

JEF

Volume 9
2015
Number 2

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY
AND FOLKLORISTICS

- Editor-in-Chief Ergo-Hart Västrik
- Editors Risto Järv, Indrek Jääts, Art Leete, Pille Runnel, Taive Särg,
Ülo Valk
- Language Editor Daniel Edward Allen
- Managing Editor Helen Kästik
- Advisory Board Pertti J. Anttonen, Alexandra Arkhipova, Camilla Asplund Ingemark,
Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, Dace Bula, Tatiana Bulgakova, Anne-
Victoire Charrin, Carlo A. Cubero, Silke Götsch, Lauri Harvilahti,
Mihály Hoppál, Aivar Jürgenson, Patrick Laviolette, Bo Lönnqvist,
Margaret Mackay, Irena Regina Merkienė, Stefano Montes, Kjell
Ole Kjærland Olsen, Alexander Panchenko, Éva Pócs, Peter P.
Schweitzer, Victor Semenov, Anna-Leena Siikala, Laura Siragusa,
Timothy R. Tangherlini, Peeter Torop, Žarka Vujić,
Elle Vunder, Sheila Watson, Ulrika Wolf-Knuts
- Editorial Address Estonian National Museum
Veski 32
51014 Tartu, Estonia
Phone: + 372 735 0405
E-mail: jef.editors@gmail.com
- Distributor Estonian National Museum
- Homepage <http://www.jef.ee>
- Design Roosmarii Kurvits
- Layout Tuuli Kaalep
- Printing Bookmill, Tartu, Estonia
- Indexing Anthropological Index Online, Central and Eastern European Online
Library (C.E.E.O.L.), DOAJ, ERIH Plus, MLA Directory of Periodicals
(EBSCO), MLA International Bibliography (EBSCO), Open Folklore
Project

This issue is supported by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research (projects IUT2-43, IUT22-4 and PUT590) and by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence in Cultural Theory, CECT).

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORISTICS

ISSN 1736-6518 (print)

ISSN 2228-0987 (online)

The Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics is the joint publication of the Estonian Literary Museum, the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu.

Established in 2007. Published formerly as

- *Pro Ethnologia*
Established in 1993
ISSN 1406-9962
- *Studies in Folklore and Popular Religion*
Established in 1996
ISSN 1406-1090
- *Studies in Folk Culture*
Established in 2003
ISSN 1736-1192

All rights reserved

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORISTICS

Volume 9 | Number 2 | 2015

CONTENTS

MARIA-ALINA ASAVEI	
Visual Chronicles from the Balkans and Central Europe: Samplers Remembered	3
DOMINIKA CZARNECKA	
Making Sense of the Past: (Re)constructing the Local Memorial Landscape in a Post-Soviet Base in Poland	21
IGOR MIKESHIN	
Decency, Humility, and Obedience: Spatial Discipline in the Baptist Rehab Centre	41
AZHER HAMEED QAMAR	
<i>Tona</i> , the Folk Healing Practices in Rural Punjab, Pakistan	59
DAVIDE ERMACORA	
Pre-Modern Bosom Serpents and Hippocrates' <i>Epidemiae</i> 5: 86: A Comparative and Contextual Folklore Approach	75
NOTES AND REVIEWS	
Being a State and States of Being in Highland Georgia.	121
Notes for Contributors	124

VISUAL CHRONICLES FROM THE BALKANS AND CENTRAL EUROPE: SAMPLERS REMEMBERED

MARIA-ALINA ASAVEI

PhD, Lecturer, Post-doctoral Researcher
Department of Russian and East European Studies
Institute of International Studies
Charles University, Prague
U Krize 8, 158 00, Praha 5, Czech Republic
e-mail: 98022179@fsv.cuni.cz

ABSTRACT

This paper* examines the relationship between craft and popular culture by focusing on a peculiar type of textile sampler (needlework) that used to be omnipresent in the last century both in rural and urban houses across Central and South-Eastern Europe. Although these hand-crafted items are no longer part of today's 'compulsory' household, they are still regarded as nostalgic, familiar or emotional forms of materiality and tangibility which perform a cultural politics of identity. These vernacular textiles predate the digital age and the free market and yet co-evolve and interact with digital networks and technologies. This paper brings into focus 'amateur' and regional forms of home grown cultural expression and the ways in which these forms of folk creativity and materiality are recast in contemporary urban popular culture and arts. Thus, the main aim of this study is to explore the contemporary re-enactments of these vernacular samplers.

KEYWORDS: craft • popular culture • folk art • contemporary art • nostalgia
• textile history

INTRODUCTION

This paper has a regional perspective and is based on the fieldwork I conducted between 2012 and 2014 in various countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe (Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Macedonia and Serbia). The purpose of this research was to document and analyse a peculiar type of needlework, known as sampler (a wall-hanging carpet that combines written text and images) which was very popular in the last century across the region (especially in rural areas). Currently, these samplers are no longer part of the contemporary household. Yet, as this paper shows, some people still regard these vernacular textiles as visual memorabilia and collect them. The issue I attempt to disentangle in what follows is how a vernacular cultural practice associated with folk art (needlework) is recast in contemporary popular culture and art. Data

* Part of this research was conducted during my residential fellowship for South-Eastern European Scholars at the American Research Center in Sofia, Bulgaria, Spring 2014. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the American Research Center in Sofia.

was collected using visual sociology methods and ethnographic interviews, both with women who produced this type of samplers and with women who collect this form of vernacular handwork and recycle it. I have visually documented samplers made in the previous century across the region, as well as contemporary re-creations. Some repositories of information have been found in the older generation's attics, basements and flea markets (as well as on eBay, Facebook and other digital platforms). The focus of my analysis is on the content of these visual memorabilia. Following Howard Becker's visual sociology perspective, I define images as concepts. Thus, in Becker's (1974: 4) formulation, for any image I ask "what question or questions it might be answering?"

As Sandra Alföldy (2007; 2012) and other textile historians posit, although craft has always been understood and regarded as part of popular culture, there is no comprehensive, academic study on craft and popular culture. This paper aims to partly fill this gap and examines the relationship between craft and popular culture by focusing on the everyday 'politics' and aesthetics of a peculiar type of craft – a handcrafted sampler (needlework) from Central and South Eastern Europe – both from a historical perspective and in its contemporary developments.

Popular culture is currently experiencing a global resurgence in the form of artisanal decoration, food, souvenirs, garments and other hand-crafted objects which are disseminated and/or commercialised via DIY magazines, books, shops, craft fairs, flea markets, television programs, YouTube, Etsy, eBay, Facebook and so on. The practices and the actual hand-crafted objects are of course very rich, and their ordinariness (in terms of production, exhibition and dissemination) fosters a multi-sensory experience which opposes the hegemonic conceptual and physical spaces of art (usually displayed in the 'white cube'). The practice of needlework decorations has often been associated with folk culture (traditional practice held by geographically isolated homogeneous groups of people). Starting in the 1960s, cultural theorists and cultural geographers began to focus on the contrasts between folk culture and popular culture. While folk culture was usually defined as a culture traditionally practiced by a small group (clustered usually in rural areas), popular culture was understood as a culture of a large, heterogeneous society based on simultaneous connection via modern technologies (television, the Internet and digitisation). James M. Rubinstein (2005) analyses various material cultures, distinguishing between two types of material culture: folk and popular. In many cases the boundaries between folk and popular culture are rather vague as folk culture has always informed popular culture, and in some cases even 'high' culture (or what was regarded as art). If we take into consideration the global resurgence of the artisanal decorations that are disseminated and commercialised via e-commerce online platforms, DIY magazines and so on, it becomes obvious that traditional decorative needlework – which is said to have originated in folk culture – is an example of how traditional, homemade, folk culture has been turned into popular culture.

However, this paper will focus only on a particular type of decorative needlework consisting of stitched written message and visual patterns from a regional perspective. The focus will be regional because my research covered only the Balkans and Central Europe. However, as historians of textiles suggest, the production of this type of sampler has a long tradition all over Europe (and beyond) going back to the 16th century.¹ As Claire Browne and Jennifer Wearden (2014) posit, the popular needlework practice known as sampler (its English name derives from the Latin *exemplarium* and then from

the French *essamplaire*) avoids a precise definition. Etymologically, the term seems to mean any kind of work to be imitated or copied, although the term sampler has come to be used “for a type of object whose form and function has comprehensively changed over time, from the practical tool of the embroider, through decorative pictures to a formulaic or occasionally more individual schoolroom exercise” (ibid.). In their earliest forms samplers were anonymous needlework for church’s decoration, although they also served the role of a memorandum, recording the effects achieved by a combination of colours, types of thread and various stitches. By the 16th century, there are a number of references to samplers in German, Italian, French and English literature, although the survival of the textile pieces themselves is exceptionally rare.² Not only that, but the surviving pattern books are also extremely rare: “one rare surviving pattern book is a leather-bound volume consisting in 113 engraved sheets of animals, birds, fish, flowers, fruits, nuts and composites designs by various hands including John Dunstall, Robert Gaywood, John Chantery, and William Vaughan” (Smith-Ivey 1997: 25). In the literature of the time, a sampler was an exemplar for a woman to work by following a model: “it was a source for her to refer to patterns and stitches, before the introduction and growing availability of printed designs” (Browne and Wearden 2014). Textile historians have started to document this type of production all over the world (Harbeson 1938; Gotstelow 1977; Bridgeman and Drury 1978; Ring 1993). Some museums of ethnography have started to collect samplers from various periods, especially samplers of historical interest, such as the earlier map samplers or those samplers with particular regional characteristics. As Melinda Watt (2000) states:

[...] samplers were produced as teaching tools to acquire the needlework skills for decorating clothing and household furnishings as well as household maintenance tasks such as marking and mending linens. A typical sampler consisted of rows of practice stitches and repeating designs; in the 18th and 19th centuries, the alphabet and numbers were also common motifs. These were made throughout Europe, with variations in style from country to country.

Before samplers became “a schoolgirl endeavor, they were made by professional embroiderers to show clients the variety and quality of their work as well as to provide a visual reference for technique” (Sumberg 2010: 68). For a long time, samplers were produced mainly as teaching tools for young girls and wives. Their main function was to help the young girls to acquire practical skills. However, as Deborah A. Deacon and Paula E. Calvin (2014: 55) point out, in the early 20th century, samplers came into fashion as decorations: “they were no longer used to display a woman’s needlework skills and were now used decoratively in the home”. However, decoration was not the only purpose of this practice. Another purpose was to provide “a tangible record of the female experience” (Ambroso 2007: 184). As mentioned above, the focus of this research has been on a peculiar type of needlework that used to be present in many kitchens and living rooms from the region in the early to mid 20th century. The peculiarity of this handmade sampler rests in the combination of text and image. These wall hangings can be regarded as veritable stitched epics of the region and as cultural *aides-mémoire*. In other words, not only have the literary epics (inspired by vibrant oral traditions in the Balkans and Central Europe that began in the 14th century or before) forged a sense of identity and cultural memory, but they have also given rise to the production of textiles and other material cultures.



Photo 1. The sampler (found in Romania, Fântânele village) reads: "All birds sing my pain". Photo by and courtesy of Maria-Alina Asavei.

My main aim is to shed light on a category of less documented samplers, and on the ways in which these folk forms of materiality and artistry are re-enacted and reinvested with new meanings and functions in contemporary urban culture and art. At the same time, this paper attempts to highlight the subversive potential of these 'raw' forms of artistry by introducing into the discussion women's comments on their condition as materialised in their needlework. Unfortunately, "[n]either owners nor dealers take a casual approach to these samplers, they carry a history of female education, genealogical connections and intimate relation to the people who taught, created and inherited them" (Orlofsky et al. 2010: 166).

As this paper argues, if we take a closer look, we notice the statements that these hand-crafted objects make, reminding us that a complete sense of politics, history and artistry remain hidden from us. Although many samplers from the region reproduced the messages taken from the printed patterns, some samplers reveal new slogans or messages were adapted to each producer's personal narrative. These samplers, as well as other embroideries, hand-crafted dolls, wall hangings or knitted items are not merely a commercialised form of craft, but a way for artisans to show where they fit into society; how they live and struggle; what they care about and how to collaborate with others before profit. At the theoretical level my paper argues that the practices of needlework discussed in this study are output-oriented and claim-making practices that bind people together and foster a certain community of practice. In other words, this needlework practice is not meant to merely decorate kitchens and living rooms but also to bind people together and to allow the exchange of concerns about daily life. The resurgence of hand-crafted (artisanal) objects in contemporary popular culture and their co-evolution with digital networks and technologies indicates that handmade

decorations are not only meant to ornament or beautify a space but can also sometimes be regarded as forms of materiality and tangibility which perform a cultural politics of identity.

A MONUMENT OF CLOTH: HANDMADE SAMPLERS FROM CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

At the beginning of the 20th century (and also later) many kitchens and living rooms from Central and South-Eastern Europe used to be decorated with a certain type of cross-stitched sampler (a written/embroidered wall hanging).³ The popularity of this vernacular sampler in the previous century is reflected both in some people's recollections and in the frequency of these items' appearance in scrapbooks and family photo albums. Family photographs of mid-20th century kitchens and living rooms reveal in the background the presence of these samplers on the walls. This peculiar type of handwork combined symbolic images borrowed from the oral epics of the region (and pattern books) and hand stitched messages. The final product is a mixture of oral and written popular culture that performs various functions within the household and even beyond it. Cross-stitched samplers have been made in many parts of Europe for hundreds of years. In many parts of Western Europe this activity was associated with a leisured, aristocratic lifestyle. In contrast to this leisured lifestyle "in all the Slavic countries and on up into Scandinavia, cross-stitch was the needlework of the masses" (Houck 1982: 1). During the fieldwork, I had the chance to notice, document and compare samplers from all over the Balkans (and to some extent from Central Europe). Although many people regard these pieces of handwork as things of the past or outmoded, kitschy feminine handwork, it seems that these objects' lasting impact on people's perceptions and memory cannot be neglected and deserves further investigation. These pieces of craft are still present in material forms in the flea markets (from Bucharest, Sofia, Budapest to Prague, Novi Sad and Belgrade), and in the memory of many (especially in the memory of the old generations). The generations that witnessed these objects directly, tend to remember at the same time the material culture that surrounded their childhood, while for the younger generations (including my own) these objects occasion a recollection of the 'imagined memories' of one's childhood. This hand-stitched sampler (made almost exclusively by women) usually tells a story, poses a riddle or recites an aphorism meant to protect or to aesthetically please the owners of the house and their visitors. Sometimes, it expresses a hidden desire or a piece of advice for the young wives. The messages inscribed onto fabric are cheerful and distressing; humorous and sad; silly and thoughtful. Some find them grotesque, kitschy or heartbreakingly touching because they are often associated with triviality, domesticity or popular culture. This is the reason why they are very seldom exhibited in contemporary art museums or art galleries. Yet, several recent exhibitions of ethnography and material culture from the region displayed these handmade artefacts as reminders of the history of matrimonial life and domestic work. For example, in 2012 the National Museum Satu Mare (Romania) hosted an exhibition titled Traditional Stitch Work – *Peretare* consisting of 39 pieces produced by the Hungarian artisan Bacsko Erzebet; Novi Sad Museum hosts a collection of written embroideries, and so on. An interesting exhibition dedicated to this

type of handy work took place in 2012 within the Ethnography and Folk Art Museum in Maramureş (Romania). An exhibition called *Embroidery as a Form of Craft and Communication in the Mining Zones from Maramureş* is the result of detailed anthropological research into the everyday life of miners' wives. It turned out that sewing and embroidery were an important part of their daily life with many of them producing these peculiar written embroideries to decorate their houses. The exhibition gathers not only *peretare* (stitch-worked wall hangings produced by miners' wives) but also various pieces of furniture that used to fill rural and urban kitchens back in the 1950s.



Photo 2. Detail from the exhibition Embroidery as a Form of Craft and Communication in the Mining Zones from Maramures, Romania. Photo by Lia Bradeanu, 2012.

It would be enough to look carefully at the innate passion for colour found in these decorative samplers to realise that John Ruskin was right when he claimed that “true art is of the people, not merely of the leisured classes, and so should form an essential feature of every peasant’s home” (see Jurkovic 1911: 12). The original geometrical patterns used in these wall hangings were worked without any frame, right on the linen. The material employed for embroideries consisted almost exclusively of coarse bleached linen thread. The dominant colours were white and red mingled with every imaginable colour. Most of the colours were obtained by immersing thread into a decoction made from saffron, raspberry, willow bark and wild pears. Old women spend their entire lives sitting up at night by candle light needle in hand to give life to these decorative

pieces and both the skill and the most popular patterns have been transmitted to their daughters and daughters-in-law. Due to their popularity, at a certain point back in the 1970s, these wall hangings started to be mass-produced and certain patterns (consisting of text and image) were commercialised through haberdashery stores. These patterns were later digitised and turned into professional, digital printed-patterns. Some women preferred to buy the printed linen, which already contained a message and an image, while others preferred to create their own samplers, avoiding the mass-produced printed designs. Textile historians do not agree if these demonstration pieces were conceived as instances of professional work intended as models for amateurs to follow in their housekeeping ritual, or if they had a purely commercial purpose. As an old artisan, Maria Onicescu from Romania, puts it: "I could choose to buy impersonal printed designs for my samplers but I always preferred a more personal declaration because every house has its own happy moments and its own celebrations to remember [...] as well as its hidden sadness." (Interviewed in May 2012)

At the beginning of the 20th century, mainly in the rural areas (but also to a lesser extent in the urban zones) of Central and South-Eastern Europe, women used to decorate their kitchens with these handmade wall hangings through which they attempted to express their feelings and daily concerns, and, sometimes, even their anger or distress. Many of these decorations repeated animalistic, vegetative or geometric patterns and cheerful messages from pattern books and patterns printed on fabric. However, while the designs for animalistic or vegetal patterns were usually replicated from pattern books or stitched over the printed pattern, the written message was often improved or adjusted to fit the personal narrative of the producer. The cross-stitched printed patterns included: the fruit/flower-basket sampler, the boy and girl or husband and wife sampler, the tea mat sampler, the bird pattern sampler, the red tulip and many more. However, some samplers reproduce the image of the printed pattern but add a personal narrative to it. For example, a sampler from Romania reproduces a bird pattern sampler but the hand-stitched message alludes to a sad state of affairs (the sampler reads: "All birds sing my pain"). Another sampler from Hungary reproduces a boy and girl pattern but reads, "My heart bleeds because nobody loves me".

The stitched messages combine patterned messages (for example "Good Morning", "The Kitchen is the heart of the House", "God bless this house") and personal narratives. The samplers I have documented read: "The person who is clean and tidy makes a palace out of a hut"; "Good morning my dear husband"; "It is easier to eat than to cook"; "I have not seen my husband drunk, I'm happy to have married him"; "My house is as clean as a sunny sky"; "Nothing compares to a good apple pie"; "I'm happy when my sour soup is tasty"; "Have a good day"; "Nobody knows how much I love you"; "A good day starts in the morning with a hot cup of milk"; "I'm a good wife and I take care of my kitchen"; "I wash my dishes as I wash my face"; "Be smiley and patient with your mother-in-law if you want to relive your family's stress". As well as these merry messages, there are also plenty of distressing ones: "My heart bleeds because nobody loves me"; "I married you to clean your house"; "My oh my, it wouldn't hurt if it got better". In some houses, the samplers expressed environmental concerns or subtle ironies directed at men's superior attitude. For example, a wall hanging from Romania says: "Husband dear, why are you meddling in the kitchen? Wait for supper in the living room!" and some Serbian decorative pieces assert, "She prefers the computer to the

stove, what is the housekeeper looking for there?"; "I gladly invest effort and knowledge when the acknowledgement of my effort is not lacking"; "I love my pipe when I have tobacco and the wife when she is baking a turkey".

There is a double function of the message in the samplers mentioned above: amusing and painful at the same time. They chronicle women's sad reality within the social confinement of their homes with official cheerfulness and happiness, while under this cheerful surface resides a certain poetics of resistance. A hand-made decoration can be both cheerful or sentimental, and critical and subversive. Its subversive power rests exactly in its cheerfulness and beauty. Anonymous (predominantly) women undertake these works of craft both for politics and pleasure. These decorative samplers are both cleverly beautiful and subversive/critical. They are cleverly beautiful because their beauty is not void of meaning or purpose. They are increasingly being used as a means of criticism "of suffocating female role models; of totalitarian political systems; of standardizing behavioral patterns, expectations and conventions" (Vogel 2011). In other words, their beauty is not restricted to a certain type of visual pleasure but is set to convey various truths such as: women's exclusion from 'proper' art, the de-valorisation of hand work, women's position in society and family, and so on. That is why this beauty is not simple, it is clever. Beauty from these wall hangings has many functions (critical, social, remedial, curative or dignifying). A decorative artefact can be beautiful and valuable not only because of its craftsmanship but also because of the idea it expresses. These decorative samplers are not necessarily good instances of quality in terms of craftsmanship: they are rather cheerful and raw than sublime and elaborate. But who says that only elaborated and sophisticated work can have a subversive dimension? In other words, the issue I want to address here is not to decide whether an activity associated with the 'work of craft' can be rendered as art or not. What I would like to underline is that despite institutional silence, there is a long-standing, home-made tradition of making critical art out of these works of craft. As art these politically aware pieces are exhibited at the biggest biennales and museums of contemporary art, as well as in peasant's kitchens in remote corners of the world.

We can look for political involvement in unexpected places, as in hand-made decoration from peasant's houses. Apart from the aesthetic pleasure it give viewers, every decoration has an inherent meaning "which stands for the representation of place/or the representation of the society occupying that place" (Moughtin et al. 1999: 14). Sometimes, certain patterns circulated beyond national borders with the people involved in this form of crafting exchange materials and pattern books occasioning a form of "cultural citizenship" (Hof 2006).

HAND STITCHES AND REFLECTIVE NOSTALGIA FOR A LOST ERA

The tremendous popularity of this particular type of hand work, which used to be part of the common household, has started to decrease in our century because the younger generations prefer to decorate their houses with various landscape posters and other mass produced decoration. The reasons for this change in home décor vary: from a certain change in people's taste to the hand work's devaluation (both at symbolic and economic level) at a certain point in time. The old hand stitched sampler, so popular

in the previous century, has been replaced with other vernacular decoration, which only a few people remember. There are of course exceptions in this respect, and certain shops that specialise in kitchen appliances and accessories still commercialise (or at least insert into their display windows) the vernacular sampler as a piece of vintage décor. Yet, the memory of this type of artefact and the activity associated with it is not completely lost even if many people have never seen these samplers. Several websites, forums, Facebook pages and other social media sites are keen to preserve the memory of these pieces of hand work and other on line platforms commercialise both old pieces and newly produced artefacts from the same genre. As one anonymous contributor notices on a Facebook page written in Romanian in 2010, “many of us have never seen these *peretare*. Some of us perhaps remember them from their grandparents’ houses from the countryside because 25–30 years ago they were very fashionable.” (Peretare) Others think of them nostalgically:

[...] yes, of course I will always remember the beautiful colours and the witty messages inscribed into cloth. I was raised with them on the wall in my grandparents’ Balkan kitchen. I have even learnt how to sew them. (Interview with A. M., 57-year-old woman, Bucharest, Romania, October 2013)

Others describe this culture of hand stitching as a paradise lost, as a 52-year-old woman I interviewed in Serbia points out:

Yes I know these samplers. I remember them so well with great melancholy. When I was a child they were my goodnight story about my mother’s life. My mother was a very busy woman and had no time to tell us stories, but she put them on the wall. (Interview with I. V., 52-year-old woman, Belgrade, February 2014)

She even showed me some pictures from the 1960s in which her house was filled with samplers of different dimensions and different messages. Some of them depicted old episodes from the South Slavic oral epics while other displayed more global fairy tales about Snow White or Little Red Riding Hood. Those inspired by folk epics display the female helper, the eternally loyal mates and the heroic mother. Interestingly, this feminine hand work encapsulates what Margaret Beissinger (1999: 69–70) calls “the female role in South Slavic oral epic” as opposed to nationalist revival literature from the late 19th century. Some samplers display visual epics in which women have wings and can fly. As cultural historians of the region notice, the 19th century written epics – the so-called “revival literature” that emphasises national as opposed to foreign oppression (especially Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian) – relied heavily on oral epic sources. Through the 19th century and at the begging of the 20th century prominent cultural figures from the Balkans (exclusively men) started to collect oral epics from the region and then to fix them in written forms. Their publication of oral epics was instrumental in the 19th century development of the national literatures of Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Croatia. Beissinger (1999: 81) claims that unlike the written epics of the 19th century (in which nationalistic poems that relied heavily on older oral epics virtually ignored women in their narratives), the old oral epics (which can be traced back to the 14th century) reflected the larger diversity of roles that women played in traditional societies and thus offered a “multifaceted portrayal of womanhood”. Many samplers from the Balkans and Central Europe display this multifaceted womanhood by repre-

senting women in various postures: not only as devoted wives and mothers but also as healers, otherworldly figures, spirited women and so on. If in the literary epics from the region, at the beginning of the 20th century, women's role is still marginal if not entirely dispensable (since they were not useful in the construction of the 'national self' reserved to men who formed the elite of the 19th century), the oral epics are resurfaced and reinvested with power in popular culture, including here the homemade decorations. Women remembered the vibrant oral tradition of the region and re-enacted it in their handwork as visual epics. At the same time, their practice encapsulates its own politics (in the sense of identity politics), which does not rely on the messages that served the political agenda of the male public in literary epics. In other words, these women gave birth to a culture of resistance by refusing to forget the rich tradition of the oral epics from the region in which womanhood was multifarious and omnipresent without being reduced to motherhood (women-mothers as receptacles for the birth of national heroes), lamenters (for dead national heroes) or victims (especially rape victims). However, this does not mean that some samplers from the region don't display the image of various national heroes or historical events, although this repertoire is not part of this paper. When the production of these samplers started to weaken and other types of mass-produced decoration replaced them, some people (including me) started to collect them.



Photo 3. Sampler commercialised in Budapest's flea market. Photo by and courtesy of Maria-Alina Asavei.

A female informant I interviewed in Budapest's flea market emphasised that her interest in collecting this type of needlework is triggered by a certain longing for the idea of

home or lost home. She confessed that she has not mastered the skill of sewing these “carpets” but she nevertheless wanted to buy some items to decorate her house because these pieces look like home to her. By the same token, another female informant (C. A., 64 years old) from Vaslui, Romania, points out that these samplers encapsulate her childhood happiness. She also tries to find traditional samplers in large flea markets because she wants to recycle these nostalgic items by turning them into contemporary decoration. In both cases the informants testify to their longing for something they consider lost (either longing for a lost home and era or longing for quality as opposed to today’s globalised mass production). This brings us closer to Svetlana Boym’s theorisation of nostalgia from *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001). Boym claims that the etymological origins of the word nostalgia are constituted by *nostos* (which means home in ancient Greek) and *algia* (longing for). This nostalgia for one’s past (for one’s home, childhood, community and so on) is, according to Boym, a form of reflective nostalgia. Unlike restorative nostalgia, (which is a longing for an absolute truth or ‘nation-home’, and usually characterises national memory), reflective nostalgia as a form of cultural and social memory is more flexible and more diverse and is composed of individual memory and personal narratives. These handmade samplers are “memorative signs” of a lost real or imaginary past. (Boym 2001) The longing for an artefact that was in front of us in the past can be understood as a contemplation of our identity “in the act of a reflective nostalgia” (Oicherman 2015: 113). At the same time, reflective nostalgia is not only a highly personalised feeling of longing for the past, because it often reflects collective memories shared by a certain generation. The same nostalgic feeling for a lost home or the life we have lived is also the impetus for contemporary art’s re-enactments of the vernacular, hand stitched samplers. In what follows, I will explore several instances of how these samplers are reinvested with new meanings and functions in the urban culture and contemporary art of the region.

FOLK ART FROM THE PAST IN CONTEMPORARY ART AND URBAN POP CULTURE

After a search on Etsy, Breslo and other e-commerce companies that deal with “all things handmade, vintage, and supplies” (Etsy 2015), one will notice the presence of these ‘vintage’ samplers. They are also present in various bazaars from Budapest (Hungary) to Sofia (Bulgaria). Some vendors even sell freshly made samplers that replicate mid-20th century ones. It seems that there is still a demand for these items, especially because they are the material trace of one’s personal history. For instance C. M., a 63-year-old woman from Sofia, confessed that she buys these samplers because they remind her of her parents and aunts. Another 62-year-old woman said that she occasionally buys these items because they remind her of something she misses:

They remind me of how I felt before [...] when I was a child and my grandmother and other women from the village used to produce these things, especially during the long winter evenings [...] I remember my grandma’s hands working on these samplers and the smell of homemade yogurt. (Interview with V. S., Sofia, Bulgaria, March, 2014)

The vernacular sampler is not only present on e-commerce platforms but also in urban popular culture and contemporary art. Its memory is so present in the lives of some people that many contemporary artists re-enact it in contemporary artistic production designated for global appreciation, reception and consumption. As the following examples will illustrate, some contemporary artists use to recycle certain patters from vernacular samplers in digital craft, feminist art and craftivism.⁴ In this way, this folk culture is no longer clustered but widely distributed, making sense for heterogeneous societies. However, it has to be noted that this cultural practice of stitching samplers never had the characteristics of a folk culture. Although its origins are unknown it cannot be claimed that this cultural practice has been traditionally practiced by small, homogeneous groups living in isolated rural areas because the presence of these samplers was not limited to rural, folk housing but widely dispersed in both rural and urban areas. Moreover, at a certain point these wall hangings started to be mass produced and certain patterns were commercialised in various craft shops. The popularity of these decorative items and their affordability turned them into a form of mass culture.

This culture of the masses is rehashed many times by contemporary art and culture and exhibited in mainstream cultural institutions (art galleries, museums and cultural centres). Contemporary artists recycle many patterns from vernacular handcrafted objects in an attempt to give new meanings to terms like hand embroidery, home labour, naïve painting. While these artistic appropriations, re-enactments and re-interpretations of vernacular craft are theorised and documented in contemporary art catalogues, booklets and in contemporary art's global media, very little has been written and very little research carried on vernacular craft and its subversive dimensions. The investigation of the subversive potential of vernacular handcrafted objects also has to be tackled because in the intellectual environment of contemporary art more or less anything can be art, although not everything can be craft.

This contemporary recasting of vernacular samplers occasions heated theoretical debates regarding politicised views of the distinctions between folk, popular, elite, and mass culture. An example of the contemporary appropriation of these artefacts can be seen in Ana Baničă's work. The Romanian artist attempts to recapture in a hipster manner the old samplers by reinvigorating old patterns with contemporary slogans. Her stitched messages reflect the urban pop culture of our times with irony and wit. In one of her samplers (called *peretare* in Romanian), the artist stitches a young girl who performs some handmade embroidery while she meditates on various marriage possibilities. The sampler reads, "Which one should I choose?" and displays three Western boys and an aeroplane. Another sampler, entitled "Worth the Wait", displays a car park, a trendy man riding a motorcycle, and a mobile phone. The message is meant to be read by the contemporary younger generation: "I'm waiting for you in the parking lot to give you sweet kisses". A similar message is stitched on another sampler that reads, "Waiting for my lover with the mobile phone on my chest". The culture of TV-watching, which attracts millions of people in every country, is also tackled in Baničă's samplers. For example, one of her samplers reads, "I'm waiting for you because I miss you holding me in your arms while watching the TV together", while the imagistic part consists of a naked young couple watching an erotic TV show or love story.⁵ The artist mocks the culture of TV watching by the means of a vernacular form of artistry (the hand-stitched sampler).

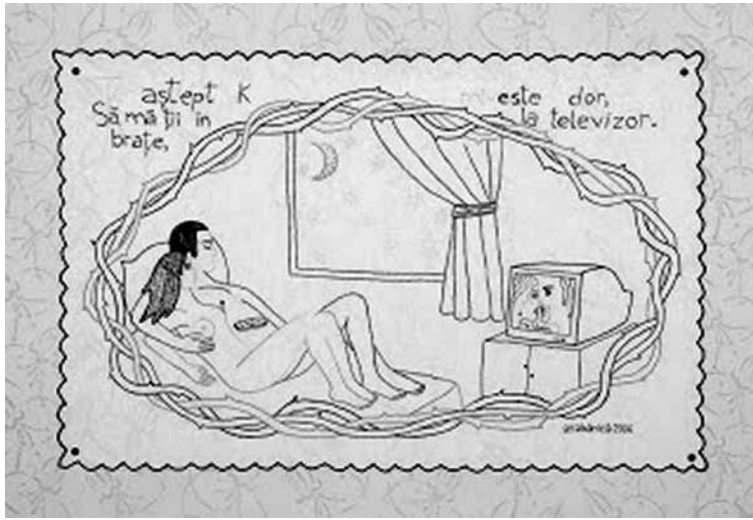


Photo 4. Ana Banică, *I'm waiting for you because I miss you holding me while watching the TV together*, 2006 (Ana Banica 2008).

In some cases, the message acquires ironic and critical tones when the sampler is replaced in new (urban) contexts, outside the familiarity of the kitchen. For example the contemporary Hungarian artist Krnács Ágota exhibited an enlarged photograph of this type of sampler in a public space (within the temporary exhibition titled *God Bless the Hungarians with Good Cheer and Prosperity*).⁶ The vernacular sampler is recast in the context of a temporary art exhibition displayed in the public space. The black irony is ubiquitous, including in the traditional sampler, which turns out to be more than a decorative piece. At the same time, this public display in a new context (the public space) of an item meant to decorate a private space is not without political consequences. The artistic re-enactment of visual memorabilia can be regarded as a search for lost time.

Its function is no longer merely decorative but has become an ironico-critical one. The embroidered inscription reads, "We have everything we need for baking and cooking, we don't need to go to the neighbours for anything". This is a subversive sentence for all those who are familiar with the art of good cheer and prosperity in recent Hungarian official politics. But why the artist preferred to reinvest an old, cheerful sampler with these ironic and even dark overtones is still a matter of critical deliberation. Yet, if we focus on the historical instances of decoration and use a theoretical background derived from critical theory, we can disentangle why and to what ends contemporary artists recast the vernacular decorative samplers in their artistic production. As David Brett (2005: 27) posits, hand-making textiles can be regarded as a civic-scale activity, something he explains as "the actual uses of decoration in social life."



Photo 5. Krnács Ágota, *Not Indeed*, 12th Exhibition of ARC, Budapest, Hungary, September 2012. Photo by and courtesy of Maria-Alina Asavei.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this paper was to shed light on a category of less documented samplers, and on the ways in which these vernacular forms of artistry are re-enacted and reinvested with new meanings and functions in contemporary urban culture. At the same time, as this paper attempted to demonstrate, certain samplers are not only recast in contemporary popular culture but also in contemporary art production. As the examples discussed above reveal, the handmade samplers and their personalised messages are not only based on mass-produced printed patterns and slogans, they also display their producers' personal narratives, concerns and expectations. Thus, these samplers were not only used to beautify and decorate a place but also to contest, heal or disclose certain aspects of women's daily life in Central and South-Eastern Europe. As well as small financial rewards, these works of craft fostered a sense of community, belonging, and a culture of mass resistance to a certain 'good taste' imposed from above by cultural hegemony. At the same time, this peculiar type of needlework occasions collective and individual forms of cultural memory and reflective nostalgia. As some of the women interviewed say, these pieces look like home, or lost home, to them. The feeling of nostalgia for a lost home or era is also the impetus for contemporary art's re-enactments of the traditional, folk samplers. The fact that these forms of vernacular handwork are re-

enacted and recast in contemporary art and popular culture (on digital platforms such as blogs, Facebook, websites, and art galleries and museum) proves that they are not merely things of the past. Although they are no longer produced in the region in their initial form and setting, their memory and the reflective nostalgia associated with their presence in Central-South-Eastern European kitchens and living rooms is materialised in new and hybrid cultural forms. They are recycled as nostalgic items in contemporary art and urban popular culture because those who still remember them associate their presence with the lives they have lived.

NOTES

1 Samplers were produced and disseminated all over Europe and in the Middle East and America.

2 One of the first pattern books was printed in Germany in 1523 by a textile printer Johann Schönsperger. Another popular pattern book of those times was printed by Johann Sibmacher. According to Carter Houck, since 1700, the cross-stitched sampler has been produced in many regions of northern Europe. The designs had their origins in the pattern book of Johan Sibmacher (for more details see Houck 1982).

3 I could not identify samplers from earlier periods. According to some of my informants, samplers from earlier periods are exceptionally rare.

4 In the last ten years, an art movement called craftivism emerged as a reaction to neo-liberal hegemony, women's rights repression and other social troubles. The term craftivism was coined in order to unite two separated spheres: crafts and activism. For the adepts of this movement, knitting or sewing in public space is an activist gesture meant to suggest that we have to produce our own goods and to try to avoid blindly buying consumer goods. There is a long list of contemporary craftivist artists and craftivist projects, for example: the Viral Knitting Project (an anti-war project based on the knitting pattern of knit/purl); the artist Cat Mazza (who created a huge blanket depicting Nike's trademark as a way of protesting against Nike's inhumane labour practices); the Anarchist Knitting Mob (knitters who decorate benches and trees with colourful patterns); and Marianne Jorgensen, who produced a pink 'tank blanket' and covered an M24 Chaffee combat tank with knitted and croqueted squares to protest against the Iraqi war. Political gestures like these are well known within the art world and have good coverage in art media.

5 Ana Banică's samplers can be seen on her blog (Ana Banica 2008).

6 This line is the introductory plea of the Hungarian National Anthem.

SOURCES

Author's field notes and audio recordings

Interview with C. A.

Interview with C. M.

Interview with I. V. in February 2014

Interview with Maria Onicescu in May 2012

Interview with V. S. in March 2014

Author's visual documentation (samplers, scrapbooks, photographs)

REFERENCES

- Alföldy, Sandra, ed. 2007. *NeoCraft: Modernity and the Crafts*. Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design.
- Alföldy, Sandra. 2012. *Architecture and Craft in Postwar Canada*. McGill: Queen's Press University.
- Ambroso, Catherine. 2007. *Needlework through History. An Encyclopedia*. Connecticut, CT; London: Greenwood Press.
- Ana Banica. 2008. http://anabanica.blogspot.cz/2008/01/intr-o-vara-cu-mult-soare-am-cusut-la_28.html (accessed November 20, 2015).
- Becker, Howard. 1974. Photography and Sociology. – *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 11 (1): 1–19.
- Beissinger, Margaret. 1999. Epic, Gender and Nationalism. The Development of Nineteenth-Century Balkan Literature. – *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary Word. The Poetics of Community*, edited by Margaret Beissinger, Jane Tylus and Susanne Wofford. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 69–87.
- Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brett, David. 2005. *Rethinking Decoration. Pleasure and Ideology in the Visual Arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bridgeman, Harriet and Elizabeth Drury. 1978. *Needlework. An Illustrated History*. New York, NY: Paddington Press.
- Browne, Claire and Jennifer Wearden. 2014. *A History of Samplers*. Victoria & Albert Museum. <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/h/a-history-of-samplers/> (accessed November 20, 2015).
- Deacon, Deborah A. and Paula E. Calvin. 2014. *War Imageries in Women's Textiles. An International Study of Weaving, Knitting, Sewing, Quilting, Rug Making and Other Fabric Arts*.
- Etsy. Shop directly from people around the world. <https://www.etsy.com> (accessed November 20, 2015).
- Gostelow, Marry. 1977. *The Complete International Book of Embroidery*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Harbeson, Georgiana. 1938. *American Needlework*. New York, NY: Bonanza Books.
- Hof, Karina. 2006. Something You Can Actually Pick up: Scrapbooking as a Form and Forum of Cultural Citizenship. – *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9 (3): 63–83.
- Houck, Carter. 1982. *101 Folk Art Designs for Counted Cross-Stitch and Other Needlecrafts*. New York, NY: Dover Publications.
- Jurkovic, Dusan. 1911. *Slovak Peasant Art and Melodies*. London: Constable Company Ltd.
- Moughtin, Cliff; Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell, eds. 1999. *Urban Design. Ornament and Decoration*. Oxford: Architectural Press.
- Oicherman, Katya. 2015. Biding Autobiographies. A Jewishing Cloth – *The Handbook of Textile Culture*, edited by Janis Jefferies, Diana Wood Conroy and Hazel Clark. London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Orlofsky, Patsy; Katherine Barker, Karen Clark, Rebecca Johnson-Dibb, Mary Kaldany and Barbara Lehrecke. 2010. Recording Change: 1978–2008. The Cleaning of a Needlework Sampler. – *Textile Conservation: Advances in Practice*, edited by Frances Lennard and Patricia Ewer. Amsterdam: Butterworth-Heinemann, 163–171.
- Peretare. <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Peretare/171469816218216> (accessed November 20, 2015).
- Ring, Betty. 1993. *Girlhood Embroidery. American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework 1650–1850*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Rubenstein, James M. 2005. *The Cultural Landscape. An Introduction to Human Geography*. (8th edn.) Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.

