we read the body as a container, a text, a compilation of symptoms, it allows us to determine the extent to which it has strayed away from what is considered a norm, standard, and being healthy.<sup>279</sup>

Appendix G (Colour Frequency by Subgroup) displays the frequency of colour terms in each of the subgroups related to a particular disease, illness and/or infection. The colour terms in this section of the analysis do not necessarily refer directly to a disease; indeed, mostly they do not. This analysis, therefore, provides the colour spectrum of each subgroup of charm texts. As the examples below demonstrate and as was discussed above, a dominant colour (in charms 1892 (red), 2158 and 2184 (dark blue) and 2273 (black)) sometimes permeates the whole environment, creating a monochrome world to which the healer wants to restore light, cleanliness, whiteness.

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<sup>278</sup> As cited in Young, "The Anthropologies of Illness and Sickness," p. 175.

<sup>279</sup> Lakoff G, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 29.

Some of the subgroups contain a cluster of ailments, presumably, combined because of the similar causes and origins of these ailments.<sup>280</sup> Some subgroups have rich colour representation while others have a very low text/colour ratio. As can be seen from Appendix G (Colour Frequency by Subgroup), the number of charm texts in subgroups varies significantly. The subgroup *Against headache* has only three charm texts, *Against Felon finger* – four charms, *Against fever* – five charms, *Against eye infections* – eight charms, while other subgroups have more charms: *Against toothache* – 85 charms, *Against furuncle* – 101 charms, *Against bleeding* – 129 charms, *Against the Evil eye* – 156 charms. The small number of charms within some of the subgroups means that it is not possible to investigate the possibility of significant relationships between ailments and colours in some of the subgroups.

The least colourful subgroups are *Against Burning*, *High Temperature* and *Against Fever*. The former consists of 47 charms in the source data, but only references one colour (white) once; the latter consists of five charms in the source data, and again only references one colour (white) once. The other two categories which are notable for not referencing colour are *Against Headache* and *Against backache, joint pains*. Though there are only three charms in the first subgroup, and two references to colour (white and scarlet), there are 27 charms in the second subgroup, but again only two references to colour (white and green).

The subgroups *Against bleeding*, *Against the Evil eye*, and *Against snakebites* are the most 'colourful' subgroups of the research data. In the analysis below we document the number of instances a colour occurs and the relative frequency of that colour within a given subgroup only when the number of references to a given colour equals or exceeds 10, or when the relative frequency is equal to or exceeds 10 per cent.

The subgroup *Against bleeding* has 13 colour terms: the dominant colour term dark blue occurs 24 times — this is 24 per cent of all occurrences of this basic colour term in the research data and of 30 per cent of the 79 references to colour in this subgroup. The others in decreasing order of frequency are: white (18 occurrences or 22 per cent of the references to colour in this subgroup); hazel (13 occurrences or 16 per cent of the references to colour in this subgroup); red (9 occurrences or 11 per cent of the references to colour in this subgroup); black, grey, mottled, gold, scarlet, fulvous/greyish brown, blond/light brown, rosy and pink. The underlying common trait for combining ailments together within this subgroup is that a wound can be caused by a cut or a blow which can result in internal or

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<sup>280</sup> Horacio Jr. Fabrega, "On the Specificity of Folk Illnesses " *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26, no. 3 (Autumn, 1970): p. 306.

external bleeding. The prominence of dark blue is possibly a gesture towards the colour of bruising. The charms in this subgroup describe the consequence of the blow on the body: blue swelling and blue bruising. Only when the wound or, presumably, bruise and swelling has lost its 'colour' and become 'white' again, is the physical trauma considered to be cured.

The subgroup *Against the Evil eye* has 157 references to colour and references 14 colour terms. The dominant colour in this subgroup is again dark blue which occurs 41 times, that is 42 per cent of all occurrences of this colour term in the research data, and 26 per cent of all references to colour in this subgroup. The other colours in decreasing order of frequency are white (39 occurrences or 25 per cent of all references to colour in this subgroup), black (26 occurrences or 16 per cent of all references to colour in this subgroup), red (24 occurrences or 15 per cent of all references to colour in this subgroup), grey (8 occurrences 31 per cent of all occurrences of this colour term in the research data), green (7 occurrences or 33 per cent of all occurrences of this colour term in the research data), yellow, dark red, raven, scarlet, hazel, light blue, rosy and ginger.

The subgroup *Against snakebite* has 50 references to colour and references 19 colour terms. The dominant colour in this subgroup is black which occurs 10 times, that is 10 per cent of all occurrences of this colour term in the research data, and 19 per cent of all references to colour in this subgroup. The other colours do not occur in significant numbers; however, 67 per cent of the instances of mottled, 40 per cent of the instances of raven and all of the instances in the research data of fox colour/reddish brown, bay, piebald, ginger and variegated (*нёстрый* and *перепелесый*) occur in this subgroup. The colour terms *негий*/piebald, *саврасый*/bay, *подласый*/fox colour/reddish brown, *нёстрый*/variegated colour/different colour zones, *перепелесый*/variegated colour/synonym of *нёстрый*, while not frequent in the charm texts, are used only to describe snakes. When comparing the most frequently used referents of the colour mottled in this study with those of the Malysheva's findings (2001), we can observe slightly more 'negative' associations of this colour in the healing charm discourse. In Malysheva's study, which was based on all groups of charms in the source material, these colour terms were used to describe animals, such as chickens, cows, and cattle in general and carried a positive value. In this research data, the negative associations with this colour term are mostly linked to falsehood, cunning, unreliability, and snakes. In everyday life these terms were used to describe horse breeds.<sup>281</sup> The link between snakes and horses is one to which we return (Section 4.3.4)

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<sup>281</sup> Dahl (1955) gives definitions to these colour terms under the titled 'Horses' in his Dictionary; Даль, "Толковый словарь живого Великорусского языка," Vol. 1.

Just as the dominance of dark blue in the Subgroup against bleeding may gesture towards bruising and internal bleeding, so may the dominance of red in the subgroup *Against streptoderma, scabies, palmer, planter warts* be accounted for by its visible symptoms. These ailments are related to skin disorders: streptoderma and scabies are infectious skin diseases, palmer and planter warts are small growths that occur on the hand and the bottom of the foot.

Similarly, the subgroup *Against eye infections* mentions the colour red in eight texts. The charms in this subgroup describe the symptoms of inflamed or infected eyes as being red. The healer implores the dawn to banish the red, sick eyes and give the patient his/her bright and healthy eyes back. The association and the link between the dawn, the symptoms of the eye infection and the colour red is noteworthy in these charm texts.

These examples show that there is a link between an ailment, its symptoms, and its description and/or, indeed, the use of colour in the representation of the healing process in the charm world. We return to this later.

In the next section, rather than looking at the Subgroups as a whole, we look at the association of colours with particular ailments or symptoms.

#### 4.2.3. WHICH COLOUR TERMS (IF ANY) DOMINATE IN THE REPRESENTATION OF ILLNESSES AND AILMENTS?

The majority of healing charms, depending on the type of ailment, are directed to the description of the visible symptoms or consequences of an illness.

Some ailments are particularly colourful: hernias, the Evil eye, erysipelas, and blood.

Hernias, when attributed a colour, can be white, black, or red (1527); white, yellow, black, or green (1528); or white or red (1539). The common colour in all three instances is white.

One of the most 'colourful' ailments of the research data is the so-called Evil eye which is mostly associated with the human behaviour that can result in ill will towards another. In the traditional folk worldview, the 'rules' governing social behavior, traditions and customs were shaped by people's experience. Laura Stark (2009) described this experience as follows:

'In the older rural culture, individuals did not direct their attention inward to their psyche but rather concentrated on the outer boundaries of the self and body.

Individuals were forced to maintain constant vigilance over the perimeter of their person in the face of external threats (magical harm, supernatural forces, other people's anger and envy).<sup>282</sup>

It is difficult to describe the physical symptoms associated with the Evil eye since it was thought to originate from one of the strongest human emotions – envy. It was, nonetheless, considered an illness and was related to 'fear of envy in the eyes of beholder... [and] its influence is avoided, or counter acted by means of devices calculated to distract its attention and by practices of sympathetic magic'.<sup>283</sup> Charms against the Evil eye illustrate the construction of the self, the other and the ailment itself. They are also interesting as social documents which convey social interactions between community members (2221, 2091, 2121, 2124, 2192, 2193). The charms reveal the different social statuses and the age range of the people in the community as well as the narrator's (either healer's or patient's) attitude towards them.

There are young men, fair maidens, old men and middle-aged women, old women (2135), a priest, a deacon, a tsar, a *tsaritsa*, simple haired girls, women with light hair, men, heretics (2152), the corrupt, slenderer, snotty, people with nostrils (?), people with two, three teeth, two- or three-times married people (2169) or any fellow man (2192). It is evident that anyone, of any social class and age can cause the Evil eye, where envy 'may vary from mild admiration to malevolent desires'. This is the kind of envy where everything, especially the envy 'of achievements, relationships, and wealth, is looked on as the cause of unexpected illness'.<sup>284</sup>

No colour is an essential, defining colour of the Evil eye:

- In one charm it is attributed two colours: black or grey (1732).
- In five charms it is attributed three colours: black, grey, or yellow (1776); black, grey, or white (2192 and 2193); black, grey, or yellow grey (2250); hazel, light blue or green (2124).
- In two charms it is attributed a range of four colours: black, white, light blue or yellow (1762); and black, white, dark blue or yellow (2091).

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<sup>282</sup> Stark, L, "The Charmer's Body and Behaviour as a Window Onto Early Modern Selfhood," in *Charms, Charmers and Charming*, ed. J. Roper (Hempshire/New York: Springer, 2009), pp. 13 - 14.

<sup>283</sup> Helman, *Culture, Health and Illness: an Introduction for Health Professionals*, p. 109.

<sup>284</sup> Wing, "A Comparison of Traditional Folk Healing Concepts with Contemporary Healing Concepts," p. 146.

One plausible suggestion for describing the Evil eye in a broad range of colours is to make sure that every possible means of defense against the Evil eye is covered as there is no definite proof where it came from, and anyone could be a culprit. When speaking of physical symptoms of the Evil eye and how they might affect the body and mind, Anitilde Idoyaga Molina (2016) pointed out that the Evil eye 'is not defined solely by the association of symptoms and signs; it is a polymorphous disease. Headache is the most typical manifestation. Stomach aches, vomiting, and restlessness are also common, madness is exceptional'.<sup>285</sup> The charm texts against such a vague and broad illness contain a rich colour vocabulary in order to create effective visual images covering a wide range of different malignant adversaries of the Evil eye, and it is problematic to point out any real physical bodily symptoms.

A similar device is used in conjuring up the range of snakes which might threaten participants. Snakes are usually described in terms of colour and in terms of their habitat:

**1956.** Во липовом кусте лежит змея-скоропея. Змея-скоропея, твой козюленок укусил (имя). Возьми свое жало ярое, я знаю, какая ты есть: всяких разных шерстей – белая, черная, рыжая, каряя, мышастая, вороная, саврасая, подласая, солевая, моховая, водяная, коськавая, лесовая, травовая, колотная, болотная.

[In this linden bush lies a snake-scorpion. Snake-scorpion, your little one bit [the name of the person]. Take your sting, I know what you are like, you are all kind of furs – white, black, ginger, hazel, mouse grey, raven, roan, reddish-brown, salt, moss, water, [...?], forest, grass, [...?], swamp ones.]

Invariably the snake's colours are provided in a list of alternatives, as in the example above. Where a single colour is attributed to a snake it is the colour black (1387, 1952, 1953, 1959 and 2273).

Like the Evil eye and snakes, Erysipelas is often qualified by a wide range of epithets which more often than not do not reference colour, as evidenced in the following example:

**1760.** На море Сияне, на острове Кургане стоит дуб, на том дубе двенадцать рож: рожа синяя, рожа красная, рожа чудная, рожа переговорная, рожа смешная, рожа глазная, рожа ветренная, рожа ломовая, рожа костовая, рожа судная, рожа переговорная.

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<sup>285</sup> Molina, A. I, "The Evil Eye as a Folk Disease and its Argentine and Ibero-American Historical Explanatory Frame," *Western Folklore* 75, no. 1 (2016): p. 15.

[On the Zion sea, on the island Kurgan there stands an oak tree, on that oak tree there are twelve erysipelas: dark blue erysipelas, red erysipelas, marvellous erysipelas, talkative erysipelas, funny erysipelas, ocular erysipelas, wind erysipelas, pain erysipelas, bone erysipelas, enchanting erysipelas, talkative erysipelas.]

The range of epithets suggests a range of causes and a range of symptoms. Again, the healer is covering all possibilities. Where there is reference to colour, there is always reference to redness: this seems to be a defining characteristic. The range of colours attributed to Erysipelas is as follows:

- One colour: red (1769, 1770).
- Two colours: dark blue and red (1760); white and red (1774).
- Three colours: red, white, and dark blue (1763); red, dark blue and grey (1768).

More often than not, blood is not qualified with an epithet. If it is, the range of epithets is quite limited: the most common is *горячая* (hot); others include *христианская* (christian), *резвая* (frisky) or a colour. Whereas the colour term red is one of a number of colours attributed to Erysipelas, the colour category redness is the only one attributed to blood. Blood is described as red/*красная* in eight charms;<sup>286</sup> scarlet/*алая* in five charms;<sup>287</sup> each of rosy/*румяная* and pink/*розовая* in one charm (2178 and 1671). Additionally, it is interesting to note that the adjective bloody/*кровавый*, often used to qualify a wound/*рана* or liver/*печень*, implies colouring — one can only assume redness.<sup>288</sup>

Sometimes the colour hazel, light brown/*карий* is contextually very close to references to blood, but it is modifying the noun steed/*конь*,<sup>289</sup> and not the blood itself. We return to this later.

Another illness which is associated primarily with one colour is melancholy and sorrows. The dominant colour of the Subgroup 17 (*Against melancholy, yearnings, sorrows*) is yellow.

Moonlight was thought to be an especially unhealthy time for people suffering from certain mental conditions. Although human perception is individual and subjective, there are

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<sup>286</sup> 1758, 1763, 1765, 2022, 2135, 2291, 2292, 2299

<sup>287</sup> 1369; 1441; 1838; 2264; 2293

<sup>288</sup> 1637, 1644, 1652, 1644, 1652, 1654, 2166, 2226

<sup>289</sup> 1644



common underlying causes that provoke a person to feel melancholic and sad and seek healer's help. It might have been an unhappy event or state of mind, inability to cope with the eruption of strong emotions, that could cause feelings of constraint, low spirit, desolation, and unhappiness. As with other illnesses, melancholy, sadness was viewed as a living being and given a set of distinct personality traits and signs. It is usually associated with a depressed state of mind and described by such words as grief, sadness, sorrow, boredom, gloom.<sup>291</sup> General descriptions of the state of *тоска* include complete detachment from the world, an inability to communicate with others, or lead a normal life. The image, representation of this ailment lingers between conscious and subconscious and impacts on the mental and physical states of human body.<sup>292</sup> It is not surprising that the dominant colour in this subgroup of ailments is yellow. The negative evaluative meanings of the colour yellow, particularly, when describing one of the most frequently used epithets – the yellow sands – was discussed above. The epithet yellow sands together with dark blue sea, also frequent in the charms of this subgroup, illustrate, according to Radenkovic (1989), the Other world.<sup>293</sup> (2221, 2234, 2223, 2226) The main distinct feature of melancholy and sorrow in the research data is its association with the colour yellow and the connection with the Other world. Just as references to blood are often linked in the charm texts to references to horses, so references to melancholy are often associated with the influences of the moonlight's bright yellow colour on certain mental conditions.

It seems that in people's minds there were subtle associations and connections between some of the ailments and particular colours. The purpose of the usage of a broad colour spectrum in describing the ailment or the cause of it was to embrace all the possibilities (source and intentions) that might have caused the ailment to come and invade the body. Since the central part of the healing charm was the wish to be cured, this wish often was described in the form of a comparison. The comparison often included visual imagery that gave a clear and concise understanding of the healing process. Thus, some colours were associated with skin traumas or disorders (dark blue swelling, red body); mental conditions (melancholy, sorrows, insomnia) were associated with the colour yellow (which in turn associates with soil and burial); a range of colours are associated with a specifically folk ailment caused by envy – the Evil Eye. These associations give important insights into the visual milestones in the healer's mind's eye and the link between the choice of colour and the healing process.

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<sup>291</sup> А. Л. Топорков, "Тоска в любовных заговорах," p. 115.

<sup>292</sup> Топорков, "Тоска в любовных заговорах," pp. 117 - 18.

<sup>293</sup> Раденкович, "Символика цвета в славянских заговорах," pp. 138 - 39.

#### 4.3. THE PROCESS OF HEALING/THE HEALING JOURNEY

As was discussed in the previous chapters, the main sphere of the healing charm usage was private life. The effective and active usage of the healing charms in Northern Russian was mostly due to the social circumstances, particularly, the weak and unqualified medical and veterinary services at the time. Hence, the healing words and actions constituted a big part of the health arrangements in people's lives. The basis for this healing system to work was the unquestionable belief in the power of the words, the psychological sureness in the positive outcome of the healing words and actions.<sup>294</sup> Claude Levi-Strauss also stated that 'there is no reason to doubt the efficacy of certain magical practices. But at the same time, we know that the efficacy of magic implies the belief in magic'.<sup>295</sup> In this final section we ask whether references to colour in healing charms were poetical devices whose primary function was to adorn the text of the charms, or whether they were believed to play an intrinsic part in the performance of healing.

People in Northern Russia believed that only the ailments (rheumatic back pain, ear infections, hernia, birthmarks, the Evil eye, and melancholy) caused by the invasion of malignant spirits, can be cured with the help of healing charms. The only exception to this rule were the healing charms against bleeding, toothache, and snake bites where the causes are natural.<sup>296</sup> In all cases, the body came under threat from external forces and, as we saw in 4.2.2. and 4.2.3 this external threat was often colour-coded. Having ascertained that colours are a significant feature of healing charms, even if not an essential property; and having identified which colours and how colours are associated with certain ailments, we must now give consideration to the pivotal questions: were references to colour believed to play a part in the healing process itself and, if so, why, and how do references to colour effect and evidence this process?

In this section we ask whether the distribution of references to colour across the healing journey is significant (4.3.1); we examine the effect of healing on the colouring of the patient's body (4.3.2); we ask how a change in colour is effected (4.3.3) and by whose agency (4.3.4), and indeed whether those agents are themselves colour-coded.

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<sup>294</sup> Ю. И. Смирнов, "Бытование заговоров на русском Севере (по наблюдениям 1956-1963)" in *Этнолингвистика текста. Семиотика малых форм фольклора.*, ed. Нерознак В. П. Иванов В. В., Свешникова Т. Н., Толстой Н. И., Топоров В. Н. (Москва: Ин-т славяноведения и балканистики АН СССР, 1988), p. 53.

<sup>295</sup> Levi-Strauss, C, "The Sorcerer and His Magic," in *Culture, Disease, and Healing. Studies in Medical Anthropology.*, ed. Landy David (Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc., 1977), p. 446.

<sup>296</sup> С. С. Ожёгова, "Композиция и типы севернорусских заговоров," in *Этнолингвистика текста. Семиотика малых форм фольклора.*, ed. Нерознак В. П. Иванов В. В., Свешникова Т. Н., Толстой Н. И., Топоров В. Н. (Москва: Институт славяноведения и балканистики АН СССР, 1988), p. 45.

#### 4.3.1. HOW ARE THE COLOUR CATEGORIES AND COLOUR TERMS DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE HEALING JOURNEY?

The research data contain many dialectal words in the description of illnesses and specific instructions on when, how and where the healing process must take place and how the charm must be performed. Fixed epithets and colour-noun collocations are an important part of the charm language and folk language in general. Their presence in charms helped the charms to achieve what they were intended to achieve – health, balance, harmony – by creating strong mental images both positive and negative (mostly positive ones) and giving the patient and the healer a deep insight into the healing process.

All the healing charms that describe three parts of the healing journey (the point of departure, the landscape travelled, the destination) are presented in Appendix C. Appendix C contains both the healing charms with colour in them as well as charms without any reference to colour. Table 7 presents the variability and distribution of colour in the description of the healing journey.

**Table 7. The Variability and Distribution of Colour in the Description of the Healing Journey**

<b>Charm Number</b>	<b>Landscape Travelled</b>	<b>Destination</b>
1369		White birch
1395		Black raven
1443		Dark blue sea
1486	Red sun	
1609	Golden moon	White birch
1623		Brothers with rosy cheeks
1631	White street	
1642		White stone
1650	Dark blue sea	Dark blue sea
1651	Dark blue sea	Dark blue sea, dark blue stone (2x)
1652		Dark blue stone, red (fair) maiden
1653		Golden face, light brown needle
1654		Dark blue sea (2x), black stone
1659		Black raven
1660		Black raven

1745		White stone (Alatyr)
2027		Green dawn
2150	Dark blue sea	Dark blue sea, white swan (2x)
2154		Black raven
2155		Dark blue sea (2x), white pike fish
2157		Grey stone (2x)
2158		Dark blue sea (2x), dark blue stone (2x)
2159		Grey stone (2x), white pike fish
2161	Dark blue sea	Dark blue sea
2163		Dark blue sea (2x)
2164		Dark blue sea (2x), white pike fish
2166		White pike fish (2x)
2170		Green fir tree
2184		Dark blue sea (2x), dark blue island (2x), dark blue stone (2x), dark blue man (2x)

2197	Dark blue sea	
2207		Dark blue sea (2x)
2208	Red sun	
2210		Red (fair) maiden
2211		Dark blue stone, red (fair) maiden
2265	Dark blue sea	Dark blue sea
2269		White stone, white tablecloth
2270	Red sun	
2273		Black sea (2x), black stone (2x), black snake
2274		Dark blue sea (2x)
2275	Dark blue sea (2x)	
2276		White (burning) stone
2296		White stone Latyr (2x), white body

There are 86 adjective-noun collocations in the description of the healing journey. 73 of them or 85 per cent of all collocations refer to the *Destination* part of the journey; 13 or 15 per cent refer to the *Landscape Travelled* part of the journey. The first part, the *Point of Departure*, has no reference to colour at all. Furthermore, out of 86 colour-noun collocations, three of them – white stone, dark blue stone, and dark blue sea – equal or exceed six occurrences in the descriptions, or seven per cent, 9.3 per cent and 35 per cent of all

occurrences, respectively.

The healing journey seems to be a guide, a map to reach the destination. The signposts, particularly the colourful ones, are there to guide one in the right direction, to highlight certain features in the landscape, and to enhance the visual experience of the journey. As was discussed in Chapter Three, the stereotypical charm formulae of the region start with the words *I will arise myself* which are central to the description of the beginning of the journey. This stable and constant part of the charm made it easier to memorize the charm. However, it left this part quite 'colourless', creating a symbolic journey that starts from a non-descript point from which the practitioner orients himself outwards and, as the first part of the journey instructs, crosses himself, leaves his home and starts the journey.

Since the central part of the charm formulae remained variable, it was memorized in the first place in order to learn all the landmarks and turning points in the landscape that will be travelled. In the second column, the *Landscape travelled*, two main colour-noun collocations are mentioned: the red sun (1486, 2208, 2270) and the dark blue sea (1650, 1651, 2150, 2197, 2265, 2275). The meaning of the luminous objects in the charm texts was discussed earlier in this chapter. The red sun symbolised light, life-giving, warmth, beauty so its presence in the journey was a positive feature of one's journey. It seems that the dark blue sea in this part of the journey has the descriptive function of the road itself. The underlying symbolic meanings attributed to the dark blue sea that would reveal themselves in the last part of the journey: the destination.

The destination is described as having primarily two coloured characteristics: the stone (white stone, 1642, 1745, 2269, 2276; dark blue stone, 1651, 1652, 2158, 2184, 2211) and the dark blue sea (1443, 1650, 1651, 1654, 2150, 2155, 2158, 2161, 2163, 2164, 2184, 2207, 2265, 2274).

It is on the stone that lies in the centre of the world that the main action of the charm takes place. The main helpers sit on this stone and, once they are asked to help, they must perform the right action to aid the supplicants. Sometimes diseases, the Evil eye and unwanted creatures were consigned to this stone. The idea of the magic stone, its description and evaluative meanings were discussed in Chapter Two (the Concept of Radiance, p. 46) and earlier in this chapter. It is sometimes white and burning (2276), sometimes it 'adopts', or is contaminated by, the colour of its environment – the dark blue stone in the dark blue sea (1651, 2158, 2184). The dark blue sea at the end of the journey might ensure the power of the water in washing off illnesses and diseases. This healing ability of water is discussed later in this section.

One interesting aspect regarding the healing charm is its description of the journey itself and not the description of the sick body becoming a healthy one at the end of the journey. As is discussed below, health is acquired by changing the colour, by turning a sick and colourful body into a white and clean body. The description of the healing journey is quite the reverse: it starts with being 'colourless' and by the end of the road there is an 'explosion' of colours. As was suggested earlier, the healing journey is a structured roadmap with different signposts guiding the practitioner towards the place where the healing of the body happens. It seems that the colourful end of the healing journey is where the changing of the colours of the body begins.

#### 4.3.2. THE CHANGING OF THE COLOURS

The identification of whiteness with health and cleanliness suggests that everything that is not white is not clean and, consequently, not healthy. Not being white and clean means to be sick. The following examples provide evidence of the association between the two concepts of 'white/health(y)' and 'not white/illness' and that a cure is effected by changing the offending colour to white, or restoring the whiteness that had been supplanted, or preventing a colour change in the first place.

In Charm 1637, a bloody wound is called upon to 'cover itself with white flesh' by analogy with the normality or routine of days rolling into other days or the earth spinning.

**1637.** Идёт Антихрист с синя моря, несёт Антихрист серый камень, у серого камня нет ни раны, ни крови, ни синей синева. День денись, земля вертись, кровавая рана, белым телом обтянись.

[The Antichrist comes from the dark blue sea, the Antichrist carries a grey stone, the grey stone has neither wound, nor blood, nor dark blue bruising. Day, you go on, you, earth, keep spinning, you, bloody wound, cover yourself with white flesh.]

In Charms 1816 and 1829 the healer defies the furuncle to discolour the patient's white body by stating that it has no place there; this defiance is again replicated in Charm 1881 in the healer's claim that illness has no place on the patient's body, and that this is in the natural order of things, just as stones do not give birth to stones, grass does not grow from coal and souls have no place in a dead body.

**1881.** Камень камня не родит, по углу трава не растёт. В мертвом теле души нет. У раба Божья (имя) на белом теле больному месту местечка нет.  
*Безьянным пальцем обвести вокруг больного места.*

[A stone does not give birth to a stone, grass does not grow on the corner. There is no soul in a dead body. There is no place for a sore spot on the servant of God [the name of the person]'s white body. *Move the ring finger around the sore spot.*]

Charm 1821 against a furuncle is one of the most interesting examples of the concept white/healthy versus colourful/sick. It describes, and at the same time denies and negates, the potential transformation of a healthy body into a sick body by changing its colour. The participant orders a harmful entity, furuncle not to attach itself onto the white and healthy body, not to turn it red, greyish brown, yellow or black, making it sick.

**1821.** Не красней, не бурей, не желтей, не черней, чтобы зацахло, почернело, чтобы кости не скомнули, чтоб жилья не тянуло, чтобы тело не хрупело, было чистенько, беленько, гладенько.

[Do not turn red, do not turn fulvous, do not turn yellow, do not turn black, so it would wither away and turn black, so bones would not crumple, so veins would not stretch, so the body would not be frail, but it would be clean, white, and smooth.]

Another example with the meaning of getting sick because of something happening to a white body is the charm text against snake bites (1950). This text refers primarily to changes induced to a body by snake bite and poison. References to the snake's home and family illustrate how observations pertaining to everyday life were incorporated into the healing charms.

**1950.** Гад змей-через сойми свои зубы с рабы Божьей (*имя*), с белого тела, с ретивого сердца. Дом твой знаю, житьё твоё знаю, дом твой – в чистом поле, под ракитовым кустом. Дом твой сожгу, детей твоих на ветер спущу. Не́бо, ключ, земля, замок.

Serpent, you snake-belt, take away your teeth from the servant of God [the name of the person], away from the white body, from the zealous heart. I know where your home is, I know where your dwelling is. Your house is in the open field, under the magic bush. I will burn down your home, I will let your children go with the wind. Heaven, key, earth, lock.

The change in colour is not necessarily one from non-white to white. As is discussed by Patricia Arant (1975), a change in the colour of blood from red to brown symbolizes the stemming of its flow:

'The blood is identified with a horse, whose galloping and standing still is compared to

the blood's flowing and coagulation. But analogy most clearly is based on color. When the blood is commanded not to spurt, it is described as a red roan, the color of blood when it flows. When the blood is directed not to drip, the color of the horse changes to bay, the color of blood when it dries. Probably the most important features are the colors red and brown, which horses share with the bleeding wound. This common quality of color which changes from light to dark would seem to ensure healing.<sup>297</sup>

In the charm texts in this research corpus, a distinct feature of the colour epithet hazel when applied to horses in the healing charms is that it is identified with blood, and most particularly to stemming its flow (1588 and 1589):

**1589.** На Белом море, на острове, кургане сидели два молодца на белом камне. Разговаривали про кровь, коня каря: - Ты, карь конь, кань, а кровь – не капь.

[On the White sea, on the island, on the mound sat two fine fellows on a white stone. They talked about blood and a hazel horse: - You, hazel horse, disappear, and you, blood, stop dripping.]

#### 4.3.3. CLEANLINESS

Clean/pure body imagery is central to understanding the concept of norm and balance. Charms 1993, 1994, 1995 in the research data demonstrate the link between cleanliness, beauty and physical health.

**1993.** *Благословиться.* Господи Иисусе, моюся-белюся, на воду – синила, на мое лицо – белила, на рабу Божью (имя) – красота, а на ребят – сухота.

[*Bless yourself.* Lord Jesus, I wash myself, I whiten myself, water is dark blue, my face is white, beauty to the servant of God [the name of the person], exhaustion to young fellows.]

Keeping clean is part of keeping the balance in the body and in the world. It means to be in control of one's life and environment.<sup>298</sup> In some charms a direct link between whiteness, health, beauty, and goodness is made. So, for instance, in Charm 2019 the process of cleansing with dew results in the participant's being хороша, и бела, и ала, и мила [beautiful, white, scarlet, and sweet/good/kind].

<sup>297</sup> Arant, "Figurative and Literal Coupling in Russian Oral Traditional Genres," p. 415.

<sup>298</sup> Williams, G, "Chronic Illness and the Pursuit of Virtue in Everyday Life," in *Worlds of Illness. Biographical and Cultural Perspectives on Health and Disease*, ed. Alan Radley (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 98 - 99.



Water plays a crucial part in purification and washing away the symptoms and consequences of a malady. This belief is supported by the fact that many charm texts describe healing procedures with water.

The Evil eye and melancholy/yearnings/sorrows, can be washed away with water. For example, charm 2191, where the Evil eye is called 'black illness', can be used to cure both the Evil eye and melancholy. The cure is effected using water that has been blessed by the healer.

**2191.** *Читают "Отче Наш". Спаси нас, Пресвятая Дева, от черной болезни и от тоски. Наговаривают на воду.*

[*Recite the "Our Father". Save us, Holy Mother of God, from the black illness and from sadness. Speak the words over the water.*]

Charm 2135 is a particularly long and interesting charm where the participant politely addressed water before asking for its help. Water is called luminous, light, and addressed as a fair maiden before being implored to restore a patient's health by cleansing. The water itself had gone through a process of purification, it had been cleansed by the heavenly bodies: the clear sun, the bright moon, frequent stars, and red dawns.

**2135.** *А ты, Водица-светлица, красная девица, ты шла темными лесами, крутыми берегами, через белый камень. Ты очищалась ясным солнцем, светлым месяцем, частыми звездами, красными зорями. Смой-очисти всякую болезнь из рабы Ирины по етот час, по мой заговор. Читается на воду, а потом ею умываются, иной раз просто побрызгать на больного. Воду берут на Крещение из ручья или проруби. А если такой нет, то можно взять любую, даже из-под крана в городе, но три раза перед этим отмолить.*

[*And you, water-luminous one, you fair maiden, you walked through the dark forests, high banks, through the white stone. You are cleansed with the clear sun, bright moon, frequent stars, red dawns. Wash off, cleanse off every illness out of the servant Irina, at this hour, according to my charm. Say it over the water, afterwards wash yourself with it.*

*Sometimes just sprinkle the water over the patient. Take water on the Epiphany day from the stream or ice hole. If there is no such water, you can take any water, even the tap water in the city but pray three times before that.*]

Appealing to water, whether to a small river, a source or the sea is a common motif in the charm discourse.

**2185.** *Прошу к болящей рабе на помощь воды, реки, потоки, колодцы, моря,*

ИСТОЧНИКИ.

[I will ask the help of the water, the rivers, the streams, the wells, the seas, the springs for the ill servant.]

The magical qualities attributed to water in healing were widely known in the folk healing system. The main function of water in the healing procedures was to purify. Water washed away illnesses, the Evil eye, dirtiness, and restored health, beauty, and whiteness.

**2226.** Мать-река, ключева вода! Как умывала она круты берега, как уносила желтые песка, так омой-ополочи печаль и тоску с раба Божьего (имя) с ясных очей, со кровавых печеней, из ретивого сердца, из буйной головы. Во имя Отца Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

[Mother-river, spring water! Just as you washed the steep banks, carried away the yellow sands, so wash and rinse sorrows and sadness from the servant of God [the name of the person], from the bright eyes, from the bloody livers, from the zealous heart, from the unruly head. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.]

Just as water has curative powers, so does luminosity. A luminous object often used in healing charms is the moon, whose movement across the night sky is significant for the healing process.

The phases of the moon, and the increase and decrease of the moon disk were other significant factors in healing.<sup>299</sup> In some charms the moon's progression through the heavens bears and spreads its cleanliness, purity and luminescence (2021) which translates into the patient's 'vigorous legs, good health, and good patience'; in other charms it is urged to dispel [Снеси] the patient's pain (2022); the moon's constant motion is a model for the patient's ongoing good health (2082); it purifies the water which in turn cleanses the patient (2135); along with the other astral bodies it lights the way for the holy saints and apostles who are called upon to intercede in the healing process (2185).

One of the distinctive features of the moon discussed above was the colour yellow. Yellow connects the moon and other mythological characters to the underworld, to the dead. In healing charms against toothache one of the most frequently used devices was a comparison between the patient and a dead person.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Чёха, "Греко-славянские параллели в области традиционной культуры: луна в лечебной магии.," *Славяноведение*, no. 6 (2008): p. 31.

<sup>300</sup> Sokolova, "Functions of Spells and Charms in Social and Everyday Life: a Case Study of Eastern Slav Folklore.," p. 119.

**1405.** *Зубы раньше лечили на новый месяц. Выйти на новый месяц и сказать:*  
Батюшка, светел месяц, тебе золоты рога. Был я у Адама в дому, видел  
усопшего в гробу. Как у усопшего кости не ныли, не мозжили,<sup>301</sup> не болели, так  
чтоб у раба Божьего (*имя*) зубы не ныли, не мозжили, не болели. Аминь.  
*Сказать три раза.*

*[Previously the toothache was cured during new moon. Go out during the new moon and say: Father, bright moon, you have golden horns. I was in Adam's house, I saw the deceased in a coffin. As the dead man's bones did not ache, did not throb, did not hurt, so may the servant of God [the name of the person]'s teeth not ache, nor throb, nor hurt. Amen. Say this three times.]*

It is interesting to note that in this series of charms the non-basic colour term gold has equal 'weight' to the basic colour term white.

The epithets of the moon reveal again the respectful and polite ways of addressing the heavenly object that has the ability to move between the two worlds (1403, 1405, 1412).

#### 4.3.4. AGENTS OF HEALING

Some of the charm texts are long and detailed narratives, addressing Christian saints and other supernatural forces and asking for their help. Similes and comparisons used in these charm texts reveal folk creativity which translates the unknown into visible, recognizable features of the material world. In this world the colours attributed to beasts have a primarily symbolic function. For example, white, or sometimes golden, pike fish in the dark blue sea or any body of water, are described as having sharp bulat steel teeth, steel fins, steel, or tin eyes which devour all kinds of maladies, and thus restore the whiteness, brightness, and lightness of good health.

**2155.** <...> Под этим камнем есть бела рыба щука, зубы железны, глаза оловянны. Бела рыба щука мох и траву хватает и съедает, так и с рабы Божьей Сусаньей хватает и съедает все грыжи, прикосы и уразы – от белого лица, от ясных очей, от всех легких печеней.

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<sup>301</sup> Даль, *Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка*, 4 vols. (Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей, 1955). s.v. "можжить – болеть непрерывно, ноеть и ломить в глубине, мозголить (от мозг)".

[<...> Under this stone there is a white pike fish with iron teeth, tin eyes. The white pike fish grabs and eats moss and grass, so may it grab off and eat off the servant of God Susanya all hernias, whammies and blows from her white face, from her bright eyes, from her light liver.]

In charm 2150 a white swan symbolises something so pure and good when the light clear water is running down its plumage that no malady can attach itself to it.

**2150.** Из синего моря выплывает белый лебедь, с белого лебедя скатывается чистая светлая вода. Скатись, вся худоба.

[Out of the dark blue sea a white swan is emerging, clean bright water is flowing from the white swan. Roll off, exhaustion.]

Another text mentioned a black raven, the messenger from the Other world, carrying a dead bone that can be used as a remedy against the Evil eye (2154).

The charm texts in the subgroup *Against bleeding* are dominated by three central symbols: a horse, a thread, and the action of sewing. We look at each of these in turn.

In four Charms the healer sets the scene by describing a rider on a (white or hazel) mare.<sup>302</sup> When the mare stops, the flow of blood stops. These charms consist of no more than that comparison — the mare and the blood become as one, and behave as one:

**1576.** *Зажимают руку или ногу выше раны и приговаривают:* Едет Данила на белой кобыле. Кобылы опрестала – кровь перестала.

[*Clasp an arm or a leg above the wound and say:* Danila rides on a white mare. The mare stopped and the blood stopped.]

In the next charm within this same category (1579), an old man on a hazel mare is leading a cow by a stern thread. The thread breaks and the flow of blood stops.

In all of these examples the agency of Danila and the old man to stop their mare or break their thread is transposed by analogy onto the healer's effect on the patient's wound. The essential symbolic characteristic the hazel horse shares with a thread in the healing charms of this subgroup is the action of movement. While the colour terms hazel and red undoubtedly have associations with the colour of blood, the galloping of the horse, and the

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<sup>302</sup> 1576, 1577, 1578, 1586

length of the thread symbolise the blood flow (out of a wound, cut) that needs to be stopped (1599, 1579, 1668). The broken thread motif is explored in charms 1549 – 1561.

Another abrupt action, or rather interrupted motion, indicating the stemming of blood (1590, 1591) describes a mottled chicken running down the street who stumbles:

**1590.** Курушка ряба по улушке брела, за камешек запнулась, тут кровь и заткнулась. *Три раза прочитать и три раза плюнуть.*

[Mottled chicken wandered along the street, stumbled over a pebble, so blood stopped. *Read three times and spit three times.*]

The third distinctive motif in the charms against the bleeding is the motif of sewing. There is a fair maiden, Mother of God, or three maidens sewing up a wound with a needle or thread similarly just as they would sew together a torn-up piece of cloth. The figurative image of the maidens sewing the wound and thus stemming the flow of blood signified the positive outcome of the procedure (1651, 1654, 1659). In the example below, the Virgin Mary is sewing the bleeding wound with a gold needle and silk thread. The reference to the tsar-horseman on a hazel steed in the final sentence of the charm also invokes the successful outcome of the healing process through the change of blood colour from red to the horse's colour hazel.

**1644.** <...> На этом Евангели сидит Дева Мария, держит она иглу золотую, вздевает нитку шёлковую и зашивает рану кровавую. На горе едет царь стар, а под ним-то конь карь, у (имя), кровь, не кань. Аминь. *Если обрежут или ушибут где, надо читать три раза. На рану муку заговаривали, заговаривали и потом засыпали. А сейчас муки нет – присыпка бывает.*

[<...> On this Gospel the Blessed Mary sits, she holds a golden needle, puts silk thread in the needle and sews the bleeding wound. On the mountain the tsar is riding on a hazel horse, [the name of the person]'s blood, do not drip. Amen. *If one cuts or bruises oneself, read this three times. For the wound the words were spoken over the flour and sprinkled over the wound. Now there is no flour here but there is powder.*]

While some beasts are agents of healing, others are metaphors for a patient's body or the ailment that threatens them — snakes represent a direct threat. In the case of snake bites, in the patient's mind, the adversary, unlike in the case of the Evil eye or melancholy, is tangible and visible. Snakes are what people in a wide range of cultures see as an 'anomalous, and often also mythical

animal'.<sup>303</sup> The charms against snake bites contain appeals to a snake or a serpent not to bite a man or to remove/keep its fangs away. The order or appeal to remove/keep their fangs away would sometimes also imply the removal of poison from the wound. The patient/healer asks for the cooperation which would require the gathering and withdrawal of all the snake's extended 'family'; if it fails to comply, the snake is threatened with the wrath of Christian personages and god himself.

The outlook on the snake is, however, ambivalent. Snakes were perceived as dangerous yet had 'the associated capacity to throw off death'.<sup>304</sup> There seems to be a connection within the Christian ideology expressed in the charm texts, between black snakes and Satan.

