

Contents

<i>Series Foreword</i>	ix
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	x
Introduction: Unity and Diversity in Charms Studies <i>Jonathan Roper</i>	xiv
Charms studies today	xvii
Part I Topics and Issues in Charms Studies	1
1 The Charmer's Body and Behaviour as a Window Onto Early Modern Selfhood	3
<i>Laura Stark</i>	
Tietäjä: specialist in magical protection	5
Reputations for magical harm	10
Making the self inviolable	12
2 'If Not, Shall Employ "Rough on Rats"': Identifying the Common Elements of Rat Charms	17
<i>Paul Cowdell</i>	
3 Miracles and Impossibilities in Magic Folk Poetry	27
<i>Éva Pócs</i>	
Natural impossibilities	29
The stone world of the satan	35
Natural impossibility – divine miracle	38
Cosmic impossibilities – cosmic miracles	41
4 Swedish Snakebite Charms from a Gender Perspective	54
<i>Ritwa Herjulfsson</i>	
The Virgin Mary walked in the grass	55
The Virgin Mary walked on the road	56
The Virgin Mary gave me a cloth	56
Snake on a tuft of grass	57
The transmission of charms	57
Who read the snake charms professionally? Who used them in the household?	58
Conclusions	59

5 Charms as a Means of Coping	62
<i>Ulrika Wolf-Knuts</i>	
6 On Systematizing the Narrative Elements of Slavic Charms	71
<i>Vladimir Klyaus</i>	
Cases when the same personages carry out the opposite actions	80
Cases when opposed personages perform diametrically opposed actions	82
7 Conformity and Originality in Middle English Charms	87
<i>T.M. Smallwood</i>	
8 The Nightmare Charm in <i>King Lear</i>	100
<i>Jacqueline Simpson</i>	
9 Expressions of Impossibility and Inevitability in Mari Charms	108
<i>Natalia Glukhova and Vladimir Glukhov</i>	
Part II National Traditions	119
10 Russian Love Charms in a Comparative Light	121
<i>Andrei Toporkov</i>	
Problems of the comparative study of Russian charms	121
Some characteristics of the Russian charm tradition	123
Issues in the study of love charms	125
Evolution of the formula 'let her neither eat nor drink'	127
The formula in European charms (from the Renaissance until the modern era)	129
Parallels between Greek and Russian charms	132
The semantics of the formula 'let her not eat or drink'	134
Interpreting similarity	135
Some further hypotheses	137
11 Slovenian Charms Between South Slavic and Central European Tradition	145
<i>Monika Kropelj</i>	
Verbal charms in the village of Windish Bleiberg/Slovenji Plajberg	146
Classification of the Slovenian healing- and weather charms	150

Slovenian Charms within Central and Southeast Europe	156
Cosmological elements in Slovenian charms	158
12 Finnish Snake Charms	163
<i>Henni Ilomäki</i>	
The snake as a magical character	163
Types of Finnish snake-charms	165
On the background of Finnish charms	167
Contradictory ideas	169
The bricolage of worldview	171
13 Estonian Narrative Charms in European Context	174
<i>Jonathan Roper</i>	
The predominance of a limited number of types	177
Role of innovative composers and prolific translators in 'unbalancing' a corpus	181
14 Lithuanian and Latvian Charms: Searching for Parallels	186
<i>Daiva Vaitkevičienė</i>	
Invocations and comparison charms	187
Dialogues	193
Enumeration charms	195
Malicious wishes	196
Narrative charms	199
15 The Corpus of Charms in the Middle English Leechcraft Remedy Books	214
<i>Lea Olsan</i>	
The Leechcraft remedy book	215
The Leechcraft charms	216
Charm texts	217
Tables of distribution	225
The Leechcraft corpus	225
Conclusions	228
Manuscripts containing Leechcraft remedies	231
16 The Charms of Biljana, a Bajalica (Conjuror) in Budisava, Serbia	238
<i>Maria Vivod</i>	
17 Verbal Charms in Malagasy Folktales	246
<i>Lee Haring</i>	

18	The Structure and Use of Charms in Georgia, The Caucasus	260
	<i>Meri Tsiklauri and David Hunt</i>	
	Introduction	260
	The etymology of the Georgian word for charm	261
	Classification of charms according to their aims and meaning	261
	Structure of verbal charms	262
	Actions used in the process of telling charms	264
	Poetic language of the Georgian charms	265
19	<i>Manteras</i>: An Overview of a Malay Archipelagoes' Charming Tradition	273
	<i>Low Kok On</i>	
	<i>Index</i>	288

Part I

**Topics and Issues in Charms
Studies**

1

The Charmer's Body and Behaviour
as a Window Onto Early Modern
Selfhood¹

Laura Stark

Some years ago, in researching images of the human body in traditional Finnish magic, I came across the following text recorded in northern Finland from a male sorcerer born in 1835. This text gave me my first glimpse into the dark side of life in traditional² rural Finland, one rarely portrayed in folkloristic and ethnological research:

If someone commits a terrible wrong against me, then I seize an iron rod and run into the forest, to the sort of place which is half peat bog and half dry land, to the boundary between them. Then I make a hole in the ground with the iron rod and put a live frog in the hole, cover it with peat and step on it three times with my left foot and say:

<i>Te maassaa asuvaiset ja</i>	You who live in the ground,
<i>maanhaltiat,</i>	and earth spirits,
<i>Tarttukaa tuota perkeleen roistoa</i>	Seize that devil's villain and
<i>kivuttamaan,</i>	make him suffer,
<i>Niinkun tuo sammakko kituu tuolla!</i>	Just as that frog suffers!

One should have terrible *luonto* [=inner supernatural force], anger, and clenched teeth when one does this. Then illness and pain come to the other person. So that they do not see another day of health. At times they are racked with aches in their head, arms and legs, at times with sharp pains in their chest (*pistos*). Even a person who can set the dead and underground beings in motion cannot cure him. Only the person who has bewitched him using the earth can cure him.

(SKVR XII₂:6024. Kittilä. 1920.

J. Paulaharju 8578 – Johan Aapraham Koskama or Takalo, alias 'Jans Päkki', 82 years old)

This account is just one of thousands of descriptions of magical harm³ dating from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although usually associated with the period of the witchcraft trials (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries), magic continued to live a robust life some two hundred years later, as recent research on Britain, Scandinavia, and Continental Europe has emphasized (e.g. Davies 1999; de Blécourt 1999; Gijswijt-Hofstra 1999). Nearly all rural nineteenth-century Finnish villages appear to have contained witches, healers and quarrelsome neighbors who believed they were able to cause each other magical harm. In some parts of rural Finland people continued to use magic rites to bring harm to their enemies as late as the 1950s (see Stark 2006: 47–9).

