

# Material Religion in Byzantium and Beyond

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## **14 Weather Control and Manuscript Margins in the Early Medieval West**

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## 14 Weather Control and Manuscript Margins in the Early Medieval West

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In his regionibus pene omnes homines, nobiles et ignobiles, urbani et rustici, senes et iuvenes, putant grandines et tonitrua hominum libitu posse fieri. (In these regions, almost all people – noblemen and commoners, townsfolk and countryside folk, elders and youngsters – believe that hailstorms and thunders can be produced by the wish of humans.)<sup>1</sup>

(Agobard of Lyons, *Liber contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*, 1)

Archbishop Agobard of Lyons (816–834) was a man of many parts, an active player in Carolingian politics during the reign of Louis the Pious and a prolific Christian author commenting on various ecclesiastical and theological matters.<sup>2</sup> Born in Spain and elevated to the top ecclesiastical position in Francia, he also provided the students of Carolingian cultural history with a small text on the mores of rustics in his province. In this work, entitled *Liber contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis* (“The Book against the Silly Belief of the Common People Concerning Hail and Thunders”)<sup>3</sup> and probably originating from a less sophisticated sermon delivered to local people, this self-made early medieval anthropologist confronted local superstitious responses to the forces of nature, and bad weather in particular, and deconstructed them, so to speak, on the basis of a Christian rationale.<sup>4</sup>

In the past decades, this short book has become a key text framing scholarly discussions of weather control in the early Middle Ages and in the Carolingian world, in particular. In the early 1980s, Monica Blöcker discussed it within a broader context of early medieval weather magic in Western Europe, as well as various ecclesiastical and legal documents condemning or legislating against the practitioners of weather magic referred to as *tempestarii* (storm-makers).<sup>5</sup> In the 1990s, Karl Heidecker interpreted this text as a written testimony to an early medieval conflict between the Christian church and paganism.<sup>6</sup> In the 2000s, Paul E. Dutton analysed the narrative as a description of transcultural popular response to natural disasters. In his opinion, this response acquired social overtones in this particular case, with a clear spiritual frontline between Christian clerics and deviant *tempestarii*.<sup>7</sup> In the early 2010s, Rob Meens questioned this juxtaposition

by pointing to the involvement of early Christian clergy in the liturgical protection of crops against tempests, attested, among other things, by the existence of prayers against storms in contemporary sacramentaries. These *tempestarii* should therefore, he suggested, be seen as local Christians or, perhaps, even vagabond monks or competing clerics receiving a payment that local people called *canonicum* in exchange for their protective service. Meens thus explained Agobard's reaction by the threat that such an alternative source of supernatural protection presented to his ecclesiastical authority as well as financial resources.<sup>8</sup>

With Meens' argument as a point of departure, this chapter pursues a double trajectory. I would like, first, to contextualize Agobard's text within a broader normative Christian discourse on weather control in the early Middle Ages and, second, to contrast this normative discourse with a less orthodox attitude towards weather magic, by bringing to scholarly attention a new kind of textual material, namely, apotropaic minuscule texts against hailstorms and tempest added to the margins, flyleaves and other blank spaces of early medieval manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> This new textual evidence from manuscripts' margins indicates that the distinction between orthodoxy and deviation regarding weather control was not so clearcut in early medieval culture as Agobard's text may suggest, and that early medieval Western Europe witnessed an overall peaceful adaptation of the late antique tradition of weather control to early medieval Christian practices.<sup>10</sup>

Marginal spaces in Latin manuscripts can thus be seen as material witnesses to religious practices that rarely surface in normative Christian texts. As we shall see, in the early medieval Mediterranean, these intercessory practices aiming at weather control actively deployed material objects such as lead tablets, slates, wooden and lead crosses and textual amulets. The performative use of these objects outside churches was combined with specifically designed forms of ritualized speech addressing supernatural and preternatural forces. Natural tempests threatening human subsistent existence were thus met with a religious response conditioned by long-lasting cultural traditions, with apotropaic minuscule texts providing unique textual evidence to this specific manifestation of Material Religion.

### **Weather Magic and Normative Christian Discourse**

Weather magic is a phenomenon well attested in Antiquity. In the first century AD, Seneca described some people claiming that they were able to divert rain- and hailstorms threatening people's cornfields, olive orchards and vineyards by means of sacrifices and sacrificial blood,<sup>11</sup> and Pliny the Elder mentioned a common belief that hailstorms can be averted by a specific incantation (*carmen*).<sup>12</sup> Later, a pre-Nicaean father, Clement of Alexandria, referred to a related belief that natural cataclysms in the skies were caused by evil spirits and angels<sup>13</sup> and could therefore be manipulated. In the late antique Mediterranean world, beliefs of this kind were exemplified by the appearance of material phylacteries adjuring such airy essences not to send tempests on the cultivated lands that these objects protected. Some adjurations were strengthened by the use of occult *charaktères*, others by the use of Christian symbols and formulas. Charms of these kinds were carved on stones,

lead, bronze and clay tablets and lead crosses, which were placed near cultivated land in Tunisia, Greece, Asia Minor, Sicily, Dalmatia and Gaul.<sup>14</sup> The late antique legislation of Christian emperors probably referred to such protective phylacteries while allowing the use of protective devices (*remedia*) in the fields.<sup>15</sup>

By the early medieval period, such Christianized charms continued to adjure demons or evil spirits that caused bad weather but started to invoke more consistently Christian powers and agents to ward off these dark forces. These invocations included various attributes of God, his archangels and angels, as well as saints and biblical characters.<sup>16</sup> An illustrative example is an eighth-century Visigothic protective charm against storms carved on a slate protecting vineyards and orchards near Carrio in Asturias. Its producer, a certain Auriolus, addressed seven archangels starting with Michael and Gabriel, who were credited with cloud-controlling abilities, and urged them to keep storms away from the fields around the protective slate. He also adjured Satan through the power of Jesus Christ not to harm the vineyards and fruit trees in that locality. Finally, he invoked the Holy Trinity, and referred to a *historiola* – that is the charm’s historical precedent – of St Christopher protecting harvest by driving away a hailstorm.<sup>17</sup> The familiarity with St Christopher’s story as well as the fact that the charm’s producer styled himself as a servant of God (*famulus Dei*) suggests that he may have been a local cleric or monk.