- Smith-Ivey, Kimberly. 1997. *In the Neatest Manner. The Making of the Virginia Sampler Tradition*. Austin, TX: Curious Works Press.
- Sumberg, Bobbie. 2010. *Textile. Collection of the International Museum of Folk Art*. Utah, UT: Gibbs Smith.
- Vogel, Sabine. 2011. Political Patterns-Changing Ornament. – *Nafas Art Magazine*, July. http://universes-in-universe.org/eng/nafas/articles/2011/political_patterns (accessed December 12, 2015).
- Watt, Melinda. 2000. *Textile Production in Europe. Embroidery, 1600–1800, Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/txt_e/hd_txt_e.htm (accessed December 20, 2015).

MAKING SENSE OF THE PAST: (RE)CONSTRUCTING THE LOCAL MEMORIAL LANDSCAPE IN A POST-SOVIET BASE IN POLAND

DOMINIKA CZARNECKA
PhD, Independent Researcher
ul. Stępińska 15/2
00-739 Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: d.czarnecka@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

The article focuses on (re)constructing the local memorial landscape in a post-Soviet military base in Poland and the process of forging the local identity of its new inhabitants in the years 1993–2015. These processes, which occurred after the withdrawal of Russian Federation forces from the base and the establishment of a civilian town, find their reflection in the urban space of Borne Sulinowo and are written into a broader context of state policies and national debates about the past. The aim of the article is to present how the initiative in these processes has gradually shifted from the national level to the local, causing fragmentation and pluralisation of the collective memory. In this context certain significance can be attributed to the need to comply with EU standards, and to the progress of commercialisation of the past related to the development of tourism.

KEYWORDS: collective memory • memorial landscape • post-Soviet base • post-communist Poland • urban space

INTRODUCTION

A contemporary *flâneur* strolling about the town of Borne Sulinowo encounters signs and symbols which at almost every turn testify to the town's complicated past. The efforts undertaken by the Poles since the early 1990s to 'domesticate' the urban space, together with the development of new social and cultural practices and gradual transformation and reinterpretation of the cultural landscape of Borne Sulinowo, bear testimony to an attempt to put down roots and construct a local identity,¹ combined with the need for locals to create their own place within the world, as "no one lives in the world in general" (Geertz 1996: 262).

People construct, cultivate and preserve both their personal and collective identities as they remember and forget (Connerton 1989; 2009; Wertsch 2004), commemorate and repress the past and present narratives. In the process of constructing a local identity, what matters greatly is the history of urban landscape and the configurations of the 'things' that fill places and change over time. The space of this post-Soviet base contains multiple material traces of the past presence of Soviets and Germans in the area. The presence of these traces is not indifferent to the shaping of the identity of the local community and its attitude to the past. The foreign material and symbolic legacy, to the same

extent as new symbols and practices of commemoration, which have been developing in Borne Sulinowo since the beginning of the 1990s, are employed in numerous ways to update and re-negotiate the past. Choices the contemporary inhabitants of the former military base are making that relate to selecting these elements (symbolic and material) from the past, together with 'disputes' concerning this topic that emerge locally, become part of a wider social and political setting. The founding of Borne Sulinowo as a civilian town was closely related to the fall of communism and the transformation processes in Poland. The town's uniqueness results from, among others, the fact that both the process of (re)construction of the local memorial landscape and the related process of forging the local identity have not been completed yet and are observable *in statu nascendi*. Such an opportunity is not available in towns where the sense of belonging has been anchored in the past of the previous generations. In the urban space of the former military base, the functioning of competing agencies² of memory³ articulation is revealed. In this sense, one of the key issues is the question of who controls the debate.

How this orchestration of mythic history plays out is reflective of the particular configuration of power relation operative in society at a specific moment in time. These types of relations are constantly shifting, following the processual nature of hegemony which is never complete, or predictable, but always (re)constituted in particular contexts. (Katharyne Mitchell, quoted by Ochman 2010: 511)

Linking the social construction of the space and the manners in which it is experienced to the practices⁴ undertaken by diverse agents allows a look at the town (in a physical and metaphorical sense) as if it were a 'stage' where social and cultural meanings are communicated. It is not only the mutual relations between individuals that are significant here, but also the ways in which places and space are used, as well as the everyday experience of the 'things' which fill them. The metaphor of a town as a stage allows the perception of things amassed within its boundaries as landmarks. On the basis of these landmarks the given communities construct their own identities and establish their own places in the world. Urban space concentrates configurations of things (including signs and symbols) that change over time and are later used in the process of symbolic manipulation and management. Moreover, urban space becomes an arena for political, social and cultural discourse. Borne Sulinowo, due to its complex past, is a perfect place to examine such mutual interplay between history, memory and politics.

The present text constitutes a continuation and a development of the issues addressed in two other papers on Borne Sulinowo.⁵ The first of these papers, entitled "Mapping Meanings in the Post-Soviet Landscape of Borne Sulinowo", revolves around deciphering meanings within the cultural landscape of the former Soviet base. The cultural landscape is treated as a source of knowledge on the subject of the local community. At the same time, the analysis was performed on the basis of the town's four characteristic aspects: urban arrangement, architecture, statues and toponymy (Demski and Czarnecka 2015). The forthcoming article entitled "Coping with the Difference: 'Practices of Recreating the Town and Making it Become Known' in a Post-Soviet Military Base in Poland" discusses contemporary social and cultural practices which came into being in Borne Sulinowo between 1993 and 2015. The text examines the emergence of new practices in relation to various types of resources (human, tangible, and intangible). Within the whole array of practices, the practices of commemoration comprise one of

numerous subcategories. The present text takes up new problems and aims to demonstrate the process of forging the local identity in the context of (re)constructing the narrative about the past and shaping the memorial landscape at the local level. The use of the metaphor of urban space as a stage enables us to present the process of the clash of visions and the projects undertaken by a variety of agents of memory articulation, whose activities either directly manifest themselves in the street space or leave their distinct impression on the town's material tissue. In order to achieve this, the text explores the role of various practices and politics of memory both in coping with/re-negotiating the local past, produced by locally conscious individuals. This study investigates local responses to a 'foreign' and difficult past in an attempt to reflect the complexities and contradictions of the post-1989 Polish memorial landscape, while presenting the specificity of the former post-Soviet base against such a background. The time frame of the analysis covers the period of 22 years since Borne Sulinowo began to function as a Polish civilian town (1993–2015).

BORNE SULINOWO – THE PLACE WHERE THE PAST IS DIVIDED

Borne Sulinowo (located in north-western Poland) was officially taken over by the Polish authorities in October 1992. It was formally granted a town charter and opened for the civilian population on June 5, 1993.⁶

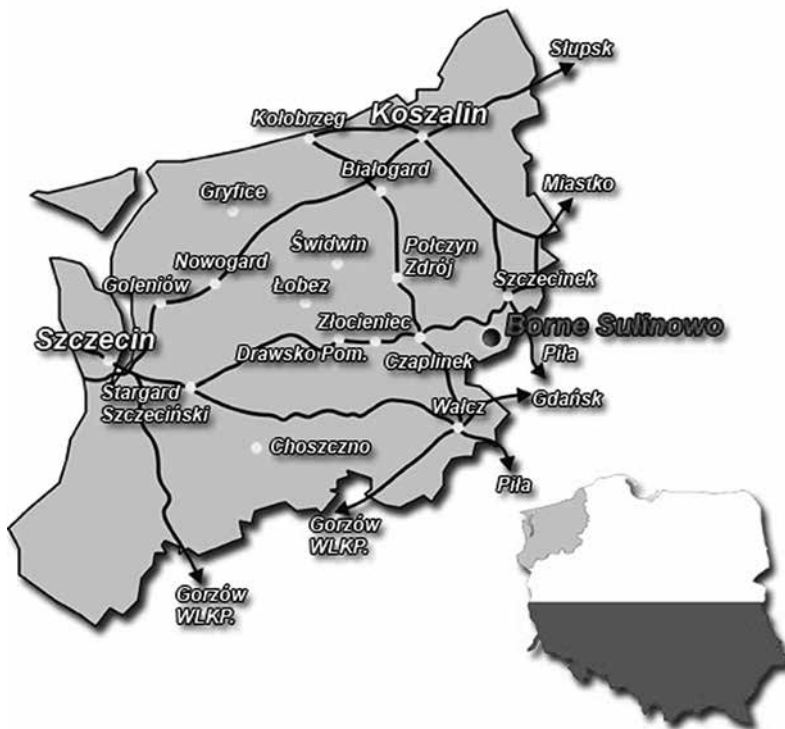


Photo 1. Borne Sulinowo on the map of Poland. Image by the Borne Sulinowo Society of Military History (Stowarzyszenie Miłośników Militarnej Historii Bornego Sulinowa).

The period in which Borne has functioned as a civilian town is a short one, especially when seen against the history of settlement in this area, which dates back to the 16th century. The region formerly belonged to Germany; it was then that German civilian settlers founded a small farming and fishing village on the shore of lake Pile, naming it Linde ('linden tree'). The village functioned until the 1930s, when the local inhabitants were relocated on Hitler's orders. Linde, its surrounding villages and the whole vast area covering over 18,000 hectares were transformed into one of the Third Reich's most modern military training grounds. The base was officially opened in 1938. During the Second World War, the Germans established a transitory camp for Polish soldiers and civilians there. In November 1939 the camp's name was changed to Staalag II E, and in 1941 it was transformed into Oflag II D, where French, Polish, British and, later on, Italian officers were imprisoned. In 1945 the garrison was abandoned without resistance by German forces and taken over by the Red Army, whose soldiers – within the structures of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army – officially installed themselves there in 1947. The Soviets were stationed in the military base for over 40 years.⁷ During that period Borne was an extraterritorial area, meaning that despite officially being included in Polish territory as a result of the Second World War, it was practically excluded from the control and jurisdiction of the Polish authorities.⁸ Polish tourist guidebooks said that the area near lake Pile is inaccessible, unattractive, and surrounded by forests (Moreny 1994). In 1993, after the final withdrawal of the military forces of the Russian Federation from Poland, which was related to the fall of the communist system in Central and Eastern Europe, the new Polish authorities, faced with a choice between several alternative solutions, decided that the area of the former garrison would be transformed into a civilian town.⁹ People from all over Poland began to arrive in Borne Sulinowo (Moreny 1993). A new community, deprived of centuries of natural growth, was slowly coming into existence. In many respects the early 1990s in the town of Borne Sulinowo resembled the process of settlement of Poles in the Recovered Territories¹⁰ in the 1940s.

BORNE SULINOWO AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE POST-1989 POLISH MEMORIAL LANDSCAPE

The fall of communism in Poland in 1989, in combination with the multiannual processes of transformation, initiated a multidimensional process of post-communist identity formation. The key element of this process was the reorganisation of the public memory space, and its significant aspect was the appearance of new narratives about the past, unrooted in the classic division into 'us' (the nation) and 'them' (the communists and their supporters). The official debate related to the post-war past, led in Poland after 1989 by those at state level, oscillated between two competing narratives, the first one of which aimed to discredit the People's Republic of Poland in its totality, while the second attempted to recognise at least some aspects of Polish communist history. Yet, "the reorganization of public memory space does not only involve contesting the Soviet past or affirming independence traditions but is rather the outcome of multilayered processes rooted in particularities of time and space" (Ochman 2010: 511). On the national level, the debate on the subject of the post-war past was mainly influenced, apart from the political parties, by the nationwide media (for example *Gazeta Wyborcza*),

new legal regulations (for example the Criminal Code of 1997, penalizing public promotion of totalitarian systems and their symbolism), national institutions (among others, by the Institute of National Remembrance, established in 1998), and by academic papers published after the archives were opened and censorship abolished.

Timothy Snyder (2002) distinguished two types of collective memory with regard to Eastern Europe: *national memory*, defined as “the organisational principle, or set of myths, by which nationally conscious individuals understand the past and its demands on the present” (ibid.: 50) and *mass personal memory*, defined as “the recollection of the large number of individuals of events in which they took part” (ibid.: 39). However, after 1989 an additional, third type of collective memory – *local memory*, based on a local past and produced by local agents, began to emerge in Poland (Ochman 2010: 511). This process was closely connected with the decentralisation of power and the emergence of self-government structures whose representatives gained significant room for manoeuvre in the context of (re)constructing the local memorial landscape. The three types of collective memory mentioned here are mutually interrelated and, at the same time, their relationships are continually changing, which finds its reflection in the ongoing debates and cultural practices (especially in the practices of commemoration) undertaken in the urban space.

Borne Sulinowo, compared to the rest of Poland, is a unique town not only due to its complicated history, recent inauguration as a town, and new settlement structure in its totality based on the migrant background. When Borne was transformed into a civilian town, the garrison, which had remained a blank spot on the map of the country until the final withdrawal of the Russian Federation’s military forces, became an important symbol in the context of the process of (re)constructing the narrative about the past and the future of the country. Within the official debate conducted at the national level, the history of the former post-Soviet base was recalled to contest the Soviet past, to discredit the Polish communist state altogether and, finally, to emphasise the significance of the liberation breakthrough of 1989. Moreover, the total exchange of inhabitants, the change of the settlement’s character from military to civilian, the take-over of the former extraterritorial zone by the Polish government and the gradual inclusion of the town in a network of state, regional and local connections, all formed a part of the process of establishing a new regime and its legitimisation. To a large extent, this process was based on representing itself as a discontinuation of the past.

Meanwhile, at the local level, first the self-government representatives and then other entities that had active agency engaged themselves in the (re)construction of the local memorial landscape and the creation of the local community (apart from representatives of local self-government, the entities that hold active agency comprise: the manager of the Cultural and Educational Centre, in whose building the Museum Room is located, private investors, members of the local associations, for example the Society of the Military History of Borne Sulinowo, members of the Local Organisation for Tourism LOT, old-age pensioners united in the Polish Association of Pensioners and Disabled and around the Third-Age University. In the 1990s a vital role was also played by the local newspaper *Moreny*, which created a forum through which the local authorities and the town’s inhabitants could present their opinions). Even if the local initiatives and activities undertaken in the urban space were not distinctly opposed to the narratives about the past shaped at the national level, they aimed to compose their own local

history narratives as it related to the inhabitants of Borne Sulnowo and were based on their own commemorative work. The new settlers initially possessed some chances to make a name for themselves, starting with a *carte blanche*, as it were, but at the same time they were arriving in Borne with their own experiences, ambitions and problems. During an interview, one of the inhabitants stated that, "We used to laugh and say that we were creating new history here. We were creating a history here that was born in 1992".¹¹ Apart from people engaged in the struggle against the system during the communist period, there were also the system's former beneficiaries (who frequently wished to create a secure old age for themselves in a new place, without suffering any consequences for their past deeds); the representatives of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army who managed to return to Borne after a period of several years (the Russians, the Ukrainians); civilians who inhabited the surrounding settlements during the period when the Soviet forces were stationed at the base, and who supported themselves, to a significant extent, by trading with the soldiers; and, lastly, citizens who avoided participation in the public life. Nevertheless, in the context of reconstructing the local memorial landscape and forging collective identity, agency is not only a matter of personal choice or will, but also an achievement and a matter of recognition, in which not everybody's voice is listened to. It turned out soon enough that in Borne Sulnowo active agency went into the hands of the representatives of political power who supported the changes taking place in the country, of economically successful entrepreneurs who contributed to the town's development, local associations (often founded or managed by private investors), and to a lesser extent the pensioners who have represented a significant proportion of the town's inhabitants ever since it was founded as a civilian settlement. However, some voices were inaudible, for example the voice of former German inhabitants of the settlement (Germans do not live in Borne Sulnowo and do not participate in the debates on the subject of its past) and of the few Russian-speakers who returned to the former base after the withdrawal of Russian Federation forces (this group of inhabitants stays out of the way and as a rule does not participate in the life of the local community).

A town should be the 'voice' of its inhabitants. Material objects and events gain status only when significance is assigned to them by that which is contemporary. At the onset of the 1990s, Borne Sulnowo 'spoke' solely with a foreign voice – unintelligible and, for a number of reasons, unacceptable to the new settlers. This is reflected in the memories of the first inhabitants, which were published at that time in the local press: "It was a strange town, completely different from what it is now. Empty, alien and menacing! This dread and strangeness was enhanced by street names, written in the Cyrillic alphabet, foreign to us all" (Moreny 1995). Such descriptions were aimed at emphasising the differences – "[t]o construct the barrier between the new beginning and the old tyranny is to recollect an old tyranny" (Connerton 1989: 10) – and at stressing the importance of the early inhabitants' efforts in laying out the foundations for the new town. "All beginnings contain an element of recollection, especially when a social group makes a concerted effort to begin with a wholly new start. There is a measure of complete arbitrariness in the very nature of any such attempted beginning" (ibid.: 6). The multi-annual process of adapting the post-Soviet space by civilians and transforming it into a place is reflected both in the contemporary urban landscape and in the narratives which the inhabitants construct more than 20 years after the town began to function

as a civilian settlement. Much information present in the early memories repeats itself contemporarily, although now they are interspaced with evaluations of achievements and errors made by new inhabitants:

We have irretrievably lost something that we could have showed off here. Something that would stir interest. And we have less and less of that. As you can see, those objects over there [...] it was impossible to save them. Someone, somewhere made a mistake. (An interview extract)

This does not only testify to adapting the military space, recognising its potential and gradually putting down roots by the new inhabitants, but also to attempts to accept the complicated past of the place and the efforts towards integrating the things that fill the space into narratives that are directed at a quest for continuity.

In the early 1990s, the new authorities first of all needed to restore the town's existence in the cartographic sense because during the communist era the garrison was unmarked on the maps of Poland and Europe (for decades, the Soviets hid the existence of the base). It was also necessary to take over and organise the space in its physical and administrative aspects. Active agency belonged at that time to the state or local government bodies. Thanks to their activities general frames were established, indicating the direction of later operations and enabling the development of new initiatives.

THE URBAN SPACE OF BORNE SULINOWO AND RESCALING MEMORY

After 1989, forces related to the Solidarity movement, which gained a majority in local and central government in most regions of Poland, led to a serious change in the Polish urban landscape over a short period of time. This change reflected the rapid post-communist transformation in the country.

Against this background, the former military base formed a unique case, as for over 40 years its cultural landscape had been shaped solely by the citizens of the Soviet Union. In the early 1990s there was no physical evidence testifying to this area's affiliation with the Polish state. Street names, monuments, commemorative plaques constituted a cultural imaginarium reflecting Soviet visions and values, shaped during the communist era. Additionally, although the Soviets removed almost all symbols and signs left by the Germans,¹² their presence in that area was still reflected in the town's landscape via its urban layout and architecture. The Soviets adapted garrison buildings almost in their totality, and over time they extended only the infrastructure and the training ground. Thus, the traces of the presence of former inhabitants (not only the Wehrmacht soldiers but also German civilian settlers who left behind the town's oldest street and surrounding buildings) were not entirely removed from the space, although the Soviet authorities strove to eradicate their memory by way of guidelines from the dominant discourse, a change in the base's 'ideological costume' and cultural practices undertaken in the public space.

After the military forces of the Russian Federation had left the base, new bodies of political authority initiated the process of inscribing the space with new meanings through changes in toponymy, erection of monuments and other transformations of

the urban iconography. It is worth pointing out that after the fall of communism in Poland, authority in the local organisations was as a rule taken over by politicians from right-wing parties or, sometimes, independent candidates. The authority handed over to local governments by law comprised the right to change street names and to construct, move or disassemble monuments. There was no central institution at that time to control the changes taking place all over the country.

In an instant, further to a top-down political decision, all the Russian names of streets, squares and institutions were removed and replaced with Polish ones. Such practices of commemoration within the public space revoke the old order, contributing to the accumulation of the symbolic capital and to the struggle for cultural recognition in the process of constructing collective identity. Some of the new street names were related to characteristics of the natural environment. The authorities introduced a set of names alluding to the liberation and pro-independence movements which were routinely duplicated in the majority of Polish towns after the fall of communism. New names did not only perform the practical function of making it easier to orient oneself in space, but also a symbolic one. The new toponymy removed the symbolic presence of the former inhabitants together with their own narrative about the past. The change of names was not only related to commemoration, but also to active forgetting. The period of the People's Republic of Poland was completely wiped from the local urban landscape. Assigning new names was also important in the process of the domestication

of space and transforming it into place by the new settlers.

As regards the statues, the situation in Borne Sulinowo in the early 1990s was uncomplicated inasmuch as the Russians took nearly all the monuments with them when they left the base (for example, a statue of Lenin, a Soviet tank). They left only a monument in the town centre in the form of an outstretched hand holding a *papasha*, which crowned the tomb of a Red Army soldier, Ivan Poddubnyy.

The new inhabitants did not destroy it but moved it to the nearby cemetery, located outside the town, where it can still be seen today. The relocation of the monument signified not only the process of constructing a new, symbolic map of the town but also the revocation of the Soviet narrative about the past. During the communist period Poddubnyy was honoured as a Hero of the Soviet Union who died in battle for a just cause, whereas in 1993 his death was described for the first time in a different context in the local press:



Photo 2. Monument in the form of an outstretched hand holding a *papasha* at the nearby cemetery. Photo by Dominika Czarnecka, 2015.

There was a local Polish–Soviet war, caused by instances of criminal offences and rape. The army moved into Borne, there was gunfire. People were shot dead on both sides. For political reasons this fact was concealed by the People’s Republic of Poland. The Battle of Borne Sulinowo fell into oblivion. Such tragic events ought to be revealed. (*Moreny* 1993)

The decision to move the statue was undertaken by the local authorities, which at that time had significant leeway in that regard. The above example illustrates the fact that in the early 1990s the narrative about the past was only beginning to take shape at the local level and was dominated by the official, nationally conducted debates on the post-war past. In effect, the Soviet past was often contested and there were attempts to discredit the Polish communist state in its totality. On the other hand, efforts to better understanding the local history of the place have been apparent since the beginning, which testifies to the fact that the new inhabitants have performed, among other things, their own commemorative work.

After 1993, only a couple of monuments were erected in the town centre (a few monuments were erected outside the town, in the forests where the cemeteries are located). All of the town centre memorials are quite modest: rocks and plaques rather than monumental statues. On the one hand:

It seems that the inhabitants still do not possess their ‘own’ past which they could commemorate in the form of monuments. This initiative, in its basic meaning, has not materialized so far and at present it is realized on the level of events and practices instead. (*Demski and Czarnecka* 2015: 110)

However, on the other hand, new places of commemoration play an important role in transforming the symbolic map of the town, constituting one of the most important landmarks in the process of reconstructing the local memorial landscape. The rock that commemorates the opening of the civilian town is one of the new elements of the cultural landscape of Borne Sulinowo, signifying the beginnings of the contemporary inhabitants’ root-making and their attempts to form a local community.

As mentioned earlier, numerous traces and material remains left by the former inhabitants of the base are also visible within the urban space. Apart from the urban arrangement, various buildings were preserved in Borne Sulinowo, buildings that had a huge impact on the process of reconstructing the memorial landscape at the local level. Some of them were renovated and adapted for use, others are gradually falling into ruin, changing some fragments of the town into ‘cemeteries’ filled with architectural skeletons from the past. “‘Ruin’ literally means ‘collapse’ – but actually, ruins are more about remainders and reminders. [...] Ruins embody anxieties about human aging, commemorating our cultural endeavours and their failures.” (*Boym* 2011) The ruins remind the contemporary inhabitants of the town about the complicated history of this place and its former inhabitants. Dilapidated buildings co-create the *genius loci*, which is not without significance from the point of view of the development of tourism. One of the town’s largest events, an international rally of military vehicles, is organised in the vicinity of the ruins. Tourists come sightseeing at the ruins and there is a recreational path established by the town authorities consisting of 21 elements. Moreover, these ruins are used by the inhabitants of Borne Sulinowo as material signs around which the narrative of the past is being constructed. The ruins of the Officers’ Club, the



Photo 3. Unreconstructed buildings. Photo by Dagnosław Demski, 2015.

most prestigious building in town during German and Soviet times, is mentioned by many inhabitants of Borne Sulinowo as an important symbol. It not only reminds the inhabitants of the past, but also appears to them as evidence of errors and these goals which they failed to achieve after the fall of communism.

What is significant, those slowly decaying buildings perform an important role despite their pathetic state: “The preserved damaged object, in its own material being, signals both its predamaged state – a different past, with potentially different cultural, political, and social meanings – and its new or altered state” (Jaś Elsner, quoted by Ochman 2010: 520). The presence of such a diversity of things amassed in the urban space makes it possible to perceive and interpret the town as a palimpsest of many different times and histories.

An element that singles out the local memorial landscape in Borne Sulinowo is also the need to seek continuity with reference to the past of the place. In the urban iconography the local authorities ‘discovered’ the town by referring to the first stage of settlement in this area. Although the whole vicinity belonged to Germany then, German settlers were, just as the Polish were, civilians. The process of negotiating the past in the present led to an observation that all the civilian inhabitants, as opposed to soldiers, share certain common values. Such a strategy underlay the creation of Borne Sulinowo’s coat of arms (a green linden tree against a yellow background, from the original civil name of the town Linde) and the symbolic ‘anchoring’ of the new community in the ‘past’ of the place.



Photo 4. *The Officers' Club*. Photo by Dominika Czarnecka, 2015.

MULTITUDE OF AGENTS, MULTITUDE OF NARRATIVES

Soon enough new agents of memory articulation appeared on the urban stage – after a general framework was worked out by the representatives of the local government, individual investors, entrepreneurs and members of numerous newly established societies became active. All the entities equipped with active agency began to search through the material remains and the history of the place for facts that would best support their particular agendas. Borne Sulinowo, with its complicated past, quickly became an arena for competition. Apart from the local narrative on the subject of the past, constructed within the urban space by power-holding entities, additional narratives began to spring up, constructing the town in other ways: “collective remembering is a matter of agents using cultural tools, especially narratives” (Wertsch 2004: 2). Thus, remembering is understood as an activity and process whereby the memorable takes shape and is continuously reshaped, questioned, affirmed, etc.

An interesting example of this phenomenon are the museums and similar projects which function in Borne Sulinowo. The first mention of the need to create a museum appeared in the second year after the town was established (Moreny 1994). Initially, setting up a Museum of Totalitarianism was discussed, although the idea was never actually implemented. The initiative was introduced by the local authorities. According to the official debate conducted at the national level, German and Soviet military periods were to be presented from the perspective of the victims of both totalitarian systems. The historical politics behind such a solution, implemented by the authorities after the

fall of communism in Poland, was *de facto* aimed at condemning all things related to communist history, not unreasonably equated to fascism.

This is roughly the same period during which the local authorities in Borne Sulinowo decided to move the statue of Ivan Poddubnyy to the cemetery. The local debate on the subject of the post-war past was dominated at that time by the narratives constructed on the state level, which were based on a dichotomy of 'liberators versus occupiers' with regard to the Soviet soldiers. These tendencies were revived after the centre-right Law and Justice party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, PiS) won the elections in 2005. One of the main goals of the PiS was to lead the total de-communisation of the country.

In this context, the efforts undertaken at the local level, among others, by the municipal elites of Borne Sulinowo, to compose their own narratives, become visible once more. The local narratives quickly began to go beyond the binary oppositions reconstructed at the central level. The black and white picture of Soviet soldiers as liberators-occupants was gradually filled coloured in, for example from the personal accounts and memories of people who inhabited the surrounding villages during the period when the soldiers were stationed at the base, and lived with them in a constant symbiosis. After the civilian town was established, many people from the surrounding villages moved to Borne Sulinowo, due to availability of all kinds of public amenity (housing, for instance), co-creating the newly established community.

It seems worthwhile to mention here the process of pluralisation and fragmentation of the collective memory, which was related to Poland's accession to the European Union.¹³ In Poland the EU tendencies towards pluralisation appeared among the Polish intellectual and cultural elite, which did not eliminate simultaneous dissatisfaction on the part of the more traditional and conservative part of the Polish society. It cannot be ruled out that the changes which are noticeable in the reconstructions of the narrative of the past and the approach to the material relicts of the 'others', manifested at the local level, were to some extent linked to the changes in historical narratives regulated on a top-down basis in those countries of the Central and Eastern Europe which applied for accession to the European Union. At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, in order to demonstrate an appropriate level of democratisation, the associated countries were supposed, among others things, to adapt the narrative of the past – the 'memory expectations' – to the key values of liberal democracies, such as openness, tolerance and human rights. This was related to constructing future-oriented memory that would account for the perspective of the 'other'. Although the notion of European common memory is strongly criticised, for instance because, "Eastern European historical experiences have not yet been incorporated into the broader European memory" (Ochman 2014: 221), this does not mean that 'memory expectations' did not affect the (re)construction of the narrative of the past in the countries which applied for accession to the Union.

An important initiative exemplifying this fact is the attempt to create a Three Cultures Park, included in the Local Revitalization Programme for Borne Sulinowo and spanning the years 2004–2020.¹⁴ With reference to the history of the place, the project looks at the three cultures (German, Soviet, Polish) through the lens of coexistence. The project to create the Three Cultures Park as a branded product of tourism in Borne Sulinowo was intended as a long-term undertaking (as it is a group of investment- and program-oriented tasks, consistent with the direction of the town and municipality development, which is to be created on the basis of the town's historical specific-

ity). The plan should be fully realised by 2019. The Local Revitalization Programme for Borne Sulinowo for the years 2004–2020 assumes that three different but historically essential segments will be created in Borne Sulinowo – a German one, referring to the atmosphere of the 1930s, a Soviet one from 1945–1992 and a Polish one, which is a contemporary vision of use of the area from the point of view of tourism, while taking into consideration the historical elements and trends in the contemporary global tourism. Every segment will be unique and characteristic, with the view of combining the past, the present and the future. The Park will also include the Three Cultures Centre, whose function will be to cultivate the tradition and culture of the three nationalities that inhabited Borne Sulinowo across the centuries (through language teaching, film shows, theatrical activities, cultural events, exhibitions, youth exchange assistance) (see *Strategia Rozwoju Miasta i Gminy Borne Sulinowo na lata 2004–2019*). The project is generally accepted by the town's inhabitants, who place their main hope for the future in the development of tourism. On the other hand, many people doubt whether it will be possible to finalise the project (financial issues form the major obstacle).

After 2000, the first 'museum' in Borne Sulinowo was established through a private initiative. The appearance of such a facility in the urban space signified the rise of new agencies of memory articulation. Its founding was directed at attracting an increased number of visitors, as the town's potential in the context of tourist industry development had already been recognised by that time. The complicated history of Borne Sulinowo and its surroundings became a resource which the museum's owner decided to draw on fully: "The past of this place is what it is, it won't be different" (interview extract). The exhibition is displayed in a backyard storehouse (located on a narrow side street) and supplemented with a couple of artefacts that are placed outside the building. It is divided into Soviet and German sections. Compiled from a variety of objects found by the owner on the site of the post-Soviet base or received from 'friends', the continually expanding collection is not claimed to fulfil any educational function. The museum's founder, whose main aim is to arouse tourist interest, recounts the history of the place and its inhabitants in his own way, sometimes, unfortunately, embellishing the facts. On the one hand this is an example of the commercialisation of local history. On the other hand, the fact that this facility functions in Borne Sulinowo shows the pluralisation and fragmentation of collective memory on the local level.

In 2009, after many years of endeavour, the Museum Chamber was opened on the initiative of the local authorities. The exhibition is presented chronologically. Its largest part is devoted to the German civilian settlement and POW camps that operated during the Second World War. The history of the German garrison and the Soviet military base does not take much space. The chamber is located in a building situated in the very centre of the town, which makes it easily accessible to the visitors. The exhibition strongly emphasises the threads related to the search for continuity with regard to the history of the place. The exhibition's organisers do not try to hide the fact that it is their goal to construct the local identity and to realise educational and promotional objectives.

In 2015 a private Museum of Military History in Borne Sulinowo was registered. Similarly as in the case of the first private initiative, the museum is owned by a local entrepreneur. The offer is first and foremost directed at the enthusiasts of military vehicles and equipment. Within the narrative about the past, it emphasises the military periods, both German and Soviet, although this is accomplished in the very specific context



Photo 5. The first private 'museum' in Borne Sulinowo. Photo by Dominika Czarnecka, 2015.

of military paraphernalia. In comparison to the two previously mentioned museums, this facility stands out due to a high level of specialisation, which is significant, as “[e]very choice – to show this rather than that, to show this in relation to that, to say this about that – is a choice about how to represent” (Hall 1997: 8). Every choice is related to *what* and *how* meanings are produced. Placement of emphasis on the military past of the place is not only related to the orientation at tourist industry development but also to an attempt to include in the narrative the past military period which stands in opposition to the idea of the civilian settlement. This does not, however, alter the fact that in this case, too, the past is becoming commercialised and one of the goals of the private owner is to create a tourist attraction.

Borne Sulinowo’s inhabitants rarely visit the museums described above, although in the local environment it is the Museum Chamber that forms the best known and most frequented facility of this type. Every museum attracts a slightly different type of visitor, whereas the exhibition organisers compete rather than cooperate, which is mainly the result of their different aims. Private facilities are mainly directed at profitability; they offer tidbits interspersing the narrative about the past much more often, tidbits that are not necessarily genuine or verifiable, while the Museum Chamber places emphasis on the presentation of all the periods of the town’s history and on providing information which is confirmed by source materials.

The fact that museums function in the urban space of Borne, presenting the local past of the base in various ways, testifies to the multiplicity of intentions, fears, aspirations and visions of numerous agents of memory articulation. Borne Sulinowo’s past

and its related material forms, apart from the unique natural and landscape resources, the greatest potential of the town in the context of tourism development.

DIVERSIFICATION OF COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES IN THE STREET SPACE

In the street space treated as a stage, certain narratives are continuously presented, acted out and organised. Due to the short period of time during which Borne has functioned as a civilian town, efforts and aspirations of its young community are best reflected in the annual events and celebrations organised in the public urban space. These celebrations and events written into the annual calendar allow the inhabitants of Borne Sulinowo to renegotiate the narrative about the past actively and to reorganise the public memory space in the process of re-imagining the local community. The history of the former base, its architectural layout and the built environment are elements that influence the formation of practices, their shapes, and the strategies of commemoration and active forgetting.

At the beginning of the 1990s activities in the street space were initiated by the representatives of the local authorities. On the very day when the civilian town's opening was first celebrated, a linden tree was planted on the main street. The gesture was meant to support the strategies hidden behind the choice of a coat of arms for Borne Sulinowo. There was also an allusion to the German civilian settlement with an attempt to discover continuity and an element of symbolic regaining of the town through a return to its civilian beginnings. Over the next two decades public tree planting (of linden, especially) took place repeatedly. In 2014 The Oak of Freedom¹⁵ was planted in Borne Sulinowo as a symbol of longevity and everlasting memory. It was planted to commemorate the first free elections of 1989 and further democratic transformations in Poland. The action was a direct reference to the spontaneous planting of Independence Oaks in the years 1918–1928 to serve as testimonies to Poland winning back its freedom. The reference to the Second Polish Republic period (1918–1939), the traditions of which the communists relentlessly fought against, constituted a symbolic eradication of the communist system. This example demonstrates that although the practices of remembrance occur independently at local and national level, they are often intertwined. In this case, an event that occurred in the local space, reflected the official debate on the post-war past conducted at the national level.

In 1994 the first anniversary of the opening of the civilian town was celebrated on the streets of Borne Sulinowo (*Moreny* 1994). The event was initiated by the town authorities. A year later, the occasion was celebrated jointly with surrounding towns, under the banner "We Have Been Here for 50 Years" (*Moreny* 1995). The event's slogan, referring to the situation of new settlers on the Recovered Territories, was an attempt to inscribe Borne into the narrative of the past, referring to the history of the whole region and an effort to include the young town in regional networks. This type of activity was undoubtedly related to the active agency of those people who moved to Borne Sulinowo in the early 1990s, and who before then had lived in the settlements surrounding the base. In contrast to the newcomers from other parts of the country, they were strongly connected to the region and, moreover, had different experiences and

memories related to the presence of Soviet soldiers in Borne Sulinowo. After the fall of communism, many of those people gained significant influences, both in the context of political and of economic power, and played an important part in the reconstruction of the local memorial landscape and the shaping of the new community. It is largely due to them that creating the local identity and memorial landscape was written into the regional networks and related to the regional identity.

Over time, annual celebrations ceased and were replaced by celebrations of only the round anniversaries.

Gradually, an increasingly large number of entities equipped with active agency began to appear on the urban stage. They often turned out to be more effective than the representatives of the authorities in the process of reformulation of the local calendar of celebrations and events significant for the inhabitants. Thus, in Borne Sulinowo, apart from the state and religious holidays celebrated nationwide, the street space began to witness new events, of a strong touristic and promotional potential. It appears that the specificity of the town and its history had an enormous impact on their creation. As many of this type of event actively and creatively use threads related to the past; such cultural practices serve its continual (re)negotiation.

From among a vast catalogue of events two are worth mentioning as they make Borne Sulinowo stand out from other Polish towns and are organised by entities other than the political authorities. Both events are for the most part organised by local investors. They cooperate with members of local associations (and frequently they are also members of such associations).

At present, the largest event is the summer International Rally of Military Vehicles. It was organised for the first time in 1994.¹⁶ The rally is held on the site of the former military training ground. During the event, references are made to German, Soviet and Polish history. The active (re)negotiation of the narrative about the past during these rallies is demonstrated, for instance, in complaints addressed to the organisers:

There were a lot of such situations. For example, there was a time when we were playing Russian melodies on stage, songs from the war period. A man in a German uniform came up, produced a pen drive and said: "These are German marches, please play them for me". The guy who was the stage manager said sorry but not during our event. And that man says: "You know your history, don't you? What period do these Russian melodies come from? The 1940s. Weren't the Russians our occupiers?" And, so sorry, we had to find some solution, better or worse, because this gentleman was right in a way. (Interview extract)

The past – thematically limited to the elements of military history – is treated, in accordance with the organisers' intentions, as a tourist attraction, including its commercial and promotional functions. On the other hand, such an event reveals the ambiguity and transformability of meanings, contributing to the (re)construction of the local memorial landscape.

A similar meaning needs to be ascribed to the Labour Day parades, organised in the recent years in the form of satirical events.



Photo 6. *The Labour Day parade in the form of a satirical happening. Photo by Dominika Czarnecka, 2015.*

In contrast to rallies, the marches take place in the central urban space, mimicking the routes of the former Soviet parades. Because Labour Day with its related street spectacles occupied one of the most important places in the annual calendar of state celebrations during the communist period, after 1989 this tradition was radically abandoned. Borne Sulinowo is presently the only town in Poland that organises Labour Day parades in a new formula.¹⁷ Tourists from various regions of the country participate in this irreverent event, which is also greatly enjoyed and supported by Borne Sulinowo's inhabitants, although Russian-speakers do not participate in Labour Day parades and generally do not get involved in local initiatives.

CONCLUSION

Borne Sulinowo is a special place on the map of Poland. In its initial period, when the history of the place was little known to new settlers, the urban space had to be first 'domesticated' and, as a nationwide, multilevel process of post-communist identity formation was beginning, the local narrative about the past and commemoration practices related to this past were to a significant degree grounded in the official debate on the post-war past conducted at the national level. At the same time, as a result of the decentralisation of power in Poland after 1989, apart from national memory and mass collective memory, in Borne Sulinowo, practically from the moment when the civilian town was established, a third type of collective memory began to take shape. Local memory centres on the local past and is produced by locally conscious individuals who have

the active agency of memory articulation. The process of (re)constructing the memorial landscape at the local level is not combined with an amnesia related to difficult elements of the Polish communist past but rather with emphasising the ambiguity and transformability of meanings, embodied in the practices of commemoration and the related practices of active forgetting. Additionally, the uniqueness of Borne Sulinowo against the background of the post-1989 Polish memorial landscape results from the necessity to take into consideration the 'foreign' elements (German and Soviet), often challenging, in the narratives about the local past. It forces, in a sense, attempts to construct the narrative in the spirit of openness and tolerance, with consideration for the perspective of the 'other'. Diversification of cultural practices at a local level constitutes not only a necessary counterbalance but also a serious challenge to the black and white narratives about the past constructed on the national level. Initiatives and activities of the new inhabitants of the former post-Soviet base, influencing the construction of the local memorial landscape, form a part of the foundation for forging local identity. In Borne Sulinowo both these processes are observable *in statu nascendi*.

NOTES

1 Collective or community identity is understood as the image that a group has of itself and with which its members associate themselves (Assmann 2008 [2005]: 146).

2 Agents are the subjects of action, and the agency is defined as the capability to be the source and originator of acts (Rapport and Overing 2000: 1).

3 Memory is understood as "a culturally mediated material practice that is activated by embodied acts and semantically dense objects" (Nadia Seremetakis, quoted by Svašek 2007: 246).

