

The Language of Magic

Edited by Eleonora Cianci and Nicholas Wolf

IL SEGNO E LE LETTERE

*Collana del Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Moderne
dell'Università degli Studi 'G. d'Annunzio'*

DIREZIONE

Mariaconcetta Costantini

COMITATO SCIENTIFICO

Università 'G. d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara

Mariaconcetta Costantini - Mariapia D'Angelo - Antonella Del Gatto
Elvira Diana - Emanuela Ettore - Persida Lazarević - Maria Rita Leto
Lorella Martinelli - Carlo Martinez - Paola Partenza - Ugo Perolino
Marcial Rubio Árquez - Anita Trivelli

Atenei esteri

Antonio Azaustre (*Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*)
Claudia Capancioni (*Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln*)
Dominique Maingueneau (*Université Sorbonne*)
Snežana Milinković (*University of Belgrade*)

COMITATO EDITORIALE

Mariaconcetta Costantini - Barbara Delli Castelli
Eleonora Sasso - Luca Stirpe

I volumi pubblicati nella Collana sono stati sottoposti a doppio referaggio anonimo.

ISSN 2283-7140
ISBN 978-88-7916-996-7

Copyright © 2022

LED Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto

Via Cervignano 4 - 20137 Milano

www.lededizioni.com - www.ledonline.it - E-mail: led@lededizioni.com

I diritti di riproduzione, memorizzazione e archiviazione elettronica, pubblicazione con qualsiasi mezzo analogico o digitale (comprese le copie fotostatiche, i supporti digitali e l'inserimento in banche dati) e i diritti di traduzione e di adattamento totale o parziale sono riservati per tutti i paesi.

Le fotocopie per uso personale del lettore possono essere effettuate nei limiti del 15% di ciascun volume/fascicolo di periodico dietro pagamento alla SIAE del compenso previsto dall'art. 68, commi 4 e 5, della legge 22 aprile 1941 n. 633.

Le riproduzioni effettuate per finalità di carattere professionale, economico o commerciale o comunque per uso diverso da quello personale possono essere effettuate a seguito di specifica autorizzazione rilasciata da: AIDRO, Corso di Porta Romana n. 108 - 20122 Milano
E-mail segreteria@aidro.org <mailto:segreteria@aidro.org>
sito web www.aidro.org <http://www.aidro.org/>

Volume pubblicato con il contributo
dell'Università degli Studi 'G. d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara
Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Moderne

In copertina

Graphic design by Pierluigi Traini

Videimpaginazione: Paola Mignanego

Stampa: Litogi

CONTENTS

Introduction <i>Eleonora Cianci</i>	7
Neumes in Three Old High German Charms <i>Eleonora Cianci</i>	13
Words as Gestures: Allusions to the Christian Iconography in East-Slavic Charms and Magic Formulas <i>Liudmila V. Fadeyeva</i>	33
Undoing the “Evil Eye” in Italy: A Comparison of Folk Documentation from 1965-70 with Present Research <i>Lia Giancristofaro</i>	53
Taboo Words and Secret Language as Verbal Magic in Childbirth (Russian North) <i>Lubov’ Golubeva - Sofia Kupriyanova</i>	69
Charms, Changelings, and Chatter: Sonic Magic in the <i>Secunda Pastorum</i> <i>Sarah Harlan-Haughey</i>	81
A Written Charm in Oral Tradition: “Peter Sat on a Marble Stone” in Ireland <i>Barbara Lisa Hillers</i>	103
Arguments for the Authority of the <i>Tietäjä</i> <i>Henni Ilomäki</i>	123
<i>The Dream of the Mother of God</i> and Its Oral-Written Performances, with Examples from Early Modern and Contemporary Romanian Tradition <i>Laura Jiga Illiescu</i>	141
Euphemisms upon the Example of Incantations <i>Mare Kõiva</i>	163

Old Norse Poetry and the Language of Magic <i>Maria Cristina Lombardi</i>	191
An Episode from the History of Publishing Russian Folklore Charms and Their English Translations <i>Andrei Toporkov</i>	201
Urine for a Treat! Or, How to Cure Urinary Disease in Early Medieval Ireland <i>Ilona Tuomi</i>	219
Magic as a Statement of Power and Weapons of the Weak: Heroine of the Russian Epos <i>Inna Veselova</i>	235
Restrain, Liberate, Kill: Parsing the Language of Blocking Sickness in Irish Charms <i>Nicholas M. Wolf</i>	251
The Authors	263

AN EPISODE FROM THE HISTORY OF PUBLISHING RUSSIAN FOLKLORE CHARMS AND THEIR ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS ¹

Andrei Toporkov

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.7359/996-2022-topo>

ABSTRACT

This article is devoted to the first collection of Russian charms, published in 1836-1841 by Ivan Sakharov (1807-63) in his compendium *The Tales of the Russian People about the Family Life of Their Ancestors*. Sakharov partly remade texts of charms that he had obtained from other folklore collectors and partly composed them by himself using some formula of authentic texts. Several of Sakharov's charms were translated into English and published by William Ralston (1828-89) in his book *The Songs of the Russian People, as Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life* (1872). The aim of the author is to inform foreign researchers about falsifications made by Sakharov and to encourage them to use the texts of authentic Russian charms.

