

Doukhobor Folk Medicine

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Anthropoloy lol

This essay attempts to discuss, present and summarize various aspects of Doukhobor Folk medicine. It includes a brief historical outline; why Doukhobor Folk medicine still survives in the twentieth century; it discusses the reluctance Doukhobor healers exhibit in revealing their Folk practices to members outside and even inside the community.

The essay, also, presents a few personal accounts obtained from various people who either participated in a healing, acted as healers or observed a healing. Thus a number of healing prayers, "maleatve", and cure methods are included.

Because healings, especially healing prayers and healing methods incorporating specific rituals and items, are interconnected with God and therefore sacred, Doukhobors' dislike revealing these practices. Consequently, the members of the Doukhobor community, who contributed to this paper, desire to remain anonymous.

The major source of this material is based on interviews obtained from various Doukhobor individuals of various ages.. Since most of the interviewees spoke little or no English, direct quotes are not used. The essay also includes several healing prayers. Unfortunately I was unable to translate them, due to the individual-like handwriting of the person; they are included in the essay, but in the form I received them in. Note: The people I interviewed were all in some way related to me.

Doukhobors, like many other folk-type societies, practiced and continue practicing healing by traditional methods. In the early twentieth century, up until about the 1930s-40s, Doukhobors virtually had no access to doctors or dentists; as a result they relied heavily on Doukhor folk healers. The folk healers' only tools were various healing methods which were divided into two distinct types; the almost "scientific" cause-effect approach and the "superstitious" approach.

The folk healer used special healing prayers, "maleatve", and other rituals and items. The female folk healer was called "Babka", meaning old woman; the male folk healer was known as "Det", meaning old man. Usually, although not always, these healers were the elder members of the community.

~~did not originate in Canada; it~~
 Doukhor healing was brought from Russia during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Doukhobors, who were Russian peasants, immigrated to Canada in the 1890s-1900s after much religious persecution in Russia. With them they brought their traditional way of life which stressed a communal type of existence;

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as a result, few Doukhobors earned an income. Those Doukhobors, who did earn an income, turned their earnings over to the community. Thus few could afford medical doctors. Consequently, folk medicine and cures continued to be, as in Russia, their only source of healing.

Of course, money was not the only factor which prevented obtaining the services of a doctor, when needed; the other factor was that most, if not all, Doukhobors had complete confidence in their traditional medicine. Unlike the doctor, who relied upon his instruments for healing, folk healers relied upon both instruments and God. This concept of combining the spiritual with the physical in order to heal appeared more reasonable to the Doukhobor, for the Doukhobor's basic way of life reflected both the spiritual and the physical. They were a religious people who readily worked for long hours and believed that to be occupied at all times was a virtue.

However, in the mid-twentieth century, communal life began to disintegrate. Doukhobors, now, began working and earning for themselves. By the 1950s and 1960s much of the traditional Doukhobor way of life had changed. Doukhobors, now, possessed the funds for medical expenses and were more willing to accept "scientific" medicine.

With the disintegration of communal life, Doukhobor children began attending school and intermingling with the rest of Canadian society; as a result the younger generations began losing the language and some of the customs of their ancestors. Consequently folk healing, which had been widely practiced in the beginning of the century went into decline. It is now almost exclusively practiced by the very old people, usually those in their seventies and eighties. But even this generation has forgotten much of the healing methods, such as "blood-letting", bone-setting, and blood-stopping, which were known by their parents and grandparents. This is mostly due to lack of need which arose when medical science became acceptable to the people.

Folkhealing is now mostly practiced on young children to protect them against the "evil eye" or "ot' glasnye"; to help the child grow faster and healthier; to remove psychological type illnesses, such as fear, bedwetting, nervousness and excessive crying. Most healers avoid interfering with medical science; that is, healers no longer set bones, blood-stop, or blood-let. Instead, folk healers provide the healing prayers, if desired, to help the healing. However, in cases such as arthritis and

rheumatism where doctors are usually unsuccessful in healing, folk healers then endeavor to use the old methods of healing.

Folk healing, although practiced by a few old people in the community, is usually used on family members or relatives. Unlike the days of the Doukhobor communal life, where a few Babkas or Dets were the healers and everyone knew who they were, the healers of today are usually only known to family relatives and to some extent to their contemporaries. This secrecy, is not actually deliberate; it is usually due to a lack of interest.

Since folk healing is largely spiritual; it is believed to be sacred; thus it is jealously guarded from the outside world, that is people other than Doukhobors. This suspicious guarding of the healing methods and prayers is done to protect their healing powers. It also prevents insincere individuals, who look upon the healings as amusing, from gaining access. A healer believes that if such a person participates in the healing "something bad" could happen, probably not to the outsider since he "knew no better" but to the healer who did "know better".

Folk healing is also guarded from certain people inside the community; these people usually are insincere and openly derisive of healing. In the case of such an individual, who is a Doukhobor and has been brought up as a Doukhobor,

prevention of his participation is carried out, unless the person is not psychologically fit. This is because a well person from inside the community "knows better"; therefore since he openly derides the various prayers and activities, he knowingly commits an act against God. ✓
 Thus a healer, who allows such a person to participate, also commits the act against God. Therefore ^{healer} ~~he~~ could lose his ability to heal and, maybe worse, further the insincere person could have "something happen" to him. This is probably another reason why folk healing is mostly practiced by the old people; they are believed to have the ability to exercise their knowledge wisely and carefully. But as a consequence less and less people are acquiring the education in Doukhobor Folk Medicine. This guardedness prevents collection of prayers and methods. However, due to the decreasing popularity of healing, more and more Doukhobor healers are becoming less rigid in ✓
 sharing their knowledge.

In the following pages maleatve and other healing methods will be presented and discussed. These folk medicines were obtained from folk healers and persons who had learned the folk healing but ~~are~~ not practicing folk healers. These folk medicines have been divided into two categories. . . healing that is "superstitious" ^{is} in nature; healing with a

- cause-effect type medicine, this is a more "scientific" approach to curing the ailment.

I further divided the "superstitious" healing into healing prayers and healing methods. However, in some instances the healing methods contain a healing prayer.

