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Lithuanian and Latvian Charms: Searching for Parallels

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The Lithuanian and Latvian languages, both representatives of the same Baltic branch of Indo-European languages, are very similar. The folklores of the two nations, however, are different: not all the phenomena of Lithuanian and Latvian folklore are comparable. For example, the Lithuanian and Latvian song structure, subjects, and performance characteristics are dissimilar, providing almost no possibilities for comparison. But comparison of Lithuanian and Latvian folk narratives demonstrates that their subjects are fairly close, which is also the case as regards riddles and proverbs. In this comparative context, it is of great interest to look into the tradition of Lithuanian and Latvian charms: what is the relationship between their national characteristics, shared Baltic roots, and international characteristics? Which common subjects can we identify, and how many of these are there?

In doing the research, I focussed on healing charms, because the other charm corpora (e.g. those of social, agricultural, meteorological, etc. charms) are not yet ample enough to yield comparison and generalisations. This chapter draws its examples from 'Lietuvių užkalbėjimų: šaltiniai: elektroninis sąvadas' ('Sources of the Lithuanian Verbal Charms: Electronic Database'),¹ also by the author of this article.

The current Lithuanian corpus of healing charms consists of around 1, 300 texts. In organising the material into a system, various charm-types have been identified, i.e. groups of texts related by common motifs, and usually by similar syntactical structure as well. Classification into types has yielded 345 types of Lithuanian healing charms. Latvian charms are by far more numerous than Lithuanian ones: according to data provided by the Archive of Latvian Folklore (LFK), this one institution alone holds around 54,262 items.² Latvian charms have been little investigated both in typological and textual aspects. It is known that they

used to spread in (hand-made) copies (LFK possesses a number of notebooks with charms used by enchanters), so the exact number of variants has not yet been ascertained. But the material published by K. Straubergs alone shows that Latvia has a much more numerous and varied corpus of charms than that found in Lithuania.

Published Latvian material³ has been used for the comparisons drawn here. We can state straightaway that only a few types correlate: the article discusses 28 parallels. The material recorded at the edge of Latvia and Lithuania has been excluded and will not be analysed (this are primarily the texts from Matas Slančiauskas' folklore collection *Juodoji knyga*⁴) because the charms in those areas were often translated out of one language into another when they were written down, and thus do not provide us with a reliable sample of data.

The examples of the correlating Lithuanian–Latvian charm-types will be presented in groups shaped according to formal criteria, which, while enabling us to structure the article, has had no impact on the analysis itself. We shall begin with the short texts dominated by invocations and comparisons, then move on to texts with dialogue structures, and finally turn to narrative charms.

Invocations and comparison charms

Only a few Lithuanian–Latvian parallels are found among the direct invocation. The most common charm of this type (well-known both in Europe and outside its territory)⁵ is the following invocation used by children (here in a Lithuanian example):

Pele, pele, te tau dantį kaulinį – duok man geležinį!⁶

Mouse, mouse, here you are a bone tooth – give me an iron one!

The charm is uttered when a child tosses his/her milk tooth behind the stove, so that the new tooth is healthy and strong. A mouse is usually invoked, less commonly a wolf (2 variants), or a rat (1 variant), i.e. the animals whose teeth are undoubtedly strong. The Latvian variant published by Straubergs mentions a cricket rather than a mouse:

Še tev, circen, kaula zobs, dod man dzelzs [tērauda, zelta] zobu.⁷

Here, cricket, a bone tooth for you and you give me an iron [steel, golden] one.

One Lithuanian variant invoking a cricket has been recorded in the northern Lithuania in the vicinity of the Latvian border. The overall number of this charm as recorded in Lithuania is at least 31 variants

(from 1890 up to 1999),⁸ although it is likely that this number could be far larger as children are still jokingly reminded of this charm when their milk teeth fall out, i.e. it was a case in which a formula was so common that people recording folklore did not pay much attention to it.⁹ The three early recordings (in 1890, 1918, and 1926) made in completely different regions of Lithuania, invoked God. The archaic nature of this invocation is supported by Russian folklore, namely one of the 24 variants published by Anikin invokes a home deity *domovoj*:

Dedushka domovoi! Na tebe repiano, a mne dai kostiano.

Dedushka domovoi! *Take this turnip tooth and give me a bone one.*¹⁰

Variants addressing God are known in English folk tradition as well.¹¹

Another invocation is associated with the zoomorphic encoding of an illness where a mote in the eye is called a wolf or a bear:

Vilke, vilke, išlįsk iš akių, aš tau duosiu maišą pinigų ir maišą rugių!¹²
[Lithuanian]

Wolf, wolf, get out of my eyes and I will give you a sack of money and a sack of rye!

There are only 2 variants with this theme in Lithuania, the second being recorded in 1970 and unlike the variant recorded by Mansikka, it was found in the north of Lithuania and not in the south; the syntactical structure of the texts is identical, only the second charm invokes a bear with a promise of a jug of honey.

The Latvian parallel has the same objects as Mansikka's variant, i.e. *a wolf* and *an eye*, but there is no invocation here and the charm structure is based on inversion (in the eye – in the wood):

Vilks acī, gruzis mežā!¹³

A wolf in the eye, a mote in the wood!

One more analogue of Lithuanian–Latvian charms is an interesting example of a juncture between non-narrative and narrative texts. The seven Lithuanian variants¹⁴ are intended to cure herpes by saluting it in the following way:

*In the morning 'Good evening, herpes!' ['Labs vakars, dedervine!'] is said.
In the evening 'Good morning, herpes!' ['Labs ryts, dedervine!'] is said.*

It was thought that being 'it will disappear sooner by being teased'.¹⁵

In some variants the address has dropped out, only the greeting text remained, which could be inverted and 'impaired' in other ways, for

instance, by adding a negation: 'Ne labas rytas, ne labas vakaras!'¹⁶ [*No good morning, no good evening!*].

Thus, the Lithuanian variants are devoid of narrative elements. Meanwhile, in the Latvian variant published by Brīvzemnieks in 1881, the invocation is supplemented by a sentence, indicating a charm's potential for a narrative development. This text as well as the Lithuanian texts are intended to treat a herpes infection, only here not the illness is addressed but the mythological beings 'Svētās meitas', i.e. Holy Maidens,¹⁷ who cause it:

The charm spoken in the morning:

'Labvakar, svētās meitas, māsiņas!
'*Good Evening, Holy Maidens, sisters!*

In the evening they used to say:

'Labrīt, svētās meitas, māsiņas! Trīs māsiņas pirti kūra triju kalnu stārpiņā.'¹⁸

'*Good morning, Holy Maidens, sisters! Three sisters are heating sauna in the midst of three hills.*

In this case there is a small fragment of a narrative charm alluding to the belief legends where *Svētās meitas* are depicted as great lovers of sauna: they would come at night to sauna.¹⁹ Furthermore, the room of sauna itself could be used to cure herpes; this is seen in other Latvian charms:

Svētās meitas, jumpraviņas, peņas pirts palāvē visādiem zariņiem, pučeņu, bērzu u. t. p. Pēršu (Anniņas) pumpulīšus projām.²¹

Holy Maidens, young ladies, take a steam bath on the wooden steps sauna with all kinds of branches – viburnum branches, birch branches and others. I shall beat Anniņas pimples away [with tree branches].