The third subgroup (*Against ear infection*) contains some interesting comparisons. The personification of the ear infection as black worms with horns (which may explain sharp pain in the ears) is an example of an ailment being banished to the Other world. Illness is the representative of that Other world here in the image of black worms with horns. It came from the Other world and that is where it must be sent back to.

**1381.** Черна червь рогата, не точи и не верти у рабы Божьей Татьяны. Точи и верти за синим морем, в чистом поле на сухом дереве – шакшу<sup>305</sup>, где люди не ходят, скот не ходит, красно солнышко не всходит.

[Horned black worms, do not harm and do not twist the servant of God Tatyana. Go harm and twist over the dark blue sea, in the open field on a dry tree covered with reindeer moss, where people do not walk, livestock do not walk, the red sun does not rise.]

As was discussed in Chapter Two, in the folk worldview illnesses were perceived as living beings with anthropomorphic characteristics and their own specific personalities made up of characteristic symptoms, signs, and (sometimes) their 'location' on human body. The reason for 'viewing [something] as entity', Lakoff (1980) argued, is the fact that it 'allows us to refer to it, quantify it, identify it as a particular aspect of it, see it as a cause, act with respect to it, and perhaps even believe that we understand it'.<sup>306</sup> In the healing process, the most effective way of

<sup>303</sup> Пломäki, H, "Finnish Snake Charms," in *Charms, Charmers and Charming*, ed. J. Roper (Hempshire/New York: Springer, 2009), p. 163.

<sup>304</sup> Kerewsky-Halpern, "Watch Out for Snakes! Ethnosemantic Misinterpretations and Interpretation of a Serbian Healing Charm," p. 321.

<sup>305</sup> Даль., *Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка*. s.v. "шакша (арх.) – ягели на пнях деревьев, мшистые космы, *Usnea Bryorogon*".

<sup>306</sup> Lakoff G, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 26.

getting rid of an illness was by banishing it, sending it away, ordering it to leave the body and/or the village. Such charm formulae would contain imperatives 'get out', 'leave', 'go away' etc. Many charm texts contain the combination of banishing and transferring formulae where the illness is transferred onto a tree, another person, into the earth, a river, the Other world. In charm 1759, for example, the ailment is banished 'to the moss, to the swamps, to the green fields, to the white birch tree' where it can 'drink, walk, talk, show itself off', leaving the patient's body unscathed: 'strong, [with an] unruly head, [with a] zealous heart, [with] hot blood, [with] black eyebrows, [with] bright eyes, [with] white hands, [with] frisky legs', namely the picture of good health (see 4.2.1. above).

#### 4.4. CONCLUSION

The usage of the colour vocabulary is not accidental in the charm discourse. Colour, in combination with other poetical devices of the charm text (as well as the ritual actions accompanying the ritual words) may have conveyed the idea of curing, of restoring balance and of freeing the patient from the grip of an ailment. The rich colour vocabulary used in the charms contribute to the creation of strong visual imagery which mirrors the patient's world and would appear to be an essential part of the healing process.

Many of the symbols used in the healing process, in the minds of the participants are associated with the observed physiological event and transferred into mental images and comparisons.

These symbols are bridges that help the participants to position themselves within the healing process and make sense of what is happening to them. The ritual words diverted the participants' mindset towards the figurative images that together with literal expressions reinforced the positive mental action in the healing process. The objective of the healing was imbedded in the language of healing and the choice of colour terms that created the visual perception of colour spectrum. This spectrum together with, what Borisova (2013) called 'the associative laws of the magic discourse', had an emotional impact on the human psyche.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis explores the purpose and meaning of colour terms in the healing charms of Northern Russia. The choice of the research material is justified by the importance of the geographical location from which the field data was collected, the presence of one of the major charm formulas in the charm texts originating in the North of Russia, and existing research that has been done on the basis of the same charm collection.

The presence of colour terms in Russian folklore has been investigated continuously, especially in the last three decades. Particular attention has been paid to the symbolic meaning of colour words in folklore and its different genres (Blakey, 1923; Sokolova, 1981; Conrad, 1989; Radenkovich, 1989; Zlydneva, 2002; Kezina, 2012; Gerasimenko, 2012), colour epithets and their potential and varied meanings Russian folk genres like everyday fairy tales (Savushkina, 1980), fantastic fairy tales (Vedernikova, 1980; Propp, 2003), heroic epos or bylina (Propp, 1956), lyrical songs (Vernadsky, 1944) etc. It was established that common fixed (colour) epithets frequently used in Russian folklore describe an object or phenomenon in general terms and acquire more specific meaning when used in different folklore genres. So, this study set out to investigate the motivation and meaning behind the colour terms used in healing charm texts.

The first thing about the genre of charms, especially, healing charms, is that it is predicated on and charged with changing a participant's mindset. It is not a form of entertainment like when one is listening to a fairy tale or heroic epos, it is not a calendar festivity with lyrical songs or ring dances. It is a private event, the basis of which is rooted in a concern for one's health, hope for one's returning health and fulfilment of a wish. This mindset is different, and it perceives the words, visual and mental imagery differently. As Borisova concluded in her study (2013), the visual and emotional image the colour creates in a person's mind is powerful.<sup>307</sup> The current study investigated (1) the language of folklore in order to understand the folk worldview, (2) the frequency of colour in the research data and each of subgroups, (3) the radiance and evaluative meanings of colours.

Before moving on to the key features of charm language, here is a brief summary of what we observed about what a charm represents:

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<sup>307</sup> Борисова, "Магическая сила заговора: цветовая гамма текста."



It represents the synthesis of peoples' (archaic) knowledge about the world that has been preserved in minimized, compressed forms.

A charm's universe consists of a set of universal oppositions. A charm has a trinomial structure.

It also includes the mythological centre or the centre of the world that consists of three distinctive levels.

It contains both Christian and pagan elements.

While previous studies have dealt with the distinguishing features of the charm genre that is unlike other folklore genres (community based folklore versus individual, private form or usage of the charms; ceremonial, calendar folklore versus everyday life in the practice of the charms; definite time of performance versus indefinite time of performance; many folklore genres are limited to texts only, the genre of charms are not limited to the text alone) and the incorporation of canonical and non-canonical prayers and other Christian elements into the archaic charm corpora, these studies have mostly been restricted to limited comparisons of different elements of the charm language.

1) In this thesis, we investigated the language of folklore because without this knowledge we would not be able to interpret the folk worldview (Chapter 2). Keeping that in mind we look at the research objectives we set out to achieve:

- i. Our principal objective was to focus on the language of folklore and examine the extent to which the poetic aspect of folklore language in the healing charms affects the practical healing part of the charm text.
- ii. The second objective was to determine the different segments of the charm language and whether these segments suggest the motivation behind the colour terms in the healing charms.

Here is a brief summary of what we have learned about the language of folklore and the language of charms in particular:

It is deeply semiotic and symbolic. Symbols range from linguistic units to actions and things. The basic feature of folklore language is its super dialectal (*наддиалектный*) nature.

The language of folklore not only builds the folk world but also evaluates it.

The language of charms has segments of magical and religious language that may result in

one of two actions in the charm text: asking for or demanding something.

Just as folklore language is different from everyday language so is magic language different from everyday speech.

The language of folklore and the language of charms is an important source for revealing people's beliefs as well as reconstructing the structure of their worldview.

2) This study set out to investigate the frequency of colour in the research data and each of the subgroups (Chapter 4):

- i. The first objective was to retrieve the colour vocabulary of the research data.
- ii. The second objective was to determine the subgroups containing the colour terms.
- iii. The third objective was to quantify the qualitative data and categorize the colour terms by their frequency in both the colour vocabulary and the subgroups with colour(s).

The colour terms and their frequency are presented in Appendix A. The colour frequency in subgroups is presented in Appendix G.

This a brief summary of colour frequency in the research data and the subgroups: There are 29 colours and shades in 240 healing charms.

There are 31 subgroups in the research material, 18 of the subgroups contain colours and shades.

The seven most frequently used colours are the Basic Colour Terms (in decreasing order) white, dark blue, red, black, grey, yellow, green followed by light blue (No.12) and pink (No. 23). The Basic Colour Terms brown, orange, purple are not represented in the research data.

It was observed that the dominant colours in some of the subgroups were similar to the colour of the symptoms for a particular ailment or illness described in the subgroup (*Against bleeding, wounds, cuts, Against eye infections, Against melancholy and sorrows*).

Six subgroups with the highest number of dominant colour(s) are: charms against the Evil eye (dominant colours dark blue (41) and white (39)), charms against bleeding and wounds (dominant colours dark blue (24) and white (18)), charms against furuncle (dominant colour white (19)), charms against all diseases (dominant colours black (21) and white (17)), charms against erysipelas (dominant colours white (16) and red (14)), and charms against sadness and melancholy (dominant colour yellow (9)).

3) The third objective this thesis was set out to achieve were the examination of two concepts in Russian colour semantics, the Concept of Radiance, and the Evaluative meanings of colours (Chapter 2). The evaluative meanings of colour terms revealed that the colour terms had acquired many layers of meanings over the time:

- i. The first objective was to examine the Radiance concept and investigate the meanings of some of the colour terms based on their history in the development of the Russian language.
- ii. The second objective was to explore the broad range of evaluative meanings of all the colour terms of the research data and apply these meanings within the framework of healing words and healing knowledge.

This is a brief summary of the application of the Radiance concept and the Evaluative meanings of the colour terms in the healing charms:

1. According to the Russian folklorists Popovic (2007), Agapkina (2003, 2010) and Kezina (2008, 2009, 2013), many colour terms have maintained their early meanings that are connected to the meaning of radiance, shining and glistening.
2. Many ethical ideals and emotions have been encapsulated into colour terms that have become part of fixed epithets or adjective-noun collocations expressing cultural models of society.

The current study revealed the thorough attention people displayed towards their body and the process of restoring health and balance to the body using a range of colour terms. It was disclosed that the healthy body is white body and not being white and clean means being sick. The process of healing is a process of changing colours. To cure the body, to restore it to health and balance is 1) to change the colours associated with illness or its symptoms to whiteness, or 2) banishment or disappearance of the colours themselves. However, contradictory colour term *румяный/rumianyĭ/rosy* remains problematic.

This study offers some new insights into examining and understanding the link between the presence of colour in the healing charm and the healing process. It provides an opportunity to advance our knowledge in the meaning, motivation, and practical aspects of colour as part of the folk healing system. Moreover, this study aims to contribute to the growing collaboration between Anglophone and Russian scholarships in the field of folkloristics with the hope of more research is done in the future to acquaint the English-speaking audience with the latest developments in this field.

The researcher would recommend gathering new data and combine it with the existing data from other regions of Northern and Central Russia. The data from all the regions would allow one to observe the similarities and differences between the healing repertoires of different regions and districts. It would also reveal the density, distribution, and frequency of colour in different regions and to different performers. Further research would also add more information about whether the geographical location and other cultural settings determine the presence, absence, or dominance of some colour terms in local healing charm discourse.

Additionally, the current study could serve as the basis for research into the motivation, use and functioning of colour terms in other genres within the same collection.

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## **APPENDICES**



## Appendix A. Colour Terms in the Research Data and Their Frequency

Number	Colour Term	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1.	Белый ( <i>belyĩ/white</i> )	140	24.6%
2.	Синий ( <i>siniĩ/dark blue</i> )	101	17.75%
3.	Красный ( <i>krasnyi/red</i> )	93	16.34%
4.	Чёрный ( <i>chěrnyi/black</i> )	91	15.99%
5.	Серый ( <i>seryĩ/grey</i> )	26	4.56%
6.	Жёлтый ( <i>zhěltyĩ/yellow</i> )	25	4.39%
7.	Зелёный ( <i>zelėnyi/green</i> )	21	3.69%
8.	Карий ( <i>kariĩ/hazel, light brown</i> )	15	2.63%
9.	Алый ( <i>alyĩ/scarlet</i> )	8	1.4%
10.	Золотой ( <i>zolotoĩ/golden</i> )	8	1.4%
11.	Рябый ( <i>riabyĩ/mottled</i> )	6	1.05%
12.	Голубой ( <i>goluboĩ/light blue</i> )	5	0.87%
13.	Вороной ( <i>voronoĩ/raven</i> )	5	0.87%
14.	Русый ( <i>rusyi/blond, fair, light brown</i> )	4	0.7%
15.	Черёмный ( <i>cherėmnyi/dark red, reddish yellow</i> )	2	0.35%
16.	Рыжий ( <i>ryzhĩ/ginger</i> )	2	0.35%
17.	Саврасый ( <i>savrasyĩ/roan</i> )	2	0.35%
18.	Подласый ( <i>podlasyĩ/fox colour, reddish brown</i> )	2	0.35%
21.	Бурый ( <i>buryĩ/fulvous, greyish brown</i> )	2	0.35%
22.	Румяный ( <i>rumianyĩ/rosy</i> )	2	0.35%
19.	Перепелесый ( <i>perepelesyi/variegated colour, synonym of nėstryĩ (No 20)</i> )	1	0.17%
20.	Пёстрый ( <i>pėstryĩ/variegated colour, different colour zones</i> )	1	0.17%
23.	Розовый ( <i>rozovyĩ/pink</i> )	1	0.17%
24.	Бордовый ( <i>bordovyĩ/burgundy, dark red</i> )	1	0.17%
25.	Багровый ( <i>bagrovyĩ/crimson, bluish-red</i> )	1	0.17%
26.	Сивый ( <i>sivyĩ/ash grey</i> )	1	0.17%
27.	Пегий ( <i>pegiĩ/piebald</i> )	1	0.17%
28.	Вишнёвый ( <i>vishněvyĩ/cherry red</i> )	1	0.17%
29.	Мышастый ( <i>myshastyĩ/bluish grey</i> )	1	0.17%

## Appendix B. The Healing Charms with Reference Colour and Their Translations

\* For the translation of healing charms, I have consulted these dictionaries: Dahl's Dictionary (1955), Efremova's Dictionary (2000), and Ushakov's Etymological Dictionary (2012).

\* While translating Russian healing charms I faced a series of linguistic problems as texts included unique lexical elements such as dialectal words (for example, bulat) as well as scribal errors.<sup>1</sup> A series of words and phrases in the charm texts have dubious meaning. I have briefly commented some of the words that are marked with asterisk. In cases where I was not able to translate words and expressions, I have replaced them (if none of them were not listed in any of the dictionaries) with a square bracket with three dots and a question mark [...?]. In cases where I have made an informed guess but unsure of my translation, I inserted a round bracket with a question mark (?) immediately after the suspect word.

\* Ritual actions are in italics.

\* The Evil eye means harm or malady caused by envy. I leave the name of the malady – the Evil eye – in the text as it is in the original.

**1369.** Стану раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, пойду я в чистое поле, в чистом поле стоит белая берёза, кудрявая. Я поклонюси, помолюси, попрошу истинного Христа батюшку, Матушку Пресвятую Богородицу, чтобы у меня никогда бы не скомнуло<sup>2</sup>, никогда бы не болело – ни в каких мозгах, ни в каких ростах, ни в алой крови, ни на гладкой коже. Отныне до веки веков. Аминь. *Наговорить на воду, выпить.*

I, the servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, I will go to the open field. In the open field there is a white curly birch. I will bow, pray, and ask the true Christ, our father, and the Most Blessed Mother of God, so I may never be in pain, never be hurt, neither in my brain, nor in my limbs, nor in my scarlet blood, nor on my smooth skin. From now on forever and ever. Amen. *Speak over the water and drink.*

**1372.** Заря-зореница<sup>3</sup>, красная девица, возьми глаза красны, а дай мне глаза ясны.

Dawn, you heavenly glow, you fair maiden, take my red eyes and give me clear/bright eyes.

**1373.** Зорька-зарица, красная девица, возьми глаза красные, отдай очи ясные.

Dawn, you heavenly glow, you fair maiden, take my red eyes, give back my clear/bright eyes.

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<sup>1</sup> Даль В. И., "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка," (Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей, 1955). s.v. "булат – азиатская узорочная сталь".

<sup>2</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "скомить, скомнуть – болеть, ныть, щемить".

<sup>3</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "зареве – огненный свет или отблеск на небе, на небосклоне".

**1380.** Черви вы, червы, неусыпающие черви, не точите, черви, не вертите, черви, подите, черви, за сине море, за чистое поле, в тёмной лес, где люди не ходят, скот не ходит, красно солнышко не всходит. И там вы точите и вертите сухое дерево. На сухом дереве есть шасты. Слухи – в ухо, черви – вон. *Подуть в ухо и плюнуть.*

Worms, you worms, unrelenting worms, do not grind, worms, do not twist, worms. You go, worms, beyond the dark blue sea, beyond the open field, to the dark forest where people do not walk, livestock do not walk, the red sun does not rise. And there you sharpen and twist a dry tree. There is reindeer moss on the dry tree. Hearing goes into the ears, worms, get out of the ears. *Blow in the ear and spit.*

**1381.** Черна червь рогата, не точи и не верти у рабы Божьей Татьяны. Точи и верти за синим морем, в чистом поле на сухом дереве – шакшу<sup>4</sup>, где люди не ходят, скот не ходит, красно солнышко не всходит. Одна Пресвятая Богородица со своим духом дунула рабе Божьей Татьяне в уха. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

Horned black worms, do not harm and do not twist the servant of God Tatyana. Go harm and twist over the dark blue sea, in the open field on a dry tree covered with reindeer moss, where people do not walk, livestock do not walk, the red sun does not rise. Only the Most Blessed Mother of God with her spirit blew in the servant of God Tatyana's ear. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

**1382.** Церви вы, церви, церви рогаты, не тоците, вертите у раба Божьего ушки. Тоците и вертите сухое дерево, где скот не ходит, трава не растёт, красно солнце не всходит. Вам там питенье и кушанье.

Worms, you worms, horned worms, do not harm, do not twist servant of God's ears. Harm and twist a dry tree where livestock do not go, grass does not grow, the red sun does not rise. There is a drinking and eating for you there.

**1387.** Чёрная змея дорожку перешла. У чёрной змеи ушки не болели никогда. Так же бы раба Божьего (имя) ушки не болели. Аминь. *Три раза. Плюнуть три раза.*

A black snake crossed the road. The black snake's ears never ached. So may the servant of God [the name of the person]'s ears not ache. Amen. *Say three times. Spit three times.*

**1395.** Стану я, благословлясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, выйду я в чистое поле. В чистом поле стоит остров, на этом острове стоит дуб. Через этот дуб летит черный ворон, в устах несет ниточку шелкову, иголочку буланту, у раба Божья (имя) заговаривает щемоту и лому. *Читать три раза.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go into the open field. In the open field there is an island, on this island there is an oak tree. A black raven flies through the oak tree with a silk thread, a bulat steel needle in its mouth, curing aches and pains. *Read three times.*

**1403.** Млад месяц, золоты рога, царь-батюшка, вся вселенная – нам Царство небесное. Млад месяц, златы рога, не болят у тебя зубы, не ноют десны, так и у меня, рабы Божьей, не нойте зубы, не болите десны, днём при солнце, при месяце, при частых звездах, при утренней звезде Марье, при вечерней – Марианне, при полуночной Ульяне, все двадцать

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<sup>4</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "шакша (арх.) – ягели на пнях деревьев, мшистые космы, *Usnea Bryorogon*".

четыре часа, все двадцать четыре минуты. Будьте, мои слова, крепки и лепки, отныне и до веку, их ветром не сдует и водой не снесёт.

Young moon, golden horns, tsar-father, the whole universe is our heavenly kingdom. Young moon, golden horns, your teeth do not ache, your gums do not ache, so may the servant of God's teeth not ache, gums not ache at noon in the sun, under the moon, under frequent stars, under the morning star Marya, under the evening star Marianne, under the midnight star Ulyana, twenty-four hours, twenty-four minutes. Be, my words, strong and sticky, now and forever. They will not be blown away by wind nor washed away by water.

**1405.** *Зубы раньше лечили на новый месяц. Выйти на новый месяц и сказать:* Батюшка, светел месяц, тебе золоты рога. Был я у Адама в дому, видел усопшего в гробу. Как у усопшего кости не ныли, не мозжили,<sup>5</sup> не болели, так чтоб у раба Божьего (*имя*) зубы не ныли, не мозжили, не болели. Аминь. *Сказать три раза.*

*Previously the toothache was cured during new moon. Go out during the new moon and say:* Father, bright moon, you have golden horns. I was in Adam's house, I saw the deceased in a coffin. As the dead man's bones did not ache, did not throb, did not hurt, so may the servant of God [the name of the person]'s teeth not ache, nor throb, nor hurt. Amen. *Say this three times.*

**1406.** *От зубов заговаривают на месяц.* Месяц ты, месяц, месяц ты ясный (*золотой*), ходишь высоко, светишь далеко, был ли у Адамушка в дому, видел ли Адамушка в гробу? Как у его зубы не болели, дёсны не мозжили, так бы у меня, рабы Божьей Устиньи – по век мой, по смерть мою. Аминь. *Проговорить три раза на молодой месяц.*

*Toothache was cured during the (new?) moon.* Moon, you, moon, you bright (*golden*) moon, you walk high, shine far. Were you in Adam's house, did you see Adam in a coffin? As his teeth did not ache, gums did not throb, so may it happen to me, the servant of God Ustinya, during my life, and until my death. *Say it three times during the new moon.*

**1412.** Свят злат месяц, золоты твои рога, был ты за горами, был ты за долами, за сионскими морями, лежат во гробе там Адам и Ева. Как у Адама и Евы ничего не болит: ни губы, ни зубы, ни кости – так и у меня рабы Божьей (*имя*), не болели бы.

Holy golden moon, your horns are golden. Were you beyond the mountains, were you beyond the valleys, beyond the Zion seas, where Adam and Eve lay there in a coffin? Just as nothing aches to Adam and Eve: neither lips, nor teeth, nor bones, so may nothing ache to me, the servant of God [the name of the person].

**1425.** Заговариваю зубы и выговариваю, вычитываю – из буйной головы, с ясных очей, из чёрных бровей, с горячей крови. “Был ли на том свете? Видел ли ты батюшку и матушку? Видел ты – болят у них зубы?” – “Нет, не болят”. Каб так и у (*имя*) не болели зубы от тяжести, от жалости, от радости, мужских и женских, приговорчивых<sup>6</sup>, радостных, жалостных.

I cure teeth and say healing words, I drive the pain out. I drive it out of an unruly head, out of bright eyes, out of black eyebrows, out of hot blood. “Were you in the Other world? Did you see his father and mother? Did you see if they had a toothache?” – “No, they don't”. So may [the name

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<sup>5</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "можжить – болеть непрерывно, ноеть и ломить в глубине, мозголить (от мозг)".

<sup>6</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "приговорчивый – скорый на карательные приговоры".

of the person]’s teeth not ache neither from heaviness, nor from pity, nor from joy, nor from male or female, nor from the vindictive, the happy, the pitiful.

**1427.** “Месяц, месяц, голубой батюшка, вы на том свете были?” – “Был”. – “Вы мертвых видели?” – “Видел”. – “Что они, закаменели?” – “Закаменели”. Чтоб у моей рабы Божьей (имя) зубы занемели, занемели, занемели. *Повторить три раза.*

“Moon, moon, you light blue father, were you in the Other world?” – “I was”. – “Did you see the dead?” – “I did”. – “Were they petrified?” – “They were”. So may my servant of God [the name of the person]’s teeth become numb, numb, numb. *Say it three times.*

**1436.** На озере-океяне, на острове Буяне, лежит бел горяч камень. На бел горячем камне лежит стар велик человек. У стар велика человека – у него зубы не болели, кости не ломило, сердце не щемило. Так бы и у рабе Елены отныне и до века зубы не болели, кости не ломило, сердце не щемило. *Положить крошку хлеба на больной зуб, проговорить двенадцать раз быстро-быстро.*

On the lake-ocean, on the island Buyan, there is a white-hot stone. On the white-hot stone there lies an old great man. The old great man’s teeth did not ache, bones did not ache, heart did not ache. So may the servant of God Elena’s teeth not ache, bones not ache, heart not ache forever and ever. *Put a crumb of bread on a sore tooth, say it very quickly twelve times.*

**1441.** Стану я раба Божия (имя), благословясь. Пойду, перекрестясь, из ворот в ворота, в чистое поле, в широко раздолье под светлый месяц, там лежит мертвый мертвец. Я его спрошу: “Не болят ли зубы? Не щипят ли дёсны? Не ходит ли кровь горяча?...” (*пропуск?*) Со щипоты, со ломоты, со двенадцати родимцев<sup>7</sup>, со двенадцати рек, со двенадцати человек с ветру пришла – на ветер поди, с народу пришла – на народ поди, с лесу пришла – на лес поди, от своего дома пришла – на дом поди! Чур<sup>8</sup>, мои зубы! Чур, мои губы! Чур, моё белое тело! Чур, моя алая кровь!

I, the servant of God [the name of the person], will arise blessing myself. I will go out, crossing myself, out of the gate through the gate, to the open field, to the wide expanse under the bright moon, there lies a dead man. I ask him: “Do your teeth ache? Do your gums hurt? Is your blood hot?...” (*omission?*) From numbing pain, from aching, from twelve seizures, from twelve rivers, from twelve people it came with the wind, now go away with the wind, came from the people, now go back to the people, came from the woods, now go back to the woods, came from your house, now go back to your house! *Chur, my teeth! Chur, my lips! Chur, my white body! Chur, my scarlet blood!*

**1443.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, со двора воротами, выйду в чистое поле. На синем море лежит мертвый Лазарь. Спрашиваю я у мертвого Лазаря: “Десны не болят ли, зубы не ноют?” – “У мертвого Лазаря зубы не болят, десны не ноют и щеки не ломит”. Так бы у раба Божьего зубы не болели, десны не ныли, щеки не ломило, во веки веков. Аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the yard through the gates, I will go to the open field. In the dark blue sea lies dead Lazarus. I asked the dead Lazarus: “Do your gums hurt, do your teeth ache?” – “Dead Lazarus’ teeth do not

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<sup>7</sup> Даль В. И. “Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка.” s.v. “родимец, родимчик – падучая младенцев, или воспаление мозга с корчами”.

<sup>8</sup> Даль В. И. “Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка.” s.v. “чур – выражает условие, уговор, запрет, требование, постановляя что правилом, законом, мерилом, пределом”.

ache, gums do not hurt and cheeks do not pain". So may the servant of God's teeth not ache, gums not hurt, cheeks not pain, forever and ever. Amen.

**1452.** Месяц – на небе, сер дуб – на земли, рыба кит – в воде. Когда они, три брата, сойдутся вместе, тогда перестанут болеть зубы у рабы Божьей Елены. Ключ – в море, замок – в поле. Аминь.

The moon is in the sky, the grey oak tree is on earth, a whale fish is in the water. When they, three brothers come together, then the servant of God Elena's teeth will stop aching. The key is in the sea, the lock is in the field. Amen.

**1459.** Господи Иисусе Христе, Сыне Божий! Как мечунец-кладунец<sup>9</sup> с места на место не двигнуть, так у рабы Божьей боль бы шире не двинулась. Будьте, мои слова, крепки, лепки, к белому телу, к ретивому сердцу, к чёрной печи, к крови горячей. Иисусе Христе учился – не доучился, а я не поняла. Будьте, мои слова, востряя ножового остря и булатной стали. *Прежде, чем произнести эти слова, обвести вокруг себя иконой или лучше всего – медным распятем. Необходимо быть в платке и обуви. Так же заговаривали чирьи.*

Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God! As a fairy sword cannot be moved from place to place, so may the servant of God's pain not increase. Be, my words, strong, sticky, to the white body, to the zealous heart, to the black liver, to hot blood. Jesus Christ learned, he did not finish learning, and I did not understand it. Be, my words, sharper than knife's sharpness, sharper than bulat steel. *Before uttering these words, make a circle around yourself with an icon or better yet with a copper crucifix. You must be wearing a scarf and shoes. The same way boils were cured.*

**1469.** У, дуб-дубище, возьми своё зубище. А ты, мать белая берёза, возьми свою жабищу, теменную<sup>10</sup>, еменную, ротовую, глотовую. Или – кто рабе Катерине передумал, или кто перегадал, или кто глупо слово сказал в плохой час, в плохую минуту, в плохую секунду, и от кого ей плохо стало, рабе Катерине, или от мужского волоса и голоса, или от женского волоса и голоса, или от среднего волоса и голоса. Выговариваю тебя, болезнь зубная и дёсная, и глотовая, и вымаливаю не сама собою, а Господней думою, Господней милостью и жалостью и Господним повелением. Выходи, болезнь зубная, дёсная, глотовая, из рабы Катерины. Брось болеть по етот час, по мой заговор.

Oh, oak tree, you oak tree, take your tooth. And you, mother white birch tree, take your gill: the parietal, [...?], oral, pharyngeal ones. And who thought [bad] about the servant (of God) Katarina, or who overlooked [her], or who said a silly word at a bad hour, at a bad minute, at a bad second. And who made her the servant (of God) Katarina feel sick, either from man's hair or voice, or from woman's hair or voice, or from someone else's (?) hair and voice. I implore you, toothache and gum and pharyngeal illness, I beg not for myself but through God's will, God's mercy and pity, and God's command. You toothache, and gum, and pharyngeal illness, come out of the servant (of God) Katarina. Stop hurting her at this hour, according to my charm words.

**1475.** Зубы вы, зубы, кресны вы десны, болите всю зиму, болите всю весну.

Teeth, you teeth, gums, you red gums, ache all winter, ache all spring.

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<sup>9</sup> *Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг.*, ed. Аникин В. П. (Москва: Издательство Московского университета, 1998), p. 400.

<sup>10</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "темя – макушка, верх головы, гуменце, маковка; самое место, где лобовая кость примыкает к двум темянным или макушным костям, и выше до спуска к затылку".

**1485.** Секу-высекаю, гоню-выгоняю. Уроки<sup>11</sup>, прикосы<sup>12</sup>, щепоты<sup>13</sup>, ломоты и переполохи<sup>14</sup>, с рабы Божьей (*имя*) скатитесь, свалитесь – с белого тела, с ретива сердца, из ясных оцей, из черных бровей, из пятных жил, из-под коленных суставов. И подите, эти стрелы<sup>15</sup>, и грыжи, родимцы, переполохи, по скотам, по горам, по всем болотам беспятно, безворотятно. *Повторить три раза, плюнуть налево.*

I slash and slash, I drive out and expel trembling, whammies, numbing pain, aching, and shaking, from the servant of God [the name of the person. You roll down, drop down from the white body, from the zealous heart, from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from spotted veins, from under the knee joints. And go, you pneumonia, and hernias, painful seizures into the cattle, to the mountains, in the swamps without a trace, without returning back. *Repeat it three times, spit to the left side.*

**1486.** Выйду я из двери в двери, из ворот в ворота, во чистое поле, под светел месяц, под красное солнышко, выйду я, умоюсь утренней росой, утрюсь я Господней пеленою. На все четыре сторонушки помолюся, на все четыре сторонушки поклонюся. На море на окяине, на острове Буяне стоит апостольская церковь. В этой во церкви стоит гробница. Во этой гробнице лежит Мать Пресвятая Богородица. Мать-матушка, прилетали к тебе два ангела, Михаил да Гаврил. Она им наречала: “Что ко не прилетаете, что за мною замечаете? Я не вдова и не мужняя жена. Родила я сына ... (*пропуск*), повивала бабушка Соломонида. Всем богам – Бог, всем царям – Царь”. Посылала его матушка за тёмные леса за дремучие, за крутые горы сыпучие, хожала – приустала, легла – приуснула. Привиделся сон нерадошный. Быть Иисусу Христу на распятии. В Четверг на Пятницу...его пымали, рученьки-ноги приковали, шиповным прутьем стегали, кровь святую проливали. От этой крови ручьи-реки протекали. Аминь. *Три раза проговори и плюнь не направо, а налево.*

I will go out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, into the open field, under the bright moon, under the red sun. I will go out, wash myself with the morning dew, dry myself with God's shroud. I will pray to the four corners, I will bow to the four corners. In the sea ocean, on the island Buyan there is an apostolic church. In this church there is a tomb. In this tomb lies the Mother of God. Mother, you dear mother, did two angels Michael and Gavril fly to you? She called to them: “Why don't you fly to me, why don't you notice me? I am neither a widow nor a married woman. I birthed a son ... (*omission*), with grandmother Solomonida present. He is God to all gods, he is Tsar to all tsars”. Mother sent him beyond the dark dense forests, loose steep mountains, she walked and got tired, lied down, and fell asleep. She had a sad dream. Jesus Christ will die on a crucifix. On the night from Thursday to Friday he was caught ... he was tortured, hi hands and legs were crucified, he was whipped with thorn rods, his holy blood was shed. Out of this blood streams and rivers flew. Amen. *Repeat it three times, and spit not to the right but to the left.*

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<sup>11</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "урок – изурочение, порча, сглаз, насылка ворожбита" from "урочить – испортить недобрым, завистливым взглядом, сглазить, опризорить, или наслать на кого болезнь, или испортить кого знахарством".

<sup>12</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "прикохнуть (арх-кем). Прикохло ему – стало тошнехонько, тяжело, плохо; стал нездоров, захворал".

<sup>13</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "щемить – давить, сжимать, гнести".

<sup>14</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "переполох – тревога, внезапный испуг, смятение от опасности, пожара".

<sup>15</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." S.v. "стрелы (мн. Арх.) – воспаление лёгких, жестокое колотье: стрелы напускаются, по суеверию, злыми колдунами, особ. самоедами".

**1506.** Заговариваем раба Алексаха сплѣк<sup>16</sup>. Бравой руки, бравого плеча, белого тела, христианской крови. Трите жил, трите полужил, трите сустав, трите полустав. Ты, сплѣк, ступай, тут тебе не место! Тебе место в чистом поле, под сырыми борами, с буйными ветрами: столики дубовые, скатерти шелковые, вины зелёные, пироги печныя. Сама ж ты, Мать Пресвятая Богородица, сохрани и помилуй от всяких лихих сплѣк.

We are curing servant Alex's sprain. [He is of] good hand, good shoulder, white body, Christian blood. Rub his veins, rub his [semi]veins, rub his joint, rub his [semi] joint. You, strain, go away, there is no place for you here! Your place is in the open field, under the damp coniferous forests, with zealous winds: [there are] oak tables, silk tablecloths, green wines, baked pies. You, the Most Blessed Mother of God, have mercy and save us from all sorts of rakish sprains.

**1527.** Господи Иисусе Христе, сыне Божий, помилуй нас! Белая грыжа, не грызи, чёрная грыжа, не грызи, красная грыжа, не грызи, не грызи, не ломи, не мути, поди в чистом поле, поди в синем море от рабича Нины и раба Божьего Пети. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святому Духу, и ныне, и присно, и во веки веков. Аминь.

Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, save us! White hernia do not gnaw, black hernia, do not gnaw, red hernia, do not gnaw, do not gnaw, to not ache, do not stir up, you go to the open field, go to the dark blue sea away from the servant Nina and from the servant of God Petja. In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and always, forever, and ever. Amen.

**1528.** Грыжа белая, грыжа жёлтая, грыжа чёрная, грыжа зелёная – на чистое поле, на синее море, там тебе место, там тебе гнездо. Раб Божий Валерий.

White hernia, yellow hernia, black hernia, green hernia, you go to the open field, to the dark blue sea, there is your place, there is your nest. The servant of god Valeri.

**1537.** Пресвятая Мати Богородица приходила, заговорила, закусила все двенадцать грыж – пуповые, жаловые. Приходила, заговорила, закусила, под синь камешек положила, пятой поколотила все двенадцать грыж.

The Most Blessed Mother of God came, cured, and bit all twelve hernias, umbilical, and stinging ones. She came, cured, bit them, put them under the dark blue stone, and struck all twelve hernias with her foot.

**1538.** Встану я, раба Божья Надежда, перекрестясь, пойду, благословясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, в чистое поле, в восточную сторону, на Сионскую гору. На Сионской горе стоит храм, стоит храмская церковь. В этой церкви – двенадцать апостолов, двенадцать ангелов, птица огненна, когти белы, нос булатный. Помолюсь и поклонюсь: Пресвятая Богородица, зашли птицу огненну вычищать и выбрать двенадцать грыж, двенадцать болей, двенадцать скорбей, от испугу, от переполоху, от буйных ветров, поганых вихрей, от вдовца, от вдовицы, от красной девицы. Смахнитесь, стяхнитесь с рабы Надежды все боли, все скорби, все уроки. Пресвятая Мать Богородица, отошли птицу огненну со скорбями, болями за двенадцать полей, за двенадцать земель, за тридцатое поле. Там кровати тесовые, там перины пуховые, там много гусей-лебедей нажарено, ждут и дожидаются болей и скорбей. Век во веки, аминь до веки. Которое слово не договорила, которое переговорила – эти слова в те же слова. Час часу лучше, этот час всех лучше. Будьте, мои слова, крепки, лепки. Ключ – в море, язык – во рту.

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<sup>16</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "сплек – свих, вытяжка плеча".



I, the servant of God Nadezhda, will arise crossing myself, I will go out blessing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, to the open field, to the east side, to the Zion mountain. On the Zion mountain there is a temple, a temple church stands there. In this church there are twelve apostles, twelve angels, and a fiery bird with white claws and damask nose. I pray and bow to the Most Blessed Mother of God. Most Blessed Mother of God send the fiery bird to cleanse and take away twelve hernias, twelve pains, twelve sorrows and save from jitters, from shaking, violent winds, foul whirlwinds, from a widower, from a widow, from a fair maiden. Brush away, shake away from the servant of God Nadezhda all pains, all sorrows, all jinxes. Most Blessed Mother of God send the fiery bird together with sorrows and pains beyond the twelve fields, beyond the twelve lands, beyond the three-by-ten fields. There are yew beds, feather beds, there are many fried geese-swans, waiting and waiting for pains and sorrows to come. Forever and ever, amen forever. Whichever word I did not say, whichever word I said, these are the same words. Get better by hour, as this hour is the best. Be, my words, strong and sticky. The key is in the sea, the tongue is in the mouth.

**1539.** Выстану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, выйду я в чистое поле. В чистом поле – океан-море, в океан-море – стара рыба щука плава, железны зубы. Вот я и покорюси и помолюси, чтобы загрызла у раба Божья младеня (*имя*) белую грыжу, красную грыжу, пуповую, ломовую и поясничную, и яичну. Чтобы грыжа не грызла ни в день, ни в полдень, и ни в ночь, ни на утренней зари, ни на вечерней зари. От родни – до байны, от байны – до креста, от креста – до смертного конца. Аминь.  
*Повторить три раза.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go to the open field. In the open field there is an ocean-sea, in the ocean-sea there is an old pike fish with iron teeth swimming. I will submit and pray, so it would gnaw young servant of God [the name of the person]'s white hernia, red hernia, umbilic, aching and waist, and egg (ovary?) hernia. So that hernia does not gnaw, neither in the day, nor in the midday, nor at night, nor in the morning dawn, nor in the evening dawn. From kinfolk to bathhouse, from bathhouse to the crucifix, from the crucifix to death. Amen. *Say it three times.*

**1544.** Стану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротами, выйду в чистое поле, к окияну-морю. На том окияне-море плавает щука, зубы железны, крылья железны. Она схватывает, сглатывает с рабы Божьей (*или с коровушки*) все двенадцать кил, килы сухие, килы сырые, килы опашные, от костей, килы рассыпные, воздъемные, нарывные из каждого местечка, с каждой косточки, с каждого суставчика с рабы Божьей – и кидаются в сине море в месяце перекрас(?).

I, the servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the gate through the gate, to the open field, to the ocean-sea. In that ocean-sea there is a pike iron teeth and iron wings swimming. It catches, swallows from the servant of God (or from a cow) all twelve hernias, dry hernias, damp hernias, inguinal hernias, bone hernias, loose hernias, vesicant (?) hernias, abscess hernias from every place, from every bone from every joint from the servant of God and throw into the dark blue sea during the changing of the month.

**1576.** *Зажимают руку или ногу выше раны и приговаривают:* Едет Данила на белой кобыле. Кобылы опрестала – кровь перестала.

*Clasp an arm or a leg above the wound and say:* Danila rides on a white mare. The mare stopped and the blood stopped.

**1577.** Ехал Данило на белой кобыле, кобыла устала – и кровь перестала.

Danilo rode on a white mare, the mare got tired, and the blood stopped.

**1578.** Земля-мать, железо-драть – из крана, кровь, не капь. Ехал Данила на белой кобыле, ехал, пристал – и кровь перестала. *Нужно очерчивать круг.*

Mother earth, brother iron, do not drip from the tap. Danila rode on a white mare, he rode, halted and blood stopped. *You need to draw a circle.*

**1579.** Едет мужик старый на кобыле карей. Ведёт (к)орову на суровой нитке. Нитка оборвалась – и кровь унялась. Аминь. *Сказать три раза.*

An old man rides on a hazel mare. He leads a cow on a stern thread. The thread broke off and blood stopped. Amen. *Say it three times.*

**1580.** Ехал человек стар, конь под ним кар, по пристаням, по дорогам, по притонным местам. Ты, мать-руда<sup>17</sup> жильная, телесная, остановись, назад воротись – стар человек тебя затирает, на покой согревает. Как коню его воды не стало, так бы тебя, руда-мать, не бывало. Пух-земля, одна семья. Будь, по-моему, слово моё крепко. Аминь. *Безымянным пальцем вокруг раны очерчивать круг, пока кровь не уймётся.*

An old man was riding on a hazel horse along the places, along the roads, along the shelters. You, mother-blood, in veins, in the body, you stop and turn back. The old man rubs you and warms you up so you can rest. Just as the horse's water was gone, so may you, mother-blood, be gone. Dust to earth, one family. Be as I say, my word is strong. Amen. *With a ring finger draw a circle around the wound until bleeding stops.*

**1581.** Ехал человек стар, конь под ним карь, по росстаням, по дорогам, по притонным местам. Ты, мать-руда жильная, телесная, остановись, назад воротись – стар человек тебя запирает, на покой согревает. Как коню его воды не стало, так чтобы тебя, руда-мать, не бывало. Пух-земля, одна семья. Будь, по-моему, слово моё крепко.

