

# **SOUTHEAST-EUROPEAN WEATHER MAGICIANS INDOEUROPEAN AGRARIAN SHAMANISM**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Manipulating the weather played a central role in the ritual and magical activity of the European agricultural societies in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. The community magicians whose most important task was to ensure the proper weather for the sake of a good crop were still active in the rural societies of Europe in the Early Modern Age. Here we are faced by a mediatory activity ensuring the well-being of people with the help of the dead : the historical, linguistic and anthropological research conducted in the past 20-30 years has revealed the probable traces of an ancient European shamanism having specific "agricultural" features. In the wake of Christianity gaining ground, the pagan world of demons and spirits assumed a Christian colouring. The Christian version of this ideology served as a background for the activity manipulating the weather carried out by the Christian Church. The new ideology transformed the original system of popular rituals and beliefs in retrospect too.

## **RÉSUMÉ**

### **Magiciens du temps du sud-est de l'Europe Chamanisme agraire indo-européen**

La manipulation du temps a joué un rôle central dans l'activité rituelle et magique des sociétés agricoles européennes du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance. Les magiciens communautaires dont la tâche principale consistait à assurer un climat propice à la réussite des récoltes, étaient encore actifs dans les sociétés rurales européennes à la Renaissance. Cette activité de médiation visant à assurer le bien-être des gens s'opérait avec l'aide des morts. Les recherches historiques, linguistiques et anthropologiques menées dans les 20-30 dernières années ont révélé les traces probables d'un ancien chamanisme européen avec des traits "agraires" spécifiques. Avec une emprise plus grande du christianisme, le monde païen des démons et des esprits a pris une coloration chrétienne. La version chrétienne de cette idéologie a servi de fond à une main-mise de l'Eglise Chrétienne sur la manipulation du temps. Rétrospectivement, la nouvelle idéologie a ainsi transformé le système originel de rites et de croyances populaires.

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Manipulating the weather played a central role in the ritual and magical activity of European agricultural societies in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. It was equally present in elite and popular culture, church and lay beliefs and rituals. The ritual systems are related to each other through the ideology constituting the background for the rituals. The original version of the ideology (which is the heritage of pre-Christian mythologies) may be discovered in the context of popular rituals, while the Christian version of this ideology served as a background for activities manipulating the weather carried out by the Christian Church. The church activity of conjuring the weather, necessarily induced this transformation<sup>1</sup>. The new ideology transformed the original system of popular rituals and beliefs in retrospect too. Let us first take a look at the popular rituals in question.

The community magicians whose most important task was to ensure suitable weather for a good crop were still active in the rural societies of Europe in the Early Modern Age<sup>2</sup>. Several types of the magicians were still known in certain regions of Central and South Eastern Europe in the Modern Age. Here we see a mediatory activity ensuring the well-being of people with the help of the dead: at the beginning of the agricultural cycles the magicians - initiated by the dead - combat *in spiritu* in other-world soul battles the "cloud-directing" demons stealing the rain or the corn, and bringing hail, or they snatch the grain from the dead for the community. The majority of the data originate from Slavic or Baltic regions but we also possess some Central European - German, Italian, even Hungarian parallels<sup>3</sup>. The historical, linguistic and anthropological research conducted in the past 20-30 years has revealed the probable traces of an ancient European shamanism

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1. For the literary sources, laws, decrees, and punitive sanctions concerning ancient and medieval sorcerers see : Soldan & Heppel, 1912, Vol.I. : 1-144. ; Caro Baroja, 1961, chapters 1-1. - The most important sources about the rites performed to control the weather by the medieval church are the records of church benedictions (the most complete collection of these is : Franz, 1900, and the medieval and early modern demonological tracts (the general biographies about the most important ones : Bodin, 1591 (reprint : 1973) ; Hansen, 1901 ; Lea, 1939. The records of witch trials in Western as well as Central Europe provide a large amount of information about popular weather magicians. Evidently we have no such sources from the parts of Eastern Europe where witch persecution was unknown ; in these regions however the ritual practice of the weather magicians of the village communities survived for a longer time, indeed, sometimes almost to the present.

