Supplementary Notebook (RTEP - Brazilian academic journal, ISSN 2316-1493)

TRADITIONAL MEDICINE IN THE SOUTH RUSSIAN ETHNO-CULTURAL AREA (NAMES OF DISEASES, HEALER TYPES)

Vladimir S. BUZIN[1]

[1]*St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation. v.buzin@spbu.ru.*

Abstract: *This article is dedicated to the analysis of two aspects of the Russian traditional medicine: names of the treated diseases and specific characteristics of traditional practitioners. The issues addressed in the article are of particular relevance due to the need to improve our knowledge about characteristics of this phenomenon of folk culture, including its regional specifics —in this case, typical of the Russian population attributable to the South Russian ethnographic group. The methodological foundation for the research is based on the etymological analysis and comparative-historical and structural-functional approaches. The research reveals that the nomination of diseases in folk speech was based on different principles: indication of organs of the body with pain sensations, external manifestations of the disease, the nature of pain sensations, etc. Most of these names are etymologized from the modern Russian language, but some of them have deeper roots. In most cases, people suffering from different diseases preferred to turn to recognized healing experts, which were mostly represented by the "lower" class of specialists of the sacred: "old wives", "old men", "aunties", etc. At the same time, in the popular consciousness, some total strangers (often wandering healers), rather than local practitioners, were considered especially "strong" in treating diseases. Materials of this article have a definite value for better understanding of the essential characteristics of Russian folk culture, and they can be used in large-scale studies on the traditional culture of the Russian ethnos or for teaching Russian ethnography disciplines.*

Keywords: *traditional medicine, Russians, etymology of disease names, traditional practitioners.*

INTRODUCTION

Traditional medicine refers to an area of folk knowledge that includes ideas about the causes of diseases and the methods of their treatment, including ritual components, used in everyday life by people who do not have any special medical education. This phenomenon of folk culture is explored from two perspectives: medical — as accumulation of positive therapeutic experience, and ethnographic — as an integral part of popular traditional knowledge and beliefs (Dmitriev, Dmitriev, Trubnikov, 1991).

Traditional medicine, including methods practised in the Russian ethnos, especially its irrational aspect, has long attracted the attention of researchers. Extensive material on this topic was accumulated in pre-revolutionary times, both in publications in periodicals and in some dedicated research works; I would especially like to mention the book "Russian Traditional Folk Medicine" by G. Popov (1996). During the Soviet period, the topic of traditional medicine in the region of our study, as well as this aspect of the ethnography of the Russians and other peoples of the country in general, for a long time almost totally fell out of the focus of the research interests. The main reason was the position of the healthcare authorities, which indiscriminately asserted the danger of using "ignorant" methods of traditional healing and considered that publications about them were encouraging their application. Later the research in this area was resumed, but it was still opposed "from the top". This situation began to change radically only in the post-Soviet period, when the field work to collect materials on traditional medicine was resumed and the number of publications on this topic increased significantly, including a chapter in the fundamental work "The Russians" published in 1997 ("Traditional Medical Practice" by S.I. Dmitrieva) (Aleksandrov, Vlasova, Polishchuk, 1997).

However, as for any other phenomenon of folk culture, the process of studying traditional medicine can never be stopped due to constant appearance of new materials that have not yet been in the focus of research and due to the development of new methodological approaches to research procedures. This article is aimed to improve our knowledge about two aspects of this area of research: nomination of diseases in folk speech and characteristics of individuals acting as healers in the folk environment.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The article explores research materials from three regions of the Russian Federation (now Lipetsk, Tambov and Penza Oblasts), the Russian population of which belong to the South Russian ethnographic group. Most of these materials were accumulated in pre-revolutionary times and were published in periodicals, such as Tambov and Penza provincial and eparchial *Vedomosti*[1]. A lot of them are included in the above-mentioned work by G.I. Popov; besides, the most interesting research publications of that period are articles by V. Bondarenko (1890) and M. Smirnova (1911).

In the publications of the Soviet period, when the volume of research on traditional medicine decreased significantly for the above-stated reasons, we found only some limited regional materials in the book "The Village of Viryatino in the Past and Present" published in 1958. A significant growth in research began in the 1990s. In the course of field works, philologists and ethnographers from Tambov collected a significant corpus of sources on the topic of traditional medicine and analysed a number of related issues (Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013; Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001). A.A. Piskulin pays a special attention to this topic in «Ethnographic Materials on the Black Earth Belt in the Second Half of the 20th – Early 21st Centuries» (Piskulin, 2013). A certain amount of information was collected in 1994–1997 by the participants

[1] We will discuss these publications in more details below.

of the Tambov Ethnographic Expedition of St. Petersburg State University under the leadership of the author[2].

As the article explores two different aspects of traditional medicine, there is a need in different approaches to research methodology. In the study of nomination of diseases in folk speech, the method of etymological classification was applied, based on identifying the factors that determined the origin of a particular disease name and classifying the names of diseases by the type of determining factors. The analysis of the essential characteristics of traditional practitioners required application of comparative-historical and structural-functional approaches. The former approach focuses on establishing the historical context that determined the emergence of such specialists in society, and the latter — on determining the place of traditional practitioners in the social and professional structure of direct producers of material goods, understood as the "people", in accordance with their function.

RESULTS

Due to the difficult living conditions, suffering from a wide variety of diseases was an integral part of the life of common people. Since ancient times, various methods of their treatment had been developed, and some of them were quite rational, but more often they were of irrational, mytho-ritual nature, which determined the negative attitude towards this sphere of common life among the educated strata of the population, especially medical professionals.

The published sources are abound in sarcastic, even mocking reviews of the folk definitions of disease symptoms: "...dying peacefully... from diseases, complaining of aches all over the body, witch's shots and queasy feeling" (Sergeev, 1899); nomination and diagnostics: «...harm from an evil eye, jinx or a wicked stranger — that's all they know about diagnostics" (Tikhomirov, 1877), and the traditional healing "specialists": "Tell some Akulka that she does not need blood-sucking cans or leeches at all, as her head hurts not from "bad blood" but rather from the fact that she does not have enough of this "blood" — and you'll be told that Auntie Arina or Old Praskovya knows better than any one of you" (Bozhko, 1898). Such comments were often justified, especially when the treatment did not produce a result, usually due to an incorrect diagnosis: "A pimple swelled up on his back, he was scratching it for a day or two, and then he became feverish and sleepy. We thought it was *sibirka* and brought him to an old wife to charm it away, but now, on the fifth day, he isn't any better, which means, we think, that it's not *sibirka*, because the charms would have certainly healed it" (Bitter truth, 1900).