An old man was riding on a hazel horse along the places, along the roads, along the shelters. You, mother-blood in veins and in the body, you stop and turn back. The old man locks you in, warms you up so you can rest. Just as the horse's water was gone, so may you, mother-blood, be gone. Dust to earth, one family. Be as I say, my word is strong.

**1582.** Ехал человек стар, конь под ним карь, по пристаням, по дорогам, по притонным местам. Ты, мать-руда жильная, телесная, остановись, назад воротись. Стар человек тебя запирает, на покой согревает. Как коню его воды не стало, так бы тебя, руда, не бывало. Пух-земля, одна семья. Будь по моему слову. Слово моё крепко. Аминь.

An old man was riding on a hazel horse along the places, along the roads, along the shelters. You, mother-blood in veins and in the body, you stop and turn back. The old man locks you in, warms you up so you can rest. Just as the horse's water was gone, so would you, mother-blood, be gone. Dust to earth, one family. Be as I wish. My word is strong. Amen.

**1586.** По чистому полю бежит конь карь – стань, руда, не капь.

In the open field a hazel horse is galloping, stop, blood, stop dripping.

**1587.** Конь карий – кровь не канет. *Подуть на рану.*

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<sup>17</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s. v. "руда – кровь".

The horse is hazel, blood is not dripping. *Blow on the wound.*

**1588.** На море на океане, на диком кургане, на белом камне сидело два молодца. Толковали про кровь и про карего коня: - Ты конь, карь, а кровь – не кань. Заживи у (*имя*).

On the sea on the ocean, on the wild mound, on a white stone sat two fine fellows. They talked about blood and the hazel horse: - You, horse, are hazel, and you, blood, stop dripping. Heal [the name of the person]'s wound.

**1589.** На Белом море, на острове, кургане сидели два молодца на белом камне. Разговаривали про кровь, коня каря: - Ты, карь конь, кань, а кровь – не капь.

On the White sea, on the island, on the mound sat two fine fellows on a white stone. They talked about blood and a hazel horse: - You, hazel horse, disappear, and you, blood, stop dripping.

**1590.** Курушка ряба по улушке брела, за камешек запнулась, тут кровь и заткнулась. *Три раза прочитать и три раза плюнуть.*

Mottled chicken wandered along the street, stumbled over a pebble, so blood stopped. *Read three times and spit three times.*

**1591.** Курица рябая по улице бежала. Курица споткнулась – кровь заткнулась. *Это – слово.*

Mottled chicken ran along the street. Chicken stumbled and blood stopped. *These are the words.*

**1596.** Приехали три братана, зарезали три барана. У этого барана – ни крови, ни раны, ни опухоли, ни щипоты, ни ломоты, ни на ясных очах, ни на чёрных грудях, ни на бурой крови, ни на ретивом сердце, ни на лёгком алом, ни на чёрной печени. Будьте, мои слова, крепки и лепки. Ни ветрами сдуть, ни людям оговорить. Тут моим словам – ключ и замок.

Three brothers arrived, they killed three rams. The ram had no blood, no wound, no swelling, no numbing pain, no aching neither in its bright eyes, nor on its black chest, nor in its fulvous blood, nor in its zealous heart, nor in its scarlet lungs, nor in its black liver. Be, my words, strong and sticky. Neither can the wind blow them away, nor can people slander. The key and the lock to my words.

**1599.** Красный камень, красна нитка. Красна нитка, урвись – кровь, уймись. Красна нитка урвалась, кровь унялась. Стану на камень – кровь не капет, стану на крючок – кровь не потечёт. Как баран пернет, так всю кровь задернет. Аминь. *Три раза.*

Red stone, red thread. Red thread, break off, and you, blood, stop flowing. Red thread broke off, blood stopped flowing. I will step on a stone and blood will not drip, I will step on a hook and blood will not flow. When a ram farted, all the blood drew back. Amen. *Say it three times.*

**1609.** *Кровь идёт, говорят:* встану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота. Выйду под злат месяц в чистое поле, в чистом поле стоит белая берёза. Я эту белую берёзу ссёк топором булатным. Чтобы у этой берёзы руда не шла, и тоска не брала, так у рабы Божьей (*имя*) кровь не шла. Будьте, мои слова, крепки, лепки, крепче камня, крепче кремня, крепче булатного топора. *По ветру спускать, выйти на улицу, проговорить, так не пойдёт кровь.* Трава-мурава,<sup>18</sup> у рабы Божней (*имя*), тоска, уймись, тпру, стой, не ходи.

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<sup>18</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v."муравка – (арх.) луговая трава, сплошной злак, зелень, сочная, густая травка на корню".

*When wound is bleeding, say this:* I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the doors through the doors, out of the gates through the gates. I will go out under the golden moon into the open field, in the open field a white birch tree stands. I cut down this white birch tree with a bulat steel axe. As the blood will not flow out of this birch tree, and sadness will not take hold [of the patient], so may the servant of God [the name of the person] not bleed. Be, my words, strong, sticky, stronger than stone, stronger than a flintstone, stronger than a bulat steel axe. *Let it go away with the wind. You go out on the street and say these words to stop the bleeding.* Meadow grass, the servant of God [the name of the person]'s sadness, you stop, whoa, stop, do not go.

**1611.** На море, на окияне жила-была лютая змея, ела лево (?) древо. В этом древе не было ни руды, ни раны, ни сильной опухоли. Конь карь – кровь стань. *Плюнуть один раз.*

On the sea, on the ocean once upon a time there lived a fierce snake, it ate left (?) tree. In this tree there was no blood, no wound, no big swelling. The horse is hazel, you, blood, stop dripping. *Spit once.*

**1612.** Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле стоит Сивоньска гора. Лежит на Сивоньской горе змей. Он подъедает, подгрызает свою мерзкую траву. У етой у травы нет ни крови, ни раны, ни грыжи, ни щипоты, ни опухоли. И будьте, мои слова, тверже укладу булатной, белого железа. Отныне и до веку, веки по веку. Аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, I will go to the open field. In the open field there is the Zion mountain. On the Zion mountain there lies a serpent. He eats and gnaws his vile grass. This grass has no blood, no wound, no hernia, no aching pain, no swelling. And be, my words, firmer than bulat steel, firmer than white iron. Now and forever, forever, and ever. Amen.

**1616.** Тело – к телу, жалезо – к жалезу. Разойдись, кровь, по белому телу у рабе Божьей (*имя*) чтобы не было ни ломоты, ни щипоты, ни синей опухоли. И вперёд не ходи. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

Body to body, iron to iron. Move, blood, over the servant of the God [the name of the person]'s white body so there is no aching, no numbing pain, no dark blue swelling. And do not go forward. In the name of the Father and Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

**1617.** Тело – к телу, железо – к железу, разойдись, кровь, разойдись по белому телу у раба Божья Ивана. Котора переговорю, котора не договорю. Аминь.

Body to body, iron to iron. Move, blood, move over the servant of God Ivan's white body. Some [words] I speak, some [words] I do not speak. Amen.

**1618.** Как мать – сыра земля не боится ни крови, ни резаний, ни опухоли, ни синей синевщины, так же и раб Божий (*имя*) не боится ни крови, ни резаний, ни опухоли, ни синей синевщины.

As mother-damp earth is not afraid neither of blood, nor cuts, nor swelling, nor dark blue bruising, so may the servant of God [the name of the person] fear neither blood, nor cuts, nor swelling, nor dark blue bruising.

**1619.** Господи Боже, благослови, сотвори небо и землю не из камня и воды, не из мёртвья тело души (?). Встаёт красное солнышко, как снимает ту росу мертвенную, так же и снимай с раба Божьего Перта все внутренние переломы, щипоту, лomotу из костей,

из жилья. Запекайся, кровь горячая. Моим словам – ключ, замок. Ключ – в море, замок – в зубы. Аминь, аминь, аминь.

Lord God, bless and create heaven and earth neither from the stone or water, nor from the soul of the dead body (?). Red sun rises, and as it removes the deathly dew, so remove from the servant of God Piotr all internal fractures, numbing pain, and aching from his bones, from his veins. Boil, hot blood. The lock and the key to my words. The key is in the sea, the lock is in the teeth. Amen, amen, amen.

**1623.** *Наговаривать можно на растительное, на сливочное масло и воду, а потом смачивать ушибленное место. Повторить три раза.* Встану я, раба Божья, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле два братца-румянца, дерутся, колются, порются, не слышать ни крови, ни боли, ни опухоли. Так бы и раб Божий (*имя*) не слышал ни крови, ни боли, ни опухоли. Отныне во веки веков. Аминь.

*Speak over the vegetable oil, butter, or water, afterwards moisten the bruised spot with it. Repeat three times.* I, the servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door though the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go in the open field. In the open field two brothers with rosy cheeks are fighting, stabbing, and flogging each other. There is neither blood, nor pain, nor swelling. So may the servant of God [the name of the person] has neither blood, nor pain, nor swelling. Now and forever and ever. Amen.

**1624.** На море на океане, на острове на Буяне лежал сер горяч камень, на этом камне сидело два брата, Каер, Лаер – ножами резались, углами кололись так, что ни крови, ни руды никто не видел. Так у раба Божьего Ивана ни кровь, ни руда не показывайся.

On the sea on the ocean, on the island Buyan there lies a grey hot stone. On this stone sat two brothers, Cain and Abel. They were cutting each other with knives, piercing each other with the knives' edges but there was no blood, nobody there saw the blood. So do not show yourself, blood, on the servant of God Ivan.

**1626.** В святом граде, святом Иерусалиме подбили, подстрелили святого Макария за святым престолом. Как у его не было на белом теле ни щепоты, ни ломоты, ни ураза, так же вот и у рабы Божьей (*имя*) не было ни щепоты, ни ломоты, ни ураза. Боже Господи Иисусе, помилуй нас.

In the holy city, the holy city of Jerusalem Saint Macary was beaten and shot behind the holy throne. Just as Macary had neither numbing pain, nor aching, nor injuries on his white body, so may the servant of God [the name of the person] has neither numbing pain, nor aching, nor injuries on his body. Lord Jesus, have mercy on us.

**1627.** Во Цареграде, во городе Иерусалиме убили святого Макария. Не было ни щипоты, ни ломоты, ни крови, ни раны, ни синей опухоли. Тако же у раба Божия (*такого-то*) не было ни щипоты, ни ломоты, ни крови, ни раны, ни синей опухоли.

In Tsaregrad, in the city of Jerusalem Saint Macary was killed. There was no numbing pain, nor aching, nor blood, nor wound, nor dark blue swelling. So may the servant of God (such and such) have neither numbing pain, nor aching, nor blood, nor wound, nor dark blue swelling.

**1628.** Между матери-церквями, между мати-алтарями, били святого Макария, нету ни раны, ни пены, ни щепоты, ни ломоты, ни синей опухоли. Аминь. *Нужно говорить это в масло три раза. И каждый раз плевать и дуть. Помогает.*

Between mother-churches, between mother-altars, Saint Macary was beaten. There was neither wound, nor foam, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor dark blue swelling. *You need to say this over the oil three times. Each time you must spit and blow. It helps.*

**1629.** Господи Иисусе, между раем и престолом есть убит святой Захарий, у того святого Захария не было ни раны, ни боли, ни крови, ни опухоли, ни отеколы, кости не болели, жилы не шипели, тело белое не скрипело. Так же бы у рабы Божьей не было бы ни раны, ни боли, ни крови, ни опухоли, ни отеколы, кости не болели, жилы не шипели, тело белое не скрипело. Во веки веков. Аминь.

Lord Jesus, between paradise and the throne Saint Zachary was killed. Saint Zachary had neither wound, nor pain, nor blood, nor swelling, nor inflammation, his bones did not ache, his veins did not pain, his white body did not creak. So may the servant of God have neither wound, nor pain, nor blood, nor swelling, nor inflammation, may the servant of God's bones not ache, veins not pain, white body not creak. Forever and ever. Amen.

**1631.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверьми, из ворот воротыми, пойду я, выйду на подвосточную сторону, в чисто поле. В чистом поле стоит дерево-древо, у этого дерева ...Христа убили, в ноги гвозди вколотили, буйну голову шотром (?) проломил. У Христа у Иисуса не было ни раны, ни крови, ни боли, ни щекоты, ни ломоты, ни синей опухоли, так и у рабы Божьей (*имя*) чтобы не было ничего. *Плюнуть после этого три раза в сторону. Нужно уснуть после того.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go out to the east side, to the open field. In the open field there is a tree, by this tree ... Christ was killed, nails were hammered in his legs, his head was broken with [...?]. Jesus Christ had neither wound, nor blood, nor pain, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor dark blue swelling, so may the servant of God [the name of the person] have nothing. *After that spit three times to the side. Must fall asleep after that.*

**1632.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота. Выйду на белу улицу, стану под восточную сторону глазами, небом покроюсь, землей подмостусь, самому Христу небесну, Христу помолюсь. Как у истинного Христа голову тростью пробивали там ...Христа распинали, в руки и в ноги гвоздье колотили, ни ломоты и ни опухоли, так и у рабы Божьей (*такой-то*) не было бы ни синяка, ни раны, ни щепоты, ни ломоты, ни опухоли.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate. I will go out onto the white street, stand on the east side with my eyes (?), I will cover myself with heaven, and support myself with earth, and to heavenly Christ himself I will pray. Just as true Christ's head was beaten there with a cane ... Christ was crucified, nails were hammered in his hands and feet, there was neither aching, nor swelling, so may the servant of God (such and such) have neither bruise, nor wound, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor swelling.

**1633.** ...Христа распяли, в руки и ноги гвоздём колотили. Как у Христа не было ни крови, ни ран, ни щепоты, ни ломоты, ни синей опухоли, так и рабы Божьей (*имя*) пусть не будет ни крови, ни ран, ни щепоты, ни ломоты, ни синей опухоли. Вы пристаньте, мои слова, во всяк час, во всякое время, на ветху и на новцю, на перекрой месяцю, на утренней заре и на вечерней.

Christ was crucified, nails were pounded in his hands and feet. Just as Christ had neither blood, nor wounds, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor dark blue swelling, so may the servant of God

[the name of the person] have neither blood, nor wounds, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor dark blue swelling. You stick, my words, in every hour, in any time, on old and on new, in the changing month, in the morning dawn and the evening dawn.

**1636.** По славному по синему морю шёл сам Исус Христос, шёл, трестой ногу проколол. Не болело, не щипело, и кровь не шла, не брала ни щипота, ни болезнь. Так у раба Божья (имя) кровь бы не шла, ни болезнь, ни щипота. Ключ и замок – моим словам. *Проговорить, плюнуть.*

Jesus Christ himself walked on the glorious dark blue sea, he walked and pierced his leg with a cane. It did not ache, did not pain, blood did not flow, there was neither numbing pain nor illness. So may the servant of God [the name of the person]'s blood not flow, nor illness, nor dull pain come. The key and the lock to my words. *Say it, then spit.*

**1637.** Идёт Антихрист с синя моря, несёт Антихрист серый камень, у серого камня нет ни раны, ни крови, ни синей синевицы. День денись, земля вертись, кровавая рана, белым телом обтянись.

The Antichrist comes from the dark blue sea, the Antichrist carries a grey stone, the grey stone has neither wound, nor blood, nor dark blue bruising. Day, you go on, you, earth, keep spinning, you, bloody wound, cover yourself with white flesh.

**1639.** Раба Божья (имя) стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из дверей вототами, выйду на широку улиц. На широкой улице стоят братья (или сёстры). У братьев (или сестёр) кожа не болела, кость не шипела, руда не текла, синя опухоль не была, так же и у раба Божья (имя) кожа не болела, кость не шипела, руда не текла, синя опухоль нее была. Всегда, ныне и присно, и во веки веков. Аминь.

I, the servant of God [the name of the person] will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the door through the gate, I will go out onto the wide street. On the wide street there were brothers (or sisters) standing. Brothers' (or sisters') skin did not ache, bones did not crack, blood did not flow, dark blue swelling was not there, so may the servant of God [the name of the person]'s skin not ache, bones not crack, blood not flow, dark blue swelling not ache there. Always, now, and always, at all times. Amen.

**1642.** Встану в воскресь, выйду, перекрестясь, из избы дверями, наперёд пятами. В чистом поле есть булатный белый камень, на том камне – вся небесная сила, Пресвятая Мати Божья воля (?) Богородица. В одной руке – огненна игла, в другой руке – шелкова нитка, зашивает и затягивает, растирает и разглаживает ударну и уразну рану у раба Божья Ивана. Чтобы не щипело, и не болело, и не ныло, и не рвало. И которые слова не договорены, и которые переговорены – все помогайте, пособляйте. Ключ – в море, замок – в роте.

I will arise on Sunday (?), I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, with the feet forward. In the open field there is a bulat white steel stone, on that stone there was the heavenly power, the Blessed Mother of God's will (?). In one hand she has a fiery needle, in another hand she has a silk thread, she is sewing and tightening, rubbing, and smoothing the bruise and the cut wound of the servant of God Ivan. So may it neither pain, nor ache, nor hurt, nor tear. And whichever words were not said, and whichever words were spoken, all you, words, help and support. The key is in the sea, the lock is in the mouth.

**1644.** На море на окияне, на острове на Буяне упал с небес камень. Это не камень – Господень Евангель. На этом Евангели сидит Дева Мария, держит она иглу золотую,

вздевает нитку шёлковую и зашивает рану кровавую. На горе едет царь стар, а под ним-то конь карь, у (имя), кровь, не кань. Аминь. *Если обрежут или ушибут где, надо читать три раза. На рану муку заговаривали, заговаривали и потом засыпали. А сейчас муки нет – присыпка бывает.*

On the sea on the ocean, on the island Buyan, a stone fell from the sky. It was not a stone, it was Lord's Gospel. On this Gospel the Blessed Mary sits, she holds a golden needle, puts silk thread in the needle and sews the bleeding wound. On the mountain the tsar is riding on a hazel horse, [the name of the person]'s blood, do not drip. Amen. *If one cuts or bruises oneself, read this three times. For the wound the words were spoken over the flour and sprinkled over the wound. Now there is no flour here but there is powder.*

**1650.** Выйду я, раба, из ворот в ворота, из дверей в дверя. Глянетъ раба Елена на синее море. На синем море лежит Хитряк, стальную иглу держит в когтях. Стальная игла, шелковая нитка, пригодица – кровь унимица. Подымаица Хитряк к Божьему храму. Храм Божий раскрываица, болящая раба Елена Богу поклоница, кровь у неё унимица. Не я тебя унимаю, не я тебя утешаю. Утешает тебя сам Иисус Христос, сама Пресвятая Богородица, утешает тебя Господний ангел, твой хранитель, и все святые угодники. Аминь.

I, the servant [of God], will go out of the gate through the gate, out of the door through door. The servant Elena looked at the dark blue sea. In the dark blue sea lies the Cunning one, holds iron needle in his claws. Iron needle, silk thread helps to stop the blood. The Cunning one goes up to the God's temple. The God's temple opens, and the sick servant [of God] Elena bows to the God, and the bleeding stops. It is not me who stops your blood nor comforts you. Jesus Christ himself, the Blessed Mother herself, God's angel himself, your guardian and all holy saints comfort you. Amen.

**1651.** Пойду, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, в чистое поле, на синее море. На синем море лежит синь камень, на синем камню сидят две девицы, держат по булавке и по шелковой нитке, раны зашивают, кровь, тоску зажимают. Стань, и конь, стань, и кровь, стань, не кань.

I will go blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, to the dark blue sea. In the dark blue sea lies a dark blue stone, on the dark blue stone sit two maidens, each holds a needle and a silk thread. They sew wounds, they bind blood and sadness. Stop, horse, stop, blood, stop and do not drip.

**1652.** Стану я, раба Божия, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле лежит синий камень, на этом камне сидит красна девица, у неё шёлковая нитка, бумажная, иголка стальная, и она зашивает у раба Божия кровавую рану, зашивает, заговаривает, чтобы не болело, не щемило, и опухоль не шла. Век по веку, отныне до веку, во веки веков. Аминь.

I, the servant [of God] will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate, through the gate, I will go out to the open field. In the open field lies a dark blue stone, on this stone sits a fair maiden. She has a silk thread, paper thread, steel needle, and she is sewing the servant of God's bleeding wound, sewing, healing it, so it may neither hurt, nor ache, nor there is a swelling. Forever and ever, now, and forever, forever, and ever. Amen.

**1653.** Встану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле на камню сидит девица – золотое лицо, русова иголка



в руках, шелкова нитка в ушах, зашивает рану у рабы Божьей (*имя*). Аминь. *До трех раз сказать.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go out into the open field. In the open field on the stone sits a maiden with a golden face, with a light brown needle in her hands, silk thread in her ears, she is sewing the servant of God [the name of the person]'s wound. Amen. *Repeat it three times.*

**1654.** Выйду в чисто поле, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота. В цистом поле – сине море. В синем море – черный камень. На этом камню сидит девица и зашивает кровавые раны – мясо с мясом, кожу с кожей. Аминь.

I will go out into the open field, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate. In the open field there is a dark blue sea. In the dark blue sea, there is a black stone. On this stone sits a maiden and sews bleeding wounds, flesh to flesh, skin to skin. Amen.

**1655.** В чистом поле на белом камушке сидит девушка, всякие разные узоры вышивает, щипоту унимает. Из Господнего гроба камень выпадает. Из этого камня – ни кровь не каплет. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь. *Три раза на руку наговорить, дунуть да плюнуть, потом руку перевязать.*

In the open field on the white stone sits a maiden, she is embroidering different patterns, taking away dull pain. A stone falls out of the Lord's tomb. From this stone there is not a drop of blood. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. *Say it three times on your hand, blow, and spit, then bandage it.*

**1659.** Стану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротами, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле стоит дуб, на дубу сидит черный ворон с булатной иглой, с шелковой ниткой. Кости вместе шиваю, рану зашиваю, кровь останавливаю, чтобы не было ни руды, ни щипоты, ни опухоли. Не ради хитрости, не ради мудрости, а ради Божьей милости. С нонешнего числа до мертвого часа. Отныне и до веку, и век по веку, ныне и присно и во веки веков. Аминь.

I, the servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go out in the open field. In the open field stands an oak tree, the black raven sits on the oak tree, holds a bulat steel needle with a silk thread. I am sewing bones together, sewing the wound, stopping blood, so there is neither blood, nor dull pain, nor swelling. This is not for cunning, nor for wisdom, but for the God's grace. From today until the hour of death. Now and forever, forever, and ever, now, and always, and forever and ever. Amen.

**1660.** Стану я, раб Божий, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле стоит дуб, на дубу сидит черный ворон. Держит в зубах шелковую нитку, булатную иглу. У меня, раба Божья (*имя*), эту рану зашивает, затягивает, заговаривает. Не было бы ни щипа, ни грыжи, ни опухоли. Аминь.

I, the servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go out to the open field. In the open field stands an oak tree, the black raven sits on the oak tree. It holds in his teeth a silk thread, and a bulat steel needle. It sews, closes, heals my, the servant of God [the name of the person]'s wound. There was neither numbing pain, nor hernia, nor swelling. Amen.

**1668.** Кровь-кровица, красная девица, унимись! Ехал царь, под ним конь кар, а ты, кровь, не кань. На горе океанской натянута нитица. Нитица, оборвись, а ты, кровь, унимись. Аминь.

Blood, you blood, you fair maiden, stop! The tsar rode on a hazel horse, and you, blood, do not drip. On the ocean mountain there was a stretched thread. Thread, brake off, and you, blood, stop dripping. Amen.

**1669.** Кровь-кровица, красна девица, да ленточкой красной перевязана, остепенись и отвяжись. *Подуют на это место – и двенадцать раз скажи. Можно заговаривать зубы: когда молодой месяц видят, становятся к нему лицом, гладят по зубу и приговаривают.*

Blood, you blood, you fair maiden, you are tied with a red ribbon, you settle down and get off me. *Blow on this place (wound?) and say these words twelve times. Use these words to heal teeth during the new moon, face the moon, stroke the tooth, and say the words.*

**1671.** Розовая кровь, сверху сохни, с испода чихни у раба Божя (*имя*). Аминь.

Pink blood, you dry from above, waste away from below to the servant of God [the name of the person]. Amen.

**1717.** В чистом поле есть горяч камень, на этом камне сидела больная баба. Она держит в своих белых руках раскаленную сковороду. У ей в рук не жгло и зноб не брал. Так же у рабы Божьей (*имя*) рук не жгло бы и зноба не было.

In the open field there is a hot stone, on this stone a sick woman sat. In her white hands she holds a hot pan. Her hands do not burn, chills do not take over her. So may the servant of God [the name of the person]'s hands not burn, and chills not take over.

**1732.** *Огонник – болячки. Обязательно на речку пойти и через речку поголосить: Огонь, огонь! Возьми свой огонник. Спаси, сохрани рабу Марью от глаза черного, от глаза серого, от глаза мужского, от глаза женского. Вот это и всё.*

*Ogonnink are sores. Be sure to go to the river and shout over the river: Fire, fire! Take your sores. Save, keep safe the servant [of God] Marya from the black eye, from the grey eye, from the male eye, from the female eye. That is all.*

**1736.** Заря, зарница, красная девица, возьми свое огненное красное тело, отдай мое белое чистое тело. *Повторить три раза.*

Dawn, you dawn, you fair maiden, take your fiery red body, give back my clean white body. *Repeat three times.*

**1737.** Захастываю, заговариваю жар печной, жар баенной от схожего красного солнышка, от дерева елки, от дерева березы, от дерева осины, от дерева крушины, всех святых древ. Во веки веков, аминь, аминь, аминь.

I am [...] and healing the heat of the stove, the heat of the bathhouse from the descended red sun, from the pine tree, from the birch tree, from the aspen tree, from the buckthorn tree, from all the holy trees. Forever and ever, amen, amen, amen.

**1739.** Как катается красное солнце и подсолнечная луна по всей исцеленной, обсушивает рады, болота, прегр(*л?*)убы ручья, быстрые реки, так же обсуши у рабой(*ы?*) Божьей (*имя*) зуд и свороб и мокру коростину. Будьте, мои слова, крепки и лепки, в договоре и не в договоре. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

As the red sun and earthly moon are moving through the whole universe, draining swamps, marshes, streams, fast rivers, so drain the servant of God [the name of the person]'s chills and itching, and wet bark. Be, my words, strong and sticky, in the charm and outside the charm. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

**1745.** Выходила раба Божья (имя) из двери в двери, из ворот в ворота, во чистое поле, под светел месяц, под чистые звёзды. Идёт путём-дорогой в Иерусалим. В им (нем) двое ворот, лежит бел камень Алатырь. На этом камне сидели тридевять девиц, тридевять девиц, тридевять девиц, они баяли-рассуждали, как в мир идти, мирские кости трясти. Услыхал их батюшка Морон, они ему взмолилися, они ему поклонилися: “Отпусти нас, батюшка Морон, век по веки не пойдём мы в этот дом”. Так на рабу Божью (имя) век по веки не было, век по веки не было, век по веки не было. *Нужно прочитать три раза, а в конце плюнуть три раза.*

The servant of God [the name of the person] goes out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, in the open field, under the bright moon, under the clear stars. She walks on the path-road to Jerusalem. In Jerusalem there are two gates, there lies the white stone Alatyr. On this stone sat three-by-nine maidens, three-by-nine maidens, three-by-nine maidens, they talked-contemplated how to go into the world, how to shake worldly bones. Father Moron heard them, they beseeched him, they bowed to him: “Let us go, father Moron, forever and ever we won't enter this house”. So may the servant of God [the name of the person] not have it forever and ever, forever, and ever, forever, and ever. *Must read it three times, and at the end spit three times.*

**1758.** Моего(?) Господи, на один не один, вас – двенадцать братьев. Вы черные, вы белые, вы серые, вы красные, вы бурдовые, вы ветровые, вы вихревые, вы лесовые, вы водяные, вы минутные, вы секундные, вы ночные, вы полуночные, выйдите из раба, из больных его костей и желтых мозгов, из красной крови в этот час, в эту минуту, чтобы отрыжки не было. Аминь. *Повторить три раза. Надо в теплую воду положить руку, а сверху три волосика и поливать все это сверху.*

My Lord (?), one but not one, you are twelve brothers. You are black, you are white, you are grey, you are red, you are burgundy, you are from the wind, you are from the whirlwind, you are from the woods, you are from the water, you are minute, you are second, you are from the night, you are from the midnight, get out of the servant [of God], get out of his aching bones and yellow brains, out of his red blood at this hour, at this minute, so there is no burping. Amen. *Repeat it three times. You need to put the hand in warm water, with three hairs on top, and pour it all with water.*

**1759.** Сначала рожу прожигают, а потом говорят: Рожа, ты рожа, рожа не гожа, двенадцать рож, двенадцать сестер: асудная, переговорная, ночная, полуночная, денная, полуденная, замоченная, застуденная, синяя, белая, красная, черная, костевая, ломовая – выйдите, выступите с рабе (имя), из костей, из мощей, из буйной головы, из ретивого сердца, с горячей крови, с черных бровей, с ясных очей, с белых рук, с резвых ног. Тут вам не быть, тут гнезда не вить, рабу (имя) не сушить, сердце не знобить. Идите-ка, рожа, на мхи, на болота, на зеленые луга, на белую березу. Там – смолы дубовые, скатерти шелковые. Там вам попить-погулять, побеседовать, покрасоваться. А если вы не выйдете, Михаил Архангел и Василий Косарецкий побьет и пожжет, ваши пупы разнесет. По етот час, по етот раз, по мой приговор, миловай рабу (имя). *Вот так-то, двенадцать раз. А не то, что двенадцать, а сколько прочитаешь. Вот так-то. А ну – все-таки на зорьке. И эдак-то пальцем водят кругом.*

*At first you burn erysipelas, then say these words: Erysipelas, you erysipelas, unfit erysipelas, twelve erysipelas, twelve sisters: enchanting, talkative, nocturnal, midnight, afternoon, midday, soaked, frozen, dark blue, white, red, black, bony, achy ones, you leave, get out of the servant [of God] [the name of the person], get out of the bones, out of the body strength, out of the unruly head, out of the zealous heart, out of the hot blood, out of the black eyebrows, out of the bright eyes, out of the white hands, out of the frisky legs. You cannot be here, you cannot make a nest here, you cannot dry out the servant [of God] [the name of the person], you cannot chill the heart. You go, erysipelas, to the moss, to the swamps, to the green fields, to the white birch tree. There are oak pitches, silk tablecloths. There you can drink, walk, talk, show off yourselves. If you will not leave, Archangel Michael and Vasily Kossarecky will beat you, will burn you, will smash your navels. On this hour, at this time, according to my words, have mercy on the servant [of God][the name of the person]. Say something like this twelve times. If not twelve times, then as many times as you can. Something like that. However, [say it] at the dawn. And this is how you circle around with the finger.*

**1760.** На море Сияне, на острове Кургане стоит дуб, на том дубе двенадцать рож: рожа синяя, рожа красная, рожа чудная, рожа переговорная, рожа смешная, рожа глазная, рожа ветреная, рожа ломовая, рожа костовая, рожа судная, рожа переговорная. Ты Василий старший, собери эти рожные негожи, снеси эти рожи в мох-болото, там – скатерти шелковые, попьешь и погуляешь – рабу Анну Святого Духа. Аминь. *Эта часть произносится двенадцать раз.* По мхам, по болотам, по белым березам разбейсь, раскатись. Царь Давид Константин сократил небо и землю – и сократи скорбну болезнь рабу Анну Святого Духа. Аминь. *Эта часть произносить три раза. Заговаривали утром рано, перед произнесением умывались, крестились. Над больным местом рукой чертили круги и кресты.*

On the Zion sea, on the island Kurgan there stands an oak tree, on that oak tree there are twelve erysipelas: dark blue erysipelas, red erysipelas, marvellous erysipelas, talkative erysipelas, funny erysipelas, ocular erysipelas, wind erysipelas, pain erysipelas, bone erysipelas, enchanting erysipelas, talkative erysipelas. You Vasily the elder, gather these worthless erysipelases, take these erysipelases to the swamp-moss, there are silk tablecloths, you can drink there and walk (away from ?) the servant of God Anna (with?) Holy Spirit. Amen. *This part is repeated twelve times.* Roll out and disappear over the moss, over the swamps, over the white birch trees. Tsar David Constantine reduced heaven and earth, so reduce the sorrowful illness of the servant [of God] Anna (with?) Holy Spirit. Amen. *This part must be said three times. Heal it early in the morning, wash up and cross yourself before uttering the words. Draw circles and crosses over the sore spot.*

**1761.** Помяни, Господи, царя Давида, Матерь Елену. Там на поляне стоит дуб-стародуб. На том дубе-стародубе сидит рожа. Все двенадцать рож, всех я вас величаю-вызываю: черная, красная, луговая, полевая, томучая, ломучая, скранучая, пересудная, переговорная. Выйдите, выступить из Машиных костей, мозгов, с пальчиков, с суставчиков, с буйной головы, с горячей крови и всего тела крещеного – по этот час, по мой переговор. Там на море – дерево, там стоит Божья Матерь Купоринная, от всех болезней спасает, от глаза и от рожи. Там лежит белый камень, из-под того камня – двенадцать ключей, двенадцать ручьев. Все эти болезни заливаает, песком засыпает. А вас, двенадцать девиц, всех я вас созываю – ау, ау, ау! Возьмите эти болезни с собой, плывите по лесам, по лугам, по сыпучим пескам, плывите по мхам, по болотам, по гнилым колодам. А там я вас замолю, запорю. Здесь вам не жить, здесь вам не быть, гнездо не вить. Колодой живите, там гуляйте, веночек свивайте. А Машу, дочь (*имя отца*) и (*имя матери*), от болезней освобождайте по этот час, по этот раз, по эту минуту. Аминь. *Четыре раза.*

Remember, Lord, tsar David and Mother Elena. In the field there stands an oak, an old oak tree. On that oak, the old oak tree sits erysipelas. All twelve erysipelases, I call you by name, I call you out: black, red, meadow, field, painful, aching, [...?], gossiping, talkative one. Get out, step out of Masha's bones, brains, fingers, joints, out of her unruly head, out of her hot blood, and out of her Christian body at this hour, according to my charm. There in the sea there is a tree, there stands the Mother of God Kuporina, she saves from all diseases, from the Evil eye and erysipelas. There lies the white stone, from under that stone come twelve springs, twelve streams. They flood all these diseases, cover them with the sand. And you, twelve maidens, I call all of you together – au, au, au! Take these diseases with you, swim along in the woods, in the meadows, in the loose sands, swim along the moss, in the swamps, in the rotten wells. There I will beseech you and lock you. You cannot live here, you cannot be here, you cannot make a nest [here]. Live in the wells, walk there, weave a wreath there. And Masha, the daughter of [the name of the father] and [the name of the mother], free from the diseases at this hour, at this time, at this minute. Amen. *Say it four times.*

**1762.** Двенадцать девушек – которая пошутила, которая посмеялась, которая позавидовала. От женского глаза, от мужского глаза, от детского глаза, от своей радости, от черного глаза, от белого глаза, от голубого глаза, от желтого глаза. Божья Матушка, накажи этих девушек, которая покинула на рабу сухоту<sup>19</sup>, ломоту, бессонницу. Выйди, сухота, ломота – с костей, с мозгов, с белого тела, со всех жилок, со всех суставов. Не сушите, не мучайте рабу. Аминь.

Twelve girls, who joked, who laughed, who envied. [Save] from the female eye, from the male eye, from the child's eye, from own happiness, from the black eye, from the white eye, from the light blue eye, from the yellow eye. Mother of God punish these girls who threw exhaustion, aching, insomnia onto the servant [of God]. Get out, exhaustion and aching, get out of the bones, out of the brains, out of the white body, out of all veins, out of all joints. Do not exhaust, do not torment the servant [of God]. Amen.

**1763.** Господи, Боже, благослови и помоги болящей рабе Татьяне от рожи, помоги первым разом, добрым часом, сегодняшним днем, воскресным. У-у, рожа-рожица, красная девица, выходи, выступай, рожа из рабы (*имя*) – из костей, из мостей, со всех жил, со всех поджил. Ранняя зарница, вечерняя зарница, будь рабе (*имя*) болящей помощница. Выговариваю тебя, рожа, вымаливаю тебя, рожа, из всех костей, из мостей, из буйной головы, из черной печени, из красной крови. Выговариваю рожу урочную, подглядную, багровую, красную, синюю, колючую, болючую. Выговариваю я тебе не сама собою, а Господней душой, Господним повелением. Помоги, Господи, первым разом, добрым часом. Шла девица по дороге, садила рожу. Не садись, рожа, на белое тело рабы болящей (*имя*), а садись, рожа, на темный лес, на зеленую дубраву, на черную рябину. Вас всех рож двенадцать, всех мы вас вымаливаем, всех мы вас выговариваем, всех мы вас вычитываем. И ты, рожа ветряная, и ты, рожа, огненная, ты, рожа водяная, ты, рожа ганная, ты, рожа спотыканная, и ты, рожа думная, ты, рожа поддумная, ты, рожа подглядная, красная, белая, синяя, колючая, болючая, выходи, рожа, выступай, рожа, из болящей рабы (*имя*) – из костей, из мостей, из буйной головы, из крещеного тела, со всех пальчиков, со всех суставчиков. Сама Пречистая Божия Мать за престолом стояла, своими пресвятыми пеленами запеченную крову болящей рабе (*имя*) закрывала, болезнь удаляла из крещеного тела, из пораженного. Выходи, рожа, выступай, рожа, из рабы болящей. Выходи, рожа, на быстрые

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<sup>19</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "сухота – болезнь истощенья питания, или непомерная худоба, болезненное изнурение".

волны, на гнилые мосты, на колючую грушу, выходи, выступай, рожа, по этот час, по этот раз, по эту минуту, по мой заговор, чтоб тебе и отрыгу не было.

Lord God, bless and help the sick servant [of God] Tatyana cure erysipelas, help the first time, at a good hour, on a current day, Sunday. Oh, erysipelas, erysipelas, you fair maiden, come out, step out, erysipelas, out of the servant [of God][the name of the person], get out of her bones, out of her body strength, out of all veins, out of all [under]veins. Early dawn, evening dawn, be helpers to the sick servant [of God][the name of the person]. I ask you, erysipelas, I beg you, erysipelas, get out of her bones, out of her body strength, out of her unruly head, out of her black liver, out of her red blood. I cure you: jinxed, peeping, crimson, red, dark blue, spiky, and painful erysipelas. I cure not by myself but by Lord's soul, by Lord's command. Help, Lord, the first time, at good hour. A maiden walked down the road, she planted erysipelas. Do not sit, erysipelas, on the white body of the sick servant [of God][the name of the person] but lie down, erysipelas, in the dark forest, in the green oak grove, on the black mountain ash. All of you, twelve erysipelas, we beg all of you, we cure all of you, we count all of you. And you, windy erysipelas, you, fiery erysipelas, you, water erysipelas, you, filthy erysipelas, you, stumbled erysipelas, and you, thoughtful (?) erysipelas, you, [semi]thoughtful erysipelas, you, sneaky erysipelas, red, white, dark blue, spiky, painful erysipelas. Get out, erysipelas, step out, erysipelas, get out of the sick servant [of God][the name of the person], get out of her bones, out of her body strength, out of her unruly head, out of her baptised body, out of all the fingers, out of all the joints. The Most Blessed Mother of God herself stood behind the throne, covered the clotted blood of the sick servant [of God][the name of the person] with her holy veils, removed the illness from the baptised body, from the sick body. Get out, erysipelas, step out, erysipelas, get out of the sick servant [of God]. Get out, erysipelas, on the fast waves, on the rotten bridges, on the thorny pear. Get out, step out, erysipelas, to this hour, at this time, to this minute, according to my charm, so that you do not have even a burp.

**1764.** На поле Буяне, на острове Окияне стоит дуб-стародуб. На том дубе-стародубе лежит кровать тесовая, на той кровати лежит перина пуховая, на той на перине лежит змея Катерина и змей Галич. Соберите вы всех своих змеев и змей. Их двенадцать сестер, их двенадцать братьей: залечные, подпечные, щелевые, дворовые, подгорожные, поддорожные, лесовые, садовые. Которую я не напому, напомниме сами себе, самая злая – игольница переярая. Соберите и спросите, которая из них подшутила, свой яд упустила крещеному телу рабы твоей Пелагеи. Я вас прошу, змея Екатерина и змей Галич, выньте свой яд из крещеного тела рабы Пелагеи. Если же вы не поможете, свой яд не вынете, буду жаловаться ангелу-архангелу небесному, грозному, который будет ехать с восточной стороны на вороном коне, с точеными ножами, с калеными пилами, с огненным помелом. Он вас побьет, он вас пожжет, пепел ваш в океан-море снесет, повыведет ваш весь род и племя, чтоб вас ни одного гада-змея не было на белом свете. Вот вам один отговор. Сто их двенадцать отговоров вам. *Три раза.*

On the field Buyan, on the island Okiyan stands an oak, an old oak tree. On that oak, the old oak tree lies a small bed, on that bed lies a feather bed, on that feather bed lies snake Katerina and serpent Galich. Gather all your serpents and snakes. There are twelve sisters, there are twelve brothers: resting, from under-the-stove, out-of-the-cracks, yard, town, from under-the-roads, wood, and garden ones. Those that I do not mention, remind about yourselves, the most evil snake being biting one year old. Gather them and ask them, which of them joked and gave its poison to the baptised body of the servant [of God] Pelagia. I beg of you, snake Ekaterina and serpent Galich, take the poison out of the baptised body of the servant Pelageia. If you are not going to help and will not take your poison, I will complain to the heavenly angel-archangel, the fearsome one, who will come from the east side on the raven horse, with sharpen knives, with

hot saws, with a fiery broom. He will beat you, he will burn you, he will bring your ashes to the ocean-sea, he will eradicate your whole kin and tribe, so there will not be even one reptilian-snake in this world. Here is one *otgovor*. One hundred and twelve *otgovor* for you. *Say it three times.*

**1765.** Рожа-рожица, прекрасная девица, не гуляй по черному телу, не пали белого тела, не пали, не ломай белых костей и не пали красной крови урочной – и проговорчистые, встречные, помочные и колючие, и горючие, урочные и поспелые, огневые и водяные, лесовые.