2. For the pre-Christian "pagan" beliefs and magical devices integrated into the belief-system and rituals of the medieval church see : Franz, *op. cit.* 1 : 1-69 ; Brown, 1970.

3. The first general data about such magicians is in Moszynski's work, 1967 : 651-654 ; he presents data from Southern and Western Slav regions. Ginzburg (1966) was the first to open up a rich source of relevant data from early modern historical sources about the Northern Italian magicians called *benandanti*. These are very similar to one type of Croatian and Serbian weather magicians, but Ginzburg found parallels also in the Alps and the Baltic regions. Moszynski (*loc. cit.*) also drew attention to Caucasian-Iranian connections later emphasized by Ginzburg (1989) as well. For other types of magicians in the Balkans, their activity, the *táltos* their Hungarian equivalent, and their relation to shamanism and witchcraft see also : Klaniczay, 1984 : 404-422 ; Pócs, 1989(a) : 215-276 ; 1989(b) : 53-61. Some of them, e.g. the "winged" magician or the "eagle-man" and "snake-man" /the Bulgarian *zmej, majevit covek*), fulfilled their communal roles up to the most recent times. We know of magicians delivering good weather from other parts of Europe as well (especially from the records of witch trials,

having specific “agricultural” features which were partly shared by ancient Eurasian shamanism, rooted in hunting cultures, and were partly different from their own<sup>4</sup>.

The mythology of these rituals is actually shared by all the peoples concerned. Thus regulating the weather is connected to certain demons dwelling in the clouds, in the wind, in storms - in an archaic “other world” made up of clouds. These “cloud-directing” spirits play the role of guardian spirits as the ancestors of the community. (Such guardian spirits survived up to the Modern Age mainly at the Balkans and among the Eastern and Western Slavic peoples, e.g. in beliefs according to which the “cloud-directing” spirits of neighbouring villages engage in storm battles with each other for a good crop for their own communities<sup>5</sup>. It is in the same “transitory space” that periodical revenants more or less identical with the cloud-directing spirits appear: they are the dead of the family or the community who, at the beginning of the year or the agricultural seasons, call upon the living and demand certain sacrifices in return for exerting a favourable influence on agricultural fertility. In the mythology of all the European peoples the dead haunting periodically are responsible for agricultural fertility and, related to this role, they are the regulators of the rain<sup>6</sup>. The picture is supplemented - in the reconstructed mythology of almost all European peoples - by the figure of the storm demon appearing as a dragon. The dragon regulating the weather also plays the role of the guardian spirit or in several regions it had contacts with the ancestor, the “good dead” of the community<sup>7</sup>.

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see e.g. Dienst (1986 : 70-94); Valentinitich (1987 : 297-316)), but these magicians did not necessarily possess the “shamanistic” features of the *benandanti* and their Slav and Baltic relations (even though certain Swiss and Austrian data about the above-mentioned *tempestatum ductores* may refer to such magicians akin to some “shamanistic” types of Balkan magicians). The assumed ritual activity of the Hungarian *táltos* as weather magician, fits into the ritual systems of the Southern Slav magicians in most of its features (thus, beside its supposedly Turkic origins it bears many characteristics of an inferred Indoeuropean shamanism).

4. In his book about the “origins” of the witches’ Sabbath, Ginzburg (1989) analyzing further historical and archeological evidences, concludes that Indoeuropean shamanism - through Thracian and Scythian connections - has principally Iranian origins. This theory has its precedents in the works of e.g. Meuli (1975, vol.II : 817-879) and Closs (1968 : 289-302).