Superstitious-Type Healing

2. PREFER THE TERM SPIRITUAL

HEALING
IT WILL
SO READ,
HERE FORTH

The use of the word "superstitious" in this instance is not used for any derogatory reasons. It merely means that certain aspects in the folk medicine do not deal with cause-effect type relations. Rather the unexplainable is explained parapsychologically, for example explaining a pain as caused by spirits rather than by physical means. Also the use of specific rituals and items which do not have any "scientific" connection with the illness, nor the cure.

In "superstitious-type healing" there appears to exist a bond between the psychological and the physical aspects of healing. Examples of this relationship is shown by wart healing, removal of pain. In both instances, although the cures ^{occur} ~~appear~~, there exists no explanation of why this happens. Other than parapsychologically, the only other alternative may be the psychological influence on the physical. Maleatve also exhibit this same phenomena, where cures are not expected to occur simply by reciting healing prayers, they astonishingly and "unscientifically" do.

I divided this category into two groups because Maleatve are healing prayers and can be used in various rituals. However healing methods depend upon specific

ritual and items; they also depend upon the maleatve.
Whereas the maleatve can be recited without the healing
methods, the "superstitious" healing methods can not be
performed without the maleatve. Maleatve and healing
methods are also very different. One relies on recitation,
maleatve; the other on physical symbols or items.

Healing Methods

Healing Methods are characterized by symbolism and the lack of parallelism with the cause of the illness. This type of healing uses various types of symbols in the cure. Frequently white, which is a pure color and therefore stands for purity and to purify, is stressed in the healings; eg. white cloths, white strings, white trees such as poplars. Other symbolic items are: the potato, which is believed to draw off "bad airs or spirits"; water and fire, which represent purifying or cleansing; grave dirt, which symbolizes death; water, ~~which~~ can also represent the amniotic fluid, and thus rebirth. These are but a few symbols that are used in "superstitious-type" healing methods.

The healing methods which were collected were:

- i) Preaveavat or nailing down (fastening down).
- ii) The Grave Cure.
- iii) Whispering over water.
- iv) Removal of warts.
- v) Gapyachea banke or hot cans (hot glasses).
- vi) Lancing cans.

Preaveavat

Preaveavat or Nailing Down (Fastening Down) is performed three to four days before a full moon. It may be done throughout the year; however spring is preferable. Nailing Down is performed during the day. It cures illnesses, such as bedwetting, fear, nervousness and if a child's growth is stunted. This folk healing was contributed by a ninety year old Doukhobor woman who is a folk healer.

Items required:

- patient
- nail clippers
- scissors
- white flax string or unwaxed dental floss
- white cotton cloth

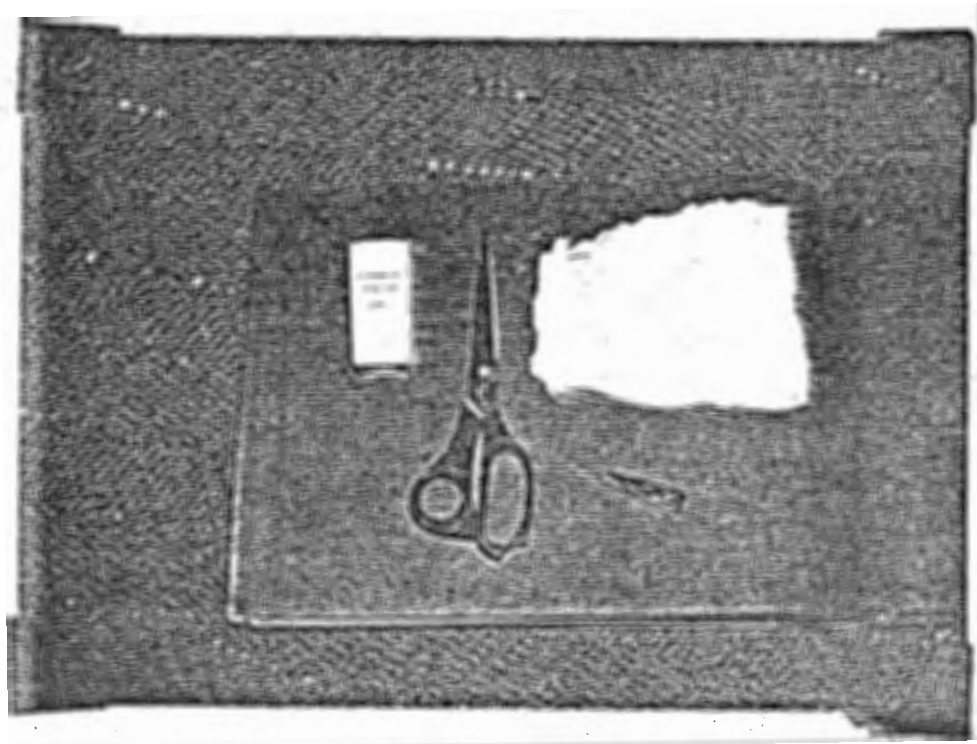


illustration 1: items required for preaveavat
from my personal collection

Other items required:

sharp knife
~~bric~~ brace & bit
 hammer

From the patient, nails from every toe and finger should be clipped and placed onto a white cloth. Then with the scissors, a small bunch of hair should be trimmed from the back of the head and from the sides of the head, (about 1/2 inch above each ear). Thus hair should be removed from only three spots on the head.

The three bunches of hair are then placed with the nails. Next remove a length of string, so that one end of the string touches the top of the head of the patient and the other end touches the floor. This is the length or height of the person. Once the height is obtained roll this length of string into a ball and place it with the other items on the white cloth.

With another length of string measure around the head of the patient, so that the string lies over the forehead.

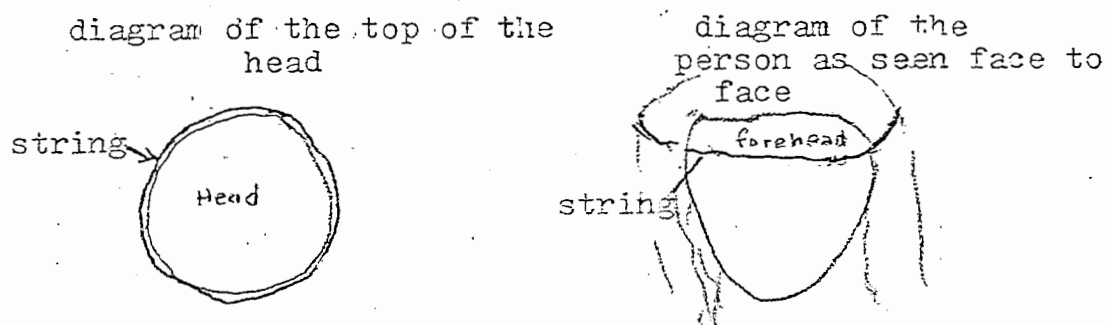


illustration 2: Diagrams attempting to show where string should be placed.