Everywhere, including the region under study, the popular nomination of diseases as a reflection of the typology of diseases was very chaotic (if not absurd): the names in one region were different from the names in another, the same name could be used for different diseases, and the same disease could be called differently (Popov, 1996). However, we can detect (very vague) differentiation between two types of diseases in the people's minds. Those of the first type were considered to arise naturally under the influence of objective factors, and they could be treated with conventional medical methods (though some of them could be pseudo-scientific), which still did not exclude the use of magic. Their reasons were almost never indicated, as they were self-

[2] In footnotes: MTEE (Materials of the Tambov Ethnographic Expedition), mostly including reference to the settlement in which the material was recorded.

explanatory (for example, colds), so, to treat them, patients could turn to professional doctors.

Those of the second type — actually the majority of diseases — were explained by the intervention of supernatural forces or specialists of the sacred, harming people with their magical acts. In the folk speech, such diseases were considered "inflicted" through *porcha* ("curse"), *sglaz* ("evil eye") or *pritka* ("jinx, affliction"): "Our parishioners believe that diseases are caused by wicked people's evil eye or curse" (Derzhavin, 1912). Such illnesses as epilepsy and other types of mental disorders were not considered to be "from God", but rather inflicted by sorcerers. Sometimes people did not bother looking for the cause of the disease: "Getting ill, they hurry to fortune-tellers or sorcerers" (Smirnov, 1877). Treatment of such diseases required intervention from specialists of the sacred: "If it is a *kila* ("hernia"), you shouldn't go to the hospital — ask *znakhar'* ("a wise man") to untie it, and if it is something else, then go to the hospital for help" (Rosnitsky, 1904).

A disease could be perceived as some extraneous substance of a demonic nature, such as *bes* ("demon") or any other, which either infiltrated the human body "on its own" or was "inflicted" (e.g., through the mouth) by "the evil one"[3] or some specialist of the sacred, sometimes unknown. An informant reported that she had stomachache, and the prayers of exorcism were read over her in church, but it was not clear who had caused the illness: "And you'll never know. He puts the spell on you, and you are down with an illness" (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001).

Among other mentioned irrational causes of diseases there were failures to comply with the prescriptions related to Christianity (e.g. haymaking before *Petrov Den'* — Feast of Saints Peter and Paul) (Popov, 1996) or pagan traditions (e.g. the hair removed from the comb was to be thrown into the stove, saying "Let the hair burn out, and the head won't ache", otherwise a magpie would make a nest from the hair thrown out, causing a disease[4]).

It was considered that people could treat the diseases of the first type on their own, but those of the second type could not be healed without magical countermeasures. There was no clear differentiation between those two types, and the same disease could be perceived either as just "happening" or as "inflicted" by some evil forces. Within those types, there was also some kind of sub-classification: the "inflicted" diseases were divided into those *s glazu* (caused by the evil eye) or *ot besa* (inflicted by the devil) — the former was considered less serious, and the latter required more complicated treatment (Popov, 1996); some old *lekarka* (female healer) could distinguish between internal *kily* and *porcha* and external abscesses, toothache, etc. (The village of Piterskoe, 1886), which can be arbitrarily treated as distinguishing between diseases of "external" and "internal" nature.

Nomination of diseases in folk speech

The etymological analysis shows that the popular nomination of diseases reflected a wide range of ideas about their essential characteristics. The most important of them could be the nature of the disease "acquisition" (*porcha*, lit. "spoilage" — "disease from curse"), or its external manifestation (*sobach'ja hil'*, lit. "canine frailty" — "rickets"), or the character of the pain sensations (*gryzha*, lit. "gnawing" — "hernia"),

[3] MTEE, Khimzavod.
[4] MTEE, Khimzavod.

etc.; in some cases, a disease name reflects more than one characteristic (*letuchij ogon'*, lit. "flying fire" — "skin rashes, streptoderma"). It is sometimes difficult to determine the origin of a disease name mentioned in the source — is it a popular name or a term introduced by a medical professional? It is well known that some names of diseases, now used as medical terms, originated from the vernacular language, — for example, *zajach'ja guba* ("harelip"), *volch'ja past'* ("cleft palate"), *kurinaja slepota* ("night-blindness"), etc. (Taleysnik, n.d.). In many cases, there is no clear indication of symptomatology of diseases, which makes it difficult to correlate popular names with medical terms, and, in general, this kind of research is impossible without cooperation with a medical professional.

The etymological analysis revealed the following classification of diseases in the folk healing vocabulary of the region under study.

A disease was often lexically defined as a result of an external ***harmful effect*** on a person, which was reflected in the name of the disease. For example, *sglaz* («evil eye»): "*S glazu* means get sick through somebody's witchcraft or anger" (Tambov speech: Study II, 1898). Another name that is etymologically close to *sglaz* is *oches prizora (*Spassky, 1880*)*: according to "A Concise Dictionary of the Church Slavonic Language", *prizor oches* means "malevolent envious look"; *prizor* is derived from *zrit'* ("see"), *prizirat'* ("look after"), *ochesa* – "eyes" (A concise dictionary of the Church Slavonic language, 2004).

Other examples of the names of "inflicted" diseases: *porcha*, lit. "spoilage" ("disease from curse") (The village of Piterskoe, 1886)[5]*,* which was also attributed to malevolent forces; *vered ("*boil, abscess"*)* (Bozhko, 1898) "from Old Church Slavonic; cont. Russian *vred* ("harm")" (Vasmer, 1986a); *vstrechnyy razshib* (Tikhomirov, 1870) caused by a meeting with an evil spirit, a stranger with an "evil eye", a sorcerer or some otherworldly force in the form of wind or vortex (also known in an imprecation *Vstrechny tebya raschibi* ("Let a stranger on a road bewitch you!" (Saratov)); *vstreshnye* diseases – those occurring while travelling (Vlasova, 2008); *pritka* ("jinx, affliction") (Ilminsky, 1874; Tikhomirov, 1870) caused by "evil forces", sometimes in the form of a sudden hysteria with seizures and wailing (Dahl, 1982b): *popritchilos'* ("something bad happened") (Popov, 1996), V. Dahl etymologizes *pritka* from *pritekat'* ("happen") (Dahl, 1882a).