5. For discussion of storm-demons, demons in the clouds, cloud directing spirits see : Franz, *op. cit.* vol. I. : 19-27 ; Moszynski, *op. cit.* : 651-653 ; Rohde, 1925, vol. I. : 248-249 ; Lawson, 1910 : 283 ; Marinov, 1914 : 213-214 ; Kelemina, 1930 : 40-41 ; Meisen, 1935 ; Runeberg, 1947 : 118-119 ; Djordjevic, 1953 : 237-243 ; Boskovic-Stulli, 1960 : 285-286. Muslea & Birlea, 1970 : 182-184 ; Zecevic, 1981 : 123-125, 149 ; Pócs, 1989b : 17-18.

6. No general account has yet been published about the dead reappearing among the living to provide agricultural fertility on the feast-days; for certain aspects of the phenomenon see : Rohde, *op. cit.* vol.I. : 246-249 ; Murko, 1910 : 79-160 ; Ränk, 1949 ; Ranke, 1951 ; Lecouteux, 1987 : 232-248. The syncretic mythology and cult of the Southeast European fairies has been enriched by many features of an archaic Slav (Ancient Greek, Thracian) cult of the dead as well : the offerings to the fairies are often clearly offerings to the dead to ensure fertility. See e.g. : Lawson, *op. cit.* : 130-173 ; Pócs, 1989b : 47-53.

7. Some of the most important works from the numerous books about the European weather-demon dragons : Mackensen, 1929/30 : 363-404 ; Dukova, 1970 : 209-252 ; Benovska-Sabkova, 1992. Information about the guiding-spirit dragons especially the Slav and Rumanian traditions are well-known, see e.g. : Marinov, *op. cit.* : 208-209 ; Muslea & Birlea, *op. cit.*, 182-189 ; Georgieva, 1983 : 79-85.

The other important basic precept of “weather conjuring mythologies” in Europe is that man may influence the demons bringing bad weather and rain, as well as to ask their assistance in manipulating the weather (Franz, *op. cit.* vol. II : 27-28). Weather magicians calling upon the storm demons for help were the Greek and Byzantine “cloud leaders”, the *nephodioktai*, such were the *tempestatum ductores* (“weather conductors”) mentioned in the medieval church sources (Franz, *op. cit.* vol. II : 28. (relevant V<sup>th</sup> and VII<sup>th</sup> century data); *op. cit.* vol. II : 37; Cohn, 1975 : 153-154.), as well as the weather magicians possessing shamanistic abilities mentioned above. In this specific European agricultural shamanism a fundamental role was played by the above-mentioned storm demons, the dead visiting the living periodically as the magician’s guardians and calling spirits and *alter egos*. (Certain types of the magicians can be identified just on the basis of the properties of the calling and guardian spirits.) The Southern Slavic, Eastern Slavic and Baltic wind magicians (*stuha*, *planetnyk*, *oblocnik*, *chmurnik*, etc.) were “carried away” by the wind, i.e. they joined the spirits travelling in the wind. The “werewolf-magician”, born with a caul (the Slovenian, Croatian, Baltic, Italian *kresnik*, *vedomec*, *benandante*), as well as the Bulgarian, Serbian “dragon-man” and “eagle-man”, born from an animal father and in snake skin or with wings, have *alter egos*, guardian spirits of animal shape, who are the ancestors of the community. At the same time these play the role of the storm demon. The guardian spirits of two neighbouring communities or villages shaped like a wolf, a dog, an eagle, a rooster, etc. fight battles against each other: in that fight they win from each other the precipitation for the benefit of their village and at the expense of the neighbouring one<sup>8</sup>. It is characteristic of each type of magicians that, fulfilling their task as a shaman, they fall into a trance at the time of a storm or when a hail storm is coming; and their souls, leaving their bodies, join these battles, fought among the guardian spirits of the communities, which can be characterized by the archaic oppositions of own-alien/good-bad. The myths of the fight between the guardian spirits are related to further mythologem: the fight between the Thunder God and the beast of the underworld. In that context the magicians represent the protegees of the Thunder God (the Slavic Perun, the Baltic Perkunas, Perkons), therefore we are also faced with shamanism related to the old Indoeuropean or Balto-Slavic Storm God in the reconstructed system of rituals<sup>9</sup>.