This string is then also rolled up and placed with the other items belonging to the patient.

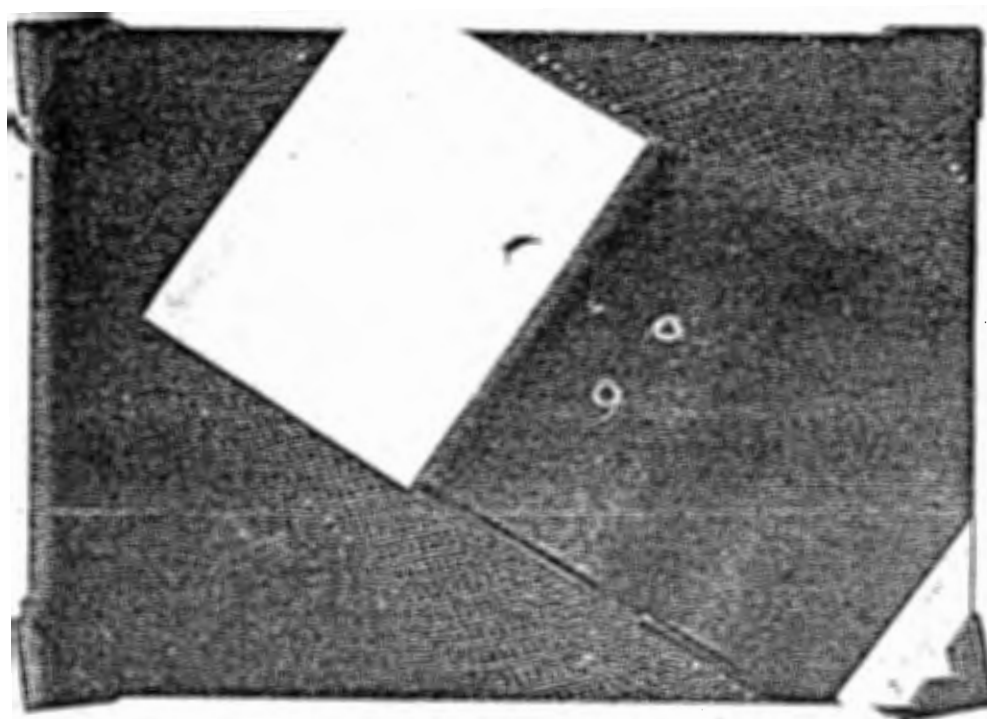


illustration 3: Strings, hair and nails shown in this photograph which were obtained from a patient.
from my personal photograph collection.

Next the patient's arms and back width are measured. The healer runs the flax from the longest finger, along the arm, across the back of the person, across the other arm to the longest finger of this arm. Meanwhile, the patients arms are stretched out parallel to the floor.

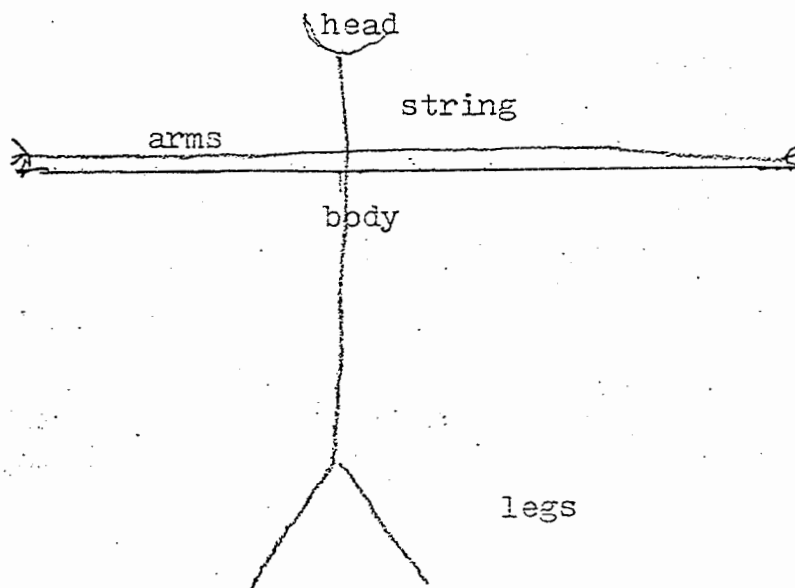


illustration 4: Measuring arm lengths and back.

When the arms and back are measured, this third string is rolled up and placed with the other items on the white cloth.

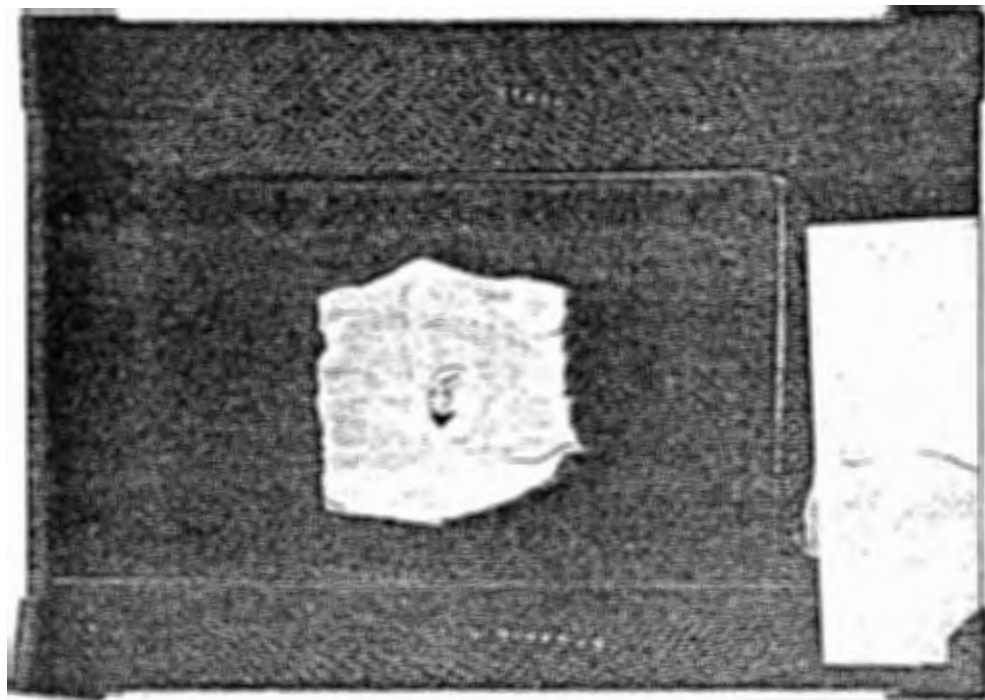


illustration 5: All items, strings, hair and nails,
are shown on a white cloth.
Picture from own personal collection.