Quite often the disease names indicated the ***organ/body part*** in which the pain is felt: tooth (From the village of Shovsky, Lebedyansky Uezd, 1882), back (Piskulin, 2013), stomach (Uskov, 1901), head, etc. (Stefanovsky, 1870)*;* these names sometimes were used in their vernacular variants: *grudnica* (Loskutova, 2013b) from *grud'* ("breast") — "milk-fever, breast inflammation" (Dahl, 1982a); *rozhica* from *rozha* ("face") – "red spots on a face" (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001).

The names could be based on ***external manifestations of the disease***. In some cases, they referred to the unhealthy appearance of a person: *izsuha (*From the rustic wilderness, 1899*)* describes a person that is *issushennyj* ("withered") by disease; *sobach'ja hil'*, lit. "canine frailty" ("rickets") (Lyustrov, 1890) – by analogy with the appearance of an ailing (*hilyj*) animal. In other cases, the names were given in connection with changes in the skin: its colour, e.g. *zheltuha ("jaundice") (*Ippolitova, 2013*)* from *zheltyj* ("yellow"); or texture, e.g. *lishaj* ("lichen") (The village of Piterskoe, 1886) by analogy with the plant of the same name, or *syp'* ("skin rash") (Bozhko, 1898) from *sypat'* ("scatter, sprinkle"), as it looks like something scattered on the skin. Some diseases were named in accordance with the characteristics of growths on the body: *kila*

[5] MTEE, Khimzavod.

(pl. kily)[6] in popular perception: «Some bumps... the moon is full, and here they are, well, they become puffy and red, itchy here» (Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013), so a number of its symptoms are close to hernia (see. *gryzha* below); according to M. Vasmer, *kila* is "hernia, tumour, outgrowth on a tree" (Vasmer, 1986b), i.e. something protruding, and the word is known in a number of Indo-European languages (Vasmer, 1986b).

The traditional medicine differentiated between *nutrjanaja* ("internal") *kil*a (The village of Piterskoe, 1886); b*orodavka* ("wart") (Popov, 1996) — from *boroda* ("beard") according to M. Vasmer (1986a), i.e. by analogy with the growth of facial hair; *jachmen'* ("sty") (Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013) — "an abscess in the cartilaginous edge of the eyelid" (Dahl, 1982c), it reflects its resemblance with the seed of the same name ("barley"); *opuhol'* ("tumour") (Bozhko, 1898) from *opuhanie* ("swelling") of the body surface; *ponos* ("diarrhea") (Bozhko, 1898) from *nosit'* ("carry"), as it carries faeces from the patient's body; *krovotechenie* ("haemorrhage"), lit. "blood running" (Bozhko, 1898).

The name could reflect the patient's ***behavioural characteristics***: *paduchaja*, or *rodimchik* (Spassky, 1880), from *padat'* ("to fall") —an epileptic seizure during which the patient cannot keep from falling; *krik* ("cry") — a child disease "when a baby cries a lot" (Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013).

The following names reflected ***the nature of painful or uncomfortable sensations***: *lomota* (Sergeev, 1899) from *lomat'* ("to break") — a disease "breaking" the body; *gryzha*, lit. "gnawing" (Lyustrov, 1890; Bondarenko, 1890; Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013), — in the all-Russian tradition, it was the name of a protrusion, swelling in the lower abdomen, some chronic abdominal pain (Dahl, 1982a), its symptoms were close to *kila*; *naryv ("a boil")* (Popov, 1996) from *rvat'* ("tear"), as it tears some part of the human body; *ozhog* ("a burn") (Bozhko, 1898) from *zhech* ("to burn"); *kurinaja slepota* ("night-blindness") (Bozhko, 1898) – partial loss of vision by analogy with the idea about poor eyesight in chickens. Sickness could be caused by a disease with a high body temperature defined as *gorjachka ("fever")* (Tikhomirov, 1870) from *gorjachij* ("hot"), or *lihaja nemoch'* (Tikhomirov, 1870), meaning ***impossibility of activity***; the adjective *lihaja* indicates its unnatural, "inflicted" nature.

The names could refer to ***causes of pain sensations:*** *opushhenie zheludka,* lit. "prolapse of the stomach" (Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013); *vyvih* ("dislocation") (Bozhko, 1898) as a result of a limb getting into an unnatural, dislocated position; *zanoza* ("a splinter") (Bozhko, 1898) from *vonzat'*, *-nizat'* ("to dig, pierce") (Vasmer, 1986b); *ispug*, lit. "fright", in children (Popov, 1996).

There is a specific group of names indicating ***a living creature***, supposedly invading the human body and causing a disease. One of such names is *zhaba* (Zelenin, 1914; Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013), lit. "toad" — as if the amphibian inside the chest is blocking breathing. Another disease name of this type is *volosen'* (Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013) from *volos* ("hair") — according to V.V. Levkievskaya, that was the name for an abscess on the body or a nail disease that can "eat off" a finger, and people believed that the disease occurred due to the penetration of a mythical creature called *volosen'* (Levkievskaya, 2004). It should be noted that *volosen'*, also called *volosatik, volosets* (Dahl, 1982a) and *konskiy volos* or *zhivoy volos* (Gura, 2012), is a real freshwater parasitic organism (nematomorph, or horsehair worm) that, contrary to popular beliefs, does not harm humans (Gura, 2012). *Rak,* lit. "crayfish", is a medical term for cancer, but in the popular beliefs, it was interpreted as the disease caused by a crustacean tormenting the human body from inside (Piskulin, 2013).

[6] MTEE, Blagodatka.

The conception of ***a demon entering the human body*** as the cause of the disease explains the name *beshenstvo,* from *bes* ("demon"), used for rabies — in the source it is indicated as a popular name, while another name (*vodoboyazn')* was apparently used by a medical professional (The village of Muchkap, Borisoglebsk Uezd, 1896). *Vodoboyazn'* ("hydrophobia") is indicated in the medical literature as an outdated name for rabies, as well as its second stage (Rabies, n.d).