4 Practice – a non-ritual action that is understood "to be the expression of intentional states arising from the performing agent" (Whitehouse 2005: 91).

5 I conducted field research in cooperation with Dagnosław Demski from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The field research was conducted in Borne Sulinowo in February, May and August 2015 (in total, over a month in the field). Over a dozen in-depth interviews and numerous conversations were conducted with the town's inhabitants. The respondents were, among others: representatives of the local self-government; private investors; organisers of museums, Labour Day parades, military rallies; members of the Pensioners Association; inhabitants of the surrounding villages who remember the stay of the Soviet soldiers at the base. The interviews were conducted in offices, pubs, museums, and private homes. New respondents were recruited through the technique of snowball sampling. Apart from the interviews, participant observation was used (for example, the author visited the museums, participated in the Labour Day parade and in the summer military vehicles rally). Research into the local press was conducted in the town library. Additional data was collected from the materials collected from a private archive made available to the author by the manager of the Museum Room.

6 Much information quoted in this subsection has been also mentioned in Demski and Czarnecka 2015: 98–101.

7 Officially, the process of withdrawal of the Russian Army began with the exit of the tactical ballistic missile brigade from Borne Sulinowo on April 8, 1991. The last Russian soldiers left Poland on September 18, 1993.

8 The model of independent, secret settlements connected to military garrisons originated in the Soviet Union. They were called ZATO (*zakrytye administrativno-territorial'nye obrazovaniya* – 'Closed Cities').

9 In the period when Soviet forces were stationed at the base, it was inhabited by approximately 15,000 people in total. Staff turnover was regular: privates every two years, officers every five years, civilian employees every five years or more often. Since 1992 there were several phases of immigration. In 1993 the number of the town's inhabitants amounted to 376, in 1998 – 2,870, in 2000 – 3,768, in 2003 – 4,031 (*Strategia Rozwoju Miasta i Gminy Borne Sulinowo na lata 2004–2019*). From 1993 on, people from various regions of Poland began to settle in Borne Sulinowo. The majority of the settlers came from the western and northern provinces. The major reason for moving to Borne Sulinowo was economic in nature (mostly cheap housing) or related to its natural and landscape assets. In 2014 Borne Sulinowo was inhabited by a total of 4,903 people (*Borne Sulinowo w liczbach*). At present, the town's main problem is the high unemployment rate. Tourism forms the fastest developing sector of economy.

10 'Recovered Territories' is a term used to denote north-western parts of Poland that were included as part of the Polish territories following the Potsdam Conference in 1945.

11 All interview fragments quoted in the text come from the interviews conducted with the inhabitants of Borne Sulinowo in 2015.

12 The symbol of the swastika has survived to the present day on the front wall of the Officers' Club. One of the formerly most beautiful buildings, the Club gradually fell into ruin during the period of Polish rule. As the Germans had partly obscured the symbol with a bas-relief of a horseman, at first glance the symbol is not easily visible from the perspective of the passer-by. This was the only swastika not destroyed by the Soviets, who routinely covered them with plaques bearing their own symbol of the hammer and sickle.

13 Poland joined the European Union in 2004.

14 For detailed information on the subject of the town's revitalisation programme, including the Three Cultures Park, see *Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji Bornego Sulinowa na lata 2004–2020*. The fact that the Three Cultures Park project is realised with the use of European Union funds is not without significance.

15 It is no coincidence that Borne Sulinowo was among the 25 Polish towns chosen by the state authorities to implement this action.

16 In 2014 the summer rally had approximately 50,000 participants. At present it is the largest rally of military vehicles in Poland.

17 In August 2015, during further interviews, some inhabitants of Borne Sulinowo admitted that more and more neighbouring villages were beginning to imitate the formula of Labour Day parades initiated in the former post-Soviet base. The main reason for the increasing popularity of this type of event in the region is their attractiveness for tourists.

SOURCES

Interviews conducted by Dominika Czarnecka and Dągnosław Demski in Borne Sulinowo in February, May and August 2015.
Moreny. Gazeta Krainy Jezior i Lasów. 1993–1995.

REFERENCES

Assmann, Jan. 2008 [2005]. *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
Borne Sulinowo w liczbach. http://www.polskawliczbach.pl/Borne_Sulinowo (accessed December 27, 2015).

- Boym, Svetlana. 2011. *Ruinophilia: Appreciation of Ruins*. – *Atlas of Transformation*. <http://monumenttotransformation.org/atlas-of-transformation/html/r/ruinophilia/ruinophilia-appreciation-of-ruins-svetlana-boym.html> (accessed December 28, 2015).
- Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Connerton, Paul. 2009. *How Modernity Forgets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Demski, Dagnosław and Dominika Czarnecka. 2015. Mapping Meanings in the Post-Soviet Landscape of Borne Sulino. – *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls* 2 (95): 96–120. http://www.lvi.lv/lv/LVIZ_2015_files/2numurs/D_Demski_D_Czarnecka_Mapping_LVIZ_2015_2.pdf (accessed September 10, 2015).
- Geertz, Clifford. 1996. Afterword. – *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 259–262.
- Hall, Stuart, ed. 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage; Open University.
- Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji Bornego Sulino na lata 2004–2020. – Biuletyn Informacji Publicznej Urząd Miejski w Bornem Suliniu. <http://www.bip.bornesulino.pl/index.php?id=70100> (accessed August 27, 2015).
- Ochman, Ewa. 2010. Soviet War Memorials and the Re-Construction of National and Local Identities in Post-Communist Poland. – *Nationalities Papers* 38: 509–530.
- Ochman, Ewa. 2014. Memory of War and Cosmopolitan Solidarity. – *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, edited by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 218–231.
- Rapport, Nigel and Joanna Overing. 2000. *Social and Cultural Anthropology. The Key Concepts*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Snyder, Timothy. 2002. Memory of Sovereignty and Sovereignty over Memory: Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, 1939–1999. – *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe*, edited by Jan Werner Müller. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 39–58.
- Stowarzyszenie Miłośników Militarnej Historii Bornego Sulino. http://www.zlot.bornesulino.pl/strona/?page_id=12 (accessed December 27, 2015).
- Strategia Rozwoju Miasta i Gminy Borne Sulino na lata 2004–2019. http://eregion.wzp.pl/sites/default/files/borne_sul.pdf (accessed December 27, 2015).
- Svašek, Maruška. 2007. Moving Corpses. Emotions and Subject-Object Ambiguity. – *The Emotions. A Cultural Reader*, edited by Helena Wulff. Oxford; New York, NY: Berg, 229–248.
- Wertsch, James. 2004. *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitehouse, Harvey. 2005. Emotion, Memory and Religious Rituals: An Assessment of Two Theories. – *Mixed Emotions. Anthropological Studies of Feeling*, edited by Kay Milton and Maruška Svašek. Oxford; New York, NY: Berg, 91–108.

DECENCY, HUMILITY, AND OBEDIENCE: SPATIAL DISCIPLINE IN THE BAPTIST REHAB CENTRE

IGOR MIKESHIN

PhD student

Social and Cultural Anthropology

University of Helsinki

Unioninkatu 35, P.O. Box 18, 00014 Helsinki, Finland

e-mail: igor.mikeshin@helsinki.fi

ABSTRACT

This paper* scrutinises the role of place and space in the process of Christian rehabilitation. This process is an interconnection of the rehabilitation of the addicted people and conversion to a particular kind of Christianity, working as an inseparable twofold process. The narrative of conversion in the rehabilitation ministry is influenced by the 150-year history of Russian Baptists, the rich sociocultural context of contemporary Russia, the *junkie* and prison context of the people in rehabs, and a very specific Russian Synodal translation of the Bible. I demonstrate the role of space in the implementation of rehab rules and discipline, Christian dogmatics, and construction of the Christian self. The organisation of space in the rehabs very much resembles prison, while also following the common dogmatic principles of the program. At the same time, rehabilitation is enforced by harsh conditions, a strict regime, and the idea of proper Christian family.

KEYWORDS: conversion • rehabilitation • Russian Baptists • space and place • Christian family

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an ethnographic account of a rehab facility, one of more than 30 Russian Baptist Rehabilitation ministry rehabs for addicted people, called Good Samaritan. As a part of my ethnographic fieldwork in the ministry, I stayed in the biggest rehab, near the small town of Luga, 150 kilometres South of St. Petersburg, Russia, participating in the program fulltime for a month and returning on numerous occasions, staying from several hours to a week throughout 2014.

I focus on the Luga rehab because it influenced my understanding of the discipline, regime, and rules of the Good Samaritan the most. It is the most remarkable rehab, not only because it is the largest, but also because it is the strictest. Although all rehabs in

* This paper is a further reflection and elaboration of my presentation in the Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund workshop held on August 25, 2015 at the University of Helsinki, Finland. I am thus particularly thankful to Sonja Trifuljesko, one of the organisers. A substantial part of my research has been supported with a grant from European Social Fund's Doctoral Studies and Internationalisation Program DoRa, carried out by Foundation Archimedes.

the ministry use the same rules, at Luga rehab their implementation is the most precise and their understanding the most literal.

Fulltime participation was the only mode of ethnographic study allowed by otherwise welcoming ministers. It significantly limited me methodologically, for the participants are not allowed to have any electronic devices, literature, or connection with the outside world (besides censored paper letters), neither are they allowed to deviate from the daily schedule in any way. However, this did give me the opportunity to deeply immerse myself into the daily routine of the rehabilitation program, and participate in the everyday construction of the narrative of Christian rehabilitation and biblical literalist conversion.

Further shorter visits with missionary teams, guest preachers, delivery of supply, transporting of the rehabilitants to and from the rehab, and even a week-long stay to help out the rehab fix and drive their truck, allowed me to access zones and situations previously inaccessible for me as a rehabilitant. Using this truck and my own car I often participated in supply and organisation at the rehab, under supervision of the head minister, Vasya.¹ Those visits also gave me some limited access to women in the ministry, which is otherwise denied to the male rehabilitants until the end of their program.

Baptist dogmatics and especially a particular kind of the literalist reading of the Bible play paramount role in the rehabilitation program. The rehabilitation of the addicts, most of whom previously never knew what Baptist meant at all, goes along with conversion to the Russian Baptist version of Christianity in one inseparable process. Those rehabilitated become converted, and those who convert become rehabilitated.

Russian Baptist Christianity first appeared roughly 150 years ago, initially spreading in aristocratic circles. Through the history of late Imperial and Soviet Russia, all Evangelical groups faced persecution and marginalisation, especially during the Khrushchev anti-religious campaign. This led to the isolation of Russian Evangelicals, both from Russian society, formally atheist, and their fellow believers abroad.

Consequently, for most of their history, Russian Baptists developed in their own way, retaining, at the same time, the paramount principles of the Baptist faith (Wiens 1924) and Protestant dogmatics. However, Russian Baptists interpret the Protestant tenets under the huge influence of the contemporary Russian sociocultural context, and, most remarkably, as a response to Orthodox practices such as the hierarchical apparatus of the clergy, worshiping saints and icons, and doctrine of Good Works – according to the *Sola Fide* Protestant tenet, men are only justified by faith, and good works are the consequences, and evidence, of salvation.

Another significant peculiarity of Russian Baptism is its adherence to Arminian soteriology (Mitrokhin 1974). Formulated in the 17th century by a Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius as a response to Calvinism, this doctrine claims human responsibility for salvation. Unlike Calvinism, which claims God chooses to save only the elect, Arminianism proclaims free will salvation, and also the human ability to reject or lose it. Arminian theology significantly impacts the ideology of rehabilitation, turning it into a responsible decision.

Conversion to Russian Baptism means learning, adopting, and interiorising the narrative of the Bible as the language of thought, communication, and even reasoning. The literalist interpretation of the Bible is significantly influenced by the 150-year history of Evangelicals in Russia and the Russian political, sociocultural, and linguistic context. In

the rehabs it is also impacted by the street, prison, and *junkie* experience of the interpreters – rehabilitants and their elders (Mikeshin 2015).

Biblical literalism is one of the major principles of the Evangelical faith, accommodated in the *Sola Scriptura* tenet which proclaims the Bible as the only authority for faith and practice. This phenomenon has been scrutinised by anthropologists of Christianity (Crapanzano 2000; Harding 2000; Bielo 2009a; Bielo 2009b), and it is commonly implied that there are multiple *literalisms* characteristic to every particular group interpreting the Bible, rather than literalism as a general principle.

Apart from the political, sociocultural, and linguistic context, literalisms in the Russian Baptist community are shaped by a particular biblical text – the Russian Synodal translation of the Bible, used by the vast majority of Russian-speaking Christians worldwide. This translation was made in the 19th century, by a formally non-denominational Russian Biblical Society. However, it was significantly impacted not only by Orthodox dogmatics, but also by the Church Slavonic Bible, still used by the Orthodox Church in liturgy. Moreover, the Synodal Bible is very poetic and rhythmic, which also adds to the inaccuracy of translation.

In the following chapters I will introduce the main principles of Christian rehabilitation and their implementation in the Luga rehab, specifically the organisation of space. The spatial dimension of Christian dogmatics is generally expressed through notions of humility and obedience, which also inadvertently enforces the idea of the proper Christian family. I will then address the parallels with prison that are very often made explicitly or implicitly. I will further reflect on the interrelation between moral and bodily transformation.

PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN REHABILITATION

Good Samaritan is a ministry within the Russian Baptist Church. Established in 2004 by ex-convict and now Pastor Vladimir Ezhov², today it has more than 30 rehab facilities. Coordinated from St. Petersburg, the rehabs are mainly spread in North-West Russia, although there are also two in St. Petersburg, one in the Moscow region and one in Lappeenranta, Finland. Most of these rehabs are situated in the distant rural areas in order to both pay less rent and isolate addicts from the temptations of the big city, and mitigate the impulse to run away.

Every rehab in the ministry uses the same program, with small differences in minor details. The whole program lasts for eight months and consists of two stages. Social Rehabilitation takes two months and is almost totally devoted to the study of Scripture, which at this stage is represented solely by the New Testament and Book of Psalms. The Old Testament is considered too hard to comprehend by spiritually immature rehabilitants. As for the Book of Psalms, it is included in most of the freely distributed Gideon editions of the New Testament that the rehabs possess, hence it is employed too.

The second stage is called Social Adaptation and takes six months; it is meant as a period of re-socialisation of the addicted people and teaches them to live and interact with others peacefully. Adaptants live in another room or part of the building. They read and study the whole Bible, and they work. This work is mainly focused on keeping them busy and does not really contribute to the support of the rehab, rather to some

basic maintenance, for most of the people are unskilled workers weakened by the consequences of their habits.

The initial idea for the two stages is that addicts revisit their life, break with their past, and preferably repent in the first two months, convinced by the biblical truth. They then learn from scratch how to live a peaceful, meaningful life, communicating and cooperating with others, working and earning their daily bread honestly. It is presumed that these eight months are not enough for most addicts. They are just given a general direction, a purpose in life. They are to conduct further spiritual work themselves, with the help of the local Church and daily study of the Bible. The most dedicated rehabilitants often stay after their programs to serve God and their brothers or sisters as ministers.

7:00 — Rise, bathroom
7:15-8:00 — Free study of the Scripture
8:00-9:00 — Morning gathering (glorification, sharing the Word, common prayer)
9:00-9:15 — Breakfast
9:15-10:00 — Cleaning the premises
10:00-11:30 — Reading, preparation for the class
11:30-13:00 — Class (Bible-study)
13:00-13:20 — Lunch
13:30-15:00 — Reading, preparation for the class/seminar
15:00-15:30 — Break
15:30-16:30 — Reading, preparation for the class/seminar
16:30-18:00 — Mon, Thu - Seminar; Tue, Fri - Class; Wed - Audio (video) sermon
18:00-19:00 — Questions on the Scripture
19:00-19:20 — Dinner
19:30-20:30 — Reading, preparation for the gathering
20:30-22:30 — Evening gathering (glorification, sharing the Word, common prayer)
22:30-23:00 — Bathroom
23:00 — Bed time

Figure 1. Weekday schedule in Luga rehab.

The schedule is the same in every rehab. It is very tight and mandatory for all present on the program. The schedule on Rehabilitation, the first stage, is very detailed and allows almost no free time or time outside the dormitory (see Figure 1). There are exceptions if the rehab is small and Adaptation needs manual help, or when there are unexpected guests or missionary visits. In all other cases the schedule is repeated daily, with some changes only on Saturdays and Sundays, annoying the brothers and boring them almost to death.

Most of the weekday activities on Rehabilitation are devoted to the study of Scripture and learning a Christian life. On Saturdays, half of the day, from breakfast until lunch, is devoted to the general cleaning of the premises. The rehabilitants can then even be sent to otherwise inaccessible places, like the Adaptation zone, storage rooms, the basement, or even out into the fresh air to help out Adaptation. Sometimes they are given senseless assignments to instil obedience and humility (I was once appointed to toothpick the dust out of the holes in a wooden floor together with two other brothers).

Sundays are often 'lazy' days even in the strictest rehabs. The brothers are given free time for half or almost all of the day and are not merely allowed to talk and rest, but also to sleep in their beds, although above the blankets and dressed. Space is still

limited even on Sundays, and the whole group are supposed to remain inside, with the exception of some rare cases when they can spend some time outside, also together.

The rules in the rehabs are very strict. Although one can leave at any time the discipline is very tight. The rehab cannot legally force anyone to stay and the courts cannot appoint addicted criminals to the non-government Good Samaritan program. The implementation of rules may vary from one rehab to another, depending on the personality of the minister and elders. However, the rules are common and mandatory for everyone.

Firstly, a future rehabilitant gives all valuables, money, keys, all documents, electronic devices of any sort, jewellery, and so on, to the minister, who locks it in a cabinet until the end of the program. One is only allowed to have clothes for inside and also outside (eight months in North-West Russia represents a great variety of weather), items for personal hygiene, a couple of clean copybooks, pens and pencils. Some come empty-handed and are given simple utensils that a minister can find.

Possessing any electronic gadgets, cigarettes, or food of any kind is forbidden. Some people, especially at the beginning of the program, try to smuggle cigarettes, mobile phones, or drugs, but disclosing such contraband can lead to expulsion from the rehab. Any discussion of drugs, alcohol, crimes, sexual behaviour, lies, blasphemy, or the use of swear words or anything else considered sinful or just 'worldly', is prohibited. Mutual relations are also regulated: judgement, envy, or anger are not allowed. The rehabilitants are supposed to learn brotherly or sisterly love, obedience (*poslushaniye*) and humility (*smireniye*).

Rehabilitation is supervised by an elder. The elder is commonly one of the adaptants who is most versed in Scripture and with most leadership skills and discipline. The minister is an elder who has already completed the program. The head minister supervises the whole rehab. In smaller rehabs the minister is in constant contact with everyone, while in the larger ones he may be seen once a week or less, dealing with numerous concerns relating to supply and organisation. Although the minister is constantly consulted by his own elder brothers, his personality defines the strictness and overall image of the rehab.

The elders are responsible for both discipline in the centre and the spiritual state of the rehabilitants. According to the rules, rehabilitants should be obedient to their elders. The elders may be wrong or unfair, but these issues should be resolved only when such issue is raised by the elder himself or by the minister. When an elder gives orders, no matter how absurd or humiliating these orders may seem, a brother should obey.

In reality, these rules are far from being followed all the time. A group of adult people, with different harsh backgrounds, crime histories, and harmful habits, living together for just several weeks or several days, is hardly obedient. Naturally, a group of drug addicts, alcoholics, homeless people, and convicted criminals tends to constantly cause disciplinary problems.

Christian rehabilitation can be claimed as more strict when compared to different rehab regimes (as, for instance, analysed in Skoll 1992; Garcia 2010; or Zigon 2011), yet such strictness comes out of dogma transformed into rehab ideology (in the terms of Skoll 1992: 99–118). The strict regime and rules are enforced by harsh conditions, especially in the big rehabs. The extent of physical and moral challenges is never intentional, but always expected and employed as a disciplinary measure (cf. Foucault 1975).

Humility and obedience are trained by means of strict rules, but simple, modest, and often bad conditions also play a substantial role.

The rehabilitation program is absolutely free and survives on donations. The donations are rare and modest, mainly from church gatherings, private citizens (usually church congregants), or foreign missions. Most of the food is expired, very cheap, and of the worst quality. The donating bodies, besides Christian ministries abroad, are often local businesses who thus solve the problem of utilising expired food.

PEOPLE ON THE PROGRAM

The rehabilitants have various and diverse, but at the same time very typical, backgrounds. Different regions, professions, and family stories are represented, but addicted life reduces all stories to a very common one – ruined families, crippled health, problems with the law; ending with total moral, material, and bodily failure. Those who do not admit such failure, despite their physical state and the opinion of others, never stay at the rehab for long, seeing no good reason to do so.

Many of rehabilitants had had families before coming to the rehab. However, most of these families were abandoned or, in the case of women, they were left single mothers. Some of the brothers had more than one ex-wife and children from different marriages. The marriages mainly ended as a consequence of either their addicted behaviour or prison terms (which are, of course, also related). In the rehab most of the brothers either planned to renew their relationships with spouses or to find a new one, and this time to be a good Christian husband.

Drug addiction in Russia is indirectly, but very much explicitly, criminalised (cf. Agar 1973, Bourgois 1996; Bourgois and Schonberg 2009). Hence, most of the people on the program (both men and women) either had some sort of problems with the law – suspended sentences, weeks spent in jail, fines, or children taken away –, or actual prison terms. Some of the people I met served three or four terms, which commonly makes more than ten years behind bars. The crimes were various: from the common drug-related Criminal Code article 228 to murder, aggravated assault, and armed robbery.

There are a number of rehabilitants whose addiction led them much further than prison, making them homeless. Homelessness in Russia is an independent complex field of study (Höjdestrand 2009), yet it is important to note that in Russia it is almost always caused by addiction, as most of the homeless rehabilitants assured me. Another significant feature of being homeless in Russia, especially in the northern and central regions, is how tough it is to survive in winter. Most of the homeless brothers I met in the rehabs had problems with frostbitten limbs or toes, sometimes amputated.

Apart from this, the addicted people commonly have a whole bouquet of chronic diseases. The most evident for injecting drug users are hepatitis and HIV, and for the ex-convicts it can be tuberculosis. Consequently, even the ministers, who completed their program successfully, take their medicine daily for the rest of their lives. However, repentant brothers and sisters are optimistic and pray to God for better health.

There are several common reasons why people quit the rehabs early. Some people just go there to detoxify and have a brief rest outside of the big city and its 'junkie'

context. Some are even close to unconsciousness and oblivion. Others, on the contrary, cannot bear withdrawal and leave for a new dose in order to feel better. Some people are trying to hide from danger, criminal investigation, or debt. A significant number of people quit due to the harsh conditions and strict regime.

Addiction itself is not considered a problem, rather a symptom, a consequence of a larger and deeper problem (cf. Keane 2002). In Good Samaritan, addiction is regarded as “a slavery of sin” (John 8:34). When one lives on his or her own, without caring about God’s will or God’s plan for one’s life, one inevitably falls into the depths of sin and perdition and the only chance is to accept Christ and his atonement sacrifice. The general idea of the rehabilitation program implies conversion and consequent repentance in the first stage, Rehabilitation. In practice, anyone who is non-repentant almost never makes it to Adaptation, for he or she sees no reason to bear the hardships and limitations of the rehab.

The implementation of Russian Baptist dogmatics in the process of Rehabilitation can be regarded from various standpoints: linguistic, psychological, ideological, or sociocultural. I focus on the spatial component, unwrapping the organisation of space in terms of discipline and family values. The following section addresses the principles of the spatial organisation in Luga rehab.

ORGANISATION OF SPACE IN LUGA REHAB

There are three main types of premises occupied by the rehabs. The most common is the rural house, often wooden, heated with firewood and without running water. The toilet, and sauna for bathing, are commonly placed outside. Another form of premise can be an apartment in a small town or urban-type settlement, commonly a very small apartment with the minimum of utilities. Two biggest Good Samaritan rehabs represent a different case. One of them consists of two farms across the street, one for males and one for females. And the rehab I am focusing on is yet different.

The Luga rehab occupies about half of the former administrative building of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz* – see Photo 1). It is a large grey brick building with a complex system of corridors, a big basement with a huge chimney for heating the whole rehab, and lots of various storage rooms with second-hand clothing, food, and just random old goods (see Photo 2). The rehab shares this with the Baptist summer camp, post office, and grocery store. Rehab facilities include residential areas, kitchen, workshops, a basement with a chimney heating the whole building, and various storage rooms. The rehab also owns several vehicles, of which only a four-ton truck was functioning during my stay.

The Luga rehab is not only remarkable for its strictness, but also the way these strict rules and regime are implemented. The large size of the rehab premises allow a spatial hierarchy. As in any other mixed rehab in the Ministry the sexes are strictly segregated. The two stages of the program are segregated as well, which creates six living zones: male Rehabilitation and Adaptation, female Rehabilitation and Adaptation, the minister’s premises (where he also accommodates guests), and a place where children live with their addicted mothers. While the mothers study Scripture, a female minister looks after the children.

These six zones are not only symbolically divided by the respective rooms and floors, but the doors separating them are also kept locked. Hence, access to different zones is limited and regulated. The rehabilitants, for instance, are kept in their dormitories most of the time. They rarely have any working assignments apart from cleaning and fixing



Photo 1. The remnant of the kolkhoz, "planning department". Photo by Igor Mikeshin.



Photo 2. One of the storage rooms. Photo by Igor Mikeshin.

their own premises; as in each other zone they also have their own bathroom and dining room. Thus, for the whole two-month rehabilitation a brother or sister goes out into the fresh air on very few occasions.

During Adaptation rehabilitants will go outside often to perform work duties. During Adaptation and Rehabilitation addicts spend time together once or twice a week during a common gathering or screening of a Christian film. Men and women only meet at these common weekly gatherings in a big hall, although they are seated separately (see Photo 3).



Photo 3. Common gathering. Photo by Igor Mikeshin.

This zonal division can be seen in the scheme in Figure 2. The common hall is the only place where males and females meet. Yet there is a general rule that they are not allowed to talk and even look at each other, although for both groups³, the program of the common gatherings includes “glorification [of God]” (choir singing) at which addicts come forward and stand next to the preacher, so that everyone observes them.

However, the zonal division is applied in a general principle. Rehabilitation takes the front rows, for these people are much less ‘spiritually mature’, and thus should be better controlled. The elders observe their protégés from behind, taking the back seats. In this particular case both female ministers⁴ sit together, for they are close friends, and in any case, both female groups are small. Moreover, the Adaptation minister combines her functions with those of minister for mothers with children. At the back of the hall the children are supervised by one of the mothers, while the other mothers sit with the rest.

Such zonal division is a clear representation of the division in the building. While in the hall there are six imaginary zones – a male and female half, front and back seats, a

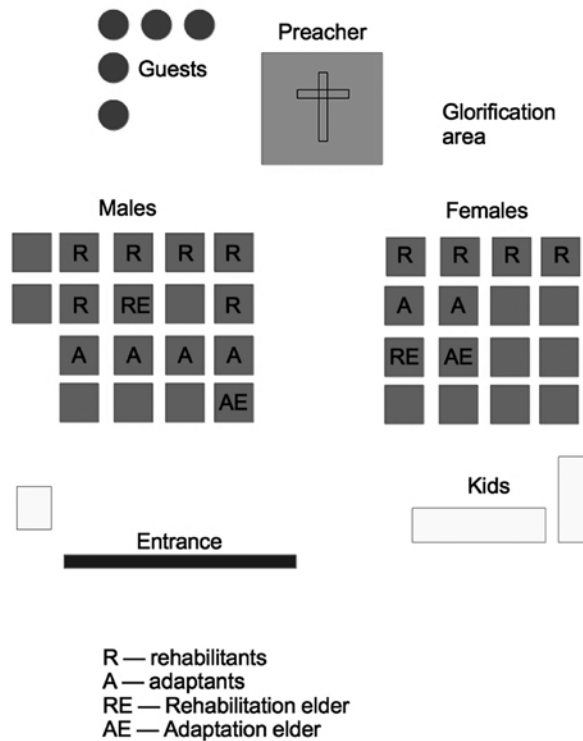


Figure 2. Scheme of common gathering in Photo 3.

pulpit zone and a children’s zone – the zonal segregation in the building is enforced by locked doors and restricted access. Rehabilitation in Luga rehab, unlike most of the others, does not merely have its own premises, with a dining room, bathroom, and toilet, but it is also locked.

Male Adaptation is also a secluded area, although there is open access to non-residential areas such as workshops, storage rooms, basement, and so on. The outside door, however, is commonly locked, and the Adaptants who work outside are let in and out by a minister. Female Adaptation, respectively, has access to the kitchen, food storage rooms, and the same exit to the outside.

The children’s zone is isolated from the rest of the rehab, it is better heated, better supplied, and the premises are better maintained. The ministers do their best to keep the children’s zone as nice and positive as possible. In addition to which there is direct access to the street for the children to go for a walk twice a day, and attend local kindergarten or school, according to their age. Their rooms are filled with games, toys, sports equipment; many of their books and games are focused on biblical topics.

The guest zone, also sometimes used by the minister as an office, contains a separate kitchen and dining room, bathroom and toilet, two bedrooms and a common room with sofas, TV (only used for video screening) and a computer. It is separated from the rest of the rehab and has its own exit to the outside. The visitors, such as guests, preachers, missionaries, or even ministers’ families commonly stay for short periods, rarely more than a week.

Summarising, both male and female Rehabilitation have the most restricted access. They are commonly locked up in their zones, and even there they should stay at the same room or move to another one together. They should even ask for permission to go to the toilet. Both Adaptation groups are much more liberated in their movements, although still intensely controlled. The children's zone operates in its own regime, but most of the time the mothers study together with Rehabilitation or work with Adaptation, depending on the stage of a particular mother.

The elders and ministers have the most access. The rehab's head minister has every key and can enter every zone, although even he has a very limited power over the sisters, and should obviously enter their premises after a warning, and then only contact their elders. The elders, those who are still on their program but supervise Rehabilitation or Adaptation, are given a limited set of keys. Usually, Rehabilitation elders have keys to their premises and some of the storagerooms, but are rarely given an outside key, or they are given it for some specific time period. The guests stay in the sixth guest zone with a separate exit and can be given a key to their premises in order not to feel restricted and not to disturb a minister when he is busy.

The symbolic segregation of people at different stages and different genders in the rehab is enforced by spatial boundaries – walls, different floors, and locked doors. Such segregation does not merely separate people from each other, it is used to train humility, obedience, and to implement the idea of the Christian family – a patriarchal group with strictly allocated roles and practices.

THE IDEOLOGY OF SPATIAL SEGREGATION

The spatial segregation of the Luga rehab is an important element of what Geoffrey Skoll calls the “ideology of the drug abuse treatment facility” (Skoll 1992), meaning that the rehab discipline, rules, hierarchies, and regime are unified by a general concept. In the case of Good Samaritan this ideology does not merely implement the strict isolation and discipline of the addicts, but also applies Russian Baptist dogmatics to the practice. I argue that this application, moreover, concerns the idea of a proper Christian family and the spatial discipline clearly represents certain aspects of this idea.

Clear distinction between the genders, including their spatial segregation, was obviously established on purpose. It is commonly stated that addicted people should not merely abstain from drugs and alcohol in isolation, but also from the numerous cultural precursors, everything that can be considered sinful (cf. Zigon 2011). These precursors are smoking (which is quite reasonably considered an addiction as well), swearing, gambling, crime, and sexual promiscuity. Thus not only is isolation from the vices of outside world needed for spiritually immature rehabilitants, but also from their own brothers and sisters in faith, if they are of the opposite gender because their ‘bygone’ (*vetkhaya*)⁵ sinful nature has not overcome yet.

The segregation of genders in the rehab does not merely correspond to abstinence from improper sexual relations. Most importantly, this segregation is an application of the concept of decency (*blagoprystoinost'*). According to numerous biblical references, for instance, “But because of cases of sexual immorality, each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband,” (1 Corinthians 7:2, New Revised Standard

Version) the only sexual relations allowed are in wedlock. The idea of decency enforces this biblical law, advising people not even to approach the opposite sex too closely, apart from close relatives and spouses.

While decency is a conventional and intuitive moral code, the definite distinction of gender and family roles is fixed in Scripture (for instance, Ephesians 6:1–4; Colossians 3:18–21), and thus explicitly expressed in the spatial discipline of the Luga rehab. The premises are not merely separated in terms of different living zones. Labour and gender roles are also separated into male and female parts.

The kitchen and food storage rooms are entitled for women only, for in every mixed rehab only women cook. The children's premises are also for women only, and there is a strict rule that even if an addicted mother and father pass their programs at the same time, they are sent to different rehabs so as not to distract each other, and the children are always with the mothers when they are not at home with someone else. The only chance that any male, apart from a minister, enters a kitchen or any other female zone is to carry heavy weights or fix something broken. The workshops, and the large basement with the chimney and roof, are spaces for manly manual work.

This separation does not simply prescribe certain behaviour for each gender, this prescribed behaviour and gender roles correspond to a particular understanding of the good Christian family. Men and women do not merely do their appropriate work, they do it for the whole rehab as a family. Sisters cook for everybody and brothers prepare the firewood and heat the whole rehab. The ministers and elders are, respectively, elder brothers and sisters, more experienced and spiritually mature. The head minister is always male, as are his elders – deacons, pastors, and presbyters.

The authority of the elders or pastors is not based on supernatural powers or anointment, but simply on greater spiritual experience and better knowledge of the Bible. In the rehab context it is often the case that an elder brother or sister is much younger than his or her protégés, and the latter can “stumble” (Romans 14:13) and express disobedience because of that. Vasya, the above mentioned minister of Luga rehab, was 23 during my stay, and most of the brothers on Rehabilitation were around 30 or older, which caused many arguments and complaints, despite Vasya's unquestionable charisma, tremendous self-control and confidence.

The core principle of discipline in the rehab is not merely adherence to the Bible and to the written rules, both of which give at least some space for interpretation, but obedience to the elders. The elders frequently make references to the Bible or their own elders, but often just demand compliance without providing any explanation. Sometimes their assignments look pointless or even humiliating, like picking the dust out of the holes in a wooden floor, mentioned above. Punishment for disobedience mainly involves reasoned talks with lots of biblical references, but also cutting sweets for the whole group or even expulsion in the worst cases.

In summary, the model of the good Christian family implemented in the rehab's spatial discipline prescribes patriarchy, clearly defined gender roles, and obedience to the elders. Apart from biblical authority and general rules, small details are regulated on the basis of decency – an intuitive moral code, prescribing a certain psychological and physical distance between unrelated people of different genders. Spatial organisation and discipline in the rehab enforces decency with physical barriers and restricted access.

"IT WAS EASIER IN PRISON": THE DISCIPLINE
OF SECLUDED SPACE

Although the rehab settings are intended to contribute to the process of rehabilitation, the extent of physical and moral challenges rehabilitants face had never been planned, as I have mentioned before. The initial plan of the program involved modest housing, simple food, and reliance on the manual labour of Adaptation. However, most of the brothers and sisters are poor manual workers because of their physical condition and lack of proper work experience, the premises are too old to easily maintain, and the resources are too limited to supply the rehab with required materials, firewood, water, electricity, and rehabilitants with enough food and clothing.

The challenges and embodied experience the rehabilitants thus face include cold or heat depending on the season, spine problems because of homemade beds and bad pillows, poor-quality chairs and armchairs used for the reading and study time, weakness and respiratory issues due to a lack of fresh air, and stomach problems caused by out-of-date food. These hardships are widely discussed, complained about, but incorporated into rehab ideology.

Apart from these bodily issues, rehabilitants often experience the consequences of their habits: pain, chronic disease, itching, insomnia, fever. These hardships force many to drop the program and leave. The conditions were initially intended to be modest, but exceeded the ministers' expectations. However, all hardships fit into the rehab ideology, for it is claimed that they train humility, obedience, and decency. Brothers and sisters who complain are reminded that they stay in the rehab voluntarily, for free, and there are things much more important than their weak bodies – their immortal souls are in great danger of eternal damnation.

"It was easier in prison," Tolya, a 30-year-old injecting addict with four prison terms (10 years behind bars) said during my very first day at the Luga rehab. "There was much more freedom: a mobile phone, parcels, drugs. I could drink tea at any time." Slava, another heroin addict, just recently released from prison where he served a long term for aggravated assault causing death, echoed this sentiment: "This is the first time in my life that I wanna go back to prison." My first impression in Luga rehab was also a prison cell, when I saw two-tired beds (see Photo 4) and heard the sound of the doors locking, separating Rehabilitation from the rest of the rehab.

Rehabilitants constantly make parallels with prison. Compared to prison, the Rehabilitation regime is commonly regarded as much tighter, stricter, and more limited. On the other hand, the time in Rehab is much shorter than a normal prison term and there is always the freedom to quit. Some brothers even claimed that the regime is not actually that strict. Andrey, for instance, who started his prison career of four terms in a maximum security camp, once said: "You think this is a regime? You haven't seen the *real* regime!"

The locked-up space frequently calls for parallels with prison, and many of the rehabilitants have such experience. However, there are obvious differences. Firstly, there is the right to free exit, which every prison lacks, and, secondly, there is an institutional hierarchy only: a rehabilitant progresses to an adaptant, then to an elder, then to a minister, if he or she stays with the ministry after the program. There is no hierarchy inside the groups, no newcomers or old lags, no lower and higher strata, as in prisons



Photo 4. Two-tiered beds in male Rehabilitation. Photo by Igor Mikeshin.

(cf. Oleinik 2001). For instance everyone washes the bathroom and toilet in turns, which would be unthinkable for an inmate not part of the lower rank.

The extant hierarchy of elder brothers has very little in common with prison guards. Although elders and ministers have the authority and responsibility to supervise and give orders, it is emphasised that they also passed the same program, have the same problems and challenges, both physical and moral, and are simply at the next level in their repentant lives. Direct supervisors – the elders – commonly share the dormitory, meals, and, basically, most of their time with their protégés.

Andrey, an elder with huge prison experience, was always annoyed when perceived as an overseer: “Why are you making me a guard? We’re here before God, not before people!” Andrey’s reaction was obvious, for commonly inmates have a sort of class hatred of law enforcement and particularly prison guards. Yet, such a position also contradicted the notion of an *elder brother*, who is more experienced and with some authority, but is also “just one of them.”

The parallels with prison are always obvious, even for those brothers who are never locked up. The strict limitation of space and time, segregation of gender, and typical background of the brothers calls for such comparison. However, even those dissatisfied with the rehab and willing to quit admitted the much more egalitarian moral organisation of the rehab and role of the elders. The prison system is sometimes claimed to fulfil the function of rehabilitating criminals, but the inmates rarely believe in such role (Oleinik 2003). Egalitarian rehabs with strict regimes are claimed to be much more efficient, at least for detoxification in isolation.

The rehab may be seen as a monastery, with the asceticism, limitations, and spiritual focus it offers. Protestant dogmatics reject the idea of monasteries because such escapism is seen as selfish. A good Christian is ideally supposed to actively participate in this world, spreading the Word, having a family as a small church, and bearing children. Monks are regarded as only caring about their own salvation and piety, while the Word of God should be spread to the Edge of the World (Vallikivi 2014), to those in need or in danger who can be saved by hearing the Gospel.

However, isolation and asceticism are considered a good temporary practice, especially for the addicted people. The Rehabilitation program is a liminal state of bodily and self-transformation. An addict should detoxify, rethink and revisit his or her bygone past, make some important life decisions, and justify them with Scripture. Breaking with their old habits and way of life and learning from scratch takes time, and the rehabilitation program is at least a good start in such a break.

MORAL AND BODILY TRANSFORMATION

Those who stay on the program have the chance to reflect on their own lives through the prism of Scripture. Apart from the hardship, the program is well structured: bed and food are provided, and almost the only thing required from the rehabilitant is to study Scripture and apply it to his or her own life. This intense program calls for a revision of the interrelations of body and soul. For his or her whole life the addict only cared about the body, now it is time to work on the soul.

When the body is limited in space and time, in locked up premises and with a strict and tight schedule, the soul is expected to experience great transformation as well. When no worldly issues and worries distract a brother or sister from focusing on the soul, when the only activity on the first stage is a thorough study of Scripture, most addicts are left with two options: to leave the rehab or to surrender to Christ and repent (Mikeshin 2014). One may, of course, pretend and stay on the program without genuine repentance. However, the physical and moral challenges are sometimes so tough that even homeless people quit and seek a less demanding shelter. Thus, most people who pass the whole program need tremendous motivation, which is only found in conversion.

But how and why does that work? Secular addiction science can explain the rehabilitation process in terms of the twofold nature of substance use dependence. It is both physical (or [bio]chemical) and psychological (Volkow and Li 2005). Physical addiction is generally manifested by the substances in the bloodstream and brain calling for a new dose, known as a hangover or dope-sickness. Yet in a big city physical addiction is relatively easy to overcome either through detoxification, or through prolonged, though torturous, abstinence.