No material evidence of similar kind exists north of the Alps from Carolingian Europe, and the existing normative texts deriving from the late eighth- and ninth-century Frankish world straightforwardly condemn both *tempestarii* allegedly causing storms and the use of material charms or incantations against such tempests. Carolingian legislative acts such as the programmatic capitulary known as *Admonitio generalis* (789) threatened with punishment people claiming the ability to cause hailstorms.<sup>18</sup> This norm followed on the footsteps of the Visigothic King Chindasuinth (642–653), who legislated one and a half century earlier against “magicians or storm-makers” (*malefici vel inmissores tempestatum*) who, allegedly, were able to send hailstorms to vineyards and cornfields by means of certain incantations.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, when the Council of Paris demanded to “correct” various wrong-doers (*malefici*) in 829, the latter included those men and women who asserted that they were capable of using their magic tricks to disturb air and inflict hailstorms.<sup>20</sup> In the same year as the *Admonitio generalis* issued a threat against *tempestarii*, another Carolingian capitulary, known as *Duplex legationis edictum* (789), admonished against the practices of baptizing bells and hanging textual amulets on poles, probably in fields, as a means of protection against hailstorms.<sup>21</sup>

Penance provided the main path to correction, and Latin penitentiaries produced in Western Europe from the eighth to tenth centuries imposed a five- or seven-year penance not only on storm-makers (*immissor tempestatum*) but probably also on those who claimed to be able to ward off such tempests (*emissor tempestatum*).<sup>22</sup> The latter were also mentioned in the Pseudo-Augustinian homily on sacrilegious activities (*Homilia de sacrilegiis*), composed by an anonymous Frankish cleric in the second half of the eighth century and preserved in a manuscript produced in Alemannia c. 800.<sup>23</sup> One of the chapters in this homily labels as pagans (*pagani*)

those Christians who believe that they are able to avert a hailstorm by means of inscribed lead laminas and by making sounds with trumpets.<sup>24</sup> Another late Merovingian homily encouraged the faithful not to trust in *tempestarii*, nor to give anything to those who say that certain people are able to snatch the fruits of their labour up into the clouds.<sup>25</sup>

This official attitude to weather control found its eloquent proponent in Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, who wrote his small text concerning hailstorms and thunder c. 816. In this literary work, he adduced a number of critical points relying on the scriptures against popular beliefs in the ability of *tempestarii* to raise storms, as well as against those people who claimed that they could protect against hailstorms and who received from peasants the type of payment labelled *canonicum*. Agobard's rhetorical text built its theological argument on relevant examples and quotations from the Bible,<sup>26</sup> the main point of which was that neither Old Testament heroes like Moses nor bad angels have power to control storms and hail. According to Agobard's dictum, that power belongs exclusively to the Lord.<sup>27</sup>

By implication, liturgical actions performed by authorized clerics within proper ecclesiastical settings were an expected mode of weather control in his eyes. This also explains Agobard's disparaging remarks about anonymous individuals, who were clearly different from the clergy under his ecclesiastical authority. The former claimed the ability to repel storms and received remuneration. These actions were clearly siphoning peasants' funds away from Agobard's cathedral, since he grudgingly remarked that peasants who did not pay tithes or give alms to the church willingly made such payments to unauthorized individuals.<sup>28</sup>

Agobard's overall message chimes well with contemporary normative Latin liturgy aimed to protect against hailstorms and other tempests. Such liturgy was performed in the church, consistently addressed God alone and omitted any reference to mischievous angels. Thus, eighth-century Frankish Gelasian sacramentaries, such as *The Gellone Sacramentary* and *The Phillipps Sacramentary*, contain a special mass against storm and lightning. In the orations accompanying different stages of this mass, the celebrant was supposed to suppliantly beseech the Lord alone to ward against tempests.<sup>29</sup> This mass for repelling storms and lightning was transferred to the Supplement of the ninth-century Gregorian sacramentaries, where it appeared under slightly different titles.<sup>30</sup> A special prayer against a tempest was copied from the Gelasian sacramentaries into the Supplement as well. This prayer epitomizes the normative liturgical discourse on weather control, and it goes as follows: "Almighty sempiternal God, spare the fearful and be favourable to the humble supplicants so that, after the noxious fire of clouds and vicious storms, a powerful menace is transformed into a praiseworthy matter".<sup>31</sup> Thus, demons or malevolent angels had no place in this normative discourse.

Moreover, earlier church councils, namely, the Council of Soissons (744) and the Council of Rome (745) condemned the use of prayers and supplications addressing obscure angels. These councils considered unorthodox practices of a certain vagabond priest named Aldebert.<sup>32</sup> Among other things, this priest erected small crosses and oratories in fields and at springs and performed public prayers there. As a result, many local peasants abandoned their bishops and flocked to these places instead of

attending churches, saying that services of “St Aldebert” served them well.<sup>33</sup> It is also very likely that the peasants remunerated Aldebert, and such payments would encroach on the income of local churches. The Council of Soissons presided over by Archbishop Boniface ordered these crosses to be burnt and referred the entire case to papal Rome.<sup>34</sup> The materials of the Council of Rome provide a more detailed report on Aldebert’s activities as well as on dubious texts taken from him.<sup>35</sup>

One of Aldebert’s prayers, which must have been delivered near the crosses or in the field oratories, was recited at that council. It included not only an appeal to the Lord, the father of holy angels, but also besought eight angels, namely, Uriel, Raguel, Tubuel, Michael, Adinus, Tubuas, Sabaoc and Simiel.<sup>36</sup> The list of eight angels caused a strong negative reaction on the part of bishops gathered at the council, and they demanded this sermon to be burned as a blasphemous text. The council emphasized that authoritative Christian texts, i.e. the Holy Scripture, had mentioned only three angels, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael. Hence, most names in Aldebert’s deviant prayer invoked not angels, but demons. It is noteworthy that the invocation of seven angels on the Visigothic protective slab mentioned above was not very different from Aldebert’s prayer banished by the Council of Rome in 745. Carolingian capitularies later repeated the conciliar prohibition on the use of the names of obscure angels. For instance, the *Admonitio generalis* (789) stated that people should not invent nor pronounce the names of unknown angels, but only invoke Michael, Gabriel and Raphael.<sup>37</sup>