Descriptions of magic and sorcery housed in the Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives in Helsinki provide rare glimpses into the kinds of social pressures and tensions people experienced in their everyday lives. They also serve as windows onto the nature of early modern personhood. The envy and vindictiveness, fears of magical harm bordering on paranoia, and lack of ability to identify with others' suffering which are all evident from these descriptions would appear to most twenty-first-century Europeans as irrational and even pathological. This is because these are no longer the means of achieving the rational long-term aims held by most modern individuals. Yet any scrutiny of what has constituted reasonable behavior in other historical periods must take into account cultural-specific notions of self and agency. How individuals define themselves and what they are seen to be entitled to, as well as whatever culturally constitutes the 'good life' will determine what sort of behavior is viewed as rational versus irrational.

Behaviors and beliefs linked to magic did not disappear from daily life simply because people were educated in new scientific belief systems or materialist modes of thought. It was not simply a mentality or world view that changed, but the very conditions and circumstances which made magic a reasonable strategy in nineteenth-century social life. When these conditions changed, so did modes of thought and experience.

From contemporary reports of persons living in the nineteenth-century countryside, it appears that rural life was characterized above all by poverty, endless toil, and high personal risk. Nineteenth-century rural Finns lived in communities where hunger and disease were common, and there were few formal social institutions to guarantee safety and well-being. Health care was usually unavailable and poor relief too ineffective to prevent mass starvation in times of famine. Rural inhabitants had very little material protection from the harsh natural environment: if they were landowners, they possessed only the farm and its fields carved

from the forest through human labour, as well as the minimal technologies of knife, axe, scythe, and horse-drawn plough which extended the body's capabilities. The landless population possessed even less. Severe poverty meant that in many cases there was a sense of competition, rather than cooperation, among neighbours. Policemen were few, criminal detectives unknown, and the courts could not always compel persons to appear before them. As a result, vandalism, theft, assault, fraud and slander often went unpunished and left victims feeling helpless in the face of their neighbors' malice.

It is no surprise, then, that descriptions of magic recorded in rural Finland paint a vivid picture of persons who perceived themselves to be vulnerable and unprotected. In modern society, the individual is protected by laws, practices and institutions which safeguard personal boundaries. These include laws against fraud, defamation, slander, assault, battery, intimidation, violation of privacy, and more recently in some Western societies, laws against sexual harassment, stalking, and the physical punishment of children. Early modern individuals, by contrast, had to protect *themselves* from threats, and magic provided one means of doing this. Those who spread the word that they were magically powerful could sleep more soundly at night believing that because of their dangerous reputations, they were safer from thieves, vandals and other evil-doers.

The lack of institutional protections experienced by rural inhabitants also seems to have led to a perception of the outside world as containing countless dangers waiting attack the human body. The body was not depicted as separate from its surroundings, but as extremely porous, its boundaries weak and fuzzy. Ordinary persons were expected to go to great lengths to protect themselves from magical harm, hostility, and the curses of others. If they suspected that acts of magical harm had already been carried out against them, they hastened to perform counter-sorcery. Even children learned from a young age the importance of guarding themselves against the envy of others by participating in the counter-measures carried out by their parents (Stark 2006: 211–13).

Tietäjä: specialist in magical protection

The person whose behavior best expresses this ideal of self-protection was the *tietäjä* (literally, 'one who knows').⁴ The *tietäjä* was a specialist in magic – including sorcery, healing and divination, and was assumed to have secret knowledge others did not possess. Although the majority

of *tietäjäs* appear to have been men, some were also women, particularly in the northern areas of Finland.

Minor witches and household healers were abundant in early modern Finland, but it was the *tietäjäs* who possessed the most elaborate knowledge regarding the structure of the supernatural and magical worlds. The *tietäjä* was seen to have the ability to divine the source of illness through dreams, to staunch the flow of blood from a wound, to force thieves to return stolen goods, to battle illness-agents and to send dangerous animals back to the witches who had originally summoned them to attack humans or livestock. *Tietäjäs* were thus the highest level of professionals versed in knowledge of folk illness and supranormal entities. It was they who preserved, in their enormous repertoires of rites and Kalevala-metre charms,⁵ knowledge which was partly the legacy of a shamanistic past. The *tietäjä* institution had inherited many features of Eurasian shamanism including altered states of consciousness and the use of helper-spirits and animal spirits. *Tietäjäs* also possessed knowledge of the illness-agent's true origin and essence, of the topography of the other world, and of which supranormal beings to call upon for assistance (see Siikala 2002: 86–90, 178–234). Unlike shamans, however, *tietäjäs* did not need to journey to the worlds of the spirits or the dead in order to communicate with them. *Tietäjäs* instead recited lengthy incantations to invoke, threaten or placate supernatural entities such as the dead, nature spirits, illness-demons, and various deities both Christian and pre-Christian.

The *tietäjä*'s authority derived from his ability to convince others of his superior knowledge. He did this through his feats of memory in reciting lengthy incantations, his ritual performance technique, his use of secrecy and possession of mysterious objects such as human skulls, parts of animals and even so-called 'black Bibles', which were thought to contain black pages with white print, or to be written with unfamiliar characters.⁶ The authority of *tietäjäs* in magic rituals was thus based in part on a sense of mystery: *tietäjäs* emphasized their possession of secret knowledge and used actions and objects which were often baffling and opaque to participants.

In nineteenth-century Finnish rural communities, the use of magic functioned to create a sense of security and protect personal boundaries. Constant vigilance and self-protection against magical and supernatural harm were a way of life for many rural inhabitants, but *tietäjäs* took this behavior to new extremes. When *tietäjäs* drove illness-agents from the bodies of suffering individuals and performed counter-sorcery against other magic-workers, they were often in a state of agitated excitement

or frenzied anger. When they wished to paint a picture of themselves as quick to defend any encroachment upon their personal boundaries, *tietäjäs* became enraged and displayed this rage for all to see. Anger was a *cultural performance* acted out in order to emphasize the performer's readiness to take action against any perceived threats.