It is worth looking at the context in which these magicians appear in the sources of elite culture. First, however, the weather magicians of elite culture have to be discussed briefly. The equivalents of all the known roles of popular magic

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8. For a detailed description of these rites and beliefs as well as the categorization of magicians see : Moszyński, *op. cit.* : 651-654 ; Bošković-Stulli, *op. cit.* ; Zetević, *op. cit.* : 149-151 ; Ginzburg, 1966 ; Klaniczay, *op. cit.* ; Pócs, 1989a, 1989b.

9. For these attempts of reconstruction see : Ivanov & Toporov, 1970, vol. II. : 1180-1206 ; Pócs, 1993 : 23-31.

(necromancy, catching thieves, love magic, healing, etc.) are to be found in elite culture, namely in its sources of the Early Modern Age, with one exception: weather magic whose function is specifically related to the agricultural population<sup>10</sup>. There was still a practice of weather magic serving the village people but it was not in the hands of the literate urban strata who practised ritual magic but in those of the priests, monks, representing a part of *benedictions*<sup>11</sup>. In addition to healing, the richest field of these rituals of the medieval church was begging for rain as well as fending off bad weather and hail. This ecclesiastic practice played a role identical with that of lay, popular magic: both were active in identical spheres of private and public lives, that is rendering assistance in the crisis situations of human life. The treasurehouse of benedictions (objects, gestures, texts) was mostly inherited from pre-Christian “pagan” magic and there was constant interaction with popular magic during the whole period of the Middle Ages. The only difference is that those magical rituals lived in the hands of the priests as part of the official church rituals or at least as a practice of the priests tolerated by the church. At times the rites of the church replaced the popular activities, at times it was carried out in parallel with the popular methods of lay magicians, in the field of influencing the weather just as in the other spheres of magic. Franz (*op. cit.* vol. I : 38-70.) lists a number of “pagan” elements in the Church rites related to the weather (processions begging for heavenly blessings on the crops, patron saints of the rain, cults of patrons of the weather), and many movements of the lay, popular practice co-existing beside official rites (*e.g.* throwing water on the icons of patrons of the weather, processions to rivers, using relics for rain-magic, clamouring as a protection against the weather-demons, shooting and ringing bells against storms, etc.). Dienst (*op. cit.* : 86.) reports similar syncretic practices evoking rain or dispelling storm from XVI<sup>th</sup>-XVII<sup>th</sup> century Austria.

But why was there need for the magic of the priest if its popular experts also existed ; why did the priest have to stand on the main square of the village when a cloud of hail was approaching, fending off the demons bringing storm clouds by cursing them? Why was the *tempestatum ductor* not sufficient - who could also send away the storm clouds with the help of incantation or by sending his soul to the clouds with shamanistic methods in order to fight the bad demons ? Obviously because that was a “pagan” affair which in theory was prohibited by the Church in every respect. Even though the priests “used” the popular methods, they objected

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10. We have a quite detailed picture of the elite and popular magicians in early modern England and France (see : Thomas, 1978 : 264-265 ; Kieckhefer, 1976 ; Peters, 1978 : 165), but weather magic as a popular, rural practice, was probably typical in the whole of Europe. This is shown by the data about weather magicians in the records of witch-trials (see note 31), or, *e.g.* data about weather-magic in the villages of the Alps-region are published in Rochholz, 1862 : 10. For the medieval and early modern data see : Franz, *op. cit.* vol. I. : 27-33.