Svētās meitas, svētās meitas, uguņu vātes, uguņu vātes, liku vātes, liķu vātes iznīkst, iznīkst kā pierdes dūmi, kā rijas ardi, kā pērnais pūpēdis!²¹

Holy Maidens, Holy Maidens, fire blains, fire blains, blains of corpses, blains of corpses²² go away, go away like smoke from sauna, like stacks of crop in a stackyard, like last year's smoke-ball.

It should be noted that the Latvian formula 'Trīs māsiņas pirti kūra triju kalnu stārpiņā' is, as we can tell from its rhythmical composition, half of

a common Latvian quatrain (quatrains are the formal basis of all Latvian folk songs and some Latvian charms).²³ But this charm apparently lacks an ending.

There are more parallels where mythological beings are invoked (see the invocation of the new moon at the comparisons) or mythologized parts of the body, or illnesses. This is how a womb is mythologized:

[Lithuanian]

Močiute, močiute, gražioji mergele, nusiprausk, apsisitok, atsigulk!
Pilkieji akmenys, baltosios šaknys. Amen, amen, amen.

Old woman, old woman, beautiful maiden, wash yourself, settle, lie down!
Grey stones, white roots. Amen, amen, amen.

Make the sign of the cross before charming and say it three times (for women's illnesses).²⁴

[Latvian]

Dieva māte, ziedu māte, neej kā kaķe plēzdama, sēdi savā krēsliņā,
guli savā gultiņā.²⁵

Mother of God, mother of blossoms,²⁶ do not walk as a clawing cat, sit on your little chair, lie in your little bed.

This charm-type is relatively close to the Belorussian charms used for stomach-ache invoking a mythological part of the body, the 'zlotnik', by ordering it to 'Siadz' ty na mestechku, Na zolotom kreslechku' [*Sit in your place, on a little golden chair*].²⁷ The examples from Lithuania and Latvia are quite different from one another; it should be noted that we have only one Lithuanian variant and there are a few Russian variants recorded in Lithuania, e.g. the following childbirth charm:

Al'zhibeta, o matitsa, krasnaia devitsa! Umyisia, ustoisia u syroi kamen.²⁸

Al'zhibeta [the name of a childbearing woman is then mentioned], oh, matitsa, beautiful maiden! Wash yourself and settle on a wet stone!

Out of the charms with a direct invocation, an example with an address to a thistle (*Carduus*) (in the Lithuanian variant) could be mentioned. When a wound gets infected with the worms, one should put a stone on a thistle saying the following words:

Dagi, dagi, aš tav slegiu, kad išbyretų (pamini gyvuli) margai karvei kirmeles! Jeigu išbarstysi, tave palaisiu, neišbarstysi – tu čia supūsi!²⁹

Thistle, thistle, I am pressing thee so that the worms fall out from the (mention an animal) rufous speckled cow! If you scatter the worms, I shall release thee, if you don't – you will rot here!

After the worms fall out, the thistle should be released, otherwise the medicine will not help.

This charm-type in Lithuania was recorded in the north and east regions, and there are fourteen known variants.³⁰

In the Latvian tradition, a formula with a very similar structure is used in a different situation, namely treating a horse's leg:

Es turu tevi, es sienu tevi, es neatlaidīšu tevi, iekams būsī kāju dziedinājis un dzesinājis sāpes un slimās asinis.³¹

I am holding you, I am binding you, I will not let you go until you heal the leg and soothe pains and [make good] sick blood.

Even though the circumstances are not indicated, it can be inferred from the context that the charm was uttered while tying the leg with something, probably with a cord or a thread.

Turning now to comparisons, we should note that, irrespective of the fact that comparisons are one of the most productive charm-structures both in Lithuanian and (especially) Latvian charms, only a few parallels have been identified, and they are not particularly close matches either. The syntactical forms differ markedly, which could be explained by the fact that comparisons make improvisation (subsequent variation) easier. In some cases, a comparison structure in a charm is hardly visible but it is implied by the action where an object used is compared with or even identified as an illness. All such parallels are associated with curing of skin diseases, such as rashes, warts, blains, pimples. In all of the following examples, the Lithuanian example is cited first, followed by its Latvian parallel:

1. Rashes used to be healed in the following way: the infected spot would be rubbed with the dew collected in the moonlight and the words would be spoken:

Dyla mėnuo, dyla baltas, dilk ir tu!³²

The moon is waning, the white is waning, so you wane too!

Iznīks, iznīks kā dilstošs mēness.³³

It will disappear, disappear like the waning moon.

2. A person who has warts and sees a new moon should say the words looking at the moon:

Ką matau, tą rauk, ir ką gnybu, tas tur išdilti!³⁴

Tear away what I see and what I am pinching – it should wane!

[For 'navikaulis', i.e. tumour]

To, ko es redzu, tas spīd un dilst, un ko es redzu un trinu, tas dilst.³⁵

The one I see is shining and waning, and the one I see and I am rubbing, is waning.

3. One should count his/her warts, tie knots on a thread in a number of the warts and bury it in the ground under a threshold saying the following:

Kai jie supus, kad ir karpos sunyktų!³⁶

When they rot, let the warts disappear!

They used to tie knots on a thread in a number of the warts and bury it in the ground [saying]:

Ar šo diedziņu lai satrūd manas kārpas

Let my warts rot with this thread.

Or: Sapūsti, diedziņ, noejat, kārpas³⁷

Rot, thread, disappear, my warts.

4. If blains keep appearing, one should go to the cemetery, find a bone of a dead person and say these words while rubbing the bone:

Kaip anas numire, kad taip mana votys numirtų!³⁸

As that one died, so my warts will die!

Lai pazūd kā šis mirons.³⁹

Let it disappear as this dead person.

5. Jaunas mėnuli – tu švarus, kad ir mano kūnas būtų toks pat švarus!⁴⁰

New moon, you are clean, let my body be as clean as you!

Lai manas rokas ir tik tīras kā šis mėness.⁴¹

Let my hands be as clean as this moon.

These charms were found only on a very small scale in Lithuania, for instance, two variants of no. 1, one variant of no. 2, one variant of no. 3,

and one variant of no. 4. Example no. 5 represents the most popular type in Lithuania with 31 variants,⁴² but the comparison structure is maintained only in one sub-type composed of four variants. Latvian types and sub-types seem to be much more numerous, according to the work of Straubergs. This charm also has Belorussian and Russian parallels.⁴³

Dialogues

We could provide two parallels of dialogue nature, although it is likely that their number is greater by far. The first charm-type is widespread both in Lithuania and Latvia:

In the evening on Thursday, after the sunset, a person with 'girgždėlė' [i.e. cracking joints⁴⁴] should place his/her hand on the threshold and then either the oldest or the youngest child should slash with an axe near the hand. Then the patient will ask:

Kon kerti? *What are you cutting?*

The other person answers:

- Gėrgždielė kerto. *I am cutting the cracking.*
- Kuol kėrsi? *How long will you be cutting?*

The other person replies:

- Tuol kėrso, kuol nukėrso.⁴⁵ *I will be cutting until I cut it.*

This should be repeated three times for three evenings.