In his work *Mythologia Fennica* (1786), Christfrid Ganander depicted the state of the ecstatic sorcerer as follows: 'Nobody dares to disturb these masters who know everything, for they become enraged, gnash their teeth, their hair stands on end, in their frenzy they leap into the air, mumble some words, stamp their feet and behave totally as if in a fit of rage, for which reason they are called "men of frenzy" (*intomies*)' (in Siikala 2002: 243). A more detailed description can be found from the early nineteenth-century writings of folklore collector and compiler of the *Kalevala*, Elias Lönnrot: 'the *tietäjä* 1) becomes enraged, 2) his speech becomes loud and frenzied, 3) he foams at the mouth, 4) gnashes his teeth, 5) his hair stands on end, 6) his eyes widen, 7) he knits his brows, 8) he spits often, 9) his body contorts, 10) he stamps his feet, 11) jumps up and down on the floor, and 12) makes many other gestures' (ibid. 2002: 244). Similar descriptions were still being recorded from northern and eastern Finland as late as the 1930s. In 1921, a man from rural Eastern Finland wrote down the following written recollection of an event which took place in his childhood. In it, he depicts the ecstatic frenzy of a sorcerer who bathed his family in order to release them from the magical harm perpetrated by an unknown witch:⁷

... And so the sauna was heated and the entire group of us, from the father of the family to the smallest child, went to the sauna with the sorcerer. There the demon-frightener first bathed us, slapping each of one of us separately with the sauna whisk made of birch leaves, and at the same time reciting an incantation so that he foamed at the mouth. Then he put each of us three times through a hoop fashioned from the blades of three scythes, first by lowering the hoop over each of us from head to foot two times, and then one time from bottom to top. While doing this trick, the sorcerer was in an extremely agitated state the entire time, but that was still nothing compared to what happened next. Now, you see, the sorcerer encircled each of our heads with a hunting knife, two times clockwise and one time counterclockwise, and then in a fit of frenzied rage, hurled the knife into the sauna whisk lying on the floor, and then, holding the knife, flung the whisk out of the sauna window and against the cooking hut so that the wall of the cooking hut reverberated. Apparently in this way he flung

out our tormentor, supposedly pierced to the core by the knife, thus sending the dog⁸ to its own home to bite and gnaw the person who had ‘broken’ us . . .

A *tietäjä*'s power or magical force was seen to come from his wrath, and fear of that wrath ensured that few deliberately dared to offend him. One story tells of a farmhand who, despite warnings from onlookers, vandalized a bird-trap set by an elderly *tietäjä*. The narrator, himself the famous *tietäjä* Pekka Tuovinen, recounts: ‘at this the old man became furious. And later, when the farmhand went insane for the rest of his life and the old man was asked to grant mercy, he said, “I became too angry, he cannot be saved”.’⁹ In another account, a man who verbally offended the *tietäjä* known as ‘Doctor Hirvonen’ (=Juho Hirvonen, 1866–1930) died of a haemorrhage the same night: ‘Doctor Hirvonen said of himself that the person at whom he became angry would die right away.’¹⁰

Steeling the self against magical harm: bodily ‘hardness’

In addition to cultivating reputations for being quick to react aggressively in the face of danger, *tietäjäs* created imagined zones of magical invulnerability around the self. They did this by invoking supernatural protection when reciting incantations. In the incantation below, a *tietäjä* from Archangel Karelia asks water spirits for protective armour against malicious magic-workers living in his vicinity:

... Anna mulle rauta takki,	... Give to me an iron coat,
Rauta takki, rauta lakki,	Iron coat, iron cap,
Rauta hattu hartijoille,	Iron mantle for my shoulders,
Rauta kihntahat käteen,	Iron mittens for my hands,
Rauta saappahat jalkoin,	Iron boots for my feet,
Joilla astun hiien maita,	With which I shall enter the Hiisi's ¹¹
	lands,
Maita lemmon leyhyttelen,	Move about in Evil's realm,
Ettei pysty noijan nuolet	So that the sorcerer's arrows will not
	penetrate,
Eikä velhon veitsirauvat,	Nor the wizard's knives,
Ei asehet ampumiehen	Nor the shooter's weapons,
Eikä tietäjän teräkset.	Nor the <i>tietäjä</i> 's blades.

(SKVR I₄:2. Kiimasjärvi. 1888. Meriläinen 52 – Risto Nikitin)

It was believed that one of the most important qualities that enabled *tietäjäs* to triumph in struggles against harmful forces and agents was a ‘hard’ or ‘strong’ *luonto*. The term *luonto* referred to an inborn

supernatural force used to heal, harm, or make magic rites more effective. It was thought that a *tietäjä* possessed a hard *luonto* if he had been born with teeth. Since *teeth* are the hardest part of the human body, the *tietäjä*'s possession of teeth from birth was a sign of the innate 'hardness' of his being. Numerous accounts also describe how elderly *tietäjäs* needed to have a full set of teeth in order to perform magic. When they lost their teeth, it was believed that they had also lost their supernatural powers:¹²

Whoever has a full set of teeth can work magic, and otherwise he should be "in all ways strong and powerful in his being", so that the only thing that can cut him is a bullet.

(Kuusamo. 1938. Maija Juvas 486 – A certain old man, 70 years old)

Tietäjäs were also thought to have the ability to physically 'harden' their bodies in order to withstand the blows of whips and sticks. For instance, it was told of Vagrant-Eeva, a witch from Satakunta, that she could 'make herself so that she felt nothing, even if she were struck with an axe ...'.¹³ Behind beliefs in the *tietäjä*'s ability to harden his or her body against whips lay a deeper cultural fascination with persons whose bodies were reported to be hard or invulnerable to the heat of fire, freezing temperatures and even the sharpness of metal objects applied to their skin.¹⁴ There appears to have been no shortage of such persons in the late nineteenth- and even early twentieth-century countryside, and particularly from Southwestern Finland come reports of locals who walked barefoot on the sharp edges of scythes, or allowed others to strike them with hard objects. It was not uncommon for such persons to have performed feats demonstrating their bodily hardness in front of onlookers who might pay a small fee to watch the spectacle.

The means by which *tietäjäs* and others 'hardened' their bodies varied, but one common method was to keep in one's mouth a bullet which had killed a person or animal, or to wear a shirt in which a corpse had been buried (which required digging up the corpse).¹⁵ As one informant from Western Finland described,

Soldier Alatt had been in the 1808–1809 war ... Alatt had said that in the war he had brushed handfuls of bullets off his chest when they didn't penetrate his skin. He had sacrificed himself to the cemetery. Before he went off to war he had dug up a consecrated corpse from the cemetery. He took off its shirt and wore it when going off to battle. Then the bullets didn't penetrate him ...

(Länsi-Teisko. 1938. K.H. Färm KT 44:18)

Another man, born in 1842 in Eastern Finland, reported having heard from his grandfather, who was a famous *tietäjä*, how to make oneself hard before leaving for war. According to the grandfather,

When leaving for war, one takes a shirt from a buried corpse and exchanges it for one's own, a corpse which has died honorably and has been buried, and is older than the person exchanging shirts. Then, when one comes to the battlefield, one says:

<i>Veijon ukko, kultahelma,</i>	Old man, friend, golden-hem,
<i>Vettä vänkillä vetäse,</i>	Draw water with all your might,
<i>Ettei ruutit rupsahaisi,</i>	So that gunpowder will not blast,
<i>Pahat jauhot paukahaisi,</i>	The evil powder will not boom,
<i>Ettei lyijy miestä löisi,</i>	So that lead will not strike this man,
<i>Tinapalli paiskovaissi! ...</i>	The ball of tin will not hit! ...