Erysipelas, erysipelas, you fair maiden, do not move on the black body, do not burn the white body, do not burn, do not grate white bones, do not burn red spoiled blood. You, [different] erysipelas: clear (?), counter, helpful (?) and spiky, and hot, spoiled, and ripe, fiery, water, and forest erysipelas.

**1766.** Рожа-рожица, красная девица, тут тебе не быть и тут тебе не жить. Жить тебе на синих морях, быть тебе на зеленых лугах. Вот там тебе быть, вот там тебе жить. А тут тебе не быть и не жить. Выступи, очисти (имя) от всех мышей, от всех рожей: и с головки, и с ручки, и с ножки. *“Чур”, Господи, помилуй! Чур повторит три раза. И так двенадцать раз повторить.*

Erysipelas, erysipelas, you fair maiden, you cannot be here, you cannot live here. You can live on the dark blue seas, you can live in the green meadows. There you can exist, there you can live. But you cannot be here, you cannot live here. Leave, cleanse [the name of the person] from the vipers, from the erysipelas, get out of the head, out of the arm, out of the leg. *“Chur”, Lord, have mercy! Repeat ‘chur’ three times. And repeat it twelve times.*

**1767.** Рожа ты рожа, красавица-рожа, дорогавица-рожа, я тебя изнуряю, я тебя изгоняю у рабы Божьей (имя) из ретивого сердца, из легких печеней, из белый грудей, из костья, из жилия, из ясных очей, из белых мозгов – от девки-самоходки, от мужика-клеветника. (Изгоняю) на пята, на кори, да от ворот на старо место проездим саням, проходим пошевным, там вам место в синем море, в чисто поле.

Erysipelas, you, erysipelas, beautiful erysipelas, dear erysipelas, I wear you down, I expel you out of the servant of God [the name of the person]’s zealous heart, light liver, white chest, out of the bones, out of the veins, out of the bright eyes, out of the white brains. [Erysipelas] [caused by] a steady girl, a man-slanderer. [I cast out erysipelas] into the spike, into the bark, out of the gate into the old place with the passing by sleigh, with the passing by sled, there is your place, in the dark blues sea, in the open field.

**1768.** Рожа красная, рожа ясная, рожа синяя, рожа сивая, рожа головная, глазовая, выходи, выступай, с того раба, с Улитья Ивановны, кощи(?) его, сердце неси(?). Я тебе – сама, Божья Матерь. *Двенадцать раз так скажешь, подуешь, поплюешь, глядишь – помогает. Я сама себя даже лечила. Вот прыщика вскочил, я – вином, я там взяла свекольного листу и вишневую мазь и ворожила сама себе. Погладю, погладю – будто бы чуточку полегче. Когда вспухает рука и нога, от рожки: погладишь. И самой можно. Сколько разов лечила! Сколько людей приходит!*

Red erysipelas, bright erysipelas, dark blue erysipelas, head erysipelas, eye erysipelas, get out, step out of the servant, out of Ulitja Ivanovna, out of her bones, out her heart. I am to you the Mother of God herself. *Say this twelve times, blow, spit, and you will see that it helps. I even cured myself like that. When a pimple appeared, I treated it with wine. I took a beetroot leave and Linimentum balsamicum Wishnevsky and cured myself. I stroke it and it seemed as if it gets better.*

*When an arm or a leg swells up from erysipelas, you stroke it. You can do it to yourself. I have treated it so many times! So many people are coming [for treatment]!*

**1769.** Рожаясная, рожая красная, рожая ветровая, рожая жульбивая, рожая заступная, рожая зашкурная, нарывная, рассыпная, водяная рожая, тебе тут негоже, тебе гоже в шараху, в бараху, в зеленых лугах. Там пьютъ и гуляють, тебе вызываютъ из Никитиной дочери. По этот час, по этот раз по костям не ходи, жил не тяни.

Bright erysipelas, red erysipelas, wind erysipelas, [...?] erysipelas, intermediary (?) erysipelas, skin erysipelas, blister erysipelas, scattering erysipelas, water erysipelas, you should not be here, you should be in [...?], you should be in [...?], in the green meadows. There you can drink and have fun when you are being cast out of Nikita's daughter. At this hour, at this time, you do not walk through the bones, you do not stretch the veins.

**1770.** Рожаясная, рожая красная, рожая ветровая, рожая глотовая, рожая застудная, рожая зашкурная, нарывная, рассыпная, водяная рожая, тебе тут не гоже. Тебе гоже в шарах, у борах, у зеленых лугах. Там пьютъ и гуляють, тебя вызываютъ из Надежды Ивановой дочери. По этот час, по этот раз по костям не зоди, жил не тяни.

Fine erysipelas, red erysipelas, wind erysipelas, pharyngeal erysipelas, chill erysipelas, skin erysipelas, blister erysipelas, scattered erysipelas, water erysipelas, you should not be here. You should be in tents (?), in the coniferous forests, in the green meadows. There you can drink, there you can have fun when you are being cast out of Nadezhda Ivanova's daughter. At this hour, at this time you do not walk through the bones, you do not stretch the veins.

**1774.** Рожая белая, рожая красная, рожая пухлая, тебе в рабе внутри места нет. Не я лечу – Николай Угодник и все святые лечут.

White erysipelas, red erysipelas, plump erysipelas, you have no place inside the servant [of God]. It is not me who cures, it is Nikolai the Saint and all the saints that cure.

**1775.** *Надо кремень да напилонк взять, чтоб огонь высекали. Засекать надо по крови, если ты белая, а я черная – не пристанет. Больное место, руку, ногу, надо держать на красном кумаче и сверху насыпать белый размельченный в порошок мел. Произносить слова, высекая искры на место, где рожая. После слов завернуть больное место кумачом вместе с мелом. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Нет рожая имя, не рожая званья. Тут рожая имя, тут рожая званья. На белом мелу, на красном кумачу, на огненном кремню, на остром ножу, у Егорья на воды, у Миколы на травы – тут рожая имя, тут рожая званья.*

*Take a flint and a rasp, so you can make fire. In order to strike the fire, we should be of the same blood. If you are 'white' [good?] and I am 'black' [bad?], it would not work. The sore spot, either on the arm or leg, should be held on a red cloth and white chalk crashed in powder poured over it. Say the words while carving sparks over the sore spot with erysipelas. After saying the words, wrap the sore spot with that red cloth along with chalk. In the name of Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Erysipelas has no name, erysipelas has no title. Here is the erysipelas's name, here is the erysipelas's title. On the white chalk, on the red cloth, on the fiery flint, on the sharp knife, to the water on George's day, to the herbs on Mikola's day, here is erysipelas's name, here is erysipelas's title.*

**1776.** Рожая – раскраснеетъ нога, распухнет. Обводишь рожую и говоришь: Лепильный сорт, лиса полисоль(?), сохрани-помилуй рабу Марью от глаза черного, от глаза серого, от глаза желтого, от глаза женского, от глаза мужского исцели, помилуй рабу Марью.



*Erysipelas appears when the leg turns red and swells up. Circle erysipelas and say: Moulding (?) type, fox polsalt (?), save and have mercy on the servant [of God] Marya from the black eye, from the grey eye, from the yellow eye, from the female eye, from the male eye. Cure her, have mercy on the servant Marya.*

**1777.** Шел Иисус Христос через золотой мост. Нашел Иисус Христос три рожи: первая – старая, другая – пропала, третья – с гнилью. Иисус Христос, царь Давид, царь Константин, укротитя вы небо и землю, укротитя вы рабы рожу осудную, простудную – от природы, от начесу, от сглазу, от удару, от занозу, от замочки, по этот час, по эту минуту, по мой переговор. Как синь камень крепок будь мое слово рабы Веры. Дай, Бог, добрый час, худое – прочь. *Произносят девять раз подряд.*

Jesus Christ walked over the golden bridge. Jesus Christ found three erysipelas: the first was old, the other one was lost, the third one was rotten. Jesus Christ, tsar David, tsar Constantine, reduce heaven and earth, reduce the erysipelas on the servant [of God]: chilly erysipelas, cold erysipelas. Save him/her from savoury character (?), from itching (?), from the Evil eye, from a blow, from a splinter, from a lock at this hour, at this minute, according to my charm. Just as the dark blue stone is strong, so may my word be strong for the servant Vera. Grant, Lord, good hour, evil hour, you go away. *Say it nine times in a row.*

**1816.** Безымянному персту имени нет, а у меня чирю на белом теле места нет. Аминь.

The ring finger has no name, and there is no place for furuncle on my white body. Amen.

**1821.** Безымянному пальцу имени нет, у раба Божья (*имя*) ни чирю, ни вереду места нет. Не красней, не бурей, не желтей, не черней, чтобы зацало, почернело, чтобы кости не скомнули, чтоб жилья не тянуло, чтобы тело не хрупело, было чистенько, беленько, гладенько. Тьфу. Аминь. Правая нога ко сырой земле приставала плотно и круто, и чтобы так плотно и крепко мои слова приставали к рабу Божью.

The ring finger has no name, there is no place for furuncle on the servant of God [the name of the person]. Do not turn red, do not turn fulvous, do not turn yellow, do not turn black, so it would wither away and turn black, so bones would not crumple, so veins would not stretch, so the body would not be frail, but it would be clean, white, and smooth. Ugh. Amen. The right foot pressed the damp earth tightly and sternly, so may my words stick to the servant of God.

**1822.** Безымянному пальцу имени нет, скорбям, болезням места не было (*бы*) ни в ясных очах, ни в чёрных и ни белых бровях, ни в буйной голове, ни в горячей крови, ни в костях, ни в жилах, ни в мягких местах. Будьте, мои слова, тверже камня, крепче железа. Отныне и во веки. Аминь. *Произносят на воду, умыться ей.*

The ring finger has not name, there is no place for sorrows and illnesses in the bright eyes, neither in the black nor the white eyebrows, nor in the unruly head, nor in the hot blood, nor in the bones, nor in the veins, nor in soft flesh. Be, my words, harder than stone, harder than iron. Now and forever. Amen. *Say it over the water, later wash with it.*

**1829.** Палец безымянный надо на чирью положить или им водить пальцем-то: чирей-веред, нет тебе места, ни на жиле, ни на белом теле. Поди в сук да там подыхай. *Приложить к суку палец. Чирей уйдет в сук.*

*The ring finger should be placed on a furuncle or circle around furuncle with it: Furuncle, you pest, there is no place for you, neither in the vein (?) nor on the white body. Go to the tree brunch and die there. Touch the tree brunch with the finger. Furuncle will go into the tree brunch.*

**1838.** Как сук в стене вянет и сохнет, так, чирей, посохни, повянь, на белом теле, на алой крови. Безымянному пальцу имени нет, чирю-вереду места нет. Коли его, во веки веков. Аминь.

Just as the tree brunch in the wall withers and dries out, so may you, furuncle, dry out, wither away, on the white body, in the scarlet blood. The ring finger has no name, furuncle, you pest, you have no place. Stab it, forever and ever. Amen.

**1852.** *Безымянным пальцем потыкать в сучок в лавке или на стене или пошептат на безымянный палец и сказать три раза:* как в стене сук не растет, камень не цветет, так бы у раба Божья (имя) прыщ (веред, чирей) не цвел и не рос, поцернел бы прыщ в черный уголь. Иссохни, исчахни, боле в век не воскресни. Во имя Отца, аминь, Сына, аминь, Святого Духа, аминь. *Весь заговор повторять три раза.*

*Touch with the ring finger a loop on the bench or in the wall and whisper on the ring finger three times:* just as the loop does not grow in the wall, a stone does not bloom, so may the servant of God [the name of the person]'s pimple (abscess, furuncle) not bloom, not grow, and the pimple itself turn into black coal. Dry out, wither away, not resurrect ever and ever. In the name of the Father, amen, the Son, amen, Holy Spirit, amen. *Repeat it three times.*

**1853.** Как в стены сук не растет, камень не цветет, так бы эта боль не росла, не цвела и вперед не шла, зачернела бы, как черный уголь. Как мертвое тело умрет, так и эта боль вся умрет. Отныне до веку, век и по веку. Аминь.

Just as the tree branch does not grow in the wall, a stone does not bloom, so may this pain not grow, not bloom, not go forward. May the pain turn black like black coal. Just as dead corpse dies, so may all this pain die. Now and forever, forever, and ever. Amen.

**1874.** *Как с ноги выстанешь, безымянный палец послунывить и три раза сказать:* от камня плоду нет, от угля трава не растет, в мертвом теле души нет, тебе, чирю, вереду, гнойнику, пупышу, на белом теле места нет. Во веки веков. Аминь. *С этими словами три раза вокруг чирея очертит и три раза безымянным пальцем правой руки в середину ткнуть.*

*As you get up on your feet, wet your ring finger with saliva and say three times:* as there is no fruit from a stone, no grass from coal, no soul in a dead corpse, so you, furuncle, pest, rotten one, and boil, have no place on the white body. Forever and ever. Amen. *With these words circle furuncle three times and three times poke the middle of it with the right hand's ring finger.*

**1881.** Камень камня не родит, по углу трава не растет. В мертвом теле души нет. У раба Божья (имя) на белом теле больному месту местечка нет. *Безымянным пальцем обвести вокруг больного места.*

A stone does not give birth to a stone, grass does not grow from coal. There is no soul in dead body. There is no place for sore spot on the servant of God [the name of the person]'s white body. *Move the ring finger around the sore spot.*

**1882.** *Складывают четвертый палец с первым и при последних словах крестят чирей.* Из камня плоду нет, из угля цвету нет, у рабы Божьей на белом теле чирьям и нечистям места нет. Тьфу. Во веки веков. Аминь. *Повторить три раза.*

*Fold the first finger with the fourth finger and make a cross sign over furuncle when saying the last words.* There is no fruit from a stone, flowers from coal, there is no place for furuncles and evil

spirits on the servant of God [the name of the person]'s white body. Ptooeu. Forever and ever. Amen. *Repeat three times.*

**1884.** В холодном углю огня нет, а в мертвом теле души нет, у рабы Божии (имя) череду-вереду нет. Есть место в чистом поле, есть место в синем море, в горячей печи на девятом кирпичи. Отныне и до веку и во веки веков. Аминь.

There is no fire on cold coals, no soul in dead body, no furuncle-pest on the servant of God [the name of the person]. There is a place [for furuncle] in the open field, in the dark blues sea, in the hot stove on the ninth brick. Now and forever, and forever and ever. Amen.

**1887.** *Три раза повторить:* Чирей-вырей, нет тебе места на белом теле.

*Repeat three times:* Furuncle-sorcerer, there is no place for you on the white body.

**1890.** Как не дереве сучок подсох и отсох и во веки веков не отживет, так и на твоём белом теле, на подколенной жиле, на горячей крови чирей отживет. На березке листочки посидят, улетят, на то место не прилетят, так бы на твоём теле болячки отживали. Пришел молча – и ушел молча.

Just as the tree branch withered away and dried up and would not come back to life, so may furuncle not live on your white body, on an under-knee vein, in the hot blood. As the leaves sit on the birch tree and fly away without coming back to the same place, so may sores on you body not live. [It] came silently and went away silently.

**1892.** Красный чирей с красного моря прилетел и сел рабу Божию (имя) на белое тело. Откуль прилетел, туды и полети. Сохни и вянь, не иди вверх. Моим словам ключ и замок. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. *Три раза прочесть, плюнуть и ножом крест поставить.*

A red furuncle flew from the red sea and sat on the servant of God [the name of the person]'s white body. Go back where you came from. Wither away and dry out, do not raise up. The key and the lock to my words. In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. *Read three times, spit and make a sign of cross with a knife.*

**1895.** Чирей Василий летел без глаз, сел без нас на рабе божьей Анны. Тут тебе место, на черном углу, на березовом суку, на ножевом острию, на самом конце. *Повторить три раза.*

Furuncle Vasily flew without eyes, sat without us on the servant of God Anna. Here is your place, in the black corner, on the birch branch, on the knife's edge, at the very end. *Repeat three times.*

**1896.** Чирей Василий летел без глаз, сел без нас, нет тебе дела на белом теле (имя). Вот тебе место – в суку.

Furuncle Vasili flew without eyes, sat without us, you have no business on the white body of [the name of the person]. Here is your place, in the tree branch.

**1903.** *Водят кругом чирья мылом, зачёркивают его крестом и приговаривают:* Чирей Василий, нет тебе места на моем белом теле, есть тебе место в чистом поле.

*Circle furuncle with a soap, make a sign of cross and say:* Furuncle Vasili, there is no place for you on my white body, your place is in the open field.

**1911.** *Наговаривать на воду или на жир, потом им натирать.* Стану я, раба Божья Агриппина, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из сеней сеньми, из

двора воротами, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле есть деверь-муж и у дувуря-мужа девять жен, и восемь жен, и семь жен, и шесть жен, и пять жен, и четыре жены, и три жены, и две жены, и одна жена, и та жена исчахла, помирала, пропадала. И так же у рабы Божьей (имя) чирья-вереды иссыхали, помирала, пропадали. И будь тело бело, как белая бумага, и будь тело бело, как белая кость, и будь тело бело, как белый снег. Аминь.

*Utter words over the water or fat, afterwards rub [the sore spot] with it.* I, the servant of God Agrippina, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the entrance hall through the entrance hall, out of the yard through the gates, I will go out in the open field. In the open field there is a tree-man. This tree-man has nine wives, and eight wives, and seven wives, and six wives, and five wives, and four wives, and three wives, and two wives, and one wife. And this one wife faded away, died, disappeared. So may the servant of God [the name of the person] furuncles-pests fade away, die, disappear. Be, body, as white as white paper, and be, body, as white as white bone, and be, body, as white as white snow. Amen.

**1912.** Скула<sup>20</sup>-скулавица, черна муравица, по костям не ходить, костей не ломать. Там тебе кубки поналиванные, а столы позастиланные. Там тебе жить, гулять и скулу убирать. *Девять раз плюнуть или сбрызнуть водой в течение трех дней.*

Furuncle-boil, black ant, do not walk over the bones, do not crash the bones. There are cups filled, and tables laid out for you. There you should live, have fun, and take away furuncle there. *Spit nine times or sprinkle with water for three days.*

**1950.** Гад змей-через сойми свои зубы с рабы Божьей (имя), с белого тела, с ретивого сердца. Дом твой знаю, житьё твоё знаю, дом твой – в чистом поле, под ракушковым кустом. Дом твой сожгу, детей твоих на ветер спущу. Небо, ключ, земля, замок.

Serpent, you snake-belt, take away your teeth from the servant of God [the name of the person], away from the white body, from the zealous heart. I know where your home is, I know where your dwelling is. Your house is in the open field, under the magic bush. I will burn down your home, I will let your children go with the wind. Heaven, key, earth, lock.

**1952.** *Плюнь на (указательный) палец и против солнца вокруг ранки води.* От черного змея, от лютого змея, от медянки, от железянки. *Повторить три раза.*

*Spit on the index finger and circle clockwise.* From a black serpent, from a fierce serpent, from a grey copper snake, from an iron snake (?). *Repeat three times.*

**1953.** Лесная змея медяница, лесная змея желяница, лесная змея черная, ай, гаде, ай, гаде, вынь жигало у раба Божья (имя). Ключ, замок моим словам. Во веки веков. *Три раза сказать, плюнуть. Наговаривать на теплое молоко. Прочертить ножиком место укуса.*

Forest grey copper snake, forest iron snake, forest black snake, oi, reptilian, oi, reptilian, take your fangs out of [the name of the person] the servant of God. The key and the lock to my words. Forever and ever. *Repeat three times, spit. Say it over warm milk. Draw over the bite with a knife.*

**1954.** Змея-медница, змея-железняца, змея серая, змея черная, змея рябая, змей-мат, змея-матиха. Отойди, гад, прочь. Отойди, гад, прочь. Отойди, гад, прочь. Вынь яд вон. Вынь яд вон. Вынь яд вон. *Наговаривают на сметану, ножичком её перекрестить. Труба, окна, двери закрыты. Повторять три раза: утром, вечером, на заре. Три дня.*

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<sup>20</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "скула – личная простудная болезнь и опухоль в лице, на шее, пухлые железы, заушница и пр. также веред, чирей".

Copper grey snake, iron snake, grey snake, black snake, variegated snake, snake-mother, snake-stepmother. Step aside, reptilian. Step aside, reptilian. Step aside, reptilian. Take your poison out. Take your poison out. Take your poison out. *Say it over soured cream, make a sign of cross with a knife. Chimney, windows, and doors must be closed. Repeat three times, in the morning, in the evening, at dawn for three days.*

**1956.** На море на окияне, на острове Буяне речка зеленая. В этой во речке стоит лихой куст. Во липовом кусте лежит змея-скоропея. Змея-скоропея, твой козюленок укусил (имя). Возьми свое жало ярое, я знаю, какая ты есть: всяких разных шерстей – белая, черная, рыжая, каряя, мышастая, вороная, саврасая, подласая, солевая, моховая, водяная, коськавая, лесовая, травовая, колотная, болотная. Прошу я самого Бога, Илью Пророка: громом прибьет, молоньем тебя сорвет, род твои выметет и метелочкой заметет.

On the sea, on the ocean, on the island Buyan there was a green river. In this river stands a dashing bush. In this linden bush lies a snake-scorpion. Snake-scorpion, your little one bit [the name of the person]. Take your sting, I know what you are, you are all kind of furs – white, black, ginger, hazel, mouse grey, raven, roan, reddish-brown, salt, moss, water, [...?], forest, grass, [...?], swamp ones. I implore the Lord himself and Ilya the Prophet: they will smash you with a thunder, strike you with a lighting, sweep out your kin with a broom.

**1957.** На море-океане, на острове Буяне стоял дуб-стародуб. На том дубе-стародубе лежал большой камень. На том большом камне лежало черное руно. На этом черном руне лежала змея-скоропея: серая, пегая, саврасая, падласая, печковая, водяная, земляная, дворовая, болотная, колодная, кочковая,<sup>21</sup> гуслея.<sup>22</sup> Змея-скоропея, твой козюленок укусил человека за (такое-то) место. Возьми свое жало яро, а то я тебя знаю. Господу святому Егорию – он тебя громом убьет, молоньем сожжет, метелочкой твой род заметет. *Наговаривают на воду и дают пить укушенному.*

On the sea-ocean, on the island Buyan there was an old oak tree. On that old oak tree there was a large stone. On this large stone there was a black rune. On this black rune lay a snake-scorpion, it was grey, piebald, roan, reddish-brown, stove, water, earth, yard, swamp, well, hardened earth, striped. Snake-scorpion, your little one bit a man at (such and such) place. Take your fiery sting because I know you. I implore Lord Saint George, he will kill you with a thunder, burn you with a lighting, sweep out your kind with a broom. *Utter the words over the water and give it to the person who has been bitten.*

**1958.** На море на океане, на высоком кургане стоит дуб-скородуб. Под тем дубом-скородубом лежит камень-белорус. Под тем камнем-белорусом лежит змея-скорупеха. Посвистает, покликает всех змееночков-казюленочков: лесных, полевых, луговых, подмежных, подрубежных. Русый волос (*цвет волос, кого заговаривают*), тело бело. *Произносить над водой, дать эту воду тому, кого укусила змея. Он должен часть воды выпить, а частью протереться.*

On the sea on the ocean, on a high mound there stands an oak tree, a speedy (?) oak tree. Under that oak tree, speedy oak tree lies a white fair stone. Under that white fair stone lies a snake-scorpion. It whistles, calls out snake babies: forest, field, meadow, adjoining, bordering [ones]. Blond, fair hair (*the hair colour of the person who is being cured*), white body. *Utter words over the*

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<sup>21</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "кочка – затвердевшая кучка земли".

<sup>22</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "гусельчатый – похожий на гусли, полосатый, бороздчатый, дорожчатый, как бы исчерченный вдоль струнами".

*water, then give it to the one bitten by snake. The patient must drink half of the water, the other half should be rubbed in the bitten place.*

**1959.** На море-океане, на острове (высоком?) кургане стоит дуб, под дубом – куст, под кустом – черная руна, под той руной – черная змея-скоропея с малыми скоропеуатами. Змея-скоропея, вынимай своих скоропеуат, лютых, летучих, норových, полевых, щелевых, желтохвостых, зеленых, краснопузых, болотных, земляных, водяных. А не вынешь своё жало, пойду к лихому архангелу, зажгу гнилую колоду, весь ваш род и племя выжгу и выгоню. И змея-скоропея, вынимай своё жало поскорей от рабы (или: от скотины). Не я тебя выкликаю, Мать выкликает, Пресвятая Богородица. Словами своими святыми вызывала и духом выдувала. Аминь.

On the sea-ocean, on the sharp (high?) mound there stands an oak tree, under the oak tree there is a bush, under the bush there is a black rune, under that rune there was a black snake-scorpion with the little ones. Snake-scorpion take out your little ones: fierce, flying, hole, field, groove, yellow-tailed, green, red-bellied, marsh, earth, water [ones]. If you will not take out your sting, I will go to the spirited archangel, fire up a rotten deck, burn out and drive out all your kin and tribe. Snake-scorpion take out your sting as soon as possible from the servant (or the cattle). It is not me who calls on you, it is the Most Blessed Mother of God who calls on you. She called you out with her own holy words and her spirit. Amen.

**1962.** На море на океане, на острове Острожане стоит куст липовый. Под этим кустом липовым – кровать тясовая, перина пуховая. На этой кровати, на этой пуховой, под этим одеялом лежит змея-шкуропея. Ты, змея-шкуропея, послушай: я к тебе, Вера, пришла с просьбой. Крикни ты своим громким голосом, свистни своим молодецким посвистом, собери ты свою сродость: сестер, сестерней, внуков, правнуков, дочерей, молодых, старых и переярых, жёлтых, жетопузых, рябых, белогристых, чёрных, синих, зелёных, моховых, подколодных, щелявых, подстенных, запечных. И вынь ты своё жало из раба Божия (имя) (из скотины: рыжей, чёрной и пр.). если ты не вынешь своё змеиное жало, то я попрошу Михаила Архангела. Михаил Архангел гром-молонию с неба спустит, громом тебя убъетъ, молнией сожгетъ и пепелок твой разнесетъ.

On the sea on the ocean, on the island Ostrojan there stands a linden bush. Under this linden bush there is a small bed, feather bed. On this bed, on this feather bed, under the blanket there lies a snake-scorpion. You, snake-scorpion, listen to me: I, Vera, came to you with a request. Call out with your loud voice, whistle your fine whistle, gather together your family: sisters, cousins, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, daughters, the young, the old and older-than-a-year, yellow, yellow-bellied, variegated, blond-haired, black, dark blue, green, moss, under-trough, crevice, under-wall, behind-the-oven [ones]. And take your sting out of [the name of the person] the servant of God (out of the livestock: ginger, black and so on). If you will not take out your sting, I will ask the Archangel Michael and he will release a thunder-lighting from heaven, he will kill you with the thunder, burn you with the lighting and will scatter your ashes.

**1965.** На море, на морене, на острове Кеяне стоит коровать, на той коровати – пуховые перины. На тих перинах – змея Катерина, змей Скурапей. Ты, змея об одной голове, ты, змея об двух головах, ты, змея об трёх головах, ты, змея об четырёх головах, ты, змея об пяти головах, ты, змея, об шести головах, ты, змея об семи головах, ты, змея об восьми головах, ты, змея об девяти головах, ты, змея об десяти головах, ты, змея об одиннадцати головах, ты, змея об двенадцати головах, которые самые переяря, собирай ты унуков,

правнуков: пяструх, вяструх,<sup>23</sup> рябых, корявых, гоновых,<sup>24</sup> водяных, подугольных, подкрапивных, подмежных. Вы собирайтесь, из этого раба выходите – со всех его костей, со всех мощей. По кощам не ходи, кощей не ломи, ества не прети! *Всё!*

On the sea, on the sea, on the island Keyan there is a bed, on that bed there is a feather bed. On that feather bed, there was a snake Katerina and serpent Skurapey. You, one-headed snake, two-headed snake, three-headed snake, four-headed snake, five-headed snake, six-headed snake, seven-headed snake, eight-headed snake, nine-headed snake, ten-headed snake, eleven-headed snake, twelve-headed snake, the most outrageous one, gather together grandkids, great-grandkids: variegated, ardent, mottled, forest, hearth, water, under-coal, nettle, adjoining [ones]. You, snakes, gather and come out of this servant, from all his bones, from his body strength. Do not walk over the bones, do not shatter the bones, do not corrupt the spirit. *That is all!*

**1966.** На горке на Воссеянской стоит дуб. Под тем дубом – тесовая кровать. На той кровати лежат двенадцать сестёр: рябая, жёлтая, серая, синяя, чёрная, моховая, речная, щелевая, полевая... *Их надо назвать двенадцать, каких хочешь.* Вот которая из вас помутила, яду упустила, очисти, возьми свой яд назад, а то выйдет сам Господь на сером коне с мечом, он вам головы отрубит и под камень покладет. Очисти, освободи Полину. И по этот час, по эту минутку получшеет счас. Аминь. *Три раза.*

On the Vosseyan hill there stands an oak tree. Under this oak tree there is a small bed. On this bed there lie twelve sisters: variegated, yellow, grey, dark blue, black, moss, river, crevice, field... *Choose whatever twelve colours you want.* The one of you who stirred up, missed the poison, you cleanse, take back your poison, or the Lord himself will ride on the grey horse with a sword in his hand, he will chop off your heads and put them under the stone. Cleanse, free Polina. And at this hour, at this minute it will become better. Amen. *Repeat three times.*

**1967.** Змей Веремей, змея Марья, змея Дарья, Арина, Катерина, и Ходосья, и Долосья, и ты змея Скуронина. И собери своих – и подпечных, и подстрешных, полевых, и лесовых, голубую, склизкую, и перепелёсую. Милуй мя, Господи, рабу (*имя*). *Произнести пять раз на зорьке.*

Serpent Veremei, snake Marya, snake Darya, Arina, Katerina, and Khodosya, and Dolosya, and you, snake Skuronina. Gather all yours: under-the-oven, counter, field, and forest, light blue, slimy, and variegated [ones]. Lord, have mercy on me, the servant [the name of the person]. *Say it five times at dawn.*

**1968.** На острове Буяне, святом океяне стоит дуб. Под этим дубом лежит змея Колупея. Ты, Змея Колупея, созови всех своих двенадцать змеев: запечных, защельных, моховых, дворовых, болотных, рудовых, ползучих, летучих, крапивных, щелевых, домашних. Созови всех своих двенадцать змеев, заставь, змея Колупея, вынуть жало из скотины (вот такой-то масти) и из человека – из своего белого тела, резвой крови. А не вынешь жала, будеть ехать с (*пре?*)крутой горы на вороном коне Егорий Храбрый, Михаил Архангел и сам Исус Христос – с свечами, мечами, с калеными стрелами. Разложит костер, сожжет змею, попел по ветру раздует. *Произносить три раза. Когда в первый раз прочитаешь, то дунешь (на воду?). Потом умойся этой водичкой – и всё!*

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<sup>23</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "ярый – огненный, пылкий, сердитый, злой, лютый, белый, блестящий, яркий".

<sup>24</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "гоневой, гонейный лес – въездный, состоящий в общем владении, пользовании".

On the island Buyan, in the holy ocean there stands an oak tree. Under this oak tree lies a snake Kolupeia. You, snake Kolupeia, call together your twelve serpents: behind-the-oven, gap, moss, yard, marsh, mud, crawling, flying, nettle, split, domestic [ones]. Call all your twelve serpents, and make them, snake Kolupeia, take their sting out of the livestock (such and such breed) and out of a man and his white body, frisky blood. If you will not take out your sting, from the steep mountain, on the raven horse George the Brave, the Archangel Michael, and Lord Jesus Christ himself will ride, with candles, swords, and red-hot arrows. They will make a fire, burn the snake, scatter the ashes. *Repeat three times. After the first time, blow (on water?). Afterwards wash yourself with this water. That is all!*

**1993.** *Благословиться.* Господи Иисусе, моюся-белюся, на воду – синила, на мое лицо – белила, на рабу Божью (имя) – красота, а на ребят – сухота.

*Bless yourself.* Lord Jesus, I wash myself, I whiten myself, water is dark blue, my face is white, beauty to the servant of God [the name of the person], exhaustion to young fellows.

**1994.** На воду – синита, на меня – белило, на молодцов – сухота: болели бы с хребта, сохли бы с боку, со всего животу, со грудей, до м----. *Как умываешься, сказать.*

Blueness to the water, whiteness to me, exhaustion to the young fellows, so they are hurt from the spine, exhausted from the side, from the whole stomach, chest, and to the -----. *Repeat when washing oneself.*

**1995.** *Когда умываешься:* Я пойду, схожу на воду, грязь сомью (смою). Мое лицо – белильце, мой лоб – зеркальце. Скука и мука – под шесток, а меня, рабу Божью – в передний уголок.

*When washing yourself [say these words]:* I will go down to the water, wash off the dirt. My face is a white [thing], my forehead is a mirror. Sorrow and sufferings are under the board by the oven, and I, the servant of God, am in the front corner.

**2019.** *Накануне Иванова дня девки росу собирали: росяночки – в бутылочку. И мылися этой росой, и приговаривали:* Сколь Иванска роса хороша, столь и была бы я, раба Божья (имя), хороша, и бела, и ала, и мила.

*On the eve of the Ivan Kupala day, girls collected dew in bottles. People washed with the dew and said:* As Ivan's dew is good, so I, the servant of God [the name of the person] am beautiful, white, scarlet, and sweet.

**2021.** *Когда месяц нарождается.* У-у-у, месяц молодой! На тебе венец золотой. Ты ходишь месяц по белому свету, ты носишь свою чистоту и полноту. Ты месяц, ходишь высоко, далёко и глубоко. Тебе, месяц, - ушки да рожки, а мне, рабе твоей Катерине – бодрые ножки и хорошее здоровье, и хорошее терпенье.

*When the moon is growing.* U-u-u, new moon! There is a golden crown on you. You, moon, walk around the world, you carry your purity and fullness. To you, moon, you have ears and horns, to me, the servant Katerina, I have vigorous legs, good health, and good patience.

**2022.** Месяц, месяц! Ты ходишь высоко и видишь далеко и глубоко, ты ходишь и видишь везде и всё. Ты, месяц, ходишь по полям, по лугам, по лесам, по рекам, по берегам, по морям. Снеси всю боль рабы твоей Натальи и всю ею скуку, и тоску, и печаль, и разбросай по желтому песку. И снеси болезнь рабы твоей Натальи туда, куда птицы не залетают, люди не заходят, звери не забегают. Там етой боли, етой скуки, етой печали – играть и гулять. О Господи, Спаситель мой батюшка, и Божья Матерь Марья, возьми всю боль мою



и большую кровь – из рабы твоей Натальи, из ее жилок, из ее поджилок, из ее крови красной и поли ей, Господи, хорошее здоровье и хорошую жизнь.

Moon, moon! You walk high and see far and deep, you walk and see everything everywhere. You, moon, walk through the fields, meadows, forests, along the rivers, banks, and the seas. Carry away all pain off your servant Natalya, along with her sorrows, longings, and sadness, and scatter them over the yellow sand. And carry away the pain off your servant Natalya to the place where birds do not fly, people do not walk, animals do not run. There this pain, this sorrow, this sadness can play and have fun. O Lord, Saviour my father, and Mother of God Mary, take all my pain and sick blood out of your servant Natalya, out of her veins, out of her veins, out of her red blood and give her, Lord, good health, and good life.

**2023.** Сколь солнышка светла, красно – столь раба Божия (*имя*). Никто не может на солнышко наглядеться, насмотреться. Так же на рабу Божью не могли бы насмотреться, наглядеться. *Три раза дунуть в ладони и обтереть лицо.*

As the sun is bright and red, so is the servant of God [the name of the person]. No one has enough of watching the sun, gazing at the sun. So, may no one have enough of watching, gazing at the servant of God. *Blow three times into the palms of your hands and rub the face.*

**2024.** Как выйдешь из бани, кланяешься на четыре стороны и говоришь: Заря-зарница, красна девица, здоровья давай, здоровья давай. Нет – так к себе прибирай (*имя*).

*As you leave the bathhouse, bow to the four sides, and say:* Bright dawn, fair maiden, give me health, give me health. If not, take [the name of the person] to yourself.

**2026.** Приду я ко святой рукомоечке, росой умоюсь, зарей утрюся, красным солнышком украшусь, звездами обвешусь, светел месяц в лицо возьму. Как в пиру, в компании хлеб-соль почитают-обожают, так бы меня, рабу Божью (*имя*), почитали, уважали, смотрели, очей не сносили старый, малый, холостой, женатый. Моим словам – аминь.

I will come to the holy hand wash place, I will wash myself with dew, dry myself with the dawn, adorn myself with the red sun, cover myself with stars, I will put the bright moon on my face. Like in the feast, where bread and salt are honoured and adored, so may I, [the name of the person] the servant of God be appreciated, respected, looked at without taking their eyes off me by young, unmarried, married man. Amen to my words.

**2027.** Стану я, раба Божья Таисия, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверьми, из двора воротами, выйду я на широку улицу, под восточную сторону, где красно солнышко, где зеленая зорюшка. Красным солнышком умоюсь, зеленой зарей оботрюсь. Столь я буду хороша, как красное солнышко, столь я буду нарядна, как зеленая зорюшка. Пусть на рабу Божию Таисию чтобы все глядели, и смотрели, и зарились – князья и бояре все, народ, престононародие, все народные люди. Пусть мои слова – ключ ко дну.

I, the servant of God Taisia, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the yard through the gate, I will go to the wide street, on the east side, where the red sun is, where the green dawn is. I will wash myself with the red sun, I will dry myself with the green dawn. I will be as beautiful as the red sun; I will be as elegant as the green dawn. So, everyone would look and stare at the servant of God Taisia: princes, all the boyars, people, common people, all people's people. My words are the key to the bottom.

**2028.** Дядюшка Тарас ... (*пропуск*), снаряди мое лицо красное, как яйцо. Наложу на мое лицо красоту, чтобы молодцы смотрели, господа примечали, днем – по солнышку,

вечером – по месяцу, по частым звездам. От века по веку, отныне до веку. Будьте, мои слова, крепки и лепки, вот моим словам ключи и замки.

Uncle Taras... (*omission*), make my face as beautiful as an egg. Put beauty on my face, so young fellows would look, refined men would notice by the sun in the afternoon, by the moon in the evening, by frequent stars. Forever and ever, now, and forever. Be, my words, strong and sticky, keys, and locks to my words.

**2029.** Выхваленная Богородица, выхвали рабу Божью (*имя*) на всей день, на всей час, на всей минуты, на всей секунды, на всю компанию, на все собрание. Всех я красивее, всех я больше, из яичка вышла, из народа выпятилась. Краше я светлого месяца, светлее красного солнышка. Все чтобы на меня глядели, очей не сносили, старый, малый, холостой, женатый. Моим словам – аминь.

Praised Mother of God, praise [the name of the person] the servant of God in this day, in this hour, in this minute, in this second, to the whole company, to the whole gathering. I am the most beautiful, I am better than others, I have come out of an egg, I have raised above the people. I am prettier than the bright moon, brighter than the red sun. So, all of them would look at me, would not take their eyes off me, neither old, nor short, nor unmarried, nor married man. Amen to my words.

**2074.** *Перед крынкой молока:* Как бело молоко это, будь же чисто и бело тело рабы Божьей (*имя*). Береги его, Господь, от дурна глаза. Аминь.

*Say over the lid of the jar full of milk:* may the body of the servant of God [the name of the person] is as clean and white as milk. Save it, Lord, from the evil eye. Amen.

**2082.** Встану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротами, на широкую улицу, на божий свет. Божьим светом осветюся, облаком оботкнуся, мелкими частыми звездами обтычуся. Как месяца не постановить, алых звезд не сосчитать, так рабы Божьей (*имя*) не исправить, не испортить – ни русому, ни тяревому (?), ни одноженому, ни двоеженому, ни одноглазому, ни двоеглазому, ни женке-простоволоске<sup>25</sup>, ни девке-гладковолоске, ни отроку, ни отроковице-лисице. Кто на рабу Божью (*имя*) зло помыслит, тому соли – в глаза, смолы – на язык, дрясвы<sup>26</sup> – на зубы. Будьте, мои слова, крепки-лепки. Век по веку аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the yard through the gates, on to the wide street, into the God's light. I will light up with God's light, I will wrap up myself with the cloud, I will wrap up myself with many stars. As the moon's movement cannot be stopped, scarlet stars cannot be counted, so may the servant of God [the name of the person] not be changed, not be injured, neither by a light-brown man, nor by a [...?] man, nor by a once-married man, nor by a twice-married man, nor by a one-eyed man, nor by a two-eyed man, nor by a promiscuous woman, nor by a smooth-haired floozy, nor by a lad, nor by a lass-fox. Who thinks badly about the servant of God [the name of the person] will have salt in their eyes, tar on their tongue, sand in their teeth. Be, my words, strong and sticky. Forever and ever, amen.