Over seventy variants of this charm-type were recorded in Lithuania (from 1882 up to 2000).⁴⁶ In some variants, instead of the cutting with an axe mentioned above, biting with teeth, pinching with fingers, jamming with the door, grounding with an edgestone, baking in a stove (fireplace), striking a spark with a striker, pouring hot wax on water, hammering a stake in the ground, sweeping with a broom, and dragging on the ground in a shoe⁴⁷ are mentioned. A similar variation of tools, actions and charms is observed in the Latvian tradition and this variety can already be seen from the published variants.⁴⁸ Some of the Latvian details have not been found in Lithuania, for instance, cutting with scissors, cutting with a scythe, trampling with feet, etc. This charm-type was mainly used in Lithuania to help in case of the disease called 'grīžas' (cracking joints) and one of the most frequently used motifs is biting with teeth. The biting motif is also popular in Slavonic parallels.⁴⁹

The charm in question can sometimes be performed by one person and then it loses its dialogue structure, as in this Lithuanian example:

Cracking of joints should be cut. Put your hand on a chopping-block and shout:

Kertu, kertu griža! *I am cutting, cutting grižas!*

Then you should slash the chopping-block close to your hand so that the illness is frightened.⁵⁰

There are more such examples, some of them are relatively rare. For example, the following non-dialogic Lithuanian charm was recorded in Latvia with a dialogical structure, as seen in the second example.

In order for a child to start walking sooner, he/she should be taken out of the support and one should utter while cutting a cross with a sharp knife on the floor:

Šitai perpjaunu pančius!⁵¹ *Here I am cutting his/her shackles!*

If a young child does not walk for a long time, one should pick up in a pasture lost shackles of a horse and tie the child with the shackles. Then one should cut the shackles with a knife. The other person asks:

– Ko tu griez? *What are you cutting?*

The cutter should answer:

– Pineklu griežu. *I am cutting the shackles.*

Then the first one should say:

– Griez, griez, ka tu pārgriez.⁵² *Keep cutting until you cut.*

In the Lithuanian tradition this charm can hardly be identified as the above-mentioned dialogue-type, but the Latvian parallels seem to show that it belongs exactly to the dialogue variants.

The quoted dialogue charms use wishing formulae, e.g. ‘Slash so that you cut’, ‘Keep cutting until you cut’, etc. Here is one more parallel with a dialogue structure, which is a charm performed when a sheep with lambs does not allow them to suckle:

When a beggar comes along, one should take his stick and strike softly the sheep three times. One should ask it while striking:

– Ar kavosi vaikā? *Will you take care of your lamb?*

Then one should say to the beggar:

– Mūsų avis vaiką nekavoj! *Our sheep does not take care of its lamb!*

And he should answer:

– Kavos, kavos! *It will take care of it, it will!*

Then they say a sheep begins feeding its lamb.⁵³

If a sheep does not love its lamb, the mistress of the house should say to a Jew when he enters their house:

Izgrauz, žīdiņ, aita jēra nemīlē! *Damn you, Jew, the sheep does not love its lamb!*

The Jew answers:

– Lai mīlē, lai mīlē! Lai Dievs dod, ka mīlētu! *Let it love, let it love! Let God allow it to love [i.e., the lamb]!*

The Jew gets a couple of gloves for that.⁵⁴

Although the charm-type is not amply represented in Lithuania with a mere four variants,⁵⁵ but it was recorded in different regions of Lithuania, and its authenticity is beyond doubt. One of the variants is non-dialogic: only a wish is left, which is uttered when beating a sheep with a pair of man's trousers: Mylėk vaiką, mylėk vaiką . . .⁵⁶ *Love your youngster, love your youngster.*

Enumeration charms

Enumeration charms, as might be expected for a form which has widespread international parallels, are very common both in Lithuania and Latvia. In some cases they are only a supplement to narrative charms (counting is particularly frequent in tying knots), whereas in other cases enumeration is the main text. There are 73 solely enumerative charms in Lithuania,⁵⁷ and their Latvian parallels are found in the work of Straubergs.⁵⁸ In comparing the Lithuanian and Latvian enumeration charms it is possible to see that enumeration charms are directly integrated into a text in Latvia. Here are a couple of Latvian examples:

Velns brauc pa smilkšu kalnu deviņiem melniem zirgiem, Velns brauc pa smilkšu kalnu astoņiem melniem zirgiem . . .⁵⁹

A devil is riding on a sandy hill with nine black horses; a devil is riding on a sandy hill with eight black horses ... [and so on down to one]

Skrej, skrej grėmiens, atmet ĩipu – tev viens, man viens, tev divi, man divi ...⁶⁰

Run, run, waterbrash, unbend your tail – one for you, one for me, two for you, two for me ... [and so on up to ten]

The Lithuanian context provides a few examples only with enumerations integrated into a text. One of such charms is an international charm-type:

Turėjo Jobas devynias kirmėles, iš devynių aštuonios, iš aštuonių septynios ...

*Job had nine worms, eight out of nine, seven out of eight ... etc.*⁶¹

However, there are only 2 known variants of this type as well, both published by V. J. Mansikka.

Malicious wishes

This group of texts consists of short wishes or curses when they are used in a healing situation and function as a charm. Some of those formulae are designed to make an illness pass from one person to another, others to protect from evil intentions of another person. An illness is passed on using a charm, which is uttered when one sees two people riding on one horse:

Lithuanian:

When two brats are riding on one bay horse (a bay horse is a must here), one should take one's wart with two fingers, lift it with the skin and say:

– Du joja, paimkit ir trečią! *Two are riding, take a third one!*⁶².

Latvian:

Warts are being pinched off and thrown after a bearded Jew, a horseman on a white horse, two horsemen or two people riding in a cart:

– Paņem man kārp.⁶³ *Take this wart from me.*

There are nine variants known in Lithuanian tradition,⁶⁴ which vary from the formula 'Take a third one' to a dialogue structure where the person saying charm would at first ask 'Are you riding in two?' and only

after they answer, she/he could say 'Take my *norikaulis* [tumour; lump] as a third one!'.⁶⁵ There is no information about the distribution of Latvian variants. The charm-type is well-known in the tradition of Eastern Slavs, the reference can be made to Belorussian, Polish, and Bulgarian variants.⁶⁶

Another (Lithuanian) charm designed to pass on an illness is as follows:

One should tie a piece of red cloth in so many knots as one has warts, lose it on a crossroads and say:

Buvo man, dabar tebus tau!⁶⁷ *I had them, now you have them!*

Warts will appear on a person who will touch the piece of cloth, and the one who threw it away will get rid of the warts.

The Latvian counterpart has the same syntactical structure of a wish:

Saņem! Kas man, tas tev!⁶⁸ *Here you are! What is mine, it is yours!*

The addressee of the wish may be specified, but in that case the formula is not necessary as it is enough to identify the addressee:

Lithuanian:

Take a red thread from the first child's or the last child's clothing, tie so many knots as there are warts. When tying it is necessary to say to whom the warts should be given, e.g.:

Vilkui! Šuniui! Katei! *To a wolf! To a dog! To a cat!*

And so on and so forth. Then throw the thread to rot.⁶⁹

Latvian:

Vilkam, lāčam, ne manam bērnam.⁷⁰

To a wolf, to a bear, but not to my child. [for use when a child is frightened]

Pie suņiem, pie kaķiem, pie vārnām, pie žagatām, pie visiem zvēriem, kas pa mežu skrien, lai tās sāpes piesitas.⁷¹

For dogs, for cats, for crows, for magpies, for all animals running in the woods, let them have these pains. [for getting rid of a blain].