Then the bullets will not penetrate, even if one is shot at all day long, they will go through other clothes, but not the shirt. If one wears a second shirt over the first, then the bullets will collect inside it [above the belt]. They should be put aside for safekeeping; they are needed when making salve for animals suffering from bloating or witches' shot: when you scrape bits of them into water, then nothing more is needed than to give [the animal] that water.

(SKVR XII₂:7926. Suomussalmi. 1888 – Jeremias Seppänen, 46 years old. Heard from his grandfather ... The narrator had seen these bullets still in his father's keeping ...)

Reputations for magical harm

In an age before law enforcement, a reputation for revenge and dangerous sorcery discouraged others from attempting to cheat, harm or steal from the *tietäjä* or his property:

In former times lumber was transported to the city of Pori. When they reached their lodgings, the men transporting the lumber took their belongings inside so they would be safe from thieves. But the *tietäjä* Tilli [=Nikolai Lamminsivu, 1863–1948] left his mittens on top of the load. Nobody dared to touch Tilli's belongings ...

(Teisko. 1961. Frans Kärki TK 52:65 – Mikko Korpula, farmer, b. 1891. Heard as a child from his father Erland Korpula)

Many *tietäjäs* strove to draw a boundary of untouchability around themselves by cultivating reputations as persons not to be trifled with. Informants from various regions of Finland remarked on local *tietäjäs* as follows: 'Tilli is a mighty sorcerer, with whom it does not pay to fool around';¹⁶ '... with Hiltunen there was no sense in being cheeky';¹⁷ 'it wasn't a good idea to make Oskar angry.'¹⁸ Some magic-workers were even said to have boasted with pride – and without remorse – how their sorcery had brought injury, illness or death to their victims:

The girl from Pannula farm went blind because she called me a thief. A piece of straw happened to go into her eye and when she went from the fields into the farmhouse, she had already lost her sight. She injured her other eye on a bundle of leaf-fodder and it went blind too. That's what happened, when she accused me.

(Perho. 1930. Samuli Paulaharju b)14575 – Maija Sivula,
old woman cottager, *tietäjä*, 83 years old)

... My father had already been married for twenty years or so, I myself was seventeen, the third child of ten. I went with my father to the remote log-floating site near Haapavaara farm where he worked, and I was there for a week and lived at Haapavaara farm. Tiina [Lyhykäinen] was the mistress in charge of the farm, for she had married a man from somewhere on the Russian side of the border. As a life companion he didn't turn out to be much to write home about. Then Tiina told me the story of her youth and how she had taken revenge on my aunt, since my aunt had not let my father marry her. My aunt had twelve children, of which only three girls were left. Many of the children had drowned and all the boys had died, and my aunt's husband had drowned. Tiina said that it was because of her that this had happened to my aunt's family and said that she had carried out sorcery so that it would happen in precisely that way. After she said this, she added: "Mark my words, your aunt herself will die by drowning." Two years went by and then my aunt, while out fishing on Midsummer's Eve, fell into the water and drowned. Only then did I realize what dreadful things could be concealed in that simple, ordinary person's story.

(Pielisjärvi. 1961. Hilda Pesonen TK 75:
15 – Tiina Lyhykäinen, born circa 1875)

Impoverished and itinerant members of the community, both men and women, were also able to arouse fear and respect in others by presenting themselves as quick to take offence, telling stories of their frightening

feats of sorcery, and carrying around ‘magic’ bundles and pouches. A man from Eastern Finland who wrote to the Finnish Literature Society in the 1920s described the typical contents of such magic pouches as: ‘small bones, three snake heads obtained in spring before St. George’s Day, a snake’s assembly stone,¹⁹ snakes’ skin, teeth and claws of a bear, bear grease, the herb asafetida, arsenic, incense, and Ukko’s soil.’²⁰ He also said of such persons: ‘A magic worker (*welho*) who travelled about with a magic pouch was terribly dangerous and terrible to look upon as well. It wasn’t good for anyone to make him angry, rather, he was someone to be flattered and fawned over.’²¹ Another narrator from South Savo recalled an elderly beggar who visited his childhood home at the end of the 1870s: ‘she had been married to four men and then remained a widow and roamed about, begging and telling the most frightening tales of her magical abilities, so that farm mistresses, in their fear, put all kinds of things in her begging-sack . . .’.²² A third account from Ostrobothnia tells a similar story:

I remember how dreadfully afraid we were of the sorceress named Pykly. I was a small girl on my home farm of Emoniemi. It was a completely different time than now, there were no railroads, nor anything else that was modern. The old beliefs were still alive. Every once in a while our home farm was visited by a tiny, old, extremely dark-complexioned woman with a bundle in her hand. She was the dreaded sorceress Pykly, with her magic objects in her bundle. “Pykly is coming”, it was said, “now children, behave.” Cold shivers ran up and down my body. I would have wanted to run away, but there was nothing to do but remain in the farmhouse and be good, so that Pykly wouldn’t work her magic. The adults tried to curry favour when dealing with Pykly. She was fed and given drink and gifts. Pykly was a malicious old woman, from whose brown face blazed a pair of keen black eyes. And she was capricious and quick to anger. Everyone heaved a sigh of relief when she left the farm. Many people used Pykly’s “services” during their lifetime. Pykly was in fact a capable sorceress, so it was said.

(Valtimo < Pyhjärvi. 1955. Siiri Oulasmaa 3116 – Lempi Suurkoski)

Making the self inviolable

In nineteenth-century rural Finland, individuals had to take steps to ensure that other persons did not violate the boundaries of their body and self. Supernatural attacks on enemies, the cultural performance of

anger, self-hardening and supernatural self-protection against attacks were practices which promoted a sense of agency, autonomy and inviolability. From the perspective of our modern society, it may be difficult to understand why individuals strove to display their vindictiveness and pride in causing others' suffering. Yet if nothing outside the self guarantees individual rights, then the individual must contain *within himself* the means to secure these rights, and the result is a very different sort of self.

From the early modern perspective, disorder and threat were almost never located within the individual. The illnesses cured by *tietäjäs* in nineteenth-century Finland were seen to come primarily from some external alien essence intruding into the body, whether a curse, a witch's arrow, or supernatural 'contagion' from the forest, water, or cemetery.²³ By contrast, social and cultural historians have emphasized that as European societies were transformed by modernization and industrialization, the focus of people's anxieties shifted to an internal world of self-awareness. Individuals underwent an 'introspective turn' toward a mental and emotional landscape that had never been experienced before in the same way. This 'interior space' of the psyche was now viewed as the dark realm which threatened social and individual well-being. In the pre-modern era, evil spirits were thought to reside in external reality. With the rise of Freudian psychoanalysis, however, the dark corners of the subconscious came to be seen as the source of mysterious disturbances in self and society. Disorder in the modern self is conceived as a problem in the internal organization of the personality and behavior, and Western individuals in the modern era have come to fear the inner workings of their minds: their emotions, desires and impulses. This is because they are expected to internalize an unprecedented amount of physical and mental control (e.g. Elias 1978; Foucault 1977; Spierenburg 1991). Modern persons must submit themselves to the regimens of educational institutions which, it is hoped, will instill in them modern social conventions to such a degree that the suppression of desires and impulses becomes automatic and unconscious.