Essay translated by Kirill Toporkov.

Keywords: fake-lore; history of folk studies; Ivan Sakharov; Russian verbal charms.

Among the publications of Russian folklore materials, we meet a number of falsified texts. This tradition, which echoed the production of the *Songs of Ossian* by James MacPherson, found numerous practitioners in Russia². The motivations for falsification could vary: some of them simply made

¹ This work was supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (grant number 20-012-00117, "Russian magic folklore from unpublished sources from the 17th to the start of the 20th century; archival searches, preparation of scientific publication, research, and commentary").

² Левин 1980.

literary stylizations of folklore, others sought commercial success, and others set for themselves patriotic and educational aims³.

The main purpose of this article is to warn our foreign colleagues against using falsified texts of Russian verbal charms. The situation here is paradoxical. The fact is that the Russian verbal charms tradition is wide and diversiform. Firstly, it appears in some texts of the ancient Russian period. In the seventeenth century we can already find hundreds of magical texts. If we look at the last annotated bibliography of East Slavic verbal charms, we will see about 16,700 Russian verbal charms, both oral and written, published between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁴. In this corpus, the vast majority of texts are authentic and do not cause any doubts. But there are several dozens of falsified texts.

Unfortunately, the Russian verbal charms tradition seems to be almost unknown in the West. Except for the works of Viljo Mansikka, William Ryan, and several articles that have been published during the last few decades, we cannot find any Russian verbal charms translated into European languages⁵. That is the reason why one of the most popular sources of Russian verbal charms used by an English-speaking audience is the work *The Songs of the Russian People, as Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life* (1872) by William Ralston. Meanwhile, Ralston did not fail to look into the difficult history of Russian verbal charms⁶. There are several falsifications among the texts he translated. Those falsifications were later included in different works devoted to Russian folklore and to folkloric summaries of different European nations.

First of all, before we begin to talk about concrete materials, let's formulate briefly the differences between authentic verbal charms and falsifications:

1. Authentic verbal charms descend from concrete manuscript sources or have been written down by bearers of traditions. Falsified texts were totally composed by their publisher or represent the result of remaking of the original texts.
2. Genuine charms can usually be met in the corpus of sources and in different publications with little variations. Falsified texts do not differ. They can be republished many times but they always go back to one concrete publication and do not vary or have very little variations.

³ Топорков и др. 2002.

⁴ Агапкина - Топорков 2014, 127.

⁵ Топорков 2012.

⁶ Алексеев - Левин 1994.

3. Verbal charms are the texts of mass-manuscript tradition or oral folklore. That is why they are clichéd and are quite standard in their poetic manner. Falsified texts are the result of individual creation and do not keep within this poetic style. They differ from the original verbal charms in vocabulary, style, structure, and other parameters.

We thus have enough reasons to suspect the text to be falsified if it (1) was published by the person who had compromised himself by forgery and is known as falsifier; (2) does not have parallels in other sources and is not traditional; (3) fundamentally differs from the other texts of the same type in its language and style.

1. FOLKLORE PUBLICATIONS OF IVAN SAKHAROV

Now we can talk about the central personage of our research. His name is Ivan Sakharov (1807-63). Sakharov was a fertile dilettante and publisher. Between 1830 and 1840 he published several works in Saint Petersburg, including folklore, ethnographic, historical, and literary materials: *Сказания русского народа о семейной жизни своей предков* (*The Tales of Russian People about the Family Life of Their Ancestry*), *Песни русского народа* (1838-1839; vols. 1-5; *The Songs of Russian People*), *Русские народные сказки* (1841; vol. 1; *Russian Fairy-Tales*), *Путешествия русских людей в чужие земли* (1837; vols. 1-2; *The Journeys of Russian People to Alien Countries*), *Записки русских людей* (1841; *The Sketchbooks of Russian People*), *Летопись русской нумизматики* (1842; *The Chronicle of Russian Numismatics*), *Русские древние памятники* (1842; *Ancient Russian Memorials*), *Исследование о русском иконописании* (1849; vols. 1-2; *The Research of Russian Icon Painting*), etc.

In the period from 1838 to 1849, Sakharov published his books in his own printing house. Print runs were quite large and some books were even published twice. It is very remarkable that Sakharov did not graduate at any humanitarian university. After he graduated from seminary in Tula, he studied at the medical faculty in Moscow University and after that he stayed to practice as a doctor, devoting all his spare time to researching writing and folklore traditions and preparing his books for publishing. Later he considered his choice of profession to be an irreparable mistake.