Curing a disease by sending it to birds and animals is also found in Slavic charms, cf. the Russian variant: '... Idite zh, ety liaky, Na sobaky,

na koty, Na soroky, na vorony', i.e. 'Go away, scares, on dogs, on cats, on magpies, on crows.'⁷²

By the use of a similar wishing formulae, the illnesses caused by people could be returned back:

Lithuanian:

When a spot rises on the tongue, people throw a pinch of salt into a burning stove three times at the same time uttering three times:

Tegul tam išdygs, kas mani apkalbėja!⁷³ *Let it rise on the person who was backbiting me!*

Latvian:

When the tongue swells, one should spit on the lap of a skirt and say:

Kā tu man aprunā, tā lai citi tevi aprunā.⁷⁴

As you are backbiting me, let others backbite you.

Curse formulae are sometimes used for protection from sorcerers and the evil eye; such parallels are also found both in the Lithuanian and Latvian folklore:

Lithuanian:

Charm against bewitchment. One should take some salt into his/her hand, circle by it a whole person three times and say:

Druska tau akysna, nedėgulis dantysna!⁷⁵ *Salt into your eyes, firebrand into your teeth!* This should be repeated three times.

Latvian:

Uguns caur tavu galvu, sāls tavās acīs; lai izput tavas dusmas un domas, kā dūmi izput pa skursteni.⁷⁶

Fire on your head, salt into your eyes; let your anger and thoughts dissipate like smoke through a chimney. [charm used to appease a bad-tempered woman].⁷⁷

The present charm-type has not been recorded amply (in general few curse-charms have been documented as people are unwilling to say them) with seven variants known in Lithuania.⁷⁸ The motif is more developed in Slavic parallels and sometimes the curse formula is integrated into a broader text, for instance, the charm from the evil published by Anikin used the formula in the end of the charm: '... sberegite mladenca Sashenku ... ot likhogo scheloveka. Kamen' – v zuby, sol' – v

glaza', i.e. '... protect baby Sashenka ... from an evil-minded person. A stone into the teeth, salt into the eyes'.⁷⁹ However, formulae of such a nature are more frequently used autonomously for protection from harm or the evil eye.⁸⁰

Narrative charms

Narrative charms could be subdivided into two groups according to their authenticity and approximate date of origin, i.e. separating texts of the Christian culture from archaic charms. Latvian charms contain a lot of mythological subjects, which frequently identify gods and mythological beings, e.g. *Laima* (the goddess of fate and fortune), *Pērkons* (the god of thunder), *Zemes māte* ('mother of earth'), *Veļu māte* ('mother of souls'), etc.⁸¹ It is only natural that sometimes they are replaced with Christian characters, particularly frequently with the Virgin Mary and Christ. Meanwhile mythological narratives in the Lithuanian charms are relatively few; therefore, it is hard to identify common Baltic parallels. But here is one case (with the Lithuanian examples first):

Yra baltos marios, ant tų baltų marių stovi balta pana, ji turi balta karūną. Tegul pasidarys toj rona kaip ta karūna!

There lies a white sea, and there at the white sea stands a white maiden with a white crown. Let this wound become such [white] as the crown!

The words would be repeated three times and they say bleeding would stop.⁸²

Or:

Sėdžiu an baltų marių, siūvu baltų karūnų, kad šitoji rona taip pabalt, kaip toji karūna!⁸³

I am sitting at the white seas, sewing a white crown;⁸⁴ let this wound whiten as the crown!

Caur divpadsmit klintim, caur melno jūru, iekš tumšas ledus jūras. Amen. Svēta Marija, Dieva māte, sēdēdama uz baltas jūras tur rokā adatu ar baltu zīda diegu, aizšuj visas āderes.⁸⁵

Across twelve rocks, across the black sea from the dark icy sea. Amen. Holy Mary, Mother of God, sitting at the white sea, has in her hand a needle with a white silk thread and sews up all the veins [a charm for staunching blood].

The examples above show a common motif of sewing, although the text structure and images are quite different, for instance, the Lithuanian variants mention a crown instead of a thread;⁸⁶ meanwhile the Latvian variant shows a standard motif, very popular in Slavic folklore, compare: 'V chistom pole – sine more. V sinem morie – chiorni kamen'. Na etom kameniu sidit devitsa i zashivajet kravavyje rany', i.e. 'There is a blue sea on an open field. There is a black stone in the blue sea. A maiden is sitting on that stone and is sewing up all the bleeding wounds'.⁸⁷ However, it should be admitted that the Christian motifs are sometimes so fused with the mythological ones that it is difficult to tell which of them are the original motifs and which of them are secondary: the maiden sewing wounds, which is sometimes represented as the Virgin Mary in both Baltic and Slavic charms, according to Russian researchers can arise in the charms out of the images of icons or apocryphal literature.⁸⁸

The remaining charms can hardly be attributed to the ancient Baltic heritage; these are the cases where the Christian charms are transmitted both in Lithuania and in Latvia. The Lithuanian charms comprise a few very productive Christian charm-types. The most popular theme is three roses, which is used to heal erysipelas:

Lithuanian:

Ēja Panela švinčiausia par pievū. Rada trīs rožes. Vieniū raškē, kita puola, tračia suvis prapuola. Taip tegu ir šita rože prapuola!⁸⁹

Blessed Virgin Mary was walking across a meadow. She found three roses. She plucked one, the second fell, and the third disappeared at all. So let this 'rose'⁹⁰ disappear as well!

Latvian:

Mūsu Kungs Jēzus gāja pa ūdeni un pa zemi; tam bija trīs rozēs labajā rokā. Tā viena novīta, otra izņīka, trešā pazuda.⁹¹

Our Lord Jesus walked on the water and ground, and he had three roses in his right hand. One of them withered, the second disappeared, and the third vanished.

In Lithuanian tradition, this is one of the most widespread charms having 86 variants.⁹² According to Straubergs' published data, this charm type was also recorded numerous times in Latvia and exhibited great variety.⁹³ The Lithuanian texts nearly always use the journey motif: Jesus (less frequently the Virgin Mary, three maidens, or three kings) is traveling along the road (across a meadow, forest, sands, water) and carrying

in his hand (or sees) three roses (lilies). Only three variants mention roses growing in a meadow,⁹⁴ in Mary's garden,⁹⁵ or simply travelling somewhere.⁹⁶ Meanwhile in Latvia this theme varies more substantially and Biblical images are more numerous (the Red Sea, Garden of Eden, Jerusalem) and the Christian symbols of the Middle Ages;⁹⁷ the following are a few variants, which are still close to the medieval European legends:⁹⁸

Stāv trīs rozes uz mūsu Kunga sirds. Tā pirmā ir laipnība, tā otrā – žēlsirdība, tā trešā – labprātība.⁹⁹

Three roses stand on the heart of our Lord. The first is love, the second is mercy and the third is benefaction.

Trīs rozes auga uz mūsu Kunga Jēzus Kristus kapa. To vienu sauc Dievs tas Tēvs, to otru Dievs tas Dēls; to trešo sauc Dievs tas cienīgais sv. Gars.¹⁰⁰

Three roses grew on the grave of our Lord Jesus Christ. One was called God the Father, the second was called God the Son, and the third was called honourable Holy Spirit.

Uz mūsu Kunga Jēzus Kristus kapa ir 3 rozes. Tā viena plauka, tā otra auga, tā trešā vīta.¹⁰¹

There are three roses on the grave of our Lord Jesus Christ. The first blossomed, the second grew, and the third withered.