The edges of the cloth containing all the patients' nails, hair and measurements, are brought together and then tied with a white string so that none of the items escape. The string is then wrapped several times about the edges.

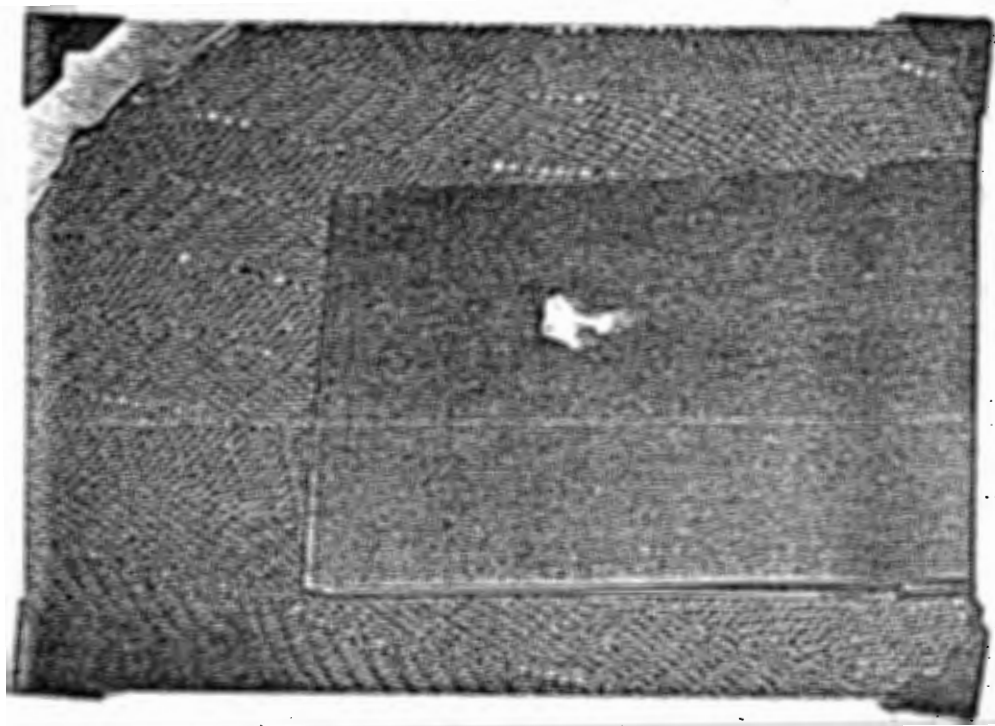


illustration 6: Photograph showing how cloth, with hair, nails, and string, should look after it is tied with a string. Photograph from personal collection.

When all the items have been gathered together, then the search for the appropriate poplar begins. This, of course, can be done several days before. The tree should be healthy, straight and young, however, not too young, for part of the healing method requires that a hole be drilled into the tree; the tree must be able to survive this.



illustration 7: Photograph shows a suitable poplar for Nailing Down. The poplar is in the foreground.. Photograph obtained from own personal collection.

Once the poplar is found, the healer should remove a branch measuring approximately 1/2 inch in thickness. This branch should then be whittled down to resemble the shape of the piece of wood shown in the illustration below.

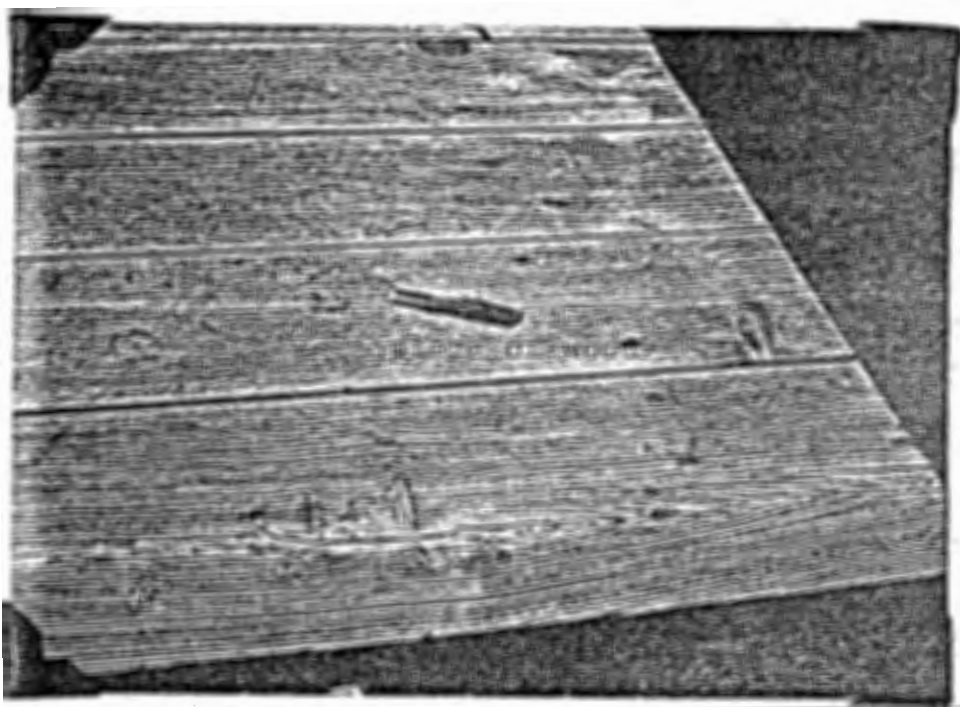


illustration 8: The piece of wood in the picture is what the whittled wood should look like.
Photograph from own personal collection.