We should not, however, assume that just because early modern persons did not exhibit *our* familiar forms of self-control in their behaviors, that they failed to internalize any self-controls at all. Their self-discipline, internalized at a young age, was just as rigorous as ours, but its attention was focused in the *opposite* direction: 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). They did this by performing magic rites to protect their person, farm and livestock, and by cultivating reputations for magical violence and revenge in order to discourage their enemies from attempting harm in the first place.

The modern Finn is careful not to let uncontrolled behavior *escape* from the body, whereas his or her great-grandparents would have been more concerned about not letting uncontrolled forces from the *outside in*. An individual living in Eastern Finland in the nineteenth century, for instance, might find our modern body practices horrifyingly lax and unrestrained. We care little where we dispose of the cuttings of our hair and nails, we stand on thresholds, we turn our backs to the fire in the hearth, and pregnant women and small children walk freely in public without fear of the evil eye. We are unconcerned with the order in which we put on our clothes or with which foot we enter a room, not to mention countless other behaviors whose violation was seen to open oneself to the threat of supernatural harm. In the modern period, the personal protections given to us by a wide range of societal institutions have reduced the experience of violence, risk and unpredictability so prevalent in earlier times, allowing us to turn our attention away from the outside world in order to focus on another kind of vigilance: the monitoring of our internal orderliness, and the repression of our impulsive behavior.

Notes

1. The research upon which this study is based was funded by the Academy of Finland and the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies.
2. Finland underwent the processes of modernization relatively late, and during the entire period of industrialization and nation-building (1860–1950), older beliefs and practices continued to survive in rural areas where a significant portion of the population resided. The nineteenth-century rise in Finnish national consciousness, first among the cultural elite and later among the ordinary populace, resulted in popular campaigns to record for posterity the oral-traditional heritage of Finnish speakers. This undertaking was highly successful and resulted in some three million recorded folklore texts, including thousands of descriptions of magic rites.
3. These descriptions were first recorded by educated collectors starting in the 1830s, and from the 1880s onward also by tradition enthusiasts coming from the ranks of the rural population. The latter 'writing folk' collectors sent their written recollections and those of their neighbours and kin directly to the Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives in Helsinki, where they are still housed today. My analysis in this paper is based on over

- 1,750 archived memorates and folk narratives recorded from informants throughout Finland, most of who were born between 1850 and 1890.
4. The term *tietäjä* is therefore roughly equivalent to the term 'cunning folk' used in early modern England, since according to Owen Davies (2003: viii) the term 'cunning' derives from the Anglo-Saxon *cunman*, meaning 'to know.' Like the English cunning-man or -woman, the *tietäjä* was assumed to have secret knowledge others did not possess (cf. *ibid.*).
 5. Over 52,000 variants of Kalevala-metre magic incantations were recorded in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from the agrarian populations of Finland and neighbouring Karelia. Thirty thousand incantations were published in the 34-volume series *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot (Ancient Poems of the Finnish People)*. For more on Kalevala meter, see Siikala 2002: 32–34; Stark 2006: 464, note 27.
 6. See Stark 2006: 248–49, 297, 473 note 176.
 7. For this description in full, see Stark 2006: 181–3.
 8. When a *tietäjä* performed counter-sorcery to punish the perpetrator of magical harm, it was believed that the magical harm itself (referred to as a 'dog') would find its own way back to its sender or 'master,' even if this sender had not been identified by the *tietäjä*. The 'dog' was thought to attack its master or mistress even more furiously than it had attacked its original victim, causing sudden pain, illness, or even death, according to the *tietäjä*'s instructions.
 9. Valtimo. 1939. Jorma Partanen 1124 – Pekka Tuovinen, 45 years old.
 10. Liperi. 1935–36. Tommi Korhola KRK 157:143 – Aapeli Ihalainen, 43 years old.
 11. *Hiisi* was another name for the forest spirit, but sometimes had the connotation of 'evil spirit,' or 'devil.'
 12. See also Stark 2006: 306–14.
 13. Tyrvää. 1935–36. Kauko Upo KRK 46:10 – Emma Bljy, 79 years old.
 14. See Stark 2006: 310–14.
 15. Some *tietäjäs* in the 19th century also worked as gravediggers, and thus had easy access to corpses.
 16. Parkano. 1958. Impi Kyrönviita MT 5: 664.
 17. Kuopio. 1946. Otto Räsänen 724 – Antti Räsänen, cobbler.
 18. Hankasalmi. 1961. Hankasalmi Folk School. Tuula Tarvainen TK 13:27 – Alma Tarvainen, farm mistress, b. 1887.
 19. Another man from Eastern Finland explained the idea of a snake's assembly stone as follows: 'When I was a child the old people told how snakes would gather to hold their general assembly in a fixed place where there was a round, egg-shaped stone. The person who found and took possession of such a snakes' assembly stone would have a powerful tool for magic.' (Nilsiä. 1961. Aatto V. Korhonen TK 37:51 – Collector's father Adolf Korhonen, died 1935).
 20. Ukko was the 'highest god' in the pre-Christian Finnish pantheon and was associated with thunder (*ukkonen*). According to the narrator, 'Ukko's soil is the sort of earth taken with an important person's knife from under one's left heel when thunder rumbles for the first time in spring.' (Kitee. 1921. Pekka Vauhkonen VK 107:1, p. 25).
 21. Kitee. 1921. Pekka Vauhkonen VK 107:1, p. 26.
 22. Sääminki. 1939. J. Vaahtoluoto 419.
 23. Stark-Arola 2002: 77–110; Stark 2006: 158–60, 317, 355–56.