**2090.** *Этот заговор поможет, если на тебя кто-нибудь сердится или у тебя в хозяйстве скотина падает. Нужно взять какою-нибудь вещь этого человека, бросить ее в ворота*

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<sup>25</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "простоволоска – незамужняя и вольного поведенья, самокрутка; иногда расплетает косу надвое, но платка не носит".

<sup>26</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. , р. 398.

*(омут) и сказать отворотные слова: Как Спиридон-солнцеворот вороти красное солнышко и луну, так же отшути, отвори от раба Божьего (имя) шутики, творки, дьявольски пагуби. Старому колдуну, старой колдунье, еретику, еретице, волшебнику, волшебнице, старому чародею, старой чародейке – спереди б их встречаю, сзади стреляю с ветром, с вихрем, с Божьей милостью. Во веки веков. Аминь.*

*This charm helps if someone is angry with you or if your livestock falls ill or dead. You must take something belonging to that person, throw it into a pool and say these averting words: Like Spiridon-solstice turns the red sun and the moon, so laugh off, turn away jokes, creations, devilish harms from the servant of God [the name of the person]. To an old sorcerer, to an old sorceress, to a heretic, to a heretic woman, to a wizard, to a wizardess, to an enchanter, to an enchantress, to an old magician, I will meet you face to face, I will shoot you with the wind, whirlwind, and the God's mercy from behind. Forever and ever. Amen.*

**2091.** От черного глаза, от синего глаза, (от) белого глаза, (от) желтого глаз. Лихому глазу – соль у глазу, перешагнуть нечистого духа. Вы, глаза неокаянные, глаза некрещеные. По бокам не ходи, боков не коли, явства не прети, в дыханье не тесни. Ты, причина вихревая, ветровая, животливая, шутливая, глазливая, по костям не ходи, костей не ломи, явства не прети, дыхание не тесни. Ты, причина выхревая, ветровая, я тебя, причина вихревая, рассею, я тебя вырубаю. Тама не оставляю, по костям не ходи, кощей не ломи, явства не прети, дыханье не тесни. Вот тебе, глазу, соль на глаз.

From the black eye, the dark blue eye, the white eye, the yellow eye. Salt in the vengeful eye, step over the unclean spirit. You, unrepentant eyes, unbaptised eyes. Do not hurt the sides, do not prick the sides, do not turn the stomach, do not make the breathing hard. You, the cause [of the ailment] from whirlwind, wind, animal, joke, ocular, do not go over the bones, do not creak the bones, do not turn the stomach, do not make the breathing hard. You, the cause [of the ailment] from the whirlwind, wind, I will scatter you, I will cut you down. I will not leave you there, so do not go over the bones, do not creak the bones, do not turn the stomach, do not make the breathing hard. There you have it, salt in you, evil eye.

**2121.** Налей воды – и кладешь помаленьку соли. И три раза говорить и бросаешь соль: Черному черёмному соли в глаза. И плюнешь туда. А потом, кода пойдешь спрыскивать, и говоришь три раза: Господи Иисусе Христе, Сыне Божий, помилуй нас. Вон с Тани косой глаз! Три раза спрыснешь и потом три раза плюнешь наотмашь. А остатки выплюнешь.

*Pour water and gradually pour the salt in it. Say it three times when throwing the salt in: salt in the eyes of a back red man. Then spit in it. Afterwards when you are going to sprinkle the water, say three times: Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, have mercy on us. Get out of Tania, evil eye! Sprinkle three times and then spit three times. Afterwards spit everything out.*

**2124.** На соль, на песчинку и на уголек, если сглазят тебя. Мать так делала в стакан: воды нальет, уголек положит, от печи отколупнет, и надо этим умыть (когда умывают – человек вздрагивает, по себе знаю), а потом вылить через левое плечо. И надо поговорить над стаканом: От карего глаза, от голубого глаза, от зеленого глаза, от сердитого глаза, унеси эту боль рабы Божьей (такой-то) в пустыню, подальше от людей. Пусть она там останется и ни на кого не перейдет. Запираю тридевяти тремя замками, тридевяти тремя ключами. Будьте, слова мои, верны. Аминь.

*If someone casts an Evil eye on you, take salt, sand, or coal. Mother did like this: she took a glass and filled it with water, peeled off the stove and put a coal in it, and then washed the person (when he/she was washed with this water, he/she started to shiver, I know it myself). Afterwards she*

*poured the water over the left shoulder. And these words must be said over the glass: from the hazel eye, the light blue eye, the green eye, the angry eye. Take away the pain from the servant of God (such and such) and bring it to the desert, away from the people. So it stays there and does not go over to anyone. I lock it with three-by-ten locks, three-by-ten keys. Be, my words, true. Amen.*

**2130.** Вода-водица, раба-рабица, как ты идешь, рвешь и берешь, смываешь и срываешь крутые бережки, желтые пески, серые камешки, так смой, смой, срой, сорви и унеси уроки, призоры, шепоты, ломоты, родимцы и переполохи во быстру реку, во синё море, в вору-татарину, в легкие пецени, в ретиво сердце, от ворот. *Говорят три раза.*

Water, you water, servant, you servant, as you walk, shred, and take, wash and tear high banks, yellow sands, grey stones, then wash off, wash off, bury, tear off and carry away trembling, sickness, numbing pain, aching, painful seizures and shaking in the fast river, into the dark blue sea, to the Tatar-thief, in the light liver, zealous heart, away from the gates. *Repeat three times.*

**2131.** Вода-водица, Морская царица, мыла-полоскала пеньё, кореньё, луга зелены, травы шелковы, так же смой, сплочи с раба Божьего младенечка уроки, прикосы, переполохи. *В воду наговорят и в байне этой водой моют.*

Water, you water, the queen of the Sea, washed and rinsed the stumps, roots, green meadows, silk grass, so wash off, rinse off the baby and servant of God trembling, whammies, and shaking. *Speak over the water and wash with it in the bathhouse.*

**2134.** Вода-водица, Земная царица, как служишь Богу и царю, так послужи рабу Божью младенцу Андрею – на легость, на здоровье, на Божью милость. Как срываешь, сдираешь с кряжов, с берегов пеньё, кореньё и выскорьё<sup>27</sup> (*ель выворотит, корешки торчат*), так и смой, сплочи с раба Божьего младенца Андрея уроки, прикосы, щипоты, ломотьё, и переполохи, и ветряные переломы (*с ветра придет – и заболел*), из ушей, из ноздрей, из ясных очей, из черных бровей, из косков (костей), изо всех спойков (*места споев, сгибов у рук, ног, шеи и др.*), из мозгов, из тредевять суставов, из тридевять надпятных жил, чтобы не мучился, не маялся раб Божий Андрей ни на ветху (*кончается месяц*), ни на новцу (*новый месяц*), ни на перекрое месяц (*закрывается месяц*), ни во всякое время, ни во всяк свят час. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

Water, you water, you Earthly queen, as you serve the Lord and the tsar, so serve the servant of God baby Andrey, for lightness, for health, for God's mercy. As you tear off, rip off the stumps, roots and pine stumps (*tear out a pine tree, roots stick out*) from the ridges, from the banks, so wash off, rinse off the servant of God baby Andrey trembling, whammies, numbing pain, aching and shaking, and violent shaking (*catches draft(?) and gets sick*) from his ears, from his nostrils, from his bright eyes, from his black eyebrows, from his bones, from all his flexors (places of bend of the arms, legs, neck etc.), from his brain, from his three-by-ten joints, from his three-by-ten above-the-heel veins, so the servant of God Andrey does not suffer, does not toil neither during the old moon (*the moon is ending*), nor in the new moon (*new moon*), nor in the waxing gibbous moon (*when the moon is closing*), or at any time, at any holy hour. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

**2135.** Водица-светлица, красная девица, ты из-за моря шла, болящей рабе Ирине здравие несла. Ты очищался ясным солнцем, частыми звездами, красными зорями. О, Водица-светлица, шла ты темными лесами, крутыми берегами, через белый камень, каждую ты зарю умывалась, каждую зарю очищалась. Смой, очисти всякую болезнь, у рабы Ирины,

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<sup>27</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s.v. "выскорь (арх. Вят) – буреломное дерево, вывороченное с корнем; выкорчеванный бурей лес, пень".

болезнь пересудную, перечесную, переговорную, ветровую, глазовую, наносную. Или кто рабе Ирине позавидовал, или кто погадал, или кто глупо слово сказал, или кто уругнулся, или кто усмехнулся с злостью, с ненавистью, с яростью в плохой час, в плохую минуту, в плохую секунду. И свой волос, и свой голос, и свою ярость упустил рабе Ирине в кости, в мости, в буйную голову, в ретивое сердце, в красную кровь, в черную печень. Кто позавидовал, кто погадал, кто глупо слово сказал – или молодые молодницы, или красные девицы, или старые старики, или молодые мужики, или бабы, или старухи, или девки, или ребята уругнулись, или усмехнулись, или позавидовали. А ты, Водица-светлица, красная девица, ты шла темными лесами, крутыми берегами, через белый камень. Ты очищалась ясным солнцем, светлым месяцем, частыми звездами, красными зорями. Смой-очисти всякую болезнь из рабы Ирины по етот час, по мой заговор. *Читается на воду, а потом ею умываются, иной раз просто побрызгать на больного. Воду берут на Крещение из ручья или проруби. А если такой нет, то можно взять любую, даже из-под крана в городе, но три раза перед этим отмолить.*

Water-luminous one, you fair maiden, you came from the beyond the sea and brought health to the sick servant Irina. You were cleansed by the bright sun, frequent stars, red dawns. Oh, water-luminous one, you walked through the dark forests, high banks, through the white stone, you washed every dawn, you cleansed every dawn. Wash off, cleanse off the servant Irina all illnesses: overriding, scratchy, spoken, wind, ocular, nose [ones]. Who envied the servant Irina, who foretold, who said a stupid word, who cursed, who grinned with anger, with hatred, with fury at a bad hour, at a bad minute, at a bad second and let his hair, his voice, his fury go into servant Irina's bones, her body strength, her unruly head, her zealous heart, her red blood, her black liver. Who envied, who foretold, who said a stupid word, whether young fellows, or fair maidens, or old men, or young men, or women, or old women, or floozies, or young lads cursed, laughed, or envied. And you, water-luminous one, you fair maiden, you walked through the dark forests, high banks, through the white stone. You are cleansed with the clear sun, bright moon, frequent stars, red dawns. Wash off, cleanse off every illness out of the servant Irina, at this hour, according to my charm. *Say it over the water, afterwards wash yourself with it. Sometimes just sprinkle the water over the patient. Take water on the Epiphany day from the stream or ice hole. If there is no such water, you can take any water, even the tap water in the city but pray three times before that.*

**2136.** Мелка золота источинка, бежишь по пенью, по коренью, по белому камению, умываешь пенье, коренье, белое каменье – и умоешь (*имя*) с белого лица, с белого тела все призоры, все уговоры, все недуги. Век и по веку, отныне и до веку. Аминь. *Читать три раза. С каждым разом зачерпывать немного воды.*

Small golden spring, you run over the stumps, over the roots, over the white stone. You wash stumps, roots, white stone, so wash off all sickness, all jinxes, all ailments from the servant of God [the name of the person]'s white face, white body. Forever and ever, from now and forever. Amen. *Repeat three time every time you scoop up some water.*

**2138.** Вода-водица, Морская царица мыла, полоскала траву шелкову, луга зелены, пенья-коренья. Так смой, сплочи с рабы Божьей (*имя*) призоры, прикосы, переполохи, родимцы – из ясных оцей, из чёрных бровей, из могущих плечей, из белого тела, из ретивого сердца. Сколь красно пришли – столь назад идите к старому хозяину.

Water, you water, the queen of the Sea, you washed, you rinsed the silk grass, green meadows, and stumps-roots. Wash off, rinse off the servant of God [the name of the person] all sickness, whammies, shakings, painful seizures from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from the

mighty shoulders, from the white body, from the zealous heart. As red you came so as red you will go away to your old master.

**2139.** Вода-водица – свята святица, мыла, полоскала луга зелены, травы шелковы, пенья-коренья. Смой, сполощи с раба Божья Павла уроки, призоры, прикосы, ветряные переполохи, родимцы<sup>28</sup>, паралимцы – из ясных очей, их черных бровей, их ретивого сердца, из буйной головы из костяной, из резвых ног, из белых рук, из всех суставов, из полусустав. *Повторяют три раза.*

Water, you water, you holy holiness, you washed, rinsed the green meadows, silk grass, and stumps-roots. Wash off, rinse off the servant of God Pavel all trembling, sickness, whammies, shaking, painful seizures, and [...] from his bright eyes, from his black eyebrows, from his zealous heart, from his unruly bony head, from his frisky legs, from his white hands, from all his joints, from all his half-joints. *Repeat three times.*

**2140.** Вода-водица, красная девица текла, протекла с крутых красных бережков, с пенья, с коренья, с ракового куста. Так же омой, очисти с раба Божья (*имя*) призор. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь. *Так же воду по течению взять и омыть.*

Water, you water, you fair maiden, you flowed, you flowed from the steep red banks, from the stumps, from the roots, from the rocket bush. So wash, cleanse the sickness from the servant of God [the name of the person]. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. *Collect the water along the flow and wash.*

**2141.** Вода-водица, красна девица шла на перекате, шла издалека, умывала пенья, коренья, подводны каменя. Так же с раба Божья (*имя*) умой все призоры и узоры, ветряны переломы, чтобы не были ни в костях, ни в мозгах, ни в ясных очах, ни в ретивом сердце, ни в черной печени. Аминь. *Три раза. Водой омыть, а воду брать на той заре, что родился.*

Water, you water, you fair maiden, you walked over the shallow water, walked from afar, washed stumps, roots, underwater stones. So wash off the servant of God [the name of the person] all sickness, shivering, and shaking so they are not in the bones, nor in the brains, nor in the bright eyes, nor in the zealous heart, nor in the black liver. Amen. *Say three times and wash with the water. You should collect water at the dawn.*

**2144.** Ключевая водица, красна девица, смываешь пески и колоды, круты берега. Смой и скати с раба Божья уроки, прикосы, крести, родимцы, переполохи – на утренней зари, на вечерной, на полуночной, на новцу месяцу, на перекройном месяцу. *Заговаривают на воду, потом плюют три раза.*

Spring water, you fair maiden, you wash off sands and wells, and steep banks. Wash off and take off the servant of God trembling, whammies, shoulder aches, painful seizures, shaking in the morning dawn, in the evening dawn, in the midnight dawn, in the young moon, in the middle moon. *Speak over the water, then spit three times.*

**2147.** Дедушко Донской, дедушко Морской, дедушко Водяной, дай мне воды морской – на порцы, на урцы, уроки, прикосы, на переполохи. С черных бровей, с ясных очей, с ретивого сердца.

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<sup>28</sup> Ушаков Д. Н., "Толковый словарь современного русского языка," (Москва: Аделант, 2012). s.v. "родимчик – 1. Болезненный припадок у маленьких детей, сопровождающийся судорогами и потерей сознания. 2. У рожениц и беременных – то же, что эклампсия".

Grandfather Donskoi, grandfather Morskoi, grandfather Merman, give me the sea water against jinxes, shivering, trembling, whammies, and shaking from the black eyebrows, from the bright eyes, from the zealous heart.

**2148.** Господи Исусе Христе. Вода-водица мыла, полоскала пеньё, кореньё, каменьё точила, песок серебрила. Так же смой-сплощи с раба Божьего младенца (*имя*) все уроки, прикосы, переполохи – с черных бровей, с ясных очей, с ретивого сердца.

Lord Jesus Christ. The water washed, rinsed stumps, roots, sharpened stones, and silvered sands. So wash off, rinse off the servant of God baby [the name of the person] all trembling, whammies, and shaking from the black eyebrows, from the bright eyes, from the zealous heart.

**2149.** За тридевять морей, за тридевять земель, из-за синего моря прилетел петушок, склевывает рабу Божьему (*имя*) всякие призорища, оговорища, всякие бесинские, материнские думы. Да веку и по веку. Аминь. *Сказать три раза.*

Beyond the three-by-nine seas, beyond the three-by-nine lands, from the dark blue sea a cockerel flew, pecking off the servant of God [the name of the person] all sickness, gossip, all devilish, motherly thoughts. Forever and ever. Amen. *Repeat three times.*

**2150.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы в двери, из ворот в ворота, под утреннюю зорю, под вечернюю зорю, под светлый месяц, под ясное солнце. Пойду я, раб Божий, к синему морю. Из синего моря выплывает белый лебедь, с белого лебедя скатывается чистая светлая вода. Скатысь, вся удоба. Как вода-матушка рассекает все края и крутые берега и снимает зеленую траву, и бежит во святое море, сниму с раба Божьего всю удобу, причища и урочища, и все озирища, и все родимища. И сними с меня все страхи-переполохи. И будьте, мои слова, крепки и лепки. От ин до века. Аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the gate through the gate, under the morning dawn, under the evening dawn, under the bright moon, under the clear sun. I will go, the servant of God, to the dark blue sea. Out of the dark blue sea a white swan is emerging, clean bright water is flowing from the white swan. Roll off, exhaustion. Just as mother-water cuts lands and steep banks, green grass, and flows to the holy sea, so I will cure the servant of God of exhaustion, sickness, and trembling, and the Evil eye, and all the painful seizures. Take off me all the worries and shakings. Be, my words, strong and sticky. From now on and forever. Amen.

**2153.** Стану, благословясь, пойду перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротами, в чистое поле, на восточную сторону. Под восточной стороны есть трех девять птиц: носы железны, крылья булатны. Клюйте, собирайте и отбирайте у раба Божья (*имя*) пучи (?) и порчи, уроки, прикосы, костяные и железные (*жиляные?*), коленные и сорокомленные – из семидесяти жил, из черной печени, из ясных очей, из могучих плечей.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the gate through the gate, in the open field, to the east side. On the east side there are three-by-nine birds: iron noses, bulat steel wings. Peck, gather and take away from the servant of God [the name of the person] jinxes, trembling, whammies, both bony and iron (veiny?) ones, knee and [...?] ones from the seven-by-ten veins, from the black liver, from the bright eyes, from the mighty shoulders.

**2154.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверью, из ворот воротами. Выйду на широку улицу, гляну под восточну стороночку. Летит из той стороночки черный ворон, несет в зубах мертвецку коску. Эта коска приставаат на уроки, на щипоты,

на ломоты, на сини опухоли. Чтобы не было у раба Божия (*имя*) ни щипот, ни ломот, ни переполохов. Из родимо исходимо, из родимо исходимо.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate. I will go out to the wide street and look to the east side. A black raven flies from the east side, carries in his teeth a dead bone. It uses this bone against trembling, numbing pain, aching, dark blue swellings. So may the servant of God [the name of the person] have neither numbing pain, nor aching, nor shakings. Get out of one's own, get out of one's own.

**2155.** Стану я, раба Божья Сусанья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротами, пойду на восточную сторонку. На восточной сторонке есть чистое поле, в чистом поле – синее море. В синем море – Златырь-камень. Златырь-камень мохом оброс, травой зарос. Под этим камнем есть бела рыба щука, зубы железны, глаза оловянны. Бела рыба щука мох и траву хватает и съедает, так и с рабы Божьей Сусаньей хватает и съедает все грыжи, прикосы и уразы – от белого лица, от ясных очей, от всех легких печеней. Быть те мои слова не от женки-красноголовки, не от девки-простоволоски, не от мужика-колдуна. И быть те слова емки и крепки, крепче крепкого замка, крепче серого камня. И быть этим словам – ключ и замок. Аминь

I, the servant of God Susanya, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the doors, out of the doors through the gates, I will go to the east side. On the east side there is an open field, in the open field there is a dark blue sea. In the dark blue sea, there is the Zlatyr-stone. The Zlatyr-stone has overgrown with moss, grass. Under this stone there is a white pike fish with iron teeth, tin eyes. The white pike fish grabs and eats moss and grass, so may it grab off and eat off the servant of God Susanya all hernias, whammies and blows from her white face, from her bright eyes, from her light liver. Be, my words, neither from a married woman, nor from a floozy, nor from a sorcerer. And be my words ample and strong, stronger than a strong lock, stronger than a grey stone. The key and the lock to my words. Amen.

**2156.** Свежая вода, и живая вода и текучая вода, и бегучая вода, и гоголя вода, свежая вода унесет Важка. Мезень унесет на синем море. На синем море есть большой камень. На большом камне есть большая щука. Щука – железные зубы, булатные. Он весть булатен дышит и хватает, съедает и глодает урча и проча раба Божья (*имя*).

Fresh water, and live water and flowing water, and running water, bird water, and fresh water will carry Vazhek away. The Mezen river will carry [Vazhek] to the dark blue sea. On the dark blue sea there is a big stone. On the big stone there is a big pike. It has iron teeth, bulat steel teeth and it is of bulat steel, it breathes and grabs, eats and swallows trembling and jinxes off the servant of God [the name of the person].

**2157.** *Когда человека сглазят, прикчи, уроки его заедят, голова у него болит, вялый от какой-то, еле ходит, нужно набрать в рот воды, sprysnut' ego, прикусить язык и сказать:* Встану я, раба Божия Авдотья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, в чисто поле, на восточную сторону. На восточной стороне стоит океян-море, в океяне, в море лежит серый камень, у серого камня стоит щука, медны щелы, булатные зубы. Все она прикчи-уроки заедает и загрызает. Сам Исус Христос – на востоке, на престоле. Подойду поближе, поклонюсь пониже, стану я слова говорить от троезубого, двоезубого, от девки-простоволоски, от бабы-самокрутки. Поедьте все прикчи-уроки на пусты лесы, на пески беломорски, там вас хорошо припевают, отроки женятся, отрокицы свадьбу играют. Вот мои слова, ключ да замок. Ключ – в море, замок – на запоре.



*When a person is cursed, sickness and trembling is hurting him/her, s/he has a headache, s/he feels sluggish and barely walks. You get mouth full of water, sprinkle it, bite your tongue, and say: I, the servant of God Avdotya, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, in the open field, to the east side. On the east side there is an ocean-sea, in the ocean, in the sea there lies a grey stone, by the grey stone stands a pike with copper slits and damask steel teeth. It eats and gnaws all sicknesses-trembling. Jesus Christ himself is in the east, on the throne. I will come closer, bow lower, I will begin to speak words from a three-teeth man, from a two-teeth man, from a floozy, from an energetic woman. Go you, sicknesses-trembling, to the empty woods, to the white sea sand. There they will sing for you, where the lads are getting married, lasses are getting married. The key and the lock to my words. The key in the sea, the lock in the lock-on.*

**2158.** Стану я, раба Божья Анастасия, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверями, из дверей воротами. Пойду, пойду в чисто поле. Есть синее море, на синем море есть синий камень, под синим камнем стоит щука зубастая и жорластая – щёки медные, зубы железные, глаза бисерные, нос... Скушай, искусай, изъедай с рабы Божьей Анастасии уроки, прикосы, исполохи, переполохи и все завидости. На том камне сидит синий мужичок, синяя шапка, синяя оболочка, синяя обутка, синяя опояска и синий топор. Иссекай, изрубай с рабы Божьей Анастасии исполохи и переполохи, все родимцы скорбные, и внутренние кременной, сердцевой, костовой, мозговой, жилой, паховой, коленевой, пальцевой, глазовой, ротовой, уховой, толеновой (?), волосьевой, на утренней заре, на вечерней заре, и на середине дня, и на ветху, и на пересрой месяцу, и на всей час, и на всяк день божий. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа.

I, the servant of God Anastasia, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the door through the gate. I will go, will go in the open field. There is a dark blue sea, in the dark blue sea there is a dark blue stone, under the dark blue stone there is a sharp-toothed and throaty pike with copper cheeks, iron teeth, beaded eyes, and nose... Eat, bite, eat out of the servant of God Anastasia trembling, whammies, flushes, shakings and all the envy. On that stone sits a dark blue man, with a dark blue hat, dark blue covering, dark blue coat, dark blue girdle and with a dark blue axe. Chop and cut off from the servant of God Anastasia flushes and shakings, all painful, mournful, and internal seizures: [...?], heart, bone, brain, vein, crotch, knee, finger, ocular, mouth, ear, [...?], hair [ones] in the morning dawn, at the evening dawn, in the middle of the day, in the old moon and waxing moon, at any hour, at any god's day. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

**2159.** Выйду я, благословясь, стану, перекрестясь, их дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, на восточну сторону, на океан-море. В океане-море – серый камень, под серым камнем – бела рыба щука, зубы костяны, щёки железны. Она переедает и перегрызает все уроки и прикосы. Покиньтесь, побросьтесь у рабы Божьей Марии – из ясных очей, из могучих плечей, из ретивого сердца, во всяк час, во всяко время, на утренней заре, на вечерней заре, на ветху, и на новцю, и на перекрой месяцу.

I will go out blessing myself, I will arise crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, to the east side, to the ocean-sea. In the ocean-sea there is a grey stone, under the grey stone there is a white pike fish with bony teeth and iron cheeks. It eats and gnaws trembling and whammies. Give up and leave the servant of God Maria, from her bright eyes, from her mighty shoulders, from her zealous heart, at any hour, at any time, in the morning dawn, in the evening dawn, in the new moon, in the old moon, in the waxing moon.

**2161.** Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротьми, во чисто поле, во синё море. В синем море есть рыба щука, зубы железны, глаза оловянны – съедат и слакат уроки, прикосы с рабы Божьей Марии во всяк день, во всяк час, на

утренней зари и на вечерней, на ветху и на новц., на перекрой месяцю. Во имя Отца и Сына.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the gate through the gate, in the open field, to the dark blue sea. In the dark blue sea, there is a pike fish with iron teeth and tin eyes. It eats and devours trembling and whammies off the servant of God Maria at any day, at any hour, in the morning dawn, and in the evening dawn, in the old moon, in the new moon, in the waxing moon. In the name of the Father and the Son.

**2163.** Раба Божья (имя) стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, выйду из избы дверьми, из двора воротами. Встану по восток, в по(д)восточну сторону. Под восточну сторону есть мне море. В том синем море ходит рыба щука, у ей зубы железны, нос окованный. Она теми зубами выедаёт, выгрызает у рабы Божьей (имя) прикосы, уроки – из ясных очей, из могучих плечей, из ретивого сердца, из буйной головы, из белых рук, из резвых ног. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа.

I, the servant of God [the name of the person] will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the door through the gate. I will arise to the east, to the east side. On the east side from me there is a sea. In that dark blue sea, there is a pike fish, it has iron teeth, chained nose. The pike fish eats, gnaws off the servant of God [the name of the person] whammies and trembling from the bright eyes, from the mighty shoulders, from the zealous heart, from the unruly head, from the white hands, from the frisky legs. In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

**2164.** Исуса Христа, Сына Божьего, во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь. Стану раба Божья Марина, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротыми, под восток – и под восточней (?) Божьей Матери. Там есть чисто поле, в чистом поле – синё море. В этом синем море ест бела рыба, щука злата. У этой щуки перьё булатно, зубы булатны, глаза булатны. Эта щука мечется, кидается, бросается, заедается, загрызает у рабы Божьей Марины уроки, прикосы, щипоты, ломоты и все скорби-болезни – из ушей, из ноздрей, из ясных очей, из ретивого сердца, от горячей печени, из кудрявой(?) души, из буйной головы. Возьму я и уроки, прикосы, щипоты, ломоты, понесу по святой Рыжикове. В этой во святой Рыжикове есть белолатной камень. Как етот камень на верх воду не сплыват, так же у рабы Божьей Марины уроки, прикосы, щипоты, ломоты на верх воду не сплывали. Ключ да замок. И быти, мои слова, крепки, и лепки, и кристаллисты(?): и на новцу, и на ветху, ина вех межумянных (межимянных?) днях. Никому ни переест, ни перегрызть вострыми зубами, укладными<sup>29</sup> щеками и своим большим ртом.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. Amen. I, the servant of God Marina, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the yard through the gate, to the east side, to the east side, to the Mother of God. There is an open field there, in the open field there is a dark blue sea. In that dark blue sea, there is a white fish, golden pike. This pike fish has bulat steel feathers, bulat steel teeth, bulat steel eyes. This pike rushes, throws itself, tumbles, eats, and gnaws off the servant of God Marina trembling, whammies, pinching, aching and all the sorrows-illnesses from her ears, from her nostrils, from her bright eyes, from her zealous heart, from her hot liver, from her curly (?) soul, from her unruly head. I will take trembling, whammies, numbing pain, and aching, and carry them around the holy Ryzhikova. In this holy Ryzhikova there is a white (bulat?) stone. As this stone does not raise to the water surface, so may her trembling, whammies, numbing pain and aching from the servant of God Marina not raise to the surface of water. The key and the lock.

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<sup>29</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. , р. 410.

And be, my words, strong and sticky, and crystal clear (?): in the new moon, in the old moon, and in all the [...] days. Nobody is able to eat, to gnaw with the sharp teeth, welded cheeks, and the big mouth.

**2166.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротами, под восток, под восточну сторону. Там есть озеро, в этом озере есть рыба бела щука свежа. У этой у рыбы, у белой щуки у свежей зубы локотны<sup>30</sup>, глаза оловянные, она съедала, сгрызала до трёхдевяти – все прикосы, уроки, дённы оговоры, ночны исполохи. С ясных очей, из-за ушей, со кровавых печеней, из ретивого сердца, с буйной головы. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the yard through the gate, to the east, to the east side. There is a lake, in that lake there is a fresh white pike fish. This fish, this fresh white pike has sharp bent (?) teeth and tin eyes. It was eating and gnawing three-by-nine whammies, trembling, daily calumniations, nocturnal flushes from the bright eyes, from the ears, from the bloody livers, from the zealous heart, from the unruly head. In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

**2169.** Стану я, благословясь, выйду я, раб Яков, из избы, перекрестясь, дверями, на улицу воротами, в чистое поле на восточную сторону. На восточной стороне стоит святая церковь о тридевяти углов, о тридевяти крестов. О тридевяти престолов. Никто этой церкви не может ни перенести, ни переставить, так и меня никто не может испортить и изурочить: ни порченникам, ни урочникам, ни клеветникам, ни клеветникам – ни двоезубым, ни троезубым, ни сопливым, ни ноздривым, ни красным девицам, не молодым молодцам, ни двоежоным, ни троежоным, ни зверю съест, ни птичкам склевать. Будтье, мои слова, крепки и лепки, и милостивы. Тут моим словам – ключ и замок.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out, the servant of God Jacob, crossing myself, out of the house through the door, onto the street through the gate, in the open field, on the east side. On the east side there stands a holy church with three-by-nine corners, three-by-nine crosses, three-by-nine thrones. As nobody can move or transfer this church, so no one can ruin me or cripple me: neither wo/men spoilers, nor the wo/men sorcerers, nor slanderers, nor slanderers. Neither a two-teeth man, nor a three-teeth man, nor a snotty man, nor a nostril man, nor fair maidens, nor young fellows, nor a twice married man, nor a three-times married man. Neither beast could eat, nor a bird could peck. Be, my words, strong and sticky, and merciful. The key and lock to my words.

**2170.** Вставаю, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, пойду из двери в двери, из ворот в ворота, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле стоит елочка, зеленым-зелёненька. Этой елочки от солнышка не зажигают, от ветра не преклонят, так же рабу Божью (*имя*) не берите ни уроки, ни прикосы, ни ветряные переломы, ни людские оговоры, ни материны думы, ни от девки-часоголовки, ни от женки-красноголовки (*замужняя женщина носит красный повойник*), ни от супостата – лихого человека, ни от двоезуба, ни от троезуба, ни от двоеглаза, ни от троеглаза. Тем же моим словам – ключ крепкой, замок плотной, Троицка молитва, Пречистенский замок. Аминь, аминь, аминь. *На воду наговорить и в воду окунуть ребенка.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, I will go out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, in the open field. In the open field there stands a fir tree, a

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<sup>30</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s. v. "локтовина (локтевина) – изгиб, погиб, колено, угол, зубец".

very green tree. As the sun does not burn it, and wind does not bend it, so may [the name of the person] the servant of God have neither trembling, nor whammies, nor shaking, nor people's curses, nor cursing thoughts neither from a floozy, nor from a married woman (a married woman wears a red head piece), nor from an adversary-dashing man, nor from a two-teeth man, nor from a three-teeth man, nor from a two-eye man, nor from a three-eye man. The strong key and the thick lock to my words, Holy Trinity prayer, Communion lock. Amen, amen, amen. *Speak over the water and dip the child in the water.*

**2172.** Фу, все укосы, все прикосы, все щипоты, все ломоты – из ясных очей, из черных бровей, из ретивого сердца, из горячего печени. “От кого пришли?” - “От женки-черноволоксы, от девки-длинноволоксы, от мужика лиходейного”. Пойдите в чистое поле, все укосы, все прикосы, вяе щипоты и ломоты. Не ломите раба Божьего Сенечку. *В бане три раза чапашь да говоришь три зари, и полено сосново из печи – чтобы немного с дымком, моешь.*

Stop, you, trembling, whammies, numbing pain, and aching from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from the zealous heart, from the hot liver. “Who did you come from?” – “We came from a black-haired woman, from a long-haired floozy, from a man-villain”. You, trembling, whammies, numbing pain and aching, go to the open field! Do not torment the servant of God Senja. *Scope water during three dawns and speak these words. Take a pine log out of the stove so there is a little smoke when you wash.*

**2175.** Сурож, сурож, сурож – выйдите, сурожы, с рабы (*имя*), с костей, с мозгов, с буйной головы, с горячей крови, с черной печени, с ретивого сердца, с пальчиков, суставчиков. Чудине, перечудине, переговорине, глазине<sup>31</sup>. От белого глаза, от черного глаза, от желтого глаза, от мужского глаза, женского глаза, от девичьего глаза. Пятница-матушка роду крестьянского, возьми эту боль с (*имя*), снеси эту боль на широкие боры, на холодные воды, на шёлковые травы. Как мать родила, на белый свет пустила, пусти его (*ее?*) по старому бору. Чур, чур тебя, Господи!

Twitch, twitch, twitch, get out of the servant of God [the name of the person], out of the bones, out of the brains, out of the unruly head, out of the hot blood, out of the black liver, out of the zealous heart, out of fingers, out of joints. Miracle, miracle, charm words, the Evil eye. [Twitch] from the white eye, from the black eye, from the yellow eye, from the male eye, from the female eye, from the maiden eye. Mother-Friday of the peasant kin, take this pain from [the name of the person], carry away this pain to the wide coniferous forests, to the cold waters, to the silk grass. As mother bore you, let you in the world, let him (*her?*) go to the old coniferous forest. *Chur, chur* you, Lord!

**2177.** Секу-высекаю, гоню-выгоняю уроки, прикосы, щепоты, ломоты и переполохи, с рабы Божьей (*имя*) скатитесь, свалитесь – с белого тела, с ретива сердца. Из ясных очей, из черных бровей, из пятных жил, из подколенных суставов. И подите эти стрелы(?), и грыжи, родимцы, переполохи по скотам, по готам<sup>32</sup>(?), по всем болотам беспятно, безворотятно. *Три раз проговори и плюнь не направо, а налево.*

I cut and cut, I drive out trembling, whammies, numbing pains, aching, and shaking from the servant of God [the name of the person]. You roll down, fall off from the white body, from the zealous heart, from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from the heel veins, from the under-knee joints. And you, arrows (?), hernias, painful seizures, and shaking, go to the

<sup>31</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. , р. 411. Perhaps it is a generalized appeal to miracle, charms words and to the Evil eye.

<sup>32</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. . Р. 411.

livestock, to the marshes, to the swamps leaving no trace and without coming back again. *Say it three times and spit not to the right but to the left.*

**2178.** Выдуваю, выгоняю уроки, прикосы, переполохи, исполохи, родимицы с буйного ветра, с лютого зверя, злого человека с рабой Божьей Иры – их буйной головы, из ясных очей, из черных бровей, из ноздрей, из ушей, из могучих плеч, из белого тела, из ретивого сердца, из румяной крови, из черной печени, из легких, из резвых ног. Там подите – в чисто поле, в сине море. Ключ – ко дну. Во имя Отца и Сына. Аминь.

I blow out, I drive out trembling, whammies, shaking, flushes, painful seizures from the violent wind, from a fierce beast, from an evil man, from the servant of God Ira, from her unruly head, from her bright eyes, from her black eyebrows, from her nostrils, from her ears, from her mighty shoulders, from her white body, from her zealous heart, from her rosy blood, from her black liver, from her lungs, from her frisky legs. You go there, in the open field, in the dark blue sea. Key to the bottom. In the name of the Father and the Son. Amen.

**2182.** На море, на камени, на знамени стояла церковь. Из той божьей церкви вышел белый кудрявый человек. Стал он выстреливать из рабы Божьей (*имя*) призор, уроки да переполохи – от девки-простоволоски, от женки-белоголовки, от мужика-клеветника. Тут моим словам – ключ и замок.

On the sea, on the stone, on the banner there was a church. From that godly church came out a white curly-haired man. He started to shoot out of the servant of God [the name of the person] sickness, trembling and shaking [that came] from a floozy, from a blonde married woman, from a man-slanderer. The key and the lock to my words.

**2183.** Стану я, раба Божья, не благословясь, пойду, не перекрестясь, отцом не прощена, матерью не благословлена, не из сеней сенями, не из дверей дверями, не из ворот воротами, а мышинными бронями (*тропами?*), собачьими следами, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле есть ветряной мужичок, у него есть лук. Он стреляет, отстреливает, колет, откалывает – у одинока (*одинока?*) куста чтобы не было ни единого листа, ни единой отрасли. Так бы у раба Божия не было бы стрельбы<sup>33</sup> ни в белых руках, ни в резвых ногах, ни в буйной голове, ни в ретивом сердце, ни в ясных очах, ни в черных бровях, ни в белом теле – ни грыжьев, ни стрельцов. Во веки по веку, отныне и до веку. Аминь. *Три раза. Свекровь так детей успокаивала.*

I, the servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, without my father's forgiveness, without my mother's blessing, not from the entrance and through the entrance, not out of the door through the door, not out of the gate through the gate, but along the mice armour (pathways?), dog's tracks, I will go to the open field. In the open field there is a wind peasant, he has a bow. He shoots, shoots off, cuts, chips off from a lonely bush so there is not a single leaf, not a single branch [left]. So may the servant of God have no illnesses either in the white hands, or in the frisky legs, or in the unruly head, or in the zealous heart, or in the bright eyes, or in the black eyebrows, or in the white body. So there are no hernias, nor illnesses. Forever and ever, from now and forever. Amen. *Three times. My mother-in-law calmed children that way.*

**2184.** Стану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из сеней сеньми, из двора воротами, выйду в чистое поле. В чистом поле – синее море, в синем море – синий остров, на синем острове – синий камень, на синем камени – синий мужик, у синя мужика – орлиные крылья. Стреляет и отстреливает от раба Божия (*имя*) все притчи и призоры, и людские оговоры, и ветрены переломы. Аминь. *Надо говорить на воду,*

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<sup>33</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. , р. 411.