Another text taken from Aldebert and presented at the Council of Rome was a version of the Heavenly Letter also known as *Epistola Salvatoris*, allegedly written by Jesus Christ and brought down to the earth by the archangel Michael. In the early Middle Ages, this apocryphal letter was worn as a textual amulet credited with protective power in various situations. In contrast, Pope Zacharias and the council’s attendants discarded such a heavenly letter as a wicked fabrication, which only childish and insane people could trust.<sup>38</sup> This dictum was soon confirmed north of the Alps in the *Admonitio generalis*, which mentioned the most wicked and false letter allegedly fallen from the sky, and admonished people neither to believe in it, nor to read it, and commanded, instead, to have such letters burnt.<sup>39</sup> In the early Middle Ages, another version of the Heavenly Letter, different from that carried by Aldebert, was associated with an apocryphal letter sent by Jesus Christ to King Abgar of Edessa. It was commonly used as an all-purpose protective textual amulet but could also be tuned for specific needs. Hence, it is especially noteworthy that the earliest Latin version of the letter in Anglo-Saxon England added to a Latin prayerbook in the late eighth century specifically mentioned the letter’s protection against hail and thunders.<sup>40</sup> Such a letter could thus also function as a textual amulet against these natural phenomena and be used in the manner prohibited by the *Duplex legationis edictum* mentioned above. This suggests that unorthodox heavenly letters such as the one ridiculed by the Council of Rome could be utilized as a personal means of weather control in the Latin West in the decades following the council and, despite its negative dictum, could appear in otherwise orthodox liturgical handbooks.

Aldebert's popularity among local peasants must have infuriated Boniface, but the former probably offered a pragmatic response to real anxieties in the countryside, a response that chimed well with much older religious practices aimed at protecting the fields against hailstorms and other tempests. In this pragmatic approach to apotropaic prayers, some holy men in eighth-century Francia were not different from their counterparts in the early byzantine world.

According to the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, Galatian peasants from a village near his monastery begged this late sixth-century ascetic to protect them against regular hailstorms devastating their vineyards. In response, he conducted a supplicative procession around their vineyards and cornfields, accompanied by pronouncing a protective prayer, and by placing four wooden crosses at the four corners of the land that needed protection. His intercession succeeded, thus contributing to his fame as a wonder-maker, and the thankful villagers provided the monastery with a certain amount of wine and grapes each year thereafter.<sup>41</sup> Theodore's use of wooden crosses thus provides a possible parallel to Aldebert's placement of small crosses in fields while praying nearby. The sign of the cross as well as material crosses were invested with apotropaic power in the early Middle Ages.<sup>42</sup> The latter must have fulfilled the same function in the mid-eighth-century Gaulic countryside. Their perceived protective power against tempests may explain the popularity of performative rituals focused on these crosses among local peasants.

### **Weather Incantations and Manuscripts' Margins**

Marginal spaces in early medieval manuscripts provide additional, and somewhat overlooked, evidence of the extent to which Christian practitioners on a local level were affected by various forms of authoritative discourse regarding weather control – discourse reacting, first and foremost, to storm-makers, but also warning against those who claimed the power to repel storms by means of charms and incantations. The first example derives from the Cathedral of Reims, where a tenth-century practical guide for calming a storm was written on a folio that was added as a flyleaf to one of the manuscripts in the cathedral library (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 132, fol. D).<sup>43</sup> An anonymous cleric wrote an abbreviated list of liturgical actions to be conducted to quell a storm. The list includes a prayer to be performed along with the sign of the cross, an antiphon that normally was sung during Easter Sunday,<sup>44</sup> a reading from the beginning of the Gospel of John (John 1:1–5), the Lord's Prayer to be recited three times and accompanied with the sign of the cross, and the Song of Creation (Daniel 3:57–90).<sup>45</sup> All liturgical elements are addressed directly to the Lord and emphasize as well as glorify his power over the physical world and its natural phenomena such as rainstorms. For example, the biblical Song of Creation includes a line asking the Lord to bless among other things lightning and clouds.<sup>46</sup> These liturgical guidelines thus mirror an orthodox liturgical approach to weather control as represented in sacramentaries and the writings of Carolingian bishops like Agobard of Lyons. From this perspective, it is hardly surprising that this minuscule text appeared in a manuscript linked to a cathedral chapter.

Another orthodox example with a probable link to a cathedral context is a prayer against lightning added around the turn of the tenth century to a Carolingian compendium of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and episcopal statutes, produced in France in the late ninth century and reaching the Abbey of Saint-Germain of Auxerre around the year 1000 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 3877, fol. 83r).<sup>47</sup> This minuscule text copied word for word the oration with the identical title from the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries mentioned above.

Minuscule texts for weather control generated outside Carolingian cathedrals are somewhat different. The first such case is a tenth-century Christian prayer or incantation against a hailstorm and tempest added to the final, originally blank, page of a ninth-century manuscript with the Epistles of St Paul, homilies and prayers, produced either in a Lotharingian monastic house such as Luxeuil or in the Abbey of Echternach, to the library of which the manuscript belonged in the fifteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10440, fol. 116v).<sup>48</sup>

Against Hailstorm and Tempest

+ The Cross of Christ, + the Cross of Christ, + the Cross of Christ.

+ Behold the Cross of the Lord!

Begone, demons, from these parts!

The Lion of the tribe of Judah,

The root of David has conquered! Alleluia!

His arrow, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison. I adjure you, I adjure you, I adjure you, Satan's demons, through the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And I adjure you through the Trinity and Holy Mary, the mother of Our Lord, Jesus Christ. + I adjure you through all the angels and archangels. I adjure you through four evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. I adjure you through all the saints of God, so that you have no power in this place, in these fields, or in these villages to let go of stones, nor to rise up a storm, nor to bring down a very powerful harmful rain. But go and depart to a deserted place or the sea so that you have no power to do evil here. We believe in one God, the Almighty Father. Our Father, defend this people or this country. Amen. The sign of the Holy Cross in the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen. Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison. In the name of the Lord, the right hand of God be above us. May the Almighty Lord defend us from all evil. Amen.<sup>49</sup>

This tenth-century minitext starts with a protective prayer later attributed to St Anthony, which was also used as a responsory chant for the Feast of the Invention of the Cross.<sup>50</sup> This emphasis on the Holy Cross at the beginning of this text corresponds to the apotropaic use of the sign of the cross in other Christian protective charms. The placement of four cross signs at the beginning of this text correlates with the use of four wooden crosses in the apotropaic ceremony conducted by Theodore of Sykeon. Unlike the texts produced in cathedral contexts, this incantation addresses directly demons and adjures them not to cause a storm, harmful rain and landslide, through the power of God, his three persons, and celestial and

earthly Christian hierarchs. Although this text heavily relies on Christian tropes, its direct address to demons and the threefold structure of its formulas liken it to early medieval incantations. Such identification is further strengthened by the fact that other blank spaces and margins on the two final folios of this manuscript were filled with medical incantations, namely, incantations for people affected by rheumatism and bitten by a snake (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10440, fols. 115v–116r).