Although the charm about three roses is known in Slavic regions, i.e. Belarus, Ukraine, southern part of Russia, and Poland,¹⁰² it has a special place in the Lithuanian tradition in terms of quantity, as charms of this type account for around 6 per cent of total charm variants. Since the charm-type has been recorded only few times in Poland and a number of Polish variants have been recorded in Lithuania,¹⁰³ Maria Zavjalova suggests that it may not have entered Lithuania from Poland, but rather from Latvia, where it had, in its turn, been imported from Germany.¹⁰⁴ It is a most interesting assumption, yet it should be noted that, due to historical circumstances, Polish culture had a strong influence on the Lithuanian culture rather than vice versa. And after all, only one standard version of the charm with little variation is popular in Lithuania, while the Latvian variants exhibit a high degree of variation.

The next most popular Christian charm in the Lithuanian tradition (with 44 variants)¹⁰⁵ is the international charm-type called, according

to the Latin analogy, **Flum Jordan**.¹⁰⁶ The Lithuanian variants, though short and simple, are subject to substantial variation. The standard variant is binary, i.e. as water stopped (other variants: as Christ stopped walking/as he stood on a stone), so the blood stops flowing:

Èjo Ponas Jezusas Nazaranskas per Jordano upę. Susturėjo upė ir prasiskyrė unduo. Taip suturėk ir praskirk tą kraują, kuri aš matau savo akimis!¹⁰⁷

Lord Jesus from Nazareth went across the River Jordan. The river stopped and its water separated. So let stop and separate the blood that I see with my own eyes!

Such brief and simple variants are dominating and only 15 variants associate the stopping of the water with the birth, baptism or crucifixion of Jesus. There are also several autonomous charm-types, though partly related with the subject in question, e.g.:

Èjo Jėzus per Cedrono upę ir tris kartus upėn nusispjovė (tai sakant reikia spjaut ant sergančios vietos). Kaip susiturėjo vanduo upėj, kad susiturėtų visos piktybės ant svieto!¹⁰⁸

Jesus walked across the river Kidron and spat into the river three times (here one should spit on the spot affected by an illness). As the water of the river stopped, let all the bad things stop in the world!

Apart from the standard Latvian variants,¹⁰⁹ there are only a few rather distant variations, for instance:

Joja kungs Jezus Kristus uz sorkona zyrga par Jordana upeiti, par ašņotu ezeriņu. Aizašyun ezeriņ ar šolka dēdzeņu ar sudobra adatiņu!¹¹⁰

Our Lord Jesus Christ rode a red horse across the River Jordan, across a lake of bloods. Sew the lake with a silk thread, with a silver needle!

The other parallel is a Christian charm-type widespread in Lithuania, which mentions Christ who fending off dogs in his travels:

Èjo Viešpats per miškā, susitiko šunī. Šuo jo nelietė. Ir manęs teneliečia šunys, kaip tavęs, Viešpatie, nelietė!¹¹¹

Our Lord walked in the forest and met a dog. The dog did not touch him. Let dogs not touch me as they did not touch you, my Lord!

Eighteen variants were recorded in Lithuania,¹¹² all relatively similar to each other. For example, the charm character may vary (Christ, Christ with the apostles, Mary, the charmer himself/herself), the charm may sometimes supplemented with a formula to the effect that 'a dog was born blind and it will die blind' (this is interference from another charm), onomatopoeic words may be inserted (calling a dog 'siu-siu-siu' or teasing it with sounds imitative of barking: 'am-am-am'). The Latvian equivalent is very similar to the cited Lithuanian charm (Straubergs provided only a single variant):

Pestītājs iet pa ceļu, suņi viņu nereg. Es iešu pa Pestītāja pēdām, suņi mani neries.¹¹³

Our Saviour walks a road and dogs do not attack him. I shall walk the footsteps of the Saviour and dogs will not attack me.

A similar Latvian charm is used to protect from a snake.¹¹⁴ A couple of Byelorussian and Polish variants of this charm-type can be found in the publication *Poleskije zagavory*,¹¹⁵ 3 Polish variants are recorded in Lithuania.¹¹⁶ According to Zavjalova this charm is not found in Poland; therefore its area of distribution would be limited to Belarus and Eastern Lithuania.¹¹⁷ However the area of the charm type is in fact larger as three variants from central Lithuania exist,¹¹⁸ as do Latvian parallels.

Another charm-type known both in Lithuania and Latvia is the story of five wounds of Christ:

Lithuanian blain charm:

Mūsų Jezus Kristus Išganytojas turėjo daug žeidų ir skaudulių (ronų ir sopulių), bet jos visos jam nekenkė (neškadija). Taip ir šis neaug, nekils, netins ir nedidės! Pranyk, pranyk, pranyk, Janošius!¹¹⁹

Our Saviour Jesus Christ had many wounds and sores but none of them affected him. Let this [here one should say a blain or a sore] stop growing, rising, swelling and increasing! Vanish, vanish, vanish, Janošius!

Latvian blood-staunching charm:

Stāv, asins! Tā mūsu Kunga Kristus asins stāvējusi pie krusta koka. Tev nebūs uztūkt, ne ar sāpēt, tā kā viņa piecas vātis ne ir uztūkušas, ne ar sāpējušas, bet ir pie krusta koka bez sāpēm palikušas. Amen.¹²⁰

Stop, blood, as the blood of our Lord Christ stopped on the wooden cross. Do not swell, do not ache as his five wounds did not swell, did not ache, but remained at the wooden cross without pain.

Up to now, only two variants of this type have come to light in Lithuania, whereas many more were recorded in Latvia, e.g. Straubergs cites 13 different variants of the charm.¹²¹ A few Polish-language variants were also recorded in Lithuania.¹²² Quite a large number of variants were documented in Russia; unlike the Lithuanian example designed to charm wounds or blains, the Russian variants are primarily intended to alleviate pains.¹²³ The charm type was popular in England too: “Our Saviour was fastened to the Cross with nails and thorns, which neither rats nor rankles, no more shan’t thy finger” (For a thorn three times).¹²⁴

One more relatively numerous Christian parallel in Lithuania and Latvia is a charm for chasing of a snake in the name of Christ:

Lithuanian:

Pikta gyvate inkunda. Matina Dieva ištara, Viešpats Jezus prižadieja, kad piktas gyvatas gielo atpuls!¹²⁵

An evil snake bites. Mother of our Lord says ‘Our Lord Jesus promised that the evil fang will disappear [won’t harm]!’

Latvian:

Čūska dūra, Kristus saka, Marija zvērēja: Lai tā dzelone izņīkst! Dievs Tēvs, Dievs Dēls, Dievs Svētais Gars, stāvi tu klāt, nāc par paglābšanu!¹²⁶

A snake bit, Christ said, Mary swore: ‘Let the fang vanish!’ God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Spirit, stay [with the patient], come to the rescue!

Some Latvian texts of this type emphasise driving of poison out of the body; therefore such texts are close to exorcist literature. Here are two examples, the first for snakebite, the latter for rabies:¹²⁷

Čūska dūra, Jēzus runāja, Marija zvērēja, – lai tā gipte izgāja.¹²⁸

A snake bit, Jesus said and Mary swore so that the poison would leave.

Marija sacīja, Kristus svētīja: ‘Sātān, izej arā no tevis’.¹²⁹

Mary said and Christ blessed: ‘Satan, leave this person’.