11. The most complete general description of the rites of the medieval Church performed to influence the weather : Franz, *op. cit.* vol.II. : 1-123.

to them on an ideological basis: the one practising magic could not be the magician forging an alliance with the pagan demons; it could only be the priest calling God and His saints for help as is pointed out by Keith Thomas (*op. cit.* : 277.) : “*The Medieval Church had tried to counter popular magic by providing a rival system of ecclesiastic magic to take over its place.*”

In the wake of Christianity gaining ground, the pagan world of demons and spirits assumed a Christian guise: the storm spirits, the cloud spirits, just like the dragon-weather demon were transformed into the Satan or the Devil. The Christian Devil’s main ancestor is the world of demons dwelling in the space between the sky and the earth, including the shamanistic magicians’ calling and guardian spirits and *alter ego* spirits. It is well-known that the dragon was identified with Satan as far back as the early centuries of Christianity. Obviously, in the eye of the priest it is the Devil and not the wind spirits who brings hail and bad weather<sup>12</sup>. The magicians, supported by the one-time storm spirits, transformed into the Devil; they manipulated the weather with the help of the Devil but no longer in the interest of the well-being of their community but - inspired by Satan - at the expense and to the detriment of their community: they brought hail, drought, devastating weather to their village. According to this new fiction created by the Church, the popular magician (originally - and in reality continually - engaged in benevolent magic) was transposed to the side of the Devil and has become the enemy of the priests<sup>13</sup>. The views of canonical demonology resulted in the development of the image of the “magician bringing on bad weather with the help of infernal powers” in most parts of early modern Europe, both in the elite and the popular cultures: in the belief-system of the clergy as well as the folklore<sup>14</sup>.

We are familiar with a number of benediction texts of weather magicians which not only send away the demon bringing storms but stand up against the “bad” magicians, the *tempestatum ductores*, being the allies of the storm demon

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12. For the identification of Satan with a dragon - thus with a nature demon bringing storm or stealing rain - see : Franz, *op. cit.* vol.II. : 19-37. In the early Christian period, in the works of the Fathers of the Church, we can find examples of substituting wind-demons and cloud-conducting spirits with Christian devils : Franz, *op. cit.* vol. II. : 24-26. About “popular demon - Satan” development see : Thomas, *op. cit.*, chapter “Magic and Religion”.

13. On the gradual development of a “divine - diabolical” polarization and the ranking of popular sorcery and magic to the “diabolical” side in early modern Europe see : Thomas, *loc. cit.* On Central-Eastern European popular demonology becoming diabolical within this process, see : Pócs, 1991-1992.

14. For accounts of the doubts and debates in the Church, the changes in demonological views, the prohibitions and synod decrees (from the 4th century to early modern times) concerning the question of whether humans are capable of influencing the weather with or without devils’ help : Franz, *op. cit.* vol.II. : 28-34, 110-115 ; Soldan & Heppe, *op. cit.* vol.I. : 87, 111, 131, 176-182, 217-219, 237. At the time of the great German wave of persecution the spiritual leaders of the witchhunt, Lutheran and Catholic demonologists alike, had long debates about the question whether humans could cause storms and hailstorms to destroy the crops with the help of devils, or whether hailstorms were divine punishment, or maybe merely tricks of Satan : Midelfort, 1972 : 36-58.

transformed into the Devil, too. The following is a benediction from Lausanne dating back to 1500 (Franz, *op. cit.* vol.II. : 117), aimed against hail:

*Adiuro vos, angelos tenebrarum  
et omnes incantatores malorum  
et omnes ministros sathane,  
quibus aquas coadunare ventis permittitur,  
ut tempestates mitigentur,  
ne nocentes sint in finibus istis et in illis,  
quas superius diximus,  
sed revertimini retrorsum  
et ite in diversis montibus et locis desertis,  
ubi nullus homo habitat  
nec aratur nec seminatur...*

What is interesting about this example - in addition to the priest and the magician opposing each other - is that it is a text known up to the present day as incantation from the practice of village magicians, which underlines the essential identity of the store used by elite magic on the one hand and by popular magic, on the other<sup>15</sup>. To give an example of popular practice: the use of the same formula was one of the charges against a German weather-magician witch. The records of the trial contain the text of the formula (Behringer, 1988 : 203), or *e.g.* a XX<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian village magician used the following magic formula to dispel a cloud bringing hail (Kallós, 1966 : 156):