*плевать и плескать в себя из горстей. Чтоб проходная подушка была. Если оговорили, переели ребенка (сглазили), то так наговаривают. Сглаз от ветру приходит, от людей. Кого ни созовешь, она (бабка) прочтает, я слышу да и пойму. Так и научилась я этим заговорам. От бабок разных. Перенять можно не от всякого. Не всякому ладится, не от всякого человека.*

I, the servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the entrance through the entrance, out of the yard through the gates, in the open field. In the open field there is a dark blue sea, in the dark blue sea there is a dark blue island, on the dark blue island there is a dark blue stone, on the dark blue stone sits a dark blue man, the dark blue man has eagle wings. Shoot, shoot off from the servant of God [the name of the person] all gossip and sickness, people's curses, and shaking. Amen. *Speak these words over the water, spit, and sprinkle over yourself with handfuls of running water. Say these words if a child is cursed. The Evil eye comes from people with the wind. Whoever came to her, she (woman) cured them, I listened and understood it. This is how I learned the words from different women healers. You can learn but not from anyone. Not everyone can do it.*

**2185.** На море-океяне, на острове Буяне стоит площадный камень, на том камне лежит атаман Кияш, атаманиха Кияша. Я прошу вас, атаман Кияш, атаманиха Кияша, соберите всех своих змеев и змей, братьев и сестёр, сыновей и дочерей, колдунов и чародеев, нечистых сил и бесноватых духов. Может, он ушел за калинов<sup>34</sup> мост, скликните, звукните и спросите, кто из них подмутил, кто их них поддурил, кто нечистую силу усадил, кто отнял здоровье у рабы твоей (*имя*). И на чём ей подмутили, и на чём ей поддурили, на чём отняли здоровье? Или на хлебе, или на соли, или на плодах, или на водах, или на росе, или на траве, или на ветрах, или на земле, или на бане подвели, или в постель подложили, или в пирог подсыпали? Я прошу вас, атаман Кияш, атаманиха Кияша, из рабы (*имя*) выгоните нечистую силу, выгоните недуга, выгоните бесноватого духа, выгоните беса ночного и полуденного, который всажен или тобою, или твоею женою, или твоими братьями, или твоими сестрами, или твоим(*и*) сыновьями, или твоим(*и*) дочерьями, или колдунами, или чародеями, или знахарями, или нечистыми силами. А если вы не выгоните, не вышлите от рабы (*имя*), не отдадите талант, счастье, долю и полное тело здоровье, то буду просить на помощь леса и поля, моря и реки, колдцы и травы, и цветы, то буду просить: "Господи, колыхни вода", то буду просить: "Господи, потряси земли", то буду просит: "Господи, опусти небо. Открой, Господи, молнию, пожги, попеки нечистую силу, видимую, невидимую, побей, Господи, атамана Кияша, атаманишу Кияшу, и всех братьев, и сестер, и сыновей, и дочерей, и колдунов, и чародеев, и нечистых сил". Я прошу на помощь к рабе болящей Матерь Божию, самого Иисуса Христа. Я прошу и призываю на помощь Николая Угодника, Егория Храброго, Михаила Архангела, прошу и призываю на помощь Ивана-воина, Михаила Стеколита, Федора Тылина, Устиня Куприяна. Прошу и призываю на помощь всех святых угодников. Они будут ехать на вороных конях из-под красной зари, из-под светлого месяца, из-под ясного солнца. Будут ехать с лучами, с мечами, с калеными стрелами. Они вас лучами осветят, мечами посекут, стрелами пожгут, пепел ваш в океяноморе снесут и кинут на дно и скажут: "Пойдите вы скрозь донные!" И скажут: "Пойдите вы все скрозь донные!" Господи, не отступи от нас, от рабов твоих, просящих твоей помощи. Прошу на помощь небо и солнце, месяц и звёзды, зори, и ветры, и вихри, сырую мать-землю. Прошу к болящей рабе на помощь воды, реки, потоки, колдцы, моря, источники. Прошу небесных птиц, прошу травы и росы, и плоды, и леса, и весь белый свет. Аминь.

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<sup>34</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s. v. "В сказках поминаются мосты калиновы: это гать, мощеная хворостом, калиной, дорога по болоту".

On the sea-ocean, on the island Buyan there is a square stone. On that stone lies ataman Kiyash and his wife Kiyasha. I implore you, ataman Kiyash and wife Kiyasha, gather up all your snakes and serpents, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, sorcerers and enchanters, unclean forces and possessed spirits. Maybe he went beyond the viburnum bridge. Shout out, gather, and ask, who stirred it, who fooled, who accommodated unclean forces, who took away the health from the servant of God [the name of the person]. And why did they stir it, why did they fool, why did they take her health away? Did they spoil the bread, or the salt, or the fruits, or the water, or the dew, or the grass, or the winds, or the soil, or the bathhouse, or did they put it in the bed, or did they put it in a pie? I implore you, ataman Kiyash and wife Kiyasha, cast out of the servant [the name of the person] unclean forces, cast out the ailment, cast out devilish spirit, cast out the devil, midnight devil and midday devil, who was put there either by you, or by your wife, or by your brothers, or by your sisters, or by your sons, or by your daughters, or by sorcerers, or by enchanters, or by healers, or by unclean forces. If you will not cast them out, will not send them out of the servant [the name of the person], if you will not give back the talent, happiness, destiny, and full body health, I will ask for help from the forests and fields, seas and rivers, wells and grasses, and flowers. I will ask: "Lord, stir up the water", and then I will ask: "Lord, shake the earth", and then I will ask: "Lord, open the heaven. Open, Lord, the lightning, burn and fry unclean forces, visible and invisible. Beat, Lord, ataman Kiyash and his wife Kiyasha, and all his brothers, and sisters, and sons, and daughters, and sorcerers, and enchanters, and unclean forces". I will ask the help of the Mother of God, and Christ himself for the ill servant. I will ask and implore the help of Saint Nikolai, George the Brave, the Archangel Michael. I will ask and implore the help of Ivan the Warrior, Michael Stekolit, Fedor Tylin, Ustiyn Kupriyan. I will ask and implore the help of saint Simon and Dmitry Salynskiy. I will ask the help of all the saint apostles. They will ride on the raven horses out of the red dawn, out of the bright moon, out of the clear sun. They will ride with bows, swords, and fiery arrows. They will lighten you up with the rays, they will cut you up with the swords, they will burn you with arrows, and they will bring your ashes to the ocean-sea and drop them down to the bottom of the ocean-sea and say: "Go down to the bottom!" And they will say: "All of you, go down to the bottom!". Lord, do not leave us, your servants, who are asking your help. I will ask the help of the heaven and the sun, the moon and the stars, the dawns, the winds, and the whirlwinds, the mother-dump earth. I will ask the help of the water, the rivers, the streams, the wells, the seas, the springs for the ill servant. I will ask the help of the heavenly birds, grass and dews, and fruits, and the forests and the whole wide world. Amen.

**2186.** На море Буяне, на острове Океане стоит площадный камень. На том на площадке камне лежит атаман Океяш и атаманиха Океящиха. Прошу вас, атаман Океяш и атаманиха Океящиха, соберите всех своих змеев и змей, братьев и сестер, сыновей и дочерей, колдунов и чародеев, нечистых сил, бесноватых духов. Можя каво унес пес за калинов мост, окликнете, огукните и спросите, кто их них подмутил, кто из них поддурил, кто нечистую силу всадил и кто отнял здоровье у рабы Натальи. И на чём ей подшутили и на чём поддурили, и чём отняли здравие? Или на хлебе, или на соли, или на плодах, или на водах, или на росе, или на траве, или на ветрах, или на земле, или в бане подлили, или в постели положили, или на пороге посыпали. Прошу вас, атаман Океяш и атаманиха Океящиха, из рабы Натальи выгоните нечистую силу, выгоньте недуга, выгоньте бесноватого духа, выгоните беса ночного и полуденного, который всажен тобою, или твоею женою, или твоими братьями и сестрами, или твоими сыновьями, дочерьями, или колдунами и чародеями, и знахарями, или нечистыми силами. А если не выгоните и не вышлите от рабы Натальи, не отдадите талант, счастье, долю, долгое и полное телу здоровье, то буду просить на помощь леса и поля, моря и реки, колодцы, травы и цветы. Я буду просить: "Господи, колыхни воды, потряси землю, опусти небо. Открой, Господи,

молнию, пожги, посеки нечистую силу, видиму и невидиму, побей, Господи, атамана Океяша и атаманиху Океяшу и всех сестер и братьев, сыновей и дочерей, колдунов и чародеев, и нечистых сил”. Я прошу на помощь к рабе Натальи Матерь Божью и самого Иисуса Христа. Я прошу и призываю на помощь Николая угодника, Ягория Храброго, Михаила Архангела. Прошу и призываю вас на помощь – Ивана-воина, Михаила Стрекалина, Федора Тылина, Устинью, Куприяна. Прошу на помощь святого Симона и Дмитрия Салынского, и прошу на помощь всех своих угодников. Они будут ехать на вороных конях из-под красной зари, из-под светлого месяца, из-под ясного солнца. Будут ехать с лучами, с мечами, с каменными стрелами. Они вас лучами осветят, мечами посекут, стрелами пожгут, пепел ваш в океан-море снесут и кинут на дно и скажут: “Пойдите вы скрозь донье, пойдите вы скрозь донное, пойдите вы скрозь донное”. Аминь, аминь, аминь. Господи, не отступи от нее. Прошу на помощь небо и солнце, месяц и звезды, зори и ветры, и вихри, и сырую землю. Прошу на помощь воды, и травы, потоки, и колодцы, и моря, источники. Прошу небесных птиц, прошу травы, росы, и плоды, и леса, и весь белый свет. *Заговор этот себе и людям.*

On the sea Buyan, on the island Okeyan there stands a square stone. On that square stone lies ataman Okeyash and his wife Okeyashikha. I implore you, ataman Okeyash and wife Okeyashikha, gather all your serpents and snakes, brothers and sisters, sons, and daughters, sorcerers and enchanters, unclean forces, evil spirits. Maybe a dog has taken someone over the viburnum bridge, call out, gather, and ask, who stirred it up, who joked, who put the unclean forces there and who took the health away from the servant Natalya. Why did they make fun of her, why did they joke about her, why did they take her health away? They put it either on bread, or on salt, or on fruits, or on waters, or on dew or on grass or on winds, or on soil, or in the bathhouse, or in the bed they put it, or scattered over the threshold. I implore you, ataman Okeyash and Okeyashikha, cast out of the servant Natalya the unclean forces, cast out the ailment, cast out evil spirit, cast out midnight and midday devil, who was put there by you, or by your wife, or by your brothers and sisters, or by your sons, daughters, or by sorcerers and enchanters, or healers, or by unclean forces. And if you will not cast them out and will not send them out of the servant Natalya, if you will not give back the talent, happiness, destiny, long and fulfilling body health, then I will ask the help of the forests and fields, seas and rivers, wells, grasses, and flowers. I will ask: “Lord, stir up the water, shake the earth, open the heaven. Open, Lord, the lightning, burn, whip up the unclean forces, visible and invisible. Beat, Lord, ataman Okeyash and his wife Okeyash and all their sisters and brothers, sons and daughters, sorcerers and enchanters, and unclean forces”. I will ask the help of the Mother of God and Jesus Christ himself for the ill servant. I will ask and implore the help of Sain Nikolai, George the Brave, the Archangel Michael. I will ask and implore your help, Ivan the Warrior, Michael Strekalin, Fedor Tylin, Ustinya, Kupriyan. I will ask the help of saint Simon and Dmitry Salynski, and I will ask the help of all my apostles. They will ride on the raven horses out of the red dawn, out of the bright moon, out of the clear sun. I will carry bows, swords, stone arrows. They will lighten you up with the rays, they will cut you with swords, burn you with arrows, your ashes they will carry to the ocean-sea and drop them down to the bottom of the ocean-sea and say: “You go down to the bottom, you go down to the bottom, you go down to the bottom!” Amen, amen, amen. Lord, do not leave her. I will ask the help of the heaven and the sun, moon and stars, dawns and winds, and whirlwinds, and dump earth. I will ask the help of water, and grass, streams, and wells and seas, springs. I will ask the help of heavenly birds, grass, dews, fruits, forests, and whole wide world. *This charm text is for yourself and others.*

**2191.** *Читают “Отче Наш”.* Спаси нас, Пресвятая Дева, от черной болезни и от тоски. *Наговаривают на воду.*



*Recite the "Our Father". Save us, Holy Mother of God, from the black illness and from sadness. Speak the words over the water.*

**2192.** Богородица Дева, радуйся... Благодарная Мария, благослови ты нас против врага... И души наши спаси, Боже. Матушка, сбереги от человека всякого, от напасти, скорби, болезни, от огня и от моря (*мора?*), и от черного сглаза, и от серого, и от белого. Сохрани и помоги. *Поставить воду, сбрызнуть ей руки, лицо, ноги, умыть лицо.*

Most Blessed Mother of God rejoice... Grateful Maria, bless us against our enemies... and save our souls, Lord. Mother, save [us] from every man, from adversity, sorrows, illness, save us from fire and from the sea (pestilence?), from the black eye, from the grey eye, from the white eye. Save and help us. *Sprinkle the water on the hands, face, legs, wash the face with it.*

**2193.** Отче наш, иже еси на небеси, да святится Имя Твое, да придет Царствие, да будет воля Твоя яко на небеси и на земли. Хлеб наш насущный должны мы съесть. И оставе нас от искушения, и избевае от лукавого. Отче Боже мой, спаси от белого, от серого, от черного сглазу.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be your name, your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. My Lord, save me from the white eye, from the grey eye, and from the black eye.

**2196.** Встану, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из дверей я во двери, из ворот в ворота. На окияне-море, на прикладном мосту там стоит престол, на престоле Матерь Пресвятая Богородица на рабу Божью (*имя*) Богу молится. Дело затевала, скорбь, болезни утешала, все причищи, урочища, щипоты, ломоты, ветры на переломище... от мужика-еретика, от бабы-пустоволоски, от девки-долгово-лоски, от рыжего, от черёмного. Все древы спят, все коренья спят, все люди в деревни, все птицы летячи, все звери ходячи. Не знай, раба Божья (*имя*), ни сну, ни угомону, ни доброго здоровья. *Шептать на воду, ею сбрызнуть.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate. On the ocean-sea, on the solid bridge there is a throne, on the throne there sits the Most Blessed Mother of God, she prays to God for the servant of God [the name of the person]. She thought of the cause, she comforted in sorrows and illnesses, pimples, trembling, numbing pain, aching, and shaking from a heretic man, from an empty-headed woman, from a floozy, from a ginger man, from a dark red man. All the trees sleep, all the roots sleep, all the people in the village sleep, all the flying birds sleep, all the running beasts sleep. May the servant of God [the name of the person] not know either sleep, or retrain, or good health. *Whisper over the water then sprinkle.*

**2197.** Выйду я, раба Божья Анисья, в чисто дальнѐ поле, ко синю морю, ко престолу Господню. Возьму на престоле ключи золотые, Богоматери помолюся и поклонюся, той Божьей матери спокорюся. Отомкну ключами теми золотыми все реки и мелки сточенки. Обмою тело бело, сердце ретиво, очи ясны, уста сахарны. Стекай, вода, с бела тела, с ретива сердца, с ясных очей, с сахарных устей. Так же сбегайте, все призоры, все монокосы(?), все ветряны переломы, переполохи и родимцы. Ключ, замок, аминь.

I, the servant of God Anisya, will go out in the open far field, to the dark blue sea, to the God's throne. I will take the keys from the throne. I will pray and bow to the Mother of God and submit to her. I will unlock all the rivers and little streams with those golden keys. I will wash my white body, my zealous heart, my bright eyes, my sugar mouth. Run, water, from my white body, from

my zealous heart, from my bright eyes, from my sugar mouth. So run down sickness, all [...?], shaking, all commotions and painful seizures. Key, lock, amen.

**2199.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, стану под восток, под восточну сторону, покорюсь, помолюсь Пресвятой Богородице. Пресвятая Мати Божья Богородица, стань на пособ, на помощь от робицы Анны младенцу (*имя*). Сымаю-снимаю уроки, прикосы, щипоты, ломоты, северетрены (*кто знат?*), переполохи из рук, из ног, из ясных очей, из пахучих ушей, из ретивого сердца, из черной печени, от девки-простоволоски, женки-белоголовки, от мужика от кореньщика, от лиходумщика, кто зло думает... Откуль пришли, щипота с ломотой – пойти в чито полё, широкого раздольё. Ешьте пенья, грызыте коренья. Во веки веков. Аминь. *Повторять до трех раз.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, I will stay on the east, on the east side, submit and pray to the Most Blessed Mother of God. Most Blessed Mother of God, assist the well-being, help the servant Anna's baby [the name of the person]. I cure, I cure, I cure trembling, whammies, numbing pain, aching, [...?](*who knows?*), shaking from the hands, legs, bright eyes, fragrant ears, zealous heart, black liver, [coming] from a floozy, from a blonde woman, from a native man, from a dashing thinker who thinks evil thoughts. Wherever you came from, numbing pain and aching, go back to the open field, to the wide expanse. Eat stumps, gnaw roots. Forever and ever. Amen. *Repeat three times.*

**2200.** Стану, благословясь, перекрещусь, перекрестясь, пойду из избы дверьми, на двор воротами, зайду я за чистое поле. В чистом поле утренняя заря Дарья, вечерняя заря Марья на небесье сходят, в чистом поле заходят. Покорюсь, поклонюсь Пресвятой Божьей Матери. Пресвятая Божья Матерь! Дойди-ко, доступи-ко до раба Божия (*имя*). Не в сем виде, не в сем здравии, очи ясны помутились, уста сахарны помешались – от мужика от винника, от девки-долговолоски, от бабы-пустоголовки. Дойди-ко, доступи-ко с булатным ножичком, с острой иголкой, с шелковой ниточкой, разрежь-ко резвое тело, вынь-ко боли, прикосы, щипоты, ломоты, чахоты, исполохи, родимцы, жмучи, храпучи, стонучи, ломучи – от ретива сердца, от крови, печеней, от ясных глаз, от всего живота, от локтей, от ногтей, от буйной головы. И зашей это резвое тело острой иголкой и шелковой ниточкой, и снеси эти боли в синее море. В синем море щука-двоеголова сглонет и сожрет, и снова, как мать родила, (*имя*) живет.

I will arise blessing myself, I will cross crossing myself, I will go out of the house through the door, out of the yard through the gate, into the open field. In the open field the morning dawn Darya, and the evening dawn Marya came from the heaven down. I will submit and bow to the Most Blessed Mother of God. Most Blessed Mother of God! Come and see the servant of God [the name of the person]. He is not like himself; he is not in good health. His eyes are clouded by a guilty man, by a long-haired floozy, by an empty-headed woman. Come and help with a bulat steel knife, with a sharp needle, with a silk thread, cut the frisky body, take out pains, whammies, numbing pain, aching, coughing, flushes, painful seizures, squeezes, snores, moans, aches from the zealous heart, from the blood, from the liver, from the bright eyes, from stomach, from elbows, from nails, from the unruly head. And sew this frisky body with the sharp needle and the silk needle, carry these pains into the dark blue sea. In the dark blue sea, a two-headed pike will swallow and eat it. And he will be as good as new, [the name of the person] will live.

**2201.** Сидит Пресвятая Богородица на престоле, снимает прикосы, уроки с рабы Божьей Нины – из буйной головы, из белого тела, из ретивого сердца, из черной печени.

The Most Blessed Mother of God sits on the throne, cures whammies and trembling off the servant of God Nina, from her unruly head, from her white body, from her zealous heart, from her black liver.

**2202.** Стану, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротьми, в чистое поле. Пресвята Мати Божья Богородица, всем скорбным, больным помощница, пособи и помощи выгонять и выживать из раба Божьего (*имя*) – из бела тела, из свежего мяса, из ясных очей, из черных бровей, с ретива сердца, из черных печеней, с могучих плечей, со всего самого. Откуль пришли, уроки и прикосы: от девки ли простоволоски, от женки ли красноголовки, от мужика ли коренщика или от лиходумщика – туда и подите, уроки, прикосы, ко старому хозяину на корень, на век к веку. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь, аминь, аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, from the house through the door, from the gate through the gate, in the open field. Most Blessed Mother of God, the helper of the sorrowful and the sick, help to get rid of [the ailment] and drive it out of the servant of God [the name of the person], from the white body, from all the flesh, from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from the zealous heart, from the black liver, from the mighty shoulders, from all of him. Wherever you came from, trembling and whammies, either from a floozy, of from a married woman, of from a native man, of from a dashing thinker, now go back, trembling and whammies, to your old master into the root, forever and ever. In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen, amen, amen.

**2207.** Встану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротьми и выйду на крылечко, посмотрю да погляжу на восточну сторону. Под восточной стороной есть сине море, у синем море есть апостольская церковь. В апостольской церкви есть стул Господень, на стуле Господнем сидит Пресвятая Мати Божья Богородица, в руках у ей ножик булатный. О(т)хватывает и обрезывает у рабы Божьей (*имя*) уроки и прикосы, порчи и кривотолки. Пристаньте, мои слова, во всяк час, во всякое время – на ветху и на новцю, на перекрой месяцю, на утренней зари и на вечерней. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the gate through the gate, out on the porch. I will look on the east side. On the east side there is a dark blue sea, in the dark blue sea there is an apostle church. In the apostle church there is a Lord's chair, on the Lord's chair sits the Most Blessed Mother of God, she holds a bulat steel knife in her hands. She snaps off, cuts off from the servant of God [the name of the person] trembling and whammies, jinxes, and evil gossip. Be, my words, present at any hour, at any time, in the old moon, in the new moon, in the waxing moon, in the morning dawn and the evening dawn. In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

**2208.** У меня есть ребёнок хороший, а ты придешь, смотришь – и он заболит. Тогда воды принесешь молченой: воду несешь – не говоришь. Напой. Из рота брызгни и говори: Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из дороги воротьми. Выйду под красно солнце, на себя надену красно солнце, в затылок – светлый месяц, потычусь ясными звездами. С востока до запада протекла река огненна. Через ту реку огненну стоит мост каменный. По тому мосту каменному шла Пресвята Мать Богородица, во правой руке несет самого Иисуса Христа, во левой руке – посох железный. Тычет мост каменный. Как у вас, мост каменный, нет ни раны, ни крови, на щипоты, ни ломоты, ни опухоли, ни отяголи, так же у рабы Божьей Александры нет ни раны, ни крови, ни щипоты, ни ломоты. Будьте, мои слова, крепки на новцу, и на ветху, на перекрою месяцю,

на всех мирных днях, и при солнце, и пре месяце. Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

*[For example] I have a healthy child, you came, looked at him and he got sick. If that happens you bring the 'silent' water: do not talk with anyone while carrying the water. Give the child a drink of water. Then spatter water from the mouth and say: I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the road and the gate. I will go out under the red sun, I will put on the red sun, I will put on the bright moon on the back of my head, I will put on the frequent stars. A fiery river flows from the east to the west. There is a stone bridge over that fiery river. Over that stone bridge walked the Most Blessed Mother of God, carrying Jesus Christ himself on her right arm, in the left arm she had an iron stick. She pokes the stone bridge with it. Just as the stone bridge has neither wounds, nor blood, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor swelling, nor strains, so may the servant of God Alexander have neither wounds, nor blood, nor numbing pain, nor aching. Be, my words, strong in the new moon, in the old moon, in the waxing moon, in all the peaceful days, in the sun, in the moon. In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*

**2210.** Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверьми, из ворот воротами, выйду в чисто поле. В чистом поле погляжу во все четыре стороны. В той восточной стороне стоит окиян-море, на этом окиян-море стоит окиян-остров, на этом окиян-острове стоит красная девица. У красной девицы лежит семьдесят ножей, семьдесят ножей и семьдесят бурачьных (*я не знаю как их тут*). Я этой девице помолюся и покорюся: - Ай же ты красная девица именем Настасья, дай семьдесят ножей, семьдесят ножей и семьдесят бурачьных, вынь болезнь из рабы Божьей – с рук, ног, с белого тела, с ретивого сердца, с двойной воды.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, in the open field. In the open field I will look to all four sides. On the east side there is an ocean-sea, in the ocean-sea there is an ocean-island, on that ocean-island there is a fair maiden. The fair maiden has seventy knives, seventy knives and seventy [...] (*I do not know what they are called here*). I will pray and submit to this maiden: - Oh, you fair maiden Nastasya, give me seventy knives, seventy knives and seventy [...?], drive out the illness from the servant of God, from her hands, from her legs, from her white body, from her zealous heart, from the double water.

**2211.** Стану, раба Божия (имя), благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из дверей в ворота, отцом прощена, матерью благословлена. Выйду я в чистое поле, в чистом поле – океан-море. В океан-море стоит камень, на синем камне сидит красна девица. Закусываю, заговариваю, уговариваю, думаю уроки, призоры, прикосы, чужой листяной леридор(?), ветровой перелом, баяный постолом, сухой костолом, чужу душу и свою душу, отцову душу и материну душу – от каленых стрел, от ветреных. Отныне и до веку и во веки веков. Аминь.

I, the servant of God [the name of the person] will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the door through the gate, with my father's forgiveness, with my mother's blessing. I will go in the open field, in the open field I will bite, cure, persuade, think of trembling, sickness, whammies, other leaf (?), shaking, button accordion, dry bone breaker, strange soul and one's own soul, father's soul and mother's soul from fiery arrows, from wind arrows. Now and ever, and forever and ever. Amen.

**2221.** Отошлю тоску тоскливую, кручинушку тяжелую за темные леса, за синие моря, за высокие горы, за тянучие болота, за вязучие грязи. И сейчас пойдите, живите, мои слова,

за темными лесами, за синими морями, за высокими горами, за тянучими болотами, за вязучими грязями.

I will send away dreary sadness and heavy grief beyond the dark forests and the dark blue seas, beyond the high mountains, beyond the pulling swamps, beyond the viscous mud. And now go, live, my words, beyond the dark forests, beyond the dark blue seas, beyond the high mountains, beyond the pulling swamps, beyond the viscous mud.

**2223.** *Когда дети у меня уехали, тосковала я больно, так она (соседка) мне сказала: на речку пойдёшь, сядь там, омывайся, три раза кулачком эдак и скажи: Матушка-вода текет-протекает, сер камень омывает. Смой же с меня, с рабицы Божьей, тоску, печаль, кручинушку, понеси мою тоску по желтому песку (имя). От ин до веков. Аминь. И так три раза.*

*When my children left the house, I missed them very much. So she (my neighbour) told me to go to the river, sit down, wash myself, then do this three times with my fist and say: Mother-water flows and flows, washes grey stones. Wash from me, the servant of God, sadness, sorrow, grief and carry my sadness over the yellow sand [the name of the person]. From now and forever. Amen. Three times.*

**2225.** Матушка Мезень, быстрая река, бежишь и течешь со семидесяти гор, с семидесяти ручьей, обсыпаешь, омываешь круты берега, желтые пески, так же и омой у рабы Божьей Ольги кручину-тоску с ясных очей, с черных бровей, с ретивого сердца, с кровяных макос(?).

Mother Mezen, you fast river, you run and flow from seventy mountains, from seventy streams, you sprinkle, wash steep banks, yellow sands, so wash grief-sadness away from the servant of God Olga, from her bright eyes, from her black eyebrows, from her zealous heart, from her bloody (?).

**2226.** Мать-река, ключева вода! Как умывала она круты берега, как уносила желтые пески, так омой-ополощи печаль и тоску с раба Божьего (имя) с ясных очей, со кровавых печеней, из ретивого сердца, из буйной головы. Во имя Отца Сына и Святого Духа. Аминь.

Mother-river, spring water! Just as you washed the steep banks, carried away the yellow sands, so wash and rinse sorrows and sadness from the servant of God [the name of the person], from the bright eyes, from the bloody livers, from the zealous heart, from the unruly head. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

**2227.** Текет река из семидесяти вершин, из семидесяти ручей, смывает река круты берега, жёлты пески, так же смой с рабы Божьей с ретивого сердца, с буйной головы, с черной мохсы, с тела белого, с очей ясных, со всей с ней, чтобы не тосковала, не горевала ни о чём. Будьте, мои слова, на пользу.

A river flows from seventy peaks, from seventy streams, the river washes steep banks, yellow sands, so wash off the servant of God, from the zealous heart, from the unruly head, from black moss, from the white body, from the bright eyes, from all of her, so that she does not yearn, does not grieve about anything. Be, my words, to her benefit.

**2229.** Течет река с семидесяти вершин, из семидесяти ручей, снимает крутые берега, снимает желтые пески, снимает тоску, кручину с ретивого сердца, от всей матуцы(?).

A river flows from seventy peaks, from seventy streams, takes steep banks, takes yellow sands, takes sadness and grief from zealous heart, from all of (?).

**2230.** Течет матушка из семидесяти вершин, из семидесяти росох, моет пеня, кореня, крутые берега, желтые пески. Так же мой рабу (*имя*) тоску с бела лица, с ретива сердца.

A [river]-mother flows from seventy peaks, from seventy sources. It washes stumps, roots, steep banks, yellow sands. So wash off the servant [the name of the god] sadness from the white face, from the zealous heart.

**2231.** *Топят баню и над водой приговаривают:* Вода-водица, река-речитца, идешь ты, течешь из семидесяти ручьев, из семидесяти росох, омываешь ты все жёлты пески, круты бережки. И так же омой у раба Божия (*имя*) скорбь и болезнь. Аминь. *В заговоренной воде моется тот, с кого снимают тоску.*

*Heat the bathhouse and speak over the water:* Water, you water, river you river, you walk, you flow from seventy streams, from seventy sources, you wash yellow sands and steep banks. So, wash off the servant of God [the name of the person] sorrow and illness. Amen. *With this charmed water wash the person to take his sadness away.*

**2234.** Тоска-тоскица, ручья-ручьица, река-рекица, вода-водица, снимите с меня всю тоску, сухоту и кручину – и унесите на синее море, на серый камень. Ныне и по веку, во веки веков. Аминь. *Повторить трижды. Умыться на утренней заре.*

Sadness, you sadness, streams, you streams, river, you river, water, you water, take off me all the sadness, my exhaustion, and my grief, and carry them to the dark blue sea, on to the grey stone. Now and forever, forever, and forever. Amen. *Repeat three times. You must wash in the morning dawn.*

**2237.** Вода ты, вода, ключевая вода, смываешь ты, вода, крутые берега, пеня и кореня. Так смывают (*й?*) тоску-кручинушку с белого лица, с ретивого сердца. Будьте, мои слова, лепки и крепки.

Water, you water, spring water, you wash, water, steep banks, stumps, and roots. So, wash off sadness-grief from the white face, from the zealous heart. Be, my words, sticky and strong.

**2238.** *Воду наговаривают, дымят ее над каменкой – тоску снимают.* Я мыла, полоскала: вода-водица, Морская царица, смой, сплочи трава шелкова луга зеленого. Я мыла, полоскала: так же смой, сплочи с рабы Божьей (*имя*) – унеси тоску и кручину в морскую пучину.

*Say charm words over the water, smoke the water over the stove and thus remove the sadness.* I washed, rinsed: water, you water, tsaritsa of the Sea, wash off and rinse the silk grass, green meadows. I washed and rinsed, so now rinse, and wash off the servant of God [the name of the person], carry sadness and grief into the abyss.

**2239.** Господи, благослови. Вода-водица, рыба-рыбица, кряжи ломаешь, желты пески разрываешь. Так же у рабы Божьей (*имя*) повымой, повырой из ретива сердца тоску-кручину. Тоска-кручина, поди во чисты поля, во сини моря. Аминь. *Повторить три раза. Применяется и от тоски животных. Чтобы приведенная лошадь не ушла назад, ей скармливали хлеб с запеченной травинкой. Меряют между глазами лошади и берут такую травинку. Шептали заговор – и лошадь первый раз выпускали в поле.*

Lord, bless me. Water, you water, fish, you fish, you break ridges, tear yellow sands. So, wash and tear off the servant of God [the name of the person] sadness-grief from the zealous heart. Sadness-grief, go to the open field, in the dark blue sea. *Repeat three times. It can be used to cure*

*cattle sadness too. Measure between horse's eyes, take this grass and whisper the words before letting the horse out in the field for the first time.*

**2241.** Вода-водица, земна богатырица, течешь – не соскучишься ни об отце, ни об матери, ни об родимой стороне, ни об желтых песках, ни об крутых берегах, так и ты, раба Божья (имя), не тоскуй. *Тыльной стороной руки плескать воду на лицо.*

Water, you water, earth heroine, you flow, you do not miss your father, nor your mother, nor the native land, nor the yellow sands, nor the steep banks, so may the servant of God [the name of the person] not yearn. *With the back of your hand splash water on your face.*

**2250.** Да воскреснет Бог, рассочатся враги его, да бежат от лица ненавидящие его. Яко исчезает дым – да исчезнут. Яко тает воск от лица огня, так и погибнут бесы от лица любящих Бога, знаменующихся крестным знамением .... (пропуск). Прогоняй беса силою Господа Иисуса Христа нашего, вошедшего, поправшего силы дьявола и даровавшего крест свой честный на прогнание от раби Натальи всякого супостата. Спаси и сохрани – от красных девушек, от молодых молодухек, от середовых женщин, от середовых мужчин, от старых стариков, от старых старушек, от черного глаза, от серого глаза. Сероватый, желтоватый, черный, выйди вон, глаз, выйди вон, рожа, выйди вон, выйди, вся боль, выйди, вся скорбь. От красных девушек, то молодых молодухек, от середовых женщин, от середовых мужчин, от старых стариков, от старых старушек, от черного глаза, от серого глаза, от серовато-желтоватого. Черный, выйди вон, глаз, выйди вон, выйди вон, рожа ветровая, глазная, простудная, колючая, ломучая. Вас двенадцать сестер собираются: одна одной повинится, которая сбедовала, которая сшельмовала. Рожа, выйди вон, глаз, выйди вон, причинка, выйди вон, выйди, вся боль, выйди вся скорбь – с буйной головы, с горячей крови, с ясных очей, с черных бровей, с ретивого сердца, с резвых рук, с резвых ног. Вам тут не жить, вам тут не быть и болезнь не разводить. Идите на фенские горы, на сухое дерево, по мхам, по болотам, по гнилым колодам, по рекам, по озерам, по крутым бережкам, по желтым пескам – там вам жить, там вам быть, там и болезнь разводить. Не я вас прошу, просит Святая всепетая Божья Мать, которая исцеляет, которая избавляет от скорбей, от болезней, от всех напастей. Спасите и сохраните рабу девицу от всякой боли, от всякой скорби, от злых людей, от злых речей, от зломысла человека, нахального. Спаситель милосердный, заступник усердный, ангел хранитель, святой великомученик Пантелеймон, врач всему миру, святых великих три Пятницы, спасите и сохраните рабу (или девицу). Пречестный и животворящий Христе Господне, помогай мне со святого Господнего(?) Девою Богородицею и со всеми святыми. Во веки аминь, аминь, аминь. *Прочеть три раза, затем:* Святая Казанская Божья Мать, молись Богу о нас, Святая Калужская, Святая Пречистая. Святая Скорбящая Божья Мать молилась, святая мученица Варвара молилась, святой Архангел Михаил молился. Святые архангелы, ангелы, молитесь Богу, святой Архангел Михаил о стрхоте(?) Божьей о Рафалии, о Гаврииле, молитесь Богу. И вся святая небесная сила, молитесь Богу, и вся святая небесная сила, молитесь. Святая мученица девица, моли Богу о нас. Прости ей, Господи, тяжкое прегрешение, вольные или невольные, пошли ей, Господи, счастье и долю, доброе здоровье. Двенадцать ангелов, к быстрой реке прилетите, к колодцам прилетите, воду сколыхните, (с)глаз потопите, причину потопите, рожу потопите, всю боль, всю скорбь потопите, рабу или девицу освободите от всякой боли, от всякой скорби, от злых людей, от злых речей, от зломысла человека нахального. Аминь, аминь, аминь. шла Божья Матушка по городу Иерусалиму, шла – приустала, легла на Божий престол и приуснула, шел святой Божий апостол и спрашивает: “Что ты спишь, Божья Матушка?” – “Спать я не сплю, а во сне много вижу: моего сына Иисуса Христа распинали на море Чердане, на реке-окиане, терновый веночек на голову надевали, вишневые щечки(?) рвали, на ветер

бросали”. Кто эту молитву знает, три раза в день прочитает. Эта молитва от колдуна, колдунницы, от зверя, зверицы, от зверя толстущего, змея ползущего, от лихого злого человека нахального. Аминь, аминь, аминь. *Заговор и молитва – от всех болезней.*

May the Lord rise again, may his enemies and those who hate him scatter and flee. Just as smoke disappears so let them disappear. Just as wax melts from the fire so may the fiends fall from those who love the Lord, those who are marked by the sign of the cross (*omission*). Banish the fiend by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has entered, vanquished the power of devil and have given his honest cross for the expulsion of any adversary from the servant of god Natalya. Save and protect us, from fair maidens, from young girls, from middle aged women, from middle aged men, from old men, from old women, from the black eye, from the grey eye. You, greyish, yellowish, black [ailment?], get out, you evil eye, get out, erysipelas, get out, get out, all pain, get out, all sorrows. From fair maidens, from young girls, from middle aged women, from middle aged men, from old men, from old women, from black eye, from grey eye, from greyish-yellowish eye. Black eye, get out, get out, get out, wind erysipelas, ocular erysipelas, catarrhal erysipelas, prickly erysipelas, brittle erysipelas. You, twelve sisters, gather together: one confessed to another one who made trouble, who defamed. Erysipelas, get out, evil eye, get out, cause [of the ailment], get out, get out, pain, get out, sorrow from the unruly head, from the hot blood, from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from the zealous heart, from frisky hands, from frisky legs. You should not live here; you should not be here to cultivate illness. Go to the Fann mountains, to a dry tree, to moss, to marshes, to rotten wells, to rivers, to lakes, to steep banks, there you should live, there you should be, there you can cultivate illness. It is not me who is asking you, the Holy Mother of God who heals, who delivers from sorrows, from diseases, from all misfortunes, asks you. Save and protect the servant [of God] maiden from pain, from sorrow, from evil people, from evil speeches, from a malicious person, from an impudent man. Merciful saviour, zealous protector, archangel, the great holy martyr Panteleimon, the physician to the whole world, the holy three Fridays, save the servant (or maiden). The faithful and life-giving Lord Jesus, together with the Blessed Mother and all the saints help me. Forever and ever, amen, amen, amen. *Read three times. Then say:* Holy Kazan Mother of God, pray to God for us, Holy Kaluzh, Most Holy one. The Holy Grieving Mother prayed, the Holy martyr Varvara prayed, the Holy archangel prayed. Holy archangels, angels, pray to God. Saint Archangel Michael pray to God about the servant (?) of God Raphael, Gavril. And all the heavenly power, pray to God, all the holy power, pray. The holy maiden martyr pray to God for us. Forgive her, Lord, her grave sin, voluntary or involuntary, send her, Lord, happiness and good fate, good health. Twelve angels, fly to the fast river, fly to the wells, shake the water, drown the Evil eye, drown the cause [of the ailment], drown erysipelas, drown all the pain, all the sorrows, free the servant and the maiden from any pain, any sorrow, from evil people, from evil speeches, from the evil mind of an impudent man. Amen, amen, amen. The Mother of God walked through the city of Jerusalem, she walked and got tired, lay down on God's throne and fell asleep. A holy apostle of God's walked past and asked; "Why are you sleeping, Mother of God?" – "I'm not sleeping but seeing everything in a dream: my son Jesus Christ was crucified on the Cherdan sea, on the river-ocean, a crown of thorns was placed on his head, cherry cheeks were torn, thrown in the wind". Who knows this prayer will read it three times. This prayer protects from a sorcerer, from a sorceress, from a beast, from a fat beast, from a crawling snake, from dashing evil impudent man. Amen, amen, amen. *This is a charm and a prayer from all illnesses.*

**2257.** Со небес, со небес, со небесной стороны, с девятого нёба, с девятого престола, спускается Пресвята Божья Богородица с великой помощью, отмыкат-ко кованную коробью, выпускаат-ко костяную голову на долгий век, на белый свет, одну душу народит, а другу – простит.



From heaven, from heaven, from the heavenly side, from the ninth heaven, from the ninth throne, the Blessed Holy Mother of God descends with great help, she opens an iron-shod box, lets a bony head out for a long age, into the wide world. One soul is born, another forgiven.

**2259.** Шла сама Божья Матушка Пресвятая Богородица по железному мосту, рыбной тросточкой попирается. Навстречу к ней три святых апостола: Лука, Кузьма, Демьян. “Куда идёшь, Божья Мать Пресвятая?” - “Я иду в чистое поле – на течёк. Иду к рабам Божьим на помощь, иду к рабе Катерине. Я рабу Катерину исцелю, все болезни прогоню, от нее нечистых сил удаляю и отвергну от рабы Катерины злого, лихого, ненавистного человека. Я ее исцелю, я ее излечу, железным тыном огорожу, медным дном<sup>35</sup> заложу, трижды девяти замками и ключами закрою. Возьму эти ключи, снесу в океян-море, положу на дно под бел горяч камень. Океян-море никто не выпьет, тот бел горяч камень никто не подымет, никто рабу Божию Катерину не обидит и не испортит. Я сама Божья Мать ей на помощь приду, золотым крестом огорожу и вче болезни прогоню”. Прогоняю болезни из ясных очей, из худых речей. Я рабу Катерину исцеляю, я ее избавляю Божьей силой, Господним повелением. Идите вы, болезни, в темные леса, глубокие болота, где солнце не всходит, где человек не проходит. Святой Юрий-Георгий Победоносец, помогай мне, пособляй мне исцелить, излечить рабу Катерину – по етот раз, по етот час, по мой заговор. *Вот идешь где-нибудь через речку по мосту или так, берегом, зачерпнуть воды и на эту воду шептать.*

The Most Blessed Mother of God herself walked over the iron bridge, leaning on a fish cane. Three holy apostles walked towards here: Luke, Kuzma, Demyan. “Where are you going, Most Blessed Mother of God?” - “I am going to the open field, to the river’s stream. I am going to the servants of God to help them; I am going to the servant Katerina. I will cure servant Katerina, I will drive away all illnesses, I will remove all unclean powers from her, I will repeal an angry evil hateful man. I will cure her, I will heal her, with an iron fence I will protect her, with a copper plank I will secure her, I will lock her with three-by-nine keys and locks. I will take these keys, bring them to the ocean-sea and put them on the bottom of the ocean-sea under a white-hot stone. No one will drink the ocean-sea, no one will lift that white hot stone, no one will offend and harm the servant of God Katerina. I, the Mother of Good myself will help her, will fence her with a golden cross and drive out all illnesses”. I drive out illnesses from her bright eyes, bad speeches. I will cure the servant Katerina, I will heal her by the power of God, by the God’s command. You go, illnesses, to the dark forests, deep marshes, where the sun does not rise, where nobody goes. Saint Yuri-George the Victorious, help me, assist me to cure, to heal the servant Katerina at this time, at this hour, according to my charm. *You go somewhere across the river over the bridge or along the banks, scoop water and say these words over the water.*

**2260.** Шла сама Божья Матушка Пресвятая Богородица по железному мосту, рыбной тросточкой она попиралась. Навстречу к ней три святых ангела: Лука, Кузьма, Демьян. “Куда идешь, Божья Мать, Пресвятая Богородица?” – “Я иду в чистое поле на течёк, иду к рабам Божьим, иду к рабе болящей (*имя*), рабу болящую исцелю, все болезни прочь отгоню, от нее нечистых сил удалю, отвергну от рабы (*имя*) злого, лихого, ненавистного человека. Я ее излечу, я ее исцелю, железным тыном огорожу, медным дном заложу, трижды девяти замками и ключами закрою, возьму эти ключи, скину в океян-море, положу на дно под бел горяч камень. Океян-море никто не выпьет, тот бел горяч камень никто не подымет, и никто рабу (*имя*) не обидит и не спортит. Я сами Божья Мать ей на помощь приду, золотым крестом ее огорожу и все болезни прогоню. Прогоню болезнь из ясных очей, из худых речей”. Я рабу (*имя*) исцелю, я ее избавлю Божьей силою, Господним

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<sup>35</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. , р. 413.