The ^{of wood} piece A should measure about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches or less ^{in length}. Once the branch is prepared, the patient is stood along the tree and the point of the top of the head of the patient is where the tree should be drilled (use the bric brace).



illustration 9: Photograph showing where bric brace must drill a hole if the subject is 5 feet high. The spot is marked by an x.
Photograph from my own personal collection.

The patient need not stand against the tree during the drilling of the hole. As the drilling begins, a healing prayer, maleatve, is whispered. The prayer should not be heard by the patient; it is whispered by the healer.

The prayer begins "Preaveavau na zealyenoy les...." In English this prayer roughly says the following.

I am nailing-down on a green tree, sending all the bad airs out, all things as the effect of the evil eye, fear...Permit in God.. White flesh do not dry, yellow bones do not break red blood do not prick, leave out of all the veins, capillaries, bones and muscles of all the flesh, here you have no business; there is no room. Permit in God. Go into the virgin fields, into the blue sea...

Amen

After the drilling is complete then the cloth with the items is pushed into the drilled hole and the whittled branch placed over it (use a hammer if necessary to push the branch in). The branch should be securely placed into the hole so that the cloth and its items are never freed. When this is finished, the patient stands in front of the healer and the healer places both his hands on the patient's head, hands should be on each side of the head, palms perpendicular to the floor. Both hands are then pressed on the patient's head; as the healer presses the head he repeats the healing prayer repetively. This prayer is the "Nailing Down" prayer.

It is whispered. After the prayer is finished the patient also says a prayer; anyone would do.

The "Preaveavat" or the "Nailing Down" is one of the most prevalent forms of Doukhobor folk medicine. It counteracts negative forces, as the old lady, whom I interviewed said, "It drives out bad airs or spirits." "Preaveavat" is often used for curing children and youths of nervous habits, fears, bedwetting and stunted growth. It is always accompanied with the "Preaveavat" healing prayer, which is always whispered.

Although "preaveavat", when it was performed on me, was carried out on a poplar tree, I have learned that some people have had it done on wooden doors, walls or other wood structures. However, the healer who showed me how it's done stated emphatically that the use of a poplar tree, a live tree, is more beneficial and effective. She also stated that the poplar tree with its white bark is more conducive to curing the individual; that white was a purifying colour.

The elderly lady has performed "Nailing Down" on most, if not all of her grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren, as well as other children. She strongly believes, as do other relatives, that "preaveavat" works. However, she did say that sometimes the procedure had to be repeated several times before the child became well. Most children, throughout their childhood have

the healing performed on them once every year.

The healer, who contributed the "Preaveavat", learned it when her husband suffered a severe accident in his late teens; he was dragged by horses and as a result became deaf and facially disfigured. His face and neck turned black with bruises, however, after several weeks they returned to their normal color. But his face remained disfigured; his features were unrecognizable for his mouth was pushed back to his ear and there it remained.

During this time, she and her husband, were living in a Doukhobor communal setting; they could not afford a doctor. Thus, an aunt and uncle in British Columbia sent her the "preaveavat" prayer; this woman was living in Alberta at the time. After several months of reading this prayer, her husband's mouth returned to the front of his face. Although he did not regain his hearing, the fact that his facial disfigurements became cured made this woman a staunch believer in the prayer.

The Grave Cure

Another important, and very strong folk healing this woman knew occurred in the 1920s; she does not perform it.

This healing is "The Grave Cure". In this healing she was only an observer, however, she remembers it clearly. The person who performed the healing was her aunt. The healing was done to cure the interviewee's infant son, who was suffering from the evil eye.

items required:

three handfuls of dirt, preferably from three recent graves
water

Boil the water and, when bubbling, sprinkle in the three handfuls of dirt, which should be obtained that same day. When the mixture boils remove it from the stove and let cool. The soil at the same time should settle.

After the soil has settled and the water is warm to touch or comfortable to wash in then wash the patient in this. During this time a healing prayer is said, however, the old woman did not know how it went. After the patient is washed in the water, he should be removed. In the next day or so the patient would either have a drastic improvement in health-or, conversely, die. This healing is "a last resort" healing, for the patient either becomes well or dies. In any case if the patient dies after the healing, this means that if the healing was not performed the patient would have died eventually. Thus this healing ends unnecessary suffering.

The woman, who had this "Grave Cure" performed on her little son, "lost" him the next day. When her son was ten months old, he had suddenly changed from a lively, bright and inquisitive child to a lifeless and very ill little boy. The woman believes that the dramatic change occurred because of someone's evil eye; her little son had been alright until a young man had carried him around. That day the child became lifeless. For the next six months, the baby suffered from chest pains, constantly cried, ate very little and barely moved. Unfortunately, at the same time that her son had become ill, Peter Lordly Verigin decreed that all practicing healers cease; Verigin had proclaimed that too many people were practicing the art of healing and consequently endangering their lives. Verigin feared that they would become witches. Thus the woman's child could not be healed and therefore he grew weaker and weaker. Finally, during the sixth month she convinced her aunt to try cure her son. So the woman chose "The Grave Cure". It was performed that night.

Immediately after the child was washed in the Grave-sand-water, he improved. He became lively, began talking and running around. The next day the child's liveliness continued, however that night as she was feeding him he died. The woman fully believes that the "Grave Cure"

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worked.

Whispering Over Water

"Whispering Over Water" is performed when the person desiring to be cured is unable to be present at the healing; thus the healer whispers the "maleatva" which is appropriate to curing the absent persons ailment, into a jug of water. This water is then used by the patient to wash his hands or face in. Presumably this healing method is successful but not as powerful, as ^{when} the person attends his healing.

Removal of Warts

Warts can be removed by several methods. I have listed two of them; the string method and the potato method. Both methods depend upon the moon phase. The correct moon phase for removing warts is during a New moon.

The String Method:

In the string method, the wart is repeatedly encircled by a piece of white string. Then when the wart is completely enwrapped by the string, the healer must whisper a healing prayer against warts. Usually the healer holds the afflicted limb or whispers very closely to the afflicted area. After

the whispering, the white string is removed and buried in the ground. The healing prayer against warts can be said at this time.