However, psychoactive substances cause irreversible changes in the brain. The brain's ability to produce dopamine is significantly reduced, and, moreover, it seeks an easy solution to the numerous psychological problems caused by this reduction, i.e. through drugs. (Ibid.) Thus, any efficient program of rehabilitation has to deal with both physical and psychological dependence.

Good Samaritan, as any other efficient program, mainly focuses on psychological dependence, putting it into the context of sin and repentance. Yet, as with any other

non-governmental and non-commercial program in Russia, Good Samaritan has no medical license because they are almost impossible to obtain, and thus the only possible way to address physical addiction is prolonged isolation. This isolation is enforced by strict limitations, a tough regime, an inert infrastructure, and the highly structured and organised spatial discipline of the rehab.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines the phenomenon of spatial discipline using the example of the Russian Baptist ministry's biggest and strictest rehabilitation facility, called Good Samaritan. This rehab is also remarkable because it hosts both genders, and children. All groups of rehabilitants are strictly separated and segregated in different premises, on different floors, and behind locked doors. There are thus six living zones: male rehabilitation and adaptation, female rehabilitation and adaptation, the minister's premises, and children's premises.

There is a hierarchy of access to different zones. While the head minister has access everywhere, with certain limitations in respect of the female zones imposed by *decency*, a moral concept regulating the proper distance in communication of unrelated Christians of different sexes. The elders can only access the zones they are supervising and working areas, and adaptants and rehabilitants are limited to their secluded areas – living zone and workplace or living zone alone, respectively.

The concept of decency as a regulator of gender relations is further included in the complex understanding of the proper Christian family. In the rehab the Christian family is reproduced by assigning gender roles and through division of labour. This division is also manifested by spatial segregation, and by discipline. The 'proper' workplaces for women are the kitchen, food storage rooms, the laundry, the children's area and the like, while manly labour is concentrated in the workshops, roof, and basement.

Labour is not simply segregated. Brothers and sisters serve the whole household with their labour: the brothers heat the rehab with firewood, repair what is broken, carry heavy things and keep the rehab supplied with necessary goods; and the sisters cook, sew, and take care of children. These roles are meant to propagate the proper gender roles of the Christian family.

The living conditions were initially meant to be very simple and modest, but due to very limited support and supply there are many more unexpected physical and moral challenges. Cold or heat, hunger or low quality out-of-date food, the lack of fresh air and bodily movement, not to mention numerous consequences of the drug use and alcoholism, are not merely regarded as hardships, they also serve the purpose of *humility* and *obedience*.

This secluded space, with restricted access and a tough regime, constantly resembles prison, especially to former prison inmates. However, the rehab ideology is egalitarian and the hierarchy, although illiberal, is based on the spiritual growth and moral transformation of the rehabilitant; progress towards eldership and ministry is encouraged. The rehabilitants unwilling to grow in faith do not commonly make it to the end of the program, for they lack motivation to bear the moral and physical challenges of the rehab.

In Christian rehabilitation this moral transformation is followed by a bodily change. Substance use dependence is twofold: physical and psychological. The physical aspect is overcome by prolonged isolation, while psychological addiction is dealt with by the means of a radical moral transformation. The spatial discipline in the rehab enforces isolation, and directs and shapes moral transformation towards obedience, humility, and adherence to Christian family values.

The Luga rehab is a spectacular example of the way the discipline and regime of Christian rehabilitation are shaped. Practical issues, such as working assignments, the zonal segregation of the living space, and rules of proper conduct and the interrelation of the gender, address and interpret Russian Baptist dogmatics. A Church congregation is commonly understood as an extended family, Family, in turn, is regarded as a small church, and a rehab consequently bears the features of both: spiritual ministry and family values. The spatial discipline of the rehabilitation facility is thus a vital mechanism of manifestations of church and family – decency, humility, and obedience.

NOTES

1 All names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

2 Vladimir Ezhov is a public figure and hence, as an exception, I use his real name.

3 Women's Rehabilitation and Adaptation commonly sing together because there are usually much less women on the program. It is a common and universal situation that women are much more resistant to accepting their addiction, and there are always remarkably fewer women in the rehabs, both in Good Samaritan and any other program.

4 A minister (*sluzhitel'*) is an elder (*starshiy*) who has already passed through the program, so they are often also called elders.

5 *Vetkhiy* in Russian is used for "Old" in "Old Testament". Although it is generally an archaic word, it has some specific connotations in the modern Russian language. Here, *vetkhaya* combines a reference to fulfilled and thus obsolete Old Testament, the literal meaning of 'old', and also *vetkhiy* means 'worn-out', which adequately characterises the past life of repentant sinners.

REFERENCES

- Agar, Michael. 1973. *Ripping and Running. A Formal Ethnography of Urban Heroin Addicts*. New York, NY: Seminar Press.
- Bielo, James S. 2009a. *Words Upon the Word. An Ethnography of Evangelical Group Bible Study*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Bielo, James S., ed. 2009b. *The Social Life of Scriptures. Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Biblicalism*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Bourgois, Philippe. 1996. *In Search of Respect. Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourgois, Philippe and Jeff Schonberg. 2009. *Righteous Dopefiend*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Crapanzano, Vincent. 2000. *Serving the Word. Literalism in America from the Pulpit to the Bench*. New York, NY: New Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Surveiller et Punir. Naissance de La Prison*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Garcia, Angela. 2010. *The Pastoral Clinic. Addiction and Dispossession along the Rio Grande*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Harding, Susan F. 2000. *The Book of Jerry Falwell. Fundamentalist Language and Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Höjdestrand, Tova. 2009. *Needed by Nobody. Homelessness and Humanness in Post-Socialist Russia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Keane, Helen. 2002. *What's Wrong with Addiction?* Carlton South: Melbourne University Press.
- Mikeshin, Igor. 2014. How Jesus Changes Lives. Christian Rehabilitation in the Russian Baptist Ministry. – *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 39 (4): 28–39.
- Mikeshin, Igor. 2015. 'Vozlyubite chistoye slovesnoye moloko...': Bibleyskiy literalizm v baptistskom reabilitatsionnom sluzhenii." – *Zhurnal sotsiologii i sotsial'noy antropologii* 8 (3): 55–64. [Микешин, Игорь. 2015. 'Возлюбите чистое словесное молоко...': Библейский либерализм в баптистском реабилитационном служении. – *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии* 8 (3): 55–64.]
- Mitrokhin, Lev. 1974. *Baptizm*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury. [Митрохин, Лев. 1974. *Баттизм*. Москва: Издательство политической литературы.]
- Oleynik, Anton. 2001. *Tyuremnaya subkul'tura v Rossii. Ot povsednevnoy zhizni do gosudarstvennoy vlasti*. Moskva: Infra M. [Олейник, Антон. 2001. *Тюремная субкультура в России. От повседневной жизни до государственной власти*. Москва: Инфра М.]
- Oleynik, Anton. 2003. *Organized Crime, Prison and Post-Soviet Societies*. Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Skoll, Geoffrey R. 1992. *Walk the Walk and Talk the Talk. An Ethnography of a Drug Abuse Treatment Facility*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Vallikivi, Laur. 2014. On The Edge of Space and Time. Evangelical Missionaries in the Post-Soviet Arctic. – *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 8 (2): 95–120.
- Volkow, Nora and Ting-Kai Li. 2005. The Neuroscience of Addiction. – *Nature Neuroscience* 8 (11): 1429–1430.
- Wiens, Jakov. 1924. *Nashi baptistskiye printsipy*. Harbin. [Винс, Яков. 1924. *Наши баптистские принципы*. Харбин.]
- Zigon, Jarett. 2011. *HIV Is God's Blessing. Rehabilitating Morality in Neoliberal Russia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

TONA, THE FOLK HEALING PRACTICES IN RURAL PUNJAB, PAKISTAN

AZHER HAMEED QAMAR

PhD student

Norwegian Centre for Child Research (NOSEB)

Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Pavilion C, Dragvoll, Loholt allé 87, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway

e-mail: azher.hameed@live.com

ABSTRACT

Consulting religion and magic for healing is an important aspect of healing belief practices. Magical thinking provides space for culturally cognitive patterns to integrate belief practices. *Tona*, a layman's approach to healing that describes magico-religious (fusion of magic and religion) and secular magic practices in rural Punjab, Pakistan, is an example of magico-religious and secular magical practice. The purpose of this study is to analyse *tona* as it is practiced to cure childhood diseases (*sokra* and *sharwa*) in Muslim Punjab, Pakistan. This is an ethnographic study I conducted using participant observation and unstructured interviews as the primary research methods. The study produced an in-depth analysis of *tona* as a healing belief practice in the light of Frazer's principles of magical thinking and sympathetic magic. The study provides a deeper understanding of the magical thinking in magico-religious healing belief practices.

KEYWORDS: childcare beliefs • folk remedies • religion • magic • magico-religious healing • magical thinking

INTRODUCTION

Healthcare beliefs as an elementary component of the basic human instinct of survival exist in all cultures. Consulting religion and magic to control and manipulate nature and contact divine power is an important aspect of healing belief practices. These belief practices are religious, non-religious or may present a fused picture of religious/non-religious beliefs. Punjabi culture, particularly prominent in rural areas, is comprised of religious and folk healing traditions, sometimes blended in a way that they seem part and parcel to each other. *Tona* is a layman's approach to healing that describes magico-religious (fusion of magic and religion) and secular magic practices in rural Punjab, Pakistan. Different *tona* are practiced for different diseases; however, I primarily focused two childhood diseases cured with *tona*. These diseases named as *sokra* and *sharwa* (by local Punjabis) can be serious and a risk to the child's life. A keen unawareness of its medical causes and the unavailability of modern medical facilities leave no choice other than folk remedies and religious healing. In this way magical thinking helps people connect their cognition of these facts with the belief practices in order to meet magical ends.

During the 2010–2013 period I researched infant healthcare belief practices in rural Punjab. *Tona* was a popular healing practice that was interesting for its religious and

secular aspects. In general, it is a sympathetic magical practice without the involvement of a specialised magician and without any divine intervention. More important is the magical thinking that establishes a causal connection between things, bodies and events. For example, a common *tona* to ward off the effects of the evil eye is to move seven red chillies around the sick child's body and throw them into the fire. Sometimes a petition to God is used in order to be more effective, and red chillies are moved around the body while reciting some Quranic verses (Qamar forthcoming). Hence, what makes *tona* an interesting practice is the space that it provides to fuse magic and religion in line with magical thinking. This article explores the aspects of magical thinking that contribute within magical and religious healing practice to combating *sharwa* and *sokra*. Following on from the ethnographic evidence I had, I concluded that sympathetic magic provides a platform from which to carry out folk and religious medical belief practices. It helps to fuse magic and religion constituting magico-religious approach to healing. James George Frazer refined Edward Burnett Taylor's principles of association into the principle of similarity or resemblance, and the principle of contagion or contiguity. Frazer's subdivision of Taylor's system of magic into sympathetic and contagious magic, and his promotion of this as a fundamental conception of magic, is Frazer's distinctive contribution. His description of associational principles of similarity and contiguity as general features of the human mind has been in use in different interpretative frames of magic since that time (Tambiah 1990). The main thesis of this article is the Punjabi layman's magical thinking involved in health-seeking belief practices and magico-religious synthesis using Frazer's sympathetic and contagious magic as a key analytical tool.

CULTURAL CONTEXT

Rural Punjab has, like the rest of Pakistan, a dominant Muslim majority. It is green, fertile and rich in agricultural production, particularly the cash crops wheat, rice and cotton. Rural Punjabi society is a patriarchal society with strong gender boundaries. Children are valued members of the Punjabi family, and are the foremost desire of married couples and their families. Parents perform rituals designed to protect health within their cultural and religious beliefs to ensure the physical wellbeing of the children, and present a blended picture of religion and folk culture. Punjabis show considerable respect for their religious/spiritual leaders, saints and shrines and seek their spiritual help. Generally, health-seeking belief practice based on religion is performed by religious healers using Quranic verses as incantations, and Quranic amulets. Other healing practices, such as *tona* based on folk healing, are performed by the elders for years and as rituals are passed down through the generations. *Tona* is a layman's medical belief and does not require a 'ritual' setting (or ritual process).

Punjabis perceive a sore throat, flu, stomach problems (diarrhoea, constipation, gastric trouble) and fever as common diseases that may be the result of severe weather conditions or an excessive consumption of foods that, according to them, may cause stomach problems. For adults, these diseases are cured with folk medicine or processed food. However, for infants, who are always under parental care, a disease may be perceived as the effect of evil (such as the evil eye). The belief that children are exposed to evil influences is common in the Punjab. Because of its religiously established status,

religious healing is common regardless of the availability of modern medical facilities; however, *tona* is a folk, rather than religious, remedy for different diseases.

FIELDWORK AND RESEARCH APPROACH

This study is part of my research project dealing with infant healthcare belief practices in rural Punjab, Pakistan. During the 2010–2013 period, I conducted six months of fieldwork in a village in south Punjab. The duration of my fieldwork included two months preliminary fieldwork (in 2010–2011), three months fieldwork (in 2011), and a one-month follow up (in 2013). All the interviews were conducted during the second fieldwork period, in 2011. The study was conducted in a village situated in Fort Abbas in southern Punjab. Fort Abbas is an historical *tehsil* (administrative unit) with an area of 2,536 square kilometres located in the district of Bahawlnagar. It is near the Cholistan desert and the surrounding largely unfarmed land (History of Fort Abbas 2007). The village consists of about 200 households with a population of approximately 1,800. The majority of the villagers belong to the Arayin (*ārāyīn*) clan, the largest farming community in Pakistan (Jaffreot 2004). Farming and manual labour are the primary professions. With one basic health unit (a dispensary), one primary school for girls and one primary school for boys, this village provides unsatisfactory health and education facilities. People live in mud and brick houses (mixed construction), usually with wide open courtyards where they have sufficient sunlight and fresh air. They also use these courtyards to dry seeds, cottons and other grain stuff.

Native familiarity with the cultural context is often appreciated for its rich cultural interpretation (Gullestad 1992). My position as a researcher is one of being a native in a wider Punjabi context, and a non-native in a narrower Punjabi village context. I am a Punjabi Muslim and share the language, religion and ethnicity with the study context. I was born and brought up in a big city and in a modern family that also has a rural parental background. My native position provided me considerable knowledge of the context needed to overcome language and cultural barriers. To limit subjectivity and bias, my 'non-native' familiarity with village life and my knowledge and skills (earned throughout my academic and research career) helped me to bracket the native preconceptions of the ethnographic analysis.

During my research, participant observation and unstructured interviews were the primary research methods.¹ For this study, I visited two families and conducted interviews with parents who had had a successful experience of *tona* as a healing practice. Salman, 33, and Najma, 28, the parents of two children, told me about *sokra* and their *tona* practice to heal it. For a follow up, I talked to a mother named Sadia, 30 (in Najma's neighbourhood), a man Rizwan, 26 (whom I met at a shrine²), and the Imam,³ 45, a religious teacher in the mosque. Aslam, 36, and his wife Safia, 30, told me how their two-year-old child suffered from *sharwa*, and about the *tona* they practiced to cure him. The interviews provided me a rich description of *tona* practices and their secular and religious connotation in the healing process. The *tona* practices studied in this article do not show any significant variation in the belief in *tona* (as mentioned by the informants and as observed during fieldwork). The village did not have modern health facilities to deal with these diseases. I have no intention of generalising the findings to the wider

Punjabi context and the findings are limited to the given context (a Muslim village in south Punjab). The data presented in this study and the ethnographic evidence, however, do expose the conceptual understanding of magical thinking involved in magical, religious and magico-religious remedies.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Healing beliefs are popular in traditional societies for physical wellbeing, and are practiced as folk medical practices following religious and magical traditions. These belief practices may be religious, non-religious or both, depending on the perceptions of the believer and the symbolic explanation of the ritual performance (or belief practice). Symbols (comprised of objects, behaviours, and myths) may not be religious if they do not have a religious meaning in context; and religious or not, they produce action in specific ways (Yamane and Roberts, 2011). Non-religious healing practices may be shaped by magic (de Vries 1962), or a belief practice may be magico-religious if it manifests a fused picture (of magic and religion). To increase its effectiveness, a belief practice may be reinforced with religious practices like prayers and sacrifice even though the belief is not, in itself, part of a religious system (Frazer 1925 [1890]). Frazer conceptualised magic as “mistaken application of the very simplest and most elementary processes of the mind”, and religion as “conception of the personal agents, superior to man”. However, he quotes several examples when describing the fusion of magic and religion in many ages and in many lands (Frazer 1925 [1890]: 54). People routinely mix magic and religion in their beliefs and practices, and magic and religion are seen side by side in practice. Religion, when in practice, it could not avoid the tilt towards magic (de Vries 1962). A belief practice that does not engage any religious icon or spell is non-religious and can be said to be a secular practice (During 2002). Frazer’s sympathetic magic is secular in its nature if divine intervention or religious manifestation is not required. In cases where magic is practiced along with a religious activity (prayers, sacrifice) it is “magic tinged and alloyed with religion” or magic reinforced by religion (Frazer 1925 [1890]: 48). *Tona*, in this sense, is interesting. It is shaped by magic, but also offers a space for religious reinforcement, thus producing a magico-religious effect. As magic, it manifests a secular ritual practiced by a layman as a folk remedy. To increase its effectiveness and to meet the magic ends, a religious healer can reinforce it with incantation (oral or in writing), and guide the patient (or guardian of the patient) to practice the folk remedy accordingly. For example, using words from the Quran in the *tona* ritual to achieve a cure is magical in intent.

Magic, in anthropology, is described as a belief system where specific human actions bring about desired changes with the help of magical practices and rituals. Magic is a useful concept with which to identify cosmology, belief and ritual. According to Bruce Kapferer (2002: 20), magical practices are rites of the imagination and abstract conceptions constituting meta-cosmologies that “pattern or bring together acts, events or practices that may normally be expected to exist in different or separate cosmological frames”. Magic is a universal phenomenon found everywhere among all people (Frazer 1925 [1890]; Stephen 1995; Randall 2004; Sørensen 2007). However, in anthropological theory, the interpretation of ‘magic’ is problematic. Magic has been used to acquire

knowledge and practical control over man's environment by viewing it as an effective set of procedures (Lévi-Strauss 1966 [1962]); it has been viewed as an irrational symbolic attempt to placate uncontrollable events, similar to wish-fulfilment (Malinowski 1954 [1948]); it has been seen as an oratory to arouse sentiments rather than make true claims about what experience is represented in what way (Tambiah 1990); or viewed as the universal tendency to pursue symbolic and meaningful likeness between objects and events (Shweder and Levine 1975). However, in all interpretations the underlying magical thinking is a form of reasoning that relates mysterious and unusual events to a non-scientific viewpoint. It is a belief that one's actions can affect the outcome of any chance event, when in fact the likelihood of this event is independent of those actions (Ayala 2014). Magical thinking has been viewed as the thought process of pre-industrialised cultures (Frazer 1925 [1890]) and unreasoned beliefs (Rosengren and Hickling 2000). Frazer proposed principles of sympathetic magic that yield science when applied 'legitimately' and yield magic when applied 'illegitimately'. Frazer's analysis of magical systems is appreciated by authors such as Stanley J. Tambiah (1990: 53), who regards it as "some molten gold in Frazer's volcanic overflow", and Ackerman (1987: 167), who declares it is "Frazer's single most important contribution to the anthropology of religion". Frazer's work is appreciated for its systematic classification of magical thoughts and practices in different cultures with reference to sympathetic magic based on the law of similarity and the law of contract. Paul Rozin (Rozin et al. 1986; Rozin and Nemeroff 1990; Rozin et al. 1992) maintained that the principles of sympathetic magic are not only characteristics of primitive beliefs and rituals but also operative in modern Western culture. They provided examples, such as the belief that a drink briefly in contact with a sterilised dead cockroach is undesirable, or a laundered shirt worn by a disliked person becomes less desirable than a shirt previously worn by a favoured person. Other popular examples are avoiding food that looks like something nasty (such as food that resembles something disgusting), being reluctant to receive blood from a donor of another race, or being reluctant to give blood to an AIDS victim.

Frazer (1925 [1890]) presents and explains two principles applied in a magical system: law of similarity (i.e. like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause), and law of contact (i.e. things which were once in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance). According to the law of similarity, the magician produces desired effects by performing imitative magic. Imitative magic is a type of sympathetic magic in which the performer follows the law of similarity to produce the desired effects by imitation. Under the law of contact, the performer uses objects that have been in contact with the person he or she wants to affect, and thus this is called contagious magic. These two laws of magical thinking originated in the anthropological literature on traditional societies (Frazer 1925 [1890]; Mauss 1972 [1903]; Tylor 1974 [1871]) and were empirically investigated in the last two decades of the 20th century (Rozin et al. 1986; Rozin et al. 1992).

Tona as folk healing ritual in rural Punjab is a striking example of magico-religious belief practice. Magical thinking provides a pattern to fuse magic and religion. Punjabi Muslims and religious healers seek God's blessing by establishing a human-divine connection, showing their utmost submission and humbly petitioning God as part of religious belief practice. For this purpose, the healer recites (or writes) sacred texts from the holy book (Quran). These incantations of sacred texts intensify the devotion of the

performer and ensure that a divine power is at work. The healer can direct this blessed power to other people or objects. The interesting aspect of the healing is the 'directing health blessing towards the patient'. The healer recites verses and blows towards the patient, touches him/her while blowing, or blow onto drinking water (to turn it into a blessed medicine). Similarly, blessed threads or written amulets (named as *tawiz* in the Islamic world) act as medicine (when the patient wears them). Hence the religious healing is transferred to the patient as a 'contagious' blessing, where the healer with his religious knowledge becomes a mediator to connect the source (divine) with the target (patient). 'Contagious' blessing is described in the Bible (for example Mark 1:41; 5:25–30).⁴ Sick people are cured after receiving physical contact (a touch) from Jesus. Brigid M. Sackey (2002) describes contagious blessing as an important aspect of faith healing and connects it with Frazer's contagious magic.

SOKRA AND SHARWA

Before continuing to describe and analyse healing belief practices, an introduction of the two diseases will be helpful to understand the use of folk healing methods. During my stay in the field, I only saw one child suffering from *sokra*, and I did not witness any child suffering from *sharwa*. Hence it is a bit difficult to give an eyewitness description of the symptoms of *sharwa*. However, in this section I will give a brief but fairly clear description of the diseases based on interviews with parents, and finally on a discussion with my brother who is a medical doctor (practicing in a big city in the Punjab). *Sokra* is a disease that leads to severe weakness and insufficient body growth. The lack of water and the deficiency of essential nutrition in the food causes the child's health to deteriorate quickly. According to the doctor, it can result in rickets. Parents, unaware of the deficiency of vitamins and other nutrition in the food consider it an effect of the evil eye or other evil influences. Likewise, *sharwa* is a local name for a childhood skin disease causing itchy rashes, red spots and pimples. The child feels uncomfortable and has a light fever. The child, because of this agitation, cries often and cannot be fed properly. According to the doctor, this skin disease may be chickenpox or measles. In any case, parents perceive it as *sharwa* because they are unawareness of the symptoms and causes of the disease. To comfort and cure the child, they practice folk healing.

Sokra becomes serious if the deficiency in the diet is not met with proper guidance about the importance of nutrition. Because parents are unaware of medical aid, and because it is unavailable in remote areas, they consider these diseases sickness-evil and practice folk remedies. As there is no serious diet deficiency in this village, *sokra* is not common. Similarly, cases of *sharwa* are rare. *Sokra* is taken as a serious problem. People who can afford to do so, visit hospital in a nearby city keeping magico-religious healing intact. *Sharwa* is seen as a skin problem, and folk healing practices are observed as effective magical remedies.

HEALING SOKRA WITH BLESSED VEGETABLES

During my research visits to various villages, I found the healing ritual of hanging blessed *loki* (calabash) or *bengan* (brinjal) common in rural Punjab. During my research in the village under study here, I discussed this in detail with Salman and Najma. Salman and his wife Najma had two children, a daughter Sobia and a son Haseeb. Haseeb was eight months old and was getting weaker day by day. When I visited Salman again, Haseeb was feeling better. I observed that parents used to seek religious healing for their children, especially if the disease was seen as the evil effects that could not be cured unless treated with healing rituals. In a study to know the causes of childhood diarrhoea conducted in southern Punjab, Melanie Nielsen et al. (2001: 9) describe *sokra* as a “feared illness related to envy and malice” that can be transmitted by the passing of a shadow over the sick child. *Sokra* is one of the diseases that according to the parents come on suddenly and within a few days the child is severely weakened. As they do not see any other reason for the disease (such as weather conditions, drinking water issues), the only reason they can see is the unknown evil influence. Salman and Najma, worried about their son, visited a religious healer to seek a cure for the son. Salman stated:

We visited a religious healer in the neighbouring village. He saw the child and also diagnosed *sokra*. He recited Quranic incantations on a *bengan* and advised us to hang it in the courtyard at a place where its shadow would not fall on other people or animals. As soon as the *bengan* dries out, the baby will recover and become healthy.

Q: And did it work?

Yes, it did. Look, the *bengan* is still hanging there! [He showed me a *bengan* hanging on a string in a corner of the courtyard. The *bengan* was completely dry.]

Q: How many days did it take?

A few days. Haseeb is healthy now. Before religious healing his face was pale, his skin was withered and he was not active, but now you can see his fresh and active face.

Q: What do you think, why did the child suffered with *sokra*?

God knows. Maybe the evil eye.

As the family is not starving, a diet-deficiency does not seem a cause of the disease. Rather, Salman and his wife go for a supernatural explanation, and believe that the effects of the evil eye may have come from human envy. Finding no other medical cause, their supernatural explanation leads them to rely on magico-religious beliefs (Prioreshi 1996). The religious healer used the Quranic powers to eliminate the evil effects and imitate the healing process through a blessed vegetable that dries out after being hung in the courtyard. About the selection of a specific vegetable, *bengan*, Najma said, “*Bengan* or *loki* are popular for this healing ritual and we have seen these two vegetables healers used in healing *sokra*.” People have an explanation that shows their rational opinion. Sadia, another mother in Najma’s village who got blessed *loki* from the healer tried to explain it: “*Loki* and *bengan* are vegetables that dry out rather than rotting. It is also possible to observe that as the vegetable dries, the child is cured.” The selection of vegetable is in accordance with the magical thinking that describes the imitative healing process. *Loki* or *bengan* when hung in the fresh air and in sufficient

sunlight begin withering in a couple of days. This is the effect they want to see, and this is what they can see in connection with their child's health that is observed in an inverse relationship with the blessed vegetable. Naturally the vegetable (hung in the fresh air in an area where nights are slightly cold and days sunny) does not rot and takes a few days to wither completely. People know this natural process, but they see the blessed vegetable as relating to the sick body. In the perspective of imitative magic, the selection of *bengan* and *loki* as potential vegetables to cure disease is meaningful. Both the vegetables have a smooth skin and flesh-like material inside with a certain amount of water. Hence a resemblance with the body of the baby can be imagined. This is the symbolic connection that I can see. However, the Quranic recitation is used as a charm to invoke divine powers to transfer the disease from the ill body to the imitating vegetable. While visiting a nearby shrine, I met Rizwan, a young man of 26, who told me about the ritual as practiced in his village:

When a child suffers with *sokra*, parents go to an Imam [religious teacher in the mosque]. The Imam writes Quranic verses on a *loki* or *bengan* after washing it with water. Then the parents hang the vegetable in the courtyard not far from the child.

Q: Can you read the verses on the vegetable, are they visible?

On a *loki* you can see some impressions of the ink that disappear gradually but on *bengan* you cannot see the verses.

Q: And all the imams can perform this healing ritual?

Not all, most of the imams only write verses for amulets or recite incantations. But some imams have more knowledge of healing and are famous for their successful practice.

During my stay, I did not have the chance to meet the religious healer who cured Salman's son, as he did not live in this village and travelled often. I visited the Imam who used to write verses for amulets and recite incantations. He told me about the process of healing using a *loki* or *bengan*.

Sokra is not a common disease; it happens under the severe evil influences or evil eye effects. Therefore, the Quran is the best method of healing. When parents bring their child to me or I visit them, I ask for a *loki* or *bengan* (if the child is suffering with *sokra*). Then I recite Quranic prayers on the vegetable and the vegetable becomes an absorber of the disease. In order to protect others from the disease the vegetable should be hung somewhere in the house where it does not cast a shadow on anyone.

Q: And I heard, one healer writes verses on the vegetable?

Yes, it is like writing verses on paper, as with an amulet that hangs around the neck. But when the Imam writes verses on *loki* or *bengan* for this disease, the vegetable turns into a device to absorb sickness from the patient, holding the contamination of the sickness.

Q: Is it not like doing magic?

How can it be? No, there is no magic involved. The Imam recites from the Quran and seeks God's blessing by invoking His healing powers. It is because of God's intervention that the patient's disease is transmitted to the vegetable and the patient cured.

The Imam, as religious healer, either recites or writes Quranic prayers in order to obtain divine powers for healing. Writing verses in ink on *loki* or *bengan* is similar to writing verses on paper for amulets, although it works differently. An amulet (*tawiz* in the Punjab) cures with the protective powers of the Quranic verses that repel and remove the sickness of the patient. In contrast to this the *loki* or *bengan* becomes an instrument that helps the patient once the verses are recited or written on it, and imitative magic transmits the disease from the patient to the vegetable. The fusion of magic with religion is evident as the healer uses religion to reinforce magic. The healer appeals to God using the power of his religious knowledge. This prescribed (prayers from the Quran) petition written on the vegetable illustrates two important phases of belief practice; the first establishes a human–God (worshiper–worshipped) relationship based on Muslim belief, and second the conversion of a natural object into a receptive (sympathetic) object (which also relies on the first phase). The first phase makes the whole phenomenon religious, while the second is magical thinking that constructs a magical framework. Patient’s guardians follow the healer’s advice afterward to ensure effective healing. The healer warns them about the vegetable’s shadow and advises them to hang the vegetable somewhere where its shadow cannot fall on other people. Sadia told me: “The healer advised us to avoid the shadow of the blessed vegetable falling on the sick child. The shadow should not fall on other children as they may suffer with *sokra* because of the sick shadow.”

All of the respondents I interviewed or talked to mentioned this important precaution. Sadia used to place the *loki* at the side of the baby’s bed, and Najma hung it in a corner of the courtyard making sure that its shadow did not fall in the courtyard. This care protecting other children from the shadow of sick bodies (the child and the vegetable) describes a relationship of the sick body with its shadow. Frazer (1925 [1890]) discussed several studies on the relationship of humans and animals with their shadows. His studies conclude that shadow is seen as a ‘soul conceived as a shadow’, and assumed as a body that can be cured or damaged to bring comfort or harm to the person to whom the shadow belongs. Punjabi people avoid the shadow of the blessed *loki* or *bengan* falling on the sick child. In this case the shadow is the sickness-evil emerged from the sick that can influence healthy people if it falls on them. In everyday life Punjabi people clearly distinguish between shadow and the real body and do not assign such properties to shadow. However, they believe the shadows of the blessed vegetable and the sick child may be contaminated with disease. They do not see this relationship of the sick body and shadow in other diseases. *Sokra* is believed to be a sickness caused by an evil practice, hence a contagious evil remains there with the sickness. The shadow, as part of the sick body, possesses contagious contamination that may influence a person who comes into contact with it. A shadow is just a contagious contamination that lives as long as the sickness continues. Conclusively, the shadow is only a concern for Punjabis when it belongs to a sick body as it carries the sickness-evil. Hence there is a contagious magic, but that is negative and a part of the evil that affected the child. The magico-religious approach of the religious healer is significant because it discloses a connection between magic and religion. He guides the process of imitation with religious invocations and assumes the contagious contamination of the shadow of the sick body. It is even difficult for him to draw a line between magic and religion as he declares it a power from God that enables a vegetable to draw the disease out of the patient. The ‘power’ that

the vegetable acquires is a blessing of healing that God bestows when invoked through ritual. The religion reinforcing sympathetic magic and the healer's warning against contagious magic disclose a complex fusion of magic and religion in which the ultimate objective seems to meet the magical ends. A sickness-evil with its powerful contagious magic is present. The healer needs a magical power that can force this evil out of the body. Where does this power come from? He is not a magician who claims to control and exploit the powers of nature (particularly when he thinks it against religion). Thus he succeeds through religion and his magical thinking, which provide him with a space to use sympathetic magic. Here magical thinking facilitates both religion and magic in a functional relationship against the evil. In this magico-religious cosmology, God is above nature and helps humans (when supplicated) within his natural setting, and man with his magical thinking draws on a relationship with the nature.

HEALING *SHARWA* WITH IMITATIVE MAGIC

The *tona* practiced to cure *sharwa* is different from the magico-religious *tona* for healing *sokra*. In this study, I analyse two popular *tona* for curing *sharwa*. My respondent was a family in which both mother, Safia, and father, Aslam, had 'successfully' practiced healing *tona* for their two-years-old child who was suffering from *sharwa*. They believed *tona* cured their child within days. As both Aslam and Safia practiced two different *tona*, I will describe and analyse them separately here.

A Handful of Wild Reeds

Aslam spoke about the process of the *tona* he practiced:

My two years old son suffered from *sharwa* last year. To cure this disease, there is a *tona* that people usually practice. I went to the fields before dawn, so that no one could see me. There is a bush named as *sarkara* [reeds], and it is in abundance in dry places near my fields. I cut two and a half handful of this wild bush and buried it nearby deep enough that it did not disperse with the wind. Then I came home without looking back. Within a few days, as soon as the buried reeds were dry, the abscess and pimples decreased gradually and then finished.

Q: Where did you learn about this *tona*?

It is quite old; we heard it from the elders.

Q: Can you practice this *tona* with some other wild plant?

No, *sarkara* is specific for this *tona*. This is what we have learnt from the elders.

Q: And why did you go before dawn?

It is because one should practice this *tona* secretly and no one could see him going for the *tona*.

Q: And after finishing the *tona*, you did not look back while coming home, why?

It is said that if one will look back, the *tona* will be ineffective. Perhaps there are some powers at work after the *tona* is practiced. I do not know, but the *tona* should be practiced as advised.

Q: And the child's mother can also practice this *tona* if, for example, the father is not present?

No, how can a woman go to the fields before dawn. It is not good for her. She can practice another *tona* at home.

The discussion with Aslam revealed that there are particular steps to follow for a successful execution of *tona*. The first is secrecy. You should go to the fields before dawn. It is very important that nobody sees you. Second, the reeds must be buried deep enough in the soil that they do not blow around. Third, when coming home after carrying out the *tona*, you should not look back, otherwise you may stop the *tona* from working. These steps are fixed and give rise to the imitative magic. Aslam had an idea that there might be some powers whom he had put to work after practicing this *tona*. "I don't know how. Perhaps there are some powers in nature that worked if you do the whole thing in this way," Aslam said. He neither contacted a religious healer nor recited religious or non-religious spells to invoke divine powers. He practiced a *tona* that he believes worked like magic. The magical thinking of the informants helped me to see the cognitive pattern of the imitative magic. First of all the natural property of *sarkara* (as a plant) itself gives meaning to the symbolism in this healing practice. *Sarkara* is a kind of wild bush that can cause itchy rashes when rubbed against the skin, a property that resembles the symptoms of the disease *sharwa*. Hence, *sarkara* symbolically imitates the disease *sharwa*. This is also a reason why the *sarkara* is buried deep to stop the disease further affecting the skin. Otherwise, if the *sarkara* spread around with the wind, the rashes and pimples might further affect the body. *Sarkara* buried in the soil gradually dissolve and congruently the skin rashes and pimples disappear. However an important question is, why do they not choose another plant with similar characteristics? Talking about magic practices based on sympathetic magic, Jesper Sørensen (2007) addresses the problem of taking similarity as the defining feature of magical practice. He cites Marcel Mauss (1972), who argued that there is a logical realisation of the connection established in sympathetic rites. Sørensen refers to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980), who explained that these rites are more than a reference to perceptual similarity and added the role of experience, conceptual structure and conventional connection. Therefore the perception of likeness depends on cultural models to a large extent, and to a limited extent on how the two things are alike. According to this view, perception of the likeness of the disease *sharwa* with *sarkara* is a customary part of ancestral folk knowledge; as Aslam said:

Yes, there are other plants that can cause itching on the skin when touched just like *sarkara*. But for *tona* this plant is used. We heard from our elders that it has been used effectively for years. We have never tried another.

The perception of likeness with respect to a particular plant is culture-specific and based on folk knowledge that provides a prescribed conventional connection. Once the *sarkara* is buried, the *tona* has been initiated, and once initiated, looking back to the site of the *tona* will disturb the process, rendering it ineffective. Reaching home without looking back is a successful execution of the whole *tona* process; within a few days, the buried *sarkara* will dry, resulting in the disappearance of the rash and pimples as an outcome of magic. Thinking is doing and hence the steps of the ritual were linked with

the informant's magical thinking. It is his belief that he established an imitative connection between the reeds and the sickness.

This *tona* is practiced by male members of the family (mainly the father). Women do not go out in the dark, although they can practice a different type of *tona* at home. Men have male work outside, and female work inside, a binary opposition. Women also do not feel safe outside in the dark.

The Seven Gobar-Thapi

The seven *gobar-thapi* is the second *tona*, which Aslam's wife practiced at home. Safia talked about her belief practice:

Early in the morning, I prepared seven *gobar-thapi* [round-shaped pieces from processed cow dung], and pasted them in a line on the wall in the courtyard. It is said that as soon as the *gobar-thapi* dry out, the *sharwa* will disappear.

Q: In which direction did you paste the *gobar-thapis*, horizontally or vertically [I moved my hands in both directions]?

I pasted them vertically, but people also paste horizontally.

Q: So which *tona* do you think worked for your child's health, the one that your husband practiced, or yours?

I do not know, perhaps both because we did it almost on the same day.

Gobar-thapi is an Urdu word, while in Punjabi it is *goya-pathi*. A *gobar-thapi* is prepared in a round shape with cow dung and chopped dry wheat straws kneaded together. After drying, it is used for everyday domestic fuel needs. This is primarily a woman's job, which they do two or three times a week. The use of *gobar-thapi* in healing *sharwa* seemed popular as a couple of other parents also reported its successful use. Using *gobar-thapi* is symbolic and points to imitative magic practice. *Gobar-thapi* prepared with cow dung and wheat straw symbolically portray an effected skin with pimples and rashes. Pasting *gobar-thapi* on a wall in a column or row symbolises a person standing or lying. *Gobar-thapi* are also pasted in a corner of the courtyard so that nobody passes under it. Once there care must be taken to avoid its shadow since the disease is symbolically present. Therefore, a disease is imitated in the form of a *gobar-thapi* that, when dried in the sun and open air, results in the curing of the *sharwa*. Another key aspect is the number seven. In 1956, George A. Miller described the human fascination for the number seven and discussed its magical connections with different areas of cognitive research. Here, the number seven gives an impression of the complete treatment, because in religious beliefs (both in Islam and Hinduism), it is necessary to perform different religious rituals seven times (see Flood 1996; Farah 2003; Pomeroy 2007). Unlike the *tona* practiced for *sokra*, in which a vegetable imitated the body, here the sickness is embodied as *gobar-thapi*. However, the contagious magic of the sickness-evil present in the shadow remains the same as with the *tona* used to cure *sokra*. As no religious expert or religious knowledge is involved, this *tona* is purely a secular magic practiced by the layman with the help of folk wisdom learnt from elders.

An examination of the perceived efficacy of *tona* in curing both childhood diseases (*sokra* and *sharwa*) can be seen summarised in table 1 below, where I highlight *tona* practice (for the two diseases) to see the difference and similarities.