References

- Davies, Owen. 1999. *A People Bewitched: Witchcraft and Magic in Nineteenth-Century Somerset*. Bruton.
- . 2003. *Cunning Folk: Popular Magic in English History*. London & New York: Hambledon.
- De Blécourt, Willem. 1999. 'The witch, her victim, the unwitcher and the researcher: the continued existence of traditional witchcraft,' in Willem De Blécourt, Ronald Hutton & Jean La Fontaine (eds), *The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Volume 6, The Twentieth Century*. London: The Athlone Press, pp. 141–219.
- Elias, Norbert. 1978. *The Civilizing Process. Volume 1, The History of Manners*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Sheridan, Alan (trans.). London: Penguin Books.
- Gijswijt-Hofstra, Marijke. 1999. 'Witchcraft after the witch trials,' in Gijswijt-Hofstra, Marijke, Brian P. Levack & Roy Porter (eds), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Athlone Press, pp. 98–101.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2002. *Mythic Images and Shamanism. A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica).
- SKVR = *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot (Ancient Poems of the Finnish People)*. 1908–48 (34 volumes). Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Spierenburg, Pieter. 1991. *The Broken Spell: A Cultural and Anthropological History of Preindustrial Europe*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Stark, Laura. 2006. *The Magical Self: Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland*. Folklore Fellows Communications 290. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Stark-Arola, Laura. 2002. *Peasants, Pilgrims and Sacred Promises: Ritual and the Supernatural in Orthodox Karelian Folk Religion*. Studia Fennica Folkloristica 11. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Index

- Aarne-Thompson typology of
 narratives 40, 44, 49 n55
 (ATU 960C), 50 n67 (ATU 313),
 159 (ATU 300), 249 (ATU 707),
 252 (ATU 303)
- Abracadabra 263, 268
- action, as the most important element
 in charms 72, 83
- Adam 177, 223
- addressee of a charm 125
- ailments, which not treated with
 charms 204–5, why only some
 treated with charms 229–31
- Alp* 43
- Anikin, V.I. 75–7, 188, 198
- animism 273–4
- anger 7–8
- Archangel Gabriel 92, 223
- Archangel Michael 81, 90, 124
- Archangel Raphael 90
- Ash Wednesday 147
- ashes 265
- Barb, A.A. xvi, xxv, n9
- Begegnungssegen* (encounter charms)
 xx, 34, 48 n37, 90, 104–5, 152
- bell, used when charming 147
- Biblical passages: Acts 23:12 127;
 Hosea 4:10 134; Joshua 10:12 42;
 1 Kings 14:34 127
- Biljana of Budisava Ch. 16 *passim*
- Blind, Karl 103–4
- blowing 264
- Blundevill, Thomas 101–2, 104
- Bone to bone** 148, 177–8
- Buddhism 273–4, 279
- causality 171
- circles, making 264–5
- charmners, ridiculed in Finnish folk
 poetry 168
- charming, actions
 accompanying 264
- charming, payment for 241
- charming, psychology of xvii, xxiii
- charms-studies, diversity of xvii,
 xxv; Golden Age of xv; Silver Age
 of xvi, xvii
- charms, as evidence of historical
 worldviews xviii–xxii
- charms, as objects of scholarly
 curiosity xiv
- charms, collection of xv
- charms, comparison 174, 191–3
- charms, curious neglect of xiv
- charms, dialogue 193–5, 196, 263
- charms, effectiveness xviii–xix
- charms, enumeration 195–6, 243–4
- charms, healing, in general 62, 74–5,
 81 (livestock), 109–10, 148 (cattle),
 262, 268 (cattle), 276; for specific
 ailments: abscess (in a horse) 30;
 back-ache 148; blains 192, 197,
 203; bleeding (of a horse) 32; (of a
 person) 41, 42, 154, 199, 202, 203,
 206, 218–19, 225; boils 72, 95;
 bone tuberculosis 151; broken
 bones 148, 153–4, 155; burns 89,
 269; carbuncle 264; childbirth
 190, 219–20, 278; cramp 149–50,
 155; epilepsy 221; erysipelas 179,
 206, 269–70; evil eye 71, 270;
 farcy 90; fever 44, 217, 221, 224,
 225; ‘fire’ 154, 181, 207; food
 stuck in throat 263; goitre 41;
 gout 149, 150–1, 152, 156;
 haemorrhage 267; hawc in the eye
 217–18; headache 29, 267; head
 cold 266; herpes 188, 189;
 hiccup 268–9; injured leg (of a
 horse) 191; injured tendon (of a
 horse) 40; insomnia 73, 219;
 joints 193, 194; lumbago 268;
 meniscus 148; mote in the eye
 188; nightmare 101–4; poisoning
 152–3, 276–7; rabies 204, 269;

- rashes 191; rheumatism 149, 150–1, 152; scabs 266–7; scalds 89; snakebite 55–7, 91, 155–6, 165, 166, 180, 204, 205, 207; sore joints 149, 150–1; sprains 148, 153–4, 155, 178; swellings 95, 96, 154; teeth 187, 188, 218, 220–1; tumour 192; warts 192, 196, 197, 268; women's ailments 190; wounds 94, 207, 221–2, 222–3; worms 90, 190–1, 196, 205, 220
- charms, narrative 68, Ch. 6 *passim*, Ch. 13 *passim*, 189
- charms, oppositional pairs of 79–85
- charms, poetic features in Georgian 265–6
- charms, with purposes other than healing, in general 262; for specific purposes: against attack by dogs 202, 203; against bewitchment 198; against ill will 198–9; against poison 164; against poisonous animals 163–4; against witchcraft 110–11, 112–13, 113–14; to appease a bad-tempered woman 198; to avert storms 37, 148, 158; to avoid a tiger 283; to beautify oneself 282; to bind a thief 43–4; to deter a thief 92, 224; to discover illness's origin 276; to drive out a snake 204; to encourage sheep to suckle 194–5; to expel rodents 21, 22; to harm 3; to help a child walk 194; to prevent love 111–12, 115; to prognosticate 219; to protect xvii, 8, 10, 42; to protect from evil spirits 223–4, 270; for success in business 284–5; for success in hunting 81; for success in love 115–16, 116; for success in planting paddy 279–81; for tongue ailments 198; when putting on talcum 283; to weaken an enemy 275
- charms, relation with charming xx
- charms, surviving record of 63, 68, 93
- charms, terms for: *atihva* (Abkhaz) 261; *baianija* (Bulgarian) 75–6; *basma* (Serbian) 75, 238; *haluish nin* 261 (Svan); *jampi* (Malay) 283; *lichudi, limezne* (Svan) 261; *mantera* (Malay) Ch. 19 *passim*; *ody* (Malagasy) 246–7, 251, 253–5; *okitkhu* (Svan) 261; *serapah* (Malay) 273; *shelotsva* (Georgian) 261; *shelorsa* (Mingrelian) 261; *shüvedyme, shüvedyme mut* (Mari) 108; *zagovory* (Russian) 121
- charms, typologies of 89, 96–7 n5
- charms, users vs. knowers 55–9
- charms, variety in late medieval England 204–5
- charms, ways of saying 264
- charms, written 18, 21–3, 59, 217, 219, 227, 262
- Charms, Charmers and Charming, ISFNR committee for xvi
- charm-types xvii, xxii, xxiii; *see also*
- Bone to bone, Christ's Garden, Crux Christi, Flum Jordan, Jerusalem you town of pain, Jesus and the fiery torch, Longinus, Maria peperit, Neque doluit neque tumuit, Out Fire in Frost, St George, St Susanne, The Snake bit and Christ spoke, Stans sanguis in te, Super Petram, Thieves and the Holy Child, Three Roses, Tres angeli, Tres boni fratres, Tres Mariae, Tres virgines, Vita Christi**
- Chaucer, Geoffrey 19
- Christ's Garden** 177, 184 n15
- Christianity, Eastern 28; monastic spell book practice in 28, 31, 36
- Christianity, vernacular 175, 177
- Christianity, Western 28; church benedictions in 36, 40
- church benedictions xv, 36, 40
- classical antiquity, elements from in Russian charms xx
- colours, in Georgian charms 266, in Slovene charms 146
- communion wafers 217, 228–9
- comparative approach to the study of charms xv