The Potato Method:

In the potato method, the potato is repeatedly rubbed over the wart, while the healing prayer is said. Once the healing prayer is said, it maybe said several times to increase its power, the potato is buried, usually though, because it may grow, the potato is flushed down the toilet.

In these two methods the "tool" used to "remove" the warts "powers" must rot before the wart disappears. Thus, whichever method one uses, either the string or the potato must rot before the wart vanishes.

The Maleatve Against Warts:

This one is said by the person possessing warts.

Young moon,

You have a horn of gold,

How clean you are.

So that I may be

As clean on my _____ (name of the area afflicted with warts is given)

МЕСЯЦ МОЛОДОЙ,
В ТЕБЕ РОГ ЗОЛОТОЙ,
КАКОЙ ТЫ ЧИСТЫЙ.
ЧТОБ У МЕНЯ БЫЛИ
ТАКИЕ ЧИСТЫЕ ...

Many of the people, who have used the methods, either string or potato, have found that the warts do disappear. However, some report that the warts sometimes return but if the procedure is repeated the warts again disappear. Other people, who have tried removing warts by these methods have found that their warts remained as they were. Thus this folk remedy is not always successful.

Gapyachea Banke

Another form of healing is by using "Gapyachea Banke" or "Hot Cans", also known as "Hot Glasses". This folk medicine was obtained from a seventy-five year old woman. Although she knew how the healing was performed, she had never done it herself. However, her sister, who practiced healing, often performed the healing on this woman. "Hot Cans" are used to assuage pain. It is used to remove arthritis, rheumatism and other types of pain.

Items required:

- 1 can or glass
- 1 small piece of white cloth, approximately
two inches x two inches
- white string
- a slice of potato
- a dish of kerosene
- matches

Peel a potato and cut a cube about one-half inch by one-half inch. Place the potato slice into the white cotton cloth. Then bring the edges of the cloth together; thus enclosing the potato piece. With string tie the cloth tightly shut. After tying the string, pour some kerosene into a shallow dish, then dip the edges of the cloth into the kerosene.



illustration 10: This diagram shows where the cloth should be dipped. The colored area represents the kerosene.

Once the edges are moistened, place the cloth on the afflicted area which is producing pain; the potato should be in contact with this sore area, the cloth edges should be standing perpendicular to the pain area. (look at illustration 11).

Once the cloth with the potato is resting on the pain area, light the kerosene dipped edges. As the edges burst into flames, cover the burning cloth with a glass or can, drinking-rim down so that it touches the skin. Consequently the flames extinguish (see illustration 11). When the

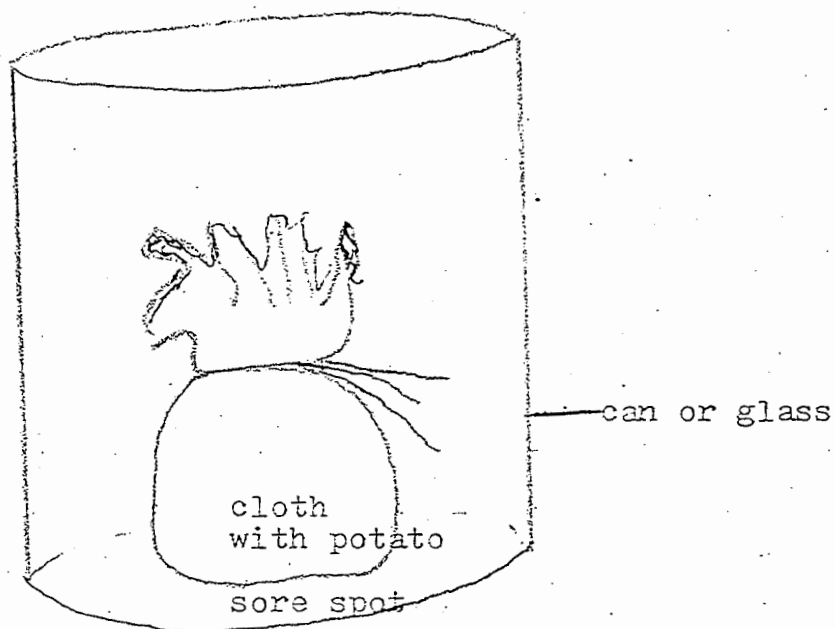


illustration:11: "Hot Can". Diagram shows how the cloth with the potato should sit on the sore area. The can is shown also. This is the way it should be placed over the cloth and potato.

flames extinguish an effect occurs, such that the area under the glass or can becomes reddened. What is actually happening is that the flames burn out the oxygen thus creating a suction-like affect which tends to cause the blood to pool in this area. It is the pooling of the blood which is believed to cause the pain to cease. The "Hot Can" treatment is usually combined with a healing prayer which is whispered. The prayer can be any type of maleatva, as long as the maleatva and the cause or what is believed to be causing the pain agree.

The woman who contributed this healing said that when her sister performed the healing on her foot, which was constantly aching, the pain disappeared and has never returned. "Gapyachea Banke", the woman said, "draw out the pain and the bad air or spirit in the area which has the pain."

Lancing Cans

The "lancing cans" are carried out in the same way as "gapyachea banke", however, when the blood reddens the skin, the glass is removed and the skin is lanced. Lances, were a special type of knife that were used in Russia for such treatments; they had several sharp points which punctured the skin. To get the same affect as lancing, several small cuts are made in the "suction" area by knife. The pierced skin bleeds and when the bleeding ceases the pain should be gone. Lancing is a stronger medicine than "Hot Cans"

for when the person bleeds, the blood is believed to take away any remaining poison and "bad air".

The woman, who contributed "the lancing cans" and "the hot cans"^{method}, whole-heartedly believes they work.

It is observed that in ~~the~~ "superstitious" healing specific rituals, having symbolic significance, were practiced. It is also observed that unexplainable cures occurred, as well as unexplainable happenings, example the "Grave Cure".

In the "Preaveavat", white material and items, such as the tree color (its bark), the string, the cloth, were required. This stress on white probably symbolized a purification, which appeared to be the object of the healing. There was also a stress placed on the physical appearance of the tree. This may have been because, when the white cloth containing the nails and other items were put in the poplar, the person became symbolically, and by Doukhobor belief, almost physically attached to the tree. Thus a healthy tree insured that the tree continued growing and as a result so would the child--both physically and psychologically.