There were names indicating both ***causes and symptoms of the disease:*** *letuchij ogon'* (lit. "flying fire"), or *letjachka* (Ethnographic description of the village of Novocherkutin in the Usmansky Uezd, 1877), – allergy or other skin diseases "flying" from outside and "burning with fire" (Mazalova, 2019); ***the affected organ and causes of the disease***: *durnaya krovishcha (*lit. "bad blood") (Auntie Dunya, 1899); ***the affected organ and symptoms of the disease****: zhgota serdtsa* (lit. "burning in the heart") (Popov, 1996) — according to V. Dahl, *zhgota serdtsa* is melancholy, sadness (Dahl, 1982a), i.e. it is not a disease as such, but rather what is called a "state of mind", but it is felt as a disease, and therefore, according to popular beliefs, had to be treated with medication (Popov, 1996).

Sibirka ("anthrax") was named after Siberia as the area of its ***predominant spread*** (Anthrax, n.d). G.I. Popov mentioned that common people called so different diseases: colds, infectious and other diseases, including sore throat and acne (Popov, 1996). One of the reports for the studied region confirms this: "All kinds of tumours, abscesses, stomach diseases are named *sibirka* (Bogoslovsky, 1898)." Some *tetushka Dunya* (Auntie Dunya) considered "any pimple on the body, any lump" to be *sibirka* (Auntie Dunya, 1899). A variety of diseases under this name also explains the idea of twelve types of *sibirka*: *nutryanaya* ("internal") *sibirka*, *naruzhnaya* ("external") *sibirka*, *rozha* (see above *rozhica*), etc.[7]. A source mentions a charm to heal *sibirka*, but the disease has a different name in its text:

Dry *sukhota*,
Come out of the yellow bone,
Out of the white brain,
And go to the oak forest,
Into hemps and stumps...
(From the banks of the Vorona River, 1902).

It is not clear from the text if *sukhota* is one of the names for *sibirka* or the source just made an erroneous connection between them. *"Likhoradka"* (Loskutova, 2013) is an example of an ***anthropomorphic personification*** of diseases. In popular perception, they looked like seductive women (each, apparently, corresponded to a certain disease), causing discomfort with their charms and *likho raduyushchikhsya* ("dashingly rejoicing"), seeing the suffering of the sick people (Popov, 1996)[8]. It was also called *likhomanka* (From the rustic wilderness, 1899), etymologized from *likho imeet*, i.e. tortures the sick person.

A number of local regional names of diseases have a very ***specific etymology***. *Chemer* ("appendicitis") (Piskulin, 2013): a human disease of the head, abdomen or waist, sometimes with diarrhoea and vomiting; it was believed to be also typical for horses; it is etymologized from the name for the "top of the head, a lock of hair on the crown" (Dahl, 1882b) or a plant (*chemer* — ant. Ind. lotus), there are also other

[7] MTEE. The informant did not mention other names.
[8] The word *likhoradka* is in quotation marks because it denoted many different diseases in the folk speech, but in professional medicine, it is a definition of fever.

etymologies (Vasmer, 1986a). *Mozol'* ("callus") (Sitovsky, 1887): researchers offer various versions of etymology (Vasmer, 1986b); an interesting version is its origin from *mozół (*Pol., Ukr. "toil, hard work") (Callus, n.d.). *Yazva* ("ulcer") (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001) — according to M. Vasmer, **jazva* is etymologized from Slavic and a number of other languages as "a wound, scar, crack", etc. (Vasmer, 1987b) *Nasmork* ("running nose") (Uskov, 1901) — from Proto-Slavic *smъrkъ* ("snot") (Vasmer, 1987a). The name *kholera* ("cholera") (Blagonravov, 1870) from Greek χολή ("bile") was possibly borrowed into the Russian language through Poland (Vasmer, 1987b), and it was also used in the folk speech.

Our search for etymology for several names has been unsuccessful: *dich'ey* ("paralysis, stroke") (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001) and *dichok* ("stupor from a strong fear") (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001): judging by the similarity of symptoms, these are different vocalizations of the same name, possibly derived from *dikiy* ("wild"); *kzhika* (Ilminsky, 1874): apart from the name, no information on this disease has been found, but its mentioning in the reference source together with *pritka* and *sglaz* suggests that it is of the same origin and is one of the "inflicted" diseases.

With the development of healthcare services for the population, which gradually covered the lower social strata, ***professional medical names of diseases*** penetrated the folk speech, some of which appear in the sources for the studied region. These are *tuberkulez* ("tuberculosis"*)* (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001) from Lat. tuberculum, as the disease manifests itself in inflammations formed as tubercles (Krylov, n.d.); the disease affecting *shchitovidka* ("thyroid gland") (Loskutova, Makhracheva, 2013) — this name penetrated the folk speech rather late, and earlier it had been named a disease of *zob* (from Old Rus. *zob'* — "food"), in modern Russian language acquired the meaning of "throat" or "oesophagus", i.e., the organs through which food passes (Semyonov, n.d.); *rak* ("cancer") (Piskulin, 2013) – the name originates from the term καρκίνωμα (from Old Greek "crab, cancer"), introduced by ancient Greek physician Hippocrates for carcinoma, because the malignant tumour outwardly resembles these arthropods due to the presence of outgrowths in different directions (Cancer, n.d.); the Russian medical term is a translation of the original term, and this name was also used in the folk speech; *skarlatina* ("scarlet fever") (Sofijsky, 1901) – the name originates from Med. Latin scarlatum due to the red skin rash occurring as a result of the infection (Vasmer, 1987a). However, we should repeat that it is not always possible to determine from the sources if the name of some disease had already been used in the folk speech or it was mentioned by the author with some medical background, while the popular name was completely different.

The medical names of diseases were often distorted — *tuberkulez*, for example, became *burkulez* (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001), or were re-interpreted in the popular consciousness in some specific way: for example, there was a paradoxical presentation of the disease in a charm to heal cancer, in which it is represented in the form of an animal (crayfish) in the human body (like *zhaba* or *volosen'*): "Sore, heavy, pungent *rak,* don't gnaw at S.D. [Servant of God]. Let go of the claws, roll back into the dark forest onto a dry bush, where the rooster will not sing, the dog will not bark, the baby will not cry. Amen" (Piskulin, 2013).