- conjuring rats by noise 23–5
 content, identical, found in different forms 28
 contextual information 67–8, 71;
 lack of 63
 coping, charms as xiv, xix, Ch. 5
 passim
 Cornelius Bassus 18, 21
 cosmology xxii, 27, 158–9
 crocodile 163–4
 cross, making the sign of the xxii
 crises 63–6, 68
Crux Christi xiv

Daphnis and Chloe 128
 days of the week: *see* Tuesday,
 Thursday, Friday, Saturday,
 Sunday
 diagnosis xxiv
Dummling 33

 Eberman, Oskar 184 n15
 Eden 201
 Eliade, Mircea 170
 Elijah 105
 Ember Week 145
 ‘Encounter with evil’ schema (*see also*
 Begnungsseggen) xx, 48 n37, 104
 Estonian charm corpus, its extent
 174, its lateness 174
 Evangelists, the Four 214, 224
 Eve 223
 evil eye 29–30, 34, 71, 105, 199, 239,
 243, 262, 270

 fear of magical harm 4–5
 felicity conditions, *see* impossibility
 conditions, threshold numbers
 fieldwork xxi
Flum Jordan xiv, xxiii, 89, 177, 184
 ns14, 15, 202, 219
 folktale 76, 186
 frenzy 6–7
 Friday 145

 Galen 128
 gender xix, Ch. 4 *passim*
 Gerald of Wales 19, 20

 Gibeon 42
 Good Friday pennies 227
 Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm 24

 hardness, bodily 9–10
 harm, magical, fear of 4–8, 11–14;
 reputation for 10–12
 Herod’s three sisters 105
 Hinduism 273–5, 279
 historical studies of folklore, problems
 in 63–4
 historiolas, locations in 179–81,
 200–1
 Holm, Nils 66
 Horus 34
 household books xiv
 hyperbole 108, 110, 112,
 114–15, 117

 icons 200, 241
Iliad, The 127
 impossibility conditions xvii, Ch. 3
 passim
 impossibility, expressions of xxi,
 Ch. 3 *passim*, Ch. 9 *passim*,
 207, 263
 impossibility motifs: cockerel’s eggs
 31; flying featherless bird 34–5;
 hen’s milk 31; rope of sand 38;
 speaking carcass 34; stone cow’s
 milk 32
incantatory I, the xvii
 inevitability, expressions of xxi, 108,
 110, 114, 117
 infertility, motifs of: dry branch 31,
 dry man 33, dry tree 33, mule
 31, stone 27–31, the stone world
 35–8, *stulta femina* 32
 inflicting disease upon
 someone 3–4
 insomnia personified as a chicken
 73–4
 internet xxv
 iron 265
 Ishmael 219, 228
 Isis 34
 Islam Ch. 19 *passim*
 isoglosses xxiii

- Jerusalem 201
- Jerusalem you town of pain** 177, 184 n15
- Jesus Christ xix, 27–30, 33, 39, 41, 43, 44–5, 54, 62–3, 65–7, 83, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 148–150, 152–155, 157, 159, 167, 169–70, 172, 177–181, 199–205, 207, 217–25, 229, 231, 264, 269
- Jesus and the fiery torch** 177, 181, 184 n15
- Job 155, 196
- John of Greenborough 88, 96 n3
- John the Baptist 154, 158, 205, 219, 225, 240
- Judas Iscariot 91
- Kerbelite, B. 76
- kerchief, used when charming 147
- King Lear* xx, Ch. 8 *passim*
- Kittredge, George Lyman 101–2
- Krohn, Kaarle 176
- Kuusi, Matti 168, 170
- lard 265
- Latyr* stone, the 31
- Lazarus 220
- lead melting xxiv, 238, 241
- Leechcraft* remedy book Ch. 15 *passim*; distribution of charms within 225–7; fewer charms in later copies of 216
- ‘let her not eat or drink’ formula 127–35; evolution 127–8; in Early Modern and Modern Europe 129–131; Greek/Russian parallels 132–4; semantics 134–5
- Liber de diversis medicinis* 215, 227
- lidérc* 38, 43–4, 46
- Lilith 105
- limited goods, theory of 5
- literariness of many Middle English charms 94
- Lithuanian and Latvian charms, limited parallels between 187
- lizard 164
- Longinus** 98 n19, 218–20, 225
- Longinus’ spear 92, 95, 222, 229
- Lord’s Prayer, the 30, 62–3, 68, 88, 90, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154, 217–25, 235 n72, 241
- love charms xxi, 81–2, 84, Ch. 10 *passim*, 255, 274, 278–9
- love, the fiery nature of 127, 133, 136–7
- Low Saturday 147
- luonto* 3, 8–9
- Magi 221, 227–9
- magic books, printed 156, 176, 179, 183 n3
- magic/religion dichotomy, dissolved 63
- magical practitioners: *bajalica* 238, *bomoh* 276–8, 282–4, *bomoh hujan* 283, *cunning folk* 15, *druzhok* 126, *juzo* 109, *kolduny* 136, *loktyzo-puzhykcho* 109, *moasy* 253, *muzhangche* 109, *ombiasy* 253, *pawang* 276, 283, *shinchanuzhsho* 109, *shüvedyshe* 109, *tietäja* Ch. 1 *passim*, *uzhsho-kolsho* 109, *welho* 12
- Maikov, Leonid xv, 80, 82
- manuscript books: English 214–16, 229; Russian 123–4; Slovene 146–7; compilers of 216
- manuscripts, containing charms: xxii, MSS Cambridge UL Dd.5.76 215, 232 note, UL Kk.6.33 89, UL Adds 9308 216–227, 232 n8; MSS London BL Adds 33996 94, Ch. 15 *passim*, BL Harley 273 92, BL Royal 12.G.iv 88, 91, 95, BL Sloane 374 216, 233 note, BL Sloane 962 90, 92; MSS Oxford Bod Ashmole 1477 233 n12, Bod Ashmole 1378 97 n11, Bod Laud Misc. 553 91, 95–6, Bod Rawlinson C506 107 n4
- manuscripts, full list of those containing *Leechbook* charms 231–2
- Mansikka, Viljo 31–2, 34, 121
- Maranda, P. and E. Köngas-Maranda 71
- Marcellus of Bordeaux 31–2, 34