In "The Grave Cure", the use of grave dirt and water probably symbolized death and birth. The water was either representing cleansing or the amniotic fluid, maybe a combination of the two. Conversely, the grave dirt symbolized death. Since the ritual is believed to either cause a drastic improvement in health or a quick death, the bathing of the patient in this water that had previously contained grave dirt could have represented a choice for the individual, either to die or to live.

In the "Whispering Over Water", the water again probably was the cleansing and removal of ailments.

The treatment of warts, may also be explained symbolically. The white string acted to purify the wart. Conversely the potato served to ensnare the wart "spirit". Since both treatments stress burying the items, the potato or string, this represents the "death" of the wart for when the potato or string rot the "spirit" which had been taken from the wart also rots and disappears. Consequently, when the "spirit of the wart" dies the wart also "dies".

In the "Hot Cans", a white cloth and string was again used. Their significance was probably the same as in the "Preaveavat". The burning of part of the cloth may have also had symbolic meaning; it may have meant purification and cleansing. In Doukhobor culture fire represents cleansing or purification. The potato since it removed the "bad air or spirit" probably represented the capture of the ailment's "spirit". In "Lancing Cans" the symbolism was probably the same as "Hot Cans".

Thus it was observed that various aspects of the "superstitious" healing had special meanings. These meanings were gathered from various healers. It was also observed that unexplainable cures occurred and less explainable happenings.

Maleatve

"Maleatve" or healing prayers usually express verbally the symbolic meanings of the "superstitious" type healing methods. Like the healing methods, the maleatve itself can contain symbolic meanings.

Maleatve are almost always read at a whisper so that other persons can not hear the words. Maleatve are the most sacred part of the Doukhobor folk healings. This is because the maleatve often entreats God or Jesus or an angel to help heal the ailing person. Maleatves are not always only healing prayers; some maleatves are also prayers. Conversely, many prayers can be used in the place of maleatves.

There are two types of Maleatve's. One type is the maleatve which no longer can be understood for its words have become almost nonsensical.² The other type is still understandable.

The Doukhobor maleatve deals with both psychological and physiological illnesses. There are maleatves to protect a person against warts, against fear, against the evil eye, against crying, against appendicitis, against colds, against witches, against fires and the fear of fires, against bleeding, and against accidentally acquiring another persons illness.

Virtually all healers, who use maleatves have memorized them. A person who is a healer almost always learns a maleatve to protect him^{self} from acquiring a patient's illness. Maleatves can be used by all persons; they need not be a healer.

Most elderly Doukhobors know several maleatves; usually the maleatves were learned in parenthood or when grandchildren were born.

Maleatves, because of their sacredness and because there are always individuals in society who tend to insult things they do not understand, are almost never made public.

Most of my maleatves were obtained from an eighty-year old man. He is one of the few Doukhobors, who has written down several healing prayers. However, because his handwriting was difficult to read and his speech impaired by a stroke, I did not translate the prayers. But I have included them in the essay in the form I received them in.

The following maleatve protects against undesired hair. (Next page)

[illegible]

This healing prayer protects a person from various types of fire, including lightning. The prayer is used also when a person fears either fire or lightning.

И́же отъ огня

1.

говори́и благодарю́и до́брую
 бра́тнюю ти́лю, о́тска́юмоу,
 о́гню о́тмере́каю, о́гню о́тлѣ́тну
 и́же о́гня о́тну́тнрмоу о́гню
 тѣхъ коро́в, лю́тыхъ зме́и зѣ́вухе
 лю́тыхъ о́звѣ́жкоу водо́у тѣхъ
 пло́ть чѣ́рды се́хъ коро́в, бѣ́нны
 кѣ́нныи ро́жѣ, вѣ́дѣ бѣ́нныи
 зѣ́вухе кѣ́нныи по́внну
 и́же нѣ́тъ тѣ́хъ тѣ́хъ коро́в
 бѣ́нныи ро́жѣ, кѣ́нныи тѣ́хъ
 мѣ́сто нѣ́тъ, вѣ́дѣ о́тнѣ
 сѣ́нну и́же сѣ́нну зѣ́вухе
 о́тнѣ

This maleatva protects a person against bleeding. It is a prayer that stops bleeding from internal and external wounds.

не лиши кров за живота

встану Боже Боже Боже Боже

встану Боже Боже Боже Боже

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встану Боже Боже Боже Боже

The most used maleatve are usually maleatve against fear and against the evil eye. The following maleatve is to reassure the person that there is nothing to fear in this world. This prayer is against fear. I heard this prayer from my grandmother, who reads it every evening and every morning; it tends to assuage her fear. The prayer was translated by Roman Piontkovsky; recorded by Piontkovsky, in Verigin, Saskatchewan, July 1970. ³ The prayer, although usually read to the person suffering from the malady, can be read to oneself. Mr. Mealing writes that it is read by one person to another as an attempt to

convince the hearer of a common bond of loving care linking the divine personages, the present speaker and the hearer, and the earth itself.

ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ! ПОМНИ, ГОСПОДИ, ЦАРЯ ДАВИДА И ВСЮ КРЕТСТЬ ЕГО. КАК ОН УКРАШАЛ НЕБО И ЗЕМЛЮ, РЕКИ, МОРЕ, ГОРЫ И ХОЛМЫ. УРАТИ, ГОСПОДИ, РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____. МАТУШКА ПРЕСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИЦА, КАК ТЫ ПОМОГА ИИСУСА ХРИСТА СПОРОДИТЬ, УСКОРМИТЬ, ВОСПОИТЬ - ТАК БЫ ТЫ МОГЛА ОТ РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____ СТРАХИ-ПЕРЕПОЛОХИ ВЗЯТЬ И В СЫРИЮ СЕМЛЮ ПОСЛАТЬ. ОТ РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____ ПОРАЖЕННОЮ, КРЕЩЕННОЮ, МОЛИТВЕННОЮ. АМИНЬ! АМИНЬ! АМИНЬ!

The translation of the maleatve on the previous page.

Lord bless us! Remember, Lord, King David and all his gentleness. How he made beautiful the heavens and the earth, rivers, seas, mountains and little hills. Tame (them), Lord, for God's servant (name of person).