Sakharov supported the “theory of official nationality”. Following the Minister of National Enlightenment Sergei Uvarov, he proclaimed the unity of “Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality” and counted his main

aim as protecting his country from foreign influence⁷. Sakharov continually sought ancient legends, fairy-tales, songs, icon-painting, church singing, etc. not only because he wanted to preserve them for new generations, but also because he saw them as opposed to the values of Western civilization⁸.

In the history of Russian humanities Sakharov was an extremely ambiguous person. Folklorists, ethnographers, and historians of literature from the second half of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twenty-first century have spent a lot of energy in order to prove that he was an unscrupulous falsifier. It was established that he had written the fairy-tales himself, setting them up for the folklore. He widely used the narratives of Russian epic from the famous collection of Kirsha Danilov. He corrected texts of the songs and riddles and made insertions using nonexistent manuscripts⁹. In spite of those facts, Sakharov's books are paradoxically republished again and again and Russian and foreign authors still use them to access the material.

The first collection of Russian charms included forty-one texts and was published in the first volume of *The Tales of the Russian People about the Family Life of Their Ancestors*¹⁰. In 1837 this volume was republished and already included fifty-seven charms. After that, Sakharov began to prepare a new expanded edition of the *Tales*, which according to his plan was to include seven volumes in thirty books. However, Sakharov managed to publish only two volumes in eight books. Collection of charms, published in the first volume, included already sixty-four texts¹¹.

2. THE TEXTS OF GRIGORY PARIKHIN IN THE PUBLICATION OF IVAN SAKHAROV

Seven texts included in the edition of 1841 were sent to Sakharov in 1838 by merchant and collector of folklore Grigory Parikhin from the city of Tikhvin¹². Fortunately, those seven texts are preserved in Sakharov's archive. The comparison of the texts published in the *Tales* with their source sent by Parikhin lets us determine what Sakharov did with the materials that he obtained from other collectors. It turns out that Sakharov corrected texts in the manuscripts. First of all, he crossed out some fragments, replaced

⁷ Для биографии И.П. Сахарова 1873, 916.

⁸ Для биографии И.П. Сахарова 1873, 910, 918.

⁹ Топорков 2017.

¹⁰ Сахаров 1836, 1, 55-94.

¹¹ Сахаров 1841, 1, 2, 18-35.

¹² Новиков 1959; Топорков 2014.

some of the words and phrases, and sometimes inserted extra words. In the *Figures 1* and *2* you can see the handwritten texts by Parikhin, with corrections made by Sakharov.

Let us take one of the charms in two versions as an example: on the right, the authentic text from the archive; in the left, the text published by Sakharov¹³. In both texts you can see fragments in italics that distinguish them from each other¹⁴.

We can see that Sakharov reduced the original text by one third. In particular, he removed everything that indicated its link with Christianity. In the beginning he removed the formula “Господи Боже, благослови!” (“God bless”), and in the end “Во имя Отца и Сына и Святаго Духа, во веки веков. Аминь” (“In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit”; № 61)¹⁵. The expression “раб Божий” (“Servant of God”) has been changed to “раб, такой-то” (“Servant...”).

There are no references to a throne, Virgin, or Jesus Christ, and “дом” (“the house”) appears instead of “Соборная Апостольская церковь” (“Cathedral Apostolic Church”). In Parikhin’s text we see: “... в море Окиане лежит Алатырь камень, на том камне Алатыре стоит Соборная Апостольская церковь; в той Апостольской церкви стоит престол, на том престоле мать сама Пресвятая Богородица, истинной Христос небесный! Попрошу я, раб Божий (имя), от матушки Пресвятой Богородицы, от истинного Христа небесного, рабу Божию (имя того, кому заговаривают) здоровья ...” — “[...] in the Ocean there is an Alatur stone, on that Alatur stone there stands the Cathedral Apostolic Church. In that Cathedral Apostolic Church there stands a throne, on that throne are Mother Virgin and Christ from heaven. I, the servant of God (the name of the person) will ask from Mother Virgin, from true Christ from heaven to give (the name of charmed person) wealth from the illness (the name of the sick person [...])”. But the published version had only: “... в море Окиане лежит Алатырь камень, на том камне Алатыре стоит дом. Попрошу я, раб такой-то, здоровья ...” — “[...] in the Ocean there is an Alatur stone, on that Alatur stone there stands the house I, servant (the name of the person) will ask wealth from (the name of the illness) illness [...]”.

¹³ Parikhin sent the texts to the journalist and publisher Alexander Krayevsky in his letter on 8 July 1838, and Krayevsky gave them to Sakharov (РНБ. Ф. № 678. Ед. хр. 42. Л. 96-96об. [Letter], л. 97-102 [Charms collection]).

¹⁴ Here and later all italic style was used by the author.

¹⁵ Hereinafter references to Sakharov’s charm collection refer to text numbers of publication in the third edition of *The Tales of the Russian People about the Family Life of Their Ancestors* (Сахаров 1841, 1, 2, 18-35, № 1-64).