Typology of traditional practitioners

Among common people, the treatment of diseases could be carried out by those in the patients' environment (their relatives or friends), sometimes on the advice of other people, especially if the diseases were not particularly severe and their causes were obviously natural — for example, a cold after a long stay in the cold. It was a different matter when the cause of the disease was not clear, especially with suspicion of its "inflicted" nature, and most often, the presumed cause of the disease in such cases was *sglaz* ("evil eye"). Then people considered it necessary to consult individuals who were reputed to be healing experts.

Healing was the prerogative of those representatives of the folk tradition who are usually defined as "specialists of the sacred". Considered as healing experts, they can be represented as a kind of continuum: from the practitioners of the "higher" status (sorcerers, sorceresses, witches), for whom such activity was their main occupation with a considerable income, to the "lower" class healers, for whom it was a non-core activity and who sometimes provided their services without any payment ("old wives", etc.). The specialists of the sacred with the highest status in the popular perception were associated with negative connotations, extended to their activities in the medical field. They were usually blamed for the diseases caused by *porcha* ("curse"), *sglaz* ("evil eye") and other condemnations, which they "planted", "sent with the wind", etc. (Lyustrov, 1890). However, at the same time, people addressed them for healing, which, however, happened infrequently (Zelenev, 1875).

In the regional nomination, they were opposed to another group of specialists of the sacred in the healing sphere: *znakhar'* ("wise man, healer"; pl. *znakhari*; f. *znakharka*, *znakharki*) and *vorozheya* ("fortune-teller, female healer", pl. *vorozhei*): "*Znakhari* heal. And sorcerers inflict harm" (Piskulin, 2013); "The speciality of sorcerers (men) and werewolves (women) is to spoil the Orthodox people and plant *kily*, but *vorozhei* — both men and women — 'to go for diseases' (heal)" (Derzhavin, 1912). However, sometimes *znakhari* were also blamed for "inflicting" diseases (Loskutova, 2013a).

However, mostly the healing functions were performed by representatives of the "lower" class of specialists of the sacred, including a countless number of "old wives", "old men", "aunties", *Mikheichi* and *Silant'evny*; there was also a special name for a female healer – *lekarka* (pl. *lekarlki*) (From the village of Shovsky, Lebedyansky Uezd, 1882). Each of them could have their own specialisation: "One of them charms away toothache, another heals scarlet fever, the third healer *khodit* from fever, etc." (Sofijsky, 1901); there was a special category of *kostopravki* ("female bonesetters") (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001); some Auntie Dunya treated any illness but considered her speciality to be charms to heal *sibirka* and "letting in" leeches to get rid of the "bad blood" (Auntie Dunya, 1899). Nevertheless, the "old wives" could also be blamed for inflicting harm (Piskulin, 2013), as opposed to other healers: "*Babki* ("old wives") can be 'harmful', but *znakharki*, who heal, – they are 'positive'" (Piskulin, 2013).

A specific local name for a specialist of the sacred in the sphere of healing was *bas'ikha*. It was recorded during fieldwork in the Tambov Oblast in the 1990-s. A *basikha*, as such healer was called by the informants, pronounces incantations over water for a sick person (now often placing the person's photo into it), then she washes her patient with this water (Piskunova, Makhracheva, Gubareva, 2001). *Basit'*, as defined in V. Dahl's "Dictionary", means "'discuss', 'amuse with stories', etc., but *basit'sya u babki,* Ryaz., Tamb. — to be treated by *basikha, lekarka;* to use cinnabar or herbs" (Dahl, 1880).

Thus, *basikha* is a healer using cinnabar and herbs. As we can see, in the recorded Tambov vocabulary, the word *basikha* means a healer who *basit* (pronounces incantations) over water.

A special role in Russian traditional medicine was played by specialists who focused on obstetrics and were called *povitukhi* ("midwives"). They possessed knowledge in practical obstetrics and in rituals accompanying the process of childbirth, and, in addition, they were able to provide medical assistance to a newborn baby, including magical rituals. At the same time, *povitukha* could take some measures to prevent future diseases of the newborn: immediately after birth, she spat three times on the ground to protect the baby from *oches prizor* (Spassky, 1880), or before putting the baby to the breast for the first time, she put a nipple of black bread into baby's mouth to prevent from *gryzha (*Smirnova, 1911*)*.

If the newborn was continuously screaming, the midwife suspected *porcha* ("curse") by *sglaz* ("evil eye") — the disease itself was called *krik* ("cry"), and she gave him a spray s *ugol'ka*, for which she took "coal water" (with loose coal) into her mouth and sprinkled it three times into the baby's face with the words: "Lord, save the baby" (Spassky, 1880). In case of sickness of a newborn, the ritual of "re-baking a baby", which is also known among other groups of Russians, was practised, explained by the bearers of the tradition by the fact that the baby had been "underbaked in the womb". The baby was wrapped in swaddling clothes and kept on a bread shovel in an oven over hot coals for several seconds with the prayer "In the name of ...", and the procedure was repeated three times (Smirnov, 1877).

Naturally, the magical forms of "treatment" were focused on the pagan components, although often with the use of Christian attributes and the recitation of Christian prayers. Information from one of the sources that "there are such [*znakhari* – V.B.] who advise to have a service for health performed at church, or to have a priest pray with blessing of water, after which the holy water should be drunk on an empty stomach; or to take a nine-part phosphor" (Rosnitsky, 1904) is not very reliable, especially given the belonging of the author to the class of clergy.

As it often happens with specialists of the sacred, the healers coming from other places — "outsiders" — enjoyed particular confidence among common people. They either treated the patients themselves, or distributed the attributes of the treatment procedure (of course, for a fee) with instructions for their use. Thus, there were some travelling "Greeks" (according to their passports, they were "Persian subjects of the Mohammedan faith"), who were selling "healing" and "miraculous" remedies "from holy places": small stones "from the Holy Sepulchre", grass from the "Bethlehem crib", "Jordanian" water and so on. In addition, they offered treatment for infertility, child diseases and *porcha* (Uspensky, 1900).