Table 1. Comparison of the Belief Practices for Healing *Sokra* and *Sharwa*

	<i>Sokra</i>	<i>Sharwa</i>
Performer	Religious healer	Father/mother
Time	No specific time	Before dawn/early in the morning
Place	The religious healer can perform it at his house	The father practices it outside the house in the fields/the mother practices it in the house
Material	Vegetable (<i>loki</i> or <i>bengan</i>)	Plants (<i>sarkara</i> (reeds))/organic matter (<i>gobar-thapi</i>)
Super-natural	Religious (invoking divine powers)	Non-religious (absence of any divine intervention)
Magic	Imitative magic reinforced by religion – a magico-religious approach	Imitative magic
Symbolism	Magical thinking – imitative magic Vegetable – imitating human body to receive the sickness of the patient	Magical thinking – imitative magic <i>Sarkara/gobar-thapi</i> – imitating disease of the sick patient gradually heals in accordance with the drying objects
Instructions	Hang or place the vegetable near the patient	Bury the <i>sarkara</i> reeds deep/paste <i>gobar-thapi</i> in a column or row on the wall of the courtyard
Precautions	Magical thinking – the contagious magic of the sickness-evil Avoid shadows from sick bodies	Magical thinking – contagious magic of the sickness-evil Do not look back after the magical practice/avoid the shadow of the object imitating the sickness
Perceived efficacy	Doctrinal efficacy ensuring operational efficacy (magico-religious)	Operational efficacy (secular magic)

There are several similarities in *tona* practices. First, they are time-, place- and material-specific. Second, the law of similarity initiates imitative magic (as a benevolent magic), whereas the law of contact describes contagious magic (as dangerous and caused by sickness-evil). Third, special instructions are similar, if seen with respect to the imitation involved (i.e. imitating the patient's body or sickness). Fourth is the precautions involved, which are almost similar in their effect if not followed strictly. However, the main difference is the role of divine power, which makes *tona* for *sokra* a magico-religious folk remedy. On the other hand, *sharwa* is cured by the parent's secular magic practice, believed to work only because it was said to by the elders. In this way, one kind of *tona* is seen as more powerful and effective when reinforced with religion. This *tona* takes the form of a ritual when practiced by (and under the guidance of) a religious expert. However, *tona* for *sharwa* is a layman's magical practice that follows some rules (of imitative magic) that are learnt from the elders. As this *tona* does not require a magician's expertise or a religious intervention, I describe it as a secular magic practice, a folk remedy based in ancient beliefs and experience.

CONCLUSIONS

Tona is a type of folk healing belief famous in rural Punjab practiced against different diseases. *Sokra* and *sharwa* are the two diseases parents cured with two different kinds of *tona*. Parents choose magico-religious *tona* involving ritual performance by the religious healer, and also practice a *tona* without any religious or divine intervention. The religious picture of conservative Punjabi society in which magic is religiously forbidden gives a complex fusion of magic and religion in the form of *tona*. The trust and confidence that Punjabi people have in religion and in God shapes their folk healing practices. The severity of sickness and parental distress further strengthens their belief in religious healing. However, using natural objects, practicing the prescribed processes of *tona* and performing religious invocations highlights the magical thinking and the role of symbolism in fusing magic and religion for healing. It is also evident that religion can be used to reinforce this magic. The study of cultural healing practices in medical anthropology will be ineffective unless religion, magic and the relationship between them are not investigated with context specific research in order to understand the underlying processes of magical thinking. Further empirical studies of magical thinking in infant healthcare belief practices in diverse cultural context are needed. From my research in rural Punjab, I assume that magico-religious healing belief practices are used to cure and heal most childhood diseases, although the outcome may vary in this pluralistic medical culture.

NOTES

1 For ethical considerations all the respondents were informed about the research project. All the sensitive or personal information they provided was kept confidential. Names used for the respondents in this study are fictitious.

2 Shrines are the sacred places where saints are buried. Devotees visit these shrines to receive blessings.

3 Imam is the title used for the religious teacher who leads prayer in the mosque. People contact the Imam for religious healing such as incantations and written verses for amulets.

4 Quotations from the Bible are from the King James Version.

REFERENCES

- Ackerman, Robert. 1987. *J. G. Frazer. His Life and Work*. Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Ayala, Arad. 2014. Avoiding Greedy Behavior in a Situation of Uncertainty. The Role of Magical Thinking. – *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics* 53: 17–23.
- de Vries, Jan. 1962. Magic and Religion. – *History of Religions* 1 (2): 214–221.
- During, Simon. 2002. *Modern Enchantments. The Cultural Power of Secular Magic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Farah, Caesar E. 2003. *Islam. Beliefs and Observances*. (7 edn.) Hauppauge, NY: Barron's.
- Flood, Gavin D. 1996. *An Introduction to Hinduism*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

- Frazer, James George. 1925 [1890]. *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*. New York, NY: The Macmillan Company.
- Gullestad, Marianne. 1992. *The Art of Social Relations. Essays on Culture, Social Action and Everyday Life in Modern Norway*. *Scandinavian Library* 12, edited by Stephen R. Graubard and Oyvind Osterud. Oslo; New York, NY: Scandinavian University Press.
- Jaffrelot, Cristohe. 2004. *A History of Pakistan and Its Origins*. London: Anthem Press.
- Kapferer, Bruce, ed. 2002. *Beyond Rationalism. Rethinking Magic, Witchcraft, and Sorcery*. New York, NY; Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live by*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1966 [1962]. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1954 [1948]. *Magic, Science, and Religion*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1972 [1903]. *A General Theory of Magic*, translated by Robert Brain. London; New York, NY: Norton Library.
- Miller, George A. 1956. The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two. Some Limits on Our Capacity for Processing Information. – *Psychological Review* 63: 81–97.
- Nielsen, Melanie; Anneke Hoogvorst; Flemming Konradsen; Muhamed Mudasser and Wim van der Hoek. 2001. *Childhood Diarrhea and Hygiene. Mothers' Perceptions and Practices in the Punjab, Pakistan* 25. Colombo: International Water Management Institute.
- Pomeroy, Vicki. 2007. *Deep in the Indian Himalaya*. USA: Garhwal Publishing.
- Prioreschi, Plinio. 1996. *A History of Medicine. Primitive and Ancient Medicine. Greek Medicine*. Omaha, NV: Horatius Press.
- Qamar, Azher Hameed. Forthcoming. Belief in the Evil Eye and Early Childcare in Rural Punjab, Pakistan. – *Asian Ethnology*.
- Randall, Styers. 2004. *Making Magic. Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rosengren, Karl S. and Anne K. Hickling. 2000. Metamorphosis and Magic. The Development of Children's Thinking about Possible Events and Plausible Mechanisms. – *Imagining the Impossible. Magical, Scientific, and Religious Thinking in Children*, edited by Karl S. Rosengren, Carl N. Johnson and Paul L. Harris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 75–98.
- Rozin, Paul; Linda Millman and Carol Nemeroff. 1986. Operation of the Laws of Sympathetic Magic in Disgust and other Domains. – *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50 (4): 703–712.
- Rozin, Paul and Carol Nemeroff. 1990. The Laws of Sympathetic Magic. A Psychological Analysis of Similarity and Contagion. – *Cultural Psychology. Essays on Comparative Human Development*, edited by James W. Stigler, Richard A. Schweder and Gilbert Herdt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 205–232.
- Rozin, Paul; Maureen Markwith and Carol Nemeroff. 1992. Magical Contagion Beliefs and Fear of AIDS. – *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 22: 1081–1092.
- Sackey, Brigid M. 2002. Faith Healing and Women's Reproductive Health. – *Institute of African Studies Research Review* 18 (1): 5–11.
- Shweder, Richard A. and Robert A. Levine. 1975. Dream Concepts of Hausa Children. A Critique of the "Doctrine of Invariant Sequence" in Cognitive Development. – *Ethos* 3: 209–230.
- Sørensen, Jesper. 2007. *A Cognitive Theory of Magic*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Stephen, Michele. 1995. *A'isa's Gifts. A Study of Magic and the Self*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. 1990. *Magic, Science and Religion and the Scope of Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- History of Fort Abbas. 2007. Tehsil Municipal Administration Fort Abbas. <http://tmafortabbas.com/History.html>. (accessed on October 4, 2013).
- Tylor, Edward Burnett. 1974 [1871]. *Primitive Culture. Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom*. New York, NY: Gordon Press.
- Yamane, David and Keith A. Roberts. 2011. *Religion in Sociological Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

PRE-MODERN BOSOM SERPENTS AND HIPPOCRATES' *EPIDEMIAE* 5: 86: A COMPARATIVE AND CONTEXTUAL FOLKLORE APPROACH

DAVIDE ERMACORA

Joint PhD Student

Department of Cultures, Politics and Society

University of Turin

Lungo Dora Siena 100, 10124 Torino, Italy

UFR of Anthropology, Sociology and Political Science

Lumière University Lyon 2

Campus Porte des Alpes, Avenue Pierre Mendès-France 5, 69676 Bron cedex, France

e-mail: davide.ermacora@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

A short Hippocratic passage (*Epidemiae* 5: 86) might constitute the earliest Western surviving variant of the well-known narrative and experiential theme of snakes or other animals getting into the human body (motif B784, tale-type ATU 285B). This paper* aims: 1) to throw light on this ancient passage through a comparative folkloric analysis and through a philological-contextual study, with reference to modern and contemporary interpretations; and 2) to offer an examination of previous scholarly enquiries on the fantastic intrusion of animals into the human body. In medieval and post-medieval folklore and medicine, sleeping out in the field was dangerous: snakes and similar animals could, it was believed, crawl into the sleeper's body through the ears, eyes, mouth, nostrils, anus and vagina. Comparative material demonstrates, meanwhile, that the thirsty snake often entered the sleeper's mouth because of its love of milk and wine. I will argue that while *Epidemiae* 5: 86 is modelled on this long-standing legendary pattern, for which many interesting literary pre-modern (and modern) parallels exist, its relatively precise historical and cultural framework can be efficiently analysed. The story is embedded in a broad set of Graeco-Roman ideas and practices surrounding ancient beliefs about snakes and attitudes to the drinking of unmixed wine.

KEYWORDS: bosom serpent • wine-drinking snake • Greek religion • ancient folklore • Hippocrates

* An earlier draft of this paper was read, December 9, 2013, as part of the Pre-Modern Seminars organised by the Department of Scandinavian Studies (University of Tartu). My stay was covered by the European Social Fund's Doctoral Studies and Internationalisation Program DoRa, carried out by Foundation Archimedes. This work greatly benefited from a two-month research trip during the summer of 2013 at the Enzyklopädie des Märchen (EM) archives in Göttingen. I warmly thank Axel Füllgrabe and all the EM editorial staff for their support. I am indebted to Carlo Zoldan for greatly helping me with Latin translations, and to Roberto Labanti, Simon Young, Andrea Marcon, Pierre Bonnechere, Tommaso Braccini, Giovanni Maggioni, Clive Tolley, and Guido Borghi for helpful comments and suggestions in preparing this article for publication. Finally, I am grateful for the valuable feedback provided by two anonymous referees during the review process, to Ergo-Hart Västriik for critical comments in the editing process, and to Chiara Benati for providing Brunschwig's transcription and translation. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own and the references to folklore motifs are from Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Thompson 1955–1958).

Le serpent est dans l'homme, c'est l'intestin. Il tente, trahit et punit.
(Hugo 1864: 59)

INTRODUCING BOSOM SERPENTS

Folklorists and psychopathologists are familiar with, respectively, the bosom serpent story complex and internal zoopathy (Ermacora forthcoming). These are *termini technici* that refer, albeit from two very different perspectives, to the same thing: narratives, experiential themes and the delusions of men and women who believe themselves to have been penetrated by snakes, frogs, toads, lizards, spiders, insects and the like. Frequently, the alleged agent of disease is accidentally ingested in the form of an egg or embryo, which grows inside the human sufferer; eventually he or she will expel these harmful creatures, through the mouth or the digestive system. The cross-cultural medical and non-medical evidence for bosom serpents and internal zoopathy, from many periods and places, is overwhelming: “[i]n reading publications dealing with such reports, one is occasionally struck by the extraordinary belief of some authors regarding animals supposed to be able to live in man” (Hoeppli 1959: 93). Here I will, as other folklorists before me, term this belief the bosom serpent.

In my doctoral research, I have studied the pre-modern cross-cultural documentation for bosom serpents reflected in typical narrative genres like belief tales, hagiographic legends, personal experience stories, myths, folk tales, *exempla*, etc. A variety of early records offer essentially the same persistent and rather sinister theme, attributing diseases to animals entering and living in the body of the sufferer: international motif B784 ‘Animal lives in a person’s stomach’, and related sub-motifs on animals dwelling in the human body (an incomplete list can be found in Poulsen 1979: 176–179, slightly updated in Bennett 1991: 2–3). Thanks to the methodological tools developed by folklore studies, I have been better able to study the cultural ramifications and various adaptations in ancient texts of these traditional aetiologies. Bosom serpent narratives are firmly grounded in everyday medical and religious notions (medical accounts being more realistic, of course). The ideas in question have a powerful or latent emotional charge and have perhaps always figured in story-telling traditions and personal experience narratives (Ermacora 2015; forthcoming; Ermacora et al. forthcoming). In fact, there is a clear circularity operating beneath the bosom serpent story complex: tradition stems from experiential sources, experience shapes tradition, while tradition itself shapes experience. In this way tradition provides a template for bodily experiences, particularly for sickness and diseases (Hartmann 1998: 66; Bennett 2005: 39; 2006: 3). This is most apparent in an interpretative framework that is open to medical and psychological discourses and that gives space to a corporeal perspective rich in human emotions.

In 2007, Gillian Bennett and Paul Smith (2007: 115) briefly stated that “[i]n the Middle Ages and in Ancient Greece and Rome it was medical orthodoxy to believe that animals could indeed get into the human body and live there, causing pain, disease, and death”. Unfortunately, they did not provide any evidence to support these claims: they probably based them on evidence presented by Jan Bondeson (1997: 26–50; I assume this on the basis of Bennett 2005: 10–11). In addition, Nigel Mortimer (1988–1989) briefly mentioned an ancient Roman variant of the bosom serpent, but the author provided

no reference to support his claim. Antiquity has been almost entirely ignored by scholars studying the bosom serpent story complex. I have tried, in my work, to correct this oversight. I analysed elsewhere a singular medical story on the bosom serpent, involving therapy by trickery, told by Galen (ca. 129–216/217) in his commentary on the Hippocratic *Epidemiae*. This story is comparable to other classical, late-antique, modern and contemporary snake- and amphibian-swallowing episodes and has a clear folklore background (Ermacora forthcoming).

Here, I will deal, instead, with another bosom serpent narrative, dating from classical Greece, one that has been seldom discussed by classical scholars and one that has been ignored by folklorists. The short text in question is the story of the *argès* serpent (Hippocrates, *Epidemiae* 5: 86):

A youth who had drunk much neat wine was sleeping on his back in a tent. A snake called *argès* slithered into his mouth. When he felt it, not knowing what to do, he ground his teeth together and bit off part of the snake. He was seized by a great pain and brought up his hands as though choking, tossed himself about, and died in convulsions.¹ (Greek text in Jouanna 2000: 39, translation in Jouanna 2012 [1996]: 178; slightly modified by author, according to Smith 1994: 209)

AIMS AND METHOD

By adopting what I call a comparative and contextual folklore approach, I intend, in this paper, to throw new light on this problematic Greek passage through a philological-contextual study. Several investigations have demonstrated the importance, for classical scholars, of turning to anthropology and later folklore material to clarify obscure passages in ancient literature. Folklore can, indeed, provide a valuable key for a better understanding of ‘oddities’ in the classical world. These ‘oddities’ are liable to arouse feelings of estrangement in modern readers, but they deserve to be placed at the very fulcrum of interpretative tension (Bettini 2010: 256–259; see Lelli 2014; Braccini 2014; forthcoming). Using subsequent materials for developing an understanding of historically much earlier periods I hope to demonstrate the applicability and usefulness of this approach, sometimes called the retrospective method, recently resuscitated, in particular, in Old Norse studies (Sävborg and Bek-Pedersen 2014; Heide and Bek-Pedersen 2014). One of my aims here, in fact, is to show that a lot of cross-cultural similarities, hitherto considered unrelated or unexplained, belong to the same story complex. They are adaptations of the polymorphic idea of the impossible intrusion of animals into a human body. The structural adaptation and persistence of both folk beliefs and *Märchen* or legend plots and their stylistic criteria in many different societies needs, in fact, to be taken into consideration. As I shall show, it is a solid line of comparative research and it opens up many additional folkloristic and anthropological problems for study.

In so doing, I will make reference to the interpretative framework that has been built around Hippocrates, *Epidemiae* 5: 86 from early modern to contemporary times. I will also offer a critical examination of scholarly enquiries into bosom serpents, enquiries which have concentrated on recent legends. Given that the literary materials I will discuss go far back into the past, my research will home in on historical legends. I

am aware that the comparative approach has its dangers, not least the risk of losing the context of a given source; hence a priority here is the historicisation of the *argès* text. In order to avoid the dangers of a one-dimensional reading of texts, I have naturally concentrated on putting together a congruent and philologically-grounded set of documents.

I will argue that the account of the young man and the *argès* snake is modelled on a long-term legendary pattern for which interesting pre-modern, modern and contemporary parallels exist (many of which have not yet been explored). But I will also show that its historical and cultural framework can be effectively analysed. The passage in question belongs to traditional aetiologies, reflected in folk narratives, attributing the origin of disease to animals entering human bodies. What is more, a broad set of Graeco-Roman ideas and practices surrounding ancient beliefs on snakes and attitudes to the drinking of unmixed wine can inform our understanding of the episode.

PAST SCHOLARSHIP: AN OVERVIEW

In order to introduce the topic of this article, I will briefly provide a critical review of scholarly studies on pre-modern bosom serpents; a literature where traditional beliefs are woven together with the observations of writers and scientists. As William Hansen (2002: 19) has noted, the “published indices of the oral tales of different geographic regions make only rare and inconsistent reference to ancient texts”. These are the same indices to which the researchers on contemporary legends make “frequent reference” (Renard 2013 [1999]: 52–53) in relation to the continuity of traditional motifs in contemporary narrative folklore. With some happy exceptions, today’s medievalists and classicists know little of the tools and methods developed by folklorists. These scholars also ignore the scholarship devoted to folklore forms among non-Western peoples: as Alan Dundes (1993: xii) noted, this is “surely a serious lacuna” for any study centred on narratives.

The most sophisticated medical and folkloristic literature on the bosom serpent legend has been unable to push the legend back beyond the 16th century. An important exception is worth flagging up. In 1932 Adolf Jacoby published an essay in German, which has been almost completely ignored by subsequent scholars. Jacoby was, however, read by Ebermut Rudolph, who wrote another all but forgotten German folklore essay (1976–1977). Then Jan Bondeson (1990; 1997: 26–30; 1998: 442) employed Jacoby in the 1990s: Bondeson, as it happens, hardly acknowledged Jacoby’s work, which is only listed in the general references. Another scholar who has gone back beyond the modern age is Jean-Loïc Le Quellec. In a penetrating book published in 1991, dedicated to contemporary contamination legends, Le Quellec (2012: 70–85, 221) explored several fantastic medieval stories of animal invasions in the human body.

The few authors of philological-literary works who have covered the bosom serpent story complex do not seem to be sufficiently aware of its folkloric dimension. I am thinking particularly of recent works, with many relevant examples collected from the Latin Middle Ages, by Alessandro Coloru (2008: 520–527; 2009: 103–109) and Nicolò Maldina (2011). Both articles, published a few years apart and unaware of each other, explored the vitality of bosom serpents in medieval Latin literature. The authors, trained philolo-

gists, focus not on folklore, but, instead, on historical, literary and philological questions. Other contemporary studies have, also, completely ignored the folkloric aspects of the bosom serpent story complex, while briefly indexing a range of “[h]ealing narratives dealing with the entrance of animals into human bodies that can be found in miracle collections and other hagiographical genres of different periods” (Constantinou 2010: 52). This reluctance to explore the legendary aspects of the bosom serpent is something true, sadly, even of historical linguists accustomed to the best multidisciplinary and comparative methods (for example, Ronzitti 2011: 25–26).

The standard and acclaimed reference works on the bosom serpent by Bondeson (1997: 26–30) for the history of medicine, and by Bennett (2005: 10–11, 17–18, 26–29) for folkloristics are: 1) largely interdependent (for the oldest historical materials, Bennett is mainly based simply on Bondeson’s history of medical research which, as I have already noted, is possibly based on Jacoby), and 2) lacking in historical-philological substance. They limit themselves to some bosom serpent stories from Late Antiquity and the medieval world to demonstrate the antiquity of the oral folklore patterns discussed. For example, Bennett (2005: 7) is aware that “like most contemporary legends [bosom serpents] have equivalents in older traditions”. But what do equivalents mean for her? How do equivalents connect with recent or relatively recent traditions? How many equivalents exist? Why are old equivalents so remarkably similar to recent stories? Bennett does not, in the end, explore these research questions. By focusing on the pre-modern evidence, it is my intention to provide here a first corrective to enquiries that have concentrated on modern and contemporary legend.

INTRODUCING TALE-TYPE ATU 285B*

Epidemiae 5: 86 is, to my knowledge, the first recorded reference for international tale-type *The Snake Stays in the Man’s Stomach* (ATU 285B*). There is a very brief but effective description of the tale-type 285B* (more a migratory legend than a proper international folk tale) in the latest edition of *The Types of International Folktales*:

A man (woman) sleeps under a tree with his mouth open. A snake crawls unnoticed into his body, and he feels sick. In some variants the snake leaves the body with its young. Sometimes the snake is enticed out of the body with milk. (Uther 2011: 166–167)

Here is a variant of this tale-type from India, published April 24, 2009, in the *Daily Excelsior*, the oldest and most widely circulating newspaper of Jammu and Kashmir (according to the newspaper’s website). It is strikingly similar to the Hippocratic passage and can, therefore, stand here as the most recent in a long line of narrations on ATU 285B* (Figure 1):

Snake enters drunken man’s stomach (from the *Excelsior* correspondent). In a bizarre incident, a three-foot-long snake entered into the stomach of a drunken man who was lying unconscious with open mouth on a city roadside here. Ashwani Kumar, had a heavy dose of liquor and fell unconscious near a slum in Bakshi Nagar area and a snake entered into his stomach from his open mouth. Only the tail was visible, which the onlookers noticed and informed his relatives residing in the nearby

locality. Panicked relatives pulled out the snake from its tail. However, the snake had died inside the drunken man. Ashwani Kumar was immediately shifted to the Government Medical College and Hospital, Jammu, for treatment yesterday but was discharged after brief observation, sources said. The incident has become the talk of the town. [Author's italics]

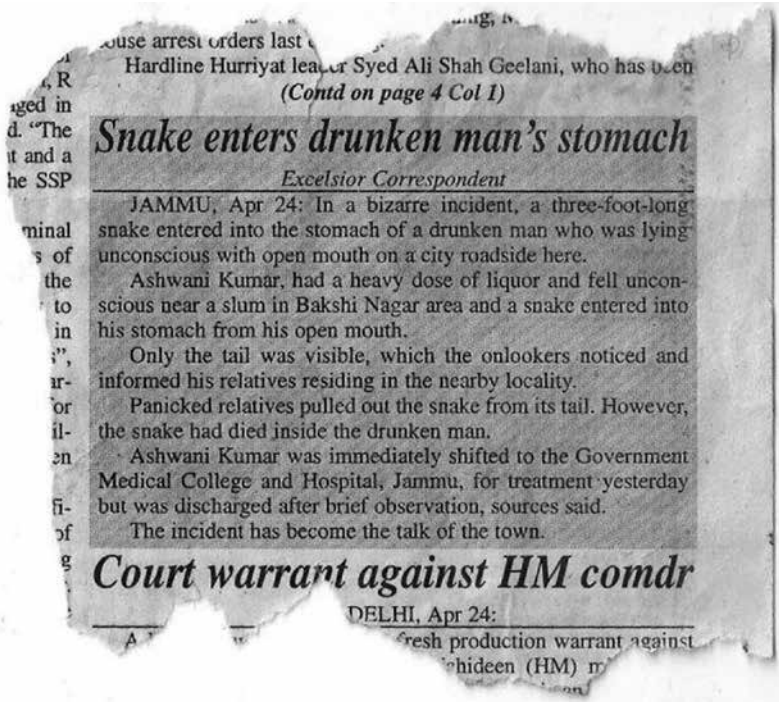


Figure 1. Excerpt from Daily Excelsior (see Razdan 2009).

These two texts – the Greek and the Indian – stand at the chronological extremes of the bosom serpent tradition: they are bookends to this paper. There are scores of chronologically intermediate variants, including medieval texts, illustrating the entry of the snake through the mouth into the sleeping body, often as a result of excessive drinking. In all these cases, the animal is, according to the storyteller, attracted by the smell of the wine (the predilection of snakes for wine will be discussed below). For example, the *Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris Stylitae* 136 (version BHG 1689), written by an anonymous monk at the very end of 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, informs us of how Simeon Stylites the Younger (521–592) helps a Georgian man, who fell asleep in the fields at harvest time, after having drunk too much. A snake entered the Georgian’s mouth, tempted by the smell of wine and with Simeon’s help the man expelled the bosom serpent anally,² the snake being still alive when it was removed from the body:

At the time of harvest, a Georgian had plunged into the deepest sleep following an excessive drinking spree, and since he was lying out in the countryside, he was running the greatest danger, because a snake having come into contact with his open mouth, was attracted by the smell of wine, and slithered into his intestines.

The man went to the saint and asked, in tears, for the help of God through prayer. The servant of God took pity on [the man] and, after marking his belly with the sign of the cross, using a holy stick, ordered him to leave the monastery. The man, having left, immediately expelled the live snake from his anus, and healed, he left glorifying God with all present that witnessed the miracle.³ (Greek text and French translation in van den Ven 1962a: 128; 1962b: 153)⁴

These remarkably similar texts – the Greek, the Indian, and the Byzantine ones – are magnificent variants of tale-type ATU 285B* and of bosom serpent stories more generally. None have received much attention. The fundamental story remains the same: each text describes, though in a different manner, the serious consequences of a bosom serpent entering through the open mouth of a drunk. In the Greek text, the man died in a tent; in the Indian text, the man survived first out on a road, then in a hospital (the snake, instead, died inside the victim's body). In the Byzantine text, the man was healed in a monastery thanks to the intercession of the saint. Indeed, pre-modern 'contemporary' legends are rarely exactly the same as the legends of today. They are narrative equivalents strained through the tensions and concerns of their own societies. As I will show below, a bosom serpent could be interpreted as a demon and/or as a medical condition; the bosom serpent may be extracted through a surgical procedure rather than by tempting it out of the body with milk. This kind of variation is, of course, typical of any antique legend with contemporary analogues. As Timothy Tangherlini (2002: 241) has stated:

[...] legends from medieval texts are 'updated' to fit the demands of modern culture in contemporary tradition. This process of variation can be referred to as 'historization', and it requires a modification of the Grimm's original characterization of legend. Legend is not a historical narrative but, rather, a historicized narrative.

HIPPOCRATES AND PRESENT-DAY COMMENTATORS

The focus of this paper is, however, the Hippocratic *argès* text. This text is indexed, without discussion, in the pioneering essay on pre-modern bosom serpents by Jacoby (1932: 18, 25; from there it reached Rudolph 1976–1977: 198). The passage is then briefly mentioned by Bondeson (1997: 27; 1998: 442) who does not, though, quote his source (he is probably drawing on Jacoby, who is listed in his bibliography). Bennett (2005: 10) and Rina Knoeff (2009: 39) evidently depend on Bondeson. Jean-Bruno Renard (1998: 223), too, fails to quote his source. I should note again that this is probably the oldest surviving example of the bosom serpent story complex in the West, even if this claim is recurrent in the literature on bosom serpents.⁵ Already Arnold Adolph Berthold (1850: 3, 11–12), discussing medical cases of amphibians and reptiles living inside the stomach, wrote that the Hippocratic story was “[t]he oldest known case”. It appears in the Greek *Corpus Hippocraticum* in Book V of Hippocrates' *Epidemiae*. Scholars have argued that this ancient Greek medical collection was written in two distinct phases by two unnamed itinerant Greek doctors between 358 and 348 BC (Jouanna 2000: XLII–XLV).

The passage in question is a Hippocratic text that has certainly never received the attention it deserves. Jacques Jouanna (2001) dedicated an essay to this passage and its

lexicographical and philological framework (see also Gessner 1587: 27v–28r), but the author unfortunately neglects all specifically semantic aspects of the story. Moreover, Jouanna (2000: xxxi, xxxviii) in his fine edition of the *Epidemiae*, and Simon Byl (2003: 18), both conclude that the young man actually dies of convulsions because he was bitten in his mouth by the *argès* snake. The text has been included, thus, in studies on venomous snakes or human deaths from snakebites in ancient times. Byl even puts the episode in the context of snake activity and symbolism in the classical world.

There is, however, no poisonous bite in our text: it is the man, in fact, who bites the snake, and not vice versa.⁶ Even if there had been a bite, it would have been an unusual internal bite as a consequence of the animal's annoyance at finding itself inside a human body. Bosom serpent variants are known in which the snake, while entering through the mouths of sleepers, bites the throat during the efforts of the awakened man or woman to get it out. This idea is reflected, for example, in the 11th-century Grimaldus, *Vita Dominici Exiliensis* 3: 32 (Latin text in Valcárcel 1982: 19, 509, translation in Lappin 2002: 107; see Ermacora et al. forthcoming), or in Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's 1880s *Also sprach Zarathustra. Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra. A Book for All and None*; translation in Parkes 2005: 137–138; see the allegorical interpretation of this scene in Loeb 2010: 148–172). The young Greek man's overwhelming sensation, together with convulsions, seems, in fact, to be suffocation, though admittedly in *Epidemiae* 3, 2: 5 we find convulsions (*σπασμοί*) among the symptoms (acute fever, shaking of the head, hallucinations, etc.) of patients intoxicated after heavy drinking (Greek text and translation in Jones 1923: 226–227; see Gourevitch and Demigneux 2013: 80).⁷ Suffocation, moreover, is well-documented among the many possible symptoms following snake bites (Sordi 2003: 246).

However, according to the text, death, the feeling of suffocation and the man's convulsions (note the detail of his hands moving to his throat: "and brought up his hands as though choking") were certainly a result of the reptile entering or attempting to enter the laryngotracheal tube and its fright when the man bit it. This simple fact was fully understood by Renaissance writers and humanist commentators on Hippocrates. Before turning to some of these old authors, however, I will quote three contemporary versions of the bosom serpent legend in which the intruding animal slips inside the mouth and suffocates the young host. This is in line with the retrospective method I have adopted in this paper, in which even very late bosom serpent legends and certain 'everyday' snake beliefs can help to decipher much earlier sources. Unfortunately, these folklore sources have been ignored by classical scholars who have written of the *argès* snake in the past century.

For example, the aforementioned Nietzsche's work tells of a black snake which crept into a young shepherd's throat, while he was sleeping, and choked him until he was able to bite off and spit out the head of the animal (see also Ermacora forthcoming; Ermacora et al. forthcoming). Another story collected in 1975 in Sweden states that "worms crawled into the larynx which had swelled, thereby causing the child [who ate a banana infested with worms] to choke to death" (af Klintberg 1985: 277). A variant of ATU 285B*, registered on May 19, 1931 in the Italian daily newspaper *Gazzetta del Popolo*, relates an event which occurred the night of May 18 near Bucharest. The similarities with the Greek story and the death of the young man through suffocation due to an intruding snake need no comment.

[Swallows a snake during sleep]. A young shepherd boy who was sleeping in a hut in the village called Popesti suddenly woke up: he felt he was suffocating. He found that a snake had slipped into his trachea. All attempts by the peasants, rushing to free the child from the unwanted guest, failed. He had to be taken to the hospital, where he underwent surgery. (Bermani 1991: 187)

HIPPOCRATES AND POST-MEDIEVAL INTERPRETATIONS

In 1568, the great physician, philosopher and astrologer Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576) mentioned the *argès* snake in his *In Hippocratis coi prognostica...commentarii* 1: 20–21 (Latin text later published in Spon 1663: 613–614), a vast commentary to the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (a commentary which he never brought to completion). Cardano added methods for getting snakes out in such cases; together with an anatomical discussion based on Galen and contemporary Flemish anatomy scholar Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) on the muscles that open and close the mouth (Siraisi 1997: 137). Another relevant Renaissance text is *Observationum medicarum, rararum, novarum admirabilium et monstrosarum* [etc.] 1, 3: 95, by Johannes Schenck von Grafenberg (1530–1598) (expanded to seven volumes between 1584 and 1597). Schenck von Grafenberg includes a section dedicated to snakes, lizards and other venomous animals that find their way into the ventricles through the mouths of sleepers. He provides, in passing, a very useful list of bosom serpent cases extracted from the medical literature available at that time (with scrupulous bibliographical references). This section opens, suitably enough, with the story of the *argès* snake (Latin text in Schenck von Grafenberg 1600: 595).

François Rabelais (ca. 1494–1553), in the fourth book of his *La vie de Gargantua et de Pantagruel*, published in 1552 (*Le quart livre des faits et dictz héroïques du bon Pantagruel* 44: 58–62; French text in Marichal 1947: 187), has Pantagruel and Frère Jan discuss hanging an individual up by his or her feet over a bowl of milk to get a snake out. Scholars who have briefly written on this passage from Rabelais noted parallels collected by contemporary folklorists: international motifs B784.2.1 ‘Patient fed salt: animal comes out for water’; B784.2.1.1 ‘Snake (frog) in human body enticed out by milk (water)’ (Renard 1998: 223–224; Postic 2000: 34; Bennett 2005: 27–29; Le Quellec 2012: 76–77). Rabelais wrote:

“On the advice of our specialists, the Mezarims”, said the Podestat, “at the season when [the giant called Bringuenarilles] normally appears we concealed a great many cocks and hens inside the windmills. The first time that he swallowed them he all but died, for they went on cackling inside him and fidgeted about in his stomach, at which he fell into a lipothymic fit with heart pains and horrific and dangerous convulsions as though snakes had slipped into his stomach via his mouth”. “That though is most inappropriate and out of place”, said Frère Jean, “for I heard tell some time ago that if a snake gets into your stomach it causes no discomfort whatsoever and will come out at once if you hang the patient up by his feet and place a bowl full of warm milk close to his mouth.” (Screech 2006: 779, slightly modified by author)

Noting the oral origin of this belief, Pantagruel refutes it unequivocally, responding to the friar thus:

“You”, said Pantagruel, “have heard tell, and so had those who told it to you, but no such remedy has ever been seen or heard of. Hippocrates (in Book 5 of the *Epidemics*) writes of a case which occurred in his times: the patient died in a trice in spasms and convulsions.” (Ibid.)

Whether Rabelais’s repudiation of this traditional cure is a “clear and demonstrative [...] refutation of the legend [which shows] a critical spirit higher than that of most doctors or scholars of his time” (Antonioli 1976: 307), a mere “parade of erudition” (Smith 1918: 211) or a demonstration that “popular belief has no value compared to the warnings of ancient scholars, above all when they are supported by the evidence of the facts” (Bellot-Antony and Demerson 1990: 150), is a matter for interpretation. It is important to note, however, that rather than denying the truth of the *argès* serpent, Rabelais refutes the legendary cure: the event took place, and led to death, as Hippocrates clarified. Certainly, in Hippocrates’ account there is no mention of a patient hung upside down, as Fiola Berry (2000: 95, 99) mistakenly thinks. What interests us here is the acknowledged closeness of Hippocrates’ story to the many folklore stories on the bosom serpent that were current in the Renaissance.

HANGING UPSIDE DOWN OVER A BOWL OF MILK

There is an extraordinarily realistic woodcut reproducing the colourful treatment, described by Rabelais, for expelling serpents and other ‘worms’ living in a human body through the mouth. The woodcut is contained in Hieronymus Brunschwig’s *Dis ist das Buch der Chirurgia* [etc.], published in Strasbourg in 1497, one of the first illustrated medical treatises on surgery in the vernacular (Figure 2). The woodcut has been noted by several historians of medicine: unusually as most pre-modern bosom serpent iconography has been ignored (see, for example, Guthrie 1945: plate xxvi; Elliott 1964: 27; Christianson 1993: 66). In order to show the widespread diffusion in medieval medicine of the belief that snakes can enter the human body, Walter Artelt (1954: ix) even mentioned comparatively, together with Brunschwig, the Hippocratic story of the *argès* snake and the bosom serpent miracle of Sts. Cosmas and Damien (see below).

Already in 1858, it was noted that the image, composed of two juxtaposed woodcuts, is only present in some copies of Brunschwig’s treatise (Choulant 1858: 80; see also Sudhoff 1907: 49; 1908: 57, 60). The woodcut is absent, for example, from the two copies of *Dis ist das Buch der Chirurgia* kept in the Bavarian State Library, which I checked. The image was added later on (but still in 1497), together with the anatomical compendium (*Von der Anathomie*), probably from the desire of Brunschwig to add a visual explanation in a successive imprint of his handbook (Benati 2010: 13). In general, it might also be worth bearing in mind that some of the woodcuts of the handbook were ‘recycled’ from other works; thus, they “were not quite at the level of the specialized content of the text: they bore no captions and were more picturesque than informative” (Pantin 2014: 27).

Brunschwig’s woodcut carefully refers, however, to a portion of text written in High German (I was not able to find the passage in the translation of Brunschwig’s work



Figure 2. The woodcut from Brunschwig (1497), also reproduced in Guthrie 1945: plate xxvi. The accompanying title reads: “Das vij capitel dis(s) fierden tractates würt dich leren so ein mensch slange(n) oder and(ere) würm des glychen würm in dem lybe hat on schaden von dem menschen zu bringen” (The seventh chapter of the fourth treatise will teach you how a man has a snake or other similar worms in the body and how to remove them without damaging the host).

dated 1525). The physician explains that animals like serpents, lizards and frogs can get into the body while men are sleeping in the open air, or when men drink these animals’ bodily fluids from contaminated water. Emaciation, yellowing of the face, a swelling stomach, a gnawing and biting in the belly, Brunschwig claims, are symptoms of a resident bosom serpent (see also Sudhoff 1915–1916, who compares an interesting German source in Latin dated 1440). Then, Brunschwig continues:

If you have recognised these signs, then help [the patient] in the following manner: get a winch of the measure of the one above and bind the patient’s hands behind his back, so that he cannot grab the snake when it will crawl out if the patient wants

to do that, because otherwise the snake will return. Hang [the patient] as is shown here so that the head hangs down with the mouth open and put under his mouth a bowl or a pot with a little of warm goat's milk, so that the flavour of the milk goes into his mouth. Order your people to leave except the man in charge at the winch. You must not say any word because through suction the snakes slide down: its desire is aroused by the presence of milk and they want milk. Then the person tied to the winch feels in the mouth the need to let them get the milk and you see that the snake has its snout in the milk, let him stick his nose into the milk and let him drink a little. Then order the man on the winch to pull himself up carefully so that the snake will continue to have the nose in the milk and do so before it is satisfied. Then you have to detach [the man] from the winch and leave him resting. In the eventuality he had more than one snake, do as I have taught you and then if you realize that thanks to that [the patient] has no snake in his body [...].⁸ (High German text in Sigerist 1923: 256–259)

This folk remedy is to be found, a century before, in the anti-Semitic tale no. 219 of the *Le trecento novelle*, a collection of short stories in prose set in Florence written by the merchant and poet Franco Sacchetti (1335–1400) at the very end of the 14th century. Although today unknown to folklorists, the tale of Sacchetti was already indexed by Thompson (1955–1958) in the few notes that accompany motifs B784.2.1 and K115.3 'Pseudo-magic potion to induce pregnancy. Found to contain snakes'.⁹ I summarise here the story (according to Marucci 1996: 774–775; Puccini 2004: 635–639; Zaccarello 2014; see also Salgarolo 1991: 109–111):

Two young sisters-in-law, wives of two brothers, unable to have children, buy a miracle potion from a Jew. He puts serpent eggs inside the remedy. One sister takes the remedy; the other hides it in a box. After some time serpents are born in the belly of one and the box of the other. Physicians, therefore, hang the afflicted woman upside down, placing a bowl of milk on the ground to ensure that the snakes come out of her body.

According to other authors from the same period, similar strategies were employed in the case of a patient swallowing a living frog. Many examples might be provided. See, for instance, the *Sertum papale de venenis*, a *compendia* of poisons probably written by the Paduan doctor Gulielmus de Marra in 1362: in the case of a patient swallowing a live frog he "advises [the doctor] to shake warm water near the mouth of the patient who should lean over, 'since the frog very often moves towards such a noise' (*ad talem rumorem rana sepissime gradiatur*)" (Thorndike 1934: 530). To discharge the parasitic frog with vomiting, head bent or suspension of the patient by his feet are needed, according to the treatise on poisons *Problemata de venenis* written towards the end of the 14th century by Christophorus de Honestis (*ibid.*: 540). Giovanni Lippi da Arezzo's medical work on the heart, *De procuratione cordis* 3: 13, written at Florence sometime before 1464, recommended bosom serpent victims be suspended, head down, over a basin of cold water (for frogs) or milk or sweet warm wine (for lizards and small snakes). Lippi da Arezzo explains that the bosom serpents got into the bodies of those who had drunk milk and who then fell asleep outside with their mouths open (see also Collard 2013: 37).

The tempting out of a bosom serpent with milk was indeed a very widespread and "surprisingly old idea" in popular medicine (Bennett 2005: 27, referring to Brunschwig).