нижить, нибить, ни питть, ни петь, ни кау, древо
 Зори какаверитъ; какъ рыба безъ воды, какъ медоуха
 безъ матери безъ материка молока, безъ материка
 гнева, кемокитъ житть, таагъ бы радъ Божий (или) безъ
 раба божьего (или) кемокитъ житть кевитъ, ни питть
 кивитъ, ни кау, древо зори ни каверитъ кевъ обиданъ
 квъ пиданъ, кеприкатъ звездамъ кеприкумъ въхрамъ
 кивданъ прииданъ, кивковъ при мотанъ, въ пиванъ тома
 въ даинъ тома въ гудъ въ сардунъ, въ вавъ животъ, рабу
 Божьего (или) разротитъ и разротитъ повелья джиданъ,
 повелья кветля костой и суротной порабъ Божьей
 (или) Акиль, —

примечаніе: когда заговор произойдетъ трижды
 «иже тогда у камикаютъ келобетникое івае
 «иже, а иже дубники, кхоторой приворажи
 «ваютъ шибдуръ заговоръ произойдетъ, кидъ
 «водой, которую камъ дають питъ тому ка
 «кого капукаютъ тому

Заговоръ отъ Гривни

Господи Боже Благошови, Стану я раба (или раба)
 Божий (свое имя кто произойдетъ заговоръ) благошовель,
 пойду перекрестя, изъ дварей вадваря, изъ воротъ
 въ ворота изъ воротъ вараито помя, въ подвождяую
 сторону, кхоторо каожану, въ мотъ вквалъ, мхитъ
 Акиль, камель, кажанъ камель Акиль, Стану я

Figure 2. – List with a record of charm for hernia (the end) with Sakbarov's corrections. From a letter by Gregory Parihin on July 8, 1838. РНБ. Ф. № 678. Ед. хр. 42. Л. 98 об.

Сахаров 1841,1,2:33, № 63	РНБ, ф. № 678, ед. хр. 42, л. 98-98 об.
Заговор от грыжи Charm from hernia	Заговор от грыжи Charm from hernia
<p>Стану я раб, <i>такой-то</i>, благословясь, пойду, перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, в чисто поле, в подвосточную сторону, к морю к <i>Окиану</i>, в море <i>Окиане</i> лежит Алатырь камень, на том камне Алатыре стоит дом. Попрошу я, раб <i>такой-то</i>, здоровья, об такой-то болезни, об наличном мясе, от грызоты, от болеты, от ломоты. Бежит река огненная, чрез <i>огненную</i> реку калиновой мост, по тому калинову мосту идет стар матер человек; несет в руках золотое блюдечко, серебряно перышко, мажет у рабе, <i>такой-то</i>, семдесят жил, семдесят костей, семдесят суставов; збавляет с раба, такого-то, семдесят болезней. Не боли, и не ломи, и не отрыгай, и не откидывай, и <i>ни на конце, ни на ветке</i> никогда.</p> <p>I, the servant (the name of the person), will stand up with a blessing, I will go out with a sign of the cross from one door to another, from one gate to another, to the open field to Eastern direction, to the Sea, to the Ocean, in the Ocean there is an Alatyr stone, on that Alatyr stone there stands a house. I, servant (the name of the person) will ask wealth from (the name of the sick person) illness <...>. There runs a river made of fire, across that river there is a viburnum bridge, along that viburnum bridge there goes an old man. He carries the gold saucer and a silver feather in his hands, smears to the servant of God (the name of the person) 70 veins, 70 bones, 70 joints, saves the servant of God (the name of the person) 70 illnesses. And no illness remains.</p>	<p><i>Господи Боже, благослови</i>; стану я, раб (или раба) <i>Божий</i> (свое имя, кто произносит заговор), благословясь, пойду перекрестясь, из дверей в двери, из ворот в ворота, в чисто поле, в подвосточную сторону, к морю к <i>Океану</i>, в море <i>Океане</i> лежит <u>Алатырь</u> камень, на том камне Алатыре стоит // (л. 98об.) <i>Соборная Апостольская церковь; в той Апостольской церкви стоит престол, на том престоле мать сама Пресвятая Богородица, истинной Христос небесный!</i> Попрошу я, раб Божий (имя), <i>от матушки Пресвятой Богородицы, от истинного Христа небесного</i>, рабу <i>Божью</i> (имя того, кому наговаривают) здоровья, об такой-то болезни, об наличном мясе, от грызоты, от болеты, от ломоты; бежит река огненная, чрез <i>огненну</i> реку калиновой мост, по тому калинову мосту идет стар матер человек; несет в руках золотое блюдечко, серебрянно перышко, мажет рабе Божью (имя того, кому наговаривают) семдесят жил, семдесят костей, семдесят суставов; збавляет с раба Божия семдесят болезней; <i>во имя Отца и Сына и Святаго Духа, во веки веков. Аминь.</i> Не боли и не ломи у раба Божия (имя), и не отрыгай, и не откидывай, <i>ни на новце, ни на ветхе</i>, никогда.</p> <p><i>God, Bless Me, Father.</i> I, the servant of God (the name of the person), will stand up with a blessing, I will go out with a sign of the cross from one door to another, from one gate to another, to the open field to Eastern direction, to the Sea, to the Ocean, in the Ocean there is an Alatyr stone, on that Alatyr stone there stands <i>the Cathedral Apostolic Church.</i> <i>In that Cathedral Apostolic Church there stands a throne, on that throne there are Mother Virgin and Christ from heaven.</i> I, the servant of God (the name of the person) will ask from Mother Virgin, from true Christ from heaven to give (the name of charmed person) wealth from the illness (the name of the sick person) <...>. There runs a river made of fire, across that river there is a viburnum bridge, along that viburnum bridge there goes an old man. He carries the gold saucer and a silver feather in his hands, smears to the servant of God (the name of the person) 70 veins, 70 bones, 70 joints, saves the servant of God (the name of the person) 70 illnesses. And no illness remains. <i>In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit forever and ever.</i></p>