Only three of the total of ten Lithuanian variants¹³⁰ feature such a banishment motif. The other charms feature attempts to make the poison disappear, to prevent it from doing harm, etc. Nonetheless, the focus of

all variants is a word of God (the Virgin Mary, Saints, angels) (he/she/they *said, swore* and the like), which is treated as *užkalbėjimas* (a 'charm')¹³¹ in two variants: 'Motina Švinčiausia užkalbėja, Viešpats Jėzus atžadėjo' (*Holy Mother charmed and Our Lord Jesus promised*),¹³² 'Švinčiausia Motina užkalbėja, per poną Jezų prisieka' (*Holy Mother charmed and swore in the name of Our Lord Jesus*).¹³³ This charm is also known in the Polish-language tradition of Lithuania, e.g.: 'Zła gadzina kąsila, Maryja Matka mówiła, sam Pan Jezus rzekł, aby złej gadziny jad odszedł.' (*An evil snake bit, Mother Mary said and Our Lord Jesus himself said that the poison of the evil snake would leave*).¹³⁴

Some of the parallels of Christian charms in Lithuania and Latvia have been very sparsely documented. Only traces of the following charm have been found in Lithuania (there is but one fragmentary variant); but it is better known in Latvia:

Lithuanian example, for snakebite:

Arė Petras, arė Jonas, arė Jėzus, suarė tris lysvutes, išarė tris rubokėlius: vieną juodą, kitą raudoną ir marga. Tegul bus pagarbintas Jezus Kristus!¹³⁵

Peter ploughed, John ploughed, Jesus ploughed; they ploughed three beds and turned up three little worms: one black, one red and one speckled. Praised be Jesus Christ!

Latvian example, for intestinal worms:

Pēteris un Jēzus brauca uz tīrumu un ara četras vagas, ara uz trīsiem tārpiem: tas viens balts, tas otrs melns, tas trešais sārkans. Tie visi tārpi nost miruši. Iekš tā vārda . . .'¹³⁶

Peter and Jesus went to a field and ploughed four beds, they ploughed for three worms: one of them was white, the second was black and the third was red. All those worms died. In the name . . .'

Several variants of this charm were recorded in Latvia, but only three published variants feature a ploughing motif; the variants where worms are carried in the hand are far more numerous.¹³⁷

The charm-type, though represented by only one variant in Lithuania, is not the result of Latvian impact upon Lithuanians as the geographical spread of the charm is maximally wide: the charm was recorded in southern Lithuania, more than 250 km from Lithuania's borderzone with Latvia.

Another international subject moderately well-represented in both Lithuania and Latvia is the story about three Marys (*Tres virgines*) who

help to staunch bleeding. As of now, we have but one example of each variant, but it is likely that more variants could be found among the unpublished Latvian charms. As before, the Lithuanian example is the first below:

Dziewo galybe, pono Dziewo pagelba turejo Magdalena tris dukteris. Viena kalbeja: 'Einam, keliukem'. Antra kalbeja: 'Grįžkem ir apsis-tokem'. Ir tu, kraujas, turi čia apsisot per Viešpatį Jezusą, Sūnų Dievo Motinelės, Jo kūno garbingiausio ir Šventos traices, ir aniolių šventųjų ir Dvases šventos. Vardan Dievo Tevo ... Amen.¹³⁸

Thanks to the might of Our Lord and with the help of Our Lord, Mary Magdalene had three daughters. One said: 'Let us go'. The second said: 'Let us come back and stay'. And you, blood, must stay in the name of our Lord Jesus, the Son of the Mother of God, his most venerable body and the Holy Trinity, and Holy Angels and Holy Spirit. In the name of God the Father ... Amen.

Trīs jumpravas gāja pa zemi; viņas turēja trīs asens piles savā labā rokā. Tā pirmā sacīja: 'Asini, stāvi!' Tā otrā sacīja: 'Asini, tev vajaga stāvēt!' Tā trešā sacīja: 'Asinīm vajaga nostāties!' Iekš tā vārda ...¹³⁹

Three virgins were walking on the land; they had three drops of blood in their right hand. One said: 'Blood, stop!' The second said: 'Blood, you must stay!' The third said: 'Blood must be still [i.e. become calm], settle!' In the name ...'

Although the examples are rather different, they both are feature the same three travelling Maries (virgins, sisters, saints).¹⁴⁰ In Lithuanian tradition, the motif of three women can also be identified in the charms for erysipelas:

Ēja trys panos. Rada tris rožes. Viena sako: "Kad tu sudziūtum!" Kita sako: "Kad tu supūtum!" Trečia sako: "Kad tu čia nebūtum!"¹⁴¹

Three virgins were walking. They found three roses. One says: 'Let you wither!' Another says: 'Let you rot!' The third says: 'Let you disappear from here!'

In Latvian charms for erysipelas, three Maries appear wearing clothes of different colours (white, blue, and red), and picking flowers of different colours.¹⁴²

The last Christian parallel to be presented in this article features the impossibility formula so common in charms:

Lithuanian, charm for wounds:

Nesena yra ta žėizda. Diena ši yra gydoma ir palaiminta (blagaslovyta) ta adyna (valanda). Kad tau daugiau neskaudėtu, kad netvinktu ir tuoju pagytu, kad neatsidarytu votys lig to laiko, kolei Švinčiausia Marija pagimdys kitu sūnu. Amen.¹⁴³

This wound is fresh. This day is healed and this hour is blessed. Let you suffer no more pain [touch a patient's wound with your hand], let it not swell and let it heal soon, so that blains do not appear until Holy Mary gives birth to another son. Amen. [Cross the wound three times].

Latvian, charm for fire:

Stāvi uguns, kamēr Marija otru dēlu dzemdēs.¹⁴⁴

Stay, fire, until Mary gives birth to another son.

The impossibility formulae in Lithuanian charms are usually used in the context of archaic tradition, for instance, the following formula is characteristic of Lithuanian snake-bite charms: 'Akmuo ba šaknių, paukštis ba pieno, kirmela be kramslo'¹⁴⁵ (*A stone has no roots, a bird has no milk and a snake has no fang*). This tradition in some cases is intertwined with the Christian content: 'Bitelė be krauju, ponas Jėzus be vaikų. Kaip sustojo vanduo ant Ardonios, kad taip sustotų kraujas kūnė!'¹⁴⁶ (*A bee has no blood and Our Lord Jesus has no children. As water stopped in the River Jordan, let the blood stop in this body!*) This serves as a good example of syncretism between native Lithuanian and international Christian traditions.

Even though the Lithuanian and (especially) the Latvian traditions contain a number of Christian charm-types, only eight share types have been identified up to now; four of these are very popular and account for 11 per cent of the Lithuanian corpus. All the parallels are international, although their variants in some cases exhibit a number of local features and are contaminated with non-Christian charm-types.

It is evident from the examples provided in the article, that Baltic charms frequently have their Slavic counterparts: out of the 25 Lithuanian–Latvian parallels discussed herein, 14 parallels are correlating with Slavic charm types or motifs (nine of them are attributable to the local tradition, five are migratory Christian historiolas). Since some of the Baltic charms correlate with the Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish,

and southern Russian material, whereas the others correlate with the charms found in the north of Russia, we tend to the view that the Baltic and Slavic equivalences have not resulted from contacts at the border,¹⁴⁷ but are rather based on the older cultural traditions, in some cases probably dating back to the age of the separation of Baltic-Slavic culture. However, there is a possibility to identify traces of the Baltic assimilation process in the territory of Belarus and south-west Russia, which was took place from the sixth century in the area of the upper reaches of the Dnieper and upper reaches of the Oka (present-day territories of Belarus and south-west Russia)¹⁴⁸ to Lithuanian assimilation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries at the western edges of Belarus.