Another minuscule text that originated outside a cathedral context in the tenth century was added to the first blank page of an early-ninth-century manuscript (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 196, fol. 1r), which reached the Abbey of Reichenau at a later point.<sup>51</sup> The manuscript contains the monk Defensor's *Book of Sparks (Liber Scintillarum)*, a thematic compilation of quotations from the Bible and various patristic authors. Such a compilation would have appealed both to a monastic reader and a parish priest. Below our minitext, another hand added a birth lunary, a text likewise useful for someone working close to lay people. The minuscule text relevant for this study has a somewhat corrupt and misleading title, namely, *The Prayer for the Ascension of the Lord*. Yet this title may also indicate that it was intended to be performed around the time of Ascension, which can occur on any Thursday from April 30th to June 3rd. Recent research indeed shows that before May crops are not vulnerable to hailstorms, which may explain why such a prayer would have been performed at the beginning of the period when hailstorms were especially devastating for the peasants' economy.<sup>52</sup>

The text of the above prayer features many errors and phonetic aberrations, which indicates a rather low level of Latin literacy on the part of its transcriber, whose mother tongue was probably a Germanic dialect. The palaeographic features of the text suggest that it might have been transcribed in Alemannia. This text preserves a template for an apotropaic performance in front of a cross aiming to protect the fields of a certain person in a certain village.<sup>53</sup> The names of a person and of a village could be easily added on a spot. The text adjures angels as the beings responsible for a hailstorm to take it to a desert and mountains and asks the Lord to temper these airy agents. As typical of weather incantations, the text includes a direct order to the essences causing such storms and a threefold use of powerful words in its final part, including a Christian *alleluia*. As often happened to medieval Latin incantations, the other two words are garbled forms of other Christian words of power deriving from Greek, *chiriale* for *Kyrie eleison* and *aius* for *hagios*.

This prayer/incantation, which was seemingly expected to be performed in front of a standing cross, reminds us of an apotropaic lead cross found in Aïn-Fourna in modern Tunisia. Each of its sides displays a nearly identical textual charm aiming at protecting vineyards and fruit and olive orchards in this locality against hailstorms.<sup>54</sup> This Latin inscription has been dated to the period of the fifth to seventh centuries, and it invokes both Jupiter (*dom<i>ne Iobis obtime cab<i>tuline maxim<e>*) and the Christian God and its three persons – thus blending pre-Christian and Christian idioms within its narrative. The syncretic nature of this North African apotropaic

text is also clear from the fact that, on the one hand, in accordance with the late antique Mediterranean occult tradition, it refers to itself as *defisio* (i.e. *defixio*, usually translated as “a curse tablet”), and that, on the other hand, similarly to *The Prayer for the Ascension of the Lord*, it concludes with a threefold use of Christian words of power – in this case, *agios, emen* (for *amen*) and *alleluia*.<sup>55</sup>

Another tenth- or eleventh-century example is provided by an incantation against flooding caused by a rainstorm, which was added in the margins of a North Italian manuscript with the *Lives of the Fathers* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Patr. Lat. 41, fols. 103v–104r).<sup>56</sup> This badly preserved and heavily abbreviated Christian incantation first mentions St Michael, who was commonly associated in the early Middle Ages with control over rising waters. Then it adjures Satan by invoking God the Father and the Holy Trinity so that the devil does not have power to cause a flood. The incantation then invokes angels and other standard Christian luminaries and entities as well as unusual ones such as Noah and the four rivers of Paradise, which can be associated with a flooding river, as well as the sun and the moon and the holy city of Jerusalem, whose connection to a flood is less clear. The main part of the manuscript contains the lives of monastic fathers and their sayings regarding monastic virtues and norms of behaviour appropriate for the monks. This incantation can therefore also be associated with a monastic context.<sup>57</sup>

A similar monastic context can be postulated for apotropaic minuscule texts added to another North Italian manuscript, associated with the Abbey of Bobbio and containing among other things Jerome’s commentary on the *Book of Daniel* and the *Prognosticon* by Julian of Toledo. Three weather amulets and/or incantations were copied at the end of this manuscript, probably in the first half of the tenth century (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS G.V.3, fols. 101v–103r).<sup>58</sup> The third of them belongs to the same textual tradition as an apotropaic text added to another North Italian manuscript with exegetical homilies in the first half of the ninth century (Cracow, Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej, MS 140 (olim 43), fols. 1v–2r).<sup>59</sup> The tenth-century Turin version is entitled *Epistola Salvatoris* (*The Letter of the Saviour*), a title commonly given to heavenly letters. The textual affinity between these two incantations or heavenly letters suggests that the three minuscule texts added to the Turin manuscript derive from an earlier apotropaic textual tradition. At the same time, some of their textual features indicate considerable changes made by scribes in the Carolingian period.

The three texts in the Turin codex adjure malicious angels not to harm fields with bad weather. Thus, the first text (on fol. 101v), with the title *Oratio sancti Raphahelis* (*The Prayer of St Raphael*) is reminiscent of heavenly letters that were allegedly brought down to the earth by an angel, and it is intended as an apotropaic text against hail, rainstorm and flood. It addresses the malicious angels of Satan (*coniuro vos angeli Sathane maligni*), invokes the ten names of God (*per illa decem nomina Dei*) and uses biblical stories of Christ’s miracles as *historialae* providing historical precedents for the miraculous power of the Lord.