Actually, Sakharov turned half-Christian texts into non-Christian texts practically without any traces of Christian influence. We can assume that this direction of correction was due to censorship conditions. Religious censorship could hardly prevent all attempts to publish any literary work where sacred names could appear in an inappropriate context. Knowing about this in advance, Sakharov could use self-censorship and pre-align the texts in the form, so that later they did not cause any objections from the censor.

However, another interpretation of these reductions is possible. Sakharov's work can be understood as an attempt of remythologization or repaganization of the texts. We have suspicions that Sakharov would have made the same changes even if he had not suffered censorship. It is hard to say how deliberate these actions were, but it is revealing that the famous mythologist Alexander Afanasyev (1826-71) in the 1850s and 1860s built a scheme of Slavic paganism largely relying on the charms falsified by Sakharov.

The case with Parikhin's charms has a partly unique character, as Sakharov published texts received from a real person, whose name he pointed out in his book. In most cases we cannot find any information about the sources of the texts in the *Tales*. It is very likely that Sakharov composed himself some texts, though he used some elements from real charms.

3. HOW DID SAKHAROV PROCESS AND/OR COMPOSE THE TEXTS OF VERBAL CHARMS?

Let us analyze a group of verbal charms against enemy weapons as an example. They are given in two groups in Sakharov's collection: first, a collection of four texts (№ 18-21), and then another set of seven (№ 29-35). In the first group at least two texts almost entirely correspond to traditional military charms (№ 18-21). In the second group all texts are distantly related to the true tradition and probably were composed by Sakharov himself. Perhaps in the first case Sakharov took the actual texts as a basis and modified them, and in the second, wrote his own works, including individual authentic formulas.

It is obvious that Sakharov had some collection of military charms at his disposal. It is likely that there were even several collections. At the same time, it was absolutely impossible to publish them in their original

form in the period of the 1830s and 1840s. It would be quite enough to mention that those charms describe how the Virgin protects somebody using pans, and enemy's arrow passes "through the living God"¹⁶.

It is doubtless that the initial motivation for the processing of the charms was a quite natural desire to bring them into a form that could permit their publication. Sakharov at first probably selected texts that in principle could pass through censorship and separated them from those that could not be published at the time under any circumstances. In the second phase, Sakharov apparently took everything that made charms look like Christian prayers. Firstly, he struck initial- and final-prayer formula out of the manuscripts: "Господи, благослови, отче", "Во имя Отца и Сына и Святого Духа", "Отныне и присно и во веки веков", "Аминь" ("God bless, Father", "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit", "Now and ever and ever and ever", "Amen") and others. Secondly, he withdrew the names of the Virgin, Christ, St. John the Baptist, of angels and archangels, evangelists, saints, biblical kings and prophets, the names of religious holidays, as well as the religious vocabulary: the words "Боже", "Божий", "святой", "Господи", "крест" ("God", "Gods", "Saint", "Lord", "Cross") and others.

Thirdly, Sakharov interpolated fragments of folklore into charms. For example, in one of the charms it is said that the black raven "made his nest on seven oaks" (№ 31). In another text twelve warriors killed a terrible twelve-headed snake under the twelfth Murom oaks (№ 35). Those mythological motifs were to make charms more attractive for lovers of antiquities and people interested in the pagan beliefs of the Slavs.

We can find the spectacular mythological story in Sakharov's "Charm from Martial Weapons":

Летел орел из-за Хвалынского моря, разбросал кремни и кремницы по крутым берегам, кинул громову стрелу во сыру землю. И как отродилась от кремня и кремницы искра, от громовой стрелы полымя, и как выходила грозная туча, и как проливал сильный дождь, что им покорилась и поклонилась селитра-порох, смирным-смирнехонько. (№ 19)

The eagle was flying from the Hvalynski sea. He scattered flints on steep banks, threw the thunderbolt in the damp earth. And as the spark was born from the he-flint and she-flint and the fire from thunderbolt, and as a menacing cloud came, and as the heavy rain spilled, nitrate, gunpowder obeyed and bowed to them quietly. (№ 19)

¹⁶ Топорков - Турилов 2002, 192.