*Go away, go away ye hailstorm to the cliff  
where no man ploughs, no man sows,  
where no black cock crows,  
no black horse neighs,  
no black dog barks,  
no one eats leavened bread...*

Let us illustrate the opposition of priests and sorcerers and at the same time the connections between the elite and popular rites with another vivid example: according to the XIII<sup>th</sup> century legend of St Hildulf, the monks in the monastery of Moyon Moutier employed the eucharist to protect them against hailstorm; the crops all around the neighbourhood were destroyed, but the hail did not cause any damage to the monastery and its vicinity in spite of all the efforts of the *tempestatum ductor* (Franz, *op. cit.* vol.II. : 37, 69-70). According to beliefs from the modern period the efforts of the rural sorcerer who protects his village from hail have similar

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15. For the origins and spreading of the storm-dispelling formula that was widely known in the whole of Europe and applied by priests and monks as well as peasants see : Ohrt, 1936 : 49-58.

results, see e.g. Hungarian “*garabonciás*” stories published by Erdész (1984 : 114-138), or Croatian ones published by Jagić (1877 : 437-481).

In Church rituals and in those of popular magicians, one type of benevolent magic was active, in opposition to another benevolent type. The new concept of the two opposing each other yielded the following result: in accordance with the archaic opposition of own-alien/good-bad, the other party - looked at from the angle of the individual - has become an enemy: The “good magician” is the priest, the “bad magician” is the popular magician, the *tempestatum ductor*, carrying on the pagan tradition. In this way, the contrast of the elite and the popular, the church and the lay, the priest and the magician, has developed a counter view of the opposition of own-alien, good-bad as well. It is not a chance occurrence that, in the eye of the village people, looked at “from below”, the reverse of the above fictitious enemy picture can also be perceived: according to Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian belief legends of today, the priest performs a “counter-magic” in opposition to the beneficial operation of the weather magicians and he is the one to bring hail to the village! (Kretzenbacher, 1968 : 122 ; Bošković-Stulli, 1953 : 338).

As a result of the tendency of storm spirits and weather demons being transformed into the Christian Satan, the demonized versions of shamanistic magicians integrated into Christianity came into being: the legend figures of magicians, bringing bad weather, hail and controlling rain<sup>16</sup>. This is a myth created as a result of ideological restructuring; we possess no data related to a negative weather magic actually carried out. Neither do we have data testifying to real magicians’ activity aimed at generating drought or hail. If we analyze witch trials from this aspect, we find that at certain periods of European witch-persecution in some areas (e.g. the canton of Lucerne or Styria), the most frequent charge against witches was actually the negative manipulation of the weather with black magic (Sacher, 1947 : 25 ; Ilwolf, 1897 : 187). Summarizing all the data of the Austrian witch-trials hitherto published, Schönleitner comes to the conclusion that the charge of manipulation of the weather, which appears in 19% of the cases is the second most frequent accusation, surpassed only by alliance with the Devil (21%), while the charge of causing illness to humans is present only in 11% of the cases! In XVII<sup>th</sup>-XVIII<sup>th</sup> century Austrian trials a vast number of witnesses claimed that the witches caused avalanches, floods, droughts, and hail which destroyed their orchards and vineyards (Valentinitsch, 1987 : 314)<sup>17</sup>.

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16. For a fuller discussion of this problem see : Pócs, 1988 : 145-170, where the bibliography of the relevant Central-Southeast European works can be found. Some of the most important ones among these : Kretzenbacher, *op. cit.* ; Erdész, *op. cit.* ; Jagić, *op. cit.* ; Gaster, 1883 : 281-290.