The second minuscule text added to the Turin manuscript on folio 102r–v lacks a title, but it refers to itself as *epistula* (“letter”) capable of protecting against rainstorm and flood. Similarly to the first text, it adjures the angels of Satan (*angeli*

*Satane*) and invokes the Lord, various divine properties and various holy persons, including St Gregory, St Clement, St Bartholomew, St Peter and St George. The recourse to these saints is reminiscent of the invoking of a specific saint in the protective Visigothic charm from Asturia that I have mentioned above. At the same time, the choice of the Apostle Peter and the holy popes (St Clement and St Gregory) points to an Italian context, while the mention of the Apostle Bartholomew indicate eighth- or ninth-century textual modifications, since his feast day is attested in Latin liturgical books from the mid-eighth century onwards, and since his alleged body was translated from the island of Lipari to Benevento in 838, thus giving rise to a cult of St Bartholomew in this city in the second half of the ninth century.<sup>60</sup> The second text also brings out the power of angels, the list of which includes not only Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, but also Uriel, the use of which name was directly condemned by the Council of Rome in 745.<sup>61</sup>

As mentioned above, the final, third text is entitled *Epistola Salvatoris*, which suggests that, like traditional heavenly letters, this short epistle against storms and hail was supposed to be worn or to be placed on a pole as a textual amulet protecting fields against tempests. This text and the one in the Cracow manuscript are peculiar in naming the evil forces they conjure as the Tartaric angels: “I adjure you, Tartaric angels” (*coniuro vos, angeli tartarici*) in the Turin manuscript, and “I adjure you, Tartaric angels and angels of Satan” (*adiuro vos, angelis tartarucis et angelis Sathane*) in the Cracow manuscript.<sup>62</sup> *The Letter of the Saviour* in the Turin codex also invokes angels from the Tartara of magicians (*interdico vobis angelis a Tartara [m]agorum ut retineatis ymbres vestros*).<sup>63</sup> It is important to emphasize that none of the minuscule texts in this manuscript adjures demons, which would have made such texts more problematic from a Christian point of view. These dark agents of the earlier tradition are replaced by malicious angels of Satan or Tartara. This substitution situated these texts within a grey zone of acceptable Christian practices, within which invoking angels in intercessory prayers had become a tolerated practice in the course of the early Middle Ages.<sup>64</sup>

The invocation of Tartaric angels connects such apotropaic texts from Carolingian Italy with a sixth-century lead tablet found near Trogir on the Dalmatian coast which was traditionally interpreted as a protective amulet against a hailstorm, although this interpretation has been questioned recently in favour of reading it as an exorcistic amulet for general protection or a specific disease.<sup>65</sup> What is important here for our discussion is that this amulet addresses a Tartaric spirit (*immundissime spirete tartaruce*) and recites three *historiolae* in which this demon has been defeated in the biblical past: first, when it was shackled by the Archangel Gabriel; second, when it was banished to forested and mountainous areas; and finally, when it was not allowed to cross the Jordan River. This reference to the Tartaric spirit or angels ultimately derives from the classical world where Tartarus or Tartara was a place in the underworld in which gods or humans were kept imprisoned. Latin poets like Vergil, Ovid and Lucan used this name as a shorthand for hell, and this usage obviously affected later Christian poets. By Late Antiquity, Tartarus was also seen as the place where fallen angels were confined. According to *The Testament of Solomon* (ch. 26), this space was controlled by

the prince of demons, called Beelzeboul, while a much earlier apocryphal text translated from Hebrew into Greek, namely, *The Book of Enoch* (20:2), stated that it was ruled by the Angel Uriel,<sup>66</sup> a name mentioned alongside orthodox angels in the second apotropaic text from the Turin manuscript. In short, a reference to Tartaric angels in our texts probably derived from earlier apocryphal and magical traditions identifying malignant demons as the fallen angels of Tartarus. As the third minuscule text from the above codex suggests, by the Carolingian period the place of their confinement was associated with the magicians who allegedly invoked these airy beings for malicious purposes.

The appearance of this set of marginal apotropaic minuscule texts in a manuscript associated with Bobbio is hardly accidental. The abbey was established by the Irish monastic founder Columbanus in 614, who slightly earlier also founded the Abbey of Luxeuil in Burgundy. His seventh-century life written by Jonas of Bobbio provides a vivid description of him protecting a monastic harvest against a rainstorm somewhere close to the Burgundian abbey. According to this text, Columbanus placed four monks, three Irish and one Breton, at the four corners of the cornfield. These monks or Columbanus himself probably uttered a protective prayer or incantation of some kind since the story's concluding line emphasizes that faith and prayer (*fides et oratio*) repelled the storm.<sup>67</sup> A rainstorm broke out outside the monastic cornfield, and landowners and tenants of adjacent fields probably blamed the Irish monks for their misfortune. Columbanus' public ritual against a rainstorm was somewhat similar to the late sixth-century ritual performed by Theodore of Sykeon mentioned above in this chapter. Both placed crosses or their substitutes at the four corners of a cornfield and performed protective prayers, which as our manuscript examples suggest may have been not so dissimilar from incantations.

The hagiographic stories listed above emphasized the miraculous powers of holy men like St Columbanus and St Theodore of Sykeon. But they also reflect late antique and early medieval realities where holy ascetics and monks claimed the ability to control weather. Such claims provide a probable context for another incident that took place in the Merovingian countryside, one recorded in the seventh-century *Life of St Riquier*. According to this text, peasants in northern Gaul accused two Irish monks of destroying their harvest by some kind of magic (*malefacere*), weather magic being implied.<sup>68</sup> It is also possible that the entire case was due to the monks' unsuccessful attempt to use weather incantations to ward off a storm and crops being destroyed in the process. Such activities and related stories probably contributed to a widespread medieval belief in the power of priests and monks to control weather.<sup>69</sup>

The affiliation of this set of apotropaic texts with Bobbio also corresponds to a much higher chance for hailstorms in the areas around Bobbio. Modern statistical research on hailstorms in Europe shows that their occurrence concentrates in the areas around the Alps, including Switzerland and southern Germany, as well as in the northern Apennines, southeast France, northeast Spain and Dalmatia.<sup>70</sup> The fact that marginal ambiguous texts discussed in this chapter were written in some of these areas indicate that their production by monks and clerics was partly due to a

popular demand in these regions for weather control, especially over hailstorms. Practical needs prevailed over theoretical arguments of the kind formulated by Agobard of Lyons.