Afanasyev felt the mythological character of the text and quoted it, mentioning the symbolic significance of the eagle as the thunderbird:

Финнская Калевала изображает мифического орла с огненным клювом и сверкающими очами; он так громаден, что зев его подобен шести водопадам; одним крылом разделяет он морские волны, а другим небесные тучи; в другой песне говорится об орле, перья которого пышут пламенем. Согласно с этими данными, отождествляющими орла с богом-бросателем молний и проливателем дождей, свидетельствует и один из наших заговоров...¹⁷

Finnish Kalevala depicts a mythical eagle with a fire bill and sparkling eyes; he is so enormous that his jaws is similar to six waterfalls; he shares the sea waves with one wing and celestial clouds with another; in another song it's talked about eagle whose feathers blaze with flame. According to these data, where an Eagle is equated with god of lightning and rain, we can find one of our charms. [...]

In Sakharov's "Charm from Bullets of Lead, Copper, Stone", a beautiful maiden is described as a kind of goddess of war with rightful attributes:

В высоком терему, в понизовском, за рекою Волгою, стоит красная девица, стоит, покрашается, добрым людям похваляется, ратным делом красуется. Во правой руке держит пули свинцовыя, во левой медныя, а в ногах каменные. Ты, красная девица, отбери ружья: Турецкия, Татарския, Немецкия, Черкасския, Русския, Мордовския, всяких языков и супостатов: заколоти ты своею невидимою силою ружья вражия. (№ 20)

In the high tower, in the lower reaches of the river, on the opposite bank of the river Volga, there stands a beautiful maiden, she stands, praising herself to good people and showing off by her feat of arms. In her right hand she carries lead bullets, in the left one the copper bullets, on the legs the stone bullets. You, the beautiful maiden, take away the guns: Turkish, Tatar, German, Cherkassy, Russian, Mordovian, of all languages and adversaries, nail up enemies' guns with your invisible power. (№ 20)

Besides that, Sakharov introduced episodes depicting the family manners and personal relationships of our ancestors to the charms. For example, the warrior promises to the girl: "А буде я ворочусь поживу и поздорову, ино буду, красна девица, тобою похвалятися, своею молодеческою поступью выказыватися" ("If I come back safe and healthy, I will boast of you, the beautiful maiden, and will walk with the proud gait"; № 29). A mother charming her son gives him a covenant on how to live: "...а будь ты: в доме добрым отцом, во поле молодцом, во рати удалцом,

¹⁷ Афанасьев 1865, 1, 493.

в миру на любованье, во девичьем терему на покрашенье, на брачном пиру без малого ухищренья, с отцом с матерью во миру, с женою во ладу, с детьми во согласии” (“[...] be a good father of a family, a brave warrior in the battle, a handsome man in the community, a favorite person in the maiden’s house, an honest man on the marriage ritual, be in peace with your father and mother, and a wife, and the children”; № 30). The character, who enters the army, complains about his fate, describing a very real situation: “Выдают меня родные братья во княжую рать, одинокого, неженатого, а во княжей рати мне подобру не жити” (“I am sent to the army by my brothers, and I’m alone, unmarried and it will be hard in the army of Prince”; № 33). We emphasize that all of the above fragments of folklore, mythology, and manner describing the characters occur only in Sakharov’s charms and are absent in authentic materials.

We can make a certain algorithm that describes the stages that Sakharov passed through while working with the texts of charms. When Sakharov was dealing with the authentic texts given to him by other collectors or found in some manuscript sources, he probably conducted the following steps:

1. selection of texts from various sources (mainly manuscripts);
2. choice of text (in particular sifting out the material that clearly could not pass through the censorship);
3. exclusion references to the source from which the charm had been extracted (previously published, written or oral) from the text as a kind of “negative reception”;
4. removal of references to the place and time of recording, the method of text performance or magical manipulation of the manuscript, if such references had been included in the source;
5. editing of the authentic texts for the purpose of their de-Christianization: removal of religious vocabulary, deleting prayer opening and closing sentences, substitution of folk character in the place of the Christian;
6. appending, lexical and stylistic remaking of authentic texts (including archaic or pseudo-archaic vocabulary, replacing the dialect words with the words of the literary language, composing phrases with adjectives appearing after the main word, etc.);
7. including additional fragments of folklore and mythological character into the texts, as well as fragments concerned with a trend of making the text more psychological and closer to the theme of family relationships;
8. in addition to the realized changes there were also inadvertent distortions of texts related to the omission of individual words, clerical errors, misreading of manuscript originals, etc.