As far as the Lithuanian and Latvian parallels are concerned, it should be acknowledged that the material discussed in the article show a relatively low degree of correlation among the Baltic charms; whereas in the Byelorussian and Russian folklore we would find more equivalents of Lithuanian charms than in the Latvian folklore. The publication *Polesskie zagovory* alone (it is the newest academic edition of Slavic charms) (comprising over 1,094 charms from the Polesje region in Belarus and Ukraine) yields more than 25 charm-types similar to Lithuanian ones, though only seven of these have Christian content. It is yet premature to decide if that could mean that the Lithuanian charm tradition as well as folk songs are closer to Belorussians than Latvians, but it can already be claimed that the Lithuanian charms in terms of a number of parallels correlate almost equally both with the Latvian and East Slavic (primarily Belorussian) tradition.

Notes

1. D. Vaitkevičienė, ed., *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai: elektroninis sąvadas*. [CD-ROM] (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2005). Here the charms recorded by V. J. Mansikka (V. J. Mansikka, *Litauische Zaubersprüche* (FF Communications 87) (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1929) is included.
2. *Latviešu folkloras krātuve* (Rīga: LFK, 2004), p. 6.
3. F. I. Treiland (Brīvzemnieks), ed., *Materialy po etnografii latyšskago plemeni* (Izvestia imperatorskago obščestva liubitelei estestvoznaniija, antropologii i etnografii 40, Trudy etnograficheskago otdela 6) (Moscow, 1881); K. Straubergs, *Latviešu bučāmie vārdi*, Volume 1 (Rīgā: Latviešu folkloras krātuve, 1939).
4. Kostas Aleksynas, ed., *Juodoji knyga*. Collected by Jonas Basanavičius (Jono Basanavičiaus tautosakos biblioteka 12) (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2004).

5. Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer and Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, eds, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1927–1942) (hereafter HDA), Vol. 9, p. 880; J. G. Frazer. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (London: Papermac, 1987), pp. 38–9; Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud, *A Dictionary of English Folklore* (Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 354.
6. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 804. Nos 794–818, 1082–1085, 1102, 1291.
7. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 234
8. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 794–818, 1082–1085, 1102, 1291.
9. Having talked to the folklore researchers at the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Language, it appeared that nearly all of them remembered this custom from their childhood and half of them still remembered the charm itself.
10. V. P. Anikin. *Russkie zagovory i zaklinaniia: Materialy fol'klornykh ekspedit-sii 1953–1993* gg. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1998), No. 109.
11. Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud, *Dictionary*, p. 354.
12. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 1003 (cf. No. 1004); Mansikka, *Litauische*, No. 19.
13. Brīvēznieks, *Materialy*, No. 123.
14. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 700–703; 3 variants published in: Rita Balkutė, ed., *Liaudies magija: užkalbėjimai, maldelės, pasakojimai XX a. pab. – XXI a. pr. Lietuvoje* (Vilnius: Lietuvių liaudies kultūros centras, 2004 [CD-ROM]). One more fragment variant was recorded in Lithuania in Polish: the herpes infected spot is rubbed by hand after the sunset and the following words are pronounced 'Dzień dobry!', i.e. 'Good day!' (Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 1194).
15. *Ibid.*, No. 700.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 703.
17. Girls tortured to death or those who spinned on Sunday were believed to become mythological beings, *Svētās meitas*, after their death (Brīvēznieks, *Materialy*, No. 137); according to other sources suicide spinsters would turn into such beings (P. Šmits, ed., *Latviešu tautas ticējumi*, Vol. 4 (Rīgā: Latviešu folkloras krātuve, 1941), p. 1794). When offended, the mythological beings inflict diseases on people and cattle. It was thought that in a house *Svētās meitas* lived in the space between the fireplace (stove) and the wall, and if someone spilled some water there or spat, *Svētās meitas* would inflict the person with an illness, which is called *uguns vātis* 'fire blain' (*Herpes*) in Latvian.
18. Brīvēznieks, *Materialy*, No. 215.
19. P. Šmits, ed., *Latviešu pasakas un teikas*, Vol. 13 (Rīgā: Valtera un Rapas akc. sab. apgāds, 1937), p. 303.
20. Šmits, *Ticējumi*, p. 1796.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ugunsvātis* or a 'fire blain' is the name given to herpes, *līķa vātis* a 'corpse's blain' is a boil appearing on a body if a person urinates on the place where the water used to wash a dead person was spilled, Kārlis

- Milenbhs, *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca*, Vol. 4 (Rīga: Kultūras fonds, 1932), pp. 295, 512.
23. Some of the Latvian charms made of four or more rhythmical lines were published in P. Šmits, *Tautas dziesmas: Papildinājums Kr. Barona 'Latvju Dainām'* (Rīga: Latviešu folkloras krātuve, 1938), pp. 210–19.
 24. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 691.
 25. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 346.
 26. The Latvian *ziedi* means blossoms of flowers only figuratively as it stands for blood of periods or blood running during childbearing.
 27. A similar motif is seen in the Lithuanian charm from the illness called 'gumbas': 'Gumbas turi savo dvaru. Išsikačiok, išsivaliok ir in daikto atsistok', i.e. 'Gumbas has its own manor. Roll over, tumble and stand up on the ground', Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 371; Mansikka, *Litauische*, No. 155.
 28. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 1156. A womb is called 'matitsa' which is a euphemistic name (*matitsa* is a diminutive form of a 'mother').
 29. *Ibid.*, 109.
 30. *Ibid.*, Nos 96–109; Mansikka, *Litauische*, Nos 2, 16, 83, 84, 85.
 31. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 239.
 32. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 625 (cf. No. 620). There are only 2 known variants of this sub-type.
 33. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 242.
 34. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 536.
 35. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 243.
 36. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 611.
 37. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 241.
 38. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 615.
 39. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 241.
 40. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 422.
 41. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 241.
 42. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 404–26, 1296; Balkutė, *Liaudies magija* (7 variants).
 43. T. A. Agapkina, E. E. Levkijevskaia, A. L. Toporkov, eds, *Polesskie zagovory (v zapisiakh 1970–1990 gg.)* (Moscow: Indrik, 2003), pp. 209–10; N. I. Tolstoi, ed., *Slavianskie drevnosti*, Vol. 1 (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenie, 1995), p. 235.
 44. Lithuanian 'girgždėlė' or 'grizas', German 'Galenkknarre'.
 45. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 538.
 46. *Ibid.*, Nos 537–96, 908; Aleksynas, *Juodoji*, p. 236; Balkutė, *Liaudies magija* (12 variants).
 47. Vaitkevičienē, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 537, 541, 548, 560, 574, 576, 580, 587, 592, 593; Mansikka, *Litauische*, Nos. 125, 149.
 48. Brīvēznieks, *Materialy*, No. 234; Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 249.
 49. G. A. Bartashevich, ed., *Zamovy* (Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1992), No. 230; Anikin, *Russkie zagovory*, No. 250; V. L. Kliaus, *Ukazatel' siuzhetov i siuzhetnykh situatsij zagovornykh tekstov vostochnykh i juzhnykh slavian* (Moscow: Nasledie, 1997), p. 98. There are other well-known Slavic motifs traced in Lithuanian and Latvian examples such as boiling, baking, and banishment. See Agapkina, *Polesskie*, pp. 72, 81–2.

50. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 554.
51. *Ibid.*, No. 908.
52. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 248.
53. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 64.
54. Brīvzemnieks, *Materialy*, No. 451.
55. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 64; Aleksynas, *Juodoji*, pp. 225, 381; Balkutė, *Liaudies magija* (1 variant).
56. Aleksynas, *Juodoji*, p. 225.
57. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 704–61; Aleksynas, *Juodoji*, pp. 262, 235, 365; Balkutė, *Liaudies magija* (12 variants).
58. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 252.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
60. *Ibid.*
61. (Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 386–7; Mansikka, *Litauische*, Nos 87–8.
62. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 524)
63. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 235.
64. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 521–28; Balkutė, *Liaudies magija* (1 variant).
65. *Ibid.*, No. 523.
66. N. I. Tolstoj, *Slavianskie drevnosti*, Vol. 1, p. 235; Agapkina, *Polesskie*, p. 209; Anikin, *Russkie zagovory*, No. 1924.
67. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 78.
68. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 237.
69. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 1006.
70. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 260.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
72. Agapkina, *Polesskie*, p. 111.
73. *Ibid.*, No. 930.
74. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 237.
75. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 124.
76. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 268.
77. Latvians have a separate functional group of charms – the so-called *kungs vārdi*, which are the charms designed to prevent the lord's anger or a punishment.
78. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 118–24
79. Anikin, *Russkie zagovory*, No. 344. Cf. 'Le gros sel dans l'oeil de l'envieux', N. Poznanskij, *Zagovory: opyt issledovaniya proisxozhdenija i razvitija zagovornyx formul* (Moskva: Indrik, 1995), p. 145.
80. Agapkina, *Polesskie*, p. 451.
81. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, pp. 383–438.
82. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 884.
83. *Ibid.*, No. 885.
84. The word 'crown' (in Lith. *karūna*) was used for a headband of cloth with ribbons worn by unmarried girls.
85. Brīvzemnieks, *Materialy*, No. 270.
86. There is one Lithuanian variant with a thread motif, but it was recorded in the contact area of Lithuania and Belarus (Ceikiniai, Ignalina Distr.) (Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 886; Mansikka, *Litauische*,

- No. 160), and the text structure shows that it is a translation of a charm of Belorussian or Russian Old Believers.
87. Anikin, *Russkie zagovory*, No. 1654. The subject is very common in the Eastern Slav charms; See Agapkina, *Polesskie*, pp. 179–80; Kliaus, *Ukazatel'*, pp. 282–8; Bartashevich, *Zamovy*, No. 472.
 88. See Agapkina, *Polesskie*, p. 180.
 89. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 265.
 90. In Lithuanian the word 'rožė' has two meanings – 'rose' and 'erysipelas'.
 91. Brivzemnieks *Materialy*, No. 168.
 92. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 233–307, 1143, 1287, 1605; Balkutė, *Liaudies magija* (8 variants).
 93. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, pp. 331–8.
 94. Mansikka, *Litauische*, no 110.
 95. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 264.
 96. *Ibid.*, 233.
 97. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 331.
 98. 'Sur lai fosse nostre seigneur Ilia trois fleurs: l'une de grace, l'autre se volunté et l'autre por li sanc guarir'; 'Die Blumen sind Gott Vater, Sohn und Hl. Geist', HDA, Vol. 2, pp. 422–3.
 99. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 331.
 100. *Ibid.*
 101. *Ibid.*
 102. Agapkina, *Polesskie*, pp. 190–1; Bartashevich, *Zamovy*, Nos 719–20; Anikin, *Russkie zagovory*, No. 1777; Kliaus, *Ukazatel'*, pp. 337–8.
 103. The collection of Lithuanian Folklore Archive stores at least 21 polish variants, see Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*; a few variants were published by Magdalena Zowczak, 'Mītologia zamawiana i mistyka zamów na podstawie współczesnych materiałów z Wileńszczyzny', *Literatura ludowa*, 4–6/XXXVIII (1994), pp. 19–21.
 104. M. V. Zavjalova, 'Problema migracij zagovornykh siuzhetov epicheskogo tipa' in *Zagovornyj tekst: Genesis i struktura* (Moskva: Indrik, 2005), pp. 361–3.
 105. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 186–228, 1218; Mansikka, *Litauische*, Nos 20, 23, 26–7, 29–34, 117, 129.
 106. Jonathan Roper, 'Typologising English Charms', in Jonathan Roper, ed., *Charms and Charming in Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 2004), p. 133.
 107. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 218.
 108. *Ibid.*, Nos 229–31; Mansikka, *Litauische*, p. 77. Cf. Kliaus, *Ukazatel'*, p. 330 (No. 1/X.1.1/B7).
 109. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 296.
 110. *Ibid.*
 111. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 167.
 112. *Ibid.*, Nos 167–83, 1630; Mansikka, *Litauische*, Nos 93–5.
 113. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 337.
 114. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
 115. Agapkina, *Polesskie*, Nos 706–7.
 116. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 1278, 1441, 1464.
 117. M. V. Zavjalova, *Problema*, p. 360.

118. Žasliai (Kaišiadoriai Distr.), Vadokliai (Panevėžys Distr.), Ukmergė (Ukmergė Distr.). Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 169–70, 180.
119. Ibid., Nos. 618 (cf. 617); Mansikka, *Litauische*, No. 36.
120. Brīvēzēniēks, *Materialy*, No. 293.
121. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, pp. 299–300.
122. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 1475.
123. Žr. Kliaus, *Ukazatel'*, p. 127.
124. Roper, *English Charms*, p. 137.
125. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 829.
126. Brīvēzēniēks, *Materialy*, No. 421.
127. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 376.
128. Brīvēzēniēks, *Materialy*, No. 422.
129. Ibid., No. 372; Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 376.
130. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, Nos 821–9; Balkutė, *Liaudies magija* (1 variant).
131. The verb *užkalbėti* 'to charm' is a folk term for healing by means of charms and this term is not used in the Lithuanian Christian literature.
132. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 825.
133. Ibid., No. 824.
134. Ibid., No. 1104, 1170, 1380, 1390. Cf. *HDA*, Vol. 7, p. 1197.
135. Ibid., No. 33.
136. Brīvēzēniēks, *Materialy*, No. 106.
137. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 336.
138. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 366; Mansikka, *Litauische*, No. 28.
139. Brīvēzēniēks, *Materialy*, No. 272.
140. *HDA*, Vol. 2, p. 442.
141. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 307; another similar variant features three kings instead of three roses (the motif of three kings is very rare in Lithuanian charms; in Latvia several variants were recorded in Latin, see Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 289).
142. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 344.
143. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 601.
144. Straubergs, *Vārdi*, p. 224.
145. Vaitkevičienė, *Lietuvių užkalbėjimų šaltiniai*, No. 9; Mansikka, *Litauische*, p. 81.
146. Ibid., No. 71.
147. M. Zavjalova, who wrote on the charm types migrating in the border areas, maintains that there are very few coincidences relating the Slavic tradition with the Baltic one and practically all of them exhibit features of borrowing from Slavic charms (Zavjalova, *Problema*, p. 356).
148. R. Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė, ed., *Lietuvių etnogenezė* (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1987), pp. 124–50; Marija Gimbutas, *The Balts* (London: Thames and Hudson 1962); V. N. Toporov, O. N. Trubachev, *Lingvisticheskij analiz gidronimov Verkhnego Podneorov'ia* (Moskva: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1962).