17. Further charges of manipulation of the weather in Austrian and German witch-trials are contained in: Dienst, 1986 : 86-87 ; Behringer, *op. cit.* : 62-64 ; Soldan & Heppe, *op. cit.* vol.I. : 231, 248, 260 ; Midelfort, *op. cit.* : 88.



black magic. If we examine the methods they were said to employ to bring on drought and storm, we find that these are perfectly identical with the positive weather-magic practised by either popular magicians or the clergy (e.g. dousing water, shooting into the clouds, using rain-stones, sacred objects, storm-dispelling formulae)<sup>18</sup>. Thus it is evident that the manipulation of the weather attributed to witches was considered to be negative only from a different point of view: the image of the witch bringing on bad weather with black magic was the invention of theologians who put the demonology of witch-persecution into writing. Witches are to a certain degree simply the “negative” versions of popular weather magicians.

To return to weather magicians making alliances with Satan, their mythical figures are still alive in legends all over Europe. The Medieval Theophil legend, from which the legends of the Modern Age originated, had no relation to the weather magicians at that stage (Palmer & More, 1936). That is why it is remarkable that the most widely spread types of the legends of Devil alliance of the Modern Age are related solely to them (*Fahrende Schüler, šolomonar, garabonciás*, etc.)<sup>19</sup>. It is no chance occurrence that the weather magicians became the main characters of this group of legends: for in relation to their key figure, the fiction of the alliance with the Devil was formulated in a rather natural manner. In these legends the soul animals, *alter ego* spirits of the above-mentioned shamanistic magicians, appeared as the helping Devil or Devil forging an alliance. The main motive of the legends is to generate a storm with the assistance of the Devil. In this context the storm and the hail represent the attack by the magician against his own community for he is performing magic as a result of the Devil’s inspiration. In addition, certain motives also point to the original functions of the shamanistic magicians; while other motives are the diabolical transformations of the positive deeds, traits of the shamanistic magicians (e.g. instead of the heavenly “fiery” storm God, it is the “wet” monsters of the underworld which inspire the magician)<sup>20</sup>. Therefore the ideological transformations described above created the fictitious enemy figure of the “black magician” by transforming the popular weather magician of good intentions.

If we now leave the perspective of specific opposing parties and cast a sweeping glance at this system, it seems that each and every social stratum of Europe, her ecclesiastic and mundane dignitaries, the people and their leaders, laymen and literate people equally tried to manipulate the weather in crisis situations, with the assistance of supernatural powers - beginning from ancient times up to the Modern

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18. For more about the weather-magic devices of the persons accused of witchcraft which are quite similar in different parts of Europe : Franz, *op. cit.* vol.II : 38 ; Soldan & Heppe, *op. cit.* vol.I : 236-240. Runeberg, *op. cit.* : 171-173 ; Byloff, 1902 : 16, 325 ; Ilwolf, *op. cit.* : 187 ; Valentinitsch, 1987b : 372 ; Biedermann, 1987 : 168-170 ; Sacher, *op. cit.* : 25-26, 72-73, 87 ; Tkalcic, 1892 : 17, 71 ; Bošković-Stulli, 1991-1992 ; Krauss, 198 : 81-83 ; Kelemina, *op. cit.* : 247 ; Schram, 1970, vol.I : 542 ; vol.II : 14, 711-712, 721, 724.

19. See the bibliography given in note 16.

20. See : Pócs, 1988.

The rain - or storm-witch is surrounded by numerous beliefs: e.g. he or she dances or fights with the witches of the neighbouring villages in the clouds, just like cloud-controlling spirits do. These beliefs are suspect: they are often clearly the characteristics of a benevolent weather-magician, not of a witch, performing Age. To that end, they all possessed the necessary instruments, analogous with each other to a significant extent. They used these instruments for identical purposes but in the spirit of different ideologies; however, those different ideologies did not differ from each other fundamentally, rather they were the transformations of the same system of views growing out of each other, and built one upon the other.

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Pocs E. (2002)

Southeast-European weather magicians : Indo-European agrarian shamanism

In : Katz Esther (ed.), Lammel A. (ed.), Goloubinoff M. (ed.)  
Entre ciel et terre : climat et sociétés

Paris (FRA) ; Paris : IRD ; Ibis Press, 375-387. ISBN 2-7099-1491-3