As we have already noted, Sakharov's work could use a different scenario when he wrote the original texts instead of remaking real charms. In general terms, such work was supposed to go through the following steps:

1. the development of a certain algorithm of actions and their ideological cover (in other words, Sakharov had to decide that he would falsify texts);
2. developing literary style suitable for composing pseudo-charms;
3. composing fakelore texts using separate authentic formulas.

In the final stage the texts, which are the result of remaking the original charms and texts totally composed by Sakharov, were arranged in a certain order, received their titles, and were put together in a single collection.

Those activities as a whole involve some cover story about the publisher's travels from village to village and eavesdropping on "family talks", references to non-existent manuscripts, "scientific" prefaces and appeals to future readers, bibliographic reviews, accusations against unscrupulous precursor publishers, and the glorification of the Motherland and virtues of our ancestors.

Sakharov was not an altruist and he was not against earning through his activities. He published the *Tales* in his own printing-house and distributed them under the order of the Ministry of Education. If we consider Sakharov's publication of charms as a commercial and ideological project, we have to admit the result is very successful. Sakharov's books were published and continued to be published with huge print runs. Sakharov's charms were reprinted in other publications, which in turn were published again and again with even bigger print runs than Sakharov's originals. Now the works of Sakharov are available online, and anyone can download them. Sakharov's project was intended to be available for many decades and even centuries. He gave readers and lovers of antiquities what they wanted to find: an imitation of an ancient pagan tradition, hidden mythological allusions, fascinating folklore images and sentimental feelings of the characters. The reader of authentic charms can find nothing of this, of course, and this explains the relevance of Sakharov's fakes up to our days.

For about thirty years before the publication of the first scientific collection of Russian charms¹⁸, Sakharov's collection was the main source of Russian charms. These texts are one of the main basis of the research made by Sakharov's younger contemporaries, the famous mythologists Fjodor Buslaev and Aleksandr Afanasyev, who thought charms to be pagan

¹⁸ Майков 1869.

prayers and largely built on their basis their quasi-scientific reconstruction of Slavic paganism. However, after the emergence of the rich collections of charms by Leonid Maikov and Petr Efimenko, and the emergence of critical reviews about Sakharov by Apollon Grigoriev, Peter Bessonov, Alexander Pypin, etc., philologists have practically ceased to use his charms as well as other materials published by him. Nevertheless, there was not any special scientific work devoted to investigate the collection of charms made by Sakharov and to evaluate it. In the early twentieth century the *Tales* attracted the attention of the modernists, in particular Alexander Blok, who widely quoted Sakharov's charms in his article "Поэзия заговоров и заклинаний" ("The Poetry of Charms and Spells", 1908).

4. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SAKHAROV'S VERBAL CHARMS

In 1872, several charms from Sakharov's collection were translated into English. They were published by the first English researcher of Russian magical tradition, William Ralston (1828-89), in his book *The Songs of the Russian People, as Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life* (1872). Several texts translated by Ralston, of course, are falsified: "Заговор от тоски родимой матушки в разлуке с милым дитяtkою"¹⁹ ("Charm from Darling Mother's Depression in Her Separation from Dear Little Child"); "Заговор ратного человека, идущего на войну"²⁰ ("Charms of the Warrior Going to War"); and "Заговор от запоя"²¹ ("Charm from Hard Drinking"). Unfortunately, these texts continue to be cited by foreign researchers; in particular, they are referenced in the book by William Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia* (1999), which has been recently translated from English into Russian²².

"The Werewolf Charm", published by Sakharov²³, was actually composed by Russian and Ukrainian writer and journalist Orest Somov (1793-1833) and incorporated in his novel *The Werewolf* (1829), from which it was undoubtedly borrowed by Sakharov. This charm is based on folk

¹⁹ Сахаров 1841, 1, 2: 18-19, № 3; Ralston 1872, 372-374.

²⁰ Сахаров 1841, 1, 2: 25, № 30; Ralston 1872, 371-372.

²¹ Сахаров 1841, 1, 2: 24, № 24; Ralston 1872, 362.

²² Райан 2006, 125, 262-263.

²³ Сахаров 1841, 1, 2: 28, № 40; Ralston 1872, 406.

motives, but it is not a fixing of authentic tradition in any way. As Sakharov did not mention the source from which he took “The Werewolf Charm”, later it was concluded that he had fixed it himself. This charm was interpreted by Fjodor Buslaev and Alexander Afanasyev in their works and after them by many other researchers of Slavic mythology up to our time²⁴. It was also used by English-speaking scholars²⁵.

It should be emphasized that Sakharov’s charms do not become folklore, even in cases when they moved to the manuscript tradition and were fixed again by gatherers already as part of an anonymous tradition. The fact is that in content and style they are very much different from authentic charms. Therefore, with some experience, you can identify Sakharov’s texts even if you find them in a publication of authentic charms. We will consider our mission accomplished if, after getting acquainted with this article, foreign researchers stop quoting Sakharov’s charms and turn to the authentic texts of Russian magical tradition.