Mother, most-holy Bearer-of-God, as you were able to bear Jesus Christ, to feed (Him), to give (Him) drink-- so may you be able with God's servant (name of person), to take away his fright-tumult and send (it) off into the green earth, (away) from God's servant (name of person), born, baptized, prayerful. Amen! Amen! Amen! 4

The maleatve against the evil eye, which I have heard is one that was translated by Roman Pionkovsky, recorded by Pionkovsky in Verigin Saskatchewan, July 1970.⁵ This prayer is to cure illnesses caused by a person's evil eye. The evil eye is blamed for an illness usually if the the illness occurs in the presence of another person or if the illness can not be explained. Children, especially babies, are believed to be more susceptible to the evil eye. Thus some Doukhobor women do not allow their younger children, especially any child less than six weeks to be viewed by strangers and even by relatives. Some children are protected in this way until their first birth-year.

The common illnesses associated with the evil eye are: a change in a child's behavior, that is if the child becomes morose and despondent, convulsions in children, if child stutters or if any physical changes are seen which can not be explained. These illnesses can also be contracted by adults. There are many more illnesses associated with the evil eye.

БОЖИЛУЙ РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ ОТ ГЛАЗУ, ОТ СЕРОГО, ОТ ЧЕРНОГО, ОТ КРАСНОГО, ОТ ЯСНОГО, ОТ ЖАДОСТНОГО, ОТ РАДОСНОГО, МЕХОСТНОГО (?), НЕНАВИСТНОГО. МАТЬ ТЕБЯ МОГЛА СПОРОДИТЬ, Я МОГУ ОТХОДИТЬ, РУКА РЕЧЕНЬЕ, СЛОВО ГЛАГОЛ БОЖИЙ. БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА!

Translation of the maleatva on the previous page.

Have mercy on God's servant (name) from the eye, from the grey (eye), from the black (eye), from the red (eye), from the clear (eye), from the greedy (eye), from the joyful (eye), from the inhospitable (?) (eye), from the hateful (eye). Mother was able to give you birth, I am able to cure you. The hand (is) the saying, the work (is) the word of God. Glory be to our God! 7

Cause-Effect Type Healing

In "cause-effect type healing" the healing is not dependant on the maleatve. Although the maleatve maybe said for this type of healing, it is not necessary. However, most Doukhobors agree that saying a maleatve "does not hurt."

In this type of healing, the healer is able to establish the physical cause of the illness and thus prescribe a "physical" cure rather than a cure dependant on various specific rituals and prayers. Usually the type of illnesses treated are burns, since they can be physically determined, bee stings, cuts and scrapes. In some cases, arthritis no longer is explained by parapsychological terms and thus cures for it are becoming more and more cause-effect centered.

The types of medicines used in cause-effect healing is usually easy to obtain and relatively cheap. The medicine is usually home-made, either from bought ingredients or ingredients obtained from the country-side such as roots, berries, herbs, various plants, rocks, and even clay. This type of healing is much ~~more~~ easier to obtain and less guarded; this is because the healing is not considered sacred.

Cause-effect healing, like other healings, is passed down from generation to generation. But like "superstitious" healing its importance has declined in the past thirty to forty years. To some extent this healing is practiced even less than "superstitious healing". This is because medical science is usually, or thought to be more effective in curing ailments than folk cause-effect healing. Also because it lacks distinction; in "superstitious healing" the maleatve and rituals set the healing apart from conventional healing. "Superstitious healing" appears to offer a different approach to medicine. Thus healers are more enthusiastic in acquiring healing of a "superstitious" nature rather than a cause-effect type of healing.

The healing methods which were collected for this category were:

- i) lime-oil treatment.
- ii) clay treatment.

Lime-oil Treatment

This is a home remedy which has been in the past very effective in healing burns and preventing burn scars from forming. The medicine was obtained from my father, who obtained it from his aunt. The original "recipe" was lost a few years ago, however this recipe is a close approximation of the ingredients. It has been tested. A maleatva can be said when the mixture is applied to the burn but it is not necessary.

Ingredients required:

lime (can be bought at any store selling
garden equipment)
olive oil
water

Pour the water into a pot and put in hot lime. Once the mixture boils, allow it to cool and settle down. Drain off the water and save it for it will be used in the recipe.

To one part of the lime-water add one part olive oil. The mixture should be kept in an airtight container. Shake before using. This mixture is applied to the burn.

If the mixture tends to dry the burn too much add some more olive oil; if the mixture tends to cause the burn to be too moist add more lime water. This remedy works on almost any type of burn, example oil, boiling water.

The "lime-oil treatment" was tried by my sister, who suffered second degree oil burns on her entire right hand. The doctor, who treated her warned her of possible scarring, yet when she returned to him a few weeks later, her hands were unscarred and had healed much faster than expected. The doctor was amazed.

Clay Treatment

"Clay treatment" is used to assuage arthritic pain, rheumatic pain and other types of pain. Hot clay, wrapped in cloth, is applied to the afflicted area, until the pain disappears. This treatment may have to be repeated for several months before any difference is felt, however, some people report that their pain actually disappears in just a few months. Thus time varies for different individuals. This treatment is not always successful.

The "clay treatment" was used on a two year-old child who was suffering from a debilitating children's arthritis. The arthritis became so bad that doctors at the Vancouver Arthritic Centre warned her parents of possible crippling; she was put on aspirin, but the aspirin did not alleviate the pain. Thus her parents began giving her "clay treatments" during the day and during the evening. Six months later, her foot which had become useless from arthritis began functioning. Today if she suffers from arthritis, it is not evident. The child is now seven years old.

From my interviews and research, it was seen how the "superstitious" healing and "cause-effect" healing differed from each other. It was also made evident how "superstitious" methods differed from maleatve. From my sources I learned why few individuals practice Doukhobor folk medicine.

In doing this paper, I discovered that prepared interviews and an interpreter (my mom) were very beneficial. However, because the people I interviewed were related to me, they tended to often stray from the object of the interview. This paper was an experience! ✓

References

1. F.M. Mealing, Our People's Way, University of Pennsylvania, 1972, pp. 298.
2. Ibid., pp. 291.
3. Ibid., pp. 307.
4. Ibid., pp. 307.
5. Ibid., pp. 305.
6. Ibid., pp. 305.
7. Ibid., pp. 305.

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