It is also to be found in various 13th-century encyclopaedic sources on snakes. These sources usually rely on Dioscorides, even if the reference still needs to be traced: this might be a Latin version (perhaps translated from Arabic) of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* or, less likely, the pseudo-Dioscorides' *De venenis eorumque praecautione et medicatione*. One might note here Bartholomeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* 18: 8 (ca. 1249; see Ermacora 2015: 273), and Juan Gil de Zamora's *Historia naturalis* 2, 7 (ca. 1275–1295). Here is Gil de Zamora's passage:

Snakes are very fond of wine and milk and because of that they can be extracted from men's belly with the smell of milk, as Dioscorides says.¹⁰ (Latin text in Domínguez García and García Ballester 1994: 1710)

I noted above that scholars have pointed, for later times, to many equivalents of this fabulous cure in oral folklore. Sometimes, these equivalents are given by the narrator as a personal experience story. The familiar remedy of suspending the patient upside down over a bowl of milk was, for example, according to a passage by French physician Augustin Belloste (1654–1730), successfully employed by him to cure a young man afflicted with a bosom serpent (Belloste 1716: 538–540). This is, however, a classic version of ATU 285B* (see Folet 1905: 441, who accuses Belloste of being gullible; Blanchard 1906). Folklorists and psychologists have long maintained that the cultural context of narrative tradition can shape individuals' personal experiences and autobiographical memories (Bahna 2015). The milk remedy is well attested in modern and contemporary European and American anthelmintic therapies: a cup of milk, a rag soaked in milk, or a plate of food, had to be put in front of the patient's mouth, nostrils or anus in order to tempt worms out. Tapeworms are regularly believed to be greedy for milk or food (see, for example, Napoli 2008; Pizza 2010: 128; 2012: 177, for Southern Italy; for North-America, see Bennett 1997: 232; Tambongco 2004; Tucker 2012).¹¹

In any case, it is difficult to judge whether Lippi da Arezzo, Brunshwig and other learned colleagues relied on folklore or if milk was ever really used against bosom serpents. Think, for example, of Sacchetti's folktale. The subtle boundary between fiction and truth and between popular and learned medicine, taken together with the great resilience of folk narrative themes seems, however, to have confused modern commentators. In his book on popular medicine in modern France, Matthew Ramsey (1988: 228) quoted a "widely known story" from the 19th-century French Hautes-Alpes about a parish priest who healed a man from a worm after hanging him upside-down above a bowl of milk. Colin Jones (1990: 382; see also Brockliss and Jones 1997: 18, 275), commenting on Ramsey, recalled Brunshwig's woodcut in their effort to create "an impeccable ancestry in learned culture" for the practice of suspending a patient above a bowl of milk. But this is a classic error of perspective based on the privilege accorded to the (supposed) oldest source, with the static view that popular medicine depends on the literate culture of elites (see the similar concerns in Williams 1998: 350). Brunshwig and others certainly, there can be no question, drew heavily on bosom serpent folklore while creating medical orthodoxy.

A surprising number of later early modern authors, discussing bosom serpents, referred to the Hippocratic story of the *argès* snake. In 1675, a letter was published in the German journal *Miscellanea Curiosa; sive, Ephemeridum Medico-Physicarum Germanicarum*. The author, a physician, had spent much effort trying to heal an epileptic woman suffering from a snake inside her body. Wondering how the snake had got there, the author noted that "Hippocrates observed that snakes sometimes enter the body of sleeping people through the mouth; this is what happened to the young man [about whom Hippocrates] tells the story, he fell asleep after drinking a lot of wine" (Frommann 1755). In 1701, the French father of parasitology Nicolas Andry de Bois-Regard (1658–1742) published his famous treatise on intestinal worms, *De la génération des vers dans le corps de l'homme* [etc.]. Andry briefly recalled the Hippocratic story in relation to animals that enter the body through the mouth: "there are many similar events in the books of doctors" (Andry de Bois-Regard 1701: 72).¹²

In addition, the little known book by Casimiro Anino (1762) deserves attention. This short study details the clinical story of a ten-year-old Italian from Tortona, who became seriously ill in 1762, vomiting a few worms and two salamanders whose corpses were preserved. After some months of suffering, the boy finally died. Anino, a royal Piedmontese surgeon, performed an autopsy, without finding traces of animals inside the corpse. Relying on similar bosom serpent cases narrated in the old medical literature (among which Anino 1762: 23, briefly quotes, as the oldest case recorded, the Hippocratic story of the *argès* serpent), the surgeon concluded that the boy really ingested some salamander spawn or, alternatively, a small salamander that then grew in the boy's stomach (on this curious but very serious book, see also the description given in Parona 1899).

In the 19th century, learned doctors did not necessarily avoid the issue either. For example, the famous French naturalist, physician and politician François-Vincent Raspail (1794–1878) discussed the bosom serpent in his 1843 book on snakes. He did so because "[b]ooks are full of cases on the introduction of these reptiles into the different mucous cavities". He also cited Hippocrates' text noting that "[t]he odour of the wine, in this case, attracted the serpent; with children, the smell of the milk has the same effect" (Raspail 1844: 211; this is an essay that translates Raspail 1843: 246). Raspail's direct source, I believe, is to be found, in turn, in an excerpt (which has the same bibliographical references) from an edition of the encyclopaedia of the zoologist Bernard-Germain-Étienne de Laille-sur-Ilion count of Lacépède (1756–1825) that was published after his death (de Laille-sur-Ilion de Lacépède 1839: 364). Well into the 1800s, therefore, a celebrated doctor Raspail could believe in the objective truth of the bosom serpent; he listed a series of cases with meticulous notes and believed that it was possible to give birth to a snake or a reptile that had previously entered the womb.

The *argès* snake is included by slightly later authors, discussing cases of bosom serpents and animals of all sorts that live in the human digestive tract. One such author was the French physician Jean-Christian-Marc-François-Joseph Boudin (1806–1867) who compiled an enormous encyclopaedia. More scientific in tone than Raspail's contemporary work, he also noted that "[i]n the 16th century, the fear of swallowing amphibians and in particular, snakes had become widespread [...]. Since then, the medical literature

has been flooded with observations of amphibians coming up thanks to vomit" (Boudin 1857: 360–361). A detailed analysis of historic and contemporary cases followed. The Hippocratic story was also briefly mentioned in the enormous (and still extremely useful) repertory of cases by George Milbry Gould and Walter Lytle Pyle (1897: 636), among modern cases of animals living in the digestive system.

The gullible Raspail has been all but forgotten by modern researchers. But I cannot agree with Kraig Adler (2007: 69) that after 1849 "no serious scientist ever supported the claims" that animals (like frogs) reside for a long time in a person's stomach. In Adler's opinion, this rejection was due to the publication of rigorous experiments conducted by Arnold A. Berthold (1850), included in a study first read at the meeting of the German Royal Scientific Society, November 10, 1849, and published one year later (a short version of the study was published as Berthold 1849). Such experiments clearly demonstrated the impossibility of this 'mythical' condition, which had been declared factual by many authors (Blanchard 1899: 475–476; Bondeson 1997: 41–42, 46; 1998: 445–446; Hartmann 1998: 63–64).

It is true that some scientists and great parasitologists, like Rudolph Leuckart (1852: 200), discussing later cases of imaginary parasitism and pseudo-parasitism, expressly referred to Berthold's work and rapidly dismissed bosom serpents as fables. The fact remains, though, that there were many other subsequent instances of doctors taking bosom serpents as a real medical condition. For example, there was the interesting case of Thankful Taylor from Tennessee. In 1869, the woman apparently drank a snake from a spring, falling sick with severe convulsions and painful movements in her abdomen. A 23-inch reptile was extracted, five years later, from her stomach, through the mouth, by a local doctor. The case appeared in the local press and two medical associations investigated Taylor's snake, between 1875 and 1877, reaching opposite conclusions in their committee reports: there were allegations of political and financial bias (Murphree 2005; Tucker 2010). Bondeson (1997: 42) asserted that the last case of an amphibious animal believed to dwell in the stomach occurred in Europe in 1882 and that bosom serpent legends continued in the United States. Bennett (2005: 21–22), on the other hand, claimed that in Europe the bosom serpent survived for (at least) another 20 years. Bondeson referred only to scientific discussions of medical cases. But even on those grounds there are many later instances from the 20th and even the 21st century (Ermacora forthcoming; see also Shorter 1992: 53–55 for clinical cases including two from Poland in the 1920s).

A PROBLEMATIC PASSAGE

Let me return to Hippocrates and Jouanna's linguistic discussion, and to the fact that the snake is called *argès* in the Hippocratic text, the only time that this word is used in the whole Hippocratic corpus. It is a rare archaic Greek term, with variable accent marks, which can be interpreted either as an adjective (an adjectival form with a meaning similar to 'brilliant white' or 'dazzling white') or as a noun ('shining white one'). Both of these refer, in Jouanna's opinion, to a now unidentifiable species of poisonous snake; he prefers to see *argès* as a noun (Jouanna 2000: 171; see also Irwin 1974: 215–217).

Jouanna restricts himself to Greek and does not extend his semantic-linguistic research to other Indo-European cultural domains. Nor does he examine the fairly widespread snake chromonyms within European languages. For example, according to the *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Fraenkel 1965: 1288, s.v. *žaltys*), in Lithuanian (*žaltys*) and Latvian (*zal(k)tis*) the snake is possibly 'the green one' (compare with Lithuanian *žalias* and Latvian *zaļš* for 'green, raw'; see also Teijeiro 1983; 1999: 303; Luven 2001: 82). Comparative research might be worthwhile here. Certainly, in Indo-European languages there are 'white' snakes or 'white' worm-like creatures. There must, in fact, be some sort of semantic and linguistic link between Greek *argès* ("obscure word for a kind of snake": Petrosyan 2002: 108, 111) and the alternating Indo-European root **arg'*- (**h₂érǵ-* / **h₂rǵ-*), sometimes connected to symbolic-cultural representations concerning *canidae*. One should also consider that the base meaning of all of these cognate words "probably suggests both speed and brightness" (Kajava 2012: 26, compare with Méndez Dosuna 2012, for whom the original meaning must have been 'white'; see also Repanšek 2014: 246). This had already been noted by the late Conrad Gessner, in 1587, discussing Greek *argès* and the Hippocratic passage: *ἀργῆς circum flexum significat album et candidum, item velocem 'ἀργῆς circumflex means white and bright, in the same way quick'* (Latin text in Gessner 1587: 28r). In some Old English texts, the ambiguous adjective *fāh/fāg*, which can mean 'bright, shining, gleaming/stained' or 'hostile', denotes various species of snake monsters (for example the phrase *fah wyrm* 'hostile/shiny snake'), for the quality of their skin or that of their weapons, in particular a sword blade (di Paolo Healey 2006: 85–86; Szóke 2009: 60). Already Calvert Watkins (1995: 383) compared Greek *argès* to "the formulaic Old Norse phrase *enn fráne ormr* 'the speckled worm', of the dragon Fafnir".¹³ A look at the main Indo-European and Greek etymological dictionaries, with reference to Watkins' (1995: 383–384) remarks, would also be useful.¹⁴

Again and again in these instances there is the idea of a sparkling reptile, probably due to the iridescent quality of the reptile's skin. There is an old hypothesis (which is discussed with reference to Latin *baculum* 'stick, staff') mentioned in the *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (Battisti and Alessio 1950: 504), the *Lessico etimologico italiano* (Pfister 1994), and the *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana* (Cortelazzo and Zolli 1999 [1979]: 136), for *biacco* (*Hierophis viridiflavus*). *Biacco* is a kind of dark-coloured non-poisonous country snake and has, according to the authorities, the same root as the chemical compound *biacca* (white lead, containing a carbonate and a hydroxide portion), both derived from Lombardic **blaih* 'faded' (compare with Old High German *bleich* 'pale, faded').

To add to these lexical difficulties, there is an important textual problem with the *argès* passage. The *argès* snake (chapter 86) is unique in the second part of Book V of the *Epidemiae*: the section which covers chapters 51 to 106, each of which corresponds to a single medical case, with a few additional comments on treatment and two small 'constitutions'.¹⁵ Chapter 86 is unique as it lacks a corresponding text in Book VII. The two books have a lot of material in common: 55 clinical cases in mostly random order, with the significant exception of chapters 80–87 of Book V of the *Epidemiae*, which are, instead, arranged in the same order in the seventh book of the *Epidemiae* VII, to cover numbers 85–91, except 86 (the *argès* snake). On the basis of this anomaly, Jouanna (2000: xix, xxxi, xxxviii–xxxix; 2001: 165–166) argues that the description of the death of the young man does not belong to the oldest strata of the *Epidemiae*, like the rest of Books V and VII. Rather, claims Jouanna, it was added at an unknown date in antiquity (see also

Demand 1994: 42; Craik 2015: 80). The *argès* serpent, it might be noted, is mentioned in a 2nd-century Galenic glossary of Hippocratic terms (*Linguarum seu dictionum exoletarum Hippocratis explicatio* 19, 85: 10: ἄργης ὄφις τις οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος ‘*argès*: a serpent called in this way’; Greek text in Kühn 1830), and in another similar gloss perhaps from Erotian’s 1st-century glossary *Vocum Hippocraticarum collectio* (Jouanna 2000: 122; 2001: 169, 171).

Jouanna does not draw any conclusions about this possible addition. Given the passage’s evident folkloric background, I would suggest that in Book V we have a later insertion of a ‘spurious’, oral bosom serpent source. In addition, Elizabeth M. Craik (2015: 80) has recently observed that “[i]t seems that a passage of quite alien origin has crept into *Epidemiae* 5”. This source was inserted into a series of cases on altered mental states and fatal convulsions (*Epidemiae* 5: 80–87 = 7: 85–91), as part of a series of homogeneous medical episodes. Chapter 85, immediately prior to that of the *argès* serpent, tells, for instance, of a sick woman. She has a headache, subsequently loses her reason, cries and groans and dies 40 days later, after being wracked by convulsions for the last ten days of her life: she was also unable to speak in those last days.¹⁶ Chapter 87, meanwhile, records the death of a male servant, who passed away from a melancholic condition.

BOSOM SERPENTS AND INCUBATION

A number of ancient and medieval stories about a snake approaching a sleeping body have been alleged to involve incubation. A basic definition of incubation is provided by Fritz Graf (2014: 138), who challenges the traditional assumption of continuity between pagan and Christian incubation practices:

Incubation is a ritually clearly defined act of intentional sleep in sacred space in order to be healed by a superhuman healer in a dream – either to be healed by some action in a dream, or by receiving a prescription.

Snakes certainly appeared in a classical pre-Christian context in the dream incubation practices of ancient temple medicine. Asclepius, it will be remembered, could take the form of a snake: an actual zoomorphic epiphany of the god or a symbol of his presence (Petridou 2014: 294). However, there has been speculation that there were ritual incubation therapies for medieval Christians affected by bosom serpents and taken to church “to obtain healing from hydrophobia or venomous snakebites” (di Nola 1976: 151). In Alfonso Maria di Nola’s classic monograph on St. Dominic’s snake-handling in Abruzzo, Italy, there is, perhaps, the beginning of the ‘healing incubation’ theory which is found in some scholarly literature on tale-type ATU 285B*.

The connection of bosom serpents to Christian dream incubation is, in fact, reasonable. It is exemplified by a very well-known *exemplum* told by the archbishop of Genoa, Jacobus de Varagine (1228–1298) in his much-read *Legenda aurea* 143 (Latin text in Maggioni 1998: 979; 2007: 1097, translation in Ryan 1993: 197)¹⁷ and the Dominican friar Vincentius Bellovacensis’s (ca. 1190–1264) *Speculum historiale* 13: 44.¹⁸ These are both borrowed, almost word for word, from Jean de Mailly’s *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* 149: 30–32 (first redaction written after 1225, while the last dates to 1243;

Maggioni 2013: vii–ix). A snake entered the body of a peasant sleeping in a field and the animal was afterwards expelled by the intercession of Sts. Cosmas and Damian. A short version of this miracle was also given in 1245 in Bartholomew of Trent’s collection of lives of the saints, *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum*, which was another source of Jacobus de Varagine: “A snake entered the belly of a young man while he was sleeping; writhing in pain, he took refuge in the church of the saints and, after having invoked them, he was freed from the snake”¹⁹ (Latin text in Paoli 2001: 297). Bartholomew of Trent, Jean de Mailly, Vincent of Beauvais and Jacobus de Varagine were all Dominicans, which is certainly relevant for the history of the bosom serpent tradition.

Some scholars have tentatively interpreted this “old incubation miracle” (Schouten 1967: 74) of Sts. Cosmas and Damian as a mythical description of a parasitic disease (Maggioni et al. 2005: 38), rapidly evoked the Greek medical legends of Epidaurus (Steiner 1983: 160) or compared the cure with other medieval bosom serpent sources (Artelt 1954: ix and Hunger 1978: 81, using Sudhoff 1915–1916; Wittmann 1967: 58; Coloru 2008: 520–527; 2009: 103–109; Maldina 2011: 153–154). The version of the miracle given in the *Legenda aurea*, however, is classified as ATU 285B* by Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich (1996: 312). Jean de Mailly’s version follows on:

While a peasant after working at harvest was sleeping in the field with his mouth open, a snake slipped into his belly. The man felt nothing; he woke up and went home. But while he was lying in the bed, after dinner, gravely tormented by the snake, he, as loudly as possible, invoked the aid of Cosmas and Damian. But the pain grew worse and he ran to the church of the Saints and he was given satisfaction; immediately falling asleep, the snake came out through his mouth as it had slipped in.²⁰ (Latin text in Maggioni 2013: 408)

Giovanni Vacca (2004: 63) stressed the tripartite nature of the story: isolation (in the cornfield), tension and torment, then liberation in sleep. The healing of the peasant from the snake became famous in medieval times thanks to the many vulgarisations of the *Legenda aurea* and the Latin *Vitae* of Sts. Cosmas and Damian.²¹ But the bosom serpent miracle dates back centuries before Jean de Mailly’s 13th-century redaction. It was already included in:

1) the short Byzantine *Vita Asiatica* 2, usually dated to the 4th century (the oldest manuscript is from 8th century). This is the earliest *Vita* and one of the three main sources of the hagiography of saints Cosmas and Damian (version BHG 372; Greek text in Deubner 1907: 91–93). The miracle of the serpent told in later Latin hagiographic texts (for example *Acta tertia*, BHL 1969, in the Bollandists’ *Acta Sanctorum*, or the popular *Acta* edited by 16th-century German hagiographer Laurentius Surius, BHL 1970) derives from the *Vita Asiatica* (Luongo 1997: 55–56; Harrold 2007: 60–62). Interestingly, the miracle of the serpent figures here as an *in vita* miracle (see also Csepregi 2007: 175);

2) the 10th- or 11th-century Greek *Codex Londoniensis* 1 (London Codex, version BHG 373b, which comes from an older tradition) (Greek text in Rupprecht 1935; see Csepregi 2007: 175; Harrold 2007: 41, 60).

The version contained in the *Legenda aurea* was, for example, briefly traced by di Nola (1976: 131–132, 158) to an “anti-serpent cult” involving incubation, because of the peas-

ant's nap in a church – probably the old basilica of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Rome (Wittmann 1967: 57). Note that sleep is also to be found in both the aforementioned *Vita Asiatica* and the *Codex Londoniensis*, which expressly place the miracle in the Cilician city of Pheremma (Syria) at the church built upon the tomb of the saints (David-Danel 1958: 43; Luongo 1997: 48; Csepregi 2007: 175). It is important to point out that as early as the 13th century, the bosom serpent miracle of Sts. Cosmas and Damian was demonised and the intruding snake was regarded as Satan (see, for example, the longer novelised version documented in Justinus Diaconus' *Vita et Passio sanctorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani*; BHL 1976; Latin text and Italian translation in Novembri 2002: 168–171).²²

There are several medieval and early modern iconographic depictions of the “quite frequently represented” (Hunger 1978: 81) miracle of the serpent of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, the majority belonging to a Byzantine Orthodox setting, and the same goes for similar miracles performed by other eastern and western saints. All these representations deserve to be considered within a comprehensive historical-artistic study on the medieval and post-medieval iconography and material culture of the bosom serpent (a study by the present author is in preparation). We often find this ‘incubation’ element in the topos of the holy healer (female or male) who, in medieval Byzantine and western hagiographic literature, extracts or exorcises bosom serpents. Striking in this regard, are the words of Stavroula Constantinou (2010: 52) who is aware of several medieval Byzantine stories

[...] in which various creatures, such as leeches, worms, snakes, and frogs, are incorporated into human bodies. In most cases, they enter when the protagonists unknowingly swallow them. Once within a human body, these creatures bite the victim's internal organs, producing great pain. Through the healing saints' intervention, the swallowed creatures exit alive either by the mouth, when the victim vomits or sneezes, or through the anus, when the victim defecates. In most cases, both the vomiting and defecation take place after the suffering individual eats or drinks what the saint has ordered.²³

The ‘incubation’ interpretation, centred on the chthonian cult of the Greek god Asclepius, has been evoked for the Hippocratic story. Nancy Demand (1994: 42) and Lee T. Pearcy (2012: 105–106) dealt with the *argès* serpent and dream incubation by which this god intervenes, employing, *inter alia*, the *iamata* from the Asklepieion of Epidaurus. A *iamata* (ἰάματα) is a healing miracle known through inscriptions or votive records made to commemorate helpful divine intervention at shrines of Asclepius. In addition, Craik (2015: 80) has recently noted that “[t]he [Hippocratic] story has elements (especially the snake) suggestive of customs in healing cults”. Demand notes the formal resemblance between the Hippocratic case, and elements of sleep and snakes in narratives of Asclepian healing:

This case (except for its unfortunate conclusion) bears a striking resemblance to the procedure of dormition cure used in the temples of Asclepius: patients slept overnight in the temple and during their dreams they were visited by the god who either prescribed for them or treated them; sometimes the companions of the god, a snake or dog, healed the patient by licking. Was the story of v 86 perhaps intended to suggest that those who resorted to the god Asclepius and his snake for a cure might find death instead? Perhaps, but if we consider it in the context of some of

the other cases in v and vii, it seems rather to be a case of inversion, possibly reflecting further influence of the philosopher Heraclitus, which we first noted in Book vi, where it was limited to aphoristic style. (Demand 1994: 42)

She then cited two other Hippocratic cases (*Epidemiae* 5: 9; 5: 74 = 7: 36) writing that “[these other cases] that exhibit the trait of inversion follow a pattern in which the same object has opposite effects” (ibid.), where the elements of life ‘water’ (of the baths) and ‘anchor’ (of a ship) become in some way instruments of death. I find it quite hard to follow Demand’s line of thought here: how is water and the anchor relevant to a snake? The medieval incubation cure, as we have seen, always freed the body from the serpent. In contrast, according to Demand, the pre-Christian incubation cure ended in the young man’s death at the hands of the healer god Asclepius. This interpretation has a certain internal logic, but there are, to the best of my knowledge, no other cases of Asclepius killing a patient. As Jouanna (2001: 167) noted ironically, the *argès* serpent “was not as sweet as the sacred serpent of Asklepios at Epidaurus”!²⁴

Moreover, ill-defined processes of inversion do not much help to clarify the sense of the story. The same considerations are true regarding the work of Pearcy (2012: 105), for whom the Hippocratic story “seem[s] to respond to the kind of narrative inscribed at Epidaurus” as there is sleep and a snake which “combine in an unsettling, and ultimately fatal, way”. The author adds that “[i]t is not necessary to suppose that the author of *Epidemiae* 5 was parodying this specific text [a typical story of healing from a *iama* from Epidaurus]”, doubtfully concluding that the story of the *argès* serpent “show[s] the author of *Epidemiae* 5 responding to Asclepian case histories in the conflict for authority over healing”.

VARIATIONS ON THE DEATH

I will now examine the episode of the death of the young Greek on its own terms. The natural interpretative key is to be found in ancient medical thinking about heavy drinking and drunkenness. There is evidence in Greece for death from the excessive consumption of unmixed wine. Among various instances of alcohol abuse that led to death, there is the Spartan king Cleomenes going mad as a result of heavy drinking (Dalby 2003: 178; Carney 2007: 139–140; Fortenbaugh 2011: 706–707). In Philodemus, *De morte* 32: 35 unmixed wine is also considered potentially fatal, which would be in line with the Hippocratic story (Greek text and translation in Henry 2009: 73–74). But Philodemus’ later source refers to the *topos* of the death of ancient Epicurean philosophers after drinking a cup of unmixed wine, as Epicurus himself did according to Diogenes Laërtius’ *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* 10: 15–16 (Greek text and translation in Warren 2006: 9–10, with additional thoughts). On the basis of the detail of the tent, in which the young man passes out, Jouanna (2012 [1996]: 178) considered the possibility that the youth was on the battlefield doing military service. Certainly, military service was an occasion in which companionship and drunkenness occurred, as other sources demonstrate.

Danielle Gourevitch and Gilles Demigneux (2013: 75–80) analysed two other cases of heavy drinking in antiquity that resulted in the death of the young. According to a Greek funerary epigram dated 200–150 BC – an inscription on a grave stele, found in

Chalkis (Euboea) – a 22-year-old man, Asclepiades of Ephesus, suffocated to death after ingesting an excess of pure wine (SEG 27: 251; updates SEG 32: 850; SEG 38: 865; SEG 56: 1026):

Asclepiades of Ephesus, son of Anaxippos, lived for 22 years: I drank a great quantity of undiluted wine, spat blood and choked to death [without taking a breath]. I am dead, the son of Anaxippos, my name was Asclepiades and the race of my ancestors from Ephesus.²⁵ (Greek text and translation in Gourevitch and Demigneux 2013: 77, both modified by author according to Knoepfler 2007: 683; BÉ 330).

Gourevitch and Gilles Demigneux (2013: 78) have stated that “accusing the dead man of being the cause of his own death is a *unicum*” in terms of the corpus of ancient inscriptions. But, according to SEG (32: 850), we have an epitaph of a three-year-old boy who possibly died from too much wine (presumably alcohol poisoning?), and another case of a young man perhaps killed by the excess consumption of alcohol. Thus, Asclepiades’ epitaph would not be the only one to give a dishonourable gloss to death by wine. However, in the Greek inscription from Chalkis there are four elements in common with the story of the *argès* serpent: a young drunk, undiluted wine, suffocation, and, of course, the fatal conclusion. The similarity is rather generic. The unfortunate end of Asclepiades was probably due to “a very special case” of Mallory-Weiss syndrome: a young man who dies while inhaling his vomit and blood after bingeing on alcohol. Knoepfler (2007: 683), instead, in regards to Asclepiades, saw a clear reference to a digestive “esophageal or stomach haemorrhage”, a possibility also suggested by other authors and rejected by Gourevitch and Demigneux (2013: 77–78: “[t]he trouble with such a diagnosis is that patients suffering from it are generally inveterate drinkers, while the dead man was in fact young”). I will now explore, instead, a different scenario, linked to Greek religious sensibility.

Wine was qualified in the Hippocratic text of the snake *argès* with the adjective *akratos* (ἀκρητον): it was, unusually for the ancient world, ‘unmixed’. Now Greeks might also describe diluted wine as *akratos*, but this was not typical: the process of mixing the proportions might vary but according to Zinon Papakonstantinou (2012: 17), “1 part water to 2 wine is the strongest mixture we encounter in archaic textual sources”. From a social, anthropological and cultural-religious point of view, the lexeme *akratos* had quite negative connotations in the post-Homeric and post-Hesiodic period: it was customary for wine to be drunk by males in moderation and mixed in the *krater* with water before being served during banquets. While wine was indeed reserved for male adults, milk was for women and children. *Akratos* (neat wine) marked barbaric excess or was linked to ritual practices related to disorder and madness, notably to Dionysian practices; the gods, interestingly, drank unmixed wine (Graf 1980; Lissarrague 1990: 6; Longo 1991: 44; Dalby 2003: 353–354; Carney 2007: 153–157). The sick young man is, moreover, a *neaniskos* (νεηνίσκον), a young adult, a kind of partial citizen between 20 and 30 years of age who is not yet fully part of the community of men (Brulé 1996: 18). It, therefore, makes sense that undiluted wine would have a more serious effect on a *neaniskos* than it would have on an adult. This could help to explain why the story ends in the death of the young man. It could be that the youth’s act of *hýbris* in drinking unmixed wine, destined to gods, was punished with death.

This fatal ending is very infrequent in medieval bosom serpent legends where, as we have seen above, the patient is typically healed by a saint. Death does, however, sometimes feature in modern and contemporary accounts in which, according to Bennett (1997: 233), “very few deaths are recorded”. As regards, at least, the early modern period, I suspect, however, that there are many more instances of fatal bosom serpents waiting to be discovered by scholars.²⁶ In addition, there are various cross-cultural narratives in which serpents are said to enter a human body and kill the host.²⁷ A similar ‘directed’ bosom serpent is found in a unique Old Norse source, the 12th-century Oddr Snorrason, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* 58 (taken up in various later *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*). This describes a bosom serpent execution, when a snake is forced into a victim’s mouth (Icelandic text in Halldórsson 2006: 282–283, translation in Andersson 2003: 106; see Ermacora et al. forthcoming).

Thus, drunkenness has its own special meaning in the Hippocratic tale. Indeed, it is possible that this episode was straightforward to, say, a 4th-century BC reader or listener: a young man pays for a foolish act.

PRE-MODERN THIRSTY SNAKES

Many sources, some of which are very old and ritual- or myth-based, show that in the ancient world snakes were permanently thirsty: there is a symmetry with the unquenchable thirst that they inflict with their venomous bites (Trinquier 2012; see also Sordi 2003: 245–248). These texts might be used to decipher the story of the *argès* snake and the motif of a snake attracted by the smell of wine from a human mouth.

The complex of ideas relating to the ancient wine-loving snake can be seen in iconographic scenes on drinking vessels or symposia from the Ancient Near Eastern, Minoan and Mycenaean Bronze Age; and, most likely, in enigmatic linear B tablets from Thebes, setting out the cultic offer of small quantities of wine to sacred snakes or to deities in the shape of serpents (*e-pe-to-i*; compare with Greek *έρπετόν*: see Duhoux 1997: 187, 195–196; Trinquier 2012: 192; Varias García 2014).²⁸ For example, we can see the standardised iconography of a snake drinking from a banqueter’s *kantharos* and its appearance in heroic imagery in Laconia in the first half of the 5th century BC (Krumholz McDonald 1994; Salapata 2006; Trinquier 2012: 191–195). This iconography already attracted the attention of sir James George Frazer (1914: 87–88), who amassed documents on the close relationship between the snake (as a dead soul) and milk offerings.

There are many instances of this conviction that serpents loved wine in classical, and then medieval, written sources. These are to be intended as part of the scientific knowledge common at that time. The *loci classici* are Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 8: 4, 594a, and Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 10: 198, 22: 106. Aristotle recorded that vipers can be caught, after drinking themselves to intoxication, on wine laid out on pottery shards in stone walls (Greek text and translation in Balme 1991: 109–111). Pliny mentions, twice, the fondness of snakes for wine (Latin text and translation in Rackham 1940: 418–419; Jones 1951: 368–369). For later periods, a reference to the *Quaestiones super de animalibus* 7: 17–19, dated to 1258, may suffice (even if Aristotle’s influence is in evidence). These questions on Aristotle’s compilation *De animalibus* are associated with the great Dominican theologian and philosopher Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280). They were

composed by Albert's student, Conrad of Austria, as notes to his master's Cologne lectures. This is an 'indirect work', then, that chronologically precedes the very same information discussed in Albert's enormous encyclopaedia *De animalibus* 7: 42, composed between 1258 and 1262 (Latin text in Stadler 1920, translations in Scanlan 1987: 384 and Kitchell and Resnick 1999: 604; see also Tugwell 1988: 29). Quoting Aristotle and trying to explain why serpents have a special appetite for milk and wine, Albert cites a personal experience. After he returned to Cologne in 1257, he got a common garden snake and a container of wine. He, then, confirmed, to his own satisfaction, that snakes can become intoxicated (Latin text in Filthaut 1955, translation in Kitchell and Resnick 2008: 2243–2245).

It was, therefore, widely believed in antiquity (Trinquier 2012) and the middle ages (much additional evidence could be provided) that snakes – and, in Greek eyes, particularly vipers – were attracted to milk and wine and, to a lesser extent, to other liquids, including blood. These ideas were embedded in a structural system of vernacular beliefs. Snakes, in general, were, according to literary references spanning at least two millennia, sometimes considered to be dry – and thus extremely hot – and, sometimes, cold creatures. And this was also true of snake venom. Wine, too, was held to be hot and dry, much like blood, and, therefore, had a natural affinity with the hot and dry, canicular viper (Sordi 2003: 245; Trinquier 2012: 196–198). Any understanding of antique wine-drinking snake beliefs must depend, then, on an understanding of these biological notions about snakes from the Graeco-Roman and medieval world.

In the context of the broader theoretical framework just outlined, too much 'heat' in the body due to an abuse of pure wine logically led to a 'cold remedy': the *argès* snake. I thus agree with Jean Trinquier (2012: 196) who has briefly written on the "rather unusual story" of the *argès* serpent in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. He claims that the passage should be incorporated into a cultural context in which the neat (and thus very 'hot') wine drunk by the youth attracted the 'cold' snake. Vipers, as noted above, had a penchant for wine: Trinquier even wonders whether the *argès* serpent might not have been a viper.

PRE-MODERN WINE- AND MILK-LOVER BOSOM SERPENTS

Later narratives back up this contextual approach to the *argès* serpent story. How can animals possibly end up inside humans? There is a rich series of medieval bosom serpent stories from Western and Arab worlds (and modern and contemporary rural legends) in which serpents make their way into human stomachs, attracted by the smell of recently drunk milk. We have already seen this idea in Lippi da Arezzo's late-medieval medical treatise. (For a different medieval tradition that sees the bosom serpent attracted by body heat, rather than by milk or wine, see Ermacora 2015: 273–274.) For instance, a bosom serpent appears in the twelfth-century *Vitae abbatum et monachorum* 3: 23, a *Vita* of the 11th-century St. Eldrado, Abbot at the Italian Benedictine abbey of Sts. Pietro and Andrea in Novalesa (Torino). The Saint posthumously cures, through incubation therapy, a shepherd boy with a bosom serpent, which had been tempted into the shepherd's stomach by the smell of milk while the boy slept outside.

A certain father sent an errand boy to look after his sheep on Moncenisio. Here it so happened that the boy and other friends of his fell asleep in the sun while the sheep were grazing. A certain snake, having noticed how the boy was sleeping with his mouth wide open, as people usually do, attracted by the sweetness of the milk that the boy had drunk entered his mouth and went down as far as his belly. However, it so happened that one of the boys woke up and saw the tail of the snake hanging from his friend's mouth and he cried so loud as to wake his companions. They woke up and became aware of the horrible events that had happened. They saw their friend's suffering grimace caused by his horrible pains so they brought him to his mother. She brought her son to St. Eldrado the Christ's confessor. Here, as they were praying on the floor, they fell asleep as they were tired. After a while, at the time when the monks use to ring the early morning bells at Matins [i.e. at 6 am], the mother woke up and saw the snake curled, as serpents usually do, over her son's mouth, amidst blood and pus. Having quickly got hold of the boy she brought him to the monks. The monks then went to St. Eldrado's church, giving thanks for the Saint's delivery from the diabolical plague through his timely favours. Following such events, it would look as if St. Eldrado was deemed worthy of admission amongst the Holy Apostles to whom our Lord told: "Drive off snakes and expel demons".²⁹ (Latin text in Cipolla 1898: 395–396)³⁰

Omar Coloru (2008: 523–524; 2009: 106–107) has explained the resemblance of this episode with the post-mortem miracle of the Sts. Cosmas and Damian contained in Jacobus de Varagine's *Legenda aurea* 14 (see above) through a "recourse to [hagiographical] stereotypes". In his opinion, the narrative demonstrates that the anonymous monk who compiled St. Eldrado's *Vita* was aware of the version of ATU 285B* told in an unknown redaction, in circulation at the time, of Sts. Cosmas and Damian's *Vita*, and that the compiler took inspiration from it. For Coloru, there are only "some slight differences". What is more, Coloru compared St. Eldrado's miracle legend to another bosom serpent variant described in *Chronicon Novaliciense* 5: 45, a monastic chronicle composed at the Novalesa abbey in the early 11th century. A snake got into a shepherd's stomach through his mouth, while the shepherd slept: the shepherd was then cured, at home, after having taken communion in front of an altar to St. Peter. Interestingly, the detail of the healing sleep, here, occurs after, and not during the visit to the church:

We are going to tell the episode of the cowherd of that monastery, who was freed from the poison of a snake. He, while guarding the cattle on the Moncenisio, fell asleep. A snake that was hiding there, seeing his mouth open, entered the body. Feeling near the anxiety of death, he shouted complaining, and he was shouting very much! Here you can hear the work of the deity. After having him circle around St. Peter's altar, he was given the body and blood of Christ. He was taken home. Immediately he fell asleep. Then the snake could not continue to stay in the body, where the divine gift had already entered. A creature cannot oppose its creator. Therefore, from the open mouth, the slimy snake went out. Another person participating, seeing the fact, killed the snake and showed everyone what wonderful things divine power could do.³¹ (Latin text and Italian translation in Alessio 1982: 306–307, modified by author)

Thus, we have here two healing episodes which come from the very same area, the Piedmontese abbey of Novalesa, but with two different saints: as far as I know, this is rare for medieval bosom serpent legends. Coloru (2008: 523–524; 2009: 106–107) considered St. Peter’s story as “a striking example [...] in which is reported, in a shorter form, the same miracle present in the later life of St. Eldrado”. He then speculates that “[t]his [fact] seems to suggest that the allocation of the liberation from snake by St. Eldrado would be the result of a later addition made by the monks to increase the prestige of the saint” (ibid.). In my opinion, however, these narratives involving Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. Peter and St. Eldrado must be understood as three independent variants of ATU 285B*. Their similarity is not at all decisive – the differences are as many as the similarities – and the resemblances are best explained simply in terms of their drawing on widely disseminated folklore themes.³² This is also true of the ‘incubation’ element. We have seen how the connection of bosom serpents to Christian dream incubation therapies is grounded in many comparable instances from the Western and Eastern middle ages. Moreover, in medieval times hagiographical *topoi* tended to be copied slavishly rather than ‘adapted’ in a creative way. So, thinking of a relevant example, the bosom serpent miracle attributed in the *Vita Sancti Anselmi Maeonensis* [etc.] 9 to St. Anselm, 6th-century bishop and patron of Bomarzo, was taken word-for-word from Sts. Cosmas and Damian’s life in the *Legenda aurea*: the only change was the name of the patron saint of the church, St. Anselm (Latin text in Vittori 1846: 153).

But what about the detail of the milk-loving bosom serpent in St. Eldrado’s *Vita*? As I wrote above, I am aware of several other medieval bosom serpent legends that connect milk and intrusive animals. Certainly, we have ample evidence from antiquity that reptiles also love milk and were known to be galactophagous: as with their fondness for wine, this was another truly ‘impossible biology’ for these animals. After all, the early documentary evidence for reptiles drinking milk was often associated with the (Indo-European?) pattern of the breast-sucking reptile (Ronzitti 2011: 13–42).³³ Did milk replace wine as the beverage of preference for medieval bosom serpents? I know only a few medieval textual exceptions in which wine shows up, such as the Byzantine version of the life of Simeon Stylites the Younger discussed above. Historically, milk and wine are two liquids that are known to oppose, and that prove incompatible with, one another (Graf 1980; Sordi 2003: 259). But this is a hypothesis which needs to be carefully researched and, possibly, challenged, as my knowledge of the sources is, as yet, incomplete. Why and when this apparent change from wine to milk took place, in regards to pre-modern bosom serpents and their agricultural and pastoral setting, certainly need to be better considered.

EMOTIONS, LOSS OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE BOSOM SERPENT

As I said when introducing this paper, in Graeco-Roman times there is, even ignoring the *argès* serpent, strong medical evidence for bosom serpent narratives and beliefs (Ermacora forthcoming). One might also observe that Virgil, *Georgica* 3: 425–439, looks like an ‘incomplete’ 1st-century BC variant of ATU 285B*: the text ends with the explicit warning not to fall asleep when an unnamed Calabrian serpent, tormented by thirst,

is roaming in the long grass. Note that this is not an original suggestion. Already in 1762, Casimiro Anino (1762: 24), suggestively compared the passage to several medical bosom serpent stories: among them, the *argès* snake. There is the dangerous amphibious snake that roams the fields and the poet's nap in the countryside during the dry heat. But there is no mention of the snake entering a human body: seeking, as the passage suggests, moisture or liquid (Latin text and translation in Rushton Fairclough and Goold 1916: 206–207; for the Nicandrian echoes of this text of Virgil, see Trinquier 2008: 178–189).