## Conclusion

As textual evidence from the margins of Latin manuscripts suggests, early medieval Western monks and priests appropriated the pre-Christian tradition of weather magic, and they adapted it for Christian use by providing references to the Lord and his attributes and miracles, as well as to his angels and various holy figures. In doing so, literate monks and priests shared with illiterate peasants an older belief that storms, flooding and hail were caused by malicious demons or deviant angels, and that efficient weather control must be conducted by confronting such evil powers directly, rather than simply praying to the Lord as proposed by Carolingian bishops and normative liturgical texts. This popular attitude to weather control clearly prevailed in the tenth and following centuries when such incantations, which their producers often redefined as prayers (*orationes*), were not only copied in manuscripts' margins, but also became acceptable enough to be included in the main sections of liturgical codices – with the tenth-century codex from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17027, listed by Adolf Franz as the earliest liturgical compilation of this sort.<sup>71</sup>

By contrast, the text of Bishop Agobard concerning hailstorms and thunder advocating a strict normative approach to weather control did not gain traction outside Lyons in the following centuries and, consequently, has survived just in one copy preserved by chance in the cathedral library of that city. The older religious technologies of weather incantations in the guise of Christian prayers and blessings fared much better, and such texts were continuously copied in Europe in the course of the high and late Middle Ages.<sup>72</sup>

## Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Celia Chazelle for helpful feedback on an earlier draft of this chapter, Laura Pani for a fruitful discussion of palaeographic features of incantations in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Patr. Lat. 41 and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS. G.V.3, and Philipp Nothhaft for his insightful comments on incantations in the latter manuscript. This publication has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 101018645). All translations into English in the chapter are mine unless indicated otherwise.
- 2 For more details, see Cabaniss (1953), Boshof (1969), Heil (1998), Booker (2009), de Jong (2009), Noble (2009: 313–20), O'Brien (2011) and Kramer (2016).
- 3 van Acker (1981: 3–15). This is the title used in the only surviving manuscript containing this text.
- 4 Jolivet (2006) and Koziol (2007: 82–92).
- 5 Blöcker (1981).
- 6 Heidecker (1995). For a similar approach to Agobard's text, see Flint (1991: 110–5).

- 7 Dutton (2004).
- 8 Meens (2012).
- 9 For the discussion of early medieval minuscule texts and their taxonomy, see Garipzanov (2024b).
- 10 For other recent works questioning the applicability of this distinction for understanding early medieval religious practices, see Bozóky (2003: 32–4), Filotas (2005), Chazelle (2011), Hen (2015), van Rhijn (2022) and Hen (2024).
- 11 Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales*, 4.6.1–7.2.
- 12 “... quippe cum averti grandines carmine credant plerique ...”, Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, 17.267.
- 13 *Strom.* 6.31.1–3. For more such references in classical works, see Fernández Nieto (2010: 555–61).
- 14 Fernández Nieto (2010: 561–9).
- 15 For details and references, see Fernández Nieto (2010: 592).
- 16 Fernández Nieto (2010: 571–7).
- 17 Fernández Nieto (2010: 552–3 (adapted with corrected spellings)):

adiuro vos omnes patriarchas, Michael, Gabriel, Cecitiel, Oriel, Rafael, Ananiel, Marmoniel, qui illas nubus continetis in manu vestras, esto; libera de villa nomine S[---]cau ubi habitat famulus Dei Auriolus p[...].su cineterius cum fratribus vel vicinibus suis [et?] omnes possessiones eius; [e]diciantur de vila e[t] de illas habitaciones per montes vada et revertam ubi neque galus canta neque galina cacena, ubi neque arator est neque seminator semina, ubiue neque nulla nomina resonat. ... Adiuro te Satas per issu Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui te licuit in Cirbes civitate, ubi non noceas neque arbori neque mensoribus neque vineas neque frautiferis neque arboribus neque quolibem obecriari tibi, ibi est m(e)us d(omi)nissim(us) scetru ma[nu?]. ... auci+ oratio sancti Critofori sic c[...]. te [---] sanctu[s Xrito]forus a gardinen ea ora [---] cum ad sui vicina, oravit sanctus X(rito)foru ad Dominum dicens: “Domine Deus meus da mihi fiducia loquendi”. Dixit Dominus: “[se]cundum co postulasti, ita [erit] et non te cotratabo”. Deus sive locus, sive regio, sive civi[ta]s, ubi de reliquie [g]ratiam [---] u m [---] s a [---] n [---]tas Domine omnes avitantes in regio labore culture ad[f]luenter venit ad locum ++ ... fixi genes amputatus est caputium s[uum?] et consuma<vit> martirium in die dominico hora VIII et reve[sus] es(t) grando in pluvia in alia parte mon<te> cimeteri [---]as ista usque in hodierno die. In nomine patris [et] filii et spiritus, in nomine patris [et] filii et spiritus sanctus, amen, amen, per semper amen, al(le)(ui)a.

- 18 *Admonitio generalis*, c. 65, in Boretius (1883: 58–9): “Omnibus. ... Idea praecipimus, ut cauculatores nec incantatores nec tempestarii vel obligatores non fiant; et ibicumque sunt, emendentur vel damnentur”. On the repetition of this clause in a capitulary from 802, see Blöcker (1981: 128).
- 19 *Lex Visigothorum* 6.2.4, in Zeumer (1902: 259): “Malefici vel inmissores tempestatum, qui quibusdam incantationibus grandines in vineis messibusque inmittere peribentur ... ducentenis flagellis publice verberentur et decalvati deformiter decem convicinas possessiones circuire cogantur inviti ...”.
- 20 “Ferunt enim suis maleficiis aera posse conturbare et grandines inmittere ... Qui ut fuerint huiusmodi conperti, viri seu femine, in tantum disciplina et vigore principis acrius corrigendi sunt, in quantum manifestius ausu nefando et temerario servire diabolo non metuunt”. *Concilium Parisiense a. 829*, 69, in Werminghoff (1908: 669).
- 21 “Ut cloccas non baptizent nec cartas per perticas appendant propter grandinem”. *Duplex legationis edictum*, c. 34, in Boretius (1883: 64).