REFERENCE

Агапкина - Топорков 2014

Т.А. Агапкина - А.Л. Топорков (авторы-составители), *Восточнославянские заговоры: Материалы к функциональному указателю сюжетов и мотивов. Аннотированная библиография*, Москва, Индрик, 2014.

Алексеев - Левин 1994

М.П. Алексеев - Ю.Д. Левин, *Вильям Рольстон: пропагандист русской литературы и фольклора*, Санкт-Петербург, Наука, Санкт-Петербург. изд. фирма, 1994.

Афанасьев 1865, 1

А.Н. Афанасьев. *Поэтические воззрения славян на природу*, 1, Москва, К. Солдатенков, 1865.

Для биографии И.П. Сахарова 1873

“Для биографии И.П. Сахарова,” *Русский архив* 1 (1873), 897-1017.

Левин 1980

Ю.Д. Левин, *Оссиан в русской литературе*, Ленинград, Наука, 1980.

²⁴ See Топорков 2010.

²⁵ See Ridley 1976, 323.

Майков 1869

Л.Н. Майков, “Великорусские заклинания”, *Зап. РГО по Отд-нию этнографии, Санкт-Петербург* 2 (1869), 417-580.

Новиков 1959

Н.В. Новиков, “Г.И. Парихин и его фольклорные записи в сборнике И.П. Сахарова (по архивным материалам)”, *Русский фольклор: Материалы и исследования* 4 (1959), 141-154.

Райан 2006

В.Ф. Райан, *Баня в полночь: Исторический обзор магии и гаданий в России, Пер. с англ.*, М., Новое литературное обозрение, 2006.

Сахаров 1836, 1

И.П. Сахаров (автор-составитель), *Сказания русского народа о семейной жизни своих предков, собранные И.П. Сахаровым, Ч. 1, Сказания русского народа о чернокнижии*, СПб., Гуттенбергова тип., 1836.

Сахаров 1837, 1

И.П. Сахаров (автор-составитель), *Сказания русского народа о семейной жизни своих предков, собранные И.П. Сахаровым, Ч. 1, Сказания русского народа о чернокнижии, 2-е изд.*, СПб., Гуттенбергова тип, 1837.

Сахаров 1838-1839, 1-5

И.П. Сахаров (автор-составитель), *Песни русского народа*, СПб., Тип. И. Сахарова, 1838-1839, Ч. 1-5.

Сахаров 1841

И.П. Сахаров (издатель), *Русские народные сказки, Изд. И. Сахаровым*, СПб., Тип. И. Сахарова, 1841.

Сахаров 1841-1849, 1-2, 1-8

И.П. Сахаров (автор-составитель), *Сказания русского народа о семейной жизни своих предков, собранные И.П. Сахаровым*, СПб., Тип. И. Сахарова, 1841, Т. 1, Кн. 1-4; 1849, Т. 2, Кн. 5-8.

Сомов 1829

О. Сомов, “Оборотень, народная сказка”, *Подснежник на 1829 год*, СПб., Типография Департамента Внешней Торговли, 1829, 189-225.

Топорков 2010

А.Л. Топорков, “Русский волк-оборотень и его английские жертвы”, *Новое литературное обозрение* 103 (2010), 140-151.

Топорков 2014

А.Л. Топорков, “‘В наших Сказаниях не все то помещено, что известно в селениях’ (Фольклорные записи из архивного собрания И.П. Сахарова)”, *Традиционная культура* 4 (2014), 141-154.

Топорков 2017

А.Л. Топорков, “Заговоры от вражеского оружия в контексте фольклорных фальсификаций И.П. Сахарова”, *Russian Literature* 93-94 (2017), 103-130.

Топорков и др. 2002

А.Л. Топорков - Т.Г. Иванова - Л.П. Лаптева - Е.Е. Левкиевская (авторы-соавтатели), *Рукописи, которых не было: Подделки в области славянского фольклора*, М., Научно-издательский центр “Ладомир”, 2002.

Топорков - Турилов 2002

А.Л. Топорков - А.А. Турилов, *Отреченное чтение в России XVII-XVIII веков*, М., Индрик, 2002.

Mansikka 1909

V.J. Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberformeln mit Berücksichtigung der Blut- und Verrenkungssegen*, Helsinki, Suomalaisen tiedeakatemia kustantama (Annales Academiae Acientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, 1), 1909.

Ralston 1872

W.R.S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People, as Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*, London, Ellis and Green, 1872.

Ridley 1976

R.R. Ridley, “Wolf and Werewolf in Baltic and Slavic Tradition”, *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4, 4 (1976), 321-331.

Ryan 1999

W.F. Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Toporkov 2012

A. Toporkov, “Verbal Charms from a Seventeenth-Century Russian Manuscript”, *Incantatio: An International Journal on Charms, Charmers, and Charming* 2 (2012), 42-54.

РНБ

Отдел рукописей Российской национальной библиотеки (Санкт-Петербург).