Interestingly, I found a similar snake warning tale against sleeping alone in isolated places in a grotesque folklore text in the anonymous Buddhist anthology of tales *Konjaku monogatari shū* 29: 40 (Anthology of Tales from the Past), probably written at the beginning of the 12th century. The story, which seems to have drawn on the Buddhist conception of the impurity of semen (Tonomura 1994: 148–149), had a married monk, having fallen asleep outside in an isolated place during a summer afternoon. He dreamed that he had sex with a beautiful young woman and woke up to discover that a five-foot-long snake had sucked on his member and that the snake's mouth was full of the man's semen. The comment of the compiler was as follows: "Well then, you shouldn't take naps alone in remote, empty places. But, no other strange things happened to this monk afterward" (translation in Osterfeld Li 2009: 108, slightly modified by author, with an important commentary; Osterfeld Li does not acknowledge, however, the folkloric value of the story).³⁴ In Kyōkai's early 9th-century *Nihon ryōiki* 2: 41 (Miraculous Stories from Japan, taken up in the *Konjaku monogatari shū* 24: 9), the author recorded a Buddhist tale dated to 759, about a young woman who was penetrated by a vaginal serpent while she was lying unconscious on the ground. The girl was treated by a physician who removed the snake and its eggs, pouring litres of brew into the vaginal opening. It is said, then, that the girl died after three years due to a second serpentine penetration (translations in Motomochi Nakamura 1973: 213–215 and Watson 2013: 124–12; see Ermacora 2015: 275–277 for 15th- and 16th-century Western folklore parallels).³⁵ Thus, we also find in pre-modern Japan the concept of "snakes entering people's bodies as devils of disease" (de Visser 1911: 320, who affirmed the contrary comparing ancient Japan and China), though it is an exaggeration to claim, on the basis of this evidence alone, that "[s]tories of lustful snakes attracted by women's genitalia [we]re frequent in Japanese Buddhist collections of tales" (Faure 1998: 88).³⁶ Commentators of these early snake stories have stressed the symbolism of phallic penetration (Faure 2003: 318–319, 397), or gender and social issues reflected in the Buddhist view of female behaviour and bodily imagery (Dumas 2013: 264–266). Both the Japanese monk and the woman were unconscious when they were violated: as we have seen, the association between harmful bosom serpents and the loss of consciousness is typical in worldwide variants of ATU 285B*.

This fact has led me to search for the unifying logic that underlies so many pre-modern animal intrusion stories. In my research on bosom serpents I have never encountered strong mythological traits, relevant to an archaic, opaque animal symbolism. In other words, there is no 'veiled meaning' in bosom serpents: the creature dwelling in the human body is a lived experience without the powerful ambiguities inherent in myth.³⁷ As was shown by Edward Forrest Clements (1932) in his seminal study on primitive disease concepts, the corporal beast that torments people's bodies is always

undesirable and needs to be removed: the anxiety and fear of generally unwished for occupation permeates the lives of the protagonists. Loudell F. Snow (1983: 826) once wrote, in relation to African-American spells involving bosom serpents, sent into a victim through food and drink: “[t]he thought of eating or drinking something evil that can then literally exist in the body must be psychologically devastating”. On the basis of the texts I have examined in this paper, it would be difficult to disagree. As happened in the story of the *argès* snake, the bosom serpent can even kill. The feelings of repulsion and exhaustion are certainly the most common emotions in stories of bosom serpent infestations, stories told with such consistency through time and space.

As it happens, negative emotions are inhibited during deep sleep or any state of loss of consciousness, when awareness of self and the environment is lost. It is during these absences from the world that bosom serpents often get inside human bodies in narratives and personal experience stories (Ermacora forthcoming). In this context, I can usefully mention the innate human fear of reptiles and spiders (another animal well represented in fantastic pre-modern animal contamination stories) and the psycho-biological factors inherent in the evolution of the human brain, such as those flagged up in neurobiology. Here reference is made to the psychological and ecological experiences of primates and hominid ancestors in regards to threatening snakes and spiders. Spiders, obviously, have provided considerably less of a predatory threat for mammals than venomous snakes, and are less fear-relevant from an evolutionary perspective (Soares et al. 2014; Van Strien et al. 2014). But these phylogenetic fears may explain the nearly ubiquitous presence, in pre-modern cultures, of dragon and snake myths and folklore.

Could the folklore stories of animal contamination and the general anxiety, feelings of disgust and horror have their basic foundations here? We are quite possibly dealing with so-called ‘ancestral animal phobias’, whose backgrounds have not yet been fully elucidated (see Isbell 2006; 2009; Van Le et al. 2013; Soares et al. 2014; Van Strien et al. 2014 on the ‘Snake Detection Theory’). I would maintain that the primal fear element influenced extraordinary cross-cultural ideas of human physiology in which creeping animals come to represent, in different epochs, the painful experience of disease inside the body. The real experience of parasitic worm infestation, as it has been noted many times, also possibly contributed to the basic foundations of this universal complex. I hope to discuss this elsewhere.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper has been to show that the folkloric background of *Epidemiae* 5: 86, has not been seriously considered in the last century. In order to demonstrate this I have: 1) presented an overview of contemporary scholars who have written on *Epidemiae* showing flaws in their interpretative assumptions; 2) demonstrated that the meaning of the story was, instead, understood by Renaissance and 19th-century commentators: the *argès* snake was interpreted, by them, as a bosom serpent; 3) placed the passage under discussion in the broader context of the Greek medical treatises in which it is found, with reference to ancient Greek religion and mentalities; and 4) insisted on the text under consideration being seen as an inseparable part of its historical and cultural-mythological environment. I explored its cultural framework and, consequently, that of

the Greek audience, based on ancient vernacular beliefs about snakes as ‘drinkers’ of liquids, especially wine and milk.

In medieval and post-medieval rural folklore, sleeping out in the field was dangerous: snakes and other small animals could, it was assumed, crawl into the sleeper’s body through the ears, eyes, mouth, nostrils, anus and vagina. Comparative material demonstrates that it was believed that the thirsty snake entered the sleeper’s mouth because of its love of milk and wine. This is what happened, I have suggested, with the *argès* snake: the reptile had been attracted by the smell of recently ingested wine in the young drunk’s stomach. The Hippocratic bosom serpent story has, thus, a coherent identity and meaning. The idea of an invasive amphibious or serpentine creature living within the human body is a well-attested (even if little noted) ancient international migratory legend, classed as tale-type ATU 285B*. Moreover, its morphological and functional traits remain substantially unaltered despite the passing of the best part of two and a half millennia; oral tradition has retained, with great stability, tale-type ATU 285B* and related bosom serpent narratives from the classical world up to ‘urban’ or contemporary legends collected in more recent times.

Bennett (2005: 22–39) rightly considered bosom serpent stories as medical folklore. She also tried to distinguish bosom serpents told as contemporary legends, since the mid-1800s onwards, from older instances of witchcraft and prodigies. The criteria she used to determine modern contemporary bosom serpent legends are the following: 1) the focus of the tale is on symptoms, diagnoses and cures rather than on bosom serpent(s); 2) the story is usually secular (i.e. there is no supernatural or religious element) (ibid.: 22). The problem with this is that pre-modern bosom serpent legends – including, perhaps, the story of the *argès* serpent – often satisfy these criteria. Like their modern counterparts, pre-modern bosom serpents almost invariably appear to take on, in fact, a tripartite form, something there even in highly complex narratives: (1) the animal gets into the body, then there are (2) the symptoms and, finally, (3) a cure restores the individual to good health (ibid.: 22–24; Ermacora forthcoming).³⁸ Secularisation (Bennett’s second point) obviously depends on the historical period, the geographical area under observation, and the particular oral or literary genre in which the bosom serpent appears. ‘Contemporary’ legends, with their rhetoric of truth, can have active circulation in any society (including ancient and Western societies) where medicine and sorcery/religion are or are not closely-related notions, often featuring a general demonological conception of disease.

So if we take bosom serpents as a case study we might ask ourselves: what really is ‘contemporary’ in a 19th- and 20th-century bosom serpent tradition? Or, in other words: what goes to make up the emergent contemporary bosom serpent legend? My suspicion is that there is no satisfactory distinction between pre-modern bosom serpents and more recent fantastic narratives about animals in the human body (I base these provisional conclusions on some research that I and two colleagues are undertaking; see Ermacora et al. forthcoming). Taken together, old and contemporary bosom serpent legends show the resilience of a tradition that continues to validate, with the same rhetoric, analogous attitudes and anxieties about the invasion and transgression of corporeal space; this is part of an ‘open body’ scheme (Kanerva 2014: 232) or, in Bakhtinian terms, the vulnerable ‘grotesque body’ (Bakhtin 1984 [1965]: 26), which is found in a very large number (if not in all) past and present human cultures. An animal

violates body boundaries through vulnerable orifices, transitional spaces between the inner and dangerous external. Remember that the *argēs* snake – as well as many parallel bosom serpents – entered the body through the respiratory passages. In 1932 Clements was able to present the intrusion into the body of “small animals, such as lizards, worms, and insects” (Clements 1932: 188; see also Rogers 1944: 559, 561; Honko 1967 [1959]: 29–33) as one of the five ‘visible and palpable’ primary theories of pain and disease causation across the world: Clements did so on the basis of an impressive quantity of ethnological material related to the malefic disease-object intrusion concept.³⁹

This fact, in my opinion, substantiates the authoritative opinions of some specialists in oral narrative (including Alan Dundes and Bengt af Klintberg) for whom “many separate legend types belonging to the oral tradition of our time appear to be, when investigated more closely, adaptations of older narratives” (af Klintberg 1985: 274, see also Dundes 1993; a critique of Dundes’ view that contemporary legends are nothing more than migratory legends – and not even contemporary – is in Glazer 1995 and Simpson 1998.). Their point of view assumes a special meaning for bosom serpent legends and for certain ‘every-day’ snake beliefs and helps to explain their strong emotional impact. If possible, folklore scholars should consider both forms of folklore (contemporary legends and older or traditional legends) together and, of course, the cross-disciplinary contributions of religious, historical, medical and literary studies. This, at least, has been my aim in the present work.

In conclusion, the remote pieces of evidence that I have brought together allowed me to extend the folklore timeframe, hinting at cultural borrowings and parallels. Any reflections are still provisional and will depend on the satisfactory recovery and examination of all early sources: a process that I have only begun here. I hope that this work will serve as an inspiration or provocation for further research projects.

NOTES

1 *Νηνίσκος δέ τις πολὺν ἄκρητον πεπωκῶς ὕπτιος ἐκάθουθεν ἐν τινι σκηνῇ· τούτῳ ὄφις ἐς τὸ στόμα παρεισεδύετο ἀργῆς. καὶ δὴ ὅτε ἦσθετο, οὐ δυνάμενος φράσασθαι, ἔβρυξε τοὺς ὀδόντας, καὶ παρέτραγε τοῦ ὄφιος, καὶ ἀλγηδὸνι μεγάλη εἶχετο, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας προσέφερεν ὡς ἀγχόμενος, καὶ ἐρρίπτει ἑωυτόν, καὶ σπασθεὶς ἔθανεν.*

2 Corinne Jouanno (2004: 98) has listed Simeon Stylites’ bosom serpent story along with other miracles of the *Vita* with a pronounced scatological flavour; the detail of the invasive animal expelled alive or in pieces from the anus is well-grounded in other Late-Antique and medieval Middle Eastern texts (see Ermacora et al. forthcoming for two 10th-century Byzantine episodes).

3 *Ἰβηρός τις ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ θερισμοῦ ἐκ πολλῆς οἰνοφλυγίας βαρυντάτῳ κατασχεθεὶς ὕπνω καὶ κατακείμενος ἐν ἀλωνίῳ, ὄφειως προσψάσαντος τῷ αὐτοῦ στόματι ἀνεωγμένῳ καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀσφρήσεως τοῦ οἴνου εισδύσαντος ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις αὐτοῦ, σφοδρῶς ἐκινδύνευεν. Οὗτος ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον, αἰτῶν μετὰ δακρύων πολλῶν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσευχῶν δωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλος σπλαγχμισθεὶς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, σφραγίσας τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ ῥάβδῳ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὸν ἐξελεθῆν ἔξω τοῦ μοναστηρίου. Ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν παρατὰ τὸν ὄφιν διὰ τοῦ ἀφεδράνως ζῶντα κατήγαγεν, καὶ ὑγιῆς γενόμενος ἀπῆλθε δοξάζων τὸν Θεὸν σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς παρατετυχηκόσι καὶ τοῦ θαύματος θεαταῖς γενομένοις.*

4 The editor Paul van den Ven lists some other medieval bosom serpent parallels. Vincent Déroche (1995: 104) briefly mentions this snake episode as a parallel for Late-Antique and

medieval hagiographic tales where a serpent poisons wine or drinking water contained in a jar. Nikephoros Ouranos, at the very end of 10th century, created a *metaphrasis* (rewriting) of the anonymous *Vita* of Symeon Stylites the Younger. The miracle of the bosom serpent is in *Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris* 20: 157 (Greek text and Latin translation in Janninck 1685: 365–366; Migne 1860: 3131–3134; BHG 1690). The snake story is not contained, however, in the short 10th-century *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iunioris* by Iohannes Petrinus (a Greek manuscript was edited in Müller 1914: 9–16; BHG 1691).

5 See, for example, the study by Franch Postic (2009: 7), for whom a beautiful French variant from 1371, with a frog ingested in tadpole form “[s]eems to be the oldest known to date” (on this text, see also Cassard 1998: 78; Postic 2000), or that by Bennett (2005: 29) for whom a famous 12th-century Middle Irish tale (belonging to *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*; translation in Preston-Matto 2010: 2, 28, 34, 54–57) is “the oldest text in my collection”.

6 Edward Topsell (1658: 630; largely translated from Gessner 1587: 27v) translated very loosely that “so suddenly gnashing his teeth, [the young man] devoured and swallowed down the Serpent”. Bondeson (1997: 27; 1998: 47) speculated that the youth died “from an apoplectic seizure”.

7 It is worth noting that, according to the parasitologist Nicolas Andry de Bois-Regard (1658–1742), intestinal worms provoke horrible convulsions similar to those of possessed men (Pouchelle 1990: 248); convulsions, in fact, frequently appear in patients afflicted both by the bosom serpent and the natural parasites described in medicine and parasitology (Bennett 2000: 14; 2005: 24, 32, 35). For convulsions and spasms provoked by alleged worms in the body in early modern Italian medical accounts, see Camporesi 1988 [1983]: 113–114.

8 *So du nun solliche zeichen erkent hast / So hylff im also / So lug daz du habest ein wind bereit in der massen wye hie vorstat vnd bint dem menschen die hennd vff den rücken das er nit nach dem wurm gryffen mach in dem usser kriecken wan der mesch ist syn begierig so flüsst der wurm wyder hinnder sich vnnnd henck in vff also hie stat / also daz im daz haubt zu dalhanget mit vff gedodem mund vnnnd setz im vnder synen mundt eyn becken oder einen haffen mit gesomer heisen geiß milch als daz im der schmack der milch in den mund gang vnnnd heyß die lüt von dyr gonn on der do sol vff winden vnnnd sol kein wort da geredet werden wan allein durch die bedüttung so kriecken die wurm her für ven der herwigkeit deß drannckes vnnnd begerennt der milch / So bedunckt dem an der winden im den mundt an die milch lassen zu gon vnnnd so du siehest das der wurm das mul in der milch hat so laß im das mul in die mi<D>ch thunn vnnnd ein wenig trinken dan bedüt dem an der winden syttigklichen ober sich vff zu winden also das der wurm stet das mul in der milch lygen hat vnd e er sich foul gedrinckt / dar nach solt du hybstlichen ab der winden thun vnnnd laß in dan rugen ist es dan sach das er me by im hab so dun zu glicher wyß wie ich gelert hab vnd wan du merckest by dem vorgenanten zeichen daz er kein wurm by im hat dan [...].*

9 Thompson referred to motif J1115.2.3 of Dominic P. Rotunda (1942: 38). Craig R. Thompson (1997: 1047) commenting on a bosom serpent story dated 1531 of Erasmus of Rotterdam (which I have discussed in Ermacora 2015), instead, refers directly to Rotunda.

10 *Angues multum diligunt vinum et lac et ideo de ventre hominis possunt extrahi odore lactis, ut dicit Dyascorides.*

11 There is no space, here, to deal with the numerous parallels from ancient Japan, China and India.

12 See also works by Antonio Vallisneri (1710: 20, 23–32, 36–37, 41; 1721: 150–155, 163–164, 166, 169), who harshly criticises Andry and other ancient medical authors for being gullible about bosom serpents and/or the spontaneous generation in the body of frogs, scorpions, birds and lizards from helminths.

13 For Maria Elena Ruggerini (2013: 523), Snorri Sturluson lists five Old Norse adjectives and names (*heiti*) of the snake that make reference to the appearance of the animal as ‘the shining one’: *brainn*, *fann*, *feginn*, *fræningr*, *grábakr*. The fact is that these words do not mean ‘shining’: only *fránn* (cited wrongly) does.

14 See Pokorny 1959: 64–65 (s.v. *ar(e)-ǵ-* (*arǵ-?*)); Frisk 1960: 131–133 (s.v. *ἀργής*, *ἀργός*);

Chantraine 1968: 104–105 (s.v. ἀργός); Beekes and van Beek 2010: 125–126 (s.v. ἀργής, -ῆτος, ἀργός). Note also that Juvenal, *Saturae* 6: 535–541 has “silver snake” (*argentea serpens*), a rather cryptic allusion connected to the desecration of the marriage bed and oriental cults (probably Isis, a goddess connected with a serpent effigy; Latin text and translation in Morton Braund 2004: 284–285). There were colossal silver serpent statues in the temple of Baal in Babylon; see Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 2, 9: 5 (Greek text and translation in Oldfather 1933: 382–383; Diodorus quotes Ctesias the Cnidian).

15 A ‘constitution’ is a description of the relations between illnesses and climatic conditions encountered by the doctor in a specific place and moment (often spread out over a given period of time, for example, a year) (Demand 1994: 38, 231).

16 It is significant that the *argès* serpent episode was included in some modern medical treatises, among other Hippocratic tales of fatal convulsions, in dense sections dedicated to feverish convulsions. See, for example, the Venetian doctor and botanist Prospero Alpini, *De praesagienda vita, et morte aegrotantium libri septem* [etc.] 3: 8 (Alpini 1601: 294); and the great encyclopaedia of medical knowledge *A medical dictionary, including physic, surgery, anatomy, chemistry, and botany* [etc.], published between 1743 and 1745 by the English physician Robert James (1703–1776) (I consulted the early French translation James and Busson 1748: col. 913).

17 Bennett (2005: 7–8) mentions the *Golden legend* (*Legenda aurea* 84) for the medieval legend of the birth of a frog from the Roman emperor Nero (this is a widespread medieval bosom serpent story that I will investigate elsewhere). But she has not noted the variant of ATU 285B* contained in the text. Jacobus de Varagine claims to have taken the story of Nero from an apocryphal source: this is the so-called 11th- or 12th-century *Historia apocrypha* (Maggioni 1998: 1575).

18 Maldina (2011: 153) seems to erroneously report the textual references; see the very useful edition, employing a single manuscript, digitised on the site Atelier Vincent de Beauvais.

19 *In ventrem iuvenis dormientis serpens ingressus est; qui dum nimium torqueretur, ad sanctorum ecclesiam confugit, eosque invocans, a serpente liberatur.*

20 *Cum quidam rusticus post laborem messis in campo aperto ore dormiret, serpens in uentrem eius ingressus est. Euigilans nichil sensit, sed sero domum rediens cum post cenam in lecto iaceret mox a serpente grauius cruciatus uoce quapoterat sanctum Cosmam et Damianum in auxilium inuocauit. Sed cum paulatim grauius torqueretur ad ecclesiam sanctorum cucurrit et sic exauditus est quod ipso subito dormiente serpens sicut intrauerat per os eius exiuit.*

21 On the miracle of the serpent see, for example, Wittmann 1967: 16–17 on the High German incunable *Der Heiligen Leben: Winterteil und Sommerteil*, published in 1489, and Pagano 2004: 26, 31, 34, 41 on a *Vita* translated into Sicilian in the 15th century, itself a translation of a 14th-century Catalan vulgarisation of the *Legenda*.

22 A 15th-century translation of this *Vita* into Florentine dialect was published in Melga 1857: 25–27 (see also Harrold 2007: 191).

23 Constantinou reported, as an example, the case of a woman who swallowed a leech when she drank water from a well: this is miracle no. 5 of Joannes Lazaropoulos’s *Synopsis*, a collection of St. Eugenios’s miracles dated ca. 1310–1369. But Constantinou missed the animal infestation miracle no. 10 (Greek text in Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897, translation in Rosenqvist 1996: 268–271, 283–285). She noted, meanwhile, other literary sources on the Byzantine bosom serpent that have been overlooked: we presented and discussed a 10th-century source in Ermacora et al. forthcoming.

24 There are, however, two celebrated cases from the ancient world of young men who die in completely different contexts while asking a god for the best thing for them: the case of Kleobis and Biton (at the hands of Hera; Herodotus, *Histories* 1: 31, Greek text and translation in Godley 1920: 34–37) and that of Trophonius and Agamedes (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 296–297, punished by Apollo; Greek text and translation in West 2003: 92–95).

25 *Ἀσκληπιάδης / Ἀναξίππου / Ἐφέσιος / Εἰς<ι>κοσι καὶ δὺ̄ ἔτη ζήσας πολὺν οἶνον ἀπνευστεῖ*

/ ἄκρατον πίνων αἶμα ἀνάγων ἔθανον / υἱὸς Ἀναξίππου κληζὸν δ' Ἀσκληπιάδην <με>/ καὶ πατέρων ἦν γένος ἐξ Εὐφέσου.

26 For a list of several cases, see the useful *remarques* added by the editor François Planque (1696–1765) to de Lignac 1759 [1718]: 105–107.

27 For example, see Papua New Guinean motifs B765.5+ ‘Snake kills by entering person’s ulcer’ and G328+ ‘Snake enters boil/wound and devours victim’ in Slone 2001: 119, 429–430. These motifs were elaborated on the basis of narratives current in the 1970s in local newspapers. The same numbers, however, were previously given by Thompson 1955–1958, in reference to Indian folklore, as B765.5 ‘Snake crawls out of sleeper’s mouth’ and G328 ‘Rectum snakes. Snakes which creep into living man and devour him’. Slone’s contemporary narratives are probably to be understood as legendary variants of Oceanic Melanesian myths featuring anthropomorphic ancestors. Two tales were discussed in Brelich 2003: 202–204, *apud* Kleintitschen 1924: the extra-human beings *kaia* in the form of a snake penetrated the anus and invaded the belly of the demi-urgic hero-victim. The ruse to get rid of the parasites always led to death: with the help of women, the snake was literally pulled out, but brought with it the man’s liver. Note that among the Kewa of the New Guinea Highlands gender-oriented folktales involving bosom serpents were also attested (LeRoy 1985a: 77–80 provided the translation in one instance; see also LeRoy 1985b: 109).

28 The theory that *e-pe-to-i* might signify ‘quadrupeds, land animals’ and not snakes (Gallou 2005: 27) has been critically discussed by Varias García (2014: 183–185). On the basis of linguistic and contextual objections to this and other opinions, Varias García has claimed, with good arguments, that *e-pe-to-i* could refer to a group of snakes (alive or represented by terracotta figures) associated with the cult of a female divinity. They also had apotropaic functions. He concludes noting that “[t]he serpent as protector of the house is a familiar figure in European folklore [...] If this hypothesis is correct, we may have the first written evidence of this figure in the Thebes tablets”. Unfortunately, Varias García does not consider the ancient folk beliefs on wine-drinking snakes. The domestic snake (*serpent domesticus*) living in the house as protector and *genius loci* (often seen as an ancestor: universal motif F480.2 ‘Serpent as house spirit’) is, of course, perfectly compatible with an ophidian entity fed on milk and wine. This is well attested in both pre-modern and modern folklore.

29 *Dum ergo quidam paterfamilias puerum haberet suo iuri subditum, eum in montem Cinisium ad oves pascendas direxit, ubi illum, dum oves pascerentur, cum quibusdam aliis pueris accidit ad calorem solis obdormisse. Cumque iuxta illum dormientem serpens per arbusta oberraret, eumque aperto ore, ut plures faciunt, stertere aspexisset, dulcedine lactis, quo ipse potatus erat, allicitus, mox in eius os ingressus, usque in ventrem dilapsus est. Factum est autem cum quidam illorum post somnum evigilasset, et in eius ore summitatem caudae adhuc restantem vidisset, terribili ex clamans hiatu, socios suos cum impetu exsurgere fecit. E somno vero expergefacti, videntes quod acciderat, miserabile monstrum illud, iniqua peste gravidum, torvo vultuprae intrinseco dolore cunctos aspicientem, ad matrem usque deduxerunt. Quaeprimum, ut matrum est, dilaniata multum que confusa, ad gloriosissimum Christi confessorem perduxit Heldradum. Itaque super pavementum orando diu fatigati, dormire coeperunt. Post aliquod vero temporis, ea hora, qua monachi e dormitione surgentes primam pulsare soliti sunt, mater evigilans, ante eius os sanguine tabeque involutum, colubrinoque more circulatum, prospexit serpentem. Veloci ergo festinatione consurgens, raptum puerum ad monachos deduxit. Illi autem ad ecclesiam supradicti confessoris venientes, pestem diabolicam eiicientes, gratias non modicas Deo et gloriosissimo eius confessori Heldrado pro suis saepissimis beneficiis reddiderunt. In quo facto beatissimus pater Heldradus sanctorum apostolorum videtur meruisse consortium, quibus dictum est: “serpentes fugate, daemones eiicite”.*

30 For the last lines of the narrative, consider also *Chronicon Novaliciense* 1: 12 on Eldrado’s miraculous intervention in driving away the snakes that were infesting the property of a French monastery (Latin text and Italian translation in Alessio 1982: 43–44).

31 *De armentario illius monasterii, qui liberatus est a vire anguis satagimus dicere. Hic, dum cerneret armenta boum in monte Cinisio, somno captus est. Anguis quidam illic la-tens, videns apertum eius os,*

introivit corpus. His, cum sensit dolorem propincum mortis, clamat et vociferat: habebat unde exclamare posset. Hicic audire potes deificum opus. Dum volutaretur ante aram sancti Petri, munitus est Corpore et Sanguine Christi. Evectus est domi; extemplo obdormivit. Morari enim non potuit serpens in corpus, ubi iam introie-rat munimen divinum: dissidere non valet creatura contra Creatorem suum. Aperto igitur ore, prodixit serpens lubricus. Alius autem coevus eius, viso illum, interfecit et patefecit cunctis mira que potestas egit divina.

32 Already the editor Carlo Cipolla (1898: 378) observed, comparing St. Eldrado's and St. Peter's bosom serpent miracles: "if there is some substantial similarity, there are however considerable differences".

33 See, for example, *exempla* no. 4251 'Milk and Snakes;' no. 4281 'Serpents suckled' in Tubach (1969: 325, 327); and the motifs A2435.6.2.1 'Snake sucks milk from woman's breast;' B391.1 'Child feeds snake from its milk-bottle;' B391.1.1 'Cobra grateful to prince for milk;' B391.1.2 'Snake grateful because man feeds her young snakes milk;' B391.1.3 'Snake grateful for pouring milk into its hole;' B765+ 'Lizard drinks milk from woman's breast' in Slone 2001: 213–214; B765.4 'Snake milks cows at night;' B765.4.1 'Snake attaches itself to a woman's breast and draws away her milk while she sleeps;' B765.4.2 'Cow thought to have given birth to snake. She flees; snake pursues; traps her legs and drinks her milk. Teats and legs are blackened' in Goldberg 1998: 10; B765.6 'Snake eats milk and bread with child;' B765.6.1 'Snake drinks milk;' B766.3 'Toads suck blood;' G274.1 'Witch snared by setting out milk. Witches attracted by milk;' Q452 '(Punishment): Snake sucks woman's breasts', etc.

34 The Buddhist Japanese tale of the monk brought to orgasm by a snake was clearly patterned, though this seems not to have been noticed, on the Buddha's criticism of Sudinna, a monk who indulged in sexual intercourse with his former wife, yielding to his mother's request to continue the family line after his father's death. Expulsion from the celibate Buddhist community was, thus, mandatory. The tale is contained in the *Suttavibhaṅga* (Analysis of the *Sūtras*), an Indian Buddhist monastic code concerning monks' and nuns' rules contained in the Pāli *Vinayapiṭaka* (The Basket of the Discipline; Faure 1998: 75–76). At the end of the story, Buddha noted: "[i]t were better for you, foolish man, that your male organ should enter the mouth of a terrible and poisonous snake, than that it should enter a woman. It were better for you, foolish man, that your male organ should enter a charcoal pit, burning, ablaze, afire, than that it should enter a woman" (translation in Horner 1938: 36). In the possibly first-century BC *Aṅguttaranikāya* (Collection of Numerically Arranged Discourses) of the Pāli *Suttapiṭaka* (Basket of Discourses), Buddha similarly stated: "[i]t is better for a monk to sit next to a dangerous snake than to speak alone with a woman" (translation in Powers 2008: 222). There is no doubt that both these sayings, which contrast snakes and women, must be examined within the canon of misogynistic Buddhist female imagery.

35 The belief that a snake can crawl into the vagina of a girl sleeping in a field, and in so doing kill her, is attested in 20th-century Japanese folklore: see Opler 1945: 255–256, where the same informant interpreted the story as a sort of cautionary tale (Róheim 1950: 23 and Devereux 1976: 193–194, 174–175 remarked on its "male or phallic meaning").

36 Commenting on the vaginal serpent from the *Nihon ryōiki*, Faure (2003: 318; see also Faure 1998: 88) briefly remarked that a similar pattern "was already at work in Indian Buddhism, judging from the Vinaya injunction for nuns to close their vagina with their feet while sitting in meditation, to prevent snakes from entering". The main reason for this rule regarding the way nuns should sit was to avoid arousing desire in monks. The injunction, connected to an ancient vaginal serpent story, is contained in the *Bhikṣuṇī-prakīrṇaka* (Miscellany on Buddhist Nuns) of the *Mahāsāṃghika* (Great Congregation), one of the major schools of Indian Buddhism. Here follows the text: "[t]he Buddha was staying at Śrāvastī. At that time as a bhikṣuṇī sat in the full-lotus position through the beginning and latter parts of the night. A snake appeared, and entered her vagina. The other bhikṣuṇīs reported this to Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, who thereupon went to

inform the Blessed One of this matter. The Buddha said, 'Give her some medicine, so the snake will not die, but come out.' She took the medicine, and the snake left. The Buddha said, 'Why were you sitting with your legs crossed? From now on, it is not permissible for you to do so.' A bhikṣuṇī should sit so that she fold one leg and covers her vagina with the heel of the other. If a bhikṣuṇī sits in full-lotus position, her act constitutes a light infringement of the Vinaya rules" (translation in Hirakawa 1982: 385; there is a French translation in Nolot 1991: 339).

37 As I will demonstrate elsewhere, in some cultures, however, the bosom serpents take the forms of more ambivalent cultural metaphors: they are believed harmful, but sometimes nevertheless considered valuable for human life and the sustenance of the body.

38 For example, the simple tripartite structure of the story of the *argès* snake is: (1) damage – the snake enters the body; (2) description of the severe symptoms of the illness; (3) death.

39 The widespread "model of the penetrable body according to which illness and harm is caused by the penetration of the body from without by mythic objects or forces" (Frog 2013: 63) has also been the focus, for example, of a number of recent works of research on medieval and pre-industrial Nordic cultures. Quite often, bosom serpents show up (Heide 2006; Stark 2006: 254–380; Kanerva 2014: 231–232).

ABBREVIATIONS

ATU – Uther, Hans-Jörg, ed. 2011. *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson 1. Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Religious Tales, and Realistic Tales, with an Introduction.* (2nd edn.) *FF Communications* No. 285. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

BÉ – *Bulletin Épigraphique*, published annually in *Revue des Études Grecques*, since 1888.

BHG – Halkin, François, ed. 1895–1957. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes; *ibid.* 1969. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. Auctarium.* Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes; *ibid.* 1984. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. Novum Auctarium.* Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes.

BHL – Société des Bollandistes, ed. 1898–1901. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, 2 vols. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes; *ibid.* 1911. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Supplementi editio altera auctior.* Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes; Fros, Henryk, ed. 1986. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Novum Supplementum.* Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes.

SEG – Chaniotis, Angelos; Thomas Corsten, Nikolaos Papazarkadas and Rolf A. Tybout, eds. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* Online. <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/> (accessed June 20, 2015).

REFERENCES

Adler, Kraig, ed. 2007. *Contributions to the History of Herpetology 2.* Oxford, OH: Society for the Study of Amphibians and Reptiles.

af Klintberg, Bengt. 1985. Legends and Rumors about Spiders and Snakes. – *Fabula* 3–4: 274–287.

Alessio, Gian Carlo, ed. 1982. *Cronaca di Novalesa.* Torino: Einaudi.

Alpini, Prospero. 1601. *De praesagienda vita, et morte aegrotantium libri septem* [etc.]. Francofurti: Remondini.

Andersson, Theodore Murdock, ed. 2003. Oddr Snorrason. *The Saga of Olaf Trygvason.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Andry de Bois-Regard, Nicolas. 1701. *De la génération des vers dans le corps de l'homme. De la nature et des espèces de cette maladie, les moyens de s'en préserver et de la guérir*. Paris: Laurent d'Houry.
- Anino, Casimiro. 1762. *Osservazione di due lucertole acquatiche o salamandre, uscite dal basso ventre di un fanciullo di Tortona*. Torino: Stamperia Reale.
- Antonoli, Roland. 1976. *Rabelais et la médecine*. Genève: Droz.
- Artelt, Walter. 1954. *Kosmas und Damian, die Schutzpatrone der Ärzte und Apotheker. Eine Bildfolge*. Darmstadt: E. Merck.
- Atelier Vincent de Beauvais. 2015. <http://atilf.atilf.fr/bichard/> (accessed June 20, 2015).
- Bahna, Vladimír. 2015. Memorates and Memory. A Re-Evaluation of Lauri Honko's Theory. – *Temenos* 51 (1): 7–23.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich. 1984 [1965]. *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Balme, David M., ed. 1991. Aristotle. *History of Animals. Books VII–X*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Battisti, Carlo and Giovanni Alessio, eds. 1950. *Dizionario etimologico italiano* 1. Firenze: Barbera.
- Beekes, Robert and Lucien van Beek, eds. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* 1. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill.
- Belloste, Augustin. 1716. Dissertation sur la rage où il est parlé de la morsure des chiens enragés et autres bêtes venimeuses. – *Le Chirurgien d'hôpital* [etc.]. Paris: Laurent d'Houry, 523–540.
- Bellot-Antony, Michel and Guy Demerson. 1990. Formes et fonctions de l'anecdote exemplaire chez Rabelais (Quart Livre). – *L'anecdote. Actes du colloque de Clermont-Ferrand* (1988), edited by Alain Montandon. Clermont-Ferrand: Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, 131–155.
- Benati, Chiara. 2010. Physical Impairment in the First Surgical Handbooks Printed in Germany. – *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 35: 12–22.
- Bennett, Gillian. 1991. The Legend of "The Bosom Serpent". – *Dear Mr. Thoms... A Folklore Miscellany Published by the British Folk Studies Forum* 22: 1–36.
- Bennett, Gillian. 1997. Bosom Serpents and Alimentary Amphibians. A Language for Sickness. – *Illness and Healing Alternatives in Western Europe*, edited by Marijke Gijswit-Hofstra, Hilary Marland and Hans de Waardt. London; New York, NY: Routledge, 224–242.
- Bennett, Gillian. 2000. Medical Aspects of the "Bosom Serpent". – *Contemporary Legend* 3: 1–26.
- Bennett, Gillian. 2005. *Sex, Violence, Disease, and Death in Contemporary Legend*. Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi.
- Bennett, Gillian. 2006. The Bosom Serpent: "Curiouser and Curiouser"... – *FOAftale News* 66: 3–5.
- Bennett, Gillian and Paul Smith, eds. 2007. *Urban Legends. A Collection of International Tall Tales and Terrors*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Bermani, Cesare. 1991. *Il bambino è servito. Leggende metropolitane in Italia*. Bari: Dedalo.
- Bernard Faure, Bernard. 2003. *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Berthold, Arnold Adolf. 1849. Ueber den Aufenthalt lebender Amphibien im Menschen. – *Archiv für Anatomie, Physiologie und wissenschaftliche Medicin*: 430–438.
- Berthold, Arnold Adolph. 1850. *Über den Aufenthalt lebender Amphibien im Menschen*. Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchhandlung.
- Bettini, Maurizio. 2010. Anthropology. – *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, edited by Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 266–280.
- Blanchard, Raphaël. 1899. L'Homme aux Serpents. Cas de pseudo-parasitisme simulé chez un hystérique. – *Archives de Parasitologie* 2 (3): 466–479.
- Blanchard, Raphaël. 1906. Un ancien cas de pseudo-parasitisme simulé. – *Archives de Parasitologie* 5 (1): 308–309.
- Bondeson, Jan. 1990. Ormen i magen. – *Sydsvenska Medicinhistoriska Sällskapetets Årsskrift* 27: 141–174.

- Bondeson, Jan. 1997. *A Cabinet of Medical Curiosities*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Bondeson, Jan. 1998. The Bosom Serpent. – *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 91: 442–447.
- Bönisch-Brednich, Brigitte. 1996. Kosmas und Damian, Hill. – *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung* 8, edited by Rolf Wilhelm Von Brednich. Berlin; New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 311–313.
- Boudin, Jean-Christian-Marc-François-Joseph. 1857. *Traité de géographie et de statistiques médicales et des maladies endémiques* 1. Paris: J.-B. Baillière et fils.
- Braccini, Tommaso. 2014. Gli amori di Ares a Afrodite tra *folktales* e storie sacre. – *Il trono variopinto Figure e forme della Dea dell'Amore*, edited by Luca Bombardieri, Tommaso Braccini and Silvia Romani. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 27–46.
- Braccini, Tommaso. Forthcoming. Le fiabe degli antichi: per un nuovo approfondimento tipologico. – *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*.
- Brelich, Angelo. 2003. *Come funzionano i miti. L'universo mitologico di una cultura melanesiana*, edited by Maria Grazia Lancellotti. Bari: Dedalo.
- Brockliss, Laurence W. B. and Colin Jones. 1997. *The Medical World of Early Modern France*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brulé, Pierre. 1996. Des osselets et des tambourins pour Artémis. – *Clio. Histoire, Femmes et Sociétés* 4: 11–32.
- Brunschwig, Hieronymus. 1497. *Dis ist das Buch der Cirurgia* [etc.]. Strasburg: Johan Grüninger.
- Brunschwig, Hieronymus. 1525. *The Noble Experyence of the Vertuous Handy Warke of Surger* [etc.]. London: Petrus Treueris.
- Byl, Simon. 2003. Hippocrate et l'ambivalence. – *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 81 (1): 11–37.
- Camporesi, Piero. 1988 [1983]. *The Incorruptible Flesh. Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carney, Elizabeth D. 2007. Symposia and the Macedonian Elite: the Unmixed Life. – *Syllecta Classica* 18: 129–181.
- Cassard, Jean-Christophe. 1998. Les lieux humides, espaces de vie et de miracles à la fin du Moyen Age. Marais en Bretagne. – *Kreiz* 8: 71–83.
- Chantraine, Pierre, ed. 1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* 1. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Choulant, Ludwig. 1858. *Graphische Incunabeln für Naturgeschichte und Medicin* [etc.]. Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel.
- Christianson, Eric Howard. 1993. Making Heads or Tails of It: Cotton Mather's "Prodigious Worm". – *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 105: 59–73.
- Cipolla, Carlo, ed. 1898. *Vitae abbatum et monachorum*. – *Monumenta Novalicensia vetustiora. Raccolta degli atti e delle cronache riguardanti l'abbazia della Novalesa* 1. Roma: Forzani.
- Clements, Edward Forrest. 1932. Primitive Concepts of Disease. – *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 32 (2): 185–252.
- Collard, Franck. 2013. Le couteau de Bohémond et la thériaque à vilain. La vénénologie savante face aux remèdes "merveilleux" ou "populaires". – *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 43 (1): 27–52.
- Coloru, Omar. 2008. Reminiscenze dei re greco-battriani nella letteratura medievale e nella *science fiction* americana. – *Studi Ellenistici* 20: 519–539.
- Coloru, Omar. 2009. *Da Alessandro a Menandro. Il regno greco di Battriana*. Pisa; Roma: Fabrizio Serra.
- Constantinou, Stavroula. 2010. Grotesque Bodies in Hagiographical Tales. The Monstrous and the Uncanny in Byzantine Collections of Miracle Stories. – *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 64: 43–54.
- Cortelazzo, Manlio and Paolo Zolli, eds. 1999 [1979]. *Dizionario etimologico della lingua Italiana*. (2nd edn.) Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Craik, Elizabeth M. 2015. *The 'Hippocratic' Corpus. Content and Context*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.