- 22 See examples in Heidecker (1995: 190–1).
- 23 *Homilia de sacrilegiis*, in Caspari (1886: 66–73) and Flint (1991: 43). For more details and references, see Ristuccia (2013: 60 n. 19 and 70–1 n. 67).
- 24 *Homilia de sacrilegiis*, 16, in Caspari (1886: 10): “... credentes vel qui grandinem per laminas plumbeas scriptas et per cornus incantatos avertere potant, isti non christiani, sed pagani sunt”.
- 25 Pirmin, *Scarapsus*, 22, in Hauswald (2010: 76–7): “Tempestarius nolite credere; nec aliquid pro oc eis dare, qui dicunt, quod maones fructa tollere possent”.
- 26 On the internal organization of this text, following the principles of classical rhetoric, see Caruso (2013: 75–80). For a detailed discussion of Agobard’s scriptural critique, see Bailey (2020: 186–92).
- 27

Sed quoniam in presenti loco addit Psalmista: Inmissionem per angelos malos, sciendum quod vindictarum aut probationum flagella per ministros malos exerceat Deus, qui voluntatem quidem nocendi de suo habeant, potestatem autem ab illo accipiunt. ... Percussit vere, et vere contrivit, sed non homo, neque angelus malus, nisi solus Deus, sine quo legio malorum angelorum neque porcos potuit nocere et in mare praecipitare.

- Agobard of Lyons, *De grandine et tonitruis*, 5.20–35, in van Acker (1981: 6).
- 28 Agobard of Lyons, *De grandine et tonitruis*, 15.6–12, in van Acker (1981: 14). On the importance of economic resources in the maintenance of episcopal lordship in the Carolingian period, see Garipzanov (2024a).
- 29 *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, no. 414, in Dumas (1981: 421), *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, no. 391, in Hemming (1984: 210). For the appearance of this mass in other Gelasian sacramentaries, see Dumas (1981: 121).
- 30 *Missa ad repellendam tempestatem*, *Missa pro tempestate*, *Missa pro fulgoribus*. Deshusses (1988–1992, vol. 1: 450–1, nos. 1375–8, and vol. 3, 175–6, nos. 2645–50).
- 31 “ORATIO CONTRA FULGORE. *Primum spargatur aqua benedicta, et postea dicatur ista oratio*. Omnipotens sempiternus deus parce metuentibus, et propitiare supplicibus ut post noxios ignes nubium et vim procellarum, in materiam transeat laudis, comminatio potestatis. Per”. Deshusses (1988–1992, vol. 1: 476, no. 1459). For the Gelasian original, see Dumas (1981: 420, no. 2674).
- 32 *S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, nos. 57 and 59, in Tangl (1916: 104–5 and 109–18). For more details and references, see Meeder (2011: 253–9).
- 33 *S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 59, in Tangl (1916: 111–2): “Fecit cruciculas et oratoriola in campis et ad fontes vel ubicumque sibi visum fuit et iussit ibi publicas orationes celebrare, donec multitudines populorum spretis ceteris episcopis et dimissis antiquis ecclesiis in talibus locis // conventus celebrabant dicentes: ‘Merita sancti Aldeberti adiuvabunt nos’”.
- 34 *Consilium Suessionense a. 744*, cc. 2 and 7, in Werminghoff (1906: 33–4).
- 35 *Concilium Romanum a. 745*, in Werminghoff (1906: 38–44).
- 36 *Concilium Romanum a. 745*, in Werminghoff (1906: 42):

“Domine Deus omnipotens, Christi filii Dei pater, domini nostri Iesu Christi, et A and Ω, qui sedis super septimo throno et super Cherubin et Seraphin; pietas magna et dulcitudinis satis est apud tibi. Pater sanctorum angelorum, qui fecisti caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, te invoco et clamo et invito te super me miserino, quia tu dignus fuisti dicere: Quodcumque petieritis a patre in nomine meo, dedi vobis. A te peto, a te clamo, a domino Christo confido animam meam”. Cumque per ordinem

legeretur, pervenit ad locum, ubi ait: “Praecor vos et coniuvo vos et supplico me ad vos, angelus Uriel, angelus Raguel, angelus Tubuel, angelus Michael, angelus Adinus, angelus Tubuas, angelus Sabaoc, angelus Simiel”.

- 37 *Admonitio generalis*, c. 16, in Boretius (1883: 55): “OMNIBUS. ... ut ignota angelorum nomina nec fingantur nec nominentur, nisi illos quos habemus in auctoritate, id sunt Michahel, Gabrihel, Rafahel”. As pointed out by Sowerby (2016: 193–211), this prohibition did not succeed, and the names of “non-canonical” angels continued to appear in Christian intercessory texts in the following centuries. For the use of such obscure names in an insular context, see also Jolly (2006).
- 38 *Concilium Romanum a.745*, in Werminghoff (1906: 42): “Pro certo, karissimi fratres et praedictus in insaniam conversus Aldebertus et omnis, qui hanc utitur scelere commentatam epistolam, parvulorum more absque memoria mentium esse possunt et quibusdam mulieris insaniunt sensibus”. For an overview of the heavenly letters in the Middle Ages, see Skemer (2006: 96–105). For its textual transmission in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, see Hebing (2012).
- 39 *Admonitio generalis*, c. 78, in Boretius (1883: 60):

OMNIBUS. Item et pseudografia et dubiae narrationes, vel quae omnino contra fidem catholicam sunt et epistola pessima et falsissima, quam transacto anno dicebant aliqui errantes et in errorem alios mittentes quod de celo cecidisset, nec credantur nec legantur sed conburenter, ne in errorem per talia scripta populus mittatur.

For more details, see Haines (2010: 38–9).

- 40 London, British Library, Royal MS 2.A.XX, fols. 12r–13r:

Incipit epistola salvatoris Domini nostri Iesu Christi ad Abagarum regem quam Dominus manu scripsit et dixit. // (fol. 12v) ... et postea quam conplevero recipi me ad eum a quo missus sum. Cum ergo fuero adsumtus mittam tibi aliquem ex discipulis meis ut curet egritudinem tuam et vitam tibi at his qui tecum sunt praestet, et salvus eris sicut scriptum qui credit in me salvus erit. Sive in domu tua sive in civitate tua sive in omni loco nemo inimicorum tuorum dominabitur et insidias diabuli ne timeas et carmina inimicorum tuorum destruuntur. // (fol. 13r) Et omnes inimici tui expellentur a te *sive a grandine sive tonitrua non noceberis* et ab omni periculo liberaveris, sive in mare sive in terra sive in die sive in nocte sive in locis obscuris. Si quis hanc epistolam secum habuerit securis ambulet in pace. Amen.

(my italics)

On this letter and its possible connection to Worcester and the Canterbury school, see Cain (2009: 168–89).