Some woman came to villages with the "miraculous" icon of the Mother of God, claiming that it heals people and she herself was healed by the icon *(*Uspensky, 1900). A "talkative wanderer" taught to treat a baby whom *s glazy s"eli*, lit. "was eaten by the evil eye" (thus in the text – V.B.), "by spraying water from a coal" (Zimin, 1899). Another wanderer, who asked permission to spend a night in the house, read the prayers of exorcism over the "spoiled" girl who lived in the house. There is a source reporting about *konovaly* ("horse-healers"), who, as a rule, were wanderer because this profession required constant travelling: "blaming the local veterinarians and the paramedic of the Uezd, they pretend to be specialists in the treatment of all kinds of diseases, not only for the cattle but for people as well" (Uskov, 1901).

In pre-revolutionary times (and even in the early years of the Soviet period), traditional practitioners considerably exceeded professional doctors in terms of popularity among the population: "Even when there is no cholera, the peasants for some reason are suspicious of doctors, they are more likely to turn to some old *znakharka* for help rather than go to the doctor" (Blagonravov, 1870); "The peasants, before they go to the hospital, would visit a dozen of all kinds of old wives" (How is our Russian peasant treated?, 1897), etc. One of the correspondents of *Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti* thus explained the reasons for this phenomenon, "The reputation of *znakharka* among the majority of the inhabitants of the rural wilderness is much higher than the doctor's competence — maybe, because of her no-frills attitude and availability at any time of the day or night, or because she heals all diseases, both physical and mental, while the latter maladies are not the doctor's responsibility, or because the village inhabitants firmly adhere to the habits of their grandparents who were treated only by *znakharki*" (From the rustic wilderness, 1899). The belief in traditional practitioners was also supported by the fact that they skilfully insured themselves against failures: "…it is not the old wife who turned out to be guilty, but the people who applied to her. They certainly did not comply with this or that instruction given by the old wife — for example, her order to go home, without looking back or talking to anyone on the way" (Nikolsky, 1883).

There were also opposite — albeit rare — reports on the trust in professional medicine: "People are not afraid of doctors; moreover, they are eagerly looking for them in the range of tens, hundreds or even thousands of versts. Hospitals are overcrowded with patients..., outpatient clinics and paramedic centres serve hundreds of health seekers, clinics are full, every doctoral practice is also full — in short, everywhere people are looking for a doctor" (Bozhko, 1898). It was typical of specialists of the sacred to keep their healing methods in secret: "…*znakharki* believe that, if they reveals to someone their secrets of treatment, then they themselves will lose their ability to help patients" (Sofijsky, 1901); another source reported that *znakhari* and *znakharki* used their remedies "secretly and under the condition of 'not telling anyone'" (Uskov, 1901).

However, often the healers themselves recommended the remedies, and the treatment was carried out without their participation: "As advised by a kind *babushka*" (How is our Russian peasant treated? 1897), a certain remedy "for 12 ailments" was prepared at home (Sitovsky, 1887). The healers also provided the texts of charms, and in one case, it was a charm to treat *sibirka* (From the banks of the Vorona River, 1902). The folk tradition of charms was assimilated in early childhood, even before the introduction of the beginnings of Christianity into children's consciousness: "In confirmation of ignorance, we often hear charms pronounced by the children who do not know the shortest common 'proper' prayers" (From the rustic wilderness, 1899).

The payment for the healer was usually obligatory, although it was not preliminarily stipulated, but was determined by local traditions: "This healer takes a fee in the form of various supplies: millet, bread, meat, but mostly vodka!" (The village of Muchkap, Borisoglebsk Uezd, 1896) The above-mention Auntie Dunya treated for a pood (36 lb), of flour and a pood of millet, a piece of linen and fifty kopecks (Auntie Dunya, 1899). As we can see, the payment was rather high, and healers often tried to convince their patient of the complexity of their occupation and, accordingly, of the proportionality of the remuneration: "So, the new croaker began his treatment, took out some drugs from his wallet and began grinding, mixing, stirring, boiling and cooling them, doing whatever possible to prove 'how carefully and diligently he earns the stipulated fee'" (Uskov, 1901). However, there were practitioners healing free of charge:

in one of the villages of the Tambov region, blind "auntie Anyuta" (characterised by the source as "a true old wife") did not take fee for her treatment with the charmed water[9].

DISCUSSION

As a result of the performed analysis of the sources for the studied region, it was found out that in popular perception all diseases were divided by their nature, albeit not very strictly, into two categories: diseases "from God" and those "inflicted" either by some specialists of the sacred or directly by otherworldly forces. The nomination of diseases was based on different principles: indication of organs/part of the body with pain sensations; nature of pain sensations; anthropomorphic personification of diseases; indication of a living creature, supposedly invading the human body and causing a disease, etc. — totally about a dozen of different groups of names. Most of these names are etymologized from the modern Russian language, but the etymology of others requires special research, exploring archaic forms of Common Slavic or, maybe, even Indo-European origin. Over time, popular names were replaced with professional medical terms, especially in recent decades, but some of them, on the contrary, have passed into scientific terminology; as field studies show, some of the old names are still used today.

To a certain extent, this is explained by the preservation of the traditional medical practices, especially in the rural areas. As proved the studied materials, published both in pre-revolutionary and later periods, the majority of traditional practitioners were healers named in terms of kinship ("old wives", "old men", "aunties", etc.), but there were also healers of higher category, i.e. such specialists of the sacred as *znakhari* and *vorozhei*. Treatment of infantile diseases and their magic prevention were the prerogative of *povitukhi* — midwives. An interesting phenomenon was the special trust among common people in healing practices of wandering practitioners; they relied on them more than on their local ones, and that was a reflection of the archaic mentality of the carriers of this tradition — the idea of an "outsider"/"stranger" as connected with the other world and, therefore, possessing special sacred properties.

CONCLUSION

The research findings presented in this article expands the scope of our knowledge about such important component of Russian folk culture as traditional medicine. The materials of the article can be used in large-scale studies on this topic and courses on traditional medicine and serve as a basis for further research.

REFERENCES

1 Aleksandrov, V.A., Vlasova, I.V., Polishchuk, N.S. (Eds.) (1997). Russkie [The Russians]. Moscow: Nauka.

2 Beshenstvo [Rabies]. Retrieved on August 21, 2019, from https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Бешенство.

3 Blagonravov, I. (1870). Kholera v sele G…e v 1866 godu [Cholera in the village of G. in 1866]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 17, 494–499.

[9] MTEE, Krasny.