- Csepregi, Ildikó. 2007. The Compositional History of Greek Christian Incubation Miracle Collections: Saint Thecla, Saint Cosmas and Damian, Saint Cyrus and John and Saint Artemios. PhD Dissertation. Central European University.
- Dalby, Andrew, ed. 2003. *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.
- David-Danel, Marie Louise. 1958. *Iconographie des saints médecins Come et Damien*. Lille: Morel & Courduant.
- de Laille-sur-Ilion de Lacépède, Bernard-Germain-Étienne. 1839. *Histoire naturelle de Lacépède, comprenant les cétacées, les quadrupèdes ovipares, les serpents et les poissons. Précédée de l'Eloge de Lacépède, par Cuvier; avec des notes et la nouvelle classification de A.-G. Desmarest 1*. Paris: Furne et Cie, Libraires-Éditeurs.
- de Lignac, Mathurin. 1759 [1718]. *Dissertation sur la génération des insectes dans le corps*. – *Bibliothèque choisie de médecine* [etc.] 5, edited by François Planque. Paris: Veuve d'Houry, 99–110.
- de Visser, Marinus Willem. 1911. The Snake in Japanese Superstition. – *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* 14: 267–322.
- Demand, Nancy. 1994. *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Déroche, Vincent. 1995. *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Deubner, Ludwig, ed. 1907. *Kosmas un Damian. Texte und Einleitung*. Leipzig; Berlin: Teubner.
- Devereux, George. 1976. *Dreams in Greek Tragedy. An Ethno-Psycho-Analytical Study*. Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- di Nola, Alfonso Maria. 1976. *Gli aspetti magico-religiosi di una cultura subalterna italiana*. Torino: Boringhieri.
- di Paolo Healey, Antoinette. 2006. Straining Words and Striving Voices: Polysemy and Ambiguity and the Importance of Context in the Disclosure of Meaning. – *Inside Old English. Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell*, edited by John Walmsley. Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 74–90.
- Domínguez García, Avelino and Luis García Ballester, eds. 1994. *Joannes Aegidius Zamorensis. Historia naturalis 2*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León.
- Duhoux, Yves. 1997. Aux sources du bestiaire grec: les zoonymes mycéniens. – *Les zoonymes. Actes du colloque international (Nice, 23–25 janvier 1997)*, edited by Sylvie Mellet. Nice: Faculté des Lettres, Arts et Sciences Humaines de Nice, 173–202.
- Dumas, Raechel. 2013. Historicizing Japan's Abject Femininity Reading Women's Bodies in *Nihon ryōiki*. – *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40 (2): 247–275.
- Dundes, Alan. 1993. Editor's Preface. – *Contemporary Legend. A Folklore Bibliography*, edited by Gillian Bennett and Paul Smith. New York, NY; London: Garland, ix–xiii.
- Elliott, Randal. 1964. Roentgen Oration, 1963. – *Journal of the College of Radiologists of Australasia* 8 (1): 21–28.
- Ermacora, Davide; Roberto Labanti and Andrea Marcon. Forthcoming. Towards a Critical Anthology of Pre-Modern Bosom Serpent Folklore. – *Folklore*.
- Ermacora, Davide. 2015. Cooperation and Conflict Among Humans, Lizards and Bosom Serpents in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy. – *Quaderni di Semantica* 1: 265–292.
- Ermacora, Davide. Forthcoming. The Bosom Serpent in a Toga: Rufus of Ephesus, Galen, Tral-lianus and the Snake Trick Between Folklore and Phsyopathology. – *La Ricerca Folklorica* 70.
- Faure, Bernard. 1998. *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Filthaut, Ephrem, ed. 1955. Albertus Magnus. Quaestiones super de animalibus. – *Opera omnia* 12, edited by Bernhardus Geyer. Münster: Aschendorff, 77–321.
- Fiola Berry, Alice. 2000. *The Charm of Catastrophe. A Study of Rabelais's 'Quart Livre'*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Department of Romance Languages.
- Folet, Henri. 1905. Augustin Belloste (1654–1730). – *La France Médicale* 52: 437–442.

- Fortenbaugh, William F., ed. 2011. *Theophrastus of Eresus: Commentary VI.1 (Sources on Ethics)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Fraenkel, Ernst, ed. 1965. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 2*. Heidelberg; Göttingen: Carl Winter.
- Frazier, James George. 1914 [1906]. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris. Studies in the History of Oriental Religion V 1*. (3rd edn.) London: MacMillan.
- Frisk, Hjalmar, ed. 1960. *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch 1*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Frog. 2013. Shamans, Christians, and Things in Between: From Finnic-Germanic Contacts to the Conversion of Karelia. – *Conversions. Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Leszek Shipecki and Rudolf Simek. Vienna: Fassbaender, 53–98.
- Frommann, Jean Chrétien. 1775. Sur un Serpent qui sortit du corps d’une femme. – *Collection académique* [etc.] 3. Dijon: François Desventes, 294–301.
- Gallou, Chrysanthi. 2005. *The Mycenaean Cult of the Dead*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Gessner, Conrad. 1587. *Historiae animalium Lib 5* [etc.]. Tiguri: Christoph Froschauer.
- Glazer, Mark. 1995. Review of “Contemporary Legend. A Folklore Bibliography”. – *Contemporary Legend 5*: 169–172.
- Godley, Alfred Denis, ed. 1920. Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*. Volume I: Books 1–2. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldberg, Harriet, ed. 1998. *Motif-Index of Medieval Spanish Folk Narratives*. Tempe, AZ: University of Michigan Press.
- Gould, George Milbry and Walter Lytle Pyle. 1897. *Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*. London: W. B. Saunders.
- Gourevitch, Danielle and Gilles Demigneux. 2013. Two Historical Case Histories of Acute Alcoholism in the Roman Empire. – *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity: Disparate Bodies*. A capite ad calcem, edited by Christian Laes, Chris F. Goodey and Lynn M. Rose. Leiden: Brill, 73–87.
- Graf, Fritz. 1980. Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verstandnis der Libation im griechischen Ritualen. – *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich*. Roma: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 209–221.
- Graf, Fritz. 2014. Dangerous Dreaming: the Christian Transformation of Dream Incubation. – *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte 15* (1): 117–142.
- Guthrie, Douglas. 1945. *A History of Medicine*. London: Thomas Nelson.
- Halldórsson, Ólafur, ed. 2006. *Færeyinga saga, Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar eptir Odd munk Snorrason*. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Hansen, William. 2002. *Ariadne’s Thread. A Guide to International Tales Found in Classical Literature*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Harrold, Jillian. 2007. *Saintly Doctors: The Early Iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Italy*. A PhD Dissertation. University of Warwick.
- Hartmann, Andreas. 1998. Das Amphibientheater. Kleine Volkskunde aus der Froschperspektive. – *Volkskundliche Fallstudien. Profile empirischer Kulturforschung heute*, edited by Burkhard Lauterbach and Christoph Köck. Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 61–74.
- Heide, Eldar. 2006. Spirits through Respiratory Passages. – *The Fantastic in Old Norse / Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles. Preprint Papers of The 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6th–12th August 2006*, edited by John McKinnell, David Ashurst and Donata Kick. Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 350–358.
- Heide, Eldar and Karen Bek-Pedersen, eds. 2014. *New Focus on Retrospective Methods. Resuming Methodological Discussions: Case Studies from Northern Europe*. FF Communications 307. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Henry, Benjamin W., ed. 2009. Philodemus. *On Death*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Hirakawa, Akira, ed. 1982. *Monastic Discipline for the Buddhist Nuns. An English Translation of the Chinese Text of Mahāsāṃghika-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

- Hoeppli, Reinhard J. C. 1959. *Parasites and Parasitic Infections in Early Medicine and Science*. Singapore: University of Malaya Press.
- Honko, Lauri. 1967 [1959]. *Krankheitsprojekte. Untersuchung über eine urtümliche Krankheitserklärung*. *FF Communications* 178. (2nd edn.) Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Horner, Isaline Blew, ed. 1938. *Book of the Discipline* (Vinaya-piṭaka) 1 (Suttavibhaṅga). London: Pali Text Society.
- Hugo, Victor. 1864. *William Shakespeare*. Paris: Librairie internationale A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven & C^e.
- Hunger, Karl-Heinz. 1978. *Der Äskulapstab. Zur Funktion präsentativer Symbole in der Kommunikation*. Berlin: V. Spiess.
- Irwin, Eleanor. 1974. *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry*. Toronto: Hakkert.
- Isbell, A. Lynne. 2006. Snakes as Agents of Evolutionary Change in Primate Brains. – *Journal of Human Evolution* 51: 1–35.
- Isbell, A. Lynne. 2009. *The Fruit, the Tree, and the Serpent. Why We See So Well*. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press.
- Jacoby, Adolf. 1932. Von verschluckten Schlangen und Eidechsen. – *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 6: 3–27.
- James, Robert and Julien Busson, eds. 1748. *Dictionnaire universel de médecine, de chirurgie, de chymie, de botanique, d'anatomie, de pharmacie, d'histoire naturelle, etc.* 5. Paris: Briasson.
- Janninck, C., ed. 1685. Nikephoros Ouranos. Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris. – *Acta Sanctorum Maii* 5. Antverpiæ: Henrici Thieullier, 310–398.
- Jones, Colin. 1990. Medicine, Madness and Mayhem from the *Roi Soleil* to the Golden Age of Hysteria (Seventeenth to Late Nineteenth Centuries). – *French History* 4 (3): 378–388.
- Jones, William H. S., ed. 1923. Hippocrates. *Ancient Medicine. Airs, Waters, Places. Epidemics 1 and 3. The Oath. Precepts. Nutriment*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jones, William H. S., ed. 1951. Pliny. *Natural History, Volume VI: Books 20–23*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jouanna, Jacques, ed. 2000. Hippocrate, *Ceuvres Complètes*. Tome IV, 3^e partie, *Épidémies V et VII*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Jouanna, Jacques. 2001. Le serpent 'APTHΣ: Hippocrate, *Epidémies V*, c. 86. – *Dieux, héros et médecins grecs. Hommage à Fernand Robert*, edited by Michel Woronoff, Simone Follet and Jacques Jouanna. Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 165–175.
- Jouanna, Jacques. 2012 [1996]. Wine and Medicine in Ancient Greece. – *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen: Selected Papers*. Leiden: Brill, 173–194.
- Jouanno, Corinne. 2004. Corps du saint, corps du pécheur: l'exemple de la vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune. – *Lalies* 24: 87–110.
- Kajava, Mika. 2012. ΑΙΟΛΟΒΡΝΤΑΣ (Pind. Ol. 9.42). – *Quattuor lustra. Papers of the International Colloquium Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the Re-establishment of Classical Studies at the University of Tartu, 3–4 December 2010*, edited by Ivo Volt and Janika Päll. Tartu: Tartu University Press, 22–29.
- Kanerva, Kirsi. 2014. Disturbances of the Mind and Body. The Effects of the Living Dead in Medieval Iceland. – *Mental (Dis)Order in the Later Middle Ages*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Susanna Niiranen. Leiden: Brill, 219–242.
- Kitchell, Kennet F. and Irven M. Resnick, eds. 1999. Albertus Magnus. *On Animals. A Medieval Summa Zoologica* 1. Baltimore, MD; London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kitchell, Kennet F. and Irven M. Resnick, eds. 2008. Albertus Magnus. *Questions concerning Aristotle's "On Animals"*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Kleintitschen, August, ed. 1924. *Mythen und Erzählungen eines Melanesierstammes aus Papatava, Neupommern, Südsee*. Mödling: Verlag der Administration des Anthropos.

- Knoeff, Rina. 2009. Animals Inside. Anatomy, Interiority and Virtue in the Early Modern Dutch Republic. – *The Body Within. Art, Medicine and Visualization*, edited by Renée van de Vall and Robert Zwijnenberg. Leiden: Brill, 31–50.
- Knoepfler, Denis. 2007. Bulletin épigraphique: Béotie-Eubée. – *Revue des Études Grecques* 120 (2): 665–686.
- Krumholz McDonald, Diana. 1994. The Serpent as Healer: Theriac and Ancient Near Eastern Pottery. – *Notes in the History of Art* 13 (4): 21–27.
- Kühn, Karl Gottlob, ed. 1830. *Claudii Galeni opera omnia* 19. Leipzig: Knobloch.
- Lappin, Anthony, ed. 2002. *The Medieval Cult of Saint Dominic of Silos*. Leeds: Maney Publishing.
- Le Quellec, Jean-Loïc. 2012. *Alcool de singe et liqueur de vipère. Légendes urbaines*. (2nd edn.) Arles: Editions Errance.
- Lelli, Emanuele. 2014. *Folklore antico e moderno. Una proposta di ricerca sulla cultura popolare greca e romana*. Pisa; Roma: Fabrizio Serra.
- LeRoy, John. 1985a. *Fabricated World. An Interpretation of Kewa Tales*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- LeRoy, John, ed. 1985b. *Kewa Tales*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Leuckart, Rudolf. 1852. Parasitismus und Parasiten. – *Archiv Physiologischen Heilkunde* 11: 199–259, 379–437.
- Lissarrague, François. 1990. *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet. Images of Wine and Ritual*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Loeb, Paul S. 2010. *The Death of Nietzsche's Zarathustra*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Longo, Oddone. 1991. Acqua e vino. – *Storie del vino*, edited by Paolo Scarpi. Milano: Diapress/Documenti, 13–26.
- Luongo, Gennaro. 1997. Il “dossier” agiografico dei santi Cosma e Damiano. – *Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte. Atti del Convegno di Studi per il bicentenario dell'autonomia (Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte 14–16 dicembre 1990)*, edited by Sandro Leanza. Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 33–89.
- Luvén, Yvonne. 2001. *Der Kult der Hausschlange. Eine Studie zur Religionsgeschichte der Letten und Litauer*. Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau Verlag Köln.
- Maggioni, Ferdinando; Giuseppe Maggioni and Dantina Talmelli. 2005. *I santi Cosma e Damiano in Italia. Ricerca ed espressione*. Conselve: Tipografia Regionale Veneta.
- Maggioni, Giovanni Paolo, ed. 1998. *Legenda aurea, edizione critica 2*. Firenze: SISMEL; Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Maggioni, Giovanni Paolo, ed. 2007. *Legenda aurea: con le miniature del codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf. II*. Firenze: SISMEL; Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Maggioni, Giovanni Paolo, ed. 2013. Jean de Mailly. *Abbreuiatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum. Supplementum hagiographicum*. Firenze: SISMEL; Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Maldina, Nicolò. 2011. La serpe in corpo. Per il bestiario di Giordano da Pisa. – *Erebea* 1: 137–156.
- Marichal, Robert, ed. 1947. François Rabelais, *Le quart livre*. Genève: Droz.
- Marucci, Valerio, ed. 1996. Franco Sacchetti. *Il Trecentonovelle*. Roma: Salerno editrice.
- Melga, Michele, ed. 1857. *Leggenda dei santi Cosma e Damiano, scritta nel buon secolo della lingua e non mai fin qui stampata*. Napoli: Stamperia de' fratelli Trani.
- Méndez Dosuna, Julián V. 2012. La polisemia del gr. ἀργός ('blanco', 'veloz'). – *Noua Tellvs* 30 (2): 11–37.
- Migne, Jacques Paul, ed. 1860. Nikephoros Ouranos. Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris. – *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca* LXXXII, 2. Paris: Jacques Paul Migne, 2987–3216.
- Mortimer, Nigel. 1988–1989. Yorkshire's Water Wolf. – *Fortean Times* 51: 48–49.
- Morton Braund, Susanna, ed. 2004. Juvenal, Persius, *Juvenal and Persius*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Motomochi Nakamura, Kyoko, ed. 1973. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition. The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Müller, Engelbert. 1914. *Studien zu den Biographien des Styliten Symeon des Jüngeren*. Aschaffenburg: Druck von Götz Werbrun.
- Murphree, Steven C. 2005. Snake Tales or Science? The Most Unusual Story of Thankful Taylor. – *Tennessee Conservationist* 71 (3): 4–7.
- Napoli, Mariangela. 2008. The Plants, Rituals and Spells that ‘Cured’ Helminthiasis in Sicily. – *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 4 (21). <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2566559/> (accessed June 20, 2015).
- Nolot Édith, ed. 1991. *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes. Le Bhikṣuṇīvinaya de l'école Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*. Paris: Collège de France.
- Novembri, Valeria, ed. 2002. Vita et Passio sanctorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani. – *Cosma e Damiano dall'Oriente a Firenze*, edited by Elena Giannarelli. Firenze: Edizioni della Meridiana, 149–192.
- Oldfather, Charles Henry, ed. 1933. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*. Volume I: Books 1–2.34. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Opler, Morris Edward. 1945. Japanese Folk Belief Concerning the Snake. – *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2: 249–259.
- Osterfeld Li, Michelle. 2009. *Ambiguous Bodies. Reading the Grotesque in Japanese Setsuwa Tales*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Pagano, Mario. 2004. La Vita in siciliano dei Beati Cosma e Damiano tradotta da un volgarizzamento catalano della *Legenda aurea*. – *Bollettino del Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani* 20: 17–45.
- Pantin, Isabelle. 2014. Analogy and Difference. A Comparative Study of Medical and Astronomical Images in Books, 1470–1550. – *Observing the World through Images. Diagrams and Figures in the Early-Modern Arts and Sciences*, edited by Nicholas Jardine and Isla Fay. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 9–44.
- Paoli, Emore, ed. 2001. Bartolomeo da Trento, *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum*. Firenze: SIS-MEL; Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios, ed. 1897. *Sbornik istocnikov po istorii Trapezundskoj imperij I*. Petersburg: V. Kiršbauma.
- Papakonstantinou, Zinon. 2012. “A delight and a burden” (Hes. Sc. 400): Wine and Wine-Drinking in Archaic Greece. – *Ancient Society* 42: 1–32.
- Parkes, Graham. 2005. *Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for Everyone and Nobody*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Parona, Corrado. 1899. Il ragazzo delle Tarantole acquatiche. Un vecchio caso di pseudo-parasitismo supposto di due Tarantole acquatiche nell’intestino di un ragazzo. – *Archives de Parasitologie* 2 (4): 631–632.
- Pearcy, Lee T. 2012. Writing the Medical Dream in the Hippocratic Corpus and at Epidaurus. – *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece. From Antiquity to the Present*, edited by Steven M. Oberhelman. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 93–108.
- Petridou, Georgia. 2014. Asclepius the Divine Healer, Asclepius the Divine Physician: Epiphanies as Diagnostic and Therapeutic Tools. – *Medicine and Healing in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by Demetrios Michealides. Philadelphia, PA: Oxbow Books, 297–307.
- Petrosyan, Armen Y. 2002. *The Indo-European and Ancient Near Eastern Sources of the Armenian Epic: Myth and History*. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man.
- Pfister, Max, ed. 1994. Baculum/bacculum. – *Lessico etimologico italiano IV*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 309–310.
- Pizza, Giovanni. 2010. Il serpente in corpo. Una nota etnografica. – *Il serpente nell'area del Mediterraneo. Culti riti miti. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Cocullo 30 aprile 2008)*, edited by Lia Giancristofaro. Lanciano: Rivista Abruzzese, 123–131.
- Pizza, Giovanni. 2012. *La vergine e il ragno. Etnografia della possessione europea*. Lanciano: Rivista Abruzzese.

- Pokorny, Julius, ed. 1959. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. I. Bern; München: Francke.
- Postic, Franch. 2000. L'animal avalé vivant. Du récit de miracle moyenâgeux à la légende. – *Pennar-Bed* 178: 33–42.
- Postic, Franch. 2009. De la “littérature perdue” au “texte introuvable”. Quelques allers-retours entre littérature médiévale et littérature orale. Paper delivered at the ‘Approaching the Middle Ages: Wales and Brittany’ Conference. <http://www.wales.ac.uk/Resources/Documents/Research/FanchP.pdf> (accessed June 20, 2015).
- Pouchelle, Marie-Christine. 1990. *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Poulsen, Richard C. 1979. Bosom Serpentry Among the Puritans and Mormons. – *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3: 176–189.
- Powers, John. 2008. Celibacy in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. – *Celibacy and Religious Traditions*, edited by Carl Olson. New York, NY; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 201–225.
- Preston-Matto, Lahney, ed. 2010. Aislinge Meic Conglinne. *The Vision of Mac Conglinne*. New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Puccini, Davide, ed. 2004. Franco Sacchetti. *Il Trecentonovelle*. Torino: UTET.
- Rackham, Harris, ed. 1940. Pliny. *Natural History* III, books 8–11. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ramsey, Matthew. 1988. *Professional and Popular Medicine in France, 1770–1830. The Social World of Medical Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Raspail, François-Vincent. 1843. *Histoire naturelle de la santé et de la maladie chez les végétaux et chez les animaux en général, et en particulier chez l'homme* 1. Paris: A. Levavasseur.
- Raspail, François-Vincent. 1844. On the Physiology of Health and Disease. As Applied to Vegetables and Animals, but More Especially to Man. – *The Medical Times* (January 13): 210–212.
- Razdan, Vinayak. 2009. *A Curious Case of Indian Bosom Serpent*. <http://8ate.blogspot.jp/2009/05/curious-case-of-indian-bosom-serpent.html/> (accessed June 20, 2015).
- Renard, Jean-Bruno. 1998. Le motif de l'animal dans le corps: de la réalité médicale à l'imaginaire fantastique. – *Les Cahiers du GEF* 5: 221–236.
- Renard, Jean-Bruno. 2013 [1999]. *Rumeurs et légendes urbaines*. (4th edn.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Repaňšek, Luka. 2014. Two Notes on Old Celtic Morphology. – *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* 10 (1): 239–254.
- Rogers, Spencer L. 1944. Disease Concepts in North America. – *American Anthropologist* 46 (4): 559–564.
- Róheim, Géza. 1950. *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology. Culture, Personality and the Unconscious*. New York, NY: International Universities Press.
- Ronzitti, Rosa. 2011. *Quattro etimologie indoeuropee: lat. būfō, it. gufo, ingl. smog e drug*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- Rosenqvist, Jan Olof, ed. 1996. *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou* 154. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Rotunda, Dominic Peter, ed. 1942. *Motif-Index of the Italian Novella in Prose*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Rudolph, Ebermut. 1976–1977. Rematerialisation oder Psychogenese? Eine Anfrage an die Paraphysik zum Problem der “verschluckten” oder “eingehexten” Tiere. – *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*: 190–217.
- Ruggerini, Maria Elena. 2013. Gli *heiti* per ‘serpente’ nelle *pulur*: un’indagine intorno all’enigmatico *gargan*. – Philoin. *Scritti in onore di Mario Enrietti e Renato Gendre*. Alessandria 6–7, edited by Marta Muscariello. Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 515–537.
- Rupprecht, Ernst, ed. 1935. *Cosmae et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vita et miracula e codice Londoniensi*. Berlin: Junker und Diinnhaupt Verlag.

- Rushton Fairclough, Henry and George P. Goold, eds. 1916. *Virgil. Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ryan, William Granger, ed. 1993. *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints 2*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Salapata, Gina. 2006. The Tippling Serpent in the Art of Lakonia and Beyond. – *Hesperia* 75 (4): 541–560.
- Salgarolo, David. 1991. Christians, Jews and the “beffa” in Sacchetti’s *Trecentonovelle*. – *Italian Culture* 9: 103–113.
- Sävborg, Daniel and Karen Bek-Pedersen, eds. 2014. *Folklore in Old Norse – Old Norse in Folklore*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.
- Scanlan, James J., ed. 1987. Albert the Great. *Man and the Beasts, De animalibus (Books 22–26)*. Binghamton; New York, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies.
- Schenck von Grafenberg, Johannes. 1600. *Observationes medicae, rariae, novae, admirabiles, et monstrosae* [etc] 1. Francofurti: Jonas Rhodius.
- Shouten, Jan. 1967. *The Rod and Serpent of Asklepios: Symbol of Medicine*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Screech, Michael A., ed. 2006. François Rabelais. *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. New York, NY; London: Penguin.
- Shorter, Edward. 1992. *From Paralysis to Fatigue. A History of Psychosomatic Illness in the Modern Era*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Sigerist, Henry R., ed. 1923. *The Book of Chirurgia by Hieronymus Brunschwig. With a Study on Hieronymus Brunschwig and his Work*. Milano: R. Lier.
- Simpson, Jacqueline. 1998. Are the Terms ‘Modern’ and ‘Contemporary’ Synonymous? – *Contemporary Legend* 1: 134–148.
- Siraisi, Nancy G. 1997. *The Clock and the Mirror. Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Slone, Thomas H., ed. 2001. *One Thousand One Papua New Guinean Nights. Folktales from Wantok Newspaper 1 (Tales from 1972–1985)*. Oakland, CA: Masalai Press.
- Smith, Wesley D., ed. 1994. Hippocrates. *Volume VII. Epidemics 2, 4–7*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, William Francis, ed. 1918. *Rabelais in His Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Snow, Loudell F. 1983. Traditional Health Beliefs and Practices Among Lower Class Black Americans. – *Western Journal of Medicine* 139 (6): 820–828.
- Soares, C. Sandra; Björn Lindström, Francisco Esteves and Arne Öhman. 2014. The Hidden Snake in the Grass. Superior Detection of Snakes in Challenging Attentional Conditions. – *Plos One* 9 (12). <http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0114724/> (accessed June 20, 2015).
- Sordi, Italo. 2003. La vipera, il veleno e la terra. Vicende di un farmaco dimenticato. – *SM. Annali di San Michele* 16: 237–261.
- Spon, Charles, ed. 1663. Girolamo Cardano. In *Hippocratis Coi Prognostica*. – *Opera omnia* 1–10. Lugduni: Sumptibus Ioannis Antonii Huguetan & Marci Antonii Ravaud.
- Stadler, Hermann, ed. 1920. Albertus Magnus. *De animalibus libri XXVI*. – *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* 16. Münster: Aschendorff.
- Stark, Laura. 2006. *The Magical Self. Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland*. *FF Communications* 290. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Steiner, Peter. 1983. Der erhaltene Kirchenschatz von St. Michael. – *St. Michael in München: Festschrift zum 400. Jahrestag der Grundsteinlegung und zum Abschluß des Wiederaufbaus*. München: Schnell & Steiner, 136–163.
- Sudhoff, Karl. 1907. Brunschwigs Anatomie. – *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 1: 41–66, 141–156.

- Sudhoff, Karl. 1908. *Deutsche medizinische Inkunabeln. Bibliographisch-literarische Untersuchungen.* Leipzig: Verlag von Johann Ambrosius Barth.
- Sudhoff, Karl. 1915–1916. Diagnostische Zeichen zur Erkennung, ob jemand eine Schlange im Leibe hat. – *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 9: 307.
- Szóke, Veronka. 2009. *Cadet repente gladius e caelo: la dimensione giudicante in Exodus* (vv. 492–495). – *Studi anglo-norreni in onore di John S. McKinnell. "He hafað sundorgecynd"*, edited by Maria Elena Ruggerini and Veronka Szóke. Cagliari: CUEC, 41–84.
- Tambongco, Charmaine. 2004. Tapeworm Myths Debunked. Parasites not the Path to Miracle Weight Loss. – *The Uniter* 59 (4): 13.
- Tangherlini, Timothy R. 2002. Legend. – *Medieval Folklore. A Guide to Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, edited by Carl Lindahl, John McNamara and John Lindow. (2nd edn.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 240–243.
- Teijeiro, Manuel García. 1983. Consideraciones sobre nombres descriptivos de animales, con especial referencia al nombre lituano de la culebra. – *Tabona: Revista de prehistoria y de arqueología* 4: 133–142.
- Teijeiro, Manuel García. 1999. La culebra, la vida y la leche. (Restos de antiguas creencias en Asturias y en Galicia). – *Corona spicea: in memoriam Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 297–312.
- Thompson, Craig R., ed. 1997. Erasmus of Rotterdam. Sympathy. – *Collected Works of Erasmus. Colloquies*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1033–1055.
- Thompson, Stith, ed. 1955–1958. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-books, and Local Legends* 1–6. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Thorndike, Lynn, ed. 1934. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science III (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Tonomura, Hitomi. 1994. Black Hair and Red Trousers. Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan. – *The American Historical Review* 99 (1): 129–154.
- Topsell, Edward. 1658. *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents*. London: E. Cotes.
- Trinquier, Jean. 2008. La hantise de l'invasion pestilentielle: le rôle de la faune des marais dans l'étiologie des maladies épidémiques d'après les sources latines. – *Le médecin initié par l'animal: animaux et médecine dans l'Antiquité grecque et latine*, edited by Isabelle Boehm and Pascal Luccioni. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 149–195.
- Trinquier, Jean. 2012. Serpents buveurs d'eau, serpents œnophiles et serpents sanguinaires: les serpents et leurs boissons dans les sources antiques. – *Anthropozoologica* 47 (1): 177–221.
- Tubach, Frederic C., ed. 1969. Index Exemplorum. *A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Tucker, Elizabeth. 2012. From Oral Tradition to Cyberspace. Tapeworm Diet Rumours and Legends. – *Folk Culture in the Digital Age. The Emergent Dynamics of Human Interaction*, edited by Trevor J. Blank. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 150–165.
- Tucker, Greg. 2010. 'Bosom Serpent', a Rutherford Snake. <http://rutherfordtnhistory.org/bosom-serpent-a-rutherford-snake/> (accessed 20 June, 2015).
- Tugwell, Simon, ed. 1988. Introduction. – *Albert & Thomas: Selected Writings*. New York, NY: Paulist Press, 3–129.
- Uther, Hans-Jörg, ed. 2011. *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson* 1. *Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Religious Tales, and Realistic Tales, with an Introduction*. (2nd edn.) FF Communications No. 285. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Vacca, Giovanni. 2004. *Nel corpo della tradizione. Cultura popolare e modernità nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*. Roma: Squilibri.

- Valcárcel, Vitalino, ed. 1982. *La "Vita Dominici Siliensis" de Grimaldo. Estudio, edition critica y traduction*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos.
- Vallisneri, Antonio. 1710. *Considerazioni, ed esperienze intorno alla generazione de' vermi ordinari del corpo umano* [etc.]. Padova: Stamperia del Seminario.
- Vallisneri, Antonio. 1721. Prima Lettera. Disamina d'un solo Articolo dell'Opera celebre della Generazione de' vermi del corpo umano del Sig. Andry [etc.]. – *De' corpi marini, che su' monti si trovano; della loro origine; e dello stato del mondo avanti 'l Diluvio, nel Diluvio, e dopo il Diluvio* [etc.]. Venezia: Domenico Lovisa, 144–176.
- van den Ven, Paul, ed. 1962a. *La vie ancienne de s. Syméon Stylite le jeune (521–592) 1*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.
- van den Ven, Paul, ed. 1962b. *La vie ancienne de s. Syméon Stylite le jeune (521–592) 2*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.
- Van Le, Quan; Lynne A. Isbell, Jumpei Matsumoto, Minh Nguyen, Etsuro Hori, Rafael S. Maior, Carlos Tomaz, Anh Hai Tran, Taketoshi Ono and Hisao Nishijo. 2013. Pulvinar Neurons Reveal Neurobiological Evidence of Past Selection for Rapid Detection of Snakes. – *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110 (47). <http://www.pnas.org/content/110/47/19000.full.pdf> (accessed June 20, 2015).
- Van Strien, Jan W.; Ingmar H. A. Franken and Jorg Huijding. 2014. Testing the Snake-Detection Hypothesis: Larger Early Posterior Negativity in Humans to Pictures of Snakes than to Pictures of other Reptiles, Spiders and Slugs. – *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 8 (691). <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4154444/> (accessed June 20, 2015).
- Varias García, Carlos. 2014. "Snakes" in the Mycenaean Texts? On the Interpretation of the Linear B Term *e-pe-to-i*. – *KE-RA-ME-JA. Studies Presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine*, edited by Dimitri Nakassis, Joann Gulizio and Sarah A. James. Philadelphia, PA: INSTAP, 179–188.
- Vittori, Luigi, 1846. *Memorie archeologico-storiche sulla città di Polimazio, oggi Bomarzo*. Roma: Monaldi Tipografo.
- Warren, Warren. 2006. *Facing Death. Epicurus and his Critics*. New York, NY: Clarendon Press.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1995. *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Watson, Burton, ed. 2013. *Record of Miraculous Events in Japan. The Nihon ryōiki*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- West, Martin L., ed. 2003. *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Williams, Elizabeth A. 1998. Review of "The Medical World of Early Modern France". – *Early Science and Medicine* 3 (4): 349–351.
- Wittmann, Anneliese. 1967. *Cosmas und Damian. Kultausbreitung und Volksdevotion*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Zaccarello, Michelangelo, ed. 2014. Franco Sacchetti. *Le trecento novelle*. Firenze: SISMEL; Edizioni del Galluzzo.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

Mühlfried, Florian. 2014. *Being a State and States of Being in Highland Georgia*. Oxford; New York, NY: Berghahn Books. 264 pages.

Right at the beginning of this review of Florian Mühlfried's book, I need to reveal that the book caught my interest primarily because its description and summary indicated that the central argument promoted in the book is very similar to the one I defend in my book about citizens and the state in Montenegro (Sedlenieks 2013). Upon reading Mühlfried's volume I can say that the similarity of the argument is still striking despite the fact that the examples and concepts we use differ.

Referring both to his own interpretation of the history of Georgia and in particular the Tusheti region as well as some other authors who discuss processes of change and the state in the Soviet Union (for example, Grant 1995), Mühlfried advances a multi-level argument the overall effect of which is to revise the idea of what it means to be a citizen.

The background of this revision is on the one hand the understanding that the history of the state experience for the Tushetians has been complicated and turbulent, the state has been coming and going and then coming and going again (p. 64), reversing its policies towards the highlanders, reversing its policies towards the prospect of life in remote villages and desirability of the traditional lifestyle of Tushetians. The resulting practices of the Tushetians as citizens can be seen as an adaptation of sorts to this particular kind of changing environment, where one of the cornerstones of citizenship (the state) behaves unpredictably.

Mühlfried argues that contrary to classical interpretations of citizenship there is no ground to assume that citizens always need and want to be integrated into the wider community of the state. In the changing circumstances whereby the Georgians found them-

selves citizens of the erratic and unpredictable Soviet state, and later the not much more predictable independent state of Georgia, the understandable action of citizens were to keep certain distance from the state by means of creating cognitive as well as spatial and symbolic "reserves" or "room for manoeuvre" (p. 9). The concept of reserves refers to things or other entities that are kept from being used in everyday life and preserved for a possible emergency. In the Tushetian case these reserves take form as both migratory practices that allow adaptation to various state policies of settlement, as well as to the tradition of local shrines that are specifically tabooed against various influences and are guarded spatially from polluting agents (in the form of strangers or women). These reserves then give the space for manoeuvre that is needed *vis-à-vis* the unpredictable state. Consequently Mühlfried argues that citizenship does not necessarily involve active engagement or wish to engage, it also (and simultaneously) can mean taking as much from the state when possible and distancing oneself from it when desirable.

Thus the Tushetians that Mühlfried describes are simultaneously patriotic, sometimes impersonating the state and sometimes evading it and keeping a distance from it, or all of these simultaneously. Mühlfried argues that this lack of the wish to be completely integrated in the state is not to be treated as somehow defective or undeveloped citizenship, but as precisely an expression of it. Thus "Citizenship, seen from this angle, is not only opposed to any form of totalitarianism (and a form of opposing it), but is itself a means of protection from the state" (p. 203, see also p. 88).

The book is carefully crafted with meticulous outlining of the arguments and the contents of each section. However, some aspects have not been entirely explained.

The largest deficiency is that although the book speaks a lot about citizenship, the author never gives his own definition. There are places where he says what citizenship *is not*, but that does not make what it actually *is* clear. Moreover, from the perspective of Mühlfried's description, citizenship starts to resemble membership in any group or in culture in general. Thus, the concept of citizenship becomes rather fuzzy: whether a citizen does something (for example participates in state affairs) or restrains from doing it (for example guards him/herself against the state) becomes a part and parcel of what citizenship actually means. If the citizen wants to be integrated or wants to avoid integration altogether does not, it seems, matter.

It would seem that citizenship has something to do with the state. Unfortunately, the concept of state is also not sufficiently explained. The author writes that Tushe-tians at times became the state, particularly, by voluntarily taking up uniform to patrol the border (p. 159), but it is not clear what the state is if the uniform is the state and the citizen is the uniform. The fact that the Soviet state was something quite different and antagonistic to the current independent Georgia, begs for an explanation of what this state actually is apart from a mental construction or a "fiction of philosophers" (Radcliffe-Brown 1987: xxiii).

At times some exoticisation of the Soviet state and in particular Mühlfried's tendency to contrast Soviet policies to Western policies (as if Soviet policies were not direct descendants of the ideas developed and circulated in the West) seems to demonstrate some lack of insight (see for example p. 112).

Although the above critical points could have deserved more elaboration, in general the book gives a fresh and highly interesting point of view on what it means to be a citizen

(or subject) in an entity (or state) that tends to have "a century of perestroikas" (Grant 1995). The new look at what the concept and practice of citizenship encapsulates will be useful for both theoreticians and practical policy-makers.

References

- Grant, Bruce. 1995. *In the Soviet House of Culture. A Century of Perestroikas*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald. 1987. Preface. – *African Political Systems*, edited by Edward E. Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes. New York, NY: Methuen, Routledge and Kegan Paul, i-xxiii.
- Sedlenieks, Klavs. 2013. "And Burn Today Whom Yesterday They Fed". *Citizens and State in Montenegro*. Tallinn: Tallinn University Press.

Klāvs Sedlenieks (Rīga Stradiņš University)

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics (JEF), the journal of the University of Tartu, the Estonian National Museum and the Estonian Literary Museum, welcomes articles in the research areas of ethnology, folkloristics, museology, cultural and social anthropology. *JEF* is a peer-reviewed journal, issued two times per year.

Preparation of Manuscripts. Contributions may vary widely in length; research articles should generally not exceed 30 pages, shorter pieces might include critical essays, commentaries, discussions and reviews of recent books. Submitted manuscripts should be written in English and uploaded to the journal's homepage in RTF, Microsoft Word, Open Office, or iWork Pages document file format. Please send tables, figures, illustrations and text as separate files.

Submitted research articles will be read by referees. Each paper should include a self-contained abstract in English of a maximum of 150 words, summarising the article's main points plus 5 keywords. The first page should contain the name, affiliation and address of each author.

General Conventions of References. Endnotes and parenthetical in-text citations in author-date style should be used as follows: (Bynum 1987: 83). A complete list of references cited should be provided at the end of the article as appropriate:

- Bynum, Caroline Walker. 1987. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1989. Authoring Lives. – *Journal of Folklore Research* 26 (2): 123–149.
- Radley, Alan. 1990. Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past. – *Collective Remembering*, edited by David Middleton and Derek Edwards. London: Sage Publications, 46–59.
- The Royal Anthropological Institute. Report of the Strategic Review Working Group. <http://www.therai.org.uk/rainews/StrategicReviewReport2003.html> (accessed August 20, 2008).

Editorial Information. The editors will consider all manuscripts received and will take no responsibility for their publication or return. The editors assume the right to make editorial revisions, while major changes will not be made without the permission of the author. If accepted for publication in *JEF*, the article should not be published elsewhere in the same form, in any language without the previous agreement with the editors of *JEF*.

Author copies. Each author will receive two copies of the issue containing their article. The author of a shorter piece will receive one copy.

Detailed **author guidelines** are available online at <http://www.jef.ee/index.php/journal/about/submissions>

Editorial address:

Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics

Estonian National Museum

Veski 32, 51014 Tartu, Estonia

E-mail: jef.editors@gmail.com or ergo-hart.vastrik@ut.ee

Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics (JEF) is a multidisciplinary forum for scholars. Addressed to an international scholarly audience, *JEF* is open to contributions from researchers all over the world. *JEF* publishes articles in the research areas of ethnology, folkloristics, museology, cultural and social anthropology. It includes both studies focused on the empirical analysis of particular cases as well as those that are more theoretically oriented.

JEF JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY
AND FOLKLORISTICS

Volume 9 | Number 2 | 2015

MARIA-ALINA ASAVEI

Visual Chronicles from the Balkans and Central Europe:
Samplers Remembered

DOMINIKA CZARNECKA

Making Sense of the Past: (Re)constructing the Local Memorial
Landscape in a Post-Soviet Base in Poland

IGOR MIKESHIN

Decency, Humility, and Obedience: Spatial Discipline in the
Baptist Rehab Centre

AZHER HAMEED QAMAR

Tona, the Folk Healing Practices in Rural Punjab, Pakistan

DAVIDE ERMACORA

Pre-Modern Bosom Serpents and Hippocrates' *Epidemiae* 5: 86:
A Comparative and Contextual Folklore Approach Policy

NOTES AND REVIEWS

Being a State and States of Being in Highland Georgia

ISSN 1736-6518 (print)

ISSN 2228-0987 (online)