повелением. Идите вы, болезни, в темные леса, в глубокие болота, где солнце не всходит, где человек не проходит. Святой Юрий – Георгий Победоносец, помогай мне, подсобляй мне исцелить, излечить болящую рабу (*имя*) по этот раз, по этот час, по эту минуту, по мой заговор.

Most Blessed Mother of God herself walked over the iron bridge, leaned on a fish cane. Towards her walked three holy angels: Luke, Kuzma, Demyan. "Where are you going, Most Blessed Mother of God?" – "I am going to the open field, to the river's stream to help the servants of God, I am going to the sick [the name of the person], I will heal the sick servant of God, I will drive out all illnesses, remove all unclean powers from her, I will turn away from the servant [the name of the person] an angry, dashing, hateful man. I will cure her, I will heal her, I will protect her with an iron fence, I will secure her with a copper plank, I will lock her with three-by-nine keys and locks, will take these keys, throw them into the ocean-sea, put them at the bottom under a white-hot stone. No one will drink the ocean-sea, no one will lift that white hot stone, no one will offend and harm the servant [the name of the person]. I, the Mother of God, myself will come to her rescue, will fence her with a golden cross and drive out all illnesses. I will drive out the illness from her bright eyes, bad speeches". I will cure the servant [the name of the person], will heal her with God's power, with God's command. You go, illnesses, to the dark forests, to the deep marshes, where the sun does not rise, where no man goes. Saint Yuri-George the Victorious, help me, assist me to cure, heal the sick servant [the name of the person] at this time, at this hour, at this minute, according to my charm.

**2262.** Реки шумящие, ручьи гремящие – из тех ручьев и рек уполохи, переполохи, нечистые духи. Навстречу им Марья-Маремьяна, речет она: "Куда вы, уполохи, переполохи, нечистые духи, пошли?" – "Мы пошли на рабу Божью (*имя*)". – "Не ходите-ка вы, уполохи, переполохи, нечистые духи, на рабу Божью (*имя*), а пойдите-ка вы, уполохи, переполохи, нечистые духи, в чистое поле, за синее море, на толстые, глубокие ржавые мхи. Там вам питенье, кушанье, еденье". Пусть будет все мои слова крепки, емки – на рабу Божью (*имя*). Ключ – в море, замок – на дно. Аминь, аминь, аминь.

Noisy rivers, roaring streams, out of those streams and rivers [come] evil eye, shaking, unclean spirits. Towards them Marya-Maremyana walks and says: "Where are you going, evil eye, shaking, unclean spirits?" – "We are going to the servant of God [the name of the person]". – "Do not go you, evil eye, commotions, unclean spirits to the servant of God [the name of the person] but go, you evil eye, shaking, unclean spirits, to the open field, beyond the dark blue sea, to the thick, deep, rusty moss. There you can drink, eat, consume". Let my words be strong and capacious for the servant of God [the name of the person]. Key in the sea, lock to the bottom. Amen, amen, amen.

**2264.** Иван Поститель, Иван Богослов. Иван многострадальный, безглавый Иван, Михаил Архангел, Гавриил Архангел, Георгий Победоносец, моли Бога о нас (*имя*). Николай Чудотворец, Пантелеймон Исцелитель, скорбящая Матерь Божия, чудотворная Божья Матерь, моли Бога о нас (*имя*). Варвара-великомученица, Прасковья-великомученица, моли Бога о нас (*имя*). Вера, Надежда, Любовь и мать их Софья, моли Бога о нас (*имя*). Гурии, Вавилы, Самойлы, молитесь Бога о нас (*имя*). Матери Елены, отцы Константины! Семьдесят семь болей, полтораства скорбей, двенадцать родимцев, двенадцать болезней – выжечь, унять, заговорить, выжить из кровей, из костей, их суставов, из-под кожи, из мозгов, из хрящей, из сердца, из черной печени, из алой крови, из проходных жил – семьдесят семь болей, полтораства скорбей, двенадцать болезней – выжить, унять, заговорить. Аминь, аминь, аминь.

Ivan the Faster, Ivan the Theologian. Long-suffering Ivan, headless Ivan, the Archangel Michael, the Archangel Gavril, George the Victorious, pray to God for us [the name of the person]. Nikolai the Miracle Worker, Panteleimon the Healer, the sorrowful Mother of God, the miraculous Mother of God, pray to God for us [the name of the person]. Varvara the Great Martyr, Praskovya the Great Martyr, pray to God for us [the name of the person]. Vera [faith], Nadezhda [hope] and Lyubov [love] and their mother Sophia, pray to God for us [the name of the person]. Gurias, Babylon, Samoil, pray to God for us [the name of the person]. Mothers Elena, fathers Constantine! You, seventy-seven pains, you, one hundred fifty sorrows, you, twelve seizures and twelve illnesses burn, take away, cure, get out of blood, out of bones, out of joints, out of under-the-skin, out of brains, out of cartilage, out of heart, out of black liver, out of scarlet blood, out of passage veins. You, seventy-seven pains, one hundred fifty sorrows, twelve illnesses drive out, take away, cure. Amen, amen, amen.

**2265.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверьми, из (*ворот*) воротами, пойду я выйду в чистое поле, в синее море. В синем море есть камень, лежит, на этот камень сбегались все рабы Божьи, ангелы, Иоани Креститель крестил их золотым крестом. Рабы Божьи ангелы у рабы Божьей (*имя*) вынимали, вычерпали все прикосы, узоры, щипоты, ломоты, синие опухоли из черных бровей, из ясных очей, с могучих плечей, их легких из ног, с горячей крови, из жил, из суставов. Подите, все щипоты, прикосы, узоры, ломоты, синие опухоли, к старой хозяйке под правый бок, под левую пятку, а старому хозяину – под пятау. *Три раза плюнуть.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, I will go in the open field, in the dark blue sea. In the dark blue sea there is a stone, it lies there. On this stone all Gods servants the angels have gathered together, and John the Baptist baptised them with a golden cross. The gods servants angels took out, scooped out all whammies, shivering, numbing pain, aching, dark blue swellings out of the servant of God [the name of the person], from the bright eyes, from the mighty shoulders, from the light legs, from the hot blood, from veins, from joints. You go, numbing pain, whammies, shivering, aching, dark blue swellings, to your former master under the right side, under the left heel, to you former master under the heel. *Spit three times.*

**2266.** Иван Креститель, Иван хранитель, сохрани слово раба Божья Дмитрия от уроков, прикосов, земных уговоров, ночных исполохов. С гоголя – вода, с камнена – струя, с зайца – снег, с раба Божья Дмитрия – скорбь и болезнь. Уроки, прикосы, земные уговоры, ночные исполохи, скатитесь, свалитесь с ясных очей, с черных бровей, с ретива сердца, с кровяных макос(?).

Ivan the Baptist, Ivan the Keeper, save the name of the servant of God Dmitri from trembling, whammies, earthly illnesses, nocturnal flushes. Water from a duck, stream from a stone, snow from a hare, sorrow and illness form the servant of God Dmitri. Trembling, whammies, earthly illnesses, nocturnal flushes, roll off, fall off his bright eyes, his black eyebrows, his zealous heart, from his bloody fish liver (?).

**2267.** Спускается Егорий с небес по золотой лестнице, сносится с Егория триста зорь золотые, триста тетив полосные – отстрелять все уразы, прикосы и отганивать грыжи, щепоты. Баню истопит, кладет Егорий черного зверя медведя: “Черный зверь медведь, стряхни, смахни черну грязь, затопчи – с рабы Божьей Александры”. Чтобы век не бывало, век не вековало. Аминь.

On the golden stairs George descends from heaven, three hundred golden dawns shine from George, three hundred bowstrings to shoot down all illnesses, whammies and fight off hernias

and numbing pain. Heat the bath house, George puts a black beast bear: "Black beast bear, shake off, sweep off the black dirt, stump on it from the servant of God Alexandra". So, it would never happen, would never occur. Amen.

**2269.** Стану я, раба Божья (имя), благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из ворот в ворота, из избы в избу, выйду в чистое поле к окяну-моря. У окяна-моря лежит белый камень Латырь, на этом на камне Латыре разостлана тонкая белая скатерть. На этой на тонкой скатерти сидят две мудрые, две хитрые девицы, унимают у рабы Божьей скомоту, щипоту, опухоль, грыжу. Чтобы как в мертвом теле не было ни скомоты, ни щипоты, ни опухоли, (ни) грыжи, так – у рабы Божьей (имя), и во веки веков. Аминь.

I, the servant of God [the name of the person] will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the gate through the gate, out of the house into the house, I will go out in the open field to the ocean-sea. In the ocean-sea there lies the white stone Latyr, on this stone Latyr there is a thin white tablecloth. On this thin tablecloth sit two wise, two cunning maidens, taking away from the servant of God pain, numbing pain, swelling, and hernia. Just as there is no pain, nor numbing pain, nor swelling, nor hernia in a dead body so may the servant of God [the name of the person] have no pain, nor numbing pain, nor swelling, nor hernia, forever and ever. Amen.

**2270.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, стану я, раб Божий, помолюсь, благославолюсь, пойду во чисто поле, под красное солнце, под светлый месяц, под чистые звезды, под полетные облака. Стану я, раб Божий, во чисто поле, на ровное место. Что на том ли на престоле на Господнем облаками облачусь, небесами покроюсь, на главу положу венец – солнышко красное, подпояшуся светлыми зорями, обтычуся светлыми звездами, что – острыми стрелами. Небо ты, небо, праведное солнце, ты, небо, видишь, ты, небо, слышишь, благослови меня, раба Божьего, исцелить и поправить раба Божьего во веки веков. Аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, I stand, the servant of God, pray, and bless myself. I will go in the open field, under the red sun, under the bright moon, under the clear stars, under the flowing clouds. I will arise, the servant of God, in the open field, on the flat place. On that God's throne I wrap myself into the clouds, cover myself with heaven, put on my head a crown-the red sun, gird myself with bright dawns, cloth myself with bright stars like with sharp arrows. Heaven, you heaven, the rightful sun, you, heaven, see, you, heaven, hear, bless me the servant of God, cure and heal the servant of God forever and ever. Amen.

**2272.** Заря-зорица, красная девица, возьми немощенье, дай здоровье. *Говорят три раза. Трижды сходить на заре на реку, зачерпнуть воды, обмыть больное место.*

*Dawn, you dawn, you fair maiden, take infirmity, give health. Say three times. Three times go to the river at dawn, scoop water, and wash the sore place. Amen.*

**2273.** Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверью, из ворот воротами, пойду в чистое поле. В чистом поле – черное море, в черном море – черный камень, под этим черным камнем есть черная лютая змея. Как ена этого камня не жгет, не палит, не пужит, так и раба Божия (имя) не жгало, не палило, не пужило. Отныне по веку, до веку, во веки веков. Аминь.

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, in the open field. In the open field there is a black sea, in the black sea there is a black stone, under this black stone there is a fierce black snake. Just as it does not burn, does not scorch, does not fire, so may the servant of God [the name of the person] not burn, scorch, fire. Now and forever, for ages, forever and ever. Amen.

**2274.** Стану я, раба Божья (имя), благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротьми, стану я на восточную сторону. На восточной стороне есть синее море, в синем море плавают яр-ярый гоголь, на нем не держится ни вода, ни роса. Так же бы на рабе Божьей (имя) не удержались ни порчи, ни уроки, ни прикосы, никакие тяжелые немочи.

I will arise, the servant of God [the name of the person], blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the house through the door, out of the yard through the gates, I stand under the east side. On the east side there is a dark blue sea, in the dark blue sea swims a very ardent duck bird, neither water nor dew stays on it. So may the servant of God [the name of the person] have no worries, trembling, whammies, and other serious diseases.

**2275.** Встану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, в синее море, из синя моря в океан-море. В океан-море – щука, всем щукам щука, голова медна, зубы железны, хвост оловянный, глаза заозерской совы. Она жрет-пережирает, ест-переедает пенья, коренья, желты песочки, серы камушочки, хрустальны камушочки, худо покляли(?), по дереву всяки мелки сточины<sup>36</sup>. Еще жри-пережирай, ешь-переедай из меня, рабы Божьей Натали, двенадцать недугов, выгоняй: ужожи, призоры, монокосы, ветряны переломы, отца-материну худую думу, денную полуденную, ночную полуночицу – из-под пятки, из-под подошвы, из-под сердца, из-под печени, из-под становой жилы, из-под пуповой жилы, из-под суставов, из-под хребетной кости, из-под темени, из-под загривка, из-под ушей, из-под бровей, из-под ноздрей. Ну, дай, раба Божья Наталия, тебе всего: сердце бы у тебя не болело, косьё не щипало, вдоволь отсыпаться, вдоволь наедаться. Я, раба Божья Екатерина, пойду, наговоры понесу. На мои слова – замок, а ключ – воду.

I, he servant of God, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate, in the dark blue sea, from the dark blue sea in the ocean-sea. In the ocean-sea there is a pike, the pike of all pikes, tin head, iron teeth, copper tale, eyes like the beyond-the-lake owl's eyes. It eats and eats, eats, and eats stumps, roots, yellow sands, grey stones, crystal stones, badly [...?], all kinds of little eaten places over the wood. Also eat and eat, eat, and eat out of me, the servant of God Natali, twelve ailments, drive them out: trembling, sickness, [...?], shaking, father's and mother's bad thought, midday afternoon thought, night or midnight thought from under her heel, from under her sole, from under her heart, from under her liver, from under her vein, from under her naval vein, from under her joints, from under her spine bone, from under her crown, from under her neck, from under her ears, from under her eyebrows, from under her nostrils. Well, give you, the servant of God Natali, all you need: so that your heart would not hurt, your bones would not pinch, [you get] plenty of sleep, plenty of food. I, the servant of God Ekaterina, will go and bring charms. Lock on my words, key in the water.

**2276.** Встану раба Божья Мария, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, пойду на широку улицу, на восточну сторону. Там стоит святое озерцо, на этом озерце есть бел горяч камень, под этим камнем сидит рыба, зубцы востры, железные. Умоюсь свежей водою и утрюсь пеленою, покличу ту рыбу на хворести-болези, скукоты, ломоты, слязяницы, нокцевицы, скорби-печали. Как она пожирает рыбу малую, так бы пожирала у раба Божия (имя) скорби и болезни. Ключ – в озере, замок – в небесьи. Ключа бы не нахаживати да замка не отпирывати, у раба Божья (имя) скорбям-болезням не отрыживати. Век по веки, аминь до веки. Аминь, аминь, аминь.

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<sup>36</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. , р. 413.

I, the servant of God Maria, will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, out of the door through the door, out of the gate through the gate in the wide street, to the east side. There is a holy lake, in that holy lake there is a white-hot stone, under this stone sits a fish with sharp iron teeth. I will wash with fresh water and dry myself with a shroud, call that fish for ailments-illnesses, sadness, aching, [...?], nocturnal flushes (?), sorrows-sadness. Just as they eat little fish, so may they eat from the servant of God [the name of the person] sorrows and illnesses. Key is in the lake; lock is in the heaven. So that the key would not be found, the lock would not be unlocked, sorrows-illnesses would not live in the servant of God [the name of the person]. Forever and ever, amen forever. Amen, amen, amen.

**2277.** Царь Донской, дедушка Водяной, дай водицы ключевой на уроки, на призоры, на прикосы, на ветряные переполохи. С раба Божия (имя) смой, сплочи уроки, призоры, прикосы, родимцы, паралимцы<sup>37</sup>. Из ясных очей, из черных бровей, из ретивого сердца, из буйной головы, из костяной, их резвых ног, их белых рук, их всех суставов, из полусуставов – смой, сплочи. *После этого крестят больного, обмывают водой.*

Tsar Donskoi, grandfather Merman, give spring water against trembling, sickness, whammies, shaking. Wash off the servant of God [the name of the person] trembling, sickness, whammies, painful seizures, and paralysis from the bright eyes, from the black eyebrows, from the zealous heart, from the unruly head, from the bones, from the frisky legs, from the white hands, from all the joints, from semi-joints (?), you wash off, rinse off. *After saying these words, cross the sick person, wash him with water.*

**2278.** У, водица-сестрица, красная девица, шла ты темными лесами, крутыми берегами через белый камень. Каждую ты зарю умывалась, каждую ты зарю очищалась. Ты очищалась ясным солнцем, светлым месяцем, чистыми звездами и красными зорями. Смой и очисти всякую болезнь от крещеного тела рабы твоей Пелагеи, смой и очисти болезнь пересудную, перечёсную, переговорную, ветровую, глазовую, застудную, наносную, поделанную. Или рабы твоей Пелагеи кто позавидовал, или кто погадал, или кто глупо слово сказал, или кто уругнулся, или кто усмехнулся, или кто удивился в плохой час, в плохую минуту, в плохую секунду – и свой волос, и свой голос, и свою ярость упустили ей у костям, у буйну голову, ретивое сердце, красную кровь, черную печень. Кто ей позавидовал, кто ей погадал, кто ей глупо слово сказал, или молодые молодцы, или красные девицы, или старые старики, или средовые мужики, или ребята, или девки, или уругнулись, или усмехнулись, или удивились – а ты, водица-светлица, красная девица, ты шла темными лесами, крутыми берегами, через белый камень, ты каждую зарю умывалась, ты каждую зарю очищалась, смой и очисти эту болезнь от крещеного тела рабы твоей Пелагеи по этот раз, по этот час, по эту минуту, по мой заговор. Аминь.

Ah, water, you sister, you fair maiden, you walked through the dark forests, steep banks, through the white stone. At every dawn you washed yourself, at every dawn you cleansed yourself. You cleansed yourself with the clear sun, bright moon, clean stars, and the red dawns. Wash off and clean from the baptised body of your servant Pelageya any illness, wash off and cleanse her body from judging illness, stressful illness, gossip, wind, ocular, cold, nose, forged illness. Who envied your servant Pelageya, who divined on her, who said a stupid word, who cursed, who grinned, who conjectured at a bad hour, at a bad minute, at a bad second and let one's hair, one's voice, one's anger into her bones, her unruly head, her zealous heart, her red blood, her black liver. Who envied her, who divined on her, who said a stupid word, either young fellows, or fair maidens, or old men, or middle-aged men, or young lads, or young girls, whether they cursed, or

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<sup>37</sup> Русские заговоры и заклинания. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций 1953-1993 гг. , р. 413.

grinned, or conjectured. And you, bright water, fair maiden, you walked through the dark forests, steep banks, through the white stone, at every dawn you washed yourself, at every dawn you cleaned yourself, so wash off and clean from the baptised body of your servant Pelageya, this illness at this time, at this hour, at this minute, according to my charm. Amen.

**2280.** Реценька быстра, вода ключа, идешь ты из-за темного леса, из-за черных руцей. Иди ополаскивай с рабы Божьей (*имя*) урцы<sup>38</sup>, порцы, уроки, прикосы, переполохи – с белого тела, с ретивого сердца, с ясных очей, с кровяных пеценей – от девки-простоволоски, от бабы-беловолоски, от мужика от колдуна. Аминь. *Повторить три раза.*

Fast river, spring water, you come from the dark forest, from black runes. Go and rinse off the servant of God [the name of the person] rebukes, jinxes, trembling, whammies, shaking from the white body, from the zealous heart, from the bright eyes, from the bloody liver, coming from a simple-haired floozy, from a blonde woman, from a man sorcerer. Amen. *Repeat three times.*

**2291.** У, заря-зарица, красная девица, ходи, ходи ко мне на помощь, к рабе твоей (*имя*), помогай, заря-зарница, спасать рабу твою (*имя*), помогай выгонять причинушку. Причинушка-матушка, выходи, выступай, выкатывайся садовым яблочком из костей, из мостей, из буйной головы, из ретивого сердца, из красной крови, от рабы (*имя*). Причинушка-матушка, тебе тут не место, тебе тут тесно. Выходи, выступай из рабы (*имя*) и рассыпайся ты, причинушка, по лесам, по болотам, по гнильям, колодам. Там за темными лесами, за черными морями, там сидит бабка. Садовыми яблочками помахивает, к себе причинушку вызывает, рабу болящую (*имя*) от причинушки избавляет. Господи, я тебя призываю к болящей (*имя*) ее полечить, ее исцелить, ее спасти от темных ночей, от злых людей, от злого человека. Господи, помоги причинушку изогнать от рабы (*имя*). Ангелу нашего пошлите, мирного и покровителя своего, силу Господнею помогите, нечистую силу отгоните. Час мой талантливый, хозяйшка мой дворовый, ходите ко мне на помощь спасать рабу (*имя*), причинушку от ней отгонять, по этот раз, по этот час, по мой заговор. *Наговаривать на хлеб.*

Ah, dawn, you dawn, you fair maiden, you come, come to me, your servant [the name of the person] and help me, dawn, you dawn, save your servant [the name of the person], help drive out the cause [of the ailment]. You, mother-cause, get out, step out, roll out like a garden apple from the servant [the name of the person]'s bones, from her body strength, from her unruly head, from her zealous heart, from her red blood. Mother-cause, there is no place for you, there is no space for you. Get out, step out of the servant of God [the name of the person] and scatter, you cause [of the ailment], over the forests, over the marshes, over the rotten places, over the wells. There, beyond the dark forests, beyond the black seas, there sits an old woman. She waves with the garden apple, calls out the cause [of an ailment], drives the cause out of the sick servant [the name of the person]. Lord, I call on you to heal the sick [the name of the person], heal her, save her from dark nights, from evil people, from an evil man. Lord, help to drive out the cause [of the ailment] from the servant [the name of the person]. Send our angel, your peaceful protector, and help with God's power, drive out the unclean forces. My talented hour, my yard mistress, come to my aid to save the servant [the name of the person], drive out the cause [of the ailment], at this time, at this hour, according to my charm. *Speak words over the bread.*

**2292.** У-у-у, заря-зарица, красная девица, ходи, ходи ко мне на помощь, к рабе твоей Наталье. Помогай, заря-зарица, спасай рабу твою Наталью, помогай выгонять

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<sup>38</sup> Даль В. И. "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка." s. v. "урекнуть, уречи и уречь кого – укорять, у(по)прекнуть, корить, помнить лихом; урочить, опризорить, сглазить, напускать порчу, уроки".

причинушку. Причинушка-матушка, выходи-выступай, выкатывайся садовым яблочком их костей, из мостей, из буйной головы, из ретивого сердца, из красной крови от рабы Натальи. Причинушка-матушка, тебе тут не место, тебе тут тесно, выходи-выступай из рабы Натальи и рассыпайся ты, причинушка по мхам, по болотам, по гнилым колодам. Там за темными лесами, за черными морями, там сидит бабка. Садовым яблочком помахивает, к себе причинушку вызывает, рабу Наталью болящую от причинушки избавляет. Господи! Я тебя призываю, к болящей рабе Наталье. Не полечить, не исцелить, не спасти от темных ночей, от злых людей от злого человека. Господи! Помогите причинушку изогнать от рабы Натальи. Ангела нашего пошлите, мирного и покровителя своего, силою Господнею помогите, нечистую силу отгоните. Час мой талантливый, хозяйюшка мой дворовый, ходите ко мне на помощь, спасай рабу Наталью, причинушку от ней отгонять по етот раз, по етот час, по ету минуту, по мой заговор.

Ah-ah-ah, dawn, you dawn, you fair maiden, come, come help me, your servant Natali. Help, dawn, you dawn, save your servant Natali, help to drive out the cause [of the ailment]. Mother-cause, get out, step out, roll out like a garden apple from the servant Natalia's bones, her body strength, her unruly head, her zealous heart, her red blood. Mother-cause, there is no place for you, there is no space for you. Get out, step out of the servant Natalia, and scatter yourself, cause [of the ailment], over the moss, marshes, rotten wells. There beyond the dark forests, beyond the black seas, there sits an old woman. She waves with the garden apple, calls out the cause, she saves the sick servant Natalia from the cause [of the ailment]. Lord! I call on you, come to the sick servant Natalia. I cannot cure, I cannot heal, I cannot save her from the dark nights, from angry people, from an angry man. Lord! Help me to drive the cause out of the servant Natalia. Send our angel, your peaceful protector, help me with God's power, drive out the unclean forces. My talented hour, my yard mistress, come help me, save servant Natalia, drive out of her the cause [of the ailment] at this time, at this hour, at this minute, according to my charm.

**2293.** В чистом поле Михайло Архангел с вилами, с ножами – закалывается и заговаривает всякую болезнь – не щемило не ломило ни в ретивое сердце, ни в горячую печень, ни в алую кровь. Ныне по веку, отныне до веку. Аминь. *Когда что-нибудь ломит, колет, говорят эти слова. Ножницами нажимом вокруг больного места ведут и колют. Ведут от передней ноги к задней крест на крест. Поведут по хребту и покидают землей.*

In the open field there is the Archangel Michael with a pitchfork, with knives, he stabs and cures any illness, so that it does not pinch nor ache neither in a zealous heart, nor in hot liver, nor in scarlet blood. Now and forever, now, and forever. *When body aches or pains say these words. With scissors circle the sore place and prick it. Move from the front of the leg to the back of the leg making crosses. Move over the spine and throw some soil.*

**2296.** Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, отцом прощен, матерью благословлен, из избы дверями, из дверей воротами, выйду в чистое поле, в восточную сторону. У той восточной стороне – океян-море. У океяна-моря лежит белый камень Латырь. На этом на белом камне Латыре лежит мертвое белое тело. На этом на белом теле не било ни крови, ни ольхи, ни опухоли. Не болело бы тело, не скомнули бы кости, так бы у раба Божия (имя) не было бы на его белом теле ни крови, ни ольхи, ни опухоли – ни в какое время, ни в какую пору, ни в какую зорю: ни в утреннюю, ни в вечернюю, от нынешнего числа до смертного часа. Аминь. *Читать три раза.*

I will arise blessing myself, I will go out crossing myself, forgiven by my father, blessed by my mother, out of the house through the door, out of the door through the gate, I will go to the open field, to the east side. On this east side there is an ocean-sea. By the ocean-sea there lies the white stone Latyr. On this white stone Latyr lies a white dead corpse. On this white body there was



neither blood, nor alder, nor swelling. As this body would not ache, bones would not be crushed, so may the servant of god [the name of the person]'s white body have neither blood, nor alder, nor swelling at any hour, at any time, at any dawn: neither morning, nor evening, from this date and to the hour of death. Amen. *Read three times.*

**2297.** Лежит мертвая голова тридевяти лет, нет на ней ни раны, ни крови, ни щипоты, ни ломоты, ни синей синеvщины, ни опухоли, так же вот у рабы Божьей Сусаньи не быть ни раны, ни крови, ни щипоты, ни ломоты, ни синей синеvщины, ни опухоли. Аминь.

Three-by-nine years old dead head lies, there is no wound, nor blood, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor dark blue bruising, nor swelling on it. So may the servant of God Susan have neither wound, nor blood, nor numbing pain, nor aching, nor dark blue bruising, nor swelling. Amen.

**2298.** Лежит мертвец во гробе, не слышит ни цетья-петья церковного, ни звону колокольного, так же раб Божий не слышал бы ни крови, ни боли, ни раны синей, ни уроды, ни удары, ни одумы, ни ознобу, ни оговору.

A dead man lies in a coffin, he does not hear church s, nor singing , nor bells, so may the servant of God hear neither blood, nor pain, nor dark blue wound, nor trembling, nor blows, nor [...?], nor chills, nor slander.

**2299.** Как мать-земля не знала ни удара, ни уразу, ни щекоты, ни ломоты, ни красна крови – так бы вот раба Божия (*имя*) не знала ни щекоты, ни ломоты, ни красна крови.

Just as mother-earth knew neither a blow, nor cut, nor tickling, nor aching, nor red blood, so may the servant of God [the name of the person] know neither tickling, nor ache, nor red blood.

### Appendix C. The Healing Journey

Charm No.	Point of departure	Landscape travelled	Destination
1369	Стану раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь...	... пойду я в чистое поле...	...в чистом поле стоит <b>белая</b> берёза, кудрявая.
1395	Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...выйду я в чистое поле...	...в чистом поле стоит остров, на этом острову стоит дуб. Через этот дуб летит <b>черный</b> ворон...
1441	Стану я раба Божия, благословясь. Пойду, перекрестясь, из ворот в ворота...	...в чистое поле, в широкое раздолье под светлый месяц...	...там лежит мертвый мертвец.
1443	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, со двора воротами...	...выйду в чистое поле.	На <b>синем</b> море лежит мертвый Лазарь.
1486	Выйду я из двери в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...в чистое поле, под светел месяц, под <b>красное</b> солнышко...	На море на окяне, на острове Буяне, стоит апостольская церковь. Во этой церкви стоит гробница.
1538	Встану я, раба Божья Надежда, перекрестясь, пойду, благословясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...в чистое поле, в восточную сторону, на Сионскую гору.	На Сионской горе стоит храм, стоит храмская церковь.
1539	Выстану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...выйду я в чистое поле.	В чистом поле – океан-море, в океан-море – стара рыба щука плава, железны зубы.
1544	Стану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротами...	...выйду в чистое поле, к окяну-мору.	На том окяне-море плавает щука, зубы железны, крылья железны.

1609	Встану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота.	Выйду под <b>злат</b> месяц в чистое поле...	...в чистом поле стоит <b>белая</b> береза.
1612	Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле стоит Сионская гора. Лежит на Сионской горе змей.
1623	Встану я, раба Божья, благословясь, выйду перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле два братца- <b>румянца</b> дерутся, колются, порются, не слышат ни крови, ни боли, ни опухоли.
1631	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота.	Выйду на <b>белу</b> улицу, стану под восточную сторону глазами...	
1639	Раба Божья (имя) стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из дверей воротами...	...выйду на широку улицу.	На широкой улице стоять братья (или сестры).
1642	Встану в воскресь, выйду, перекрестясь, из избы дверями, наперед пятами.		В чистом поле есть булатный <b>белый</b> камень, на том камне – вся небесная сила, Пресвятая Мати Божья воля Богородица.
1650	Выйду я, раба из ворот в ворота, из дверей в дверя.	Глянетъ раба Елена на <b>синее</b> море.	На <b>синем</b> море лежит Хитряк, стальную иглу держит в когтях.
1651	Пойду, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...в чистое поле, на <b>синее</b> море.	На <b>синем</b> море лежит <b>синь</b> камень, на <b>синем</b> камню сидят две девицы, держат по булавке и по шелковой нитке...
1652	Стану я, раба Божия, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле лежит <b>синий</b> камень, на этом камне сидит <b>красна</b> девица, у нее шелкова нитка, бумажная...
1653	Встану, благословясь,	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле на камню сидит девица – <b>златое</b> лицо, <b>русова</b> иголка в руках...

	пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...		
1654	Выйду в цисто поле, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота.		В цистом поле – <i>сине</i> море. В <i>синем</i> море – <i>черный</i> камень.
1659	Стану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротами...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле стоит дуб, на дубу сидит <i>черный</i> ворон с булатной иглой, с шелковой ниткой.
1660	Стану я, раб Божий, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле стоит дуб, на дубу сидит <i>черный</i> ворон.
1745	Выходила раба Божья (имя) из двери в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...во чистое поле, под светел месяц, под частые звезды. Идет путем- дорогой в Иерусалим.	В им (нём) двое ворот, лежит <i>белый</i> камень Алатырь. На этом камне сидели тридевяль девиц, тридевяль девиц, тридевяль девиц...
1911	Стану я, раба Божья Агриппина, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из сеней сеньми, из двора воротами...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле есть деверь-муж и у деверя-мужа девять жен, и восемь жен...
2027	Стану я, раба Божья Таисия, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверьми, из двора воротами...	...выйду я на широку улицу, под восточную сторону...	...где красно солнышко, где <i>зеленая</i> зорюшка.
2082	Встану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротами...	...на широку улицу, на божий свет.	

2150	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...под утреннюю зорию, под вечернюю зорию, под светлый месяц, под ясное солнце. Пойду я, раб Божий, к <b>синему</b> морю.	Из <b>синего</b> моря выплывает <b>белый</b> лебедь, с <b>белого</b> лебедя скатывается чистая светлая вода.
2153	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...в чистое поле, под восток, под восточную сторону.	Стоит петух-птица, снимает, срезывает урчи, порчи, уроки, прикосы, переполохи...
2154	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверью, из ворот воротами.	Выйду на широку улицу, гляну под восточную стороночку.	Летит из той стороночки <b>черный</b> ворон, несет в зубах мертвецку коску.
2155	Стану я, раба Божья Сусанья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротами...	...пойду на восточную сторонку.	На восточной сторонке есть чистое поле, в чистом поле – <b>синее</b> море. В <b>синем</b> море – Златырь-камень. <...> Под этим камнем есть <b>бела</b> рыба щука...
2157	Встану я, раба Божия Авдотья, благословясь, пойду перекрестясь..	...в чисто поле, на восточную сторону.	На восточной стороне стоит океан-море, в океане, в море лежит <b>серый</b> камень, у <b>серого</b> камня стоит щука...
2158	Стану я, раба Божья Анастасия, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверями, из дверей воротами.	Пойду, пойду в чисто поле.	Есть <b>синее</b> море, на <b>синем</b> море есть <b>синий</b> камень, под <b>синим</b> камнем стоит щука зубастая и жорластая...
2159	Выйду я, благословясь, стану, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...на восточную сторону, на океан-море.	В океане-море – <b>серый</b> камень, под <b>серым</b> камнем – <b>белая</b> рыба щука, зубы костяны, щёки железны.
2161	Стану я, раба Божия, пойду я из дверей дверями, из ворот воротами...	...во чисто поле, во <b>синё</b> море.	В <b>синем</b> море есть рыба щука, зубы железны, глаза оловянные...
2163	Раба Божья (имя) стану, благословясь,	Встану под восток, в	Под восточну сторону есть <b>мне</b> море. В том <b>синем</b> море ходит рыба щука, у ей зубы железны, нос оловянный.

	пойду, перекрестясь, выйду из избы дверьми, из двора воротами.	по(д)восточну сторону.	
2164	Стану раба Божья Марина, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротами...	...под восток – и под восточней (?) Божьей Матери.	Там есть чисто поле, в чистом поле – <b>синё</b> море. В этом <b>синем</b> море есть <b>бела</b> рыба, щука злата.
2166	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь из избы дверьми, из двора воротами...	...под восток, под восточну сторону.	Там есть озеро, в этом озере есть рыба <b>бела</b> щука свежа. У этой у рыбы, у <b>белой</b> щуки...
2169	Стану я, благословясь, выйду я, раб Яков, из избы, перекрестясь, дверями, на улицу воротами...	...в чистое поле на восточную сторону.	На восточнй стороне стоит святая церковь в тридевяти углов, о тридевяти крестов, о тридевяти престолов.
2170	Вставаю, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, пойду из двери в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле стоит елочка, <b>зеленым- зелёненко</b> .
2183	Стану я, раба Божья, не благословясь, пойду, не перекрестясь, отцом не прощена, матерью не благословлена, не из сеней сенями, не из дверей дверями, не из ворот воротами, а мышинными бронями, собачьими следами...	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле есть ветряной мужичок, у него есть лук.
2184	Стану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из	...выйду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле – <b>синее</b> море, в <b>синем</b> море – <b>синий</b> остров, на <b>синем</b> острове – <b>синий</b> камень, на <b>синем</b> камению – <b>синий</b> мужик, у <b>синя</b> мужика – орлиные крылья.

	избы дверьми, из сеней сеньми, из двора воротами...		
2196	Встану, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из дверей я во двери, из ворот в ворота.		На окияне-море, на прикладном мосту стоит престол, на престоле Матерь Пресвятая Богородица на рабу Божью (имя) Богу молится.
2197	Выйду я, раба Божья Анисья...	...в чисто дальнѣ поле, к <b>синю</b> морю, ко престолу Господню.	
2199	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь...	...стану под восток, под восточну сторону...	
2200	Стану, благословясь, перекрещусь, перекрестясь, пойду из избы дверьми, на двор воротами...	...зайду я в чистое поле.	В чистом поле утренняя заря Дарья, вечерняя заря Марья на небесье сходят, в чистом поле заходят.
2202	Стану, благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротьми...	...в чистое поле.	
2207	Встану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из ворот воротами...	...выйду на крылечко, посмотрю да погляжу на восточну сторону.	Под восточной стороной есть <b>сине</b> море, у <b>синем</b> море есть апостольская церковь. В апостольской церкви есть стул Господень, на стуле Господнем сидит Пресвятая Мати Божья Богородица...
2208	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из дворы воротьми.	Выйду под <b>красно</b> солнце...	С востока до запада протекла река огненна. Через ту реку огненну стоит мост каменный.
2210	Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверьми, из ворот воротами...	...выйду в чисто поле. В чистом поле погляжу во все четыре стороны.	В той восточной стороне стоит окиян-море, на этом окиян-море стоит окиян-остров, на этом окиян-острове стоит <b>красная</b> девица.
2211	Стану, раба Божия (имя), благословясь,	Выйду я в чистое поле.	...в чистом поле – океан-море. В океан-море стоит камень, на <b>синем</b> камне сидит <b>красна</b> девица.

	пойду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из дверей в ворота, отцом прощена, матерью благословлена.		
2265	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверьми, из (ворот) воротами...	...пойдя я выйду в чистое поле, в <b>синее</b> море.	В <b>синем</b> море есть камень, лежит, на этот камень сбегались все рабы Божьи, ангелы, Иоанн Креститель крестил их золотым крестом.
2269	Стану я, раба Божья (имя), благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из ворот в ворота, из избы в избу...	...выйду в чистое поле к окияну- мору.	У окияна-моря лежит <b>белый</b> камень Латырь, на этом на камне Латыре разостлана тонкая <b>белая</b> скатерть. На этой на тонкой скатерти сидят две мудрые, две хитрые девицы...
2270	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, стану я, раб Божий, помолюсь, благословлюсь...	...пойду во чистое поле, под <b>красное</b> солнце, под светлый месяц, под частые звезды, под полетные облака. Стану я, раб Божий, во чисто поле, на ровное место.	
2273	Стану я, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей дверью, из ворот воротами...	...пойду в чистое поле.	В чистом поле – <b>черное</b> море, в <b>черном</b> море – <b>черный</b> камень, под этим <b>черным</b> камнем есть <b>черная</b> лютая змея.
2274	Стану я, раба Божья (имя), благословясь, выйду, перекрестясь, из избы дверьми, из двора воротами...	...стану я на восточную сторону.	На восточной стороне есть <b>синее</b> море, в <b>синем</b> море плавает яр-ярый гоголь, на нем не держится ни вода, ни роса.
2275	Встану я, раба Божья, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...в <b>синее</b> море, из <b>синя</b> моря в океан-море.	В океан-море – щука, всем щукам щука, голова медна, зубы железны, хвост оловянный, глаза заозерской совы.



2276	Встану раба Божья Мария, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота...	...пойду на широку улицу, на восточну сторону.	Там стоит святое озерцо, на этом озерце есть <b>бел</b> горюч камень, под этим камнем сидит рыба, зубы востры, железные.
2296	Стану, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, отцом прощен, матерью благословлен, из избы дверями, из дверей воротами...	...выйду в чистое поле, в восточную сторону.	У той восточной стороне – океян-море. У океяна-море лежит <b>белый</b> камень Латырь. На этом на <b>белом</b> камне Латыре лежит мертвое <b>белое</b> тело.