4 Bogoslovsky, P. (1898). Iz d. Znamenki Kozlovskogo uezda [From the village of Znamenki, Kozlovsky district]. Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 47, 3–4.
5 Bozhko, N. (1898). Narodnaya meditsina i narodnoe nevezhestvo [Traditional medicine and people's ignorance]. Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 86, 2–3.
6 Bondarenko, V. (1890). Pover'ya krest'yan Tambovskoy gubernii [Beliefs of the peasants of the Tambov Governorate]. Zhivaya starina, 1, 115–121.
7 Chem lechitsya nash russkiy krest'yanin? [How is our Russian peasant treated?] (1897). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 34, 2–3.
8 Dahl, V. (1880, 1882a, 1882b). Tolkovyy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo yazyka [Explanatory dictionary of the living Great Russian language]. Vol. 1. Saint Petersburg/Moscow: M.O. Wolf Publ., 1880; Vol. 3. Saint Petersburg/Moscow: M.O. Wolf Publ., 1882a; Vol. 4. Saint Petersburg/Moscow: M.O. Wolf Publ., 1882b.
9 Dahl, V. (1982a, 1982b, 1982c). Tolkovyy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo yazyka [Explanatory dictionary of the living Great Russian language]. Vol. 1. Moscow: Russkiy yazyk, 1982a; Vol. 3. Moscow: Russkiy yazyk, 1982b; Vol. 4. Moscow: Russkiy yazyk, 1982c.
10 Derzhavin, E. (1912). Selo Kotel Kerenskogo uezda Penzenskoy eparkhii (Istoriko-statisticheskiy ocherk) [The village of Kotel of the Kerensky Uezd in the Penza Eparchy: Historical and statistical essay]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 8, 295–300.
11 Dmitriev, V.A., Dmitriev, V.S., Trubnikov, B.G. (1991). Meditsina narodnaya. Narodnye znaniya. Fol'klor. Narodnoe iskusstvo: Svod etnograficheskikh ponyatiy i terminov [Traditional medicine. Folk knowledge. Folklore. Folk art: A collection of ethnographic concepts and terms], issue 4. Moscow: Nauka.
12 Gor'kaya pravda [Bitter truth] (1900). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 64, 3.
13 Gura, A.V. (2012). CHERV' [WORM]. In Tolstoy N.I. (Ed.) Slavyanskie drevnosti: etnolingvisticheskiy slovar' v 5-ti tomakh [Slavic antiquities: Ethnolinguistic dictionary in 5 volumes]. Vol. 5. Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya.
14 Ilminsky, V. (18749). Nekrolog [Obituary]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 7, 219–232.
15 Ippolitova, D.S. (2013). Vosh' v predstavleniyakh krest'yan Tambovskoy oblasti [Louse in the views of the peasants of the Tambov Oblast]. In Makhracheva T.V. (Ed.) Traditional folk culture of the Tambov region. Collection of articles by young researchers in 2 volumes. Vol. 1: Ethnolinguistic, archaeological and museum studies. Tambov: G.R. Derzhavin TSU Publ.
16 Iz derevenskoy glushi [From the rustic wilderness] (1899). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 89, 3–4.
17 Iz sela Shovskogo Lebedyanskogo uezda [From the village of Shovsky, Lebedyansky Uezd] (1882). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 72, 3.
18 Kratkiy tserkovnoslavyanskiy slovar' [A concise dictionary of the Church Slavonic language] (2004). Slava Rusă, Tulcea: Eparhia Slavei Publ.
19 Krylov, G.A. Etimologicheskiy onlayn-slovar' russkogo yazyka (Online etymological dictionary of the Russian language). Retrieved October on 15, 2020, from https://lexicography.online/etymology/krylov.
20 Levkievskaya, V.V. (2004). PALETS, pal'tsy [FINGER, fingers]. In Tolstoy N.I. (Ed.) Slavic antiquities: Ethnolinguistic dictionary in 5 volumes. Vol. 3. Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya.
21 Loskutova, D.N. (2013a). Prestavleniya tambovskikh krest'yan o likhoradke [Beliefs of the Tambov peasants about the fever]. Zhivaya starina, 1, 20–23.

22 Loskutova, D.N. (2013b). "Siya khozhu, siya lechu vmeste s matushkoy Presvyatoy Bogoroditsey…": Etnolingvisticheskiy obraz znakharya po dannym tambovskoy regional'noy traditsii ["Here walking, here flying together with the Most Holy Mother of God...": An ethnolinguistic image of a znakhar' healer according to the Tambov regional tradition]. In Makhracheva T.V. (Ed.) Traditional folk culture of the Tambov region. Collection of articles by young researchers in 2 volumes. Vol. 1: Ethnolinguistic, archaeological and museum studies. Tambov: G.R. Derzhavin TSU Publ.
23 Loskutova, D.N., Makhracheva, T.V. (2013). Narodnye predstavleniya o zabolevaniyakh i traditsionnye sposoby ikh lecheniya [Popular ideas about diseases and traditional methods of their treatment]. In Makhracheva T.V. (Ed.) Traditional folk culture of the Tambov region. Collection of articles by young researchers in 2 volumes. Vol. 2: Folklore and ethnographic materials. Tambov: Derzhavin Tambov State University Publ.
24 Lyustrov, N. (1890). Sueveriya i primety v srede prostogo naroda [Superstitions and beliefs in omens among the common people]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 19, 14–17.
25 Mazalova, N.E. (2019). Narodno-meditsinskoe «taynoe znanie» russkikh ritual'nykh spetsialistov: semantika, status, funktsii (konets XIX – nachalo XXI v.) [Folk medical "secret knowledge" of Russian ritual specialists: Semantics, status, functions (late 19th – early 21st centuries)]. Dr. Sci. Thesis in History. Moscow: N.N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAS.
26 Nikolsky, V. (1883). Nravy i obychai zhiteley sela Vladykina [Manners and customs of the inhabitants of the village of Vladykina]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 11, 23–34.
27 Piskulin, A.A. (2013). Materialy po etnografii Chernozem'ya vtoroy poloviny XX – nachala XXI veka: traditsionnye prazdniki, obryady, verovaniya, obychai i pover'ya Lipetskoy, Orlovskoy, Kurskoy, Tul'skoy oblastey [Ethnographic materials on the Black Earth Belt in the second half of the 20th – early 21st centuries: Traditional holidays, rituals, beliefs, customs and legends of the Lipetsk, Oryol, Kursk and Tula regions]. Yelets: I.A. Bunin ESU Publ.
28 Piskunova, S.V., Makhracheva, T.V., Gubareva, V.V. (2001). Slovar' tambovskikh govorov (dukhovnaya i material'naya kul'tura) [Dictionary of Tambov dialects: Spiritual and material culture]. Tambov: G.R. Derzhavin TSU Publ.
29 Popov, G.I. (1996). Russkaya narodno-bytovaya meditsina (Po materialam etnograficheskogo byuro kn. V.N. Tenisheva) [Russian traditional folk medicine: Based on materials from the ethnographic bureau of Prince V.N. Tenishev]. In Toren M.D. Russian traditional medicine and psychotherapy. Saint Petersburg: Litera.
30 Rosnitsky, A. (1904). Selo Nikol'skoe-Barnuki Gorodishchenskogo uezda Penzenskoy eparkhii [The village of Nikolskoye-Barnuki, Gorodishchensky Uezd, Penza Eparchy]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 17, 659–669.
31 S beregov Vorony [From the banks of the Vorona River] (1902). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 129, 3.
32 Selo Muchkap Borisogl. Uezda [The village of Muchkap, Borisoglebsk Uezd] (1896). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 46, 3–4.
33 Selo Piterskoe [The village of Piterskoe] (1886). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 114, 4.