- 41 *The Life of St Theodore of Sykeon*, 52, in Dawes and Baynes (1948: 127).
- 42 Garipzanov (2018: 99–105 and 286–311).
- 43 Bischoff (1998–2014, vol. 3: 269).
- 44 *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies*, ID 004858: <https://cantusindex.org/id/006581> (accessed on 5 February 2025).
- 45

A[D TEMPESTATEM] SEDANDUM DICES ISTA VERBA CUM signo crucis: “Timor et tremor venerunt super me et contexerunt me tenebre. Misericordia tua, Domine, super nos veniat” cum [an]tiphona “Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum Domini et [stola?]” et

evangelium “In principio erat verbum” usque ad “fuit”. “Kyrieleyson, Christe eleison, Kirieleison” cum *Pater noster* dices tribus vicibus et cum signo crucis et “Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino” et relique. Sicque cessabit tempestas per voluntatem Dei. Amen.

46 “BENEDICITE, lux et tenebrae, Domino, benedicite, fulgura et nubes, Domino” (Daniel 3: 72–73).

47 Bischoff (1998–2014, vol. 3: 92, no. 4293).

48 Muller (1991: 332, 2000: 57 and 66), Netzer (1994: 7, 10, and 212 n. 44), Skemer (2006: 76) and Bischoff (1998–2014, vol. 3: 164, no. 4644).

49

Contra grandinem et tempestatem. + Crux Christi, + Crux Christi, + Crux Christi. + Ecce crucem Domini. Fu<g>ite demones partes, <istas>. Vicit leo de tribu Iuda. Radix Davidis, alleluia. Eius sagitta, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. Kirieleison, kirieleison, ki<ri>eleison. Coniuro vos, coniuro vos, coniuro vos, demones satane, per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, et vos coniuro per trinitatem et sanctam (matrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi *added above*) Mariam. + Coniuro vos per omnes angelos et archangelos. Coniuro vos per IIIor euuangelistas, Matheum, Marcum, Lucam, et Iohanem. Coniuro vos per omnes sanctos Dei ut non habeatis potestatem in iste loco, in campis istis aut in vicis istis petras admittere nec tempestatem ascendere, nec descendere nec pluviam valentis innocentem, sed ite et discedite in desertum locum vel in mari ut non habeatis potestatem nullum malum hic facere. Credimus in unum Deum, patrem omnipotentem. Pater no<s>ter defende plevem istam vel patriam istam. Amen. Signum sancte crucis in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Amen. Kirieleison, kirieleison, kirieleison. In nomine Domini, dextera Dei super nos. Ab omni malo defendat nos omnipotens Dominus. Amen.

This incantation bears close resemblance to a text recorded in a twelfth-century manuscript from St Florian. See Franz (1909, vol. 2: 82).

50 *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies*, ID 006581: <https://cantusindex.org/id/006581> (accessed on 5 February 2025).

51 Bischoff (1998–2014, vol. 1: 354–5, no. 1693).

52 Vinet (2001: 310).

53

Oracione in ascensa Domine. Mitte in cruce. Adiuvo vos, angeli qui es grandinem adfertistis per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, ut non iactatis lapidem super terram ista<m> famulo nomine, sed <ite> in aridam terram et in oculis moncium. Sicut iurasti [patr]ibus nostris, ita et nobis propicius estu. Recordare, Domine. Dic angelo perviciente populo tuo ipse fecit contenencinum tuam. Aius, aius, aius. Chiriale, chiriale, chiriale. Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. In villa qui dicitur ille.

54 For more details on this object and earlier historiography, see Alfaro Giner and Fernández Nieto (2000).

55 Alfaro Giner and Fernández Nieto (2000: 1577–9).

56 Bischoff (1998–2014, vol. 2: 362, no. 3791) suggested a tenth-century dating for this addition, but its palaeographic features support a somewhat later date.

57 In North Italy, flooding was a recurrent problem in the early Middle Ages (Squatriti 2010). Yet as pointed out by Laura Pani (pers. comm.), the hand that added this minuscule

text is not from Italy. So it is very likely that by the time of this addition the manuscript had moved north of the Alps.

58 Bischoff (1998–2014, vol. 3: 389, no. 6300).

59 Bischoff (1998–2014, vol. 1: 416, no. 2006). I intend to edit these two texts in a separate publication.

60 For more details, see Rose (2009: 79–81) and Garipzanov and Nothhaft (2025).

61 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS. G.V.3, fol. 102v (my italics):

Sanctus Michael contradicit vos, sanctus Gabriel con/tradicit vos, sanctus Raphael contradicit vos, *sanctus Uriel contradicit vos*, Christus liberator liberet haec loca nominata qui liberasti filios Israhel de ru[bro ma]ris, Ionam de ventre citi, Danielem de loco leonis, et tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis, vel Paulum de vincu/lis, et Petram de carcere. Descendat super omnes <h>as fines nostras desuper nominatas benedictio Dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.

62 Cracow, Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej, MS 140 (olim 43), fol. 1v.

63 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS. G.V.3, fols. 102r–103r.

64 For more details, see Sowerby (2016: 185–219).

65 For the first interpretation, see Barada (1935). For the second interpretation, see Kunčar (2017).

66 Winther (2015).

67 Ionas, *Vita Columbani*, 1.13, in Krusch (1905: 173–4):

Venerunt omnes falceque inter diffusionem imbrum secant segetem patremque, quid agat, conspiciunt. Ille quattuor plenos religione viros per quattuor angulos messis praeponit, Cominum et Eunocum ac Equonanum ex Scottorum genere quartumque Gurganum genere Brittonem. His ordinatis, ipse cum reliquis medius messem praecidebat. Mira virtus! fugebat imber a segete et undique pluvia diffundebatur; medios tantum messorum solis ardor torrebat aestusque vehemens, quousque messem conderet, afflavit. Sic fides et oratio meruit, ut, pulsa pluvia, aestum inter imbres haberet.

68 *Vita Richarii*, 2, in Krusch and Levison (1920: 445).

69 On such beliefs, see Blöcker (1981: 121–2), Meens (2012: 163–5) and Borri (2014: 59–61).

70 Punge et al. (2014). For France, see also Berthet, Dessens and Sanchez (2011).

71 Franz (1909, vol. 2: 74–7).

72 Franz (1909, vol. 2: 49–104).

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