- Maria peperit** 219–20
 Mary, the Virgin xix, 39, 42, 54–9,
 62–3, 65–7, 88, 92, 94, 95, 101–3,
 105, 124, 149–51, 153, 155, 157,
 159, 167, 170, 172, 177, 180, 199,
 200, 203, 205, 207, 218–24, 230,
 263, 270; walking in the grass 55,
 on a road 56, in a green meadow
 62; giving cloth 56–7
 medical authors knowledge of
 charms 87
 Midsummer's Day 145
 miracles 27–30, 33, 35, 38–45
mora 43–4, 46
 Moses 105, 177
 Mount Sinai 32
 Muhammad 274, 277–9, 282
 mule 31
 mythological centre, motif of a 125
- national representativity
 questioned 182
 Nationalism, Romantic xv, xviii
 negotiation, healing as 168
 neophobia xix, 17–18
Neque doluit neque tumuit 94–5,
 98 n21, 177, 184 ns14, 15
 203–4, 222
 new moon 265, 268
- Odyssey, The* 31
 Ohrt, Ferdinand xv–xvi, xxvi n5, 47
 n20, 48 n37, 180, 184 n15
 oppositions, structural xix–xx
 oral-literary onomastics xxiv
 origins of adversary listed in charm
 167, 176–7, 276
 originality xx
Out Fire in Frost 184 n14
 Ovid 250
- pagan elements in Georgian
 charms 260
 pagan survivals, possibility of 88
 Pargament, Kenneth 64–5
 Paulhan, Jean 246, 248
 Pentecost Eve 145
 personages, charm 72, 74–7,
 79–85, 125
- Pied Piper of Hameln 24
 places of expulsion 36–8, 49 n42,
 157, 165, 277
 plot themes 77–80
 plots, charm 76–7, 80, 83, 85
 plots, general 72–6
 Pliny 19
 poison as curative 164
 power of words 230
 prayer/charm, problematic to define
 exact border between 88, 124–5,
 240–1, 260–1
 probability theory xxi, 108, 114,
 117–18
 Propp, Vladimir 75
 proverbs 67–8, 186, 246
 Putilov, Boris 75–6
- rats Ch. 2 *passim*
 remedy books: *see* manuscript books
 Red Sea, the 158, 201
 Remperas, masterthief 43
 riddles 35, 43, 186
 river Ati-ati 274
 river Gemuruh 274
 river Jordan 229; *see also* **Flum
 Jordan**
 river Kidron 202
 river Nipah 275
Romanusbüchlein xxiii
 Rooth, Anna Birgitta 62
 Russian charm tradition: extent
 123–4; orality/literacy in 124–5;
 innovation within 125
- St Agnes 154
 St Anne 39, 157, 220, 235 n79
 St Apollonia 220–1, 227–9
 St Augustine 19, 44
 St Cassia 220
 St Cecilia 220
 St Cyprian 124, 138
 St Cyril 157
 St Elizabeth 220
 St Evrem 157
 St Firmin 97 n10
 St Florian 154–6
St George xx, 101–14, 106

- St George 81, 101–4, 106, 240, 267, 271
- St George's Day 145
- St Gertrude 17, 20, 23
- 'St Job' 155
- St Justina 138
- St Katherine 92
- St Kolomon (Colman) 156
- St Knut 20
- St Margaret 92, 152, 157
- St Martha 129
- St Martin 97 n10
- St Methodius 157
- St Michael 225
- 'St Moses' 105
- St Nicasius 17, 23, 220
- St Nicholas 40, 44, 105, 240, 242
- St Onofrius 129
- St Paul 124, 157, 159–60
- St Pelagius 157
- St Peter 43, 97 n10, 148, 153, 157, 159–60, 167, 170, 177–8, 180, 205, 224, 229, 242
- St Sebastian 154, 156
- St Shempas 153
- St Simon 105
- St Stephen 240
- 'St Sunday' 242
- St Susanna 92–4
- St Ulrich 152, 156, 157
- St Valentine 149, 151
- St Vitalis 106
- St William 92
- 'St Witold' xx, 101, 106
- St Yvorus 20
- saint and demon, struggle between 35–6, 38
- saint and disease 80
- salt 265
- Sappho 128
- sator* 230
- Saturday 240, 267
- Scot, Reginald 102, 104
- Second Merseburg charm: *see* 'Bone to bone'
- secrecy xvii
- Seitel, Peter 67–8
- self, early modern conception of 12–14
- Shakespeare, William xx, 23, 100–1, 104–6
- Sissinius 124
- Snake bit and Christ spoke, The** 177, 180–1, 184 n15, 204–5
- snake blood 163
- snake skin 163
- snakes xxii, 12, 15, 36, Ch. 4 *passim*, 91, 158, 159–60 note, Ch. 12 *passim*, 180–1, 203–4, 242
- Solomon 279
- Spamer, Adolf xvi, 43
- spellboundness 239
- spitting 30, 202, 209 n17, 264
- Stans sanguis in te** 177, 184 n15
- stone people 31–2, 34
- Sunday 240, 267
- Super Petram** xiv, 184 n14, 218
- suggestion, charms as 146
- syncretism xxii, xxv, 169–172, 207, 262, 274
- taboo on saying thank you to charmer xxii, 148–9
- Takalo, Marina 171
- teeth 9
- Theophrastus 19
- Thieves and the Holy Child** 177, 184 n15
- Thornton, Robert 215, 227, 232 n9
- Thursday 240, 267
- threshold number (required number of repetitions of a charm) 32, 146, 175, 265
- Three Maries: *see Tres Mariae*
- Three Roses** xxiii, 177, 179, 200–1, 206
- Tobit 218, 229
- transmission of charms Ch. 4 *passim*, esp. 57–8; contra-sexual transmission xviii, 58; evidence of oral transmission; international transmission 121–2
- Tres angeli** 177, 184 n15
- Tres boni fratres** 97 n10, 177, 184 n15, 221, 228, 235 n80

Tres Mariae 204–5

Tres virgines 205

Tuesday 267

Tumbo 33

väki 172

variation 73

vile 239

Vita Christi 177, 184 n15

Warburg Institute xxv

Wieser, Marija xxii, 146–50, 154–5

Wild Hunt, the (*divja jaga*) 158

wind 80