34 Semyonov, A.V. Etimologicheskiy onlayn-slovar' russkogo yazyka (Online etymological dictionary of the Russian language). Retrieved on September 7, 2020, from https://lexicography.online/etymology/semyonov.
35 Sergeev, S.N. (1899). Kochetovskaya plotina (iz nedalekogo proshlogo) [Kochetovskaya dam: Notes on the recent past]. Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 73, 2–3.
36 Shansky, N.M. Etimologicheskiy onlayn-slovar' russkogo yazyka (Online etymological dictionary of the Russian language). Retrieved September on 7, 2020, from https://lexicography.online/etymology/shansky.
37 Sibirskaya yazva [Anthrax]. Retrieved on October 15, 2020, from https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Сибирская_язва.
38 Sitovsky, S.P. (1887). Narodnye zamechaniya, pover'ya, primety i predrassudki Tambovskoy gubernii [Popular remarks, beliefs, omens and prejudices in the Tambov Governorate]. Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 10, 3.
39 Smirnov, N. (1877). Nravstvenno-prosvetitel'skaya deyatel'nost' dukhovenstva Penzenskoy eparkhii za 1874 god [Moral and educational activities of the clergy of the Penza Eparchy in 1874]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 2, 13–25.
40 Smirnova, M. (1911). Rodil'nye i krestil'nye obryady krest'yan sela Golitsyna Kurganskoy volosti Serdobskogo uezda Saratovskoy gubernii [Maternity and christening ceremonies in the peasant village of Golitsyn, Kurgan Volost, Serdobsk Uezd, Saratov Governorate]. Etnograficheskoe obozrenie, 1/2, 252–256.
41 Sofijsky, V. (1901). Zagovory i nagovory [Charms and incantations]. Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 66, 2–3.
42 Spassky, I. (1880). Obychai, primety i pover'ya v prikhode s. Aleksandrovki – na Svale Tambovskogo uezda [Customs, omens and beliefs in the parish of the village of Aleksandrovka on the Svalya river, Tambov Uezd]. Tambovskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 17, 449–461.
43 Stefanovsky, P. (1870). Selo Chirkovo (Gorod.uezd.) [The village of Chirkovo, Gorodishchensky Uezd]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 10, 281–289.
44 Taleysnik, S. Russkie narodnye nazvaniya bolezney (iz «Zapisok vracha») [Russian folk names for diseases (from the "Doctor's Notes")]. Retrieved on April 12, 2020, from http://blogs.7iskusstv.com/?p=29254.
45 Tambovskaya rech'. Etyud II [Tambov speech: Study II] (1899). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 33, 2.
46 Tikhomirov, F. (1870). Tikhaya voda (sluchay iz praktiki derevenskoy znakharki) [The quiet water: A case from the practice of a village healer]. Penzenskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 17, 11–21.
47 Toren, M.D. (1996). Russkaya narodnaya meditsina i psikhoterapiya [Russian traditional medicine and psychotherapy]. Saint Petersburg: Litera.
48 Tetushka Dunya [Auntie Dunya] (1899). Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 86, 3.
49 Usko, I. (1901). Verkhneyaroslavskie stony [Moans in Verkhnyaya Yaroslavka]. Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 14, 2-3.
50 Uspensky, V. (1900). Ekspluatatsiya religioznogo chuvstva pravoslavnogo naroda raznymi prokhodimtsami [Exploitation of religious feelings of Orthodox people by various crooks]. Tambovskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 45, 45.
51 Vasmer, M. (1986a, 1986b, 1987a, 1987b). Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch [Etymological dictionary of the Russian language]. Ed. by Prof. B.A. Larin. Vol. I. Moscow:

Progress, 1986a; Vol. II. Moscow: Progress, 1986b; Vol. III. Moscow: Progress, 1987a; Vol. IV. Moscow: Progress, 1987b.
52 Vlasova, M. (2008). Entsiklopediya russkikh sueveriy [Encyclopedia of Russian superstitions]. Saint Petersburg: Azbuka-klassika.
53 Zelenev, M. (1875). Selo Verkhotsen'e (Tambovskogo uezda): Ocherk istoricheskogo ego proiskhozhdeniya i tserkovno-prikhodskoy, religiozno-nravstvennoy i obshchestvennoy zhizni [The village of Verkhotsenye (Tambov district): An outline of its historical origin and parochial, religious, moral and social life]. Tambovskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti, 6, 123–139.
54 Zelenin, D.K. (1914). Opisanie rukopisey uchenogo arkhiva Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva [Description of manuscripts of the research archives of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society]. Issue 1. Petrograd.
55 Zimin, I. (1899). Der. Verkhnie Pady Tambovskogo uezda [The village of Verkhnie Pady, Tambov Uezd]. Tambovskie gubernskie vedomosti, 81, 3.
56 Zlokachestvennaya opukhol' [Cancer]. Retrieved on September 11, 2020, from https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Злокачественная_опухоль.