### Appendix D. The Most Frequently Used Colour-Noun Collocations (by Region)

No.	Region	No. of charms in the region	Colour-Noun Collocations	Frequency
1.	Arkhangelsk	454	Dark blue sea White body Red sun Black eyebrows Blue swelling Grey stone Fair (red) maiden Yellow sand White stone Black liver Blue stone Hazel horse Blue bruise White hands White pike fish	41 31 16 15 12 11 10 10 9 8 7 5 5 5 5
2.	Kaluga	116	Fair (red) maiden White stone Black Evil eye Red erysipelas Red blood White body Hazel horse Yellow Evil eye Grey Evil eye Red dawn White world Blue erysipelas Green meadow Raven horse Black liver	15 13 9 9 8 8 6 6 6 5 5 4 4 4 4
3.	The Tatar ASSR	60	White stone Dark red man Golden moon Golden horns	3 2 2 2
4.	Kirov	221	Dark blue sea White swan White body Scarlet blood	 2 2 2 2
5.	Kostroma	2	Black eyebrows	1
6.	The Karelian ASSR	14	White body Black ant	1 1
7.	Voronezh	3	Black Evil eye	2

			Grey Evil eye White Evil eye	2 2
<b>8.</b>	Vologda	11	Dark blue sea Blue stone White birch	2 2 2
<b>9.</b>	The Komi ASSR	50	Dark blue sea White hernia Black hernia	4 2 2

## Appendix E. Healing Charm Distribution by Region

### The Arkhangelsk Region

#### 1. Верхнетоемский район

##### Years of Collection/Charm Number

Village Name	1967	1969
1. Борисиха		1700
2. Бубновское		1664, 2204, 2246, 2300, 2228
3. Волюново		1549
4. Заблудиха	1557, 1906	
5. Запольки		1443, 1483, 2221
6. Кондратьевская	1587, 1635	
7. Мошканово	----	
8. Наволоцкая	1524, 2023	
9. Окулово		2169, 1703, 2299
10. Петрухино	----	
11. Пога		1704, 1856, 1878, 2070, 2181, 2234
12. Тишинская	1607, 1656	
13. Усть-Выя		1993
14. Ухменьга		1459, 2082, 2235
15. Чёрный Ручей		1887, 1907
16. Шепичево		1994

#### 2. Вилегодский район

Village Name	1974
1. Брехово	1997
2. Выползово	1403, 1544, 1955
3. Демиха	----
4. Замятино	----
5. Конгур	1599
6. Кочнева Гора	1600, 2096
7. Нылога	----
8. Слудка	----
9. Струпкино	1529
10. Тырпасовская	1625
11. Язгора	1645
12. Ялино	1556

#### 3. Каргопольский район

Village Name	1961	1962	1963
1. Авдотьино			1521, 1571, 1902
2. Афаносово			1649, 1869, 2160
3. Берег			1567

4. Бережная Дуброва			1440, 1623, 1882
5. Бутино	----		
6. Быковская			2272, 1471, 1565
7. Верещагино	----		
8. Вздыхалино			1502, 1883, 2211, 2295, 1498
9. Горка			1392, 1816, 1880
10. Йоктуша			1661, 1860
11. Конево			1397, 1858, 1943, 1925, 1927, 1372, 1484, 1539, 1566
12. Коневский сельс.	----		
13. Кромино	----		
14. Кувшиново			1954
15. Кукшиново			1500
16. Малое Конево			1398, 1432, 1449, 1608, 1884, 1910
17. Малокондраць	1474		
18. Марковская			1457, 1868, 2293
19. Монастырёк	2269		
20. Мячево	1838		
21. Надконецкая			1821, 1562
22. Озерки			1620
23. Ошевенский Погост		1445, 1573, 1737, 1947, 2273	
24. Павлово		1789, 2149, 2261	
25. Плесо	----		
26. Погост		1817	
27. Подгорье			1442, 1847, 1885, 1953, 1636, 1946, 2125, 2220
28. Пожары			1373, 1874, 1369, 1435
29. Рубцово		1738, 1580, 2270, 1743	
30. Сотниково			1652
31. Тирюшино	----		
32. Троица			1493, 1613, 1879, 2206, 1590, 1892
33. Шелтомино			1494, 1653, 1820, 1434, 1659, 1818
34. Янгора	----		

#### 4. Кенозеро

Village Name	1958
1. Заречье	1504, 1505, 1949, 2210
2. Кумбасозеро	1394, 1876
3. Лахта	----
4. Лёкшмозеро	1888

5. Поромское	1536, 1979, 1437
5. Спицино	----

### 5. Котласский район

Village Name	1974
1. Бердыха	1543, 1605
2. Воильцевс	1648, 1691
3. Заостровье	----
4. Окулово	1890, 1952
5. Пряновская	----
6. Рябово	2090, 2157
7. Секиринская	----
8. Сольвычегодск	----
9. Харитонов	2026, 2029
10. Чирково	1581, 1670, 1808, 1844

### 6. Красноборский район

Village Name	1967
1. Васильевск	1561
2. Кузнечиха	1447
3. Обросовская	----
4. Сибирь	----
5. Томца-Пер	1731, 2083
6. Не указано	1479
7. Цивозерск	1559
8. Щедрино	----

### 7. Ленский район

Village Name	1973
1. Березняк	1453
2. Большой Мыс	----
3. Вандыш	1677
4. Васильевск	1746
5. Выемково	1899
6. Ирта	1531
7. Конец	----
8. Кулига	----
9. Лопатино	----
10. Матрук	----
11. Паста	1622
12. Потылинск	1475
13. Суходол	----
14. Таратинская	----
15. Томца	----
16. Тохта	1375, 1534
17. Тундей	1781, 1988, 2050
18. Урдома	----

19. Юргино	----
20. Ярыгино	1473

### 8. Лешуконский район

Village Name	1975	1976	1978
1. Белощелье		2138, 1626, 1382, 1388, 1723, 1889, 2130, 2152, 2154, 1724, 2165	
2. Вожгора			1833, 1914
3. Заозерье		2174	
4. Засулье		1740, 1757, 2222, 1756, 2239, 2280	
5. Защелье	----		
6. Кеба		2151, 1729, 1855, 2144, 1727	
7. Койнас		1728, 1773, 1578, 1631, 2241, 2265, 1720	
8. Колмогора	----		
9. Лебское			1628, 1707, 2060, 2255, 2257
10. Лешуконское		1384, 1616, 1706, 1716, 1739, 1861, 1862, 2063, 2145	
11. Мелогора		1712, 1863, 2076, 2134	
12. Олема		1841, 2172, 2199	
13. Палощелье	----		
14. Пылема		1641, 1380, 1705, 1684, 1708, 2194, 2240, 2245, 1719, 2205, 2243, 1718	
15. Резя		1455, 2164	
16. Селище		2139, 2277, 1775, 1383, 1722, 1864	
17. Усть-Кыма		1688, 1713	
18. Ценогора		1485, 2177, 2213, 2146, 2244, 2131, 2147, 2148, 1632, 1717, 1721, 2182, 2238	

### 9. Мезенский район

Village Name	1975
1. Азополье	1617, 1711, 1726, 1386, 2202, 2230, 2298
2. Баковская	----
3. Березник	----
4. Березняки	----

5. Бугава	1577, 1624, 2163, 2178
6. Бычье	1452, 1894, 2142, 1904, 1497
7. Дорогорское	1576, 1903, 2168, 2231
8. Жердь	2212, 2229, 2166, 2226
9. Зааканурье	----
10. Заозерье	----
11. Каменка	2027
12. Кильца	1501, 2161, 2247, 1627, 2162, 2225, 2266
13. Козьмогородское	----
14. Лампожия	1772, 1980, 1990, 2020, 2028, 2227, 2249, 1381, 1477
15. Мелогоры	1615, 1396, 1895
16. Мосеево	----
17. Печище	1905, 2143, 2208, 1682, 1683, 1730, 1896
18. Погорелец	2019, 1771, 2201
19. Тигляева	1725, 1767, 1901, 1633, 1709, 1710, 2207, 1461
20. Целогора	2179, 2159
21. Черсова	2153
22. Юрома	2167

#### 10. Онежский район

Village Name	1964	1965
1. Андозеро	1686, 1873, 1913, 1877	
2. Глотово		1630, 1374, 1891, 2000
3. Грибаниха		1568, 2275, 1655, 1867, 2140
4. Камениха		1865, 1866, 2141
5. Клещево		1583, 1596
6. Кушерека	----	
7. Остров	----	
8. Петровское		1585, 1638, 1646, 1992
9. Порог	----	
10. Топьево		2170
11. Не указано		2137, 2183
12. Усолье	1640, 2197, 1870	
13. Усть-Кожа		1466, 1619, 1875
14. Хайла	1476	
15. Читиково		1586

#### 11. Пинежский район

Village Name	1971	1982
1. Березник	1642, 2155, 2297	
2. Веркола	----	
3. Вихтово	1637, 1898	
4. Ерхино	----	
5. Лавела	1629	
6. Лохново		1639, 2024, 2158, 2173



7. Михеево	1618, 1685, 1897, 2279	
8. Пиринемь	----	
9. Почезерье	1671, 1697, 2237, 2267	
10. Слуда	1444, 2262, 2274	
11. Сульца	----	
12. Турья	1972	
13. Чакола	1696, 1828, 2200, 1554	
14. Шардомень	2236, 1971	
15. Шотогорка	1634	

## 12. Плесецкий район

Village Name	1964
1. Басино	1871
2. Заселье	1923, 1996
3. Канзанелда	1886
4. Прилуки	1421, 1490, 1911, 2184
5. Усолье	----

## 13. Приозерный район

Village Name	1961	1962
1. Афаносово		1872
2. Бутино	----	
3. Валово		1654, 1395
4. Верхняя		1815
5. Воробьёвская	----	
6. Враниковская		2115
7. Горки	1439	
8. Горушка		1658
9. Конево		1433
10. Кузьминская		1665, 1853
11. Лешино		1787, 1788, 1852
12. Лисья	----	
13. Пилющино	----	
14. Ручьево		1499, 1563, 2136, 2296
15. Максимовская		1840
16. Самково	----	

## 14. Холмогорский район

Village Name	1969
1. Болото	1834, 2294
2. Бор	1389, 1393, 1893
3. Высокое	----
4. Задняя	1975
5. Красный Яр	1714
6. Лутоши	1420, 1448, 1928, 2256
7. Меландов	1390, 1428
8. Мякурье	1438, 1715, 1900

9. Осередок	1391
10. Плесо	----
11. Сельцо	----
12. Сухарево	1564
13. Сухие	1491, 1545
14. Усть-Мехр	1692
15. Чёлмохта	----
16. Юково	1693

### 15. Шенкурский район

Village Name	1967
1. Артёмовская	1570, 1690
2. Киселевская	1569
3. Степановская-Антоново	1591, 1973
4. Федоровский	1537, 1830

## The Vologda Region

### 1. Великоустюгский район

#### Years of Collection/Charm Number

Village Name	1967
1. Рупосово	1492, 1609

### 2. Верховажский район

Village Name	1966
1. Верховажье	
2. Ветошино	2268, 2276, 2288
3. Владыкина Гора	
4. Заборье	
5. Лапино	
6. Новая	1651
7. Питер	1399, 1538, 1574
8. Не указано	1472, 1592
9. Чушевицы	

### 3. Чебсарский (теперь - Шекснинский) район

Village Name	1953
1. Гурилово	----

## The Voronezh Region

### 1. Землянский (теперь – Семилукский) район

#### Years of Collection/Charm Number

Village Name	1958
1. Ломово	2191, 2192, 2193

## The Kaluga Region

### 1. Жиздринский район

#### Years of Collection/Charm Number

Village Name	1975
1. Младенск	1378
2. Сосновая	1415

### 2. Калужский (теперь – Перемышльский) район

Village Name	1964
1. Корекозово	----

### 3. Кировский район

Village Name	1974
1. Кулаковка	1777, 1962
2. Тягаево	----

### 4. Куйбышевский район

Village Name	1979	1985	1986	1987
1. Бутчино		1968, 1418, 1944		
2. Воронинка		1469, 1582, 1650, 1668, 2021, 2022, 2135, 2186, 2259, 2292, 1763, 1764, 2185, 2187, 2214, 2260, 2271, 2278, 2291		
3. Дубровка		1506, 1965, 2091		
4. Казинки	1761, 2175, 2250			

5. Козловка			1595, 1701	
6. Лобазово		1961, 2252		
7. Лужицы		1769, 1770, 1964, 1734, 1768, 1796		
8. Починок	1759, 1809, 1967			
9. Хатожа				1426, 1669, 1766, 1966, 2251, 2253, 1516, 1417, 1793, 1963

### 5. Малоарославецкий район

Village Name	1978	1981
1. Буркино		1799, 1589, 1733, 1588, 1805, 1922, 1798
2. Верхние Горки	1790	
3. Детчино	1732, 1776	
4. Желудовка	1702	

### 6. Сухиничский район

Village Name	1976
1. Волдаевка	1960
2. Верхний Волок	1955
3. Кривуша	1956
4. Матчино	1427, 1758, 1959
5. Нижний Волок	1450, 1774
6. Тировка	1481, 1957
7. Шихтино	

### 7. Тарусский район

Village Name	1989
1. Вознесень	1794, 1736, 1663
2. Левшино	1429, 2074, 2258
3. Парсуки	1414, 1795, 2116

### 8. Ферзиковский район

Village Name	1978
1. Бронцы	1801
2. Губино	1673, 1765, 1423, 1674, 1929, 1945
3. Дugna	1802
4. Искра	1424, 1672, 1735
5. Русиново	1598, 1662, 1958
6. Судаково	
7. Титово	

## 9. Юхновский район

Village Name	1973
1. Ивановское	1689, 1797, 1657
2. Крюково	1807
3. Кувшиново	1755
4. Озерки	1446, 1495, 1803
5. Устиновка	1800
6. Щелкановский с/с	1416, 1470

## The Karelian ASSR

### 1. Кемский район

#### Years of Collection/Charm Number

Village Name	1968
1. Гридино	----

### 2. Пудожский район

Village Name	1957	1958	1960
1. Кривцы			
2. Нигижма			1679, 1915
3. Новинка	1385, 1614, 1942, 1969		
4. Песчаное			
5. Пильмасозеро	1950		
6. Погост		1940	
7. Пяльма			1467, 1621
8. Римское			
9. Не указано			1496
10. Чёлмужи			1857, 1912, 1951

## The Kirov Region

### 1. Даровский район

#### Years of Collection/ Charm Number

Village Name	1991
1. Подугоряне	---

## 2. Котельничский район

Village Name	1991
1. Аникины	----
2. Борки	2264
3. Верюховщина	----
4. Вишкиль	2067, 2092, 2098, 1930
5. Кащевы	----
6. Колосово	----
7. Комлево	1519
8. Красногорье	----
9. Кужлёвка	----
10. Курино	1482, 2101, 1401, 1430, 1462, 2015
11. Макарье	1742
12. Малая Шиловщина	1371, 1932
13. Мишотино	----
14. Мостовая	----
15. Нижняя Мельница	1541, 1810, 1812, 1376, 1783, 1813, 1919, 1926, 1933, 1934, 1982, 2051, 2077, 1804, 1985, 2062, 1601, 1515
16. Овчинниковы	----
17. Окатьево	----
18. Скурихинская	1941, 1917, 2093, 2094, 1741, 1790, 1811
19. Спасское	1460, 1749, 2068
20. Старниково	1511
21. Шеломово	----
22. Шипичивщина	2284, 1522
23. Шушканово	----
24. Юрьево	1998, 2011, 2009, 1835, 1908, 2095

## 3. Лузский район

Village Name	1990	1991
1. Аксеновская	----	
2. Аленкино	----	
3. Берёзино		1827, 2099
4. Боброво	----	
5. Варжа	1404, 2203	
6. Гольцово	1695, 2224	
7. Данилово	1824, 1530, 1575, 1694, 2127, 1560, 1831, 1977, 2053, 2085	
8. Ершово	----	
9. Заборье		1555, 1509, 2286
10. Загарье		2058, 2281, 2282, 2283
11. Зубарево	1678, 2057, 1150	
12. Козинская	2002, 2010, 2054, 1819	
13. Кузнецово		1441, 2198

14. Куликово		1837, 2217, 1753, 2016, 2242
15. Лальск	1603, 1829, 2086, 2087, 1822, 2120, 2126, 2003	
16. Луза	----	
17. Лунданка		2071, 2100, 2106
18. Медведевская	1699	
19. Овсянниково		1552, 1606, 1826, 2123
20. Огорелицы		1553, 1784, 1851, 2128, 2129
21. Осинки	----	
22. Пантелеево	----	
23. Пестово	----	
24. Пловска		1750, 2287
25. Попово	----	
26. Потапово	2084, 2001, 2285, 1533	
27. Семеновская	2254	
28. Смиреново	----	
29. Старческая	----	
30. Турково	----	
31. Учка	1935, 1936, 1937, 1825, 2073, 2105, 2290	
32. Фабрика	----	
33. Чирухинская	----	

#### 4. Опаринский район

Village Name	1990
1. Верхний Починок	2114
2. Волгарица	2103, 1508, 2014, 2018, 2080
3. Ворошилово	----
4. Вотяковская	----
5. Дуванное	2233
6. Заречная	1558, 1572, 1602, 2013, 2064, 2072, 1986
7. Мамошино	1551, 2032, 2233
8. Молома	1920, 2079, 2209, 1938, 1939, 1520, 1610, 2111, 2124
9. Нижний Починок	1512
10. Нижняя Волманга	1836, 1918, 2006, 2081
11. Нижняя Паломица	2097, 2112, 2113, 1402, 1604, 1843, 1778, 1786, 1859, 2215, 2219, 2216, 1782, 1832, 2005, 2012, 2025, 1987, 1984
12. Паникаровка	2171
13. Сапоговская	1514
14. Стрельская	2232, 2069, 2104
15. Холоватка	2133, 2150
16. Шабуры	2065, 1785, 1523, 1532, 1540
17. Шадрино	2089, 2017, 2066, 1464
18. Шадринская	1458, 1932, 2102, 1518

#### 5. Подосиновский район

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1988</b>
1. Барановщина	1513
2. Борок	----
3. Великий Двор	----
4. Гребенево	1593, 1687
5. Григошино	1846, 1916, 2008, 1510, 1754, 1823, 1849
6. Ермаковщина	1751
7. Заборье	2007
9. Красниково	1839
10. Крыловское	2061
11. Лодейно	1507, 1981, 1845, 2052, 1991, 2030, 2031
12. Новая Яхреньга	----
13. Октябрь	1842
14. Останино	----
15. Сугоровщина	1779, 1848
16. Токовица	----
17. Троица	1999, 2004
18. Утманово	----
19. Фильтяево	----
20. Хомяково	----
21. Шадринская Гора	----
22. Щеткино	1983
23. Южная	----
24. Яхреньга	----

### The Komi ASSR

#### 1. Удорский район

##### Year of Collection/Charm Number

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1977</b>
1. Большая Пысса	1465, 2055, 2132
2. Важгорт	1528, 1698, 1814, 2156
3. Вильгорт	1527
4. Керью-Яг	
5. Котюга	
6. Латьюга	2218, 2248
7. Малая Пысса	1597
8. Пучкома	1989
9. Селиба	
10. Чупрова	1854

#### 2. Усть-Цилемский район

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1978</b>	<b>1980</b>
1. Бугарево	1752	
2. Ермица		2075, 2180



3. Загривочная	2040, 2047, 2044, 2042	
4. Замежная	2039, 2035, 2037, 2088, 2038	
5. Крестовка		
6. Леждуг		
7. Медвежка		2118, 1594, 1974
8. Новый Бор		1976
9. Скитская	2036	
10. Степановская	1542, 2034, 2046	
11. Уег		2117, 2056, 2107, 2108, 2176
12. Хабариха		1400
13. Харьяга		
14. Черногорская	2033, 2043, 2045, 1546, 1547, 1548, 2048, 2049, 2041	
15. Окунев Нос		1978

### The Kostroma Region

#### 1. Макарьевский район

##### Years of Collection/Charm Number

Village Name	1990
1. Нежитино	1748
2. Николо-Макарово	
3. Осиновка	1425
4. Трещаткино	

#### 2. Нерехтский район

Village Name	1991
1. Не указано	----

#### 3. Шарьинский район

Village Name	1993
1. Шекшема	----

### The Tatar ASSR

#### 1. Алексеевский район

##### Years of Collection/Charm Number

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1981</b>
1. Балахчино	1451

## **2. Заинский район**

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1984</b>
1. Александровская Слобода	1503, 1747, 1489, 1921, 1924
2. Бухарай	
3. Киселевка	1647, 1407, 1681
4. Новоспасск	2110
5. Тюгеевка	2188
6. Шунак	

## **3. Куйбышевский район**

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1985</b>
1. Антоновка	1744
2. Гусиха	
3. Кузнечиха	1680
4. Куранова	1422
5. Подивановка	1643
6. Подиваново	
7. Полянки	2195, 1675, 1676
8. Танкеевка	2122
9. Три Озера	1436, 2078, 2121

## **4. Мамадышский район**

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1984</b>
1. Омарский Починок	2059, 1525, 1806
2. Омары	1408, 2119
3. Покровское	1406
4. Рагозино	
5. Секинезь	
6. Соколки	

## **5. Мензелинский район**

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1983</b>
1. Гришино	2196, 2289
2. Матвеевка	1370

## **6. Нижнекамский район**

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1982</b>
1. Ачи	2189
2. Старошешминск	1480
3. Шереметьевка	2109
4. Шереметьево	1745, 2190

### 7. Черемшанский район

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1983</b>
1. Кутема	1379, 1850
2. Нижняя Кармалка	1411, 1909, 1517
3. Ногай	1412
4. Не указано	
5. Черемшан	1405
6. Шешминская Крепость	1463

### 8. Чистопольский район

<b>Village Name</b>	<b>1982</b>
1. Екатерининская Слобода	1487, 1488
2. Красный Яр	1413
3. Новошешминск	1431, 1478, 1584, 1486, 1579, 1454, 1410, 1664, 1666, 1667, 1970, 1526

## Appendix F. Colour Terms, Their Frequency, and Their Referents by District

### The Arkhangelsk Region

#### 1. Верхнетоемский район/Verkhnetoemsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1967/1969	34	12	Dark blue	6	Sea
			White	5	Body
			Red	4	Maiden, sun
			Grey	1	Stone
			Black	1	Liver
			Scarlet	1	Stars
			Hazel	1	Horse

#### 2. Вилегодский район/Vilegodsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1974	11	4	Red	4	Stone, thread
			Golden	2	Horns
			Dark blue	1	Sea
			White	1	Body

#### 3. Каргопольский район/Kargopol'sky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1961/1962/ 1963	95	32	Red	14	Sun, maiden, sea, eyes, furuncle, hernia
			White	12	Stone, tablecloth, body, birch, hernia
			Black	11	Sea, stone, snake, eyebrows, hair, raven
			Dark blue	5	Sea, stone
			Scarlet	3	Blood
			Hazel	2	Horse
			Mottled	2	Snake, chicken
			Grey	1	Snake
			Golden	1	Face
			Blond, fair	1	Needle
			Fulvous	1	Body
			Yellow	1	Body
			Rosy	1	Cheeks

#### 4. Кенозеро/Kenozero

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1958	10	1	Red	3	Maiden
			White	1	Body

#### 5. Котласский район/Kotlassky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1974	14	7	Red	3	Sun
			White	2	Body, sand
			Grey	2	Stone
			Black	1	Snake
			Hazel	1	Horse

#### 6. Красноборский район/Krasnoborsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1967	6	0			

#### 7. Ленский район/Lenksy district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1973	13	1	Red	1	Gums

#### 8. Лешуконский район/Leshukonsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1976/1978	88	34	White	16	Body, mare, man, world, fish, stone, hands, chalk, street
			Black	14	Eyebrows, raven, liver, stream
			Dark blue	13	Sea, swelling
			Red	6	Sun, maiden, headpiece
			Green	4	Meadows
			Yellow	3	Sand
			Grey	1	Stone
			Light blue	1	Oars

### 9. Мезенский район/Mezensky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
			White	17	Body, face, mare, hands, fish, person, chest, brain
1975	66	34	Dark blue	15	Sea, wound, swelling
			Black	11	Liver, eyebrows, worm, corner, mohsa (?)
			Red	8	Head, sun, face
			Yellow	6	Sand
			Grey	4	Stone
			Green	3	Dawn
			Scarlet	1	Person
			Rosy	1	Blood

### 10. Онежский район/Onezhsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1964/1965	33	10	White	5	Pebble, hands, body
			Red	5	Maiden, waterside, head, sun
			Black	4	Liver, chest, eyebrows
			Dark blue	3	Sea
			Green	2	Fir-tree
			Yellow	1	Sand
			Grey	1	Pebbles
			Fulvous	1	Blood
			Scarlet	1	Lungs
			Hazel	1	Horse

### 11. Пинежский район/Pinezhsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1971/1982	29	15	Dark blue	25	Sea, bruise, swelling, stone, man, hat, coat, boots, belt, axe
			White	8	Stone, fish, face, body
			Grey	3	Stone
			Black	3	Beast, dirt
			Red	2	Maiden, head

			Pink	1	Blood
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### 12. Плесецкий район/Plesetsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1964	8	2	Dark blue	8	Sea, island, stone, man
			White	6	Body, paper, bone, snow

### 13. Приозерный район/Priozerny district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1961/1962	18	6	White	9	Stone, face, body
			Black	6	Stone, raven, coal
			Dark blue	2	Sea

### 14. Холмогорский район/Kholmogorsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1969	22	0			

### 15. Шенкурский район/Shenkursky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1967	7	2	Dark blue	1	Stone
			Mottled	1	Chicken

## The Vologda Region

### 1. Великоустюгский район/Velikoustyugsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
			White	2	Birch
1967	2	1	Golden	1	Moon

### 2. Верховажский район/Verkhovazhsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1966	9	3	Dark blue	4	Sea, stone
			White	2	Stone, claws

			Red	1	Maiden
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### 3. Чебсарский (теперь – Шекснинский) район/Chebsarsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1953	0	0			

## The Voronezh Region

### 1. Землянский (теперь – Семилукский) район/Zemliansky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1958	3	3	Black	3	Disease, Evil eye
			Grey	2	Evil eye
			White	2	Evil eye

## The Kaluga Region

### 1. Жиздринский район/Zhizdrinsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1975	2	0			

### 2. Калужский (теперь – Перемышльский) район/Kaluga district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1964	0	0			

### 3. Кировский район/Kirov district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1974	2	2	Dark blue	2	Stone, snake
			Yellow	2	Snake, stomach
			Mottled	1	Snake
			Black	1	Snake
			Green	1	Snake



#### 4. Куйбышевский район/Kuybyshev district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1979/1985/ 1986/1987	57	33	Red	33	Erysipelas, maiden, blood, ribbon, dawn
			White	27	Stone, world, the Evil eye, erysipelas, hands, birch, body
			Black	19	Erysipelas, liver, sister, the Evil eye, eyebrows, seas, rowan tree
			Dark blue	10	Erysipelas, sea, the Evil eye, sister
			Yellow	8	The Evil eye, sand, sister
			Green	6	Meadow, oakwood, wine
			Grey	6	The Evil eye, sister, horse
			Raven	4	Horse
			Light blue	2	Snake, the Evil eye
			Hazel	2	Horse
			Mottled	2	Snake, sister
			Variegated (1)*	1	Snake
			Variegated (2)*	1	Snake
			Cherry	1	Cheeks
			Crimson	1	Erysipelas
			Ash grey	1	Erysipelas

\* Variegated (1) – Перепелесый

\* Variegated (2) – Пёстрый (synonym of Variegated (1) перепелесый)

\* A geographical location *Белое море* (the White sea) mentioned in charm 1589 counts as a colour term *white* with a referent *sea*

#### 5. Малоярославецкий район/Maloyaroslavetsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
			Hazel	4	Horse
1978/1981	11	4	White	3	Sea, stone
			Black	2	The Evil eye
			Grey	2	The Evil eye

			Yellow	1	The Evil eye
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#### 6. Сухиничский район/Sukhinichsy district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1976	10	6	Black	6	Brother, fleece, snake
			Red	4	Brother, blood, erysipelas, belly
			White	3	Brother, erysipelas, snake
			Green	2	River, snake
			Grey	2	Snake
			Yellow	2	Brain, tail
			Roan	2	Snake
			Fox-colour	2	Snake
			Light blue	1	Father (old man)
			Piebald	1	Snake
			Burgundy	1	Brother
			Ginger	1	Snake
			Raven	1	Snake
			Hazel	1	Snake
			Bluish grey	1	Snake

#### 7. Тарусский район/Tarussky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1989	9	2	White	3	Body, milk
			Red	2	Maiden, body

#### 8. Ферзиковский район/Ferzikovsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1978	14	2	White	5	Body, bones
			Blond, fair	3	Stone, hair
			Black	1	Body
			Red	1	Blood

#### 9. Юхновский район/Iukhnovsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1973	11	0			

## The Karelian ASSR

### 1. Кемский район/Kemsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1968	0	0			

### 2. Пудожский район/Pudozhsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1957/1958/ 1960	14	2	White	1	Body
			Black	1	Ant

## The Kirov Region.

### 1. Даровский район/Darovsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1991	0	0			

### 2. Котельничский район/Kotel'nichsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1991	52	1	Black	1	Liver
			Scarlet	1	Blood

### 3. Лузский район/Luzsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1990/1991	72	3	White	3	Body, eyebrows
			Scarlet	1	Blood
			Black	1	Eyebrows

### 4. Опаринский район/Oparinsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents

			Green	2	Evil eye, grass
			Dark blue	2	Sea
			White	2	Swan
1990	70	3	Hazel	1	Evil eye
			Light blue	1	Evil eye
			Grey	1	Stone
			Yellow	1	Sand

#### 5. Подосиновский район/Podosinovsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1988	27	0			

### The Komi ASSR

#### 1. Удорский район/Udorsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
			Dark blue	4	Sea
1977	13	3	White	2	Hernia
			Black	2	Hernia
			Yellow	1	Hernia
			Green	1	Hernia
			Red	1	Hernia

#### 2. Усть-Цилемский район/Ust'-Tsilemsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1978/1980	37	1	Black	2	Snake

### The Kostroma Region

#### 1. Макарьевский район/Makaryevsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1990	2	1	Black	1	Eyebrows

#### 2. Нерехтский район/Nerekhtsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1991	0	0			

### 3. Шарьинский район/Sharyinsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1993	0	0			

## The Tatar ASSR

### 1. Алексеевский район/Alekseevsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1981	1	0			

### 2. Заинский район/Zainsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1984	10	0			

### 3. Куйбышевский район/Kuybysev district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1985	11	2	White	2	Stone
			Black	1	Man
			Dark red	1	Man

### 4. Мамадышский район/Mamadyshsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1984	6	1	Golden	1	Moon

### 5. Мензелинский район/Menzelinsky district

Years	No. of Charms	No. of charms with colour	Colour Name	Frequency	Referents
1983	3	1	Ginger	1	Man
			Dark red	1	Man

**6. Нижнекамский район/Nizhnekamsky district**

<b>Years</b>	<b>No. of Charms</b>	<b>No. of charms with colour</b>	<b>Colour Name</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Referents</b>
1982	5	1	White	1	Stone

**7. Черемшанский район/Cheremshansky district**

<b>Years</b>	<b>No. of Charms</b>	<b>No. of charms with colour</b>	<b>Colour Name</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Referents</b>
1983	8	2	Golden	3	Moon, horns

**8. Чистопольский район/Chistopol'sky district**

<b>Years</b>	<b>No. of Charms</b>	<b>No. of charms of colour</b>	<b>Colour Name</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Referents</b>
			Hazel	2	Mare, horse
1982	16	3	Red	1	Sun

## Appendix G. Colour Frequency by Subgroup

### 1. Against Headache (No. 1369 – 1371, 3 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
White	Белый	1
Scarlet	Алый	1

### 2. Against Eye Infections (No. 1378 – 1379, 8 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
Red	Красный	4

### 3. Against Ear Infections (No. 1380 – 1396, 17 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
Black	Чёрный	4
Red	Красный	3
Dark blue	Синий	2

### 4. Against Toothache (No. 1402 – 1486, 85 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
White	Белый	6
Golden	Золотой	6
Black	Чёрный	3
Red	Красный	2
Light blue	Голубой	1
Scarlet	Алый	1
Dark blue	Синий	1
Grey	Серый	1

### 5. Against Backache, Joint Pains (No. 1493 – 1519, 27 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
White	Белый	1
Green	Зелёный	1

### 6. Against Diarrhoea, Hernia (No. 1520 – 1548, 29 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
White	Белый	4
Dark blue	Синий	4
Red	Красный	3
Black	Чёрный	2
Green	Зелёный	1
Yellow	Жёлтый	1

**7. Against Bleeding, Wounds, Cuts, Blows (No. 1549 – 1678, 129 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Dark blue	Синий	24
White	Белый	18
Hazel	Карий	13
Red	Красный	9
Black	Чёрный	5
Grey	Серый	3
Mottled	Рябый	2
Golden	Золотой	2
Scarlet	Алый	1
Fulvous	Бурый	1
Blond, fair	Русый	1
Pink	Розовый	1

**8. Against Burning, High Temperature (No. 1682 – 1727, 47 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
White	Белый	1

**9. Against Streptoderma, Scabies, Palmer and Plantar Warts (No. 1728 – 1742, 15 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Red	Красный	4
Black	Чёрный	1
Grey	Серый	1
White	Белый	1
Light blue	Голубой	1

**10. Against Fever (No. 1743 – 1747, 5 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
White	Белый	1

**11. Against Felon Finger (No. 1755 – 1758, 4 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Red	Красный	2
Black	Чёрный	1
White	Белый	1
Grey	Серый	1
Burgundy	Бордовый	1
Yellow	Жёлтый	1

**12. Against Erysipelas (No. 1759 – 1777, 19 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
White	Белый	16
Red	Красный	15



Dark blue	Синий	8
Black	Чёрный	8
Green	Зелёный	5
Yellow	Жёлтый	2
Light blue	Голубой	1
Raven	Вороной	1
Crimson	Багровый	1
Ash grey	Сивый	1

### 13. Against Furuncle (No. 1815 – 1915, 101 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
White	Белый	19
Black	Чёрный	5
Red	Красный	2
Scarlet	Алый	2
Dark blue	Синий	1

### 14. Against Snakebite and Being Bitten (No. 1940 – 1969, 30 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
Black	Чёрный	10
White	Белый	6
Grey	Серый	4
Mottled	Рябый	4
Yellow	Жёлтый	4
Green	Зелёный	3
Blond, fair	Русый	3
Fox-colour	Подласый	2
Raven	Вороной	2
Roan	Саврасый	2
Dark blue	Синий	2
Piebald	Пегий	1
Ginger	Рыжий	1
Hazel	Карий	1
Bluish grey	Мышастый	1
Variegated	Пёстрый	1
Light blue	Голубой	1
Variegated	Перепелесый	1

### 15. When Taking Water Procedures (No. 1989 – 2029, 41 Charms)

English	Russian	Frequency
Red	Красный	9
Green	Зелёный	3
White	Белый	2
Scarlet	Алый	1
Yellow	Жёлтый	1

**16. Against the Evil eye (No. 2055 - 2211, 156 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Dark blue	Синий	41
White	Белый	38
Black	Чёрный	26
Red	Красный	23
Grey	Серый	8
Green	Зелёный	7
Yellow	Жёлтый	3
Dark red	Черёмный	2
Raven	Вороной	2
Scarlet	Алый	1
Hazel	Карий	1
Light blue	Голубой	1
Rosy	Румяный	1
Ginger	Рыжий	1

**17. Against Melancholy, Yearning, Sorrows (No. 2212 - 2249, 38 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Yellow	Жёлтый	9
Dark blue	Синий	4
White	Белый	3
Grey	Серый	2
Black	Чёрный	2
Green	Зелёный	1

**18. Against All Ailments (No. 2250 - 2300, 51 Charms)**

<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Black	Чёрный	21
White	Белый	17
Red	Красный	16
Dark blue	Синий	12
Grey	Серый	5
Yellow	Жёлтый	4
Scarlet	Алый	2
Cherry	Вишнёвый	1

## Appendix H. Most Often Qualified Referents by a Given Colour Term or Shade

	Colours and Shades	Disease	Parts of the Body	The Animal Kingdom	The Natural World	Other
1.	<b>White</b>	Evil eye 5 Diarrhoea 3 Erysipelas 2	Body 40 Face 4 Hands 6 Bones 2 Man 2 Chest Brain Eyebrows Blood	Pike fish 4 Mare 3 Swan	Stone 16 Birch 5 Snow Sand	World 6 Claws Iron Street Brother Sister Chalk Paper Fur Milk Tablecloth Snow
2.	<b>Black</b>	Evil eye 7 Diarrhoea 2 Erysipelas Disease	Eyebrows 19 Liver 13 Hair Body Chest Man Eyes	Snake 7 Crow 4 Worm Ants - (anthill) Bear	Sea 4 Stone 2 Moss Wild ash Spring	Coal 3 Rune 2 Sister 2 Fur Brother Mud
3.	<b>Red</b>	Erysipelas 7 Diarrhoea 2 Furuncle	Girl 22 Blood 8 Eyes 2 Face Gums Body		Sun 14 Dawn 4 Sea Stone	Headscarf 2 Stomach Thread Ribbon Brother Sister Fabric Shore
4.	<b>Dark blue</b>	Swelling 8 Bruising 4 Erysipelas 3 Evil eye Wound	Man 2	Snake	Sea 36 Stone 7 Water 2	Sister 2 Hat Lining Footwear Belt Axe Island
5.	<b>Green</b>	Diarrhoea Evil eye		Snake 2	Meadow 8 Pine tree 2 Oakwood River Dawn Grass	Wine
6.	<b>Yellow</b>	Evil eye 4	Brain	Snake	Sand 13	Sister

		Diarrhoea		Tail Stomach		
7.	<b>Scarlet</b>		Blood 5 Lungs Face Man		Star	
8.	<b>Grey</b>	Evil eye 4	Eyes	Snake 2 Horse	Stone 9 Oak	Brother Sister
9.	<b>Hazel</b>	Evil eye		Horse 10 Mare		Fur
10.	<b>Mottled</b>			Snake 3 Chicken 2		Sister
11.	<b>Golden</b>		Face		Moon 3	Horns 3 Crown
12.	<b>Light blue</b>	Evil eye 2		Snake		Old man Oars
13.	<b>Rosy</b>		Blood			
14.	<b>Blond, fair</b>		Hair		Stone	Needle
15.	<b>Raven</b>			Horse 4		Fur
16.	<b>Ginger</b>		Man			Fur
17.	<b>Roan</b>			Snake		Fur
18.	<b>Reddish- brown</b>			Snake		Fur
19.	<b>Burgundy</b>					Brother
20.	<b>Ash grey</b>	Erysipelas				
21.	<b>Fulvous, greyish brown</b>		Blood			
22.	<b>Bluish grey</b>					Fur
23.	<b>Piebald</b>			Snake		
24.	<b>Pink</b>		Blood			
25.	<b>Variegated colour,</b>			Snake		

	<b>different colour zones</b>					
26.	<b>Variegated colour</b>			Snake		
27.	<b>Dark red</b>		Man 2			
28.	<b>Cherry red</b>		Cheeks			
29.	<b>Crimson</b>	Erysipelas				

## Appendix I. Positive, Neutral, and Negative Sets of Connotations of the Colour Terms and Shades in the Research Data\*

\* This is an approximate division of colour-noun collocations of the research data. The majority of the colour-noun collocations have many internal meanings and associations. In the text these internal meanings and associations are mostly used symbolically, sometimes having two meanings (for example, white world *белый свет* – can be both neutral or positive when associated with Christianity) or gradually moving between meanings depending on the context.

Colour	Positive	Neutral	Negative
<b>White</b>	White body White hands White world White face White me (participant)	White birch White stone White claws White mare White iron White street White bones White chest White brain White chalk White eyebrows White paper White snow White snake White milk White swan White pike fish White sand	White corpse White diarrhoea White brother (illness) White Evil eye
<b>Red</b>	Red (fair) maiden Red sun Red face (2018) – exception Red dawn	Red gums Red stone Red thread Red blood Red cloth Red sea Red tummy Red shores Red scarf	Red eyes Red diarrhoea Red brother (illness) Red erysipelas Red furuncle
<b>Rosy</b>	Rosy face	Rosy blood	
<b>Black</b>	Black eyebrows	Black snake Black liver Black chest Black ash tree Black coal Black rune Black hair	Black worm Black raven Black diarrhoea Black Evil eye Black brother (illness) Black sister Black erysipelas Black body

			Black man Black illness
<b>Dark blue</b>	Dark blue sea*	Dark blue stone Dark blue snake Dark blue sister  Dark blue man Dark blue hat Dark blue shirt Dark blue boots Dark blue belt Dark blue island	Dark blue swelling Dark blue bruising Dark blue erysipelas  Dark blue Evil eye
<b>Light blue</b>	Light blue father	Light blue oars Light blue snake	Light blue Evil eye
<b>Green</b>	Green dawn	Green wine Green meadow Green oakwood Green river Green snake Green grass Green pine tree	Green diarrhoea Green Evil eye
<b>Yellow</b>		Yellow brain Yellow tail Yellow snake Yellow tummy Yellow sister	Yellow sands Yellow diarrhoea Yellow Evil eye
<b>Grey</b>		Grey stone Grey snake Grey sister Grey horse	Grey Evil eye Grey brother
<b>Blonde, fair</b>		Blonde hair*	
<b>Brown</b>			
<b>Orange</b>			
<b>Purple</b>			
<b>Pink</b>		Pink blood	
<b>Scarlet</b>	Scarlet(healthy) me (participant)	Scarlet blood Scarlet lungs Scarlet stars	
<b>Golden</b>	Golden moon Golden face	Golden horns (crescents)	

<b>Hazel</b>		Hazel mare Hazel horse Hazel snake	
<b>Mottled</b>		Mottled chicken Mottled snake Mottled sister	
<b>Fulvous</b>		Fulvous blood	
<b>Light brown</b>		Light brown needle Light brown stone	
<b>Burgundy</b>			Burgundy brother (illness)
<b>Crimson</b>			Crimson erysipelas
<b>Raven</b>		Raven horse Raven snake	
<b>Ash grey</b>			Ash grey erysipelas
<b>Ginger</b>		Ginger snake Ginger man	
<b>Bluish grey</b>		Bluish grey snake	
<b>Piebald</b>		Piebald snake	
<b>Variegated colour</b>		Variegated colour snakes	
<b>Dark red</b>		Dark red man	

\*In majority cases the epithet *dark blue sea* describes part of the healing journey, it is used mostly with neutral (symbolic) connotations.

\* (Charm 2148) I attributed the colour term white to the man's hair because of the following word 'curly haired' (кудрявый).



